

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF FAMILY MEMBERS  
IN EGYPT'S ELITE TOMBS OF THE OLD KINGDOM

Jing Wen

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David P. Silverman, Eckley Brinton Coxé, Jr. Professor of Egyptology, Near Eastern  
Languages and Civilizations

Graduate Group Chairperson



---

Joseph E. Lowry

Associate Professor, Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

Dissertation Committee:

Josef W. Wegner, Associate Professor, Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

Haiying Yan, Professor, History Department, Peking University

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## ABSTRACT

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF FAMILY MEMBERS  
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David P. Silverman

This study collects, categorizes, and interprets the representations and associated texts of family members of the tomb owner that appeared in elite tombs of the Old Kingdom in the Memphite and provincial necropolis from the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasties. It provides a detailed investigation into the kinship designations, titles, and presentational specifics of family members, and examines the frequency of occurrences of kinship designations and titles. The typology introduced in this study classifies the stances of family members into seven major types, each with several sub-types. The analysis of the appearances of each sub-type makes it possible to trace the developments and innovations of the depiction of family members during the Old Kingdom and further discuss the familial ideology expressed by these stances.

This study also introduces the concept “family group” to describe the situation when more than one family members appear in a single scene or on the false door. A comprehensive analysis of all the family groups in the Old Kingdom private tombs demonstrates how the Egyptians conceptualized relationships within a familial framework, such as the differentiation of gender and generation, and the indication of age.

A particular issue is the meaning of the term *sn-dt* “brother of the funerary estate.” By analyzing all the existing examples, this study points out that the establishment of the *sn-dt* is a strategy to extend funerary responsibilities to non-family members and remote relatives, who would then provide offerings for the deceased as the family members did. The offerings that family members usually carry is the *stpt*-offerings, a specific type of offerings consist of forelegs, processed birds, and other food.

This study also compares the representation of family members in the chapel and other sources concerning making offerings by taking them as different language games. This comparison reveals the nature of the depiction of presenting offerings.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , Baltimore / New York / Concord / New Haven
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO)</i> , Cairo
<i>BMFA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts</i> , Boston
<i>FIFAO</i>	<i>Fouilles de l'Institute français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire. Rapports préliminaires</i> , Cairo
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i> , Göttingen
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> , Boston / Princeton / New York / Cairo
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> , London
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> , Chicago
<i>LD</i>	Lepsius, Richard, et al. <i>Denkmäler Aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> . 6 vols. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1849-1859.
<i>LD Erg.</i>	Lepsius Richard, et al. <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Ergänzungsband</i> . Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1897-1913.
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> , Berlin
<i>MMJ</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i> , New York
<i>PM</i>	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography</i> . Vol. III. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> , Paris
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i> , Hamburg
<i>Urk.</i>	Sethe, Kurt. <i>Urkunden des alten Reichs. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> . Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1933.
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> , Berlin / Leipzig

## INTRODUCTION

### Aims and Purposes

The ancient Egyptians believed that death was an interruption rather than a complete cessation of life. Their belief in the afterlife thus becomes a driving force behind their funeral practices. Beginning in the Predynastic Period, they started to deposit ceramic vessels, beads, palettes and many other objects in the graves. Many of these vessels are decorated with iconographic themes such as boating, hunting, defeating enemies.<sup>1</sup> By the First Dynasty, high officials had begun to build enormous and elaborate tombs on the plateau edge at North Saqqara.<sup>2</sup> It was not until the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty that the depiction of possible family members appeared in tombs of the highest officials, such as the princes *Nfr-m<sup>3</sup>ct* and *R<sup>c</sup>-htp*.<sup>3</sup> Similar motifs then developed in tombs of lesser noblemen.<sup>4</sup> In the latter half of the Old Kingdom, it is common for private tombs to include the depiction of family members in a variety of scenes.

This study discusses the iconography of the family members of the tomb owner, relevant inscriptions associated with them, and the concept and ideology of the family

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<sup>1</sup> Stan Hendrickx, "Iconography of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods," in *Before the Pyramids: the Origins of Egyptian Civilization*, ed. Emily Teeter (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011), 75-81.

<sup>2</sup> W. Emery excavated this area from the 1930s. See Walter B. Emery, *The Tomb of Hemaka*, Excavations at Saqqara (Cairo: Government Press, 1938); Walter B. Emery, *Hor-Aha*, Excavations at Saqqara (1937-1938) (Cairo: Government Press, 1939); Walter B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty I*, Excavations at Saqqara (Cairo: Government Press 1949); Walter B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty II*, Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society 46, Excavations at Saqqara (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954).

<sup>3</sup> For example, the individuals appear on the north and south jambs of the niche of *Nfr-m<sup>3</sup>ct*, north and south jambs of *Jtt*, and the false door of *R<sup>c</sup>-htp* are probably the children of the tomb owner, but no kinship terms are attested. Yvonne Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum: Discovery, Destruction and Reconstruction*, Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom 1 (Prestbury, Cheltenham: Oxford Expedition to Egypt, 2001), 59, 60, 84, 85, 109-110, figs. 72, 73, 84, 85, 98.

<sup>4</sup> Karol Myśliwiec, "Father's and Eldest Son's Overlapping Feet: An Iconographic Message," in *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, eds. Zahi A. Hawass, Peter Der Manuelian, and Ramadan B. Hussein (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2010), 307.

behind the scenes in the Old Kingdom elite tombs. The elite tomb refer to “an architectural complex completely or partially free-standing, respectively cut from the rock, consisting of one or several (substantial) space unities, which is inextricable and consciously connected with the mortal remains of the elite, and (was planned to be) provided with decoration, that is iconography and/or texts.”<sup>5</sup>

One of the purposes for the depiction of family members in the tomb chapel—a relatively public place accessible to members from the living community—was to define the tomb owner’s social position and relationships in a funerary context. In other words, it enabled in theory the tomb owner to interact continuously with the living through specific funerary installations.<sup>6</sup> The decorations in the chapels were, therefore, not only the tomb owner’s perceptions of what he or she hoped to realize in the afterlife, but also a reflection of what defined that individual in a broader social network both in the world of the living and the afterlife.<sup>7</sup> This thesis further explores the cult of the dead and its implementation within a familial realm. The sustenance for the deceased in the funerary cult required a proper arrangement for compensation for and the employment of the personnel. Elite tombs of the Old Kingdom have scenes of different social groups taking part in funerary activities, such as lector priests performing rituals, ka-priests and family

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<sup>5</sup> René van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs: Analysis and Interpretation, Theoretical and Methodological Aspects* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 19.

<sup>6</sup> For the discussion of the continuity of the funerary cult in reality and ideology, see Yayoi Shirai, “Ideal and Reality in Old Kingdom Private Funerary Cults,” in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague, May 31 - June 4, 2004*, ed. Miroslav Bárta (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2006), 325-333.

<sup>7</sup> The concept of the residence of the dead in a “community” among others in the underworld may have been established during the Old Kingdom. The Qau Bowl mentions that the dead were living “in the same city.” Alan H. Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead: Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1928), 3-5, 17-19, pls. II, IIA, III, IIIA. See also Edward F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, Writings from the Ancient World (Atlanta GA: Scholars Press, 1990), 212.

members presenting different types of products, and sometimes the tomb owner himself overseeing the production of goods in his estates. The involvement of family members in these scenes demonstrates the importance of handling family relations in the funerary installation. The study of the iconography and inscriptions of family members also aims to examine the role of family members in the funerary cult and how it functions as part of a familial ideology in the Old Kingdom.

An ancient Egyptian family included not only the nuclear family members but also relatives, servants, and dependents, thus representing a compound social group close to the modern concept of household or extended family.<sup>8</sup> As a hierarchically-ordered unit, the ancient Egyptian family reflected a form of social order in both domestic life and the spiritual realm.<sup>9</sup> This study investigates the depiction of family members in a group and how kinship structure reflects their familial ideology. Additionally, it also addresses the issue of the ancestor cult in the Old Kingdom through an analysis of iconographic details that reflect age and generations.

The final goal of this study is to explore how familial ideology evolved during the Old Kingdom and the social and psychological process behind its evolution. The

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<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the household in ancient Egypt in general, see Juan Carlos Moreno García, "Households," in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, eds. Elizabeth Froom and Willeke Wendrich (Los Angeles, 2012), 2-5. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002czx07>. For the discussion of households as basic social units, in the Middle Kingdom, see Katalin A. Kóthay, "Houses and Households at Kahun: Bureaucratic and Domestic Aspects of Social Organization during the Middle Kingdom." In *Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga: "le lotus qui sort de terre"*, ed. Hedvig Györy (Budapest: Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts, 2002), 349-368. For the anthropological discussion of the concept of household, see Nicholas Picardo, "Hybrid Households: Institutional Affiliations and Household Identity in the Town of Wah-sut (South Abydos)." In *Household Studies in Complex Societies: (micro)Archaeological and Textual Approaches* ed. Müller (Miriam Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 2015), 243-248.

<sup>9</sup> Hans-Hubertus Münch, "Die Repräsentation des Hausverbandes des K3-nj-njswt I. (G 2155): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sozialen Wissens im Alten Reich," in *Nekropolen: Grab – Bild – Ritual. Beiträge des zweiten Münchener Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (Maja 2) 2. Bis 4.12.2011.*, eds. Gregor Neunert, Kathrin Gabler, and Alexandra Verbovsek (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 181-196.



Egyptians syncretized the familial ideology and the official art canon. The degree of this syncretization reflects changes in cognitive notions about the expressions of status, identity, and self-awareness. These changes, explicit or implicit, are critical to understanding the concept of family and familial value in the Old Kingdom. Moreno García suggests that the Memphite tomb owners had to follow official ideology and seldom expressed private and familial relationships in their tomb decoration, so that only provincial tombs could express familial ideology.<sup>10</sup> The fourth and the fifth chapters examine the changes in the depiction of family members from the Fifth to the Sixth Dynasties and the iconographic distinctions among Giza, Saqqara, and provincial sites.

## Subjects and Data

Through the systematic collection, categorization, and interpretation of the representations and associated texts of family members of the tomb owner that appeared in elite tombs of the Memphite and provincial necropoleis, this study fills an essential gap in our knowledge of kinship relations and familial ideology in the Old Kingdom. The data is collated from the existing primary source publications, including the proposed dating, the positioning of the scenes within the tombs, the positioning of the figures within the scenes, and the relevant texts.

As the title defines, this study includes all the iconography and associated inscriptions about family members in the elite tombs. The dataset consists of tombs

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<sup>10</sup> Juan Carlos Moreno García, “La gestion sociale de la mémoire dans l’Égypte du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire: les tombes des particuliers, entre emploi privée et idéologie publique,” in *Dekorierte Grabanlagen im Alten Reich: Methodik und Interpretation*, edited by Martin Fitzenreiter and Michael Herb (London: Golden House Publications, 2006), 215-242.

containing the depiction of family members and associated inscriptions that contain use of kinship designations to identify the depicted figure as a family member. It covers a time span from the end of the Fourth Dynasty to the end of the Sixth Dynasty.

This study avoids a methodology of the content development and arrangement of different types of scenes and the artistic techniques in a chronological framework.<sup>11</sup> Instead, it discusses the long-term development of iconography to reveal the nature of familial ideology in a historical context. Alterations in the iconography reflect the gradual change of the expressions of social and familial values on an intellectual and cognitive level. The evolving trends further help to uncover the social reality behind the implicit social expressions.

Evidence for dating the monuments includes inscriptions, iconographic and stylistic details,<sup>12</sup> and mason marks.<sup>13</sup> Verifying existing dates of the monuments goes beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, this study accepts the dates suggested by scholars who have analyzed and published the monuments, while also considering different dates suggested by later scholars.<sup>14</sup> The format of dating will follow Harpur's system.<sup>15</sup> A Roman numeral indicates the dynasty and an Arabic number is assigned to

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<sup>11</sup> For example, to "examine the changes in scene content in twenty-year time spans", see Yvonne Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content* (London; New York: KPI, 1987), 33.

<sup>12</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 230-231, 253-264. For the discussion on dating criteria based on artistic specifics, see Joyce Swinton, *Dating the Tombs of the Egyptian Old Kingdom* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014), 49-96.

<sup>13</sup> See Hans Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Palaeography* (Baltimore, Md.: HALGO, 1988), xi-xxi.

<sup>14</sup> The publications and suggested dates of the monuments are in Appendix I.

<sup>15</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 33-35. Although Harpur divides the long reign of Pepy II into three phrases and assigns each phrase with an exact number of years, expressions such as "mid-Pepy II" or "at the very end of Pepy II's reign" may be used in this thesis when an exact date of the monument is not available.

the reign of a particular ruler to avoid repeating the names of kings. The following chart shows the chronological numbering system used in this thesis:

Table 1. Dating system

Format in the dating system	Reign
IV.1	Snefru
IV.2	Khufu
IV.3	Djedefre
IV.4	Khafre
IV.5	Menkaure
IV.6	Shepseskaef
V.1	Userkaef
V.2	Sahure
V.3	Neferirkare Kakai
V.4	Shepseskare Ini
V.5	Neferefre
V.6	Nyuserre Izi
V.7	Menkauhor
V.8	Djedkare Izezi
V.9	Unas
VI.1	Teti
VI.2	Pepy I (Meryre)
VI.3	Merenre I
VI.4	Pepy II, Year 1-34
VI.5	Pepy II, Year 35-54
VI.6	Pepy II, Year 55-85
VI.7	End of Dynasty VI to Dynasty III

The majority of samples for this study comes from the Memphite region.

Memphis was the capital of the Old Kingdom and the location of the royal residence. The kings constructed their tombs in the desert west of the royal residence. The officials chose their burial place near the tombs of the kings they served and possibly not far from their own residences.<sup>16</sup> The archaeological sites surrounding Memphis thus provide an

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<sup>16</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 5-12; Goedicke discusses and summarizes the change of locations of royal cemeteries during the Old Kingdom and the reasons for these changes, see Hans Goedicke, "Abusir -

abundance of iconographic and epigraphic data on the social and familial context of individuals living in this area. Most samples of the Memphite area come from Giza and Saqqara. The former is the primary burial site in the Sixth Dynasty and the first half of the Fifth Dynasty, though it continued to be in use in the rest of the Old Kingdom, and even after the Old Kingdom.<sup>17</sup> For the second half of the Fifth Dynasty Saqqara became the most important site in this study because it has yielded the largest number of reliefs and paintings with a variety of motifs and scene types.<sup>18</sup> Monuments at Abusir and Abu

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Saqqara – Giza,” in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, eds. Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí (Praha: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 2000), 397-412.

<sup>17</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 6-7. Major publications on the excavations at Giza include: Richard Lepsius et al., *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Ergänzungsband* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1897-1913); Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, 12 vols. (Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849-59); Auguste Mariette and G. Maspero, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1889); Georg Steindorff and Uvo Hölscher, *Die Mastabas westlich der Cheopspyramide: nach den Ergebnissen der in den Jahren 1903 - 1907 im Auftrag der Universität Leipzig und des Hildesheimer Pelizaeus-Museums unternommenen Grabungen in Giza*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991); W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, vol. 13 (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account, 1907); Hilda Flinders Petrie and Margaret A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels* (London: British School of Egyptian Archaeology, 1952); Hermann Junker, *Giza. Denkschriften / Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 12 vols (Wien; Leipzig: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky A. -G., 1929-1955); Abdel M. Abu-Bakr, *Excavations at Giza, 1949-1950* (Cairo: Government Press, 1953); Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 10 vols (Cairo: Government Press, 1932-1960); Hilda Flinders Petrie and Margaret A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels* (London: British School of Egyptian Archaeology, 1952); George A. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge: Harvard university press, 1963); George A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942-1955); Hans Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka: Ein Grab in der Wüst* (Hanover: Fackelträger-Verlag, 1974); William K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* (Boston: Dept. of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1980); Alexander Badawy, *The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem 'ankh-Ptah, and Kaemnofert At Giza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); William K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu, G7101 and 7102* (Boston: Dept. of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1976); William K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II: G7110-20, 7130-40, and 7150, and Subsidiary Mastabas of Street G7100* (Boston: Dept. of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1978); William K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* (Boston: Dept. of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1980); William Kelly Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery, Giza Mastabas* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1980); Kent R. Weeks and Susan H. Kent R. Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000, including G 6010 (Neferbaupah); G 6020 (Iymery), G 6030 (Iti), G 6040 (Shepseskafankh)* (Boston: Dept. of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1994); Emma Brunner-Traut and Ernst von Sieglin, *Die Altägyptische Grabkammer Seschemnofers III. Aus Giza: Eine Stiftung des Geheimen Hofrats Dr. H. C. Ernst Von Sieglin an die Tübinger Universität*. Neuausg (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1995); Edward Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex I: The Mastabas of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Khnumenti (G 2374), and Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378)*, 2 vols. Giza Mastabas 7 (Boston: Art of the Ancient World, Museum of Fine Arts, 2001); Peter Der Manuelian, et al. *Mastabas of Nucleus Cemetery G2100* (Boston: Dept. of Art of the Ancient World, Museum of Fine Arts, 2009); Naguib Kanawati and Ann McFarlane, *Tombs at Giza*, 2 vols (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 2001), Ann M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants: Including G 2084-2099, G 2230+2231, and G2240* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1995).

<sup>18</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 8-9. Major publications on the excavations at Saqqara include: Norman. de G. Davies, *The mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqareh*, 2 vols, Archaeological survey of Egypt 8-9 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900-1901); Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas: Part I-II*

Ghurob, the location of royal burials of the early to mid-Fifth Dynasty, also contribute to the dataset of this study.<sup>19</sup> A few examples come from other sites in the Memphite area, such as Dahshur and Kom el Akhdar. The provincial sites in this dataset include

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(London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt and B. Quaritch, 1905); Jean Capart, *Une Rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles: Vromant & Co, 1907); James E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1907-1908* (Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1909); James E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1911-12. The Tomb of Hesy* (Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1913); James E. Quibell and Angelo G. Hayter, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti pyramid, North Side* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1927); Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 2 vols (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1926); Georg Steindorff, *Die Kunst der Ägypter: Bauten, Plastik, Kunstgewerbe* (Leipzig: Insel-Verl, 1928); Gustave Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqarah; Le Mastabat Faraoun* (Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1928); Rizkallah Macramallah, *Fouilles à Saqqarah: Le Mastaba d'Idout* (Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1935); Prentice Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938); Lucienne Épron and François Daumas, *Le tombeau de Ti* (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1939); T. G. H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1953); Ahmed M. Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-Hay* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1971); Ahmed M. Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz am Rhein: P. v. Zabern, 1977); Ahmed M. Moussa and Friedrich Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1975); Jean P. Lauer, *Saqqara: The Royal Cemetery of Memphis. Excavations and Discoveries since 1850* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976); Alexander Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Geoffrey T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis North Saqqāra* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1979); Baudouin van de Walle, *La Chapelle funéraire de Neferitenef* (Bruxelles: Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, 1979); Said Amer el-Fikey, *The Tomb of the Vizier Rē-wer at Saqqara* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1980); Gustave Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* (Le Caire: Service des antiquités de l'Égypte, 1983); W. V. Davies, Alan B. Lloyd, A. Jeffrey Spencer, and Ali Khouli, *Saqqāra Tombs*, 3 vols (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1984); Naguib Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara: North-West of Teti's Pyramid*, 2 vols (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1984-1988); Hartwig Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara* (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1998); Naguib Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, 9 vols (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1996); Ann McFarlane, Naguib Kanawati and Mahmoud Abder-Raziq, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara*, 2 vols (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 2000); Ann McFarlane, *Mastabas at Saqqara: Kaiemheset, Kaipunesut, Kaiemsenu, Sehetepu and Others* (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2003); Karol Mysliwiec, *Saqqara I: The Tomb of Merefnebef* (Varsovie: Editions Neriton, 2004); Yvonne Harpur and Paolo Scremin, *The Chapel of Kagemni: Scene Details* (Reading: Oxford Expedition to Egypt, 2006); Yvonne Harpur and Paolo Scremin, *Chapel of Ptahhotep: Scene Details* (Reading, England: Oxford Expedition to Egypt, 2008); Naguib Kanawati et al., *Mereruka and His Family, Part I-III* (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2008-2011).

<sup>19</sup> For a brief discussion of the site, and the Czech archaeological excavations at this site since 1960, see Ladislav Bareš, "The Destruction of the Monuments at the Necropolis of Abusir," in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, eds. Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí (Praha: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 2000), 1-16. Major publications of tombs in Abusir and Abu Ghurob include: Miroslav Verner, Ladislav Bareš, and Miroslav Bárta et al., *Abusir I- XXIII* (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 1982-2014); Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí, eds. *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (Praha: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 2000); Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí, eds. *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague, June 27-July 5, 2005* (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2006); Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí, eds. *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2010*, 2 vols (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2011); Bárta, Miroslav, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí, eds. *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2015* (Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2017); Miroslav Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids: Abusir* (Praha: Academia Škodaexport, 1994); Miroslav Verner, *Abusir: the Necropolis of the Sons of the Sun* (Cairo; New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2017).

Deshasha,<sup>20</sup> Zawyet el-Amwait,<sup>21</sup> Tehna,<sup>22</sup> el-Sheikh Said,<sup>23</sup> Quseir el-Amarna,<sup>24</sup> Deir el-Gabrawi,<sup>25</sup> Meir,<sup>26</sup> El-Hammamiya,<sup>27</sup> El-Hawawish,<sup>28</sup> Nag el-Deir,<sup>29</sup> Qubbet el-Hawa,<sup>30</sup> El-Hagarsa,<sup>31</sup> Dendera,<sup>32</sup> Naqada,<sup>33</sup> el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad,<sup>34</sup> el-Khokha,<sup>35</sup> and Edfu.<sup>36</sup>

The identification of family members of the tomb owner depends on kinship terms inscribed near their figures. Studies on these identifications are based largely on texts from the Middle and New Kingdoms.<sup>37</sup> The Egyptian term for father is *jt* and that for mother is *mwt*. *Z3* refers to the son, and its female counterpart *z3t* signifies the

<sup>20</sup> Kanawati, Naguib E. and Ann McFarlane, *Deshasha: The Tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others*, Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 5 (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1993).

<sup>21</sup> Alexandre Varille, *La tombe de Ni-ankh-pepi à Zâouyet el-Mayetîn*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire (Le Caire: Impr. de l’IFAO, 1938).

<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth Thompson et al., *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Tehna*. Vol. 1 (Warminster, Wilts: Aris and Phillips, 2014).

<sup>23</sup> Norman de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1901).

<sup>24</sup> Ali El-Khouli, and Naguib E. Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna: The Tombs of Pepy-Ankh and Khewen-Wekh*, Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 1 (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1989).

<sup>25</sup> Naguib, Kanawati et al., *Deir El-Gebrawi*, 3 vols (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2005-2013).

<sup>26</sup> Naguib E. Kanawati, *The Cemetery of Meir*, 3 vols (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2012); Aylward M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, 6 vols (London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914-1954).

<sup>27</sup> Ali El-Khouli and Naguib E. Kanawati, *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya*, Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 2 (Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1990).

<sup>28</sup> Naguib E. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, 10 vols (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1980-1992).

<sup>29</sup> Caroline Nestmann Peck. *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga Ed-Dêr* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1959).

<sup>30</sup> Jacques de Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de l’égypte Antique / 1: Haute Egypte / 1 De la Frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombo* (Vienne: Holzhausen, 1894).

<sup>31</sup> Naguib Kanawati and Ann McFarlane, *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa*, 3 vols (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1993).

<sup>32</sup> W. M. Flinders Petrie. *Denderah: 1898*, Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 17 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900); Henry G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C: Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt*, (Published under the Auspices of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Institute of Fine Arts, 1968).

<sup>33</sup> Henry G. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome: Dynasties VI-XI* (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1964).

<sup>34</sup> Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom: (El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad)* (Stockholm: Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, 1994.)

<sup>35</sup> Mohamed Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes: 1. The Tomb of Unas-Ankh No. 413. 2. The Tomb of Khenty No. 405. 3. The Tomb of Ihy No. 186*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut 14, Abteilung Kairo (Mainz: Zabern, 1977).

<sup>36</sup> Maurice Alliot, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou: 1932-1933* (Le Caire: Impr. de l’IFAO, 1933-1935).

<sup>37</sup> For example, Gay Robins, “The Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 54 (108) (1979): 197-217, and Detlef Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich* (Hamburg: Verlag Borg, 1983), 178-301. See also Marcelo Campagno, “Kinship and Family Relations,” in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, eds. Elizabeth Froid and Willeke Wendrich. Los Angeles, 2009. Retrieved from <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7zh1g7ch>, and Morris. L. Bierbrier, “Terms of relationship at Deir el-Medîna,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 66 (1980): 100-107.

daughter. The designations *sn* and *snt* may have a much broader reference in the Middle and New Kingdoms, referring not only to siblings but also siblings of parents, children of siblings, and cousins.<sup>38</sup> In all the archeological reports of the Old Kingdom private tombs, however, the designations *sn* and *snt* are translated as brother and sister. The context of the scene never implies that one should take the figure labeled as *sn* or *snt* as the uncle, aunt, nephew, or niece of the tomb owner. Moreover, grandchildren may also be called *zʿ* and *zʿt*, and *jt* and *mwt* can refer to grandparents.<sup>39</sup> In the Old Kingdom tombs, we have examples of grandchildren associated with the designations *zʿ zʿ* “son of a son,” *zʿ zʿt* “son of a daughter,” and *zʿt zʿt* “daughter of a daughter.” An example of *sn jt.s* “uncle (literally “brother of father”))” is also attested.<sup>40</sup>

As many anthropologists suggest, kinship terms define a system of relations with both biological and sociocultural aspects that derive from human sexual reproduction.<sup>41</sup> The term *sn-ḏt* or *snt-ḏt* “brother or sister of the funerary estates” in the Old Kingdom private tombs reflects the social aspects of kinship.<sup>42</sup> Individuals with this designation may have been a biological sibling of the tomb owner, yet the word *ḏt* has endowed the term with socioeconomic meaning. Therefore, this study also includes the representations

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<sup>38</sup> For the study on kinship terms in the Middle Kingdom, see Judith Lustig, “Ideologies of Social Relations in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Gender, Kinship, Ancestors” (PhD Diss., Temple University, 1993), 45-65. Wives were called “sisters” only after the Eighteenth Dynasty, see Jaroslav Černý, “Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt,” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 40 (1954): 25.

<sup>39</sup> Robins, “The Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms,” 199-204. See also Campagno, “Kinship and Family Relations,” figure 1.

<sup>40</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion of the definition of kinship and the research on its biological and sociocultural aspects, see David M. Schneider, *A critique of the study of kinship* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1984), 97-112.

<sup>42</sup> See discussions in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4. Similar expressions consisting of a kinship term and *ḏt* occurred in the Middle Kingdom, though *sn-ḏt* and *snt-ḏt* disappeared in private tombs in the Sixth Dynasty. Franke, however, takes these expressions as “Fiktive Verwandtschaft,” see Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*, 302-304.

of individuals designated as *sn-dt* or *snt-dt* in different scenes to understand the domestic and social attributes of the term.

All the samples in this study come from elite tombs, which limits the study on family relations to the elite, and brings into question whether conclusions drawn from the dataset can apply to middle- and lower- class people in ancient Egypt during the Old Kingdom, or whether the family ideology reflected in the elite tombs can represent the whole society. The answer to this question unfortunately lies beyond the scope of the evidence. It is impossible to calculate to what degree the iconography in the elite tombs can reflect the beliefs of people of lower social classes who could not afford a decorated tomb. Nevertheless, this conclusion does not render this study invalid. Our entire understanding of an ancient society is based on the information that ancient people left to us, consciously and unconsciously. The elite chose to depict family members in the tomb chapel, a public place where the tomb owner had decorated scenes placed on the walls within sight of others, displayed images of chosen motifs, and deliberately conveyed certain messages to the visitors to the chapels, such as family members and priests.

The study of the depiction of family members thus reveals the tomb owner's conception of family relations and the conventions of the social class and era in which he lived. One has to notice that only those interred in decorated tombs were able to express this ideology in this manner. Other social classes may have had different expressions. For example, the tombs of the pyramid builders in the area southeast of the Sphinx have a variety of different tomb shapes, including the "pyramidion" shape, the "stepped pyramidion" shape, the bee-hive shape, and vaulted tombs. The statues discovered in this



cemetery also have different features from the statues of high officials and nobles.<sup>43</sup>

Moreover, familial ideology and its integration into the funerary art as part of high culture intellectually form the core values of the society and influence many other aspects, such as religion, socio-economic realities, and social structure.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, the object of this study is to define the cultural expressions of the familial ideology of the upper levels of Old Kingdom society who were commemorated through decorated funerary monuments.

Tables in Appendix I list all the tombs in alphabetical order including the dates and references. For this reason, the tombs cited in the thesis are not footnoted separately. Tables in Appendix II include the kinship designations of the family members of the tomb owner, as well as the titles of both the tomb owner and his or her family members. Tables in Appendix III specify the stance types and sub-types of family members in each tomb,<sup>45</sup> together with a brief description of their positions on the chapel wall. Appendix IV contains the structures of family groups depicted on chapel walls.

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<sup>43</sup> Zahi Hawass, "A Group of Unique Statues Discovered at Giza 1: Statues of the Overseers of the Pyramid Builders," in *Kunst Des Alten Reiches: Symposium Im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo Am 29. Und 30. Oktober 1991*, ed. Deutsches archäologisches Institut (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), 29-32, pls. 91-95; Zahi Hawass, "A Group of Unique Statues Discovered at Giza 2: An Unfinished Reserve Head and a Statuette of an Overseer," in *Kunst Des Alten Reiches: Symposium Im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo Am 29. Und 30. Oktober 1991*, ed. Deutsches archäologisches Institut (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), 33-35, pls. 97-101.

<sup>44</sup> Ideology expressed in iconography of the elite tombs is concerned with two themes: domination and a sense of shared ideals, see Sasha Verma, *Cultural Expression in the Old Kingdom Elite Tomb* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014), 70-71. It is also related to material culture and religion, see Verma, *Cultural Expression in the Old Kingdom Elite Tomb*, 1-2, 11, 16-18, 56-61. See also Juan Carlos Moreno García, "Oracles, Ancestor Cults and Letters to the Dead: The Involvement of the Dead in the Public and Private Family Affairs in Pharaonic Egypt," in *Perception of the Invisible: Religion, Historical Semantics and the Role of Perceptive Verbs*, ed. Anne Storch (Köln: Rüdiger Köpp, 2010), 3-13.

<sup>45</sup> For the the typology of the stance of family members, see Chapter 1.

## Background

The study of the ancient Egyptian family is often closely related to the study of women. A typical title of an elite woman was *nbt-pr* “mistress of the house.”<sup>46</sup> Many studies point out that ancient Egyptian marriages did not begin with any legal or religious ceremony, and they did not exist as a legally defined entity.<sup>47</sup> In his study of the positioning of the wives in chapel scenes, Fischer concluded that wives had a secondary status, and their major role was to accompany their husbands in a variety of activities. He also suggests that most ancient Egyptians practiced monogamy in the Old Kingdom.<sup>48</sup> A more comprehensive study by McCorquodale focuses on the representations of female family members in Old Kingdom tombs with a detailed discussion of the designations, stances, clothing, and positions of the wife, the mother, and the sisters of the tomb owner.<sup>49</sup> McCorquodale also examines the practice of monogamy and polygamy in the Old Kingdom and the production of offspring, especially the eldest children.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> *Nbt-pr* became a common title for elite women from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 91. This title is not recorded in Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, 2 vols (Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2000). Fischer’s discussion on female titles does not include *nbt-pr* either, see Henry G. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), 19-32. “Seit A.R.” under the entry “*nbt-pr*”, See Adolf Erman, *Wörterbuch Der Ägyptischen Sprache: Im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien herausgegeben*, 7 vols (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926), Bd. 1, 512. The supplement of Bd. 1 further explains that the title was not used before the Middle Kingdom, see Erman, *Wörterbuch Der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Supplement of Bd. 1, 82.

<sup>47</sup> Janet H. Johnson, “The Legal Status of Women in Ancient Egypt,” in *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, eds. Anne K. Capel, Catharine H. Roehrig, and Richard A. Fazzini (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1996), 179. See also Besty M. Bryan, “In Women Good and Bad Fortune Are on Earth: Status and Roles of Women in Egyptian Culture,” in *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Anne K. Capel, Catharine H. Roehrig, and Richard A. Fazzini (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1996), 36, and John Gee, “Notes on Egyptian Marraige: P. BM 10416 Reconsidered,” *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 15 (2001): 20. See also Annie Forgeau, “The Survival of the Family Name and the Pharaonic Order,” in *History of the Family*, ed. Francoise Zonabend (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1996), 130-133.

<sup>48</sup> Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 4-14.

<sup>49</sup> Kim McCorquodale, *Representations of the Family in the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Women and Marriage*, Bar International Series 2513 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013), 11-63.

<sup>50</sup> McCorquodale, *Representations of the Family in the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Women and Marriage*, 67-124. A number of studies on women, marriage, and family have been made on the role of women in ancient Egypt, such as Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*; Barbara Watterson, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Stroud (England): Amberley, 2013); Zahi Hawass and Suzanne Mubarak, *Silent Images: Women in Pharaonic Egypt* (New York: Abrams, 2000).

The unique status of the eldest son has attracted much attention and discussion in the scholarly literature. Kanawati, in his study of the co-existence of more than one eldest child in the Old Kingdom, points out that such a situation indicates either the death of the chronologically eldest child or multiple marriages.<sup>51</sup> Allam, on the contrary, abandons the chronological attribute of the term *z3 smsw* “eldest son” and considers it a synonym of the legal heir.<sup>52</sup> McCorquodale reconsiders the term “eldest son/daughter” and suggests that it is connected with an inheritance from both parents and family responsibilities to take care of younger siblings, thus reflecting the complexity of the Old Kingdom family relations.<sup>53</sup> A son (possibly the eldest son) may have the responsibility to take care of the extended family consisting not only of his wife and children but also his widowed mother and unmarried sisters.<sup>54</sup> He may also have been obligated to bury his parents, especially when he inherited all or the majority of the property from them.<sup>55</sup>

General studies on family and consanguinity include Janssen and Janssen’s work on children and the elderly in ancient Egypt, which discusses household and inheritance

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See also essays which deal with women’s occupations, roles, and status in Anne K. Capel and Glenn Markoe eds., *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Hudson Hill Press, 1997).

<sup>51</sup> Naguib Kanawati, “The Mentioning of More than One Eldest Child in Old Kingdom Inscriptions,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 51 (102) (1976): 247-251.

<sup>52</sup> Schafik Allam, “Notes on the Designation ‘Eldest Son/Daughter’,” in *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, ed. Zahi Hawass, Peter Der Manuelian, and Ramadan B. Hussein (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 2010), 29-34.

<sup>53</sup> Kim McCorquodale, “Reconsidering the Term ‘Eldest Son / Eldest Daughter’ and Inheritance in the Old Kingdom,” *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*, no. 23 (2012): 78-85.

<sup>54</sup> An example is from the Kahun Papyri dating to the Twelfth Dynasty, see Rosalind M. Janssen and Jac. J. Janssen, *Growing up and Getting Old in Ancient Egypt* (London: Golden House Publications, 2007), 172-174. For more discussions on this subject, see Bryan, “In Women Good and Bad Fortune Are on Earth: Status and Roles of Women in Egyptian Culture,” 36, and Campagno, “Kinship and Family Relations,” 4.

<sup>55</sup> In the New Kingdom, all children may have been able to inherit part of the possessions of their parents, but one may also have been the sole owner of the inheritance by burying the deceased, or the administrator of the inheritance of joint heirs. For a detailed discussion of inheritance in the New Kingdom, see Jac. J. Janssen and Pieter. W. Pestman, “Burial and Inheritance in the Community of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes (Pap. Bulaq X and O. Petrie 16),” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 11, no. 2 (1968): 164-170.

in general, including how the younger generation took care of the elderly.<sup>56</sup> Whale's study utilizes data from the Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty to analyze family structures in the New Kingdom and provides a detailed examination of terms used to identify family members in a funerary context.<sup>57</sup> Lustig's discussion of kinship refers to evidence from both texts and tomb decoration in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>58</sup> Detlef Franke also investigates kinship designations based on evidence from the Middle Kingdom.<sup>59</sup> Campagno explores kinship phrases and suggests that the ancient Egyptians used six basic kinship terms to define relationships in their kindred: *jt*, *mwt*, *sn*, *snt*, *s3*, and *s3t*.<sup>60</sup>

A few studies provide deeper insight into family relations through examinations of typical scenes or specific cases. For example, Hartwig Altenmüller studies scenes of the ancestor cult during the Old Kingdom, a unique type of representation in which members of the extended family assembled and the tomb owner presented lotus flowers to his father.<sup>61</sup> Moreno García discusses familial ideology in the Old Kingdom with examples from both Memphite and provincial necropoleis. He concludes that the ideology of extended family and family relations in the Old Kingdom were hardly expressed in private tombs where official ideology dominated. It was only in the

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<sup>56</sup> Janssen and Janssen, *Growing up and Getting Old in Ancient Egypt*, 171-183, 204-210, 220-230.

<sup>57</sup> Sheila Whale, *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs* (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1989).

<sup>58</sup> Lustig, "Ideologies of Social Relations in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Gender, Kinship, Ancestors", 1-62.

<sup>59</sup> Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*. See also Harco O. Willems, "A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle Kingdom C. 2000-1650 B.C.," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 139, no. 1 (1983): 152-168..

<sup>60</sup> See Campagno, "Kinship and Family Relations," 1-4. See also Jan. Assmann, *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten* (München: W. Fink, 1991), 99.

<sup>61</sup> Hartwig Altenmüller, "Family, Ancestor Cult and Some Observations on the Chronology of the Late Fifth Dynasty," in *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (the Third Millennium B.C.). Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague (Jun 11-14, 2007)*, eds. Hana Vymazalová and Miroslav Bárta (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2008), 156-161. See also Hartwig Altenmüller, "Väter, Brüder und Götter: Bemerkungen zur Szene der Übergabe der Lotusblüte," in "*Zur Zierde Gereicht...*": *Festschrift Bettina Schmitz zum 60. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 2008*, ed. Antje Spiekermann (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 2008), 17-28.

provincial sites that iconographic and epigraphic programs contained clues for the familial value.<sup>62</sup>

Private tomb decoration is a valuable source for the study of the society and the funerary religion of the Old Kingdom. Studies of these scenes provide the context for understanding the iconography of family members. Egyptologists often refer to scenes as part of “daily life,” such as agricultural and industrial production, including fishing, fowling, baking and brewing, potting, etc.<sup>63</sup> Other scenes may have been explicitly associated with the funerary religion, such as scenes depicting rituals, making offerings, and funeral processions.<sup>64</sup> Individuals who participated in these daily and ritual activities are also of great interest to scholars. Vandier not only discusses a variety of types of scenes in tomb decoration but also summarizes the attitudes of major and minor figures in

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<sup>62</sup> Juan Carlos Moreno García, “La gestion sociale de la mémoire dans l’Égypte du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire: les tombes des particuliers, entre emploi privée et idéologie publique,” 215-242.

<sup>63</sup> For discussions of these scenes, see Pierre Montet, *Scenes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux Égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire* (Paris: Strasbourg University, 1925), Luise Klebs, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches (2980-2475 V. Chr.): Material zur Ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1915), 1-117, and Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie Égyptienne IV, tome IV: bas-reliefs et peintures - scènes de la vie quotidienne* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie, 1964), 171-295, 328-348, 364-388, 391-417, 493-507. For a computer-based dataset for scenes about daily life, see René van Walsem, *Mastabase: The Leiden Mastaba Project* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008). For a brief description of daily life scenes in the Old Kingdom tombs, see Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, vol. III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), and provincial tombs in vols. IV and V. For the texts associated with the scenes, see Adolf Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kommission bei G. Reimer, 1919). See also Grapow’s study on the dialogues between the figures in daily life scenes, in Hermann Grapow, “Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüßten und wie sie miteinander sprachen: I. Zum Formalen und Syntaktischen der Anreden, Anrufe, Ausrufe, Wünsche und Grüße,” *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1939(11): 1-51; Hermann Grapow, “Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüßten und wie sie miteinander sprachen: II. Die Verwendung der Anreden,” *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1940 (12): 1-99; Hermann Grapow, “Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüßten und wie sie miteinander sprachen: III. Zur Verwendung von Anrufen, Ausrufen, Wünschen und Grüßen,” *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1941 (11): 1-120; Hermann Grapow, “Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüßten und wie sie miteinander sprachen: IV (Schluß). Fragen und Antworten; Aufbau der Gespräche und ihre Wiedergabe in den Texten; vom Sprechen miteinander und voneinander; von den Sprechweisen und von Der Sprache des Gesprochenen,” *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1943 (7): 1-171.

<sup>64</sup> For a discussion of scenes of funerary cult, see Klebs, *Die Reliefs Des Alten Reiches (2980-2475 V. Chr.): Material Zur Ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, 119-141. Wilson reconstructs the procedure of the funeral based on scenes in the tombs of Mereruka and Ankhmahor, see John A. Wilson, “Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 3, no. 4 (1944): 203-218. For the priests, their titles, and iconography, as well as the *sh* ritual, see John Steven Thompson, Jr., “The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt’s Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom.” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2014), 236-278.

these scenes, including the tomb owner and his wife, their family members, offering bearers, scribes, personified domains, and dancers, though his examples are not limited to the Old Kingdom.<sup>65</sup> A study focusing on tomb decoration of the Old Kingdom by Harpur includes a detailed discussion of a variety of types of scenes and their positions in tomb chapels, and an analysis of minor figures, such as relatives of the tomb owner, offering bearers, and workers.<sup>66</sup> She also includes a brief discussion of the representations of family members, such as their position within the chapel decoration and their stances.<sup>67</sup> Thompson's study on the priesthood focuses on the iconography of priests and priestesses, as well as their duties in funerary rituals.<sup>68</sup> The study of iconography usually focuses on the interpretation of the content of the images, such as the theme or subject, compositions, the gestures of the figures, the symbolic value of the image, and other elements that are distinct from the artistic style.<sup>69</sup> However, the variation in artistic style, though out of the scope of this study, is also co-related to iconographic changes, and may have been a result of social and religious evolvement, as it is a "crucial vehicle of discourse and of the maintenance of society's identity."<sup>70</sup> Scholars have noticed a difference in the style of both statues and reliefs of the Sixth Dynasty. During this period, new features, such as overlarge heads, long torsos with a narrow waist, and large, wide

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<sup>65</sup> Vandier, *Manuel D'archéologie Égyptienne IV*, 58-80, 181-86, 113-35, 195-216, 391-533.

<sup>66</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 43-172. See also Brigitte Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1994), 77-84, 125-174.

<sup>67</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 43-172.

<sup>68</sup> Thompson, "The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt's Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom."

<sup>69</sup> For the discussion of iconography, see The van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs*, 21-22.

<sup>70</sup> John Baines, "On the Status and Purposes of Ancient Egyptian Art," in *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, ed. John Baines (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 298-337.

eyes on the faces, mark a “second style” in Old Kingdom art.<sup>71</sup> The second style not only existed in the Memphite region, but also influenced tomb decoration in the provincial sites.<sup>72</sup> Although this dissertation does not discuss the artistic style reflected in the representations of family members, it is clear that many examples from the Sixth Dynasty display the features of the second style, such as the tomb of *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir.<sup>73</sup> An insight into the depiction of family members and how it relates to the second style may be an area that needs further investigation.

For many years, scholars have made significant efforts to improve our understanding of Old Kingdom funerary practices and their social implications. Their studies provide a useful context for such an investigation of the involvement of family members and their appearance in certain scenes associated with the private funerary cult. Installations associated with funerary cults such as domains (*ḥwt*) and funerary estates (*pr-ḏt* or *ḏt*) are of great interest to many scholars.<sup>74</sup> Swinton’s work on the management of the estates is based on reliefs and paintings on tomb walls. She surveys a variety of

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<sup>71</sup> Russmann observed such features on statuary. For detailed discussion, see Edna R. Russmann, “A Second Style in Egyptian art of the Old Kingdom,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 51 (1995): 269-279. Changes in reliefs including very low relief, round cheek, rimmed mouth with a drill hole in the corner, nasolabial fold that curves to the mouth, and longish ears that placed high on the head. For the discussion of the second style in reliefs, see Edward Brovarski, “A Second Style in Egyptian Relief of the Old Kingdom,” in *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon His Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University June 2005*, eds. Stephen E. Thompson and Peter Der Manuelian (Providence, RI: Brown Univ., Dep. of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies, 2008), 49-89.

<sup>72</sup> Brovarski, “A Second Style in Egyptian Relief of the Old Kingdom,” 84.

<sup>73</sup> Brovarski, “A Second Style in Egyptian Relief of the Old Kingdom,” 81.

<sup>74</sup> For the discussion on *ḏt* and *ḥwt*, see Montet, *Scenes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l’Ancien Empire*, 380-384, and Ibram Harari Bernadette and Menu, “La notion de propriété privée dans l’Ancien Empire égyptien,” *Cahiers de Recherches de l’Institut de Papyrologie et Egyptologie de Lille* 2 (1974): 126-154. See also Karin B. Gödecke, *Eine Betrachtung der Inschriften des Meten im Rahmen der Sozialen und rechtlichen Stellung von Privatleuten im Ägyptischen Alten Reich* (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, 1976), 304-315; Jurij Jakovlevič Perepelkin, *Privateigentum in der Vorstellung der Ägypter des Alten Reichs*, trans. Renate Müller-Wollermann (Tübingen: Renate Müller-Wollermann, 1986), 29-111; Bernadette Menu, “Fondations et concessions royales de terres en Égypte ancienne,” *Dialogues d’histoire ancienne* 21 (1995): 21-23. Violaine Chauvet, “The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom” (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2004), 82-108.

activities and resources of the estate and provides insight into micro-level operations of the funerary endowments by discussing different types of resources and the production of goods for funerary purposes.<sup>75</sup> Perepelkin investigates the meaning and the use of the word *dt*, and his study provides a new perspective in understanding the nature of the private funerary cult. In his discussion of the meaning of *dt*, he analyzes the occurrences of *dt* and *pr-dt* in compound expressions, including those consisting of kinship terms, such as the brothers and children of the (*pr-*) *dt*.<sup>76</sup> He also suggests that the word *dt* is a marker of private ownership.<sup>77</sup> Perepelkin's research sheds light on the differentiation between the private and public (royal) sectors of the economy to support tomb construction and the private funerary cult. However, his research does not include a detailed discussion of scenes associated with inscriptions containing the term *dt*. The processions of the personalized domains provide further evidence for the financing of the funerary cult. Jacquet-Gordon's seminal study on this subject includes hundreds of names of funerary domains from both royal and non-royal monuments from the Fourth to the Eighth Dynasties. She observes a decrease of royal involvement in supporting the private funerary cult towards the end of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>78</sup> Chauvet, in her discussion of the conception of private tombs in the later Old Kingdom, also observes a shift in responsibility for the construction of the monuments from the king to the tomb owner himself.<sup>79</sup> According to her study, the construction of tombs in the Old Kingdom

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<sup>75</sup> Joyce Swinton, *The Management of Estates and Their Resources in the Egyptian Old Kingdom* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 15-126.

<sup>76</sup> Perepelkin, *Privateigentum in der Vorstellung der Ägypter des Alten Reichs*, 158-159.

<sup>77</sup> Perepelkin, *Privateigentum in der Vorstellung der Ägypter des Alten Reichs*, 234-246.

<sup>78</sup> Helen Jacquet-Gordon, *Les Noms Des Domaines Funéraires Sous L'ancien Empire Égyptien*, (Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1962), 7-19.

<sup>79</sup> Chauvet, "The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom," 2-3.



involved not only the tomb owner himself, but also his relatives, such as children, siblings, and parents.<sup>80</sup> Although she discusses how family members contributed to the construction of the tomb, her study focuses mainly on phraseological analysis of texts that discuss the social practices involved in tomb construction.

## Methodology

The present study consists of two major sections. The first section, consisting of three chapters, examines and categorizes the iconography of family members and relevant inscriptional evidence that refers to these individuals. It discusses iconographic specifics of the family members, such as clothing, jewelry, stances, and items in use or carried, as well as the designations, titles, and captions of the scenes. This section presents the data in a descriptive and statistical manner and categorizes the depictions of family members by stance types. Based on the categorization and analysis in the first section, the second section further interprets the observation in the first section and discuss the familial ideology in the Old Kingdom.

Classification and statistical methods are useful tools when analyzing a dataset with a large number of samples. Due to the diversity of the depictions of family members, the classification of the data is developed here on multiple criteria, including the stances of the figure, the accessories which they carry, their positions in the scene or related to the tomb owner, and their involvement in certain types of activities. These criteria help to define each category precisely. The depictions of family members are

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<sup>80</sup> Chauvet, "The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom," 161-289.

divided into seven types, each containing several sub-types. The numbering system uses the alphabet to represent types and Arabic numerals to stand for subtypes. Chapter 1 discusses the typology and lists all the stance types and associated subtypes.

The quantitative analysis of the data based on this classification provides statistical evidence on the iconographical and inscriptional specifics of family members. The dataset, however, has many gaps because of the nature of archeological record. Not all elite tombs survived, and modern-day archeologists are able to excavate only part of the preserved ones. Due to this situation, statistical methodology based on this incomplete dataset is not supposed to be a descriptive one. Even worse, the state of preservation varies regionally, and damage to a single tomb chapel do not display a random distribution.<sup>81</sup> This nonrandom sampling indicates that the statistical methodology in this study is, theoretically, not an inferential one either. Moreover, it is difficult to know if the lost scenes in a tomb contain representations of family members, which can make it impossible to estimate the size of the family, i.e., the number of children that the tomb owner has. For the above reasons, this statistical analysis is sufficient and valid only when the dataset covers as much data as possible. Archeological evidence is almost never complete. Therefore, a survey of all available published tombs makes the results statistically significant. The extensive dataset makes it valid to calculate the probability of a statement and draw inductive conclusions on tendencies and specifics in the representation of family members through statistical analysis.

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<sup>81</sup> As observed by Baer in his study of titles, the upper part of wall is more likely to be lost, which causes trouble in searching for the beginning of the strings of titles of the tomb owner. See Klaus Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 10-11.

This study also applies multiple methods to interpret the materials, including observation, description, classification, and synthesis. The analysis of the data examines both overall synchronous and diachronic patterns, as well as singular features represented in the decoration, thus leading to a methodology with ideal-typical modeling features.<sup>82</sup> Weber develops the concept of the ideal type in his discussion of societal understanding from an objective point of view and abstracts of this understanding into conceptual elements.<sup>83</sup> The ideal type of family relations that researchers identify represents an *etic* approach, which is a study from the outside of the culture through external criteria by using general concepts. In general, a study based on reliefs, wall paintings, and archeological finds is mainly *etic*, while an analysis of textual materials, including inscriptions on chapel walls, papyri, ostraca, or other inscribed objects is an *emic* approach.<sup>84</sup> Familial ideology is an ideal-construct that embeds biological relationship into the hierarchical social system to help place an uncontrolled natural reality within the social order.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, the understanding of the Egyptian familial ideology requires not only an *etic* approach but also an *emic* one using the Egyptian concepts and internal criteria within the cultural system.<sup>86</sup> To understand the meaning and purpose of the depictions of family members in an *emic* aspect, it is necessary to introduce the language-game theory as a tool to analyze these depictions.

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<sup>82</sup> David L. Harvey, and Michael Reed, "Social Science as the Study of Complex Systems." In *Chaos Theory in the Social Sciences: Foundations and Applications*, eds. L. Douglas Kiel and Euel Elliott (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 313-314.

<sup>83</sup> Max Weber and Edward Shils, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (New York: Free Press, 1949), 100-102.

<sup>84</sup> For the application of these approaches in the analysis on the Letter to the Dead, see Gianluca Miniaci, "Reuniting Philology and Archaeology: The 'Emic' and 'Etic' in the Letter of the Dead Qau Bowl UC16163 and Its Context," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 143, no. 1 (2016): 88-105.

<sup>85</sup> Assuming that one cannot control to whom he or she was born and how many children he or she would have and what kind of person they would grow into.

<sup>86</sup> For the discussion of the *etic* and *emic* approaches, see van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs*, 41.

The idea of language-game (Sprachspiel) is a fundamental concept from an epistemological perspective in this iconographical and inscriptional study of family members. Wittgenstein describes it as “das Ganze: der Sprache und der Tätigkeiten, mit denen sie verwoben ist” and “einer Tätigkeit, oder einer Lebensform.”<sup>87</sup> A language-game refers to a simple example of language use with relevant actions and rules into which the language is woven. In this theory, language is not a reflection of reality but communication between two parties using definitions (or vocabulary) and rules (or grammar) that both of the parties accept and understand. Therefore, a language-game is not the language itself but an action of communication set in a specific context, consisting of the speaker, the audience, and the rule. Moreover, art, image, and iconography are “image language-games” that share the same features with the language-games in spoken or written language.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, an image language-game contains a set of rules that the creator of the image used to communicate with the audience.

In the case of the decorative program in an Old Kingdom elite chapel, the tomb owner depicted his family members in a variety of ways as reflections of aspects of the familial ideology. These depictions, associated with relevant texts, were rendered in a mode that reflected religious and funerary ideas and responded to artistic canons, prevailing social conventions, and decorum. They also absorbed regional and local styles and were individually adjusted according to the needs and agenda of the tomb owner, his

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<sup>87</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophische Untersuchungen: Kritisch-Genetische Edition*. 1. Aufl. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001), Spätfassung, §7d and §23b. He further explains the Spachespiel in §§65-88.

<sup>88</sup> Garry Hagberg, *Art as Language: Wittgenstein, Meaning and Aesthetic Theory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 130-135. Hagberg gives an example of painters in a studio using a bright red stroke on the canvas to express a particular feeling as a parallel to Wittgenstein’s discussion of the “beetle in the box.” See Wittgenstein, *Philosophische Untersuchungen*, §293.

or her family, and the community. These are the rules used in the image language-games that both the tomb owner, and the audience would accept and understand, including family members, relatives, priests, friends, and visitors who saw the images when they entered the chapel to make offerings. As van Walsem suggests, one can not only apply the concept of the language-game to the analysis of Old Kingdom tomb decoration but also take the entire tomb as a complex entity simultaneously expressed by the ancient Egyptians through a whole set of language-games in their own cultural context.<sup>89</sup>

The second section deals with the role of family members in the funerary cult as an important part of the familial ideology. It analyzes the representations of family members as offering bearers in a variety of stances and the nature of the *stpt*-offerings that they carry. It also discusses other types of sources, including legal texts and the Appeal to the Living inscribed on chapel walls, Letters to the Dead, and the inscriptions on funerary vases from Qubbet el-Hawa. These sources are language-games with different starting points, audience, and foci. A comparison between the depiction of family members making offerings and relevant textual evidence further reveals the complex relationship between the tomb owner and his family members when they play the role of offering providers.

This thesis uses “tomb owner” rather than the “deceased” to refer to the one for whom the decorations, inscriptions, and the main false door in the aboveground chapels are dedicated. If a couple is buried in the same tomb, the tomb owner refers to the

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<sup>89</sup> van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs*, 68-69.

husband and the wife is referred as the “wife of the tomb owner” or “the wife.”<sup>90</sup> There are examples of female tomb owners as well.

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<sup>90</sup> According to Fischer, the determinative is omitted from the tomb owner’s name but the name of his wife usually shows a determinative, see Henry G. Fischer, “Archaeological Aspects of Epigraphy and Palaeography,” in *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, eds. Ricardo A. Caminos and Henry G. Fischer (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), 33-34. See also Henry G. Fischer, “Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 8 (1973): 7-25.

## CHAPTER 1 CHILDREN OF THE TOMB OWNER

### 1.1 The Designations of Children

As the most prominent family members, children of the tomb owner usually appear in a variety of ways in scenes on the wall of their parents' tomb chapels. Modern researchers identified them as children because of the kinship designations inscribed next to their figures. A male figure labeled *z3.f* "his son" represents the son of the tomb owner, while a female figure with the label *z3.t.f* refers to the daughter. The third person masculine possessive pronoun *f* relates to the male tomb owner. The ancient Egyptians also apply the third person feminine pronoun *.s* to the kinship terms to refer to the children of a female tomb owner or the wife of a male tomb owner.<sup>91</sup>

The designation *z3.f* "his son" occurs 550 times in the dataset. When a son appears in the tomb or on the false door of his mother, or next to his mother in a scene in his father's tomb, he might have the designation *z3.s* "her son." It occurs only 19 times in the dataset.<sup>92</sup> Thirty sons have the designation *sm.f* "his child," while only one son is called *sm.s* "her child."<sup>93</sup>

The most common designation for daughters, *z3.t.f* "his daughter" occurs 163 times, and *z3.t.s* "her daughter" 31 times. Daughters with the designation *msw.f* "his children" occur 36 times in the dataset, while 7 daughters are *msw.s* "her children."<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Tables in Appendix II.1 list the designations and titles of children in all the tombs in the dataset.

<sup>92</sup> Including *Wnšt* (G4840), *Mr.s-ḥ III* (G 7530 + 7540), *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>*, *H<sub>zj</sub>*, *Hmt-k3w.s*, *Ttw I / K3(j)-nswt* (G 2001) at Giza; *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj*, *Tp-m-ḥ* (D11) at Saqqara; *K3(j)-m-nfrt* (El-Hagarsa A3) ; *Špss-pw-Mnw / Hnj / Hn-ḥw / Hn-ḥ* (El-Hawawish H24); *Jdw / Snnj* (el-Qasr wa-'l-Saiyad, T 66, No. 1, Lepsius); *Hwj* (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A5); *Hw-ns* (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A6); *Nj-k3.j-ḥ I* (Tehna Tomb 15); *Nj-k3.j-ḥ II* (Tehna Tomb 15).

<sup>93</sup> In the tomb of *Hmt-k3w.s* at Giza.

<sup>94</sup> One in the tomb of *Hmt-k3w.s* at Giza, and the other six in the tomb of *Pr-ndw* at Saqqara.

This uneven distribution of the kinship designations of children points to an emphasis on the paternal line of the family. Moreover, the depiction of daughters is more popular in Giza than in Saqqara. The number of daughters depicted in Giza tombs is as twice as that in Saqqara. The following table and figure show the number of daughters depicted in tomb chapels.

Table 2. The number of daughters

	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Total
<i>z3t.f</i>	85	34	44	163
<i>z3t.s</i>	17	11	3	31
Total	102	45	47	194

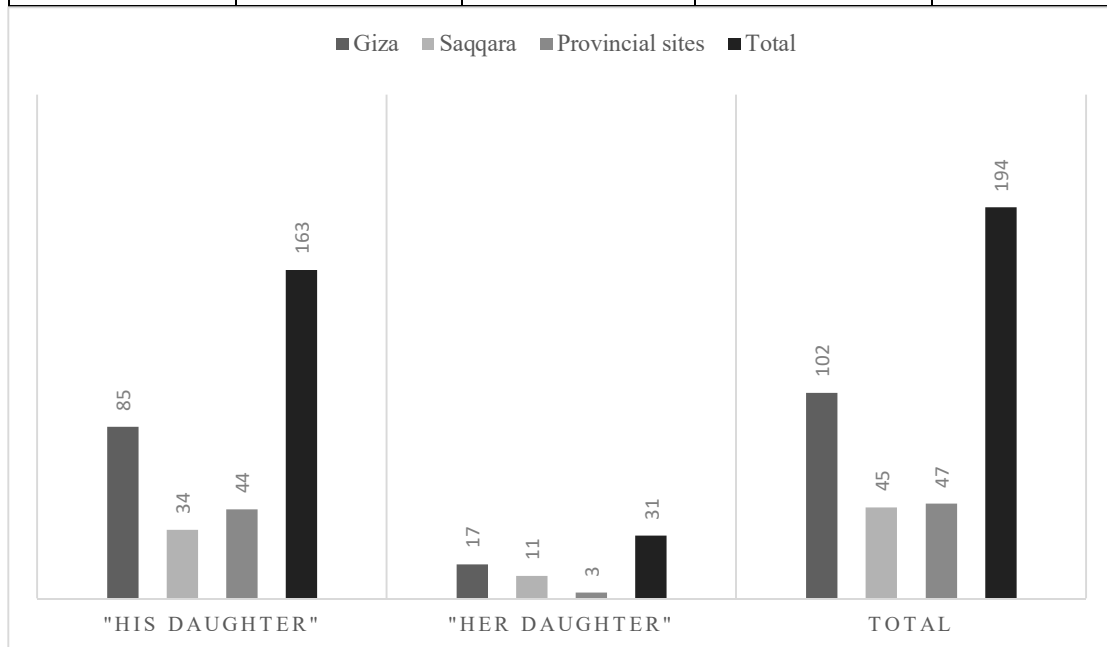


Figure 1. Number of daughters

The designations *z3.s* and *z3t.s* generally occurs in the chapel of a female tomb owner or on the false door of the wife. In the chapel of *W<sup>c</sup>tt-ht-Hr / Zšzšt*, the wife of *Mrrw-k3.j*, her son *Mry-Ttj* is regularly described as *z3.s smsw mry.s* "her eldest son, her



beloved,” while her daughter *Jb-nbw* is designated as *z3t.s mrt.s nt ht.s* “her daughter, her beloved one of her body.”<sup>95</sup>

Kinship terms of children with masculine or feminine possessive pronouns may appear in the same chapel; interestingly enough, kinship terms with possessive pronouns of both genders appear in the tomb of *Hnmw-ndm(w)* at Kom el Akhdar.<sup>96</sup> A son of *Hnmw-ndm(w)* stands behind the wife, designated as *z3.f.s mry.f.s* “his and her son, his and her beloved one.” The other son who stands behind the tomb owner is simply described as *z3.f* “his son,” without the feminine suffix pronoun. The application of both *.f* and *.s* in this case may have been a result of the son’s position behind the wife.

*z3.f smsw* “his eldest son” is a common designation that occurs 197 times in the dataset. It is more popular in the Saqqara region, with 60 occurrences reported at Giza, 93 at Saqqara, and 44 at provincial sites. The designation *z3t.f smsw* “his eldest daughter” occurs only 7 times, 3 at Giza and 4 at provincial sites.<sup>97</sup> In all the tombs in which *z3t.f smsw* occurs, *z3.f smsw* also appears. This coexistence demonstrates that the designations *z3.f smsw* and *z3t.f smsw* refer to the eldest male and female child respectively, not the first child of the family. Like the eldest son, the eldest daughter also precedes other daughters when they appear in a sequence. In the tomb of *Hw-ns* at Zawyet el-Amwat (No. 2), for example, the eldest daughter appears in front of the other four daughters, all of whom kneel before the wife of the tomb owner.

<sup>95</sup> Naguib Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family, Part II: The Tomb of Waatetkethor*, Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 26 (Oxford: Aris and Philipps, 2008), 11-12.

<sup>96</sup> Henry G. Fischer, “Some Early Monuments from Busiris, in the Egyptian Delta,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 11(1976): 6-8, figs. 1-2.

<sup>97</sup> Including the tombs of *K3(j)-hnt* (G 2088), *H3.f-R3-3nh* (G 7948), *3htj-htp* at Giza, *Hw-ns* at Zawyet el-Amwat (No. 2), *Tlj* at El-Hawawish (Field Museum 31700, Chicago), *Mry II* at El-Hagarsa (C2), and *Mry-3* at El-Hagarsa (D18).



Figure 2. Tomb of *Hw-ns* at Zawyet el-Amwat (No. 2), *LD II*, 109.

Another example of an eldest daughter is a relief from the tomb of *Ttj* at El-Hawawish (Field Museum 31700, Chicago). A woman labeled *z3t.f smsw* stands at the end of a sequence of four individuals, including the tomb owner, his wife, and two sons. It is unclear if she is the third child of the couple. The height of her figure is slightly smaller than those of the tomb owner, the wife, and the eldest son, and is the same as the second son in front of her.

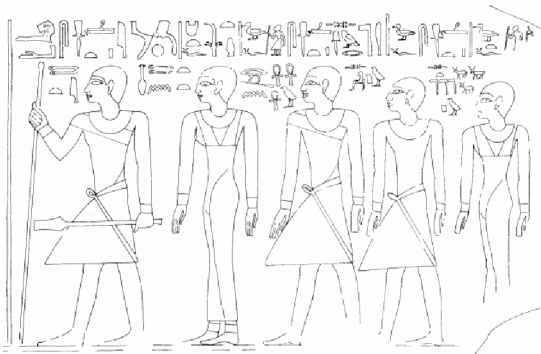


Figure 3. Tomb of *Ttj* at El-Hawawish (Field Museum 31700, Chicago), Kanawati, *El-Hawawish VI*, 61, figs. 31.



Figure 4. Tomb of *Tp-m-nh* at Saqqara, Mariette, *Mastabas*, 201.

Sons do not always precede daughters. In the tomb of *Tp-m-nh* at Saqqara (D 11),<sup>98</sup> a daughter named *Tp-m-nfr* appears as the first child on the left outer jamb of the wife *Nbw-htp* (CG 1415), above a son called *Hm-Mnw*. This position reflects her status as the eldest child, or at least elder than *Hm-Mnw*, although her designation is just *zʿt.s*, without *smsw*. It is interesting to note that *Hm-Mnw* is designated *zʿf smsw* on the false door of his father (CG 1564) given the fact that he has an elder sister.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>98</sup> The tomb was found and recorded by Mariette. The whole mastaba has not yet been published, and fragments from this tomb went into different collections. The corridor contains the false doors for *Tp-m-nh*'s wife, *Nbw-htp* (CG 1415), his son, *Hm-mnw* (CG 1417), and himself (CG 1564). For publications of this tomb, see PM III, 483-484; Mariette, *Les Mastabas De L'ancien Empire*, 196-201; Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1937), 84-87, 89-91, pls. 19-20; Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 2 (Le Caire: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1964), 28-30, pl. 64; William S. Smith, "The Origin of Some Unidentified Old Kingdom Reliefs," *American Journal of Archaeology* 46, no.4 (October-December, 1942): 516-518. Christiane Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire vers 2686-2040 avant J.-C.* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1990), 262-265; Peter Der Manuelian, "Market Scene from the Tomb of Tep-em-ankh," in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, eds. Dorothea Arnold and Christiane Ziegler (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 404-407. Silverman discusses the seal signs and the relevant titles in this tomb. See David P. Silverman, "Pectorals, Seals, and Seal Cases(?)," in *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, ed. Robert K. Ritner (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2017), 345-362.

<sup>99</sup> For a discussion of these false doors, see Silverman, "Pectorals, Seals, and Seal Cases(?)," 352-354.

$Z^3$  or  $z^3t$  may combine with modifiers such as  $mry.f$  and  $mrt.f$ , “his beloved one,” or, occasionally,  $mry.s$  and  $mrt.s$  “her beloved one.” The expression  $z^3.f mry.f$  “his son, his beloved one” occurs 73 times in the dataset: 13 in Giza, 23 in Saqqara, and 37 in provincial sites. Its female counterpart,  $z^3t.f mrt.f$  “his daughter, his beloved one” occurs 22 times: 5 in Giza, 6 in Saqqara, and 11 in provincial sites.<sup>100</sup> Given the relatively small number of tombs in the provincial sites in the dataset, the modifier  $mry$  is, therefore, more prevalent in provincial sites. The designations  $z^3.s mry.s$  and  $z^3t.s mry.s$  are much less common. The former occurs in two tombs:  $Hnt-k^3w.s$  at Giza and  $\check{S}pss-pw-Mnw / Hnj$  at El-Hawawish (H24). The latter occurs in two tombs:  $Wnšt$  at Giza (G4840) and  $Mrrw-k^3.j / Mrj$  at Saqqara.

It is also common to find the combination of multiple designations. The designation  $z^3.f smsw mry.f$  occurs 70 times in the dataset: 12 in Giza, 35 in Saqqara, and 23 in provincial sites. The following chart summarizes the occurrences of these designations.

Table 3. Occurrences of kinship designations

Kinship designation	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial Sites	Total
$z^3.f smsw$	60	92	44	196
$z^3t.f smsw$	3	0	4	7
$z^3.f mry.f$	13	22	37	72
$z^3t.f mrt.f$	5	6	11	22
$z^3.f smsw mry.f$	12	35	23	70

<sup>100</sup> Including  $Jj-mry$  (G 6020, LG 15),  $Jrj-n-3htj / Jrj$  (G 2391),  $Pr-snb$  (LG 78), and  $Shm-nh-Pth$  (G 7152) at Giza ;  $Wnnj$ ,  $Mttj$ , double tomb of  $Nj-nh- Hnmw$  and  $Hnmw -htp$ ,  $Nj-k^3w-R^c$ ,  $Nfr-sšm-R^c / Šsj$ , and  $K^3.j-d^3w$  at Saqqara;  $Jttj / Šdw$  at Deshasha;  $Mry II$  (El-Hagarsa C2);  $K^3(j)-hnt$  (El-Hammamiya A2);  $Nhwt-dšr / Mry$  (El-Hawawish G95);  $Hzy-Mnw / Zzj / Dwdy$  (El-Hawawish F1);  $\check{S}pss-pw-Mnw / Hnj / Hn-nhw / Hn-nh$  (El-Hawawish H24);  $Dw^3-Mnw$  (El-Hawawish L6);  $Ppy-nh-hrj-jb$  (Meir No. D2);  $S^3bnj [I]$  (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1, east tomb).

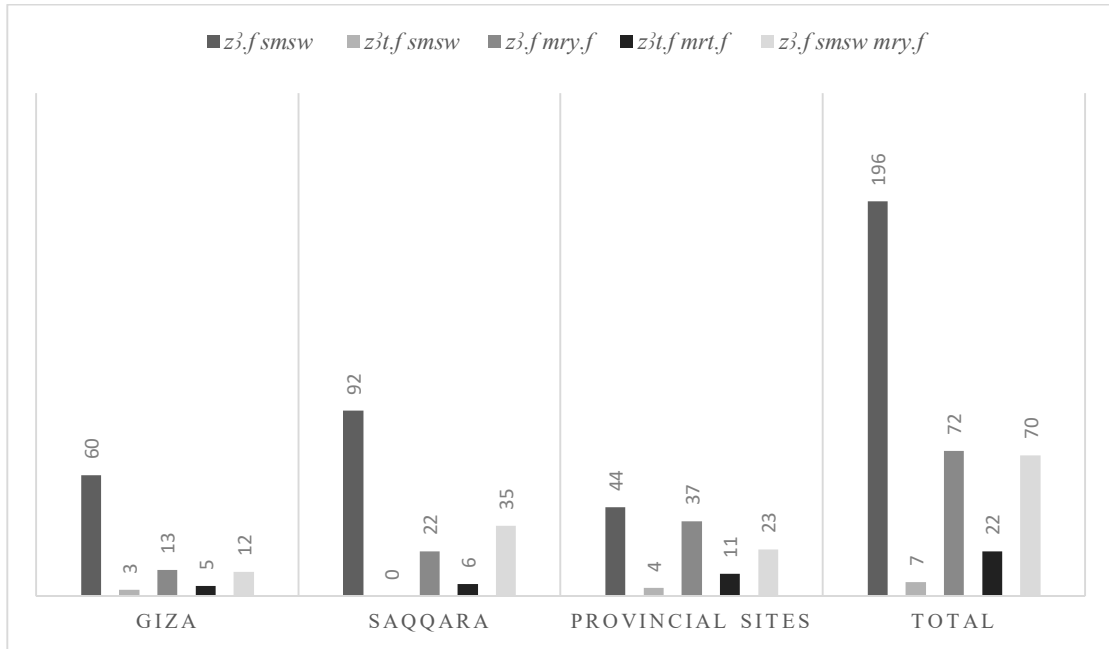


Figure 5. Occurrences of children's kinship designations

Another common expression in combination with the kinship terms  $z^3$  and  $z^3t$  is  $n \underline{ht}.f$ . The designation  $z^3.f n \underline{ht}.f$  “son of his body” occurs 28 times in the dataset: 25 in Giza and 2 in Saqqara.<sup>101</sup> Without a doubt, the expression  $z^3 n \underline{ht}.f$  is popular and mainly occurs in the Giza area. Its female counterpart  $z^3t n \underline{ht}.f$  “daughter of his body” occurs only four times, all in Giza.<sup>102</sup> Additionally, the expression  $z^3.f.smsw n \underline{ht}.f$  “his eldest son of his body” occurs in the tomb of  $\underline{D}^3ty$  at Giza. The expression  $z^3.f.smsw n \underline{ht}.f mry.f$  “his eldest son of his body, his beloved one” comes from the tomb of  $\underline{Jntj}$  at Saqqara as the designation for both sons of the tomb owner. The only use of  $z^3t.s mrt.s n \underline{ht}.s$  “her

<sup>101</sup> Only in the tombs of  $\epsilon nh-m-^c hr / Zzj$  and  $Nj-^c nh-Ppy / Nj-^c nh-Mry-R^c$  at Saqqara. The following tombs at Giza containing the designation  $z^3.f n \underline{ht}.f$ :  $J(w)ff$ ,  $\underline{Jntj}$  (G 7391),  $W^3\check{s}-Pth$ ,  $Mry-jb / K^3-pw-nswt$  (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24),  $\underline{H}^c.f-R^c-^c nh$  (G 7948),  $\underline{Hnmw-htp}$  (Fakhry 4),  $\underline{Ztw}$  (G 4710, LG 49),  $\underline{Sndm-jb / Jntj}$  (G 2370),  $\underline{S\check{s}t-htp / Htj}$  (G 5150),  $\underline{S\check{s}m-nfr I}$  (G 4940, LG 45),  $\underline{K^3.j-pw-nswt / K^3j}$  (G 4651),  $\underline{K^3(j)-nj-nswt I}$  (G 2155),  $\underline{Ttw II}$  (G 2343-G 5511),  $\underline{D^3ty}$  (G 2337-x).

<sup>102</sup> G 6052,  $\underline{Nj-htp-Pth / Pnj}$  (G 2340, LG 25),  $\underline{S\check{s}t-htp / Htj}$  (G 5150), and  $\underline{K^3(j)-nj-nswt I}$  (G 2155).

daughter, her beloved one of her body” is in the chapel of princess *W<sup>c</sup>tt-ht-Hr* / *Zšzšt* in the tomb of *Mrrw-k<sup>3</sup>.j* / *Mrj* at Saqqara.

The designation *msw.f* “his children” and its variation *msw.f n(w) ht.f* “his children of his body” occur in 14 cases: 10 in Giza (including two examples of *msw.f n(w) ht.f*),<sup>103</sup> 3 in Saqqara,<sup>104</sup> and only one example of *msw.f n(w) ht.f* in the tomb of *Hw.n-wh* / *Ttj* (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2). The distribution indicates that it is more popular in the Giza region. This term usually refers to children depicted in a group which may consist of both sons and daughters. Sometimes the word has both seated man and woman determinatives, even when it is used to refer to daughters, such as the case in Tomb M XVIII at Abu Rowash (Figure 6). In the tomb of *Sšm-nfr II* at Giza (G 5080), however, *msw.f* with both man and woman determinatives is inscribed in front of a group of three men. In the tomb of *Nswt-nfr* at Giza, as many as seven men and nine women are marked as *msw.f n(w) ht.f*. *Msw.s* “her children,” occurs only in two cases in the dataset, once in the tomb of *Hnt-k<sup>3</sup>w.s* at Giza, and once in the tomb of *Pr-ndw* at Saqqara. Both examples occur on the false door of the wife. Additionally, the tomb of *Sš3t-htp* / *Htj* has one example of *ms.f dt*. On the west wall of his chapel, a man named *cnh-m-<sup>c</sup>-k<sup>3</sup>.j* appears with the designation *ms.f dt* at the bottom of the left outer jamb of the southern false door.

<sup>103</sup> Tomb M XVIII at Abu Rowash, *Nj-wd3-Pth*, *Nswt-nfr* (G 4970), *Sšm-k<sup>3</sup>(j)*, *Sšm-nfr I* (G 4940, LG 45), *Sšm-nfr II* (G 5080), *Sšm-nfr III* (G 5170), *K3(j)-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* (G4561). *msw.f n ht.f* occurs in G 4940 and G 4970.

<sup>104</sup> In the double tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh- Hnmw* and *Hnmw -htp* and the tomb of *K3-hr-st.f*.

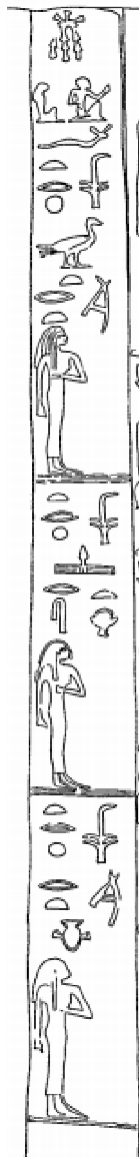


Figure 6. Tomb M XVIII at Abu Rowash, Ziegler, *Stèles*, 221.

## 1.2 The Titles of Children

Many, though not all, children of the tomb owner have inscriptions relating to their titles. Titles of sons and daughters may have been related to the titles of their parents

or their familial status. Some titles may display a characteristic of intergenerational transmission.

One of the most common titles for sons is *rh-nswt* “royal acquaintance.”<sup>105</sup> It occurs 42 times in the dataset: 29 in Giza, 12 in Saqqara, and two in provincial sites.<sup>106</sup> These examples come from 28 tombs: 19 at Giza, 7 at Saqqara,<sup>107</sup> one at El-Hammamiya, and one at Tehna. Among the 28 tomb owners, 18 also bear the title *rh-nswt*. In other words, in 64% cases, both the father and the son bear this title. For the 10 tomb owners not bearing the title *rh-nswt*, 4 of them have the designations *z3 nswt* “king’s son” or *z3 nswt n ht.f* “king’s son of his body.”<sup>108</sup> In the rest of the cases, the tomb owners bear titles such as *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* “sole companion,”<sup>109</sup> *hrp c<sup>h</sup>* “director of the *c<sup>h</sup>*-palace,”<sup>110</sup> *jmy-r3 pr-hd* “overseer of the Treasury,”<sup>111</sup> and *jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w* “overseer of Upper Egypt,”<sup>112</sup> all related to the king. Probaly, the sons would be likely to receive the title *rh-nswt* if their fathers were closely related to the royal family.

Daughters do not usually have administrative titles but religious and honorific ones, such as *hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr* “priestess of Hathor,”<sup>113</sup> *hmt-ntr Nt* “*hmt-ntr* priestess of

<sup>105</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 327-328. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 30.

<sup>106</sup> *Nj-k3.j-c<sup>h</sup>h* II (Tehna Tomb 15) and *K3(j)-hnt* (El-Hammamiya A2).

<sup>107</sup> *Nfr-ntr*, *R<sup>c</sup>-špss* (Lepsius LS 16 [S 902]), *Šhm-k3* (north-west of D 62), *K3-h3.j*, *Ty* (No. 60 [D 22]), *Dw3-R<sup>c</sup>*, and *Df-3w* (D 25).

<sup>108</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 799. The tombs are *Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt* (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24), *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>*, *Šhm-k3-R<sup>c</sup>* (LG 89), and *K3(j)-nj-nswt I* (G 2155).

<sup>109</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 892. In the tomb of *Ms-z3* at Giza and *Ty* (No. 60 [D 22]) at Saqqara.

<sup>110</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 707. In the tomb of *K3w-nswt* at Giza.

<sup>111</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 123. In the tomb of *Df-3w* (D 25) at Saqqara.

<sup>112</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 246. In the tomb of *R<sup>c</sup>-špss* (Lepsius LS 16 [S 902]) at Saqqara.

<sup>113</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 540. For religious titles held by women in the Old Kingdom, see Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 24.



Neith,”<sup>114</sup> *hkrt nswt* “ornament of the king,”<sup>115</sup> *špst nswt* “noblewoman of the king,”<sup>116</sup> and *rht-nswt* “(female) royal acquaintance, she who is known to the king.”<sup>117</sup> The title *rht-nswt* is one of the most common titles among daughters, with a total number of 29 occurrences in sixteen tombs in the dataset: 20 in eight tombs in Giza,<sup>118</sup> 6 in five tombs in Saqqara,<sup>119</sup> and 3 in three tombs in provincial sites.<sup>120</sup> In nine of the fifteen tombs, the tomb owner has the title *rh-nswt* or *rht-nswt*. For the remaining six tombs, two of the tomb owners are *z3t nswt* “king’s daughter,”<sup>121</sup> three *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*,<sup>122</sup> and one *šḥd pr-ḥ* “inspector of the Great House.”<sup>123</sup> It is likely that daughters would be given the title *rht-nswt* if their parents have the same title. Titles such as *z3t nswt* and *šḥd pr-ḥ*, presumably, are related to royalty. Therefore, it is not surprising that their daughters held the title *rht-nswt*. This phenomenon indicates that the title is not hereditary, but displays some correlation between the older and the younger generations in the family.

The intergenerational correlation also applies to religious titles such as *ḥm-nṯr* and *w<sup>c</sup>b*, or other priestly titles relating to kings, gods, and temples. When sons bear these religious titles, their fathers are very likely to have had the same or related titles. In the

<sup>114</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 529. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 30. Some scholars translate the title as “decorated by the king,” see Del Nord, “*hkrt-nswt* = ‘kings’ concubine?’” *Serapis* 2 (1970): 1-16 and Rosemarie Drenkhahn, “Bemerkungen zu dem Titel *hkrt-nswt*,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 4 (1976): 59-67. William A. Ward, “Reflections on Some Egyptian Terms Presumed to Mean ‘Harem, Harem-woman, Concubine’,” *Berytus* 31(1983): 74.

<sup>115</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 794.

<sup>116</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 990. This title first appeared in the Sixth Dynasty and was popular in the provincial sites, see Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 31.

<sup>117</sup> The female counterpart of the title *rh-nswt*, see Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 327-328. See also Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 30.

<sup>118</sup> Tomb M XVIII at Abu Rowash, *Wnšt* (G4840, VII SS), *Nswt-nfr* (G 4970), *Ḥmt-R<sup>c</sup>*, *Ḥwj-n-Pth*, *Ḥww-wr* (LG 95), *Hntj*, and *Ztw* (G 4710, LG 49).

<sup>119</sup> *Pr-sn* (D45), double tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw & Ḥnmw-ḥtp*, *Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>*, *Nj-k3w-Ḥr* (Quibell S 915), and *Wr-b3w* (in the same tomb of *K3-ḥ3.j*).

<sup>120</sup> Provincial sites: *Mry II* (El-Hagarsa C2), *Nhwt-dšr / Mry* (El-Hawawish G95), and *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* (Meir No. D2).

<sup>121</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 817. In the tombs of *Wnšt* (G4840, VII SS) and *Ḥmt-R<sup>c</sup>* at Giza.

<sup>122</sup> *Ztw* (G 4710, LG 49), *ḥ-nḥj* (El-Hagarsa B13), and *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* (Meir No. D2).

<sup>123</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 924. In the tomb of *Pr-sn* (D45).

dataset, 24 sons bear the titles *ḥm-ntr* “*ḥm-ntr*-priest.”<sup>124</sup> in four tombs in Giza, 7 in six tombs in Saqqara,<sup>124</sup> and 13 in eleven tombs in provincial sites.<sup>125</sup> For 21 of them, their fathers are also *ḥm-ntr*-priests or held titles related to *ḥm-ntr*.<sup>126</sup> Thirteen sons in the dataset bear the title *w<sup>c</sup>b nswt* and relevant titles: 7 in six tombs at Giza and 6 in four tombs at Saqqara.<sup>127</sup> In seven cases, the father and the son both held this title.

Sons usually do not have the same religious titles as their mother. In the tomb of *Wnšt* at Giza (G 4840), for example, the mother bears the title *ḥm-ntr Nt mḥtt jnb* “*ḥm-ntr* priestess of Neith, Who is north of her Wall,”<sup>128</sup> and *ḥm-ntr Hwt-Hr nbt nht* “*ḥm-ntr* priestess of Hathor, Mistress of sycamore,”<sup>129</sup> while none of her sons hold similar religious titles, though men bearing these titles have been attested in a few tombs.<sup>130</sup>

The title *ḥry-ḥbt* “lector priest”<sup>131</sup> is also common among the sons of the tomb owner. It occurs 9 times in six tombs at Giza,<sup>132</sup> 23 times in fifteen tombs at Saqqara,<sup>133</sup>

<sup>124</sup> *ḥtj-ḥtp* (Louvre E. 10958, Mastaba du Louvre), *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj*, double tomb of *Nj-ḥnḥ-Ḥnmw* and *Ḥnmw-ḥtp*, *S3bw / Jbbj*, *Q3r*, and *Dw3-R<sup>c</sup>*.

<sup>125</sup> Including tombs of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3j* (Deir el-Gabrawi No.S12), *Sbk-nfr* (El-Hagarsa B18), *Nhwt-dšr / Mry* (El-Hawawish G95), *Hzy-Mnw* (El-Hawawish M22), *Špss-pw-Mnw / Hnj / Hn-ḥnw / Hn-ḥnḥ* (El-Hawawish H24), *Ttj* (El-Hawawish, Field Museum 31700, Chicago), *Ppy-ḥnḥ-ḥrj-jb* (Meir No. D2), *Nj-ḥnḥ-Ppy-km / Nj-ḥnḥ-Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-km / Ḥpj-km / Sbk-km* (Meir A1), *Mrw / Jy* (Nag’ el-Deir N3737), *Nj-k3.j-ḥnḥ II* (Tehna Tomb 15), and *Hw-ns* (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2).

<sup>126</sup> Such as *shd ḥm-ntr*, *jmy-r3 ḥm-ntr*, etc.

<sup>127</sup> Tombs of *Jj-nfrt*, *Jnpw-ḥtp*, *Nj-ḥnḥ-ḥntj / Njj*, *Hrw-nfr* (G 2353), *Shm-k3(j)* (G 1029), and *Ttj* in Giza ; double tomb of *Nj-ḥnḥ-Ḥnmw* and *Ḥnmw-ḥtp*, tombs of *Nj-k3w-Hr* (Quibell S 915), *Shm-k3* (north-west of D 62), and *Dw3-R<sup>c</sup>* in Saqqara.

<sup>128</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 531.

<sup>129</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 545.

<sup>130</sup> For example, *Nfr-jrt-n.f* (D 55 at Saqqara) bears the title *shd ḥm-ntr Hwt-Hr*, see van de Walle, *La Chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef* 19, and Auguste Mariette and Gaston Maspero, *Les Mastabas De L’ancien Empire: Fragment Du Dernier Ouvrage De Auguste Édouard Mariette* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1889), 326.

<sup>131</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 781.

<sup>132</sup> In the tombs of *Wp-m-nfrt / Wp*, *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-mry-Pth-ḥnḥ / Nhbw* (G 2381 with shaft G 2382A), *Mr.s-ḥnḥ III* (G 7530 + 7540), *Mdw-nfr* (G 4630), *Ḥntj*, and *Ttw I / K3(j)-nswt* (G 2001).

<sup>133</sup> In the tombs of *ḥtj-ḥtp* (Louvre E. 10958, Mastaba du Louvre), *J3rtj*, *Jnw-Mnw* (around Teti Pyramid), *W3š-Pth / Jzj*, *Pth-ḥtp II / Ttj* (D 64), *Pth-špss* (PM III 340-342, Abusir), *Mry-Ttj* (son of *Mrrw-k3.j*, in the same tomb), *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj*, *Nj-k3w-Jzzj* (around Teti Pyramid), *Hwj*, *Ḥnw*, *Ḥntj-k3 / Jhhj*, *S3bw / Jbbj*, *Špsj-pw-Pth*, and *Tttw / Jnw-Mnw* (north of Teti Pyramid).

and 19 times in fourteen tombs at the provincial sites.<sup>134</sup> In all the cases at the provincial sites, the tomb owner has the title *hry-hbt* (or *hry-hbt hry-tp* “chief lector-priest”) when his son holds it.<sup>135</sup> In 13 of the fifteen tombs at Saqqara, both the father and his son(s) bear this title. The situation in Giza, however, is different. Ten tomb owners at Giza with children depicted in their chapels bear this title, while only two of them share it with their sons.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, we may assume that *hry-hbt* displays little evidence for intergenerational transmission in the Giza region.

*Hry-hbt* and *hry-hbt hry-tp* are common titles that appear in title sequences.<sup>137</sup> *Hry-hbt hry-tp* could be a high position, while an official may become a *hry-hbt* at the early stage of his career.<sup>138</sup> If the tomb owner commissions the construction and decoration of his tomb at the peak of his career as a high official, it is not surprising to find their sons entitled *hry-hbt* as young officials.<sup>139</sup> Moreover, *hry-hbt* usually coexists with the title *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*.<sup>140</sup> The coexistence is also true for sons in tombs at Saqqara and provincial sites.<sup>141</sup> The following table shows the tombs in which the son(s) of the tomb owner bears both titles.

<sup>134</sup> Deir el-Gabrawi No.N95, *Jbj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No.S8), *Hnqw I / Httj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No.N39), *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3j* (Deir el-Gabrawi No.S12), *Jdw I* (Dendera), *Q3r / Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr* (Edfu, M V of Garnot), *T3wtj / Rsy* (el-Qasr wa-’l-Saiyad, T 73, No. 2, Lepsius), *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb* (Meir No. D2), *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-km / Hny / Hny-km* (Meir No. A2), *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy-km / Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-km / Hpj-km / Sbk-km* (Meir A1), *Nb-Šm<sup>c</sup>w / Httj* (Naqada, Vienna, No. 5894), *Hr-hw.f* (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A8), *S3bnj [I]* (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1, east tomb), and *Hw.n-wh / Ttj* (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2).

<sup>135</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 784.

<sup>136</sup> *Ttw / K3.j-nswt* (G 2001) and *Mdw-nfr* (G 4630).

<sup>137</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, 169-195.

<sup>138</sup> If the standard title sequences summarized by Baer can somewhat reflect the career path in the administration. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, Charts I-III.

<sup>139</sup> Nigel Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and Their Holders* (London: KPI, 1985), 7-8.

<sup>140</sup> Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, 226, 230, 262, 288, and 315.

<sup>141</sup> No examples of children bearing *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* occur in tombs at Giza.

Table 4. Tombs containing sons bearing both *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* and *hry-hbt*

Name of Tomb owner	Location
<i>Pth-špss</i>	Abusir
<i>Mrrw-k<sup>3</sup>.j / Mry</i>	Saqqara
<i>Hntj-k<sup>3</sup> / Jhhj</i>	around the Teti Pyramid
<i>Nj-k<sup>3</sup>w-Jzzj</i>	around the Teti Pyramid
<i>Jnw-Mnw</i>	Saqqara
<i>Hnw</i>	Saqqara
<i>ḥtj-ḥtp</i> (Louvre E. 10958, Mastaba du Louvre)	Saqqara
<i>Jrtj</i>	Saqqara
No. 95	Deir el-Gabrawi
<i>Jbj</i> (No. 8)	Deir el-Gabrawi
<i>D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm<sup>3</sup>j</i> (No. 12)	Deir el-Gabrawi
<i>Nb-Šm<sup>c</sup>w / Httj</i> (Vienna, No. 5894)	Naqada
<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-km / Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-km / Hp-km / Šbk-km</i> (No. A1)	Meir
<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-km / Hny / Hny -km</i> (No. A2)	Meir
<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb</i>	Meir
<i>Hr-hw.f</i> (A8)	Qubet el-Hawa
<i>T<sup>3</sup>wtj / Rsy</i> (T 73, No. 2, Lepsius)	el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad
<i>S<sup>3</sup>bnj [I]</i> (A1, de Morgan, east tomb)	Qubbet el-Hawa
<i>Jdw I</i>	Dendera

The title *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* may also occur alone. Besides those listed in the table, sons in three tombs at Saqqara hold this title: *<sup>c</sup>nh-m-<sup>c</sup>-Hr / Zzj*, *Wnnj*, and *Mr.f-nb.f*. It is interesting to note that *<sup>c</sup>nh-m-<sup>c</sup>-Hr / Zzj*, who is *jrj-p<sup>c</sup>t* “hereditary prince,”<sup>142</sup> *ḥ<sup>3</sup>tj-<sup>c</sup>* “count,”<sup>143</sup> and *t<sup>3</sup>jtj z<sup>3</sup>b t<sup>3</sup>ty* “chief justice and vizier,”<sup>144</sup> does not hold it, although it

<sup>142</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 315.

<sup>143</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 496.

<sup>144</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 1000.

usually follows *jrj-p<sup>c</sup>t* and *h<sup>3</sup>tj-<sup>c</sup>* in the title sequence.<sup>145</sup> Similarly, *Jnw-Mnw*, who is also a hereditary prince, count and vizier, does not bear this title either. Furthermore, *smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty* is more popular among sons in provincial sites. Besides the tombs listed in the above table, examples of sons with this title occur in 20 tombs. All the tomb owners except *Jttj* / *Šdw* at Deshasha share it with their sons.

Another title that sons of the tomb owner usually hold is *hry-tp nswt* “king’s liegeman”.<sup>146</sup> Nineteen tomb owners have at least one son bearing this title: only one in Giza, 6 in Saqqara, and 12 in provincial sites. In 17 of these tombs, both the son(s) and the father bear this title; the only two exceptions are in Saqqara, in the tombs of *Pth-htp* (PM III 653-654) and *Hnmw-ndm(w)* at Kom el-Akhdar.

Titles related to *hntyw-š* “land-tenant”<sup>147</sup> are also common among sons of the tomb owner, including *hntyw-š, šd hntyw-š* “inspector of tenants,”<sup>148</sup> *hntyw-š Pr-<sup>c</sup>3* “land-tenant of the Great House,”<sup>149</sup> *šd hntyw-š Pr-<sup>c</sup>3* “inspector of tenants of the Great House,”<sup>150</sup> *jmy-r<sup>3</sup> st hntyw-š Pr-<sup>c</sup>3* “overseer of the department of tenant-landholders of the Great House,”<sup>151</sup> *jmj-ht hntyw-š Pr-<sup>c</sup>3* “under-supervisor of tenant landholders of the Great House,”<sup>152</sup> and *hntyw-š* of various pyramids.<sup>153</sup> *hntyw-š* and titles related to it are popular in Giza and Saqqara. Fourteen tombs at Giza have sons bearing this title,<sup>154</sup> as

<sup>145</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, 119-201, Charts I-III.

<sup>146</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 788.

<sup>147</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 691.

<sup>148</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 949.

<sup>149</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 692.

<sup>150</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 949.

<sup>151</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 241.

<sup>152</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 295.

<sup>153</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 692.

<sup>154</sup> *Wr-k<sup>3</sup>.j, Wnšt* (G 4840, VII SS), *Nj-htp-Pth / Pnj* (G 2340, LG 25), *Nfr-mšdr-Hwfw* (G 2240), *Nfr-hwj* (G 2098), *Nj-M<sup>3</sup>rt-R<sup>c</sup>, Rmnw-k<sup>3</sup>(.j) / Jmj, Hzj, Hwfw-snb II, Qd-ns II, K<sup>3</sup>-hj.f* (G 2136), *K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-hnt* (G 2088), *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* (D 20), *Dw<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*.

well as 15 tombs at Saqqara,<sup>155</sup> one tomb at Nag' el-Deir,<sup>156</sup> and one at El-Hagarsa.<sup>157</sup>

This distribution is a result of the nature of *hntyw-š*, an office or institution that develops at the end of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>158</sup> People bearing these titles built their mastaba tombs in a cluster in the Western Cemetery. At Saqqara, holders of these titles constructed their tombs in the Teti Cemetery, and later in the Unis Cemetery during the reign of Pepy I.<sup>159</sup> Roth's study shows that the *hntyw-š* office holders chose their burial location based on occupation rather than kinship relations, since few apparent father-son relationships between these tomb owners at Giza has been well established.<sup>160</sup> However, examples of father and son sharing this title do occur in our dataset. In 10 tombs at Giza and 7 tombs at Saqqara, both the father and the son(s) bear titles related to *hntyw-š*. These examples reflect the inheritable nature of the office of *hntyw-š*.

Sons may acquire titles that their fathers do not hold, such as the title *hm-k3* "ka-priest"<sup>161</sup> (including *shd hm-k3* "inspector of ka-priests"<sup>162</sup> and *jmy-r3 hm-k3* "overseer of ka-priests"<sup>163</sup>). *hm-k3*, *shd hm-k3*, and *jmy-r3 hm-k3* are not uncommon among sons of the tomb owner, especially at Giza. Sons holding the titles *hm-k3*, *shd hm-k3*, and *jmy-r3 hm-*

<sup>155</sup> *Jnw-Mnw* (around Teti Pyramid), *nh-m-ḥr / Zzj, Bj3 / Jry, Wr-nw, Bj3 / Jry, Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj, Mrrj* (around Teti Pyramid), *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj, Nj-nh-Ppy / Nj-nh-Mry-Rc, Nfr-sšm-Rc / Šsj, Ḥwj, Pth-šps II, S3bw / Jbbj, Snfrw-jn-jšt.f* (No. 2 Dahshur), *Špsj-pw-Pth, Q3r*.

<sup>156</sup> *Mrw / Jy* (Nag' el-Deir N3737).

<sup>157</sup> *n-nhj* (El-Hagarsa B13).

<sup>158</sup> Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 40.

<sup>159</sup> Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 1-3, 13. Naguib Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti: the Power behind the Throne* (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities Press, 2008), 16.

<sup>160</sup> Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 43-44.

<sup>161</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 591.

<sup>162</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 943.

<sup>163</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 176.

*k3* are attested in 12 tombs at Giza,<sup>164</sup> 7 at Saqqara,<sup>165</sup> and 4 at provincial sites.<sup>166</sup>

However, it is only in 4 tombs at Giza and one tomb at Qubbet el-Hawa that both the father and the son(s) bear this title. Individuals entitled *hm-k3* in tomb decoration are offering bearers that bring offerings to the tomb owner;<sup>167</sup> they may also perform some of the rituals for the deceased.<sup>168</sup> Therefore, sons bearing this title may have taken a position in their fathers' funerary cult, and the title itself may not have been an administrative one in the government and the court, but rather part of the familial obligation within the household to carry on priestly duties for the dead.

Similar to *hm-k3*, the titles *z3b zš* "juridicial scribe"<sup>169</sup> and *z3b šḥḏ zš* "juridicial inspector of scribes"<sup>170</sup> are also uncommonly shared between the tomb owner and his sons. A total number of 32 tombs in the dataset—9 at Giza,<sup>171</sup> 20 at Saqqara,<sup>172</sup> and 2 at provincial sites<sup>173</sup>—have at least one son bearing *z3b zš* or *z3b šḥḏ zš*. In most cases, the tomb owners do not hold *z3b zš* or *z3b šḥḏ zš*, except for *3ḥtj-ḥtp* at Saqqara (E 17) and *St-k3.j* at Giza. *Z3b zš* and *z3b šḥḏ zš* are among the titles at the bottom of Baer's title

<sup>164</sup> *Jj-mry* (G 6020, LG 15), *Jrj-n-3ḥtj / Jrj* (G 2391), *Jttj* (G 7391), *ḥnh-ḥ3.f*, *W3š-Pth*, *Nj-sw-sḥnh*, *Rdj* (G 2086), *Ḥnt-k3w.s*, *Snḏm-jb / Jntj* (G 2370), *Sš3t-ḥtp / Htj* (G 5150), *Sšm-nfr IV* (LG 53), *Špss-k3.f-ḥnh*.

<sup>165</sup> *Jj-k3*, *Nfr-Jnpw* (AS 37, Abusir South), *Nfr-sšm-Pth / Wḏ3-ḥ3-Ttj / Ššj* (around Teti Pyramid, Saqqara 32), double tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw & Ḥnmw-ḥtp*, *Špsj-pw-Pth*, *K3.j-d3w*, *K3-ḥzw.f* (Abusir South, possible son of *Nfr-Jnpw*).

<sup>166</sup> *Hzy-Mnw / Zzj / Dwdy* (El-Hawawish F1), *Hwj* (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A5), *Sbk-ḥtp* (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan B1), *Nj-k3.j-ḥnh II* (Tehna Tomb 15).

<sup>167</sup> Thompson, "The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt's Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom," 72.

<sup>168</sup> Such as pouring water and burning incense, See Thompson, "The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt's Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom," 123, 145.

<sup>169</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 811.

<sup>170</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 814.

<sup>171</sup> *3ḥtj-mḥw* (G 2375), *Jdw* (G 7102), *ḥnh-m-z3.f*, *Pwp3wt-b3.f* (*Jby*'s son), *Sšm-nfr IV* (LG 53), *K3(j)-dw3*, *K3-ḥj.f* (G 2136), *St-k3.j*, *Sšm-nfr II* (G 5080).

<sup>172</sup> *3ḥtj-ḥtp* (E 17), *ḥnh-m-ḥ-k3(j)* (No. 67 [D 16]), *W3š-Pth / Jzj*, *Pr-sn* (D45), *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj*, double tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw & Ḥnmw-ḥtp*, *Nj-k3w-Rḥ*, *Nj-k3w-Ḥr* (Quibell S 915), *Nfr-Jnpw* (AS 37, Abusir South), *Nfr-jrt-n.f* (D 55), *Ntr-wsr*, *Ḥtp-hr-3ḥtj* (D 60), *Šhm-k3* (north-west of D 62), *Sšmw* (Lepsius LS 5), *Q3r*, *K3.j-d3w*, *K3-gm-nj / mmj / gmnj*, *Ph.n-wj-k3* (D 70, LS 15), *Nfr-ḥww*.

<sup>173</sup> *Ḥw-ns* (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2), *K3(j)-ḥnt* (El-Hammamiya A2).

sequences in historical periods from the Fifth to the Sixth Dynasties.<sup>174</sup> The relatively low rank of this title might indicate that young officials may acquire these titles at the entry level of the administration. On the other hand, we may not deny the possibility that sons bearing *z3b zš*, like those who serve as the ka-priests, serve in the domestic realm rather than the government.

In some cases, children of the tomb owner bear titles related to a specialized profession, such as *shd n hsw* “inspector of singers.”<sup>175</sup> Inscriptions and reliefs from the tomb of *K3-h3.j* at Saqqara provide us with examples of musical titles. All three generations of the *K3-h3.j* family are engaged in musical professions. The tomb owner bears titles including *hrp hsw* “director of singers,”<sup>176</sup> *shd (n) hsw, jmy-r3 hsw prwj* “overseer of singers of the Two Houses,”<sup>177</sup> and *wc m wrw hsw [pr-?]dt* “unique one among the great ones and among the singers(?) of the funerary estate,”<sup>178</sup> while his sons and grandsons all hold the title *shd (n) hsw*. Bárta suggests that kinship became a determinant of one’s position in the administration hierarchy and many prestigious offices display a hereditary feature from the reign of Nyuserra.<sup>179</sup> This hereditary feature is, by means, a result of an institutionalized behavior, but rather a tendency to favor family members in specific offices in the administrative system. An extreme example is the

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<sup>174</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, 231-239.

<sup>175</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 947.

<sup>176</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 733.

<sup>177</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 182.

<sup>178</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 367.

<sup>179</sup> Miroslav Bárta, “Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers: Executive Power in the Third Millennium BC,” in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 166.



*Šndm-jb* family. Five male family members from four generations of this single family achieved the highest rank in the administration.<sup>180</sup>

It is impossible to discuss every title of children in this thesis. In general, it appears that titles such as *rh-nswt*, *hm-ntr*, *w<sup>c</sup>b nswt*, *hry-hbt*, *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*, and *hntyw-š*, as well as some professional titles such as *shd n hsw*, display a characteristic of intergenerational transmission. This phenomenon indicates that sons usually follow the career path of their father. One may find titles such as *hm-k<sup>3</sup>* and *z<sup>3</sup>b shd zš* more likely connected to the domestic sphere because they are not shared between the tomb owner and his sons. Most professional and administrative titles are held by the male progeny, while daughters may bear titles such as *rht-nswt*, *špst nswt*, and *hkrt nswt*, and religious ones such as *hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr* and *hmt-ntr Nt*.<sup>181</sup>

### 1.3 Stances, Clothing, and Accessories of Children

Children of the tomb owner appear in a variety of stances in scenes on chapel walls. The analysis of these stances provides a better understanding of family relations and the role of children in a funerary context, such as family ties and the relationship between the parents and their children, and the duties of children in the funerary cult. Children, for instance, may be represented touching the tomb owner and the wife in a variety of ways. They may also appear as youths, standing or kneeling at the foot of their parents. Depicted in different stances, they sometimes accompany the tomb owner when

<sup>180</sup> Bárta, “Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers: Executive Power in the Third Millennium BC,” 169. Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex I*, 23-35.

<sup>181</sup> A usual example occurs in the tomb of *Hwj* at Qubbet el-Hawa (de Morgan A5), where a daughter bears the title *nbt-pr* “mistress of the house”. See note 46.

he oversees the activities of the funerary estate, or engages in activities such as spear-fishing and fowling. They also appear on false doors with their parents and siblings.

### 1.3.1 Typology

To examine the postures and positions of relatives of the tomb owner, this study divides the gestures represented on tomb scenes into seven major types, each consisting of several sub-types. Because of the complexity and diversity of the depiction of stances, this typology takes into consideration both the location of the relatives in reference to a major figure (i.e., the tomb owner or his wife) and the stances of the relatives themselves. Table 5 summarizes the criteria employed in creating the typology in this thesis.

Stance Type A includes gestures that lead to physical contact with a major figure, such as extending the hand to touch the major figure when standing, seated, or kneeling beside him or her. Family members in this stance may appear at the same scale as the major figure, or at a smaller scale. The typology further divides this stance into two sub-types according to whether the family member appears standing or sitting/kneeling while touching a major figure.

Children, siblings, grandchildren, and even mothers sometimes appear near the tomb owner (or the wife) at a much-reduced scale at his or her foot. In this case, their foot may overlap with that of the major figure. This unique artistic expression of overlapping represents a close relationship.<sup>182</sup> The overlapping feet occur only in the two-dimensional

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<sup>182</sup> Myśliwiec suggests that the overlapping feet between the father and the eldest son reflects the concept that the eldest son emerges from the body of his father and is his living Ka, see Myśliwiec, "Father's and Eldest Son's Overlapping Feet: An Iconographic Message," 306, 309. However, examples from our dataset reveals that not only the eldest son but also other sons stand at the foot of the tomb owner with their feet overlapping that of the father.

representation because their feet can hardly have any physical contact in statuary or in reality.<sup>183</sup> Reliefs and wall paintings thus utilize this unique representation to visualize and symbolize the close relationship between the major figure and those who accompany him. For this reason, this study categorizes this type of position and its associated stances as Stance Type AS. When appearing at the foot of the father, children are often depicted grasping the lower part of the staff of the father. Holding the same staff then indirectly expresses the contact between the children and the father. Family members depicted in this stance and the major figure with whom they are associated usually stand on the same ground line. However, they sometimes appear on superposed short ground lines that are floating above the ground line of the major figure, or they simply stand without any ground line. This arrangement occurs more often in early tombs, and those tombs at the end of the Old Kingdom utilize this stance as a reminiscence of earlier forms.<sup>184</sup> Stance Type AS consists of six sub-typs.

This study classifies standing (not at the foot of a major figure) while carrying scepters, offerings, or lotus flowers as Stance Type B. Unlike Stance Type A and Stance Type AS, Type B tends to be a more independent depiction of family members in the scene or on the false door, though they may still appear near major figures. Family members may also appear individually or in a sequence among non-family members in Stance Type B. This stance type contains seven sub-types. Stance B-1, standing with one hand or two hands on the chest, and Stance B-2, standing with arms pendent, are gestures

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<sup>183</sup> It is different from Schäfer's discussion on overlapping figures of the same scale, see Heinrich Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1986), 177-189.

<sup>184</sup> Myśliwiec, "Father's and Eldest Son's Overlapping Feet: An Iconographic Message," 307, 312.

of adoration.<sup>185</sup> Stance B-6, standing with one arm or two arms raised up, represents an attitude of greeting, veneration, and invocation<sup>186</sup>, or speaking, reciting, or performing rituals.<sup>187</sup>

Stance Type C consists of gestures in the spear-fishing and fowling scenes.<sup>188</sup> Spear-fishing and bird-catching scenes usually occur in a symmetrical arrangement either on the same wall or on walls at each side of a door way.<sup>189</sup> In the spear-fishing scenes, the tomb owner stands on a papyrus skiff, spearing fish using a long harpoon. Family members usually appear in this scene on or near the skiff accompanying the tomb owner. One of the sons may be represented in front of the tomb owner on the prow mimicking the spearing gesture of his father. The same occurs in the fowling scene, in which the tomb owner is usually depicted hurling his throwing-stick, while his son on the prow gestures similarly. The curved shape of the skiffs and marsh plants breaks the traditional arrangement of the sub-registers on which the retinue of the tomb owner appears. Wife and children are usually represented on the boat at a reduced scale. Children and other attendants may also appear around the tomb owner on separate floating sub-registers in more passive stances compared with that of the tomb owner and his son on the prow.<sup>190</sup> Because of the particularity of the spear-fishing and fowling scenes, this study

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<sup>185</sup> Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 5-9, Abb. 1. In Stance B-1, the body may also bend forward. See Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 9, Abb. 7.

<sup>186</sup> The posture of standing with one or two arms raised up already became common in the Old Kingdom, mostly associated with the offering formula and the cult of the dead, see Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 28-30, Abb. 9. The posture of prostrating on the ground does not occur with family members in the Old Kingdom private tombs, see Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 32-35.

<sup>187</sup> Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 77-89, Abb. 17, and Abb. 19.

<sup>188</sup> Although family members may also appear standing or kneeling as in Stance Types B and D, Stance Type C refers to stances occurring in the fishing and fowling scenes.

<sup>189</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 140-141.

<sup>190</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 136.

categorizes the stances of family members in these scenes separately into Type C with seven sub-types.<sup>191</sup>

Stance Type D consists of the postures of sitting or kneeling. It consists of five sub-types: sitting or kneeling while bending one arm to the chest or placing both hands down on the lap (D-1),<sup>192</sup> sitting on a chair or kneeling on the ground before a table of offerings (D-2), kneeling while making offerings to a major figure (D-3), sitting on a chair or kneeling and holding accessories, offerings, or lotus flowers (D-4), kneeling while raising an arm (D-5).<sup>193</sup>

Stance Type E refers to postures during certain activities, such as playing an instrument (E-1), performing rituals (E-2), reading, writing and presenting a document (E-3), and slaughtering a bull (E-4). Stance E-1 consists of musical and sport activities, including playing an instrument,<sup>194</sup> dancing,<sup>195</sup> clapping,<sup>196</sup> combating,<sup>197</sup> etc.

Stance Type F includes miscellaneous stances that do not belong to any other stance types.

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<sup>191</sup> Stance Type C-6, standing or kneeling, raising an arm with the index finger pointing to forward, is not uncommon in fowling and fishing scenes. See Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 153B155, Abb. 56. In the fishing and fowling scenes, family members shown in this stance can be the wife or daughter of the tomb owner. This gesture is different from the protective gesture of pointing with the thumb and the index finger. Men usually appear in this gesture to point towards animals in fowling and hunting scenes. See Jorge R. Ogdon, "Studies in Ancient Egyptian Magical Thought I: the Hand and the Seal," *Discussions in Egyptology* 1 (1985): 27-28, and Geraldine Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 83.

<sup>192</sup> Sitting on a chair or kneeling and bending the arm(s) to the chest is a posture showing adoration. See Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 5-9, Abb. 1.

<sup>193</sup> This stance is very rare among family members in the Old Kingdom private tombs, see discussion in this chapter. Kings may appear in this posture when adoring a god, see Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 25-26, Abb. 8.

<sup>194</sup> Hans Hickmann, *Musicologie pharaonique*, Études sur l'évolution de l'art musical dans l'Égypte ancienne (Kehl (Rhin): Librairie Heitz, 1956), 98-112.

<sup>195</sup> For the discussion of dancing in the Old Kingdom, see Hickmann, *Musicologie pharaonique*, 113-152, and Lesley Kinney, *Dance, Dancers and the Performance Cohort in the Old Kingdom* (Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2008), 54-145.

<sup>196</sup> Hickmann, *Musicologie pharaonique*, 54-57.

<sup>197</sup> Kinney, *Dance, Dancers and the Performance Cohort in the Old Kingdom*, 146-153.

Children of the tomb owner may either appear as adults or as youths. When depicted as youth, they are usually nude, sometimes with a side lock and the index finger into the mouth. Adding letter Y to the stance type specifies the depiction of a family member as a youth. The following table lists the stances of children in each tomb with specific markers to indicate the stance types.

Table 5. Typology of stances

Stance Type	Sub-type	Description
<b>A</b>		<b>Close to a major figure and in contact with him or her (not at the foot)</b>
	A-1	Standing and touching a major figure
	A-2	Seated or kneeling, and touching a major figure
<b>AS</b>		<b>At a reduced scale at the foot of a major figure</b>
	AS-1	Standing at the foot of a major figure and touching him or her
	AS-2	Standing at the foot of a major figure and holding his staff
	AS-3	Standing at the foot of a major figure with one hand or two hands on the chest, or with both arms pendent, or suckling the index finger
	AS-4	Standing at the foot of a major figure and carrying birds, lotus flowers, or other objects
	AS-5	In contact with other individuals at the foot of a major figure
	AS-6	Kneeling at the foot of a major figure
<b>B</b>		<b>Standing in a variety of poses (not at the foot of a major figure)</b>
	B-1	Standing with one hand or two hands on the chest
	B-2	Standing with both arms pendent, not holding anything
	B-3	Standing and carrying offerings
	B-4	Standing and carrying accessories such as a staff, a scepter, a papyrus scroll, or a piece of cloth
	B-5	Standing and holding lotus flowers
	B-6	Standing with arm(s) raised up
	B-Y	Standing as a youth sucking the index finger
<b>C</b>		<b>In the scenes of spear-fishing and fowling, or hippopotamus hunting</b>
	C-1	Standing on the skiff with the tomb owner and holding a spear or a throwing stick
	C-2	Standing on a skiff with the tomb owner or a sub-register near the tomb owner, and carrying fish or birds

	C-3	Standing near the tomb owner without carrying fish or birds
	C-4	Kneeling near the tomb owner
	C-5	Standing on the skiff with the tomb owner and touching him
	C-6	Standing or kneeling, raising an arm with the index finger pointing forward
	C-7	Standing and holding lotus flowers
<b>D</b>		<b>Seated or kneeling</b>
	D-1	Seated or kneeling while bending one arm to the chest or placing both hands down on the lap
	D-2	Seated on a chair or kneeling before a table of offerings
	D-3	kneeling and making offerings to a major figure
	D-4	Seated or kneeling and holding accessories, offerings, or lotus flowers
	D-5	Kneeling with an arm raised
<b>E</b>		<b>Engaging in activities</b>
	E-1	Engaging in musical and sport activities (playing an instrument, dancing, clapping, combating, etc.)
	E-2	Engaging in ritual activities: E-2-CEN (censing), E-2-LIB (libating), E-2-LOT (presenting a lotus flower), E-2-REC (reciting spells), E-2-REM (removing the foot print)
	E-3	Engaging in scribal activities
	E-4	Slaughtering bulls
<b>F</b>		<b>Other stances</b>

### 1.3.2 Discussion of Stance Types

#### **Stance Type A: Close to a major figure and in contact with him or her (not standing at the foot)**

Scenes may also show children of the tomb owner touching their parents in a variety of ways. They may stand near the tomb owner and have physical contact with the tomb owner, i.e., raising up their hands and touching the legs of the parents (Stance Type A-1). Children often stand at the foot of the tomb owner or the wife and touch him or her. This stance falls under Stance Type AS-1, a category that encompasses depictions of numerous postures of children standing at the foot of the tomb owner.

***Stance Type A-1: Standing and touching a major figure***

Stance Type A-1 occurs only six times in the dataset, three in Giza,<sup>198</sup> one in Saqqara,<sup>199</sup> and two in provincial sites.<sup>200</sup> Five examples are sons of the tomb owner. The only case of a daughter depicted in this stance comes from the tomb of *Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I* (G 7130 + 7140) at Giza. The daughter stands behind the chair of the tomb owner represented as a small nude girl, holding the arm of her father with her hand. She wears a side lock and places the index finger of the rear hand into her mouth.

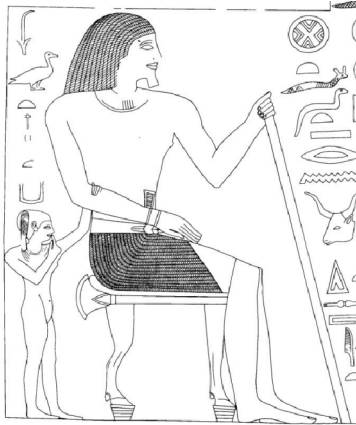


Figure 7. Tomb of *Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I* (G 7130 + 7140) at Giza, Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I & II*, fig. 29.

A son may also stand behind the chair while touching the tomb owner. For example, in the tomb of *3htj-htp* at Giza, the eldest son stands behind his father who is seated on a chair, raising his hand to touch him on the lower back.

<sup>198</sup> *3htj-htp* (PM III 285), *nh-wd3 / Jtj*, and *Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I* (G 7130 + 7140).

<sup>199</sup> *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj*.

<sup>200</sup> *Hm-R<sup>c</sup> / Jzj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N72) and *Nj-k3.j-nh I* (Tehna Tomb 15).





Figure 8. Tomb of *ḥtj-ḥtp* at Giza, Hassan, *Giza I*, 76, fig. 133.

Children in this stance may appear either at a reduced scale or at the same scale as the tomb owner and his wife. The relative size of children may indicate their status within the wider family group. In the tomb of *ḥnh-wdʒ* / *Jtj* at Giza, family members appear in a sequence headed by the tomb owner and his wife. A daughter appears at a reduced scale behind the mother, while the eldest son is in full scale, followed by his younger brother. The daughter behind the mother may have been their elder sister because she precedes the sons in the sequence, but the unique status of the eldest son in full scale differentiates him from the other children.<sup>201</sup>

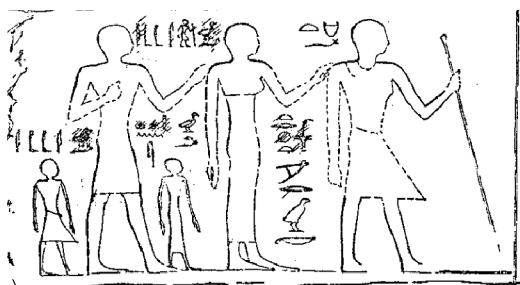


Figure 9. Tomb of *ḥnh-wdʒ* / *Jtj* at Giza, Junker, *Giza VIII*, Abb. 59.

<sup>201</sup> There are a number of ways to differentiate the eldest son with specific iconographic features and the position in relation with the tomb owner, i.e. appearing at the foot of the tomb owner, and wearing the same costume as that of the tomb owner. See Myśliwiec, “Father’s and Eldest Son’s Overlapping Feet: An Iconographic Message,” 308, 313,

Individuals without kinship labels may also be depicted touching the tomb owner or his wife. On the thickness of the right jamb of the tomb of *W3š-Pth* at Giza, a ka-priest stands behind the seated tomb owner, touching him with his hand. The excavator considered him a son of the tomb owner because of his physical contact with the tomb owner.<sup>202</sup> Two sons of the tomb owner, one named *W3š-Pth* and the other *Špss-Pth*, both have the designation *z3.f n ht.f* “his son of his body” and the title *shd hmwt w<sup>c</sup>bt* “inspector of the craftsmen of the workshop.”<sup>203</sup> This ka-priest, however, has neither the kinship designation nor similar professional titles. Therefore, it is doubtful he is a son of the tomb owner, and we are unable to label this stance exclusive to family members of the tomb owner.



Figure 10. Tomb of *W3š-Pth* at Giza, Hassan, *Giza II*, 5-14, figs. 7-12.

In most cases, physical contact between the tomb owner (or the wife) and his or her children remains unilateral—that is, children touch their parents actively, while the

<sup>202</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 9.

<sup>203</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 946. *Špss-Pth* appears with the tomb owner on the right jamb. *W3š-Pth* appears on the thickness of the left jamb. They both appear at a small scales, standing at the foot of their father and holding his staff with their hand.

parents behave passively only as recipients of the action. In other words, the gesture of the major figure is either standing or seated by himself without any acknowledgement of the children's physical contact. An exception, however, comes from the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj* at Saqqara. On the north wall of Room A13, the eldest son stands beside the tomb owner, holding his right hand. Another man appears on the other side, holding his left hand.<sup>204</sup> An inscription before him reads *tw3 hr smr wcty hry-ḥbt ʿpr.f* “leaning on the sole companion, the lector priest, *ʿpr.f*.”<sup>205</sup> Based on this inscription, Kanawati suggests the scene commemorates the support from the sons when the tomb owner was sick.<sup>206</sup> Both the inscription and the posture suggest that *Mrrw-k3.j* seems to place his weight upon the hands of the two men. Because *Mrrw-k3.j*, who appears as the recipient, and his eldest son, who appears as the agent, are both integrated parts of the action, the physical contact between *Mrrw-k3.j* and his son can be considered bilateral.

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<sup>204</sup> For the “hand in hand” posture in the Old Kingdom tomb decoration, see Kim McCorquodale, “‘Hand in hand’: Reliefs in the Chapel of Mereruka and Other Old Kingdom Tombs,” in *Egyptian Culture and Society: Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati 2*, eds. Alexandra Woods, Ann McFarlane, and Susanne Binder (Le Caire: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités, 2010), 27-34.

<sup>205</sup> There is not any kinship designation to indicate that he is a son of *Mrrw-k3.j*. Duell suggests he is a son, because he appears in this scene with the eldest son *Mmj*, one at each side of the tomb owner, see Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*. vol 1, 3-4. The name of *Mmj* was erased in this scene.

<sup>206</sup> Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, caption fig. 117.



Figure 11. Tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj* at Saqqara, Kanawati et al., *Mereruka III*: 2, pl. 73.

### ***Stance Type A-2: Seated or kneeling and touching a major figure***

Children are less often depicted knee-sitting or kneeling near the tomb owner while having physical contact with him (Stance Type A-2). Only three examples of this stance occur in the dataset. One comes from the tomb of *Jnw-Mnw* near the Teti Pyramid. On the north wall of Room III, a son knee-sits in front of the seated tomb owner under his offering table. He embraces the calves of his father with the right arm and places the left hand upon the chest. This stance is uncommon among children, especially sons, though wives occasionally kneel at the foot of the husband and embrace his calf.<sup>207</sup> Another example occurs in the tomb of *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup> / Šsj* in the same cemetery near the Teti Pyramid. On the west face of Pillar 2 in Room III, the daughter of the tomb owner kneels between his legs and embraces his ankle with her arm. The third example is from the

<sup>207</sup> McCorquodale, *Representations of the Family in the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Women and Marriage*, 21.

tomb of *Jrj-n-ḥt* / *Jrj* / *Jrj-n-Pth*. On the north wall of the chapel, a daughter kneels at the foot of the tomb owner. Wearing a pigtail with a round ornament at the end, she holds a lotus flower to her nose with one hand and touches the tomb owner with the other hand.

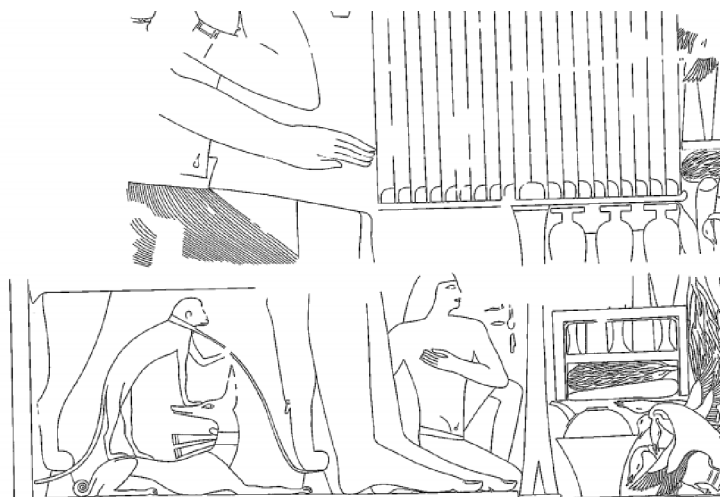


Figure 12. Tomb of *Jnw-Mnw* at Saqqara, Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery VIII*, pl. 51[b].

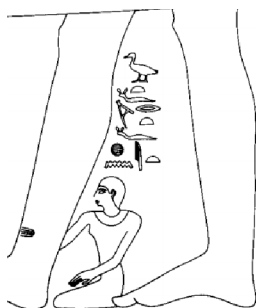


Figure 13. Tomb of *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>* / *Šsj* at Saqqara, Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery III*, pl. 49[a].

### **Stance Type AS: At a reduced scale at the foot of a major figure**

Children often appear at a reduced scale at the foot of their parents. This position encompasses a diversity of less restricted gestures, compared with the rigid stance of their father, either stands with his staff or sits in a chair. Children may raise a hand to touch the parents, or stand at the foot of the father or mother with their hands pendent, or with one

arm bent to the chest. In many cases, they grasp the lower part of their father's staff or hold offerings such as birds. In order to include all the iconographic peculiarities of children at the foot of a major figure, this study divides these types of stances into six sub-types.

***Stance Type AS-1: Standing at the foot of a major figure and touching him or her***

Children may appear at the foot of their father or mother and have physical contact with them. They sometimes embrace the calves of their parents with the arm or touch their legs. This stance may occur in combination with other stances. For instance, a child might hold birds or lotus flowers in the other hand while touching a major figure. The child might grasp the lower part of the staff of the father with one hand while touching him. Stance AS-1 occur 40 times in the dataset: 23 in Giza,<sup>208</sup> 13 in Saqqara,<sup>209</sup> and 4 in provincial sites.<sup>210</sup> Fifteen cases depict daughters: 11 in Giza,<sup>211</sup> 3 in Saqqara,<sup>212</sup> and only one in provincial sites.<sup>213</sup> Twenty-three of the 40 examples show children depicted as youths: 16 in Giza,<sup>214</sup> 5 in Saqqara,<sup>215</sup> and 2 in provincial sites.<sup>216</sup>

<sup>208</sup> In 21 tombs: *ih̄tj-mh̄w* (G 2375), *Jj-mry* (G 6020, LG 15), *J(w)ffj*, *Jtj* (G 7391), *W3š-Pth*, *Pr-snb* (LG 78), *Mry-jb* / *K3-pw-nswt* (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24), *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr* / *Q3r* (G 7101), *Nfr-sh̄.f-Pth* (LG 79), *Nfr-sšm-Hwfw* / *Šsj*, *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>*, *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh̄* (G 7948), *Sndm-jb* / *Mhj* (G 2378, LG26), *Shm-nh̄-Pth* (G 7152), *Sšm-nfr I* (G 4940, LG 45), *K3.j-pw-nswt* / *K3j* (G 4651), *K3(j)-nj-nswt I* (G 2155), *K3pj* (G 2091), *K3-hj.f* (G 2136), *K3-hr-Pth* (G 7721), and *Ttj*.

<sup>209</sup> In ten tombs: *Jnw-Mnw* (around Teti Pyramid), *nh̄-Hwt-Hr*, *Mhw*, *Mttj*, *Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>*, *Hnw*, *Hnmw-htp* (double tomb of *Nj-nh̄-Hnmw* & *Hnmw-htp*), *Sn-jt.f* (in the same tomb of *K3-h3.j*), *K3.j-m-htz*, and *K3-hzw.f* (Abusir South, possible son of *Nfr-Inpw*).

<sup>210</sup> In three tombs: *Hw-ns* (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2), *Nj-k3.j-nh̄ II* (Tehna Tomb 15), and *Q3r* / *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr* (Edfu, M V of Garnot).

<sup>211</sup> In the tombs of *Jj-mry* (G 6020, LG 15), *Jtj* (G 7391), *W3š-Pth*, *Pr-snb* (LG 78), *Nfr-sh̄.f-Pth* (LG 79), *Nfr-sšm-Hwfw* / *Šsj*, *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>*, *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh̄*, *Sndm-jb* / *Mhj* (G 2378, LG26), *Shm-nh̄-Pth* (G 7152), and *K3pj* (G 2091).

<sup>212</sup> In the tombs of *nh̄-Hwt-Hr* and *Mhw*, *Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>*.

<sup>213</sup> *Hw-ns* (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2).

<sup>214</sup> In nine tombs: *Nfr-sh̄.f-Pth* (LG 79), *Nfr-sšm-Hwfw* / *Šsj*, *Shm-nh̄-Pth* (G 7152), *Sšm-nfr I* (G 4940, LG 45), *K3.j-pw-nswt* / *K3j* (G 4651), *K3(j)-nj-nswt I* (G 2155), *K3-hj.f* (G 2136), *K3-hr-Pth* (G 7721), and *Ttj*.

<sup>215</sup> In four tombs: *nh̄-Hwt-Hr*, *Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>*, double tomb of *Nj-nh̄-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp*, and *K3.j-m-htz*.

<sup>216</sup> *Hw-ns* (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2) and *Hw-ns* (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2).

More common is the son stands at the foot of the father while having physical contact with him, and the daughter is at the foot of the mother, touching her. More than half of children touching their parents at the foot are youths. In the tomb of *Nfr-sh.f-Pth* at Giza (LG 79), for example, a son appears as a nude boy behind the tomb owner touching his father's calf, while a daughter stands behind the wife touching her mother's calf.



Figure 14. Tomb of *Nfr-sh.f-Pth* at Giza, *LD II*, 94[e].

Three examples of daughters appearing at the foot of the father and touching his calf occur in the dataset. In the tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh* at Giza (G 7948), a daughter stands behind the tomb owner at a reduced scale and embraces his calf with her arm. She wears a short wig and a long dress.<sup>217</sup>

<sup>217</sup> The daughter may wear short curled hair rather than a wig since short hair is not uncommon in the Old Kingdom. The depiction of the short curled hair looks similar to a short wig, and no criterion has been found to differentiate them. It is likely that the elite is represented with wigs, in contrast with non-elite laborers depicted in the same scenes. See Verma, *Cultural Expression in the Old Kingdom Elite Tomb*, 82-83. In this study, the depiction of a short curled hairstyle is simply referred as a short wig.



Figure 15. Tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh* at Giza, *LD II*, 8.

Another example comes from the tomb of *Pr-snb* at Giza (LG 78), where a daughter appears as a nude girl on the pillar with her father, facing him. She stands between his leg and his staff, touches his kilt with one hand, and places the other hand upon her chest.



Figure 16. Tomb of *Pr-snb* at Giza, *LD II*, 94[c].

A relief in the tomb of *Nj-k'w-R<sup>c</sup>* at Saqqara is the third example of a daughter in this stance. The daughter stands at the foot of the tomb owner on the right inner jamb of the wife's false door. She appears as a nude girl holding a lotus flower toward the nose with one hand, and embracing her father's calf with the other hand.





Figure 17. Tomb of *Nj-kʿw-R<sup>c</sup>* at Saqqara, Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, Bl. 19, No. 1414.

As the example of *Nj-kʿw-R<sup>c</sup>* shows, Stance AS-1 occasionally combines with other stances, especially Stance AS-4, standing at the foot of a major figure carrying birds, lotus flower, or other accessories. Stance AS-1-4 combines both AS-1 and AS-4. In this stance, a child touches the major figure with one hand and carries accessories with the other hand. In the tomb of *Jnw-Mnw*, for example, his eldest son *Hwj* stands at the foot of his father at a reduced scale, and embraces his calf with one hand. He holds a small gazelle across his chest with his other hand.

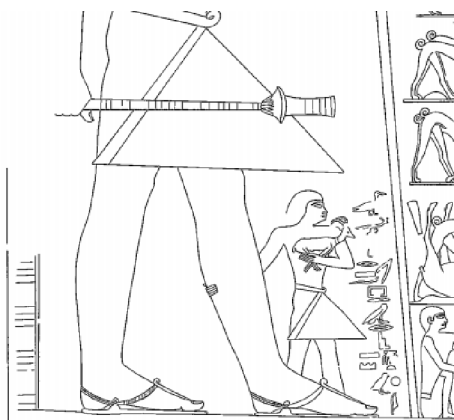


Figure 18. Tomb of *Jnw-Mnw* at Saqqara, Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery VIII*, pl.47.

A combination of Stance AS-1 and Stance AS-2 is also possible—that is, grasping the lower part of tomb owner’s staff with one hand while touching the father with the other hand. In the tomb of *Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt* at Giza (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24), for example, a son, appearing as a nude boy, stands in front of the tomb owner on his own sub-register that is slightly higher than the ground line. He turns his head backward and touches his father’s kilt while grasping the lower part of his staff with the other hand.<sup>218</sup> The depiction of children as nude youths with their heads turned backward to their parents seems to be a means to express affection and dependence.<sup>219</sup>

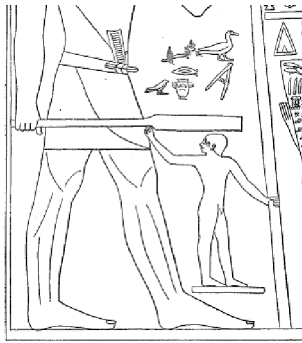


Figure 19. Tomb of *Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt* at Giza (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24), Junker, *Giza II*, 128, Abb. 11.

A scene from the tomb of *Jwff* at Giza further enlarges the repertory of this subtype. On the left jamb of the false door, *Jwff*’s son appears as a nude boy at his father’s foot, holding his staff with one hand and embracing his calf with the other.

<sup>218</sup> The 180-degree head turn is obviously unrealistic. A head turn of more than 90 degrees, however, is treated this way. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 136.

<sup>219</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 137.



Figure 20. Tomb of *Jwff* at Giza, James, *Hiero. Texts I*, end ed., pl. xiv.

Sons may also have physical contact with their mother, especially in her chapel or on her false door. For example, on the left and right jambs of *ḥnh-Hwt-Hr*'s false door, her son and her daughter stand in front of her, embracing her leg with their hand. The son appears as a nude boy, while the daughter appears as an adult at a relatively small scale wearing a sheath dress and a long lappet wig.



Figure 21. False door of *ḥnh-Hwt-Hr* at Saqqara, Silverman (1983), in *ZÄS* 110, 80, fig. 1.

***Stance Type AS-2: Standing at the foot of a major figure and holding his staff***

The diminutive figure of a son holds the lower part of his father's staff is a particular theme in the private chapels in the Old Kingdom.<sup>220</sup> It occurs 152 times in the dataset and is most popular in the Saqqara region with 86 examples:<sup>221</sup> 54 at Giza and 12 at provincial sites. Children appear as youths in 64 cases, which is 42% of the samples.

Children in this stance usually stand between the leg of the father and his staff and hold the lower part of the staff with their hand. In the tomb of *ḥtj-ḥtp* at Saqqara (E 17), for example, the eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner on the north wall, grasping the lower part of the staff of his father. An interesting detail is the overlapping foot of the father and the son. In each case, the father's foot always covers the son's foot. This overlapping possibly attempts to create scene depth by placing the figure of the tomb owner in the foreground.<sup>222</sup>

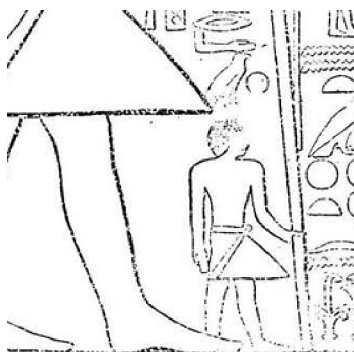


Figure 22. Tomb of *ḥtj-ḥtp* at Saqqara (E 17), Petrie & Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. v.

<sup>220</sup> This representation disappeared in the Middle Kingdom, see Henry G. Fischer, "Some Iconographic and Literary Comparisons," in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*, eds. by Jan Assmann, Erika Feucht, and Reinhard Grieshammer (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977), 158-159.

<sup>221</sup> Not including four examples of AS-1-2 and AS-1-2-Y.

<sup>222</sup> Gay Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1994), 8-11.

In some cases, the child does not grasp his father's staff with his hand but rather holds it in the crook of one arm in a relaxed gesture. An example of this stance appears on a pillar in the tomb of *ḥt-ḥtp* at Giza, where a son, who appears as a nude child, stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds his staff in the crook of his arm.



Figure 23. Tomb of *ḥt-ḥtp* at Giza, Hassan, *Giza I*, 80, fig. 139.

Children may also grasp the staff when the tomb owner is seated on a chair. In the tomb of *Ms-sʿ* at Giza, a son who stands in front of the seated tomb owner reaches his hand backward to grasp the lower part of his father's staff. An interesting detail in this scene is the rendering of the son's position. He does not stand behind the staff but in front of it. This position may have been a result of limited space between the staff of the tomb owner and his feet. The position of the son also associates him more closely with his name, title, and designation inscribed in front of him.



Figure 24. Tomb of *Ms-sʿ* at Giza, Hassan, *Giza V*, 291, fig. 152.

When more than one child appears together at the foot of their father, they may display a diversity of stances. In the tomb of *Ty* at Saqqara (No. 66 [D 22]), two sons appear at the foot of the tomb owner, one as an adult carrying papyrus scrolls, the other as a youth sucking his finger while grasping the lower part of the staff. Their appearance at different stages of life indicates that the one on the left is an elder son. The designation *zʿ.f smsw* “his eldest son” on the left and *zʿ.f mry.f* “his son, his beloved one” on the right further verify this observation. Moreover, the designation *zʿ.f mry.f* is most frequently used for the youngest son.<sup>223</sup> However, it is still difficult to know whether a son is the youngest unless he is the only one depicted as a nude boy or placed at the end of a sequence of children of the tomb owner. When a child appears as a nude youth, it does not mean that he or she was still a little child when the tomb owner commissioned the decoration. In the case of *Ty*, the younger son was probably an adult since he bears

<sup>223</sup> Myśliwiec, “Father’s and Eldest Son’s Overlapping Feet: An Iconographic Message,” 314.

the title *šḥd jrw šn pr-ḥ* “inspector of hairdressers of the Great House”<sup>224</sup> and is shown as an adult elsewhere in the chapel.<sup>225</sup>

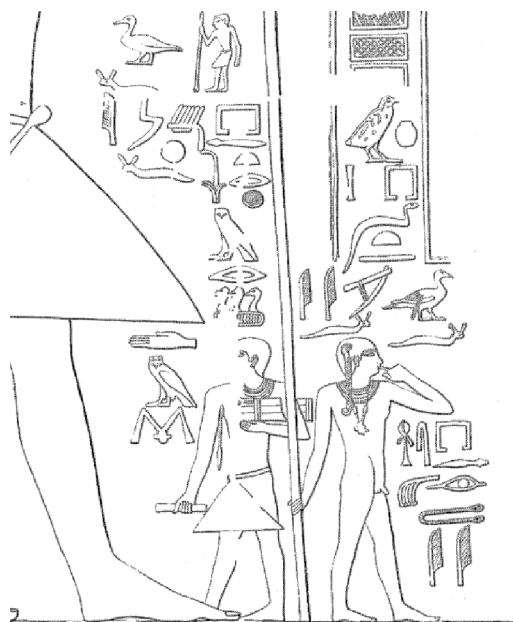


Figure 25. Tomb of *Ty* at Saqqara, Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, pl. xxxi.

In most cases, children in Stance AS-2 are sons. The representations of a daughter grasping the staff of the tomb owner, however, occur in four cases, although women do not appear holding a staff independently. All the four examples come from Giza, including the tombs of *ḥtj-ḥtp* (PM III 284), *Pr-snb*, *Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt* (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24), and *K3(j)-nfr* (G 2150).

*ḥtj-ḥtp* has at least two sons and one daughter. One of the sons and his daughter *Nfrt* have the designations *z3.f smsw* “his eldest son” and *z3t.f smsw* “his eldest daughter.” *Nfrt* appears at the foot of his father as a nude youth on the pillar, grasping the lower part

<sup>224</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 915.

<sup>225</sup> He appears on the recess of the door way, the corridor, the south wall of the particle, and the west and east walls of Room I, See Lucienne Épron and François Daumas. *Le tombeau de Ti* (Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1939), pls. xlv, xliv, xxxi, xxvii, xvii, lxliv.

of his staff. She also appears standing behind him at the entrance. Her designation “his eldest daughter” and her unusual stance may be an indication of her prominence in the family.



Figure 26. Tomb of ȥhtj-ḥtp at Giza, Hassan, *Giza I*, 79, fig. 138.

On the pillar in the tomb of *Pr-snb* at Giza, a daughter named *Hntj* stands at the foot of her father. Her arm extends behind her and her hand grasps the lower part of her father’s staff. She holds a lotus flower in the other hand toward her nose. Both her feet are absent, obscured by her father’s feet. It is not clear whether she is the only child of the family, though she is the only one represented in the preserved scenes. She appears at least twice at the foot of her father, which may indicate her importance to the family.

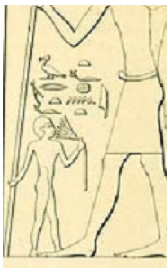


Figure 27. Tomb of *Pr-snb* at Giza, *LD II*, 94[c].



In the tomb of *Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt*, a daughter named *Nn-sdr-k3(j)* stands in front of the tomb owner and turns backward to grasp the lower part of the staff. She appears as an adult, wearing a long dress with V-shaped straps on the shoulders. She also holds a lotus flower with a curled stem in the other hand. She is apparently not the only child in the family. *Mry-jb* has at least two sons and another daughters. His eldest son and the other daughter appear in the same scene with *Nn-sdr-k3(j)*, but interestingly enough, it is not the eldest son who holds the staff of their father. It is also worth noting that *Nn-sdr-k3(j)* owns a mastaba (G 2101) near that of her father.<sup>226</sup> She bears the titles *ḥkrt nswt* “ornament of the king,”<sup>227</sup> *ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥwt-Ḥr* “priestess of Hathor,”<sup>228</sup> *ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥwfw* “*ḥm-ntr* priestess of Khufu,”<sup>229</sup> and *z3t nswt* “king’s daughter.”<sup>230</sup> Her high status may have been the reason that *Mry-jb* decided to depict her holding the lower part of the staff. She also appears in her own tomb at the foot of her father in this stance.<sup>231</sup>

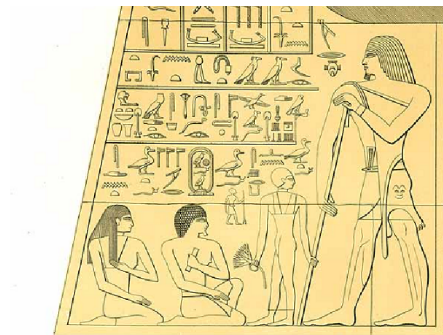


Figure 28. Tomb of *Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt* at Giza (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24), *LD II*, 22[a].

<sup>226</sup> Junker, *Giza II*, 97-121, Abb. 7-8.

<sup>227</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 794.

<sup>228</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 540.

<sup>229</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 565.

<sup>230</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 817. For these titles, see §1.2.

<sup>231</sup> Junker, *Giza II*, 117, Abb. 8. See discussion in Chapter 3, under “Stance Type B-4.”

On the north wall of the chapel of *K3(j)-nfr* at Giza, his daughter *Mrt-jt.s* stands at his foot, grasping his staff. She appears as an adult, wearing a short wig and a long dress with straps on her shoulders. *Mrt-jt.s* is not the only child in the family. *K3(j)-nfr* has a son named *Swḏ-K3(j)*, who also appears twice as a youth in the tomb scenes. It is possible that *Mrt-jt.s* is the eldest child and may have been the only child before the birth of her younger brother. Consequently, she may have become significant enough to be depicted holding the staff of her father. It is worth noting that she also bears the title *ḥkrt nswt*, another possible reason for her prominence in her father's tomb decoration.<sup>232</sup>

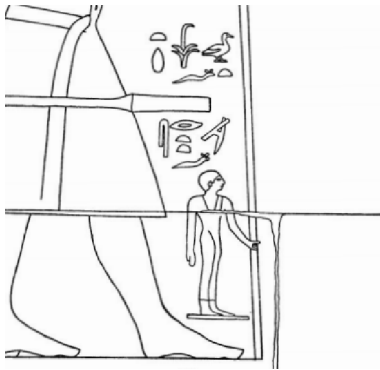


Figure 29. Tomb of *K3(j)-nfr* at Giza, Reisner, *Giza I*, fig. 264.

***Stance Type AS-3: Standing at the foot of a major figure with arms placed upon the chest or pendent, or suckling the index finger***

Stance Type AS-3, with a total number of 55 occurrences in the dataset, is much less common than AS-2. It occurs 32 times in the Saqqara region,<sup>233</sup> 18 times in Giza,<sup>234</sup>

<sup>232</sup> According to Fischer, women bearing this title are those who entertained the king by their grace and beauty, see Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 31.

<sup>233</sup> In 14 tombs: *ḥt-ḥtp* (D 64), *ḥm-m-ḥr / Ssj, Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj, Mttj, Nj-ḥm-Ppy / Nj-ḥm-Mry-Rc, Nj-k3(j)-Rc, Nj-k3w-Jzzj* (around Teti Pyramid), *Nfr* (in the same tomb of his father *k3-ḥ3.j*), *Nfr-sšm-Rc / Šsj, Nn-ḥft-k3(j)* (D 47), *Hr-mrw / Mry, Hntj-k3 / Jhhj*, and *K3(j)-m-ḥnt, Tjt-ḥm* (in the tomb of *Jris / Jjj*).

<sup>234</sup> In 14 tombs: *ḥtj-mrw-nswt* (G 2184), *ḥtj-mhw* (G 2375), *Jdw* (G 7102), *Wnšt* (G4840, VII SS), *Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt* (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24), *Mr-ḥm.f, Mrs-ḥm III* (G 7530 + 7540), *Nj-mstj* (G 2366), *Nj-ḥtp-Pth / Pnj* (G 2340,

and 5 times in the provinces.<sup>235</sup> They appear as adult in 43 examples and as youths sucking the index finger in 7 examples. This means the majority of children depicted at the foot of their parents with arms placed upon the chest or pendent are adults. Sons appear more frequently in this stance than daughters are. Only 11 daughters are in this stance.

A typical example of Stance AS-3 comes from the tomb of *Nj-k3w-Jzzj* near the Teti Pyramid. On the east thickness of the entrance, the eldest son stands between the leg of the tomb owner and his staff at a reduced scale. Similar scenes decorate the west thickness, and also both sides of the entrance, all with the eldest son standing at the foot of the tomb owner in stance AS-3. The son wears a long wig, a short beard, a collar and a short projecting kilt, the same as his father does on both sides of the entrance. It is worth noting that the son's foot does not overlap with that of his father on both sides of the entrance facade, but their feet overlap in scenes inside the chapel.



Figure 30. Tomb of *Nj-k3w-Jzzj* at Saqqara, Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery VI*, pl. 46.

LG 25), *Zlw* (G 4710, LG 49), *Sndm-jb / Mhj* (G 2378, LG26), *Shm-k3(j)* (G 1029), *Shm-k3(j)* (G4411, LG51), and *K3(j)-mnj*.

<sup>235</sup> In four tombs: *Q3r / Mry-Rc-nfr* (Edfu, M V of Garnot), *cn-nhj* (El-Hagarsa B13), *Šps-pw-Mnw / Hnj / Hn-nhw / Hn-nh* (El-Hawawish H24), *Ppy-nh-hrj-jb* (Meir No. D2).

Daughters may stand at the foot of the mother. On the false door of *Wnšt* at Giza (G 4840), for example, a daughter stands at her foot on a slightly higher sub-register.

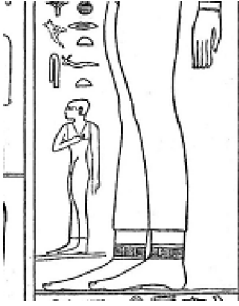


Figure 31. Tomb of *Wnšt* at Giza (G 4840), Junker, *Giza I*, 252-253, Abb 63.

***Stance Type AS-4: Standing at the foot of a major figure carrying birds, lotus flowers, or other objects***

Stance Type AS-4 occurs less frequently than AS-3 with 21 references in the dataset. The majority (16) of the examples come from the Saqqara region,<sup>236</sup> two from Giza,<sup>237</sup> and three from the provincial sites.<sup>238</sup> Children appearing at the foot of the tomb owner may carry a small bird (or several small birds), a papyrus scroll, a piece of cloth, or a lotus flower. In the tomb of *Df-ʿw* at Saqqara, for example, a son stands at the foot of the tomb owner on the left outer jamb and carries a papyrus scroll in his hand.

<sup>236</sup> From eight tombs: *ʿhṯj-htp* (Louvre E. 10958, Mastaba du Louvre), *Wʿš-Pth / Jzj*, *Bjʿ / Jry*, *Pth-špss* (PM III 340-342, Abusir), *Mry-Ttj* (son of *Mrrw-kʿj*, in the same tomb), *Mrrw-kʿj / Mrj*, double tomb of *Nj-ʿnh-Hnmw & Hnmw-htp*, *Kʿ-gm-nj / Mmj / Gmnj*, and *Df-ʿw* (D 25).

<sup>237</sup> In the tombs of *Zʿ-jb* (G 2092+2093) and *Ttj*.

<sup>238</sup> In the tombs of *Jttj / Šdw* (Deshasha) and *Mrw / Bbj* (el-Sheikh Said No. 3).

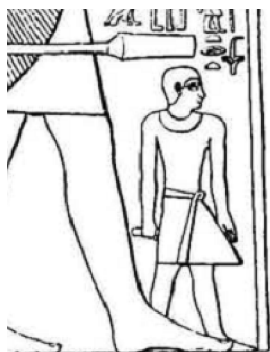


Figure 32. Tomb of *Df-ꜣw* at Saqqara, Petrie, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. xiv.

Sons at the foot of the tomb owner do not usually carry their own staff and scepter. The only exception comes from the tomb of *Jttj / Šdw* at Deshasha. On the south and north walls of the entrance passage, the eldest son appears at a reduced scale on a slightly higher sub-register at the foot of the tomb owner. Represented as an adult man, he wears a long wig and a projecting kilt. Unlike those who grasp the staff of the father, this son carries his own staff and scepter. This possibly represents a local tradition to emphasize the status of the eldest son as an accomplished official.



Figure 33. Tomb of *Jttj / Šdw* at Deshasha, Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 45.

It is worth noting that depictions often combine Stance AS-4 with other stances, especially Stance AS-2 and Stance AS-1. In the dataset, Stance AS-2-4 occurs 53 times, and Stance AS-1-4 occurs 11 times. In Stance AS-2-4 and Stance AS-1-2, the figure touches a major figure or grasps the lower part of the staff while carrying a bird, a lotus flower, or a papyrus scroll. In the tomb of *Pth-špss* at Saqqara, two sons stand at the foot of the tomb owner. The one to the right grasps the lower part of the staff and carries a bird in the other hand, while the one behind him carries a bird in one hand, and holds a lotus flower towards his nose with the other hand.

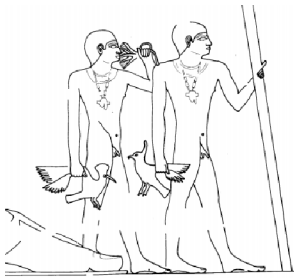


Figure 34. Tomb of *Pth-špss* at Saqqara, Verner, *Abusir I, Ptahshepses*, pl. 31.

The only daughter depicted in this stance comes from the tomb of *Z3-jb* at Giza (G 2092+2093). One of the three daughters of the tomb owner stands at his father's foot and carries a bird in each hand.



Figure 35. Tomb of *Z3-jb* at Giza, Roth, *Palace Attendants*, fig. 173b.

***Stance Type AS-5: In contact with other individuals at the foot of a major figure***

Although more than one child may stand at the foot of the tomb owner, the only example of children having physical contact with each other in this position comes from the tomb of  $H^c.f-R^c-nh$  at Giza (G 7948). Two sons of the tomb owner stand at his foot as nude boys. The one to the left has the staff in the crook of his arm and turns backward to look at his brother, who stands behind him holding his hand.

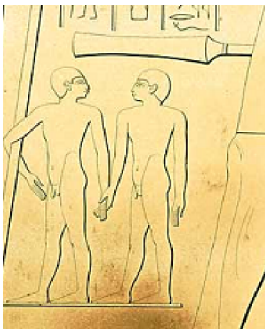


Figure 36. Tomb of  $H^c.f-R^c-nh$  at Giza, *LD II*, 8.

**Stance Type B: Standing in a variety of poses (not at the foot of a major figure)**

In the scene, children of the tomb owner may be depicted standing in a variety of poses not at the foot of the tomb owner. They can be in front of the tomb owner and his wife or behind them on the same or different registers. When facing the tomb owner, they may be separated by the staff or columns of inscriptions. Stance Type B displays a less intimate relationship between the parents and their children than Stance Type A and Stance Type AS.

***Stance Type B-1: Standing with one hand or two hands placed on the chest***

One of the most common stances for the children is standing with one arm bent to the chest. Children, siblings, and dependents of the tomb owner often have this posture. The depiction of children in Stance B-1 occurs 188 times in the dataset, with 107 examples in Giza, 57 examples in Saqqara, and 24 examples in provincial sites. Almost 70% of children depicted in this stance are daughters of the tomb owner. Seventy-one daughters in Giza, 39 in Saqqara, and 10 in provincial sites are shown standing with their hand placed on the chest. Therefore, daughters are more likely to appear in Stance B-1 than sons, especially in Giza and Saqqara.

The gesture of bending the arm forward across the chest shows reverence to the tomb owner.<sup>239</sup> This gesture also has several variations. Women, in most cases, gesture with their hand open and the palm up, while men clench their hands into a fist in front of the chest.<sup>240</sup> In the tomb of *Špss-k3.f-ḥnḥ* at Giza, for example, a son and two daughters of the tomb owner appear in this stance on the left outer jamb of the false door. The son places his left hand upon the chest in a fist and the other arm pendent with the hand also in a fist, while the two daughters beneath him place the rear palm upon the chest, the other arm pendent with an opened palm.

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<sup>239</sup> Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 5-8, Abb.1.

<sup>240</sup> Because the examples of women who clench their hands into a fist are only found in the sun temple of Niuserre in the Old Kingdom, they are not included in the dataset of this study. For more discussion of the variations, see Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 6.



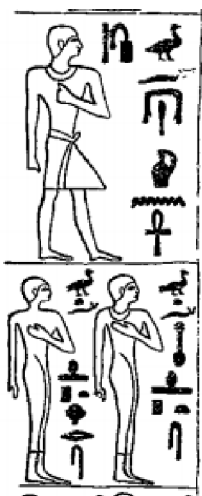


Figure 37. Tomb of *Špss-k³.f-ḥnh* at Giza, Hassan, *Giza II*, 28, fig. 26.

Most children depicted in Stance B-1 appear as adults. Youths in this stance only occur in 12 cases: eight in Giza and four in Saqqara.<sup>241</sup> In the tomb of *Sšm-nfr I* at Giza (Giza 4940), three children appear before the tomb owner as nude boys. The first and the third place their rear hand upon the chest, while the one in the middle crosses both arms over the chest.

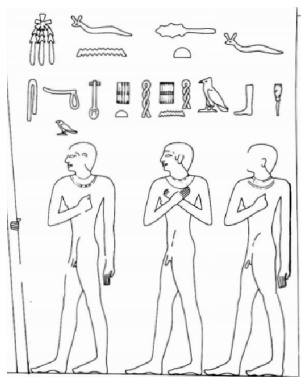


Figure 38. Tomb of *Sšm-nfr I* at Giza, Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 47.

<sup>241</sup> These examples come from five tombs at Giza: *Rdj-ns* (G 5032), *Zṯw* (G 4710), *Šḥm-k³(j)*, *Sšm-nfr I* (G 4940), *Špss-k³.f-ḥnh*, and two tombs at Saqqara, *Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw*, and *K³.j-d³w*.

***Stance Type B-2: Standing with arms pendent, not holding anything***

Standing and placing the arms down besides the body with hands outstretched or clenched into a fist is a gesture that shows reverence.<sup>242</sup> This stance, therefore, implies the same attitude as Stance B-1 but occurs less frequently. In the dataset, 101 examples of Stance B-2 occur: 43 in Giza, 41 in Saqqara, and 17 in provincial sites. In the tomb of *S3b* at Saqqara, a son appears to the right of the panel of the false door before the offering table, with his arms pendent on both sides of the body. One hand is outstretched and the other hand clenched into a fist.



Figure 39. Tomb of *S3b* at Saqqara, Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, 92[171b].

Children depicted in this stance usually appear as adults. The only exceptions occur in the tomb of *Mry-nswt* (G 1301) and the false door of *Tf-nn* (JE 56994) discovered at Giza.<sup>243</sup> On the false door of the former, a son appears on the left outer jamb of the false door, while another son and a daughter appear on the right outer jamb;

<sup>242</sup> Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 6-8.

<sup>243</sup> Goedicke suggests the name should be read *Tf-h3j*, see Hans Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich* (Wien: Verlag Notring, 1970), 183.

both sons appear as nude youths, standing with both arms pendent. On the false door of *Tf-nn*, two sons appear as nude boy, standing with their arms pendent.

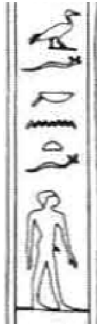


Figure 40. Tomb of *Mry-nswt* at Giza (G 1301), Peck (1972), in *BDIA* 51, 70, fig. 1.

Ten daughters appear in this stance in the dataset: five in Giza, one in Saqqara, and four in provincial sites. In the tomb of *Sš3t-ḥtp / Htj* at Giza (G 5150), a daughter stands behind the seated tomb owner, her arms pendent with both hands open.



Figure 41. Tomb of *Sš3t-ḥtp / Htj* at Giza (G 5150), Kanawati, *Giza II*, pl. 43 [a].

The only example of a daughter appearing in Stance B-2 at Saqqara comes from the tomb of *Wnnj*. On a stela, the daughter stands behind a son with her arms pendent.



Figure 42. Tomb of *Wnnj* at Saqqara, Jequier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 114, fig. 129.

An interesting example occurs in the tomb of *Sbk-nfr* at El-Hagarsa (B 18). On the north wall of the chapel, a daughter stands to the right of the offering list with both arms pendent. A son appears beneath her, possibly in Stance B-1.<sup>244</sup> This is the only example of a daughter appearing next to an offering list.



Figure 43. Tomb of *Sbk-nfr* at El-Hagarsa (B 18), Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa I*, pl. 28.

### ***Stance Type B-3: Standing and carrying offerings***

Stance B-3 is the most common stance for children of the tomb owner. It occurs 211 times in the dataset, and the regional distribution of this stance is relatively even. Each area contributes one-third to the dataset: 64 come from Giza, 73 from Saqqara, and 74 from provincial sites. Given the relatively small number of provincial tombs in the

<sup>244</sup> The lower part of the scene is damaged.

dataset, it is evident that children are more likely to be represented as offering bearers in provincial sites.

Depicted as offering bearers, children of the tomb owner may carry forelegs of bull, birds, and baskets of food offerings, but rarely linen or other funerary equipment. They may stand as an individual on false door jambs, such as in the case of *Nfrt-nswt* at Giza. The three sons of the tomb owner appear on the jambs of the false door, grasping a small bird by its neck in each hand.



Figure 44. Tomb of *Nfrt-nswt* at Giza, Hassan, *Giza II*, 91, fig. 94.

Children of the tomb owner may also stand in a procession of offering bearers. Usually occupying the initial position as the first offering bearer, the eldest son leads other sons and dependents to present food offerings, such as forelegs and birds, to the tomb owner. This type of scene typically has the caption *shpt stpt* “presenting the choice offerings.”<sup>245</sup> On the south wall or Room IV of the tomb of *Špsj-pw-Pth* at Saqqara, for

<sup>245</sup> See discussion in Chapter 4.

example, the eldest son appears as an offering bearer carrying a foreleg before the seated tomb owner.



Figure 45. Tomb of *Špsj-pw-Pth* at Saqqara, Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery VII*, pl. 37.

The depiction of children as offering bearers also occurs in other places in the tomb, such as the lintel and facade, though it is more common to find such depictions inside the chapel. In the tomb of *Hr-mrw / Mry* at Saqqara, a son stands before the tomb owner and his wife on the lintel of the facade. With one hand, he presents a large bird,<sup>246</sup> twisting its neck, while he grasps the wings with the other hand.

