Restoring the Tombs of His Ancestors?
Djehutinakht, Son of Teti, at Deir al-Barsha and Sheikh Said

MARLEEN DE MEYER

The necropolis of Deir al-Barsha has recently become the subject of renewed interest on the part of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven.[1] Several areas of this vast site are now under investigation, one of which comprises the Old Kingdom rock tombs located on the northern (zone 4) and southern hills (zone 7). Although primarily renowned for its use as the necropolis of the Middle Kingdom nomarchs of the fifteenth Upper Egyptian nome, the hills of Deir al-Barsha already provided shelter for the dead as far back as in the early Old Kingdom.

A survey carried out in 2002 revealed circular structures on the foothills of both the northern and the southern hills, which were interpreted as being tombs dating to the Third Dynasty. Further investigation into these structures is pending. During later periods of the Old Kingdom, the focus shifted from the foothills towards the rocky areas higher up on the mountains, where Old Kingdom tombs are found on both the northern and southern hills. However, the tombs on the northern hill were heavily reused during later periods of Egyptian history, leaving little trace of the original tomb structures. On the southern hill the situation is somewhat different. Here most tombs, although robbed, do not seem to have been reused, other than occasionally for quarrying. Several tombs on the southern hill even now contain traces of their original decoration. Although the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty provincial rulers preferred to be buried in the neighboring necropolis of Sheikh Said,[2] during this period there must have been quite intense funerary activity at Deir al-Barsha as well.[3]

During the transition from the late First Intermediate Period to the early Middle Kingdom, the provincial rulers chose to be buried at Deir al-Barsha instead of Sheikh Said, beginning with the nomarch Ahanakht I. This seemingly abrupt change of burial place did not, however, take place without the proper preparation. A nomarch named Djehutinakht, son of Teti, who lived at the end of the First Intermediate Period, left inscriptions in several of the Old Kingdom tombs at Sheikh Said and Deir al-Barsha, claiming that he restored the tombs of his ancestors. The inscriptions from Sheikh Said have been known since the publications of Lepsius[4] and Davies,[5] but the Belgian mission has discovered several more at Deir al-Barsha that shed new light on this remarka-

---

1 For the first preliminary report of this mission, containing an overview of the excavation history at the site and the first results of the Belgian mission, see H.O. Willems et al., "Preliminary Report of the 2002 Campaign of the Belgian Mission to Deir al-Barsha." MDAIK 60 (2004): 237-283. In this report the new numbering system of the tombs is equally explained. The report of the 2003 mission is submitted for publication in MDAIK 62. A short summary of the excavations in zone 4 can be found in M. De Meyer. 2005. "In the Shadow of the Nomarchs: New Excavations in the Rock Tombs of Deir al-Barsha." to be published in the Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of the Egyptologists (Grenoble, 6–12 September 2004).

2 N.d.G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd, ed. F.L. Griffith, ASE 10 (London, 1901).

3 A Fifth Dynasty royal decree dating to the reign of Neferefre is found on the façade of tomb 16L34/1 on the north hill of Deir al-Barsha. For a drawing of this decree, see R. Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, ed. K.H. Sethe, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 9 (Leipzig, 1928), pl. 2, Inschrift XV. A photo was published in E. Brovarski, "Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom," in Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980, ed. W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davis (Boston, 1981), 67. During the 2004 season a new epigraphic drawing was made of this text, which shows substantial changes from the old copy. Although no royal names are mentioned in the Old Kingdom tombs on the southern hill, stylistic criteria point towards a date in the late Old Kingdom.

4 K.R. Lepsius, Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Koenige von Preussen, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., nach diesen Ländern gesendeten, und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition auf Befehl Seiner Majestät, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1849; reprint, 1972).

5 Davies, Sheikh Said .

ble undertaking. The text of these inscriptions, worded exactly the same in all cases, reads as follows:[6]

It is his monument that he made for his fathers who are in the realm of the dead, lords of this necropolis; making firm that which was found destroyed, renewing that which was found in ruin, while behold, the predecessors who stood before had not done this; by the Foremost One of the District, the Controller of the Two Thrones, the Overseer of the God's Servants, the Overseer of the House of the King, the Overseer of Upper Egypt, the Great Chief of the Hare-Nome, the Nobleman in His Function, the Nobleman in His Rank, Foremost of the Position in the House of the King, Djehutinakht, whom Teti has born.

It is clear from these text that Djehutinakht attributed special importance to his ancestors by claiming he restored their tombs, and leaving texts claiming

as much. In order to better understand this action, it is necessary to first take a look at the different tombs in which Djehutinakht placed these inscriptions.

A. Sheikh Said

Djehutinakht left four of these restoration inscriptions at Sheikh Said, the Old Kingdom necropolis about 4km to the south of Deir al-Barsha. These texts have long been known, but in 2003 the Belgian mission made new facsimile drawings. This showed that although the inscriptions suffered severe damage between the visits of Lepsius in 1843 and the copies of Davies in 1901, their condition remained relatively unchanged between 1901 and the present day.

