

Fig. 1 The false door of Hetepuni, buried at Abusir South, who served as “*hem-netjer*-priest of Khentytjenenet” and was revered with the same god (photo M. Frouz, drawing J. Malátková)

## One of the minor gods: A case study on Khentytjenenet, an Old Kingdom deity of the Memphite necropolis

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The appearance of the god Osiris in the mid-Fifth Dynasty is well-known and many researchers have been interested in it (e.g. Griffiths 1966; Bolshakov 1992 and 2001; Shalomi-Hen 2007 and 2015; Mathieu 2010). Several so-called minor gods emerged approximately simultaneously with Osiris, including for instance Khentytjenenet. This fact coincided with a transformation of the whole society of ancient Egypt, which came to pass during the reign of Nyuserre. A number of innovations came about in various spheres – religion, society, administration, tomb architecture, *etc.* – mirroring a change in the power participation in the society at that time (for exemplification of the most distinct changes, see Dulíková 2016). The evidence of the god Khentytjenenet in the Sixth Dynasty has been growing owing to the excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology at Abusir South.<sup>1</sup>

The name of the god Khentytjenenet is literally translated as “Foremost of the Tjenenet” (Dorman 2002: 106), “the Foremost one of Tjenenet” (e.g. Jones 2000: 36, no. 177) or “He who is at the head of The Elevated Place”

(Holmberg 1946: 217–218). A few researchers have partially dealt with Khentytjenenet in their studies concerning primarily religion issues. In connection with the Abydos list and using Old Kingdom texts, Hermann

Kees (1915: 58–59) and John Baines (1988) touched on Khentytjenenet in their excellent treatises, as did Alexander Hermann Schlögl (1980: 105–107) in his excursus on an anonymous deity in his monograph about the god Tatenen. In their research on this god in the Old Kingdom period, Barbara L. Begelsbacher-Fischer (1981: 212, 232) and Christian Leitz (2002: 876) mentioned Khentytjenenet in their overviews, which reflect a tabular and alternatively encyclopaedic character.<sup>2</sup>

While some scholars have considered Khentytjenenet to be a manifestation or aspect of the god Ptah (e.g. Dorman 2002: 100), he appears as an independent deity. Finally, Baines (1988: 127) assumes that Khentytjenenet is possibly related to Tatenen, a god closely associated with Ptah in the New Kingdom.

The deity Khentytjenenet has occurred in priestly titles and epithets, as a component of personal names, as a part of the names of funerary domains or estates, and once in another context – on a fragment from Neferirkare’s papyrus archive (see below). Even though the geographic distribution of the evidence on Khentytjenenet is limited to a certain territory of the Memphite necropolis, a visual aspect of this god in the time of the Old Kingdom is unknown.

### In service to the god: Khentytjenenet as part of priestly titles and epithets

#### The title “*hem-netjer*-priest of Khentytjenenet”

This deity first appears in connection with the priestly title *hm-ntr Hnty-Tnnt*, “*hem-netjer*-priest of the god Khentytjenenet” (Jones 2000: 569, no. 2095) within the titulary of the high-ranking priest, Ptahshepses, who was buried at North Saqqara [C1] and who became the son-in-law of King Userkaf (see e.g. Mariette 1889: 110–114; Dorman 2002). This individual represents the only documented priest of the god Khentytjenenet in the Fifth

Dynasty. It is noteworthy that the name of Osiris appeared for the very first time precisely on the false door of this man (see Dorman 2002: 100, Fig. 3). The official Duahep, who also ranked among the first people invoking Osiris, named his son Iret-Khentytjenenet (see below; for more information about Osiris, see Dulíková 2016).

*Hem-netjer*-priests conducted rituals in temples connected with the statues of kings and gods, dressing, adorning, purifying and fumigating them with incense and oils. They also participated in the circulation of food offerings in these temples (Posener-Kriéger 1976: 574–581; Roth 1991: 79–81).

Three more bearers of the title *hm-ntr Hnty-Tnnt* lived during the Sixth Dynasty and were buried at North Saqqara or Abusir South (see tab. 1). One of them was Sabu Ibebi [Nos. 37–38 = E 1–2] (Mariette 1889: 460–461), who built his tomb in the vicinity of the mastaba of the afore-mentioned priest, Ptahshepses, at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.

Moreover, the structure of Sabu Ibebi’s titulary and the type of his titles resemble those of Ptahshepses. Sabu Ibebi shared the tomb with a certain Ptahshepses, his supposed son. Was Sabu Ibebi a relative of the high-ranking priest Ptahshepses [C 1]? The uniqueness of some of their titles within ancient Egypt, the closeness of their tombs and the frequent occurrence of the name, Ptahshepses, in Sabu Ibebi’s family suggest this assumption.