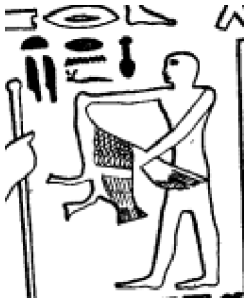


Figure 46. Tomb of *Hr-mrw / Mry* at Saqqara, Hassan, *Saqqara II*, fig. 39.

<sup>246</sup> Probably a goose or a duck. To identify the species of this bird is out of the scope of this study. The large goose or duck carried by the offering bearers is thus simply referred to as “large bird” thereafter. Hassan suggests that twisting the neck of the goose is a specific ritual performed before the offering table. See Hassan, *Excavations at Giza VI-2*, 94.

Stance B-3 is not exclusive to sons, although the majority of children depicted as offering bearers are the male progeny of the tomb owner. In the dataset, however, 25 daughters appear in this stance: 14 in Giza, two in Saqqara, and nine in the provinces. Daughters carry small birds or other food offerings instead of forelegs and large birds. In the tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. 8), four daughters of the tomb owner are offering bearers in a sequence on the west wall. They carry a variety of offerings, including birds, small animals, baskets, and jars.



Figure 47. Tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. 8), Kanawati, *Gabrawi II*, pl. 74 [a].

Daughters are not among the offering bearers carrying choice offerings. The only exceptions occurs in the tomb of *Jrj.s/Jjj* at Saqqara, where two daughters of the tomb owner appear together with the two sons who are presenting forelegs as *stpt*-offerings. Each daughter carries a bird with one hand and holds a lotus flower to her nose with the other hand.



Figure 48. Tomb of *Jrj.s/Jjj* at Saqqara, Kanawati et al. *Saqqara I*, pl. 34.

Both daughters and sons function as offering bearers on false doors, as well as in scenes that appear on chapel walls and pillars.<sup>247</sup> In the tomb of *Snnw* at Giza, for example, a daughter appears on the right outer jamb of the false door, grasping a bird with her right hand.



Figure 49. Tomb of *Snnw* at Giza, James, *Hiero. Texts, I*, 2nd ed., pl.xx [3].

Children in Stance B-3 seldom appear as youths. Only 10 examples of children carrying offerings as youths occur in the dataset from five tombs: *Rdj-ns* (G

<sup>247</sup> Pillars in the tombs of *Sbk-htp* at Qubbet el-Hawa (B1, de Morgan) and *Hwj* at Qubbet el-Hawa (A5, de Morgan) have daughters as offering bearers.



5032), *Hwfw-ḥnh* (G 4520), and *Špsj* at Giza, as well as *Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>* and *Shm-k3* at Saqqara.

On the statue niche of *Rdj-ns*, for example, a son appears as a nude boy at the bottom of the right inner jamb, presenting a bird.

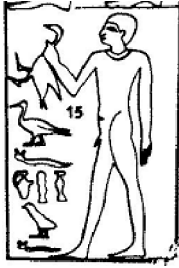


Figure 50. Tomb of *Rdj-ns* at Giza (G 5032), Manuelian (1994), in Silverman ed., *For His Ka*, 61, fig. 4.7.

***Stance Type B-4: Standing and carrying accessories such as a staff, a scepter, a papyrus scroll, or a piece of cloth***

Like the tomb owner, sons may appear standing and carry a staff and a scepter, but they are usually depicted at a smaller scale. This stance occurs 40 times in the dataset: 16 in Giza,<sup>248</sup> 14 in Saqqara,<sup>249</sup> and 10 in provincial sites.<sup>250</sup> Stance B-4 is exclusive to sons; no daughters carry a staff, a scepter or other accessories, such as papyrus scrolls and pieces of cloth. In the tomb of *ḥnh-ḥ3.f* at Giza, for example, a son carrying a staff and a scepter appears on the jamb of the false door.

<sup>248</sup> In 13 tombs: *ḥnh-ḥ3.f*, *Wp-m-nfrt* / *Wp*, *Wnšt* (G4840, VII SS), *Mrs-ḥnh III* (G 7530 + 7540), *Mdw-nfr* (G4630), *Nj-ḥnh-nj* / *Njj*, *Hnt-k3w.s*, *Snfrw-htp* (G 3088), *Štpw* / *Tw*, *K3j-pw-nswt* / *K3j* (G 4651), *K3(j)-nj-nswt I* (G 2155), *Tf-nn* (Cairo Mus. JE 56994), and *Tj*.

<sup>249</sup> In seven tombs: *J3rtj*, *W3š-Pth* / *Jzj*, *Bj3* / *Jry*, *Ntr-wsr*, *Htp-ḥr-3ḥtj* (D 60), *Htp-k3(j)* / *Tp-k3(j)* (S 3509), and *Dw3-R<sup>c</sup>*.

<sup>250</sup> In nine tombs: *Jzj* / *Hm-R<sup>c</sup>* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N46), *Hnqw II* / *Jj...f* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N67), *D<sup>c</sup>w* / *Šm3j* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12), *Nfrt-ḥr* (El-Hagarsa A6), *K3(j)-hnt* (El-Hammamiya A2), *Mmj* (El-Hawawish B12), *Nhwt-dšr* / *Mry* (El-Hawawish G95), *Hzy-Mnw* / *Zzj* / *Dwdy* (El-Hawawish F1), and *Mrw* / *Jy* (Nag' el-Deir N3737).



Figure 51. Tomb of ḥnḥ-ḥ³.f at Giza, James, *Hiero. Texts I*, 2nd ed. pl. xv.

Standing while carrying a papyrus scroll is also common among sons. In the tomb of *Nṯr-wsr* at Saqqara, for example, two sons of the tomb owner, each with a papyrus scroll in hand, stand before the offering table before a procession of offering bearers.



Figure 52. Tomb of *Nṯr-wsr* at Saqqara, Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. xxiii.

Sons depicted in Stance B-4 rarely appear as youths. The only example of a youth carrying a piece of cloth comes from the tomb of *Ttj* at Giza, where the naked son with a side lock stands at a reduced scale.



Figure 53. Tomb of *Tj* at Giza, James, *Hiero. Texts I*, 2nd ed., pl.vi.

### ***Stance Type B-5: Standing and holding lotus flowers***

Daughters of the tomb owner sometimes hold a lotus flower toward the nose. Harpur suggests that this gesture, combined with a pendent arm, is the female equivalent of a man with his staff and scepter.<sup>251</sup> The wife of the tomb owner and female tomb owners frequently hold a lotus flower from the late Fourth Dynasty.<sup>252</sup> Nevertheless, it is less common to see daughters in this stance, especially in the Memphite region. Twenty-one examples occur in the dataset: 4 in Giza,<sup>253</sup> 2 in Saqqara,<sup>254</sup> and 15 in provincial sites.<sup>255</sup> Thus, the distribution is heavily biased toward the provinces. Its popularity at area may point to a local tradition, especially in sites in Middle Egypt, such as Quseir el-Amarna, El-Hawawish, and El-Hagarsa.

<sup>251</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 134.

<sup>252</sup> Gabriele Pieke, "Der Grabherr und die Lotosblume: zu lokalen und geschlechtsspezifischen Traditionen eines Motivkreises," in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague, May 31 - June 4, 2004*, ed. Miroslav Bárta (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2006), 260-261.

<sup>253</sup> In the tombs of *Pth-sdf* / *Ffj*, *Hnw*, and *Snnw-k3(j)* / *Kkj* (G 2041).

<sup>254</sup> In the tombs of *Bj3* / *Jry* and *K3.j-m-hzt*.

<sup>255</sup> In seven tombs: *6n-6nhj* (El-Hagarsa B13), *Mry II* (El-Hagarsa C2), *Mry-63* (El-Hagarsa D18), *B3wj* (El-Hawawish CG 20504), *Nhwt-d3r* / *Mry* (El-Hawawish G95), *3pss-pw-Mnw* / *Hnj* / *Hn-6nhw* / *Hn-6nh* (El-Hawawish H24), and *Hw.n-wh* / *Tj* (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2).

A typical example of this gesture occurs in the tomb of *Špss-pw-Mnw / Hnj* at El-Hawawish (H24). On the north wall of the shrine, two daughters of the tomb owner stand and hold a lotus flower to their nose.



Figure 54. Tomb of *Špss-pw-Mnw / Hnj* at El-Hawawish (H24), Kanawati, *El-Hawawish II*, fig. 25.

In the tomb of *Pth-sdf³ / Ffj* at Giza, for example, a daughter stands behind the wife on the false door and holds a lotus flower in her hand. In this case, however, the daughter uses both hands to hold the stem and does not sniff the flower.



Figure 55. Tomb of *Pth-sdf³ / Ffj* at Giza, Hassan, *Giza I*, fig. 169.

### ***Stance Type B-6: Standing with arm(s) raised up***

Raising one's arm usually indicates that the figure is speaking, reciting spells, or making offerings. In some cases, raising both arms in front of the body connotes

deference.<sup>256</sup> The dataset had eight occurrences of this stance: three in Giza,<sup>257</sup> two in Saqqara,<sup>258</sup> and three in provincial sites.<sup>259</sup> All children depicted in these are sons. One example occurs in the tomb of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q3r* at Giza (G 7101), where a son of *Q3r* named *Jdw* appears on the west wall of Room E to the right of the false door. *Jdw* wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt, and holds a papyrus scroll with one hand and raises the other hand in front of him with his palm facing upward. The caption of this scene reads *hṭp dj nswt jm3hw hr Wsjr Q3r jn z3 Jdw* “The offering that the king gave (for) the well provided before Osiris, Qar, by (his) son Idu.”<sup>260</sup> The gesture of raising the arm here indicates that *Jdw* is making offerings for his father.

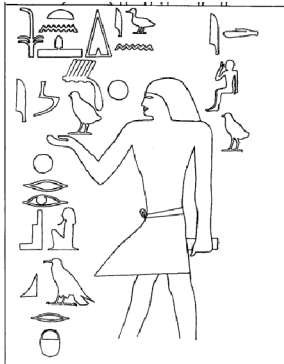


Figure 56. Tomb of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q3r* at Giza, Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pl. 32.

On the west walls of the tombs of *K3(.j)-nj-nswt II* at Giza (G 2156) and *K3-hj.f* at Giza (G 2136), the sons stand before the offering list with arms raised in a gesture of speaking or reciting. In the tombs of *Wnnj* at Saqqara, *Hnw* at Saqqara, and *Mrw / Jy* at

<sup>256</sup> Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 78-79, Abb. 17, and 29-30, Abb. 9.

<sup>257</sup> In the tombs of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q3r* (G 7101), *K3(.j)-nj-nswt II* (G 2156), and *K3-hj.f* (G 2136).

<sup>258</sup> In the tombs of *Wnnj* (offering table) and *Hnw*.

<sup>259</sup> *Srf-k3(.j)* (el-Sheikh Said No. 1), *Mrw / Jy* (Nag' el-Deir N3737), and *Hwj* (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A5).

<sup>260</sup> Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, G7101 and 7102, 11.

Nag' el-Deir (N3737), the sons appear with both arms raised in front of the body in a gesture showing deference. This stance, however, was not popular in the Old Kingdom, with all three examples dating to the late Sixth Dynasty or later.<sup>261</sup>



Figure 57. Tomb of *Mrw* / *Jy* at Nag el-Deir, Peck, *Naga ed-Der*, pl. xi.

***Stance Type B-Y: Standing as a youth sucking the index finger***

When they stand independently, children of the tomb owner are seldom nude youths sucking the index finger. Only three such examples occur in the dataset. In the tomb of *Rdj-ns* at Giza (G 5032), a son appears as a nude boy sucking his finger at the bottom of the jamb of the false door. Another comes from the tomb of *Zṯw* at Giza (G 4710, LG 49). His son appears as a nude youth sucking his finger to the left of the panel of the false door.

<sup>261</sup> Brovanski dates the tomb to the Tenth Dynasty, see Edward Brovanski, "The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Der" (PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 1989), 486-506.



Figure 58. Tomb of *Rdj-ns* at Giza, Manuelian (1994), in Silverman ed. *For his ka*, 60, fig 4.6.

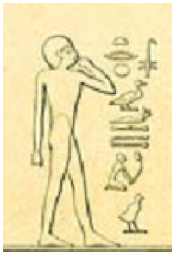


Figure 59. Tomb of *Zṯw* at Giza (G 4710, LG 49), *LD II*, 87.

In a scene, a nude child does not necessarily mean that the child is at a smaller scale compared with other children depicted as adults. On the west wall of the tomb of *K3(j)-nj-nswt I* at Giza (G 2155), for example, a nude son stands behind his brother and sister. Although his position behind them and his nudity suggest that he is the youngest child, he is at the same scale as those of his elder siblings.

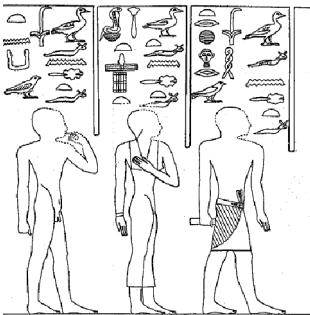


Figure 60. Tomb of *K3(j)-nj-nswt I* at Giza, Junker, *Giza II*, Abb. 18.

### **Stance Type C: In scenes of spear-fishing and fowling, or hippopotamus hunting**

Spear-fishing and fowling on a skiff in the marsh is a popular motif in elite tomb decoration of the Old Kingdom. In these activities, family members usually accompany the tomb owner either on the skiff or sub-registers in his vicinity. This study classifies their stances in these scenes individually as Type C because the nature of the marsh activities and the composition of the fishing and fowling scenes highly informs their postures.<sup>262</sup> Type C consists of seven sub-divisions.

#### ***Stance Type C-1: Standing on the skiff with the tomb owner and holding a spear or a throwing stick***

Children of the tomb owner sometimes stand on the skiff near the tomb owner and accompany him in the activities of spear-fishing and fowling. Sons often carry a spear or a throw stick; like the tomb owner, occasionally they throw the spear or the throwing stick, but their scale is much-reduced. Stance C-1 occurs 25 times in the dataset: 2 in Giza,<sup>263</sup> 8 in Saqqara,<sup>264</sup> and 15 in provincial sites.<sup>265</sup> Thus, the distribution is biased towards the provincial tombs. All examples with this stance are sons. On the south wall of the tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. 8), for instance, the eldest son stands in front of his father on the prow and spears fish. In this case, his figure appear as a miniature of

<sup>262</sup> For a brief discussion of the major and minor figures in the marsh scene, see Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 139-141.

<sup>263</sup> In the tombs of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-mrj-Pth-<sup>c</sup>nh* / *Nhbw* (G 2381 with shaft G 2382A) and *K3(j)-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* (G 4561).

<sup>264</sup> In five tombs: *ih<sup>tj</sup>-htp* (E 17), *Nfr-jrt-n.f* (D 55), *R<sup>c</sup>-špss* (Lepsius LS 16 [S 902]), *Rmnj* / *Mr-wj*, and *Snfrw-jn-jšt.f* (No. 2 Dahshur).

<sup>265</sup> In ten tombs: *Jbj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8), *Hnqw I* / *Httj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N39), *Hnqw II* / *.Jj...f* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N67), *D<sup>c</sup>w* / *Šmj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12), *Jdw I* (Dendera), *Jttj* / *Šdw* (Deshasha), *Hzy-Mnw* (El-Hawawish M22), *Hzy-Mnw* / *Zzj* / *Dwdy* (El-Hawawish F1), *Špss-pw-Mnw* / *Hnj* / *Hn-<sup>c</sup>nhw* / *Hn-<sup>c</sup>nh* (El-Hawawish H24), and *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb* (Meir No. D2).



the tomb owner.<sup>266</sup> He and his father act in the same way and wear the same costume, a short wig with a sash tied at the back of the head, a collar, a pair of bracelets, and a tripartite kilt.<sup>267</sup>



Figure 61. Tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. 18), Kanawati, *Gebrawi II*, pl. 67.

Sons in this stance may also appear as nude youths. In the tombs of *K3(j)-m-ḥnh* at Giza (G 4561), for example, a son appears as a nude youth with a side lock and stands in front of the tomb owner on the skiff. He holds a harpoon with one hand, and grasps a bird with the other hand.



Figure 62. Tomb of *K3(j)-m-ḥnh* at Giza, Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 31.

<sup>266</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 140.

<sup>267</sup> A special type of kilt that the tomb owner wears in fishing and fowling scenes, see Staehelin, *Tracht*, 5.

***Stance Type C-2: Standing on the skiff of the tomb owner or a sub-register near the tomb owner and carrying fish or birds***

Children may appear in the spear-fishing and fowling scenes carrying fish or birds in their hands, but no examples is attested in Giza. It occurs ten times in Saqqara and nine in the provinces.<sup>268</sup> In the tomb of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šmꜣj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. 12), for example, a son carries birds and fish in his hands on the prow, facing backwards to the tomb owner.

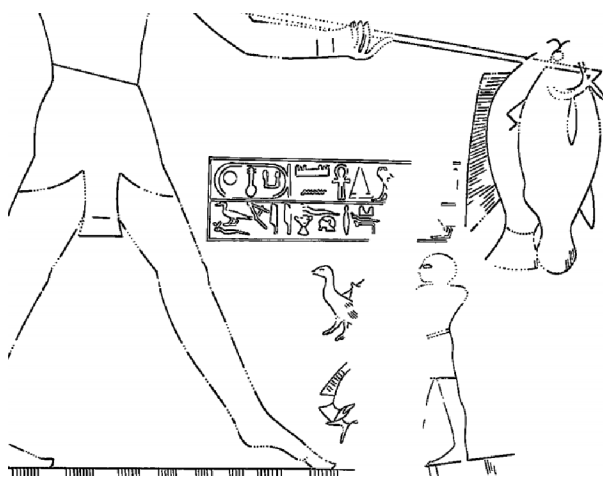


Figure 63. Tomb of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šmꜣj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. 12), Kanawati, *Gebrawi III*, pl. 69.

Sons in Stance C-2 may appear as nude boys. In the tomb of *Nfr-jrt-n.f* at Saqqara (D 55), for example, a son stands between the legs of the tomb owner on the skiff as a nude boy, grasping the wings of a bird in his hand.

<sup>268</sup> In seven tombs at Saqqara: *Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj*, *Mrrj* (around Teti Pyramid), *Mttj*, *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-*Hnmw** (double tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-*Hnmw* & *Hnmw-htp*), *Nfr-jrt-n.f* (D 55), *Htp-hr-<sup>3</sup>htj* (D 60), *Hnmw-htp* (double tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-*Hnmw* & *Hnmw-htp*). In five tombs at provincial sites: *Jbj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8), *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šmꜣj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12), *Mry-<sup>c</sup>j* (El-Hagarsa D18), *Hzy-Mnw* (El-Hawawish M22), and *Mrw / Jy* (Nag' el-Deir N3737).**



Figure 64. Tomb of *Nfr-jrt-n.f* at Saqqara, Van de Walle, *Mastaba Neferirtenef*, pl. 1.

Representations occasionally combine Stance C-2 with other stances, such as Stance C-2-7, carrying birds or fish, as well as lotus flowers. In the tomb of *Mrrj* at Saqqara, for example, two sons appear behind the tomb owner who is spearing fish on a skiff. The sons grasp the wings of the birds with one hand and hold a lotus flower with the other hand. The other example of Stance C-2-7 comes from the tomb of *Hzy-Mnw* at El-Hawawish (M22).<sup>269</sup>

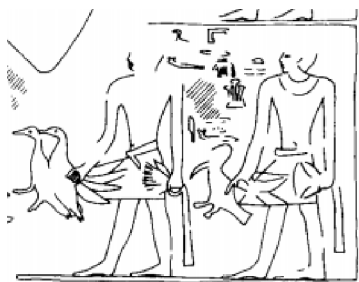


Figure 65. Tomb of *Mrrj* at Saqqara, Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs I*, pl. 5.

A unique example of Stance C-2-5-Y is in the tomb of *Mttj* at Saqqara. A son appears as a nude youth on the boat with his father who is fowling using a throwing-stick.

<sup>269</sup> Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish IV*, fig. 12.

He grasps the wings of two birds with one hand and embraces his father's calf with the other arm. This son is the only example of a son touching his father while carrying birds in the fishing and fowling scene.



Figure 66. Tomb of *Mttj* at Saqqara, Kaplony, *Methethi*, 10.

The only example of daughters in this stance occurs in the tomb of *Mry-ḥ* at El-Hagarsa (D18). A daughter stands behind the tomb owner, who is hunting birds with a throwing stick. She wears a long dress with a geometric pattern and anklets, grasping a bird with her hand. It is interesting to note that both the tomb owner and his daughter stand on a ground line rather than a skiff, while the aquatic plants in front of the tomb owner specify the marsh environment of the scene.



Figure 67. Tomb of *Mry-ḥ* at El-Hagarsa (D 18), Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa III*, pl. 44.

***Stance Type C-3: Standing near the tomb owner without carrying fish or birds***

Children in the spear-fishing and fowling scenes may also stand passively on sub-registers behind the tomb owner without carrying fish or birds,<sup>270</sup> a stance less common than Type C-2. In the dataset, this stance occurs ten times: four in Giza,<sup>271</sup> four in Saqqara,<sup>272</sup> and two in provincial sites.<sup>273</sup>

Unlike sons appearing in Stance C-1, children depicted in Stance C-3 do not usually wear a short tripartite kilt resembling that of the tomb owner. Instead, they wear projecting kilts and lector-priest's bands across the chest, a costume that was not suitable for sports activities in the marshes. In the tomb of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-mrj-Pth-<sup>c</sup>nh / Nhbw* at Giza, for example, a son stands behind the tomb owner on the skiff on a sub-register, wearing a long wig and a projecting kilt, with a sash across the chest. In contrast, the tomb owner wears a long sash on the head and a short kilt. The son's costume indicates that he is not participating in spear-fishing. His position and his closeness to the tomb owner, however, suggest that he probably presides over or witnesses this activity.

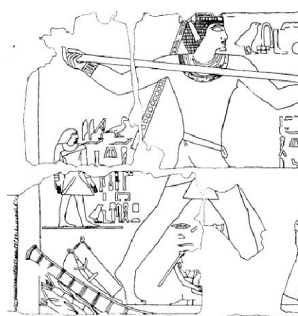


Figure 68. Tomb of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-mrj-Pth-<sup>c</sup>nh / Nhbw* at Giza, Smith (1958), in *BMFA* 56, 59, fig. 2.

<sup>270</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 140.

<sup>271</sup> In the tombs of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-mrj-Pth-<sup>c</sup>nh / Nhbw* (G 2381 with shaft G 2382A) and *Sndm-jb / Jntj* (G 2370).

<sup>272</sup> In the tombs of *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj*, *Mhw*, and *Nj-k3w-Jzzj* (around Teti Pyramid).

<sup>273</sup> In the tombs of *Jbj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8) and *Hnqw I / Httj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N39).

A rare example of this stance comes from the tomb of *Snḏm-jb / Jntj* at Giza. Instead of scenes of spear-fishing and fowling, *Snḏm-jb / Jntj* commissioned the decoration of the west wall of Room II with a scene of hippopotamus hunting. In this scene, he stands on a skiff, holding his staff, and watches two men spearing the hippopotamus on another skiff. The caption of the scene reads *Mꜣꜣ phww ht nbt nfrt m kꜣt sht* “viewing the hinterlands and every good thing consisting of the activity of the fields.”<sup>274</sup> Wearing short wigs and long projecting kilts, his three sons stand behind him with their arms pendent on three sub-registers. In the space between the tomb owner’s legs and the staff, a small figure dressed in a short-pointed kilt stands in front of him and faces the opposite direction to look at him. This figure may be another son of the tomb owner, but one cannot find any preserved inscription today containing kinship designations.

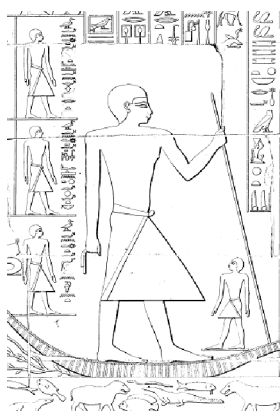


Figure 69. Tomb of *Snḏm-jb / Jntj* at Giza, Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, pl. 42.

<sup>274</sup> Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex I*, 49.

The dataset has only one daughter in Stance C-3. In a fishing scene on the west wall of the tomb of *Mḥw* at Saqqara, a daughter stands behind the tomb owner on a skiff. She wears a long wig and a long dress and has her hand upon her chest.



Figure 70. Tomb of *Mḥw* at Saqqara, Altenmüller, *Mehu*, Tafel 13.

#### ***Stance Type C-4: Kneeling near the tomb owner on a skiff***

Although one may find representations of the wife of the tomb owner kneeling on the boat with the tomb owner,<sup>275</sup> children do not normally appear in this stance. Stance C-4 occurs five times in three tombs,<sup>276</sup> with all examples being daughters of the tomb owner. In the double tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara, daughters of both tomb owners kneel between the legs of their fathers in the fowling and spear-fishing scenes on the south wall of the portico respectively.

<sup>275</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 140. For wives shown in diminutive figure in fishing and fowling scenes, see McCorquodale, *Representations of the Family in the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Women and Marriage*, 20.

<sup>276</sup> The double tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara, *Snfrw-jn-jst.f* (No. 2 Dahshur), and *Sḥbnj [I]* (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1, east tomb).



Figure 71. Tomb of *Nj-ḥḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara, Harpur & Scremin, *Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep*, 621, pls. 67, 68.

Representations combine Stance C-4 with other stances in three cases. Stance C-4-5, kneeling while touching a major figure, occurs in the tomb of *Snfrw-jn-jšt.f* at Dahshur (No. 2). Situated on the skiff between the legs of the tomb owner, a daughter embraces his leg with her arm.



Figure 72. Tomb of *Snfrw-jn-jšt.f* at Dahshur (No. 2), de Morgan, *Dahchour II*, pl. xxiv.

Stance C-4-7, kneeling while holding a lotus flower, occurs in the tomb of *Sʿbnj I* at Qubbet el-Hawa (A1, de Morgan, east tomb). Two daughters kneel between the legs of the tomb owner on the skiff and sniff a lotus flower in the fishing and fowling scenes respectively.





Figure 73. Tomb of *S3bnj I* at Qubbet el-Hawa (A1, de Morgan, east tomb), de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments I*, fig. on 146.

***Stance Type C-5: Standing on a skiff with the tomb owner and touching him***

This stance only occurs in the tomb of *Hnqw I / Httj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. 39). In the spear-fishing scene on the north wall of the chapel, a son stands between the legs of the tomb owner and embraces his father's calf. Examples of physical contact with the tomb owner on the skiff appears also in the tombs of *Snfrw-jn-jšt.f* at Dahshur (Figure 69) and *Mttj* at Saqqara (Figure 63).

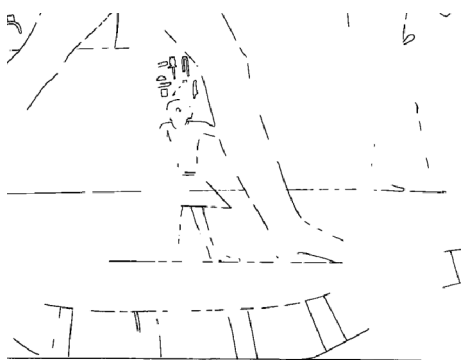


Figure 74. Tomb of *Hnqw I / Httj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. 39), Kanawati, *Gabrawi I*, pl. 39.

***Stance Type C-6: Standing or kneeling, raising an arm with the index finger pointing forward***

The only example of Stance C-6 comes from a fowling scene in the tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. 8). Standing between the legs of the tomb owner, a daughter raises her arm and points forward with her index finger.



Figure 75. Tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. 8), Kanawati, *Gebrawi II*, pl. 68.

***Stance Type C-7: Standing and holding lotus flowers***

This stance is also uncommon among children in spear-fishing and fowling scenes, with the only example in the tomb of *S3bnj I* at Qubbet el-Hawa (A1, de Morgan, east tomb). In this fishing and fowling scene, a daughter stands behind her father on the boat and holds a lotus flower toward her nose. However, Stance C-7 occurs in combination with Stance C-4 in the same tomb (Figure 70), and with Stance C-2 in the tomb of *Mrrj* at Saqqara (Figure 62).



Figure 76. Tomb of *S3bnj I* at Qubbet el-Hawa (A1, de Morgan, east tomb), de Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments I*, fig. on 146.

### **Stance Type D: Seated or kneeling**

Stance Type D includes stances of children depicted sitting or kneeling in a variety of scenes. It excludes the representations of children kneeling at the foot of a major figure (Stance Type AS-6) and the stance of children kneeling in the fishing and fowling scenes (Stance Type C-4).<sup>277</sup> Stance Type D has five sub-divisions.

#### ***Stance Type D-1: Seated or kneeling while bending one arm to the chest or placing both hands down on the lap***

Stance Type D-1 occurs 80 times in the dataset. It is interesting to note that its distribution is heavily biased toward the Giza region with 47 occurrences, while it occurs only 17 times in Saqqara and 16 times in provincial sites.

In the tomb of *Jn-k3.f* at Giza, for example, the eight children of the tomb owner kneel on both sides of the panel of the false door, with one arm bent to the chest, a gesture showing reverence like Stance B-1.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> Women are usually depicted with both knees on the ground and the torso resting on the heels, but men kneel on the nearer leg with the further leg raised. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 138-139.

<sup>278</sup> Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 6.

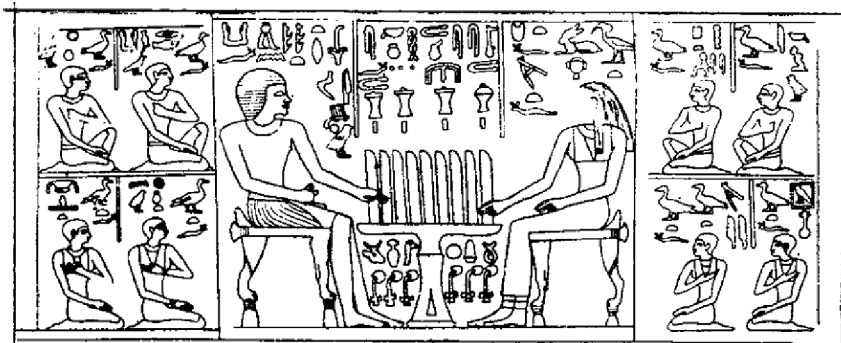


Figure 77. Tomb of *Jn-k3.f* at Giza, Hassan, *Giza VI-3*, 129, fig. 119.

This stance may appear in combination with other stances, such as Stance D-2, sitting at the offering table, and Stance D-4, kneeling or sitting holding accessories, offerings, or lotus flowers. Stance D-1-2, seated before the offering table with arm bent across the chest, only appears in the tomb of *K3-hj.f* at Giza (G 2136). On the south wall, four sons and a daughter of the tomb owner kneel at their own small offering table before the tomb owner.<sup>279</sup> Each bends their right arm to their chest and extends their left hand to reach the offering table.

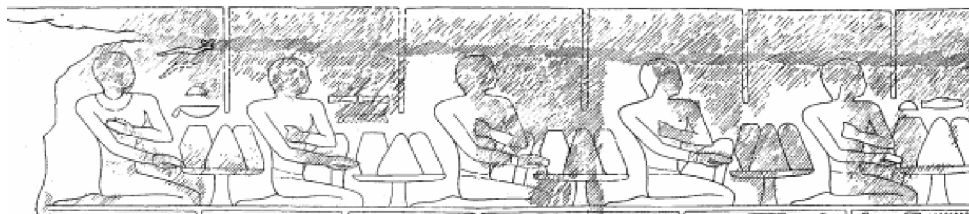


Figure 78. Tomb of *K3-hj.f* at Giza (G 2136), Junker, *Giza VI*, Abb. 38b.

In the dataset, Stance D-1-4, sitting with arm bent across the chest while carrying other accessories, occurs in the tomb of *Shm-k3-Rc* at Giza (LG 89) and the tomb of *Hw-*

<sup>279</sup> In most cases, men kneel on the nearer leg with the further knee raised, while women are depicted with both knees on the ground. For the discussion on this posture, see Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 138-139.

ns at Zawyet el-Amwat (A6, de Morgan). In the tomb of *Shm-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*, the son kneels before the tomb owner and his wife, holds a papyrus scroll in one hand, and places the other hand across the chest. In the tomb of *Hw-ns*, three daughters sit before the wife of the tomb owner. Each of them holds a lotus flower in one hand and places the other hand upon the chest.



Figure 79. Tomb of *Shm-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>* at Giza (LG 89), *LD II*, 42.



Figure 80. Tomb of *Hw-ns* at Zawyet el-Amwat (No. 2), *LD II*, 109.

### ***Stance Type D-2: Seated on a chair or kneeling before a table of offerings***

In Stance Type D-2, children usually sit at their own offering tables and reach out a hand to the offerings on the table, a gesture resembling that of the tomb owner who sits on a chair at his or her offering table. In the dataset, this stance occurs 23 times: 22 times in the Saqqara region and once in the tomb of *Hw.n-wh / Tj* at Quseir el-Amarna (Tomb

2).<sup>280</sup> Another example of this stance in combination with Stance D-1 comes from the tomb of *K3-hj.f* at Giza (Figure 75).

It is interesting to note that Stance D-2 is almost exclusive to the Saqqara region, while Stance D-1 is more popular in Giza. Children seated at their own offering tables may have become an artistic motif in tomb decoration developed from Stance D-1 when the elite tombs moved to Saqqara at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>281</sup> In the tomb of *Wr-nw* at Saqqara, for example, the tomb owner and his wife sit at the offering table between two false doors, while their children appear on the registers below them with food on their own small tables. It is worth noting that 10 of the 22 depictions from Saqqara are daughters of the tomb owner. The relatively even distribution between sons and daughters demonstrates that children of both genders could sit at the table and enjoy the offerings together with their parents.



Figure 81. Tomb of *Wr-nw* at Saqqara, James, *Hiero. Texts I*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pl. xxviii.

In the scenes depicting offering tables, all the tomb owners sit on a chair at the table, while their children usually kneel on the ground. An exception occurs in the tomb

<sup>280</sup> In the tombs of *Wr-jr.n-Pth*, *Wr-b3w* (in the same tomb of *K3-h3.j*), *Pth-htp* / *Jj-n-eh*, *Hnmw-htp* (D 49), and *K3-h3.j* at Saqqara.

<sup>281</sup> The only example of children seated before offering tables comes from the tomb of *K3-hj.f* (G 2136). They appear in Stance Type D-1-2. This tomb dates to the early reign of Pepy II. See Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 428, plan 109.

of *Hw.n-wh* / *Ttj* at Quseir el-Amarna (Tomb 2). On the left panel of the statue niche on the south wall, a daughter sits on a chair and reaches her hand to the reed leaves on her offering table. The inscription above her describes her as *jm3hwt hr hnwt.s hr Wsjr hr Jnpw tpj dw.f jmj wt* “the honored one before her mistress, before Osiris, and before Anubis, who is on his hill, who is in the embalming place.”<sup>282</sup> The inscription suggests that she probably had already died when the tomb owner commissioned the decoration of his tomb.<sup>283</sup> Therefore, her posture may suggest her status as the recipient of offerings together with the tomb owner.

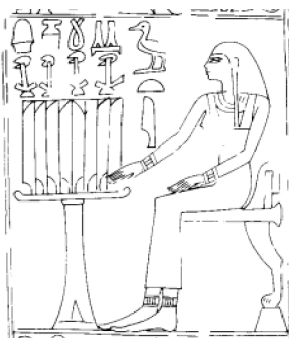


Figure 82. Tomb of *Hw.n-wh* / *Ttj* at Quseir el-Amarna (Tomb 2), El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 46.

### ***Stance Type D-3: kneeling and making offerings to a major figure***

Kneeling and making offerings is not common in Old Kingdom tomb decoration. The dataset has 16 occurrences of this stance, all of which come from Giza.<sup>284</sup> No daughters appear in this stance. It is, therefore, a stance used exclusively for sons of the tomb owner. In the tomb of *Nj-htp-Pth* / *Pnj* (G 2340, LG 25), for example, a son appears

<sup>282</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 55.

<sup>283</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 56.

<sup>284</sup> In the tombs of *Jtj* (G 7391), *W3š-k3(j)*, *Mr-sw-ḥnh*, *Nj-htp-Pth* / *Pnj* (G 2340, LG 25), *St-k3,j*, and *Tp-m-ḥnh* (D 20).

before the tomb owner beneath the offering table, kneeling and presenting a jar and a bowl with his hands.



Figure 83. Tomb of *Nj-ḥtp-Pth / Phj* at Giza (G 2340, LG 25), Altenmüller (1981), in *SAK* 9, 40, Abb. 7.

A similar example comes from an offering basin discovered in the tomb of *W3š-k3.j* at Giza, on which four sons of the tomb owner kneel and present offerings. This depiction may reflect how children of the tomb owner had to kneel on the ground to place the offerings into the basin.

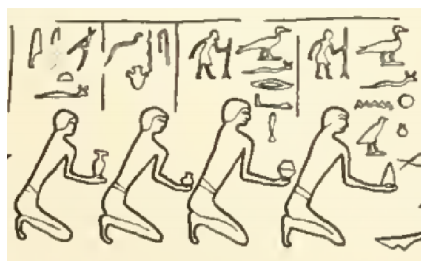


Figure 84. Tomb of *W3š-k3.j* at Giza, James, *Hiero. Texts I*, 2nd ed., pl. xxvii.

### ***Stance Type D-5: Kneeling with an arm raised***

No Children depicted in Stance Type D-4 have been attested in the dataset. Two examples of Stance Type D-5 occur the tomb of *Tp-m-ḥnh* at Giza (D 20) and the tomb of *Sn-jt.f*, son of *K3-ḥ3.j*, at Saqqara. In the tomb of *Tp-m-ḥnh*, a son squats before the offering table in the offering list scene with one hand raised in front of his body in a



gesture of speaking,<sup>285</sup> while holding a papyrus scroll in the other hand. In the tomb of *Sn-jt.f*, similarly, a son appears to the right of the panel of the false door on the west wall, squatting and raising his hand in front of the body in a gesture of speaking.



Figure 85. Tomb of *Tp-m-nh* at Giza (D20), Ziegler, *Stèles*, 261, no. 47.

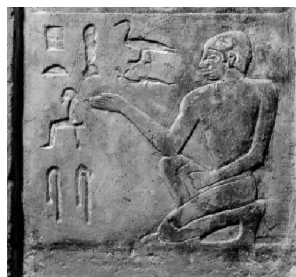


Figure 86. Tomb of *Sn-jt.f*, son of *K3-h3.j*, at Saqqara, Lashien, *The Chapel of Kahai and His Family*, pl. 76 (b).

### Stance Type E: Engaging in activities

Children of the tomb owner can also engage in a variety of activities, such as funerary rituals including purification, libation, and making offerings, as well as other activities, such as playing an instrument, dancing, or combating. These activities may have taken place during funerary rites and burial ceremonies. Children in this stance may also appear as scribes working on a tablet or a papyrus scroll, presenting a document to

<sup>285</sup> Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 77-78.

the tomb owner, or reading from a papyrus scroll in his presence. Stance Type E consists of four sub-types.

***Stance Type E-1: Engaging in musical and sport activities (playing an instrument, dancing, clapping, combating, etc.)***

Music, dance, and game are common motifs in Old Kingdom tomb decoration, and many scenes depict musicians and dancers. Individuals involved in these activities are both male and female. The majority of the musicians, dancers, and combaters are anonymous, though some of them are named and designated as children and siblings of the tomb owner. Stance E-1 occurs 23 times in the dataset: 14 in Giza,<sup>286</sup> 6 in Saqqara,<sup>287</sup> and 3 in provincial sites.<sup>288</sup> It is interesting to note that the engagement of children in music and sports activities is most popular in Giza. Particularly, all five examples of sons engaging in these activities come from that site. In the tomb of *Jdw*, for instance, the children of the tomb owner appear on the south wall and engage in games and musical performance in honor of Hathor.<sup>289</sup> On the top register, two sons who appear as nude boys play a game. Each wears a head band decorated with lotus flowers and hold a short stick in each hand. They confront each other in combat, with their rear arms raised up behind their heads and the other arms lowered in front of their bodies.<sup>290</sup>

<sup>286</sup> In five tombs: *Jdw* (G 7102), *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh* (G 7948), *Hww-wr* (LG 95), *K3(j)-m-nh* (G 4561), and *K3(j)-hnt* (G 2088).

<sup>287</sup> In the tombs of *Bj3 / Jry*, *Mtj*, *Snfrw-jn-jst.f* (No. 2 Dahshur), and *S3m-nfr / Jfj*.

<sup>288</sup> In the tombs of *Ppy-nh-hrj-jb* (Meir No. D2) and *Hw-ns* (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2).

<sup>289</sup> Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu, G7101 and 7102*, 24-26.

<sup>290</sup> Kinney suggests that the ancient Egyptians considered the scene of boys playing games as a specific type of dance called *hbt*. This type of dance may have been apart of an important ritual, i.e., the coming of age ceremony, or the harvest celebration. The lotus flower hair ornament is common among dancers in the tomb decoration in the Old Kingdom. See Kinney, *Dance, Dancers and the Performance Cohort in the Old Kingdom*, 146-153, 188. For the lotus flowers worn by the boys, see discussion in Sheila Brow, "Hairstyles and Hair Ornaments," in *Egyptian Art: Principles*



Figure 87. Tomb of *Jdw* at Giza, Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38.

In the same scene, a daughter of *Jdw* raises her hands over her head with palms turned upward. Wearing a long sash that hangs on her back, a projecting kilt, and double cross-strap across her chest, she leads a group of *jbj* dancers.<sup>291</sup> Another daughter wearing a short wig and a long dress appears as a harpist below them and kneels on the ground behind a flutist.



Figure 88. Tomb of *Jdw* at Giza, Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38.

and *Themes in Wall Scenes*, eds. Leonie Donovan and Kim McCorquodale (Guizeh, Egypt: Foreign Cultural Information Department, 2000), 185-186. Moussa refers the three lotus flowers worn on the head as “diadem of singers,” see Ahmed M. Moussa, “Five Monuments of the Old Kingdom from the Causeway of King Unas at Saqqara,” *Studien Zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 10 (1983): 275.

<sup>291</sup> This is the only example the double cross-strap is represented in Giza. This girl also wears a long scarf looped loosely around her torso. These accessories are associated with the cult of Hathor. For a more detailed discussion of this “diamond pose” and the particular costume this daughter wears, see Lesley Kinney, *Dance, Dancers and the Performance Cohort in the Old Kingdom*, 53-72, 188. For the costume of the girl, see also Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993), 82-84, Fig. 5:17.



Figure 89. Tomb of *Jdw* at Giza, Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38.

The depiction of children, especially daughters, in these activities indicates that at least some children from noble families were capable musicians and may have learned musical skills such as singing, dancing, and playing the harps to fulfill their ritual duties. Their involvement in the funerary rituals suggests that family members may have taken over some of the priestly duties carried out by professional priests. In the tomb of *Ppy-ḥh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir (No. D2), two daughters play the harp behind the seated tomb owner and his wife on the north wall of Room 3. Facing the two daughters, a seated man plays the flute. He is possibly a professional musician given that the inscription offers no kinship designation associated with him. The inscription in front of the first daughter reads *h<sup>c</sup> Nbw m rwt wrt* “may the Golden One appear in the great door.”<sup>292</sup> This inscription may be an excerpt from a ritual song performed at the funeral.<sup>293</sup>

<sup>292</sup> Naguib Kanawati et al., *The Cemetery of Meir I: The Tomb of Pepyankh the Middle*, Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 31 (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2012), 59.

<sup>293</sup> Hartwig Altenmüller, Zur Bedeutung der Harfnerlieder des Alten Reiches, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 6 (1978), 1-24.



Figure 90. Tomb of *Ppy-ḥnh-hrj-jb* at Meir, Kanawati, *Meir I*, pl. 88.

### ***Stance Type E-2: Engaging in ritual activities***

Children of the tomb owner are often depicted performing funerary rituals, such as censuring (E-2-CEN) and libation (E-2-LIB). Occasionally, they present lotus flowers to their parents (E-2-LOT), recite spells (E-2-REC), or perform the ritual of “removing the foot print” (E-2-REM). All children depicted in Stance E-2 are sons; none of the daughters participate in these ritual activities.

Stance E-2-CEN, censuring a major figure, is common among sons of the tomb owner. Sons in this stance usually hold a censer with a bell-shaped base and a lid of the same shape.<sup>294</sup> Stance E-2-CEN occurs 46 times in the dataset: 17 in Giza,<sup>295</sup> 20 in

<sup>294</sup> For the discussion of censuring scenes, see Aylward M. Blackman, “Remarks on an Incense-Brazier Depicted in Thutotep’s Tomb at El-Bersheh,” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 50, no. 1-2 (1912): 66-68. For the meaning of censuring in a funerary context, see Aylward M. Blackman, “The Significance of Incense and Libations in Funerary and Temple Ritual,” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 50, no. 1-2 (1912): 69-75. For the typology of censers, see Jorge R. Ogdon, “The Bell Shaped Censers in the Old Kingdom,” *Varia Egyptiaca* 1, no. 3 (1985): 131-142. The censuring ritual may also have been performed by a ka-priest, see Thompson, “The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt’s Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom,” 124-125.

<sup>295</sup> In 16 tombs: S 359, *Jjj, Jtj* (G 7391), *Jdw* (G 7102), *ḥnh-wd3 / Jtj, ḥnh-h3.f / Q3r, Pth-sdf3 / Ffj, Mr-ḥnh.f, Nj-mstj* (G 2366), *Nj-ḥtp-Pth / Pnj* (G 2340, LG 25), *Nj-sḥnh-3hty / Jtj, Hwfw-snb II, Snnw, Qd-ns II, K3.j-pw-nswt / K3j* (G 4651), and *Ttw II* (G 2343-G 5511).

Saqqara,<sup>296</sup> and 9 in provincial sites.<sup>297</sup> On the north pillar of the tomb of *Nj-ḥtp-Pth / Pnj* at Giza, a son stands before the tomb owner and censes him. On the other face of the pillar, another son stands in the stance of censuring. In this case, the son uncovers the lid of the censer completely to present the smoking base. In other situations, the lid is slightly removed to allow the smoke to come out from the gap. In the tomb of *Jnw-Mnw* at Saqqara, for example, his eldest son *Nfrj* appears in front of tomb owner on the east and west thicknesses and censes him.



Figure 91. Tomb of *Nj-ḥtp-Pth / Pnj* at Giza, Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Akhmahor*, fig. 9.

<sup>296</sup> In 15 tombs: name lost (Martin, Hetepka, No. 22, 22-23, pl. 23.), *ḥtj-ḥtp* (Louvre E. 10958, Mastaba du Louvre), *Jnw-Mnw* (around Teti Pyramid), *ḥm-m-ḥnty*, *Bj3 / Jry*, *Mttj*, *Nj-ḥm-Ppy / Nj-ḥm-Mry-Rḥ*, *Nj-k3w-Jzzj* (around Teti Pyramid), *Ntr-wsr*, *Rḥ-ḥr-tp / Jtj*, *Ḥr-mrw / Mry*, *Ḥzzj*, *Ḥḥ-mrr-Pth* (No. 68 [C 4]), *Ḥwj*, and *S3bw / Jbbj*.

<sup>297</sup> In eight tombs: *Nb-jb* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N38), *Hnqw II / Jj..f* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N67), *Jzj* (Edfu), *Ḥzy-Mnw* (El-Hawawish M22), *Nj-ḥm-Ppy-km / Nj-ḥm-Mry-Rḥ-km / Ḥpj-km / Sbk-km* (Meir No. A1), *Nb-Ḥmḥw / Ḥttj* (Naqqada, Vienna, No. 5894), *Ḥr-ḥw.f* (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A8), and *Ḥw.n-wḥ / Ttj* (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2).

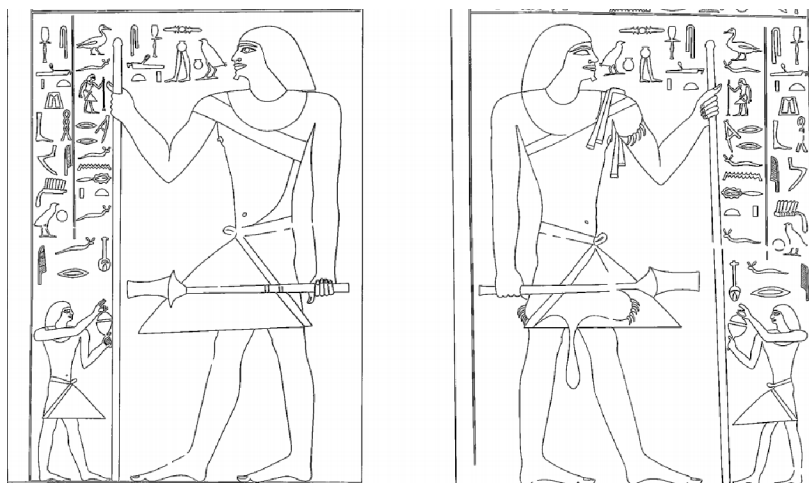


Figure 92. Tomb of *Jnw-Mnw* at Saqqara, Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery VIII*, pl. 42.

In the tomb of *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-km* / *Hny* / *Hny-km* at Meir (No. A2), a son censures the tomb owner in front of the offering table on the west wall of Room I. He holds a bell-shaped censor with a flat lid.



Figure 93. Tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh- Ppy-km* / *Hpj-km* at Meir (No. A1), Kanawati, *Meir III*, pl. 65.

Sons holding a perfume jar towards the nose of the tomb owner is popular in the Sixth Dynasty. In the tomb of *Nb-jb* at Deir el-Gabrawi, for example, the eldest son stands before the tomb owner and holds a perfume jar to his face. It is interesting to note that the scale of the son equals that of the father, while the other son appears shorter than the eldest son. This differentiation in scale is an indication of the age and status of the respective children.

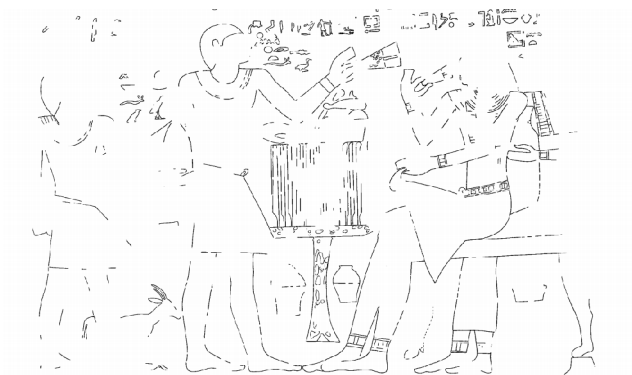


Figure 94. Tomb of *Nb-jb* at Deir el-Gabrawi, Kanawati, *Gebrawi I*, pl. 60.

Stance E-2-LIB, making libation, though frequently found in Old Kingdom tomb decoration, is much less frequent among the children of the tomb owner. Only three examples of this stance occur in the dataset, the earliest from the tomb of *ḥnh-ḥḥ.f* at Giza, dating back to the late Fourth Dynasty or the early Fifth Dynasty.<sup>298</sup> On a fragment from a wall of this tomb is a depiction of a son of the tomb owner pouring water from a jar into a basin.



Figure 95. Tomb of *ḥnh-ḥḥ.f* at Giza, James, *Hiero. Texts I*, 2nd ed. pl. xv.

A similar scene appears on the north doorjamb in the tomb of *Jtj* at Giza (G 7391), where a son squats in front of the tomb owner and pours water into a basin. The inscription in front of him reads *rdjt mw* “giving water.”<sup>299</sup>

<sup>298</sup> PM III, 306.

<sup>299</sup> Badawy, *The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah, and Kaemnofert At Giza*, 4-5.





Figure 96. Tomb of *Jtj* at Giza (G 7391), Badawy, *Iteti, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and Kaemnofert*, fig. 10.

The third example occurs on the south wall of the chapel of *Mry-ꜥꜣ* at El-Hagarsa (D18). A miniature son stands near the mouth of his father and presents a bowl and a small jar towards the mouth of the tomb owner. The inscription above the head of the son reads *zꜣt zꜣ.k Jꜣz* “making libation, your son, Ias.”<sup>300</sup> The second person possessive pronoun used here is unique. It is as if a bystander in the chapel speaks to the deceased.



Figure 97. Tomb of *Mry-ꜥꜣ* at El-Hagarsa (D18), Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa III*, pl. 38.

Sons sometimes present a lotus flower to their parents (Stance E-2-LOT).<sup>301</sup> This stance occurs in five tombs in the dataset,<sup>302</sup> and all the examples come from Giza.<sup>303</sup> On

<sup>300</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa III*, 35.

<sup>301</sup> In his study, Pieke divides all scenes with the male tomb owner holding a lotus flower into three types. Bildtypus 2 consists of scenes of presenting a lotus flower. This type of scene appears in the first half of the Fifth Dynasty and lasts to the Sixth Dynasty, see Pieke, “Der Grabherr und die Lotosblume: zu lokalen und geschlechtsspezifischen Traditionen eines Motivkreises,” 262-280. In some scenes, the figure presenting a lotus flower is unnamed and could be a dependent or a male relative of the tomb owner, such as the case of *Hzy-Mnw* at El-Hawawish (M22), see Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish IV*, 18, fig. 9. Harpur suggests the inscription and the amulet worn by the presenter in the tomb of *Hzy-Mnw* identify him as a son, see Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 135, note 88.

<sup>302</sup> *Hmt-Rꜥ*, *Hwfw-hꜥ.f II* (G 7150), *Sꜣm-nfr II* (G 5080), *Sꜣm-nfr III* (G 5170), and *Tp-m-ꜥnh* (D 20).

<sup>303</sup> Pieke’s study points to the same conclusion. Scenes of receiving a lotus flower is much most popular at Giza, see Pieke, “Der Grabherr und die Lotosblume: zu lokalen und geschlechtsspezifischen Traditionen eines Motivkreises,” 265-271.

the south wall of the tomb of *Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f II* at Giza (G 7150), for example, a son appears as a nude boy before the seated tomb owner and his wife. He extends the stem of a lotus flower over to his father, while the father, who is seated under a pavilion with lotus columns, reaches out his hand to hold the sepal of the flower.<sup>304</sup> In the tombs of *Sšm-nfr II* (G 5080), *Sšm-nfr III* (G 5170) and *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* (D 20), the son who presents the lotus flower appears as an adult rather than a youth.



Figure 98. Tomb of *Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f II*, Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, pl. 49.

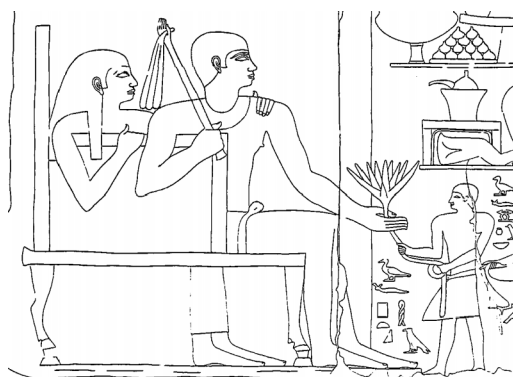


Figure 99. Tomb of *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* (D 20) at Giza, Ziegler, *Stèles*, 254.

<sup>304</sup> The male tomb owner is usually shown in a kiosk or pavilion when holding a lotus flower. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 135.

A female recipient in the lotus presentation scene is unusual.<sup>305</sup> The only example occurs in the tomb of *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>* at Giza. On the southern pillar, a son wearing a long projecting kilt presents a lotus flower to the tomb owner. In this case, *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>* does not reach out her hand to receive the flower but stands and holds a lotus flower to her nose.



Figure 100. Tomb of *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>* at Giza, Hassan, *Giza VI-3*, 62, fig. 44.

In Stance E-2-REC, a figure stands and recites spells in rituals. The only example of children depicted in this stance comes from the tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy-km* at Meir (A1). On the west wall of Room 1, one of the sons of the tomb owner reads from an unrolled papyrus scroll behind a group of priests who are pouring water in front of the tomb owner. Wearing a band across the chest, he has the title *hry-ḥbt smsw* “senior lector priest.”<sup>306</sup> He maybe recites spells in a purification ceremony associated with funerary meals for his father.<sup>307</sup>

<sup>305</sup> The scene of receiving a lotus flower is only for the male tomb owner, see Pieke, “Der Grabherr und die Lotosblume: zu lokalen und geschlechtsspezifischen Traditionen eines Motivkreises,” 274.

<sup>306</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 785.

<sup>307</sup> Naguib Kanawati et al., *The Cemetery of Meir III: The Tomb of Niankhpepy the Black*, Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 38 (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2015), 35.

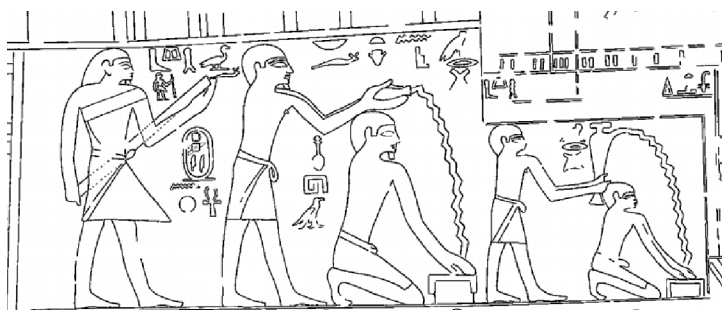


Figure 101. Tomb of *Nj-ḡḡ-Ppy-km* at Meir (A1), Kanawati, *Meir III*, pl. 65.

The tomb of *Špss-k3.f-ḡḡ* at Giza has another unique example of this stance. On the south wall, a son stands before the tomb owner, his head turned backward. He drags a broom-like object with his hand, an activity usually interpreted as “removing the footprints” (E-2-REM).<sup>308</sup>



Figure 102. Tomb of *Špss-k3.f-ḡḡ* at Giza, Hassan, *Giza II*, 29, fig. 27.

### ***Stance Type E-3: Engaging in scribal activities***

Scenes containing writing, reading, and the presenting of a document capture the cycle of administrative work by the scribes under the supervision of the tomb owner.

<sup>308</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 29. For the “removing the foot print”, see discussion in Thompson, “The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt’s Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom,” 44-46. See also Harold H. Nelson, “The Rite of ‘Bringing the Foot’ as Portrayed in Temple Reliefs,” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 35 (1949): 82-86; Hartwig Altenmüller, “Eine neue Deutung der Zeremonie des ‘IN‘IT RD,’” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 57 (1971): 146-153.

Sons of the tomb owner may be represented participating in these scribal activities.

Stance E-3 occurs 19 times in the dataset: 11 in Giza,<sup>309</sup> 6 in Saqqara,<sup>310</sup> and 2 in provincial sites.<sup>311</sup> All the examples of children involved in scribal activities are sons of the tomb owner; no daughters appear in this stance. All the sons depicted in the scribal stance appear as adults.

In the tomb of *Jj-nfrt* at Giza, for example, his two sons are shown writing on a papyrus scroll on the outer jambs of the false door respectively. The eldest son, who stands on the left outer jamb, wears a short projecting kilt and a long wig, with two pens tucked behind his ear. The other son on the right outer jamb wears the same kilt and a short wig. The tomb owner bears the title *zʿb šḥd zš* “juridicial inspector of scribes,”<sup>312</sup> which may have been the reason that his two sons appear as scribes.



Figure 103. Tomb of *Jj-nfrt* at Giza, Schürmann, *li-nefret*, 67, fig. 19.

<sup>309</sup> In seven tombs: *Jj-mry* (G 6020, LG 15), *Jj-nfrt*, *Nswt-nfr* (G 4970), *Ḥḥ-f-Rḥ-nḥ* (G 7948), *Ḥwfw-Ḥḥ-f I* (G 7130 + 7140), *Sšḥt-ḥtp / Htj* (G 5150), and *Kʿj-pw-nswt / Kʿj* (G 4651).

<sup>310</sup> In six tombs: *Pth-ḥtp I* (D 62), *Mrrw-kʿj / Mrj*, *Mttj*, *Rmnj / Mr-wj*, *Ḥntj-kʿj / Jḥhj*, and *Ty* (No. 60 [D 22]).

<sup>311</sup> In the tombs of *Ḥm-Rḥ / Jzj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N72) and *Ḥzy-Mnw / Zzj / Dwdy* (El-Hawawish F1).

<sup>312</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 814.

When writing on a papyrus scroll, the son may also kneel on the ground with one knee raised and the left arm bent forward to hold the scroll.<sup>313</sup> In the tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh* at Giza (G 7948), three sons of the tomb owner sit on the ground above the statue niche on the west wall. All three write on a papyrus scroll held with the right hand; the palette is tied with strings on the left hand, and a pen is tucked behind the ear.



Figure 104. Tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh*, LD II, 11.

A variation of this stance is the presentation of documents to the tomb owner, a scene which occurs in five tombs in the dataset.<sup>314</sup> In the tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh*, the eldest son presents a document to the tomb owner and his *sn-dt* “brother of the funerary estate” on the east wall.<sup>315</sup> Bending forward, he wears a long pointed kilt and cropped wig and spreads the papyrus scroll before his father.<sup>316</sup> Another example occurs in the tomb of *Nswt-nfr*, whose son *K3.j-hr-st.f* appears on the north wall before the tomb owner,

<sup>313</sup> For the discussion of the writing pose and the material (either papyrus or tablet) on which the scribe is working, see Peter Der Manuelian, “Presenting the Scroll: Papyrus Documents in Tombs Scenes of the Old Kingdom,” in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson 2*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1996), 566-568.

<sup>314</sup> *Nswt-nfr* (G 4970), *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh* (G 7948), *Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f* (G 7130 + 7140), *Pth-htp* (D 62) at Saqqara, and *Hm-R<sup>c</sup> / Jzj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. 72). In the case of *Nfr* (G 4761), the presenter has no kinship designation, though he is identified by the excavator as a son of *Nfr*. Junker, Giza VI, 31, Abb. 5. See also Manuelian, “Presenting the Scroll: Papyrus Documents in Tombs Scenes of the Old Kingdom,” 564, note 9. Document-presenting scenes are not reserved for family members. The majority of the presenters have little filial relation to the deceased, see Manuelian, “Presenting the Scroll: Papyrus Documents in Tombs Scenes of the Old Kingdom,” 563-564.

<sup>315</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 907. For the discussion of *sn-dt*, see Chapter 4.

<sup>316</sup> Pose 1 of Manuelian, extending or spreading out the document, see Manuelian, “Presenting the Scroll: Papyrus Documents in Tombs Scenes of the Old Kingdom,” 569-571, Fig. 3.

bending forward and presenting a document to him by holding it vertically.<sup>317</sup> The caption of this scene reads *mꜣꜣ zš n wdb* “viewing the records of the reversion-offerings.”<sup>318</sup> This caption demonstrates that sons of the tomb owner may have taken part in the distribution and redistribution of the offerings and were responsible for composing and keeping the records of the offerings.



Figure 105. Tomb of *Hꜥ.f-Rꜥ-ꜥnh* at Giza (G 7948), *LD II*, 9.



Figure 106. Tomb of *Nswt-nfr* at Giza, Kanawati, *Giza II*, pl.57.

<sup>317</sup> Pose 3 of Manuelian, holding the document, see Manuelian, “Presenting the Scroll: Papyrus Documents in Tombs Scenes of the Old Kingdom,” 571, 575, Fig. 5.

<sup>318</sup> Kanawati, *Giza II*, 46. The most common text for the captions accompanying the presentation of document relates the following theme: *mꜣꜣ (zš n) nḏt-ḥr / prt-ḥrw jnnt m njwwt n pr ḏt* ... “Overseeing the (document of) offerings which are brought from the towns of the funerary estate...” See Manuelian, “Presenting the Scroll: Papyrus Documents in Tombs Scenes of the Old Kingdom,” 563. Other types of documents includes *wdb-rd / phrt* “reversionary offerings,” *zš n ḥmw-kꜣ* “document of the ka-priests,” and *zš r mꜣꜣ* “document for inspection,” see Verma, *Cultural Expression in the Old Kingdom Elite Tomb*, 140, Table 5.

### *Stance Type E-4: Slaughtering bulls*

Slaughtering bulls or butchery scenes are quite common in elite tomb decoration in the Old Kingdom.<sup>319</sup> Such scenes depict how the butchers tied bulls and cut off their forelegs. The forelegs and other parts of the bull are then presented to the deceased for his or her symbolic consumption in the funerary ceremonies.<sup>320</sup> Children of the tomb owner do not usually participate in this ritual butchery. The slaughtering of a bull is apparently a technique that requires particular knowledge. Butchers, therefore, are professionals with a hierarchy indicated by a series of titles.<sup>321</sup> Sons of the tomb owner seldom participate in butchery activity; only two examples occur in the dataset, both in provincial sites.

In the tomb of *Jttj / Šdw* at Deshasha, a son named *H3-n-Sbk* squats on the ground to grasp the horn of a giant ox labeled as *rn n ng3w* “young ox.” He is designated as *z3.f*, presumably the son of the tomb owner, but without any other titles relating to butchery. The caption of the scene reads *dj wh3w šbw n k3 jw3 jw zjw.f r gs.f jnt n.f k3w.f r m33 hzt nrw.f nb...[nf?]rt* “Cause that the food offerings of bulls and oxen are cut! His men are at his side. One shall bring his bulls to him in order to review the blessing of all his herdsmen...”<sup>322</sup> The tomb owner appears standing, leaning on his staff to the left, with an inscription before him reading *m33 k3 hmt nt ht.f rht n k3.f nb sdm mdw nrw nw pr n dt*

<sup>319</sup> For a complete list of tombs containing butchery scenes, see Salima Ikram, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 297-303. For the removal of the foreleg from the bull, see also Arne Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche im alten Ägypten und ihre Wiedergabe im Flachbild bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches* (München: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 1973), 53-73.

<sup>320</sup> The butchery scenes are also related to the table scenes. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 82.

<sup>321</sup> Such as *hrp jmy sšm, qbḥ nmsts*, see Henry G. Fischer, “The Butcher *Ph-r-nfr*,” *Orientalia* 29 (1960): 170-171. See also Ikram, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt*, 109-111.

<sup>322</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, 55, pl. 51.



“viewing the bulls and cows of his property and the number of all his bulls, and hearing the speech of the herdsmen of his funerary estate.”<sup>323</sup> One is unable to tell whether this son is a professional butcher given the evidence available in the inscription. His participation in the slaughtering activity, however, suggests that sons may have taken part in the preparation of bull meat as offerings and the ceremony in which they ritually sacrifice bulls before the deceased.

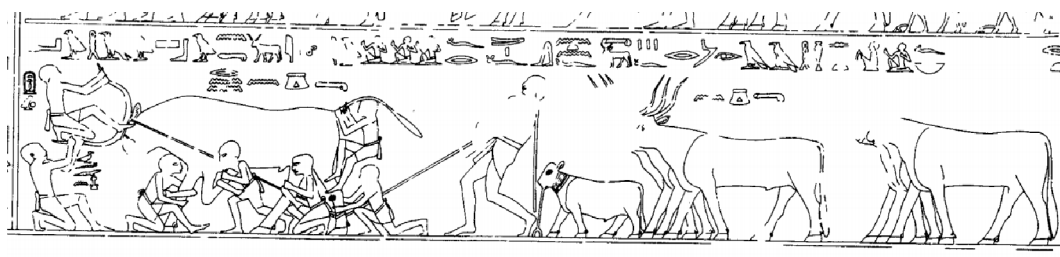


Figure 107. Tomb of *Jtj* / *Šdw* at Deshasha, Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 51.

The other example of sons as butchers comes from the tomb of *Ttj* / *K3.f-hp* at El-Hawawish (M8). In this slaughtering scene, two sons with a large knife cut off the foreleg of the bull.



Figure 108. Tomb of *Ttj* / *K3.f-hp* at El-Hawawish, Kanawati, *El-Hawawish III*, fig. 13.

<sup>323</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Deshasha*, 54, pl. 51.

### Stance Type F: Other stances

This section discusses stances that cannot be categorized into any other stance type, as they are not typical for children of the tomb owner. Seven examples of Stance F occur in the dataset.

In the tomb of *Ttw II* at Giza (G 2343 - G 5511), a son sails with the tomb owner on a boat.

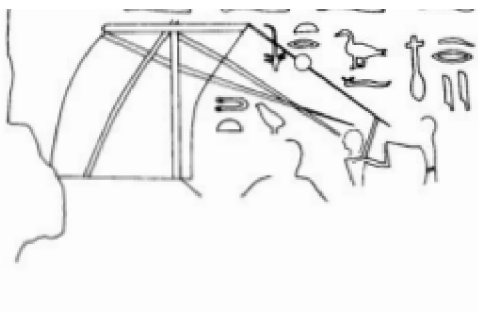


Figure 109. Tomb of *Ttw II* at Giza (G 2343 - G 5511), Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 42.

A similar scene of a son on a boat occurs in the tomb of *Srf-k³(.j)*. On the north half of the west wall, the eldest son stands on a skiff sailing behind his father. He leans on his staff, wearing a collar and a short projecting kilt.



Figure 110. Tomb of *Srf-k³(.j)* at el-Sheikh Said, Davies, *Sheik Said*, pl. v.

In the tomb of *Pth-špss* at Abusir, a son appears on the fifth register of the north wall of Room 4, setting the table with food offerings. Although it is common for children of the tomb owner to appear in Stance Type B-3, standing and carrying offerings, none of the family members has the representation of placing food offerings on the table except in the tomb of *Pth-špss*, where a son stands near a table and uses his right hand to place an item on the top of a pile of offerings. Nevertheless, family members likely placed food on the offering table. In the Letter to the Dead on the Kaw Bowl, the son brought his deceased mother seven quails as offerings.<sup>324</sup> Relatives of the deceased possibly brought offerings like the quails and letters and placed them on an offering table or basin in the chapel. Therefore, decorum might have led the ancient Egyptians to omit certain activities of family members as themes in tomb decoration.

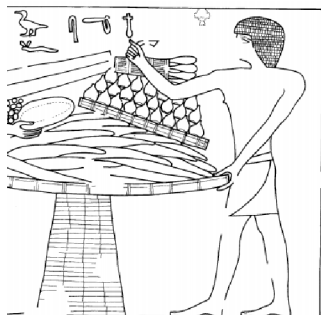


Figure 111. Tomb of *Pth-špss* at Abusir, Verner, *Abusir I: Ptahshepses*, fig. 37.

The tomb of *Mnw-m-ḥ3t* at El-Hawawish (Pushkin Museum I.1.a.5567) has another scene of a son touching the offering table. The eldest son stands before the table of the deceased and his wife and extends his hand to the offering table.<sup>325</sup> Although

<sup>324</sup> Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 3-5, 17-19, pls. II-IIA. See also Wentz, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 211-212.

<sup>325</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish VIII*, 62. The drawing of this stela in this volume (fig. 34b) does not contain the name, designation, and title of the eldest son. For the photograph of this object and the translation of the inscriptions on it, see

family members are frequently depicted standing before the offering table of the tomb owner, they usually have no contact with the offering table and the offerings. The case of *Mnw-m-ḥ3t* may indicate that the son, especially the eldest son, may have been responsible for taking care of the offerings on the offering table during the funerary rituals.

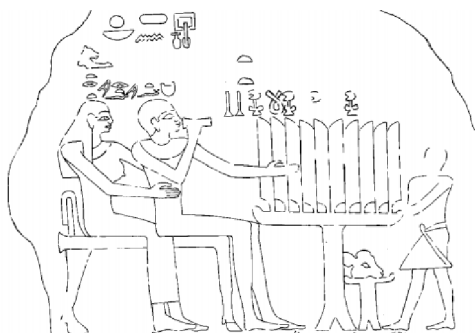


Figure 112. Tomb of *Mnw-m-ḥ3t* at El-Hawawish, Kanawati, *El-Hawawish VIII*, fig. 34[b].

Children may also be depicted leading small animals in a procession. In the case of *Mtj* at Saqqara, a son holds the leash of a pet dog at the foot of the tomb owner in the offering chapel.

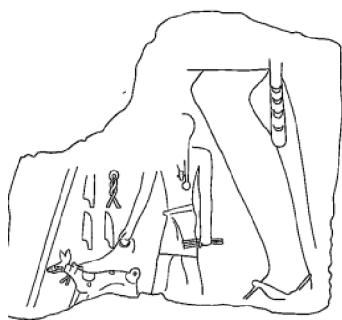


Figure 113. Tomb of *Mtj* at Saqqara, Ziegler, *Stèles*, 147, no. 20.

In the tomb of *S3bw / Jbbj* at Saqqara, a scene depicts two sons drag a standing statue of the tomb owner. Both wearing short wigs and short kilts, they stand and hold the rope in their hands.



Figure 114. Tomb of *S3bw / Jbbj* at Saqqara, Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, Bl. 21.

## 1.4 Children as Offering Bearers

The idea of providing funerary offerings in proper function is an integral part of funerary beliefs, in which family members continued to have a role after the death of the tomb owner. The tomb owner ensures his or her children to continuously fulfill his or her expectation for offerings in the afterlife by their ideological representations as offering bearers on the chapel wall. These scenes visualize the role of children in the funerary cult by illustrating their funerary activities with scenes and inscribing the names and designations next to the figures. These depictions reproduce what may have taken place during the funeral artistically and to create a perpetuate reenactment of the ritual event conceptually. As offering bearers, children carry forelegs, birds, trays or baskets of food, small animals, and less frequently linen.

Birds are the most common offerings that children carry in their hands. Children depicted in Stance AS-4, Stance B-3, and Stance C-2 may carry birds. When appearing in Stance AS-4 and Stance C-2, they may grasp one or more small birds in their hand. When depicted in Stance B-3, they may grasp small birds by their wings or large birds by twisting its neck with one hand and grasping the wings in the other hand, possibly to display it to the deceased. In all the examples, only sons present one or more large birds to the tomb owner, while daughters carry only small birds.

Forelegs of bull are also significant offerings that children presented to the tomb owner. The butchery scenes illustrate how forelegs are cut off from a bull. In a variety of scenes, sons and brothers of the tomb owner present the foreleg. The presentation of a foreleg by sons occurs in 40 tombs: 10 in Giza, 12 in Saqqara, and 18 in provincial sites. Sons carrying a foreleg can appear on false door jambs and architraves individually, or in a sequence of offering bearers beneath or in front of the tomb owner. These offering bearers frequently appear on the north and south walls of the chapel, proceeding west toward the false door.<sup>326</sup> In a procession, the sequence usually begins with one or more offering bearers carrying a foreleg, followed by the same number of offering bearers presenting large birds. The number of offering bearers carrying the foreleg and the large bird is usually three, sometimes four or more. In the tomb of *Qʿr* at Abusir South, as many as five offering bearers carry forelegs and five present large birds in a symmetric arrangement on the bottom registers on the north and south walls of Chapel 2.<sup>327</sup> In the

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<sup>326</sup> Especially offering chapels with an east-west orientation; they occur more frequently on the west and east walls in the corridor chapels, see charts in Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 86-98.

<sup>327</sup> Bárta and Bezděk, *Abusir XIII. Tomb Complex of the Vizier Qar, His Sons Qar Junior and Senedjemib, and Iykai*, fig. 5.3.6, fig. 5.3.8.

tomb of *Ttw I / K3(.j)-nswt* at Giza (G 2001), a sequence of six offering bearers appear beneath the tomb owner and his offering table on the north wall of the portico, with the first being the eldest son carrying a foreleg, and the second a brother presenting a large bird. A similar sequence of offering bearers appears on the opposite wall with another son in the initial position carrying a foreleg.



Figure 115. Tomb of *Ttw I / K3(.j)-nswt* at Giza (G 2001), north wall of portico, Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 24.

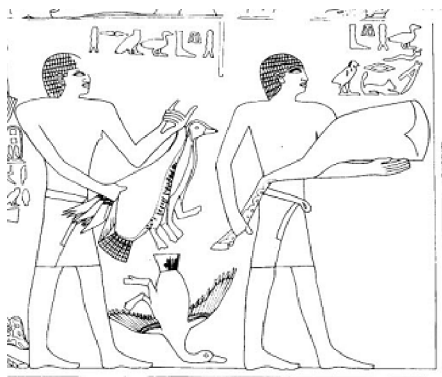


Figure 116. Tomb of *Ttw I / K3(.j)-nswt* at Giza (G 2001), south wall of portico, Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 23.

The earliest example of sons carrying forelegs in the dataset comes from the tomb of *Pr-sn* (D 45) at Saqqara dating to the reign of Sahure. On each inner jamb of the false door, two men appear one above the other, both carrying a foreleg. Three of the four men are sons of the tomb owner. An interesting detail in this scene is the size of the forelegs, which are much smaller compared with those in later tombs. Examples from the dataset

show that the foreleg carried by offering bearers becomes larger at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.

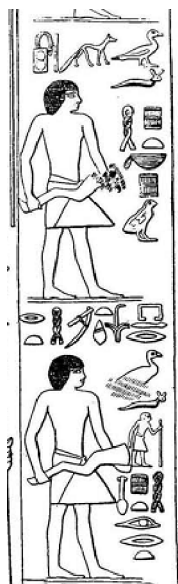


Figure 117. Tomb of *Pr-sn* at Saqqara, Petrie & Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. IX.

It is not clear whether daughters would provide their parents with forelegs as funerary offerings, because no example thus far show them carrying a foreleg in tomb decoration. The same is true for sisters of the tomb owner. An interesting example comes from the tomb of *Jrj.s / Jjj* at Saqqara, where two daughters and two sons appear on a register below the wife on the west wall. The sons and the daughters alternate, with the daughters occupying the first and the third positions, the eldest son the second, and the other son the fourth. Both sons carry a foreleg, while both daughters carry a bird in the left hand and hold a lotus flower toward the nose with the right hand. The caption above them reads *shpt stpt jn ḥmw-k3 jnnt n.s m njwt.s n T3-mḥw* “bringing choice offerings by the ka-priests, which is brought for her from her towns of the Delta.”<sup>328</sup> In this scene, the

<sup>328</sup> Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara: North-West of Teti's Pyramid I*, 54-56, pls. 33-36, 54-56.



daughters—though they appear with the sons in the same sequence—do not carry forelegs but lotus flowers, although the caption specifies the choice offerings.



Figure 118. Tomb of *Jrj.s / Jjj* at Saqqara, Kanawati et al., *Saqqara I*, pl. 36.

A sequence of offering bearers carrying forelegs and large birds usually has the caption *shpt stpt*. The earliest example of children in scenes with this caption occurs in the tomb of *Snđm-jb / Jntj* at Giza (G 2370) which dates to the reign of Izezi.<sup>329</sup> *Snđm-jb / Jntj*'s sons appear on the lowest register on the north wall of Room IV. The first two sons carry forelegs, while the third holds a bird to his chest.

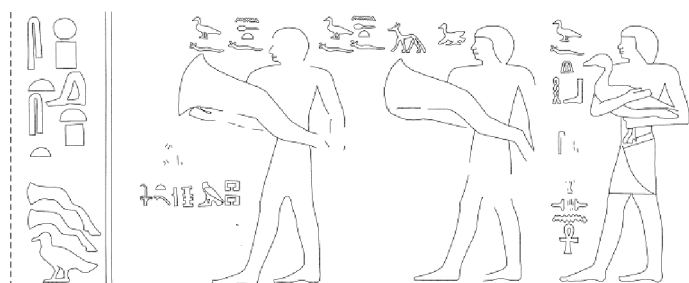


Figure 119. Tomb of *Snđm-jb / Jntj* at Giza (G 2370), Brovanski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, pl. 65.<sup>330</sup>

<sup>329</sup> Brovanski, *The Senedjemib Complex I*, 23.

<sup>330</sup> Proposed reconstruction of the west end of north wall of Room IV by Brovanski.

Scenes of children presenting forelegs and large birds as choice offerings became more elaborate at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty in Saqqara. In the tomb of *Jnw-Mnw* at Saqqara, for example, the eldest son leads other offering bearers who carry forelegs, meat, and large birds. They grasp more than one large bird, together with cages full of birds placed at their feet.

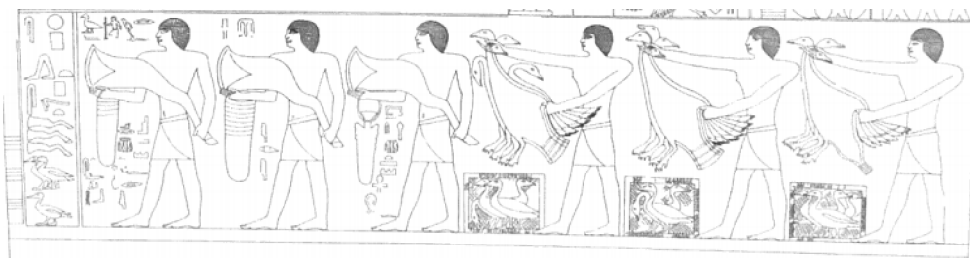


Figure 120. Tomb of *Jnw-Mnw* at Saqqara, Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery VIII*, pl. 51.

Scenes show that children of the tomb owner carry mainly offerings of birds, forelegs, young animals, and different types of food. A few tombs have other types of offerings children carry. For example, on the inner jambs of the false door in the tomb of *W3š-k3.j* at Giza, the four sons carry four types of offerings: forelegs, linen, birds, and jugs. This is one of only three examples of children presenting linen in the dataset. The other two examples come from the tombs of *ḥnh-Ḥwt-Ḥr* at Saqqara and *Mdw-nfr* (G 4630) at Giza. In both tombs, the son appears to the right of the panel of the false door, holding a stripe of linen in each hand and presenting it to the tomb owner. In general, the presentation of linen is a task carried out by the ka-priests as part of the funerary ritual to cloth the tomb owner.<sup>331</sup>

<sup>331</sup> Thompson, "The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt's Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom," 117, 124, 309, 338. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie Égyptienne IV*, tome IV, 110, fig. 30 [12].



Figure 121. Tomb of *W3š-k3.j* at Giza, James, *Hiero. Texts I*, 2nd ed., 27-28, pl. xxvii.

## 1.5 Rituals Performed by Children

Ritual activities, including making libation, censuring, laying down offerings at an offering table, and slaughtering cattle, are general duties of the *hm-k3* class of priests.<sup>332</sup> Whether or not they bear the title *hm-k3*, children, especially sons, take part in these rituals in a variety of scenes. None of these rituals, however, is exclusively for sons. In many tombs, priests perform these duties without the involvement of sons.

Most representations of sons censuring the tomb owner occur on the false door, on the west wall next to the false door, or on the wall of the niche of the false door. In seven examples—three from Giza, three from Saqqara, and one from Qubbet el-Hawa—the representations of the son performing the censuring ritual appears at the entrance facade, thickness or lintel of doorways. In three examples, the son censes the father on the north wall.<sup>333</sup> Only in the tomb of *Nj-htp-Pth / Pnj* at Giza does the son cense the tomb owner

<sup>332</sup> Thompson, “The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt’s Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom,” 117, 172-173.

<sup>333</sup> In tombs of *Ntr-wsr* at Saqqara, *Nj-nh-Ppy-km* at Meir, and *Hw.n-wh / Tj* at Quseir el-Amarna.

on the pillar. In these representations, a son always censes a male tomb owner who either appears alone or with his wife. None of the censuring representations features a female tomb owner exclusively. Because the husband usually precedes the wife when they are seated together, it is difficult to tell whether they are both censed or whether only the husband is the recipient of the son's ritual act.

Representations distinguish sons from professional priests by focusing more conspicuously on their performance of ritual duties. In the scenes involving the offering list, children do not appear among the group of priests, such as those with *hnw*-gestures and offering-gestures in the *s³h* rite.<sup>334</sup> The only exception occurs in the tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy-km* at Meir (A1). On the west wall of Room 1 of this tomb, a son reads from a papyrus scroll behind a group of priests, probably performing the duty of a lector priest.<sup>335</sup> The absence of sons among the group of priests does not mean they are excluded from such rituals. In the tomb of *Špss-k³.f-<sup>c</sup>nh* at Giza, a son named *R<sup>c</sup>-wrwy* is “removing the footprints” on the south wall of the chapel, in front of his father who is seated at his two offering tables below the offering list.<sup>336</sup> It is interesting to note that this son appears alone without a group of priests usually involved in the ritual series, while the one who removes the foot prints usually occupies a middle position in such rituals.<sup>337</sup>

Sons may also appear in the gesture of making offerings. In the tombs of *K³-hj.f* (G 2136) and *K³(j)-nj-nswt II* (G 2156), a son stands to the right of the offering list with his hand raised to make offerings. In the tomb of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q³r* (G7101), a son in this

<sup>334</sup> Thompson, “The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt’s Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom,” 33-44.

<sup>335</sup> See “Stance Type E-2-REC” in this chapter. For discussion of this gesture and the function of the priest, see Thompson, “The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt’s Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom,” 34-36.

<sup>336</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 29. See note 296.

<sup>337</sup> Thompson, “The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt’s Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom,” 46.

gesture of making-offering appears to the right of the false door. On the west wall of the chapel of *Srf-k³(.j)* at el-Sheikh Said (No. 1), the eldest son raises his hand before the tomb owner and his wife. The inscription in front of him reads *s³ht*. He leads a sequence of offering bearers, but no other priests performing proper rites appear in this scene.

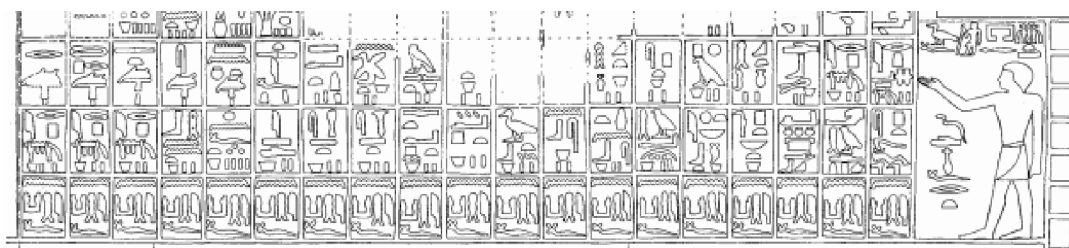


Figure 122. Tomb of *K³-hj.f* at Giza (G 2136), Junker, *Giza VI*, 113, Abb. 33.



Figure 123. Tomb of *K³(.j)-nj-nswt II* at Giza (G 2156), Junker, *Giza III*, 154, Abb. 22.



Figure 124. Tomb of *Mry-Rᶜ-nfr / Q³r* at Giza (G 7101), Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 32.



Figure 125. Tomb of *Sṛf-kꜣ(j)* at el-Sheikh Said (No. 1), Davies, *Sheik Said*, pl. iv.

According to Thompson's study on the structure of the *sꜣh* rites, libation, censuring, clothing, making offerings, and reciting spells from papyrus scrolls are part of the ritual cycle.<sup>338</sup> The depiction of sons of the tomb owner performing some of these rituals out of the group of professional priests may have been a means to integrate their consanguineous status with their ritual role. The artists may have chosen the most typical actions, such as censuring and libation, to represent the whole ritual cycle in which the sons of the tomb owner participate.<sup>339</sup>

<sup>338</sup> See Thompson, "The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt's Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom," 338-344.

<sup>339</sup> For the idea that the Egyptians used a part to present the whole, see David P. Silverman, "Pashed, the Servant of Amon: A Stelophorous Figure in the Oriental Institute Museum," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes: January 12, 1977*, eds. by Janet Johnson and Edward Wente (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1976), 201-208.

## CHAPTER 2 SIBLINGS OF THE TOMB OWNER

### 2.1 The Designations of Siblings

This chapter analyzes the designations, titles, and iconography of brothers and sisters of the tomb owner in tomb chapels, including their stances, clothing, accessories, and other related iconographic specifics within the context of the scenes. It also discusses how they interact with the tomb owner or other people in the same scene and the relationship between them.

The identification of siblings of the tomb owner depends mainly on the associated inscription. If the inscription associated with a figure contains the designation *sn.f* “his brother,” the figure identifies the brother of the tomb owner. Likewise, a female figure marked *snt.f* “his sister” represents the sister of the tomb owner. In a few cases, the designations *sn.s* “her brother” and *snt.s* “her sister” occur. They either refer to a female tomb owner or the wife of a male tomb owner. Parents of the tomb owner sometimes appear together with their siblings. In this case, the siblings may have the designations *z3.f* or *z3t.f* with the suffix pronoun *.f* referring to the father of the tomb owner. In circumstances when no kinship designation occurs in the inscription, it is possible to identify the sibling relationship through certain clues, such as the names and titles of children recorded in the tomb of their parents. In the following discussion we will discuss the basis for determining kinship in each case.

From the Fourth Dynasty to the early Sixth Dynasty, the designation *sn-dt* / *snt-dt*, “brother/sister of the funerary estates,”<sup>340</sup> appears in tomb inscriptions.<sup>341</sup> The *sn-dt* / *snt-dt* may have been a biological brother or sister of the tomb owner. For example, in the tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh* at Giza, Harpur identifies a *sn-dt* named *Jttj* as a real brother, a conclusion based on a comparison between their titles and their presence in each other’s tomb decoration.<sup>342</sup> Therefore, it is necessary to examine the representations of individuals bearing the title *sn-dt* / *snt-dt* to draw a complete picture of siblinghood. In a few cases, the *snt-dt* is the wife of the tomb owner. In the tomb of *Nfr-htp* at Giza, for example, his wife is designated as *snt-dt*.<sup>343</sup>

The representation of siblings occurs in 67 tombs (including those containing *sn-dt* / *snt-dt*) in the dataset: 29 examples in Giza, 23 in Saqqara, and 11 in the provinces. The total number of brothers depicted on chapel walls is 84, while the number of sisters is only 28, excluding 50 examples *sn-dt* and 7 examples of *snt-dt*.<sup>344</sup> Brothers of the tomb owner appear more frequently than their sisters, probably because of the decrease in ties to their brothers’ families after sisters married and moved to their husbands’ houses.

<sup>340</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 907. See also Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*. Hannig-Lexica 4; Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 98 (Mainz: von Zabern, 2003), 1154-1155; Erman, *Wörterbuch Der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Bd. 4, 152.

<sup>341</sup> For a discussion of the scholarship of the term *sn-dt*, see Yvonne Harpur, “Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, no. 67 (1981): 30-31. Previous studies include Junker, *Giza II*, 194-195, Junker, *Giza III*, 6-7, Junker, *Giza IX*, 73, Bernhard Grdseloff, “Deux inscriptions juridiques de l’ancien Empire,” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 42 (1943): 39-49, Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 122-130, Wolfgang Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 80, 85, 89-90, and Wolfgang Boochs, “Zur Funktion des *sn dt*,” *Varia Egyptiaca* 1 (1985): 3-9. For the most recent study of this term, see Juan Carlos Moreno García, “A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 93 (2007): 117-136.

<sup>342</sup> Harpur, “Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza,” 24-30.

<sup>343</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IX*, 63.

<sup>344</sup> In the tombs of *Wm-kj* (D 117), *Nfr-htp*, *Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh* (G 4520), and *Kj-pw-Pth* (Cairo JE 37716) at Giza. *Nfr-wsr* and *Pth-htp* (D 51) at Saqqara. *Jj-mry* (Gebel el-Teir). The *snt-dt* also have the designation *hmt.f* “his wife” in the tombs of *Nfr-htp* and *Nfr-wsr*.



Among the 15 tombs at Giza containing the depiction of siblings (excluding *sn-dt* / *snt-dt*),<sup>345</sup> only one tomb dates to the Fourth Dynasty,<sup>346</sup> 7 to the Fifth Dynasty,<sup>347</sup> 3 to the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>348</sup> and 3 to the end of Fifth or the beginning of the Sixth Dynasties.<sup>349</sup> The depiction of *sn-dt* / *snt-dt* occurs in 15 tombs. The tomb of *3htj-mrw-nswt* (G 2184) contains both brothers and *sn-dt*. Among these 15 tombs, 2 tombs date to the Fourth Dynasty,<sup>350</sup> 11 to the Fifth Dynasty,<sup>351</sup> and only one to the end of the Fifth or the beginning of the Sixth Dynasties.<sup>352</sup> The tomb of *K3-hr-Pth* (G 7721) is the only tomb dated to the mid-late Sixth Dynasty.<sup>353</sup>

At Saqqara (including Abusir), 13 tombs contain the depiction of siblings of the tomb owner (excluding *sn-dt* / *snt-dt*), all dated to the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties. Among these tombs, 7 date to the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the early Sixth Dynasty,<sup>354</sup> 4 to the Fifth Dynasty from the reign of Sahure to Neuserre,<sup>355</sup> and 2 to the late Sixth Dynasty.<sup>356</sup> Eleven tombs contain *sn-dt* or *snt-dt*. The tomb of *K3.j-m-hzt*

<sup>345</sup> The date of the tomb of *K3j* is uncertain. A date of the Fifth to the Sixth Dynasties is suggested in Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, vol. III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 194.

<sup>346</sup> *Nb-m-3htj* (LG 12, LG 86).

<sup>347</sup> *Jj-mry* (G 6020, LG 15), *Jtj* (G 7391), *S3m-nfr III* (G 5170), *Qd-ns*, *K3pj* (G 2091), *Ttw I* (G 2001), and *D3ty* (G 2337-X).

<sup>348</sup> *Jnpw-htp*, *Mry-Rc-mrj-Pth-3nh* / *Nhbw* (G 2381 with shft G 2382A), and *Mry-Rc-nfr* / *Q3r* (G 7101).

<sup>349</sup> *3htj-mrw-nswt* (G 2184), *Htj* (G 5480, LG 29, statue of sister), and *S3ps-k3-f-3nh*.

<sup>350</sup> The tombs of *Wt3*'s father and *Tntj* (G 4920, LG 47).

<sup>351</sup> *Whm-k3* (D 117), *Mrw-k3(j)*, *Nj-M3-t-Rc*, *Nfr* and *Jtj-sn*, *Nfr-htp*, *Hf-f-Rc-3nh* (G 7948), *Hwfw-3nh* (G 4520), *Ztw* (G 4710, LG 49), *Sndm-jb* / *Jntj* (G 2370), *S3m-nfr I* (G 4940, LG 45), and *K3-pw-Pth* (Cairo JE 37716).

<sup>352</sup> *3htj-mrw-nswt* (G 2184).

<sup>353</sup> Timothy Kendall, "An Unusual Rock-Cut Tomb at Giza," in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday, June, 1, 1980*, eds. William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), 111. PM III, 203 gives a Fifth Dynasty date. The *sn-dt* depicted in this tomb is designated as *sn-dt.s* "her brother of the funerary estate", whose image is above the engaged statue of the tomb owner and his wife. Therefore, he is, presumably, the *sn-dt* of the wife.

<sup>354</sup> *3nh-m-c-Hr* / *Zzj*, *Mr-f-nb-f* / *Ffj*, *Mrrw-k3.j* / *Mrj*, *S3-mry*, *Q3r* Junior (son of vizier *Q3r*), and *K3.j-m-hzt*, *K3-gm-nj* / *Mmj* / *Gmnj*.

<sup>355</sup> *Nj-3nh* -*Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp*, *Nj-3nh-Shmt* (No.74 [D 12]), *Nfr* (in the same tomb of his father *K3-h3.j*), and *Tp-m-3nh* (D 11).

<sup>356</sup> *Hnmw-ndm(w)* (at Kom el Akhdar) and *Ppj*.

contains both siblings and *sn-dt*. Five of these tombs belong to the Fifth Dynasty from the reigns of Sahure to Nyuserre.<sup>357</sup> Five tombs date to the end of the Fifth Dynasty or the early Sixth Dynasty,<sup>358</sup> and one tomb dates to the reign of Pepy I.<sup>359</sup>

Ten tombs at provincial sites contain siblings (*sn* or *snt*), all dated to the Sixth Dynasty. Only one example of *snt-dt* comes from the tomb of *Jj-mry* Gebel el-Teir, dated to the Fourth or the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>360</sup>

The most common designations for siblings are *sn.f* and *snt.f*. The third person masculine possessive suffix pronoun *f* refers to the male tomb owner and identifies the individual as his brother or sister. In two cases, the possessive suffix is the third person feminine *.s*, referring to the wife of the tomb owner. In the tomb of *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* at Saqqara, a woman named *S3b-Pth* has the designation *sn(t).s* “her sister.”<sup>361</sup> As the sister of the wife (the sister-in-law of the tomb owner), she appears on her false door, seated at a small offering table to the right of the panel. The other example of the sibling of the wife occurs in the tomb of *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb* at Meir. A man named *Qrj* designated as *sn.s* “her brother” appears behind the wife of the tomb owner.<sup>362</sup> These examples demonstrate that the third person possessive feminine suffix is applied when the siblings of the wife appear on her false door or in her vicinity on the wall. *Sn* or *snt* without any suffix pronoun is

<sup>357</sup> *Ph.n-wj-k3* (D 70, LS 15), *Nj-k3w-Pth*, *Ntr-wsr*, *Shm-k3* (north-west of D 62), and *K3-h3.j*.

<sup>358</sup> *3ht-htp* (D 64), *Pth-htp II / Ij* (D 64), *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-nswt*, *K3.j-m-hzt*, and *Tsmw (sn-dt of Pth-htp)*, lintel found in the tomb of *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>*.

<sup>359</sup> *Pth-htp* (D 51).

<sup>360</sup> Moreno García, “A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society,” 125.

<sup>361</sup> Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo I*, (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1937), Bl. 19. It is interesting to note *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* made the false door for his wife *Nbw-htp*, on which both her children and sister have the kinship designations attached with the personal pronoun *.s*. See Silverman, “Pectorals, Seals, and Seal Cases(?)” 351.

<sup>362</sup> Kanawati et al., *The Cemetery of Meir I*, pl. 88.

uncommon. In the dataset, this only occurs in the tomb of *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh*, where a man named *Jj-m-<sup>h</sup>tp* is marked as *sn* without any suffix pronoun, while two female figures are designated as *snt Ppj* and *snt Hmt*. It is interesting to note that one of the brothers of *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* is labeled as *sn.f*,<sup>363</sup> and his sister-in-law has the designation *sn(t).s*. It is not clear why some designations in this tomb are written without any suffix pronoun, while others are with suffix possessive pronouns.

Unlike the designation *sn* or *snt*, the majority of *sn-<sup>dt</sup>* or *snt-<sup>dt</sup>* do not have a suffix pronoun. The suffix pronoun *.f* or *.s* can follow *sn* or *dt*, or both. *sn-<sup>dt</sup>* occurs 41 times in the dataset, while *sn.f <sup>dt</sup>* occurs four times.<sup>364</sup> All of the following occur once: *sn-<sup>dt</sup>.f*,<sup>365</sup> *sn-<sup>dt</sup>.s*,<sup>366</sup> *sn.s <sup>dt</sup>*,<sup>367</sup> *sn.f <sup>dt</sup>.f*<sup>368</sup> and *sn.f n <sup>dt</sup>.f*.<sup>369</sup> *snt-<sup>dt</sup>* occurs five times in the dataset, while *snt-<sup>dt</sup>.f* occurs once.<sup>370</sup> Examples of the tomb owner being a *sn-<sup>dt</sup>* occur in two cases. In the tomb of *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>* at Saqqara, a man named *Tsmw* appears on a stela dedicated to him and his wife, and the inscription identifies him as *Pth-<sup>h</sup>tp sn-<sup>dt</sup>.f*.<sup>371</sup> It means that he is the brother of the funerary estate of a certain *Pth-<sup>h</sup>tp* though he may have been interred in the tomb of *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>*. In the tomb of *Nj-M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*, the tomb owner himself is the *sn-<sup>dt</sup>* of a woman named *Nfr.s-rs* who owns a chapel in his mastaba.<sup>372</sup> The

<sup>363</sup> For this brother, see discussion in Silverman, “Pectorals, Seals, and Seal Cases(?)” 352.

<sup>364</sup> In the tombs of *Wt3* at Giza, *Mrw-k3(j)* at Giza, *Ph.n-wj-k3* (D 70) at Saqqara, and *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Shmt* (D 12) at Saqqara.

<sup>365</sup> On the steala of *Tsmw* at Saqqara.

<sup>366</sup> In the tomb of *K3-<sup>h</sup>r-Pth* (G 7721) at Giza.

<sup>367</sup> In the tomb of *Nj-M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>* at Giza, the tomb owner himself is a *sn-<sup>dt</sup>* of a woman named *Nfr.s-rs* who owns a chapel in his tomb.

<sup>368</sup> In the tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh* (G 7948) at Giza.

<sup>369</sup> In the tomb of *3<sup>h</sup>tj-mrw-nswt* (G 2185) at Giza.

<sup>370</sup> In the tomb of *Nfr-<sup>h</sup>tp* at Giza. An example of *snt.f <sup>dt</sup>* is on the base of the statue of *K3-pw-Pth* (Cairo JE 37716), but there is not representation of the *snt-<sup>dt</sup>*.

<sup>371</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza III*, 9, fig. 4.

<sup>372</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 205, fig. 226.

following charts show the number of tombs containing the depiction of *sn-dt* / *snt-dt* and their occurrences in each location.

Table 6. Number of tombs containing the depiction of *sn-dt* and *snt-dt*

Total	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial Sites
26	15	11	1

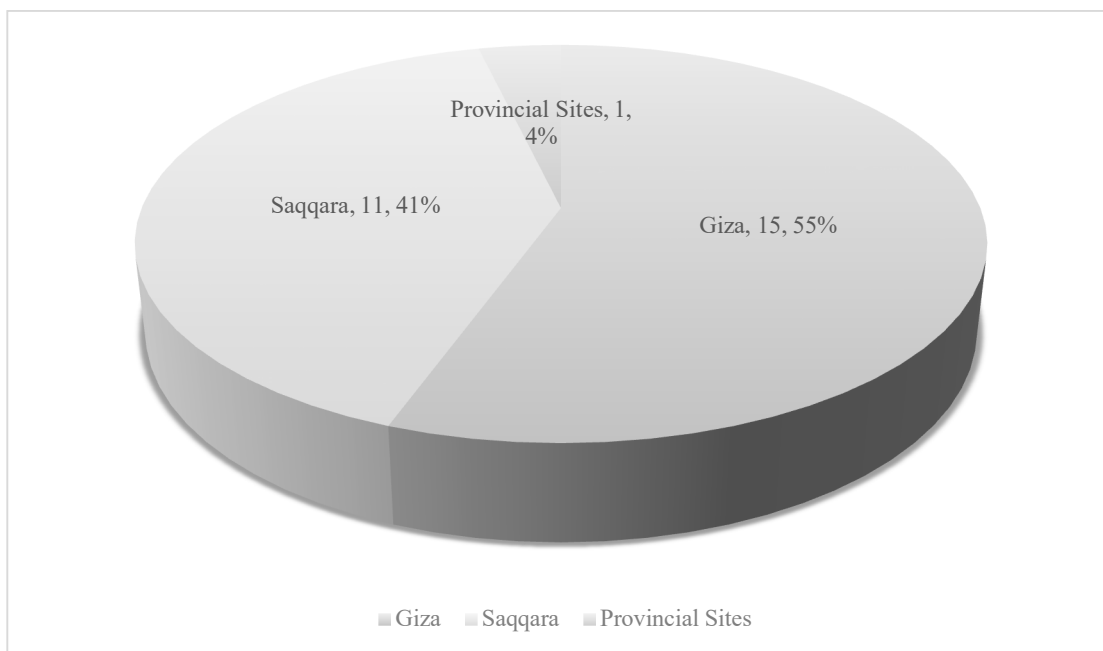


Figure 126. Number of tombs containing the depiction of *sn-dt* and *snt-dt*

Table 7. Number of occurrences of *sn-dt* and *snt-dt*

	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial Sites
Total	27	29	1
<i>sn-dt</i>	23	27	0
<i>snt-dt</i>	4	2	1

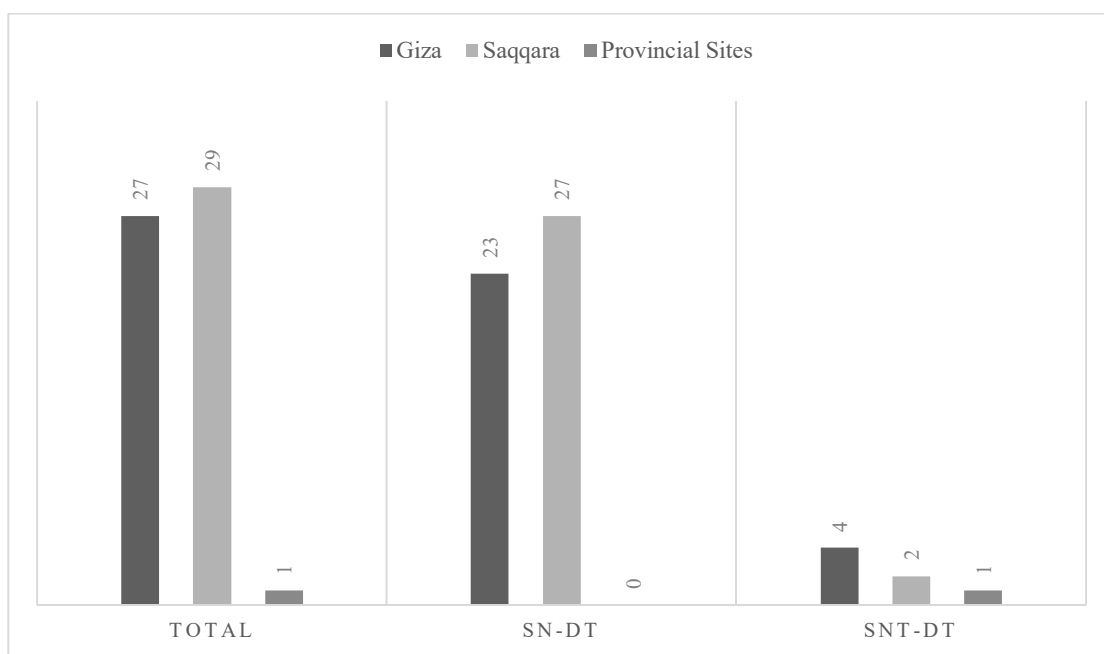


Figure 127. Number of occurrences of *sn-dt* and *snt-dt*

As a kinship designation, *sn* (or *snt*) indicates the status of an individual within the familial framework, while the suffix pronoun attached to it specifies the relationship between its bearer and the tomb owner. In most cases, *sn* / *snt* occurs with a suffix pronoun to clarify a kinship hierarchy centered on the tomb owner. The designation *sn-dt* without any suffix pronoun refers to the *sn-dt* of the tomb owner. Similarly, the title *hm-k3* “ka-priests” is never attached with any suffix pronoun, while those depicted in the tomb chapel are supposed to serve the tomb owner for his or her funerary cult. The absence of suffix pronouns of the designation *sn-dt* / *snt-dt* may point to an emphasis on the function of the individual outside the family rather than his or her kinship to a specific person. Moreover, the societal nature of *sn-dt* / *snt-dt* is embedded in a familial network by using kinship designation *sn* / *snt* to define a status as an equivalent to that of the sibling of the tomb owner. Therefore, the term *sn-dt* / *snt-dt* explains the standing of an

individual in two dimensions: his or her status as a sibling and his or her responsibility in connection with the *dt*.<sup>373</sup> Additionally, the application of this term may have been an attempt to incorporate an individual's social role into the domestic realm or, conversely, to endow a family member with social responsibilities outside the domestic realm.

It is not clear whether siblings depicted in tomb chapels are older or younger than the tomb owner, because words expressing order in age, such as *smsw* or *šry*, are not found in a compound with *sn* / *snt* in inscriptions in the Old Kingdom tomb chapels. The only example of an elder brother comes from the tomb of *Sn-ms* at Qubbet el-Hawa, where a brother of the tomb owner is labeled as *sn.f smsw* "his elder brother."<sup>374</sup>

Although the absence of inscriptional evidence hampers the identification of an elder and a younger sibling, some iconographic features may hint at different ages, such as the order of siblings in a sequence and the scales of their figures. In the joint tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp*, three men and three women stand in a sequence behind their parents, presumably in order of age.<sup>375</sup> Although no kinship designations are associated with their figures, their positions—in a sequence following the parents of the tomb owner and before both tomb owners—suggest their status as siblings. In some cases, siblings of the tomb owner may be designated as *z<sup>3</sup>.f* or *z<sup>3</sup>t.f* when they appear with the parents of the tomb owner, especially when the parents are major figures in the scene. In the tomb of *Jnpw-htp* at Giza, for instance, the parents of the tomb owner appear with three brothers and four sisters on the eastern jamb of the false door, in contrast to the tomb owner

<sup>373</sup> The term *dt* (or *pr-dt*) refers to the personal estate of the tomb owner. For a detailed discussion of this term, see Chauvet, "The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom," 82-90.

<sup>374</sup> de Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de l'égypte Antique I*, 177-179.

<sup>375</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, Abb.11.

himself and his wife on the western jamb with their own children depicted below.<sup>376</sup> In most cases, their position below or near the parents of the tomb owner may account for the use of filial instead of sibling designations to emphasize the older generation. In the tomb of *Špss-kʒ.f-ḥnh* at Giza, the parents appear at a large scale, accompanied by the tomb owner and his siblings at much smaller scales. The three brothers all have the designation *zʒ.f*, while the sisters are labeled *zʒ.t.s*.<sup>377</sup> In the tomb of *Kʒ-ḥʒ.j* and his son *Nfr* at Saqqara, *Nfr*'s three brothers appear on the west wall near his false door without any kinship designation.<sup>378</sup> Their designations as sons near a figure of *Kʒ-ḥʒ.j* in the same tomb nevertheless help identify them as siblings. It is worth noting that the kinship determination depends only on inscriptions when siblings appear in a long sequence of offering bearers and when no family unit can help to locate the individuals within a kinship hierarchy.

The expression *mry.f / mrt.f* "his beloved one" is sometimes used in a compound with sibling designations.<sup>379</sup> The dataset has 13 examples of this expression, including seven examples of *sn.f mry.f*,<sup>380</sup> three of *snt.f mrt.f*,<sup>381</sup> and three of *sn-ḏt mry.f*.<sup>382</sup> Compared with filial designations, sibling designations with *mry.f / mrt.f* are less common. Their infrequent occurrence may hint at a less intimate relationship between the tomb owner and the siblings. However, it may have simply been the decorum that ancient

<sup>376</sup> Junker, *Giza IX*, 145-169, Abb. 73.

<sup>377</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 15-31, figs. 20.

<sup>378</sup> Miral Lashien, *The Chapel of Kahai and His Family*, Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 33 (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2013), pls. 84, 85.

<sup>379</sup> No *mry.s / mrt.s* has been attested in the dataset.

<sup>380</sup> In the tombs of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-mry-Pth-ḥnh / Nḥbw* (G 2381 with shift G 2382A), *ḏty* (G 2337-X, dependent of *Snḏm-jb*), *ḥnh-m-ḥr / Zzj*, *Ḥnmw-ndm(w)* (at Kom el Akhdar), *Jbj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8), and *Kʒ-ḥp / Ttj-jqr* (El-Hawawish H26).

<sup>381</sup> The two sisters of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Qʒr* (G 7101) and the sister of *Jttj / Šdw* (Deshasha).

<sup>382</sup> One example is in the tomb of *ʒht-ḥtp* (D 64), while the other two in *Pth-ḥtp II / Ttj* (D 64).

Egyptians simply did not apply *mry.f* / *mrt.f* to sibling designations, just as they never used it with parental designations.<sup>383</sup>

## 2.2 The Titles of Siblings

The tomb owner not only depicts the figures of their siblings on the chapel walls but also records their titles in the inscriptions. These titles can reflect the professions of siblings as well as their relationship to the tomb owner in a social framework outside the familial realm. Tables in Appendix II.2 list the titles of the tomb owner and the siblings.

One of the common titles of brothers (including *sn-dts*) is *rh-nswt* “king’s acquaintance.”<sup>384</sup> If the brother bears this title, the tomb owner always has the same title. The only exception occurs in the tomb of *Tntj* at Giza, whose *sn-dt J3tz* bears the title *rh-nswt*, while *Tntj* himself does not have it, but he bears other titles such as *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* “sole companion,”<sup>385</sup> *hrp c<sup>h</sup>* “director of the *c<sup>h</sup>*-palace,”<sup>386</sup> *hq3 b3t* “chief of Bat,”<sup>387</sup> and *hry-s3t3 n pr-dw3t* “privy to the secret of the House of Morning.”<sup>388</sup>

In many cases, the titles of brothers (including *sn-dts*) partially resemble those of the tomb owner, which suggests that they possibly followed the same career path. In the tomb of *Jnpw-htp* at Giza, for example, the tomb owner bears a series of religious titles including *wt* “embalmer;”<sup>389</sup> his three brothers also hold this title. In the case of *K3.j-m-*

<sup>383</sup> See discussion in Chapter 3.

<sup>384</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 327.

<sup>385</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 892. *Smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* is a high-ranking title in the Fifth Dynasty. For the sequences of titles, see Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, charts on 231 and 232.

<sup>386</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 707.

<sup>387</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 665.

<sup>388</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 620.

<sup>389</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 405.



*hzt* at Saqqara, the titles of the tomb owner include *jmy-rʒ qd* “overseer of builders,”<sup>390</sup> *mdh qd nswt* “king’s architect,”<sup>391</sup> and *wr jrt m Tʒ-wr* “great in respect of what is done in the Thinite nome.”<sup>392</sup> His three brothers also hold the titles *wr jrt m Tʒ-wr* and *mdh qd nswt*. Members of the *Kʒ-hʒ.j* family all engaged in musical professions. His son *Nfr* bears the title *hrp hsww* “director of singers,”<sup>393</sup> while his three brothers all have the title *shd (n) hsww* “inspector of singers.”<sup>394</sup> Brothers may have titles that are of the same rank as those of the tomb owner. For example, both *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh* (G 7948) and his *sn-dt Jttj* hold the titles *shd w<sup>c</sup>b Wr-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>* “inspector of *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priests of *Wr-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>*”<sup>395</sup> and *shd pr-ʒ* “inspector of the Great House.”<sup>396</sup> In most cases, brothers usually bear titles of lower ranks compared with those of the tomb owner. For example, *Sšm-nfr III* (G 5170) bears the title *jmy-rʒ zš<sup>c</sup>(w) n(w) nswt* “overseer of scribes of the king’s documents,”<sup>397</sup> and his brother *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* holds *zš<sup>c</sup>(w) n(w) nswt* “scribe of the king’s documents,”<sup>398</sup> which suggests that he probably worked under the former’s supervision. Moreover, the brother or *sn-dt* of a vizier often hold titles such as *zʒb zš* “juridicial scribe,”<sup>399</sup> *jmy-rʒ zš(w)* “overseer of scribes,”<sup>400</sup> *shd zš(w)* “inspector of scribes,”<sup>401</sup> or *zš* “scribe.”<sup>402</sup> Six *sn-dts* of *Pth-htp II*, two *sn-dts* of *Ph.n-wj-kʒ*, and a brother of *Sšm-nfr III* all hold these titles. In the tomb of

<sup>390</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 258.

<sup>391</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 464.

<sup>392</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 382.

<sup>393</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 733.

<sup>394</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 947.

<sup>395</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 919.

<sup>396</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 924.

<sup>397</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 209-210.

<sup>398</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 838.

<sup>399</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 811.

<sup>400</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 206.

<sup>401</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 955.

<sup>402</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 834.

*Mrrw-k3.j* at Saqqara, however, most brothers of the tomb owner bear titles related to *hnty-š* “tenant-landholder, attendant.”<sup>403</sup>

In a few cases, titles of brothers and *sn-dt*s belong to the domestic realm, such as *jmy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house/estate.”<sup>404</sup> Unlike the administrative titles in the royal government, *jmy-r3 pr* demonstrates the bearer’s closer relationship to the household of the tomb owner. Four examples of a brother or a *sn-dt* bearing *jmy-r3 pr* occur in the dataset: *K3-hb*, *sn-dt* of *3htj-mrw-nswt* (G 2184), *Bw-nfr*, *sn-dt* of *Sšm-nfr I* (G 4940), *Nj-ḥh-Hwfw*, brother of *Ttw I / K3(j)-nswt* (G 2001), and *Ttwj*, *sn-dt* of *Pth-htp II* at Saqqara.

Examples of siblings holding the title *hm-k3* occur in two tombs: the tombs of *D3ty* (G 2337-x) and *Sndm-jb / Jntj* (D 2370). In the tomb of the former, a brother called *Hrw-nfr* and a sister named *Nj-sj-Pth* both hold the title *hm-k3*. It is worth noting that *Nj-sj-Pth* is the only sister bearing this title.<sup>405</sup> In the case of *Sndm-jb / Jntj*, his two *sn-dt*s are both ka-priests.<sup>406</sup> The appointment of a *sn-dt* as ka-priests and the fact that most *sn-dt*s are not ka-priests suggest that the role of the *sn-dt* is unlikely to resemble that of a ka-priest in the tomb owner’s funerary cult. In other words, the *sn-dt* and the ka-priests have different functions in the tomb owner’s funerary cult, and, though not common, one can be both at the same time.

<sup>403</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 691. Kanawati translates the term as “guard” and suggests the unusual appointment of *Mrrw-k3.j*’s brothers as guards was the result of a palace conspiracy during the reign of Teti, see Naguib Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace: Unis to Pepy I* (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), 152.

<sup>404</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 114.

<sup>405</sup> For the discussion of the title *hmt-k3*, see Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 26.

<sup>406</sup> Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex I: The Mastabas of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Khnumenti (G 2374), and Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378)*, 75, 87.

Additionally, *Dꜣty* is a dependent of *Snꜣm-jb* / *Jntj*, namely, *nj dt.f* “the one who belongs to his funerary estate,” based on the text inscribed on the architrave of the former’s tomb.<sup>407</sup> According to the text, *Dꜣty*’s titles also include *jmy-rꜣ pr* and *zš n zꜣ ḥm(w)-kꜣ* “scribe of the phyle of ka-priests.”<sup>408</sup> These titles demonstrate his importance in the household of the vizier and likely his significant role in the vizier’s funerary cult. Given his status and the absence of the designation *sn-dt* from his titles, we may conclude that the status and role of a *sn-dt* differs from a dependent of the household, though the latter may occupy an essential position in the household.

Brothers and *sn-dts* with titles *zš* and *shꜣd zš* occur in four tombs, including *Špss-kꜣ.f-ꜥnh* at Giza, *Pth-ḥtp II* at Saqqara, *Tp-m-ꜥnh* at Saqqara, and *Sn-ms* at Qubbet el-Hawa.

Sisters of the tomb owner may also hold titles. Nine examples of sisters bearing titles occur in the dataset, including three *snt-dts*. The most common title for sisters is *rḥt-nswt*.<sup>409</sup> Seven sisters hold this title in the dataset: *Hnwt*, sister of *Htj* at Giza, *Rwd*, sister of *Jttj* at Giza, *ꜥnh-kꜣ.s*, wife and *snt-dt* of *Nfr-ḥtp* at Giza, *Dꜣt-kꜣ*, *snt-dt* of *Whm-kꜣ* at Giza, and the three sisters of *Nj-ꜥnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*. It is worth noting that all these tomb owners held the title *rḥt-nswt*. In other words, the title *rḥt-nswt* of sisters resemble that of their brothers. Other titles of sisters include *ḥkrt nswt* “ornament of the king,”<sup>410</sup> which occurs in the tomb of *Ntr-wsr* at Saqqara, and the double tomb of *Nj-ꜥnh-*

<sup>407</sup> Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, 28. For *nj dt.f*, see Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, Dynasties VI-XI*, 74.

<sup>408</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 870.

<sup>409</sup> For discussion of this title, see Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 30.

<sup>410</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 794. See also Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 31.

*Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*, and *jmyt-r3 pr jn<sup>c</sup>wt/ḥtswt* “overseer of the house of weavers”<sup>411</sup> in the tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*.

## 2.3 Stances, Clothing, and Accessories of Siblings

Siblings of the tomb owner appear in various stances in chapel scenes. They may stand near the tomb owner together with other family members, or as offering bearers bringing forelegs, birds, or other offerings to the tomb owner. They may also appear at a much-reduced scale at the foot of the tomb owner, or as participant engaging in activities such as playing an instrument.

### **Stance Type A: Close to a major figure and in contact with him or her (not at the foot)**

Physical contact between the tomb owner and his or her siblings is very rare. Only one example of Stance Type A-1 occurs in the dataset from the tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara. The two brothers are shown holding hands and embracing each other in a variety of scenes.<sup>412</sup> In other tombs, the tomb owner usually does not have

<sup>411</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 115. For the discussion of this title, see Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 19-21.

<sup>412</sup> In some articles, the authors discuss the unusual depiction of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* and the relationship between the two individuals. Some believe that they were twins, see Moussa and Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 22; Vera Vasiljevi, “Embracing His Double: Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 37 (2008): 363-370; Richard Parkinson, “Boasting about Hardness: Constructions of Middle Kingdom Masculinity,” in *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: “Don your wig for a joyful hour,”* ed. Carolyn Graves-Brown (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2008), 115-142; John Baines, “Egyptian Twins,” *Orientalia* 54 (1985): 461-482. Others suggest that the two men are a same-sex couple based on the fact that the iconography in their chapel resembles to that of a married couple. See Greg Reeder, “Same-Sex Desire, Conjugal Constructs, and the Tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep,” *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 193-208; Greg Reeder, “Queer Egyptologies of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep,” in *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: “Don your wig for a joyful hour,”* ed. Carolyn Graves-Brown (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2008), 143-155; Deborah Sweedey, “Sex and Gender,” in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Elizabeth Froid and Willeke Wendrich (Los Angeles, 2011), 7-8. O’Connor suggests that they were conjoined twins, in David O’Connor, “The Enigmatic Tomb Chapel of Niankh-Khnum and

any physical contact with his or her brother, even when they appear side by side. In the tomb of  $H^c.f-R^c-^c nh$ , for example, the tomb owner and his  $sn-dt Jttj$  stand together. Although their feet overlap, it cannot be physical contact but rather the visual effect of a two-dimensional artistic representation.<sup>413</sup> Furthermore,  $Jttj$ 's scepter overlaps  $H^c.f-R^c-^c nh$ 's sash which hangs from his shoulder. The overlapping indicates that they stand very close to each other and may symbolize an intimate tie between the two individuals.

### **Stance Type AS: At a reduced scale at the foot of a major figure**

Siblings of the tomb owner appear at the foot of a major figure in only a few cases. Stance Type AS-1, standing at the foot of a major figure and touching him or her, does not exist with siblings in the dataset. Stance Type AS-2, standing at the foot of a major figure and holding his staff, does not apply to siblings either.

### ***Stance Type AS-3: Standing at the foot of a major figure with one hand or two hands on the chest, or with both arms pendent, or suckling the index finger***

Stance Type AS-3 occurs in three tombs:  $^c nh-m-^c Hr / Zzj$  at Saqqara,  $S^3-mry$  at Saqqara, and  $\check{S}pss-k^3.f-^c nh$  at Giza. In the case of  $\check{S}pss-k^3.f-^c nh$ , the major figures are the parents of the tomb owner, while the tomb owner and his siblings all appear as youths at the feet of their parents. This depiction is the only example of siblings appearing as nude

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Khnumhotep: A New Interpretation," Paper presented at Conference on "Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt," Egypt Centre and Institute of Classics and Ancient History, University of Wales, Swansea, December, 2005. His article has not been published. For the summary of his ideas, see Reeder, "Queer Egyptologies of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep," 152, and Carolyn Graves-Brown, "Introduction: Gender, Sex and Loss of Innocence," in *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: "Don your wig for a joyful hour"*, ed. Carolyn Graves-Brown (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2008), xiv.

<sup>413</sup> For the overlapping figures in two-dimensional representations in Egyptian art, see Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 175- 189.

youths. On the false door of *S<sup>3</sup>-mry*, a brother stands at the foot of the mother on the right inner jamb. The only example of a sibling standing at the foot of the tomb owner comes from the tomb of *ḥnh-m-ḥr / Zzj*. On the west wall of Room III, a brother named *ṭmrw* stands at the foot of the tomb owner. In this scene, he has no kinship designation, but his appearance on the south wall of the same room with kinship designation *sn.f mry.f* “his brother, his beloved one” verifies his fraternal identity.

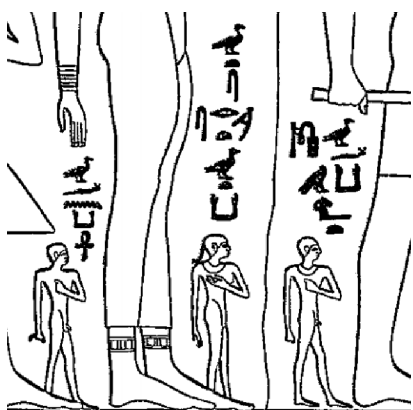


Figure 128. Tomb of *Ṣpss-k<sup>3</sup>.f-ḥnh* at Giza, Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, fig. 20.

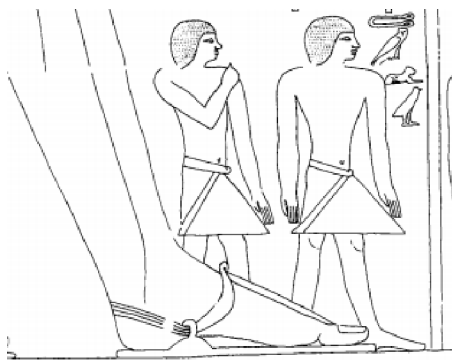


Figure 129. Tomb of *ḥnh-m-ḥr / Zzj* at Saqqara, Badawy, *Ny-Hetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, pl. 41.

***Stance Type AS-4: Standing at the foot of a major figure and carrying birds, lotus flowers, or other objects***

Two examples of this stance occur in the dataset, one from the tomb of *Jttj* / *Šdw* at Deshasha, the other from the tomb of *K3.j-m-ḥzt* at Saqqara. *Jttj*'s sister appears at his foot on the north wall of the chapel. Processions of offering bearers on sub-registers move toward them. Wearing a long V-strapped sheath dress, a collar, and a short wig, the sister holds a lotus flower towards her nose.

In the tomb of *K3.j-m-ḥzt*, a *sn-ḏt* named *Ḥtp-k3* stands at the foot of the tomb owner in a scene on a door leaf.<sup>414</sup> An interesting detail in this scene is the rendering of the staff. Unlike the sons of the tomb owner, *Ḥtp-k3* carries his own staff rather than grasping the lower part of the tomb owner's staff. In addition, he stands on his own sub-register which is a slight incline. Probably it is decorum that a *sn-ḏt* does not hold the lower part of the tomb owner's staff.

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<sup>414</sup> An inscription at the bottom of the door leaf identifies him as a *sn-ḏt*. See McFarlane, *Mastabas at Saqqara: Kaiemheset, Kaipunesut, Kaiemsenu, Sehetepu and Others*, 18, pl. 50.



Figure 130. Tomb of *Jtj / Šdw* at Deshasha, Kanawati & McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 52.

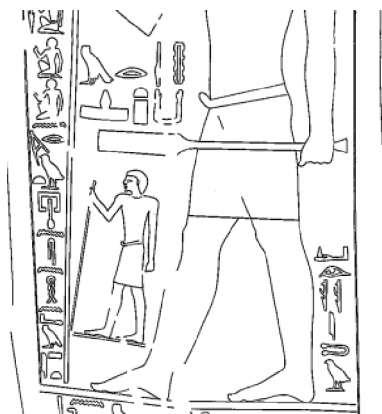


Figure 131. Tomb of *K3.j-m-ḥzt* at Saqqara, McFarlane, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, pl. 50.

### ***Stance Type AS-6: Kneeling at the foot of a major figure***

No examples of siblings in Stance Type AS-5 occur in the dataset. The only example of Stance Type AS-6 comes from the tomb of *Nṯr-wsr* at Saqqara. The wife of the tomb owner, who is also his *snt-ḏt*, kneels at the foot of the tomb owner, embraces his calf while holding a lotus flower to her nose. However, this example does not represent siblinghood because kneeling at the foot of the tomb owner and holding his calf is typical



for the wife of the tomb owner in ancient Egyptian artistic representation.<sup>415</sup>

Although *Hnwt* is labeled as *snt-dt*, her appearance in this stance is a result of her status as the wife, rather than the “sister of the funerary estate.”

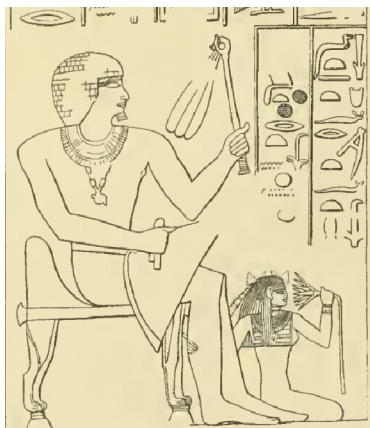


Figure 132. Tomb of *Ntr-wsr* at Saqqara, Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. xxiv.

### **Stance Type B: Standing in a variety of poses (not at the foot of a major figure)**

Stance Type B and its subtypes contain the most common stances in which siblings appear standing with their arms bent forward across the chest (Stance Type B-1) or pendent (Stance Type B-2), carrying offerings for the tomb owner (Stance Type B-3), or holding accessories in their hand (Stance Type B-4). No siblings appear in Stance Type B-5 in the dataset. Siblings depicted in in Stance Type B do not appear as youths.

#### ***Stance Type B-1: Standing with one hand or two hands on the chest***

Stance Type B-1 occurs 35 times in the dataset. It is most popular among siblings in tombs at Giza with 23 examples from eleven tombs.<sup>416</sup> The remaining 12 instances

<sup>415</sup> McCorquodale, *Representations of the Family in the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Women and Marriage*, 20.

<sup>416</sup> *Jj-mry* (G 6020, LG 15), *Jnpw-htp*, *Jtj* (G 7391), *Wtj*'s father, *Whm-k3* (D 117), *Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh* (G 4520), *Ztw* (G 4710, LG 49), *Sšm-nfr I* (G 4940, LG 45), *Sšm-nfr III* (G 5170), *K3j*, and *D3ty* (G 2337-X).

occur in four tombs at Saqqara.<sup>417</sup> No examples have been attested in the provincial sites. Both brothers and sisters appear with their arms bent forward across the chest, but in the dataset more brothers appear in this stance than sisters. Nine examples at Giza<sup>418</sup> and three at Saqqara are sisters.<sup>419</sup>

In the tomb of *Jj-mry* at Giza (G 6020, LG 15), for instance, his brother *Nb-mnj* appears in a sequence of individuals on the north wall of the first chamber. The tomb owner occupies the initial position and is shown at a slightly larger scale. His three sons are behind him. The tomb owner stands with both arms pendent, while his three sons all stand with the left hand placed on the right shoulder. The brother of *Jj-mry*, however, appears in a different gesture at the end of this sequence. He places his left hand under the right arm with the thumb pointing upward.<sup>420</sup> Wearing short wigs and long projecting kilts, all these figures face the father of the tomb owner who is seated on a carrying chair in front of them.<sup>421</sup> On the east wall of the third chamber, a sister of *Jj-mry* appears in a sequence of women. They stand behind a large image of the wife in a scene captioned *m33 zš n [ndt-hr jn]nt r prt-hrw m njwwt nt pr-dt* “viewing the recording of the *ndt-hr* offerings which were brought as funerary offering from the towns of the *pr-dt*.”<sup>422</sup> The

<sup>417</sup> *Pth-htp II*, *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw* & *Hnmw-htp*, *Shm-k3*, and *K3-gm-nj / Mmj / Gmnj*.

<sup>418</sup> In the tombs of *Jj-mry* (G 6020, LG 15), *Jnpw-htp*, *Jtj* (G 7391), *Whm-k3* (D 117, *snt-dt*), *Hwfw-ḥnh* (G 4520, *snt-dt*), and *K3j*.

<sup>419</sup> In the double tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp*.

<sup>420</sup> Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000, including G 6010 (Neferbaupthah); G 6020 (Iymery), G 6030 (Itj), G 6040 (Shepseskafankh)*, 38-39.

<sup>421</sup> For a discussion of the carrying chair scenes and similar examples, see Ann M. Roth, “Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organisation of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 30 (1993): 33-55.

<sup>422</sup> Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000, including G 6010 (Neferbaupthah); G 6020 (Iymery), G 6030 (Itj), G 6040 (Shepseskafankh)*, 50. The *ndt-hr* offerings usually consist of fowl, cattle, and desert animals that come from the royal administration and the funerary estates of the tomb owner, see Hartwig Altenmüller, “Presenting the *ndt-hr*-offerings to the Tomb Owner,” in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague, May 31 - June 4, 2004*, ed. Miroslav Bárta (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2006), 25-35.

sister stands behind two daughters of the tomb owner. Wearing long tight dresses and long wigs, all of the three women place the left hand on the chest. As Weeks notices, the wife stands closest to the tomb owner in the same large scale, while the two daughters stand behind the wife on the upper sub-registers, preceding the sister. Another daughter appears as a youth at the foot of the wife. The sister, therefore, like the brother, appears at the end of a sequence of female family members.<sup>423</sup>

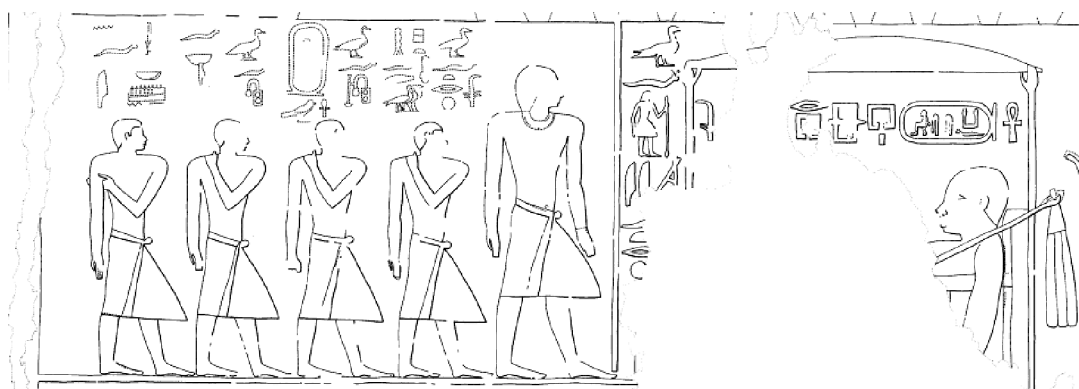


Figure 133. Tomb of *Jj-mry* at Giza (G 6020, LG 15), Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 3.

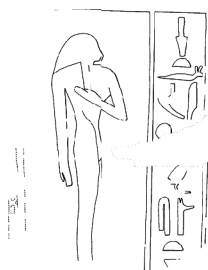


Figure 134. Tomb of *Jj-mry* at Giza (G 6020, LG 15), Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 32.

In the case of *Nj-ḥh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*, the tomb owners and their family appear in a sequence: the parents occupying the initial position, the two tomb owners

<sup>423</sup> Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000, including G 6010 (Neferbaupth); G 6020 (Iymery), G 6030 (Ity), G 6040 (Shepseskafankh)*, 51.

standing at the end, and other six siblings in the middle. All the siblings and *Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw* are in Stance B-1. *Ḥnmw-ḥtp* does not place his hand upon his chest. He holds *Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw*'s hand with one hand and places the other hand at the side of his body.

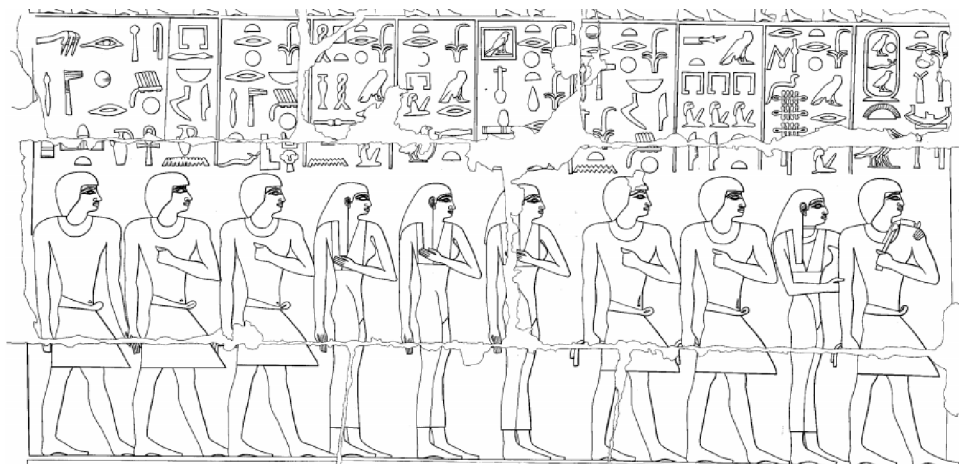


Figure 135. Tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw* and *Ḥnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara, Moussa & Altenmüller, *Nianchehnum und Chnumhotep*, Abb. 11.

A relief on the false door of *Hwfw-ḥnh* (G 4520) includes a scene of a *snt-ḏt* in this stance.<sup>424</sup> The woman named *Jtj* appears on the right jamb in front of the wife of the tomb owner. *Jtj* is smaller than the wife but larger than a daughter who stands behind the wife. Wearing a long white dress and long tripartite wig, she places her hand on her chest. On the lintel of the same false door, three *sn-ḏts* appear as offering bearers in a sequence behind the tomb owner (Stance Type B-3, see below). The first *sn-ḏt* carries small birds with both hands, while the others carry large birds.

<sup>424</sup> The Giza Archives Project, photos AAW 1990 and A2063\_NS, (2017, Jan. 20th). Retrieved from <http://www.gizapyramids.org/view/photos/asitem/ObjPhotos@18035/7/mediaView-asc/renditionSort-asc;jsessionid=B2F6DF71CF056CC45F7B9D3EFA5DBFD4?t:state:flow=b0289c1f-3991-4f74-8002-3cf0d0e6cc18>.



Figure 136. Tomb of *Hwfw-nh* at Giza (G 4520), The Giza Archives Project, photo AAW 1990.

Variations of this stance occur in a few tombs, such as the chapel of *Ztw* at Giza (G 4710, LG 49). A *sn-dt* called *Tntj* appears on the thickness of the doorway, with one hand placed on the opposite shoulder and the other hand on the chest.



Figure 137. Tomb of *Ztw* at Giza (G 4710, LG 49), *LD Ergäz.* xxvii[b].

Another example comes from the chapel of *Pth-htp II*. A *sn-dt* appears before the tomb owner on two different registers with one below the other in the same scene. On the lower register, he wears a projecting kilt and a short wig. Behind him is a sequence of

birds. Bending forward, he places the left hand under the right arm.<sup>425</sup> On the upper register, he wears a short kilt and a short wig. Bending forward, he places the right hand on the left shoulder, while the left arm hangs down and a papyrus scroll is in his left hand. In this case, he leads a sequence of cattle. It is not uncommon for a family member to appear multiple times in the same scene. Nevertheless, it is rare that a *sn-dt* appears on one register below the other. A possible reason is that this individual named *K3(j)-hp*, who is entitled *jmy-r3 šnwt* “overseer of the granary”<sup>426</sup> and *jmy-r3 pr* “overseer of the house,” is an important official in the vizier’s household. The inscription associated with the scene indicates that he is probably carrying documents of cattle as *stpt*-offerings and birds as *ndt-hr* offerings from the funerary estate of the tomb owner. The separation of the cattle and birds on two registers may cause that this *K3(j)-hp* appears twice as he is responsible for these offerings.

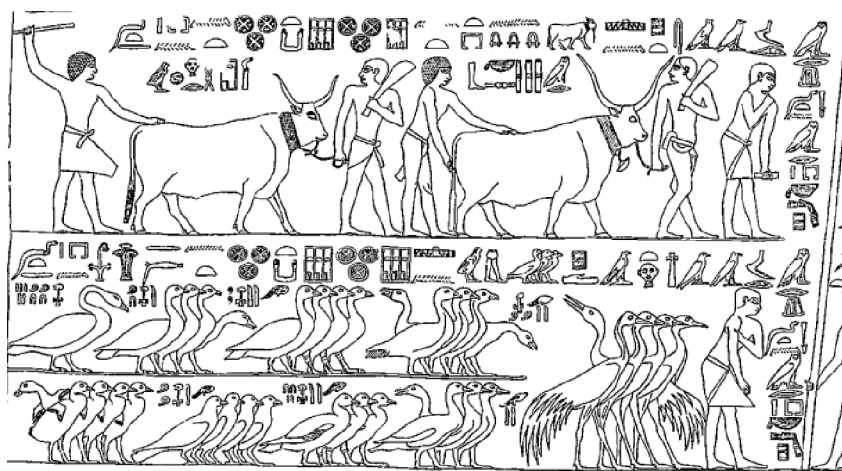


Figure 138. Tomb of *Pth-htp II* at Giza, Harpure & Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, fig. 6.

<sup>425</sup> For the gesture of bending forward, see Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 9, 21-25, Example b in Abb. 7. This is the only example that a *sn-dt* bends forward.

<sup>426</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 253.

In some cases, siblings may appear in a combination of multiple stances. For example, in the tomb of *K3j* at Giza, a brother of the tomb owner carries a scepter with one hand while placing the other hand upon the chest (Stance Type B-1-4).



Figure 139. Tomb of *K3j* at Giza, Curto, *Gli Scari Italiani a el-Ghiza*, fig. 12.

### ***Stance Type B-2: Standing with both arms pendent, not holding anything***

Artists may depict siblings simply in standing posture with arms pendent to show reverence to the tomb owner.<sup>427</sup> Stance B-2 occurs 35 times in the dataset. It appears mainly at Saqqara with 29 examples.<sup>428</sup> Six examples come from Giza,<sup>429</sup> while provincial sites show none as of yet. All examples in the dataset are the brothers of the tomb owner; none of the sisters appear in this stance. It is interesting to note that this gender distribution resembles that of children in this stance. Only ten daughters are shown in Stance B-2 (see Chapter 1). Therefore, one may assume that male family members take this stance.

In the tomb of *Tntj*, for example, a *sn-dt* named *J3tz* appears on the upper part of the left jamb of the false door. With both arms pendent, he appears at a relatively larger scale compared with other servants on the same false door.

<sup>427</sup> Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 8.

<sup>428</sup> In the tombs of *nh-m-c-Hr / Zzj*, *Ph.n-wj-k3*, *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj*, *Nj-nh-Shmt*, and *Njr* (in the same tomb of his father *K3-h3.j*).

<sup>429</sup> In the tombs of *Jtj* (G 7391), *S3m-njr I* (G 4940, LG 45), *K3pj* (G 2091), *K3-hr-Pth*, and *Tntj* (G 4920, LG 47).



Figure 140. Tomb of *Tntj* at Giza (G 4920, LG 47), *LD II*, 30, 31b.

A unique example of this stance occurs in the tomb of *ḥnh-m-ḥr* at Saqqara. On the south wall of Room III, a brother named *Tmrw* stands in front of the tomb owner with boxes of funerary equipment, such as collars and clothes. Wearing a long kilt with a projecting front, a short wig, and elaborated collars, he appears as an older man with a corpulent belly.<sup>430</sup> An inscription beneath him reads *šdt n.f zš n qrstt.f djt n.f m ḥtp-dj-nswt jmy-rʔ kʔt Zzj* “reading for him the document of his tomb equipment which was given to him as the *ḥtp-dj-nswt* offering (to) the overseer of the work, *Zzj*.”<sup>431</sup> Below this inscription, a son of the tomb owner reads from a papyrus scroll. As Badawy suggests, *Tmrw* was probably presiding over the ceremony in which the son reads the document. The brother’s presence as a corpulent man with an elaborate costume may indicate his role as a witness when the son read of the document of funerary donation.<sup>432</sup>

<sup>430</sup> Brothers with corpulent bellies occur in two tombs: *ḥnh-m-ḥr* and *Mrrw-kʔj*.

<sup>431</sup> Badawy, Ny-Hetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor, 31-32.

<sup>432</sup> Badawy, Ny-Hetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor, 32. See also Naguib Kanawati et al., *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara II*, 40-41.





Figure 141. Tomb of ḥnh-m-ḥr / Zzj at Saqqara, Badawy, *Ny-Hetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, pl. 41.

### ***Stance Type B-3: Standing and carrying offerings***

Stance Type B-3 occur 54 times in the dataset: 20 in Giza,<sup>433</sup> 27 in Saqqara,<sup>434</sup> and 7 in the provincial sites.<sup>435</sup> The brothers may appear in a sequence of offering bearers led by the eldest son, as is the case in the tomb of *Ttw* at Giza (G 2001), where a procession of offering bearers appears below the offering table scene on the north wall of the portico. The eldest son occupies the initial position in this procession; four brothers and other offering bearers follow him. All the offering bearers wear short curly wigs and short kilts. The first brother carries a large bird and grasps the neck with one hand and the

<sup>433</sup> In eight tombs: *Jnpw-ḥtp*, *Mrw-k3*, *Hwfw-ḥnh* (G 4520), *Snḏm-jb / Jntj* (G 2370), *Sšm-nfr I* (G 4940, LG 45), *K3pj* (G 2091), *Ttw I* (G 2001), and *D3ty* (G 2337-X).

<sup>434</sup> In nine tombs: *3ḥt-ḥtp* (D 64), *Ppj*, *Pth-ḥtp II*, *Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj*, *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj*, *Nj-ḥnh-nswt*, *Hnmw-nḏm(w)*, *Q3r Junior* (son of vizier *Q3r*), and *Tp-m-ḥnh*.

<sup>435</sup> In three tombs: *Jj-mry* (Gebel el-Teir), *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* (Meir No. D2), and *Hw.n-wh / Tj* (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2).

wings with the other. Each of the other three brothers carries a tray or a vessel piled with food while holding the leash of an animal.



Figure 142. Tomb of *Tw* at Giza (G 2001), Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, fig. 24.

The *sn-dt* of the tomb owner may also appear in this stance, as is in the tomb of *3ht-htp* at Saqqara, where a *sn-dt* appears as the third offering bearer in a procession on the bottom register on the south wall. Wearing the same short wig and short kilt as other offering bearers, he carries a bundle of birds and papyrus plants with both hands.



Figure 143. Tomb of *3ht-htp* at Saqqara, Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II*, pl. xxxiv.

It is, however, uncommon for brothers to carry offerings on the false door, and the only example occurs in the tomb of *Ppj* at Saqqara. On the right jamb of the false door, a brother wearing a short wig and a short projecting kilt carries a foreleg.



Figure 144. Tomb of *Ppj* at Saqqara, Jequier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 116.

Brothers of the tomb owner appear more frequently depicted in this stance than do sisters. Only four examples of sisters carrying offerings have been attested in the dataset from the tombs of *Dʒty* (G 2337-X) and *Kʒpj* (G 2091) at Giza. In the tomb of *Dʒty*, two sisters appear to the left of the false door, carrying food offerings and birds. Another sister appears to the right of the false door behind a daughter, carrying birds in her hands. In the case of *Kʒpj*, a sister appears on the left jamb of the false doors, carrying offerings in both hands.



Figure 145. Tomb of *Dʒty* at Giza (G 2337-X), Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, fig. 41.



Figure 146. Tomb of *K3pj* at Giza, Roth, *Palace Attendants*, fig. 164.

***Stance Type B-4: Standing and carrying accessories such as a staff, a scepter, a papyrus scroll, or a piece of cloth***

Scenes of brothers of the tomb owner depict them standing with a staff, a scepter, a papyrus scroll, or other accessories in their hands.<sup>436</sup> Stance B-4 is less common for siblings than Stance B-3. It occurs 10 times in the dataset: 6 in Giza,<sup>437</sup> 2 in Saqqara,<sup>438</sup> and 2 in the provincial sites.<sup>439</sup>

In the tomb of *K3-h3.j* at Saqqara, for example, his *sn-dt Tntj* appears at a relatively large scale on the east wall of the chapel. However, he is still smaller than the tomb owner who stands on the register above. Wearing a long projecting kilt, a collar, and a short curly wig, *Tntj* holds a papyrus scroll in one hand and a piece of cloth in the other hand. In front of the tomb owner and *Tntj*, five registers depict agricultural productions. An inscription associated with the tomb owner reads *m33 h3m c3h zš n njwwt.f*

<sup>436</sup> For a detail discussion of the stance of carrying a stick or a stave, see Henry G. Fischer, “Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 13 (1978): 5-32. For the stance of holding a piece of cloth or handkerchief in a fistful hand, see Henry G. Fischer, “An Elusive Shape within Fistful Hands of Egyptian Statues,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 10 (1975): 14-16.

<sup>437</sup> In five tombs: *W3m-k3* (D 117), *Nb-m-3htj* (LG 12, LG 86), *H3.f-R3-cnh* (G 7948), *S3m-nfr III* (G 5170), and *K3j*.

<sup>438</sup> In the tombs of *S3-mry* and *K3-h3.j*.

<sup>439</sup> In the tombs of *Jbj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8) and *Jmj* (El-Hawawish, Orinst. 109491).

nt *Mḥw Šmꜥw* “viewing fishing, fowling and the record from his towns of Lower and Upper Egypt,”<sup>440</sup> The presence of *Tntj* in this scene probably illustrates how, as a brother of the funerary estate, he accompanied the tomb owner while he oversaw town activities.



Figure 147. Tomb of *K3-ḥ3.j* at Saqqara, Lashien, *Kahai and His Family*, pl. 81.

In most cases, brothers or *sn-dts* appear at a smaller scale than that of the tomb owner. In three examples, however, they are at the same scale as the tomb owner. In the tomb of *Jmj* at El-Hawawish, a brother, carrying a staff and a scepter, appears behind two images of the tomb owner on the architrave. He wears a short projecting kilt and a short wig, resembling the two figures of the tomb owner in both costume and gesture.

<sup>440</sup> Lashien, *The Chapel of Kahai and His Family*, 25. Lashien suggests that *K3-ḥ3.j* is the tomb owner who constructed this tomb for himself and his son *Nfr*. *Tntj* is, therefore, the *sn-dt* of *K3-ḥ3.j*. See *ibid.* 11-12. Moussa and Altenmüller suggest that *Nfr* constructed this tomb for his father *K3-ḥ3.j* and later had his burial in the same tomb. In this case, *Tntj* has to be considered as the *sn-dt* of *Nfr*. Moussa and Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-Hay*, 19, 36. For the reversed order of “Lower and Upper Egypt,” it may be a reflection of the order of scenes from the top to the middle registers in the scene, see Moussa and Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-Hay*, 9, note. 75.



Figure 148 Tomb of *Jmj* at El-Hawawish (Orinst 10491), Kanawati, *El-Hawawish VII*, fig. 35[a].

Another example comes from the tomb of  $\underline{H}^c.f-R^c-^c n\dot{h}$  at Giza. On the east wall of the chapel, a *sn-dt* called *Jttj* stands behind the tomb owner at the same scale. Wearing a short kilt and a leopard skin, he carries a scepter in one hand and places the other hand on his chest. An interesting detail is the overlapping of the two figures. *Jttj*'s foot covers that of  $\underline{H}^c.f-R^c-^c n\dot{h}$ , and his scepter covers the latter's sash. This positioning indicates that *Jttj*, though standing behind  $\underline{H}^c.f-R^c-^c n\dot{h}$ , is closer to the viewer.<sup>441</sup> Since he is the only *sn-dt* depicted in this manner, *Jttj*'s prominence in the scene may have been a result of his social status rather than his status as a *sn-dt* of the tomb owner. Moreover,  $\underline{H}^c.f-R^c-^c n\dot{h}$  also appears on *Jttj*'s false door jamb in his tomb and is designated as *sn.f*, but at a rather small scale. The differences in the depictions of the two brothers in each other's tomb may indicate the difference in their status. It is possible that *Jttj* attained a higher status in his career, possibly after the death of his brother.<sup>442</sup> Nevertheless, they held similar titles that were equal in rank when  $\underline{H}^c.f-R^c-^c n\dot{h}$  commissioned his tomb. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that *Jttj* is an elder brother of  $\underline{H}^c.f-R^c-^c n\dot{h}$  and that his prominence in

<sup>441</sup> For the overlapping of figures, see Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 118-119, 177-189. *Jttj*'s toes overlap  $\underline{H}^c.f-R^c-^c n\dot{h}$ 's heel. This is to show that *Jttj* stands to the right of  $\underline{H}^c.f-R^c-^c n\dot{h}$ , a position closer to the viewer. See Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art*, 19-20.

<sup>442</sup> *Jttj* processes titles that  $R^c-^c h^c.f-^c n\dot{h}$  does not hold, such as *jmy-r3 pr-^c3* and *jmy-r3 k3t nswt*. Harpur discusses the titles of both men in Harpur, "Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza," 26-29.

the household may have accounted for his depiction at a large scale in his younger brother's tomb.

A similar situation occurs in the tomb of *Whm-kʿ* at Giza. On the west wall, a *sn-dt* named *Nfr-Hr-Nmtj* stands in the center of the scene, together with his wife *Nfr-tzt* and a daughter. The scale of this couple equals that of the tomb owner and his wife. Wearing a short wig and a leopard skin tied to his shoulder, *Nfr-Hr-Nmtj* holds a staff and a scepter, a costume and gesture that resemble those of the tomb owner. It is not clear whether *Whm-kʿ* and *Nfr-Hr-Nmtj* are real brothers, but it is possible that his wife *Nfr-tzt* is related to the family. She is possibly the woman with the same name on the false door of *Whm-kʿ*'s wife. Harpur suggests that she is a daughter and that *Nfr-Hr-Nmtj* is thus the son-in-law of the tomb owner.<sup>443</sup> No kinship designations, however, have been associated with *Nfr-tzt*. Her appearance on the wife's false door rather than that of the tomb owner may suggest her connection with the wife rather than the tomb owner. It is thus possible that she is a sister of the wife, making *Nfr-Hr-Nmtj* a brother-in-law.

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<sup>443</sup> Harpur, "Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza," 29, note 32.

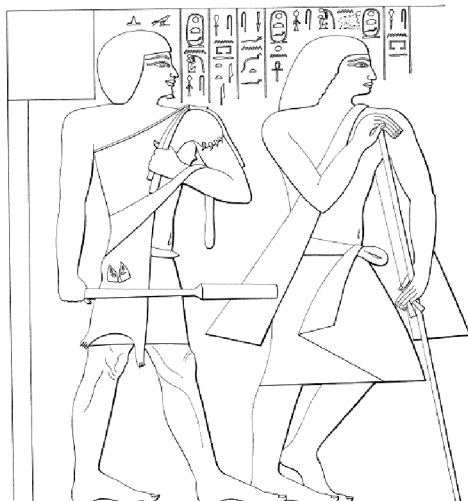


Figure 149. Tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>.nh* at Giza, Harpur (1981), in *JEA* 67, 25, fig. 1.



Figure 150. Tomb of *W<sup>h</sup>m-k<sup>3</sup>* at Giza, Kayser, *Uhemka*, Abb. 24.



***Stance Type B-6: Standing with arm(s) raised up***

The only example of Stance Type B-6 occurs in the tomb of *Hw-ns* at Qubbet el-Hawa (de Morgan A6).<sup>444</sup> On a pillar in the chapel, a sister of the tomb owner appears at the end of a sequence of individuals below the offering table scene. Wearing a long dress, she stands and raises her hand in front of her body.



Figure 151. Tomb of *Hw-ns* at Qubbet el-Hawa (de Morgan A6), de Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments I*, 161.

**Stance Type C: In the scenes of spear-fishing and fowling, or hippopotamus hunting**

Unlike children of the tomb owner, siblings seldom appear in fishing and fowling scenes. Four examples of Stance Type C occur in the dataset, all of which are brothers of the tomb owner.

<sup>444</sup> Harpur dates this tomb to the late Sixth Dynasty to the eight Dynasty. PM dates it to Sixth Dynasty. See Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 282; PM V 235.

***Stance Type C-1: Standing on the skiff of the tomb owner and holding a spear or a throwing stick***

The only example of a brother in the fishing and fowling scene with a harpoon or a throwing stick comes from the tomb of *Nhbw* at Giza. In the fishing scene, brother *ḥnh-Ppj* stands on a sub-register above the skiff in front of the tomb owner and faces him, holding a vertical harpoon in his right hand.

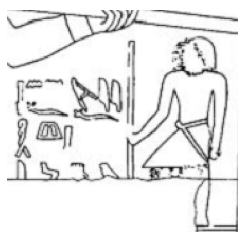


Figure 152. Tomb of *Nhbw* at Giza, Fischer (1958), in *BMFA* 56[304], 59.

***Stance Type C-2: Standing on a skiff with the tomb owner or a sub-register near the tomb owner and carrying fish or birds***

Brothers in this stance appear in two tombs: *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q3r* at Giza and *Jbj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. S8). In the tomb of the former, a brother appears in the fishing scene and carries a giant fish on a sub-register behind the tomb owner. In the fishing scene of *Jbj*, a brother stands behind the tomb owner and grasps the wings of a bird in his hand.



Figure 153. Tomb of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q3r* at Giza, Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 16.



Figure 154. Tomb of *Jbj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. S8), Kanawati, *Gebrawi II*, pl. iv.

***Stance Type C-3: Standing near the tomb owner without carrying fish or birds***

A brother depicted in the tomb of *K3(.j)-ḥp / Ttj-jqr* at El-Hawawish (H26) adds the fourth example to this category. Standing on a sub-register behind the tomb owner, he wears a short wig, a collar, a band across his chest, and a projecting kilt. Unlike the tomb owner, he wears the costume of a lector priest and holds a papyrus scroll in his hand. He is probably viewing the fishing activity of the tomb owner rather than taking part in it. Sons of the tomb owner also appear in this stance and costume in the fishing and fowling scenes.<sup>445</sup>

<sup>445</sup> See discussion in Chapter 1 under Stance Type C-3.



Figure 155. Tomb of *K3-hp / Ttj-jqr* at El-Hawawish (H26), Kanawati, *El-Hawawish I*, fig. 8.

### Stance Type D: Seated or kneeling

Siblings may appear in gestures such as sitting, or kneeling. In Stance Type D, none of them sit on a chair unless they are the focus of the funerary cult.

#### *Stance Type D-1: Seated or kneeling while bending one arm to the chest or placing both hands down on the lap*

Stance D-1 occurs 9 times in the dataset: 4 in Giza and 5 in Saqqara.<sup>446</sup> Both brothers and sisters appear in this stance. All the examples in Giza are sisters of the tomb owner, and one in Saqqara is a sister.

In the tomb of *Pth-htp II* at Saqqara, for instance, a *sn-dt* kneels on one knee on the ground, one hand on his chest and the other under his opposite arm. Another *sn-dt* in the same posture has one hand on the opposite shoulder and the other touching the elbow.

<sup>446</sup> In the tombs of *3htj-mrw-nswt* (G 2184) and *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q3r* (G 7101) at Giza. In four tombs at Saqqara: *Ph.n-wj-k3*, *Pth-htp II*, *S3-mry*, and *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh*.



Figure 156. Tomb of *Pth-htp II* at Saqqara, Harpure & Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, fig. 3.



Figure 157. Tomb of *Pth-htp II* at Saqqara, Harpure & Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, fig. 3.

In the tomb of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q3r* at Giza, two sisters of the tomb owner appear on the north wall, kneeling on both knee on a register beneath the seated tomb owner. They both place a right hand upon the chest and a left hand on the lap.

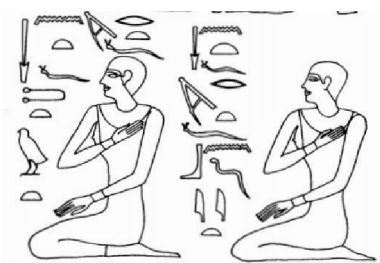


Figure 158. Tomb of *Mry-Rc-nfr / Q3r* at Giza, Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 26.

### ***Stance Type D-2: Seated on a chair or kneeling before a table of offering***

Stance D-2 occurs five times in three tombs: *Nfr* and *Jtj-sn* at Giza (D 203), *Nfr-htp* at Giza, and *K3-h3.j* and *Nfr* at Saqqara.

