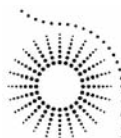




DIACHRONIC TRENDS IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN HISTORY

Miroslav Bárta, Hella Küllmer, editors



FACULTY OF ARTS
CHARLES UNIVERSITY
IN PRAGUE

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DIACHRONIC TRENDS IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN HISTORY

Studies dedicated to the memory of Eva Pardey

Miroslav Bárta, Hella Küllmer, editors

Charles University in Prague
Faculty of Arts
Prague 2013

Reviewed by:
Jiří Janák and Sylva Pavlasová

Front cover: Seated statue of Nefer as a scribe, Excav. No. 149b/AS68/2012
(Abusir South, M. Frouz, Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles
University in Prague)

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ISBN 978-80-7308-444-8



To the memory of our beloved friend colleague and teacher
Egyptologist Eva Pardey (13. 1. 1948–4. 5. 2012)

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H. Altenmüller, **Zu zwei Titeln des Alten Reiches, ein Vorschlag zu ihrer Interpretation. Die Titel des „Priesters der Heqet“ und des „Gefolgsmanns des Ha“** 1

The two titles “Priest of the goddess Heqet” (*ḥm ntr Ḥqt*) and “Follower of the God Ha” (*jmj-ḥt-Ḥꜥ*) are some of the most distinctive titles of the elite of the early Old Kingdom. In this paper a new interpretation of the titles will be proposed. Starting from the assumption that the goddess Heqet once had responsibility for the inundation and the irrigation of the cultivated land and suggesting that the god Ha similarly was supervising the production of commodities of the desert region, it is proposed that the titles, both in a constant close contact, are forerunners of titles such as the title: “One who takes stock of the production of the deserts, marshlands and heaven” (*jp ꜥw zmwt šꜥw qbḥw*) from the end of the Old Kingdom.

Keywords: Heqet – Ha – inundation – desert – Hapi.

L. Bareš, **The development of shaft tomb burials in Egypt during the Persian Period** 15

In the paper, the history of the building of large Late Period shaft tombs is briefly discussed. A more precise dating of this distinctive type of Egyptian funeral architecture is suggested on the basis of the clearly dated finds from the Czech archaeological excavations at Abusir. Most probably, they were built between 530 and 525 (520?) B.C.E. and might have been used for burials even one generation (i.e. about 30 years) later.

Keywords: Egypt – Abusir – shaft tombs – Late Period – Amasis – Darius I.

M. Bárta, **The sun kings of Abusir and their entourage: ‘Speakers of Nekhen of the King’** 24

This study deals with a single title *r Nḥn (n) zꜥb* which can be translated as ‘Speaker of Nekhen of the King’. It is demonstrated that the title appears at

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the outset of the Fifth Dynasty in connection with profound changes in administration of the state. It is argued that the office was created in order to help the Abusir kings to recreate and maintain their spheres of influence both in state and its religious system. By appointing middle and lower class officials into this office, the kings gained a loyal group of men who served them both in mortuary complexes and the sun temples and also played important role in the juridical sphere of state administration. Pursuing this policy, the kings consciously reached for older icons of power such as Nekhen, ancient Hierakonpolis, the symbol of (Upper) Egyptian kingship.

Keywords: Fifth Dynasty – Abusir – administration – kingship – Maat – ‘speaker of Nekhen of the king’ – archaic traditions – Nekhen.

A. Effland, **Ein neuer Beleg für den Hohepriester des Amun Psusennes aus Umm el-Qaab (Abydos)** 32

The only sources known so far for the theban High Priest of Amun Psusennes (III), son of Pinudjem II, have been some short inscriptions on objects like shrouds and mummy-braces in the context of elite burials in the Bab el-Gasus at Deir el-Bahari, discovered in 1891. During the recent excavations of the German Archaeological Institute in the Abydos necropolis at Umm el-Qaab, where the tomb of Osiris was located, a larger number of archaeological remains of the Third Intermediate Period were discovered. Among these artifacts is a small ceramic sherd, a fragment of a votive pot, inscribed in black ink. Though the preserved inscription is fragmentary, the title and name of the HPA Psusennes can be reconstructed.

Keywords: Third Intermediate Period – 21st Dynasty – Abydos – Umm el-Qaab – High Priest of Amun – Psusennes II – Psusennes III – votive pottery.

M. Fitzenreiter, **Die Domänen des Ibi** 40

Regarding representations of ‘domains’ from the Old Kingdom, those of Ibi from his funerary chapel at Deir el-Gebrawi are among of the latest attestations of this phenomenon. The essay examines the position of this representation within the decoration program of the chapel and its contents. It is interpreted as indication of the intensified exploitation of the provinces in the late Old Kingdom, a period, when – contrary to older concepts of political decline – an effective administration of provincial areas had just been installed.

Keywords: domains – provincial administration – tomb decoration – Ibi – Deir el-Gebrawi – funerary property.

H. Goedicke, **The Total Solar Eclipse of 1130 B.C.** 59

The literary text known as “The Contendings of Horus and Seth,” describes the events that occurred in the temple at Heliopolis during the search for a successor for the recently dead king Ramesses IV. The process takes place before a body identified as assembly of gods. The text includes a reference mentioning Re who “lies down on his back”. Only one explanation of this episode seems possible, namely, as a reference to an unexpected night condition during daytime, due to a solar eclipse. An appropriate consultation results in the fact that in the entire Twelfth Century B.C. Egypt was only once the scene of a total solar eclipse and that this event specifically affected Heliopolis. This eclipse occurred on September 30th, 1130 B.C.

Keywords: Heliopolis – Ramesses IV – Contending of Horus and Seth – solar eclipse.

P. Jánosi, **Niuserre or Pepy II? The tomb of Kahif (G 2136) revisited** 63

Various dates have been suggested for the mastaba of the *hm-ntr*-priest of Khufu, Kahif (*K3[j]-h[3]j.f*), in the Western Field at Giza (G 2136). The tomb was excavated and published by Hermann Junker (1943), whose arguments provided the basis for a date into the late 6th Dynasty. The present article discusses the archaeological and iconographical data in connection with more recent arguments opposing Junker’s date. The reassessment of the relevant material leads to the conclusion that Kahif’s mastaba was built and decorated at the end of the 5th Dynasty.

Keywords: Giza – Western Field – mastaba – Kahif – date – iconography – tomb development – chapel decoration.

D. Kurth, **Redistributionswirtschaft in der Götterwelt** 77

The mechanisms of the old Egyptian economy – absorption of the surplus by the powerful personalities of the society and its redistribution to the creators of prestige goods is analogous with the divine world, as some selected passages from the temple in Edfu prove. In these texts Horus of Edfu receives offerings, which are in turn redistributed by him as the king of the gods to his godly companions.

Keywords: Economy – redistribution – Edfu – divine offerings (Opfergaben) – *wdb-rd* (Opferumlauf).

Ch. Loeben, **Von „Ent-Individualisierung“ für die Ewigkeit und Albrecht Dürer: (mal wieder) eine neue Idee zur Funktion der sogenannten „Ersatzköpfe“** 82

This study is dedicated to the issue of ‘reserve heads’ which has permeated Egyptian archaeology of the Old Kingdom ever since H. Junker’s excavations in Giza. Reserve heads can be interpreted as a depersonalization of the deceased because of the mutilation of the ears which represent the most characteristic physical aspect of an individual.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Giza – Junker – reserve heads – ears – depersonalization.

