CERTAIN ASPECTS OF SOCIAL POLICY IN THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

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Authority, and more specifically those policies that tend to the increase or decrease thereof, are all—important constituents of all societies, including that of Pharaonic Egypt. It is axiomatic that as a society changes, so will its polices and concepts of authority change. Within the continuity of Egyptian cultural tradition, the First Intermediate Period was a time of profound social change, the results of which determined in many respects the social systems of the Middle and New Kingdoms. For this reason, with a certain amount of oversimplification, and with a limited corpus of information, this discussion is attempted.

It has long been recognized that chronologically the profound social changes of the First Intermediate Period did not occur in a contextual vacuum, The causes for the breakdown in authority at the end of the Sixth Dynasty reach back deep into the Old Kingdom, the beginning of tomb construction in the provinces in the Fifth Dynasty being only one harbinger of the coming decentralization(I). In the Sixth Dynasty these forces toward decentralization come into clearer focus and one can begin to discern traits of the subsequent Intermediate Period, all of which renders a closer scrutiny of the Sixth Dynasty desirable.

Perhaps the fullest statement attested, which itself deals with the "Weltanschauung" of the Fifth Dynasty is that found in the Admonitions of Ipuwer, who describes critically the confusion immediately attendant upon the death of Pepi II Neferkare. Although the historical details presented are indeed of interest, the main importance of this document for the present discussion derives from two considerations; firstly that the recently departed Siyth Dynasty and the Old Kingdom in General was already beginning to acquire a halcyon and hence exemplary aura, and secondly the consideration that intellectual life, including a tradition of social criticism, was sufficienlty developed to produce such a social critique. A picture of past domestic tranquility is juxtaposed against the civil strife of the present(2). Social turmoil and disrespect for authority(3) give one information in a negative way and confirm monumental evidence that the Old Kingdom was indeed a relatively highly centralized State, with an appreciable gap between the rich and the poor(4). A society in which tradition was an overweighing element of public life was shown by Ipuwer to have come to an end(5).

Of more ultimate importance, however, for the subsequent history of the First Intermediate Period is the fact that a generation so close to the Sixth Dynasty could have possessed such an articulate social conscience and produce such a document at all. There is evidence of direct confrontation of authority(6), although it must be admitted that all passages referring to the royal house remain somewhat obscure. This critical prophecy, in its very existence, is evidence for an attitude towards royalty that had undoubtedly begun much earlier, and perhaps could ultimately be traced, in part, to the rise of the cult of Re in the Fifth Dynasty. It antepenumbrates the individual independence so characteristic of the First Intermediate Period.

There seem to be several lines of policy followed by the kings of the Sixth Dynasty to bolster their authority and combat incipient feudalism – all of which in general tended to weaken the power—position of the royal house. It has been argued that the policy or familial alliances was greatly furthered by the need of Pepi I Meryre to cultivate support, a need resulting from his struggle with his predecessor Userkare(7). Complementing the policy of familial alliances was the attempt of kings of the Sixth Dynasty to link powerful families to them by outright gifts. Another poliey which one should think detrimental to the royal cause, that of the fragmentation of the vizirate, was also actively persued, our clearest example being found in the mortuary temple of Pepi II(8). The third aspect of the political situation affecting the two above – mentioned policies and to an extent the result of the same, was the deterioration which occurred at the end of the long reign of Pepi II Neferkare, occasioned in part, apparently by the king's increasing old age. It is not to be intimated, however, that the above-mentioned lines of policy were originated by the Sixth Dynasty itself, rather the significance of such a delineation rests in the extremes to which such policies were carried, and in the spectacular results that such policies apparently generated-namely the collapse of the Old Kingdom.

As above mentiond, possibly because of dynastic conflicts, Pepi I Meryre married into the family of khwi of Abydos. His name is found listed both in the Coptos protection decree of Pepi I as "prince and overseer of Upper Egypt,"(9) and on some door jambs from Abydos(10) mentioning his two sistars, Pepiankhnes and Meryreankhnes, the mothers of Merenre and Pepi II Neferkare respectively(11). Stock has reconstructed the possible ramifications of this family into the Serpent Mcuntain nome(12) but the weak

link in his chain of reasoning remains the identification of Iby as a son of Khwi, done on the basis of the subsequent occurrence of the names Khwi and Djau as descendents of Iby, all of which is, admittedly an excedtionable reconstruction.

