



THE MORTUARY CHAPEL OF UKHHOTEP SON OF IMA (A. NO.3) AT MEIR

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates the mortuary chapel of Ukhhotep son of Iam (A. No.3.) at Meir. Our information about Middle Egypt comes primarily from the cemeteries of the wealthy princes and mayors who were associated with political and religious centers of its administrative regions, or nomes; especially at Qaw el-Kebir, el-Rifa, Asyut, el-Bersha, Beni Hasan. El-Qusiya is another important site which is located almost 50km northwest of Asyut. It was the cult center of Hathor. It was the capital of the Fourteenth nome of Upper Egypt. Meir was its necropolis. This nome was rich. Its rulers maintained a considerable state of nobility. They were a class of the mayors (nobility *krht*) which is reflected on their burials. Meir necropolis lies at the edge of cultivation. The tombs were cut into the rock cliffs. These tombs are characterized by the absence of portico on the façade. The chapel of Ukhhotep son of Iam (A. No.3) is the focus of this article. It is located up on the cliff of Meir. The chapel has not been studied in details. I aim at providing the full history and description. The date of the chapel could be the time of Senwosert I

KEYWORDS

Meir, cemeteries, offerings, mortuary, chapel, Hathor, Ukhhotep, ritual, tomb.

المخلص

يتناول هذا البحث المقصورة الجنائزية الخاصة بالنبييل اوخ حتب (A3) والتي تقع في مير؛ جبانة نبلاء القوصة حيث الإقليم الرابع عشر، وقد اشتهر نبلاء القوصية بمكانتهم المرموقة خاصة في عصر الدولة الوسطى، بما حصده من ألقاب منها ما ربط الكثيرين منهم بكهنوت حتحور. تقع المقصورة أعلى مقبرة ببي عنخ التي ترجع إلى عصر الدولة القديمة، وعلى ما يبدو أنها لم تكتمل وبها دخلتان وزعت النصوص بما يشبه تقسيم الباب الوهمي حول الدخلة الجنوبية من المقصورة وسجلت نص اهداء المقصورة إلى اوخ حوتب ثم شملت صيغة مقدمة القرابين موجهة من آلهة مختلفة تناسب مكانة المقصورة وطابعها الجنزي، ولكن الأهم هو تسجيلها لمجموعة من الأعياد المهمة التي حرص عليها المصري القديم وجاءت مرتبة وكانت في طابعها متشابهة مع اللوحات الجنزية المستخرجة من أبيدوس والمناطق المجاورة وبعد دراسة النصوص والدراسات المقارنة فمن المرجح تأكيد تأريخها ببداية عصر سنوسرت الأول.

الكلمات الدالة

مير، جبانات، قرابين، جنائزي، مقصورة، حتحور، أوخ حتب، طقسة، مقبرة

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

The chapel is clearly visible cut in the second terrace of the eastern face of the cliffs overlooking the western side of the town of el-Qusiya.¹ The quality of this chapel is very bad. It is located above the tomb of Pepyankh A2² (was also known by the name of Heny-Kem) (Fig.1). The chapel consists of a rectangular room (about 3.2 m. from north to south and 3.70 m. from east to west). It does not have a shaft for a burial. Although the chapel is unfinished, the general view of the first recess which belongs to Ukhhotep (pl.1 A), looks like false door³, and few traces of torus and cavetto cornice are still visible⁴. The torus surrounds the panel and the niche. It makes the edges of the monument have a transversal fluted decoration⁵. These features were attested mid-Fifth Dynasty as a sign of high status of the owner. They became common in the Sixth Dynasty, although they coexisted along the older type. The main terms for mortuary chapels of private and royal individuals were *hwt k3* and *st nhh*, *ḥt*, *mḥt* and also *r-pr*⁶ which could be used for an offering chapel as for false door by extension, along with the usual term *rw*⁷. According to F. Servajean, it is possible for the deceased to come in and come out his tomb, if a *st nhh* "place of time" (funerary chapel) and a *tpht n dt* "cavern of eternity" (burial place) are at his disposal⁸ (possibly *tpht* could indicate both, a niche and a room).⁹

In the north wall of the chapel, there are two statue- recesses. The western recess is painted pink with dark reddish spots to imitate red granite. The two recesses designed to keep a statue of the deceased, Ukhhotep (Fig.2). Statues generally were placed in the chapel in order to provide permanent residing places for the soul of the deceased, substituting the body if it was destroyed. There is a socket at the top and bottom for the two doors- leaves to turn in. The rest of the interior ceiling, walls, and floor, is roughly hewn. The walls of the chapel were coated with mud plaster, but not apparently the

¹Blackman, *Meir* VI, pls. 2, 5; *Meir* I, pp. 8, II-12 [4].

²It is believed that Pepyankh was the first one who chose this place for his burial; Sébastien Polet, 'Généalogie et chronologie chez les nobles de Meir et de Koçeir à l'Ancien Empire', in *Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia* 5, (2008), p. 81-94 and id., 'Pepy-ankh Heny le noir de Meir (tombe A2) a-t-il usurpé le titre de vizir?', in *Res Antiquae* 7, (2010), p. 417-428; N. Kanawati, *The Cemetery of Meir II. The Tomb of Pepyankh the Black, Australian Centre for Archaeology Reports* 34, (2014).

³See Brovarski, 'False Doors and History: The First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom', in D. P. Silverman, J. Wegner, eds., *Archaism and Innovation. Recent Perspectives on Middle Kingdom Egypt*, Philadelphia, Prague, (2009), pp. 359-424.

⁴Torus and Cornice were attested early of the Fifth Dynasty, and were found mainly from the reign of the King Niuserre until late Fifth Dynasty. They were confined principally to viziers and high officials. They became the usual types in the Sixth Dynasty. They were favorite decorative elements for the fronts of the Twelfth Dynasty statue niches in Qubbet el-Hawa and Meir see: H. W. Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine, AF* 9, Glückstadt, (1940), figs. 34, 39, pl. 31; Blackman, *Meir* I, pls. 15 [1], 22 [1]; II, pls. 9, 33.

⁵Vandier, *Manuel* II, pp. 401-402.

⁶Spenser, P., *Studies in the Lexicography of Ancient Egyptian buildings and their parts*, London, (1981), p. 168; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies, Orbis biblicus et orientalis*, (1988), pp. 101, 102, 110.

⁷Spenser, P., *Studies in the Lexicography of Ancient Egyptian buildings and their parts*, p. 140.

⁸Servajean, F., *Djet et Neheh. Une histoire du temps égyptien* (= Or Mons XVIII), Montpellier, (2007), p. 69. Some texts from the new kingdom tombs like TT 38 points to the funerary chapel as a place of *m3ḥ* *hrw* see: Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs*, Oxford, (1963), pl. VI, p. 6.

