

Giza Mastabas

Volume 6

Edited by

Peter Der Manuelian and William Kelly Simpson

A Cemetery of Palace Attendants

Including g 2084-2099, g 2230+2231, and g 2240

Ann Macy Roth

Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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Palace Attendants**



Photograph taken in 1939 for a news story on Reisner's work. The headrest on the table is from mastaba g 2094 and the alabaster cylinder jar is from g 2089. George Andrew Reisner is second from the left, accompanied by Francis O. Allen, Hansmartin Handrick, Nicholas Melnikoff, and Reis Mohammed Said Ahmed at the far right (b 9021)

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*Based upon the Recording of
The Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition:
George Andrew Reisner, Mohammed Said Ahmed,
Norman de Garis Davies, William Stevenson Smith,
and others (1905–1906 and 1936–1939)*

*With Contributions by the Expedition Staffs of the Giza Mastabas Project:
(August 1987, July–August 1989, and May–June 1990)*

Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

1995

Front jacket illustration: g 2091, tomb of Kapi, pillar, east face, showing the tomb owner's name and titles (April 3, 1931). Photograph by Museum Expedition (see pl. 45; a 6431)

Back jacket illustration: View of the Western Cemetery at Giza, looking northwest from the top of the Great Pyramid (November 16, 1993). Photograph by Peter Der Manuelian (93.131.13)

Frontispiece: Photograph taken in 1939, showing George Andrew Reisner accompanied by Francis O. Allen, Hansmartin Handrick, Nicholas Melnikoff, and Reis Mohammed Said Ahmed (January 4, 1939). Photograph by Museum Expedition (b 9021)

Endpapers: Overview plan of the Giza Necropolis, showing the location of the cemetery of palace attendants (drawing by Peter Der Manuelian)

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For Everett

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- 31b 2088: lintel or cornice from bearing the name and titles of the tomb owner's son, Pehen-Ptah, who made extensive additions to the chapel (b 9029)
- 31c 2088: small secondary false door of the woman Ankhiaemes, a mortuary priest of Ka-khent, built to the right of the entrance to the inner chapel (c 14257)
- 32a 2088: fragments of models. From upper left: 38-4-10, 38-4-14, 38-4-12, 38-4-6, 38-4-8, 38-4-13; lower row from left: 38-4-9, 38-4-18, 38-4-15 (upper), 38-4-16 (lower), 38-4-7, 38-4-11 (b 8996)
- 32b 2088, 2091, and 2230: serdab models and statues. From left, 39-3-8, 39-3-5, 39-3-6 (above), 39-3-9 (below) and 39-3-3 (below) (b 9063)
- 32c 2088: double model of two women pounding (right) and sieving grain, 38-4-2 (b 8988)
- 32d 2088: serdab model of a man carrying two (or more) jars, 38-4-5 (b 8994)
- 33a 2088: two views of a serdab model of a man sieving grain, 39-3-4 (b 9083, 9085)
- 33b 2088: upper part of model of woman, probably grinding grain, 38-4-4 (c 14231)
- 33c 2088 a: shaft and blocking of leaning slabs bound with plaster, Reisner's type v e(1) (c 14160)
- 34a 2088 e: shaft and burial chamber (rg 14-30, 1989)
- 34b 2088 d: tightly contracted skeletally adult burial (c 14161)
- 34c 2088 f: burial, possibly of an older adult, with moderate to severe osteoarthritis (c 14162)
- 35a 2088 x: leg-contracted skeletally adult burial. The head may be resting on a stone pillow (c 14163)
- 35b 2088b a: the burial was described as a child by the excavator; perhaps because of its small size. The skeleton appears to be fully adult (intrusive tomb; c 14165)
- 35c 2088: view from the southwest, illustrating its stepped casing and the rubble construction along its southern face (rg 14-31, 1989)
- 36a 2089: entrance and L-shaped chapel with two false doors. Behind, shafts a and b flank a small serdab chapel (rg 10-27, 1989)
- 36b 2089: view through the largely buried entrance doorway. Beneath the drum lintel, the lintel, jambs and part of the tablet of the northern false door are visible (amr, 1990)
- 37a 2089 a: burial chamber, containing a wooden coffin with a *kerst* lid (a 7985)
- 37b 2088 a: burial after the removal of the lid and side board of the coffin. The body is half contracted and thickly wrapped in linen (a 8011)
- 38a 2088 A: detail of coffin and the cylinder jar inside it (b 8959)
- 38b 2089 b: chamber, type 7 b(1), built in the shaft of rubble roofed with slabs. The block at upper left is part of the later wall of 2091 which bridges the top of this shaft (see pl. 40d; b 8952)
- 38c 2089 b: skeletally adult burial (described as "young" by the excavators) with contracted legs. The overlying chamber has been removed except at the north end (b 8955)
- 38d 2089 c: contracted skeleton, possibly female (c 14150)
- 39a 2089 e: tightly contracted, skeletally adult burial, possibly male, based on the definition of the supraorbital torus (c 14151)
- 39b 2089a: eroded remains of a mastaba built in the angle between 2091 and 2089 (rg 10-21, 1989)
- 39c 2089a a: blocking of Reisner's type v e(2), "a horizontal slab on which rests a leaning slab, completed with rubble bound with mud" (c 14288)
- 39d 2089a a: a tightly-contracted skeleton with its head on a stone pillow (c 14297)
- 40a 2089a b: contracted skeleton, probably of an adult under the age of 40 (b 9102)
- 40b 2091: northern entrance, with the stepped corner of 2089 left of the doorway showing the level to which it was reduced when the east wall supporting the 2091 corridor was built over it (rg 23-6, 1989)
- 40c 2091: northern entrance and, left of it, the north end of the corridor support wall built over 2089 (rg 23-8, 1989)
- 40d 2091: east face wall supporting the corridor roofing, which was constructed over the reduced mastaba 2089, and had to bridge shaft 2089 b (rg 10-13, 1989)
- 41a 2091: longer of the two displaced architraves, which probably was the original support for the chapel roof (a 8209)
- 41b 2091: shorter of the two displaced architraves, which may have served as a cornice over the southern entrance (a 8210)

- 41c 2091: eastern facade of the eastern extension, probably a blocked southern doorway (rg 10-17, 1989)
- 41d 2091: east wall of the corridor, south end, showing the state of the figures of Kapi, Khamerernebty, and their three daughters soon after the mastaba's excavation by the Ballard expedition (1905-06) (Hearst Negative b 13012)
- 42a 2091: east wall of the corridor, south end, showing the state of figures of Kapi and his family on March 28, 1931 (a 6457)
- 42b 2091: east wall of the corridor, south end, showing the present state of Kapi and his family at the south end of the eastern corridor wall (rg 15-7, 1989)
- 43a 2091: west wall of corridor, showing the present state of the plaster-cut decoration, in which men are depicted driving cattle (rg 15-4, 1989)
- 43b 2091: east and north faces of the pillar, viewed from the south end of the entrance corridor. They depict Kapi (left) and his wife Khamerernebty (right) (rg 20-20)
- 44 2091: east face of the pillar. Kapi is shown leaning on his staff. Note his leather sandals (a 6105)
- 45 2091: east face of the pillar, detail of the upper part giving Kapi's titles (a 6431)
- 46 2091: north face of the pillar, Khamerernebty and two of her daughters are represented (a 6009)
- 47 2091: north face of the pillar, detail of Khamerernebty's titles (a 6432)
- 48a 2091: lower part of the south face of the pillar. Two attendants, an overseer of singers and the tomb owner's brother, are shown (a 6010)
- 48b 2091: upper part of the south face of the pillar, showing two attendants (a 6011)
- 49a 2091: lower part of the south pilaster. Six attendants are shown; four of them bring sandals, a staff, and various equipment into the chapel (a 6434)
- 49b 2091: upper part of the south pilaster, with three registers of piled equipment and vessels (a 6433)
- 50 2091: left end of the south wall of the chapel. Kapi is shown accepting a lotus, while seated in an armchair in front of a tapestry hanging (a 6424)
- 51 2091: upper left part of the south wall of the chapel, with the remains of Kapi's titulary (a 6443)
- 52a 2091: upper right portion of the south wall of the chapel, where five badly damaged registers of food offerings are represented (a 6441)
- 52b 2091: lower right part of the south wall of the chapel, showing dancers, musicians, and men bringing offerings (a 6425)
- 53a 2091: tablet of the southern false door. The tablet is in raised relief, but the text on the lower lintel is in sunk relief (rg 19-29, 1989)
- 53b 2091: lower half of the southern false door. Note the stand and offering bowl decorating the inner niche (rg 19-34, 1989)
- 53c 2091: palace facade decoration between the two false doors on the west wall of the chapel (rg 19-20, 1989)
- 54a 2091: tablet of the northern false door (rg 19-28, 1989)
- 54b 2091: lower part of the northern false door (rg 19-25)
- 55a 2091: north end of upper lintel surmounting the false doors, and the wall above it. Above the lintel and slightly set back from it, an offering list was planned, of which only the rightmost part was carved (a 6447)
- 55b 2091: center part of the upper lintel surmounting the false doors rg 19-15, 1989)
- 55c 2091: south end of the upper lintel surmounting the false doors. On the wall above the lintel Kapi is shown seating at an offering table before cult personnel (see pl. 53c; a 6444)
- 56 2091: upper left portion of the north wall, showing the damaged text above the tomb owner and two registers of men leading in animals at right (a 6438)
- 57 2091: lower left portion of the north wall. Kapi is depicted leaning on a staff (a 6439)
- 58a 2091: upper right portion of the north wall. Two registers and one sub-register of animals are depicted with their herdsman (a 6435)
- 58b 2091: lower right portion of the north wall, with a register of men bringing cattle and below it a register of cranes (a 6437)
- 59a 2091: lower part of the north pilaster. In two registers, three men bring a bull and an ibex into the tomb (a 6440)
- 59b 2091: upper part of the north pilaster. Above, a gazelle nurses her calf, while below a man leads in a hyena (a 6013)
- 60a 2091: upper part of the north pilaster. Detail of gazelle nursing her calf (a 6014)
- 60b 2091 a: top of shaft. Footholds have been cut down the center of the north face. (The other three faces have similar footholds. rg 23-13, 1989)
- 61 2091 a: the *krst* coffin of Kapi in situ (a 7681)
- 62a The passage between 2092 (left) and 2091 from the south. A low, enigmatic rubble-built structure lies against the north face of 2091 (rg 23-12, 1989)
- 62b South face of the doorway built between 2092 (left) and 2091, showing the fitting of the abutting masonry (rg 6-29, 1989)
- 63a The pillars in the courtyard north of 2092+2093, showing the alignment of the pillars with notches in the facades of 2091 (center, foreground) and 2096 (the wall in the background) (amr, 1990)
- 63b Detail showing the construction of 2092a in the courtyard of 2092+2093. The false door was originally set into the gap between the far pillar and the adjacent wall (rg 6-27, 1989)
- 64 2092a: false door, carved in sunk relief. The name of the original owner, Nimaatre/Tut, survives on the drum lintel and the three left jambs. The three right jambs have been shaved back to admit the name and titles of a second individual, Khaef-Khnum/Beby (a 7688)
- 65a 2092a a: Front view of the plaster mask covering the face of the burial (psd c 8282)
- 65b 2092a a: Side view of the plaster mask covering the face of the burial. The rest of the body was also covered with plaster (c 13909)
- 66a 2092+2093: overall view of the chapel, with the fallen pillar in the center of the recess (rg 7-10, 1989)
- 66b 2092+2093: view of north doorway, showing the abutment of 2096 (at right) against the earlier stepped facade of 2093 (amr, 1990)
- 67a 2092+2093: drum lintel and east doorjamb. Za-ib with his name and titles (a 7685)
- 67b 2092+2093: west doorjamb. Za-ib's figure is complete, but his name and titles are only partially carved (a 7684)