J. C. Moreno García, **Limits of pharaonic administration: patronage, informal authorities, ‘invisible’ elites and mobile populations** 88

Certain social groups played an important role in ancient Egypt in despite of their scarce visibility in official sources and prestigious monuments. However, they were part of the ruling elite (in a broader sense), and their activities, decisions and power were crucial for the stability and operating of the kingdom. Traders, wealthy peasants, local potentates or village chiefs appear thus as informal but nevertheless indispensable agents and mediators for the king and his officials. In other cases, informal practices like patronage, influence and networks of contacts enabled authority to circulate and penetrate into diverse social milieus and spheres of activity and thereby cemented social cohesion. Finally, mobile populations carried out specialized activities as traders, herders and gatherers and were essential in the exploitation of resources in certain zones.

Keywords: Administration – authority – elite – pastoral populations – patronage – potentates – traders – wealthy peasants.

J. Mynářová, **‘A Father to Me’ – An Innovation in EA 199? A Supplement** 102

The Amarna letters represent a unique source for our understanding of the social structure and organization of the Levantine client kingdoms in the middle of the 14th century B.C. Unfortunately a large number of the tablets is badly preserved, many parts of them being mere reconstructions. The aim of this paper is to revise one of the tablets, EA 199 (CG 4789; SR 4/12234/0), to improve the readings of its problematic parts and to set it into a broader context of the social development of the region during the Late Bronze Age. In doing so, special attention is given to the structural elements and their sequence in the standardized parts of the letter, especially to the relevant opening passages.

Keywords: Amarna Letters – Late Bronze Age – Akkadian, provenance.

A. Spalinger, **Egyptian and Greek time frames. The date of the Kronia Festival** 109

A discussion of the importance of the lunar-solar epact at Athens and in pharaonic Egypt. The crucial point concerns the feasts of Kronia, later equated with the Saturnalia by the Romans, and the feast of inebriation (*thj*) in Egypt. Both “carnavalesque” events heralded the conclusion of one “year” and the beginning of another.

Keywords: Egyptian calendar – year beginning – Kronia feast.

M. Verner, **Several Thoughts on the Old Kingdom Residence** 119

The Old Kingdom Residence (*hnw*), the center of administration of Egypt in that time, represents in many respects a problem which has not yet been satisfactorily resolved. For instance, we need to know more of the precise position of the Residence in relation to other centers of power such as the King’s House (*pr-nšwt*) and the Great House (*pr-ꜣ*). The fact that no archaeological evidence of an Old Kingdom Residence has been discovered does not facilitate the discussion of the problem either. The following discussion presents information from the Abusir papyri concerning the physical structure of the Residence. Also discussed is the possible location of the Old Kingdom Residence in Memphis.

Keywords: Old Kingdom Residence – Abusir papyri – Fifth Dynasty – Memphis – location .

H. Vymazalová, F. Coppens, **Two hieratic inscriptions from the tomb of Werkaure (Lepsius Pyramid No. XXIII) in Abusir** 123

The article focuses on two hieratic inscriptions discovered during recent excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology in mastaba ‘Lepsius XXIII’ in the Abusir royal necropolis. The inscriptions refer to the tomb owner, the ‘eldest king’s son’ Werkaure, and a no further identified Menkauhor. The study of the texts provides important, new information allowing a more precise dating of the tomb and also adds to our knowledge of the genealogy and relations in the royal family of the middle to second half of the Fifth Dynasty.

Keywords: Abusir – Fifth Dynasty – pyramid field – Werkaure – mastaba Lepsius XXIII.

W. Waitkus, **Das Opetfest nach dem Neuen Reich** 136

The annual religious feast ‘The beautiful feast of Opet’ (*hb nfr n Jpt*), which celebrated periodical renewal of the divine legitimization of the ruler, was one

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of the main feasts of the New Kingdom, together with the '*Feast of the Valley*' Sources which date after the time of the New Kingdom provide information about the continuity of the Opet-Feast and the rituals and activities still celebrated in connection with like the "*Oracle of the Boat*" down to the 26th Dynasty.

Keywords: 'The beautiful feast of Opet' (*hb nfr n Jpt*) – divine legitimization – Nile flood – Luxor – Amon.

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zusammengestellt von Karl Martin

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MÄU – *Münchener Ägyptologische Untersuchungen*, Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
SAK – *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Hamburg: Buske Verlag.
SDAIK – *Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, Mainz am Rhein.
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
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JCS – *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Ann Arbor.
JEA – *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London.
JEH – *Journal of Egyptian History*, Leiden.
JESHO – *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden.
JNES – *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago.
KÄT – *Kleine Ägyptische Texte*, Wiesbaden.
KMT – *KMT. A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt*, San Francisco.
LÄ – *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden – Hamburg.
LÄS – *Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien*, Leipzig.
LingAeg – *Lingua Aegyptia*, Göttingen.
MAA – *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, Rhodes.
MÄS – *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien*, München – Berlin.
MASE – *Memoir of Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, London.
MDAIK – *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, Berlin, Wiesbaden, Mainz am Rhein.

MFA – *Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston.
MIFAO – *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, Le Caire.

MonAeg – *Monumenta Aegyptiaca*, Brussels.
MOS – *Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen*, Berlin.
MRE – *Monographies Reine Elisabeth*, Brüssel.
N.A.B.U. – *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*, Paris.
NJKA – *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, Leipzig.
OBO – *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, Fribourg – Göttingen.
OIP – *Oriental Institute Publications, The University of Chicago*, Chicago.
OLA – *Orientalia Iovaniensia analecta*, Leuven.
OrMonsp. – *Orientalia Monspeliensia*, Montpellier.
PA – *Památky archeologické*, Praha.
PdÄ – *Probleme der Ägyptologie*, Leiden – Boston.
RAr – *Revue Archéologique*, Paris.
RdE – *Revue d'Égyptologie*, Paris.
RQS – *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, Rom, Freiburg, Wien.

SAK – *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Hamburg.
SAOC – *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations*, Chicago.
SCA – *Supreme Council of Antiquities*, Cairo.
SDAIK – *Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, Mainz am Rhein.

MSR – *Studie Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, Roma.

- Sphinx* – *Sphinx. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'égyptologie*, Uppsala.
- SRaT – *Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel*, Dettelbach.
- UCLA – *University of California Los Angeles*, Los Angeles.
- UZK – *Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes*, Wien.
- WZKM – *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Wien.
- ZÄS – *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Leipzig, Berlin.
- ZPE – *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bonn.

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Niuserre or Pepy II? The tomb of Kahif (G 2136) revisited*

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Kahif (*K3[j]-h[3]j.f*), a *hm-ntr*-priest of Khufu, wab-priest of the same king, and inspector of tenants of the palace (*shd hnty(w)-s pr-ʿ3*), commanded his stone mastaba to be erected in the Western Field at Giza (G 2136) (Porter and Moss 1974², 76; Junker 1913, 175–9; id. 1943, 94–153). His eternal abode belongs to the group of so-called secondary mastabas built directly up against the large (and, in most cases, uncased) stone cores of the nucleus cemeteries (G 1200, G 2100 and G 4000) which were erected under Khufu. Not only the physical dependency on one of these old structures, but also a number of features in the architecture, the decoration, burial customs, and so forth leave no doubt that these tombs are later in date than the time span Khufu – Khafre. Especially when reliable dating criteria are few or entirely lacking, the vexing question of course remains of how “old” (in respect to the older structure: “young”) these secondary tombs are (see also the questions raised by Der Manuelian, 2009, LIII–LIV). But even if ample evidence is available, a conclusive date is often far from certain. Kahif’s tomb, G 2136, is a case in point.