A.1. Tomb of Meru/Bebi[7] [Lepsius/PM no. 3; Davies no. 20[8]]

Date: Davies dated this tomb to the Sixth Dynasty, from the reign of Pepi I or later. Baer was able to refine this date to the middle of the reign of Pepi II (regnal years 35–55) based on the variable title sequences in the tomb.[9]

Description: The inscription originally consisted of six vertical lines of text. Presently only the last line and a tiny fragment of the penultimate line survive. Lepsius shows a break at the same place where the left part of the inscription has now completely broken away, suggesting that the left part of the inscription was already coming loose. The inscription is located on a doorjamb, close to the ground.[10] The hieroglyphs are carved in sunk relief and painted blue on a yellow background.

---

6 As none of the restoration texts are preserved without damage, the hieroglyphs and the translation are a reconstruction of the original text composed of the remnants of all known surviving texts.

7 Bibliography: Lepsius, Denkmaeler, 121-122, pl. 112e ; B. Porter, R.L.B. Moss, and E.W. Burney, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings., vol. 4: Lower and Middle Egypt: Delta and Cairo to Asyut (Oxford, 1934), 189 (3.11); Davies, Sheikh Said, 26, 38 and pl. 21; S. Grallert, Bauen, stiften, weihen: Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierungsinschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie, 2 vols., ADAIK 18 (Berlin, 2001), 495, 682, pl. 56a (Pr/9D/Wf002).

8 Davies, Sheikh Said, 24-27, pl. 18-21.

9 K. Baer, Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (Chicago, 1960), 225, 283 (no. 192). In Baer's dating sequence, Meru is placed in VI E.

10 The low placement of the restoration inscription is characteristic for all restoration inscriptions of Djehutinakht, son of Teti. It almost seems as if he was trying to avoid having the

The tomb of Meru consists of three chambers around the main axis, and one small chamber to the south of the innermost room. Against the back wall of the innermost room, remains of a rock-cut double statue[11] representing a seated man and woman are preserved, their gaze projecting out of the tomb. This type of double statue is encountered in several more of the tombs at both Sheikh Said and Deir al-Barsha that also contain a restoration inscription of Djehutinakht. The inscriptions in the tomb are limited to the outermost chamber. On the western wall of this chamber a rock-cut false door is preserved, while against the eastern wall the remains of seven rock-cut standing statues in recesses remain.

There is no evidence that Meru was a nomarch of the fifteenth Upper Egyptian nome, as the title "Great Chief of the Hare Nome" is nowhere preserved in his tomb. His tomb is, however, quite damaged, so it is possible the title simply is no longer preserved.

A.2. Tomb of Uiu[12] [Lepsius/PM no. 4; Davies no. 19[13]]

Date: Davies dated this tomb to the Sixth Dynasty, from the reign of Pepi I or later. Baer was able to refine this date to the period going from Merenre to the early years of Pepi II (up until regnal year 15) based on the variable title sequences in the tomb.[14]

Description : This text was copied by Lepsius in 1843 but is now completely lost. The inscription consisted originally of eight vertical lines of text, and must have been located on the thickness of the northern doorjamb of the entrance to the tomb.

The tomb of Uiu consists of three chambers arranged around a central axis (as was also the case for the tomb of Meru), although the chambers themselves are at an awkward angle with this axis. The innermost chamber is very roughly hewn out in the rock. In the outermost chamber the remains of three standing rock-cut statues in recesses are preserved. In the western wall of this outermost chamber a false door was carved.

Uiu was the only one to carry the title "Great Chief of the Hare Nome" and was thus a Sixth Dynasty nomarch of the fifteenth Upper Egyptian Nome.[15]

A.3. Tomb of Teti-ankh/Imhetep[16] [Lepsius/PM no. 6; Davies no. 15[17]]

Date: Sixth Dynasty, reign of Pepi I or later.[18]

Description: The restoration text in the tomb of Teti-ankh is located on the eastern wall of the outermost room. In the time of Lepsius, the main damage to the inscription consisted of two large holes in the middle of the text. After Lepsius, the complete upper right corner of the text has disappeared. This had already happened by 1901, since Davies reconstructed this part on the basis of Lepsius' drawing.

The tomb of Teti-ankh consists of two rectangular chambers around a central axis, of which the innermost chamber was enlarged later. In the outermost chamber niches with three rock-cut statues are preserved, as well as relief decoration and a false door. In the inner chamber several niches that once probably contained statues are visible, as well as a false door in the western wall.

The relation of Teti-ankh to the other dignitaries at Sheikh Said is not clear. Davies[19] speculated that he was to be placed in the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, thus preceding both Meru and Uiu.

---

inscription be too noticeable. This is in contradiction to the placement of the restoration inscriptions of the nomarch Iha at Sheikh Said, which are all at eye-level and in a more prominent location, such as, for instance, on the façade of the tomb of Teti-ankh (Davies, Sheikh Said, pl. 29).

