BELOVED OF THE KA:
PERSONAL NAMES IN THE COMPLEX OF MERERUKA MERI AT SAQQARA

VOLUME ONE: TEXT AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the distinctive ways in which personal names were integrated into the textual and iconographic programme of an ancient Egyptian funerary complex: that of 6th Dynasty vizier Mereruka Meri and his family. The name (*rn*) was a principal part of the ancient Egyptian person—which also incorporated the body, heart, the *kꜣ*, and the *bꜣ*—and the tomb was the primary site for the monumental memorialisation of these aspects of the self. In the context of the ancient Egyptian tomb, the survival of the name was achieved through inscribing it in stone and reaffirming it in speech, thus ensuring that the essence of the deceased lived in the memory of others. The tomb was also a site in which dependants and people associated with the deceased had their names memorialised, either as named figures which were part of the planned reliefs, or which were added (in the manner of 'graffiti') to the reliefs sometime after the completion of the tomb's decoration. This thesis approaches Old Kingdom onomastics from a socio-linguistic and anthropological perspective. The primary enquiry that this thesis seeks to address is how a name's meaning was materialised in an ancient Egyptian commemorative monument. This is achieved, firstly, by examining the possible meanings in names themselves, with careful attention to the ways in which names communicated the social, geographic, and temporal context ('deixis') of their referents. It is secondly achieved through studying the ways in which inscribed names were situationally embedded and contextually bound by the wider visual and architectural setting of the tomb space. Ultimately, I argue that the meanings and orthographies of ancient Egyptian personal names were affected by the ritual space(s) in which they were inscribed.

Key words:

Old Kingdom – Saqqara – personal names – naming practices – onomastics – socio-onomastics – funerary inscriptions – graffiti – materiality – veneration

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CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACE	Australian Centre of Egyptology
AKU	Altägyptische Kursivschriften
EES	Egypt Exploration Society
SCA	Supreme Council of Antiquities
SGSP	Saqqara Geophysical Survey Project
UPM	University of Pennsylvania Museum

BD	Book of the Dead
CT	Coffin Texts
PN	Ranke's *Personennamen*
PT	Pyramid Texts, notably Sethe (1969) *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte.*
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*
LGPN	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names

Figure 1. Hand-drawn illustration by Prentice Duell (1938, pl. 131) of the lament scene from Mereruka's chapel (south wall, room A13). The deceased, being transported to the tomb in the adjacent register, is addressed by his *rn nfr* Meri in the cries of the women: 'O Meri, my lord, the one who is *ỉm3ḫw*, may Anubis glorify you!'

CHAPTER 1

'We stand before a sensual presence of the greatest imaginable intensity'
(Assmann 1994, 26)

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the distinctive ways in which personal names were integrated into the textual and iconographic programme of an ancient Egyptian funerary complex: that of 6th Dynasty vizier Mereruka Meri and his family. Names were a principal part of the ancient Egyptian person—together with the body, heart, *kꜣ*, and *bꜣ*—and the tomb was the primary site for the monumental memorialisation of these aspects of the self. In the context of the ancient Egyptian tomb, the survival of the name through speaking it and inscribing it ensured that the memory of the deceased lived beyond the threshold of death. The tomb was also a site at which other dependants and people associated with the deceased had their names memorialised, either as named figures in the accompanying scenes, which were part of the planned reliefs, or which were added (in the manner of 'graffiti') to the scenes sometime after the completion of the tomb's decoration.

Personal names are ubiquitous in ancient cemeteries and they are crucial artefacts of information for Egyptologists concerning ancient Egyptian people. Names have been long-noted as an important source for social history in Egyptology (Baines 1987, 95–6), and typologies of ancient Egyptian personal names are well-established (such as Vittmann 2013a, 2013b; Ranke 1935, 1952, 1977, hereafter PN I–III). Site-specific or context-bound studies of names are less prevalent in current scholarship. While recent studies in Old Kingdom onomastics (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, in particular) have focused on the lexical aspects of personal names, my research approaches the topic from a socio-linguistic and anthropological perspective. The primary question that this thesis seeks to answer is how a name's meaning was materialised in an ancient Egyptian commemorative monument. This is achieved, firstly, by examining the possible meanings in names themselves, with

careful attention to the ways in which names communicated the social, geographic, and temporal context ('deixis') of their referents. It is secondly achieved through the studying inscribed names in their wider visual and architectural setting. I focus on the materiality and semantic qualities of inscribed names in Mereruka's complex: their orthography and iconic content; their size and execution and spatial placement relative to other text, images, and architectural features; the mode of their inscription. I argue that the meanings of names and their orthography affected, and were affected by, the ritual space(s) in which they were inscribed

The complex of Mereruka is one of the largest in the Old Kingdom, and one of the best preserved for its size, containing three architecturally distinct chapels for vizier Mereruka Meri, his wife Princess Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, and their son Meryteti Meri. Mereruka's complex offers rich and diverse onomastic data across multiple inscriptional modes, including 'formally' planned texts and graffiti, and across social statuses. At least 115 named dependents and other individuals are named within the three chapels, and most can be confidently dated to the earlier part of the 6th Dynasty, between the reigns of Teti and Pepy I. In addition to this onomastic data, another reason for choosing Mereruka's complex as the focus of this thesis is the desire to contribute to the scholarly analysis of this important official's tomb, which has been published by both the University of Chicago and the Australian Centre of Egyptology (ACE), described below (section 1.1). The chapels of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet and Meryteti Meri were published in 2004 and 2008 by ACE, which included a commentary on the inscriptions. Mereruka's chapel was initially published by Prentice Duell under the auspices of the University of Chicago in 1938 (excluding the formerly mentioned chapels) and republished by ACE in 2010–11. Neither the Chicago nor ACE volumes for Mereruka included transcription and analysis of the inscriptions together with plates, although these are collectively found in earlier studies by Georges Daressy (1896; 1900), and Battiscombe Gunn (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 20–23, 105–30). Thus, the analysis presented in this thesis advances the textual and lexical study of this important Old Kingdom tomb complex from the perspective of socio-onomastics. The initial research plan for this thesis included a much wider data set drawn

from the whole Teti Pyramid Cemetery, building on my masters research undertaken at the University of Auckland on the chapel of Kagemni (Hamilton 2014); however, an important part of this research process has been grounded in reading inscriptions *in situ* (especially graffiti), and I was unable to acquire permission to access tombs that were either closed to the public, or open to the public but with lifted restrictions concerning photography and length of visitation, within the time-frame for completing this thesis. Nonetheless, I incorporate comparative examples from throughout the cemetery where possible, drawn from research visits made between 2017–19, under the auspices of the Oxford Expedition to Egypt working in Saqqara (November 2018), and Institut français d'archéologie orientale (January 2019).

This thesis consists of two volumes. The first volume is divided into five chapters, and a summary conclusion, with leading research questions attached to each chapter. Chapter 1 considers the wider historical and archaeological landscape of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and describes Mereruka's complex; it does not provide the main discussion of method and theoretical framework, which are fully developed in the following chapters. Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical tenets that underpin the study of names in this thesis, namely materiality and 'semanticity', a division inspired by an article by Jan Assmann (1994) concerning the unique ways in which materiality was inherent to ancient Egyptian language. In the second part of this chapter, I draw a link between anthropological applications of Peircean semiotic theory—specifically indexicality—and Assmann's discussions of the *Weltreferenz* ('world reference') of ancient Egyptian language. I also propose how and why these notions may be usefully applied to ancient Egyptian socio-onomastics.

Chapter 3 provides a brief review of Egyptological literature concerning onomastics, focussing on the Old Kingdom, and considers the question: what was the name, and why was it important? I provide an answer to this in emic terms, drawn from diverse ancient Egyptian sources that refer to speaking, inscribing, and destroying the name. Many existing Egyptological surveys of onomastics provide definitions of the name and name-types that are broadly applicable to names of Pharaonic Egypt (such as Quaegebeur 1995; Doxey 2001; Vittmann 2013a, 2013b), but make

certain assumptions about Old Kingdom name types, such as the ubiquity of double names and their possible status(es) or usage that are not well supported by evidence and which elide the ways in which these usages may have been contextually bound. Thus, in the second half of Chapter 3, I provide an etic working definition of name-types that is specific to the Old Kingdom, which is drawn from the emic descriptions provided for some name-types in Egyptian texts themselves. This provides the groundwork and terminology for the analysis of names in Mereruka's complex which follows.

Chapter 4 comprises the main analysis of names in this thesis, divided into the sections that consider in turn the chapels of Mereruka, Meryteti Meri, and Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, and then names in 'graffiti' which were added to reliefs in the complex as a whole. The following questions are addressed: Who is the name bearer and which name(s) do they bear? Can patterns in the spatial and intratextual location of names in the monument be deduced? What is the lexical meaning of the name, and how does it indexically refer to the social, geographic, and temporal *deixis* of its referent? What is the orthography of the name and is there orthographic variation for names where they occur in multiple locations? How does the name relate to its referents' self-presentation in the visual programme?

Chapter 5 considers the wider strategies for how names were inscribed throughout the complex through four case-studies, addressing the final question: how did names convey their *Weltreferenz* in this monumental, commemorative inscriptional setting? The final chapter synthesises the major arguments of this thesis and outlines the merits of adopting context-sensitive applications of Peircean semiotic theory, as it used in anthropology, as a framework for untangling meaning in names. I propose that a particularly profitable path for future onomastic research in Egyptology lies in contextually bound studies of personal names, in order to better understand how names expressed their meaning, how this meaning could be situationally-specific or change through time, and how names related to other aspects of the self. The bibliography is appended at the end of this

text volume. The second volume contains maps, colour plates, and a catalogue of individuals named in Mereruka's complex.

1.2 Transcription and translation of names in this thesis

This thesis primarily relies on the publications of Mereruka's complex by Duell (1938) and ACE, the latter having been published between 2004–11 (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2004, 2008; Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010–11), as well as photography and personal observation from research trips made between 2017–19. The numbering of the rooms of Mereruka's complex follows that used by Georges Daressy (1898, 1900) and Prentice Duell (1936–8). Additionally, in Chapter 4 (section 4.4), the analysis of added inscriptions throughout the complex incorporates the data from the recent study of added inscriptions in the tombs of Mereruka and Kagemni by Gabriele Pieke (2018).[1]

The transliteration and translation of the inscriptions are my own, except where stated. The transliteration follows the style of *Lingua Aegyptia,* using the Umschrift True Type font encoded by Freidrich Junge. Where it occurs, hieroglyphic text is encoded with JSesh. The transliteration and translation indicate words or parts of words that are in a lacuna with […], while words or parts of words omitted by the scribe are indicated with <…>. Parts of words, in particular first-person singular suffix pronouns, which are typically omitted in Old Kingdom inscriptions, are indicated with ( ). Lost or very damaged texts that are partly or fully restored are indicated with [ ]. Uncertain renderings of words or phrases are marked with (?). The arrangement of the text that goes over multiple lines or columns, when they are written in transliteration in the body of the thesis, are indicated by a vertical stroke followed by a superscript number, such as |[5]. In the chapel of Mereruka, the enumeration of the arrangement of inscriptions on the exterior and interior walls follows that provided in the line-drawings of Duell (1938). Elsewhere in the complex, the

[1] I am extremely grateful to the author for alerting me to her work on the added inscriptions in Kagemni and Mereruka in advance of publication, and for sharing her article.

enumeration is my own, as ACE do not include this tool in their line-drawings. Basilophoric personal names that include the king's name in a cartouche are indicated in transliteration font with (*KN*). It should be noted that there are a small number of basilophoric names (especially of the Middle Kingdom) in which the cartouche is not used and, following the orthography of the original name, I do not restore the cartouche in transliteration.

Ancient Egyptian personal names are difficult to translate, and the translation in English may not always reflect the grammatical nuances present in the Egyptian (Gundacker 2010, 63–90, is an important overview). An example which is particularly relevant to the name of the primary figure of this thesis, Mereruka, is the participle or relative forms of *mrỉ* ('one who loves', or 'one who loved'); both are rendered with relative clauses in English, but the latter are distinguished from the former because the subject is different from the antecedent. Furthermore, names in Old Egyptian show a great variation in orthography (cf. Gundacker 2014); including, but not limited to: the first-person singular suffix pronoun being almost universally omitted (Edel 1955, §16); and the inconsistent presence of weak consonants (*ỉ*, *ỉ*, and *w*) (Edel 1955, §23) and phonetic complements (Edel 1955, §58). This presents particular challenges for accurately reconstructing lexical meanings of names. A further problem is the order of lexical elements within names that include a divine or semi-divine (god's or king's names; the *kỉ* to a lesser extent), as honorific transposition was not standardised in Old Kingdom personal names (Edel 1955, §102; cf. Fischer 1996, 69–71; Peust 2007). In all cases, I render the name in transliteration as it is found in the inscription, while the translation of the name into English follows the most common form existing in publication, with some exceptions. For example, the name of king (*Ppy*) is rendered Pepy (and not 'Pepi', which is more prevalent). Further, I adhere to the Old Kingdom transliteration of [Gardiner O34] as *z*; so Zeshzeshet for 'Seshseshet' (cf. Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008).

All names (excluding kings and members of the royal family, except where relevant) at their first occurrence are accompanied with a reference to Scheele-Schweitzer (2014), or Ranke's PN for names not found in the former or which date to the First Intermediate Period and later. When new

names from Mereruka's complex are introduced in the body of the text, these are transliterated and include references to the catalogue in bold in parentheses. Translations of names are not provided in the body of the unless specifically relevant to the discussion. Following the first occurrence, names are rendered in their mostly commonly attested form in English.

The following sections provide an introduction to the monuments discussed in this thesis, as well as Mereruka and his family. The first section considers the geographical setting of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery in Saqqara and provides a survey of historic and ongoing archaeological work in the cemetery. I consider this in some depth primarily because such a summary is not found elsewhere in current scholarship on the cemetery. As noted by Violaine Chauvet (2007, 320), no single plan has been produced to date that combines all data from previous excavations in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, both to the north and east of the pyramid. This survey includes a discussion of the difficulties for studying historically excavated material, especially inscriptions, from this site due to the very poor publication of the early nineteenth to twentieth century CE excavations. Woven into the discussion of the diachronic development of the cemetery is a commentary on the on-going significance of the major tombs in this cemetery, which includes Mereruka's complex. The broader purpose of this section to provide the background from which my dating of added inscriptions and the later reuse of Mereruka's complex is drawn—primarily between the mid-6th Dynasty and the early 12th Dynasty. Following this introduction to the broader archaeological landscape, the complex of Mereruka's family is described.

1.3 Archaeological context and geographical setting

The Teti Pyramid Cemetery rises above the edge of the cultivated plains near the modern town of Mit Rahina (map 1). It is located north-east of the 3rd Dynasty stepped-pyramid complex of Djoser, and the site is contiguous with the eastern-end of the 5th Dynasty cemetery of Userkaf, which lies to the west of Teti's pyramid. The necropolis was formally established in the 6th Dynasty with the commencement of construction on Teti's pyramid and associated temple, named *Ḏd-swt-*(*Ttỉ*)

('Teti's Places are Enduring'). The cemetery for the officials is located in a geographically restricted area in comparison to other contemporaneous Memphite cemeteries, as it is bounded by the Early Dynastic royal tombs to the north and the sharp rise of a plateau to the east (Kanawati 2008, 29). Teti's pyramid complex occupied the southern section of the necropolis, and the pyramids for his queens and the high officials of his court occupied the north and north-west (plate 1). Teti's pyramid lies on an east-west axis, with a mortuary temple attached to the east face, which is now in ruins.

The tombs of Teti's queens—Iput I, Khuit, and another, unknown queen—as well as one son, Tetiankh, are found to the north-east of Teti's pyramid (Hawass 2011; Wahba 2015). The area in which Teti's officials built their tombs is 'tightly planned' (Kanawati 2003, 139), with blocks of tombs separated by a series of 'streets' (maps 2 and 3). Three streets are oriented north-south, including Jean Capart's (1907) 'rue de tombeaux'. Two major streets are oriented east-west. The tomb-chapels of Teti's viziers are in the northern section of the cemetery and west of the enclosure walls of the Queens' pyramids (Kanawati, el-Khouli, Maksoud et al. 1984, 7), including: *ꜥnḫ(=ỉ)-m-ꜥ-Ḥrw* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 308 [764]), *Nfr-sšm-Rꜥ* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 483 [1900]), and *Kꜣ(=ỉ)-gm.n(=ỉ)* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 709 [3514]). Mereruka's complex occupied a primary position within the necropolis, opposite the northern face of Teti's pyramid. The ongoing cultic significance of this location is indicated by the construction of funerary chapels in this immediate area continuing into the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom, including the major tomb-chapels belonging to 12th Dynasty officials *Iḥy* (PN I, 44.22) and *Ḥtp* ('peaceful': PN I, 257.22), described below.

Teti's other high-ranking officials were buried primarily in the north-western part of the cemetery, and some were also buried in tombs located in earlier established parts of the Saqqara necropolis, such as Vizier *Mḥw* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 402 [1417]), who was buried west of the Stepped Pyramid (Altenmüller 1998). The shaft tombs and small chapels for middle and lower-ranking officials who performed various duties in the personal services of kings Teti and Pepy I

are located between the major tombs in the northern part of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, and sometimes within them as intrusive burials (indicated in map 3). The northern part of the necropolis is the only place in which tombs can be definitively dated to the reign of Teti, architecturally and through ranking titles.

1.3.1 Excavation history of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery

It is uncertain when Teti's pyramid was first cleared, and whether the major Old Kingdom tomb chapels, such as Mereruka's, were accessible before the Prussian Expedition cleared tombs in this area in 1843. The pyramids of Giza and Saqqara feature in the landscapes described by medieval Islamic writers, as found in the writings of Sheikh al-Fādil al-Hakīm, reported by Abū Ja'far al-Idrīsī (Smith 2007, 1):

> Lowly in his zeal for seeking knowledge and wisdom is he who does not turn from his determination [for the *hajj*] to see the likes of the pyramids when he is staying nearby!

A manuscript of unknown provenance now at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MS Arabe 2764, folio 16b), which dates no later than the seventeenth century CE, records the 'Tariq Al-'Ijl' (Road of the Bull). Okasha El Daly (2005, 35) suggests this may be a reference to 'mit rhnt' (present day Mit Rahineh), the ancient causeway upon which the procession of the Apis bull travelled to the Serapeum, directly to the north of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. However, specific references to Teti's pyramid, or its accompanying necropolis, cannot be identified in any known writings before the nineteenth century. The pyramid was very likely in advanced stages of ruin by this time and it had been quarried in antiquity, so it is possible that very little was visible and distinctive to visitors.

European traveller's accounts of visits to the general area of Saqqara are attested as early as the mid-seventeenth century, such as by Jean de Thévenot, who proposed in *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* (1665, 256–7) that the ancient capital of Memphis would be found near Saqqara. Meanwhile, Paul Lucas (1720, 341–6), a French merchant and antiquarian who served King Louis XIV, published a possible description of the Serapeum in 1720. The earliest known published map

showing the location of Teti's pyramid was produced by James Perring (1842, pl. 7), following his surveying activities in the area in 1839. However, according to Karl Richard Lepsius (1849, 188–9), some of the details in this map appear to have been fabricated, such as a pavement of bricks forming a causeway leading towards Teti's pyramid. The Prussian Expedition led by Lepsius, cleared four tombs (nos. 10–13 in Lepsius 1849, 145–61, abb. I.B.33) in the necropolis between April and May 1843, in the areas close to the northern and eastern faces of Teti's pyramid which included Mereruka's complex. Squeezes of uncertain provenance in the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, which may predate this discovery, may indicate that some parts of the complex were already known in the mid-nineteenth century CE (Pieke 2013, 296–7). Moreover, one interior relief block from Meryteti's chapel in the Hermitage collection, St. Petersburg (no. 18103 in Bolshakov 2005, 122–33; 1993), acquired in Giza in 1908, further suggests that material from this complex was removed and sold on the antiquities market before major studies occurred (Pieke 2013, 297).

In 1850, Auguste Mariette rediscovered the avenue of sphinxes which leads west to the Serapeum, the burial place of the Apis bulls of the 2nd and 1st millenniums BCE (Maspero 1884, 65–72; cf. Vandier 1964). The proposed route for the avenue leads directly through the Teti Pyramid Cemetery; in fact, de Morgan's (1897) map of the Saqqara cemeteries proposes that the avenue of sphinxes led directly through the mastaba of 'Mera' (Mereruka). In tracing this ancient processional route, further discoveries were made which were catalyst to later excavations. This included the walls of the Anubeion and its temple town, known to the local population as *es-Sign Yūsuf*, 'The prison of Joseph' (Jeffreys and Smith 1988, 1), which were built over the eastern portion of the Teti's pyramid temple. The first published clearance of Teti's pyramid, and the pyramid of Khuit to north-east, was in 1881 by Gaston Maspero (1884). Further clearances by the Service des Antiquités took place to the north of Teti's Pyramid in 1893 and again between 1897–99, resulting in the initial publication of the tomb-chapels of Kagemni (von Bissing 1905; 1911) and Mereruka (Daressy 1896), and the 'rue de tombeux' including the tomb-chapels of Ankhmahor and

Neferseshemptah (Capart 1907), mentioned earlier (section 1.3). Elsewhere in the cemetery at this time, the pyramid and chapel of one of Teti's queens, Iput, was partially cleared by Victor Loret (Piacentini 2004, 5, 14, pl. 2). In 1900, Alessandro Barsanti (1914) undertook further work to clear Teti's pyramid and the ruins of the temple attached to its eastern face.

Large-scale fieldwork in Saqqara took place in the early twentieth century CE, although no work was carried out between 1914–20 owing to World War One. Excavations were focussed on extant superstructures in the region: The Monastery of Apa Jeremias, the Step Pyramid and pyramids of Unis, Userkaf, and Teti, and the mastabas of the Early Dynastic period in north Saqqara. Successive missions in the areas to the north and east of Teti's pyramid were led by then-inspector of antiquities James Quibell. Between 1905–7, Quibell and his team had excavated down to the Greco-Roman and New Kingdom levels of the cemetery to the east, to the north as far as the tomb of Ankhmahor, and partially in the west (Quibell 1908; 1909; Quibell and Hayter 1927). Following World War One, excavations to the north of the pyramid were continued by Cecil Firth for two seasons between 1920–22, assisted in epigraphy by Battiscombe Gunn (Firth and Gunn 1926; cf. Firth 1926, 1927). The earliest archaeological campaigns at the site by Quibell and Firth were concentrated efforts to find and publish monuments that presented interest relative to the time—principally, monuments which were intact, inscribed, and preferably decorated These objectives are explicit in the publication of the Firth excavations, which concentrated on the area directly north of the northern enclosure wall of Teti's pyramid. Only those tombs, 'whose condition made them of value as evidence' were published according to Firth (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 4). The following classes of material were published in description, and with photographs and line-drawings only when deemed sufficiently important: details and measurements of the empty pits and graves of the 6th to 12th Dynasties, examples of model boats and granaries that were relatively decayed or not intact, and the burials of the later periods, which were described by Firth as being 'comparatively uninteresting' (Firth and Gunn 1926, 6). Many of the shaft burials indicated in map 3 were not described in the publication; however, as these shafts are now covered by a modern

walkway, the record of their archaeological existence is invaluable. Firth noted that the widespread ancient and modern reuse of the cemetery, together with the haphazard excavations of the nineteenth century CE, ultimately resulted in a large proportion of the material from the site being scattered and broken up, particularly affecting the New Kingdom levels (Firth and Gunn 1926, 6).

The Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) and ACE have undertaken significant excavations in the northern Teti Pyramid Cemetery since 1942, particularly in the north-western portion of the cemetery west of Mereruka's complex. Zaki Saad began this work in 1942, in the area of the northern Teti Pyramid Cemetery that had not been touched by the earlier excavations of Quibell and Firth, and to the north and north-west of Mereruka's complex (Saad 1943; El-Raziq and Krekeler 1986). ACE, led by Naguib Kanawati, joined this concession in collaboration with Ali El-Khouli in 1983 (Kanawati, El-Khouli, Maksoud et al. 1984, 1988) publishing the 6th Dynasty tomb-chapels of mid-ranking and lower officials in this area. From 1996 onwards, ACE produced eleven volumes of studies concerning Old Kingdom tombs and associated finds, including the major chapels of *N[y]-kꜣw-(Izzi)| Izzy* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014 [1705]), *Kꜣ(=i)-ᶜpr* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 694 [3430]), *Nḏt-m-pt Tit* (**A.ii**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 506 [2171]), and *Ḥzi* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 554 [2514]), and a number of smaller chapels, all to the west and northwest of Mereruka's tomb (Hassan and Kanawati 1996, 1997; Kanawati and Abd el-Raziq 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001; Sowada, Callaghan, Bentley 1999; McFarlane 2003; Kanawati 2006, 2009). This work was coupled with more specific studies of Mereruka's tomb and its family chapels (Kanawati and Abdel-Raziq 2004; 2008; Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010–11). A number of unpublished photographic and epigraphic surveys had been conducted in the tomb of Mereruka before its publication by ACE, including by Yvonne Harpur and Ann Macy Roth (pers. com. 12 September 2019).

Other long-standing expeditions in the cemetery include the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) and the University of Pennsylvania Museum (UPM). One of the earliest EES publications was the 6th Dynasty tomb-chapel of *Ḫnt(i)-kꜣ(=i) Iḫḫy* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 605 [2795]), to

the north of Teti's mortuary temple (James 1953). Subsequently, the EES continued the earlier excavations of Saad on a group of tombs in the north of Teti Pyramid Cemetery between 1976–78 (Davies, El-Khouli, Lloyd et al. 1984; El-Khouli, Lloyd, Spencer 1990), including those belonging to *Wr-nww* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 328 [911]), *Mrw* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 380 [1281]), and *Ḫwỉ* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 587 [2683]). A Scottish mission, initially led by Ian Mathieson, called the Saqqara Geophysical Survey Project (SGSP), has also been conducting subsurface surveys and producing GIS plans for the Saqqara region in the vicinity of Djoser's pyramid since 1991 (such as Tavares 1998; Price 2013, 2015), although this work has not included the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. The University of Pennsylvania Museum (UPM) conducted a joint project with the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA) in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery between 1992 and 2007. This project was focussed on the re-excavation and epigraphic recording of the burial chambers of the 12th Dynasty officials Ihy and Hetep (Silverman 2000, 2009; Freed 2000), who constructed the last known major chapels in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. From 2001, the expedition also worked on the east-side of Teti's pyramid, in the south-eastern corner of the royal mortuary temple court. This work included the clearance of the 12th Dynasty shaft-tombs of *Sk-wsḫt* (PN I, 429.3) and *S3-Ḥt-ḥr Ipy* (PN I, 283.20), located beneath the south wall of the Anubeion (Silverman 2000, 269–74; 2009).

Contemporary epigraphic work, together with heritage site management and some new excavations, has been undertaken by the Egyptian Ministry of State for Antiquities (MSA) and the Oxford Expedition to Egypt (OEE), led by Yvonne Harpur since 1995. The principle aim of the OEE is to systematically photograph and analyse the scene details of Old Kingdom tomb chapels in Saqqara (described in Harpur 1998). From the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, scene details from tomb of Kagemni were published by the expedition in 2006 (Harpur 2005; Harpur and Scremin 2006); photographic documentation has been undertaken elsewhere in the cemetery for purposes of collection of comparative material for the OEE scene-details database (Harpur 2006, and see Harpur *forthcoming*), but these photographs have not been published The Egyptian SCA has also been active in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery in the last 20 years, focussing on the unnamed pyramid

located to the east of Teti's (attributed to Menkhauhor or Merykare), the pyramids of Teti's queens, Khuit, Iput, and another currently unknown queen, and the chapel of the crown-prince Tetiankh (Hawass 2000). On 8 November 2008, Zahi Hawass announced the rediscovery of another pyramid north-east of Teti's pyramid (reported by Reuters: Rasmussen 2011). While it was widely reported that the pyramid belonged to Teti's mother, Queen Zeshzeshet (such as Hawass 2011) analysis of the disturbed mummified remains suggests a young woman was interred in the pyramid, and is theorised by Afaf Wahba (2015, 151–55) to be another queen, named Khent[...]. The SCA remains active in the cemetery, while other major international missions are focussed primarily on the Early Dynastic and New Kingdom cemeteries in north and south Saqqara.

1.3.2 Historical development of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery

Establishing a detailed diachronic development of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery is difficult, particularly between the late Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom, and is frustrated by the incomplete nature of the reports from the earliest excavations. In broad terms, however, the cemetery appears to have been used continuously through the 6th Dynasty and First Intermediate Period, before declining in the early Middle Kingdom. The area was later reused as a cemetery during the New Kingdom and through to the Greco-Roman period (Firth and Gunn 1926, 3), however these burials, which were rapidly cleared to reach older archaeological strata, were poorly documented in these early excavations.

Some tombs may have been constructed in this area very late in the 5th Dynasty, such as the tomb of *K3(=j)-m-ḥzt* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 699 [3464]), west of the tomb of Mereruka (Quibell and Hayter 1907, 16–20; cf. McFarlane 2003, 19–23; Baer 1960, 527; Spencer 1974, 9–10). Another possible 5th Dynasty tomb in this area belonged to *K3(=j)-m-snw(=j)* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014 700 [3467]), who was a priest associated with the funerary cult of Sahure (Firth and Gunn 1926, 31–6; Kanawati 1984, 7–8). Assuming these dates are correct, these burials could be considered within the wider footprint of the 5th Dynasty royal cemeteries of Userkaf, which

complicates drawing a definitive boundary for the Teti Pyramid Cemetery without known existence of an enclosure wall. While no further examples of 5th Dynasty burials have been found in the northern portion of the cemetery, Firth (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 37) suggested that the pyramid for Queen Iput and other small tombs 'were built on ground already partially occupied by tomb shafts'; whether these were tomb shafts belonging to the 5th Dynasty or early 6th Dynasty is not known. In room A9 of Mereruka's complex, Duell (1938, 28) found a block in the floor that extended, in part, beneath the west wall was decorated with antelopes, 'finely carved in low relief, stylistically earlier than Mereruka's sculptures' (see plate 2). He suggested (1938, 28) that this block may have been quarried from a nearby 5th Dynasty chapel. However, the area west of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery remains largely unexcavated, and the source for this block in Mereruka's tomb need not be from the few extant tombs of the 5th Dynasty that have been uncovered to date. Nonetheless, the possible recycling of a 5th Dynasty relief-block suggests that the reuse of earlier monuments in this area was sanctioned in the establishment of the new royal cemetery.

Teti may have deliberately chosen this part of Saqqara for his royal cemetery due to its proximity to the pyramids of Djoser, Userkaf, and his predecessor Unis. The complex adheres to the same plan as those of Djedkare-Izezi and Unis, including its internal structure and slop, and a northern entrance leading to the burial chambers which were inscribed with Pyramid Texts (Verner 2001, 344). However, the pyramid itself, unlike the others constructed in Saqqara, is eleven degrees off being aligned to the cardinal points (Dodson 2016, 14). One suggestion for this anomaly is that Teti's pyramid was spatially related to the 'headless' pyramid to the north-east, re-excavated by Hawass between 2005–8, and attributed to either Menkauhor (Vymazalová and Coppens 2008; Hawass 2010; cf. Dodson 2016, 13–15) or Merykare (Malek 1994). Whether an attempt was made to fit Teti's complex next to an existing structure, or whether a later king, such as Merykare, aligned his pyramid with Teti's cannot be determined, despite numerous attempts to reconcile the archaeological data (such as Dodson 2016). No inscriptions conclusively connect either king specifically to this later pyramid, and the reconstruction of the temple structures and causeways for

both pyramids remains speculative. In addition to the problem of orientation, the site on which Teti's funerary complex was built was bound to the north by existing first and second dynasty tombs, and to the east the sharp rise of the plateau (and, perhaps, an existing pyramid). The space that was left was 'simply too restricted' for a major cemetery of officials which usually accompanied the royal funerary complex, especially when compared to the other royal Saqqara cemeteries (Kanawati 2003, 138).

This broader discussion of how the Teti Pyramid Cemetery was planned and used has some bearing on how monuments from this site are dated, given the dense reuse of some parts of the necropolis within the Old Kingdom and later, which displaced earlier monuments. The restricted size of this necropolis has been interpreted as a deliberate choice by the king to prohibit the expansion of the officials' cemetery, 'an important factor which [elsewhere] seems to have usually been taken into account in selecting sites for other pyramids' (Kanawati 2003, 138). Chauvet (2007, 312–21) has argued that, during the Old Kingdom, the king may have directly intervened on rare occasions in the construction of private tombs in royal cemeteries and the Teti Pyramid Cemetery is one, large-scale example of her hypothesis (cf. Eyre 1987). If royal intervention in non-royal construction occurred, feasibly this may have included the authorisation of reusing material from earlier private monuments, as suggested by the earlier evidence from Mereruka's complex. The interpretation of ***sḫm***, which appears in tomb inscriptions of this period ('I was ***sḫm*** [empowered] in making my tomb'), has hinged on its relationship to the notion of royal control existing over Old Kingdom cemeteries (Farout and Baud 2001, 49). For example, Kanawati (1999, 38), who translates ***sḫm*** as 'authorised', has argued explicitly for royal authority determining both the location and size of an official's tomb within a royal cemetery. An inscription from the tomb of ***Irỉ*** (hypocoristic: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 253 [402]) in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, dating to the reign of Pepy I, may indeed reflect that having a tomb in Teti's royal cemetery was a privilege granted by the king (Kanawati 1988, 9–10, pl. 3):

ỉn nswt rdỉ n(=ỉ) st=f m ỉmꜣḫw ḥr nswt

[As for my tomb] it is the king who gave to me its location as one who is *ỉmꜣḫw* before the king.

In this case, the tomb may have been given officially in order for it to be reused, as another erased name can be detected on this monument (Kanawati 2003, 74–8). Another example of this occurring in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery is discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.3.5). In Chauvet's survey of over 150 inscriptions referring to the construction of private tombs from the Old Kingdom, only seventeen attest to the participation of the king in the construction of tombs, or part-thereof (Chauvet 2007, 314). Chauvet concludes in her study that, most often, the textual evidence from the Old Kingdom reveals little about the negotiations that must have preceded the choice of a tomb site, in either the royal cemeteries or elsewhere. While examples, such as Iri, already cited, may confirm the existence of royal concessions for the location of a tomb, there is no evidence that this influenced the design, structure, or architecture of the tomb (Chauvet 2007, 320).

The size and location of the substantial tomb-chapels which lay closest to Teti's pyramid—especially viziers Ankhmahor, Neferseshemre, Kagemni, and Mereruka—may be attributable in part to their significant social status, but size being directly proportional to status is not necessarily reflected in the rest of the cemetery, or applicable for the duration of its use (Chauvet 2007, 320). It may be likewise true that these tomb-chapels were constructed or marked for construction first and thus able to occupy more space. It is worth noting, however, that even the major tombs seem to have had to negotiate the restricted space: the easternmost rooms of Mereruka's complex appear to have been repurposed due to the construction of Kagemni's mastaba, described below (section 1.4). Meanwhile, in the north-western section of the cemetery, in which space was at a premium, many smaller freestanding tomb chapels were built for officials whose titles associated them with Teti's funerary cult, such as Meru and Khui, mentioned earlier. Tombs and chapels of later periods (reign of Pepy II onwards) were built with walls abutting these existing structures, fitting into the space remaining between the monuments. In sum, following the construction of the substantial

tombs, closest to Teti's pyramid, the constrains of the pre-existing built and natural landscape and available space within the northern cemetery seems to have been the determining factor in the size and layout of the tombs and chapels. The early 6th Dynasty thus represents a complex phase of surface tomb construction which was likely contemporaneous with the construction of Teti's full funerary complex.

Sub-surface, in the spaces and 'streets' between the large tombs, lesser officials of the late 6th Dynasty were buried in pit and shaft graves in the area directly north and north-east of the entrance to Teti's pyramid. I have argued in my unpublished MA thesis (University of Auckland 2014) that at least some of these officials were associated with funerary cults of the major tomb owners, especially Mereruka and Kagemni. These burials were usually accompanied by a rubble or a mud brick superstructure, in which a false-door or offering table could be set. According to Firth (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 2), the whole area became: 'honeycombed with pits of the late Old Kingdom which had been dug through the layer of fine limestone gravel which had been laid down between the Pyramid and the mastabas'. These burials were described as existing in the streets between the larger tombs and the northern face of the pyramid of Teti (indicated in map 3; Firth and Gunn 1926, 37). Indeed, these areas may have also been processional alleys through the cemetery (Chauvet 2004, 319), in which dedicatory stelae and false-doors were set-up, as in the manner of the dedicatory stelae at Abydos (Simpson 1974, 10–13). Firth (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 2) suggested that such burials were for 'those who during and at the end of the 6th Dynasty could claim the right to be buried near the Pyramid of Teti'.

The late Old Kingdom dates assigned to many of the tombs by Firth and Gunn have been questioned by Kanawati (2007, 31; cf. 1984b, 31–38), who has argued that the primary use of the cemetery was restricted to the reign of Teti and part of that of Pepy I in the 6th Dynasty, stating that:

> although later a couple of Teti's priests in the Middle Kingdom managed to squeeze in their tombs, the use of this cemetery was mainly restricted to the reign of Teti and a part

> of that of Pepy I. The previous dating of some tombs in this cemetery to the later part of the 6th Dynasty should be seriously reconsidered

The question of dating is unresolved, and many attempts have been made to re-date the inscriptions on small monuments (false doors, side pieces, offering tables) from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery on palaeographic grounds (for example Daoud 2005; Brovarski 2006, 2009, esp. 365f.). What can be surmised from these studies is that in most cases it is difficult to assign certain dates within the late Old Kingdom to smaller monuments that have not been described *in situ*. It seems from titles attested on these excavated structures and objects that the people buried in this area were primarily associated with Teti's funerary cult; but, equally, they may also have been the relatives and dependents of Kagemni, Mereruka, and the other high officials buried in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery—I return to this discussion in Chapter 4 (section 4.5.5) concerning graffiti in these tombs. It is easy to recognise in a royal cemetery that burials are placed close to that of the king who was an ideal intercessor in the afterlife; however, ancillary patterns of clustering can be nevertheless discerned in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, especially in the space surrounding the chapels of Kagemni and Mereruka, and lasting into the Middle Kingdom (Hamilton 2014, 45–51). Thus, the desire for individuals to be buried close to these figures during and after the reigns of Teti and Pepy I cannot be discounted Peter Der Manuelian (2006, 228–30) has identified such groupings between 'major and minor' mastabas and later subsidiary graves in Giza Cemetery G 2100 (cf. Moreno García 2010, 135).

At an indeterminable point in the late Old Kingdom, the streets between the large tombs appear to have been cleared, and new monuments that replaced or added to existing Old Kingdom monuments and shaft tombs were erected Old Kingdom shaft pits were reused, which Firth (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 37–8) argued was characteristic of burials dating to the 10th Dynasty, and usually resulted in two shafts being combined to create a new, enlarged space which housed the large cedar coffins in which bodies were placed lying supine. According to Firth (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 37), the contents of the previous tombs were piled up over the mudbrick tombs to the west

of the space between the tomb of Mereruka and the Pyramid of Teti (later excavated by the SCA and ACE), and pits in the street were filled with rubble. Inscribed objects which were found in this rubble included small limestone offering tables, probably from the earlier 6th Dynasty, which were 'thrown into the new filling' (Firth and Gunn 1926, 37), enclosing these repurposed pits. Understanding the archaeology of these areas is complicated by the fact these streets are now sealed pavements to facilitate modern tourist and heritage management activity at the site.

By the end of the Old Kingdom, the tombs of Kagemni and Mereruka appear to have fallen into disrepair, and blocks from Mereruka's tomb were reused elsewhere in the cemetery. One such example is found on an offering table, which was discovered together with the false-door of *S3t-(Tti)-inỉ* (PN II, 312.28; Firth and Gunn 1926, pl. 20[c–d]; Boston MFA 24.593a–c), *in situ* to the west of Mereruka's tomb (see plates 3–6). Satinteti's monument probably dates to the end of the 6th Dynasty or later (Brovarski 2009, 368, n. 67, n. 70). The offering table, which was not sent to Boston and is still located in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (plate 6: observed January 2019), comprised a re-worked relief block which once bore the head of the principal wife of Mereruka, Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet. As can be seen in plate 5, the image of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet has been carefully chiselled away from the surface, but the new offering table which has been carved into the face of the block does not further gouge out the head or inscriptions that were once on this block; instead, the offering table is carved into the lower left-hand corner, almost occupying an area of negative space. Another fragment of a stela discovered by Firth was also discovered to bear part of a relief from the tomb of Mereruka (described in Firth and Gunn 1926, 38 fn. 1). This type of reuse and obliteration was common in the cemetery, especially where a later offering-place or burial was created adjoining an older monument. It is unlikely that this was erasure connected to *damnatio memoriae*, like that found in other parts of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (cf. Kanawati 2003, 48f.; Soleiman 2017), which are discussed again in Chapter 3 (section 3.3.5). Rather, such erasures could be attributable to the new levels in this part of the cemetery following its clearance and the placement of new burials, described earlier. René van Walsem (2006, 131) has discussed

the opposition between discourse and practice evident in this obliteration and borrowing from other monuments that was relatively widespread in ancient Egyptian cemeteries. Egyptian ethics condemned such methods, as found in the Teaching of Merikare (Quack 1992, 46, l. 78–9): 'do not destroy the monument of another… do not build your tomb out of the demolition of what has been made'. Such practices clearly occurred nonetheless (Baines and Lacovara 2002), including the reuse of royal monuments (in the Middle Kingdom: Goedicke 1971; Gilli 2009; in the New Kingdom: Björkman 1971; overview: Brand 2010a, 2010b).

According to Firth (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 38), the 10th to 11th Dynasty ('Herakleopolitan') levels of the cemetery are characterised by cross-walls constructed in the narrow streets between the tombs, dividing them into sections, which provided room at a higher level for the accompanying stelae and chapels. Hypothetically, the evolving topography of these streets must have made certain locations on higher levels especially desirable for prominent display of funerary stelae, especially visible to visitors approaching from the east—a similar situation is observed at Abydos (Simpson 1974, 6–8). Examples explicitly noted by Firth (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 38–9) are the late Old Kingdom–First Intermediate Period offering chapel and shaft-tomb of *Ṯṯw* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 742 [3763]), together with an offering table for *Iy-m-ḥtp* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 210 [89]), both built into the western face Mereruka's tomb at a high level (plates 7–8). From this, Firth (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 38–9) hypothesised that new monuments could not be constructed on the early 6th Dynasty level. While the westward orientation of these monuments is connected to their funerary function, the fact that they were set so prominently in Mereruka's west wall, in order for them to be visible, suggests that they were probably approached from the east, and that this visual prominence was an important part of their display.

At this point in the cemetery's history, dating of epigraphic material becomes especially difficult. Firth found no clear demarcation between the end of the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom in the cemetery, although changes in the types of funerary goods associated with burials, and the occurrence of anthropoid coffins, provide evidence that the

cemetery was still in use during the early Middle Kingdom (Firth and Gunn 1926, 58). Gunn noted that a distinctive 'Memphite' style persisted in the inscriptions which he analysed in the cemetery (Firth and Gunn 1926, 87). A number of studies, mentioned earlier, have examined the problems of dating these monuments in considerable detail, which precludes the need for an extensive discussion here. In particular, the attribution of the false doors of individuals connected to the *pḥḏ* of the pyramid of Merikare to either the First Intermediate Period (Daoud 2005; Brovarski 2009) or the Middle Kingdom (Arnold 1991) on stylistic and palaeographic grounds has been debated. A well-known example is ***Gmn(ỉ)-m-ḥ3t*** (PN I, 351.19), whose burial assemblage is now in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (ÆIN 1616: Jørgensen 1996, 121–51; cf. Firth and Gunn 1926, 52–4).

Compared to the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, however, the Middle Kingdom activity in the northern Teti cemetery is minimal. Exceptions are the chapels of Ihy and Hetep, which were constructed against the southern face of the tomb of Kagemni and eastern face of Mereruka's complex (plates 7–9); they also were built over the top of Old Kingdom shaft graves (plate 10). During Firth's excavations, a long corridor was discovered to connect the funerary chamber of Hetep with the enclosure wall of the Pyramid of Teti (Firth and Gunn 1926, 64–5, 280–88, pl. 16b). During the University of Pennsylvania's work on the chapels in 1992, it was discovered that a similar corridor connects the burial chamber of Ihy to Teti's enclosure wall. Thus, the two chapels shared similar internal structures, north-south orientation, and decorative programmes (Freed 2000; Silverman 2000, 264–267). Both Ihy and Hetep can be confidently dated to the reign of Amenemhat I, as they carried the titles of Overseer of the Pyramids of Teti and Amenemhat I, and Overseer of the royal stalls at Itjtawy (Firth and Gunn 1926, 62, 64–5, 280–88; Silverman 2000, 267). A small number of chapels, comprising false doors and side pieces, which were erected near these major constructions also date to the early Middle Kingdom, including Sekweskhet, already mentioned, and the chapel of ***Wsr-mwt*** (PN I, 85.17) and ***Inpw-m-ḥ3t*** (PN I, 37.9; Firth and Gunn 1926, 58–65; cf. Brovarski 2009, 378–88).

The movement of the 12th Dynasty residence to Itjtawy, between Memphis and Meidum, created a new administrative residence (Arnold and Jánosi 2015, 55), and the pyramids of Amenemhat I and Senusret I at Lisht 'secured the prestige of its cemeteries' (Malek 2000, 247). The pyramid temples of the Memphite necropoleis no doubt remained ideologically important in Memphis; for example, the fact that individuals such as Ihy and Hetep were appointed to oversee the cult activities of Teti's pyramid is strongly suggestive of this. An alternative view is held by Jaromir Malek (2000, 255), that Ihy and Hetep adopted the titles associated with Teti primarily out of respect and that, 'the wordly activities of Ihy and Hetep unfolded in Itjtawy and Dashur, and Djedsut probably was their birth-place or domicile'. While court-life certainly would have shifted with the residence, further indications that the Teti's pyramid cult was functioning well into the 12th Dynasty include the dedication of a block statue in the pyramid temple by *Ttỉ-m-sꜣ=f Ttỉ* (PN I, 384.19; plate 11), discussed again later in Chapter 3 (section 3.5.2). A similarly named individual is found as an offering figure in the chapel of Ihy (plate 12), although the orthography of the names differs in the omission of the cartouche for name of Teti in the statue. No matter the later status of the necropolis, it is likely that any graffiti found in the Old Kingdom tombs, which cannot be dated earlier on palaeographic and linguistic grounds, does not post-date this period. The sharp decline in Middle Kingdom funerary activity in the cemetery is marked in the archaeological record by the accumulation of up to three meters of sand in the areas excavated in 1920–22, before burials of the New Kingdom appeared, 'in the shallow sand drifts which had formed in depressions in the surface of quarry chips' (Firth and Gunn 1926, 67).

Having surveyed the broader archaeological and geographic setting of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery in the periods of its major use, the following section concentrates solely on the complex of Mereruka, which is the major case-study and primary source of personal names examined in this thesis.

1.4 Introducing the case-study: the complex of Mereruka

As described above (section 1.2.2), Mereruka's tomb complex (PM III: 2, 526–34) is situated in the western portion of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, opposite the northern face of Teti's pyramid (plate 15). Mereruka's tomb complex is built with fine limestone and comprises three distinct family chapels[2] (plate 16): for Mereruka (rooms A1–21), Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet (rooms B1–6), and their son, Meryteti Meri (rooms C1–6). In total, the complex contains 32 chambers including the burial shafts. The chapels to Mereruka and Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet appear to have been designed contemporaneously, with the later finished after the former. The chapel to Meryteti has a more complex architectural history, with its entrance having been cut into one of the decorated walls in the pillared hall in Mereruka's chapel at a much later date than the construction of the original monument. This is assessed in detail in Chapter 4 (section 4.2).

The complex was first recorded during the Prussian Expedition excavations in 1843, and was later cleared, together with Kagemni's tomb complex, by Jacques de Morgan in 1893. Both tombs were hastily restored to allow them to be opened to the public. Given the imperfect understanding of the original composition of the visual programmes, some mistakes were made in the reassembly of the relief blocks in Mereruka's complex, and at least two were placed upside down in entranceways in Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel (plate 12), as well as Mereruka's chapel (plate 13).[3] Initially, Mereruka's complex was only partially published, focussing on Mereruka's own chapel: chiefly in a small number of small-scale line drawings by de Morgan (1897, 165–78), and an unillustrated description, 'Le mastaba de Mera', by Georges Daressy (1898). Published photographs from the tomb complex's interior did not appear until 1907 (Capart 1907, pl. 104, 107), and the tomb complex was then explored and cleared by the Service des Antiquités, led by Firth between 1920–22 (Firth and Gunn 1926, 20–23, 105–30), the publication of which included a partial

[2] As the names of the major chapel owners are treated in Chapter 4, I do not transliterate them here.
[3] Initially pointed out to me by Dr. Yvonne Harpur (pers. comm., 18 May 2017). Harpur also commented that a protective wash was applied to walls of tombs at some point in the last century, which has yellowed the limestone.

transcription of the texts, including on inscribed objects, by Gunn. The tomb was found to have been plundered, probably in antiquity. The tomb robbers had forcibly dug their way down the shaft to the wall that guarded the tomb chamber and had gained access to the tomb chamber without having to remove the protective filling of the lower part of the burial shaft (Firth and Gunn 1926, 23–6). The (presumed) remains of Mereruka had been broken up and scattered, with the marks of knives on the arm bones, attributed by the excavators to the cutting away of linen to access Mereruka's adornments (Firth and Gunn 1926, 26). Duell (1938, 9 n. 56) suggested that, in more recent times, at least one of the rooms in the chapel (A 10) had been inhabited by local *fellahin*, indicated by calcination on the walls in the north-east corner of this room.

Duell's (1938) two-volume Chicago House publication of the complex was much anticipated by its date of publication. The publication did not document the 'comparatively uninteresting' chapels of Mereruka's wife Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, and their son, Meryteti Meri (Breasted in Duell 1938, xviii). Further publication of the tomb complex, including the chapels for Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet and Meryteti, was undertaken by ACE between 2004–9, led by Naguib Kanawati (Kanawati and Abdel Raziq 2004, 2008; Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al 2010–11). Plates, line-drawings, and some textual analyses of the chapels (excluding Mereruka's) have been published in four volumes. Pieke (2005) conducted a study of the visual programme in Mereruka's complex in her unpublished PhD dissertation, *Das Grab des Mereruka: Studien zu Konzeption und Komposition einer nichtköniglichen Grabanlage der 6. Dynastie* (see also Pieke 2009, 2015). No major textual analysis of inscriptions in Mereruka's chapel has been attempted since Daressy's and Gunn's partial publications of inscriptions from the chapel, although a palaeographic typology of hieroglyphic signs in the tomb was conducted by Philippe Collombert (2010).

Mereruka's tomb complex is oriented on a north-south axis (plate 16), with a southern entrance, and a courtyard against the southern face of the complex containing the chapel of Kanenebefui Khenu, whom Kanawati suggests may have been a son of Mereruka (Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010, 34). The possible relationship between the two, perhaps evoked in the

name, is analysed in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.1). This courtyard is enclosed by a round-topped, limestone block temenos wall of approximately 1.35 m in height, of which 9.25 m to the south and 2.60 m to the west remains (Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010, 34). The wall is decorated on its southern face with a repeating motif of Mereruka with his name and titles—the only such wall to survive in the cemetery. It does not fully obscure a view of the tomb, but it served to separate the entrance of Mereruka's tomb from the area in front of the entrance to Teti's pyramid, which was 'probably a street' (Duell 1938, 7) and which later became a popular site for shaft burials and small chapels of minor officials (Firth and Gunn 1926). Where Kanenebefui Khenu placed his funerary monument, the inscriptions on the temenos wall were carefully filled in, as described by Firth (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 26):

> At the point against the outside of this wall where the offering place of Khenu has been constructed these inscriptions had been carefully filled in and obliterated with whitewash.

The wall thus clearly predates the construction of Kanenebefui Khenu's monument. While the courtyard area is now filled in and covered by a walkway for tourists visiting the cemetery, it is worth noting that on the excavation plan produced during Firth's excavations (see map 3), that there appears to be an area immediately in front of Mereruka's entrance where no shaft burials were discovered, suggesting that the entrance to Mereruka's complex remained clear during the use-life of the cemetery. The entrance to the complex in the south wall is flanked by decorated sandstone blocks comprising the entrance recess and thicknesses of the door.

Mereruka's complex was built flush against the sloping west-face of Kagemni's chapel (Duell 1938, 9–10; cf. Saad 1943, 451), utilising that surface for the eastern walls of the internal chambers of his own complex. The complex architectural association between these two monuments was carefully studied by Duell (1938, 9–10) and it seems probable that Kagemni's chapel was built first, and that the design of Mereruka's complex evolved during its construction: with a hypothesised eastern entrance in A10 being abandoned at some point in favour of a western entrance that survives today. The reasons are unclear, but one compelling argument by Duell (1938,

10) is that the new entrance was designed to serve both Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel as well as Mereruka's chapel. The former chapel seems to have been completed at a later stage in the construction of the complex, and shares a similar quality and style of relief with room A10, which was probably finished at a similar time (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, 24). Construction on the complex probably began in the 6th Dynasty, during the reign of Teti, although a slightly earlier date cannot be wholly excluded (as discussed in section 1.3.2). His son, Meriteti Meri, served as an adult under king Pepy I (discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.3), thus it is probable that that Mereruka died sometime towards the end of Teti's reign and before the ascension of Pepy I. The overall size of Mereruka's complex is exceptional, although it also falls within a wider shift in the architectural expression of veneration for the deceased that occurred between the 5th and 6th Dynasties, especially at Giza and Saqqara. New tombs of the 6th Dynasty included an increasing number of reliefs and monumental inscriptions, and lavishly decorated burial chambers, which transformed the tomb into a locus of worship for the deceased as a venerable person (Jánosi 1999, 36–37).

The walls of the whole complex, and its pillars, are dense with ritual and 'daily-life' relief scenes, and the surface decoration combined painted relief and pure paint—the latter especially present in the burial chamber of Mereruka, described in Chapter 4 (section 4.1.3.4). From some surviving blocks it can be established that some rooms were topped by a carved *ḫkr*-frieze (Duell 1938, 7), but most of the upper portions of the wall reliefs have been lost. The exterior walls of Mereruka's tomb were smoothed and left undecorated, except for the entrance recess and the external corners of the tomb. Some loose blocks in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery probably come from the upper part of the exterior reliefs, which are discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.1.3.1).

A number of processional routes may have once existed in Mereruka's complex, at least one in each of the chapels beginning from the entrance in A1. Mereruka's own chapel may have had multiple cultic zones, as the main offering table and false door occurs in A8 (plate 17), but a pillared hall (A13) occurs to the north of the complex which a monumental statue of Mereruka emerging from a doorway (plate 18), and a tethering stone in the floor (plate 19) presumably for

butchery. The tethering stone indexes the real occurrence of the butchery of animals, which is represented in a near-by visual programme in A11 (north wall), showing priests slaughtering cattle (plate 20). In Mereruka's chapel, the scenes of offering bearers and processions are focussed in rooms A3, A6, A8, and A9 (described: Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2011, 13–15), which roughly corresponds with the hypothesised processional route towards the false door from A1 (or from the magazines from A9). The visual programme of rooms A11, A12, and A13 is closely associated with the preparation for Mereruka's burial, including butchery (already mentioned), the funerary procession (west wall of A13), and the manufacture and storage of sacred oils (room A12). Elsewhere in the chapel, the scenes concern daily life. The scenes are categorised by type and content in Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2011 (13–28), but a summary of these include: desert hunts and landscape (west wall A3); artisan workshops (east wall of A4) and commerce and management of workers (west wall of A4); pasture and animal husbandry (north wall of A13) and agricultural pursuit (east wall of A13); fishing and fowling (north wall of A1); and a hypothesised bedroom scene (west wall A10). The programmes of Meryteti Meri and Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet are comparatively smaller, and both appear to have been finished in the latter stages of the complex's construction (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, 14); each chapel is treated in greater detail in Chapter 4, sections 4.3–4.4.