Hermann Junker, the excavator, firmly believed that Kahif lived during the later part of the Old Kingdom, but he was not more specific than “*fortgeschrittene 6. Dynastie*”, “*spätes Altes Reich*”, or “*spätere 6. Dynastie*” (Junker 1943a, 94–5). In support of this dating Junker repeatedly cited numerous criteria and features, which he deemed significant for his evaluation. His dating was adopted by Klaus Baer and picked up by Porter and Moss (“mid 6th Dynasty”) (Baer 1960, 146 [539]; Porter and Moss 1974², 76). George A. Reisner offered a time span from the late 5th into the 6th Dynasty (Reisner, 1942, 313), while William Stevenson Smith (1949², 198, 248) narrowed the date to the end of the 5th Dynasty. Naguib Kanawati (1977, 27 [352]) also suggested the end of the 5th Dynasty. The early dates were disregarded, however, and Kahif’s tomb generally settled in the middle of the 6th dynasty or later (Bolshakov 1997, 61 [33]). In Yvonne Harpur’s study on the decoration of Old Kingdom tombs (1987, 271), she refined the date further, proposing the reign of Pepy II for Kahif.¹ Nadine Cherpion challenged

* The line drawings published here were kindly prepared by Ms. Liza Majerus.

¹ Studying Harpur’s seminal work on tomb decoration I could not find a convincing explanation of or reason for her dating of Kahif’s tomb. My impression is that she herself was not sure about the late date. Harpur, 1987, 98: “*The seemingly haphazard placing of subject matter in these chapels (i.e. Kahif, Nesemnau, Njwedja-Ptah and Kajsudja) does not necessarily mean that they are late – K3-hj.f probably dates to VI.5, and might be the latest of the three, yet his chapel shows most of the old characteristics of scene and figure orientation, despite the unusual*

this 6th Dynasty date. According to the methodology she developed using the criteria of royal names mentioned in a tomb, she assigned Kahif specifically to the reign of Niuserre (Cherpion 1989, 137–8; Seidlmayer and Ziermann 1992, 168; Seidlmayer 1997, 40).² Thus, two dates separated by more than two centuries are suggested for Kahif's floruit – the reign of Niuserre or that of Pepy II. The huge time gap is not as perplexing as the simple fact that our chronological “sensors” are completely mute when definite dating criteria are lacking. It seems that Kahif could well date to the middle of the 5th Dynasty or in the later part of the 6th; either way we have no “feeling” that one (or even both) of these dates must be definitely wrong because, with few exceptions, almost all of the tomb owners remain mere names, without a biography or any other clue to fix the person in history.³ As shown below, however, none of Junker's criteria or observations can sustain a late date, while recent research suggests that Kahif's floruit should be earlier. A closer look at his tomb and the surrounding cemetery, as well as a re-evaluation of the dating criteria proposed by Junker, provides some clues to narrow the probable time span for Kahif's career.

Kahif built his tomb against the north face of G 2135 (*fig. 1*),⁴ implying a relationship of some kind between himself and the anonymous owner of the old core mastaba. Ideally, a familial or contractual bond (funerary service, priesthood etc.) should have been mentioned in the texts of one or both of the adjacent chapels specifying the relationship between the two tomb owners.⁵ Unfortunately, this is not forthcoming in the present case, since the owner of G 2135 had only a slab stela (Der Manuelian 2003, 84–87, pls. 19–20; *id.* 2009, 282–283, figs. 10.13–15). Slab stelae as a rule do not include mention of family members, and, more importantly,

form of the west wall composition.” In dealing with the decoration of the entire chapel and the individual scenes in particular, Harpur correctly points out that Junker's reasoning and listed parallels for a late date are mostly unfounded (see below note 2).

² Cherpion has to admit, however, that Kahif's tomb represents an exception to her method of dating since Khufu is the only royal name occurring in the tomb, while all her established criteria found in the decoration point to the reign of Niuserre.

³ An even larger “leap” in time was proposed for the dwarf Seneb (Porter and Moss 1974², 101–103), “moving” his lifetime from the late 6th Dynasty into the reign of Djedefre (Cherpion 1984, 35–54; *id.* 1989, 89). A new date for Seneb in the time span Weserkaf – Neferirkare was recently proposed by Alexandra Woods (2010, 301–331). I am afraid that this will not be the last word on Seneb's floruit. – Years ago Andrey Bolshakov (2001, 80) rightly remarked that only the presence of a biographical inscription mentioning a king provides reliable grounds for dating. Since such a chronological anchor is missing from most tombs, the continuous search for reliable criteria and the refining of the existing ones offer the only viable approaches for solving problems of dating.

⁴ G 2135 and G 2155 (Kaninisut I) were both excavated by Hermann Junker and also carry the designation VIIInn (= G 4770) and VIIIInn (= G 4870), see Junker 1929, 227; 1934, 135; Porter and Moss 1974², 75.

⁵ See for instance the mastaba of Kaninisut I (G 2155) to the east, where his genealogy can be traced through four generations in the cemetery, Junker (1938, 145–163); Hölzl (2005, 25–29).

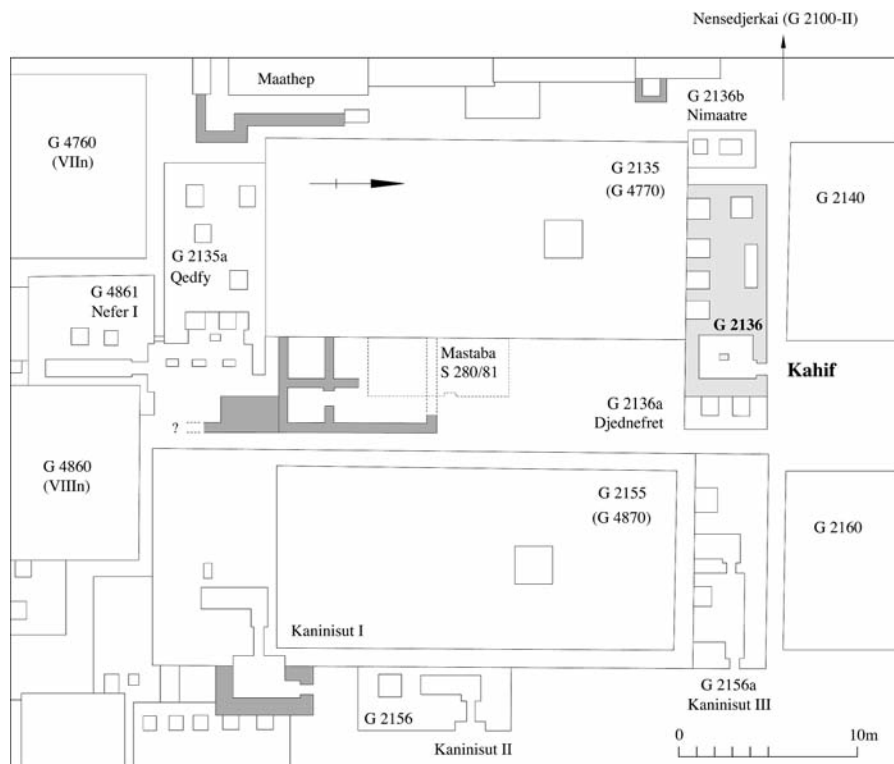


Fig. 1 Plan of the area surrounding Kahif's tomb in the Western Cemetery (after: Junker 1943a, *Übersichtsplan*)

