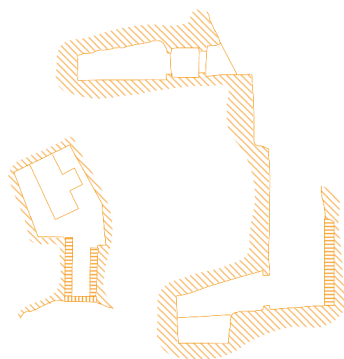


Remarks on titles on Middle Kingdom coffins and sarcophagi from Thebes and the vizier Amenemhat



Abstract: This is a survey of the titles on the coffins of the highest court officials of the Middle Kingdom. Officials are identified on their monuments by their titles and names. In contrast to other periods, title strings in the Middle Kingdom are often short. Most highest court officials also bear ranking titles to distinguish them from lower-ranking officials. A survey of titles on the coffins of the highest court officials reveals a shift over time. In the early Middle Kingdom, ranking titles were very important and sometimes the only ones mentioned. In the late Middle Kingdom, function titles became more common, while ranking titles lost importance. The second part of this article discusses the tomb of the vizier Amenemhat. His titles appear on different objects in his tomb, suggesting that these objects were produced at different stages of his career. Most importantly, it seems that the coffin was made early in his career, as it bears his lowest title.

Keywords: Theban necropolis, Middle Kingdom, coffin, sarcophagus, Amenemhat, vizier

Officials at the royal court displayed several titles on their monuments. The most important one was perhaps the “function” title (Franke 1984: 124; *Amtstitel* in German), which referred to the office of a person. At the highest court level, these included titles such

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as “treasurer” (*imy-r ḥtmt*), “steward” (*imy-r pr*), and “vizier” (*Bty*), to name just three examples. The highest state officials also received ranking titles (*iry-p^ct ḥ3ty-ḥtmty-bity, smr-w^cty* — “member of the elite, foremost of action, royal sealer” and “sole friend”, Franke 1984: 124), announcing their high social posi-

tion at the royal court. In the Middle Kingdom, the latter titles were restricted to a select group of individuals at the royal court and to local governors in the provinces. Other individuals rarely bore these titles, which might indicate some special status (see the list in Grajetzki 2000: 185–209).

RANKING AND FUNCTION TITLES OF MIDDLE KINGDOM OFFICIALS

An evaluation of ranking and other titles for the highest officials found on coffins and sarcophagi reveals a notable

shift of focus during the Middle Kingdom. In the early Middle Kingdom, ranking titles were the primary ones present, whereas in the late Middle Kingdom, function titles became more significant, and ranking titles almost disappeared from coffins. The following contribution will discuss all known sarcophagi (stone coffins) and coffins of the highest court officials with preserved titles [Table 1]. The highest court officials are here defined as those bearing ranking titles (Grajetzki 2000). In a narrower sense, they were the Egyptian “elite” (perhaps best described as the “inner elite” discussed in Baines and Yoffee 1998: 218). This study will only take into account these court officials and will not include local governors or individuals with important priestly functions at temples. The second part of this contribution will discuss the tomb of the vizier Amenemhat found at Thebes. The titles found on various objects within the tomb may offer insights into the timing of the commissioning of specific items of burial equipment.

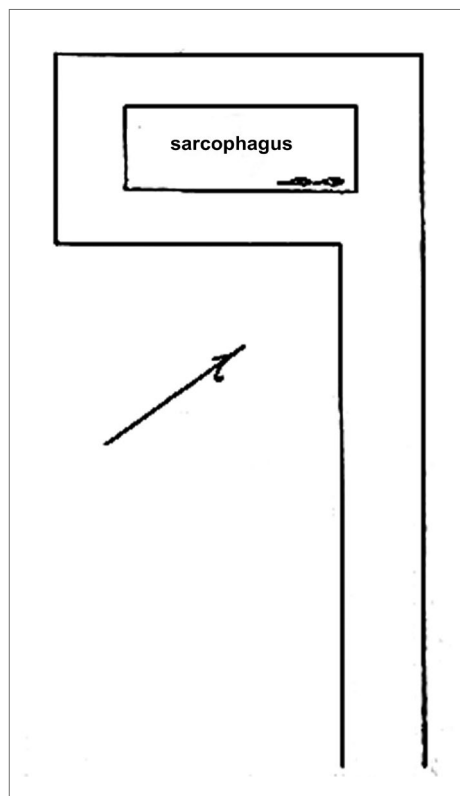


Fig. 1. Plan of Intef's tomb (Lepsius 1900: 242)