Hetepuni and Sefekhu, two other Sixth Dynasty priests of Khentytjenenet, built their tombs at Abusir South. The false door of Hetepuni, a priest buried in the courtyard of Princess Sheretnebtu [AS 68, probably in Shaft 8], reveals that he served as a “*hem-netjer*-priest of Khentytjenenet”, *wꜥb 200 Mn-nfr-Mry-rꜥ*, “*wab*-priest of the two hundred of the pyramid Men-nefer-Meryre (Pepy I)” (Jones 2000: 378, no. 1401; for more about this title, see Goedicke 1996), *wꜥb ꜥ3*, “great *wab*-priest” (Jones 2000: 369, no. 1362; Fischer 1964) and *imy-r3 st hnty(w)-ꜥ pr-ꜥ3*, “overseer of the department of tenant-landholders of the Great House”

personal name	<i>hem-netjer</i> -priest of Khentytjenenet	revered with Khentytjenenet	place of burial	dynasty/king
Ptahshepses	x		Saqqara [C 1]	mid 5/Nyuserre
Sabu Ibebi	x		Saqqara [E 1–2]	early 6/Teti
Sefekhu Itji	x ?		Abusir [AS 68, Shaft 14]	late 6
Hetepuni	x	x	Abusir [AS 68, Shaft 8 ?]	late 6/Pepy II
Iri Irenakhty		x	Abusir [unknown]	late 6
Qar (Junior) Nefermeryre		x	Abusir [AS 17]	late 6/Pepy II
Khai (I)		x	Abusir [AS 68, Shaft 4 or 12?]	late 6 or later
Khai (II)		x	Abusir [unknown]	late 6 or later
Hetepu		x	Saqqara, to the east of Merefnebef’s tomb	late 6 or later
Khunehes		x	unknown, probably Saqqara	late 6 or later

Tab. 1 List of Old Kingdom holders of titles and epithets related to the god Khentytjenenet. Their occurrence is characteristic of the second half of the Old Kingdom

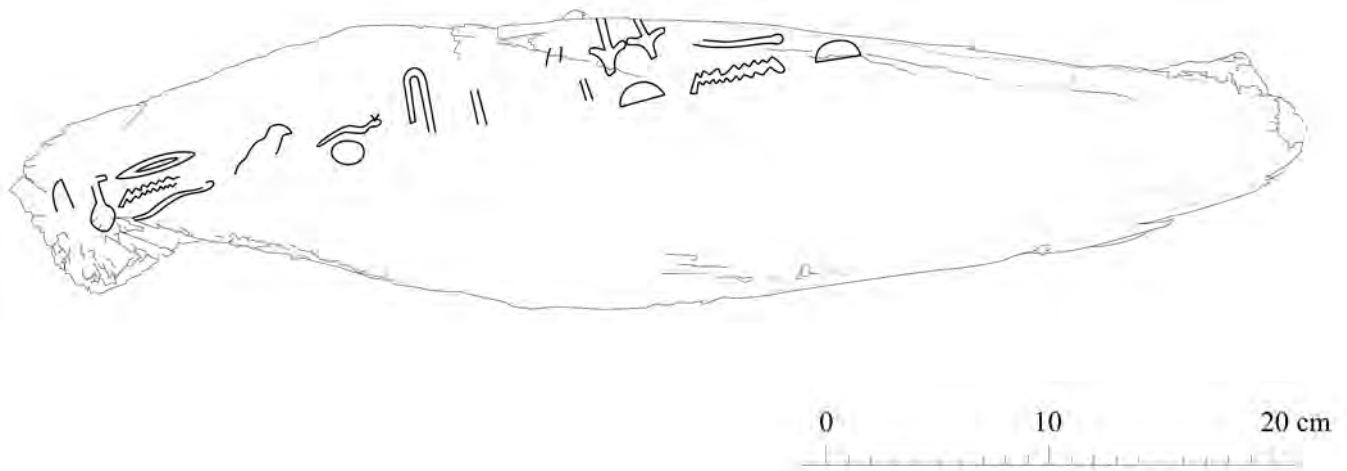


Fig. 2 The remains of the text on a fragment of Sefekhu's wooden coffin show a part of the name of Khentytjenenet (drawing L. Vařeková)

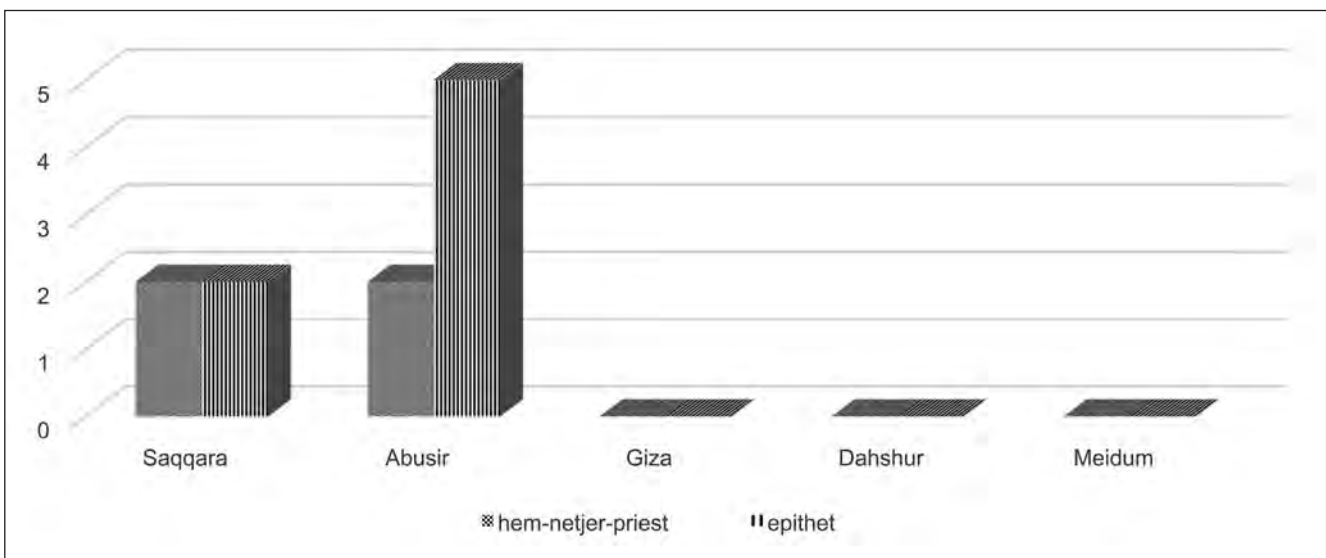


Chart 1 The Old Kingdom holders of the title and the epithet connected with the god Khentytjenenet were buried exclusively at Saqqara and Abusir