⁹*Wb* V, 364 (11). The function of the chapel discussed further by Legros, R., *Stratégies mémorielles. Les cultes funéraires privés en Égypte ancienne de la Vie à la XIIe dynastie*, Lyon, (2016).

painted recess, its jambs or lintel. The hieroglyphic signs are incised and painted blue (Fig.3). Inside, on the three walls, there is a black dado surmounted by blue, red, and yellow bands. In front of the left recess, there was probably an offering slab. With regard to the shafts, despite the time which Blackman spent at Meir (on and off for nearly 40 years) and the attempts of Kanawati, they did not find shafts for A3, B1, B4 and C1. It is a very puzzling thing. Where were the owners of these tombs buried? The scholars do not know. Tomb B2 and B3 have shafts, but the curious thing is that the decoration of both of these tombs are totally unfinished. The owners of B1, B4 and C1 perhaps chose to have their shafts at a far distance from their tombs, so no one would violate or rob them.¹

THE OWNER OF THE CHAPEL AND HIS TITLES

There is no titles assigned to Ukhhotep in the chapel (A3) except the most common one *h3ty-ꜥ*. This title perhaps was a local title, simply served to enhance the prestige and denote the status of the dominant local leader, without any further administrative consideration.² M. Pardey, added that it is an elusive term meaning literally "foremost of position"; he often translate it as "baron", general mayor also could be a rank title³. There are many cases where the title *h3ty-ꜥ* appears immediately before the name of the official⁴. Other epithets *m3ꜥ hrw*, vindicated, and *im3hw*, venerated, were attested. They assert that the owner has achieved or is destined to achieve, a place among the honored and transfigured beings in the afterlife.⁵ Non royal memorials tend to present the highlights of the official's entire career consecration of their tomb or votive chapel. This chapel does include a long autobiographical text⁶, while numerous epithets are distributed throughout the tombs of Ukhhotep II⁷, Ukhhotep III and Ukhhotep IV.⁸ Their titles were held by many other high and middle rank officials. No sign that these local governors claimed royal power. W. Grajetzki attributed the presence of the royal

¹Kanawati's point of view via personal contact.

²Kanawati, *Hawawish*, p. 35, not.4; For the titles the following references are generally consumed; Ward, W. A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom and related Subjects*, Beirut, (1986), p. 47, n. 367; Fischer H. G., 'Egyptian titles of the Middle Kingdom: A Supplement to Ward's Index', *MMA*, New York, (1985), Helck W., *Verwaltung*, P. 209; id., 'Titel und Titulaturen', *LÄ VI*, col. 600; As mayor, the title often stands alone in inscription in front of the name, but was also often combined with the titles overseer of priests or overseer of the god's house, indicating that local governors were also the head of local religious matters; Quirke S., *Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*, London, (2004), pp. 111-112; Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian titles*, 496 [1858].

³Pardey, M., *Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*, HÄB 1, Hildesheim, (1976).

⁴Willems, H., 'Nomarchs and Local Potentates,' *The Provincial Administration in the Middle Kingdom* in C. Moreno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, Leiden, (2013), p. 361.

⁵Doxey, D., *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, (1998), p. 1.

⁶This may indicate that the chapel was not finished; Gnirs E.g., *Die ägyptische Autobiographie*, in A. Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms (=PA 10)*, Leiden (1996), pp. 203-204; id., *Biographies*, in Redford, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, I, (New York 2001), pp. 184-189; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*, (Orbis biblicus et orientalis 1988).

⁷Ukhhotep II has several charges such as *h3ty ꜥ*, *iry pꜥt, hry-hb*; Grajetzki, W., *Court officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, London, (2009), p.5.

⁸Willems, H., 'Nomarchs of the Hare Nome and early Middle Kingdom history', *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux. Jaarboek van het Nederlands Instituut Te Leiden*, vol. 28, (1983-1984), pp. 82-84.

symbols in the decoration of tomb of Ukhhotep IV at Meir¹ and in the tomb of Wahka II at Qaw el-Kebir to the cult of Hathor and her relationship with the kingship in these two cemeteries.²

Inscriptions (pl. 2)³: On the façade the inscriptions are divided into four horizontal lines, reading from right to left. The main text consists of four horizontal lines of incised colorful hieroglyphs on the upper lintel, oriented from right to left. The text on the right and left outer jambs comprises two vertical columns which consist *htp di nsw* formula.



The inscriptions on the façade of the western recess (upper lintel):

- (1) *ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f h3ty-^c Wh-htp s3 T3m iss n {hwt}K3.{f} is pn m -K3b*
 (2) *htp di nsw Wsir {nb Ddw Hnty-imntyw nb 3bdw} ntr ^c3 nb imnt di.f h3 m t hntk k3w*
 (3) *3pdw šs mnht ddt pt Km3t t3 rnpwt nbt ht nbt nfrt w^cbt ^cnht ntr im n*
 (4) *im3hy h3ty-^c Wh-htp m3^c s3 T3m m3^c hrw m ir n.f s3.f mry.f h3ty^c Wh-htp s3 Wh-htp m3^c hrw*

(1) He made as his monument for his father⁴, the Governor Ukhhotep, son of Iam, who has gone to his ka-domain of this tomb-chapel inside {it}

(2) An offering which the King gives, an offering which Osiris gives [lord of *ddw*, the foremost of the westerners], lord of Abydos, great god, lord of the west⁵, he gives: a thousand of bread, beer, oxen,

¹The governor Ukhhotep IV at Meir had a wish that he may become a king. In this context, there is no sign that the local governors assumed royal power. They just followed new religious beliefs; Grajetzki, W., *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, London, (2006), p. 98; Fischer, Gaufurst, *LÄ II*, 411.

²Grajetzki W., *Tomb Treasures of the late Middle Kingdom*, Pennsylvania, (2013), p. 184.

³Cf. The Previous old Cledat's copy of the hieroglyphic text which is full of many mistakes, Cledat, 'Notes archiologiques et philologiques', *BIFAO II*, (1902), p. 43; Blackman, *Meir VI*, pl. 2; Blackman, *Meir VI*, 1-2.

⁴On the formula: *jr n.f m mnw.f*, see Kruchten J, M., 'Deux cas particuliers de phrase coupée sans l'opérateur énonciatif', *JEA 82*, (1996), pp. 51-63; Grallert S., Bauen, Stiften, Weißen. 'Ägyptische Bauen- und Restaurierungsschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie', *ADAIK 18*, 2001, pp. 34-60; Depuydt L., 'On the Meaning of a Formulaic Expression in Egyptian', *LingAeg 9* (2001), pp. 83-122; *id.*, Egyptian Reconstituted, *BiOr 62* (2005), col. 26-29; *Wb III*, 70.

⁵Different variations: *nb-imntt*, *nb imntt nt-3bdw*, *nb-imntt dw3t* for more see: *LÄA III*, 583f.