By the end of the Old Kingdom, the complex of Mereruka appears to have fallen into some disrepair; at the very least it can be observed that blocks from Mereruka's tomb were reused elsewhere in the cemetery, described earlier. However, the 12th Dynasty chapels of Ihy and Hetep are built in close proximity to Mereruka's and Kagemni's tombs without significantly reusing either monument in the process. This may have been a tacit mark of respect for these tomb owners and mark the ongoing salience of these structures—or the memory of their owners—in the life of the community interred there. In Chapter 4, section 4.5, I argue that added inscriptions in the complex of Mereruka further evince such attitudes.

More recent scholarship concerning Mereruka's complex has emphasised art historical analyses of the visual programme, especially in terms of style and semiotic analysis (such as Angenot 2000), artistic practice (such as Kanawati and Woods 2009; Pieke 2015, 2011; McFarlane and Mourad 2012), and unique scene types (such as Erman 1900; Werbrouck 1927; Brewster 1962; Beaux 1991; Evans 2010; McCorquodale 2010; Bochi 2003). Broader social-historical treatments of the major chapel owners have been more restricted in their scope, with particular attention given to the ownership of Chapel C (Nims 1938; Kanawati 1976; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2004, 11–12; Pieke 2008), discussed below (section 1.5). Kanawati's (2008) account of Mereruka's career, in fact, focusses its attention elsewhere in the cemetery for much of the work. As noted above (section 1.1), no major analyses of inscriptions from Mereruka's complex have been published since Daressy's and Gunn's partial publications of inscriptions from Mereruka's chapel, with the exception of Pieke (2018), whose recent study compared corpora of added inscriptions in the complexes of Mereruka and Kagemni. A palaeographic study of hieroglyphic signs in Mereruka's chapel has recently been published by Philippe Collombert (2010); however, as this study primarily worked from Duell's (1938) record of Mereruka's chapel, the chapels of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet and Meryteti were also excluded from his analysis (Collombert 2010, vii). Thus, there remains a clear need for further contributions to the analysis of Mereruka's complex, and the wider Teti Pyramid Cemetery, especially synthetic discussions concerning its textual programme.

1.5 WHO WAS MERERUKA?

Mereruka served as chief judge and vizier under king Teti, probably succeeding Kagemni in these roles. However, only a fragment of Mereruka's biographical text remains on the entrance recess and it is unknown whether he served under a king other than Teti. The extant portion of a list of Mereruka's estates (Duell 1938, pl. 49) includes personified domains that give the names of Teti and the 5th Dynasty kings Menkauhor and Unis. In total, 83 distinct administrative and religious titles and epithets are recorded for Mereruka in his chapel (Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010,

13–17). Mereruka held roles that were locally significant in Saqqara, where Teti's pyramid town was established, as inspector of the priests attached to the pyramid of Teti, chief lector priest, overseer of the king's record-scribes, and overseer of every work of the kin; he was a Memphite official *par excellence*.

Mereruka also held the title ***sḏty nswt***, 'foster child of the king' (Jones 2000, 986–87 [3645]), which is recorded four times in the burial chamber. The precise meaning of this title is unclear, although it is frequently written with the determinative of a child  [Gardiner A17], although not in the instances that occur in Mereruka's burial chamber (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.2.3.4). Michel Baud (1999, 118–21) plausibly suggested that the title may have been an Old Kingdom precursor of ***ḫrd n kꜣp***: a child educated in the palace in a group consisting of children of the king and some privileged officials. Thus, Mereruka may have been raised in the court together with the king's own children (cf. Fischer 1997, 27)—an indication of his close relationship with the king, that can be otherwise deduced through placement of his funerary complex and marriage to Teti's eldest daughter. Kanawati (2007, 47–8) conjectures that Mereruka may have also been distantly related to the royal family through his mother, Nedjetempet Tit. Nedjetempet Tit is represented four times in Mereruka's tomb (primarily in the pillared hall, room A13) and may be the woman of the same name buried in the northern part of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, behind Mereruka's complex (Kanawati 2003, 107).

Mereruka's wife, Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, was the owner of Chapel B. As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.3), it is inferred from the reference in her name to the 'body of Horus', and from her title 'king's eldest daughter' that she was the eldest daughter of king Teti. No other wife in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery received the honour of a dedicated chapel within the tomb of their husband. During the Old Kingdom, princesses were mostly indistinguishable in the iconographic record from other elite women (Callender 2006, 120), thus Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel is extremely significant to this record. Her mother is unknown but presumed to be Queen Iput, who was also the mother of Pepy I (Kanawati 2007, 14; cf. Roth 2001, 127–37). Watetkhethor

Zeshzeshet held no administrative offices, but she did hold religious titles, including priestess of Neith and Hathor. One daughter, *Ib-nbw* (**B.iii**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 457 [1811]), is depicted once in in Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel (west wall of B1) and her image is accompanied by the caption, 'her daughter, whom she loves, Ibnebu' (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, pl. 5–6). Duell (1938, 3) thought that this daughter was depicted once in Mereruka's chapel in the pillared hall, but the name is lost, and Kanawati speculates that this figure was in fact Mereruka's mother, Nedjetempet (Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010, 26); as such, Ibnebu was probably born late in the construction of the complex.

In addition to Meriteti Meri, already mentioned, five further sons of Mereruka are recorded in the complex (Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010, 23–25): *(Ppy)*-*ʿnḫ* (**A.v**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 295 [690]); *Mmỉ* (**A.vi**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 372 [1229]); *Ḫnt(ỉ)* (**A.ix**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 604 [2786]); *Nfr* (**A.vii**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 460 [1836]); and *Ḫnw* (**A.viii**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 599 [2771]). Both Duell (Duell 1938, 3 n. 10) and Kanawati (in Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010, 25–6) have suggested that the latter son, who only occurs once in the entrance recess of A1, may be Kanenebefui Khenu, described earlier, based on the similarity of the name Khenu and the close architectural association of these monuments. This relationship is discussed again in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.1).

Two sons in Mereruka's complex have the title of 'eldest son': Pepyankh and Meryteti Meri. The name Pepyankh occurs only once in the complex, in a painted inscription in room A13, as a palimpsest over a name which has been erased (plate 21); this inscription had originally been prepared for Mereruka's eldest son. Kanawati (in Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010, 23–4) has suggested that Pepyankh and Memi may have been the same son, following Charles Nims (1938, 638f.). Thus, Memi may have been the son named in the inscription in A13, and he may have acquired the name Pepyankh later in life. The name Memi has also been erased throughout Mereruka's chapel (overview: Pieke 2008, fig. 1), although it can be confidently restored in several places, including the north wall of A8 (see plate 22). In sum, the association between these two

individuals—Memi and Pepyankh—is unclear. Meanwhile, Meryteti called himself 'eldest son' in his own chapel, in which the name Pepyankh had been systematically erased. The reasons for the existence of two eldest sons is not known. Possibly they were born to different wives (Kanawati 2007, 50–51; cf. Pieke 2008, 108), although Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet is the only wife named and depicted in Mereruka's tomb complex. Kanawati has suggested that Meryteti Meri may have at one time been heir to the throne, as Mereruka is attested four times as 'King's eldest son, of his body' (Kanawati 2007, 51; Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010, 24), arguing that this position may have been rescinded when Pepy Nefersahor (later Pepy Meryre I) was born to Queen Iput; there is no further evidence with which to assess this hypothesis. It can be stated with certainty that Meryteti was the final owner of Chapel C, and his dependents were added in the final stages of completing the chapel (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2004, 15–16). They include his wife *Nbt* (**C.iii**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 455 [1794]), and sons *Iḥy-m-zꜣ=f Ihy* (**C.iv**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 259 [449]) and *N(i)-ˁnḫ-Mnw* (**C.v**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 418 [1539]). This complex architectural history is considered in greater detail in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.3).

Five men are given the designation *sn=f* ('his bother') in Mereruka's chapel, although this term had a wide application within an ancient Egyptian kin-group that may have operated non-lineally (Olabarria 2014, 23; 2012); that is, a *sn* could be a brother, an uncle, or even a nephew (cf. Willems 1983; metaphorical uses: Revez 2003). The scene in which the brothers are first encountered is found on the north wall of A8 (plate 22), in which they process towards Mereruka as offering bearers: *Ir(i).n-ꜣḫt(i)* (**A.x**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 251 [392]); two individuals named Ihy, one of whom was *špss nzwt* (noble of the king); *Nfr-wdnt* (**A.xvii**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 466 [1875]); and *T[...]nỉ*, as suggested in Duell's reconstruction (**A.xviii**; cf. Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010, 21). A further scene, on the north wall of A13 (plate 23), includes Mereruka's brothers as well as his minor (or younger) sons, to which the following brothers can be added: *Idw* (**A.xv**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 280 [602]); and *Mrỉ* (**A.xvi**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 378 [1276]).

The fact that these two men are listed after Mereruka's youngest sons may indicate that these were brothers who were junior to the former men or were more distantly related

Further to the immediate family: 85 individuals (*kꜣ*-servants and other dependents) are named in Mereruka's chapel; 14 are named in Meryteti's chapel; and at least 13 are named in Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel (these are gathered in the appendix). Their names appear either as parts of the original sculpture or as painted or incised additions, which are examined in Chapter 4 (section 4.5). The named dependents and officials in Mereruka's tomb carry a range of titles, the majority of them being *kꜣ*-priests (44 named individuals) or scribes (15 named individuals). The composition of Mereruka's household could be compared to that of 5th Dynasty vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir, recently studied by Vera Nováková (2017), in both size and for the notable inclusion of so many named figures in the relief scenes. The sheer number of names, across multiple inscriptional modes, and across different social groups and genders, makes Mereruka's complex an ideal case-study for considering the contextually bound practices for inscribing names within a funerary monument.

1.6 SUMMARY

As demonstrated in this discussion of the historic and ongoing excavations in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, there is a need for continued study of the important Old Kingdom monuments from this site. The funerary complex of Mereruka, including the architecturally distinct chapels for his wife and son, is one of the largest in the Old Kingdom. Primarily, secondary scholarship concerning Mereruka's complex has centred on the artistic achievements and exceptionality of its visual programme. Thus, the analysis of inscriptions presented in this thesis advances the textual and lexical study of this important Old Kingdom tomb complex. The analysis of names in this complex—belonging to both primary chapel owners, and their dependents in added inscriptions—is undertaken in Chapter 4. The following chapters expand the theoretical and methodological framework that underpins the study of names in this thesis. Chapter 2 discusses materiality and

semanticity, drawn from several branches of anthropological and linguistic theory, while Chapter 3 considers the importance of the name in ancient Egypt in emic terms.

CHAPTER 2

MATERIALITY AND SEMANTICITY

This chapter outlines a suggested theoretical framework with which to analyse ancient Egyptian personal names in inscribed spaces. Assmann (1994, 18, 24–5) has stated that Egyptian hieroglyphs, as signs, can be broadly conceived as having two aspects: semanticity (encompassing their sound and meaning; the way they reference a specific meaning) and materiality (encompassing their iconicity; the way they indicate this meaning; their physical form). This chapter will follow a similar division, in order to introduce several branches of anthropological theory that underpin the analysis undertaken in this thesis. Section 2.2 ('Materiality') introduces the concept of materiality, especially through the lens of anthropology and textual criticism, and recent Egyptological literature concerned with the materiality of text and writing in ancient Egypt; in particular, approaches drawn from textual criticism were particularly influential in the course of writing this thesis. This section also considers methods for analysing the materiality of texts and their supporting contexts. Section 2.3 ('Semanticity') approaches materiality from a different perspective, namely through semantics, and shifts the focus to the ways in which ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs materialise Egyptian notions, such as embodiment, in the signs themselves. It discusses Egyptological literature concerned with iconicity in language, but also literature drawn from semiotics and linguistic anthropology—in particular the notion of indexicality—to provide a framework for accessing the multiple layers of meanings found in inscribed ancient Egyptian names.

2.1 MATERIALITY

Materiality, as observed by Carl Knappett (2014, 4700), is a phenomenon 'so enmeshed in our everyday existence that is has a kind of impenetrability'. Attempting a description of materiality invites, to quote Andrej Petrovic (2018, 110), 'etymological entanglements and definitional quandaries'. It is not the purpose of this thesis to attempt a new reading of materiality for an

Egyptological case-study; Egyptological works that engage with materiality are discussed below (section 2.1.3). However, I offer some initial comments on materiality studies and their origins (section 2.1.1), especially through an anthropological lens (section 2.1.2). This is followed by a more detailed discussion of a methodology for approaching the materiality of text (section 2.1.4), in particular. The final section reflects briefly on how the materiality and aesthetics of Old Kingdom inscriptions were influenced by their architectural setting and function (section 2.1.5); this bridges the discussion between the two parts of the chapter, and leads to the second part ('Semanticity'), which considers the materiality of hieroglyphic signs from the perspective of how they semantically conveyed meaning.

2.1.1 Defining materiality

Material, from the Old French *materie* (Latin in its origins), refers to the physical substance of things in its most literal sense. In the modern period, the word has acquired new meanings with philosophical and aesthetic implications. Its association with the more abstract notions of 'form' or 'content' come from late-eighteenth century German philosophy: for example, Kant's theory of matter (overview: Carrier 2001); or Hegel's *materie,* which is understood as physical matter seen in opposition to the mind or spirit, or the abstract and ideal (overview: Redding 2018). Karl Marx's (1859) extension of 'material' to things that shape the world as it is experienced by humans, in particular, was influential to the later theory of 'materiality' that emerges in art historical and anthropological (including archaeological) discourse (overview: Wolff 2017; on Marx and anthropological theory: Roseberry 1997; McGuire 1992, 2008). This style of inquiry engages with the qualities of material things, usually defined in relation to other abstract concepts: form, reality, mind, ideal, time, space (Taylor 2008, 297). Marx argued that humans had a capacity for consciousness that separated their labour from that of animals, and that humans could plan a material world in advance of their shaping of it (Maurer 2006, 14). This had radical implications for art; Marx's theories of value, production, and aesthetics demanded that artworks must be

considered from an embodied, politically engaged perspective (Rose 1984; Werckmeister 1973). Art can be reflective of ideology and also transcend ideology, as it contains the potential to affect and change how we view material (social and historical) reality (Emerling 2013, 20–22).

These philosophies of matter and materialism shaped later, especially twentieth century, discourse on art, literature, and aesthetics (such as Barthes 1968; Gombrich 1979; Greenblatt 1982) and historical materialism (such as Lucács 1971). Neo-Marxist materialism was also at the heart of continental anthropological schools of thought that developed from Claude Levi-Stauss' structuralism (such as Godelier 1977; Meillassoux 1981), as well as practice theory (Bourdieu 1977). The influence of French Marxist anthropology is extant in multiple branches of archaeological and sociological theory that overlap with materiality studies (overviews: Trigger 1993; 2006), including (but not limited to) object biography (such as Koptyoff 1986; Strathern 1990) and agency (from Latour 1993; cf. Gell 1998). The growth of archaeology as its own branch of scientific and human enquiry is reflected in its use as a metaphor in twentieth century philosophical thought, including by Edmund Husserl, Michel Foucault, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty—philosophers whose work, in turn, informed the discourse of post-processual archaeological theory (Edgeworth 2006). Materiality thus can be summarised as an interest in the reconstruction of categories and classifications and properties—in the essential and abstract 'thingness' of things (cf. 'das Dinghafte des Dinges' and 'die Gegenständlichkeit des Gegenstandes' in Heidegger 1971)—and the relationships between things and humans, and things in their surroundings.

2.1.2 Materiality in archaeology

Archaeology's engagement with materiality as a distinct mode of analysis is a comparatively recent development (classically cited works: Hodder 1986; Graves-Brown 2000; Miller 2005; Knappett 2005; DeMarais, Gosden, and Renfrew 2008; Olsen 2010). A broad view of this trend is that, since the later part of the twentieth century, anthropological literature has moved towards an interest in the active role of the non-human in how human life is shaped, and a shift in analysis from what

things 'mean' to what they 'do' (overview: Ireland and Lyndon 2016). Timothy Taylor (2009, 298) argues that this interest in materiality—at least for most archaeologists—has its origin in Chris Gosden's seminal work *Social Being in Time* (1994), in which Gosden (1994, 37) applied the concept of materiality to a description of 'the link between people and material culture'. In addition to the materialist discourse cited above, Gosden's work demonstrates the influence of twentieth century phenomenology in archaeological theory (especially Merleau-Ponty 1964 and Heidegger 1971; cf. Holtorf and Karlsson 2000). One example related to materiality studies is the promotion of a Heideggerian distinction between 'objects' and 'things' in the ontology of artefacts (Gosden 1999, 2004; cf. Olsen 2003, 2010; Knappett 2007, 2010; Hodder 2012), which problematises how archaeologists encounter, categorise, and 'objectify' artefacts.

Since the publication of Gosden's *Social Being in Time*, however, there has been both reluctance and insistence within archaeology to define materiality (Fahlander 2008, 129–31). One reason for this aversion to a single definition of materiality (both conceptually and as a theoretical method) is that the debate bridges a number of anthropological and archaeological schools—American versus Continental, for example (Lucas 2012, esp. chapter 4). Carl Knappett (2014, 4706) has observed that similar problems are encountered in other historical disciplines that theorise materiality, such as art history (cf. Elkins 2008). Gavin Lucas (2012, 164) distils this complex debate in summarising a shared goal in materiality studies: to overcome the dualisms of nature and culture in anthropological study, and to assert that people and things mix and make each other. Knappett (2014, 2012) stresses the relational nature of materiality: it conveys the dialectic between humans and artefacts, and moves away from static categories ('artefacts', 'materials'). The term 'material culture' includes the cultural component of artefact studies, but potentially offers a 'polarized world of materials on the one hand and culture in the other, with the former [only ever] acted upon by the later' (Knappett 2014, 4701). New materiality studies in archaeology are thus grounded in this relational and multifaceted understanding of communities

and their artefacts—what Ian Hodder (2011, 2014) has termed as the 'entanglement' of things with each other and with their human interlocutors.

2.1.3 Materiality in Egyptology

This wealth of work on materiality has been of immense use to scholars of the ancient world whose work overlaps with fields of archaeology, in which Egyptology is no exception. Lynn Meskell, whose theoretical work often employs ancient Egyptian case-studies, has been at the forefront of materiality studies in archaeology (Meskell 1999, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b; Meskell and Joyce 2003), although it is worth noting that Meskell's primarily Egyptological publications (such as Meskell 2002) make little explicit mention of the term. Egyptological works that engage explicitly with materiality have done so variously through an anthropological or art historical lens (such as Riggs 2014; Maynart, Velloza, and Lemos 2018; Müskens 2017), a cognitive-phenomenological lens (such as Nyord and Kjølby 2010), or with respect to reading and writing as a material practice, in which other communicative theories are frequently employed alongside those from archaeology as discussed below (such as Ragazzoli 2013; Piquette and Whitehouse 2013; Terpstra 2014; Rhyolt 2018; Hoogendijk and van Gompel 2018). The preference for anthropological models in Egyptology is not unusual; as Chris Eyre (2018, 2) states in a recent edited volume on the materiality of texts in ancient Egypt: 'the history of Egyptian texts is an archaeological, and not simply a linguistic or literary, exercise'. However, it is worth clarifying that the notion of materiality has been present in the study of ancient Egyptian language and text independent of the influence from archaeological theory, for example in works utilising semiotics (Assmann 1994), or literary criticism from new historicism (such as Parkinson 2009; 2013).

Meskell (2005a, 53) has persuasively argued that ancient Egyptian culture had its own understanding of materiality:

> Statues, figurines, and carved or painted images of the individual were all doubles for the self that could extend the biography and trajectory of the individual. The images were the bearers of the owner's identity, personality, and visual likeness and could be called upon as active referents in the afterlife. These material renderings also had the power to improve upon reality, such as portraying a person as youthful, beautiful, and free from imperfections… At a meta-level one could see the construction of the tomb, and tomb culture in general, as the most salient evocation of the specific configuration of Egyptian materiality and its potency.

Meskell (2004b, especially chapter 4; 2005; 2008, 5–6) places emphasis on 'material rendering' (in particular statues) and artistic representation (such as tomb reliefs) as an instantiation of individual permanence temporally and across multiple planes of existence, namely the historical present and afterlife as it was perceived by ancient Egyptians. Crucially, regarding the relational nature of materiality, these objects and images—as doubles of the self (vis-à-vis Gell 1998)—were imbued with the potency of the original. They had the potential to affect the social and material reality that they inhabited. But how can this be meaningfully applied to inscriptions? An Egyptian-centred understanding of what was 'material' is crucial. As Assmann (1994, 27) states, 'the concept of "matter" as a lifeless or arbitrary substance did not exist in Egyptian [thought and language]'. Things in the Egyptian world had the potential to be embodied, including hieroglyphic signs. This will be discussed further in Chapter 3 (section 3.3).

2.1.4 Materiality and textuality; material writing support and text

There has been a tension in archaeological theory since the 1980s concerning whether artefacts should be differentiated along the lines of with-text/without-text (cf. Andrén 1998). The problem is complicated by the post-processualist trend of borrowing materialist approaches to text, as well as analogies from cognitive sciences, in order to 'read' (uninscribed) material culture (summary: Taylor 2009, 304–5), in particular popularised by the work of Ian Hodder (1986) and Christopher Tilley (1990, 1991). As essentialised by Taylor (2009, 305), this constituted an 'ultimate collapse' of words and things in order to 'view words as things and artefacts as texts', and numerous critiques

of these approaches abound within materiality studies (cf. Olsen 2003). Conversely, as noted by Stéphane Polis and Vincent Razanajao (2016, 24 n. 3), it is obviously in the interests of material culture studies to integrate textual data where it exists (such as Little 1991; Moreland 2001, 2006). It is interesting to note the comments of Knappett (2014, 4704), that there is a detectable shift within archaeological theory and materiality studies towards language-based approaches to artefacts once more (for example Preucel 2006, Crossland 2009; note comments by Bauer 2002), in particular through the lens of Charles Peirce's semiotic theory, which itself has phenomenological roots. I will return Peircean semiotics in section 2.2.

Beyond Egyptology, the materiality of text in the ancient world is of growing interest, attested in volumes devoted to inscriptions from the Classical world (such as Petrovic, Petrovic and Thomas 2018) and in Early Mesopotamian studies (such as Balke and Tsouparopoulou 2016). The latter volume is one output from the collaborative research project hosted by Heidelberg University, *Materiale Textkulturen*, which is dedicated to the investigation of materiality and text in pre-typographic societies and the project's outputs have been published in a same-named series since 2014. These works variously employ theories of materiality from archaeology, art history, literary criticism, and semiotics, to name but a few; indeed, for inscriptions embedded in an architectural setting (like those considered in this thesis), a mixed model approach to materiality of inscriptions seems the most sensible. As stated by literary theorist Jonathan Walker (2013, 199), the literary critical approach to the materiality of texts has struggled to conceptualise the link between the semantic elements of a text with that of its physical manifestations. Walker (2013, 199) quotes, for example, Richard Bucchi (2007, 7): 'a literary work… is not a material object, but sequences of words'. This conceptual problem of how to engage with both an object's textuality and its physicality, and how the two interact and affect each other as well as the reader, is shared in Egyptology, as stated by Polis and Razanajao (2016, 24–5):

> Despite the inextricable link between [ancient Egyptian] texts and their supporting contexts (whether monuments, smaller artefacts, or even the physical landscape), current

> Egyptological text-oriented projects often fail to handle both dimensions together satisfactorily, and generate a significant amount of data about texts that are (at least partly) divorced from their contexts. For this reason, ancient Egyptian textuality is difficult to apprehend within its full (present) archaeological and (past) cultural environment, especially when using digital resources.

Richard Parkinson, whose work is grounded in new historicism and material philology (cf. Parkinson 2002, 22–9, 36–42; 2009, 5–8), has argued persuasively for contextual and self-reflexive readings of ancient Egyptian texts, attentive to their textual transmission and changing materiality: 'the modern histories of the manuscripts, their collectors and their editors have also shaped their meanings' (Parkinson 2009, 6; cf. the sociology of texts: McKenzie 1999). The process of production imbued an object with meaning, especially salient for ancient Egyptian inscriptional practice: writing tools and material supports were not ideologically neutral and enjoyed prestige as a result of their symbolic associations, and the physical material of the support as well as the accomplishment of composition itself could communicate this.

A plurality of approaches to inscribed artefacts is also proposed by Christina Tsouparopoulou in Mesopotamian Studies (in Balke and Tsouparopoulou 2016). In her examination of a corpus of inscribed artefacts from temple deposits in Early Mesopotamia, Tsouparopoulou (2016, 257) cautions against a modern (and, in her view, singular) dominance of a textualist approach to ancient inscribed artefacts, 'which perceives all things written as highly valuable and the very act of writing as sacred, fetishizing in this process the product of writing, the text.' As in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamian writing was deliberately esoteric and restricted; yet not every object that bore writing—in Egypt or Mesopotamia—was sacred or venerated. Ultimately, Tsouparopoulou's chief aim is to desacralize a (very specific) corpus of ancient Mesopotamian texts from foundation deposits, in order to focus on their material (that is, physical) substance and recontextualise them alongside uninscribed objects that may occur in the name archaeological or cultural context and fulfilling the same ritual purpose. Tsouparopoulou's (2016, 259–61) conclusions concerning how the modern *and* ancient value of an object is changed by the presence

(or absence) of text can be meaningfully applied to inscribed artefacts and inscribed spaces originating in ancient Egypt. One particularly important application is to spaces bearing graffiti and secondary epigraphy, especially those where textual or figural additions have been elided in publication, either through a (historically) variable interest in graffiti as a text form (Navrátilová 2010–11), or due to the constraints of current publishing forms. New approaches to recording graffiti may improve this situation in the future (such as Prada and Wordsworth 2018; on RTI: Piquette 2016a, 2016b, 2018; cf. Frood and Howley 2014), although new technology does not replace the need for human interlocutors reading the space. As will be considered in Chapter 4 (sections 4.3.3 and 4.5, respectively), the graffiti and palimpsests in the complex of Mereruka offer an ideal case-study for examining multiple actors inscribing and reinscribing spaces and objects through time: did the addition of a name to a monument, for example, represent a desacralisation of space, or perhaps, a reaffirmation of it? These are two outcomes that may have occurred in the same space simultaneously or varied in their salience through time.

With respect to text, 'material' can refer quite narrowly to the physical support upon which writing occurs; however, 'materiality' should not be used as a substitute for this (as in Ingold 2007). The 'materiality' of writing and textuality involves conceiving the material (writing supports) as being incorporated into socially situated marking practices, which can include how writing supports were prepared, adapted, and discarded before and after their inscription (cf. Zinna 2011, discussed below). It also concerns how writing embodies our language, 'which is at once material and immaterial… writers and readers engage one another in realms that are both physical and mental' (Hass 1995, 4, cf. Gumbrecht's concept of presence, below). In order to describe a method for studying the materiality of text, the work of linguist Alessandro Zinna is especially useful, drawing on the studies of anthropologist Jack Goody (1987) and linguist Roy Harris (1993, 2000). Zinna (2011, 636–7) argues that an object carrying writing can be analysed with respect to its material support, the implied gesture of inscription and technique of inscription, and its intention: all come together as 'bonds' that intersect and affect each other. This can be usefully applied to the

study of ancient Egyptian inscriptions in their material context. In the case of tomb inscriptions, the material support was the surfaces of the funerary monument (from an individual limestone slab, to the entire tomb acting as the material support), and the overall technique of inscription encompassed (but was not limited to) carved, painted, and incised hieroglyphs. The gesture of inscription is harder to recreate for carved hieroglyphs, although scratched and incised inscriptions on stone surfaces may index the particular challenges of writing on this medium (discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.5).

The writing surface antedates the act of inscription but may still be bound up in the mutable aspects of the process of writing, which may have included an oral component, and this includes the choice of medium for inscription (Zinna 2011, 638). This is especially relevant in cases where a particular type of material has been chosen as the writing support due to its value, such as imported paper or hard stone (on the imitation of granite in Old Kingdom tombs: Baines 2007, 265–7); or ritual potential, such as the use of gold (in Greek inscriptions: Kirk 2018, 30–33); these are just two examples, among many possibilities. Zinna (2011, 637) argues that gesture and technique are closely connected to the choice (or availability) of medium of writing surface: to leave an impression in the surface of a soft medium, such as sand, the pressure of the finger may suffice, whereas an inscription on a hard stone requires the intervention of a tool. In the case of ancient Egyptian inscriptions, this is also the point at which multiple actors (scribes and craftsmen) are known to have converged in the writing process. For example, in the Pyramid of Unis, drafts and corrections in ink on the stone walls can be observed (plate 24), including, in some cases, re-carving portions of the text entirely (plate 25), or reinscribing the surface at a much later date (Arabic graffito in plate 26).

Looking even closer, the materiality of the text can become a more minute examination of the materiality of each individual sign. To use an example from our Roman alphabet (paraphrasing Assmann 1994, 18): consider the stem (vertical line) and tail in the letter J:

Jj  

The letter can be written in varying fonts and styles, or even illustrated in the manner of an historiated initial in a medieval manuscript, but none of these situations alter the letter's referential (semiotic or phonetic) value; however, they may affect the readability of the letter or the text, perhaps deliberately so; they have potential to complement or be in conflict with their context. Egyptian hieroglyphic compositions intentionally harnessed the potential for graphic play and reading could be aided (or intentionally made difficult), and the senses stimulated in reading, through modifying signs or combining them in emblematic ways (Morenz 2008, 36–56; cf. Ptolemaic examples: Derchain 2011, 2004). One concern in this understanding of a sign's materiality and iconicity, however, relates to determinatives: these cannot be equated with alphabetic signs in the manner that Assmann describes. They had no phonetic value and their iconicity was inherent to their language-reference meaning. This is discussed further below (section 2.2.3).

Once the act of inscription has taken place, the writing support as an object acquires a form; that is, the principle whereby its parts are organised (Zinna 2011, 639). This can be analysed on multiple levels of supra-object and intra-object space organisation for writing objects that show a dialect between outer and inner space, such as a book or a folded codex, or simply as intra-object space organisation for objects of writing composed of flat surfaces or single faces of inscription (Zinna 2011, 640–41; cf. Ryholt 2018, applying a similar method to a Greco-Roman papyrus archive). This organisation includes: the layout and actual space in which writing does or does not occur on the surface, which may have aesthetic considerations or be affected or modified through reuse; its paratextual parts (colophons, indices, lists of terms); and its metatextual parts (how blocks of text are organised into paragraphs and chapters, for example,

or the use of interior divisions such as register lines). This spatial approach to text has been taken forward in Egyptology, especially in the study of Pyramid Texts, in which inscribed formulae have been reinterpreted and better understood in relation to their actual position in the room, on a wall or near an entrance (see for example: Allen 1994; Billing 2009, 2011, 2018; Hays 2012; Mathieu 2016; Morales 2016a, 2016b); these ritual texts in their inscribed form had the potential to speak to each other and were affected by other aspects of their inscribed composition. Inscribed artefacts, often unlike other archaeological artefacts in more contemporary practices, have been frequently divorced from their social, material, and archaeological context through a lack of historical or contemporary documentation and recording (cf. Tsouparopoulou 2016). In the case of the tomb of Mereruka, the inverse situation can be observed, where the artistic program has been emphasised at the expense of its textual corpus, which is yet to be fully synthesised in publication.

This divorce of text from context is recreated in many modern approaches to publishing and studying ancient text (cf. on 'classifiers', described below in section 2.2.3); however, as argued by Polis and Razanajao (2016, 24–25), quoted at the beginning of this chapter, it is difficult to truly reconcile text with its wider visual and architectural context in many of the mediums currently available to Egyptologists to publish ancient inscriptions, including digital interfaces such as *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (cf. Hafemann and Dils 2013; compare Nederhof and McDonald 2013; Nederhof 2013). Current methods in digital epigraphy in the field seek to meet these challenges; two projects which could be highlighted as examples include *digitalEPIGRAPHY*,[4] in conjunction with The Epigraphic Survey and The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; and the combination of orthophotographic documentation with new methods for encoding interactive texts by the Karnak Project (Biston-Moulin and Thiers 2019). These concerns cannot be fully addressed within the constraints of this thesis; contextual reading

[4] *digitalEPIGRAPHY*, http://www.digital-epigraphy.com/ (accessed 10 October 2019).

of inscriptions—and one which foregrounds the 'historical particularity of a place and time' (Bourdieu 1996, 321)—is difficult to achieve from published site-reports alone, particularly present in the case of Mereruka's complex due to the uneven record of its publication (described in section 1.4). However, I determined early in my project that reading inscriptions in context (cf. for reading poetry: Parkinson 2009, 12–19), with attention to spatial location of inscribed texts and wider visual features, was an important part of my research process (cf. section 1.1). This has, in turn, informed the wider structure of this thesis and method of describing inscriptions as they are experienced when hypothetically 'moving' through the monument.

2.1.5 Materiality and presence; materiality of text in architectural space

Another dimension of analysis related to the materiality of text, and one which relates to the study of ancient Egyptian text occurring in sacred spaces, is based on Hans Gumbrecht's *Präsenzbegriff,* or the concept of 'presence' (cf. Balke and Tsouparopoulou 2016, 1–2). Gumbrecht's work (such as 2003, 2004, 2012) theorises the ways that aesthetic experiences can have tangible—that is, material—effect on human senses, emotions, and bodies. Gumbrecht (2012, 5) draws an associative connection between presence and *Stimmung* ('mood') of an era, artwork, or body of literature:

> reading for *Stimmung* always means paying attention to the textual dimension of the forms that envelop us and our bodies as a physical reality—something that can catalyse inner feelings without matters of representation necessarily being involved

The aesthetics of ancient Egyptian tomb environments has received some attention from scholars (Predynastic: Stevenson 2007; Old Kingdom: Leary and Woods 2017; New Kingdom: Parkinson 2008; Greco-Roman period: Riggs 2005, 2016); although none draw on Gumbrecht explicitly to discuss these spaces, some refer to studies of aesthetics from other disciplines (such as Coote and Shelton 1992; Gosden 2001). It should be noted that Parkinson (such as 2009, 263–5) considers Gumbrecht elsewhere in his work on literary manuscripts. However, the integration of text (where it is present), and the consideration of textual aesthetics alongside visual aesthetics in these studies

is less prominent. This statement is not made in order to assert the primacy of text in the tomb environment; rather, as advanced in this thesis, ancient Egyptian inscriptions and inscribed spaces offer further possibilities for exploring aesthetics and aesthetic experiences: texts are both affected by and affect the aesthetic experience of the material supports and contexts in which they are situated (cf. Seidlmayer 2003; on textual aesthetics of Byzantine *dipinti*: Dilley 2016). The aesthetics and *Stimmung* of inscriptions in these spaces is intimately connected to the conceptual choices of the ancient Egyptians who planned, constructed, and inscribed the tomb; the setting and function of these monuments, including their intended audience, influenced their subject matter (Doxey 2008, 7). As argued by Umberto Eco (1997, 196) in an essay about semiotics in architecture, a building itself provides instructions as to how it should be navigated or experienced, although the interpretation can never be fully predetermined:

> Architectural discourse is psychologically persuasive: with a gentle hand (even if one is not aware of this as a form of manipulation) one is prompted to follow the 'instructions' implicit in the architectural message; functions are not only signified but also promoted and induced.

The notion of presence bridges the two major parts of this chapter, materiality and semanticity: both architectural discourse of the monument upon which the inscriptions occur, as well as the iconic content of the inscriptions, played a role in how meaning was conveyed and affected how these spaces were used and experienced. The point here is to emphasise how writing (and specifically carved inscriptions) can have a tangible (i.e. material) effect on the senses, and that this may have affected how texts including personal names were planned, carved, and experienced Ancient Egyptians exploited the potential for their monuments to become embodiments of sense through unprecedented expenditure on sacred architecture. Behind this, Assmann (1994, 26) notes, is what Paul Éluard has called, 'le dur désir de durer', or the 'stubborn quest for permanence, [and] a desire for eternity that seeks its salvation in the sheer persistence and massiveness of its material'. A direct connection with the intention of an ancient author or architect is lost in the passage of

time, and a reconstruction of intention will always be filtered through social and historical *milieu* of the modern interpreter (Parkinson 2002, 36–42); however, it will be argued at various points in Chapter 4 that the different modes of inscribing a monument (sunk relief versus raised relief; the accumulation of graffiti) had the potential to illicit different responses in reading and being in the presence of an inscribed monument. The mixing of inscriptional modes was often intentionally employed to blur the distinction between image and text—producing thick, 'intrafigural' relations between signs, and extending the limits of decorum in non-royal settings (cf. concerning names: Morenz 2008, 192–4). I argue in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.3.1), that certain iconic elements were intentionally foregrounded in inscribed names, visually playing with their internal lexical meaning, and with the result of producing a context-specific meaning and hypothesising a (desired) response. The following sections, devoted to semanticity, will consider materiality of text from a different perspective; namely, how ancient Egyptian language materialised important concepts through hieroglyphic signs themselves and in relation to other signs.

2.2 SEMANTICITY

The choice to entitle this section 'semanticity' (rather than 'semiotics') is a direct reference to Assmann's (1994) study of the communicative system of ancient Egypt. 'Semanticity' was first used to describe elements in language by linguistic anthropologist Charles Hockett (1960). The concept is defined as a linguistic system's ability to convey meaning(s), in particular through referencing the physical, material world (on semantics and semanticity: Lyons 1977, esp. 79–80). Semanticity could also be described as semiotic complexity: the overlapping and layering of features in language that create meaning. Such complexity in Egyptian language and pictorial representation has been long noted (classic studies: Tefnin 1984, 1991; Vernus 1982a, 1985), as discussed below (section 2.2.2). However, Assmann (1991, 1994) has adapted this specific notion of semanticity for ancient Egyptian material culture in a number of his works, with a particular emphasis on *Weltreferenz* ('world reference'). He has argued (1994, 20–24), that three overarching characteristics of the

'pictorialness' of ancient Egyptian language distinguished its monumental script, in particular, from the scripts of other cultures (with some notable exceptions such as Mayan), and particularly when it was combined with image(s):

1. The complete flexibility of the writing. The direction of the writing is able to be adjusted completely to the composition of the picture and the direction of the figures (see Fischer 1977a, 1986; Vernus 1985).
2. The fluid transition between 'caption' (the text integrated into the picture) and representation (the picture integrated into the text) in the framework of mutual 'determination' (cf. Angenot 2015, 99).
3. The text that complemented pictorial representation was multifunctional: it explained the picture (such as scene titles in the infinitive); it identified the human and non-human actors (such as annotations of names); it supplemented the rendering of speeches, that is to record sound**,** in multiple media (such as *Reden und Rufe*).

As noted earlier, Assmann downplays the iconic potential of cursive scripts; however, determinatives in hieratic retained their iconic qualities albeit adapted to the specific mode and medium of this script. Drawing heavily from then-contemporary semiotic theory in linguistics (especially from the so-called 'Prague School', described below), Assmann (1994, 15) argued that hieroglyphic writing was 'more than a writing system', and reference to the physical, material world was possible through the rich iconic and symbolic qualities of hieroglyphic signs, and independent of spoken word. The ancient Egyptian script did not operate exclusively on the level of phonological articulation, but on the level of semantic articulation as well (Assmann 1994, 16; cf. Schenkel 1971; Junge 1984; Kammerzell 1993; overview: Lincke and Kammerzell 2012, 61–3). This is particularly relevant to ancient Egyptian personal names, which existed in both linguistic contexts: they were components of spoken language, but they also existed in display-oriented inscriptional contexts, in which they could include emblematic or poetic arrangements of signs, or be written with unpronounced graphemes, such as determinatives and the enclosures of the *shen*-ring for a cartouche name, discussed below (section 2.2.3).

In the following section, I briefly address key theoretical issues concerning semiotics in order to clarify the language used elsewhere in the thesis, and clearly highlight the branches and linguistic and anthropological theory that have influenced my approach. The first section (2.2.1) introduces some of the key notions of semiotic theory and is followed by a short overview of Egyptological approach to semiotics (section 2.2.2), with particular attention to the origins of linguistic theory used by Egyptologists (especially Saussure versus Peirce). This necessarily spans the study of Egyptian semiotics from both art historical and philological perspectives; the two are intrinsically linked, but the vocabulary and methods employed by Egyptologists are variable. This is followed by a discussion of Assmann's notion of *Weltreferenz*, which has been adopted in some studies of determinatives and which has some bearing on the study of names in this thesis (section 2.2.3). The final section (2.2.4) introduces aspects of semiotic theory by Charles Sanders Peirce (hereafter, Peircean semiotics), in particular the notion of indexicality, which has been adopted in linguistic anthropology, art history, and more recently material culture studies. In particular, indexicality is a useful etic notion for untangling the various ways in which ancient Egyptian names referred to the social, geographic, and temporal context ('deixis') of their referents. I argue that this correlates well with Assmann's notion of *Weltreferenz* in Egyptian language.

2.2.1 An overview of semiotics

Linguistic anthropologist Douglas Glick (2013) notes that while the field of semiotics has widely cited central theorists—most notably, Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Sanders Peirce—it is rarely institutionalised as a formal discipline in most academic institutions. There are significant areas of disagreement about both theory and method. Broadly conceived, semiotics is 'the doctrine of signs' (Seboek 2001, 156). As a field, semiotics is concerned with how signs, defined below, mediate meaningful relationships in human minds, in social communications, and in interactions between humans and non-humans (such as animals or technological devices). Semiosis is the capacity to produce, comprehend, process, and codify certain kinds of specific signs—from simple

bodily symbols, such as gestures, to advanced symbolic structures, such as words (overview: Seboek 2001, 3). The scientific term was coined by John Locke, from the Greek σημειωτικός (*sēmeiōtikos*, 'observant of signs') in 1690 (overview: Nöth 1995, 24).

Saussure's *sémiologie* dominated semiotic enquiry in the first half of the twentieth century CE, and his definition of the sign continues to be used in the vocabulary of semiotics (particularly in Egyptology). The form of the sign has two parts (see figure 2, below): firstly, a physical thing (sound, letters, gestures) was termed the **signifier** (sometimes called 'sign vehicle' or 'sound image'); secondly, the image or concept, to which the signifier refers, was termed the **signified** (overview: Seboek 2001, 5–6).

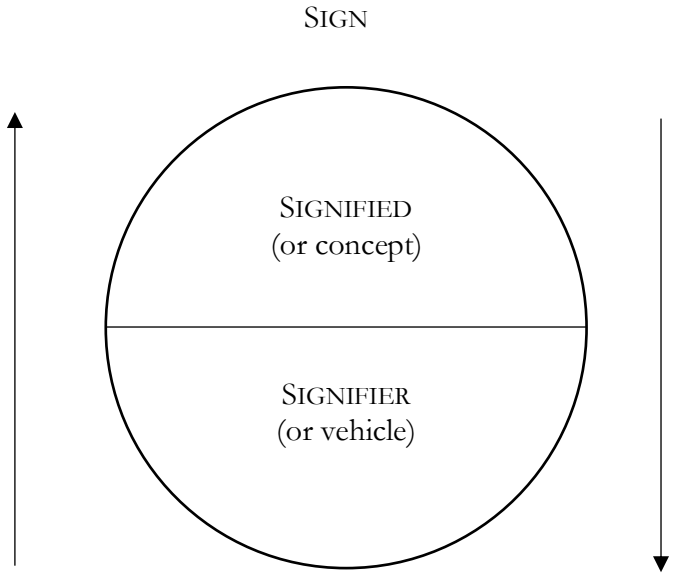


Figure 2. Saussure's dyadic model of the sign.

Peirce's definition of the sign built upon Saussure's, with a particular elaboration on the signifier, which in his own work he called a *representamen:* literally, 'a thing that does the representing' (Peirce 2.288 in Nöth 1995, 42):

> A sign, or *representamen*,[5] is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an

[5] Peirce called the sign a *representamen*, in order to bring out the fact that a sign is something that 'represents' something else in order to suggest it (that is, 're-present' it) in some way.

> equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign… [and] the sign stands for something, its object. It stands for that object, not in all respects, but in reference to a sort of idea, which I have sometimes called the ground of the representation.

The contemporary study of semiotics, which spans numerous fields, stems from the analogical extensions and critical reactions to the work of Saussure and Peirce, who are considered the founding theorists of semiotics. Saussure's *sémiologie* was especially favoured among theorists of structuralism, many of whom are mentioned elsewhere in this thesis: Lévi-Strauss (1962, 1979) on myth, kinship, and 'totemism'; Jacques Lacan (1977) on the unconscious; Roland Barthes (1975) and Algirdas Greimas (1983) on the so-called 'grammar' of narrative text, are just four notable examples. Lévi-Strauss (1979, 9–10) went as far as to state that anthropology was 'the bona fide occupant of that domain of semiology which linguistics has not already claimed for its own'. As discussed below (section 2.2.3), it is traditionally Saussure and his followers from whom most Egyptologists have drawn their theoretical frameworks for the study of semiotics in Egyptian language and art, although a small number of recent studies have engaged with Peircean semiotics. North American anthropologist Robert Preucel (2010, 3) notes that the seeming lack of engagement with semiotics in more recent archaeological theory can be distilled to two issues: firstly, its association with structuralism in anthropology—perceived to be 'passé or out of date', to quote Preucel (2010, 3); secondly, its close association with literary theory, the use of which has received particular criticism in archaeology more recently (cf. section 2.1.2). However, Preucel (2010) and others (such as Preucel and Bauer 2001; Bauer 2002, 2013; Knappett 2005) have advocated for a Peircean semiotic approach to archaeology that is reflexive and acknowledges archaeological interpretation itself as being a semiotic act: 'our collective interpretations are, and always will be, partial and provisional' (Preucel 2010, 4).

This thesis is not the appropriate place to offer a detailed comparison of Saussure's semiology and Peirce's semiotic theories—nor would it be the first Egyptological work to attempt this (recently: Haring 2017, esp. chapter 3). For the purposes of clarity in terms, however, it is

necessary to establish clearly how Peirce's terminology is different from Saussure's. The two theorists ultimately shared a similar goal (a theory of signs), but their subject matter, concepts, epistemology, and ontology differed markedly (Preucel 2010, 68). Saussure referred to language (*langue*) as 'the most important' of all of the systems of signs, more so than speech (*parole*) (Saussure 1983 [1916], 15); in contrast, for Peirce, speech and colloquial languages, as well as an analysis of the role of actor/speaker and hearer in communication, were considered as integral to the process of semiosis (see figure 3). Saussure considered signs as arbitrary; Peirce considered signs as having non-arbitrary relationships to their referents. While the Saussurean model of the sign is dyadic (two-part) and operates in binaries (sign and syntax, signal and semantics), the Peircean model is triadic (sign, object, and interpretant; icon, index, and symbol).

Peirce was a contemporary of Saussure although they do not appear to have entered into exchanges about their ideas. Initially, the sphere of influence for Peirce's work was limited to the United States, especially in the work of theorists of pragmatics, and later in some schools of anthropology (overview: Mertz 2007, 338–40). However, broadly speaking, in Anglophone anthropology, structuralist (that is, Saussurean) semiology remained influential into the 1980s (Mertz 2007, 339f.). For example, North American anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1977, 30), whose work drew influence from Saussure and Max Weber, and not Peirce, spoke of a 'semiotic approach to culture', albeit one that should include consideration of 'political, economic, and stratificatory realities'. The major anthropological work that sought to synthesise the work of Saussure and Peirce in relation to the growing field of semiotic anthropology was Milton Singer's *Man's glassy essence: Explorations in semiotic anthropology* (1984)—the title borrowed directly from an article of the same name by Peirce (1892). Singer's work (1978, 1984), among others (Mertz and Parmentier 1985; Parmentier 1994), was grounded in the question of how knowledge is constructed and communicated among individuals and groups in both the past and present (important review: Fernandez 1986). It has only been more recently that Peirce's ideas have entered

more mainstream anthropological and archaeological theory in order to advance these studies, usually in combination with other branches of philosophical, linguistic, and sociological theory.

According to Saussure, a sign *must* have both a signifier and a signified (as in figure 2); a totally meaningless signifier cannot exist, nor can a completely formless signified exist (Saussure 1983 [1916], 101). A particularly important criticism of this theory, particularly affecting semiotic approaches to text, is that Saussurean semiology does not address processes of production, interpretation, or authorial intention. Whilst Saussure, himself, focused on language as an abstract and static system, and chose to ignore the materiality of the linguistic sign, most subsequent theorists who have adopted his model have chosen to reclaim the materiality of the sign, or, more strictly, of the signifier (such as Derrida 1976, 12, 53–7). Moreover, many critics of Saussure's semiology take exception to Saussure's notion that language should be considered abstract and static. In linguistics, the so-called 'Prague School', of which Roman Jakobson was especially prominent, stressed the importance of a diachronic perspective to linguistic change through time (such as Jakobson 1971, Vološínov 1973). Jakobson is credited with exposing Peircean semiotics to European linguistics (Preucel 2006, 63).

At its most fundamental level, Peirce's theory of signs consists of three elements: the sign, the object, and the interpretant (see figure 3, below). Peircean semiotics further subdivides each of the three elements into three sub-types. The most important subdivision is for that of the sign. The sign could be:

1. An **icon**, which has a physical resemblance to the signified, the thing being represented A photograph is a good example, as it usually resembles whatever it depicts. Haring (2017, 94) notes that the notion of icon is closely related to metaphor.
2. An **index**, which shows indirect evidence of what's being represented Peirce's own, favoured example is the weathervane: moved by a gust of wind, the weathervane is thus an index of the direction of wind (see Preucel 2010, 71). Proper names, personal demonstratives, and relative pronouns are also indexes, or have 'indexical' properties—this is considered in greater detail below. Also referred to as 'motivated' signs.

3. A **symbol**, which has no resemblance between the *representamen* and the object. The connection between them must be culturally learned For example, in the Hindu–Arabic numeral system there's nothing inherent in the number 9 to indicate what it represents, and this must be learned

In Peirce's 'semiotic' (figure 3), the sign (i.e., *representamen*, as in the quoted passage earlier) is the signifier: such as a written or spoken word (for example, ***mỉw***). The object is whatever is signified: a referent in the world, or the object to which the word (written or spoken) attaches itself or refers to (a cat, or the sound it makes). The third element, the interpretant, can be surmised as the understanding we have of the relationship between the sign and object (the notion of cat, or a cat-like thing); it is similar to Saussure's 'signified' in the sense that it is a perceived idea, or a mental image (overview Haring 2017, 93–94).

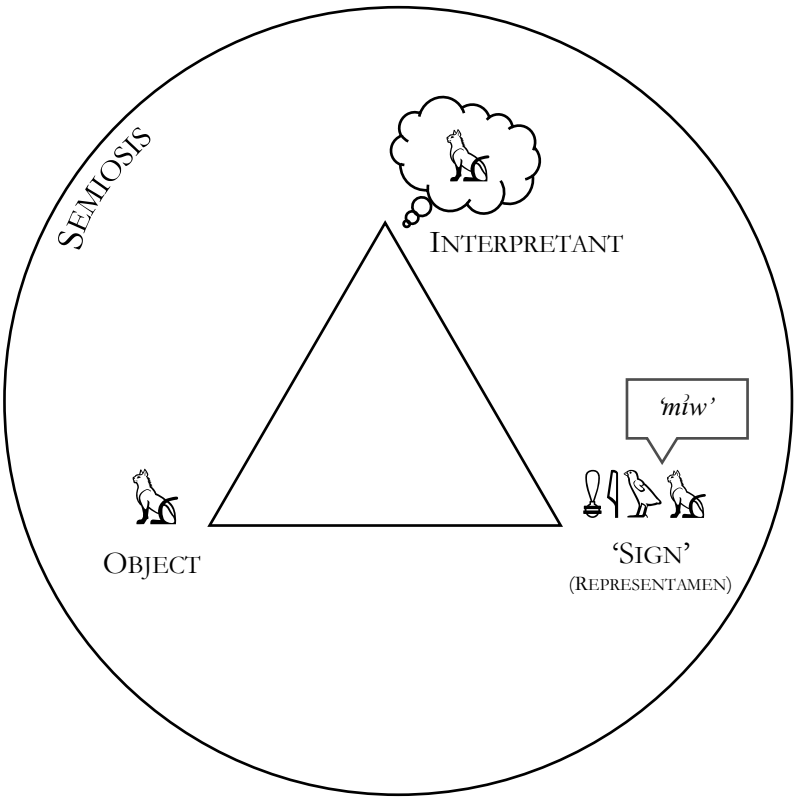


Figure 3. Summary of Peirce's triadic model of the sign, encompassed in the process of semiosis.

In contemporary linguistic anthropology, Peirce's notion of the indexical sign, described above, has become its own subfield, 'indexicality' (overview in Duranti 1997, 17–20), especially advanced by Michael Silverstein (such as 1976), with particular reference to names, pronouns, and other marks of identity in language; I return to this later (section 2.2.4) as it has direct bearing on the study of names.

So, to simplify, while Saussure suggested that the meaning of a sign was based on a relationship of convention (or 'relatively motivated': Parmentier 1994, 175f.) between the signifier (or sign-vehicle) and the signified concept (the meaning in the mind of the interpreter of the word), Peirce believed that there was a third dimension, that of the actual object, which could exist in the world as either a physical presence or a general regularity, and through which signs become tangible or experienceable to human minds (the interpretant). This additional element was what Singer saw as the most important for a 'semiotic anthropology': by critically interrogating the relationship of signs and interpretants with their objects, Peirce's semiotic requires issues of social context to be intentionally, and more systematically, built into the analysis of meaning (summary: Mertz 2007, 338–9). For anthropology and archaeology, the important distinction is that while artefacts (like all signs) convey meaning, that meaning is not solely embedded in the object itself, but it is created in the communicative and interpretive act at the centre of which *is* the artefact (Bauer 2013). Peirce's modes of semiosis need not be considered to be mutually exclusive. As outlined by Ben Haring (2017, 97–98), hieroglyphs, for example, are often a combination of multiple modes of the sign (icon and symbol, for example). Specifically concerning names and workmen's marks at Deir el Medina, Haring (2017, 94) has stressed that the important difference between Saussurean and Peircean semiotics is in the presence of a real-world interpretant, or put another way, interpretation in the real world (i.e., in context). Peircean semiotics offers an effective etic framework for understanding names as signs, for which a person or multiple people may be the 'object'. It is in the sum of these modes of the sign, and their interpretation with reference to wider social and contextual information, that unique referents are materialised in language.

To summarise, while Saussurean semiology has provided a theory of language in which the system of relations between signifiers and signifieds can be analysed, it rests on 'abstraction from pragmatic real-world situations' (Fernandez 1986, 768). This abstraction, however, ignores or undervalues the socio-cultural settings of language (including speech). It does not provide an adequate framework for considering both *how* signs signify (structurally) and *why* (socially)—the latter being of particular interest to sociolinguists and anthropologists. The relationships between signifiers and their signifieds may be ontologically arbitrary but they are not socially arbitrary. Peirce's model and the improvements to it in linguistic anthropology, for example, have sought to address these concerns. This will receive further comment below (section 2.2.4).

