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Gianluca Miniaci, Stephen Quirke

Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom. The Burial of the Accountant of the Main Enclosure Neferhotep at Dra Abu al-Naga.

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# Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom The Burial of the Accountant of the Main Enclosure Neferhotep at Dra Abu al-Naga

GIANLUCA MINIACI, STEPHEN QUIRKE

**A**MONG the many excavated groups in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, one set of late Middle Kingdom burial equipment names a certain Neferhotep, accountant of the Main Enclosure. In 1872 already, Auguste Mariette published a brief description of the discovery and finds to introduce the facsimile edition of the best-known item, Papyrus Boulaq 18, the accounts for the visit of a 13th dynasty king to Thebes.<sup>1</sup> The finds retrieved are also recorded in the museum *Journal d'Entrée* entries, copied after 1881 by Émile Brugsch from the original inventory of the Boulaq Museum by Mariette (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> Significant discrepancies between published account and museum records prompted us to re-examine all accessible items, preserved in different galleries of the Egyptian Museum. Here we take the opportunity to reassess the significance of the group, publishing images of the items accessible to us, with our profound thanks to the Director, curators and staff of the Egyptian Museum, and to the Director of Ifao and editor of *BIFAO*. In addition to the importance of the group for the record of changes in burial customs, this single research project illustrates the potential in early volumes of the *Journal d'Entrée* to rediscover and to publish early Antiquities Service excavations.

<sup>1</sup> In MARIETTE 1872.

<sup>2</sup> In the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, see DEWACHTER 1985, p. 105-31, pl. 20-21. We are indebted to Dr Patrizia Piacentini

for consulting and recording the relevant entries for this article, in manuscript BNF NAF 20182, p. 123-124.




No. d'ordre	Lieu et date de la découverte	Matériau	Désignation du monument,		
6140. 6141.	Nouveau de Neferhotep	Bois	Deux objets à usage inconnu en cette forme. L'un d'eux a un bout d'ivoire 	0,15	
6142	"	Bois	Planchette en trois morceaux qui se rejoignent. Elle a long. 0,20. deux trous en creux, et paraît avoir été destinée à long. 0,12 contenir un objet en forme de manche de poignard.		
6143	"	Bois	Chevet. Sur les 4 faces du manche, légendes à figure 0,20 rehaussées de jaune		
6144	→	Albâtre	<del>Deux</del> <sup>Un</sup> petits vases	18079	0,06
6145	→	"	Un petit vase	18154	0,05
6146	"	Bois	Planchette sur laquelle est posée une boîte dont long. de la dos est percé de 23 trous. tue 0,05		
6147. 6151	"	"	Cinq épingles terminées par des têtes de chiens à oreilles pendantes	0,06	
6152	"	"	Une épinglette terminée par une tête de chien à oreilles droites	0,06	
6153	"	Porcel.	Scarabée double 	0,01	
6154	"	Bois	Bâton 	0,50	
6155 M	"	os.	Six fragments qui se rejoignent, d'une corne plate ornée de figures fantastiques	0,40	
6156	"	Faïence bleue	Hippopotame sur un socle antique, le corps orné de figures de plantes tracées en noir		
6157	"	Bois	Bâton. Au sommet, la légende de Neferhotep.		18

FIG. 1. Journal d'Entrée entries of Neferhotep's burial equipment.

Courtesy of Registration and Collections Management Department, Egyptian Museum - Cairo.

## The Items Found in the Tomb of Neferhotep

In January 1860 the Antiquities Service teams at Dra Abu al-Naga on the west bank of Thebes uncovered a chamber, damaged by flash-floods, but still containing a coffin with remains of a crudely embalmed body and the more robust elements of the original burial equipment.<sup>3</sup> In an initial study of the find, we considered evidence for the precise location of the tomb-chamber, and concluded from the inscriptional evidence that the tomb most probably contained only his burial, and may have been found undisturbed though water-damaged.<sup>4</sup> Here we present the group from re-examination of the material in the Egyptian Museum, mainly previously unpublished.

### 1. *The Rishi Coffin (not in JE)*

The coffin is known only from the brief mention in the publication of the papyrus, as “un cercueil sans inscription et de l'espèce dite *richi*”.<sup>5</sup> Absent from the *Journal d'Entrée* and the early museum guides,<sup>6</sup> the coffin was presumably too fragile to be moved out of the burial chamber; from examining *rishi* coffins now in the Egyptian Museum, Gianluca Miniaci can confirm that none derives from Mariette 1860 excavations. If the tomb housed a *rishi* coffin, its association with the other items indicates the earliest known date for the type. Discrepancies between 1872 description and museum registers (items nos. 3, 8-9 below) raise the possibility that Mariette misidentified the coffin type. However, he insists on the presence of a *rishi* coffin in his general observations on the difficulty of distinguishing the date of Dra Abu al-Naga burials.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, in the same paragraph on dating he refers to an invocation of Amun on the walking-stick, and we found no trace of this on the object itself, and no mention in the museum registers. Therefore the question of the presence of a *rishi* coffin remains open, pending new archival or archaeological evidence.

#### • Date Range of Parallels

Egyptologists commonly date *rishi* coffins to the 17th dynasty,<sup>8</sup> from the examples for kings assigned to that time, notably Nubkheperre Intef,<sup>9</sup> and from the widespread use of the type at the end of the 17th / early 18th dynasties, well-attested in the Carter and Carnarvon excavations in Asasif.<sup>10</sup> However, reassessment by Miniaci emphasises instead the extent to which the *rishi* model is deeply rooted in late Middle Kingdom funerary culture, and that a long period of development resulted in the standardised pattern of the later 17th dynasty versions.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>3</sup> MARIETTE 1872, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> MINIACI, QUIRKE 2008, p. 18-22.

<sup>5</sup> MARIETTE 1872, p. 6; Mariette refers to the coffin of Neferhotep without stressing any peculiar feature that could distinguish this coffin from the other *rishi*, see also MARIETTE 1874, p. 39-40.

<sup>6</sup> MARIETTE 1864; MARIETTE 1874; MASPERO 1883.

<sup>7</sup> MARIETTE 1872, p. 7, “le cercueil *richi* de la tombe de Nefer-hotep”.

<sup>8</sup> TAYLOR 1989, p. 28; DODSON, IKRAM 1998, p. 205; TAYLOR 2001, p. 223-224. See also BOURRIAU 1981, p. 35.

<sup>9</sup> British Museum EA 6652, PM I<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 602, see WINLOCK 1924, p. 229-230, pl. 14. For the disputed date of the king within the 17th dynasty, see the recent discussion in POLZ 2007a, p. 5-10.

<sup>10</sup> CARNARVON, CARTER 1912; see also LYTHGOE, LANSING, DAVIES 1917, p. 3-31.

<sup>11</sup> MINIACI 2008, MINIACI 2007a, p. 94-99, pl. 7, MINIACI 2007b, p. 105-126. G. Miniaci would like to express here his gratitude to Professor Marilina Betrò for her patient support in his research in Second Intermediate Period funerary culture.



Although *rishi* masks are attested in the north, and other elements have a wide distribution, the full *rishi* coffin is first known from Thebes, and may only have reached the north after the process of formation had ended.<sup>12</sup>

- Bibliography  
Unpublished.

## 2. *Papyrus Roll Fragments JE 6139*

The outstanding find, and the reason for the Mariette publication of the accompanying objects, was a pair of documents now known as Papyrus Boulaq 18; the larger contains the accounts for a visit by an early or mid-13th dynasty king to Thebes with vizier Ankhu, and the smaller (not certainly a separate roll) the accounts of the estate of vizier Ankhu by the accountant of the Main Enclosure Neferhotep. The contemporaneity of vizier Ankhu and Neferhotep implied by the 'smaller manuscript' ties the entire group to the mid-13th dynasty, on the evidence of two stelae from the Abydos North Offering-Chapel of Amenyseneb; one names vizier Ankhu, the other a king Khendjer, whose place among early 13th dynasty in the Turin Canon is confirmed by the analysis of his pyramid complex substructure and sculpture.<sup>13</sup>

- Date Range of Parallels

Accountancy documents are rare in second millennium burials, the most famous examples being the four found in the Reisner excavations at Naga ed-Deir;<sup>14</sup> these are early 12th dynasty, but the tomb in which they were found has not been published, and therefore the date at which they were deposited cannot be assessed. Several small accountancy fragments survive from the cemeteries at Haraga,<sup>15</sup> but the individual find-places were not recorded, and the contexts may all be disturbed; the accountancy fragments are not necessarily part of burial equipment.

- Bibliography

- A. MARIETTE, *Les papyrus égyptiens du musée de Boulaq*, II, Paris, 1872, pls. 14-46 with some fragments on pls. 47-50 and 54 (larger manuscript), pls. 47-54 remainder (smaller manuscript);
- A. SCHARFF, "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie (Pap. Boulaq Nr. 18)", *ZÄS* 57, 1922, p. 51-68;
- O.D. BERLEV, "Замечания к папирусу Булак 18", in *Древний мир*, Moscow, 1962, p. 50-62;
- St. QUIRKE, *Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom. The Hieratic Documents*, New Malden, 1990.
- A full photographic edition is announced by Sch. Allam.

<sup>12</sup> Northern examples: FIRTH, GUNN 1926, p. 69-70; LACOVARA 2007, p. 33-38.

<sup>13</sup> For substructure of tomb see DODSON 1987, p. 40; on the sculpture

of the king, cf. FAY 1996, p. 115; for summary and comments on Turin Canon see RYHOLT 1997. The same individuals appear on the 'small manuscript' and on the stela of Sahathor, head of the estate

and sealer of vizier Ankhu, republished in BOLSHAKOV, QUIRKE 1999, p. 94-104, pls. 21-23.

<sup>14</sup> SIMPSON 1963a.

<sup>15</sup> SMITHER 1941, p. 74-76.

### 3. *Wood Walking Stick JE 6157 a + b*

[FIG. 8A-D]

Measurements: JE 6157 a - h. 64.6 cm, diam. 2.2 cm, on the top diam. (max.) 4.4 cm.

JE 6157 b - h. 42 cm, diam. 2.7 cm;

Material: wood.

This staff of an unidentified hard wood has been trimmed, and the tip shaped to a slanting oval, on which are deeply inscribed in hieroglyphs the title and name *ss n hnrt wr* Neferhotep.<sup>16</sup> The oval face is split by a fissure in the wood, the base of the staff is partly broken, and the staff is now in two pieces, with a break that seems to postdate deposition, to judge from the lack of erosion of the wood.<sup>17</sup> By contrast, the gashes visible along the side of the shaft seem worn over time, and might be evidence for a violent flash-flood, or for an ancient plundering of the tomb. Where the museum entries refer only to the name Neferhotep (*“Bâton. Au sommet, la légende de Neferhotep”*), Mariette recorded in 1872, *“Un bâton servant à la marche. Il est orné d’une inscription qui est une courte prière à Ammon en faveur d’un habitant de Thèbes, nommé Nefer-hotep. Nefer-hotep n’est ici revêtu d’aucun titre”*.<sup>18</sup> Any such invocation of Amun has now faded, if it was ever present; in fact, Mariette not only records something no longer visible, but specifically denies the presence of the title, which is in fact inscribed on the top. Possibly he misread the title, though it seems clearly incised; perhaps more simply, the 1860 notes were unclear, and may have been confused with other Theban finds. Mid-18th to 21st dynasty inscribed staves from burials are well-attested, both incised and in black pigment, and including examples of prayers to Amun.<sup>19</sup> We have not found parallels for pigment inscriptions on staves of the period, whereas incised hieroglyphic inscription is attested by the Senebni staff, cited below. This is the first major discrepancy between the 1872 publication and the museum records, and in this instance re-examination confirms the description given in the latter.

#### • Date Range of Parallels

Sticks and staves were regularly included in Old Kingdom and early Middle Kingdom burials, but without inscription.<sup>20</sup> The closest parallel for the late Middle Kingdom is a staff inscribed, along the shaft (*“given in the favour of before the king to the king’s sealer, overseer of marsh dwellers Senebni”*) as well as at the top (*“the young god, Sewahenra, given life”*); this king belongs at the end of, or perhaps after the late Middle Kingdom, in the period of disunity that

<sup>16</sup> For the form, compare the staff held by king Amenemhat IV as depicted on the box of Kemeni, from Asasif tomb 25, CARNARVON, CARTER 1912, pl. 50, and see below, n. 53.

<sup>17</sup> Among ‘daily life’ parallels, two staves from the tomb of Senebni were found broken, BERLEV 1974, p. III. For ritually broken staves among sets of insignia in ‘court-type burials’, see MACE,

WINLOCK 1916, p. 77; HASSAN 1976, p. 124-125.

<sup>18</sup> MARIETTE 1872, p. 6-7.

<sup>19</sup> HASSAN 1976, p. 132-161, nos. 1-55, with prayers to Amun p. 138 no. 12 Egyptian Museum Cairo JE27310g from the Sennedjem group, early 19th dynasty; p. 150 no. 34 Brooklyn 37.1832E, unprovenanced, perhaps 21st dynasty.

<sup>20</sup> See below, n. 26. In a Theban multiple burial of the early Middle Kingdom, an uninscribed staff was found on two of the coffins, see ANTHES 1943, p. 6-15; summary in GRAJETZKI 2003, p. 59-60.

begins within the later 13th dynasty, some time after 1700 BC.<sup>21</sup> Uninscribed examples appear again in late Second Intermediate Period and early 18th dynasty contexts.<sup>22</sup>

- Bibliography  
Unpublished.

#### 4. *Headrest JE 6143*

[FIG. 5-6, 10a-d]

Measurements: h. 20 cm, l. 24 cm.

Material: Wood, inscriptions in unidentified yellow pigment (ancient, or display fill?).

The headrest is made in three pieces: a flat oblong base with edges flaring to form central square pedestal, into which a faceted vertical cuboid support is inserted, on which, in turn, the curved neck-piece is fixed. The surface of the wood is finely planed and polished. The cuboid stem is incised with figures and inscriptions; their lines were lightly filled with yellow pigment, perhaps ochre. The two ends of the upper part of the headrest are broken, with one missing.

- Description of the Figures

a. Frontal female form of Aha (New Kingdom and later Bes) with flexed legs, tufted tail, eyes, nose and mouth indicated, leonine mane, pointed breasts, and female pubic triangle, each hand holding to side a long undulating serpent.<sup>23</sup> Either side of the head is incised the hieroglyph *ꜥ* “protection”.

b. Right-facing figure in the composite form of Ipy (New Kingdom and later Taweret) with swollen hippopotamus body, lion legs, and crocodile down back, depicted in profile standing on hind legs. The breast is depicted as large and pendant, evoking human form. The figure holds a knife and a snake, its body split in two by her bite. In front of her lower side is incised in hieroglyphs the legend *ꜥ hrw* “protection of the day”.

c. Right-facing figure with human body, triangular animal head, the rear upper area lost, but probably a bull head, with striated tripartite headcloth, partly obscured by the gash into the wood, grasping in front hand a staff indicated in a single diagonal line from base-line to mouth-level, and in the rear hand held to side of back a *kheryp*-sceptre, wearing plain kilt to above the knees, with double line indicating sash to loop of knot at front. In front of his upper side is the legend in hieroglyphs *ꜥ grh* “protection of the night”.

<sup>21</sup> BERLEV 1974, p. III, pl. 28; for the attestations of king Sewahenra and the uncertainty of his date see VON BECKERATH 1964, p. 65, 258; RYHOLT 1997, p. 70-72, 359. For the date of high officials buried at Thebes, as from late in the 13th dynasty to late 17th dynasty, about 1700-1550 BC, see QUIRKE 2004, p. 186-188. On the absence of inscribed staves in the Middle Kingdom, see HASSAN 1976, p. 116.

<sup>22</sup> CARNARVON, CARTER 1912. In a Second Intermediate Period group one coffin with an inscription ending “Mi-shup” (perhaps part of a formula with the words *im, š, wp?*) is associated with a stick, TIRADRITTI 1994, p. f63, 105 (f. 7r.). For the later, inscribed, New Kingdom examples, see above, n. 19.