The nomarchs of Meir, often bearing basileophoric names including the name Pepi, were granted the title "overseer of upper Egypt in the middle nomes"(13) which, when compared with the titles of Khwi,(14) indicates an attempt to simultaneously placate the nobility and "divide et impera." The luxury of their tombs and their distance from the Residence foreshadows the following feudal age. To these we may compare likewise the nomarchal tombs to the north, at Sheikh Said,(15) built by the rulers of the Hare nome whose tombs, although poorer than those of the Serpent Mountain nome (Dayr al - Jabrawi) also imply by their very existence the progressive decentralization of the state, particularly when compared with the Fourth Dynasty practice of burial in the vicinity of Pharaoh.

The second policy of interest here, namely the fragmentation of the vizirate, is most graphically illustrated in the mortuary temple of Pepi II Neferkare(16). In the antechamber of this temple, Neferkare appears either standing with a stick in his hand, or sitting, because of reduced wall space over doorways, while before him are rows of gods, officials and even a group of slaughterers(17). Heading the rows of the officials are the vizier of Upper Egypt Idy, brother of Djau,(18) and son of Khwi of Abydos, on the south wall, and on the north wall, appropriately enough, is the vizier of Lower Egypt Ihy – Khnt, likewise heading a group of bowing officials. We have, however, additional viziers attested for Lower Egypt(19). Khabaw — Hnmw, Hnw, and

Neferkare—Ia mw, surnamed Byw. There was thus, evidence for the division of the land into at least two administrative units and, if both the ubiquity of the title "tjaty" in the subsequent period and the parallel common holding of the title "overseer of Upper Egypt" are any indication, perhaps the vizierate was likewise further subdivided.

The Sixth Dynasty, in addition, undoubtedly fellowed a definite religious policy continued from that of its predecessors. The "Niwt m,' wt" of Harkhuf([20]). are perhaps to be considered in connection with the various "Niwt," possibly originally to be considered foundations serving as collecting points for royal tribute and to be considered the bases of the later nomes in Lower Egypt([21]). Be this as it may, this state policy of founding points of support for the royal house in both Upper and Lower Egypt seems to be parallel to a similar religious policy; namely the founding of religious communities, which would be presumably loyal to the king in gratitude therefor([22]). Thus the Sixth Dynasty apparently attmpted to create a broad base of partisans among both the secular and religious leaders of the country.

The proper implementation of these policies was undoubtedly vitiated by the long reign of Pepi II, towards the end of which, as a very Old man he would have ceased to have exercised effective control over the state. In the Coptos decrees there are intimations in the very wording that decrees might not be carried out([23]). Stock has noted the institution of the "overseer of the residence" who would presumably have corresponded, to a great extent; to a the Merovingian Mayor of the Palace. It is apparent that the King himself often was not consulted, usually to the predictable detriment of the royal house([24]). Thus ultimate

control gradually slipped from the king's hands and the end of the Old Kingdom, the end of the authority of an absolute god-king was over, to return, only in a modified form, after generations of turmoil.

From the limited amount of epigraphic material that has come down to us from the immediate successor dynasties of the Old Kingdom, the Seventh and Eighth, it appears that the two abovementioned policies of the Old Kingdom, namely cultivation of the nobillity by gifts and marriage, and building religious points of support, were followed inasmuch as the contemporary weakness of the royal house would permit. The Coptos decrees provide our main source for policy in this regard. Here the main policies of Pepi II were carried out. In Urkunden 299(25), a Ninth Dynasty king Netjerbaw identified with Neferkauhor names Idy of Coptos as "overseer of Upper Egypt."

Another decree of the same king to Shmay(26) apparently father of Idy, decrees that the former's wife, Nbty, is to be known as the "King's eldest daughter," evidence of a continuation of the general policy of cultivation of the nobility and intermarriage. A third decree of Neferkauhor(28) is for the care and protection of his hwt—k,' which reminds one of the similar decrees of Pepi II, Neferkare.