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- 68a 2092+2093: west wall, north of recess. The only remaining decoration from this wall shows two men under an arbor picking grapes into baskets, presumably part of a larger wine-making scene (b 8729)
- 68b 2092+2093: loose block from the upper left border of a scene, probably to be restored here. Za-ib was depicted at right, while a steward shows him a scroll and an endowment official stands ready with another (b 9325)
- 68c 2092+2093: very battered loose block from the top of 2096, certainly to be restored here. Za-ib and his wife Tjentet are shown with family members (rg 21-20, 1989)
- 68d 2092+2093: two loose blocks probably from here. The left block shows the staff and kilt of the tomb owner with his daughter Nefer-wenes, while the right fragment shows musicians and offering bearers (c 14365)
- 69a 2092+2093: dislocated pillar, perhaps south face (b 8736)
- 69b 2092+2093: dislocated pillar, perhaps east face (b 8730)
- 69c 2092+2093: dislocated pillar, perhaps north face (b 8431)
- 69d 2092+2093: dislocated pillar, perhaps west face (b 8437)
- 70a 2092+2093: architrave fragment, found south of mastaba (a 8211)
- 70b 2092+2093: west wall, south of recess, upper left. Only the left edge of a seated figure of Za-ib remains (b 8733)
- 70c 2092+2093: west wall, south of recess, lower left, showing the base of Za-ib's chair and, in the badly damaged lower register, a butcher (b 8734)
- 71a 2092+2093: west wall south of recess, lower right. Butchers and, above, the bottom of an offering table scene, with an offering-bearer at right (a 7683)
- 71b 2092+2093: tablet of false door. Za-ib is shown standing before three columns of text (b 8732)
- 72a 2092+2093: lower part of false door, with Za-ib shown seated with a tall staff on both jambs (a 7682)
- 72b 2092+2093: south wall at end of corridor (only the left part survives). Men carry offerings toward the false door (b 8735)
- 73a 2092+2093: south end of east wall. The remains of a scene of Za-ib fowling in a papyrus marsh (rg 16-25, 1989)
- 73b 2092+2093: south end of east wall. The left end of the fowling scene is at left; at right are scenes of cattle-raising (a 7686)
- 74a 2092+2093: east wall, opposite beginning of recess. Men carrying marsh products and other offerings to the north (c 13899)
- 74b 2092+2093: north end of east wall. Reaping and threshing of wheat (lowest register), rope making (middle register), and the driving of animals (top) (a 7687)
- 75a 2092+2093: north end of east wall. Detail of three men, showing the weathering and vandalism since excavation (rg 15-34, 1989)
- 75b 2094: undecorated chapel. The partially-filled vertical slot right of the false door may have given access to the serdab (rg 8-8, 1989)
- 76a 2094: stepped facade north of the chapel. A small secondary false door, cut in the lower two steps, is visible just left of the fallen blocks in the corridor (rg 8-9, 1989)
- 76b 2094: remains of northern entrance doorway in corridor. At left, 2096 and, behind the doorjamb, 2093. The low platform in the right foreground is 2095 (rg 7-5, 1989)
- 77a 2094 a: limestone headrest (36-9-1) from the burial chamber (c 13940, top half)
- 77b 2094 b: burial of extended skeleton. The body was completely wrapped in linen, with the arms and legs wrapped separately (c 13931)
- 77c 2094 e: burial of small, tightly contracted skeleton (c 13932)
- 78a 2095: recessed chapel (rg 25-15, 1989)
- 78b 2095: west wall of chapel and central false door (rg 8-2, 1989)
- 78c 2095 a: contracted burial of an older adult with no wrappings (b 9017)
- 79a 2095 b: blocking of type vi d(3), external wall with neither mud nor plaster binding (b 9013)
- 79b 2095 b: chamber with leg-contracted, skeletally adult burial. At its north end (beyond the head), the chamber broke through to shaft c, and was repaired with rubble and mud (b 9014)
- 79c 2095 c: blocking of type v c(2), leaning wall of four courses of rough masonry (b 9012)
- 80a 2095 c: tightly contracted, skeletally adult burial. The skull rests on a stone pillow (b 2096)
- 80b 2095 e(1): tightly contracted skeleton. Although described as a child by the excavators, this person was at least 15 years old, based on the fused distal end of the femur (b 9019)
- 80c 2095 e(2): tightly contracted skeleton, described by the excavators as a child. However the skeleton is more probably a young adult (b 9035)
- 81a 2095 f: entrance and north part of burial chamber, showing skull of leg-contracted skeleton, which may be male, based on the well-developed supraorbital torus (c 14253)
- 81b 2095 g: intact blocking of type v d(2), leaning rubble wall bound with mud (c 14248)
- 81c 2095 h: shaft, roofing slab, and entrance to burial chamber (b 9010)
- 82a 2095 i: blocking of chamber, type v e(2), one leaning slab bound with mud (c 14247)
- 82b 2095 i: fragment of copper band from the head of the skeleton and, below, a section of the beadwork that filled it (b 9028)
- 82c 2095 i: burial. In its original position around the skull is a copper band decorated with blue, black, and white beads (b 9015)
- 83a 2095 j: leg-contracted burial. The uninscribed false door was presumably re-used as a roofing block, from which position it fell into the burial chamber (b 9018)
- 83b 2095 k: leg-contracted, skeletally adult burial with the head resting on a rough stone pillow (c 14254)
- 83c 2096: top. Shafts b (right) and a are in the foreground (amr, 1990)
- 84a 2097: doorway set between serdabs 2 and 3, leading from 2092+2093 courtyard into courtyard south of 2097 (amr, 1990)
- 84b 2097: view from the top of 2092. The courtyard behind the serdabs and the monumental doorway leads into the decorated chapel to the left (rg 24-28, 1989)
- 85a 2097: The abutment of the west wall of the 2097 courtyard against the north face of serdab 3, viewed from the back (amr, 1990)
- 85b 2097: Serdab 2 (left) and shaft 2097' f, showing the original angle of the west facade of 2097' (amr, 1990)