(3) Fowl, alabaster (vessels), and garments¹ of what sky and earth produce, and all fresh-vegetables and every good and pure thing² that a god lives on, for

(4) the honored one, the count Ukhhotep, son of Iam, The Justified; as what his beloved, his son has made for him the Governor, Ukhhotep's son, Ukhhotep, Justified.³

COMMENTARY

The façade consists of four horizontal lines. Line 1, is badly preserved. The text can be studied only with difficulty. I propose some different signs from the Blackman's facsimile (Meir VI, pl. V). Blackman's translation "he made (it) as his monument for his father, the Governor, Iam's son, Ukhhotep, justified...this tomb-chapel is in?" (Meir IV, p.2). Fortunately, it was possible for me to examine the chapel personally, however, allows a slightly revised transcription and translation which cited above. The opening phrase line in this chapel begins with the emphatic *s_dm.n. f*; it is identical to the tag found on the 'Mayors List' in B4.⁴ The signs at the end of line no. 1 are smaller and less deeply incised.

The second line is also badly damaged, including *htp-di-nsw* offering formula⁵, which is repeated twice later. This line may be restored as [*htp di nsw Wsir [nb ddw hnty Imntyw] nb 3bdw*]. The line offered sufficient space for this, compare, for example the Osiris epithets in the offering list of private tombs⁶, and Beni Hassan.⁷

One thousand  *h3-m* is required of each food item. The deceased used to record his wish of certain offerings, some of which were traditional while others were more specific to his taste.⁸

¹Another word for linen: *sšrw* *Wb* IV 295(13); *Pyr.* D.18 this word for linen, is well attested from early texts.

²For *ih* *nb nfrt* cf. Barta, W., *Die altagyptische Opferliste*, *MÄS* 3 (Berlin 1963), p. 144.

³Anthes, R., 'The original meaning of *M3^c hrw*', *JNES* 13 (1954), p. 21ff.

⁴Blackman, *Meir* III, pl. II, 29.

⁵Barta W., *Die altagyptische offerliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche* *MÄS* 3, Berlin (1963); cf. the debate about the work of Barta by K. Kitchen, *Orientalia* 41 (1972), pp. 129-132; Smither, P., 'The writing of *htp-di-nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdom', *JEA* 25 (1939), pp. 34-37; Bennett, C., 'Growth of the *htp di nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom', *JEA* 27 (1941), pp.77-82; id., 'Motifs and phrases on funerary stelae of the Middle Kingdom', *JEA* 44 (1958), pp. 120 -121; for new re-interpretation of the offering formula see, D. Franke , 'The Middle Kingdom offering formulas- a challenge' , *JEA* 85 (2003), pp. 39-57.

⁶Fisher H., *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 37.

⁷Newberry, *Beni Hasan* III, pl. 27; Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, II, 20400, 20402, 20406, 20425.

⁸The word that expressed the desires was *stpw* = the best things *Wb* IV 338-339 (14) noun derived from the verb *stp* denoting the best things in general.

This chapel was dedicated to the *k3* of Ukhhotep to have an everlasting source of food, drink and other vital offerings in the afterlife. The Ennead may perform as a less strict commission of reception in the realm of the dead, so the offering formula was by their names with Osiris and Anubis who associated with the burial ground on higher desert ground (*ḥ3 ntr*). Inscribed offering formulas would magically sustain the tomb owner's spirit when the mortuary priests and relatives read the text, if they ceased to provide real offerings of food and drink¹. Bread was essential item of offering for the deceased individual and the gods alike, presented in daily rite. Wine also was often an important item in funerary cults, besides its general significance as an item of wine took a certain specific religious and mythological associations, in the pyramid texts; Osiris was mentioned as the lord of wine in the Wag Festivals (*Pyr* 442; & 820a)². The *ka* of the deceased had access to all things good and pure on which a god lives. Acts of libation, purification and censuring were associated with the rejuvenated deceased³. The fourth line repeats the names and title again. It describes Ukhhotep as an honored one *im3hy* (venerated, the one who has been provided for transfigured dead)⁴. Ukhhotep was the son of Ukhhotep who was the son of I am. Thus I am the grandfather of the last Ukhhotep⁵. The Egyptian language has no special words for grandfather, grandmother, Grandson, and granddaughter, although references to father's father and similar terms were attested⁶.



THE INSCRIPTION ON THE LEFT JAMB

(5) *ḥtp dī nsw psdt-ḥ3t imyt 3bdw di psdt [ḥ3t imyt 3bdw ḥ3 m ...]*

(6) *n ḥ3 m sntr ḥ3 m kbhw ḥ3 m [mr]ht [n im3hw ḥ3ty-ḥ Wh-ḥtp m3ḥ-hrw]*

(5) An offering that the King gives, and the [great] ennead who is in Abydos, [the great ennead who is in Abydos] may give: [a thousand of ...], (6) a thousand of incense, a thousand of libations, a thousand of unguent-jars, [for the honored-one, the governor Ukhhotep, justified].

¹Barta, *Die altägyptische offerliste*, p.15

²Helck W., *Das Bier im alten Ägypten*, (Berlin 1917); See Poo : Poo, Mu-Chou, *Wine and wine offering in the religion of ancient Egypt. Studies in Egyptology*, London- New York, (1995)

³Blackman A., 'The Significance of Incense and Libations in Funerary and Temple Ritual', *ZÄS* 50 (1912), pp. 69-75.

⁴Jones, *Index*, vol. I, p. 11 [42]; for the interpretation of *im3h*, see: Jansen K. W., 'Zur Bedeutung von *im3h*', *Bulletin de la Societé d'Égyptologie de Genève* 20, (1996), pp. 29-36; For *im3h hr ntr ḥ3* see H. Junker, *Giza II*, (Wien 1934), p. 53f; *LÄ I*. 1087-9.

⁵See below.

⁶Even *it /mwt* could be used for father/mother in law for more details see: Robins, G., 'The Relationships specified by Egyptian Kingships Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms', *CdE* 54, (1979), 197-217; Bierbrier, M. L., 'Terms of Relationship at Deir el-Medina', *JEA* 66, (1980), 100-107.

COMMENTARY

The text starts again with the offering formula of *hṭp di nsw* to the great Ennead in Abydos. This Ennead is composed of seven gods: two Khnum-gods, Thoth, Horus, Hor-nedjitef ()¹, and two Wepwawet-gods, or of twelve gods: Osiris, Hor-nedjitef, Isis, Nephthys, Min, Iunmutef, Re-Harachti, Onuris, Tefnut, Geb, Thoth and Hathor². Different kinds of offerings occurred (particularly in the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties stelae). They are usually more fully written out: *snṯr ḥ3 m kbḥ ḥ3 m mrḥt* offering of incense *snṯr* (make divine) conforms to its use in earlier periods in rituals³. Incense being the sign of god's presence and a medium for communicating with him. The action verb was *sti* is normally used for scattering solid substances such as incense⁴. The libation offering *kbḥ* is paired with the offering of incense in the funerary offering which is mad to the deceased.