Table 1. List of sarcophagi and coffins belonging to the highest Middle Kingdom officials (siglum after Willems 2014: 238–315; the coffins are in chronological order)

Name	Findplace	Place	Siglum	Bibliography	Dating
Meru	Thebes	<i>in situ</i>		Lepsius 1852: 148, c, d	Eleventh Dynasty
Khety	Thebes	not known		Chudzik 2016a: 295, Fig. 5	Eleventh Dynasty
Dagi	Thebes	Cairo CG 28024	T2C	Cairo CG 28024 (Lepsius 1852: 147, 148, a, b, Cairo CG 28024; Lacau 1904: 56–61; on the person, see Allen 2003: 22)	
Imau	Thebes	London, BM EA6654	TIL	Birch 1886; for the date: Willems 1988: 115	
Mentuhotep/ Buau	Thebes	Cairo CG, 28027	T9C	Lacau 1904: 66–74; Allen 2003: 16	
Ipi	Thebes	<i>in situ</i>		Allen 2003: 23	
Horhotep	Thebes	Cairo CG 28023		Lacau 1904: 42–56	Twelfth Dynasty
Senmer	Lisht	<i>in situ?</i>		Allen 2021: Pl. 186; Di. Arnold 2008: 71	Twelfth Dynasty
Hetep	Saqqara	<i>in situ</i>	Sq17x	Firth and Gunn 1926: Pls 81–82; Freed 1981: 76	Twelfth Dynasty
Mentuhotep (two sarcophagi)	Lisht	<i>in situ?</i>	L4L	Allen 2021: Pls 115, 158	Twelfth Dynasty
Ameny	Tanis	from Hawara, now in Tanis		Montet 1947: 81–82, Pl. XLVII	Late Twelfth Dynasty
Amenemhat	Thebes	Cairo, Prague, Warsaw	T1War	Bruyère 1930: 102–104, Figs 46–47	Thirteenth Dynasty (?)
Yuy	Thebes	<i>in situ?</i>		Hayes 1959: 57; Siesse 2019: 179–180	Thirteenth Dynasty (?)
Ibiau	Thebes	<i>in situ?</i>		Grajetzki 2000: 136; Siesse 2019: 189	

The starting point for this discussion is the decorated limestone sarcophagus of Intef (Berlin ÄM 1154+ÄM 1155, Lepsius 1852: 145–146; 1900: 242). It was discovered by the Lepsius expedition in the Assasif at Thebes and was found in a small chamber reached by a passage [Fig. 1]. The only other burial item mentioned in Lepsius's short excavation report is a bull skull. The sarcophagus is a well-preserved, typical

example of this early Middle Kingdom type (Willems 1988: 115) [Fig. 2]. There are few extant examples of decorated sarcophagi, and all but two belong to the highest court officials or members of the royal family dating to the Middle Kingdom (the two exceptions are the sarcophagus of the *mty n z3* Nakht (Garstang 1901: Pls VI–VII), who was a local priest and not a governor or court official, and

that of the “builder” Amenemhat-seneb (Bosticco and Rosati 2003). Therefore, it is unexpected to find that Intef only bears the title “acquaintance of the king, beloved of his lord” (*rh niswt nb.f mry.f*). In the early Middle Kingdom, the title “acquaintance of the king” appears mainly within the title strings of higher officials, but also serves as the main ranking title for middle-ranking officials (Grajetzki 2000: 225–226). This suggests that Intef held the status of a middle-ranking official, as no higher-ranking titles are mentioned. This situation contrasts with the sarcophagus itself — an object otherwise reserved for individuals of the highest rank at the royal court.

Furthermore, in the early Middle Kingdom, the title “acquaintance of the king” was never attested as an official’s main function title, making Intef’s ranking title the only one recorded here. It does not serve as his function title.

However, in the late Middle Kingdom, a change in the use of this title is visible. It seems that “acquaintance of the king” became a function title that now denoted officials working at the royal court, perhaps mainly in Itj-tawy and Thebes (Grajetzki 2001: 47–48; see below for the case of Senebni).

