

## Index

- Abu, 19–20, 38, 223  
 Abydos, 17  
 administration  
   of expeditions, 4, 20–30  
   provincial, 23, 27, 30–36, 214, 237  
   Qubbet el-Hawa tomb owners' roles in,  
     21–37, 176–177, 199  
 aesthetics, 10  
 agency theory, 7–15, 17, 173, 209–210  
 agriculture, 5–6  
   administration of 25, 31–34  
   at Elephantine 19, 24  
   *See also* scene types, agriculture  
 Akhmim, 139  
 Amarna, 17  
 Ankhes (wife of Khunes)  
   description of her chapel and  
   program, 96–97  
   in the tomb of Khunes, 91, 187  
 archaeology,  
   at Elephantine, 2–3  
   at Qubbet el-Hawa, 2–4  
   theoretical discussions, 7–17, 48,  
     209–211  
 art history, 10–14  
 artisans/artists, 45, 47, 160, 164  
   at Elephantine, 135  
   in the tomb of Mekhu, 70, 181  
   in the tomb of Pepynakht Heqaib1, 107  
   in the tomb of Pepynakht Heqaib2,  
     112–113, 154–155  
   in the tomb of Sabni2, 128  
   role in tombs 7–9, 11, 45, 47, 51, 56,  
     63, 107, 133–142, 147–148, 157,  
     160–178, 209–211, 218, 221  
 Assmann, Jan, 208, 210–215  
 Aswan, 2, 22, 38–39, 220, 231  
 audience, 45–46, 62–64, 69, 138–140, 221  
 autobiographies, 2, 4, 19, 31, 225  
   of Harkhuf, 21, 27, 43, 97–98, 174  
   of Khnumhetep, 200  
   of Pepynakht Heqaib1, 21, 27, 43, 105,  
     174, 226–231  
   of Sabni1, 21, 27, 43, 62, 234–235  
   of Sabni2, 21, 27, 127, 127  
   of Weni, 33  
 Baer, Klaus, 231–232, 236–237  
 Baines, John, 160  
 barges 21, 127, 230  
 beer  
   as offering, 123  
   in titles, 186, 199, 203–204  
   *See also* scenes, making beer  
 birds, 74  
   as offerings, 52–55, 119, 123, 157  
   catching, 91, 140–141  
 Bell, Lanny, 26  
 Bonner Ägyptologisches Institut, 3  
 border, 2, 22, 28–30, 32, 34, 214–215  
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 7, 15  
 Bryson, Norman, 12  
 Budge, E. A. Wallis, 2  
 burial  
   chambers, 43, 73, 87, 90, 97–99, 111,  
     139, 228  
   elite 1, 23  
   intrusive, 41  
   subsidiary, 42, 60, 64, 67, 181–182,  
     199–208, 221  
 Byblos, 203  
 Canuto, Marcello A., 15–16, 222  
 carpenter 194  
 Cecil, Lady William 2  
 cemetery 38–41  
   as analytic context 5–10, 16  
   on Elephantine 34, 39  
   in the landscape 5, 14  
   Memphite 1  
 children  
   of elite tomb owners 197, 207  
   of subsidiary figures 85, 119, 126, 182,  
     188, 196, 200, 213  
 columns, rock-cut  
   in the tomb of Khunes 87  
   in tomb of Mekhu 43–44, 59–65, 139,  
     154, 163, 182–183