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE RIGHT JAMB

(7) *hṭp di [nsw] Inpw hrp t3wy tpy ḏw.f imy wt nb t3-dsr di.f*
pṯt-hrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnḥt m (8) *3bd mḏdint (lsmḏt)*
hryw-rnpt 5 wpt-rnpt W3g msyt n ḥ3ty-ᶜ Wh-hṭp

(7) "An offering that the king gives of Anubis, director of the two lands, who is upon his mountain, the embalmer, lord of the necropolis. He gives invocation-offerings: bread, beer, oxen, birds, alabaster-vessels, and garments, (8) the monthly-festival, the half-monthly festival, the five epagomenic days, the new year's day, the Wag-festival, and the supper (:of the beginning of the year), for the Governor Ukhhotep".



COMMENTARY

In these two lines, the text mentions the offering formula, the dates on which these offerings should be presented, linking them to specific festivals. Food could also be actualized by recite a "voice offering". There were texts on some stelae had instructs visitors if they have nothing in their hand to say a thousand of bread, beer.... and every good thing⁵. The "*pṯt-hrw*", formula does not appear after *di.f* and before the group of offerings⁶, While this group of signs literally means 'sending the voice'. It actually

¹Rolf Felde: *Ägyptische Gottheiten*, Wiesbaden 1995, P. 19; *LÄA* 5: H - ḥ, pp. 268–269.

²Te Velde, H., *Relations and Conflicts between Egyptian Gods*, p. 243 p. 243 (on line accessed on the 2nd March 2017).

³Blackman, A., 'The Significance of incense and Libations in funerary and temple ritual', *ZÄS* 50 (1912), pp. 69-75.

⁴*Wb* IV, 346 (13).

⁵Dunham, D., *The Nag-ed Der stelae of the first Intermediate Period*, London, (1937), p. 102, pl. 31.

⁶See: Brovarski, *False Doors and History: The First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom*. In Silverman, Simpson, and Wegner, eds. (2009), pp. 359-423; E. Brovarski, *Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Nega-ed - Der*, UMI, (1989), 250 n. 299; Spanel, in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson II DP 767-68*. For the tendency by adding more commodities before the Twelfth Dynasty see Fischer H G., *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt*, New York, (1968), p. 83, n. 359.

indicates "presenting offerings".¹

This chapel interested in belongs to the sequence *htp-dj-nsw* formulas²

The presentation of offerings often interpreted as the return of the Eye of Horus to its owner, thus suggesting a well-known episode in the myth of the conflict between Horus and Seth.³ Osiris, great Ennead and Anubis are asked to provide invocation offerings and permit the deceased to travel through the beautiful roads of *im3hw*.⁴ *htp-dj-nswt dj Wsjr* (line 2): a feature that indicates a date at the end of the Sixth Dynasty or later. The root *htp* means both offering and peace. Offerings were made by private persons such as who are depicted in the tombs. The offerings could be fully effectual, if they were presented in the name of the king. The developments in the Middle Kingdom raised the status of both Osiris and Abydos. The cult of the funerary god became extremely popular during this period.⁵

The term *ntr* 𓄎 "Great God" is usually specified; it could refer to Ra, Osiris, or to the deceased king himself. However, it seems that in most non-royal texts it probably refers to the god Osiris. Osiris is also called Khenty-Imentyu. It is also more common in the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty. However, Khenty-Imentyu is not written with the determinative of a seated god, which was a common writing for this divine name only later. It is not before the mid-Fifth Dynasty that the Osiris legends, which represent well the idea of resurrection and after life, came to be associated with the funerary beliefs of the individual.⁶ Peter Der Manuelian published an important false door of the lady *Jntj* from Giza (Boston, MFA 31.781) with the offering formulae mentioning Osiris twice. He dated it to late Fourth Dynasty. Then this god began to take his place beside Anubis in the prayers and soon was considered the principal deity of the dead.⁷

¹Urk. IV: 1189:1: *pr(t) hrw n.f nfr m hwt k3 nt dt.f m js.f n hr(j)-ntr*"Making good offerings (lit. sending a good voice) for him in his own ka enclosure (and) in his tomb of the necropolis".

²About the offering formula, see Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen offerformel*, Äg Fo 24, Gluckstadt, 1968; Lapp, G., 'Die offerformel des Alten Reiches', *JNES* 53, Number 2/Apr., (1994). For its late development see: Franke, D., 'The Middle Kingdom offering Formulas- Challenge', *JEA* 89, (2003), pp. 39-57; Bennett, C., 'Growth of the *htp di nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom', *JEA* 27, (1941), pp.77-82.

³For the interpretation of offerings as the Eye of Horus, see: Rudnitzky, G., *Die Aussage Über das Auge des Horus*, (Kopenhagen 1956); Roeder, H., *GM* 138 (1994), pp. 56-67.

⁴Barta, *altägyptischen offerformel*, p. 15.

⁵The early occurrence of the epithet Osiris 'deceased' in the inscriptions of non-royal individual's false door was in Ninth and Tenth Dynasties (JE 59158). The most characteristic epithet of Osiris is *wn-nfr* 'enduring in well-being/the good', was the Egyptians praise of the rejuvenation of the god.

⁶On the royal monuments, Osiris is attested first in the Pyramid Texts of Unis, while in the private tombs, as far as we can date them, his name does not occur (in the offering formula) before Isesi; See bibliography in Bolshakov, A. O., 'Princess *hm.t-rš (w)*: The First Record of Osiris?', *CdÉ* 67 (1992), p. 203; van de Walle, B., *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef*. (Bruxelles 1978), p. 24, note 70. Also W. Helck, 'Überlegungen zum Ausgang der 5. Dynastie', *MDAIK* 47(1991), p. 164 (with some reservations concerning our general ability to date Old Kingdom tombs precisely) and Eaton-Krauss, M., 'The Earliest Representation of Osiris', *VA* 3, (1987), pp. 233-236.

⁷Der Manuelian, P., 'A Case of Prefabrication at Giza, The False Door of *Imj*', *JARCE* 35 (1998), pp. 115-127.

htp-dj-nsw psdt (Line 5)¹:

Ennead (*psdt*). Originally indicated the nine gods incorporating the physical creation of the world²: Atum; Shu and Tefnut; Geb and Nut; Osiris and Isis, Seth and Nephthys, known as the 'great Ennead' (*psdt ʿ3t*); it is also a term for any number of gods conceived as a group, and for all the gods³. The 'great Ennead' also represented the gods of Lower Egypt, compared to the 'Elder Ennead' (*psdt wrt*)⁴, also known as the 'Little Ennead' (*psdt ndst*), which consisted of the gods of Upper Egypt. Together, these two Enneads were known as 'the Dual Enneads' (*psdtj*)."

htp-dj-nsw Anubis (Line 7): It is noted that the formula of offerings was dedicated to Anubis in line (7). Osiris and Anubis are patrons of the western desert and the netherworld associated with funerary offerings.⁵ Anubis was providing burial and sustenance for the deceased, but Osiris could provide eternal life.⁶ The writing of the name of Anubis with the sign of a jackal  is characteristic of the period till the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, the jackal on a shrine  was emerged in the reign of the King Teti; however, the old variant was not completely discarded, especially when  was placed above horizontal signs , .