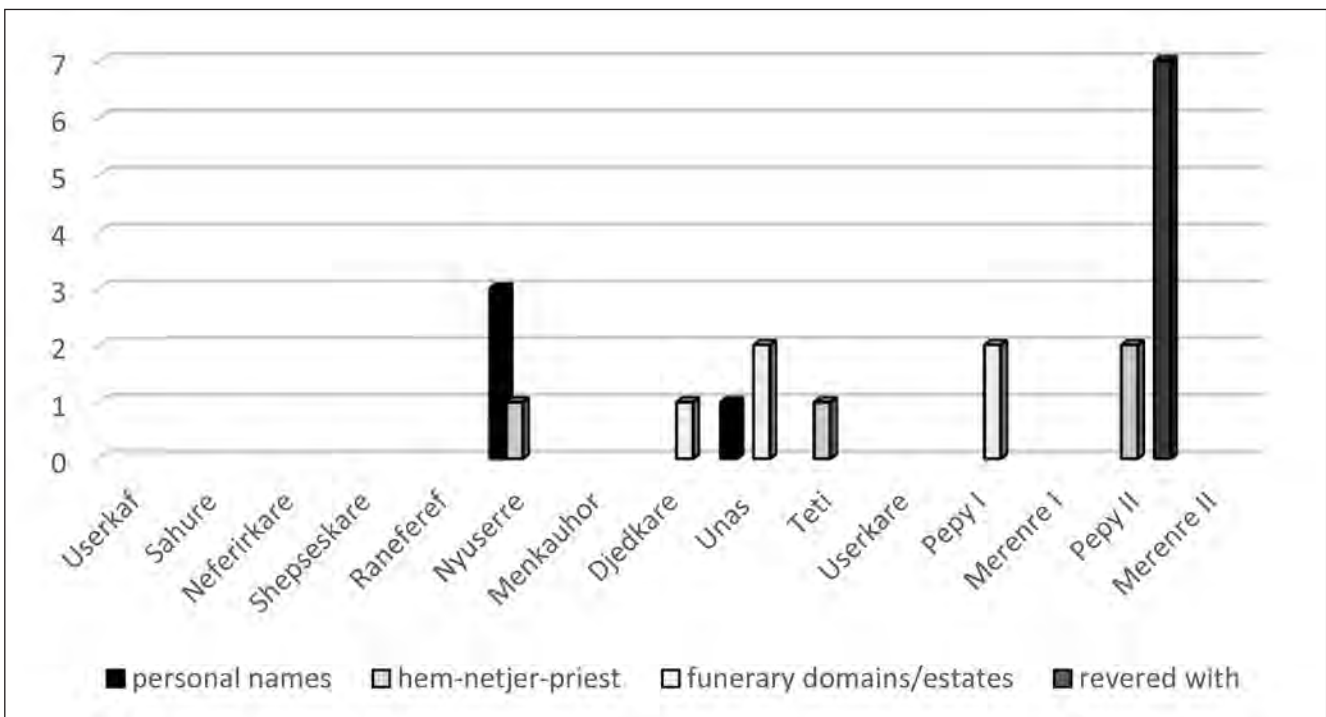


Chart 2 The occurrence of Khentytjenenet in the Old Kingdom period. The first evidence on the god comes from in the mid-Fifth Dynasty



(Jones 2000: 241, no. 882; Fettel 2010). It is probable that the false door had originally been placed above a shaft (numbered as 8), into which it was thrown. While no remains of the burial equipment were found in the burial niche, the fill of the shaft contained fragments of pottery vessels. Most analogies to these particular vessels are associated with the Sixth Dynasty, especially with Pepy I, but some of the analogies survived until the reign of Pepy II. An analysis of the features of Hetepuni's false door dates it to the late Sixth Dynasty, or possibly the First Intermediate Period (fig. 1; for more information about Hetepuni, see Dulíková – Arias Kytarová – Čílek 2014).

Sefekhu, whose good name was Itji, was also buried within the tomb complex of Princess Sheretnebtj [AS 68, Shaft 14]. The remains of the text on his decomposing wooden coffin very probably include a part of the title “*hem-netjer*-priest of Khentytjenet” (fig. 2; based on the yet unpublished field documentation of the Czech mission at Abusir South). This individual could be identical with the homonymous name of the son of the judge Inti whose mastaba lies nearby (Bárta – Vachala *et al.*, *forthcoming*); in it, Sefekhu is labelled as *iry md3t (n) z3b*, “judicial book keeper” (Jones 2000: 805–806, no. 2944).

The title “*hem-netjer*-priest of Khentytjenet” appeared rather rarely in ancient Egypt, predominantly in the Old Kingdom (Leitz 2002: 876; see the summarizing chart 2).

### Epithet “revered with the god Khentytjenet”

Besides one priestly title, the god Khentytjenet occurred also as a part of the epithet *im3hw hr Hnty-Tnnt*, “revered with the god Khentytjenet” (Jones 2000: 36, no. 177) in the Sixth Dynasty (see tab. 1, charts 1 and 2). Several officials interred in the same area as the afore-mentioned priests chose this epithet, five at Abusir, one at Saqqara and one of unknown provenance (probably from Saqqara). Hetepuni is the only person who simultaneously bears both the title and the epithet linked with Khentytjenet.