<sup>23</sup> The representation of Aha/Bes with female attributes goes back to the end of the 12th dynasty, see ROMANO 1998,

p. 96, pl. 18 (a). Cf. the statuette found at Thebes in the Ramesseum, QUIBELL 1898, pl. 3 (12).

d. Left-facing figure of lion standing upright on his legs, with incised dashes over the body to depict the shallow fur area, and on his shoulder a rosette-like patch for the clump of fur. The lion grasps a knife and a snake, its body to be split in two by his bite. Along his side the legend *snb hr šs n hnrt wr Nfr-htp* “protection and/of health for the secretary of the Main Enclosure Neferhotep”, the formula oriented with signs facing left, to accompany the left-facing lion figure, and the title and name oriented with signs facing right, as in temple inscriptions labelling figure facing deity.<sup>24</sup>

On late Middle Kingdom parallels for the Ipy, leonine and bull(?) -headed figures, see below on the figured hippopotamus tusk (item no. 13). The inscriptions recall in particular the *sn grh sn hrw* “night protection, day protection” on tusks Berlin 6709 and Lisht 885 find New York MMA 22.1.154A+B.<sup>25</sup>

### ● Date Range of Parallels

With staves, headrests are commonly placed in burials of adult males, perhaps headmen, in the late Old to early Middle Kingdom.<sup>26</sup> Old Kingdom stone examples may be inscribed with name and offering formula, although not with figures.<sup>27</sup> In a Theban Middle Kingdom multiple burial in single chamber, all four adult males were provided with a headrest, and two also had a staff.<sup>28</sup> Intact northern ‘court type burials’ (discussed below) do not include any headrest, perhaps reflecting the placing of the body on its back in the new anthropoid style of coffin, rather than on its side as in the old rectangular coffins.<sup>29</sup> Uninscribed headrests are known from at least two late Middle Kingdom Theban burials at Dra Abu al Naga: the estate-overseer Mentuhotep, discovered by Passalacqua;<sup>30</sup> and one from recent DAIK excavations.<sup>31</sup> In a late Middle Kingdom tomb under the courtyard of TT 196 in the Asasif, a composite headrest similar to that of Neferhotep was found, the vertical cuboid element missing; the context is too heavily disturbed by Second Intermediate Period interments to date more precisely, but offering-bearer figures among the finds indicate use in the late Middle Kingdom.<sup>32</sup> Two plain wooden headrests were found in Tomb 287 at Beni Hasan, which contained early Middle Kingdom wooden models (granary, boat), but also New Kingdom equipment (chair, throwsticks, a *rishi* mask); the headrests could belong to either period.<sup>33</sup> In the north, Haraga tomb 56 yielded fragments of a headrest among finds otherwise characteristic of the late Middle Kingdom (faience figurines, and specific pottery types), but the context is disturbed, and the

<sup>24</sup> FISCHER 1986, p. 80 f. and in general FISCHER 1977.

<sup>25</sup> ALTENMÜLLER 1965, part II, nos. 2, 104.

<sup>26</sup> For the combination and its social significance, see SEIDLMAYER 2001, p. 205-252.

<sup>27</sup> E.g.: *htp-di-nswt* formula on Harageh headrest of Nes-Ihy, GRAJETZKI 2004, p. 14.

<sup>28</sup> ANTHERS 1943, p. 6-15, individuals A, C, D, E. Seidlmayer (1990, p. 103)

dates the group to the advanced Middle Kingdom; an early Middle Kingdom date would suit the types of burial goods and the seal motif, for which compare BEN-TOR 1999, p. 8-9.

<sup>29</sup> Summary in WILLIAMS 1975/76, p. 45.

<sup>30</sup> STEINDORFF 1896, p. 46.

<sup>31</sup> RUMMEL 2007, p. 82, caption to fig. 115, fragment from tomb of Geheset Ko3.4; note that the complete headrest depicted in fig. 115 is from a find

dating to a later period in the history of burial customs and material culture, tomb Ko1.8 from the closing years of the Second Intermediate Period.

<sup>32</sup> GRAEFE 2007, p. 105, pl. 21, no. 212.

<sup>33</sup> GARSTANG 1907, p. 222, fig. 152 (tomb), 166 (throwing stick), 187 (*rishi* mask).



headrest may not belong to late Middle Kingdom burial equipment.<sup>34</sup> No parallels could be found for a Middle Kingdom headrest with inscriptions and depictions of the kind on the Neferhotep example, but the motifs occur characteristically on the late Middle Kingdom planed long sections of hippopotamus tusks with figures in high or low relief. The iconographic transfer from one object category to another echoes the contemporary use of tusk imagery on scarabs and feeding-cups.<sup>35</sup> In the late Second Intermediate Period uninscribed headrests were again more regularly included in burial equipment.<sup>36</sup> From the same period, a simple geometrical pattern adorns the headrest found by Petrie inside the burial of an anonymous woman of high status.<sup>37</sup> After Neferhotep, the first headrests with incised depictions of protective divinities date to the mid-18th dynasty.<sup>38</sup> Neferhotep seems to be the first example to move short protective formula and protective figures onto the headrest.

- Bibliography  
Unpublished.

### 5. *Faience Hippopotamus JE 6156*

[See *Appendix*]

There has been confusion in numbering over hippopotamus figurines found in Antiquities Service excavations in 1860 (JE 6156) and 1863 (JE 21365). The entry for JE 6156 in both the *Inventaire de Boulaq* and the *Journal d'Entrée* gives no measurements, but records a separately stored base in four joining fragments. The 1863 entry also omits measurements, adding the information that the figurine, like JE 21366 from the same season of work, is in fragments that would join. Fragmentary condition would explain why measurements were not given for the figurines. The Temporary Register from 1921 contains the following information:

- JE 6156 = TR 26.4.21.5. Standing Hippopotamus Figurine- Upright hippopotamus walking on marshland, blue faience. L. 22 cm. From the Burial of Neferhotep in Dra Abu al-Naga. Excavated in 1860;
- JE 21365 = TR 26.4.21.8. Reclining Hippopotamus Figurine (lying down). Dra Abu al-Naga, l. 18 cm, faience. Excavated by Mariette in 1860.

TR measurement and pose for JE 6156 match the hippopotamus examined and photographed in Cairo, but the dates of excavation differ from the *Journal d'Entrée* (1863 for

<sup>34</sup> ENGELBACH 1923, pl. 58 (tomb register); BOURRIAU 1991, p. 18. Riqqa tomb 2 yielded a headrest fragment in a two-chambered tomb containing six burials, in which the only other find was a Middle Kingdom pot, type 90g, see ENGELBACH 1915, pl. 40 (tomb register).

<sup>35</sup> See O. Keel in KEEL, KEEL-LEU, SCHROER 1991, p. 282-286 for single motifs on scarabs; a faience feeding-cup from Lisht, New York MMA 44.4.4,

has a series of figures as on the tusks, see ALLEN 2005, p. 30-31, no. 23.

<sup>36</sup> The headrest found in the tomb of Hornakht, recorded in the museum inventory entry for JE 21469 as “*un chevet en bois brisé sans légende*”; examples from tombs excavated by Carter and Carnarvon in the Asasif do not bear inscription or figures.

<sup>37</sup> PETRIE 1909, p. 8, pl. 22, 25; see also ROEHRIG 2006, p. 22.

<sup>38</sup> Headrest inscribed for “doorkeeper and child of the Inner Palace”, Yuyu, reign of Hatshepsut, see JAMES 1974, p. 90, no. 207, pls. IX, LII; ROEHRIG, DREYFUS, KELLER 2006, p. 256-257, no. 190; headrest with figures of Bes and Taweret from Asasif tomb no. 37, dated by Hatshepsut scarab on a finger of the left hand of the mummified body in the same coffin, see CARNARVON, CARTER 1912, p. 73, pl. 68 (37/21).

JE 21365), and the TR information is accordingly difficult to verify. Today the museum preserves a rejoined hippopotamus figurine identified most often as JE 21365, but there is no closer description, or, more crucially, illustration known to us from the early years of the museum. In the 1872 description Mariette provided only a general note of the presence of a hippopotamus figurine, followed by some general observations on the type as encountered at Dra Abu al-Naga (*“À Draḥ-abou’l-Neggah nous avons en deux fois occasion de constater que les figures qui représentent l’hippopotame debout ou couché sont placées dans l’intérieur du cercueil et sous les pieds du défunt”*),<sup>39</sup> but he did not describe the figurine, perhaps because it was still in fragments. In these circumstances, doubts must remain over the season, 1860 or 1863, and the museum inventory number, JE 6156 or 21365, of the superb, and superbly restored, figurine in the Egyptian Museum display, and therefore we append our description of that figurine separately at the end of this article. Despite this uncertainty, the object type is clearly present in the Neferhotep group.

### ● Date Range of Parallels

Faience figurines of select wild fauna and flora are typical for late Middle Kingdom burials,<sup>40</sup> across the country; hippopotamus figurines are attested from cemeteries in north (Haraga,<sup>41</sup> Lisht,<sup>42</sup> Matariya<sup>43</sup>) and south (Asyut,<sup>44</sup> Abydos,<sup>45</sup> and Aswan<sup>46</sup>), in towns (Lahun<sup>47</sup>), and, abroad, as votive offerings at the temple of Baalat Hathor in Gebeil (Byblos).<sup>48</sup> They are largely absent from early Middle Kingdom cemeteries such as Sidmant, and two examples recorded for early 12th dynasty tombs at Beni Hasan may not be from closed contexts (tombs 651, hippopotamus fragment,<sup>49</sup> and 655, hedgehog).<sup>50</sup> This would leave as the earliest examples two hippopotami from a shaft-tomb at Meir containing the coffin of the estate-overseer Senebi at Meir, dated to the mid-12th dynasty; however, no body was found in the coffin, implying

<sup>39</sup> MARIETTE 1872, p. 6.

<sup>40</sup> LILYQUIST 1979, p. 42, n. 472c, noting late Middle Kingdom faience and pottery vessels with parallels for motifs on hippopotami. BOURRIAU 1991, p. 11–12. Besides hippopotami, faience lions, baboons, cats, crocodiles, hedgehogs, frogs and jerboas are found, as well as vegetables and fruits, see BOURRIAU 1988, p. 110 f.

<sup>41</sup> Example in blue frit from tomb 7: ENGELBACH 1923, pl. 14, no. 12, see GRAJETZKI 2004, p. 46–48.

<sup>42</sup> The Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations found numerous examples at Lisht (see MACE 1914; MACE 1921), including in one group of seven faience figurines (‘A’) a figurine of kneeling man facing hippopotamus on base, only legs preserved of animal, see ARNOLD 1992, p. 61–62, pl. 75. On the uncertain context of a second large group (‘B’), see below,

n. 75. On a figurine group ascribed to Lisht by a dealer, see KEMP, MERRILLEES 1980, p. 165 (iv), 166 (xxii).

<sup>43</sup> KEIMER 1929b, p. 49–97; KEMP, MERRILLEES 1980, p. 164 (iii).

<sup>44</sup> KEIMER 1929a, p. 225 (34).

<sup>45</sup> From tomb 416, KEMP, MERRILLEES 1980, p. 105–163, in particular p. 144–145; KEIMER 1929a, p. 218 (5).

<sup>46</sup> KEIMER 1929a, p. 225 (35).

<sup>47</sup> PETRIE 1890, p. 31. Note however the lack of context, and the presence of the cemetery outside the town; material not closely documented in the volume may be from tombs.

<sup>48</sup> PINCH 2003, p. 443–447.

<sup>49</sup> GARSTANG 1907, p. 213; BOURRIAU 1988, p. 120; only the rump of the figurine is preserved, and the fragmentary condition indicates a disturbed context. The pottery types recorded by Garstang for this tomb (13, 15, and 37) are identified

as non-diagnostic in SEIDLMAYER 1990, p. 221, 231; see also KEMP, MERRILLEES 1980, p. 144.

<sup>50</sup> GARSTANG 1907, p. 142, fig. 140 = BOURRIAU 1988, p. 118 cat. no. 110. Garstang (1907, p. 234) lists the other objects as decayed figures and fragments from wood models of rowing boat and groups, cylindrical beads, a battle-axe blade of halberd type, a writing tablet, and inscribed painted cloth from cartonnage, presumably the source for the title and name *imy-r pr iwy* in the list on pl. 8, as well as pottery types 6 (x2), 15 (x2), 18 (x2), 23, 26, 32 (x3), 40 (x3). The pottery gives a date in the early Middle Kingdom, according to SEIDLMAYER 1990, p. 229. However, the tomb is not noted by Garstang as intact, and the possibility of later burials in the damaged context cannot be excluded.

a disturbed context.<sup>51</sup> At Thebes, in addition to the examples from Mariette, a fragment of a blue faience hippopotamus, head reared and jaws open, was found with a blue faience tattooed female figurine in the passage of TT 316 belonging to the “bowman” Neferhotep.<sup>52</sup> In Asasif tomb 25, a hippopotamus figurine was found in the wrappings, against the small of the back, of the body in a coffin inscribed for the “greatest of tens of Upper Egypt” Renseneb.<sup>53</sup> The much decayed coffin, black with yellow bands,<sup>54</sup> was inscribed with “incomplete hieroglyphs”,<sup>55</sup> indicating a late Middle Kingdom date, confirmed by depiction of king Amenemhat IV before his cupbearer Kemeni on a cosmetic box with empty mirror-tray found crushed beneath the coffin. On the body were also found a bronze mirror inscribed for Renseneb, a gold and obsidian necklace, and a gold and carnelian *shen* “brooch”. Other finds included alabaster cosmetic vases, a gaming-board with ten ivory hounds and jackals pieces, a crocodile figurine from an ivory cuboid rod, and fragments from figured planed hippopotamus tusk, making this assemblage the closest parallel for the Neferhotep group. However interpretation of the material is complicated by the presence of several burials, for which number, sequence and date cannot be assessed from the vague published description of plain “oblong” wooden coffins and “despoiled mummies” (see further below, on *Varying forms of Theban tomb substructures*). In a much larger substructure nearby, tomb no. 24, the corridors and chambers yielded a variety of burial equipment including a wooden boat model, and figurines of a glazed steatite frog, a faience lion and two faience hippopotamus.<sup>56</sup> Although the tomb had been disturbed in antiquity, no finds seem later than the late Middle Kingdom. From Dra Abu al-Naga, three faience hippopotami have entered the literature as deriving from the area of the tomb of the 17th Dynasty king Nubkheperre Intef, perhaps giving the impression of a 17th dynasty date,<sup>57</sup> but these may all be from late Middle Kingdom burials, well-attested in that area. Faience figurines are absent from all published late Second Intermediate Period to early 18th dynasty Theban burials, such as the Asasif *saff* tombs and the burial equipment of Hornakht, dated no earlier than Seqenenra Djehuty-aa.<sup>58</sup> In sum, the object category seems diagnostic of the late Middle Kingdom.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Kamal (1911, p. 3-39) describing the Senbi shaft tomb contents on p. 17-18, and the canopic and coffin inscriptions p. 28-31, noting p. 30 for the coffin “Pas de momie”; the other finds recorded for the tomb are models of estate-production and boats, a wood flail, two wood ankh-signs, a fruit with leaves in a bag, and a wood falcon. The wood falcon might even indicate the presence of Late to Ptolemaic Period burials. For one of the two hippopotami, now in New York, see HAYES 1959, p. 226-227, fig. 142.

<sup>52</sup> WINLOCK 1923, p. 18 f.; PM I<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 390. Originally dated to the 11th dynasty by location; TT 316 seems rather to date to, or to have been reused in, the 12th dynasty, from its architectonic features (see SEYFRIED 1987, p. 243; GARDINER

1917, p. 28-30) and from the style of two block statues found in the chamber above the façade, see VANDIER 1958, p. 237, pl. 80, 2, 3.

<sup>53</sup> CARNARVON, CARTER 1912, p. 54-55.

<sup>54</sup> For this late 13th dynasty type, see LACAU 1904, CG 28028; T6C in WILLEMS 1988, p. 117.

<sup>55</sup> LACAU 1913, p. 1-64; FORMAN, QUIRKE 1996, p. 101-102; QUIRKE 2005.

<sup>56</sup> CARNARVON, CARTER 1912, p. 51-52. Compare the two wooden statuettes found inside the tomb no. 24 with the ones found inside the coffin of Montuhotep, STEINDORFF 1896, p. 31, pl. 11.

<sup>57</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 605. The attribution follows KEIMER 1929 a, p. 216, and may

misrepresent original museum register information.

<sup>58</sup> MARIETTE 1892, p. 16, pl. 51; the item inscribed with the name of king Seqenenra Djehuty-aa gives the terminus ante quem, not necessarily date of deposition, for the group.

<sup>59</sup> Williams (1975/76, p. 50-51) concluded from the absence of faience figurines in late Middle Kingdom “court-type burials” that the manufacture of this category of objects was later than the period of Auihra Hor and Senebtisi; the published evidence indicates instead that two types of burial were found within the same period, see below, observations on *Changes in Burial Equipment 2025-1500 BC*.

6. *Wood Hound and Jackals Gaming-Pieces,  
With Holder in Form of Turtle JE 6146-6152 / CG 44414*

[FIG. 11a-c]

JE 6146 (turtle-shaped holder)

Measurements: h. around 1 cm, l. (max.) 5.9 cm, w. 3.5 cm.

