

THE NOMARCHS OF ASYUT DURING THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD
AND THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

MAHMOUD EL-KHADRAGY

Reinvestigating the ancient necropolis of Asyut by the Egyptian-German joint mission of Sohag University and the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz for seven successive seasons (2003-2009) provided us with rich information concerning the administration of the nome during the later part of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom. Not only that much of the already known tombs were reinvestigated and properly documented, but the necropolis was surveyed for mapping purpose, which led to the discovery of an unknown tomb (N13.1) that added much to our knowledge concerning the administration of Asyut at the time of the reunification of Egypt by Nebhepetre. Nonetheless, more relevant tombs are still in need to further investigation, especially the so-called Northern Soldiers-Tomb (H11.1), the badly preserved tomb (O14.2), which is located near Deir el-Meitin, and the now undecorated tomb (M.12.1), which is situated in the upper level of the mountain (Pl. 1). This might fill some of the still existing gaps of our knowledge concerning the administration of Asyut during the Eleventh Dynasty.

Siut Tombs III (N12.1), IV (N12.2), V (M11.1), N13.1 and Hogarth Tomb III belong to five successive generations of nomarchs of a noble family of ancient race (cf., GRIFFITH 1889b: Pls. 13 [1], 15 [33]; for *qrht* - „the serpent-spirit“, the term used by both Khety I and Khety II to show the nobility of their line, see: GARDINER 1909: 55-56 [7,5]; EDEL1984: 151-53), who governed Asyut during the later part of the First Intermediate Period up to the reunification of Egypt by Nebhepetre. All of those governors had the high ranks of *jrj p^ct* - „hereditary prince“ and *h3tj-^c* - „count“, and all of them headed the local cult of both Wepwawet and Anubis under the titles *jmj-r hmw-ntr n Wp-w3wt nb Z3wtj* - „overseer of priests of Wepwawet, lord of Asyut“ and *jmj-r hmw-ntr Jnpw nb R-qrrt* - „overseer of priests of Anubis, lord of Ra-qereret“, while each of them had local troops of soldiers under his command (cf., EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 226-29).

Chronologically, the earliest of those nomarchs, as generally accepted and confirmed by the newly discovered tomb N13.1 (cf., EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 105-135; KAHL 2006: 25-29;

KAHL/ EL-KHADRAGY/ VERHOEVEN 2007: 84-87) is Khety I, the owner of Siut Tomb V (M11.1).

According to his biography (Fig. 1), Khety I had swimming lessons together with the royal children at the court in Herakleopolis (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 15 [20-22]), and sought to improve the irrigation system in Asyut (GRIFFITH 1889b: pl. 15 [3ff]). Such statements might reveal the outlines of some new strategy adopted by later Herakleopolitan kings that aimed at making Asyut the southernmost defensive buffer-state responsible for warding off the attacks of the ambitious Theban rulers of the early Eleventh Dynasty. To achieve this strategy, those Herakleopolitan kings followed three significant principles in dealing with the Siutian nomarchs: (1) Educating the future nomarchs in the royal court to guarantee their loyalty, (2) Establishing Asyut as the most important military stronghold at the South through having effective military troops and fleet, (3) Improving the province's economy through active plans ensuring sufficient harvest in barren years (EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 231, with n. 104).

Khety I was followed in the governorship of Asyut by Iti-ibi, the owner of Siut Tomb III (N12.1). The relationship between the two nomarchs remains uncertain. In his biography, Iti-ibi reports two successful battles against the Southern Nomes, which had banded together from Elephantine to Thisis (GRIFFITH 1889b: pl. 11 [16-37]). As has already been suggested elsewhere (FRANKE 1987: 52), Iti-ibi served under the father of the Tenth Dynasty king Merikare. Allied with the father of Merikare (for the possible identity of the father cf., SCHARFF 1936: 7-10; VOLTEN 1945: 82-84; VON BECKERATH 1966: 20; GOEDICKE 1969: 142; LOPEZ 1973: 190-91; QUACK 1992: 107), Iti-ibi was involved in the invasion of Thisis (for the only available source referring to this invasion cf., QUACK 1992: 42-43, 179 [73-74]), which corresponds to the "rebellion of Thisis" dated to the 14th year of Nebhepetre (for such rebellion cf., CLÈRE/VANDIER 1948: §23, 19; SCHENKEL 1965: §374, 226-28). In the next phase of this war (cf., FRANKE 1987: 52-53), Nebhepetre recaptured Thisis sometime after his 14th year and before his 39th year (for the suggested date of the reunification of Egypt by Nebhepetre cf., QUACK 1992: 106), and advanced northwards to the border line between the Tenth and Eleventh Nomes of Upper Egypt, wherein the locality known as *Jnt Hꜣj* (for *Jnt Hꜣj* cf., GOMAA 1986: 243-44).