Another bearer of the epithet was a certain Khai (I), *sm Zkr*, “*sem* assistant of the god Sokar” (Jones 2000: 884–885, no. 3240). Khai was buried in Sheretnebtj's courtyard [AS 68, Shaft 4 or 12]. His false door of rather poor craftsmanship features the “inverted T-shape panel”, which occurs on a small number of stelae from the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. The typology of Khai's false door, the iconographic, palaeographic and epigraphic features on the stela, his personal name, the stratigraphy in Sheretnebtj's courtyard and the whitewashed cult place are all indicative of the late Sixth Dynasty or the First Intermediate Period (fig. 3; for more information about Khai, see Dulíková 2013).

The false door of another individual with an identical name as the previously mentioned one was found as a loose block during the autumn archaeological season



Fig. 3 The false door of Khai who was revered with Khentytjenet (photo M. Frouz, drawing J. Malátková)



in 2015 at Abusir (9/AS79/2015, yet unpublished). Although the inscription on the stela is heavily soiled and waiting for restoration, a partly readable text has revealed the title *šps nšwt*, “noble of the king” (Jones 2000: 988, no. 3648), and two epithets: “revered with the god Khentytjenenet” and “revered with the god Ptah-Sokar” (Jones 2000: 24, no. 14). Based on the typology of the false door, its owner, Khai (II), can be dated to the late Sixth Dynasty or the First Intermediate Period.

Iri Irenakhty built his tomb at Abusir South in the vicinity of Vizier Qar’s family funerary complex (Bárta *et al.* 2009; Bárta – Vachala *et al.*, *forthcoming*). Relief fragments of wall decoration coming from his tomb were found as loose blocks in the tomb complex of the sons of Vizier Qar, but the exact position of his mastaba has not been identified yet (Dulíková 2012). He worked as *imy-r3 št hnty(w)-š pr-ꜥ3*, “overseer of the department of tenant-landholders of the Great House” (Jones 2000: 241, no. 882) and *šmr pr*, “companion of the (royal) house” (Jones 2000: 896, no. 3287). Apart from the epithet connected with Khentytjenenet, he used other epithets linked to Osiris, Ptah-Sokar, Anubis and the great god.

Qar Nefermeryre, the eldest son of Vizier Qar, built his tomb [AS 17] next to the mastaba of his father (Bárta *et al.* 2009: 145–276). He served as *hm-ntr M3ꜥt*, “hem-netjer-priest of Maat” (Jones 2000: 516–517, no. 1913), *r Nhn (n) z3b*, “judicial official and mouth of Nekhen” (Jones 2000: 808, no. 2953) and *hnty-š Mn-nfr-Ppy*, “attendant of the pyramid of Pepy I”. His only epithet is connected with Khentytjenenet.

Hetepu, buried in the vicinity of Vizier Merefnebef’s tomb at North Saqqara, is one of two bearers of the Khentytjenenet epithet interred outside Abusir South, albeit in its immediate neighbourhood (Kuraszkiewicz 2002: 52–54, Fig. 1, Pls. 12–13). He worked as *šhd pr-ꜥ3*, “inspector of the Great House” (Jones 2000: 924–925,

no. 3401). His other epithet was *im3hw hr ntr ꜥ3 nb pt*, “revered with the great god, the lord of the sky” (Jones 2000: 31, no. 146).

Khunehes, whose place of burial is unknown, was probably buried somewhere in Saqqara (Borchardt 1964: 139–140, Bl. 89). He held the titles *hry-tp nšwt (n) pr-ꜥ3*, “king’s liegeman of the Great House” (Jones 2000: 789, no. 2878), *šps nšwt*, “noble of the king” (Jones 2000: 988, no. 3648) and *šmr pr*, “companion of the (royal) house” (Jones 2000: 896, no. 3287). Besides the epithet connected with Khentytjenenet, he used an epithet linked to Osiris. The typology of Khunehes’s false door and his titles bear features of the Sixth Dynasty.

### Khentytjenenet as part of theophoric personal names

Concurrently with the priestly title *hm-ntr Hnty-Tnnt*, the name of the god Khentytjenenet occurred within personal names of several individuals who held offices under Nyuserre and were buried at Abusir or North Saqqara. Theophoric personal names constituted *ca.* 21% of all personal names in the Old Kingdom period. In total, 48 deities were embodied in these names; the most frequent was the god Ptah in 146 different names (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 107–113). Four personal names comprising the element Khentytjenenet are attested for males living predominantly during the reign of King Nyuserre (tab. 2).

The name Hem-Khentytjenenet, “Servant of Khentytjenenet” (Ranke 1952: 305, no. 17; Gourdon 2007: [471] 2; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 540 [2410]), is attested on a fragment that was originally part of the relief decoration of the mortuary temple in the pyramid complex of Nyuserre at Abusir (Borchardt 1907: 74, no. 60). No title has survived.