Material: wood painted green.

JE 6147-6152 (pegs)

Measurements: h. between 5.4 and 7.9 cm.

Material: wood.

A wooden holder in the form of a turtle, to hold the peg-like gaming-pieces for the board-game hounds and jackals. The board was absent, perhaps either of soft wood destroyed by the flooding, or of valuable material and so removed by robbers (cf. comments on mirror tray, item no. 10). The shape of the animal is realistically rendered, with folds on the neck and the realistic pattern of the carapace, even if there are some less accurate features.<sup>60</sup> *Contra* Fischer the feet are visible, although tucked under the carapace. The back of the animal is pierced by 23 holes aligned in five columns and five rows. Bénédite associated with the figurine the animal-headed pegs found in the tomb, see discussion below. The set comprises five pegs with head of lop-eared dog, and one with the head of jackal. The dogs wear a narrow collar around the neck. The set, however, is incomplete, since, as shown by a better preserved parallel found by Carnarvon (see below), the number of jackals should be equal to that of dogs.

• Date Range of Parallels

We cannot cite any parallel for the turtle-shaped holder. The closest parallel for a hounds and jackals set is the ivory gaming-board shaped rather like a double-axe blade, with ivory pins, five dog and five jackal headed, from Asasif tomb 25, found crushed under the coffin of Renseneb.<sup>61</sup> A miniature version of a similar board, without gaming-pegs, was found in Sidmant tomb 2122, from which the only other find recorded is a pot of First Intermediate Period type 90u; the tomb had been robbed, and the board might be an intrusive late Middle Kingdom object.<sup>62</sup>

Gaming boards and pieces are elusive in the Middle Kingdom records in general. At Beni Hasan, after presenting the wooden boat model with two men playing a rectangular board game, Garstang recorded: "Draughtsmen of different forms and material, chiefly in glazed paste, were freely found in the tombs, but in no case was anything like a complete set obtained". However none of the finds in the lists at the end of the book is identified as a gaming piece. From the late Middle Kingdom tombs at Haraga, the tomb registers record a single gaming-piece, from tomb 8, and, at Riqqa, tomb 56 contained three pots of Middle Kingdom types (7k, 48s, 90g) and a wood draughtsman. In both cases, the presence of only one piece makes it unlikely that either tomb was found intact, and the gaming-pieces might be from later burials.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> FISCHER 1968, p. 33.

<sup>61</sup> See CARNARVON, CARTER 1912, p. 56-58, pl. 50, and, for the tomb, above, n. 53.

<sup>62</sup> PETRIE, BRUNTON 1924, pls. 21, 14 (board), 39 (tomb register).

<sup>63</sup> ENGELBACH 1923, pl. 83; ENGELBACH 1915, pl. 40. For the introduction of

game-boards in funerary literature, see below, n. 127.



- Bibliography

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- H.G. FISCHER, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles*, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers* 13, 1968, p. 33-34, pl. 20;
- E. HORNUNG, B.M. BRYAN (eds.), *The Quest for Immortality. Treasures of Ancient Egypt*, Copenhagen, 2002, p. 157-158, no. 72 (note that the gaming board JE 28564 there does not belong to the Neferhotep group, but comes from a later purchase).

## 7. *Hard Wood Mace with Piriform Head JE 6154*

[FIG. 13a-b]

Measurements: h. 55.5 cm, h. of shaft 46 cm, diam. of shaft 2 cm,  
diam. of the head (max.) 8 cm.

Material: wood.

The mace is sculpted from a single piece of hard wood. Just below the head and round the bottom, the shaft is decorated with six rings of incised lines. No traces of painting were detected. Gashes along the shaft may be evidence for the violent impact of a flood, or destruction by robbers opening the coffin (compare damage to staff and headrest, items nos. 3-4).

- Date Range of Parallels

Among probably earlier Middle Kingdom contexts, wooden maces with painted piriform head are recorded from a Theban multiple burial,<sup>64</sup> and from Meir.<sup>65</sup> A composite mace including more precious materials was found in Beni Hasan tomb 125, datable to the late Middle Kingdom by the only other items in the tomb, pottery types 45 (×2), 46, 47; the 18 cm wooden shaft is incised with rings around upper and lower shaft ends, and has a blue paste ('Egyptian blue') head fixed by a pin with carnelian domed cap.<sup>66</sup> The mace then appears more regularly in late Middle Kingdom 'court type burials', among regalia to identify the dead with Osiris<sup>67</sup>. Maces with piriform heads were found in the burials of king Auibra Hor,<sup>68</sup> Senebtysy,<sup>69</sup> Sesenebnef,<sup>70</sup> Nubhetepthikhered,<sup>71</sup> Neferuptah,<sup>72</sup> Khnemet,<sup>73</sup> and Ita;<sup>74</sup> in the royal contexts,

<sup>64</sup> ANTHES 1943, p. 6-15, see fig. at p. 13.

<sup>65</sup> KAMAL 1911, p. 27-28, from burial of Seni, with other ritual regalia, and, indicating a date no later than the late 12th dynasty, a model boat, but from publication not certainly a closed deposit with single burial; KAMAL 1912, p. 113, no. 5, 55 cm from coffin M14C of Ukh-hotep, dated early to mid-12th Dynasty, WILLEMS 1988, p. 97.

<sup>66</sup> GARSTANG 1907, p. 146-147, fig. 145; for the dating see SEIDLMAYER 1990, p. 221, 231 "Stufe III".

<sup>67</sup> WILLIAMS 1975/76, p. 41-59; GRAJETZKI 2007b, p. 48-50. See discussion below.

<sup>68</sup> DE MORGAN, 1895, p. 97 (15).

<sup>69</sup> MACE, WINLOCK 1916, p. 103 (10).

<sup>70</sup> GAUTIER, JÉQUIER 1902, p. 79 (2).

<sup>71</sup> DE MORGAN 1895, p. 108-109, fig. 254.

<sup>72</sup> FARAG, ISKANDER 1971, p. 85. The perennially waterlogged context preserved only the stone head of the mace, and eyes from the animal-head sceptres, cf. *ibid.*, p. 85-87.

<sup>73</sup> DE MORGAN 1903, p. 60 (18).

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46, 48, fig. 105.

the mace-head is of stone (granite, alabaster, and limestone; also the semi-precious rock crystal). One indurated limestone piriform mace-head was found at Lisht apparently near a group of twelve faience figurines, with other finds including coffin eye inlays and kilt-beads of a type known only from 'court type' burials, but the association of the objects is uncertain, and they may represent debris from more than one late Middle Kingdom burial in the area.<sup>75</sup> In late Second Intermediate Period Thebes, the presence of the mace is no longer attested in tombs, marking a change in burial customs.<sup>76</sup>

- Bibliography  
Unpublished.

### 8-9. *Wood Writing Implements JE 6140 and JE 6141*

[FIG. 7, 9a-b]

#### JE 6140

Measurements: h. (stick) 22.1 cm, diam. (stick) 0.9 cm; h. (half-disc) 3.6 cm,  
l. (half-disc) 3.6 cm, w. (half disc) 2 cm.  
Material: wood (stick) and ivory (half-disc).

#### JE 6141

Measurements: h. (stick) 17.1 cm, diam. (stick) 0.9 cm; h. (half-disc) 3.7 cm,  
l. (half-disc) 3.4 cm, w. (half disc) 2.1 cm.  
Material: wood.

Two implements comprising short wooden handle inserted in rounded top of a flat-bottomed block, one ivory, one hard wood. The handle of the ivory block is longer, with four shallow cup holes, at regular c. 4 cm intervals and therefore probably not a natural feature. In the 1872 publication, Mariette recorded an inscription with the name and the title of Neferhotep, but, like the invocation of Amun on the staff (item no. 3), this is not visible on the object, and not recorded in the *Inventaire de Boulaq* or *Journal d'Entrée*. Although pigment might have faded since discovery, there remains the possibility of confusion in memory or notes from the excavation. The material is also a point of difference; Mariette recorded in his publication two ivory half-discs,<sup>77</sup> whereas the museum inventories list one wood, one ivory; although the Neferhotep burial equipment possibly included two implements with ivory head, with the inscription on one still to be relocated, the misrecording of the inscription with title on the staff top (item no. 3 above) supports the conclusion that the *Journal d'Entrée* and *Inventaire de Boulaq* records are more accurate than the 1872 publication.

<sup>75</sup> ARNOLD 1992, p. 78-80, pls. 85-88, group 'B' with reference to the earlier discussion KEMP, MERRILLEES 1980, p. 167.

<sup>76</sup> See CARNARVON, CARTER 1912; PETRIE 1909, p. 6-10, pl. 22-29.

<sup>77</sup> MARIETTE 1872, p. 7 "*Deux demi-disques en ivoire*".

- Date Range of Parallels

The form of these implements is known from late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period contexts, including one in a set of writing equipment;<sup>78</sup> from later, an elaborate gold and ivory version was found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, also among writing equipment, inscribed with the titles and name of the king.<sup>79</sup> Their function is not known, but the weak structure of shaft in rounded head may have been to encourage controlled pressure, as, perhaps, in the smoothing of papyrus joins when a writer glued additional papyrus sheets to a book-roll (as opposed to sheet-joins of rolls manufactured by professional paper-makers at papyrus-paper production-place).

In general, writing equipment is attested for the early Middle Kingdom, though only from a small number of tombs. At Beni Hasan the intact burial of the physician Nefery included, beside typical early Middle Kingdom coffin and set of models, a writing palette, found resting on the coffin. Another palette was found with reeds and writing-board in the robbed tomb 600, with steps from a granary model, and identifiably early Middle Kingdom pottery.<sup>80</sup>

- Bibliography

Unpublished.

#### 10. *Hard Wood Tray, with Recesses Cut for Mirror-Handle and Two Cosmetic Vessels JE 6142 / CG 44102*

[FIG. 14a-b]

Measurements: l. 21.5 cm, w. 12.7 cm, thickness 1 cm; h. (mirror-handle recess) 10.8 cm, l. (mirror-handle recess max.) 6.7 cm; diam. (upper hole) 2.6 cm, diam. (lower hole) 2.4 cm, deepness of the holes around 0.6 cm.

Material: wood.

Hard wood board in three pieces. On one side, the wood has been hollowed out in the lower central part for securing a papyriform mirror-handle, and along one side there are two truncated conical cavities for cosmetic jars. The diameters of the two cavities, at maximum diameters 2.4 and 2.6 cm, exactly match the two small calcite jars found in the tomb of Neferhotep (items nos. 11-12). The shadow-mark of a mirror disk, visible on the surface of the board, is the result of modern display. No mirror disk or handle was found in the tomb, possibly indicating ancient robbery. Along the lower thickness of the board two small holes are visible, probably originally used to fit two knobs with tenons.

<sup>78</sup> In writing set CARNARVON, CARTER 1912, pl. 66; examples from Lahun may be late Middle Kingdom though the precise date and source require corroboration, as the find-place within the site is not documented, see PETRIE 1980, pl. VIII, 18. Hayes (1959, p. 294)

cites four fragmentary examples of from Lisht; provisionally, these general contexts may indicate a general Middle Kingdom rather than late Second Intermediate Period date.

<sup>79</sup> Tutankhamun tomb item 271g, see the online publication of the record-card

in the Griffith Institute, at <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/271g-c271g-1.html> consulted 6.5.2009.

<sup>80</sup> GARSTANG 1907, p. 77, 216 (Nefery), 232 (tomb 600) pottery types 15 (x3, one small), 26 (x2) and 40 (x2), for which see above, n. 49.

- Date Range of Parallels

Mariette considered that the board was designed to hold a dagger handle, but it can be identified as a mirror tray from the closest, if more elaborate, parallel, the cosmetic box from Asasif tomb 25; that box has an attached board to hold a mirror and a sliding drawer with eight holes for a set of cosmetic jars<sup>81</sup>. If the Neferhotep tray also came from a box, the missing parts of the Neferhotep box might have been of valuable material, and so robbed, or of a softer wood that did not survive the flooding of the tomb. Lilyquist cites no other example of a tray, but notes the board bearing a mirror, bead diadem and gold blades in handles, from the burial of Itaweret at Dahshur.<sup>82</sup>

Mirrors in general are attested in early as well as late Middle Kingdom burials. In her comprehensive study of the object category, Lilyquist notes the lack of specific age and gender associations in finds of mirrors in late Middle Kingdom tombs.<sup>83</sup>

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- C. LILYQUIST, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom*, *MÄS* 27, 1979, p. 42, fig. 66.

## 11-12. Two Calcite Cosmetic Vessels JE 6144 / CG 18079 and JE 6145 / CG 18154

[FIG. 16a-b, 17a-b]

### JE 6144 / CG 18079

Measurements: h. 4.2 cm, diam. (rim) 3.6 cm, diam. (internal rim) 2.7 cm,  
diam. (base) 2 cm.

Material: calcite.

Shape: cylinder jar.

### JE 6145 / CG 18154

Measurements: h. 5.1 cm, diam. (max.) 3.5 cm, diam. (rim) 3 cm,  
diam. (internal rim) 1.6 cm, diam. (base) 2.2 cm.

Material: calcite.

Shape: shoulder jar.

<sup>81</sup> CARNARVON, CARTER 1912, p. 55-56, pl. 48; HAYES 1959, p. 246, fig. 157, MMA 26.7.1438; DAYAGI-MENDELS 1989, p. 39.

<sup>82</sup> LILYQUIST 1979, p. 30. The tomb is in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat II

at Dahshur, and Itaweret bears the title “king’s daughter”, but no king’s name appears in the tomb; for the later 12th dynasty date of pottery in the related burials of Khnumet and Ita, see ARNOLD 2006, p. 47, n.3.

<sup>83</sup> LILYQUIST 1979, p. 85-86: inscriptions identify 15 instances as for women, 8 or 10 for men, while excavators identified 12 as for women, 7 for men, two for children.



The two small calcite cosmetic vessels from the tomb are a cylinder jar and a shoulder jar, both symmetrically shaped and finely polished, neither with lid. The cylinder jar has a flat-topped thick rim, with straight diagonal profile to just above the narrow base, with proportion of rim to base 1,8. The shoulder jar has a flat rim with rounded lower edge, short neck, shoulder broader than rim, lower body with straight diagonal profile to narrower base. In his 1872 description, Mariette did not mention them, perhaps because he considered them of no help for dating the group. However, they are listed in the *Inventaire de Boulaq* and the *Journal d'Entrée* as from the tomb of Neferhotep, and, in fact, the diameters of their bases exactly fit the two circular cavities in the mirror tray (item no. 10).

- Date Range of Parallels

An interesting parallel for the combination of small calcite set of shoulder jar and cylinder jar is provided by Group 9 from the Petrie excavations at the late Middle Kingdom town at Lahun, in a domestic context.<sup>84</sup>

Small cosmetic cylinder jars are not found among the later burials found by Carter and Carnarvon in the Asasif, and seem characteristic of the equipment of the late Middle Kingdom,<sup>85</sup> becoming regular in burial equipment again only in the 18th dynasty, with different forms.<sup>86</sup>

- Bibliography

F.W. von BISSING, *Steingefäße, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, nos 18065-18793*, Vienna, 1904-07, p. 4, 21.

13. *Figured Hippopotamus Tusk Rejoined from Six Fragments, JE 6155/CG 9437*

[FIG. 18a-b]

Measurements: h. (max.) 5.2 cm, l. 32 cm.

Material: ivory.

Six joining fragments from a planed long section of hippopotamus tusk, one broader rounded end, one narrower end broken at tip, probably where a jackal-head in a different material had been affixed.<sup>87</sup> The side with broad end left is schematically incised<sup>88</sup> with a series of figures, facing right. From right to left these are:

- 1) wedjat eye;
- 2) baboon striding;

<sup>84</sup> PETRIE 1891, p. 12, pl. 13.1-3; cf. PETRIE 1937, pl. 29 cylinder jars nos. 669-670 (UC 7319, UC7320), and, for the shoulder jar, pl. 30, no. 707 from the late Middle Kingdom cemeteries at Hu, tomb W114 (UC31612).

<sup>85</sup> See GARSTANG 1901, pl. 4; KEMP, MERRILLEES 1980, p. 126-127, serpentine vessel no. 416.A.07.39, dated before the

beginning of the Second Intermediate Period; CARNARVON, CARTER 1912, pl. 52, 1 from Asasif tomb 25, see above with n. 53; see the discussion of the types in BOURRIAU 1988, p. 142-143, no. 145 c.