On his sarcophagus, Intef is given only a ranking title, which was most likely his highest at the time the inscription was painted. On Middle Kingdom monuments, ranking titles rarely appear on their own; if space is limited, only one function title is displayed (see the lists in Grajetzki 2000).

A brief survey of Eleventh Dynasty monuments shows the importance of the function title at that time. One notable example is a rock inscription at Shatt el-Rigal, where the famous Khety is depicted standing before King Mentuhotep II. He bears only the function title



Fig. 2. The sarcophagus of Intef (interior) (Lepsius 1852: 145)

“treasurer” (*imy-r ḥtmt*) (Petrie 1888: Pl. XV, 443; Winlock 1947: Pl. 37; Caminos and Osing 2021: 126, Fig. 5b, 155, Fig. 34, No. 33B). In the larger, more famous depiction featuring Khety alongside the king, the “mother of the king” Iah, and a mysterious royal figure named Intef, Khety added “royal sealer” (*ḥtmty-bity*) to his title string (Petrie 1888: Pl. XVI, 489; Caminos and Osing 2021: 47–48, 126, Fig. 5a, 144, Fig. 23, No. 26H). Another example is the “overseer of the sealers” (*imy-r ḥtmtyw*) Meru. In two rock inscriptions at Shatt el-Rigal, he bears the ranking titles “royal sealer” and “sole friend” (*ḥtmty-bity, smr wꜣty*) (Winlock 1947: Pl. 39, G, J). However, on his sarcophagus, he is listed only as “overseer of sealers”.

In contrast, officials rarely used only ranking titles in a title string or a ranking title as their sole title (see the lists in

Grajetzki 2000). Perhaps the most prominent example is Meketre, who bears only the highest ranking title “member of the elite” (*iry-pꜣt*) on the scarab found in the burial of Wah (MMA 1102) (Martin 1971: 35, No. 390, Pl. 47A, 4–6). The vizier Dagi appears in his tomb (TT 103) once with the ranking title “member of the elite” (Davies 1913: Pl. XXXVIII, 1) as his only title. On a stone fragment in Brussels (E. 1971), a person named Dagi, possibly the vizier, appears with the ranking titles “member of the elite” and “foremost of action” (*iry-pꜣt, ḥ3ty-ꜣ*) (Speleers 1923: 33 (102)). However, both attestations related to Dagi come from larger monuments (his tomb chapel and false door), where other titles, including function titles, also appear (this is not confirmed from the fragment of the false door, but it seems likely).

TITLES ON MIDDLE KINGDOM COFFINS

Few coffins or sarcophagi of officials belonging to the highest court level of the Middle Kingdom are preserved. In several cases, court officials appear to have undecorated sarcophagi and decorated wooden inner coffins, which are often poorly preserved or possibly lost. Two examples are the “treasurer” and “high steward” Meketre (Daressy 1901: 133–134, Fig. 2; Allen in Do. Arnold 1991: 39–40) and the “overseer of troops” Intef (Di. Arnold 1971: 26–27). Both officials had undecorated sarcophagi and wooden inner coffins, the latter of which are only poorly preserved. Nevertheless, other examples of early Middle Kingdom Theban coffins with only ranking titles are known.

On the early Middle Kingdom coffin of Imau (T1L), the official bears only the ranking titles *ḥtmty-bity, smr-wꜣty*, and *rh niswt m3ꜣ*. There is no function title. Imau is not known from any other sources.

The sarcophagus and burial chamber of Horhotep are of particular interest. On his sarcophagus, Horhotep bears only the ranking titles *ḥtmty-bity smr wꜣty*. On the walls of his burial chamber, he has a slightly longer title string, including his function title *šmsw* (“follower”): *ḥtmty-bity smr-wꜣty nb.fmry m3ꜣ ḥzy.fn st-ib.f šmsw* (“royal sealer, sole friend of his truly beloved lord, the praised one at his heart, the follower”).

The function title “follower” (Ward 1982: 175, No. 1517) of Horhotep requires further comment. This is a common title in the Middle Kingdom, but on monuments, Horhotep is the only “follower” to hold high-ranking titles. However, this title combination also belongs to the famous hero of the Tale of Sinuhe, set in the time of Amenemhat I and Senwosret

I (Grajetzki 2005: 51–52). Sinuhe bears high-ranking titles and also that of “follower”. One wonders whether there were other early Middle Kingdom court officials who held these high titles that have yet to be discovered. The title string of Sinuhe would fit well into the early Middle Kingdom and would be familiar to any reader of this composition at that time.