personal name	Ranke	Gourdon	Scheele-Schweitzer	site	provenance	dynasty/king
Hem-Khentytjenenet “Servant of Khentytjenenet”	RPN II, 305, no. 17	[471] 2	540/2410	Abusir	Nyuserre’s mortuary temple [AC 4], relief decoration	mid 5/ Nyuserre
Iret-Khentytjenenet “What Khentytjenenet did”	RPN I, 273, no. 10	[88] 1	257/426	Abusir	mastaba of Vizier Ptahshepses [AC 8], relief decoration	mid 5/ Nyuserre
		[557] 4 <i>Hnty-Tnnt-irt</i>		Saqqara	mastaba of Duahep [D 59], relief decoration	mid 5/ Nyuserre
Washkai-Khentytjenenet “Khentytjenenet’s ka is powerful”	RPN I, 417, no. 16	[161] 3	317/819	Saqqara	mastaba of Vizier Kai [D 19], relief decoration	mid 5/ Nyuserre
Ny-Khentytjenenet “He who belongs to Khentytjenenet”	–	[324] 4	434/1643	Saqqara	tomb of Tjefu Ptahhetep, relief decoration	late 5

Tab. 2 Personal names with the element Khentytjenenet are distinctive to the mid-Fifth or late Fifth Dynasty

The name Iret-Khentytjenenet, “What Khentytjenenet did”, is attested twice in the Old Kingdom (Ranke 1935: 273, no. 10; Gourdon 2007: [88] 1 and [557] 4; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 257 [426]).<sup>3</sup> Firstly, the bearer of this name is pictured in the wall decoration of the mastaba of Vizier Ptahshepses, in the scene of the dragging of two of Ptahshepses’s statues. Iret-Khentytjenenet is depicted with the titles *zš (n) z3b* and *hm-k3* walking behind the sledge together with a man named Duahep, who bears four titles: *zš (n) z3b*, *šhd hm(w)-k3*, *w<sup>c</sup>b nšwt* and *hry-ššt3* (Verner 1986: 110, Inscr. Nos. 166 and 167, Pl. 60). A part of Iret-Khentytjenenet’s name is also attested on a relief fragment (Vachala 2004: 76–77, Fragment H 114). Secondly, Iret-Khentytjenenet appears to be designated as the eldest son of Duahep with the title *zš (n) z3b* in the tomb of his father at Saqqara [D 59] (Mariette 1889: 337), west of the Step Pyramid, near the tomb complex of the vizierial family of Akhethetep and Ptahhetep. It is worth noticing that his tomb featured not only this new minor god but also the major god Osiris (for the work activities of this family, see fig. 5; for the list of individuals invoking Osiris, see Dulíková 2016: Table 6.1).

It is evident that the owner of mastaba D 59, Duahep, and his eldest son, Iret-Khentytjenenet, are the same individuals who are depicted next to each other in the mastaba of Vizier Ptahshepses, although they are portrayed there without any family relation label. Duahep and Iret-Khentytjenenet were contemporaries of Ptahshepses and part of their productive lives coincided with the time when Ptahshepses performed the vizierial office (for an analysis of their professional categorization, see Appendix).

Another name connected with the god, Khentytjenenet, is Washkai-Khentytjenenet “Khentytjenenet’s ka is powerful” (Ranke 1935: 417, no. 16; Gourdon 2007: [161] 3; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 317 [819]). The individual with this name was the eldest son of Vizier Kai and is recorded in his tomb at North Saqqara [No. 63 = D 19] on his false door (Mariette 1889: 229). Washkai-Khentytjenenet began his career in the administrative sphere as *zš (w) nw nšwt hft-hr*, “scribe of the royal records in the presence” (Jones 2000: 839–840, no. 3063) and *šhd zš (n) z3b*, “inspector of judicial scribes” (Jones 2000: 814, no. 297).

The last personal name that includes the element, Khentytjenenet, is Ny-Khentytjenenet, “He who belongs to Khentytjenenet” (Ranke not attested; Gourdon 2007: [324] 4; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 434 [1643]). Ny-Khentytjenenet is depicted among the bearers of offerings in the mastaba of Tjefu Ptahhetep, labelled as *wab*-priest of Ptahhetep (Hassan 1975: 105, 108, Fig. 56). The unnumbered tomb lies at North Saqqara, to the west of the Step Pyramid, in the close vicinity of the mastaba of the afore-mentioned Duahep.

Even though the status or family relations of the bearers of Khentytjenenet-names are known from the monuments of their relatives or of those whom they served (the pyramid complex of Nyuserre, the mastaba of Vizier Ptahshepses and the tomb of Tjefu Ptahhetep, a supposed member of the vizierial family of “Ptahheteps”), their places of burial remain unknown. The tombs of these men are located most probably at North Saqqara.

## Funerary domains and other evidence

The name of the god Khentytjenenet occurred within the names of funerary domains or estates in connection with three subsequent rulers: Djedkare Isesi, Unas and Teti. Khentytjenenet appears once in the royal context, *i.e.* within the names of the royal estate and the royal domain in the pyramid complex of Unas at Saqqara: *Mr Hnty-Tnnt-<sup>c</sup>nh Wniš*, “Khentytjenenet desires Unas to live” (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 172); *Hwt Wniš: Ny irt Wniš Hnty-Tnnt*, “Estate of Unas: What Unas does belongs to Khentytjenenet”. The place was probably situated in the 7<sup>th</sup> nome of Lower Egypt (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 169).

Khentytjenenet is attested twice in a non-royal context, within the funerary domain processions in the tombs of two individuals. The name *Mr Hnty-Tnnt <sup>c</sup>nh Izzi*, “Khentytjenenet desires Isesi to live” occurred in the tomb of Kaipure, buried at Saqqara [No. 22 = D 39] and dated to the reign of Djedkare Isesi. The other names of funerary domains are related to the tomb owner (Mariette 1889: 276; Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 374). He worked predominantly in the sphere of the treasury.