2.2.2 Semiotics in Egyptology

Semiotic theory in Egyptology is not a new notion; yet there are few synthetic descriptions of Egyptological approaches to semiotics. For example, Valerie Angenot's (2015) recent summary of semiotics, as it relates to visual representation, is heavily selective in prioritising its application to two-dimensional representations in elite contexts, and primarily draws upon Saussurean methods (cf. review: Riggs 2017, 294–5); thus approaches from a Peircean perspective (some of which are mentioned below) are not prominent in the discussion. Semiotic theory became particularly popular in the later part of the twentieth century (Bal and Bryson 1991, 174), following a similar trajectory to other linguistic models adopted into art history and material culture studies alluded to earlier in this chapter. Due to the iconic and symbolic qualities of hieroglyphic signs, the study of 'semiotic' relationships in ancient Egyptian language is present from the time of its modern decipherment, as illustrated in Jean-François Champollion's (1836) studies of determinatives (summaries: Depuydt 1995; Polis and Rosmorduc 2015, esp. 151–3). This correlation of image and writing used to communicate between members of a cultural group is attested in the earliest phases of Egyptian language (for example: Assmann 1988; Baines 1989; Morenz 2008; Vernus 2016; an important early

study is Schott 1951), and it became embedded in the 'grammar' of monumental ritual structures and sculpture (Derchain 1962 1972; recently: Kockelmann 2011).

Broadly speaking, the influence of semiotic theory in Egyptology is most strongly centred in continental Europe, both historically and continuing to the present day. One prolific site for Egyptological semiotics from the 1970s was the so-called 'Brussels School' (overview: Angenot 2015, 99), of which Phillipe Derchain (1962; 1972; 1976) and Roland Tefnin (1984; 1991) are particularly notable. In their respective works, Derchain and Tefnin applied structuralist methods, chiefly drawn from linguistics and art history, to describe syntagmatic structures of images (in temples or painted tombs, respectively), the organisation of architectural space, and the poetic functions of texts inscribed within or upon them. Derchain's and Tefnin's work continues to be cited in studies which employ the vocabulary and methodological tools of semiotics, variously in linguistics and lexical semantics (such as Goldwasser 1992, 1995; Loprieno 2001, 2003; Beaux 2009a, 2009b; Meeks 2015), and 'art historical' studies, broadly defined (such as the collected papers in Tefnin 1997; cf. Laboury 1998; Angenot 2000, 2015; David 2014a, 2017–2018; note comments by Riggs 2017, 294–95). As I noted above (section 2.1), Assmann (such as 1983, 1990, 1994; cf. with A. Assmann: 1983) has often incorporated semiotic theory in his work on ancient Egyptian language and artistic representation. Orly Goldwasser, discussed again below, and the so-called 'Jerusalem school' (described thus in Goldwasser and Grinevald 2012, 19), have also published prolifically on semiotic approaches to Egyptian language, with particular focus on its 'classificatory' linguistic features (such as David 2000, 2007; Shalomi-Hen 2000, 2006; Allon 2010).

More recently, semiotics has received a revived interest in philological branches of Egyptology, demonstrated in the themed issue of *Signata* edited by linguist and semiotician Jean-Marie Klinkenberg and Egyptologist Stéphane Polis (2018), in which a number of Egyptological contributions are included (such as Polis 2018; Stauder 2018; and Winand 2018). Another is found in the work on 'non-textual' marks attested variously throughout Egypt, such as workmen's identity marks at Deir el Medina (such as Haring 2017, 2009; collected papers in Haring, van der Moezel,

Soliman 2018; van der Moezel 2015) or quarry marks (Depauw 2009). Of these listed works, Haring (2017) and Kira van der Moezel (2015) discuss Peircean semiotics explicitly (cf. Meeks 2015, especially 59f.). A further contribution concerning Peircean semiotics from the perspective of lexical semantics is Eliese-Sophia Lincke and Silvia Kutscher (2012), in which the authors compare motivated sign-formation in ancient Egyptian and German Sign Language [DGS]; while I do not follow their application of this theory to ancient Egyptian 'classifiers' (cf. section 2.2.3, below), their study (2012, 120–26) presents a cogent overview of Peircean semiotics and its terminology as it relates to hieroglyphic signs, more generally.

Concerning art historical approaches, Christina Riggs (2017, 294–95) has expressed scepticism concerning contemporary Egyptological approaches to semiotics in art. Specifically, Riggs (2017, 294) cites that semiotics is rarely deployed in art history today (cf. Bal and Bryson 1991); yet, she (2017, 295) also notes elsewhere in this review that a deeper engagement with theories of materiality are critically needed (implying that this is preferable to the current state of affairs). She does not reference the most recent literature in material culture studies concerning the merits of approaches grounded in Peircean semiotics—in which materiality is a central consideration—and perhaps her scepticism is directed more specifically at semiotic approaches in formal analysis that have drawn from Saussurean model (she is not specific in this criticism). However, one criticism of these semiotic approaches to Egyptian art, which is shared with semiotic approaches to particular sign-types (such as 'classifiers') is that these discussions frequently remove the 'signs' in question from their wider material context (cf. Meeks 2015, 63f.), or elide the frequent blurring or 'fuzziness' that not only occurred between text and image, but within categories of signs themselves (cf. McDonald 2014, 518–19).

2.2.3 Iconicity, Weltreferenz, and determinatives

Determinatives are a particular mechanism through which the relationship between Egyptian script and Egyptian pictorial and sculptural representation can be understood (Hare 1999, 70; the earliest

study: Champollion 1836). Assmann (1994, 15) argues that the inherent, semiotic link between image and language, described above (section 2.2.1), makes hieroglyphic writing 'more than a writing system'—in other words, it can do more than just language reference (cf. Polis 2018; more generally: Klinkenburg 2005); it was the script's iconicity that gave *Weltreferenz* to ancient Egyptian language. Moreover, it could do so independently of articulated (spoken) language (Assmann 1994, 14):

> The iconicity of hieroglyphs is an aspect of their materiality that can be shed with no change to their language-referential meaning. Egyptian cursive scripts took this path and developed within the independent laws and paths of graphic systems. Hieroglyphic writing maintained its pictorial realism. This shows that this sign system is not a 'visible language' in the complete sense, but is more than just a script, involving *more* than just language reference. This 'more' is based on its pictorialness; it is therefore 'world reference'.
>
> (Emphasis my own.)

As stated earlier (section 2.1.5), Assmann's comments on the language-referential meaning of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs require further nuance: determinatives cannot be equated with alphabetic signs in the manner that Assmann develops in this article. As noted by Angela McDonald (2002, 44), the iconicity of a phonetic sign like  [Gardiner G17] could be shed as it developed in cursive script, as it bears no semantic relation to its pictorial signified The same cannot be stated for determinatives as they have no phonetic values and they retained a level of iconicity even in their cursive form (cf. Meltzer 1979–1980, 60).

The use of the term 'world reference' in Egyptology has a particular association with the work of Goldwasser, whose work has proposed the redefinition of the Egyptological determinative system as a classifying one (for example: Goldwasser 1995, 1999, 2002; Goldwasser and Grinevald 2012; Selz, Goldwasser, Grinevald 2017). Specifically, her work has focused on the functional similarity of determinatives to classifying morphemes in other classifier languages (mostly spoken ones such as Thai, Kam, and Burmese). Goldwasser (1995, esp. 29 n. 8, 31–5; 2002) adopted the

term 'world reference' from Assmann's *Stein und Zeit* (1991, 77–80), in which he defines *Weltreferenz* as the process through which the materiality of hieroglyphs signify the 'outside' or the world. He restated this in his (1994) later study in English, quoted earlier. Goldwasser's application of *Weltreferenz* to her own work on the classificatory system of ancient Egyptian language moves away from Assmann's original definition. While Assmann explicitly linked *Weltreferenz* to the 'pictorialness' of Egyptian language, and its embeddedness in wider iconographic and architectural settings, Goldwasser (2002, 1, 25–7) has applied this term to her theory of ancient Egyptian classifiers reflecting Egyptian 'knowledge organisation' in language, *ergo* their world:

> …this organisation is not at all arbitrary or context-bound, but faithfully represents the deep structures system of world-organisation of Egyptian elite society.
>
> (Goldwasser 2002, 25)

Goldwasser's work and that of her students contributes the largest collective study of noun 'classifiers' in Egyptian language to date, often drawing upon various branches of cognitive linguistic theory, developed from the work of de Saussure and continental European semiotics, as well as theory of metaphor from Eleanor Rosch (1978) and George Lakoff (1986; 1987), for example (Goldwasser 1995, esp. chapter 2; overviews: McDonald 2002, 18–30, 40–44; Nyord 2015). Further work in this area has been undertaken by Frank Kammerzell and Lincke (2012; cf. Lincke 2011), with particular emphasis on verbal 'classifiers'.

Some specific criticisms of these schools of thought, regarding the terminology for determinatives/classifiers and their relationship to other (con)textual elements, are pertinent to the study of determinatives that occur in Old Kingdom monuments, especially where two-dimensional or three-dimensional representations could as 'act' as a determinative for a name. In particular, Angela McDonald (2002, especially 15–46; 2004; 2007, 2014), in her own work on determinatives, has criticized the rejection of the Egyptological term 'determinative', and has convincingly argued that spoken classifier languages should not be seen as equivalent to ancient Egyptian: 'comparison may be fruitful, but equation is counter-productive and misleading' (McDonald 2014, 514f., esp. n.

5). McDonald (2014, 514) also notes that while sign languages (cf. Lincke and Kutscher 2012) are capable of much greater iconic expressions than are spoken languages, even these are not wholly appropriate as comparanda: 'Egyptian determinatives were never vocalised in the way that characterised classifiers without exception… [including] non-spoken languages'. This problem of how to reconcile written and spoken language regarding determinatives has also been raised by Julien Cooper (2015, 29–30), in which he emphasises that the knowledge of how this classificatory system operated in writing, as proposed by Goldwasser, would have been restricted to the literate sphere (cf. Lincke and Kammerzell 2012, 62–3). A possible way forward between these major schools of thought may lie in comparisons with contemporary linguistic approaches to other hieroglyphic sign languages, such as Mayan, that exhibit a similar level of iconicity to ancient Egyptian, and which also include unpronounced graphemes (cf. Mora-Marín 2008). This is discussed in a forthcoming publication by Cooper on determinatives and classifiers in ancient Egyptian toponymy (pers. comm. 20 October 2019).

A further criticism made by McDonald (2014, 517; cf. Depuydt 2016) concerns the manner in which classifier studies are burdened with artificial categories:

> If we restrict our notice to signs in artificial categories of our own making, we will inevitably miss textual effects communicated not solely through signs and words, but through texts as whole entities.

A similar concern can be expressed for onomastic studies, such as Scheele-Schweitzer (2014), which I discuss in Chapter 3 (section 3.2). While Lincke and Kammerzell (2012, 101–4; cf. Nyord 2015, 6) have discussed some of these concerns with specific reference to McDonald's reviews, the issue of contextual readings remains largely unaddressed Indeed, specifically regarding names (referring to Goldwasser 2009, 28), they comment:

> Classifiers like  and  on names (and sometimes on titles as well) of a tomb-owner might be instances in which the classifier expresses a respectful or even flattering attitude of the draftsmen or the tomb-owner who employed him towards the name's referent.

> This claim has to be checked against orthographic rules and classifier use in the respective corpus.
>
> (Lincke and Kammerzell 2012, 104)

One problem lies in the notion that 'the attitude of the draftsmen' or that of 'the tomb-owner who employed him' can be adequately or meaningfully assessed through the accumulation of a corpus of personal names; inherent to this statement is a very narrow definition of 'classifier' that excludes the way visual representation in tomb-spaces could also act ideographically in relation to text, and in contextually bound ways, which is particularly important for names (cf. Fischer 1973).

This problem is already materialised in the traditional Egyptological format for publishing personal names (such as Ranke PN I–III), in which they are decontextualized from surrounding text and only selectively include determinatives. For example, within Scheele-Schweitzer's (2014) lexicon of Old Kingdom personal names, she includes determinatives only when they occur within the immediate text, excluding those which are supplied from the wider context; her discussion (2014, 149–50) of their possible meanings is very limited Moreover, as she lists known orthographic variants as separate entries, and the purpose is not to record names associated with particular individuals, the ability to meaningfully assess the intention and motivation behind using  and for a single person's name is lost. This is particularly apparent in common Old Kingdom names like *Mr(i)t-ỉt=s* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 394 [1377]); *Nfr* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 460 [1836]), *Ḥtp* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 559 [2551]), *Ḫnw* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 599 [2771]) and *Ḫnwt* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 600 [2773]), all of which include numerous variants with  ,  and  (note the variation between active and passive states), as well as  [Gardiner A51], [Gardiner B1], [Gardiner B21A], and [Gardiner B23F]; in studies of repeater classifiers, these forms would be conflated This does not include the possible variations for names determined by standing figures in artistic representation, as found in exterior monumental inscriptions and false doors, or other human figures in the tomb programme, which cannot be meaningfully reduced to a single sign. Names were not static; new names were frequently coined (including 'nicknames'), and the

potential for visual play affecting multiple levels of meaning was exploited in the written forms of these names in certain contexts. Orthographic variants of determinatives could be specifically adopted to add force of meaning to a text, such as a title; for example, the 18th Dynasty vizier Rekhmire used a vizieral-robed nobleman for the determinative of *sr* in the texts accompanying his burial in Thebes (TT 100).[6] I consider this problem again in Chapter 3 (section 3.2), where I discuss the manner in which the architecture of the monument, as well as its visual programme, is connected to the meaning and reference of personal names, which may have influenced the choice of determinative, where it occurs.

McDonald has consistently stressed the need for a contextual approach to specific occurrences of hieroglyphic words and their determinatives, and Dimitri Meeks (2015) has similarly criticised the tendency of 'classifier' studies to work almost exclusively from published sign-lists and type-set hieroglyphs (i.e. transcriptions of texts). As also noted by Polis and Razanajao (2016), among others, this method obscures the individual intricacies and context-determined nature of hieroglyphic and hieratic writing systems. In particular, Meeks (2015, 63f.) stresses that to isolate 'classifiers' from the wider graphic system, in the way that Goldwasser and others have proposed, leads to an erroneous view of the communicative system itself:

> L'interaction entre ces classificateurs et le reste du contexte graphique, des classificateurs entre eux, outre qu'elle échappe le plus souvent à un véritable examen diachronique, tend à s'inscrire en marge de l'ensemble du système qui, lui, n'est pas sécable.

For the purposes of this thesis, I follow McDonald and continue to use the term determinative; when referring to scholarship that exclusively uses the term 'classifier', I will indicate this with the word enclosed in commas. In Chapter 4 (section 4.2.3.2), I analyse the specific instances in which the determinative is added to names in the textual programme in Mereruka's complex. In particular, it appears that determinatives were used in speech captions, especially those addressing Mereruka in the second person. But in other instances, architectural features within the chapel that concealed

[6] I thank Angela McDonald for this observation.

images of the tomb-owner from more 'public' areas appear to have also played a role in whether or not a determinative was required in hieroglyphic text in their vicinity. Furthermore, added inscriptions of names ('graffiti') that occur in Mereruka's complex appear to 'usurp' figures within the relief scenes in order to embody, or determine, the added name; I have made this observation in an earlier study of the chapel of Kagemni (Hamilton 2016), and consider the corpus from Mereruka's complex in Chapter 4 (section 4.5). Whether inscribed in its hieroglyphic-sign form or composed as the ideograph in the wider pictorial scene, the determinative seems to have been an important lexical element in the orthography of an ancient Egyptian name in its written or inscribed form. A major problem for onomastic study in Egyptology is that in a lexicon of names or determinatives, in which the hieroglyphic signs are decontextualized, the 'web of relations' (McDonald 2014, 518) between hieroglyphic signs, pictorial relief, and architecture, and the interplay between all three—essential to *Weltreferenz*—is lost.

2.2.4 Peircean Semiotics in Egyptology

The notion that Assmann's concept of *Weltreferenz* can be connected with the anthropological usage of 'indexicality' is already obliquely indicated in his work, in which he (1994, 17) describes 'language reference' in ancient Egyptian language, and how this uniquely referenced the world in its iconicity and in the materiality of its signs. I argue that a stronger connection can be drawn between Assmann's notion of *Weltreferenz* and theoretical approaches to indexicality, variously drawn from material culture studies and linguistic anthropology, in order to hypothesise the multiplicity of meanings which can be deduced in ancient Egyptian personal names, specifically within a monumental, inscriptional context. What these anthropological applications of Peirce's theories add to Assmann's concept of *Weltreferenz* is a consistent, etic vocabulary for describing the ways in which ancient Egyptian language (especially in its inscribed form) 'pointed to' the wider world in which it existed. Moreover, while Assmann does not himself refer to Peirce, Jakobson has been

noted as an influence in Assmann's work (such as 1983; 1990; 1996a; 1996b), and Peirce was almost certainly an important influence in Jakobson's own work (Preucel 2006, 63).

Indexicality concerns the way in which the socio-cultural world is described, evaluated, and reproduced in language, and 'indexes' are signs that have some kind of existential relation with what they refer to (defined by Duranti 1997, 17); at a basic level, they indicate something. Peirce's classic example of an index was the weathervane, noted above (section 2.2.1); further examples are sundials, plumbobs, and barometers (Preucel 2010, 71–2). Material examples include marks on a surface from writing, or impressions in the sand or dirt from walking. Crucially, Peirce also observed that linguistic terms could also be indexes; for example, in English, the demonstrative pronouns ('this' and 'that'), or adverbs of time and locations ('today', 'yesterday', 'here'). Put another way: the pronoun 'I' indexically refers to the entity that is speaking; 'now' indexically refers to a time (including the moment at which the word is spoken); and 'here' indexically refers to a location (including the place where the word is spoken). Nonreferential (that is, non-direct) indexical signs point to contextually relevant social, cultural, and affective meaning. Sociolinguistic variation is an example of nonreferential indexicality (Koven 2007, 13; cf. Silverstein 1998); that is, a language being able to say the same thing differentially across a community. In such a situation, the variants may become a nonreferential index of social context and speaker identity, for example. Indexes can also share both forms simultaneously. An example from French is the use of the second-person pronouns *tu* or *vous*, which work both referentially and nonreferentially. That is, they simultaneously refer indexically to a specific addressee, as well as potentially nonreferentially indexing something about the relationship between participants, participants' respective identities, and their affective stances toward each other (described in Koven 2007, 13–14). These notions are closely tied to spoken language, which cannot be studied for ancient Egyptian in the same ethnographic manner as employed in linguistic anthropology. Phonological studies that draw on comparative methods in Afroasiatic linguistics provide some theorised indications of the 'dialectal landscape' (such as Peust 1999; Gundacker 2017; 2018; Cooper *forthcoming*); however, the fact that

'higher' and 'lower' registers of speech (*diaglossia*) may have existed can be inferred from literary and bilingual texts of the 2nd–1st Millennium BCE (Jansen-Winkeln 1995; Loprieno 1996). However, within the ancient Egyptian script nonreferential indexes of social context and identity in names could include the presence or absence of determinatives, and the potential for names (as noun and verbal phrases) to express real or desired relationships with other people or divine beings.

Peirce's ideas of referential and nonreferential indexes were significantly developed by linguistic anthropologist Michael Silverstein, between the 1970s and 1990s. In particular, rather than imposing a Saussurean binary on indexes—that is, posing reference is an essential communicative function of language, with other nonreferential functions occupying a lesser status—Silverstein sought a holistic meaning of linguistic signs in terms of all of their communicative functions, drawing upon both Peirce and Jakobson (for example Silverstein 1976; overview: Duranti 1997, 17–20). Preucel (2010, 73f.) notes that Silverstein's (1985) analysis of the indexical modes that link speech to social life was a particular turning point in North American linguistic anthropology. In particular, Silverstein's work foregrounded the deferential indexes in language which signal inequalities in social class, age, gender, which have been central to anthropological and cross-cultural studies of names and naming practices in anthropology (cf. vom Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006b; overview: Bramwell 2016). Linguistic anthropologist Alessandro Duranti (1997, 21) summarises:

> The social and cultural connection of an individual, or group of people, through language to a larger world, whether real or imaginary, is partly produced through the ability of words to do things—their performative power, which is, in turn, partly possible thanks to their ability to point to something beyond themselves—through their indexical properties.

Generally speaking, personal names are indexical because they refer to a name-bearer's personal, temporal, spatial, and social context or 'deixis' (Agyekum 2006, 212). To say that a word, such as a name, is indexically related to objects, or people, or reality of the world—or a combination of the three—implies that names do more than 'mere identification' (Duranti 1997, 19).

Ancient Egyptian names commonly refer to personal and social deixis (for example, metronyms or patronyms); temporal deixis, such as names that situate the name-bearer in a given time or allude to a specific event (for example, basilophorous names), although this was not always contemporaneous to that event; and spatial or regional deixis (including ethnonyms, some theophoric names, and locality-specific names); indeed, they can potentially refer to all of these things at once (an overview of name-types is Vittmann 2013a). As analysed in Chapter 4 (section 4.4.2), the name of Princess Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, Mereruka's wife, includes the mammonymic Zeshzeshet (for her grandmother, Queen Zeshzeshet), and a complex sentence-name which pronounces her metaphorically as being born 'of the body of Horus' (in other words, the king). Thus, the *Weltreferenz* of Watetkhethor's name situates her socially and temporally within the Memphite royal court of the 6th Dynasty and alludes both directly and indirectly to her royal ancestry—a fitting example of how one individual becomes 'entangled—through the name—in the life history of others' (vom Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006b, 3).

However, personal names are only one dimension of indexicality; a much wider range of designating devices, including titles, kinship terms, and pictorial representations of a person, contributed to the construction and projection of the 'self' in ancient Egyptian visual and textual culture (overview: Meskell 2004b, 57–93). While this thesis does not attempt to analyse all designating devices within the complex (which would be closer to a prosopography), the referential and nonreferential indexes contained within inscribed names must be carefully considered alongside the textual and pictorial content in which they are situated, as well as the modes of their inscription; moreover, kinship, where it is expressed, as well as titles, are included in the catalogue of named individuals in Mereruka's complex in the appendix.

One important concern in drawing upon linguistic anthropological theory for a study of ancient Egyptian language is that its proponents almost entirely work with spoken languages as case-studies; however, mixed models of linguistic anthropological theory, including Peircean semiotics, have been successfully applied to pre- and post-conquest Mesoamerican languages (such

as Hanks 1999, 2010), which share a similar level of iconicity and 'pictorialness' to ancient Egyptian language (on pictorialism: Liebsohn 1994, 1995; on embodied signs: Monaghan 1990; 1994). In comparative treatments of Mayan and Egyptian hieroglyphs (such as Baines 1989, 2004; Mora-Marín 2008; Beaux 2009c), the Saussurean notion of a natural and exclusive connection between writing and speech has been re-evaluated to propose, instead, a co-evolutionary model of writing in which phonetic and pictorial systems were developmentally equivalent (cf. Boone 2009; Boone 1994). The comparison between these 'hieroglyphic domains', to borrow from the title of a recent workshop on this subject,[7] in addition to a comparison of methods employed to study them, produces strong parallels (Baines 2019).

A final note in this regard returns to the origin of Peirce's theories themselves and the fact that Peirce himself was particularly interested in the iconicity of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs (Kammerzell, Lapčić, and Nöth 2016). Ultimately, many of Peirce's unpublished conclusions reflect the misconceptions of Egyptian language that were prevalent at the time of his writing in 1885–1904, especially with regard to its 'primitiveness' (after Le Page Renouf 1875 and Brugsch 1891; cf. Kammerzell, Lapčić, and Nöth 2016, 488). Peirce was convinced that the vocabulary and the syntactic structure of ancient Egyptian language was more iconic than the ones of other languages—something he attributed to the 'pictorial mind' of its speakers (Kammerzell, Lapčić, and Nöth 2016, 514; cf. Nöth 1999). Yet, ironically, his writings also demonstrate a lack of interest in multi-modal text-image compositions (such as those considered in this thesis), which was also symptomatic of Egyptological studies of the time; as Kammerzell, Lapčić, and Nöth (2016, 494) note, for example:

> [Adolf] Erman's important study of the texts and images on the tomb walls of the Old Kingdom, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches* (1918), went without a single picture.

[7] 'Egyptian and Maya writing: Comparing hieroglyphic domains', University of Basel, June 9–11, 2017.

The influence of Peirce in this thesis is not direct but mediated through more current applications of Peircean semiotics to both linguistics and material culture. Yet, as demonstrated by Kammerzell, Lapčić, and Nöth (2016, 483), some of Peirce's hypotheses about iconicity and indexicality in language—and the origins of indexical words from nouns—can be traced to his own studies of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, in which he achieved a 'remarkable competence' in his own time.

2.3 SUMMARY

Polis and Rosmorduc, as quoted earlier in section 2.1.4, have posed in their work one of the major methodological problems in studies of ancient Egyptian inscriptions: how to adequately reconcile textuality and materiality in the study of ancient Egyptian language. Accordingly, this thesis proposes a method for studying the meaning in ancient Egyptian names that foregrounds the study of such meaning in relation to wider textual, visual, and material context. The wider theoretical basis of this thesis is inspired by two sources, from within and outside Egyptology. Firstly, Assmann's (1994, 18, 24–25) comments concerning the materiality and semanticity of ancient Egyptian language, which provided the nomenclature for this chapter; secondly, from the broader study of the anthropology of names and naming (such as vom Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006b; Bramwell 2009), which first introduced me to Peirce's theories from a socio-onomastic perspective. The latter receives further attention in the next chapter, which sets out the definitions of names and name-types in emic, Egyptian terms.

Materiality, as a concept that bridges numerous disciplines that investigate material culture and the historical record, naturally eludes a precise definition. However, broadly speaking, materiality can be described as a dialectic between humans and artefacts, and as a conceptual approach to the study of cultural artefacts in which their physical properties have consequences for how the object is used or experienced These artefacts have the potential to affect the social and material reality which they inhabit; the same principles can be applied to text. As demonstrated

by the growing body of literature dedicated to materiality and text in the ancient world, the material qualities of inscriptions—including their supports—can be analysed as physical media that influence, guide, or force the mode of a text's reading, interpretation, and reception. As noted by Elizabeth Frood (2006, 7), 'monumental contexts weave image, text, and architecture into complex visual, verbal, and sensory experiences'.

The section on 'semanticity', the title of which was borrowed directly from Assmann (1994), introduced approaches to materiality of text and textuality from a different perspective; namely, how ancient Egyptian language materialised important concepts through hieroglyphic signs themselves and in relation to other signs. Assmann calls the unique capacity for ancient Egyptians hieroglyphs to do this '*Weltreferenz*', a term which I propose can be aligned with Peirce's ideas about indexicality in language which have been adopted in both linguistics and material culture studies. I return to this idea explicitly again in Chapter 5 and in the final chapter I summarise how the inclusion of this aspect of linguistic theory in the study of ancient Egyptian inscribed spaces is productive, especially for socio-onomastics. Determinatives are one sign-category which has been extensively studied in this regard, and the critical reviews of determinative and 'classifier' studies in Egyptology have provided an important guide for how to approach an analysis of signs and their meanings in context.

CHAPTER 3

DEFINING AN ANCIENT CONCEPT: UNDERSTANDING THE *RN*

> The Egyptian theory of the name was based on the principle that an essential relationship existed between the name and the named
>
> Assmann (2001, 83).

Chapter 3 sets out the definitions for ancient Egyptian names and name-types used in this thesis. The first section (3.1) provides a brief introduction to names as a linguistic category, and Egyptological literature concerning names (section 3.2). Section 3.3 attempts to provide a definition of the name (*rn*) according to ancient Egyptian sources. I focus on how the name may have related to other aspects of the self (particularly the physical body and the *kꜣ*), and the importance of the name being remembered through speech and writing. This is followed by a discussion of the evidence for naming practices that survives from Pharaonic Egypt (section 3.3). Largely, such evidence falls outside the Old Kingdom, and the methodological difficulties posed by using the names themselves as a source for naming rituals is discussed. This chapter also outlines name types attested in the Old Kingdom (section 3.5) broadly divided into 'major' and 'minor' names, according to the emic Egyptian terminology for names, as well as their inscribed use in monuments. Royal names are treated briefly at the end of this chapter (section 3.6), in order to understand how decorum concerning the king's name may have affected how basilophoric names were given and then later inscribed. The two major research questions that underlie this chapter are: what was the name, and why was it important? In light of this discussion, the following chapter will move this discussion to the major case-study for this thesis, in order to answer the question: how was the importance of the name materialised in an ancient Egyptian monument?

3.1 What is a name?

Personal names (anthroponyms) are proper nouns given to denote a unique referent (i.e., a person or thing), and are distinct from other types of proper nouns, such as place names (toponyms) (van Langendonck 2007, 184–6; cf. Anderson 2007, 3). The study of human personal names is a branch of onomastics called anthroponymy, which can encompass both linguistic study of names as lexical items and the socio-culturally oriented study of purpose and meaning in names. Onomastics, as Byzantine historian Denis Feissel (2012, 5) observes, is a 'paradigm case of the convergence of disciplines, where the history of language meets social history'. A socio-onomastic study of personal names adheres to the premise that language is a powerful tool with which a society's worldview can be understood. In order to better define the etic parameters within which emic conceptions of names in ancient Egyptian can be understood, it is useful initially to outline the tenets that underpin contemporary thought regarding personal names and whether or not they mean anything. Willy van Langendonck's (2007) description of linguistic meaning in names, described below, is helpful for providing this overview in part, while other branches of linguistic and anthropological theory, already introduced in Chapter 2, are also employed in order to assess the meaning of personal names which arise from the iconicity of ancient Egyptian language.

Farhang Zabeeh (1968, 1) begins his enquiry into the semantics and pragmatics of names with the remark that 'poets, magicians, linguists, and logicians have long been fascinated, puzzled and angered by the protean functions of proper names'. However, van Langendonck (2007, 2–4), in his seminal study of the theory and typology of proper names, observes that theoretical linguists have only recently turned their attention to proper names; for a long time, names were often treated as the 'poor cousin of other grammatical categories' (van Langendonck 2007, 2). It is a long-standing position in Western philosophy of language that proper names have no descriptive meaning but only a lexical meaning—or put another way, names do not reveal any aspects of a name-bearer's character. John Stuart Mill's (2002 [1843]) famous essay *A System of Logic* is an

epitome of this position: names 'denote the individuals who are called by them, but they do not indicate or imply [i.e. connote] any attributes as belonging to these individuals' (2002 [1843], 20). In philosophy, this is now known as the non-descriptivist position. There is still popular support for Mill's thesis in philosophy of language and linguistics (such as Saul Kripke; overview Anderson 2004, 435), and responses to Mill continued long after his death in 1873, including from Sir Alan Gardiner in his essay, *Theory of Proper Names* (1954). Comparatively, Friedrich Gottlob Frege (1892; cf. in English: 1949) argued that proper names have both reference ('Bedeutung') and meaning ('Sinn'): names have the function of *reference* and point to an object, and it is linguistic *context* that gives them meaning. In philosophy, this is now called the descriptivist position, which was developed further by Bertrand Russell, among others (overview: van Langendonck 2007, especially §3.2.1). An important response to both strands of philosophical debate concerning names, and from a linguistic point of view, is provided by van Langendonck (2007) in his seminal work in the field of onomastics, introduced above. Van Langendonck distinguishes four modes of meaning applicable to proper names:

1. categorical meaning (§3.3.2), referring to the basic lexical content of the name ('word sense' in van Langendonck 2007, 22);
2. associative meaning (§3.3.3), pertaining to the subjective and intersubjective descriptions (or connotations) of the words in a name;
3. affective meaning (§3.3.4), especially in expressive alternatives of a name-form (such as diminutives and nicknames);
4. and grammatical meaning (§3.3.5), pertaining to categories displayed by names (such as number or gender).

Furthermore, contemporary scholarship on personal names in other disciplines, especially in sociology (Finch 2008; Pilcher 2015) and anthropology (such as in vom Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006b) also asserts the position that personal names have both denotative and connotative meaning, and that the rites associated with name-giving (at birth, or later in life) further imbue personal names with meaning. The evidence of naming rites in ancient Egypt is discussed below (section 3.4). Names may be governed by grammar and cannot 'deny their lexical origins'

(Nicholaisen 1978, 40, 42), but they also exist as a part of language 'that is made meaningful in a social world' (vom Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006a, 8).

The question 'do names mean anything?' is not a modern one, and contemporary Western philosophy has drawn primarily on ancient Greek thought to demonstrate this. As noted by Gardiner (1954), in the second century BCE, Dionysius Thrax, author of the earliest treatise on Greek grammar, Τέχνη Γραμματική ('The Art of Grammar'), argued that a name (ὄνομα)[8] was a,

> declinable part of speech signifying a body or activity—a body like 'stone' and an activity like 'education'—and may be used both commonly and personally: commonly (κοινῶς) like 'man', or 'horse', and personally (ἰδίως) like 'Socrates'.
>
> (§12–13, trans. Gardiner 1954, 5)

Furthermore, he argued that a principal or main name (κύριον) was one that signifies individual being (ἡ ἰδία οὐσία). It is from ὄνομα κύριον (*nomen proprium* in Latin) that the term 'proper name' has come into English, thus stressing the connection between name and being in its etymology (see overview in Gardiner 1954, 4–5; more recently: van Langendonck 2007, 17–19). A further example from the Classical world comes from the fifth century BCE Plato's *Cratylus* (concerning names, specifically: Barney 2001), in which Socrates' dialogues interrogate the criteria that determine an object's name: do words, such as names, have an intrinsic relation to the things they signify? A significant point that Socrates makes (*Cratylus* 435d) is that that the power (δύναμις) of a name is determined by how successfully it separates the being of its object by descriptive means; names signify by description (as a painted portrait does visually), imitating the being of the object to which they are given; naming is the art (τέχνη) of imitation (*Cratylus* 423b–424d).

Plato's theory of names in *Cratylus* is often considered, at least in contemporary Western philosophy, to be the historical beginning of such questioning (see for example Harris 1990, 8); however, the dialogue is comparable in its philosophical ideas to the 'right use of names' (*zheng*

[8] Dionysius Thrax's usage of ὄνομα had the English sense of both proper noun and personal name (cf. Gardiner 1954, 5).

ming) in the Confucian *Xunzi* (c. 310–210 BCE) (comparison made by Yu 2002; cf. Goldin 2018), and the theory of names in classical Chinese philosophy of language, attested from the fifth century BCE onwards. It is unfortunate that contemporary philosophical work regarding names—especially whether names denote (i.e., identify) and connote (i.e., contain meaning) further information about the name-bearer—has tended towards arguments of universalism, but draws often exclusively from European and Anglo-American linguistic tradition, while excluding comparative data from the wider ancient and modern world (cf. Dussel 2009, 507–10). In sum, the question 'do names mean anything?' is one that requires particular attention to language in its socio-cultural context; as I develop in the course of this thesis, in the case of ancient Egyptian names the answer is clearly in the affirmative. A further question of a socio-historical nature should be also added: 'if so, to whom?' Friedrich Junge (1984) observed that ancient Egyptians viewed the relationship between the name and the entity it denoted as non-arbitrary. Assmann (2001, 83), quoted in the opening of this chapter, has expressed this in another way, by stating that an essential relationship existed between the name and the named: 'the concept of the name thus included what we understand by "predicate"' (cf. Lyons 1997, 147, on predication in names).

3.2 Egyptological literature on Old Kingdom names

The most widely consulted lexicon for ancient Egyptian personal names of the Pharaonic era is Hermann Ranke's *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* (hereafter, PN I–III: 1937–52). Ranke described the changing patterns of ancient Egyptian name-types over time as being 'like art' (PN II, 228). In particular, Ranke observed that Old Kingdom personal names exhibit a distinctive character compared with the later periods, coinciding with the emergence and development of Egyptian written language (PN II, 228):

> das Auftreten der Schrift und mit ihm die erste Überlieferung von Namen ziemlich genau mit dem Anfang des Alten Reiches zusammenfällt.

The challenge of studying Old Kingdom names, to be stressed at the outset, is that the sources of personal names are largely restricted to royal and elite funerary cemeteries of Saqqara and Giza, and the provincial elite cemeteries of Middle and Upper Egyptian settlements:

> Es sind also die Bewohner der alten Reichshauptstadt Memphis und ihrer Umgebung, vor allem auch der Pyramidenstädte der Könige der 4. bis 6. Dynastie, von deren Namen wir wirklich reichere Kunde haben.
>
> (PN II, 228)

The local traditions of Saqqara and Giza are overwhelmingly represented in current onomastic data (discussed also by Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 33–44). Meanwhile, names from numerous settlements known to be of major importance during the Old Kingdom, such as the Delta sites of Sais and Buto, as well as the names of people who were not afforded burials in major cemeteries, remain unknown.

A number of major onomastic studies predate Ranke's PN, such as Jens Lieblein's series *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques* (1871–92), which is no longer a standard reference but remains noteworthy, methodologically, as it situated names within their geographic and prosopographical context. Ranke's volume has remained the standard reference work to the current day, supplemented periodically through articles such as those by Henry Fischer (1979; 1980) and Michelle Thirion (between 1979–2005; index: Backes 2002), and by major onomastic studies of specific periods of Pharaonic history (Middle Kingdom: Rosati Costellucci 1980, Vernus 1986; Late Period: de Meulenaere 1966), or in particular ancient Egyptian scripts (Demotic: Lüddeckens et al. 1985–2000). A number of synthetic discussions of names and naming practices cover the whole of the Pharaonic Period (Vernus 1982; Quaegebeur 1995; Doxey 2001; Vittmann 2013a, 2013b).

The structure of Ranke's work has also become a template for later Egyptological onomastic lexicons. The first volume of PN forms the primary lexicon, while subsequent volumes comprise the study of their form and meaning (PN II), and names are listed 'alphabetically' according to the first and second lexical elements (PN III). The discussion of names in PN II, in

which Old Kingdom names receive some attention, is divided into three major sections: the form and content of names (sections 1–2: 'Form und Inhalt der Namen'), including detailed discussions of grammar which takes up most of the volume, and their history (section 3: 'Geschichte der Namen').

The recent major work on Old Kingdom onomastics is Katrin Scheele-Schweitzer's *Die Personennamen des Alten Reiches* (2014), which includes a discussion of the grammar and socio-cultural aspects of Old Kingdom personal names, a survey of name-types attested for the Old Kingdom, and an updated lexicon of personal names attested in Old Kingdom sources (important reviews: Gundacker 2016, 2015; Gourdon 2017a). The latter is a significant addition to Ranke's PN and to studies of Old Kingdom names published during the twentieth century (including: Hoffmann 1915; Junker 1928, 59–64; Helck 1954, Edel 1960; Fischer 1974a, 1974b, 1989, 1991). Scheele-Schweitzer follows a similar organisation to Ranke in her volume, although one major difference is that her vocabulary for name-types is influenced by more contemporary, and universalist, categories employed in European onomastic studies (esp. §2.8 *Namengebung – ungebundene vs. gebundene*). In particular, Wilfried Seibicke's *Typologie und Benennungssysteme* (1996) is heavily referenced in these sections. One issue with Scheele-Schweitzer's reliance on a modern, Eurocentric typology of names is that she creates new categories of Old Kingdom name-types that are not well supported by existing evidence or are wholly inappropriate for ancient Egyptian names. A particularly notable example is 'Hagiologische Namensgebung' (§2.8.2.2 in Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 28), drawn from Seibicke's (1996, 1208) discussion of Catholic naming traditions relating to the feast-days of saints. The two names that Scheele-Schweitzer highlights (seemingly given to children born near the occasion of *sed*-festivals and monthly festivals) probably have more in common with other basilophoric and theophoric names of the Old Kingdom, and should not be uncritically treated as evidence for 'Gottesnähe' (Assmann 1984, 9–21) or 'closeness to a deity'—a concept that is poorly understood for the Old Kingdom especially (discussions of 'personal piety' include: Bussmann 2017; Baines 2017, 1991, 1987; Luiselli 2011).

The primary sources consulted by Scheele-Schweitzer (2014, 15–17) for her database are listed in the early pages of the volume, but a close study of names occurring within a single site, like that undertaken in this thesis, demonstrates that the lexicon is not exhaustive. For example, and specifically concerning names in this thesis, it is worth noting that while Scheele-Schweitzer's lexicon was published in 2014, the work is based on her doctoral thesis completed in 2006 and thus her data excludes the ACE publications from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery that came out after that date, primarily Mereruka's and Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapels. At least in the case of the case of Mereruka's chapel, this had been published by Duell (1938), and so the omissions are only minor as far as they affect references for this thesis. More problematically, as major reference work for Old Kingdom onomastics, entire sites (such as Balat) are omitted without justification, as Yannis Gourdon has noted (2017a). Moreover, the work does not include the wider indexing tools included in Ranke's PN (and other onomastic lexicons for the ancient world, mentioned below), such as a reverse index, or index of major lexemes common to names. Despite these methodological flaws, Scheele-Schweitzer's work has provided an important dataset for subsequent studies of Old Kingdom onomastics especially from a socio-historical perspective, such as the recent studies by Christina Geisen (2017) on basilophoric names of the late Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom, or Marie Peterková Hlouchová (2016) on theophoric names relating to solar deities.

Prior to the publication of Scheele-Schweitzer's study, Yannis Gourdon created an online database of personal names for the Old Kingdom (discussed in Gourdon 2013, Gourdon 2011): *Anthroponymes et Généalogies de l'Égypte Ancienne* (AGÉA).[9] Like Scheele-Schweitzer, this project grew out of Gourdon's (2007) doctoral thesis on anthroponyms of the 3rd Millennium BCE. One major difference between these studies is that Gourdon sought to index names as well as individual name-bearers—the latter being a powerful tool for assessing names within specific localities, or within

[9] *Anthroponymes et Généalogies de l'Égypte Ancienne* https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/ (accessed 4 October 2019).

specific communities and family groups. The database remains live courtesy of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO), but unfortunately is no longer actively updated. In addition to the AGÉA database, Gourdon has published extensively on the socio-historical aspects of Old Kingdom personal names, examining them in terms of personal religion (Gourdon 2017b, 2016a, 2006a), and their display of royal ideology (Gourdon 2011, 2006b). He has also assessed methodological approaches to onomastics (Gourdon 2016b), which have provided an important influence in the context-centred approach adopted in this thesis. Ultimately, a digital format for a lexicon of names in Pharaonic Egypt to supplement the print format, as has been undertaken in recent years for the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (LGPN),[10] would make a welcome addition to the field of onomastics in Egyptology. Moreover, a tool for searching names by lexeme and morpheme, as has been implemented in *Trismegistos*, a portal of papyrological and epigraphic sources primarily from Egypt and the Nile valley (800 BCE–80 CE), would improve the precision with which this onomastic data could be analysed (cf. Broux 2017, 2015a).

3.3 DEFINING THE *RN*

The Egyptian word for a name was ***rn*** (*Wb.* II, 425–428; *TLA* lemma no. 94700), which had the wide semantic sense of both 'name' for individuals, places, and groups, as well as their 'reputation' (cf. Johnson 2001). The phonetic spelling of ***rn*** () without a determinative was consistent until the 18th Dynasty, after which it was more usual to write ***rn*** with the determinative [Gardiner A2] (Vittmann 2013b, 1), which reinforces the connection of this lexeme to speech (cf. Ritner 1993, 227–33), and the mouth as being a container for the name (Nyord 2009, 398); the latter point is discussed in more detail below (section 3.2.3).

As stated in Chapter 2, ancient Egyptian names existed in multiple linguistic contexts, including a social, spoken context, as well as a display-oriented inscriptional context. This opens

[10] *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names,* http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk (accessed 4 October 2019).

up a series of different problems concerning an attempt to understanding the name in ancient Egyptian terms. One problem with defining how ancient Egyptians perceived their names is that we have very limited evidence for how names were spoken in a social sense; at a more literal level, phonological studies of toponyms and theonyms of the Old Kingdom (such as Gundacker 2017; 2018) have attempted to understand the 'dialectal landscape' of names of this period (among others), although these have not been applied to personal names in any systematic way. Inscriptional evidence, especially in the Old Kingdom, is further restricted to that most often originating from funerary contexts; papyrus archives (such as from Abusir and Wadi el-Jarf) have yet to be studied extensively for their onomastics, although data from the former are included in Scheele-Schweitzer's lexicon. Funerary monuments are thus the major source of names in inscriptions from the Old Kingdom, and the fullness of this record depends on what role a name-bearer played in relation to these monuments: were they the owner and primary subject? Or were they a minor figure, such as a dependent (who may remain nameless in this specific context)? It is possible that an individual could be attested in one monument as a minor figure, but buried (and named) elsewhere, an example being Nedjemempet Tit, Mereruka's mother (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.5). Yet, even with a high degree of certainty, it is problematic to assume that same-named individuals within a cemetery were the same person (Harpur 1987, 13–20).

Funerary monuments provide monumental 'snapshots', highly fictionalised (cf. Frood 2007, 6), of the lifetimes of the people commemorated in them, as well as archaeologically representing a small percentage of the proposed population of Egypt at the time. Thus, some questions will necessarily remain unanswered: did every Egyptian have more than one name? Were some names prevalent in some social settings over others (such as, in the house vs. in the royal court)? How were basilophoric names enunciated, and were they allowed to be enunciated in the presence of the king? Names in their inscribed form often include lexical elements that were unvocalised (cf. McDonald 2014, 514) and without phonetic values, such as the cartouche enclosing the phonetic signs of the king's name, or the determinative, which could take the form of 

[Gardiner A50] and its graphemic variants for men and women; potentially, the name being spoken may have been accompanied by a gesture of respect that corresponded to the determinative in order to show respect.[11] Although we cannot fully model the spoken life of the name, the inscriptional context nonetheless allows a narrower range of possibilities for exploring the meaning of names. This is discussed further in section 3.2.1, below. As summarised by Baines (2008, 99), the signs of the hieroglyphic script, as a form of writing, were closely related to language and its prime medium of sound, but they are also representational, and meaning was enhanced through the interplay of script and pictorial form; moreover, iconicity was especially prevalent in written forms in which meanings very specific to the writing (and its context) were possible, independent of spoken language (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.2). The following sections will define the name through the various relationships that it held with other aspects of the self, as well as the importance placed on speaking and inscribing the name.

3.3.1 Name and image; name and body

During the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom, the pictorial representation of a person—such as in statuary or in tomb relief—could be accompanied by the inscribed name, together with titles or situationally-determined epithets (Fischer 1973). Images and inscriptions were composed 'with a logic that not only affect[ed] the texts of a single structure but also affect[ed] subordinate monuments in the vicinity of that structure' (Fischer 1976a, 31; cf. Schäfer 1974, 37). Pictorial representation and writing formed a unity, which Fischer (1976a, 3) described as a 'complementary relationship between the smaller hieroglyphs, which supply the phonetic component, and the accompanying larger figures, which supply the ideographic component'. A tomb's composition, in terms of relief and internal structure, is presumed to have been variable according to the choices of the tomb-owner (Staring 2015), and yet also appears to have adhered more generally to an established model for Old Kingdom tomb construction and decoration (Chauvet 2007, 44;

[11] I thank Angela McDonald for this suggestion.

Fitzenreiter 2001). One lens through which this can be viewed is decorum, which is theorised by Baines (such as 1990; 2007) as being the set of practices in ancient Egyptian artistic production that defined what could be represented pictorially and in writing, and in which context and in what form. In the context of the construction of an Old Kingdom tomb, decorum was a means through which tomb-owners negotiated relations among themselves, and between themselves and the royal and divine spheres (Baines 2007, 17). The relationship between inscribed name and pictorial representation was semantically complex and evolved in the wider changes that occurred in representational art of the late Old Kingdom—here, 'representational' means that its content had an identity. Statuary is one form of representation from the mid to late Old Kingdom within which these changes can be assessed, before turning to broader inscriptional practices.

Before the 5th Dynasty, 'private' statuary was restricted to a very small proportion of the most privileged class of Egyptians and, for the most part, was the purview of the royal family (Assmann 1996a, 65). After the 5th Dynasty, the production of private statuary increased by, 'some five to ten thousand percent' (Assmann 1996a, 65; cf. Wildung in Altenmüller and Hornbostel 1982, 8–10); this increase in production goes some way to explain the standardisation of representation of the human form. Inscriptions accompanying the image were regarded as a sufficient means of individuation, and thus, to a certain extent, physiognomic individuation ('portraiture') was largely dispensed with (Assmann 1996a, 65–6). The act of inscribing the name provided the image with a specific and fixed referent, and the whole object served as a device for the preservation of the self. As Assmann (1996a, 56) has stressed, the significance of this is rooted in the ancient Egyptian desire 'for overcoming death and transience'. The importance of a statue being named (or not named) has also been discussed by Roth (2002, 108–9, 116–17), who has observed that serdab statues of the 5th and 6th Dynasties were frequently, but not always, left uninscribed, compared to other statues of the tomb owner found elsewhere in a chapel (important further studies: Fitzenreiter 2006, 2001a). The reasons for this are presumed to be twofold: firstly, Roth (2002, 108) argues that the rituals accompanying the deposition of the statues were sufficient

to imbue the serdab statue with an identity (cf. Fitzenreiter 2006, 234, 542–3 and n. 1079). Secondly, the serdab statues did not have the function of publicly memorialising the tomb owner which was provided elsewhere in the chapel—significantly, the darkness of the serdab would have prohibited any inscription being read. It was, Roth (2002, 108) argues, this memorial function alongside other mutable, oral rituals that made the inscription of a name on the chapel statue so essential.

These examples from statues show that the function and architectural (that is, material) setting affected who was and was not named in representational art of the Old Kingdom. In terms of which individuals were named in tomb scenes, a distinction was made between primary figures (the tomb-owner and their family) and non-primary figures (offering bearers, workers); this was closely related to wider function of the tomb, centred on the revivification of its owner:

> 'Body' and 'sign', *soma* and *sema,* can be regarded as the two foci on which the tomb as a 'bifocal' structure is centred… every tomb fulfils the double and even antagonistic function of hiding the body (the corpse) and of showing a sign of the deceased within the world of the living.
>
> (Assmann 1996a, 61).

In the Old Kingdom, the performance of funerary cult by the living was an important part of the process by which the deceased gained their 'ability to function' (*ꜣḫ ꜥpr* or *ꜣḫ ỉkr*: Chauvet 2015, 73). It was imperative that the name was fixed to the correct referent (in this case, the deceased), and that their name above others was emphasised in both writing and speech in order for revivification to be successful. In Memphite tombs of the late Old Kingdom, including the major tombs of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (Kagemni, Ankhmahor, Nefereseshemre, and Nikauizezi), non-primary figures in relief were frequently left unnamed in the original tomb decoration and thus the named figure(s) stood apart from the much more anonymous figures populating the rest of the programme. Even within Mereruka's complex, this phenomenon can be observed, where no figures in Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's reliefs were named in the original decoration, except for her son and daughter; other names which occur were added later (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.5).

In contrast, Deborah Vischak (2014, 205–15; 2007) has observed in the 6th Dynasty tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa that connectedness between tomb-owner and community was purposefully highlighted in the artistic programme there, and the practice of naming many non-primary (subsidiary) figures was a deliberate strategy. Eighty-two percent of subsidiary figures in the decorative programmes studied by Vischak were named, totaling 260 named figures with titles (Vischak 2014, 205). In her words (2014, 21), this transformed the program 'from *a* group of people to *this* group of people' (emphasis in original). The extent and nature of these relationships between tomb-owner and community are corroborated in evidence from outside the tomb-programmes themselves, and the numerous subsidiary burials and inscribed votive depositions found within the tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa, which were not studied by Vischak (Edel 1966, 48–55; Seidlmayer 2006), provide detailed insight into the extended households of these high officials. These are dense webs of relations, in which included clients, eminent local personalities and family spanning four generations are attested in the votive deposits in these tombs (Moreno Garcia 2010, 7–10; Höveler-Müller 2006). As I have argued for the tomb of Kagemni (Hamilton 2014, 2016; cf. Pieke 2018), and for Mereruka in this thesis, the distinct practice of individuals adding personal names to the decorative programmes of Memphite Old Kingdom tombs, as a type of secondary inscription or 'graffito', may be related to such expressions of individual and community identity. While the connection between representation and referent was intentional and part of the original decoration of the Qubbet el-Hawa tombs, added inscriptions and graffiti in Memphite tombs may have been motivated by the same concerns, creating a metaphoric relationship between the name and the human figure to whom it became attached. I consider the possibility of similar relationships between name and figure in Mereruka's complex in Chapter 4 (section 4.5).

Further evidence of this relationship between name and body is found within the orthography of inscribed names themselves. It was characteristic of Old Kingdom inscriptions to omit the determinative accompanying the name if accompanied by a representation of the person, as in the case of statue or a figure in a tomb scene (first noted in Firth and Gunn [1926], 171 n. 2;

cf. Ranke PN II, 18 n. 19). Whereas in papyri and rock inscriptions,  [Gardiner A1] or [Gardiner B1] were common (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 149). In the classic study on this topic, Henry George Fischer (1973, 7) termed the existence of a determinative that occurred on a statue or in texts accompanying relief 'redundant', if these 'ideographs' were supplied by the accompanying representations in statuary or relief (cf. Tefnin 1984, 67; te Velde 1988, 177f.). Despite the pejorative connotations of this term, Fischer convincingly demonstrated that far from being 'redundant' in the sense of being superfluous, determinatives were frequently added to women's names on monuments (especially statues), where their referent occupied a secondary role to the primary figure. The determinative was thus a crucial visual and lexical element of the name being correctly embodied For the most part, this study is left undiscussed in more recent work on determinatives and the so-called pictorial tautology of 'repeater classifiers' (such as Goldwasser 2002, 15, 93–110; Goldwasser 2009, 21–2; Goldwasser and Grinevald 2012), terminology which is drawn directly from contemporary studies of classifier languages ('repeaters' in Burmese: Aikhenvald 2000, 361–2), introduced in Chapter 2 (section 2.2.3).

Goldwasser's application of this classificatory system to ancient Egyptian language, especially nouns, does not neatly account for how determinatives appear to have been used for personal names. The variation of determinatives attached to names could fall under multiple categories, including 'taxonomic' (inclusion within the category HUMAN; cf. Goldwasser 2009, 27), 'schematic' (in which a metonymic relationship is expressed as the name is fixed to a person), and 'metaphorical' (in which attributes of the determinative are transferred to the name); indeed, names would appear to fall into some or all of these categories at once, depending on context. The various graphemes or ideographic representations associated with names could determine an entire verbal or nominal phrase formulating the name, which is unique cross-linguistically (Cooper *forthcoming*; cf. 2015, 9–11); simultaneously, they could have specific semantic relationships with individual signs within that name, in the manner of a visual pun (cf. Morenz 2008), as I propose for particular examples in the exterior inscriptions from Mereruka's and Khentika Ikhekhi's complexes (cf.

Chapter 4, section 4.2.3.1). Moreover, as I argue in Chapter 4 (section 4.5.4), concerning added inscriptions, later visitors to Mereruka's tomb may have deliberately written their name next to particular human figures in the reliefs (including for playful reasons), which widens the possibilities of how existing visual and architectural features may have affected where and how these names were written. Fischer's emphasis on wider inscriptional and architectural context governing the use of determinatives in Old Kingdom names aligns well with similar observations made by McDonald (such as 2002; 2009, 357) and Meeks (2015, 63f.) concerning the significance of context in the choice and variation in determinative use and variation.

In the Old Kingdom, the available evidence from non-royal contexts for understanding the relationship between name – image – body is particularly restricted to representational art. The Pyramid Texts, which are contemporaneous with the major-case study of this thesis, are concerned with the revivification of the king and should not be treated as directly informative on non-royal, and thus non-divine, humans; accordingly, I discuss them in close relation with royal names and naming practices later in this chapter (section 3.6). However, the ideas that they express concerning the relationship between the name and the body may be broadly applicable, especially as they emerge later in the Coffin Texts, dating to the late First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. This transmission between the royal and non-royal sphere, and the possibility of Pyramid Text spells having non-royal circulation (omitting specifically royal themes) before the Middle Kingdom is an area of ongoing research (such as Baines 2004; Morales 2016a, 2017; Goebs 2019). Egyptological study of the emic notions of the physical body and other abstract forces, including the name, as expressed in this corpus of funerary literature, has been undertaken by Rune Nyord (2009) and Erika Meyer-Dietrich (2006), for example; these studies provide important groundwork for the discussion provided here.