<sup>86</sup> E.g. cylinder jars from (a) Ah-hotep burial, Dra Abu al-Naga, see VON BISSING 1892, pl. 11, (b) tomb of the princesses in Wadi Gabbanat el-Qirud,

larger and with broader base, see LILY-QUIST 2003, p. 140, 147, 204, 214, no. 48, 87, 88. See also HAYES 1935, p. 30, fig. 13 calcite jars from burial of Rennefer, reign of Thutmosis I.

<sup>87</sup> ALTENMÜLLER 1965, I, p. 9 n. 7, II, p. 40.

<sup>88</sup> The most common technique, *ibid.*, I, p. 11.

- 3) disk on legs with knife;
- 4) bull-headed figure holding staff, right, ankh, left;
- 5) hippopotamus-lion with thick mane-tail down back, striding on rear legs, holding knife on  $\omega$ -hieroglyph;
- 6) lion striding on rear legs, holding snake vertically with both forelegs, biting into the body of the snake;
- 7) griffin striding, head down to peck back of serpent trampled under its legs, with area of damage between wings where other examples show a human head;
- 8) leg with jackal-head, knife from tip of foot;
- 9) turtle.<sup>89</sup>

The bodies of baboon, lion and griffin have dashes incised to indicate fur, and the turtle body has a criss-crossed pattern.

#### ● Date Range of Parallels

The 1965 study by Altenmüller remains the fundamental monograph for this object type, with its catalogue of 159 examples, most inscribed with figures.<sup>90</sup> However, it was written before the division between early and late Middle Kingdom had become clear in material culture, and the broken archaeological record for the minority of provenanced examples encouraged only generalised use of the associated finds for dating the corpus. In the absence of external criteria, the date-range proposed, from 2000 BC to 1600 BC, should be considered questionable, in contrast to the relative phases, proposed on typological criteria.<sup>91</sup> Provisionally, review of the available archaeological evidence suggests that no context is earlier than the late Middle Kingdom. From New Kingdom contexts, finds of heavily worn fragments represent use of damaged material either worn by continual use, or, perhaps most likely, discovered during reuse of tomb chambers containing late Middle Kingdom burials. The object type is missing from better-documented Second Intermediate Period groups such as the burials of Hornakht and Sobeknakht,<sup>92</sup> and the Qurna royal court mother and child.<sup>93</sup> Therefore there may remain doubt over the date of production and even of deposit of a figured tusk recently excavated at Dra Abu al-Naga.<sup>94</sup>

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- G. DARESSY, *Textes et dessins magiques. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, nos 9401-9449*, Cairo, 1903, p. 46, pl. 12;
- G.F. LEGGE “The Magic Ivories of the Middle Empire”, *PSBA* 27, 1905, p. 143, pl. 9 fig. 16;

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 54, 156 for motifs 1-2 as Thoth; p. 172-174 for motif 3 as Shu; p. 50 for motif 4 as a Theban motif, on the evidence of the Neferhotep tusk with parallels BM 20778, 24425 from Thebes, and BM 58796, Cairo CG 9434 as Theban in style; p. 148-152 for motif 5, labelled by animal species as *rr* “sow” on tusk Copenhagen NM 7795; p. 145-148

for motif 6, labelled on the same Copenhagen tusk once as *hsm n mut* “lion-demon (?) of Mut” and perhaps a second time as *hsm n shmt* “lion-demon (?) of Sekhmet”; p. 53 with n. 5 for motif 8, noting the neck-band type as distinctive of tusks of Theban provenance or type; p. 139-141 for motif 9.

<sup>90</sup> ALTENMÜLLER 1965; see also the update in ALTENMÜLLER 1986, p. 1-27.

<sup>91</sup> ALTENMÜLLER 1965, p. 57-63.

<sup>92</sup> MARIETTE 1892, p. 16, pl. 51; MINIACI, QUIRKE 2008, p. 18-19, fig. 2.

<sup>93</sup> See PETRIE 1909, p. 6-10, pls. 22-29.

<sup>94</sup> VOSS 1999, p. 390-399.

– H. ALTENMÜLLER, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens. Eine typologische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der sogenannten “Zaubermesser des Mittleren Reichs*, unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Munich, 1965, II, p. 39-40, no. 43.

#### 14. Double Scarab JE 6153

[FIG. 12]

This object could not be located for photography in the time available for this research, and can only be included from description and sketch in the *Journal d'Entrée*, as confirmed from the *Inventaire de Boulaq* by Patrizia Piacentini for this article. One scarab underside bears the inscription disk+nb+arm with cross-line (cf. Gardiner sign-list D45); combinations of three hieroglyphs including Ra appear from the late Middle Kingdom, becoming more widespread in the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>95</sup> The other scarab underside in the Neferhotep double scarab bears a motif of parallel C-lines around central cross-bar.<sup>96</sup>

##### • Date Range of Parallels

The earliest context for a double scarab, and a close parallel (fig. 2) for the motif as drawn in the Boulaq and Giza museum inventories, is Haraga tomb 112, with finds characteristic of the late Middle Kingdom.<sup>97</sup> A second Haraga example was found in the surface feature 530 identified as a “House”; its underside appears to have a different Ra motif (disk+nb+two lines).<sup>98</sup> Another example, from Lahun, but without precise findplace, bears ‘disk+scarab’ motif on each scarab underside.<sup>99</sup>

##### • Bibliography Unpublished.

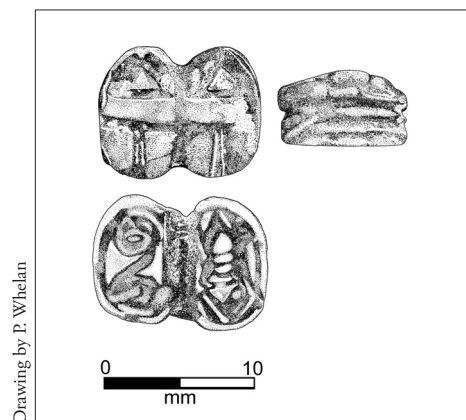


FIG. 2. Double scarab from Haraga tomb 112. © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London UC51039.

<sup>95</sup> RYHOLT 1997, p. 62-65 for sun-cult scarabs; POLZ 2007a, p. 11-14, for ‘Nubkheperra’ scarabs; BEN-TOR 2007, for redi-ra motif in the late Middle Kingdom. For a close parallel with the same D45-type arm hieroglyph, note the single scarab from Harageh tomb 40, a triple burial: ENGELBACH 1923, no pottery recorded, date in the late Middle Kingdom suggested by the semi-precious stone beads.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. double scarab from Haraga tomb 112, see next note and fig. 2. This motif may be compared with the ‘harpooner’s float’ attested on glazed faience

objects of the late Middle Kingdom; that motif may appear later on scarabs in the Second Intermediate Period, in Palestinian Middle Bronze Age IIB small glyptic at Tell el-Ajjul and at sites of the mixed Palestinian-Egyptian culture centred on Tell el-Daba, see BEN-TOR 2007, p. 90, 170, design class 6C1.

<sup>97</sup> ENGELBACH 1923, pl. 14, tomb register pl. 59, p. 11 noting its rarity and parallel of ivory figurine with the late Middle Kingdom Ramesseum papyri group discussed below; the original is now on string UC51039.

<sup>98</sup> ENGELBACH 1923, pl. 10.5, pl. 20.6, see Lilyquist (1979, p. 36, n. 406) noting as latest parallel for a double scarab an example from the tomb of Hatnefer and Rames, reign of Hatshepsut.

<sup>99</sup> Petrie Museum UC13109, published as Third Intermediate Period by Petrie (1917, p. 30, pl. LI, 23.2.11) back-type L40 on pl. 56, reading as <Aa>kheperra (Osorkon); the design has parallels at least as early as the late Second Intermediate Period, see BEN-TOR 2007.

### Summary on Date of Group

The dozen finds with the papyrus and coffin appear consistent with a single late Middle Kingdom burial. Mariette mentioned only one body in his 1872 description, in the context of the coffin: “*Des os de momie attestant les procédés d’un embaumement primitif étaient répandus à l’entour*”.<sup>100</sup> The inscribed headrest is perhaps the most striking object without direct late Middle Kingdom parallels, but it is inscribed for the accountant of the Main Enclosure Neferhotep; this title is not attested before the reign of Senusret III, providing a late Middle Kingdom date even if the Neferhotep of the headrest is not identified as the man of that name and title administering the estates of the early 13th dynasty vizier Ankhu in the smaller manuscript of Papyrus Boulaq 18.<sup>101</sup> In the context of this group, where all inscribed objects give the same name and title, it seems most plausible that all refer to one man. The smaller manuscript would date him to the early to mid-13th dynasty, with his burial perhaps within 1775-1700 BC.

### Changes in Burial Equipment 2025-1500 BC

The Middle Kingdom increase in multiple burials complicates assessment of deposits, because goods become difficult to separate in one chamber, and because the presence of more than one burial in a chamber makes its plundering statistically more likely.<sup>102</sup> Intact groups associated with a single individual are rarer than at most earlier and even some later periods, making it more difficult to identify, for example, the gender or age associations of specific object types. Nevertheless, certain broader observations on burial customs of the period can be offered from the archaeological record as published.<sup>103</sup> Janine Bourriau has documented the difference between burial equipment of the early Middle Kingdom, roughly 2025-1875 BC, and the late Middle Kingdom, around 1875-1700 BC.<sup>104</sup> In the First Intermediate Period and above all in the early Middle Kingdom, burial equipment in richer tombs tends to include wooden models of estate production and transport. From the same period, about one hundred coffins of the period bear ‘Coffin Texts’ in vertical columns of cursive hieroglyphs on their interior faces, in a specifically First Intermediate to early Middle Kingdom development from late Old Kingdom traditions of mortuary literature.<sup>105</sup> The wooden estate models disappear around the reign of Senusret III,<sup>106</sup> by which time walls of ‘Coffin Texts’ are also rare on coffin

<sup>100</sup> MARIETTE 1872, p. 6; without more detailed description, it is unclear whether “rudimentary embalming” implies poorer-quality treatment than others of the same date, or whether it reflects less developed embalming techniques of the Middle Kingdom, as compared with Third Intermediate Period examples known to Mariette.

<sup>101</sup> QUIRKE 1988, p. 83-105.

<sup>102</sup> GRAJETZKI 2007a, p. 16-34.

<sup>103</sup> POLZ 2007a, p. 231-250 characterises the publication record as “desolat”.

<sup>104</sup> BOURRIAU 1991, p. 3-20.

<sup>105</sup> See the list of documented early Middle Kingdom rectangular coffins with and without Coffin Texts, in WILLEMS 1988, p. 19-40. This list includes sources omitted in the synoptic edition at the basis of the Egyptological text category ‘Coffin Texts’, DE BUCK 1935-1961. That synoptic edition somewhat confuses the source base by

adding to the core inscriptional category (book-like blocks of vertical columns containing cursive hieroglyphs) several compositions not found in such sources, such as late Middle Kingdom external band compositions, cf. GRAJETZKI 1998, p. 29-38. For the relation of the core corpus to Old Kingdom ‘Pyramid Texts’ see VERNUS 2004, p. 279-311.

<sup>106</sup> See PETRIE, BRUNTON, MURRAY 1923, p. 34.



interiors.<sup>107</sup> Bourriau has also studied the change in orientation from the laying of the body on its side, as in a narrower rectangular coffin, in the late Old and early Middle Kingdoms, to the laying of the body on its back, as in a broader coffin, rectangular or anthropoid, in the late Middle Kingdom.<sup>108</sup> The change may reflect a spread of embalming practice and/or rituals of mummification from Residence area to select cemeteries across the country. In relation with this spread of a specific embalming technique and its rituals, Wolfram Grajetzki distinguished within the range of examples in the 1991 study by Bourriau two main patterns of richer burial equipment in the late Middle Kingdom:

1) 'court type burials' with sets of royal insignia for the deceased as Osiris king of the dead, as depicted in later sources evoking the *Hour Vigil* ("Stundenwache"), and

2) a highly variable selection from a wide variety of objects used in life.<sup>109</sup>

Burials with royal insignia have been called 'court-type burials', from the core group in the royal court cemeteries at Lisht, Dahshur and Hawara.<sup>110</sup> However, they also occur at northern cemeteries without pyramids of kings,<sup>111</sup> and 'mixed burials' are found farther south in which elements of 'court-type burials' occur alongside other object types.<sup>112</sup> Given this distribution in space and time, a more neutral descriptive term might be 'Osirification' or 'transfiguration' burials.

In the list by Bourriau from 1991, the remaining late Middle Kingdom burials, those with 'life objects', including those for men (Neferhotep, Renseneb), have a focus on objects related to birth-protection.<sup>113</sup> Figurines in faience, stone and ivory (often hippopotamus ivory) form one part of this repertoire, and these are sporadically combined with distinctively shaped objects to be grasped, notably the planed long section of a hippopotamus tusk, generally incised or sculpted in low relief with figures of protective deities, or the segmented cuboid rods with similar decoration in two and three dimensions.<sup>114</sup> These birth-protection objects seem, then, diagnostically late Middle Kingdom, but they are not present in every burial with 'daily life' objects.<sup>115</sup> Other 'daily life objects' in richer burials range across writing equipment, the first preserved literary books, accounts books, jewellery, cosmetic equipment, to gaming-boards and pieces. Non-ritual weaponry and furniture are rare, as the discussion of parallels for the Neferhotep headrest and mace (items nos. 4, 7) has shown. Developing further the analyses

<sup>107</sup> ALLEN 1996, p. 1-15. The Lisht coffins include one rare example of a later coffin with walls covered by vertical hieroglyphs, the set of the chief lector Senebhenaf, with incomplete hieroglyphs, and therefore datable to the late Middle Kingdom; the set is exceptional for its extensive inscriptions over both the outer wall of the outer coffin, and inner wall of inner coffin, and perhaps, though not preserved, the facing walls between.

<sup>108</sup> BOURRIAU 2001, p. 1-20.

<sup>109</sup> GRAJETZKI 2004, p. 28; GRAJETZKI 2007b, p. 41-54.

<sup>110</sup> The type example being an intact Lisht tomb, of the lady of the house Senebtysy, published by MACE, WINLOCK 1916.

<sup>111</sup> Riqqa, tomb 166, burial of Sawadjyt, see PETRIE (H.) 1915, p. 23-24.

<sup>112</sup> GRAJETZKI 2004, p. 26-27. At Thebes, recent DAIK excavations in Dra Abu al-Naga uncovered in tomb Ko3.5 the heads of a *kherep*- and a *was*-sceptre, see RUMMEL 2007, p. 87 figs. 120-121.

<sup>113</sup> Examples in BOURRIAU 1988, p. 102, 116-120.

<sup>114</sup> Examples in *ibid.*, p. 114-116, cat. nos. 102-105.

<sup>115</sup> For example, from several hundred burials of the period at Haraga, published in ENGELBACH 1923, pl. 58-62 (tomb registers), only five contained faience figurines: tombs 55 (dwarf), 56 (dog, rough hippopotamus), 73 (dwarf or child?), 353 (calf, frog), 399 (hedgehog?). Tomb 112 contained small crude human and animal figurines, more comparable with earlier amulets (*ibid.* pl. 14.1), and hippopotamus figures in other materials were also found in tombs 7 (blue paste, "Egyptian blue") and 48 (painted limestone). Note, however, the impact of modern plundering.

by Bourriau and Grajetzki, it may be possible to identify recurrent patterns among and between these categories, even in the poorly preserved, documented and published late Middle Kingdom record. Alongside the objects used before burial, there are also more objects made for the tomb than only the “Osirification” insignia sets: the coffin, canopic equipment, funerary figurines including the first examples with shabti formula, and the first scarabs inscribed with the heart scarab formula.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, earlier traditions did not necessarily disappear at the arrival of new object types, as may be seen in mid- to late 12th dynasty burials such as the Meir groups published by Kamal.<sup>117</sup> For the category of sustenance, probably most burials contained pottery for food and drink,<sup>118</sup> perhaps the only objects in more modest burials, but tomb groups without pottery cannot be entirely excluded.<sup>119</sup> Beyond these, an unknown proportion of burials of the period, invisibly in most of the archaeological record for Egypt, would have contained no objects at all.