Festivals (Line 8): The list of feasts is one of the main points of focus in this chapel. The regular offerings were presented during specific festivals and periods⁸.

The mortuary contracts which the local governor *df3(i)- hʿpy* made with the priesthood of Asyut early Twelfth Dynasty focused on specific festivals and on cults which should be performed for his statues in the temple. One of the main groups of contracts refers to the tomb and a statue which may have been there.⁹ The tomb of *hnm-htp* II at Beni Hassan provides useful information concerning the day feasts. In the chapel of *wḥ-htp*(A3), the list of feasts on the north wall comprise: *3bd*, *smdt*, Epagomenal days, *wḥ*

¹cf. Offering formula which was under the protection of Osiris and Soker and Ennead of the white wall (Louvre LD 65)

² The term ennead is not as a circle of nine gods, but as a circle of a plurality of gods.

³The Elder Ennead (*psdt ʿ3t*) was first of all considered as Heliopolis's Ennead (cf. §§14c, 770d, 845b, 895b, 1655a, 1660a; CT V, 208b; Blackman, Meir II, pl. 6; Budge, BD151:11 (first version), BD151:8-9 (second version)) or as Atum's Ennead (cf. CT II, 18f: *psdt ʿ3t s3t jtm*, 22b: *psdt ʿ3t tm*, 52i: *psdt ʿ3t n(t) tm*) rather than as the Ennead that represented the gods of Lower Egypt.

⁴The Great Ennead (*psdt wrt*) was also located in Heliopolis, §1689c: *jn psdtj wrt ʿ3t hnt(j)t(j) b3w jwnw* "say the Great and Elder Enneads that are at the fore of the base of Heliopolis", and probably was headed by Geb.

⁵They also appeared in Middle kingdom coffins; sometimes tend to replace the two gods with Nephthys and Isis who were represented during the burial rites by priestesses positioned at the corpse's head and feet.

⁶The connection with embalming ritual and the identification of *sh ntr* of Anubis or *ibw* or *wʿbt* see: Grdseloff, B., 'Nouvelles données concernant la tente de purification', *ASAE* 51 (1951), pp.129-140; Altenmüller, H., 'Die Bedeutung der Gotteshalle des Anubis' im Begräbnisritual', *JEOL* 7 no.22 (1971-1972), pp.307-317; Lehner, M., *Complete Pyramids*, p. 27; Oxford, *Following Osiris Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* p. 556 (online).

⁷EI-Khouli, A.& Kanawati, N., *Excavations at Saqqara. North West of Teti 's Pyramid II.*, (Sydney 1988), pls. 7-8.

⁸Graefe, E., 'Talfest', *LÄ* VI (1986), cols. 187-9; Grajetzki W.& Quirke, S., *Festivals in the ancient Egyptian calendar*, Digital Egypt for Universities, University College London. Retrieved 31 October, (2015)

⁹Reisner, G., 'The Tomb of Hepzefa, Nomarch of Siût', *JEA* 5, (1918), pp. 79-98.

rnbt, *msyt*, *w3g*.¹ Spalinger adds that this classification is unusual and appears to reflect a local tradition at Meir.² Close parallels were attested at least with another Abydene example (stela Munich GL WAF 35; Leiden V4 stela from Naga-ed-Der (UE 8) Metropolitan Museum 25.2.3; Dunham, Naga-ed-Der, no. 83, pp. 107f, pl. XXIV; Stela of REDIU- Khnum Cairo 20543).

Five Epagomenal Days: the Epagomenal days are five days over the year' (= days 361-365 of the official year, added to the 12 months), they were not part of the normal year created by the gods. Five children were born on these days: Osiris, Horus, Seth, Isis and Nephthys.³ The *Msy*t feast was after the Epagomenal days but before *w3g*, designating the night preceding the first day. It was observed that Anubis offering formulae more attached to *msyt* which always follows *w3g* feast.⁴

The W3g- festival:⁵ it was an old festival $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ which was celebrated with at the beginning of the inundation⁶ on the 17th, 18th and 19th. The latter date, i.e. 19th was also Thoth's festival⁷, according to the great festival list in the temple for Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.⁸ Parker has confirmed that this feast, according to Illahun papyri, celebrated on the 18th of the first civil month.⁹ Most Middle Kingdom coffins replaced the name of the festival with a clause containing the verb *w3gi*. However, the Pyr & 716c had the name of the festival which occurred later on some Middle Kingdom coffins. Moreover, even the adapted readings from the Middle Kingdom must refer to the festival cf. Pyr & 2185a-b: "*w3g* yourself with bread just like Horus "*w3g*- ed" his Eye in this name of *W3g*- festival", the verb *w3g* here obviously has some such sense as "to provide" cf. Pyr. & 192a; & 1944c; & 2114a; & 2230b; & 2289 b; cf. Stela Louvre (c 35) mentions the *w3g* festival and alludes to other festivals which Osiris crosses from the great Gat of Haker, cf. also stela CG. 20546, a 4-5; Pyr. & 820a. CT III, 159b; CT III, 158c-159 b.

¹Blackman, *Meir* III, pls. IV, XIII, XVI; Willems, H., *chests of life* A study of the typology and conceptual development of Middle Kingdom standard class coffins, (Ex Oriente Lux 1988), pp. 85, 87, 91 and note 162.

²Spalinger, A., *The Private Feast lists of Ancient Egypt*, *Äg. Abh* 57, Wiesbaden (1996), p. 47, note.2.

³Spalinger speaks also about *msyt tpyt*, which could refer to the feast of *msyt* which took place on the last day of the final Egyptian month and hence immediately preceded the birth of Osiris, the connection between *msyt tpyt* and *mswt Wsr* should at least be clear from their closeness in time see more in: Spalinger, A., *Feast Lists*, p. 60; id., 'Some Remarks on the Epagomenal Days in Ancient Egypt', *JNES* 45, N.1 (Jan., 1995), pp. 33-47.

⁴Willems, *Chests of life*, p. 91 (no. 29).

⁵The name of this festival appeared in the tomb of *Mtn*; Junker, *Giza* II, 62; also in Pyramid texts; *Pyr.* 716.820. 1880. 2185 for more details see: H. Goedicke, *Wag-Fest*, 1135-1139.