COFFINS FROM THEBES

On other early Middle Kingdom coffins from Thebes, function titles are the most important ones. Ranking titles appear only sporadically.

Dagi is titled *imy-r rwy*t (“overseer of the gateway”) and *rh nswt* (“acquaintance of the king”) on the outside of the sarcophagus. On the inside, he is *imy-r rwy*t (“overseer of the gateway”) and *htmty-bity smr-w^cty (nb.f mry)* (“royal sealer, sole friend [beloved of his master]”).

The coffin of Mentuhotep bears two names: Mentuhotep on the outside and Buau on the inside. No titles are connected with the name Mentuhotep. However, an unusually long title string is associated with the name Buau:

*imy-r pr; htmty-bity, smr-w^cty, imy-r šnwty, imy-r prwy-ḥd, imy-r ipt nbt m sm^cw t3-mḥw, imy-r pr-m-t3-dr.d jmj-r ḥw ḥmw swt nšmw*t

“steward, royal sealer, sole friend, overseer of the double granary, overseer of the double treasury, overseer of counting everything in Upper and Lower Egypt, steward in the whole country, overseer of the horn, hoof, feather, and scales” (for the latter title, see Ward 1982: 14, No. 64; Quirke 1996; Zonhoven 2018–2019).

Buau was most likely the most important steward at the royal court. The title *imy-r pr wr* — “high steward” is first attested with Meketre, but the high-ranking title and the title “steward in the whole country” leave no doubt about his position. The long list of titles on his coffin seems unusual. Buau is not known from any other monument, and his burial was found in a simple shaft tomb within the funerary complex of King Mentuhotep II. One might assume that he held office for only a short time and did not have the opportunity to prepare a monumental tomb. Therefore, his most important titles were placed on the coffin.

Meru was buried in Theban tomb TT 240 (for the person and list of titles, see Grajetzki 2000: 147). His burial chamber is decorated with long religious texts. His sarcophagus is set into the chamber’s floor and decorated on the inside. Here, Meru only bears his function title “overseer of the sealers” (*imy-r htmtiw*). Higher ranking titles are attested for him on other monuments.

Ipi, like Meru, was buried in a Theban tomb (TT 315). His sarcophagus is set into the burial chamber’s floor. Here,

Ipi bears the ranking titles *iry-p^ḥt*, *ḥ3ty-^ḥ*, as well as the typical titles of a vizier *ḥty*, *ḥity*, *z3b*, and *imy-r nwt* (“vizier, he of the curtain, official”, and “overseer of the city”).

The sarcophagus of the “treasurer” Khety is only preserved in fragments and has not yet been fully published. One fragment bears the function title *imy-r ḥtmt* and the name Khety.

EVIDENCE FROM OTHER LOCATIONS

Finally, evidence from other locations should be mentioned. At Lisht, many tombs belonging to the highest officials of the royal court have been excavated (Di. Arnold 2008). However, very few inscribed coffins and sarcophagi of these highest court officials have been preserved (all now published in Allen 2021). There is one sarcophagus with ranking titles only.

Senmer (*sn-mr*) is attested on his sarcophagus (Lisht tomb 470) with the highest title string: *iry-p^ḥt ḥ3ty-^ḥ ḥtmty-bity*, *smr-w^ḥty*. However, no function title is given. He most likely dates to the reign of Senwosret I. Besides Senmer, only the two sarcophagi of the “treasurer” Mentuhotep display ranking titles. On both monuments, he is referred to as “treasurer” (*imy-r ḥtmt*) and bears the highest ranking titles: “member of the elite” and “foremost of action” (*iry-p^ḥt*, *ḥ3ty-^ḥ*). On other monuments, Mentuhotep possesses much longer title strings (Grajetzki 2000: 47–49; Allen 2003: 20–21). It seems that the titles on the sarcophagus were those deemed essential, comprising the two highest ranking titles and his main function title.

Saqqara was an important cemetery. Many Middle Kingdom coffins were found there, including several inscribed with long title strings belonging to the coffin owners (see the discussion in Dahms 2020: 15–18). However, I am not aware of any examples of coffins bearing only a ranking

title. The exact dating of specific coffins at this site is problematic, but some certainly date to the Twelfth Dynasty, such as the sarcophagus of Hetep (Firth and Gunn 1926: Pls 81–82; Freed 1981: 76).