11 For a typology of rock-cut statues in tombs of the larger Giza area, see M. Fitzenreiter, Statue und Kult: Eine Studie der funerären Praxis an nichtköniglichen Grabanlagen der Residenz im Alten Reich, IBAES III, 2001, chapter 18. (Available online at http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/nilus/net-publications/ibaes3). Rock-cut statues occur there starting from the late Fourth Dynasty and continue to be found until the Sixth Dynasty.

12 Bibliography: Lepsius, Denkmaeler, 122, pl. 113b ; Porter, Moss, and Burney, PM, 189 (4.1); Davies, Sheikh Said, 28, 38; Grallert, Bauen, stiften, weihen, 495, 683, pl. 56c (Pr/9D/Wf004).

13 Davies, Sheikh Said, 27-29, pl. 21-24.

14 Baer, Rank and Title, 225, 282 (no. 106). In Baer's dating sequence Uiu is placed in VI C. As Uiu is to be dated before Meru, Baer concludes that he was the father of Meru, and not his son, as Davies assumed (Davies, Sheikh Said, 42).

---

15 Davies, Sheikh Said, 27.

16 Bibliography: Lepsius, Denkmaeler, pl. 113c ; Davies, Sheikh Said, 33, 38 and pl. 30; Porter, Moss, and Burney, PM, 191 (6.4); Grallert, Bauen, stiften, weihen, 496, 682, pl. 56d (Pr/9D/Wf001).

17 Davies, Sheikh Said, 31-34, pl. 27-30.

18 Baer, Rank and Title, 152, nr. 561. A more precise dating could not be obtained for the tomb of Teti-ankh due to the lack of variable title sequences.

19 Davies, Sheikh Said, 41.

A.4. "Tomb 6"[20] [Lepsius/PM: none; Davies no. 6[21]]

Date: unknown, presumably Sixth Dynasty.

Description: In Tomb 6[22] a small fragment of text is left that can likely be identified as the remains of another restoration inscription of Djehutinakht. The bottom parts of five text columns remain, four of which contain hieroglyphs. Although no name has survived, the traces fit well in the wording of the Djehutinakht texts. A possible reconstruction of the text was made, mainly based on the text in tomb 15J15/1 in Deir al-Barsha, since the division of the text columns there best matches the traces in Tomb 6. The hieroglyphs are cut in sunk relief and contain blue paint, as in the texts described above.

Tomb 6 consists of two chambers around a central axis. Due to its extremely damaged state, this tomb no longer contains any Old Kingdom inscriptions, but it does contain wealthy decoration in the shape of several sculptured statues and false doors.

This concludes the list of tombs at Sheikh Said with a restoration inscription of Djehutinakht, son of Teti. It is remarkable that there are no such texts in the tombs of Serfka and Werireni, the two oldest tombs at Sheikh Said, which date to the mid- to late Fifth Dynasty.[23] This date is based on Serfka being a priest of Khufu and Userkaf, and Werireni one of Niuserre. Both men bear the title *sšm-t3 n Wnw* "Leader of the Hare Nome", the nomarchal title of the period.

B. Deir al-Barsha

Djehutinakht, son of Teti, left five restoration texts at Deir al-Barsha. The existence of one of these texts on the northern hill of Deir al-Barsha was previously known, as well as one in tomb 15J15/1 on the southern hill, but the other three texts have been newly discovered or identified during the 2004 KULeuven mission to Deir al-Barsha.

B.1. North Hill
B.1.1. Tomb 16K86/1[24]

The inscription is located in the interior of the tomb, on the back (northern) wall. It is placed low above the ground. The hieroglyphs were carved in sunk relief and painted blue. In some instances traces of the red guidelines are left. The inscription was heavily damaged by purposeful hacking, probably during the Coptic Period when monks inhabited the tomb. The cut marks of this hacking have a comb-shaped pattern, which is the common mark left by chisels utilized by Copts. The inscription consists of six columns, read from right to left.

Tomb 16K86/1[25] is located in zone 4 on the northern wadi flank, below the Middle Kingdom nomarchal tombs. The tomb lies somewhat isolated from the other tombs in zone 4, on the eastern side of the necropolis. The tomb consists of one rock-cut chamber with three shafts and two niches. No original tomb decoration in the form of inscription, statues, or false doors is preserved.

B.2. South Hill
B.2.1. Tomb of Imi[26]

The restoration inscription, located on the eastern interior wall, is very severely damaged. In fact, the location of the text mainly manifests itself through hacking marks. Only the last few signs of the three last columns are well preserved, making it possible to positively identify this text as a restoration inscription of Djehutinakht, son of Teti. The rest of the text was likely hacked away in antiquity, judging by the patina on the limestone. It was not done with a comb-shaped chisel, but with a flat chisel with a width of at least 2 cm. After this initial surface damage, a large hole was hacked out in the lower part of the text and below it. The text originally consisted of eight columns, read from left to right. The hieroglyphs were carved in sunk relief and painted blue on a yellow background. In some instances traces of the red guidelines are still visible.

