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

Nour GALAL
Associate professor, Faculty of Arts, Ain-Shams University, Egypt
E-mail: nousmn2007@yahoo.com

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 I am (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 Senwosret I

KEYWORDS

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

ملخص

يتناول هذا البحث المقبرة الجنائزية الخاصة بالنبيلة أخ حتب (A3) والتي تقع في مير؛ جبانة نبلاء القوصية حيث الإقليم الرابع عشر، وقد اشتهر نبلاء القوصية بمكانية المفتوحة خاصة في عصر الدولة الوسطى، بما حرصته من ألقاب منها ما ربط الكثيرين منهم بكينوت حتب. نقل المقبرة أعلى مفرزة ببنى عنخ التي ترجع إلى عصر الدولة القديمة، وعلى ما يبدو أنها لم تكتمل وبها دخالتان، وزعت التصورما يشبه تقسيم الباب الرملي حول النخلة الجنوبية من المقبرة وسجلت نص إهداء المقبرة إلى أخ حتب ثم تمثل صيغة تقدم القراني موجهة من الهيكلية مختلفة تستند مكانة المقبرة وطابعها الجنزي، ولكن الأهم هو تسجيلها لمجموعة من الأعياد المهمة التي حرص عليها المصري القديم وجاءت مرتبة وكانت في طابعها متشابهة مع اللوحات الجنائزية المستخرجة من أبيدوس والمناطق المجاورة. وبعد دراسة التصور والدراسات المفقحة فمن المرجح تأكيده تاريخها بداية عصر سويرت الأول.

الكلمات الدالة

مير، جبانات، فرائين، فيضاء، مقبرة، حتب، أخ حتب، طقس، 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-Qusiyah.\(^1\) The quality of this chapel is very bad. It is located above the tomb of Pepyankh A\(^2\) (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 Ukhotep (pl.1 A), looks like false door\(^3\), and few traces of torus and cavetto cornice are still visible\(^4\). The torus surrounds the panel and the niche. It makes the edges of the monument have a transversal fluted decoration\(^5\). 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 nnh, "hp' t, m'ht and also r-pr\(^6\)which could be used for an offering chapel as for false door by extension, along with the usual term rwt\(^7\). According to F. Servajean, it is possible for the deceased to come in and come out his tomb, if a st nnh "place of time" (funerary chapel) and a tpht n dl "cavern of eternity" (burial place) are at his disposal\(^8\) (possibly tpht could indicate both, a niche and a room).

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, Ukhotep (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

\(^{1}\)Blackman, *Meir VI*, pls. 2, 5; *Meir I*, pp. 8, II-12 [4].

\(^{2}\)It 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 Koçoir à l’Ancien Empire', in *Studi di Egitto e di Papirologia* 5, (2008), p. 81-94 and id., 'Pepy-ankh Heny le noir de Meir (tome A2) a-t-il usurpé le titre de vizir?\(^{6}\), 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).


\(^{4}\)Torus and Cornice were attested early of the Fifth Dynasty, and were found mainly from the reign of the King Niusreerunilt 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.

\(^{5}\)Vandier, *Manuel II*, pp. 401-402.


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-ś. 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 title.³ There are many cases where the title h³ty-ś appears immediately before the name of the official.⁴ Other epithets mṣr ḫrw, vindicated, and lmḥw, 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 text,⁶ 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

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¹Kanawati’s point of view via personal contact.
²Knaawati, Hawawish, p. 35, n.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. 37, n. 387; Fischer H. G., Egyptian titles of the Middle Kingdom: A Supplement to Ward’s Index, MAA, 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).
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 (= FA 10), Leiden (1996), pp. 203-204; id., Biographies, in Redford, ed., The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, I, (New York 2001), pp. 184-189; Litchfield, Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies, (Orbis biblicus et orientalis 1988).
⁷Ukhhotep II has several charges such as h²ty ś, iry p’tḥ, hrw-hb ; Grajetzki, W., Court officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, London, (2009), p.5.
symbols in the decoration of tomb of Ukhhotep IV at Meir\(^1\) 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)**: 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.