In the tomb of *Nfr* and *Jtj-sn*, *sn-dt Nfr* appears seated to the left of the offering table on the panel of the false door, with one hand placed on the chest and the other hand reaching out to the offering table.<sup>447</sup> In this case, *Nfr* is the focus of the funerary cult because the false door is dedicated to him and *Jtj-sn*. Similarly, in the tomb of *Nfr-htp*, the wife and *snt-dt* of the tomb owner *nh-k3w.s* appears on the false door panel, and sits on a chair in a symmetrical arrangement on each side of an offering table. She wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress, with her hands extended to the table. On the right side, she is designated as *snt-dt.f* “his sister of the funerary estate.”<sup>448</sup> On the left side, the inscription states that she is *hmt.f* “his wife.” This arrangement deliberately separates her domestic status as the wife of the tomb owner and her social standing as a sister of the funerary estate by duplicating her figure on both sides of the offering table and inscribing

<sup>447</sup> Panel CGC 57163. Moreno García, “A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society,” 117-136, fig. 1.

<sup>448</sup> Hassan translates the term as “his tomb partner.” See Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IX*, 69.

corresponding titles. Appearing as the major figure on the false door of her husband, she is also the focus of the cult.



Figure 159. Tomb of *Nfr* and *Jtj-sn* at Giza (D 203), Panel CGC 57163, Moreno García (2007), in *JEA* 93, 119. fig. 1

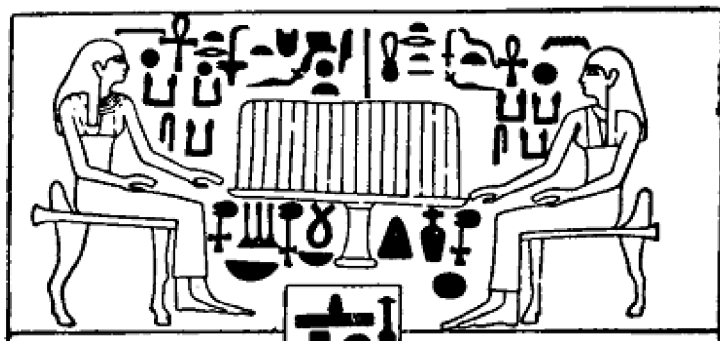


Figure 160. Tomb of *Nfr-htp*, Hassan, *Giza IX*, 68, fig. 29a.

In the tomb of *K3-h3.j* and *Nfr*, *Nfr*'s three brothers stand behind him in a scene on the south wall of the chapel. Each of the brothers wears a short wig, a collar, and a long-pleated kilt with a projecting front. On the southern section of the west wall, they appear again above *Nfr*'s false door to the right of an offering talbe. Wearing a short curly wig, a

collar and a short kilt, each kneels on one knee on the ground with the other knee up, and places one hand on the food and the other on the lap. On the north section of the west wall where *K3-h3.j* and his wife installed their false doors, the three brothers and a woman named *Snt-jt.s*—presumably a daughter of *K3-h3.j* and a sister of *Nfr*—appear behind *K3-h3.j*'s wife. They all sit at their own small offering tables. Wearing a leopard skin and a short curly wig, each of the three brothers places one hand on the chest to grasp the tassel of the leopard skin that is slung over the shoulder, and reaches out the other hand to touch the food on the offering table. *Snt-jt.s* wears a long dress, bracelets on both wrists, and a tripartite wig. She does not appear with her three brothers above the false door of *Nfr*. As Lashien suggests, this tomb may have been built by *K3-h3.j* for his son *Nfr* who died at a young age.<sup>449</sup> This suggestion may explain why *Nfr* is absent from the group of the children seated behind their mother.

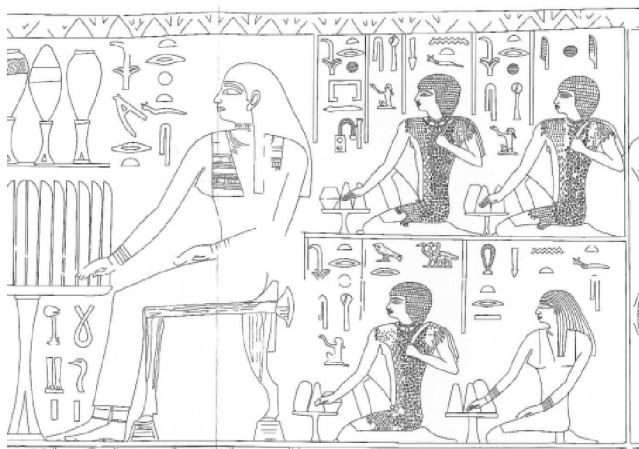


Figure 161. Tomb of *K3-h3.j* and *Nfr* at Saqqara, Lashien, *Kahai and His Family*, pl. 85.

<sup>449</sup> Lashien, *The Chapel of Kahai and His Family*, 11.



***Stance Type D-4: Seated or kneeling and holding accessories, offerings, or lotus flowers***

No siblings appear in Stance Type D-3. The only example of Stance Type D-4 comes from the mastaba of *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>* at Saqqara, where the excavator discovered a tablet of a man named *Tsmw* in shaft No. 12. On the tablet, *Tsmw* sits on a chair with his wife and holds a staff. The relationship between *Tsmw* and *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>* is unknown, but his title *sn-dt.f Pth-htp* made him a brother of the funerary estate, possibly of *Pth-htp II*.<sup>450</sup> In this case, the tablet is dedicated to *Tsmw*; therefore, he is the focus of this panel.



Figure 162. Tomb of *Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>* at Saqqara, Hassan, *Saqqara III*, 9, fig. 4.

**Stance Type E: Engaging in activities**

Siblings of the tomb owner can engage in activities, such as playing an instrument, performing a ritual, and reading or presenting a papyrus scroll.

<sup>450</sup> Moreno García, “A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society,” 125.

***Stance Type E-1: Engaging in musical and sport activities (playing an instrument, dancing, clapping, combating, etc.)***

The scenes of siblings playing an instrument are uncommon, the only example coming from the chapel of *Pth-ḥtp II* at Saqqara. On the north wall of the chapel, a *sn-dt* kneels with one knee up and plays the harp. It is likely that he was a musician in the household of the tomb owner. His status as a *sn-dt* is irrelevant to his role as a harpist.



Figure 163. Tomb of *Pth-ḥtp II* at Saqqara, Harpure & Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, fig. 3.

***Stance Type E-2: Engaging in ritual activities***

Siblings in Stance E-2-CEN appear in two tombs in the dataset. In the chapel of *Nj-k³w-Pth*, a *sn-dt* of the tomb owner is censuring him using a bell-shaped censor in front of the offering table. Wearing a short kilt and a short curly wig, he holds the censor and extends both arms toward the tomb owner. It is interesting to note that this *sn-dt* is shown with a short beard. The text associated with the *sn-dt* reads: *jn sn.f dt jr n.f sk sw qrs(.w) m jmnt nfirt mm jm³hw* “It is his brother of the funerary estate who acted for him when he was buried in the beautiful west among those who are revered.”<sup>451</sup> The other example of a *sn-dt* with short beard is *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh*’s *sn-dt Jtj*.<sup>452</sup>

<sup>451</sup> Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 34.

<sup>452</sup> Harpur, “Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza,” 25, fig. 1.

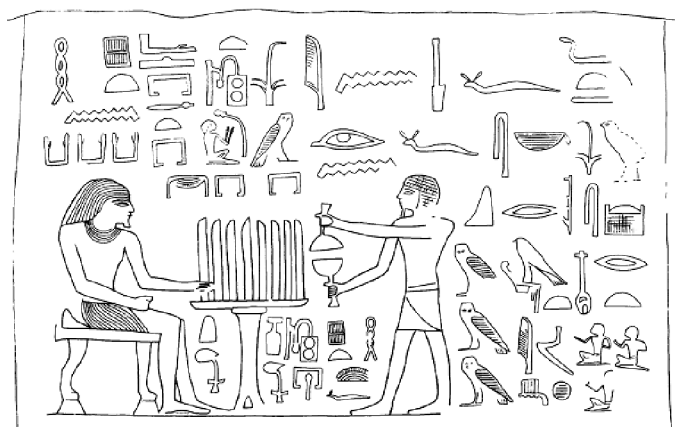


Figure 164. Tomb of *Nj-k3w-Pth* at Saqqara, Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 35, fig. 4.

In the case of *D3ty* at Giza, however, the brother of the tomb owner appears as the recipient of the censuring ritual. He stands with both hands pendent in a scene to the left of the false door. The tomb owner stands in front of him and holds a bell-shaped censor towards his nose.<sup>453</sup>

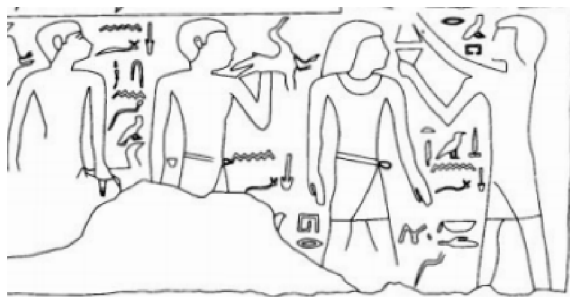


Figure 165. Tomb of *D3ty* at Giza, Simpson, *Mastaba of the Western Cemetery I*, Fig. 41.

<sup>453</sup> Simpson thinks that the one being censured is the tomb owner, see S Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, 30. Because the inscriptions here all face right and the two figures behind are both labeled *sn.f*, the one being censured is probably a brother as well.

*Stance Type E-3: Engaging in scribal activities*

Stance Type E-3 occurs three times in the dataset. On the north wall of the chapel of *Pth-ḥtp II* at Saqqara, a *sn-dt* bearing the title *z3b shd zš* presents a document to the tomb owner.<sup>454</sup> He is possibly a dependent or an official under *Pth-ḥtp II*.



Figure 166. Tomb of *Pth-ḥtp II* at Saqqara, Harpure & Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, fig. 3.

Another example comes from the tomb of *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir (No. D2). On the north wall of Room 3, the brother of the wife (brother-in-law of the tomb owner) entitled *hry-ḥbt* “lector priest” appears at a reduced scale and stands behind her. Wearing a short projecting kilt and a shoulder-length wig, he holds a papyrus document with both hands in front of his face as if he is reading from it.



Figure 167. Tomb of *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir (No. D2), Kanawati, *Meir I*, pl. 88.

<sup>454</sup> “Juridicial inspector of scribes”, Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 814.

The tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp* at Giza is the third example of Stance Type E-3. On the right jamb of the entrance doorway, a *sn-dt* appears at a reduced scale in front of the tomb owner. Wearing a short wig and a long projecting kilt, he presents a papyrus document to the tomb owner.<sup>455</sup>



Figure 168. Tomb of *Hnmw-ḥtp* at Giza (Fakhry 4), Fakhry, *Sept Tombeaux*, 14, fig. 6.

### Stance Type F: Other stances

This category includes miscellaneous stances that do not fit into any other stance types. Examples in this category occur in three tombs: *ḥtj-mrw-nswt* at Giza (G 2184), *Mrrw-k3.j* at Saqqara, and *Pth-ḥtp II* at Saqqara.

In the tomb of *ḥtj-mrw-nswt*, his three brothers appear on the west wall between two false doors in Chamber C. Wearing a short wig and a short kilt, each of the brother leans forward toward two kneeling offering bearers and extends his left hand toward the head of the kneeling figure.

<sup>455</sup> Pose 2 of Manuelian's typology, "cradling" the document, see Manuelian, "Presenting the Scroll: Papyrus Documents in Tombs Scenes of the Old Kingdom," 572, fig. 4.



Figure 169. Tomb of *ḥtj-mrw-nswt* at Giza (G 2184, MFA 13.4352), Giza Archives project Photos, A683\_NS.

In the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j* at Saqqara, a brother named *Jhy* appears on a boat. Seated on a cushion, he drinks from a bowl held by a man standing in front of him. The brother appears as a corpulent man with belly rolls. This unique depiction may indicate that he had reached an old age when *Mrrw-k3.j* commissioned the decoration of his tomb. In the tomb of their father *Mrw-k3.j* at Giza, a son named *Jhy-m-s3.f* appears as the first offering bearer carrying a foreleg, a role usually reserved for the eldest son. Therefore, it is possible that this *Jhy* is an elder brother of *Mrrw-k3.j*.<sup>456</sup>

<sup>456</sup> Junker, *Giza IX*, 73-80; Henry G. Fischer, "Old Kingdom Inscriptions in the Yale Gallery," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, Vol. VII (1960): 310-312. See also Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 14, and Kanawati et al., *Mereruka and His Family, Part III.1*, 18-19.



Figure 170. Tomb of *Mrrw-kꜣj* at Saqqara, Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 42.

Similar to *Mrw-kꜣj*'s brother *Jḥj*, a *sn-dt* of *Pth-ḥtp II* holds a fig towards his mouth.<sup>457</sup> He kneels with one leg under him, the other with knee raised, and faces a pile of food offerings placed before the tomb owner, including baskets and trays of fruits and birds.

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<sup>457</sup> His title is *jmy-rꜣ fnḥ wꜥbt* "overseer of the carpenters of the workshop," see Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 135-136. Or "overseer of the carpenters of the *wꜥbt*", in Perepelkin, *Privateigentum in der Vorstellung der Ägypter des Alten Reichs*, 46, note 5. For the translation "overseer of the offering of the *wꜥbt* workshop", see Moreno García, "A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society," 125. If the translation "overseer of the offerings" is correct, he is possibly tasting the fruit dedicated to the tomb owner.



Figure 171. Tomb of *Pth-hotep II* at Saqqara, Harpur & Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, fig. 3.

Another *sn-dt* of *Pth-hotep II* is shown as the signalman in a fowling scene,<sup>458</sup> a position in which family members almost never appear. As a naked man with his short kilt rolled up and tied by his belt, he stands with his legs apart and arms raised horizontally. He holds a cloth behind his shoulders in his outstretched hands, while his head is turning back toward the haulers. The caption of the scene reads *sht m hsb.t(j)* “the net is closed.” It is unusual that a *sn-dt* with the title *z3b zš* “juridicial scribes” plays the role of a signalman in the clapnet scene.<sup>459</sup> Situated on the right, the tomb owner faces a series of scenes depicting different activities. The inscription reads *m33 shmh-jb nb nfr jr w n ršršt* “viewing every good enjoyment which is done in joy.” According to the inscription, this clapnet scene represents a recreational activity, and the depiction of the *sn-dt* may be a commemoration of an event in which the *sn-dt* acted as the signalman to entertain the tomb owner.

<sup>458</sup> For the discussion on the signalman in a fowling scene, see Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 141-144. fig. 177.

<sup>459</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 811. For the detailed discussion of this scene, see Harper and Scremin, *Chapel of Ptahhotep: Scene Details*, 311-312.



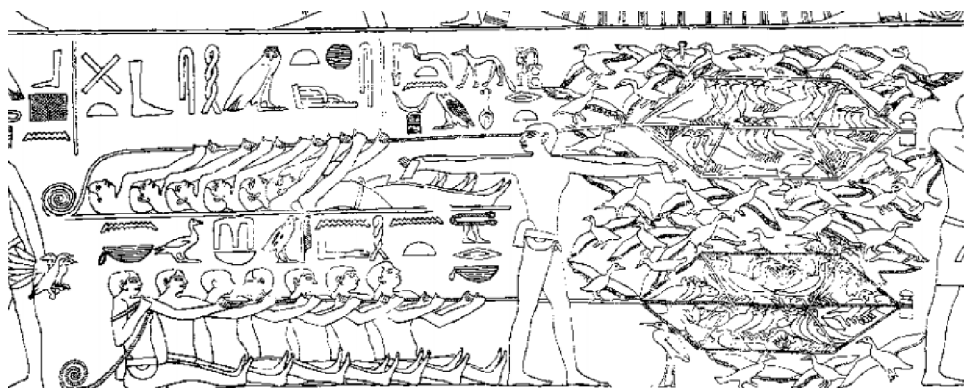


Figure 172. Tomb of *Pth-htp II*, Harpure & Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, fig. 5.

## 2.4 Siblings as Offering Bearers

In the dataset, 52 siblings appear as offering bearers (Stance Type B-3), including 48 brothers and four sisters. Among the 48 brothers (including *sn-dts*), 16 occur in Giza, 25 in Saqqara, and 7 in the provincial sites.<sup>460</sup> It is interesting to note that scenes occasionally depict sons of the tomb owner carrying two strips of cloth, but brothers never carry strips of cloth or any other types of offerings other than forelegs, fowls, papyrus or lotus plants, and food.

All four examples of sisters come from tombs at Giza. Three of them are sisters of *D3ty* (G 2337-X), and the other one comes from the chapel of *K3pj* (G 2091). It is interesting to note that *D3ty* is a dependent of vizier *Snḏm-jb*.<sup>461</sup> The unusual motif of sisters carrying offerings may have been a result of his dependent status. The decorative program in his chapel does not necessary follow the official decorum.

<sup>460</sup> Five examples come from the tomb of *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir (No. D2), one from the tomb of *Jj-mry* (Gebel el-Teir), and one from the tomb of *Hw.n-wh / Tlj* (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2).

<sup>461</sup> The inscriptions on the architrave of the chapel identifies him as a dependent of vizier *Snḏm-jb*. See Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, 28.

In the dataset, *sn-dts* appear as offering bearers 17 times, meaning that more than one third of the *sn-dts* appear as offering bearers.

Brothers and *sn-dts* may carry important offerings in specific scenes, such as the scene of *shpt stpt* “bringing the choice offerings.”<sup>462</sup> This type of scene usually occurs below or near the offering table or the offering list scene and consists of a procession of offering bearers carrying food such as forelegs, big or small birds, small animals, and other food piled in baskets and jars. In most cases, the first three offering bearers in the procession carry forelegs of bulls, and the next three carry large birds. The eldest son of the tomb owner usually occupies the initial position and leads a procession of sons, brothers, officials, and ka-priests. The brothers of the tomb owner often follow the sons and proceed the ka-priests. This order may reflect their intimacy and importance to the tomb owner. The following examples further illustrate the role of brothers as offering bearers in the “bringing the choice offerings” scene.

***Mrw-k3.j at Giza, Dynasty V, Up to the reign of Nyuserre***

In the chapel of *Mrw-k3.j*, a *sn-dt* appears at the end of a procession of four offering bearers who carry forelegs.<sup>463</sup> The second and the third offering bearers are the sons of the tomb owner. The first is possibly the eldest son, but the inscription in front of him is damaged. It is also uncertain whether there is any inscription in front of the sequence of offering bearers due to the damage. They all wear short kilts and short wigs.

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<sup>462</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>463</sup> Junker, *Giza IX*, 70-83, Abb. 33.

A butchery scene occurs behind these offering bearers, in which the butchers are cutting off the legs of two bulls.

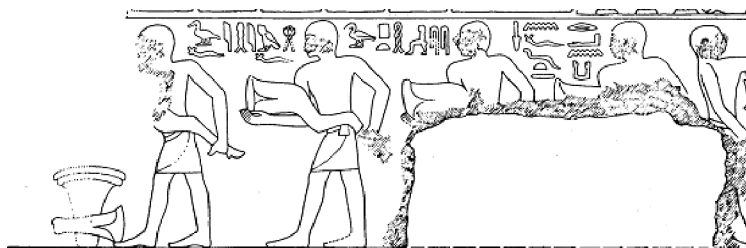


Figure 173. Tomb of *Mrw-k3,j* at Giza, Junker, *Giza IX*, Abb. 33.

### ***Ttw I at Giza (G 2001), mid to late Dynasty V***

On the north wall of the portico, four brothers of *Ttw* appear in a sequence of offering bearers. The first offering bearer carrying a foreleg is the eldest son. The second offering bearer carrying a bird is the brother, and he twists the neck of the bird with his hand, while another bird falls to the ground dead at his foot. The other three brothers who follow him all carry trays or baskets of food on the shoulder while holding the leash of small animals. No caption is associated with this register.

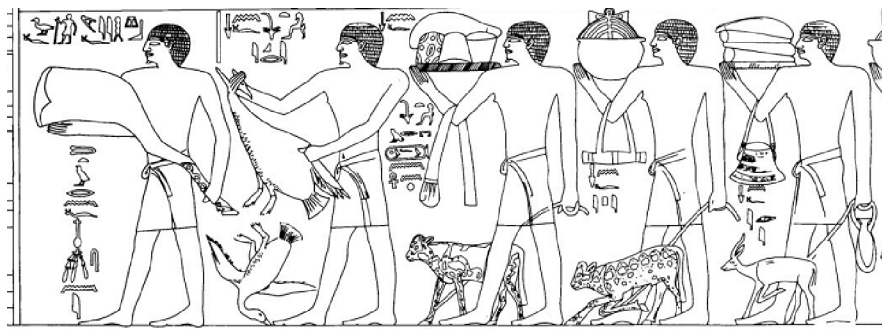


Figure 174. Tomb of *Ttw* at Giza (G 2001), Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, fig. 24.

*3ht-ḥtp at Saqqara (D 64), end of Dynasty V*

The south wall of the chapel of 3ht-ḥtp is divided into four registers of processions of offering bearers. Each register has 12 offering bearers.<sup>464</sup> The first offering bearer on the bottom register is the eldest son, and the third is a *sn-dt*. The eldest son and the second offering bearer each carries a large bird, while the *sn-dt* holds a bundle of small birds in both hands. Two offering bearers behind him carry forelegs. No caption is associated with this scene.



Figure 175. Tomb of 3ht-ḥtp at Saqqara (D 64), Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep II*, pl. xxxiv.

*Ppj at Saqqara, Dynasty VI, Pepy II*

Six offering bearers appear on two registers below the offering table and the tomb owner. The first offering bearer on the bottom register is the brother of the tomb owner. Wearing a short wig and a projecting kilt, he carries a foreleg with both hands. A son wearing the same costume follows him and carries a bundle of birds. On the register

<sup>464</sup> The fourth register from bottom has seven offering and five priests who perform rituals. Davies, *The mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqarah II*, pl. xxxiv.

above, the eldest son occupies the initial position and carries a bundle of five birds. No caption appears with these two registers.

***Pth-htp II at Saqqara (D 64), Early Dynasty VI***

In the case of *Pth-htp II*, a *sn-dt* appears on the bottom register of the south wall of the chapel. Wearing a long wig and a short kilt with a band across the chest, he presents a bird to the tomb owner. The eldest son, who is carrying a foreleg, follows him. The initial position of this *sn-dt* is unusual. This register has no caption other than the names and titles of the individuals, but the inscription associated with the sequence of offering bearers on the register above reads *shpt ht jn ḥmw-k³ n ḥry-tp nswt Pth-htp* “bringing things by the ka-priests to the royal chamberlain *Pth-htp*.” A similar scene appears on the west wall of the same chapel. Beneath the offering list are three registers of offering bearers and a sequence of priests performing rituals for the tomb owner. On the bottom register, a *sn-dt* presents a bird to the tomb owner, while another offering bearer behind him carries a foreleg. On the register above, the first two offering bearers carrying trays of food are designated as *sn-dt*. On the third register from the bottom, the first offering bearer is also a *sn-dt*. It is worth noting that these *sn-dts* occupy the initial positions on each register. The rest of the offering bearers in the same sequence are also named and hold similar administrative titles as the *sn-dts*. Presumably, their status as the *sn-dt* of the tomb owner accounts for their prominence among the offering bearers.



Figure 176. Tomb of *Ptḥ-ḥtp II* at Saqqara (D 64), south wall, Harpur & Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, fig. 4.

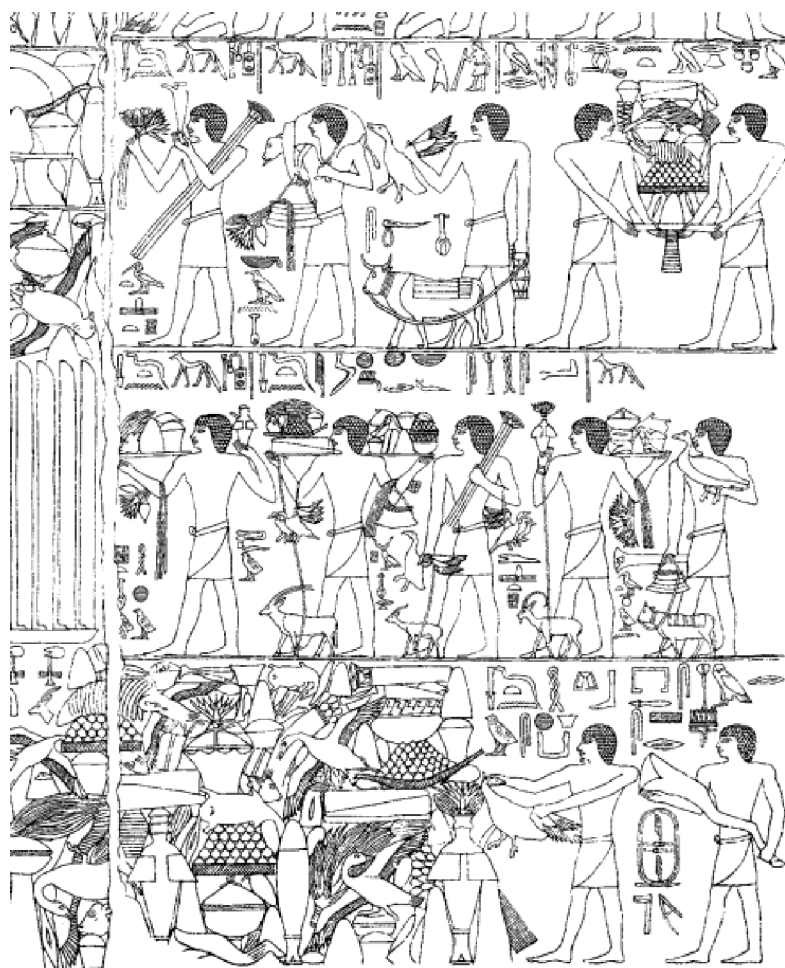


Figure 177. Tomb of *Ptḥ-ḥtp II* at Saqqara (D 64), west wall, Harpur & Scremin, *Ptahhotep*, fig. 4.

***Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj at Saqqara, Dynasty VI, possibly Teti-Pepy I***

On the east wall of the main chapel, two processions of offering bearers appear on the bottom register and face towards the center in a symmetrical arrangement.<sup>465</sup> On the north section, two offering bearers carrying forelegs precede 15 personalized domains. On the south section, the first four offering bearers carry forelegs, and the following three carry large birds. A butchery scene fills the rest of this register. All the six offering bearers with forelegs bend forward. The first two on the south section are sons of the tomb owner. The third one is a brother. The captions associated with the processions on both sides read *shpt stpt* “bringing the choice offerings.” It is worth noting that the same inscription occurs in the butchery scenes on the same wall. Moreover, offering bearers carrying forelegs on their shoulders appear in the butchery scenes. In these inscriptions, the signs after the word *stpt* are the three foreleg signs.<sup>466</sup> The connection between the scene of “bringing the choice offerings” and the butchery scene demonstrates that the slaughtering of the bull likely provided the forelegs for the *stpt*-offerings.

***Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj at Saqqara, Dynasty VI, mid to late reign of Teti***

In Room A8, registers of offering bearers carrying forelegs, birds, bundles of papyrus and lotus plants, and baskets and trays of food appear on the south and north walls.<sup>467</sup> On the bottom register of the north wall, ten brothers of the tomb owner appear behind a son who occupies the initial position in the procession. On the bottom registers

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<sup>465</sup> Myśliwiec, *Saqqara I: The Tomb of Merefnebef*, 135-140, pls. xx, xxi.

<sup>466</sup> Mysliwice takes the three foreleg signs following *stpt* as a separate word *hpsw*. See Myśliwiec, *Saqqara I: The Tomb of Merefnebef*, 135.

<sup>467</sup> Kanawati et al., *Mereruka and His Family, Part III.1*, pls. 86-89.

of both the south and the north walls, the first six offering bearers carry forelegs, while the following five carry large birds. The processions on both walls have the same captions beginning with *shpt stpt ndt-hr rnpt-nbt nfrt jnnt n.f* “bringing the choice offerings, the *ndt-hr* offerings, and the good *rnpt-nbt* offerings which are brought to him.” In these two captions, the signs behind the word *stpt* are three forelegs and three birds. A similar scene occurs on the south wall of Room A10. Eight bearers carry forelegs on the bottom register, and seven carry birds on the second register from the bottom. Eight offering bearers on the fourth register from bottom present other food products to the tomb owner who is seated on an arm chair on the right. His sons and brothers appear behind him on at least four sub-registers.<sup>468</sup> The caption associated with this scene reads [...] *stpt jnnt jn hmw-k3 nw dt.f r hrw-prt n.f jm* “...choice offerings being brought by the ka-priests of his funerary estates as an invocation offering.” In this case, the signs following the word *stpt* are three forelegs and one bird.<sup>469</sup>

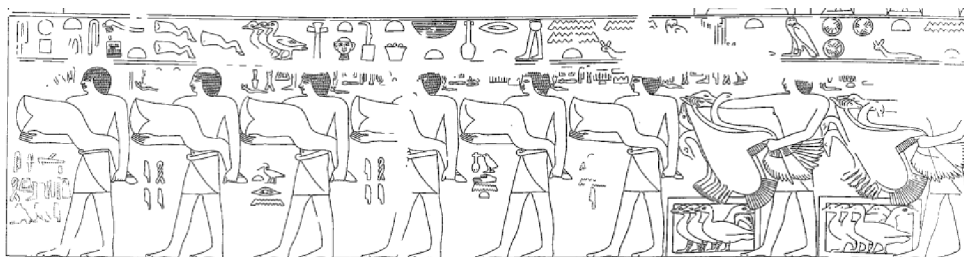


Figure 178. Tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj* at Saqqara, west section of north wall of Room A8, Kanawati, *Mereruka III.1*, pl.88.

<sup>468</sup> Part of the relief on this wall is damaged.

<sup>469</sup> Kanawati et al., *Mereruka and His Family, Part III.1*, pl. 97.





Figure 179. Tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj* at Saqqara, south wall of Room A10, Kanawanti, *Mereruka III:1*, pl.97.

### *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb at Meir, Dynasty VI, reign of Mernere*

On the west wall of Room 3, a procession of offering bearers appears on the bottom register.<sup>470</sup> On the north section, a sequence of eight offering bearers carry forelegs, and two men drive cattle behind them. The first two offering bearers are the brothers of the tomb owner. The caption associated with this scene reads *shpt stpt* “bringing the choice offerings.”<sup>471</sup> The signs following the word *stpt* are the bird sign and the foreleg sign. The appearance of the bird sign is interesting because there are no offering bearers carrying birds in this sequence. Therefore, the bird sign functions as the determinative of the word *stpt*,<sup>472</sup> regardless of the offerings in the scene.

<sup>470</sup> Kanawati et al., *The Cemetery of Meir I*, pl. 87.

<sup>471</sup> Kanawati et al., *The Cemetery of Meir I*, 54.

<sup>472</sup> “Delikatesse, Erlesenes” in Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, 1254-1258. “ausgelöste Fleischstücke besonders Schenkel” in Erman, *Wörterbuch Der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Band 4, 336.

On the north wall of the same room, a procession of 22 offering bearers appears on the bottom register with a butchery scene at the end of the processions.<sup>473</sup> The first eight offering bearers carry forelegs. The following four carry large birds. The rest are loaded with different types of food and bundles of papyrus plants. The third, fifth, and eighth offering bearers are the brothers of the tomb owner. A vertical caption in front of the first bearer reads *shpt stpt* “bringing the choice offerings.”<sup>474</sup> The signs following the word *stpt* are a calf with legs tied up and a bird, which are different from those on the west wall. The use of the bound calf as a determinative may have been an alternative writing of the word, or the butchery scenes at the end of the procession may account for this usage.<sup>475</sup>

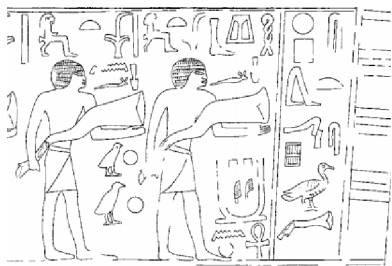


Figure 180. Tomb of *Ppy-nh-hrj-jb* at Meir, Kanawati, *Meir I*, pl. 85.

### ***Hw.n-wh / Ttj at Quseir el-Amarna, Dynasty VI, late Pepy I***

In the chapel of *Hw.n-wh / Ttj*, the bottom register on the east wall has a sequence of six offering bearers.<sup>476</sup> The first two carry forelegs, the third and the sixth each carries a bird, and the rest are loaded with trays, jars and baskets of food, and bundles of lotus

<sup>473</sup> Kanawati et al., *The Cemetery of Meir I*, pls. 88-89.

<sup>474</sup> Kanawati et al., *The Cemetery of Meir I*, 60.

<sup>475</sup> For discussion of the *stpt*-offerings, see Chapter 4.

<sup>476</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 54, pls. 41, 44.

plants. The first bearer is the eldest son, and the fourth is a brother. Three women designated as *ms.f nw ht.f* “children of his body” follow these male offering bearers and stand at the end of the sequence. Wearing long dresses, collars, bracelets, anklets, and long tripartite wigs, they all hold a lotus flower to the nose. The inscription associated with this scene reads *shpt ndt-hr jn msw.f jn snw.f jn hq3.f jn mrwt.f nt pr-dt jn hmw-k3 nw pr-dt* “bringing the *ndt-hr* offerings by his children, by his brothers, by his chiefs and servants of the funerary estate, by his ka-priests of the funerary estates.”<sup>477</sup> Despite the inscription that the children are bringing offerings to the tomb owner, the three daughters do not carry offerings but smell lotus flowers.<sup>478</sup> This depiction does not necessarily mean that the female progeny would not provide offerings for the tomb owner. Their presence in the sequence and the inscription probably indicate their status as offering providers. However, decorum prohibited depictions of noble women carrying certain types of offerings, because the dataset has no examples of female family members carry forelegs of bull.

On the west wall, four offering bearers appear on the bottom register below the fishing scene.<sup>479</sup> The first two carry forelegs, and the third holds a bird. He twists the neck of the bird with one hand, while another bird is lying dead at his feet. In this type of scene, the representation of dead birds is infrequent.<sup>480</sup> This depiction indicates that the birds presented to the tomb owner may have been butchered. The caption for the scene

<sup>477</sup> *hq3w.f pr-dt*, “chiefs of the funerary estate”, see Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 666.

<sup>478</sup> They do not appear to present the lotus flower to the tomb owner. For sons presenting lotus to the father, see Altenmüller, “Väter, Brüder und Götter: Bemerkungen zur Szene der Übergabe der Lotusblüte,” 17-28.

<sup>479</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 46-48, pl. 38.

<sup>480</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 48, note 199. Dead birds are usually shown in the fowling scenes, see Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 141-144.

reads *shpt stpt jn ḥmw-k3 nw pr n dt* “bringing choice offerings by the ka-priests of the funerary estate.”<sup>481</sup>

It is worth noting that the offering bearers on the east wall are of higher social status than those on the west wall. Those on the east wall, including the eldest son and the brother, all wear long wigs and have short beards, while those on the west wall wear short wigs and do not have any beard. The captions associated with each scene differ in both the offerings and the status of the offering bearers. On the east wall, the offerings that they bring to the tomb owner are the *ndt-ḥr* type, while those on the west wall are the *stpt* type. The caption on the east wall includes children, brothers, and servants. The one on the west wall, however, mentions only the ka-priests, though none of offering bearers below the caption bears the title *ḥm-k3*. On the west wall, the first and second offering bearers hold the title *jmy-r3 tzt* “overseer of the herd,”<sup>482</sup> and the third one is *hrp zh* “director of the dining-hall.”<sup>483</sup> Titles of offering bearers on the east wall include *špss nswt mtj (n) z3* “noble of the king, regulator of a phyle,”<sup>484</sup> *hry-tp nswt pr-ḥ3* “king’s liegeman of the Great House,”<sup>485</sup> *hry-ḥbt* “lector priest,” *hry-tp nswt* “king’s liegeman,” *hry-ḥbt zš jmy-r3 tzt nt jt.f* “lector priest, scribe, overseer of the herd of his father,”<sup>486</sup> *zš ḥw nw ntr pr-ḥ3* “document scribe of the god of the Great House.”<sup>487</sup> It is interesting to note that the offering bearers on the east wall have similar titles, and two of the four

<sup>481</sup> E El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 48.

<sup>482</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 276.

<sup>483</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 736-737. The last one’s title and name is uncertain. El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 48.

<sup>484</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 988.

<sup>485</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 452.

<sup>486</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 276.

<sup>487</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 843.

offering bearers on the west wall have the same title. It is likely that these people are deliberately grouped according to their social standing.

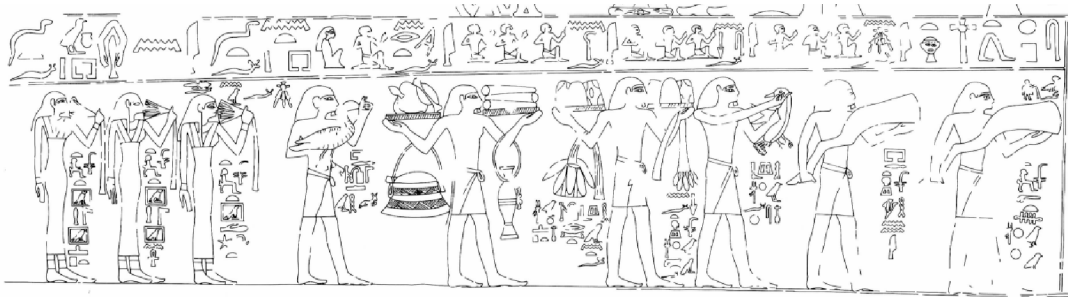


Figure 181. Tomb of *Hw.n-wh / Tj*, east wall, El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 44.

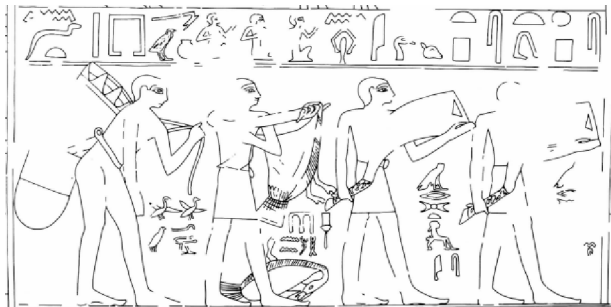


Figure 182. Tomb of *Hw.n-wh / Tj*, west wall, El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 38.

## 2.5 Siblings in Ritual Scenes

Although brothers of the tomb owner may bear the title *hry-hbt* “lector priest,” none of them appear as priests in funerary rituals reciting spells. As discussed above, they only appear below the offering list scene as offering bearers carrying the choice offerings. Their participation in the presentation of choice offerings, therefore, is a result of their

kinship relation to the tomb owner.<sup>488</sup> Moreover, none of the siblings appears in the butchery scenes. They do not participate in some of the activities that sons of the tomb owner do, such as libating and presenting offerings while kneeling. However, brothers also take part in the censuring ritual. In the tomb of *Nj-kʿw-Pth* at Saqqara, a *sn-dt* of the tomb owner is censuring him in front of the offering table.<sup>489</sup> In the case of *Dʿty* at Giza, the tomb owner stands before his brother and performs the censuring ritual for him.<sup>490</sup>

Siblings do not appear in funeral scenes.<sup>491</sup> It may be reasonable to think that siblings of the dead would have taken part in the funeral procession from the community to the tomb and participated in rituals. It is important to keep in mind that scenes in tomb chapels are not the record of real funerals but rather are idealized images used to fulfill the religious need to symbolically provide the dead with appropriate goods and rituals to secure their transition to the afterlife.<sup>492</sup> The absence of siblings from such scenes may have also been a result of the decorum relating to theme selection in the Old Kingdom private tomb decoration.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>488</sup> Thompson also suggests that the role as offering bearers has nothing to do with the title *hry-ḥbt*. Thompson, "The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt's Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom," 48-49.

<sup>489</sup> Henry G. Fischer, *Varia Nova* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 35, fig. 4.

<sup>490</sup> Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, 28.

<sup>491</sup> For the funerary procession, see Wilson, "Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom," 201-218.

<sup>492</sup> van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs*, 35-39.

<sup>493</sup> Kent R. Weeks, "Art, Word, and Egyptian Worldview," in *Egyptology and the Social Sciences: Five Studies*, ed. Kent R. Weeks (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1979), 59-81; Ann M. Roth, "Multiple Meanings in Carrying Chair Scenes," in *Dekorierete Grabanlagen im Alten Reich: Methodik und Interpretation*, eds. Martin Fitzenreiter and Michael Herb (London: Golden House Publications, 2006), 243.

## CHAPTER 3 PARENTS AND OTHER RELATIVES

### 3.1 The Designations and Titles of Parents of the Tomb Owner

Parents of the tomb owner occur less frequently than do children and siblings in private tomb decoration of the Old Kingdom.<sup>494</sup> However, some of the tomb owners not only referred to the names and titles of the parents in the inscriptions but also depicted them on their chapel walls. Thirty-six tombs in the dataset contain depictions of parents: 28 in Giza, 5 in Saqqara, and 3 in provincial sites. The fact that the majority of representations of parents occur in tombs at Giza implies a local tradition different from that in Saqqara and provincial sites, that is, an emphasis on the familial lineage of the tomb owner.

Mothers appear more frequently in their sons' tombs than fathers do. Twenty-nine examples of mothers and 18 examples of fathers occur in the dataset. In Giza, 23 examples of mothers and 14 examples of fathers occur in the dataset; 9 tombs have representations of both the father and the mother.<sup>495</sup> In Saqqara, examples of the mother occur in all the five tombs, while only one of them has both parents represented.<sup>496</sup> In the provincial sites, all three tombs have the representations of the father of the tomb owner. The representation of the mother of the tomb owner occurs only in the tomb of *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb* at Meir. The more frequent occurrence of mothers probably indicates a high status

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<sup>494</sup> Tables in Appendix II.3 list the names, designations, and titles of the parents of the tomb owner.

<sup>495</sup> In the tombs of *ḥtj-mrw-nswt* (G 2184), *Whm-kj* (D 117), *Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh* (G 4520), *Sšmw* (Shaft 590), *K3j* (east of tomb G 7391), *Jnpw-<sup>c</sup>htp*, *Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III* (G 7530 + 7540), *Špss-k3.f-<sup>c</sup>nh*, *D3ty* (G 2337-x, dependent of *Sndm-jb*).

<sup>496</sup> In the tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-<sup>c</sup>htp*.

of the mother in the family or a closer relationship between the tomb owner and his mother.

Table 8. Number of tombs containing representations of parents

	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial Sites
at least one parent	28	5	3
only father	5	0	2
only mother	14	4	0
both father and mother	9	1	1

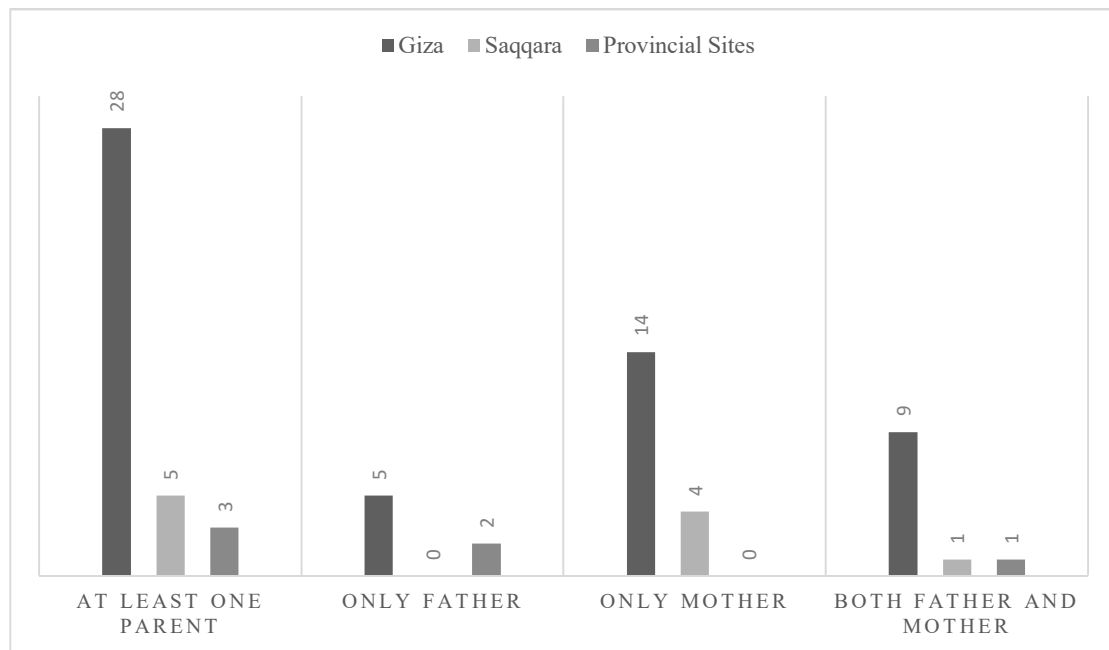


Figure 183. Number of tombs containing representations of parents

The kinship designation for the father and the mother of the male tomb owner are *jt.f* and *mwt.f*.<sup>497</sup> When a figure is labeled as *jt.f* or *mwt.f*, we consider it as a representation of the father or mother of the tomb owner. The expressions *mry.f* or *mrt.f*

<sup>497</sup> Tables in Appendix II.3 list the designations and titles of the parents.



“his beloved,” which usually follows the designation of children, do not appear with *jt.f* or *mwt.f*. The expression *n ht.f* “of his body” never occurs with *jt.f* or *mwt.f*. In some cases, the identification of the parents is through the designation of the tomb owner as the child. That is, the tomb owner has the designation *z3.f* “his son,” *z3t.f* “his daughter,” *z3.s* “her son,” *z3t.s* “her daughter,” in scenes in which the parents of the tomb owner appear as the major figures. In these cases, the parents may not have kinship designations beside their names and titles. Ten examples of the tomb owner with the designation *z3.f* or *z3.s* occur in the dataset: eight in Giza, two in the provincial sites, and none in Saqqara.<sup>498</sup> In the tomb of *Nn-sḏr-k3(.j)* at Giza (G 2101), for example, the tomb owner has the designation *z3t.f mrt.f* when she appears at the foot of her father who holds his staff. However, he does not have the designation *jt.s* in this scene. In most cases, the parental designations *jt.f* and *mwt.f* and the filial designations *z3.f* and *z3t.f* do not occur in the same scene. In other words, the parenthood of the tomb owner is marked either from the perspective of the tomb owner or that of the parents. This situation probably reflects the fact that each scene should have only one major figure as the focus. The suffix pronouns used in kinship designations refer to the major figures in each scene. The co-existence of kinship designations such as *jt.f* and *z3.f* would be confusing because the suffix pronoun *f* does not refer to the same individual in the scene.<sup>499</sup>

<sup>498</sup> *Jj-mry* (G 6020, LG 15), *Jnpw-ḥtp, Mr.s-ḥḥ III* (G 7530 + 7540), *Nfrj* (grandson of *Jrj-n-3ḥtj / Jrj*, G 2391), *Nn-sḏr-k3(.j)* (G 2101), *Ḥwfw-ḥḥ.f I* (G 7130 + 7140), *K3.j-wḥb* (G 7110 + 7120), *D3ty* (G 2337-x, dependent of *Sndm-jb*), *Mmj* (El-Hawawish, CG 1586), and *Ppy-ḥḥ-km / Ḥny / Ḥny-km* (Meir No. A2).

<sup>499</sup> The tomb owner is usually the focus of the scenes, so the change of focus from the tomb owner to his parents is, apparently, an emphasis of the latter’s importance in the scene. Interestingly, a comparison between the titles of the parents and the tomb owner shows that this emphasis may not have been a result of the high status of the parents but an expression of domestic affection.

Exceptions, however, occur in three tombs in Giza: *Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III* (G 7530 + 7540), *K3.j-w<sup>c</sup>b* (G 7110 + 7120) and *Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I* (G 7130 + 7140). Here, both the tomb owner and his or her mother have kinship designations. It is important to note that the mothers depicted in these tombs are all queens. Therefore, the use of kinship designations for both the tomb owner and his or her mother emphasizes their kinship and implies the status of the tomb owner as a royal descendant. The mother of *K3.j-w<sup>c</sup>b* has the designation *mwt.f mst n Hwfw* “his mother, who bore (him) to Khufu,” while the title of the mother of *Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I* is *mwt.f mst sw* “his mother, who bore him.”<sup>500</sup> These designations highlight the royal origin of the prince born to a queen. This type of emphasis apparently does not occur in tombs of individuals of non-royal origin.

In 28 examples in the dataset, the parents of the tomb owner have both their imageries and titles recorded: 21 in Giza, 4 in Saqqara,<sup>501</sup> and 3 in the provincial sites.<sup>502</sup> The title *rht-nswt* is the most common for mothers.<sup>503</sup> It occurs in 14 tombs.<sup>504</sup> The mother of the tomb owner may also have religious titles, such as *hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr* “priestess of Hothor” or *hmt-ntr Nt* “priestess of Neith.”<sup>505</sup> In the tombs of *Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt*, *3htj-mrw-nswt*, and *Ssm-nfr III* at Giza, and the tomb of *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb* at Meir, the mother of the tomb owner bears the title *hmt-Ntr* of the goddess Hathor or Neith. In only a few cases, the mother of the tomb owner holds an administrative title. For

<sup>500</sup> Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II: G7110-20, 7130-40, and 7150, and Subsidiary Mastabas of Street G7100*, 3, 11.

<sup>501</sup> *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj*, *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw & Hnmw-htp*, *Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>*, and *S3-mry*.

<sup>502</sup> *Mmj* (El-Hawawish, CG 1586), *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb* (Meir No. D2), and *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-km / Hny / Hny-km* (Meir No. A2).

<sup>503</sup> Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 27-30.

<sup>504</sup> *Whm-k3* (D 117), *Jnpw-htp*, *Whm-k3* (D 117), *R<sup>c</sup>-wr*, *Ssm-nfr II* (G 5080), *Ssm-nfr III* (G 5170), *Šps-k3.f-<sup>c</sup>nh*, *K3-hj.f* (G 2136), and *D3ty* (G 2337-x, dependent of *Sndm-jb*) in Giza, *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj*, *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw & Hnmw-htp*, *Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>*, and *S3-mry* in Saqqara, and *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb* (Meir No. D2).

<sup>505</sup> Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 24.

example, in the tomb of *Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh* (G 4520), the mother bears the title *hnty-š*, a designation that *Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh* and his father also hold.<sup>506</sup> The mother of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp* holds the title *jmyt-r3 pr jn<sup>c</sup>wt / htswt* “overseer of the house of weavers.”<sup>507</sup>

In most tombs, the tomb owner has more titles than his father does. This may indicate that the tomb owner chose the most important titles of his or her father when depicting him in the tomb chapel. In most cases in the dataset, the male tomb owner shares the same titles with his father, or they bear similar titles. In the tomb of *Whm-k3* at Giza (D 117), for example, the tomb owner bears the title *zš pr-md3t* “scribe of the archives,”<sup>508</sup> while his father holds the title *nht-hrw pr-md3t* “tally-man of the archives.”<sup>509</sup> An exception occurs in the double tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp* at Saqqara. The father of the two brothers bears the titles *hrp <sup>c</sup>prw* “director of the crew”<sup>510</sup> and *shd wj3* “inspector of the boat.”<sup>511</sup> *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp*, however, do not hold these two titles. It is interesting that a brother of the two tomb owners bears the title *jmy-ht prw jn<sup>c</sup>wt / htswt* “under-supervisor of the house of the weavers,”<sup>512</sup> which is related to the title *jmyt-r3 pr jn<sup>c</sup>wt / htswt* “(female) overseer of the house of weavers” that their mother holds.<sup>513</sup> Two daughters of the family also bear the same title as their

<sup>506</sup> This title is mostly held by men. For the discussion of the title and people holding this title, see Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 40-43. For women with this title, see Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, 21-22, and Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 41-43.

<sup>507</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 114. For the discussion of this title, see Henry G. Fischer, “Notes on Some Texts of the Old Kingdom and Later,” in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson 1*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian (Boston: Dept. of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts. 1996), 273-274. See also Henry G. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 19-21.

<sup>508</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 848.

<sup>509</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 487.

<sup>510</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 705.

<sup>511</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 917.

<sup>512</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 286.

<sup>513</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 114. Moussa and Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 42, fig. 11, n. 59. See also Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*,

mother. Of particular note is that these children follow the career path of their mother rather than their father.<sup>514</sup>

Examples of the mother-in-law of the male tomb owner occur in three tombs: *Nfr-k3(.j)* at Giza, *Nj-k3w-Rc* at Saqqara, and *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb* at Meir. In each of these cases, the mother-in-law of the tomb owner has the designation *mwt.s*, with the feminine suffix pronoun referring to the wife of the tomb owner. In all these examples, the mother-in-law is less prominent than the mother of the tomb owner. The depiction of the wife's father is not attested in the dataset. In the tomb of *Nfr-k3(.j)*, however, the name of the wife's father appears to the left of the false door panel just behind the seated figure of the wife.

### 3.2 Designations and Titles of Other Relatives

The most frequently depicted relatives other than children, siblings, and parents are grandchildren of the tomb owner, though the depiction of three generations in one tomb is not common.<sup>515</sup> Fifteen tombs in the dataset contain the images of grandchildren: seven in Giza,<sup>516</sup> four in Saqqara,<sup>517</sup> and four in the provincial sites.<sup>518</sup>

In general, grandsons appear more frequently than granddaughters. Thirteen examples of grandsons and two examples of granddaughters occur in tombs in Giza.

<sup>514</sup> It is not clear why these children follow the career path of the mother rather than that of the father. It is also unclear to what extent children had the freedom to choose their career in ancient Egypt. For women in the Old Kingdom holding titles related to weaving, see Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, 17-18. See also Fischer, *Varia*, 71.

<sup>515</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 285-300.

<sup>516</sup> *Wnšt* (G4840, VII SS), *Wm-nfrt*, *R3-mw* (false door in the tomb of *Ttj*), *Ttj*, *Sxm-nfr II* (G 5080), *K3-hj.f* (G 2136), and *K3-hr-Pth* (G 7721).

<sup>517</sup> *Nj-k3w-Rc*, *S3bw /Jbbj*, *Shm-k3* (north-west of D 62), and *K3(.j)-hp* (S 3511, false door, British Museum 1848).

<sup>518</sup> Deir el-Gabrawi No. N95, *Hnqw I / Httj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N39), *Dcw / Šm3j* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12, his son *Dcw*), and *Hw.n-wh / Ttj* (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2).

Among the thirteen grandsons, eight are sons of the daughter of the tomb owner. The two granddaughters are both daughters of the daughter of the tomb owner.<sup>519</sup>

The situation in Saqqara is different. Ten grandsons and four granddaughters are attested in the dataset. Five grandsons have the designation  $z^3 z^3.f$  “son of his son,” while the dataset has no sons of the daughters. The only granddaughter with clear parental designation,  $z^3 t z^3 t$  “daughter of a daughter,” comes from the tomb of *Nj-k^3 w-R^c*. In the tomb of *K^3(.j)-hp* (S 3511), eight of them are simply designated as *msw msw.f* “children of his children” without differentiation between children of the son and children of the daughter.

The designation of grandchildren in provincial sites differs from that in the Memphite region. They bear the designations  $z^3.f(s)$  or  $z^3 t.f(s)$  following the name of their parents. In the tomb of *Hnqw I / Httj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. 39), for example, his grandson *Jzj* is called *Jmpy z^3.f* “*Jmpy*, his son.” *Jmpy*, as the son of the tomb owner, has the designation as  $z^3.f mry.f$ . This phrase differentiates the parental lineage of the grandchild by giving the name of his or her father or mother. In the Memphite region, however, the lineage of grandchildren refers directly to their grandparents, not their parents. In this case, the parents of the grandchildren are apparently implicit in the expression  $z^3 z^3.f$  or  $z^3 z^3 t.f$ .

Chapels seldom depict other relatives. One example of a distant relative occurs in the tomb of *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb* at Meir. On the south wall of Room 3, the uncle of the wife appears with the designation *sn jt.s* “brother of her father.” Another example comes from

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<sup>519</sup> In the tombs of *K^3-hj.f* (G 2136) and *Tlj*.

the tomb of *K3-hr-Pth* at Giza (G 7721). On the middle column of the antechamber, a *sn-dt* appears at a large scale, while his son stands at his foot as a nude child. The figure of the child is partly lost, and his name has not survived. If this *sn-dt* is a real brother of the wife of the tomb owner,<sup>520</sup> the boy could be the nephew of the wife.

It is unknown whether individuals depicted in chapel scenes without kinship terms are distant relatives of the tomb owner because the absence of such terms makes it difficult to distinguish them from subordinates and friends of the tomb owner.

Additionally, the lack of kinship designations indicates that the ancient Egyptians did not differentiate distant relatives from other figures in tomb scenes.

### 3.3 Stance of Parents

#### *Stance Type A-1: Standing and touching a major figure*

Examples of Stance A-1 occur in nine tombs in the dataset: seven in Giza and two in Saqqara.<sup>521</sup> Only the mother of the tomb owner appears in this stance. In six tombs, the mother of the tomb owner touches the father; in the other three tombs, the mother touches the tomb owner. None of the fathers appear in physical contact with the tomb owner, though sons of the tomb owner commonly touch their father.

In the tomb of *Whm-k3* at Giza (D 117), the parents of the tomb owner stand behind him and his wife at the same scale, but face the opposite direction. The mother of

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<sup>520</sup> He is designated as *sn-dt.s* in the vertical inscription in front of his figure. Presumably, he is a *sn-dt* of the wife of the tomb owner.

<sup>521</sup> In the tombs of *3htj-mrw-nswt* (G 2184), *Jnpw-htp*, *Whm-k3* (D 117), *Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt* (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24), *Hwfw-hc.f I* (G 7130 + 7140), *K3j* (east of tomb G 7391), and *D3ty* (G 2337-x) at Giza. In the double tomb of *Nj-nh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp*, and in the tomb of *Nj-k3w-Rc* at Saqqara.

the tomb owner stands behind the father and places one hand on his shoulder while holding his arm with her other hand.



Figure 184. Tomb of *Wḥm-k3* at Giza (D 117), Kayser, *Uhemka*, 36.

The mother also appears in this gesture behind the tomb owner. In the tomb of *Mry-jb* / *K3-pw-nswt* at Giza (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24), for example, the mother of the tomb owner stands behind him and embraces his shoulder with her right hand.

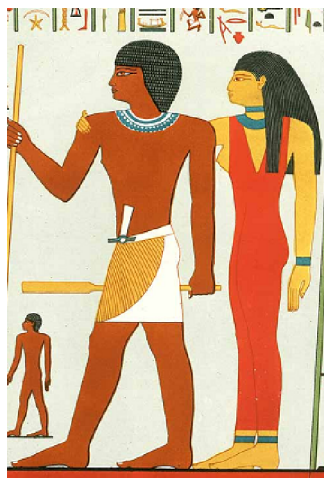


Figure 185. Tomb of *Mry-jb* / *K3-pw-nswt* at Giza (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24), *LD II*, 20.

The mother of the tomb owner may also hold the hand of the son. In the tomb of *Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I* at Giza (G 7130 + 7140), his mother stands in front of him, places one hand on her chest, and holds the tomb owner's hand with her other hand.

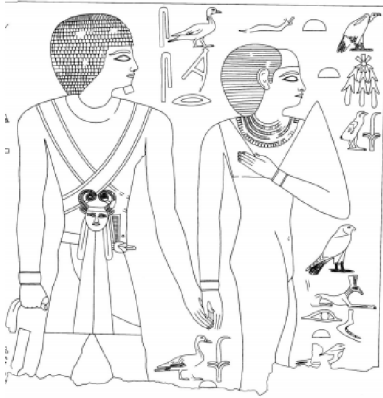


Figure 186. Tomb of *Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I* at Giza (G 7130 + 7140), Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I & II*, fig. 26.

A unique example from the tomb of *Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>* at Saqqara shows the mother-in-law of the tomb owner on the left outer jamb of the false door of the tomb owner. Wearing a long wig and a long sheath dress, the mother stands on the left and faces her daughter while embracing her with both arms.



Figure 187. Tomb of *Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>* at Saqqara, Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 80-84, Bl. 19.



***Stance Type A-2: Seated or kneeling and touching a major figure***

Stance A-2 occurs in five tombs in Giza.<sup>522</sup> In these tombs, the mother of the tomb owner sits on a chair together with the tomb owner, while holding his arm, shoulder, or waist.

In the tomb of *Shm-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*, the mother sits behind the tomb owner who appears at a slightly smaller scale, but not in the traditional representation as a naked boy with side lock. She places one hand on the shoulder of her son and holds his arm with the other hand. This stance and her larger scale probabaly indicates the status as a divine royal mother.<sup>523</sup>

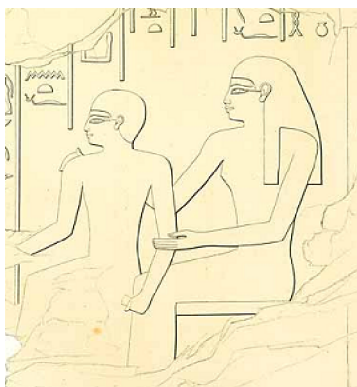


Figure 188. Tomb of *Shm-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>* at Giza, *LD II*, 42.

<sup>522</sup> *Wsr*, *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr* / *Q<sup>3</sup>r* (G 7101), *Hw.n-R<sup>c</sup>*, *Shm-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>* (LG 89), and *Sšmw* (Shaft 590).

<sup>523</sup> This stance of the queen is similar to that of Hathor in a specific type of the Menkaure triads (Type 2). See Florence D. Friedman, "Reading the Menkaure Triads, Part II," in *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750-2150 BC*, eds. Nigel Strudwick and Helen Strudwick (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 93-114, fig. 1, and Florence D. Friedman, "Reading the Menkaure Triads, Part I," in *Palace and temple: architecture, decoration, ritual : 5. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie = 5th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology, Cambridge, July, 16th-17th, 2007*, eds. Rolf Gundlach and Kate Spence (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), 23-27. For the role of the queen as Hathor, see Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1986), 53-72.

In the other two examples, the tomb owner and the mother have the same scale, and the sons appear as adults. In the tomb of *Wsr*, the mother places one of her hands on the shoulder of the tomb owner and holds his arm with her other hand. In the case of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q<sup>3</sup>r*, his mother sits with the tomb owner, but is closer to him. She places one hand on the shoulder of her son and the other hand on his waist.

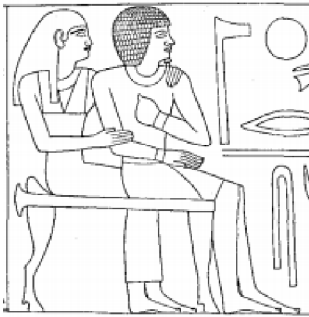


Figure 189. Tomb of *Wsr* at Giza, Junker, *Giza VI*, Abb. 69.



Figure 190. Tomb of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q<sup>3</sup>r* at Giza (G 7101), Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 30.

The mother of the tomb owner may also sit on a chair with the father. On the architrave in the tomb of *Sšmw* at Giza, for example, the parents of the tomb owner sit on

a chair. The mother places one hand on the shoulder of the father and grasps his upper arm with her other hand.



Figure 191. Tomb of *Sšmw* at Giza, Junker, *Giza VIII*, 24, Abb. 6.

A unique example from the tomb of *Hw.n-R<sup>c</sup>* at Giza depicts the mother of the tomb owner sitting on a chair, holding a lotus flower with one hand. She extends her other hand to her son, who appears as a naked boy standing before her. He turns his head backward to look at her, places one hand on her lap, and carries a bird in the other hand. What we see in this scene may have been an artistic expression of juxtaposed figures in Figure 188.<sup>524</sup> *Hw.n-R<sup>c</sup>* probably stands beside his seated mother, not in front of her. Although the tomb owner and his mother are on the same register, the standing tomb owner is at a significantly smaller scale. The larger size of the mother is a sign of her importance. The small scale of the tomb owner makes it possible for him to place his hand on his mother's lap, and for the mother to hold his arm. Just as the case of *Šhm-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*, the gesture of the mother holding the son's arm also shows her status as a divine royal mother.<sup>525</sup> The uniqueness of the tomb owner's stance is, apparently, a deliberate design to illustrate his closeness to the queen.

<sup>524</sup> Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 172-177.

<sup>525</sup> See note 517.



Figure 192. Tomb of *Hw.n-Rc* at Giza, Reisner (1934), in BMFA 32, No. 189, 1-12, fig. 10.

***Stance Type AS-6: Kneeling at the foot of a major figure***

Parents depicted at a much-reduced scale at the foot of the tomb owner do not occur in the dataset. The only exception occurs in the tomb of *Mr.f-nb.f / Fff* at Saqqara. On the east wall of the west chapel, the mother kneels at the foot of the tomb owner at a much-reduced scale. The tomb owner stands and carries his staff and scepter in his hands.



Figure 193. Tomb of *Mr.f-nb.f / Fff*, Mysliwiec et al., *Saqqara I: Merefnebef*, pl. xx.

***Stance Type B-1: Standing with one hand or two hands on the chest***

Parents in this stance occur in nine tombs in the dataset: eight in Giza and one in Saqqara.<sup>526</sup> In the tombs of *Hwfw-ḥnh* (G 4520) and *K3j* at Giza, both the father and the mother of the tomb owner appear in this stance on the false door. Fathers in this stance appear only on false doors, while mothers can appear on both false doors and chapel walls.

In the tomb of *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* at Giza, for example, the mother stands before the tomb owner on the east wall of the vestibule. Wearing a long wig, a collar, bracelets and anklets, and a long dress, she places her hand upon her chest. The tomb owner sits on a chair, holding his staff in one hand and a piece of cloth in the other hand. He wears a short wig, a short beard, and a leopard skin. The artist depicts the mother at a smaller scale, allowing her to appear at the same height as the seated son. This arrangement is probably not an indication of a less important status of the mother, but to make both figures fit into the space in the scene.



Figure 194. Tomb of *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* at Giza, Hassan, *Giza I*, 9, fig. 5.

<sup>526</sup> Including tombs of *Nfr-k3(j)*, *R<sup>c</sup>-wr*, *Hwfw-ḥnh* (G 4520), *Sšm-nfr II* (G 5080), *Sšm-nfr III* (G 5170), *Špss-k3.f-ḥnh*, *K3j* (east of tomb G 7391), *K3j-wḥb* (G 7110 + 7120) at Giza, and the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj* at Saqqara.

Mothers may also appear on the false door jambs alone, such as the mother of *Sšm-nfr II* who stands on the right outer jamb of the false door of her son with her hand placed on her chest.

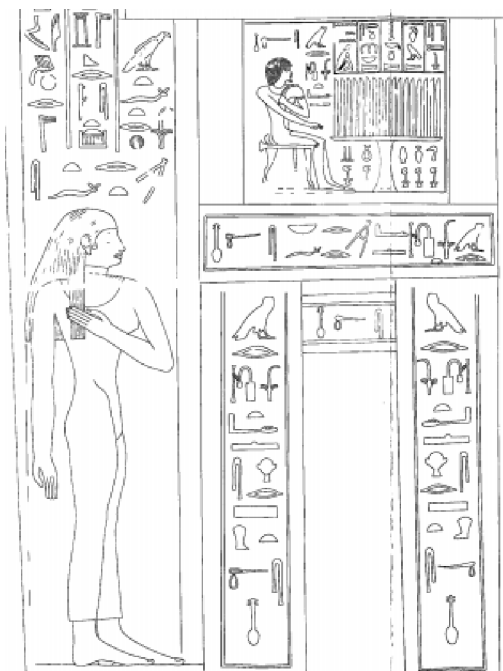


Figure 195. Tomb of *Sšm-nfr II* at Giza, Kanawati, *Giza II*, pl. 63.

### ***Stance Type B-3: Standing and carrying offerings***

The stance of parents of tomb owners carrying offerings does not occur in the dataset. The only exception occurs in the tomb of *Dḥty* at Giza (G 2337-x), who is a dependent of the *Snḏm-jb* family.<sup>527</sup> His mother stands behind her son and carries a small bird in each hand.

<sup>527</sup> According to the inscription on his architrave. See Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, 28.



Figure 196. Tomb of *D3ty* at Giza (G 2337-x), Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, fig. 41.

***Stance Type B-4: Standing and carrying accessories such as a staff, a scepter, a papyrus scroll, or a piece of cloth***

This stance is common among fathers. It occurs 12 times in eleven tombs in the dataset: nine in Giza,<sup>528</sup> one in Saqqara,<sup>529</sup> and one in El-Hawawish.<sup>530</sup>

The tomb owner may accompany the father who appears in this stance. In the tomb of *Nn-sḏr-k3(.j)* at Giza (G 2101), the father stands in a vignette carved on the pillar, where he stands while holding a staff before him. His daughter stands at his foot and holds the lower part of his staff.

<sup>528</sup> *3htj-mrw-nswt* (G 2184), *Jj-mry* (G 6020, LG 15), *Jnpw-htp*, *Whm-k3* (D 117), *Mrs-ḥn* III (G 7530 + 7540), *Nj-sḥn-3hty* / *Jtj*, *Nj-sḏr-k3(.j)* (G 2101), *Nfr-b3w-Pth* (G 6010, LG 15), and *Spss-k3.f-ḥn*.

<sup>529</sup> *Nj-ḥn-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp*.

<sup>530</sup> *Mmj* (El-Hawawish, CG 1586).

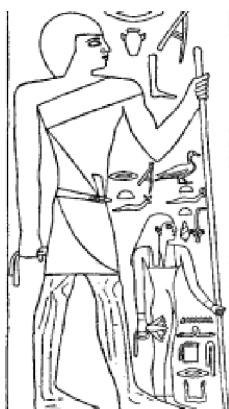


Figure 197. Tomb of *Nn-sdr-k3(.j)* at Giza (G 2101), Junker, *Giza II*, 117, Abb. 8.

In the case of *Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III* at Giza (G 7530 + 7540), her father appears in a scene on the east wall of the main room. Depicted as a corpulent man wearing a long projecting kilt, he holds a staff in one hand and a piece of cloth in the other hand.

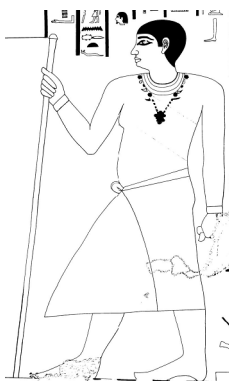


Figure 198. Tomb of *Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III* at Giza (G 7530 + 7540), Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4.

The tomb owner and his or her father may also appear at the same scale. In this case, the father usually precedes the tomb owner. On the west wall of the chapel of *Nfr-b3w-Pth* at Giza (G 6010, LG 15), the father stands before tomb owner, and both are at the same scale. They wear long wigs and long projecting kilts. The father leans on his



staff, while the son behind him carries a papyrus scroll in one hand and a piece of cloth in the other.

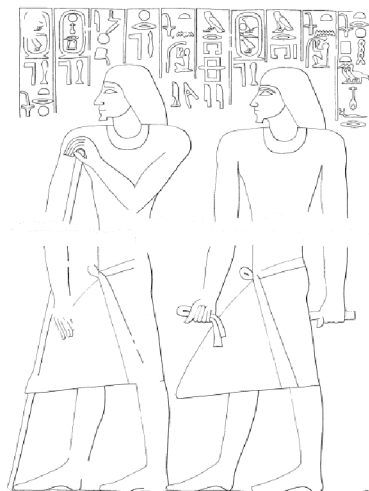


Figure 199. Tomb of *Nfr-bꜣw-Pth* at Giza (G 6010, LG 15), Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 14.

A similar example occurs in the chapel of *Jj-mry* at Giza (G 6020, LG 15). The father stands in front of the tomb owner but at a slightly larger scale. Wearing a long wig and a projecting kilt, the father leans on his staff, while the son wears the same long projecting kilt, has a short wig, and stands behind his father with a papyrus scroll in his hand.

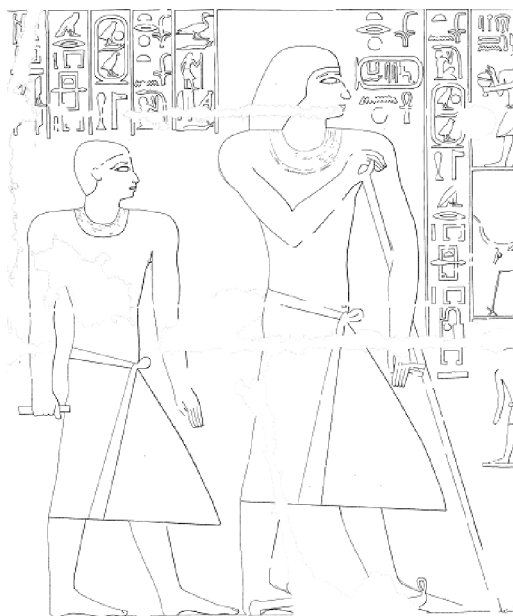


Figure 200. Tomb of *Jj-mry* at Giza (G 6020, LG 15), Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 31.

The arrangement of two male figures standing side by side is not exclusive to fathers and sons. In the tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh* at Giza (G 7948), the tomb owner and his brother *Jttj* stand side by side, *Jttj* leaning on his staff in front of his brother.

#### ***Stance Type B-5: Standing and holding lotus flowers***

Stance B-5 occurs only twice in the dataset: one in the tomb of *Mrrw-k<sup>3</sup>.j / Mrj* and the other in the tomb of *S<sup>3</sup>-mry*. The provenance of both is Saqqara. In the tomb of *Mrrw-k<sup>3</sup>.j / Mrj*, for example, the mother appears at a much-reduced scale behind the tomb owner on the east wall of Room A13. Wearing a long wig, an elaborate collar, and a long sheath dress, she holds a lotus flower towards her nose.

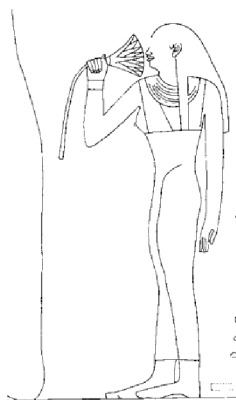


Figure 201. Tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj* at Saqqara, Kanawati et al., *Mereruka III*: 2, pl. 82.

In the tomb of *S3-mry*, the mother appears on the false door of her son, wearing a long wig and a long sheath dress. She holds a lotus flower with a curled stem to her nose.



Figure 202. Tomb of *S3-mry* at Saqqara, Fischer, *Varia*, 5, fig. 4.

***Stance Type D-1: Sitting or kneeling while bending one arm to the chest or placing both hands down on the lap***

Stance D-1 only occurs in two tombs: *K3-hj.f* at Giza (G 2136) and *S3-mry* at Saqqara. Both depict the mother of the tomb owner. On the lintel and the architrave of her own false door in the tomb of the former, the mother sits on a chair.



Figure 203. Tomb of *K3-hj.f* at Giza (G 2136), Junker, *Giza VI*, 110, Abb. 32.

In the tomb of *S3-mry* at Saqqara, the mother sits on a chair at the bottom of the niche of the false door of her son and herself.<sup>531</sup> One hand is on her chest and the other on her lap. In both examples, the mother appears on false doors, rather than in scenes on the chapel wall. Her appearance on the false door indicates that this positioning may be exclusively for the deceased who is commemorated as the object of the funerary cult. The inscription on the false door of *S3-mry* states that the father of *S3-mry* made the tomb for himself, his mother, and his brother *nh-jr-k3.j*.<sup>532</sup> The three individuals appear at the bottom of the niche of the false door, all in Stance D-1. As discussed in the first chapter, all children depicted in Stance D-1 in chapel scenes are in the gesture of kneeling or knee sitting instead of sitting on a chair. Therefore, it may have been the decorum to represent only the deceased seated on a chair with arms bent to the chest.

<sup>531</sup> Both the name of the mother and her son appear above the niche. Fischer takes *S3-mry* as the principal tomb owner since he appears on the right side. Henry G. Fischer, *Varia* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), 4.

<sup>532</sup> Henry G. Fischer, *Varia*, 8-10.

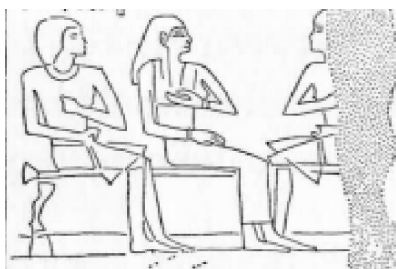


Figure 204. Tomb of *S3-mry* at Saqqara, Fischer, *Varia*, 5, fig. 4.

***Stance Type D-2: Seated on a chair or kneeling before a table of offerings***

Stance D-2 occurs in five tombs: three in Giza,<sup>533</sup> one in Saqqara,<sup>534</sup> and one in Meir.<sup>535</sup> As discussed above, the mother of *K3-hj.f* appears in Stance D-1 on the architrave and the lintel of her false door. She also appears in Stance D-2 on the panel. Wearing the same long wig and long sheath dress, she sits at her offering table on the right side, facing her son who is on the left side. Her right hand is in front of the loaves on the table, while her left hand holds a lotus flower in the other hand.



Figure 205. Tomb of *K3-hj.f* at Giza (G 2136), Junker, *Giza VI*, 110, Abb. 32.

<sup>533</sup> *Mry-Hwfw* (Fakhry 6), *S3mw* (Shaft 590), and *K3-hj.f* (G 2136).

<sup>534</sup> *S3-mry*.

<sup>535</sup> *Ppy-nh-hrj-jb* (Meir No. D2).

Similarly, the mother of *Sḥ-mry* also appears opposite her son on the right side of the panel and also sits on a chair.



Figure 206. Tomb of *Sḥ-mry* at Saqqara, Fischer, *Varia*, 5, fig. 4.

The parents of the tomb owner may sit together at the offering table, but the father is always in front of the mother. In the tomb of *Sḥmw* at Giza, his parents sit on a chair at an offering table on the right end of the architrave. The father extends his hand to the offering table, while the mother sits behind him in Stance A-2, with her left hand clasping his upper arm.



Figure 207. Tomb of *Sḥmw*, Junker, *Giza VIII*, 24, Abb. 6.

The father of the tomb owner may sit by himself at the offering table. For example, in *Mry-Hwfw*'s tomb at Giza (Fakhry 6), the tomb owner's father sits on a chair at his offering table with one arm bent to the chest and the other arm extended to the offering table.

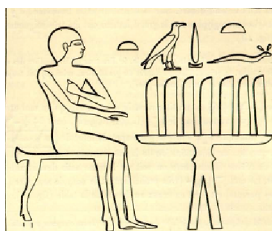


Figure 208. Tomb of *Mry-Hwfw* at Giza (Fakhry 6), Fakhry, *Sept Tombeaux*, 24, figs. 14.

A unique example from the tomb of *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb* depicts the parents sitting at their own offering tables on the south wall of Room 3. Wearing a long wig, a short beard, a collar, a short kilt, and bracelets, the father sits on a chair before the offering table with his right hand extended to the offerings. Below, the mother also sits at her offering table and extends her hand to the offerings. Both the father and the mother face the tomb owner, who appears at a larger scale at his offering table on the right. On the same wall, the mother-in-law of the tomb owner kneels at her own small offering table. Wearing a short wig, a collar, and a long dress, she places one hand upon her chest and extends the other hand to the offering table.



Figure 209. Tomb of *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir (No. D 2), Kanawati, *Meir I*, pl. 83.



Figure 210. Tomb of *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir (No. D 2), Kanawati, *Meir I*, pl. 83.

***Stance Type D-4: Seated or kneeling and holding accessories, offerings, or lotus flowers***

Parents of the tomb owner usually do not appear in Stance D-4. However, it occurs in combination with Stance A-2 in the tomb of *Hw.n-R<sup>c</sup>* at Giza, where his mother



sits with him on a chair and holds a lotus flower (Figure 192). In the tomb of *K3-hj.f*, the mother also sits at the offering table and holds a lotus flower (Figure 205).

### ***Stance Type E-2: Engaging in ritual activities***

The parents of the tomb owner appear in two types of ritual activities, presenting lotus flowers (E-2-LOT) and censing (E-2-CEN), and they always appear as the recipient in these rituals. In other words, the tomb owner performs rituals of censing or presenting lotus flowers to his father.

Examples of the tomb owner censing his father occur in four tombs in the dataset: three in Giza and one in Meir.<sup>536</sup> On the west wall of the chapel of *D3ty* (G 2337-x), his father stands on the second register to the left of the false door. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a long projecting kilt. The tomb owner stands in front of him and holds the censor to his nose. His mother stands behind the father and holds his right arm.



Figure 211. Tomb of *D3ty* at Giza (G 2337-x), Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, fig. 41.

<sup>536</sup> Tombs of *Jnpw-htp*, *Nfrj* (grandson of *Jrj-n-3htj* / *Jrj*, G 2391), and *D3ty* (G 2337-x) at Giza, and the tomb of *Ppy-nh-km* / *Hny* / *Hny-km* (Meir No. A2).

In the tomb of *Jnpw-ḥtp* at Giza, the father and the mother appear on the east thickness of the entrance, while the tomb owner stands on a sub-register at a much-reduced scale and holds a censor to the father.



Figure 212. Tomb of *Jnpw-ḥtp* at Giza, Junker, *Giza IX*, Abb. 75.

In the tomb of *Ppy-ḥnh-km* / *Hny* / *Hny-km* at Meir (No. A2), the father of the tomb owner appears at a slightly larger scale and wears a long projecting kilt and elaborate collars. With the same neckwear and a short projecting kilt, the tomb owner stands before him and holds a censor towards him.



Figure 213. Tomb of *Ppy-nḥ-km* / *Hny* / *Hny-km* at Meir (No. A2), Kanawati & Evans, *Meir II*, pl. 87a.

The scene of the father receiving a lotus flower from the tomb owner occurs in the tomb of *Jj-mry* at Giza. Wearing a projecting kilt, the father sits on an arm chair and receives a lotus flower from his son.

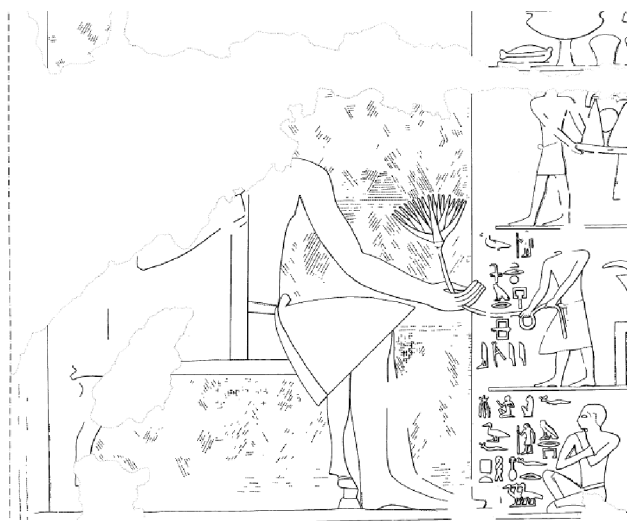


Figure 214. Tomb of *Jj-mry* at Giza (G 6020, LG 15), Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 43.

### *Stance Type F: Other stances*

Examples of this category occur in two tombs at Giza: *Jj-mry* and *Mr.s-ꜥnh III*.

On the west wall of the first chamber, *Jj-mry*'s father sits in a carrying chair under a canopy. He and his sons, together with his brother, stand in a gesture of reverence in front of the carrying chair. Such scenes are common in Old Kingdom tomb decoration. In the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj* at Saqqara, for example, a depiction of the tomb owner in a carrying chair appears on the north wall of Room A13, and his sons and brothers accompany him. However, the depiction of the father of the tomb owner in a carrying chair occurs only in *Jj-mry*'s tomb in the dataset.

As Roth suggests, the carrying chair scene is not only a marker of status and wealth, but also a mortuary metaphor and a rehearsal for the funeral, which occurs when the tomb owner visits his tomb on the carrying chair.<sup>537</sup> This explanation, however, may not fit the circumstance of *Jj-mry*'s father, who built his own tomb nearby (G 6040) and did not need a rehearsal in the tomb of his son. This carrying chair scene may have been a depiction of a visit by the father to the son's tomb chapel when he was still alive.<sup>538</sup> It is possible that the carrying chair scene was meant to honor the aged grandfather *Špss-k3.f-ꜥnh*.

<sup>537</sup> Roth (2006), in IBAES VI, 247-248.

<sup>538</sup> As Weeks suggests, *Jj-mry*'s father *Špss-k3.f-ꜥnh* lived into his late seventies and was still alive when his son decorated his tomb chapels (G 6020). Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000, including G 6010 (Neferbaupth); G 6020 (Iymery), G 6030 (Ity), G 6040 (Shepseskafankh)*, 5.

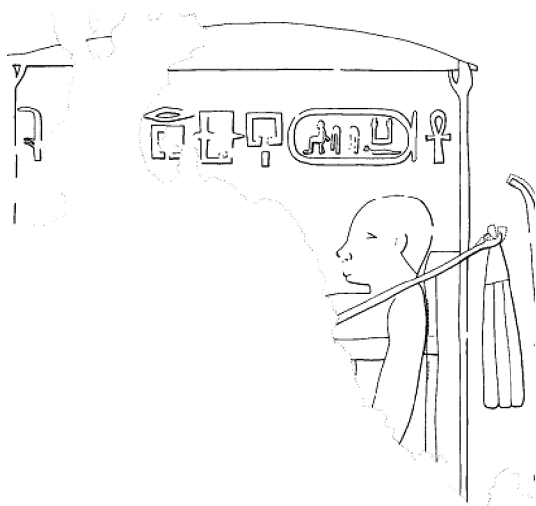


Figure 215. Tomb of *Jj-mry* at Giza, Weeks, Cemetery G 6000, fig. 32.

In a *zšš wꜥd* scene in the tomb of *Mr.s-ḥ III*, the mother of the tomb owner stands on a skiff in front of her daughter. Both her mother and she are rattling the papyrus umbels in the marsh, a type of scene relating to the worship of Hathor.<sup>539</sup>



Figure 216. Tomb of *Mr.s-ḥ III* at Giza (G 7530 + 7540), Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4.

<sup>539</sup> For a detailed discussion of the worship of Hathor and this type of scene, see Alexandra Woods, “*zšš wꜥd* Scenes of the Old Kingdom Revisited,” in *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750-2150 BC*, eds. Nigel Strudwick and Helen Strudwick (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 314-318.

### 3.4 Stance of Other Relatives of the Tomb Owner

#### ***Stance Type AS-1: Standing at the foot of a major figure and touching him or her***

Relatives of the tomb owner in Stance Type AS-1 occur in the two tombs, *Ttj* at Giza and *Nj-kʿw-R<sup>c</sup>* at Saqqara. In the tomb of *Ttj*, a grandson of the tomb owner appears between his legs at a much-reduced scale and embraces his grandfather's calf with his arm. On the false door of *Rʿ-mw* in the same tomb,<sup>540</sup> a grandson of *Rʿ-mw* appears at the foot of *Rʿ-mw*'s wife, where he touches her leg with one hand and grasps a piece of cloth in the other hand.<sup>541</sup> In the tomb of *Nj-kʿw-R<sup>c</sup>*, a granddaughter stands at the foot of the tomb owner on the left inner jamb of the false door of the wife. She embraces her grandmother's leg with one hand and holds a lotus flower to the nose with the other hand. In all of the three cases, the grandchildren appear as naked youth.



Figure 217. Tomb of *Ttj* at Giza, James, *Hiero. Texts I*, 2nd ed., pl. vii.

<sup>540</sup> He is the father of *Ttj*.

<sup>541</sup> The piece of cloth grasped by the child possibly stands for the word *snb*. For more detailed discussions, see Albrecht Fehlig, "Das sogenannte Taschentuch in den ägyptischen Darstellungen des Alten Reiches," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 13 (1986): 71-73.

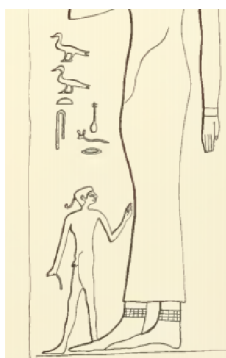


Figure 218. False door of *Rj-mw* from the tomb of *Ttj* at Giza, James, *Hiero. Texts I*, 2nd ed., pl. xvi.



Figure 219. Tomb of *Nj-k3w-Rc* at Saqqara, Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, Bl. 19, [1414].

***Stance Type AS-2: Standing at the foot of a major figure and holding his staff***

Stance Type AS-2 is most common among sons of the tomb owner.<sup>542</sup> The only example of a grandson in this stance occurs in the tomb of *K3(j)-hp* at Saqqara (S 3511). Two grandsons appear separately at the foot of the tomb owner on each jamb of the false

<sup>542</sup> See discussion in Chapter 1.

door. Appearing as nude boys with a side lock, they both hold the grandfather's staff with one hand and grasp a bird with the other hand.



Figure 220. Tomb of *K3(j)-hp* at Saqqara (S 3511), Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 21.

***Stance Type AS-3: Standing at the foot of a major figure with one hand or two on the chest, or with both arms pendent, or suckling the index finger***

This stance occurs in one tomb in the dataset. That of *Wnšt* at Giza (G 4840), where a nude grandson appears on the false door of the tomb owner. In this case, he stands at the foot of the daughter of the tomb owner and is designated as *z3.s* “her son.”



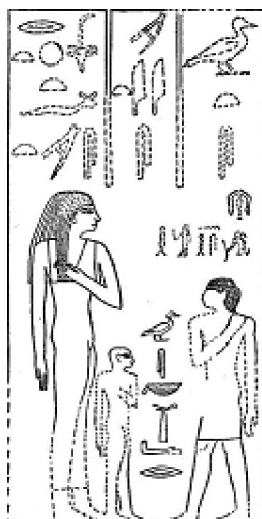


Figure 221. Tomb of *Wnšt* at Giza (G 4840), Junker, *Giza I*, 252, Abb. 63.

***Stance Type B-1: Standing with one hand or two hands on the chest***

Stance Type B-1 occurs 12 times in four tombs.<sup>543</sup> Both grandsons and granddaughters may appear in this stance.

In the tomb of *Whm-nfrt* at Giza, for example, a depiction of a grandson appears on the right outer jamb of the false door shows the figure with his arm bent to the chest. In the tomb of *Ttj* at Giza, a granddaughter behind the wife of the tomb owner appears at a much-reduced scale and places her hand upon the chest. On the north wall of the chapel of *Dꜥw / Šmꜣj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. S12), the son, the daughter-in-law, and the three grandchildren of the tomb owner all stand above his seated figure. The first grandson stands with one arms bent to the chest, while the other is pendent. Both the remaining grandchildren hold their arms down at the sides of the body.

<sup>543</sup> The tombs of *Whm-nfrt* and *Ttj* at Giza, *Kꜣ(j)-ḥp* (S 3511) at Saqqara, and *Dꜥw / Šmꜣj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12 at, his son *Dꜥw* in the same tomb).

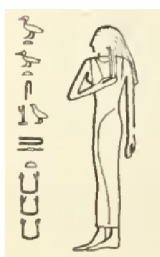


Figure 222. Tomb of *Tj* at Giza, James, *Hiero. Texts I*, 2nd ed., pl. vii.

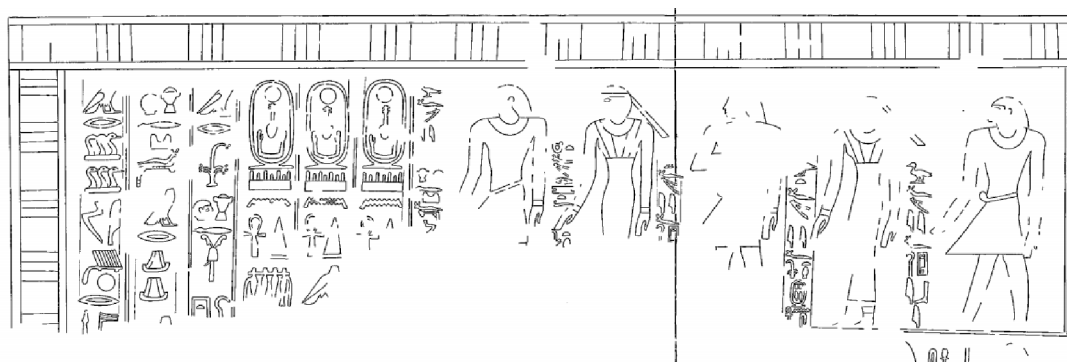


Figure 223. Tomb of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm<sup>j</sup>j* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. S12), Kanawati, *Gebrawi III*, pl. 61.

In most cases, grandchildren in this stance appear as adults. The only example of a grandchild as a nude youth occurs in the tomb of *K3(j)-hp* at Saqqara (S 3511). Here, nine grandchildren of the tomb owner appear on the outer jambs of the false door, all with arms bent to the chest. On the right outer jamb, four grandsons appear on four sub-registers. On the left jamb, two grandsons occupy the first two sub-registers, two granddaughters stand on the third sub-register, and a grandson depicted as a nude boy on the fourth sub-register.



Figure 224. Tomb of *K3(j)-hp* at Saqqara (S 351), Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 21.

***Stance Type B-2: Standing with both arms pendent, not holding anything***

Stance Type B-2 occurs in three tombs, including the tombs of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3j* and *Ttj* discussed above. In the case of *Ttj*, a grandson appears as a nude boy at a much-reduced scale in front of the tomb owner on the left jamb of the false door. On a higher level, he appears above the feet of the tomb owner without a short line to indicate a sub-register. This floating figure may have been reminiscent of the Fourth Dynasty pattern of placing children on suspended registers near a major figure.<sup>544</sup>

<sup>544</sup> Myśliwiec, “Father’s and Eldest Son’s Overlapping Feet: An Iconographic Message,” 309.

In the tomb of *Shm-kʿ* at Saqqara, the grandson appears as a nude child at the end of the sequence of the children of the tomb owner in a scene to the left of the false door. Wearing a side lock, a collar, bracelets, and anklets, he stands with arms down at the sides of his body. Unlike the grandchildren of *Dʿw / Šmʿj*, he is designated as *zʿ zʿ.f*. Although he stands behind the children of the tomb owner, his parents are not specified. He is probably the son of the eldest son.<sup>545</sup> The other son appears as a nude boy and stands behind the eldest son. He may not have reached his adulthood when the tomb owner commissioned the decoration of his chapel.



Figure 225. Tomb of *Shm-kʿ* at Saqqara, Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. VII.

### ***Stance Type B-3: Standing and carrying offerings***

Stance Type B-3 occurs six times in four tombs.<sup>546</sup> On the left outer jamb of the false door in the tomb of *Nfṛt-nswt* at Giza, a grandson grasps appears as an adult, grasping a small bird in each hand. On the right jamb, he appears again, this time with a son of the tomb owner.

<sup>545</sup> The name of this grandson is also *Shm-kʿ*, while the name of the eldest son is *Shm-kʿ-šrj*.

<sup>546</sup> *Nfṛt-nswt* at Giza, *Sʿbw / Jbbj* at Saqqara, Deir el-Gabrawi No. N95, and *Hnqwl / Httj* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. 39).



Figure 226. Tomb of *Nfrt-nswt* at Giza, Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 94.

In the tomb of *S3bw / Jbbj* at Saqqara, the second and the sixth offering bearers in a sequence in the scene of the offering list are grandsons of the tomb owner. The second one carries a foreleg, and the sixth carries a bird. A column of inscription in front of the first offering bearer indicates that they are presenting the *stpt*-offerings.<sup>547</sup>



Figure 227. Tomb of *S3bw / Jbbj* at Saqqara, Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, Bl. 21.

In the tomb of *Hnqw I / Httj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. N39), two grandsons appear as the second and the third offering bearers on the east wall. Each carries a foreleg, and is led by their father who also carries a foreleg. A grandson depicted in tomb No. N95 at

<sup>547</sup> It reads *shpt stp(w)t* “bringing the *stpt*-offerings.” For the discussion of this type of offerings and its spelling, see Chapter 4.

Deri el-Gabrawi also appears as an offering bearer carrying a foreleg and led by his own father.



Figure 228. Tomb of *Hnqw I / Httj* at Deir el-Gabrawi (No. N39), Kanawati, *Gebrawi I*, pl. 40.



Figure 229. Tomb No. N95 at Deir el-Gabrawi, Kanawati, *Gebrawi I*, pl. 61.

### ***Stance Type B-5: Standing and holding lotus flowers***

This stance occurs only in the tomb of *Hw.n-wh / Ttj* at Quseir el-Amarna (Tomb 2). At the bottom of the left jamb of the statue niche on the south wall is the image of the granddaughter of the tomb owner standing and holding a lotus flower to her nose. She appears as an adult and wears a long wig, bracelets and anklets, and a long dress. A

representation of the wife of the tomb owner is on the top register of this panel with the same stance, costume, and accouterments as her granddaughter. The daughter of the tomb owner sits at her offering table in the middle register of the panel with the same costume and accouterments.



Figure 230. Tomb of *Hw.n-wh / Tj* at Quseir el-Amarna (Tomb 2), El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 46.

***Stance Type B-Y: Standing as a youth sucking the index finger***

A representation of a grandson in this stance occurs only in the tomb of *Whm-nfrt* at Giza. On the right inner jamb of the false door, the grandson appears as a nude boy sucking his finger.



Figure 231. Tomb of *Whm-nfrt* at Giza, Curto, *Gli Scavi italiani a el-Ghiza*, fig. 20.

***Stance Type C-2: Standing on a skiff with the tomb owner or a sub-register near the tomb owner and carrying fish or birds***

The grandchildren of the tomb owner rarely appear in the spear-fishing and fowling scenes. The only example of a grandchild in this type of involvement occurs in the tomb of *Hw.n-wh / Tlj* at Quseir el-Amarna (Tomb 2). In the spear-fishing scenes on the west wall, a granddaughter of the tomb owner stands in front of the tomb owner, holds a lotus flower with one hand, and carries two birds with the other hand. It is interesting to note that the daughter of the tomb owner does not appear in this scene. It is possible that this fishing scene originally included the daughter of the tomb owner, who was later replaced by the granddaughter—that is, her own daughter—because of her early death before the tomb owner.<sup>548</sup>



Figure 232. Tomb of *Hw.n-wh / Tlj* at Quseir el-Amarna (Tomb 2), El-Khouli & Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 38.

***Stance Type D-2: Seated on a chair or kneeling before a table of offerings***

This stance occurs in the tombs of *K3-hj.f* at Giza (G 2136) and *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb* at Meir (No. D2). In the tomb of *K3-hj.f*, a group of six grandchildren appears in front of the tomb owner and his wife who sit at the offering table. A granddaughter and a grandson

<sup>548</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 56.



play the harp, while another grandson sits in front of them as a chironomist.<sup>549</sup> Three grandsons kneel on the ground at their own small offering tables.

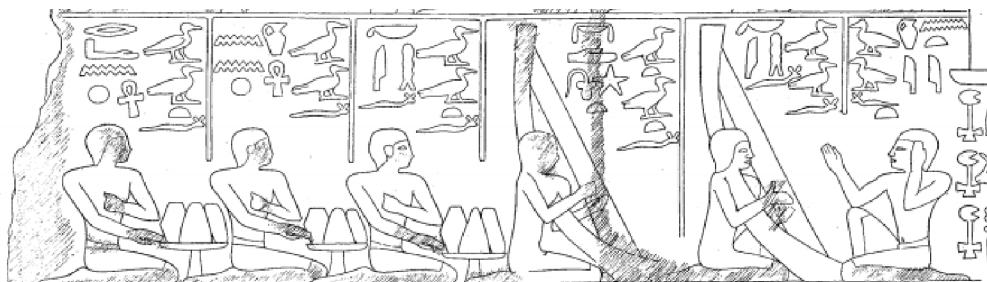


Figure 233. Tomb of *K3-hj.f* at Giza (G 2136), Junker, *Giza VI*, 123, Abb. 38b.

The other example of a relative represented in Stance D-2 is the uncle of the wife of *Ppy-ḥh-ḥrj-jb*. On the south wall of Room 3, he kneels before his own offering table with one hand placed on his chest and the other hand extended to the offering table.



Figure 234. Tomb of *Ppy-ḥh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir (No. D2), Kanawati, *Meir I*, pl. 83.

<sup>549</sup> This term refers to the person who uses hand gestures to direct a group of singers. Chironomists only appear in Old Kingdom musical scenes in elite tombs. Lise Manniche, *Music and Musicians In Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1991), 30.

***Stance Type E-1: Engaging in musical and sport activities (playing an instrument, dancing, clapping, combating, etc.)***

The example of Stance E-1 occurs only in the tomb of *K3-hj.f* at Giza (G 2136). A granddaughter and two grandsons play music in front of the tomb owner and his wife. A grandson functions as the chironomist with one hand placed on the ear and the other hand raised in front of his face.<sup>550</sup> The other grandson and the granddaughter are harpists.

***Stance F: Other stances***

Almost all stances of grandchildren and other relatives fall into the above categories. The grandson of *Sšm-nfr II* at Giza (G 5080), however, presents a unique example. On the south wall of the chapel stands a grandson behind a large ewer with both arms reaching out and his hands clasped. His father stands in front of the large ewer and presents a lotus flower to the tomb owner. The grandson's gesture and position behind the ewer may indicate that he is washing his hands.<sup>551</sup>

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<sup>550</sup> A chironomist is the person who uses hand gestures to direct musical performance. For the study of chironomy in ancient Egypt, see Hickmann, *Musicologie pharaonique*, 109-112. See also Hans Hickmann, "Miscellanea musicologica III: observations sur les survivances de la chironomie égyptienne dans le chant liturgique copte," in *Hans Hickmann: miscellanea musicologica*, ed. Abou-Ghazi, Diá (Le Caire: Organization des Antiquites, 1980), 155-165.

<sup>551</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *Tombs at Giza II*, 59.

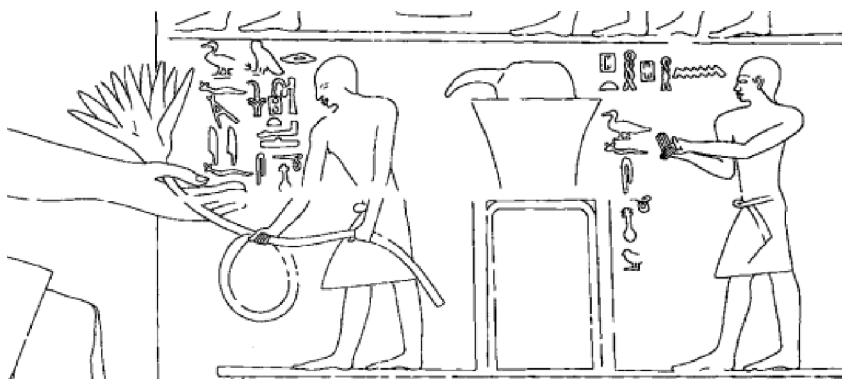


Figure 235. Tomb of *Sšm-nfr II* at Giza (G 5080), Kanawati, *Giza II*, pl. 64.

### 3.5 Conclusion: the Depiction of Family Members

The discussions of the designations, titles, and representations of family members in the first three chapters give a good picture of their appearance in reliefs and wall paintings in the Old Kingdom private chapels in the Memphite and provincial sites.

In the current dataset, the total number of sons appearing in the scenes with a kinship designation is 600, while that of daughters is 237. It is evident that the tomb owners tend to depict their sons rather than daughters in their chapels, probably because sons are more closely related to the funerary cult both ritually and economically according to representations and inscriptions in the chapels.

Stance Type B-3, standing and carrying offerings, occurs most frequently with sons and brothers and less frequently with daughters and sisters (Table V.9 in Appendix V). These results indicate, in the familial ideology expressed in the tomb decoration, the presentation of offerings is primarily the task of male family members of the same or next generation. Stance Type D-3, kneeling and making offerings, is also associated with

sons (Table V.18 in Appendix V). Similarly, only sons and brothers appear in a censuring ritual (Table V.20 In Appendix V) and scribal activities (Stance Type E-3, Table V.21 in Appendix V). Both are stances associated with economic and administrative aspects of the funerary cult.

Moreover, Stance Type A is most common among sons of the tomb owner. It also occurs frequently between the tomb owner and his mother (Table V.1 and Table V.2 in Appendix V). Sons may also touch a major figure when appearing at his or her foot, but daughters appear more frequently in this stance. Six percent of the daughters and 4% of the sons appear in this stance (Table V.3 in Appendix V). Furthermore, in Stance Type D-2, seated or kneeling before a table of offerings, female family members occurs more frequently than do male family members (Table V.17 in Appendix V). These results mean, at least ideologically, that female family members sit at a table and consume food offerings in the funeral or rituals. The physical contact between the tomb owner and the daughters demonstrates that they maintain a close relationship to their parents as sons do.

When in positions near the tomb owner in a scene, male and female family members have different stances. Daughters and sisters appear more frequently in Stance Type B-1, standing with one hand or two hands placed on the chest, while sons stand with arms pendent (B-2) or carrying accessories (B-4). Fifty-one percent of daughters and 11% of sons appear in Stance Type B-1 (Table V.7 in Appendix V). Only 4% of daughters are in Stance Type B-2 and none in B-4, while 22% of sons and 54% of brothers occur in these two stances. Stance Type B-5, standing and holding lotus flowers, is exclusively for female family members (Table V.11 in Appendix V). Stance Type E-1, engaging in musical activities, is also female-oriented.

In the fishing and fowling scenes, only sons and brothers appear on the skiff with the tomb owner, and can hold a spear or a throwing stick (Table V.13 in Appendix V). They also carry birds or fish in such scenes. Daughters and sisters do not appear in this stance (Table V.14 in Appendix V), even their appearance in the marsh scenes is rare (Table V.15 in Appendix V).

In view of the discussions in the first three chapters, the difference between the representations of male and female family members reflect the perception of family members of different genders in the familial ideology. As Harpur observes, women in the marsh scenes are usually shown in passive postures.<sup>552</sup> This conclusion appears also in representations of family members on the chapel walls. Males, more frequently engage in functional activities with administrative, economic, and ritual significance. One can observe their active participation as offering bearers carrying forelegs, birds, and other types of offerings, as scribes presenting or writing a document, or as the one who censes the tomb owner in a censuring ritual. Standing at the foot of the tomb owner and holding the lower part of his staff may also be considered as active participation to emphasize the supportive role of the son.

In contrast, female family members, mainly daughters and sisters, appear in more static and passive postures in the scene. The activities they are involved in are playing music and the consumption of the funerary meal.

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<sup>552</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 137.

## CHAPTER 4 FAMILY GROUPS AND THE *SN-DT* PROBLEM

### 4.1 Family Groups

#### 4.1.1 Spatial and Chronological Distribution

This chapter introduces the concept “family group” to analyze the representation of family members when they appear together. In this study, a family group refers to the depiction of more than one family member, including sons, daughters, siblings, parents, and other relatives, in the same scene, and the positional relationship among them.

Appendix IV contains the layout of each family group and its location in the chapel, as well as details of kinship relations within the family group. In the dataset, 63 tombs in Giza, 52 in Saqqara, and 31 in provincial sites have the representation of family groups.<sup>553</sup>

As discussed in the previous chapters, the appearance of children at the foot of the tomb owner or his wife is a common motif in Old Kingdom private tombs. The appearance of a single son, a daughter, or a relative with the tomb owner is excluded from the discussion of the family group. While a tomb owner might have had only one child, it is difficult to tell whether the one child depicted is in fact the tomb owner’s only child.

In the Memphite area, half of the tombs containing the depiction of family groups date to the Fifth Dynasty. In Giza, 48% of the tombs with the depiction of family groups belong to the Fifth Dynasty, while only 25% date to the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>554</sup> Those in

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<sup>553</sup> Appendix IV lists the structures and layouts of the family groups depicted in tomb chapels.

<sup>554</sup> Not including the nine tombs with an uncertain date from the Fifth to the Sixth Dynasties.

Saqqara display a similar chronological distribution, with 54% dating to the Fifth Dynasty and 37% dating to the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>555</sup> In the provincial sites, however, 71% of the depictions of family groups occur in the Sixth Dynasty tombs. This chronological distribution may be due to the fact that most provincial tombs in this dataset date to the latter half of the Old Kingdom. Twenty-two tombs containing family groups in the provincial sites date to the Sixth Dynasty, while the number is 15 in Giza and 19 in Saqqara. Therefore, the depiction of family groups in tomb chapels was more popular in provincial sites during the Sixth Dynasty.

Table 9. Number of tombs containing family groups according to date

Location	No. of tombs containing family groups	IV	IV or V	V	V or VI	VI
Giza	63	4	4	30	9	16
Saqqara	52	0	0	28	5	19
Provincial sites	31	0	0	7	0	22

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<sup>555</sup> Not including the five tombs with an uncertain date from the Fifth to the Sixth Dynasties.

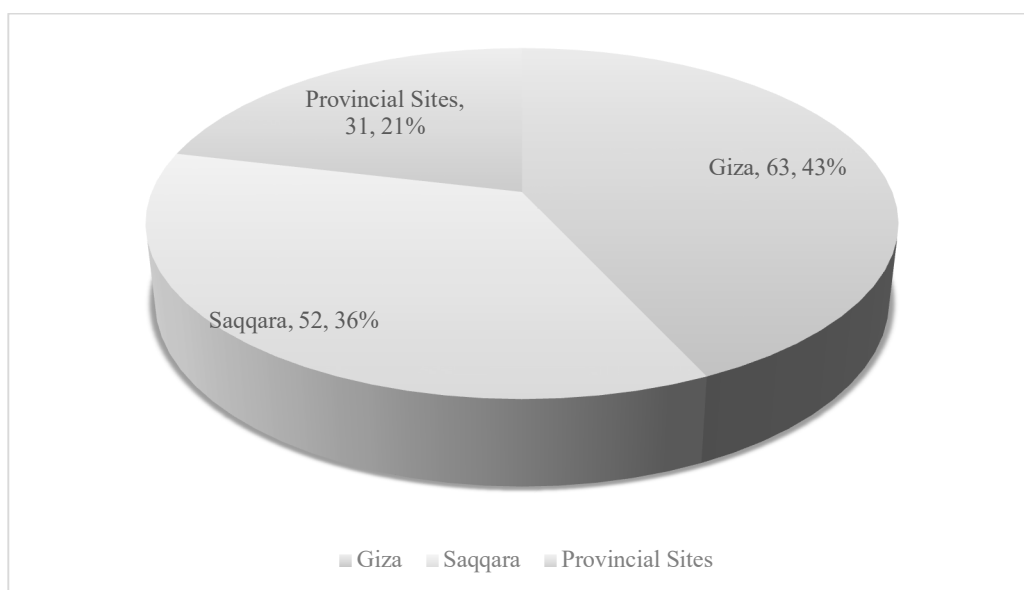


Figure 236. Number of tombs containing family groups in Giza, Saqqara, and provincial sites

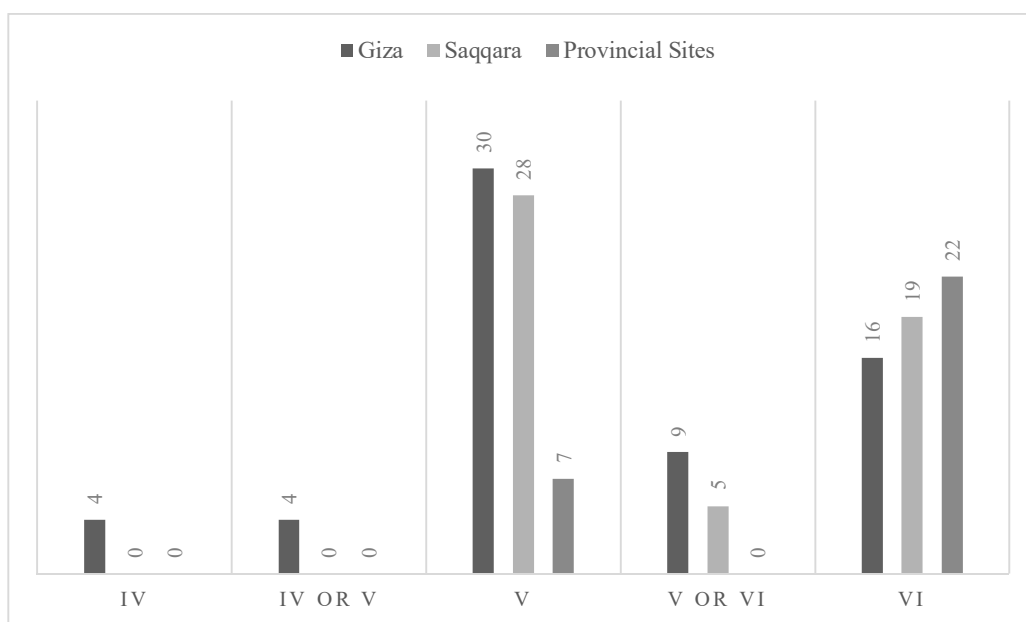


Figure 237. Number of tombs containing family groups according to date



Family groups appear in a variety of contexts, and sits arrangement relates to the scene's theme. In fishing and fowling scenes, for example, family members appear on the boat of the tomb owner or around him on flowing sub-registers. They also appear in scenes of overseeing the funerary estate, while standing in front of or behind the tomb owner. They may also be depicted in offering table scenes, seated at their offering tables in front of the tomb owner, or standing and presenting offerings. Family groups occur most frequently on the false door and the west wall of the chapel, and less frequently on other walls. In the Giza area, 67% of the family groups occur on the false door or the west wall. In Saqqara, the proportion is 52%. This means more than half of the depictions of family groups occur on the false door or the west wall. The proportion is lower in provincial sites, probably because the orientations and the layouts of the tomb chapels are different from those in the Memphite region. In 28 tombs in Giza, 19 in Saqqara, and two in provincial sites, the depiction of the family group is on the false door. In 9 tombs in Giza, 8 tombs in Saqqara, and 6 tombs in provincial sites, it occurs on the west wall.

Family group on appear the false door more in the Fifth Dynasty than at other times. In Giza, 52% of the samples (15 of the 29 tombs) date to that time. In Saqqara, 84% (16 of the 19 tombs) also have a Fifth Dynasty date. The two false doors containing a family group at provincial sites both date to the Fifth Dynasty. The chronological distribution of the depictions of a family group on the west wall, however, is not heavily weighted towards the Fifth Dynasty.

In Giza, 8 of the 14 tombs (57%) that contain the depiction of a family group on the west wall date to the Fifth Dynasty. The proportion is 50% (4 of the 8 tombs) in Saqqara and 50% (3 of the 6 tombs) in the provincial sites. Besides the false door and the

west wall, the south wall is another place where the tomb owner had a family group depicted. Four tombs at Giza, 8 at Saqqara, and 7 at the provincial sites contain representations of family groups on the south wall. In Saqqara, all the tombs with family groups on the south wall date to the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty to the early Sixth Dynasty. In the provincial sites, most tombs with family groups on the south wall date to the first half of the Sixth Dynasty.

Table 10. Number of tombs containing the depiction of a family group on the false door, the west or the south wall

	Tombs containing family groups	Location	IV	V	VI	V or VI	Total
Giza	63	False door	3	15	6	5	29
		West wall	1	8	2	3	14
		South wall	0	2	1	1	4
Saqqara	52	False door	0	16	1	2	19
		West wall	0	4	4	0	8
		South wall	0	3	4	1	8
Provincial sites	31	False door	0	2	0	0	2
		West wall	0	3	3	0	6
		South wall	0	2	5	0	7

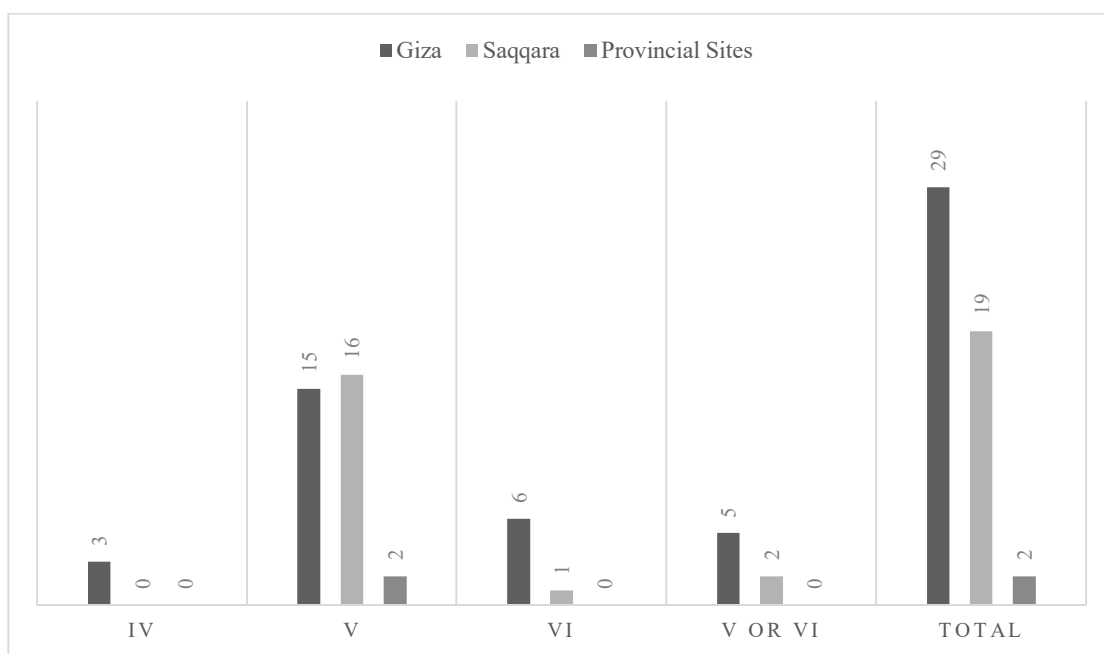


Figure 238. Number of tombs containing the depiction of a family group on the false door

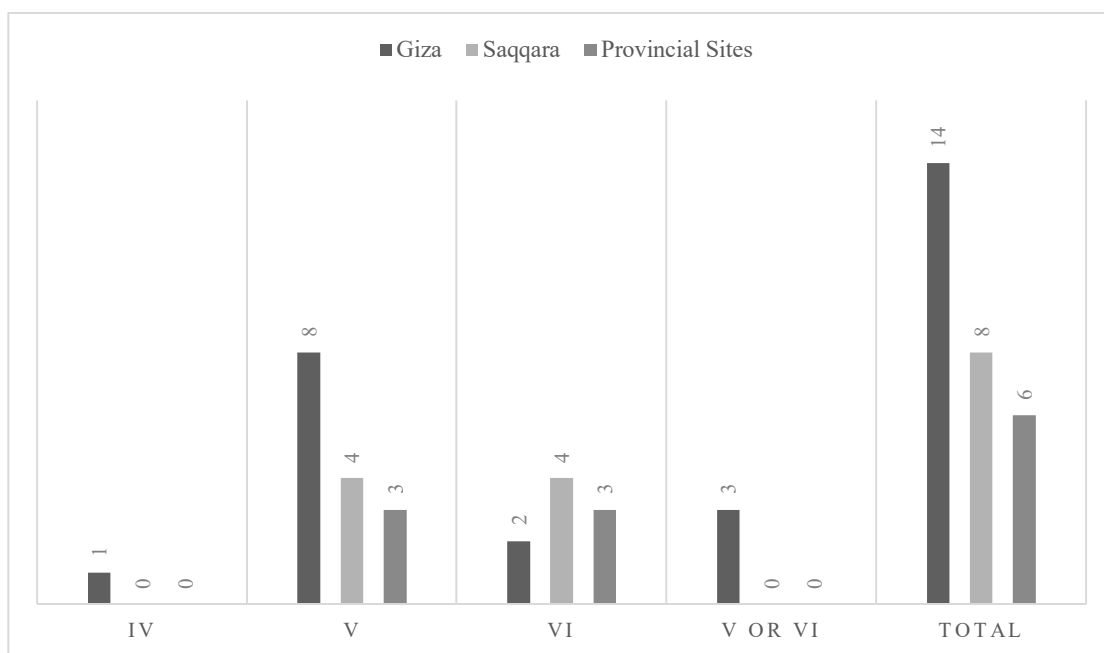


Figure 239. Number of tombs containing the depiction of a family group on the west wall

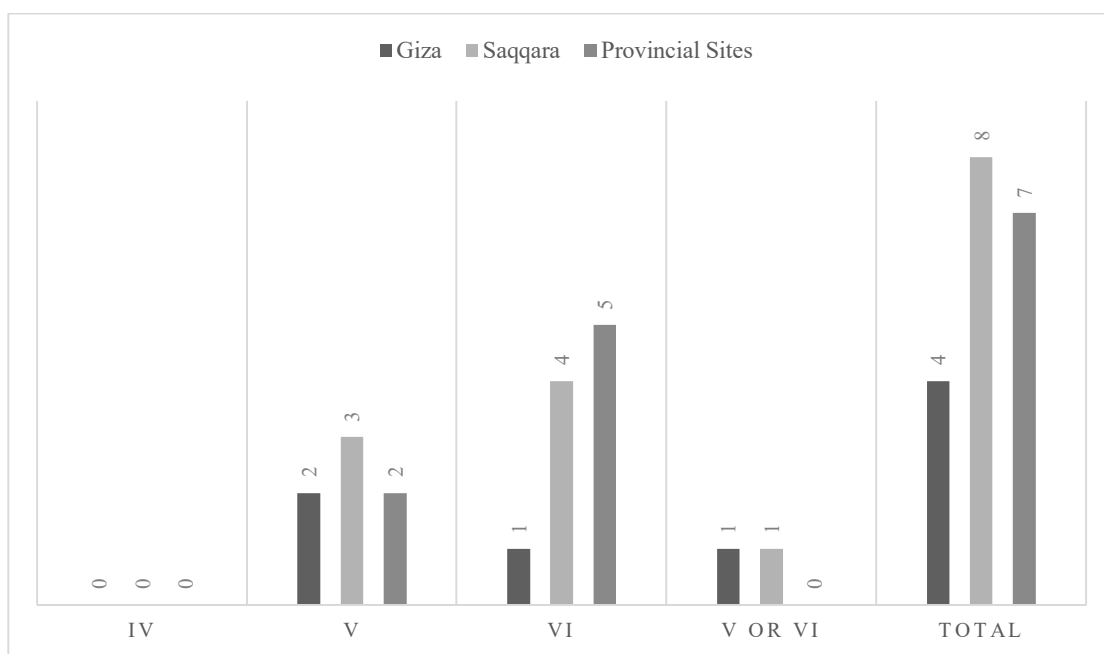


Figure 240. Number of tombs containing the depiction of a family group on the south wall

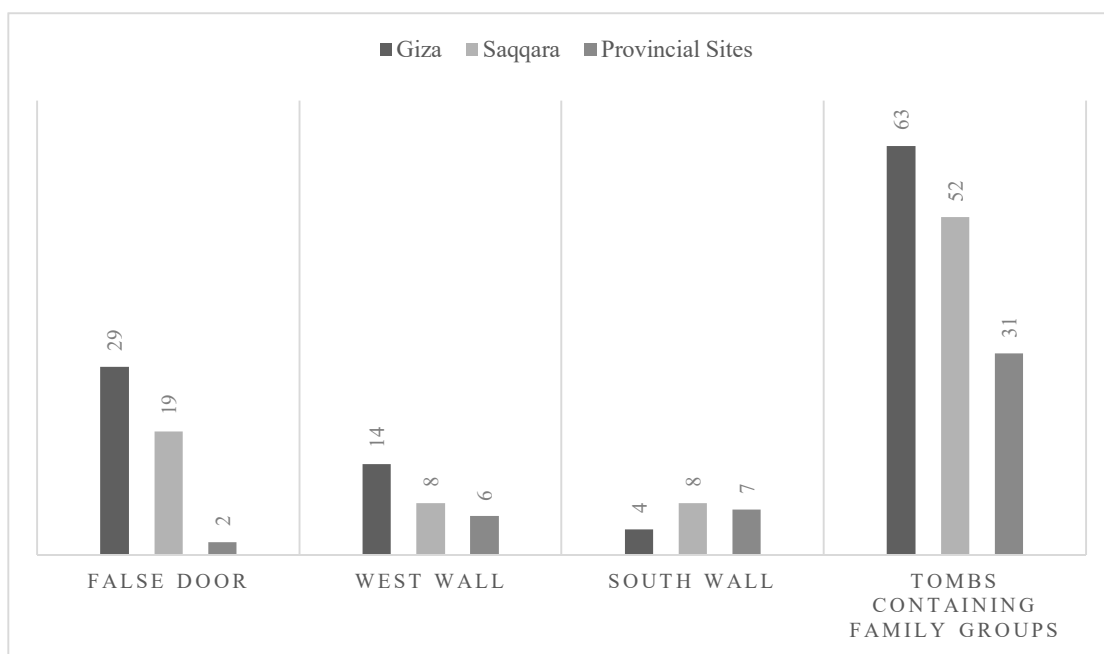


Figure 241. Number of tombs containing the depiction of a family group on the false door, the west or the south wall

#### 4.1.2 Gender and Age

In order to accommodate the family structure of the tomb owner, a variety of patterns are present in the depictions of family groups. In many tombs, male family members and female family members are carefully differentiated and separated. Sons and brothers usually appear with the male tomb owner, while daughters and sisters appear with the wife of the tomb owner. In the tomb of *Pth-sḏf* / *Ffj* at Giza, for example, the son stands behind the tomb owner on the left side of the panel of his false door, while the daughter appears behind the wife on the right side. In the tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Hwfw* / *Šsj* at Giza, the son stands at the foot of the tomb owner on the left jamb, and the daughter appears with her mother on the right jamb. In the tomb of *K3.j-d3w* at Saqqara, the eldest son stands behind the tomb owner on the left, while his two daughters appear behind the wife on the right side. In the tomb of *Hwfw-ḥnh* (G 4520), the tomb owner, his three brothers, his son, and his father appear on the left side of the false door, while his wife, together with his mother, his daughter, and his sister, stands on the right. Sons and daughters may appear on the tomb owner's and the wife's false doors respectively. In the tomb of *Nj-k3w-Hr* at Saqqara, for instance, the two daughters appear on the wife's false door, while the eldest son and another son stand at the foot of the tomb owner on his false door. This separation of family members based on gender may indicate the closer relationship between fathers and sons, and mothers and daughters.

The left side of the false door is reserved for more privileged individuals.<sup>556</sup> In all these cases, the tomb owner and male family members appear on the left side,<sup>557</sup> and

<sup>556</sup> Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2008), 73-74.

<sup>557</sup> Here the "left side" and "right side" refer to the viewer's left and right, not the proper right and left.

the wife, together with female family members, is on the right side. When depicted alone on the panel of the false door, the tomb owner is given the prestigious orientation to the right, while his wife appears on the right end facing left.<sup>558</sup>

Differentiation between male and female family members may be indicated by depicting them on the inner and outer jambs. In the tomb of *Nn-hft-k³(.j)* (D 47) at Saqqara, for example, the tomb owner appears with his sons on the inner jambs, and with his wife and daughters on the outer jambs. In the tomb of *Nfrrt-nswt* at Giza, the two daughters appear on the inner jambs, while the three sons and a grandson stand on the outer jamb. An interesting example comes from a panel in the tomb of *ḥnh-Hwt-Hr* at Saqqara. The female tomb owner sits at her offering table facing right, with her two daughters behind her on the left, and a son in front of her on the right. Below the panel, the tomb owner and the other son appears on the left jamb, while she, along with the third daughter, is on the right jamb. This example shows the symmetric arrangement of children of both genders and the priority of sons. Since the tomb owner is female, her appearance with her male children naturally breaks the gender differentiation. This distinction may have been the reason that the artists chose to place both genders on the panel and the jambs alternatively. On the panel, *ḥnh-Hwt-Hr* occupied the superior position on the left, and her son who stands facing her is the second most prominent figure in the scene. On the jambs, the artists placed the son in the superior position, the left jamb, and assigned the right jamb to the daughter.

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<sup>558</sup> Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art*, 16-21.

Male and female family members sometimes appear on separate registers on the false door or the chapel wall. In these cases, sons tend to appear on the upper register. In the tomb of *Nswt-ḥfr* (G 4970), for example, the seven sons appear on a register above the nine daughters. In the tomb of *Jn-kꜣ.f* at Giza,<sup>559</sup> the four sons and four daughters appear on the false door with two sons and two daughters on the left behind the father. The other two sons and two daughters are behind the mother on the right. On each side, the sons stand on a register above the daughters.

Family members may also appear on the same register. Under this circumstance, male family members tend to precede female family members. In the tomb of *Kꜣ-ḥr-st.f* at Saqqara, for example, four sons of the tomb owner precede five daughters on a register below the tomb owner and his wife. On the south wall of the north chapel of *Sṯw* (LG 93) at Giza, two daughters stand behind a son on a register below a depiction of two other sons.

The ancient Egyptian concept of age is different from that of modern societies in regard to recording this information. The tomb owner did not inscribe the dates of birth and death in tombs, nor at what age he or she died, nor any such information about the ages of other family members. Nevertheless, iconographic specifics may indicate age. Nudity and sidelocks are markers for youths. For an adult male figure, features such as a corpulent upper torso, pendulous breasts, baldness, and the figure leaning over on a staff usually mark elder age.<sup>560</sup> Baldness, however, is never found among the male tomb

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<sup>559</sup> PM III, 247.

<sup>560</sup> For a detailed discussion of representations of corpulence in the Old Kingdom, see Henry G. Fischer, "A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 18, no. 4 (1959): 244-248; Henry G. Fischer, "Varia Aegyptiaca," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2 (1963): 17-28; Henry

owners and his male family members. A corpulent torso, as a sign of accomplishment and wealth, is not uncommon among the tomb owners, their fathers, and, in one case, a brother of the tomb owner. Features of aging are not common among females. They always appear slim, without any corpulence, and never leaning on a staff.<sup>561</sup> Therefore, the wife, mother, sisters, and daughters of the tomb owner usually look similar.

In cases where female family members do not follow male ones on the same register, their order may be an indication of age or status within the family, especially when female family members precede male ones. In the double tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw* & *Hnmw-ḥtp* at Saqqara, for example, the two tomb owners and their siblings appear in a sequence led by the parents. Next come the two brothers of the tomb owners, and then three are sisters; another brother and the two tomb owners follow behind them. This specific order most likely indicates that these siblings are the elder sisters and brothers of the tomb owner, and possibly arranged in this sequence by their order of birth. On the west wall of Room VI in the same tomb, the children of the two tomb owners stand on two sub-registers behind their father on each side. On the top sub-register behind *Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw* stand three figures. The first represents a son, the second a daughter, and the third, another a son. On the lower sub-register, the first two figures are daughters, while the third is a son. This arrangement reflects their birth order. In the tomb of *Nfr-jrt-n.f* (D 55) at Saqqara, five children sit before the wife of the tomb owner in a sequence organized by their birth order. The positioning of daughter in this sequence in the third position may

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G. Fischer, "Varia Aegyptiaca," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2 (1963): 19; See also Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 131.

<sup>561</sup> Janssen and Janssen, *Growing up and Getting Old in Ancient Egypt*, 151.



signifies that she is older than the other sons behind her. A more obvious example comes from the tomb of *K3(.j)-nj-nswt I* (G 2155) at Giza. On the west wall between two false doors, three children stand before the tomb owner and his wife. The first is a son wearing a short pleated kilt; the second is a daughter; and the third is a son depicted as a nude boy sucking his index finger. His nudity and his position behind the other son and the daughter indicates that he is the youngest child of the family, though he may not have been a youth when the tomb owner died.

Unlike siblings and children, grandchildren do not usually appear in a sequence. The only example of grandchildren appearing in a sequence organized by birth order occurs in the tomb of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3j* (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12). On the west section of the north wall, two grandsons and a granddaughter appear behind the son and the daughter-in-law of the tomb owner. The granddaughter stands between the two grandsons, which indicates that she is the second eldest grandchild of the tomb owner.

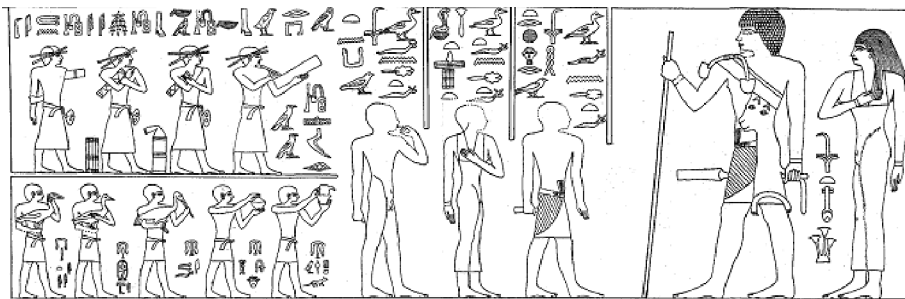


Figure 242. Tomb of *K3(.j)-nj-nswt I* (G 2155) at Giza, Junker, *Giza II*, Abb. 18.

It is, however, difficult to tell if the children depicted in a sequence are in birth order when the tomb owner has only two or three children, and the daughters happen to be younger than the sons in the family.

When children appear in a sequence facing the tomb owner or the wife, the first in the sequence is usually a son, but exceptions do occur in a few tombs. On a lintel belonging to *Nfr*, son of *Jrj-n-ḥt* / *Jrj*, from the mastaba G 2391 at Giza, his four children stand and carry offerings before him. The first and the last of the four children are daughters.

Another example comes from the tomb of *Jrj.s* / *Jjj* at Giza. Four children of the tomb owner stand in a sequence below the seated figure of the wife, and the first and the third in the group are daughters. The initial position of the daughter may have been a result of her position beneath the wife or her importance in the family.

The third exception is from the tomb of *Mry-ḥ* (D 18) at El-Hagarsa,<sup>562</sup> in which a daughter precedes three sons. This daughter, however, is half the height of her three brothers, and might have been a younger, but favored child. She stands in the initial position close to the tomb owner. On a register below, another daughter has the designation *zḥt.f smswt* “the eldest daughter.”<sup>563</sup>

The last example of a daughter in the initial position occurs on an architrave from Giza, possibly belonging to a man named *Sšmw(?)*. Wearing a side lock and a long dress, the daughter stands before the seated tomb owner, with her arm bent to her chest. The inscription above the two men standing behind her is not preserved. It is not certain if

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<sup>562</sup> Kanawati dates this tomb to the Egith Dynasty based on its relationship to other tombs in the same cemetery, see Naguib Kanawati and Ann McFarlane, *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa III*, (Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1993), 28-29. Petrie and Sethe place the tomb in the Sixth Dynasty, see W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Athribis* (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1908), 2; *Urk.* I, 206. Simpson, Harpur, and Fischer date it to the First Intermediate Period, see William K. Simpson, “Polygamy in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom?” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 60 (1974): 100; Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 281; Henry G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.: Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt*, (Published under the Auspices of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Institute of Fine Arts, 1968), 130, note 574; Henry G. Fischer, “Two Old Kingdom Inscriptions Restored,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 65 (1979): 44.

<sup>563</sup> Kanawati and McFarlane, *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa III*, 39, pl. 42.

they are sons, but space there does not seem to allow the signs for *z3.f* “his son.”<sup>564</sup> If the two men are not sons, possibly the tomb owner has only one daughter, and this may have been the reason that she occupies the initial position.

Although there are a few exceptions, it seems that it was preferential for the son (or, possibly the only daughter) to occupy the initial position when children of both genders appear in a sequence. Daughters can precede sons in a sequence, but they are never placed in the initial position. It is possible that children in a sequence are in the order of birth only when the eldest child is a son. If the eldest child is a daughter, the Egyptians may merely depict sons and daughters separately, either by positioning the daughters behind the sons or on another register below.

#### 4.1.3 The Concept of the Older Generation

In the dataset, family members depicted in Old Kingdom private tombs are limited to four generations from the parents of the tomb owner to his or her grandchildren. None of the tombs, however, contains the depiction of the four generations in the same scene. In most cases, only family members of two or three generations occur in a single scene.<sup>565</sup> Probably this situation resulted from the fact that

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<sup>564</sup> Junker takes the two men as sons of the tomb owner. The name of the first man is *Sšmw-šrj*, so Junker suggests that the name of the tomb owner should be *Sšmw*. See Junker, *Giza VIII*, 25-26.

<sup>565</sup> In the tomb of *Tj* at Giza, the installation of the false door of the parents and the depiction of the children and grandchildren of the tomb owner on his false door make the four generations of the family appear in the same tomb. The parents of the tomb owner and the grandchildren, however, do not appear in the same scene. On the false door of *Nj-k3w-Rc* at Saqqara, both her mother and her granddaughter appear on the jambs. A single chapel may contain the cult of several generations of the family and may have spanned several generations. For example, Sahathoripy, an official of the Twelfth Dynasty, decided offering niches to his father and his ancestors in a chapel built in earlier generations. However, the history of family chapels and the installation of cult niches by one's offspring are out of the scope of this study. For a detailed study of the chapel of the Sahathoripy family, see David P. Silverman, “Non-Royal Burials in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the Early Twelfth Dynasty,” in *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, eds. David P. Silverman, William K. Simpson, and Josef W. Wegner (New Haven: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Yale University, 2009), 88-93.

four generations rarely live in the same household or community. It thus indicates that the tomb owner probably only depicted family members close to him or her in daily life on the chapel walls.

Parents of the tomb owner in a family group occur most frequently in Giza. Fourteen tombs in Giza, four in Saqqara, and one in provincial sites contain a depiction of parents in a family group. The position of the parents varies in different tombs. A universal pattern for their representation does not exist. A detailed study of the examples reveals the complexity and individuality of how the tomb owner positioned his or her parents among other family members.

The father and mother of the tomb owner may appear together or alone. When they appear together, the father always precedes the mother. If not behind him or at his foot, the tomb owner always appears either standing or sitting to face the father. This arrangement demonstrates the father's significant status within the family. Two exceptions occur in the tombs of *Hwfw-ḥnh* (G 4520) and *K3j* at Giza. In both, the parents of the tomb owner appear on the inner jambs of their false doors.

The father in a family group never stands behind the tomb owner, though the mother may occasionally follow her son. In the tomb of *D3ty* (G 2337-x) at Giza, for example, the mother of the tomb owner stands behind him. On the same register, the tomb owner and his mother appear again. The tomb owner stands before his father and holds a censer to his nose, while the mother stands behind the father. In the tomb of *Mry.f-nb.f / Fff* at Saqqara, the mother of the tomb owner even appears at her son's foot at a much-reduced scale.

The tomb owner stands before his parents, just as his children stand before him. In the chapel of *Jnpw-ḥtp* at Giza, for example, the family members of the tomb owner appear on the doorjambs and the east and west thicknesses of the entrance. The depiction of the two generations is symmetrical. On the east doorjamb, the parents of the *Jnpw-ḥtp* are at a relatively large scale. Their children stand beneath them on two registers. The three brothers of the tomb owner stand on the upper register, all carrying a bird in their hands. On the lower register, the four sisters stand with their hands placed on their chests. The tomb owner, his wife, his three sons, and his four daughters appear on the western doorjamb, in an arrangement resembling that of his parents and his siblings. It is interesting to note that the eldest son of *Jnpw-ḥtp* whose name is *Shj* does not appear among the three sons, just as the tomb owner himself does not appear on the eastern doorjamb among his three brothers.

The scenes on the eastern and the western thicknesses also resemble each other. On the eastern thickness, the images of the parents occupy the upper part of the scene. *Jnpw-ḥtp* censes his father on a sub-register. One of his sisters stands before her father, with her hand placed on her chest. Another sister stands behind her mother at a much-reduced scale. In the same scene, *Jnpw-ḥtp* also appears as a child holding the staff at the foot of his father. On the register below, four male figures carry offerings, though only three of them have the same name as the three brothers of the tomb owner. On the western thickness, the tomb owner and his wife appear on the upper part of the scene, while three of the four offering bearers below them are named after his three sons. The eldest son *Shj* is also absent from this scene, although a column of inscription to the right

of the scene claims that *Shj* made the tomb for his father, *Jnpw-ḥtp*.<sup>566</sup> *Shj* commissioned the decoration of his grandparents and his parents on the door jambs and the thicknesses probably to emphasize the tradition of his family. *Jnpw-ḥtp*, his father, and his eldest son *Shj* have similar titles. It is also worth noting that each couple appears with their own children; the children of *Jnpw-ḥtp* do not appear with their grandparents.

In most cases, it is always the tomb owner or his siblings who have direct interaction with the parents. A son may follow the tomb owner who stands before the father, but he never stands before his grandfather directly. This custom may have resulted from the need to keep the tomb owner as the focus of the scene. Therefore the artists avoided the direct interaction between the children and the father of the tomb owner without his involvement. This lack of direct interaction may indicate that the real familial relationship gave way to the rules of artistic representation. Representations of the close relationship between the tomb owner and the grandchildren are not uncommon. In these cases, the grandchildren usually stand at the foot of the tomb owner or his wife.<sup>567</sup>

The depiction of a parent-in-law is very rare. The only example occurs on the false door belonging to the wife of *Nj-kʿw-R<sup>c</sup>* discovered in his tomb at Saqqara. The mother of the wife appears on the left outer jamb, standing and embracing her daughter. On the left inner jamb, the wife stands with a granddaughter at her foot. The two face the tomb owner who stands on the right inner jamb with another daughter at his foot. On the right outer jamb, the wife stands with the eldest son at her foot. It is interesting to note

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<sup>566</sup> *z3.f.smsw wt Shj dd.f.jr.n.(j) (n) jt(j) jm3ḥw hr ntr ʿ3 rh-nswt wt Jnpw-ḥtp* “his eldest son, the embalmer, he said: ‘I made (it) for my father, the honored one before the Great God, the royal acquaintance, the embalmer, *Jnpw-ḥtp*.’” Junker, *Giza IX*, 161.

<sup>567</sup> For discussion of grandchildren, see Chapter 3.

that the nuclear family, consisting of the tomb owner, the wife, and their children, all appear on the right jambs, while the mother-in-law and the granddaughter both appear with the wife on the left jambs. Moreover, the status of the parent-in-law is different from that of the parents of the tomb owner. The latter appear more frequently and occupy more significant positions in the scene.

The depiction of the parents of the tomb owner in a family group reflects the ancient Egyptian concept of the older generation. In literature, the ancient Egyptians usually have a negative attitude towards agedness. In the *Maxims of Ptahhotep*, old age is a synonym for weakness and infirmity. When getting old, one is considered to be in a miserable condition:

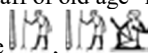
The eyes are blurred, the ears are deaf,  
And vigor wanes because of weariness.  
The mouth is silent and no longer speaks;  
The memory is gone and cannot recall (even) yesterday.  
The bones ache through frailty,  
Pleasure has become repulsive, and all taste has vanished.  
What old age does to men is totally despicable.<sup>568</sup>

After stating all the misery of old age, the vizier appeals to the king to appoint a “staff of old age” for him and allow his son to succeed his position.<sup>569</sup> Nevertheless, in elite tombs, the parents of the tomb owner display no physical signs of old age, even though they should have already reached that stage when their children had positions as high officials.

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<sup>568</sup> William K. Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, 3rd edition (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003), 130.

<sup>569</sup> Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 131; Zbyněk Žába, *Les maximes de Phahhotep* (Prague: Editions de l'Académie tchécoslovaque des sciences, 1956): line 28, note on 111. *Mdw j3wj* “staff of old age” refers to a son who

could help his aged father in his official duties, see Tahia Shehab El-Din, “The Title  ‘*mdw j3wj*’: ‘the staff of old age’ ‘*ukkāza aš-šayḥuḥa*.’” *Discussions in Egyptology* 37 (1997): 59-64. See also Fischer, “Some Iconographic and Literary Comparisons,” 158-160.

The depiction of the parents in the family group seems rather to focus on images depicting idealized family relations centered on the tomb owner.

#### 4.1.4 Siblings and Grandchildren in Family Groups

Siblings of the tomb owner also occur in family groups. Unlike the inclusion of parents, a custom that appeared more frequently in the Giza region, the inclusion of siblings appears relatively evenly in Giza and Saqqara. As discussed in the previous examples, siblings may appear with the parents of the tomb owner. In family groups without parents, they may also appear among the children of the tomb owner. Brothers in a family group may be represented together with the sons of the tomb owner, either behind them in a sequence, or in their midst, but never in the initial position in the sequence. Sisters are usually among the daughters of the tomb owner. In the tomb of *Dʒtj* (G 2337-x) at Giza, a sister stands behind two daughters and a brother stands between two sons on the register below.

Siblings of the wife may appear near her. A false door from the tomb of *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* at Saqqara provides a unique example of the depictions of family members on the wife's side. On the panel of her false door, of *Nbw-htp*, the wife of *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh*, sits at her offering table, while the space to the left and right sides of the panel is horizontally divided into two sub-registers. On each of these sub-registers is a scene of a woman seated at an offering table. The one on the upper left sub-register is the sister of the wife, designated as *snt.s* "her sister." The other three women may have been the dependents of the wife or female relatives on her side, but the inscriptions associated with them are damaged. The children of the wife appear on the left door frame. The first is labeled as *sʒt.s* "her



daughter,” and the second is the eldest son *Hm-mnw*, labeled as *z3.s* “her son.”<sup>570</sup> Beneath him are four other daughters, all designated as *s3t.s* “her daughter.” It is clear that individuals on the left jamb belong to the younger generation, consisting of the children of *Nbw-Htp*. The second position of the eldest son indicates that these children are arranged according to their birth order, and the first daughter is the eldest child.

Siblings may also appear in a group separated from the children of the tomb owner, such as the three brothers of *Nfr* (in the same tomb of *K3-h3.j* at Saqqara). On the south wall of the chapel, *Nfr* appears as a mature man with a slightly corpulent body, while his three brothers stand on three sub-registers behind him. Like *Nfr*, they all wear elaborate collars, and have long pleated kilts with projected fronts. In front of the large image of *Nfr*, there are offering bearers, musicians playing flutes and harps, and offerings are piled in front of them. On the lower part of *Nfr*’s false door on the south section of the west wall, the jambs and the niche all have a large image of *Nfr* with one of his sons standing and facing him. On its panel, *Nfr* and his wife sit at the offering table opposite each other. Above the false door is another offering table scene in which *Nfr* appears at a large scale at his table, while his three brothers sit on the ground before him at their own smaller tables at a reduced scale. This scene may have been a depiction of the funerary banquet.<sup>571</sup> The significance of the three brothers of *Nfr* is evident on the basis of this larger scale in comparison to that of the children of the tomb owner. Since *Nfr* may have

<sup>570</sup> He appears on *Tp-m-nh*’s false door as the eldest son.

<sup>571</sup> For the image of the deceased seated before a table of offerings, see Gay Robins, “Meals for the Dead: the Image of the Deceased Seated before a Table of Offerings in Ancient Egyptian Art,” in *Dining and Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the ‘Funerary Banquet’ in Ancient Art, Burial and Belief*, eds. by Catherine M. Draycott and Maria Stamatopoulou (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 111-127. For a brief discussion of the banquet scenes in the tomb of *K3-h3.j* at Saqqara, see John Baines, “Not Only with the Dead: Banqueting in Ancient Egypt,” *Studia Universitatis “Babeş-Bolyai.” Historia* 59 (1) (2014): 4, fig. 3.

died at a young age, it is possible that his brothers played an essential role in his funeral. Given that they are all depicted as youths in the chapel, his three sons may still have been young when he died.<sup>572</sup>

In general, the depiction of siblings in a family group is similar to that of the children, except that they do not occur in the initial position in a sequence consisting of both siblings and children of the tomb owner. For the Egyptians, siblings may have been considered less close to the tomb owner than were the children. The carrying chair scene in the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j* at Saqqara further demonstrates this suggestion. A sequence of nine brothers and two sons appear on a register beneath the tomb owner who sits in a carrying chair.<sup>573</sup> The two sons do not appear at the initial position of the sequence, but right beneath the tomb owner in the middle of the sequence. Perhaps this arrangement was meant to place the sons closer to the tomb owner than the brothers.

The depiction of grandchildren is different from that of siblings. In the dataset, most examples of grandchildren in a family group occur on false doors. They are carefully integrated into the depiction of family groups and are represented among children and siblings of the tomb owner. Unlike siblings, grandchildren most frequently appear at the foot of the tomb owner and often appear as naked youths. A unique example of grandchildren as musicians comes from the tomb of *K3-hj.f* (G 2136) at Giza. On the south wall, his six grandchildren are seated before him, the first three depicted as musicians and the following three seated at their own small offering tables.

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<sup>572</sup> Lashien, *The Chapel of Kahai and His Family*, 13.

<sup>573</sup> For the depiction of individuals “under” a chair, see Del Nord, “Under the Chair: A Problem in Egyptian Perspective,” in *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, vol. 2, eds. Zahi Hawass and Jennifer Houser Wegner (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités, 2010), 33-54. See also Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 101.

When a sequence of individuals contains both grandchildren and children of the tomb owner, the former group usually appears behind the latter. In the chapel of at *Shm-kʿ* at Saqqara, for example, family members including grandchildren and siblings all appear on his false door. On the left inner jamb, *Shm-kʿ* stands with his eldest son. On the right inner jamb, he stands with his wife and another son. Each of the outer jambs has five sub-registers. Butchery scenes occupy the two sub-registers at the bottom of each outer jamb.<sup>574</sup> Above the butchery scenes on each side are two registers of offering bearers. The offspring of the tomb owner appear in a sequence on the sub-register above these offering bearers on the left outer jamb. The first is the eldest son, then another son and two daughters. The fifth figure, a naked youth wears a side lock, and has the label *zʿf* “son of his son.” No inscriptions appear with the last two figures who are naked, and perhaps also the grandchildren of the tomb owner. Above them is the massive seated figure of *Shm-kʿ* with his wife kneeling at his foot. On the right outer jamb, a sequence of seven men appears on the fifth register from the bottom, all of whom appear as adults wearing short projected kilts and short wigs. The first two have the labels *sn-dt* and possibly the brothers and subordinates of the tomb owner. Above them is the massive figure of the tomb owner sitting with piles of offerings in front of him. It is interesting to note that, on the left side, children and grandchildren appear beneath the tomb owner and his wife; on the right side, however, the seven men are beneath the tomb owner without the wife. This arrangement successfully integrates the differentiation of the tomb owner’s

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<sup>574</sup> For studies on the butchery scenes, see Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 82; Salima Ikram, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 42-62, 297-302; Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie Égyptienne, tome V: bas-reliefs et peintures - scènes de la vie quotidienne* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie, 1969), 128-185.

social relationships into the asymmetric arrangement of the scenes on the false door. The direct kinship group, including the wife, children, and grandchildren, appear on the left side, while the non-familial social group, including the two *sn-dts* and other dependents, appear on the right side. As we discussed earlier, the left side of the false door is more prestigious to the Egyptians.<sup>575</sup> The arrangement on this false door probably indicates that the kinship group is given more prestige than the social group. Moreover, the relatives and dependents are in the upper part of the scene, while the ka-priests as offering bearers and the butchers appear in the lower section of the scene. This differentiation may also indicate the status of these people and their closeness to the tomb owner.

Representations in the tomb of *Shm-kʿ* also indicate that ancient Egyptians carefully distinguished different domestic groups in funerary scenes. The depiction of family members on the false door belonging to *Hwfw-ḥnh* (G 4520) illustrates well such differentiation in a funerary context. On this false door, three *sn-dts* appear to the left of the panel, all presenting offerings to the tomb owner and his wife, who sit at the offering table and face each other. To the right, three ka-priests carry offerings. On the inner jambs, the parents of the tomb owner are at the bottom, the father on the left and the mother on the right. The tomb owner appears at the bottom of the left outer jamb, and his son is at his foot, his wife stands on the right outer jamb. In front of her image, a female figure who stands at only half of her height has the label *snt-dt*. The daughter of the tomb owner stands behind the wife at a much-reduced scale and is depicted as a child. On this false door, the arrangement of the figures on the outer and inner jambs indicates

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<sup>575</sup> See §4.1.2.

generational differentiation. The tomb owner, his wife, and their contemporaries are on the outer jambs and the panel, while the parents stand are on the inner jambs. The figures of the parents are relatively smaller than the tomb owner. This small scale may also have been the result of the restricted space on the inner jambs, but closeness to the niche may indicate their significant status.

An interesting example of a carrying chair scene comes from the tomb of *Jj-mry* at Giza. On the north wall of the first chamber, the tomb owner appears at the initial position of a sequence before his father who sits on a carrying chair. Following him are three sons and a brother. The scale of the tomb owner is slightly larger than that of the other family members. On the east wall of the third chamber, the massive figures of *Jj-mry* and his wife occupy the majority of the scene. Other family members probably stand behind the wife, but only part of the top sub-register is preserved. On this sub-register stand three women wearing long wigs and long dresses, with their designations, names, and epithets inscribed in front of their figures. The first two are daughters of the tomb owner, and the third one is a sister. In this tomb, gender differentiation is evident in terms of their positions in the scene, while generational differentiation is vague. The brother stands at the end of the sequence behind the sons, while the sister is behind the daughters. This position indicates that siblings have a less close relationship with the tomb owner than do the children. The brother in the carrying chair scene is, in fact, biologically closer to the father of the tomb owner, but his place at the end of the sequence, behind the sons of the tomb owner, demonstrates that the artists focused kinship relations on the tomb owner. In other words, artistic representations gave preference to an individual's

relationship with the tomb owner rather than to his or her generational structure of the family.

A similar structure occurs in the tomb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-shmt* at Saqqara. On the panel of the false door, *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-shmt* and his wife sit at the offering table and face each other. His eldest son *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-shmt* and his brother *Jnpw-htp* stand behind him on two sub-registers, and his two daughters stand behind the wife on the other side. On the left inner jamb, the tomb owner and his wife stands with one of their sons. On the right inner jamb, the couple appears in the same stance without any son. The tomb owner appears again on each outer jamb with two male figures beneath him. The second figure on the left outer jamb and the first on the right outer jamb are the tomb owner's brothers. Unlike the case of the *Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh*, no generational differentiation appears on this false door regarding the positions of the family members. Grouping by gender does occur, since the daughters stand behind the wife, while the male family members are behind the tomb owner. It is interesting to note that his brother *Jnpw-htp* occupies a prominent position behind the tomb owner on the upper part of the false door, while the other two brothers stand at much smaller scales at the bottoms of the outer jambs. *Jnpw-htp*'s title is *mdh ntr* "fashioner of the (cult image of a) god,"<sup>576</sup> the same as that the eldest son depicted above him has. The brother on the left jamb bears the titles *z3b zš*, but the titles of the brother on the right outer jamb are not preserved. Therefore, *Jnpw-htp*'s superior position on the false door may have been a result of his higher professional rank.

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<sup>576</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 466.

A unique example derives from the tomb of *S3-mry* at Saqqara. From the inscriptions on the false door, it is clear that the tomb owner, his brother, and their mother were buried together. On the upper part of the false door, the tomb owner and his mother sit at an offering table. Other family members appear on the jambs. On the left inner jamb, the tomb owner stand at a large scale on the middle register. A small female figure stands at his foot without any kinship designation, whom Fischer takes as his sister.<sup>577</sup> This woman, however, may also be a daughter. On the register below, a man and a woman appear at a reduced scale. Fischer takes them as a brother and a sister.<sup>578</sup> Two ka-priests stand on the bottom register. On the right inner jamb stands the mother of the tomb owner. On the middle register, she face her son and holds a lotus flower towards her nose, where a brother named *ḥnḥ-jr-k3.j* stands at the foot of the mother at a much-reduced scale. Two women stand beneath them, and Fischer understands the first one as a sister of the tomb owner though there is no kinship designation.<sup>579</sup> Another two ka-priests stand on the bottom register of this jamb. In the middle part of the outer left jamb, the tomb owner and his wife stand and embrace each other. Six offering bearers stand on two registers beneath them. On the right outer jamb, *ḥnḥ-jr-k3.j* stands in the middle. Six other offering bearers stand beneath him. The niche of the false door has an inscription with an offering list. At the bottom of the niche, the mother and the tomb owner sit on the left, and face *ḥnḥ-jr-k3.j* who sits on the right. It is possible that the individuals on the left side of the false door represent the family of *S3-mry*, while those on the right represent the

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<sup>577</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 12.

<sup>578</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 12.

<sup>579</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 12.

family of the older generation, including his mother, his brother, and his sisters.<sup>580</sup> That this false door displays little gender differentiation. Male and female offering bearers stand together. Both the names of *S3-mry* and his mother are inscribed on the drum above the niche, and an inscription on the right outer jamb indicates that the father of *S3-mry* made this tomb for *S3-mry*, *ḥh-jr-k3.j*, and their mother.<sup>581</sup> Strangely enough, their father does not appear on the false door, nor did the wife or children of *ḥh-jr-k3.j*. It is possible that both *S3-mry* and *ḥh-jr-k3.j* died, while their father was still alive.

#### 4.1.5 The Meaning of the Family Group

The depiction of family members in a group defines family relationships centered on the tomb owner. To understand the meaning of such a depiction, we can take it as a language-game of the tomb owner to communicate with those who visit the chapel and to deliberately deliver messages about his or her identity in a familial framework.

The idea of the language-game, introduced firstly by Wittgenstein, refers to a philosophic concept of a simple example of language use as a communication between two parties with rules accepted by both of them.<sup>582</sup> Images can also be taken as language-games that convey information from the creator of the image (such as the tomb owner who ordered the decorative program in his chapel) to the audience (such as those who entered the chapel to make offerings to the tomb owner).<sup>583</sup> The depiction of family groups is a particular language-game that conveys specific information relating to the

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<sup>580</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 10.

<sup>581</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 8-10.

<sup>582</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophische Untersuchungen: Kritisch-Genetische Edition*. 1. Aufl., §7d, §23b, and §§65-88.

<sup>583</sup> Garry Hagberg, *Art as Language: Wittgenstein, Meaning and Aesthetic Theory*, 130-135.



tomb owner's conception of his or her existence in the living world and the afterlife in a familial context. Just as the images, statues, and mummy in the tomb maintain a symbolically physical existence of the tomb owner in the afterlife, the relationships expressed by the varied patterns of family groups makes concrete the deceased's existence on a cognitive level.<sup>584</sup> Therefore, the tomb owner chose the family group as a pictorial language-game to envision a system of kinship relations in which his or her identity existed consecutively from the living world to the afterlife. It also allowed his/her to connect with those who visit the chapel. As modifications in the way artists conceived the afterlife mirrored changing social realities,<sup>585</sup> the depiction of family groups altered from period to period, responding to the shifts in the mode of commemoration and the evolving familial ideology in funerary art.

Some Coffin Texts spells, while a later composition, also refer to the concept of family members reuniting in the afterlife. In CT spell 142, the family of the deceased and people in the household are given to him at his funeral, while Spells 131-146 aim to "reunite a man with his *ʒb.t* in the necropolis."<sup>586</sup> The depiction of family groups in the tomb chapel, however, is obviously not an illustration of these spells. The spells in the Coffin Texts refer to situations in the afterlife and portray the deceased and his relatives

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<sup>584</sup> And also by other motifs in the decorative program of the chapel, but the object of this research study is the depiction of the tomb owner's family.

<sup>585</sup> Harco Willems, "Family Life in the Hereafter according to Coffin Texts spells 131-146: A Study in the Structure of Ancient Egyptian Domestic Groups," in *Lotus and Laurel: Studies on Egyptian Language and Religion in Honour of Paul John Frandsen* eds. Rune Nyord and Kim Ryholt (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2015), 448-449.