20 Bibliography: Davies, Sheikh Said, 35, 38 ; Grallert, Bauen, stiften, weihen, 496, 683, pl. 56d (Pr/9D/Wf007).

21 Davies, Sheikh Said, 35, pl. 32.

22 Mentioned in Davies, Sheikh Said, 38, but not included in the plates.

23 Baer, Rank and Title, 282 (no. 114 and no. 457). In Baer's dating sequence Serfka and Werireni are placed in V C, the period between regnal year 16 of Djedkare and regnal year 10 of Unas.

24 Bibliography: F.L. Griffith and P.E. Newberry, El-Bersheh II, ed. F.L. Griffith, ASE 4 (London, [1895]), 10, 57; Davies, Sheikh Said, 39.

25 For a preliminary report on the partial excavation of tomb 16K86/1, see Willems et al., "Preliminary Report of the 2002 Campaign of the Belgian Mission to Deir al-Barsha.": 257-259.

26 Bibliography: unpublished. Text misinterpreted in Griffith and Newberry, El-Bersheh II, 65.

The tomb is located halfway up the southern hill, and is one of the largest tombs in this area.[27] It consists of a large chamber with a square shaft in the centre. On the eastern wall of this chamber are the remains of two rock-cut seated statues in niches. A small, roughly cut room extends behind this chamber, containing the remains of a double seated statue. There are remains of the original tomb decoration on the doorjambs leading into the second room, which give the name of the owner as 𓇋𓏠𓏤 *Ỉmỉ*,[28] bearing the titles of Chief of the Estate, Royal Chamberlain, and Overseer of the Royal Scribes. He carries a second title with the word *šš* "scribe" in it, but the is unfortunately lost.

B.2.2. Tomb of Wky (Tomb 16H50/1)[29] [fig. 1]

A fragment of a text published by Clédat[30] in 1901 has gone unnoticed as being another restoration inscription of this same Djehutinakht. Clédat locates the text on the southern hill of Deir al-Barsha, in the series of tombs named S.[31] He describes two lines of text, written on the thickness of the doorjamb of a tomb. The traces fit the text of the restoration inscriptions of Djehutinakht perfectly. In April 2004 a search was conducted to relocate this text. The tomb was found high on the southern mountain slope, between the mounds of debris that originate from the Amenhotep III quarries on top of the moun-

tain. The tomb consists of one rock-cut chamber, which was extended during later periods.

The interior of the tomb is quite elaborately decorated. Against the back wall stand the remains of three rock-cut statues:

On the left, a male statue wearing a protruding kilt. The body has traces of dark red paint, and the belt was painted blue. On the kilt itself are also traces of blue and light red lines. Blue stripes are preserved on the right wrist, and the figure seems to have worn a blue collar.

In the middle is found a smaller statue, likewise standing. There are traces of dark red paint on the side of its legs, suggesting this also represented a male, probably the son of the man.

On the right the remains of a double statue are preserved. The man stands on the left side, wearing a tight fitted kilt. On his body are traces of red paint. He seems to have worn a blue collar and there are traces of blue paint where his belt would have been located. On the right stands his wife, who has her right arm wrapped around his right shoulder, and her left hand grasping his left arm. The traces of paint on her body are lighter than those on the male statue. The statue of the wife was partially cut away when a room with two rectangular shafts was added to the tomb at a later point in time.

A block of text with blue painted hieroglyphs accompanies these statues. Of this text, only the title *ỉmȝḫw ḫr ỉm.y-ḫmnw* "revered with he who is in Khemenu" is legible today. On the lintel of the entrance to the tomb traces of a badly weathered text are visible. Although the reading is doubtful, the name of the tomb owner was possibly 𓎛𓂋𓇋𓇋𓀀 .[32]

The restoration inscription is written on the northern doorjamb of the entrance to the tomb, and not inside the tomb as most other restoration texts are.[33] This location is more prone to wind erosion than the interior of the tomb, and thus the last line of text containing the name is quite weathered. However, there can be no doubt that this text also belongs to Djehutinakht, son of Teti, as the few remaining traces

27 Tomb S, x in the numbering system of Fraser (Griffith and Newberry, El-Bersheh II, 64-65). Fraser wrongly identifies the tomb owner as somebody whose mother's name is Teta, not noticing that the text from which he derives this is, in fact, a restoration text. This in turn lead Gomàà to falsely conclude that this is the tomb of Djehutinakht, son of Teti, who left the restoration inscriptions (F. Gomàà, Ägypten während der Ersten Zwischenzeit, ed. H. Gaube and W. Röllig, BTAVO 27 (Wiesbaden, 1980), 110).

28 This is a fairly common name during the Old and Middle Kingdom: H. Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen, vol. 1: Verzeichnis der Namen (Glückstadt, 1935), 25:17. E. Brovarski et al., Report of the 1990 Field Season of the Joint Expedition of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; University Museum, University of Pennsylvania; Leiden University, Bersheh Reports 1 (Boston, 1992), 69, gives the name as Impy; as he does not provide the hieroglyphs, it is difficult to understand what this reading is based on.