![Inscriptions on the façade of the western recess (upper lintel):](image)

1. \(ir.n.f \ m \ mnw.f \ n \ lt.f \ h3ty-\(\wedge\) Wh-htp \ s3 \ l3m \ iss \ n \ {hwt}\)K3.\(f\) is pn \ m -Kib
2. *htp di nsw* \ Wsir \ {nb \ Ddw \ Hnty-imntyw \ nb \ 3b\(d\)w} \ ntr \(\wedge\)3 \ nb \ imnt \ di.f \ h\(3\) \ m \ t \ hnkT \ k3w
3. \(\wedge\)p\(d\)w \ ss \ mnht \ ddt \ pt \ Kmnt \ t3 \ rnp\(wt\) \ nbt \ h\(t\) \ nbt \ nfrt \ w\(\wedge\)b\(t\) \ nht \ ntr \ im \ n
4. \(im\(\wedge\)hy \ h3ty-\(\wedge\) Wh-htp \ m3\(\wedge\) s3 \ l3m \ m3\(\wedge\) \ hrw \ m \ ir \ n.f \ s3.f \ mry.f \ h3ty\(\wedge\) Wh-htp \ s3 \ Wh-htp \ m3\(\wedge\) \ hrw

(1) He made as his monument for his father\(^4\), the Governor Ukhhotep, son of Lam, 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 west\(^5\), he gives: a thousand of bread, beer, oxen,

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1 The 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, Gaufarst, *LÄ* II, 411.


3 Cf. 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.


5 Different variations: *nb-imntt*, *nb-imntt n3-3b\(d\)w*, *nb-imntt dw\(\wedge\)it* for more see: *LÄ* III, 583f.
(3) Fowl, alabaster (vessels), and garments\(^1\) of what sky and earth produce, and all fresh-vegetables and every good and pure thing\(^2\) that a god lives on, for

(4) the honored one, the count Ukhotep, son of Iam, The Justified; as what his beloved, his son has made for him the Governor, Ukhotep's son, Ukhotep, 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, Ukhotep, 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 \(sdm.n.\ f\); 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 formula\(^5\), which is repeated twice later. This line may be restored as \([htp\ di\ nsw\ Wsir\ [nb\ \ddw\ hnty\ Imntyw]\ nb\ \ddw]\). The line offered sufficient space for this, compare, for example the Osiris epithets in the offering list of private tombs\(^6\), 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.\(^8\)

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

\(^2\)For \(hjt\ nb\ nfrt\) cf. Barta, W., *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, MÄS 3 (Berlin 1963), p. 144.

\(^3\)Anthes, R., 'The original meaning of \(Msa\ brw\)', *JNES* 13 (1954), p. 21ff.


\(^5\)Barta W., *Die altägyptische opferliste 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 reinterpretation of the offering formula see, D. Franke', 'The Middle Kingdom offering formulas - a challenge', *JEA* 85 (2003), pp. 39-57.


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

\(^8\)The 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 (t3 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 censing were associated with the rejuvenated deceased3. The forth line repeats the names and title again. It describes Ukhhotep as an honored one imlh (venerated, the one who has been provided for transfigured dead)4. Ukhhotep was the son of Ukhhotep who was the son of Ima. Thus Ima is 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) htp dl nsw psdq t3t lmyt bðw dl psdq [t3t lmyt bðw h3 m …]
(6) n h3 m snr h3 m bhw h3 m [mr]ht [n im3hw h3ty-t Wh-htp m3-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 opferliste, p.15  
5See below.  
COMMENTARY

The text starts again with the offering formula of $htp\; dl\; nsw$ to the great Ennead in Abydos. This Ennead is composed of seven gods: two Khnum-gods, Thoth, Horus, Hor-ndjjetef ($^1$), and two Wepwawet-gods, or of twelve gods: Osiris, Hor-ndjjetef, Isis, Nephthys, Min, Iunmutef, Re-Harachti, Onuris, Tefnut, Geb, Thoth and Hathor ($^2$).

Different kinds of offerings occurred (particularly in the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties stelae). They are usually more fully written out: $sntr\; h\; m\; kbh\; h\; m\; mrHt$ offering of incense $sntr$ (make divine) conforms to its use in earlier periods in rituals ($^3$).

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 incense ($^4$).

The libation offering $kbH$ is paired with the offering of incense in the funerary offering which is made to the deceased.

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE RIGHT JAMB

(7) $htp\; dl\; [nsw]\; Inpw\; hAp\; t\; m\; nb\; t\; q\; dнт\; dl\; f$

$pرت-hrw\; т\; m\; nнt\; k3w\; 3pdw\; ss\; mnHt\; m\; (8)\; 3bd\; m\; dнтnt\; (/smdнт)$

$hrwy-rnt\; s\; wpt-rnt\; Wh\; msyt\; n\; hтy-s\; Wh-hтp$

(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 thing ($^5$). The "prt-hrw", formula does not appear after $dl.f$ and before the group of offerings ($^6$). While this group of signs literally means ‘sending the voice’. It actually

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$^4$ Wb IV, 346 (13).