In the Coffin Texts, the *rn* was explicitly connected to the other constituent elements of a complete person in both life and the afterlife (overview: Meyer-Dietrich 2006, 185–90; cf. also

Fitzenreiter 2006, 548 n. 1109): the body (*ḫꜣt*), the limbs (*ʿwt*), the heart (*ỉb* and *ḥꜣty*), the shadow (*šwt*), and the *ꜣḫ*, *bꜣ*, and *kꜣ*, often translated variously as spirit or soul. The conceptual metaphors concerning the body have been studied extensively by Nyord (2007, 2009, 2014a), utilising cognitive linguistic theory and phenomenological anthropology (cf. review by Warburton 2011; responses by Nyord: 2012, 2014b). Specific to the relationship that the name had to the body, Nyord (2009, 71–2) has noted that the Coffin Texts contain repeated motifs of knowledge of words (including names) being contained in the heart (*ỉb*) and the belly (*ḫt*). This could be the name of the deceased themselves, or the name(s) of the beings which the deceased had to pacify or overcome in order to progress through their transformation. One example is Spell 469 (*CT* V, 398d–e), in which a group of beings is summoned '…by their names which they [the deceased] know in their *ỉb'* (Nyord 2009, 71). Another example is the name being contained in belly (*ḫt*) in Spell 411 (*CT* V, 238b–d), which has several variants: 'I will not forget this my name which is in my belly' (Coffin M23C: Nyord 2009, 71). Perhaps the exact source (*ỉb* versus *ḫt,* for example) was less significant than the general principle that name was intimately connected with the interior of one's physical body, and that it was important for the name (as a powerful and magical concept) to be contained. This has significant implications for the relationship between the name and the body in the context of the burial chamber, which I discuss later for Mereruka (section 4.1.3) and Meryteti (section 4.2.4.3). This concept also existed in royal funerary literature and examples from the Pyramid Texts are discussed in section 3.6.

In much later magical practices, mostly dating to the 1st Millennium BCE, numerous examples of ingesting the name can be found, as for example in directions to write a name in a specific substance followed by licking or swallowing it in order to internalise its power or divine force (overview: Ritner 1993, 99–110; cf. van Voss 1984, 31, 33; Kühne-Wespi 2019). The practice of specifically ingesting written script ('Schriftverinnerlichung': Kühne-Wespi 2019, 341f.) is believed to have occurred in the Pharaonic period, although none of the papyri that attest this practice date before the fourth century BCE. More broadly, these spells are associated with rituals

in which the destruction of the script is desired—not in the sense of 'attacking' the text, but as a means of physically transferring it from one form into another: from the material support into the body of the person ingesting it. As Carina Kühne-Wespi (2019, 354) suggests, 'Die Zerstörung findet lediglich auf der physischen, nicht aber auf der inhaltlich-konzeptuellen Ebene statt.' In this way, the one who ingests the script becomes an embodiment of what has been written—a literal bearer of writing ('Schriftträger': Kühne-Wespi 2019, 356). An example specific to names comes from a third century CE Greek magical handbook (PGM VII. 522–27 on P. London 121), which may have originated in Thebes:

> Write the [person's] name in myrrh ink on two male eggs. Regarding one, you are to cleanse yourself thoroughly; then lick off the name, break it and throw it away. Hold the other in your partially open right hand and show it to the sun at dawn… then speak the formula seven times, crack the egg open, and swallow its contents.
>
> (Trans. Hubert Martin Jr. in Betz 1985, 132)

As explained by Robert Ritner (1993, 103), this consumption entails the absorption of an object (including text on its material support), and the acquisition of its benefits or traits; however, it can also serve a hostile function, whereby ingesting or devouring signifies destruction—though, even here, the power of the thing destroyed may be retained. Further examples of the destruction of script for magical purposes, including execration texts of the late Old Kingdom, are discussed below (section 3.2.5).

The bond between eating and ritual swallowing in order to obtain the essence of a being or thing is attested from the Old Kingdom in the offering rituals of the Pyramid Texts, although none involve consuming the name so explicitly. The most famous expression of this general concept appears in the so-called 'Cannibal Hymn', Spells 273–4 (*PT* 393a–414c), concerned with the king's celestial ascension: 'This *N* is one who eats men and lives on the gods… this *N* eats their magic (*ḥkꜣ*), swallows their *ꜣḫ*-spirits'. The Cannibal Hymn is only found in the pyramids of Unis and Teti (in the latter it is found across two distinct spells) and it then drops out of the royal corpus (Eyre

2002, 11–24). However, elements of this ritual text resurface in the Coffin Texts in Spell 573 (such as *CT* V, 179a–180e: Goebs 2004, 169–70; cf. Goebs 2003, 29–50). Nyord (2009, 381–92) has considered the 'cannibalistic' consumption motifs in the Coffin Texts in detail and summarises that the use of this motif particularly expressed the notion that the belly was a container for magic (cf. bodily metaphors: Hermann 1954). A tentative link between the name and consumption in the Coffin Texts is the placement of one's own name in the mouth of other beings, such as in Spell 38 (*CT* I, 163a–i): 'perpetuating your name upon the earth in the mouths of the living' (Nyord 2009, 396). Here, the action precedes the name being spoken (cf. Nyord 2009, 396–9; on the mouth as a container: 206–8), the salience of which, in Old Kingdom funerary rituals, can be inferred from the captions accompanying lament scenes. One such scene from Mereruka's complex, in which Mereruka is addressed in the second person by his ***rn nfr*** (perfect name) Meri is discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.3.3). The significance of the name being remembered is discussed again below (section 3.3.3).

3.3.2 The name and the ***kꜣ***

Andrey Bolshakov (1997, 154–6) has persuasively argued that the ***rn*** and the ***kꜣ*** had a particularly close association, a notion that was fully realised during the course of the Old Kingdom. Personal names are an important linguistic source of evidence for ancient Egyptian conceptions of the ***kꜣ***, and the traditional approach has been to gather names with the lemma ***kꜣ*** (*Wb.* V, 86.10–89.11; *TLA* lemma-no. 162870) from disparate sources to demonstrate the different qualities that the ***kꜣ*** possessed (as in Schweitzer 1956; Nyord 2019), or to explain its relationship to other social processes (as in Olabarria 2018a). The following comments discuss how the more abstract notion of the ***rn*** may have been considered a life-force or substance like the ***kꜣ***, and how employing similar etic frameworks may be fruitful for understanding the ***rn***. This has obvious implications for the meaning of Mereruka's name, which are developed more fully in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.1).

The *kꜣ* is usually graphically represented as a pair of outstretched arms: 𓂓 [Gardiner D28] or 𓂝 [Gardiner D32] presumed to be in the gesture of an embrace; the latter variation is especially prevalent in titles like *ḥm-kꜣ* (on this title: Allam 1985). Occasionally, the word for *kꜣ* is also represented by 𓎛 [Gardiner V31] in the Old Kingdom, as in the name *Mrw-kꜣ=ỉ* attested in the Abusir Papyri (overview: Bolshakov 1997, 157–65). Tentatively it could be suggested that a metonymic relationship existed between 𓎛 and 𓂓, especially in names. Ursula Schweitzer (1956, 20–21) has proposed that the basket may have graphically represented offerings for the *kꜣ*, although this requires further investigation. A relationship may have existed between these signs as CONTAINER metaphors; an example of how this was mobilised in sculpture is the statue of Idu receiving offerings in his Giza tomb (G 7102) (plate 44), discussed again later in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.2.1).

The *kꜣ* is imperfectly understood by Egyptologists and many explanations of its substance have been proposed (overview: Olabarria 2018a, 94–5): the *kꜣ* as a double of the person (Bolshakov 1997), the *kꜣ* as an aspect of the self (Junge 2003), and the *kꜣ* as a life-force (Erman 1907; Frankfort 1948). Nyord (2019) proposes that the *kꜣ* should be understood as 'meta-person' or the 'condition of possibility' of a persona and he has persuasively argued that the *kꜣ* had agency. In emblematic combinations of hieroglyphs in which the *kꜣ*-sign is often found, its protective qualities are emphasised, as exemplified by the well-known Early Dynastic libation dish (MMA 19.2.16: plate 27) in which the arms of the *kꜣ* embrace an ankh (Fischer 1972). This protective quality seems also to be expressed in names such as Mereruka's, and the meaning of *mrỉ* ('to love') is especially salient in this context: for the *kꜣ* to be ascribed a capacity for expressing love may infer that it had agency in this proposed relationship between *kꜣ* and self.

Leire Olabarria (2018a, 98), who assesses the role that the *kꜣ* played in ancient Egyptian conceptions of relatedness through the anthropological lens of substance, concludes that the *kꜣ* seems to have denoted 'something—we could call it a force, a principle, a potentiality of being—

that is transferred' between people and generations. Of particular relevance to my thesis, Olabarria (2018a, 97) argues that ancient Egyptian naming practices also may have played a role in the transmission of the *kꜣ*. While these practices are mostly lost to us, it can be demonstrated with certainty that some names were passed between family members, or new names were created which honoured important members of a family or local community; these are discussed below (section 3.5.1). Olabarria argues that names may have embodied the *kꜣ* of the family, 'act[ing] as a transmissible substance that creates a common background among people' (2018a, 97). Assmann (1976, 49) described the *kꜣ* as 'der Inbegriff der Paternalität', which, in Olabarria's words (2018a, 95), is the 'substance through which reproduction of the [paternal] parental line is actualised'; however, the mechanisms for how this may have worked in ancient Egypt are unclear. Some names are mentioned by Olabarria (2018a, 97) as indirect evidence of this phenomenon, in particular those which indicate a paterno-filial relationship between a parent and their children, such as ***Kꜣ(=ỉ)-msw(=ỉ)*** ('(My) *kꜣ* is (my) children'). However, the evidence for transmission of *kꜣ* so explicitly in names for women is less well attested. She also considers funerary statements that point to a transgenerational transmission of the *kꜣ*, such as, 'so that his hand may be taken by his ancestors and by his *kꜣ*s', on the false door of Ptahhotep at Saqqara (*Urk.* I, 189.14; Olabarria 2018a, 97). This idea has particular bearing on the possible meanings of Mereruka's names, as well as members of his family.

Bolshakov (1997, 154–7) has argued that in many respects the name is similar or perhaps 'even identical' to the *kꜣ* (1997, 154). Ultimately, I am in agreement with Bolshakov's assessment of the closeness of these two concepts in ancient Egyptian thought. However, his often-cited description of the name in ancient Egypt is problematic (cf. Nyord 2019, 155f.), and his wider reasoning should be quoted in full:

> …the [ancient Egyptian] idea of the name bearing a part of its bearer's individuality and being ultimately and indissolubly tied with him, is well known in many ancient and

> primitive cultures. The Egyptians also did not treat the name as mere sound, but as an entity, a manifestation of the man.
>
> (Bolshakov 1997, 154)

This dichotomy between the 'primitiveness' of the ancient Egyptian concepts of the *kꜣ* and the *rn* and 'Western' (that is European) thought is explicit in Bolshakov's work (1997, 17, 152–4, 292–3). Particularly influenced by Victor Loret (1904), Henri Frankfort (1948), and Soviet-era work on Medieval myth and psychology (described in Bolshakov 1997, 15–21; cf. Velmezova and Valsiner 2012). Bolshakov's position echoes the tenets of early twentieth century anthropology, such as Lévy-Bruhl's *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* (1910), in which it was argued that 'primitive' peoples perceived names as concrete, real, and sacred things. Lévy-Bruhl, and earlier writers, such as Frazer (1890 [1994]), considered that the perception of names having a 'thing-like' quality was a function of primitive and non-Western thinking. In particular, Frazer utilised numerous case-studies of naming in 'primitive' cultures (including ancient Egypt) to develop a theory of names as 'taboo', drawn from the Polynesian concept of *tapu* (set apart' or 'forbidden'). The regular and powerful avoidance of certain actions (such as speaking names; cf. Storch 2011) was theorised as being a useful indication of which societal practices have increased importance:

> unable to discriminate clearly between words and things, the savage commonly fancies that the link between a name and the person or thing denominated by it is not a mere arbitrary and ideal association, but a real and substantial bond which unites the two in such a way that magic may be wrought on a man. ... Many savages at the present day regard their names as vital parts of themselves, and therefore take great pains to conceal their real names, lest these should give to evil-disposed persons a handle by which to injure their owners.
>
> (Frazer 1890 [1994], 294–95)

Earlier, Frazer remarks, specifically concerning Egyptian names:

> Every Egyptian received two names, which were known respectively as the true name and the good name, or the great name and the little name; and while the good or little name was made public, the true or great name appears to have been carefully concealed

(Frazer 1890 [1994], 199).

Anthropological writing of this period typically promoted a social-evolutionist understanding of culture: that societies exist on a continuum from primitive to advanced In such a continuum, a concrete, material-like quality to names was considered a hallmark of the naming practices of a 'primitive' society only (overview: Bramwell 2016)—a notion clearly embedded in Bolshakov's reasoning, which should be untangled from his observations on the closeness of the ***rn*** and the ***kꜣ***.

In response to work by early anthropologists, as well as the study of names in philosophy described earlier, contemporary anthropological and sociological scholarship on names and naming practices offers numerous, cross-cultural examples of the close association between names, bodies, and identity (for example: vom Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006a). A particularly powerful exploration of this is found in the work of Judith Butler (1997, 2–6, esp. 28–41), concerning the performative and embodied aspects of names and name-giving—especially the injurious action of names:

> We may think that the situation is more ordinary: certain already constituted bodily subjects happen to be called this or that. But why do the names that the subject is called appear to instil the fear of death and the question of whether or not one will survive? … If language can sustain the body, it can also threaten its existence.
>
> (Butler 1997, 5).

A recent sociological study on names is Jane Pilcher's (2015) work on the 'name–body–identity nexus', in which she argues for the fundamental importance of the body in the range of social practices through which individuals come to have, and to be identified by, names. One example which Pilcher (2015, 771–72) cites comes from the essays of Sara Ahmed (2007), a British-Australian feminist and queer theorist of Pakistani heritage, who has written about her experience of entering the United States on a British passport with a name perceived as Muslim. Drawing on Raewyn Conner's (2009) theory of 'contradictive embodiment', Pilcher explores how Ahmed's bodily self—including her name—was marked out as, 'if not potentially dangerous, then at least out of place' (Pilcher 2015, 771). Ahmed (2007, 162) recounts: 'the name Ahmed slows me down...

and the right [that is, British,] passport makes no difference if you have the wrong body or name.' Pilcher (2015, 771) argues that Ahmed's experiences demonstrate the way names, bodies, and social and civil-legal identities in the modern, Western world are intimately bound together in a manner that does not fit the model of earlier anthropological and sociological thought concerning names. Furthermore, key artefacts of legal identification (such as a passport, in Ahmed's example), can be undermined by a perceived 'contradiction' between our bodies and the names, genders, and nationalities which are stereotypically or prejudicially attached to them (Pilcher 2015, 768–71; Benson 2009; cf. Goffman 1968, 78, on 'identity documents'). The relationship between perceived or real ethnicity and names (including prejudicial renaming) in ancient Egyptian evidence does not advance the discussion here, but I broach this subject again in section 3.4.

To return to Bolshakov's work, a further connection which he makes between the ***rn*** and the ***kꜣ*** is in the orthography of personal names themselves. He argues that the determinative that accompanied a name was a 'representation, the ***kꜣ*** of the signified, while the phonetic part is its designation, its name, the ***rn***' (Bolshakov 1997, 156, cf. also comments 212–13). One problem with this hypothesis is the inconsistency with which determinatives are employed in Old Kingdom monuments, as described above (section 3.3.1), and whether a determinative (when it occurs) superseded other pictorial representations of the deceased. Another problem is presented by pictorial representations of other figures in the tomb reliefs to which names are added later: could the figure be 'usurped' in order to embody the name, and thus, in Bolshakov's scheme, become the signified ***kꜣ***? Nonetheless, Bolshakov's comments align with the broader theory of names adopted in this thesis: that multiple referents can exist in ancient Egyptian names, and that pictorial representations of the deceased (or other figures to which names are attached) must be included in the wider reading of the name. The orthography of names, and the graphic play that was employed in Egyptian monuments, may provide further evidence of the relationship that is presumed to have existed between an ancient individual and their ***kꜣ***. I consider specific examples of graphic play in Mereruka's name on the exterior reliefs of his complex in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.3.1).

3.3.3 Speaking the name

The close association between the name and the self is most clearly demonstrated in magical texts: as mentioned above, knowing and then speaking the name of a thing or being was essential in order to gain power over them. To know a person's or being's name(s) was to know their essence or being, as expressed in the Pyramid Texts, such as Spell 499: 'for *N* knows him, knows his name'. In the *Memphite Theology,* recorded on the 25th Dynasty Shabako Stone (British Museum EA 498; cf. Freed 1983, 44 fig. 18; Altenmüller 1975), the original act of creation by the primeval god himself was linked to the act of naming: he whose teeth and lips 'proclaimed the name of everything' (l. 55). In this cosmogony, Atum speaking a thing's name brought it into existence. This creative speech act is also attributed specifically to the king in a 5th Dynasty biographical inscription from the tomb of Niankhsekhemet (CG 1482; *Urk.* I, 39: 12–15):

> …because he knew… that if anything would come forth from the mouth of His Person (*ỉr ỉs pry ḫt nb m r n ḥm=f*), it would come into existence immediately exactly because the God had given to him, in the womb, the perception of reality.
>
> (Trans. following Allen 1992, 17).

Assmann (2001, 83) claims that that act of 'naming names' (in other words uttering them) was an early and direct means of establishing divine presence, playing a significant role in ancient Egyptian cult and theology in litanies and hymns; indeed, the cultic practice of speaking the name of a deity may have been the original form of hymnic praise (Assmann 2001, 84).

The most well-known mythological tale which communicates this idea is the story of the cunning of Isis and the 'secret name' of Re, preserved on papyrus fragments dating to the New Kingdom (such as P. Turin 1993: Pleyte 1869, pl. 131–3; discussion: Piantelli 1987, Ferrero 1987). In this tale, Re is afflicted with scorpion bites and Isis offered to heal Re on the condition that he revealed his true, 'secret' name: 'A man lives when one recites in his name.' The healing spell is ineffective at first, as Re gives Isis one of his other names. Eventually Re reveals his name to Isis and is cured; however, Isis' knowledge of his secret name in turn became the source of her great

magical ability. The power of the name is found in several levels in this myth (described in Sales 1987): that the enunciation of the name was required in order to benefit the person upon whom the ritual is performed; that this name is specific to a fixed referent; and that the knowledge of one's name was to also know their essence.

In earlier literature, this is attested most clearly in the Coffin Texts, in which the deceased has to overcome personified obstacles in their path by pronouncing their names as they traversed the underworld. For example, in Spell 404 (*CT* V, 189a–g), the deceased lists the secret names of the boat-parts of the ferry in the underworld:

> 'Say my name', say the mooring-post.
> "Mistress of the Two Lands in the Shrine" is your name.
> 'Say my name', says the mallet.
> "It is the Haunch of the Bull of the Wind."
> 'Say my name', say the *wedjeyt*-timbers.
> "It is *Wedjeyt*-timbers of the Divine Realm."
> 'Say my name' says the rudder.
> "It is Aker."
>
> (Trans. following Assmann 2005, 133).

This spell, which may date to the 11th Dynasty (cf. Mueller 1972), is paralleled later in Chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead, which lists the linear features of the underworld (Quirke 2003, 165–67). The dialogue continues at great length in both iterations. Assmann (2005, 133) points out that the parallel structure is significant: one by one, a list of 'this-worldly' things is produced, and a list of 'other-wordly' things is met in response—through this list of names, the two worlds are placed into a relationship with one another.

The importance of remembering the name of the deceased is also stressed in the Coffin Texts, especially Spells 410 and 411 (*CT* V, 234):

> For a man to remember his name (*sḫ3 rn=f*) in the necropolis.
> *N* says: My name has been given to me in the *pr-wr*,
> and I have remembered my name (*sḫ3.n=i rn=i*) in the *pr-nsr*

on that night of counting the years and numbering the months
in the presence of the lord of sailing.

(Trans. following Nyord 2009, 395).

One strategy for elite officials to increase the likelihood of their name being remembered was to become very accomplished in office or in battle, in order that one's name was 'advanced' (***sḫnt***) or became known (***rḫ***) by the king (for example *Urk.* IV, 1410: 4: Leprohon 2013, 5–6). In the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant (Parkinson 2012: B1, 340–1), it is said of a man who performs *ma'at*: 'His name will not be obliterated (***sḏn.tw rn=f***) on earth, for he will be remembered (***sḫȝ.tw=f***) on account of his goodness'. In his classic study concerning the remembrance of the name, Siegfried Schott (1969) drew on the autobiography of Ahmose at el-Kab for the most explicit expression of this idea, which takes the form of proverb: 'the name of valiant man in what he has done, without ever perishing in this land' (*Urk.* IV, 2: 3–4). However, it was also the duty of the family to perpetuate the name. In close connection with Ahmose's own declaration regarding his name, dedicatory inscriptions causing the names of his family 'to live' are also found in his tomb, attributed to his grandsons Pahery (such as on the east wall, in Davies 2009, fig. 4; and the north wall, in Davies 2009, fig. 9), and Heriry (such as on the west wall in Davies 2009, figs. 11–12). These inscriptions are almost certainly part of the original relief; however, the importance of establishing one's name and self in close association with a revered ancestor in a tomb space may have similarly been a concern in the Old Kingdom and manifest in graffiti and added inscriptions or secondary monuments. This is closely related to the significance of the name being inscribed as well as spoken, discussed below (section 3.3.4).

The concern that one's name is known and spoken aloud is found elsewhere in funerary inscriptions, although not stated quite so explicitly in the Old Kingdom 'appeal to the living'. The so-called vivification formula, ***sᶜnḫ rn=f*** 'who causes his name to live', is attested from the First Intermediate Period through to the New Kingdom on statues, shabtis, and in tombs and their associated monuments, including private obelisks and offering tables (Nelson-Hurst 2010; Grallert

2001). As noted by Melinda Nelson-Hurst (2010, 14), the manner of action that successfully vivified the name is not known for certain, but it almost certainly included a verbal component. For example, the 12th Dynasty stela of Intef, son of Senet, from Abydos includes the request,

> may the nobles who shall pass by speak, may they make me an *ꜣḫ*, that I may live by the breath people give; causing my name to live (*sᶜnḫ.sn rn=ỉ*) makes them gods in a potent hereafter, and the *bꜣ* is content when they make it [i.e., Intef's name] remembered.
>
> (British Museum EA 562, in Simpson 1974, pl. 12)

Such appeals to the living became highly elaborated, and the vocabulary associated with this request expanded; it was desired that the name was pronounced (*dmỉ*: Urk. IV 1626: 15, 1845: 20; see Meyer-Dietrich 2018, esp. 54–60), invoked (*nỉs*: Urk. IV 1835: 9, 1846: 15), and remembered (*sḫꜣ*: Urk. IV 1537: 2), and it can be inferred from these texts that there were multiple cultic sites (or events) at which it was desired that the deceased's name would be recited (Assmann 2005, 231). For example, the 11th Dynasty stela of Theban official Meru (Museo Egizio Turin 1447 in Klebs 1922, fig. 14) which requests that living remember (*sḫꜣ*) his name at the various Osirian festivals in Abydos.

Appeals to the living are attested from the 5th Dynasty on tomb façades, but their formulations do not foreground connection between the name being spoken and causing it to live in the same manner as the examples cited above. Instead, they imply that the name should be recited as part of the offering formula (the classic study is Saint Fare Garnot 1938; cf. overview in Müller 1975, Grallert 2001, Desclaux 2017; on the communication between living and the dead, see Moreno-García 2010). They also allude to the encounter with tomb by living people: firstly, through the phrase 'those who remain on earth who shall pass by this tomb', as found on the façade of the late 5th Dynasty tomb of Metjetji (Berlin 321900); or the 6th Dynasty lintel of Nedjemib from Saqqara (Cairo Museum CG 173; *Urk.* I, 75). Alternatively, the phrase 'O, all people who travel downstream or fare upstream' in the 6th Dynasty appeal of Pepyankh Heryib at Meir (*Urk.* I, 223:17; compare Harkhuf at Qubbet el-Hawa: *Urk.* I, 122.10), which reflects the location of this tomb high

in the escarpment of the West Bank of provincial Meir, viewable by those travelling on the Nile. Finally, the most common: 'as for any person who shall enter into my tomb', which can be restored in Mereruka's fragmentary appeal to the living on the façade of his tomb (see plate 28):[12]

[*ỉr rmṯw nb ᶜq.t(ỉ)=sn r ỉs(=ỉ)… ….n wᶜb=s*]*n* |[2]

r [*tr*] *mr wᶜb.sn r ḥwt-nṯr n(y)t nṯr wnn wḏᶜ-mdw ḥnᶜ=sn ḥr=s* |[3]

[…] *m wnwt ḫry-ḥbt ỉw(=ỉ) ỉgr ỉbz.k(ỉ)* |[4]

[*…ỉw(=ỉ) rḫ.*]*k(ỉ) ỉᶜ.t(ỉ)=f ny n nṯr ᶜ3 ỉw(=ỉ) ỉgr rḫ.k(ỉ) špss.t(ỉ)=f ny* |[5]

[*…ỉw(=ỉ) r ỉrt m ỉrỉ] m sḫt ny rdỉ(=ỉ) ḫpr ḫt nbt msḏḏ.t(ỉ)=f ḏt* |[6]

[…]*ḏd(=ỉ) nw r-ḏr rmṯw nbw ᶜq.t(ỉ)=sn r ỉz(=ỉ) pn ḏt* |[7]

[…]*m smr wᶜt(y)w špssw ḫr nzwt s*[*k*] [*ỉ*]*w(=ỉ) m sᶜḥ pn*

[As for anyone… …who shall enter into (my) tomb… not being pure] in the manner that they purify (themselves) for the temple of the god, then there shall be judgement with them concerning it…

…through the priestly duties of the lector priest. Moreover, (I) am initiated…

[…(I) know] (the rites by which) he will ascend to the Great God. Moreover, (I) know (the rites by which) he is enobled…

[…(I) shall act as someone who works] in the fields, I shall never allow anything that he hates to occur, forever.

[…] (I) say this to all people who shall enter this (my) tomb, forever.

[…whether they are] sole companions, who are noble before the king, for (I) am this (blessed) dignitary.

A further example from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, roughly contemporaneous with Mereruka, is found in the exterior reliefs of Khentika Ikhekhi, which clearly includes the wish that his name is spoken by visitors (James 1953, 37–9, pl. 5b l. 17):

mk Iḫḫỉ ỉm3ḫw Inpw tp(ỉ) ḏw=f ḫr=sn r ḥr w3t nb

'Behold, Ikhekhi, one who is *ỉm3ḫw* before Anbuis who is on his mountain', they will say to every (person) who is upon the road.

[12] Partial restoration based on the Appeal to the Living from the late 5th Dynasty tomb of Ti (Chauvet 2007, 48 n. 51; cf. Edel 1944, 59–70), in order to make sense of the part that remains on Mereruka's façade. The texts are typically conflated, as in Strudwick (2005, 236–37). Further comparison can be drawn with Khentika Ikhekhi (in James 1953, 36–41).

To what extent visitors to the cemetery could read the appeal to the living remains unclear, given hypothesised levels of literacy in ancient Egypt (Baines 2007, 50; Baines and Eyre 2007, 64–7); the general tenets of the text extolled were culturally understood, and the sole purpose may have not been for it be read. The presence of monumental ritual texts had further, magical purposes and was inscribed with eternity in mind (Vernus 1995, 90–95; Baines 2007, 56–7). Nonetheless, in addition to the internal, textual references to those passing by or entering the tomb, further strategies like the use of sunk relief were employed to distinguish its contents (including the name) in the wider landscape of the cemetery (see Chauvet 2008, 48).

3.3.4 Inscribing the name

In addition to the clear importance of the name being spoken, a similarly vital act was that of inscribing the name. Both ideas are explicitly expressed by the 12th Dynasty Nomarch Khnumhotep II in his own tomb biography at Beni Hassan (Urk. VII, 25–35; Lloyd 1992, 21–36; most recent study: Le Guilloux 2005), concerning his efforts to revitalise the cult places of his ancestors, especially his father Nehri:

> *sᶜnḫ.n=ỉ rn n ỉt.w=ỉ* |[162] *gm.n=ỉ wš(.w)* |[163] *ḥr sbȝw rḫ m tỉt mtỉ m šd.t nn* |[164] *dỉ.t<=ỉ> ky m ᶜb ky* |[166]… *rn=fᶜnḫ(.w)* |[178] *m rȝ n pᶜ.t ḏd.w* |[179] *m rȝ n ᶜnḫ.w* |[180] *ḥr ỉs=f n ḫr.t-nṯr*
>
> I made live the name of my ancestors |[162] which I had found |[163] destroyed on the doorway. One skilled in orthography, precise of execution. |[164] There was nothing I would give to one from the meal of another… his [i.e., Nehri's] name is living |[178] in the mouths of the nobles and is stable |[179] in the mouths of the living |[180] because of his tomb in the necropolis.

The notion that one's name should be inscribed in close proximity to the names of one's ancestors became especially important during the Middle Kingdom. A 13th Dynasty example is the so-called 'family stelae' of Za'amun (Chiddingstone Castle EDECC: 01.2882, in Grajetzki 2005, 62–7), in which members of a kin-group with their names, kin-terms, and titles were depicted—these stela acted as 'documents affirming the sacralisation of social relations' (Fitzenreiter 2005, 10). A later,

oblique reference to the name being inscribed and receiving offerings may come from the 18th Dynasty tomb of Amenemhat at Thebes (TT82) (Davies and Gardiner 1915; cf. Gee 2010, 2). In a pair of texts in which offerings are given to different parts of the deceased person (*Urk.* IV, 1060–61), including the *kꜣ*, *ꜣḫ*, and *ḫꜣt*, as well as his 'lifetime' (*ʿḥʿ*) and 'birthplace' (*msḫ*), an offering is given, 'for this offering stone (*ʿbꜣ=f*) of his [i.e. Amenemhat's] that is in the god's domain'. It is plausible that this offering stone refers to material form of the tomb (and stelae) which bear deceased's name and image.[13] Pictorial representations of the name being inscribed are limited, although one example from the royal domain is particularly evocative. From the 18th Dynasty onwards, the motif of deities inscribing the king's name into the *ished*-tree became commonplace in the wider programme of promoting the legitimacy, long reign, and divine rebirth of the king (example of Ramesses II: plate 29; overview: Welvaert 1996; the classic study is Helck 1958; cf. Spalinger 2009, 1–2 n. 2 for extensive references). An exceptional example from the temple of Karnak depicts Thutmosis I before an *ished*-tree, whose leaves were inscribed with his own name as well as the names of 12th Dynasty king Senwosret I, constructing a direct genealogical link to this earlier dynasty (Helck 1958, 117–40). As Niv Allon (2019, 139) states, this inscriptional act is of the divine sphere and has both 'performative and mythological connotations'.

While not concerning personal names of humans, an example of the pictorial representation of inscribing proper names from the Old Kingdom deserves comment: the deceased 'inscribing (the names of) the seasons', found in the 6th Dynasty complexes of Mereruka (plate 30) and Khentika Ikheki (James 1953, pl. 10) in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (Altenmüller 2005, Bochi 2003; cf. Erman 1900; Barta 1971). The motif was probably drawn from an earlier royal model, with the sun-temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurob proposed as one possible source (Bochi 2003, 161–2; cf. Erman 1900, 107–8; Smith 1946, 355) and it can be compared to similar representation of the seasons in the Ka temple of Pepi I at Tell Basta (Altenmüller 2005, 34–6). The scene is more

[13] I thank Angela McDonald for this suggestion and reference.

conventionally but inaccurately termed 'the painting of the seasons'. The scene in Mereruka's complex is found immediately inside the entrance to the tomb, on the east wall of the vestibule. Mereruka is depicted as a lector priest, wearing a sash across his chest, and his scribal palette looped across his shoulder, with one hand holding a stylus and the other reaching out to an 'easel' upon which a material support of an unknown type is mounted, probably being either wood or papyrus (Bochi 2013, 164 n. 17). The names of the seasons, discussed below, are carried by two men and one woman. A further blank easel is depicted behind Mereruka.

An early interpretation of this rare scene type is that it depicted a 'leisurely' activity (cf. Duell 1940; Smith 1946, 355). Although Patricia Bochi (2003, 162) persists in describing the activity as 'painting', she notes that 'in both its symbolic and formulaic presentation and the meanings associated with it, the activity of painting at an easel was, for all intent purposes, akin to writing' (Bochi 2003, 164). The iconic content of the scene, in particular Mereruka's depiction as a scribe, and the offering bearers bringing writing equipment in the example from Khentika Ikheki, makes 'writing' and 'inscribing' a more accurate characterisation. The precise meaning of scene is unclear, although Bochi (2003, 163; cf. her earlier study 1994) proposes that the broader theme is related to knowledge of the creation of time, while Altenmüller (2005) argues that the scene is an abstract representation of the planning for offerings to be made to the tomb owner in the course of year. Although a reassessment of the meaning of the scene goes beyond the aims of this thesis, one aspect concerning its non-mimetic representation of the seasons deserves to be stressed: they are depicted as personified, embodied *names*. Each season is represented by one of three seated characters, two women and one man, each holding an oval-like shape (perhaps an extension of the sign for time [Gardiner N5]) enclosing four hieroglyphic crescent moons (the sign for 'month'): inundation ('Akhet'), combined with [Gardiner F35]; germination ('Peret'), combined with [Gardiner R4]; finally, summer ('Shemu'), combined with [Gardiner S34]. I suggest that the use of the cartouche-like shape underscores the sacred content of these names, contra Bochi (2003,

164), who describes it as a symbol for eternity. In her assessment of the wider socio-cultural implications of this scene-type in its late Old Kingdom context, she (2003, 166f.) draws a close association between the 'painting of the seasons' and the broader appropriation of royal iconography and funerary literature for non-royal settings that occurred progressively through the late Old Kingdom. It was common for the deceased to stress in their self-presentation that they possessed secret knowledge that made them effective spirits (Podemann Sørensen 1989; cf. Baines 1990); such as in Mereruka's fragmentary Appeal to the Living, quoted earlier. In keeping with Bochi's broader conclusions concerning these scenes being decorous, visual statements of access to restricted knowledge adapted to a new non-royal context, I believe that this knowledge being visually encoded as a name is significant.

While dating to a much later period, a useful example to emphasise this fact comes from the 21st Dynasty 'onomasticon' of Amenemope ('P. Golénischeff': British Museum EA10474 in Gardiner 1947; Herbin 1986; British Museum EA 10795, unpublished). This administrative compilation of the words and proper nouns for entities describes its purpose to be: *rḫ wnnt nbt qmȝ.n Ptḥ sḫpr.n Ḏḥwty,* 'to know all that exists, created by Ptah, brought into being by Thoth' (Gardiner 1947 II, pl. VIIa). In the scenes from Mereruka's and Khentika's chapels, it was probably not permissible to utilise divine iconography of the seasons, like that found in the royal reliefs of the sun-temple of Niuserre (Bochi 2003, 161; cf. Morales 2016, 113–14); however, the use of personified names of the seasons elevated the overall symbolic value of this scene in the wider tomb-programme, while obscuring a direct connection with the divine motifs which remained a royal prerogative in the 6th Dynasty. The point of this discussion is not to draw any direct parallel between the names of seasons (which are proper nouns) with the names of people, but this exceptional scene from Mereruka's tomb visually evokes the points made elsewhere in this chapter: that knowing the names of things—humans and other entities in the world—was to know their essence.

3.3.5 Destroying the name

Just as writing and speaking the name was imbued with sacred potential, so too was the act of destroying a name. As described above (section 3.2.1), in some magical practices involving the destruction of script, the prior act of writing was an important part of the ritual. Written words together with their material support gave physical form to abstract ideas upon which concrete actions could be performed Whereas in the earlier examples, the destruction was at physical level but not at the conceptual level (parsing Khüne-Wespi 2019, 354), in malefic practices the destruction was intended for both levels.

A further example of such practice with particular relevance to names is the execration rituals (overview: Muhlestein 2008; cf. Ritner 1993, 136–43; Bochi 1999). These involved the production, and presumed recitation, of a text, upon which a violent action was subsequently performed to damn an enemy, which could be an individual or collective, Egyptian or foreign (Posener 1987). The text could be composed of a list of names, against whom the violent action was enacted, or substantial formulae with specific instructions; frequently, this also including naming the parents of the damned (Muhlestein 2008, 2–3). Having been inscribed, the object could be bound in the case of a figurine (plate 31), or smashed, stabbed, cut, speared, spat on, burned, saturated in urine, and/or finally buried The sole, unifying characteristic of execration texts discovered *in situ* is that they were buried, and frequently in cemeteries (Ritner 1993, 172–73)—further evincing the prominence of this landscape in practices concerning the potency of names. It is important to note, however, that not all execration figurines are provided with text and the emphasis here placed on *named* objects should not devalue the many uninscribed objects upon which this same ritual was performed: the name, or mechanism through which the victim was identified, may have been supplied through oral recitation (Ritner 1993, 137).

One particular corpus from the Old Kingdom was excavated in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, although they do not appear to contemporaneous with Mereruka. Twelve figures were discovered in a 'seemingly unstratified context' within a burial shaft—perhaps secondary—near the tomb of

Mereruka's mother, Nedjetempet (Sowada, Callaghan, Bentley 1999, 65). These figures were handmade in unbaked silt and inscribed in Old Hieratic, bearing names of foreign origin, probably dating to the reign of Pepy II or later (Quack 2002, 149). Further corpora come from Giza in large numbers (overview: Rzeuska 2010) and Elephantine (unpublished, but see: Seidlmayer 2001, 487). The Old Kingdom corpora have been hypothesised as belonging to 'business of the state' concerning the ritual neutralising of foreign enemies (Quack 2002; cf. later practices: Quack 1998, 84; Muhlestein 2015), but perhaps, also, the execration practices of non-royal people possessing restricted state information (Baines 2006, 8; Ritner 1993, 140–42). A particular example to highlight comes from the collection of Museu Egipi de Barcelona (E619; plate 31) published by Andrés Diego Espinel (2013). In this example, two Nubian women are named along with 'every male Nubian, every female Nubian of Irtjet, Yam, and Wawat' (Espinel 2013, 27). What is striking about the example in Museu Egipi de Barcelona is the use of red ink for some or all of the names, and the use of red ink to mutilate human figure determinatives and underscore their negative associations. For example, the determinative [Gardiner A13] has red brush strokes on the arms (Espinel 2013, 29; further examples: Grimal 1985, inv. 2326; Osing 1976, 145 no. RK73).

Other forms of *damnatio memoriae* affecting the name are well attested in ancient Egyptian malefic magic (Quack 2019). Although no synthetic study of the topic has been attempted, such practices included deforming the original name, which was one possible act in execration rituals described above. Another prominent example is found in the names of criminals given in the accounts of the harem conspiracy during the reign of Rameses III. For example, one individual was renamed Paybakkamen ('The blind servant'), from Pabakamun ('The servant of Amon'), thus metaphorically maiming him as well as depriving him of the protection desired from his theophoric name (Posener 1946, 52–54). The fact that the new, injurious names may have been homophonous with the original name underscores the importance of the referent being unequivocally certain.

A more widely attested practice, and one known from the Old Kingdom, is the physical erasure of inscribed names from tombs (Quack 2019, 75f.; cf. on figures in Kagemni: Soleiman

2017) for which the 6th Dynasty tomb of Vizier Hezi in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, north of Mereruka's complex, is an excellent example for considering the nuances of the evidence for this practice (Kanawati 2003, 57–64; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 1999; cf. Moreno García 2004). Hezi's name and image were carefully chiselled out throughout the tomb (plate 32), with a single instance left intact above the entrance door-way, perhaps through mistake (Kanawati 2003, 59). The tomb was subsequently reused by another lower official named Seshemnefer, who asserts in two inscriptions added to the columns in the portico that the king granted him the right to use the tomb (plate 32):

smr wᶜtỉ ḫry-ḥbt Sšm-nfr ḥtp dỉ nzwt ỉz

Sole companion, lector priest, Seshemnefer: An offering given by the king: a tomb.

Kanawati (2003, 57f.) suggests that Hezi may have plotted against king Teti, and was thus punished by having his name and image irreversibly removed from his tomb, thus denying him access to an afterlife. It remains a possibility that the primary motivation for erasing Hezi's name and image was in order for the monument to be reused—an act grounded in the need for burial space within an already crowded cemetery, as discussed in Chapter 1 (section 1.3.2). However, Seshemnefer's inscriptions stating that the tomb was specifically assigned to him by the king suggests the usurpation was not undertaken without permission (cf. Baines and Lacovara 2002; Fischer 1974c). Seshemnefer added his own name and image in ritually important locations in the existing features, such as the false door, and did not attempt to re-carve these texts. This suggests that once the name had been removed, they became sufficiently anonymised in order for a new referent to be assigned. Hezi's tomb is not isolated in its treatment within the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, and numerous examples of erasures of names affecting a whole monument, with no indication of reuse are surveyed by Kanawati (2003). While the exact motivations of these erasures remain speculative, the overwhelming number that occur within this single cemetery does appear to support the hypothesis of a systematic targeting of particular individuals, all of whom held roles within Teti's priesthood (Quack 2019, 74).

Such erasures may have even extended to inscribed burial goods, such as a headrest with an erased name found during the excavations in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery of 1920–22 (Firth and Gunn 1926, pl. 14 [3], 65 [10]), although the original context for this example is poorly understood, including how it related to other burials in the vicinity. It raises the question about whether the act of erasing a name solely existed in public or semi-public spaces, and also raises the possibility that inscribed objects may have been carefully sought out in some cases. Quack (2019, 73) notes that, from a pragmatic perspective, it may have been impossible to erase every attestation of an individual's name, as in the case of a name inscribed in a graffito, or an expedition inscription; thus peripheral inscriptions may have had no bearing on the official attitude. Even within tombs systematically targeted, such as Hezi's, it is common for an attestation of the name to remain, perhaps through mistake.

In sum, just as the earlier discussions of the name have stressed the close, positive associations between the name and image, and name and body, in the case of malefic practices to destroy the name, these various acts, including *damnatio memoriae*, sought to permanently sever this connection. An example of this is discussed in detail, in Chapter 4 (4.3.3), concerning the erasure of the name of Pepyankh in the chapel of Meryteti Meri which extended into the burial chamber. The following section moves from a discussion of how ancient Egyptians perceived their names to a discussion of how and when names were given.

3.4 FIXING THE REFERENT: WHEN WERE NAMES GIVEN?

The social rites and events associated with naming are of particular interest to historians, anthropologists, and sociologists due to the fact that cross-culturally they are intertwined with the presentation of social self to the world (Rymes 2001, 158). In such a ceremony (the 'baptismal event'), regardless of what form it may take, a link of causality is established through which the reference can be specifically identified and socially recognised (Rymes 1996, 239). Thus, in acquiring a name—whether it is chosen, bestowed, or forcibly given—an individual comes into possession of a reference that acknowledges them as an entity (Bourdieu 2000, 300).

The evidence for social rites involving naming in ancient Egypt is only scantily preserved for non-royal people, especially during Old Kingdom (Quirke 2015, 57). Funerary literature concerned with the successful rebirth of an individual in the afterlife is the most prominent surviving source for naming rituals of non-royal people. Specific fictionalised and mythic accounts of naming for the king are attested (for example in the *Tale of King Cheops' Court*) and these are treated separately in section 3.6, below. It is assumed, based on speech-acts in the Coffin Texts, that a child's name(s) were given by the mother: such as in Spell 291, in which the deceased is reborn as a child 'whom his father made and (*ḏdw mwt=f*) whom his mother pronounced' (Posener 1970, 204–5). Junge (1984, 266f.) has argued, primarily from names themselves formed as speech acts ('May he/she live!'), that the circumstances at birth probably motivated the giving of the name in ancient Egypt, and that the name was the event of the birth put 'into a word' (cf. Vernus 1986, 125–6). Underlying this, Junge has argued that both conception and the birth had a particular influence on the personality and fate of an ancient Egyptian person—the relation between the *rn* and the entity it denoted was non-arbitrary. In contrast, Schenkel (1984, 1173) is more cautious, pointing to evidence in ancient Egyptian religious texts of temporal distance between the emergence of a thing through birth or self-creation and its naming (cf. section 3.6; on Atum: Zandee 1992). An instance that articulates this distance and also highlights the temporality of name-

giving in the Coffin Texts, albeit for a divine name, is Spell 335 (*CT* IV, 286–89b; Allen 2013, 3–5):

> He [Re] was called Cat from Sia's saying concerning him: 'Is he cat-like (or similar) in this which he does?'
> That is how his name of 'Cat' came about (*ḫpr rn=f pw n mỉw*).

It is clear in this passage (and the wider spell) that Re existed before being given this new name, and thus 'Cat' may have been a separate identity. A further point raised by Schenkel is the nameless state of some deities, or gods who possessed secret names that were unknown even to other deities, an example coming from the myth of Isis and the secret name of Re, as discussed earlier (section 3.3.3).

It is possible that following birth ancient Egyptian children may have existed in a nameless, liminal state before being socially recognised and named. Although beyond the temporal range of data considered in this thesis, Stephen Quirke (2015, 57) posits that administrative lists of workers at Lahun from the 12th Dynasty might contain traces of ancient Egyptian conventions concerning naming of children, or at least how children without double names were recorded in administrative documents. While in lists of adult workers, double names are recorded in double columns, in one list of workers (P. UCL 32130 in Collier and Quirke 2006, 50–51), only the second column filled in with names, while a mark—a small bird 𓅱 [Gardiner G37]—interpreted by Quirke and Collier (2006, 51) as 'child' (perhaps *šrỉ*), is scrawled in the first column before the names. Quirke suggests that these children were evidently old enough to be working but had not yet received their second name: 'perhaps, then, the child received the first name at or near the moment of birth and the second at puberty' (2015, 57). There is little other evidence to prove how children may have received their names. It is generally held in Egyptological scholarship that every Egyptian received more than one name, but this requires further nuance. From this same corpus, documents that preserve lists of adult individuals use two columns, in which the mark 'it is his name' (that is, they

had no second name) is found next to individuals who bore a single name (Quirke 2015, 57). This becomes a point of discussion again in section 3.5 below.

A contemporary Egyptian ritual, with which the passage in time between birth and naming can be observed, is *el Sebou'* (السبوع, meaning 'the seventh'). The ceremony takes place on the seventh day following a child's birth, as documented by Egyptian anthropologist Fadwa El Guindi in the film *El Sebou': Egyptian Birth Ritual* (1986). *Sebou'* is an occasion for naming new-born children and announcing their gender, signalling their integration in Egyptian social and cultural life. It involves feasting, singing, and prayers to ward off the evil eye, and is an event that El Guindi claims may have a 'possible antiquity', although without documented evidence (El Guindi 1988, 500). *Sebou'* is now increasingly a secular event (especially in urban areas) but is still celebrated in some form by both Coptic and Muslim families from all status-groups (El Guindi 1988, 499; Abu-Lughod 1988, 497–9; cf. Blackman 1927, 78–81). Elsewhere in the ancient world, in ancient Athens names were given approximately a week after birth, at the Ἀμφιδρόμια, which included a ceremony that recognised the connection between a child and their father (Hamilton 1984); the details of the ceremony are not known, although Aristotle (*History of Animals* 588a8) notes that a child is named on the seventh day following birth, on account of infant mortality. Two rites are known in ancient Roman society, the *dies lustricus*, the purification of a child, followed by *dies nominis*, the naming of a child eight or nine days after birth, which are described by Dasen (2009, 199) as the 'social birth' of a Roman child.

Although it is not possible to establish the motivation for name-giving with any certainty, within ancient Egyptian names themselves there are clues as to why and when particular names may have been bestowed An example of a name which may have been bestowed close to an important religious event is *Ny-ḥb-sd-(Ppy)*I (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 431 [1621]), meaning 'The one who is of the *ḥb-sd* of Pepy'. Similar names are attested concerning the *ḥb-sd* of Neferirkare (PN II, 294.20; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 432 [1622]). Scheele-Schweitzer (2014, 28) suggests such names could have been given to a child born when the royal *sed*-festival was being celebrated

(comparable Late Period examples: Leahy 2011, 553). However, as Vittmann notes (2013a, 2), other factors may be at play, including the possibility of being given patrilineal or matrilineal names, in which the connection between a child's naming in relation to the festival may not be so direct (cf. on *Imn-m-ḥb*: Ranke PN II, 216–19).

The most evocative are names that appear to capture 'cries of relief and joy' (Quirke 2015, 57). From the Old Kingdom, names that express sentiment felt by the name-giver at the time of birth include *Iw=f-n=ỉ* ('He is mine': PN I 14.7: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 221 [163]). While not specific to the Old Kingdom, a name such as *Ḏd-Ptḥ-ỉw=f-ꜥnḫ* ('Ptah said, he will live': PN I, 410.11–12) can be interpreted as a name that evokes the decision of an oracle—perhaps, one in which Ptah reassured anxious parents that the child would survive (Baines 1991, 178 n. 154). As noted by Vittmann (2013, 2), this is a plausible interpretation in view of the high rate of child mortality in antiquity (Dupras 2016; Dupras, Wheeler, Williams et al. 2014; earlier: Ranke 1926, 734–35); should one, however, infer that every individual bearing a name like *Ḏd-Ptḥ-ỉw=f-ꜥnḫ* owed their name to an oracular decree? It is possible that a name styled in the form and phraseology of an oracular speech-act was enough to harness the apotropaic potential of an oracle. Old Kingdom names which may express similar interventions by deities in a successful birth include 'Whom *N* has protected': *Ḥw(ỉ).n-Ptḥ* ('Whom Ptah has protected': Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 593 [2719]); *Ḥw(ỉ).n-Ḫnm.w* ('Whom Khnum has protected': Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 594 [2729]), *Ḥw(ỉ).n-Ḥrw* ('Whom Horus has protected': Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 594 [2726]). Equally, however, such names may have been given with a desire for this protection to be conferred through the child's life. A particularly popular Old Kingdom name was *Ḥtp-Sbk* ('May Sobek be appeased' Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 573 [2608]), attested in most major centres (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 33–41) and which displayed respectful reticence but perhaps also alluded to the existential threat faced by inhabiting the Nile valley.

Names which, by inference, seem to have been given at a date later in an individual's life include those belonging to people of foreign origin, who could have been given or chosen for

themselves a new Egyptian name. The name itself—often accompanied in texts and descriptive captions with an ethnonym—may have served to mark its bearer, a phenomenon that it attested cross-culturally (Schneider 2010, 148–9). This is powerful example of how hierarchical relations and power dynamics play out in an 'institutional encounter' such as naming, where a minority group adopts, or is forcibly given, a new set of indexes (Duranti 1997, 19; in ancient Greek onomastics, see recently: Parker 2019). This idea echoes ones introduced earlier concerning the injurious potential of names (cf. sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3). Evidence for the conventions governing name choice in these circumstances in ancient Egypt is scarce. In a New Kingdom papyrus documenting the trafficking of slaves (P. Cairo JE 65739; Gardiner 1935), a woman of Syrian origin—whose original name is not recorded—was given an Egyptian name by her owner following her purchase, *Gm.n=ỉ-ḥr-ỉmntt* ('I found (her) in the West': see P. Cairo JE 65739, l. 14; Gardiner 1935, pl. 13). From the Middle Kingdom onwards, examples of the presence of foreign personal names over several generations of a family indicate that the persistence of traditions of origin in onomastics (that is, origin from outside Egypt) was possible, at least in a private context (Schneider 2010, 152; cf. Schneider 1992; 2003). However, Egyptians of foreign origin more often commissioned funerary items bearing their Egyptian names, without ethnonyms, suggesting that the self-presentation of their identities was complex and context dependent (Riggs and Baines 2012, 8).

A particularly interesting case of renaming comes from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (Geisen 2017, 2), in which one 6th Dynasty official, *Mrw*, was also known as *(Ttỉ)-snb* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 654 [3159]), *(Ppy)-snb* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 652–3 [3152]), and *(Mry-Rᶜ)-snb* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 653 [3153]), as attested in the inscriptions from his tomb (Kanawati 2003, 141). The question from this arises: was Meru given the name Tetiseneb at his birth, and did he then later adopt new names that reflected his service under the reigns of the later kings Pepy I and Meryre? Geisen (2017, 2) turns to the wider socio-political climate of Pepy I's reign for a possible answer to this question. It is known that Pepy I changed his throne name Nefersahor into Meryre at some point early in his reign (von Beckerath 1982, 926), which may provide a possible timeframe

for which Meru's adoption of new names may have occurred; the problem that remains unresolved is where this was his own decision, or by order of the king (Kanawati 2003: 141–2; cf. Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 22). Another parallel case from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery is the name *(Ttỉ)-ḏd* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 758 [3886]) changed to *(Ppy)-ḏd* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 758 [3880]), attested in Khentika Ikhekhi's chapel (James 1953, 13–5; cf. Nims 1938, 644). I return to this problem in the discussion of 'major' names in the Old Kingdom in section 3.5.1, below.

3.5 Old Kingdom name types

Ancient Egyptian personal names could be composed of single words, phrases, or complete sentences, of which multiple interpretations are often possible (introduced in Ranke PN II, 1–19). As this subject is extensively covered by Scheele-Schweitzer (2014), the following comments are intended to illustrate some of the most popular forms of names for the Old Kingdom, in order to contextualise the names encountered later in this thesis. A major part of this discussion concerns the definitions for 'major' and 'minor' names (sections 3.4.1–2). Egyptologists have predominantly used the semantic expressions of the names themselves to assess this. I argue in this chapter, and through case-studies in Chapter 4, that the material and spatial context of inscribed names provides further information concerning the possible social functions of these different name-types.

Exophoric names, that is, names which include a pre-existing proprial lemma (Van Langendonck 2008, 92–3; cf. Vernus 1986), usually invoking the king or the gods, were common in the Old Kingdom (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 107–18; see earlier: Kees 1929). The largest sub-category is theophoric names (the classic study is Hoffmann 1915; cf. Lüddeckens 1985), which encompasses names describing attributes or characteristics of deities, such as in the name *Nfr-ḪHnm.w* ('Perfect is Khnum': Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 479 [1965]), or *Ptḥ-ḫᶜ(ỉ)=f* ('Ptah appears': Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 363 [1157]) in the Old Kingdom. It was less common before the end of the Old Kingdom to carry a name that expressed a direct relationship between a deity and the holder of the name, for example in the form of *zȝt-N* ('Daughter of N'), which became popular

from the First Intermediate Period onwards; rather, such relationships were expressed in a more abstract sense (overview: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 112): for example, *N(y)-w(ỉ)-nṯr* ('I belong to the God': Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 425 [1580]) or *N(y)-s(ỉ)-Ptḥ* ('She belongs to Ptah': Scheele-Schweitzer 2014 [1650]). These same attributes could also be given to the *kꜣ* and the *ỉb* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 101–7; cf. on the *kꜣ*: Nyord 2019), Mereruka's name being a particularly obvious example. A second well-attested category, basilophoric names (taking the name of a king), includes names which describe attributes of the king, often in the form of a complete sentence, such as *(Ttỉ)-ḥꜣ-ỉšt=f* ('Teti increases his possessions': Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 727 [3657]). As argued by Geisen (2017, 3), the significance of the meaning in these names is manifold: in addition to expressing loyalty to the king, basilophoric names also convey notions of how the king was perceived in Egyptian society at this time, or allude to certain relationships between the king and a specific god or goddess that also may have had particular significance to the name-bearer (cf. Vernus 1982, 327–30). I consider the potential for such relationships being expressed in names in Chapter 4, especially in the names of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet (section 4.4.2) and Meryteti Meri (section 4.3.2).