G 2135's owner himself remains anonymous, thanks to the incomplete condition of the stela.⁶ Thus, Kahif's choice of this particular site for his burial remains enigmatic, even if it fits in well among the group of many other secondary mastabas in the three large nucleus cemeteries of the Western Field.⁷

The structure measures 11.8×4.7 m and once reached a height of 3 m (*fig. 2*).⁸ The rubble core was cased with small well-dressed nummulitic blocks,⁹ and

⁶ The archaeological features clearly indicate that G 2135 was used during the reign of Khufu or shortly afterwards, Junker (1929, 227–231); Der Manuelian (2009, 31, 34, 282). In his tomb Kahif names and depicts his ancestors. It remains uncertain whether the owner of G 2135 was a relative. Only Kahif's mother *Hnmt* can be ruled out since she owned a false door in her son's tomb (see below), Junker (1943a, 98–99, *fig. 32, pl. Xa*).

⁷ A study on these secondary tombs in the nucleus cemeteries is in preparation by the author.

⁸ Junker (1943a, 94, 100, 105), supposed that the structure was originally conceived smaller (i.e. terminating at the line of the east façade of G 2135, without the chapel to the east) and was only subsequently enlarged. However, the existing architecture provides no evidence for this enlargement (see also the plan of the tomb, *fig. 27*).

⁹ Mastaba VIIIc according to Reisner's typology, Reisner (1942, 285).

featured six shafts: four built against the north face of G 2135, one in the northwest corner and another in the northeast corner.¹⁰ Between them, a rectangular serdab, connected to the outside by a narrow slot, was constructed against the north wall (Junker 1943a, 100; Lehmann 2000, no. G 111).¹¹ A large-scale inscription in a horizontal register was probably cut in the uppermost course of the casing on the north face of the mastaba.¹² The eastern part of the tomb contained an offering chapel amounting to a rectangular chamber (3.2 × 2.4 m) entered from the north and supported by a pier (Junker 1943a, 100, fig. 27; chapel type (10 a) according to Reisner 1942, 285).

The position of the chapel door in the north wall probably explains why Kahif “moved” his tomb approx. 3.5 m to the east in respect to the eastern façade of G 2135 (figs. 1, 2). In contrast to Kaninisut III’s tomb which takes in the entire length of the north face and opens onto the north-south street (fig. 1), Kahif’s was obviously planned to attract the attention of visitors approaching from the north who might walk between the huge tombs G 2140 and G 2160.

The walls and both false doors, made of nummulitic limestone, were decorated and inscribed. While Junker duly noted the “mediocre fabrication” (plaster on stone),¹³ he nonetheless recognized the quality as regards the style and the liveliness of the scenes (“... bei *Kahif* kommt dagegen die lebendigere Auffassung des späteren Alten Reiches zum Ausdruck,...”) (Junker 1943a, 104).¹⁴

At a later stage (as in the comparable case of the tombs of Kaninisut I–III), Kahif’s son Djednefret built a small structure with two false doors and two shafts directly against the eastern façade of his father’s tomb (figs. 1, 2) (Junker 1943a, 153–154).

¹⁰ In the published plan, Junker numbered only three of the six existing shafts (266, 267, 270) (Junker 1943a, fig. 27). But neither a description of the substructures nor of their contents was published; it must be supposed that the documentation was either never accomplished or lost when Junker had to leave Cairo at the outbreak of World War II (Junker 1963, 36, 48).

¹¹ Note, however, that the mastaba had been partially demolished in antiquity and some blocks reused in later tombs. Since, according to fig. 27 of Junker’s publication, no blocks were preserved in the part where the slot is indicated, its existence remains hypothetical, see fig. 2 here.

¹² This text is attested by a single block found in the north wall of the tomb (Junker 1943a, 100, 102, fig. 27). Frieze inscriptions on mastabas are not a sign for a late date as Junker implied. Rather, they are found from the early 5th Dynasty onwards. See G 5210 (Khemtenu, date: early 5th Dynasty) (Porter and Moss 1974², 155); G 7150 (Khaefkhufu II, date: Niuserre) (Simpson 1978, pl. 31b, c); see also the list of tombs provided by Seidlmayer and Ziermann (1992, 167–168).

¹³ According to Junker, “*diese schlechteste Arbeit*” was characteristic for the end of the Old Kingdom (Junker 1943a, 95, see also 102). See further below, p. 114, for counter-arguments.

¹⁴ The importance of the scenes is underscored by Junker’s meticulous description and discussion covering nearly 50 pages.

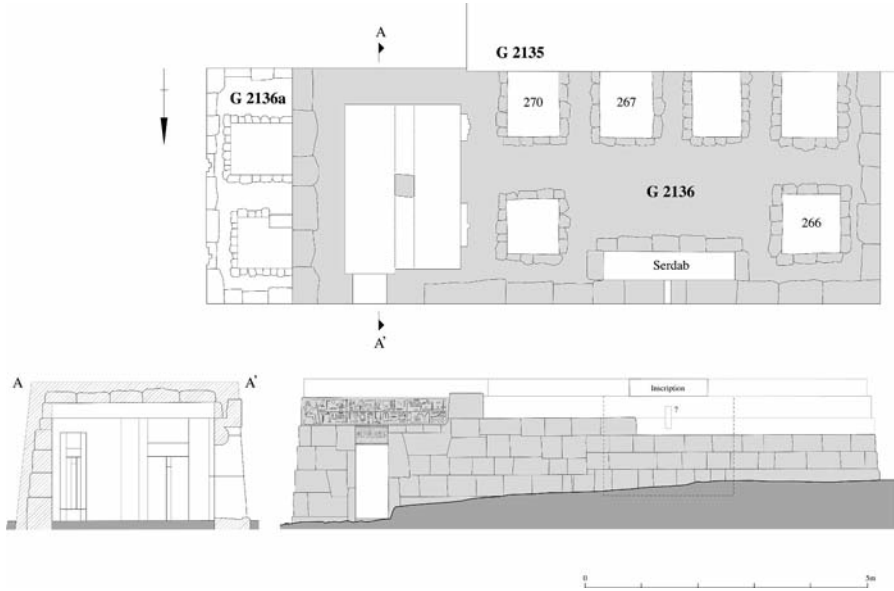


Fig. 2 Plan of the mastaba of Kahif (after: Junker 1943a, fig. 27)

When considering Kahif's date, it is important to note that, according to Junker's reconstruction of the development of Cemetery G 4000, the core of mastaba G 2135 was built during the reign of Mycerinus or Shepseskaf (Junker 1929, 11–12, 14; 1955, 17, 22; cf. Jánosi 2005, 134–135, see also p. 140, fig. 12). Thus, he considered any secondary additions, changes or alterations to be later (end of 5th Dynasty and later), since they did not conform to the initial plan conceived during the 4th Dynasty tomb building and art (in Junker's terminology, "Stil"). The stronger the deviation from the standards of 4th Dynasty tomb building and art (in Junker's terminology, "Stil"), the later the tomb was in time (Junker 1928, 1–14; 1929, 74–5; 1955, 31–4; Stadelmann 1995, 155–166). This view, however, is untenable; neither the archaeology nor the architecture of the tombs supports it. In the first place, G 2135 clearly belongs in the Khufu era; it was used then or shortly thereafter (Jánosi 2005, 134–135, see also p. 140, fig. 12; Der Manuelian, 2009, 282 (with literature). Consequently, the time gap which Junker felt it necessary to establish between G 2135 and G 2136 does not mandate a 6th Dynasty date for the latter.