Khentytjenenet occurred four times in the procession of female funerary domains in the mastaba of the judge Inti, buried at Abusir South [AS 22], the son of Vizier Qar [AS 17].<sup>4</sup> All surviving attestations of the estates are associated with the name of King Teti and the domains with Khentytjenenet are no exception. The name *Mr Hnty-Tnnt <sup>c</sup>nh Tti*, “Khentytjenenet desires Teti to live” occurred three times on the western wall of the tomb entrance. The second funerary domain is called *Ny nfr irt Tti Hnty-Tnnt*, “What good Teti does belongs to Khentytjenenet”. Inti lived during the reigns of Kings Pepy I and Pepy II (Bárta – Vachala *et al.*, *forthcoming*).

Apart from the above-mentioned occurrences, Khentytjenenet is attested on a fragment of papyrus from Neferirkare’s papyrus archive (Posener-Kriéger – Cenival 1968: Pl. LXXXA). The inscription starts with the enumeration of deities: [*hr Hnty*]-*Tnnt hr Dd-šps hr ntrw nbw, etc.* This papyrus is dated to the reign of Djedkare Isesi (Posener-Kriéger 1976: 453–455).

## Conclusions

The previously sparse evidence on Khentytjenenet has been markedly enlarged owing to the new excavations performed by the Czech archaeological mission at Abusir South. A recently discovered cluster of individuals holding priestly titles and/or epithets referring to Khentytjenenet has given us an impetus to scrutinising this deity.<sup>5</sup>

The recorded evidence of Khentytjenenet is closely connected with a specific geographical part of the Memphite necropolis – Abusir and North Saqqara. The distance between all the monuments mentioning the god Khentytjenenet is approximately 3 kilometres in the north-south axis, from the mastaba of Vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir Centre North to the pyramid of Unas at Central Saqqara (see fig. 4).

The deity, whose appearance was obviously associated with the social, religious and administrative changes





Fig. 4 Saqqara-Abusir area with the highlighted tombs with occurrences of Khentytjenet's name dated to the Old Kingdom period: 1 Ptahsepses, 2 Nyuserre's mortuary temple, 3 Neferirkare's mortuary temple, 4 Iri Irenakhty, 5 Qar Junior, 6 Khai (II), 7 Inti, 8 Khai (I), 9 Hetepuni, 10 Sefekhu Itji, 11 Kaipure, 12 Sabu Ibebi, 13 Ptahsepses [C 1], 14 Kai, 15 Tjefu Ptahhetep, 16 Duahep, 17 Hetepu, 18 Unas's mortuary temple (V. Brůna – V. Dulíková)

during the reign of Nyuserre, was also reflected in theophoric personal names of that period, which either express the holder’s relation to Khentytjenenet as the god’s servant (“He who belongs to Khentytjenenet”, “Servant of Khentytjenenet”), or show Khentytjenenet as a moving force (“Khentytjenenet’s ka is powerful”). Whereas personal names compounded with the element, Khentytjenenet, were characteristic of the mid-Fifth Dynasty, the title “*hem-netjer*-priest of Khentytjenet” occurred only sporadically in the Fifth Dynasty period. This title is attested during the following dynasty, which is also the time when the epithet *imakhu kher* linked to Khentytjenet appeared, more precisely in the late Sixth Dynasty. Thus, the title and epithets support an ongoing cult of the god Khentytjenet that was bound to the Saqqara-Abusir area (see chart 1).

Taking into account the spatial distribution of Old Kingdom evidence on Khentytjenenet, evidence on a sanctuary of this god in the Middle Kingdom (Altenmüller 2015: 249) and a much later inscription on a stela coming from the Persian period deposited in the Serapeum, which mentions a temple of Khentytjenet (Holmberg 1946: 217; Leahy 1998), we can formulate a hypothesis about the existence of a “house” devoted to this deity, located in the area of North Saqqara. Andrzej Ćwiek suggested that the character of the enigmatic name of Khentytjenenet “Foremost of Tjenenet” could simply refer to the Step Pyramid complex of Netjerykhet (Andrzej Ćwiek, personal communication).

**Appendix: The dating of Duahep and his son Iret-Khentytjenenet**

Duahep, who occupied positions in the department of justice and several priestly functions, built his tomb [D 59] to the west of the Step Pyramid in the mid-Fifth Dynasty

(Mariette 1889: 335–339) (see fig. 5). Duahep held mainly priestly functions: he served as *hm-ntr*-priest of the goddess Maat (Jones 2000: 516–517, no. 1930), of the god Horakhty (Jones 2000: 551, no. 2046), of King Neferirkare (Jones 2000: 554, no. 2054), of the sun temples of Kings Neferirkare and Nyuserre (Jones 2000: 537, no. 2005 and 538, no. 2006), of Nyuserre’s pyramid (Jones 2000: 519, no. 1939) and as “*wab*-priest of the king”. His administrative titles were exclusively connected with legal matters. He reached the highest degree of the overseer in the area of judicial scribes: *imy-r3 zš (n) z3b* (Jones 2000: 803, no. 2933) and worked as *hrp zš(w) iry(w) iḥ/šprw*, “director of scribes connected with the moon” (Jones 2000: 739–740, no. 2697). Furthermore, he was *hry ššḥ n ntr:f*, “privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king)” (Jones 2000: 632–633, no. 2316). This kind of “security clearance” with *ntr:f*, existing from the reign of Nyuserre onwards, indicates that Duahep had the privilege of being in the proximity of the ruler. Based on the published documentation of Duahep’s mastaba, it is evident that the monument has survived only partially, the decoration of the façade and parts of the offering room. Unfortunately, there is no archaeological documentation revealing that his false door has survived, for instance. It is thus more than obvious that Duahep’s titulary must have been more extensive and he possibly occupied more positions within the administration. Duahep’s eldest son, Iret-Khentytjenenet, held the title *zš (n) z3b* in the tomb of his father (Mariette 1889: 337).