With the breakdown of cenfral authority so vividly described in the "Admonitions," a third line of policy which is characteristic of various unstable periods of Egyptian history, now appears, namely the search for legitimacy. The throne name of Pepi II Neferkare was apparently very popular and borne by several kings of this period(28). From the multiple occurence of this one name Neferkare, Stock calls these two dynasties; with some

justification, "Epigonendynastien." Even during the Heracleopolitan period the fame of the Sixth Dynasty seems to have remained, as witnessed by Merykare's building of his pyramid near that of Tty at Saqqarah, this shortly before the collapse of the Heracleopolitan state(29).

A concomitant feature of the above-mentioned political unrest, found in the Admonitions, is the spectre of social turmoil--the fall of great families and the rise of men of humble birth, The names of various kings of the Abydos king list-Djdw, Trrw. etc,led Stock(30) to comment that "Die in der Abydosliste auftackende Geburtsnamen Nbjj, Shmay, Khndw, Trrw, Ppi-snb, Annw deuten auf eine absinkende, gleichsam burgeliche Welt hin, der die memphitische Tradition und die ursprunglich aus der Verwandschaft zur6. Dynastie geschopfte Kraft rasch entschwindet," A reevaluation of the role of Ankh.ty.fy of Muallah(31) by Kees, paints a portrait of an arriviste war—lord-cum—nomarch who invaded the Seat of Hourus nome UE II) at the invitation of Horus(32) who, as nomarch, boasted that(33) "when someone steps on my tail, like on that of a crocodile, the South and the North this entire land, is in terror", Ankh.ty.fy apparently boasted with some reason as at this period his tomb is one of the most luxurious in the "Head of the South." It is to be noted that three types of security are sought after in the First Intrmediate Period(34); land, cattle, and ships; the last of which could be vital in transporting grain during the periods of famine which came all too frequently during this period. The fact that Ankh.ty.fy. was buried at Mu allah rather than at Hieraconpolis, the nome capital parallels a similar displacement of cemeteries in the Hare nome (from sheikh Said to al—Barshah), all indicative of us urpation of office in the nomes. This mixture of bourgeois provincialism and what remai-

hed of court aristocracy, particularly in the north is one of the most distinctive features of the First Intermediate Period, and seems to indicate a definite re-orientation of the Egyptian ruling class and, consequently, of Egyptian society as a whole.

With the rise of the Heracleopolitan Ninth and Tenth Dynasties, one is again able to discern concepts of state policy. In this regard the famous "Instruction of Merikare," which survives to us only from late copies, the earliest identified by Möller on paleographic evidence to the reign of Amenophis II([35]), but obviously composed during the First Intermediate Period by reason of language and content([36]) is our most articulate source. The historical sections of this document have long been the backbone of our knowledge of the history of the Heracleopolitan period in its last stages. Of special interest, also here, is the strictly speaking non-historical portion of the text. For the Egyphian the text was undoubtedly an entirely logical entity, and accordingly it is useful to remember that distinctions subh as historical versus non—historical are basically of modern generic classification, deriving from modern—western frames of reference.

Policies followed earlier, namely, feudal relationships([37]), with nobles, cultivation of religious institutions, and the exploiting of tradition are all mentioned. The famous passage ([38]) "Great is the great one whose nobles are great. Strong is a king who has nobles in attendence." Or in more general terms; "Respect the nobles and prosper thy people."([39]) Religious duties are also enjoined upon the young king Merykare([40]). and the building of monuments occupies an important place, The first inclination is to suspect the motivation for the building ef monuments is mainly spiritual, cf. Golenischeff par. 63, "Make (beautiful([41])

monuments for the god. It is (something) which makes the name live on for him who does it," but the presence of such counsel interposed between rhe recruiting of soldiers(42). and the beginning of specific advice concerning prospective relations with the south(43) seems to indicate that this instruction to build monuments was, for the ancient Egyptian, very pragmatic advice, baving little of the aura of luxury which the modern world associates with such works; for King Akhtoy, presumed author of this "instruction" could not have been completely unaware of the general propaganda value of monuments.