⁶Feasts of Ancestors are held until now by many cultures throughout the world in honor or recognition of deceased members of the community; Bargaet, P., 'Religion de l'Égypte. La fête-ouag', *École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses*. Annuaire (1958-1959), pp. 70-76.

⁷The order of *W3g* precedes the feast of Thoth confirmed from many texts; *Urk.* VII 56.14; 15-16; cf. statue of *Imn-m-h3t* BM 462a rather detailed feast list dated to C. Senwsert I/ Amenemhet II: *3bd, smdt, w3gy, dhwty hb-wr, hb skr.*

⁸Schott F., *Altägyptische Festdaten*, Mainz, (1950), p. 39 ff.; Parker, A., *the Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 26, (1950).

⁹Parker also stated that there was a movable feast as well as a fixed *W3g* feast in the Middle Kingdom, 182.

GENERAL COMMENTS

Egyptians believed that the name should remain for the individual's memory; they built tombs¹, containing the body in the substructure while the superstructure contained the false doors, chapels which usually include statues and offering table². The offerings focused on the tomb in the Middle Kingdom. In general, the purpose of the false doors, chapels, and many texts indicate that they were to maintain the needs of the deceased of offerings and keep his memory alive.³ The chapel whether it was attached to the tomb or not represented a mean for the living to communicate with the dead people⁴. Chapel was a place for interaction with those who might present offerings and say prayers where ceremonies are enacted before the statues. The different texts places emphasis on this feature:

dd.tn n.i t hnkt m-ntt m-^c.tn "so may you give to me bread and bear from what is with you"

β3.tn m ^cwi.tn "may (you) elevate with your arms"

wdn.tn m r3.tn "may you offer with your speech" .⁵

dd.k3.tn m r.tn wdnw m^c.tn "you shall say with your mouth and offer with your hand".⁶

The Egyptian religion emphasized the importance of the family as a very important unit. For example, the ennead of Heliopolis set forth as a family group and in order of seniority, which goes along with the document Teaching of Duaf's son Khety from the Middle Kingdom, the author tells his son to "thank God for your mother and for your father, who put you on the path of life". This chapel also shows the affection and respect from a son to his father, which reflects the loyalty and respect to the father in the ancient Egyptian society. Kees, pointed out that these feasts were connected with the desire of the tomb owner to be associated with his family, and priests at specific religious on holidays⁷. Males had more reasonable issue in providing the offerings and ensuring the performance of rituals for their dead fathers.⁸ This action was closely linked to the Osirian mythical narrative where the divine son, Horus, fulfills the funerary needs and mortuary cult of his murdered father, Osiris. The explanation of Horus and his defense

¹The Egyptians expressed their desire to build the tomb by saying: "it will not perish from the land forever" Lichtheim, *Literature*, vol.2, p. 12.

²Brovarski, E., *The Doors of Heaven, Orientalia* 46, (1977), pp. 107-115.

³another point of view is that: the individual should survive in social memory rather than through his monument. The most important early skeptical statement is that of the Middle Kingdom Instruction for Merikare see: Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poem*, Oxford, (1988), p. 229.

⁴Muller M., Feasts for the Dead and Ancestor Veneration in Egyptian Tradition, in Herrmann V. and Schloen, J. (eds.), *Remembrance of me: Feasting with the Dead in Ancient Middle East*: Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, (2014), p. 86 f; and the recent study: Rémi Legros, *Stratégies mémorielles. Les cultes funéraires privés en Égypte ancienne de la Vie à la XIIIe dynastie*, Lyon, (2016).

⁵Baines, J., 'Self-presentation of Pepyankh the Middle at Meir' in Louts and Laurel: Studies on Egyptian Language and Religion in Honour of P. Frandsen, *CNI Publications* 39, (2015), p. 26.

⁶Drioton, *ASAE* 43 (1943), p. 503. see also *Urk.* I, 197, 13-15.

⁷Kees, H., *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter*, Berlin, (1956), 120-21; Junker notes that these feast days would be celebrated in the necropolis itself; Junker, *Giza* II, p. 61.

⁸For the use of: *n it.f* 'his father', see also L. A. Flentye, *The Decorated Elite Mastaba and Rock-cut Tomb in the Eastern and GIS Cemeteries at Giza and their Relationship to the Development of Art during the Fourth Dynasty* (PhD diss., New York University, 2006); about the designations of the relationship of the Family relatives in the Middle Kingdom cf. Franke, D., 'Altägyptische verwandtschafts bezeichnungen im Mittleren Reichs', *HAS* 3, (Hamburg 1983).

of his father gave meaning and form to the world beyond the grave¹. The chapel A3 may be served as a place for family gathering in order to address the deceased and keep his memory alive among the living and provide essential provisions for him in the afterlife. From an elite perspective, another benefit from the visitors to these chapels was of course wider than that of temple priests, including women, servants, children, and public in general who ask for help. Any visitor, who can read, could activate the formula, inscribed and embedded within the offering imagery at this chapel². Mortuary rites spoken or enacted by a ka-priest, was usually represented by an elder son of the deceased³.

GENEALOGY OF UEKHHOTEP (A3)

Difficulties are encountered in determining the absolute genealogy of Ukhhotep (A3) due to the names Ukhhotep along with Snbi, are the most popular and repeated names in Meir. The name of Ukhhotep was well attested in the Middle Kingdom. It was written by many variants e.g.: , ,  *Wh-htp*⁴. We have many Ukhhotep; Ukhhotep son of Snbi, (tomb B2)⁵, Ukhhotep was a son of Ukhhotep (tomb B4)⁶, Ukhhotep (tomb C1)⁷, in the same site, we have the Tomb of *Wh-htp* son of *Wh-*

¹Quirke, S., *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, London (1992), pp. 52-61, 66; Dr. N. Kanawati told me (personal communication) that the reason why the tomb A3, which is the subject of my article, is positioned in an area that must have been considered as a remarkable example of filial affection. The tomb is above tombs A1 of Niankhpepy the Black and A2 of his son Pepyankh the Black. In fact Niankhpepy excavated a huge tomb, A4, but died after preparing its walls for decoration, and before any scenes or inscriptions were executed. His son Pepyankh excavated and decorated a burial chamber for his father in tomb A4, then he cut the two adjoining tombs A1 and A2. The former was for his father and the latter for himself, and connected the burial chamber of tomb A4, where the father is buried to the chapel of A1 by a plopping passage. This would allow the father to communicate between tomb A4 where he is buried and the chapel of A1 in order to receive offerings and to communicate with his son in their communicating chapels A1-A2. This case is to a large extent similar to the contemporary one of Djau and his father Djau/Shemai of Deir el-Gebrawi, who was even buried in the same tomb. The son wrote that he buried his father with him in order to be able to see his father every day and to be with him at the same place. Deir el-Gebrawi is very close to Meir and the two cases of father-son affection must have been well known at el-Qusiya. Perhaps Ukhhotep's selection of the site was to demonstrate the type of affection which he had for his father) for the tombs A1 and A4 see: Kanawati, *Meir* III. Another example from Meir reflects a sort of loyalty between father and son. The tomb of Ukhhotep II (B2) is separated from that of Ukhhotep II, s ???father Senebi I B1) only by a thin partition wall; Altenmüller, H. 'Family, Ancestor Cult and some Observations on the Chronology of the Late Fifth Dynasty.' in H. Vymazalová and M. Bárta (eds), *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (The Third Millennium B.C.). Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague (June 11-14, 2007)*, (Prague. 2008). 144-161.

