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# **СТАРОДАВНЄ ПРИЧОРНОМОР'Я**

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**AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION OF DENDERA AND ITS  
HISTORICAL CONTEXT (DURING THE OLD KINGDOM  
AND THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD)**

Tradition of (auto)biographical texts in private tombs originated in the Memphis necropolises during V dynasty, and later spread throughout the provincial necropolises of Egypt. Every pattern of autobiographical text was compiled to present a tomb owner as a particular righteous person in the system of ancient Egyptians social conventions according to the general notion of a righteous person and righteous behavior. Saqqara tradition had a profound impact on the repertory of the autobiographical phraseology in the provincial necropolises. During the FIP a number of provincial necropolises elaborated their own traditions of autobiographical inscriptions, in particular, those of Abydos, Thebes, Siut and Dendera.

This study outlines the local autobiographical tradition of Dendera, from the earliest autobiographical texts in the local necropolis, paying the foremost attention to the autobiographical texts of the FIP. The corpus of survived autobiographical texts from Dendera now includes no less than 27 entries<sup>1</sup> containing the autobiographies, texts with the autobiographical phrases or some fragments of autobiographical texts. The significant part of excavated materials and inscriptions from Dendera is still unpublished, so the corpus is likely to increase. The presented results are rather preliminary, due to the format of the conference thesis; the more detail consideration of the tradition of Dendera autobiography requires additional time and space.

**1. Timelines of the Dendera autobiographic tradition and general outlines**

It is the one of the *richest regional traditions* of autobiographical texts of the FIP. The number of the survived Dendera texts is significant; it is the third local corpus after the texts from Abydos and Thebes. Dendera tradition of autobiography belongs to the *oldest provincial traditions* of the autobiographical texts of the FIP, it begins during the late Old Kingdom. There are 3 testimonies of the autobiographical texts (*Idw I*<sup>2</sup>, *Idw II*<sup>3</sup>, and *Mn-ḥ-Ḥ-Ḥ-Ppjj/Mnj*<sup>4</sup>) of the period. It can be compared with Abydos tradition that also originates from the Old Kingdom, but was elaborated during the later epochs. Other local corpuses of the autobiographical texts began after the collapse/ceasing of the Old Kingdom, and were developed during the FIP and the early Middle Kingdom. For example, Theban autobiographical texts originate from the beginning of XI dynasty, but mainly they are dated with the middle or late XI dynasty. The autobiographic texts from Dendera appear to predate the XII dynasty, so this tradition ceased before this dynasty.

Biographical texts from Dendera are true autobiographies, as they are written from the first person. It is not a specific feature of Dendera inscriptions; during the FIP the vast part of autobiographies from different Egyptian necropolises are written in the same manner<sup>5</sup>.

One should not exaggerate the level of isolation of any regional discourse of self-presentation in the tomb inscriptions and iconology during the FIP. This period is not epoch of complete isolation of the regions of Ancient Egypt. The weakening of the central authorities control over the regions freed the private initiative in the different spheres of the social life and caused more social mobility of the period. Hence it is difficult to find the features of the texts, which whole corpus of Dendera autobiographies shares but which were not common for some other texts from the other regions during the FIP. Fairly, it is to say about the most characteristic phrases in the autobiographic phraseology repertory in Dendera during the FIP, however which were in use in other regions too.

## **2. Dendera autobiographies and transfiguration of the structure of autobiography during the FIP**

The FIP is epoch of transfiguration of the structure of autobiography. The texts became more compact, shorten form of autobiography was popular. Often it was rather a several phrases from the repertory of the ideal autobiography phraseology included into the *hṯp-di-nswt* formula, than it was proper autobiography. This shorten texts were accommodated for the surface of stelae, which became the main surface of the autobiographical texts of the period. As for the placement of the autobiographical texts of Dendera, sometimes it was long architrave over the entrance or over the false door in the richest tombs; there were mainly the sepulchers of the local rulers and their relatives. Besides architraves texts were located on stelae and in other places of tombs. Here the mosaic character of autobiographic texts is visible; there are a few texts in the tomb, which can be classified as autobiographic inscriptions. The most eloquent example is the tomb of *Mrrj*. In contrary to the rich decorated tombs of the rulers and more prominent families, stelae were the main place of autobiographic texts in the modest tombs. So these texts were shorter than their counterparts from the richest tombs, nevertheless these autobiographies share the same phraseology as the autobiographies of the rulers.