In the attempt to delineate specific funerary traditions within the variety of late Middle Kingdom “life-object burials”, some guidance or suggestions may be provided by the more intensively analysed religious literature. Two crucial, if by now commonplace, points may be emphasised from the studies of references to objects in tombs: first, that objects in funerary literature reflect rituals performed in the funeral;<sup>120</sup> and secondly, that a variety of ritual traditions can already be defined in the extant visual and written sources. Notably, Willems has integrated study of object friezes on late Old to early Middle Kingdom burial chambers and coffins, with study of references to objects in inscriptions on coffins. Developing findings by Barta, he notes how the royal Old Kingdom and derived non-royal Middle Kingdom sources juxtapose object-offerings with food and drink offerings, and, among the object offerings, he distinguishes two separately codified royal object-rituals, beside a more fluid array of presentations of objects which he summarises as the private object-ritual.<sup>121</sup> Behind much of the content there stands a double overarching frame: the Opening of the Mouth, and the Hour Vigil for reviving Osiris = the deceased. The specific means by which the Old Kingdom royal object ritual reached later private coffin decoration can be documented by a celebrated source, the mid-12th dynasty outer coffin of the estate-overseer Neferi from Bersha: its head and foot ends bear the same ritual for presenting royal insignia to the king that is found in the pyramids

<sup>116</sup> Summary in GRAJETZKI 2003, p. 54–60; for heart scarabs see now LORAND 2008, p. 20–40.

<sup>117</sup> KAMAL 1911; KAMAL 1912; cf. LILYQUIST 1979, p. 138.

<sup>118</sup> See for early and late Second Intermediate Period at Thebes, SEILER 2005.

<sup>119</sup> One intact tomb at Beni Hasan has no pottery in the published find-list; recording is too vague to certify that the tomb really contained none, but other tombs have pottery listed, see GARSTANG 1907, p. 221 tomb of estate-overseer Tjaay, late 11th dynasty

by combination of main title with the title “sole companion” from the royal court, see GRAJETZKI 2001, p. 161–170.

<sup>120</sup> Above all, from ALTENMÜLLER 1972. Cf. the remarks on objects in object friezes, WILLEMS 1997, p. 343 “It is as if we are visiting the backstage storeroom of a theatre, where we may perceive the attributes used by the players without, however, knowing for which play or plays they are intended”.

<sup>121</sup> WILLEMS 1988, p. 200–209, 221–228, especially Table 13 on p. 223–224. As Willems observes, p. 205, “it is not always clear which objects belong to

which kind of ritual”, and his latest research allows some items to be re-categorised from earlier research; note in particular WILLEMS 1997, p. 343–372, for the Embalming Pavilion equipment of sieve, ankh-signs, purification vessels and sandals. Similarly, the array of Stundenwache/Osirification insignia in later depictions may combine a cross-section of items presented in Table 13 under Ib royal insignia related objects, IIa, c royal object ritual dress and sceptre, and perhaps some items under III Private object ritual (*bꜥhyt* kilt?).

of king Pepy II and one of his wives, Neit. The Neferi version is copied in reverse order to its original, and includes at several points the names of the person for whom that original had been prepared, Wahkara Khety, evidently a northern king of the First Intermediate Period.<sup>122</sup> Thanks to the research into these traditions and their transmission, we now have a clearer sense of the various rituals that are joined in the extant sources. It remains to assess the material items preserved in the regionally and chronologically changing profile of burial equipment. In writings and depictions, material offerings may include items presented, and then taken out of the record, as well as items deposited in the tomb (not necessarily the place of presentation). Therefore finds of objects in tomb chambers will rarely if ever correspond directly to references to objects in funerary literature.<sup>123</sup> If we distinguish presentation from deposition, the burial equipment may be reclassified as variable selection from the wide range of material items in changing rites of preservation, burial and sustenance of the deceased. This casts presence or absence of items in a different light; as in the selections of words copied, so too in the decisions in deposition, rituals might remain constant while the burial equipment changed.

On three early Middle Kingdom coffins from southern Upper Egypt analysed by Willems (A1C, G1T, T3C), an unusual object frieze accompanies Coffin Text 934 on the head inner wall. He identifies the cursively depicted objects as sunshades, *m3wty* sticks, maces, vessels, *ht*-staves, headrests, fish-tail tools for the Opening of the Mouth, and items of adornment—bracelets, broad collars, and counterpoises—and comments: “On the whole the objects might be described as funerary equipment, and as such, spell 934 and its accompanying object friezes may be a rendering of the ‘private object ritual’. I have posited elsewhere that this ritual never seems to have reached a codified form, unlike its royal counterparts and unlike the offering of victuals.”<sup>124</sup> The early Middle Kingdom Theban multiple burial recorded by Anthes (see above, n. 28), presents a striking illustration in three-dimensional form to the object-ritual on the southern Upper Egyptian coffin-head decoration, with headrests, staves, vessels, jewellery and mace, though adding bow and arrows and subtracting sun-shades and Opening the Mouth equipment. In particular, the single wooden mace points simultaneously back to the southern object-friezes and forward to the northern Osirification regalia. In its two different homes, the mace illustrates how new funerary or embalming practices might overlap with, rather than cancel, older rites. If the mace was already among objects presented (not necessarily deposited) during embalming and/or funeral rites in the early Middle Kingdom, it might more readily have been adopted as the principal object for deposition in the context of the new rites of fuller mummification in which the deceased was declared explicitly to be Osiris. A parallel might be drawn with the end of the practice of depositing groups of wooden models: boats are found in burials no longer equipped with production models, classically in the Theban burial of the estate-overseer Mentuhotep, while late boat models tend to take a new form, that of the solar boat (see below, n. 167).

<sup>122</sup> ALLEN 1977, p. 1-29.

<sup>123</sup> An unusually close example is the burial of Sawadjyt, in Riqqa tomb 166 (see above, n. 34), where royal insignia are present both in the coffin object-frieze

and as burial goods; however, even here, not all items depicted are present among the burial goods.

<sup>124</sup> WILLEMS 1996, p. 88, referring back to his *Chest of Life. A Study of the*

*Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*, Leiden, 1988.

The burial goods of Neferhotep may now be redefined within this range of evidence for different types of funeral rites and practices. In sum, it combines elements from several different late Middle Kingdom burial types. The presence of a *rishi* coffin indicates a body lain on its back, in the manner of the mummified, so Osirified body. The mace belongs either to the insignia of the dead as Osiris, ruler of the afterlife, or to the presentation of status-markers in non-royal rituals of richer and perhaps older men. The hippopotamus figurine, incised hippopotamus tusk, and decoration on the headrest belong to the birth repertoire. The mirror tray with its two small calcite cosmetic vessels adds the motif of elite personal adornment, while evoking rituals of presenting the mirror, with all that the mirror implies for the active rather than passive presence of the deceased.<sup>125</sup> As amulet and jewellery simultaneously, the double scarab could straddle the themes of birth/rebirth and personal adornment. The famous accounts papyrus and the two writing implements ('burnishers') provide the function and status of writing, for which funerary literature again records ritualising words.<sup>126</sup> The gaming-pieces with their turtle-shaped holder introduce the field of leisure, perhaps, beside the birth theme, the main late Middle Kingdom innovation in the funerary sphere.<sup>127</sup> Finally, the staff and the headrest indicate the persistence or resumption of early Middle Kingdom tradition, as in the less wealthy multiple burial published by Anthes.<sup>128</sup> However, in contrast to that multiple burial, the Neferhotep staff and headrest have become surfaces for hieroglyphic inscription, echoing the staff of Senebni inscribed in the reign of the late Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period king Sewahenra. The images and the inscriptions on the headrest derive from the iconographic repertoire on planed hippopotamus tusks, and (re-?)locate the object in the birth group. The one area missing from the description of the burial goods is sustenance: Neferhotep seems to be reborn as ruler without explicit provision of food and drink, unless it is implicit in his transfigured role as eternally-provisioned ruler of the dead. In the *Journal d'Entrée*, finds from Mariette 1860s excavations at Thebes include only complete pottery vessels; sherds were probably never considered in that early work. As a result, it is difficult to be sure that food containers were really absent, rather than merely not recorded.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>125</sup> LILYQUIST 1979, p. 98-99, commenting on the interpretations by Boris Pavlov, that, for the deceased, mirrors "resuscitated him, conserved his appearance, and were a depository of his soul".

<sup>126</sup> From the early Middle Kingdom CT 253 (becoming secretary of Atum), CT 254 (being secretary of Ra), CT 540 (becoming secretary of Hathor), CT 545 (I am secretary of Hathor); from the mid-18th Dynasty, Book of the Dead chapter 94.

<sup>127</sup> In the transmission of Coffin Text 335 = Book of the Dead chapter 17, the earliest source with *hḥ* "play senet" in the title is the papyrus of a

man named Ahmes, perhaps datable to the opening decades of the 18th dynasty, see MUNRO 1995. The verb is not yet present in the version on the lost coffin of the king's wife Mentuhotep, dated to an unknown point between the reign of king Merneferriy Iy and Seqenenra Djehuty-aa: GEISEN 2004, p. 55; on the date see the review of the Geisen's book in QUIRKE 2005, p. 228-230. Allowing for the broken record, there may be a chronological shift in favourite game, from late Middle Kingdom hounds and jackals to late Second Intermediate Period *senet*, as in the board of Hornakht. As in other features, the early New Kingdom would be resuming early Middle

Kingdom practice, to judge from the *senet*-players shown in the paintings on the model granary from the Theban area (a purchase, said to come from the area of Tod: see BLACKMAN 1920, p. 206-208; BOURRIAU 1988, pl. I.1 facing p. 26, p. 104-105, cat. no. 91) and on the deck of a model military boat from Beni Hasan tomb 186 (GARSTANG 1907, p. 151).

<sup>128</sup> ANTHERS 1943, p. 6-15.

<sup>129</sup> For the range and changes in repertoire of broken undecorated pottery vessels now documented in the same area in tombs of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, see SEILER 2005.

## Varying Forms of Theban Tomb Substructures 1850-1650 BC

The published account of the 1860 discovery of the Neferhotep group provides no detailed description of the subterranean architecture, but perhaps supports an interpretation as a simple form, such as a shaft with a single chamber: “nous y avons trouvé une tombe creusée dans le roc et dévastée du fond au comble. Un cercueil sans inscription et de l'espèce dite *richi* gisait au milieu... L'eau de la pluie avait pénétré dans le caveau”.<sup>130</sup> This description may be compared with the range of late Middle Kingdom rock-cut tomb architecture attested for Thebes. The published evidence indicates a variety of forms, here presented in broad categories from simplest to more elaborate.

### a. *Single Chambers*

Although surface burials and burials in shafts without chambers are to be expected,<sup>131</sup> the simplest form published for the period at Thebes, and perhaps evoked by the Mariette description, is a single chamber off a shaft. Although most evidence points to single burials in tombs with single chamber, multiple burials occupying a single chamber are attested at Thebes and in other parts of Egypt in the early to mid-12th dynasty.<sup>132</sup> The simplest layout consists of a plain chamber off a shaft, as can be seen, for instance, in a robbed tomb excavated in the north Ramesseum area, datable from the ceramic remains to the late Middle Kingdom.<sup>133</sup> The funerary chamber is usually narrow, shaped in order to receive only one rectangular coffin and its burial equipment. Recent excavations in the area of the pyramid complex of king Nubkheperre Intef in Dra Abu al-Naga provided a more securely datable parallel for the period. The German Archaeological Institute uncovered a shaft with single chamber, containing a single burial in a double coffin set inscribed for a man named Ameny and a woman Geheset, perhaps dating to the late 12th dynasty.<sup>134</sup> The burial chamber has an unusual slope from the bottom of the shaft into the space for the coffin.<sup>135</sup> In other examples, a separate space for the coffin was created by cutting a narrower extension into the floor from the far end of the broader space cut from the shaft, as in another tomb in the DAIK excavations, K 01.12,<sup>136</sup> or entirely within the floor

<sup>130</sup> MARIETTE 1872, p. 6.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. at Hawara, the late 12th dynasty burial of Satrenenutet, PETRIE 1912, p. 35 “buried in a pit about eight feet deep”; Riqqa cemetery B has mostly surface graves with coffin in shallow pit, see ENGELBACH 1915, p. 8 f.

<sup>132</sup> ANTHES 1943, p. 6; for Rifa, see MURRAY 1910, pl. 3, reproduced in DAVID 2007, p. 19, fig. 11. For a summary of multiple burials in early Middle Kingdom see GRAJETZKI 2007a, p. 21-22.

<sup>133</sup> NELSON, KALOS 2000, p. 137, 142, fig. 8 (P 3), shaft about two metres deep, chamber with door about 80 cm in width.

<sup>134</sup> POLZ 2007b, p. 36-37. The coffins in this group bear no incomplete hieroglyphs, of the type introduced into burial chamber inscriptions at the end of the reign of Amenemhat III, in the Memphis-Fayum region; they may arrive in Thebes not much later, as the “incomplete hieroglyphs” coffin of Renseneb was found on a box with depiction of Amenemhat IV.

<sup>135</sup> In fact, the end space was too narrow for the coffin, and its rear protruding rim had to be removed, see POLZ 2007b, p. 39-41, figs. 53-56.

<sup>136</sup> POLZ, SEILER 2003, p. 27-31; POLZ 2007a, p. 54-55. No trace of surface offering-chapels are preserved for the late Middle Kingdom shaft-tombs

in the area of the Nubkheperre Intef pyramid complex, but the existence of the regular Abydene mud-brick chapel type is attested for late Middle Kingdom Thebes in the cemetery under the northern Ramesseum (NELSON, KALOS 2000, p. 133-136) and can be argued in the area of Deir el-Bahari by a description of Winlock (WINLOCK 1942, p. 52, describing the cemetery 200 at Deir el-Bahari “on a spur of the hill overlooking the southeastern corner of the courtyard [of the funerary temple of Montuhotep II]”, quotes “brick tomb chapel overlooking the temple court with a forehall, similar chapel with painted limestone shrines”).



area of the broader upper space, as in the Deir el-Medina tomb containing the coffin of the “eldest of the portal” Amenemhat.<sup>137</sup> In K 01.12 and the Amenemhat tomb, the lower space for the coffin also contains a canopic niche. Another Ramesseum area tomb, dated by the finds to the late Middle Kingdom, had a niche on the west side for a canopic chest in a single broad chamber with level floor.<sup>138</sup> This architecture is also well attested outside of Thebes in the Middle Kingdom, as, for example, in the plan of one tomb at Meir, with chamber off shaft, narrower extension cut into the floor, and niche along the left side of the broad chamber.<sup>139</sup>

The date-range of these single chambers extends throughout the late Middle Kingdom and into the Second Intermediate Period. At the earlier end of the late Middle Kingdom, may be placed the coffins of Ameney and Geheset, as they bear no incomplete hieroglyphs.<sup>140</sup> Within the chamber of K 01.12 was found a limestone stela, inscribed for the “greatest of tens of Upper Egypt” Iayseneb, datable to the late Middle Kingdom.<sup>141</sup> The presence of a high official such as Amenemhat buried at Thebes may be no earlier than late 13th dynasty, although the shape of the coffin and the absence of incomplete hieroglyphs can be paralleled with the other examples of the late Middle Kingdom.<sup>142</sup> Into the Second Intermediate Period, from the 17th dynasty, king Nubkheperre Intef is said to have been found in “*a small and separate tomb, containing only one chamber, in the center of which was placed a sarcophagus, hewn out of the same rock*”<sup>143</sup> and two other kings of the dynasty are similarly recorded as having been buried in a chamber at the end of a shaft.<sup>144</sup>

## b. Double Chambers

Double chamber tombs may be a feature of slightly later date. Outside Thebes, two small facing chambers seem to have been characteristic of the mid- to late 12th dynasty cemeteries at Riqqa,<sup>145</sup> whereas 800 of 888 tombs at the mainly early Middle Kingdom cemeteries of Beni Hassan had shafts with single chambers.<sup>146</sup> Although multiple burials are becoming more common at this time, there may be no precise correlation (see above, n. 28). At Thebes, several late Middle Kingdom tombs have shafts with chambers on opposite sides. In an example with

<sup>137</sup> BRUYÈRE 1930, fig. 45, where chamber 1201 could be later, or, if original late Middle Kingdom cutting, might have been intended as a rock-cut offering-chapel. Other material in the tomb gives other titles, “greatest of tens of Upper Egypt”, and vizier, presumably from a later point in his career; see GRAJETZKI 2000, p. 30-31, especially p. 31, n. 1. Burials of high officials of the early 13th dynasty are not securely attested outside the Residence region between Memphis and Fayum; high officials may begin to be buried at Thebes no earlier than late 13th dynasty, after Khaneferre Sobekhotep IV, somewhere between 1750 and 1700, see *ibid.* and below on Rediamun.

<sup>138</sup> NELSON, KALOS 2000, fig. 5, p. 142, fig. 8 (P 2).

<sup>139</sup> KAMAL 1912, p. 109.

<sup>140</sup> See above, n. 55.

<sup>141</sup> The presence of a stela within burial chamber cannot be paralleled for this period, though it is hard to account for intrusion of material from a surface offering-chapel down a shaft and over the top of a substantially intact blocking wall to be deposited in fragments within the chamber. D. Franke (2003, p. 73-83) dated the stela on stylistic and epigraphic grounds to the mid-13th dynasty; however, both these types of criteria are sufficiently loose in practical application to advise caution on precise dating, and therefore a more general ‘late Middle

Kingdom’ *i.e.* end of 12th to mid-13th dynasties (about 1850-1700 BC) seems preferable, in particular for dating other material from this source.