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 ²²hmt-hw.⁴ htp-dj-nswt dj Wsrj (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 nfr ²³ “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) hbr n.f nfr m hwt k3 m qdt f m js f n htr-j-nfr"Making good offerings (lit. sending a good voice) for him in his own ka enclosure (and) in his tomb of the necropolis".
⁴Barta, altägyptischen opferformel, 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 Iseši; See bibliography in Bolshakov, A. O., 'Princess hm.t-r3 (w): The First Record of Osiris?', CiE 67 (1992), p. 203; van de Walle, B., La chapelle funeraiere de Neferirtetenf. (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.
**hp-dj-nsw psDt (Line 5)**:
Ennead (psDt). Originally indicated the nine gods incorporating the physical creation of the world\(^2\): Atum; Shu and Tefnut; Geb and Nut; Osiris and Isis, Seth and Nephthys, known as the ‘great Ennead’ (psDt ‘3t); it is also a term for any number of gods conceived as a group, and for all the gods\(^3\). 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).”

**hp-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 \(\text{\textcircled{2}}\) is characteristic of the period till the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, the jackal on a shrine \(\text{\textcircled{2}}\) was emerged in the reign of the King Teti; however, the old variant was not completely discarded, especially when \(\text{\textcircled{2}}\) was placed above horizontal signs, \(\text{\textcircled{2}}\).\(^7\)

**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 periods.\(^8\) The mortuary contracts which the local governor df\((i)\)- hp\(\text{py}\) 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 \(\text{hmn-hp}\) II at Beni Hassan provides useful information concerning the day feasts. In the chapel of wh-\(\text{htp}\)(A3), the list of feasts on the north wall comprise: \(\text{3bd, smdt}\), Epagomenal days, \(\text{wp}\)

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\(^1\)cf. 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.

\(^3\) The Elder Ennead (psDt ‘3t) 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 ‘3t s\(\text{3}\)t jm, 22b: psDt ‘3t tm, 52i: psDt ‘3t n(t) tm) rather than as the Ennead that represented the gods of Lower Egypt.

\(^4\) The Great Ennead (psDt wrt) was also located in Heliopolis, §169c: \(\text{jm psDtj wrt ‘3t hnt(j) }\) itb waw ‘say the Great and Elder Enneads that are at the fore of the base of Heliopolis”, and probably was headed by Geb.

\(^5\) They 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.

\(^6\) The connection with embalming ritual and the identification of sh ntr of Anubis or ibw or \(\text{wr }\) itb see: Gredseloff, 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 Millenia p. 556 (online).

\(^7\) El-Khouli, A. & Kanawati, N., Excavations at Saqqara. North West of Teti’s Pyramid II., (Sydney 1988), pls. 7-8.


rnbt, msyt, wāg. 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 Msyt feast was after the Epagomenal days but before wāg, designating the night preceding the first day. It was observed that Anubis offering formulae more attached to msyt which always follows wāg feast. 4

**The Wāg- festival:** 5 it was an old festival which was celebrated with at the beginning of the inundation on the 17th, 18th and 19th. The latter date, i.e. 19th was also Thoth’s festival, according to the great festival list in the temple for Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. 6 Parker has confirmed that this feast, according to Illahun papyri, celebrated on the 18th of the first civil month. 7 Most Middle Kingdom coffins replaced the name of the festival with a clause containing the verb wāg. However, the Pry & 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. Pry & 2185a-b: "wāg yourself with bread just like Horus "wāg- ed" his Eye in this name of Wāg- festival", the verb wāg here obviously has some such sense as "to provide" cf. Pry. &192a; & 1944c; & 2230b; & 2289 b; cf. Stela Louvre (c 35) mentions the wāg festival and alludes to other festivals which Osiris crosses from the great Gat of Haker, cf. also stela CG. 20546, a 4-5; Pry. & 820a. CT III, 159b; CT III, 158c-159 b.

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1Blackman, Meir III, pls. IV, XIII, XVI; Willems, H., *chesst 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.


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 msyt 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 Epagomental 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 *Mkn*; Junker, Giza II, 62; also in Pyramid texts; *Pyr*. 716.820. 1880. 2185for more details see: H. Goe dicke, Wág-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; Barguet, 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 Wāg precedes the feast of Thoth confirmed from many texts; *Urk*. VII 56.14; 15-16; cf. statue of *Imn-m-hnt* BM 462a rather detailed feast list dated to C. Senwsert I/ Amenemhet II: 3bd, smdt, wāgˌ, ḥnwty ḫt-wr, ḫb skr.