In pursuing Junker's arguments it is indeed curious to see that precisely the most important point for evaluating a rough time frame for the date of the mastaba – its location in relation to the surrounding tombs – was categorically disregarded by Junker. He was of the opinion that it was purely the tomb owner's personal advantageous choice (Junker 1943a, 95: "*Es lag also all dem der eigene Vorteil zugrunde und nicht eine Rücksicht auf den Friedhofsplan, die uns einen*

Fingerzeig für die Zeitsetzung geben könnte.”), which determined the location, form, and size of the tomb. However, looking at the position of Khaif’s tomb and the surrounding mastabas, it becomes evident, that he *did* respect the structures already standing and, moreover, the accessibility to other tomb chapels.¹⁵ His mastaba conforms to the principles of secondary tomb building in the neighbourhood, especially as exemplified by those larger structures directly attached to one of the large Khufu-period cores (see *fig. 1*).¹⁶

¹⁵ Blocking a street entirely or leaving only a small passageway between two core mastabas was regarded by Junker as a late phenomenon, (1943, 94), but he admitted that earlier exceptions do exist, mentioning the tomb of Kaj (G 4651: middle of the 5th Dynasty) (1938, 123–124; Porter and Moss 1978², 135). In fact, blocking a street is not a dating criterion (as Harpur has remarked, 1987, 37–38, when discussing Kaj’s tomb), since this procedure started under Khufu, when some tomb owners enlarged the initial cores of their tombs to include a second shaft at the north end, thereby blocking the passageway (see, for example, the tombs G 1223, G 1235, G 4140 and G 4150). From the beginning of the 5th Dynasty onwards or even slightly earlier, when the Giza necropolis ceased to be used as a royal burial ground, the enlargement of old and unused cores was in full swing, as the structures of Kaninisut I (G 2155), Seshemnefer II (G 5080) and III (G 5170) demonstrate, the latter two *entirely* blocking the north-south roads. However, the difference between blocking which conformed to certain standards and uncontrolled interference in the layout of a (core) cemetery must be noted. Alas, very little is known about procedures governing “site management” in Old Kingdom cemeteries. Did a (royal) institution regulate building activities and grant concessions/permissions to tomb builders? A review of the development on the Giza plateau gives the impression that certain rules were in force, so long as the site was a royal burial ground and well cared for. Once the kings left the site for good, people obviously felt less or even no obligation and started building their eternal abodes according their own taste. The other open question in regard to secondary cemeteries and secondary occupation concerns the longevity of the funerary cults for private persons, see Shirai (2006, 325–333). As long as relatives or funerary priests looked after a tomb, destruction and overbuilding was prevented. But as soon as family members began to neglect their obligations to their ancestors or when the funerary cult eventually ceased to be maintained, the tomb most certainly fell into disuse, was reused or even exploited as quarry for building material. The warnings and threats against violations and plundering inscribed on the entrances and walls of tombs during the 5th Dynasty amply testify to the reality in the “sacred land”. The time span between interment and disuse is hard to determine since the relics recovered offer only a patchwork of information; see, for instance, the observations made by Ann M. Roth (2001, 37–38). Under ideal circumstances, the son sustained the cult for his father, but was he responsible to continue the cult for his grandfather and great-grand-father and so on as well? Considering the economic aspect, it seems justified to doubt that the funerary cult of private individuals lasted in general for more than one or two generations.

¹⁶ If Kahif indeed intended to follow solely his own considerations, he (like Kaj, G 4651, or Kaiemankh, G 4561; see the preceding note) could have built his tomb between G 2135 and G 2140, thereby entirely blocking the route leading westwards to the mastaba of Nensedjerkai. Such a procedure is well attested in the core cemeteries and had the economic advantage of requiring less building material for the secondary mastaba, since the outer walls of the core mastabas could function as lateral walls of the secondary tomb.

To the north, the tomb annexed to G 2135 is surrounded by large structures of the 4th Dynasty (G 2140, G 2160),¹⁷ and to the east by G 2155 (Kaninisut I) (Der Manuelian 2009, 367–414). All the cores were built under Khufu, but while those to the north were used during his reign or only a short time later, Kaninisut I's tomb can be dated to the very beginning of the 5th Dynasty (Hölzl 2001, 53–5; Jánosi 2005, 219; Der Manuelian 2009, 368–369), reusing and considerably enlarging the old core. Later, Kaninisut I's son (G 2156) and his grandson, Kaninisut III (G 2156a), erected their smaller tombs up against G 2155 to the east and north, respectively (*fig. 1*). A similar procedure is observable on the southern side of G 2135 where Kefy (G 2135a) and Nefer I (G 4761) erected their tombs (Porter and Moss 1974², 75, 137–138, plans XI, XV). While these structures reuse to a considerable extent the façades of the old cores, their positions clearly reveal respect for the existing architecture and access routes. Furthermore, Kefy and Nefer I shared the area in front of the tomb's entrance, using the space as a courtyard without blocking access to G 2135 or obstructing its mud brick chapel.¹⁸ The same is true of Kahif and his son Djednefret who carefully respected the passageway at the south side of G 2140 and the north-south passage leading to the chapel of G 2135 (*fig. 1*). None of these secondary tombs are later than the end of the 5th/beginning of the 6th Dynasty. Kaninisut II can be dated from the first half up to the middle of the 5th Dynasty, and his son Kaninisut III, into the second half of the same dynasty (Porter and Moss 1974², 79–80). For Nefer I (G 4761) Junker proposed a time range from the end of the 5th to the middle of the 6th Dynasty, opting for the first half of the latter as the most likely date (Junker 1943a, 26–9). This date, however, depends upon a late date for G 4860, which (as with the mastaba G 2135) was considered by Junker to have been built at the end of the 4th Dynasty (see above p. 67), but this is clearly not the case. Thus, the date for Nefer I can be narrowed down to the second half or the end of the 5th Dynasty at the latest.¹⁹ Junker envisaged a date in the later part of the 5th Dynasty for Kefy's undecorated tomb, solely on the basis of the incomplete seated statue found in the serdab (Junker 1943a, 92).

If Kahif's tomb was indeed built in the middle of the 6th Dynasty or later, how was enough space available for such a comparatively large mastaba in this part of the cemetery without removing or building over older structures at the site? This would again raise the question of why he chose this particular place for his tomb (Reisner 1937, 260). Would he have been unconcerned about blocking streets or obstructing access routes to chapels when demolishing

¹⁷ Both owners remain anonymous, Der Manuelian (2009, 293–306, 415–420).

¹⁸ The function of the huge mud brick wall attached to the south side of the original (?) chapel of G 2135 remains enigmatic. Junker considered it part of an enclosure wall; however, its thickness (ca. 2 m) makes this doubtful.

¹⁹ Harpur (1987, 37–38, 356), proposed V.9–VI.1. Recently, Kanawati (2000, 15) suggested a date not later than the end of the 5th Dynasty.

older structures?²⁰ To conclude this paragraph, I must add that I can cite no large-scale tomb with extensive decoration at Giza which is datable to the later part of the 6th Dynasty or the reign of Pepy II, by contrast to the cutting of modest shaft tombs and the preparation of simple interments which continued right down into the First Intermediate Period. The building and decoration of tombs the size of Kahif's structure seem to cease at Giza during the first half of the 6th Dynasty (reign of Pepy I).