<sup>586</sup> The word *ʒb.t* is commonly translated as "family." "Sippe, Großfamilie, Hausverband" in Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, 5; "Familie, die Angehörigen" in Erman, *Wörterbuch Der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Band 1, 7. Willems does not think there is an adequate English term to translate this Egyptian word, so he leaves it untranslated in his article. See Willems, "Family Life in the Hereafter according to Coffin Texts spells 131-146: A Study in the Structure of Ancient Egyptian Domestic Groups," 452, note 10. For the discussion of this type of spells, see Willems, "Family Life in the Hereafter according to Coffin Texts spells 131-146: A Study in the Structure of Ancient Egyptian Domestic Groups," 451-453.

as the dead. In the depiction of family groups in the chapel, in most cases, both the tomb owner and his or her family members are portrayed as the living.<sup>587</sup> We know from the Letters to the Dead that the concept of the deceased living with his relatives and friends in a community in the afterlife had already existed in the late Old Kingdom.<sup>588</sup> The Kaw Bowl is a good example of the community of the dead. A man begged his dead parents for their support in a dispute by using their social network in the afterlife to communicate with his dead brother, whom he buried in the cemetery and was believed to be in “in the same city” with his father.<sup>589</sup> None of the reliefs and wall paintings in the tomb chapel contains content of these letters, but the depiction of the family group may be related to the concept of the community of the dead in the afterlife. Willems suggests that the dense scatter of secondary tombs associated with large mastabas indicates the emergence of larger social groupings and the anticipation to continue to live within the same social network in the afterlife.<sup>590</sup> It is likely that the depiction of family groups emphasizes the perpetuity and the uninterrupted identity of the tomb owner within a familial realm and maps people’s conception of the social environment in the afterlife. As a pictorial language-game, the depiction of family groups is in the chapel, a place accessible to the living. It thus resonates with the visitors, and the visual perception of the visitors further

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<sup>587</sup> Naguib Kanawati, “The Living and the Dead in Old Kingdom Tomb Scenes,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 9 (1981): 222-225. For the depiction of deceased family members, see discussion in Chapter 3.

<sup>588</sup> For the publications of the Letter to the Dead, see Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*. For more discussion about the Letters to the Dead, see §5.3.

<sup>589</sup> For the drawings of both inside and outside of the bowl, and the hieroglyphic transcription of the texts, see Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 3-5, 17-19, pls. II-III A. See also the translation in Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 211-212. Gardiner suggest the Kaw bowl dates “between the Sixth and the Eleventh Dynasties, probably nearer to the earlier limit than to the later.” See discussion in Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 3.

<sup>590</sup> See Willems, “Family Life in the Hereafter according to Coffin Texts spells 131-146: A Study in the Structure of Ancient Egyptian Domestic Groups,” 449.

ensures the conceptual existence of the identity and the social network of the tomb owner in the afterlife.

Janssen suggests that strong kinship loyalties inherently run against the demands of a bureaucratic state, and one can hardly find powerful descent groups in ancient Egypt.<sup>591</sup> Even so, one cannot neglect family relations and blood ties in ancient Egypt as in many other ancient societies. The concept of self-esteem and cultural identification is thus two-dimensional. On the one hand, the tomb owner emphasizes his accomplishment in the service of the sovereign, his public role as an official, and his ability to succeed. On the other hand, he also positions himself within a familial or private realm by the depiction of kinship relations in a particular pattern.<sup>592</sup> The connection with one's family thus becomes a supplement to his or her self-fulfillment. As Lichtheim suggests, the (auto)biographical inscriptions was an "effective vehicle of self-expression" to present a moral self-portrait based on the concept of doing Maat; the love of family is also an integrated part of Maat.<sup>593</sup>

The depiction of family groups is more popular in Giza and Saqqara in the Fifth Dynasty than in the Sixth Dynasty, and it is still popular provincial sites in the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>594</sup> The changes in the presentations of family members reflect not only a change in artistic representations, but also the changing conventions in the mode of commemoration in a familial context and the evolving familial ideology.

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<sup>591</sup> Janssen and Janssen, *Growing up and Getting Old in Ancient Egypt*, 171.

<sup>592</sup> Willems, "Family Life in the Hereafter according to Coffin Texts spells 131-146: A Study in the Structure of Ancient Egyptian Domestic Groups," 448-450. Also through the (auto)biographic texts, see Assmann, *Stein und Zeit*, 138-148.

<sup>593</sup> Miriam Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1992), 1-22.

<sup>594</sup> See discussion in §4.1.1.

As the depiction of family groups became less popular in the Sixth Dynasty, the appearance of family members carrying offerings in a sequence of offering bearers has increased in Saqqara and provincial sites from the late Fifth Dynasty.<sup>595</sup> This indicates that the role of family members as offering providers gain more weight in the decorative program in the chapel. A change in private tomb construction may have been a possible cause.<sup>596</sup> As Chauvet has suggested in her study of the conception of the private tombs, the responsibility for the construction of the monuments shifted from the king to the tomb owner himself in the later Old Kingdom.<sup>597</sup> During this period, the degree of royal involvement in private tomb construction decreased,<sup>598</sup> while inscriptions in private chapel show a development of the independence of the tomb owner. In these inscriptions, the tomb owner not only used the phrases “it is with my own property that I made this tomb” and “by means of his own arm” when describing the private effort in the construction of the tomb,<sup>599</sup> but also deliberately differentiated between the property acquired by oneself or inherited from one’s father and the goods bestowed by the king.<sup>600</sup> For this reason, the tomb owner may have intended to emphasize more on the provision of offerings from family members in the iconography to stress on their economic significance in the funerary cult. Furthermore, the growth of provincial necropolis in the Sixth Dynasty opened the possibility for new developments of the familial ideology by

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<sup>595</sup> For details, see §5.1.2.

<sup>596</sup> See discussion in §5.1.2.

<sup>597</sup> Chauvet, “The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom,” 403-404.

<sup>598</sup> Chauvet, “The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom,” 351-399.

<sup>599</sup> *Jr.n(.j) js pn m jst(.j) mꜣt* and *hps.f ds.f*, see Chauvet, “The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom,” 191-199, 212-216, examples 3, 10, 18, 21, 33.

<sup>600</sup> *Jn nb.f n.f nw* “It is his lord who made this for him.” See Chauvet, “The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom,” 351-352, example 133.

adding local conventions and the emphasis on local ruling families.<sup>601</sup> This may explain the favor of both the representations of family groups and family members carrying offerings in provincial sites.

Other changes in the depiction of family members also occurred from the Fifth to the Sixth Dynasty. One of these changes is the absence of a spouse in many late Fifth Dynasty tombs.<sup>602</sup> Roth's study of the scale of wives in comparison with the male tomb owners points out another change.<sup>603</sup> The scale of wives declines in the Sixth Dynasty tombs in Saqqara, but those in Giza still follow the late Fifth Dynasty pattern. There is no noticeable change in the layout of family groups in the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty, but it becomes less popular both in Giza and Saqqara during the Sixth Dynasty. It is worth noting that the absence of wives does not affect the layout of family groups. This phenomenon may indicate that the ancient Egyptian concept of one's wife in the family is different from that of his blood relatives, though they are all considered as family members in modern societies.

Roth attributes the depiction of family members to the flourishing of the solar cult from the Fourth Dynasty because the appearance of wives and children in private chapels

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<sup>601</sup> Moreno García, "Oracles, Ancestor Cults and Letters to the Dead: The Involvement of the Dead in the Public and Private Family Affairs in Pharaonic Egypt," 136.

<sup>602</sup> Roth's study, based on 69 tombs at Saqqara, shows 75% of the samples from the reign of Izezi to Unis do not contain the representations of wives. Swinton's study of 141 Old Kingdom tombs and McCorquodale's statistic research of 803 tombs draw similar conclusions. See Ann M. Roth, "The Absent Spouse: Patterns and Taboos in Egyptian Tomb Decoration," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 36 (1999): 37-53; Joyce Swinton, "The Depiction of Wives of Tomb Owners in the Later Old Kingdom," *Australian Centre for Egyptology Bulletin* 14 (2003): 95-101; and McCorquodale, *Representations of the Family in the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Women and Marriage*, 25-26.

<sup>603</sup> Ann M. Roth, "Little Women: Gender and Hierarchic Proportion in Old Kingdom Mastaba Chapels," in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology. Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague, May 31-June 4, 2004*, ed. Miroslav Bárta (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2006), 281-296.

coincided with the emergence of the solar cult.<sup>604</sup> Moreover, as Roth suggests, the depiction of family members may have a royal origin in the Old Kingdom, and was adopted by private people later as dominate social value promoted by the royalty. The earliest known representation of a royal family occurs in the small shrine of Netjerikhet at Heliopolis.<sup>605</sup> For example, the spear-fishing scenes, where family members often occur, probably has a royal origin, and earlier parallels first appear in the temple of Sahura at Abusir, and those in private chapels in the later Fifth Dynasty may have derived from earlier royal models.<sup>606</sup> It is difficult to prove whether the spear-fishing scene is associated with the solar cult, but its appearance in the king's temple may suggest its connection to the funerary religion featured by the cult of the sun. Roth further points out that the large scale of the wife of the tomb owner in specific scenes is a sexual metaphor of the re-conception and rebirth after death, and thus is connected to the Osiris myth that became prominent during this period.<sup>607</sup> It is not clear whether the decline in the presentation of family groups is related to the Osiris myth. The myth itself apparently does not emphasize family affiliations but more personal experience in the transition to the afterlife through integration with the identity of Osiris.<sup>608</sup> In all likelihood, the

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<sup>604</sup> Ann M. Roth, "Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organisation of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 30 (1993): 54-55. See also Roth, "The Absent Spouse: Patterns and Taboos in Egyptian Tomb Decoration," 38.

<sup>605</sup> Roth, "Little Women: Gender and Hierarchic Proportion in Old Kingdom Mastaba Chapels," 286.

<sup>606</sup> Roth, "Little Women: Gender and Hierarchic Proportion in Old Kingdom Mastaba Chapels," 286.

<sup>607</sup> Ann M. Roth, "Father Earth, Mother Sky: Ancient Egyptian Beliefs about Conception and Fertility," in *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, ed. Alison E. Rautman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 187-201. See also Roth, "Little Women: Gender and Hierarchic Proportion in Old Kingdom Mastaba Chapels," 293. For the origin of Osiris, Goedicke suggests that the cult emerged during the reign of Djedkara-Isesi. He also considers the god as a "theological creation" with his nature rooted in the "eschatological role carried by the earlier kings," See Goedicke, "Abusir - Sqara - Giza," 408-409, note 55. Shalomi-Hen, on the contrary, suggests that Osiris was imported to Egypt from elsewhere, see Racheli Shalomi-Hen, *The Writing of Gods: the Evolution of Divine Classifiers in the Old Kingdom* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 69-95.

<sup>608</sup> The association of the epithet Osiris with private names already occurred in the late Old Kingdom. See Edward Brovanski, "The Late Old Kingdom at South Saqqara," in *Des Néferkarê aux Montouhotep: travaux archéologiques en cours sur la fin de la VIe dynastie et la première période intermédiaire actes du colloque CNRS-Université Lumière-*

changes occurred correlatively with all social aspects, including the familial ideology and the funerary religion as a complicated and associative process.

#### 4.1.6 The Depiction of Family groups and the Concept of the Household

Before the discussion of the relationship between the family group and the household, it is necessary to clarify the concept of the household. Ancient Egyptians used the word *pr* to refer to both house and household.<sup>609</sup> The latter usually refers to a domestic group of people co-residing within a residential establishment.<sup>610</sup> Some scholars, to a much greater extent, take the whole Egyptian state itself as a massive household (*Pr-ꜥ3*) consisting of “hierarchically organized households.”<sup>611</sup> The ancient Egyptian concept of a state is different from that in modern times, and the conceptualization of their “state” may already include a connotation of the household. On a micro level, a household is an entity defined in two dimensions, which refer to (1) a physical existence (including both property and personal) under the control of an authority, i.e., the tomb owner as the head of the household, and (2) the immaterial existence, including biological, ethic, economic, social, cultural, and religious ties that form the basis of the relationships between the elements of this physical existence, such

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*Lyon 2, tenu le 5-7 juillet 2001*, Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée 40, eds. Laure Pantalacci and Catherine Berger-El-Naggar (Lyon; Paris: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée; de Boccard, 2005), 53.

<sup>609</sup> Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, 448.

<sup>610</sup> Kate Spence, “Ancient Egyptian Houses and Households: Architecture, Artifacts, Conceptualization, and Interpretation,” in *Household Studies in Complex Societies: (micro)Archaeological and Textual Approaches*, ed. Miriam Müller (Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 2015), 85.

<sup>611</sup> Spence, “Ancient Egyptian Houses and Households: Architecture, Artifacts, Conceptualization, and Interpretation,” 85. See also Mark E. Lehner, “Fractal House of Pharaoh: Ancient Egypt as a Complex Adaptive System, a Trial Formulation,” in *Dynamics in Human and Primate Societies: Agent Based Modelling of Social and Spatial Processes*, eds. Timothy A. Kohler and Goerge J. Gumerman (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 275-354. For the idea of using the patrimonial household model as a description of socio-political order in the ancient Near Eastern societies, see J. David Schloen. *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2001), 256.

as relationships between individuals in the household and the ownership of the properties. Also, such relationships are the result of “a complex set of interactions and negotiations among family members.”<sup>612</sup> Moreover, Lévi-Strauss’s definition adds a temporal dimension to the definition. According to Lévi-Strauss, a household is a corporate entity comprising both material and immaterial wealth, and it can perpetuate itself through the transmission from generation to generation.<sup>613</sup>

Family members and personnel in the household are different assemblages, both centered on the tomb owner.<sup>614</sup> These two groups obviously have an intersection. Individuals in reliefs or paintings without kinship terms may have been dependents in the household. The majority of the family members may belong to the household, but parents and siblings may live separately. Children may move out when they grow up. Individuals who do not belong to the household or the family may also appear in the decoration, such as friends and neighbors. The close relationship between neighbors is attested in a New Kingdom didactic text from Deir el-Medineh, which contains instructions such as “you should not celebrate your festival without your neighbors, and they will surround you, mourning, on the day of burial.”<sup>615</sup> This text indicates that it may have been a custom for neighbors to take part in the funeral. The following diagram shows the relations of groups of people in the tomb decoration:

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<sup>612</sup> Schloen. *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol*, 117.

<sup>613</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Way of the Masks* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982), 174; Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropology and Myth: Lectures 1951-1982*, trans. Roy Willis (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 152. See also discussion of the definition in Picardo, “Hybrid Households: Institutional Affiliations and Household Identity in the Town of Wah-sut (South Abydos),” 245-246.

<sup>614</sup> People in the household are usually referred to as a “social house,” a collective persona considered as a metaphorical “moral person” and a self-standing identity. See Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropology and Myth: Lectures 1951-1982*, 152. For the discussion of the definition, see also Picardo, “Hybrid Households: Institutional Affiliations and Household Identity in the Town of Wah-sut (South Abydos),” 246.

<sup>615</sup> Fredrik Hagen, “The Prohibitions: A New Kingdom Didactic Text.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 91 (2005): 144.



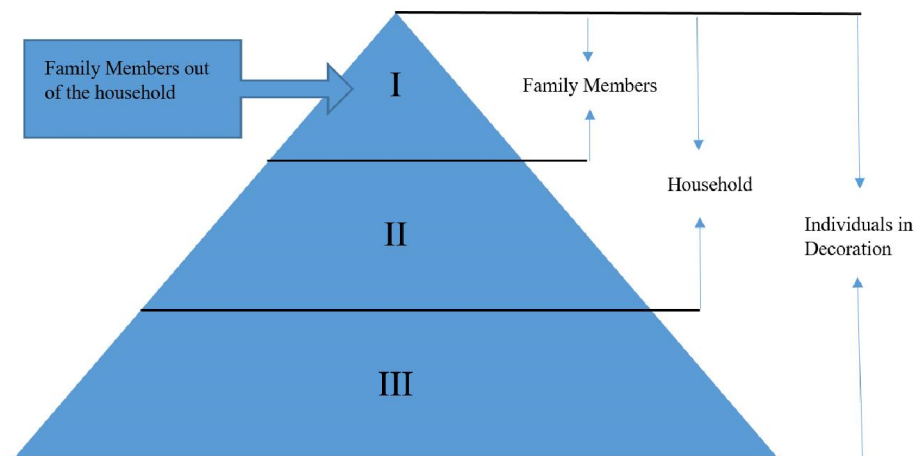


Figure 243. Family members and the household

It is difficult to tell whether family members appearing in reliefs and wall paintings in the chapels belong to the household of the tomb owner. As discussed in the previous chapters, the total number of sons and brothers is larger than that of daughters and sisters on the chapel walls. The reason may have been that women no longer remained economically dependent on the household of their father or brother after marriage.<sup>616</sup> A record of a soldier's household from Lahun may further illustrate this situation. According to the document, a man named *Hrj* lived with his wife and his son, and later his mother and his five sisters joined them (probably after the death of his father); when he died and his son *Snfrw* inherited, *Hrj*'s mother and his three aunts still lived with them.<sup>617</sup> This record indicates that a man probably moved out to establish his

<sup>616</sup> As Johnson suggests that indicates that a married woman depended on her husband economically, and evidence from the workmen's village at Deir el-Medina indicates that could seek support from her biological family after divorce, see Johnson, "The Legal Status of Women in Ancient Egypt," 179-183.

<sup>617</sup> Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), 219, 221. See also Dominique Valbelle, "Éléments sur la démographie et le paysage urbains, d'après les papyrus documentaires d'époque

own household after he got married, while unmarried daughters stayed with their parents or brothers, and widowed mothers also lived with their sons. It is unclear if the two sisters had been married and moved out of *Hrj*'s house, or they died. The custom may have been similar during the Old Kingdom. In the case of *Mrrw.k3(.j)*, his mother was buried with him at Saqqara, while his father's tomb is located in Giza.<sup>618</sup> It is possible that his mother lived with him after the death of his father.

It is, however, impossible to know all the details of a household in a funerary context, because the tomb chapel by no means resembles the residential establishment of the tomb owner and his family. The decorations in the chapels are not realistic reflections of the life of the tomb owner, though the motifs are derived from daily life, such as the agricultural activities in the estates, musical performances, carrying chair scenes, and fishing and fowling scenes.<sup>619</sup> The artists tailored these daily life scenes to situate them into a funerary framework to convey religious meanings. The depiction of the household in this context is limited to the representations of family members and other dependents in different stances. Information about residential establishments is rare in the decorative program of tomb chapels, though the tomb owner may inscribe his will relating to the transition of property.<sup>620</sup> The depiction of family groups also reflects the transition of the

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pharaonique," *Cahiers de recherches de l'institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille* 7 (1985): 75-77; Kóthay, "Houses and Households at Kahun: Bureaucratic and Domestic Aspects of Social Organization During the Middle Kingdom," 352-355, Francis. Ll. Griffith and W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Petrie Papyri: Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (principally of the Middle Kingdom)* (London: B. Quaritch, 1898), 19-24.

<sup>618</sup> See Fischer, "Old Kingdom Inscriptions in the Yale Gallery," 310-312 and Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 14. For a more detailed discussion about the background of *Mrrw.k3(.j)*, see Kanawati, *Mereruka and King Teti*, 47-53.

<sup>619</sup> Many of these scenes are realistic by themselves. For example, some scenes reflect the chronological change of farming methods, see Swinton, *The Management of Estates and Their Resources in the Egyptian Old Kingdom*, 13.

<sup>620</sup> Such as the *jmyt-pr* document concerning the property of the household. See Tycho Mrsich, *Untersuchungen zur Hausurkunde des Alten Reiches: Ein Beitrag zum altägyptischen Stiftungsrecht* (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1968), 4-7, 36-38. For the discussion of the *jmyt-pr* documents in the Old Kingdom, see Tom Logan, "The *jmyt-pr* Document: Form, Function and Significance," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 37 (2000): 49-73.

household from one generation to another. In the tomb of *Jnpw-ḥtp* at Giza, the depiction of the family of the tomb owner together with his dependents resembles that of his parents. This depiction may have been an indication of the transition of the household from the father to the son.

#### 4.1.7 Family Groups and the Ancestor Cult

In Old Kingdom tomb decoration, the depiction of family groups is related but not equal to the ancestor cult. As discussed above, the deceased could still be a member of the living community in the form of a *ḥ*.<sup>621</sup> Close relatives could write letters to the dead to appeal for their intervention into family affairs.<sup>622</sup> Family members would place bowls or jars, on which they had their letters inscribed, the tomb probably with a certain amount of offerings, though only a few examples of such letters from the Old Kingdom survive. After transforming into a *ḥ*, the deceased would become a powerful ancestor and act as the intermediary between the living and the divine.<sup>623</sup> Evidence from the Middle and New Kingdoms suggests that the veneration of the ancestors took place in neighborhood shrines which were visited by different families, and the deceased was included in a

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<sup>621</sup> Geraldine Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 147-148; Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1992), 180. The *sḥ* rites in the tomb decoration may have ritually helped the dead become a *ḥ*. For the discussion of this rite, see Thompson, "The Iconography of the Memphite Priesthood in Egypt's Elite Tombs of the Old Kingdom," 36-38, 227-351.

<sup>622</sup> Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*. Moreno García, "Oracles, Ancestor Cults and Letters to the Dead: The Involvement of the Dead in the Public and Private Family Affairs in Pharaonic Egypt," 133-153. For a more recent discussion on the Qau Bowl, see Miniaci, "Reuniting Philology and Archaeology: The 'Emic' and 'Etic' in the Letter of the Dead Qau Bowl UC16163 and Its Context," 88-105.

<sup>623</sup> Nicola Harrington, *Living with the Dead: Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford; Oakville, Conn.: Oxbow, 2013), 3-15.

general community of ancestors after the offspring of the family had lost the living memory of him or her.<sup>624</sup>

It is impossible to tell to what extent later evidence reflects social reality in the Old Kingdom, but it is apparent that the cult of the deceased would last for a certain period after death, and cultic activities may have taken place inside the chapel, in the courtyard, or near the tomb.<sup>625</sup> Rituals depicted on the walls may have happened in reality, such as the presenting of offerings, including forelegs of bulls and geese.<sup>626</sup> The butchery scenes may have been a more or less realistic reflection of the sacrifice inside or outside the tomb chapel.<sup>627</sup> The burial of broken vessels in a shaft demonstrates the existence of the “breaking the red pots” ritual, which may have taken place after the consumption of the food offerings in these vessels.<sup>628</sup> Representations of the consumption of food also appeared on the walls, together with musical and dancing scenes.<sup>629</sup>

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<sup>624</sup> Miriam Müller, “Feasts for the Dead and Ancestor Veneration in Egyptian Tradition,” in *In Remembrance of Me: Feasting with the Dead in the Ancient Middle East*, eds. Virginia R. Herrmann and J. David Schloen (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2014), 91. See also Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 29-31; Vera Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVII: Opferdeponierungen in der Hyksoshauptstadt Auaris (Tell el-Dab'a) vom späten Mittleren Reich bis zum frühen Neuen Reich*, vol. 1 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008), 337; Andrea McDowell, “Awareness of the Past in Deir el-Medina,” in *Village Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium “Texts from Deir el-Medina and Their Interpretation,” Leiden, May 31 - June 1, 1991*, eds. Robert J. Demarée, and Arno Egberts (Leiden: Centre of Non-Western Studies, Leiden University, 1992), 107.

<sup>625</sup> Harrington discusses the role of chapels, shrines and courtyards, though the evidence she uses is mainly from the New Kingdom, see Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 86-98.

<sup>626</sup> See discussion in Chapter 4.

<sup>627</sup> As suggested by Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 57. For a detailed study on the locations where the butchery of bulls may have taken place, see Ikram, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt*, 81-107.

<sup>628</sup> For the discussion of the rituals, see Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 37-40. For the archeological remains of offerings and rituals, see Teodozja Rzeuska, “Funerary Customs and Rites on the Old Kingdom Necropolis West Saqqara,” in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague (June 27 July 5, 2005)*, ed. Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí (Prag: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2006), 353-377.

<sup>629</sup> Harrington discusses the festivals and banquets that took place inside or near the tomb chapel, but she ignores the banquets and musical scenes depicted in the Old Kingdom tomb chapels, see Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 113-122.

These ritual activities were not exclusively performed by family members but also funerary priests that the tomb owner appointed for his cult. In this sense, the cult of the dead is different from the ancestor cult.<sup>630</sup> The family groups depicted on chapel walls may have been a reflection of the exception of the deceased, that is, family members would visit the chapel and take care of the cult of the dead. It thus can be seen as the language-game of the tomb owner to call for his or her family member's visit. When family members actually came to the chapel, they participated in this language-game, confirmed it, and completed it.

A specific type of scene related to the ancestor cult in Old Kingdom private tomb decoration is the presentation of lotus flowers.<sup>631</sup> In this scene, it is usually the son who presents a lotus flower to his father. Altenmüller divides this type of scene into two groups. The first group consists of four tombs: *Jj-mry* (G 6020) and his son *Nfr-nʿw-Pth* (G 6010), *Sšm-nfr II* (G 5080) and his son *Sšm-nfr III* (G 5170).<sup>632</sup> In this group, the tomb owner hands over a lotus flower to his father. Both the *Jj-mry* family and the *Sšm-nfr II* family are buried in the same cemetery in Giza for at least three generations. The presentation of the lotus flower from the tomb owner to his father here has a connotation of ancestor worship because the object of the cult is not the tomb owner but the older generation.<sup>633</sup> The other group contains tombs with scenes of the son handing over the

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<sup>630</sup> If the cult of the deceased lasted several generations, it eventually would display features of the ancestor cult. The later generation may also establish the cult of the ancestor in family chapels, such as the case of Sahathoripy who installed niches for his father and the ancestors of his family in the memorial chapel. See Silverman, "Non-Royal Burials in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the Early Twelfth Dynasty," 88-93.

<sup>631</sup> Altenmüller, "Family, Ancestor Cult and Some Observations on the Chronology of the Late Fifth Dynasty," 156-161. See also Altenmüller, "Väter, Brüder und Götter: Bemerkungen zur Szene der Übergabe der Lotusblüte," 17.

<sup>632</sup> Altenmüller, "Väter, Brüder und Götter: Bemerkungen zur Szene der Übergabe der Lotusblüte," 18.

<sup>633</sup> Altenmüller, "Väter, Brüder und Götter: Bemerkungen zur Szene der Übergabe der Lotusblüte," 21-22.

lotus flower to the tomb owner.<sup>634</sup> In this case, the object of the cult is the tomb owner.

Therefore the scene has no connotation of the ancestor cult, but rather a ceremony related to the tomb owner's transition to the afterlife.<sup>635</sup> Whether or not the handing over of the lotus flower is related to ancestor cult, it always happens between two generations. If the lotus is a symbol of rebirth and life, this type of scene may also indicate a familial transition from the older to the younger generation.

## 4.2 The *sn-dt* and Its Meaning

From the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasties, the designation *sn-dt* or *snt-dt*, “brother of the funerary estate or sister of the funerary estates,”<sup>636</sup> appeared in the tomb inscriptions.<sup>637</sup> Chapter 2 in this thesis discusses the occurrence of the designation *sn-dt* and its chronological distribution. The depiction of the *sn-dt* occurs in 15 tombs in Giza, 11 tombs in Saqqara, and only one tomb in Gebel el-Teir. The majority of these tombs (85%) date to the Fifth or the beginning of the Sixth Dynasties.

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<sup>634</sup> Not all tombs in this group are included in our stance chart, because some of them lack kinship designations. See Altenmüller, “Väter, Brüder und Götter: Bemerkungen zur Szene der Übergabe der Lotusblüte,” 22-23.

<sup>635</sup> Altenmüller, “Väter, Brüder und Götter: Bemerkungen zur Szene der Übergabe der Lotusblüte,” 28.

<sup>636</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 907. See also Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, 1154-1155, and Erman, *Wörterbuch Der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Bd. 4, 152.

<sup>637</sup> Harpur discusses the different opinions of the *sn-dt* by previous scholars, see Harpur, “Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza,” 30-31. Scholars translate the term *sn/snt-dt* differently, for example, “Brude der Totenstiftung” in Junker, *Giza II*, 194-195, “tomb-partner” in Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 206, and “brother of the endowment” in Harpur, “Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza,” 29. Chauvet further extends Harpur's discussion on scholarly opinions about this term and the possible kinship between one and his or her *sn-dt* or *snt-dt*, see Chauvet, “The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom,” 318-333.

#### 4.2.1 Hypothesis and Studies

The meaning and function of the *sn-dt* has long been a focus of scholarly discussion. Goedicke suggested that the *sn-dt* was a person appointed by the tomb owner as the one responsible for the funerary affairs for his widow.<sup>638</sup> This explanation, however, is invalid, since the wife could be the *snt-dt* of her husband. Perepelkin's assumption that the *sn-dt* was blood kin is rejected for the same reason. Helck suggested that the *sn-dt* would supervise the ka-priests in the absence of a suitable next-of-kin,<sup>639</sup> whereas examples of the co-existence of children and *sn-dt* in the same tomb contradict this assumption. Harpur proposes that the *sn-dt* may have been a person responsible for building and decorating the tomb if the deceased was not able to afford an impressive burial of his own.<sup>640</sup> This explanation, however, is far from satisfactory. On the one hand, many high officials have *sn-dts*, but it is unlikely that they could not afford a tomb themselves.<sup>641</sup> On the other hand, since most tomb owners who have *sn-dt* also have children, it would be unreasonable to assume that they would appoint someone else to build their tomb. There are also examples of family members other than the son who built the tomb for the deceased. A man named *Swf* owns a rock-cut tomb at Giza, which his daughter's son made for him.<sup>642</sup> A certain *Mdw-nfr* has a mastaba at Giza, which the son of his sister constructed for him.<sup>643</sup> In the case of *Tj* at El-Hawawish, his brother and his daughter built the tomb for him.<sup>644</sup> None of these tomb owners appointed a *sn-dt* for their

<sup>638</sup> Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 122-130.

<sup>639</sup> Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr.*, 80, 85, 89-90.

<sup>640</sup> Harpur, "Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza," 28-29.

<sup>641</sup> For example, *Pth-htp II* at Saqqara.

<sup>642</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza V*, 257-260. PM III, 253.

<sup>643</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza III*, 115-118. PM III, 258.

<sup>644</sup> Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish VI*, 52-54, fig. 23.

funerary establishments. Therefore, constructing the tomb for the deceased cannot be a reason to appoint a *sn-dt*, though in some cases, the *sn-dt* built the tomb for the deceased, and even a childless tomb owner did not need to appoint a *sn-dt*.<sup>645</sup>

Junker interpreted the term as “companion of the tomb,” which means that the *sn-dt* was a favored person who would share the offerings brought to the chapel from his funerary estates.<sup>646</sup> This interpretation is also quite unlikely because the *sn-dt* often is an offering bearers rather than an recipient. Grdseloff’s explanation related to the role of the *sn-dt* in dealing with the property of the tomb owner. According to him, the *sn-dt* acted as a “co-property holder” during the tomb owner’s lifetime and continued to be associated with him in his funerary cult.<sup>647</sup> It is true that the *sn-dt* was related to the tomb owner when the latter was still alive because this specific term also occurs in administrative documents, such as the Gebelein papyri.<sup>648</sup> In these documents, the term *sn-dt* identified a person considered to be an equivalent of a family member.<sup>649</sup> Moreover, people bearing this designation can have a different social status. They may be of a humble status as those in the Gebelein papyri or officials who come from the upper classes.<sup>650</sup> In this sense, the term *sn-dt* does not reflect its bearer’s social status at all. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the term only describes a relationship, i.e., how one individual

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<sup>645</sup> For example, in the tomb of *Mdw-nfr* at Giza, an inscription on the lintel states that the son of *Mdw-nfr*’s sister (*z3 snt.f*) made the tomb for him. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza III*, 115-118. No wife and children are represented in this tomb.

<sup>646</sup> Junker, *Giza II*, 6-7, Junker, *Giza IX*, 73.

<sup>647</sup> Grdseloff, “Deux inscriptions juridiques de l’ancien Empire,” 39-49.

<sup>648</sup> P. Gebelein V rt. 9, 21. Paule Posener-Krieger and Sara Demichelis, *I papiri di Gebelein (scavi G. Farina 1935)*, Studi del Museo Egizio di Torino (Torino: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza al museo delle antichità Egizie, 2004), pls. xxxvii, xxxvii.

<sup>649</sup> Moreno García, “A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society,” 127.

<sup>650</sup> Moreno García, “A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society,” 129.



is associated with or attached to the other. This relationship is unilateral because the two parties do not have the same rights or obligations. Additionally, the term *sn-dt* can function as personal identification in administrative documents. The term *sn-dt* defines a relationship that affects a person's socio-economic responsibility, such as the performance of specific administrative, funerary, and religious tasks.

Moreno García analyzes some examples of the *sn-dt* that contain the reallocation of offerings. He examines the role played by the *sn-dt* as a substitute or middleman who administers the property belonging to the *pr-dt* of a person for the benefit of the holder of another *pr-dt*.<sup>651</sup> In other words, the tomb owner's *sn-dt* would allocate goods or offerings to him from someone else.

The re-direction of a portion of offerings from one dignitary or institution to a secondary beneficiary is called *wdb-rd* "reversionary offerings."<sup>652</sup> The *wdb-rd* offerings, usually of the *prr-hrw* "invocation offerings"<sup>653</sup> type, consist of bread, beer, and cuts of meat.<sup>654</sup> It is true that *Pn-mrw* (G 2197) and *Nj-M<sup>3</sup>c-t-R<sup>c</sup>* (G 8900) both received *wdb-rd* offerings, and both of them are related to the term *sn-dt*. *Pn-mrw* appointed a *sn-dt* named *Nfr-htp* so that *Nfr-htp* and his children would be responsible for the invocation offerings for his cult.<sup>655</sup> *Nj-M<sup>3</sup>c-t-R<sup>c</sup>* himself is the *sn-dt* of a woman named *Nfr-srs*. In the tomb of *Pr-sn* at Saqqara (D45) who also received reversionary offerings from the cult of the

<sup>651</sup> Moreno García, "A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society," 129-136.

<sup>652</sup> Erman, *Wörterbuch Der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Bd. 1, 409. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, 402.

<sup>653</sup> Erman, *Wörterbuch Der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Bd. 1, 529-530. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, 464-466.

<sup>654</sup> Hratch Papazian, "The Temple of Ptah and Economic Contacts between Memphite Cult Centers in the Fifth Dynasty," in 8. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples: Warschau, 22.-25. September 2008*, eds. Monika Dolińska and Horst Beinlich. Königtum (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 139-140.

<sup>655</sup> Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem alten Reich*, 41-54. Urk I, 214.

royal mother, however, one finds no image or inscriptions relating to *sn-dt*. Therefore, a *sn-dt* may have been responsible for the reallocation of offerings in some cases, but it is not the reason for the appointment of a *sn-dt*.

#### 4.2.2 The Case of *Wḥm-kʿ*

The depiction of the family members in the tomb of *Wḥm-kʿ* at Giza provides some clues to the relationship between the tomb owner and his *sn-dt*. On the west wall of the chapel, a man labeled as *sn-dt* and his wife appear standing on the right, facing the tomb owner and his wife who stand on the left. This *sn-dt*, named *Nfr-ḥr-Mntj*, and his wife appear at the same scale as the tomb owner and his wife. He wears the same costume as the tomb owner: a short kilt and a leopard skin that hangs from the shoulder. Both men carry a staff in one hand and a scepter in the other hand. A woman labeled as *snt-dt* stands on a register above the *sn-dt*. Other people with kinship designations in this chapel are the parents of the tomb owner who appear on the south wall, and a sequence of male figures marked as *ms(w) sn.f dt* beneath the offering list and the seated couple also on the south wall.

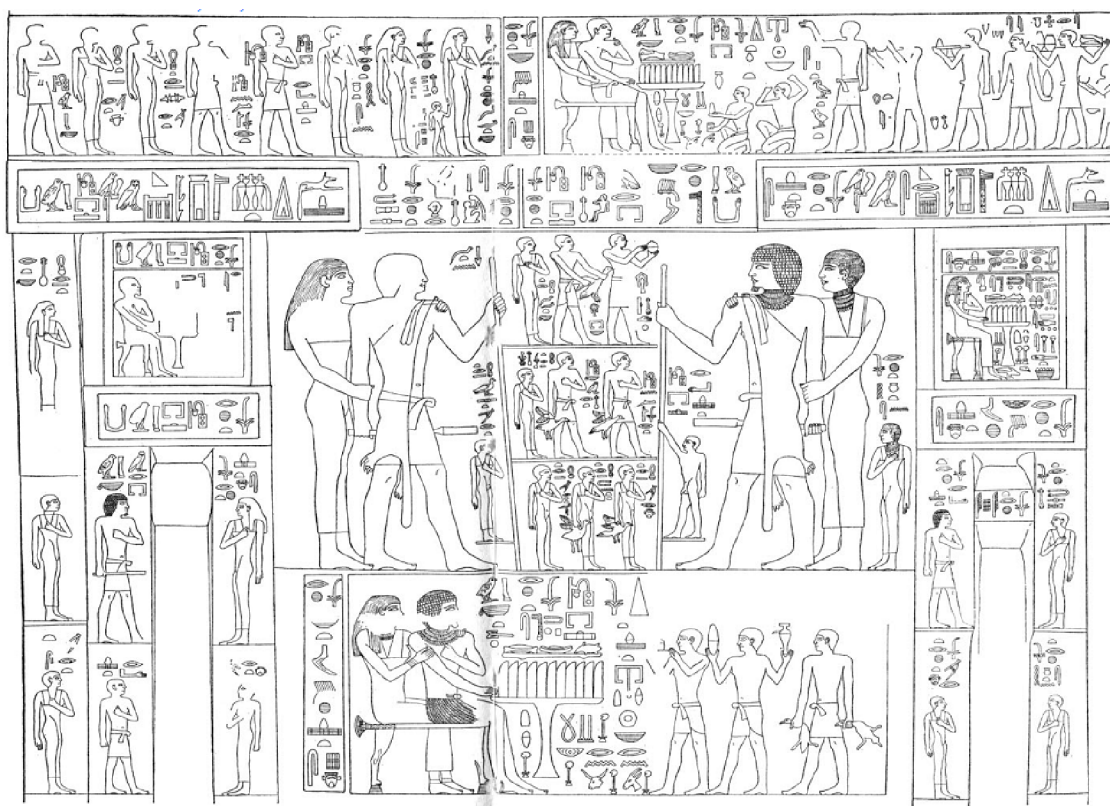


Figure 244. Tomb of *Wḥm-k3* at Giza, Kayser, *Mastaba des Uhemka*, 24, West wall.

Kayser identifies *Nfr-ḥr-Mntj* as the son-in-law of *Wḥm-k3*, and his wife *Nfr-ṯsz* as his daughter. This identification, however, is based on the appearance of *Nfr-ṯsz* on the false door of *Htp-jb.s*, the wife of this tomb owner. No kinship terms such as *z3t.f* are associated with her figure.<sup>656</sup> In Chapter 2, we have examples of sisters or the wife appearing on the false doors of their brother or husband respectively.<sup>657</sup> Therefore, her identification as a sister is also possible. If *Nfr-ṯsz* is a sister, then *Nfr-ḥr-Mntj* is the brother-in-law of the tomb owner.

On the east wall, the parents of *Wḥm-k3* face to the right, and stand behind the tomb owner and his wife who face north, i.e. to the left. In this scene, a naked boy

<sup>656</sup> Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka*, 27. Harpur, “Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza,” 29.

<sup>657</sup> Such as the false door of *Hwfw-ḥnh* at Giza (G 4520).

appears in front of the tomb owner at his foot, and has the label *R<sup>c</sup>-ḥtp*. He also appears on the west wall and the north wall at the foot of the tomb owner, and on the right jambs of both false doors. The appearance as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner leads to his identification as the son of *Wḥm-kʿ*.<sup>658</sup> As the only male figure on both false doors other than the tomb owner, *R<sup>c</sup>-ḥtp* is probably the only son. It is worth noting that, when appearing in a sequence of individuals on the first register above the false door of the tomb owner on the west wall, he stands behind three female figures, *snt-ḏt Dfʿt-kʿ*, *Nfr-tsz*, and *Hnwt.sn* (see the following figure). One observes no gender differentiation in this sequence, which likely means the three women before him are more important individuals in the household. *Dfʿt-kʿ* appears on the same wall between the two couples. She stands before the tomb owner just behind two ka-priests. *Nfr-tsz*, the wife of *sn-ḏt Nfr-ḥr-Mntj*, also appears on the upper register of the right jamb of the wife's false door. *Hnwt.sn* appears as an adult behind the wife in the middle of the west wall and on the lower register of the right jamb of the wife. Her name also appears on the facade of the chapel near the entrance.<sup>659</sup> *Nfr-tsz* and *Hnwt.sn* do not appear on the tomb owner's false door. It is likely that they are both sisters of the wife and are influential in the *Wḥm-kʿ* family. It is not clear whether *snt-ḏt Dfʿt-kʿ* is a relative of *Wḥm-kʿ* or his wife. Probably she is a sister of *Wḥm-kʿ* who played a significant role in the funerary cult of the *Wḥm-kʿ* family.

<sup>658</sup> Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka*, 26-34.

<sup>659</sup> Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka*, 41.

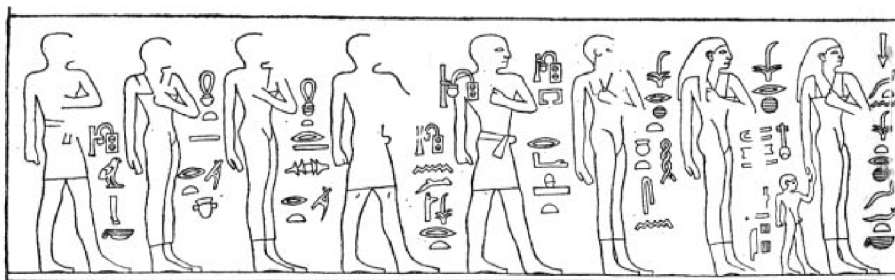


Figure 245. Tomb of *Whm-k3* at Giza, Kayser, *Mastaba des Uhemka*, 24, West wall.

A sequence of eight men appears beneath the offering list and the seated couple on the south wall, with the designation *ms(w) sn.f dt* inscribed in front of the first figure (Figure 246). Moreno García suggests that the inscription is only for the first figure named *Snb*, who is the child of the tomb owner and also his *sn-dt*.<sup>660</sup> This suggestion seems implausible because this *Snb* does not appear on the false doors of the tomb owner and his wife or at their feet. Moreover, we have no evidence for the appointment of a son as a *sn-dt*. The term *z3.f dt* appears in a tomb at Saqqara,<sup>661</sup> and an example of *msw-dt* in the cult service occurs in the tomb of *Nj-k3-ḥnh* at Tehna.<sup>662</sup>

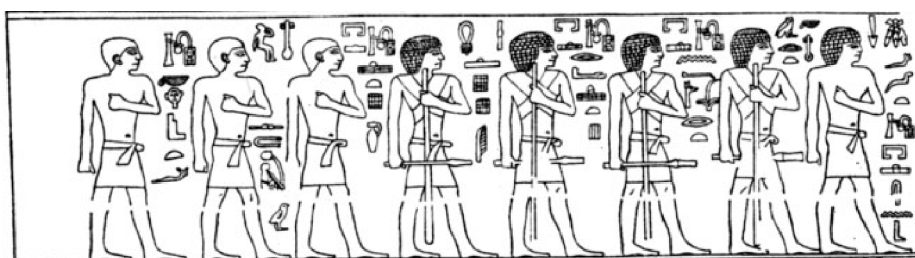


Figure 246. Tomb of *Whm-k3* at Giza, Kayser, *Mastaba des Uhemka*, 3, South Wall.

<sup>660</sup> Moreno García, "A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society," 122, 134.

<sup>661</sup> Nigel Strudwick, "Three Monuments of Old Kingdom Treasury Officials," *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* 71 (1985): 45-51. See also Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 31.

<sup>662</sup> Urk I, 25,2.

The fifth man in this sequence is *Ppj*, whose title is *hrp htm* “director of sealers.”<sup>663</sup> On the top register on the west wall, a naked boy led by his mother, a woman marked as a *snt-dt*, has the same name and title. This boy and the fifth man on the east wall are thus the same person. On the south wall, he appears as an adult. His title also suggests that he was probably an adult when the chapel was decorated. His appearance as a small boy holding his mother’s hand on the west wall is to emphasize the mother-son relationship between him and *snt-dt Df3t-k3*. Therefore, it is obvious that at least not all of the eight men are children of the tomb owner, since *Ppj* is the son of a *snt-dt*. For this reason, Fischer’s translation “his children and *snw-dt*”<sup>664</sup> is unlikely.

The caption *ms(w) sn(w).f dt* may also be translated grammatically as “children of his *sn-dt* (and *snt-dt*).” The fourth man in sequence named *R<sup>c</sup>-htp* is probably the same *R<sup>c</sup>-htp* appearing as the little boy at the foot of the tomb owner on the west wall because they both have the title *zš pr-md3t* “scribe of the archives.”<sup>665</sup> The translation “children of his *sn-dt*” is thus impossible. Therefore, Kayser’s translation “seine Stiftungskinder und Stiftungsbrüder” is most likely.<sup>666</sup> This sequence consists of both the *sn-dts* and the *ms-dts* of the tomb owner. This translation, given the context of the scene, also implies that the child of a *sn-dt* or *snt-dt* can also be the *ms-dt* of the tomb owner. The term *ms-dt* may consist of people from the younger generation who would be responsible for the funerary cult of the tomb owner, and might include his children and the children of his or her *sn-dt*

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<sup>663</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 735.

<sup>664</sup> Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 31.

<sup>665</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 848.

<sup>666</sup> Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka*, 59. Junker also translates it this way. See Junker, *Gîza II*, 195.

or *snt-dt*. At least *R<sup>c</sup>-h<sub>tp</sub>* (the fourth man) and *Ppj* (the fifth) are the *ms-dt* of the tomb owner.

If *R<sup>c</sup>-h<sub>tp</sub>* is the only son, it is difficult to explain why he does not appear at the initial position in this sequence. Some of the individuals in the sequence on the south wall also appear in the sequence on the west wall. The man in front of *R<sup>c</sup>-h<sub>tp</sub>*, whose name is *Nj-sw-*Wsrt**, is probably the fifth figure in the sequence on the west wall (Figure 245). It is not clear why *R<sup>c</sup>-h<sub>tp</sub>* precedes *Nj-sw-*Wsrt** on the west wall but follows him on the south wall. The different order in these two sequences can only be a result of different ordering criteria. Probably the sequence of individuals on the west wall are arranged according to their generational difference and their relationship to the tomb owner, while those on the south wall are ordered according to their status or age.

The second man in the south wall sequence is *K<sup>3</sup>-m-n<sub>f</sub>rt*. It is interesting to note that the man represented at the same scale as the tomb owner on the north wall has the same name. He and his wife *Bbj* are identified as the grandparents of the tomb owner because a small female figure led by *Bbj* has the name *D<sub>f</sub>3t.sn*, the same as that of the mother of the tomb owner.<sup>667</sup> Another individual named *K<sup>3</sup>-m-n<sub>f</sub>rt* appears on the west wall. He stands with his hand placed on his chest on the second sub-register between the tomb owner and his *sn-dt*. As Kayser notices, *Whm-k<sup>3</sup>* appears in the chapel of *K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-nj-nswt I* (G 2155).<sup>668</sup> On the north wall, he hands a document to *K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-nj-nswt I*. A man named *K<sup>3</sup>-m-n<sub>f</sub>rt* on a register below is also handing over a document. Both *Whm-k<sup>3</sup>* and *K<sup>3</sup>-m-n<sub>f</sub>rt* in this scene bear the title *jmy-r<sup>3</sup> pr*. On the north wall of the chapel of *Whm-k<sup>3</sup>*,

<sup>667</sup> Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka*, 34-35.

<sup>668</sup> Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka*, 20. Junker, *Giza II*, 164, Abb. 18-19.

*K3-m-nfṛt* bears the title *zš pr-md3t jmy-r3 pr*, the same as that of *Whm-k3*. If the man with the name *K3-m-nfṛt* in the chapel of *K3(.j)-nj-nswt I* and the three men with the same name in the chapel of *Whm-k3* are the representation of the same individual, he cannot be the grandparent of *Whm-k3*. More likely, he is a colleague or relative whom *Whm-k3* assigned as a *ms-dt* or *sn-dt* in his chapel. His title and position in the tomb of *K3(.j)-nj-nswt I* indicate that he is of the same or slightly lower rank as *Whm-k3*. It is possible that he is a younger brother, cousin, or nephew of *Whm-k3*, given that his daughter has the same name as *Whm-k3*'s mother. It is also interesting to note that one of the scribes on the north wall in the chapel of *K3(.j)-nj-nswt I* has the name *R<sup>c</sup>-ḥtp*. He is probably the son of *Whm-k3* depicted in his chapel. The sixth man in the south wall sequence in the chapel of *Whm-k3* is *zš pr-md3t Hnmw-ḥtp*. He is probably the one behind *Whm-k3* in the chapel of *K3(.j)-nj-nswt I*, and thus is also a colleague of *Whm-k3*.

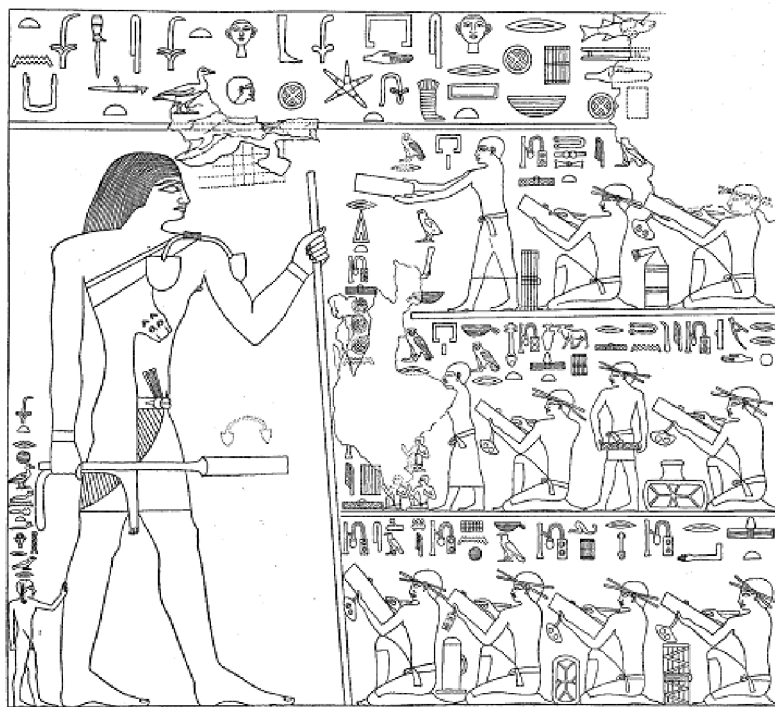


Figure 247. Tomb of *K3(.j)-nj-nswt I* at Giza, North wall, Junker, *Giza II*, 153, Abb. 19.





Figure 248. Tomb of K<sup>3</sup>(j)-nj-nswt I at Giza, West wall, Junker, *Giza II*, 150, Abb. 18.

It is impossible to identify the relationships between the tomb owner and every individual in the scenes, since most of them are not associated with a kinship term, but the identification of some important individuals increases our understanding of the term *sn-dt*. In the case of *Whm-k<sup>3</sup>*, the son of a *snt-dt* can be the *ms-dt* of the tomb owner and play an essential role in the funerary rituals along with the son of the tomb owner. Probably one can appoint his own child to be a *ms-dt*. A *sn-dt* or *ms-dt* can also be a colleague or a relative from the extended family. The son of the tomb owner, as one of the *ms-dts*, is not more important than others when depicted in a sequence.

#### 4.2.3 Other Examples Relating to the Function of the *sn-dt*

A wide variety of contexts in which *sn-dt* or *snt-dt* occurs not only demonstrates the complexity of the term but also provides different ways to understand it.

For example, in the tomb of *Nj-M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>* at Giza, the tomb owner himself is the *sn-dt* of a woman named *Nfr-srs*, and built the chapel for her within his own mastaba.<sup>669</sup> Her chapel occupies the northern part of his mastaba and has an entrance on the east wall. On both thicknesses of the entrance, an inscription reads *jn sn.s dt jmy-r<sup>3</sup> ḥswwt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 Nj-M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> jr n.s jz pn dt.s sk s(j) m ḥnw m jpt-nswt m-šwj jm<sup>3</sup>h.s nfr ḥr nswt r<sup>c</sup> nb* “It was her *sn-dt*, the overseer of singers of the Great House, *Nj-M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*, who made this tomb of her funerary estate for her, when she was at the Residence, in the royal harem, because of her perfect condition of being revered before the king every day.”<sup>670</sup> The titles of *Nfr-srs* include *ḥkrt nswt* “ornament of the king,”<sup>671</sup> *ḥkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt* “sole ornamented one of the king,”<sup>672</sup> *jmyt-r<sup>3</sup> ḥnrwt n nswt* “female overseer of the musical performers of the king,”<sup>673</sup> *jmyt-r<sup>3</sup> jb<sup>3</sup>w n nswt* “female overseer of dancers of the king,”<sup>674</sup> and *jmyt-r<sup>3</sup> šmh-jb nb nfr n nswt* “female overseer of ever goodly entertainment of the king.”<sup>675</sup> The profession of her *sn-dt Nj-M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>* is closely related to hers in regard to music and entertaining. He bears titles including *jmy-r<sup>3</sup> ḥswwt pr-<sup>c</sup>3* “overseer of singers of the Great House,”<sup>676</sup> and *jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šmh-jb nb nfr m ḥnw št<sup>3</sup>w pr-<sup>c</sup>3* “overseer of all goodly entertainment in the residence and of the secrets of the Great House.”<sup>677</sup> From these titles, we know that *Nfr-*

<sup>669</sup> There is no Egyptian term to refer to the individual to whom the *sn-dt* or *snt-dt* is attached. Moreno García “A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society,” 134 using the English word “patron.”

<sup>670</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 205, fig. 226. The the royal harem, see Del Nord, “The term *ḥnr*: ‘harem’ or ‘musical performers’?” in *Studies in ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: essays in honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980*, eds. William K. Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (Boston, MA: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), 137-145. See also Ward, “Reflections on Some Egyptian Terms Presumed to Mean ‘harem, harem-woman, concubine’,” 67-74.

<sup>671</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 794.

<sup>672</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 795.

<sup>673</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 304.

<sup>674</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 301.

<sup>675</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 305. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 204.

<sup>676</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 181.

<sup>677</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 233. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 211.

*srs* and *Nj-M<sup>3c</sup>t-R* both engaged in musical professions in the palace. There are no kinship terms in the preserved inscriptions to determine whether they were relatives. *Nj-M<sup>3c</sup>t-R* has his wife and children represented in his chapel, while no family members appear in *Nfr-srs*'s chapel. Family members often engaged in the same profession, especially those related to musical performance.<sup>678</sup> Therefore, it is possible that *Nfr-srs* is a relative of *Nj-M<sup>3c</sup>t-R*.<sup>679</sup> Moreover, like *Nfr-srs*, women bearing the title *hkr̥t nswt* tend to be buried without their husbands or children depicted in their chapels, such as *Wsr.t-k<sup>3</sup>* at Giza.<sup>680</sup> She has no other relative depicted but her mother's name inscribed on her lintel. In addition, *Nn-sdr-k<sup>3</sup>* at Giza (G 2101), who depicted only her father inside her chapel.<sup>681</sup>

Moreno García suggests that *Nj-M<sup>3c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>* was appointed as the *sn-dt* of *Nfr-srs* because he had to deal with properties concerning her funerary estate and redistribute offerings initially granted to him to her funerary cult.<sup>682</sup> As stated in his inscription on the right thickness of his chapel, *Nj-M<sup>3c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>* received offerings related to the temple and the royal mother. Nevertheless, no evidence shows that *Nj-M<sup>3c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>* would share these offerings with *Nfr-srs*, who was wealthy enough to supply herself with a funerary cult, given her service in the palace close to the king. Similarly, a high official, such as *Pth-htp II* who has as many as 15 *sn-dts* represented in this chapel, does not need to be a secondary recipient of offerings initially delivered to other people. As Chauvet points out, the *sn-dt* is more likely to be a provider of offerings, whom the tomb owner entrusted

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<sup>678</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>679</sup> Chauvet suggests that *Nfr-srs* is a real sister of *Nj-M<sup>3c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>*, see Chauvet, "The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom," 330.

<sup>680</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IX*, 43-47.

<sup>681</sup> Junker, *Giza II*, 97-121, Abb. 8.

<sup>682</sup> Moreno García, "A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society," 130.

during his or her lifetime to carry out funerary interests.<sup>683</sup> Consequently, the purpose of the construction of the chapel of *Nfr-srs* in the mastaba of *Nj-M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>* might have been to ensure that the offspring and ka-priests of *Nj-M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>* would be able to take care of her funerary cult.

The preserved inscriptions do not include any contract between *Nj-M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>* and *Nfr-srs* concerning the transfer of land, but in some cases, such transfer or grant of land does occur between the patron and his or her *sn-dt*. In the tomb of *Pn-mrw* at Giza (G 2197), the tomb owner appointed his *sn-dt* *Nfr-htp* and his children as ka-priests of his funerary estate. This position allows *Nfr-htp* and his children to provide the *p<sup>r</sup>t-hrw* offerings and to bring the *wdb-rd* offerings from vizier *Sšm-nfr* as if they were real family members of *Pn-mrw*. According to this inscription, the responsibilities of *Nfr-htp* and his children include the provision of *p<sup>r</sup>t-hrw* offerings and the distribution of the *wdb-rd* offerings. In return, *Pn-mrw* gave them one *h<sup>3</sup>* measure of land for their service and five *t<sup>3</sup>* measures of land for the *p<sup>r</sup>t-hrw* offerings for the funerary cult of his wife. The tomb owner also claimed that his children and people had no right to the land that he gave to the *Nfr-htp* family.<sup>684</sup> It is interesting to note that his wife does not share the *wdb-rd* offerings with her husband, since her *p<sup>r</sup>t-hrw* offerings would come from the five *t<sup>3</sup>* measures of land. In this example, *Pn-mrw* granted the land not only to *Nfr-htp* but also to his children, and they would take part in his funerary cult. It demonstrates that the duties of the *sn-dt* may extend to his children. In the case of *Whm-k<sup>3</sup>*, the son of his *snt-dt* appears behind his son in the offering list scene, taking part in the funerary rituals. *Nfr-*

<sup>683</sup> Chauvet, "The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom," 319-320, 327.

<sup>684</sup> Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 68, Taf. vi.

*srs* had no children and was buried in *Nj-M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>*'s tomb. It is thus reasonable to assume that the latter's children would take care of her chapel and her offerings too.

In conclusion, the *sn-dt* can be a relative or a friend who takes part in the funerary cult of the tomb owner. The children of the *sn-dt* may also take part in the funerary cult for the tomb owner with land granted for their service. The *sn-dt* and his family remain independent from the children of the tomb owner. It is not clear why some tomb owners appointed a *sn-dt* or multiple *sn-dts* while others did not. It is possible that they entrusted part of the cultic duties to the *sn-dt* to reduce the burden of their children, or as a backup when their children could not fulfill their responsibility. Therefore, the installation of a *sn-dt* extends the responsibilities of close family members to non-family members and remote relatives through the establishment of a metaphorical kinship. This process includes both economic exchange, i.e., the granting of a certain amount of land in return for funerary service, and ethical relationships, i.e., the use of kinship terms.

In the case of *K<sup>3</sup>.j-m-ḥzt* at Saqqara, his *sn-dt* *Ḥtp-k<sup>3</sup>* also received land. On a wooden door that *K<sup>3</sup>.j-m-ḥzt* donated to his father and his brothers, *sn-dt* *Ḥtp-k<sup>3</sup>* appears at the foot of his brother at a small scale. At the bottom of this door leaf, an inscription reads *sn-dt jmy-r<sup>3</sup> qd(w) Ḥtp-k<sup>3</sup> rdjt n.f m N<sup>c</sup>rt grgt Ḥm-df<sup>3</sup> 3ḥt št<sup>3</sup>t 2* “the *sn-dt* and overseer of architects *Ḥtp-k<sup>3</sup>*: giving to him from the *grgt*-domain *Ḥm-df<sup>3</sup>* (of) a field of two arouras in the *N<sup>c</sup>rt* nome.”<sup>685</sup> It is clear that *Ḥtp-k<sup>3</sup>* is the *sn-dt* of his brother *K<sup>3</sup>.j-m-ḥzt* and he was granted two arouras of land, presumably by his brother *K<sup>3</sup>.j-m-ḥzt* for his

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<sup>685</sup> Urk. I, 207.2-3. Moreno García, “A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society,” 131. McFarlane's translation is different. She takes *Ḥtp-k<sup>3</sup>* as the one who gives the land, see McFarlane, *Mastabas at Saqqara: Kaiemheset, Kaipunesut, Kaiemsenu, Sehetepu and Others*, 44.

service as the *sn-dt*. In front of the figure of *K3.j-m-ḥzt* and *Htp-k3*, an inscription reads *jr(.j) nw n jt(.j) n snw(.j) n-mrwt prt-ḥrw n.sn ḥn<sup>c</sup>(.j) m jšt(.j)* “I made this for my father and for my brothers in order that the *prt-ḥrw* are for them together with me from my property.” Moreno García suggests that this is a statement of the *sn-dt Htp-k3* rather than *K3.j-m-ḥzt*.<sup>686</sup> This suggestion, however, seems less likely because a column of inscription in front of the scene usually refers to the major figure rather than the minor one, and *K3.j-m-ḥzt*, in this case, is the major figure in this scene. In this column, the demonstrative *nw* is more likely to refer to the installation of the *sn-dt* and the arrangement of granting land to him. It means that *K3.j-m-ḥzt* appointed one of his brothers as the *sn-dt* to take care of the funerary cult of himself, his father, and his other brothers. In return for the provision of offerings, *K3.j-m-ḥzt* transferred the field to *sn-dt Htp-k3* from his own property.

In the cases that the wife of the tomb owner is the *snt-dt*, the tomb owner probably installed his wife as his offering provider by appointing her as a *snt-dt*. It was, however, not necessary for a wife to become a *snt-dt* to be a provider of offerings for her husband. In the inscriptions from the lintel of a certain *Tntj*, the tomb owner gave one plot of land to his wife and the other to a *sn-dt* so that they would provide offerings for him and his mother.<sup>687</sup> Besides the regular funerary offerings, his wife would redistribute the *prt-ḥrw* offerings from the royalty to him, and his *sn-dt* would deliver the *prt-ḥrw* offerings from the granary and the clothing from the treasury for him and his mother.

<sup>686</sup> Moreno García, “A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of SN-DT in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society,” 130-131.

<sup>687</sup> Now in Cairo, JE 57139. PM III, 308; Urk. I, 163-165, [12 (103)]; Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 122-130, Taf. xiii. Goedicke suggests a Fifth Dynasty date.

According to the inscription, both *Tntj*'s wife and his *sn-dt* were responsible for his funerary cult. Moreover, part of the land granted to the wife was divided among four ka-priests associated with the *hwt-k3*, which would remain under her the control. The *sn-dt*, though also a ka-priest, did not belong to the the *hwt-k3*. Instead, he had full ownership of the land and acted independently.

In some cases, it is not clear why a wife became a *snt-dt* since she could receive the property of her husband via a will, as the case of *Tntj* demonstrates. In the New Kingdom, a wife could not inherit from her deceased husband.<sup>688</sup> Although it may not have been the same custom in later periods, it is interesting to note that, according to a late New Kingdom papyrus, a man adopted his childless wife as his daughter in order to appoint her as an heir to inherit his property.<sup>689</sup> Probably the appointment of a wife as the *snt-dt* authorizes her with full right and responsibilities to set her as an heir legally.

The term *dt* may also occur with different kinship terms, though much less common. Only two examples of *ms-dt* "child of the funerary estate"<sup>690</sup> in tombs at Giza occur in the dataset, in addition to what appears in the tomb of *Whm-k3*. One is from the tomb of *S33t-htp* (G 5150), a *ms-dt* stands at the bottom of the left jamb of the southern false door, named *nh-m-c-k3.j*. This *ms-dt* is a ka-priest. He presents a jar to the tomb owner with one hand and holds a bowl with the other hand. *S33t-htp* has two sons and a daughter, designated as *z3.f n ht.f* and *z3t.f n ht.f* respectively. *nh-m-c-k3.j* does not appear with these children. Moreover, they all appear closer to the tomb owner in the scene, and

<sup>688</sup> Janseen and Pestman, "Burial and Inheritance in the Community of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes (Pap. Bulaq X and O. Petrie 16)," 166.

<sup>689</sup> The Adoption Papyrus, see Alan H. Gardiner, "Adoption Extraordinary," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26 (1941): 23-29, and Janssen and Janssen, *Growing up and Getting Old in Ancient Egypt*, 220-221.

<sup>690</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 451.

none of them is a ka-priest. These iconographic specifics indicate that *ḥm-m-kꜣj* is not a biological child of *Sšꜣt-ḥtp*, and his status is different from that of the three children. Additionally, he is differentiated from other ka-priests on the same jamb without the designation *ms-dt*. *ḥm-m-kꜣj* may have been a relative from the younger generation who was to part in this funerary cult. No depiction of a *sn-dt* occurs in the preserved reliefs in this tomb.

The other example comes from the tomb of *Mdw-nfr* at Giza. The five men on the tomb owner's false door jambs are designated as *msw.f nw dt*. The first man on the left jamb is marked separately as *zꜣ.f smsw* "his eldest son" to indicate his status as a child. The other two individuals below him have names and titles inscribed in front of their figures, but these texts do not include specific kinship designations. However, based on the column of inscription that includes the text *msw.f nw dt*, they must be the *ms-dts* of the tomb owner. The one on the middle register holds a censor and the one below him carries a large bird. The three men on the other side also carry offerings. The text in front of them also includes *msw.f nw dt*, indicating that they too have this designation. This *Mdw-nfr* had four sons. Two of them are designated as *zꜣ.f smsw*, and the other two are *zꜣ.f*. Three of them appear on the panel of the false door and stand in front of the tomb owner and his wife. It is interesting to note that *Mdw-nfr* has two wives depicted on his false door. This may explain the existence of the two eldest sons.<sup>691</sup> All the *ms-dts* bear

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<sup>691</sup> Naguib Kanawati, "Polygamy in the Old Kingdom of Egypt?" *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 4 (1976): 158. Kanawati, "The Mentioning of More than One Eldest Child in Old Kingdom Inscriptions," 242. For the possibility that *Mdw-nfr* remarried after the death of his first wife, McCorquodale suggests, if more than one wife is shown in the tomb, and none of them have the iconographic features to indicate that she is dead, it is more likely to be an indication of polygamy. See McCorquodale, *Representations of the Family in the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Women and Marriage*, 67. See also Simpson's discussion on remarriage, Simpson, "Polygamy in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom?" 100-105.



the title *zš pr-mdḥt ntr* “scribe of the house of archives of the god,”<sup>692</sup> while the two eldest sons are entitled *hry-hbt*. It is also worth noting that the tomb owner also bears the title *zš pr-mdḥt ntr*. Therefore, the *ms-dts* depicted on his false door are closely related to the tomb owner in the workplace. They are probably relatives of the tomb owner of a younger generation and would be responsible for his funerary cult.



Figure 249. False door of *Mdw-nfr* at Giza, Curto, *Gli Scavi italiani a el-Ghiza*, pl. xxv.

In the Saqqara area, the dataset has one example of a *zḥ.f dt* “his son of the funerary estate” and the other of a *zḥt.f dt* “his daughter of the funerary estate.” On a block from the tomb of an unknown official, a man named *Tntj* has the designation *zḥ.f*

<sup>692</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 849.

*dt*.<sup>693</sup> Wearing a short wig, he carries a scepter in one hand and places the other hand on his chest. His relationship to the tomb owner is unclear.

The example of the *z3t.f dt* comes from the false door of *Hm-mnw*, who is buried in the tomb of his father *Tp-m-ꜥnh*.<sup>694</sup> His two wives appear on the panel with one on each side.<sup>695</sup> The one on the right side is marked as *hmt.f z3t dt Hm-3htj*.<sup>696</sup> It is less likely that *Hm-mnw* married his own daughter because there is no suffix pronoun *f* after *z3t*.<sup>697</sup> Given that *Hm-mnw* is buried in his father's tomb, *Hm-3htj* is more likely to be a *z3t dt* of *Tp-m-ꜥnh*, her father-in-law.<sup>698</sup>

An interesting example that mentions the *ms-dt* comes from the tomb of *Nj-k3-ꜥnh* at Tehna. This early Fifth Dynasty tomb contains a table of duties on the east wall. This table lists the names of a group of individuals and the schedules of their service for the cult of Hathor and the funerary cult of a man named *Hnw-k3*.<sup>699</sup> The two duty rosters, one above the other, are arranged in the opposite order with one person to be responsible for each month. The roster on the upper part of the table is for the cult of Hathor. It begins with the wife of the tomb owner, who is followed by the eldest son *Hm-Hwt-Hr* and other

<sup>693</sup> Strudwick, "Three Monuments of Old Kingdom Treasury Officials," 45-51, pl. IV(3).

<sup>694</sup> The inscription on the right jamb states that *Tp-m-ꜥnh* made the false door for his son. For the text, see Urk. I, 33. See also translations in Silverman, "Pectorals, Seals, and Seal Cases(?)," 349; Nigel Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Atlanta: Soc. of Biblical Literature, 2010), 248.

<sup>695</sup> Each woman sits before her offering table beneath a man of the same stance. The connection of the two men with *Hm-mnw* is not stated in the inscription. See discussion in McCorquodale, *Representations of the Family in the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Women and Marriage*, 80.

<sup>696</sup> Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1937), 89.

<sup>697</sup> Father-daughter marriages are rare in the Old Kingdom with only two possible examples. See McCorquodale, *Representations of the Family in the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Women and Marriage*, 120-121.

<sup>698</sup> Perepelkin suggests that she is *Tp-m-ꜥnh*'s daughter, see Perepelkin, *Privateigentum in der Vorstellung der Ägypter des Alten Reichs*, 66.

<sup>699</sup> In the second tomb of *Nj-k3-ꜥnh*. For the text, see Urk I, 25,2, and Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 131-143, Taf. XVI. The tomb was first published by George W. Fraser, "The Early Tombs at Tehneh," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 3 (1902): 67-76, pl. IV.

children. In the roster for the cult of *Hnw-k3* on the lower part of the table, the wife appears as the last and the eldest son second to the last. This arrangement prevents these people from serving the two cults in the same month.

To the right of the table, a column of inscription associated with the first roster reads *hmw-ntr jr.w.n(.j) pw m msw dt(.j) r w<sup>c</sup>b n Hwt-Hr jw jr(w) 3ht st3t 2 jn hm (n) Mn-k3w-R<sup>c</sup> n hmw-ntr jpn r w<sup>c</sup>b hr.s* “They are the priests that I have set up from the children of my funerary estate to perform purification for Hathor; two *st3t* of land have been set up by the majesty of *Mn-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>* for these priests to perform purification therefrom.”<sup>700</sup>

Based on the literal understanding of this inscription, it seems that all these people should be the *ms-dt* of the tomb owner. The wife, however, is not a *ms-dt*, and it is unclear whether others on the roster are biological children of the tomb owner. A line of the inscription above the first eleven boxes reads *rh-nswt jmy-r3 hwt-<sup>c3</sup>t Nj-k3-<sup>c</sup>nh hmt.f rht-nswt Hdt-hknw msw.s* “The royal acquaintance, overseer of the great estate,<sup>701</sup> *Nj-k3-<sup>c</sup>nh*, his wife, the royal acquaintance, *Hdt-hknw*, and her children.” The eleventh box is empty, and the last three individuals in the last two boxes are not underneath this inscription.

Therefore, it is possible that they are not the family members of the tomb owner and the empty box is inserted here to separate them from the children.<sup>702</sup> Some scholars argue that the individual behind the empty box, *hm-ntr Hm-Hwt-Hr*, is the same person as the

<sup>700</sup> In Goedike’s copy in Taf. XIV, the preposition *m* following *pw* is missing. In the copy of Fraser, the *st3t* sign is missing. See Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 131-143, Taf. XVI, and Fraser, “The Early Tombs at Tehneh,” pl. IV.

<sup>701</sup> For the title *jmy-r3 hwt-<sup>c3</sup>t*, see Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 163.

<sup>702</sup> Helck interprets the empty box as a result of a mistake of the artists to place the figure of the wife one box further to the right. See Wolfgang Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 31 (München; Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1974), 10-52, 142-145.

second one, the eldest son  $z\check{s}^{c(w)}(nw) nswt \dot{H}m-\dot{H}wt-\dot{H}r$ .<sup>703</sup> This suggestion is implausible if considering their schedules of priestly services. The  $\dot{h}m-n\dot{t}r \dot{H}m-\dot{H}wt-\dot{H}r$  is responsible for the third month of  $\check{s}mw$  in the roster for Hathor and the second month of  $\beta ht$  for the cult of  $\dot{H}nw-k\check{z}$ . The  $z\check{s}^{c(w)}(nw) nswt \dot{H}m-\dot{H}wt-\dot{H}r$  is scheduled to perform his duties in the second month of  $\beta ht$  for Hathor and the third month of  $\check{s}mw$  for the cult of  $\dot{H}nw-k\check{z}$ . If one admits that these two rosters are arranged in the opposite order to ensure that the schedules in the two cults do not conflict,  $\dot{h}m-n\dot{t}r \dot{H}m-\dot{H}wt-\dot{H}r$  and  $z\check{s}^{c(w)}(nw) nswt \dot{H}m-\dot{H}wt-\dot{H}r$  are unlikely to be the same person.

Another important aspect of this example is the assignment of the priestly services for the cult of  $\dot{H}nw-k\check{z}$  by  $Nj-k\check{z}-c\dot{n}h$  to his family members. According to the inscriptions,  $\dot{H}nw-k\check{z}$  is not the grandfather, father, brother, or son of  $Nj-k\check{z}-c\dot{n}h$ .<sup>704</sup> Both  $\dot{H}nw-k\check{z}$  and  $Nj-k\check{z}-c\dot{n}h$  bear the title  $rh-nswt$ . Bearing the same title indicates that they are of similar social status. The relationship between  $\dot{H}nw-k\check{z}$  and  $Nj-k\check{z}-c\dot{n}h$  is, to a certain degree, similar to that between a patron and his  $sn-\dot{d}t$ . Although there is no reliable evidence that  $Nj-k\check{z}-c\dot{n}h$  was a  $sn-\dot{d}t$ , his duties for the provision of offerings to  $\dot{H}nw-k\check{z}$  indicates a role similar to that of a  $sn-\dot{d}t$ . A possible reason for the absence of the designation  $sn-\dot{d}t$  is that the patron usually designated his  $sn-\dot{d}t$ , but the person who worked as a  $sn-\dot{d}t$ , in most cases, did not designate himself as the  $sn-\dot{d}t$ .<sup>705</sup>

<sup>703</sup> Elmar Edel, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften Des Alten Reiches* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1981), 45-46. Peter Der Manuelian, "An Essay in Document Transmission:  $Nj-k\check{z}-c\dot{n}h$  and the Earliest  $hrjw rnpt$ ," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45, no. 1 (January, 1986): 11-12.

<sup>704</sup> The names of the parents of  $Nj-k\check{z}-c\dot{n}h$  is mentioned in the early tomb. In the inscriptions concerning the cult of  $\dot{H}nw-k\check{z}$ , it is stated that the offerings are also for "his father, his mother, his children, and all his family members." Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 132.

<sup>705</sup> An exception is a certain  $\dot{T}smw$  who designates himself as the  $sn-\dot{d}t$  of  $Pth-\dot{h}tp$  in his own tomb at Saqqara.

A unique example from a lintel with unknown provenance<sup>706</sup> provides deeper insight into the term *sn-dt*. On this block, the inscription reads *mwt.f n dt.f Nfrj*. Bolshakov, who first discussed this monument, translates it as “his own mother *Nfrj*” rather than “his mother of his funerary estate, *Nfrj*.” He argues that it is unreasonable for a person to assign his funerary service to his mother because a mother would predecease her children. For this reason, Perepelkin’s theory that *dt* has the meaning “one’s own” fits the context. It may indicate a widowed mother’s dependence upon her son.<sup>707</sup> This interpretation, however, is unreasonable, because the translation “his own mother” does not make much sense and a widow could receive land and perform funerary duties for her deceased husband together with her children, just as in the case of *Nj-k<sup>3</sup>-nh*. A more plausible explanation is that the designation *mwt.f n dt.f* is based on one’s *sn-dt*. In other words, it is a designation of the mother of one’s *sn-dt*.

#### 4.2.4 The meaning of *sn-dt*

Though we have as many as 57 examples of *sn-dt* in the dataset, the existing evidence is still insufficient for a clear conclusion about the exact meaning and function of this term. The examples discussed in this chapter, however, reveal some of its essential aspects.

As these examples demonstrate, a *sn-dt* could a man or a woman (*snt-dt*). The patron of the *sn-dt* is always male. A man could be the *sn-dt* of a woman, such as the case

<sup>706</sup> Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Inv. No. Gl.295. The lintel is not published. Bolshakov’s article is the only article that refers to it. See below.

<sup>707</sup> Andrey O. Bolshakov, “*mwt.f n(j).t dt.f* – ‘his own mother’,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 141 (1994): 39–42. Perepelkin does not mention this example in his book. For people associated with *dt*, see Perepelkin, *Privateigentum in der Vorstellung der Ägypter des Alten Reichs*, 29–73, 112–148.

of *Nj-M<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>*, who is the *sn-dt* of a woman named *Nfr-srs*. There is no evidence of a woman being the *snt-dt* of another woman. In most cases, both the patron and the *sn-dt* are men.

A *sn-dt* (or *snt-dt*) may have been a real brother or sister of the tomb owner. In the tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh* at Giza, a man named *Jttj* bearing the designation *sn-dt* is a real brother, because *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh* appears in the tomb of *Jttj* with the designation *sn.f* “his brother.”<sup>708</sup> As a real brother of *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh*, the designation of *Jttj* is *sn.f n dt.f* instead of *\*sn.f sn.f dt*. The two designations, *sn.f* and *sn-dt*, do not occur with the same person in any of the examples in the dataset. In other words, if a real sibling is appointed as a *sn-dt* or *snt-dt*, he or she would not be designated as *sn.f* “his brother” or *snt.f* “his sister” in the inscriptions, but only *sn-dt* or *snt-dt*. For this reason, it is difficult to know whether the *sn-dt* or *snt-dt* is a real sibling of the tomb owner. Moreover, the designation *sn-dt* refers to the status of its bearer in relation to the tomb owner with the pronoun *f*.<sup>709</sup>

The wife of the tomb owner can be his *snt-dt*. For example, in the tomb of *Nfr-htp* at Giza, his wife is also his *snt-dt*. In this case, the designation *snt-dt* is not a substitute for *hmt.f* “his wife.” The fact that one’s wife can be his *snt-dt* also demonstrates that the *sn-dt* or *snt-dt* is not necessarily to be a biological sibling.<sup>710</sup> However, there is no example of a husband being the *sn-dt* of his wife. For other kinship designations attached with *dt*, we have a few examples of *msw-dt* and a single example of *mwt-dt*, but there is no example of *\*jt-dt* “father of the funerary estate.” Individuals bearing the designation

<sup>708</sup> Harpur, “Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza,” 24-30.

<sup>709</sup> Harpur, “Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza,” 28.

<sup>710</sup> Harpur, “Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza,” 29.



responsible for the reallocation of offerings, such as the case of *Pn-mrw*. This is, however, not a reason for the appointment of a *sn-dt*, because we have other evidence of the reallocation of offerings without the involvement of a *sn-dt*.<sup>714</sup> The case of *Pn-mrw* and *K3.j-m-ḥzt* indicate that the *sn-dt* received land in return for their funerary service of providing the *pwt-ḥrw* offerings. In the case of *Tntj*, the tomb owner granted one of the two fields that he acquired from the king to his wife and the other to his *sn-dt*. Part of the land belonging to the wife was then divided among four ka-priests who were under her control. The land belonging to the *sn-dt*, however, remained separated from the control of the wife.<sup>715</sup> This example indicates that the *sn-dt* was not under the control of other family members and was differentiated from the ka-priests. Probably the appointment of a *sn-dt* enabled an individual to take part in the funerary cult, but remained independent from other family members.

In conclusion, the use of the kinship designation *sn* or *snt* in the term *sn-dt* is to integrate socially (or economically) related individuals into one's family with a metaphorical kinship of siblinghood. In other words, the tomb owner incorporates individuals outside his family into a kindred framework by metaphorical kinship, *sn-dt* or *snt-dt*. This integration may indicate that family and kinship relations form the basis of the supportive installation of funerary practices. The function of the *sn-dt*, however, goes far beyond a biological sibling. People designated as *sn-dt* have socio-economic significance in the funerary cult. The *sn-dt* may have been an individual independent of but equal to a family member to provide offerings in return for a certain amount of land

<sup>714</sup> For example, *Pr-sn* at Saqqara (D45).

<sup>715</sup> Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 122.



granted to him or her. The *sn-dt* may also have the responsibility for reallocating offerings from others to the tomb owner.

### 4.3 Conclusion

Family groups refer to the representation of the tomb owner and more than one family member in a scene on a wall or a tomb chapel or on the false door. The depiction of family groups was more popular in the Fifth Dynasty than in the Sixth Dynasty in the Memphite region. More than half of the family groups are on the false door and the west wall.

In a family group, the arrangement of family members may be based on their genders. Sons and brothers often appear with the male tomb owner, while daughters and sisters appear with the wife of the tomb owner. When depicted on the false door, male family members tend to appear on the left side, while female family members are on the right side. Sons and daughters may stand on different registers with the sons above the daughters. When standing on the same register, sons tend to be in front of daughters. In some cases, the children of the tomb owner in a sequence are ranked according to their birth order, but the eldest son always occupies the initial position. Family groups also reflect the ancient Egyptian generational concepts. The depiction of the tomb owner and his children parallels that of his parents and himself. The representation of the older generation shows no signs of aging. There is no direct interaction between the parents of the tomb owner and his children. Siblings in a family group do not appear at the initial position. Grandchildren are usually represented as naked youths at the foot of the tomb

owner or on the false door. As a pictorial language-game, the depiction of a family group integrates both gender and generational arrangement into the scene to express the conceptual existence of the identity and the social network of the tomb owner. A family group is related but not equal to a household. The household is a domestic social unit. A family group depicted on chapel walls is conceptual. It may also be a dynamic expression of the transition of the household from the older to the younger generation. The depiction of family groups in private chapels is more popular in Giza and Saqqara in the Fifth Dynasty than in the Sixth Dynasty and remains popular provincial sites in the Sixth Dynasty. This reflects the evolving familial ideology during this period and the changing conventions in a familial context when people commemorated the dead.

The term *sn-ḏt* or *snt-ḏt* refers to an individual whom the tomb owner appointed to take care of his or her funerary cult. The depiction of *sn-ḏt* or *snt-ḏt* occurs mostly in private tombs from the Fifth Dynasty to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty. The use of the term demonstrates a conscious effort to integrate non-family members or remote relatives into the familial realm so that they could also take on the funerary responsibilities assigned to a family member. Other kinship terms attached with *ḏt* may have been related to the *sn-ḏt*, and the children of the *sn-ḏt* could be the *ms-ḏt* of the tomb owner. Similarly, the term *mwt-ḏt* may be explained as the mother of the *sn-ḏt*.

## CHAPTER 5 THE ROLE OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN THE FUNERARY CULT

### 5.1 Family Members Carrying Offerings

As discussed in the previous chapters, children and siblings of the tomb owner appear as offering bearers carrying things such as birds, forelegs, and trays or baskets filled with other types of food. Children grasping small birds in their hands may stand at the foot of the tomb owner in a variety of scenes. Sons and brothers sometimes carry the forelegs of bulls in a line of offering bearers proceeding towards the tomb owner. The depiction of children and siblings carrying offerings appears not only in a variety of scenes on a chapel wall but also on the false door.

The ancient Egyptians believed that the false door connected the worlds of the living and the dead. The ka of the deceased could pass through this door to the netherworld and come back to receive the offerings. As the focus of the cult of the deceased, family members placed offerings in front of the door for the tomb owner to (symbolically) consume. It also functions as a shrine for the statue.<sup>716</sup> For this reason, the representation of family members as offering bearers often occurs on the false door.

The way family members carry offerings reflects their role in the funerary cult and, more precisely, the tomb owner's perception of how his family members should behave as suppliers of offering.

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<sup>716</sup> Silvia Wiebach, *Die Ägyptische Scheintür: Morphologische Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Hauptkultstelle in Den Privat-Gräbern des Alten Reiches* (Hamburg: Borg, 1981), 128, 142-144. For the discussions of the function of the false door by different scholars, see *ibid.* 63-66.

### 5.1.1 Scenes of Individuals Who Stand at the Foot of the Tomb Owner and Carry Birds

The depiction of children standing at the foot of the tomb owner and carrying a bird or several birds in their hands may indicate their status as an offering bearer because birds are a type of offering presented to the tomb owner in the funerary cult. This stance occurs mainly on chapel walls and less frequently on false doors, with only two examples in Giza and four in Saqqara.<sup>717</sup> The majority of examples depict sons. In the dataset, only two daughters appear in this stance: *Z3-jb* (G2092+2093) at Giza and *Mḥw* at Saqqara.

A scene of carrying birds while standing at the foot of a major figure falls into Stance AS-4 in the typology discussed in Chapter 1.<sup>718</sup> Stance AS-4 also occurs in combination with other stances, such as Stance AS-2-4, holding the staff of the tomb owner while carrying a bird, and Stance AS-1-4, touching the tomb owner while carrying a bird. In Giza, most examples of children who stand at the foot of the tomb owner and carry birds appear in Stance AS-2-4 (as an adult) or AS-2-4-Y (as a youth). One exception is a son of a certain *Ttj*, who appears in AS-1-4-Y, touching the tomb owner while carrying a bird. The other exception is the daughter of *Z3-jb* (G2092+2093), who appears in Stance AS-4 with a bird in each hand. In Saqqara, children carrying birds in Stance AS-1-4 occur in four tombs. Examples of children carrying birds in Stance AS-4 also occur in Saqqara. The majority of the examples are in the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j* and his son *Mry-Ttj*. Other examples occur in the tombs of *Bj3* called *Jry*, the double tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Hmw* & *Hmw-ḥtp*, and *Pth-špss* (Abusir).

<sup>717</sup> *Ttj*, and *Hwfw-ḥnh* at Giza, and *Nj-k3w-Rc*, *ḥnh-m-ḥk3(j)*, and *Nj-k3w-Hr* at Saqqara. As discussed in Chapter 1, children carrying offerings are more likely to appear in Stance B-3 on false doors.

<sup>718</sup> For tombs containing this stance, see tables in Appendix VI.

Children carrying birds while standing at the foot of the tomb owner is a depiction most popular in Saqqara and less prevalent in Giza. All the nine samples in Giza date to the Fifth to the early Sixth Dynasties. For the 20 samples in Saqqara, ten date to the Fifth Dynasty and ten belong to the Sixth Dynasty. It is worth noting that scenes of children who stand at the foot of the tomb owner and carry birds continued in Saqqara in the later Sixth Dynasty, but died out in the Giza region by the early Sixth Dynasty. Only two examples are attested in the provincial sites, both dating to the Fifth Dynasty. It is possible that the tradition of children carrying birds at the foot of the tomb owner started during the Fifth Dynasty but survived into the mid-Sixth Dynasty only in the Saqqara area.

When a family member appears in chapel decoration, the meaning that it expresses is usually twofold. Firstly, the depiction of a family member emphasizes his or her identity and relationship with the tomb owner. Secondly, it points to the roles of family members in a funerary context. In brief, the depiction of a family member reflects the the tomb owner's perception of who this family member was and how he or she should act for him/her for his funerary cult.

In general, the scene of standing at the foot of the tomb owner emphasizes the relationship between the father and his children. The significant difference in the scale of the tomb owner and his child are far from a realistic rendering of the two individuals. In other words, the scene of a child represented at the foot of the tomb owner is not a depiction of an actual occasion, but a conceptual expression of a father-child relationship set in a funerary context. The large scale of the father emphasizes his importance, while the diminutive figure of the children at his foot indicates their dependence and

subordinate status. Representing the children as naked youths further reflects this relationship. In most cases, children who stand at the foot of the tomb owner face the same direction as the tomb owner, symbolizing this supportive role. Carrying birds further signifies their role as offering suppliers. The depiction of this specific iconography, however, does not point to any ceremonial or ritual action that happened at the funeral.

Myśliwiec suggests that the eldest son represents an “alter ego” of the tomb owner and when he stands at his father’s foot, he becomes his father’s reincarnation. He becomes his living *ka* when shown with his feet overlapping those of his father.<sup>719</sup> Moreover, the eldest son gradually becomes an iconographic copy of his father’s figure.<sup>720</sup> The activity of carrying small birds, however, is not one that the father takes part in. In fact, the depiction of the eldest son carrying small birds standing at the foot of the tomb owner has an interesting regional distribution and needs further investigation. In Giza, the eldest in this stance occurs in only three tombs. In Saqqara, however, depictions of eldest sons carrying small birds at the foot of the tomb owner occur in 18 tombs, with 9 dating to the Fifth Dynasty and 9 to the Sixth Dynasty.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Saqqara tombs display more obvious gender discrepancy in the depiction of children. More sons and fewer daughters appear in Saqqara than in Giza. Moreover, children depicted at the foot of the tomb owner tend to have contact with the tomb owner more frequently in Giza than in Saqqara. Sons, especially the eldest ones, had more economic significance in the family because they

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<sup>719</sup> Myśliwiec, “Father’s and Eldest Son’s Overlapping Feet: An Iconographic Message,” 306.

<sup>720</sup> Myśliwiec, “Father’s and Eldest Son’s Overlapping Feet: An Iconographic Message,” 307.

usually followed their father's career path and were responsible for the funeral and the maintenance of the funerary cult of their parents. In Saqqara, the emphasis on sons, especially eldest sons, signifies their unique roles in the funerary cult and their economic importance. The difference of artistic representation in Giza and Saqqara reflects a nuance of distinct family ideology in the two sites. Scenes in Giza stress kinship ties between family members, while scenes in chapels in Saqqara promote the practical role of children, especially sons.

### 5.1.2 The Depiction of Family Members Carrying Offerings

Stance B-3 encompasses family members standing and carrying offerings.<sup>721</sup> Such individuals in Stance B-3 appear in various locations in the chapel. They are on false doors with offerings in their hands, or they may stand in a sequence of offering bearers before or beneath the tomb owner; sometimes they stand near the tomb owner, without being in a sequence.

The most obvious function of the depiction of a family member as an offering bearer is to identify him or her as an offering supplier for the tomb owner. Depending on the locations of their occurrence in the chapel, the messages these depictions conveyed varied, and the differing perspectives communicate language-games with alternated foci.<sup>722</sup>

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<sup>721</sup> For tombs containing Stance B-3, see Appendix VI.

<sup>722</sup> Each language-game, verbal or visual, has its own starting point, aim, and focus. See discussion in René van Walsem, "The Interpretation of Iconographic Programmes in Old Kingdom Elite Tombs of the Memphite Area. Methodological and Theoretical (Re)considerations," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995*, ed. Christopher. J. Eyre (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 1209-1210.

Scenes of family members carrying offerings in a procession connote the action of presenting the offerings in the funerary ritual. They do not focus on the individual offering bearer but the preparation and presentation of offerings by a group of people as a whole.<sup>723</sup> Moreover, it is not only an elaborated and stylized depiction to capture what may have happened at the funeral, but also a graphic solidification of the ritual empowered with magic to ensure its eternal continuity.<sup>724</sup> As a language-game, the procession of offering bearers visualizes the tomb owner's expectation to those who enter the chapel regardless of their identity. For family members and ka-priests who take care of the funerary cult, these images reflect the tomb owner's perception that a continuous ritual is taking place. The specific language-game thus connects the tomb owner and his visitors by "describing" the (sub)theme of the procession of offering bearers.

Family members who appear as offering bearers (Stance B-3) on the false door usually do not belong to a long sequence given the limited space of the panel and the door jambs. Other stances of the B type also occur on the false door, such as B-1 (with a hand placed on the chest), B-2 (with arms pendent), B-4 (carrying accessories), B-5 (holding lotus flowers), and B-Y (as a youth sucking the index finger). The depiction of family members on the false door aims to emphasize their identity and their relationship to the tomb owner as an expression of familial intimacy. When family members entered the chapel to make offerings, their representation on the false door would recall a familial

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<sup>723</sup> It does not mean the scenes are narrative, but a static combinations of the ritual, see John Baines, "On Functions of Writing in Ancient Egyptian Pictorial Representation," in *Iconography without Texts*, ed. Paul Taylor (London: Warburg Institute, 2008), 95-126.

<sup>724</sup> Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs*, trans. Andrew Jenkins (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2003), 63-66. See also Erik Hornung, *Idea into Image: Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought*, trans. Elizabeth Bredeck (New York: Timken, 1992), 36.



relationship directly connected to the tomb owner whose ka would come forth from the false door to receive offerings. The following table summarizes the number of tombs that contain children carrying offerings.

Table 11. Number of tombs containing depictions of children carrying offerings and their location in the chapel<sup>725</sup>

Position in the chapel	Dynasty	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites
On false door	Total	13	10	1
	V	6	6	1
	V.L-VI	7	3+1	
In a sequence of offering bearers	Total	8	13	17
	V	3	4	
	V.L-VI	4+1	9	17
In other locations	Total	5	10	12
	V	3	2	1
	V.L-VI	1+1	7+1	11
Total		26	33	30

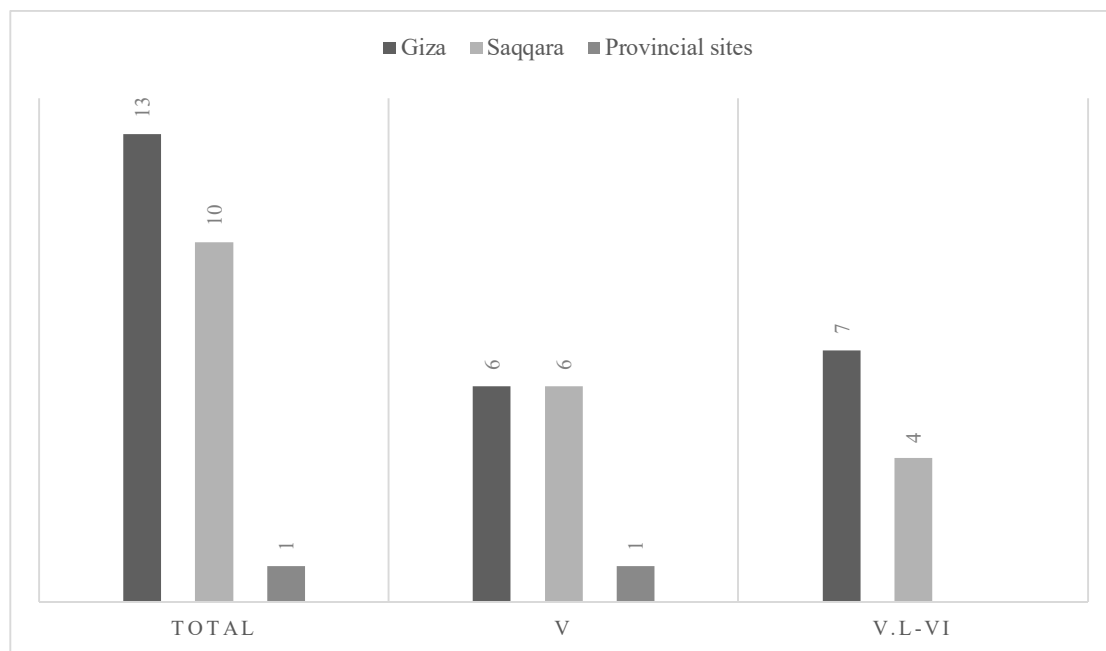


Figure 250. Number of tombs containing depictions of children carrying offerings on the false door

<sup>725</sup> The plus sign indicates the number of tombs with an uncertain date from the Fifth to the Sixth Dynasties.

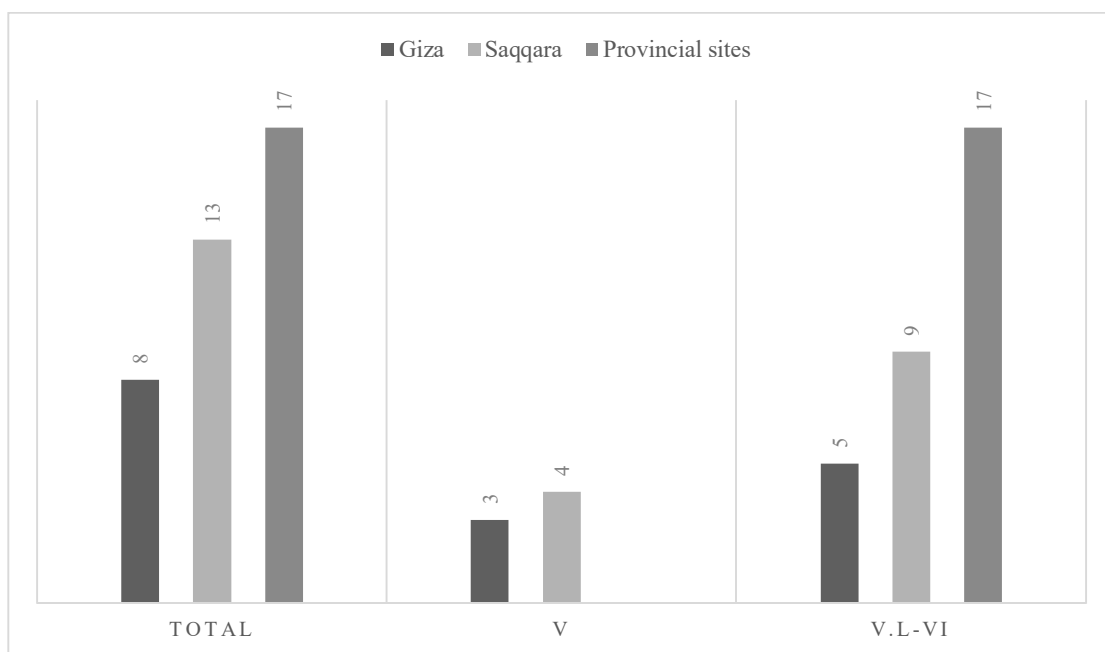


Figure 251. Number of tombs containing depictions of children carrying offerings in a sequence of offering bearers

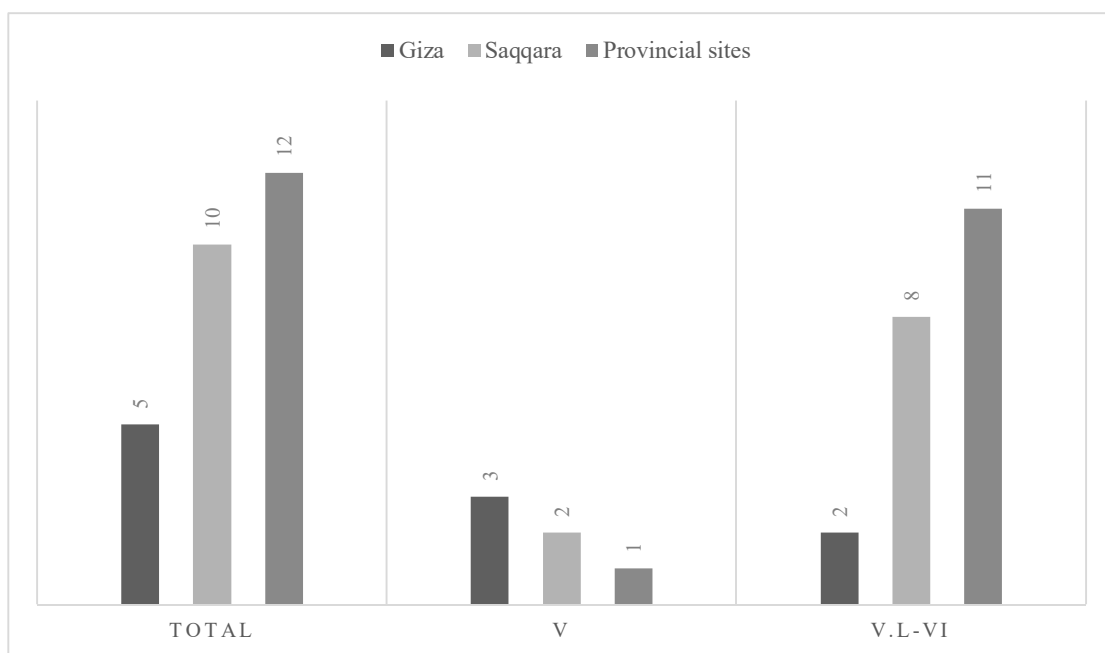


Figure 252. Number of tombs containing depictions of children carrying offerings in other places in the scenes

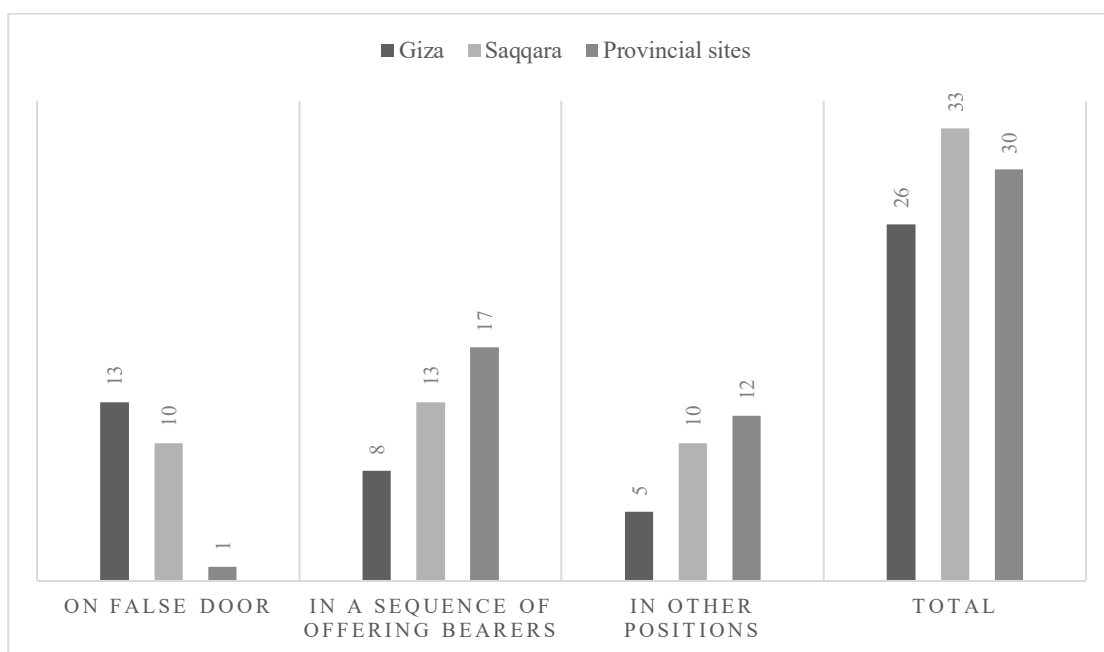


Figure 253. Number of tombs containing depictions of children carrying offerings and their location in the chapel

As shown in the tables and the bar graphs, the chronological and regional distribution of the locations of the scene of children carrying offerings in the chapel display the following features:

- a) Both Giza and Saqqara chapels have scenes of children carrying offerings on the false door in the Fifth Dynasty. However, this location became less favored in Saqqara during the Sixth Dynasty, though chapels at Giza still have this scene on the false door as before.
- b) Provincial tombs usually do not place this scene on the false door.
- c) The representation of children carrying offerings in a sequence of offering bearers on the chapel wall most often occurs in the provincial sites. It became popular in Saqqara from the end of the Fifth Dynasty. However, it is not prevalent in Giza in both the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties.

d) For the depiction of children carrying offerings on the chapel wall but not in a sequence of offering bearers, it became popular in Saqqara and the provincial sites in the Sixth Dynasty, but never prevalent in Giza.

e) Overall, tombs at Giza tend to place the scenes of children carrying offerings on the false door all the time, while tombs at Saqqara and provincial sites place these scenes on chapel walls more often, especially in the Sixth Dynasty.

Siblings of the tomb owner also occur as offering bearers in a few examples. As shown in the following table, they mostly appear in a sequence of offering bearers on chapel walls in Saqqara. In Giza, they both occur on false doors and in a sequence of offering bearers on chapel walls.

Table 12. Number of tombs containing depictions of siblings carrying offerings and their location in the chapel

Position in the chapel	Dynasty	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites
On false door	Total	4	5	3
	V	3	2	
	V.L-VI	1	3	3
In a sequence of offering bearers	Total	3	1	
	V	3		
	V.L-VI		1	
In other positions	Total	1	2	
	V	1		
	V.l-VI		2	
Total		8	8	3

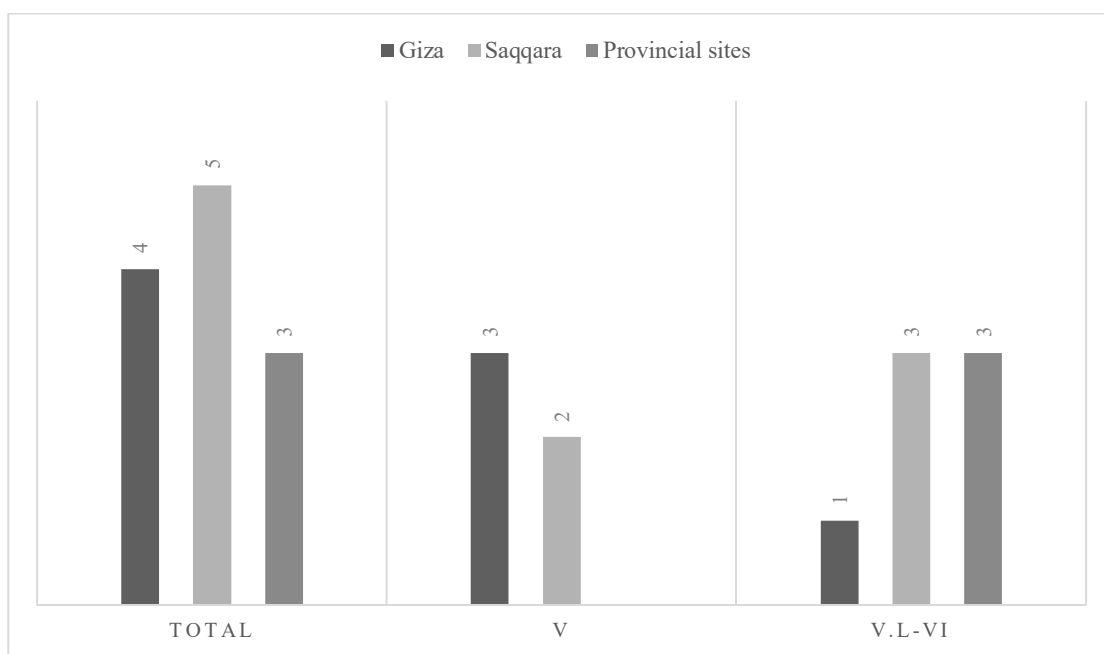


Figure 254. Number of tombs containing depictions of siblings carrying offerings on the false door

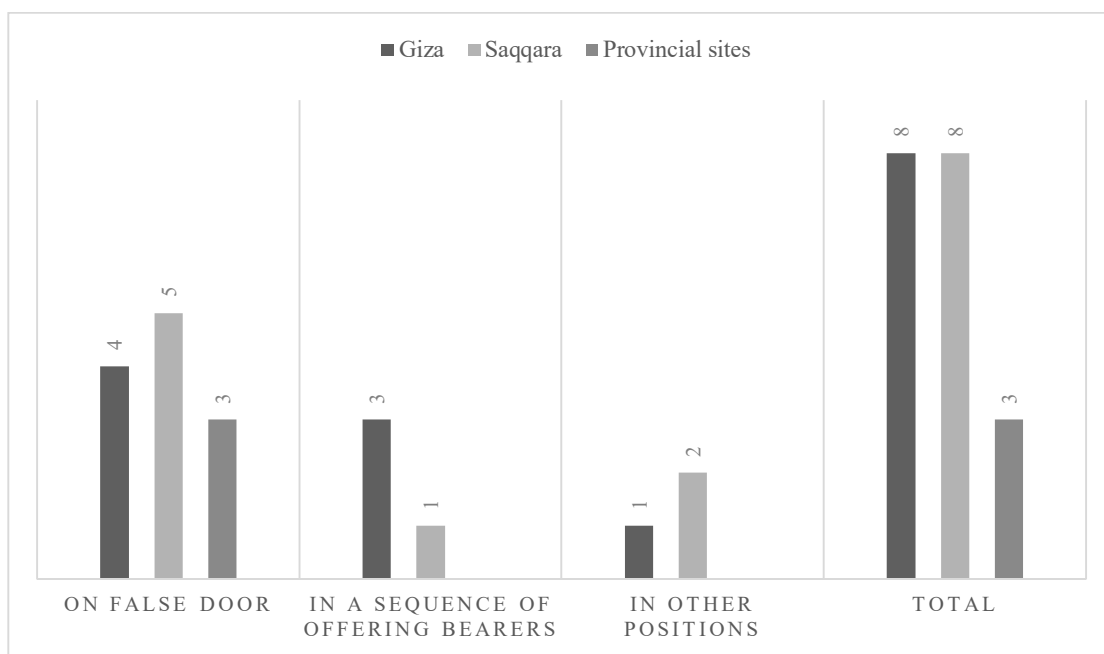


Figure 255. Number of tombs containing depictions of siblings carrying offerings and their location in the chapel

Family members of both genders appear as offering bearers, though the majority are sons. The total number of sons who were offering bearers is 174, while that of the daughters is only 25: 11 in Giza, 3 in Saqqara, and 11 in provincial sites. Moreover, the majority of daughters carrying offerings in their hands appear on false doors in Giza. In the provincial sites, however, daughters in this stance mainly appear in a sequence of offering bearers on chapel walls. The less frequent appearance of daughters in Saqqara reflects a local tradition that is different from that of Giza and the provincial sites. This distinction probably indicates that they were not expected to take part in the funerary ritual of presenting offerings in Saqqara, or at least that the decoration in the Saqqara region preferred not to depict daughters as offering bearers, nor to emphasize their involvement in the presentation of offerings.

Nuances and iconographic preferences in the depictions of family members as offering bearers in Giza and Saqqara are closely related to certain social changes from the Fifth to the Sixth Dynasties. One of the major shifts during this period was how the construction of elite tombs were financed. In the Fourth Dynasty, the royal administration commissioned the construction of private tombs in Giza and assigned them to high officials who later added the design of the chapel and its decoration.<sup>726</sup> In the Fifth Dynasty, the relocation of royal tombs from Giza to Abusir and Saqqara marked a turning point in aspects of the conception of private funerary settlements in the Old Kingdom. Some tombs of high officials remained in Giza without moving to the vicinity of the royal pyramid.<sup>727</sup> The responsibility for constructing of private tombs then shifted from

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<sup>726</sup> Chauvet, "The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom," 20.

<sup>727</sup> Chauvet, "The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom," 57-58.

royalty to tomb owners.<sup>728</sup> Following in part the model created during the Fourth Dynasty, high officials retained Giza as the location for their burials over the course of several generations. By the end of the reign of Neferirkare, officials bearing high administrative titles still build their burials at Giza.<sup>729</sup> From the Fifth Dynasty, family ties and administrative offices may have been the primary factor in determining the location of their tombs.<sup>730</sup> Some officials built their tombs at Saqqara near the pyramid of the king to whom their priestly titles are attached.<sup>731</sup> In the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, major changes took place in the constructing of private tombs. The multi-roomed superstructure became one of the major features.<sup>732</sup> From the end of the Fifth Dynasty, officials serving for the contemporary administration were buried around the Pyramid of Unas. This shift reflects a return to a certain degree of organization of private tomb construction. During this period, the organization of tombs at Saqqara and Abusir featured family clusters and family complexes.<sup>733</sup>

Chauvet investigates the inscriptions relating to private tomb construction from the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasties and discusses the involvement of the tomb owner, his

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<sup>728</sup> Chauvet, "The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom," 59.

<sup>729</sup> such as "overseer of granaries," "overseer of the treasury," "overseer of the judiciary," "overseer of public works," and "overseer of the scribal administration," see Ann M. Roth, "The Organization of Royal Cemeteries at Saqqara in the Old Kingdom," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 25 (1988): 201-214.

<sup>730</sup> Roth, "The Organization of Royal Cemeteries at Saqqara in the Old Kingdom," 202-203; Michel Baud, "Aux pieds de Djoser: Les mastabas entre fossé et enceinte de la partie nord du complexe funéraire," in *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer I*, eds. Catherine Berger and Bernard Mathieu (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III, 1997), 74; Chauvet, "The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom," 64.

<sup>731</sup> Miroslav Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids: Abusir* (Praha: Academia Škodaexport, 1994), 63-98. Bárta, *Abusir V: The Cemeteries at Abusir South I*, 121. Chauvet, "The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom," 60-61.

<sup>732</sup> Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 106-107. See also Peter Janosi, "The Tombs of Officials: Houses of Eternity," in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, eds. John P. O'Neil and Carol Fuerstein (New York: the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 34.

<sup>733</sup> For example, three generations involved in the construction of the tomb of *Mdw-nfr* at Giza (G 4630), and *K3-m-hst* made a tomb not only for himself, but also for his father and brothers. For discussions about the family complexes, see Chauvet, "The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom," 66, 261-273.

family members, friends, and royalty. In the later Old Kingdom, officials used their personal funds to construct their tombs. Not only did phrases, such as “by means of his own arm” and “it is with my own property that I made this,” become a standard phraseology in the inscriptions, but the differentiation between the royal bestowal and properties acquired through inheritance and personal service also became a common feature of the phraseology.<sup>734</sup> Additionally, the royal involvement had become less significant from the Fifth Dynasty in comparison with the private activities in tomb construction.<sup>735</sup>

The change in tomb construction may have been one of the causes of the increase in the scenes of children in a sequence of offering bearers. Because the private funerary establishment became more important for the supply of offerings, the tomb owner started to stress the involvement of his family. The chapel wall thus provides a broader stage for exhibiting the economic significance of family members.

Furthermore, changes in the political realm, including an increase in titles and administrative functions, led to two coexisting systems: administrative and functional offices held by officials of non-royal origins, and honorific and ceremonial offices shared by royal family members.<sup>736</sup> Under these circumstances, the tomb owner tended to highlight his relationship with the king in the later Old Kingdom.<sup>737</sup> These changes resulted in an emphasis on the personal achievement of non-royal officials and their

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<sup>734</sup> Chauvet, “The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom,” 191-198, 213-214.

<sup>735</sup> Chauvet, “The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom,” 396-397.

<sup>736</sup> Wolfgang Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen alten Reiches* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1954), 111-119; Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, 338-340; Chauvet, “The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom,” 68-69. For the political change during this period, see also Bárta, “Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers: Executive Power in the Third Millennium BC,” 164-175.

<sup>737</sup> Chauvet, “The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom,” 70.



dependence on family members for their funerary cult. On the one hand, tomb owners underscored their personal achievement and relationship with the king explicitly. On the other hand, they built their own tombs and relied on family members for the supply of the offerings. Removing family members from the false door and placing them among the processions of offering bearers as part of the funerary establishment expresses this dependence more implicitly. Officials buried at Giza still followed the old tradition, while those who moved to Saqqara started to express the new familial ideology from the end of the Fifth Dynasty and its increasing emphasis on the supportive financial role of the family members and a decreasing expression of intimacy between parents and children.

## 5.2 Family Members Carrying *stpt*-offerings

The depiction of family members carrying offerings in a sequence of offering bearers sometimes has the caption *shpt stpt* “bringing the choice offerings.” This type of scene is worthy of attention because they may refer to a specific ritual associated with the funeral and the cult of the dead.

### 5.2.1 The Nature of the *stpt*-offerings

In the expression *shpt stpt*, *stpt* may be the passive participle of the verb *stp* “to choose,”<sup>738</sup> and thus translated as “choice offerings.” Signs following *stpt* are usually the signs of the foreleg.<sup>739</sup> However, the bull-head sign,<sup>740</sup> or even a calf with one leg cut off

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<sup>738</sup> Erman, *Wörterbuch Der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Bd. 4, 336-337. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, 1258.

<sup>739</sup> F23 and F24, Gardiner, *Grammar*, 464.

<sup>740</sup> E1, Gardiner, *Grammar*, 461.

and the other three tied up with ropes, can occasionally replace it.<sup>741</sup> Some scholars translate the bull, foreleg, and bull-head signs as separate words.<sup>742</sup> It is, however, more reasonable to take these signs as the determinatives of *stpt*. Sometimes the bird sign or the bird-head sign also follow *stpt* or the foreleg sign.<sup>743</sup> Therefore, it is possible that both the foreleg sign and the bird sign are the determinatives to refer to the two types of offerings that compromise the *stpt*-offerings.<sup>744</sup>

Offering lists usually include the entry *stpt*. In the offering list on the west wall of the chapel of *Pth-ḥtp II* at Saqqara, the last entry consists of the word *stpt*, a calf with legs tied together, and a trussed goose.<sup>745</sup> The signs that follow *stpt* in this entry can vary in different tombs. A brief survey of these variations may provide clues to the meaning and content of the *stpt*-offerings.

Table 13. Signs following *stpt* in offering lists<sup>746</sup>

Signs following <i>stpt</i>	Name of Tomb Owner
one bird	<i>K3.j-m-ḥnh</i> (Giza, VI)
one bird and one foreleg	<i>Nfr-šsm-šs3t</i> (Giza, VI)
one bird and two forelegs	<i>Dfdj</i> (Saqqara, V)
one bound calf and one bird-head	<i>Jn-k3.f</i> (Giza, V) <sup>747</sup>
one calf with legs tied up and one trussed bird	<i>Pth-ḥtp II</i> (Saqqara, V) <sup>748</sup>

<sup>741</sup> For an example, see *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir, see Kanawati et al., *The Cemetery of Meir I*, pl. 84.

<sup>742</sup> For example, *shp stpwt 3pdw* “bringing joints of meat and birds,” T. G. H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1953), 49. *shp stpt k3w wšnw rnpt nbt* “bringing the choice things of oxen and fowl and all year-offerings,” Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara V*, 41.

<sup>743</sup> G38 or H1, Gardiner, *Grammar*, 471, 473. *stp* with three birds signs means “Gänse”, Erman, *Wörterbuch Der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Bd. 4, 337. No entry for *stp* with foreleg or bird determinatives in Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*.

<sup>744</sup> Hassan suggests the *stpt* means the presentation of the selected meet offerings consisting of either beef or geese, or all the food in general. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza VI-2*, 95-96.

<sup>745</sup> G54, Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 473.

<sup>746</sup> Based on Hassan, *Excavations at Giza VI-2*, pls. xvi, xxiv, xxxii, xl, xlviii, lvi, lxiv, lxxii, lxxx, lxxxviii, xcvi, cxiv, cxix, cxli. For the publications of these tombs, see Hassan, *Excavations at Giza VI-2*, 113-155.

<sup>747</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza VI*, Part III, 125-131. PM III, 247. See also Appendix I, Table I.1.

<sup>748</sup> See Appendix I, Table I.2.

one foreleg	<i>Ns-m-n3w</i> (Giza, V), <i>Nj-k3-nswt</i> (Giza, V), <i>Sdm-k3.j</i> (Giza, V), <i>Mry-sw-chnh</i> (Giza, V), <i>K3-k3.j-chnh</i> (Giza, V), <i>Shm-b3j</i> (Saqqara, V), <i>Ty</i> (Saqqara, V), <i>Nb-k3w-Hr</i> (Saqqara, VI), <i>Jhy</i> (Dahshur, VI), <i>Mrw</i> (Sheik Said, VI) <sup>749</sup>
one foreleg and one bird	<i>K3.j-gm-nj</i> (Saqqara, VI), <sup>750</sup> <i>Jdw</i> (Giza, VI), <sup>751</sup> ; <i>Hc-mrrw-Pth</i> (Saqqara, V)
one foreleg and one bird-head	<i>Jn-k3.f</i> (Giza, V) <sup>752</sup>
one foreleg and three pieces of meat	<i>Sn.t</i> (Saqqara, VI)
one foreleg, one bird-head, and one piece of meat	<i>Bjw</i> (Saqqara, VI)
one foreleg, one joint meat, and one piece of meat	<i>S3t-jnt-Ttj</i> (Saqqara, VI)
one bird-head	<i>M3c-hrw-Pth</i> (Saqqara, VI), <i>Ppy-jm3</i> (Saqqara, VI), <i>Hnw</i> (Giza, V)
one bird-head and one bull-head	<i>Swd3-k3.j</i> (Giza, V), <i>Wr.j</i> (Giza, VI), <i>Mnj-nw</i> (Giza, VI), <i>Snj</i> (Saqqara, VI)
one bird-head, one foreleg, and one bull-head	<i>Jdj</i> (Saqqara, VI)
one bird-head, one bull-head, and one foreleg	<i>Sbky-by</i> (Heliopolis, VI)
one bird-head, one bull-head, and one head of a long-horned animal	<i>Htp.j</i> (Giza, VI)
one bull-head and one bird-head	<i>Wsr-ntr</i> (Saqqara, V), <i>Hwjn-n-Pth</i> (Giza, V), <i>K3-pw-Pth</i> (Giza, VI), <i>Spss-Pth</i> (Saqqara, VI)
one bull-head and two bird-heads	<i>Mrrw-k3.j</i> (Saqqara, VI) <sup>753</sup>
one bull-head in the middle and two bird-heads on each side	<i>S3m-nfr</i> (Giza, V)
one bull-head and one bird-head, and one foreleg	<i>Jtj</i> (Saqqara, V)
one loaf of bread, one beer jar, and one round loaf	<i>S3y</i> (Saqqara, VI)
one piece of meat	<i>Hnnt</i> (Sheikh Said, VI), <i>Nhft-k3.j</i> (Deshasha, VI)
one trussed bird	<i>Ppy</i> (Saqqara, VI)
three birds and a foreleg	<i>chnh-m-c-k3.j</i> (unknown, V)

<sup>749</sup> See Appendix I, Table I.3.

<sup>750</sup> See Appendix I, Table I.2.

<sup>751</sup> See Appendix I, Table I.1.

<sup>752</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza VI*, Part III, 125-131. PM III, 247. See also Appendix I, Table I.1.

<sup>753</sup> See Appendix I, Table I.2.

three forelegs	<i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (Giza, V), <sup>754</sup> <i>Hnmw-htp</i> (Saqqara, V), <i>Nfr-bʿw-Pth</i> (Giza, V), <sup>755</sup> <i>Jj-mry</i> (Giza, V), <sup>756</sup> <i>Jdwt</i> (Saqqara, VI), <i>ḥnh-m-ḥr</i> (Saqqara, VI), <sup>757</sup> <i>Hw-wj-Pth</i> (Unknown, IV?), <i>Kʿ-jr</i> (Saqqara, VI)
three forelegs, one beer jar, one loaf of bread, and three loafs of bread	<i>Kʿ-m-nfrt</i> (Giza, VI)
three birds with wing spread	<i>Sdʿw-kʿ.j</i> (Unknown, V)
two birds	<i>Tsn</i> (Giza, V), <i>ḥnh-m-ḥ-kʿ.j</i> (Saqqara, V)
two forelegs	<i>Tsn</i> (Giza, V), <i>Nj-ḥnh-Ppy</i> (Saqqara, VI) <sup>758</sup>
two bird-heads	<i>Kʿ-hjf</i> (Giza, VI) <sup>759</sup>
two trussed birds	<i>ʿhtj-htp</i> (Giza, early V or early VI) <sup>760</sup>
no signs following stpt	<i>Rḥ-mry-Pth</i> (Saqqara, V), <i>Kʿj</i> (Giza, V), <i>Wr-ḥww</i> (Giza, V), <i>Nj-ḥnh-Mʿt</i> (Saqqara, V), <i>Hmw</i> (Giza, V), <i>Mʿ-nfr</i> (Saqqara, V), <i>Mhj</i> (Saqqara, VI)

As the table demonstrates, the bird-head sign commonly follows *stpt* in the offering list. In 13 tombs, the entry has only the foreleg signs following *stpt*. In eight tombs, it has only bird-related signs. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that both the foreleg and the bird signs are the determinatives of *stpt*.

A scene from the chapel of *Shm-kʿ* at Saqqara further confirms that the bird sign can be the determinative of *stpt*.<sup>761</sup> On the left outer jamb, the caption above five offering bearers carrying large birds reads *shd ḥmw-kʿ hr stp stpt m Wʿg Dhwt ʿbd ...nt ʿwt dt* “the inspector of the ka-priests is choosing the choice offerings in the joyful *Wʿg* festival,

<sup>754</sup> See Appendix I, Table I.1.

<sup>755</sup> See Appendix I, Table I.1.

<sup>756</sup> See Appendix I, Table I.1.

<sup>757</sup> See Appendix I, Table I.2.

<sup>758</sup> See Appendix I, Table I.3.

<sup>759</sup> See Appendix I, Table I.1.

<sup>760</sup> PM III, 284, See also Appendix I, Table I.1.

<sup>761</sup> Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas: Part I-II* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt and B. Quaritch, 1905), Part I, pl. vii.

*Dhwt* festival, Month festival, and Half-month festival, forever.”<sup>762</sup> In this caption, the sign following *stpt* is a trussed bird. The trussed bird sign and the offering bearers carrying birds in the scene indicate that birds are considered as *stpt*-offerings. Similar situations occur in the chapel of *Jnpw-ḥtp* and *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb*. In the case of *Jnpw-ḥtp*, the offering bearers carry only birds, while those of *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* carry only forelegs. In the two tombs, both the foreleg and the bird sign occur in the caption following *stpt*. The *stpt*-offerings, therefore, probably refer to a set of offerings consisting of forelegs and birds, which are presented to the tomb owner after slaughtering and processing. In each case, the offering bearers can carry either the foreleg or the bird to represent the whole set of *stpt*-offerings.

A unique example occurs in the chapel of *Mry-Tj*, son of *Mrrw-kꜣ.j*. On the south wall of Room C3, a sequence of 31 offering bearers appears on the bottom register below the offering list scene.<sup>763</sup> The first five offering bearers carry forelegs, and the following five carry large birds. They are the only offering bearers inscribed with titles and names on this register. Situated behind them, the remaining 21 offering bearers are without names and titles. The designations and titles of the named offering bearers indicate that forelegs and birds are important offerings presented to the tomb owner by people close to him. In front of this sequence of offering bearers, an inscription reads *shpt stpt* “bringing the choice offerings.”<sup>764</sup> The word *stpt* is written with three foreleg signs and three bird signs. The inscription above the procession of the offering bearers reads *ndt-ḥr rnpt-nbt*

<sup>762</sup> Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, Part I, 25.

<sup>763</sup> Kanawati et al., *Mereruka and His Family*, Part I, pl. 49.

<sup>764</sup> Kanawati et al. suggests the vertical inscription continues horizontally above these offering bearers, see Kanawati et al., *Mereruka and His Family*, Part I, 33.

*nfṛt jnnt n.f m ḥwwt.f m njwwt.f nt T3-mḥw Šmꜥw r prt-ḥrw n.f ...* “*ndt-ḥr* offerings and good all-year offerings which are being brought for him from his estates, from his towns of the Delta and the Upper Egypt for the invocation offerings for him...”<sup>765</sup> This inscription indicates that the choice offerings are related to the *ndt-ḥr* offerings and good all-year offerings.

The word *ndt-ḥr* means “gift,” or “gift from the estate (Gabe der Stiftungsgüter).”<sup>766</sup> Altenmüller’s study on the content of the *ndt-ḥr* offerings further clarifies the nature of the *stpt* offerings. According to him, the term *ndt-ḥr* is a “salutation-gift” to the tomb owner.<sup>767</sup> It consist of a long narrative version of the presentation of the *ndt-ḥr* offerings to the tomb owner usually contains scenes of handing over papyrus scrolls, presenting desert animals, conducting cattle, and bringing fowls. Not all of these scene types appear in any one tomb, but scenes of conducting cattle are always included.<sup>768</sup> In the chapel of *Ḥw.n-wh* at Quseir el-Amarna, the offering bearers on the west and east walls carry almost the same offerings, including forelegs and birds. Those on the west wall have the caption *stpt*, while those on the east have *ndt-ḥr*. This distribution suggests that the terms *stpt* and *ndt-ḥr* possibly refer to the same set of offerings. Unlike the *stpt*-offerings, the *ndt-ḥr* offerings are not listed in the offering inventory. Altenmüller suggests that *ndt-ḥr* offerings are part of the *prt-ḥrw* offerings.<sup>769</sup>

<sup>765</sup> Kanawati et al., *Mereruka and His Family, Part I*, 33.

<sup>766</sup> Erman, *Wörterbuch Der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Bd. 2, 372-373. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, 686.

<sup>767</sup> Hartwig Altenmüller, “Presenting the *ndt-ḥr*-offerings to the Tomb Owner,” in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague, May 31 - June 4, 2004*, ed. Miroslav Bárta (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2006), 25.

<sup>768</sup> Altenmüller, “Presenting the *ndt-ḥr*-offerings to the Tomb Owner,” 25-30.

<sup>769</sup> Altenmüller, “Presenting the *ndt-ḥr*-offerings to the Tomb Owner,” 30-32.

The *pṛt-ḥrw* offerings, however, are seldom included in the offering inventory either.<sup>770</sup> If the *ndt-ḥr* offerings contain a group of offerings brought to the tomb owner as the offerings of “greetings” and “gifts,” the *stpt*-offerings may have been taken from the *ndt-ḥr* offerings. In other words, *ndt-ḥr* could be a term used to define offerings of certain animals and products brought to the tomb owner from the estate. It emphasizes the presentation of the offerings under the supervision of scribes and the documentation of the offerings as a deed for eternal ownership.<sup>771</sup> The *stpt*-offerings refer to forelegs, processed birds, and other food that are ready to be provided to the tomb owner for consumption. Therefore, the terms *stpt* and *ndt-ḥr* are descriptions of two different aspects of funerary offerings.

Bringing the *stpt*-offerings usually has association with slaughtering the cattle near the chapel.<sup>772</sup> Slaughter scenes usually occur with scenes of presenting the *stpt*-offerings.<sup>773</sup> In the case of *Nfr-sšm-Pth*, for example, the butchery scene appears on the lower register below the offering table scene on the east wall of Room 3.<sup>774</sup> The inscription associated with the scene reads *shpt stpt n k3 n ḥry-tp nswt jmy-r3 wpwt ḥtp-ntr jmy-r3 ḥwt wrt mdw rhyt jwn knmwt jm3ḥw ḥr nswt ḥr ntr c3 Nfr-sšm-Pth* “bringing of choice offerings for the ka of the royal chamberlain,<sup>775</sup> overseer of the divisions of divine

<sup>770</sup> Except for *Ms-s3* (the Fourth Dynasty), See Hassan, *Excavations at Giza XI*, pl.1.

<sup>771</sup> Altenmüller, “Family, Ancestor Cult and Some Observations on the Chronology of the Late Fifth Dynasty,” 29.

<sup>772</sup> The identification of the location of the slaughter areas is in doubt, but it possibly happened in an open area. See Ikram, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt*, 81-107.

<sup>773</sup> In the L-shaped chapels, the butchery scenes are related directly to the scene containing the table of offerings, especially in later tombs. See Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 82. The presentation of offerings usually occurs with the table scene.

<sup>774</sup> Alan B. Lloyd, A. Jeffrey Spencer, and Ali El-Khouli, *The Mastaba of Neferseshemptah*, Saqqara Tombs 3 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2008), pl. 22.

<sup>775</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 788.

offerings,<sup>776</sup> overseer of the great court,<sup>777</sup> staff of Rekhyt-people,<sup>778</sup> support of *knmwt*,<sup>779</sup> the revered one before the king, before the great god, *Nfr-sšm-Pth*.<sup>780</sup> This inscription identifies the process of slaughtering the bull as part of the “bringing the *stpt*-offerings.” The false door is on the west wall of the same room. The lower register of the north and south walls each has a procession of offering bearers carrying forelegs, birds, and other food offerings. Both processions move towards the false door. The scenes in this chapel illustrate the process of bringing the choice offerings well. The butchers slaughtered the bull probably outside the chapel and cut the forelegs. Sons, brothers, ka-priests, and other dependents of the tomb owner then brought the forelegs to the false door, together with other offerings.

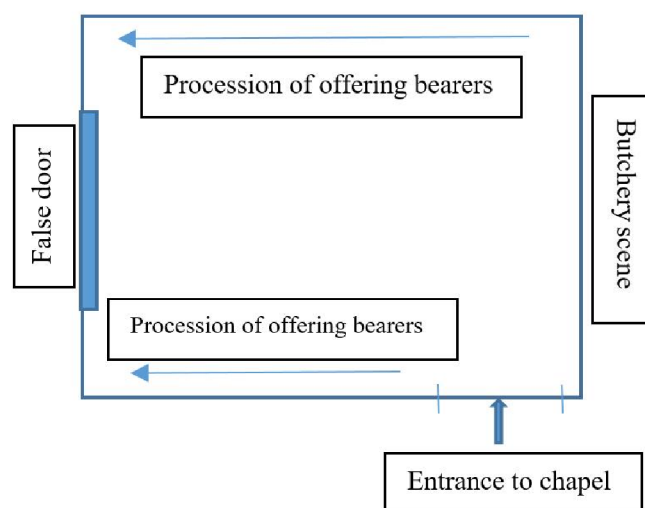


Figure 256. Scenes and orientation of Room 3, tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Pth*<sup>781</sup>

<sup>776</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 97.

<sup>777</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 164.

<sup>778</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 453.

<sup>779</sup> Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, 6.

<sup>780</sup> Lloyd et al., *The Mastaba of Nefersehemptah*, 25.

<sup>781</sup> Lloyd et al., *The Mastaba of Nefersehemptah*, pls. 19-22.



Processions of male offering bearers carrying forelegs and large birds frequently appear below the offering table and offering list scenes. The eldest son carrying a foreleg normally occupies the initial position. Brothers, *sn-dts*, and ka-priests follow the eldest son. The caption provides information about the identity of these figures with expressions such as “*stpt*-offerings ... brought by his children, his siblings, and his ka-priests of the (*pr*-)*dt*.” Such captions imply that children and siblings of the tomb owner would provide the choice offering for him. Some examples further illustrate the nature of the *stpt*-offerings and the role of family members in providing these offerings.

Some examples further illustrate the nature of the *stpt*-offerings.

### *Hntj-k3 at Saqqara, Dynasty VI*

In the tomb of *Hntj-k3*, a procession of male offering bearers appears on the south wall of the north chapel (Room III).<sup>782</sup> The first three offering bearers carry forelegs, and the fourth carries a bundle of five birds. A cage at his foot contains another five birds. Nine offering bearers behind them carry baskets, trays of food, and bundles of papyrus plants. An inscription above the offering bearers reads *ndt-hr rnpt nbt nfrt jnnt n.f m hwwt.f njwwt.f nt T3-mhw Šm<sup>c</sup>w jmywt tnwj jn msw<.f> snw.f hmw-k3 nw dt.f* “*ndt-hr* offerings and good all-year offerings which are being brought for him from his estates and his towns of the Delta and Upper Egypt, which are within the limits of the cultivation, by <his> children, his brothers, and ka-priests of his funerary estate.”<sup>783</sup> In front of the first foreleg bearer, a short inscription reads *shpt stpt* “bringing the choice

<sup>782</sup> James, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi*, pl. xiv.

<sup>783</sup> James, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi*, 49. James translates the *ndt-hr rnpt nbt nfrt* as “gifts of all fine year-offerings.”

offerings.” This example demonstrates that the *stpt*-offerings are part of the *ndt-ḥr* offerings.

***Mḥw at Saqqara, Dynasty VI, Teti***

On the north and south walls of the offering chapel, a procession of offering bearers carrying forelegs and birds appear below the offering table scene. With their upper torsos bending forward, the first five offering bearers carry forelegs. The following five carry large birds. An inscription above these offering bearers reads *shpt stpt jnnt n.f m ḥwwt njwwt.f m swt.f ḥwwt k3w ntywt m Mḥw Šmꜥw jmywt tnwj jn msw.f snw.f ḥmw-k3 nw pr-dt* “bringing the choice offerings which are being brought to him from his estates and towns, from his places, ka-chapels in the Delta and Upper Egypt, which are within the limits of the cultivation, by his children, his brothers, and the ka-priests of the funerary estate.”<sup>784</sup> Individual offering bearers in the sequence, however, are anonymous, without any kinship designations or titles such as children, brothers, or ka-priests. The caption, therefore, may have become a formulaic statement of the responsibility of children, siblings, and the ka-priests and the sources of the offerings without the actual presence of these specific individuals in the scene.

***Ḥzj at Saqqara, Dynasty VI, Late Teti***

On the east wall of the chapel, a sequence of 15 male anonymous offering bearers stand on the second register from the bottom. They carry a variety of food offerings and bundles of papyrus plants and hold the leashes of small live animals, such as calves,

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<sup>784</sup> Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*, 178, Taffel 61-70.

onyxes, and gazelles.<sup>785</sup> The caption of this register reads *shpt stpt rnpt nbt jn msw.f snw.f dd.sn jw [nn n] jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wpt htpt-ntr m prwj jm<sup>3</sup>hw w(?) Hzj* “bringing the choice offerings and the all year-offerings by his children and his brothers. They say, ‘This is for the overseer of apportionments of the god’s offering in the two houses, the honored one, Hesi.’”<sup>786</sup> Similarly, a sequence of 15 offering bearers appears on the third register from the bottom. The inscription above them reads *shpt stpt rnpt nbt jnnt m hwwt.f m njwwt.f m swt.f nt T<sup>3</sup>-mhw Šm<sup>c</sup>w j[n] hmw-k<sup>3</sup> nw pr-dt dd.sn jw nn n k<sup>3</sup> n Hzj* “bringing the choice offerings and all year-offerings which are being brought from his estates, from his towns, and from this places of the Delta and Upper Egypt by the ka-priests of the funerary estate. They say, ‘This is for the ka of Hzj.’”<sup>787</sup> Presumably, offering bearers on the second register from the bottom represent the children and brothers of the tomb owner, while those on the third register from the bottom symbolize the ka-priests of the funerary estate. Moreover, the caption on the third register specifies the origin of the offerings, which are “from his estates from his towns and from this places of the Delta and Upper Egypt.”

This example illustrates that the ancient Egyptians grouped family members and the ka-priests separately, though they were written together in many captions. It is also evident that *msw.f* and *snw.f* are not part of the genitive structure of *pr-dt* or *dt*, though family members can be designated as *msw-dt* or *sn-dt*. Therefore, *msw.f* and *snw.f* in the captions should not be understood as *msw.f dt* and *snw.f dt*. Only the ka-priests in this context belong to *pr-dt* or *dt*. In the examples of *Hntj-k<sup>3</sup>*, *Mhw*, and *Hzj*, no siblings of the

<sup>785</sup> For a discussion of the species of the animals, see Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara V*, 41.

<sup>786</sup> Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara V*, 41-42.

<sup>787</sup> Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara V*, 41-42.

tomb owner appear in chapel scenes, although the captions mention *snw.f*. It is possible that the caption had developed into a formulaic expression during the Sixth Dynasty, and children, siblings, and ka-priests had become the customary providers of the *stpt*-offerings.

### 5.2.2 Examples of Family Members Carrying *stpt*-offerings and the Relevant Captions

In the Giza region, the tombs of *Jnpw-ḥtp* and *Šndm-jb / Jntj* are good examples of family members who are offering bearers that carry the *stpt*-offerings. In the tomb of *Jnpw-ḥtp*, family members appear on the door jambs of the entrance to his chapel at Giza. The parents of the tomb owner and their children (siblings of the *Jnpw-ḥtp*) appear on the east jamb. Represented at a large scale, the figures of the parents occupy the upper part of the scenes. The three brothers of the tomb owner appear as offering bearers on a register below. On the bottom register, four sisters wearing long sheath dresses and long wigs appear in Stance B-1. On the west jamb, *Jnpw-ḥtp*, his wife, and their children resemble the arrangement and stances of those on the east jamb. The caption above the offering bearers on the east jambs reads *shpt stpt <m> prt-ḥrw r<sup>c</sup> nb* “bringing *stpt*-offerings <as> invocation offerings every day.”<sup>788</sup> The caption on the west reads *shpt stpt <m> prt-ḥrw m ḥb nb* “bringing *stpt*-offerings <as> invocation offerings in every festival.”<sup>789</sup> The signs following the word *stpt* on the east jamb are the bull-head and the bird, while those on the west jamb are the bull-head and the bird-head. This difference may have been a result of the extra sign *m* on the west jamb that takes the space of the bird sign. All the offering

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<sup>788</sup> Junker, *Giza IX*, 166.

<sup>789</sup> Junker, *Giza IX*, 163.

bearers carry birds instead of forelegs of bulls, although the bull-head sign appears behind the word *stpt*. Therefore, both the bull-head and the bird signs, or the bird-head sign, are determinatives of the word *stpt*. In other words, both bulls and birds are part of the choice offerings (*stpt*).<sup>790</sup> The reason for the absence of offering bearers carrying forelegs in this scene, however, is unclear. If the birds are part of the choice offerings, they probably can represent all offerings that belong to the “choice offerings.”

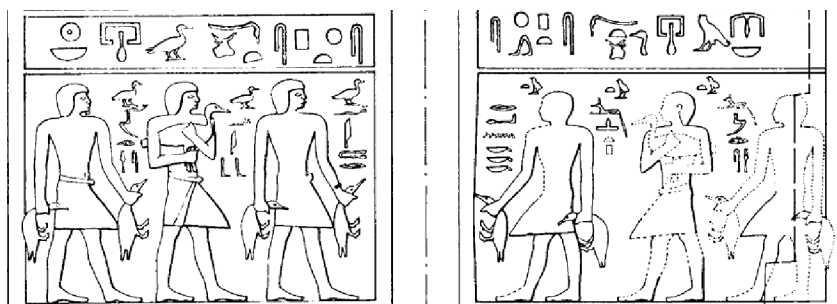


Figure 257. Tomb of *Jnpw-ḥtp* at Giza, Junker, *Giza IX*, 162, Abb. 73.

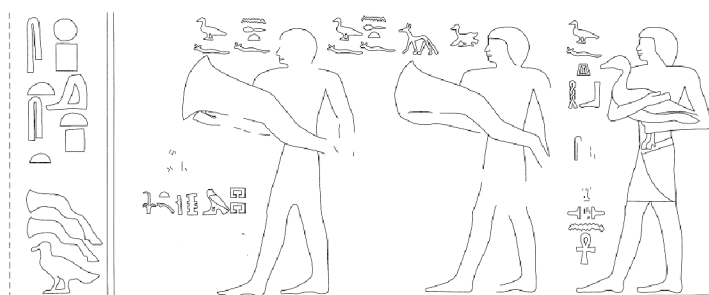


Figure 258. Tomb of *Snḏm-jb / Jntj* at Giza, Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, pl. 65.

In the tomb of *Snḏm-jb / Jntj*, the representation of sons carrying offerings occurs on the north wall of Room IV. The three sons proceed a sequence of offering bearers

<sup>790</sup> See discussion in Chapter 4.

carrying various types of on the lower register beneath the seated tomb owner. According to Brovarski's reconstruction, the first two sons carry a foreleg, and the third holds a bird.<sup>791</sup> A column of inscription before the first son reads *shpt stpt* "bringing the choice offerings," ending with two foreleg signs and a bird sign. On the south wall in Room VI, similarly, processions of offering bearers carrying all types of food offerings appear on three registers facing towards the tomb owner who is seated at his offering table.<sup>792</sup> The 14th and 15th offering bearers on the bottom register both have the designation *sn-dt* (see figure below).<sup>793</sup> The one in front grasps the wings of two birds in one hand and holds the leash of a small animal in his hand. The one behind him carries a big basket of food on his shoulder with one hand and grasps the wings of two birds with the other hand. The caption in front of this sequence of offering bearers reads *shpt stpt* "bringing the choice offerings."<sup>794</sup> The signs following the word *stpt* are possibly two forelegs and a bird.<sup>795</sup> It is worth noting that the three sons proceed the procession while the two *sn-dts*, entitled ka-priests, appear among other offering bearers, and are rendered in the same manner as other with the same title in the procession. In other words, the designation *sn-dt* does not give them any special status in this tomb.

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<sup>791</sup> Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex I*, pl. 65.

<sup>792</sup> Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex I*, 74-75, 87, fig. 61.

<sup>793</sup> For the complete sequence of offering bearers, see Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex I*, pl. 6.

<sup>794</sup> Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex I*, 74.

<sup>795</sup> Since there is a space between the word *stpt* and the foreleg sign, it is possible that there was another foreleg sign.



Figure 259. Tomb of *Snḏm-jb / Jntj* at Giza (G 2370), South wall, Room VI, Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, fig. 61.

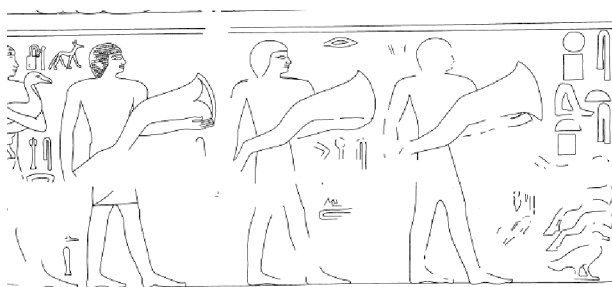


Figure 260. Tomb of *Snḏm-jb / Jntj* at Giza (G 2370), South wall, Room VI, Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, fig. 61.

In Saqqara, the caption *shpt stpt* also occurs when the sons of the tomb owner appear as offering bearers in a sequence. In the tomb of *Jrj.s / Jjj*, the two sons of the tomb owner appear on the west wall between two false doors. They both carry a large foreleg and proceed three ka-priests who also carry large forelegs. The inscription above them reads *shpt stpt jn ḥmw-k3 jnnt n.f m njwt.f m njwwt.f nt T3-mḥw* “bringing the choice offerings by the ka-priests, which are being brought to him from his towns of the Delta.”<sup>796</sup> On the same wall, the other two sons, together with two daughters, appear beneath the wife. The inscription above them reads *shpt stpt jn ḥmw-k3 jnnt n.f m njwt.f m njwwt.f n(t) T3-mḥw Šmꜥw* “bringing the choice offerings by the ka-priests, which are

<sup>796</sup> Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara: North-West of Teti's Pyramid I*, 54, pl. 34, note 31.

being brought to him from his towns of the Delta and Upper Egypt.”<sup>797</sup> The two men following the four children on this register have no titles and names inscribed with their figures. Although both inscriptions state that the ka-priests bring the choice offerings to the tomb owner, none of the children bear the title *hm-kʿ*. According to this inscription, it is reasonable to assume that the ka-priests perform the ritual of “bringing the choice offerings,” but the sons of the tomb owner could also perform it even they do not bear the title *hm-kʿ*.

Three tombs dating to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty also include the representation of sons presenting the *stpt*-offerings: *Mry-Ttj*, *Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj*, and *Nfr-sšm-Pth / Wdʿ-hʿ-ttj / Ššj*. In the case of *Mry-Ttj*, the *stpt*-offerings are connected with the *ndt-hr* and *rnpt nbt* offerings.<sup>798</sup> In the chapel of *Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj*, a column of inscription in front of the sons carrying forelegs reads *htp dj Wsjr* “the offering that Osiris gave.”<sup>799</sup>

The tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Pth* has a similar inscription. On the north wall of Room 3, the inscription above the offering bearers on the bottom register reads *shpt stpt rnpt nbt nfrt jnnt jn shd hmw-kʿ jmy-ht hmw-kʿ hmw-kʿ nw hry-tp nswt Nfr-sšm-Pth* “bringing the choice offerings and the good all-year offerings, which are being brought by the inspectors of the ka-priests, the under-supervisors of the ka-priests, and the ka-priests of the royal chamberlain, *Nfr-sšm-Pth*.”<sup>800</sup> This inscription does not mention the children of the tomb owner but instead the ka-priests, inspectors of the ka-priests, and the under-supervisors of the ka-priests. The son precedes other offering bearers on this register and

<sup>797</sup> Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara: North-West of Teti's Pyramid I*, 56, pl. 36.

<sup>798</sup> South wall of Room C3, Kanawati et al., *Mereruka and His Family, Part I*, pl. 49.

<sup>799</sup> The lower register of the east wall of the main chapel. Mysliwice, Saqqara I, 23-24, pl. xx.

<sup>800</sup> Lloyd et al. *The Mastaba of Neferseshemptah*, 23, pl. 21.



bears the title *shd hmw-k3*. This text indicates that the son of *Nfr-sšm-Pth* served as the inspector of the ka-priests for his funerary cult. In a slightly later tomb, the tomb of *Q3r*, the sons of the tomb owner also appear on the bottom register of the north wall, with the caption *shpt stpt*.<sup>801</sup>

The depiction of family members carrying offerings associated with the caption *shpt ht* occurs in the tombs of *Pth-htp II* (D 62) and *Ššm-nfr / Jfj*. In the case of *Pth-htp II*, a *sn-dt* presents a bird, and a son carries a foreleg behind him on the bottom register of the south wall. Another five offering bearers appear on an above register, all carrying various types of offerings. The caption associated with them reads *shpt ht jn hmw-k3 n hry-tp nswt Pth-htp* “bringing things by the ka-priests for the royal chamberlain *Pth-htp*.”<sup>802</sup> It is uncertain if the foreleg and the bird carried by the *sn-dt* and the son is part of the *shpt ht* on the register above. Probably, *shpt ht* refers to processions of offering bearers bringing general items to the tomb owner, while the forelegs and the large birds are specific offerings that accompany items such as trays of food and young animals. In the tomb of *Ššm-nfr / Jfj*, similarly, three offering bearers carry forelegs and four more carry large birds on the bottom register of the south wall, while a sequence of offering bearers stands on a register above, all carrying trays of food, bags, and leading small animals. An inscription in front of them reads *shpt ht jnnt m pr-dt* “bringing things which are being brought from the funerary estate.”<sup>803</sup>

<sup>801</sup> North wall of Chapel 2, see Bárta and Bezděk, *Abusir XIII. Tomb Complex of the Vizier Qar, His Sons Qar Junior and Senedjemib, and Iykai*, fig. 5.3.6.

<sup>802</sup> Harper and Scremin, *Chapel of Ptahhotep: Scene Details*, 355.

<sup>803</sup> Alexandre Barsanti, “Le Mastaba de Samnofir,” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 1 (1900): 158, fig. 13.

An example of siblings carrying *stpt*-offerings with related captions occurs in the tomb of *Mrrw-kʿj / Mmj* at Saqqara. On the north wall of Room A8, a sequence of offering bearers appears on the lower register below the offering table scene. The first six offering bearers carry forelegs, and the following five carry large birds. The first offering bearer is the eldest son, while the following ones are brothers of the tomb owner. The inscription above them reads *shpt stpt ndt-ḥr rnpt nbt nfrt jnnt n.f m ḥwwt.f m njwwt.f nt T3-mḥw Šmʿw r prt-ḥrw n.f [...]* “bringing the choice offerings, the *ndt-ḥr* offerings, and the good all-year offerings, which are being brought to him from his estates, from his towns of the Delta and Upper Egypt as *prt-ḥrw* offerings to him.”<sup>804</sup> In this case, the *stpt*-offerings are brought to the tomb owner as the invocation (*prt-ḥrw*) offerings.

The tomb of *Hw.n-wh / Ttj* at Quseir el-Amarna provides another example of family members bringing forelegs and birds as the *ndt-ḥr* offerings. The sequence of offering bearers appears on the lower register of the east wall. The caption reads *shpt ndt-ḥr jn msw.f jn snw.f, jn ḥkʿw.f jn mrwt.f nt pr-dt.f jn ḥmw-kʿ nw pr-dt.f* “bringing the *ndt-ḥr* offerings by his children, by his siblings, by his governors, by his servants of his funerary estate, and by the ka-priests of his funerary estate.”<sup>805</sup> Similar expressions with *stpt*-offerings occur in many other tombs. This example also indicates that the content of *stpt*-offerings overlaps with that of the *ndt-ḥr* offerings.

In the tomb of *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* at Meir, brothers of the tomb owner appear in a sequence of offering bearers on the lower register of the north and west walls of Room 3. On the north wall, the inscription inscribed in front of the sequence reads *shpt stpt*

<sup>804</sup> Kanawati et al., *Mereruka and His Family, Part III.1*, pl. 88.

<sup>805</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, 54, pl. 41.

“bringing the choice offering,” with a bound calf and a bird as the determinatives of *stpt*.<sup>806</sup> The first eight offering bearers carry forelegs, the following four carry large birds, and the rest carry other types of offerings. On the west wall, the scene has the same caption, though the determinatives of *stpt* are a bird and a foreleg sign.<sup>807</sup> The first eight offering bearers carry forelegs, and the following two lead the leashes of small animals. Even though the determinative of *stpt* in the caption contains a bird sign, the scene does not include offering bearers carrying birds. This example further proves that both the bird and the foreleg signs are determinatives of *stpt*. Both sequences of offering bearers on the north and the west walls move towards the false door installed at the north end of the west wall. It is worth noting that a butchery scene appears at the end of each sequence of offering bearers on all the three registers. This addition indicates that the offering bearers present the forelegs to the tomb owner after the butchers cut them off. In the scene, the butchery takes place under the supervision of a priest who recites spells.<sup>808</sup> The first two offering bearers carrying forelegs on the west wall and the third, fifth, and eighth on the north wall are the brothers of the tomb owner.

When appearing as offering bearers in the same sequence, the sons usually proceed the brothers. Exceptions occur in the tombs of *Pth-htp II* at Saqqara and *Ppy-<sup>nh</sup>-hrj-jb* at Meir. In the case of *Pth-htp II*, it is the *sn-dts* who appear in the initial position. In the tomb of *Ppy-<sup>nh</sup>-hrj-jb*, his two brothers stand in front of other offering bearers on the west wall. In both cases, the initial position aims to emphasize the importance of the

<sup>806</sup> Kanawati et al., *The Cemetery of Meir I*, 54, pls. 88.

<sup>807</sup> Kanawati et al., *The Cemetery of Meir I*, pl. 85.

<sup>808</sup> In the case of *Ppy-<sup>nh</sup>-hrj-jb*, the priest appears in the butchery scene at the end of each register of the west wall of Room 3. He is in a gesture of reciting spells. Ikram, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt*, 46-48. Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 89-97

brother or the *sn-dt*. The tomb of *Pth-ḥtp II* has as many as 15 *sn-dts*, but only three sons were depicted in the chapels. Presumably, these *sn-dts* played an essential role as offering bearers in his funerary cult. *Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb* has as many as nine brothers represented in his tomb, though he has seven sons. People from his extended family depicted on the south and the west walls further indicate an emphasis on family in this tomb.

### 5.3 Textual Evidence for Making Offerings

Many tombs of the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties contain inscriptions relating to the construction of the tomb and the supply of offerings. In some tombs, the tomb owner specified the obligation of the individuals in his funerary cult. These types of inscriptions may have been transmitted from a legal document originally written on papyri for public display.<sup>809</sup> Other types of texts, such as the Letter to the Dead, also contain information relating to making offerings to the deceased.

#### 5.3.1 Legal Texts Inscribed in Private Chapels

The tomb owner sometimes inscribed legal documents regarding the arrangement for the funerary cult. Such a text would include the individuals who would provide the priestly service and the offerings for the tomb owner and the land granted to them for their remuneration for such services. These individuals are the ka-priests, and the offerings they provide are the *pṛt-ḥrw* offerings on specific days of the year. In the tomb

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<sup>809</sup> Manuelian, "An Essay in Document Transmission: *Nj-kj-ḥnh* and the Earliest *ḥrjw rnpt*," 9. See also Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, 142-145, and the discussion of the copy of royal decrees in Goedicke (1964), in JARCE 3, 31-41.

of *Nb-k³w-Hr* at Saqqara, for example, the tomb owner made an order (*jr.f wdt-mdw*)<sup>810</sup> to the phyle of his ka-priests to bring invocation offerings (*prt-hrw*) for him, and he further specified the obligations of these ka-priests. The partly preserved inscription occurs on the west wall of the pillared hall.<sup>811</sup>

These legal documents also involve family members of the tomb owner. In the tomb of *Nj-ḥnh-Hmw* and *Hmw-ḥtp*, the inscription on the east wall of Room II is probably a copy of a legal document to obligate the brothers and ka-priests to provide the *prt-hrw* offerings. The first column of the text reads *jr snw jpn ḥmw-k³ jpn jr n.n prt-hrw n.n* “as for these brothers and these ka-priests who made the invocation offerings for us.”<sup>812</sup> Below the 12 columns of texts and the seated tomb owners, a procession of offering bearers appear on two registers, though only one of them bears the title *ḥm-k³*. Below them, the tomb owners, their parents, and siblings stand in a sequence. Other dependents stand on a register below, with their names and titles. It is reasonable to assume that the brothers and ka-priests referred to in the text are all represented in the scene as the participants and witnesses of this document. The reference of brothers in parallel with the ka-priests is unusual. It indicates that the brothers of *Nj-ḥnh-Hmw* and *Hmw-ḥtp* would provide the invocation offerings along with their ka-priests. If D. O’Connor’s hypothesis that the two tomb owners were conjoined twins is correct,<sup>813</sup> it is not surprising that they appointed their brothers who would survive them to take care of

<sup>810</sup> Goedicke translates it as “Verfügung,” see Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 82-83. “Befehl, Direktive” by Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, 398.

<sup>811</sup> For the details, see Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 37-39, Fig. 18, pls. XXVI-XXX.

<sup>812</sup> Moussa and Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 87, Abb. 11.

<sup>813</sup> O’Connor suggests that they were conjoined twins at the conference “Sex and Gender in ancient Egypt”, University of Wales, Swansea. See Vasiljevi, “Embracing His Double: Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep,” note 11.

their funerary cult, because they probably died at a young age and their children were still small.<sup>814</sup>

In the tomb of *Pn-mrw* at Giza, the tomb owner appointed his *sn-dt*, together with the children of his *sn-dt* as his ka-priests to bring the invocation offerings to him and his wife.<sup>815</sup> Moreover, the text mentions another type of offering, the *wdb-rd*, as an offering brought from the vizier *Sšm-nfr*.<sup>816</sup> It demonstrates not only the complexity of the offering sources but also the obligation of family members to arrange their delivery.

In the case of *Tntj* (Cairo Mus. 57839), part of his invocation offerings came from the *pr-nswt* “king’s house,” and his wife would bring these offerings to him. *Tntj* also received two plots of land from the king. He granted one plot to his wife and the other to his *sn-dt*, both of whom would provide invocation offerings for him and his mother. He further divided part of the land granted to his wife among four ka-priests, who would provide invocation offerings under the control of his wife. His *sn-dt* would also bring the invocation offerings for *Tntj*’s mother from the granary and the treasury. The *sn-dt* himself was also a ka-priest. *Tntj* did not mention his son, though he did emphasize his status as the eldest son and heir of his mother in the text.<sup>817</sup> In short, his wife, his *sn-dt*, and four ka-priests would provide offerings from a variety of origins for him and his mother.

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<sup>814</sup> Conjoined twins generally have a shorter life, especially in ancient times, see examples of ancient conjoined twins in Bondeson, J. “The Biddenden Maids: A Curious Chapter in the History of Conjoined Twins.” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 85.4 (1992): 217–221.

<sup>815</sup> Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 73.

<sup>816</sup> *Sšm-nfr III*, owner of G 5170,

<sup>817</sup> *Jnk z3.s smsw jw6w.s jnk qrs sj m hrt-ntr* “I am her eldest son and her heir. I am the one who buries her in the necropolis.” See also Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 122.

A false door of a man named *Tf-nn* (Cairo Mus. JE 56994) provides a rare example of paid laborers of the funerary estate (*jsww nw dt*) responsible for bringing the invocation offerings.<sup>818</sup> Their service was paid with a specifically service contract (*htm r htmt nt ht*).<sup>819</sup> It is uncertain whether the tomb owner granted land to these paid labors for their funerary service. Probably their status was different from that of the ka-priests who usually received land for their funerary service.