²Baines, J. & Lacarova, P., 'Burial and the Dead in Ancient Egyptian Society', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2/1, (February 2002), pp. 5-35(Online p. 12) <http://jsa.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/2/1/5>

³The ritual of opening the mouth perhaps took place in the time of Amenhotep I in the chapel of the tomb, but it may be experienced in this place starting from the middle kingdom Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual II*, p.8.

⁴Ranke translated the name "der Gott *wh* ist gnädig"; Ranke, *PN* I, 84, 9. 10; II, 35. 36. 45. 69. Other names appeared such as *Wh-m- h3t* *PN* 1, 094,03;*Wh-m-s3.f* *PN* 1, 84,6; *Mr-Wh-nh.f* *PN* I, 156, 4;  "name des gottes von Kusae" *Wb* I, 352.

⁵Blackman, *Meir* II; *PM* IV, 250-251

⁶Blackman, *Meir* III; *PM* IV, 251-253.

⁷It is possible that the owner of tomb A4 provides the link between Ukhhotep of C1 and the earlier rulers of this district: Blackman, *Meir* VI, 8-37; *PM* IV, 253; Martin, E., *LÄ* VI, 821-822.). Kanawati disagrees with most scholars in the number of the governors of Meir, as he gives numbers only to those who governed the province and not to anyone who was called Ukhhotep: Ukhhotep I (B2), Ukhhotep II (B4), Ukhhotep III (C1) (personal communication).

htp and *Mr-s*)¹. The dating of the members of nobility at Meir was discussed from Old Kingdom² to the Middle Kingdom³. Ukhhotep son of Ukhhotep (B4) came from a big family. He had at least three brothers who also were called Ukhhotep⁴. A very important list of counts *h3tyw-c* of this nome is recorded in his tomb, but unfortunately it is partly damaged and no fixed dates are given⁵. It once depicted 59 persons (with their wives) holding the title *h3ty-c*. The purpose of their inclusion was clarified as he stated that: *ir.n.i nw n mrwt wnn rnw.sn n dt* "I did this in order that their names endure forever"⁶. A name and an epithet, *m3c hrw*, were given to each figure. With regard to the identity of Ukhhotep Oof A3 and his relationship to the other officials who bore the same name⁷; the second figure in the fifth register of the counts list mentioned *h3tyc T3m*, suggests to be the father of the *h3ty-c* Ukhhotep A3. Iam must be a *h3ty-c* because his son is the son of *h3ty-c*⁸. Gillam, in her dissertation on the 14th Upper Egyptian nome, stated that 'in all discussions of individual titularies, titles are assumed in the absence of any definite indications to have been held simultaneously with each other. This is not entirely satisfactory, but the nature of our data leaves us with no choice,'⁹

I regard simply that Ukhhotep of A3 as perhaps the ancestor of the family and one of the earliest of the Middle Kingdom, and perhaps he was buried in section A, close to the officials of Old Kingdom and away from those of the Middle Kingdom in section B and C. But unfortunately, genealogy is not much of an aid in determining absolute chronology of the owner of A3. There is no clear connection whereas no document was found in the necropolis that provides an absolute genealogy.

DATE OF THE CHAPEL

In general, the chronology of the rulers of the 14th upper Egyptian Nome who were buried at Meir is clearer than the other Middle Kingdom monarchs. This recent article places emphasis on the importance of counting the generations in determining the chronology of the monarchs of el-Qusiya at the end of the First Intermediate Period and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. Five tombs confirmed with royal dates of Twelfth Dynasty, namely the tomb of Senbi I (B1), Ukhhotep (B2), Senbi II (B3), Ukhhotep (B2) and Ukhhotep (B4) Ukhhotep (C1)¹⁰. As for Blackman, he dated the

¹Blackman, *Meir* II, pls. IV, XIII, XVI; Grajetzki, W., *The Middle Kingdom of ancient Egypt: history, archaeology and society*. London: Duckworth Egyptology (2006), p. 108.

²Kanawati, N., 'Chronology of the Old Kingdom Nobles of el-Qusiya Revisited', in Z. Hawass, P. Der Manuelian and R. Hussein, eds., *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt; Studies in Honour of Edward Brovarski*, *CASAE* 40 (Cairo, 2010), pp. 207-220.

³For discussion of the role of the regional governors in the reign of Senwosert I, see Favry, N., *Le nomarque sous le réne de Sésostris Ier, les institutions dans l'Eypte ancienne I*, Presses de L' Université Paris-Sorbonne Paris, (2004).

⁴Blackman, *Meir* III, pl. 22.

⁵Bierbrier M., 'Genealogy and chronology', in E. Hornung, R. Krauss and D. Warburton, eds., *Ancient Egyptian chronology*, (Leiden/Boston 2006), p. 40; Blackman, *Meir* III, pp. 16-21, pls. 10-11; Chassinat, ??? 'Notes prises à Meir', *RT* 22 (1900), pp. 76-77.

⁶Blackman, *Meir* III, pls. 11, 29.

⁷Kanawati has published an article on the governors of Meir, but he disagrees with most scholars in numbering the governors, as he gives numbers only to those who governed the province and not to anyone named Ukhhotep. Therefore to him Ukhhotep I is (B2), Ukhhotep II is (B4), Ukhhotep III is (C1)

⁸Eavry, N., The transmission of offices in the Middle Kingdom in G. Miniaci, W. Grajetzki, eds., *Middle Kingdom Studies*, vol.2, (London 2016), p. 129ff.

⁹Gillam, R. A.. *Topographical, Prosopographical and Historical Studies in the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto (1991).

¹⁰Doxey, *Non Royal Epithets*, p. 11.

chapel from Senwosert I to Amenemhat II¹. Holzl didn't specify a date but placed it generally in the Middle Kingdom². Willems pointed out that the chapel dates to the Old Kingdom but it was not finished³ (the later hypothesis seems to be not acceptable at present because there are many doubts).