## **3. Local gods of Dendera and autobiographies**

During the FIP the autobiographic texts often included the theme of personal service to the local god or gods in the local temples. This theme was completely absent in biographies until VI dynasty, despite the priestly titles of tomb-owners were frequently recorded in their titles lists. During VI dynasty the theme was seldom attested in inscriptions from provincial

necropolises. Also the epithets marking reverence in the sight of local deities are recorded in the self-presentations of the late VI dynasty. They became more frequent in the inscriptions from the local necropolises during the FIP.

Dendera cult of Hathor became the important cult for the kings of late VI dynasty (according to the royal inscriptions and their titles), the status of important cultic center remained during the FIP. After the autobiography of *Rdiw-hnmw* cult of Hathor was significant for the Theban Kings as well. So the important role of the goddess cult caused such way of a tomb / monument owner nomination as *im3hw hr Hwt-hr nbt Twnt* “revered in the sight of Hathor, mistress of Dendera” and the variants of it<sup>6</sup>. It was attested occasionally in the Dendera inscriptions from the VI dynasty; it is sometimes recorded in inscriptions from other regions as well.

The presence of the name of divine patroness of the city in the inscriptions of Dendera is consistent for all types of tomb inscriptions; here occurs the nomination of Hathor as donator of offerings for a private person, as well as her nomination in autobiographical characteristics with accentuation of the links of a tomb/monument owner with the goddess via epithets, priestly titles etc.

Another feature of Dendera inscriptions is the frequent occurrence of addition *m swt.f/s nbt* to the name of deities in the offering formulas and epithets *im3ww hr+* name of the god/goddess. This addition occasionally appears together with the name of Osiris in *htp dj nswt* formula, for example in inscriptions of: *Mn-ꜥnh-Ppjj/Mnj*<sup>7</sup>; *Htpj*<sup>8</sup>; *Snnj*<sup>9</sup>. False door of *Mrrj* contain his epithet as *im3hw hr Pth Zkr m (i)swt.f nbt* (CG 1664)<sup>10</sup>. The epithets of *im3hw hr+* name of deity+ *m (i)swt.f/s nbt* were attested in a number of inscriptions from Saqqara and Giza as early as reign of VI dynasty, with some examples from provincial necropolises. These epithets referred to the name of Anubis<sup>11</sup>, Osiris<sup>12</sup>, Ptah<sup>13</sup> and Hathor, the name of the goddess was attested in inscriptions from Dendera and some other provincial necropolises<sup>14</sup>. Beside Dendera inscriptions this additional characteristic of gods (mainly of Osiris) occasionally is present in the inscriptions from the other necropolises of the Middle Egyptian nomes and Thebes during the FIP.

#### **4. Phraseology of ideal autobiography in Dendera inscriptions**

The texts from Dendera seem to be among the earliest testimonies of the autobiographical phraseology of a tomb/monument owner self-presentation within the context of his social relations (with his family and relatives, social groups, territorial community etc.). The main topic of the Old Kingdom autobiographies was presentation of a person via demonstration his connections (real, imaginary, by office, by kinship etc.) with the king, mainly as an excellent officer of the state administration. The

autobiographic texts from Dendera enable researchers to observe the gradual process of transition from the one model of self-presentation to the new one.