From the examples discussed above, the legal documents copied on chapel walls sometimes included family members. The ka-priests may provide the invocation offerings or deliver offerings from a third party under the supervision of the wife or the eldest son of the tomb owner. The *sn-dt* of the tomb owner may also serve as a ka-priest. These texts, from the tomb owner's standpoint, specify the duties of those who carry on the priestly duties of the funerary cult, though not all include family members. The funerary service was not gratuitous but paid, either by granting land to the family members or the ka-priests, or payment in other forms. The texts also specify the source of the offerings and the type of offerings made to the tomb owner. Moreover, most texts include regulations or punishment if one cannot fulfill the obligations of the cultic service. Overall, legal documents inscribed on chapel walls all focus on the need of the tomb owner and the arrangement of his funerary cult. Along with his ka-priests, the tomb owner usually appointed family members with specific responsibilities. In some cases, a family member functioned as the supervisor of the funerary cult.

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<sup>818</sup> Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 182-184, Taf. XVII b. The term *jsw* is translated as slave in Abd el-Muhsin Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1952), 68, pl. i.

<sup>819</sup> For discussion of the term *htmt nt ht*, see Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 223- 227.

### 5.3.2 The Appeal to the Living

Inscriptions called “Appeal to the Living”<sup>820</sup> in the Old Kingdom private tombs also mention the provision of offerings by the ka-priests as well as other people. It began in the Fifth Dynasty and remained popular until the Late Period.<sup>821</sup> Garnot divides the texts into two groups: the appeal to the visitors and the appeal to those who served in the funerary cult, such as priests and workers of the necropolis.<sup>822</sup> The essential part of these inscriptions was a demand for offerings from both the visitors who would obey such as request, and the priests, as well as family members, who were supposed to fulfill their duties.<sup>823</sup> Edel also distinguished the “address to the visitors” and the “appeal to the living,”<sup>824</sup> although the two are interwoven.<sup>825</sup> Since both types relate to the request for offerings, this study does not distinguish them.

The Appeals usually have three essential elements. The tomb owner begins with a hail to the visitors who may pass by, and then affirms their motivation for making offerings—the favor of god or the king. At last, he explains his request, usually the names and quantity of the offerings that he wants to have.<sup>826</sup>

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<sup>820</sup> Christa Müller, “Anruf an Lebende,” in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, eds. Wolfgang Helk and Eberhard Otto (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1975), Bd. I, 294-299.

<sup>821</sup> Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, 155-190.

<sup>822</sup> Jean Sainte-Fare Garnot, *L'appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires égyptiens des origines à la fin de l'Ancien Empire* (Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1938), 97-99.

<sup>823</sup> Dorota Czerwik, “The Magical or Legal Punishment for Violators of the Private Old Kingdom Tomb Inscriptions,” in *Proceedings of the First Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists: Egypt 1999: perspectives of research, Warsaw 7-9 June 1999*, ed. Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska (Warsaw: Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University, 2001), 21.

<sup>824</sup> Elmar Edel, “Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo* 13 (1944): 2-3.

<sup>825</sup> Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, 155-156.

<sup>826</sup> Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, 156-158.



The tomb of *Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q3r* at Edfu well illustrates the form of such appeals. On the left jamb of the false door, an inscription reads *j ʿnhw tpw t3 ʿq.tj.sn r js pn n hrt-ntr mrrw hs sn ntr.sn ddw t hnqt jhw 3pdw...* “O living ones on earth, who will enter this tomb of the necropolis, who wish that their god shall favor them, say ‘bread, beer, oxen, fowl...’” On the architrave, another inscription reads *j ʿnhw tpw t3 sw3.tj.sn hr js pn mrrw nswt dd.tj.sn h3 t h3 hnqt h3 jhw...* “O living ones on earth,<sup>827</sup> who will pass by this tomb, whom the king loves, those who will say, one thousand bread, one thousand beer, one thousand oxen...”<sup>828</sup>

Some Appeals also contains a blessing from the tomb owner.<sup>829</sup> In the tomb of *Hr-mrw / Mry* at Saqqara, for example, the last line of the text on the lintel includes a blessing from the tomb owner. It reads *jr swt zj zjt nb prt-hrw stjt.sn mw w<sup>c</sup>btj.sn mj w<sup>c</sup>b n ntr jw(.j) r h3j.f m hrt-ntr* “but as for any man and woman who shall make invocation offerings, who shall pour water, and who shall purify like the purification for a god, I shall protect him in the necropolis.”<sup>830</sup> This statement indicates that *Hr-mrw* would protect those who made offerings to him in return. Furthermore, it also suggests that anyone could make offerings to him without being a ka-priest or a family member. The case of *Nj-ʿnh-Ppy / Nj-ʿnh-Mry-R<sup>c</sup>* at Saqqara further demonstrates that anyone could

<sup>827</sup> It is also possible to translate *tpw t3* as “who are upon earth,” see David P. Silverman, “The Appeal of Sobek-hotep,” in *A Tribute to Excellence: Studies Offered in Honor of Ernő Gaál*, Ulrich Luft, László Török, ed. Tamás A. Bács (Budapest: Chaire d’Égyptologie, Univ. Eötvös Loránd de Budapest, 2002), 427, comment g.

<sup>828</sup> *Urk. I*, 252.2 and 255.9. See also Mahmoud El-Khadragy, “The Edfu Offering Niche of Qar in the Cairo Museum,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 30 (2002): 203-228; Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, 156; Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 344-345.

<sup>829</sup> Nordh takes the blessing in the Appeals as a communication model for any individual, such as the “living ones on earth,” and has a psychic effect, see Katarina Nordh, *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings: Conceptual Background and Transmission* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1996), 77.

<sup>830</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara III*, 76-78, fig. 39. *prt-hrw*, *stjt.sn*, and *w<sup>c</sup>bt.sn* are perspective participles. Strudwick translates *w<sup>c</sup>bt.sn* as a subjunctive in a result clause. See Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 220.

fulfill the tomb owner's request if he wishes. The text on the left jamb of *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy* addresses people who bypass the tomb and requests that they offer water or beer according to what they have on hand; if they have nothing, they read out the list of offerings containing bread, beer, oxen, birds, incense, and other pure things.<sup>831</sup> This statement encourages strangers who pass by the tomb to make offerings to the tomb owner with water or beer they have on hand or simply by reading out the offering list at no cost.<sup>832</sup>

In some cases, the Appeal to the Living also emphasizes the obligation of the ka-priests to supply the invocation offerings. An offering table from the tomb of *Hntj-k3* at Saqqara has such an inscription, in which the tomb owner claimed that he would dismiss the incompetent ka-priests.<sup>833</sup> Similarly, on the west of the entrance to the tomb of *Nj-k3w-Jzzj* at Saqqara, an inscription states that the tomb owner would support the ka-priests of his funerary estate in the necropolis and every tribunal if they make invocation offerings in a pure state.<sup>834</sup>

In brief, the tomb owner requests offerings from visitors to the chapel, but the “payment” for the offerings are not subsistent materials but his protection as an effective

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<sup>831</sup> The text reads *j<sup>c</sup>nhw tpw t3 jm3hw mrw ntr sw3tj.sn hr jz pn stj n.j mw hnqt m ntt m-ht.tn jr nfr-n wnn m-ht.tn dd.k3.tn m r.tn wdn m<sup>c</sup>.tn t3 hnqt k3w 3pdw sntr w<sup>c</sup>b n špss nswt smr pr zš Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy* “O living ones upon the earth, the revered ones beloved by the god, who shall pass by this tomb, pour water and beer for me from that which you have. If you have nothing, you shall say with your mouth and offer with your hand bread, beer, oxen, birds, incense, and pure things for the royal noble, companion of the house, scribe, *Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy*.” See Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 9-11, fig. 5, pls. III, IVB. For the translation, see Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 229.

<sup>832</sup> Similar expressions in the Appeals in quite a few tombs, such as *Hwj* at Saqqara and *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb* at Meir, see the discussion in Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, 158-159.

<sup>833</sup> *jr hm-k3 nb n smr w<sup>c</sup>ty Hntj-k3 tm.tj.fj prjw-hrw jw(j) <r> jrt n.f nwd.f* “As for any ka-priest of the sole companion *Hntj-k3* who shall not make the invocation offerings, I will dismiss him.” For the translation and the reading of the *nwd* sign, see Edel, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften des Alten Reiches*, 67-69. Edel’s translation makes more sense than that of James, see James & Apted, *Khentika*, 68-69, pl. xli.

<sup>834</sup> Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara VI*, 34, pl. 44. For the translation, see Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 232.

akh—that is to say, the magical power of the tomb owner. The visitors may have offered the tomb owner what was on hand, or even spoken out the formula in the inscriptions. Also, all these appeals were composed in the first person from the tomb owner's perspective, and addressed to any potential visitor to the chapel.<sup>835</sup>

### 5.3.3 Letters to the Dead

The concept of the deceased acting on behalf of the living in the city of the dead already existed in the Old Kingdom. People sought to communicate with the deceased by composing a message and inscribe it on various materials. Modern scholars call these communications Letters to the Dead.<sup>836</sup> Those living on earth wrote the documents to the deceased with the expectation that the ancestors would receive these letters and act on the inscribed requests.<sup>837</sup>

The purpose of some of the letters was to request the deceased to prevent an unfortunate situation from happening.<sup>838</sup> In the letters, people wrote to the dead to appeal for their protection, and their mediation between the living world and the beyond.<sup>839</sup> Some urge the punishment of those in the community who acted against them. All the preserved examples from the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period were from

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<sup>835</sup> The Appeal to the Living uses both the third person and the second person pronouns to refer to the addressee, see Danijela Stefanović and Helmut Satzinger, "An Early 12th Dynasty 'Appeal to the Living' (Stela Musee Rodin Inv. no. Co 1305)," *Chronique d'Égypte* 89 (177) (2014): 29, notes 3 and 5. For the use of the *sḏm.tj.fj* form with the third person plural and the use of the second person plural, see Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, 157, 159.

<sup>836</sup> Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*. See also Alan H. Gardiner, *The Attitude of the Ancient Egyptians to Death & the Dead* (Cambridge [Eng.]: The University Press, 1935), 5-45. See also Wentz, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 210-215.

<sup>837</sup> John Baines, "Practical Religion and Piety," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987): 87.

<sup>838</sup> Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, 149-150.

<sup>839</sup> John Baines, "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice," in *Religion in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Byron Shafer (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 155-156.

family members of the deceased. The most common ones are those from the son to the parents. It is also interesting to note that two of the examples are letters to a sibling. One is attached to the end of a letter from a husband to his late wife. The brother of the wife also sent a message of appeal to his sister in the beyond that she act for him and his family.<sup>840</sup> In the other example, the Hu Bowl, the sister of the dead made the invocation offerings for her brotehr.<sup>841</sup> It is uncertain if her brother died without a child and whether she was the only relative to make offering. In a rock-cut tomb of a certain *Swf* at Giza, the inscription on the lintel claimed that his grandson (*zʾ zʾt.f* “son of his daughter”) built the tomb for him.<sup>842</sup> These examples demonstrate that female family members such as sisters and daughters contributed to the funerary cult.

Moreover, the writers usually emphasized their effort to fulfill the funerary duties of providing offerings in order to convince the dead to act for them.<sup>843</sup> The Kaw Bowl, for example, presents an example that the son wrote to his dead parents for their support. He asked his father to “institute litigation” because the accused and the witnesses were all in the same city together with his father.<sup>844</sup> In the letter to his mother, *Špsj* stressed that he would pour water for her. The emphasis on the offerings or certain rituals performed by the writer provides a different way to understand the funerary responsibility of family

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<sup>840</sup> The letter is inscribed on a stela. See Edward F. Wente, “A Misplaced Letter to the Dead,” in *Miscellanea in honorem Josephi Vergote*, eds. Paul Naster, Herman De Meulenaere, and Jan Quaegebeur (Leuven: Departement oriëntalistiek, 1976), 595-600. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 215. Donnat, *Écrire à ses morts*, 53-56.

<sup>841</sup> Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 5, 20, pls. IV, IVA. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 215. Donnat, *Écrire à ses morts*, 44-46.

<sup>842</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza V*, 259, fig. 116. PM III, 253.

<sup>843</sup> Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 210. See also Miniaci, “Reuniting Philology and Archaeology: The “Emic” and “Etic” in the Letter of the Dead Qau Bowl UC16163 and Its Context,” 90.

<sup>844</sup> Petrie Museum, UC16163. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 211-212. Miniaci suggests the letters on the bowl were placed in the tomb of Sobekhotep, the brother of Shepsi. See Miniaci, “Reuniting Philology and Archaeology: The “Emic” and “Etic” in the Letter of the Dead Qau Bowl UC16163 and Its Context,” 91-99.

members and their interaction with the dead. The Hu Bowl directly specifies that the purpose for providing the invocation offerings for the dead is to receive his or her protection in return.<sup>845</sup>

Table 14. List of Letters to the Dead and the offerings mentioned in the letters

Date	No.	Addresser	Addressee	Kinship relation	Offerings
VI	Cairo Linen CG 25975 <sup>846</sup>	<i>Jrtj</i> <i>Jy</i>	<i>Sḥnḥ-n-Pth</i>	sister and son to brother and father	
Late Old Kingdom	Kaw Bowl, Petrie Museum, UC 16163 <sup>847</sup>	<i>Špsj</i>	<i>Jj-nḥn-Mut</i> <i>Jy</i> <i>Sbk-ḥtp</i>	son to father, mother, and brother	“(I) will pour out water for you.”
IX	P. Nega el-Deir N3500 <sup>848</sup>		<i>Htp-nbj</i> <i>Tjt-snb</i>	son to parents	
IX	P. Nega el-Deir N3737 <sup>849</sup>	<i>Ḥnj</i>	<i>Mrw</i>	son to father	
FIP	Chicago Jar Stand, OIM 13945 <sup>850</sup>			son to father	
FIP	Stela <sup>851</sup>	<i>Mrr.tj.fj</i> <i>Ḥwʿw</i>	<i>Nbt-jt.f</i>	husband to wife	“I will then deposit

<sup>845</sup> *jrr.tw prt-ḥrw n 3ḥ hr sbt hr tpy-tʿ* “it is for the sake of interceding on behalf of a survivor that invocation offerings are made to a spirit.” This sentence uses a second tense to emphasize the adverbial adjunct *hr sbt hr tpy-tʿ* “interceding on behalf of a survivor.” This grammatical structure demonstrates the attitude of the writer toward the offerings and her expectation of the reward from the dead. For the grammar, see James E. Hoch, *Middle Egyptian Grammar* (Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1997), 167-180. For the translation, see Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 215.

<sup>846</sup> Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 1-3, 13-16, pls. 1, 1A. Harco Willems, “The End of Seankhenptah’s Household (Letter to the Dead Cairo JdE 25975),” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50 (1991): 183-191. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 211. Donnat, *Écrire à ses morts*, 29-35.

<sup>847</sup> Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 5, 20-21, pls. II, IIA, III, IIIA. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 215. Donnat, *Écrire à ses morts*, 35-41. Miniaci, “Reuniting Philology and Archaeology: The “Emic” and “Etic” in the Letter of the Dead Qau Bowl UC16163 and Its Context,” 88-105.

<sup>848</sup> William K. Simpson, “A Late Old Kingdom Letter to the Dead from Nag’ Ed-Deir N 3500,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 56 (1970): 58-64. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 213. Donnat, *Écrire à ses morts*, 51-53.

<sup>849</sup> William K. Simpson, “The Letter to the Dead,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 52 (1966): 39-52. Gerhard Fecht, “Der Totenbrief von Nag’ ed-Deir,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 24 (1969): 105-128. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 212-213. Donnat, *Écrire à ses morts*, 48-51.

<sup>850</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, “A New Letter to the Dead,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16 (1/2) (1930): 19-22. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 213. Emily Teeter, *Ancient Egypt: Treasures from the Collection of the Oriental Institute* (Chicago; Oxford: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2003), 36-37. Donnat, *Écrire à ses morts*, 231-235.

<sup>851</sup> Wente, “A Misplaced Letter to the Dead,” 595-600. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 215. Donnat, *Écrire à ses morts*, 53-56.

				brother to sister	offerings for you.” “Nor have I withdrawn offerings from you.” <sup>852</sup>
FIP	Hu Bawl, Petrie Museum, UC 16244 <sup>853</sup>		<i>Nfr-shj</i>	sister to brother	“It is for the sake of interceding on behalf of a survivor that invocation offerings are made to a spirit.”
FIP	Louvre Bowl, Lourvre E 6134 <sup>854</sup>	<i>Mrtj</i>	<i>Mrrj</i>	mother to son	“For you invocation offerings shall be made; for you the haker- feast shall be celebrated; for you the wag- fest shall be celebrated; and you shall be given bread and beer from the offering table of the Foremost of Westerners.”
FIP	Berlin Bowl, Berlin 22573 <sup>855</sup>		<i>...t3t</i>	husband to wife	

<sup>852</sup> *w3h.j n.t ht* “I will deposit offerings for you.” *nn nhm ht r.t* “nor have I withdrawn offerings from you.” Here the writer did not mention the *pwt-hrw* offerings. The text is according to Wente’s copy of the inscription, see Wente, “A Misplaced Letter to the Dead,” 596-597. The stela is probably from Naga el-Deir, see Donnat, *Écrire à ses morts*, 53.

<sup>853</sup> Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 5, 20, pls. IV, IVA. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 215. Donnat, *Écrire à ses morts*, 44-46.

<sup>854</sup> Alexander Piankoff and Jacques J. Clère, “A Letter to the Dead on a Bowl in the Louvre,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 20 (3/4), (1934): 157-169. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 214. Donnat, *Écrire à ses morts*, 58-61.

<sup>855</sup> Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 5-7, 21, pls. V, VA. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 214. Sylvie B. Donnat, “Written Pleas to the Invisible World: Texts as Media between the Living and Dead in Pharaonic Egypt,” in *Perception of the Invisible: Religion, Historical Semantics and the Role of Perceptive Verbs*, ed. Anne Storch (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 2010), 58-60. Donnat, *Écrire à ses morts*, 61.

Although not all the Letters to the Dead mention offerings in the text, five of the nine letters were inscribed on a bowl or a jarstand. The writer probably placed the offerings in the vessel and assumed that the dead would receive the offering and respond to the request in the letter. The *ꜥḥ* of the dead was supposed to protect the living.<sup>856</sup> The Appeal to the Living has the same connotation because the tomb owner claimed that he would protect those who made offerings for him as an effective *akh*.<sup>857</sup> However, unlike the Appeal to the Living, the Letters to the Dead was from the perspective of the family members.

#### 5.3.4 Inscriptions on Funerary Vases from Qubbet el-Hawa

The inscriptions preserved on vases from tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa shed light on the funerary offerings delivered by family members and friends.<sup>858</sup> These inscriptions display not only a social network centered on the tomb owner but also a complex familial organization aiming to deal with the funerary cult of a family member.

<sup>856</sup> For the discussion of the power of the *ꜥḥ* as personal and impersonal forms, see Florence M. Friedman, "On the Meaning of *Akh* (*ꜥḥ*) in Egyptian Mortuary Texts" (PhD diss. Brandeis University, 1981), 17-18. For the meaning and function of *ꜥḥ* in the Old Kingdom, see also Gertie Englund, *Akh - une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Boreas 11. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1978), 1-64. See also Nordh, *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings: Conceptual Background and Transmission*, 99-100.

<sup>857</sup> For example, in the tomb of *Jtj* at Giza, an inscription reads *jnk ꜥḥ jqr rh rꜥ.f* "I am an effective *ꜥḥ* who knows his spells." See Junker, *Giza VIII*, 134-135, Abb. 62.

<sup>858</sup> For the publications of these inscriptions, see Elmar Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan, II. Abteilung: Die althieratischen Topfaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1972 und 1973* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1975); Elmar Edel, *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan, II. Abteilung: Die althieratischen Topfaufschriften. 2. Band: Die Topfaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1968, 1969 und 1970. 1. Teil: Zeichnungen und hieroglyphischen Umschriften* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971); Elmar Edel, *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan, II. Abteilung: Die althieratischen Topfaufschriften. 1. Band: Die Topfaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963 und 1965. 2. Teil: Text (Fortsetzung)* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970); Elmar Edel, *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan, II. Abteilung: Die althieratischen Topfaufschriften. 1. Band: Die Topfaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963 und 1965. 1. Teil: Zeichnungen und hieroglyphische Umschriften* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967).

In the case of Tomb 88, the inscriptions on the vases usually include the name of the donor (sometimes with kinship designations and titles), the name of the tomb owner, the content of the offerings, and phrases containing *pr-dt* or *jry m pr-dt* “made for the funerary estate.”<sup>859</sup> For instance, a jar found in Shaft II bears the inscription *dwdw-sht Tbs-tʿ zʿ(t) Jpj (jry) m pr-dt zʿ.s Sbk-htp* “barley meal of *Tbs-tʿ*’s daughter *Jpj*, (made) for the funerary estate of her son *Sbk-htp*.”<sup>860</sup> The vases bearing the inscriptions were placed in the tomb as symbolic offerings from family members and friends.<sup>861</sup> Unlike the Letters to the Dead, these inscriptions, though also inscribed on jars, do not contain any specific narrative details. In other words, they served as labels to mark the offerings that the vessel symbolically contains and the names of the donor as well as the recipient. These vases were discovered in the shafts. Therefore, the inscriptions on the vases were not supposed to be visible for the living but only for the deceased. In this sense, it is similar to the Letters to the Dead, which were also from the living to the dead.

#### 5.4 The Role of Family Members as Offering Bearers and Language-games in Different Contexts

Reliefs, paintings, and texts on a variety of materials of different genres all reflect the role of family members as offering bearers from specific perspectives. In modern society, the connection between the living and the dead may be expressed by the living in

<sup>859</sup> Michael Höveler-Müller, *Funde aus dem Grab 88 der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan (Die Bonner Bestände)*, Bonner Sammlung von Aegyptiaca 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 44.

<sup>860</sup> QH 88 / 547. Höveler-Müller, *Funde aus dem Grab 88 der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, 88, 82, Tafel XII (3). See also Edel, Edel, *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan, II. Abteilung: Die althieratischen Topfsaufschriften aus den Grabungsjaren 1972 und 1973*, Tafel 34.

<sup>861</sup> Höveler-Müller, *Funde aus dem Grab 88 der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, 44-45.



the commemoration of the dead. In ancient Egypt, however, the belief in the afterlife adds other dimensions to the expression of this type of a connection, such as the decorative program in the tomb chapel and the funerary cult with the provision of offerings.<sup>862</sup>

Following an idealized paradigm, the decorative program aims to visualize the self-perception of the tomb owner and how others should view him or act for him.<sup>863</sup>

Both the presentation of offering bearers and the Appeal to the Living demonstrate that the deceased tomb owner considered himself to be the legitimate receiver of the offerings and other people, such as family members, as obligated to provide these offerings for him. In the Appeal of the Living, the tomb owner would reward those who made invocation offerings with his protection as an *ḥ*. In this case, he regards himself as an effective *ḥ* that can interact with the living to repay his benefactor and punish the malfeasant.<sup>864</sup>

The offerings brought to the tomb owner connect the living and the dead directly. The images of presenting offerings guarantee the continuous provision of offerings symbolically and magically. In legal documents inscribed on chapel walls of elite tombs

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<sup>862</sup> The materials, such as the Letters to the Dead, the Appeal to the Living, legal documents, and the decorations on chapel walls, are from tombs of different social classes from the highest officials in the court to local officials in the provincial administration. The premise of the discussion is that the ancient Egyptians, no matter to which social class they belonged, all had the same religious belief about the afterlife and the necessity of making offerings to the dead. Specific religious knowledge, however, may have been restricted, See John Baines, "Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990): 7-15.

<sup>863</sup> Assmann, *Stein und Zeit*, 142-143, 146-147. See also van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs*, 34, 86.

<sup>864</sup> In the biological texts, the tomb owner often states that he is an *ḥ* that has magical power. For example, in the tomb of *Hr-mrw / Mry* at Saqqara, the tomb owner states that *jnk ḥ jqr rh ht* "I am an excellent *ḥ* who knows things." Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara III*, 76-78, fig. 39. For the translation, see Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 220. In the tomb of *Nj-ḥ-Ppy* at Saqqara, an inscription reads *jnk ḥ jqr nj zp št ḥk jr(j) jqr* "I am an excellent *akh*; it never happened that excellent magic is hidden to me." Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara II*, 9, fig. 4. For *nj zp* as perfective, see Elmar Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955/1964), 570, §1094. See also Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 228.

in the Old Kingdom, the tomb owner made financial arrangement for his funerary cult by granting land to family members or ka-priests. This arrangement provides a stable source of offerings for the funerary cult over an extended period.<sup>865</sup> In the Appeal to the Living, the invocation offerings that the tomb owner requested from the visitors, however, was meant to be repetitive and open-ended in an effort to cover all the possibilities for potential offerings. The visitors to the chapel even did not need to provide any physical offerings since they would satisfy the tomb owner by uttering the offering formula in the inscriptions, and the tomb owner, in return, would bless and protect the visitors.<sup>866</sup> Therefore, it introduces a reciprocal relationship between the tomb owner and the visitors, and the benefits to both sides were immaterial.<sup>867</sup> However, although uttering an offering formula was costless, the tomb owner was not able to control who would come to his chapel, or whether the visitor would read out the offering formula for him. In the Letters to the Dead, family members requested the deceased to uphold justice for them, and they took the request as the obligation of the dead for the offerings that they provided. This means that the dead would receive offerings only when they acted for their living family members. Therefore, the Letters also indicate a sense of reciprocity. It is not only an aspect of performing Maat, but also loyalty that “invites divine favor.”<sup>868</sup>

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<sup>865</sup> At the end of the Third Dynasty, the appearance of funerary estates marks bifurcated land ownership—the land remained the property of the deceased and yielded the funerary offerings as well as the income of the heirs, see Barry J. Kemp, “How Religious were the Ancient Egyptians?” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5(1) (1995): 48.

<sup>866</sup> As the last section of the text on the stela of a Middle Kingdom official *Sbk-htp* states, “it will come not from your burial, it will not be difficult in the mouth of the one who will say it,” see Silverman, “The Appeal of Sobek-hotep,” 430, and Pascal Vernus, “La formule ‘le souffle de la bouche’ au Moyen Empire.” *Revue d’égyptologie* 28 (1976): 143.

<sup>867</sup> The reciprocity implied here reflects the concept of Maat, see Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, 46.

<sup>868</sup> Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, 46, 57.

The variety of sources of offerings make its supply conditional in three aspects. First, the decoration in the chapel allows a continuous supply of offerings through magic. Second, the tomb owner assigned land to his family members and the ka-priests via a legal contract to stipulate their obligations and restrict the use and inheritance of the land. Third, the tomb owner and his family members reached a tacit agreement that the dead acted on behalf of his family in exchange for offerings; in other words, making offerings to the dead was mutually beneficial.

All these depictions or descriptions of family members making offerings reflect the same relationship between the tomb owner and his family, but they contain different language-games. From the perspective of the tomb owner, the depiction of family members in tomb chapels emphasizes their role as offering bearers, while the legal documents stress their obligations on an institutional level through a contract. The Appeal to the Living can also be considered as a language-game from the tomb owner to the visitors. Unlike the representations in reliefs and paintings, the address already expressed the concept of the mutually beneficial nature of making the invocation offerings even by a stranger. In the Letters to the Dead, the language-game starts with family members to the tomb owner. The writer placed himself on an equal footing as the deceased even when the letter was from a son to his deceased parents. The letters often began with a reminder of the funerary duties that the writer had fulfilled for the deceased as a bargaining chip for his or her further request.<sup>869</sup> Like the letter on the Hu Bowl, these texts underline the obligation of the dead as an *3h* and the importance of family members

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<sup>869</sup> Donnat, "Written Pleas to the Invisible World: Texts as Media between the Living and Dead in Pharaonic Egypt," 55.

as offering providers. In the letter on the Kaw Bowl, *Špsj* emphasized that he had been the one who poured water for his parents. Such an expression implies a “symbiotic” relationship between the deceased and his family members: if the *šh* acts for his family members, they would be able to make offerings to maintain his existence in the afterlife.

The decoration on the chapel walls, the legal documents, and the Appeal to the Living are all language-games starting from the tomb owner. In reliefs and wall paintings, the depiction of family members as offering bearers are dependent on the tomb owner. They appear in several stances: at a relatively small scale on the false door, in scenes near the tomb owner, or in a sequence of offering bearers. The tomb owner, as the recipient of offerings, usually appears at a much larger scale as the focus of the scene. The representations of offering providers and the recipients are never equal in the tomb decoration. The legal document is a contract that financially benefits the donor of the offerings. It protects the interests of both sides, thus is mutually beneficial. In the Appeal to the Living, the invocation offerings from the visitors are voluntary. The tomb owner was unable to force the visitors to make offerings to him, but there was the implied threat that it was he who could provide them with his protection as an *akh*. Therefore, this language-game is also reciprocal. The Letters to the Dead and the inscriptions on the symbolic offering jars, in contrast, are language-games starting from the family members of the deceased. As the Letters indicate, the purpose for making offerings to the deceased was to seek for his protection. For this reason, they are both reciprocal as well.

These different language-games provide deep insights into the role of family members as offering bearers. In the texts inscribed on chapel walls, i.e., the Appeal to the Living and the legal documents for the funerary cult, the cultic duties of family members

and priests are conditional, either with the endowment of land or with protection from the tomb owner as an *akh*. The relief and paintings on chapel walls, as the visual reflection of the same content, are ideological or “propagandistic” scenes.<sup>870</sup> The depiction of the family members as offering bearers forms the most direct conceptual delineation of the economic relationship between the tomb owner and his family members. It reflects a highly idealized relationship dominated by the tomb owner to abstract and refine the funerary duties of family members. The overriding goal is to present to the audience a formulaic illustration of a spiritually ordered world embedded with social and familial values.

The tomb owner’s preference for highly formulaic and idealized expression in his visual language-game makes the depiction of family members as offering bearers different from what one observes in the Letters to the Dead and inscriptions on funerary vases from Qubbet el-Hawa. For example, parents of the tomb owner do not appear as offering bearers in reliefs and paintings, but *Sbk-ḥtp*’s mother deposited a symbolic offering jar in his tomb.<sup>871</sup> The Louvre Bowl is a letter from a mother to her deceased son.<sup>872</sup> Moreover, when a family member appears as an offering bearer, one can observe a gender differentiation. For instance, male family members can appear in a sequence of offering bearers and carry forelegs or large birds. Women, however, do not carry forelegs or large birds on chapel walls. No apparent differentiation exists between male and female writers or donors with regard to the Letters to the Dead and the symbolic offering

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<sup>870</sup> van Walsem, “The Interpretation of Iconographic Programmes in Old Kingdom Elite Tombs of the Memphite Area. Methodological and Theoretical (Re)considerations,” 1208.

<sup>871</sup> See §5.3.4.

<sup>872</sup> Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 214.

jars. None of the tombs depict a husband making offerings to his wife, but a letter on a stela that a husband dedicated to his wife states that he would deposit offerings for her if she fought on his behalf.<sup>873</sup> The discrepancy in different types of materials is a result of the use of different language-games. These language-games reflect the same reality, but their starting point, audience, and aims are different.

Prior to death, both the one approaching this event and his family members still on earth have to prepare for this important event. The family members, along with the community, need to reorient and readjust their relationship with the deceased, but the deceased himself also must prepare for his death, while still living. The process of reorientation and readjustment contains two aspects.<sup>874</sup> The first one is the legal or institutional process to deal with the death of a family member, including the construction of the tomb, the establishment of the funerary cult, and the preparation of relevant financial arrangements. The dispersal of the property of the dead is also an issue that family members and the community have to solve, as was the right to inheritance. The other aspect is the psychological readjustment that both the deceased and family members have to face. All these processes may occur long before the death and last well after the funeral. The first aspect of the readjustment has more influence on the survivors, given that they would inherit the property and perform cultic duties. The soon to be deceased must ensure his well-being in the afterlife on a spiritual and religious level and needs to maintain his connection to the living. However, his control over the first aspect is limited.

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<sup>873</sup> Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 215.

<sup>874</sup> Alan B. Lloyd, "Psychology and Society in the Ancient Egyptian Cult of the Dead," in *Religion and philosophy in ancient Egypt*, ed. William K. Simpson (New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Graduate School, 1989), 120-121.

As part of his psychological readjustment process, the tomb owner placed the most idealized image of the relationship between him and his offering providers on his or her chapel walls in order to project a sense of security. Tomb owners had to have the Appeal to the Living inscribed in the tomb chapel so that those who could read the appeal and those who heard it read by the priest would provide him invocation offerings. It is reasonable to assume that the target of the Appeal to the Living was both the relatives and the priestly class who worked in the necropolis and could read the inscriptions.

The following table compares the differences in the language-games relating to the presentation of offerings and the funerary cult.

Table 15. Language-games relating to the presentation of offering and the funerary cult

	Starting point	Audience	Purpose	Action of the <i>3h</i> of the tomb owner
Depiction of family members as offering bearers	Tomb owner	Priests and family members who perform cultic duties	Visualizing the continuous supply of offerings magically	Receiving offerings unconditionally
Appeal to the Living	Tomb owner	Family members, priests and workings in the necropolis, visitors to the necropolis	Request for offerings	Providing protection and support to those who make offerings
Legal document inscribed on the chapel wall	Tomb owner	Priests and family members	Providing an economic source for the offerings	Giving land to those who would provide offerings in a contract prior death
Letters to the Dead	Family members	Tomb owner	Request for protection and support	Required to act for the living to receive offerings
Inscriptions on offering jars	Family members	Tomb owner	Making offerings	Receiving symbolic offerings

In almost all the cases, scenes concerning family members carrying offerings do not mention the reward that the tomb owner offered as he does in the Appeal to the Living and in the legal document. Probably, these scenes aim to emphasize the process of presenting offerings rather than the reward to the offering bearers, which was self-evident and remained unspoken in this context. The function of the symbolic offering jars from Qubbet el-Hawa is vague. These funerary vases inscribed with names of offerings and names and titles of the deceased and the donors were probably a three-dimensional representation of people presenting offerings to the dead, or more specifically, an identification of the “actors” who made the offerings, such as family members and other people from the community. They may also be symbolic offerings that family members and people from the community presented to the dead in the funeral. Unlike the legal documents, one observes no exchange of economic interests in the deposit of these vases, such as the transfer of land or other properties from the deceased to those who dedicated these offering jars. Therefore, they also reflect the ideological and psychological aspect of the readjustment.

In short, the economic and the mutually beneficial relationship between the tomb owner and his offering providers is essential to his funerary cult. To embed this relationship into the funerary and religious ideology, the tomb owner uses a highly idealized expression as the primary language-game, and further enhances it by using other language-games, including the inscription of legal documents and the Appeal to the Living. This is not to say that the depiction of family members carrying offerings is purely imaginary and removed from reality. Instead, it reveals an expression of the family



ideology from the tomb owner's perspective. The tomb owner uses a specific language-game to describe "his or her truth" with his or her consciousness. Furthermore, the tomb owner also had the expectancy that his/her family members, priests, and servants would act according to what the scenes depict. These scenes thus became a model that people who were responsible for the funerary cult should follow.

## 5.5 Conclusion

The stance showing children carry offerings while standing at the foot of the tomb owner became popular in the Fifth Dynasty but survived into the Sixth Dynasty only in Saqqara. This stance identifies children of the tomb owner as offering bearers, though the action of presenting offerings is implicit. The presentation of offerings by family members (Stance Type B-3) represents their active role as offering suppliers explicitly. When appearing in a sequence of offering bearers, family members, especially the eldest sons, usually precede others to play a leading role in a procession. The depiction of family members with offerings in their hands also occurs on false doors.

From the late Fifth Dynasty, the depiction of family members as offering bearers in a procession became more popular in Saqqara and provincial sites, though Giza tombs still prefer to depict them on false doors. The social changes in the late Fifth Dynasty shifted the focus of the decorative program and reshaped the familial ideology. From the Fifth Dynasty onwards, the construction of private tombs began to rely more on personal funds of the tomb owner and the royal involvement in this process became less significant. When high officials moved their burial place to Saqqara, they started to

emphasize more on the economic support of family members in the funerary cult and place them among the offering bearers in the decorative program in the chapel.

This chapter also discusses a particular type of offerings that sons and brothers of the tomb owner often carry—the *stpt*-offerings. It refers to forelegs, processed birds, and other food provided to the tomb owner.

Finally, the Egyptians used different types of methods to involve family members as offering suppliers: the legal documents inscribed on chapel walls, Letters to the Dead, Appeals to the Living, and inscriptions on funerary vases. Each becomes part of the language-games that represent the reciprocal relationships between both the tomb owner and his offering suppliers, allowing both their existence during life and then as part of the funerary and religious ideology within a familial framework that took place after the death of the tomb owner.

## CONCLUSION

The present study focuses on the representations of family members, kinship relations, the role of family members in the funerary cult, and the familial ideology expressed in the tomb decoration. The first three chapters provide a detailed investigation of the kinship designations, titles, and the iconographic and representational conventions of family members of the tomb owner in the Old Kingdom private chapels. Based on this network of information, it analyzes the frequency of occurrences of individuals with specific kinship designations, their titles, and their appearance in specific locations, and establishes a typology of stances to trace the developments and innovations of the depiction of family members. All these surveys form the basis for discussions of the Fourth and the Fifth Chapters that focus on a variety of issues which help us develop a better understanding of the familial sphere of the ancient Egyptian society.

The typology for the categorization of the stances of family members established in this study takes into consideration both the postures of individual family members and their particular relationship to the tomb owner (or his wife). It categorizes the stances into seven major types: (1) having physical contact with a major figure, (2) standing or kneeling at the foot of a major figure, (3) standing independently in a variety of poses, (4) appearing in the marsh scenes, (5) seated or kneeling, (6) engaging in specific activities, and (7) miscellaneous stances which do not belong to the above categories. Each type has multiple sub-types for further classification according to iconographic details, such as the accessories that the figure carries, the position of the hand, and the specific activity that the figure engages. As one of the results of this study, Appendix III includes the stance

types of family members in each of the tombs and a brief description of their positions and stances. Attempts to come to overarching conclusions on the depiction of family members, based on the sources from hundreds of tomb chapels, have so far been inconclusive, because the tomb owners designed the decoration program to meet their own family structure and their personal relationships with the family members.

Male family members generally receive more attention than female ones do. As is summarized in the conclusion of Chapter 3 and tables in Appendix V, sons and brothers are more active, frequently appearing in activities such as carrying offerings, writing and presenting documents, and performing rituals, while female family members tend to have more static and passive postures, except when they play music. The expression of intimacy between parents and children appear in representations of both sons and daughters, appearing in physical contact with their parents and consume food offerings with them.

When the tomb owners depict more than one family member, they follow specific patterns. To examine these patterns, this study introduces the term “family group” to describe the situation in which more than one family member (other than the tomb owner and the wife) appears in a single scene or on the false door. The relationship between family members becomes evident in a group because it differentiates age, gender, and generation with individuality in each of the tombs by placing family members in particular orders, on separate registers, or on opposite sides of the false door. Appendix IV includes the layout of family groups in tombs at Giza, Saqqara, and provincial sites.

Family groups differentiate male and female family members, children and sibling, and older and younger generations, thus reflect the tomb owner’s concept of

family and attitude towards it, as well as the cultural and social value that influences the tomb owner.

The depiction of the family group is also a language-game of the tomb owner as communication to those who entered the chapel to convey the information about his or her identity in the kinship network from the living world to the afterlife. The language-game theory is a useful tool to analyze how the depiction of family members reflects the familial ideology. From an epistemological perspective, the idea of language-game a fundamental concept behind this iconographical and inscriptional study of family members. This philosophic concept, firstly developed by Wittgenstein, refers to a simple example of language use as communication between two parties with given rules accepted by both sides.<sup>875</sup> Images in the Old Kingdom elite tombs are also language-games that convey information from the tomb owner who ordered the decorative program in the chapel to those who entered the chapel to make offerings and perform rituals.<sup>876</sup> Representations of family groups emphasize the eternal identity of the tomb owner in his or her family and a transition of this identity to the afterlife, where the same familial environment still exist. As a visual language-game, the family groups in the chapel resonates with the visitors. The visual perception of the visitors then maintains the conceptual existence of the identity and the social network of the tomb owner in the afterlife.

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<sup>875</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophische Untersuchungen: Kritisch-Genetische Edition*. 1. Aufl., §7d, §23b, and §§65-88.

<sup>876</sup> Garry Hagberg, *Art as Language: Wittgenstein, Meaning and Aesthetic Theory*, 130-135.

In the Memphite region, the depiction of family groups in private chapels was more popular in the Fifth Dynasty, but declined in the Sixth Dynasty. In the provincial sites, it remained popular in the Sixth Dynasty. Furthermore, the representation of family members carrying offerings in a sequence of offering bearers became more prevalent in Saqqara and provincial sites from the late Fifth Dynasty. These changes reflected the evolving familial ideology during this period and the changing conventions in a familial context when people commemorated the dead. The role of family members as offering providers gained more weight in the decorative program in the chapel and the familial ideology focused more on their role in the funerary cult. A shift in private tomb construction may have been one of the reasons for the changes. The responsibility for the construction of private tombs shifted from the king to the tomb owner in the Fifth Dynasty,<sup>877</sup> and the abandonment of Giza as the ground for royal burial caused the dissociation of tombs of officials from the funerary monument of the king they served.<sup>878</sup> The growing provincial necropoleis also add new developments of the familial ideology, such as the emphasis on local ruling families and local conventions.<sup>879</sup> These new emphasis leads to both representations of family groups and family members carrying offerings.

A particular issue that this study addresses is the understanding of the term *sn-dt* “brother of the funerary estate” or *snt-dt* “sister of the funerary estate.” It occurs mostly in private tombs from the Fifth Dynasty to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty. In some

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<sup>877</sup> Chauvet, “The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom,” 403-404.

<sup>878</sup> Chauvet, “The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom,” 402.

<sup>879</sup> Moreno García, “Oracles, Ancestor Cults and Letters to the Dead: The Involvement of the Dead in the Public and Private Family Affairs in Pharaonic Egypt,” 136.

cases, this individual could have been a real sibling or even the wife of the tomb owner. In other cases, the tomb owner may appoint a friend, a colleague, or anyone whom he trusts as a *sn-dt*. An investigation of all the depictions of the *sn-dt* and *snt-dt* shows that their appearances on the chapel wall do not differ significantly from that of siblings and children. By analyzing the inscriptions concerning the *sn-dt*, this study denies Moreno García's hypothesis that the *sn-dt* is a middleman who transfers offerings from another funerary estate to the tomb owner.<sup>880</sup> Instead, it is more likely that the term refers to an individual whom the tomb owner assigned to his or her funerary cult as a strategy to extend funerary responsibilities of close family members to non-family members and remote relatives through the installation of a metaphorical kinship. The *sn-dt* remains independent from the tomb owner's family, and might be able to pass on the funerary duties and the benefit to his or her heir. Other kinship terms associated with *dt* also occur, such as *ms-dt* "child of the funerary estate" and *mwt-dt* "mother of the funerary estate." The analysis of the representations of family members in the tomb of *Whm-kʿ* at Giza demonstrates that *ms(w)-dt* refers to the children of the *sn-dt* and *snt-dt*.

The role of the *sn-dt* and family members in the funerary cult is to provide offerings for the tomb owner's ritual consumption in the afterlife. The depiction of family members as offering bearers has two different foci. When appearing on the false door or at the foot of the tomb owner, the depiction of the family member carrying offerings points to his/her identity as an offering bearer. When appearing in a sequence of offering bearers, it refers to the action of presenting offerings. The former was a tradition in the

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<sup>880</sup> See discussion in Chapter 4.

Giza necropolis, while the latter became popular in Saqqara in the late Fifth Dynasty. The offerings that family members carry are mainly the *stpt*-offerings, referring to forelegs, processed birds, and other food offerings.

A comparison to sources of different types, including legal documents inscribed on chapel walls, Letters to the Dead, Appeals to the Living, and the inscriptions on the funerary vases from Qubbet el-Hawa, further reveals the nature and meaning of the iconography of family members. All these sources are all language-games with various purposes. Different from the textual sources, the iconography of family members carrying offerings on chapel walls is a highly ideological delineation of the economic relationship between the tomb owner and his or her family members. The tomb owner placed this idealized image of the relationship as part of the psychological readjustment process to gain a sense of security for his or her funerary cult. The mutually beneficial relationship between them is essential. To integrate this relationship into the funerary and religious ideology, the tomb owner used not only this iconography, but also other language-games, including the inscription of legal documents and the Appeals to the Living, to enhance it. The purpose for such an idealized expression is to present the audience a formulaic and idealized illustration of a spiritually ordered world embedded with social and familial values, whereby the tomb owner gained control over the relationship between him- or herself and the living world.

Families are the most basic units of ancient Egyptian society. Familial relationships provide a sense of belonging to which a person's social identity is attached. How the tomb owner perceived the familial relationships centered on him is integrated into multiple dimensions of the society. This study has investigated the implications of



the representation of family members in both religious and ideological aspects. These aspects impacted not only the funerary practice of the elite, but they also reflect social values and tell us people's view towards life.

The database of this study covers the information contained in all of primary published tomb chapels of the Old Kingdom with representations of family members, including the names, designations, and titles of the family members, as well as their stances in each of the scenes. Future work should attempt to enrich the database with new archeological discoveries, re-excavations and re-publications of poorly documented tombs, and unpublished manuscripts. Hopefully, the enrichment and refinement of the database will bring forward further evidence for the study of Egyptian society in the Old Kingdom.

## APPENDICES

## Appendix I References of Tombs

Table I.1 Tombs at Giza

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
M XVIII	PM: Dyn. V or later Zeigler: Dyn. VI McCorquodale : V. M-L	Abu Rowash	7	Montet (1946), in <i>Kemi</i> , 8, 218-221. Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , 218-221.
G 6052	Weeks: later than G020 McCorquodale: V.7-9	Giza		Weeks, <i>Cemetery G 6000</i> , 97, fig. 126c.
S 359	PM: Dyn. V-VI	Giza	152	Junker, <i>Giza VII</i> , 138-140, Abb. 53.
<i>3bdw</i>	PM: Dyn. VI McCorquodale: VI	Giza	51	Abu-Bakr, <i>Giza</i> , 69-82, fig. 45, 45, 52-59, 61-62, pls.xxxvi-xxxviii.
<i>3htj-mrw-nswt</i> (G 2184) <i>sn.f n dt.f</i> and <i>sn.f</i>	PM: end of Dyn. V or VI Harpur: V.9-VI.1 McCorquodale: V.9-VI.1 Cherpion: Dyn. IV (Mastabas et hypogees, 123 n.257)	Giza	80-81	D'Auria et al, <i>Mummies</i> , 83-87. Björkman, <i>Smithska</i> , 142-143, pl. xxii. Digital Giza: <a href="http://giza-web.rc.fas.harvard.edu/sites/740/intro/">http://giza-web.rc.fas.harvard.edu/sites/740/intro/</a> . Giza Archives project Photos: AAW1873, AAW 1876, B2040_NS, A683_NS. Wreszinski, <i>Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte</i> , III, pl. lxix.
<i>3htj-mhw</i> (G 2375)	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Merenere I or Pepy II McCorquodale: VI.3-6	Giza		Giza Archives Project Photo AAW1536, A8401_NS. Brovarski, <i>Senedjemib Complex I</i> , 2-3, pl. 6a, figs. 2, 3.
<i>3htj-htp</i>	PM: Dyns. VI McCorquodale: VI	Giza	49	Abu-Bakr, <i>Giza</i> , 1-9, fig. 5, pl.iv.
<i>3htj-htp</i>	PM: early Dyn. V to early VI Harpur: V.1-2 or VI.1	Giza	284	Hassan, <i>Giza I</i> , 73-86, figs. 134-140, 143-144. Fischer, <i>Varia</i> , 70.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
	McCorquodale: V.1-VI.1			
<i>Jjj</i>	PM: end Dyn. V or later McCorquodale: V.L-VI.E	Giza	285	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> I, 101-104, figs. 173-174.
<i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15)	PM: Dyn. V Temp. Neuserre or later Weeks: Dyn. V late Neuserre or early Menkauhor Harpur: V.3L Swinton: V.6 McCorquodale: V.6-7	Giza	170-174	Weeks, <i>Cemetery G 6000</i> , 31- 51, figs. 26-43
<i>Jj-nfrt</i>	PM: Dyn. V-VI Harpur: VI.3-4E	Giza	298	Schürmann, <i>li-nefret</i> , 67, fig. 19. Albersmeier (2007), <i>Ägyptische Kunst</i> <i>Bestandskatalog</i> , 14-27.
<i>J(w)ff</i>	PM: Dyn. IV or later McCorquodale: IV-V.E	Giza	306	<i>Hiero. Texts</i> , I, 2nd ed., 14, pl. xiv.
<i>Jby's son</i> <i>Wpwwt-b3.f</i>	PM: Dyn. V	Giza	202	Giza Archive Project Photo A6506_NS.
<i>Jnpw-htp</i>	PM: Dyn. VI Harpur: VI McCorquodale: VI	Giza	106-107	Junker, <i>Giza</i> IX, 145-169, Abb. 73-75.
<i>Jn-k3.f</i>	PM: Dyn. VI McCorquodale: VI	Giza	108	Junker, <i>Giza</i> IX, 170-178, Abb. 78-79.
<i>Jn-k3.f</i>	PM: early Dyn. V Harpur: V.1-2 McCorquodale: V.1-2	Giza	247	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI-3, 125-132, figs. 117-119.
<i>Jrj-n-3ht / Jrj /</i> <i>Jrj-n-Pth</i>	PM: Dyn. VI	Giza	250-251	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI-3, 9-29, figs. 10-11.
<i>Jrj-n-3htj / Jrj</i> (G 2391)	PM: Dyn. VI Harpur: VI.1-2 McCorquodale: VI.1-2	Giza	92	MFA Online Collection Database: 13.4333, 13.4338. Reisner (1913), in <i>MFA</i> <i>Bulletin</i> , Vol. XI, No. 66. Giza Archives, photo A812_NS, <a href="http://www.gizapyramids.org/view/sites/asitem/PubTombs@268/2/siteNumber-">http://www.gizapyramids.org/ view/sites/asitem/PubTombs@ 268/2/siteNumber-</a>

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
				asc?t:state:flow=9d980ea2-bb04-4b5c-b8f7-cc113e97bf8a_
<i>Jrj-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	PM: late Dyn. V or early VI Harpur: V.9-VI.1 Swinton: V.4-7 McCorquodale: V.4-VI.1	Giza	144-145	Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 156-163, Abb. 24. (no image of son and father)
<i>Jrrw</i>	PM: end Dyn. V or VI Harpur: V.9-VI McCorquodale: V.9-VI	Giza	280	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 57-71, figs. 54-55.
<i>Jtj</i> (G 7391)	PM: late Dyn. V Badawy: IV. L- V.E Fischer: Dyn. V- 1 <sup>st</sup> ½ Harpur: V.7-8 Strudwick: perhaps middle V McCorquodale: V.5-8	Giza	193	Badawy, <i>Iteti, Sekhem'ankh- Ptah and Kaemnofert</i> , 1-13, figs. 914, pl.3. Curto, <i>Gli Scavi Italiani a el- Ghiza</i> , 34-46, fig. 7. Harpur (1981), in <i>JEA</i> 67, 24- 35.
<i>Jdw</i> (G 7102)	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Pepy I or later Harpur: VI.3-4E Strudwick: early to mid Pepy I Swinton: VI.2 McCorquodale: VI.2-4E	Giza	185-186	Simpson, <i>Qar and Idu</i> , 19-31, figs. 33-43.
<i>ḥnh</i> (G 3050)	PM: VI McCorquodale: VI	Giza	97	Fisher, <i>Minor Cemetery</i> , 149- 150, pls. 51.
<i>ḥnh-wd<sup>3</sup> / Jtj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI	Giza	167	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VIII, 122-124, Abb. 58-59.
<i>ḥnh-m-z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	PM: end Dyn. V or later Harpur: V.9-VI McCorquodale: V.9-12	Giza	246	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI-3, 147-153, figs. 142-146.
<i>ḥnh-h<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	PM: Dyn. IV or later McCorquodale: IV-V.E	Giza	306	<i>Hiero. Texts</i> I, 2nd ed., 14-16, pl. xv.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
<i>ḥnh-ḥ3.f / Q3r</i>	PM: Dyn. VI Strudwick: perhaps early VI McCorquodale: VI.E	Giza	257-258	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 130-147, fig. 114.
<i>W3š-Pth</i>	PM: end Dyn. IV or early V Harpur: IV.6-V.1 McCorquodale: IV.L-V.E	Giza	273	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, 5-14, figs. 7-12.
<i>W3š-k3(.j)</i>	PM: Dyn. V	Giza	303	<i>Hiero. Texts</i> I, 2nd ed., 27-28, pl. xxvii.
<i>W3š-Dw3w</i>	PM: Dyn. V McCorquodale: V	Giza	288	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> IX, 49-54, fig. 20.
<i>Wp-m-nfṛt / Wp</i>	PM: middle to late Dyn. V Harpur: V.6-8 ? McCorquodale: V.6-8	Giza	281-282	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, 179-192, figs. 214-219.
<i>Wnšt</i> (G4840, VII SS)	PM: middle or late Dyn. IV Harpur: IV.4-6 McCorquodale: IV.4-6	Giza	139	Junker, <i>Giza</i> I, 249-255, Abb. 63.
<i>Wr-k3.j</i>	PM: Dyn. V-VI McCorquodale: V- VI	Giza	140	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, 241-242, Abb. 103.
<i>Whm-nfṛt</i>	PM: late Dyn. IV or V Harpur: IV.6-V.1 McCorquodale: IV.6-V.1	Giza	139-140	Curto, <i>Gli Scavi italiani a el-Ghiza</i> , 62-67, figs. 20.
<i>Whm-k3</i> (D 117) <i>sn-dt</i>	Moreno Gacia: beginning of the 5 <sup>th</sup> dynasty PM: early Dyn. V	Giza	114-115	Kayser, <i>Die Mastaba des Uhemka</i> .
<i>Wsr</i>	PM: late Dyn. V McCorquodale: V. E	Giza	121	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, 186-190, Abb. 69, Taf. xvii.
<i>Wt3</i> ( <i>sn-dt</i> )	Borchardt: Dyn. IV	Giza	309	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 166-167. <i>Urk.</i> I, 228, 15-17.
<i>Pn-mrw</i>	PM: end of Dyn. V	Giza	82-83	Reisner & Fisher (1914), in <i>Ann. Serv.</i> xiii, 247, pl. xi[a] Goedicke, <i>Privaten Rechtsinschriften</i> , 68-74, Taf. vi.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
<i>Pr-snb</i> (LG 78)	PM: middle Dyn. V or VI McCorquodale: V.M-VI	Giza	212	<i>LD II</i> , 94[c].
<i>Pth-sdf</i> / <i>Ffj</i>	PM: middle Dyn. V or later McCorquodale: V.M-L	Giza	285	Hassan, <i>Giza I</i> , 97-101, fig. 169.
<i>Mnw-dd.f</i> (G 7760, LG 60)	PM: Dyn IV, Temp. Khufu to Menkaure Harpur: IV. 4-5 McCorquodale: IV.2-5	Giza	203-204	<i>LD II</i> , 33.
<i>Mry-jb</i> / <i>K3-pw-nswt</i> (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24)	Junker: Dyn. V PM: Dyn. IV, Temp. Menkaure or Shepseskaf Harpur: IV. 6- V.1 Strudwick: Dyn. IV.5-6 McCorquodale: IV.5- V.1	Giza	71-72	Junker, <i>Giza II</i> , 121-135. Schäfer & Andrae, <i>Kunst</i> , 219-220. <i>LD II</i> , 18-22.
<i>Mry-nswt</i> (G 1301)	PM: Dyn. V McCorquodale: V Peck: V	Giza	61	Peck (1972), in <i>BDIA</i> 51, 63-68, figs. 1-7. Fischer (1972), in <i>BDIA</i> 51, 69-80, figs. 1, 2, 5, 6.
<i>Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-mrj-Pth-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> / <i>Nhbw</i> (G 2381 with shaft G 2382A)	PM: Dyn. VI Temp. Pepy I or Mernere I Harpur: VI.2 Strudwick: mid to late Pepy I Swinton: VI.2 McCorquodale: VI.2	Giza	89-91	Reisner, <i>Giza I</i> , 266. Dunham (1938) in: <i>JEA</i> 24, 1-8. Smith (1958), in <i>BMFA</i> , Vol. LVI, No. 304, 56-63.
<i>Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr/Q3r</i> (G 7101)	PM: Dyn. VI Temp. Pepy I or later Harpur: VI.4 Simpson: Pepy I or later Strudwick: Merenre to early Pepy II McCorquodale: VI.2-4	Giza	184-185	Simpson, <i>Qar and Idu</i> , 1-18, figs. 15-32.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
<i>Mry-Hwfw</i> (Fakhry 6)	PM: Dyn. V or later	Giza	213-214	Fakhry, <i>Sept Tombeaux</i> , 19-25, figs. 14.
<i>Mr-<sup>c</sup>nh.f</i>	PM: Dyn. VI Harpur: VI.1-2 McCorquodale: VI.1-2	Giza	278-279	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 14-22, figs. 15-17.
<i>Mrw-k3(j)</i> <i>sn.f dt</i>	Moreno Gacia: 5 <sup>th</sup> dynasty, up tp the reign of Niuserre PM: Dyn. VI	Giza	118-119	Junker, <i>Giza</i> IX, 70-83, Abb. 33, pl. xi.
<i>Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III</i> (G 7530 + 7540)	PM: Dyn. IV, Temp Khufu to Shepseskaf McCorquodale: IV.2-6	Giza	197-199	Dunham and Simpson, <i>Mersyankh III</i> .
<i>Mr-sw-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	PM: end of Dyn. V Harpur: V.9 McCorquodale: V.6-9 Swinton: V.6-8	Giza	269-270	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> I, 104-117, figs. 182, 184, 185, pls. lxxiii-lxxv.
<i>Ms-z3</i>	PM: middle Dyn. V Harpur: V.6 McCorquodale: V.6	Giza	254	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> V, 289-292, figs. 152.
<i>Mdw-nfr</i> (G4630)	PM: Dyn. V McCorquodale: V	Giza	133-134	Curto, <i>Gli Scavi italiani a el-Ghiza</i> , 78-83, figs. 32, 33.
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-<sup>c</sup>ntj / Njj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI Cherpion: IV McCorquodale: IV-VI	Giza		Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, 239-240, Abb. 101. Giza Archive Project Photo AEOS_I_5838.
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw</i>	PM: Dyn. VI	Giza	247-248	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI-3, 133-142, figs. 127-130.
<i>Nj-wd3-Pth</i>	PM: Dyn. V or later McCorquodale: V-VI.E	Giza	62-63	Abu-Bakr, <i>Giza</i> , 103-120, fig. 94, 95 pls.lviii, lix, lxii-lxiii.
<i>Nj-M3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup></i> <i>sn-dt</i> of <i>Nfr-srs</i> in the same tomb	Moreno Gacia: 5 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty, up to reign of Izezi PM: late Dyn. V Harpur: V.9 McCorquodale: V.9	Giza	282-284	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, 202-214, fig. 224-248, pl. lxxviii.2
<i>Nj-mstj</i> (G 2366)	PM: probably Dyn. VI	Giza	85	Simpson, <i>Western Cemetery</i> , Part I, 32-33, fig. 43.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
	McCorquodale: VI			
<i>Nj...R<sup>c</sup></i>	PM: middle Dyn. V or later McCorquodale: V.M-L	Giza	241-242	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VII, 73-79, figs. 67-68.
<i>Nj-ḥtp-Pth / Pnj</i> (G 2340, LG 25)	PM: early Dyn. VI Altenmüller: end V early VI McCorquodale: VI.1	Giza	94-95	Badawy, <i>Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor</i> , figs. 1-13. Altenmüller (1981), in <i>SAK</i> 9, 9-56, Abb. 1-9.
<i>Nj-s<sup>c</sup>nh-ḥty / Jtj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI Harpur: VI.1 Strudwick: Pepy I, perhaps not early McCorquodale: VI.E-M	Giza	258	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 119-127, fig. 109.
<i>Nj-sw-Pth</i>	PM: early Dyn. VI Harpur: VI.1 McCorquodale: VI.1	Giza	168	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VIII, 166-172, Abb. 88-89.
<i>Nj-sw-s<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	PM: Dyn. VI	Giza	220	Junker, <i>Giza</i> X, 178-181, Abb. 68-69.
<i>Nb-m-ḥtj</i> (LG 12, LG 86)	PM: Dyn. IV Temp. Khephren to Menkaure or a little later Harpur: IV.6-V.1 Strudwick: end IV McCorquodale: IV.4-V.1	Giza	230-232	<i>LD</i> II, 12-14. Hassan, <i>Giza</i> IV, 125-150, figs. 76, 81-82. Rzepka (1998), in <i>GM</i> 164, 101-107, figs. 3-4.
<i>Nfr</i> (G 4761)	PM: end of Dyn. V or Dyn. VI Harpur: V.9-VI.1 McCorquodale: V.9-VI.1	Giza	137-138	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, 26-74, Abb. 3-15.
<i>Nfr</i> and <i>Jtj-sn</i> ( <i>Nfr</i> is <i>sn-dt</i> ) (D 203, Panel CGC 57163)	Moreno Gacia: second half of the 5 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty PM: late Dyn. V or Dyn. VI	Giza	116	Moreno Gacia (2007), in <i>JEA</i> 93, 117-136. Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum, Inv. No. OIM 10.812
<i>Nfr-b<sup>3</sup>w-Pth</i> (G 6010, LG 15)	PM: Middle to end Dyn. V Weeks: Dyn. V latter part, Newserra Harpur: V.6	Giza	169-170	Weeks, <i>Cemetery G 6000</i> , 5-7, 23-29, figs. 16-24.



Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
	Swinton V.6L McCorquodale: V.6			
<i>Nfr-m<sup>3</sup>ct</i> (G 7060, LG 57)	PM: Dyn. IV. Temp. Khufu to Khephren Harpur: IV. 2-4 Strudwick: early to middle Khafre McCorquodale: IV. 2-4	Giza	183	<i>LD II</i> , 17. Reisner, <i>Giza II</i> , 11. Reisner, <i>Giza I</i> , 60.
<i>Nfr-mšdr-Ḥwfw</i> (G 2240)	Roth: latter part of Dyn.V McCorquodale: V.L	Giza		Roth, <i>Palace Attendants</i> , 162-166, figs. 202-205.
<i>Nfr-n</i>	PM: Dyn. VI McCorquodale: VI	Giza	120-121	Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , 198-204, Abb. 76, Taf. XVI[b]. Ippel and Roeder, <i>Denkmäler</i> , 59.
<i>Nfr-htp</i> Wife is <i>snt-dt</i>	Moreno Gacia: Dyn 5	Giza	286	Hassan, <i>Giza IX</i> , 68, fig. 29a, pl.xxvi.
<i>Nfr-ḥwj</i> (G 2098)	Roth: latter part of Dyn.V Swinton: V.8L-9 McCorquodale: V.L	Giza		Roth, <i>Palace Attendants</i> , 142-149, figs. 191-193, 198.
<i>Nfr-sh.f-Pth</i> (LG 79)	PM: Dyn. V-VI	Giza	212	<i>LD II</i> , 94[e].
<i>Nfr-sšm-Ḥwfw</i> / <i>Šsj</i>	PM: Dyn. IV or later Harpur: IV-V McCorquodale: IV-V.E	Giza	306-307	<i>Hiero. Texts I</i> , 2nd ed., 11, pl. xi.
<i>Nfr-k3(j)</i>	PM: late Dyn. IV or later Fischer: later than begin. Dyn. V	Giza	215	Fischer (1973), in <i>MMJ</i> 8, 17, fig. 15. Curto, <i>Gli Scavi italiani a el-Ghiza</i> , 13-31, fig. 22.
<i>Nfrt-nswt</i>	PM: Dyn. V McCorquodale: V	Giza	281	Hassan, <i>Giza II</i> , 87-95, figs. 94.
<i>Nn-sdr-k3(j)</i> female (G 2101)	PM: Dyn. V Harpur: IV.4	Giza	72	Junker, <i>Giza II</i> , 97-121, Abb. 8.
<i>Nswt-nfr</i> (G 4970)	PM: early or middle Dyn. V Harpur: V.1-2	Giza	143-144	Kanawati, <i>Giza II</i> , 31-5-, pls. 52-57. Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , 163-187, fig. 32.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
	MacCorquodale: V.E-M			
<i>R<sup>c</sup>-wr</i>	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Neferirkare or later Harpur: V.3 McCorquodale: V. 3-4	Giza	265-269	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> I, 1-61, pl. xi, xxx, fig. 5. Cooney (1945), in <i>JEA</i> 31, 54- 56, pl. 1.
<i>Rwd-k<sup>3</sup>(j)</i> father of <i>Jn- k<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	PM: early Dyn. V Harpur: V.1-2 McCorquodale: V.1-2	Giza	247	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI-3, 125-132, figs. 117-119.
<i>Rmnw-k<sup>3</sup>(j) / Jmj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI	Giza	261-262	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, 169-178, figs. 204, 210.
<i>Rr-mw / Nj- k<sup>3</sup>w-Pth</i> (G 2099)	PM: VI McCorquodale: VI	Giza	70	Roth, <i>Palace Attendants</i> , 150- 154, figs.80, 115, 116.
<i>Rdj</i> (G 2086)	Roth: latter part of Dyn.V Swinton: V.6-8E McCorquodale: V.6-8E	Giza		Roth, <i>Palace Attendant</i> , 69-74, figs. 138, 143, 144.
<i>Rdj-ns</i> (G 5032)	PM: Dyn. VI Manuelian: mid V (Neuserre) McCorquodale: V.6-VI	Giza	145	Manuelian (1994), in Silverman ed., <i>For His Ka</i> , 55- 78, figs. 4.6-4.13.
<i>Hrw-nfr</i> (G 2353)	PM: Dyn. V McCorquodale: V	Giza	84	Simpson, <i>Western Cemetery</i> , Part I, 35-37, fig. 48.
<i>Hmt-R<sup>c</sup></i>	PM: middle to end Dyn. IV or V McCorquodale: IV-V	Giza	243-244	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI-3, 43-65, figs. 41-46.
<i>H<sup>c</sup>zj</i>	PM: Dyn. V McCorquodale: V	Giza	286	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 245-256, figs. 221-222.
<i>Htj</i> (G 5480, LG 29)	PM: late Dyn. V or VI Harpur: V.9-VI.1? McCorquodale: V.9-VI.1	Giza	163-164	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VIII, 22, Taf. iv, Abb. 4. Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 34[6].
<i>H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh<sup>3</sup></i> (G 7948) <i>sn-dt</i>	Moreno Gacia: end of 4 <sup>th</sup> or beginning of 5 <sup>th</sup> (from Menkaure to Sahure) PM: Dyn. V or later	Giza	207-208	<i>LD</i> II, 8-11. Harpur (1981), in <i>JEA</i> 67, 24- 35. Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 540[7], 567-571. Reisner, <i>Giza</i> I, 328[4], 314[e].

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
	Harpur: V.6? McCorquodale: V.6			Kormysheva (1999), in <i>ASAE</i> 74, 23-37.
<i>Hwj-n-Pth</i>	PM: end of Dyn. V or later Harpur: V.9-VI McCorquodale: V.8-VI	Giza	237	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VII, 35-41, figs. 28-31.
<i>Hww-wr</i> (LG 95)	PM: end Dyn. V Harpur: V.8-9 McCorquodale: V.8-9 Swinton: V.8	Giza	254-255	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> V, 237-256, figs. 101-105.
<i>Hwfw-ꜥnh</i> (G 4520) <i>sn-dt; snt-dt</i>	Baer: Late V. Reisner: Temp. Userkaf Harpur: V McCorquodale: V Moreno Gacia: Dyn. IV, Menkaure ( <i>JEA</i> 93, 122)	Giza	129	Reisner, <i>Giza</i> I, 215-216, 503-507, pls. lxxv, lxxvii. The Giza Archives Project, photos AAW 1990 and A2063_NS.
<i>Hwfw-htp</i> (LG 76)	PM: Dyn. V or later Strudwick: perhaps mid V or later McCorquodale: V or later	Giza	212	<i>LD</i> II, 34.
<i>Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I</i> (G 7130 + 7140)	PM: Dyn. IV, Khufu to end of IV Harpur: IV.4 Strudwick: mid to late Khafre McCorquodale: IV. 2-6	Giza	188-190	Simpson, <i>Kawab, Khafkhufu</i> I & II, 9-20, pls. xv-xxviii, xlvii[c], figs. 26-34.
<i>Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f II</i> (G 7150)	PM: Dyn. V Harpur: V.6 Strudwick: Neferirkare to early Neweserre McCorquodale: V.3-6	Giza	190-191	Simpson, <i>Kawab, Khafkhufu</i> I & II, 21-27, pls. xxxii-xlv, figs. 43-50.
<i>Hwfw-snb II</i>	PM: Dyn. VI	Giza	153	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VII, 126-133, Abb. 48[a].

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
<i>Hwn-Pth</i> in the tomb of <i>K3(.j)-hr-nswt</i>	PM: Dyn. V	Giza	271	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, 65-71, fig. 65.
<i>Hw.n-R<sup>c</sup></i>	PM: Dyn. IV, Temp. Menkaure Harpur: IV.5	Giza	293-294	Giza Archive Project Photo A5459_NS.jpg. Reisner (1934), in <i>BMFA</i> , Vol. XXXII, No. 189, 1-12, fig. 10.
<i>Hwt3</i>	PM: middle Dyn. V or later Harpur: V.6-9 McCorquodale: V.6-9	Giza	279	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 41-46, fig. 39.
<i>Hnt</i>	PM: end Dyn. V or later McCorquodale: V.L-VI.E	Giza	279	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI-3, 197-200, fig. 195.
<i>Hntj</i>	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Isesi Harpur: V.8 McCorquodale: V.8	Giza	162	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VII, 241-246, Abb. 101, 102.
<i>Hnt-k3w.s</i>	PM: Dyn. VI McCorquodale: VI	Giza	148-149	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VII, 68-85, Abb. 30b-32. Gurto, <i>Gli Scavi Italiani a el-Ghiza</i> , 58-60, fig. 19.
<i>Hnw</i>	PM: Dyn. VI McCorquodale: VI	Giza	119	Junker, <i>Giza</i> IX, 54-56, Abb. 21.
<i>Hnmw</i>	PM: Dyn. VI McCorquodale: VI	Giza	121	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, 190-194, Abb. 70, Taf. xvi[a].
<i>Hnmw-htp</i> (Fakhry 4)	PM: Dyn. V or later	Giza	213	Fakhry, <i>Sept Tombeaux</i> , 11-16, figs. 6-7, pl. iv.
<i>Z3-jb</i> (G 2092+2093)	Roth: latter part of Dyn. V Swinton: V.6-8E McCorquodale: V.6-8E PM: VI	Giza	70	Roth, <i>Palace Attendants</i> , 106-113, figs. 173a, b, c.
<i>Ztw</i> (G 4710, LG 49) <i>sn-dt</i>	Moreno Gacia: Dyn.5 PM: Dyn. V McCorquodale: V	Giza	135-136	<i>LD</i> , Erg. pl. xxvii[b]. <i>LD</i> II, 87. Reisner, <i>Giza</i> I, 521-524.
<i>Snb</i> / ...w-snb	Woods: Userkaf-Neferirkara PM: mid Dyn. VI or later	Giza	101-103	Junker, <i>Giza</i> V, 3-110. Abb. 5, 22-29.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
	Cherpion: IV, not later than Djedefre Harpur: VI. 5-7 McCorquodale: VI.5-7			
<i>Snfrw-htp</i> (G 3088)	PM: VI McCorquodale: VI.4	Giza	96	Fisher, <i>Minor Cemetery</i> , 157-166, pls. 53-55.
<i>Snnw</i>	PM: middle Dyn. V or later McCorquodale: V.5-9	Giza	307	<i>Hiero. Texts</i> I, 2nd ed., 19-20, pl.xx[3].
<i>Snnw-k3(.j) / Kkj</i> (G 2041, MFA 07.1000)	MFA: Dyn. 4, Khufu or Khafra PM: early Dyn. V Roth: IV Harpur: V.1-3 Strudwick: early V McCorquodale: V.E	Giza	68	Smith, <i>Sculpture and Painting</i> , 164, pl. 45. Giza Archives Project Photo AAW1658. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: <a href="http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/relief-from-the-tomb-of-senenuka-136181">http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/relief-from-the-tomb-of-senenuka-136181</a>
<i>Snđm-jb / Jntj</i> (G 2370) <i>sn-dt</i>	Moreno Gacia: 5 <sup>th</sup> dynasty, reign of Izezi PM: Temp. Isesi	Giza	85-87	Brovarski, <i>Senedjemib Complex</i> I, 11-110, pls. 1-84, figs. 16-73. Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 43. <i>LD Erg.</i> , XVIII, XIX. <i>LD</i> II, 77-78.
<i>Snđm-jb / Mhj</i> (G 2378, LG26)	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Unis Brovaski: V.9 Strudwick: middle Wenis Swinton: V.9E McCorquodale: V.9	Giza	87-89	Brovarski, <i>Senedjemib Complex</i> I, 133-159, figs. 96-131.
<i>Shtpw / Tpw</i>	PM: end of Dyn. V or early VI Harpur: V.9-VI.1 McCorquodale: V.9-VI.1	Giza	222	Junker, <i>Giza</i> XI, 48-66, Abb. 33-36.
<i>Shm-nh-Pth</i> (G 7152)	PM: late Dyn. V or VI Harpur: V.9-VI.1? Badawy: VI.E McCoquodale: V.L-VI.E	Giza	191	Badawy, <i>Iteti, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and Kaemnofert</i> , 15-23, figs. 19-24, pl.3.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
<i>Shm-k3(j)</i>	PM: end Dyn. IV or later Harpur: IV.6-V McCorquodale: IV.6-V	Giza	246	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI-3, 143-156, figs. 139.
<i>Shm-k3(j)</i> (G 1029)	PM: end of Dyn. V or VI Reisner: Dyn. V after Niuserre Simpson: possibly later Harpur: V.9-VI.1 McCorquodale: V.7-VI.1	Giza	53	Simpson, <i>Western Cemetery</i> I, 1-6, figs. 3-6, pls. II-IX.
<i>Shm-k3(j)</i> (G4411, LG51)	PM: middle Dyn. V or later Harpur: V.6-9? McCorquodale: V.6-9	Giza	127	Reisner, <i>Giza</i> I, 516-517. LD II, 89[b, c]. Steindorff, <i>Die Kunst der Ägypter</i> , fig. on 196.
<i>Shm-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> (LG 89)	PM: IV, Temp. Khephren to early V Harpur: V.2 Strudwick: Sahure and a little before McCorquodale: IV.4-V.2	Giza	233-234	LD II, 42. LD Erg. fig. 37. Hassan, <i>Giza</i> IV, 103-120, figs. 55-61.
<i>Sš3t-ḥtp / Htj</i> (G 5150)	PM: early Dyn. V Kanawati: Temp. Sahura, probably middle of reign Harpur: V.1-2 Strudwick: early V McCorquodale: V.2	Giza	149-150	Kanawati, <i>Giza</i> II, 11-30, pls. 39-48. Junker, <i>Giza</i> II, 172-193, Abb. 25-31.
<i>Sšmw ( ?)</i> (Shaft 590)	PM: Dyn. V-VI McCorquodale: V-VI	Giza	164	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VIII, 23-26, Abb.6
<i>Sšm-nfr I</i> (G 4940, LG 45) <i>sn-ḏt</i>	Baud: Dyn. IV (Les criteres de datation, 55-56) PM: Temp. Sahure or Neferirkare Kanawati: Sahure – Niuserre Harpur: V.1-3	Giza	142-143	Kanawati, <i>Giza</i> I. 51-64, pls. 18-24, 38-51. Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 9-33. LD II, 28-29.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
	Strudwick: early V Mccorquodale: V.2-6			
<i>Sšm-nfr II</i> (G 5080)	PM: Dyn. V Temp. Neuserre Kanawati: V.6 Harpur: V.6 Strudwick: end IV	Giza	146-148	Kanawati, <i>Giza</i> II, 51-63, pls. 62-64. Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 187-192.
<i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (G 5170)	PM: Dyn. V Temp. Isesi(early) Harpur: V.8E Strudwick: Menkauhor to early/middle Djedkare Swinton: V.8 McCorquodale: V. 7-9	Giza	153-154	Brunner-Traut, <i>Seschemnofers III</i> . Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 192-214.
<i>Sšm-nfr IV</i> (LG 53)	PM: end of Dyn. V or VI Harpur: VI.1? McCorquodale: VI.1	Giza	223-226	Junker, <i>Giza</i> XI, 100-119, 126-131, 137-241. Abb. 60, 70, 73a, 73b.
<i>St-k3.j</i>	PM: Dyn. VI Harpur: VI.1-2 McCorquodale: VI.1-2	Giza	160	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VII, 192-228, Abb. 87.
<i>Sšw</i> (LG 93)	PM: Dyn. V-VI McCorquodale: V-VI	Giza	293	<i>LD</i> II, 38.
<i>Špsj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI McCorquodale: VI	Giza	121	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, 174-179, Abb. 62, Taf. xvi[b].
<i>Špss-k3.f-ḥnḥ</i>	PM: end of Dyn. V to middle VI Harpur: V.9-VI.5 McCorquodale: V.9-VI.5	Giza	272	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, 15-31, figs. 19-27
<i>Qd-ns</i>	PM: Dyn. V McCorquodale: V	Giza	281	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, 96-103, figs. 102-104, 106.
<i>Qd-ns II</i>	PM: Dyn. VI McCorquodale: VI	Giza	152	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VII, 133-138, Abb. 51.
<i>K3j</i> (east of tomb G 7391)	PM: Dyn. V-VI McCorquodale: V-VI	Giza	194	Curto, <i>Gli Scavi Italiani a el-Ghiza</i> , 46-50, fig. 12-13.
<i>K3.j-wḥb</i>	PM: Dyn. IV. 2-3 Harpur: IV. 2-3	Giza	187-188	Simpson, <i>Kawab, Khafkhufu I &amp; II</i> , 1-8, figs. 10-16.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
(G 7110 + 7120)	Strudwick: late Khufu or slightly later McCorquodale: IV. 2-3			
<i>K<sup>3</sup>-pw-Pth</i> (Cairo JE 37716)*	Moreno Garcia: second half of the Fifth Dynasty	Giza	56	Fischer (1960), in <i>MIO</i> , Vol. VII, 301, fig.2.
<i>K<sup>3</sup>.j-pw-nswt / K<sup>3</sup>.j</i> (G 4651)	PM: early to middle Dyn. V Harpur: V.1-5 McCorquodale: V.E-M	Giza	135	Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 123-145, Abb. 14-16.
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-m-ḥnh</i> (G 4561)	PM: Dyn. VI Kanawati: late Dynasty 5, most likely reign of Djedkare/Isesi McCorquodale: V. L	Giza	131-133	Junker, <i>Giza</i> IV, 4-21. Kanawati, <i>Giza</i> I, 13-50, pl. 31-33.
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-mnj</i>	PM: Dyn. V	Giza	260	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 98-107, figs. 88, 91.
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-m-nfr</i> (LG 63)	PM: Dyn. V-VI McCorquodale: V-VI	Giza	208-209	LD II, 91. Badawy, <i>Iteti, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and Kaemnofert</i> , 25-33, figs. 27-29, pls. 27-28.
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-nj-nswt I</i> (G 2155)	PM: early Dyn. V Harpur: V.1-3 McCorquodale: V.E	Giza	78-79	Junker, <i>Giza</i> II, 135-172, Abb. 18-19.
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-nj-nswt II</i> (G 2156)	PM: early Dyn. V Harpur: V.6 McCorquodale: V.6	Giza	79-80	Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 145-156, Abb. 20-22.
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-nfr</i> (G 2150)	PM: early Dyn. V Harpur: V.1-3 McCorquodale: V.1-3	Giza	77-78	Reisner, <i>Giza</i> I, 437-445, figs. 258, 263, 264, 267.
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-hnt</i> (G 2088)	Roth: latter part of Dyn.V Swinton: V.6-8E McCorquodale: V.6-8E	Giza	69	Roth, <i>Palace Attendants</i> , 80-91, figs. 147, 151, 152a.
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-dw<sup>3</sup></i>	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Neuserre or later Harpur: V.6-9 ?	Giza	244-245	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI-3, 93-110, figs. 81, 83, pls. xxxviii[c], xxxix[c], xl.



Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
	McCorquodale: V.6-9			
<i>K3w-nswt</i>	PM: late Dyn. IV or V Harpur: IV.6-V.1 McCorquodale: IV.6-V.1	Giza	274	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, 78-86, figs. 85-88.
<i>K3pj</i> (G 2091)	PM: Late Dyn. V or VI Roth: Latter part of Dyn. V Harpur: V.9-VI Swinton: V.6-8E McCorquodale: V. 6-9	Giza	69-70	Roth, <i>Palace Attendants</i> , 97- 105, figs. 159, 161, 164.
<i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136)	PM: Dyn. VI Harpur: VI.5 McCorquodale: VI.5	Giza	76-77	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, 94-153, Abb. 29-41.
<i>K3-hr-Pth</i> (G 7721) <i>sn-dt.s</i>	PM: Dyn. V Kendall: Dyn VI. M-L	Giza	203	Kendall (1981), in Simpson & Davis ed., <i>Studies</i> , 104-114, figs. 10-12.
<i>Tp-m-nh</i> (D 20)	PM: Dyn. V-VI McCorquodale: V- VI	Giza	109-110	Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , 253-261, Ns. 46-47.
<i>Tf-nn</i> (Cairo Mus. JE 56994)	PM: Dyn. VI	Giza	69	Goedicke, <i>Privaten Rechtsinschriften</i> , 182-184, Taf. XVII b. Bakir, <i>Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt</i> , 68, pl.i.
<i>Tntj</i> (G 4920, LG 47) <i>sn-dt</i>	PM: early Dyn. V or later Moreno Gacia: 4 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. Khufu or Redjedef	Giza	141	Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 38-39. <i>LD</i> II, 30, 31[b].
<i>Tntj</i> (Cairo JE 57139)	Goedicke: V Dynasty	Giza	308	Goedicke, <i>Privaten Rechtsinschriften</i> , 122-130, Taf. xiii.
<i>Ttw I / k3(.j)- nswt</i> (G 2001)	PM: Dyn. V-VI Boston Mus.: mid to late Dyn. V McCorquodale: V. M-L	Giza	66	Simpson, <i>Western Cemetery</i> I, 7-15, figs. 14-25.
<i>Ttw II</i> (G 2343- G5511)	Simpson: Dyn. V- VI	Giza		Simpson, <i>Western Cemetery</i> I, 31-32, pls. liii[a], lvi[a], fig. 42.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM III	Publications
	McCorquodale: V-VI			
<i>Ttj</i>	PM: Dyn. V or VI McCorquodale: V-VI	Giza	302	<i>Hiero. Texts</i> I, 2nd ed., 6-7, 16, pls. vi-viii[1], xvi. Lepsius, <i>Auswahl</i> , fig.8[d].
<i>Dw3-Rc</i>	PM: Dyn. V Harpur: V.6-9 McCorquodale: V.6-9	Giza	287-288	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> IX, 56-62, fig. 24, pl. xxiii.
<i>Dndnw</i> (LG 73)	PM: Dyn. V-VI	Giza	211	<i>LD</i> II, 93. <i>LD</i> Text, I, 90-91.
<i>D3ty</i> (G 2337-x, dependent of <i>Sndm-jb</i> )	Simpson: Dyn. V late McCorquodale: V.L	Giza		Simpson, <i>Western Cemetery</i> I, 28-31, pls. liv, lv, fig. 41.

Table I.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
Name lost	PM: Dny. VI Harpur: VI McCorquodale: VI	Saqqara	521	Drioton (1943), in <i>ASAE</i> xliii, 512-513.
Name lost	Martin: Dynasty V-VI	Saqqara	block found inside the entrance to the Baboon galleries	Martin, <i>Hetepka</i> , No. 22, 22-23, pl. 23.
<i>3htj-htp</i> (E 17)	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Isesi Murray: Dyn. V, Temp. Unas Harpur: VI. 5? McCorquodale: V.9-VI. 7	Saqqara	633-634	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 421-430. Petrie & Murray, <i>Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels</i> , 7-8, 18-20, pls. iv-vii, xxi.
<i>3htj-htp</i> (Louvre E. 10958, Mastaba du Louvre)	PM: Dyn. V or early Dyn. VI Cherpion: Dyn. V, Temp. Niuserre Harpur: V. 6-8E McCorquodale: V. 6-8E	Saqqara	634-637	Ziegler, <i>Akhethetep</i> .

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
<i>3ht-htp</i> (D 64) <i>sn-gt</i>	PM: Isesi to Unas Moreno Gacia: end of the 5 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. Strudwick: father early Unas Cherpion: Isesi Harpur: V.9M-L McCorquodale: V.8-9	Saqqara	599-600	Davies, <i>Ptahhetep and Akhethetep</i> , II.
<i>3rtj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Merenre or later Harpur: VI.3-7 McCorquodale: VI.3-7	Saqqara	674	Grdseloff (1943), in <i>ASAE</i> XLII, 26-37, figs. 1-2. Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 101-102, Bl. 85.
<i>Jj-wn / Shnt-k3(j)</i>	PM: Dyn. V	Saqqara	739	Schmidt, <i>Choix</i> , pl. v[9], 15. Koefoed-Petersen, <i>Cat. des bas-reliefs</i> , 19-20, 69-70, No. 11, pl. xvi.
<i>Jj-nfirt / Š3-n.f</i>	PM: Dyn. VI Harpur: V.9 Strudwick: middle to late Unis Kanawati: early – middle Unis for the construction of the tomb	Saqqara Unis Cemetery	616	Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> II, 11-31, pls. 1-13, 29-48.
<i>Jj-k3</i>	PM: Dyn. V	Saqqara	637	Saad (1940), in <i>ASAE</i> XL, 675-680, pls. lxxiii-lxxiv.
<i>Jnw-Mnw</i> (around Teti Pyramid)	Kanawati: Dyn. VI, Temp. early Pepy I McCorquodale: VI.2	Saqqara, around Teti pyramid		Kanawati et al., <i>Teti Cemetery</i> VIII.
<i>Jntj</i>	Barta: Dyn. VI Teti or shortly after McCorquodale: VI.1-2	Abusir South		Barta (2006), in Barta ed., <i>Proceedings</i> , 45-62, figs. 7-9.
<i>Jrj.s / Jjj</i>	Kanawati: middle Dyn. VI Harpur: VI? McCorquodale: VI. M	Saqqara		Kanawati et al., <i>Saqqara</i> I, 47-58, pls. 31-38.
<i>Jrw-k3-Pth</i>	PM: early Dyn. V or Dyn. VI	Saqqara	639	McFarlane, <i>Unis Cemetery</i> I. Rachewiltz, <i>Irw-K3-Pth</i> .

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
	Strudwick: Temp. Djedkare Harpur: VI McFarlane: late Dynasty V, Menkauhor - Djedkare McCorquodale: V.7-8			
<i>Jšfw / Jšff</i> reused by <i>Msy</i>	Kanawati: middle Dyn. VI-middle of Pepy I McCorquodale: VI. 2L	Saqqara, north-west of Teti's pyramid		El-Khouli & Kanawati, <i>Saqqara II</i> , 25-32, pls. 15-21.
<i>ḥnh-m-ḥ-ḥnty</i>	PM: Dyn. V-VI	Saqqara	735	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler I</i> , 213- 214, Bl. 44.
<i>ḥnh-m-ḥ-Hr /</i> <i>Zzj</i>	PM: Early Dyn. VI Strudwick: Middle to late Teti Kanawati: Middle Teti Harpur: VI. 1L-2E Swinton: VI.1M- 2E McCorquodale: VI.1M-2E	Saqqara	512-515	Kanawati et al., <i>Teti Cemetery</i> II. Badawy, <i>Nyhetep-Ptah and</i> <i>Ankhmahor</i> , 35-51, figs. 33, 41, 43, 45, 46. Firth and Gunn, <i>Teti Pyramid</i> <i>Cemetery I</i> , 16-18.
<i>ḥnh-m-ḥ-k3(j)</i> (No. 67 [D 16])	PM: V. Neuserre or later Strudwick: mid V not long after Neweserre? Harpur: V.6-8 McCorquodale: V.6-8E	Saqqara	481	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 213-220. Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler I</i> , 182- 186, Bl. 40.
<i>ḥnh-Hwt-Hr</i>	PM: end Dyn. V, Temp. Userkaf or later Silverman: V-VI McCorquodale: V- VI	Saqqara	746	Silverman (1983), in <i>ZÄS</i> 110, 80-89, Taf. 1, figs. 1-2.
<i>W3š-Pth / Jzj</i> No. 24 [D 38]	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Neferirkare Strudwick: middle to late Neferirkare Harpur: V.3, Neferirkare	Saqqara	456	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 267-271. Mogensen, <i>Inscriptions</i> , 7-11, pls. x, xi. Fischer, <i>Varia Nova</i> , 7-9, pl.1. Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler II</i> , 40- 42, 129, 144, Bl. 69-70.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
	McCorquodale: V.3			
<i>Wnnj</i>	PM: late Dyn. VI McCorquodale: VI.L	Saqqara	679	Jequier, <i>Tombeaux de particuliers</i> , 112-113, fig. 129.
<i>Wr-jr.n-Pth</i>	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Neferirkare or later Harpur: V.3-5? McCorquodale: V.3-5	Saqqara	699-700	<i>Hiero. Texts</i> I, 2ed ed., 28-32, pl. xxviii, xxix. <i>Hiero. Texts</i> I, pls, 30-32. <i>Hiero. Texts</i> VI, pls. 2-8.
<i>Wr-b3w</i> (in the same tomb of <i>K3- h3.j</i> )	PM: Middle to late Dyn. V Moussa and Altenmüller: Niuserre Moreno Gacia: 5 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. Neferirkare to Niuserre McCorquodale: V.6 Lashien: Niuserre	Saqqara	639-641	Lashien, <i>Kahai and his family</i> . Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> , pl. viii.
<i>Wr-nw</i>	PM: middle Dyn. VI or later Harpur: VI. 3-4? Meremere to Pepy II Swinton: VI. 2-4E Davies: VI.3-6 McCorquodale: VI. 2-6	Saqqara	518	Davies et al. <i>Saqqara Tombs</i> I, 21-29, pls. 24-33. Saad (1943), in <i>ASAE</i> xliii, 455.
<i>Bj3 / Jry</i>	PM: end of Dyn. VI Harpur: VI.3-4 McCorquodale: VI.3-7	Saqqara	623	Wilson (1954), in <i>JNES</i> XIII, 242-254, pl. xviii, figs. 1-4. Saad (1940), in <i>ASAE</i> XL, 690-692, figs. 77-78. Fischer (1965), in <i>JARCE</i> , 49- 52, pl. xxix.
<i>Ppj</i>	PM: end of VI Harpur: VI McCorquodale: VI	Saqqara	677	Jequier, <i>Tombeaux de particuliers</i> , 94-107, fig. 116.
<i>Pr-nb</i> (Quibell S 913)	PM: end of Dyn. V MMA: Isesi to Unas Swinton: V.8-9	Saqqara	497	Lythgoe & Ransom-Williams, <i>Perneb</i> . Hayes, <i>Scepter</i> I, 90-95. Quibell, <i>Saqqara</i> (1907-1908), 25.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
	McCorquodale: V.8-9			
<i>Pr-ndw</i>	PM: Dyn. VI	Saqqara	611-612	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 211, Bl. 44. Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 134, 136-137, 154, Bl. 92.
<i>Pr-sn</i> (D 45)	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Sahure Strudwick: Sahure Harpur: V.2-3 McCorquodale: V.2-3	Saqqara	577-578	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 299-301. Petrie & Murray, <i>Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels</i> , 8-10, 20-22, pl.9. Fechheimer, <i>Plastic</i> 13-17, Taf. 126.
<i>Ph.n-wj-k3</i> (D 70, LS 15) <i>sn-dt</i>	PM: Middle Dyn. V or later Moreno Gacia: 5 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. Neferirkare to Niuserre	Saqqara	491-492	<i>Urk.</i> I, 227.8-12. <i>LD</i> II, 46-47. Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 370-372. Fischer (1979), in <i>JEA</i> 65, 42-44.
<i>Pth-htp</i> (PM III 653-654)	PM: middle Dyn. V Strudwick: perhaps first half Pepy I Harpur: VI.2? or LV-VIE? McCorquodale: VI.2	Saqqara	653-654	Junker, <i>Giza</i> V, Abb 10, 48-51[b]. <i>LD</i> Text I, 185-186. <i>LD</i> II, 102-104.
<i>Pth-htp I</i> (D 62)	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Isesi Strudwick: late Djedkare Harpur: V.8M Swinton: V.8 McCorquodale: V.8	Saqqara	596-598	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 351-356. Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> , I, 11-18, pls. VIII-XVII. Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> II, 251-261.
<i>Pth-htp II / Tff</i> (D 64) <i>sn-dt</i>	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Isesi to Unas Moreno Gacia: the very beginning of the 6 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty Swinton: V.9 Strudwick: son late Unas Cherpion: Isesi? McCorquodale: V.8-9	Saqqara	600-605	Harpur & Scremin, <i>Ptahhotep</i> . Paget and Pirie, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , pls. xxxi, xxxii, xxxiv-xxxvi, xxxviii. Davies, <i>Ptahhetep and Akhetetep</i> I.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
<i>Pth-htp / Jj-n- nh</i>	PM: end Dyn. V or early Dyn. VI Harpur: V.9-VI.1	Saqqara	606-607	Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> II, 85-104, figs. 35-36.
<i>Pth-htp</i> (D 51)*	PM: Userkaf or later Moreno Gacia: 5 <sup>th</sup> Dyn., Sahure or later	Saqqara	581-582	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 315.
<i>Pth-špss</i> (PM III 340- 342, Abusir)	PM: Dyn. V Harpur: V.6-8E Swinton: V.6L McCorquodale: V.6L	Abusir	340-342	Verner, <i>Abusir</i> I, <i>Ptahshepses</i> .
<i>Pth-špss II</i>	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Teti or later Swinton: VI.1-2E Harpur: VI.3-4, Merenre – early Pepy II McCorquodale: VI.1-4	Saqqara	460-461	Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> I, 26-28, pls. xxviii-xxxi, xxxv. Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 376-379. Bienkowski & Tooley, <i>Gifts of the Nile</i> , 67, fig. 102.
<i>Mry-Tj</i> (son of <i>Mrrw- k3.j</i> , in the same tomb)	Kanawati: VI.1L- 2M McCorquodale: VI. 1L-2E	Saqqara		Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, <i>Mereruka</i> I.
<i>Mr.f-nb.f / Fj</i>	Myśliwiec: Dyn. VI possibly Teti- Pepy I McCorquodale: VI.1-2	Saqqara		Myśliwiec (2000), in <i>Abusir and Saqqara 2000</i> , 499-505, pls. 72-3, fig.3. Myśliwiec et al, <i>Saqqara</i> I, Merefnebef.
<i>Mrrj</i> (around Teti Pyramid)	PM: middle Dyn. VI Strudwick: early to middle Pepy I Harpur: VI. 2E Davies: VI.1-2 McCorquodale: VI. 1-2	Saqqara, around Teti pyramid	518-519	Davies et al. <i>Saqqara Tombs</i> I, 2-20, pls. 2-18. Drioton 1943, Description Sommaire, <i>ASAE</i> , xlii, 488- 496.
<i>Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI Temp. Teti Strudwick: end of reign of Teti Harpur: VI.1 M-L Teti M-L Kanawati: VI.1 M-L	Saqqara	525-527	Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> , I and II. Kanawati et al, <i>Mereruka</i> III:1&2.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
	McCorquodale: VI.1 M-L			
<i>Mḥw</i>	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Pepy I or later VI.2-6 Strudwick: early to middle Pepy I Harpur: VI.2-3M Altenmüller: Pepy II	Saqqara	619-622	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> . Saad (1940), in <i>ASAE</i> XL, 687-692.
<i>Mttj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI; Temp. Teti Harpur: VI.2? Ziegler: Probably Dyn. VI McCorquodale: VI.1-2	Saqqara	646-647	Kaplony, <i>Methethi</i> . MMA, <i>Egyptian Art</i> , 408-416, Nos. 151-154. Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , 120-150, Nos. 152-154.
<i>Nj-ḥnh-Ppy / Nj-ḥnh-Mry-R<sup>c</sup></i>	PM: end of Dyn. VI Harpur: VI.7-FIP McCorquodale: VI.7-FIP	Saqqara	630-631	Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> II, 1-23, figs. 1-5, pls. i-iv.
<i>Nj-ḥnh-nswt sn-dt</i>	PM: early Dyn. VI Smith: first half of Dyn. VI Moreno Gacia: the very beginning of the 6 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	Saqqara	694-696	Kaiser, <i>Ägyptisches Museum Berlin</i> , 28 (no. 237). Mahmoud (2002), in <i>GM</i> , 186, 75-88, figs. 1-4. Smith (1942), in <i>AJA</i> xlvi, 510, note 5.
<i>Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw &amp; Hnmw-ḥtp</i>	PM: Dyn. V Prob. Temp Neuserre or Menkauhor Moussa and Altenmüller: end of Neuserre – Menkauhor Harpur: V.6L-7 McCorquodale: V.6L-7	Saqqara	641-644	Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nianchnum und Chnumhotep</i> . Harpur & Scremin, <i>Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep</i> .
<i>Nj-ḥnh-Shmt (No.74 [D 12])</i>	PM: Dyn. V- Temp. Sahure McCorquodale: V.2	Saqqara	482	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 202-205. Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 169- 173, Bl.39.
<i>Nj-k3(j)-R<sup>c</sup></i>	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Neuserre or later	Saqqara	696-697	Berman, <i>The Cleveland Museum of Art Catalogue</i> , 130-132, no. 72.



Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
	Strudwick: perhaps middle Dyn. V McCorquodale: V.5-7			
<i>Nj-k³w-Jzzj</i> (around Teti Pyramid)	Strudwick: middle Teti to early Pepy I Kanawati: Dyn. VI, Temp. Teti McCorquodale: VI.1	Saqqara, around Teti pyramid		Kanawati et al., <i>Teti Cemetery</i> VI.
<i>Nj-k³w-Pth sn-dt</i> (Univ. Mus. Manchester 10780)	PM: Dynasty V, Sahure or later Moreno Gacia: 5 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.,reign of Sahure or later Strudwick: after the middle of Dyn. 5, died about the reign of DjedkareIsesi	Saqqara	744-745	Fischer, <i>Varia Nova</i> , 34-36. Strudwick (1987), in <i>RdE</i> 38, 139-146. <i>Urk.</i> I, 227.11-12.
<i>Nj-k³w-R<sup>c</sup></i>	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Neferirkare or later Strudwick: late Dyn. V or later Harpur: V.3-6? McCorquodale: V.3-6	Saqqara	697	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 80- 84, 87-89, Bl. 19-20. Saleh & Sourouzian, <i>Egyptian Museum</i> , No. 57. Bourguet (1961), in <i>Melanges Maspero</i> , I [4], 11-16, pls. 1-4.
<i>Nj-k³w-Hr</i> (Quibell S 915)	PM: probably late Dyn. V Harpur: V.9, Unas McCorquodale: V.9	Saqqara	498	Quibell, <i>Saqqara</i> (1907-1908), 25, pls. lxii-lxvi. Hayes, <i>Sceptre</i> I, 102-103, fig. 58.
<i>Nb-k³w-Hr / Jdu</i> usurped from <i>³hty-htp / Hmj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI	Saqqara	627-629	Hassan, <i>Excavations at Saqqara</i> I.
<i>Nfr</i> (in the same tomb of <i>k³- h³.j</i> )	PM: Middle to late Dyn. V Moussa and Altenmüller: Niuserre Moreno Gacia: 5 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	Saqqara	639-641	Lashien, <i>Kahei and his family</i> . Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> .

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
	Neferirkare to Niuserre McCorquodale: V.6 Lashien: Niuserre			
<i>Nfr-Jnpw</i> (AS 37, Abusir South)	Barta: Dynasty 5, Nyuserra - Djedkara	Abusir South		Barta, Abusir XXIII: <i>Neferinpu</i> (AS 37).
<i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i> (D 55)	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Neferirkare or later van de Walle: V. Neuserre to Menkauhor Cherpion: Neuserre Harpur: V.8-9 McCorquodale: V.6-9	Saqqara	583-584	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 324-328. Van de Walle, <i>Mastaba</i> <i>Neferirtenef</i> .
<i>Nfr-m³t</i>	PM: middle Dyn. V McCorquodale: V.M	Dahshur	895	Barsanti (1902), in <i>ASAE</i> III, 203-204.
<i>Nfr-ntr</i>	PM: Dyn. VI	Saqqara	736	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 130- 132, Bl. 33.
<i>Nfr-hww</i>	PM: Dyn. V or VI Vandier: Dyn. V Ziegler: First half of Dyn. V McCorquodale: V. E-M	Saqqara	568	Vandier, <i>Musées de France</i> , April 1948, 56-58, figs. 5-6. Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , 176-186, No. 28, pls. on 177-179, figs. on 184-186.
<i>Nfr-sšm-Pth</i> / <i>Wd³-h³-Tj</i> / <i>Ššj</i> (around Teti Pyramid, Saqqara 32)	PM: early Dyn. VI Strudwick: Teti to early Pepy I Lloyd: Teti to early Pepy I McCorquodale: VI. 1-2E	Saqqara, Around Teti Pyramid, Saqqara 32	515-516	Capart, <i>Rue de Tombeaux</i> II, pls. lxxv-ci. Lloyd et al, <i>Saqqara Tombs</i> III.
<i>Nfr-sšm-Rc</i> / <i>Ššj</i>	PM: early Dyn. VI Strudwick: middle Teti Harpur: VI.1M-L, Teti M-L McCorquodale: VI. 1E-M	Saqqara	511	Kanawati et al., <i>Teti Cemetery</i> III, 11-38, pls. 40-60.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
<i>Nn-hft-kʿ(.j)</i> (D 47)	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Sahure or later Harpur: V.6? McCorquodale: V.2-6	Saqqara	580-581	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 304-309. Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 177- 181, Bl. 40.
<i>Ntr-wsr</i> <i>snt-dt</i> wife	Moreno Gacia: 5 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. from Menkauhor to Izezi PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Menkauhor to Isesi Harpur: V.6L-7, late Neuserre to Menkauhor Strudwick: late Newserre to Menkauhor McCorquodale: V.6-7	Saqqara	485	Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> I, 19-24, pls. xx-xxv, xxxii. Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 164-174.
<i>Rc-hr-tp / Jtj</i>	Firth & Gunn: 1 <sup>st</sup> Int. P. Harpur: end of Pepy II – 1 <sup>st</sup> I.P. Kanawati: Dyn. VI- poss. early Pepy I McCorquodale: VI.2-FIP	Saqqara	546	Firth & Gunn, <i>Teti Pyramid</i> <i>Cemetery</i> I, 212, II, pl. 77.
<i>Rc-špss</i> (Lepsius LS 16 [S 902])	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Isesi Strudwick: perhaps middle Djedkare Harpur: V. 8M, middle Isesi Swinton: V.8 McCorquodale: V.8M	Saqqara	494-496	<i>LD</i> Text I, 165-170. <i>LD</i> II, 60-64. <i>LD</i> Erg. xlii. Harpur, <i>Decoration</i> , figs, 120, 187. Quibell, <i>Saqqara</i> (1907-1908), 23-24, pl. lxi[2].
<i>Rmnj / Mr-wj</i>	Kanawati: Dyn.VI, Teti to early Pepy McCorquodale: VI. 1L-2E	Saqqara, north-west of Teti's Pyramid		Kanawati et al., <i>Teti Cemetery</i> IX.
<i>Hb-ʿj</i>	PM: end Dyn. VI	Saqqara	678	Jéquier, <i>Tombeaux de</i> <i>particuliers</i> , 112-113, fig. 128.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
	Ziegler: end of Dyn. VI			Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , 197-199, No. 32.
<i>Hr-mrw / Mry</i>	PM: end of Dyn. VI Harpur: VI.7 McCorquodale: VI.7	Saqqara	626	Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> III, 71-81.
<i>Hzzj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI Strudwick: late V, or early VI Harpur: V.9-VI, Unas – Dyn.6 McCorquodale: V.9-VI.E	Saqqara	506	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 78-80, Bl. 19
<i>Htp-ḥr-ḥtj</i> (D 60)	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Neuserre or later Harpur: V.6-8E McCorquodale: V.6-8E	Saqqara	593-595	Mohr, <i>Hetep-her-akht</i> . Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 340-348.
<i>Htp-k3(.j) / Tp-k3(.j)</i> (S 3509)	PM: late Dyn. V or VI Martin: late Dyn. V Harpur: V.9-VI, Unas to Teti McCorquodale: V. L-VI.E	Saqqara	447-448	Martin, <i>Hetepka</i> , 4-14, pls. 7-18. Malek (1980), in <i>SAK</i> 8, 202-203, fig. 1.
<i>H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Pth</i> (No. 68 [C 4])	PM: Dyn. V Strudwick: late V, probably no later than Djadkare Harpur: V.6? Neuserre? McCorquodale: V.6-8	Saqqara	481	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 117-120.
<i>Hwj</i>	PM: middle Dyn. VI or later Harpur: VI. 4-5? McCorquodale: VI. M-L	Saqqara	519	Lloyd et al. <i>SaqqaraTombs</i> II, 35-39, pls. 21-23. Saad (1943), in <i>ASAE</i> , xliii, 455-456. Drioton (1943), in <i>ASAE</i> , xilll, 502-504.
<i>Hnw</i>	PM: late Dyn. VI or Middle Kingdom McCorquodale: VI.L	Saqqara	625	Helck, <i>Geschichte</i> , Taf. ii [7]. David, <i>The Egyptian Kingdoms</i> , figs. on pp. 17, 52.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
<i>Hntj-k3 / Jhhj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI, Pepy Strudwick: late Teti to E/M Pepy Harpur: VI. 2M Pepy I middle Kanawati: late Teti early Pepy I McCorquodale: VI.1-2M	Saqqara	508-511	James & Apted, <i>Khentika</i> . Fischer, <i>Varia Nova</i> , 1-6, fig. 1.
<i>Hnmw-ndm(w)</i> (at Kom el Akhdar)	Fischer: late VI- VIII McCorquodale: VI.6-7	Kom el Akhdar 2km west Abusir		Fischer (1976), in <i>MMJ</i> 11, 6- 8, figs. 1-2.
<i>Hnmw-htp</i> (D 49)	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Sahure Strudwick: Sahure Harpur: V.2-3 McCorquodale: V.2-3	Saqqara	578-579	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 311-312. Petrie & Murray, <i>Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels</i> , 14- 16, 24-26, pls. xv-xvii.
<i>S3b</i>	PM: late Old Kingdom McCorquodale: VI.L	Saqqara	736	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 152- 153, Bl. 92.
<i>S3bw / Jbbj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Teti Strudwick: middle to late Teti Harpur: VI.1, middle Teti Swinton: VI.1 McCorquodale: VI.1	Saqqara	460-461	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 373-388, 444 Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 91- 104, Bl. 21-22. Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 31- 34, Bl. 65.
<i>S3-mry</i>	PM: end of Dyn. V or later Fischer: end of Dyn. V McCorquodale: V.9-VI.1	Saqqara	734-735	Fischer, <i>Varia</i> , 3-17, pls. i-ii, figs. 3-5.
<i>Sn-jt.f</i> (in the same tomb of <i>K3-h3.j</i> )	PM: Middle to late Dyn. V Moussa and Altenmüller: Niuserre Moreno Garcia: 5 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	Saqqara	639-641	Lashien, <i>Kahei and his family</i> . Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> , pl. viii.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
	Neferirkare to Niuserre McCorquodale: V.6 Lashien: Niuserre			
<i>Snfrw-jn-jst.f</i> (No. 2 Dahshur)	PM: Dyn. V-VI McCorquodale: V- VI	Dahshur	891-892	de Morgan, <i>Dahchour</i> II, 4-7, pls. xviii-xxv. Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 188- 205, Bl. 102-111.
<i>Sndm-jb / Bb- jb</i> (No. 11 [B 13])	PM: probably mid Dyn. V Strudwick: Neferirkare to mid Neweserre Borchardt: VB McCorquodale: V.3-7	Saqqara	451	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 104-106. Borchardt, <i>Statuen</i> I, 110, Bl. 34. Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 98, 125-126.
<i>Shm-k3</i> (north-west of D 62) <i>sn-dt</i>	Moreno Gacia: 5 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. from Niuserre to Izezi PM: Dyn. V, Niuserre or later	Saqqara	596	Murray: <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> , I, pl. vii, II, 23-25.
<i>Sšmw</i> (Lepsius LS 5)	PM: middle Dyn. V or later Strudwick: middle V, perhaps Neweserre McCorquodale: V. 6-7	Saqqara	492	<i>LD</i> Text, 142. <i>LD</i> II, 97[a].
<i>Sšm-nfr / Jff</i>	PM: Dyn. VI Harpur: VI	Saqqara	614-615	Barsanti (1900), in <i>ASAE</i> I, 150-159, figs. 1-13. Saad (1948), in <i>Suuplement</i> aux <i>ASAE</i> III, 56-57, pls. xviii- xxi.
<i>Šts-Pth</i>	PM: Dyn. V Harpur: V	Saqqara	758	Otto, <i>Sammlung Heidelberg</i> , 92, Abb. 14. Feucht, <i>Vom Nil zum Neckar</i> , 44-45, No. 149.
<i>Špsj-pw-Pth</i>	PM: middle Dyn. VI or later Strudwick: late reign of Pepy I or later Harpur: VI. 2L-4E Kanawati: middle- late Teti	Saqqara	518	Quibell & Hayter, <i>Teti</i> <i>Pyramid North Side</i> , 20-23. Kanawati et al., <i>Teti Cemetery</i> VII, 11-29, 41, pls. 35-42.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
<i>Q3r</i>	Verner: Dyn. VI, Pepy I to early Pepy II Barta: Dyn VI Teti or shortly after McCorquodale: VI.1-4	Abusir South		Barta, <i>Abusir</i> XIII. Barta (2006), in Barta ed., <i>Proceedings</i> , 47-53. Verner, <i>Abusir</i> , 215-221.
<i>Q3r Junior</i> (son of vizier <i>Q3r</i> )	Barta: early 6 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	Abusir South		Barta, <i>Abusir</i> XIII, 196, Fig. 6.3.20.
<i>K3(.j)-pr(w)</i>	Kanawati: VI late Teti – early Pepy I McCorquodale: VI. 1L-2E	Saqqara		Kanawati et al., <i>Teti Cemetery</i> I, 35-52, pls. 49-54.
<i>K3.j-pw-nswt</i> (brother of <i>k3.j-m-hzt</i> )	PM: probably early Dyn. VI Harpur: V.9 – VI.1 ? McFarlane: V.6L- 8 McCorquodale: V.6L-VI.1	Saqqara		Quibell and Hayter, <i>Teti</i> <i>Cemetery North Side</i> , 16-20. McFarlane, <i>Mastabas at</i> <i>Saqqara</i> , 50-61, pls. 54-56
<i>K3(.j)-pw-R<sup>c</sup></i> (No. 22 [D 39])	PM: Dyn.V, Temp. Isesi or later Strudwick: Dyn. V, Djedkare to end V Harpur: V.8-9, Isesi-Unis McCorquodale: V.8-9	Saqqara	455	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 272-279. Dam (1927), in <i>The Museum</i> <i>Journal</i> , No.18, 188-200, pls. on 188, 192, 195, 198.
<i>K3.j-m-hzt</i> <i>sn-dt Htp-k3</i>	PM: probably early Dyn. VI Harpur: V.9 – VI.1 ? McFarlane: V.6L- 8 McCorquodale: V.6L-VI.1 Moreno Gacia: 4th Dynasty, Djedefre	Saqqara	542-543	Quibell and Hayter, <i>Teti</i> <i>Cemetery North Side</i> , 16-20. McFarlane, <i>Mastabas at</i> <i>Saqqara</i> , 15-49, pls. 42-51.
<i>K3.j-m-snw</i>	PM: Dyn. VI Cherphion: Nioussere McFarlane: V.6M-8E	Saqqara	541-542	Firth and Gunn, <i>Teti Pyramid</i> <i>Cemetery</i> I, 31-36. Hayes, <i>Sceptre</i> I, 103-106, fig. 60.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
	McCorquodale: V.6-8E			McFarlane, <i>Mastabas at Saqqara</i> , 67-89, pls. 60-61.
<i>K3(.j)-m-qd</i>	PM: middle Dyn. V or later Strudwick: perhaps early – middle Dyn. V McCorquodale: V.3-7	Saqqara	494	LD Text I, 162. LD II, 100[c].
<i>K3(.j)-m-tntt</i>	PM: Dyn. V Harpur: V McCorquodale: V	Saqqara	692	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 144-145, Bl. 35.
<i>K3(.j)-hp</i> (S 3511, false door, British Museum 1848)	PM: Dyn. V Strudwick: middle V, perhaps early Neweserre Harpur: Dyn. V McCorquodale: V	Saqqara	448	Martin, <i>Hetepka</i> , No. 14, 20-21, pl. 21.
<i>K3.j-d3w</i>	PM: Dyn. V	Saqqara	736	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 58-59, Bl. 15.
<i>K3-h3.j sn-dt</i>	PM: Middle to late Dyn. V Moussa and Altenmüller: Niuserre Moreno Gacia: 5 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. Neferirkare to Niuserre McCorquodale: V.6 Lashien: Niuserre	Saqqara	639-641	Lashien, <i>Kahei and his family</i> . Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> , pl. viii.
<i>K3-hr-st.f</i>	PM: Dyn. V Ziegler: end of Dyn. V or beginning VI McCorquodale: V.L-VI.E	Saqqara	693	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 35-36, 38-39, Bl. 66, 68. Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , 240-243, No. 44.
<i>K3-hzw.f</i> (Abusir South, possible son of <i>Nfr-Jnpw</i> )	Barta: Dynasty 5, Nyuserra - Djedkara	Abusir South		Barta, <i>Abusir</i> XXIII: <i>Neferinpu</i> (AS 37), 9-11, figs. 2.1-2.2.
<i>K3-gm-nj / Mmj / Gmnj</i>	PM: Dyn. VI Temp. Teti Strudwick: early Teti	Saqqara	521-525	von Bissing, <i>Gem-ni-kai</i> , I and II. Firth and Gunn, <i>Teti Pyramid Cemetery</i> , I, 20-23, 105-130. Harpur, <i>Kagemni</i> .



Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
	Kanawati: early Teti Harpur: VI.1M Swinton: VI.1E-M McCorquodale: VI.1			
<i>Gm-nj</i>	PM: late Dyn. VI & 1 <sup>st</sup> Intermediate Period McCorquodale: VI.6-FIP	Saqqara	545	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 43-44, Bl. 71.
<i>Ggj</i> (Abusir South, West of the tomb of Fetekty)		Abusir South	Tomb II west to the tomb of Ftkjtj	Barta, <i>Abusir</i> V, 126-132, fig. 3.28.
<i>Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (D 11)	PM: Middle Dyn. V Strudwick: perhaps middle VI Stevenson Smith: 1 <sup>st</sup> ½ V Harpur V. 5-6? Raneferref-Neuserre? McCorquodale: V.1-6 McFarlane: Sahure (The God Min, p. 59)	Saqqara	483	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 196-201. Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, Bl. 19, 84-87; II, 28-30, Bl. 64. Smith (1942), in <i>AJA</i> xlvi, fig. 5, 6-7[9]. Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , 262-265. von Bissing, <i>Reliefs</i> , 5-6, fig. 5.
<i>Ttj-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (in the tomb of <i>Jris</i> / <i>Jjj</i> )	Kanawati: middle Dyn. VI McCorquodale: VI. M	Saqqara		Kanawati el al. <i>Saqqara</i> I, 48, pl. 30.
<i>Ttj-snb</i> / <i>Jrj</i>	Kanawati: Dyn. VI Temp. Pepy I McCorquodale: VI.2			El-Khouli and Kanawati, <i>Saqqara</i> II, 7-11, pl.2-4.
<i>Ty</i> (No. 60 [D 22])	PM: Temp. Neuserre to end of Dyn. V Strudwick: Dyn. V perhaps late Newueserre Cherpion: Temp. Neuserre	Saqqara	468-478	Steindorff, <i>Ti</i> . Épron, Lucienne. <i>Le Tombeau De Ti</i> .

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publications
	Harpur: V.8-9, Isesi-Unis McCorquodale: V.6-9			
<i>Tsmw</i> ( <i>sn-dt</i> of <i>Pth-htp</i> , lintel found in the tomb of <i>Hmt-Rc</i> )	Moreno Gacia: the very beginning of the 6 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty PM: early Dyn. VI	Saqqara	606	Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> , III, 9, pl. v.
<i>Ttj / K3-jn-n.j</i> (north-west of Teti Pyramid)	Kanawati: middle Dyn. VI Harpur: VI? McCorquodale: VI. M	Saqqara		Kanawati et al. <i>Saqqara</i> I, 37-42, pls. 20-24.
<i>Ttw / Jnw-Mnw</i> (north of Teti Pyramid)	PM: Dyn. VI Kanawati: Dyn. VI, Temp. Pepy I Harpur: VI ? McCorquodale: VI.2	Saqqara	519-520	Kanawati et al. <i>Saqqara</i> I, 29-36, pls. 13-19. Lloyd et al. <i>Saqqara Tombs</i> II, 47, pls. 27. Drioton (1943), in <i>ASAE</i> , xliii, 504-5-5.
<i>Dw3-Rc</i>	PM: Dyn. V, Temp. Sahure or later McCorquodale: V.2-5	Saqqara	894	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 49-51, Bl. 12. Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 9-13, Bl. 58.
<i>Df-3w</i> (D 25)	PM: middle Dyn. V or later McCorquodale: V.M-L	Saqqara	466	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 251-254. Petrie, <i>Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels</i> , 13-14, 23-24, pl. xiv.

Table I.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publication
name lost (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N95)	PM: OK Kanawati: Dyn. VI. 2M	Deir el-Gabrawi	IV, 243 (No. 95)	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gabrawi</i> II, 34, pl. xxi. Kanawati, <i>Gabrawi</i> I, 87-90, pl. 61.
<i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8)	PM: OK Harpur: VI.4E Kanawati: Pepy I – Pepy II	Deir el-Gabrawi	IV, 243 (No. 8)	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gabrawi</i> I, 8-24, pls. i-xx. Kanawati, <i>Gabrawi</i> II, 11-73, pls. 41-75.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publication
	McCorquodale: VI.3-4E			
<i>Jzj</i> / <i>Hm-R<sup>c</sup></i> (Deir el- Gabrawi No. N46)	PM: OK Kanawati: end of Pepy I McCorquodale: VI. 2	Deir el- Gabrawi	IV, 242 (No. 46)	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gabrawi</i> II, 33. Kanawati, <i>Gebrawi</i> I, 79-82, pl. 58b.
<i>Nb-jb</i> (Deir el- Gabrawi No. N38)	PM: OK Kanawati: middle of Pepy I	Deir el- Gabrawi	IV, 242 (D 2)	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gabrawi</i> II, 33-34, pl. xxi (Tomb 38). Kanawati, <i>Gebrawi</i> I, 83-86, pl. 60.
<i>Hnqw I</i> / <i>Httj</i> (Deir el- Gabrawi No. N39)	PM: OK Davies: Pepy I Kanawati: late Teti McCorquodale: VI. 1L-2	Deir el- Gabrawi	IV, 242 (No. 39)	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gabrawi</i> II, 31-33, pl. xxviii. Kanawati, <i>Gebrawi</i> I, 21-36, pls. 36-40.
<i>Hnqw II</i> / <i>Jj...f</i> (Deir el- Gabrawi No. N67)	PM: OK Kanawati: Dyn. VI.2E-M	Deir el- Gabrawi	IV, 242 (No. 67)	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gabrawi</i> II, 27-32, pls. xxiii-xxvi. Kanawati, <i>Gebrawi</i> I, 60-78, pls. 51-57.
<i>Hm-R<sup>c</sup></i> / <i>Jzj</i> (Deir el- Gabrawi No. N72)	PM: OK Kanawati: Dyn. VI.1L-2E	Deir el- Gabrawi	IV, 243 (No. 72)	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gabrawi</i> II, 19-27, pls. xvi-xxi. Kanawati, <i>Gebrawi</i> I, 37-59, pls. 42-50.
<i>D<sup>c</sup>w</i> / <i>Šmꜣj</i> (Deir el- Gabrawi No. S12)	PM: Dyn. VI Kanawati: VI. 3-4	Deir el- Gabrawi	IV, 244- 245 (No. 12)	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gabrawi</i> II, 1-13, pls. iii-xii. Kanawati, <i>Gebrawi</i> III. Romano & Robins (1994), in <i>JARCE</i> 31, 21-32.
<i>D<sup>c</sup>w</i> (son of <i>D<sup>c</sup>w</i> / <i>Šmꜣj</i> , Deir el- Gabrawi No.S12)	PM: Dyn. VI Kanawati: middle to late Pepy II	Deir el- Gabrawi	IV, 244- 245 (No. 12)	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gabrawi</i> II, 1-13, pls. iii-xii. Kanawati, <i>Gebrawi</i> III. Romano & Robins (1994), in <i>JARCE</i> 31, 21-32.
<i>Jdw I</i> (Dendera)	PM: Dyn. VI Harpur: VI.3-4 Kanawati: Merenre – early Pepy II McCorquodale: VI. 3-4	Dendera	V, 111	Petrie, <i>Dendereh</i> , 8-9, pl. v. Fischer, <i>Dendera</i> , 93-100.
<i>Jttj</i> / <i>Šdw</i> (Deshasha)	Kanawati: Teti PM: VI, Teti or later McCorquodale: V. L-VI	Deshasha	IV, 122- 123	Kanawati & McFarlane: <i>Deshasha</i> , 39-63, pls. 40-57. Petrie, <i>Deshasheh</i> , pl. 22.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publication
<i>Jzj</i> (Edfu)	PM: Temp. Isesi, Unas, and Pepy I Harpur: V.9- VI.1 Kanawati: Teti – early Pepy I Ziegler: Dyn. V, Teti, or Pepy I McCorquodale: V.8 – VI. 2	Edfu	V, 201	Alliot (1937), <i>BIFAO</i> 37, 93-97. Alliot, <i>Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou</i> 1932-1933, <i>FIFAO</i> X, 27-28, pl. XIV. Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , 78-79, No. 9.
<i>Q3r / Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr</i> (Edfu, M V of Garnot)	El-Khadragy: Mernere to Pepy II Kanawati: Mernere Harpur: VI.3	Edfu	V, 200	El-Khadragy (2002), in <i>SAK</i> 30, 203-228. Daressy (1917), <i>ASAE</i> XVII, 130-140. Garnot in Bruyère et al. <i>Tell Edfou</i> 1937, 41-47.
<i>ḥn-ḥnj</i> (El-Hagarsa B13)	Kanawati: early-middle Pepy II	El-Hagarsa	V, 35	Kanawati, <i>El-Hagarsa</i> I, 39-49, pls. 31-33.
<i>Mry II</i> (El-Hagarsa C2)	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Pepy II Harpur: VI. 4-7 Kanawati: 2 <sup>nd</sup> half of Pepy II	El-Hagarsa	V, 35	Petrie, <i>Athribis</i> , 4, pls. x-xii. Kanawati, <i>El-Hagarsa</i> I, 56-65, pls. 42-46.
<i>Mry-ḥ</i> (El-Hagarsa D18)	PM: Dyn. VI Harpur: FIP Kanawati: Dyn. VIII, probably early	El-Hagarsa	V, 34	Petrie, <i>Athribis</i> , 3-4, pls. vii-ix. Kanawati, <i>El-Hagarsa</i> III, 25-42, pls. 34-46.
<i>Nfrt-ḥr</i> (El-Hagarsa A6)	Kanawati: middle –late Dyn. V	El-Hagarsa		Kanawati, <i>El-Hagarsa</i> I, 21-24, pl. 22.
<i>Sbk-nfr</i> (El-Hagarsa B18)	Kanawati: early Pepy II	El-Hagarsa	V, 35	Kanawati, <i>El-Hagarsa</i> I, 25-33, pls. 24-28.
<i>K3(.j)-m-nfrt</i> (El-Hagarsa A3)	PM: Dyn. IV Kanawati: middle Dyn. V or slightly later McCorquodale: IV – V. M-L	El-Hagarsa	V, 35	Petrie, <i>Athribis</i> , 2-3, pls. i-v. Kanawati, <i>El-Hagarsa</i> I, 11-20, pls. 18-21.
<i>K3(.j)-ḥnt</i> (El-Hammamiya A2)	PM: OK Kanawati: early Dyn. V McCorquodale: V.E	El-Hammamiya		El-Khouli & Kanawati, <i>El-Hammamiya</i> , 35-51, pls. 6-17.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publication
<i>K3(.j)-hnt</i> (El-Hammamiya A3)	PM: OK Kanawati: beginning of Dyn. 5, Userkaf McCorquodale: V.I	El-Hammamiya		El-Khouli & Kanawati, <i>El-Hammamiya</i> , 54-66, pls. 50-70.
<i>Jmj</i> (El-Hawawish, Orinst. 109491)	Kanawati: Dyn. 6	El-Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VII, 49, pl. 8a, fig. 35a.
<i>ḥnhw</i> (El-Hawawish M21)	Kanawati: late Djedkare McCorquodale: V.8E	El-Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> V, 58-62, figs. 23-24.
<i>B3wj</i> (El-Hawawish CG 20504)	Kanawati: Teti - early Pepy I McCorquodale: VI.1-2	El-Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> h VIII, 61, fig. 34[a].
<i>B3wj</i> (El-Hawawish BA 48)	Kanawati: early – middle Pepy II McCorquodale: VI. 4-5	El-Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VII, 36-38, figs. 22-25.
<i>Mmj</i> (El-Hawawish B12)	Kanawati: late Pepy I McCorquodale: VI. 2L	El-Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VII, 18-22, figs. 9-11.
<i>Mmj</i> (El-Hawawish, CG 1586)	Kanawati: Dyn. VI	El-Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VII, 48, fig. 34[a].
<i>Mnw-m-ḥ3t</i> (El Hawawish, Pushkin Museum I.1.a.5567)	Kanawati: Teti - early Pepy I McCorquodale: VI.1-2 Hodjash & Berlev	El-Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VIII, 61-62, fig. 34[b]. Hodjash & Berlev, <i>Pushkin Museum</i> , 57-58, No. 21.
<i>Nbj</i> (El-Hawawish, Louvre C 234)	Kanawati: early – middle Pepy II McCorquodale: VI. 4-5	El-Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> IX, 54-55, pls. 6[a, b]. Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , no. 24, No. 25.
<i>Nhwt-dšr / Mry</i> (El-Hawawish G95)	Kanawati: early- middle Pepy II McCorquodale: VI.1L-2E	El-Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VIII, 7-13, figs. 3-4.
<i>Hm-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish M43)	Kanawati: early Teti	El-Hawawish	V, 19	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> V, 7-25, figs. 6-9.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publication
	McCorquodale: V.9-VI. 1 Harpur: VI. 1			
<i>Hzy-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish M22)	Harpur: V.8 or later Kanawati: late Dyn. 5, probably under Djedkare	El- Hawawish	V, 19	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> IV, 7-31, figs. 6-16.
<i>Hzy-Mnw</i> / <i>Zzj</i> / <i>Dwdy</i> (El-Hawawish F1)	Kanawati: Pepy I – early Pepy II	El- Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VI, 7-14, figs. 1-3.
<i>Sfhw</i> (El-Hawawish L21)	Kanawati: middle of Dyn. 6	El- Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VI, 29-33, figs. 10-12.
<i>Špss-pw-Mnw</i> / <i>Hnj</i> / <i>Hn- ḥnw</i> / <i>Hn-ḥnh</i> (El-Hawawish H24)	Kanawati: end of Pepy II McCorquodale: VI. 6-7 Harpur: VI. 7	El- Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> II, 7-48, figs. 1-27.
<i>Qʒr</i> / <i>Ppy-nfr</i> (El- Hawawish, L31)	Kanawati: Mernere – early Pepy II McCorquodale: VI. 2L-4	El- Hawawish	V, 18	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VI, 34-38, figs. 13-16.
<i>Qrrj</i> (El-Hawawish Q15)	Kanawati: Pepy I	El- Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VI, 47-51, figs. 20-22.
<i>Kʒ(.j)-hp</i> / <i>Ttj- jqr</i> (El-Hawawish H26)	Harpur: VI. 5-6, Kanawati: middle Pepy II	El- Hawawish	V, 19	Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> I, 12-37, figs. 5-25.
<i>Ghsʒ</i> / <i>Nby</i> (El-Hawawish GA11)	Kanawati: middle Pepy II or slightly later McCorquodale: VI. 6-7	El- Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VII, 39-42, figs. 26-32.
<i>Ty</i> (El-Hawawish N20)	Kanawati: Late Pepy I – Mernere McCorquodale: VI.2L -3	El- Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VI, 52-54, figs. 23-26.
<i>Ttj</i> (El- Hawawish, Field Museum 31700, Chicago)	Kanawati: end Dyn. VI	El- Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VI, 61, figs. 31.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publication
<i>Ttj / K3.f-ḥp</i> (El-Hawawish M8)	Harpur: VI. 4-5 Kanawati: Mernere – early Pepy II	El-Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> III, 7-32, figs. 1-21.
<i>Dw3-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish L6)	Kanawati: end of Djedkare, or earlier McCorquodale: V. 5-6	El-Hawawish		Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish</i> VI, 15-22, figs. 4-6.
<i>Jḥy</i> (el-Khokha No. 186)	Saheh: late Dyn. VI Harpur: VI. 3-4 Kanawati: early-middle Pepy II	el-Khokha	I, 291-293	Newberry (1903), in <i>ASAE</i> IV, 97-100, pls. 1-3. Saleh, <i>Three Old Kingdom Tombs</i> , 23-26, figs. 56-61.
<i>Jdw / Mns3</i> (el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad, T 152, Lepsius No. 4)	Edel: probably son of <i>T3wtj / Rsy</i>	el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad		Säve-Söderberg, <i>Hamra Dom</i> , 60-61, pls. 44-45. Edel, <i>Hieroglyphische Inscrifen</i> , 25-34, Abb. 6-11.
<i>Jdw / Snnj</i> (el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad, T 66, Lepsius No. 1)	Säve-Söderberg: late Pepy II Harpur: VI.6 Kanawati: early-middle Pepy II	el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad	V, 119	Säve-Söderberg, <i>Hamra Dom</i> , 27-35, pls. 5-11. Edel, <i>Hieroglyphische Inscrifen</i> , 9-25, Abb. 2-4, Taf. 29.
<i>T3wtj / Rsy</i> (el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad, T 73, Lepsius No. 2)	PM: VI Harpur: VI. 3-5 Kanawati: Mernere – early Pepy II	el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad	V, 121-122	Säve-Söderbergh, <i>Hamra Dom</i> , 36-56, pls. 13-31. <i>LD</i> Text II, 179, 180. <i>LD</i> II, 114 [h].
<i>Wjw / Jjjw</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 4)	PM: OK Harpur: VI.3-4E Kanawati: Mernere – beginning Pepy II McCorquodale: VI. 3-4	el-Sheikh Said	IV, 189 – 191 (No. 4)	Davies, <i>Sheikh Said</i> , 27-29, pls. xxi – xxiv.
<i>Mrw / Bbj</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 3)	PM: OK Harpur: VI.5 Kanawati: Teti – Pepy I McCorquodale: VI.1-5	el-Sheikh Said	IV, 189 (No. 3)	Davies, <i>Sheikh Said</i> , 24-27, pls. xvii.
<i>Srf-k3(.j)</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 1)	PM: OK Harpur: VI.3-4E Kanawati: late Djedkare McCorquodale: V.8-9	el-Sheikh Said	IV, 187-188 (No. 1)	Davies, <i>Sheik Said</i> , 10-14, pls. iii-vi.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publication
<i>Jj-mry sn-dt</i> (Gebel el-Teir)	Moreno Garcia: Dyn. 4-5	Gebel el-Teir	IV, 127	Kamal (1903), in <i>ASAE</i> 4, 87.
<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Pepy II Harpur: VI.7 Kanawati: Mernere – Pepy II, tomb constructed early Pepy II McCorquodale: VI. 3-4	Meir	IV, 254-255	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> IV, 1-52, pls. i-xxvi. Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> I. Fischer (1978), in <i>ZÄS</i> 105, 42-53.
<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-km / Hny / Hny-km</i> (Meir No. A2)	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Pepy II Harpur: VI. 4-5 Kanawati: late – end of Pepy II McCorquodale: VI. 4-6	Meir	IV, 247-249	Blackman & Apted, <i>Meir</i> V, 15-56, pls. xvi-xxxiv. Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> II.
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy-km / Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-km / Hpi-km / Sbk-km</i> (Meir A1)	Kanawati: late Pepy II PM: Dyn VI, Temp. Pepy II Harpur: VI. 4	Meir	IV, 247	Blackman & Apted, <i>Meir</i> V, 1-15, pls. i-xiii. Kanawati, <i>Meir</i> III.
<i>Mrw / Jy</i> (Nag' el-Deir N3737)	Harpur: FIP Kanawati: Mernere- early Pepy II Peck: FIP McCorquodale: VI. 3 – FIP	Nag' el-Deir		Peck, <i>Naga ed-Der</i> , 92-111, pls. vii-xiv. Simpson (1966), in <i>JEA</i> 52, 39-52.
<i>Nb-Šm<sup>c</sup>w / Httj</i> (Naqada, Vienna, No. 5894)	Fischer: Dyn. VI, first half of Pepy II Kanawati: VI. late Pepy II McCorquodale: VI. 4-6	Naqada	V, 190	Fischer, <i>Coptite Nome</i> , 22-24, pl. vii.
<i>Mhw / Jn-jt.f</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1)	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Pepy II Harpur: VI.6	Qubbet el-Hawa	V, 233	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> , I, 143-149, figs. on 144-145. von Bissing (1915), in <i>ASAE</i> XV, 2-14.
<i>Hr-hw.f</i>	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Pepy I and Pepy II	Qubbet el-Hawa	V, 237	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> , I, 162-173, figs. on 171-173.



Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publication
(Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A8)	Harpur: VI.4 Kanawati: early Pepy II McCorquodale: VI. 2-4			
<i>Hwj</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A5)	Harpur: VI. 3-4?	Qubbet el-Hawa	V, 235	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> , I, 157-158, fig. on 157.
<i>Hw-ns</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A6)	PM: Dyn. VI Harpur: Dyn. VI late to Dyn. VIII McCorquodale: VI. 6-7	Qubbet el-Hawa	V, 235	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> , I, 158-162, figs. on 158-161.
<i>S3bnj [I]</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1, east tomb)	PM: Dyn. VI, Temp. Pepy II Harpur: VI. 6	Qubbet el-Hawa	V, 233	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> , I, 143-149, figs. on 146, 148. von Bissing (1915), in <i>ASAE</i> , XV, 2-14.
<i>Sbk-htp</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan B1)	PM: OK & MK McCorquodale: VI - FIP	Qubbet el-Hawa	V, 239	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> , I, 195-197, figs. on 196-197.
<i>Sn-ms</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A10)	McCorquodale: VI - FIP	Qubbet el-Hawa	V, 237-238 (A10)	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments</i> , I, 177-179
<i>Hw.n-wh / Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)	Kanawati: Pepy I late McCorquodale: VI. 2L PM: Dyn. VI	Quseir el-Amarna	IV, 239-241	Quibell (1902), in <i>ASAE</i> III, 245-249. El-Khouli & Kanawati, <i>Quseir el-Amarna</i> , 33-57, pls. 32-46.
<i>Nj-k3.j-chn I</i> (Tehna Tomb 15)	PM: V Harpur: V. 1-3 Kanawati: Userkaf Thompson: early Dyn. V, Userkaf	Tehna	IV, 131	Thompson, <i>Tehna</i> , vol. 1, 21-69, pls. 1-25, 49-58.
<i>Nj-k3.j-chn II</i> (Tehna Tomb 15)	PM: V. Temp. Userkaf Harpur: V? Thompson: early-mid 5 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty, slightly later than <i>Nj-k3.j-chn I</i> (Tomb 13)	Tehna	IV, 131	Thompson, <i>Tehna</i> , vol. 1, 60-82, pls. 26-40, 59-64.

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	PM	Publication
<i>Hw-ns</i> (Zawyet el- Amwat No. 2)	PM: Dyn. VI Kanawati: Unis	Zawyet el- Amwat	IV, 134- 135 (No.2)	Varille, <i>Ni-ankh-Pepi</i> , 8-24, figs. 1-9. <i>LD</i> II, 107, 109.