- 86a 2097: corner of the courtyard to the east. The angled line at the base of the later east wall of the courtyard shows the line of the original west facade of 2097', rebuilt to make the courtyard rectangular (rg 6-23, 1989)
- 86b 2097: door from chapel to courtyard. Beneath the scale stick is a raised round area which was perhaps intended to hold a door pivot, although the hole was never cut (rg 6-15, 1989)
- 87 2097: north wall, west end. Lower part of fish-spearing scene (a 8128)
- 88a 2097: loose block from upper part on north wall, west end. Titles of Nimaatre (a 8159)
- 88b 2097: north wall, center. Tomb owner and *Wasserbergare* at left; at right are fishermen casting nets in a papyrus marsh (a 8129)
- 89 2097: north wall, east end. Scenes of fishing and cattle raising (a 8130)
- 90 2097: recess, showing palace facade paneling on west wall (a 8160)
- 91 2097: west wall of recess. Detail of the intrusive figure of Mernetjer-Izezi on central door of palace facade (a 8134)
- 92 2097: south wall of recess. Nimaatre playing senet (a 8136)
- 93a 2097: loose block, to be restored above west wall of recess. Bed-making scene (rg 21-22)
- 93b 2097: south wall. Nimaatre at offering table, with offering list above (rg 18-39, 1989)
- 94a 2097: south wall, upper part. Offering scene, with Nimaatre at right. Above the piled offerings and titles are traces of an offering list (a 8117)
- 94b 2097: south wall, lower part. Offering bearers (lowest register), dancers and musicians, and the lower part of the offering table scene (a 8119)
- 95a 2097: east wall, upper left section. Above repeated register of desert life are a register of domestic fowl, a register of reaping scenes, and a register showing fighting boatmen (a 8126)
- 95b 2097: east wall, lower left section. Animals copulating (lowest register), hunting and being hunted in the desert (a 8127)
- 96a 2097: east wall, upper middle section. Above the repeated register of desert life are scenes of men leading animals to offer, scenes of threshing, and scenes of plowing (a 8124)
- 96b 2097: east wall, lower middle section. Three registers of desert wildlife (a 8125)
- 97a 2097: east wall, upper right section. Mernetjer-Izezi observing scenes to left. The scenes immediately before him seem to depict scribes (a 8120)
- 97b 2097: east wall, lower right section. Two registers of wildlife in the desert and, above, a register of men bringing animals to offer (a 8121)
- 98a 2097': undecorated false door at south end of east face (rg 7-4, 1989)
- 98b 2097': small false door tablet of Tjjet, under serdab slots at the north end of the east face (b 9032)
- 99a 2097 f: leg-contracted burial, described as a child. The holes and pitting in top of skull are likely the result of post mortem damage (c 14259)
- 99b 2097b: view of "mastaba" from the west (amr, 1990)
- 99c 2097b: interior space. The parallel walls in the foreground are the base of the T-shaped interior space, reconstructed as the entrance to a courtyard before the construction of the wall in the center of the photo (rg 7-13, 1989)
- 100a 2097b: view of "mastaba" from the southeast (amr, 1990)
- 100b 2097c: remains of mastaba from the south and above (rg 24-9, 1989)
- 100c 1903x/2091x?: view from north of excavation in the area north of 2097 and its subsidiary tombs, perhaps to be identified with serdabs from which two statues were registered in 1926, later called "1903x" or "2091x," and said to be 50 feet north of 2097a (b 9050)
- 101a 1903x/2091x: view from south of excavation (b 9049)
- 101b 1093x/2091x: Conventional uninscribed male statue from "serdab" (mfa 39.929=26-1-133) (c 13962-65)
- 101c 1093x/2091x: Uninscribed female statue from "serdab." The figure of the woman holding a child (26-1-132) is unusual for this period (c 13964, 13965)
- 102a 2098: west (left) and north walls, illustrating the "bench" between the false doors and the offering table below the northern door (a 8104)
- 102b 2098: north wall. Fragmentary remains of a scene of Nefer-Khuwi in a carrying-chair (a 8106)
- 103a 2098: plaster fragments of text from north wall (b 9059)
- 103b 2098: plaster fragments of text and scene from north wall (b 9060)
- 103c 2098: plaster fragments of text and scene from north wall (b 9061)
- 103d 2098: small plaster fragments from north wall (b 9062)
- 104a 2098: plaster fragments from north wall in situ. The north wall is visible at the top of the photograph, placing the fragments at the level of the middle of the lowest register (a 8067)
- 104b 2098: pillar and west wall from east. The northern false door and its offering table are at right; the southern false door (behind the pillar) was removed in antiquity (a 8103)
- 105a 2098: lower part of northern false door (a 8086)
- 105b 2098: west wall, central part of right end. Nefer-khuwi and his wife (a 8087)
- 106a 2098: west wall, upper part of right end. Columns and roof of canopy (b 9051)
- 106b 2098: west wall, lower part of right end. Butchers (b 9052)
- 106c 2098: west wall, middle part of left end. Offerings (top) and men bringing offerings (a 8089)
- 107a 2098: west wall, upper part of left end. Piled offerings and top of canopy (a 8088)
- 107b 2098: south wall. Men bringing animals (upper two registers) and personified estates (a 8105)
- 108a 2098: south wall. Detail of alternating male and female personified estates (b 9054)
- 108b 2098: west wall of corridor south of recess, left. Offering list (rg 17-36, 1989)
- 108c 2098: west wall of corridor south of recess, right. Offering list. Scale stick is held against the corner of the recess (rg 17-32, 1989)
- 109a 2098: upper west face of pillar. Text (rg 17-8, 1989)
- 109b 2098: west face of pillar. Nefer-khuwi (a 8094)
- 109c 2098: upper south face of pillar. Text (rg 17-14, 1989)
- 109d 2098: south face of pillar. Nefer-khuwi (a 8097)
- 110a 2098 a: shaft and blocking of type v e (b 9045)

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| 110b | 2098 a: extended, skeletally adult burial, with noticeable tooth wear. The body is presumably that of Nefer-khuwi (b 9103) | 120a | 2231: false door (rg 9-20, 1989) |
| 110c | 2098 b: leg-contracted, skeletally adult burial, with significant tooth wear (b 9104) | 120b | 2231 e: tightly-contracted skeleton of an adult, according to the excavator. The excavator also noted an abnormal bony out-growth on the right femur (c 14327) |
| 110d | 2098 e: intact blocking of type v d, although no burial was found in the chamber behind it (c 14263) | 120c | 2240: view from the east. The long block in front of the columns is the fallen lintel of the entrance portico (rg 9-10, 1989) |
| 111a | 2098 g: entrance to chamber. No blocking (c 14260) | 121a | 2240: excavation photo, showing headless seated scribe statue and fragment of fallen architrave in situ (b 9122) |
| 111b | 2098 y: chamber type 7 b, built at the base of the shaft on the east side (b 9046) | 121b | 2240: excavation photo, showing back of headless seated scribe statue, in situ (b 9123) |
| 111c | 2098 y: burial, tightly bundled in linen wrappings (a 8084) | 121c | 2240: north pillar of portico, east face. A standing figure in sunk relief, wearing a triangular kilt, facing left, originally decorated this pillar (rg 9-14, 1989) |
| 112a | 112a. 2098 y: skeletally adult burial, tightly contracted, after the removal of the linen wrappings (a 8085) | 122a | 2240: architrave from portico, north (right) end (a 8222) |
| 112b | 2099: view of false door and shaft a from the east, showing the rubble wall (behind the false door) and its coincidence with a change in the coursing of the support wall for the corridor of 2098 (amr, 1990) | 122b | 2240: architrave from portico, south (left) end (a 8223) |
| 112c | 2099: false door (rg 7-29, 1989) | 123a | 2240: south jamb of entrance. Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu and his ka-priest Mery-Khufu (a 8246b) |
| 113a | 2099: serdab, during excavation (b 9039) | 123b | 2240: north jamb of entrance. Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu and his son Iren-Ptah (a 8247) |
| 113b | 2099: serdab statue of Kahersetef, also labeled Kednes, left front. 39-1-19 (b 9042) | 124a | 2240: north wall. Scenes of cattle raising (a 8242) |
| 113c | 2099: serdab statue of Kahersetef, also labeled Kednes from above. The text is left of his foot. 39-1-19 (b 9040) | 124b | 124b. 2240: loose block, restored on north wall (b 9152) |
| 113d | 2099: serdab statue of Kahersetef, also labeled Kednes from back, showing the recutting of the name. 39-1-19 (b 9041) | 125a | 2240: loose blocks, to be restored on north end of west wall (a 8246a) |
| 114a | 2099: serdab statue of Raramu and his wife Ankhet. 39-1-16 (a 8078) | 125b | 2240: north end of west wall, right. Secondary niche with three lines of inscription and, above, lowest register of scene (a 8240) |
| 114b | 2099: serdab statue of Raramu and his wife Ankhet. 39-1-16 (a 8077) | 126a | 2240: north end of west wall, left. Three registers depicting daughters (top), musicians, and offering bearers. At lower right is the unfinished text over the secondary niche (a 8239) |
| 115a | 2099: serdab statues of Raramu and Nikau-Ptah (probably the same man) with a son labeled Kednes. Note the cutting back of the front of the base, to revise the son's name. 39-1-18 (a 8080) | 126b | 2240: center of west wall. False door of Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu (a 8229) |
| 115b | 2099: serdab statues of Raramu/Nikau-Ptah and his son Kednes. 39-1-18 (a 8079) | 127a | 2240: south end of west wall, right. Two registers, showing butchers (bottom) and priests doing the ritual. At left is the offering table (a 8231) |
| 116a | 2099: seated statue of Raramu. Front view. 39-1-17 (a 8073) | 127b | 2240: south end of west wall, left. Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu (left) at his offering table. Below him is a register of butchers (a 8232) |
| 116b | 2099: seated statue of Raramu. Proper right side. Raised relief figure of his son Khersetef censing is on the side of his chair. 39-1-17 (a 8072) | 128a | 2240: south wall. Herdsmen driving cattle (a 8241) |
| 116c | 2099: seated statue of Raramu. Proper left side. Sunk relief figure of his daughter T'jez-tjazet (a 8075) | 128b | 2240: east wall, south. Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu watching work in the fields (a 8244) |
| 117a | 2099 a: leg-contracted burial with linen wrappings (c 14262) | 129a | 2240: east wall, north. Work in the wheat fields (a 8245) |
| 117b | 2099 c: blocking type iv e+, vertical slabs resting on two courses of rough stones, bound with yellow clay (c 14261) | 129b | 2240 b: blocking type v e+, a leaning slab resting on rubble bound with mud (b 9147) |
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210 Loose block of unknown provenience

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My work builds directly on the initial observations and interpretations made by the field staff of the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts excavations between 1936 and 1939. The director of the expedition, Prof. G.A. Reisner, despite his failing eyesight, played an active role in directing the excavations, assigning a number to each new mastaba and interpreting the finds. This is apparent from the drawings preserved in the records in Boston that were done in white ink on a black background to make them more visible to him. His

unpublished synthesis of the material was the starting point for my work.