Junker regarded the "unusual" large floor plan of the chapel (*figs. 2, 3*) with the central pier as resulting from the increasing numbers of chambers gradually "filling" the entire body of a mastaba, a development which, according to him, started in large mastabas at the end of the 5th Dynasty, with smaller structures following and modifying this pattern at a later date.²¹ For comparison, Junker cited G 2430 (LG 25), and the tombs of Setka and Ptahhotep at Giza, and of Fetekta at Abusir (Junker 1943a, 95). However, none of these tombs sustains a late date. G 2430 belongs to the reign of Unis (Altenmüller 1981, 54–5), and Fetekta dates to the period Djedkare – Unis (Bárta 2011, 119–121), while Setka and Ptahhotep belong at the very end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th Dynasty. The appearance of more chambers within the body of a mastaba is a phenomenon which develops in the middle of the 5th Dynasty to attain an initial peak under Niuserre (see the remarks of Smith 1949², 191; Bárta, 2005, 105–125; Jánosi 2006, 98, 103–112).

Kahif's chapel conforms to a type which is rare but nevertheless well attested at Giza (Reisner 1942, 284–285: Type (10 a): square or nearly square room with one or two piers supporting roof; with one or two niches in west wall; entered by doorway from outside. See also the list in Harpur (1987, 97–99, 319–20). More importantly, almost all such chapels can be found in more or less well-dated tombs, beginning in the time of Niuserre. None of the mastabas featuring this chapel type is necessarily younger than the beginning of the 6th Dynasty. The tombs falling into this category are:

²⁰ That destructive overbuilding finally occurred in this area is demonstrated on the east side of G 2135 (*fig. 1*), where part of the original (?) mud brick chapel was destroyed and overbuilt by a small structure belonging to the later (?) part of the 6th Dynasty which consists of several shafts (S 280a, b, S 280?, S 281a–f). This provides unequivocal evidence that the cult for the benefit of the owner of G 2135 must have ceased earlier (Junker 1943a, 93–94, Porter and Moss 1974², 75).

²¹ *"Der Plan der Anlage zeigt einen unverhältnismäßig großen Kultraum, in dessen Mitte ein Pfeiler steht. Das führt uns an das Ende einer Entwicklung, die allmählich den Grabblock auflöst, neben der Kultkammer noch weitere Räume in das Innere des Baues legt oder den einzigen Raum erweitert unter Einsetzen von Pfeilern, die es ermöglichten, größere Flächen zu überdecken. ... Treten Beispiele dieser Art bei reichen Mastabas schon gegen Ende der 5. Dynastie auf, so ist die Nachahmung bei kleineren Anlagen meist erst viel später zu belegen, ..."* (Junker 1943a, 95).

- G 7150: Khufukhaef II; temp. Niuserre (Porter and Moss 1974², 190–191),
G 7244: anonymous; 5th Dynasty (Porter and Moss 1974², 192),
no no.: Tjestj; 5th Dynasty (Porter and Moss 1974², 257),
LG 64: Neseimnau; temp. Unas – Teti (PM III², 209); (Harpur 1987, 104, 268),
no no.: Kajsudja; end of 5th to beginning of 6th Dynasty (Porter and Moss
1974², 243),
no no.: Niwedjaptah; 5th Dynasty or later (Porter and Moss 1974², 62–63),
no no.: Neferherniptah; 5th Dynasty or later (Porter and Moss 1974², 63).

Of course, this does not mean that this type of chapel ceased to be built in the 6th Dynasty, but rather that the majority of the decorated tombs containing them belong to the second half of the 5th Dynasty, and are not typical of a late development, as Junker maintained.

The decoration of Kahif's chapel, and especially the distribution of scenes on the four walls, perplexed both the excavator and younger scholars alike (Junker 1943a, 95, 102, 104–105; Harpur 1987, 98: "*The seemingly haphazard placing of subject matter in these chapels* [Niwedjaptah, Kaisudja and Kahif] ..."). Junker correctly realised that the choice of themes and their distribution on the walls seem to conform to older patterns ("*... Auswahl und Anordnung der Bilder scheinen sich zunächst ganz im Rahmen der Überlieferung zu halten*") (Junker 1943a, 102), but variations in details prompted Junker to suggest a late development. Although a comprehensive treatment of Kahif's tomb decoration cannot be undertaken in the present context, it should be pointed out nevertheless that Junker's discussion of the scenes and motifs repeatedly cites tombs from the beginning of the 5th Dynasty (Merib [G 2100-I-annexe, Kaninisut I [G 2155], Nisutnefer [G 4970], Seshathotep [G 5150]) (Junker 1943a, 102, 114, 117–118), leading him necessarily to the conviction that the distribution and positioning of scenes and the mixing of themes on a wall must be considered a late phenomenon. In fact, Kahif's chapel decoration can only be compared to a limited extent to these early chapels of standard "L-shaped" form (4a, b, according to Reisner's typology [1942, 214–218, 310–312]) with a characteristic distribution pattern for the scenes. The close relationship between the decoration of Kahif's chapel and that found in tombs of the 5th Dynasty was, however, felt even by Junker, who drew close parallels several times with representations in the tomb of Ti at Saqqara (temp. Niuserre), as well as to those in Nefer I's tomb (G 4761; late 5th Dynasty) in the immediate neighbourhood (Junker 1943a, 119, 121, 128, 131, 140, 148; 1943b, 4, 8. Smith 1949², 198, clearly noted the similarity to 5th Dynasty tomb decoration). Yvonne Harpur also noted the "older" patterns present in Kahif's chapel and the similarity to other 5th Dynasty chapel decoration at Giza,²² especially in

²² Harpur (1987, 98): "Of these chapels, those belonging to *K3-hj f* and *Ns-m-n3w* are closest to the early pattern of scene orientation (plans 109–10)". As mentioned above (note 1), in

the tombs of Khaefkhufu II (G 7150; temp. Niuserre) (Porter and Moss, 1974², 190) and of Iasen (G 2196; end of the 5th Dynasty) (Porter and Moss, 1974², 82; for the date see Woods 2009, 165–166).