During the FIP the phraseology of social patronage and supplying the lower strata of society with provisions is a common feature of the autobiographies. Many variants of this phraseology were attested in a number of the autobiographical texts from Dendera. In particular, there is a number of the texts with the common phrase about generosity of a person: “I gave/used to give bread for the hungry, and cloth for the naked”, with variations<sup>15</sup> and additions, such as “I gave/used to give to one whom I knew and to one whom I didn’t know” (*Nfr-yw*)<sup>16</sup> or: “I gave/used to give a gift to everybody who asked for it, I nourished that one whom I didn’t know as that one whom I knew in order that my name was excellent in the mouth of afterlivers (literally: that ones, who are on the earth)” (*Rdiw-hnmw*)<sup>17</sup>. The most remarkable is the text of *Hr-nht*, who listed the categories of welfares which he gave to everybody who begged about some goods<sup>18</sup>.

Proclamation of generosity of the tomb-owner and his social patronage over the lower social categories were amplified with the phraseology of patronage over the whole cities, and representation of a tomb-owner as a moderator of social consensus between the different classes of society. For example, the next phrase was frequently attested among the inscriptions of Dendera: “One, who speaks what is favored by the greats and what is praised by the commoners”<sup>19</sup>. Very interesting variation of the phrase was inscribed on the block CG 1641: “I made that is favoured by my people and that is praised by gods of Dendera”<sup>20</sup>.

Also the consensual positive social estimation of personal deeds of authors of autobiographical texts was present; the person was “beloved” and “praised” by parents, relatives, and different social categories. Divers phrases of social patronage and presenting himself as an active administrator and a self-made person (who is benefactor for the governed city or region) were the general clichés of self-presentation of the epoch, during the FIP this phraseology is common in the inscriptions throughout Egypt.

### **5. Dendera texts as one of the earliest attestations of phraseology of virtues of a person**

Besides the phraseology describing behavior of a person, autobiographical texts from Dendera include the phraseology of virtues of a person. This phraseology is frequent for the texts of XI dynasty and it became common during the Middle Kingdom. So inscriptions of *Mrrj* appear to be one of the earliest examples of virtues of a person in autobiography: “(3) Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, who mastered his speech, the self-controlled man, one who finds (4) the utterance when it is

needed, one who speak with his voice while/when the pat-people are silent, in the day of fear” (CG 1666)<sup>21</sup>.

So Dendera autobiographical texts include both modus of a tomb-owner self-presentation: by narration about his righteous behavior in community (common for the FIP) and by epithets and phrases describing his virtues (common for the Middle Kingdom). The Dendera testimonies of both types of ideal autobiography belong to the earliest attestations of the phrases in question.

### 5. Eventual autobiography and Dendera during the FIP

The eventual autobiography of the Old Kingdom was deeply connected with the idea of service to the King of Egypt. It underwent some crisis after the collapse of Old Kingdom and weakening of the royal authority over provinces. The image of the Kings as a main agent of the autobiography was displaced with the attention to the proceedings of the personal life and achievements of an individual. So founding the house and household of a tomb owner became the main events of the texts, as well as calculation and measuring of his welfares and achievements. Dendera texts give some interesting examples of this type of phraseology, especially the group of texts of *Mrrj*, *Sn-ndsw-j* and *Ḥr-nḥt*. The founding of the own household was combined with motive of care of the cult and house of the father or predecessor of a tomb-owner with reference to measurement of the constructional details of buildings and furniture.

These phrases correlate to the general theme of the welfares accounting (divers types of cattle, measuring of ship burden or listing of types of ships, etc.), that was mentioned in a number of other autobiographical texts. These phraseology linked up the theme of a self-sufficing manager of the own city or region and a benefactor for the territory under his control. Despite the frequent occurrence of measurements of the welfares in the numbers (that has to assure a reader of the autobiography in respect of verity of the deeds described in it), these phrases are to be taken as clichés of self-presentation rather, than as a true representation of the real events.