29 Bibliography: partially published in J. Clédat, "Notes sur la nécropole de Bersheh." BIFAO 1 (1901).

30 Clédat, "Notes sur la nécropole de Bersheh".

31 Clédat follows the numbering of Griffith and Newberry, El-Bersheh II, 64-65.

32 This name is known from the Middle Kingdom (Ranke, Personennamen I, 87:17-18).

33 There is, however, inside the tomb on the southern wall an area that is smoothened in exactly the same way as was done for other restoration texts of Djehutinakht. It seems probable that the original plan was to place the inscription inside, but that this was abandoned for an unknown reason.
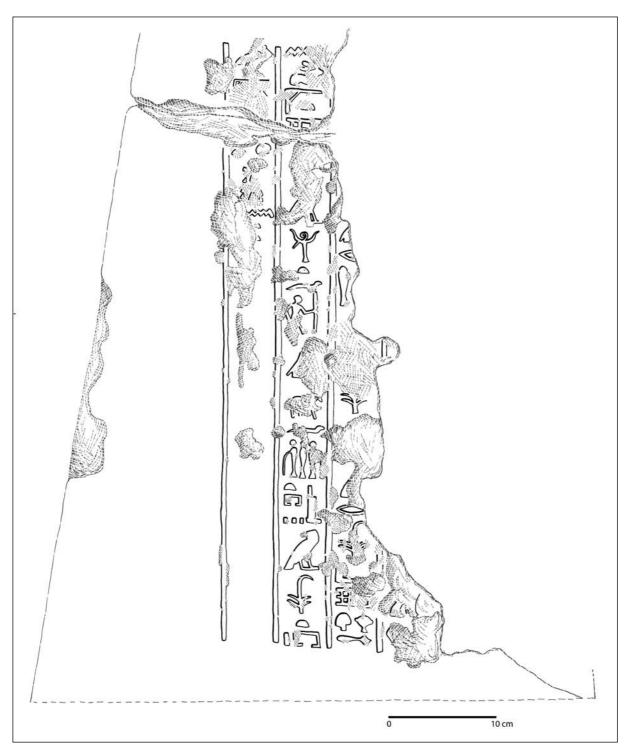
fig.1: The restoration text of Djehutinakht, son of Teti, in the tomb of Wky on the southern hill at Deir al-Barsha.

indicate. Of the rest of the text, much more is preserved than what Clédat published. Due to heavy wind erosion, few traces of color are preserved. However, one tiny patch of paint demonstrates that these hieroglyphs, cut in sunk relief, were once filled in with blue paint. No traces of the red guidelines are preserved. Although today only parts of four text columns are visible, it is estimated (based on the width of the doorjamb and the amount of text preserved) that the inscription originally consisted of six columns[34] read from right to left.

---

34 The distribution of the text in the columns is very similar to that of the restoration inscription in the tomb of Meru/Bebi at Sheikh Said (cfr. supra).

De Meyer • Restoring the tombs

B.2.3. Tomb of An-Ankhy[35]

The tomb of An-Ankhy[36] is located on the southern hill of Deir al-Barsha, in a tomb labeled by Fraser as Q,b.[37] This tomb is the only Old Kingdom rock tomb in Deir al-Barsha that has its entire decoration preserved. The relief figures of the tomb owner and his family have largely been hacked away by Copts, but the texts are preserved in an almost intact state.[38]

Probably due to the good state of preservation of the original wall decoration, a small patch of damage on the eastern interior wall of the tomb below an offering scene for An-Ankhy was not noticed before. This damage turned out to be applied to a restoration text, of which only scant traces remain today. However, again there is no doubt it concerns a text of Djehutinakht, son of Teti. The text consists of seven columns, read from right to left. The hieroglyphs were carved in sunk relief and painted blue on a yellow background. In some cases traces of the red guidelines are still visible.

B.2.4. Tomb 15J15/1[39] [fig. 2]

The tomb is located in zone 7 on the southern wadi flank, to the south of the path leading up to the Amenhotep III quarries, labeled as tomb S, s by Fraser.[40] The inscription is located on the back (eastern) wall of the tomb and is placed low above the ground. Inside the tomb are two square shafts without climbing holes.[41] Protruding from the back wall are the remains of a double seated and standing statue, carved out in a niche. These are largely cut away, and Coptic crosses were painted around them. No inscriptions of the original tomb owner are preserved. A rock-cut false door is preserved on the western wall of the tomb chamber.

The Copts rendered this restoration inscription magically harmless by painting three large red crosses over the text. In the middle of the text, a large hole was hacked away, but this damage likely originates from a more recent date since it cuts through the Coptic crosses. The inscription is otherwise quite well preserved. The surface on which it was cut was first smoothened, so that it actually lies deeper than the surrounding wall surface, which was left fairly rough. The walls were originally probably plastered: a piece of lime plaster is still in place on the southern interior wall of the tomb.