First, the technical aspects of chapel decoration have to be addressed, if briefly. The fact that the relief and painting were executed in a thick layer of plaster provided Junker with one strong argument in favour of placing Kahif in the late Old Kingdom.²³ However, the use of plaster is fairly common in tomb decoration – especially from the 5th Dynasty onwards, when an increasing number of tomb builders had to use local limestone of inferior quality. Thus, the technique is not necessarily confined to a certain period implying carelessness or decline; the use of plaster is not a conclusive indication of a late date.²⁴

The distribution of the scenes on the four walls of the chapel may be concisely summarised as follows (See Junker 1943a, 102, 105–153, figs. 30–38, 40–47):

several instances Harpur clearly points out that some of the features Junker considered as indicative of the late date are in fact found in 5th Dynasty tombs; winnowing is usually performed by women in the Old Kingdom, but the tombs of Ti at Saqqara and Kahif exceptionally also include a man, *op. cit.*, 168. The depiction of the row of floats at the top of the dragnet, which are so close to each other that they form a symmetrical continuous border (like the frieze on top of many wall scenes in tombs) finds a close parallel in the chapel of Inefert (Schürmann 1982, pl. 9), dated to the reigns of Niuserre to Djedkare-Isesi; for this date (contra Harpur) see Bolshakov (1990, 15–27); Albersmeier (2007, 14–25, see especially the plate on p. 23 below). Concerning the position of the plough shaft, which is visible in its entirety from plough to yoke (Junker 1943a, 132 fig. 42) – instead of just between the animals – which Junker believed was a feature of the late Old Kingdom, see Harpur who has pointed out, however, that this kind of representation is attested earlier in the tomb of Nefer and Kahay at Saqqara (date: Niuserre) (Harpur 1987, 211). For Nefer and Kahay, see Moussa and Altenmüller (1971, pl. 8); see also the same representation in the tomb of Inefert, Schürmann (1982, pl. 11 on p. 59). Furthermore, it might be added that the form of the *ḥprt*-bread on the offering table (Junker 1943a, figs. 32, 33, 38) conforms to the pattern dated by Miroslav Bárta from the reign of Niuserre to the beginning of the 6th Dynasty (1995, 27–9, fig. 4:3 [stage III]). In front of the table scene on the south wall, members of Kahif's family are shown (in smaller scale) sitting at small offering tables. This feature is quite rare, but a comparable representation occurs, as was pointed out by Smith (1949², 198), in the tomb of Limeri (G 6020) (date: Niuserre or slightly later), where attendants are shown in the very same way at small offering tables (Weeks 1994, 44, fig. 35, pl. 18a [south wall of second chamber]).

²³ "Einen noch stärkeren Hinweis gibt uns die nachlässige Art der Ausführung der Flachbilder; Darstellungen und Inschriften sind zum großen Teil nicht aus dem Stein gehauen, sondern in einem dicken Lehmewurf modelliert, der auf die rauen Wände aufgetragen wurde. Diese schlechteste Arbeit aber ist gerade für das Ende des Alten Reiches bezeichnend, ..." (Junker 1943a, 95). For the detailed description of the technique used in the chapel see *op. cit.*, 102–4.

²⁴ For the use of plaster see Smith 1949², 196–197, 201, 245. Smith correctly remarked: "What the reliefs of Dyn. V lack of technical virtuosity in their carving is richly compensated by their movement, vivacity, and diverse subject-matter", *op. cit.*, 201. For the technique, see the observations of Williams (1932, 4–5, 16, 19–20). Junker cited both the plaster technique and the vivacity of the scenes in support of a late date (1943, 95, 102–105).

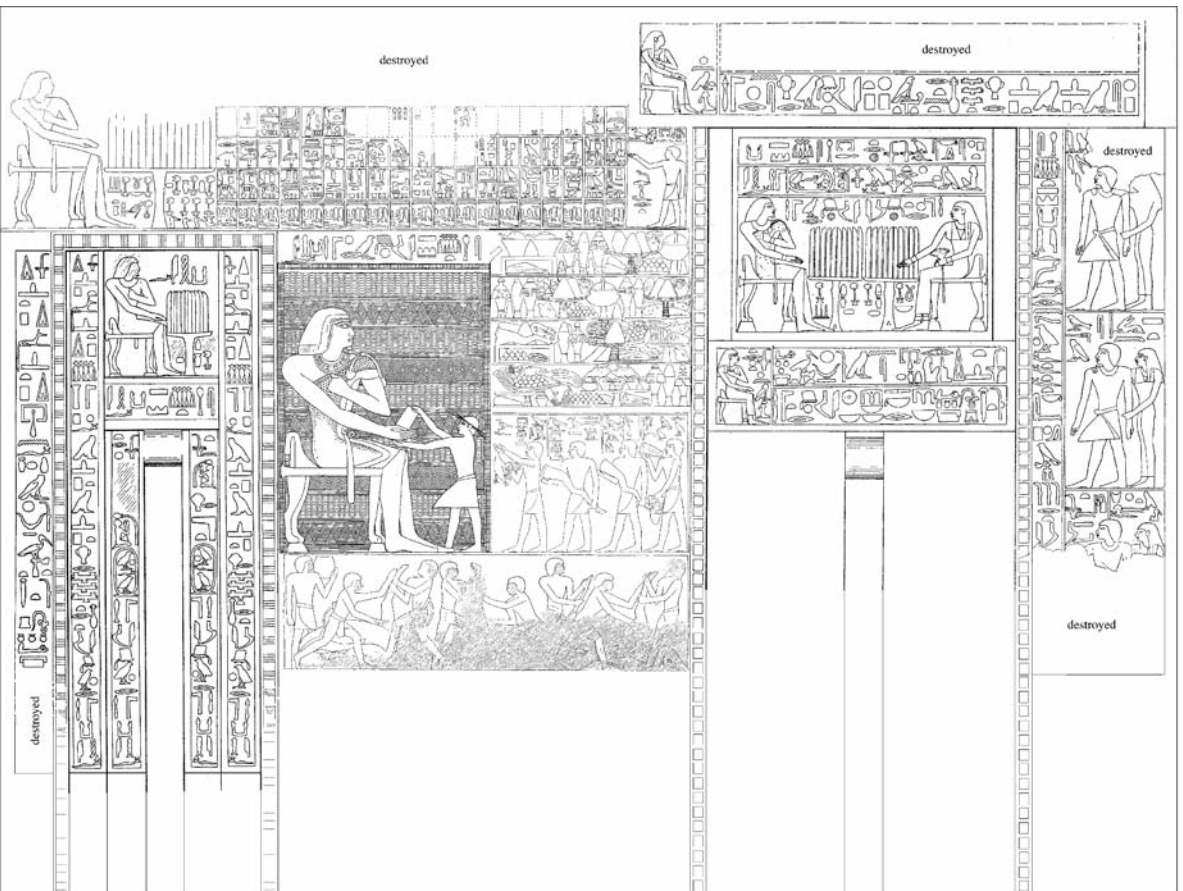


Fig. 3 The west wall in Kahif's chapel (reconstructed after Junker 1943a, figs. 30–37)

the north (= entrance) wall depicts the tomb owner leaning on a staff and watching (*m33*) live stock brought before him. The long east wall features scenes of agricultural pursuits,²⁵ harvesting flax, making ropes, fishing, etc., while the south wall is entirely devoted to the banquet scene showing the deceased and his wife seated at a table and attended by their grandchildren, guests, and musicians. The decoration on the west wall (*fig. 3*) included two false doors, the depiction of the deceased at table with offering-list, piles of offerings, offering-bringers, and the deceased seated in kiosk receiving the list of offerings. It was this wall, which aroused most suspicion concerning Kahif's date (see below).

Broadly speaking, the distribution of scenes and themes in Kahif's chapel conforms to the established pattern found in L-shaped chapels as outlined by Yvonne Harpur (1987, 63–77, esp. 75–76). The north and east walls are devoted to "outdoor" activities, while the south and west walls show scenes of the tomb owner's "private" life, i.e. scenes related the funerary cult. To a certain extent, the general layout of Kahif's chapel decoration does adhere to the decorative pattern characteristic of the old L-shaped chapel types (see above p. 71). But the entrance from the north, the central pier, and the enlarged floor plan clearly indicate that Kahif's chapel epitomizes an advanced stage of tomb building, as Junker, too, realised. This is witnessed not only by "scene mixing" of some themes in the relief decoration (Junker 1943a, 102),²⁶ but is also obvious in the unusual layout of the west wall.²⁷ In contrast to the normal pattern, the northern false door is considerably larger. More importantly, although Kahif occupies the canonical position at the left in the table scene, the false door was entirely decorated in the name of Kahif's mother *Hnmt*, who alone is featured on the architrave and lintel (Junker 1943a, *fig. 32*, pl. 10a). This certainly seems to be a very exceptional case, implying that *Hnmt* was buried with her son in a common tomb.²⁸ Furthermore, to the right of *Hnmt's* false door, Kahif listed and

²⁵ Representations of field work on the east wall of a chapel start to appear after the middle of the 5th Dynasty (Bolshakov 1997, 64–65, Tab. 1).