The name of Duahep in connection with the title *zš (n) z3b* can be found within the builders’ inscriptions on the stone blocks of the mastaba of Vizier Ptahshepses (Verner 1992: inscr. nos. 28, 43, 120). He was also portrayed in the relief scenes on the wall of the tomb of this vizier, labelled as *zš (n) z3b, šḥḏ ḥm(w)-k3, wḥb nšwt* and *hry-ššḥ* (fig. 6; Verner 1986: 110, inscr. nos. 166 and 167, Pl. 60). Duahep is depicted there together with his son

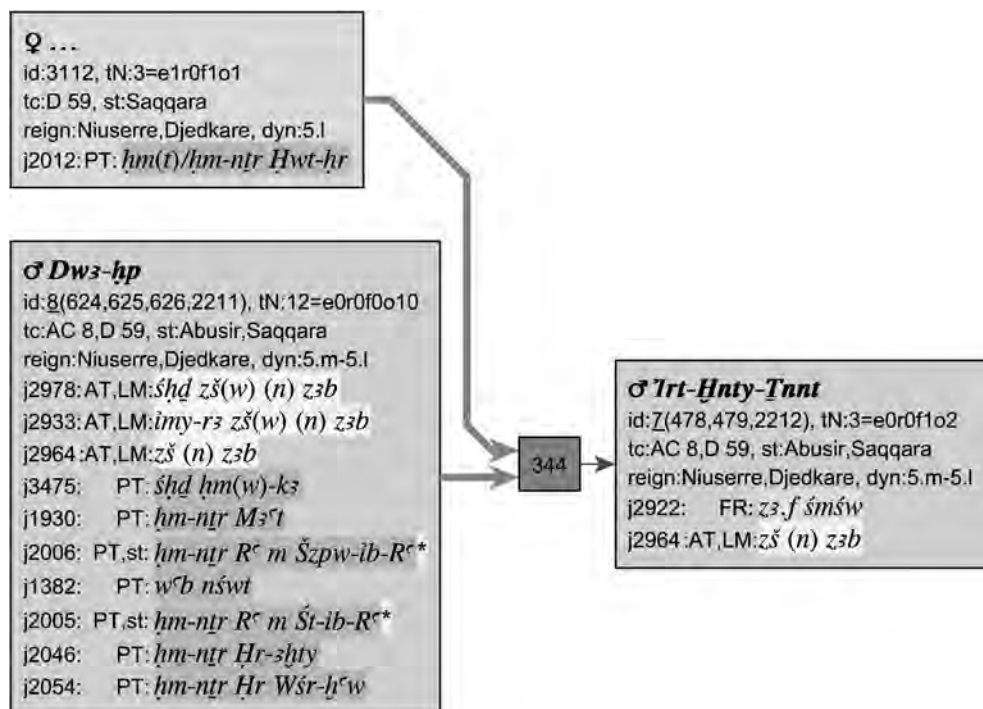
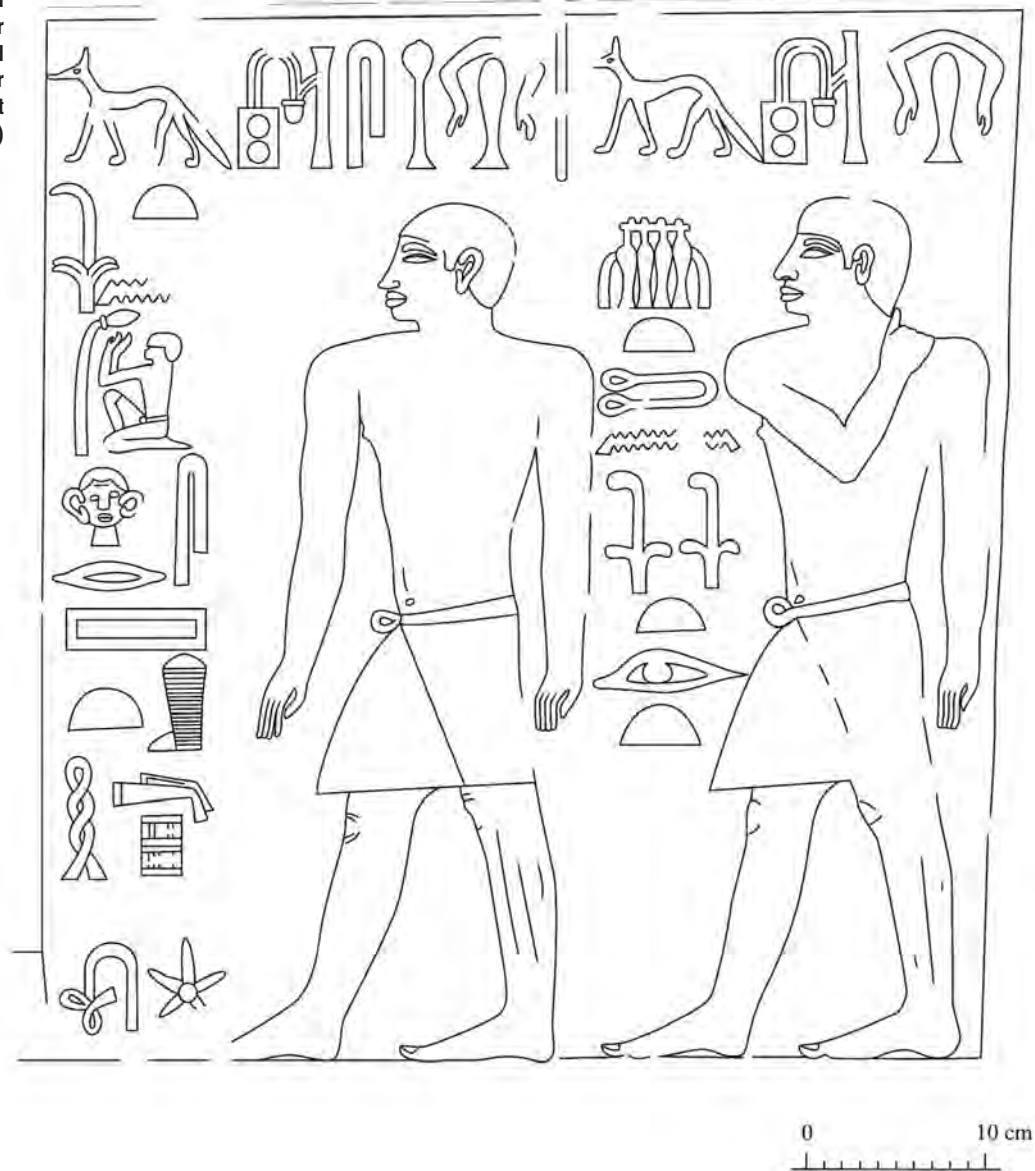