One method for preserving the name of an ancestor, or revered community member was to incorporate their name into a new exophoric name in their honour (cf. 'Patronnamen': Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 28). I call these names 'anthropophoric',[14] in order to nuance these names from theophoric names expressing reverence for a deity or deified, deceased king (Geisen 2017, 2–3; Morales 2006; Malek 200). These names described attributes of a revered relative or honoured person in a community in the manner of a theophoric or basilophoric name, usually in the form of a phrase or complete sentence (overview of forms in Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 87–90). Patrilineal

[14] 'Anthropophoric' has also been used by Michael Zellmann-Rohrer in a forthcoming paper on Syriac onomastics, to be published in the proceedings of the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names conference, 'Greek Onomastics East of the Mediterranean: Naming and Culture in the Roman Near East and the Greek Far East' held at the University of Oxford, September 2019. Zellmann-Rohrer uses the term to refer to names which preserve, 'kinship relations within the human family, more particularly commemorating the bearer's relatives living or dead'. I am grateful to the author for discussing the term and sharing a copy of this paper in advance of publication.

'surnames' were not used in Pharaonic Egypt, and it appears to have been a common (but not prescriptive) practice to select names that were already extant in a kin-group or community, or to use elements of a forebear's name in the composition of a new name (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 28–29; Vittmann 2013b, 6–7). Patronyms and matronyms were also a common occurrence in Old Kingdom Egypt and were strongly linked to the conceptual and physical *pr* ('house'), especially important for identifying members of a household who may not have always been related by blood (Moreno Garcia 2013, 209; on *pr ỉt* and *pr mwt*: Olabarria 2018b, 62–6). Anthropophoric names may have similarly been given to express such a connection—real or desired—to belonging to the wider *pr* of the revered individual.

Ute Rummel's (2003) study of the 20th Dynasty name *Rᶜ-mss(w)-nḫt-mn* ('Ramesesnakht is enduring') dates to a period considerably later than that considered here, but is the study on which I have based my own conclusions concerning social and hierarchical relationships expressed between *Namenspatron* (eponymous name-giver; 'patron name') and *Namesträger* (name-bearer) in anthropophoric names in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery honouring Kagemni (Hamilton 2014; also now Krämer 2019, 307–47) and Mereruka (Chapter 4, section 4.5.4). These can be compared to similar occurrences of locally-significant anthropophoric names, such as those honouring Mehu (in Fischer 1965, 51–52; contra Goedicke 1955), or Shepsespuptah (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001, 13–14), to name two further examples from Saqqara. Ramesesnakhtmen is the otherwise unattested name of a temple carpenter from Karnak which occurs in an incised, hieroglyphic graffito on a fragment of the remains of a cultic chapel of the high priest of Amun, Ramesesnakht (reign of Rameses IV–Rameses IX). This fragment was once part of a commercial scene, supervised by Ramesesnakht. Rummel (2003, 368 fig. 1) argues that the name in this graffito, Ramesesnakhtmen, was clearly based on the name of his superior, Ramesesnakht, which is itself is an exophoric name, bearing the name of Ramesses. Rummel (2003, 375–6) proposes that this name testifies to a special, envisaged social relationship between the living bearer of the name and the person honoured or evoked in it. In reality, the two may not have been close—it seems their relationship was

professional, rather than one of blood—but the name expresses deference to the person honoured in the name (that he 'endured') and bonds of association and possible patronage, and we can infer that the motivation for bestowing this name was so that Ramesesnakhtmen benefited from this expression of loyalty to his superior in both life and death. It is probable that this was related to the notion of the name living in the speech of others, discussed earlier (section 3.3.3). Did Ramesesnakht also 'live' when Ramesesnakhtmen's name was spoken, even though he may have not been the one specifically addressed? A further question which remains unanswered is whether Ramesesnakhtmen possessed his name from birth, or whether it was a name given later in life; could one choose or be given a new or additional name at a point in their life when that was appropriate or useful? I discuss the possibility that individuals named Meri/Mery who added their names in Mereruka's complex may have been named after him in Chapter 4 (section 4.5.4).

During the Old Kingdom, adult men and women could possess at least two or (rarely) three names, although how wide-spread this practice was throughout all levels of Egyptian society is difficult to determine (Ranke PN II, 6–8; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 20; cf. double-naming in Greco-Roman Egypt: Coussement 2016, 46–50; Broux 2015b, 7). The exact purposes of these multiple names are unknown, although in a small number of cases, discussed below, it may be inferred that some basilophoric names, as a second name, were acquired later in life. In most cases of double naming from the Old Kingdom, an individual possessed what I call a 'major' name, which was frequently theophoric or basilophoric name and the first name in a multiple name sequence and was occasionally specified as the ***rn ꜥ3*** (the 'great name': *Wb.* II, 428.1–4); and what I call a 'minor' name, which was often a hypocoristic or abbreviation of the major name and usually occupied the secondary (or final) position in the name sequence, and could be specified as ***rn nfr*** (the 'perfect name': *Wb.* II, 428.6–13), or rarely ***rn nḏs*** (the 'small name': *Wb.* II, 428.5). While the specifications do not always occur, the different names could be juxtaposed within inscriptions in order to differentiate them. The ***rn nfr*** is commonly attested in Old Kingdom inscriptions, but the specifications ***rn ꜥ3*** and ***rn nḏs*** are comparatively rare; only two examples of the latter are known

to me. Egyptologists have not arrived at a consensus concerning how these Egyptian terms for personal names related to naming practices, although it seems that the *rn nfr* may have been the name by which an ancient Egyptian person was most commonly referred to. This system was replaced during the course of the Middle Kingdom (Vernus 1986), and double names were marked by a different formula: X *ḏdw n=f* Y, 'X, the one called Y'. While this formula is not attested in the Old Kingdom, it is a strong indication that the second, minor name was equivalent to a name with 'household' use, or a name used in everyday speech. I return to this idea in section 3.4.2, below. Old Kingdom naming conventions resurfaced later in Pharaonic history, particularly in the 26th Dynasty among wider archaising practices of this period (cf. de Meulenaere 1966; Leahy 1996, 1992); however, the *rn nfr* of this period followed the less restrictive patterns of naming observed from the Middle Kingdom onwards, and these names were often basilophoric or theophoric in character unlike the customs of the Old Kingdom (Vittmann 2013b, 3).

3.5.1 Major names

The significance of the major name is assumed by Egyptologists, yet it is difficult to describe its exact purpose or status with any certainty. As noted earlier, the major name was commonly a basilophoric or theophoric name, and thus the principles of decorum may have affected its usage—in both speech and writing (overview in Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 21–2; cf. Kees 1929). In their written form, internal visual and lexical strategies were used to demarcate the most sacred elements of the name from the more profane parts: in a basilophoric non-royal name, the king's name was enclosed in the (unvocalised) cartouche, as found in the name *(Ttỉ)-mry*. In a theophoric name, the god's name was written phonetically, as found in the name *Wꜥt.t-ḫt-Ḥrw*, without divine determinatives. In both the case of basilophoric and theophoric names, as well as some names containing *kꜣ*, the sacred element was commonly placed at the start of the name in honorific transposition (Vernus 1982; cf. Fischer 1996, 55–72); this is not observed in the name Mereruka. A further indication of the significance of the 'major' name is perhaps indicated by its selective

usage in monumental inscriptions when compared to the *rn nfr*. As discussed throughout Chapter 4 for the names of the chapel owners in Mereruka's complex, the principal name is placed in especially prominent locations (such as the entrance, and on the false-door) and in the name formula inscribed next to an image of the chapel owner; yet elsewhere in the chapel—especially in *Reden und Rufe*—the ***rn nfr*** is the preferred name.

Some individuals are attested as having basilophoric or theophoric names specified as ***rn ꜥ3*** (the 'great name') or in one example, ***rn wr*** ('great name'); the reason for this latter variant is unclear. However, as will be discussed in the following pages, only a small number of inscriptions actually include the specification of ***rn ꜥ3***, and they do not appear to be otherwise semantically different from other theophoric or basilophoric names. A small number of individuals are known to have had more than one 'major' name ('Staatsname' in Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 20–22; earlier, Junker 1927, 60–61), although it is difficult to quantify in existing literature. One such person is the 6th Dynasty official *Nfr-sšm-ptḥ Wḏꜣ-ḥꜣ-(Ttỉ)* ***rn=f nfr Ššỉ,*** who is buried in the eastern part of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and was roughly contemporary with Mereruka and Kagemni (Lloyd, Spencer, and el-Khouli 2008; Capart 1907; cf. Kanawati 2003, 108–10; 2010a). Throughout his chapel, Neferseshemptah is referred to by one or other of his major names (either *Nfr-sšm-ptḥ* or *Wḏꜣ-ḥꜣ-(Ttỉ)*), although neither are designated as ***rn ꜥ3***. All three names occur together on his false door with his ***rn nfr*** Sheshi, indicating that this was indeed perceived as his 'full' name at the time that this was inscribed (see plate 33); more generally, this example highlights the significance of the name being correctly inscribed in its fullest form on this ritually significant feature. Lloyd, Spencer and el-Khouli (2008, 6 n. 19) note that the name ***Wḏꜣ-ḥꜣ-(Ttỉ)*** ('Prosperity is behind Teti': Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 340 [1002]) is unique, and Scheele-Schweitzer (2014, 22) suggests that this name may have been given during Teti's lifetime, perhaps due to Neferseshemptah particularly distinguishing himself in his civil career. This may account for the variance encountered in the inscriptions from Neferseshemptah's tomb, if some portions were begun before this name was

acquired It begs the question whether one name or the other had particular salience in social spheres outside of the funerary landscape, especially if the basilophoric name was bestowed in the manner proposed by Scheele-Schweitzer; this is impossible to otherwise substantiate. The role that the king may have played in giving new names is discussed again below.

The use of the specification ***rn ꜥ3***, ('great name': *Wb.* II, 428.1–4; TLA lemma-no. 850237) in non-royal private inscriptions is attested between the 3rd Dynasty to the late Old Kingdom, and very rarely in non-Memphite inscriptions during the First Intermediate Period (see Fischer 1968, 117); I list known examples in Table 1 in the appendix. Generally speaking, the ***rn ꜥ3*** took the initial position in an inscription and was often attached to a basilophorous or theophorous name. It was then followed with the ***rn nfr*** ('perfect name') or, in two cases, a name designated as ***rn nḏs*** ('small name'), discussed below (section 3.2.2). Although Scheele-Schweitzer (2014, 20) states that the ***rn ꜥ3*** was the 'eigentlichen Namen' (proper, or actual name; cf. Fazzini, Bianchi, Spanel et al. 1989, 13) for an ancient Egyptian person and that it would have been given at birth, it is very rarely attested The analysis of designations of name-types in emic, Egyptian terms, especially the rarer forms ***rn ꜥ3*** and ***rn nḏs***, has been obscured by current approaches to publishing ancient Egyptian names; both Ranke's PN and Scheele-Schweitzer's (2014) lexicon omits wider prosopographical detail, as discussed earlier (section 3.2). For example, while each of the names (major and minor) borne by the individuals included in Table 1, as well as orthographic variants of these names, can be located in Scheele-Schweitzer's lexicon, the surrounding name formulae are not recorded with the reference. This may explain why Scheele-Schweitzer's (2014, 20) discussion of the ***rn ꜥ3*** in the earlier part of her work lists only two examples; she primarily refers to the brief study of Junker (1927, 60–61), which was written before many of the monuments cited below were excavated or published. No doubt further examples will be found as the excavations of the Memphite cemeteries continue to be published, although there is no convenient (or current) tool that indexes these new inscriptions; further instances from outside Memphis would be of particular interest. None of the

individuals named in Mereruka's complex are specifically given a *rn ꜥ3*; thus, the following discussion may not seem immediately relevant to names in that complex. However, a broader question that I pose towards the end of this discussion is whether all 'major' forenames were *rn ꜥ3*; did this specification meaningfully distinguish names based on their theophoric or basilophoric content? Or, speculatively, did it index a particular rite of naming that occurred later during an individual's lifetime? These conclusions have direct bearing on the following discussion of minor names (section 3.5.2), especially as the apposition of major and minor names is so powerfully materialised in funerary inscriptions.

Table 1 (in Appendix 1) compiles all known examples of individuals—men and women—named with *rn ꜥ3*, showing that this name-type is primarily attested at Giza and Saqqara between the 3rd Dynasty and the early 6th Dynasty; as far as I can ascertain, no examples date later than the reign of Pepy I. The dates indicated in the table are tentative, and in most cases the tombs cannot be dated to the reign of a specific, single king. The lists are internally organised by their geographic location within their respective cemeteries; at Giza: Central Field to West Field; at Saqqara: Unis Pyramid Cemetery to Teti Pyramid Cemetery. All examples come from tombs that date to the reign of Pepy I or earlier, which provides a tentative date for when the practice of specifying the *rn ꜥ3* in inscriptions ceased. The earliest attested example comes from the 3rd Dynasty tomb at Saqqara belonging to *Ḫꜥ(i)-bꜣw-Zkr* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 585 [2675]; in Murray 1937 I, pl. 1) and his wife *Nfr-ḥtp-ḥwt-Ḥr* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 476 [1945]' in Murray 1937 I, pl. 2). The fact that both Khaybausokar and his wife also possess *rn nḏs* is distinctive: *Ḥts* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 580 [2646]) for Khaybausokar, and *Ṯp=s* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 725 [3633]) for Neferhotephathor. This is one of only two known examples of the specification of a *rn nḏs*, which is discussed below (section 3.4.2).

It is unclear whether a name being specified as *rn ꜥ3* in a tomb inscription marked it as having a special status from other names without this specification, or whether the *rn ꜥ3* was

restricted to particular inscriptional or social settings. While all of the individuals listed in Table 1 were middle-ranking to high officials, there is no obvious pattern in their names that explains why the names they bore are 'great', beyond a general observation that many of the names are theophoric, or names that honour the *ỉb* or the *kȝ*. Additionally, the titles of their name-bearers do not distinguish them unusually from the community among whom they were interred, with the major exceptions being *Idwt* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 283 [616]) and *Ḥmt-Rᶜ* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 514 [2418]), who were princesses. The location for the specification within the textual programme appears to have adhered to a general pattern: while the names of the tomb-owners feature prominently throughout the monument, in each case the *rn ᶜȝ* is found often once, or occasionally twice, either in the entrance recess, or sometimes on the false-door. It is worth noting that the examples where the *rn ᶜȝ* occurs more than once are frequently within inscriptions on an architectural feature with a high degree of symmetry, such as the false-door, as in the case of Wernu (Davies, el-Khouli, Lloyd, and Spencer 1984, 26–27, pl. 26). In the case of Nedjetempet, the *rn ᶜȝ* occurs only on her sarcophagus—presumably among one of the last parts of the tomb to be inscribed.

Of the known examples, five individuals attested with *rn ᶜȝ* are women, including Neferhotephathor, already discussed Further examples are: Idut and Hemet-Re, who were both daughters of Unis;[15] and *Mrwt Zšzšt* who includes the title 'king's daughter' on her false-door even though her status as a princess is questioned (Baud 1999, 446). The fourth example is Mereruka's mother, Nedjetempet. One pattern in the names of women can be observed: all are recipients of their own tomb-chapel, or at least their own false-door.

All but one example of the *rn ᶜȝ* occur in the Memphite cemeteries, which perhaps indicates that the use of this specification was an inclination among Memphite court officials or was a particularly local practice. The examples from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, for example, all belong

[15] Unis' other daughters are only attested in the funerary reliefs of their husbands (Baud 1999, 496–499).

to individuals who were served as officials during the reign of Teti, or earlier. We cannot know whether the choice to add this specification was one made by the name-bearer themselves or was the choice of the draftsmen who composed the inscriptions for the tomb. The fact that the name is used very rarely throughout a single monument but may appear multiple times within inscriptions on a single feature, may point to the latter as a possibility, assuming that several draftsmen and scribes may have worked on a single monument.

The single example occurring outside Memphis, belonging to ***Sbk-ḥtp*** (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 573 [2608]) at Meir, is very unusual. Sobekhotep is depicted with his wife on the south wall of Room 3 in the tomb of his son (***Ppy***)-***ʿnḫ Ḥry-ỉb*** (the 'Middle') at Meir (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 297 [694]; Kanawati 2012, 46–47, pl. 34–35). In this scene, which is unattested anywhere else in the Old Kingdom, the parents are depicted in separate registers, both seated at offering tables, facing their son who is also seated at an offering table (Kanawati 2012, 46). Sobekhotep is named:

> King's Liegeman, Overseer of the God's Servants of Hathor, whose great name (***rn ʿ3***) is Sobekhotep, revered with the god, whose perfect name (***rn nfr***) is Hepi.

No other individual in this tomb is named with ***rn ʿ3***, including the tomb-owner Pepyankh Heryib. Kanawati states that it is likely that Pepyankh Heryib's parents would have been long-deceased by the time of his own burial; indeed, Sobekhotep may have been buried at Saqqara, and the tomb of a similarly named individual has been found in the Unis Pyramid Cemetery (Kanawati 2004; cf. Kanawati 2010b, 207f.). The choice to include them in this scene may reflect Pepyankh's desire to fulfil his filial duties of maintaining their offering cult, which may have proved difficult if their burial was indeed in Saqqara and not Meir. This may indicate that the distinctive naming pattern observed here was part of this wider expression of reverence.

In sum, I tentatively suggest that that the ***rn ʿ3*** was not appended to the name of anyone but the primary subject of the monument, with the example of Sobekhotep being a significant anomaly, but explained through the specific context in which the name and figure occurs. Conversely, the ***rn nfr***, to be discussed below, could occur in the names of certain minor figures in

a relief programme—usually those with some direct, filial relationship with the tomb-owner. Beyond these observations, it remains unclear whether the *rn ꜥ3* was different to other basilophoric and theophoric names.

An intriguing insight from Scheele-Schweitzer's (2014, 31–2) survey of the names in five major 6th Dynasty tombs from Saqqara (Mereruka), Giza (Kanefer and Meni II), Meir (Pepyankh Heryib), and Deir el Gabrawi (Djau), is that basilophoric names are extremely rare among the names of attendants found in offerings scenes. This suggests that some types of names, such as basilophoric ones, were restricted to certain classes, at least before the mid-6th Dynasty, or that certain conditions may have existed for them being given as names. As noted by Geisen (2017, 2; cf. Gourdon 2016a), the onomastic data from the Abusir Papyri demonstrates that numerous officials or employees connected to Neferirkare's mortuary temple bore names with the hypocoristic birth name 'Kakai' as an element (cf. Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968: pl. XLII, IV, LIXa, XIII). Among lower-ranking officials, names among the *ḫnty.w-š* include, for example: (*K3k3i*)-*ꜥnḫ* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 306 [756]), and (*K3k3i*)-*Mn-k3w* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 375 [1252]); and among the *wꜥb*-priests of the temple: (*K3k3i*)-*Ḏḥwt(i)-mr* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 390 [1349]). Geisen does not draw this analysis out further, but this data indicates the importance of considering personal names in close association with the social world of their referents. Beyond the more obvious motivation of expressing loyalty to the king behind giving these names, a further possibility is that giving and bearing such names served an ancillary purpose closely connected to the professional, and cultic role, of these community members. They provided another means through which the king's name was 'made firm', a concern which is articulated in the Pyramid Texts (cf. Gourdon 2017; discussed in section 3.6, below).

Unambiguous examples of name-giving which involved the king himself are rare in the Old Kingdom. In addition to the hypothesised case of Neferseshemptah discussed above, the most well-known example is the names given to the Abydene wives of Pepy I: Ankhnespepy I and Ankhnespepy II, whose names may mean 'May Pepy live for her!' (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 300–

1 [724]). It is presumed that they were renamed at the point of their betrothal to Pepy I (Gourdon 2016b, 89–96; 2006b). Their names are likened by Gourdon (2006b, 97f.) to an oath formula, which they may have been required to swear when they entered the royal household (cf. Bárta 2015, 11). Their new names aligned with the pattern of royal women of the 6th Dynasty bearing names that foreground their relationship to the king, as with the names of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's, discussed later (Chapter 4, section 4.4.2). Looking beyond this onomastic evidence, the decorum surrounding expressions of filiation to the king relaxed towards the end of the Old Kingdom, which may be related to the wider changes to the bureaucratic classes (Baud 1999, 162–88; earlier: Schmitz 1976, 65–102). A particularly noteworthy example is found on the false door of *Šntỉ* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 682 [3345]) in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (PM 545, Firth and Gunn 1926, 195 [26]). Shenti describes herself as *zꜣt nswt*, yet her monument is described by Gunn (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 195) to be, 'the most miserable little stela found at Saqqara', and no photograph was provided in the volume. Here, the title may express a spiritual desire to be close to the king (cf. Baud 1999, 188–89), rather than a claim of actual kinship; indeed, Gunn remarked (in Firth and Gunn 1926, 195 n. 1) concerning the First Intermediate Period monuments in this cemetery that, 'one obtains from these monuments the general impression that in the First Intermediate Period, titles meant very little'. I would argue the opposite: the growth of these vocabularies of filiation—in names, or in titles—towards the end of the Old Kingdom may index the lifting or shifting of restrictions around how one could express closeness to deities and the king; the extent to which this was related to 'piety' (mentioned earlier in section 3.2) is unclear. A name like *Zꜣt-(Ỉy-ṯnw)* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 621 [2912]; cf. Fischer 1963, 36), meaning 'Daughter of King Iitjenu' in the 8th Dynasty, for example, may have been perceived as being similar to an earlier form, *N(y)-s(ỉ)-nzwt* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 436 [1653]), meaning 'She belongs to the king', in expressing this desired closeness.

So, what did it mean for a name to be 'great'? One possible explanation is that the specification emphasised the particularly sacred content of the name; in all but two cases (Mehu

and Qar), the names specified with ***rn ꜥ*** are otherwise indistinguishable from other theophoric and basilophoric forenames. However, it remains unresolved whether all major names were considered to be the ***rn ꜥ***. I would tentatively suggest that names specifically marked as ***rn ꜥ*** were particularly formal names that may have been reserved for particular inscriptional settings (such as the tomb), while ***nfr*** and ***nḏs*** names (discussed below) were 'household' names. Outside of onomastics, the opposition between ***ꜥ*** and ***nḏs***, for example, is found in Middle Kingdom autobiographical statements, such as found on a fragmentary inscription from Abydos: 'I did what the great ones (***ꜥ***) love and the humble (***nḏs***) praise' (Cairo Museum CG 20503 in Fischer 1973, 5; cf. Nyord 2013, 153–5). While derived from a royal example, Junker (1927, 63) perceptively notes that this juxtaposition of names in inscriptional settings is also attested for royal names of the 5th and 6th Dynasties; for example, Neferirkare Kakai (*prenomen* + *nomen*) was the name used in official memoranda and royally commissioned monuments, whereas the *nomen* Kakai is the name used in contemporaneous papyri, personal names of non-royal people, and in later traditions such as in Papyrus Westcar (discussed in section 3.4; cf. 'Privatnamen der Könige' in Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 114–15). The example is not entirely analogous, and decorum affected the use of royal names in both spoken and inscribed contexts, discussed below in section 3.6. However, decorum may have similarly governed how the multiple names (major and minor; ***rn ꜥ*** and ***rn nfr***) for non-royal individuals were juxtaposed in a monument; major names may have been reserved for certain appropriate settings, such as the tomb. The data which points to the ***rn ꜥ*** occurring almost entirely in Saqqara and Giza perhaps also indicates that this manner of introducing names in inscriptions was a particular practice of court officials.

3.5.2 Minor names

While the ***rn ꜥ*** is only rarely attested in inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, the specification ***rn nfr*** ('perfect name': *Wb.* II, 428.6–13) is ubiquitous and attested in both Memphite and provincial cemeteries. The ***rn nḏs*** ('little' name) is attested only twice to my knowledge: in the 3rd Dynasty

tomb of Khaybausokar (CG1385: Vernus 1982, 325), introduced earlier; and the 5th to 6th Dynasty tomb of Neferherenptah at Giza, whose ***rn nḏs*** was ***Ffỉ*** (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 365 [1166]; Hassan 1944, 241, pl. LIIa). It is likely that the ***rn nḏs*** was a 'nickname', as in the case of Khaybausokar, who was called 'the mongoose' (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 20 n. 11).

The ***rn nfr*** is usually translated as the 'good' or 'beautiful' name in Egyptological studies and was used from the middle of the Old Kingdom up to the 12th Dynasty (Schott 1965, 83–84; Vernus 1971). It was revived during the reign of Psammetichus II in the 26th Dynasty (De Meulenaere 1966, 27–30; 2002; Leahy 1996). The lemma ***nfr*** (*Wb.* 2, 253.1–256.15; *TLA* lemma-no. 550034) is commonly translated as good, beautiful, perfect, or finished. However, other translations of ***nfr*** have been proposed, including 'small', in the sense of young (Berlev 1982, 44; see also Vazquez 2009,155–56), and 'youthful' or 'virile' (Gardiner 1950, 52); for example *CT* I, 206: 'being ***nfr*** and new like Re'. The latter understanding was especially preferred by Hanns Stock (1951), who argued that ***nfr*** relates conceptually to rejuvenation, focussing on its semantic association with epithets describing the revivification of gods such as Amun and Osirus (***nṯr nfr***, ***wꜥwt nfrt***, and ***Imnt nfrt***). Thus, Stock argued, the ***rn nfr*** was a name used by a person after they had died and achieved Osirian rejuvenation (Stock 1951, 10). Within this framework, Vernus (1982, 323) has stated that the circumstances in which ***rn nfr*** became the 'nom préféré' during the Old Kingdom may have been facilitated by 'le démocratisation de la doctrine funéraire royale', a model of thought that has been critiqued by Mark Smith (2009) and Harold Hays (2011, 2015).

Jan Quaegebeur (1995, 845), following Gerhard Fecht (1971, 191: '*letztendlicher, endgültiger Name*'), distinguishes between major names and minor names by describing the ***rn nfr*** as a 'surname', but there is little evidence that suggests the ***rn nfr*** functioned like a surname as found in Anglophone or European onomastics. On the contrary, it is more likely that this was a common 'household' name that was particularly important in social, spoken contexts—Vernus' (1986, 78), 'le nom social'. In the earliest study of this name-type, Junker (1928, 59–64) hypothesised that the

rn nfr was a 'familiar' name and suggested that this name was used during the lifetime of an ancient Egyptian person. He also observed that many names specified as *rn nfr* are 'hypochoristica' or short names, many of which are 'playfully' formed by the reduplication of a consonant, such as in *Ffỉ*, *Mmỉ*, *Bbỉ*, *Ššỉ* (overview: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 72–83; cf. Sethe 1922). These names could also take the form of one lexical element of a longer name, such as found in the case of Meri from Mereruka, and Meri from Meryteti. Tentatively, it could be suggested that the popularity of these names was influenced by the same naming-patterns observed in the throne names of the kings of the 5th and 6th Dynasties: such as Kakai, Isesi, Teti, Pepy (Junker 1927, 61). Very occasionally, the *rn nfr* could also be a basilophoric name, and this seems to occur in the name formulae belonging to individuals who had both a theophoric and basilophoric name, such as *N(ỉ)-ᶜnḫ-mry-Rᶜ* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 419 [1540]) at Saqqara whose *rn nfr* was *(Ppy)-n(ỉ)-ᶜnḫ* (Hassan 1975, 1–23, esp. 18); however, this is not the case for Neferseshemptah Wedjahateti, mentioned earlier (section 3.5.1), who had a hypocoristic *rn nfr* Sheshi. The difference may lie in the (hypothesised) situation of Neferseshemptah acquiring his second major name later in his life. Regardless of the precise semantic meaning of the *rn nfr*, Fecht's (1974, 191) sense of this name being a 'final' name is probably still useful, especially concerning how this name-type occurs in inscriptional settings: the *rn nfr* commonly occurs in the final position in the name formula.

A 12th Dynasty statue inscription from Saqqara that includes *rn nfr* in an extended name formula offers further clues as to how this name was perceived by Egyptians. The fragmentary block-statue statue of *Ttỉ-m-sꜣ=f Ttỉ* (PN I, 384.19; Cairo Museum JE 40032: plate 11) includes the phrase *N rn=f/s nfr n ḏd rmṯ NN*: Tetiemsaef whose good name, as the people say (*n* + infinitive *ḏd*): Teti. While the wider social and geographic deixis of Tetiemsaef in Saqqara is indicated in this locally-significant name, the inscriptions on this statue provide wider context: these describe the appointment of Tetiemsaef Teti to the position of chief lector priest in the temples of: Kakheperre (Senuseret II), Sehetepibre (Amenemhat I), Pepy (II?), Teti, Sneferu, and Khufu, listed in

chronological order from newest to oldest. Moreover, the block statue was found 'in the pyramid temple' of Teti's pyramid complex (Quibell 1909, 113–14), where it presumably was set up in the precinct or forecourt of the temple by Tetiemsaef Teti or his family (Schulz 2011, 6; cf. Bothmer 2004, 135). The repetition of 'Teti' in both the major name and the minor name, within the context of a temple of the deceased and divinised Teti (cf. Malek 2000), probably had a particular potency. Specifically concerning this inscription, T. G. H. James (1953, 12), referring to the earlier mentioned study of Stock (1951) as well as Gustave Jequier (1946, 51–4), argues that the notions of *nfr* meaning 'resurrection and rejuvenation' in the context of divine epithets is possible, but that its application in *rn nfr* is 'much less certain', given this example from Tetiemsaef's inscription. Rather, James (1953, 12) argued, the image evoked in this inscription is the name being spoken by the people—*n ḏd rmṯ*—anchoring the giving of the *rn nfr* in the name-bearer's lifetime, perhaps while they were in the state of being *nfr* and young. Conceivably, such a recitation could take place as part of a funerary festival ritual (as described earlier in section 3.2.4), or in this case: the dedication of the statue in the temple precinct.

Vernus (1982, 323) argues that by the end of the 12th Dynasty, 'le système tend à se désagréger', and the salience of the *rn nfr* was lost as it was substituted by *N ḏdw=f/s NN*. Vernus (1982, 323) further suggests that the evolution of name formulae during this time resulted in a loss of specificity of Egyptian terms to distinguish the different names of the same person. It became more common to supplement the name(s) of an individual with their parentage, usually consisting of the names of either father or mother, or even both, as a means of offering definite identification (Vernus 1982, 320–33; cf. Edel 1955, §307 on filiation in Old Egyptian).

A final, speculative, point concerning the specific appellations given to the names-types (*ꜥ3*, *nfr*, *nḏs*, and so on) is that they share some similarities with the 'vocabulary of manifestation' that Nyord (2019, 179; 2009, 518) has argued was ascribed to the *k3,* such as possessing particular size or number, power, well-being, and purity, among others. In the case of the *rn*, the meanings of

these specifications may be quite literal: the major name was great in its semantic content, and often its length; the minor name (***nḏs***, for example) was commonly a diminutive and probably was most used in social, spoken spheres. However, these specifications could be hypothesised as being trace evidence for the ancient Egyptian belief that names could 'manifest' in a manner comparable to other aspects of the self; in other words, by calling the name ꜥ3 or ***nfr***, the intention was for the name to be imbued with this quality. This was also observed by Vernus (1982, 323) who argued that to call a name ***nfr*** communicated the Egyptian desire for the name possess the qualities of ***nfr*** from the outset:

> en le qualifiant d'emblée de ***nfr***, on force, en quelque sorte, dans un sens favorable cette réputation afin de bénéficier des avantages terrestres et funéraires inhérents à une bonne renommé.

In summary, the difference between the two broad categories of names in the Old Kingdom—major and minor—is that the minor name (***rn nfr*** or ***rn nḏs***) is always designated as such in monumental inscriptions, whereas the 'major' name did not receive this same level of specification. The reason may be that the ***rn*** ꜥ3 was only bestowed in certain hypothesised settings. Alternatively, if all major theophoric or basilophoric names should be understood to be ꜥ3, then this could be further reinforced elsewhere by context. None of the individuals in Mereruka's complex possessed names specified as being ***rn*** ꜥ3; however, I consider the ways in which the major name and ***rn nfr*** were used throughout each of the chapels in Mereruka's complex in Chapter 4. The major name always appears first in the name formula and was used selectively in the most prominent parts of monuments, such as exterior inscriptions and doorways and in close association with lists of titles and other forms of self-presentation, as well as in architectural features closely connected with ritual action, such as the false door. Comparatively, the ***rn nfr*** occurs in a much wider range of inscriptional settings, including speech captions. This may imply something about how these names were valued and indicate that they had different social applications.

3.6 ROYAL NAMES

The final section of this chapter offers brief comments on royal names, with a particular emphasis on decorum concerning speaking and inscribing the king's name. This is significant for understanding how new names were coined using the king's *nomen*, as basilophoric names that described his attributes. This has direct bearing on the meaning and orthography of Meryteti Meri's name, in particular, but also the name of Pepyankh which was erased in this chapel prior to Meryteti's interment.

The name of the king should not be considered like that of an ordinary person, and the circumstances around name-giving should be considered likewise distinct. Ancient Egyptian kings possessed multiple names which indicated different ritual and official aspects of kingship (described in Quirke 1990, 9–27; cf. von Beckerath 1999). From the 5th Dynasty onwards, kings acquired five names (Allen 2000, 64–66), ***ỉrỉ nḫbt*** 'making a titulary' upon ascending the throne (Warburton 2015, 439; cf. Bonhême 1987, 19). A long period of experimentation in the formulations of names had occurred before this time, and during the Old Kingdom it was rare for kings to bear all five names in a single monument (variations presented in Aufrère 1982, 67–8). An instance of all five occurring in a single inscription is not known before the reign of Pepy I (Strudwick 2005, 16).

As found in the examples presented in plates 34–5, from the reigns of Teti and Merenre, the titulary was composed of: the 'Horus' name, the 'Two Ladies' name, the 'Gold Falcon' name, the *prenomen* (so-called 'throne' name) and *nomen* ('Son of Re' or birth name). The *prenomen* and *nomen* were written inside a cartouche, a hieroglyphic sign of a looped coiled rope, tied at one end, which was derived from the hieroglyphic sign ***šn*** ○ [Gardiner V9], meaning to 'encircle' (*Wb.* IV, 488.9–10; *TLA* lemma-no. 155170; overview: Spieser 2010). Symbolically, this sign is believed to represent the sun disc encircling of the created world; thus, it both encircled the name of the king who was semi-divine, and it was emblematic of the king's rule of all that the solar god encompassed (Baines 1995, 9; cf. Barta 1970, 5–16). The cartouche was first used for the name of Sanakht in the 3rd

Dynasty (Leprohon 2013, 8), while the practice of enclosing the king's Horus name within a 'palace façade' structure is attested from the 1st Dynasty (Spieser 2010, 1; cf. Baines 1989).

Compared to the paucity of evidence for non-royal naming rituals discussed above (section 3.4), mythical and performative acts of naming for the king and the gods are well attested in literary and mortuary texts. In the Pyramid Texts, the king's *nomen* is recited and 'made firm' like the names of the gods following his death (Hellum 2015, 236f.). A particularly notable example is Spell 366 (*PT* §626–33 in Sethe 1908; cf. plate 36), containing the 'in your name of…' formula (Hellum 2015; cf. Assmann 2001, 83–87; Gilula 1982, 259–300), such as section 628–9:

> [§628] Your [i.e. Teti] two sisters Isis and Nephthys come to you, making you healthy, and you are black and great in your name of (*m rn=f n*[*y*]) 'Bitter Lakes' Wall, you are healthy and great in your name of (*m rn=f n*[*y*]) 'Great Green';
>
> [§629] Behold, you [i.e. Teti] are great and round (*m* [*rn=f ny*]) 'Great Circle'; behold, you have become encircled and round, as the circle which surrounds the 'Outer Isles'; behold, you are round and great as the Great Encircler of the Great Circle.
>
> (trans. following Hellum 2015, 236)

This spell primarily occurs in the burial chamber, and Jennifer Hellum (2015, 240) has stressed the significance of this formula occurring in close proximity to the sarcophagus (plate 37): the place where revivification would begin (cf. Hellum 2016).

I follow Hellum's translation of *rn* as 'name' for this passage, rather than Allen's 'identity' (2015, 84–5), but from the wider context it can be inferred that the names bestowed in this spell essentialised the manifestation of the name-bearer (the king) in this form (Gilula 1982, 260). As discussed by Hellum (2015, 239), the name formula contains two elements: the action which is undertaken 'in the name of' is the first component, with the name as the second component. Together, the apposition of the initial clause ('you are round and great') and the concluding clause ('in your name of 'Great Circle', i.e., the Ocean) provide a paired juxtaposition that agreed with the most elemental Egyptian philosophy, that of the structure of the world and the king's place within it. Hellum (2015, 235) argues that in this situation the name was no longer fixed to the king's earthly

person, but through this ritual formula the name and the king himself became a mythic element of the divine sphere (cf. Hornung 1983, 125). Through the formula, the deceased king is transformed and elevated to godhood. Thus, she argues (2015, 252), this name was more than just a name with important religious implications:

> On a metaphysical level, the designee was given a changeable, transient attribute, only intended to define him or her for a specific situation. A feature or quality was called into play, one that was outside their physical and mental selves. At the same time, this feature was an inherent part of themselves, by virtue of the fact that it was their name. The pronoun presumes the innate quality, while the name itself supplies the peripherality.
>
> (Hellum 2015, 252).

The 'in your name of…' formula is strong evidence of the emic Egyptian notion that an essential relationship existed between the name and the named, which Assmann (1983, 201), quoted in the beginning of this chapter, has called the 'Egyptian theory of the name'.

Concerning the king's name, the formula also occurs in very different inscription setting: the fictional late Middle Kingdom *Tale of Cheops' Court* ('Papyrus Westcar': P. Berlin 3033 in Blackman 1988, pls. 13–13a). This tale provides a narration of the birth and naming of three kings by Isis. In this tale, the names given to the kings allude to the wish that the children come easily from Ruddjedet's womb. The names themselves are puns which play on Isis' pronouncements of their births and imbue the newly born child with the qualities of that name. For example, in the repetition of the element of *wsr* (l. 10.8–14):

> Then Isis said, 'May you not be powerful (*wsr*) in her belly, in this your name of User!'[16] and this child rushed out onto her two arms, as a child of one cubit, his bones were strong, the appearance of his limbs was gold, his headdress was of true lapis lazuli. And they washed him, after his navel cord had been cut, and he was placed on a couch

[16] While the name is commonly transliterated as Userref, as in Parkinson's translation (1998, 117), the *rf* is a reinforcing particle that follows the determinative of the name and thus should be omitted. I thank Angela McDonald for this observation.

> of brick. Then Meskhenet approached him. Then she said, 'A king who will perform the kingship in this land in its entirety!'
>
> (trans. following Parkinson 1998, 117).

The fictional context of this scenario should be stressed—just as the mythological and ritual context of the Pyramid Texts should likewise be stressed—and the birth-names of the kings in this tale, User, Sahure, Keku, are not all the same names as the historical kings of the 5th Dynasty: Userkaf, Sahure, and Neferirkare Kakai (Parkinson 1997, 117 ns. 52, 54, 55). However, aspects of this tale may relate to real scenarios around birth and naming, and Isis' announcements of the births are reminiscent of the wish formulations in names described in section 3.4, especially the oracular formulations. A further point, although speculative, is that the tale itself was a piece of subversive literature that did not originate in royal myth, but was composed in 'less formal language', closer to oral poetry and folk-tale, and parodying high registers of narrative for comic effect (Parkinson 1998, 114; cf. Parkinson 2002, 188). Whether this also extends to the passage in question referring to non-royal practices of name-giving, adapted for this fictionalised royal birth narrative, is difficult to assess.

The role of the gods in the naming of the king became an important component of the royal monumental programme of the New Kingdom (Redford 1986, 82, 91), as mentioned earlier (section 3.2.5), concerning the inscription of the king's names on the *ished*-tree. Further, related examples abound, such as Hatshepsut's claims in her temple at Deir el Bahri (*Urk.* IV, 261, 2–4: Leprohon 2013, 9) that the lector priests were brought in to 'inscribe her Great Names, (at the time of) receiving her titulary of Dual King' and that the priests subsequently proclaimed them, the god having 'brought about (his) manifestations in their minds (*ỉb*)'. Similarly, in an inscription located south of the main sanctuary at Karnak (*Urk.* IV, 160, 10–11: Leprohon 2013, 9), Thutmosis III claims, '[Amun-Re] established my appearances and made a titulary (*ỉrỉ nḫbt*) for me himself'.

As the example of Hatshepsut's text makes clear, royal names were designed to make public the ideological and religious framework of royal actions, announcing the major priorities of the

king's reign (Postel 2004, 2). The titles that specified the different names, listed above, related to the two pillars of ancient Egyptian kingship: its duality and its limited divinity (Posener 1960). The *prenomen* was specifically concerned with the king's ascension to the office in which he was semi-divine (*nswt*); the nomen was bound to his earthly person (*ḥm*)—indeed, it seems likely this was the king's actual birth name (Strudwick 2005, 14; cf. Silverman 1995). New names could be adopted, if required, in order to fulfil this important religious function of the king's titulary. This is attested during the reign of 6th Dynasty king Pepy I, who changed his *prenomen* from Nefersahor to Meryre—from a name invoking his relationship with Horus ('Perfect is the protection of Horus'), to that of Re ('Beloved of Re'). The name Nefersahor is attested unchanged in expedition inscriptions dating to the earlier part of Pepy I's reign (discussed in Windus-Staginsky 2006, 55–6); however, elsewhere the name was systematically altered. On a wall fragment from the west room of Room 1 in Inumin's chapel in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, a cartouche containing 'Nefersahor', was carefully sanded down and replaced in red paint with the later throne name, 'Meryre' (see plate 38). This echoes the treatment of this same name in Pepy I's pyramid at South Saqqara, in which Nefersahor was altered to Meryre (Berger el-Naggar, Leclant, Mathieu et al. 2001, 55; cf. Pierre 1994), although the former name remains in the serdab, which must have been sealed off at an early stage, before the re-editing of texts occurred in other parts of the monument (Billing 2017, 415; Gundacker 2016b). The motivations for the change are unclear, but it seems likely that the desired outcome was for the new *prenomen* to explicitly affirm the king's relationship with Re; this may have subsequently affected how other, non-royal people used Pepy I's throne name in their own names, as the example of Meru Senebteti (Senebpepy/Senebmeryre) discussed earlier (section 3.4) seems to suggest.

In both royal and non-royal inscriptions, the king's name was afforded similar ritual treatment as the king's physical body. Visually, the name was isolated and foregrounded through the use of the cartouche, 'demarcat[ing] it from any environment in which it was sited' (Baines 2007, 18). In a longer inscription, or in a personal name, further intratextual devices such as

honorific transposition were employed to the same effect. Moreover, the cartouche could take on iconic significance when it was used in place of the anthropomorphic image of the king, which was restricted during the Old Kingdom. Although, as Cathie Spieser (2002, 35) has argued (cf. Bonhême 1984-1985), the cartouche may appear as a substitute for the king but it was not his true equivalent:

> Le nom, même s'il équivaut à une image du roi, n'est pas équivalent à la représentation anthropomorphe du souverain qui demeure rattachée à son aspect terrestre. Même si le nom possède une réalité physique dans l'iconographie, il a pour particularité de focaliser les aspects divins immanents du roi.

The context of the inscription was important, and a distinction between royal and non-royal settings is necessary when comparing the elaboration of form in the king's name (for the New Kingdom: Spieser 2002). For example, the form of the king's titulary was especially elaborate on ritual objects which may have been touched or held by him, or given by him as a personal gift, as hypothesised for the ivory boxes inscribed with the cartouche of Pepy II from Balat (Minault-Gout 1997, 305–14). Comparable items are the alabaster sistrum inscribed with the Teti's titulary (MMA New York, 26.7.1450: plate 34), or the ivory box inscribed with the titulary of Merenre I (Musée du Louvre N 79: plate 45), although the precise archaeological context for objects is unknown. In these examples, three of the king's names are written: the Horus name occupying the central position, and the *praenomen* and *nebty*-name either side. The names are then enclosed by ***pt***, the sign for sky 𓊨 [Gardiner N1] at the top, elaborating the name's cosmological significance, and two *was*-sceptres. At the base an inscription wishes that the king be given life and strength eternally. The presentation of the king's name on these objects is comparable to how they appear in other monument settings, in which the king's Horus name is used in 'official' capacities, such as royally authorised rock inscriptions and decrees (Strudwick 2005, 15), and the titulary bounded by *was*-sceptres and the ***pt***-sign.

In non-royal settings of the Old Kingdom, the king's name was restricted to very particular usage: primarily this was cartouche (usually the nomen, but occasionally the *praenomen*) in

basilophoric names and titles specific to his funerary cult. Similar restrictions applied to how the king was referred to in biographical and tomb inscriptions (Silverman 1995, 63–66; the classic study is Goedicke 1960); different terminology was used that distinguished the physical embodiment (person) of the king: *ḥm* (cf. Goedicke 1960, 51–79; Barta 1978, 478; Allen 1992, 18); *nb* (Goedicke 1960, 46–49, 80–87), and the more abstract designations of the divine office of kingship, *nswt* and *nswt-bỉty* (Otto 1960). While the cartouche in non-royal, private inscriptions of the late Old Kingdom does not show the same iconographic elaboration as found in royally commissioned monuments described above, the inscriptions in which the king's name occurred were carefully composed in order to visually and semantically emphasise the king's name and person over other elements. Particularly striking examples are discussed in relation to the entrance recess inscriptions of Mereruka (section 4.1.3.1) and Meryteti Meri (section 4.2.3). Names and titles containing the king's name are strategically placed within the tomb programme so that the cartouches frame significant registers of text and important architectural features. The cartouches are thus visually foregrounded in the chapel entrances, and internally oriented towards Teti's pyramid to the south of this complex. Within the names themselves and in the arrangement of the text, a very deliberate assertion of the king's position within the world is found, while also foregrounding the individual's relationship to that king.

The taboo concerning the king's name and image also appears to have extended to other aspects of his person, including the pronouncement of his name (cf. on naming taboos in African languages: Storch 2011, 34–8). Stanza seven of the *Teaching of a man for his son*, dating to the second half of the 12th Dynasty (Parkinson 2002, 319; Stauder 2013, 508; contra Brunner 1978), states this clearly (Fischer-Elfert 1999, §7):

> Bodily health is the one who avoids his [the king's] name (*šw m rn=f*) |[2]
> he [the king] surrounds (literally, 'encircles': *šnt=f*) his body. |[3]
> The West will receive him from the protection of his [the king's] arms. |[4]
> A person is buried as one cleansed by him [the king], |[5]
> and made splendid (*sbq.tw*) and secure (*ḥn.tw*) at his [the king's] name (*rn=f*) |[6]

The thoughtful man finds peace at his pyramid (*ḥtp ḥr mr.f*), |[7]
but there is no tomb for the one who pronounces his name (*dm rn.f*); |[8]
there is no pouring of water for the one who plots against him.

Although composed several hundred years after the Old Kingdom, the taboo concerning the utterance (*dmi*) of the king's name is particularly striking. It is also comparable to apparent Old Kingdom restrictions around the royal body, most vividly described in the biographical inscription of 5th Dynasty official Rewer (Cairo JE 66682: Hassan 1932, 18–9, fig. 13), mentioning an incident in which he was touched by the king's staff during a ceremony (*Urk.* I, 232; cf. Allen 1992). Speaking the king's name may have been restricted to certain classes of official, or appropriate ritual or courtly settings: one may have required special status or favour to be allowed to do so (Quack 2010, 2–4); such practices were deeply embedded in social decorum that had real-time depth, and it seems likely that the instructions concerning the king's name in the Teaching were just as applicable to the Old Kingdom court, inferred by the content of Old Kingdom biographical inscriptions. Additionally, lines 5–6 and 7–8 in stanza seven of the teaching draw a close association, through internal poetic structure and repetition, to names and monuments. Especially, the king's name is likened to other royal monuments that enshrined his person: one is 'radiant and secure' in the presence of his name; one finds peace in being buried near his pyramid. What can be surmised from this passage is the Egyptian belief that the king's name, in its materialised, monumental form, affected the surrounding world in the same manner as the king's person.

3.7 Summary

From surviving textual sources, it can be inferred that the name had powerful associations during life that passed into the afterlife. As stated by Lynn Meskell (2004b, 59): 'an individual's name powerfully encompassed bodily, social, spiritual, and intellectual spheres.' By considering the name in relation to other important aspects of the self, and how they were connected in extant sources, it can be determined that it was particularly important to the name to be spoken and written down or inscribed in order for the name to live on in the memory of others. Furthermore, it appears that

certain names, such as the major name (*rn ꜥ3*), also seem to have been reserved for particularly formal settings; meanwhile, minor names, such as the *rn nfr*, were more familiar names that probably had a 'household' use; the latter will be expanded upon in reference to direct case-studies in Mereruka's complex in the following chapter. The practice of designating the names in monumental inscriptions with *ꜥ3* or *nfr* is distinctive to Old Kingdom names, although this practice was adopted much later in Pharaonic history. The terms used to specify the different name types, disappeared during the Middle Kingdom, as the formula 'X who is called Y' was introduced.

Royal names and naming practices were distinct from that of non-royal people, and the king's names were imbued with meaning that was closely tied to his role as a manifestation of divine beings in human form. This was manifest in inscriptions that included his name, in which visual and intratextual devices were employed that separated his name from profane elements; this affected how certain names (such as basilophoric names) were inscribed. Moreover, as I develop in Chapter 4 (section 4.4.3), this extended to basilophoric names which were erased: his name was as sacred as his person. It is clear from these summaries of both royal and non-royal names and naming-practices that ancient Egyptian names had both denotative and connotative meaning, and that ancient Egyptians believed that a name's meaning had bearing on the self in both life and death.

CHAPTER 4

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE COMPLEX OF MERERUKA MERI

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter comprises the main analysis of names in this thesis, split into the sections that consider in turn the names of the major chapel owners: Mereruka Meri (Chapel A: section 4.2), Meryteti Meri (Chapel C: section 4.3), and Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet (Chapel B: section 4.4), and then the specific phenomenon of names in added inscriptions in the complex as a whole (section 4.5). In each section, the following questions underlie each selected treatment of the name (not in this exact order in each section): Who is the name bearer and which name(s) do they bear? Can patterns in the spatial location of names in the monument be deduced? What is the lexical meaning of the name, and how does it indexically refer to the social, geographic, and temporal *deixis* of its referent? What is the orthography of the name and is there orthographic variation for names where they occur in multiple locations? How does the name relate to its referents' self-presentation in the visual programme?

In an ancient Egyptian tomb, the location, orientation, layout and spacing of image and text affect the reading and experience of the space; accordingly, within each section the name is discussed in relation to the architectural features as they are experienced when moving through the tomb: from the approach to the exterior, to the entrance, through the chapel to the primary offering spaces, and finally in the burial chamber (if it is inscribed). Within each chapel, certain architectural and inscriptional features are highlighted that are specific to that space: for example, in the chapel of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, the play between her name and her unique programme of reliefs that asserted her royal birth are discussed; whereas in the chapel of Meryteti Meri, the complex series of erasures and palimpsests are highlighted, demonstrating the decorum concerning inscribed basilophoric names. The final section considers how the authors of added inscriptions may have

'usurped' figures in the tomb reliefs in order for their names to be properly embodied, and how this inscriptional practice is, itself, a nonreferential index of the social relationships (real or desired) between the tomb-owners and the person making the inscription.

4.2 The Chapel of Mereruka Meri

The first chapel to be considered in this chapter belongs to Mereruka (Chapel A), for whom the original monument was commissioned, as outlined in Chapter 1 (section 1.4). I begin with the meaning of Mereruka's major name, followed by the meaning of his minor name, Meri. This is followed by a discussion of the orthography of these names in four distinct locations: on the exterior walls, the entrance recess, the interior pillared hall (room A13) and adjacent spaces (such as A11 and A12), and finally the burial chamber.

4.2.1 Meaning of Mereruka's major name

Mereruka's name in its full form is *Mrrw-kꜣ(=i) rn=f nfr Mrỉ* (**A.i**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 400 [1403]), meaning something like, 'Beloved of (my) *kꜣ*, his perfect name: Meri'. Other translations are possible, as discussed below, including 'The one whom my *kꜣ* loves'. In the inscriptions from Mereruka's complex, the lemma *mrỉ* (in the major name) is consistently written with a geminated stem and with a *w*-ending. The name itself, specifically with the geminated stem in *Mrr*, is unusual in the Old Kingdom and only a few similarly constructed names are attested (note that only two examples also include the *w*-ending): for example, at Giza *Mrr*[*w*]-*ib(=i?)* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 400 [1399]), *Mrr*[*w*]-*nsw* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 400 [1401]), and *Mrrw-qd*[*=i*?] (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 400 [1402]); and at Dendera *Mrr*[*w*]-*ikr* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 400 [1400]). Where the *w*-ending has been retained, or can be reasonably restored, several constructions including relative and participle forms are possible—the senses of both may have been inherent to the meaning of Mereruka's name. *Mrrw* may be read as a *sḏm=f* in a relative clause (cf. PN II, 25), emphasising that the act of loving or desiring on the part of the *kꜣ* was continual ('The one whom

my *kꜣ* loves'). Alternatively, *mrrw* may be a passive participle, placing emphasis on the name-bearer being the beloved one of the *kꜣ* ('Beloved of my *kꜣ*'). *Mr* ('to love' or 'desire': *Wb.* II, 98–100:11) is variously employed in Egyptian texts to describe many aspects of sexual passion (as in the Pyramid Texts: Ogdon 2001), but also the binding power that emanates from the one who loves or whom is the object of love (Mathieu 1996, 168–72). It is the latter that is most applicable to the relationship between the *kꜣ* and the name-bearer (or, perhaps, name-giver) expressed in Mereruka's name and other names like it. This will be considered in greater detail in the following pages. Several variants to Mereruka's name that include the lemmata *mrỉ* and *kꜣ* are known, one of which belongs to Mereruka's (proposed) father:

1. The earliest attested is *Mr.t-kꜣ(=ỉ),* meaning 'beloved of (my) *kꜣ*', who was the owner of a 1st Dynasty stela found at Abydos (Petrie 1901, pls. 26 n. 61; cf. Schweitzer 1956, 36–9).

2. One instance of *Mrr*[*.t*]*-kꜣ(=ỉ)* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 401 [1406]), which is attested in a badly damaged register next to the figure of a woman in the Tomb of Iy Idy at El Hawawish from the 6th Dynasty (Kanawati 1987, 14, fig. 7). While Scheele-Schweitzer reads this as a personal name, it is unclear from the context whether this is in fact a name or part of an epithet.

3. *Mr-kꜣ(=i)* is attested once in an added inscription next to an offering figure in the 4th to 5th Dynasty tomb of *Kꜣ(=ỉ)-n-nsw* (G 8960) at Giza (Hassan 1936, fig. 88)

4. The name *Mrw-kꜣ(=i)*, which is sometimes rendered *Mr(ỉ)-w(ỉ)-kꜣ(=ỉ)*, '(My) *kꜣ* loves me' (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 382 [1291]), is attested for four people: twice at Giza, firstly for the owner of a late 5th Dynasty tomb (unnumbered) in the Western cemetery, discussed below (Junker 1950, 70–83; Berman 1999, 133–34), and for the owner of another 5th Dynasty tomb (G 8986) in the Central Field (Hassan 1932, 62–3, pl. XLII); once at Saqqara in the 6th Dynasty tomb of *Inw-mnw* (Kanawati 2006, 153, pl. 50a); and once in a fragmentary 5th Dynasty papyrus from Abusir, discussed below. Unlike Mereruka's name, in these variants the lemma *mrỉ* is consistently written without a reduplicated stem. The *kꜣ* is variously written as or  , but this

does not appear to indicate any difference in reference to the *kꜣ* (cf. Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2000, 19).