The balance of the "Instruction" consists of specific advice concerning relations with the north and south. In a very corrupt passage(44) a policy of colonization is described(45). "Behold, 1 drove in my (?) mooring—post in the region(?) which I made on the East, from (??) the boundaries of Hebenu to the Horus – Way, equipped with cities, filled with people of the best of the entire land, so as to repel their (the Asiatics') attack". Gardiner notes that(46). Hebenu is to be located in the neighborhood of Zawiyat al—Mayitin while the ways of Horus is apparently a synonym of the fortress town of Tjaru (Sile) near Quantarah, There is thus evidence, and more explicity infra, that peace and order were again being established at least in the northern part of the kingdom and that the concept of royal anthority, essentially that of a "primus inter pares," was current in the First Intermediate Period, and persisted into the Middle Kingdom, more and more tenuously up until the suppression of the old feudal nobility by Sesostris III(47) and his subsequent reorganization of the state.

Akhtoy II of Asyut, who accompanied the new king Merykare as he entered the "seat of his fathers," often speaks of

his liegelord with a certain affection.(48) Akhtoy I, his grandfather, informs us that he himself was made nomarch while a youth of a cubit's height, and was taught swimming with the king's children, all of which is evidence for a policy of court education of the children of the nobility, a common policy in the Old Kingdom and likewise in later periods of Egyptian history (49)

Evidence for the nomes' governments' taking over many functions formerly exercised by the national government is forthcoming from various sources, the main ones considered here being quarry graffiti from Hatnub, the tomb inscriptions of Asyut, and the tomb inscriptions of Ankh-ty-fy of Mucallah. Almost interesting primary consideration is the relationship of the local nomarchs to the royal house. Spatial proximity to the Residence was an important factor. Graffiti at Hatnub indicates that a certain Netjeruhotep; a native of the Hare nome, served as royal messenger.(50) Under nomarchs Nhri and Djhuty-nakht V expeditions were sent for "a sarcophagus for the royal house."(51) The normarchal titulary is also unique in the Hare nome for including titles indicating relationship to the king.(52) Likewise direct commands of the king are mentioned(55) before the "knbt" of the entire land. On the negative side, however, are traits like appending phrases like "may he live prosperous and healthy" and "may he live like Re eternally" to the nomarchs' names. At the beginning of the First Intermediate Period the type of graffito changes abruptly from that of a simple report of the journey to paean of praise ror an individual usually, but not necessarily, the local nomarch.(54)

An important constituent of authority during the First Intermediate Period was control of troops. For many years the main support of the Heracleopolitan monarchs was the nomarchs

of Asyut. Tfibi of Asyut speaks of « his troops »[55] and describes in some detail the efforts he expended in stopping the Theban attack of Intf wahankh. It is painfully obvious that the burden of defense had fallen upon him fallen upon him alone. Later in the period, toward the end of the Tenth Dynasty, Nhri of the Hare nome was entrusted with the defense of the residence itself, and was expressly ordered by the king[56] to raise a troop His son kay recounts how he raised a troop[57] and states, " I was its (the city's) ..... in the swamp, no men being with me, save those of my following, namely, Medjoi, Nubians, Kushites, and Asiatics (?) ". Frequent mention of hryt mrt nt pr-nsw,[58] "the bitter atrocities of the king's house," as one of the banes of the local nome, indicates that no protection could be expected from the royal house, whether the pr-nsw be that of the Theban royal house or that of Heracleopolis.

The local nomarch then assumed not only the task of local defense in large part, but also other domestic matters formerly performed by the royal house. The tomb inscription of Akhtoy I, nomarch of Asyut,[59] informs us that irrigation was now in the hands of nomarchs. The formula of " nourishing one's city " reappears again and again in nomarchal inscriptions,[60] whereas Ankhty-fy of Muallah boasts not only of nourishing Muallah, but even of sending grain as far north as Thinis.[61] The spectre of famine haunted Egypt during this period[62] and one finds Akhtoy I closing his borders, a logical precaution in years of famine.[63] From the Hathub texts, in addition, one learns something concerning local administration. Three departments of the local nome are known, the c-hnwty, rwyt, and crrt,[64] The above-mentioned Netruhotep has lef tus his career[65] beginning with

keeper of clothes, then overseer of the store-house, overseer of the garden,(66) reporter and finally became an overseer of ships.