The “treasurer” (*imy-r ḥtmt*) Ameny is known from his inscribed sarcophagus found at Tanis, but it most likely originated from Hawara. The monumental scale of the object makes it very likely that he served as a treasurer at the royal court (Ilin-Tomich 2022: 210–211), but no ranking titles are mentioned on the object. This is one of the last inscribed Middle Kingdom sarcophagi belonging to a high state official that has been identified and published so far. Another coffin belonging to the vizier Yuy, found at Thebes, dates to the end of the Middle Kingdom. It is a *rishi* coffin, not yet published, and only mentioned in the literature (Hayes 1959: 57; Siesse 2019: 179–180). The coffin of the “royal sealer” and “overseer of fields” (*imy-r 3ḥwt*) Ibiau also remains unpublished (Grajetzki 2000: 136; Siesse 2019: 189). The sarcophagus of the famous vizier Ankhu, discovered at Thebes in 2022, has yet to be published (El-Aref 2023). The case of the vizier Amenemhat will be discussed below.

The Eleventh Dynasty is the only period of the Middle Kingdom for which we have many well-preserved inscribed coffins and sarcophagi of the highest court officials. On most monuments, other than

coffins, the function title is the most important one. However, as this short survey has shown, the situation for coffins and sarcophagi is slightly different [Table 2]. Here, a wider range of options is visible. Some of these coffins display only the function title; others bear function and ranking titles, while some feature only ranking titles. The latter most likely reflect the individual's social position at the royal court, and it seems that, for some officials, this was more important than displaying their actual office or function. Regrettably, most of these individuals, where only ranking titles appear on the coffin, are not known from attestations outside the burial. Therefore, their high position

remains somewhat enigmatic. A function title is known only for Horhotep. He was a "follower" and bears a title otherwise not well-attested at such a high social level. Last but not least, the survey also underlines the importance of the ranking titles. In the early Middle Kingdom, all officials with a decorated sarcophagus bear these highest status markers. This contrasts with the late Middle Kingdom, when the function titles are more important and ranking titles appear only sporadically. This was a period when Egyptian titles and documents showed a high level of precision (Quirke 2004: 8). Ranking titles announced a status, but the precision came with a "function title".

Table 2. Types of titles on Middle Kingdom coffins/sarcophagi belonging to high court officials

	Only ranking titles	Ranking and function titles	Only function titles
Meru			x
Khetý			xx?
Dagi		x	
Imau	x		
Mentuhotep/Buau		x	
Ipi		x	
Horhotep	x		
Senmer	x		
Hetep		x	
Mentuhotep (two sarcophagi)		x	
Ameny			x
Amenemhat			x
Yuy			x?
Ibiau		x	

THE VIZIER AMENEMHAT AND HIS TITLES

The titles of an official named Amenemhat were found on three objects: fragments of two coffins and a fragment of a naos. The tomb of the vizier Amen-

emhat (1200) at Deir el-Medina [Fig. 3], excavated by Bernard Bruyère, is an unexpected find in a location mainly known for New Kingdom burials (Bruyère 1930:

102–104, Figs 46–47). However, it shows that, by the late Middle Kingdom, large parts of the Theban necropolis were already covered by burials.

In terms of its architecture, his tomb is a typical example of the late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period and deserves further attention. The tomb proper is relatively simple and consists of a shaft with a burial chamber.

However, above the vizier's tomb is tomb 1201, which consists of just a corridor in three sections. Bruyère does not mention any objects found there, but one wonders whether this was the tomb chapel for Amenemhat's burial. Rock-cut tomb chapels are not well attested for the late Middle Kingdom at Thebes. The typical chapel type is a mud-brick structure with a chapel proper and a courtyard. The best-preserved examples were found under the Ramesseum (Nelson and Kalos 2000). Further examples found in a small cemetery at Deir el-Bahari are mentioned by Winlock (1922: 31).

The tomb of Amenemhat contained the following objects (the numbers refer to the list of objects published by Bruyère; the present location of most objects is not known to the author).