The fact that Iti-ibi substituted his original incised biographical inscription by some ideal autobiography executed in paint (GRIFFITH1889a: 127-29; GRIFFITH1889b: Pl. 12 [41-56]) suggests that Nebhepetre advanced later towards Asyut, and that Iti-ibi, who was still alive at

that time, realized the improbability of warding off the attack of Nebhepetre, thereupon he decided to hide his original text referring to his earlier successful actions against the Thebans (Fig. 2).

Iti-ibi was followed in his office as governor of Asyut by his son Khety II, the owner of the unfinished tomb (Suit IV; N12.2), who served under the Tenth Dynasty king Merikare (cf., GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 13 [3, 22]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 235, Fig. 3 [22]). Unlike all the other First Intermediate Period Siutian nomarchs, Khety II held the nomarchic title *hrj-tp ʿ3 n Nḏft* - „great overlord of the 13th Nome of Upper Egypt“ (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 13 [36]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 234, Fig. 2), and claimed authority over Upper Egypt through his title *hrj-tp ʿ3 šmꜥw* - „great overlord of Upper Egypt“ (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 13 [23]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 235, Fig. 3 [23]).

Alluding to the attack of Nebhepetre on Asyut, the biography of Khety II referred to Siutian refugees who were returned by Khety II (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 13 [17-18]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 233, Fig. 1 [17-18]), a possible destruction of the temple of Wepwawet, which Khety II had later to restore (GRIFFITH 1889: Pl. 13 [19-22]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 235, Fig. 3 [19-22]), a possible suspension of the funerary services in the cemetery (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 13 [28]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 235, Fig. 3 [28]), fighting and shooting arrows within the city (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 13 [33]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 234, Fig.2 [33]), beating people, whether young or grown up (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 13 [33]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 234, Fig.2 [33]), plundering of properties in the street (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 13 [33-34]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 234, Fig.2 [33-34]), and acts of violence against houses (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 13 [34]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 234, Fig.2 [34]). These conditions could only have occurred as a result of the capture of Asyut by the troops of Nebhepetre following the recapture of Thinis after the 14th year of Nebhepetre (FRANKE 1987: 52-53), and hence the death of Iti-ibi in this fight. The same inscription points out that Khety II managed to push back the Theban aggressors and to restore his territory once again with the support of the Herakleopolitan king Merikare (Fig. 3) (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 13 [9-19]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: Fig. 1 [9-19]).

Consistent with such troublous time of civil war is such a motif of military implication characterizing the decoration of Khety II and some other Herakleopolitan Period chapels at Asyut (cf., KAHL 2007: 76, Fig. 53; EL-KHADRAGY 2007b, 123, Fig.3). The scene, which is executed in sunk-relief, depicts three rows of soldiers, the third row of which is unfinished

(Fig. 4) (EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 236-37, Figs. 4-5).

The newly discovered tomb of Iti-ibi-iqer (N13.1) provides us with another member of the same family of nomarchs who ruled Asyut during the later part of the First Intermediate Period (EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 105-135).