Care for the religious life of the state and maintenance of the temples also fell now into the sphere of the local nomarch. Nomarchs appear early as "overseers of priests" of their nome, the origin of which combination of functions–nomarch and religious leader has been explained at lenth by Helck(67). As mentioned earlier, Ankh.ty.fy claims to have been "called by Horus" to reestablish order in the Seat of Horus nome. More singnificantly, at Hatnub(68), Djhwty-nakht V states that he is : "head of the entire temple. whose place Thoth has promoted." Nevertheless there is evidence that the temple and nomarchal estates were indeed kept separate(69). There is evidence that the nomarch actually perfo-rmed ritual service in the temple, mainly from revealing epithets of the nomarch. Bearing in mind the use of royal epithets, "may he live eternally," etc. in general. then, one may conclude that the nomarchs had early assumed religious roles formerly in the Old Kingdom and subsequently in the Middle and New Kingdoms, solely exercised by the king.

It appears, then, that authority in the Heracleopolitan area was essentially feudual and the state itself a federation of powe-rful nome–groupings under the loose sovereignty of the Heracl-:politan kings. Thebes, on the other hand. seems to have begun from one–nome nucleus and to have developed a relatively centralized state throughout the appreciably smaller amount of territory it controlled. From this it followes that policies similar to those of the Old Kingdom were to be expected inasmuch as such were possible in view of the increased feelings of individual

independence characteristic of the age. It follows that policies of the Old Kingdom and those of Thebes were thus to be similar for two reasons; firstly, that Thebes felt itself, likewise, the legitimate heir of the Slxth Dynasty and was able to model its conduct accordingly, to an extent that was impossible in the feudal north. And secondly, that both the Old Kingdom and Thebes share the common factor of being centralized states with cehtralized authority, and hence from similar types of authority, similar types of policy tended to be forthcoming.

The need to legitimize itself was an early characteristic of the new dynasty at Thebes. Wahonkh Intf placed a statue of himself and of his father in the temple of Hekayeb at El ephantine([70]) which act being of both a religious and a political nature. Likewise Nebhptre is shown sacrificing to three ancestors on some blocks found under houses of the Ptolemaic period at Jabalyn([71]). It is, parenthetically, of interest that most of our king - lists similarly seem to be the result of a desire to legitimize the newly risen royal house; that at Karnak and Abydos being to legitimize Thothmes 1II and the Nineteenth Dynasty respectively. It is possible that the attentions paid Nebhptre by Sesostris I([72]). and Sestoris III([73]) may be ascribed to a similar need.

An interesting phrase is used by Winlock in describjng the nobles' tombs at Dayr al · Bahri([74]) namely that "the Dayr al – Bahri valley was parcelled out among the nobles like gigantic saff.". This was according to Egyptian mortuary tradition, which djctated that adherents be buried near their lord. whereas the great northern nomarchs not being buried near their nominal Heracleopolitan sovereign indicates clearly the relatively more feudal nature of that Kingdom.

On the other hand at Thebes, there is possibly a democratizing tendency to be observed if the graves found in the northern and southern triangular courts at Dayr al—Bahri are indeed those of private individuals, buried within the king's funeral complex(75).

A policy of great interest during this period is either the possible identification of the king with various gods or the apotheosis of the dead king himself. The former seems probably the case at Konosso(76), where there is a Min figure, unnamed save with the cartouches of Nebhptre It is clear that, at least subsequently, a cult of Nebhptre existed at Dayr al—Bahri; both from the priests' graffiti described by Winlock(77). and from the above-mentioned protection decree of Sesostris III, at the mouth of the Bab al-Husan. A parallel custom, however, of deification and reverence of private individuals is attested in this period, to which, on the one hand the case of the deified Hekayeb may be cited(78), and on the other hand, the fact that the tomb of Akhtoy at Dayr al-Bahri was venerated at least down into the reign of Ramesses II(79).

In addition to personal apotheosis, the kings of the Eleventh Dyansty were like all Egyptian rulers of every period, vitally interested in religious matters. Following, and perhaps developing the practice of the Old Kingdom, the temples tended to act as subsidiary agents of adiministration,(80) particularly those removed from the general vicinity of the capital. An examination of the monuments of the Eleventh Dynasty kings reveals, accordingly, some interesting aspects of religious policy.