<sup>142</sup> The coffin has short ends and vaulted lid. Cf. with WILLIAMS 1975/76, p. 45.

<sup>143</sup> D’ATHANASI 1836, p. 237.

<sup>144</sup> TAYLOR 2000, p. 155-8, pls. 20-21; MINIACI 2009, p. 37, fig. 16.

<sup>145</sup> PETRIE (H.) 1915, p. 23 on Tomb 22 of Intef Ameney: “This tomb was entered by a shaft, and had the two small chambers which are usually found at this period”.

<sup>146</sup> GARSTANG 1907, p. 46.

two facing chambers of roughly similar proportions, one has a narrower extension cut at lower level for the coffin; this was for a high official named Rediamun, and so may date later than the early 13th dynasty, when burials of high officials are only securely attested at the cemeteries of the Residence region between Memphis and Fayum.<sup>147</sup> As in single chamber tombs, markedly narrower chambers imply a single burial in the narrow rectangular coffins of late Old to early Middle Kingdom tradition, shaped for placing the embalmed and wrapped body on its side, head on headrest, looking out through the double eyes of the coffin wall facing east. Asasif tomb 25 has a narrow chamber cut into the floor of the chamber on the south side of the shaft, with a much smaller chamber on the north side of the shaft.<sup>148</sup> The shape of the southern chamber recalls the broad upper antechamber and narrower lower burial chamber of tombs with single burials, but in this tomb the Carnarvon team encountered the debris of multiple burials (see above, n. 53). The only rectangular coffin identifiable in the publication, of the “great one of the Tens of Upper Egypt” Renseneb, was shifted while still robust to the bottom of the shaft, crushing other material in the tomb; as Carter noted, in contrast to other bodies described as “despoiled”, this seems not to have been due to robbery, because precious items were lying intact on the body.<sup>149</sup> From the design with narrow inset in south chamber, Renseneb might have been intended as the original single occupant of a double chamber shaft tomb. However, it is also possible that the northern chamber was cut at the same time or later for additional burials; how those came to be robbed, and the dislodged Renseneb overlooked, remains an enigma.<sup>150</sup> Shaft-tomb KOI.10 under the chapel of the 17th dynasty treasurer Teti features, opposite the burial chamber, a second chamber only 90 cm × 70 cm, too small for any second adult burial, but large enough to indicate a separate space for one part of the burial equipment.<sup>151</sup>

In a variation on tomb with symmetrical chambers, some late Middle Kingdom tombs have one chamber at a slightly higher level off the shaft. In the early 19th century the teams working for Giuseppe Passalacqua uncovered the untouched burial of the estate overseer Mentuhotep, datable to the late 12th dynasty by coffin style, absence of incomplete hieroglyphs in the coffin inscriptions, and presence of wooden models of boats and figures of offering-bearers.<sup>152</sup> Here the slightly higher level chamber on the south side contained pottery vessels for the eternal supply of food and drink, and the lower-level chamber on the north contained the rest of the burial equipment around the coffin (fig. 3). The find demonstrates that a single burial might

<sup>147</sup> GRAEFE 2003, p. 30, pl. 117-118, Kat. 541-544. On the presence of high officials at Thebes see for the date above n. 21 and QUIRKE 1991, p. 123-139. There is no evidence for a second burial in the facing chamber, but the context is highly disturbed, see GRAEFE 2003, p. 61-63, list at p. 64.

<sup>148</sup> CARNARVON, CARTER 1912, pl. 30; from the plan the northern chamber seems about 2 m × 3 m, while the recess in the southern chamber appears almost two metres long. See also the structure

of K OI.8 with two opposite chambers at the end of a shaft, in POLZ 2007a, p. 237-239, fig. 60.

<sup>149</sup> CARNARVON, CARTER 1912, p. 55, and see above, n. 53, for contents. For a later example of relocations within a tomb, cf. the sequential re-use of the queen Ahmes Merytamun tomb found by Winlock at Deir el-Bahari, see BETRÒ 2007, p. 66, discussing finds in the protective well, WINLOCK 1932, p. 23, 40-41.

<sup>150</sup> A mud sealing with coil pattern was found in the lower layer of dust just covering the floor of the northern chamber; the motif is typical of the late Middle Kingdom, but the reuse of seals is too well attested to allow firm conclusions on date to be drawn from this find, see BIETAK 2004, especially p. 54.

<sup>151</sup> See POLZ, SEILER 2003, p. 26; plan in SEILER 2005, p. 10, fig. 4.

<sup>152</sup> STEINDORFF 1896, p. 31-45, pls. 8-11.

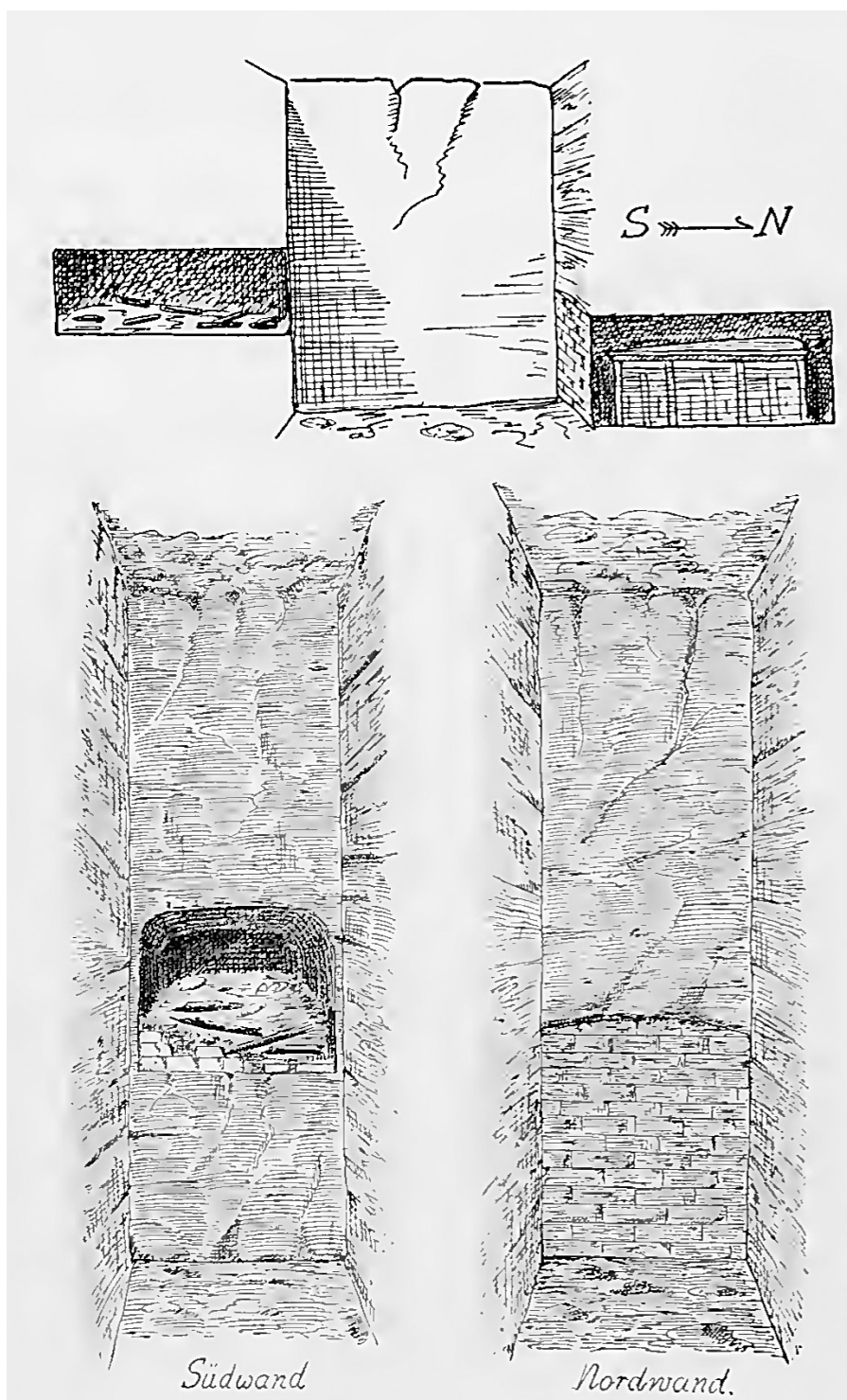


FIG. 3. Horizontal and vertical sections of the tomb of Mentuhotep found by Passalacqua at Dra Abu el-Naga, from G. Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. I. Das Grab des Mentuhotep*, Berlin, 1896, p. 2.

occupy two chambers, just as, earlier, a single chamber might receive more than one burial (see above, n. 28): no automatic equation can be assumed between number of chambers and number of burials. Another example is known from the late Middle Kingdom cemetery under the northern Ramesseum area, tomb P 1; here the upper chamber is narrower, and located on the south side, with broader chamber at lower level, so for the burial, on the north.<sup>153</sup>

During the late Middle Kingdom, Thebes was the Southern City, administrative pendant to the Residence at Itjtawy, thought to be near modern Lisht.<sup>154</sup> In this context, comparison of the architecture of tomb substructures at Lisht may shed particular light on the historical developments visible at Thebes. In perhaps the middle years of the long reign of Amenemhat III, a woman named Senebtysy was buried at Lisht, within the precinct of the cult complex for a vizier, probably named Senusret; she may be dated by the coffin type to the middle years of the reign of Amenemhat III.<sup>155</sup> In this intact single burial, the body lay at an angle partly on its side, nested within double coffin, set in a chamber with niche for the canopic chest; the coffin chamber was cut on the north side of a square chamber full of pottery and food, directly to the west off the bottom of the shaft, where a stray box was found at a slight distance from the rest of the burial equipment.<sup>156</sup> The bottom of the shaft, offerings area, and coffin chamber together form a contiguous L-shape, and the disposition of material indicates a separation of body, with its Osirification regalia, from the containers for clothing, food and drink. Although the spatial arrangement differs from that in the tomb of Mentuhotep, there seems to be a shared conceptual distinction between the space for Osirification and the space for eternal sustenance, recalling the segmentation of burial equipment in Dahshur burials.<sup>157</sup>

In the tomb complex within which Senebtysy was buried, the main shaft tomb (no. 758) has been ascribed on indirect inscriptional evidence to a vizier named Senusret.<sup>158</sup> Tomb 758 includes, in addition to the lower chambers, an upper chamber part way down the shaft on the north side.<sup>159</sup> This upper chamber contained remains of at least three later burials in anthropoid coffins, and Arnold considers the chamber too a later addition.<sup>160</sup> Among reasons why later diggers might cut a higher chamber in an old shaft, an added upper chamber might reflect a desire to establish continuity with earlier burials on grounds of kinship or sanctity from the burial of respected individuals. Another reason might be that the later diggers wished to avoid clearing a whole debris-filled shaft, or again it might be to keep burials raised above the water-table depth that destroyed so much of so many Middle Kingdom burials. However, single burials in multiple chambers, as for Senebtysy and Mentuhotep, open the possibility that additional lower and upper chambers might be part of an original architectural design, forming a deliberate supplement as part of a re-conceptualisation of the subterranean burial

<sup>153</sup> NELSON, KALOS 2000, p. 137, fig. 5, p. 142, fig. 8 (P 1).

<sup>154</sup> SIMPSON 1963b, p. 53-63; QUIRKE 1990.

<sup>155</sup> Lisht tomb 763, MACE, WINLOCK 1916, republished in ARNOLD 2008, p. 81-82, pl. 157. The coffin vertical columns have declarations by deities, attested from the reign of Senusret III

and later, but no incomplete hieroglyphs, as became regular in the Residence cemeteries from the end of the reign of Amenemhat III, see GRAJETZKI 1998, p. 29-38.

<sup>156</sup> ARNOLD 2008, pl. 157.

<sup>157</sup> Separation within one chamber: DE MORGAN 1903, p. 46; architecturally separate space e.g. in the tomb of

Nubhetepthekhered, with regalia and coffin in a chamber beneath the space for other burial equipment, see DE MORGAN 1895, p. 107 f.

<sup>158</sup> ARNOLD 2008, p. 77 for the attribution evidence.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 149.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.



spaces. Physical features such as rougher cutting of the chamber (not apparent from the published section) might demonstrate that the feature must be a later addition. Here and wherever unpublished Lisht tombs may present the same feature, the earliest ceramic material from those contexts needs to be identified to help date the main period at which such upper chambers were cut. Outside Lisht, but still in the region between Memphis and Fayum, at Riqqa (perhaps the cemetery for the governors and richer inhabitants of the 21st province of Upper Egypt), the excavators recorded another, heavily robbed, example: “Tomb 27. Here there were two chambers, one above the other, on the north, and one chamber on the south”.<sup>161</sup> Speculatively the hypothesis might be advanced that some late Middle Kingdom burials in the Residence region incorporated an upper chamber not (or not only) for additional burials, but as part of a new concept of tomb. For example, an upper chamber might originally have served as a separated space for the eternal supply of food and drink, at descent and/or for the ‘going forth by day’, while the lower level contained one chamber for the burial with Osirification regalia, and one chamber for the material for activity in life. This hypothesis might be testable against the fragmented record at Lisht despite the heavy destruction and multiple reuse characteristic of the site. The equally fragmented record at Thebes then needs to be re-examined for the presence or absence of this northern architecture. These researches can then begin to build a comparative regional study on the entire funerary complex with a focus on what are, for the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, the key sites of Thebes, Abydos, Lisht and Tell el-Daba. The diachronic study of types can proceed from, and contribute to, such research. By the end of the Second Intermediate Period, both coffin decoration and burial equipment had taken new forms, and, in this new context, each new burial might have been considered to need a new space of its own.<sup>162</sup> In a further development, by the mid-18th dynasty, conceptions of the funerary space were again revised, with the casing of each body considered primary, leading in some instances to multiple burials within single coffins.<sup>163</sup> Awareness of the later developments may assist in identifying the pattern of practice within the Middle Kingdom. Returning to Neferhotep, the single chamber implied by Mariette belongs within this published range of possibilities for uniting or segmenting burial equipment.

## Changing Concepts of the Tomb 2025-1500 BC

In his study of early Middle Kingdom coffins, H. Willems looked beyond the various multiple interpretations of the coffin, and identified as their constant core the funeral rites.<sup>164</sup> Late Old Kingdom coffin decoration placed the focus on the offering ritual; by the reign of Senusret I, the focus had shifted to the final twenty-four hours of rites in the embalming chamber, on the way to the burial-place, and at the burial itself. In all three locations, the metaphor

<sup>161</sup> ENGELBACH 1915, p. 7.

<sup>162</sup> POLZ 2007a, p. 239; POLZ, SEILER 1993, p. 231-2 (see structures K91.5 and K91.7).

<sup>163</sup> *E.g.* mid-18th dynasty Lahun multiple burial ‘Tomb of Maker’, see PETRIE 1891, p. 21-24.

<sup>164</sup> WILLEMS 1988, p. 240-243.



of the boat<sup>165</sup> may be applied. In the embalming-chamber the body lies static, receiving the revivifying rituals of the Hour Vigil, but the bier on which it rests may play the role of vessel, with the deceased addressed as the one who is in his sacred boat. The procession of the coffin to the tomb more closely emulates the sailing of a boat. In the burial chamber, the coffin with the deceased could take on the role of the sun boat with Ra. The dominant metaphors of palace, cosmos or boat in the funerary literature may extend to interpretations of both the embalming pavilion and the burial chamber.

Tomb architecture and the objects selected for deposition in burials shed their own distinctive light on the particular focus favoured in each period within the range of moving and motionless. Late Old Kingdom to early Middle Kingdom burials may be equipped with sandals, cloth and staff, which contemporary funerary literature expounds as material for a journey on foot.<sup>166</sup> Alongside, the boat models emphasise the importance of being able to travel by boat. Indeed, continuing through and after the early Middle Kingdom, the boat is the wooden model type in longest use, attested after the latest estate-production models; later 12th dynasty examples include those in the burial of the estate-overseer Mentuhotep, and examples in the form of the sacred boat of Ra, as in burials at Bersha in Middle Egypt, and Riqqa farther north.<sup>167</sup> The presence of solar boat beside regular Nile boat reinforces the dual plane of reality on which the makers conceived the models, and the tomb itself, one celestial, one earthly. The deceased can travel as eternally his or her earthly self, and simultaneously, thanks to the rituals of mummification, as a deity - static Osiris and sailing Ra.