## Appendix II Designations and Titles of Family Members

### II.1 Designations and Titles of Children of the Tomb Owner

Table II.1.1 Tombs at Giza

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
name lost (M XVIII at Abu Rowash)		<i>Stpw</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-rjhw</i> <i>Dhwty</i> ; <i>rh-</i> <i>nswt</i> ; <i>hm-ntr</i> <i>H3.f-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>hrp</i> <i>mrw jhw</i> ;
		<i>Z3t-mrt</i>	<i>msw.f</i>	<i>rht-nswt</i>
		<i>Htp-hr.s</i>		<i>rht-nswt</i>
		<i>Mrt-jb</i>		<i>rht-nswt</i>
G 6052 (partly preserved)		<i>Hntj-k3</i>	<i>z3t.f n ht.f</i>	
S 359		(?) <i>Nj-wj-</i> <i>Hnmw</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
<i>3bdw</i>	<i>jmy-rhw<sup>3</sup> t<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i>	<i>Nj-k3w-Hwt-</i> <i>hr</i>	<i>z3t.f</i> ; <i>z3t.s</i>	
		<i>Nj-m3<sup>c</sup>t-Hwt-</i> <i>hr</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	
		<i>Nbt-m-pt</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	
		<i>Hnwt.sn</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	
<i>3htj-mrw-</i> <i>nswt</i> (G 2184) <i>sn.f n dt.f</i> and <i>sn.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hrjw-<sup>c</sup> nswt n pr</i> <i>3</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 st n hntyw-s<sup>c</sup> n</i> <i>pr 3</i> ; <i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt</i> ; <i>rh-</i> <i>nswt</i> ; <i>smr</i>	<i>3htj-mrw-</i> <i>nswt</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
<i>3htj-mhw</i> (G 2375)		<i>Ssm-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hnh-jr-Pth</i>		<i>z3b z3</i>
<i>3htj-htp</i> (PM III 285)	<i>jmy-r3 hm-k3 mwt-nswt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 z3 n 3ht-Hwfw</i> ; <i>rh-</i> <i>nswt</i> ; <i>z3 pr-hd</i> ; <i>z3 pr-hd</i> <i>snwt</i> ; <i>z3 pr-hd snwt</i> <i>hnw</i> ; <i>shd z3 pr-hd</i> ; <i>shd</i> <i>z3 snwt</i>	<i>Hmw-k3</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>R<sup>c</sup>-wr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Nfrt</i>	<i>z3t.f smsw</i>	
<i>3htj-htp</i> (PM III 49)	<i>wr 10 sm<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>shd</i> <i>w<sup>c</sup>b 3ht-Hwfw</i>	<i>3htj-htp</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>wr 10 sm<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>hq3 hwt</i> ; <i>shd</i> <i>hm-ntr</i>
<i>Jjj</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i>	<i>Jj-nfrt</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
<i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15)	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; jmy-r3 pr hwt-<sup>c3</sup>t ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh nswt ; hm-ntr Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Nfr-jr-k3-r3 ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; zš pr-md3t</i>	<i>Nfr--b3w-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; rh-nswt</i>
		<i>Špss-k3.f-<sup>c</sup>nh šrj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hnw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hm-k3</i>
		<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	
		<i>Mjt</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	
<i>Jj-nfrit</i>	<i>jmy-r3 n Ntrj-Mn-k3w-R<sup>c</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh nswt ; hry-sšt3 n nb.f ; hry-sšt3 n Ntrj-Mn-k3w-R<sup>c</sup> ; z3b shd zš ; zš n htm nt hwt Mn-k3w-R<sup>c</sup> ; shd w<sup>c</sup>b</i>	<i>Tntj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt</i>
		<i>Jj-nfrit</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	
		<i>Q3j</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Nbt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Sššt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>J(w)ff</i>	<i>jry-ht pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jry sšr ; rh-nswt ; hry-pr n pr-nswt ; hrp k3nww</i>	<i>Nj-sw-rdj</i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f</i>	
<i>Jnpw-htp</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; wt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Jnpw zh-ntr w3dt ; hm-ntr Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m Šsp-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr S3hw-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3</i>	<i>Shj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; wt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Jnpw zh-ntr w3dt ; hm-ntr S3hw-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 ; shd wt</i>
		<i>(?)Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup></i>		<i>wt</i>
		<i>(?)Jnpw-htp</i>		<i>wt</i>
		<i>(?)M33-shm-Jnpw</i>		<i>wt</i>
		<i>(?)Daughter</i>		
		<i>(?)Daughter</i>		
		<i>(?)Daughter</i>		
		<i>(?)Daughter</i>		
<i>Jn-k3.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hmwt ; jmy-r3 hmwtyt nt mr ; rh-nswt</i>	<i><sup>c</sup>nh-h3.f</i>	<i>z3.f smsw jr.n.f</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; hry-sšt3 ; hry-sšt3 w<sup>c</sup>bt nswt ; shd hmwt ; shd hmwt ...</i>
<i>Jn-k3.f</i>	<i>hkrt nswt ; gnwty ; gnwty w<sup>c</sup>bt</i>	<i>Špss-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Jkw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Rwd-K3(j)-šrj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hnw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Z3t-mry</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Nfr-Hwt-Hr</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Hnwt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Nbw-htp</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
<i>Jrj-n-3ht</i> / <i>Jrj</i> / <i>Jrj-n-Pth</i>	<i>jmy-r3 wpwt ntr m pwwj</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 wpwt htpt ntr</i> ; <i>jmy-ht hm-ntr Wr-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n wd<sup>c</sup> mdw</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n wd<sup>c</sup> ntr</i> ; <i>hnt nst</i> ; <i>hrp jrj md3t</i> ; <i>hry-tp nswt</i> ; <i>z3b jmj ht jrj md3t</i> ; <i>z3b jrj md3t</i> ; <i>z3b jrj zš</i> ; <i>z3b c<sup>d</sup> mr</i> ; <i>z3b shd jrj md3t</i> ; <i>shd hm-ntr Mn-k3w-R<sup>c</sup>-ntry</i>	<i>Sšm</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	
		<i>Nbt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Jrj-n-3htj</i> / <i>Jrj</i> (G 2391)	<i>jmy-r3 wpt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 pr</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 st n pr-c3</i> ; <i>hm-k3 mhj</i> ; <i>hnty-š</i>	<i>Mhj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>shd pr</i> ; <i>špss nswt</i>
		<i>Hnm-ntj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hm-k3</i>
		<i>Sšst</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	
<i>Jrrw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr-šn<sup>c</sup> j<sup>c</sup>w nswt</i> ; <i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i>	<i>Wt-k3</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i>
<i>Jttj</i> (G 7391)	<i>jmy-r3 pr-c3</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 k3t nt nswt</i> ; <i>w<sup>c</sup>b Wr-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>htm-ntr dpt c3t</i> ; <i>shd w<sup>c</sup>b Wr-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>shd pr-c3</i>	<i>Jttj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i> ; <i>z3.f n ht.f</i>	<i>hm-k3</i>
		<i>W3s-k3-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f</i>	
		<i>Wr-k3w- H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>3wt-jb</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Jdw</i> (G 7102)	<i>jwn knmwt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 wpt htp-ntr m prwy</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 hwt wrt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 sšw mrt</i> ; <i>wd<sup>c</sup> mdw</i> ; <i>mdw rhyt</i> ; <i>hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n wd<sup>c</sup> mdwt</i> ; <i>hnty-š Mn-nfr-Ppy</i> ; <i>hry-tp nswt</i> ; <i>zš mrt</i> ; <i>zš nswt</i> ; <i>zš nswt hft hr</i> ; <i>sm3<sup>c</sup> wd<sup>c</sup> mdw</i> ; <i>shd w<sup>c</sup>bw 3ht-Hwfw</i> ; <i>shd w<sup>c</sup>bw Wr-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>Q3r</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i> ; <i>z3b shd zš</i>
		<i>Jdw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
		<i>Hemj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Bndt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Jry</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>c<sup>n</sup>h</i> (G 3050)	<i>hm-k3</i>	<i>Hnt-k3</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Qd-nfr</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>c<sup>n</sup>h-wd3</i> / <i>Jtj</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i> ; <i>z3b jmy-r3 zš</i> ; <i>zš c<sup>w</sup> nswt</i>	<i>Jbbj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Jbbj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hnwt.sn</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>c<sup>n</sup>h-m-z3.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 srw</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>z3b</i> ; <i>z3b jrj Nhn sm3 wd<sup>c</sup> mdw</i> ; <i>smsw h3jt</i>	<i>Hst-3ht</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	
		<i>Mrr-k3.j</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
<i>c<sup>n</sup>h-h3.f</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>zš pr-hd</i>	<i>...hnt</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hm-k3</i>
		<i>Wsr-ntr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>zš</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
<i>ḥnh-h³.f / Q³r</i>	<i>jmy-r³ wᶜbwty ; jmy-r³ prwy-nbw ; jmy-r³ prwy-ḥd ; jmy-r³ pr-ḥd ; jmy-r³ ḥkrw nswt m jwzy ; wr Bst ; ḥtm bjty dḏdf ; ḥry-tp nswt ; z³b ᶜd mr ; smsw jz</i>	<i>Nj-sḥnh-³ḥty</i>	<i>z³.f smsw</i>	<i>ḥry-sšt³ ; ḥkrw nswt ; šḥd zš pr-ḥd</i>
<i>W³š-Pth</i>	<i>jmy-r³ ḥmwt wᶜbt ; jmy-r³ ḥm-k³ ; rh-nswt ; rdjt-nswt(?) ; ḥm-ntr Pth ; ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw ; ḥm-ntr Skr ; ḥry ḥkrw</i>	<i>W³š-Pth</i>	<i>z³.f n ḥt.f</i>	<i>jm³ḥ jt ; ḥm-k³ ; šḥd ḥmwt wᶜbt</i>
		<i>Špss-Pth</i>	<i>z³.f n ḥt.f</i>	<i>ḥmwt wᶜbt ; ḥm-k³</i>
		<i>Wmtt-k³</i>	<i>z³t.s.f</i>	
<i>W³š-k³(.j)</i>	<i>jmy-r³ pr-šnᶜ ; jmy-r³ pr-šnᶜ Nḥn-Rᶜ</i>	<i>Ḥnw</i>	<i>z³.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Ḥm-Rᶜ</i>	<i>z³.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Mry-jt.f</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	
		<i>Snḏm-jb</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	
<i>Wpw³wt-b³.f (Jby's son)</i>		<i>K³j</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	<i>z³b zš</i>
<i>Wp-m-nfrt / Wp</i>	<i>ᶜd mr Ḥr-sb³w-ḥnty-pt ; ᶜd mr Dp ; ḥm-ntr Ḥr Jnpw ḥnty pr šmswt ; ḥry wḏb m ḥwt-ᶜnh ; ḥry-sšt³ n pr-dw³t ; ḥry-tp Nḥb ; ḥrp ᶜh ; smr wᶜty mrwt</i>	<i>Ḥw-Rᶜ</i>	<i>z³.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>ḥry-ḥbt ; zš ᶜw nw ntr</i>
		<i>Jby</i>	<i>z³.f smsw</i>	<i>ḥry-sšt³ ; ḥry-ḥbt ; zš ᶜw nw ntr</i>
<i>Wnšt (G 4840, VII SS)</i>	<i>ḥmt-ntr Nt mḥtt jnb ; ḥmt-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr nb nht ; z³t nswt n ḥt.f</i>	<i>Jj-mry</i>	<i>z³.s</i>	<i>jmy-r³ š n mšᶜ</i>
		<i>K³-mnj</i>	<i>z³.s</i>	<i>wr-m³w jwnw</i>
		<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	<i>z³t.s mrt.s</i>	<i>rḥt-nswt</i>
		<i>Nj-ḥr-w³t</i>		<i>rḥt-nswt</i>
		<i>Whm-nfr</i>		<i>rḥt-nswt</i>
		<i>Tnttj</i>		<i>rḥt-nswt</i>
		<i>Ḥnt-k³w</i>		<i>rḥt-nswt</i>
<i>Wr-k³.j</i>	<i>rḥ-nswt</i>	<i>Mrrj</i>	<i>z³.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-ḥt ḥntyw-š pr-ᶜ³</i>
		<i>Wr</i>	<i>mry</i>	
		...		<i>jmy-r³</i>
		<i>Mry-³ḥ</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
		<i>Ššy</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
<i>Pr-snb (LG 78)</i>	<i>jmy-r³ pr ; ḥm-k³</i>	<i>Ḥntj-jt</i>	<i>z³t.f mrt.f</i>	
<i>Pth-sḏf³ / Fff</i>	<i>jmy-r³ ḥm-k³ ; rh-nswt</i>	<i>W³š-k³</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	
		<i>Nfr-k³w.s</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
<i>Mnw-ḏd.f (G 7760, LG 60)</i>	<i>jry-pᶜt ; ḥry-sšt³ nb n nswt m swt.f nbwt ; z³ nswt n ḥt.f</i>	...r...	<i>z³.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
<i>Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt</i> (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24)	<i>jmy-r3 mšꜥw ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nswt ; ʕd-mr whꜥw ; wr 10 šmꜥ ; wr m3w jwnw ; mr whꜥw ; r p nb ; rh nswt ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; htm-ntr wj3 ; htm-ntr (wj3) b3-ntrw ; htm-ntr (wj3) Bꜥ-ntrw ; htm-ntr (wj3) Nb-rhyt ; htm-ntr (wj3) Dw3-t3wy ; hrp-ꜥh ; hry-hbt ; z3 nswt ; z3 nswt n ht.f ; smr ; smr wꜥty</i>	<i>Hwfw-ntrw-mry</i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f ; z3.f smsw</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i>
		<i>Mry-jb nds</i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f ; z3.f mry</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i>
		<i>N-ns-dr-k3</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Sdnt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Mry-nswt</i> (G 1301)	<i>wꜥb nswt ; nht-hrw n šnwt nt hnw ; rh-nswt ; shd jry(w) md3t n ʕ(w) (nw) nswt ; shd n jry(w) ht ; shd n jry(w) ht n šnwt ; shd n jry(w) ht n šnwt nt hnw</i>	<i>Nj-k3w-Rꜥ</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>K3-n-jt</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hknw-Hwt-hr</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Mry-Rꜥ-mry-Pth-ꜥnh / Nhbw</i> (G 2381 with shaft G 2382A)	<i>jmy-r3 k3t nswt nbt ; mty n z3 ; mdh nswt qdw m prwy ; mdh qd nswt ; hm-ntr M3ꜥt ; smr wꜥty ; shd n qdw ; qdw n ʕ33t</i>	<i>Tm3t</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>smr</i>
		<i>Pth-s3bw</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt ; zš pr-md3t ntr</i>
		<i>Jmpy(?)</i>	maybe the eldest son	<i>jmy-r3 zš ʕw nswt ; h3ty-ꜥ ; t3tyty z3b t3ty</i>
<i>Mry-Rꜥ-nfr / Q3r</i> (G 7101)	<i>jwn knmwt m3ꜥt ; jmy-r3 njwt 3ht-Hwfw ; jmy-r3 njwt Ntr-Mn-k3w-Rꜥ ; jmy-r3 hnw ; jmy-r3 sšw ; jmy-r3 sšw n k3t nbt ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt ; mdw rhyt ; hm-ntr M3ꜥt ; hry-sšt3 n wdt nbt ; hry-sšt3 k3t nbt ; hnty-š Mry-Rꜥ-mn-nfr ; hry-tp nswt ; z3b ; zš ; zš ʕw nswt hft hr ; smr wꜥty ; shd wꜥbw Wr-Hꜥ.f-Rꜥ</i>	<i>Jdw</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 sšw ; z3b ; zš ʕw nswt hft hr</i>
<i>Mr-ꜥnh.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; wꜥb nswt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Hwfw</i>	<i>Njsw-sꜥnh</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i>
		<i>Nfr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>zš</i>
<i>Mrw-k3(j) sn.f dt</i>	<i>wꜥb nswt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; smsw h3yt</i>	<i>Jhj-m-s3.f</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Špss-Pth</i>	<i>z3(.f)</i>	
<i>Mr.s-ꜥnh III</i> (G 7530 + 7540)	<i>wrt hts ; wrt hts mrt Dhwty Hr ; wrt hts Nbtty ht Hr ; m33t Hr Sth ; hmt</i>	<i>Ny-wsr-Rꜥ-ꜥnh</i>	<i>z3 nswt n ht.f</i>	
		<i>Dw3t-Rꜥ</i>	<i>z3 nswt n ht.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
	<i>nswt ; hmt-ntr B3-pf ; hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr nbt Jwnt ; hmt-ntr Dhwtj ; hr Hr ; z3t nswt n ht.f ; smry.f ; smrt Hr ; tjst Hr</i>	<i>Nb-m-3ht</i>	<i>z3.s ; z3 nswt n ht.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i>
<i>Mr-sw-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>jmy-r3 jst.f nbt nt hnw nt rwt ; jmy-r3 jdw n hnw ; jmy-r3 nfrw ; nfr hrd ; smr R<sup>c</sup>-wr ; shd hm-k3</i>	<i>Hnw</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Hnmw-hz.f</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Nfr-s3m-Pth</i>		
<i>Ms-z3</i>	<i>hry wdb hwt-<sup>c</sup>nh ; hry-s3t3 n pr-dw3t ; smr ; smr w3ty</i>	<i>Hwj-wr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i>
<i>Mdw-nfr (G 4630)</i>	<i>hry-hbt hry-tp ; z3 md3t- ntr ; sm3 Jnpw</i>	<i><sup>c</sup>nh-jr.s</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i>
		<i>Mdw-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i>
		<i>Snb</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>K3-r.f</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-<sup>c</sup>ntj / Njj</i>	<i>jmy-r3 m3<sup>c</sup> ; <sup>c</sup>d-mr grgt ; rh-nswt ; shd w3b nswt 3ht-Hwfw</i>	<i>Jj-m-htp</i>	<i>z3.f jw.f mry.f</i>	<i><sup>c</sup>d-mr grgt ; rh-nswt ; hrp jmyw z3 ; hrp w3b nswt ; shd wj3</i>
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 wpwt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; jmy-r3 wpwt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 nswt ; jrj nbw hkrt ; jrj nbw hkrt nswt ; jrj nbw hkrt nswt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; jry-ht pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; w3b nswt ; rh-nswt ; rh-nswt pr- <sup>c</sup>3 ; shd nh3y</i>	<i>H3t-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>K3-jr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hnwt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Nj-wd3-Pth</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; jmy-r3 hm-k3 ; hm-k3</i>	<i>R<sup>c</sup>-wr</i>	<i>msw.f</i>	
		<i>Rdj-Pth</i>		
		<i>Ns-Pth</i>		
		<i>Nfr-htp.s (female)</i>		
		<i>K3j-nj-nbtj (female)</i>		
		<i>Jmy-r-s<sup>c</sup>nh (female)</i>		
<i>Nj-M3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> (The tomb owner is sn.s dt)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 w3b mwt-nswt ; jmy-r3 hswt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; jmy-r3 shmh-jb nb m hnw swt pr- <sup>c</sup>3 ; jmy-r3 shmh-jb nb nfr m hnw 3t3w pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; w3b Mn-swt-nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; w3b nswt ; hm-ntr Šsp-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-s3t3 ; hrp tjs bjty ;</i>	<i>Pth-<sup>c</sup>pr.f</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>hsw pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; shd n hmw pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>
		<i>Nj-M3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hnty-š</i>



Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
	<i>smr pr ; sn-dt ; stp-z3 hry-tp st nswt</i>			
<i>Nj-mstj</i> (G 2366)	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; jmy-r3 sšr ; jmy-ht hm-k3 ; wcb ; wcb nswt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr ; hrp šms</i>	<i>Jr.n-3hty</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>zš z3b</i>
		<i>Nfr-hnt</i>	<i>z3.f smsw ; z3.f mry</i>	<i>jmy-r3 sšr</i>
<i>Nj... R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>hry-hbt hry-tp ; z3 nswt</i>	<i>Tntj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 h</i>
<i>Nj-htp-Pth / Pnj</i> (G 2340, LG 25)	<i>jmy jb n nb.f ; jmy-r3 2 mr pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r3 h3w ; jmy-r3 hntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r3 swt špswt nt pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; ny<sup>c</sup> nswt ; hry-sšt3 n nb.f ; hry-sšt3 n nswt ; hrp h ; z3b d-mr pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; smr pr</i>	<i>K3j-m-tnt</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
		<i>K3j-m-<sup>c</sup>nh(?)</i>	possibly not a son though Badawy considers this is another son of the tomb owner. p.6	<i>jmy-r3</i>
		<i>Hnwt-sn</i>	<i>z3t.f n ht.f mrt.f</i>	
		<i>Hp</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Nj-s<sup>c</sup>nh-3hty / Jtj</i>	<i>jmy-r3 h3w ; jmy-r3 wcbwty ; jmy-r3 prwy-nbw ; jmy-r3 prwy-hd ; jmy-r3 prwy-hd n hnw ; jmy-r3 hkrw nswt m jzwy ; jmy-r3 zš w n nswt ; jmy-r3 zš pr-hd ; wr Bst ; hry-sšt3 ; z3b d mr ; zš pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; shd zš</i>	<i><sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>smsw zwnw pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
<i>Nj-sw-Pth</i>	<i>zš w nswt pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; zš w nswt pr-<sup>c3</sup> hft-hr ; zš w nswt hft-hr</i>	<i>Hnmtj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>špss nswt</i>
<i>Nj-sw-s<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; hry-sšt3 ; hrp jmyw z3 ; shd wcb</i>	<i>Nj-sw-Hnmw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hm-k3 n jt</i>
<i>Nfr-b3w-Pth</i> (G 6010, LG 15)	<i>jmy-r3 pr hwt-<sup>c3</sup>t ; wcb nswt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Nfr-jr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; zš pr-md3t</i>	<i>Nfr-sšm-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr hwt-<sup>c3</sup>t ; rh-nswt</i>
<i>Nfr-m3<sup>c</sup>t</i> (G 7060, LG 57)	<i>jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; hry-tp Nh3b ; htm bjty ; z3 nswt ; t3tyt3 z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Snfrw-h<sup>c</sup>f</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>mdw Hp ; htm bjty</i>
<i>Nfr-mšdr-Hwfw</i> (G 2240)	<i>jmy-r3 3h<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r3 st hntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r3 šwj pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; <sup>c</sup>-nswt ; wcb-nswt ; hm-ntr [Hwfw] ; hry-sšt3 ; smr-pr</i>	<i>Nj-jr-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i><sup>c</sup>nh.s</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>hnty-š</i>
<i>Nfr-n</i>		<i>Wr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>zš</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designation of Children	Titiles of Children
	jmy- <i>r³ jrj-wt ; jmy-r³ pr-šnᶜ ; jmy-r³ ḥ³w.w ; ḥ³w</i>	Rᶜ-h <i>t p</i>	z³.f	
Nfr- <i>ḫwj</i> (G 2098)	jmy- <i>r³ ḥntyw-š pr-ε³ ; jmy-r³ šwj pr-ε³ ; wᵉb nswt ; ḥrp εḣ ; ḥry-sšt³ n nb.f ; ḥry-sšt³ n nswt m ḥnw ; ḥry-sšt³ št³w pr-ε³</i>	N <i>h-ttj</i>	z³.f	ḥnty-š
Nfr-sh. <i>f-Pth</i> (LG 79)	wᵉb nswt ; ḥm-n <i>ntr Hwt-Hr</i>	T <i>z... Bbj</i>	z³.t.f possible son	
Nfr-s <i>m-Hwfw / Šsj</i>	zš εw n nswt ; sh <i>d wᵉb</i>	ʒbdw <i>Nbw-ḥst</i>	z³.f z³.t.f	
Nfrit-nswt	r <i>ḣ-nswt ; shd ḥntyw-š ; shd ḥntyw-š n pr-ε³</i>	H <i>wj Nfirt-snwt-šry Nj-εnh-Pth ....j Pr-n-k³</i>	z³.f smsw z³.f z³.f z³.t.f z³.t.s	zš zš zš
Nswt-nfr (G 4970)	jmy- <i>r³ εḣ ; jmy-r³ εḣ Wr-Ḥᶜ.f-Rᶜ ; jmy-r³ wᵉbw Wr-Ḥᶜ.f-Rᶜ ; jmy-r³ wpwt ; jmy-r³ prw mswn-sw ; jmy-r³ mnw ; jmy-r³ mnw nswt ; jmy-r³ nswtjw ; jmy-r³ rthw ; jmy-r³ zmjwt ; q mr grgt ; q-mr tnw rsj (jmy-r³ εḣ Wr-Ḥᶜ.f-Rᶜ) ; rḣ-nswt ; [ḥm-ntr] Ḥᶜ.f-Rᶜ (Wr-Ḥᶜ.f-Rᶜ) ; ḥm-ntr twt (Wr-Ḥᶜ.f-Rᶜ) ; ḣq³ ḥwt ε³t ; ḥrp jmjw z³w Wr-Ḥᶜ.f-Rᶜ ; z³b ḥry-sšt³ ; z³b ḥry-sšt³ Wr-Ḥᶜ.f-Rᶜ ; sm-t³</i>	K₃(j)- <i>ḥr-st.f Wr-rwdw N-sdr-k₃(j) Nfr-m³εt Špsk-k₃(j) K₃(j)-wd-εnh(j) K₃(j)-mjib(j) K₃(j)-mhzt ʒtt-k³w.s Bw-nfr Mrt-jt.s Mzh̄t (female) Nj-εnh-Hwt-Hr (female) Nb-k³ (female) Nfrit-ḥr-nswt (female) Ḫnwt.sn Z³t-mrt (female)</i>	z³.f msw.f n ht.f	zš εw n nswt rḣ-nswt shd wj³ rḣ-nswt shd wj³ εd-mr tnw smr ḥrp εḣ rḣ-nswt rh̄t-nswt rh̄t-nswt rh̄t-nswt
Rmnw-k₃(j) / Jmj	mnjw tntt ; ḥm-n <i>ntr Hwt-Hr nbt Jwnt ; ḥm-ntr sm³-tw ; ḥrp mrw jḥw ; shd wᵉb Mn-k³w-Rᶜ ; shd ḥm-ntr Mn-k³w-Rᶜ</i>	S <i>nw-εnh Nj-swpt-Pth</i>	z³.f smsw z³.f	ḥnty-š pr-ε³ ḥnty-š pr-ε³

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
<i>Rdj</i> (G 2086)	<i>hst n hntyw-š ; shd hntyw-š pr-ꜥ3</i>	<i>N-n-ꜥnh</i> <i>Mrt</i>	<i>z3.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i>	<i>hm-k3</i>
<i>Rdj-ns</i> (G 5032)	<i>wꜥb nswt ; zš</i>	<i>Rꜥ-hwj.f</i> <i>Hnm-hzw.f</i> <i>ꜥnh-rpwt</i>	<i>z3.f</i> <i>z3.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Hrw-nfr</i> (G 2353)	<i>rh-nswt(?) ; hm-ntr ... ; hm-ntr Hwfw</i>	<i>Hwfw-htp</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>wꜥb nswt ; rh-nswt</i>
<i>Hmt-Rꜥ</i>	<i>mrt.f ; hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr ; z3t nswt ; z3t nswt n ht.f ; z3t nswt n ht.f smsw</i>	<i>Špss-k3w</i> <i>Špss-Rꜥ-šry</i> <i>3h-Rꜥ</i> <i>Htp-hr.s</i> <i>Mry.s-ꜥnh</i> <i>Hnt-k3w.s</i>	<i>z3.s</i> <i>z3.s</i> <i>z3.s</i> <i>z3t.s</i> <i>z3t.s</i> <i>z3t.s</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i> <i>rh-nswt</i> <i>rh-nswt</i> <i>rht-nswt</i> <i>rht-nswt</i>
<i>Hzi</i>	<i>jmy-r3 st hntyw-š pr-ꜥ3 ; shd hntyw-š pr-ꜥ3</i>	<i>Dw3-Rꜥ</i> <i>Sbk-htp</i> (child of a woman <i>Nj-ꜥnh-Hwt-Hr</i> , whose relationship to the tomb owner is unknown) <i>Nbw-jrt</i> (child of a woman <i>Nj-ꜥnh-Hwt-Hr</i> ) <i>Htp-hr.s</i> (child of a woman <i>Nj-ꜥnh-Hwt-Hr</i> )	<i>z3.f</i> <i>z3.s</i> <i>z3t.s</i> <i>z3t.s</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-ꜥ3</i>
<i>Hꜥf-Rꜥ-ꜥnh</i> (G 7948) <i>sn-dt</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; smr ; shd wꜥb Wr-Hꜥf-Rꜥ ; shd n pr-ꜥ3</i>	<i>Wsr-k3w-Hꜥf-Rꜥ</i> <i>Hꜥf-Rꜥ-ꜥnh</i> <i>Nfr-k3w</i> <i>Dmd-k3w</i> <i>Wrt-k3</i> <i>Hr-n-k3</i> <i>Df-k3</i> name lost	<i>z3.f n ht.f smsw</i> <i>z3.f n ht.f mry.f</i> <i>z3.f</i> <i>z3.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i> <i>z3t.f smsw</i> possible daughter	<i>zš</i> <i>zš</i>
<i>Hwj-n-Pth</i>	<i>wꜥb nswt ; rh nswt ; smsw h3yt</i>	<i>Hnwt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Hww-wr</i> (LG 95)		name not preserved	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>rht-nswt</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
	<i>jmy-r³ js df³ ; jmy-r³ mšc nfrw ; jmy-r³ gs jmy-wrt ³ hr ; jmy-zš ; wḏc-mdw m h³jt ; phr mh m šwt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Wsjr ; hm-ntr M³ct ; hm-ntr Mn- k³w-Rc ; hm-ntr Nfr-jr-k³- Rc ; hm-ntr St-jb-Rc ; hry wḏb ; hrp zš sprw ; hrp zš sprw m ḏ³ḏ³t wrt ; z³b jmy-r³ zš ; z³b shḏ zš n wpt ; z³b shḏ zš n hwt wrt jmy-wrt nt hnw ; zš c w n nswt pr-³ ; shḏ zš pr- mḏ³t ; shḏ zš n hwt-wrt ; sdm mdw m sšt³ nb</i>	<i>n...s</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	<i>rh-t-nswt</i>
<i>Hwfw-ḥnh (G 4520) sn-ḏt ; snt-ḏt</i>	<i>jmy-r³ hsw n pr-³ ; jmy- r³ sb³w ; rh-nswt ; hsw ; hnty-š n pr-³</i>	<i>Mn-k³w-Rc- ḥnh Mrt-jt.s</i>	<i>z³.f z³t.f</i>	
<i>Hwfw-ḥc.f I (G 7130 + 7140)</i>	<i>jry-pct ; ³ Dw³w ; cḏ mr Dp ; wḥ wrw hb ; wr djw ; mdw Hp ; hm B³w Nhn ; hm-ntr Hr qm³-c ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; hry wḏb Hwt- ḥnh ; hrp cḥ ; htm bjty ; z³ nswt n ht.f ; smr wḥty ; t³yty z³b t³ty</i>	<i>wt-k³ Jwn-k³ Nfrt-k³w</i>	<i>z³.f ; z³ nswt z³.f ; z³ nswt z³t nswt</i>	
<i>Hwfw-ḥc.f II (G 7150)</i>	<i>jmy-r³ mšc ; jmy-r³ smntyw jmnty ; jmy-r³ k³t nt nswt ; wḥb nswt ; wr 10 šmḥ ; nst-hntt ; hm-ntr M³ct ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; hm- ntr St-jb-Rc ; hry-sšt³ ; hry-sšt³ n nb.f ; z³ nswt</i>	<i>Hwfw-ḥc.f Sty-Pth</i>	<i>z³.f smsw z³.f</i>	
<i>Hwfw-snb II</i>	<i>jmy-r³ wpt hntyw-š pr-³ ; wḥb nswt ; hm-ntr Hr- mḏdw ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; shḏ hntyw-š pr-³</i>	<i>Hm-³htj</i>	<i>z³.f mry.f</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-³</i>
<i>Hwt³</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Mn-k³w- Rc ; hm-k³ ; hry htw ; shḏ jdḥ cḥ ³t ; shḏ hm-k³</i>	<i>Nj-k³w-Hwt- Hr</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
<i>Hnt</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; hrp sh ; qbḥ nmt( ?)</i>	<i>K³-k³j-ḥnh</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	
<i>Hntj</i>		<i>Jzzj-b³.f</i>	<i>z³.f smsw</i>	<i>hry-ḥbt</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
	<i>rḥt-nswt ; ḥmt-nṯr Ḥwt-Ḥr</i>	<i>Mry.s-ḥnḥ</i> (image broken)	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>rḥt-nswt</i>
<i>Ḥnt-k3w.s</i>	<i>rḥt-nswt ; ḥmt-nṯr Nt wpt w3wt ; ḥmt-nṯr Ḥwt-Ḥr nb Jwnwt</i>	<i>k3.j-nfr</i> <i>Jwn-k3</i> <i>Wsrt-k3</i> (female)	<i>z3.s mry.s</i> <i>msw.s</i>	<i>jmy-r3 ḥm-k3</i>
<i>Ḥnw</i>		<i>Mrry</i> <i>Bbj</i> <i>Nḥf</i> <i>Ḥmj</i>	<i>z3.f</i> <i>z3.f</i> <i>z3.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Ḥnmw</i>	<i>nj-ḥwt-ḥ3t ; ḥm-k3</i>	<i>Jhy-m-z3.f</i> <i>Nfr-ḥ3w</i> <i>Ḥwfw-nfr</i> <i>Nfr-wdnt</i> <i>Jjtj</i> <i>Ḥwt-n-ḥr</i>	<i>z3.f</i> <i>z3.f</i> <i>z3.f</i> <i>z3.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> (Fakhry 4)	<i>jmy-r3 ḥry sd3t n ḥw nw nswt n pr-ḥ3 n mrwt n 3ḥwt ; rn ḥbtwt n ḥw nw nswt( ? ) ; z3 ḥw nw nswt pr-ḥ3 ; z3 pr-ḥ3 ; z3 ḥkrw nswt</i>	<i>Jr-n-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f n ḥt.f</i>	
<i>Z3-jb</i> (G 2092 + 2093)	<i>jmy-ḥw ḥr nṯr ; jmy-r3 ḥntyw-š pr-ḥ3 ; ḥry-s3t3 n pr dw3 ; ḥrp ḥ ; z3b ḥd-mr pr-ḥ3 ; smr</i>	<i>Nfr-wn.s</i> <i>Mj.t</i> <i>Ttt</i> <i>...Pth</i> (image broken)	<i>z3t.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i> <i>z3.f</i>	
<i>Zṯw</i> (G 4710, LG 49)	<i>ḥry wdb ḥwt-ḥnḥ ; ḥry-s3t3n pr-dw3t ; ḥry-tp Nḥb ; ḥrp ḥ ; smr wḥty</i>	<i>Zṯw</i> <i>Ḥp-k3.j-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f n ḥt.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i>	<i>rḥ-nswt</i> <i>rḥt-nswt</i>
<i>Snfrw-ḥtp</i> (G 3088)	<i>wr 10 šmḥ ; rḥ-nswt ; ḥry-s3t3 m k3t šty ; ḥry-s3t3 nṯr.f ; shd wḥb ḥḥ-Ḥwfw</i>	<i>ḥnḥ / jdwt</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>z3b ḥd</i>
<i>Snnw</i>	<i>shd pr-šnḥ Šspw-jb-Rḥ</i>	<i>Jnj-ḥnḥ</i> <i>Pth-špss</i> <i>Nfrt</i> <i>Nb-ḥdw</i> <i>Nfrt-sdmt</i> <i>3bdwt</i> <i>Ḥnwt</i>	<i>z3.f</i> <i>z3.f</i> possibly a daughter? <i>z3.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Snnw-k3(j) / Kkj</i>		<i>Nbw-ḥzt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>rḥt-nswt ; ḥkrt nswt</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
(G 2041)	<i>jmy-r njwt 3ht-hwz ; hrp w<sup>c</sup>b(w)-nswt ; zš <sup>c</sup>(w) nw nswt</i>	<i>3ht-m-hntj</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>rht-nswt ; hkr nswt</i>
<i>Snđm-jb / Jntj (G 2370) sn-đt</i>	<i>jmy-r3 jzwy hkr nswt ; jmy-r3 pr-<sup>c</sup>h3w ; jmy-r3 prwy-hđ ; jmy-r3 prw msw nswt ; jmy-r3 hwt-wrt 6 ; jmy-r3 hkr nswt ; jmy-r3 swt nbt nt hnw ; jmy-r3 sdmt nbt ; jmy-r3 šnw ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; mđh qd nswt m prwy ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 n wđt-mdw nbt nt nswt ; hrp zšw nbw ; hry-hbt ; hry-tp nswt ; zšw <sup>c</sup> n nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Snđm-jb / Mhj</i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f</i>	
		<i>Hnm-ntj</i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f</i>	
		<i>Ftk-tj / k3-hr-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f</i>	<i>zš <sup>c</sup>.w nw nswt</i>
		<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-njm</i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt ; shđ hm-k3</i>
<i>Snđm-jb / Mhj (G 2378, LG26)</i>	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmy-jb n nswt ; jmy-jb n nswt m st.f nbt ; jmy-r3 prwy-<sup>c</sup>h3w ; jmy-r3 prwy nswt ; jmy-r3 hkr nswt ; jmy-r3 zš <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt ; jmy-r3 sšr nswt ; jmy-r3 šnw ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; mđh qd nswt m prwy ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 n wđt-mdw nbt nt nswt ; hry-tp nswt ; zšw <sup>c</sup> n nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Snđm-jb</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>mđh nswt m prwy ; mđh nswt qdw m prwy ; hrp <sup>c</sup>h ; hry-tp nswt</i>
		<i>Mhj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hnt-k3.s</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	
<i>Shtpw / Tpw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 zš ; hry-sšt3 n mđ<sup>c</sup> mdw ; hrp wshđ ; z3b</i>	<i>Snđm-jb / Jmš</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f hst.f</i>	
		<i>Hnw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
<i>Shm-<sup>c</sup>nh-Pth (G 7152)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>b ; jmy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>bt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; jmy-r3 zš <sup>c</sup>w nswt ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nswt ; r3 P nb ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 ; htm bjty ; hry-tp nswt ; zš <sup>c</sup>w nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 zš ; zš <sup>c</sup>w nswt hft-hr</i>
		<i>Mry-jt.s</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	
<i>Shm-k3(j)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> ; htm-ntr wj3</i>	<i>Jwf.j</i>	<i>msw.f</i>	
		<i>Jj-nfrit (female)</i>		

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
		<i>Mrt-jt.s</i> (female)		
<i>Šhm-k3(j)</i> (G 1029)	<i>jmy-r3 st hntyw-š pr-c3 ; wcb-nswt ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; hm-ntr Šsp-jb-Rc ; hry-sšt3</i>	<i>Ph-n-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>wcb nswt ; hm-ntr Hwfw</i>
<i>Šhm-k3(j)</i> (G 4411, LG 51)	<i>hm-ntr Hr thnm q3j-c wr jdt ; hry-sšt3 ; hry-hbt ; zm3Jnpw</i>	<i>Mnw-hc .w</i> <i>Hnt-k3w.s</i>	<i>z3.f</i> <i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Šhm-k3-Rc</i> (LG 89)	<i>jmy-js ; jry-pct ; c3 Dw3w ; wt Jnpw ; h3ty-c ; hry-sšt3 n jt.f ; hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; hrp c3 ; hrp zš n jt.f ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt hry-tp n jt.f ; z3 nswt n ht.f ; smr wcty ; smr wcty n jt.f ; t3jty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Šhm-k3-Rc</i> <i>Z3.f-Hc.f-Rc</i> <i>Hr-hc.f</i> <i>Hc.f-Rc-cnh</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i> <i>z3.f</i> <i>z3.f</i> <i>z3.f</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i> <i>rh-nswt</i> <i>rh-nswt</i> <i>rh-nswt</i>
<i>Sš3t-htp / Htj</i> (G 5150)	<i>jmy-r3 k3t nbt nswt ; c3 Dw3w ; w c m wrw hb ; wnr ; wr 10 šmc ; wr m3w Jwnw ; wt Jnpw ; rh nswt ; hm-ntr B3stt ; hm-ntr HB3 n cnpt ; hm-ntr Hr Sth ; hm-ntr Hntj-Hm ; hm-ntr Šzmtt ; hry-sšt3 ; hrp ch ; hrp tjst bjty ; hry-hbt ; z3 nswt n ht.f ; zš md3t-ntr ; smr jry-pct ; smsw snwt ; t3jtj z3b t3tj</i>	<i>Htj</i> <i>Sš3t-htp</i> <i>Mrt-jt.s</i> <i>cnh-m-c-k3.j</i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f</i> <i>z3.f n ht.f</i> <i>z3t.f n ht.f</i> <i>ms.f dt</i>	
<i>Sšmw ( ? )</i> (Shaft 590)		<i>Špst-k3w</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Sšm-nfr I</i> (G 4940, LG 45) <i>sn-dt</i>	<i>jmy-r3 sš hr-c nswt ; jmy-r3 stj df3w ; jmy-r3 k3t nswt ; wr mdw šmcw ; rh nswt ; hm ntr Jnpw ; hm-ntr Hr qm3-c ; hm-ntr Hqt ; hry wdb m hwt-cnh ; hry-sšt3 ; hrp ch ; ht h3 ; hry-tp nswt</i>	<i>Rc-wr</i> <i>Hwfw-cnh</i> <i>3b</i> <i>Ph-n-Pth</i> <i>Sšm-nfr-šrj</i> <i>Wrt-k3</i> (female) <i>Nfr-Hwt-Hr</i> (female) <i>Nfirt-h3-Hwfw</i> (female) <i>Sbk-rmt.s</i> (female)	<i>z3.f n ht.f</i> <i>z3.f n ht.f</i> <i>msw.f n ht.f</i> <i>msw.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
<i>Sšm-nfr II</i> (G 5080)	<i>jmy-r3 ḥ3w m prwy ; jmy-r3 zš ʿw nswt ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nswt ; hry-sšt3 ; hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n hrt-ʿ nswt ; zš ʿw nswt n sb3jt nswt ; zš hrt-ʿ nswt</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 zš ʿw nswt</i>
		<i>Ph-n-Pth</i>	<i>msw.f</i>	<i>zš ʿw n nswt</i>
		<i>Nfr-htp-Rc</i>		<i>z3b shd zš ; zš ʿw n nswt</i>
		<i>Rc-wr</i>		<i>zš ʿw n nswt</i>
		<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	<i>msw.f</i>	
		<i>Mrt-jt.s</i> (female)		
		<i>Ndt-m-pt</i> (female)		
<i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (G 5170)	<i>jmy-r3 prwy ḥ3w ; jmy-r3 zš ʿw nswt ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt n nswt ; ny-nst-htnt.t ; ḥ3ty-ʿ m hry-hbt ; hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdwt nbt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n pr dw3t ; hry-sšt3 n nswt ; ht Mnw ; z3 nswt n ht.f ; smr wʿty ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 zš ʿw nswt</i>
		<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	<i>msw.f</i>	<i>zš ʿw nswt</i>
		<i>Sšm-nfr</i>		<i>zš ʿw nswt</i>
		<i>Nfr-sšm-Pth</i>		<i>zš ʿw nswt</i>
<i>Sšm-nfr IV</i> (LG 53)	<i>jms-ʿ ; jmy-jb n nb.f mrrt.f nb ; jmy-jb n nswt htnty jdbwy.f ; jmy-r3 jp3t-nswt ; ḥ3ty-ʿ ; hry-sšt3 n wdt mdwt nbt sšt3 nt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n nswt ; hry-sšt3 n nswt m st.f nb ; hry-tp Nh3b ; ḥq3 B3t ; ḥw-ʿ ; hrp nswt ; hrp nswt m ḥwt-ʿnh ; hrp h3ts km ; smr wʿty</i>	<i>Nfr-sšm-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>z3b zš ; shd ḥm-k3</i>
		<i>Pth-htp</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>zwnw pr-ʿ3 ; shd ḥm-k3</i>
		<i>Štnw</i>	<i>[z3.f] mry.f</i>	
<i>St-k3.j</i>	<i>wḏʿ mdw št3 ; wḏʿ mdw št3 n ḥwt-wrt ; nj-nst-htnt ; hrp wr šmʿ 10 ; hrp zš m wḏ3t ; hrp zš m wḏ3t wrt ; hrp zš m wḏ3t wrt nt ntr ʿ3 ; hry-tp nswt ; z3b jmy-r3 zš ; z3b ʿd mr ; z3b shd zš</i>	<i>Pth-htp</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>z3b shd zš</i>
<i>Štw</i> (LG 93)	<i>rh-nswt ; hry-sšt3 ; smsw ḥ3yt ; shd wʿb ; shd htntyw-š</i>	<i>Jr-n- ...</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Mn-k3w-Rc-ʿnh</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Štw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Nfrt-h3-Mn-k3h-Rc</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	



Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
		<i>Hntwt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Špsj</i>	<i>shd qd</i>	<i>Wr-k3w-Pth</i>	<i>ms.f</i>	
		<i>K3.j-m-mrw.t</i>		
		<i>Df3-jb-k3.f</i>		
<i>Špss-k3.f-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hm-k3 ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-tp Nhb ; z3 srkt pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; shd hm-k3</i>	name lost	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>R<sup>c</sup>-wrwy</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hm-k3</i>
		<i>Jj-htp</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Jj-df3</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hm-k3 ; zš</i>
		<i>Mr-jj</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Nfr-htp.s</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Nfr-Hwt-Hr</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Htp-hr.s</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Nfr-htp.s</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Hkn</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Nfrt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Qd-ns</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; zš jzt gs 4 hmt</i>	<i>Stj</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Hntsn</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Smdtt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Qd-ns II</i>	<i>jmy-r3 10 pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r3 wpt pr-<sup>c</sup>q ; jmy-r3 wpt hntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r3 st hntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-ht hntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; r htm pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; hry-sšt3 ; shd hntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	<i>Sbj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
<i>K3j</i> (east of tomb G 7391)	<i>rh-nswt</i>	<i>Shj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Nfr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>K3.f-hr-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i><sup>c</sup>nh-nb.f</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hnmw-htp</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Htp-qjsj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
<i>K3.j-pw-nswt</i> / <i>K3j</i> (G 4651)	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; jmy-r3 prw msw nswt ; jmy-r3 hm-k3 ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-nswt ; z3b ; zš <sup>c</sup>.w n nswt ; zš <sup>c</sup>prw</i>	<i>Hzy-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f</i>	<i>rh-nswt n pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
		<i>Tntj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Nj-sw-hw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>M3<sup>c</sup>t-hp</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Nfrj</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>K3(.j)-m-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (G4561)	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh nswt ; hm-k3 ; hry-sšt3 ; hry-sšt3 n sd3wt ; zš pr-hd ; shd jrj-jht ; shd jrj-jht nt pr-hd ; shd pr-hd ; shd hm-ntr</i>	<i>Hwj-wj-wr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>zš pr-hd</i>
		Daughter(?)	<i>msw.f</i>	
		Daughter(?)		
		Daughter(?)		
<i>K3(.j)-mnj</i>	<i>hq3 nswt</i>	<i>Wsr-k3.f-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-m-nfr</i> (LG 63)	<i>jry nfr-h<sup>3</sup>t ; rh-nswt ; hrp</i> <i>jry šn nswt ; hrp-<sup>c</sup>h</i>	<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-m-nfr</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	<i>jry šn pr-<sup>c3</sup> ;</i> <i>rh-nswt</i>
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-nj-nswt</i> <i>I</i> (G 2155)	<i>jmy-ht h<sup>3</sup> ; <sup>c</sup>d mr dp ; w<sup>c</sup></i> <i>m wrw hb ; r<sup>3</sup>p nb ; hm-</i> <i>ntr Nb Jm.t Z<sup>3</sup> Mht ; hry</i> <i>wdb hwt-<sup>c</sup>nh ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> nj</i> <i>pr dw<sup>3</sup> t ; hry-tp nhn ;</i> <i>hrp-<sup>c</sup>h ; hrp h<sup>3</sup>ts km ; hrp</i> <i>šndt ; hry-hbt ; z<sup>3</sup>nswt ; z<sup>3</sup></i> <i>nswt n ht .f ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ;</i> <i>stm</i>	<i>Hr-wr</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f n ht.f</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i>
		<i>Wdt-htp</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f n ht.f</i>	
		<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-nj-nswt</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f n ht.f</i>	
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-nj-nswt</i> <i>II</i> (G 2156)	<i>wr 10 šm<sup>c</sup> ; ny-nst-hnt.t ;</i> <i>rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Hwfw ;</i> <i>hry-sšt<sup>3</sup>nb.f</i>	<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-nj-nswt</i> <i>III</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i>
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-nfr</i> (G 2150)	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wpwt ; mdw k<sup>3</sup>-</i> <i>hd ; hrp <sup>c</sup>h ; smr ; smr</i> <i>w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smsw jz</i>	<i>Swd-k<sup>3</sup>(.j)</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wpwt ;</i> <i>zš <sup>c</sup>(w) (nw)</i> <i>nswt</i>
		<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f</i>	<i>hkrt nswt</i>
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-hnt</i> (G 2088)	<i>rh-nswt ; šhd hntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	<i>...Hw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f</i>	
		<i>St.s-k<sup>3</sup>w</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f</i>	
		<i>Nfrt-sr or</i> <i>nfrt-jnt</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f smsw (?)</i>	
		<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hwt-</i> <i>hr</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f (?)</i>	
		Name not preserved	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
		<i>Ph.n-Pth</i> (only inscription preserved, no image)	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> st</i> <i>hntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-dw<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> pr ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-</i> <i>nswt ; hm-ntr w<sup>c</sup>b H<sup>c</sup>.f-</i> <i>R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Wsr-jb-Hr ;</i> <i>hm-ntr Wsr-m-Nbty ; hm-</i> <i>ntr H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-k<sup>3</sup> ; hry-</i> <i>sšt<sup>3</sup> ; smsw h<sup>3</sup>jt ; smsw</i> <i>h<sup>3</sup>jt n Wr-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup> ; šhd</i> <i>w<sup>c</sup>b</i>	<i><sup>c</sup>nh-wd.s</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>b zš</i>
		<i>Hnw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>b zš</i>
		<i>Špss-Pth</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
		<i>Nfr-M<sup>3</sup>t</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
<i>K<sup>3</sup>w-nswt</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> jz ; jmy-hnt(?) ; jry</i> <i>nfr-h<sup>3</sup>t ; hm-ntr W<sup>3</sup>dt ;</i> <i>hm-ntr Nhbt ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> ;</i> <i>hrp jrw-šn ; hrp <sup>c</sup>h</i>	<i>Špss-k<sup>3</sup>.f-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i>
<i>K<sup>3</sup>pj</i> (G 2091)	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wpt pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup></i> <i>mdw pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hntyw-</i>	<i>Tzt</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.s</i>	
		<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
	<i>š pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-nswt ; hnty-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; šhd pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; šhd hntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	<i>Nfr-hw-Hwt-hr</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136)	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Mddw-r3-nbtj ; hm-ntr Mddw-hr ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; hrj qnbt ; hry-sšt3 ; šhd hntyw-š ; šhd hntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	<i>Dd-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
		<i>Wr-sšm.wj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
		<i>Snj-3htj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
		<i>Jj-mry</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
		<i>...T-k3</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>K3-hr-Pth</i> (G 7721) <i>sn-qt.s</i>	<i>jmy-ht n z3w prw ; rh-nswt ; z3b ; hry wdb ; smsw h3yt</i>	<i>Mrw-k3</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	
<i>Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (D 20)	<i>jmy-r3 st n hntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r3 šwy pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-nswt ; hry-<sup>c</sup> nswt</i>	<i>Q3-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hnw-k3</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>K3-n-jt</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh wr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
<i>Tf-nn</i> (Cairo Mus. JE 56994)	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-nswt ; hrp h3(w) ; šhd jry ht n šnwt</i>	<i>Hbw-nj-nswt</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Hw...</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Nfr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hnw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Jhy-m-s3.f</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Jzj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>H3m-wj-k3</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
<i>Ttw I / K3(.j)-nswt</i> (G 2001)	<i>jmy-r3 nswt 3ht Hwfw ; jmy-r3 hntyw-š ; hry-tp nswt pr <sup>c3</sup> ; hry-hbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; šhd w<sup>c</sup>bw 3ht-Hwfw</i>	<i>Ttw / ms-n.j</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt ; hry-tp nswt ; hry-tp nswt pr-<sup>c</sup></i>
		<i>Mrw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i>
		<i>Jdw(?)</i>	<i>z3.s (son of Nbt)</i>	
		<i>Jpj(?)</i>	<i>z3t.s (daughter of Nbt)</i>	
<i>Ttw II</i> (G 2343-G 5511)	<i>jmy-r3 šn<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r3 df3nb</i>	name not preserved	<i>[z3.f] mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 sšr</i>
		<i>[H]rw-[nfr]</i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 sšr</i>
		<i>...t ...</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>...w3</i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr</i>
		<i>Nfry</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i>
<i>Ttj</i>	<i>jmy-r3 wpt n pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r3 Wr-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r3 st n pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; <sup>c</sup>d mr grgt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 Wr-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 n pr-nswt ; hrp jmyw</i>	<i>Wr-jr-n.j</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt</i>
		<i>W3š-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt</i>
		<i>Nfirt-h3-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	
		<i>Nfirt-h3-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designaton of Children	Titiles of Children
	<i>z3 ; hrp jmyw z3 n Wr-H<sup>c</sup>f-R<sup>c</sup></i>			
<i>Dw3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; hm-ntr Mn-k3w-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 nb.f ; hnty-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; smr pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; shd hntyw-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>	<i>Jr-n-3ht</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>
<i>Dndnw (LG 73)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 zš <sup>c</sup>prw ; jmy-r3 t3wt swt špswt n pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; rh-nswt ; zš <sup>c</sup>w n nswt</i>	<i>Wt-k3</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Špss-htpw</i>	damaged	<i>zš <sup>c</sup>prw n nfrw</i>
<i>D3ty (G 2337-x, dependent of Snqm-jb )</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; nj dt.f(?) ; hrp zš ; z3b shd zš ; zš n z3hm-k3 ; sm 3<sup>c</sup> wd<sup>c</sup>-mdw n wsh<sup>t</sup></i>	<i><sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup>w</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Rnpt-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw n ht.f</i>	
		<i>T3-ph<sup>t</sup></i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>D3tj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	
		<i>Tij</i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f</i>	
		<i>Hnjt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Sšsst</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	

Table II.1.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designatons of Children	Titiles of Children
name lost (Martin, Hetepka, No. 22, 22-23, pl. 23.)		<i>Jj-nfirt-n-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>shd nwd hkrw nswt</i>
		<i>Pth-tsw.n</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>jry nwd hkrw nswt</i>
		<i>Tst</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr</i>
<i>3htj-htp (E 17)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 wpt htpt-ntr m prwy ; jmy-r3 hwt-wrt ; jmw kmwt ; mdw rhyt ; nst hntt ; hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; hm-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnjs ; hm-ntr Hwt-Hr nbt Jwnt ; hm-ntr Hqt ; hry-sšt3 n wd<sup>c</sup>-mdw nb n hwt-wrt ; hrp wsh<sup>t</sup> ; hrp zš j<sup>c</sup>h ; hry-tp nswt ; z3b <sup>c</sup>d-mr ; z3b shd zš ; zš n z3</i>	<i>R<sup>c</sup>-hw.f</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>z3b shd zš</i>
		<i>Ph-r-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
<i>3htj-htp</i>	<i>jm3-<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Jnpw hnty Sp3 ; hm-ntr Hr jmy</i>	<i>S<sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup>-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jm3-<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Hr jmy Šnwt ;</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
(Louvre E. 10958, Mastaba du Louvre)	<i>Šmwt ; ḥm-ntr Hk<sup>3</sup> ; ḥm-ntr Hnmw m swt.f nbt ; ḥm-ntr Hnmw ḥnty pr-<sup>c</sup>nh m swt.f nbt ; ḥm-ntr Hrty ; ḥry wrw ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n pr-dw<sup>3</sup>t ; ḥts Jnpw ; ḥrp nstj ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>			<i>ḥrp nstj ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>ḥtj-ḥtp</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	<i>shd zwnw</i>
		<i>R<sup>c</sup>-ḥw.f</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr Hq<sup>3</sup> ; zwnw Šm<sup>c</sup>w T<sup>3</sup>-mḥw</i>
<i>ḥt-ḥtp (D 64) sn-dt</i>	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wḏ<sup>c</sup> mdw nb ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy-ḥd ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> njwt Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> njwt Nfr-Dd-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> njwt Ntrj-swt-Mn-k<sup>3</sup>w-Hr ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zš <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šmwtj ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> gswy-pr ; <sup>c</sup>d-mr ; wr 10 šm<sup>c</sup> ; mdw rhyt ; ḥm-ntr M<sup>3</sup>t ; ḥrp wsht ; ḥrp zš nb ; ḥry-tp nswt ; z<sup>3</sup>b <sup>c</sup>d-mr nst ḥntt ; shd ḥm-ntr Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; shd ḥm-ntr Ntrj-swt-Mn-k<sup>3</sup>w-Hr ; shd ḥm-ntr Dd-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> ; t<sup>3</sup>tyt z<sup>3</sup>b t<sup>3</sup>ty</i>	<i>Pth-ḥtp</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jm<sup>3</sup>ḥw.f ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> njwt Nfr-Jwwj ; mdw rhyt ; ḥry-tp nswt ; z<sup>3</sup>b <sup>c</sup>d-mr</i>
		<i>Pth-ḥtp</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zš ; z<sup>3</sup>b <sup>c</sup>d-mr</i>
		<i>Pth-ḥtp / Tfw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Tfw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw mry.f</i>	
		<i>K<sup>3</sup>-m- ?</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
<i>J<sup>3</sup>rtj</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> jpt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> ḥntyw-š pr-<sup>c</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b 200 H<sup>c</sup>-nfr-Mry-n-R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Mry-n-R<sup>c</sup>-snb</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
<i>Jj-wn / Shnt-k<sup>3</sup>(j)</i>	<i>jry ḥryw-<sup>c</sup> nw nswt ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt</i>	<i>Šrt-n-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f</i>	
<i>Jj-nf<sup>3</sup>rt / Š<sup>3</sup>-n.f</i>	<i>jmy-jb n nswt m wḏ-mdw nb nt nswt ; jmy-jz ; jmy-jz Nhn ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy-ḥd ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> ḥ<sup>3</sup>swt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zš <sup>c</sup>w nswt ; mnjw Nhn ; ḥ<sup>3</sup>t-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n pr-dw<sup>3</sup>t ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n nswt ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n nswt m st.f nbt ; ḥry-ḥbt ; ḥry-tp nswt ; z<sup>3</sup>b <sup>c</sup>d-mr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty n mrwt ; t<sup>3</sup>jtj z<sup>3</sup>b t<sup>3</sup>jtj</i>	<i>...nw...</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw mry.f</i>	
<i>Jj-k<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-nswt ; ḥq<sup>3</sup>ḥwt-<sup>c</sup>3t</i>	<i>Tntj</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	
		<i>ḥbdw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> ḥm-k<sup>3</sup></i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
<i>Jnw-Mnw</i> (around Teti Pyramid)	<i>jm<sup>3</sup>c</i> ; <i>jmy-jb n nswt m st.f nbt</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> jzwy n hkrw nswt</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> w<sup>c</sup>btj</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy-hd</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hwt-wrt</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> stp-z<sup>3</sup> pr nswt nb</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> Šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šnwj</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> gswj-pr</i> ; <i>jry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> ; <i>q<sup>c</sup>-mr</i> ; <i>h<sup>3</sup>ty-c</i> ; <i>hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n pr-dw<sup>3</sup>t</i> ; <i>hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n nswt m swt.f nbt</i> ; <i>htm bjty</i> ; <i>hry-hbt</i> ; <i>hry-hbt hry-tp</i> ; <i>zš md<sup>3</sup>t-ntr</i> ; <i>sm</i> ; <i>shd hm-ntr Mn-nfr-Ppy</i> ; <i>t<sup>3</sup>tyt z<sup>3</sup>b t<sup>3</sup>ty</i>	<i>Nfrj</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw mry.f n ht.f</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> st hntyw-š</i> ; <i>hry-hbt</i> ; <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Hwj</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> st hntyw-š pr-c<sup>3</sup></i>
<i>Jntj</i>	<i>jmy-ht hm-ntr hm-ntr Dd-swt-Ttj</i> ; <i>jmy-ht hntyw-š hm-ntr Dd-swt-Ttj</i> ; <i>wd-mdw n hwt-wrt 6</i> ; <i>r<sup>3</sup> Nhn n z<sup>3</sup>b</i> ; <i>hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n wdt-mdw n hwt-wrt 6</i> ; <i>hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n Hr md<sup>3</sup>t c<sup>b</sup>wt</i> ; <i>hnty-š Dd-swt-Ttj</i> ; <i>smsw h<sup>3</sup>t</i>	<i>Gm-tn-nn (?)</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw n ht.f mry.f</i>	<i>smsw h<sup>3</sup>t</i>
		<i>Snqm-jb</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw n ht.f mry.f</i>	<i>smsw h<sup>3</sup>t</i>
<i>Jrj.s / Jjj</i>	<i>m<sup>h</sup>-jb n nswt m st.f nbt.f</i> ; <i>hm-ntr M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup></i> ; <i>hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n nswt m pr-c<sup>3</sup></i> ; <i>hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n nswt m st.f nbt</i> ; <i>hry-tp nswt pr-c<sup>3</sup></i> ; <i>z<sup>3</sup>b jrj md<sup>3</sup>t</i> ; <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> ; <i>smr-pr</i> ; <i>špss nswt</i>	name erased	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Jzj-cnh</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Nfr-hwt</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup> smsw mrr</i>	
		<i>Jzj-cnh</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup> mrr</i>	
		<i>Hkrtj</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t mrrt</i>	
		<i>H<sup>3</sup>t-k<sup>3</sup>w</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t mrrt</i>	
<i>Jrw-k<sup>3</sup>-Pth</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>qb<sup>h</sup> nmt c<sup>b</sup>w-r nswt</i> ; <i>qb<sup>h</sup> nmt pr-c<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
<i>Jšfw / Jšfj</i> reused by <i>Msy</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> h<sup>3</sup>tyw</i> ; <i>špss nswt</i>	<i>Gm-n.j</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	
<i>cnh-m-c-nty</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> h<sup>3</sup>tyw pr-c<sup>3</sup></i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> h<sup>3</sup>tyw sšrw pr-c<sup>3</sup></i> ; <i>jr<sup>w</sup> mr<sup>r</sup>t nb.f</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i>	<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
<i>cnh-m-c-hr / Zzj</i>	<i>jm<sup>3</sup>-c</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy hd</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> md<sup>h</sup> nswt</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> ht-wrt</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> sšwy m<sup>3</sup>c</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> sšwy n shmh-jb</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> sšw c<sup>n</sup> nswt</i> ; <i>jmy-</i>	<i>Jšfj</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f n ht.f smsw</i> ; <i>z<sup>3</sup>.f n ht.f mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> j<sup>c</sup>w-r nswt</i> ; <i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> b<sup>3</sup>w n shmh-jb</i> ; <i>hty-hbt</i> ; <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> ; <i>shd hntyw-š pr-c<sup>3</sup></i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>r3 št3 mḏ3t ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; mnjw Nḥb ; mdw rḥyt ; ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥwt-wryt ; ḥry-sšt3 n wḏt-mdw nbt nt nswt ; ḥry-sšt3 n nswt m st.f nbt ; ḥry-tp ḥrjw-ḥb ; ḥnty-š ; ḥry-tp Nḥb ; ḥry-tp nswt ; sm ; šḥḏ ḥm-nṯr ; t3jty z3b t3ty</i>	name erased	erased	erased
<i>ḥnḥ-m-<sup>c</sup>-k3(j)</i> (No. 67 [D 16])	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmy-r3 ḥ3w ; jmy-r3 wpt nt nswt ; jmy-r3 wsḥt ; jmy-r3 ḥwt-wrt ; jmy-r3 swt-ḏ3w ; jmy-r3 k3t nswt ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; wr 10 Šm<sup>c</sup> ; wḏ mdw št3 ḥryw wḏb ; nst ḥntt ; ḥm-nṯr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; ḥm-nṯr Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-nṯr Nḥn-R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-nṯr Ḥqt ; ḥm-nṯr S3ḥw-R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥry wḏb m ḥwt-<sup>c</sup>nḥ ; ḥry-sšt3 wḏ<sup>c</sup>-mdw ; ḥry-sšt3 n mdw-nṯr.f m3<sup>c</sup>t ; ḥrp zš wsḥt ; ḥry-tp nswt ; z3b ḥḏ-mr</i>	<i>Jn-k3.f</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
		<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
<i>ḥnḥ-Ḥwt-Ḥr</i>	<i>jṃ3ḥ ḥr hn ; rḥ-nswt ; ḥmt-nṯr Nt mḥtt jnb wpt w3wt ; ḥmt-nṯr Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt nht nt m swt.s nbt</i>	<i>ḥnḥ-Wsr-k3.f</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Sšm-k3</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>ḥnḥ-Ḥwt-Ḥr</i>	<i>z3t mrt.f</i>	
		<i>Mry.s-ḥnḥ</i>	<i>z3t mrt.f</i>	
		<i>Ḥnmt-Wsr-k3.f</i>	<i>z3t</i>	
<i>W3š-Pth / Jzj</i>	<i>jmy-jz Nḥn ; jmy-r3 zš nswt ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt ; jmy-ḥt wr ; jmy-ḥt Ḥ3 ; jnw knmwt ; jry nfr-ḥ3t ; ḥ3 Dw3w ; mdw rḥyt ; ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-nṯr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; ḥm-nṯr Nbty ; ḥm-nṯr ḥtm šmswt ; ḥry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; ḥry-sšt3 n mdw-nṯr ; ḥntt Ḥr Jnpw ; ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp ; ḥry-tp nswt ; zm3 Mnw ; zm3 Ḥr ; zš mḏ3t nṯr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smsw snwt ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Jzj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jnw-knmwt ; ḥḏ-mr ; ḥry-ḥbt ; ḥry-tp nswt</i>
		<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>ḥry-ḥbt ; ḥry-tp nswt</i>
		<i>Mry-nswt-nṯr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>ḥry-tp nswt ;</i>
		<i>Mry-n-Pth-Ḥr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
		<i>W3š-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
<i>Wnnj</i> (offering table)	<i>hq3 hwt ; htm bjty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Hrd-n.j</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hq3 hwt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Hrd-n.j</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	<i>hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt</i>
<i>Wr-jr.n-Pth</i>	<i>jmy-r3 zš ; w<sup>c</sup>b St-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> Hwt-Hr ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> Hwt-Hr m St-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 wq<sup>c</sup>-mdw m3<sup>c</sup> ; z3b ; zš <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt ; šhd zš</i>	<i>M...</i> (name broken)	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Q3rj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hntj</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Wr-b3w</i> (in the same tomb of <i>K3-h3.j</i> )	<i>rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Mrt Šm<sup>c</sup>t Mht</i>	<i>Nj-Hwt-hr</i>		
		<i>Nfr-sdm-Pth</i>		
		<i>Qm3-Hnmw-tntt</i>		
		<i>Nj-k3w-Hwt-Hr</i>		
		<i>Njt-Hwt-Hr</i>		
		<i>Nfrt-nt-jt.s</i>		
		<i>Z3t-mft</i>		
		<i>Shb</i>		
<i>Wr-nw</i>	<i>jwn <sup>c</sup>wj wh<sup>c</sup> znhm ; jmy-jb n nswt m jdbwj.f ; jmy-jb n nswt m st.f nb ; jmy-ht Srqt ; jt Mnw ; <sup>c</sup>qw mjt ; wr jdt ; bz nw ; m33 mdw št3w ; hm-ntr Hk3 ; hm Hr Nhn ; hm hwy Hr ; hm htm ; hm st ; hm db3 Hr ; hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; hnty-š Qd-swt-Tjt ; hrp wrw Šm<sup>c</sup>w Mhw ; hrp šmsw Hr ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt mjt Hr d3t Hr ; z3w hq3 ; z3 Mht ; zm3 s<sup>c</sup>hwj ; zš md3t ntr</i>	<i>Jnt.f</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>
<i>Bj3 / Jry</i>	<i>smr pr ; špss snwt</i>	<i>Mhw</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>šhd hntyw-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>
		<i>H3j</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i><sup>c</sup>nhjt</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Hztj</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Ppj</i>	<i>hq3 hwt ; hry-tp nswt ; hry-hbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Smh.sn</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>hq3 hwt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Hn</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	



Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
<i>Pr-nb</i> (Quibell S 913)	<i>jmy-jb nb.f ; jmy-r3 hkrw nswt ; jry nfr-h3t ; jrw hzzt nswt ; rh-nswt ; hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdt nb ; hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; hrp cḥ ; smr wcty</i>	<i>Ntrw-wsr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>wcb pr-c3(?)</i>
		<i>Rc-špss</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
<i>Pr-ndw</i>	<i>zš</i>	<i>Mry.s-ḥnh</i> (female)	<i>msw.s</i> (on the wife's false door)	
		<i>Dfdtj</i> (female)		
		<i>Hnt-m-3ht</i> (female)		
		<i>Mry-jt.s</i> (female)		
		<i>Jrt-nbw</i> (female)		
		<i>Zšzšt</i> (female)		
<i>Pr-sn</i> (D45)	<i>jmy-r3 jzwy n hkrw nswt ; jmy-r3 mrhtj hkrw nswt ; šhd pr-c3</i>	<i>Nfr-jrt-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jry mrhtj hkrw nswt pr-c3</i>
		<i>K3-pw-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>z3b zš ; šhd zš</i>
		<i>Jrt</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jry mrhtj hkrw nswt pr-c3</i>
		<i>Hnwt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>rht-nswt</i>
		<i>Hmt-Rc</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>rht-nswt</i>
<i>Ph.n-wj-k3</i> (D 70, LS 15) <i>sn-dt</i>	<i>jmy-jz Nhn ; jmy-r3 jzwy nw pr hrywj-wdbw ; jmy-r3 prwy-hd ; jmy-r3 zš cw nw nswt ; jmy-r3 swt htpwt df3w ; jmy-r3 šnwj ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nswt ; jmy-r3 gs-pr ; wr 10 šm<sup>c</sup> ; mdw rhyt ; nj st jb nb.t ; nst hntt ; r3 P nb ; h3ty-c ; hm-ntr Hr q3-c ; hm-ntr Hk3 ; hry-sšt3 n wdt mdt nbt nswt ; hrp wsht ; hrp zš jch ; htm bjty ; ht-H3 ; hry-tp nswt ; z3b cd-mr ; šhd wcb m swt-wcbw-Wsr-k3.f ; t3ty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Jtj</i>	<i>z3.f jm3hw.f</i>	<i>z3b šhd zš ; zš cw nw nswt hft-hr</i>
		<i>Hww-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>z3b šhd zš</i>
<i>Pth-htp</i> (PM III 653-654)	<i>jmy-r3 wcbtj ; jmy-r3 prwy-nbw ; jmy-r3 prwy-hd ; jmy-r3 hwt-wrt 6 ; jmy-r3 hkrw nswt ; jmy-r3</i>	<i>Pth-htp</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>mdw-rhyt ; hry-tp nswt</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>zš ʿw nswt ; jmy-rʒ šnwtj ; hrp wsht ; tʒjty zʒb tʒty</i>	<i>Pth-htp</i>	<i>zʒ.f mry.f</i>	
<i>Pth-htp I (D 62)</i>	<i>jwn-knmwt ; jmy-rʒ jzwy nw hry sdʒt ; jmy-rʒ prwy nbw ; jmy-rʒ prwy-hd ; jmy-rʒ nbt ht nt nswt ; jmy-rʒ hkrw nswt ; jmy-rʒ zš ʿw nw nswt ; jmy-rʒ šnwtj ; jmy-rʒ kʒt nbt nswt ; jry-pʿt ; mdw rhyt ; rʒ P nb ; hʒty-ʿ ; hry-sštʒ n wdt-mdt nbt nswt ; hry-sštʒ n nswt ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; zš mdʒt ntr ; smr wʿty ; tʒty zʒb tʒty</i>	<i>ʒht-htp</i>	<i>zʒ.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>mdw rhyt ; hry-tp nswt</i>
<i>Pth-htp II / Tj (D 64) sn-dt</i>	<i>jmy-rʒ hwt-wrt ; jnw knmwt ; wd-mdw n hry wdb ; mdw rhyt ; nj nst hntt ; hm-ntr Mʒʿt ; hm-ntr Hqt ; hry-sštʒ n wdt-mdt nbt nswt ; hrp wrw 10 Šmʿw ; hrp wsht ; hrp zš jry jʿh ; hrp qʒqʒw ; ht-Hʒ ; hry-tp nswt ; zʒb ʿd-mr ; shd-wʿb Mn-swt-Nj-Wsr-Rʿ ; shd hm-ntr Nfr-Jzzj ; shd hm-ntr Ntry-swt- Mn-kʒw-Hr</i>	<i>Jpj</i>	<i>zʒ.f smsw</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i>
		<i>Pth-htp</i>	<i>zʒ.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>zʒb ʿd-mr</i>
		<i>ʒht-htp</i>	<i>zʒ.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>zʒb ʿd-mr</i>
<i>Pth-htp / Jj-n-ʿnh</i>	<i>jmy-rʒ zš ; hm-ntr Wsjr hntj Ddw ; hm-ntr Mʒʿt ; hm-ntr Sʒhw-Rʿ ; hry-sštʒ ; hry-sštʒ n wdc-mdw ; hrp wsht ; hrp zš jry jʿh ; hrp zš hwt-wrt ; zʒb jmy-rʒ zš ; zʒb shd jry mdʒt ; zʒb shd zš</i>	<i>Pth-htp</i>	<i>zʒ.f smsw</i>	
		name not preserved	<i>zʒ.f smsw</i>	
<i>Pth-špss (PM III 340-342, Abusir)</i>	<i>jmy-jz Nhn ; jmy-r jzwy n hkrw nswt ; jmy-r wʿbt ; jmy-r kʒt nbt nswt ; jmy-ht Wr ; jry nfr-hʒt ; ʿʒ Dwʒw ; nj jb nb ; hʒty-ʿ ; hm-ntr Nhbt nbt ʿh-ntr</i>	<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>zʒ.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jry nfr-hʒt ; nj jb nb ; smr wʿty</i>
		<i>Hm-ʒhty</i>	<i>zʒ.f</i>	<i>hrp ʿh ; smr wʿty</i>
		<i>Ssm-nfr</i>	<i>zʒ.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>Šm ; ḥm st ; ḥry wrw ; ḥry-sšt3 n pr-dw<sup>c</sup>t ; ḥry-sšt3 n mdw ntr ; ḥry-sšt3 n mdw št3 nw mdw ; ḥry-sšt3 n nb.f ; ḥry-sšt3 n nswt m swt.f nbt ; ḥry-tp Nḥb ; ḥry jmyw ntrw ; ḥrp ḥ ; ḥry-ḥbt ; ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp ; z3w(mnjw) Nḥn ; z3b ; zš md3t ntr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; t3yty z3b t3ty ; t3ty</i>	<i>Ḥnw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>ḥry-sšt3 n nb.f ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>ḥm st ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Ḥ<sup>c</sup>.f-Jnj (image erased)</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>ḥry-ḥbt</i>
		<i>Ḥpt-k3</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>ḥm st ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Nj-sw-Qd</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>ḥm st ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
<i>Pth-špss II</i>	<i>jmy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>bt ; jmy-r3 pr Zkr m swt.f ; jmy-ḥt ḥm-ntr Qd-swt-Ttj ; w<sup>c</sup>b Pth ; wr ḥrp ḥmwt ; wr ḥrp ḥmwt prw ; wr ḥrp ḥmwt n ḥb-R<sup>c</sup> ; wr ḥrp ḥmwt djt nswt(?) ; wr ḥrp ḥmwt db3t ; rḥ-nswt ; ḥm-ntr Pth-Zkr ; ḥm-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnjs ; ḥry-sšt3 n ntr.f ; ḥrt-sšt3 n ḥtm-ntr ; ḥrp ḥmwt ; ḥrp ḥmwt nbt ; ḥrp sm</i>	<i>Sb3w</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-ḥt ḥmwt</i>
		<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-ḥt ḥmwt</i>
		<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>ḥnty-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>
		<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
<i>Mry-Ttj (son of Mrrw-k3.j, in the same tomb)</i>	<i>jṃ3-<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-jz Nḥn ; jmy-r3 jzwy n ḥkrw nswt ; jmy-r3 ḥ-ntr Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r3 ḥwt-wrt 6 ; jmy-r3 zš ḥw nswt ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; ḥ3 Dw3w ; ḥ Nmtj ; ḥ Hq3t ; ḥd-mr Hr-sb3w-ḥntj-pt ; ḥd-mr Dpw ; wtj Jnpw ; mntj Nḥn ; mdw Ḥp ; r P nb ; ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-ntr Nḥbt ; ḥm-</i>	<i>Jḥy-m-z3.f</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>ḥry-sšt3 n pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; ḥry-ḥbt ; ḥry-ḥbt n jt.f ; ḥry-ḥbt smsw</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<p><i>ntr Hr Jnpw hntypr šmswt ; hm-ntr Hr hry-jb ḥ ; hry wrw ; hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; hry-sšt3 n m33t w<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 n nswt m swt.f nbt ; hry-tp Nhb ; hts ... Jnpw ; hrp j3wt nbt ntrt ; hrp jmjw ntrw ; hrp nstj ; hrp hwwt Nt ; hrp šndt nbt ; htm bjty ; htm-ntr m wj3wj 3wj ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt n jt.f ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; z3 nswt ; zš md3t-ntr ; sm ; sm3 Mnw ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smsw snwt ; shd hm-ntr Mn-nfr-Ppy / Mry-R<sup>c</sup> ; shd hm-ntr Dd-swt-Ttj ; shd hntyw-š Mn-nfr-Mry-R<sup>c</sup> ; shd hntyw-š Dd-swt-Ttj ; t3jty z3b t3tj</i></p>	<i>Nj-nh-Mnw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>zš md3t-ntr pr-3</i>
<i>Mr.f-nb.f / Fff</i>	<p><i>jm3-c ; jmy-r3 zh3h 3w nswt ; jmy-r3 s3rw ; jmy-ht pr-3 ; jmy-ht hm-ntr Mrt-Ttj ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; jry nfr-h3t ; jry s3r pr-3 ; 3d-mr Sb3-Hr-hntj-pt ; m3<sup>c</sup> ; h3ty-c ; hm-ntr ; hry-sšt3 ; hry-sšt3 n wd-t-mdt ; hry-sšt3 n wd-t-mdt nbt ; hry-sšt3 n wd-t-mdt nbt nt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n wd-t-mdt nt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; hry-tp Nhb ; hnty-š Dd-swt-Ttj ; hrp ḥ ; hrp nstj m hwt-3nh ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty m3<sup>c</sup> ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i></p>	<i>M3-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-ht pr-3 ; shd pr-3</i>
		<i>Mr.f-nb.f / Fff</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>jmy st-c hntyw-š pr-3 ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Mm-smsw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-3</i>
<i>Mrrj (around Teti Pyramid)</i>	<p><i>jmy-r3 jzwy n hkrw nswt ; jmy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>btj ; jmy-r3 wnw ; jmy-r3 prwy-nbw ; jmy-r3 hntyw-š ; jmy-r3 ht nb dd pt qm3t ; jmy-r3 sqbbw pr-3 ; jmy-r3 st hntyw-š ; jmy-r3 šwj pr-3 ; hry-</i></p>	<i>Mrry</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>shd hntyw-š pr-3</i>
		<i>H3jstf</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>jmy-ht hntyw-š pr-3</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>sšt3</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n pr dw3t</i> ; <i>hry-tp Nh3b</i> ; <i>hry-hbt</i> <i>smsw</i> ; <i>hry-hbt</i> ; <i>hry-hbt</i> <i>smsw</i> ; <i>hry-tp nswt</i> ; <i>hry-</i> <i>tp nswt pr-3</i> ; <i>z3b Nh3n</i> ; <i>smr w3ty</i> ; <i>shd pr</i>			
<i>Mrrw-k3.j /</i> <i>Mrj</i>	<i>jm3-3</i> ; <i>jmy-jb nswt m st.f</i> <i>nbt</i> ; <i>jmy-jb nswt hntj</i> <i>jdbwj.f</i> ; <i>jmy-jz</i> ; <i>jmy-jz</i> <i>Nh3n</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 jpt nswt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 jzwy n hkrw nswt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 3h-ntr Šm33w</i> ; <i>jmy-</i> <i>r3 w3btj</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 pr-33w</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 prwy-nbw</i> ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>prwy-hd</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 pr-phrt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 hwt-wrt 6</i> ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>hkrw nswt nb</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 zš</i> <i>3w nswt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 swt špswt</i> <i>nt pr-3</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 shjt-htp</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 sqbbwj pr-3</i> ; <i>jmy-</i> <i>r3 stp-z3 pr-nswt nb</i> ; <i>jmy-</i> <i>r3 šwj pr-3</i> ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>šnwtj</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 k3t nbt nt</i> <i>nswt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 gswj-dpt</i> <i>zwnw pr-3</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 ddt pt</i> <i>qm3t t3</i> ; <i>jry-p3t</i> ; <i>3 Nmtj</i> ; <i>3</i> <i>Hq3t</i> ; <i>3 Dw3w</i> ; <i>3d-mr</i> <i>Hr-sb3w-hntj-pt</i> ; <i>3d-mr</i> <i>Dpw</i> ; <i>w3 wrw hb</i> ; <i>wr 5 m</i> <i>pr Dhwtj</i> ; <i>wr m3w</i> ; <i>wr</i> <i>m3w m prwy</i> ; <i>wr hry-hbt</i> <i>hry-tp</i> ; <i>wjt Jnpw</i> ; <i>wd-</i> <i>mdw n srw</i> ; <i>mntj Nh3n</i> ; <i>mdw Hp</i> ; <i>mdw Hz3t</i> ; <i>r3 P</i> <i>nb</i> ; <i>h3ty-3</i> ; <i>hm b3w P</i> ; <i>hm b3w Nh3n</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Hr</i> <i>jmj Šnwt</i> ; <i>hry wpwt</i> <i>št3wt</i> ; <i>hry wrw</i> ; <i>hry-</i> <i>sšt3</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n wd3-ndw n</i> <i>hwt-wrt 6</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n</i> <i>wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t</i> ; <i>hry-</i>	<i>Ppy-3nh</i>		<i>jmy-jb nswt</i> <i>hntj jdbwj.f</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3n nswt</i> <i>m st nbt</i> ; <i>hry-</i> <i>hbt</i>
		<i>Mmj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i> ; <i>zš</i> <i>md3t ntr</i> ; <i>smr</i> <i>w3ty</i>
		<i>Mry-Ttj / Mrj</i>	<i>z3 nswt n ht.f</i> <i>smsw mry.f</i> ; <i>z3.s smsw</i> <i>mry.s</i>	
		<i>Nfr</i>		<i>zwnw</i>
		<i>Hnw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>jmy-ht hm-</i> <i>ntr</i> ; <i>hnty-š</i> <i>Dd-swt-Ttj</i> ; <i>hry-hbt</i> ; <i>zš</i> <i>md3t ntr</i>
		<i>Hntj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<p>sšt<sup>3</sup> n m<sup>3</sup>st w<sup>c</sup>w ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n mdw-ntr ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n št<sup>3</sup>w pt ; hry-tp Nh<sup>b</sup> ; hq<sup>3</sup> B<sup>3</sup>t ; hts ... Jnpw... ; hw<sup>c</sup> ; hntyw-š Dd-swt-z<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> Ttj ; hrp j<sup>3</sup>t nbt ntrt ; hrp jbt<sup>3</sup>tjw Hr hrp jmjw ntrw ; hrp nstj ; hrp h<sup>3</sup>ts km ; hrp hwwt nt ; hrp hwwt nt mw ; hrp šmsw Hr ; hrp šndjt nbt ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; zš md<sup>3</sup>t ntr ; sm ; sm<sup>3</sup> Jnpw ; sm<sup>3</sup> Mnw ; sm<sup>3</sup> Hr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smsw snwt ; sh<sup>d</sup> hm-ntr Dd-swt-z<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>-Ttj ; sd<sup>3</sup>tj nswt ; t<sup>3</sup>tyt<sup>3</sup> z<sup>3</sup>b t<sup>3</sup>tj</p>	Jb-nbw	z <sup>3</sup> t.s mrt.s nt ht.s	
Mhw	<p>jwn knmwt ; jm<sup>3</sup>-<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> jzwy n hkrw nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> w<sup>c</sup>btj ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wpwt m prwy ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wh<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wdt-ndw nbt nt nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy nbw ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy-h<sup>d</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> njwwt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> njwwt m<sup>3</sup>wt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hwt-wrt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hwt-wrt 6 ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zš <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zš hry sd<sup>3</sup>t nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> sdmt nbt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šm<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šnwty ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> k<sup>3</sup>t nbt nt nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> gswj-pr ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> gs-pr ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; jry h<sup>3</sup>t-nfr ; mdw rhyt ; mdw Hp ; ny mrwt ; h<sup>3</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n pr-dw<sup>3</sup>t ; hry-tp Nh<sup>b</sup> ; hq<sup>3</sup> hwt ; hrp j<sup>3</sup>wt nbt ntrt ; hrp jmy ntrw ; hrp hwwt nt ; hrp šndwt nbt ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; hry-tp nswt ; z<sup>3</sup>b <sup>c</sup>d-mr ; sm ; sm<sup>3</sup> Mnw ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; sh<sup>d</sup> hm-</p>	Htp-k <sup>3</sup> .j	z <sup>3</sup> .f	z <sup>3</sup> b <sup>c</sup> d-mr
		name erased	z <sup>3</sup> .f smsw mry.f	
		Hwy	z <sup>3</sup> .f	z <sup>3</sup> b <sup>c</sup> d-mr ; sh <sup>d</sup> pr- <sup>c</sup> <sup>3</sup>
		Mrwt	z <sup>3</sup> t.f	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>ntr Mn-nfr-Mry-R<sup>c</sup> ; shd hm-ntr Dd-swt-Ttj ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>			
<i>Mttj</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hntyw-s ; jmy-r3 st hntyw-s pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; hry-tp d3t ; z3b c3d-mr pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; spss nswt</i>	<i>Pth-htp</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	
		<i>Hwn-Sbk</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	
		<i>Pth-s3bw</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	
		<i>Jhy</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	
		<i>Jrt-Sbk</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	
		name not preserved	<i>z3t.f (?)</i>	
		name not preserved	<i>z3t.f (?)</i>	
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy / Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Mry-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>jmy-r3 wpt hntyw-s Mn-nfr-Ppy ; jmy-r3 hntyw-s pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r3 swj pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; hry-sst3 n wdt-mdw nbt ; hry-sst3 n pr-dwt ; hry-sst3 nswt ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt smsw ; smr wty ; smr pr ; spss nswt</i>	<i>Jn-nj-k3.j</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f hsy.f</i>	
		<i>Hnnj</i>	<i>z3.f n ht.f jm3hw.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 st pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
		<i>Jy</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>shd hntyw-s pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh - Hnmw (double tomb of Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw &amp; Hnmw-htp)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 jrwt nt pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jrwt nt nswt ; wcb Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; mhmk nswt ; mhmk nswt mrrw nb.f ; mhmk nswt m k3wt jrwt nt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m Šsp-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sst3 ; shd jrwt nt pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	<i>Hm-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>msw.f wcb nswt ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m Šzp-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; z3b zš jmy-r3 pr jrwt z3b jmy-ht z3w-pr ; shd hmw-k3 rht-nswt ; hmt-ntr Nt</i>
		<i>Qdwn.s</i>		
		<i>Hnmw-hzw.f</i>		
		<i>Hmt-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	
		<i>Hwjtn-R<sup>c</sup> (female)</i>		
		<i>Nbt (?) (female)</i>		
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh -Shmt (No. 74 [D12])</i>	<i>wr jbh pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; wr zwnw pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; hrp tjst bjty ; smr pr</i>	<i>Spr-ntr (?) (name broken)</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Jnpw-hwf</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Htp-hr.s</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Mry.s-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Nj-k3(j)-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>jmy-r3 3pd ; jmy-r3 w nbw ; jmy-r3 pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r3 phw nb ; jmy-r3 msw nswt m prwy ; jmy-r3 nww</i>	<i>nh-m-<sup>c</sup>-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 snw</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>nbw ; jmy-r3 Hwt-jhwt ; jmy-r3 hryw-s3b ; jmy-r3 zš md3t n šnw ; jmy-r3 srw ; jmy-r3 šnwj ; jmy-r3 šnw n hnw ; wr 10 šm<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m St-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Hr Wsr-k3w ; hm-ntr Hr St-jb-t3wj ; hm-ntr S3hw-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-tp šnw ; zš</i>			
<i>Nj-k3w-Jzzj (around Teti Pyramid)</i>	<i>jmy-jz ; jmy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>btj ; jmy-r3 prwy-nbw ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; jry nfr-h3t ; wt Jnpw ; mnjw Nhn ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry wrw ; hts Jnpw ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Nj-k3w-Jzzj / Nj-k3w-Jzzj-smsw / Nj-k3w-Jzzj-km-smsw / Nj-k3w-Ttj-km-smsw</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Mry-Jzzj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>hry-sšt3 n pr dw3t ; hry-hbt smsw ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
<i>Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m St-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Hwt-Hr ; hry-sšt3 ; hry-sšt3 n hwt-wrt ; z3b ; shd jry md3t</i>	<i>Shm-k3</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
		<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
		<i>W3š-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>‘nh-jr-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Z3t-mrt</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	<i>rht-nswt</i>
		<i>Hnwt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Nj-k3w-Hr (Quibell S 915)</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Wsr-k3.f ; hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 ; zš sm3 wd<sup>c</sup>-mdw ; shd zš</i>	<i>K3-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; z3b zš</i>
		<i>K3w-hr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; z3b zš</i>
		<i>Htp...</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	<i>rht-nswt</i>
		<i>R...</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	
<i>Nfr (in the same tomb of his father K3-h3.j)</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; hry-sšt3 nswt ; hrp hsww ; shd w<sup>c</sup>bt ; shd pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>	<i>Wr-nb</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>shd hsw</i>
		<i>Pth-wr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>shd hsw</i>
		<i>R<sup>c</sup>-wr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>shd hsw</i>
<i>Nfr-Jnpw (AS 37, Abusir South)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 k3t nbt wd<sup>t</sup> n.fm rh nswt ; w<sup>c</sup>b Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; ... n hwt wrt ; nht-hrw n z3b ; hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; hm-ntr Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Nfr-jr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m šzp-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Hr hry-jb</i>	<i>K3-hsw.f</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>z3b shd zš</i>
		<i>Nfr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>z3b zš ; shd hm-k3</i>



Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>ḥ ; ḥm-ntr Hr St-jb tʿwj ; ḥry-sštʿ ; smsw ḥʿjt n zʿb</i>			
<i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i> (D 55)	<i>jmy-rʿ zš ; wʿb nswt ; ḥm-ntr Mʿt ; ḥm-ntr Rʿ m Nḥn-Rʿ ; ḥm-ntr Rʿ m St-jb-Rʿ ; ḥm-ntr Hwt-Hr ; ḥm-ntr Sʿḥw-Rʿ ; ḥry-sštʿ wḏʿ-mdw ; ḥry-sštʿ n nb.f ; ḥrp zš jrj jʿḥ ; zʿb ; šḥḏ ḥm-ntr Hwt-Hr zʿ wr m Mrt-Sʿḥw-Rʿ ; šḥḏ ḥry-sštʿ ntr.f ; šḥḏ zš</i>	<i>Wr-kʿw-Pth</i>	<i>zʿ.f</i>	<i>zʿb zš</i>
		<i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i>	<i>zʿ.f</i>	<i>zʿb zš</i>
		<i>Jpj</i>	<i>zʿ.f</i>	<i>zʿb zš</i>
		<i>Hntt-kʿ</i>	<i>zʿt.f</i>	
		<i>Mʿj</i>	<i>zʿ.f</i>	<i>zʿb zš</i>
<i>Nfr-ntr</i>	<i>jmy-rʿ 10 wjʿʿ ; jmy-rʿ wʿbt nswt ; jmy-rʿ prw-jnʿwt ; rḥ-nswt</i>	<i>Hnmw-ḥzw.f</i>	<i>zʿsmsw n ḥt</i>	<i>jmy-rʿ prw-jnʿwt ; rḥ-nswt</i>
		<i>Wsrt-kʿ</i>	<i>zʿ n ḥt</i>	<i>jmy-rʿ pr-jnʿwt ; rḥ-nswt</i>
<i>Nfr-ḥww</i>	<i>wʿb nswt ; rḥ-nswt ; ḥm-ntr Rʿ m Nḥn-Rʿ ; šḥḏ zš jryw jʿḥ ; šḥḏ zš wsḥt</i>	<i>Shntjw-Pth</i>	<i>zʿ.f smsw</i>	<i>zʿb šḥḏ zš</i>
<i>Nfr-sšm-Pth / Wḏʿ-ḥʿ-Ttj / Ššj</i> (around Teti Pyramid, Saqqara 32)	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmʿʿ ; jmy-jb n nswt ; jmy-jz ; jmy-rʿ jzwy n ḥkrw nswt ; jmy-rʿ ḥ-ntr šmʿw ; jmy-rʿ wʿbtj ; jmy-rʿ wpwt ; jmy-rʿ wpwt ḥtpw-ntr ; jmy-rʿ prwy-nbw ; jmy-rʿ ḥwt-wrt ; jmy-rʿ ḥntyw-š ; jmy-rʿ ḥt nbt ddt pt qmʿt tʿ ; jmy-rʿ swt špswt pr-ʿʿ ; jmy-rʿ sqbbwj pr-ʿʿ ; jmy-rʿ šwj n pr-ʿʿ ; jmy-ḥt ḥm-ntr Mn-nfr-Ppy ; jmy-ḥt ḥm-ntr Dd-swt-Ttj ; jry-pʿt ; jry nfr-ḥʿt ; ʿʿ dwʿw ; ʿ Nmtj ; wr 10 Šmʿ ; mnjw Nḥn ; mdw rḥyt ; rʿ P ; ḥʿty-ʿ ; ḥry-sštʿ n wḏt-mdt nbt ; ḥry-sštʿ n nswt m st.f nbt ; ḥry-tp Nḥb ; ḥnt jdbwj.f ; ḥnty-š Dd-swt-Ttj ; ḥrp jʿwt nbt ntr ; ḥrp jmjw</i>	<i>Pth...</i>	<i>zʿ[.f]</i>	<i>šḥḏ ḥm-kʿ ; šḥḏ zš</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>ntrw ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; hry-tp nswt ; hrp šndt nbt ; z3b cḏ-mr ; z3b shḏ zš jch ; sm ; smr wcty ; smsw snwt ; šhḏ hm-ntr Dd-swt-Ttj</i>			
<i>Nfr-sšm-Rc / Šsj</i>	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmy-jz ; jmy- r3 jcw-r nb nswt ; jmy-r3 jzwy n hry sd3t ; jmy-r3 jzwy hkrw nswt ; jmy-r3 wctbj ; jmy-r3 wpwt ; jmy- r3 wdt-mdw ; jmy-r3 prwy-nbw ; jmy-r3 prwy- hḏ ; jmy-r3 hwt-wrt ; jmy- r3 hwt-wrt 6 ; jmy-r3 hnw ; jmy-r3 zš ; jmy-r3 zš cw nw nswt ; jmy-r3 sqbbwj pr-c3 ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r3 šnwtj ; jmy- r3 šn t3 nb ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt ; jmy-r3 gs pr ; jmy-r3 ddt pt qm3t t3 ; jry- pct ; cḏ-mr Dp ; mnjw Nhn ; mdw rhyt ; h3ty-c ; hm-ntr Dd-swt-Ttj ; hnty- š Dd-swt-Ttj ; hrp hwwt nt... ; hry-hbt ; hry-tp nswt ; smr wcty ; shḏ hntyw-š Dd-swt-Ttj ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Hq3-jb</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>hnty-š Dd-swt- Ttj ; z3b jmy-r3 zš</i>
		<i>Mttj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>jmy-ht hntyw-š pr-c3 ; hnty-š Dd-swt-Ttj</i>
		<i>Hnjt</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	
<i>Nn-hft-k3(j) (D 47)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hkrw nswt ; jmy-r3 sšr nswt š pr-c3 ; jmy-r3 sqbw pr-c3 ; cḏ-mr Hr- sb3w hnty-pt ; wcb Rc m Nhn-Rc ; wcb Hc-b3-S3hw- Rc ; hm-ntr Hr Jnpw hnty pr-šmwt ; hry w3wt ; hry wḏb hwt-<sup>c</sup>nh ; hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; hrp-<sup>c</sup>h ; smr ; shḏ wcb Swt-wcbw-Wsr- k3.f</i>	<i>Qd-ns</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>zš</i>
		<i>Nn-hft-k3(j)</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>zš</i>
		<i>Hmt-3ht</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Jry-nbw</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Ntr-wsr snt-ḏt wife</i>	<i>jmy-jb nb.f ; jmy-r3 cw nw nswt ; jmy-r3 wsht ; jmy- r3 hwt-wrt ; jmy-r3 zš nb ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nswt ; jnw</i>	<i>Rc-špss</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jm3hw hr jt.f ; mry nb.f ; zš cw nw nswt</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>knmwt ; wr 10 šm<sup>c</sup> ; wr n nswt ; mdw rhyt ; nst hntt ; hm-ntr M<sup>3</sup>ct ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> wdt mdw nbt nswt ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n mdwt ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n hwt-wrt ; hrp zš ; hrp zš jrj j<sup>c</sup>h / sprw ; hrp zš nb ; hry-tp nswt ; z<sup>3</sup>b <sup>c</sup>d-mr ; smsw jz</i>			<i>hft-hr ; shd w<sup>c</sup>b</i>
		<i>Ntr-wsr</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	<i>jm<sup>3</sup>hw hr jt.f ; z<sup>3</sup>b zš</i>
<i>R<sup>c</sup>-hr-tp / Jtj</i>	<i>hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> ; hry-hbt ; hry-tp nswt ; špss nswt</i>	<i>Bbj</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	
<i>R<sup>c</sup>-špss (Lepsius LS 16 [S 902])</i>	<i>jmy-jb n nb.f ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> jzwy n hry sd<sup>3</sup>t mrt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zš <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šntj ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> k<sup>3</sup>t nbt nswt ; jmn kmwt ; wr 10 šm<sup>c</sup> ; mdw rhyt ; mdh ; nst hntt ; hm-ntr M<sup>3</sup>ct ; hm-ntr Hkt ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> wdt-mdwt nbt nswt ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n hwt-wrt 6 ; hrp wšht ; hrp zš ; ht-H<sup>3</sup> ; hry-tp nswt ; z<sup>3</sup>b <sup>c</sup>d-mr ; zš nswt</i>	<i>Ntrw-wsr</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw mry</i>	<i>jm<sup>3</sup>hw hr jt.f ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zš ; nst hntt ; rh-nswt ; z<sup>3</sup>b <sup>c</sup>d-mr ; shd zš</i>
<i>Rmnj / Mr-wj</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> <sup>c</sup>bw-r nswt ddw pt qm<sup>3</sup>t t<sup>3</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wpwt hntyw-š Dd-swt-Ttj ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> phww ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hwt-jhwt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> swt špswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šhtj-htp ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> sqbbwj pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> st ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> st hntyw-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šn-t<sup>3</sup> nb ; hm-ntr Dd-swt-Ttj ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n nswt m swt.f nbt ; hrp šht-htp ; hry-tp nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smr pr ; šps nswt</i>	<i>Rdj-nj-Pth</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Mrwj ( ? )</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw mry.f</i>	
<i>Hb-3j</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> sšr ; jrrw hwt nb.f ; shd hm-k<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Jn-n.j</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> jzw ; jrrw hzt jt.f</i>
<i>Hr-mrw / Mry</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> j<sup>c</sup>w-r<sup>3</sup> nswt m st.f nbt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hntyw-š ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> st pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> st hntyw-š ; hm-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnjs ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> ; hry-tp d<sup>3</sup>t ; hnty-š Nfr-swt-</i>	<i>Jnt.f</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
		<i>Ty</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
		<i>3bb</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	<i>zš md<sup>3</sup>t pr-ntr</i>
		<i>Špst-k<sup>3</sup>w</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>Wnjs ; hry-ḥbt ; smr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; šḥd ḥntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; šḥd ḥntyw-š Nfr-swt-nswt-bjty-Wnjs ; špss nswt ; špss nswt pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	<i>Jnst</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Hzzj</i>	<i>jmy-r3 jzwy n hkrw nswt ; jmy-r3 pr ; jmy-r3 prwy-ḥd ; jmy-r3 ḥt wdt m k3t ḥft-ḥr ; jmy-r3 zš ; jmy-r3 šnwtj ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n wdt nbt ; hry-tp nswt ; zš <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt ḥft-ḥr</i>	<i>Šsj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>šḥd zš <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt</i>
		<i>Jtj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>zš pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
<i>Htp-ḥr-3ḥtj</i> (D 60)	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b B3-Nfr-jr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; r3 Nhn ; rh-nswt ; ḥm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; ḥm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m St-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 n ḥwt-wrt ; z3b ; smsw ḥ3t</i>	<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
		<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
<i>Htp-k3(.j) / Tp-k3(.j)</i> (S 3509)	<i>jry nfr-ḥ3t ; jry šn pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; ḥm-ntr 3ms ; ḥm-ntr B3-Nfr-jr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-ntr Nfr-jr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-ntr Hr ḥnty pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; šḥd jry šn pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; šḥd ḥm-ntr B3-Nfr-jr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>Jr-n-Pth</i>	<i>z3 smsw</i>	
<i>H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Pth</i> (No. 68 [C4])	<i>jmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt ; jmy-r3 gswy-pr ; jnw knmwt ; mdw rhyt ; nst ḥntt ; hry-tp nswt ; z3b <sup>c</sup>d-mr</i>	<i>Spd-ḥtp</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>z3b ; šḥd zš</i>
			<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>zš <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt ḥft-ḥr</i>
<i>Hwj</i>	<i>jmy-r3 ḥntyw-š ; jmy-r3 sḏmt nbt š3t ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; wr jdt ; ḥm-ntr Mn-nfr-Ppy ; hry-sšt3 wdt-mdt nbt ; hry-sšt3 n wpwt š3t ; hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdt nbt š3t ; hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; ḥnty-š Qd-swt-Ttj ; hry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smsw ḏb3t</i>	<i>Hwj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 ḥntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
		<i>...w</i>	<i>z3.[f]</i>	<i>hry-ḥbt ?</i>
<i>Hnw</i>	<i>ḥm-k3 ; ḥnty-š Nfr-swt-Wnjs ; hry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; špss nswt ; špss nswt pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	<i>Zj-nj-Wnjs</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>hry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Jhy</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designatons of Children		Titiles of Children
<i>Hntj-k3 / Jhhj</i>	<i>jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; wt Jnpw ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 n nswt m st.f nbt ; hrp šndwt nbt ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; sm ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; šd hm-ntr Dd-swt-Tij ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Jbj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>		<i>wr m3w ; hry-hbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Dd-Tij</i>	<i>z3.f</i>		<i>hry-hbt smsw</i>
<i>Hnmw-ndm(w)</i> (at Kom el Akhdar)	<i>jmy-r3 gs-pr ; hq3 hwt ; htm bjty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>3m</i>	<i>z3.f.s mry.f.s</i>		<i>hry-tp nswt</i>
		<i>Sd-rtnnw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>		<i>hq3 hwt ; smr</i>
<i>Hnmw-htp</i> (D 49)	<i>3d-mr Hr-sb3w-hnty-pt ; hry wdb m hwt-<sup>c</sup>nh ; hry-sšt3n pr-dw3t ; hry-tp Nhb ; hrp <sup>c</sup>h ; hry-tp nswt ; smr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Hnmw-htp</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>		
		<i>Wsr-k3.f-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>z3.f</i>		
		<i>Nj-k3w-Nbtj</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>		
		<i>Hnt-k3w.s</i>			
<i>Hnmw-htp</i> (double tomb of Nj- <sup>c</sup> nh- <i>Hnmw</i> & <i>Hnmw-htp</i> )	<i>jmy-r3 jrw <sup>c</sup>nt pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jrw <sup>c</sup>nt nswt ; w<sup>c</sup>b Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; mh<sup>nk</sup> nswt ; mh<sup>nk</sup> nswt m jrwt <sup>c</sup>nt ; mh<sup>nk</sup> nswt mrrw nb.f ; mh<sup>nk</sup> nswt m k3wt jrwt <sup>c</sup>nt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m Šsp-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 ; hry-sšt3 mrrw nb.f ; hry-sšt3 n ntr.f mrrw nb.f ; šd jrw <sup>c</sup>nt pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	<i>Špss-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>msw.f</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; z3b zš</i>
		<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw-nds</i>	<i>z3.f</i>		<i>hm-k3</i>
		<i>Nfr-hw-Pth</i>			
		<i>K3.j-zbj</i>			<i>hm-k3 ; h<sup>c</sup>qw</i>
		<i>Hnmw-hzw.f</i>			<i>hm-k3</i>
		<i>Rwd-z3w.s</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>		
<i>S3b</i>	<i>jmy-r3 sšrw</i>	<i>Rdj-n-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>		
<i>S3bw / Jbbj</i>	<i>jmy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>bt ; jmy-r3 pr Zkr ; jmy-r3 hwt m swt nbt ; jmy-ht ; w<sup>c</sup>b Pth ; wr hrp hmwt ; wr hrp hmwt Wnjs ; wr hrp hmwt m prwy ; wr hrp hmwt r<sup>c</sup> n hb ; wr hrp hmwt db3t ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Pth ; hm-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnjs ; hm-ntr Zkr ; hm-ntr Dd-swt-Tij ; hry-sšt3 n ntr.f ; hrp hmwt ; hrp smw ; hrp smw mh<sup>nk</sup> nswt ; zš md3t št3 n wdt mdt</i>	<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>		<i>hry-hbt ; zš md3t ntr</i>
		<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z3.f</i>		
		<i>Pth-špss-km</i>	<i>z3.f</i>		<i>jmy-ht pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; hnty-š</i>
		<i>S3bw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>		<i>jmy-ht hmwt pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
		<i>... Pth</i>	<i>z3.f</i>		<i>...hm-ntr...</i>
		<i>Hm-jwnw(?)</i>	<i>z3.f</i>		<i>jmy-ht hmwt pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
<i>Sn-jt.f</i> (in the same tomb of K3-h3.j)	<i>jmy-r3 md w<sup>c</sup>b snwt pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r3 sjs wj3 ; jry-ht pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup> m wrw ; rh-nswt ;</i>	<i>Nj-k3w-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>		<i>šd hsww</i>
		<i>Špss-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f</i>		

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>ḥm-nṯr Mrt Šm<sup>c</sup>t Mḥt ; zš pr nswt ; šḥd n ḥsww</i>			
<i>Snfrw-jn-jšt.f</i> (No. 2 Dahshur)	<i>šḥd ḥntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	<i>Snfrw-jn-jšt.f</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>ḥnty-š</i>
		<i>Qdt.s</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Snḏm-jb / Bb-jb</i> (No. 11 [B13])	<i>jmy-r3 k3t ; wr 10 Šm<sup>c</sup> ; wršt Mnw ; rh-nswt ; ḥry-sqr ; ḥry-tp nswt ; z3b</i>	<i>Jstj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>ḥry-sqr ; z3b</i>
<i>Šḥm-k3</i> (north-west of D 62) <i>sn-ḏt</i>	<i>jmy-r3 ḥr nṯr ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; wḏ-mdw m3<sup>c</sup> ; Nj ḥry wḏb ; rh-nswt ; ḥm-nṯr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; ḥm-nṯr Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-nṯr R<sup>c</sup> Ḥwt-Ḥr m St-jb-r<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-nṯr Sd ; ḥm-nṯr Špss-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥry-sšt3 ; z3b r3 Nḥn n Ḥwt-wrt</i>	<i>Šḥm-k3(j)-šrj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-nswt ; z3b šḥd zš</i>
		<i>Q3j</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
		<i>Ḥnwt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Jntj</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Sšmw</i> (Lepsius LS 5)	<i>jmy-r3 jzty nṯr ; jmy-r3 ʿprwy n wj3wy ʿ3wy ; jmy-r3 pr ʿḥ3w ; jmy-r3 ḥrpw n nfrw ; jmy-r3 šnwty ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt n nswt ; ḥm-nṯr St-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥry-sšt3 ; ḥry-sšt3 n wḏt-mdw nt nswt ; ḥrp jzwt nṯr ; ḥtm-nṯr m wj3wy ʿ3wy ; šḥd w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; šḥd ḥm-nṯr</i>	name damaged	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
<i>Sšm-nfr / Jfj</i>	<i>jmy-r3 j<sup>c</sup>w nswt m swt.f nbt ; jmy-r3 j<sup>c</sup>w nswt nb ; jmy-r3 j<sup>c</sup>w-r3 nswt nb ddw pt qm3t t3 ; jmy-r3 ʿwy zmjw nbwt ; jmy-r3 st ḥntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r3 šn-t3 nb ; ḥry-tp ḏ3t ; ḥrp zh ; ḥrp zh pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; smr pr ; šḥd ḥntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; špss nswt ; qbh ḥwt-<sup>c3</sup>t</i>	name eligible	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>...pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
		<i>Ḥrfj</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Sts-Pth</i>	<i>jmy-r3 gs ; rh-nswt</i>	<i>D3y</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
<i>Špsj-pw-Pth</i>	<i>jmy-r3 prwy-ḥḏ ; jmy-r3 šwj pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jry nfr-ḥ3t ; ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; šḥd ḥm-nṯr Dd-swt-Ttj</i>	<i>J3rtj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>šḥd ḥm-k3 pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
		<i>R<sup>c</sup>-wr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>ḥry-ḥbt</i>
		<i>...3-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>ḥnty-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
<i>Q3r</i>	<i>jwn knmw ; jmy-r3 ḥwt-wrt ; jmy-r3 ḥwt-wrt 6 ;</i>	<i>Q3r</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>z3b</i>
		<i>Snḏm-jb</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>smsw ḥ3yt</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>jmy-ḥt ḥm-nṯr Dd-swt-Ttj ; mdw rḥyt ; nj nst ḥntt ; ḥm-nṯr Nfr-swt-Wnjs ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n wd<sup>c</sup>-mdw n ḥwt-wrt ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n ḥwt-wrt ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n ḥwt-wrt 6 ; ḥry-tp nswt ; z<sup>3</sup>b jry Nḥn ; z<sup>3</sup>b jry Nḥn m<sup>3</sup>c ; z<sup>3</sup>b <sup>c</sup>d-mr ; t<sup>3</sup>tyt<sup>3</sup> z<sup>3</sup>b t<sup>3</sup>ty</i>	<i>Jntj</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-ḥt ḥm-nṯr Dd-swt-Ttj ; ḥnty-š Dd-swt-Ttj ; z<sup>3</sup>b ; smsw ḥ<sup>3</sup>yt</i>
		<i>Tntj</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>b zš</i>
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-<sup>c</sup>pr(w)</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> ḥwt wrt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zš <sup>c</sup>w nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zšwj ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> k<sup>3</sup>t nbt nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> gs-pr ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; ḥ<sup>3</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n nswt ; ḥry-ḥbt ; ḥry-tp nswt</i>	<i>Jhy</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> gs-pr ; ḥry-tp nswt</i>
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-pw-R<sup>c</sup> (No. 22 [D 39])</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> pr-ḥd nḥnw ; jmy-ḥt pr-ḥd ; wr Bzt ; ḥm-nṯr Nfr-Jzzj ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> ; ḥkrt nswt ; zš sšr nswt n z<sup>3</sup> ; shd zš pr-ḥd</i>	name broken	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
<i>K<sup>3</sup>.j-m-ḥzt sn-dt Htp-k<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> qd ; wr jrt m t<sup>3</sup>-wr ; mdḥ qd nswt ; rḥ nswt ; ḥm-nṯr Sš<sup>3</sup>t ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; ḥwt ḥdt</i>	<i>Tn...wr</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	
		<i>Tntt</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f</i>	
<i>K<sup>3</sup>.j-m-snw</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> b<sup>c</sup>ḥt nt nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šnwt ; w<sup>c</sup>b Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b S<sup>3</sup>ḥw-R<sup>c</sup> ; rḥ-nswt ; ḥm-nṯr B<sup>3</sup>-Nfr-jr-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-nṯr Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-nṯr Nfr-ijr-k<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-nṯr R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-nṯr R<sup>c</sup> m St-jb-r<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-nṯr Ḥwt-Ḥr m st-ijb-r<sup>c</sup> ; ḥry-tp šnwt</i>	<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-m-qd</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> pr-ḥd ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> sšr nswt ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt</i>	<i>Whmt-nfrit</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.s</i>	
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(.j)-m-tntt</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šn<sup>c</sup> ; rḥ-nswt ; z<sup>3</sup>b ; smsw whrt</i>	<i>Wsjr-M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup></i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Jjj</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f</i>	
		<i>Wrt-k<sup>3</sup>(.j)</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f</i>	
		<i>K<sup>3</sup>w-t<sup>3</sup>nt</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.s</i>	
		<i>Pth-wn.s</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.s</i>	
<i>K<sup>3</sup>.j-d<sup>3</sup>w</i>		<i>Pth-špss</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>b zš</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	$w^c b$ nswt ; $rh$ -nswt ; zwnw ; $shd$ zwnw	$Mry.s-^c nh$ $Hmt-R^c$	$z3t.f mrt.f$ $z3t.f$	$hm-k3$
$K3-h3.j$ $sn-dt$	$jwh rhjt$ ; $jmy-r3$ $hsww$ $prwy$ ; $w^c m$ $wrw$ $hsww$ $dt$ ; $mdt nfrt n nb.f$ ; $rh$ - nswt ; $hm-ntr$ $Mrt Sm^c t$ ; $hrp mdt nfrt$ ; $hrp$ $hsww$ ; $shd$ $hsww$	$Jhj$ $Wr-b3w$ $Sn-jt.f$ $Snt-jt.s$		$rh$ -nswt ; $shd$ $hsww$ $rh$ -nswt ; $shd$ $hsww$ $rh$ -nswt ; $z3$ $pr-^c q$ ; $shd$ $hsww$ $mjtrt$
$K3-hr-st.f$	$z3$ $wdw$ $^c w$ $nw$ nswt ; $z3$ $pr-md3t$	$S^c nh-n.f$ $Nbw-h^c.s$ $Ztw$ $k3-hr-st.f$ $Nj-^c nh-Pth$ $Df3-Snfrw$ $Nbw-dw3t$ (female) $Hzt-wrt$ (female) $Nbw-hntt$ (female) $Nbw-jrt$ (female) $Wtw-t-k3$ (female)	$z3.f$ $z3t.f$ $msw.f$	
$K3-hzw.f$ (Abusir South, possible son of $Nfr-Jnpw$ )	$jmy-r3$ $jp3t$ nswt ; $jmy-r3$ $jr-^c nt pr-^c3$ ; $jmy-r3$ $hkrw$ nswt $nb st3$ ; $jmy-r3$ $shmh-$ $jb n$ nswt ; $jrj-nfr$ $h3t$ ; $smr w^c ty$ ; $shd sm Pth$	$K3-hzw-n.f$ / $Tnfw$	$z3.f smsw mry.f$	$jrj ^c nt pr-^c3$ ; $shd hm-k3$
$K3-gm-nj$ / $mmj$ / $gmj$	$jmy-jz$ $Nhn$ ; $jmy-r3$ $jzwy n$ $hkrw$ nswt ; $jmy-r3$ $w^c wbtj$ ; $jmy-r3$ $wdt-mdt$ $nbt nt$ nswt ; $jmy-r3$ $pr.wj$ $nbw$ ; $jmy-r3$ $prwy-hd$ ; $jmy-r3$ $hwt$ $^c3t 6$ ; $jmy-r3$ $z3$ $^c w$ $nw$ nswt ; $jmy-r3$ $sdmt$ $nb$ ; $jmy-r3$ $Sm^c w Mhw$ ; $jmy-r3$ $snwtj$ ; $jry-p^c t$ ; $jry$ $nfr-h3t$ ; $^c d-mr$ $Hr-st3w-$ $hnty-pt$ ; $h3ty-^c$ ; $hry-sst3 n$ $wpwt st3wt$ ; $hry-sst3 n$ $m33 w^c$ ; $hry-sst3 n mdw$ $ntr$ ; $hry-tp$ $Nhb$ ; $hrp$	$Ttj-^c nh$ $K3-gm-nj$ (erased) name not inscribed	$z3.f$ $z3.f$ $z3.f$	$^c d-mr$ ; $z3b$ $z3b z3$



Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>ḥwwt Nt ḥdt ; ḥrp šndyt nbt ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp ; ḥry sd3t ; ḥry-tp nswt ; sm ; smr wꜥty ; shd ḥm-nṯr Dd-swt-Ttj ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>			
<i>Gm-nj</i>		<i>Jpj-ḥnh</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f ḥz.f ; nj st jb.f</i>	
<i>Ggj</i> (Abusir South, West of the tomb of Fetekty)	<i>ḥnty-š</i>	<i>H3</i>	<i>z3 smsw</i>	
<i>Tp-m-ḥnh</i> (D11)	<i>jwn smsw Jnpw ; jmy-r3 ḥryw sd3t ; jry ʿw nw nswt pr-ḥ3 ; jry-ḥt pr-ḥ3 ; jry sšr pr-ḥ3 ; wꜥb Ntry-Mn-k3w-Rc ; wꜥb Hc-b3-S3ḥw-Rc ; wꜥb Hc-Snfrw ; wꜥb Swt-wꜥbw-Wsr-k3.f ; ḥm-nṯr Jnpw zh-nṯr ; ḥm-nṯr W3dt ; ḥm-nṯr M3ct ; ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3w-Rc m ḥnw ; ḥm-nṯr Nḥn-Rc ; ḥm-nṯr Hwt-Hr ; ḥm-nṯr Hr Nḥn-Rc ; ḥm-nṯr Hwfw ; ḥm-nṯr Sšt3 ; ḥry-sšt3 ; ḥtm md3t-nṯr pr-ḥ3 ; ḥrp jry md3t nbw ; ḥtm md3t nṯr pr-ḥ3 ; shd ḥtm pr-md3t nṯr</i>	<i>ḥnh-m-ḥ-nṯr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Hm-Mnw</i>	<i>z3.f smsw ; z3.s</i>	<i>ḥtm ...</i>
		<i>Tp-m-nfr</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	
		<i>Hm...</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	
		<i>Htp-ḥr-Nbty</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	
		<i>Hmt-3ḥt</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	
		<i>Hnwt</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	
<i>Ttj-ḥnh</i> (in the tomb of <i>Jris</i> / <i>Jjj</i> )	<i>jmy-r3 st ḥntyw-š ; ḥnty-š Dd-swt-Ttj ; smr pr ; špss nswt</i>	<i>Jdy</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	
<i>Ty</i> (No. 60 [D 22])	<i>jmy-r3 jc-r nswt ; jmy-r3 jc-r nswt nb ; jmy-r3 ʿb nb ; jmy-r3 B3-Nfr-jr-k3-Rc ; jmy-r3 pr ; jmy-r3 phw ; jmy-r3 Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-Rc ; jmy-r3 hwt-jḥwt ; jmy-r3 ḥm-nṯr B3-Nfr-jr-k3-Rc ; jmy-r3 ḥm-k3 ; jmy-r3 htp-Rc ; jmy-r3 hrwt ; jmy-r3 ḥkrw nswt ; jmy-r3 ḥkrw nswt nb ;</i>	<i>Ty</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 zš ; rh-nswt</i>
		<i>Dmd</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 zš ; rh-nswt ; shd jrwn pr-ḥ3</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>jmy-r³ zš ; jmy-r³ zš ʿw nw nswt ; jmy-r³ Šht-Rᶜ ; jmy-r³ St-jb-Rᶜ ; jmy-r³ šn-t³ nb ; jmy-r³ k³t nbt nswt ; jry md³t ; jry nfr-ḥ³t ; ʿd-mr Hr-sb³-ḥnty-pt ; wr jdt ; rh nswt ; ḥm-ntr hr jnpw ḥnty pr-šmwt ; ḥm-ntr Hr km³-ᶜ ; ḥm-k³ ; hry-sšt³ ; hry-sšt³ n wdᶜ-mdw n nswt ; hry-sšt³ n pr-dw³t ; hry-sšt³ n mdw-ntr ; hry-sšt³ n mdw št³ n mdw ntr ; hry-sšt³ nswt m st.f nbt ; hry-tp Nḥb ; hrp jr-w-šn ; hrp jr-w-šn pr-ᶜ³ ; hrp jr-w-šn nswt ; hrp ʿh ; hrp mhḥkw nswt ; hry-ḥbt ; z³b šḥd zš ; zš ³pdw ; zš ʿw nw nswt ; zš ʿprw, zš pr-md³t ntr ; zš pr-ḥd ; zš pr-šnᶜ ; zš md³t-ntr ; zš hry-ᶜ nswt ; smr wᶜty ; smr wᶜty ny mrwt ; šḥd ḥmw-ntr Rᶜ m St-jb-Rᶜ ; šḥd ḥmw-k³ ; šḥd sšw ʿw nswt ; šḥd sšw ʿprw</i>	<i>Bw-n-k³</i>	<i>z³.f mry.f</i>	
		name not inscribed	<i>z³.f mry.f</i>	
<i>Tsmw</i> (sn-ḏt of Pth-ḥtp, lintel found in the tomb of Hmt-Rᶜ)	<i>jmy-r³ wpt ; jmy-ḥt pr-ᶜ³ ; wᶜb Nfr-swt-Wnjs ; Pth-ḥtp sn-ḏt.f ; šḥd pr-ᶜ³</i>	<i>Snḏm-jb</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	<i>jmy-r³ wpt pr-ᶜ³</i>
<i>Ttj / K³-jn-n.j</i> (north-west of Teti Pyramid)	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmy-r³ swt špss pr-ᶜ³ ; mdw rhyt ; ḥm-ntr nswt ; hry-tp nswt ; hry-tp nswt pr-ᶜ³</i>	<i>Ttj</i>	<i>z³.f mry.f</i>	
<i>Tttw / Jnw-Mnw</i> (north of Teti Pyramid)	<i>jmy-r³ mdt sšt³ nt r³ n ᶜ³ ḥ³st ; jmy-r³ ḥntyw-š ; jmy-r³ st ḥntyw-š pr-ᶜ³ ; ḥm-ntr Dd-swt-Ttj ; hry-</i>	<i>Jn-jt.f</i>	<i>z³.f smsw</i>	<i>wr jdt ; hry-ḥbt ; špss-nswt</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designations of Children	Titles of Children
	<i>sšt3 ; hry-sšt3 n nswt m mdt-mdw nbt r n 3 h3st ; hry-sšt3 n nswt m mdt-mdw nbt š3t nt r 3 h3st ; hnty-š Dd-swt-Ttj ; hry-hbt ; hry-tp nswt pr-3 ; smr w3ty ; smr pr ; špss nswt</i>	<i>Ttj-3nh</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>wr jdt ; hry-hbt</i>
<i>Dw3-Rc</i>	<i>jmy-r3 Hwt-jhwt ; jmy-r3 Hc-Snfrw-rsj ; jmy-r3 k3t n nswt ; 3d-mr Hr-sb3w-hnty-pt ; wr 10 Šm3c ; rh-nswt ; hry-sšt3 ; hry-sšt3 n nb.f ; hrp w3b</i>	<i>3nh-m-3-Rc</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 Hc-Snfrw-rsj ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr ; hry-sšt3 ; hrp w3b nswt ; hrp hm-ntr</i>
<i>Df-3w (D 25)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 jz-nswt ; jmy-r3 prwy-nbw ; jmy-r3 prwy-hd ; jmy-r3 pr-hd ; jmy-r3 pr-hd n hnw ; jmy-r3 swt-3f3w ; jmy-r3 s3r nswt ; wr Bzt ; wt ; hm-ntr [...] ; hm-ntr W3dt ; hry-sšt3 ; z3 n hrt-3 n swt</i>	<i>Šhm-Pth</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; šhd z3 pr-hd</i>
		<i>Wnn-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-ht pr-hd ; rh-nswt</i>
		<i>Šhm-k3-Hr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>z3 pr-hd</i>
		<i>Rc-m-k3</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>z3</i>

Table II.1.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Children	Designation of Children	Titles of Children
name lost (Deir el-Gabrawi No.N95)		<i>Jzj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f ( ? )</i>	<i>hry-hbt ; smr w3ty</i>
		<i>Httj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	
<i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No.S8)	<i>jmy-jb n nswt m st.f nbt ; jmy-jz ; jmy-3 ; jmy-r3 wpwt ; jmy-r3 wpwt htpt-ntr m prwy ; jmy-r3 prwy-hd ; jmy-r3 z3wj ; jmy-r3 Šm3w ; jmy-r3 Šm3w m3c ; jmy-r3 šnwtj ; jmy-ht hm-ntr Mn-3nh-Nfr-k3-Rc ; jry-p3t ; 3 Dw3w ; 3d-mr</i>	<i>D3w</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>hq3 hwt ; htntj-bjty ; hry-tp 3 Dw.f (U.E. 12) ; smr w3ty</i>
		<i>Hwj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f hzy.f</i>	<i>hq3 hwt ; hry-hbt ; smr w3ty</i>
		<i>Jbj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>hq3 hwt ; hry-hbt ; smr w3ty</i>

	<i>Hr-sb3w-hntj-pt ; wr m j3t.f smsw s<sup>c</sup>h.f ; mnjw Nhn ; mdw Hp ; nj mrwt ; r3 P nb ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> ; hwtj-<sup>c3</sup> ; hry-sšt3 ; hry-tp <sup>c3</sup> T3-wr ; hry-tp <sup>c3</sup> Dw.f (U.E. 12) ; hry-tp Nhb ; hq3 B3t ; hq3 hwt ; hq3 hwt m3<sup>c</sup> ; hq3 hwt Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; hw-<sup>c</sup> ; hrp j3t nbt ntr ; hrp jbtjw Hr ; hrp jmjw ntrw ; hrp nstj ; hrp h3ts km ; hrp hwwt Nt ; hrp šndt nbt ; htm bjty ; htm bjty m3<sup>c</sup> ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; hry-tp nswt ; zš mđ3t ntr ; sm ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty m3<sup>c</sup> ; smsw snwt ; šd hm-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; q...wr hntt</i>	<i>Jbj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>D<sup>c</sup>w</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Jdj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Thyt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>hkrt nswt ; špst nswt</i>
		<i>Mrt-jb</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>špst nswt</i>
		<i>Hnwt / Hnwtj</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt</i>	<i>hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt ; špst nswt</i>
		<i>Srdyt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt</i>
<i>Jzj / Hm-R<sup>c</sup> (Deir el-Gabrawi No.N46)</i>	<i>hry-sšt3 n htm-ntr m J3kmt ; hry-tp <sup>c3</sup> Dw.f (U.E. 12) ; htm-ntr ; hry-hbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Httj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Httj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
<i>Nb-jb (Deir el-Gabrawi No.N38)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hntyw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r3 sšr n htm-ntr ; hry-sšt3 n htm-ntr m J3kmt</i>	<i>Z3-n-rht.f</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	
		<i>Hrw-nb.f-wj</i>	<i>z3.f (?)</i>	
<i>Hnqw I / Httj (Deir el-Gabrawi No.N39)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 ; hry-tp <sup>c3</sup> ; hry-tp <sup>c3</sup> Dw.f (U.E. 12) ; hrp j3t nbt ; hrp šndt nbt ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; zš mđ3t-ntr ; sm ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smsw snwt</i>	<i>Jmpty</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>smr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Hnqw</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	
		<i>Hm-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>?</i>	
		<i>Httj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	
		<i>Šf3w</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt ; zš gs-dpt</i>
<i>Hnqw II / Jj...f (Deir el-Gabrawi No.N67)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 njwt mr ; jmy-r3 zš <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; jry-hbt hry-tp ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry-tp <sup>c3</sup> Dw.f (U.E. 12) ; hrp šndt nbt ; hry-hbt ; sm ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smsw snwt ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Jzj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Tmy</i>	<i>z3 / f smsw mry.f</i>	

<i>Hm-R<sup>c</sup> / Jzj</i> (Deir el- Gabrawi No.N72)	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> njwt mr ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hm-ntr [M3tjt ?] ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hm-ntr Nmtj ; jry- p<sup>c</sup>t ; <sup>c</sup>3 Dw3w ; <sup>c</sup>d-mr Hr- sb3-hnty-pt ; wr 10 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; mdw rhyt ; nj-nst-hntt ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 n htm-ntr m J3kmt ; hry-sšt3 n htm- ntr m prw nw M<sup>c</sup>m ; hry- sšt3 Dw.f (U.E. 12) ; hrp šndt nbt ; htm-ntr ; hry- hbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; hry- tp nswt ; z3b <sup>c</sup>d-mr ; sm ; smsw snwt ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Nj-sw-qd</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>mdw rhyt ; hry-tp nswt pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>
		name not preserved	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	
<i>D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3j</i> (Deir el- Gabrawi No.S12)	<i>jmy-jb n nb.f ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy-hd ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zšwj ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> Šm<sup>c</sup>w m3<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šnwj ; jmy-ht hm-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh- Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b 200 Mn- <sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> ; hwtj-<sup>c</sup>3t ; hry- tp <sup>c</sup>3 T3-wr ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>3 Dw.f (U.E. 12) ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>3 Dw.f (U.E. 12) m3<sup>c</sup> ; hq3 hwt ; hq3 hwt m3<sup>c</sup> ; hnty-š Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; hrp šndt nbt ; htm bjty ; hry- hbt ; hry-hbt m3<sup>c</sup> ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; sm ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty m3<sup>c</sup> ; shd hm-ntr m3<sup>c</sup> Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; shd hm-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr- k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>D<sup>c</sup>w</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f ; z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-ht hm-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr- k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>3 Dw.f (U.E. 12) ; hq3 hwt ; hry-hbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		? Jd	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>hq3 hwt</i>
		? name lost	<i>z3.f</i>	
<i>D<sup>c</sup>w</i> (son of <i>D<sup>c</sup>w</i> / <i>Šm3j</i> , Deir el- Gabrawi No.S12)	<i>jmy-jb n nb.f m3<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy-hd ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hm-ntr ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hntyw-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; jmy- r<sup>3</sup> hnw ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zšwj ; jmy- r<sup>3</sup> Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> Šm<sup>c</sup>w m3<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šnwj ; jmy-ht hm-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; <sup>c</sup>3 Dw3w ; mnjw Nhn ; mdw Hp ; nj hwt <sup>c</sup>3t ; r3 P nb ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hwtj- <sup>c</sup>3t ; hry-sšt3 n sdmt w<sup>c</sup>t m r3-<sup>c</sup>3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>3 T3-</i>	<i>Jbj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>hq3 hwt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Jbj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>hq3 hwt</i>
		<i>nh.s-Ppy</i>	<i>z3t.f mry.f</i>	<i>hkrt nswt</i>

	<i>wr</i> ; <i>hry-tp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>Dw.f</i> (U.E. 12) ; <i>hry-tp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>Dw.f</i> (U.E. 12) <i>m</i> <sup>3c</sup> ; <i>hry-tp Nh</i> <sup>b</sup> ; <i>hq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>B</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>t</i> ; <i>hq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>hwt</i> ; <i>hw</i> - <sup>c</sup> ; <i>hrp j</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>wt nbt n</i> <sup>r</sup> <i>tr</i> ; <i>hrp jbt</i> <sup>t</sup> <i>jw Hr</i> ; <i>hrp jm</i> <sup>j</sup> <i>w n</i> <sup>r</sup> <i>rw</i> ; <i>hrp nstj</i> ; <i>hrp hwwt Nt</i> ; <i>hrp šndt nbt</i> ; <i>htm bjty</i> ; <i>hry-hbt</i> ; <i>hry-hbt hry-tp</i> ; <i>zš m</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>3t n</i> <sup>r</sup> ; <i>sm</i> ; <i>smr w</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>ty</i> ; <i>smsw snwt</i>			
<i>Jdw I</i> (Dendera)	<i>jmy-jz</i> ; <i>jmy-r</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>w sp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>t</i> ; <i>jmy-r</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>Šm</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>w</i> ; <i>jmy-r</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>Šm</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>w n bw m</i> <sup>3c</sup> ; <i>nj nst hntt</i> ; <i>hry-sš</i> <sup>t</sup> <i>3 jnt r sp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>t</i> ; <i>hry-sš</i> <sup>t</sup> <i>3 m</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>3t n mdw-n</i> <sup>r</sup> <i>tr</i> ; <i>hry-sš</i> <sup>t</sup> <i>3 n mdt nbt</i> ; <i>hry-tp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>n sp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>t</i> ; <i>hq</i> <sup>3</sup> - <i>hwt</i> ; <i>hq</i> <sup>3</sup> - <i>hwt Mn</i> - <sup>c</sup> <i>nh-Mry-R</i> <sup>c</sup> ; <i>hq</i> <sup>3</sup> - <i>hwt Mn</i> - <sup>c</sup> <i>nh-Nfr-k</i> <sup>3</sup> - <i>R</i> <sup>c</sup> ; <i>htm bjty</i> ; <i>hry-hbt</i> ; <i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>b</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>d-mr</i> ; <i>špss nswt</i> ; <i>Šm</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>10 wr</i> ; <i>smr w</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>ty</i>	<i>T</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>tw</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f mry.f</i>	<i>hq</i> <sup>3</sup> - <i>hwt</i> ; <i>htm bjty</i> ; <i>hry-hbt</i> ; <i>smr w</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>ty</i>
		<i>Jdw</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f mry</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i> ; <i>zš gs-dpt</i>
<i>Jttj / Šdw</i> (Deshasha)	<i>jmy-r</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>3ht</i> ; <i>jmy-r</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>sm nb rnpj</i> ; <i>jmy-r</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>šnt</i> ; <i>mdw rhjt</i> ; <i>hq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>hwt</i> ; <i>hrp zhn</i>	<i>Nnj / Dd.f-htp</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>hq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>hwt</i> ; <i>smr w</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>ty</i>
		<i>H</i> <sup>3</sup> - <i>n-Sbk</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f</i>	
		<i>Mry</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f mrt.f</i>	<i>hmt-n</i> <sup>r</sup> <i>tr Hwt-Hr</i> ; <i>špst nswt</i>
<i>Jzj</i> (Edfu)	<sup>c</sup> <i>d-mr</i> ; <i>wr 10 Šm</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>w</i> ; <i>hq</i> <sup>3</sup> - <i>hwt</i> ; <i>hry-tp nswt</i> ; <i>zš nswt j</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>h</i> ; <i>smr w</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>ty</i>	<i>Hr-nht</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f mry.f</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt pr</i> - <sup>c</sup> <i>3</i>
<i>Q</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>r / Mry-R</i> <sup>c</sup> - <i>nfr</i> (Edfu, M V of Garnot)	<i>jmy-r</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>wpwt nbt nt nswt</i> ; <i>jmy-r</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>hntyw-š pr</i> - <sup>c</sup> <i>3</i> ; <i>wr m</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>šm</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>w rh nswt</i> ; <i>m</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>hw zš nswt</i> ; <i>hry-sš</i> <sup>t</sup> <i>3 n mdt nbt š</i> <sup>t</sup> <i>t m r</i> - <sup>c</sup> <i>3 n 3bw</i> ; <i>hry-tp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>n sp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>t</i> ; <i>hntjt hry-tp nswt pr</i> - <sup>c</sup> <i>3 m</i> <sup>3c</sup> ; <i>hry-hbt</i> ; <i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>b</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>d-mr nj nst</i> ; <i>smr w</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>ty</i>	<i>Jzj</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f mry.f</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>
		<i>Jzj</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f smsw</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt pr</i> - <sup>c</sup> <i>3</i> ; <i>hq</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>hwt</i>
		<i>Q</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>r</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f</i>	<i>hry-hbt pr-dt</i>
		<i>Hr-htp...</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>
		<i>Q</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>r / Jn-jt.f</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f mry.f</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>
		<i>Ppy</i> - <sup>c</sup> <i>nh</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f smsw</i>	<i>smr w</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>ty</i>
		<i>Hww</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f</i>	<i>smr</i>
		<i>Ppy-m-h</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>t</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f</i>	<i>smr</i>
		<i>Ppy</i> - <sup>c</sup> <i>nh-m-Mn-nfr</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f</i>	<i>smr w</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>ty</i>
		<i>Jz</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>f</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i>
		<i>Twj</i>	<i>z</i> <sup>3</sup> . <i>t</i>	

<sup>c</sup> <i>n-nhj</i> (El-Hagarsa B13)	<i>jmy-r³ h³st nt... ; jmy-r³ šn<sup>c</sup>w ; hq³ hwt ; htm bjty ; hry-tp nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Jwfw</i>	<i>z³.f smsw mry</i>	<i>jmy-r³ hntyw-š pr-<sup>c</sup>³ ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>...j</i>	<i>z³.f mry</i>	<i>jmy-r³ ... ; jmy-r³ ... ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Mrj</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	<i>rht-nswt</i>
<i>Mry II</i> (El-Hagarsa C2)	<i>hry-tp nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Dšr</i>	<i>z³.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>smr</i>
		<i>Sppj</i>	<i>z³.f mry.f</i>	<i>smr</i>
		<i>Nny</i>	<i>z³.f (?)</i>	
		<i>Dmj</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>
		<i>Hny</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	
		<i>Jb<sup>c</sup>b<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z³t.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Tftw</i>	<i>z³t.f mrt.f</i>	
		<i>J³zt</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
<i>Mry-<sup>c</sup>³</i> (El-Hagarsa D18)	<i>h³ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry-hbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Nnw ms n Nfr-tntt</i>	<i>z³.f smsw</i>	<i>h³ty-<sup>c</sup></i>
		<i>Nnw ms n Nhj</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	
		<i>Nnw ms n Wntšj</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	
		<i>J³z</i>	<i>z³.k</i>	
		<i>Nnw ms n Hsyt</i>	<i>z³t.f smswt</i>	
		<i>Bbj</i>	<i>snt.s</i> (referring to <i>Nnw ms n Hsyt</i> )	
		<i>Šm<sup>c</sup>t ms n Nfr-tntt</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
		<i>Dbn</i>	<i>snt.s</i> (referring to <i>Šm<sup>c</sup>t ms n Nfr-tntt</i> )	
		<i>Šm<sup>c</sup>t ms n Nhj</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
		<i>Šm<sup>c</sup>t</i>	<i>snt.s</i> (referring to <i>Šm<sup>c</sup>t ms n Nhj</i> )	
		<i>Šm<sup>c</sup>t ms n Tp-pw</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
		<i>Šm<sup>c</sup>t ms n Nfr-tntt</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
<i>Nfrt-hr</i> (El-Hagarsa A6)	<i>jmy-r³ šnwt ; htm</i>	<i>Nfr-Jnpw</i>	<i>msw</i>	
		<i>Hnmw-htp</i>		
		<i>Nfrt-hr</i> (female)		
		<i>Jyt-nfr</i> (female)		

		<i>Th̄t...t</i> (female)		
		<i>...h̄...</i> (female)		
		<i>Nf̄rt</i> (female)		
<i>Sbk-nfr</i> (El-Hagarsa B18)	<i>jmy-r³ hm-n̄tr</i> ; <i>h̄tm bjty</i> ; <i>smr w̄ty</i>	<i>Q̄r</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	<i>smr w̄ty</i>
		<i>Jdj</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	<i>jmy-r³ hm-n̄tr</i> ; <i>smr w̄ty</i>
		<i>Nj-h̄b-sd-Ppy</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	<i>smr w̄ty</i>
		<i>Mjw</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
		name lost	<i>z³t.f</i>	
		name lost	<i>z³t.s</i>	
<i>K³(j)-m-nf̄rt</i> (El-Hagarsa A3)	<i>jmy-r³ nswtyw</i> ; <i>w̄b nswt</i> ; <i>rh̄-nswt</i> ; <i>hq³ hwt-<sup>c</sup>t</i>	name lost	<i>z³.s</i>	
<i>K³(j)-h̄nt</i> (El-Hammamiya A2)	<i>jmy-r³ ḥ</i> ; <i>jmy-r³ wpt</i> ; <i>jmy-r³ nswtjw</i> ; <i>jmy-r³ z³w Šm<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>jmy-r³ k³t nbt m sp³wt h̄rywt-jb Šm<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>jmy-r³ k³t nswt</i> ; <i>wr m̄d Šm<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>rh̄-nswt</i> ; <i>hq³ hwt-<sup>c</sup>t</i> ; <i>h̄rp ḥ</i> ; <i>z³ nswt n h̄t.f</i> (chiseled out)	<i>R<sup>c</sup>-h̄tp</i>	<i>z³.f mry.f</i>	<i>rh̄-nswt</i> ; <i>z³b zš jry spr</i>
		<i>K³(j)-rs</i>	<i>z³.f mry</i>	<i>zš</i>
		<i>Nf̄rt-k³w</i>	<i>z³t.f mrt.f</i>	
<i>K³(j)-h̄nt</i> (El-Hammamiya A3)	<i>jmy-r³ ḥ</i> ; <i>jmy-r³ wpt</i> ; <i>jmy-r³ nswtjw</i> ; <i>jmy-r³ z³w Šm<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>jmy-r³ k³t m sp³wt h̄rywt-jb Šm<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>w̄b nswt</i> ; <i>wr m̄d Šm<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>rh̄-nswt</i> ; <i>h̄ry-tp <sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>hq³ hwt-<sup>c</sup>t</i> ; <i>sšm-t³ m w³d̄t</i>	<i>Jwn-k³</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	
		<i>Sh̄m-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z³.f</i>	
		<i>K³(j)-h̄nt</i>	<i>z³.f</i>	
		<i>Jwff</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
		<i>Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>n̄h</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
		<i>H̄tp-h̄r.s</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
		<i>H̄rdt</i>	<i>z³t.f</i>	
<i><sup>c</sup>n̄hw</i> (El-Hawawish M21)	<i>jmy-r³ njwwt m³h̄t</i> ; <i>rh̄-nswt</i>	<i>Nj-sw-qd</i>	<i>z³.f smsw</i>	
<i>B³wj</i> (El-Hawawish CG 20504)	<i>sh̄d hm-n̄tr</i>	<i>Mnj-km</i>	<i>z³.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Mrt-Mnw</i>	<i>z³t mrt.f</i>	
<i>B³wj</i> (El-Hawawish BA 48)	<i>jmy-r³ wpwt h̄tpt-n̄tr m prwy</i> ; <i>h̄ry-tp nswt</i> ; <i>smr w̄ty</i>	<i>Mr( ?)-Mnw</i>	<i>z³.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>h̄ry-tp nswt</i> ; <i>smr w̄ty</i>
		name not preserved	<i>z³.f mry.f</i>	
		name not preserved	<i>z³.f mry.f</i>	
<i>Mmj</i>	<i>jmy-r³ wpt mrt ³h̄t m prwy</i> ; <i>h³ty-<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>h̄tm bjty</i> ; <i>h̄ry-tp nswt</i> ; <i>smr w̄ty</i>	<i>Ppy-snb / Snj / Ty</i>	<i>z³.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r³ wpt</i> ; <i>h³ty-<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>h̄tm bjty</i> ; <i>h̄ry-tp</i>



(El-Hawawish B12)				<i>nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
<i>Mnw-m-h<sup>3</sup>t</i> (El-Hawawish Pushkin Museum I.1.a.5567)	<i>nst hntt ; hrp ; hry-tp nswt ; z<sup>3</sup>b <sup>c</sup>d-mr</i>	<i>Nfr-jbd</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>
<i>Nbj</i> (El-Hawawish Louvre C 234)		<i>Snj</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>sh<sup>d</sup> zš qdwt</i>
<i>Nhwt-dšr / Mry</i> (El-Hawawish G95)	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hm-ntr ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n sd<sup>3</sup>wt-ntr ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>3 n sp<sup>3</sup>t ; htm bjty ; ht Mnw ; sm<sup>3</sup> Mnw ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Špss-pw-Mnw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>hry-tp <sup>c</sup>3 n sp<sup>3</sup>t ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Špss-pw-Mnw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	<i>mtj-z<sup>3</sup></i>
		<i>Ttj</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	<i>smr ; sh<sup>d</sup> hm-ntr</i>
		<i>Mry...</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	
		<i>...name lost</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	<i>mtj-z<sup>3</sup></i>
		<i>...name lost</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	<i>sh<sup>d</sup> hm-ntr Mnw</i>
		<i>Shjht</i>	broken, possibly <i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f</i>	
		<i>Jm<sup>3</sup>t</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.f</i>	<i>rht-nswt</i>
<i>Hm-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish M43)	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hwt-wrt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; wr 10 Šm<sup>c</sup> ; w<sup>d</sup> mdw n hry w<sup>d</sup>b ; nj nst hntt ; hm-ntr M<sup>3</sup>t ; z<sup>3</sup>b <sup>c</sup>d-mr</i>	<i>Mnw-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	
<i>Hzy-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish M22)	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> z<sup>3</sup>w Šm<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> k<sup>3</sup>t nt nswt ; wr 10 Šm<sup>c</sup> ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Mnw ; s...-nswt</i>	<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Mnw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw</i>	<i>hm-ntr Mnw</i>
		<i>Nb-<sup>c</sup>nh-Mnw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
		<i>Ntrj-rn-Mnw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
		<i>Nfr-s...-Mnw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
<i>Hzy-Mnw / Zzj / Dwdy</i> (El-Hawawish F1)	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wpt <sup>3</sup>ht mrt m prwy ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wpt m prwy ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wpt htpt-ntr m prwy ; hry-tp nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Zzj / Hsy-Mnw</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f smsw (?)</i>	<i>hq<sup>3</sup> hrt-ntr ; hry-tp nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; sh<sup>d</sup> hm-k<sup>3</sup></i>
		<i>B<sup>3</sup>wj</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zš ; zš <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt hft hr</i>
		<i>M...</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> jzwt ; zš pr</i>
		<i>Hsy-Mnw / ?</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry</i>	

		<i>T...</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>zš pr</i>
		<i>...tn...</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	
<i>Špss-pw-Mnw / Hnj / Hn<sup>c</sup>nḥw / Hn<sup>c</sup>nḥ</i> (El-Hawawish H24)	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmy-jz ; jmy-r3 ḥm-nṯr ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w m sp3wt ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w m sp3wt mḥtjt ; jry nfr-ḥ3t ; jt Mnw ; <sup>c</sup>d-mr Dp sb3 Hr ḥnty pt ; mnjw Nḥn ; mdw-rḥyt ; ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥry-tp <sup>c</sup>3 ; ḥry-tp Nḥn ; ḥrp m nṯrw ; ḥrp šndt nbt ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥt Mnw ; ḥry-ḥbt ; ḥkr Mnw ; sm ; sm3 Mnw ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Ttj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 ḥm-nṯr ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥt Mnw ; sm3 Mnw ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Ttj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f ; z3.s mry.s</i>	<i>smr ; šd ḥm-nṯr</i>
		<i>Shjht</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	<i>ḥkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt</i>
		<i>Hny</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	<i>ḥkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt</i>
<i>Q3r / Ppy-nfr</i> (El-Hawawish L31)	<i>ḥm-nṯr Mnw ; ḥry-sšt3 n ḥtm-nṯr ; ḥt-Mnw ; ḥry-ḥbt ; ḥry-tp nswt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; šd ḥm-nṯr Mnw</i>	<i>Mnw-nn</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>R...</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>...tst...</i>	<i>z3...</i>	
<i>Qrrj</i> (El-Hawawish Q15)	<i>ḥry-tp nswt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; šd ḥm-nṯr</i>	<i>H<sup>c</sup>.f-Mnw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
<i>K3(j)-ḥp / Ttj-jqr</i> (El-Hawawish H26)	<i>jmy-r3 jt Šm<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r3 ḥm-nṯr ; jmy-r3 šnwtj n ḥtp-nṯr ; jt Mnw ; mḥ jb n nswt m pr-Mnw ; ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥry-tp <sup>c</sup>3 ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥt Mnw ; ḥry-ḥbt ; ḥkr Mnw ; sm3 Mnw ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Hnj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 jt Šm<sup>c</sup> ; ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥtm bjty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>...f</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
<i>Gḥs3 / Nby</i> (El-Hawawish GA 11)	<i>jmy-r3 wpwt ; jmy-r3 wpwt 3ḥt mrt ; ḥry-tp nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>B3wj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>ḥry-tp nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
<i>Ttj</i> (El-Hawawish, Field Museum 31700, Chicago)	<i>jmy-r3 ḥm-nṯr ; ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥry-ḥbt ; sm3 Mnw ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Hn<sup>c</sup>-nḥw</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 ḥm-nṯr ; sm3 Mnw ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Špss-pw-Mnw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Hmt-pw-nṯrw</i>	<i>z3t.f smsw</i>	

<i>Ttj</i> / <i>K3.f-hp</i> (El-Hawawish M8)	<i>jmy-r3 jpt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 jt šm<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>jmy-r3 prwy hḏ</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 ḥm-ntr</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 šḥmh-jb</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 šnwtj nt htpt-ntr</i> ; <i>jry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> ; <i>jry nfr ḥ3t</i> ; <i>jt Mnw</i> ; <i>3 Dw3w</i> ; <i>w<sup>c</sup> wrw špntjw</i> ; <i>wr 5</i> ; <i>wr m3w</i> ; <i>wḏ mdw n ḥry wḏb</i> ; <i>rḥ tp w3t nfrt</i> ; <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>ḥry-sšt3 n ḥtm-ntr</i> ; <i>ḥry-tp 3 n Hnt-Mnw</i> ; <i>ḥq3 B3t</i> ; <i>ḥ3j</i> ; <i>ḥw<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>ḥrp Mnw</i> ; <i>ḥrp m ntrw</i> ; <i>ḥrp ḥ3ts km</i> ; <i>ḥrp ḥwwt ...</i> ; <i>ḥrp šndt nbt</i> ; <i>ḥtm bjty</i> ; <i>ḥtm bjty m3<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>ḥt Mnw</i> ; <i>ḥry-ḥbt</i> ; <i>ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp</i> ; <i>sm</i> ; <i>sm3 Mnw</i> ; <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> ; <i>smsw snwt</i>	<i>Špsj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		name lost	<i>z3.f</i>	
<i>Dw3-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish L6)	<i>jmy-r3 wpt jd<sup>w</sup></i> ; <i>jmy-r3 pr n ḥwt-3t</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 njwwt m3wt</i> ; <i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt</i> ; <i>rḥ-nswt</i> ; <i>shḏ wj3</i>	<i>Jbw-nswt</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>K...</i>	<i>z3.f mrr.f</i>	
		<i>B3.f-Mnw</i> ( ? inscription and image disappeared)	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>...R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	
<i>Jḥy</i> (el-Khokha No. 186)	<i>jwn-knmwt</i> ; <i>jmy-jb nswt ḥntj jdb<sup>y</sup>.f</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 z3w sp3t</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 šnwtj</i> ; <i>mdw-rhyt</i> ; <i>nj-nst ḥntt</i> ; <i>ḥry-sšt3 n mdwt nbt š3t jnnt r sp3t</i> ; <i>ḥry-tp 3 n sp3t</i> ; <i>ḥq3ḥwt</i> ; <i>ḥry-ḥbt</i> ; <i>ḥry-tp nswt pr-3</i> ; <i>z3b 3d-mr</i> ; <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Hntj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
<i>Jd<sup>w</sup> / Mns3</i> (el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad, T 152, No. 4, Lepsius)	<i>ḥtm bjty</i> ; <i>ḥry-ḥbt</i> ; <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Jjj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
<i>Jd<sup>w</sup> / Snnj</i> (el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad, T 66, No. 1, Lepsius)	<i>jmy-r3 ḥntyw-š pr-3</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w m3<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>ḥry-tp 3 n sp3t</i> ; <i>ḥq3-ḥwt</i> ; <i>ḥtm bjty</i> ; <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> ; <i>shḏ ḥm-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>shḏ ḥm-ntr</i>	<i>3w</i>	<i>z3.s smsw mry.s</i>	

	<i>Mn-nfr-Ppy ; shđ hm-ntr H<sup>c</sup>-nfr-Mry-n-R<sup>c</sup></i>			
<i>T3wtj / Rsy</i> (el-Qasr wa- ‘l-Saiyad, T 73, No. 2, Lepsius)	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; jmy-r3 hm-ntr ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w m3<sup>c</sup> ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; r3-g3w rsy ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>3 n sp3t ; hq3-hwt ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; shđ hm-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; shđ hm-ntr Mn-nfr-Ppy ; shđ hm-ntr H<sup>c</sup>-nfr-Mry-n- R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>Jdw</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hq3- hwt ; hry-hbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
<i>Wjw / Jjw</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 4)	<i>jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry- tp <sup>c</sup>3 n Wn ; hq3 hwt ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt ; hry-tp nswt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Mrw</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>
<i>Mrw / Bbj</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 3)	<i>jmy-r3 njwwt m3wt ; jmy- r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; jnw knmwt ; mdw rhyt ; rh-nswt ; hm- ntr Hwt-Hr nbt Nht ; hq3 hwt ; hq3 hwt Ppy ; hq3 hwt Ttj ; hrp šdyt nbt ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; hry-tp nswt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; z3b jmy-r3 zš ; z3b <sup>c</sup>d-mr nst hntt ; sm ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Mrw</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>
		<i>Wj3</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Bhzj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; z3b jmy- r3 zš</i>
<i>Srf-k3(j)</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 1)	<i>jmy-r3 wpt ; jmy-r3 njwwt m3wt ; jmy-r3 hwwt ; jmy- r3 sp3wt Šm3 hrywt-jb ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Wsr- k3.f ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; sšm- t3 n Wn</i>	<i>Wr-jrnj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>jmy-r3 njwwt m3wt</i>
<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj- jb</i> (Meir No. D2)	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmy-jb n nswt m st.f nbt ; jmy-jz ; jmy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>btj ; jmy-r3 hwt-wrt ; jmy-r3 hm-ntr n Hwt-Hr nbt Qjs ; jmy-r3 zš <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup> m sp3wt hrjw-jb ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup> n bw m3<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r3 šnwj ; jmy-r3 gs-pr ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; jry nfr- h3t ; mnjw Nhn ; mdw rhyt ; mdw Hp ; r P nb ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr 3st Hwt- Hr ; hm-ntr Psqt <sup>c</sup>3t ; hm- ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; hm-ntr Nwt ; hm-ntr Hr Sth ; hry-sšt3 n</i>	<i>Wh-hnn</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>
		<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy- km / Hpj-km</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hm- ntr ; hry-tp nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh / Hpj-dšr</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt ; hry- tp nswt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; z3b <sup>c</sup>d-mr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>...<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 3hwt ; hry-tp nswt</i>
		<i>Hwj-n-wh</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>mtj n z3 ; špss nswt</i>
		<i>Phr-nfrt</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	
		<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	<i>rht-nswt</i>

	<i>wḏt-mdw nbt nt nswt ; ḥry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; ḥry-tp Nḥb ; ḥq3 B3t ; ḥwᶜ ; ḥrp ḥ3ts ; ḥrp šndyt nbt ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥtm-ntr ; ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp ; ḥry-tp nswt ; ḥry-tp nswt m ḥwt-wrt ; z3b ᶜd-mr ; zš ᶜw nw nswt ḥft-ḥr ; zš mḏ3t ntr ; zš qdwt ; sm ; smr wᶜty ; km ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>			
<i>Ppy-ᶜnh-km / Ḥny / Ḥny-km (Meir No. A2)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr-ḥd ; jmy-r3 ḥm-ntr ; jmy-r3 ḥnw ; jmy-r3 zšwj ; jmy-r3 Šmᶜw ; jmy-r3 Šmᶜw m3ᶜ ; jmy-r3 šmwjtj ; jmy-r3 šnwt ; wr jdt ; mtj n z3 ; ḥ3ty-ᶜ ; ḥrp šndt nbt ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥtm-ntr ; ḥry-ḥbt ; ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp ; ḥry-tp nswt ; zš n z3 ; zš gs-dpt ; sm ; smr ; smr wᶜty ; šḥd ḥm-ntr ; špss nswt ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Ḥnyt / Nfr-k3</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>ḥry-tp ᶜ3 n Ndft ; smr wᶜty</i>
		<i>Ḥpj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>ḥry-ḥbt ; smr wᶜty</i>
<i>Nj-ᶜnh-Ppy-km / Nj-ᶜnh-Mry-Rᶜ-km / Ḥpj-km / Sbk-km (Meir A1)</i>	<i>jmy-jz ; jmy-r3 prwy-ḥd ; jmy-r3 ḥwt-wrt 6 ; jmy-r3 ḥm-ntr ; jmy-r3 ḥkrw nswt prwy ; jmy-r3 zšwj ; jmy-r3 Šmᶜw ; jmy-r3 Šmᶜw m3ᶜ ; jmy-r3 šnwtj ; ᶜ3 Dw3w ; mnjw Nḥn ; ḥ3ty-ᶜ ; ḥry-tp Nḥb ; ḥq3 B3t ; ḥwᶜ ; ḥrp j3wt nbt ntrt ; ḥrp šndt nbt ; ḥry-ḥbt ; ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp ; ḥry-tp nswt ; zš mḏ3t ntr ; sm ; smr wᶜty ; smsw snwt</i>	<i>Jwhj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>zš mḏ3t-nṯR pr-ᶜ3</i>
		<i>Ppy-ᶜnh</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>ḥry-ḥbt smsw</i>
		<i>Ḥny / Ḥny-km</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 ḥm-ntr ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr wᶜty</i>
		<i>Ḥnnjt</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>ḥq3 ḥwt ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr wᶜty</i>
<i>Mrw / Jy (Nag' el-Deir N3737)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 ḥm-ntr ; ḥ3ty-ᶜ ; ḥtm bjty</i>	<i>Ḥnj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 ḥntyw-š pr-ᶜ3 ; ḥm-ntr ; smr wᶜty</i>
<i>Nb-Šmᶜw / Ḥttj (Naqada, Vienna, No. 5894)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 ḥm-ntr ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr wᶜty</i>	<i>Ḍfj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>ḥtm bjty</i>
		<i>Ḍfj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>ḥry-ḥbt ; smr wᶜty</i>
		<i>Nfry</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>smr wᶜty</i>
		<i>Šm3j</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>smr wᶜty</i>

<i>Mḥw / Jn-jt.f</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1)	<i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥmtj-bjty ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>S3bnj</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 <sup>c</sup>w ; ḥtm bjty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
<i>Hr-ḥw.f</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A8)	<i>jmy-jb n nb.f ; jmy-jz ; jmy-r3 <sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r3 ḥ3swt nbt n tp-rsy ; mnjw Nḥn ; ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥry-sšt3 n mdt nbt n tp-rsy ; ḥry-tp Nḥb ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; dd nrw Hr m ḥ3swt</i>	<i>Ḍmj / Msnj</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 <sup>c</sup>w ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
<i>Ḥwj</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A5)	<i>jmy-r3 ḥnw ; ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥtm-nṯr m wj3wj ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>W...</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>šḥḏ ḥm-k3</i>
		<i>Ttj</i>	<i>z3</i>	
		<i>Nfr-m3.f-ḥmw (?)</i>	<i>z3.s</i>	
		<i>Jm3t (?)</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i>
		<i>Hr-m-k3w.s</i>	<i>z3t.s</i>	
<i>Ḥw-ns</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A6)	<i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; šḥḏ ḥm-nṯr</i>	<i>Hq3-jb</i>	<i>z3.s</i> (possibly not the son of the tomb owenr)	
		<i>Jnj</i>	<i>z3.s</i> (possibly not the son of the tomb owenr)	
		<i>Ḥnmw-ḥtp</i>	<i>z3</i>	
<i>S3bnj [I]</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1, east tomb)	<i>jmy-r3 ḥ3swt ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; mḥjb nswt m tp-rsy ; ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty Mn-<sup>c</sup>ḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>3...</i>	<i>z3.f smsw mry.f st jb.f</i>	<i>ḥtm bjty ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Jn-jt.f</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
		<i>Jttj</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Jttj</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>ḥkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt</i>
		<i>St-k3</i>	<i>z3t.f mrt.f</i>	<i>ḥkrt w<sup>c</sup>tt</i>
		<i>...nt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Sbk-ḥtp</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan B1)	<i>jmy-r3 ḥm-k3 ; ḥrp zh ; ḥtm bjty ; ḥtm-nṯr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Bw-nfr</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Šm-rbj</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>ḥm-k3</i>
		<i>Sbk-ḥtp</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Ḥzt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Ḥw.n-wh / Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)	<i>jwn Dšrt ; jmy-r3 ḥm-nṯr m Qjs ; jmy-r3 ḥm-nṯr Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt Qjs ; jmy-r3 tzt nt tntt ; jmy-ḥt ḥm-nṯr m Qjs ; jmy-ḥt Hr jt Qjs ; ḥm b3w P ; ḥm b3w Nḥn ; ḥm-nṯr Hr qm3-<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-nṯr Ḥk3 ; ḥm-nṯr ḥwj Hr ; ḥm-nṯr Dšrt ; ḥry-sšt3 wdt nbt ; ḥry-sšt3 n wpwt ḥtp-</i>	<i>Ḥw.n-wh</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>mtj z3 ; špss nswt</i>
		<i>Nfr-ḥtp-wh</i>	<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 tzt nt jt.f ; ḥry-ḥbt ; zš</i>
		<i>Z3tj / <sup>c</sup>nš</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	<i>ḥmt-nṯr Ḥwt-Ḥr ; špst nswt</i>
		<i>Dw3t-Ḥwt-Ḥr</i>	<i>msw.f nw ḥt.f</i>	<i>špst nswt</i>
		<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>ḥ-Ḥwt-Ḥr</i>		<i>ḥmt-nṯr Ḥwt-Ḥr ; špst nswt</i>

	<i>ntr</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n md3t-ntr</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n htm-ntr</i> ; <i>hq3</i> <i>z3</i> ; <i>hry-hbt mjt Hr d3t</i> <i>Hr</i> ; <i>hry-hbt smsw</i> ; <i>smr</i> <i>w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> ; <i>smsw n db3t</i> ; <i>shd</i> <i>hm-ntr</i> ; <i>shd hm-ntr Hwt-</i> <i>Hr Qjs</i>	<i>Htp-Hwt-Hr</i>		<i>hmt-ntr Hwt-</i> <i>Hr</i> ; <i>špst nswt</i>
<i>Nj-k3.j-<sup>c</sup>nh I</i> (Tehna Tomb 15)	<i>jmy-r3 pr hwt 3t</i> ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>njwwt m3wt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 hm-</i> <i>ntr n Hwt-Hr nt R-jnt</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i>	<i>Hw-Hwt-Hr</i>	<i>jw<sup>c</sup>.j</i> ; <i>z3.s</i> <i>smsw</i> (on statue niche)	<i>zš 3w</i>
		<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Zzj</i>	? (north wall, statue niche)	<i>shd zš 3w nswt</i>
<i>Nj-k3.j-<sup>c</sup>nh II</i> (Tehna Tomb 15). <sup>1</sup>	<i>jmy-r3 pr hwt 3t</i> ; <i>rh-</i> <i>nswt</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Hwt-Hr</i> <i>hntjt R-jnt</i>	<i>Nj...</i> (engage d statue)	<i>z3.s</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr hwt</i> <i>3t</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i>
		<i>Hw-Hwt-Hr</i>	<i>z3</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hm-k3</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Hwt-</i> <i>Hr</i>
<i>Hw-ns</i> (Zawyet el- Amwat No. 2)	<i>jmy-r3 wpt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 hm-</i> <i>ntr</i> ; <i>rh-nswt M3-hd</i> ; <i>hq3</i> <i>hwt-3t</i> ; <i>sšm-t3</i>	<i>Spw-k3</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Ndm-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>hm-ntr</i> ; <i>z3b zš</i>
		<i>K3-whm</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Rpr-k3</i>	<i>z3t.f smsw</i>	
		<i>Nfrt-nswt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Nfr-htp.s</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Š-nfrt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Nfrt-h3</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Nfrt</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	

## II.2 Designations and Titles of Siblings of the Tomb Owner

Table II.2.1 Tombs at Giza

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
<i>3htj-mrw-nswt</i> (G 2184)*	<i>jmy-r3 hrjw-<sup>c</sup> nswt n pr 3</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 st n hntyw-š n pr 3</i> ; <i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>smr</i>	<i>Snb</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
		<i>Pšs</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
		<i>Nfr-ntr</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
		<i>K3-hb</i>	<i>sn.f n dt.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr</i>
		<i>Jnj</i>	<i>snt.f</i>	

<sup>1</sup> Thompson suggests that *Nj-k3.j-<sup>c</sup>nh I* and *II* are different individuals, see Elizabeth Thompson et al., *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Tehna*. Vol. 1 (Warminster, Wilts: Aris and Phillips, 2014), 60, note 172, though earlier scholars took the two as the same person. See George W. Fraser, "The Early Tombs at Tehneh," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 3 (1902): 67-76, 122-130. See also Edel, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften Des Alten Reiches*, 40-66.