5. A further variant, *Mr.t-kꜣ=s* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 397 [1384]), a woman's name meaning 'Beloved of her (own?) *kꜣ*', is attested on a 6th Dynasty stela belonging to an official named *Ḥꜣgỉ,* of unknown provenance (Louvre C 160 in Ziegler 1990, 196).

The writing of the first-person, singular, suffix-pronoun *=ỉ* is scarcely known in inscriptions before the end of the Sixth Dynasty (Fischer 1974b, 247), as also indicated by the selection of the names above. A single instance of *Mrw-kꜣ=ỉ* including  is attested in a fragmentary, 5th Dynasty hieratic list of temple personnel from Abusir (Verner 1995, 142 and pl. 35 a). Here the sign could either be acting as a suffix pronoun or, more likely, as a determinative for the name (cf. Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 150). The inclusion of a third-person, singular, feminine suffix-pronoun in *Mr.t-kꜣ=s* lends support to the reading of *kꜣ(=i)* when taken together with the fact that semi-vowels, including the suffix *=ỉ*, were frequently omitted. There are no examples of names like Mereruka's that include the first-person, singular, masculine suffix pronoun *=f*, although this pronoun is found written in other Old Kingdom names (5th Dynasty examples: Fischer 1974b). It is thus extremely improbable that *=f* should be restored.

It remains syntactically unclear as to who is the object of the *kꜣ*'s love, or who the *kꜣ* belongs to, and thus the question remains as to whether these names reference the name-bearer being loved by their *kꜣ* or by the *kꜣ* of the name-giver (Olabarria 2018a, 97). Was the intention to bestow a name that would reflect the thoughts and feelings of the name-giver (e.g. Mereruka is beloved of his father's *kꜣ*), or was the name chosen to express the ongoing and perpetual relationship that child would have with their own *kꜣ*? In the case of Meretkaes, her name may refer not only to herself ('beloved of her own *kꜣ*'), but the name may also describe her status as woman who was beloved of the *kꜣ* of a female relative, such as her mother; indeed, both may have been possible at once. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.2), the *kꜣ* could be imbued with the condition of loving, and its relational aspects emphasised in names (cf. Olabarria 2018a).

This relational, and intergenerational transmission of the *kꜣ* may be found in another name in Mereruka's complex: *Kꜣ-n(y)-nb=f-w(i) rn=f nfr Ḫnw* (**D**: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 702 [3477]), whose false door, mentioned earlier in Chapter 1 (section 1.4), was found in the courtyard outside Mereruka's tomb. Kanawati et al. (2010, 34) suggest that he was a son of Mereruka, as a man also named Khenu is identified as a son in Mereruka's complex. Khenu is a common Old Kingdom name (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 599 [2771]), and no further inscriptions provide definitive evidence of a familial link between the two individuals. Kanenebefui's name, meaning 'The *kꜣ* which belongs to his lord is me' (cf. Fischer 1974a, 249), could be construed as indexically referring to Mereruka ('his lord') as well as Kanenebefui, himself ('me'); although equally this could be a reference to the king (or perhaps a local god). The name is only attested in Saqqara, but similarly constructed names are known, such as the name *Kꜣ(=i)-n-nsw* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 703 [3480]), meaning 'My *kꜣ* which belongs to the king' which is attested variously in the Giza cemeteries. However, the physical location of Kanenebefui's false door in relation to Mereruka's chapel must also be considered Erecting this monument within the enclosure wall around Mereruka's complex indicates some sort of relationship, whether real or desired, blood or social that may be similarly indexed in the name. The exact nature of this proposed relationship between Mereruka and Kanenebefui cannot be determined; however, names like Kanenebefui's point to a wider network of relations (broadly conceived) between whom a *kꜣ* could be transmitted or dedicated.

The question of how the *kꜣ* may have been transmitted through a name can be productively applied to Mereruka and the like-named individual assumed to be his father. An unnumbered 5th Dynasty mastaba (PM III: 1, 118–19) in the Western Cemetery at Giza which belonged to a man named *Mrw-kꜣ(=i)*, was proposed by Fischer (1960, 310–12) to be Mereruka's father (cf. Harpur 1987, 14–5). This tomb was first uncovered by Montague Ballard in an unrecorded excavation that took place between 1901–2 (Fischer 1970, 311), and was then re-excavated by Hermann Junker (1950, 70–83). One lintel from the entrance doorway (plate 39) with the offering-text and titles of

Meruka and his own father, *Kꜣ(=ỉ)-ḫr-Ptḥ* ('My *kꜣ* which is before Ptah': Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 708 [3505]) is now in Hildesheim (Roemer und Pelizaeus Museum 3049: Martin 1979, 42–44). Meruka was a *rḫ nswt* ('royal acquaintance'), *smsw ht* ('elder of the hall'), *wᶜb nswt* ('royal *wᶜb*-priest') and (*Ḫwfw*)ا *ḥm-nṯr* ('priest of Khufu'). In Meruka's tomb in Giza, two sons, Ihyemsaf and Ptahshepses, are attested in a badly damaged scene on the west wall of the pillared hall, and at least one other (perhaps eldest) son is depicted in this scene in the initial position, but the name is lost. It is tempting to speculate that this may have been Mereruka.

At least two lintels from this tomb were collected by Giovanni Dattari: the first is now in a private collection (Sotheby's 2018: see plate 40); the second is in the Cleveland Museum of Art (20.1914) and shows Meruka and his wife, Nedjetempet, seated together (Berman 1999, 133–34).[17] This is the only surviving relief from Meruka's mastaba in Giza that records Nedjetempet's name, which is shared by Mereruka's mother in his Saqqara tomb (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.5). On the Cleveland lintel, Nedjetempet is identified as a *sn(t)-ḏt* ('sister of the estate') and *rḫt-nswt* ('royal acquaintance'). In Mereruka's tomb, Nedjetempet is represented four times in room A13 with the title of 'royal acquaintance' (Kanawati et. al. 2010, 19). Mereruka does not name his father in his own tomb although is not entirely unusual in the late Old Kingdom (Fischer 2000, 4–5), even though Meruka does include the name of his father, Kakherptah, as described above.

The Cleveland lintel, together with the depiction of Mereruka's mother in Saqqara and the close association of her burial to his tomb there, is the strongest evidence available to support the hypothesis that these individuals, Meruka and Nedjetempet, were Mereruka's parents. There are few tombs (except large family tombs) in Giza that can be definitely linked by kinship (Harpur 1987, 24), let alone those in different cemeteries. As such, this hypothesised connection should be

[17] Two further inscribed blocks from Meruka's tomb were noted by Fischer (1960, 311 n. 24), erroneously, to be in the Cleveland Museum of Art. These were never purchased by the museum, but all three were once owned by the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust. The lintel of Meruka and Nedjetempet (Cleveland Museum of Art 20.1914), matching the enumeration 3940.20 in Fischer's notes, was loaned to the museum in 1920 (they later took ownership of it), and there is no record of what happened to the two other pieces (Beth Owens, Cleveland Museum of Art, pers. comm. 27 July 2018).

treated cautiously. If the two men are indeed related, Mereruka's name may be evidence of a complex patronym (a name that was shared between father and son, or another male ancestor), and one which may have indexically referred to two people: Mereruka himself and his father (or his father's *kꜣ*).

While the two names may share some aspects of meaning, the orthography is different. It is curious that the verb in Mereruka's name was consistently written with a geminated stem, and yet his father's name does not deploy this. This may indicate a semantic difference in the two names that is now lost, or this may be related to the need to distinguish individuals with like-names in a social, spoken setting. It was common in the Old Kingdom to distinguish between two or more like-named people with further appellations (*nḏs, ḥry-ib, wr*) or through the *rn nfr*; however, the possibility that the pronunciation of these names foregrounded their difference (in terms of reference) cannot be excluded. In the case of Meruka and Mereruka, the former does not have a *rn nfr* surviving in the inscriptions from his Giza tomb, but the latter is known to have had a *rn nfr*, Meri, discussed below. The 'household' use of the name Meri is hypothesised below (in section 3.4.2) with specific reference to how the name is used throughout the tomb's inscriptions; however, if this speculative relationship between Meruka and Mereruka is correct, Mereruka's *rn nfr* may also have been given with the intention to distinguish himself from his like-named father while also honouring him. Although his name does not share the same lexical composition, Meruka's father (thus Mereruka's possible, paternal grandfather), Kakherptah, also possessed a *kꜣ* name, and it is possible that taken all together these names are evidence of a paternal naming practice that emphasised the *kꜣ*. This may indirectly reference the transmittable quality of the *kꜣ*'s substance, hypothesised by Olabarria (2018a).

4.2.2 Meaning of the minor name Meri

Meri ('beloved') is a common Old Kingdom hypocoristic or diminutive name (cf. Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 378–79), which Mereruka may have been given as a young child, as discussed in

Chapter 3 (section 3.4). This name, like other hypocoristic names, does not appear to have been given for its lexical meaning, although, as hypothesised above, it may have been given to distinguish Mereruka from a similarly named relative. Another view of this minor name, that doesn't rest on this hypothesised kinship, is that the use of 'Meri' was preferred in everyday speech, and the major name, containing the ontologically significant element of the *kꜣ*, was reserved for suitably sacred, or decorous, situations. In Mereruka's tomb chapel and burial chamber, Meri is the name most often used in the *Reden und Rufe* which may point to this name being used most frequently in daily-life, discussed below (section 4.2.3.3).

4.2.3 Orthography of Mereruka's names

The orthography of Mereruka's major name as well as his *rn nfr* is consistent across the exterior and interior reliefs. In most cases, the determinative is not written; instead, the images of Mereruka acted as enlarged determinatives to the phonetic writing of the name in its vicinity (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.2.1). In two different inscriptional contexts the name 'Meri' is written with a determinative of a seated man following the terminal *ỉ*, described below (section 4.2.3.3), and I argue that this orthography was dictated by the wider architectural setting and thematic content of the space in which this occurs.

4.2.3.1 Exterior walls

The interplay between the phonetic and ideographic elements of the name and image of the tomb-owner is exemplified in the exterior inscriptions of Mereuka's tomb, where multiple forms of relief are utilised to maximise this graphic play. At maximum, only the lower four courses of the exterior walls of Mereruka's tomb remain. However, this is enough to determine that inscriptions were restricted to distinct areas: the corners of the external walls, and the southern entrance way to the tomb itself. The inscriptions on the corners are carved in deep sunk relief, demarcating and laying claim to cemetery space very visibly (plates 41–2). The use of this deep-sunk relief is sumptuous and visually striking, and probably emulates the sunk relief used on royal monuments (Fazzini 1972,

49; cf. on sumptuousness, Weeks 1979, 60). In some cases of non-royal architecture of the Old Kingdom, sunk relief was probably used because it was faster and cheaper to execute (cf. for the 5th Dynasty: Chauvet 2007, 45–47; Strudwick 1985, 24). However, the choice of sunk relief for the exterior walls of Mereruka's tomb was more likely to be motivated by aesthetic concerns (cf. Fazzini 1972, 49).

An image of Mereruka is carved on each corner of the southern, western and northern faces. In each case, the figure of Mereruka faces towards the tomb's southern entrance and is accompanied by two registers of inscriptions which originally included his name; these texts are now mostly lost. Three instances of Mereruka's names (major and minor) survive: two on the southern face of the tomb (west: plate 41, 43; and east: plate 42), and one on the northern face of the tomb (north east corner). The north-west and south-eastern corner of the east face have not been published, and it is unclear from the published reports whether any relief has survived from these areas; they are inaccessible today. The inscriptions on west face have not survived, except for a portion of a title and the lower torso of two standing figures of Mereruka. At the south-western and south-eastern corners of the tomb, the image of Mereruka is mirrored: he is seated on a lion-legged chair, of which only two legs are visible in profile, with the arm closest to the viewer lowered, with his fist clenched upon his knee. He holds a staff of office in the other hand, furthest from the viewer, and he is wearing a gala kilt and broad collar. In both examples, the name is placed directly above his head, allowing the image to act as a determinative and enliven the name.

On the south-western corner (plate 43), only the feet of the *w*-bird and the *kꜣ*-sign remain in the far left column, although this can be restored as [*Mrr.*]*w-kꜣ(=ỉ)* with certainty. In the eastern register, [...]*r Inpw* remains, almost certainly the final signs of *ỉmꜣḫw ḫr Inpw* ('the one who is *ỉmꜣḫw* before Anubis'). The final sign of Mereruka's name, the *kꜣ*, is placed directly above his head. I suggest that in this instance, there is a deliberate, emblematic arrangement of the text so that the arms of the *kꜣ* (and, by extension, Mereruka's *kꜣ*) emanate directly from him, visually mobilising the unity between Mereruka and his *kꜣ* which is alluded to in his name (compare Hezi-Re: Morenz

2008, 192–3; cf. on cryptographic writings: Polis 2018, 328–30). The meaning here is visually foregrounded, adhering to the principle: 'read what you see first (and then what is written)' (as per Polis 2018, 329). A close visual parallel is found in the exterior reliefs of Khentika Ikhekhi, to the east of Mereruka's complex. In one of the exterior inscriptions from the north face, Khentika's major name terminates with the monumental *kꜣ*-sign directly above an image him seated, holding a staff of office (plate 43: James 1953, pl. 1, 6, 8[3]). As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.5), concerning the 'painting of the seasons', it appears that Mereruka's complex was a distinctive influence in the visual programme of Khentika's complex, and other similarities exist among the programmes, such as the corporal punishment scene (Beaux 1991); tentatively, this could be extended to the composition of the exterior inscriptions, including the interplay between name and the sign of the *kꜣ*. In this example, the meaning in Khentika's name is mobilised in a manner similar to Mereruka's: the *kꜣ* is visually foregrounded in its association with Khentika's person. This visual play (albeit not with the name), alluding to the *kꜣ*, can be compared to the 6th Dynasty rock-cut statue of Idu in his Giza tomb (G 7102) (plate 44). A false-door niche, cut in the centre of the west wall of Idu's offering chamber includes a statue representing the upper torso of his body, seemingly rising from the ground. He extends his arms and hands to receive the offering deposited on the altar slab in front of him. A similar statue is found in the tomb of Qar (G 7101), also at Giza (Simpson 1976, pls. 21–3). A much later parallel, and from a royal context, is the so-called *kꜣ*-statue of King Hor, 13th Dynasty (JE 30948), in which the *kꜣ* is placed above directly above his head, in a manner similar to a crown (de Morgan 1895, 91–3; Arnold 2015, 17).

On the south-eastern corner it is Mereruka's *rn=f nfr* Meri, which appears above the image of Mereruka; thus, the same emblematic combination of signs was not possible. However, at a broader, architectural level, this produces the juxtaposition of the major and minor name that is replicated at a smaller scale throughout the monument, as discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.4.1). The north-eastern join with the tomb of Kagemni is partially preserved, although part of the inscription (carrying what remained of the title *smr wꜥtỉ*, 'sole companion') has been lost (plate 45).

Mereruka can be clearly read here, although whether an image of Mereruka had been carved below cannot be determined. It would appear that there is only one course of stone left below the text. Thus, the primary inscriptions and images of Mereruka seem to have been reserved for the front-face of the tomb—the face opposite Teti's pyramid. This is a strong indication that the tomb was primarily viewed from the south, while the inscriptions that occur on the rear corners served an ancillary function of 'sign-posting' the owner of the tomb. The poor preservation of these exterior corner blocks means that it cannot be determined whether a particular, intentional order to the images and inscriptions once existed; for example, it cannot be determined which titles were selected for this external self-presentation and whether his most senior titles were reserved for the southern face, closest to the entrance. However, it can be stated that the broader function of these inscriptions was to display the most distinguished aspects of Mereruka's career. The most complete comparative example of these exterior inscriptions in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery is Kagemni's tomb (plate 45) in which the north-eastern external corner of his tomb, and the north western join between the two tombs of Kagemni and Mereruka, were inscribed like Mereruka's. Like Mereruka's, Kagemni's inscriptions are manipulated so that the name appears as close as possible to his image, thus acting as the determinative to the names. On the north-eastern corner, *Kꜣ(=ỉ)-gm.n(=ỉ)* is inscribed horizontally on the eastern face while *Mmỉ*, his *rn nfr*, occurs on the north face. The organisation of these inscriptions is notable as the titles (only partially preserved) are read vertically, while the names are oriented horizontally, without the use of a partition line. Although there is no visual play with the *kꜣ*-sign, in the manner seen in Mereruka's reliefs, the resultant effect is that Kagemni's major and minor names can be read as a continuous line of text around the corners of the tomb, while simultaneously being juxtaposed in the same manner as Mereruka's names, as they appear on architecturally distinct walls.

Numerous loose blocks dispersed throughout the Teti Pyramid Cemetery can be identified as belonging to Mereruka's complex based on the presence of his name (partial or otherwise). Two are now stored in the nearby chapel of Hetep, and probably originated from the upper exterior

inscriptions as they are carved in sunk relief (plate 46); this restoration is based on similarly inscribed blocks from Kagemni's tomb which have been restored in the upper parts of the southern face (plate 47). It is notable that at least one of these blocks includes the determinative of a seated man of rank following the name; as I hypothesise in more detail below (section 4.2.3.3), the use of this determinative was especially prevalent in inscriptions which were not connected to an ideographic representation of the tomb owner.

A further feature of the exterior reliefs of Mereruka's complex is the inscribed 'enclosure' wall that is preserved at the western end of the south face of the complex; this was introduced briefly in Chapter 1 (section 1.4). The wall is a round-topped, limestone block, temenos wall of approximately 1.35m in height, of which 9.25m to the south and 2.60m to the west remains (Kanawat, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010, 34). While its presence in the cemetery is itself already unique, a further distinguishing feature is that it is inscribed. The wall is decorated on its southern face (that is, projecting outwards to the cemetery) with a repeating motif of Mereruka with his name and titles. The repeated motif is not unlike a cylinder seal; however, the exact purpose and origin of this architectural feature is not clear. Architecturally, it is reminiscent of walls that were erected as part of the rock-cut tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa, creating 'cultic zones' in their forecourts (Vischak 2014, 42). It can be presumed that, similarly, in Mereruka's complex, this wall served to mark the sacred space in front of Mereruka's entrance; indeed, as described in Chapter 1 (section 1.4), very few later burials encroached on this space with the exception of Kanenebefui Khenu, whose cult-place may have been sanctioned. The occurrence of the repeated motif of Mereruka's person and name in this way serves as a visual and literal perpetuation of the name, otherwise achieved through it being spoken as one passed the tomb (cf. Chapter 1, section 3.2.4).

4.2.3.2 Entrance recess

The decorated southern entrance recess to Mereruka's tomb is heavily eroded and has been restored in modern times (plate 49). The recess, which includes the side panels, doorway, lintel, and round door-drum, is 4.2 m wide and decorated in sunk relief. It is positioned to the east of the

centre of the southern face of the tomb. Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. (2010, 35) note that nothing remains of door pivots or recesses for a bolt in the entrance way, but the interior south wall is undecorated for a length of 80 cm, which suggests space for a door which might have swung open internally to the right. On the western side of the recess, the lower remaining portion of Mereruka's 'appeal to the living' is found (plate 49; cf. Chapter 3, section 3.3.3); it is likely that the east face bore a continuation of this text as is found on the façades of other major tombs (such as Kagemni, Ankhmahor, Neferseshemptah, and Khentika Ikhekhi), although this has not survived Only a small portion of the texts from the door-way lintel can be restored In the surviving inscribed areas, Mereruka's forename and *rn nfr* occurs on both the west and east panels, and again on the drum and lintel. Like the external corner reliefs, Mereruka's name is written without a determinative, and the inscriptions were planned so that *ỉmɜḫw Mrr.w-kɜ(=ỉ) rn=f nfr Mrỉ* ('the one who is *ỉmɜḫw*, Mereruka, his perfect name: Meri') occupies the width of any horizontal register in which it occurs, and is positioned directly above Mereruka's image.

The entrance recess is the first place in the chapel where Mereruka's name occurs together with the names of other people. On each side of the entrance, the first column of text begins with Mereruka's title 'Inspector of the priests of the pyramid town of Teti', so that Teti's cartouche containing (*Ttỉ sɜ Rꜥ*), in honorific transposition, takes the initial position (see plates 48–9). This deliberate arrangement ensured that the cartouche framed the doorway and threshold of the tomb, both honouring the king and the institution of kingship, and underscoring Mereruka's close, personal relationship with the king. This framing device—deploying both horizontal and vertical arrangements of texts—is replicated in the interior entrance way to Meryteti's chapel, discussed below (section 4.3.1). It is also replicated on the inner jambs of Mereruka's false door. At this point it is important to note that the cartouche name used in Mereruka's 'doorway' inscriptions (both externally, and on the false-door) is specifically (*Ttỉ sɜ Rꜥ*); whereas in the case of Meryteti, the cartouche omits the divine element of Re, as there the cartouche is embedded in a name not specifically fixed to the king. The third name that occurs on the entrance recess is that of Mereruka's

wife, Teti's eldest daughter, Princess Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, who is also represented in the east and west panels, much smaller in scale, and in front of Mereruka's feet. This representation of her with her name is treated separately below (section 4.3.3).

4.2.3.3 Interior chapel: room A13

Moving through Mereruka's tomb, the cultic focus was centred in two spaces: firstly, in room A8, which contained Mereruka's false-door (another 'palace façade' door occurs in room A11 above the burial shaft); secondly, in room A 13, the pillared hall which housed the cult-statue of Mereruka. Duell (1938, 8) suggests this was once closed by two pivoted doors, the spaces for which can be observed in the lower corners (plate 50). The statue is approached by four steps on which an alabaster offering table has been inserted; this is discussed below. As mentioned in Chapter 1 (section 1.4), this room also contains a tethering stone set into the paved floor, presumably for animal sacrifice depicted on the walls of A11 leading into this room. What marks room A13 as being particularly distinctive for the discussion of Mereruka's names is that this is one of two rooms in the surviving decoration in which his names were written with a determinative in the textual programme. Three examples are discussed in detail: two speech captions (south and west walls), and also the offering table. A further location is in one place on the east wall of room A11. The presence of determinatives in these captions is of particular interest as it has been stated elsewhere in studies of *Reden und Rufe* (such as Motte 2017, 303) that determinatives were usually omitted from inscriptions of this type (cf. Erman 1919; Middle Kingdom and later: Guglielmi 1973).

The first speech caption of interest is located on the south wall, immediately to the west of the entrance to the room. This is 'lament scene' (plate 51), Duell's illustration of which opened this thesis (figure 1). Only the lowest register survives, in which fourteen women are depicted in various positions and gestures of grief, presumed to be female relatives and professional mourners (Wilson 1944, 203–4; cf. Riggs 2013). In the remaining fragments of the upper register, the lower torso and legs of at least one mourning male figure can be distinguished In the rest of the south wall programme, of which only the lower portion survives, the sarcophagus is shown being carried on

polls by bearers, with officials behind; it is then transported by boat, before being carried across land once again towards the tomb. At a wider architectural level, this whole composition is oriented towards the part of the tomb where Mereruka was interred In the preceding room (A11), this is prominently marked by the palace façade false door set into the west wall, with the shaft to the burial chamber directly before it. In room A13, the point on the south wall where the entrance to the tomb is depicted (plate 52), at its western-most edge, occurs on the same axis as where the false-door is carved in the preceding room.

The inclusion of a funerary lament scene in an Old Kingdom chapel is unusual; only a small number are attested (Lüddeckens 1943; Rössler-Köhler 1986; overview: Enmarch 2013). The direction of reading (right to left) is mirrored in the caption and the scene it accompanies, however the broader movement of action moves the viewer from left to right where further scenes from the funeral occur. The caption accompanying the scene is carved directly above the heads and raised arms of the women. It is read from right to left:

> *ỉ Mrỉ nb(=ỉ) ỉmʒḫw sʒḥ tw ỉnpw*
> O Meri, (my) lord, the one who is *ỉmʒḫw*, may Anubis glorify you.

The interior orientation of the signs is to the right, towards the more dominant scene (heavily damaged) of the funerary procession from the *pr-ḏt*. The caption begins with the vocative *ỉ* ('Oh!'), written with the CALL determinative  [Gardiner A 26] (cf. on 'attention-getters': Motte 2017, 308). Unlike the same sign rendered in Gardiner's sign-list, based on later models in which the arm is lowered and below shoulder height, here, the figure's arm is raised high above his head. The orthography of Meri here deserves special attention, in particular the use of the seated man of rank  [Gardiner A50]. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.2), determinatives of personal names in the Old Kingdom require a context-lead approach. The ideogram  , and its variants, was used as a determinative for words associated with NOBILITY and REVERED DEAD. It could stand in for the phonogram *=ỉ*, acting as a first-person, singular suffix-pronoun when the speaker was deceased

(cf. Gardiner 1957, 427). The most likely explanation for the inclusion of the determinative in this caption is that it is embedded in speech which addresses Mereruka directly as a revered, deceased person; the iconic content is supplemented by the rest of the scenes of the funeral procession in the adjacent registers. Thus, the determinative is situationally embedded and key to this aspect of the name's reference to Mereruka in this state of being. It also serves to add a very formal quality to the inscribed name: the status of the name is elevated from a diminutive, as Egyptologists sometimes refer to the *rn=f nfr* (discussed in Chapter 2, section 3.5.2) to one which was literally ascribed dignity. This caption renders an important part of the speech that would have accompanied the funeral procession: the pronouncement of Mereruka's name, 'O, Meri!', especially salient in the context of the wider funeral scene in which Mereruka's body may have been in a liminal state before the completion of his interment. This is the most literal example of the name being 'called out' in this complex (cf. Assmann 2005, 231, 305–6). The close association between the meaning of the hieroglyphic name and the identity of the name-bearer is clear in this example: the name is no longer refers to a living person, but a deceased person who would become *ỉmɜḫ* and 'glorified' (*sɜḫ*), and one close to Anubis. The determinative may signal, or reinforce, the transition of Mereruka's state: the living Meri has become Meri the deceased.

Moreover, while this speech addresses the deceased person of Mereruka, it is also the only unequivocally marked example that addresses Mereruka in the second person; this is the strongest evidence available that he was similarly addressed with this name in daily life. A further aspect that may have affected the use of the determinative is that the scene—that is, the whole south wall—did not include a pictorial representation of Mereruka; his body was enclosed, obscured, and hidden (literally and figuratively) for the funeral. Thus, the determinative in his name in the speech caption provided this important function of correctly embodying the name. The omission of the suffix pronoun within the speech itself (as in 'my lord') further supports this claim, as the speech was embodied and mobilised by the women in the scene. Similarly, in room A11, where another determinative accompanying the name 'Meri' has survived (plate 53), the wider association of this

scene was with the palace façade false door to the west, which may have elevated the whole symbolic content of this offering scene and thus affected the orthography. Alternatively, it could also be proposed that the figure of Mereruka (at the far west end of this wall) was located sufficiently far away from the name that it required the determinative to be embodied; these suggestions are not mutually exclusive.

Two further examples may demonstrate these points. On the northern section of the west wall of A13, two horizontal registers of a scene of funerary boats transporting Mereruka are partially preserved In the upper register, a man standing at the bow of the boat presents an offering of fowl to a large figure of Mereruka to the right of this scene, with the caption: 'for the *kꜣ* of Meri, the one who is *ỉmꜣḫw* before Anubis'. While it is tempting to read another play here with Mereruka's name, '*kꜣ*' and 'Meri' in close association, the phrase 'for the *kꜣ* of' is common in Old Kingdom speech captions in the infinitive (cf. Motte 2017), including elsewhere in Mereruka's complex such as room A12, discussed below. Another speech caption above the boat read is introduced with the vocative *ỉ*, as in the earlier lament scene example: 'O, men! Row bearing Meri, the one who is *ỉmꜣḫw* before the [gods?]' (plate 54). In this caption, like the one attached to the lament scene, the name 'Meri' is written with  [Gardiner A50].

All other surviving captions in room A13 are in the infinitive and Mereruka is almost unanimously referred to by his *rn nfr* Meri, in the third-person, as a recipient of offerings. Meri is also the name used to identify Mereruka in the captions placed near his representation as a seated figure in these boats (plate 55). Although one instance, Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. (2011, pl. 72) restore the full name 'Mereruka Meri' in the line-drawing, Duell (1938, pl. 145) is more cautious and suggests at least *Mrrw*[…]; the scene is broken beyond this point, but the figure accompanying this inscription was almost certainly Mereruka, as his staff can be seen at the far left. While the choice of name in all these scenes might reflect consideration of space, it is striking that Meri (without a determinative) is the name used in the captions marked with a vocative, indexing their

close association with actual speech. This is convincing evidence that 'Meri' was the most appropriate name to use in these settings.

In contrast, the major name 'Mereruka' or both names in the formula 'Mereruka *rn=f nfr* Meri' are used in texts in every room relating to Mereruka's titles and self-presentation, in the same manner as seen on the entrance recess (cf. plates 48–9) or in scenes with particular ritual significance, such as the presentation of ritual oils in room A12 (plate 56), or the palace-façade false door in room A11 (plate 57). In room A12, Mereruka's names are recited in turn, along with the phrase 'for his *kꜣ* every day'. While the captions are not introduced with a vocative, which would perhaps anchor the speech in a particular (fictionalised) moment in the narrative, the fact that they are speech can otherwise be inferred by the fact that the names are not introduced with the name formula. The whole scene functioned as a vehicle for the recitation of Mereruka's name together with the specific offering of the sacred oil, which would have operated in perpetuity (Riggs 2013, 157–8; Vernus 2009–2010).

The final place where the name will be analysed in room A 13 is upon the offering table placed into the alabaster platform in front of Mereruka's statues (plates 58–9). The inscriptions on the offering table run in a single band along its upper edge: reading right to left on the east face of the platform and left to right on the west face. On both sides, the inscription begins where the platform meets the wall of the chapel and runs horizontally to the edge of the fourth step of the platform. Although the western face of the platform is damaged, it seems that the inscription is mirrored and can be conflated in the following way (plate 58):

> *ỉry-pᶜt ḥꜣty-ᶜ tꜣytỉ zꜣb ṯꜣty ḫry-ḥbt smr-wᶜt(ỉ) ỉmꜣḫw ḫr nswt Mrỉ* |[2] *ỉmꜣ-ᶜ ḥts Inpw wt(ỉ) Inpw zš mḏꜣt nṯr imꜣḫw ḫr nṯr ᶜ Mrr.w-kꜣ(=ỉ)*
>
> Hereditary prince, governor, chief justice, vizier, lector priest, sole companion, the one who is *imꜣḫw* before the king, Meri, |[2] 'gracious of arm', mummification priest (?) of Anubis, embalmer of Anubis, scribe of the god's book, the one who is *imꜣḫw* before the great god, Mereruka.

On both sides, Mereruka's major name is followed by [Gardiner A50] (see detail in plate 59). A determinative is not given for the earlier instances of Meri, presumably because the determinative was only required once, at the very end of the inscription. The determinative may have been used for the offering table since the inscription is adjacent to a statue which was usually hidden behind wooden doors. In this situation, the statue was not always visible to embody and enliven the name. Statues often acted as the principal ideograph to the texts inscribed on them; Fischer (1976, 4) has gone as far as to say that a statue, at least in the Old Kingdom, was a generic determinative, while its inscriptions 'determined' its identity. One problem with this interpretation of Mereruka's offering table is that the inscriptions of the jambs of the niche, which include Mereruka's forename, do not use a determinative and these would also have been visible when the doors were closed It is possible, however, that these inscriptions were not only embodied by the statue of Mereruka, but the pictorial reliefs that are found adjacent to them. In the case of the speech captions, the inscription did not occur close to an image of Mereruka; rather, the captions occur next to the depictions of activities carried out by other people: a scene of mourners, and men sailing in a boat, respectively. The captions in these scenes represent speech by people other than Mereruka himself; their speech honours him (where it addresses him directly), and the inclusion of the determinative of a seated man of rank may have graphically underscored this fact. In the context of this tomb specifically, the inclusion of the determinative next to Mereruka's name seems to have performed an important function of embodying the name where it was separated from an image of Mereruka, both architecturally (in the case of the offering table) and semantically (in the case of the speech captions).

4.2.3.4 Burial chamber

Mereruka's burial chamber is the last location which will be considered for his names. The chamber is accessed by a shaft in the opening of room A11 which contains a palace façade false door and offering platform (Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010, 41). At the base of the shaft, a small magazine is found with a short passageway, featuring a portcullis. This leads to the vividly decorated

burial chamber, which contains a low ramp leading to the sarcophagus (plate 60). The chamber was looted in antiquity, but Duell (1938, 6–7) records that the chamber contained many fragmentary objects including: large alabaster canopic jars, alabaster and limestone vessels and dishes, two inscribed, circular, alabaster offering tables, and model copper tools. The walls of the chamber were lined with fine Tura limestone, and were painted with offering lists and images of the offerings: wooden chests and ceramic vessels, heaped produce and meat cuts. The use of sunk relief in the chamber is minimal and is reserved for the inscription above the magazine doorway and the inscriptions on the exterior and interior of the sarcophagus. Everywhere else, the decoration and inscriptions are composed with paint: drafting lines in red, inscriptions and outlines in black, and then some of the relief filled in with colour. It would seem from the lack of colour on the south wall that the chamber was unfinished (Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2011, pl. 40).

The inscriptions in the entrance thickness leading to the burial chamber proper are damaged; however, one instance of Mereruka's major name and *rn nfr* occurs on the southern thickness, at the end of a list of his titles. The arrangement of the texts accompanying the offering lists, phonetically spelled out and with lists of determinatives, on the southern and northern walls (plate 61) produces the striking effect of Mereruka's two names alternating at the base of each column (cf. Neferseshemptah in plate 33). The purpose of these scenes in the burial chamber was to represent the offerings that would have been desired by Mereruka in the afterlife. On the west wall, shown on plate 60, the name Meri is used almost exclusively in the descriptions accompanying the offering vessels and chests: 'for the *kꜣ* of Meri'.

In total, the name Meri is used 38 times in the burial chamber, while Mereruka is used 6 times; this preference for the *rn nfr* matches the wider pattern of naming that occurs throughout the tomb. The north and south walls are composed with a high degree of symmetry, so the columns in which the name Mereruka occurs are mirrored in the upper and lower registers. There does not appear to be a relationship between the name used and the title which it accompanies; for example, *iry pᶜt* ('hereditary prince') is followed by either 'Meri' or 'Mereruka'. Finally, Mereruka's full name

occurs on the sarcophagus lid and interior inscriptions, in which the strings of titles are separated by the repetition of 'Meri'.

No figures of Mereruka occur in the burial chamber—and determinatives are avoided more generally—and thus the name is not embodied in the same way that it was in the chapel; rather, Mereruka, himself, embodied his own name in this space. This could be cautiously compared—at least in terms of relationship between architecture, text, and body—to the spatial location of the 'in your name of' formula in the Pyramid Texts, always close to the king's sarcophagus (cf. Hellum 2016), described in Chapter 3 (section 3.6). Moreover, this taboo governing the image in the burial chamber was in keeping with the practice of almost entirely omitting human figures and some divine signs (including in the names of Osiris, Anubis, and Horus) in burial spaces of the late Old Kingdom from the early 6th Dynasty onwards (Kanawati 2005, 60). The purpose of this practice is presumed to be concerned with the dangerous spheres of meaning associated with a particular hieroglyphic sign; mutilating it, or avoiding its use altogether, 'deprived it/him of one or more of its/his inalienable properties' (Frandsen 1997, 84; cf. Chapter 3, section 3.2.5). While this may have emulated a similar practice of omitting and mutilating anthropomorphic signs in the royal Pyramid Texts after the reign of Unis onwards (Lacau 1913), the correlation of these practices may not directly evince the transmission of style and practices from the royal to the non-royal sphere (Picardo 2007, 226–7).

Concerning this, a mix of inscriptional strategies are found in Mereruka's burial chamber. It is notable that on the interior of his sarcophagus the name of Anubis was re-inscribed to spell *Inpw* phonetically and the outline of the recumbent jackal can still be observed Yet, on the eastern face of the lid of the sarcophagus, three seated men occur as determinatives to the title ***imy-r gs.wy-dpt zwnw pr-ꜥ3*** 'Overseer of the protection ['bulwarks'] of the physicians of the Great House' (Jones 2000, 272 [980]). Kanawati (2005, 60–61) has also noted that these irregularities in the orthography of names and titles also occurred on objects (especially vessels) that were placed in the burial chambers of Mereruka and Kagemni, although he does not elaborate or describe these

specifically. One plausible reason is that the latter objects may have originated in workshops that may not have solely made funerary goods; alternatively, perhaps they were materials not made exclusively for funerary use and were used for other purposes prior to their deposition in the tomb. Inscriptions for such objects were probably composed and inscribed by craftspeople who were not responsible for the decoration of the burial chambers and thus, Kanawati (2005, 61) argues, a lack of regularity in inscriptional practice may be expected. Another explanation, which does not exclude his suggestions, is that the evolving decorum concerning the presence of human and animal signs in the burial chamber was not yet fixed in this early part of the 6th Dynasty. While later tombs in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery omitted human figures entirely from titles (Kanawati 2005), it seems this practice was not entrenched at the time of completing Mereruka's sarcophagus or did not yet apply to all titles when his sarcophagus was decorated.

4.2.4 Summary

The survey of Mereruka's names as they occur throughout his complex reveals several important points concerning the relationship that the name had to the wider architectural and pictorial programme of his tomb. Firstly, among the broader visual language of display that communicated the tomb owner's identity, visual poetry was possible. The emblematic combination of Mereruka's image and the *kꜣ*-sign of his major name, carved in deep sunk relief on the exterior wall of his tomb, visually mobilised the unity between his *kꜣ* and himself, referred to in his name. Secondly, names played an important role as 'framing devices', such as the cartouche names of king Teti in the entrance recess and the false-door. Thirdly, the architectural space, iconic content of the wall scenes, and semantic association between caption and image, affected the orthography of names, especially in instances where it was not possible to embody the name; the response was to add the determinative where the name could not be otherwise correctly embodied. Finally, a significant observation regarding the ***rn nfr*** is that it is the name used predominantly throughout Mereruka's chapel in captions, especially those containing speech of people addressing Mereruka in the second

and third person. In contrast, Mereruka alone or Mereruka *rn=f nfr* Meri was used in scenes centred on the display of Mereruka's titles or containing ritual offering formulae. Again, the wider iconic content of the programme seems to have affected which names were inscribed as well as their orthography. These points carry forward into the following sections that consider the names of Meryteti Meri and Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, respectively.

4.3 The Chapel of Meryteti Meri

The chapel of Meryteti Meri within Mereruka's funerary complex (henceforth, Chapel C) has a complex architectural history: it was not part of the original planned complex for Mereruka and was added as an annex to his pillared hall late in the construction of his own chapel. It also appears to have been the subject of a series of claims by one or more of Mereruka's sons. Systematic erasures of names, in at least three phases throughout the chapel, and subsequent palimpsests, are evidence of this history. These palimpsests are important for the diachronic history of the tomb's construction and ownership (surveyed in Nims 1938, Pieke 2008), which I introduce in the following pages. They also include traces of the inscriptional practices of the draughtsmen working in this tomb. Of particular interest is how the draughtsmen chose to avoid the total erasure of basilophoric names in order to leave the king's cartouche intact to be reintegrated into a later inscription, discussed below (section 4.3.3). This has particular bearing on the importance of the name in marking certain ownership of a tomb, as well as the decorum affecting inscribed basilophoric names. The structure of this sub-chapter differs slightly from the previous case-study; the ownership and architectural description of Chapel C requires comment before turning to the meaning in Meryteti's name, and the discussion of Meryteti's names, especially in palimpsests in ritually and architecturally significant locations.

4.3.1 Architectural description of Chapel C

Mereruka's complex, already described above (Chapter 1, section 1.4), was originally formed of two sections: for himself (Chapel A), and for Watetkhethor (Chapel B). The third chapel (C) was added

at a much later date, and the style and workmanship of the reliefs has been attributed variously to the reigns of Pepy Meryre I (Nims 1938, 644; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2005, 11–12; Pieke 2008), and Merenre to Pepy Neferkare II (Baer 1960, 80–81; El-Fikey in Brovarski, 2006, 100). Pieke (2008, 108), in particular following Harpur (1987, 274f.), presents a convincing case for the majority of the tomb being completed during the reign of Pepy Meryre I. The final owner of Chapel C, Meryteti, was at least contemporaneous with Pepy I as he was inspector of the priests of the pyramid for this king, and it is probable that the chapel was constructed (if not finished) during his reign. A selection of inscriptions from the cleared rooms of this chapel were first published by Daressy (1900), although it was noted by Charles Nims (1938, 638 n. 2) that this publication was not complete, nor always accurate. The chapel was fully published by ACE in 2005 (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2005), as the first volume in the series of site reports for the Mereruka complex. The full architectural description can be found in Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (2005, 11–12, 19–21) and the following comments offer a short summary drawn from this work, enhanced with observations made during my research visits undertaken in 2017 and 2019.

Chapel C consists of five chambers (cf. plan in plate 16), three of which were decorated in raised relief. The false-door was carved in sunk relief and painted, and some architectural features, such as ceilings, retain original paint. The chapel does not have an external entrance, and is accessed from within Mereruka's complex (plate 62); none-the-less, it possesses the features of an independent, multi-roomed chapel: a decorated entrance, an undecorated storage magazine (C2), a room that may have been the serdab (C5), a false-door chamber (C3), and subterranean burial chamber. Where original ceilings have survived, these were painted to imitate red granite. The false-door, discussed below (section 4.3.3.2), was also painted to imitate red granite. The east walls of rooms C1, C3, and C4 all slope towards the east (visible in plate 62), indicating that this wall was in fact once the outer, western face of Kagemni's mastaba; the degree of slope varies from chamber to chamber, and even within a chamber. A similar architectural situation exists on the east side of Mereruka's complex, and this is discussed in Chapter 1 (section 1.4). It is worth noting that the

eastern-most rooms in Mereruka's complex (such as A12), abutting the west face of Kagemni's mastaba, seem to be the least accomplished or finished in their decoration, despite also containing significant and sacred ritual scenes and objects (pers. comm. Vassil Dobrev, 30 January 2019); this is significant for assessing date and style through this chapter. This situation in Mereruka's chapel is paralleled in Chapel C, with northernmost room C4 depicting the storage of fine ritual oils (*ḫ3t nbw*) among other things; yet the quality of carving the relief here is 'crude' (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2005, 43) and hastily finished Traces of paint remain in some places, suggesting the appearance may have been improved with this medium. Taken together with the variable quality of reliefs found elsewhere in Mereruka's complex, one conclusion that can be inferred is that the direction of work undertaken by craftsmen was probably from south to north (C1 to rear), and west to east. The entrance thicknesses were the last architectural feature to be decorated, as will be discussed below, although further additions to inscriptions throughout the chapel may have feasibly occurred after Meryteti's interment, as they did elsewhere in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, including in Mereruka's and Watetkhethor's chapels.

The entrance to the first chamber of Chapel C was made by cutting an opening into the eastern end of the north wall of A13, the pillared hall of Mereruka's chapel (plate 62). The passageway was designed to take a door at the northern end of the passage, and Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (2005, 19) note that the entrance was widened at this end. A door pivot remains in the ceiling of the east side, indicating where a door would have once existed It would appear that Chapel C was not included in the original plan for Mereruka's complex, as the entrance recess has been cut through completed reliefs on the north-east side of A13 and figures in the scene of this wall are partially or wholly missing.

The thicknesses of the entrance passage to the chapel employ a similar strategy for composition as Mereruka's entrance recess: mirrored images of the chapel owner as a young man holding a staff of office, framed by his name and offering titles (plate 63). Like those for Mereruka, the choice of titles for Meryteti's chapel entrance stresses Meryteti's closeness to the reigning king:

Pepy I. The two columns also have an internal organisation with honorific transposition, so that the cartouche of Pepy Meryre in the title, *sḫḏ ḥm*(*w*)*-nṯr ḫntỉw-š* (*Mry-rᶜ*)*-mn-nfr*, Inspector of the priests and guards of the pyramid 'Meryre is Enduring and Beautiful' (Jones 2000, 935 [3448]) occupies the initial position. The rest of the text column is composed so that the cartouche of Teti, in Meryteti's own name, frames the lower thickness on the east and west walls. The cumulative effect is that the entrance is enclosed, east and west, by the cartouches of two kings: Pepy Meryre and Teti. The entrance thicknesses appear to have been completed after Meryteti 'reclaimed' the chapel as no erasures are present, and the quality of the relief in this entrance is the finest from the chapel. The cartouche of Pepy Meryre offers a *terminus post quem* for the inscription of the thicknesses: Pepy I is known to have changed his praenomen from Nefersahor to Meryre at some point in the earlier part of his reign (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.3.5)

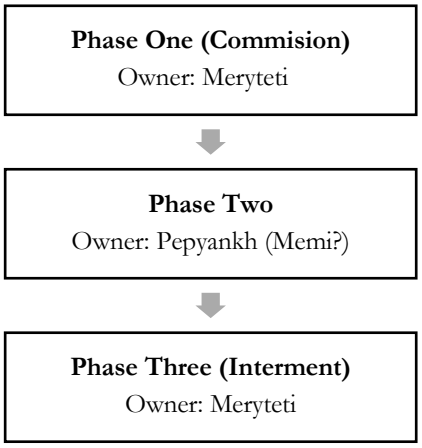
The enlarged figures of Meryteti are oriented towards Mereruka's pillared hall (room A13) and, thus, seemingly into Mereruka's complex. It is tempting to read this as a further iconic index of Meryteti's relationship with Mereruka, evoking his striding into the cult space of A13 (cf. Harpur 1987, 53); however, a more probable explanation is the predominant convention of right-facing inscriptions and figures in decorated thicknesses, jambs, and lintels of the late Old Kingdom (Fischer 1977, 6–8; Harpur 1987, 44f.; cf. the entrances of Nikauizezi, Ankhmahor, and Neferseshemptah). Despite the limitations of space, the entrance thicknesses to Meryteti's chapel display the same compositional strategy as those found on entrance ways of independent structures built for that purpose (cf. Chauvet 2011), and thus the space was successfully adapted to move a visitor from the cultic space of one individual into that of another.

The physical location of Chapel C may have been chosen for entirely pragmatic reasons, given the limited space for new tomb construction in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (see Chauvet 2007, 320–21, in particular), in order to maximise the reuse of the limestone west wall of Kagemni's mastaba, described above. However, the choice to place the chapel adjacent to room A13 may have also served as an *architectural* index of the familial bond between the original intended owner,

Meryteti, and his father, which is otherwise minimally represented throughout Mereruka's decorative programme. Meryteti served as his father's lector priest (*ḫry-ḥbt n*(*y*) *ỉt=f*)—a fact stressed three times in his own chapel (south wall of C1; south wall of C3; middle jamb of the false door). The close architectural association between Chapel C and the focal point of cult ritual in Mereruka's chapel in A13 is appropriate, given this role. This possible reading of an emphasis of familial and ritual bond between Meryteti and his father from *within* Chapel C is a useful perspective to add to the narrative of Mereruka's complex, especially since much attention has been given to familial indices present in the reliefs and inscriptions in Mereruka's and Watetkhethor's chapels elsewhere in scholarship.

Chapel C appears to have been 'owned'[18] by more than one son of Mereruka in a complex sequence of usurpations, the motivations behind which have been discussed extensively by Nims (1938), Kanawati (2003, 99–102), Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (2005, 11–12), and most recently by Pieke (2008; 2018). A brief survey follows, where it is pertinent to inscriptions discussed in this chapter. At least three 'phases' of activity involving the erasure and alteration of names and titles can be detected throughout Chapel C (also discussed by Nims 1938, 641–42); these will be referred to throughout the following sections. The ownership of the chapel appears to have oscillated between Meryteti Meri and another man, presumed to be a son of Mereruka by another woman, named Pepyankh. In the final stages of Chapel C's construction, the added figures and titles of Meryteti's son, named Ihyemsaef (plate 64), and wife, named Nebet (plate 65), confirm beyond doubt that Meryteti was the final owner of the chapel (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.5). It is difficult discern an overall precise history of how ownership of the chapel was transferred (or usurped):

[18] Ownership, here, is defined as being the primary and named recipient of offering rituals in the funerary chapel.



Kanawati asserts that the original usurpation of the chapel was undertaken by a son of Mereruka named Pepyankh (Memi?). The name Pepyankh remains partially inscribed on the sarcophagus in the burial shaft (plates 66–7), discussed below (section 4.3.3.3), and can be restored with some confidence in certain locations throughout the chapel reliefs (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.5). In an early study of Mereruka's family, Nims (1938) proposed that Mereruka may have had an elder son from another wife, who may have preceded his marriage to Watetkhethor, the mother of Meryteti; this interpretation is shared by Kanawati (2003, 102; cf. Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2005, 11–12, 13) and Pieke (2008, 108), although there is nothing in Mereruka's complex that directly points to him having another wife. The most telling indication that Pepyankh was not an eldest son born to Watetkhethor is the fact that he is completely absent in her reliefs, while Meryteti features prominently, and is explicitly given the filial epithet *z3 smsw*, 'eldest son'. Two scenes from Mereruka's chapel do suggest, however, that Mereruka may have had another 'eldest son'. These scenes, both located in room A13 of Mereruka's chapel, include the figure of a man whose name has been erased and restored in paint: Pepyankh/Pepyankh Memi. The name Memi may have been given in honour of Kagemni Memi, whose funerary complex shared a close architectural association with Mereruka's. Both Nims and Kanawati have argued that this individual named Pepyankh sought to usurp Chapel C, which had been marked out for Meryteti, grandson of king Teti by virtue of his birth by Watetkhethor, and which was taken back by Meryteti after a feud.

Certainly, issues of inheritance are attested elsewhere in Old Kingdom documentary sources, and in one instance from an Old Kingdom letter to the dead ('Cairo Linen', JE 25975: Gardiner and Sethe 1928, pl. 1); no such evidence exists, however, to explicitly connect these erasures to an inheritance dispute. The most thorough investigation of the problem of the 'eldest son' is by Pieke (2008), who traces the occurrences of both instances of 'Pepyankh' and 'Memi' throughout Mereruka's complex. Pieke (2008, 108) doesn't go as far as to support Nims' and Kanawati's claim of a feud, but concludes that Pepyankh/Memi must have been, at one point, the 'erstgeborenen "ältesten Sohn" von einer nicht bekannten Mutter zu halten'. Alternatively, it has been proposed that Meryteti may have briefly been destined to inherit the throne in the absence of a male heir and Chapel C reassigned to another of Mereruka's sons (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2005, 11–13); following the birth of Pepi Nefersahor, the ownership of Chapel C reverted to Meryteti (perhaps forcibly). This may be further supported by Meryteti's distinctive representation as a young child in Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel, discussed later (section 4.4.4), although it cannot be substantiated in any other evidence.

Kanawati has proposed two further, alternative theories concerning Pepyankh's identity. Firstly, that Pepyankh may have been involved in some nefarious activity possibly relating to the end of Teti's reign (Kanawati 2003, 103 and *passim*), and that this *damnatio memoriae* was his punishment. Secondly, in his earlier work Kanawati (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2005, 12) proposed that Pepyankh may have been promoted to an 'important provincial position', inferring that a chapel would be commissioned for him locally and the ownership of Chapel C thus reverted to Meryteti. Kanawati (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2005, 12) adds that this particular point 'will be examined in detail in a future study', and while the subject of Pepyankh's erasure from the Mereruka complex is indeed addressed in his later work, he does not return to this intriguing suggestion concerning a provincial assignment for Pepyankh. The movement of officials from the royal residence in Memphis to provincial towns is attested elsewhere; for example, Pepyankh Hemi moved from Giza to Meir (discussed by Simons 2016; Kanawati 2012a). The name Pepyankh Memi

is not known to exist beyond its occurrence in Mereruka's complex, and 'Pepyankh' was a popular name throughout Egypt, especially in Meir, during the reign of Pepy Meryre I and Pepy II (see for example: at El-Qusiya, Lashien 2017; at Meir, Kanawati 2012b, Kanawati and Evans 2014). Whether any of these Upper Egyptian individuals can be linked to Pepyankh Memi from Saqqara is impossible to determine.

Following Meryteti's reassertion of his ownership (phase three), the chapel appears to have been hastily finished and the efforts of skilled craftsmen diverted to the entrance thickness, where the most accomplished reliefs of the chapel are located The depictions of Meryteti's wife, Nebet, and sons, Ihyemsaef, and Niankhmin, seem to have been added at a later date (Kanawati 2007, 52), as their figures are more roughly incised than that of Meryteti (for example, in room C1). This may suggest that the tomb's original carving was completed while Meryteti Meri was still a young man, or that the chapel was simply left unfinished This has some bearing on the discussion of added inscriptions (section 4.5). Meryteti Meri is depicted as a child in many other parts of the family complex, especially in the chapel of his mother, Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, in which he is the only son depicted (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008). In her chapel, he appears eleven times altogether, accompanying her in all the principal scenes, except three in which she appears alone (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008). This could indicate that the rest of Mereruka's complex including the chapels to his wife and son were completed while Meryteti Meri was still a child. Meryteti Meri later held the title of Inspector of the priests attached to the pyramid of Meryre (Pepy I), which places him as an adult securely in the reign of that king (Kanawati 2010, 24).

The later additions of Meryteti's wife, Nebet, as a minor figure next to enlarged depictions of Meryteti are more difficult to date. Nebet's figures, in most places, are executed in a rough outline (as in plate 65), suggesting that they date to the same style of relief found in C4. The treatment of Ihyemsaef is more complicated, and in some places his name and epithets have been erased and subsequently reinserted, in a similar manner to his father (as in plate 64). It is possible that Pepyankh also usurped this figure in the chapel for the names and titles of his own son; yet

the inscriptions do not appear to support this. As Nims (1938, 642 n. 27) notes, the *sꜣ=f* ('his [Meryteti's?] son') next to Ihyemsaef is erased throughout the chapel, and replaced with the less filial, *ḫry-ḥbt smsw* ('senior lector priest') (plate 66). In plate 64, the scratched-out inscription once read*, zꜣ=f* [*smsw*?] *ỉmꜣḫw* [*ḫr*] *ỉt=f*, his eldest son, the one who is *ỉmꜣḫw* before his father (cf. Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2004, pl. 45); it was later replaced with 'the senior lector priest, Ihyemsaef'. The reason for the change in epithet is unclear. Because there are several men named Ihy in Mereruka's family, it was possible that in the process of usurping the space, the specific epithet was removed so that the name Ihy could refer to another member of this family. On stylistic grounds, the additions to these figures of Ihyemsaef can be placed towards the very end of the completion of Chapel C.

4.3.2 Meaning of Meryteti's name

(*Ttỉ*)*-mry rn=f nfr Mrỉ* (**C.i**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 393 [1367]) means 'Beloved of Teti, his perfect name: Meri'. The name is commonly rendered 'Meryteti' in English, a convention which I have chosen to follow. Basilophoric names of this type (king's name + *mry*) are common in the late Old Kingdom (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 113–17; Barta 1990; cf. on *mry-NN*: Peust 2007, esp. 97–8). The description of the king as actor is embedded in the name, and in this instance, the name-bearer is the recipient of the king's beneficence. Similarly constructed names describe the king as 'bringing' (*ỉnỉ*), or 'doing' or 'creating' (*ỉrỉ*), or 'protecting' (*ḫwỉ*), for example (overview in Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 116). Meryteti is currently the only known individual to possess this name, specifically referring to Teti. It is tempting to speculate whether this indexed a special relationship between the king, Mereruka and his wife Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, and their son Meryteti, as outlined in the previous section (cf. Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2005, 11–13). However, the popularity of this name-type during the following reigns of Pepy I and Pepy II makes this less likely (cf. *Mr*[*j*]*-Ppy* in Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 382). Kagemni, who was also married to one of Teti's daughters, gave his eldest son a similar basilophorous name: (*Ttỉ*)*-ꜥnḫ(.w)* (Scheele-Schweitzer

2014, 307 [757]; cf. **A.civ** in Mereruka's chapel). This name similarly expresses deference to the king, and giving a child such a name was probably a gesture with multiple aims: for example, to publicly express loyalty and love for the king by the name-giver (who was probably Mereruka), and for the child to receive the king's beneficence in both life and the afterlife through being semantically tied to Teti's name and memory (cf. discussion of exophoric names: Chapter 3, section 3.5). Meryteti's *rn nfr*, Meri, was likely given to mimic the *rn nfr* of his father Mereruka, which was also Meri. As already discussed for Mereruka's name (section 4.1.2), this practice of reusing an element of a parent's name in the names of their children was common practice.