Any historical events were not presented in these inscriptions. There are some phrases reflecting certain political events or some allusions for them. In particular, some autobiographic texts mention officiating on behalf of a certain patron who had the higher status in social hierarchy. For example, *Mrrj* mentioned his service to a certain Lord, and destruction of the enemies of his lord<sup>22</sup>. The text has lacuna, evidently it was *Nj-ibw-nswt*, the ancestor of *Mrrj*, and there was some battle during his reign. Text of *Rdiw-hnmw* proclaims his service on behalf of queen Nefrukait, the wife of Theban King *W3ḥ-ḥnh Inj-it.f*. This motive is central for the whole text, so

the text of *Rdiw-hnmw* seems to be the only example of eventual autobiography of Dendera. This type of autobiography was not common for Dendera during the FIP. The text of *Rdiw-hnmw* can be considered as the latest example of autobiographic texts of this region as well.

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<sup>1</sup> **Tdw I** Porter B., Moss R. L. B. Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. V. UPPER EGYPT: SITES. (Deir Rifa to Aswân, excluding Thebes and the Temples of Abydos, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, Kôm Ombo and Philae). / second edition. Griffith Institute. Oxford, 1962. Reprint 2004.9 (hereinafter – PM V). P. 111; Petrie W. F. M. Denderah 1898. London, 1900. Pl. VI; Sethe K. Urkunden des Alten Reichs. B. I–IV. Leipzig, 1932–1933 (Hereinafter – Urk. I). P. 270 [13–18]; Fischer H. G. Dendera in the Third Millennium B. C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt. New York, 1968 (Hereinafter - Fischer, 1968) P. 93–100; **Tdw II** PM V. P. 111; Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. VI; Urk. I. S. 271[4–13]; Fischer, 1968. P. 100–103; **Mn-ḥḥ-Ppy / Mnj** PM V. P. 110; Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. II a; Urk. I. S. 268 – 269 [ln. 15]; Schenkel W. Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben. Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.–11. Dynastie Ägyptens. Wiesbaden, 1965. P. 34–36; Fischer, 1968. P. 170–174; **Tnj-it.f 3 Daressy G.** Inscriptions tentyrites // Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Le Caire, Vol. 18 (1919). P. 186; Fischer, 1968. Pl. XXIX. P. 129. Note. 571. Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 66 [46–47]; **Tnj-it.f** Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. XII [1 row, right and middle. 2 row, right]. Pl. XIc [Middle, left]; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 144–147 [133–136]; Fischer, 1968. P. 70–72, note, 292. P. 121 note 522; **Tdj** Fischer, 1968. P. 196–197, 199, 214. Pl. XXVIII; **Bbj** PM V. P. 114; Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. VIIA [right lower]; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 133–134 [115]; **Wnnj** Fischer, 1968. P. 206. Note. 813. Fig. 4; **Mrj-Pth-j** Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. X A [“Ptah Mera cornise”]; Fischer H. G. Denderah in the Old Kingdom and its aftermath. A dissertation in Oriental Studies. Presented to the Faculty of Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. 1955. (Hereinafter – Fischer, 1955). P. 165ff, 341–343; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 135 [118], 136 [120]; **Mrrj** PM V. P. 112–113; Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. VIII, VIII B, VIII C; Borhardt L. Denkmäler des Alten Reiches. Bd. II. Berlin, 1964. P. 117. Pl. 87. P. 124. Pl. 88; Fischer, 1955. Fig. after p. 304. P. 272–281, 283–297, 302–305; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 127–134 [104–111]; Hayes W. C. The Scepter of Egypt. A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in MMA. Vol. I. New York, 1953. P. 138–139. Fig. 81; **Nj-ibw-nswt/Bbj** Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. P. 50. Pl. XIA [upper left]; Fischer, 1968. P. 114–119. Notes. 517, 187; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 35 [3]; **Nfr-yw** (MMA12.183.8) Hayes W. C. op. cit. P. 139f. Fig. 82; Fischer, 1968. P. 206–209. Fig. 42; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 161 [26]; **Nḥw** PM V. P. 114; Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. XI [left lower]; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 285–286 [482]; **Rdjw-hnmw** Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. XV, XVb. P. 51–53; Lange H. O., Schäfer H. Grab und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museen von Kairo. Vol. I–VI. Berlin, 1902–1925. Vol. II. P. 164–167; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 112–115 [81]; **Hr-ḥt** Abdalla A. Two monuments of Eleventh Dynasty Date from Dendera in the Cairo Museum // Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. 79 (1993). P. 248–254. Fig. 1. Pl.