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
		<i>Nfrt-ḥ3-Ḥwfw</i>	<i>snt.f</i>	
<i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15)	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; jmy-r3 pr ḥwt- 3t ; w3b nswt ; rh nswt ; ḥm-ntr Nj-wsr-Rc ; ḥm-ntr Nfr-jr-k3-r3 ; ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw ; zš pr-md3t</i>	<i>Wsrt-k3</i>	<i>snt.f</i>	
		<i>Nb-mnj</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
<i>Jnpw-ḥtp</i>	<i>w3b nswt ; wt ; rh-nswt ; ḥm-ntr Jnpwzh-ntr w3dt ; ḥm-ntr Nj-wsr-Rc ; ḥm-ntr Rc m Šsp-jb-Rc ; ḥm-ntr S3ḥw-Rc ; ḥry-sšt3</i>	<i>Jtr</i>	<i>z3.f</i> (siblings below parents)	<i>wt</i>
		<i>Jbb</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>wt</i>
		<i>M33-šm-jnpw</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>wt</i>
		<i>Ḥtrc</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Ḥtp-ḥr.s</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
		<i>Ḥnwty</i>	<i>z3t.f</i>	
<i>Jttj</i> (G 7391)	<i>jmy-r3 pr-3 ; jmy-r3 k3t nt nswt ; w3b Wr-Ḥc.f-Rc ; rh- nswt ; ḥtm-ntr dpt 3t ; šḥd w3b Wr-Ḥc.f-Rc ; šḥd pr-3</i>	<i>Ḥc.f-Rc-ḥḥ</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; šḥd w3b Wr-Ḥc.f-Rc</i>
		<i>Rwd</i>	<i>snt.f</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i>
<i>Whm-k3</i> (D 117)*	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; rh-nswt ; zš pr- md3t ; zš nfrw</i>	<i>Nfr-ḥr-mntj</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; šḥd w3b</i>
		<i>D33t-k3</i>	<i>snt-dt</i>	<i>mjtr ; rh-nswt</i>
<i>Wt3's father*</i>		name lost	<i>rh-nswt Wt3 sn.f dt</i>	
<i>Mry-Rc- mry-Pth-ḥḥ / Nhbw</i> (G 2381 with shift G 2382A)	<i>jmy-r3 k3t nswt nbt ; mty n z3 ; mdḥ nswt qdw m prwy ; mdḥ qd nswt ; ḥm- ntr M3c3t ; smr w3ty ; šḥd n qdw ; qdw n 33t</i>	<i>Mr-Pth-ḥḥ- ppj</i>	<i>sn.f mry.f</i>	<i>jm3ḥw ; ḥry- ḥbt</i>
		Elder brother		
<i>Mry-Rc-nfr / Q3r</i> (G 7101)	<i>jwn knmwt m3c3t ; jmy-r3 njwt 3ḥt-Ḥwfw ; jmy-r3 njwt Ntry-Mn-k3w-Rc ; jmy- r3 ḥnw ; jmy-r3 sšw ; jmy-r3 sšw n k3t nbt ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt ; mdw rhyt ; ḥm-ntr M3c3t ; ḥry-sšt3 n wdt nbt ; ḥry-sšt3 k3t nbt ; ḥnty-š Mry-Rc-mn-nfr ; ḥry-tp nswt ; z3b ; zš ; zš 3w nswt ḥft ḥr ; smr w3ty ; šḥd w3bw Wr-Ḥc.f-Rc</i>	<i>Nḥtj</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
		<i>Twt</i>	<i>snt.f mrt.f</i>	
		<i>Bndt</i>	<i>snt.f mrt.f</i>	
<i>Mrw-k3(j)*</i>	<i>w3b nswt ; rh-nswt ; ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw ; smsw ḥ3yt</i>	<i>Nj-k3-r3</i>	<i>sn.f dt</i>	



Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
<i>Nj-M<sup>3</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>*</i> (tomb owner is <i>sn-dt</i> )	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b mwt-nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hswt pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> shmh-jb nb m hnw swt pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> shmh-jb nb nfr m hnw št<sup>3</sup>w pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b Mnswt-nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; hm-ntr Šsp-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> ; hrp tjs bjty ; smr pr ; sn.s dt ; stp-z<sup>3</sup> hry-tp st nswt</i>			
<i>Nb-m-<sup>3</sup>htj</i> (LG 12, LG 86)	<i>jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; wr ht ; wr ht H<sup>3</sup> ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n jt.f ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; z<sup>3</sup> nswt n ht.f ; zš md<sup>3</sup>t-ntr n jt.f ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty n jt.f ; smsw snwtj n jt.f ; t<sup>3</sup>tyt z<sup>3</sup>b t<sup>3</sup>ty</i>	<i>Dw<sup>3</sup>-nj-r<sup>c</sup></i>		<i>z<sup>3</sup> nswt n ht.f</i>
		<i>Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup></i>		<i>z<sup>3</sup> nswt n ht.f</i>
		<i>nh-m-r<sup>c</sup></i>		<i>z<sup>3</sup> nswt n ht.f</i>
		<i>Špst-k<sup>3</sup>w</i>	<i>snt.f</i>	<i>nbt jm<sup>3</sup>h hr ntr <sup>c3</sup> ; z<sup>3</sup>t nswt n ht.f</i>
<i>Nfr and Jtj-sn</i> ( <i>Nfr</i> is <i>sn-dt</i> ) (D 203)*	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hst ; Jtj-sn : jmy-r<sup>3</sup> t<sup>3</sup>w</i>	<i>Nfr</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> h<sup>c</sup>qw ; rh-nswt</i>
<i>Nfr-htp*</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hmw-k<sup>3</sup> ; rh-nswt ; hrj sšt<sup>3</sup> nj nb.f ; shd hmw-k<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>nh-k<sup>3</sup>w.s</i>	<i>sn(t)-dt.f ; hmt.f</i>	<i>jm<sup>3</sup>ht ; rht-nswt ; hm-ntr Nt ; hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr</i>
<i>Htj</i> (G 5480, LG 29)	<i>jm<sup>3</sup>hw hr nb.f ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> ; rh-nswt ; z<sup>3</sup>b zš</i>	Sister <i>Hnwt</i>	<i>snt.f</i>	<i>rht-nswt</i>
<i>H<sup>c</sup>f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh</i> (G 7948)*	<i>rh-nswt ; smr ; shd w<sup>c</sup>b Wr-H<sup>c</sup>f-R<sup>c</sup> ; shd n pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	<i>Jtj</i>	<i>sn.f-dt.f</i>	<i>shd w<sup>c</sup>b Wr-H<sup>c</sup>f-R<sup>c</sup> ; shd n pr <sup>c3</sup></i>
<i>Hwfw-nh</i> (G 4520)*	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hsw n pr-<sup>c3</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> sb<sup>3</sup>w ; rh-nswt ; hsw ; hnty-š n pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	<i>Jtj</i>	<i>sn(t)-dt</i>	
		<i>K<sup>3</sup>p</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	
		<i>Hwfw-mry-ntrw</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	
		<i>Jw-mn-jb</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	
<i>Ztw</i> (G 4710, LG 49)*	<i>hry wdb hwt-nh ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup>n pr-dw<sup>3</sup>t ; hry-tp Nh<sup>3</sup>b ; hrp <sup>c</sup>h ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Tntj</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	<i>zš</i>
<i>Sn<sup>c</sup>dm-jb / Jntj</i> (G 2370)*	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> jzwy hkr nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> pr-h<sup>3</sup>w ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy-hd ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prw msw nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hwt-wrt 6 ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> hkr nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> swt nbt nt</i>	<i>Q<sup>3</sup>r</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	<i>hm-k<sup>3</sup></i>
		<i>Tzw</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	<i>hm-k<sup>3</sup></i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
	<i>hnw ; jmy-r3 sdmt nbt ; jmy-r3 šnwy ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; mdh qd nswt m prwy ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt ; hrp zšw nbw ; hry-hbt ; hry-tp nswt ; zšw<sup>c</sup> n nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>			
<i>Sšm-nfr I (G 4940, LG 45)*</i>	<i>jmy-r3 sš hr-<sup>c</sup> nswt ; jmy-r3 stj d3w ; jmy-r3 k3t nswt ; wr mdw šm<sup>c</sup>w ; rh nswt ; hm ntr Jnpw ; hm-ntr Hr qm3-<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Hqt ; hry wdb m hwt-<sup>c</sup>nh ; hry-sšt3 ; hrp<sup>c</sup>h ; ht h3 ; hry-tp nswt</i>	<i>Bw-nfr</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr</i>
		<i>Wnj</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	
		<i>Wnn-nfr</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	
		<i>Wnn-nfr</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	
		<i>Jzj</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	
		<i>Rsj</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	
<i>Sšm-nfr III (G 5170)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 prwy h3w ; jmy-r3 zš<sup>c</sup>w nswt ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt n nswt ; ny-nst-hnt.t ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> m hry-hbt ; hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdwt nbt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n pr dw3t ; hry-sšt3 n nswt ; ht Mnw ; z3 nswt n ht.f ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>R<sup>c</sup>-wr</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>zš<sup>c</sup>(w) n(w) nswt</i>
		<i>R<sup>c</sup>-wr</i>		<i>z3b shd zš</i>
		<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>zš<sup>c</sup>(w) n(w) nswt</i>
		<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>zš pr-md3t</i>
<i>Špss-k3.f-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hm-k3 ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-tp Nh3b ; z3 srkt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; shd hm-k3</i>	<i>K3-m-h3t</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>zš</i>
		<i>Z3t-k3</i>	<i>z3t.s mrt.s</i>	
		<i>Nj-k3-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
		<i>Skr-htp(?)</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	
<i>Qd-ns</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; zš jzt gs 4 hmt</i>	<i>Name lost</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
<i>K3j (east of tomb G 7391)</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i>	<i>K3-tpj</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
		<i>Ndm</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
		<i>J3b</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>rh nswt</i>
		<i>Jst</i>	<i>snt.f</i>	
<i>K3pj (G 2091)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 wpt pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; jmy-r3 mdw pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; jmy-r3 hntyw-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rh-nswt ; hnty-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; shd pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; shd hntyw-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>	<i>Nfr-mnw</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
		<i>Wpt</i>	<i>snt.f</i>	
<i>K3-pw-Pth (Cairo JE 37716)* inscription only</i>	<i>jmy-ht z3w-prw</i>	<i>Hhj</i>	<i>snt.f-dt</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
<i>K3-ḥr-Pth</i> (G 7721)*	<i>jmy-ḥt n z3w prw ; rh-nswt ; ḥry wdb ; z3b ; smsw h3yt</i>	<i>K3-ḥr-st.f</i>	<i>sn-dt.s</i>	<i>ḥrp ʿpr nfrw</i>
<i>Tntj</i> (G 4920, LG 47)*	<i>ḥry-sšt3 pr dw3 ; ḥq3 b3t ; ḥrp ʿh ; smr wʿty</i>	<i>J3tz</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	<i>rh-nswt</i>
		Name lost	<i>sn-dt</i>	
<i>Ttw I / K3(.j)-nswt</i> (G 2001)	<i>jmy-r3 nswt 3ḥt Ḥwfw ; jmy-r3 ḥntyw-š ; ḥry-tp nswt pr ʿ3 ; ḥry-ḥbt ; smr wʿty ; šḥd wʿbw 3ḥt-Ḥwfw</i>	<i>Jqrj</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>špss nswt</i>
		<i>Nj-ʿnh-Ḥwfw</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; špss nswt</i>
		<i>Jpj</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
		<i>Jrj</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
<i>D3ty</i> (G 2337-X, dependent of <i>Snḏm-jb</i> )	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; nj dt.f(?) ; ḥrp zš ; z3b šḥd zš ; zš n z3ḥm-k3 ; sm 3ʿ wḏʿ-mdw n wsḥt</i>	<i>Hrw-nfr</i>	<i>sn.f mry.f</i>	<i>ḥm-k3</i>
		<i>Snḏm</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
		<i>K3-wḥm</i>	<i>sn.f mry.f</i>	
		<i>K3-dmḏ</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
		<i>Sister Nj-sj-Pth</i>	<i>snt.f</i>	<i>ḥm(t)-k3</i>
		<i>Sister Ḥḏrt</i>	<i>snt.f</i>	
		<i>Sister Ḥwt-n-b3</i>	<i>snt.f</i>	

Table II.2.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
<i>3ḥt-ḥtp</i> (D 64)*	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmy-r3 wḏʿ mdw nb ; jmy-r3 prwy-ḥḏ ; jmy-r3 njwt Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-Rʿ ; jmy-r3 njwt Nfr-Dd-k3-Rʿ ; jmy-r3 njwt Ntrj-swt-Mn-k3w-Ḥr ; jmy-r3 zš ʿw nw nswt ; jmy-r3 Šmʿw ; jmy-r3 šmwjt ; jmy-r3 gswy-pr ; ʿḏ-mr ; wr 10 šmʿ ; mdw rḥyt ; ḥm-ntr M3ʿt ; ḥrp wsḥt ; ḥrp zš nb ; ḥry-tp nswt ; z3b ʿḏ-mr nst ḥntt ; šḥd ḥm-ntr Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-Rʿ ; šḥd ḥm-ntr Ntrj-swt-Mn-k3w-Ḥr ; šḥd</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	<i>sn-dt mry.f</i>	<i>mḏḥ whrt ʿ3t pr-ʿ3</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
	<i>hm-ntr Dd-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>			
<i>6nh-m-<sup>c</sup>-Hr / Zzj</i>	<i>jm3-<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r3 prwy hq ; jmy-r3 mdh nswt ; jmy-r3 ht-wrt ; jmy-r3 s3wy m3<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r3 s3wy n shmh-jb ; jmy-r3 s3w 6n nswt ; jmy-r3 st3 md3t ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; mnjw Nh3b ; mdw rhyt ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hwt-wryt ; hry-s3t3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt ; hry-s3t3 n nswt m st.f nbt ; hry-tp hrjw-hb ; hnty-š ; hry-tp Nh3b ; hry-tp nswt ; sm ; shq hm-ntr ; t3jty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Tmrw</i>	<i>sn.f mry.f</i>	<i>smr pr ; shq hntyw-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; špss nswt</i>
<i>Ppj</i>	<i>hq3 hwt ; hry-hbt ; hry-tp nswt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Hnw</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>hq3 hwt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
<i>Ph.n-wj-k3 (D 70, LS 15)*</i>	<i>jmy-jz Nh3n ; jmy-r3 jzwy nw pr hrywj-wdbw ; jmy-r3 prwy-hq ; jmy-r3 zš 6w nw nswt ; jmy-r3 swt htpwt df3w ; jmy-r3 šnwj ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nswt ; jmy-r3 gs-pr ; wr 10 šm<sup>c</sup> ; mdw rhyt ; nj st jb nb.t ; nst hntt ; r3 P nb ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Hr q3-<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Hk3 ; hry-s3t3 n wdt mdt nbt nswt ; hrp wsht ; hrp zš j<sup>c</sup>h ; htm bjty ; ht-H3 ; hry-tp nswt ; z3b 6d-mr ; shq w<sup>c</sup>b m swt-w<sup>c</sup>bw-Wsr-k3.f ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>K3.j-tzw</i>	<i>sn.f dt</i>	<i>z3b jmy-r3 zš ; z3b zš 6 nswt n hft-hr</i>
		<i>K3.j-tzw</i>	<i>sn-dt jm3hw.f</i>	<i>z3b jmy-r3 zš 6 nswt hft-hr</i>
<i>Pth-htp (D 51)*</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt Wsr-k3.f mrtt ; hm-ntr Wsr-k3.f ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m nhn-r<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Hwt-Hr</i>	<i>Nfr-hr-nj-hntj-htj</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	
		<i>Nfrrt-Hwt-Hr</i>	<i>snt-dt</i>	
<i>Pth-htp II / Tff (D 64)*</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hwt-wrt ; jnw knmwt ; wd-mdw n hry wdb ; mdw rhyt ; nj nst hntt ; hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; hm-ntr Hqt ; hry-s3t3 n wdt-mdt nbt nswt ; hrp wrw 10 Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; hrp wsht ; hrp zš jry j<sup>c</sup>h ; hrp q3q3w ; ht-H3 ;</i>	<i>Wsh-k3</i>	<i>sn-dt mry.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i>
		<i>Ssm-nfr / Tfw</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	<i>z3b ; shq zš</i>
		<i>K3(j)-hp</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	<i>jmj-r pr ; jmy-r3 šnwt</i>
		<i>Nfr-hww-Pth</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
		<i>Tfw</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	<i>shq hsw</i>
		<i>Ttwj</i>	<i>sn-dt</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr smsw whrt</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
	<i>hry-tp</i> nswt ; <i>z3b</i> <i>ḥd-mr</i> ; <i>shd-wḥb</i> Mn-swt-Nj-Wsr-R <sup>c</sup> ; <i>shd hm-ntr</i> Nfr-Jzzj ; <i>shd hm-ntr</i> Ntry-swt- Mn-k3w-Hr	<i>3ht-htp</i>	<i>sn-ḏt</i>	<i>z3b</i> zš
		<i>3ht-htp</i>	<i>sn-ḏt</i>	<i>z3b jmy-r3</i> zš
		<i>Pth-htp</i>	<i>sn-ḏt</i>	<i>z3b shd</i> zš
		<i>Stf</i>	<i>sn-ḏt</i>	<i>jmy-r3 fnḥw</i> wḥbt
		<i>3ht-wr</i>	<i>sn-ḏt</i>	
		<i>Wp-m-nfrit</i>	<i>sn-ḏt</i>	<i>shd hsw</i> ; <i>shd</i> zš
		<i>Wp-m-nfrit</i>	<i>sn-ḏt</i>	
		<i>Jpj</i>	<i>sn-ḏt mry.f</i>	
<i>Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj</i>	<i>jṃ3-ḥ</i> ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>zḥ3ḥ</i> ḥw nswt ; <i>jmy-r3</i> sšrw ; <i>jmy-ht</i> pr-ḥ3 ; <i>jmy-ht hm-ntr</i> Mrt-Ttj ; <i>jry-pḥt</i> ; <i>jry nfr-ḥ3t</i> ; <i>jry sšr pr-ḥ3</i> ; ḥd-mr <i>Sb3-Hr-hntj-pt</i> ; m3ḥ ; ḥ3ty-ḥ ; <i>hm-ntr</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n</i> wḏt-mdt ; <i>hry-sšt3 n</i> wḏt-mdt nbt ; <i>hry-sšt3 n</i> wḏt-mdt nbt nt nswt ; <i>hry-sšt3 n</i> wḏt-mdt nt nswt ; <i>hry-sšt3 n</i> pr-dw3t ; <i>hry-tp</i> Nḥb ; <i>hnty-š</i> <i>Ḑd-swt-Ttj</i> ; <i>hrp</i> ḥh ; <i>hrp</i> nstj m ḥwt-ḥnh ; <i>hry-hbt</i> <i>hry-tp</i> ; <i>smr</i> wḥty m3ḥ ; t3yty <i>z3b t3ty</i>	Name lost	<i>sn.f</i>	
<i>Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj</i>	<i>jṃ3-ḥ</i> ; <i>jmy-jb</i> nswt m st.f nbt ; <i>jmy-jb</i> nswt <i>hntj</i> <i>jdbwj.f</i> ; <i>jmy-jz</i> ; <i>jmy-jz</i> Nḥn ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>jpt</i> nswt ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>jzwy</i> n <i>ḥkrw</i> nswt ; <i>jmy-r3</i> ḥ-ntr Šm3ḥw ; <i>jmy-r3</i> wḥbtj ; <i>jmy-r3</i> pr-ḥ3w ; <i>jmy-r3</i> prwy-nbw ; <i>jmy-r3</i> prwy-ḥd ; <i>jmy-r3</i> pr-phrt ; <i>jmy-r3</i> ḥwt-wrt 6 ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>ḥkrw</i> nswt nb ; <i>jmy-r3</i> zš ḥw nswt ; <i>jmy-r3</i> swt špswt nt pr-ḥ3 ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>shṯj-htp</i> ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>sqbbwj</i> pr-ḥ3 ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>stp-z3</i> pr-nswt nb ; <i>jmy-r3</i> šwj pr-ḥ3 ; <i>jmy-r3</i> šnwtj ; <i>jmy-r3</i> k3t nbt nt nswt ; <i>jmy-r3</i> gswj-dpt zwnw pr-ḥ3 ; <i>jmy-</i>	<i>Jr-n-3ht</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i>
		<i>Jhy</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>hnty-š</i> ; <i>smsw</i> whrt
		<i>Jhy</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>shd hntyw-š</i> pr-ḥ3
		<i>Jhy</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>hnty-š</i>
		<i>Jḥw</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i>
		<i>Jdw</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hntyw-š</i> pr-ḥ3
		<i>Mrj</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>hnty-š</i> pr-ḥ3
		<i>Nfr-mdnt</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hntyw-š</i> pr-ḥ3
		<i>T(n)tj</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>shd hntyw-š</i> pr-ḥ3
		Name lost	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hntyw-š</i> pr-ḥ3

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
	<p> <i>r³ ddt pt qm³t t³ ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; <sup>c</sup>Nmtj ; <sup>c</sup>Hq³t ; <sup>c³</sup>Dw³w ; <sup>c</sup>d-mr Hr-sb³w-hntj-pt ; <sup>c</sup>d-mr Dpw ; w<sup>c</sup> wrw hb ; wr 5 m pr D<sup>h</sup>wtj ; wr m³w ; wr m³w m prwy ; wr hry-hbt hry-tp ; wtj Jnpw ; wd-mdw n srw ; mntj Nhn ; mdw Hp ; mdw Hz³t ; r³ P nb ; h³ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hm b³w P ; hm b³w Nhn ; hm-ntr Hr jmj Šnwt ; hry wpwt št³wt ; hry wrw ; hry-sšt³ ; hry-sšt³ n wd<sup>c</sup>-ndw n hwt-wrt 6 ; hry-sšt³ n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt ; hry-sšt³ n pr-dw³t ; hry-sšt³ n m³³t w<sup>c</sup>w ; hry-sšt³ n mdw-ntr ; hry-sšt³ n št³w pt ; hry-tp Nhb ; hq³ B³t ; hts ... Jnpw... ; hw<sup>c</sup> ; hntyw-š Dd-swt-z³-R<sup>c</sup> Ttj ; hrp j³t nbt ntrt ; hrp jbtjtjw Hr hrp jmjw ntrw ; hrp nstj ; hrp h³ts km ; hrp hwwt nt ; hrp hwwt nt mw ; hrp šmsw Hr ; hrp šndjt nbt ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; zš md³t ntr ; sm ; sm³ Jnpw ; sm³ Mnw ; sm³ Hr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smsw snwt ; šhd hm-ntr Dd-swt-z³-R<sup>c</sup>-Ttj ; sdtj nswt ; t³yty z³b t³tj</i> </p>			
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-nswt*</i>	<p> <i>j³m-<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-jb n nb.f ; jmy-st nswt m st.f ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; jry nfr-h³t ; <sup>c</sup>d-mr dw³ Hr hnty pt ; <sup>c</sup>d-mr Dp ; wr m³w ; wr m³w jwnw ; h³ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr B³w jwnw ; hrj-tp Nhb ; hry wpwt št³ ; hry-sšt³ n pt ; hry-sšt³ n mdw-ntr ; hry-sšt³ n hwt ³t ; hrp hwt nt ; hrp smsw Hr ntrw ; hrp šndt nbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; sm ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smsw snt</i> </p>	<i>Nj-nmtj</i>	<i>sn-qt</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; hm-ntr</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
<i>Nj-<sup>nh</sup>-Hnmw</i> (double tomb of <i>Nj-<sup>nh</sup>-Hnmw</i> & <i>Hnmw-htp</i> )	<i>jmy-r3 jr<sup>w</sup> nt pr-<sup>3</sup> ; jr<sup>w</sup> nt nswt ; w<sup>b</sup> Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; m<sup>h</sup>nk nswt ; m<sup>h</sup>nk nswt mrrw nb.f ; m<sup>h</sup>nk nswt m k3wt jr<sup>w</sup> nt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m Šsp-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 ; šd jr<sup>w</sup> nt pr-<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Tjtj</i>		<i>jmy-ht prw jn<sup>c</sup>wt / htswt</i>
		<i>Nfr-nswt</i>		<i>jm3h hr ntr <sup>3</sup> ; rh-nswt</i>
		<i>K3-j-hr-st.f</i>		<i>jm3h hr ntr <sup>3</sup> ; rh-nswt</i>
		<i>Nfr-htp-Hwt-Hr</i>		<i>rht-nswt ; hkrt nswt mrt.f</i>
		<i>Mhwt</i>		<i>jmyt-r3 pr jn<sup>c</sup>wt / htswt ; rht-nswt</i>
		<i>Hztm-Pth</i>		<i>jmyt-r3 pr jn<sup>c</sup>wt / htswt ; rht-nswt</i>
<i>Nj-<sup>nh</sup>-Šhmt</i> (No.74 [D 12])	<i>wr jbh pr-<sup>3</sup> ; wr zwnw pr-<sup>3</sup> ; hrp tjst bjty ; smr pr</i>	<i>Jnpw-htp</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>mdh ntr</i>
		<i>Nw-k3</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
		Name lost	<i>sn.f</i>	
<i>Nj-k3w-Pth*</i>	<i>jmy-ht pr-hd ; w<sup>b</sup> nswt ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m n<sup>h</sup>n-r<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Š3hwr<sup>c</sup> ; zš <sup>c</sup>w nswt pr-<sup>3</sup> m w<sup>b</sup>t prwy-nbw ; šd zš Pth pr-hd hkrw nswt</i>	<i>Pth-h<sup>c</sup>.f</i>	<i>sn.f dt</i>	<i>zš pr-hd</i>
<i>Nfr</i> (in the same tomb of his father <i>K3-h3.j</i> )	<i>rh-nswt ; hry-sšt3 nswt ; hrp hsww ; šd w<sup>b</sup>t ; šd pr-<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Wr-b3w</i>		<i>rh-nswt ; šd hsw</i>
		<i>Jhj</i>		<i>rh-nswt ; šd hsw</i>
		<i>Sn-jt.f</i>		<i>rh-nswt ; šd hsw</i>
<i>Ntr-wsr*</i>	<i>jmy-jb nb.f ; jmy-r3 <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt ; jmy-r3 wsh<sup>t</sup> ; jmy-r3 hwt-wrt ; jmy-r3 zš nb ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nswt ; jnw knmwt ; wr 10 šm<sup>c</sup> ; wr n nswt ; mdw rhyt ; nst hntt ; hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; hry-sšt3 wdt mdw nbt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n mdwt ; hry-sšt3 n hwt-wrt ; hrp zš ; hrp zš jrj j<sup>c</sup>h / sprw ; hrp zš nb ; hry-tp nswt ; z3b <sup>c</sup>d-mr ; smsw jz</i>	<i>Hnwt</i>	<i>snt-dt ; hmt.f mrt.f</i>	<i>hkrt nswt</i>
<i>Hnmw-ndm(w)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 gs-pr ; hq3 hwt ; htm bjty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Špj</i>	<i>sn.f mry.f</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
(at Kom el Akhdar)				
<i>Hnmw-htp</i> (double tomb of <i>Nj-<sup>nh</sup>-Hnmw</i> & <i>Hnmw-htp</i> )	<i>jmy-r3 jrw<sup>nt</sup> pr-<sup>3</sup></i> ; <i>jrw<sup>nt</sup> nswt</i> ; <i>w<sup>c</sup>b Mn-swt-Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt</i> ; <i>m<sup>h</sup>nk nswt</i> ; <i>m<sup>h</sup>nk nswt m jrw<sup>nt</sup></i> ; <i>m<sup>h</sup>nk nswt mrrw nb.f</i> ; <i>m<sup>h</sup>nk nswt m k3wt jrw<sup>nt</sup></i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m Šsp-jb-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>hry-sšt3</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 mrrw nb.f</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n ntr.f mrrw nb.f</i> ; <i>šd jrw<sup>nt</sup> pr-<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Tjtj</i>		<i>jmy-ht pr jn<sup>c</sup>wt / htswt</i>
		<i>Nfr-nswt</i>		<i>jm3h hr ntr<sup>3</sup></i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i>
		<i>K3.j-hr-st.f</i>		<i>jm3h hr ntr<sup>3</sup></i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i>
		<i>Nfr-htp-Hwt-Hr</i>		<i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>hkrt nswt mrt.f</i>
		<i>Mhwt</i>		<i>jmyt-r3 pr jn<sup>c</sup>wt / htswt</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i>
		<i>Hztn-Pth</i>		<i>jmyt-r3 pr jn<sup>c</sup>wt / htswt</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i>
		<i>Nj-<sup>nh</sup>-Hnmw</i> (same tomb)		
<i>S3-mry</i>	<i>jm3h hr ntr<sup>3</sup></i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>šd jmy-<sup>ch</sup>.w stpw</i>	<i><sup>ch</sup>jr-k3j</i>	<i>z3.j</i>	<i>šd jmy-<sup>ch</sup>.w stpw</i>
<i>Šhm-k3</i> (north-west of D 62)*	<i>jm3h hr ntr</i> ; <i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt</i> ; <i>w<sup>d</sup>-mdw m3<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>Nj hry wdb</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> Hwt-Hr m St-jb-r<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>hm-ntr Sd</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Špss-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>hry-sšt3</i> ; <i>z3b r3 Nhn n Hwt-wrt</i>	<i>Mry-ntr-m3<sup>c</sup>tj</i>	<i>sn-<u>dt</u></i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b</i>
		<i>Nj-k3-<sup>ch</sup></i>	<i>sn-<u>dt</u></i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
<i>Q3r Junior</i> (son of vizier <i>Q3r</i> )	<i>jrj nhn z3b</i> ; <i>hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t</i> ; <i>hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t m Mn-<sup>ch</sup>-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n w<sup>d</sup>-mdw m hwt-wrt 6</i> ; <i>hnty-š m Mn-nfr-Ppy</i> ; <i>htm bjty</i> ; <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> ; <i>šps nswt</i>	<i>K-n-[...]Nn</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr-šn<sup>c</sup>k3-nswt</i> ; <i>šps nswt</i>
		<i>Zzj</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr-šn<sup>c</sup>k3-nswt</i> ; <i>šps nswt</i>
<i>K3.j-m-htz*</i>	<i>jmy-r3 qd</i> ; <i>wr jrt m t3-wr</i> ; <i>mdh qd nswt</i> ; <i>rh nswt</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Sš3t</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n pr-<sup>3</sup></i> ; <i>hwt hdt</i>	<i>Mmj</i>	<i>snw.j</i>	<i>wrjrt m t3-wr</i> ; <i>mdh qd nswt</i>
		<i>K3.j-pw-nswt</i>	<i>snw .j</i>	<i>wrjrt m t3-wr</i> ; <i>mdh qd nswt</i>
		<i>K3.j-hnt</i>	<i>snw .j</i>	<i>z3b <sup>c</sup>d- mr</i>
		<i>Htp-k3.j</i>	<i>snw .j</i> ; <i>sn-<u>dt</u></i>	<i>jmy-r3 qd</i> ; <i>wrjrt m t3-wr</i> ; <i>mdh qd nswt</i>
<i>K3-h3.j*</i>	<i>jwh rhjt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 hsww prwy</i> ; <i>w<sup>c</sup> m wrw hsww dt</i> ; <i>mdt nfrt n nb.f</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ;	<i>Tntj</i>	<i>sn-<u>dt</u></i>	<i>jmy-r3 wpt pr-<sup>3</sup></i> ; <i>jmy-ht pr-<sup>3</sup></i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i>



Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
	<i>hm-ntr Mrt Šm<sup>c</sup>t ; hrp mdt nfrt ; hrp hsww ; shd hsww</i>			
<i>K3-gm-nj / Mmj / Gmnj</i>	<i>jmy-jz Nhn ; jmy-r3 jzwy n hkrw nswt ; jmy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>wbtj ; jmy-r3 wdt-mdt nbt nt nswt ; jmy-r3 pr.wj nbw ; jmy-r3 prwy-hd ; jmy-r3 hwt 3t 6 ; jmy-r3 zš 3w nw nswt ; jmy-r3 sdmt nb ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>w Mhw ; jmy-r3 šnwtj ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; jry nfr-h3t ; 3d-mr Hr-st3w- hnty-pt ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 n wpwt st3wt ; hry-sšt3 n m33 w<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt3 n mdw ntr ; hry-tp Nhb ; hrp hwwt Nt hdt ; hrp šndyt nbt ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; hry sd3t ; hry-tp nswt ; sm ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; shd hm-ntr Dd-swt-Ttj ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	Not named	<i>sn.f</i>	
<i>Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh (D 11)</i>	<i>jwn smsw Jnpw ; jmy-r3 hryw sd3t ; jry 3w nw nswt pr-3 ; jry-ht pr-3 ; jry sšr pr-3 ; w<sup>c</sup>b Ntry-Mn-k3w-R<sup>c</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b H<sup>c</sup>-b3-S3hw-R<sup>c</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b H<sup>c</sup>-Snfrw ; w<sup>c</sup>b Swt-w<sup>c</sup>bw-Wsr-k3.f ; hm-ntr Jnpw zh-ntr ; hm-ntr W3dt ; hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; hm-ntr Mn-k3w-R<sup>c</sup> m hnw ; hm-ntr Nhn-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Hwt-Hr ; hm-ntr Hr Nhn-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; hm-ntr Sšt3 ; hry-sšt3 ; htm md3t-ntr pr-3 ; hrp jry md3t nbw ; htm md3t ntr pr-3 ; shd htm pr-md3t ntr</i>	<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-hr</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>htm md3t-ntr pr-3</i>
		<i>Jj-m-htp</i>	<i>sn</i>	<i>zš</i>
		name lost	<i>sn</i>	<i>z3b zš</i>
		<i>Ppj</i>	<i>snt</i>	
		<i>Hmt</i>	<i>snt</i>	
		<i>S3b-Pth</i>	<i>sn(t).s</i>	<i>hmt-ntr</i>
<i>Tsmw (sn-dt of Pth-htp, lintel found in the tomb of Hmt-R<sup>c</sup>)*</i>	<i>jmy-r3 wpt ; jmy-ht pr-3 ; w<sup>c</sup>b Nfr-swt-Wnjs ; Pth-htp sn-dt.f ; shd pr-3</i>			

Table II.2.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
<i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8)	<i>jmy-jb n nswt m st.f nbt ; jmy-jz ; jmy-<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wpwt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> wpwt htpt-ntr m prwy ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy-hd ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zšwj ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> Šm<sup>c</sup>w m<sup>3c</sup> ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šnwtj ; jmy-ht hm-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; <sup>c</sup>3 Dw<sup>3</sup>w ; <sup>c</sup>d-mr Hr-sb<sup>3</sup>w-htj-pt ; wr m j<sup>3</sup>t.f smsw s<sup>c</sup>h.f ; mnjw Nhn ; mdw Hp ; nj mrwt ; r<sup>3</sup> P nb ; h<sup>3</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup> ; h<sup>3</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup> m<sup>3c</sup> ; hwtj-<sup>c</sup>3 ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>3 T<sup>3</sup>-wr ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>3 Dw.f (U.E. 12) ; hry-tp Nhb ; hq<sup>3</sup> B<sup>3</sup>t ; hq<sup>3</sup> hwt ; hq<sup>3</sup> hwt m<sup>3c</sup> ; hq<sup>3</sup> hwt Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> ; hw-<sup>c</sup> ; hrp j<sup>3</sup>t nbt ntrt ; hrp jbtjw Hr ; hrp jmjw ntrw ; hrp nstj ; hrp h<sup>3</sup>ts km ; hrp hwwt Nt ; hrp šndt nbt ; htm bjty ; htm bjty m<sup>3c</sup> ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; hry-tp nswt ; zš md<sup>3</sup>t ntr ; sm ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty m<sup>3c</sup> ; smsw snwt ; šhd hm-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> ; q...wr hntt</i>	<i>D<sup>c</sup>w</i>	<i>sn.f mry.f</i>	<i>smsw ... pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>
<i>Jttj / Šdw</i> (Deshasha)	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> 3ht ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> sm nb rnpj ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> šnt ; mdw rhjt ; hq<sup>3</sup> hwt ; hrp zhn</i>	<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	<i>snt.f mrt.f</i>	<i>hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr ; špst nswt</i>
<i>Jmy</i> (El-Hawawish, Orinst. 109491)	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> pr-šn<sup>c</sup> ; šhd pr-šn<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>Ddd-Mmw</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	
<i>Sfhw</i>	<i>smr ; šhd hm-ntr</i>	name lost	<i>sn.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
(El-Hawawish L21)				
<i>K3(j)-h<sub>p</sub> / Tj-jqr</i> (El-Hawawish H26)	<i>jmy-r3 jt Šm<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r3 hm-ntr ; jmy-r3 šnwtj n htp-ntr ; jt Mnw ; mh jb n nswt m pr-Mnw ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry-tp<sup>c3</sup> ; htm bjty ; ht Mnw ; hry-hbt ; hkr Mnw ; sm3 Mnw ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Jzzj</i>	<i>sn.f mry.f</i>	<i>zš pr md3t-ntr pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
<i>Ty</i> ( El-Hawawish N20)	<i>jmy-r3 pr-šn<sup>c</sup> ; hry-hbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; shd hm-ntr</i>	<i>Trj</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
<i>Jj-mry</i> (Gebel el-Teir)*	<i>nb jm3h hr jt ; rht-nswt ; hq3 nswt ; zš</i>	unnamed	<i>snt-dt</i>	<i>nbt jm3h hr mwt jt mjtt</i>
<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmy-jb n nswt m st.f nbt ; jmy-jz ; jmy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>btj ; jmy-r3 hwt-wrt ; jmy-r3 hm-ntr n Hwt-Hr nbt Qjs ; jmy-r3 zš<sup>c</sup> w nw nswt ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup> m sp3wt hrjw-jb ; jmy-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup> n bw m3<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r3 šnwj ; jmy-r3 gs-pr ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; jry nfr-h3t ; mnjw Nhn ; mdw rhyt ; mdw Hp ; r P nb ; h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr 3st Hwt-Hr ; hm-ntr Psdt<sup>c3</sup>t ; hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t ; hm-ntr Nwt ; hm-ntr Hr Sth ; hry-sšt3 n wd<sup>c</sup>t-mdw nbt nt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; hry-tp Nhb ; hq3 B3t ; hw<sup>c</sup> ; hrp h3ts ; hrp šndyt nbt ; htm bjty ; htm-ntr ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; hry-tp nswt ; hry-tp nswt m hwt-wrt ; z3b<sup>c</sup>d-mr ; zš<sup>c</sup> w nw nswt hft-hr ; zš md3t ntr ; zš qdwt ; sm ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; km ; t3ty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh km</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt ; šps nswt</i>
		<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i>
		<i>Hpj</i>		<i>mnjw tntt ; hry-tp nswt</i>
		<i>Hwj-n-wh</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>shd hm-ntr ; šps nswt</i>
		<i>Sbk-htp</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 3hwt ; hry-tp snw</i>
		<i>Sbk-htp</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>z3b<sup>c</sup>d-mr pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>
		<i>Špsj-pw-Pth</i>		<i>hry-tp nswt</i>
		<i>Qrj</i>	<i>sn.s</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i>
		<i>Špss-Pth</i>	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>
<i>Hw-ns</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A6)	<i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup> ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; shd hm-ntr</i>	<i>Hw...</i>	<i>snt.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Siblings	Designation of Siblings	Titles of Siblings
<i>Sn-ms</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A10)		<i>Ntjh ... P3j</i> <i>Jmn-htp</i>	<i>sn.f smsw</i> <i>sn.f</i>	<i>zš</i>
<i>Hw.n-wh / Tj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)	<i>jwn Dšrt ; jmy-r3 hm-ntr m Qjs ; jmy-r3 hm-ntr Hwt-Hr nbt Qjs ; jmy-r3 tzt nt tntt ; jmy-ht hm-ntr m Qjs ; jmy-ht Hr jt Qjs ; hm b3w P ; hm b3w Nhn ; hm-ntr Hr qm3-c ; hm-ntr Hk3 ; hm-ntr hwy Hr ; hm-ntr Dšrt ; hry-sšt3 wdt nbt ; hry-sšt3 n wpwt htp-ntr ; hry-sšt3 n md3t-ntr ; hry-sšt3 n htm-ntr ; hq3 z3 ; hry-hbt mjt Hr d3t Hr ; hry-hbt smsw ; smr wcty ; smsw n db3t ; shd hm-ntr ; shd hm-ntr Hwt-Hr Qjs</i>	<i>Wh-m...f</i> ( <i>wh-m-b3h.f</i> )	<i>sn.f</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>

## II.3 Designations and Titles of Parents of the Tomb Owner

Table II.3.1 Tombs at Giza

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Parents	Designation of Parents	Designation of Tomb Owner	Titles of Parents
<i>3htj-mrw-nswt</i> (G 2184) <i>sn.f n dt.f</i> and <i>sn.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 hrjw-c nswt n pr 3 ; jmy-r3 st n hntyw-š n pr 3 ; wcb nswt ; rh-nswt ; smr</i>	<i>K3-nfr</i> <i>Nwwt</i>	<i>jt.f</i> <i>mwt.f</i>		<i>rh-nswt</i> <i>hmt-ntr Nt ; hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr</i>
<i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15)	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; jmy-r3 pr hwt-3t ; wcb nswt ; rh nswt ; hm-ntr Nj-wsr-Rc ; hm-ntr Nfr-jr-k3-r3 ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; zš pr-md3t</i>	<i>Špss-k3.f-cnḥ</i>		<i>z3.f mry.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr msw-nswt ; jmy-r3 pr hwt-3t ; wcb nswt ; rh-nswt ; hm-</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Parents	Designation of Parents	Designation of Tomb Owner	Titles of Parents
					<i>ntr Hwfw ; zš pr-mdš</i>
<i>Jnpw-htp</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; wt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Jnpw zh-ntr wšdt ; hm-ntr Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m Šsp-jb-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Sšhw-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sštš</i>	<i>Jtr</i>  <i>Sšbt</i>	<i>hmt.f</i>	<i>zš.f</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr zh ntr Wšdt</i>  <i>rht-nswt</i>
<i>Whm-kš</i> (D 117) <i>sn-dt</i>	<i>jmy-rš pr ; rh-nswt ; zš pr-mdš ; zš nfrw</i>	<i>Jtj</i>  <i>Dfšt.sn</i>	<i>jt.f</i>  <i>mwt.f</i>		<i>jmy-rš pr ; nht-hrw pr-mdš</i>  <i>rht-nswt</i>
<i>Wsr</i>	<i>jmy-rš hm-kš ; rh-nswt</i>	<i>Hnwt.sn</i>	<i>mwt.f</i>		
<i>Mry-jb / Kš-pw-nswt</i> (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24)	<i>jmy-rš mš<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-rš kš nbt nswt ; c<sup>d</sup>-mr wh<sup>c</sup>w ; wr 10 šm<sup>c</sup> ; wr mšw jwnw ; mr wh<sup>c</sup>w ; r p nb ; rh nswt ; hm-ntr Hwfw ; htm-ntr wjš ; htm-ntr (wjš) bš-ntrw ; htm-ntr (wjš) B<sup>c</sup>-ntrw ; htm-ntr (wjš) Nb-rhyt ; htm-ntr (wjš) Dwš-tšwy ; hrp-<sup>c</sup>h ; hry-hbt ; zš nswt ; zš nswt n ht.f ; smr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Sdjt</i>	<i>mwt.f</i>		<i>hmt-ntr Nt mht jnb.s ; zšt.f nswt</i>
<i>Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Qšr</i> (G 7101)	<i>jwn knmwt mš<sup>c</sup>t ; jmy-rš njwt šht-Hwfw ; jmy-rš njwt Ntry-Mn-kšw-R<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-rš hnw ; jmy-rš sšw ; jmy-rš sšw n kš nbt ; jmy-rš kš nbt ; mdw rhyt ; hm-ntr Mš<sup>c</sup>t ; hry-sštš n wdt nbt ; hry-sštš kš nbt ; hnty-š Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-mn-nfr ; hry-tp nswt ; zšb ; zš ; zš <sup>c</sup>w nswt</i>	<i>Hnwt</i> (mother)			

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Parents	Designation of Parents	Designation of Tomb Owner	Titles of Parents
	<i>ḥft ḥr ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; šḥd w<sup>c</sup>bw Wr-Ḥ<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup></i>				
<i>Mry-Ḥwfw</i> (Fakhry 6)	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> jdw n ḥwt-<sup>c</sup>3t ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> st ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; rḥ-nswt ; ḥm-ntr Mn-k<sup>3</sup>w-R<sup>c</sup> ; ḥm-ntr Ḥ<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup> ; šḥd w<sup>c</sup>b mwt-nswt</i>	<i>D<sup>3</sup>tj</i>	<i>jt.f</i>		
<i>Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III</i> (G 7530 + 7540)	<i>wrt ḥts ; wrt ḥts mrt Dḥwty Hr ; wrt ḥts Nbty ḥt Hr ; m<sup>3</sup>3t Hr Stḥ ; ḥmt nswt ; ḥmt-ntr B<sup>3</sup>-pf ; ḥmt-ntr Ḥwt-Hr nbt Jwnt ; ḥmt-ntr Dḥwty ; ḥr Hr ; z<sup>3</sup>t nswt n ḥt.f ; smry.f ; smrt Hr ; tjst Hr</i>	<i>K<sup>3</sup>-w<sup>c</sup>b</i>  <i>Ḥtp-ḥr.s</i>	<i>jt.s</i>  <i>mwt.s</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>t.s mrt.s ; z<sup>3</sup>t.s n ḥt.s</i>	<i>ᶜ3 Dw<sup>3</sup>w ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; ḥrp j<sup>3</sup>wt ntrt ; ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp ; z<sup>3</sup> nswt smsw n ḥt.f</i>  <i>wrt ḥts ; m<sup>3</sup>3t Hr Stḥ ; ḥmt-nswt ; ḥrp sšmtyw šndt ; z<sup>3</sup>t nswt bjty Ḥwfw</i>
<i>Nj-s<sup>c</sup>nh-3ḥty</i> <i>/ Jtj</i>	<i>jmy-r<sup>3</sup> ᶜḥ<sup>3</sup>w ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> w<sup>c</sup>bwt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy-nbw ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy-ḥd ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy-ḥd n ḥnw ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> ḥkrw nswt m jzwy ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zš ᶜw n nswt ; jmy-r<sup>3</sup> zš pr-ḥd ; wr Bst ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> ; z<sup>3</sup>b ᶜd mr ; zš pr-<sup>c</sup>3 ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; šḥd zš</i>	<i>ᶜnh-ḥ<sup>3</sup>.f</i>			<i>šḥd ...pr-<sup>c</sup>3</i>
<i>Nb-m-3ḥty</i> (LG 12, LG 86)	<i>jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; wr ḥt ; wr ḥt Ḥḥ ; ḥry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n jt.f ; ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp ; z<sup>3</sup> nswt n ḥt.f ; zš md<sup>3</sup>t-ntr n jt.f ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty n jt.f ; smsw snwtj n jt.f ; t<sup>3</sup>tyt z<sup>3</sup>b t<sup>3</sup>ty ;</i>	<i>Mry.s-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>mwt.f</i>		<i>m<sup>3</sup>3t Hr Stḥ ; ḥmt-nswt ; ḥts wrt</i>
<i>Nfrj</i>		<i>Mḥj</i>		<i>z<sup>3</sup>.f mry.f</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Parents	Designation of Parents	Designation of Tomb Owner	Titles of Parents
(grandson of <i>Jrj-n-ḥtj</i> / <i>Jrj</i> G 2391)					
<i>Nfr-bḥw-Pth</i> (G 6010, LG 15)	<i>jmy-rḥ pr ḥwt-ḥt</i> ; <i>wḥb nswt</i> ; <i>rḥ-nswt</i> ; <i>ḥm-ntr Nfr-jr-kḥ-Rḥ</i> ; <i>ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw</i> ; <i>zš pr-mdḥt</i>	<i>Jj-mry</i>			<i>wḥb nswt</i> ; <i>rḥ-nswt</i> ; <i>ḥm-ntr Nfr-jr-kḥ-Rḥ</i> ; <i>ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw</i>
<i>Nfr-kḥ(j)</i>	<i>jry-ḥt pr-ḥt</i> ; <i>jry sšr</i> ; <i>wḥb nswt</i> ; <i>rḥ-nswt</i> ; <i>ḥry wḏb rhyt</i>	<i>Pz-nḏs</i>	<i>mwt.s</i>		
<i>Nn-sḏr-kḥ(j)</i> female (G 2101)	<i>ḥmt-ntr Ḥwfw</i> ; <i>ḥmt-ntr Ḥwt-Ḥr</i> ; <i>ḥkrt nswt</i> ; <i>zḥt nswt</i>	<i>Mry-jb</i>		<i>zḥt.f mrt.f</i>	<i>ḥtm-ntr wjḥ</i> ; <i>zḥ nswt</i> ; <i>smr wḥty</i> ; <i>shḏ wjḥ Bḥw-ntrw</i>
<i>Rḥ-wr</i>	<i>jmy-rḥ wḥbt</i> ; <i>jmy-rḥ ḥkrt nswt m prwy</i> ; <i>jmy-rḥ ḥkrt nswt nb</i> ; <i>jry nfr-ḥḥt</i> ; <i>jry šn nswt</i> ; <i>ḥd-mr Ḥr-sbḥw-ḥnty-Pt</i> ; <i>ḥd-mr Dp</i> ; <i>wḥ m wrw ḥb</i> ; <i>ḥm-ntr Wḥḏt</i> ; <i>ḥm-ntr Wḥḏt Dp P</i> ; <i>ḥm-ntr Nḥbt</i> ; <i>ḥm-ntr Ḥr Jnpw ḥnty pr šmswt</i> ; <i>ḥm-ntr Ḥr Jnpw ḥnty pr šmswt wḥt</i> ; <i>ḥry-tp Nḥb</i> ; <i>ḥrp ḥ</i> ; <i>ḥrp ḥwt n mw</i> ; <i>ḥrp šnḏt</i> ; <i>ḥt-Mnw</i> ; <i>ḥry-ḥbt</i> ; <i>sm</i> ; <i>smr wḥty</i> ; <i>smr wḥty n mrwt</i>	<i>Ḥtp-ḥr.s</i>	<i>mwt.f</i>		<i>rḥ-nswt</i>
<i>Ḥwfw-ḥḥ</i> (G 4520) <i>sn-ḏt</i> ; <i>snt-ḏt</i>	<i>jmy-rḥ ḥsw n pr-ḥt</i> ; <i>jmy-rḥ sbḥw</i> ; <i>rḥ-nswt</i> ; <i>ḥsw</i> ; <i>ḥnty-š n pr-ḥt</i>	<i>Jḥw-nswt</i> <i>Jw-pw</i>	<i>jt.f</i> <i>mwt.f</i>		<i>rḥ-nswt</i> ; <i>ḥnty-š</i> <i>ḥnty-š</i>
<i>Ḥwfw-ḥḥ.f I</i> (G 7130 + 7140)	<i>jry-pḥt</i> ; <i>ḥt Dwḥw</i> ; <i>ḥd mr Dp</i> ; <i>wḥ wrw ḥb</i> ; <i>wr djw</i> ; <i>mdw Ḥp</i> ; <i>ḥm Bḥw Nḥn</i> ; <i>ḥm-ntr Ḥr qmḥ-ḥ</i> ; <i>ḥm-ntr</i>	name broken	<i>mwt.f mst sw</i>	<i>zḥ.s mry.s</i>	<i>wrt ḥts</i> ; <i>mḥḥt Ḥr Stḥ</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Parents	Designation of Parents	Designation of Tomb Owner	Titles of Parents
	<i>Hwfw ; hry wdb Hwt- ꜥnh ; hrp ꜥh ; htm bjty ; z3 nswt n ht.f ; smr wꜥty ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>				
<i>Hw.n-Rꜥ</i>	<i>z3 nswt n ht.f smsw ; smr wꜥty n jt.f</i>	<i>Hꜥ-mrr- Nbtj</i>	<i>mwt.f</i>		<i>wrt hts ; m33t Hr Stḥ ; hmt- nswt ; hrp sšmtyw šndt ; z3t nswt smsw</i>
<i>Šm-k3-Rꜥ</i> (LG 89)	<i>jmy-js ; jry-pꜥt ; ꜥ3 Dw3w ; wt Jnpw ; h3ty-ꜥ ; hry-sšt3 n jt.f ; hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; hrp ꜥ3 ; hrp zš n jt.f ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt hry-tp n jt.f ; z3 nswt n ht.f ; smr wꜥty ; smr wꜥty n jt.f ; t3jty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Hknw- hzs</i>	<i>mwt.f</i>		<i>m33t Hr Stḥ ; hmt- ntr ; hzwt wrt</i>
<i>Sšmw ( ? )</i> (Shaft 590)		<i>Wss J3t</i>	<i>Jt.f mwt.f</i>		
<i>Sšm-nfr II</i> (G 5080)	<i>jmy-r3 ꜥh3w m prwy ; jmy-r3 zš ꜥw nswt ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nswt ; hry-sšt3 ; hry-sšt3 n wḏt-mdw nbt nt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n hrt-ꜥ nswt ; zš ꜥw nswt n sb3jt nswt ; zš hrt-ꜥ nswt</i>	<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	<i>mwt.f</i>		<i>rḥt-nswt</i>
<i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (G 5170)	<i>jmy-r3 prwy ꜥh3w ; jmy-r3 zš ꜥw nswt ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt n nswt ; ny-nst-hnt.t ; h3ty-ꜥ m hry-hbt ; hry-sšt3 n wḏt-mdwt nbt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n pr dw3t ; hry-sšt3 n nswt ; ht Mnw ; z3 nswt n ht.f ; smr wꜥty ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>	<i>Hnwt.sn</i>	<i>mwt.f</i>		<i>rḥt-nswt ; hmt-ntr Nt wptt w3wt ; hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr swt nbt</i>



Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Parents	Designation of Parents	Designation of Tomb Owner	Titles of Parents
<i>Špss-k3.f-ḥnḥ</i>	<i>jmy-r3 ḥm-k3 ; wḥb nswt ; rh-nswt ; ḥm-ntr Ḥḥ.f-Rḥ ; ḥry-tp Nḥb ; z3 srkt pr-ḥ3 ; šḥd ḥm-k3</i>	<i>Dd.f-wḥ</i>  <i>Nfr-ḥtp.s</i>			<i>rh-nswt ; zš šnwt</i>  <i>rḥt-nswt</i>
<i>K3j</i> (east of tomb G 7391)	<i>rh-nswt</i>	<i>name lost</i> <i>Jntj</i>	<i>jt.f</i> <i>mwt.f</i>		
<i>K3.j-wḥb</i> (G 7110 + 7120)	<i>ḥ3 Dw3w ; wr mḏw Šmḥw ; wr djw ; ḥ3ty-ḥ ; ḥm-ntr Srkt ; ḥts Jnpw ; ḥrp j3wt ntrt ; z3 nswt ; z3 nswt n ḥt.f ; smr wḥty n mrwt ; t3yty z3b ḏty</i>	<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	<i>mwt.f mst n</i> <i>Ḥwfw</i>	<i>z3.s mry.s</i>	<i>ḥrp jm3t ; z3t ntr.s ; sšmt</i>
<i>K3-ḥj.f</i> (G 2136)	<i>wḥb nswt ; rh-nswt ; ḥm-ntr Mḏdw-r3-nbtj ; ḥm-ntr Mḏdw-ḥr ; ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw ; ḥrj qnbt ; ḥry-sšt3 ; šḥd ḥntyw-š ; šḥd ḥntyw-š pr-ḥ3</i>	<i>Ḥnmt</i>	<i>mwt.f</i>		<i>rḥt-nswt</i>
<i>D3ty</i> (G 2337-x, dependent of <i>Snḏm-jb</i> )	<i>jmy-r3 pr ; nj dt.f(?) ; ḥrp zš ; z3b šḥd zš ; zš n z3ḥm-k3 ; sm 3ḥ wḏḥ-mḏw n wsḥt</i>	<i>Ttj</i>  <i>Š3ft</i>	<i>mwt.f ; ḥmt.f</i>	<i>z3.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr</i>  <i>rḥt-nswt</i>

Table II.3.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Parents	Designation of Parents	Designation of Tomb Owner	Titles of Parents
<i>Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj</i>	<i>jm3-ḥ ; jmy-r3 zh3ḥ ḥw nswt ; jmy-r3 sšrw ; jmy-ḥt pr-ḥ3 ; jmy-ḥt ḥm-ntr Mrt-Ttj ; jry-pḥt ; jry nfr-ḥ3t ; jry sšr pr-ḥ3 ; ḥd-mr Sb3-Ḥr-ḥntj-pt ; m3ḥ ; ḥ3ty-ḥ ; ḥm-ntr ; ḥry-sšt3 ; ḥry-sšt3 n wḏt-</i>	<i>Tzt</i>	<i>mwt.f</i>		

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Parents	Designation of Parents	Designation of Tomb Owner	Titles of Parents
	<i>mdt ; hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdt nbt ; hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdt nbt nt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdt nt nswt ; hry- sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; hry-tp Nhb ; hnty-š Dd-swt- Ttj ; hrp ʕh ; hrp nstj m hwt-ʕnh ; hry-hbt hry- tp ; smr wʕty m3ʕ ; t3yty z3b ʔty</i>				
<i>Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj</i>	<i>jmy-ʕ ; jmy-jb nswt m st.f nbt ; jmy-jb nswt hntj jdbwj.f ; jmy-jz ; jmy-jz Nhn ; jmy-r3 jpt nswt ; jmy-r3 jzwy n hkrw nswt ; jmy-r3 ʕh-ntr Šm3ʕw ; jmy-r3 wʕbtj ; jmy-r3 pr-ʕ3w ; jmy-r3 prwy-nbw ; jmy-r3 prwy- h3d ; jmy-r3 pr-phrt ; jmy-r3 hwt-wrt 6 ; jmy-r3 hkrw nswt nb ; jmy-r3 zš ʕw nswt ; jmy-r3 swt špswt nt pr-ʕ3 ; jmy-r3 sh3tj-h3p ; jmy-r3 sqbbwj pr-ʕ3 ; jmy-r3 stp-z3 pr- nswt nb ; jmy-r3 šwj pr- ʕ3 ; jmy-r3 šnwtj ; jmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt ; jmy-r3 gswj-dpt zwnw pr-ʕ3 ; jmy-r3 ddt pt qm3t t3 ; jry-pʕt ; ʕ Nmtj ; ʕ Hq3t ; ʕ3 Dw3w ; ʕd-mr Hr- sb3w-hntj-pt ; ʕd-mr Dpw ; wʕ wrw hb ; wr 5 m pr Dhwtj ; wr m3w ; wr m3w m prwy ; wr hry-hbt hry-tp ; wtj Jnpw ; wd-mdw n srw ; mntj Nhn ; mdw Hp ; mdw Hz3t ; r3 P nb ; h3ty-ʕ ; hm b3w P ; hm b3w Nhn ; hm-ntr Hr jmj Šnwt ; hry wpwt š3wt ;</i>	<i>Ndt-m- pt / Ttj</i>	<i>mwt.f</i>		<i>rht-nswt</i>



Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Parents	Designation of Parents	Designation of Tomb Owner	Titles of Parents
	<i>sšt3 n ntr.f mrrw nb.f ; shd jr w 'nt pr-c3</i>				
<i>Nj-k3w-Rc</i>	<i>wcb nswt ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr M3ct ; hm-ntr Rc ; hm-ntr Rc m St-jb-Rc ; hm-ntr Hwt-Hr ; hry-sšt3 ; hry-sšt3 n hwt-wrt ; z3b ; shd jry md3t</i>	<i>Htp-hr.s</i>	<i>mwt.s</i>		<i>rht-nswt</i>
<i>S3-mry</i>	<i>rh-nswt ; shd jmy-c3c3w stpw</i>	<i>Hnwt.sn</i>	<i>mwt.f</i>		<i>rht-nswt</i>

Table II.3.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Parents	Designation of Parents	Designation of Tomb Owner	Titles of Parents
<i>Mmj</i> (El-Hawawish, CG 1586)	<i>jmy-r3 wpt ; hry-tp nswt ; smr wcty</i>	<i>Jn-jt.f</i>		<i>z3.f smsw</i>	<i>hry-tp nswt</i>
<i>Ppy-cnh-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmy-jb n nswt m st.f nbt ; jmy-jz ; jmy-r3 wcbtj ; jmy-r3 hwt-wrt ; jmy-r3 hm-ntr n Hwt-Hr nbt Qjs ; jmy-r3 z3c3w nw nswt ; jmy-r3 Smc m sp3wt hrjw-jb ; jmy-r3 Smc n bw m3c ; jmy-r3 snwj ; jmy-r3 gs-pr ; jry-pct ; jry nfr-h3t ; mnjw Nhn ; mdw rhyt ; mdw Hp ; r P nb ; h3ty-c ; hm-ntr 3st Hwt-Hr ; hm-ntr Psdt c3t ; hm-ntr M3ct ; hm-ntr Nwt ; hm-ntr Hr St3h ; hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt ; hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t ; hry-tp Nhb ; hq3 B3t ; hw-c ;</i>	<i>Sbk-htp / Hpj</i>  <i>Phr-nfrrt / Bbj</i>  <i>Nfr-jrw.s rn.s nfr Fff</i>	<i>jt.f</i>  <i>mwt.f</i>  <i>mwt.s (mother of wife)</i>		<i>jmy-r3 hm-ntr n Hwt-Hr ; hry-tp nswt</i>  <i>rht-nswt ; hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr ;</i>  <i>rht-nswt ; hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Parents	Designation of Parents	Designation of Tomb Owner	Titles of Parents
	<i>hrp h3ts ; hrp šndyt nbt ; htm bjty ; htm-ntr ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; hry-tp nswt ; hry-tp nswt m hwt-wrt ; z3b ʕd-mr ; zš ʕw nw nswt hft-hr ; zš mđ3t ntr ; zš qdwt ; sm ; smr wʕty ; km ; t3yty z3b ʔty</i>				
<i>Ppy-ʕnh-km / Hny / Hny-km (Meir No. A2)</i>	<i>jmy-r3 pr-hđ ; jmy-r3 hm-ntr ; jmy-r3 hnw ; jmy-r3 zšwj ; jmy-r3 Šmʕw ; jmy-r3 Šmʕw m3ʕ ; jmy-r3 šmwty ; jmy-r3 šnwt ; wr jdt ; mtj n z3 ; h3ty-ʕ ; hrp šndt nbt ; htm bjty ; htm-ntr ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; hry-tp nswt ; zš n z3 ; zš gs-dpt ; sm ; smr ; smr wʕty ; šđđ hm-ntr ; špss nswt ; t3yty z3b ʔty</i>	<i>Nj-ʕnh-Ppy-km / Hpj-km</i>		<i>z3.f mry.f hzy.f</i>	<i>jmy-r3 ntr-r ; jmy-r3 Šmʕw m3ʕ ; h3ty-ʕ ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt ; smr wʕty</i>

## II.4 Designations and Titles of Other Relatives

Table II.4.1 Tombs at Giza

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Other Relatives	Designation of Other Relatives	Titles of Other Relatives
<i>Wnšt (G4840, VII SS)</i>	<i>hm-ntr Nt mħtt jnb ; hm-ntr Hwt-hr nb nht ; z3t nswt n ht.f</i>	<i>K3-ʕpr</i>	<i>z3.s (son of daughter)</i>	
<i>Whm-nfrt</i>	<i>z3t nswt mrt.f</i>	<i>B3.f-Snfrw-šrj Jr.n-Pth</i>	<i>z3 z3.s z3 z3</i>	<i>rħ-nswt</i>
<i>Nfrt-nswt</i>	<i>rħ-nswt ; šđđ hntyw-š ; šđđ hntyw-š n pr-ʕ3</i>	<i>K3-m-rħw</i>	<i>z3 z3t.f</i>	
<i>R3-mw</i>	<i>rħ-nswt</i>	<i>Nfr</i>	<i>z3 z3t.s</i>	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Other Relatives	Designation of Other Relatives	Titles of Other Relatives
(false door in the tomb of <i>Ttj</i> )				
<i>Sšm-nfr II</i> (G 5080)	<i>jmy-r3</i> <i>ḥ3w m prwy</i> ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>zš</i> <i>ḥw nswt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3</i> <i>k3t nbt nswt</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n wḏt-mdw nbt nt nswt</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n hrt-ḥ nswt</i> ; <i>zš</i> <i>ḥw nswt n sb3jt nswt</i> ; <i>zš</i> <i>hrt-ḥ nswt</i>	<i>Sšm-nfr-šrj</i>	<i>Ph-n-Pth z3.f</i>	
<i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136)	<i>wḥb nswt</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Mḏdw-r3-nbtj</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Mḏdw-hr</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; <i>hrj qnbt</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3</i> ; <i>shḏ hntyw-š</i> ; <i>shḏ hntyw-š pr-ḥ3</i>	<i>Hnmw-nty K3-hj.f</i> <i>Dw3t-nbw K3-hj.f</i> <i>Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw</i> <i>Nj-ḥnh-Rḥ</i>	<i>z3 z3t.f</i> <i>z3 z3.f</i> <i>z3t z3t.f</i> <i>z3 z3t.f</i> <i>z3 z3.f</i> <i>z3 z3t.f</i>	
<i>K3-hr-Pth</i> (G 7721)	<i>jmy-ht n z3w prw</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>hry wḏb</i> ; <i>z3b</i> ; <i>smsw h3yt</i>	name lost	<i>z3.f</i> (son of a <i>sn-dt</i> )	
<i>Ttj</i>	<i>jmy-r3 wpt n pr-ḥ3</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 Wr-Hḥ.f-Rḥ</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 st n pr-ḥ3</i> ; <i>ḥd mr grgt</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Hḥ.f-Rḥ</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 Wr-Hḥ.f-Rḥ</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n pr-nswt</i> ; <i>hrp jmyw z3</i> ; <i>hrp jmyw z3 n Wr-Hḥ.f-Rḥ</i>	<i>Wsr-Pth</i> <i>W3zt-k3w</i> <i>Ttj-šrj</i>	<i>z3 z3t.f</i> <i>z3t z3t.s</i> <i>z3 z3t.s</i>	

Table II.4.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Other Relatives	Designation of Other Relatives	Titles of Other Relatives
<i>Nj-k3w-Rḥ</i>	<i>wḥb nswt</i> ; <i>rh-nswt</i> ; <i>hm-ntr M3ḥt</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Rḥ</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Rḥ m St-jb-Rḥ</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Hwt-Hr</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3</i> ; <i>hry-sšt3 n hwt-wrt</i> ; <i>z3b</i> ; <i>shḏ jry mḏ3t</i>	<i>Mry-jt</i>	<i>z3t z3t</i>	
<i>S3bw /Jbbj</i>	<i>jmy-r3 wḥbt</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 pr Zkr</i> ; <i>jmy-r3 hwt m swt nbt</i> ; <i>jmy-ht</i> ; <i>wḥb Pth</i> ; <i>wr hrp hmwt</i> ; <i>wr hrp hmwt</i>	<i>Pth-špss</i> <i>Hnw</i>	<i>z3 z3.f</i> <i>z3 z3.f</i>	<i>jmy-ht hmwt pr-ḥ3</i>

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Other Relatives	Designation of Other Relatives	Titles of Other Relatives
	<i>Wnjs ; wr hrp hmwt m prwy ; wr hrp hmwt r<sup>c</sup> n hb ; wr hrp hmwt db<sup>3</sup>t ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr Pth ; hm-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnjs ; hm-ntr Zkr ; hm-ntr Dd-swt-Ttj ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> n ntr.f ; hrp hmwt ; hrp smw ; hrp smw mhnk nswt ; zš md<sup>3</sup>t š<sup>3</sup>t<sup>3</sup> n wdt mdt</i>			
<i>Shm-k<sup>3</sup></i> (north-west of D 62)	<i>jm<sup>3</sup>h hr ntr ; w<sup>c</sup>b nswt ; wd-mdw m<sup>3</sup>c ; Nj hry wdb ; rh-nswt ; hm-ntr M<sup>3</sup>c<sup>t</sup> ; hm-ntr Nj-wsr-R<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> Hwt-Hr m St-jb-r<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr Sd ; hm-ntr Špss-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt<sup>3</sup> ; z<sup>3</sup>b r<sup>3</sup> Nh<sup>n</sup> n Hwt-wrt</i>	<i>Shm-k<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup> z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	
<i>K<sup>3</sup>(j)-h<sup>p</sup></i> (S 3511, false door, British Museum 1848)	<i>rh-nswt ; shd jmyw h<sup>c</sup>w ; shd jmyw h<sup>c</sup>w n stpw</i>	<i>K<sup>3</sup>-m-tnnt nh-hn<sup>c</sup>.f K<sup>3</sup>.j-h<sup>p</sup>-šrj Nj-sw-qd Nj-nh-R<sup>c</sup> Pth-špss Hntt-k<sup>3</sup>w.s (female) Mrt-mnw (female) Jppj (female) Bb-jb</i>	<i>msw msw.f  z<sup>3</sup> z<sup>3</sup>.f  z<sup>3</sup> z<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	<i>shd jmyw h<sup>c</sup>w  shd jmyw h<sup>c</sup>w</i>

Table II.4.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Other Relatives	Designation of Other Relatives	Titles of Other Relatives
name lost (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N95)		<i>š-Httj</i>	<i>Httj z<sup>3</sup>.f</i> (son of son)	

Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Other Relatives	Designation of Other Relatives	Titles of Other Relatives
<i>Hnqw I / Httj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N39)	<i>jmy-r³ Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; h³ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hry-sšt³ ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>³ ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>³ Dw.f (U.E. 12) ; hrp j³t nbt ; hrp šndt nbt ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; zš md³t-ntr ; sm ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smsw snwt</i>	<i>Jzj</i> <i>Httj</i>	<i>Jmpty z³.f</i> (son of son)	
<i>D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm³j</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12, his son D <sup>c</sup> w)	<i>jmy-jb n nb.f ; jmy-r³ prwy-hd ; jmy-r³ zšwj ; jmy-r³ Šm<sup>c</sup>w ; jmy-r³ Šm<sup>c</sup>w m³<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r³ šnwj ; jmy-ht hm-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k³-R<sup>c</sup> ; w<sup>c</sup>b 200 Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k³-R<sup>c</sup> ; h³ty-<sup>c</sup> ; h³ty-<sup>c</sup> m³<sup>c</sup> ; hwtj-<sup>c</sup>³t ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>³ T³-wr ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>³ Dw.f (U.E. 12) ; hry-tp <sup>c</sup>³ Dw.f (U.E. 12) m³<sup>c</sup> ; hq³ hwt ; hq³ hwt m³<sup>c</sup> ; hnty-š Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k³-R<sup>c</sup> ; hrp šndt nbt ; htm bjty ; hry-hbt ; hry-hbt m³<sup>c</sup> ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; sm ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty m³<sup>c</sup> ; šhd hm-ntr m³<sup>c</sup> Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k³-R<sup>c</sup> ; šhd hm-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k³-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>Jbj</i> <i>Jbj</i> <i>nh.s-Ppy</i>	<i>z³.f mry.f</i> <i>z³.f mry.f</i> <i>z³t.f mry.f</i> all referring to children of D <sup>c</sup> w, the son	<i>hq³ hwt ; smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> <i>hq³ hwt</i> <i>hkrt nswt</i>
<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)	<i>jwn knmwt ; jmy-jb n nswt m st.f nbt ; jmy-jz ; jmy-r³ w<sup>c</sup>btj ; jmy-r³ hwt-wrt ; jmy-r³ hm-ntr n Hwt-Hr nbt Qjs ; jmy-r³ zš <sup>c</sup>w nw nswt ; jmy-r³ Šm<sup>c</sup> m sp³wt hrjw-jb ; jmy-r³ Šm<sup>c</sup> n bw m³<sup>c</sup> ; jmy-r³ šnwj ; jmy-r³ gs-pr ; jry-p<sup>c</sup>t ; jry nfr-h³t ; mnjw Nhn ; mdw rhyt ; mdw Hp ; r P nb ; h³ty-<sup>c</sup> ; hm-ntr ³st Hwt-Hr ; hm-ntr Psdt <sup>c</sup>³t ; hm-ntr M³<sup>c</sup>t ; hm-ntr Nwt ; hm-ntr Hr St<sup>h</sup> ; hry-sšt³ n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt ; hry-sšt³ n pr-dw³t ; hry-tp Nhb ; hq³ B³t ; hw<sup>c</sup> ; hrp h³ts ; hrp šndyt nbt ; htm bjty ; htm-ntr ; hry-hbt hry-tp ; hry-tp nswt ; hry-tp nswt m hwt-</i>	<i>Mrj</i>	<i>snjt.s</i> (brother of wife's father)	



Tomb Owner	Titles of Tomb Owner	Other Relatives	Designation of Other Relatives	Titles of Other Relatives
	<i>wrt ; z3b ʕd-mr ; zš ʕw nw nswt hft-hr ; zš md3t ntr ; zš qdw ; sm ; smr wʕty ; km ; t3yty z3b t3ty</i>			
<i>Hw.n-wh / Ttj</i> (Quseir el- Amarna Tomb 2)	<i>jwn Dšrt ; jmy-r3 hm-ntr m Qjs ; jmy-r3 hm-ntr Hwt-Hr nbt Qjs ; jmy-r3 tzt nt tntt ; jmy-ht hm-ntr m Qjs ; jmy-ht Hr jt Qjs ; hm b3w P ; hm b3w Nhn ; hm-ntr Hr qm3-ʕ ; hm-ntr Hk3 ; hm-ntr hwy Hr ; hm-ntr Dšrt ; hry-sšt3 wdt nbt ; hry-sšt3 n wpwt htp-ntr ; hry-sšt3 n md3t- ntr ; hry-sšt3 n htm-ntr ; hq3 z3 ; hry-hbt mjt Hr d3t Hr ; hry-hbt smsw ; smr wʕty ; smsw n db3t ; shd hm-ntr ; shd hm-ntr Hwt-Hr Qjs</i>	<i>Hwt-Hr-m-h3t</i>	<i>Z3tjrn.s nfr ʕnš z3t.s</i> (daughter of daughter)	<i>hmt-ntr Hwt- Hr ; Špst nswt</i>

## Appendix III Stance of Family Members

### Typology of Stances

Stance Type	Sub-type	Description
<b>A</b>		<b>Close to a major figure and in contact with him or her (not at the foot)</b>
	A-1	Standing and touching a major figure
	A-2	Seated or kneeling, and touching a major figure
<b>AS</b>		<b>At a reduced scale at the foot of a major figure</b>
	AS-1	Standing at the foot of a major figure and touching him or her
	AS-2	Standing at the foot of a major figure and holding his staff
	AS-3	Standing at the foot of a major figure with one hand or two hands on the chest, or with both arms pendent, or suckling the index finger
	AS-4	Standing at the foot of a major figure and carrying birds, lotus flowers, or other objects
	AS-5	In contact with other individuals at the foot of a major figure
	AS-6	Kneeling at the foot of a major figure
<b>B</b>		<b>Standing in a variety of poses (not at the foot of a major figure)</b>
	B-1	Standing with one hand or two hands on the chest
	B-2	Standing with both arms pendent, not holding anything
	B-3	Standing and carrying offerings
	B-4	Standing and carrying accessories such as a staff, a scepter, a papyrus scroll, or a piece of cloth
	B-5	Standing and holding lotus flowers
	B-6	Standing with arm(s) raised up
	B-Y	Standing as a youth sucking the index finger
<b>C</b>		<b>In the scenes of spear-fishing and fowling, or hippopotamus hunting</b>
	C-1	Standing on the skiff with the tomb owner and holding a spear or a throwing stick
	C-2	Standing on a skiff with the tomb owner or a sub-register near the tomb owner, and carrying fish or birds
	C-3	Standing near the tomb owner without carrying fish or birds
	C-4	Kneeling near the tomb owner
	C-5	Standing on the skiff with the tomb owner and touching him
	C-6	Standing or seated, raising an arm with the index finger pointing to the front
	C-7	Standing and holding lotus flowers
<b>D</b>		<b>Seated or kneeling</b>

	D-1	Seated or kneeling while bending one arm to the chest or placing hands down on the lap
	D-2	Seated on a chair or kneeling before a table of offerings
	D-3	kneeling and making offerings to a major figure
	D-4	Seated or kneeling and holding accessories, offerings, or lotus flowers
	D-5	Seated or kneeling with an arm raised
<b>E</b>		<b>Engaging in activities</b>
	E-1	Engaging in musical and sport activities (playing an instrument, dancing, clapping, combating, etc.)
	E-2	Engaging in ritual activities: E-2-CEN (censing), E-2-LIB (libating), E-2-LOT (presenting a lotus flower), E-2-REC (reciting spells), E-2-REM (removing the foot print)
	E-3	Engaging in scribal activities
	E-4	Slaughtering bulls
<b>F</b>		<b>Other stances</b>

### III.1 Stance of Children of the Tomb Owner

Table III.1.1 Tombs at Giza

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
name lost (M XVIII at Abu Rowash)	B-1	B-1 B-1 B-1	The eldest son appears on the right jamb of the false door facing right. Wearing a short wig and a long projecting kilt, he stands with his hand placed on the chest. Three daughters stand on the left jamb with the hand placed on the chest. They all wear long wigs and long dresses.
S 359	E-2-CEN		On the west jamb, the eldest son stands on the right and holds a bell-shaped censer to the nose of his father who stands on the left. He wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt.
<i>3bdw</i>		B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1	Two daughters appear below the mother on the northern face of the north pillar. They both wear long wigs and long dresses and stand with the right hand placed on the chest. On the southern face of the north pillar, another daughter appears at the foot of the mother at a

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			small scale. She wears a long wig and a long dress and stands with her hand placed on the chest. The fourth daughter appears at the foot of the mother on the northern face of the south pillar. She also wears a long wig and a long dress and stands with her hand placed on the chest.
<i>3htj-mrw-nswt</i> (G 2184) <i>sn.f n dt.f</i> and <i>sn.f</i>	AS-2-4-Y; AS-3-Y		The son stands in front of his father as a nude boy at a much-reduced scale. He grasps a bird in one hand and holds his father's staff with the other hand. On the same wall, he appears as a nude boy between the legs of the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a collar and stands with his finger pointed to his mouth.
<i>3htj-mhw</i> (G 2375)	AS-1 AS-3		A son stands in front of the tomb owner in the spear-fishing scene. He holds a bird in one hand and a spear in the other hand. The other son stands between the legs of the tomb owner. He touches the leg of the tomb owner with one hand and grasps a bird with the other hand. Both sons wear short wigs and short kilts.
<i>3htj-htp</i> (PM III 285)	A-1-Y; AS-2-Y AS-2-Y AS-2-Y	AS-2-Y; B-1	On the left thickness of the entrance doorway, a son wearing a side lock appears behind the seated tomb owner. He raises his hand to touch the tomb owner's back. On the thickness on the right, a daughter is depicted behind the seated tomb owner. Wearing a short wig and a long dress, she stands with her hand placed on her chest. The son also appears on the southern face of the pillar. He stands at the foot of his father and holds his staff. On the eastern face of the pillar, the other son stands at the foot of the tomb owner and embraces the staff with his arm. On the northern face, a son without name stands at the foot of the tomb owner and embraces the staff with his arm. The daughter appears on the western face of the pillar. She also holds the staff of the father. All the children on the pillar are depicted as nude youngsters with short wigs.

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
<i>3htj-htp</i> (PM III 49)	AS-2		The son appears at the foot of the tomb owner on the left outer jamb of the false door. He wears pointed kilt and holds his father's staff.
<i>Jjj</i>	E-2-CEN		The eldest son appears offering incense with both hands below the tomb owner and his wife on the southern (right) jamb of the false door. He wears a short wig and a long pointed kilt with a sash tied at his waist.
<i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15)	B-1 B-1 B-1 AS-2 AS-2 E-3 D-1	B-1 B-1 AS-1-Y	On the north wall of the first chamber, three sons stand behind their father with the left arm bent across the chest and the left hand on the right shoulder. They all wear short wigs and long pointed kilts. On the east wall of the third chamber, two daughters stand behind the wife. Wearing long dresses and long wigs, they all place the hand on the chest. Another daughter stands at the foot of the wife and embraces her calf with her left arm. She appears as a naked girl with a pig tail. In the same scene, a son stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds his staff. The lower part of the son's figure is missing. In another scene on the east wall of the same chamber, a son appears at the foot of the tomb owner. Only the legs of the son are preserved. On the east wall of the first chamber, a son is depicted as a scribe, standing and writing on a piece of unfolded papyrus. He wears a long projected kilt and possibly a short wig. On the south wall of the third chamber, another son is depicted knee-sitting before the tomb owner. His left arm is bent across his chest with his left hand on the right shoulder, and the right hand holds the left arm.
<i>Jj-nfrt</i>	AS-2-Y E-3 E-3	B-3 B-3	A son stands at the foot of the tomb owner as a naked boy and holds his staff. On the bottom register of the left outer jamb, the eldest son stands below the tomb owner. He writes on an unfolded papyrus with a pen. He wears a long wig, with another two pens placed behind his

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			ear. Another son appears on the right outer jamb in the same writing poster but wearing a short wig. Both sons wear short pointing kilt. Two daughters stand before the son on the right jamb. They both wear long wigs and long dresses and carry small birds in their hands.
<i>J(w)ff</i>	AS-1-2-Y		The son stands at the foot of the tomb owner on the left jamb of the false door. He is depicted as a naked boy with one hand holding the tomb owner's staff and the other hand embracing the tomb owner's calf.
<i>Jnpw-htp</i>	B-3 (?);B-3 (?) B-3 (?);B-3 (?) B-3 (?);B-3 (?)	B-1 (?) B-1 (?) B-1 (?) B-1 (?)	The three sons appear as offering bearers carrying birds and other offerings. On the entrance to the tomb and the thickness. They all wear short wigs and short projecting kilts.
<i>Jn-k<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	D-1 D-1 D-1 D-1	D-1 D-1 D-1 D-1	Eight children appear on the false door on each side of the panel on two sub-registers. They all kneel with the hand placed on the chest. The four sons occupy the upper sub-registers on both sides. They all wear short wigs and short kilts. The four daughters occupy the lower sub-registers and wear short wigs and long dresses.
<i>Jn-k<sup>3</sup>.f</i>	B-1		The eldest son stands with his hand placed on the chest on the inner left jamb. He wears a long projecting kilt. The head of his figure is missing.
<i>Jrj-n-<sup>3</sup>ht / Jrj / Jrj-n-Pth</i>	B-3	A-2	On the north wall, the eldest son carries a foreleg at the beginning of a sequence of offering bearers on a register below the tomb owner who is seated at the offering table. He wears a long wig and a short kilt. On the same wall, a daughter is seated at the foot of the tomb owner. Wearing a pigtail tied with a round ornament at the end, she holds a lotus flower to her nose with one hand and touches the foot of the tomb owner with the other hand.
<i>Jrj-n-<sup>3</sup>htj / Jrj</i> (G 2391)	B-3 B-3	B-3	Three children appear as offering bearers in a sequence before the tomb owner and

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			his wife. The first is a son wearing a short beard, a long wig, a short projecting kilt, and a collar. He is presenting a foreleg. The second is the daughter. She wears a long wig and a long tight dress and carries birds and a jar in her hands, with papyrus plants hung on her arm. The third is a son wearing a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt. He carries birds and a jar in his hand.
<i>Jrrw</i>	B-1; B-1		The eldest son appears on the right inner jamb of the false door. He is depicted the same way as the tomb owner is. He wears a short beard, a long wig, and a projecting kilt. He places the right hand on the chest and holds a piece of cloth in the left hand.
<i>Jttj</i> (G 7391)	B-3; D-3 & E-2-LIB; E-2-CEN B-3; D-3 B-3, D-3; AS-2-3-Y	AS-1-Y	Three sons appear on the inner north facet of the doorway, all wearing short wigs and short kilts. Those on the top and middle panels carry a big bird. The one on the bottom panel is presenting a hare. They also appear on the north door jamb, kneeling and making offerings. The one on the tops panel is pouring water, the one in the middle is presenting bread, and the last one is presenting jars of offerings. On the west wall, one of the sons is depicted censuring the tomb owner. Another appears at his foot as a naked boy. He embraces his father's staff with one hand and placed the index finger of the other hand to his mouth. The daughter appears as a naked girl behind the wife in the same scene on the west wall. She wears a short wig and embraces the legs of her mother with her right arm.
<i>Jdw</i> (G 7102)	AS-3; E-2-CEN; E-1-Y E-1-Y B-3	E-1 E-1	A son stands with arms pendent at the foot of the tomb owner on the door jamb. He wears a shoulder-length wig and a short projecting kilt. He and another son appear on the south wall as naked boys with lotus flowers decorated on their heads. They both hold a short stick in each hand and confront each other in combat fashion, with their rear arms raised up behind the head, and the other arm lowered in front of the body. On the

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			west wall, he also appears with another son proceeding a sequence of offering bearers. He holds a bell-shaped censer. The other son behind him holds a jar with one hand and grasps the leash of a small horned animal in the other hand. They both wear short wigs and short kilts. A daughter appears as a dancer on the register below. She raises her hands over the head with palms turned upward. She wears a short wig with a long sash hung on her back, a projecting kilt, and stripes of bands across her chest. Another daughter is depicted as a harpist below them in the same scene.
<i>ḥnh</i> (G 3050)		B-1 B-1	A daughter stands to the left of the panel behind the father on the false door. The other daughter stands to the right of the panel behind the mother. Both daughters wear short wigs and long dresses and place the hand on the chest.
<i>ḥnh-wd3 / Jtj</i>	E-2-CEN; A-1 B-2	B-2	The eldest son appears at the bottom of the outer left jamb of the false door. Wearing a long wig and a long projecting kilt, he stands before the tomb owner and censes him with a censor. He also appears on the lintel with a short wig and a short kilt, standing behind the wife and touching her shoulder. The other son stands with arms pendent behind the eldest son and wears a long projecting kilt. A daughter stands with arms pendent before him and wears a short wig and a long dress.
<i>ḥnh-m-s3.f</i>	AS-2-3-Y AS-2		A son appears at the foot of the tomb owner on the right thickness of the entrance. Wearing a side lock and a long necklace, he holds the tomb owner's staff with one hand and grasps the wings of a bird with the other hand. The other son appears on the left thickness as an adult. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt and holds the staff of the tomb owner.
<i>ḥnh-h3.f</i>	E-2-LIB B-4		A son is pouring water into a basin. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. The



Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			other son wears the same costume and carries a staff and a scepter.
<i>ḥnh-ḥ<sup>3</sup>.f / Q<sup>3</sup>r</i>	E-2-CEN		The eldest son appears on the panel of the false door, standing before the tomb owner who seated at the offering table and censures him. He wears a short wig and a short kilt.
<i>W<sup>3</sup>š-Pth</i>	AS-2 AS-2-Y	AS-1	On the right jamb, a son stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds his staff. He wears a short wig and possibly a short kilt. The other son appears on the thickness of the left jamb as a naked boy. He also holds the tomb owner's staff. In the same scene, a daughter stands behind the mother and touches her calf. She wears a long wig and a long dress.
<i>W<sup>3</sup>š-k<sup>3</sup>(.j)</i>	B-3; D-3 B-3; D-3 B-3; D-3 B-3; D-3		Four sons are depicted carrying offerings on the inner jambs of the false door. The one on the top register of the left jamb carries a strip pf linen in each hand. The one below him carries a big basket on his shoulder. The one on the top of the right jamb carries a foreleg. The one below him carries a bird. They all wear short wigs and short kilts. They also appear on the offering basin, kneeling in a sequence and presenting offerings to the tomb owner and his wife. The first son is presenting a bread loaf. The other three sons each presents a jar of a different shape.
<i>Wp-m-nfrt / Wp</i>	B-2 B-4		On the left jamb of the door way on the west wall, the eldest son stands with arms pendent before the tomb owner and his wife. He wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt. The other eldest son stands before the couple on the right jamb. He wears a projecting kilt and holds a papyrus scroll in his hand.
<i>Wnšt</i> (G4840, VII SS)	B-4 B-4	B-1; AS-3	On the top of the left outer jamb, the daughter stands with her hand placed on the chest. She wears a long dress and a long wig. She also appears on the right outer jamb, standing at the foot of her mother in the same gesture but wearing a short wig. A stands at the top of the left inner jamb, and the other on the right

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			inner jamb. They both wear short wigs and short kilts and carry a staff and a scepter in their hands.
<i>Wr-k<sup>3</sup>.j</i>	B-2 B-1 B-1	B-1 B-1	The eldest son stands with arms pendent before the tomb owner on the left outer jamb. He wears a long wig, a beard, and a short pointing kilt. It is interesting to note that the tomb owner does not have a beard. On the right jamb, two sons wearing projecting kilts stand on the top register with the hand placed on the chest. A daughter stands with her hand placed on the chest on a register below. She wears a long wig and a long dress. Another daughter stands on the bottom register in the same stance. She wears a short wig and a long dress.
<i>Pr-snb</i> (LG 78)		AS-1-Y; AS-2-4-Y	The daughter appears on the pillar at the foot of her father. She stands between the staff and her father's leg, turning backward, touching his kilt with one hand, and places the other hand on her chest. She stands at the foot of the tomb owner on the other face of the pillar. She also turns backward, holding her father's staff with one hand and a lotus flower to her nose in the other hand.
<i>Pth-sḏf<sup>3</sup> / Fff</i>	E-2-CEN	B-5	The son appears to the left of the panel behind the tomb owner on the false door. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. He holds a bell-shaped censer. On the other side of the panel, the daughter stands before the wife. She wears a short wig and a long dress and holds a lotus flower in her hand.
<i>Mnw-ḏd.f</i> (G 7760, LG 60)	AS-2-Y		To the right of the false door, a son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner. He holds his father's staff with one hand and raises the other hand above his head.
<i>Mry-jb / K<sup>3</sup>-pw-nswt</i> (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24)	AS-3; AS-1-2-Y AS-3; D-1	AS-2 D-1	A son appears on the left jamb of the doorway. He appears at a reduced scale between the leg of the tomb owner and his staff. Wearing a short wig and a short kilt, he stands with arms pendent. On the right jamb, the other son wearing the same

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			costume stands at the foot of the tomb owner. He places two reed pens behind his ear and holds a papyrus scroll in his right hand. A daughter appears on the left thickness and stands in front of the tomb owner's staff. Wearing a short wig and a long dress, she turns backward, holds the staff of the tomb owner with one hand, and a lotus flower in the other hand. A son knee-sits before them on the ground. He wears a short beard and a short wig. He places one hand on his chest and holds a papyrus scroll in the other hand. Another daughter kneels behind him with her hand placed on the chest. She wears a long wig and a long dress.
<i>Mry-nswt</i> (G 1301)	B-2-Y B-2-Y	B-2	A son appears on the left outer jamb of the false door. The other son and the daughter appear on the right outer jamb. They all appear as naked children, standing with arms pendent.
<i>Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-mrj-Pth- ḥnh / Nhbw</i> (G 2381 with shaft G 2382A)	C-1 C-3		A son appears on the boat in front of the tomb owner. He holds the spear with his extended arms in a forward stance and spears fish in the same posture as the tomb owner. He wears the same costume as the tomb owner does, a sash tied on the head and a short kilt. The other son stands on a sub-register behind the tomb owner. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a projecting kilt with a band across his chest.
<i>Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q<sup>3</sup>r</i> (G 7101)	AS-1-Y; B-6		The son appears on the west wall of Room E to the right of the false door. Wearing a long wig and a short projecting kilt, he raises his arm in front of his body with his palms facing up. On the north wall of Room E, he also appears at the foot of his father who is seated with the wife before the offering table. He appears as a naked boy at a much-reduced scale under the offering table. He holds a bird in one hand and touches his father's leg with the other hand.
<i>Mr-ḥnh.f</i>	E-2-CEN AS-3		On the right thickness, a son stands at the foot of the tomb owner but reaches almost

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			half of his height. He wears a short wig and a short kilt and holds a censor to the tomb owner. His foot overlaps that of his father, and his figure overlaps his father's staff. On the left thickness, the other son also appears at the foot of the tomb owner and turns backward to face him. He wears a long pointed kilt. He stands with his right hand placed on the left shoulder. His foot overlaps that of his father, and his figure overlaps the staff.
<i>Mrw-k<sup>3</sup>(.j)</i> <i>sn.f dt</i>	B-3 B-3		On the west wall, two sons of the tomb owner appear as the second and the third offering bearers carrying forelegs in a procession before the tomb owner. They both wear short wigs and short kilts.
<i>Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh III</i> (G 7530 + 7540)	AS-3-Y AS-3-Y; B-4		On the east pillar of the north wall in the main room, a son appears at the foot of the tomb owner as a naked boy. Wearing a collar, he stands with both arms pendent. On the west pillar, the other son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner. He turns back, with his index finger placed in his mouth. The same son appears on the west wall behind his mother and grandmother at a slightly reduced scale. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a long projecting kilt with a sash across the chest. He holds a piece of cloth in his hand.
<i>Mr-sw-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	D-3 D-3 D-3		Three sons appear on the south wall of the upper serdab, knee-sitting before the offering table and holding jars of offerings. They wear short wigs and short kilts.
<i>Ms-z<sup>3</sup></i>	AS-2		The son stands on the lintel before the seated tomb owner and holds the lower part of his staff. He wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt.
<i>Mdw-<sup>n</sup>fr</i> (G4630)	B-3 B-3 B-4 B-4		Two sons appear to the right of the panel of the false door, both wearing short wigs and projecting kilts. The one on the top carries a strip of linen in each hand, and the one on the bottom holds a big bird. Another son appears on the panel facing the tomb owner and his wife who are

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			seated at the offering table. He wears a long wig, a beard, a collar, and a short kilt with a sash across the chest. He holds a papyrus scroll in his hand. The fourth son appears on the top of the left inner jamb. He wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt and carries a papyrus scroll in his hand.
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-<sup>c</sup>ntj / Njj</i>	B-4		The son appears at the bottoms of the inner jambs of the false door respectively. He holds a staff with one hand and a piece of cloth in the other. He wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt on the left jamb and a long wig and a long projecting kilt on the right jamb.
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-<u>H</u>nmw</i>	AS-2; AS-2; B-2; B-2 B-1	B-1	A son appears on both thicknesses at the foot of the tomb owner and holds the lower part of his staff. He wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt. He appears at the bottom of the left jamb of the southern false door. Wearing a short wig and a short projecting kilt, he stands with arms pendent. He also appears at the bottom of the left jamb of the northern false door. He wears a short wig. Part of the figure is missing. Another son appears on the right jamb of the northern false door. Wearing a short wig and a short projecting kilt, he stands with his hand placed on the chest. A daughter stands behind him wearing a short wig and a long dress in the same posture.
<i>Nj-wd<sup>3</sup>-Pth</i>	D-1 D-1 D-1	D-1 D-1 D-1	Three sons are knee-sitting before the tomb owner and his wife. The first son places his fist upon the chest, and the other two place the right hand on the left shoulder. Three daughters kneel on the register below, all placing the hand on the chest. All children wear short wigs.
<i>Nj-M<sup>3c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup></i> Tomb owner is <i>sn-dt</i>	AS-2; AS-2 AS-2		The eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner on the right thickness, with his foot overlapping that of his father. He holds the tomb owner's staff and wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt. The other son appears on the opposite thickness in the same costume and stance.

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			The eldest son also appears in the same stance on the southern pillar with a short wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Nj-mstj</i> (G 2366)	E-2-CEN; AS-3; AS-2 AS-3		A son appears on the panel of the false door facing the tomb owner and censuring him by removing the lid of the bell-shaped censor. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. Wearing a short projecting kilt and a short wig, he stands at the foot of the tomb owner on the right outer jamb and holds the lower part of his staff. On the left inner jamb, he stands at the foot of the tomb owner in the same costume with arms pendent. Another son appears on the right inner jamb in the same stance and costume.
<i>Nj...R<sup>c</sup></i>	AS-2		On the left thickness of the entrance, the eldest son stands before the tomb owner and holds his staff. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. His foot overlaps that of his father.
<i>Nj-ḥtp-Pth / Pnj</i> (G 2340, LG 25)	D-3; E-2-CEN E-2-CEN	AS-3 D-1	On the north wall, A daughter appears at a much-reduced scale at the foot of the tomb owner and his wife and stands with her hand placed on the chest. She wears a long dress and a short wig. Another daughter kneels under the chair on which the tomb owner is seated. She wears a long wig and a long dress. In the same scene, a son kneels under the offering table and presents jars with both hands. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. This son also appears on the north pillar, standing before the tomb owner and censuring him. The other son appears on the other face of the pillar, also in the stance of censuring. Both sons wear short wigs and short kilts. They remove the lid of the censor completely and present the base with smoke to the tomb owner. In most censuring scenes, however, the lid is only slightly removed to allow the smoke to come out from the gap.
<i>Nj-s<sup>c</sup>nh-ḳhty / Jtj</i>	E-2-CEN		On the panel of the false door, the eldest son is depicted censuring his father who

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			seated at the offering table. He wears a short wig and a short kilt.
<i>Nj-sw-Pth</i>	B-3		The son appears at a much reduced scale on the right thickness of the door way. Wearing a short wig, a collar, and a projecting kilt, he presents two big birds to the tomb owner.
<i>Nj-sw-s<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	B-3		The son appears on the right outer jamb, wearing a short kilt and presenting a bird.
<i>Nfr-b<sup>3</sup>w-Pth</i> (G 6010, LG 15)	B-2 B-2		The eldest son stands behind the tomb owner at a relatively large scale—approximately 80% of the height of the tomb owner. He wears a collar and a long projecting kilt. On the east wall of the third chamber, he also stands before the tomb owner and the wife on the first sub-register. He wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt.
<i>Nfr-m<sup>3</sup>ct</i> (G 7060, LG 57)	AS-2		To the right of the false door, the eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner. He wears a projecting kilt and holds the father's staff.
<i>Nfr-mšdr-Hwfw</i> (G 2240)	AS-2	D-1	A son appears at a much reduced scale at the foot of the tomb owner on the left jamb of the entrance. Wearing a short wig and a short projecting kilt, he stands and holds his father's staff. A daughter kneels before the seated tomb owner. She wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress and places her hand on the chest.
<i>Nfr-n</i>	D-1 B-2		A son wearing a short wig knee-sits at the bottom of the left jamb. The other son appears on the panel of the false door, facing the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. His figure is partly missing.
<i>Nfr-hwj</i> (G 2098)	B-1		The son stands behind the tomb owner who is in a carrying chair. He wears a short projecting kilt. Part of his figure is missing.
<i>Nfr-sh,f-Pth</i> (LG 79)	AS-1-Y	AS-1	The son appears as a naked boy behind the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and touches the tomb owner's leg. His feet overlap those of the tomb owner and the wife behind him. The daughter stands

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			behind the wife and touches her leg. She wears a long dress and a short wig.
<i>Nfr-sšm-Hwfw / Šsj</i>	AS-1-2-Y	AS-1-4-Y	The son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner on the left jamb. He wears a short wig and a long necklace and stands with his hand reached out to touch the kilt of the tomb owner. He also embraces the tomb owner's staff with the other hand and turns his head backward to look at the tomb owner. The daughter appears as a naked girl at the foot of the wife. She touches her mother's leg with one hand and holds a lotus flower with the other hand. She also turns her head backward to look at her mother.
<i>Nfrt-nswt</i>	B-3 B-3 B-3	B-1 B-1	The three sons stand on the outer jambs of the false door, all wearing short wigs and short kilts. Each grasps a small bird in each hand. The two daughters stand on the inner jambs respectively. They both wear long wigs and long dresses and place the hand on the chest.
<i>Nswt-nfr</i> (G 4970)	E-3 B-1-4 B-1-4 B-1-4 B-1-4 B-1-4 B-1-4 B-1-4	B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1	A sequence of seven sons stands before the tomb owner and his wife, each wearing short wigs, short kilts, and panther skins. They all place the left hand on the chest and carry a scepter in the right hand. Below them, a sequence of nine daughters stands with their left hand placed on the chest. They all wear long wigs and long dresses. Another son appears before the tomb owner on the north wall. He stands and bends forward, presenting a document to the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt.
<i>Rmnw-k³(.j) / Jmj</i>	B-3 B-3		Two sons appear as offering bearers on the false door. The both wear short wigs, short beard, and short kilts. The first one carries a bird, twisting its neck with one hand and grasping the wings with the other hand. The other son stands behind him and carries a foreleg.
<i>Rdj</i> (G 2086)	AS-2		The eldest son appears at the foot of the tomb owner. He stands on a sub-register at a reduced scale. Wearing a short wig



Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			and a short projecting kilt, he grasps the lower part of the tomb owner's staff. His foot does not overlap that of the father.
<i>Rdj-ns</i> (G 5032)	B-Y B-3-Y	B-1-Y	The daughter appears as a naked girl to the left of the panel of the false door. She wears a collar and short wig. On the bottom of the left inner jamb, a son appears as a naked boy, standing and sucking his finger. The other son also appears as a naked boy on the right inner jamb. He presents a bird by grasping the neck of the bird with his hand. Both boys wear collars and short wigs.
<i>Hrw-nfr</i> (G 2353)	AS-2		The eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner at a much-reduced scale on the jamb of the entrance. He is on a sub-register slightly higher than that of the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt and holds the lower part of the staff on the lower part.
<i>Hmt-R<sup>c</sup></i>	B-1-4 B-1; E-2- LOT B-1	B-1 B-1 AS-1	On the second pillar, the three sons are depicted standing facing the tomb owner on two sub-registers. They all wear long projecting kilts, collars, and short wigs. The son on the top sub-register places one hand on the chest and holds a papyrus scroll in the other hand. The other two sons on the sub-register below also place the hand on the chest. Two daughters stand on the bottom register, both wearing long wigs, collars, and long dresses. They both place their hand on the chest. Another daughter wearing the same costume stands behind the tomb owner. She embraces her mother's legs with her right arm. On the southern pillar, a son wearing a long projecting kilt and a short wig appears before the tomb owner and presents a lotus flower to her.
<i>H<sub>zj</sub></i>	B-1		The son appears on both inner jambs of the false door respectively. He wears a long wig, a beard, a collar, and a short pointed kilt. He stands with his hand placed on the chest.
<i>H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh</i> (G 7948)	AS-2-6-Y; E-3, E-1	AS-1; B-1 B-1; B-1	Two sons appear at the foot of the tomb owner on the left thickness of the

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
<i>sn-dt</i>	AS-5-Y; E-3; E-1; AS-2-Y E-3; E-1	B-1 B-1	doorway. They are depicted as naked boys. The eldest son embraces their father's staff with his arm and looks backward at the younger son. The younger son stands behind the eldest son and holds his hand. A daughter appears behind the tomb owner on the thickness at the other side. She embraces his calf with her arm. Children also appear on the south wall. The sons knee-sit on the ground, playing the flute and singing. Four daughters are seated behind them. All place their hand on the chest. On the west wall, a son appears as a naked boy with a side lock at the foot of the tomb owner and holds his staff. All the three sons appear on the same wall above the statue niche as scribes, knee-sitting, and writing on an unfolded papyrus. All of them wear short wigs with a reed pen placed behind the ear. On the east wall before the tomb owner and his <i>sn-dt</i> , the eldest son presents a document. He wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt. Other sons knee-sit on the ground, writing on an unfolded papyrus.
<i>Hwj-n-Pth</i>		B-1	The daughter appears behind the seated tomb owner at the left end of the lintel. Wearing a long wig and a long dress, she stands with her left hand placed on the chest.
<i>Hww-wr</i> (LG 95)		E-1 E-1	The two daughters appear on the west wall as harpists.
<i>Hwfw-nh</i> (G 4520) <i>sn-dt; snt-dt</i>	AS-2-4-Y	B-3-Y	The son appears as a nude youngster on the left outer jamb of the false door. He grasps the lower part of the staff of the tomb owner with one hand and carries a bird in the other hand. His foot overlaps that of his father. On the right outer jamb, the daughter appears as a nude girl. She stands behind the wife with her index finger in her mouth. She also carries a bird in the other hand. Her pigtail braid is decorated with a round ornament at the end.

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
<i>Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I</i> (G 7130 + 7140)	D-1; D-1; E-3 D-1; D-1; E-3	A-1-Y	The two sons appear before the seated tomb owner on the northern inner jamb of the chapel. They both wear long wigs, beard, and short kilts with a band across the chest. Each of them presents an unfolded papyrus inscribed with offering lists to the tomb owner. Behind the tomb owner in the same scene, a daughter appears as a naked girl with a pigtail braid at a much-reduced scale with her index finger placed in her mouth. She raises her left hand to hold the arm of her father. On the other jamb, the two sons knee-sit before the tomb owner. They wear long wigs, collars, and short kilts with a band across the chest. They both bend the left arm to the chest with a papyrus scroll in their hand and place the right hand on the lap. The two sons also appear knee-sitting on the north facade. They both wear long wigs, short beard, and short pleated kilts. The first one bends the right arm to the chest with a papyrus scroll held in his hand and places the left hand on the lap. The second son places the right hand on the chest and the left hand on the lap.
<i>Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f II</i> (G 7150)	AS-2-4-Y E-2-LOT-Y		On the east wall, the eldest son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner. He embraces the lower part of the staff with the right arm and carries a bird in the left hand. On the south wall, the other son appears as a naked boy standing before the seated tomb owner and his wife. He faces the tomb owner, holds the stem of a lotus flower with both hands, and hands it over to his father.
<i>Hwfw-snb II</i>	E-2-CEN		The son appears before the tomb owner on the thickness of the entrance. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. He holds a censer toward the nose of the tomb owner.
<i>Hwt<sup>3</sup></i>		D-1	On the panel of the false door, the daughter kneels before the tomb owner and the wife who are seated at their offering table. She wears a long dress and

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			a long wig and places her right hand upon her chest.
<i>Hnt</i>	B-2		The son appears on the top of the inner jamb of the false door. He wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt and stands with arms pendent.
<i>Hntj</i>	B-2		The eldest son stands with arms pendent before the mother on the architrave. He wears a long wig and a short kilt with a band across his chest. The son and the mother are at the same scale.
<i>Hnt-k3w.s</i>	B-4 B-2	B-1	A son appears on the top register on the left inner jamb. He wears a short wig, a short kilt, and a leopard skin. He stands and holds a piece of cloth in his right hand. On the right inner jamb, a woman stands with her hand placed on the chest. She wears a long wig and a long dress. The other son wearing a short wig and a short kilt stands behind her.
<i>Hnw</i>	B-3 B-3 B-3	B-5	Three sons and a daughter stand before the tomb owner on the architrave. The sons wear short wigs and short kilts. The first one carries a foreleg, the second carries a tray of loafs of bread, and the third carries a basket. The daughter stands behind them. She wears a long dress, holds a lotus flower to her nose with one hand, and carries a lotus flower in the other hand.
<i>Hnmw</i>	B-2 B-2 B-2 B-2	B-1 B-1	On the west wall, six children appear below the seated tomb owner and his wife. Three sons stand on the right and face to the center of the register. A son and two daughters stand on the left and also face to the center. All of the sons wear short wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts. The two daughters stand behind the son and place the right hand on the chest. They wear short wigs and long dresses with V-shaped stripes.
<i>Hnmw-htp</i> (Fakhry 4)	AS-2-4-Y		The son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner on the left entrance door jamb. He holds the lower part of the tomb owner's staff with one hand and carries a lotus flower with the other hand.

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
<i>Z3-jb</i> (G 2092+2093)		B-3 B-1 AS-4	Two daughters wearing long wigs and long dresses stand behind the tomb owner and his wife. The one on the top sub-register carries a bird in each hand, and the one on the register below places the right hand on the chest. Another daughter stands at the foot of the tomb owner between his leg and his staff. She wears a braid and a long dress and carries a bird in each hand.
<i>Ztw</i> (G 4710, LG 49) <i>sn-dt</i>	AS-3-Y; B-Y	B-1-Y	To the left of the panel of the false door, the son appears as a naked boy with his finger placed into the mouth. The daughter appears as a naked girl below him. She stands with her right hand placed on the chest. The son also appears as a naked boy on the right jamb before the wife.
<i>Snfrw-htp</i> (G 3088)	B-4		On the east wall, the son stands before the tomb owner and face him. He wears a short kilt and holds a staff.
<i>Snnw</i>	B-3 E-2-CEN B-3	B-1 B-3 B-3 B-3	To the left of the panel of the false door, a son appears carrying a jar and a bird. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. To the right of the panel, a son wearing a short wig and a short kilt holds a censor. A daughter (?) stands behind him and carries a bird. She wears a long wig and a long dress. On the left outer jamb, three children are arranged vertically. The one of the top is a daughter. She wears a long wig and a long dress and stands with her hand placed on the chest. A daughter wearing pigtail braid stands on the middle register and carries a bird. A son wearing a short wig and short kilt stands on the bottom register. He carries a foreleg on the shoulder. Another daughter is depicted on the top register of the right outer jamb. She wears a long wig and a long dress and carries a bird in her hand.
<i>Snnw-k3(j) / Kkj</i> (G 2041)		B-1; B-5 B-5	Between two false doors, a daughter wearing a short wig and a long dress stands behind the tomb owner. She places her hand on the chest. She also stands and sniffs a lotus flower behind the wife on

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			the false door. The other daughter appears on the right outer jamb. She wears a short wig and a long dress and holds a lotus flower to the nose.
<i>Snđm-jb / Jntj</i> (G 2370) <i>sn-đt</i>	B-3; C-3 B-3; C-3 B-3; C-3 B-3		On the west end of the north wall in Room VI, three sons are depicted as offering bearers. The first two present forelegs and the last one carries a big bird. They also appear in a hippopotamus hunting scene on the west wall of Room II. The tomb owner stands on a boat with his staff held in his hand, and his three sons stand with arms pendent behind him on three sub-registers. All of the sons wear short wigs and long pointed kilts.
<i>Snđm-jb / Mhj</i> (G 2378, LG26)	B-2; B-2; AS-3; AS-2 AS-3	AS-1	The eldest son appears before the tomb owner on the entrance thicknesses. He wears a short projecting kilt and a short wig. He also appears at the foot of the tomb owner on the west wall of Room II. Standing with arms pendent, he appears as an adult and wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. The other son stands between the tomb owner and his wife as a naked boy at a much-reduced scale. He wears a short wig and a long necklace and carries small birds in his hands. The daughter appears behind the mother in the same scene. She wears a long wig and a long dress and embraces her mother's calf with her arm.
<i>Štptw / Tpw</i>	B-1 B-4		On the right outer jamb of the false door, the eldest son stands behind the tomb owner at the same scale. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a short kilt. He places his open hand on the chest. The other son appears on the south wall, standing with a staff held in his hand and facing a procession of cattle. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Šhm-ñh-Pth</i> (G 7152)	AS-2-4	AS-1-Y	On the west wall, the son stands before the tomb owner at a much-reduced scale. Wearing a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt, he carries a bird in one hand and holds the staff of his father with the other hand. On the east wall, the

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			daughter appears as a naked girl behind the wife. She embraces the legs of her mother with her arm.
<i>Shm-k3(j)</i> (G 1029)	AS-3; AS-2		On the west wall, the eldest son appears at the foot of the tomb owner. He wears stands with arms pendent. He also appears on the east wall. He a short wig and a short projecting kilt and grasps the staff of his father. His foot overlaps that of his father in both scenes.
<i>Shm-k3(j)</i> (G4411, LG51)	AS-2-Y	AS-3-Y	On the north door jamb, the son appears as a naked boy with side lock and a collar at the foot of the tomb owner. He grasps the lower part of his father's staff, with his foot overlapping that of his father. The daughter stands at the foot of her father on the south door jamb. She wears a short wig and places her hand on the chest.
<i>Shm-k3(j)</i>	B-1-Y	B-1 B-1	On the panel of the false door, three children appear on a sub-register above the offering table before the tomb owner. The first is a son depicted as a naked boy. He places his right hand on the chest, and his left hand holds the right arm. Two daughters stand behind him, both wearing long wigs and long dresses. They both place the right hand on the chest.
<i>Shm-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> (LG 89)	D-1-4 D-1 D-1 D-1		Four sons knee-sit before the tomb owner and his wife, all wearing short wigs, collars, and short kilts. The first one holds a papyrus scroll in the right hand and places the left hand on the right shoulder. The other three sons place the right hand on the left shoulder and the left hand on the lap.
<i>Sš3t-ḥtp / Htj *</i> (G 5150)	AS-2-4-Y E-3 B-3	B-2	The daughter stands behind the tomb owner on the north thickness. She wears a short wig and a long dress with V-shaped stripes. On the west wall, a son appears as a naked boy with side lock at a much-reduced scale at the foot of the tomb owner. He turns backward to look at the tomb owner, carries a bird with one hand, and holds the tomb owner's staff with the other hand. Another son stands in front of the tomb owner and writes on a papyrus

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			scroll. He wears a long projecting kilt and a short wig with pens placed before his ear. On the bottom of the outer jamb of the southern false door on the west wall, a <i>ms.f dt</i> is depicted holding a jar with one hand and a bowl with the other hand. He wears a short wig and a short kilt.
<i>Sšmw</i> (?) (Shaft 590)		B-1	The daughter appears before the seated tomb owner and his wife on the architrave. Wearing a pigtail braid, a collar, and a long dress, she stands with her hand placed on the chest.
<i>Sšm-nfr I</i> (G 4940, LG 45) <i>sn-dt</i>	AS-1-2-Y B-1-Y B-1-Y B-1-Y AS-2-Y	B-1 B-1 B-2 B-2	Four daughters appear before the tomb owner on the west wall. The first one is taller than the other three. She wears a long wig and a long dress with V-shaped strips. The other three wear short wigs and long dresses with V-shaped stripes. The first two daughters stand with their hand placed on the chest, and the last two stand with arms pendent. Three sons stand on the register below, facing the tomb owner. They appear as naked boys and wears short wigs and collars. The first and the third place stand with their hands placed on the chest, and the second stands with his arms across on the chest. On the same scene, another son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner. He grasps the lower part of the tomb owner's staff with one hand and turns backward to touch the leg of his father with the other hand. The fifth son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner on the north wall. He faces the tomb owner and holds the lower part of his staff.
<i>Sšm-nfr II</i> (G 5080)	A-2 E-2-LOT; AS-2-Y D-1 D-1 D-1	D-1 D-1	On the west wall, a son and two daughters appear under the chair of the tomb owner. Wears a short wig, a collar, and a short wig, the son knee-sits on the ground and embraces the leg of the wife with his arm. Wearing long wigs and long dresses, the two daughters kneel on the ground with their hands placed on the chest. On the south wall, a son wearing a short wig and



Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			<p>a long projecting kilt presents a lotus flower to the tomb owner. He bends forward and holds the stem of the lotus flower with both hands. On the east wall, the same son appears at the foot of the tomb owner. He holds the tomb owner's staff and turns backward to look at him. His feet are depicted behind that of his father. On the south wall, three sons are depicted knee-sitting before the tomb owner. They all wear short wigs and short kilts. The first one places the right hand on the left shoulder and holds the right arm with the left hand. The second places the right hand on the left shoulder and places the left hand under the right elbow. The third places his hands under his arms.</p>
<i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (G 5170)	AS-2-Y; E-2-LOT D-1 D-1 D-1		<p>A son appears as a naked boy at a much-reduced scale at the foot of the tomb owner. He wears a side lock and a collar and holds his father's staff. He also appears on the south wall. He bends forward and holds the stem of the flower with both hands to present a lotus flower to the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt. Three sons appear knee-sitting on a register below. Wear short wigs and short kilts, all of them place the left hand on the right shoulder and hold the left arm with the right hand.</p>
<i>Sšm-nfr IV</i> (LG 53)	B-2 B-2 B-2		<p>On the left thickness of the door way, two sons appear behind the tomb owner. The one of the bottom wears a long wig and a long projecting kilt. The one on the upper register wears a long kilt and a short wig. On the right thickness, another son appears on the top register behind the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a long kilt. All the three sons stand with arms pendent.</p>
<i>St-k<sup>3</sup>.j</i>	D-3; D-3		<p>On the west wall, the eldest son appears on a register above the offering table on both sides. He kneels, holds a small vessel in each hand, and presents them to the tomb owner.</p>

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
<i>Sṯw</i> (LG 93)	B-2 B-2 B-2	B-1 B-1	On the south wall of the north room, three sons and two daughters stand on two registers behind the tomb owner. Two sons on the upper register wear short projecting kilts. The third son on the lower register wears a short wig and a short kilt. The two daughters behind him wear long wigs and long dresses. The sons stand with arms pendent and the daughters stand with their hands placed on the chest.
<i>Špsj</i>	B-3-Y	B-3-Y B-3-Y	On the panel of the false door, three children appear as naked children below the seated tomb owner and his wife. All of them are depicted as offering bearers. The first is a son, and he carries a bird and a jar. The last two are daughters wearing pigtail braids. One daughter carries a jar and a strip of linen, and the other carries a strip of linen and a bag.
<i>Špss-k³.f-ḥ</i>	B-1 E-2-REM; B-1 AS-2-4-Y B-1-Y	B-1 B-1 D-1 D-1 B-1 B-1 B-1	To the left of the central false door, two sons stand before the tomb owner. One of them appears as a naked boy with side lock at the foot of the tomb owner. He holds the tomb owner's staff with one hand and carries a bird in the other hand. On a sub-register above him, the other son stands with his hand placed on the chest. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. Another son appears as a naked boy with side lock behind the father and stands with his hand placed on the chest. Between the boy and the wife, a daughter stands with her hand placed on the chest. Wearing a short wig and a long dress, she is depicted at a slightly larger scale than the boy. Behind the wife, two daughters stand with their hands placed on the chest. They both have pigtail braids and wear long dresses. To the left of the southern false door of the tomb owner, a son appears standing with his hand placed on the chest. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. Two daughters stand below him, both placing their hands on the chest. Another two daughters kneel

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			below them, both placing their hands on the chest. All the daughters wear short wigs and long dresses. On the south wall, a son stands before the seated tomb owner. He wears a short kilt and a short wig. He drags a broom-like object in his hand.
<i>Qd-ns</i>		B-1 B-1 B-1-3	The daughters appear on the left jamb of the second false door. They stand with their hands placed on the chest. Another daughter stands on the left jamb of the fourth false door, carries a bird with one hand and places the other hand on the chest. All of them wear short wigs and long dresses.
<i>Qd-ns II</i>	E-2-CEN		On the thickness of the entrance doorway, the son is depicted holding a censor and censuring the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a long dress.
<i>K3j</i> (east of tomb G 7391)	B-1-4 B-2 B-2 B-2 B-2		The six sons are depicted on the jambs of the false door. One of them appears on the top register of the left jamb and wear a short wig and a long kilt. He stands with one hand placed on the chest and carries a scepter in the other hand. The other sons all wear short wigs and short kilts and stand with their arms pendent.
<i>K3.j-pw-nswt / K3j</i> (G 4651)	B-4; E-3 E-2-CEN AS-2-4; B-1-4; AS-1-2-Y	B-1 B-1-Y	On the entrance thickness, a daughter appears as a naked child with a short wig behind the seated tomb owner. She stands with her hand placed on the chest. A son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner. He embraces the lower part of the staff with his arm and turns backward to touch the tomb owner's leg with the other hand. On the west wall, the same son appears as the foot of the tomb owner as an adult wearing a short wig and a projecting kilt. He holds the lower part of the staff of his father with one hand and carries a papyrus scroll in the other hand. On the left jamb of the northern false door, he also appears with the same wig and costume, standing an open hand placed on the chest. To the left of the southern false door, another son wearing a

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			short wig and a short projecting kilt holds a censer. The third son appears on the left jamb of the southern false door. He wears a long projecting kilt and a short wig, with two reed pens placed behind her ear. He is depicted standing, holding an unfolded papyrus and writing with a reed pen. Another daughter appears on the right jamb of the false. Wearing a short wig, a collar, and a long dress, she stands with her hand placed on the chest.
<i>K3(.j)-m-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (G 4561)	C-1-2-Y	E-1 E-1 E-1	On the west wall of the corridor, the three daughters of the tomb owner stand and clap hands in front of him and the wife. They wear short wigs, collars, and long dresses. On the north wall of the recess, a son appears as a nude youngster and stands before the tomb owner on the boat. Wearing a side lock and a collar, he holds a spear with one hand and carries a bird with the other hand.
<i>K3(.j)-mnj</i>	AS-3-Y		On the west wall between two false doors, the son appears as a nude youngster at the foot of the tomb owner. He stands with his finger placed in his mouth and turns backward to face his father. The upper part of the figure is not well preserved.
<i>K3(.j)-m-nfr</i> (LG 63)	AS-2		On the south wall, the son wearing a short wig and a long projecting kilt stands at the foot of the tomb owner. He holds the lower part of the tomb owner's staff.
<i>K3(.j)-nj-nswt I</i> (G 2155)	B-4; AS-1-Y B-Y	B-1	On the west wall between two false doors, three children appear before the tomb owner and the wife. The first is a son. He carries a papyrus scroll and wears a short pleated kilt. The second is a daughter. She stands with her hand placed on the chest. She wears a short wig and a long dress. The third is a naked boy with his finger placed in the mouth. On the north wall, a son appears as a naked boy with a side lock at the foot of the tomb owner behind him. He raises his hand to touch the calf of the tomb owner.
<i>K3(.j)-nj-nswt II</i> (G 2156)	B-6		The son appears on the west wall before the offering list. He wears a short wig and

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			a short projecting kilt. He raises the right arm in front of his body, in a gesture of speaking.
<i>K3(j)-nfr</i> (G 2150)	AS-2-Y; AS-2-4-Y	AS-2	On the facade of the south entrance, the son appears as a naked boy with a side lock and a necklace at the foot of the tomb owner. He holds his father's staff with one hand and carries a bird with the other hand. He also appears as a naked boy on the west wall, standing at the foot of the tomb owner. He holds the tomb owner's staff with one hand and places his index finger of the other hand into the mouth. He turns his head backward. The daughter appears at the foot of the tomb owner on the north wall. Wearing a short wig and a long dress, she stands and holds the tomb owner's staff.
<i>K3(j)-hnt</i> (G 2088)	D-1 (?)	E-1 E-1 D-1 D-1	The eldest son knee-sits before the tomb owner. He wears a short wig. The figure of the son is partly preserved. Four daughters kneel behind him. The first and the second daughters with short wigs are depicted playing the harp. The last two daughters place their right hand on the left shoulder. They wear collars and pigtail braids.
<i>K3(j)-dw3</i>	B-2 B-2; B-3 B-2 B-2		On the left thickness of the doorway, the four sons appear below the tomb owner and his wife. They all wear short wigs and short projecting kilts. Two sons stand on the upper register and the other two sons on the lower register. To the left of the southern false door, one of the sons also appears carrying a bird in each hand.
<i>K3w-nswt</i>	AS-2-4-Y; AS-2-Y; AS-2-3-Y		On the right thickness of the northern false door, the eldest son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner. He stands and holds the staff of his father with one hand and a scepter in the other hand. On the right outer jamb of the northern false door, he also appears as a naked boy with a side lock and a collar at the foot of his father. He places his right hand on the left shoulder and holds his father's staff with the other hand. His

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			body turns backward, but his head faces to the front. On the right jamb, the son also appears as a naked boy with a side lock and a collar. He stands at the foot of his father, embraces the lower part of the staff with his arm, and holds a lotus flower in his hand. He turns his head backward to look at his father.
<i>K3pj</i> (G 2091)		B-1 AS-1; B-1 B-1	Two daughters appear on the north face of the pillar. One stands before the wife with her hand place on the chest. She wears a long wig and a long dress. The other appears as a naked girl at a small scale behind the wife and touches the wife with her right hand. She wears a short wig. On the east wall of the corridor, two daughters stand behind the wife and place their hands on the chest. They wear long wigs and long dresses.
<i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136)	B-6; D-1-2; AS-1-Y B-3; D-1-2 B-3; D-1-2 B-3; D-1-2	D-1-2	The eldest son appears before the offering list on the west wall. Wearing a short wig and a short kilt, he raises his right arm in front of his body, in a gesture of making offerings. On the left outer jamb of the northern false door, three sons appear as offering bearers. They all wear short wigs and short kilts. The first presents a bird, and the last two carry forelegs. On the south wall, the four sons and the daughter appear before the offering table. They all kneel at their own offering tables with right hand placed on the chest and the left hand touches the offering table. They all wear short wigs. The daughter wears a collar and a long dress. One of the sons also appears as a naked boy with a side lock and a collar behind the tomb owner. He places his right hand on the left shoulder and touches the tomb owner with the left hand. His foot overlaps that of his father.
<i>K3-hr-Pth</i> (G 7721) <i>sn-qt.s</i>	AS-1-Y		On the column on the west wall of the antechamber, a son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner. He faces him and places his hand on the tomb owner's kneecap.

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
<i>Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (D 20)	E-2-LOT; D-3 B-3; D-5 B-3; D-3 B-3; D-3		The four sons stand before the tomb owner who is seated with his wife on an arm chair. All of the sons wear short wigs. The first two wear projecting kilts, and the last two wear short tight kilts. The first son presents a lotus flower to the tomb owner. The second presents a bird with his right hand twisting the neck of the bird and his left hand grasping the wings. The third carries a big jug on his shoulder, and the last carries a tray of loafs of bread on his shoulder. They also appear before the tomb owner in the offering list scene. The first son squats, with one hand raised in front of his body in a gesture of speaking and the other hand holding a papyrus scroll. He wears a short kilt and a long wig. The other three sons kneel on the ground, and all hold a bowl in each hand. They all wear short wigs and short kilts.
<i>Tf-nn</i> (Cairo Mus. JE 56994)	B-4 B-4 B-2-Y B-2-Y B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1		The eldest son stands on the left side of the panel of the false door. Wearing a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt, he carries a staff and a scepter. Another son appears on the right side with the same stance, costume, and accessories. Below them on each side, a son stands with arms pendent. The one on the right is partly preserved. Probably both appear as nude youngsters with a side lock and a collar. On the first register of the left inner jamb, two sons stand with arms bent to their chests. They wear short wigs, collar, and short kilts. On the first register on the left outer jamb, two sons appear in the same costume and stance.
<i>Ttw I / k3(j)-nswt</i> (G 2001)	B-3 B-3 B-3	B-3	On the north wall of the portico, a son is depicted as an offering bearer presenting a foreleg below the seated tomb owner. He wears a short wig, a short beard, and a short kilt. On the south wall of the portico, another son appears as an offering bearer presenting a foreleg. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. On the south panel at the left end of the west

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			<p>wall, another man designated as “her son” is depicted presenting a foreleg below a woman who is seated at the offering table. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. In the same scene, a woman designated as “her daughter” is depicted carrying a small bird in each hand below the offering table. She wears a short wig, a collar, and a long dress.</p>
<p><i>Ttw II</i> (G 2343-G 5511)</p>	<p>E-2-CEN B-3 B-3 B-3 F</p>		<p>To the left of the false door, a son appears on the top register. He wears a short kilt and holds a censor. The upper part of the figure is missing. Two sons depicted as offering bearers stand on the second register, both wearing short wigs and short kilts. The first carries a bundle of papyrus flowers, and the second carries a jar on his shoulder. Another son appears on the third register. He wears a short wig and a short kilt and carries a basket on his shoulder and a bird in his hand. On the bottom register, a son stands on a boat. The lower part of this register is missing.</p>
<p><i>Ttj</i></p>	<p>AS-2-4-Y; AS-4-Y B-4-Y; AS-1-4-Y</p>	<p>B-1; B-1-5 B-1</p>	<p>On the left jamb of the false door, the eldest son appears as a naked boy with side lock at the foot of the tomb owner. He grasps the lower part of the tomb owner’s staff with one hand and holds a bird in the other hand. Another son appears as a naked boy with a side lock before the tomb owner. He is depicted at a much- reduced scale and holds a piece of cloth in his hand. On the right jamb, two daughters stand behind the wife. Wearing long wigs, collars, and long dresses, they both place the right hand on the chest. Two sons appear on the left jamb of the other false door. The eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner. He is depicted as a naked boy with a side lock and a collar. He places one hand on the chest and grasps a bird in the other hand. The other son stands between the legs of the tomb owner. He also appears as a naked boy with a side lock. He embraces the leg of the tomb owner with one hand and</p>



Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of the Scenes
			grasps a bird in the other hand. On the right jamb, a daughter stands behind the mother. Wearing a long wig and a long dress, she places one hand on the chest and holds a lotus flower with the other hand.
<i>Dwꜣ-R<sup>c</sup></i>	B-2		On the right thickness of the entrance, the son stands below the tomb owner. He wears a projecting kilt. The upper part of the figure is missing.
<i>Dndnw</i> (LG 73)	AS-2-4-Y AS-2-Y; AS-2-Y		On the left thickness of the entrance, a son appears as a naked child wearing a short wig at the foot of the tomb owner. He holds the lower part of the tomb owner's staff with one hand and carries a lotus flower with the other hand. Another son appears at the foot of the tomb owner at the right thickness. He wears a short wig and embraces the lower part of the staff. On the left jamb of the doorway, the son appears again as a naked child with a side lock. He stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds his staff. His foot overlaps that of the tomb owner.

Table III.1.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
name lost (Martin, Hetepka, No. 22, 22-23, pl. 23.)	E-2-CEN B-3	B-1	The eldest son is depicted holding a censor. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. The other son stands behind him and carries a calf. The daughter appears behind the two sons and stands with her hand placed on the chest. She wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress
<i>ꜥhtj-htp</i> (Louvre E. 10958, Mastaba du Louvre)	E-2-CEN AS-4 AS-4		On the north door way of the entrance corridor, a son stands before the depiction of the tomb owner's statue on a sledge, which is pulled by a group of men. He holds a censor to cense the statue by removing the lid. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. On the same wall, another

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			son stands at the foot of the tomb owner. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a projecting kilt with a band across the chest. He holds a papyrus scroll in his hand. The third son stands at the foot of the tomb owner right behind him. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a projecting kilt, holding a papyrus scroll in his hand.
<i>3htj-htp</i> (E 17)	AS-2; C-1 AS-2; C-1		On the north wall, the eldest son appears at the foot of the tomb owner. Wearing a short wig and a short projecting kilt, he holds the lower part of the tomb owner's staff. On the south wall, the other son appears at the foot of the tomb owner in the same stance and costume. The two sons also appear in the spear fishing and fowling scene on the east wall. The eldest son stands in front of the tomb owner on the boat and holds a spear. The other son stands on the boat with tomb owner in the fowling scene and holds a throwing stick.
<i>3ht-htp</i> (D 64) <i>sn-dt</i>	AS-2-4-Y; AS-2-4; AS-3; AS-3 B-3; B-2; B-2; B-3 B-3 B-3		On the west wall of the corridor, a son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner. Wearing a side lock, a collar, and a long necklace, he holds the tomb owner's staff with one hand and carries a bird in the other hand. He also appears as an adult at the foot of his father on the same wall and holds the tomb owner's staff with one hand and a piece of cloth in the other hand. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. On the north bay of the west wall, he appears again before the tomb owner and stands with arms pendent. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. On the south bay of the west wall, he appears as an adult at the foot of the tomb owner. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. He stands with arms pendent. On the south wall, another son appears as an offering bearer and presents a big bird. He wears a short wig, a collar, a long necklace, and a short kilt. He also appears on the north wall, presenting a big

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			bird. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. The same son also appears on the south and north bays of the west wall, standing with arms pendent behind the tomb owner on the bottom register. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt in both scenes. On the north wall, the other two sons are depicted as offering bearers. The one on the bottom register carries a bundle of lotus flowers and a tray of food on his shoulder. The other one above him carries two trays of food on his shoulders and a bundle of lotus flowers on his arm. On the west wall of the corridor, the fifth son appears as an offering bearers. He wears a short wig and a short kilt and grasps a bird in one hand and a lotus flower in the other hand.
<i>J3rtj</i>	B-4		On the lintel, the son appears at the same scale behind the tomb owner and the wife. He wears a projecting kilt and holds a staff and a scepter. The upper part of the figure is missing.
<i>Jj-wn / Shnt-k3(.j)</i>		B-1	The daughter appears on the left jamb of the false door. Wearing a long wig and a long dress, she stands with her hand placed on the chest.
<i>Jj-nfirt / Š3-n.f</i>	AS-2-4		On the east wall of Room II, the eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner. He holds the lower part of the staff with one hand and carries a piece of cloth in the other hand. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Jj-k3</i>	AS-2 AS-2		A son stands at the foot of the tomb owner on the left inner jamb of the false door. He wears a short wig and a projecting kilt and grasps the lower part of the staff. The other son appears on the recess in the same stance and costume.
<i>Jnw-Mnw</i> (around Teti Pyramid)	E-2-CEN; E-2-CEN; B-3; A-2 AS-1-4		A son appears on the west and east thicknesses respectively. He wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt and holds a bell-shaped censer in both scenes. On the north wall, he also appears as an offering bearer below the tomb owner. Wearing a short wig and a short kilt, he holds a large

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			foreleg with both hands and carries a bag. He appears knee-sitting at the foot of the tomb owner in the same scene and wearing a long wig and a short kilt. He embraces the calves of the tomb owner with one hand and places the other hand on the chest. On the north wall of Room III, another son appears as an adult at the foot of the tomb owner. He wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt. He embraces the calf of the tomb owner with one hand and carries a young horned-animal with the other hand.
<i>Jrj.s / Jjj</i>	B-3 B-3 B-3 B-3	B-3-5 B-3-5	On the west wall between two false doors, two sons appear as offering bearers carrying forelegs. They wear short wigs and short kilts. To the right of the false door of the wife, another two sons and two daughters appear in a sequence below the wife's offering table. The first and the third are the daughters. They wear long wigs, collars, and long dresses. Each of them holds a lotus flower towards the nose with one hand and carries a bird with the other hand. The second and the fourth are sons. They carry forelegs and wear short wigs and short kilts.
<i>Jrw-k<sup>3</sup>-Pth</i>	AS-2-Y AS-2-Y		The two sons appear on the jambs of the false door on the west wall respectively. They both stand at the foot of the tomb owner and grasps the lower part of his staff. They are depicted as naked boys wearing short wigs.
<i>Jšfw / Jšfj</i> reused by <i>Msy</i>	B-3		The son appears as an offering bearer on the side slab. Wearing a long wig, a collar, and a short kilt, he carries a jug on the shoulder with one hand and grasps a bird with the other hand.
<i>ḥnh-m-ḥ-ḥnty</i>	E-2-CEN		On the right jamb of the false door, the son appears at a reduced scale. He stands between the tomb owner and his staff and holds a bell-shaped censer.
<i>ḥnh-m-ḥ-ḥr / Ssj</i>	B-2; B-3; AS-3		On the east wall of Room VI, the son appears behind the tomb owner and wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt. He stands with arms pendent. On the west

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			wall of Room II, he also appears as an offering bearer carrying a bunch of birds in the fowling scene. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. On the same wall, he appears at the foot of the tomb owner and wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt with a band across the chest.
<i>ḥnh-m-ḥ-k3(j)</i> (No. 67 [D 16])	AS-2-4 AS-2-4-Y		The eldest son appears on the right outer jamb, holding the staff of his father with one hand and a lotus flower with the other hand. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. Another son appears as a naked boy on the left outer jamb. He wears a short wig, holding the staff of his father and grasping the wings of a bird.
<i>ḥnh-Hwt-Hr</i>	B-3 AS-1-Y	B-1 B-1 AS-1	On the panel of the false door, a daughter appears behind the tomb owner and stands with her hand placed on the chest. She wears a pigtail braid, a collar, and a long dress. To the left of the panel, another daughter stands in the same stance. She wears a short wig, a collar, and a long dress. To the right of the panel, a son wearing a short wig and a short projecting kilt presents stripes of linen with both hands. On the left outer jamb, the other son appears as a naked child at the foot of the tomb owner. He embraces her leg with his arm and puts his index finger of the other hand into his mouth. On the right outer jamb, a daughter stands in front of the tomb owner. She wears a long wig and embraces the tomb owner's legs with her arm.
<i>W3š-Pth / Jzj</i>	B-4; B-4; AS-4-Y; B-2; B-4; B-4; AS-2-Y; B-2; B-4 B-3 B-3 B-2		The two eldest sons appear twice on both sides of the panel of the false door. They wear long wigs and short projecting kilts with a band across the chest. Both of them hold a papyrus scroll in their hand. Behind the two eldest sons on the lower registers on both sides of the panel, another two sons wearing short wigs and short kilts appear as offering bearers. One of them carries a foreleg, and the other carries a big bird. The two eldest sons also appear as naked boys on the inner

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			jambs at the foot of the tomb owner respectively. The one on the left grasps the lower part of the staff, while the one on the right holds a lotus flower towards the nose. They appear with another son on the wall near the false door, all wearing long wigs and short projecting kilts and standing with arms pendent. One of them stands before the tomb owner, the other two behind him. The two eldest sons appear in another scene near the false door. They wear long wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts with a band across the chest. One stands before the tomb owner, the other behind him. They both hold a papyrus scroll in their hand.
<i>Wnnj</i> (offering table)	B-6	B-2	The son is depicted standing behind the tomb owner on the offering table. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a long projecting kilt. He raises his hand with his palms facing front, in a gesture of adorning. The daughter appears behind the son. She wears a short wig, a collar, and a long dress and stands with arms pendent.
<i>Wr-jr.n-Pth</i>	D-2 D-2	D-2	Below the tomb owner and the wife between two false doors, a son and the daughter are seated at a small offering table facing each other. The son wears a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt. The daughter wears a long wig and a long dress. The other son wearing the same costume is seated at his own offering table on the register below.
<i>Wr-bʿw</i> (in the same tomb of <i>K3-h3.j</i> )	D-2 D-2 D-2	D-2 D-2 D-2 D-2 D-2	Eight children knee-sit and kneel behind the wife on four registers. Two sons appear on the top register, and another son appears behind a daughter on the second register. All the sons wear short wigs and leopard skins. All the daughters wear long wigs, collars, bracelets, anklets, and long dresses. They all extend the right hand to their own small offering tables in front of them. The sons place the left hand on the chest and grasp the tassel hanging down from the shoulder.

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
<i>Wr-nw</i>	AS-2-4		The son stands at the foot of the tomb owner on the west wall. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. He grasps the lower part of the staff with one hand and carries a bird in the other hand.
<i>Bj<sup>3</sup> / Jry</i>	E-2-CEN AS-4-Y; E-2-CEN; E-2-CEN; B-4 B-2 B-3	E-1 B-5	A son appears before the tomb owner and holds the censer to the nose of the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. Another son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner. He stands and carries small birds in his hands. He also appears before the offering table on both ends of the lintel. Wearing a short wig and a short kilt, he holds a censor to cense the tomb owner. He appears again on the left outer jamb of the false door. He stands and holds a staff and a scepter. The third son stands behind the tomb owner on the false door. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a projecting kilt. The fourth son appears on the right part of the lintel behind the son who holds a censor. He wears a short wig and a short kilt and carries food offerings. A daughter appears as a harpist under the chair of the tomb owner and his wife. The other daughter stands and holds a lotus flower at the bottom of the right outer jamb.
<i>Ppj</i>	B-3 B-3		On the right-side wall of the niche, a son appears as an offering bearer carrying a bunch of birds below the seated offering tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. Another son appears on a register below. He wears a short wig and a short tight kilt and carries a bunch of birds by twisting their necks with one hand and grasping the wings with the other hand.
<i>Pr-nb</i> (Quibell S 913)	D-1 D-1		The two sons appear on the wall of the vestibule, knee-sitting before the tomb owner and placing the hand upon the chest. They wear short wigs, collars, and short kilts.
<i>Pr-ndw</i>		B-1 B-1 B-1	Six daughters appear on the left jamb of the false door, standing with the hand

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
		B-1 B-1 B-1	placed on the chest. They all wear short wigs, collars, and long dresses.
<i>Pr-sn</i> (D 45)	B-3; D-1 B-3; D-1 B-3	B-1 B-1; D-1	Two sons and a daughter of the tomb owner appear knee-sitting and kneeling on the north wall of the offering chapel. The two sons wear short wigs, collars, and short kilts. They place the left hand upon the right shoulder and the right hand on the left arm. A daughter kneels behind them and places her hand on the chest. On the inner jambs of the false door, the two sons and another son appear as offering bearers carrying a foreleg. They all wear short wigs and short projecting kilts. The two daughters appear on the top of the left and right inner jambs respectively. They wear long wigs and long dresses. Their images are erased.
<i>Ph.n-wj-k³</i> (D 70, LS 15) <i>sn-dt</i>	D-1; AS-2-4 B-2		Before the tomb owner in the agricultural scene in Room I, a son appears knee-sitting and placing his hand on the chest. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt. In the fishing scene in Room I, he also stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds the lower part of the tomb owner's staff with one hand and a papyrus scroll in the other hand. He wears a short wig and a collar. Another son stands before them with arms pendent. He wears a short wig and a projecting kilt.
<i>Pth-ḥtp</i> (PM III 653-654)	AS-2 AS-2		In the pillared hall, a son appears at the foot of the tomb owner and grasps the lower part of his staff. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. In Room II, the other son appears at the foot of the tomb owner in the same stance and costume.
<i>Pth-ḥtp / Jj-n-ḥnh</i>	D-2 D-2		Two sons knee-sit at their own offering tables before the tomb owner. Their images are partly missing.
<i>Pth-ḥtp I</i> (D 62)	E-3; B-3		In the offering room, the eldest son is depicted standing before the tomb owner presenting a document. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. He places reed pens before the ear and a



Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			papyrus scroll under the arm and presents a piece of papyrus document with both hands. He also appears as an offering bearer presenting a big bird and wears the same wig and costume.
<i>Pth-ḥtp II</i> (D 64) <i>sn-dt</i>	B-3 AS-2-4-Y AS-2-4-Y		On the south wall, a son appears as an offering bearer presenting a foreleg with both hands. He wears a long wig, a short tight kilt with a band across the chest. Another son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner on the east wall. He wears a side lock, a collar, and a necklace and grasps the staff with one hand and a bird in the other hand. On the east wall, the third son appears at the foot of the tomb owner as a naked boy with a side lock and a collar. He grasps the lower part of the staff with one hand and carries small birds in the other hand. He also turns his head backward to the tomb owner.
<i>Pth-šps</i> (PM III 340-342, Abusir)	AS-2-4; AS-2-4-Y; B-2; B-2 AS-2-4-Y; AS-4-Y; B-2; B-2 B-2 B-2 B-2 B-2 F		On the south wall of the door way, six sons appear standing with arms pendent. They all wear short wigs, collars, long necklace, and short projecting kilts. On the west wall of Room 4, two sons appear as naked boys at the foot of the tomb owner. They both wear collars and a long necklace. The first one grasps the lower part of the tomb owner's staff with one hand and a bird in the other hand. The son behind him holds a lotus flower toward his nose with one hand and grasps a bird in the other hand. They appear again at the foot of the tomb owner on the south wall. The first one is depicted as an adult, wearing a short wig, a collar, a long necklace, and a projecting kilt. He embraces the staff with his arm and grasps a bird in the rare hand. The one behind him appears as a naked boy. He wears a collar and a long necklace and grasps the staff with one hand and a bird in the other hand. On the north wall, three sons stand with arms pendent behind the tomb owner in the carrying chair scene.

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			They all wear short wigs, collars, necklaces, and short projecting kilts. A son appears on the fifth register of the north wall of Room 4. He is depicted placing food offerings on the offering table. He wears a short wig and a short kilt.
<i>Pth-šps II</i>	B-3; AS-2 B-3 B-3 B-3 B-3		Below the tomb owner and the offering list on the south wall, two sons appear as offering bearers carrying forelegs. They wear short wigs and short kilts. On the north wall, another three sons appear as offering bearers in the same costume. The first two carry forelegs, and the third carries a bird. On the wall of the doorway, a son appears at the foot of his father and grasps his staff.
<i>Mry-Tlj</i> (son of <i>Mrrw-k3.j</i> , in the same tomb)	AS-4; B-3 B-3		On the south wall of Room C1, a son stands at the foot of his father. He grasps a bird with one hand and holds a lotus flower to his nose with the other hand. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. On the north wall of Room C3, he also appears as an offering bearer presenting a foreleg. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. On the south wall of Room C3, the other son appears before the offering table presenting a bird. He wears a short wig and a short kilt.
<i>Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj</i>	B-3; AS-2; AS-2; C-2; AS-2-4 B-3; AS-2 B-3; AS-2		On the east wall of the main chapel, two sons appear as offering bearers carrying forelegs with their bodies bent forward. They both wear long wigs and short kilts. On the north and south thicknesses of the doorway, two sons stand together at the foot of the tomb owner and hold the lower part of his staff. They both wear long wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts. The first one turns backwards on both sides. On the west wall of the main chapel, the eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds his staff. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. He also appears on the boat with the tomb owner in the fowling scene the east wall. He stands at the foot of the tomb

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			owner and grasps a big bird. On the west wall to the left of the false door, he also appears at the foot of the tomb owner, holds the lower part of his staff, and grasps a bird. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Mrrj</i> (around Teti Pyramid)	C-2-7; B-2; AS-2-4 C-2-7; B-2		On the south wall of Room I, the two sons appear behind the tomb owner on the boat in the fishing scene and hold small birds in one hand and lotus flowers in the other hand. They both wear short wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts. On the north wall of the same room, they stand behind the tomb owner. They wear short wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts. The eldest son also stands at the foot of the tomb owner and grasps the lower part of his staff with one hand and a bird in the other hand. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a projecting kilt,
<i>Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj</i>	A-1 B-2; B-2; C-3 AS-4; AS-4; AS-4; AS-4; AS-4; AS-4- Y; B-2 B-2 E-3 B-2; B-2	AS-3	On the east wall of the vestibule, a son is depicted carrying a scribal palette. He wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt with a band across the chest. On the west wall of Room A1, a son appears as a young man with side lock at the foot of the tomb owner. He wears a collar and a short projecting kilt. He grasps a bird with one hand and holds a lotus flower with the other hand. A son stands behind the tomb owner on the south wall of Room A3. He wears a long wig, a short beard, and a short projecting kilt. On the north wall of Room A3, a son appears as a young man with side lock at the foot of the tomb owner. He wears a short projecting kilt and grasps a bird in one hand and a lotus flower in the other hand. He appears in the same costume and stance on the east wall of Room A4, on the north wall of Room A6, and on pillar 2 of Room A13. He also appears as a naked boy with side lock at the foot of his mother on the west wall of Room B1. He wears a long necklace and grasps a bird and a lotus flower in his hand. On the

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			<p>south wall of tomb A10, three sons stand behind the tomb owner with arms pendent. They all wear short wigs and short projecting kilts. On the north wall of Room A13, two sons appear right below the carrying chair of the tomb owner and stand with arms pendent. He wears short wigs and short projecting kilts. To the right of the carrying chair scene, the eldest son appears at a slightly smaller scale as the tomb owner and holds his hand. The upper part of the figure is missing. He wears a long kilt and probably a short wig. On the south wall of Room A13, a son stands with arms pendent behind the tomb owner on the boat. He wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt. On the west wall of Room B1, the daughter appears behind the wife at her foot and stands with her hand placed on the chest. She wears a braid tied with a ball-shaped ornament at the end, a collar, and a long dress.</p>
<i>Mhw</i>	C-3; B-3 AS-2-4; B-? AS-2-4	C-3 AS-1-4	<p>On the architrave, the eldest son wearing a projecting kilt stands behind the tomb owner. His figure is partly preserved. On the north wall of the vestibule, a son stands at the foot of the tomb owner, holds the lower part of his staff with one hand, and grasps a bird in the other hand. He wears a short projecting kilt. The head of his figure is missing. On the east wall, two sons stand behind the tomb owner on a boat in the fowling scene. The image of the first son is erased. The second son wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt and stands with arms pendent. In the fishing scene on the west wall, a daughter stands behind the tomb owner on the boat. She wears a long wig and a long dress and places her hand on the chest. On the west wall of the medium chapel, a son stands at the foot of the tomb owner, holds the lower part of his staff, and carries a bird. His image is erased. Another daughter stands at the foot of the mother, embraces her leg with her arm, and carries a bird in</p>

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			the other hand. She wears a short wig, a collar, and a long dress. On the west side of the door way of the middle chapel, a son wearing a short wig and a long kilt appears before the tomb owner. He carries a calf on his shoulder. He is depicted as a corpulent man, the same as the tomb owner who stands before him.
<i>Mtj</i>	AS-2-4; AS-2-4; E-2-CEN; E-3; C-2-5-Y AS-2; AS-1; F AS-2-Y AS-2-4	E-1; AS-3 E-1 E-1	The eldest son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner on the boat in the fowling scene. Wearing a short wig and a collar, he embraces the leg of the tomb owner with his arm and grasps the wings of two birds with the other hand. He also appears at the foot of the tomb owner on the facade architrave. Wearing a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt, he grasps the lower half of the staff with one hand and a piece of cloth in the other hand. He also appears in front of the tomb owner and holds a bell-shaped censer to cense him. The three daughters play the harps before the tomb owner. They wear pigtail braids with a ball-shaped ornament at the end and long dresses. The eldest son appears again on a register above the daughters, knee-sitting, and writing on an unfolded with a reed pen. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. On the left side of the facade, another son appears as a naked boy wearing a short wig and a collar. He stands and holds the lower part of the tomb owner's staff. On the right side of the facade, the third son stands in front of the tomb owner and grasps his staff. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. He also appears in the offering chapel at the foot of the tomb owner and grasps the leash of a dog. He also appears with the eldest son on the left jamb of the entry door. He stands behind the tomb owner and holds his calf, and the eldest son stands in front of the tomb owner and holds his staff and a bird. They both wear short wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts. On the right door jamb, a son stands in front of the

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			tomb owner, grasps his staff and a bird. He wears a short wig, a short beard, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. In the same scene, a daughter stands behind the tomb owner. She wears a long dress and possibly places her hand on the chest. Her figure is partly preserved.
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy / Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Mry-R<sup>c</sup></i>	B-2 AS-3 E-2-CEN; AS-3		On the lintel of the entrance, the eldest son stands behind the tomb owner. He wears a long sig and a short projecting kilt. Another son appears at the foot of the father on the right jamb. Wearing a short projecting kilt, he stands with arms pendent, and his head turned backward to the tomb owner. On the left jamb, a son stands before the tomb owner and holds a bell-shaped censer. He also appears behind the tomb owner and stands with both arms pendent.
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw</i> (double tomb of <i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw</i> & <i>Hnmw-htp</i> )	C-2-Y; AS-2-Y; AS-2-Y; AS-2-Y; AS-2-4; B-1 B-1 B-1-Y	C-4; B-1 B-1 B-1(?)	On the south wall of portico I, the son appears as a naked boy with a side lock at the foot of the tomb owner on a boat. He places his index finger of one hand into the mouth and grasps a bird in the other hand. A daughter appears between the legs of the tomb owner on the boat, kneeling with her hand placed on her chest. She wears a pigtail braid, a collar, and a long dress. On the north wall of Room II, the son also appears as a naked boy with side lock at the foot of his father. He wears a collar and embraces the lower part of the staff with his arm. He also appears as a nude boy on the south wall of Room II. Wearing a side lock and a collar, he grasps the lower part of his father's staff. On the south wall of the vestibule, he appears as an adult. He stands at the foot of the father and holds his staff with one hand and a piece of cloth in the other hand. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. On the west wall of the inner chamber, the six children appear on two registers to the left of the tomb owner. The two sons on the upper register wear short wigs and short

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			projecting kilts. The daughter between them wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress. The first daughter on the lower register wears a short wig and a long dress. The image of the second woman is missing. The last one is a naked boy with side lock. All the children stand with the hand placed on the chest.
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Shmt</i> (No.74 [D 12])	B-2 AS-2	B-1 B-1	To the left of the panel of the false door, a son stands with arms pendent. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. To the left of the panel, two daughters stand with their hand placed on the chest. They wear long wigs and long dresses. The other son stands in front of the tomb owner and holds the lower part of the tomb owner's staff. He wears a short wig and a short kilt.
<i>Nj-k<sup>3</sup>(.j)-R<sup>c</sup></i>	AS-3; AS-2		On the left jamb of the false door, the eldest son appears at the foot of the tomb owner and stands with both arms pendent. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. He also appears on the right jamb and holds the lower part of the staff. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Nj-k<sup>3</sup>w-Jzzj</i> (around Teti Pyramid)	AS-2; AS-2; AS-3; AS-3; AS-3; AS-3; E-2-CEN AS-2-4; C-3		On the east wall of Room II, the eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds the lower part of the staff. He wears a short wig with a sash hanging from the back of the head, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. He also appears on the west wall in the same stance wearing a long wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. On the facade to the west of the entrance, the eldest son also appears at the foot of the tomb owner and stands with both arms pendent. He wears a long wig, a collar, a short projecting kilt, and bracelets. He appears again in the same stance and costume but without the bracelets on the east side of the entrance and both thicknesses of the entrance. On the west wall of Room I, the eldest son stands before the tomb owner and censes him with a bell-shaped censer. He wears a

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			<p>long wig, a short beard, and a short projecting kilt. The other son appears on the north wall of Room I. He stands before the tomb owner and holds the lower part of the tomb owner's staff with one hand and a piece of cloth in the other hand. He wears a long wig, a short projecting kilt with a band across the chest, a collar and bracelets. On the east wall of Room I, he stands and holds a papyrus scroll in his hand before the tomb owner on the boat in the fowling scene. He wears a long wig, a short beard, a short projecting kilt with a band across the chest.</p>
<i>Nj-kʷw-R<sup>c</sup></i>	B-3-Y; AS-1-4-Y; B-2 B-3-Y; B-1 B-3-Y B-3-Y	B-1-3 AS-1-4-Y	<p>To the right of the panel, a daughter stands with one hand placed on the chest, and a bird carries in the other hand. She wears a pigtail braid, a collar, and a long dress. On the right inner jamb, the other daughter appears as a nude girl at the foot of the tomb owner. She embraces the calf of her father with one hand and holds a lotus flower to her nose with the other hand. She wears a pigtail braid and a collar. To the left of the panel of the false door of the wife, the eldest son appears as a naked boy, standing and grasping a bird in his hand. He wears a short wig, a collar, a necklace. On the right outer jamb, he appears as a naked boy at the foot of the wife. He embraces the legs of the mother with one hand and grasps the wings of a bird with the other hand. He wears a short wig and a collar. Three sons appear as naked boys at the bottom of the right and left inner jambs and grasp birds in the hand. They wear side locks and collars. On the false door of the father, the eldest son stands to the left of the panel with both arms pendent. Another son appears to the left of the panel, standing with his hand placed on the chest. They both wear short wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts.</p>



Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
<i>Nj-kʷw-Hr</i> (Quibell S 915)	AS-2-4-Y AS-2-4-Y	B-1 B-1	On the false door of the wife, the two daughters stand on both sides of the panel respectively. They both stand with their hand placed on the chest. They possibly wear long dresses and pigtail braids. The figures are partly preserved. On the left jamb of his false door, a son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner. He holds the lower part of the tomb owner's staff with one hand and grasps a bird in the other hand. He wears a short wig and a collar. The other son appears as a naked boy at the foot of the tomb owner on the right jamb in the same stance. He wears a short wig but without collar.
<i>Nfr</i> (in the same tomb of his father <i>kʷ-hʷ.j</i> )	AS-2-Y AS-2-4-Y AS-3-Y		On the left jamb of the false door, a son appears as a nude youngster at the foot of the tomb owner. Wearing a short wig and a collar, he stands before the tomb owner and holds the lower part of his staff. Another son appears before the tomb owner on the right jamb. Wearing a side lock and a collar, he stands before the tomb owner, holds the lower part of the staff with one hand and carries a bird with the other hand. The third son appears as a naked boy with a side lock on the niche of the false door. He stands before the tomb owner with his index finger put in his mouth.
<i>Nfr-Jnpw</i> (AS 37, Abusir South)	AS-2-4 ; AS-2-4 B-3		The eldest son appears on the jambs of the false door. On both jambs, he stands at the foot of the tomb owner, grasps the lower part of his staff with one hand, and carries a piece of cloth in the other hand. He wears a short wig, a short beard, a collar, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i> (D 55)	C-1-2-Y; D-1 C-2; D-1 C-1-2-Y; D-1 C-2-Y; D-1	C-?; D-1	On the west wall, the five children are depicted kneeling sitting before the wife. The fourth one is the daughter. She wears a long wig, a collar, a long dress, and bracelets on both arms. The sons wear short kilts. The upper part of the figures is not preserved. They also appear in the spear-fishing and fowling scenes on the east wall. A son appears as a naked boy

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			before the tomb owner on the boat in the spear- fishing scene. Wearing a short wig and a collar, he holds a spear with one hand and grasps a big fish with the other hand. Another son stands behind the father and holds a staff and a big fish. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. On the right in the fowling scene, the third son appears as a naked boy in front of the tomb owner on the boat. Wearing a collar and a short wig, he holds a throwing stick in one hand and a bird in the other hand. Another son stands between the legs of the father on the boat. He appears as a naked boy wearing a short wig and a collar. He grasps the wings of a bird. The daughter stands behind the tomb owner on the boat. Her figure is not preserved.
<i>Nfr-ntr</i>	AS-2		On the left jamb of the statue niche, the eldest son stands before the tomb owner and grasps the lower part of his staff. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Nfr-hww</i>	AS-2-Y; AS-2-Y		The son appears as a naked boy with side lock on both jambs of the false door. He wears a collar and a long necklace and grasps the lower part of the staff of his father.
<i>Nfr-sšm-Pth / Wd<sup>3</sup>-h<sup>3</sup>-Ttj / Ššj</i> (around Teti Pyramid, Saqqara 32)	B-3		The first offering bearer below the offering table and the offering list is a son. He is depicted presenting a foreleg. His figure is erased.
<i>Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup> / Ššj</i>	AS-3-4 AS-2-4	A-2	On the west face of pillar 2 of Room III, the eldest son appears at the foot of the tomb owner. Wearing a short wig and a short beard, he stands with one hand placed on the chest and holds a piece of cloth in the other hand. A daughter kneels between the legs of the tomb owner and embraces his leg with her arm. She wears a short wig and a collar. On the north face of pillar 5 of Room III, the other son appears in the same costume as the eldest son. He holds the staff of his father with

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			one hand and grasps a piece of cloth with the other hand.
<i>Nn-hft-k3(.j)</i> (D 47)	AS-2-Y AS-3-Y	AS-3-Y AS-3-Y	On the left outer jamb of the false door, a daughter appears as a naked girl with a pigtail braid at the foot of the tomb owner. She grasps the lower part of his staff. The other daughter appears at the foot of the tomb owner on the right outer jamb. She wears a short wig and places her hand on the chest. On the left inner jamb, a son stands at the foot of the tomb owner. Depicted as a naked boy, he holds the tomb owner's jamb and turns his head backward to look at the tomb owner. On the right inner jamb, the other son standing at the foot of the tomb owner is also depicted as a naked boy with his index finger placed in the mouth.
<i>Ntr-wsr</i> <i>snt-dt</i> wife	B-4; B-3 B-4; E-2- CEN		On the north wall, the eldest son appears before the tomb owner's offering table. Wearing a short wig and a short kilt, he presents a big bird by twisting the neck with one hand and grasping the wings with the other hand. The other son stands behind him and holds a bell-shaped censer. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. On the south wall, the two sons stand before the offering table carries a papyrus scroll in their hand. They wear short wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts.
<i>R<sup>c</sup>-hr-tp / Jtj</i>	E-2-CEN		The son appears before the tomb owner and holds a bell-shaped censer. He wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt.
<i>R<sup>c</sup>-špss</i> (Lepsius LS 16 [S 902])	C-1-3; AS-2; AS-2-4; AS-2; AS-2-4; AS-2		The son appears on the fowling scene in the forecourt. He stands before the tomb owner on the boat and carries a bird and a throwing stick. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a tripartite kilt. He also stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds his staff in several scenes of the hall. In the scene on the left, he wears a short wig, a collar, and a long projecting kilt. On the right, he wears a long wig, a collar, a long necklace, and a short projecting kilt. He also grasps a piece of cloth in his hand. In another scene, he also appears at the foot

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			of the tomb owner. Wearing a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt, he grasps the lower part of the tomb owner's staff and holds a lotus flower. In the pillared hall, he appears at the foot of the tomb owner and holds his staff. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. In the doorway of the open courtyard, he also appears at the foot of the tomb owner and holds the lower part of the staff. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Rmnj / Mr-wj</i>	C-1 C-1; E-3		In the fishing and fowling scenes on the east wall, the two eldest sons appear on the boat with the tomb owner. They both wear short wigs and tripartite kilts and stand in front of the tomb owner. In the fowling scene, the son holds a throwing stick. In the fishing scene, the other son holds the spear on the shoulder in a gesture of spearing. In another scene on the same wall, he also appears before the tomb owner. Wearing a short wig and a short kilt, he knee-sits and writes on a tablet.
<i>Hb-3j</i>	B-1		To the left of the false door, the son appears at the same scale as that of the tomb owner who stands to the right of the false door. Wearing a long wig, a collar, and a short kilt, he stands with his hand placed on the chest.
<i>Hr-mrw / Mry</i>	B-3 E-2-CEN	AS-3 AS-3	On the lintel of the facade, a son stands before the tomb owner and his wife. He wears a short wig and a short kilt and presents a bird. The other son stands below him and holds a bell-shaped censer. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. A daughter stands in front of the wife at her foot at a much reduces scale. The other daughter stands behind her at a slightly larger scale. They both wear short wigs and long dresses.
<i>Hzzj</i>	E-2-CEN; B-3; B-3; B-3 E-2-CEN; E-2-CEN		The son appears to the left of the panel of the false door. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt and holds a bell-shaped censer to the tomb owner. He also appears to the right of the panel and

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			presents a bird. On the left outer jamb of the false door, he is depicted carrying a big bird. On the right outer jamb, he presents a bird to the tomb owner. The other son appears holding a censor before the tomb owner on both inner jambs.
<i>Htp-ḥr-ḏhtj</i> (D 60)	AS-2-4-Y; C-2-Y; B-4 AS-2-4-Y; C-2-Y		On both sides of the entrance, the two sons appear as naked boys with a side lock at the foot of the tomb owner respectively. They both hold the lower part of the staff with one hand and carry a bird with the other hand. They appear on the boat in the spear-fishing scene, one in front of the tomb owner and one behind him. They both appear as naked boys carrying birds in both hands. In the offering room, a son stands behind the tomb owner and holds a papyrus scroll in his hand. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Htp-k3(.j) / Tp-k3(.j)</i> (S 3509)	AS-2-4-Y; B-4		On the facade to the left of the entrance doorway, the son appears as a naked boy with a side lock at the foot of the tomb owner. Wearing a collar and a necklace, he stands and holds the lower part of the tomb owner's staff with one hand and a bundle of a lotus flower with the other hand. On the left thickness of the doorway, he also appears in a scene of dragging the statue. He stands behind the shrine of the statue, which is placed on a sledge. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt and holds a papyrus scroll in his hand.
<i>H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Pth</i> (No. 68 [C 4])	B-3 E-2-CEN		On the panel of the false door, a son stands before the offering table. He wears a short wig and a short kilt and presents a big bird to the tomb owner. The other son appears below him and holds a censor to cense the tomb owner. He also wears a short wig and a short kilt.
<i>Hwj</i>	B-2 E-2-CEN		Above the doorway on the facade, a son stands with arms pendent before the tomb owner. He wears a long wig and a short kilt. The other son stands below him and

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			holds a censor to cense the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a short kilt.
<i>Hnw</i>	AS-1-4; B-6 AS-1-4		The eldest son stands before the tomb owner on a pillar. Wearing a long projecting kilt and a long wig, he raises both hands up in front of the body in a gesture of adorning. His costume and stance are the same as those of his father who is behind him at a larger scale. He also appears at the foot of the tomb owner. He touches the leg of the tomb owner with his hand and grasps a small bird in the other hand. He wears a short projecting kilt. On the same wall, the other son appears in the same gesture and costume at the foot of the tomb owner who is seated at the offering table.
<i>Hntj-k<sup>3</sup> / Jhhj</i>	AS-3; AS-3; AS-3; AS-3; AS-3 AS-3; AS-3; AS-3; AS-3; AS-3; E-3		On the south wall of Room IX, the two sons stand at the foot of the tomb owner, one in front of him and one behind him. They both wear long wigs and short projecting kilts with a band across the chest. The eldest son who stands in front of the tomb owner wears a short beard. On the north wall of Room IX, they also appear in the same stance and costume. On the south wall, one of them stands before the tomb owner, holds a scribal palette in one hand, and places the other scribal kit under the arm. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. On the south wall of Room VI, a son stands in front of the tomb owner at this foot and the other behind him. They both wear long wigs and short projecting kilts. They also appear in the same stance and costume on the north and south walls of Room III.
<i>Hnmw-ndm(w)</i> (at Kom el Akhdar)	B-3 B-3		A son appears behind the tomb owner on the architrave. The other stands behind the wife, who faces the tomb owner. Both sons wear long wigs and short kilts and carry small birds in their hands.
<i>Hnmw-htp</i> (D 49)	AS-2-4-Y; D-2 D-2	D-2 D-2	On the left outer jamb of the false door, a son appears as a naked boy with a side lock and a collar at the foot of the tomb

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			owner. He holds a lotus flower with one hand and the lower part of the tomb owner's staff with the other hand. He also appears seated at his own offering table. A younger son wearing a side lock is seated behind him. Two daughters are seated below at their own offering tables. They wear pigtail braids and long dresses.
<i>Hnmw-ḥtp</i> (double tomb of <i>Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw</i> & <i>Hnmw-ḥtp</i> )	C-2-Y; AS-2-Y; AS-2-Y; AS-1-Y; AS-2-4-Y; AS-2-Y; B-1 B-1; AS-4-Y B-3 B-3 B-3	C-4; B-1(?)	On the south wall of Portico I, a son appears as a naked boy with a side lock at the foot of the tomb owner on the boat. He places his finger into the mouth. A daughter appears between the legs of the tomb owner on the boat and kneels with her hand placed on the chest. She wears a pigtail braid, a collar, and a long dress. On the north wall of Room II, the son also appears as a naked boy with side lock at the foot of the tomb owner. He wears a collar and grasps the lower part of the tomb owner's staff. He also appears in the same costume and stance on the upper section of the south wall of Room II. He appears as a naked boy again in the lower section, embracing the calf of the tomb owner with his arm. On the south wall of the vestibule, he also appears as a naked boy with a side lock, standing at the foot of the father and holding his staff with one hand and a bird in the other hand. On the east wall of the inner chamber, he appears as a naked boy with a side lock and holds the tomb owner's staff. On the southern section of the east wall of the inner chamber, another son appears as a naked boy the foot of the tomb owner and carries a bird. The head of his figure is not preserved. On the west wall of the inner chamber, all the six children appear on two registers to the right of the tomb owner. The first two on the upper register wear short wigs and short projecting kilts. The image of the third one is missing, possibly the daughter. The three sons on the lower register wear short wigs and short kilts and carry offerings in their

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			hands. It is possible that they are not children but ka-priests.
<i>S3b</i>	B-2		The son appears to the right of the panel of the false door. Wearing a long wig and a short projecting kilt, he stands with both arm pendent.
<i>S3bw / Jbbj</i>	B-3; E-2-CEN B-3 B-3 B-3 F F		On the niche of the false door, two sons appear as offering bearers carrying forelegs below the offering table. They wear short wigs and short kilts. Another two sons appear in a sequence of offering bearers on the register below. The figure of the first one is erased. The sixth offering bearer carrying a jugs and baskets of food on his shoulder is also a son. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. On the other side of the niche, two sons appear before a representation of the statue of the tomb owner. Wearing short wigs and short kilts, they pull the rope in their hand to drag the statue. The eldest son stands before the statue and holds a censor towards it. He wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Sn-jt.f</i> (in the same tomb of <i>K3-h3.j</i> )	B-1-4; AS-1-3 D-5		A son appears to the left of the panel of the false door. He holds a piece of cloth in one hand and places the other hand on the chest to grasp the tassels hung from his shoulder. He wears a short wig and a leopard skin. On the niche of the false door, he also appears as a naked boy with a side lock and a long necklace at the foot of the wife. He embraces the wife's legs with one arm and places his index finger of the other hand into the mouth. The other son appears to the right of the false door. Wearing a short wig and a short kilt, he kneels and raises his hand in front of the body.
<i>Snfrw-jn-jšt.f</i> (No. 2 Dahshur)	C-1	E-1; C-4-5	The daughter kneels behind the wife and plays the harp. She wears a pigtail braid and a long dress. She also appears in the boating scene, kneeling between the legs of the tomb owner on the boat and embracing the leg of the tomb owner with her arm. She wears a pigtail braid and a



Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			long dress. The son appears in front of the tomb owner on the boat. He stands and holds the spear in a gesture of spearing the fish. He wears a tripartite kilt and a collar.
<i>Snḏm-jb / Bb-jb</i> (No. 11 [B 13])	AS-2		The son wearing a projecting kilt appears at the foot of the tomb owner. He stands and holds the lower part of his staff.
<i>Shm-k<sup>3</sup></i> (north-west of D 62) <i>sn-dt</i>	AS-2-4; B-1-4 AS-2-Y; B-3-Y	B-1 B-1	On the left jamb of the false door, the eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds the lower part of his staff with one hand and a papyrus scroll in the other hand. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. On the right jamb, a younger son appears as a naked boy with side lock and a collar at the foot of the tomb owner and his wife. He holds the lower part of the staff. All the children appear in a sequence to the left of the false door. The first is the eldest son. He stands with one hand placed on the chest and holds a piece of cloth in the other hand. He wears a short wig and a projecting kilt. The second is the younger son appearing as a naked boy with a side lock. He wears a collar, a bracelet and a long necklace and grasps a small bird in his hand. Behind the two sons, two daughters stand with their hand placed on the chest. They wear long wigs, collars, long dresses, bracelets, and anklets.
<i>Sšmw</i> (Lepsius LS 5)	AS-2		A son stands at the foot of the tomb owner on the right inner jamb and holds the lower part of his staff. He wears a short wig, a collar, a long necklace, and a short kilt.
<i>Sšm-nfr / Jfj</i>	B-3	E-1	On the east wall, a daughter is depicted kneeling and playing the harp. On the south wall, a son is depicted as an offering bearer presenting a big bird. He wears a short wig and a short kilt.
<i>Sṯs-Pth</i>	B-1-4		The son stands before the tomb owner and faces him at a slightly smaller scale. Wearing a short wig and a long projecting kilt, he places one hand on the shoulder

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			and grasps a papyrus scroll in the other hand.
<i>Špsj-pw-Pth</i>	B-3 B-3 B-3		On the south wall of Room IV, two sons appear as offering bearers carrying forelegs. They wear short wigs and short kilts. On the north wall, another son appears as an offering bearer carrying a foreleg wearing the same costume.
<i>Q3r</i>	B-3 B-3 B-3; B-3 B-3; B-3		On the north wall of Chapel 2, three sons appear as offering bearers carrying forelegs below the offering table. They all wear short wigs and short tight kilts. Another son appears on a register above before the offering table. Wearing a short wig and a short kilt, he holds a large lotus flower in one hand and carries a big basket on his shoulder with the other hand. He also appears as an offering bearer on the south wall, carrying trays of food and bags. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. The third son appears above him, also as an offering bearer carrying papyrus flower and birds. He wears the same costume.
<i>K3(j)-pr(w)</i>	B-2		The son stands with both arms pendent before the seated tomb owner on the north jamb. He wears a long wig, a short beard, and a short projecting kilt with a band across the chest.
<i>K3(j)-pw-R<sup>c</sup></i> (No. 22 [D 39])	AS-2		The eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds his staff. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>K3.j-m-ḥzt</i> <i>sn-ḏt Ḥtp-k3</i>	AS-1-Y	B-5	On the east wall of the pillared hall, the daughter stands before the tomb owner and holds a lotus flower to her nose. She wears a short wig and a long dress. The son appears as a naked boy behind the tomb owner. He stands and embraces the leg of his father with his arms.
<i>K3.j-m-snw</i>	AS-2-Y		The son stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds the lower part of his staff. Though depicted as a naked boy, he reaches half of the height of the tomb owner. He wears a short wig.
<i>K3(j)-m-qd</i>		B-1	To the right of the panel of the false door, the daughter stands with her hand placed

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			on the chest behind the wife. She wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress.
<i>K3(.j)-m-tntt</i>	B-3	B-1-3 B-1-3 AS-3 AS-3	To the left of the panel of the false door, the son appears behind the tomb owner presenting birds. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. A daughter stands behind him with one hand placed on her chest and carries a bird with the other hand. She wears a pigtail braid and a long dress. Another daughter stands to the right of the panel. On the outer jamb of the false door, two daughters stand at the foot of the wife, one in front of her and one behind her. They both place their hand on the chest and wear pigtail braids and long dresses.
<i>K3.j-d3w</i>	B-1-Y	B-1-Y B-1-Y	The son appears as a naked boy to the left of the panel of the false door. He wears a side lock and a collar and places his hand on the chest. To the right of the panel, two daughters stand with their hand placed on the chest behind the wife. They are depicted as naked girls with pigtail braids and collars.
<i>K3-h3.j sn-dt</i>	D-2 D-2 D-2	D-2	On the west wall, four children knee-sit and kneel behind the wife on two registers. The two sons on the upper register and the first son on the lower wear short wigs and leopard skins. The daughters wear long wigs, long dresses, and bracelets. They all extend the right hand to their own small offering tables. The sons also place their hand on the chest to grasp the tassel hung from the shoulder.
<i>K3-hr-st.f</i>	B-2 B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1	B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1	On the panel of the false door, a son stands to the left of the tomb owner who is seated at the offering table. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. A daughter stands behind the wife on the right side, with her hand placed on the chest. She wears a short wig and a long dress. Nine children stand in a sequence on the register below, all with their arms bent to the chest. The first four are sons. They wear short wigs and short kilts. The first

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			daughter wears a long wig and a long dress. The other four wear short wigs and long dresses.
<i>K3-ḥzw.f</i> (Abusir South, possible son of <i>Nfr-Jnpw</i> )	AS-1-2		The eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner on a decorated panel. He embraces the calf of the tomb owner with one hand and holds the lower part of his staff with the other hand. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt.
<i>K3-gm-nj / Mmj / Gmnj</i>	B-1; B-2 B-1; B-3; AS-4-?		On the north wall of Room IV, a son stands with both arms pendent behind the tomb owner who is in a carrying chair. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. Two sons appear behind him on the south wall of Room V. They both wear short wigs and short projecting kilts and stand with their hand placed on the opposite shoulder. On the west wall of Room IV, a son appears before the tomb owner as an offering bearer carrying birds and papyrus flowers. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. He also appears as at the foot of the tomb owner on the east wall of Room IV. He wears a short wig and a collar and holds a papyrus scroll in his hand. The image is partly preserved.
<i>Gm-nj</i>	B-3		The son stands before the tomb owner and his wife and presents a bird. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Ggj</i> (Abusir South, West of the tomb of Fetekty)	B-2		On the left outer jamb, the eldest son stands behind the tomb owner at the same scale. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Tp-m-ḥnḥ</i> (D 11)	AS-2; B-1 AS-2	B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1	On the left jamb of the false door, a son appears at the foot of the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a short kilt and holds the lower part of his staff. The other son appears on the right jamb in the same stance and costume. Six children appear on the left outer jamb of the wife. The second is a son and others are daughters. The son wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. He stands with his arm bent to the chest. The daughters stand with their hand placed on the chest. They all wear long dresses and collars. The first

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			and the third wear long wigs, and others wear short wigs.
<i>Ttj-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (in the tomb of <i>Jris / Jjj</i> )	AS-3		The eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner, with his hand placed on the chest. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Ty</i> (No. 60 [D 22])	AS-2-4-Y; AS-2; AS-2; D-1; AS-2-3-Y; B-2; D-1; B-2 AS-2-4-Y; AS-2; AS-2; D-1; AS&E-3; B-2; D-1; B-2 D-1 D-1		On the south and north walls of Room II, two sons appear as naked boys at the foot of the tomb owner respectively. They both wear short wigs and collars and hold the lower part of the tomb owner's staff with one hand and a bird in the other hand. On the recess of the door way, the two sons stand at the foot of the tomb owner and hold his staff respectively. They both wear short wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts. On the corridor, four sons knee-sit below the tomb owner, with their hand placed on the chest. They all wear short wigs and short kilts. On the west wall of Room I, a son stands at the foot of the tomb owner in front of the staff of the tomb owner and extends his hand backward to hold the staff. He appears as a naked boy wearing a side lock, a collar, and a long necklace, with his index finger placed in his mouth. Another son stands between the feet of the tomb owner and the staff and faces the tomb owner. He holds a papyrus scroll in one hand and places a bunch of papyrus scroll under the arm. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. On the west wall of Room I, two sons stand behind the tomb owner with arms pendent. They wear short wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts. On the east wall, they are depicted knee-sitting below the tomb owner, with one hand placed on the opposite shoulder and the other hand holding the opposite arm. On the south wall of the particle, they stand behind the tomb owner with arms pendent. They wear short wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts.

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
<i>Tsmw</i> ( <i>sn-dt</i> of <i>Pth-htp</i> , lintel found in the tomb of <i>Hmt-R<sup>c</sup></i> )	AS-2		On the lintel, the son stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds the lower part of his staff with his head turned backward. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Ttj</i> / <i>K<sup>3</sup>-jn-n.j</i> (north-west of Teti Pyramid)	B-3		The son appears on the niche of the false door. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt. He stands with a bird in each hand.
<i>Ttw</i> / <i>Jnw-Mnw</i> (north of Teti Pyramid)	B-2 B-2; AS-?		On the east wall, two sons appear behind the tomb owner and stand with arms pendent. The first one wears a short wig, a short beard, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. The second one stands behind him and wears a long wig, a short beard, a collar, a short kilt with a band across the chest. One of the sons also stands before the tomb owner on the left door jamb. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a lector-priests' band across the chest. The lower part of the figure is missing.
<i>Dw<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup></i>	B-4; B-4		The eldest son appears alone on the right and left jambs. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt and holds a staff.
<i>Df-<sup>3</sup>w</i> (D 25)	AS-4 AS-2-4 AS-2-Y AS-4		On the inner and outer jambs, each of the four sons stands at the foot of the tomb owner respectively. The two sons on the outer jambs stand a papyrus scroll in their hand. They wear short wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts. The one on the left inner jamb wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. He holds a papyrus scroll in one hand and grasps the tomb owner's staff with the other hand. A younger son appears as a naked boy on the right inner jamb and holds the tomb owner's staff. He wears a short wig and a collar.