Direct supervision of the excavation was the responsibility of Reis Mohammed Said Ahmed. His daily diary recorded the progress of the excavation and the appearance of the matrix that was removed from the mastabas and their shafts. This diary was translated by Mahmud Said Ahmed. To a great extent, the Egyptian staff that Reisner had trained seems to have carried out the excavations independently during these years, as can be seen in the description of the excavation of the serdab of g 2099 on p. 150. The professional staff included Mohammedani Ibrahim, photographer; Mahmud Said Ahmed, assistant publications secretary and translator; Mohammed Sayed, surveyor; and Ahmed Effendi, conservator. Dahi Ahmed, Mohammed Salem, Rifai, Mohammed, Salem Hassan, Haddad, Mursi, Besheer, Samman, Ahmed Mahmud, and Mustapha Abu el-Hamd are grouped with several of these men in the expedition diary, and were thus probably also experienced men in supervisory or technical positions.

The remainder of the Egyptian staff is difficult to reconstruct. The Diary periodically notes the movements of groups of men to and from Quft, "for guarding and work at the pyramids." Many who left in May 1938 appear to have returned in March 1939, which suggests an informal system of rotation. These men were probably responsible for the actual excavation: Ahmed Hassan el-Niggar, Ali Mahmud Mohsen, Morsi Hassan, Derwish Ahmed, Alam Gad el-Karim, Dahi Mohammed Youseff, Hamid Genawi, Berberi Ahmed, Mahmoud Issa, Shater Ahmed, Mousa Khalil, Mobarek Mohammed, Mohammed Tammam, Ahmed Masoud, Said Hassan, Idriss Shahat, Said Halabi, Said Bedir, Hossein Elawi, Ahmed Mograby, Mahmoud Abd el-Aal, Gad el-Moula Hagggar, Yasin Ali, Ali Hani, Orabi Radwan, Abdallah Ahmed, Mahmud Ali Mohammed, Hassan Abu el-Yosr, Ali M. Issa, Itman Yunis, Mogareby Mohammed, Ibrahim Mohammed, Mah. Yusef, and Mah. Abd el-Azim.

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excavating serdabs and the more fragile finds, and with Mr. Allen was responsible for the preliminary reconstruction of the plaster fragments from g 2098. Mr. Floroff prepared the original plan of the mastabas. Drawings of the decoration in g 2091 were made by Mr. Norman de Garis Davies some years prior to the excavation of the other tombs in the cluster.

With the exception of the two corridor walls of g 2091, which were recorded by Davies, the final versions of the epigraphic drawings published here were prepared by Jeffrey Burden, Peter Der Manuelian, Lynn Holden, Jennifer Houser, and myself. Michael Jones drew the revised plan and the north-south section of the cluster, and wrote a section for the introduction describing them and explaining their conventions. The plans and cross-sections of tomb shafts were taken from the Tomb Cards, which were probably prepared by Mohammed Sayed, although the placement of the burial chamber plans in the bodies of the mastabas is my own approximation. Untranslated Arabic notations on the Tomb Cards were translated for me by Everett Rowson in consultation with Michael Jones.

The scientific report on the composition and state of conservation of the mastabas, which I have divided and incorporated into the individual tomb-descriptions, is the work of Pamela Hatchfield. Ms. Hatchfield was also responsible for the efforts made by the Giza Mastabas Project to consolidate unstable areas of the fragile plaster decoration in these tomb chapels in 1989.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ÄF</i>	<i>Ägyptologische Forschungen</i> , Glückstadt
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , Cairo
<i>BdE</i>	Bibliothèque d'Étude, Cairo
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i> , New York
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> , Cairo
<i>BMFA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts</i> , Boston, Boston
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> , Brussels
<i>CG</i>	<i>Catalogue général des antiquités du Musée du Caire</i> , Cairo
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i> , Göttingen
<i>GN1</i>	G.A. Reisner, <i>A History of the Giza Necropolis</i> 1
<i>HESPOK</i>	W.S. Smith, <i>A History of Egyptian Painting and Sculpture in the Old Kingdom</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> , New York
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> , London
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> , Chicago
<i>MÄS</i>	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien, Berlin
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> , Mainz am Rhein
<i>PM 3²</i>	B. Porter, R. Moss, and J. Málek, <i>A Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> , vol. III, 2nd ed., 1974–1981
<i>SAOC</i>	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago
<i>PSBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i> , London
<i>VA</i>	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i> , San Antonio, Texas
<i>Wb</i>	A. Erman and H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 7 vols., Berlin, 1971
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

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INTRODUCTION

About 2475 b.c., in the latter part of the Fifth Dynasty of Egypt, the necropolis that surrounded the Fourth Dynasty pyramids of Giza once again became a popular site for the tombs of Memphite officials. Among these new tombs was a group of mastaba tombs that clustered along the northern edge of the great Western Cemetery, west of the Great Pyramid. This cluster began just east of the large Fourth Dynasty tombs of cemetery 2100 and extended west to a point opposite the north face of the giant mastaba g 2000. The cluster was bounded on the north by an escarpment and on the south by a path that led past the north face of g 2000 and into the western part of the mastaba field. Between 1936 and 1939, the tombs of this cluster were excavated by George Andrew Reisner for the Museum of Fine Arts and Harvard University. Reisner assigned the tombs in the group the numbers from g 2084 to g 2099 and the numbers g 2230, g 2231, and g 2240.

Averaging less than 50 square meters in area, the principal mastabas typically had recessed or L-shaped chapels, or simple false door emplacements. None of the chapels had more than one decorated room, although courtyards and porticoes were occasionally enclosed to form undecorated anterooms. Seven of the mastaba chapels were completely decorated and two others had isolated areas of decoration. Three of the subsidiary mastabas also contained decorated elements.

All of the inscribed tombs belonged to officials bearing the title *hntj-š pr-ꜥ* or one of its supervisory levels. Whatever its literal meaning, this title clearly entailed personal service to the living king that was performed in his palace. I have therefore translated it “palace attendant.”

As with earlier publications in this series, the aim of the present volume is to present the artifactual, iconographic, and architectural results of the excavation as clearly and economically as possible. Secondary studies comparing the tombs with tombs and cemeteries elsewhere will be published separately in articles by the present author¹ and, it is hoped, by other scholars using this volume. However, because these tombs are contiguous, and because their owners bear the same title, the architectural relationships between the tombs, as well as the family and professional relationships between their owners, have been subjected to a more detailed study than was attempted in earlier volumes.

¹ An initial article has already appeared: A.M. Roth, “The Practical Economics of Tomb Building in the Old Kingdom: A Visit to the Necropolis in a Carrying Chair,” in: *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, D. Silverman, ed., SAOC 55 (Chicago, 1994), pp. 235–48. Further articles are planned treating the carrying chair motif in general and the “spanking” scene in g 2091 and g 2097.

The publication thus has two parts. The first part deals with the architecture of the cluster as a whole, the sequence of its development, the interrelationships of its tomb owners, and, so far as they can be discerned, the principles that governed the spatial organization and forms of its tombs. The second part details the archaeology, architecture, and iconography of the individual tombs that make up the cluster. For convenience of reference, these individual studies, like the corresponding sections of photographs and drawings at the end of the volume, are arranged by tomb number, which is essentially the order in which the tombs were excavated. The position of a tomb in this section thus does not in any way reflect its chronological position or its interest or importance.

The one exception to this pattern is discussion of the tomb shaft or serdab, variously labeled “2091 x” and “1903 x,” in which two statues were found in 1926. The tomb that was the source of these statues has not been located, but the finds and the evidence for the tomb are discussed in conjunction with 2097 a, b, and c, because those subsidiary tombs seem to have been nearest to it.

Summary of Conclusions

A careful examination of the evidence for the processes of construction and modification of tombs can yield conclusions about the organization of cemeteries, the decisions made by tomb builders, and the constraints limiting those decisions, such as tradition or control by some sort of central authority. The first four chapters of this volume are an initial attempt to address such questions in this small part of the Giza cemetery. As a by-product of these investigations, patterns were also noted that have implications for the nature of the office of *hntj-š* and the cultural conventions surrounding funerary, and perhaps to some extent domestic, architecture.

Membership in the corps of palace *hntjw-š* seems to have been a prerequisite for owning a tomb in this cluster, and in most cases the size of the mastaba corresponded to the tomb owner’s rank in that hierarchy. The same hierarchy also seems to have determined the proximity of the earlier tombs to the major mastaba g 2000, but this prerequisite apparently lost much of its value when the foot traffic to the mastabas was shifted to the north, away from g 2000.