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

Egyptians believed that the name should remain for the individual's memory; they built tombs, containing the body in the substructure while the superstructure contained the false doors, chapels which usually include statues and offering table. 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. The chapel whether it was attached to the tomb or not represented a mean for the living to communicate with the dead people. 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:

\[
\text{dd.t.n n.i t hnk t m-ntt m-}^2\text{t.n } \text{"so may you give to me bread and bear from what is with you"}
\]
\[
\text{f33.t.n m } ^6\text{wl.t.n } \text{"may (you) elevate with your arms"}
\]
\[
\text{w}^5\text{dn.t.n m } r^5\text{.t.n } \text{"may you offer with your speech".}
\]
\[
\text{d}^6\text{d.k.t.n m } r^6\text{.t.n w}^3\text{dnw } m^6\text{.t.n } \text{"you shall say with your mouth and offer with your hand".}
\]

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 holidays. Males had more reasonable issue in providing the offerings and ensuring the performance of rituals for their dead fathers. 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

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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.
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.
7Kees, H., Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alien Ägypter, Berlin, (1956), 120-21; Junker notes that these feast days would be celebrated in the necropolis itself; Junker, Giza II, p. 61.
of his father gave meaning and form to the world beyond the grave\(^1\). 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 chapel\(^2\). Mortuary rites spoken or enacted by a ka-priest, was usually represented by an elder son of the deceased\(^3\).

**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.: \(\text{Wh}-\text{htp}\)\(^4\). 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 \(\text{Wh}-\text{htp}\) son of Wh-

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\(^1\)Quirke, 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 Ukhhotpe’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???

\(^2\)Baines, 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]

\(^3\)The 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.

\(^4\)Ranke translated the name “der Gott \(wh\) ist gnädig”; Ranke, *PN* I, 84, 9; 10; II, 35, 36, 45, 69. Other names appeared such as \(\text{Wh-m- hLt}\), \(\text{PN}\) I, 156, 4; \(\text{Wh-m-sf}\) \(\text{PN}\) I, 94,03; \(\text{Wh-m-ImXf}\) \(\text{PN}\) I, 84,6; \(\text{Mr-Wh-pshf}\) \(\text{PN}\) I, 156, 4;

\(^5\)Blackman, *Meir II*, *PM* IV, 250-251


\(^7\)It 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).
The dating of the members of nobility at Meir was discussed from Old Kingdom\(^1\) to the Middle Kingdom\(^2\). Ukhhotep son of Ukhhotep (B4) came from a big family. He had at least three brothers who also were called Ukhhotep\(^3\). A very important list of counts \(h\text{hty-}^\circ\) of this nome is recorded in his tomb, but unfortunately it is partly damaged and no fixed dates are given\(^4\). It once depicted 59 persons (with their wives) holding the title \(h\text{hty-}^\circ\). The purpose of their inclusion was clarified as he stated that: *ir.n.i nw n mbrt wmn rnv sn n ġt* "I did this in order that their names endure forever"\(^5\). A name and an epithet, \(m\text{t-}^\circ h\text{rw}\), 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 name\(^6\); the second figure in the fifth register of the counts list mentioned \(h\text{hty-}^\circ\) B3m, suggests to be the father of the \(h\text{hty-}^\circ\) Ukhhotep A3. Iam must be a \(h\text{hty-}^\circ\) because his son is the son of \(h\text{hty-}^\circ\)\(^8\). Gillam, in her dissertation on the 14\(th\) 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 14\(th\) 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

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\(^3\)For discussion of the role of the regional governors in the reign of Senwosret I, see Favry, N., *Le nomarque sous le règne de Sésostris Ier, les institutions dans l’Égypte ancienne 1*, Presses de L’ Université Paris-Sorbonne Paris, (2004).

\(^4\)Blackman, *Meir III*, pl. 22.


\(^6\)Blackman, *Meir III*, pls. 11, 29.

\(^7\)Kanawati 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)


\(^10\)Doxey, *Non Royal Epithets*, p. 11.
chapel from Senwosert I to Amenemhat III. Holzl didn’t specify a date but placed it generally in the Middle Kingdom. Willems pointed out that the chapel dates to the Old Kingdom but it was not finished (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 dates the chapel to Senwosert I. 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. Bennett. In the offering formula, the name of Osiris was written by the determinative of a seated god, which is more common in early Middle Kingdom. 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. The n of dative was attested before the epithet mḥt ḫrw during the Herakleopolitan Period up to the Twelfth Dynasty. There are similarities in dedicatory inscription parallels between that found in tomb B3 (Senwosert I). 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 ḫnty ‘ṯ suggest a middle-class standing. However, analysis of other finds and archaeological contexts would provide a clearer picture of his career and social standing. It remains to ask: why this chapel which dates to the Middle Kingdom was cut I over the tomb of Pepyankh (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 role. He also mentions in his texts that he inaugurate the Meir cemetery. It is clear that the Egyptians practiced some form of ancestor worship around his tomb.

1Blackman, Meir VI, p. 2; Kahlbacher, A., Raumfunktion und Dekorationsprogramm der Felsgräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches, (Ph.D. diss. University of Vienna 2011).
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.
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 Smi 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 wī bī.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.
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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 Ukhotep (A3)