Late Middle Kingdom burial practice may develop these aspects of the afterlife in a particular way, including in some examples the segregation of sustenance to separate spaces in one chamber (Senebtysy) or two (Mentuhotep). At the heart of any new spatial logic is the new disposition of the body, perhaps reflecting developments in the arts of embalming; the body is now flat on its back, facing upwards, often now in a mummiform coffin. In this pose, as in the embalming pavilion, the deceased is more emphatically the static Osiris, chrysalis of eternal life,<sup>168</sup> and accordingly equipped with his regalia. As appropriate to this emphasis on death as rebirth, late Middle Kingdom burials also receive in many instances, though not in the immediate circle of kingship, the figurative armoury of birth protection that is so diagnostic of the period. However, alongside the themes of Osirification and birth, many burials contain a variety of other items that do not belong to either of those two categories, or to the perennial motif of sustenance. Indeed, the burial equipment of the period presents a miscellany of objects, that seems to defy classification or ordering, rather in the tradition of the “private object ritual” on early Middle Kingdom coffin friezes. Yet the miscellaneous objects find a close echo in three contemporary inventories from the largest batch among the Lahun papyri. From the range of commodities, the repetition and the quantity of food included, those

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>166</sup> HASSAN 1976, p. 71, 116-117.

<sup>167</sup> *E.g.* KAMAL 1912, p. 112-113 Meir, treasurer Ukh-hotep; ENGELBACH 1915, p. 8, pl. 8 no. 5 Riqqa tomb 123.

<sup>168</sup> The embalming pavilion pose may anticipate mid-18th dynasty expressions of death as birth in both embalming chamber and burial-chamber-as-embalming-chamber: see ROTH, ROHRIG, 2002 for inscribed

birth bricks attested from mid-18th Dynasty to Late Period; LÜSCHER 1998 for Book of the Dead chapter 151, a captioned depiction of the embalming pavilion including inscribed birth bricks.

inventories of goods could be interpreted as lists of objects taken on a journey.<sup>169</sup> Instead of counting the categories of object types in a burial, then, we need to consider instead the scale of the equipment. In this light, the burial goods of the late Middle Kingdom represent not an attempt to stock a rich house, in the exceptional manner of 1st and 18th dynasty elite tombs, but rather the material needed for a shorter time, as on a journey. The specific selections of writing, leisure, status and its cosmetic equipment, well reflect regular requirements for the perennial sailings of the elite from one part of their estates to the next.

Between the poles of stasis and motion, and broadening the horizon of enquiry to the wider timespan from early Middle to early New Kingdom, the changes in burial equipment for the wealthier might be summarised anew as follows:

Early Middle Kingdom	Late Middle Kingdom	Second Intermediate Period	End Second Intermediate Period - Early 18th dynasty	Mid-18th dynasty
2025-1875	1875-1700 BC	1700-1550 BC	1550-1450 BC	1450-1350 BC
coffin, other objects made for tomb including estate-production models	coffin and other objects made for tomb / Osirification, birth objects, daily life objects	coffin, canopic box, some daily life objects?	coffin, small selection daily life objects including food containers	coffin and other objects made for tomb, wide selection daily life including furniture
Meketra	Senebtysy, Renseneb, Neferhotep	<i>No intact group</i>	Hornakht	Sennefer
'Coffin Texts' and object friezes on coffin walls and some burial chambers	funerary literature on coffins more sporadic, usually reduced, also on other objects made for tomb	funerary literature rare on coffins and other objects	funerary literature on shrouds ('Book of the Dead')	'Book of the Dead' on papyri and other objects made for tomb

Burial customs may have been significantly different from region to region. The Lahun lists of possible luggage in life present food, jewellery, writing and sealing equipment, and, in one list carrying-chair and headrest. Possibly, late Middle Kingdom Fayumis might not recognise the Lahun lists as burial equipment, but their Theban counterparts such as Neferhotep might. G. Miniaci has presented the thesis that the middle range of wealthier burials, for the middle to higher but not highest officialdom, in the southern metropolitan centre Thebes would provide the most plausible source for different conceptions in emergence, such as the development of the new style of anthropoid coffin, the *rishi* coffin. On this approach, it is possible that both the Osirification and the birth-object burial equipment reflect funeral and burial rites developed in the north, around the court, while Thebes or more generally Upper Egypt fostered a different, though not incompatible, concept of tomb as the resting-place on a boat for the

<sup>169</sup> Lots VI.10-II = UC32179, UC32183, published GRIFFITH 1898, pls. 18-20; COLLIER, QUIRKE 2006, p. 26-35.

cyclical eternal solar journey. Common to both areas would be the deposit of jewellery as mark of status and protection. An increase in royal courtly presence in the south is attested from the possible burial of Senusret III at Abydos, from the accounts of a royal visit preserved on Papyrus Boulaq 18, part of this tomb group, and from Abydene and Theban monuments of the brother kings Khasekhemra Neferhotep and Khaneferri Sobekhotep of the mid-13th dynasty.<sup>170</sup> Out of that growing northern presence in the south, might develop the mixed message of the burial equipment of Neferhotep himself: a northern embalming in new Theban *rishi* coffin; a northern rite of Osirification in the deposit of the mace; the birth-rebirth tusk and figurine, and the migration of birth imagery onto his southern headrest; the writing equipment and papyri, and the gaming-set he might expect to enjoy on his eternal journey; the cosmetic box complete with mirror and cosmetic vessels; and the rare double scarab. Though incomplete, the inventory of his tomb indicates a man and a society on the move, in the conception of the burial chamber, and in the material traces of rites from different worlds.

*Appendix: Hippopotamus Figurine JE 21365 -or 6156?*

[FIG. 4, 15a-b]

Measurements: h. 11.8 cm, l. (max.) 21.7 cm, w. 7.4 cm; face h. 7 cm, w. 6 cm.

Material: blue-glazed faience with details in black ink.

The hippopotamus figurine is of blue brilliant blue-glazed faience, the glaze perfectly preserved, and both head and undulatingly walking body have been modelled to an exceptional degree, capturing the movement of the animal, in one of the finest examples of faience sculpture. The blue body is adorned by a black painted design representing Nile flora and fauna. As pointed out by Keimer the layout of the decorative motifs observes a strong compositional principle of symmetry.<sup>171</sup> The head of the animal is decorated with the stem and blossom of the *Nymphaea caerulea*, marked with the dots that distinguish this flower; two symmetrical buds are drawn along the snout to behind the eyes. The mouth of the animal is demarcated by a thin black horizontal line, and is added with whiskers. The eyes and the ears are moulded in the faience and are outlined in black. On the back over a papyrus in flower there is represented a water-bird with stretched wings. Along the sides of the animal over the bending stems of two flowers of *Cyperus Papyri* a small bird and a butterfly with folding wings are lain. While the other water-birds are quite common in the drawings on hippos, the presence of a butterfly is rare.<sup>172</sup> Behind these blossom of papyrus there are two buds of *Nymphaea caerulea*. The bottom is adorned with the stem and the blossom of *Nymphaea Lotus*, and over the posterior legs two lily pads are painted. The legs may have been broken in a ritual to ensure that the object posed inside the tomb created no threat,<sup>173</sup> but the damage may be accidental, considering intact parallels within the wrappings of the mummified body.

<sup>170</sup> WEGNER 2007 for the possible burial of Senusret III at Abydos; BERLEV 1962 for the court visiting Thebes in the reign of a mid 13th dynasty king; RYHOLT 1997, p. 345-346, 349-350 for the presence of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV at Thebes and in Upper Egypt.

<sup>171</sup> KEIMER 1929a, p. 210-253.

<sup>172</sup> One other faience hippopotamus bears a butterfly drawn on the back, but unfortunately its provenance is unknown, see KEIMER 1929a, p. 218, no. 8, p. 219 (drawing).

<sup>173</sup> Compare the practice to draw the animate hieroglyphs legless in the late Middle Kingdom, see above, n. 55.

- Bibliography

- See discussion above (item no. 5);
- an extensive bibliography can be found in M.L. KEIMER, “Nouvelles recherches au sujet du Potamogeton Lucens L. dans l'Égypte ancienne”, *REA* 2, 1929, p. 216, no. 2;
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FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.

FIG. 4. Hippopotamus figurine JE 21365 -or 6156? View from the side.

FIG. 5. Figures around the stem of Neferhotep's headrest.

FIG. 6. Neferhotep's headrest showing the Aha/Bes figure on the stem.

FIG. 7. Wood and ivory writing implements from Neferhotep's burial

equipment, side view.

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Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom. The Burial of the Accountant of the Main Enclosure Neferhotep at Dra Abu al-Naga.

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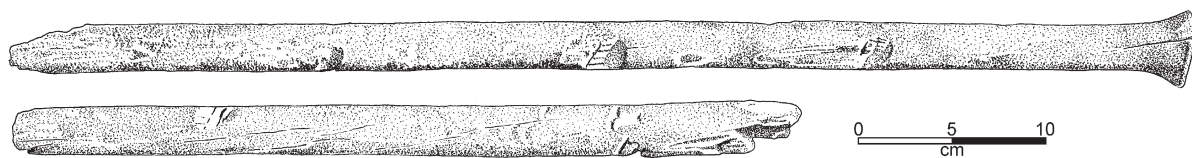
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8a.



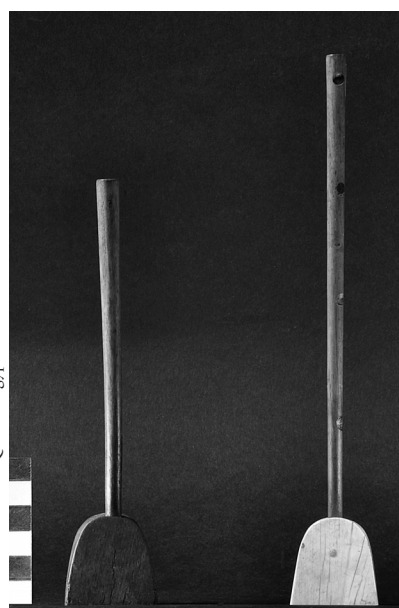
8c.



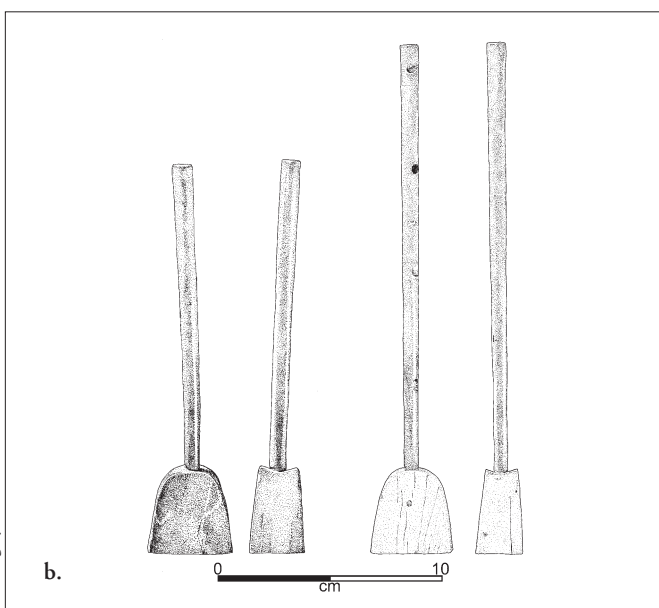
8d.

FIG. 8. a-c. Photo and drawing of Neferhotep's walking stick. d. Oval tip of Neferhotep's walking stick inscribed with his title and name.

8a-d. © G. Miniaci & St. Quirke; drawing by P. Whelan / Egyptian Museum - Cairo



Drawing by P. Whelan



b.

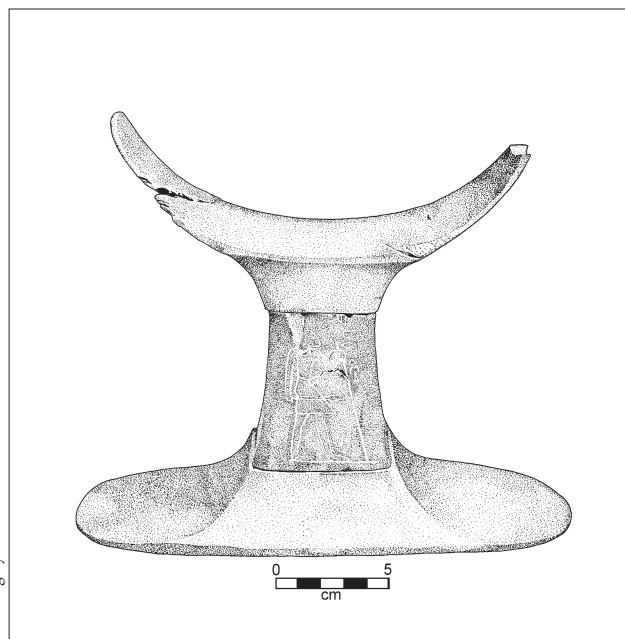
8b.

FIG. 9a-b. Photo (frontal view) and drawing (frontal and lateral views) of the wood and ivory writing implements from Neferhotep's burial equipment. Enclosure Neferhotep at Dra Abu al-Naga. <https://www.ifao.egnet.net>



10a.

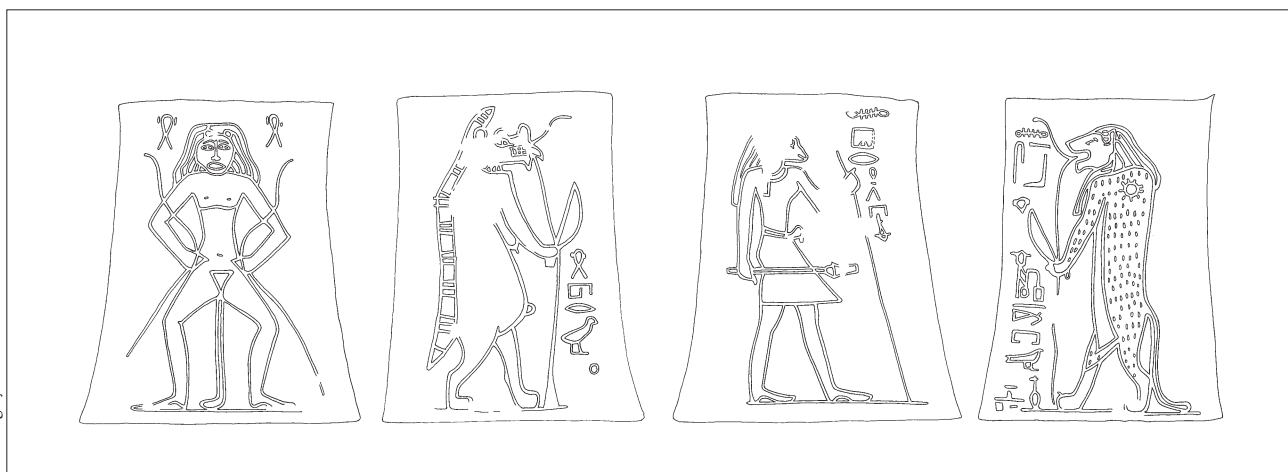
Drawing by P. Whelan



10b.



10c.



10d.

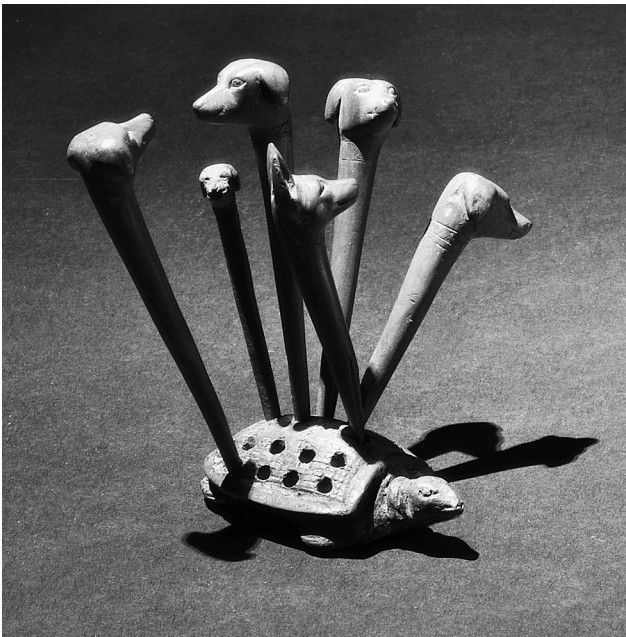
FIG. 10. a-b. Photo and drawing of Neferhotep's headrest.  
c-d. Photo and drawing of the figures around the stem of Neferhotep's headrest.

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11a.