That Iti-ibi-iqer was the son and direct successor of Khety II in the governorship of Asyut is suggested by a scene decorating the eastern end of the southern wall of Iti-ibi-iqer's chapel. The scene depicts a face-to-face representation of the tomb owner accompanied by some woman, on the one hand, and a man called Khety, on the other hand (Fig. 5). To the left stands Khety, facing right. The label identifying him reads: ... [*h3tj*]-^c *htmtj-bjtj smr w^c[tj jmj-r hm(w)-ntr n Wp-w3wt nb Z3wtj] jm3h[jjw] ... mrj nb R-qrrt ... [hz]jj n ntr=f njwtj Htjj-jqr m3^c-hrw - „... the [count], the sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole companion, [the overseer of priests of Wepwawet, lord of Asyut], the honoured one, ... beloved of the lord of Ra-qereret, whom his local god [favours], Khety-iqer, true of voice“, while the other figure is labeled: [*jrj*] *p^ct h3tj*-^c *htmtj-bjtj smr w^ctj jmj-r hm(w)-ntr n Wp-w3wt nb [Z3wtj] ... [j mj-r] hm(w)-ntr n Wp-w3wt [nb Z3wtj] ... Jnpw nb [R-qrr]t jm3h[jjw] ... j w3h tpj t3 Jt(=j)-jb(=j)-[jqr] m3^c-hrw - „[The hereditary prince], the count, the sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole companion, the overseer of priests of Wepwawet, lord of [Asyut], ... [the overseer] of priests of Wepwawet, [lord of Asyut], ... Anubis, lord of [Ra-qerere]t, the honoured one ... the one enduring on earth, Iti-ibi-[iqer], true of voice“ (EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 113-114, 128, Fig. 8).**

Being *h3tj*-^c, the most characteristic for nomarchs during the First Intermediate Period and the Eleventh Dynasty (HELCK 1958: 206-9), and a high priest of the local god Wepwawet suggest that this Khety was a nomarch, and that he is to be identified with one of the two well-known First Intermediate Period nomarchs of Asyut, Khety I (Siut V; M11.1) or Khety II (Siut IV; N12.2). Judging by the prominence given to the military scenes in the chapel of Iti-ibi-iqer (EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 123-124, Figs. 3-4), his military title *jmj-r m3^c n Ndft hntt mj-qd=s* - „the overseer of the troops of the entire 13th Nome of Upper Egypt“ (EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 123, Fig. 3), which is not recorded for any other nomarch at Asyut during the First Intermediate Period, and his probable premature death suggested by preparing the tomb for him by his son Mesehti-iqer (EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 107, 122, Fig. 2), Iti-ibi-iqer seems to have lived during the troublous period of the civil war. Of the two men called Khety (Siut V and Siut IV), while Khety I enjoyed a peaceful governorship (cf., GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl.

15 [1ff]; SCHENKEL 1965: 71-74 [§57]; for Khety I's efforts in developing the irrigation methods at Asyut, see: SCHENKEL 1978: 29ff), Khety II refers in his biography to a military campaign against the Theban forces (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 13 [9-19]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 233, Fig. 1 [9-19]), in which he allied with the Herakleopolitan king Merikare (cf., above).

Confirming this father-son relationship is one of the two table scenes flanking the central false door decorating the back wall of the chapel's niche of the tomb of Iti-ibi-iqer (Fig. 6) (EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 114-115, 129, Fig. 9). Each scene is devoted to a woman, the left hand scene identifies the woman as *jm3hjjt mrjtt Hwt-hr Jt(=j)-jb(=j) m3t-hrw* - „the honoured one, beloved of Hathor, Iti-ibi, true of voice“. Keeping in mind that a similarly named female relative accompanies Khety II in the decoration of his north wall of his chapel (cf., GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 13 [38-40]; EL-KHADRAGY 2008: 233, Fig. 2), and realizing that the wife of Iti-ibi-iqer is called once on the north wall of his chapel as *Snbtj-jqrt mst K3w=f* - „Senebti-iqeret, born of Kauef“ (EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 122, Fig. 2), and that in each of the two well-preserved labels identifying the wife of Iti-ibi-iqer on the same wall she is introduced by the designation *hmt=f* - „his wife“ (EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 122-23, Figs. 2-3), the represented lady here in the table scene is most probably Iti-ibi, the wife of Khety II, and the possible mother of Iti-ibi-iqer.