XXIV.1; Franke D. Fürsorge und Patronat in der Ersten Zwischenzeit und im Mittelren Reich // Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur. 34 (2006). Taf. XXX; Musacchio T. An epigraphic reanalysis of two stelae from First Intermediate Period Dendera in the Cairo Museum // Antiquo Oriente. Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiquo Oriente. Vol. 4. Buenos Aires, 2006. P. 77– 85. Fig. 2 (Hereinafter – Musacchio T. 2006); Musacchio T. Texts and Iconography of Autobiographic Stelae Found at Dendera dating from the First Intermediate Period // Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum. SCA. Vol. 5. Cairo, 2008 (Hereinafter – Musacchio T. 2008). P. 55. Fig. 16; *Htpj* PM V. P. 114; Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. XI B [left upper (Beba III)], pl. XI [2 row, right, middle (Beba)], pl. XIV [right], XV; Fischer, 1955. Fig. 20. Pl. XVIIa. P. 169, 344–346; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 147–148 [137]; *Htpj* Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. XIB [right, 4 row]; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 158–159 [§ 178]; Fischer, 1968. P.166f; *Snnj* Fischer, 1968. P. 195, 209–213. Fig. 43. Pl. XXVI; *Sn-ndsw-j* PM V. P. 113; Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. IX [right lower], X [upper middle], X [3 row, left], XIII; Fischer, 1955. Fig. 17 after p. 321. P. 313–340; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 138–144 [124–132], 138 [125]; Musacchio T. 2006. P. 73–77. Fig. 1; Musacchio T. 2008. P. 52–52. Fig. 4; *Šn-stj* Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. II A, II C, XI A [lower], XI B; Fischer, 1968. P. 178–182. Pl. XV. P. 357–366; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 149–152 [§139, 140]; *...-r-Aw-j* (tomb № 331) Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. XIII [„Adua tomb 331“ A]; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 154; **Unknown** (Manchester 2897+2869) PM V. P. 114; Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. XIII [left lower]; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 153; **Unknown** (his wife’s name is Bbj) Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. XI [right upper]; Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 286–287 [484]; **Unknown** (University Museum, Philadelphia 29-66-682) Fischer, 1968. P.119. Pl. XIV; **Unknown** (University Museum, Philadelphia 29-66-608) Fischer, 1968. P. 159. Pl. XV; **Unknown** (CG 1641) Borchardt L. op. cit. P. 105.  
<sup>2</sup> Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl.VI; Urk. I. P. 270 [13–18]; Fischer, 1968. P. 93–100.  
<sup>3</sup> Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. 6; Urk. I. S. 271 [4–13]; Fischer, 1968. P. 100–103.  
<sup>4</sup> Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. IIa; Urk. I. S. 268 – 269. For dating of the tomb see discussion in Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 34–36; *Kloth N.* Die (auto)-biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Untersuchungen zu Phraseologie und Entwicklung. Hamburg, 2002. P. 16 [30] (as VI–VIII dynasties), also *Baer K.* Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Chicago, 1960. P. 290 [177A] (period from Teti till Merenre), contrary to Fischer, 1968. P. 85–91, 170–174 (as IX dynasty).  
<sup>5</sup> Романова О.О. Добродесна людина в Стародавньому Єгипті за автобіографічними текстами від Давнього до Середнього Царства. Київ, Інститут сходознавства ім. А. Ю. Кримського НАНУ, 2011. С. 94–97.  
<sup>6</sup> *Jones D.* An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom. Vol. I–II. Oxford, 2000. Vol. I. P. 33 [161] (*im3hw hr Hwt-hr nbt Twnt*); *Ibid.* p. 34 [162] (*im3hw hr Hwt-hr nbt Twnt m swt.s nbt*); *Ibid.* p. 43 [223] (*im3hwt hr Ht-hr m swt.s nbt*).  
<sup>7</sup> Petrie W. F. M., op. cit. Pl. 2a; Urk. I. S.269. (*Wsir nb dddw hntj-inmtjw nb 3bdw m (i)swt.sn nbt*).