One significant aspect thereof in the reign of Nebhptre is that of geographical distribution, no temple having been found north of Abydos. Although any conclusions to be drawn from this would be, by necessity, argumenta ex silentio, one is forced to ask not simply whether there was a conscious policy of preferment for the south, but whether there was a definite withholding of patronage from the north. In this regard two interesting biographies of officials indicate a policy of toleration. One Antef-Nakht(81) spent years in the "house of Khty" and a certain Khty mentions that he was in the "house of the northern one". Hence, as Helck points out,(82) it is apparent that there these were reemployed Heracleopolitan officials. Thus, although it would be risky to hypothesize religious policy on what one knows from this Eleventh Dynasty policy towards presumably useful former Heracleopolitan officials, nevertheless this should be cited as an illuminating example of the epparent tolerance of the period.

The question of relations between the royal house and the two Theban gods Amon and Month is of importance in conjunction with religious policy. As early as the Fifth Dynasty attention had been paid to Month by Wsir-k',.f whose cartouche has been found on a rose granite pillar discovered under the pavement of a temple to Month at Tawd (83) Nebhptre himself rebuilt this temple to Month(84) and Winlock has observed that Nebhptre's mortuary temple at Dyr al-Bahri was itself built just opposite the Karnak temple of Month (85) Amon, however, was considered by Winlock to have been a local Theban god as early as the Fourth Dynasty, and cites to that end a triad statue from the Mycerinus temple.(86) There is, however, apparently no evidence for the worship of Amon until the Twelfth Dynasty

other than a few theophoric names by private individuals. It appears, thus that Month was the national god during this period, by evidence of theophoric names, Mntw-htp, of the Eleventh Dynasty kings.

There was probably a similar religio-political reason for the veneration of Hathor of Dandarah. Winlock states a cause and effect relationship between Hathor and Dayr al-Bahrí in that "So many court ladies were priestesses of Hathor that their burial at Dayr al-Bahri rendered the place sacred to Hathor."(87) Such reasoning, however, appears exceptionable, as one has examples of Wahankh offering to Hathor(88) certainly prior to the queens' burial at Dayr al-Bahri, which seemed to have prompted an argument on Winlock's part, of post hoc ergo propter hoc. Be this as it may, the region early became sacred to Hathor.

Hathor was, in addition, honored with temples in those areas where she was a local goddess - e. g. Dandarah where Nebhptre dedicated a small kiosk to her, and at Jabalayn, where as above mentioned,(89) blocks have been found where Pharaoh is shown smiting his enemies, an important allusion to the war of Unification. Thus, it is seen that the common policy of the assiduous building of temples was an integral part of Eleventh Dynasty religious policy, as it had been in the Old Kingdom, and was to be in the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom on a gigantically incresed scale, likewise continuing under the Ptolemies and the Romans.

Thus in an admittedly dim way, certain aspects of social policy may be discerned during the First Intermediate Period.

Such policies differed according to the nature of the various Egyptian states that arose, flourished, and fell during this period. Certain variables, however; seemed to remain relatively constant the function of the temples, and the feelings of personal independence, to which any governmental policy perforce must adapt itself. The solutions for its problems that the First Intermediate Period found, are significant, for it is on their basis that the Middle Kingdom; and to a large extent, the New Kingdom state was founded. In spite of its uneven nature, juxtaposing artistic decline and literary flowering, the First Intermediate Period was a necessary period of transition, characterized by "great vigor"(90) and led to a more "open" society, one fitter to confront the problems of its age.

FOOTNOTES

(1) The term "feudalism" is hereafter used, advisedly, as there is profound disagreement on the definition of the word. Cf. Rushton Coulborn (ed.), Feudalism in History, Princeton, 1956.

(2) Eg. Sir Alan Gardiner, The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, Leipzig, 1909, par. 2, 1; 1 - 5; 9, 3, etc.

(3) Ibid, par. 7, 2 - 3; p. 54.

(4) Ibid, par. 7, 8; 7, 10 - 9, 2.