The hieroglyphs were carved in sunk relief and painted blue, whereas the background was painted yellow. There are traces left of the red guidelines that were set out on the wall before the inscription was

35 Bibliography: unpublished.

36 This tomb is usually referred to as the tomb of Ankhy (see for instance Brovarski et al., Report of the 1990 Field Season of the Joint Expedition of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; University Museum, University of Pennsylvania; Leiden University, 67-69), but the reading of the name seems more likely to be ꜥn-ꜥnḫy. The name can be written as either ▭♀●𓏏𓏏 or ▭♀▭𓏏𓏏, but the ꜥ and the n are always written out in full before the ꜥnḫ-sign. Though these could technically be explained as merely being phonetic complements, the additional n that is sometimes written out behind the ꜥnḫ-sign makes this unlikely; it would be quite unusual to have a double n as phonetic complement. Furthermore it is unusual for the ꜥnḫ-sign to be preceded by phonetic complements in personal names; none of the names with the element ꜥnḫ in them mentioned in Ranke have this (Ranke, Personennamen I, 1:62-68). The name ꜥn-ꜥnḫy occurs only one other time, in one of the Letters to the Dead (the Cairo text on linen) which originates from Saqqara and dates to the late Sixth Dynasty or early First Intermediate Period (A.H. Gardiner and K.H. Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead, Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms (London, 1928), 1-3, pl. 1). Gomàà, Ägypten während der Ersten Zwischenzeit, 111, has suggested that the owner of this tomb might possibly be identified with an Ankhy who worked in Hatnub and was sent there by Pepi II (Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, 22-23, 104, and pl. 12). However, this individual is named 𓎛♀▭𓀜 ḫnm-ꜥnḫ, and his "beautiful name" is ♀▭𓏏𓏏 ꜥnḫy. His titles partly overlap with the titles of An-Ankhy at Deir al-Barsha (ḫtm.ty bity, śmr wꜥ.ty, ḥr.y ḥbt) but he also carries two other titles which do not occur in the Deir al-Barsha tomb (imy-rꜣ ḥm(.w)-nṯr "Overseer of the God's Servants", imy-rꜣ ḫnty(.w)-š pr-ꜥꜣ "Overseer of Land-Tenants of the Great House" (D. Jones, An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom, Vol. 1, BAR International Series 866 (Oxford, 2000), nr. 710). The difference in titulature between the two individuals, the fact that the name ḫnm-ꜥnḫ occurs nowhere in the Deir al-Barsha tomb, and the different writings of the names (ꜥn-ꜥnḫy verśuś ꜥnḫy) make it rather doubtful these two persons are identical.

37 Griffith and Newberry, El-Bersheh II, 64. As this is the third tomb in the Q series, it should rather be Q, c instead of Q, b.

38 See Brovarski et al., Report of the 1990 Field Season of the Joint Expedition of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; University Museum, University of Pennsylvania; Leiden University, 67-69, for a short description of the tomb. The Belgian Mission to Deir al-Barsha plans to publish this tomb with facsimile drawings.

39 Bibliography: unpublished. Text mentioned in Griffith and Newberry, El-Bersheh II, 65.

40 Griffith and Newberry, El-Bersheh II, 65.

41 The northernmost shaft was excavated during the 2004 season. A summary of the results of this excavation is presented below.
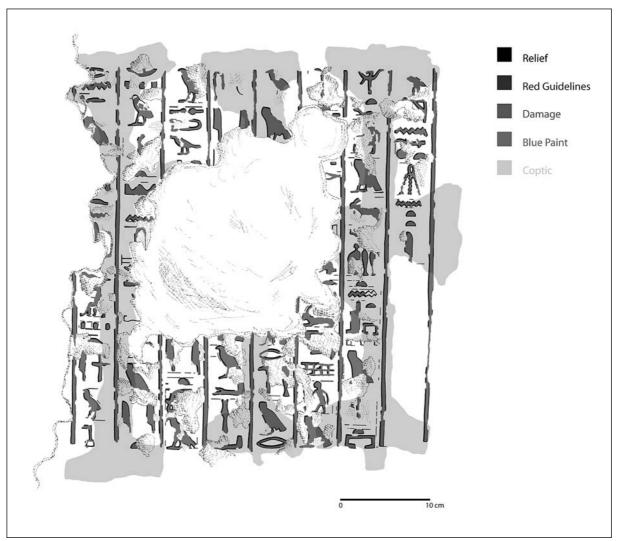
fig.2: The restoration text of Djehutinakht, son of Teti, in tomb 15J15/1 on the southern hill at Deir al-Barsha.

applied. The inscription consists of eight columns, read from left to right.

During the 2004 campaign the northernmost shaft, which was halfway filled with debris, was excavated. The fill of the shaft was fairly sterile, in that only broken Old Kingdom pottery (beer jars and bread moulds) was found and not more recent pottery as is normally the case in shafts on the north hill. In the burial chamber, which lay to the east of the shaft, the complete skeleton of a female was found, laying on her left side with her head north, facing east, and her legs slightly flexed. She had been provided with a few funerary gifts, namely a bronze mirror and a calcite jar that were both laying in front of her face. She was wearing a necklace composed of carnelian, steatite, and metal beads. The wooden coffin had badly decayed due to humidity, but large portions of it were also still found in situ. It is highly likely that this burial belongs to the wife of the Old Kingdom tomb owner, who is represented in the double seated statue against the rear wall of the tomb. Therefore, this is one of the people Djehutinakht considered to be "his ancestors". Although this is not a very rich burial, it is also not a totally common one, and it must be assumed that this woman at least belonged to the upper class.