<sup>8</sup> Edinburgh 1910.95, Fischer, 1968. Pl. XXVII. P. 195, 213; VI dyn or early the FIP, the text has no autobiographical inscriptions.

<sup>9</sup> Fischer, 1968. Fig. 43.

<sup>10</sup> CG 1664 Petrie *W. F. M.*, op. cit. Pl. VIII A; Borchardt L. op. cit. P. 122–123.

<sup>11</sup> Jones, op. cit. Vol. I. P. 16 [71] (*im3ḥw ḥr Inpw n swt.s nbwt*); Ibid. P. 17 [78] (*im3ḥw ḥr Inpw tpy-dw.f m swt.f nbt*, Deshasha).

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. P. 22 [105] (*im3ḥw ḥr Wsir m swt.f nbt*).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. P. 25 [115] (*im3ḥw ḥr Pth m swt.d nbw*).

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. P. 34 [162] (*im3ḥw ḥr Ḥwt-ḥr nbt Twnt m swt.s nbt*), Ibid. P. 43 [223] (*im3ḥwt ḥr ḥt-ḥr m swt.s nbt*).

<sup>15</sup> *Wnnj* Fischer, 1968. P. 206. Note. 813. Fig. 41; *Snni* Fischer, 1968. Fig. 43. Pl. XXVI; *Mrrj* Hayes W. C. op. cit. P. 139; *Nj-ibw-nswt/Bbj* Petrie *W. F. M.*, op. cit. P. 50. Pl. XI A [upper left]; *Šn-stj* Petrie *W. F. M.*, op. cit. Pl. XI B, right upper [Shensheta Hotepa], right; *Ḥtpj* Petrie *W. F. M.*, op. cit. Pl. XI B, right, 4 row; Unknown (Manchester 2897+2869) Petrie *W. F. M.*, op. cit. Pl. XIII [left lower].

<sup>16</sup> (MMA12.183.8) Hayes W. C. op. cit. P. 140. Fig. 82; Fischer, 1968. P. 206–209. Fig. 42.

<sup>17</sup> *Rdiw-ḥnmw* Cairo CG 20543, ln. 15–16. Petrie *W. F. M.*, op. cit. Pl. XV, XVB; Lange H. O., Schäfer H. op. cit. P. 164–167.

<sup>18</sup> Abdalla A. op. cit. P. 248–254. Fig. 1. Pl. XXIV.1; ; *Franke D.* op. cit. Pl. XXX; *see also* Ibid. pp. 159–185.

<sup>19</sup> *Mn-ᵚnh-Ppjj/Mnj* Petrie *W. F. M.*, op. cit. Pl. II a; Urk. I. P. 269 [ln. 8]; *Mrrj-Pth-j* Petrie *W. F. M.*, op. cit. Pl. X A [“Ptah Mera cornice”]; *Jnj-jt.f* Petrie *W. F. M.*, op. cit. pl. XII, 1 row, right and middle. 2 row, right; *Sn-ndsw-j* Musacchio T. 2006. P. 73–77. Fig. 1; Musacchio T. 2008. Fig. 4; and probably *Mrrj* Hayes W. C. op. cit. P. 139.

<sup>20</sup> CG 1641 ln. 4–5. Borchardt L. op. cit. P. 105.

<sup>21</sup> CG 1666, Petrie *W. F. M.*, op. cit. Pl. VIII; Borchardt L. op. cit. P. 124. Pl.88; *see also* Fischer 1955. P. 281–282.

<sup>22</sup> MMA 98.4.2 and Univ. Mus. E 17746 Hayes W. C. op. cit. P. 139, in accordance to restoration by Fischer, 1955. P. 309 adopted by Schenkel W. op. cit. P. 129.