The orthography of Meryteti's name throughout his own chapel, and in the chapels of Mereruka and Watetkhethor, adheres to the convention of Old Kingdom basilophoric naming practices: the king's name is enclosed in the cartouche and inscribed in initial position, as described in the discussion of the entrance thickness inscriptions. The position of the cartouche reflects the decorous system of honorific transposition; however, it is worth noting that Old Kingdom names with sacred elements, including theophoric names, do not consistently show honorific transposition, as noted by Fischer (1996, 61f.). The use of the cartouche very obviously points to the restricted and sacred status of the name of the king (Quack 2010, 3), with the rope around the name probably protecting it and 'demarcat[ing] it from any environment in which it was sited' (Baines 2007, 18). The fact that this was retained even for the basilophoric names of those who were born long after Teti's death, such as Satenteti (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.3.2), is strong evidence of the decorum that was bound up in royal names in their inscribed, material context and that this transmitted through time. This will be further analysed in relation to the erased basilophoric names that occur in Chapel C, below.

4.3.3 The names of Meryteti and Pepyankh

The erasures throughout Chapel C make an excellent case-study for the decorum of inscribed basilophoric names in an Old Kingdom tomb chapel. One area dense with palimpsests from the

south wall of C3 will be discussed in detail, together with the false-door itself from the same room, the following sections will outline the strategies employed by the draughtsmen to alter the inscriptions bearing names and titles for the new owner(s) of the tomb. The final section will consider the sarcophagus, which retains the names of both men despite it ultimately being the resting place of Meryteti.

4.3.3.1 South wall of C3

The south wall of C3 is dominated at its west end by the enlarged figure of the tomb owner seated at an offering table, receiving offerings in the adjacent horizontal registers. These have three main themes: processing offering bearers, performing the offering ceremony, and sub-registers of food and liquid offerings. In the middle register of offering bearers, ten men, who are led by Meryteti's son, Niankhmin, bring fowl and an oryx towards the tomb-owner. The last is named 'the juridical scribe, Meri'. The text that accompanies this scene is placed above the action, demarcated by a separate register line, and provides an offering formula and list of the sacred birds offered to the tomb-owner (plate 67):

← *ḥtp dỉ nswt ḥtp dỉ Wsỉr ḫ3 m r ḫ3 m ṯrp ḫ3 m zt ḫ3 m s n ỉrỉ-pᶜt Mrỉ z3=f smsw n ḫt=f mry=f ỉm3ḫw ḥr nṯr ᶜ3 sḫḏ ḥm(w)-nṯr Mn-nfr-(Ppy)*| |[2]

↓ *z3 nswt ḥ3ty-ᶜ Mry-(Ttỉ)*|

An offering that the king gives, and an offering that Osiris gives: one thousand of *r*-geese, one thousand of *ṯrp*-geese, one thousand of *zt*-ducks, one thousand of *s*-geese, for the hereditary prince, Meri, his [i.e., Mereruka's] eldest son of his body, whom he loves, the one who is *ỉm3ḫw* before the Great God, the inspector of the priests of the Pyramid of Pepy I, |[2]

the king's son, and count, Meryteti.

The original composition of this text, 'phase one' (plate 68, in yellow), would have ended directly above the juridical scribe Meri's head: beneath the deeply incised cartouche of Pepy, the text may have read 'king's son', or 'Meri, his son' (suggested by Nims 1938, 641). Whatever existed in this space must have been four or five signs at most; 'Meryteti' could not have been comfortably carved

in the remaining space. The subsequent alteration, 'phase two' (plate 68, in blue) of these filial epithets to the name 'Pepy-[ankh?]' is attested throughout the rooms of Chapel C whose decoration had commenced, primarily, C1–3. The depth of the alteration and the lack of uniformity in the shape of the signs (especially noticeable in the *p*) are distinctive. The craftsperson (or people) commissioned with this task evidently struggled to execute the carving of the signs within the limited frame of the cartouche, and against the grain of the limestone. It is possible that this work was done 'blind' (i.e., without drafting guidelines for the signs), although comparing this work to other hastily finished scenes in C4, where the inscription is coarsely carved in summary outlines, the inscriptions carved in phase two are certainly not the least accomplished. The depth of relief may indicate a desired permanence for the alteration; ultimately, this action was unsuccessful in its aim.

The third phase of alteration left the cartouche in place (plate 68, in red), presumably erasing an *ꜥnḫ*-sign that followed the cartouche, and continued into the extended text register to the east: wrapping around the image register, before orienting the subsequent text vertically, in order to 'convert' the cartouche into one of Meryteti's titles: Inspector of the priests of the pyramid of Pepy I. It is worth noting that the resulting title does not match the orthography for the pyramid name attested on the entrance door thicknesses, presumably completed in the last phase, where Meryre is used instead. In the list of Meryteti's titles in Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (2005, 15), this title is merged into one: 'Inspector of priests of the Pyramid of Pepy/Meryre'. While the individual variation that is found in these titles is correctly noted in the transliteration throughout the volume, the contextual reason for the variation is not discussed; it is otherwise unusual to find both 'Inspector of priests of the Pyramid of Pepy' and Inspector of priests of the Pyramid of Meryre' for a single person and within a single complex (see entries in Jones [2000], 935: 3448). A further result of this alteration is an offering formula with unusual variance in syntax. The expected flow of the formula is disrupted through the addition of the priestly title where one would expect simply to find the name or very highest titles to follow 'the one who is *ỉmɜḫw*…' The registers above and

below the scene of offering bearers just described also contain the same alterations of text (compare plate 67). Of note is the alteration that occurs at the greatest height on this wall, adjacent to the top right-hand edge of the doorway. Here, Pepyankh's name can be confidently proposed for the second phase of alteration: an *ꜥnḫ* would comfortably fit in the space that remains after the cartouche. Using the remaining cartouche as a guide, for the quality and depth of relief, a single ankh seems the most likely, and not the full spelling with phonetic complements attested elsewhere in Mereruka's complex. Later, in the third phase, the craftsman realtering this same inscription had to pare back the deeply-cut inscription to a depth of least 1cm, in order to obtain a flat surface from which to carve in raised relief. In plate 67, this is indicated by the strong shadow cast from raking light. The space was filled with a compact arrangement of ***mn nfr*** ('enduring and beautiful'), followed by the determinative 𓊃 [Gardiner O24]. The third phase of alteration exhibits the finest quality of inscription, both in terms of composition and in the execution of individual signs, when compared to the original inscriptions and the alterations in phase two. This variation in artistic achievement is discernible within one cross-section of a register, such as found in plate 68.

As demonstrated in these two examples from the south wall of room C3, the draughtsmen of the third phase went to great lengths to avoid erasing the cartouche of Pepy. The solution was to 'convert' the cartouche from a personal name into a title. A more cautious assessment of this choice of inscriptional practice would be that the craftsmen sought to economise their work—what was the point of erasing an inscription where it could be reused? However an alternative analogy to this treatment of text is found elsewhere, in the erasures and alterations to reliefs that are attested in Old Kingdom tombs at Saqqara. For example in the mastaba of Kagemni some offering bearers have been excised from the relief, but their offerings left untouched—seemingly suspended in air. Most importantly, the offerings were left to perform their sacred role in the tomb-owner's afterlife in perpetuity. Can the same notion be applied to the alterations to Pepyankh's name in Chapel C? While Pepyankh's name as a whole was systematically removed throughout the chapel, the cartouche from this name was left in every instance. Clearly, this lexical element of the

name, itself bound to the body and person of the king, was too sacred to remove. Far from economising the work, a new, composite arrangement of titles was created in the space surrounding the cartouche (in some cases extending the whole register of relief to do so), in order to semantically reinsert Pepy's cartouche into the offering formula as part of a title and, in honorific transposition, at the initial position of the title. Further proof of this creative, compositional effort by the draughtsmen is found when the orthography of the title ***sḫḏ ḥm(w)-nṯr Mn-nfr-(Ppy)*** is compared to the iteration of the same title in the entrance thicknesses, but in its planned form, in which ***Mn-nfr-(Mry-Rᶜ)*** is used.

4.3.3.2 False-door

Another prominent example architectural feature on which multiple phases of erasure and alteration to inscriptions can be found is the monumental false-door, which occupies the west wall of room C3 (plate 69). It is clear from the lowest part of the door jambs that the false-door had been fully carved by the time that it was first altered The areas of the false-door where the red paint has been removed in blocks is the first index of an alteration; no attempt was made to repaint the altered surfaces. As the printed plates in Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (2005) were rendered in greyscale, the immediate effect of this is variation in colour is lost on the reader, even where the alterations through carving can be otherwise detected through the variation in mode of inscription and depth of relief. Further, the variable depth of the erasures in the lower jambs is not only indicated by the loss of paint, but it is also clearly revealed when light is raked over the surface of the stone (plate 70). The erasures of the second phase (Pepyankh) are concentrated in the locations where Meryteti's name or filial epithets were located in the original inscription: on the lower jambs, immediately above the figures of the tomb-owner; on the lintel, at the left-side; on the inner jambs where they share a register line with the internal offering-table scene; and finally in the offering scene and on the drum. One effect of this loss of colour through alteration, for the benefit the discussion here, is that absence of colour prominently indexes the places where personal names

occurred on the false-door, and the strong semantic relationship between image and name within the internal textual organisation of the false-door is immediately apparent.

Pepyankh's alterations to the text have been mostly removed by the third phase, in which the false-door was reinstated to Meryteti. However, different modes of erasure can be detected in some areas, which distinguish these two phases. For example, in the upper portion of the inner jamb on the left-side of the false door, the original inscription (perhaps 'king's son') was coarsely erased, with the surface left unsmoothed, and replaced with 'Meri [i.e., Mereruka], his son [i.e., Pepyankh]' (cf. Nims 1938, 641). This is the most convincing evidence to suggest that both phases of alteration can be attributed to sons of Mereruka; when Meryteti reasserted his ownership of the tomb and the false-door, there was no need to remove filial statements that remained true, such as this one.

Another alteration from the second phase is found on the lower inner jambs, where the original inscription was coarsely erased and Pepyankh's name inserted (plate 71). Finally, in phase three, as with earlier examples from the south wall of C3, the cartouche was left intact (thus preserving this phase of alteration), and the craftsmen pared the stone back at least 1cm and smoothed its surface, in order to add Meryteti's name and the title 'Inspector of priests of the Pyramid of Pepy/Meryre' in sunk relief. While the inscription of the name and titles in the inner-most and outer-most jambs was carefully composed by the draughtsmen to fill the erased space, the reuse of Pepy's cartouche presents the same problem of space as seen elsewhere in the tomb: the artist lacked room for the entire title, and the compromise was that its signs, especially ***sḫḏ ḥm(w)-nṯr***, were executed at a smaller scale in order to fit in the existing space. While the quality of inscribing is more uniform across the whole false-door, than that found throughout the relief programme, some signs in the third (and final) phase of alteration betray a different hand (or, rather, carving style): for example, the ***pr***-signs in alterations from the third phase are executed with a thinner line, and are longer and flatter, than elsewhere on the false-door.

4.3.3.3 Burial chamber

The process of usurping and reclaiming Chapel C extended into the burial chamber itself, and both Meryteti's and Pepyankh's names have remained upon the sarcophagus. The burial chamber is accessed by a shaft located in the core of the mastaba, in the north-wester corner (plate 72; described in Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2005, 20). The chamber is undecorated. The sarcophagus and its lid were both cut from a monolithic slab of limestone, and were smoothed only on the sides where inscriptions were planned: on the north and east faces.

Traces of inscriptions were found on both the north and east faces of the lid, and whatever text was originally present on the surface was completely removed Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (2005, 44) note that the surface of the north side was lowered, 'except in the top left corner where the name Pepyankh was incised' (plate 72). Meanwhile, a similar treatment is found on the east side, where at least one phase of inscriptions was removed, leaving the partially remaining cartouche of (*Ppy*), which was reincorporated into an inscription made for Meryteti, and like the earlier examples, became the title *sḫḏ ḥm(w)-nṯr* (*Ppy*)*-mn-nfr* (Inspector of the priests of the pyramid 'Pepy is Enduring and Beautiful'). While the cartouche is incised, the rest of the inscription is painted in black ink. In the line-drawing of these painted inscriptions (plate 73), which cannot be detected in the photos provided in the volume, two iterations of the same inscription appear, seemingly one placed over the other. This is not commented upon elsewhere in the volume. Perhaps the inscription was re-inked in order to make the signs of the lower inscription of a greater size, and more equal to that of the cartouche of Pepy; at the very least, neither follow a straight line, and one possibility is that the baseline for the painted inscription followed the natural erosion of the limestone. The use of ink in this particular inscription may also be a clue as to when the alteration took place, perhaps a short time before or after the lowering of the sarcophagus into the chamber—it is probable that Pepyankh was never himself actually interred in it. Alternatively, the choice of ink may also indicate the haste in which the inscription was altered considering the

sarcophagus would be in a sealed and inaccessible location, and the preference of medium by the draughtsman or scribed carrying out the alteration.

4.3.4 Summary

The names of the two possible owners of Chapel C offer a unique case-study for examining the decorum concerning the king's name in non-royal settings. In the entrance reliefs, Meryteti's names and titles are carefully composed to foreground the relationship between himself and the king (his maternal grandfather) that is indexed in his name, 'Beloved of Teti'. However, the systematic erasure of an earlier owner of this chapel also evinces a similarly respectful attitude towards the king's name, despite the (assumed) negative motivations for erasing the name in the first place. The systematic erasure of Pepyankh's name throughout Mereruka's complex, including so thoroughly in Chapel C, indicates that, regardless of motivation, the intended effect was for this name to be physically (and perhaps even ritually) severed from the selective historical narrative presented in this funerary complex. However, in the same act, the name of Pepy was reaffirmed but incorporating this element of the name into a new, composite title for Meryteti. Through the palimpsests, we are afforded a glimpse into the inscriptional practices of the draftsmen who were commissioned with rededicating this chapel. I return to this point in Chapter 5 (section 5.1.3).

4.4 THE CHAPEL OF WATETKHETHOR ZESHZESHET

The choice to discuss Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel last in this chapter is a deliberate one. While this works against the temporal order in which the chapels are understood to have been completed (Mereruka→Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet→Meryteti), the analysis of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel here draws on the conventions already established in the examination of the other chapels. Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel is unique among the burials of women in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, and elements of the iconographic programme are unique among women tomb-owners of the Old Kingdom. Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel is the largest burial afforded to a woman of her status in this cemetery and it is the only known burial place of one of Teti's

daughters. As is the case for other royal princesses of the Old Kingdom (see Callender 2006), producing a biography for Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet that establishes anything beyond her marriage to a high-ranking official is met with a number of challenges. However, beginning with a careful analysis of her name, several familial relationships can be deduced, as well as establishing her relative position within the royal family. The latter is also prominently displayed in her tomb programme. This section opens with a brief, synthetical description of the chapel's architecture, which draws on the ACE publication of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel in 2008, as well as the earlier comments by Duell (1938, 1–17) in his introduction to the Chicago House publication of Mereruka's chapel, and observations from research visits to the chapel between 2017–19. This is followed by a discussion of the meaning and orthography of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name, drawing a connection between the royal ideology encoded in her name, and her self-presentation as a mother and royal princess within her chapel.

4.4.1 Architectural description

The chapel of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet occupies the south-west section of Mereruka's complex, and consists of four chambers (rooms B1, B3–5), a stairway ('room' B2), a burial shaft, and burial chamber (cf. plan in plate 16). With the exceptions of the door-drum and palace-façade reliefs of the false-door in room B5, the relief programme of the chapel is executed in shallow, raised relief and was painted (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, 18). A dado of red, yellow, and black, was painted throughout the chapel (plate 74), with the exception of the undecorated walls mentioned below. It appears that the relief programme was completed by several groups of artists, and ones different to those employed for Mereruka's chapel (Duell 1938, 10; cf. on artists: Pieke 2011). Compared to Meryteti's chapel, described in the previous section, Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel was part of the original plan of Mereruka's complex. The chapel is entered from the east, from inside the first room of Mereruka's chapel (room A1), immediately to the left of the main entrance. Circular depressions either side of the recess in the west wall of A1 show where a door-

bolt was once placed. The reliefs of the entrance thicknesses do not include Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet; rather, they feature three registers of offering bearers on each side (north and south) processing into Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel. The direction of the reliefs oriented the visitor towards this secondary cultic space, and away from the activities depicted in room A1, oriented east and north, into Mereruka's chapel. The absence of dedicated entrance, as was constructed for Meryteti's chapel, is presumably because Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet appears as a minor figure on the main entrance to the complex, together with her name and titles.

Room B1 is a pillared hall, smaller in size and scale of relief programme than that of her husband, but in a similar fashion to other elite tombs in the cemetery. The bases of two pillars were restored in the 1920s, and it appears that they were undecorated (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, 15). The decoration of this room is restricted to the western half of the space, and the east wall was smoothed but left undecorated, including the dado. Substantial figural graffiti is now found on this wall, such as an incised bull and what might be a *ḥḏ*-mace (cf. section 4.5), which cannot be dated with any certainty within the Pharaonic period. The west wall, and the western ends of the south and north walls, were decorated in shallow, raised relief, with an emphasis on dragnet fishing scenes and bovine livestock management. It should also be noted at this point that there is a concentration of added inscriptions to these scenes, especially on the west wall directly facing the entrance, which are discussed in the following section.

A stairway (B2) was cut into the north-west corner of the north wall of the first room, which would have once led to the roof and the entrance to the subterranean burial shaft. Depressions for door bolts and pivots in the ground provide evidence that a door once stood at the base of the stairway. A stairway to the roof is an architectural feature shared by several tombs in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, dating to the earlier part of Teti's reign, including Kagemni and Nikauizezi. It is interesting that this feature was included for Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel, but not used elsewhere in the complex. As the precise function of the stairway in relation to the roof-accessed burial shaft is not known, it is difficult to speculate why this architectural feature was

used by Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet and not her husband or son. As the subterranean placement and orientation of the burial chamber was carefully chosen to match the position of the false door, it is tempting to suggest that the choice may have been determined by the space available when the rooms of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel were constructed.

The entrance to room B3 is found in the southern end of the west wall of B1, leading into two narrow chambers, oriented north-south; thus, moving from the pillared hall, a visitor to the tomb makes a sharp right-turn into this next space. While the quality of the reliefs in room B3 are poorer than elsewhere in Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel, they include a unique scene of dancers on the north wall (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, 25–6; on Old Kingdom funerary dance scenes, see also Kinney 2008, Van Lepp 1989). Duell (1938, 10) remarked that the dancers showed 'considerable animation and freedom of movement'. The west wall also includes offerings from Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's estates, which are named; these are discussed below (section 4.4.2). In the third register of this scene, Duell (1938, 1, pl. 49) proposed a location for serdab squint, although this was plastered over during the restorations of the 1920's. The enclosed serdab (B4) is in a space immediately adjacent the west wall of room B3.

Room B5 is the last room of the chapel and this was also its cultic focus. The monumental palace-façade false-door and offering table is set into an alcove in the west wall, positioned almost directly above the subterranean burial chamber. The north and south walls of the alcove carry almost life-size scenes of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet at an offering table (plate 74). Room B5 also contains further unique elements in its relief programme that distinguish Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel from those of other elite women. The north wall is occupied by a single theme of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet on a leonine block-throne (plate 75 and cf. plate 76), together with Meryteti at her feet, being carried on a palanquin by female attendants, and accompanied by a mainly female retinue. The placement of this scene, immediately opposite the entrance to the room, was surely purposeful: the gaze of the visitor, moving from B3 into B5, is immediately drawn to this wall, dense with icons of her eminent status. The significance of this scene is discussed below

(section 4.4.4). The burial chamber and sarcophagus were left undecorated, and were found disturbed like Mereruka's (Duell 1938, 7). A large hole was cut in the eastern face of the sarcophagus, presumably at the time of the burial's first disturbance (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, 17–8, pl. 52b).

4.4.2 Meaning of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name

Wᶜt.t-ḫt-Ḥrw rn=s nfr Zšzš.t (**B.i**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 319 [843]) probably means 'The one who is uniquely of the body of Horus, her perfect name: The one of the lotus blossom'. Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's major name is unique, and its only known attestation is in the complex of Mereruka. It is inferred from her name, specifically the appellation 'of the body of Horus', taken together with her title of 'King's eldest daughter' that she was the daughter of king Teti. The latter title speaks very directly to the familial bond between a princess and the king; however, as demonstrated by Callender (2006, 124f.), this should not necessarily be equated with an immediate, blood relationship. Notable examples of titular princesses who were not daughters of the king include Queen Merysankh III (Callendar 2011a, 119–29), and Princess Nebti, who acquired her title through petition to king Neferkauhor (cf. Koptos J, 197–202; Koptos K, 206–13: Goedicke 1967). However, certainty of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's status can be further supported by the iconic references to her royal birth in her chapel's relief programme, discussed below.

It is unclear how *wᶜt* should be understood in this name, and few Old Kingdom names are currently known to be attested with this lemma. The most common translation is 'unique' (*Wb.* 1, 273). Similar names include: *Wᶜ(.w)-m-kȝ.w,* 'The unique one under the *kȝs'* (PN I, 76:16); or *Wᶜ(.w)-zȝṯw*, 'The unique one (among) the Libyans' (PN I, 417:19) and Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name is the only royal example. One probable explanation of the use of *wᶜt* is that Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet was not only Teti's 'eldest daughter', but she was also the first-born child of Teti. Alternatively, Vivienne Callender (2011b, 137) has suggested that she may have been the only one of his daughters to have been born at the time of his accession to the throne. A similarly

constructed name is attested for another of Teti's children: his heir, Nefersahor Pepy I ('Horus is perfect in [his?] protection', attested in *Urk.* I, 208:16, 209:1, and 209:3), who would later change his throne name to Meryre. Furthermore, another of Teti's daughters was named *Nbw-ḫt-Nbty rn=s nfr Zšzš.t* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 458 [1820]) which means, 'Golden is the flesh of the Nebty, her perfect name: The one of the lotus blossom'. This name is presumably another reference to the king's body being like that of the Golden Horus. The Nebty refers both to the feminine deities Wadjet and Nekhbet—'The Two Ladies'—as well as alluding to the relationship between the king and these deities, and the king as a manifestation of these deities (Fischer 1974a, 97–8). Callender (2011b, 134) argues that this name and ones like it, such as 5th Dynasty Queen Nebunebty (PN II, 297.24) display multiple levels of word-play: in addition to referring to the king's body as being golden, it may also be considered an oblique reference to Hathor. Furthermore, in his unpublished PhD thesis, Yannis Gourdon (2007, 356f.) has argued that 'Nebty' names were the sole prerogative of the royal family (cf. Fischer 1974a, 98), but in particular by those who were direct descendants of the king. Hartwig Altenmüller (1990) has argued that the accession of Teti to the throne marked a dynastic separation from Unis, and the arrival of a new branch or new family to the throne; crucially, his father may have been a high-ranking, but non-royal, official, Shepsipuptah. If Teti did, indeed, come to the throne in such circumstances, particular importance may have been placed on the names of royal children articulating key theological statements: that the king was the manifestation of Horus. Like non-royal personal names, little is known about the mechanisms for how royal women received their names, nor do we know when in their life that their name would be given (compared to other royal names; cf. Chapter 3, section 3.4). Callender (2011b, 138) speculates that the names of royal women of the Old Kingdom would have been given to reflect their royal status and 'give lustre to their royalty'. After Teti's reign, the names of royal women no longer directly evoke the divine aspects of kingship (Callender 2011b, 137). The precise reason for this change is unknown. Yet, Callender notes (2011b, 137 n. 70) that during the Middle Kingdom it became practice for royal women to be emblazoned with the names and

attributes of the king in their jewellery; for example, the cloisonné pectoral amulet of Princess Sithathoryunet (MMA, New York, 16.1.3a–b; see plate 77). Perhaps in the manner of personal names of the preceding era, royal women were ritually bestowed with *simulacra* of the king's limited divinity; bearing these names performed an important function in displaying and reaffirming this aspect of the king's role in the world, while also anchoring the name-bearer in the wider sphere of his earthly relations.

Watetkhethor's ***rn nfr***, Zeshzeshet (PN I, 298: 1; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 629 [2984]), from *zšzšt* ('lotus bloom', Wb. III, 486:17), was a popular name in the late Old Kingdom, held by both royal women and non-royal women. At least four women held this name in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. In addition to the wives of Mereruka (Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet) and Kagemni (Nebukhetnebty Zeshzeshet), two lower officials, Neferseshemptah and Shepsespuptah, had wives who were named as 'The King's Daughter, Zeshzeshet' who are presumed to be daughters of Teti (Callender 2006, 120; cf. Kanawati 2003, 65). Zeshzeshet was also the name of Teti's mother (Callender 2011a, 206–14; cf. Stasser 2013, Federn 1936, Stadelmann 1994, 327–35, Roth 2001, 113–26), who is mentioned as the King's Mother in a fragmentary column of the Saqqara Annals which includes Teti's titulary (Baud and Dobrev 1997, 27f). It is thus likely that the name Zeshzeshet was given to Teti's daughters in honour of his mother.

4.4.3 Orthography of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's names

The orthography of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name can be established from a close analysis of inscriptions in three locations: the exterior entrance to Mereruka's complex compared to the interior chapel inscriptions, especially around the false-door, and the use of the ***rn=f nfr*** in the estate lists of room B3. Many of the decorated blocks from the upper courses of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel are missing (as described in Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, 18) and thus it is difficult to assess the full extent to which her name was inscribed throughout her chapel. It is assumed that the depictions of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet were once accompanied by her full name,

probably in the register above her head. Her name is preserved once on the north wall of room B3; once on the west wall of B5; plausibly it could be restored in the fragmentary inscription including her titles on the east wall of the same room; and three times on the drum and door jambs of the palace-façade false-door, also found in room B5 (plates 74, 78).

4.4.3.1 Entrance recess

The first encountered occurrence of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name is on the entrance recess to Mereruka's tomb, already described Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet is depicted at a much smaller scale to Mereruka, and her image and name are executed in a shallow sunk relief. She is depicted to the height of Mereruka's knee, and wears a form-fitting dress, a short wig with a filet-headband, and holds a lotus bloom to her nose—perhaps intended here as a visual play on her name. This is the only example in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery of a wife being included in the entrance reliefs. A rare, comparative example is a mother's inclusion on a doorway lintel from Giza (Mastaba of User, S 120/666), in which she is shown seated together with her son (Fischer 2000, 4–5 and figure 2, from Junker 1943, abb. 69). It is probable that the physical context of this depiction of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, on the external walls which faced the entrance to Teti's pyramid, was an important factor in this choice of representation, prominently displaying the prestige of her birth on the most public, and visible walls of Mereruka's tomb. A further note, which applies to all occurrences of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name, is that her name is composed so that *Ḥrw* ('Horus') takes the initial position in honorific transposition (cf. on the drum of the false door: plate 78). Additionally, the name is written with phonetic characters in keeping with decorum for Old Kingdom names containing a divine name.

4.4.3.2 False door

The inscriptions on the drum and jambs of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's false door represent the most complete sequence of her name and titles (plate 78):

Drum: *zꜣt nzwt smswt nt ḫt=f Ḥwt-ḥr nbt nht ḥm*[*t*]*-nṯr* |[2]
ỉmꜣḫwt ḫr nṯr ꜥꜣ Wꜥt.t-ḫt-Ḥrw rn=s nfr Zšzš.t

The King's eldest daughter of his body, priestess of Hathor, lady of the Sycamore, |[2] the one who is *ỉmɜḫwt* before the great god, Watetkhethor, her perfect name: Zeshzeshet.

Jambs: *zɜt smswt mr.t=f ỉmɜḫwt ḥr ỉt=s Ḥwt-ḥr nb*[*t*] *nht ḥm*[*t*]*-nṯr*
Nt mḥtt ỉnb ḥm[*t*]*-nṯr ỉmɜḫwt ḥr nṯr ꜥɜ Wꜥtt-ḫt-Ḥrw rn=s nfr Zšzš.t*

'The eldest daughter [of the king], his beloved, the one who is *ỉmɜḫwt* before her father, priestess of Hathor, lady of the Sycamore, priestess of Neith, who is north of the wall, the one who is *ỉmɜḫwt* before the great god, Watetkhethor, her perfect name: Zeshzeshet.

There is no image of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet included on the door drum, but depictions of her standing and holding a lotus bloom to her nose would have once existed at the ends of both jamb inscriptions. Only the figure on the south side now remains (noted in Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, 31).

In Mereruka's chapel, it is often his *rn nfr* Meri which is included in the captions accompanying scenes of offering preparation and processions, in which he is addressed by name in the third person. The same tendency is not found in Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel. Instead, where the inscriptions accompanying the scenes survives, Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet is referred to in the third person but without the inclusion of her name, for example on the south wall of room B1: …*r prt-ḫrw n=s im*, '…so that invocation offerings may come forth for her' (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, 19, pls. 3–4, 55b). Furthermore, unlike Mereruka, there are no instances of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name in which a clear determinative of a seated noblewoman (such as  [Gardiner B21A], and [Gardiner B23F]), in addition to her pictorial depiction, is included; rather, the lines were blurred between determinative and depiction especially in the case of the figures that terminate the inscriptions on the jambs of the false door (and cf. for Mereruka in plate 57). It is probable that determinatives were not required in scenes that were densely illustrated with images of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet and her children. Furthermore, in locations where Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet is referred to in captions, such as in the scenes preparing her offerings,

she is referred to only in the third person (as found for the most part in Mereruka's chapel), but her name is never included in the caption, unlike in Mereruka's programme. It is difficult to assess whether this avoidance of the name is specific to her gender, or whether the pronouncement of her name—given its allusion to the king's divinity—was subject to similar rules of decorum that affected the pronouncement of king's name (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.6).

4.4.3.3 Zeshzeshet in estate names

There is one location in the chapel where Watetkhethor's *rn nfr* is found distinct from her major name: in room B3. The courses in room B3 have survived to a height of 2.5m and this room contained the squint to the serdab in the west wall, described above (section 4.4.1). The west wall includes a scene of funerary offerings being brought from 'estates and towns of the Delta and of the South' (see the fourth and third registers in plate 79; cf. Jacquet-Gordon 1962, 214–15), which are personified and named:

Irṯt-Zšzš.t, 'The Milk of Zeshzeshet'
Zššn-Zšzš.t, 'The Lotus of Zeshzeshet'
Mnᶜt-Zšzš.t, 'The Nurse of Zeshzeshet'
Ȝrrt-Zšzš.t, 'The Wine of Zeshzeshet'
Bȝbȝt-Zšzš.t, The Babat fruit of Zeshzeshet'

The locations of these estates cannot be determined, with the exception of *Ȝrrt-Zšzš.t*, which may have been a vineyard in the Memphite area where similarly named estates are attested (Gauthier 1925, 19). Moreno García has questioned whether such estates in tomb scenes of the late Old Kingdom had a historical reality: 'these [estate] place-names seem to have been for the most part fictitious, used mainly as a decorative device emulating the ideal landscape governed by the king' (2008, 4). The nomenclature is nonetheless significant for projecting how estates whose ownership may attributed to women may have been assigned, even if their historicity is questionable in the Old Kingdom. The consistent use of the name Zeshzeshet, rather than Watetkhethor, for the estate-names is particularly of interest; were these estates found in this chapel associated with other, known royal women of this name? As there is no known record of Queen Zeshzeshet's estates,

nor were any of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's like-named siblings afforded a chapel like hers; the names of their estates—if they had any—are not known. However, one conclusion that could be tentatively offered is that the choice of Zeshzeshet may also index an avoidance of using the name Watetkhethor, which alluded to the king's divinity, as proposed earlier.

4.4.4 Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name and self-presentation

The uniqueness of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name is matched by her distinctive self-presentation within her chapel. As outlined by Callender (2006, 120), princesses were indistinguishable in the iconographic record from other elite women, especially where they appear in tombs as minor figures to their husbands; their dress, posture, and gestures, were shared across royal and non-royal classes, and only the titulary of a princess, marked her as being different from other elite women (Callender 2006, 121; see also Harpur 1987, 172, on gesture). In part, this may be explained by the active, aspirational imitation of royal relief and sculpture by non-royal men and women in their own complexes, as discussed by Callender (2006, 123–24). In particular, Callender (2006, 123) notes that the visual representation of royal children in tombs may have been acted as the initial vehicle for the transmission of royal iconography into the non-royal sphere. Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel is remarkable for several reasons which will be outlined in this section: firstly, she adopts some iconographic motifs that are either unparalleled or which may imitate a select, royal parallel: the tomb of Queen Meresankh III. Secondly, this self-presentation may be directly contrasted with her more conventional treatment as a minor figure throughout Mereruka's own complex, and this includes how her name is monumentalised. Thus, the conventions of her representation can be compared across multiple ritual and inscriptional settings.

Many aspects of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel follow the representational conventions for women acting as the sole tomb-owner: in particular, that she is depicted as the primary figure, while her children act as minor, subsidiary figures; additionally, the name of her spouse, Mereruka, is not included anywhere in the chapel (cf. Robins 1994; Roth 1999).

Furthermore, in scenes where she receives the gifts of offering bearers, such as the south and north walls of B1, or the south and east walls of B3, Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's gestures are extremely limited (cf. Harpur 1987, 172f.; Callender 2006, 121), when compared with the more active stances adopted by men in their tombs.

In Mereruka's chapel, the names of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet and their children are usually composed on a much smaller scale to that of Mereruka's; however, it is noticeable that the names, titles, and epithets of Meryteti and Ibnebu, where they occur in Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel, do not follow this same proportional scale. The names of her children are inscribed to the same scale as her inscriptions. An example is the inscription accompanying Meryteti on the west wall of B3, in which he is described as *z3=s smsw mry=s* (*Tti*)*-mry rn=f nfr Mri*, 'her eldest son, her beloved, Meryteti, his perfect name: Meri' (plate 79). These subtle adjustments to the inscriptions relating to her children, in comparison with those found in Mereruka's chapel, may have served to emphasise the importance of them as being specifically her children—born of a royal princess and, thus, grandchildren of the king; the emphasis may have been especially significant if Mereruka had, indeed, children by another wife, as discussed in section 4.3. The iconographic expression for motherhood was extremely restricted in the Old Kingdom, even for elite women concerning whom we have the most evidence. While a small number of depictions of non-royal women nursing children at their breast are known from the 5th to 6th Dynasties, including statuettes, the same theme is never extended to depictions of elite women (Roehrig 1996, 16–7). An important exception is the statue of Ankhnesmeryre II and the child-king Pepy II (Brooklyn Museum 39.119: plate 80), which is the earliest known representation of a child seated in the lap of an adult woman (Roehrig 1996, 17). Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's expression was thus restricted to the epithets given to her children ('beloved') and the subtle manipulation of scene content to emphasise their familial bond.

The scene which unequivocally communicates Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's royal status is the palanquin scene on the north wall of room B5 (plate 75). This scene is unique in that it is the only known example of a woman being carried in a palanquin by female attendants; it is also the

only palanquin scene showing multiple figures being carried (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, 31; cf. Vasiljević 2012; Roth 2006). The leonine block-throne on which she sits is only attested in one other tomb, that of Queen Meresankh III at Giza (see Dunham and Simpson 1974, fig. 8). In Queen Meresankh III's tomb, she is depicted three times on block-thrones: twice on a leonine throne (Dunham and Simpson 1974, fig. 7, 8: plate 76) and once in a palace-façade block throne (Dunham and Simpson 1974, fig. 8). In Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel, the throne appears twice: once in the palanquin scene in room B5; and again, at a much smaller scale, being carried as an empty throne by male attendants on the west wall of room B1 (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, pl. 8). The representation of the throne in B5 has been carefully executed, and particular attention has been paid to incising the bodily features of the lion. The surviving colour on this part of the wall suggests that the throne comprised a wooden frame, with panelling on the sides behind the seated lion, possibly in wood or a ceramic inlay (cf. Der Manuelian 2017). Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet is seated on the throne, holding a lotus to her nose, while Meryteti is sat at her feet on the base of the palanquin, with his legs pulled close to his chest, and a hoopoe grasped in his left hand. The significance of the iconic motifs employed by these royal women, and the possible interplay between them, cannot be overstated: beyond the literal and socially elevated status that the palanquin afforded, the ornamental programme of this royal furniture relates symbolically to the king's divine right to rule. These images were a royal prerogative (Kuhlmann 2011, 6). Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet and Queen Meresankh III depicting themselves with this restricted, royal iconography was a deliberate act that prominently displayed their claims, and the claims of their children, to royal descent. The precise motivations for doing so probably differed between the women. Queen Meresankh III's tomb is dense with linguistic and visual indices to her status as *z3t nswt nt ḫt=f* ('king's daughter, of his body'), yet she was in fact a granddaughter of the king, and was only a titular princess before her marriage to Khafre (Callender 2006, 124–5; cf. Fischer 1975). Meanwhile, for a brief period of time, Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's son may have been heir to the throne before the birth of Pepy I; it may have been a particular concern for Meryteti's

representation in Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel that his descent from Teti was incontestable. A question remains as to whether the those responsible for Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's iconographic programme drew inspiration directly from the much earlier chapel of Queen Merysankh III; certainly, this would still adhere to the diffusion of iconic content proposed Callender, and evidence of artists copying from other tombs has been demonstrated elsewhere in Saqqara (see recently Myśliwiec 2018).

4.4.5 Summary

The analysis of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name and self-presentation undertaken here offers a number of new perspectives on her biographical history. As noted by Callender (2006, 120), the records of Old Kingdom princesses are restricted to a small number of independent tomb chapels and the collective sum of their titles across diverse inscriptional settings; it is thus difficult to accurately document their lives, or their significance for the era in which they lived Where they received their own chapels, royal women had a small repertoire of themes—many of which were shared; however, Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's iconographic programme included many unique elements that forcefully mobilised the prestige of her royal birth, and which may have served to visually confer this status on her children who were depicted in her chapel. I argue that this emulates the strategy of her own personal name, which stresses the familial, bodily relationship with her father, but within the decorum of representation that governed the iconography of royal women and motherhood at this point in the Old Kingdom. A careful analysis of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name demonstrates that it was composed to promote several important, familial relationships: primarily her father, who was almost certainly king Teti, and secondly her grandmother, Queen Zeshzeshet. It also signified her high-ranking position within the royal family as eldest daughter and first-born child. Most importantly, her name, and by extension, herself as name-bearer, embodied divine royal ideology, and her name acted in perpetuity as *simulacra* for the king's divine role in ancient Egyptian life.

4.5 NAMES IN ADDED INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MERERUKA'S COMPLEX

The final corpus of names to be considered in this thesis is collected from inscriptions which have been added to the reliefs throughout Mereruka's complex after the completion of the decoration. I analyse these names separately from the names of the primary chapel owners in order to emphasise how they occur as a distinct inscriptional phenomenon within the tomb's construction and ongoing use. However, I also highlight how, in some cases, the authors sought to meaningfully insert their names into the wider tomb programme in the same style as a formally carved and named figure. This provides an interesting case-study for considering how names—as inscribed texts—related to surrounding textual and visual elements, and to what extent the use of the tomb by later individuals determined how and where authors sought to add their names.

4.5.1 Graffiti or added inscriptions?

The use of the Italian 'graffiti' (plural) and 'graffito' (singular) is acknowledged as being problematic in Egyptology and, indeed, other disciplines (cf. on Pompeiian graffiti: Baird and Taylor 2010, 3–7); however, the debate over terminology remains unresolved The problem is covered in particular detail by Hana Navrátilová in her 2010 survey (306–313), thus the following comments essentialise this issue in order to arrive at an appropriate term to use in this section. The general use of 'graffiti/graffito' remains prevalent in Anglophone Egyptology, although the German *Besucherinschriften* 'visitors' inscriptions' (as in Borchardt 1937; Helck 1952), is also used particularly in relation to New Kingdom scribal graffiti, discussed below. Strictly speaking, if the etymology of 'graffito' should be followed to the Italian *graffiare*, meaning 'to scratch' (in Latin from Greek loan-word *graphium,* referring to a writing stylus), only a mark which is incised, engraved, or 'scratched' is a graffito; meanwhile, anything sketched or painted with a brush should be a 'dipinto' (from the Latin *depictus*, meaning 'painted'). The prevalence of 'graffiti' as a convenient short-hand in Egyptology for inscriptions considered to be of an 'informal' nature (cf. Peden 2001, 293) is thanks, especially, to the earliest studies of ancient intrusive, additional, or unplanned texts encountered by

excavators in tombs (e.g., Navrátilová 2010–2011; Ragazzoli 2013, 271–2; cf. temple graffiti: Ragazzoli and Frood 2013). The assumption that graffiti—especially figural graffiti—occupy the marginal, low registers of a literate culture, and are 'poor relatives of official inscriptions', is a misconception (Lazaridis 2019; cf. Staring 2018). Ancient graffiti are now better understood as a rich and diverse cultural practice of the ancient world, which often lacked the illicit character typical for more modern graffiti productions.

For the purposes of clarity in this section, I will use 'figural graffito', for non-textual additions (e.g., plate 85 and 86), and both 'graffiti' and 'added inscription' to distinguish between two types of later additions within Mereruka's complex (cf. Hamilton 2016). By 'added inscription', I mean texts which were probably added in the final stages of the decoration of the chapel, and which seem to have been part of the planned decoration; usually they are in carved in hieroglyphic form, sometimes in a summary or outline fashion. By 'graffiti', I mean texts which were clearly inscribed after the completion of the tomb's decoration, and which do not seem to have been intended as part of the original decoration; in particular, these are often scratched or lightly incised and sometimes used cursive or semi-hieratic forms, which I discuss in section 4.5.4 (e.g., examples in plate 84). This does not presuppose that the motivations for making these marks were mutually exclusive. All represent an assertion of the self in a sacred, monumental space; the extent to which these additions were motivated by religious concerns is a separate, but related, enquiry.

4.5.2 Previous studies of added inscriptions in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery

The presence of added inscriptions in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery was first remarked upon by Friedrich von Bissing in his publication of the tomb of Kagemni (1909, 1911), although he did not discuss them in any detail. Von Bissing's overall record of the layout and size of the tomb is now known to be inaccurate (compared to more recent studies; cf. Harpur and Scremin 2006), but his initial observation of 'graffiti' (1905, 7 and pl. 30) and names which were scratched ('eingeritzt': 1905, 7) has proven invaluable for locating some inscriptions which are now less visible, especially

in the entrance thicknesses which have been heavily eroded by modern visitation. For example, the added inscriptions which occur on the western thickness leading to room 3 in Kagemni's complex were recorded by von Bissing (1905, pl. 5). It is now very difficult to detect some of these lightly scratched names on the wall surface, which has become shiny and discoloured from repeated touching or brushing from bodies and bags of modern visitors (plate 81).

Graffiti were also included in the line drawings of Duell's (1938) publication of the chapel of Mereruka and graffiti were enumerated like any other text in the relief programme. In many cases, this is the more accurate record of graffiti than the more recent line-drawings produced by ACE, in which many graffiti are omitted; however, ACE have produced the only published line-drawings of the chapels of Meryteti and Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, and thus these volumes are indispensable records of these chapels, to which studies such as this one can add. It should be noted at this point that many graffiti, such as included in this chapter, require dedicated attention in epigraphic study, with the use of raking light close to the surface of the wall and some graffiti are located in undecorated parts of the chapels (plates 82–3).

Graffiti in the major tomb chapels of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery were not studied again before the wider clearance of the site by Firth and Gunn in 1920–22. In the report of the 1920–22 excavations at Saqqara, Battiscombe Gunn (Firth and Gunn 1926, 114) remarked that graffiti-like inscriptions, both carved and inked, were found throughout the major Old Kingdom tombs at the site and that they were made, 'probably by persons who are not represented by the figures in question, but who, for playful or serious motives have chosen to immortalise themselves in this way'. Gunn did not appear to believe that the author was attempting to integrate their text into the formal or planned relief programme. This tension between formality and informality in the interpretation of graffiti-making is still present in the Egyptological scholarship (Navratilova 2011, 182; cf. Ragazzoli, Harmanşah, Salvador 2018, 1–15; Ragazzoli 2013, 269–71).

'Masons' marks', being builders' inscriptions written in black and red ink, are now considered a different category of text all together, primarily being a communicative system

associated with construction (cf. Haring 2017, 69–73), although these were included by Gunn in his assessment of the graffiti in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and included in his unpublished notes from the excavations (Griffith Institute Gunn MSS XIII). None occur in Mereruka's complex, however studies of Old Kingdom builders' inscriptions and masons' marks from Abusir and Saqqara (such as Dobrev, Verner, Vymazalová 2011; Vymazalová 2018) are invaluable for identifying semi-hieratic sign formations found in graffiti studied here, such as the title *ḥm-kꜣ* 𓌙 [Gardiner D31]; the *sꜣ*-bird 𓅱 [Gardiner G39] (Dobrev, Verner, Vymazalová 2011, 21–22); and *nfr* 𓄤 [Gardiner F35] (Dobrev, Verner, Vymazalová 2011, 15–16). The latter shows great variation, including occasionally being written with two strokes crossing the wind-pipe rather than one. The global study of hieratic being undertaken by Altägyptische Kursivschriften (AKU) at Mainz (described in van der Moezel 2018), which will include Old Hieratic from existing published sources, will undoubtedly improve the repertoire for Old Hieratic palaeography. However, localised palaeographic studies of graffiti, in the manner of Ragazzoli's (2013) study of graffiti in Theban Tomb 60, remain necessary, especially if potential exists to connect inscriptions to the hands of particular individuals, as I have proposed tentatively below (section 4.5.4).

Names by themselves are not the most reliable evidence for establishing how many authors participated in the graffiti culture within a space, and it is often difficult to distinguish whether inscriptions were made in a single visit, or progressively through time (plate 84, for example). In my unpublished MA thesis (2014), I collected 17 examples of added inscriptions in the chapel of Kagemni, focussing on those that could be confirmed in Harpur and Scremin's (2006) macro-photographs of scene-details (plate 85, for example), and excluding inscriptions which could arguably be categorised as hastily-finished inscriptions that were intended as part of the original tomb decoration (Hamilton 2014, 93; cf. Hamilton 2016, 51–2). From a methodological point of view, it is difficult to identify added inscriptions with certainty in line drawings, although photographs aid in this process greatly. As will be examined in the names added to Mereruka's complex, these can take the form of incised or scratched inscriptions, closely resembling graffiti in

their literal sense (plate 86), or inscriptions which were summarily finished but none-the-less carved in the manner of monumental hieroglyphic signs; often, both are found within the same scene, as is the case in the names added to a row of offering bearers in room A8 in Mereruka's chapel (plate 87). This underscores the need to study the inscriptions *in situ*, where high quality photographs are not available.

Pieke's (2018) study of added inscriptions in the complex of Mereruka and Kagmeni builds on her previous work on the decoration of Mereruka's tomb (for example: Pieke 2017, 2015, 2013, 2011). Pieke (2018, 304–9) identified 124 added inscriptions (including titles) in the complex of Mereruka, and 40 added inscriptions in the chapel of Kagemni (Pieke 2018, 302–3), although her criteria for determining what was 'added' differ from mine, as discussed below. This means that a small number of added inscriptions were not included in Pieke's analysis, which are highlighted in the following discussion; while our conclusions largely complement one another, some crucial differences emerge. As discussed in Chapter 1 (section 1.1), it was not possible to carry out a full photographic documentation of names and added inscriptions in Mereruka's complex during research visits between 2017–19; none-the-less, I have endeavoured to draw upon examples in this discussion that can be illustrated with my own photographs. Where the inscription has also been catalogued by Pieke, I include her enumeration in parentheses and comment on her analysis either in discussion or in the plate captions, where most appropriate.

4.5.3 Mode of inscription

The primary method for distinguishing added inscriptions from the planned tomb programme is in the mode of the inscription, although this is by no means exact. Whereas the original decoration of the interior rooms was carried out in raised relief, the added inscriptions are always scratched, although Pieke (2018, 289–90) also includes inscriptions carved in sunk relief as well as those painted in red and black ink in her analysis (plate 88, as an example). Concerning the latter, Pieke (2018, 290) notes that painted inscriptions in the false-door room may have been the preliminary

sketches ('um Vorzeichnungen') for the sculptors, which were left unfinished; however the same could be equally said of engraved inscriptions which are executed in a very summary fashion (such as plate 87). It is difficult to assert which is more likely, and with large numbers of artists working in the space (cf. Pieke 2011), multiple methods of drafting and levels of incompleteness are attested.

I am not convinced that the painted inscriptions were not intended as part of the primary programme, or that they are only preliminary sketches. Painted inscriptions are well attested in contemporaneous tombs where paint on the surface has survived better, such as in the tomb of Mehu (plate 89), and they may have been part of the final stages of finishing a particular scene, which is certain in the examples from the false-door room. In the tomb of Nikauizezi, the completion of the decoration in paint of the east wall of the first room was also accompanied by a painted inscription recording the burial of Nikauizezi (plate 90). Similarly, painted inscriptions are well preserved in Mereruka's complex in room A13, on the north wall, where the names and titles of Mereruka's brothers and younger sons are painted next to their accompanying figures (plate 91, for example).

Pieke rightly does not include these as added inscriptions, but the question remains how the painted inscriptions in Mereruka's room A13, as in plate 91, can be meaningfully distinguished from painted names and titles elsewhere in the chapel such as room A8 (plate 88, for example), which Pieke has identified as 'added'. The same question can be asked of carved inscriptions. In the same register of the north wall of A13, names and titles have also been carved next to the figures in several modes. For example, raised relief is used for the name and titles of the scribe Inkhi (**A.xxxii**; plate 92). In contrast, a more summary, carved outline is used for the name and title of scribe of the phyle, Khnumhotep (**A.xciii**; plate 93); his name and title were later scratched out. That some names and titles in the relief programme were painted (rather than carved) may index the fact that the people to whom the inscriptions were attached were minor figures in the relief scene relative to the tomb owner, and therefore reference to them was established last in the

process of tomb construction and decoration. They probably should not be considered graffiti, and the motivation for them being added is unlikely to be associated with *Besucherinschriften*.

The clearest examples of added inscriptions are names and titles that have been incised in a scratching technique, and those which include semi-hieratic signs; these are probably best described as graffiti. A substantial added inscription with these features, which is not included in Pieke's survey, is found in Mereruka's chapel on the eastern wall butchery scene of room A10 (plate 94). The reading of the names in this inscription is uncertain. The inscription is composed in two lines, which possibly should be read vertically, right to left (following Duell 1938, pl. 109). The first column may begin with the title *ỉmy pr-ḥḏ* (?) (although this seems to be an usually high-ranking title), followed by an unknown sign and a hieratic *s3*-bird; the final part is probably a name: *Nfrw* or *ʿnḫw* (**A.xli**); the initial sign could be written this way in either case. The second column can more confidently be read *ḥm-k3*, followed by a name (perhaps *Nfr?*), the title *ḥm-k3* again, and possibly another name which may begin with *wʿ* and terminate in the *nb*-sign. Thus, the orthography of the inscription overall utilizes as least one hieratic sign: a *s3* bird (cf. Dobrev, Verner, Vymazalová 2011, 21–22), but the *w*-bird is fully carved This may indicate that the author had difficulty executing the inscription in linear or cursive hieroglyphs given the hard medium of stone; or that the effort to use less-cursive signs was especially given to the name; either may be an indirect reference to script literacy, discussed again in section 4.5.5. The semi-hieratic orthography of *ḥm-k3* is conventional and corresponds with the orthography of this title in added inscriptions in Kagemni's chapel and elsewhere in Mereruka's complex.

Dating this inscription is difficult, although the use of the *k3*-servant title probably indicates that its author(s) had roles in Mereruka's funerary cult, perhaps in the butchery ritual depicted in this scene. This inscription is stylistically closer to names that are scratched or incised elsewhere in the complex, such as the names of Meri/Mery in the chapel of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet (**B.vi**; **Bviii**: see plates 95–8; Pieke 2018, 306 nos. 2–11), and Iry(?) (plate 99; not in Pieke), Nisuptah

(**A.lxiv**; plate 100; Pieke 2018, 305 no. 36), Hefaw(ti) (**A.lxxxix**; see plates 101–3; Pieke 2018, 307 nos. 46–9) in the entrance to Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel and room A1 of the complex.

It is much more difficult to decide whether summarily finished hieroglyphic texts are added inscriptions or were part of the original decoration. One example is the names and titles of Irenakhti (**A.xxxiv**: plate 87), who was a judge, inspector of *kꜣ*-servants, and overseer of scribes (Pieke 2018, 304 nos. 8–12). His name is found in two rooms (A3 and A4) leading towards the heart of Mereruka's chapel, and again next to an offering bearer in the false-door room (A8). Another example is the names and titles added to the offering bearers on the west wall of room C1 in Meryteti's chapel (plate 104), processing with offerings towards Meryteti and his son, Ihy: here, the added inscriptions name the *kꜣ*-servant and steward Merinen (**C.xvi**), and the steward Huferi (**C.xix**; cf. Pieke 2018, 308–9). In plate 104, these inscriptions can be directly compared with the raised relief carving of name and title of Ihy, which was probably done during the third phase of chapel's construction (cf. section 4.3.3.1). Both Merinen and Huferi are attested elsewhere in supposedly added inscriptions elsewhere in Meryteti's chapel (Pieke 2018, 295–6). In general, their inscriptions can be distinguished from scratched graffiti through the use of fully hieroglyphic script, in which no cursive or semi-hieratic forms are found. Moreover, the surface of the stone surrounding the signs has often been carved away in the manner of emulating raised relief. In most cases, the title and name have been carefully carved into the space surrounding the figure, sometimes dividing the inscription into two separate sub-registers, and with different orientations; frequently the signs are oriented so that they are read 'into' the face of the figure(s) they accompany, which will be discussed again in section 4.5.5. Pieke (2018, 283) suggests that these inscriptions sought to imitate the style of hieroglyphic texts elsewhere in the programme:

> Um deren erhabenes Relief zu imitieren, wurde in diesen Fällen der Hintergrund in einem kleinen Bereich tiefer abgetragen, aus dem sich dann wiederum die hinzugefügten Hieroglyphen leicht erhaben absetzen können. Häufig fehlt jedoch bei diesen Schriftzeichen die Glättung der Außenkonturen, obwohl sie offenkundig mit

> fachgerechten Werkzeugen hergestellt wurden und demzufolge wohl von Bildhauern stammen.

One problem with inscriptions in this style being treated among a corpus of added inscriptions is that they cannot be easily distinguished from the style of relief in scenes that were left unfinished The execution of the latter is very similar: the outline of the hieroglyphic signs being carved and then the surrounding space sometimes being pared back further, in order to give the style of raised relief. It may be that in the very final stages of finishing a tomb's reliefs it was possible for sculptors to return to earlier completed rooms in order to expand the programme with further names and titles, as was discussed for painted inscriptions earlier. Thus, these inscriptions may not be added in the sense of them being made after the tomb was complete or as *Besucherinschriften* (which scratched names may be), but added in the sense that the names and titles of these minor figures were not necessarily considered essential to the original subject of the tomb programme, which focussed on names and titles of the tomb-owner in the first instance. However, the fact that many of these names and titles were clearly produced by sculptors suggests that they should be distinguished from scratched and incised inscriptions. As it was not possible to check every inscription *in situ,* I do not attempt to provide a new numbering of added inscriptions from Pieke (except in the cases of total omission from the corpus); however, in the discussion of a particular subset of inscriptions (those including the title *ḥm-kȝ*), I add detail, where possible, about the mode of inscription in Table 2 in the appendix, in order to offer nuance to the discussion of motivation and script ability in section 4.5.5, below.