Conclusions

The corpus of restoration texts of Djehutinakht, son of Teti, is unique. The large number of identical texts, nine in total, spread out over two necropoleis and found in the wealthiest and most extensively deco-

rated tombs of both those necropoleis, can be called remarkable at least. At Sheikh Said over a hundred tombs[42] are recorded, but only a handful were decorated with texts and/or rock-cut statues and/or false doors. A similar situation is encountered on the southern hill of Deir al-Barsha, which is honeycombed with plain undecorated tombs. In almost every decorated tomb, a restoration text was found.

Chronologically the restoration texts are important because they form the link between the Old Kingdom use of Sheikh Said and Deir al-Barsha, and the emergence of a new nomarchal line that chose Deir al-Barsha as its burial place, starting with the nomarch Ahanakht I. It is therefore all the more unfortunate that Djehutinakht, son of Teti, cannot be linked directly with neither the Old Kingdom rulers nor the line of Ahanakht I. The only genealogical information that he provides is his mother's name Teti. This name, although still in vogue in the Middle Kingdom, clearly evokes an affinity with the Sixth Dynasty. His own name, Djehutinakht, on the contrary is clearly a late First Intermediate Period - Middle Kingdom construction.[43] This may give an indication that Djehutinakht, son of Teti, is to be placed in the First Intermediate Period. Another reason for placing him in this timeframe is the style in which the inscriptions are carved. The hieroglyphs are carved in sunk relief and painted blue, while the background is yellow. Often traces of the red guidelines are visible. This distinctive style is identical to that used in the tomb of Iha, one of the subordinates of the nomarch Ahanakht I, whose tomb is located at a lower level in front of the tomb of Ahanakht.[44]

The titles of Djehutinakht, son of Teti, show he was a *ḥr.y-tp ꜥꜣ n Wnw* "Great Chief of the Hare Nome", thus a nomarch. Strangely enough, however, the location of his tomb is not known, and it is not to be found on the plateau of Middle Kingdom

nomarchal tombs on the north hill of Deir al-Barsha. It has been suggested by Brovarski[45] that Djehutinakht, son of Teti, could be the father of the nomarch Ahanakht I, whose name is mentioned on the lintel above the entrance to his tomb. Ahanakht was the first in the line of Middle Kingdom nomarchs buried at Deir al-Barsha, and so his father might have been preparing the way for him by linking his family to the high officials already buried in Deir al-Barsha and Sheikh Said.

Another nomarch of the Hare nome, Iha, also left restoration texts, but he only left two, both at Sheikh Said.[46] Furthermore, he does not claim to have restored the tombs of his ancestors, and his texts are only two lines long. This Iha has been identified with the Iha who is known from Hatnub graffito 9.[47] This grafitto is palaeographically later than those of Pepi II, which puts him into the First Intermediate Period. Djehutinakht, son of Teti, is probably to be placed after him. Both apparently felt the need to associate themselves with the elder nobles of the area so as to legitimise their own position.

All the inscriptions are now in quite a ruined state. In fact, it is often only possible to recognise the shape of the original hieroglyph by the remaining traces of paint. This does not mean, however, that they were the target of purposeful malicious intent at any one point in time, such as a *damnatio memoriae*. The destruction rather took place at different points in time, for different reasons. The Copts were responsible for much of the damage done at Deir al-Barsha (certainly in tomb 16K86/1 and tomb 15J15/1), while at Sheikh Said most inscriptions were damaged in recent times, after the visit of Lepsius in 1843 (tombs of Meru, Uiu, Teti-ankh).

The question arises as to whether all the tombs in which Djehutinakht placed a restoration text actually belonged to his real ancestors. Though we

---

42 Davies, Sheikh Said, 7-9.

43 H. Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen, vol. 2: Einleitung; Form und Inhalt der Namen; Geschichte der Namen; Vergleiche mit anderen Namen; Nachträge und Zusätze zu Band I.; Umschreibungslisten (Glückstadt, 1952), 235, n. 6.

44 The publication of the tomb of Iha, together with those of Djehutinakht and Khnumhotep, is forthcoming (H.O. Willems et al., Deir al Barsha. Vol. 1: The Rock Tombs of Djehutinakt (No. 17L20/1), Khnumnakht (17L20/2), and Iha (17L20/3); With a Chapter on the History and Functioning of Nomarchal Rule in the Early Middle Kingdom, OLA (Leuven, 2005)).

45 Brovarski, "Ahanakht of Bersheh,", 22, n. 31.

46 One on the thickness of the doorway in the tomb of Uiu, above where the restoration inscription of Djehutinakht, son of Teti, was once located (Davies, Sheikh Said, 28, 38; Grallert, Bauen, stiften, weihen, 496, 682, pl. 56c (Pr/9D/Wf003)); one on the façade of the tomb of Teti-ankh (Davies, Sheikh Said, 31, 38, pl. 29e; Grallert, Bauen, stiften, weihen, 496, 683, pl. 56d (Pr/9D/Wf006)). Possibly a third restoration text, in the tomb of Meru/Henenet, is to be attributed to Iha, but the name has been lost (Lepsius, Denkmaeler, 122; Grallert, Bauen, stiften, weihen, 496, 683, pl. 56b (Pr/9D/Wf005)).