I. The following objects likely belong to the original burial:

No. 1. The two short ends of a vaulted rectangular coffin, naming the “elder of the hall” (*smsw h3yt*) (Ward 1982: 152, No. 1309; Quirke 2004: 67) Amenemhat. (The present location of all the fragments is not entirely certain. The top of the foot end is now in Prague (P 1424=Bruyère 1930: 103, Fig. 46 (left), Onderka et al. 2014: 122–123 (A.1); other fragments are in Cairo JE 66867 and Warsaw 142152, Chudzik 2016b: 42, Fig. 19);

No. 3. Fragment of a wooden rectangular coffin with an edge inscription preserved;

No. 4. Wooden human-headed stopper from a canopic jar;

No. 5. Fragment of cartonnage with offering formula and title and name “great

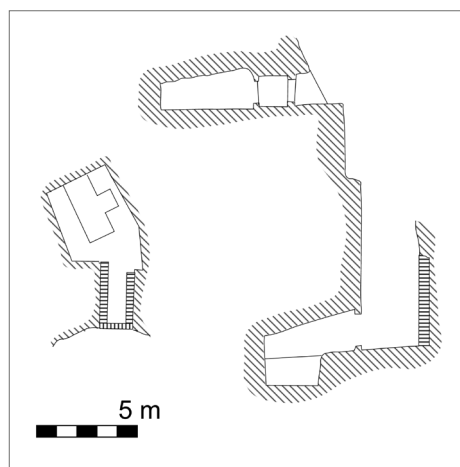


Fig. 3. Plan and section of Amenemhat's tomb (redrawn by the author after Bruyère 1930: 102, Fig. 45)

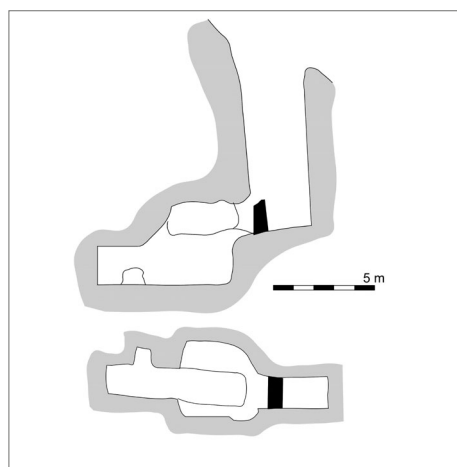


Fig. 4. Late Middle Kingdom tomb at Dra Abu el-Naga (burial K01.12) (redrawn by the author after Polz and Seiler 2003: 28–29, Figs 10–11)

one of the tens of Upper Egypt” (*wr mdw šmꜥw*), Amenemhat;

No. 6. Fragment of a naos with the titles “overseer of the city, vizier” (*imy-r nwt ḳty*), Amen[...];

No. 8. A board from a canopic box with round holes to accommodate the human-headed stoppers.

II. There seems to be a second phase of use, dating to the Second Intermediate Period. However, the coffin/canopic box fragment (see discussion below), the only object belonging to this phase, might also belong to the original burial:

No. 2. Short end of a coffin or canopic box with an image of Nephthys.

III. New Kingdom/Third Intermediate Period:

No. 11. Anthropoid coffin fragments with a yellow background and depictions in relief (“reliefs de barbotine”).

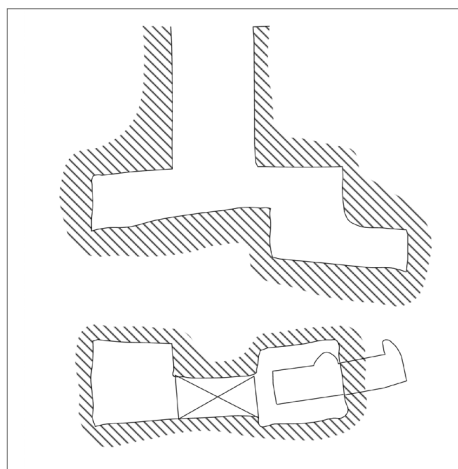


Fig. 5. Tomb of the “overseer of the fields” Rediamun (redrawn by the author after Graefe 2003: 30)

IV. Late Period:

No. 12. Fragments of two decorated Late Period coffins.

V. Uncertain date:

No. 7. Gilded, mummy-shaped coffin;

No. 9. A basket;

No. 10. Three clay plugs;

No. 14. Two fragments of a boomerang;

No. 15. Fragments of boxes;

No. 16. Torso of a mummy.