This shift is the best evidence for some sort of central control of the cemetery and access to its tombs by some powerful authority. The proscription of the southern approach to the cluster can be clearly seen in the orientation of new tombs and the universal adaptation of old ones to face the new northern approach. This shift seems to have been strictly enforced, despite the fact that it was of relatively brief duration (less than a generation). Soon after the reopening of the southern approach, however, control over this part of the cemetery apparently lapsed entirely, and it was invaded first by builders of intrusive tombs that obscured earlier cult places and later by scavengers for stone and tomb robbers.

These shifts in orientation allow the sequence of construction of the mastabas to be determined with unusual exactness, which in turn allows the tomb owners’ titles and personal relationships to be compared with the dates and forms of their tombs. These comparisons reveal that different factors limited the tomb builder’s allocation of

resources to each part of the tomb. In addition to the place of the tomb owner in the *hntj-š* hierarchy, the allocation of resources seems to have been influenced by date and by wealth (deduced from consistently greater or less investment than would be expected from the official's rank). The following hypotheses emerged:

- (1) The area of the cemetery ground occupied by a tomb is greater, the greater the rank of its owner.²
- (2) One type of tomb chapel is predominantly favored by each level of wealth: exterior false doors for the poorest, a false door in a corridor or small recessed chapel for the next level, an "L-shaped" chapel for the next, and larger recessed chapels of more varied shape, but usually containing one or more pillars, for the highest level.
- (3) The quality and extent of chapel decoration is also tied to the wealth of the owner rather than to rank.
- (4) The tombs of higher and wealthier officials include a wider variety of texts, which may indicate these officials' greater degree of literacy.
- (5) During a period when the depth and volume of the principal shaft decline, serdab chambers grow larger. This pattern suggests a functional alternation.

Also significant for an understanding of human activity in Old Kingdom cemeteries is the surprisingly rapid breakdown in respect for the major mastabas that can be seen in the cluster after the end of the Fifth Dynasty. Already by the early Sixth Dynasty, it was no longer felt necessary to preserve access to the earlier cult places. The dismantling of chapel walls and the scattering of the contents of serdabs occurred not long afterwards, to judge from the apparent stratigraphic position of the remains. These activities may have been coupled with the robbery of many of the tomb shafts.

The patterns of titles and decoration in the cluster have also contributed to a better understanding of the nature and chronology of the problematic title *hntj-š*. There is evidence to suggest a connection with music and musicians; and some of the titles recorded by tomb owners on the earliest parts of their tombs may represent typical offices held by people who became *hntju-š* when the office was instituted, probably in the reign of Niuserre or shortly thereafter.

The architectural patterns revealed in this cluster suggest the characteristics of the "ideal" tomb in the minds of the builders. Some of these conceptual models may be derived from the conventions of contemporary domestic architecture, while other aspects may relate to the tombs' ritual functions. These results may be summarized as follows:

- (1) When an addition abutted a battered mastaba facade, the facade was usually extensively rebuilt, completely camouflaging the joint between the two parts.
- (2) When an addition converted the exterior walls and doorways into internal ones, attempts were made to fill in or cut back revetments and battering so that the walls were smooth and vertical.
- (3) On the western walls of the chapels, plaster-cut decoration is consistently avoided in favor of stone-cut decoration, even in tombs otherwise decorated in plaster.
- (4) Rooms, porticoes and corridors had consistent dimensions, some of which may relate to spatial patterns in domestic architecture.
- (5) The number, position, and density of principal burial shafts, relative to secondary ones, may reflect a pattern of nuclear family residence.

² This correlation has already been noted and studied extensively by Naguib Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline* (Warminster, 1977). The distinctions made in the cluster studied here, however, are finer than the ranges proposed by Kanawati's study.

Designations of Tombs, Shafts, Chambers, Serdabs and Alterations

When the perimeter of a major mastaba had been cleared, Reisner assigned it a four-digit number prefixed by a "g." These numbers were assigned to every tomb Reisner excavated in the Khufu cemetery, and frequently to tombs excavated by others. These are the numbers used in my discussions, although for simplicity's sake, I have omitted the initial "g" except at the beginning of sentences. Subsidiary mastabas were given the number of the nearest major mastaba augmented by a lower-case letter.

Shafts were designated by the mastaba number followed by an upper-case letter, from the beginning of the alphabet if the shaft was cut into the body of the mastaba, and from the end of the alphabet if the shaft was cut or built in outside areas or passages. The tops of shafts labelled a, b, or c thus opened on the roof of the mastaba and had chambers in or under the mastaba massif; while shafts labelled x, y, and z were outside the massif, either cut down from ground level or built above it. Shafts cut or built into chapels and serdabs (when this was noticed) are also labelled x, y, or z.

Serdabs were designated by the tomb number augmented with a capital "s." If there were several serdabs in a single mastaba, Reisner assigned each a number. (Serdabs are marked with a lower case "sr" rather than "s" on the new plan, but Reisner's numbers have been retained.)

Rooms of a chapel were given lower-case letters on plans. In the text, these letters were put in parentheses to distinguish them from subsidiary mastabas. (Reisner assigned letters to chambers starting with the inner room, in contrast to the Porter and Moss *Topographical Bibliography*, which assigns letters beginning with the outermost room.)

One mastaba, built north of 2091, was not assigned a number by Reisner, but was instead considered a part of 2097, which it in fact significantly predated. I have called this mastaba 2097' to differentiate it from 2097. Similarly, 2095' is a mastaba north of 2095 that had a separate chapel; Reisner did not distinguish the two. In both cases, the designations of shafts and serdabs have been left intact.

The sequence of numbers 2084 through 2099, which was used to number all but the three eastern mastabas, is complete with the exception of the number 2090, which was not used. Since 2090 is occasionally used to designate mastaba 2091 in the expedition records, however, it seemed potentially confusing to assign it to 2095' or 2097'. (Mastaba 2086a also has two numbers in the notes; it was originally assigned the number 2083.) The remaining three mastabas, 2230, 2231, and 2240, were assigned numbers in a different sequence because they were excavated after the rest of the group. They are properly a part of cemetery 2000 as Reisner himself realized,³ and are not distinguished from the 2084 through 2099 sequence in anything beyond their date of excavation.

³ G.A. Reisner, *Giza Manuscript*, an unpublished manuscript in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Chapter "L." A History of Cemetery 2000, p. 2. Alexander Floroff's plan of the cluster (reproduced as pl. 132) made sometime after 1939, includes all of the mastabas treated in this volume.

The extensions of earlier mastabas, if they were large enough, were assigned new mastaba numbers by Reisner, for example, 2096 and 2231. Other additions and changes in the mastabas were either not noted or not labeled. To distinguish my designations from those of Reisner, I have used a different system of indicating additions and alterations: the tomb number is followed by a period and then a number representing the new version of the monument. When the addition includes a serdab, the period is followed by Reisner's serdab number (which does not affect the numbering of the non-serdab additions). For example, the sequence of additions made to 2091 is 2091.1, then 2091.2; to 2088 is 2088.s1, 2088.s2, and 2088.1; and to 2230 are 2231 and 2231.1. This system is cumbersome, but distinguishing my own interpretations from Reisner's seemed worth some sacrifice of clarity.

Two completely unnumbered structures were built against the southern faces of 2091 and 2088. These were narrow east–west structures bounded by rubble walls on the west and south, with somewhat more substantial massifs at the western end. It was impossible to determine the nature of these structures without excavation, although they are marked on the plan, and the eastern one is shown on the east–west section.

Confusingly, Giza mastabas numbered from 2086 through 2099 occur in Clarence Fisher's 1924 publication of the tombs he excavated at the far west end of the Western Cemetery,⁴ duplicating the numbers of mastabas in the cluster studied here. Reisner apparently renumbered Fisher's mastabas as 3086 through 3099 after their publication. All of Reisner's notes and records, as well as subsequent publications by other scholars (including the Porter and Moss *Topographical Bibliography*), use Reisner's numbers.

The Excavation of the Cluster

The tombs in this cluster were excavated between 1936 and 1939, with the exception of the chapel of mastaba 2091, which had been cleared “by Mr. Ballard in 1901–02 in his search for serdabs.”⁵ The expedition began the re-clearance of mastaba 2091 in July 1936. From there, the workmen moved west, excavating 2092, 2093, and 2094 by the end of January 1937. This area of the cemetery was then abandoned for more than a year. At the end of March of 1938, work was begun again, and 2089 and the western parts of 2088 and 2087 were cleared. While the “Big Dump” east of these tombs was moved, the workmen turned to the north, uncovering 2084, 2085, and 2086. Work on these mastabas continued sporadically through late May. In August the expedition returned to the area briefly to clear the shaft 2089 a. The map of the Western Cemetery published in Reisner's *Giza Necropolis*⁶ apparently dates from this period, since the mastabas excavated later are not included.

Work resumed in late December of 1938, beginning with the exploration of the area north of 2094. Clearance continued in a clockwise pattern around the cluster, and during January mastabas 2095

through 2099 were numbered in order of discovery and cleared. After clearing the last shaft of 2099, the workmen returned to the mastabas to the south. While part of the team finished clearing 2084 through 2088, others moved eastward, uncovering 2230 and 2231. In mid-March, while intermittently working on shafts in these tombs, the expedition cleared the path south of the cluster and began work on the tombs further to the south. g 2240 was encountered in late April of 1939, and work in and around it continued through the middle of May, when g 2083 (later renamed 2086a) was uncovered to the north of 2086. Clearance of various shafts continued through the end of May 1939, after which no further work in the cluster was recorded.