4.5.4 Spatial location and dating

Added inscriptions occur in all three chapels of Mereruka's complex, with most of them occurring within Mereruka's chapel, especially in the entrance hall (room A1) and the false-door room (A8). Pieke (Pieke 2018, 304–7) counted 77 such inscriptions in total, although her definition of what defined an added inscription was much wider than my own (cf. section 4.5.3); I counted 3 further

scratched textual graffiti in my own study of Mereruka's and Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapels, in addition to numerous figural graffiti (e.g. plates 82–3), which were not the primary object of this study but are otherwise unremarked upon in other publications. I was not permitted to take precise measurements of the inscriptions during my research visits to Mereruka's complex, but generally they occur at crouching or standing height.

Unsurprisingly, many inscriptions occur in the first room of the complex (room A1), primarily on the north and west walls in close proximity to the entrance (examples: plates 95, 98–9, 101–3, 105). This was a point where movement in the complex may have diverged: turning right towards the interior rooms of Mereruka's chapel and the chapel of Meryteti; or turning left into the chapel of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet (examples: plates 100, 106–7). In Mereruka's chapel, the added inscriptions overwhelmingly occur on the west wall and western portion of the north wall of the first room (A1), directly next to and opposite the entrance, where figures of offering bearers and other minor figures are located Further concentrations of inscriptions occur next to figures of offering bearers on the east wall of room A3, one of a series of small rooms leading to the heart of Mereruka's chapel; and the south and north walls of room A8, which contained Mereruka's false-door and one of the cultic foci for *kꜣ*-servants working in this chapel. In the chapel of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, the added inscriptions occur primarily on the west wall and south wall of room B1; in particular, the name Meri/Mery occurs many times in this area (plates 95–7), discussed again below. No added inscriptions are present elsewhere in this chapel. In the chapel of Meryteti, added inscriptions are concentrated in the west wall of room C1, and the north and south walls of room C3 (the false-door room).

The textual inscriptions consist solely of names and titles, and longer compositions are not found among the added inscriptions in Mereruka's complex. Several examples of figural graffiti occur in the chapel of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet (not discussed by Pieke 2018), such as an incised bull and what might be a *ḥḏ*-mace on the undecorated east wall and a bird on the south wall (plate 82). While substantial figural graffiti does not occur elsewhere throughout the complex, marks that

are similar to a cross, and occasionally a 𓍿 [Gardiner F35] or ☥ [Gardiner S34], can be recognised in the dado underneath certain figures throughout the chapels (plate 83). These marks are difficult to date and the exact motivation for them, and how they may have (or not) interacted with the iconic content in the above scene is unclear—it does seem to appear that these marks occur, for example, underneath the feet of the figures in the scene above, but whether this connection was meaningful cannot be determined.

It is difficult to date added inscriptions other than on onomastic grounds: many of the names are of an Old Kingdom type and are common in this part of Saqqara (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.5): such as ***Špsỉ*** (**A.xcviii**; **C.xx**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 673 [3287]) and **(*Ppy*)-*n(ỉ)-ᶜnḫ*** (**C.xvii**; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 417 [1535]); the latter in particular places this individual firmly in the reign of Pepy I or later. Moreover, the inscriptions show a high degree of variance in orthography across multiple modes of inscription. Unlike scribal graffiti from the New Kingdom, which can be dated on the basis of style and intertextual references (Navrátilová 2011), or by their palaeography (Ragazzoli 2013), there is little within the added inscriptions themselves (beyond onomastics) to provide a firm date within the Pharaonic period. It is probable that they occurred before mid-12th Dynasty based on the cemetery's primary period of use (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.3.2). The fact that many of the added inscriptions include the titles that associated the name-bearer with the funerary cult of the tomb owner (further discussed below) points to these inscriptions being made within several generations of the tomb-owner's death, assuming the relatively short-lived nature of such funerary cults (Fischer 1965, 52).

4.5.5 Names and their referents

The answer to the question 'who were the authors of these inscriptions?' lies in several places. Firstly, some speculative answers can be offered based on the names themselves; secondly, a more general answer can be given, drawing a connection between these added inscriptions and the official duties and activities which may have brought people to the tomb. Many of the names are

of an Old Kingdom type and, in particular, hypocoristic names are common, such as: Ikhi (**A.viii**), Meri (**A.liv, B.vi, B.vii, C.xiv, C.xv**) Mery (**B.viii**), Shepsi (**A.xcviii, C.xx**), Hefawi (**A.lxxxix**), Paeni (**A.l**, **B.iv**); however, it cannot be established in all cases whether inscriptions of like-names belong one or more individuals. For example, the names Meri and Paeni occur in both Mereruka's and Watetkhethor's chapels; while the inscriptions with the former name are numerous (see plates 95–8) and are difficult to distinguish except on palaeographic grounds (discussed below), the latter is a more distinctive name (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 353 [1074]) and it only occurs twice (plate 103, for one example); thus, inscriptions with this name were almost certainly authored by the same person.

The particularly noticeable trend for names formed with the lemmata 'Meri' or 'Mery' may indicate that these individuals had been given names that closely associated them with the family of Mereruka, which was also reflected in their roles in the funerary cults of Mereruka, Meryteti, and Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet. This practice has been confirmed elsewhere in the cemetery, such as in the case of 'Gemni' names (after Kagemni; cf. Hamilton 2014, 2016) and in Shepsi/Shepses names among the dependents of Shepsespuptah (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2001, 13–14). In the case of Kagemni, one graffito that occurs in an undecorated room is shared by a father (Idu) and son (Gemni) (first noted in Firth and Gunn 1926, 116; omitted in Pieke 2018). Like the New Kingdom graffito of Ramesesnakhtmen discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.4), this is an undisputable case of an individual with an exophoric name in honour of the tomb-owner returning to add their name to his tomb at a later date (Hamilton 2016, 55). The possibility that the same motivation existed for added inscriptions relating to Mery/Meri, both in the initial name-giving, and in the later act of making the inscription in Mereruka's complex, can be tentatively suggested.

Only three basilophoric names occur in the added inscriptions in from Mereruka's complex. The first is Niankhpepy in Meryteti's chapel (south wall of room C3: Pieke 2018, 309 no. 27). The second is Pepy-[…] which is attested in the northern thickness to room B1 (see plate 105); this is only tentatively proposed as a name. Pieke (2018, 305 no. 30) instead reads this as part of a

title, following another title *ḫry-ḥb* (lector priest). The signs of these names are titles are difficult to distinguish (with the exception of the cartouche) and there is so much overlap, and it is possible the inscriptions in this location are the work of multiple authors. The third example is Khaizezi (**A.lxxxvi**), attested once in Mereruka's chapel in room A12 (Pieke 2018, 306, no. 55). This relative infrequency of basilophoric names adheres to a wider pattern observed by Scheele-Schweitzer (2014, 31–2) that basilophoric names rarely occur among lower-ranking officials attested in major Old Kingdom tombs at Giza and Saqqara. Whether added inscriptions reflected the 'full' names of their name-bearers is impossible to ascertain. It may also be true that the prevalence of hypocoristic names in added inscriptions reflected the use of the name most often used in daily-to-day life (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.5.2); was this their *rn nfr*? If this was the case, these authors may have had further names which remain unknown to us.

A significant result of Pieke's (2018) collation of names in added inscriptions across both the complexes of Mereruka and Kagemni is the observation that only a small number of names occur in both, all of which are names common in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery more broadly: Meri, Seshemnefer, and Ipi. This is convincing evidence that the other individuals, especially those with less common names, who sought to insert themselves via their names into these tomb programmes probably did so in one tomb only. It is also likely that at least some of these authors had a particular association with the tomb-owner, particularly those who added the title of *kꜣ*-servant to their name; I have gathered these examples in Table 2 in the appendix. Pieke did not indicate the mode of inscription in her original collation, which I have attempted to add in Table 2, where it was possible to check against the original in the tomb or is clear in published photographs. In particular, the mode (painted, carved in relief, carved in outline, scratched) may be an important clue as to when the inscription was made.

Kꜣ-servants were involved in the funerary rituals that accompanied burial and were tasked with providing offerings for the deceased's nourishment in the afterlife (Badawy 1981, 85–93; Allam 1985; Sánchez Casado 2018). While at first glance it would seem that a greater number of

kꜣ-servants made inscriptions in Mereruka's chapel, many of these inscriptions occur in the first room of the complex (A1), which is perhaps explained by the fact that *kꜣ*-servants of all three chapels would have converged in this room. Other attested titles, such as scribe or scribe of the *phyle* (on this title: Roth 1991, 113) were held by individuals who were probably associated with the construction and maintenance of the royal pyramid complexes, in which Mereruka and his son Meryteti held important positions. Predominantly, these titles occur in inscriptions from Meryteti's chapel that may not be added inscriptions (contra Pieke 2018, 308–9); rather, they appear to be inscriptions that were completed towards the very end of that chapel's construction, and are inscriptions that emulate raised relief (described above: section 4.5.3). It is probably significant that none of the added inscriptions that are scratched are made by individuals who identify themselves as scribes.

It is difficult to draw a certain connection between names found in added inscriptions with names of individuals buried elsewhere in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. One demonstrative example is Irenakhti, introduced above. At least one similarly named individual, Irenakhti Iri, was buried in the north-east of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, behind the complex of Mereruka (Kanawati and el-Khouli 1987, 43–46; Kanawati 2003, 71–74). Irenakhti, however, is a common Old Kingdom name (Ranke PN I, 39:24; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 251 [392]). In Mereruka's chapel, Irenakhti's titles include: *sḫḏ ḥm(w)-kꜣ* 'Inspector of *kꜣ*-servants' (Jones 2000, 943 [3475]), and *zꜣb ỉmy-r zšw* 'Judge and overseer of scribes' (Jones 2000, 803 [2933]). Whereas the Irenakhti Iri in the northern cemetery holds titles associated with the *ḥntyw-š* of Teti's pyramid. It would be unusual for a higher-ranking title such as *zꜣb* to be omitted from a funerary monument so it seems unlikely that these individuals are the same person.

The much rarer name Paeni also occurs among funerary material excavated from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery: on two side pieces for a false door (Firth and Gunn 1926, 204–5 no. 2), a false door (Firth and Gunn 1926, 200 nos. 38–39), and offering table (Firth and Gunn 1926, 2010 no. 17). These monuments were not photographed during the process of excavation and it is unclear

where exactly they originated from (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.3.1). In Mereruka's complex, Paeni is a *ḥm-kꜣ* (plate 103). On these other monuments, the titles are: *šps nzwt* 'Noble of the king' (Jones 2000, 988 [3648]), and [*pr-ꜥꜣ?*] *ỉmy-r šwy* 'Overseer of the weaving sheds/canals [of the Great House]' (Jones 2000, 244 [892]). The latter is also held by Mereruka (Kanawati, Woods, Shafik et al. 2010, pl. 64), which may provide a tentative professional connection between the two, if the monuments are contemporaneous. If these refer to the same person, the use of *ḥm-kꜣ* in the added inscription may be explained for two reasons: firstly, it was the title that most closely referenced a personal connection with Mereruka and his family through serving in their funerary cults. It is also possible that the titles found on Paeni's funerary monuments probably reflect his highest-ranking titles at the end of his life; he may not have held the titles *šps nswt* and *ỉmy-r šwy* while serving as a *kꜣ*-servant. No further evidence exists of a connection between these two same-named individuals.

Two further, more tentative connections can be drawn between the *kꜣ*-servants in added inscriptions in Mereruka's complex and those attested on minor funerary monuments excavated elsewhere in the cemetery. The name *Ftk-tꜥ* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 366 [1174]) occurs on a fragment of an offering table excavated in the north-east portion of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (Hassan and Kanawati 1996, pl. 58, TNE94: OT4) with no further titles. The name Meritef (plate 106) is not attested elsewhere in the cemetery, but *Mrỉ=f-ỉt=f* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 390 [1353]) occurs in two added inscriptions in the tomb of Nikauizezi (see plate 107); the reading these names is uncertain in both contexts due to the rough nature of the inscriptions, but it is possible that the same individual made them.

This example highlights another issue: to what extent added inscriptions managed to successfully (or coherently) communicate the signs in their names, and whether their 'mastery' (or lack thereof) of script in anyway reflects their literacy (Baines 1984, 2007; Baines and Eyre 2007; Kolb 2018). A notion of 'functional literacy' may be helpful here (cf. Keegan 2014, 22–4), in order to tentatively situate these authors among a wider spectrum of those who were more or less

practiced in writing and the domains in which writing was allowed (Pinarello 2018; 2015). The 'lack' of mastery need not be equivalent to a lack of literacy, and it is possible that these authors struggled with the stone medium in the act of making the inscription; plates 98 and 99 are good examples of this. Ragazzoli (2013, 290) has made similar observations concerning New Kingdom inked scribal graffiti in the tomb of Antefiqer, in which some authors struggled with compositions in cursive hieroglyphs rather than formal hieratic in which they were more practiced. A small number of mistakes do occur, such as the incorrect orientation of the *zš*-sign in one of Ikhy's carved hieroglyphic inscriptions from Meryteti's chapel (north wall of C1: Pieke 2018, 295–6), although the name that follows is oriented correctly and his title is correctly rendered elsewhere in the chapel.

Evidence from within the inscriptions themselves, and the manner in which they have been semantically inserted into the scene, demonstrate that many authors adhered to principles of Egyptian writing governing orientation and sign-group composition. For example, in some of the added names of Meri in the chapel of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet (plate 96 [1, 3, 6], plate 97 [9, 11]), it should be noted that while the signs are irregular in their formation, attention was given to incising the lines of reed leaf in the manner of a monumental hieroglyphic sign, and the inscription is oriented so that it reads 'into the face' of the human body to which it has usually been attached. This aspect of their orthography demonstrates a clear semantic link between the signs of name and the human figure which they faced, in a manner reminiscent of a determinative. This style of internally rendering the reed leaf in this name can also be found in inscriptions of the same name in the west entrance thickness to Mereruka's complex (plate 98), perhaps distinguishing the hand of this individual who possesses an otherwise very common name.

In contrast, the name 'Mery' (written with ), which is also found the chapel of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet is almost certainly a different individual (plate 95); his name is also written in close association with the human figure, but it is not always correctly oriented. This may indicate that simply the act of fixing the name to a figure through writing was enough for it to be successfully embodied; while some authors did so in a way that was more orthographically correct,

the 'poorer' inscriptions were presumably no less efficacious. The different modes of inscription (scratched, carved, painted) are not clearly distinguished by Pieke (2018) in her catalogue of added inscriptions, and an important observation made by viewing these inscriptions *in situ* is the most basic, scratched inscriptions belong to *k3*-servants, or names without titles. This suggests that within the group of authors in these added inscriptions, who are presumed to have been functionally literate, varying degrees of writing ability were found.

Pieke (2018, 291) has observed that the dense concentration of added inscriptions in the first rooms of the complex (west wall of room A1 and into room B1) share the particular quality of being incised or scratched ('groben und simplen Ritztechnik'), and that a title is frequently omitted from the inscription. This is probably explained by the fact that the offering bearers in these scenes have usually already been given a title (but rarely a name) in the primary caption. Pieke (2018, 291) reasonably suggests that this may have affected how later individuals sought to appropriate figures for their names, avoiding those representations that were already named:

> Demzufolge standen an weniger Stellen anonyme Figuren zur Verfügung, gleichzeitig wurde die Appropriation von bereits individualisierten Darsetellungen vermieden.

This may be a further index of literacy. Far from being 'playful scribblings', these inscriptions represent real attempts by the name-bearer, or someone acting on their behalf, to respectfully integrate themselves into the commemorative space of the tomb. Pieke (2018, 275) highlights the way in which added inscriptions in the chapels of Mereruka and Kagemni usurp, or appropriate, the pictorial motif which it accompanies ('Zur Appropriation von Einzelmotiven'). In her opinion (2018, 279), motivations for this inscriptional practice should be nuanced, without directly equating it with 'Besuchergraffiti im klassischen Sinne'—that is, those attested in New Kingdom tombs (at Saqqara: Staring 2018; Navrátilová 2018, 2015). As explained by Navrátilová (2010, 310–11), such inscriptions can be envisaged as belonging to the *Besucherkult*, being the social communication which Egyptians wished to be a part of after death; and *Gedächtniskultur,* which answered the implicit or explicit wishes of the tomb-owner that they be remembered In the case of New

Kingdom *Besucherinschriften*, inscriptions (carved or painted) could be prefaced by the formula *ỉwt pw ỉr(t) ỉn sš N* 'this is the visit made by the scribe *N*' (Ragazzoli 2013, 270, 289–90), narrating the personal event of visiting the tomb. This expression, or anything like it, is not found in any Old Kingdom added inscriptions known to me.

Pieke argues (2018, 300–1) that the inscriptions found in Mereruka's and Kagemni's chapels were a type of special cult-behaviour performed by individuals of a lower socio-economic class (at least lower than Mereruka):

> …die Beischriften als seine spezielle Art von 'devotional graffiti' fungieren. Zudem lässt die Appropriation auch eine Art von Beikult vermuten, der im großen Stil weniger ranghohen Personen die Change auf die Partizipation an der Jenseitsexitenz und einer damit verbundenen dauerhaften Versorgung ermöglicht.

Some authors were almost certainly employed in the funerary cults of the tomb owner. Beyond Memphis, the involvement of craftsmen in the performance of funerary cult is found in the tomb of Pepyankh Heryib at Meir (Chauvet 2015, 70); specifically, a man named Kaemtjenenet who leads the funerary liturgy is identified as both a lector priest and draftsman (Kanawati 2012, pl. 79). Nonetheless, Pieke's (2018, 300) scepticism towards the notion that the motivations for these inscriptions were solely connected to the cult of the tomb owner is well-founded. For example, the multitude of inscriptions by a (seemingly) small number of individuals in the chapel of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet may be the result of multiple visits during their lifetime, and presumably their presence in the space was partially determined by their duties as *kꜣ*-servants. But it is strongly suggested by the repetitive nature of the inscriptions that their motivation was to assert and reaffirm their own names through writing in this sacred space. Foregrounding of the agency of the authors of these inscriptions in memorialising their own names does not preclude the possibility that some were also 'piously' motivated (cf. Wildung 1975; Helck 1952).

At the same time, the added inscriptions themselves may have also generated their own 'dialogue' (cf. Pompeiian graffiti dialogues: Benefiel 2010, 29–32). The overwhelming

concentration of inscriptions in room A1, for example, may be explained in part by the fact that it was the most easily accessible and most visible to later visitors. The growing number of added inscriptions in this space may have also created a situation in which others felt invited to add their names. As Ragazzoli (2013, 291) argues concerning the tomb of Antefiqer (TT60), the clustering of added inscriptions is evidence of how a tomb could be reshaped (through writing) from the site of individual memory to one of social memories. As discussed in Chapter 3 (sections 3.3.4–5), establishing a connection between a named individual and their wider kin-group and community was essential in commemorative spaces, as evinced by dedicatory family stelae, restoration inscriptions and lists of named kin and dependents in private legalistic texts recorded in tombs (Vischak 2014, 205–15). Added inscriptions should thus be conceived as belonging to this wider cultural expression of identity and belonging.

The added inscriptions in Mereruka's complex offer a glimpse of living communities that moved through this space, which may have included individuals from his wider household or those who desired an association with it. This epigraphic activity is almost certainly linked to performative activities that brought visitors and workers to cemeteries, such as feast-day processions and the performance of offering rituals by the *kꜣ*-servants. Thus, they are an important indication of the ongoing the salience of the tomb space in festival and ritual practice and as a place at which social identity could be affirmed The way in which some authors incised their names very close to a human figure, with the signs oriented so that the name is read into the face of figure, suggests this inscriptional act—even when just a simple scratched name—operated at a lexical level in same way as a name embodied by a determinative, and probably in a manner similar to claiming a statue through inscribing the name. As discussed in Chapter 2 (2.2.3), the current Egyptological format for publishing personal names—whether in a lexicon, or in a separate list of personal names in a site-report—decontextualizes names from their supporting environments, and this semantic and contextual complexity is lost. These added inscriptions elucidate the importance of the name being monumentalised and made permanent through writing, and of it being properly embodied.

4.6 SUMMARY

This chapter has considered the ways in which the importance of the name was materialised in an ancient Egyptian tomb space. This included the consideration of who was (and was not) named within the tomb programme, and the strategies for emphasising some names over others where this was salient to the wider ritual and display purpose of the tomb. In particular, the deictic content of names (their referential or nonreferential indexes) was discussed in order to draw out their wider meanings. I also considered how certain lexical elements of names could be uniquely materialised through the pictorialness of the hieroglyphic script in a monumental context order to display their meaning. I adopted the method of discussing the names in each chapel in the order that they are experienced when walking through the tomb from south to north, and then from east to west: beginning with Mereruka (section 4.2), followed by Meryteti Meri at the back of Mereruka's chapel (section 4.3), and finally Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet in the western portion of the complex (section 4.4). Added inscriptions were treated as a distinct phenomenon within the complex (section 4.5). Within each section, this same method was applied to the discussion of names in relation to the architectural features: starting from the approach to the space, to the entrance, through the chapel to the primary offering spaces, and finally in the burial chamber (if it was inscribed). Within each chapel (sections 4.2–4), certain architectural and inscriptional features were highlighted that are specific to that space: for example, in the chapel of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, the play between her name and her unique programme of reliefs that asserted her royal birth were discussed (section 4.4.4); whereas in the chapel of Meryteti Meri, the complex series of erasures and palimpsests are highlighted, demonstrating the decorum concerning inscribed basilophoric names (section 4.3.3). The final section considered names in added inscriptions within the whole complex. Crucially, this section demonstrated that the principles concerning how an inscribed name should (ideally) be embodied can be applied to graffiti, and that authors of added inscriptions purposefully appropriated unnamed figures in the tomb programme in order to assert themselves through their name.

The following chapter returns to the notions of materiality and semanticity that were first introduced in Chapter 2, and draws on four case-studies of names from this chapter in order demonstrate the utility of these theories in Egyptological onomastics and answer the question: how did an inscribed name convey its wider *Weltreferenz* ('world reference')?

CHAPTER 5

THE *WELTREFERENZ* OF PERSONAL NAMES

The purpose of this final chapter is to return to the notions of materiality and semanticity introduced in Chapter 2, in order to provide an answer to the question: how did an inscribed name convey its wider *Weltreferenz* ('world reference')? Ultimately, I argue that the meanings of names and their orthography affected, and were affected by, the contexts in which they were inscribed In this chapter, I contrast four examples of inscribed names within Mereruka's funerary complex, drawn from the analysis of names in Chapter 4: Mereruka's *rn nfr*, 'Meri', in the lament caption from room A13; Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name and self-presentation in the entrance recess to the complex; the sarcophagus bearing the names of Pepyankh and Meryteti in the burial chamber of Meryteti's chapel; and a graffito belonging to a man named Mery in room B1 of Watetkhethor's chapel.

5.1 MATERIALITY, SEMANTICITY, INDEXICALITY

To briefly restate Assmann's argument discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.2.4): if writing is language 'made visible', then ancient Egyptian script is 'more than a writing system' (Assmann 1994, 15); it was its iconicity that gave *Weltreferenz* to ancient Egyptian inscribed language, and it could do so in tandem with and also independently of articulated (that is, spoken) language (cf. Schenkel 1971; Junge 1984; Kammerzell 1993; overview: Lincke and Kammerzell 2012, 61–3). Iconicity can be defined as the relationship of resemblance or similarity between the two aspects of a sign: its form and its meaning. In ancient Egyptian language, reference to the physical, material world was possible through the rich iconic and symbolic qualities of hieroglyphic signs, and this meaning could be enhanced through the specific setting and function of the writing support or monument on which they were written. Assmann (1994, 20–24) has suggested three overarching characteristics of the 'pictorialness' of ancient Egyptian language that distinguish its monumental script (in

particular) from the scripts of other cultures (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.2) that are especially saient in an inscribed space such as an Old Kingdom tomb chapel: the complete flexibility of the writing (cf. Fischer 1977a, 1986; Vernus 1985); the fluid transition between 'caption' (text integrated into picture: cf. Angenot 2015, 99) and representation (picture integrated into text: cf. Morenz 2008, 77–8) in a framework of mutual 'determination'; and the multifunctionality of these signs in context, in which they can offer explanation (such as scene titles in the infinitive), identify human and non-human actors (such as annotations of names), and render speech—although usually not simultaneously. It can be summarised that hieroglyphic signs had multiple aspects, which included their semantics, encompassing their lexical meaning; and their materiality, encompassing their physical form. I synthesise both in the following case-studies.

5.1.1 Mereruka Meri: The lament scene in room A13

Figure 4. Photographic detail from lament scene on the south wall of A13 (see plate 51), focusing on the recitation of the name. Photograph: J. Hamilton, November 2018.

The first example is Mereruka's *rn nfr* 'Meri', first discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.1.2). This is found in the scene of mourning women (plate 51), henceforth called the 'lament scene' in the wider funeral procession represented on the south wall of room A13. In this example the caption that accompanies Mereruka's funeral procession includes an address to Mereruka in the second person—the closest reference known to me of how Old Kingdom names may have been used in vernacular speech. The caption clearly marks its association with vernacular speech through its use of the vocative word, *ỉ* ('Oh!'), written with [Gardiner A 26]. The placement of the caption

relative to the rest of the scene produces a strong iconic link between the gesture of this figure and the gestures of the lamenting women beneath, who mobilise and embody the speech; a strong contrast is made between the male figure in a static pose of address, and the frenetic movements of the mourning women. The orientation also produces a strong connection between this grapheme and the activity towards which the lament address is directed: the journey of Mereruka's body from the 'house' to the river in the funerary procession (cf. Wilson 1944, 203–4). While strong links can be drawn between the text and the pictorial representation, the caption in the lament scene does not directly explain the visual content, nor does it explicitly identify the women in the scene; these details can be inferred from the wider location of this scene in the south wall programme. The performance of this lament, comprising 'its time dimension, crowd movement, sounds, and other sensations' (Riggs 2013, 157), is compressed into a series of scenes in which the funeral event is adapted for the purposes of the tomb. However, it nonetheless indexes an important part of ritual that would have accompanied the funeral procession (cf. Motte 2017, 309; Vernus 2009–2010, 79–80): the pronouncement of Mereruka's name, 'O, Meri!' The name upon being 'called out' (cf. Assmann 2005, 231, 305–6) underwent a specific transformation which was activated by the funerary lament, paralleling the transformation of the other parts of the self as they crossed from the world of the living into the afterlife. As described for the names borne by the deceased king in the Pyramid Texts (discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.6), through a similar ritual process the king's name became part of the mythic sphere to which he belonged in this ascended state.

The orthography of Meri with the determinative  [Gardiner A50] requires particular attention. As discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.2.3) and Chapter 3 (section 3.3.1), the use determinatives of personal names in the Old Kingdom require a contextual approach. The most likely explanation for the inclusion of the determinative in this caption is that it is embedded within speech which addresses Mereruka directly as a revered and deceased person (cf. Gardiner 1957, 427); while the aspect of REVERED is inherent to the grapheme itself, pictorially representing a

seated 'man of rank' in a passive state (and lacking arms), the iconic aspect of being DECEASED is supplemented very specifically by its association with Mereruka in the state of being transported to the tomb in the adjacent registers. The latter is of course also indicated by the wider location of this inscription within a tomb chapel. It also served an ancillary purpose to mark a very formal quality to the ***rn nfr*** in this context. This elevated the whole name from a diminutive, or 'nickname' (as Egyptologists sometimes refer to the ***rn nfr***; cf. Chapter 3, section3.5.2) to one which was ascribed dignity. Thus, the use of this determinative was situationally embedded and key to this name's reference to Mereruka in a particular state of existence.

A further layer of significance can be deduced from the context of this inscription. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.2), it has been commonly held that a determinative was often *not* required after an inscribed name (in tombs, on statues), as the representations of the owner provided this function. However, as I have argued throughout Chapter 3, it is clear that an emic Egyptian perception of the ***rn*** placed particular importance on it being embodied (section 3.3.1 and 3.3.5), and its essence (and power) being contained within the physical body (section 3.3.3). While mutable and impossible to reconstruct for non-royal people with any certainty, this may have underscored the importance of naming rituals that fixed names to their specific references. As I argued in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.3.3), the use of determinatives in the orthography of Mereruka's names was closely related to the wider context of inscriptions in relation to pictorial representations of Mereruka or his body. This includes the architectural features that obscured a bodily representation of Mereruka, such as the doors which once enclosed Mereruka's statue in room A13 (section 4.2.2.3); in contrast, determinatives were not required (or desired) in the burial chamber, where the name was in its closest physical proximity to Mereruka's body (section 4.3.2.4). In lament speech, the first person suffix pronoun in '(my) lord' is omitted, as this supplied by the pictorial representation of the speaker(s); meanwhile, the second person dependent pronoun addressing Mereruka is retained. While the south wall of A13 is heavily damaged, from the content of the lower courses that remain, it can be proposed that the scene did not include a pictorial

representation of Mereruka, but that it depicted in stead his body in the sarcophagus—enclosed, obscured, and hidden, both literally and figuratively. The determinative thus performed this important function of embodying the name in this specific place.

This speech caption is the only surviving example that addresses Mereruka in the second person (albeit post-mortem), and this is the strongest evidence available that he was addressed with this name in daily life and that this would carry into afterlife. This is less directly inferred by the prevalence of the use of the name Meri, in the third person, in other captions that occur throughout the tomb, such as the offering bearers on east wall of the doorway thickness between A3–A4, or the speech caption accompanying the boat of rowers on the west wall of A13. However, in this context is clear that while the ***rn nfr*** may have been the preferred name in daily life, the orthography of the name could clearly index its use in other social and temporal existences: the name no longer refers to the living person, but one who will become an *ỉm3ḫ* and 'glorified' (*s3ḫ*).

5.1.2 Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet: The entrance recess

The first encounter with Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name is on the entrance recess to Mereruka's tomb (figure 5), described in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.3). In some respects, her representation in this location adheres to the wider principles of how women as secondary figures were depicted in relation to their spouses (Callender 2006; Roth 1999): Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet is depicted at a much smaller scale to Mereruka, to the height of his knee, and adopts a less active stance, dressed in form-fitting attire, and holding a lotus bloom to her nose. The scale of this representation is also extended to her name. However, her important social status is subtly (and remarkably) indicated in other ways, primarily in the inclusion of her image and name in the first place. Significantly, her image is carved in front of (literally, over) Mereruka's foot, and not behind, as would be usual for

a minor figure, even one of royal birth (cf. Callender 2006, 121). The wider architectural location of Mereruka's entrance opposite Teti's pyramid almost certainly played a role in the choice to represent her in this way: the prestige of her birth was thus prominently displayed on the most public and visible walls of Mereruka's tomb; something that is similarly harnessed in the unique relief programme found in her own chapel, discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.5). The manner in which Watetkhethor's name is inscribed on the entrance façade further foregrounds this status. It is composed in a single column that closely abuts Mereruka's staff of office, becoming a seamless part of the symmetrical composition of the entrance recess. The mode of inscription is only marginally different from Mereruka's text, with Watetkhethor's inscription carved in a slightly shallower sunk relief albeit at a smaller scale. This is especially noticeable in the opening signs of *z3t nzwt ḫt=f* ('king's daughter, of his body'). As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.4.3), it is tempting to see further graphic play between the name and Watetkhethor's pictorial representation, as the termination of her *rn nfr*, Zeshzeshet ('the one of the lotus blossom'), occurs directly above the lotus blossom that she holds on both the eastern and western thicknesses; at the very least it can be stated that this was an especially harmonious agreement between name and image.

Figure 5. Photographic detail of west side of entrance recess to Mereruka's complex. Photograph: J. Hamilton, January 2019.

In addition to the visual emphasis of her status, the lexical meaning of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name made her relationship to the king explicit: 'The one who is uniquely of the body of Horus, her perfect name: Zeshzeshet'. Specifically, the appellation 'of the body of Horus', taken together with her title of 'King's eldest daughter' demonstrates that she was a daughter of king Teti—probably his eldest daughter, and first-born child. Similar names are attested for Teti's other children (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.4.2), including Nefersahor Pepy I ('Horus is perfect in [his?] protection'), and Nebukhetnebty Zeshzeshet ('Golden is the flesh of the King'). The orthography of Watetkhethor's name is consistent throughout Mereruka's complex and composed so that *Ḥrw* ('Horus') takes the initial position in honorific transposition, and this decorum extended to the internal orthography of the lemma *Ḥrw,* which was written phonetically and omitted other divine markers (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.5.1). Finally, Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name includes the mammonymic Zeshzeshet, which I have argued was given to honour her grandmother, Queen Zeshzeshet (Chapter 4, section 4.4.2). Thus, the deictic content of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name name situates her socially and temporally within the Memphite royal court of the 6th Dynasty and alludes both directly and indirectly to her royal ancestry. Her name is a powerful example of how one individual becomes 'entangled—through the name—in the life history of others' (Bodenhorn and vom Bruck 2006b, 3).

5.1.3 Pepyankh and Meryteti: Two names, one sarcophagus

This entanglement of people in names is also found in a further case-study, this time from the chapel of Meryteti Meri. As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.2), this chapel appears to have been the subject of a series of claims by one or more of Mereruka's sons. Systematic erasures of personal names in this chapel, its burial chamber, as well as throughout Mereruka's complex, are evidence of this history. To summarise, briefly: another of Mereruka's sons, named Pepyankh, was at one time the owner of the chapel, seemingly usurping it from Meryteti in the first place, at some point later in time Meryteti asserted his ownership and the name of Pepyankh was removed from the

textual programme, except for one occurrence in the burial chamber, perhaps left by mistake. These erasures are interesting from the point of view of studying Mereruka's family and the intrigue of their careers, but they also evince the choices and working methods of the people employed to design and decorate this chapel. The draughtsmen chose to avoid the complete erasure of this basilophoric name, in order to leave the cartouche of (*Ppy*)I intact throughout the tomb (see figure 6, below); examples of this from architectural features and textual and pictorial programme in Meryteti's chapel are analysed in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.3).

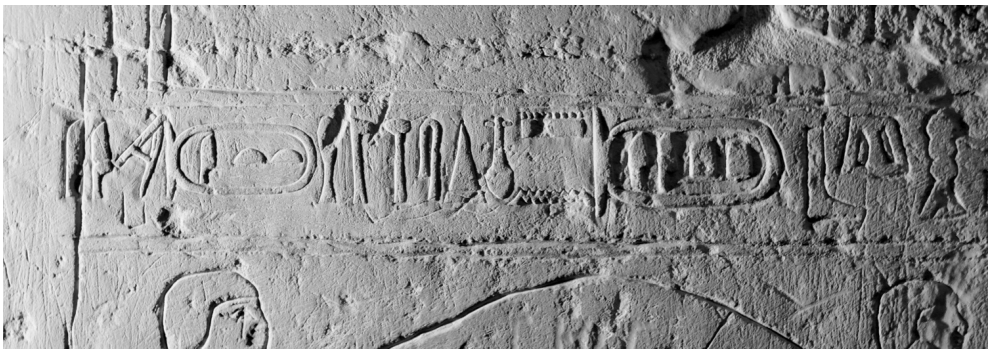


Figure 6. Photographic detail from south wall of room C4 in which several phases of alteration can be detected. The name Pepyankh has been modified into a title, and Meryteti's name added at the end, with the inscription ending outside the register lines. Photograph: J. Hamilton, January 2019.

The process of usurping and reclaiming the chapel extended into the burial chamber itself, and both Meryteti's and Pepyankh's names have remained upon the sarcophagus. The surface of the north side of the lid was lowered, except in the top left corner where the name (*Ppy*)I-*ʿnḫ* remains, perhaps by mistake (cf. Kanawati and Abder-Rzaiq 2004, 44). Meanwhile, a similar treatment is found on the east side, where the original inscription was erased and the cartouche of (*Ppy*)I was reincorporated into an inscription made for Meryteti, becoming the title, 'Inspector of the priests of the pyramid of Pepy'. While the cartouche had been carved, the new added inscription was only painted in black ink (plates 72–3). In the line-drawing of these painted inscriptions, which cannot be detected in the photos provided in the publication volume, two iterations of the same inscription appear, seemingly one placed on top of the other. Perhaps the inscription was re-inked in order to make the signs of the lower inscription of a greater size, and more equal to that of the cartouche

of Pepy. The use of ink in this place may also be a clue as to when the alteration took place, perhaps a short time before or after lowering the sarcophagus into the chamber—it is probable that Pepyankh was never himself actually interred in it. Alternatively, the choice of ink may also indicate the haste in which the inscription was altered considering the sarcophagus would be in a sealed and inaccessible location. It is significant that the single location where the name (*Ppy*)-*ꜥnḫ* was left inscribed is also the most sacred chamber of the funerary complex. As argued in Chapter 3 (section 3.6), this was the place where the inscribed name and body of the deceased were in their closest proximity. However, an unintended outcome of its discovery, through excavation, is that Pepyankh's name has continued to 'live' albeit, in a manner in which was not planned—at least it seems that it was not intended that this name should have had any association with Meryteti's chapel. The systematic erasure of Pepyankh's name throughout Mereruka's complex (cf. Chapter 1, section 1.5), including so thoroughly in Chapel C, indicates that, regardless of motivation, the intended effect was for this name to be physically (and perhaps even ritually) severed from the selective historical narrative presented in this funerary complex; in part, this was successful.

The pragmatics of destroying a name was discussed in Chapter 2 (section 3.3.5), and an important conclusion from that discussion was that while writing and speaking the name was imbued with sacred potential, so too was the act of destroying a name. In the case of Pepyankh's name, this can be further nuanced Pepyankh's name lexically referred to the living king Pepy I and the strategy for erasing Pepyankh's name took this into consideration; clearly it was sufficient to remove the element of *ꜥnḫ* in order to disambiguate this name from its specific referent. Thus, while the reference to Pepyankh was erased, in the same act, the name of Pepy I was carefully reaffirmed through the palimpsest, turning the basilophoric name into the name of the monument which would one day inter the king's body. Through these palimpsests, we are afforded a glimpse into the inscriptional practices of the draftsmen who worked in the chapel of Meryteti, and this is an important case-study for decorum concerning the king's inscribed name in non-royal settings.

This lexical element of Pepyankh's name, itself bound to the body and person of the king, was arguably too sacred to remove.

5.1.4 Graffito of 'Mery' in Watetkhethor's chapel

Figure 7. Photographic detail of incised name Mery on the south wall of room B1 in Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's chapel. Photograph: J. Hamilton, November 2018.

The final example to be discussed is one of the many names found in added inscriptions ('graffiti') throughout Mereruka's complex, discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.5). Over 107 people who are not the immediate kin of Mereruka are named throughout the complex (see appendix). These individuals held various cultic and administrative roles, such as being *ḥm kꜣ* (*kꜣ*-servants) and *zš n zꜣ* (Scribe of the phyle). Of this number, as least 77 had their names added very late in the construction of the complex (Pieke 2018, 290), a smaller number of which were scratched or incised in the manner of a graffito (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.5.3). The unambiguous cases come from the chapel of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet, in which none of the minor figures were named in the primary relief programme (except her son Meryteti and daughter Ibnebu), although some titles were indicated (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008, 12–13). Most of the added inscriptions cluster on the south and west walls of room B1, and on the entrance thicknesses that separate her cultic space from that of Mereruka. As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.5.2), most of these inscriptions are at

eye-level and the irregularity in their orthography suggests that the authors may have struggled to carve against the grain of the limestone. Low-level light and poor visibility in the tombs may have affected which walls were chosen for the site of inscription (Pieke 2018, 298). The names in almost every case were carefully placed next to the head of a figure in the relief in every case. In the case of the name of Mery, added to the image of an offering bearer on the south wall of room B1 (figure 7, above), the name also appears to have been filled in with red pigment after its incision, surely an indication of a purposeful intent to integrate the name into a sacred space. Moreover, such inscriptions may have unofficially affirmed (and continually reaffirmed through multiple visits) the sacralisation of this space. No added inscriptions occur beyond room B1, which indicates that the back rooms to the chapel were sealed or that access to them was somehow restricted or curtailed Pieke (2018, 296) suggests that—contrary to other spaces in the complex—the cult chambers of a princess, and Teti's eldest daughter, were considered too sacred to reinscribe or usurp for the memorialisation of a later visitor's own name.

One clue in the motivation for making these inscriptions lies in the professed titles of the visitors, in particular those attested as *ḥm kꜣ*, who were involved in the funerary rituals that accompanied burial, which are elaborately illustrated in both Mereruka's and Kagemni's tombs, and who were tasked with providing offerings (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.5.4). These added inscriptions may be an informal by-product of the *kꜣ*-servants performing their duties in the tomb. Furthermore, as I have argued for the chapel of Kagemni (Hamilton 2016; cf. Pieke 2018), secondary inscriptions of names that occur in Mereruka's complex appear to 'usurp' figures within the relief scenes in order to embody the inscribed name. A further, speculative suggestion could be made that some of these authors sought to associate their inscribed name (*ergo*, themselves?) with particular professional individuals within the relief programme, or at least integrate themselves into the extended household and social *milieu* of the tomb owner. Beyond their qualities as onomastic items, names in added inscriptions can be theorized as interacting with the existing representations of figures in the tomb; through the act of inscribing the name, the name-bearer became integrated

into the decorative programme and the continuum of the funerary cult of the tomb-owner. Whereas inscriptions in a monumental context (that is planned, formal, carved) often represent a multifaceted and many-peopled effort, inscriptions in the form of a graffito were often 'created and formulated in reference to the laws of bodily priorities and convenience' (Billing 2009, 29). The mode of inscription should not diminish the possibility that its author sought to meaningfully insert his name in the same style as a formally carved, named subsidiary figure (cf. Vischak 2014, 21).

Moreover, the presence of these inscriptions transforms the relationships between text and figure in the wider tomb programme, and points to the wider significance of determinatives in personal names at this time. In particular, they may materialise the Egyptian notion of embodiment as it related to the name. While this is clearly manifest in destructive, malefic practices (cf. Pepyankh: section 5.3), graffiti widens the possibilities for finding this expressed in a positive manner. Whether inscribed as a grapheme as an original part of inscribed the name (cf. Meri: section 5.2), or whether as an ideograph supplied by the wider visual programme, as argued here, the determinative was undoubtedly an important lexical element in the orthography of an ancient Egyptian name and contextually bound. Its presence was as meaningful as its absence. In a lexicon of names or determinatives, in which the hieroglyphic signs are decontextualized, multiple semiotic links between hieroglyphic signs, pictorial relief, and architecture are lost (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.2.3), as is the significance of embedding writing and writing practices in their wider social and material contexts.

One final note about the graffito of Mery (fig. 7) concerns the name itself. Mery and Meri are names which predominantly occur within Watetkhethor's chapel, with at least 12 known occurrences. This may indicate that perhaps more than one individual was involved is attested in this graffiti. Moreover, these names are also attested in added inscriptions in Mereruka's chapel, although it cannot be determined if they are the same individuals. Only one hypothesised case of the name Meri, written with a single reed leaf with the seed head incised, could be attributed to a

single hand occurring in both room B1 and room A1 (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.5.3) Mery/Meri were undoubtedly common names, although it could be tentatively proposed that the people appointed to Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's cult also served in Mereruka's cult; thus, their names may reasonably occur in both spaces. Moreover, they may have borne the name 'Mery' in honour of the vizier—a naming practice which is attested elsewhere in the cemetery (cf. Kagemni: Hamilton 2014, 2016; Krämer 2019, 308–49). Mereruka was undoubtedly an official of great standing among the local community, and the number of individuals who shared his ***rn nfr*** who also chose to inscribe their names in his complex is further evidence of this.

5.2 SUMMARY

These four case-studies, drawn from the earlier analysis of names, illustrate multiple aspects of the ancient Egyptian script, especially its semanticity and its materiality. Concerning the semantic side, the notion of 'indexicality', which originated in the work of Charles Sanders Peirce, contributes to Assmann's notion of *Weltreferenz*. As introduced in Chapter 2, various approaches to indexicality drawn from material culture studies and linguistic anthropology underlie this analysis in order to draw out the multiplicity of meanings which were inherent to ancient Egyptian personal names, and how these were materialised within a monumental, inscriptional context. Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name (section 5.1.3) possesses multiple aspects that display this name's rich references to her temporal, spatial, and social *deixis*. The names of Pepyankh and Meryteti (section 5.1.4) are similarly rich in deictic content, and the particular circumstances in which the names of these individuals were inscribed and erased provides evidence that the names themselves were inextricably connected to the identity of their name-bearer, as well as the essence of other people (i.e., the king) who were semantically embedded in these names. The speech in the lament scene (section 5.1.1) further evinces the vitality of the name being in the mouths of people, otherwise alluded to in the 'appeal to the living' (cf. Chapter 2, section 3.3.3), and indirectly refers to the real, performative situation in which Mereruka's names would have been recited as part of his funerary

ritual. It also may refer to the spoken life of the name, indicating that the *rn nfr* was 'le nom social' (Vernus 1986, 78).

Another aspect of the materiality of these names concerns the mode of their inscription and inscribing the name as a performative act. As elucidated by Assmann (1994, 26) in the quote that opens this chapter, the Egyptians themselves drew a connection between the massive, 'sensual presence' and immortality of stone, and the immortality of the inscribed name which would live in the memory of others. The inscriptional act of carving or inking one's name, or that of one's ancestor, was not ideologically neutral but enjoyed prestige as a result of the symbolic associations with the act of writing (Chapter 3, section 3.3.4), and the sacredness imbued in the wider monument as material support (Chapter 2, section 2.1.5). As stated by Nils Billing (2009, 29), monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions were like the stone on which they were carved: 'eternal signs that reach beyond the immediate reference of the human domain'. Thus, inscriptions within an Old Kingdom tomb space were perceived to be both of the world in which they were physically sited, and conceptually integrated into the world of myth and ritual to which the deceased ascended. Added inscriptions in Mereruka's complex may index the ongoing salience of this space in the lives of the community who also used this necropolis, marking it as a multifunctional place for memorialisation (cf. Ragazzoli 2013, 293); they were a means of establishing the self in a commemorative space inhabited by both the living and the dead, in which the perpetuation of the name was paramount. Crucially, for these authors, the memorialisation of their names in this way permitted permanence beyond the threshold of death—a characteristically Egyptian concern.

SYNTHESIS

'…the name lived on in the world above, in the memory of posterity'
(Assmann 2005, 112)

At its heart, this thesis has sought to understand the relationship between people and their names in a local socio-cultural and monumental context. Names were a core part of the ancient Egyptian person—together with the body, heart, *kꜣ*, and *bꜣ*—and the tomb was the primary site for the monumental memorialisation of these aspects of the self. In the context of the ancient Egyptian tomb, the survival of the name through inscribing it and speaking it ensured that the memory of the deceased 'lived on in the world above', to quote Assmann (2005, 112). This was not only a concern for the original dedicant of the tomb, as it was also a site at which other dependants and people associated with the deceased could have their names memorialised. This could take the form of named figures in the accompanying scenes, which were part of the planned reliefs, or names which were added (sometimes in the manner of graffiti) to the scenes after the completion of the tomb's decoration.

As stated in Chapter 1, personal names are crucial artefacts of information for Egyptologists concerning ancient Egyptian people, and they have been long noted as an important source for social history in Egyptology. Typologies of ancient Egyptian personal names are well-established (including Ranke's PN I–III; Vittmann 2013a, 2013b; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014); however, context-specific studies of names in Pharaonic Egypt, especially the Old Kingdom, are less prevalent in current scholarship, or they have focused more narrowly on their lexical properties. The primary reason for choosing Mereruka's complex as the primary site of study for this thesis was to further the analytical study of inscriptions in this important Old Kingdom monument. The complex has a long publication history, but few works have attempted to synthesise inscriptions in all three chapels. As discussed in Chapter 1 (section 1.4), the inscriptions from the chapels of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet and Meryteti Meri have been published in addition to photographs and

line-drawings; however, the inscriptions from Mereruka's chapel have not been republished since their initial (and incomplete) collations by Daressy and Gunn. Thus, the analysis of inscriptions presented in this thesis advances the study of this important Old Kingdom tomb complex in one particular direction, while also incorporating data (such as graffiti) which has been historically downplayed in epigraphic studies of Old Kingdom tombs.

In particular, my research has been influenced by anthropological approaches to materiality and textuality, and anthropological approaches to onomastics, particularly the notion of indexicality from Peircean semiotics. Chapter 2 introduced the notion of *Weltreferenz*, which has come into Egyptology from the work of Jan Assmann (1991, 1994). *Weltreferenz* encompasses the ways in which ancient Egyptian script made reference to the wider world through its semanticity (its representation of sound and meaning; its reference to specific meaning) and its materiality (its iconicity; the way in which it indicated this meaning; its physical form). I suggested that this could be meaningfully combined with anthropological approaches to onomastics, and in particular the notion of indexicality in linguistic anthropology, in order to untangle the multiplicity of meanings which can be deduced in ancient Egyptian personal names in their inscribed, monumental form.

Semiotics has received a revived interest in philological branches of Egyptology, and in particular Peirce's work is referenced in a number of recent works that explicitly approach ancient Egyptian texts through the lens of semiotic theory (such as Haring 2017, van Moezel 2015, Lincke and Kutscher 2012). What Peirce's theories add to Assmann's notion of *Weltreferenz* is a consistent, etic vocabulary for describing the ways in which ancient Egyptian language (especially in its inscribed form) points to the wider world in which it existed Compared to Saussurean approaches, described in Chapter 2 (section 2.2.1), Peirce's semiotic requires issues of social context to be intentionally and systematically built into the analysis of meaning (Mertz 2007, 338–9). This requires that meaning is sought not only in the lexical properties of the name itself, but it in the communicative and interpretive acts related to names and naming, at the centre of which is the name and its referent. Peirce's theory, and its development by linguists and anthropologists in terms

of indexicality, provides a framework for considering both *how* signs signify (structurally) and *why* (socially)—the latter being of particular interest in socio-onomastics. Generally speaking, personal names are indexical because they refer to a name-bearer's personal, temporal, spatial, and social context or *deixis* (Agyekum 2006, 212). To say that a word, such as a name, is indexically related to objects, or people, or reality of the world—or a combination of the three—implies that names do more than 'mere identification' (Duranti 1997, 19). Ancient Egyptian names were often transparent in the ways they made reference: to personal and social *deixis*, in mammonymy and papponymy and other onomophoric names, for example; to temporal *deixis*, in names that situated the name-bearer in a given time or alluded to a specific event (such as basilophorous names); and to spatial or regional *deixis*, including ethnonyms, some theophoric names, and locally-restricted name patterns; indeed, they had the potential to refer to all of these things at once, as demonstrated in the discussion of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet's name (cf. Chapter 5, section 5.1.2).

I developed these ideas in Chapter 3, in a broad discussion of the ***rn*** and the ways it related to bodily, social, spiritual, and intellectual spheres drawn from diverse evidence beyond names themselves (sections 3.3–3.4). I then introduced the important name-types that are known from the Old Kingdom, as they are described in Egyptians terms: ***rn ꜥ3, rn nfr*** and to a lesser extent, ***rn nḏs*** (section 3.5). The practice of designating the names in monumental inscriptions with ***ꜥ3*** or ***nfr*** is distinctive to the Old Kingdom, although this practice was adopted much later in Pharaonic history under slightly different conditions (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.5.2). One observation from this discussion was that the major name (***rn ꜥ3***), also seem to have been reserved for particularly formal settings; meanwhile, 'minor' names, such as the ***rn nfr***, were more familiar names that probably had a 'household' use, a notion that I developed alongside several case-studies from Mereruka's complex in Chapter 4.

In investigating the meaning of names in Mereruka's complex, I considered both their intra-textual and lexical properties, and their materiality, encompassing both the mode of their inscription as well as their locations within wider epigraphic space (where names occur within an

inscription; their dynamics with other inscriptions) and architectural space (their location within tomb structures; their relationship to other aesthetic strategies). This included the consideration of who was (and was not) named within the tomb programme, and the strategies for emphasising some names over others, where this was salient to the wider ritual and display purpose of the tomb. In particular, the deictic content of names was discussed in order to draw out their wider meanings; for example, the discussion of what it meant to be beloved of one's *kꜣ*, as in Mereruka's name (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.2.1), and whether this indexed the familial transmission of the *kꜣ*'s substance through the name (cf. Olabarria 2018a). I also considered how certain lexical elements of names could be uniquely materialised through the pictorialness of the hieroglyphic script in a monumental context order to display their meaning, such as the placement of Meryteti's basilophoric name in architecturally significant locations in his chapel in order to foreground Teti's cartouche and the relationship between himself and the king signalled in his name. Another, especially striking example, is the orthography of Mereruka's name in his exterior inscriptions (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.2.3.1), which I argued visually mobilised the relationship between self and *kꜣ* that was described in his name.

Two brief comments can be made on the possibilities for future research that arise from this study. The notion that inscriptions should treated as contextually bound or situationally determined phenomena is certainly not new in Egyptology, but the problem of how to meaningfully and accurately reconcile text and (material) context resurfaces consistently (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.2.3). As Polis and Razanajao (2016, 24–5) have stated: many Egyptological text-oriented projects (including digital-born projects) fail to handle both textuality and materiality of their supporting contexts adequately. In part, this thesis unavoidably reproduces some of these problems in the constraints of its scope and structure. A future project to digitally typeset inscriptions in Mereruka's complex in close association with photographic documentation (cf. Nederhof and McDonald 2013; Biston-Moulin and Thiers 2019) would be a desirable advance in how future studies of these inscription could be carried out—no less, when access to the primary

material *in situ* is restricted. This would enhance the existing palaeographic study of signs in Mereruka's chapel (cf. Collombert 2010) and could better integrate the inscriptional and palaeographic data from the chapels of Watetkhethor Zeshzeshet and Meryteti Meri in order to synthesise the textual and visual programme of the whole monument. Specific to graffiti, this would also contribute to broader, long-term initiatives to map hieratic palaeography (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.5.1). More generally, the anthropological approach to onomastics advocated in this thesis contributes to the wider study of ancient Egyptian personal names, which has been of growing interest in Egyptology, although often developed from other perspectives such as lexical semantics and phonology. I propose that contextually bound studies of personal names from an anthropological perspective are a particularly profitable path for future onomastic research, in order to develop more nuanced understandings of how names expressed their meaning, and how this meaning could be situationally-specific or change through time, and how names related to other aspects of the self.

In conclusion, the relationship between the name and the essence of a person operated on multiple levels. In the Egyptian view, words carried a profound knowledge of their objects, and had the potential to do more than just represent their socially, collectively agreed-upon meaning. This was especially important for the expression of names in their written form. As Assmann (2001, 83–4) has observed: what can be gathered from the meaning in a name said something about the essence of the person named, and a person's essence could be ascribed to a name. One of the unifying concepts that I have emphasised throughout this thesis is the notion that ancient Egyptian personal names were (ideally) embodied, and that this idea was materialised in inscriptional spaces that carried names. The iconic properties of ancient Egyptian language and its fluidity between visual and textual spheres meant that the embodiment of names could be expressed in numerous ways, including the use of determinatives and through the placement of text in close proximity to human figures in visual relief. Crucially, the analysis of names in added inscriptions demonstrates that these same principles can be applied to graffiti, and that in Mereruka's complex authors of

these inscriptions purposefully appropriated unnamed figures in the tomb programme in order to assert themselves, through their name, in the wider language of display in the tomb and in the memory of posterity.

‘What’s in a name?’
asked the poet.

‘Everything’,
said the magician.
‘Beware! Thou shalt not take
The Lord’s name
in vain.’

‘Nothing’,
said the logician.
‘Change its sound and
you will change the name.’

‘Something’,
said Socrates.
‘For see
what happened to me
when the Pythian prophetess
hung “the wisest” on
my name.’

Farhang Zabeeh (1968, iv).

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