(5) Ibid, par. 10, 3 - 10, 6; 11, 2 - 11, 10.

(6) Ibid, par. 12, 12 - 14; 13, 2 - 5.

(7) H. Stock, Die Erste Zwischenzeit Aegyptens (Studia Aegyptiaca 2 – Analecta Orientalia 31), Rome, 1949, p. 31.

(8) G. Jequier, Le Monument funéraire de Pépi 11, 1 – 111, Cairo, 1936 - 40, tables 48 - 51,

(9) Urk. 1, 280.

(10) Ibid., 117; Borchardt, Denkmäler 1, pl. 24.

(11) H. Stock, op. cit., p. 6.

(12) Ibid., p. 11.

(13) A. M. Blackman, The Rock Tombs of Meir, 1, 1V, V (E· E. F. and E. E. S. Archeological Survey, 23nd, 25th, and 28th Memories), London, 1914, 1924, 1953; 1V pl. 4a.

(14) Urk. 1, 280.

(15) Cf. Norman de Garis Davies, The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said (E. E. F. 10), London, 1901.

(16) Jéquier, loc. cit.

(17) They are preserved on the west and north walls. Are they possibly for funerary ceremonies ?

(18) H. Stock, op. cit., p. 6.

(19) Ibid , p. 14; the long reign of Papi 11 apparently allows enough tima for such a large number of viziers and it is thus not absolutely necessary to hypothesizė a further subdivision of the vizirate.

(20) Urk. 1, 131/25.

(21) W. Helck, Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des aegyptischen alten Reichs (Aeg. Forsch. 18), Gluckstadt, 1954, p 89 - 91.

(22) W. Hayes, " Royal Decrees from the Temple of Min at Coptos," in J. E. A., 32 (1946). 3 - 23. Also cf. R. Weill, Les decrets royaux de I'Ancien Empire égyptien, Paris, 1912.

(23) H. Stock, op. cit , p 20; Kees, Beiträge 11, 591; Gunn, Ann. Serv, 25, 242 ff.

(24) H, Stock, Ioc. cit,; Urk. 1, 282, 26.

(25) See also W. H. Hayes, op cit,, p. 14.

(26) Urk. 1, 297.

(27) Urk. 1, 302.

(28) G. Farina, Il papiro dei re restaurato, Rome, 1938, col. 4, 12 (VII); 4, 21 (VIII). Cf. Abydos list, kings Nr. 42, 45 (Nfrkare Khndw), 49 (Nfrkare Trrw), 54. Also H. Stock, op. cit., p. 29; p. 41 – 42.

(29) Firth - Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, p. 188, Pl. 27B.

Also see A. Scharff, "Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre fur König Merikare," in Sitzungsbericht der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1936, Heft 8, p. 7, note 3.

(30) H. Stock, op. cit., p. 43.

(31) H. Kees, " Aus den Notjahren der Thebais ", in Orientalia 21 (1952), pp. 86 - 97.

(32) H. Kees, op. cit., p. 88.

(33) H. Kees, op. cit., p. 87, Also cf. Vandier, Mualiah, text 5, pp. 185 - 6.

(34) H. Kees, op. cit., p. 89.

(35) Möller, A. *Z.* 56, 36.

(36) A. Scharff, op. cit., p. 6.

(37) There appears to be no allusion to any royal " Heiratspolitik ".

(38) W. Golénischeff (ed.), Les papyrus hieratiques Nos. 1115, 1116A et 1116B de l'Ermitage Imperial a St.- Petersbourg, (St. Petersburg) 1913, pl. 10 line 44.

(39) Golénischeff, op. cit., pl. 10 line 38.

(40) Golénischeff, op. cit., pl. 11, 61 - 69.

(41) A. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 27, par. 15, 63, emends " beautiful. "

(42) A. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 27, par. 14.

(43) A. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 29, par. 18.

(44) Ibid., p. 29, par. 20.

(45) Golénischeff, op. cit., pl. 12, 88 - 90.

(46) A. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 30, note 4.

(47) W. Hayes, " The Middle Kingdom in Egypt, " The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 1, chapter XX, p 44 - 45.

(48) H. Brunner, Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut, (Agyptologische Forschungen), Gluckstadt, 1937, p. 27 - 28.