In his *History of the Giza Necropolis*,⁷ Reisner did not describe in detail any excavation after 1933. The table of contents entry “Minor clearing operations, 1933–1939”⁷ can only refer to the sentence “At intervals since 1924, small gangs of men (5–10) have been employed in clearing small points for the purpose of maps, plans, and other references.”⁸ As the excavation photographs (pls. 5–8) demonstrate, the clearance of the cluster was accomplished with a much larger crew.

Judging from the proveniences noted in the registration books, excavation was conducted according to the method outlined in Reisner's *Archaeological Excavation Techniques*,⁹ in which the archaeological deposition was removed in three phases: (1) “surface,” which was defined as the area from the surface to the top of the architectural remains, (2) “debris of decay,” the deposition within the mastaba chapels and outside the mastabas, and (3) “floor.” Upon discovery of walls, the procedure seems to have been to clear off the top of the entire mastaba to the level of the top of the walls of the casing, noting the location of the shafts. The interior spaces and the surrounding “streets” were then cleared, normally to bedrock. The shafts were cleared after the complete excavation of the mastaba, often considerably later. There was no attempt made to remove or analyze the material that filled the body of the mastaba.

Matrix was removed in baskets to the Decauville railway cars, which dumped it over the escarpment at the northern and northeastern edges of the plateau. The pace of the excavation may be surmised by the occasional tallies of the Decauville railway cars emptied. For example on April 23, 1936, 97 cars were emptied between 6 and 8 a.m., 300 were emptied between 8:30 and noon, and 195 between 2 and 5 p.m. When daily totals are recorded, they range from about 450 to 650 cars. However, these tallies often represented periods in which no architecture or finds were expected, such as the removal of the “Big Dump.” During other phases of the excavation, work presumably proceeded more slowly.

Backdirt from the cluster could not be identified and analyzed because it was inextricably mixed with large quantities of fill deposited by the same method of disposal during the excavation of other parts of the cemetery. Aerial photographs taken prior to the excavation show two thick linear deposits crossing over the cluster, which

⁴ C. Fisher, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza* (Philadelphia, 1924).

⁵ Reisner, *Giza Manuscript*, Chapter “L,” p. 142.

⁶ G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*¹ (Cambridge, Mass, 1942), hereafter “GNI.”

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹ G.A. Reisner, *Archaeological Excavation Techniques*, an unpublished manuscript at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, currently being prepared for publication by P. Lacovara.

represent the buildup of debris from the use of Decauville railway tracks to the northern escarpment in earlier excavations. The “Big Dump,” the laborious removal of which is mentioned frequently in the expedition records, covered the eastern half of the courtyard of 2088, angling north and east over parts of 2084 and 2230. The hill of debris that still remains north of 2230 (see, for example, pls. 10a and 118c) represents the end of this dump. The “surface” layer removed from the cluster was thus mixed with debris from the southern part of cemetery 2000 and probably from Junker’s excavations in cemetery 4000 as well, accounting for some of the “surface” remains that considerably predate the construction of the cluster.

Original Expedition Records

The Reis’s Diary. A daily record of the excavation of these tombs was maintained by the Reis, Mohammed Said Ahmed; it was translated into English by the expedition secretary. This record, the “Reis’s Diary,” has been the principal source for the section on the excavation of the individual mastabas. It records the clearance of walls and shafts, and gives a general description of the components of the matrix removed, for example “drift sand” or “pebbles” or, most commonly, “rubble” a mixture of irregular stones of varied sizes that was often bound with mud to form walls. (The Arabic term *dubsh*, is frequently left untranslated in the Reis’s Diary, but I have rendered it as “rubble” throughout.) Another component of the fill that is sometimes mentioned is “red debris,” the nature of which is unclear. Granite would certainly have been identified by name. It may refer to red ocher, commonly used in making mason’s marks, laying out the preliminary wall decoration, and painting the reliefs; or it may simply refer to the crumbly layer of reddish-brown stone (Reisner calls it “red gravel”) that overlies the bedrock in this area.¹⁰ The Reis’s Diary also contains a sketch map of each mastaba and each shaft at the point when it was completely cleared. Some of the details recorded in the Diary are unrecorded elsewhere, for example, remarks on the position of skeletal material in some disturbed tombs and the mud-brick paving of the “street” between 2091 and 2092.

Finally, the Diary contains references to the events in the life of the excavations that are helpful in reconstructing the personnel present, such as the comings and goings of workmen from Quft, the quantity of matrix removed, or the activities of Dr. Reisner himself. Social events were also mentioned, as in this entry on April 16, 1939: “Today was the cocktail party for the exhibition of paintings painted by Mr. J[oseph] L[indon] Smith. There were 280 guests including Egyptians; Nokrashi Pasha, the Minister of the Interior, and Sir Miles Lampson were in that party. There were 113 cars. The weather was very fine and all the arrangements were good.”

Tomb Cards. Each shaft and serdab was recorded on a separate “Tomb Card,” a 1:50 scale drawing of the top, profile, and bottom of the feature on a slip of graph paper. Comments on the blocking and disposition of the body in intact burial chambers were noted in Arabic on the back of the card. Most Tomb Cards are initialed M.S., probably by the surveyor Mohammed Sayed, but possibly by the

Reis, Mohammed Said Ahmed. Drawings of the shafts are based on these cards, even when they appear to differ from or contradict Floroff’s plan of the tomb. They presumably reflect the state of the shaft at the date it was cleared (which can be determined from the “Excavation” section of the individual tomb descriptions). Major points at which the two diverge are noted in the text, although I have not remarked upon the divergences in the types or disposition of masonry. The Tomb Cards can be assumed to be more accurate than the Floroff plan, since they were made on the spot.

The masonry recorded in the Tomb Cards is, however, almost as schematic as that of Floroff’s plan. The floor plan of the chamber was constructed by measuring points and then joining the dots, which probably exaggerated the sharpness of the angles. Bedrock, crumbly bedrock, rubble, and mudbrick are indicated schematically. Only masonry walls were measured, and the measurements were limited to the distance between vertical joints. The depth and exterior shape of the blocks were drawn in mechanically later, and the relationships of the blocks at corners were left unrecorded. The surveyor’s drawings assume that both blocks end at the corner line, even when bonds and abutments are visible at the top of the shaft. Floroff has tried to correct this problem by bringing each block halfway around the corner. The result looks like a carefully mitered joint; to avoid such erroneous appearances and emphasize the schematic nature of the plans, I have left the gaps as they are on the Tomb Cards. Block lines on rubble walls were not measured; the dimensions of the irregular blocks on the plan appear to bear no relation to the size of the stones in the wall.

All the Tomb Cards that I could find are reproduced in the text figures. (Several seem to have been lost or were never drawn.) I have attempted to place the floor plans of the chambers and the base of the shafts within an outline of the mastaba plan so that their interrelationships are clearer. The placement of these plans is approximate, based on the placement of the tops of the shafts in Floroff’s plan, which were checked in 1990, but usually not remeasured unless they appeared to be erroneous. When chambers were superimposed, the chamber with interior details was drawn completely, and the overlap of the other was indicated with a dashed line. Usually one of these was cut into the bedrock and the other built into the mastaba massif; obviously, the chamber cut in the bedrock was the lowermost. In cases of shafts with double chambers, reference to the shaft profile should resolve any ambiguities. The drawing conventions are those of the originals: groups of hatching lines at different angles represent limestone blocks or bedrock; a speckled pattern represents crumbly stone, either bedrock or fill; and hatching all at the same angle represents mud-brick.

The shaft plans follow the traditional orientation for plans of the Western Cemetery: north is at the right and west at the top. When the burial chamber axis ran east–west, shafts were recorded on Tomb Cards with north at the top, and the profiles and top plans of these shafts were provided with an “east arrow.” The chamber plans have been turned to correspond to their orientation within the mastaba outline. The long axis of each mastaba outline has been taken to run east–west, so the northward orientation, like that on the Tomb Cards, is only general. With few exceptions, shafts were placed

¹⁰ This last possibility was suggested to me by Ms. Brigit Crowell.

squarely with respect to the rectangle of the mastaba rather than according to the cardinal points. Since neither the shafts nor the mastabas were entirely regular, however, there was some variation.

These drawings reveal the consistency with which subterranean chambers were placed underneath the body of the mastaba, and the care that was taken to avoid intruding on other shafts. (Only one such intrusion was noted, between 2095 b and c.) The relationship between burial chambers and above-ground features such as false doors is also elucidated. The human remains are also sketched in, based on the Tomb Card drawings; this both clarifies the variety of orientations and degrees of contraction within a mastaba and emphasizes the underlying mortuary purpose of the mastabas. In at least one case, too, this method provides information about the later history of the necropolis: the shafts in 2095 (though not 2095') remained completely unexplored by tomb robbers, a striking circumstance that requires further explanation.