TOMB ARCHITECTURE

The tomb architecture is typical for the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period at Thebes. The burial chamber has a small pit for a coffin and a canopic box. Such tomb chambers with a small pit for a coffin were not yet common in the Eleventh Dynasty, when the sarcophagus or coffin was typically placed on the floor of a simple chamber (Di. Arnold 1971: Pls VIII–IX; Chudzik 2016a: 294, Fig. 8, 297, Fig. 11). However, there are a few examples of coffins placed in a special pit, some of which are decorated on the inside, like a coffin (see the cases of Ipi and Meru discussed above).

Similar tombs to that of Amenemhat, dating to the late Middle Kingdom, are well-documented for Dra Abu el-Naga (Polz and Seiler 2003: 25–37; Miniaci and Quirke 2008: 20–21) [Fig. 4]. A tomb complex (Tomb XI) with two large chambers and a third smaller one was excavated near the mortuary temple of Thutmose III at Thebes. The north chamber has a pit for a coffin (Seco Álvarez and Martínez Babón 2021: 425–427, Fig. 15.8). Tomb XIV contained two chambers; in the eastern one, a sloping passage leads down to a small coffin pit (Seco Álvarez and

Martínez Babón 2021: 431–435, Fig. 15.13). The burial of an “overseer of the fields”, Rediamun, dates to the Second Intermediate Period, although a precise date is open to discussion. The underground coffin chamber contained a similar pit for a coffin (Graefe 2003: 30 (plan)) [Fig. 5].

CANOPIC BOX

Several fragments are described as coming from the canopic equipment. The most important element is the wooden human-headed stopper (No. 4). Such stoppers were not uncommon in the late Middle Kingdom (Harageh: Engelbach 1923: Pl. LVIII tomb 30, tomb 43, Pl. LIX tomb 134, Pl. LX tomb 280; Rifeh: Murray 1910: 13–14, Pl. 21). The best-known are the canopic jars with human-headed stoppers from the tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht (Mace and Winlock 1916: 107–109, Pl. XXXI). The wooden box with a top board that contains four holes also has a Middle Kingdom parallel (Lüscher 1990: 49, 53, Pl. 9).

AMENEMHAT’S TITLES

Four titles are preserved for Amenemhat:

- “elder of the hall” (*smsw h3yt*);
- “great one of the tens of Upper Egypt” (*wr mdw šmꜥw*);
- the short title string “overseer of the city, vizier” (*imy-r nwt 3ty*) (for the person, see Siesse 2019: 182–183).

“Elder of the hall” (Ward 1982: 152, No. 1309; Ilin-Tomich 2021: 164) is a common title of the late Middle Kingdom, but is already attested in the Old Kingdom. There are only a few attestations dating to the early Middle Kingdom, before Amenemhat III, and they always appear in title strings (Cairo CG 20017, Cairo CG

20515). In contrast, during the late Middle Kingdom, the title often stands alone as the primary designation for a person. Its function remains unknown, and none of the known late Middle Kingdom title holders possess any ranking titles.

“Great one of the tens of Upper Egypt” (Ward 1982: 87, No. 721) is one of the most discussed late Middle Kingdom titles. The distribution pattern of the title is comparable to that of “elder of the hall”. The title is already attested in the Old Kingdom and appears a few times in title strings from the early Middle Kingdom, most often in rock inscriptions in the deserts, but not in Egypt proper. Only in the late Middle Kingdom did it become a common sole title (Siesse 2019: 402–405). On a few occasions, the title is connected with others and the highest ranking titles. From this evidence, it seems clear that “great one of the tens of Upper Egypt” represented a higher position than “elder of the hall”.

“Overseer of the city, vizier” is the typical title string for late Middle Kingdom viziers (Grajetzki 2000: 34). As Alexander Ilin-Tomich (2021: 164) has shown, Amenemhat was most likely a Southern vizier of the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

The titles clearly indicate that the objects were made at different stages of Amenemhat’s career. This also implies that the coffin was created early in his career, as the lowest of his titles appears on it. As an essential part of the burial equipment, coffins were most likely made early on in an official’s career. The second highest title appears on the cartonnage, suggesting that it was an addition to the initial burial equipment, commissioned after Amenemhat had advanced further in his career and

perhaps after acquiring greater resources to obtain such an object. The naos with the vizier's titles would have been made at the end of his career, when Amenemhat reached his highest position.