On the western end of the chapel's north wall is an inscription, wherein Mesehti-iqer, the son of Iti-ibi-iqer states that he prepared the tomb for his father. The inscription reads:

jrt.n=f m mnw=f m jz n jt=f h3tj-^c jmj-r hm(w)-ntr Jt(=j)-jb(=j) jn z3=f smsw mrjj=f jw^cw=f nb n jst=f nbt h3tj-^c jmj-r hm(w)-ntr n Wp-w3wt nb Z3wtj Jnpw nb R-qrrt sdm sdmt w^c m [jzt] [jmi]-r hm(w)-ntr m3^c n Wp-w3wt Mzhtj-jqr

„That what he did as his monument, namely a tomb for his father, the count, the overseer of priests, Iti-ibi. It is his eldest son, his beloved, his heir, the possessor of all his possessions, the count, the overseer of priests of Wepwawet, lord of Asyut, and Anubis, lord of Raqereret, the judge of that which one alone judges in the [palace], the true [overseer] of priests of Wepwawet, Mesehti-iqer“ (EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 107-108, 122, Fig. 2; for the interpretation, significance, grammatical analysis and variants of this dedicatory formula, see: TAUFIK 1971: 227-34; VITTMANN 1977: 21-32; EL-SAID 1985: 271-92; LEAHY 1987: 57-64; JANSEN-WINKELN 1990: 127-56; CASTLE 1993: 99-120; CASTLE 1994: 187-191. 187-191).

The southern part of the east wall of Iti-ibi-iqer's chapel is decorated with a scene showing four registers of marching soldiers headed by a large figure of the troop-commander (Fig. 7) (EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 124, Fig. 4). Of their weapons, some of the soldiers are armed with

spears and large, pointed-top shields covered by cow-hides (register 4, nos. 2, 4) (for the Egyptian shields, see: Nibbi 2003: 170-81), while others are armed with bows and sheaves of arrows (register 4, nos. 3, 5).

Striking is the close resemblance of those marching soldiers and the two sets of wooden models belonging to the well-known Siutian nomarch Mesehti (CG 257; CG 258). On the one hand, the scene of marching-soldiers of Iti-ibi-iqer shows a four-row arrangement of the represented troop of soldiers, the same arrangement was followed in the two sets of wooden models of Mesehti. On the other hand, the military scenes of Iti-ibi-iqer show a combination of Nubian archers and Egyptian spearmen holding shields, both of whom are attested again for the two sets of wooden models of Mesehti. Keeping in mind the statement of Mesehti-iqer that he prepared the tomb for his father (EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 107, 122, Fig. 2), and the uniformity of military troops in tomb N13.1 and the models of Mesehti, in addition to the similarity of the names and most of the titles of both individuals, the identification of Mesehti-iqer of N13.1 with Mesehti of Hogarth's Tomb III is adopted here (Meshti-iqer of N.13.1 bore the titles *ḥ3tj-ꜥ*, *jmj-r ḥmw-nṯr n Wp-w3wt nb Z3wtj*, *jmj-r ḥmw-nṯr Jnpw nb R-qrrt*; cf., EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 107-108, 122, Fig. 2, while Meshti of Hogarth's Tomb III held the titles *jrj-pꜥt*, *ḥ3tj-ꜥ*, *jmj-r ḥmw-nṯr n Wp-w3wt nb Z3wtj*, *jmj-r ḥmw-nṯr Jnpw nb R-qrrt*; cf., LACAU 1906: 101-33 [CG 28118, 28119]. If such identification of both Meshti is accepted, the lack of Meshti's honorific title *jrj-pꜥt* from the father's tomb could be explained as a later promotion). However, it has already been suggested that Mesehti decorated the tomb of his father sometime after the 14th year of Nebhepetre and before his 39th year; i.e. before the reunification of Egypt by Nebhepetre (cf., EL-KHADRAGY 2007b: 116-118).

Of the possible Eleventh Dynasty nomarchs is the unknown owner of the so-called Northern Soldiers-Tomb (H11.1), whose tomb is dated to the Eleventh Dynasty, probably the reign of Nebhepetre: Mentuhotep II, after the reunification of Egypt (EL-KHADRAGY 2006a: 154-55).

The decoration of the chapel's southern wall shows a fragmentary scene depicting four rows of marching soldiers armed with half-moon bladed battle-axes, and holding large, full-length shields with pointed tops made of wood covered by cow-hide, cheetah skin and antelope skin (Fig. 8) (EL-KHADRAGY 2006a: 162, Fig. 6).