Giza Manuscript. Reisner's unpublished account of these and other mastabas, as well as his analyses and comparisons of several types of artifacts and associated features, is preserved in manuscript in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.¹¹ It was apparently composed and typed by Reisner in the field, based on Tomb Cards and other material. This manuscript was partially checked and corrected by another staff member, and then retyped. In the chapter dealing with these tombs,¹² the retyping was done only for mastabas 2084 through 2087, after which the rough original manuscript extends from the middle of 2088 through 2240. A note inserted in the manuscript indicates that the figures have been corrected only through mastaba 2094. The typing of the original manuscript is erratic and often unintelligible ("a swmp dxzmp scene: Chizd diguez"), casting some doubt on the accuracy of the unchecked measurements and the numbered and lettered typological assignments.

Reisner assigned each mastaba, chapel, casing, shaft chamber, shaft blocking and masonry wall to a "type," as described in his *Giza Necropolis 1* volume. The measurements of each mastaba in this cluster and the types to which that Reisner assigned its features are reproduced at the beginning of its entry in Part ii, largely as this information appears in the *Giza Manuscript*. The first dimension given is always the north-south measurement; the second is the east-west. In addition, Reisner calculated the "proportion" of mastabas and chapels, by which he meant the ratio of the east-west dimension to the north-south dimension and also the "relation," the ratio of the area of the chapel to that of the mastaba. These ratios are always given as fractions with numerators of 1. The only alteration I have

made to this initial summary has been to correct, in square brackets, the frequently (and obviously) incorrect masonry types and to correct errors in multiplication. I have also noted instances where Reisner's interpretations of the architecture affect the measurements and the designation of shafts. The designations assigned by Reisner, especially his assignment of chapel types, do not always agree with my own interpretations. Except as noted, the type assignments and measurements given in this initial section are all Reisner's. (Measurements mentioned elsewhere in the text, unless specifically noted, are those of the 1989 and 1990 expeditions.)

The description of the tomb shafts in the *Giza Manuscript* sometimes differs from that on the Tomb Card; in such cases, the Tomb Card, which was prepared on the site and usually includes a drawing as well as a verbal description, has been followed without comment. Only if a second source, usually the Reis's Diary, agrees with Reisner's version are the divergences noted.

The Floroff Plan. The mapping of the cluster was begun in June of 1937, when Alexander Floroff made pencilled notes and diagrams recording the measurements of the mastabas exposed at that point. These include vertical measurements used in preparing pl. 136.¹³ Another set of measurements, including some of the newly excavated mastabas, date from August and September 1938. Both sets of diagrams are stored at the Museum of Fine Arts, but they are badly labeled and difficult to decipher, having been made by Floroff for his own use. His plan of the cluster (traced by A. Barbe Harrison and reproduced as pl. 132) seems to have been made away from the site, based on his measurements as well as photographs and Reisner's *Giza Manuscript*, both of which have marginalia initialed A.F. He may also have used the diagrams in the Reis's Diary. Many of the inaccuracies noted in the plan during 1989 and 1990 are doubtless due to Floroff's physical and chronological distance from the cluster and its measurement. These errors are almost invariably in the direction of regularization and simplification.

It should be noted that Floroff's plan is a plan of the top levels of the preserved architecture. As a result of the variable preservation of the stepped or battered casing of most mastabas, walls often appear to be niched or staggered. (More recent planning of the cluster is discussed below.)

Epigraphic Drawings. Epigraphic work done at the cluster during the Reisner excavations includes drawings of 2091 made by Norman de Garis Davies in 1905-06. His drawings of the corridor have been reproduced as pls. 155-160, as the only record of the decoration, which has now largely disappeared. (Because of the narrowness of the space, the corridor was not photographed by the Reisner expedition. Plates 42b and 43a show samples of the current state of the wall.) Drawings also exist of 2086 and the east wall of 2097. The artist is unknown; but the drawings may have been done by William Stevenson Smith, who was preparing his monumental study of Old

¹¹ Although the manuscript itself is in the form of a single volume with lettered appendices, Reisner referred to it as volumes 2, 3, and 4 of *The History of the Giza Necropolis* (*GNi*, p. ix). He described volume 2 as a typological catalogue of finds, volume 3 as a study of the chronology and genealogy of the cemetery, and volume 4 as an account of the "secondary mastabas." After Reisner's death, however, the tomb of Hetepheres was published as *Giza Necropolis 2*, confusing the numbering. The lettered appendices of the manuscript cover the individual "secondary" mastabas (presumably contrasted with the "core" mastabas described in *GNi*). Appendix "L" is the source for most of the information cited here. These appendices are being supplanted by the volumes of the *Giza Mastabas* series.

¹² Chapter "L" of the Appendix includes the description of the mastabas treated in the present volume, and also the mastaba tombs to the south of the path south of it. It fills two flat archival boxes in the Museum's collection.

¹³ Floroff presumably used these notes to prepare the sections in *GNi*, figs. 182 and 186; however, several details were omitted. Most notably, the skylight slot in 2091 was omitted from fig. 182.

Kingdom art¹⁴ during the period when the tombs were excavated. These, as well as the other Davies drawings of 2091, have been used as references in the preparation of new drawings based on the photographs and the surviving decoration.

Object Registers. Artifacts recovered during the excavation were recorded in object registers. These registers are stored in archival boxes, on microfilm, and on printed and bound photocopies from the microfilms at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Copies must also have been submitted to the Service d'Antiquités. Each object was given three numbers, separated by hyphens. The first two represent the year and the month of registration, and the third the sequential number assigned to each object registered within the month. In theory, each object was measured and drawn and its exact find spot given; in practice, this information was often omitted.

These registers included skeletal material and ceramics. Although technically all objects registered would have been subject to a division, some registered material from this cluster is recorded as having been left in the tombs. No skeletal material or ceramics from these tombs appear to have been exported. They are presumably still in tomb shafts at Giza or in storage elsewhere in Egypt. Some objects recorded in the notes and photographs were not registered, notably the headless scribe statue from 2240. These are presumably also in storage.

*Expedition Photographs.*¹⁵ The original excavation photos were taken between 1936 and 1939 by Mohammedani Ibrahim, a member of the expedition staff. (A few earlier photographs of g 2091 are also extant.) These historic glass negatives are currently stored at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. They are identified by their size (a, b, or c) and a sequentially assigned number of four or five digits.

Photographs were taken of work in progress (rarely), of many of the artifacts, and of burials and tomb decoration when the space allowed. The registers of these photos often give useful information such as the location and date of the photographs. A selection of these photographs arranged by tomb number and mounted on cards (the "Gray Boxes") also contain valuable annotations, providing information about the location of lost decoration and the angles at which puzzling site photographs were taken.

Other Records. Although it is possible that Reisner or a designated subordinate kept a separate record of the excavation, as was done in earlier periods, no field diaries for the years involved can be located. In view of the detail included in the Reis's Diary, it was probably seen as a substitute.

William Stevenson Smith also left notes on the mastabas, taken at least in part on a visit to the tombs in 1951.¹⁶ The most valuable contribution of these notes is to identify the location of "g 1903" as "North of 2097a, 3 pits about 50 feet north, one with niche and two

statues." Smith published a photograph of the most interesting of these statues, a mother and child.¹⁷ The second statue, which presumably represents the woman's husband, is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.¹⁸ The problems posed by this material and the possible excavation of its source in connection with the clearing of the cluster are dealt with as an excursus to the descriptions of subsidiary mastabas 2097a, 2097b, and 2097c.

Recent work on the Cluster

Modern epigraphic work in the cluster began in the summer of 1975, when the Giza Mastabas Project made tracings of several scenes in g 2092+2093 and g 2097. The scene depicting the *senet* game in g 2097 was published by Timothy Kendall on the basis of those tracings.¹⁹ Tracings from that season's work have been used only as references in preparing the drawings published here.

In August 1987, the Giza Mastabas Project began to trace decoration of five of the completely decorated tombs. It was at this point that the fragility and loss of the plaster-cut decoration became a problem. Although much of the decoration was traced in 1987, it was found preferable to use photographic enlargements as a basis for drawing most of the wall decoration in the cluster, both because they allowed a greater part of the original decoration to be recorded in facsimile drawings, and because they could be made without touching, and perhaps further damaging, the plaster still tenuously adhering to the walls.

The July–August 1989 season was devoted to making and correcting these new drawings and to the completion of new full-scale tracings in areas where undistorted photographs were not available. In addition, an initial check on the Floroff plan was done, revealing more errors and architectural complexities than had been anticipated. The architecture and unrecorded relief was also recorded photographically, and some cleaning and consolidation of the most fragile decoration was accomplished.

The final season, in May–June 1990, focussed on a more thorough architectural analysis of the tombs, with the aim of determining the sequence of mastaba construction. This was achieved by a systematic and detailed examination of each wall and shaft. Many further corrections were added to the Floroff plan and an elevation was drawn across the western part of the cluster. In addition, some obvious surface components of the mastaba fill were recorded, including utilitarian ceramics such as bread molds and beer jars, as well as two concentrations of model offering vessels. The season also offered the opportunity for a last check on the completeness of the epigraphic work.

During the fall of 1991 and again in the summer of 1994, I had an opportunity to visit the cluster again.²⁰ Clearance of sand and debris had taken place under the supervision of the Giza inspectorate

¹⁴ W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Boston, 1946), hereafter *HESPOK*.

¹⁵ For an annotated and illustrated reproduction of Reisner's photographic methods and techniques, see P. Der Manuelian, "George Andrew Reisner on Archaeological Photography," *JARCE* 29 (1992), pp. 1–34.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Prof. Simpson for locating these notes and giving me a copy.