PARALLELS

There are two comparable cases where different titles appear on different parts of the burial equipment: the sarcophagus of Dagi and the coffin of Senebni.

The sarcophagus of Dagi (for references, see above) was found by the Lepsius expedition and is fully published in the *Denkmaeler*. Dagi bears the function title *imy-r rwy*t ("overseer of the gateway") on the sarcophagus. In his tomb (TT 103), Dagi's main title is that of vizier. A vizier and an "overseer of the gateway" named Dagi is also attested in other sources, leading to speculation about whether these are the same person. As the sarcophagus was found in the tomb of the vizier, it seems most likely that we are dealing with the same individual, who was promoted after the sarcophagus was decorated. However, Davies (1913: 38), who copied and published the tomb decoration, concluded that these were two different people. This view was rejected early on by Henry Hall (1914: 155), who considered that the sarcophagus and the tomb decoration refer to the same person at two different stages of his career. Dieter Arnold (1971: 40) discussed the two building phases of Dagi's tomb, noting the different titles on the sarcophagus and in the tomb, and connected them to two stages in the official's career. This opinion is now held by most scholars (Valloggia 1974: 124; Allen 2003: 22). The sarcophagus was evidently created early in Dagi's career. Interestingly, he bears many titles in his

tomb, but *imy-r rwy*t never appears in the tomb decoration. This might be an accident of survival, but it could also indicate that only titles held at the time the tomb was decorated were included.

The "acquaintance of the king" (*rh-niswt*) Senebni is known from his coffin (Cairo CG 28029, Daressy 1893: 35–38; Lacau 1904: 77–78) and his canopic box (Pushkin Museum Moscow I I a 1801, a, b), both said to have been found at Thebes ("Gurnah"). The coffin belongs to a group of coffins inscribed with Coffin Text spells 777 to 785, found at Thebes and Abydos. There is a staff now in Moscow belonging to a "royal sealer" (*htmty bity*) and "overseer of marshland dwellers" (*imy-r shtiw*), which may have come from the same tomb, although this is not confirmed (Berlev 1974). The staff also bears the name of King Sewahenre, providing a date in the advanced Thirteenth Dynasty. Josef Wegner questioned this identification, mainly because the coffin type used by Senebni does not fit well within the late Thirteenth Dynasty (Wegner and Cahail 2021: 89). Since the date of King Sewahenre is far from certain, and it is not known how long coffins bearing spells 777 to 785 were in use, separating the staff from the coffins and canopic boxes seems unnecessary.

NAOS FRAGMENT

A stone naos in a burial chamber is highly unusual in the late Middle Kingdom, and it seems possible that the naos fragment comes from an above-ground tomb chapel. Only *n k3 n*, the titles, and parts of the name survived from an offering formula. No measurements are provided in the publication. The top appears to have been

pyramid-shaped. A late Middle Kingdom shrine with a similar pyramid-shaped top is a free-standing monument now in the Tadross collection (Whelan 2016: 298–299, Fig. 8). It has a vaguely cubic shape (except for the pyramid-shaped top) and features figures standing in niches on its four sides. Another option is to consider it as an obelisk. The obelisk of a certain Amenemhat (now Durham, Oriental Museum N. 1984) is one example (Bourriau 1988: 66–67, No. 52). A further possible comparison is a limestone shrine found in Deir el-Bahari tomb 202, belonging to the “royal sealer” and “overseer of the half domain” (*imy-r gs pr*) Amenemhat (Hayes 1953: 216–217, Fig. 134 (MMA 22.3.68)). Although the top of this shrine is different, it shows that shrines sometimes featured in chapels. This shrine shows Amenemhat and his wife Neferu seated within the object.

Little is known about Theban tomb chapels of the late Middle Kingdom. However, the shrine from tomb 202 shows that there were Theban chapels in this period where statues served as the main cult focus. The archaeological context of this shrine has not yet been published, and its setting remains unknown. However, according to a summary of the excavation by Herbert Winlock (1922: 31), it seems that the shrine was placed inside a mud-brick chapel. The only better-preserved tomb chapel of the Second Intermediate Period belongs to the “treasurer” Teti, whose main cult place was adorned with paintings (Polz and Seiler 2003: 10–12, Pl. 1a, b). Whether there was also a statue in this chapel remains unknown. With all reservations, one might ask whether a similar setting existed in the tomb chapel of Amenemhat.

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