- columns, rock-cut (*cont.*)  
 in the tomb of Pepynakht Heqaib2 43,  
 102, 107–109, 111, 124  
 in the tomb of Tjetji 78–81, 146,  
 185–186, 232
- community  
 of Elephantine 6–8, 12, 16–17, 32–39,  
 42–43, 62, 217–223  
 and locality 15–18  
 and environment 19–20  
 elite tomb owners' role in 32–37  
 identity of 15–17, 36–37  
 and tomb programs 44–48, 133–142,  
 166–178  
 titles held by 197–204  
 names and relationships of 205–215  
 of artists 51, 135–136, 165–166
- Conkey, Margaret 13
- Coptic remains 38, 81–83, 86–88, 90–91,  
 97, 111–112
- Dahshur 33
- Deir el-Gebrawi 30
- DeMarrais, Elizabeth 8
- Díaz-Andreu, Margarita 209
- Djaw 30
- Djemi 99, 101, 190, 198
- Dobres, Marcia-Anne 7, 9
- drawing 14, 122, 151, 170, 233
- earthquake 86–87
- Edel, Elmar 26, 28, 233  
 and Qubbet el-Hawa excavations 3–4, 84,  
 102, 111–112, 174–177, 191, 195,  
 199, 228, 230  
 on pottery from Qubbet el-Hawa 29,  
 201, 225, 229, 234–237
- Edel, Seyfried, Vieler 41–43, 58, 61–62, 65,  
 87, 90–91, 97, 104–105, 226, 231
- Edfu 30, 220
- Eichler, Eckhard 25–26, 28, 32,  
 231–233, 236
- El-Amin, Osama Fahmi 4
- El-Dissouky, Mohammed 28–30,  
 232–233, 236
- Elephantine  
 Island 5, 13, 19–20, 24  
 townsite 3, 6, 21–22, 28–31, 41, 139,  
 226–227  
*See also* community, of Elephantine
- embalmer 198
- embodied agents 14, 48, 217–223
- excavation 4–6, 22, 41–42, 84, 102, 228
- expeditions 19–22, 219  
 administration of 4, 23, 28, 30–36  
 titles relating to 25–26, 28–29, 200  
 in autobiographies 27, 85, 97, 234
- Eyre, Christopher 35
- false doors 43–44, 57, 136–140, 208, 221
- family  
 and patronage 171–172  
 groups on panels 205–208, 211–214
- figures, offering  
 descriptions of 49–57, 166  
 disposition of in programs 138–140  
 as thematic focus 141–142, 208–214  
 style of 142–159, 167–178  
 significance of inscriptions with 179–208
- forecourts 42  
 views from 41  
 and subsidiary burials 201–202, 221,  
 227, 233–234
- fortress 20–21
- funerary cult. *See* mortuary cult
- Gell, Alfred 10–11
- German Archaeological Institute 6
- Giddens, Anthony 7, 9
- Giza 1, 221
- goods, luxury 22, 27, 36
- Grenfell, Francis 2
- grid 49, 150
- Habachi, Labib 3, 102–103, 131,  
 160–164, 192, 226–229, 236
- habitus 7, 223
- Harkhuf  
 dating of 230–232  
 description of tomb and program 46,  
 97–102, 135–136, 156, 174,  
 189–190, 200  
 as related to tomb of Pepynakht Heqaib1  
 102–105  
*See also* autobiographies, of Harkhuf  
*See also* styles, Harkhuf
- Harpur, Yvonne 232, 236
- Hartwig, Melinda 169–171
- Hathor 184–185, 188, 198–200
- Hatnub 32
- Hawawish 137, 139
- headrest 66, 77, 91
- Heliopolis 230
- Heqaib, Sanctuary of at Elephantine 3,  
 226–227
- Hierakonpolis 33
- identity  
 and tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa 6,  
 208–215  
 and pottery offerings 3  
 and style 166, 170–171  
 and landscape 19–21, 218–223  
*See also* community, identity of
- Ii-Shemai Setka  
 description of tomb and program 71–74,  
 144, 150, 172, 175–177, 184,  
 206–207  
 dating of tomb 174–175, 232–236
- incense  
 burning 53, 56, 168–169, 184, 193,  
 198, 212  
 burners 53, 55
- individuals  
 in archaeology theory 7–8, 12, 15  
 and identity 208–217