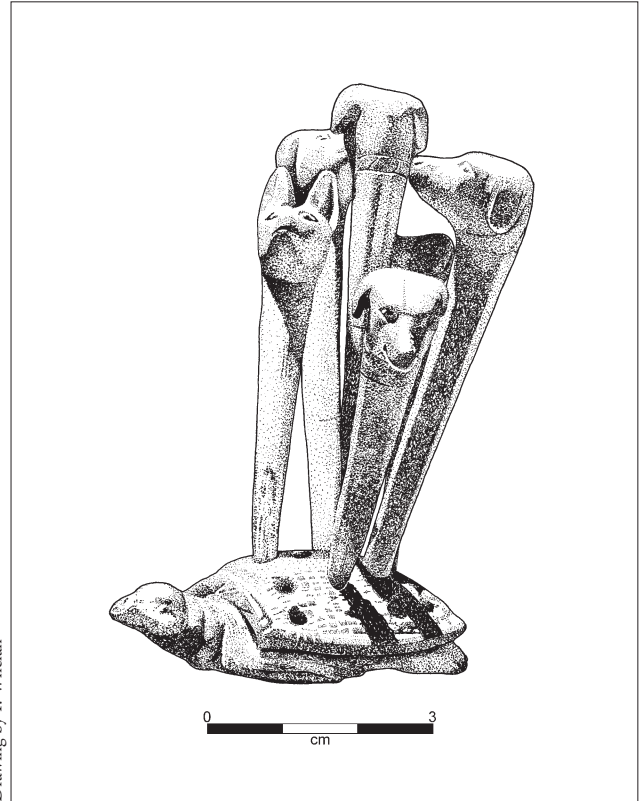
© G. Miniaci &amp; St. Quirke / Egyptian Museum - Cairo



11b.

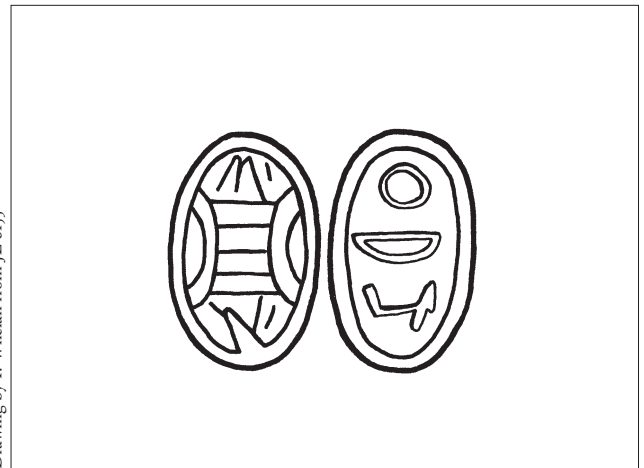
**FIG. 11a-c.** Photos and drawing of the hounds and jackals gaming-pieces, with holder in the form of a turtle from Neferhotep's burial equipment.

Drawing by P. Whelan



11c.

Drawing by P. Whelan from JE 6153

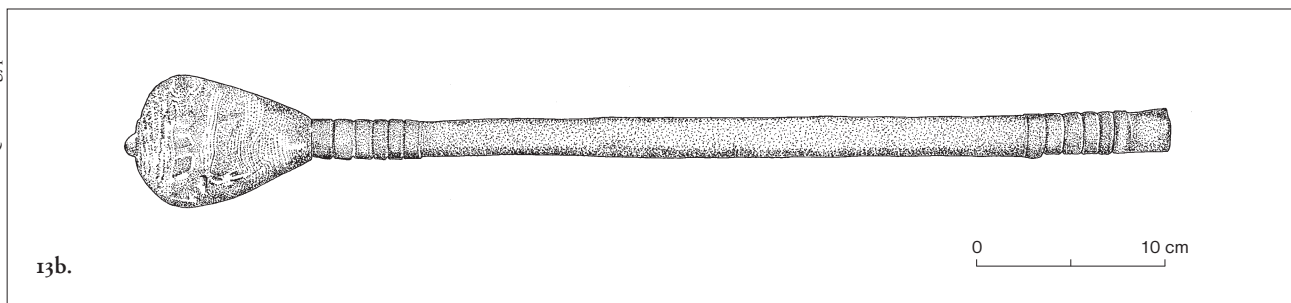


**FIG. 12.** Double scarab from the tomb of Neferhotep.



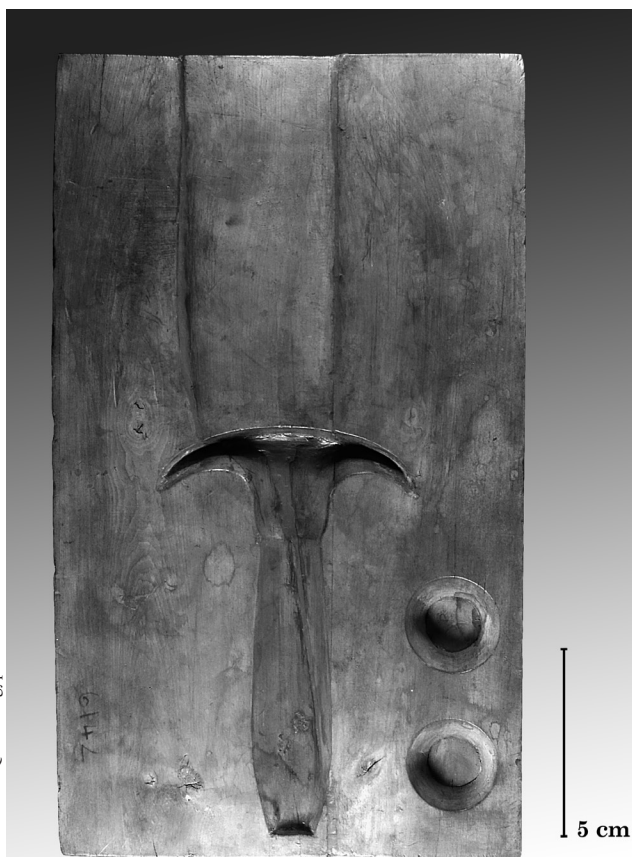


13a.



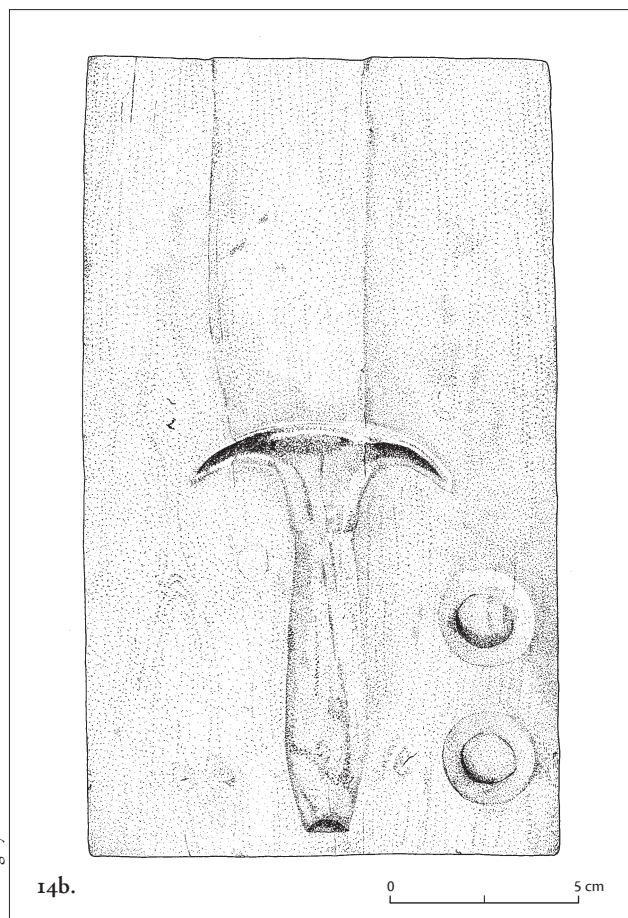
13b.

FIG. 13a-b. Photo and drawing of the wooden mace with piriform head from Neferhotep's burial equipment.



14a.

Drawing by P. Whelan

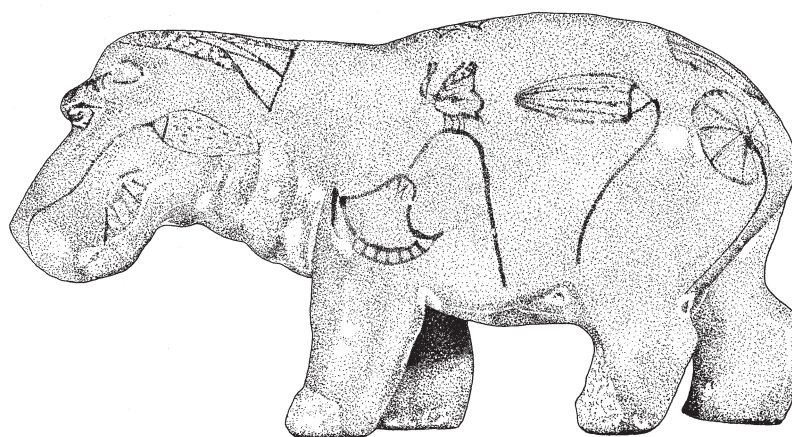
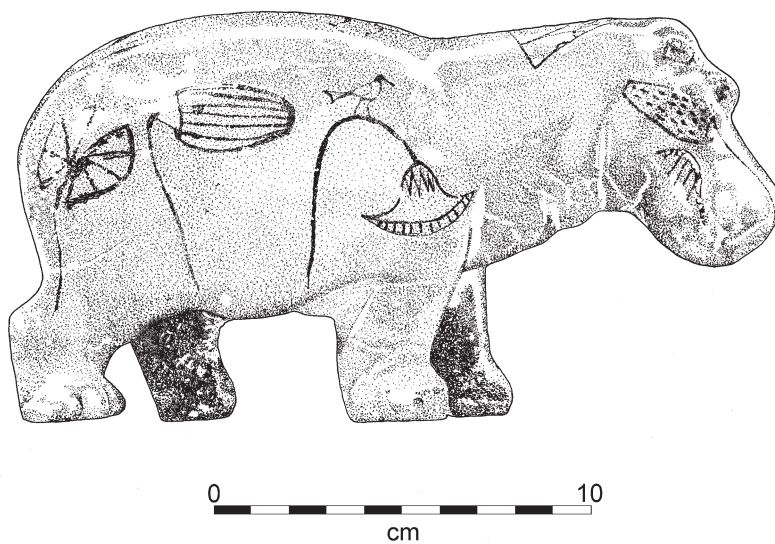


14b.

FIG. 14a-b. Photo and drawing of the tray with recesses for mirror-handle and cosmetic vessels from Neferhotep's burial equipment.

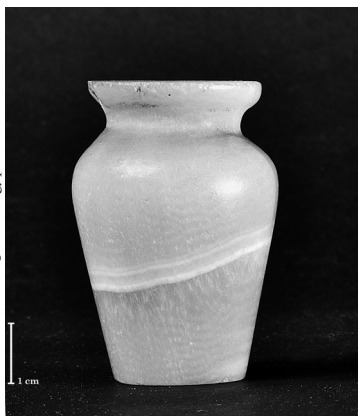


15a.

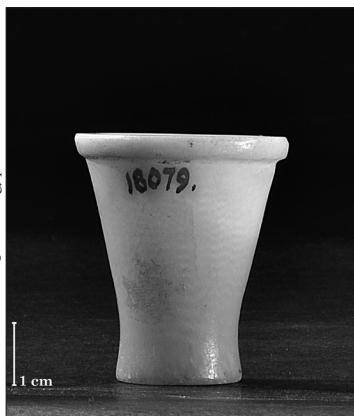


15b.

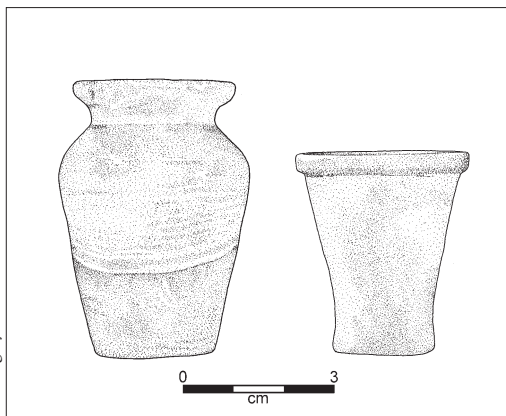




16a.



17a.



16b-17b.

FIG. 16a-b. Photo and drawing of the small shoulder jar from Neferhotep's burial equipment.

FIG. 17a-b. Photo and drawing of the small cylinder jar from Neferhotep's burial equipment.

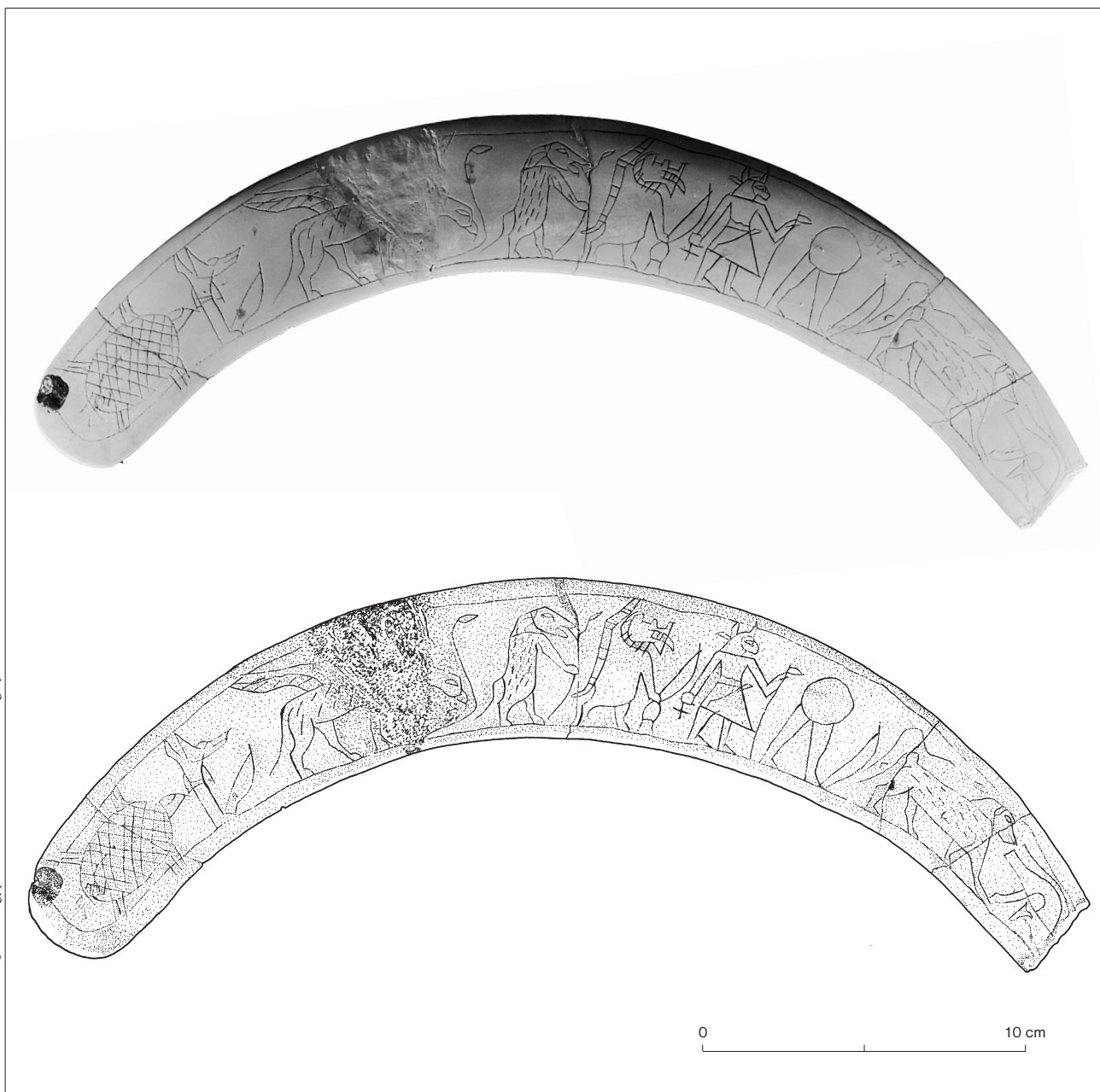


FIG. 18a-b. Photo and drawing of the figured hippopotamus tusk, rejoined from six fragments from Neferhotep's burial equipment. Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom. The Burial of the Accountant of the Main Enclosure Neferhotep at Dra Abu al-Naga. © IFAO 2025 BIFAO en ligne <https://www.ifao.egnet.net>