Fig. 5 Known family relations and the titulary of the dignitary Duahep, buried at Saqqara (visualization by R. Mařík)



Fig. 6 Duahep was a contemporary of Vizier Ptahshepses; he was portrayed in Ptahshepses's tomb together with his son Iret-Khentytjenenet (drawing L. Vařeková)



Iret-Khentytjenenet, who is endowed with the titles *zš (n) z3b* and *ḥm-k3* (Verner 1986: Inscr. No. 167, Pl. 60; Vachala 2004: 76–77, Fragment H 114). Even though the family relation between these two individuals is not explicitly written in hieroglyphs on the walls of Ptahshepses's mastaba, the iconographical expression – Iret-Khentytjenenet is following his father Duahep – and identical titles as those in Duahep's tomb testify to it. An analogous case from the mastaba of this vizier shows the brothers, Nyankhkhnum and Khnumhetep, depicted next to each other like offering bearers, also without any label indicating their family relation (*cf.* Verner 1986: Inscr. No. 75, Pl. 34).

While Bertha Porter, Rosalind Moss and Jaromír Málek dated Duahep to the Sixth Dynasty (Porter – Moss – Málek 1979: 595), all indications – analyses of his titles and of the occurrences of his name – suggest that he lived in the reign of King Nyuserre in the mid-Fifth Dynasty.

#### Notes:

- <sup>1</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to everyone who has provided me stimulating comments on the presented issue, especially to Andrzej Ćwiek and two anonymous peer-reviewers. This study was written within the project for GA ČR, No. 16-07210S: “Complex network methods applied to ancient Egypt data in the Old Kingdom (2700–2180 BC)”.
- <sup>2</sup> Valeria Turriziani (2014) has dealt with minor gods in the Old Kingdom period in her Ph.D. project, but no results have been published yet, except for a short compilation article.
- <sup>3</sup> In spite of the fact that the name is written identically in the wall decoration of the two mastabas and represents a single person, Yannic Gourdon reads the name, Iret-Khentytjenenet, in two ways in his excellent work: as Iret-Khentytjenenet (Gourdon 2007: [88] 1) and as Khentytjenenet-iret (Gourdon 2007: [557] 4). Thus the name is listed twice as two different names.
- <sup>4</sup> The relief scene has not been published yet. The monograph on Inti's tomb is currently under preparation (Bárta – Vachala *et al.*, *forthcoming*).
- <sup>5</sup> This case study on Khentytjenenet is based on an article published in the Czech language, which deals with one of the priests recently discovered at Abusir South (Dulíková – Arias Kytmarová – Čílek 2014), and on the chapter devoted to the religious innovation during the reign of the King Nyuserre,

especially with the introduction of the Osirian cult, which indicates a change of the concept of the afterlife of high-ranking dignitaries (Dulíková 2016).

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### Abstract:

Hitherto sparse evidence on Khentytjenet has been markedly enlarged owing to new excavations of the Czech archaeological mission at Abusir. A recently discovered cluster of individuals holding priestly titles and/or epithets referring to Khentytjenet has given us an impetus to scrutinise this deity.

Records of Khentytjenet are closely connected with a specific geographical part of the Memphite necropolis – Abusir and North Saqqara. The appearance of this deity was obviously associated with social, religious and administrative changes during the reign of Nyuserre. The title “*hem-netjer*-priest of Khentytjenet” appeared for the first time in the titulary of the high priest Ptahshepses, buried at North Saqqara (C1), and simultaneously within personal names of individuals who held offices under Nyuserre and were buried at Abusir or North Saqqara. Whereas personal names compounded with the element Khentytjenet were characteristic for the mid-Fifth Dynasty, the title *hem-netjer*-priest and epithet *imakhu kher* linked with Khentytjenet occurred in the Sixth Dynasty. His name was also the component of several names of royal domains and estates in the late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasty.

Abusir South – Old Kingdom – Khentytjenet – minor god – religion – Nyuserre – mid-Fifth Dynasty – Sixth Dynasty

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