Preliminary analysis of the chapel structure, offering formula, and archaeological context s dates the chapel to Senwosert I⁴. The paleography of the hieroglyphs seems to point to a date in the Twelfth Dynasty. The offering formula was considered a characteristic aspect for the first part the Twelfth Dynasty by C. Bennett⁵. In the offering formula, the name of Osiris was written by the determinative of a seated god, which is more common in early Middle Kingdom⁶. O. Berlev remarks that the request of "every pure thing/ all pure things" (also in line 2, above) is typical in the Eleventh Dynasty and the reign of Senwosert I, whilst later the most frequent phrase is "all good and pure things", and before the Twelfth dynasty but also at the end of it "all good things" is used.⁷ The n of dative was attested before the epithet *m3c hrw* during the Herakleopolitan Period up to the Twelfth Dynasty. There are similarities in dedicatory inscription parallels between that found in tomb B3 (Senwosert I)⁸. The date is in agreement with that proposed by a number of scholars; but further examination would be needed to refine this proposed date. The same applies to the social standing and career of the tomb owner: there is no preserved titles on this chapel except the general one *h3ty 3* suggest a middle-class standing. However, analysis of other finds and archaeological contexts would provide a clearer picture of his career and social standing⁹. It remains to ask: why this chapel which dates to the Middle Kingdom was cut I over the tomb of Pepyankh¹⁰ (Old Kingdom)? I suggest that Ukhhotep choose this location for these reasons: firstly, this place was the cult center of Hathor, secondly due to the dignified Pepyankh A2 and his religious status for his public priestly role¹¹. He also mentions in his texts that he inaugurate the Meir cemetery¹². It is clear that the Egyptians practiced some form of ancestor worship around his tomb¹³.

¹Blackman, *Meir* VI, p. 2; Kahlbacher, A., *Raumfunktion und Dekorationsprogramm der Felsgräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, (Ph.D. diss. University of Vienna 2011).

²Hölzl, C., *Studien zur Entwicklung der Felsengräber: Datierung und lokale Entwicklung der Felsengräber des Mittleren Reiches in Mittelägypten*, (1984), p. 112.

³Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 85.

⁴Another assumption proposed that the chapel dates to Amenemhat I, as there are few dated sources from the reign of Amenemhat I.

⁵Bennett, C., *JEA* 27 (1941), pp. 77 ff.

⁶Bennett, C., *JEA* 27 (1941), p. 78.

⁷Berlev O., *Odin iz sposobov datirovki stel Srednego tsartsva* (Formula "O zhivie, sushchiena zemle..."), *Kratkie soobshchenia Instituta narodov Asii*, 46, *Drevniy Vostok*, (1962), pp.45–87, & 4. (Italian translation available online: www.archaeogate.org/egittologia/article/240/1/un-metodo-di-datazione-delle-stele-del-medio-regno-di-o.html, (accessed 18/6/17)

⁸This was perhaps completed by Ukhhotep of B4.

⁹Perhaps the burial equipment can assist us in dating this tomb; Hayes observes that Ukhhotep's canopic box is very like that of the steward Snbi found in B3 Hayes, *Scepter*, p. 321.

¹⁰Blackman, *Meir* IV, pls. IV, IVa,V; Kanawati, *Meir* I; *PM* IV, 254.

¹¹There are signs from his tomb showing how he was venerated, and had a holy status as: the figure of Pepyankh and his wife are seen on block thrones, normally reserved for royalty and deities; Kanawati, *Meir* I, pls.3, 6, 7. His privilege was also due to being the priest of the goddess Hathor i; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, p. 9. He also mentioned " *ii.n.i r s sk wi i3i.ki nfr wrt* " "I came to it (the tomb) when I had become old very perfectly": Janssen, J., 'On the Ideal Lifetime of the Egyptian', *OMRO* 31 (1956), pp. 33-39. All that reflect his capacity to offer advantages from the next world to those who will perform ritual acts on his behalf see more Baines, J., *Self-Presentation*, p. 40.

¹²Kanawati, *Meir* I, p. 25.

¹³Fitzenreiter, M., 'Zum Ahnenkult im Ägypten', *GM* 143 (1996), pp. 51-72; Assmann, J., 'Das Bild des Vaters im alten Ägypten' in: H. Tellenbach, ed., *Das Vaterbild in Mythos und Geschichte*, (Stuttgart

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Plates and Figures



Figure 1. Meir tombs, group A - The arrow points to A3.

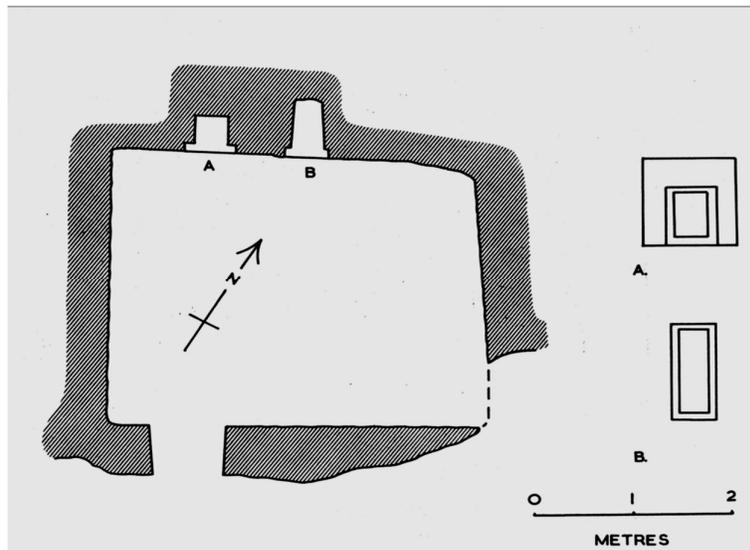


Plate 1. Tomb Chapel A. No. 3 (Blackman, Meir VI pl. 2)

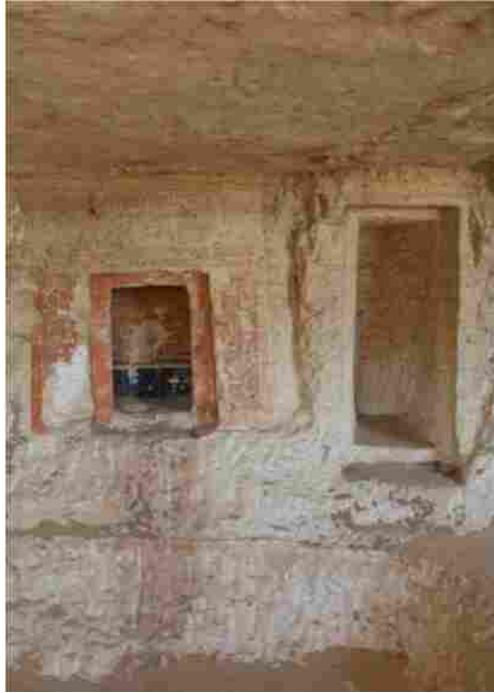


Figure 2. General View to the two recesses Inside the Chapel



Figure 3. Text around the western recess



Plate 2. Chapel's Inscriptions of Ukhhotep (A3)