## Index

327

- inscriptions, rock 20, 25, 32, 80, 123, 155, 187, 223, 228, 231–236
- Irtjet 25, 27
- Jeffreys, David 217–219
- Joyce, Rosemary A. 9
- ka*-cult. *See* mortuary cult, private
- ka*-priests  
and image style 168–170  
burials of 201–202
- Kemp, Barry 35
- Khufu 221
- Khunes  
description of tomb and program 86–96, 136–137, 187–189  
dating of tomb 175–176, 232–237  
damage to tomb 86–88
- Khui  
description of tomb and program 80–86, 146–147, 149, 159, 163, 168, 177, 186–187, 200, 203, 207  
dating of tomb 175–176, 230–232, 234
- Khwti 64, 181, 200
- Khwin-Khnum  
description of tomb and program 44, 74–78, 129, 144, 146, 149, 167, 172–177, 185  
dating of tomb 225–226, 232–237
- king 1, 8, 17, 161, 209  
interest in Elephantine 19, 21–23, 27–29, 31–32, 34–36, 127, 197, 230, 234  
*See also* mortuary cults, royal
- Knapp, A. Bernard 15, 216, 223
- Kolb, Michael J. 15
- Kom Ombo 30
- Kubanaya 22, 33
- landscape 13–15, 17  
local 19–20, 38–39, 222–223
- locality 15–17
- Lopiparo, Jeanne 9
- Lorton, David 29
- Lucy, Sam 209
- Luxor 17, 32, 44
- Mac Sweeney, Naoise 16, 218
- Martin-Pardey, Eva 28, 30, 34
- mastabas  
mud-brick at Qubbet el-Hawa 4  
in cemetery on Elephantine Island 39, 202
- material culture 12–14, 133, 173, 216–217, 220–223  
provincial 2  
and context 5–6, 22  
and agency 7–11
- Mekhu  
description of tomb and program 58–67, 136, 138–141, 143–146, 154, 163–164, 180–182, 206  
in autobiography of Sabni 1 21, 27  
dating of tomb 174–177, 225, 229, 232–237
- Memphis 19, 36  
and expeditions 27–28, 31
- Merenre 21, 24, 162, 227, 229–231  
inscription at Satet temple 21, 231  
in titles 24, 162, 227–229
- Moreno García, Juan Carlos, 31–32
- mortuary cults  
royal 202–203  
titles related to 24, 32, 227, 229, 233  
private 70, 202–203, 219–220  
and tomb forecourts 42  
and tomb programs 137–138, 208, 211  
titles in 168, 182, 198–199  
*See also* titles, mortuary cult  
*See also ka*-priests
- Moxey, Keith 11, 13
- Müller-Wollermann, Renate 26, 28
- nomarch 23, 29, 31, 34, 199, 237
- Nubia  
Egyptian relationship with 4  
and Elephantine 16, 19–23, 25, 27–29, 31–33, 35–37, 62, 97, 105, 214–215, 219, 231, 234  
“Egyptianized” 26
- O’Connor, David 28
- obelisk stele 43, 59, 68, 75, 78–79, 109
- paleography 50, 153
- panels, system of  
formal aspects of 44–48, 134–140, 211–212  
and figure groupings 205–210
- patronage  
in the community 35  
of tomb programs and artists 165–172, 222  
of subsidiary figures 204
- Pepy I  
titles in mortuary cult of 24, 162, 227, 229  
rock inscriptions dated to 232–233
- Pepy II  
titles in mortuary cult of 24, 176, 227  
letter to Harkhuf 31, 98  
tomb chronology and reign of 229–237
- Pepynakht Heqaib1  
description of tomb and program 56, 102–107, 143, 148, 152–153, 157–158, 171–177, 190–191, 201  
and Pepynakht Heqaib2 225–229  
dating of tomb 236–237  
*See also* autobiographies, of Pepynakht Heqaib1
- Pepynakht Heqaib2  
description of tomb and program 42–44, 48, 56–57, 102–104, 107–123, 137, 143, 147, 149, 151–157, 160, 162, 166, 171–177, 191–195, 201, 207
- Habachi and 162–164  
and Pepynakht Heqaib1 225–229