Table III.1.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
name lost (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N95)	B-? B-3		On the south wall to the west of the entrance, a son stands before the tomb owner. He wears a projecting kilt. The upper part of the figure is missing. The other son stands below him and holds a foreleg vertically. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8)	B-3; D-1; C-1; C-1 B-3; B-3; D-1; C-2 D-1; C-2 B-3; B-3; D-1; C-2; C-2 B-3; D-1; C-2 D-1 D-1 B-3	C-3; B-3 C-6; B-3 B-3 B-3	On the south wall, the eldest son appears on the prow in the spear-fishing scene. He is depicted in a stance of throwing the spear. He wears a short wig with a sash tied at the back of the head, a collar, bracelets, and a tripartite kilt. Two sons stand on a sub-register behind the tomb owner. The first one places one hand on the chest and carries a bird in the other hand. He wears a long wig, a collar, bracelets, and a short projecting kilt. The second stands behind him and presents a bird with both hands. He wears the same wig and costume. Other two sons stand on sub-registers behind the tomb owner. Each of them carries a bird. They both wear short wigs, collars, bracelets, and short projecting kilts. A daughter stands between the legs of the tomb owner. Wearing a sash at the back of the head, a collar, and a long dress, she holds a lotus flower to her nose. In the fowling scene, another daughter stands between the legs of the tomb owner, with her finger pointed to the front. She wears a sash at the back of the head, a collar, and a long dress. The eldest son appears at the prow. He holds a throwing stick in one hand in the posture of throwing it and grasps two birds in the other hand. He wears a collar and a tripartite kilt. Another son stands before the tomb owner on a sub-register and grasps two birds in his hands. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. On the north wall, seven sons knee-sit before the tomb owner, all with their arm bent to the chest. On the west wall to the left of the false door, four daughters appear as offering bearers carrying birds, baskets, jars, and papyrus

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			plants, and holding the leashes of small animals. They all wear short wigs, collars, long dresses, bracelets and anklets. On the register below, the son appears as an offering bearer carrying a foreleg. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. On the north wall, three sons appear as offering bearers before the tomb owner and the wife. They all carry big birds in their hands and wear long wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts. On the east wall of the offering recess, three sons appear before the offering table as offering bearers. They all wear long wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts. The first carries big birds, while the rest two carry forelegs.
<i>Jzj / Hm-R<sup>c</sup></i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N46)	B-? B-4		The two sons stand before the tomb owner and his wife on the north wall. They wear short kilts. The second son carries a scepter. The upper part of the figures is missing.
<i>Nb-jb</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N38)	E-2-CEN B-3		The two sons stand before the tomb owner who is seated at his offering table. The first holds a perfume jar to the tomb owner with one hand and extends the other hand to the offering table. The second carries a foreleg and leads a small animal. They both wear short wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts.
<i>Hnqw I / Httj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N39)	B-3 B-3 C-3 C-5; B-3 C-1		On the west wall of the chapel, two sons appear before the offering table and present forelegs. The first wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt with a band across the chest. The second wears a short projecting kilt. Part of their figures is missing. On the north wall, a son stands before the tomb owner on the boat and holds a spear. Another son stands between the legs of the tomb owner and embraces his calf with his arm. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. The third son wearing the same costume stands behind the tomb owner. On the east wall, a son appears as an offering bearer



Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			carrying a foreleg. He wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Hnqw II / Jj...f</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N67)	C-1; B-4 B-3&E-2- CEN		On the north wall, a son stands behind the tomb owner on the boat in the spear-fishing scene. Wearing a short wig and a short projecting kilt, he holds a staff and carries a harpoon. To the right of the scene, he stands and carries his scepter and staff. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt with a band across the chest and sashes hanging down from the shoulder. On the east wall, the other son stands before the tomb owner at the same scale. He grasps two birds in one hand and holds a perfume jar to the nose of the tomb owner with the other hand. He wears a short wig, a collar, bracelets, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Hm-R<sup>c</sup> / Jzj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N72)	A-1 E-3; B-3 B-3-5		On the bottom of the left frame of the false door, a son appears at the same scale before the tomb owner. He wears a short projecting kilt. He probably holds the hand of the tomb owner. The upper part of the figure is missing. On the north wall of the door way, another son stands before the tomb owner and presents an unfolded papyrus to him. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. On the east wall, he appears before the tomb owner and presents two cups with one in each hand. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. The third son stands behind the chair of the tomb owner. He presents two birds with one hand and carries a lotus flower in the other hand. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3j</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12)	C-2; C-1; B-2 B-4 B-4		On the south wall, the eldest son stands on the boat and faces the tomb owner. He carries fish and a bird. He also appears behind the tomb owner on the boat and holds a throwing stick. On the north wall, the eldest son stands before the tomb owner, with his arms pendent. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. Other two sons stand on the register

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			below. Both of them hold a long staff with one hand and place the other hand upon the shoulder. They wear long wigs, collars, bracelets, and short kilts.
<i>Jdw I</i> (Dendera)	C-1 C-1		A son appears in the spear-fishing scene in the first hall. He stands before the tomb owner on the boat, holds a staff in one hand, and carries a harpoon in the other hand. He wears a short wig, a short projecting kilt, and bracelets. The other son stands behind the tomb owner, carries a harpoon in one hand and holds a staff in the other hand. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt.
<i>Jtj / Šdw</i> (Deshasha)	AS-4; AS-4; C-1 E-4		On the south and north walls of the entrance passage, the eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner, holds a staff and carries a scepter. He wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt. On the south wall of the chapel, he stands at the prow in a posture of spearing fish in the boating scene. On the west wall, the other son is depicted binding an ox on a register before the tomb owner. He kneels on the ground and grasps the horn of the ox.
<i>Jzj</i> (Edfu)	E-2-CEN		On the architrave, the son appears in front of the tomb owner below the offering table. He wears a long wig and a short kilt and holds a bell-shaped censer.
<i>Qʾr / Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr</i> (Edfu, M V of Garnot)	B-2; AS-1 B-3; D-1 B-3 B-3 AS-3 B-3 B-3 B-3 B-3 B-3	D-1	Five sons appear as offering bearers before the seated tomb owner and his wife on the architrave. They all wear long wigs, short beard, collars, and short projecting kilts. The first son is depicted at a larger scale than other sons are. He and the third son present birds and others carry forelegs. On the slab stela, three sons and a daughter appear before the tomb owner on four sub-registers. The three sons all wear short wigs and short kilts. The third son also wears a collar. The first son carries a bird and the other two carry forelegs. The daughter kneels on the ground and wears a short wig and a long dress. She places one hand on the chest and the other hand on the lap.

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			Another son appears before the tomb owner at a much reduced scale. He wears a short wig and a short kilt and places both hands behind the back. On the right outer jamb of the false door, he also appears behind the tomb owner and wears a short wig and a long projecting kilt. He raises his hand to hold the hand of the tomb owner. Another son appears on the left jamb, standing in front of the tomb owner at his foot, with his arms pendent. He wears a short wig and a long kilt. On the architrave of the false door, one of the eldest sons knee-sit before the tomb owner and places both arms on the chest. He wears a short wig and a short kilt.
<i>ḥn-ḥnhj</i> (El-Hagarsa B13)	B-2; AS-3-Y B-3	B-5	On the north wall of the chapel, the eldest son stands at the beginning of a sequence of offering bearers, with both arms pendent. He wears a short beard, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. The other son stands behind him carries a foreleg. On the east wall, a daughter stands behind the wife at a much-reduced scale and holds a lotus flower to her nose. She wears a collar and a long dress. On the east wall, the eldest son appears as a naked boy behind the seated tomb owner and before the standing wife at her foot, with his index finger places in his mouth.
<i>Mry II</i> (El-Hagarsa C2)	B-3 B-3 B-3 B-3 B-3	B-5 B-3-5 B-3-5	On the north wall of the chapel, five sons appear as offering bearers. The first, the third, and the fifth wear long wigs and short projecting kilts. Others wear short wigs and short tight kilts. The first two carries birds. The following two grasps the leashes of young animals in their hands. The figure of the last is missing. Three daughters appear on the register below. Each of them holds a lotus flower to the nose. The second and the third daughter also carry a bird in the other hand. They all wear short wigs and long dresses.
<i>Mry-ḥj</i> (El-Hagarsa D18)	E-2-LIB B-3	B-1 C-2	On the south wall, a son appears near the head of the tomb owner at a much

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
	B-1 B-3	B-5 B-5 B-5 B-5 B-5	reduced scale. He bends forward and holds a bowl with one hand and a jar with the other hand to the mouth of the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. On the north wall of the chapel, the children of the tomb owner stand before him and his wife. The first on the upper register is a daughter at a small scale. She wears a short wig, a collar, bracelets, anklets, and a long dress. She stands with her hand placed on the chest. The second is a son at the same scale as the parents. He wears a short projecting wig. He presents two birds with one in each hand by grasping the wings. Another son stands behind him, with his hand placed on the chest. The third son carries a young animal. Six daughters stand on the register below. All of them wear long wigs, collars, and long dresses. Each of them holds two lotus flowers to the nose except the last one, who holds only one lotus flower in her hand. The fourth and the last daughters appear at a small scale, and others at the same scale as the tomb owner. Another daughter appears in the fowling scene. She stands behind the father and grasps a bird with her hand. She wears a long dress with geographic pattern and anklets.
<i>Nfrt-hr</i> (El-Hagarsa A6)	B-? B-4	B-1 B-2 B-1 B-1 B-1	On the architrave, the children appear before the tomb owner. The first is a son at a slightly smaller scale. He wears a short wig and a collar. The other son stands behind the first son. Wearing a short wig, a collar, and a projecting kilt, he carries a scepter and staff. Five daughters stand behind the sons. They wear long wigs and long dresses. The second daughter stands with both arms pendent. The other daughters stand with their hand placed on the chest.
<i>Sbk-nfr</i> (El-Hagarsa B18)	B-1 B-2 B-1 B-1	? ? B-2	On the east wall of the chapel to the north of the entrance, three sons are depicted wearing short wigs, collars, and short kilts. The second stands with arms

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			pendent, and the other two stand with their hand placed on the chest. On the west wall, two daughters appear in front of the wife. Their figures are missing. On the north wall, a daughter appears next to the offering list. Wearing a short wig and a long dress, she places her arms pendent. A son appears below her and stands with his hand placed on the chest. He wears a short wig and places his hand on the chest.
<i>K3(j)-m-nfirt</i> (El-Hagarsa A3)	B-2		On the right jamb of the false door of the wife, the son appears at a reduced scale in front of the wife and stands with arms pendent. He wears a short wig and a projecting kilt.
<i>K3(j)-hnt</i> (El-Hammamiya A2)	B-4 B-1	B-1	On the architrave of the chapel door way of the south entrance corridor, a son appears to the left of the panel behind the seated tomb owner. He wears a short kilt, carries a scepter a staff. The head of the figure is missing. To the right of the panel, another son and a daughter stand on the upper register, both with hand placed on the chest. The son wears as a short wig and a short kilt, and the daughter wears a short wig and a long dress.
<i>K3(j)-hnt</i> (El-Hammamiya A3)	B-1-4 B-1-4 B-1-4	B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1	On the west wall, seven children appear behind the seated tomb owner but face the opposite direction. The three sons stand on the upper register, all with one hand placed on the chest and grasping a piece of cloth in the other hand. They wear short wigs and short kilts. The four daughters stand on the lower register, all with their hand placed on the chest. They wear long wigs and long dresses.
<i>ḥnw</i> (El-Hawawish M21)	B-1-4		The eldest son stands to the left of the panel behind the tomb owner. Wearing a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt, he places one hand on the chest and grasps a piece of cloth in the other hand.
<i>B3wj</i> (El-Hawawish CG 20504)	B-3; B-1-5	B-5	The eldest son appears as an offering bearer below the seated tomb owner and the wife. Wearing a short wig and a short

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			kilt, he bends forward and carries a large foreleg. On the same register to the right, he stands in the same costume. He places one hand on the chest and grasps the stem of a lotus flower with the other hand. A daughter stands before him. Wearing a pigtail braid with a round ornament at the end, she holds a lotus flower to the nose with one hand and grasps a lotus flower with the other hand.
<i>B3wj</i> (El-Hawawish BA 48)	AS-2; B-3 B-? B-?		On the north wall, the eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds the lower part of his staff. He wears a short projecting kilt. On the east wall, the three sons stand on three superposed registers before the tomb owner. The eldest son stands on the top register. He wears a projecting kilt and presents a bird. The figures of the other two sons are missing.
<i>Mmj</i> (El-Hawawish B12)	B-4		On the south wall, the eldest son stands with his staff and scepter. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt with a band across the chest.
<i>Mnw-m-ḥ3t</i> (El Hawawish, Pushkin Museum I.1.a.5567)	F		The eldest son stands before the tomb owner and the wife who are seated at their offering table. Wearing a short projecting kilt, he extends his hand to the offering table.
<i>Nbj</i> (El-Hawawish, Louvre C 234)	B-3		The eldest son stands before the seated tomb owner and the wife and carries a foreleg. He wears a long wig and a projecting kilt.
<i>Nhwt-dšr / Mry</i> (El-Hawawish G95)	B-4? B-2? B-2; B-3 B-3 B-1-5 B-2	B-3? B-2 B-5	On the north wall of the chapel, the eldest son stands in the middle between the tomb owner and the wife. He wears a projecting kilt and possibly holds a papyrus scroll in his hand. His figure is partly missing. On the south wall, the children of the tomb owner stand in front of him on two registers. On the upper register, only one son is preserved. He wears a long wig and a collar and possibly stands with arms pendent. On the lower register, the first son wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt and carries a foreleg horizontally. The

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			<p>second son wears the same costume. He stands with one hand placed on the chest and holds a lotus flower in the other hand. The three daughters stand behind the two sons. They all wear short wigs, collars, bracelets, anklets, and long dresses. The first daughter may carry a bird. The second stands with both arms pendent. The first two daughters are slightly smaller than the sons. The last daughter is depicted at a smaller scale than the first two daughters are. She holds a lotus flower to the nose.</p> <p>On the east wall, a son stands before the tomb owner and presents a big bird. He wears a short projecting kilt.</p>
<i>Hm-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish M43)	B-3		The son appears before the offering table and presents a bird. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Hzy-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish M22)	E-2-CEN; C-1 B-3 C-1 C-2-7 AS-? C-1		<p>To the left of the panel of the false door on the west wall, a son stands and presents a bird. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. To the right of the false door, another son holds a censor. Both figures are badly preserved. A son appears at the foot of the tomb owner on the north wall. His figure is missing. In the spear-fishing scene on the west wall, a son appears in front of the tomb owner on the boat in the posture of spearing fish. Other two sons stand behind the tomb owner on a sub-register and carry harpoons. On a register below, a son holds a lotus flower and carries a fish. The scene is badly preserved.</p>
<i>Hzy-Mnw / Zzj / Dwdy</i> (El-Hawawish F1)	B-3 E-3 C-? C-1 B-4	C-?	<p>On the south wall of the chapel, the eldest son appears as an offering bearer carrying a foreleg before the offering table. He wears a short wig, a broad collar, and a short projecting kilt. Above him, another son carries a scribal kit under his arm and bends forward to the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a projecting kilt. The third son stands behind the tomb owner on the boat at a relatively larger scale. He wears a long projecting kilt and</p>

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			holds a staff. His figure is partly missing. The fourth son appears behind the tomb owner on the boat and spears fish using a long harpoon. The fifth son appears in front of the tomb owner. His figure is missing. A daughter appears between the legs of the tomb owner. Her figure is missing.
<i>Špss-pw-Mnw / Hnj / Hn-<sup>c</sup>nhw / Hn-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (El-Hawawish H24)	AS-3; C-1 B-3	B-5 B-5	On the east wall of the shrine, the eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner. He wears a long wig, a collar, bracelets, and a short projecting kilt with a band across the chest. On the east wall of the chapel, he also appears in front of the tomb owner on a sub-register in the spear-fishing scene. He holds a harpoon with one hand and places the other hand on the opposite shoulder. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt. On the north wall of the shrine, the other son appears behind the wife as an offering bearer carrying a foreleg. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. The two daughters stand behind him. Each of the daughters holds a lotus flower to her nose. They both wear short wigs, collars, long dresses, bracelets, and anklets.
<i>Q3r / Ppy-nfr</i> (El-Hawawish, L31)	B-3 B-3? B-3		On the west wall, the sons of the tomb owner are depicted as offering bearers in a sequence processing toward the tomb owner. A son appears on the first register carrying offerings. Another son appears below him. Their figures are partly missing. The third son appears on the fourth register and presents a bird. He wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Qrrj</i> (El-Hawawish Q15)	B-3		On the north wall of the chapel, a son appears as an offering bearer and presents a bird. He wears a short wig and a short kilt.
<i>K3(j)-hp / Ttj-jqr</i> (El-Hawawish H26)	AS-? AS-?		On the north wall of the chapel, two sons stand at the foot of the tomb owner. Their figures are missing.
<i>Ghs3 / Nby</i>	AS-2		On the south wall of the chapel, the eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner



Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
(El-Hawawish GA 11)			and holds the lower part of his staff. The figure is partly missing.
<i>Ttj</i> (El-Hawawish, Field Museum 31700, Chicago)	B-2 B-2	B-2	The two sons and the daughter appear behind the tomb owner and his wife on the architrave. They all stand with arms pendent. The first son wears a short wig, a collar, and a projecting kilt with a band across the body. The second son wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. The daughter wears a short wig, a collar, and a long dress.
<i>Ttj / K3.f-hp</i> (El-Hawawish M8)	E-4 E-4		On the east wall of the shrine, the two sons appear in the slaughtering scene. They are depicted cutting off the foreleg of the bull.
<i>Dw3-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish L6)	AS-2 AS-?	B-3?	On the left and right jamb of the false door, the two sons appear at the foot of the tomb owner respectively. Their figures are partly missing. The one on the right holds the lower part of tomb owner's staff. On the west wall, a daughter stands before the tomb owner with her arm raising horizontally, possibly to present an offering. She wears a long dress. Her figure is partly missing.
<i>Jhy</i> (el-Khokha No. 186)	B-3		On the west wall, the son appears as an offering bearer before the tomb owner and presents a bird. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Jdw / Mns3</i> (el-Qasr wa-'l-Saiyad, T 152, Lepsius No. 4)	B-3		The eldest son stands before the tomb owner who is seated at his offering table and presents a bird. He wears a long wig and a collar. The lower part of the figure is missing.
<i>Jdw / Snnj</i> (el-Qasr wa-'l-Saiyad, T 66, Lepsius No. 1)	C-? B-3		A son appears behind the tomb owner on the boat in the fowling scene. His figure is missing. The other son appears next to the stela of the wife. He carries a foreleg. His figure is partly missing.
<i>T3wtj / Rsy</i> (el-Qasr wa-'l-Saiyad, T 73, Lepsius No. 2)	B-2; B-3; B-3		On the west wall, the son stands behind the tomb owner with both arms pendent. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. On the north wall below the seated tomb owner, the eldest son appears as the second offering bearer and carries a foreleg. He wears a long wig and

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			a short kilt. On the east part of the north wall, he appears again as the third offering bearer and presents a bundle of birds. He wears a short wig. Part of his figure is missing.
<i>Wjw / Jjjw</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 4)	AS-2		The eldest son stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds the lower part of his staff. He wears a short projecting kilt.
<i>Mrw / Bbj</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 3)	AS-2-4 AS-4? AS-2-4		On the north wall next to the statue niche, a son stands at the foot of the tomb owner, holds the lower part of his staff with one hand, and carries a piece of cloth in the other hand. Another son appears at a small scale behind the tomb owner and in front of the wife. Both sons wear short wigs and short projecting kilts. The third son also appears at the foot of the tomb owner, holds the lower part of his staff with one hand, and carries a scepter with the other hand. He wears a long wig, a short beard, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Srf-kʿ(j)</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 1)	F; AS-2-4-Y; B-6		On the north half of the west wall, the eldest son stands on a boat and leans on his staff. He wears a collar and a short projecting kilt. On the piers, he also appears as a naked youngster with side lock at the foot of the tomb owner. He holds the lower part of his staff with one hand and carries a papyrus scroll in the other hand. The other son appears before the tomb owner on the southern half of the west wall. He raises one hand up in a gesture of making offerings. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Ppy-ḥḥ-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)	C-1; AS-3 C-1; B-2 AS-3 D-1 AS-2	D-1; E-1 E-1	On the east wall of Room 3, two sons stand behind the tomb owner on a boat. They wear short wigs, collars, and short projecting kilts. They both hold a spear in one hand and a throwing stick in the other hand. On the same wall, a son appears at the foot of the tomb owner and wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt. Another son stands behind him. He wears a long wig with a band across the chest. On the west wall of Room 3, a daughter

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			appears behind the wife. She kneels and places her hand on the chest on She wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress. On the south wall of Room 3, a son stands at the foot of the wife. He wears a short projecting kilt. The upper part of the figure is missing. A son knee-sits below the tomb owner and his wife, with hands pendent. He wears a short kilt. The upper part of the figure is missing. On the north wall of Room 3, two daughters are depicted as harpists behind the wife. They both wear a pigtail braid with a round ornament at the end. On the southern section of the east wall of Room 3, a son stands before the tomb owner with arms pendent. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-km / Hny / Hny-km</i> (Meir No. A2)	B-1 B-1		On the north panel of the east wall of Room 4, a son stands behind the tomb owner with his hand placed on the chest. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. On the west wall of Room 4, the eldest son stands behind the tomb owner in the same gesture and costume.
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy-km / Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-km / Hpj-km / Sbk-km</i> (Meir No. A1)	B-3; E-2-CEN E-2-CEN E-2-REC B-3		On the west wall of Room I, a son stands before the tomb owner and presents a big bird. He wears a short wig, a collar, bracelets, and a short projecting kilt. He also appears on the north wall. He stands on the upper register behind the tomb owner and censers him using a bell-shaped censer. He wears a long wig, a short beard, a short kilt with a band across the chest. Another son stands below him and wears the same wig and costume. He carries a foreleg. On the west wall of Room I, a son is depicted reading an unfolded papyrus behind a group of priests. He is possibly reciting spells for the ritual. He wears a long wig, a short beard, and a short projecting kilt with a band across the chest. Another son stands on the register below and holds a bell-shaped censer. He wears a short wig, a collar, bracelets, and a short kilt.

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
<i>Mrw / Jy</i> (Nag' el-Deir N3737)	B-6; B-4; C-2		On the northern section of the east wall, the eldest son stands behind the tomb owner with both braceleted arms bent upward and his palms facing forward in an attitude of deference. He wears a long wig and a collar. The lower part of the figure is missing. On the west wall, he stands with his staff and scepter and wears a short wig, bracelets, and a collar. On the south wall, he stands before the tomb owner at his foot on the boat and carries a bird in his hand. He wears a short projecting kilt.
<i>Nb-Šm<sup>c</sup>w / Httj</i> (Naqqada, Vienna, No. 5894)	E-2-CEN B-3 B-3 B-3		The four sons appear before the tomb owner and his wife. They all wear long wigs and short projecting kilts. The first holds a censor. The second carries a foreleg. The third and the fourth carry birds.
<i>Mhw / Jn-jt.f</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1)	B-2		To the left of the entrance, the son stands with arms pendent in front of the tomb owner at the same scale and faces him. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Hr-hw.f</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A8)	E-2-CEN		To the left of the entrance, the eldest son stands in front of the tomb owner and cense him with a censer that has a cone-shaped base and a flat top. He wears a long wig, a short beard, and a short pleated kilt.
<i>Hwj</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A5)	B-3 B-3 B-6	B-3 B-3	The children of the tomb owner appear on the pillar. A son carrying a foreleg appears on the first register. Another son presenting a jar appears on the third register. The third son stands behind him and raises his hand in front of the body. The two daughters stand in front of the two sons. They wear long wigs. The first daughter presents a loaf of bread in her hand, and the second carries a cylindrical object. They both wear short wigs and long dresses.
<i>Hw-ns</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A6)	B-3 B-3 B-3		A son appears on the niche. He wears a short kilt and presents a bird. On the third pillar, the other two sons appear behind a

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			woman. They both wear short wigs and short kilts and carry a bird in each hand.
<i>S3bnj [I]</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1, east tomb)	B-1 C-?	C-4-7 C-4-7 C-7 C-7	On the entrance thickness, the eldest son stands before the tomb owner. He wears a short wig, a short beard, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. In the fishing and fowling scenes, a daughter stands behind the tomb owner and holds a lotus flower to her nose. She wears a short wig, a collar, bracelets, anklets, and a long dress. Another daughter wearing the same costume and wig appears between the legs of the tomb owner on the same boat. She kneels and holds a lotus flower to her nose. The third daughter stands before the tomb owner in the fowling scene. She wears a short wig with a band tied at the back of her head, a collar, bracelets, anklets, and a long dress. She also holds a lotus flower towards her nose. The fourth daughter with the same wig and costume kneels between the legs of the tomb owner and holds a lotus flower to her nose. The other son appears behind the tomb owner in the same scene. His figure is missing.
<i>Sbk-ḥtp</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan B1)	B-3 B-3 B-3	B-3	The three sons stand behind the tomb owner on pillar 1. They all wear short wigs and short kilts. The first carries a foreleg, the second a jar, and the third two birds. The daughter stands behind the wife in the same scene and carries a bird in each hand. She wears a long wig and a long dress.
<i>Ḥw.n-wh / Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)	AS-2-4; B-3 AS-2-4; E-2-CEN	D-2 B-5 B-5 B-5	On the left jamb of the entrance, the eldest son appears at the foot of the tomb owner. He holds the lower part of the staff of the tomb owner with one hand and carries a scepter with the other hand. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. The younger son appears on the right jamb in the same gesture and costume. On the east wall, the eldest son appears as an offering bearer carrying a foreleg below the tomb owner. He wears a long wig and a short kilt. At the end of the

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			sequence of offering bearers, three daughters stand and each holds a lotus flower to the nose. They all wear long wigs, collars, bracelets, anklets, and long dresses. On the south wall to the left of the statue niche, a daughter is seated on a chair at her own offering table and extends her hand to the reed leaves on the offering table. She wears a long wig, a collar, bracelets and anklets, and a long dress. On the north wall, the younger son appears in front of the tomb owner under the offering table at a much reduced scale. He holds a censor and wears a short wig, a short beard, and a short kilt.
<i>Nj-k3.j-<sup>c</sup>nh I</i> (Tehna Tomb 15)	A-1-Y		On the right jamb of the false door of the tomb owner, a son stands before the wife. He appears as a naked boy wearing a side lock and a long necklace. He turns backward to the wife and touches her with his hand.
<i>Nj-k3.j-<sup>c</sup>nh II</i> (Tehna Tomb 15)	AS-1-4-Y		On the north wall of the inner chamber, a son stands at the foot of the tomb owner as a naked boy. He turns backward to the tomb owner and touches his knee with one hand and carries a small bird in the other hand. He wears a side lock and a long necklace.
<i>Hw-ns</i> (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2)	AS-2-4-Y AS-1-4-Y AS-2	D-1; AS-1-4 D-1 D-1-4 D-1-4 E-1	A son stands at the foot of the tomb owner and holds the lower part of his staff. Wearing a short wig and a short projecting kilt, he turns his head backward to look at the tomb owner. Five daughters kneel before the wife. The first two wear short wigs and long dresses. They place one hand on the chest and the other hand on the lap. The other three wear short wigs with a band tied at the back of the head, and long dresses. They place one hand on the chest and hold a lotus flower with the other hand. Another daughter is depicted playing the harp on the register below. She wears a short wig and a short kilt. Two other sons appear at the foot of the tomb owner as naked boys. The one in front holds the lower part of

Tomb Owner	Stance of Sons	Stance of Daughters	Description of Scenes
			the tomb owner's staff and grasps the wings of a bird with the other hand. Another son stands behind him. He touches the tomb owner's leg with one hand and grasps a bird in the other hand. He turns his head backward to look at the tomb owner. A daughter stands behind the wife, touches her leg with one hand, and holds a lotus flower with the other hand. She wears a long wig and a long dress.

### III.2 Stance of Siblings of the Tomb Owner

Table III.2.1 Tombs at Giza

Tomb Owner	Stance of Brothers	Stance of Sisters	Description of Scenes
<i>3htj-mrw-nswt</i> (G 2184) <i>sn.f n dt.f</i> and <i>sn.f</i>	B-?* F F F	D-1 D-1	On the west wall between two false doors in the outer room (Chamber C), three brothers stand before the tomb owner and his wife. Wearing short kilts and short wigs, each of them stands behind two kneeling offering bearers who are depicted in an attitude of submission and touches their heads. A <i>sn-dt</i> wearing a long kilt stands on the top register above them. The upper part of his figure is missing. On the eastern wall of chamber B, two of the seated figures on lower register below the musical scene are labeled as the sisters of the tomb owner. Wearing long dresses and long wigs, they both place the hand upon the chest.
<i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15)	B-1	B-1	A brother stands behind the tomb owner and his sons on the north wall of the first chamber. Wearing a long kilt and a short wig, he places his left hand under the right arm. On the east wall of the third chamber, a sister is depicted standing behind the wife, with her hand placed on the chest. She wears a long wig, a pair of anklets and a long dress.

Tomb Owner	Stance of Brothers	Stance of Sisters	Description of Scenes
<i>Jnpw-htp</i>	B-3 B-3 B-3	B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1	Three brothers appear in a sequence on the left thickness of the entrance, all wearing should-length wigs and short projecting kilt. The first and the third carry small birds in their hands, while the second holds a bird to his chest. Four sisters stand with the arm bent to the chest on the register below. They all wear tripartite wigs and long tight dresses.
<i>Jttj</i> (G 7391)	B-2	B-1	On right inner jamb of the false door, a brother stands with arms pendent. He wears a long kilt with projecting front. On the left inner jamb, the sister stands with her hand placed on the chest. She wears a long dress and short wig.
<i>Wtj</i> 's father*	B-1		The first man standing on a register below the large image of the tomb owner.
<i>Whm-k3</i> (D 117) <i>sn-dt</i>	B-4 *	B-1*	The <i>sn-dt</i> appears on the west wall and stands before the tomb owner at the same scale. He carries his scepter and staff and wears a short wig, a leopard skin, and a short kilt. The <i>snt-dt</i> appears on the top register at the beginning of a sequence of individuals. Wearing a long wig and a long dress, she stands with her hand placed on the chest. She also holds the hand of her son who stands behind her as a child at a reduced scale.
<i>Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-mrj-Pth- n<sub>h</sub> / Nhbw</i> (G 2381 with shft G 2382A)	C-1		The brother stands on a separate register facing the tomb owner in the fishing scene and holds a harpoon vertically. He wears a short projecting kilt and a cap wig.
<i>Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q3r</i> (G 7101)	C-2	D-1 D-1	Two sisters of the tomb owner appear on the north wall to the east of the pillar. They both kneel on the register below the tomb owner who is seated on a chair. They wear long tight dresses, collars, bracelets, and short wigs. A brother is depicted carrying a giant fish on a separate register behind the tomb owner



Tomb Owner	Stance of Brothers	Stance of Sisters	Description of Scenes
			in the spear-fishing scene. He wears a short projecting kilt.
<i>Mrw-kʿ</i> <i>sn.f dt</i>	B-3 *		On the west wall of the chapel, the fourth offering bearer is a <i>sn-dt</i> . He carries a foreleg and possibly wears a short kilt. Part of the scene is lost.
<i>Nb-m-ʿhtj</i> (LG 12, LG 86)	B-4 B-4 image lost	image lost	The tomb owner and his brother stand and face each other, both holding a staff. Another brother stand behind the tomb owner, holding a staff.
<i>Nfr</i> and <i>Jtj-sn</i> ( <i>Nfr</i> is <i>sn-dt</i> ) (D 203)	D-2 *		The <i>sn-dt Nfr</i> is seated on the left side of the offering table facing <i>Jtj-sn</i> , who is seated on the right side. They both wear short wigs and short kilts.
<i>Nfr-htp</i> wife is <i>snt-dt</i>		D-2*	The <i>snt-dt</i> of the tomb owner is seated at her own offering table on both sides on the panel of the false door. She wears a long dress and a long wig.
<i>Hc.f-Rc-nh</i> (G 7948) <i>sn-dt</i>	B-4 *		On the east wall of the chapel, <i>sn-dt Jtj</i> stands behind the tomb owner at the same scale. He wears a short kilt and leopard skin and carries a scepter with one hand and grasps the tassel of the leopard with the other hand on the chest.
<i>Hwfw-ʿnh</i> (G 4520) <i>sn-dt</i>	B-3 * B-3 * B-3 *	B-1 *	Three <i>sn-dt</i> appears on the left end of the lintel of the false door. The first one carries a small bird in each hand, and the other two carry a big bird by holding it in front of the body with both hands. At the bottom of the right outer jamb, a <i>snt-dt</i> stands with her hand placed on her chest. She wears a long wig and a long dress.
<i>Hnmw-htp</i> (Fakhry 4)	E-3 *		A <i>sn-dt</i> appears at a small scale facing the tomb owner on the right jamb of the entrance doorway. He is presenting a papyrus scroll to the tomb owner. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a long projected kilt.
<i>Ztw</i> (G 4710, LG 49) <i>sn-dt</i>	B-1 *		On the thickness of the false door, a <i>sn-dt</i> stands with one hand placed on the opposite shoulder and the other hand placed on the chest in a fist.
<i>Sndm-jb / Jntj</i> (G 2370) <i>sn-dt</i>	B-3 * B-3 *		On the south wall of the offering room, two of the offering bearers are the <i>sn-dts</i> . They both wear short wigs and short kilts. The first one carries two small birds with

Tomb Owner	Stance of Brothers	Stance of Sisters	Description of Scenes
			one hand and grasps the leash of a small animal with the other hand. The second one carries a basket on the shoulder and two small birds.
<i>Sšm-nfr I</i> (G 4940, LG 45) <i>sn-dt</i>	B-2 * B-1 * B-1 * B-1 * B-1 * B-3 * B-1 *		A sequence of seven <i>sn-dts</i> stands to the left of the offering list on the east wall. They all wear long kilts and short wigs. The first one places both arms down at the sides of the body, and the sixth one grasps a medium size bird in each hand. The rest four all bend their arms to the chest.
<i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (G 5170)	B-4 B-1 B-1 B-1		Two men designated as <i>sn.f</i> stand to the right of the false door. The first one holds a papyrus scroll in his hand, and the second one places his right arm across the chest with right hand on the left shoulder. Another two men standing on the register below are possibly brothers. The first one places his right hand on the left shoulder. The second man places his left hand on the right shoulder with the right hand grasping the left arm.
<i>Špss-k<sup>3</sup>.f-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	AS-3-Y AS-3-4-Y AS-3-Y	AS-3-Y	The siblings are represented as naked children standing at the foot of the parents of the tomb owner to the left of the first false door on the west wall. All the brothers wear short wigs and collars and bend their arms to the chest. The brother behind the mother of the tomb owner holds a piece of cloth in the other hand. The sister wearing a collar and a pigtail stands in front of the mother and places her hand on her chest.
<i>Qd-ns</i>	B-? (image partly lost)		A brother stands before the tomb owner and the wife who are seated at their offering table. He may have been performing some ritual. The image is partly lost.
<i>K<sup>3</sup>j</i>	B-1-4 B-1 B-4	B-1	The siblings appear on the false doors in the chapel. One of the brothers on the left inner jamb. He carries a scepter with one hand and places the other hand on the chest. A sister stands behind him with her arm bent to the chest. Another brother stands below him with his arm bent to the chest. The third brother carries a scepter

Tomb Owner	Stance of Brothers	Stance of Sisters	Description of Scenes
			on the left jamb of the other false door. All the brothers wear short kilts and short wig. The sister wears a long dress and a tripartite wig.
<i>K3pj</i> (G 2091)	B-2	B-3	The last of the four men depicted on the south face of the pillar is a brother of the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. A sister is depicted standing on the false door of the tomb owner. She carries a bird in each hand.
<i>K3-hr-Pth</i>	B-2 *		A <i>sn-dt</i> stands with arms pendent at a large scale on the middle column of the antechamber. He wears a long wig, a collar, and short kilt. His son is depicted as a naked boy at his foot at a much reduced scale.
<i>Tntj</i> (G 4920, LG 47) <i>sn-dt</i>	B-2 * B-2 *		The <i>sn-dt J3tz</i> stands on the top register of the left outer jamb of the false door, wearing a cap wig, a collar, and a short kilt, placing both hands down at the sides of the body. Another <i>sn-dt</i> stands behind the tomb owner on the south wall, placing his hands down at the sides of the body. He wears short wigs and short kilts.
<i>Ttw I</i> (G 2001)	B-3 B-3 B-3 B-3		Four brothers appear on the north wall of the portico as offering bearers following the eldest son. The first one is presenting a big bird by twisting its neck and wings, while the rest three carrying a tray of food offerings with one hand and lashing a small animal with the other hand.
<i>D3ty</i> (G 2337-X)	B-3 B-1 E-2-CEN B-3	B-3 B-3 B-3	The three sisters are depicted as offering bearers, one carrying small birds with both hands, the other two carrying trays and baskets of food offerings. A brother is presenting a big bird to the tomb owner, another standing behind him on a boat in a gesture of showing respect. Another brother is being censured by the tomb owner on the bottom register. Behind him is the fourth brother carrying a bird.

Table III.2.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Tomb Owner	Stance of Brothers	Stance of Sisters	Description of Scenes
<i>ḥt-ḥtp</i> (D 64) <i>sn-dt</i>	B-3 *		On the south wall, a <i>sn-dt</i> is depicted as the third offering bearers carrying small birds with both hands. He wears a short kilt and a short wig.
<i>ḥm-m-ḥr / Zzj</i>	B-2; AS-3		On the south wall of Room III, a brother stands before the tomb owner and a pile of funerary equipment, such as collars and clothes in boxes. He wears a long kilt with projecting front, a short wig, and elaborated collars. His body is quite corpulent with rolls on the belly. On the west wall, he also stands with arms pendent at the foot of the tomb owner. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Ppj</i>	B-3		A brother appears as an offering bearer carrying a foreleg on the right jamb of the false door. He wears a short projecting kilt and a short wig.
<i>Ph.n-wj-k3</i> <i>sn-dt</i>	D-1 * B-2 *		A <i>sn-dt</i> stands facing the tomb owner and his wife in Room I. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. Another <i>sn-dt</i> is seated with his arm bent to the chest. He also wears a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt.
<i>Pth-ḥtp</i> (D 51)*	B-? B-?		The <i>sn-dt</i> stands between the second and the third sons. The <i>snt-dt</i> appears on a register below, in front of two women labeled as <i>ms</i> .
<i>Pth-ḥtp II</i> 15 <i>sn-dt</i>	D-1 * D-1 * E-3 * F E-1 * B-3 * B-3 * F B-3 * B-1 *, B-1-4 * B-3 * B-3 * B-3 *		On the north wall, two <i>sn-dt</i> are seated before the tomb owner. The first one places one hand on the chest and the other hand under the opposite arm. The second one places both hands under the opposite arms. On the register below, a <i>sn-dt</i> is depicted presenting a piece of unfolded papyrus to the tomb owner. Another <i>sn-dt</i> appears below him, knee-sitting on the ground and eating a fig. Behind him, a <i>sn-dt</i> is playing the harp. They all wear shot wigs and short kilts. Below them, a <i>sn-dt</i> carries an offering table with another man. On the east wall, a <i>sn-dt</i> appears twice

Tomb Owner	Stance of Brothers	Stance of Sisters	Description of Scenes
	B-3 * B-3 * B-3 *		before the tomb owner. On the lower register, he bends forward in a gesture of respect with one hand placed under the opposite arm. On the upper register, he bends forward with a papyrus scroll with one hand and the other hand on the opposite shoulder. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. A <i>sn-dt</i> is depicted as the signalman in a clapnet scene with arms stretched out holding a cloth. He is naked with his kilt rolled up and tied around the waist. Another <i>sn-dt</i> appears in the same scene in front of the tomb owner at a reduced scale. He stands and faces him and carries a bird. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. Four <i>sn-dts</i> appear on the west wall before the seated tomb owner. They lead three sequences of offering bearers on three sub-registers. The one on the upper register carries a jar, a bunch of lotus flower, and a bunch of papyrus stems. The other two in the middle register carry trays of food, plants, and birds while each grasps the leash of a small animal. The one on the bottom register is presenting a big bird. They all wear short wigs and short kilts. On the south wall, a <i>sn-dt</i> appears as an offering bearer in front of the son. He wears a long wig, a short beard, and a short kilt with a band on the chest. He is presenting a bird.
<i>Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj</i>	B-3		A brother appears among the offering bearers on the east wall of the main chapel. Wearing a short kilt and a shoulder-length wig, he bends forward and carries a foreleg.
<i>Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj</i>	B-2; B-2; B-3 B-2; B-2; B-3 B-2; B-2; B-3 B-2; B-2; B-3 B-2; B-2; B-3		Brothers and sons are depicted standing below the carrying chair scene on the north wall west of statue niche in Room A13. They all wear short projecting kilts and short wigs and stand with arms pendent. On the south wall of Room A10, they also stand behind the tomb owner in two rows of three in the same costume and stance. On the north wall of Room A8, they appear as offering bearers

Tomb Owner	Stance of Brothers	Stance of Sisters	Description of Scenes
	B-2; B-2; B-3 B-2; B-2; B-3 B-2; B-2; B-3 B-2; B-2; B-2; B-3 B-2; B-2; B-3; F		carrying forelegs or big birds and wear short kilts and short wigs. One of the brothers stands behind the tomb owner on the south wall of Room A3. He wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. A brother named <i>Jhj</i> is depicted as a corpulent man seated on a boat, drinking from a bowl held by a servant.
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-nswt</i> <i>sn-dt</i>	B-3 *		A <i>sn-dt</i> stands on a boat and wears a short wig and a short projecting kilt. He carries birds and a bunch of papyrus stems.
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw</i> <i>Hnmw-htp</i>	B-1 B-1 B-1 B-1 A-1; A-1	B-1 B-1 B-1	On the east wall of Room II, the siblings of the two tomb owners stand in a sequence led by the parents of the two tomb owners. All the siblings stand with their hand placed on the chest. The brothers wear short kilts with projecting front and short wigs. The sisters wear long dresses and long tripartite wigs. The two tomb owners appear in a variety of scenes holding each other's hand. They are depicted embracing each other on the west wall of Room VI.
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Shmt</i>	B-2 B-2 B-2		Three brothers are depicted standing with arms pendent on the false door. One of them stands behind the tomb owner to the left of the panel. The other two appear at the bottom of the outer jambs. They all wear short kilts and short wigs.
<i>Nj-k<sup>3</sup>w-Pth</i> <i>sn-dt</i> (Univ. Mus. Manchester 10780)	E-2-CEN *		A <i>sn-dt</i> is depicted standing in front of the offering table and censuring the tomb owner. Wearing a short kilt and a short wig, he holds a bell-shaped censer toward the tomb owner.
<i>Nfr</i> (in the same tomb of his father <i>K3-h<sup>3</sup>.j</i> )	B-2; D-2 B-2; D-2 B-2; D-2		The three brothers stand behind <i>Nfr</i> on the south wall, each wearing a short wig, a collar, and a long pleated kilt with projecting front. They also appear above the false door on the south section of the west wall, all seated on the ground at their own small offering tables. They all wear short wigs, collars and short kilts.
<i>Ntr-wsr</i> <i>snt-dt</i> wife		AS-6	The <i>snt-dt</i> is depicted kneeling at the foot of the tomb owner, holding a lotus flower

Tomb Owner	Stance of Brothers	Stance of Sisters	Description of Scenes
			toward the nose with one hand and embracing the calf of the tomb owner with the other hand. She wears a long dress with an elaborate collar, a pair of bracelets, and a long tripartite wig decorated with lotus flowers and ribbons.
<i>Hnmw-ndm(w)</i>	B-3		A brother of the tomb owner appears on the architrave. Wearing a shoulder-length wig, a collar, and a short kilt, he stands facing left and carries a small bird in each hand.
<i>S3-mry</i>	B-4; AS-3-4; D-1		A brother of the tomb owner appears on the right outer jamb of the false door. He holds a staff with his braceleted hand and grasps a piece of cloth with the other hand. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. He also appears in front of his mother at her foot on the right inner jamb. Wearing a projected kilt and a collar, he stands with one hand placed on the chest and the other hand holding a papyrus scroll. Wearing a short wig and a short projecting kilt, he also appears at the bottom of the niche, seated on a stool with his hand placed on the chest.
<i>Shm-k3 sn-dt</i>	B-1 * B-1 *		On the right outer jamb of the false door, two <i>sn-dts</i> stand below the seated tomb owner, both wearing short projecting kilts, collars and short wigs. They both place the left hand upon the right shoulder.
<i>Q3r Junior</i> (son of vizier <i>Q3r</i> )	B-3 B-3		Two brothers are depicted as offering bearers presenting birds. They wear short wigs, short beard, and kilt with a band across the chest.
<i>K3,j-m-hzt sn-dt Htp-k3</i>	AS-4 *		A <i>sn-dt</i> appears at the foot of the tomb owner on a door leaf. Wearing a short wig and a short kilt, he stands and holds a staff.
<i>K3-h3.j sn-dt</i>	B-4 *		The <i>sn-dt</i> of the tomb owner named <i>Tntj</i> appears on the east wall of the chapel. Wearing a long kilt with projecting front, a collar, and a short wig, he holds a papyrus scroll in one hand and a piece of cloth in the other hand.

Tomb Owner	Stance of Brothers	Stance of Sisters	Description of Scenes
<i>K3-gm-nj / Mmj / Gmnj</i>	B-1		On the south wall, 15 men stand behind the tomb owner in five rows of three with arms pendent. A brother appears among them on the bottom register. He wears a short wig and short kilt with projecting front.
<i>Tp-m-ḥnh</i>	B-3? image largely lost NA NA	NA NA D-1-2	To the left of the panel on the false door of the wife, a sister of the wife is seated on a chair at her own offering table. Wearing a long dress and a tripartite wig, she places one hand on the chest and extends the other hand to the offering table. A brother appears before the tomb owner, possibly presenting a bird(?).
<i>Tsmw sn-ḏt of Pth-ḥtp in the mastaba of Ḥmt-R<sup>c</sup></i>	D-4		<i>Tsmw</i> is seated on a chair with his wife on a slab found in shaft No. 12. He wears a long wig, a short beard, and a short projecting kilt and holds a staff in his hand.

Table III.2.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Tomb Owner	Stance of Brothers	Stance of Sisters	Description of Scenes
<i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8)	C-2; B-4		In the fowling scene on the south wall, a brother is depicted standing on the boat behind the tomb owner with his sons. He grasps the wings of a bird with one hand and lifts it to the front. He wears a short projected kilt, a collar, and a short wig. He also appears standing behind the tomb owner at a much-reduced scale on the north wall. Wearing a short projected kilt and a long wig, he holds a staff.
<i>Jtj / Šdw</i> (Deshasha)		AS-4	On the north wall of the chapel, a sister of the tomb owner is depicted at the foot of her brother at a much-reduced scale. Wearing a long sheath dress, a collar, and a short wig, she holds a lotus flower to her nose.
<i>Jmj</i> (El-Hawawish, Orinst. 109491)	B-4		A brother appears behind two figures of the tomb owner on the archive. The three figures have the same scale, appearance,



Tomb Owner	Stance of Brothers	Stance of Sisters	Description of Scenes
			and stance. Wearing a short wig, a projecting kilt, and a collar, he carries a staff with one hand and a scepter in the other hand.
<i>Sfhw</i> (El-Hawawish L21)	B-? most part of image damaged		A brother appears on the north wall, possibly standing and wearing a long wig.
<i>K3(.j)-hp / Ttj-jqr</i> (El-Hawawish H26)	C-3		A brother stands on a sub-register behind the tomb owner in the spear-fishing scene. Wearing a short wig with a band that goes across his chest, a collar, and a projecting kilt, he holds a papyrus scroll in his right hand.
<i>Jj-mry</i> (Gebel el-Teir)*	B-3		A <i>snt-dt</i> stands carrying offerings behind five offering bearers in a sequence.
<i>Ppy-nh-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)	B-3 B-3 B-3 B-3 B-3 E-3		On the north wall of Room 3, five brothers appear as offering bearers carrying forelegs. They wear short wigs and short kilts. The brother of the wife is depicted behind her at a much-reduced scale in the same scene. Wearing a short kilt with projecting front and a shoulder-length wig, he holds a piece of papyrus with both hands in front of his face as if he is reading from it.
<i>Hw-ns</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A6)		B-6	A sister appears on the pillar at the end of a sequence of individuals below the tomb owner who is seated at his offering table. Wearing a long dress, she stands with one arm raised.
<i>Hw.n-wh / Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)	B-3		A brother appears as the fourth offering bearer on the east wall. Wearing a long wig and a short kilt, he carries two trays of bread on his shoulders and papyrus and lotus plants that hung on both arms.

### III.3 Stance of Parents of the Tomb Owner

Table III.3.1 Tombs at Giza

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
<i>3htj-mrw-nswt</i> (G 2184)	B-4	A-1		Parents of the tomb owner appear on the jamb of the entrance to the inner room. The father stands with his staff and scepter and wears a short wig, a short beard, a collar, a short kilt and leopard skin. The mother stands behind the father with one hand on his shoulder and the other hand on his hand, in which he carries the scepter. She wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress.
<i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15)	F; B-4; E-2-LOT		B-4; E-2-LOT	The father is seated in a carrying chair under a canopy on the west wall of the first chamber. He also appears leaning on his staff in another scene on the same wall and wears a long wig, a collar, and a long projecting kilt. His son stands behind him at a slightly smaller scale. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a long projecting kilt and grasping a papyrus scroll in his hand. The father also appears on the south wall of the third chamber, wearing a projecting kilt. He is seated on a chair and receiving a lotus flower from his son.
<i>Jnpw-htp</i>	E-2-CEN; B-4	A-1; A-1	E-2-CEN	The father appears on the east thickness of the entrance. He stands with a staff held in one hand and a piece of cloth in the other hand. He wears a long wig, a short beard, and a short projecting kilt with a band across the body. His son is censing in front of him. The mother stands behind the

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
				father, with her hand placed on his shoulder. She wears a long wig, a collar, a pair of bracelets, a pair of anklets, and a long dress. The parents also appear on the left side of the entrance. The father stands with his staff and a piece of cloth in his hand and wears a long wig, a short beard, a short kilt and a leopard skin that tied on the shoulder. The mother stands behind him and embraces his shoulder with her arm. She wears a long wig and a long dress.
<i>Whm-k³</i> (D 117)	B-4	A-1		The parents appear next to the tomb owner and his wife at the same scale on the east wall but face the opposite direction. The father, wearing a short wig, a short beard, a short kilt and a leopard skin hanging from the shoulder, stands with his staff and scepter. The mother stands behind him and places one hand on his shoulder and the other hand on his arm. She wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress.
<i>Wsr</i>		A-2	D-1	The mother of the tomb owner appears on the architrave of the false door. She is seated with the tomb owner on a stool and places one hand on her son's shoulder and holds his arm with the other hand. She wears a long wig and a long dress.
<i>Mry-jb / K³-pw-nswt</i>		A-1	B-4	The mother stands behind the tomb owner at the same scale and places her hand on

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
(G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24)				the shoulder of her son. She wears a long wig, a collar, a pair of bracelets, a pair of anklets, and a long dress.
<i>Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q<sup>3</sup>r</i> (G 7101)		A-2		The mother of the tomb owner appears on the north wall of Room E, seated behind him on a chair. She places one hand on the shoulder of her son and the other hand on his waist. She wears a short wig, a collar, and a long dress.
<i>Mry-Hwfw</i> (Fakhry 6)	D-2			The father of the tomb owner is seated at the offering table with one hand extended to the offering table and the other hand placed on the chest.
<i>Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh III</i> (G 7530 + 7540)	B-4	F; B-4; F	F; B-4	The father of the tomb owner appears on the east wall of the main room, standing and holding his staff in one hand and a piece of cloth in the other hand. He is depicted as a corpulent man, wearing a short wig, a collar, a long necklace, and a long projecting kilt. On the same wall, the mother appears on the boat in front of the tomb owner and pulls the papyrus plants with her. She wears a long wig, a collar, bracelets and anklets, and a long dress. Her daughter stands behind her, pulling the papyrus plant with one hand and holding the mother's waist with the other hand. On the west wall, the mother appears again, standing with both hands across the chest. He wears a short wig, an elaborated collar, a pair of

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
				anklets, and a long dress with projecting shoulders. Her daughter stands behind her, wearing the leopard skin and holds a whisk.
<i>Nj-s<sup>c</sup>nh-3hty / Jtj</i>	B-4			The father of the tomb owner appears at the right end of the lintel of the eastern chapel, wearing a long wig, a short beard, and a short projecting kilt. He stands while holding his staff and scepter.
<i>Nn-s<sup>d</sup>r-k3(j)</i> female (G 2101)	B-4; B-4		AS-2; AS-2-4	The father of the tomb owner appears on two pillars. On the left pillar, he stands and holds his staff in one hand and a piece of cloth in the other hand. He wears a short wig and a short kilt, with a band across the chest. The tomb owner stands at his foot and holds the lower part of his staff with one hand and a lotus flower with the other hand. She wears a long wig and a long dress. On the right pillar, the father stands in the same stance and wears a long wig and a short kilt. The daughter wearing a short wig stands at his foot.
<i>Nb-m-3htj</i> (LG 12, LG 86)		D-?	D-?	The mother of the tomb owner is seated (?) before him and his sister on the eastern wall above the doorway. She wears a long wig. The lower part of the scene is missing.
<i>Nfrj</i> grandson of <i>Jrj-n-3htj / Jrj</i> (G 2391)	E-2-CEN		E-2-CEN	The tomb owner stands before his father and censes him at a reduced scale on the lintel. The father wears a long wig and a short projecting kilt, holding his

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
				staff and grasping a piece of cloth in the other hand.
<i>Nfr-b³w-Pth</i> (G 6010, LG 15)	B-4		B-4	The father stands in front of the son at the same scale on the west wall. He wears a long wig, a short beard, a collar and a long projecting kilt and leans on his staff. His son stands behind him and wears the same costume. He carries a scepter in one hand and grasps a piece of cloth in the other hand.
<i>Nfr-k³(.j)</i>		B-1		The mother designated as "her mother" stands to the right of the false door of the wife. She wears a long wig and a long dress and places her hand on the chest.
<i>R<sup>c</sup>-wr</i>		B-1	D-4	The mother appears before the tomb owner on the east wall of the vestibule. She stands with her hand placed on her chest. She wears a long wig, a collar, bracelets and anklets, and a long dress. The tomb owner is seated on a stool, with his staff in one hand and a piece of cloth in the other hand. He wears a short wig, a short beard, and the leopard skin. The mother is depicted at a smaller scale to allow her to appear in same height of the seated son.
<i>Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (G 4520)	B-1	B-1		The father of the tomb owner appears at the bottom of the left inner jamb. He stands with his arm bent to the chest and wears a short wig, and a short kilt with leopard skin hanging from the shoulder. The mother stands at the bottom of the right inner jamb with her

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
				hand placed on the chest. She wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress.
<i>Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I</i> (G 7130 + 7140)		A-1	A-1 & B-4	The mother of the tomb owner appears on the south wall, standing before her son and holding his hand. She wears a short wig, a collar, a pair of bracelets, and a long dress with elaborate sleeves. The son wears a short wig, a short beard, a collar, a pair of bracelets, a short kilt with bands crossed on the chest, and a Hathor head decoration tied with sashes on the waist. His one hand is held by the mother, while the other hand grasps a piece of cloth.
<i>Hw.n-R<sup>c</sup></i>		A-2& D-4	A-2-Y & B-3-Y	The mother is seated on a stool, holding a lotus flower with one hand and the arm of her son with the other hand. She wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress. The son stands before the mother as a naked boy with a side lock. He turns backward to look at her while placing his hand upon her lap and grasping a small bird with the other hand. He wears a collar and a pair of bracelets.
<i>Shm-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup></i> (LG 89)		A-2; A-2	A-2; D-4	The mother appears on the west wall, seated behind the son, who appears at a smaller scale. She wears a long wig and a long dress and places one hand on the shoulder of her son while holding his arm with the other hand. She also appears on the east wall, seated behind her son in the same

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
				stance, while her son is holding a lotus flower.
<i>Sšmw</i> ( ? ) (Shaft 590)	D-2	A-2		The parents of the tomb owner appear on the right end of the architrave, seated on a stool at their offering table. The father wears a short wig, a collar, and a short kilt, and extends his hand to the offering table. The mother places one hand on the father's shoulder and holds his arm with the other hand. She wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress.
<i>Sšm-nfr II</i> (G 5080)		B-1		The mother of the tomb owner stands to the left of the false door on the west wall. She wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress, with her hand placed on the chest.
<i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (G 5170)		B-1		The mother of the tomb owner stands to the left of the false door on the west wall. She wears a long wig, a collar, a pair of bracelets, a pair of anklets, and a long dress, with her hand placed on the chest.
<i>Šps-k<sup>3</sup>.f-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	B-4	B-1	AS-2-4	The parents of the tomb owner appear on the west wall to the left of the first false door. The father stands with his staff and scepter. He wears a long wig, a short beard, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. The tomb owner appears at the foot of his father and holds his staff. The mother stands behind the father with her hand placed on her chest. She wears a long wig, a collar, bracelets and anklets, and a long dress.



Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
<i>K3j</i> (east of tomb G 7391)	B-1-4	A-1; B-1		The parents of the tomb owner appear standing on the right inner jamb of the false door. The father holds a whisk to the chest with one hand and carries a scepter with the other hand. He wears a short kilt with leopard skin tied at the shoulder. The mother stands behind the father and places her arm around the shoulder of the father. She wears a long wig and a long dress. She also appears on the right jamb of the secondary false door, standing with her hand places on her chest.
<i>K3.j-w<sup>c</sup>b</i> (G 7110 + 7120)		B-1	B-2	The mother stands before the tomb owner on the west wall. She possibly places her hand upon the chest. The son possibly stands with both arms down at the sides of the body. The relief is partly damaged.
<i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136)		D-2-4; D-1; D-1	D-1-2	The mother of the tomb owner appears on the panel of her false door, seated on a chair at her offering table facing her son who is seated on the other side. She extends one hand to the offering table and holds a lotus flower in the other hand. She wears a long dress and a long wig. Her son appears on the other side, with his arm bent to the chest. He wears a long wig, a collar, and a leopard skin. The mother appears again on the lintel of the false door, seated on a chair at the left end. She wears a long wig and a long dress, with one

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
				hand placed on the chest and the other hand on the lap.
<i>D<sup>3</sup>ty</i> (G 2337-x)	E-2-CEN	B-3; A-1	B-4; E-2-CEN	The mother appears behind the tomb owner who stands to the left of the false door with his staff and scepter. She carries a bird in each hand. The father and the mother appear on the same register. The father stands with his scepter and is censed by the tomb owner. The mother stands behind the father and places one hand on his shoulder and holds his arm with the other hand. The father wears a long projecting kilt and a short wig. The mother wears a long wig and a long dress.

Table III.3.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
Mr.f-nb.f / <i>Fff</i>		AS-6; AS-6	B-4; B-4	The mother kneels at the foot of the tomb owner at a much reduced scale on the north part of the east wall of the west chapel. She wears a short wig tied with a sash, a collar, and a long dress. She places one hand on her lap and the other hand on the chest. Part of her figure is covered by the foot of the tomb owner. She appears again in the same stance at the foot of the tomb owner on the south part of the same wall. She wears a long wig in this position.
Mrrw-k#.j / Mrj		B-5; B-1		The mother stands behind the tomb owner at a much

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
				reduced scale on the east wall of Room A13. She wears a long wig, a collar, a bracelet, and a long dress, and holds a lotus flower towards her nose. She also appears standing with her hand placed on the chest on the north wall of Room A13. She wears a long wig, bracelets and anklets, and a long dress.
Nj-onX-\$nmw & \$nmw-Htp	B-4	A-1		The parents of the tomb owners appear on the east wall of chapel II. Their children, including the tomb owners, stand behind them in a sequence. The father stands with one hand holding a whisk to the chest and the other hand grasping a piece of cloth. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt. The mother stands behind the father, with one hand placed on his shoulder and the other hand holding his arm. She wears a long wig, a collar, and a long dress.
Nj-k#w-Ro		A-1	A-1	The mother-in-law of the tomb owner appears at the bottom of the left outer jamb of the false door of the wife. She and the wife stand face to face, embracing each other. They both wear long wigs, collars, and long dresses.
c#-mry		D-2; B-5; D-1	D-1-2; D-1	The mother of the tomb owner is seated on the right side of the offering table facing her son who is on the left. She places one hand on the chest and the other hand on the lap. She wears a

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
				long wig, a collar, bracelets and anklets, and a long dress. She also appears on the right inner jamb, wearing the same costume and holding a lotus flower to the nose. She appears again at the bottom of the niche of the false door, seated on a stool in front of her son, with one hand placed on the chest and the other hand on the lap.

Table III.3.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-km</i> / <i>Hny</i> / <i>Hny-km</i> (Meir No. A2)	E-2-CEN		E-2-CEN	The father is shown standing and being censured by his son on the north thickness in Room 4 open to tomb A1. He wears a short wig, a collar, a bracelet, a stole, and a long projecting kilt.
<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)	D-2	D-2 D-2		The parents of the tomb owner appear on the south wall of Room 3. The father wears a long wig, a short beard, a collar, a short kilt, and bracelets. He is seated on a stool at the offering table with his hand extended to the offerings. The mother is also seated at her offering table below that of the father and extends her hand to the offerings. She wears a long wig, a collar, bracelets, anklets, and a long dress. They both face a large image of the tomb owner. The mother of the wife appears

Tomb Owner	Stance of Father	Stance of Mother	Tomb Owner's Stance	Description of Scenes
				on the same wall, knee sitting at her own small offering table. She wears a short wig, a collar, and a long dress, with one hand placed the chest and the other hand extended to the offering table.
<i>Mmj</i> (El-Hawawish, CG 1586)	B-4			The father of the tomb owner appears behind the tomb owner on the architrave. He is depicted as a corpulent aged man. He wears a long projecting kilt and holds his staff.

### III.4 Stances of Other Relatives of the Tomb Owner

Table III.4.1 Tombs at Giza

Tomb Owner	Designation of Other Relatives	Stance of Other Relatives	Description of Scenes
<i>Wnšt</i> (G4840, VII SS)	<i>zʒ.s</i> (son of daughter)	AS-3-Y	The grandson stands at the foot of the daughter of the tomb owner as a naked boy. He wears a short wig and bends his arm to the chest.
<i>Whm-nfrt</i>	<i>zʒ zʒ.s</i> <i>zʒ zʒ</i>	B-1 B-Y	A grandson stands on the right outer jamb of the false door with his arm bent to the chest. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. Another grandson stands on the right inner jamb as a naked boy. He wears a necklace and his finger points to the mouth.
<i>Nfrt-nswt</i>	<i>zʒ zʒt.f</i>	B-3	The grandson stands on the left outer jamb of the false door. He grasps a small bird in each hand and wears a short wig and a short kilt.
<i>Rʒ-mw</i> (false door in the tomb of <i>Tj</i> )	<i>zʒ zʒt.s</i>	AS-1-4-Y	The grandson stands on the right false door at the foot of the wife as a naked boy with a side lock. He touches the leg of the wife with one

Tomb Owner	Designation of Other Relatives	Stance of Other Relatives	Description of Scenes
			hand and grasps a piece of cloth in the other hand.
<i>Sšm-nfr</i> II (G 5080)	<i>z3.f</i> (son of son)	F	The grandson appears behind a son who is presenting a lotus flower to the tomb owner on the south wall. He extends both arms horizontally with hands crossed. He wears a short wig and a short kilt. The presence of a large ewer in a basin placed on a tall table in front of him may indicate that he is washing his hand. <sup>2</sup>
<i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136)	<i>z3 z3t.f</i> <i>z3 z3.f</i> <i>z3t z3t.f</i> <i>z3 z3t.f</i> <i>z3 z3.f</i> <i>z3 z3t.f</i>	E-1 E-1 E-1 D-2 D-2 D-2	The six grandchildren appear in front of the tomb owner and his wife who are seated at the offering table on the south wall. The first one is the son of his daughter, who is seated on the ground and faces backward, with one hand raised forward and the other hand placed on the ear. The second one is the son of his son. He is seated on the ground and plays the harp. The next one is the daughter of his daughter. She also plays the harp. Another three grandsons are seated behind them at their small offering tables, with one arm bent to the chest, and the other arm reached out to the offering table. All the grandsons wear short wigs and short kilts. The granddaughter wears a short wig and a long dress.
<i>K3-hr-Pth</i> (G 7721)	<i>z3.f</i> (son of a <i>sn-dt</i> , nephw of the tomb owner?)	AS-3-Y	A <i>sn-dt</i> stands with arms pendent at a large scale on the middle column of the antechamber. His son is depicted as a naked boy at his foot at a much reduced scale.
<i>Ttj</i>	<i>z3t z3t.s</i> <i>z3 z3t.s</i> <i>z3 z3t.f</i>	B-1 AS-?-Y B-2-Y; AS-1-Y	A granddaughter stands behind the wife of the tomb owner on the right jamb of the false door. Wearing a long wig and a long dress, she places her hand on the chest. A grandson stands behind the wife as

<sup>2</sup> Kanawati, Giza II, 59.

Tomb Owner	Designation of Other Relatives	Stance of Other Relatives	Description of Scenes
			a nude boy with a side lock. Another grandson appears in front of the tomb owner on the left jamb, possibly as a naked child. He also appears standing between the legs of the tomb owner and embraces the calf of the tomb owner with his arm. He also appears as a nude boy with a side lock on the left jamb of the other false door.

Table III.4.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Tomb Owner	Designation of Other Relatives	Stance of Other Relatives	Description of Scenes
<i>Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>z3t z3t</i>	AS-1-4-Y	The granddaughter appears as a naked girl on the left inner jamb of the false door of the wife. She stands at the foot of her grandmother, embraces her legs with one hand, and holds a lotus flower to the nose with the other hand. She wears a pigtail braid and a collar.
<i>S3bw / Jbbj</i>	<i>z3 z3.f</i> <i>z3 z3.f</i>	B-3 B-3	On the niche of the false door, a grandson appears as the second offering bearer carrying a foreleg below the seated tomb owner. The sixth offering bearer is also a grandson. He is presenting three big birds. They both wear short wigs and short kilts.
<i>Shm-k3</i> (north-west of D 62)	<i>z3 z3.f</i>	B-2-Y	The grandson appears as a naked child to the left of the false door following a sequence of children of the tomb owner. Wearing a side lock, a collar, bracelets, and anklets, he stands with arms pendent.
<i>K3(.j)-hp</i> (S 3511)	<i>msw.f</i> <i>msw.f</i> <i>msw.f</i> <i>msw.f</i> <i>msw.f</i>	B-1-4 B-1-4 B-1-4 B-1-4 B-1-4	The grandchildren of the tomb owner appear on the outer jambs of the false door. All the six grandsons wear short wigs and short projecting kilts, with one arm bent to the chest

Tomb Owner	Designation of Other Relatives	Stance of Other Relatives	Description of Scenes
	<i>msw.f; z3 z3.f</i> <i>z3 z3.f</i> <i>msw.f</i> <i>msw.f</i> <i>msw.f</i>	B-1-4; AS-2-4-Y AS-2-4-Y B-1 B-1 B-1-Y	and the other hand grasping a piece of cloth. A granddaughter appears as a naked girl at the bottom of the left outer jamb. Wearing a short wig and a collar, she places her hand on her chest. The other two granddaughters appear above her, both standing with hands placed on the chest. They wear short wigs, collars and long dresses. On the left inner jamb, a grandson appears at the foot of the tomb owner as a naked boy with a side lock. He holds the lower part of the staff of the tomb owner with one hand and grasps a small bird with the other hand. Another grandson appears as a naked boy in the same position and stance on the right inner jamb.

Table III.4.3 Tombs at Provincail Sites

Tomb Owner	Designation of Other Relatives	Stance of Other Relatives	Description of scenes
name lost (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N95)	<i>Httj z3.f</i> (son of son)	B-3	A grandson appears as the second offering bearer carrying a foreleg in a sequence led by the son of the tomb owner. He wears a short wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt.
<i>Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)	<i>sn jt.s</i> (brother of wife's father)	D-2	The uncle of the wife appears kneeling at his own offering table on the south wall of Room 3. He wears a short wig, with one hand placed on the chest and the other hand extended to the offering table.
<i>Hnqw I / Httj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. 39)	<i>Jmpty z3.f</i> (son of son) a man named <i>Httj</i> (son of son)	B-3 B-3	On the east wall, a grandson appears as an offering bearer carrying a foreleg in a sequence led by the son of the tomb owner. He wears a short projecting kilt. Another grandson stands behind him in the same sequence and also carries a foreleg. He wears a long



Tomb Owner	Designation of Other Relatives	Stance of Other Relatives	Description of scenes
			wig and a short projecting kilt. This scene is partly damaged.
<i>Hw.n-wh / Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)	Hwt-Hr-m-h3t z3t.s (daughter of daughter)	C-2-7; B-5	The granddaughter of the tomb owner appears in the spear-fishing scene on the west wall. She stands in front of the tomb owner on a sub-register and carries a lotus flower with one hand and two birds with the other hand. She wears a pigtail braid with a ball-shaped ornament at the end, a collar, bracelets, anklets, and a long dress. She also appears on the south wall, wearing a long wig, a collar, bracelets, anklets, and a long dress. She stands and holds a lotus flower to the nose at the bottom of the left jamb of the statue niche. She
<i>Dcw / Šm3j</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12 at, his son <i>Dcw</i> in the same tomb)	<i>z3.f mry.f</i> (son of son) <i>z3.f mry.f</i> (son of son) <i>z3t.f mry.f</i> (daughter of son)	B-1 B-2 B-2	The three grandchildren appear behind the son and the daughter-in-law of the tomb owner above his seated figure on the north wall. The first grandson wears a long wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt, standing with his arm bent to the chest. The second is a granddaughter. She stands with both arms pendent and wears a short wig decorated with a long sash, a collar, bracelets, anklets, and a long dress. The third grandson wears a long wig, a collar, and a short projecting kilt and stands with both arms pendent.

## Appendix IV Family Groups

TO = tomb owner

W = wife

S = son; ES = eldest son

D = daughter; ED = eldest daughter

B = brother

Si = sister

F = father

M = mother

GS = grandson

GD = granddaughter

+ standing at the foot of a major figure

→ the orientation the figure

Table IV.1 Tombs at Giza

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
M. XVIII (Abu Rowash)	V.M-L	false door jambs	$\begin{array}{c} \xrightarrow{D} \quad \xrightarrow{S} \\ \xrightarrow{D} \\ \xrightarrow{D} \end{array}$
<i>3bdw</i>	VI	northern pillar	$\begin{array}{ccccccc} E. & S. & W. & E. \\ \xrightarrow{TO} & \xleftarrow{W+D} & \xrightarrow{TO} & \xleftarrow{W} \\ & & & \xleftarrow{DD} \end{array}$
<i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 16)	V.6	north wall of first chamber  east wall of third chamber	$\begin{array}{c} \xrightarrow{B} \quad \xrightarrow{S} \quad \xrightarrow{S} \quad \xrightarrow{S} \quad \xrightarrow{TO} \quad \xleftarrow{F} \\ \\ \xrightarrow{Si} \quad \xrightarrow{D} \quad \xrightarrow{D} \\ \quad \quad \quad \xrightarrow{D+W} \quad \xrightarrow{TO+S} \end{array}$
<i>Jj-nfrt</i>	VI.3-4E	false door jambs	$\begin{array}{ccc} \xrightarrow{W} \quad \xrightarrow{TO+S} & & \xleftarrow{TO} \quad \xleftarrow{W} \\ & \xrightarrow{ES} & \xleftarrow{S} \quad \xleftarrow{D} \quad \xleftarrow{D} \end{array}$
<i>Jnpw-htp</i>	VI	facade, east of entrance  east thickness of entrance	$\begin{array}{c} \xrightarrow{M} \quad \xrightarrow{F} \\ \xrightarrow{B} \quad \xrightarrow{B} \quad \xrightarrow{B} \\ \xrightarrow{Si} \quad \xrightarrow{Si} \quad \xrightarrow{Si} \quad \xrightarrow{Si} \\ \\ \xrightarrow{TO} \\ \xrightarrow{Si} \quad \xleftarrow{B+F} \quad \xleftarrow{M+Si} \end{array}$
<i>Jn-k3.f</i> (PM III 247)	V.1-2	false door	$\begin{array}{ccc} \xrightarrow{S} \quad \xrightarrow{S} & & \xleftarrow{S} \quad \xleftarrow{S} \\ \xrightarrow{D} \quad \xrightarrow{D} & \xrightarrow{TO} \quad \xleftarrow{W} & \xleftarrow{D} \quad \xleftarrow{D} \end{array}$
<i>Jrj-n-3ht</i> / <i>Jrj</i> (G 2391)	VI.1-2	lintel	$\xrightarrow{W} \quad \xrightarrow{TO} \quad \xleftarrow{S} \quad \xleftarrow{D} \quad \xleftarrow{S}$
<i>Nfr</i> (in the tomb of <i>Jrj-n-3ht</i> / <i>Jrj</i> G 2391)	VI.1-2	lintel	$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & & & & \xleftarrow{Si} \\ \xrightarrow{TO} & \xleftarrow{D} & \xleftarrow{S} & \xleftarrow{S} & \xleftarrow{D} & \xleftarrow{F} & \xleftarrow{TO} \end{array}$
<i>Jtj</i> (G 7391)	V.5-8	north door jamb  west wall	$\begin{array}{c} \xrightarrow{TO} \quad \xleftarrow{S} \\ \quad \quad \quad \xleftarrow{S} \\ \quad \quad \quad \xleftarrow{S} \\ \\ \xrightarrow{S} \quad \quad \quad \xleftarrow{S+TO} \quad \xleftarrow{W+D} \end{array}$
<i>nh</i> (G 3050)	VI	panel of false door	$\xrightarrow{D} \quad \xrightarrow{TO} \quad \xleftarrow{W} \quad \xleftarrow{D}$
<i>nh-wd3</i> / <i>Jtj</i>	VI	architrave	$\xrightarrow{S} \quad \xrightarrow{S} \quad \xrightarrow{D+W} \quad \xrightarrow{TO}$

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>W3š-k3(j)</i>	V	false door	$\begin{array}{cc} \overrightarrow{TO} & \overleftarrow{W} \\ \overrightarrow{S} & \overleftarrow{S} \\ \overrightarrow{S} & \overleftarrow{S} \end{array}$
<i>Wnšt</i> (G4840, VII SS)	IV.4-6	false door	$\begin{array}{cc} \overrightarrow{D+GS} & \overleftarrow{D+TO} \\ & \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overleftarrow{S} \end{array}$
<i>Wr-k3.j</i>	V-VI	false door jambs	$\begin{array}{cc} & \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S} \\ & \overleftarrow{D} \\ \overrightarrow{TO+ES} & \overleftarrow{D} \end{array}$
<i>Whm-k3</i> (D 117) <i>sn-dt</i>	V.E	west wall  east wall	$\begin{array}{c} \overrightarrow{W \text{ of } B \text{ B}} \quad \overleftarrow{TO \text{ W}} \\ \\ \overleftarrow{TO \text{ W}} \quad \overrightarrow{M \text{ F}} \end{array}$
<i>Pth-sdf3 / Fff</i>	V.M-L	false door	$\overrightarrow{S \text{ TO}} \quad \overleftarrow{W \text{ D}}$
<i>Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt</i> (G 2100 – I annexe, LG 24)	IV.5-V.1	left thickness	$\overrightarrow{D \text{ S}} \quad \overleftarrow{D+TO}$
<i>Mry-nswt</i> (G 1301)	V	false door	$\begin{array}{cc} \overrightarrow{TO} & \overleftarrow{W} \\ \overrightarrow{S} & \overleftarrow{S} \\ & \overleftarrow{D} \end{array}$
<i>Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh III</i> (G 7350 + 7540) (female)	IV.2-6	west wall of main room	$\overleftarrow{M \text{ TO ES}}$
<i>Mdw-nfr</i> (G 4630)	V	false door	$\begin{array}{ccccc} \overrightarrow{W} & \overrightarrow{W \text{ TO}} & & \overleftarrow{S} & \\ & \overleftarrow{ES} & \overrightarrow{TO} & \overleftarrow{ES} & \overleftarrow{S} \end{array}$
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw</i>	VI	northern false door  southern false door	$\begin{array}{cc} \overrightarrow{TO} & \overleftarrow{TO} \\ \overrightarrow{W} & \overleftarrow{W} \\ \overrightarrow{S} & \overleftarrow{SD} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{cc} \overrightarrow{TO} & \overleftarrow{TO} \\ \overrightarrow{S} & \overleftarrow{D(?)} \end{array}$
<i>Nj-wd3-Pth</i>	V-VI.E	west wall	$\overrightarrow{W \text{ TO}} \quad \overleftarrow{\begin{array}{ccc} S & S & S \\ D & D & D \end{array}}$
<i>Nj-mstj</i> (G 2366)	VI	false door	$\overrightarrow{\begin{array}{cc} TO & ES \\ W \text{ TO+ES} & ES+TO \text{ W} \end{array}}$

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>Nfr-sšm-Hwfw / Šsj</i>	IV-V.E	false door	$\begin{array}{cc} \text{TO} & \text{W} \\ \text{TO+S} & \text{D+W} \end{array}$
<i>Nfrt-nswt</i>	V	false door	$\begin{array}{ccccc} & \text{TO} & & \text{W} & \\ \text{S} & & & & \text{S} \\ \text{GS} & \text{D} & & \text{D} & \text{S} \end{array}$
<i>Nswt-nfr</i> (G 4970)	V.1-M	east wall	$\begin{array}{ccccccccccccc} \text{S} & \text{S} & \text{S} & \text{S} & \text{S} & \text{S} & \text{S} & \text{S} & & & & & \\ \text{D} & \text{D} & \text{D} & \text{D} & \text{D} & \text{D} & \text{D} & \text{D} & \text{D} & \text{D} & \text{D} & \text{D} & \text{D} \\ & & & & & & & & & & & \text{TO W} \end{array}$
<i>Hmt-R<sup>c</sup></i> (female)	IV.M-V	second pillar	$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{S} & & \\ \text{S} & \text{S} & \\ \text{D} & \text{D} & \text{TO+D} \end{array}$
<i>Hwj</i>	V	northern false door of wife	$\begin{array}{ccc} & \text{W} & \\ \text{W} & & \text{W} \\ \text{D} & \text{S} & \text{D} \end{array}$
<i>H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh</i> (G 7948) <i>sn-dt</i>	V.6	west wall	$\text{TO+S} \quad \text{S S S}$
<i>Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (G 4520) <i>sn-dt; snt-dt</i>	V	false door	$\begin{array}{ccccc} \text{B B B} & \text{TO} & & \text{W} & \\ \text{TO+S} & \text{F} & & \text{M} & \text{Si W+D} \end{array}$
<i>Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I</i> (G 7130 + 7140)	IV.4	southern inner jamb of chapel  north facade	$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{S} & \text{S} & \text{TO} \\ \text{TO} & \text{S} & \text{S} \end{array}$
<i>Hntj</i> (female)	V.8	architrave	$\text{TO} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{D}$
<i>Hnt-k<sup>3</sup>w.s</i> (female)	VI	false door	$\begin{array}{cc} \text{TO} & \text{F M} \\ \text{S} & \text{S D} \end{array}$
<i>Hnw</i>	VI	architrave of northern door way	$\text{TO} \quad \text{S S S D}$
<i>Hnmw</i>	VI	west wall	$\begin{array}{cc} \text{W TO} & \text{TO W} \\ \text{D D S} & \text{S S S} \end{array}$
<i>Z<sup>3</sup>-jb</i> (G 2092 + 2093)	V.6-8E	relief fragment	$\begin{array}{cc} \text{D} & \text{W TO} \\ \text{D} & \end{array}$
<i>Ztw</i> (G 4710, LG 49) <i>sn-dt</i>	V	false door	$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{S} & \text{TO} & \text{W} \\ \text{D} & & \\ \text{TO} & & \text{S+W} \end{array}$

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>Snnw</i>	V.5-9	false door	<p> <u>S S</u> <u>TQ</u> <u>W</u> <u>S D</u>  <u>D</u> <u>D</u>  <u>S</u> <u>TQ</u> <u>W</u> </p>
<i>Snnw-k3(j) / Kkj</i> (G 2041, MFA 07.1000)	V.E	false door	<p> <u>TQ</u> <u>W</u> <u>D</u>  <u>TQ</u> <u>W</u> <u>D</u> </p>
<i>Sndm-jb / Jntj</i> (G 2370) <i>sn-dt</i>	V.8	west wall of Room II, boating scene	<p> <u>S</u>  <u>S</u>  <u>S</u> <u>TQ</u> </p>
<i>Sndm-jb / Mhj</i> (G 2378, LG 26)	V.9	north wall of Room II	<p> <u>D+W S+TO+ES</u> </p>
<i>Shm-k3(j)</i> (PM III 246)	IV.6-V	false door	<p> <u>TQ</u> <u>S D D</u> </p>
<i>Shm-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> (LG 89)	IV.4-V.2	east wall	<p> <u>W TQ</u> <u>ES S S S</u> </p>
<i>Snnw-k3(j) / Kkj</i> (G 2041, MFA 07.1000)	V.E	false door	<p> <u>TQ</u> <u>W D</u>  <u>TQ</u> <u>W D</u> </p>
<i>Sšmw(?)</i> (Shaft 590)	V-VI	architrave	<p> <u>TQ</u> <u>D S(?) S(?)</u> <u>F M</u> </p>
<i>Sšm-nfr I</i> (G 4940, LG 45) <i>sn-dt</i>	V.1-3	west wall	<p> <u>W TO+S</u> <u>D D D D</u>  <u>S S S</u> </p>
<i>Sšm-nfr II</i> (G 5080)	V.6	west wall (including two false doors)  south wall	<p> <u>M TQ</u> <u>W TO</u> <u>TQ</u> <u>B</u>  <u>DDS</u> <u>B</u>  <u>B</u>  <u>B</u>  <u>TQ</u> <u>S S</u>  <u>S S S</u> </p>
<i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (G 5170)	V.8-9	south wall  west wall (including two false doors)	<p> <u>TQ</u> <u>S</u>  <u>S S S</u>  <u>M TQ</u> <u>W TO</u> <u>TQ</u> <u>B B</u> </p>
<i>Sšm-nfr IV</i> (LG 53)	VI.1	door way to Room A	<p> <u>S</u> <u>TQ</u>  <u>S</u> </p>
<i>Stw</i> (LG 93)	V-VI	south wall of north room	<p> <u>S ES</u>  <u>D D S</u> <u>TO W</u> </p>
<i>Špsj</i>	VI	panel of false door	<p> <u>TQ</u> <u>W</u>  <u>D D S</u> </p>

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>Špss-k3.f-ḥnh</i>	V.9-VI.5	west wall left to the first false door  west wall left to the central false door  west wall to the left of southern false door	$\overrightarrow{B+B+M+Si} \quad \overrightarrow{B+F+TO}$  $\overrightarrow{D} \quad \overrightarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{D+W+D} \quad \overrightarrow{S+TO+S}$  $\overrightarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{D} \quad \overrightarrow{D}$ $\overrightarrow{D} \quad \overrightarrow{D}$
<i>K3j</i> (east of G 7391)	V-VI	chief false door  secondary false door	$\overrightarrow{TO}$ $\overrightarrow{M} \quad \overrightarrow{F}$ $\overrightarrow{Si} \quad \overrightarrow{B}$ $\overrightarrow{B}$  $\overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{M}$ $\overrightarrow{B} \quad \overrightarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S}$
<i>K3(j)-pw-nswt / K3j</i> (G 4651)	V.1-5	west wall (including false door)	$\overrightarrow{TO} \quad \overrightarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{TO}$ $\overrightarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{W} \quad \overrightarrow{TO+S} \quad \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{D}$
<i>K3(j)-nj-nswt I</i> (G 2155)	V.1-3	west wall	$\overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{D} \quad \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{TO} \quad \overrightarrow{W}$
<i>K3(j)-hnt</i> (G 2088)	V.6-8E	east wall of chapel	$\overrightarrow{(?D} \quad \overrightarrow{D} \quad \overrightarrow{D} \quad \overrightarrow{D} \quad \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{TO}$
<i>K3(j)-dw3</i>	V.6-9	left outer thickness of door way	$\overrightarrow{TO} \quad \overrightarrow{W}$ $\overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S}$
<i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136)	VI.5	west wall  south wall	$\overrightarrow{TO} \quad \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S}$  $\overrightarrow{GS} \quad \overrightarrow{GS} \quad \overrightarrow{GS} \quad \overrightarrow{GD} \quad \overrightarrow{GS} \quad \overrightarrow{GS} \quad \overrightarrow{TO} \quad \overrightarrow{W}$
<i>Tp-m-ḥnh</i> (D 20)	V-VI		$\overrightarrow{W} \quad \overrightarrow{TO} \quad \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{TO} \quad \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S}$
<i>Tf-nn</i> (Cairo Mus. JE 56994)	VI	false door	$\overrightarrow{ES} \quad \overrightarrow{W} \quad \overrightarrow{TO} \quad \overrightarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{S} \quad \overrightarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{SS} \quad \overrightarrow{SS}$

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>Ttw II</i> (G 2343 – G 5511)	V-VI	left to false door	$\begin{array}{c} \overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{S} \\ \overleftarrow{S} \overrightarrow{S} \\ \overrightarrow{S} \\ \overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{S} \end{array}$
<i>Ttj</i>	V-VI	false door	$\begin{array}{c} \overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{W} \\ \overrightarrow{GS} \overleftarrow{D} \\ \overleftarrow{S} \overleftarrow{S(?) D} \\ \overrightarrow{TO+S} \overleftarrow{GS+W} \overleftarrow{GD} \end{array}$
		false door	$\begin{array}{c} \overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{W} \\ \overrightarrow{TO+S} \overleftarrow{W D} \\ \overrightarrow{GS} \overleftarrow{S} \end{array}$
		false door of parents	$\begin{array}{c} \overrightarrow{F} \overleftarrow{M} \\ \overrightarrow{F+B} \overleftarrow{D(?) + M} \end{array}$
<i>D3ty</i> (G 2337-x)	V.L	left to false door	$\begin{array}{c} \overrightarrow{M F} \overrightarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{M TO} \\ \overleftarrow{Si} \overleftarrow{Si} \\ \overrightarrow{B B} \overrightarrow{TO} \\ \overrightarrow{B B} \overrightarrow{B TO} \end{array}$
		right to false door	$\begin{array}{c} \overleftarrow{S} \overleftarrow{S} \\ \overleftarrow{D D Si} \\ \overleftarrow{S B S} \\ \overleftarrow{ES TO W} \end{array}$

Table IV.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>Jj-k3</i>	V	false door	$\begin{array}{c} \overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{W} \\ \overrightarrow{TO+S} \overrightarrow{TO+ES} \overleftarrow{D(?) + W} \end{array}$
<i>Jrj.s / Jjj</i>	VI.M	west wall, near false door	$\begin{array}{c} \overleftarrow{W} \overrightarrow{TO} \\ \overleftarrow{D ES D S} \overleftarrow{ES S} \end{array}$
<i>nh-Hwt-Hr</i>	V-VI	false door	$\begin{array}{c} \overleftarrow{D} \overleftarrow{D TO} \overleftarrow{S} \\ \overrightarrow{TO+S} \overleftarrow{D+TO} \end{array}$
<i>W3š-Pth / Jzj</i> (No. 24, D 38)	V.3	false door	$\begin{array}{c} \overleftarrow{ES} \overrightarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{ES} \\ \overleftarrow{S ES} \overleftarrow{ES S} \\ \overrightarrow{TO+ES} \overleftarrow{ES+TO} \end{array}$
<i>Wnnj</i>	VI.L	offering table	$\overrightarrow{D S TO}$



Tomb Owner (offering table)	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>Wr-jr.n.Pth</i>	V.3-5	west wall between two false doors	$\begin{array}{c} \text{TO} \rightarrow \text{W} \\ \text{S} \rightarrow \text{D} \\ \text{S} \rightarrow \end{array}$
<i>Bj3 / Jry</i>	VI.3-4	block  lintel	$\begin{array}{c} \text{TO} \rightarrow \text{W TO+S} \leftarrow \text{ES} \\ \\ \text{W TO} \\ \text{D} \rightarrow \text{S} \quad \text{S S TO} \end{array}$
<i>Ppj</i>	VI	chapel west wall (?), right to the false door	$\begin{array}{c} \text{TO} \rightarrow \\ \text{S} \rightarrow \\ \text{B S} \end{array}$
<i>Pr-nb</i> (Quibell S 913)	V.8-9	vestibule	$\text{TO} \rightarrow \text{W ES S}$
<i>Pr-ndw</i>	VI	false door of wife	$\begin{array}{c} \text{TO} \rightarrow \text{W} \\ \text{D D} \\ \text{D D} \\ \text{D D} \end{array}$
<i>Pr-sn</i> (D 45)	V.2-3	false door   north wall of offering chapel	$\begin{array}{c} \text{TO} \rightarrow \\ \text{D} \rightarrow \text{D} \\ \text{S} \rightarrow \\ \text{ES} \rightarrow \text{ES} \\ \text{TO+S} \rightarrow \text{W} \rightarrow \text{W} \leftarrow \text{S+TO} \end{array}$ $\text{TO} \rightarrow \text{W ES} \dots \text{D}$
<i>Ph.n-wj-k3</i> (D 70, LS 15) <i>sn-qt</i>	V.3-6	Room I  Room II	$\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \rightarrow \\ \text{B} \rightarrow \text{W+TO} \\ \\ \text{W TO+S} \rightarrow \text{B} \leftarrow \text{S} \end{array}$
<i>Pth-htp / Jj-n-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	V.9-VI.1	south wall	$\text{S S} \rightarrow \text{W+TO}$
<i>Pth-špss</i> (PM III 340-342, Abusir)	V.6L	north wall of Room 10	$\text{TO} \rightarrow \text{ES ES S S}$
<i>Mry.f-nb.f / Ffj</i>	VI.1-2	east wall of main chapel	$\begin{array}{c} \text{TO+W} \rightarrow \text{TO+W} \rightarrow \text{TO+M} \leftarrow \text{M+TO} \\ \text{S S S S B} \end{array}$

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
		north and south thicknesses of door way	$\overleftarrow{S+ES+TO} \overrightarrow{W} \quad \overleftarrow{W} \overrightarrow{TO+ES+S}$
<i>Mrrj</i> (around Teti Pyramid)	VI.2E	north wall of Room I	$\overleftarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{S}$ $\overleftarrow{ES}$
<i>Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj</i>	VI.1 M-L	south wall of Room A3	$\overleftarrow{W+TO} \overrightarrow{B}$ $\overleftarrow{S}$
		south wall of Room A10	$\overleftarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{S} \overrightarrow{S} \overrightarrow{S}$ $\overleftarrow{B} \overrightarrow{B} \overrightarrow{B}$ $\overleftarrow{B} \overrightarrow{B} \overrightarrow{B}$
		north wall of Room A13	$\overleftarrow{B} \overrightarrow{B} \overrightarrow{B} \overrightarrow{B} \overrightarrow{B} \overrightarrow{B} \overrightarrow{S} \overrightarrow{S} \overrightarrow{B} \overrightarrow{B} \overrightarrow{B}$ $\overleftarrow{TO}$
<i>Wctt-ht-Hr</i> wife of <i>Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj</i>	VI.1 M-L	west wall of Room B1	$\overleftarrow{ES+TO+D}$
<i>Mhw</i>	VI.2-4	west wall of central chamber	$\overleftarrow{S+TO} \overrightarrow{D+W}$
		west wall of Torraum	$\overleftarrow{W} \overrightarrow{S} \overrightarrow{D}$ $\overleftarrow{TO}$
<i>Mttj</i>	VI.1-2	cult chapel	$\overleftarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{S}$ $\overleftarrow{ES}$ $\overleftarrow{D} \overrightarrow{D} \overrightarrow{D}$
		cult chapel, fowling scene	$\overleftarrow{S+} \overrightarrow{W}$ $\overleftarrow{TO}$ $\overrightarrow{D}$
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw &amp; Hnmw-htp</i>	V.6L-7	east wall of Room II	$\overleftarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{TO}$ $\overleftarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{B} \overrightarrow{S} \overrightarrow{S} \overrightarrow{S} \overrightarrow{B} \overrightarrow{B} \overrightarrow{M} \overrightarrow{F}$
		south wall of portico, fishing and fouling scene	$\overleftarrow{D} \overrightarrow{+W+ES}$ $\overleftarrow{ES+W+} \overrightarrow{D}$ $\overleftarrow{TO}$ $\overrightarrow{TO}$
		west wall of Room VI	$\overleftarrow{S} \overrightarrow{D} \overrightarrow{S}$ $\overleftarrow{S} \overrightarrow{D} \overrightarrow{D}$ $\overleftarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{TO}$ $\overleftarrow{S} \overrightarrow{S} \overrightarrow{D}$ $\overleftarrow{S} \overrightarrow{S} \overrightarrow{S}$

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-shmt</i> (No.74 [D 12])	V.2	false door	$\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{S} & & \underline{D} \\ \underline{B} & \underline{TO} & \underline{W} & \underline{D} \\ & \underline{TO} & & \underline{TO} \\ \underline{B} & \underline{W TO+S} & \underline{TO W} & \underline{B} \end{array}$
<i>Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup></i>	V.3-6	false door of wife  false door of TO	$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \underline{ES} & \underline{TO} & \underline{W} & \underline{D} & & & \\ \underline{M W} & \underline{W+GD} & \underline{W} & \underline{D+TO} & \underline{ES+W} & & \\ \underline{S S} & & & \underline{S} & & & \end{array}$ $\underline{S} \quad \underline{TO} \quad \underline{S}$
<i>Nj-k3w-Hr</i> (Quibell S 915)	V.9	false door of wife  false door of TO	$\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{D} & \underline{W} & \underline{D} \\ \underline{W TO} & & \underline{TO W} \end{array}$ $\underline{TO+ES} \quad \underline{S+TO}$
<i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i> (D 55)	V.6-9	east wall, fishing and fowling scene  west wall	$\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{TO} & & \underline{TO W} \\ \underline{W +S} & & \underline{S+ S} \end{array}$ $\underline{W} \quad \underline{S S S D S}$
<i>Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup> / Ššj</i>	VI.1 M-L	west face of pillar 2 in Room III	$\begin{array}{c} \underline{TO} \\ \underline{ES+D} \end{array}$
<i>Nn-hft-k3(.j)</i> (D 47)	V.6	false door	$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \underline{TO} & \underline{W} & & & & & \\ \underline{W TO+D} & \underline{TO+S} & \underline{ES+TO} & \underline{D+TO W} & & & \end{array}$
<i>Hr-mrw / Mry</i>	VI.7	lintel	$\begin{array}{ccc} & & \underline{S} \\ \underline{D+W+D TO} & & \underline{S} \end{array}$
<i>Hzzj</i>	V.9-VI.E	false door	$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \underline{TO S} & \underline{TO} & \underline{S TO} & & & & \\ \underline{TO S} & \underline{TO S} & \underline{S TO} & \underline{S TO} & & & \end{array}$
<i>H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Pth</i> (No. 68 [C4])	V.6-8	false door	$\begin{array}{c} \underline{S} \\ \underline{TO S} \end{array}$
<i>Hwj</i>	VI.M-L	lintel	$\begin{array}{c} \underline{S} \\ \underline{TO S} \end{array}$
<i>Hntj-k3 / Jhhj</i>	VI.1L-2M	south wall	$\underline{ES+TO+S}$

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>Hnmw-ndm(w)</i> (at Kom el Akhdar)	VI.6-7	architrave	$\overleftarrow{B} \overrightarrow{S} \overleftarrow{W} \overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{S}$
<i>Hnmw-htp</i> (D 49)	V.2-3	block	$\overleftarrow{S}$ $\overleftarrow{W} \overrightarrow{D}$
<i>S3-mry</i>	V. 9	false door	$\overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{W} \overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{M} \overleftarrow{B}$ $\overrightarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{MB}$
<i>Sn-jt.f</i> (in the same tomb of <i>K3-h3.j</i> )	V.6	west wall	$\overrightarrow{ES} \overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{W+S} \overrightarrow{TO}$
<i>Snfrw-jn-jst.f</i> (No. 2 Dahshur)	V-VI	wall painting, fishing scene	$\overleftarrow{W} \overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{D}$
<i>Shm-k3</i> (north-west of D 62) <i>sn-dt</i>	V.6-8	false door	$\overleftarrow{W} \overrightarrow{TO}$ $\overrightarrow{TO+W} \overrightarrow{TO}$ $\overrightarrow{GS} \overrightarrow{D} \overrightarrow{D} \overrightarrow{S} \overrightarrow{ES} \overrightarrow{BB}$ $\overrightarrow{TO+ES} \overrightarrow{S+W+TO}$
<i>Špsj-pw-Pth</i>	VI.2L-4E	south wall of Room IV	$\overleftarrow{S} \overrightarrow{ES} \overleftarrow{W} \overrightarrow{TO}$
<i>K3.j-m-htz</i> <i>sn-dt Htp-k3</i>	V.6L-8	east wall of pillared hall	$\overrightarrow{D} \overrightarrow{TO+S} \overleftarrow{W}$
<i>K3(j)-m-tntt</i>	V	false door	$\overrightarrow{D} \overleftarrow{S} \overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{D}$ $\overrightarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{D+W+D}$
<i>K3(j)-hp</i> (S 3511, false door, British Museum 1848)	V	false door	$\overleftarrow{W} \overrightarrow{TO}$ $\overrightarrow{GS} \overrightarrow{GS} \overrightarrow{GD} \overrightarrow{GD} \overrightarrow{W} \overrightarrow{TO+GS} \overleftarrow{W} \overrightarrow{TO} \overrightarrow{GS+TO} \overleftarrow{W} \overrightarrow{GS} \overrightarrow{GS}$
<i>K3.j-d3w</i>	V	false door	$\overleftarrow{D}$ $\overrightarrow{ES} \overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{W} \overleftarrow{D}$
<i>K3-h3.j</i> <i>sn-dt</i>	V.6	west wall	$\overleftarrow{S} \overleftarrow{S}$ $\overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{W} \overleftarrow{S} \overleftarrow{D}$
<i>Nfr</i> (in the same tomb of his father <i>k3-h3.j</i> )	V.6	south wall  west wall and false door	$\overleftarrow{B}$ $\overleftarrow{B}$ $\overleftarrow{B} \overrightarrow{TO}$ $\overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{B} \overleftarrow{B} \overleftarrow{B}$ $\overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{W}$ $\overrightarrow{TO} \overleftarrow{S} \overrightarrow{S} \overrightarrow{TO}$

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>Wr-bʿw</i> (in the same tomb of <i>Kʿ-hʿ.j</i> )	V.6	west wall	<p style="text-align: center;"> <u>S S</u>  <u>D S</u>  <u>TO W D D</u>  <u>D D D</u> </p>
<i>Kʿ-hr-st.f</i>	V.L-VI.E	block	<p style="text-align: center;"> <u>S TO W D</u>  <u>D D D D D S S S S</u> </p>
<i>Kʿ-gm-nj / Mmj / Gmnj</i>	VI.1E-M	south wall of Room V	<p style="text-align: center;"> <u>TO S S B</u> </p>
<i>Tp-m-ḥh</i> (D 11)	V.2-6	false door of wife	<p style="text-align: center;"> <u>D Si W</u>  <u>S</u>  <u>D</u>  <u>D</u>  <u>D</u>  <u>D W W</u> </p>
<i>Ty</i> (No. 60 [D 22])	V.6-9	south wall of corridor  south wall of portico	<p style="text-align: center;"> <u>TO</u>  <u>S S ES S</u> </p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <u>S</u>  <u>ES</u>  <u>W TO</u> </p>
<i>Ttw / Jnw-Mnw</i> (north of Teti Pyramid)	VI.2	east wall	<p style="text-align: center;"> <u>S ES TO</u> </p>
<i>Df-ʿw</i> (D 25)	V.M-L	false door	<p style="text-align: center;"> <u>TO</u>  <u>TO+ES TO+S S+TO ES+TO</u> </p>

Table IV.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>Jhj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8)	VI.2-4E	south wall, fishing scene  south wall, fowling scene	<p style="text-align: center;"> <u>S ES</u>      <u>TO</u>  <u>S B S</u>      <u>D W ES</u> </p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <u>ES</u>      <u>S TO</u>              <u>D W</u> </p>

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
		north wall east of offering recess	<u>DDDDDDDD</u> <u>W</u> <u>TO</u>
		west wall	<u>DDDD</u> <u>S S S</u> <u>TO</u>
		north wall	<u>S</u> <u>S</u> <u>S</u> <u>TO W</u>
		east wall of offering recess	<u>TO</u> <u>S S S</u>
<i>Jzj / Hm-R<sup>c</sup></i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N46)	VI.2E	north wall	<u>W TO</u> <u>S S</u>
<i>Nb-jb</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N38)	VI.2M	north wall	<u>S ES</u> <u>TO W</u>
<i>Hnqw I / Httj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N39)	VI.1L-2	north wall, fishing scene	<u>S TO+S</u> <u>S(?)</u>
<i>Hnqw II / Jj...f</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N67)	VI.2E-M	north wall, fishing scene	<u>ES TO</u> <u>ES</u>
<i>D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm}j</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12)	VI.3-4	north wall west section	<u>S D-in-L GS GD GS</u> <u>S S</u> <u>TO</u>
<i>Jdw I</i> (Dendera)	VI.3-4	first room, fishing scene	<u>S</u> <u>TO</u> <u>W</u> <u>S</u>
<i>Q}r / Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr</i> (Edfu, M V of Garnot)	VI.3	architrave	<u>W TO</u> <u>ES</u> <u>S S S S</u>
		slab stela	<u>ES</u> <u>S</u> <u>TO S</u> <u>W +W D</u>
<i>c<sup>n</sup>-c<sup>n</sup>h<sub>j</sub></i>	VI.4-5	west wall	<u>TO</u> <u>S+W+D-in-L</u>

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
(El-Hagarsa B13)			
<i>Mry II</i> (El-Hagarsa C2)	VI.4-7	chapel north wall	$\begin{array}{c} \text{S S S(?) S S} \\ \text{W TO} \text{ } \text{ED D D} \end{array}$
<i>Mry-ʕ</i> (El-Hagarsa D18)	VIII	north wall of chapel	$\begin{array}{c} \text{W TO} \text{ } \text{D S S S} \\ \text{W TO} \text{ } \text{ED D D D D D W W W W W} \end{array}$
<i>Nfirt-ḥr</i> (El-Hagarsa A6)	V.L	west wall, architrave	$\text{W TO} \text{ } \text{S S D D D D D D}$
<i>K3(j)-ḥnt</i> (El-Hammamiya A2)	V.E	architrave, southern entrance of corridor, north wall, chapel door way	$\text{S } \text{TO} \text{ } \text{S S}$
<i>K3(j)-ḥnt</i> (El-Hammamiya A3)	V.1	west wall	$\begin{array}{c} \text{S S S} \\ \text{D D D D} \end{array}$
<i>B3wj</i> (El-Hawawish CG 20504)	VI.2E	stela	$\begin{array}{c} \text{TO W} \\ \text{ES } \text{ } \text{ES D} \end{array}$
<i>Nhwt-dšr / Mry</i> (El-Hawawish G95)	VI.4-5	east wall  south wall	$\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{S } \text{TO} \text{ } \text{S} \\ \text{ES.....S} \\ \text{TO } \text{S S D(?) D D} \end{array}$
<i>Ḥzy-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish M22)	V.8	false door, west wall  west wall, fishing scene	$\begin{array}{c} \text{S TO } \text{ } \text{W S} \\ \text{S } \text{TO} \text{ } \text{S} \end{array}$
<i>Ḥzy-Mnw / Zzj / Dwdy</i> (El-Hawawish F1)	V.3-4	south wall  south wall, fishing scene	$\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{W TO} \text{ } \text{ES} \\ \text{S } \text{TO} \text{ } \text{S} \\ \text{D +S} \end{array}$
<i>Špss-pw-Mnw / Ḥnj / Ḥn-ḥnw / Ḥn-ḥnh</i> (El-Hawawish H24)	VI.6-7	north wall of shrine	$\text{TO } \text{W } \text{S D D}$
<i>Ttj</i> (El-Hawawish, Field Museum 31700, Chicago)	VI.6	architrave	$\text{TO W ES S ED}$
<i>Dw3-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish L6)	V.5-8	false door	$\text{W TO+S } \text{S+TO W}$

Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>Tʾwtj / Rsy</i> (el-Qasr wa-ʿl-Saiyad, T 73, Lepsius No. 2)	VI.3-5	south wall	<u>TO</u> <u>S</u> <u>ES</u>
<i>Mrw / Bhj</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 3)	VI.1-5	north wall	<u>W+ES</u> <u>TO+ES</u>
<i>Ppy-<sup>nh</sup>-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)	VI.3-4	east wall of Room III  south wall of Room III  south wall of Room III  west wall of Room III  north wall of Room III	<u>S</u> <u>S</u> <u>TO+W</u>  <u>TO</u> <u>F</u> <u>M</u>  <u>S</u> <u>D</u>  <u>uncle</u> <u>W</u> <u>S</u> <u>TO</u> <u>M</u>  <u>D</u> <u>D</u> <u>TO</u>  <u>D</u> <u>W</u>  <u>TO</u> <u>W</u> <u>B</u> <u>D</u> <u>D</u>
<i>Nj-<sup>nh</sup>-Ppy-km /</i> <i>Nj-<sup>nh</sup>-Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-</i> <i>km / Hpi-km /</i> <i>Sbk-km</i> (Meir A1)	VI.4	north wall of Room A1	<u>S</u> <u>S</u> <u>TO+W</u>
<i>Nb-Šm<sup>c</sup>w / Httj</i> (Naqqada, Vienna, No. 5894)	VI.4-6	architrave	<u>W</u> <u>TO</u> <u>ES</u> <u>S</u> <u>S</u> <u>S</u>
<i>Hwj</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A5)	VI.3-4	pillar	<u>S</u> <u>TO</u> <u>S</u> <u>S</u> <u>D</u> <u>D</u> <u>W</u>
<i>Sʾbnj [I]</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1, east tomb)	VI.6	hall, fowling scene	<u>S</u> <u>TO</u> <u>D</u> <u>D</u>



Tomb Owner	Date	Location	Layout of Family Group
<i>Sbk-ḥtp</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan B1)	VI-FIP	pillar 1	<u>TO S S S W D</u>
<i>Ḥw.n-wh / Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)	VI.2L	east wall	<u>TO</u> <u>D D D</u> <u>B S</u>
		south wall	<u>W</u> <u>D</u> <u>GD TO(statue)</u>
<i>Ḥw-ns</i> (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2)	V.9	south wall of pillared hall	<u>D+W TO+S+ES</u>
		north wall of pillared hall	<u>W</u> <u>ED D D D D</u> <u>D</u>

## Appendix V Occurances of stances

Table V.1 Stance Type A-1: Standing and touching a major figure

	Total pccurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Stance A-1-Y
Son	5	2	1	2	2
Daughter	1	1	x	x	1
Brother	2	x	2	x	x
Sister	x	x	x	x	x
Father	x	x	x	x	x
Mother	10	8	2	x	x
Other Relatives	x	x	x	x	x

Table V.2 Stance Type A-2: Seated or kneeling, and touching a major figure

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Stance A-2-Y
Son	2	1	1	X	X
Daughter	1	X	1	X	X
Brother	X	X	X	X	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	6	6	X	X	X
Other Relatives	X	X	X	X	X

Table V.3 Stance Type AS-1: Standing at the foot of a major figure and touching him or her

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial Sites	Depicted as youth
Son	25	12	10	3	17
Daughter	15	11	3	1	6
Brother	X	X	X	X	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X

Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	3	2	1	X	3

Table V.4 Stance Type AS-2: Standing at the foot of a major figure and holding his staff

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	148	50	86	12	62
Daughter	4	4	X	X	2
Brother	X	X	X	X	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	2	X	2	X	X

Table V.5 Stance Type AS-3: Standing at the foot of a major figure with one hand or two hands on the chest, or with both arms pendent, or suckling the index finger

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth AS-3-Y
Son	44	15	24	5	8
Daughter	11	3	8	X	3
Brother	5	3	2	X	3
Sister	1	1	X	X	1
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	1	1	X	X	1

Table V.6 Stance Type AS-4: Standing at the foot of a major figure and carrying birds, lotus flowers, or other objects

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	20	1	16	3	6

Daughter	1	1	X	X	X
Brother	1	X	1	X	X
Sister	1	X	X	1	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	X	X	X	X	X

Table V.7 Stance Type B-1: Standing with one hand or two hands on the chest

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	68	36	18	14	7
Daughter	120	71	39	10	5
Brother	23	14	9	X	X
Sister	12	9	3	X	X
Father	2	2	X	X	X
Mother	9	8	1	X	X
Other Relatives	12	2	9	1	1

Table V.8 Stance Type B-2: Standing with both arms pendent, not holding anything

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	91	38	40	13	4
Daughter	10	5	1	4	X
Brother	35	6	29	X	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	4	1	1	2	2

Table V.9 Stance Type B-3: Standing and carrying offerings

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
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Son	187	53	71	63	5
Daughter	24	11	2	11	5
Brother	50	16	27	7	X
Sister	4	4	X	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	1	1	X	X	X
Other Relatives	6	1	2	3	X

Table V.10 Stance Type B-4: Standing and carrying accessories such as a staff, a scepter, a papyrus scroll, or a piece of cloth

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	40	16	14	10	1
Daughter	X	X	X	X	X
Brother	10	6	2	2	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	12	10	1	1	X
Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	X	X	X	X	X

Table V.11 Stance Type B-5: Standing and holding lotus flowers

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	X	X	X	X	X
Daughter	21	4	2	15	X
Brother	X	X	X	X	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	2	X	2	X	X
Other Relatives	1	X	X	1	X

Table V.12 Stance Type B-6: Standing with arm(s) raised up

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	8	3	2	3	X
Daughter	X	X	X	X	X
Brother	X	X	X	X	X
Sister	1	X	X	1	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	X	X	X	X	X

Table V.13 Stance Type C-1: Standing on the skiff with the tomb owner and holding a spear or a throwing stick

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	25	2	8	15	3
Daughter	X	X	X	X	X
Brother	1	1	X	X	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	X	X	X	X	X

Table V.14 Stance Type C-2: Standing on a skiff with the tomb owner or a sub-register near the tomb owner, and carrying fish or birds

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	18	X	10	8	6
Daughter	1	X	X	1	X
Brother	2	1	X	1	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	1	X	X	1	X

Table V.15 Stance Type C-3: Standing near the tomb owner without carrying fish or birds

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	9	4	3	2	X
Daughter	1	X	1	X	X
Brother	1	X	X	1	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	X	X	X	X	X

Table V.16 Stance Type D-1: Seated or kneeling while bending one arm to the chest or placing hands down on the lap

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	53	29	15	9	X
Daughter	27	18	2	7	X
Brother	4	X	4	X	X
Sister	5	4	1	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	3	2	1	X	X
Other Relatives	X	X	X	X	X

Table V.17 Stance Type D-2: Seated on a chair or kneeling before a table of offerings

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	12	X	12	X	X
Daughter	11	X	10	1	X
Brother	4	1	3	X	X
Sister	1	1	X	X	X
Father	3	2	X	1	X
Mother	4	1	1	2	X

other relatives	4	3	x	1	x
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Table V.18 Stance Type D-3: kneeling and making offerings to a major figure

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	16	16	X	X	X
Daughter	X	X	X	X	X
Brother	X	X	X	X	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	X	X	X	X	X

Table V.19 Stance Type E-1: Engaging in musical and sport activities (playing an instrument, dancing, clapping, combating, etc.)

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	5	5	X	X	2
Daughter	18	9	6	3	X
Brother	1	X	1	X	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	3	3	X	X	X

Table V.20 Stance E-2-CEN: Censing

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	46	17	20	9	X
Daughter	X	X	X	X	X
Brother	2	1	1	X	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	4	3	X	1	X



Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	X	X	X	X	X

Table V.21 Stance Type E-3: Engaging in scribal activities

	Total occurrence	Giza	Saqqara	Provincial sites	Depicted as youth
Son	19	11	6	2	X
Daughter	X	X	X	X	X
Brother	3	1	1	1	X
Sister	X	X	X	X	X
Father	X	X	X	X	X
Mother	X	X	X	X	X
Other Relatives	X	X	X	X	X

## Appendix VI Tombs Containing Specific Stances

### VI.1 Stances of Children

Table VI.1.1 Tombs at Giza

Stance	Name of Tomb Owner
A-1	<i>3htj-htp</i> (PM III 285) ; <i>nh-wd3</i> / <i>Jtj</i> ; <i>Hwfw-hcf I</i> (G 7130 + 7140)
A-2	<i>Jrj-n-3ht</i> / <i>Jrj</i> / <i>Jrj-n-Pth</i> ; <i>Ssm-nfr II</i> (G 5080)
AS-1	<i>3htj-mhw</i> (G 2375) ; <i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15) ; <i>J(w)ffj</i> ; <i>Jttj</i> (G 7391) ; <i>W3š-Pth</i> ; <i>Pr-snb</i> (LG 78) ; <i>Mry-jb</i> / <i>K3-pw-nswt</i> (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24) ; <i>Mry-Rc-nfr</i> / <i>Q3r</i> (G 7101) ; <i>Nfr-sh.f-Pth</i> (LG 79) ; <i>Nfr-sšm-Hwfw</i> / <i>Šsj</i> ; <i>Hmt-Rc</i> ; <i>Hcf-Rc-nh</i> (G 7948) ; <i>Sndm-jb</i> / <i>Mhj</i> (G 2378, LG 26) ; <i>Shm-nh-Pth</i> (G 7152) ; <i>Ssm-nfr I</i> (G 4940, LG 45) ; <i>K3.j-pw-nswt</i> / <i>K3j</i> (G 4651) ; <i>K3(j)-nj-nswt I</i> (G 2155) ; <i>K3pj</i> (G 2091) ; <i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136) ; <i>K3-hr-Pth</i> (G 7721) ; <i>Ttj</i>
AS-2	<i>3htj-mrw-nswt</i> (G 2184) ; <i>3htj-htp</i> (PM III 285) ; <i>3htj-htp</i> (PM III 49) ; <i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15) ; <i>Jj-nfrit</i> ; <i>Jttj</i> (G 7391) ; <i>nh-m-s3.f</i> ; <i>W3š-Pth</i> ; <i>Pr-snb</i> (LG 78) ; <i>Mnw-dd.f</i> (G 7760, LG 60) ; <i>Mry-jb</i> / <i>K3-pw-nswt</i> (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24) ; <i>Ms-z3</i> ; <i>Nj-nh-Hnmw</i> ; <i>Nj-M3t-Rc</i> ; <i>Nj-mstj</i> (G 2366) ; <i>Nj...Rc</i> ; <i>Nfr-m3t</i> (G 7060, LG 57) ; <i>Nfr-mšdr-Hwfw</i> (G 2240) ; <i>Rdj</i> (G 2086) ; <i>Hrw-nfr</i> (G 2353) ; <i>Hcf-Rc-nh</i> (G 7948) ; <i>Hwfw-nh</i> (G 4520) ; <i>Hwfw-hcf II</i> (G 7150) ; <i>Hnmw-htp</i> (Fakhry 4) ; <i>Sndm-jb</i> / <i>Mhj</i> (G 2378, LG 26) ; <i>Shm-nh-Pth</i> (G 7152) ; <i>Shm-k3(j)</i> (G 1029) ; <i>Shm-k3(j)</i> (G4411, LG51) ; <i>S3t-htp</i> / <i>Htj</i> (G 5150) ; <i>Ssm-nfr I</i> (G 4940, LG 45) ; <i>Ssm-nfr II</i> (G 5080) ; <i>Ssm-nfr III</i> (G 5170) ; <i>Špss-k3.f-nh</i> ; <i>K3.j-pw-nswt</i> / <i>K3j</i> (G 4651) ; <i>K3(j)-m-nfr</i> (LG 63) ; <i>K3(j)-nfr</i> (G 2150) ; <i>K3w-nswt</i> ; <i>Ttj</i> ; <i>Dndnw</i> (LG 73)
AS-3	<i>3htj-mrw-nswt</i> (G 2184) ; <i>3htj-mhw</i> (G 2375) ; <i>Jdw</i> (G 7102) ; <i>Wnšt</i> (G 4840, VII SS) ; <i>Mry-jb</i> / <i>K3-pw-nswt</i> (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24) ; <i>Mr-nh.f</i> ; <i>Mrs-nh III</i> (G 7530 + 7540) ; <i>Nj-mstj</i> (G 2366) ; <i>Nj-htp-Pth</i> / <i>Pnj</i> (G 2340, LG 25) ; <i>Ztw</i> (G 4710, LG 49) ; <i>Sndm-jb</i> / <i>Mhj</i> (G 2378, LG 26) ; <i>Shm-k3(j)</i> (G 1029) ; <i>Shm-k3(j)</i> (G4411, LG51) ; <i>K3(j)-mnj</i> ;
AS-4	<i>Z3-jb</i> (G 2092+2093) ; <i>Ttj</i>
AS-5	<i>Hcf-Rc-nh</i> (G 7948)
B-1	name lost (M XVIII at Abu Rowash) ; <i>3bdw</i> ; <i>3htj-htp</i> (PM III 285) ; <i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15) ; <i>Jnpw-htp</i> ; <i>Jn-k3.f</i> ; <i>Jrrw</i> ; <i>nh</i> (G 3050) ; <i>Wnšt</i> (G 4840, VII SS) ; <i>Wr-k3.j</i> ; <i>Nj-nh-Hnmw</i> ; <i>Nfr-hwj</i> (G 2098) ; <i>Nfrit-nswt</i> ; <i>Nswt-nfr</i> (G 4970) ; <i>Rdj-ns</i> (G 5032) ; <i>Hmt-Rc</i> ; <i>H3j</i> ; <i>Hcf-Rc-nh</i> (G 7948) ; <i>Hwj-n-Pth</i> ; <i>Hnt-k3w.s</i> ; <i>Hnmw</i> ; <i>Z3-jb</i> (G 2092+2093) ; <i>Ztw</i> (G 4710, LG 49) ; <i>Snnw</i> ; <i>Snnw-k3(j)</i> / <i>Kkj</i> (G 2041) ; <i>Šhtpw</i> / <i>Tpw</i> ; <i>Shm-k3(j)</i> ; <i>Sšmw</i> (?) (Shaft 590) ; <i>Ssm-nfr I</i> (G 4940, LG 45) ; <i>Stw</i> (LG 93) ; <i>Špss-k3.f-nh</i> ; <i>Qd-ns</i> ; <i>K3j</i> (east of tomb G 7391) ; <i>K3.j-pw-nswt</i> / <i>K3j</i> (G 4651) ; <i>K3(j)-nj-nswt I</i> (G 2155) ; <i>K3pj</i> (G 2091) ; <i>Tf-nn</i> (Cairo Mus. JE 56994) ; <i>Ttj</i>
B-2	<i>nh-wd3</i> / <i>Jtj</i> ; <i>Wp-m-nfrit</i> / <i>Wp</i> ; <i>Wr-k3.j</i> ; <i>Mry-nswt</i> (G 1301) ; <i>Nj-nh-Hnmw</i> ; <i>Nfr-b3w-Pth</i> (G 6010, LG 15) ; <i>Nfr-n</i> ; <i>Hnt</i> ; <i>Hntj</i> ; <i>Hnt-k3w.s</i> ; <i>Hnmw</i> ; <i>Sndm-jb</i> / <i>Mhj</i> (G 2378, LG 26) ; <i>S3t-htp</i> / <i>Htj</i> (G 5150) ; <i>Ssm-nfr I</i> (G 4940, LG 45) ; <i>Ssm-nfr IV</i> (LG

	53) ; <i>Stw</i> (LG 93) ; <i>K3j</i> (east of tomb G 7391) ; <i>K3(j)-dw3</i> ; <i>Tf-nn</i> (Cairo Mus. JE 56994) ; <i>Dw3-Rc</i>
B-3	<i>Jj-nfrit</i> ; <i>Jnpw-htp</i> ; <i>Jrj-n-3ht</i> / <i>Jrj</i> / <i>Jrj-n-Pth</i> ; <i>Jrj-n-3htj</i> / <i>Jrj</i> (G 2391) ; <i>Jttj</i> (G 7391) ; <i>Jdw</i> (G 7102) ; <i>W3š-k3(j)</i> ; <i>Mrw-k3(j)</i> ; <i>Mdw-nfr</i> (G4630) ; <i>Nj-sw-Pth</i> ; <i>Nj-sw-s<sup>c</sup>nh</i> ; <i>Nfrit-nswt</i> ; <i>Rmnw-k3(j)</i> / <i>Jmj</i> ; <i>Rdj-ns</i> (G 5032) ; <i>Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (G 4520) ; <i>Hnw</i> ; <i>Z3-jb</i> (G 2092+2093) ; <i>Snnw</i> ; <i>Sndm-jb</i> / <i>Jntj</i> (G 2370) ; <i>Sš3t-htp</i> / <i>Htj</i> (G 5150) ; <i>Špsj</i> ; <i>K3(j)-dw3</i> ; <i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136) ; <i>Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (D 20) ; <i>Ttw I</i> / <i>k3(j)-nswt</i> (G 2001) ; <i>Ttw II</i> (G 2343-G 5511)
B-4	<i><sup>c</sup>nh-h3.f</i> ; <i>Wp-m-nfrit</i> / <i>Wp</i> ; <i>Wnšt</i> (G 4840, VII SS) ; <i>Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh III</i> (G 7530 + 7540) ; <i>Mdw-nfr</i> (G4630) ; <i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-<sup>c</sup>ntj</i> / <i>Njj</i> ; <i>Hnt-k3w.s</i> ; <i>Snfirw-htp</i> (G 3088) ; <i>Shtpw</i> / <i>Tpw</i> ; <i>K3.j-pw-nswt</i> / <i>K3j</i> (G 4651) ; <i>K3(j)-nj-nswt I</i> (G 2155) ; <i>Tf-nn</i> (Cairo Mus. JE 56994) ; <i>Ttj</i>
B-5	<i>Pth-sd3</i> / <i>Ffj</i> ; <i>Hnw</i> ; <i>Snnw-k3(j)</i> / <i>Kkj</i> (G 2041)
B-6	<i>Mry-Rc-nfr</i> / <i>Q3r</i> (G 7101) ; <i>K3(j)-nj-nswt II</i> (G 2156) ; <i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136)
B-Y	<i>Rdj-ns</i> (G 5032) ; <i>Ztw</i> (G 4710, LG 49) ; <i>K3(j)-nj-nswt I</i> (G 2155)
C-1	<i>Mry-Rc-mrj-Pth-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> / <i>Nhbw</i> (G 2381 with shaft G 2382A) ; <i>K3(j)-m-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (G 4561)
C-3	<i>Nhbw</i> (G 2381 with shaft G 2382A) ; <i>Sndm-jb</i> / <i>Jntj</i> (G 2370)
D-1	<i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15) ; <i>Jn-k3.f</i> ; <i>Mry-jb</i> / <i>K3-pw-nswt</i> (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24) ; <i>Nj-wd3-Pth</i> ; <i>Nj-htp-Pth</i> / <i>Pnj</i> (G 2340, LG 25) ; <i>Nfr-mšdr-Hwfw</i> (G 2240) ; <i>Nfr-n</i> ; <i>Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I</i> (G 7130 + 7140) ; <i>Hwt3</i> ; <i>Shm-k3-Rc</i> (LG 89) ; <i>Sšm-nfr II</i> (G 5080) ; <i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (G 5170) ; <i>Špss-k3.f-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> ; <i>K3(j)-hnt</i> (G 2088) ; <i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136)
D-3	<i>Jttj</i> (G 7391) ; <i>W3š-k3(j)</i> ; <i>Mr-sw-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> ; <i>Nj-htp-Pth</i> / <i>Pnj</i> (G 2340, LG 25) ; <i>St-k3.j</i> ; <i>Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (D 20)
D-5	<i>Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (D 20)
E-1	<i>Jdw</i> (G 7102) ; <i>H<sup>c</sup>.f-Rc-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (G 7948) ; <i>Hww-wr</i> (LG 95) ; <i>K3(j)-m-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (G 4561) ; <i>K3(j)-hnt</i> (G 2088) ;
E-2	S 359 ; <i>Jjj</i> ; <i>Jttj</i> (G 7391) ; <i>Jdw</i> (G 7102) ; <i><sup>c</sup>nh-wd3</i> / <i>Jtj</i> ; <i><sup>c</sup>nh-h3.f</i> ; <i><sup>c</sup>nh-h3.f / Q3r</i> ; <i>Pth-sd3</i> / <i>Ffj</i> ; <i>Mr-<sup>c</sup>nh.f</i> ; <i>Nj-mstj</i> (G 2366) ; <i>Nj-htp-Pth</i> / <i>Pnj</i> (G 2340, LG 25) ; <i>Nj-s<sup>c</sup>nh-3hty</i> / <i>Jtj</i> ; <i>Hmt-Rc</i> ; <i>Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f II</i> (G 7150) ; <i>Hwfw-snb II</i> ; <i>Snnw</i> ; <i>Sšm-nfr II</i> (G 5080) ; <i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (G 5170) ; <i>Špss-k3.f-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> ; <i>Qd-ns II</i> ; <i>K3.j-pw-nswt</i> / <i>K3j</i> (G 4651) ; <i>Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (D 20) ; <i>Ttw II</i> (G 2343-G 5511)
E-3	<i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15) ; <i>Jj-nfrit</i> ; <i>Nswt-nfr</i> (G 4970) ; <i>H<sup>c</sup>.f-Rc-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (G 7948) ; <i>Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I</i> (G 7130 + 7140) ; <i>Sš3t-htp</i> / <i>Htj</i> (G 5150) ; <i>K3.j-pw-nswt</i> / <i>K3j</i> (G 4651)
F	<i>Ttw II</i> (G 2343-G 5511)

Table VI.1.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Stance	Name of Tomb Owner
A-1	<i>Mrrw-k3.j</i> / <i>Mrj</i>
A-2	<i>Jnw-Mnw</i> (around Teti Pyramid) ; <i>Nfr-sšm-Rc</i> / <i>Šsj</i>
AS-1	<i>Jnw-Mnw</i> (around Teti Pyramid) ; <i><sup>c</sup>nh-Hwt-Hr</i> ; <i>Mh<sup>w</sup></i> ; <i>Mttj</i> ; <i>Nj-k3w-Rc</i> ; <i>Hnw</i> ; <i>Hnmw-htp</i> (double tomb of <i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw</i> & <i>Hnmw-htp</i> ) ; <i>Sn-jt.f</i> (in the same tomb of <i>K3-h3.j</i> ) ; <i>K3.j-m-hzt</i> ; <i>K3-hzw.f</i> (Abusir South, possible son of <i>Nfr-Jnpw</i> )

AS-2	<i>ḥtj-ḥtp</i> (E 17) ; <i>ḥt-ḥtp</i> (D 64) ; <i>Jj-nfrt / Š3-n.f</i> ; <i>Jj-k3</i> ; <i>Jrw-k3-Pth</i> ; <i>ḥnh-m-ḥk3(j)</i> (No. 67 [D 16]) ; <i>W3š-Pth / Jzj</i> ; <i>Wr-nw</i> ; <i>Ph.n-wj-k3</i> (D 70, LS 15) ; <i>Pth-ḥtp</i> (PM III 653-654) ; <i>Pth-ḥtp II</i> (D 64) ; <i>Pth-špss</i> (PM III 340-342, Abusir) ; <i>Pth-špss II</i> ; <i>Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj</i> ; <i>Mrrj</i> (around Teti Pyramid) ; <i>Mḥw</i> ; <i>Mttj</i> ; double tomb of <i>Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw &amp; Ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> ; <i>Nj-ḥnh-Šhmt</i> (No.74 [D 12]) ; <i>Nj-k3(j)-Rc</i> ; <i>Nj-k3w-Jzzj</i> (around Teti Pyramid) ; <i>Nj-k3w-Hr</i> (Quibell S 915) ; <i>Nfr</i> (in the same tomb of his father <i>k3-ḥ3.j</i> ) ; <i>Nfr-Jnpw</i> (AS 37, Abusir South) ; <i>Nfr-ntr</i> ; <i>Nfr-ḥww</i> ; <i>Nfr-sšm-Rc / Šsj</i> ; <i>Nn-ḥft-k3(j)</i> (D 47) ; <i>Rc-špss</i> (Lepsius LS 16 [S 902]) ; <i>Ḥtp-ḥr-ḥtj</i> (D 60) ; <i>Ḥtp-k3(j) / Tp-k3(j)</i> (S 3509) ; <i>Ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> (D 49) ; <i>Sndm-jb / Bb-jb</i> (No. 11 [B 13]) ; <i>Šhm-k3</i> (north-west of D 62) ; <i>Sšmw</i> (Lepsius LS 5) ; <i>K3(j)-pw-Rc</i> (No. 22 [D 39]) ; <i>K3.j-m-snw</i> ; <i>Tp-m-ḥnh</i> (D 11) ; <i>Ty</i> (No. 60 [D 22]) ; <i>Tsmw</i> ; <i>Df-3w</i> (D 25)
AS-3	<i>ḥt-ḥtp</i> (D 64) ; <i>ḥnh-m-ḥr / Ssj</i> ; <i>Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj</i> ; <i>Mttj</i> ; <i>Nj-ḥnh-Ppy / Nj-ḥnh-Mry-Rc</i> ; <i>Nj-k3(j)-Rc</i> ; <i>Nj-k3w-Jzzj</i> (around Teti Pyramid) ; <i>Nfr</i> (in the same tomb of his father <i>k3-ḥ3.j</i> ) ; <i>Nfr-sšm-Rc / Šsj</i> ; <i>Nn-ḥft-k3(j)</i> (D 47) ; <i>Hr-mrw / Mry</i> ; <i>Ḥntj-k3 / Jḥh</i> ; <i>K3(j)-m-tntt</i> ; <i>Ttj-ḥnh</i> (in the tomb of <i>Jris / Jjj</i> )
AS-4	<i>ḥtj-ḥtp</i> (Louvre E. 10958, Mastaba du Louvre) ; <i>W3š-Pth / Jzj</i> ; <i>Bj3 / Jry</i> ; <i>Pth-špss</i> (PM III 340-342, Abusir) ; <i>Mry-Ttj</i> (son of <i>Mrrw-k3.j</i> , in the same tomb) ; <i>Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj</i> ; <i>Ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> (double tomb of <i>Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw &amp; Ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> ) ; <i>K3-gm-nj / Mmj / Gmnj</i> ; <i>Df-3w</i> (D 25)
B-1	name lost (Martin, Hetepka, No. 22, 22-23, pl. 23.) ; <i>Jj-wn / Šhnt-k3(j)</i> ; <i>ḥnh-Ḥwt-Hr</i> ; <i>Pr-ndw</i> ; <i>Pr-sn</i> (D 45) ; double tomb of <i>Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw &amp; Ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> ; <i>Nj-ḥnh-Šhmt</i> (No.74 [D 12]) ; <i>Nj-k3w-Rc</i> ; <i>Nj-k3w-Hr</i> (Quibell S 915) ; <i>Hb-3j</i> ; <i>Sn-jt.f</i> (in the same tomb of <i>K3-ḥ3.j</i> ) ; <i>Šhm-k3</i> (north-west of D 62) ; <i>Šts-Pth</i> ; <i>K3(j)-m-qd</i> ; <i>K3(j)-m-tntt</i> ; <i>K3.j-ḍ3w</i> ; <i>K3-ḥr-st.f</i> ; <i>K3-gm-nj / Mmj / Gmnj</i> ; <i>Tp-m-ḥnh</i> (D 11)
B-2	<i>ḥt-ḥtp</i> (D 64) ; <i>ḥnh-m-ḥr / Ssj</i> ; <i>W3š-Pth / Jzj</i> ; <i>Wnnj</i> (offering table) ; <i>Bj3 / Jry</i> ; <i>Ph.n-wj-k3</i> (D 70, LS 15) ; <i>Pth-špss</i> (PM III 340-342, Abusir) ; <i>Mrrj</i> (around Teti Pyramid) ; <i>Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj</i> ; <i>Nj-ḥnh-Ppy / Nj-ḥnh-Mry-Rc</i> ; <i>Nj-ḥnh-Šhmt</i> (No.74 [D 12]) ; <i>Nj-k3w-Rc</i> ; <i>Hwj</i> ; <i>S3b</i> ; <i>K3(j)-ḥpr(w)</i> ; <i>K3-ḥr-st.f</i> ; <i>K3-gm-nj / Mmj / Gmnj</i> ; <i>Ggj</i> (Abusir South, West of the tomb of Fetekty) ; <i>Ty</i> (No. 60 [D 22]) ; <i>Ttw / Jnw-Mnw</i> (north of Teti Pyramid)
B-3	name lost (Martin, Hetepka, No. 22, 22-23, pl. 23.) ; <i>ḥt-ḥtp</i> (D 64) ; <i>Jnw-Mnw</i> (around Teti Pyramid) ; <i>Jrj.s / Jjj</i> ; <i>Jšfw / Jšfj</i> (reused by <i>Msy</i> ) ; <i>ḥnh-m-ḥr / Ssj</i> ; <i>ḥnh-Ḥwt-Hr</i> ; <i>W3š-Pth / Jzj</i> ; <i>Bj3 / Jry</i> ; <i>Ppj</i> ; <i>Pr-sn</i> (D 45) ; <i>Pth-ḥtp I</i> (D 62) ; <i>Pth-ḥtp II</i> (D 64) ; <i>Pth-špss II</i> ; <i>Mry-Ttj</i> (son of <i>Mrrw-k3.j</i> , in the same tomb) ; <i>Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj</i> ; <i>Mḥw</i> ; <i>Nj-k3w-Rc</i> ; <i>Nfr-Jnpw</i> (AS 37, Abusir South) ; <i>Nfr-sšm-Pth / Wḍ3-ḥ3-Ttj / Šsj</i> (around Teti Pyramid, Saqqara 32) ; <i>Ntr-wsr</i> ; <i>Hr-mrw / Mry</i> ; <i>Hzzj</i> ; <i>Hc-mrr-Pth</i> (No. 68 [C 4]) ; <i>Ḥnmw-ndm(w)</i> (at Kom el Akhdar) ; <i>Ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> (double tomb of <i>Nj-ḥnh-Ḥnmw &amp; Ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> ) ; <i>S3bw / Jbbj</i> ; <i>Šhm-k3</i> (north-west of D 62) ; <i>Sšm-nfr / Jfj</i> ; <i>Špsj-pw-Pth</i> ; <i>Q3r</i> ; <i>K3(j)-m-tntt</i> ; <i>K3-gm-nj / Mmj / Gmnj</i> ; <i>Gm-nj</i> ; <i>Ttj / K3-jn-n.j</i> (north-west of Teti Pyramid)
B-4	<i>J3rtj</i> ; <i>W3š-Pth / Jzj</i> ; <i>Bj3 / Jry</i> ; <i>Ntr-wsr</i> ; <i>Ḥtp-ḥr-ḥtj</i> (D 60) ; <i>Ḥtp-k3(j) / Tp-k3(j)</i> (S 3509) ; <i>Dw3-Rc</i>
B-5	<i>Bj3 / Jry</i> ; <i>K3.j-m-hzt</i>
B-6	<i>Wnnj</i> (offering table) ; <i>Ḥnw</i>
C-1	<i>ḥtj-ḥtp</i> (E 17) ; <i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i> (D 55) ; <i>Rc-špss</i> (Lepsius LS 16 [S 902]) ; <i>Rmnj / Mr-wj</i> ; <i>Snfrw-jn-jšt.f</i> (No. 2 Dahshur)

C-2	<i>Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj</i> ; <i>Mrrj</i> (around Teti Pyramid) ; <i>Mttj</i> ; double tomb of <i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw &amp; Hnmw-htp</i> ; <i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i> (D 55) ; <i>Htp-hr-<sup>3</sup>htj</i> (D 60)
C-3	<i>Mrrw-k<sup>3</sup>.j / Mrj</i> ; <i>Mhw</i> ; <i>Nj-k<sup>3</sup>w-Jzzj</i> (around Teti Pyramid)
C-4	double tomb of <i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw &amp; Hnmw-htp</i> ; <i>Snfrw-jn-jšt.f</i> (No. 2 Dahshur)
D-1	<i>Pr-nb</i> (Quibell S 913) ; <i>Pr-sn</i> (D 45) ; <i>Ph.n-wj-k<sup>3</sup></i> (D 70, LS 15) ; <i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i> (D 55) ; <i>Ty</i> (No. 60 [D 22])
D-2	<i>Wr-jr.n-Pth</i> ; <i>Wr-b<sup>3</sup>w</i> (in the same tomb of <i>K<sup>3</sup>-h<sup>3</sup>.j</i> ) ; <i>Pth-htp / Jj-n-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> ; <i>Hnmw-htp</i> (D 49) ; <i>K<sup>3</sup>-h<sup>3</sup>.j</i>
D-5	<i>Sn-jt.f</i> (in the same tomb of <i>K<sup>3</sup>-h<sup>3</sup>.j</i> )
E-1	<i>Bj<sup>3</sup> / Jry</i> ; <i>Mttj</i> ; <i>Snfrw-jn-jšt.f</i> (No. 2 Dahshur) ; <i>Sšm-nfr / Jfj</i>
E-2	name lost (Martin, Hetepka, No. 22, 22-23, pl. 23.) ; <i>3htj-htp</i> (Louvre E. 10958, Mastaba du Louvre) ; <i>Jnw-Mnw</i> (around Teti Pyramid) ; <i><sup>c</sup>nh-m-<sup>c</sup>nty</i> ; <i>Bj<sup>3</sup> / Jry</i> ; <i>Mttj</i> ; <i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy / Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Mry-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>Nj-k<sup>3</sup>w-Jzzj</i> (around Teti Pyramid) ; <i>Ntr-wsr</i> ; <i>R<sup>c</sup>-hr-tp / Jtj</i> ; <i>Hr-mrw / Mry</i> ; <i>Hzzj</i> ; <i>H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-Pth</i> (No. 68 [C 4]) ; <i>Hwj</i> ; <i>Sšbw / Jbbj</i>
E-3	<i>Pth-htp I</i> (D 62) ; <i>Mrrw-k<sup>3</sup>.j / Mrj</i> ; <i>Mttj</i> ; <i>Rmnj / Mr-wj</i> ; <i>Hntj-k<sup>3</sup> / Jhhj</i> ; <i>Ty</i> (No. 60 [D 22])
F	<i>Pth-špss</i> (PM III 340-342, Abusir) ; <i>Mttj</i> ; <i>Sšbw / Jbbj</i>

Table VI.1.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Stance	Name of Tomb Owner
A-1	<i>Hm-R<sup>c</sup> / Jzj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N72) ; <i>Nj-k<sup>3</sup>.j-<sup>c</sup>nh I</i> (Tehna Tomb 15)
AS-1	<i>Q<sup>3</sup>r / Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr</i> (Edfu, M V of Garnot) ; <i>Nj-k<sup>3</sup>.j-<sup>c</sup>nh II</i> (Tehna Tomb 15) ; <i>Hw-ns</i> (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2)
AS-2	<i>B<sup>3</sup>wj</i> (El-Hawawish BA 48) ; <i>Ghs<sup>3</sup> / Nby</i> (El-Hawawish GA 11) ; <i>Dw<sup>3</sup>-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish L6) ; <i>Wjw / Jjjw</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 4) ; <i>Mrw / Bbj</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 3) ; <i>Srf-k<sup>3</sup>(j)</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 1) ; <i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2) ; <i>Hw.n-wh / Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2) ; <i>Hw-ns</i> (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2)
AS-3	<i>Q<sup>3</sup>r / Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr</i> (Edfu, M V of Garnot) ; <i><sup>c</sup>n-<sup>c</sup>nhj</i> (El-Hagarsa B13) ; <i>špss-pw-Mnw / Hnj / Hn-<sup>c</sup>nhw / Hn-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (El-Hawawish H24) ; <i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)
AS-4	<i>Jttj / Šdw</i> (Deshasha) ; <i>Mrw / Bbj</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 3)
B-1	<i>Mry-<sup>c</sup>3</i> (El-Hagarsa D18) ; <i>Nfrt-hr</i> (El-Hagarsa A6) ; <i>Sbk-nfr</i> (El-Hagarsa B18) ; <i>K<sup>3</sup>(j)-hnt</i> (El-Hammamiya A2) ; <i>K<sup>3</sup>(j)-hnt</i> (El-Hammamiya A3) ; <i><sup>c</sup>nhw</i> (El-Hawawish M21) ; <i>B<sup>3</sup>wj</i> (El-Hawawish CG 20504) ; <i>Nhwt-dšr / Mry</i> (El-Hawawish G95) ; <i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-km / Hny / Hny-km</i> (Meir No. A2) ; <i>Sšbnj [I]</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1, east tomb)
B-2	<i>D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm<sup>3</sup>j</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12) ; <i>Q<sup>3</sup>r / Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr</i> (Edfu, M V of Garnot) ; <i><sup>c</sup>n-<sup>c</sup>nhj</i> (El-Hagarsa B13) ; <i>Nfrt-hr</i> (El-Hagarsa A6) ; <i>Sbk-nfr</i> (El-Hagarsa B18) ; <i>K<sup>3</sup>(j)-m-nfrt</i> (El-Hagarsa A3) ; <i>Nhwt-dšr / Mry</i> (El-Hawawish G95) ; <i>Ttj</i> (El-Hawawish, Field Museum 31700, Chicago) ; <i>T<sup>3</sup>wtj / Rsy</i> (el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad, T 73, Lepsius No. 2) ; <i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2) ; <i>Mhw / Jn-jt.f</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1)
B-3	name lost (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N95) ; <i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8) ; <i>Nb-jb</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N38) ; <i>Hnqw I / Httj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N39) ; <i>Hnqw II / Jj..f</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N67) ; <i>Hm-R<sup>c</sup> / Jzj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N72) ; <i>Q<sup>3</sup>r / Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr</i>

	(Edfu, M V of Garnot) ; <i>ḥn-ḥnj</i> (El-Hagarsa B13) ; <i>Mry II</i> (El-Hagarsa C2) ; <i>Mry-ḥ</i> (El-Hagarsa D18) ; <i>Bḥwj</i> (El-Hawawish CG 20504) ; <i>Bḥwj</i> (El-Hawawish BA 48) ; <i>Nbj</i> (El-Hawawish, Louvre C 234) ; <i>Nhwt-dšr</i> / <i>Mry</i> (El-Hawawish G95) ; <i>Ḥm-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish M43) ; <i>Ḥzy-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish M22) ; <i>Ḥzy-Mnw</i> / <i>Zzj</i> / <i>Dwdy</i> (El-Hawawish F1) ; <i>Špss-pw-Mnw</i> / <i>Ḥnj</i> / <i>Ḥn-ḥnw</i> / <i>Ḥn-ḥnh</i> (El-Hawawish H24) ; <i>Qḥr</i> / <i>Ppy-nfr</i> (El-Hawawish, L31) ; <i>Qrrj</i> (El-Hawawish Q15) ; <i>Dwḥ-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish L6) ; <i>Jhy</i> (el-Khokha No. 186) ; <i>Jdw</i> / <i>Mnsḥ</i> (el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad, T 152, Lepsius No. 4) ; <i>Jdw</i> / <i>Snnj</i> (el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad, T 66, Lepsius No. 1) ; <i>Tḥwtj</i> / <i>Rsy</i> (el-Qasr wa-‘l-Saiyad, T 73, Lepsius No. 2) ; <i>Nj-ḥnh-Ppy-km</i> / <i>Nj-ḥnh-Mry-Rḥ-km</i> / <i>Ḥpj-km</i> / <i>Sbk-km</i> (Meir No. A1) ; <i>Nb-Šmḥw</i> / <i>Ḥttj</i> (Naqqada, Vienna, No. 5894) ; <i>Ḥwj</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A5) ; <i>Ḥw-ns</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A6) ; <i>Sbk-ḥtp</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan B1) ; <i>Ḥw.n-wh</i> / <i>Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)
B-4	<i>Jzj</i> / <i>Ḥm-Rḥ</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N46) ; <i>Hnqw II</i> / <i>Jj...f</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N67) ; <i>Dḥw</i> / <i>Šmḥj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12) ; <i>Nfrr-ḥr</i> (El-Hagarsa A6) ; <i>Kḥ(j)-hnt</i> (El-Hammamiya A2) ; <i>Mmj</i> (El-Hawawish B12) ; <i>Nhwt-dšr</i> / <i>Mry</i> (El-Hawawish G95) ; <i>Ḥzy-Mnw</i> / <i>Zzj</i> / <i>Dwdy</i> (El-Hawawish F1) ; <i>Mrw</i> / <i>Jy</i> (Nag’ el-Deir N3737)
B-5	<i>ḥn-ḥnj</i> (El-Hagarsa B13) ; <i>Mry II</i> (El-Hagarsa C2) ; <i>Mry-ḥ</i> (El-Hagarsa D18) ; <i>Bḥwj</i> (El-Hawawish CG 20504) ; <i>Nhwt-dšr</i> / <i>Mry</i> (El-Hawawish G95) ; <i>Špss-pw-Mnw</i> / <i>Ḥnj</i> / <i>Ḥn-ḥnw</i> / <i>Ḥn-ḥnh</i> (El-Hawawish H24) ; <i>Ḥw.n-wh</i> / <i>Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)
B-6	<i>Srf-kḥ(j)</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 1) ; <i>Mrw</i> / <i>Jy</i> (Nag’ el-Deir N3737) ; <i>Ḥwj</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A5)
C-1	<i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8) ; <i>Hnqw I</i> / <i>Ḥttj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N39) ; <i>Hnqw II</i> / <i>Jj...f</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N67) ; <i>Dḥw</i> / <i>Šmḥj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12) ; <i>Jdw I</i> (Dendera) ; <i>Jttj</i> / <i>Šdw</i> (Deshasha) ; <i>Ḥzy-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish M22) ; <i>Ḥzy-Mnw</i> / <i>Zzj</i> / <i>Dwdy</i> (El-Hawawish F1) ; <i>Špss-pw-Mnw</i> / <i>Ḥnj</i> / <i>Ḥn-ḥnw</i> / <i>Ḥn-ḥnh</i> (El-Hawawish H24) ; <i>Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)
C-2	<i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8) ; <i>Dḥw</i> / <i>Šmḥj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12) ; <i>Mry-ḥ</i> (El-Hagarsa D18) ; <i>Ḥzy-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish M22) ; <i>Mrw</i> / <i>Jy</i> (Nag’ el-Deir N3737)
C-3	<i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8) ; <i>Hnqw I</i> / <i>Ḥttj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N39)
C-4	<i>Sḥbnj [I]</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1, east tomb)
C-5	<i>Hnqw I</i> / <i>Ḥttj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N39)
C-6	<i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8)
C-7	<i>Sḥbnj [I]</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A1, east tomb)
D-1	<i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8) ; <i>Qḥr</i> / <i>Mry-Rḥ-nfr</i> (Edfu, M V of Garnot) ; <i>Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2) ; <i>Ḥw-ns</i> (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2)
D-2	<i>Ḥw.n-wh</i> / <i>Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)
E-1	<i>Ppy-ḥnh-ḥrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2) ; <i>Ḥw-ns</i> (Zawyet el-Amwat No. 2)
E-2	<i>Nb-jb</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N38) ; <i>Hnqw II</i> / <i>Jj...f</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N67) ; <i>Jzj</i> (Edfu) ; <i>Mry-ḥ</i> (El-Hagarsa D18) ; <i>Ḥzy-Mnw</i> (El-Hawawish M22) ; <i>Nj-ḥnh-Ppy-km</i> / <i>Nj-ḥnh-Mry-Rḥ-km</i> / <i>Ḥpj-km</i> / <i>Sbk-km</i> (Meir No. A1) ; <i>Nb-Šmḥw</i> / <i>Ḥttj</i> (Naqqada, Vienna, No. 5894) ; <i>Ḥr-ḥw.f</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A8) ; <i>Ḥw.n-wh</i> / <i>Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)
E-3	<i>Ḥm-Rḥ</i> / <i>Jzj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N72) ; <i>Ḥzy-Mnw</i> / <i>Zzj</i> / <i>Dwdy</i> (El-Hawawish F1)
E-4	<i>Jttj</i> / <i>Šdw</i> (Deshasha) ; <i>Ttj</i> / <i>Kḥ.f-hp</i> (El-Hawawish M8)

F	<i>Mnw-m-ḥꜣt</i> (El Hawawish, Pushkin Museum I.1.a.5567) ; <i>Srf-kꜣ(j)</i> (el-Sheikh Said No. 1)
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## VI.2 Stances of Siblings

Table VI.2.1 Tombs at Giza

Stance	Name of Tomb Owner
AS-3	<i>Špss-kꜣ.f-ḥnh</i>
B-1	<i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15) ; <i>Jnpw-ḥtp</i> ; <i>Jttj</i> (G 7391) ; <i>Wtꜣ</i> 's father ; <i>Whm-kꜣ</i> (D 117) ; <i>Hwfw-ḥnh</i> (G 4520) ; <i>Ztw</i> (G 4710, LG 49) ; <i>Sšm-nfr I</i> (G 4940, LG 45) ; <i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (G 5170) ; <i>Kꜣj</i> ; <i>Dꜣty</i> (G 2337-X)
B-2	<i>Jttj</i> (G 7391) ; <i>Sšm-nfr I</i> (G 4940, LG 45) ; <i>Kꜣpj</i> (G 2091) ; <i>Kꜣ-ḥr-Pth</i> ; <i>Tntj</i> (G 4920, LG 47)
B-3	<i>Jnpw-ḥtp</i> ; <i>Mrw-kꜣ</i> ; <i>Hwfw-ḥnh</i> (G 4520) ; <i>Sndm-jb</i> / <i>Jntj</i> (G 2370) ; <i>Sšm-nfr I</i> (G 4940, LG 45) ; <i>Kꜣpj</i> (G 2091) ; <i>Ttw I</i> (G 2001) ; <i>Dꜣty</i> (G 2337-X)
B-4	<i>Whm-kꜣ</i> (D 117) ; <i>Nb-m-ḥtj</i> (LG 12, LG 86) ; <i>Hꜣ.f-Rꜣ-ḥnh</i> (G 7948) ; <i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (G 5170) ; <i>Kꜣj</i>
C-1	<i>Mry-Rꜣ-mrj-Pth-ḥnh</i> / <i>Nḥbw</i> (G 2381 with shift G 2382A)
C-2	<i>Mry-Rꜣ-nfr</i> / <i>Qꜣr</i> (G 7101)
D-1	<i>ḥtj-mrw-nswt</i> (G 2184) ; <i>Mry-Rꜣ-nfr</i> / <i>Qꜣr</i> (G 7101)
D-2	<i>Nfr</i> and <i>Jtj-sn</i> (D 203) ; <i>Nfr-ḥtp</i>
E-2	<i>Dꜣty</i> (G 2337-X)
E-3	<i>Hnmw-ḥtp</i> (Fakhry 4)
F	<i>ḥtj-mrw-nswt</i> (G 2184)

Table VI.2.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Stance	Name of Tomb Owner
A-1	<i>Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw</i> & <i>Hnmw-ḥtp</i>
AS-3	<i>ḥnh-m-ḥr</i> / <i>Zzj</i> ; <i>Sꜣ-mry</i>
AS-4	<i>Kꜣ.j-m-ḥzt</i>
AS-6	<i>Ntr-wsr</i>
B-1	<i>Pth-ḥtp II</i> ; <i>Nj-ḥnh-Hnmw</i> & <i>Hnmw-ḥtp</i> ; <i>Shm-kꜣ</i> ; <i>Kꜣ-gm-nj</i> / <i>Mmj</i> / <i>Gmnj</i>
B-2	<i>ḥnh-m-ḥr</i> / <i>Zzj</i> ; <i>Ph.n-wj-kꜣ</i> ; <i>Mrrw-kꜣ.j</i> / <i>Mrj</i> ; <i>Nj-ḥnh-Shmt</i> ; <i>Nfr</i> (in the same tomb of his father <i>Kꜣ-ḥꜣ.j</i> )
B-3	<i>ḥtj-ḥtp</i> (D 64) ; <i>Ppj</i> ; <i>Pth-ḥtp II</i> ; <i>Mr.f-nb.f</i> / <i>Ffj</i> ; <i>Mrrw-kꜣ.j</i> / <i>Mrj</i> ; <i>Nj-ḥnh-nswt</i> ; <i>Hnmw-nḏm(w)</i> ; <i>Qꜣr Junior</i> (son of vizier <i>Qꜣr</i> ) ; <i>Tp-m-ḥnh</i>

B-4	<i>S3-mry ; K3-h3.j</i>
D-1	<i>Ph.n-wj-k3 ; Pth-htp II ; S3-mry ; Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>
D-2	<i>Nfr</i> (in the same tomb of his father <i>K3-h3.j</i> )
D-4	<i>Tsmw</i>
E-1	<i>Pth-htp II</i>
E-2	<i>Nj-k3w-Pth</i> (Univ. Mus. Manchester 10780)
E-3	<i>Pth-htp II</i>
F	<i>Pth-htp II ; Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj</i>

Table VI.2.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Stance	Name of Tomb Owner
AS-4	<i>Jttj / Šdw</i> (Deshasha)
B-3	<i>Jj-mry</i> (Gebel el-Teir) ; <i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2) ; <i>Hw.n-wh / Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)
B-4	<i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8) ; <i>Jmj</i> (El-Hawawish, Orinst. 109491)
B-6	<i>Hw-ns</i> (Qubbet el-Hawa, de Morgan A6)
C-2	<i>Jbj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S8)
C-3	<i>K3(.j)-hp / Ttj-jqr</i> (El-Hawawish H26)
E-3	<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)

## VI.3 Stances of Parents

Table VI.3.1 Tombs at Giza

Stance	Name of Tomb Owner
A-1	<i>3htj-mrw-nswt</i> (G 2184) ; <i>Jnpw-htp</i> ; <i>Whm-k3</i> (D 117) ; <i>Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt</i> (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24) ; <i>Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I</i> (G 7130 + 7140) ; <i>K3j</i> (east of tomb G 7391) ; <i>D3ty</i> (G 2337-x)
A-2	<i>Wsr</i> ; <i>Mry-R<sup>c</sup>-nfr / Q3r</i> (G 7101) ; <i>Hw.n-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>Shm-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> (LG 89) ; <i>Sšmw</i> ( ? ) (Shaft 590)
AS-2	<i>Nn-sdr-k3(.j)</i> (G 2101) ; <i>Špss-k3.f-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>
B-1	<i>Nfr-k3(.j)</i> ; <i>R<sup>c</sup>-wr</i> ; <i>Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> (G 4520) ; <i>Sšm-nfr II</i> (G 5080) ; <i>Sšm-nfr III</i> (G 5170) ; <i>Špss-k3.f-<sup>c</sup>nh</i> ; <i>K3j</i> (east of tomb G 7391) ; <i>K3.j-w<sup>c</sup>b</i> (G 7110 + 7120)
B-2	<i>K3.j-w<sup>c</sup>b</i> (G 7110 + 7120)
B-3	<i>Hw.n-R<sup>c</sup></i> ; <i>D3ty</i> (G 2337-x)
B-4	<i>3htj-mrw-nswt</i> (G 2184) ; <i>Jj-mry</i> (G 6020, LG 15) ; <i>Jnpw-htp</i> ; <i>Whm-k3</i> (D 117) ; <i>Mry-jb / K3-pw-nswt</i> (G 2100-I-annexe, LG 24) ; <i>Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh III</i> (G 7530 + 7540) ; <i>Nj-</i>



	<i>s<sup>c</sup>nh-3hty / Jtj ; Nn-sdr-k3(j) (G 2101) ; Nfr-b3w-Pth (G 6010, LG 15) ; Hwfw-h<sup>c</sup>.f I (G 7130 + 7140) ; Špss-k3.f-<sup>c</sup>nh ; D3ty (G 2337-x)</i>
D-1	<i>Wsr ; K3-hj.f (G 2136)</i>
D-2	<i>Mry-Hwfw (Fakhry 6) ; Sšmw ( ? ) (Shaft 590) ; K3-hj.f (G 2136)</i>
D-4	<i>R<sup>c</sup>-wr ; Hw.n-R<sup>c</sup> ; Šhm-k3-R<sup>c</sup> (LG 89)</i>
E-2	<i>Jj-mry (G 6020, LG 15) ; Jnpw-htp ; Jrj-n-3htj / Jrj (G 2391) ; D3ty (G 2337-x)</i>
F	<i>Jj-mry (G 6020, LG 15) ; Mrs-<sup>c</sup>nh III (G 7530 + 7540)</i>

Table VI.3.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Stance	Name of Tomb Owner
A-1	<i>Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw &amp; Hnmw-htp ; Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup></i>
AS-6	<i>Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj</i>
B-1	<i>Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj</i>
B-4	<i>Mr.f-nb.f / Ffj ; Nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hnmw &amp; Hnmw-htp</i>
B-5	<i>Mrrw-k3.j / Mrj ; S3-mry</i>
D-1	<i>S3-mry</i>
D-2	<i>S3-mry</i>

Table VI.3.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Stance	Name of Tomb Owner
B-4	<i>Mmj (El-Hawawish, CG 1586)</i>
D-2	<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb (Meir No. D2)</i>
E-2	<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-km / Hny / Hny-km (Meir No. A2)</i>

## VI.4 Stances of Other relatives

Table VI.4.1 Tombs at Giza

Stance	Name of Tomb Owner
AS-1	<i>R3-mw (false door in the tomb of Ttj) ; Ttj</i>
AS-3	<i>Wnšt (G4840, VII SS) ; K3-hr-Pth (G 7721)</i>
B-1	<i>Whm-nfirt ; Ttj</i>
B-2	<i>Ttj</i>

B-3	<i>Nfrt-nswt</i>
B-Y	<i>Wḥm-nfrt</i>
D-2	<i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136)
E-1	<i>K3-hj.f</i> (G 2136)
F	<i>Sšm-nfr</i> II (G 5080)

Table VI.4.2 Tombs at Saqqara

Stance	Name of Tomb Owner
AS-1	<i>Nj-k3w-R<sup>c</sup></i>
AS-2	<i>K3(.j)-ḥp</i> (S 3511)
B-1	<i>K3(.j)-ḥp</i> (S 3511)
B-2	<i>Šḥm-k3</i> (north-west of D 62)
B-3	<i>S3bw / Jbbj</i>

Table VI.4.3 Tombs at Provincial Sites

Stance	Name of Tomb Owner
B-1	<i>D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3j</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12 at his son <i>D<sup>c</sup>w</i> in the same tomb)
B-2	<i>D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3j</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. S12 at his son <i>D<sup>c</sup>w</i> in the same tomb)
B-3	name lost (Deir el-Gabrawi No. N95) ; <i>Hnqw I / Httj</i> (Deir el-Gabrawi No. 39)
B-5	<i>Hw.n-wh / Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)
C-2	<i>Hw.n-wh / Ttj</i> (Quseir el-Amarna Tomb 2)
D-2	<i>Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh-hrj-jb</i> (Meir No. D2)

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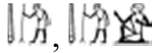
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