The same wall has a back-to-back representation of some jackal-headed god and goddess Hathor surmounted by a winged sun disc (Fig. 9). This jackal-headed god might be identified

as Wepwawet, the local god of Asyut, or less likely as Anubis, who was associated with its necropolis (For Asyut cemetery and the temple of Anubis, cf., GOMAA 1986: 269-73). Facing Hathor is a woman standing probably in a kiosk, and is identified as *ḥm(t)-ntr Hwt-[hr]* - „priestess of Hathor“ (EL-KHADRAGY 2006a: 163, Fig. 7). The representation of marching soldiers suggests that the owner of this tomb might have been in charge of some local army, while the representation of a local jackal-headed god here might indicate that this unknown man was a high priest of that god. Considering that his probable wife represented in a relatively large scale in this tomb was a priestess of Hathor, which was a privilege of the royal court and the elite at that time (GILLAM 1995: 233), our tomb owner was probably a nomarch and overseer of the priests of either Wepwawet or Anubis.

The next known Siutian nomarch is ^cAnu, who is known from some wall fragments kept now in Turin museum (cf., ROCCATI 1972: 42-47). He was *ḥ3tj-^c* - „count“, and *jmj-r ḥmw-ntr Wp-w3wt nb Z3wtj* - „overseer of priests of Wepwawet, lord of Asyut“. His tomb is dated to the early Twelfth Dynasty (cf., ROCCATI 1972: 48).

Belonging also to the Early Twelfth Dynasty group of Nomarchs is Djefaihapi II, the owner of Siut Tomb II (O13.1). The tomb's date is suggested by its situation on the geological layer six of Gebel Asyut al-Gharbi, in which the First Intermediate Period tombs Siut III-V and the Eleventh Dynasty Northern Soldiers-Tomb were cut, rather than layer 2 used for the large Twelfth Dynasty tombs belonging to Djefaihapi I and Djefaihapi III (Salakhna Tomb). Confirming this date is the tomb's remaining interior part, the roof of which is supported by two pairs of pillars, belonging thereby to the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom ground-plan, rather than the much complicated ground-plan adopted for the large Twelfth Dynasty tombs in layer 2, which consist of passages and transverse halls leading to one or more shrines (cf., GRIFFITH 1889b: Pls. 10, 20; MONTET 1930-35: 86-89; MAGEE 1988: II, 12-13; EL-KHADRAGY 2006a: 156-57; KAHL 2007: 85-86).

Djefaihapi II held the nomarchic title *ḥrj-tp 3 n 3tf ḥntt mj qd=s* - „great overlord of the entire 13th Nome of Upper Egypt“, in addition to the traditional responsibility in the local cult of Wepwawet as *jmj-r ḥmw-ntr Wp-w3wt nb Z3wtj* - „overseer of priests of Wepwawet, lord of Asyut“, and the usual honorific titles of the earlier Siutian nomarchs *jrj p^t* - „hereditary prince“ and *ḥ3tj-^c* - „count“.

During the reign of Senwosret I Asyut was governed by Djefaihapi I, the owner of Siut Tomb I (P 10.1). The relationship between Djefaihapi I and his predecessor Djefaihapi II remains uncertain. The tomb of Djefaihapi I is one of the largest rock-cut private tombs in Egypt, the remaining part of which is more than 55m. long, with a maximum height more than 11m. In designing the tomb, Djefaihapi I adopted the main architectural features of a standardized Old Kingdom royal funerary complex, thus it has an east-west orientation with a gateway or a statue chapel on the level of the plain approached through a garden, a causeway and a higher leveled rock-cut chapel with the statue shrine on its east-west main axis (EL-KHADRAGY 2007a: 41-62; ENGEL/KAHL 2009: 55-59, Figs. 16-24).

The finely decorated tomb of Djefaihapi I (Figs. 10-11) (cf., EL-KHADRAGY 2007c: 125-144) is famous for its ten contracts (Fig. 12), which Djefaihapi I made with the priests of both Wepwawet and Anubis temples, on the one hand, and the workmen of the necropolis, on the other hand, to guarantee his funerary cult (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pls. 6-8 [273-324]). According to the tomb inscriptions, Djefaihapi I received funerary equipments from the royal house (GRIFFITH 1889b: Pl. 3 [132]; EL-KHADRAGY 2007a: 47, 58, Fig. 3).

Djefaihapi I held the titles *jrj p^ct* - „hereditary prince“, *ḥ3tj-^c* - „count“, *ḥrj-tp ^c3 n 3tf ḥntt mj qd=s* - „great overlord of the entire 13th Nome of Upper Egypt“, *jmj-r ḥmw-ntr Wp-w3wt nb Z3wtj* - „overseer of priests of Wepwawet, lord of Asyut“, *jmj-r ḥmw-ntr Jnpw nb R-qrrt* - „overseer of priests of Anubis, lord of Ra-qereret“, and *jmj-r ḥmw-ntr n Wsjr nb jmntt* - „overseer of priests of Osiris, lord of the west“.