²⁶ Harpur (1987, 75): "Few scenes are given unusual positions in the early L-shaped chapels from Dynasty IV to the end of the reign of Neferirkare, most of the discrepancies being found in late Fourth Dynasty rock-cut tombs or mastabas dating from V.6 onwards, when a varied repertory had developed. This repertory was well suited to the multi-roomed chapels with space for many scenes, but some of the smaller single-roomed chapels of the same period show evidence of 'scene mixing'."

²⁷ Junker (1943, 95): "Aus dieser Zeit erklärt sich auch die von der Überlieferung abweichende Einteilung der Szenen auf der Westwand und die neue Gestaltung des feierlichen Mahles auf der Südwand."

²⁸ Probably in the shaft situated immediately behind the false door (see *fig. 2* here). Mothers frequently occur in the tombs of their sons (see for instance Wehemka or Merib, Porter and Moss 1974², 71, 114), but the important thing is that only exceptionally is a false door inscribed with their own name. Kahif's wife has no false door, but he does include three depictions of her in the tomb (entrance, east and south wall, Junker 1943a, *figs. 29*,

depicted his family members in three generations, thus stressing his ancestry (Junker 1943a, 98–99, fig. 32).

On the very same wall, Kahif is depicted sitting in a booth and receiving a document from a scribe standing inside (Junker 1943a, fig. 34, pl. 11a).²⁹ The scene is indeed unique, but that does not necessarily favour a date in the 6th Dynasty. As Peter Der Manuelian (1996, 588) has shown, the presentation of the document appears at Giza as early as the reign of Khafre, “*but the highpoint of attested examples comes from the reigns of Niuserre and his immediate successors, in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty*”. In fact, the scene with the presentation of the scroll in Kahif’s tomb belongs to the particular group (pose 4 of Der Manuelian’s compilation) that at Giza ranges in date from the reign of Niuserre to Teti (Der Manuelian 1996, 561–588).

The use of a virtually unique composition on the west wall, with the larger false door devoted to Kahif’s mother and, next to it, the representation of his ancestors, left no space for the presence of the tomb owner’s wife at its south end (fig. 3). This may well have resulted in the unusual combination on the south wall of the scenes of the funerary meal and a banquet (Porter and Moss 1974², 102) where she accompanies him (Junker 1943a, figs. 38a, b). The decoration of the south wall does not constitute an argument for a date into the (late) 6th Dynasty. All features – couple seated at the offering table attended by relatives, musicians and dancers and the depictions of food offerings and vessels – are typical for south walls and are well attested in 5th Dynasty tomb decoration.³⁰

In sum, the features discussed all strongly favour an earlier date for Kahif’s tomb, but the inscriptions, not considered above, definitely provide an *ante quem non* criterion. They cannot be older than the reign of Djedkara-Isesi. The text on the cross bar of the northern false door belonging to Kahif’s mother is crucial (Junker 1943a, fig. 32, pl. 8a); in it the god *Wsjr* features in the offering formula. The appearance of this deity in the funerary texts constitutes a firm timeline. While at Saqqara the earliest occurrence of Osiris is dated to the reigns

38a, 41), in contrast to Merib, who omits the mother of his children from the decoration of his tomb while including his mother. For the depictions of wives in Old Kingdom tombs, see Fischer (2000², 3–17, and especially note 51 on p. 60).

²⁹ This unusual scene was discussed by Harpur; it obviously influenced her late date for Kahif: “*Nevertheless, the character and placing of the kiosk scene of K3-hj.f is unusual, because it is on the west rather on the south wall and a list is presented instead of a lotus. The presenter stands inside the matted area rather than outside as in all other kiosk scenes. Registers of food, butchery, and bearers are associated with the relief, implying that the composition is a wholesale variant of a table scene, already depicted on the south wall.*” (Harpur 1987, 98).

³⁰ Nikauhathor (Porter and Moss 1974², 247); Khaefreankh (Porter and Moss 1974², 207–208); Nakhtka (Porter and Moss 1974², 240); Nefer I (without the offering table) (Porter and Moss 1974², 137–138).

of Niuserre to Djedkara-Isesi, at Giza the latter reign constitutes the turning point (Bolshakov 2001, 65–80; Daoud 1996, 97). Another iconographic feature in the texts, which Junker regarded as a late phenomenon, is the duplication of *m htp* (“in peace”) in the funerary prayer (Junker 1943a, 95, 110, figs. 31, 32). This duplication is not often attested and constitutes an insertion into the usual formula. The examples coming from the Giza necropolis show beyond doubt that the duplication occurs in tombs there as early as the later part of the 5th Dynasty (Barta 1968, 17 (‘Bitte 12’) and note 15).³¹

The lower end of the possible chronological range is more difficult to establish since no definitive parameters are available. However, as has been shown above, the features which Junker considered indicative of a late date (“*fortgeschrittene 6. Dynastie*”) begin to occur as early as the second half of the 5th Dynasty. Furthermore, no unequivocal architectural, decorative or inscriptional criteria currently known favour a date beyond the end of the 5th Dynasty or the reign of Teti at the latest. Assessment of the available evidence renders it improbable that Kahif was contemporaneous with Pepy II which leads me to propose that this man’s floruit should be limited to the time span Djedkara-Isesi – Teti; his mastaba was then presumably built and decorated at the end of the 5th Dynasty, no later than the reign of Teti.

³¹ For some of these tombs see: G 2098, *Nfr-hwj* (temp. Isesi – Unas): Roth (2001, 145–149, pls. 105a, 192); G 2430 (LG 25); *Htp-nj-Pth*, (temp. Unas): Altenmüller (1981, 9–56); depiction of the funeral of Khnumenti (G 2374), temp. Unas – Teti: Brovarski (2000, 118); the false door of *Nfr-š-rš* wife of Nimaatre (G 8900; late 5th Dynasty): Hassan (1936, 207, fig. 228, pl. 79; G 8492); *Hmw/Špsš-k3.f-ḥnḥ*: Hassan (1950, 87, fig. 69, pl. 37A (Harpur: temp. Unas – Teti); *Ḳ3r*: Hassan (1950, 209, fig. 207, pl. 89A (end of 5th Dynasty or 6th Dynasty).

DIACHRONIC TRENDS IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN HISTORY

Studies dedicated to the memory of Eva Pardey

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Vydala Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Filozofická fakulta, 2013,
Nám. Jana Palacha 2, 110 00 Praha 1

Obálka (s použitím fotografie Martina Frouze) Jolana Malátková

Vydání první, Praha 2013

Sazba a tisk **SERIFA**[®], s. r. o., Jinonická 80, 150 00 Praha 5

ISBN 978-80-7308-444-8



ISBN 978-80-7308-444-8



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