(49) Ibid., p. 39.

(50) R. Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, Leipzig, 1928, p. 91.

(51) Loc. cit.

(52) Loc. cit., Gr. 25, 2; Gr. 25, 3, 4.

(53) Ibid., Gr. 25, 3.

(54) Op. cit.; p. 9.

(55) H. Brnnner, op. cit., p. 17, line 10; n. b. " - i " is restored.

(56) R. Anthes, op. cit , gr. 25, dated to Nhri's seventh year.

(57) R. Anthes, ob. cit., gr. 16.

(58) H. Stock, op. cit , p. 63. Anthes, op. cit., p. 52, gr. 23.

(59) H. Brunner, op. cit.' p. 15.

(60) Eg. Kees cites an inscription of Hnkw of Dayr al-Jabrawi, Urk. 1, 78; (Kees, op. cit , p. 88).

(61) Ibid., p. 92.

(62) And even later, cf. Hekanakht's allusion to " men eating men. "

(63) Loc. cit.

(64) Anthes, op. cit., p 88.

(65) Anthes, op. cit., p. 89; gr. 14. 3.

(66) Cf. Wni's title " overseer of the tenants "; loc. cit.

(67) Helck, op. cit , p. 122 - 130.

(68) Anthes, op cit , p. 86; gr. 21, 2.

(69) Ibid., p. 88; gr. 26, 3; pp. 81 - 85.

(70) L. Habachi, " God's Fathers and the Role they Played in the History of the First Intermediate Period, ' in Ann. Serv. 55 (1958), 167 - 190.

(71) Recueil des Travaux, 14, 26; 32 pl. LIV. T. Säve-Söderbergh, Aegypten und Nubien; Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte alt-aegyptischer Aussenpolitik, Lund, 1941, p. 54.

(72) Statue of Nb - hpt - Re in Karnak dedicated by him; likewise statue of Antef son of Ikwi, cf. Stock op. cit., p 71.

(73) Protection decree for Dayr al-Bahri, as a result of this, the temple was later called " House of Month of Khakawre," cf. Winlock, The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes, New York, 1947, p. 81.

(74) Winlock, op. cit , p. 44.

(75) Winlock, op cit., p. 43.

(76) L. Habachi, in Mitteilungen der Deutschen Archäol·gischeu Institut, Abteilung Kairo, 1963, p. 16 - 53, p. 44, fig. 20, 21.

(77) H. Winlock, op. cit., p. 82 ff.

(78) Cf. L. Habachi, Ann. Serv. 55 (1958), 167 - 190.

(79) H. Winlock, op. cit , p. 45.

(80) Cf. H. Keee, Des Priestertum im aegyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit, (Probleme der Aegyptologie 1) Leiden, 1953, for his discussion of the role of the Second Prophet in the Eighteenth Dynasty as a government appointee,p. 11 - 18; likewise the Sshmw hb, p. 30 ff., and the religio -political implications of his office.

(81) H. W. Helck, " Zur Reichseinigung der 11. Dynastie " in Z. A. S. 80 (1955), p. 76; Clère-Vandier, Textes de Premiere Intermediare et de la XI eme Dynastie (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 10), Brussels, 1948, p. 44; H. W. Helck, loc. cit.; Gardiner,

" The Tomb of a Much Traveled Theban Official, " J. E. A. 4 (1917), 28—38, pl. 6—9.

(82) H. W. Helck, op. cit., p. 76.

(83) F. Bisson de la Rocque, Tod (1934 à 1936) (Fouilles de l' Institut francaise, 17), Cairo, 1937, I, p. 61.

(84) Ibid., v. I, p. 10, 14, 25, 62 - 79, pls. 18 - 21.

(85) Winlocck, op cit., p. 25.

(86) Winlock, " The Theban Necropolis in the Middle Kingdom," in A. J. S. L. 32 (1915), p. 4.

(87) Ibid., p 5.

(88) Winlock, The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes, p. 19.

(89) Habachi, (see note 76 supra), p. 37, 38, fig. 16, 17.

(90) According to W. C. Hayes, " The Middle Kinkdom in Egypt, " (Cambridge Ancient History) v. I ch. XX, p. 52.