The now inaccessible Tomb VII (Salakhana Tomb) belongs to Djefaihapi III, a possible descendent of Djefaihapi I (MONTET 1936: 134-135). The tomb is dated to the reign of Amenemhat II (MOSS 1933: 33). Djefaihapi III was *ḥ3tj-^c* - „count“, and *jmj-r ḥmw-ntr* - „overseer of priests“. Although the nomarchic title *ḥrj-tp ^c3 n 3tf ḥntt* - „great overlord of the 13th Nome of Upper Egypt“ is not preserved, the large area of the tomb-chapel and the owner's responsibility as overseer of the priests of some unmentioned god are clear evidence that the tomb owner was a nomarch.

Situated on the open court of the tomb of Djefaihapi III is Tomb VI belonging to Djefaihapi IV, which is also inaccessible at present (MONTET 1936: 131-133). It dates to the reign of Amenemhat II or later (MAGEE 1988: II, 25). Being *jrj p^ct* - „hereditary prince“,

ḥ3tj-ꜥ - „count *jmj-r ḥmw-ntr* - „overseer of priests“ and *jmj-r msꜥ* - „overseer of the troops“, Djefaihapi III was most probably a nomarch too.

As far as evidence shows, no resident governor is known for Asyut before Khety I (Siut V; M11.1) (cf., GOMAA 1980: 97-101; KANAWATI 1992: 170-173), who ruled Asyut two generations before the Tenth Dynasty Herakleopolitan king Merikare. From that time onwards, we have much information concerning the administration of Asyut, which introduces us introducing us to three distinctive groups/families of nomarchs, who headed both the secular and religious administration of the province up to the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Of the earliest family, five successive generations of Siutian governors are known, including Khety I (Siut V; M11.1), Iti-ibi (Siut III; N12.1), Khety II (Suit IV; N12.2), Iti-ibi-iker (N13.1) and Mesehti (Hogarth Tomb III). Most probably, Mesehti, witnessed the final phase of the civil war between Herakleopolis and their Theban rivals led to the reunification of Egypt sometime after the 14th year of Nebhepetre and before his 39th year, and in any event, Khety I's family did not survive the Theban victory.

Slim evidence is known for the next line of Siutian rulers, who ruled Asyut after the fall of Khety I's family from power by the reunification of Egypt by Nebhepetre. Of those governors, probably the earliest, is the unknown owner of the so-called Northern Soldiers-Tomb (H11.1), while the latest known governor of this group is ^ꜥAnu, who was still in power during the early Twelfth Dynasty. However, large tombs with roofs supported by pillars and showing the projecting shoulders characteristic of the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom tombs at Asyut (cf., MAGEE 1988: I, 9-13) might be attributed to nomarchs of this group. One of these tombs (O14.2), the owner of which is unknown, is situated near Deir el-Meitin, and is decorated with wrestlers and some pastoral scenes. Another tomb (M.12.1), now undecorated, is situated in the upper level of the mountain (cf., EL-KHADRAGY 2006b: 91).

Noteworthy, however, is that none of the abovementioned governors held the nomarchic title *ḥrj-tp ꜥ3 n Ndft* - „great overlord of the 13th Nome of Upper Egypt“, except for Khety II,

and hence *ḥ3tj-ꜥ* - „count“ is actually the most characteristic for the Siutian nomarchs during the First Intermediate Period and the Eleventh Dynasty too (cf., HELCK 1958: 206-9).

During the first part of the Twelfth Dynasty Asyut was governed by a new line of nomarchs headed by Djefaihapi II (Siut II; O13.1). Most of them held the nomarchic title *ḥrj-tp ꜥ3 n 3tf ḥntt* - „great overlord of the 13th Nome of Upper Egypt“. Other members of this family are: Djefaihapi I (Siut I; P 10.1: reign of Senwosret I), Djefaihapi III (Salakhana Tomb: reign of Amenemhat II) and Djefaihapi IV (Tomb VI: reign of Amenemhat II or later).

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