47 Brovarski, "Ahanakht of Bersheh,", 22.

cannot be absolutely sure, it seems that the answer to this question has to be negative. Davies[48] has suggested, based only on the texts at Sheikh Said of which he knew, that Djehutinakht might have selected tombs which in some way have the name Teti in them (this being the name of his mother). The wives of Meru and Uiu were both named Teti, and Teti-ankh has this element in his name. However, with the new inscriptions on the south hill of Deir al-Barsha, this argument is no longer valid as nowhere is the name Teti found in these tombs. In fact, the only common factor in all these tombs is that they were originally decorated and thus obviously belonged to the more well-to-do stratum of the population. At Sheikh Said this means the tombs of several high officials and at least one nomarch of the Sixth Dynasty, while at Deir al-Barsha this means the tombs of the high officials (none of them nomarchs) of that same period.

What exactly Djehutinakht meant when he claimed he had *restored* the tombs of his ancestors, remains unclear. Davies[49] already remarked that no signs of any sort of restoration were visible in the tombs of Sheikh Said, and recent investigations in the tombs in Deir al-Barsha confirm this statement. Rather than restoring tombs, it seems Djehutinakht was more concerned with his own propaganda and justifying the rule of the future nomarchs of the Hare Nome.

---

48 Davies, Sheikh Said, 39.
49 Davies, Sheikh Said, 39.

Bibliography

Anthes, Rudolf. 1928. *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, UGAÄ 9, ser. ed. K.H. Sethe. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.*

Baer, Klaus. 1960. *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Chicago: The University of Chicago.*

Brovarski, Edward. 1981. *"Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom." In Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday, June* 1, 1980, edited by W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davis. Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts: 14-30.

Brovarski, Edward, Rita E. Freed, Olaf Ernst Kaper, Jean-Louis Lachevre, Melissa Robinson, David P. Silverman, René Van Walsem, and Harco Olger Willems. 1992. *Report of the 1990 Field Season of the Joint Expedition of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; University Museum, University of Pennsylvania; Leiden University, Bersheh Reports 1. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.*

Clédat, Jean. 1901. *"Notes sur la nécropole de Bersheh." BIFAO 1: 101-102.*

Davies, Norman de Garis. 1901. *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd, ASE 10, ser. ed. F.L. Griffith. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.*

Fitzenreiter, Martin. 1999/2001. *Statue und Kult. Eine Studie der funerären Praxis an nichtköniglichen Grabanlagen der Residenz im Alten Reich, doctoral dissertation, Humboldt-Universität 1999 (IBAES III, 2001, http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/nilus/net-publications/ibaes3).*

Gardiner, Alan Henderson, and Kurt Heinrich Sethe. 1928. *Egyptian Letters to the Dead, Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms. London: The Egypt Exploration Society.*

Gomàà, Farouk. 1980. *Ägypten während der Ersten Zwischenzeit, BTAVO 27, ser. eds. H. Gaube and W. Röllig. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.*

Grallert, Silke. 2001. *Bauen, stiften, weihen. Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierungsinschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie. 2 vols, ADAIK 18. Berlin: Achet.*

Griffith, Francis Llewellyn, and Percy E. Newberry. [1895]. *El-Bersheh II, ASE 4, ser. ed. F.L. Griffith. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.*

Jones, Dilwyn. 2000. *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom. 2 vols. BAR International Series 866. Oxford: Archaeopress.*

Lepsius, Karl Richard. 1849. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Koenige von Preussen, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., nach diesen Ländern gesendeten, und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaft-lichen Expedition auf Befehl Seiner Majestät. Vol. 2. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung. Reprint, 1972.*

Porter, Bertha, Rosalind Louisa Beaufort Moss, and Ethel W. Burney. 1934. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. 4: Lower and Middle Egypt: Delta and Cairo to Asyut. Oxford: The Griffith Institute.*

Ranke, Hermann. 1935. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Vol. 1: Verzeichnis der Namen. Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin.*

Willems, Harco Olger, Marleen De Meyer, David Depraetere, Christoph Peeters, Stan Hendrickx, Tomasz Herbich, Dietrich Klemm, Rosemarie Klemm, Lies Op de Beeck, and Mark Depauw. 2004. *"Preliminary Report of the 2002 Campaign of the Belgian Mission to Deir al-Barsha." MDAIK 60: 237-283.*

Willems, Harco Olger, Lies Op de Beeck, Troy Leiland Sagrillo, René Van Walsem, and Stefanie Vereecken. 2005. *Deir al Barsha. Vol. 1: The Rock Tombs of Djehutinakt (No. 17L20/1), Khnumnakht (17L20/2), and Iha (17L20/3); With a Chapter on the History and Functioning of Nomarchal Rule in the Early Middle Kingdom, OLA. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters.*