- Pepynakht Heqaib2 (*cont.*)  
 relationship of tomb to tomb of Sabni2  
 123–124, 126, 131  
 dating of tomb 173–177, 236–237  
 per-shena 198–199, 203  
 phyle 182, 189, 194  
 plaster 88, 90–91, 97  
 portico 43, 107, 109  
 pottery, offerings at Qubbet el-Hawa 3, 29,  
 201, 225, 233–237  
 programs, text and image  
 nature of 44–48, 133–142, 159  
 thematic focus of 179–180, 197–199  
*See also* style, use in programs and styles at  
 Qubbet el-Hawa
- Qar 30
- ramp  
 of Ii-Shemai Setka 72  
 of Khunes 86–87  
 of Mekhu and Sabni1 58–59, 62  
 of Sobekhetep 67  
 of Tjetji 78
- Raue, Dietrich 22
- Retjenw 203
- “reversion of offerings” texts 70, 74, 184,  
 202–203, 212
- Robb, John E. 7, 9
- Robins, Gay 49
- Roth, Ann Macy 202
- Sabni1  
 description of tomb and program, 58–67,  
 136, 143–146, 148, 182–183  
 dating of, 161–162, 173–177, 225–236  
*See also* autobiographies, of Sabni1
- Sabni2  
 description of tomb and program,  
 102–104, 123–132, 139, 147–148,  
 157–158, 161–162, 195–197  
 dating of, 173–177, 236–237  
*See also* autobiographies, of Sabni2
- Saqqara 1, 30, 47, 221
- sarcophagi 58, 177, 235
- Satet, temple of 21–22, 135, 204, 219, 231
- scene types  
 fishing and fowling 46, 66, 77, 91,  
 129–131, 140, 161–162, 179, 183,  
 187–188, 195, 234  
 agriculture 46, 63, 123, 140–141, 179,  
 181, 207, 234  
 leading animals 74, 77, 96, 119–120,  
 122, 129, 147, 193  
 bull fighting 46, 95, 131–132, 140, 189  
 making beer 46, 85, 91, 141, 146, 186  
 other, 90–92
- Schapiro, Meyer, 11
- Schiaparelli, Ernesto, 2
- scribes, 189, 194, 196, 214
- Sehel Island, 233
- Seidlmayer, Stephan, 6, 22, 36, 202
- serdab, 90, 93
- Serrano, Alejandro Jimenez, 4, 87, 233
- Setju, 27
- Seyfried, Karl-Joachim, 3, 29, 58, 139, 190,  
 204, 213, 228–229
- Sinai, 25
- Sirenput I, 43, 132
- Snead, James, 15
- Sobekhetep  
 description of tomb and program, 67–71,  
 183–184  
 dating of tomb, 174–175, 232–237  
 statue niches, 66, 79  
 stele, obelisk. *See* obelisk stele  
 style, 11–15, 217  
 and agency, 10  
 use in programs, 47–48, 159–178,  
 221–222  
 styles in Qubbet el-Hawa tomb  
 programs, 48–50  
 Harkhuf, 56–57, 99–101, 105, 158  
 Painted, 57, 64, 143–145  
 Raised A1, 51–52, 142–143  
 Raised A2, 52, 145–146  
 Raised B, 52–53, 146–147  
 Sabni2 Raised, 57, 127–128, 147–148  
 Sabni2 Sunken, 57, 128–129, 157–158  
 Sunken A, 53–54, 148–151  
 Sunken B, 54, 151–152  
 Sunken C, 54–55, 152–153  
 Sunken D, 55–56, 153–154  
 Sunken E, 56, 112–115, 154–157
- titles  
 elite, 23–31  
 of subsidiary figures, 199–204
- Tjetji  
 description of tomb and program, 78–81,  
 185–186  
 Khnumhetep and, 163, 168, 200,  
 203, 213  
 dating of tomb, 175–177, 230–234
- Tjetjw, 30
- trade, 19, 22–23, 26–27, 30, 33, 35–36
- Universidad de Jaén, 4, 87
- Vieler, Gerd, 3, 58, 228–229
- visuality, 11–12, 18
- Wadi Hammamat, 25, 231
- walls, mud-brick, 62, 64–65, 79, 81,  
 97, 138
- Wawat, 21, 25, 27, 127, 230
- Weni, 33, 231
- Winter, Irene, 10–11
- Wobst, H. Martin, 7
- women,  
 images of in different styles, 50, 52–54,  
 119, 121, 157  
 titles held by, 195, 198
- Yaeger, Jason, 15–16, 222
- Yam, 25, 27