¹⁷ Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 27e.

¹⁸ Accession number 39.829.

¹⁹ T. Kendall, "Passing through the Netherworld: The meaning and play of *senet*, an ancient Egyptian game" (Belmont, MA, 1978), pp. 12–13 (pamphlet included with a game).

²⁰ I am grateful to Dr. Zahi Hawass for this chance to check some final points in the cluster during my work on other projects at Giza.

of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. This clearance revealed several features that we had been unable to record previously. Among these newly revealed features were a hole that was cut into the bedrock in the northern part of the recessed chapel of 2092+2093; a large decorated block that had apparently fallen into this hole; the base of the eastern of the two pillars in the courtyard north of the chapel of 2092+2093; and a platform that formed the base of the false door of 2092a. During the clearance, the false door from 2092a, the secondary false door of Ankhimaes in 2088, and the false door tablet of Tjezet on the east face of 2097' were all uncovered. Most interestingly, an entirely new shaft was cleared in 2088, behind the northern false door, extending down into the bedrock. (I was unable to obtain information about the shape or contents of the chamber.) These new features could not be incorporated on the plans and sections published here, but they are noted in the text where they are relevant, insofar as they could be recorded in the course of a visit.

Conventions of Citation, Reference, and Recording

Citation conventions. In dealing with the archaeological sources, I have tried to distinguish the interpretations of Reisner and Reis Mohammed from more recent work. I have identified Reisner's hypotheses and conclusions most specifically where they seem incorrect to me. In such cases, I have tried to keep them in his own words, in the hope that they will be clearer to others.

It can be assumed that any remarks regarding the appearance of features during excavation, the location of artifacts, and the subsurface structure of the shafts are taken from the Reis's Diary, or, in the case of the shafts, the Tomb Cards. We made no attempt to re-excavate, or even re-enter the shafts. In 1990, our team checked all the visible features, including the mouths of the shafts, against the Floroff plan. When the orientation of the burial chambers could be determined from the top of the shaft, this was also noted. Comments based on these more recent observations will be identified as such.

By contrast, the Reisner expedition's descriptions of the mastaba chapels and superstructures were fully checked and extensively augmented at the site. Comments on these features can be assumed to be based on observations made in 1987–1994. I have cited the older sources only when they appear to differ from current state of the monument. However, Reisner's measurements and typological conclusions are summarized in tabular form at the beginning of each mastaba description.

Epigraphic conventions. In general, the aim of the epigraphic drawings was to reconstruct, as far as possible, and to present clearly the intended decoration of the chapel walls. Random damage was not recorded except as it interfered with the reconstruction. (Intentional ancient damage would have been recorded, but except for the recutting of one side of the false door from 2092a, none was found in the tombs of this cluster.) The 1930s condition of the walls can be determined from the photographs; where extensive deterioration has occurred, a recent photograph has been included for contrast.

The text describes the epigraphic method used for each tomb, and in some cases, each drawing. The choice of method was largely determined by the degree of conservation of the reliefs. Those reliefs that were intact and likely to remain so during the process of tracing were traced with soft pencil on translucent plastic sheets. This method was most frequently used to record the decoration on the thicknesses of doorjambs, where the narrowness of the space made undistorted photographs impossible. Fortunately doorjambs are built of better-quality stone for structural reasons, so that this tracing could be done without damage to the reliefs. Tracing was also used on pillars, which are similarly durable, and on some chapel walls.

In many cases, the excavation photographs record details that are now lost. Normally these areas were not restored when the tracing was otherwise based on the wall in its present state. In the case of the north wall of 2097, where a block that is now completely eroded contained significant decoration that is difficult to discern on the photograph, a drawing was made from an enlargement of the photograph. This has been inserted and distinguished from the surviving decoration by a heavy block line. In the same way, fallen plaster fragments restored on the drawing of the north wall of 2098 have also been indicated by a heavy outline. In both cases, the darker outline indicates that the placement and scale of the enclosed decoration are approximations.

A photographic method was used in areas where the decoration was carved on a thick layer of plaster that was not securely attached to the wall. The same fragility that would make tracing these reliefs destructive also made them the most likely to have suffered damage. Excavation photographs of these reliefs, almost uniformly taken straight on with very little distortion, were enlarged and traced onto translucent plastic paper. These were then checked against the surviving plaster decoration. Corrections were drawn on the basis of the photograph where possible. A measured drawing was made when the photograph was insufficiently clear.

Regrettably, as a result of the diverse methods employed, the time over which the drawings were prepared, and the number of people involved in producing the final drawings, the conventions used within the individual drawings vary. These include the weight of lines, the rendering of damage to the wall, and the consistency with which architectural features, such as the lines of masonry and edges of walls, are recorded. In most cases the shortcomings of these variations are merely aesthetic.

In general, the edges of raised areas are outlined in a heavy line of uniform thickness and the interior lines are indicated in a lighter line. Weighted (sun-shadow) lines are used only for sunk relief with interior details, although in some cases lines of uniform thickness have been used to record sunk relief as well. On walls which are decorated with both raised relief and sunk relief, the decoration in sunk relief normally consists only of hieroglyphs with no internal details. In such cases, the sunk relief is recorded as solid, filled signs, to distinguish it clearly from the surrounding raised relief.

Damage is not always indicated consistently. In some drawings, damaged areas were outlined by a light line marking the edge of the preserved surface. This was found to be distracting, and in drawings made later in the project, edges of preserved decoration were noted

only selectively. Block lines are also indicated inconsistently. They have been included where the decoration is fragmentary and they can help readers to locate isolated decorated areas on the photographs. They have been omitted where they might be confused with decoration. Users of the publication who are concerned about the condition and architecture of the wall will want to refer to the corresponding photograph in any case.

Edges of walls and ceilings are recorded by dashed lines with long dashes. For the sake of clarity, these lines, as well as register lines and vertical lines at edges of scenes, have often been straightened and short gaps in them have been restored without comment. Again, those wishing more exact information are referred to the expedition photographs.

Lines of short dashes indicate traces of paint. A single dashed line may indicate either a fine line of paint or the border of a color. These should be clear from context and also from the description in the text. The locations of isolated traces of color have not been marked on the drawing, but are recorded in the text.

The texts describing the scenes are intentionally general, dwelling only on interesting or anomalous details. The descriptions normally begin with the principal figure, and then move either from top to bottom or from bottom to top, depending upon the organization of the scene.

Photographic conventions. Photographic coverage of the mastaba decoration is largely complete. The major omissions are isolated doorjambs in mastabas 2086, 2091, and 2231, and the decoration in the corridor of 2091. In most cases, these omissions are due to the narrowness of the space, which prevented clear photography during the Reisner expedition.

Photographs taken at several periods are reproduced in the plates. The negative number of Reisner photographs (beginning a, b, or c, and normally followed by a number of four to five digits) is listed in these photo captions in order to facilitate reference to the Museum collection. Photographs dated 1989 were taken by Rus Gant; I am responsible for those dated 1990; and Peter Der Manuelian has contributed two photographs taken in 1993.

The New Plans and Sections of the Cluster

Plans (Michael Jones). The plan of the cluster that was prepared by Floroff (pl. 132) is a general one. The juxtapositioning of the mastabas and their internal features is not always correctly shown and masonry is drawn schematically. It is essentially a top plan, although exceptions were made to show, for example, the plan of roofed chapels. The planning of only the upper levels of the architecture means that doorways and false doors are often not clearly recorded. During the course of our fieldwork, it became clear that a new plan of the tombs would be desirable, in keeping with modern requirements. However, application to resurvey the site did not receive the approval of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. Therefore, it was possible only to remeasure a few of the architectural features and then to use Floroff's drawing as the basis for a new site plan. The results of this work are presented here in pls. 133, 134, and 135. They represent a correction of Floroff's plan based on fieldwork in 1989 and 1990.

The revised plan (pls. 133, 134, and 135) shows the outline of the ground plans of the mastabas and subsidiary structures in a heavy line. Internal features such as the stone-built masonry around the tops of shafts, serdabs, and the upper levels of walls (when these are included for clarity) have been shown in a lighter line. Fallen masonry lying loose on the modern ground level has been indicated in an even lighter line. In drawing the field plans for these sheets, the schematic masonry around the shafts and serdabs was shown as Floroff drew it where this did not diverge too far from reality. Where the stonework was noticeably different from that in the plan, it was redrawn more accurately, and the plan shows it stone by stone as preserved in 1990.

Among the changes from Floroff's plan are several shafts that were not visible in 1990, but which were extant when Floroff's plan was prepared. These include shafts 2085 d, 2094 a, 2095 j, 2095 x, 2097c b, 2097c c, and the serdab of 2097c. Errors in the Floroff plan include the interior angles of Serdabs 2 and 3 of 2097, the dimensions of the chapel of 2089, the omission of a jog in the wall enclosing the outside court of 2086, and a rubble-built structure of uncertain date along the southern face of 2091.

The mastabas and their shafts are given the same numbers and letters as on Floroff's plan, except for 2095' and 2097', which are newly numbered. Serdabs are marked "sr" and pillars are marked "p." Stippling denotes mud-brick features. Walls that appear on Floroff's plan or in the field notes as complete but which are now only partially preserved are indicated by dotted lines representing the sections now missing. Doorways and false doors are shown in ground plan on the new plan, where on Floroff's top plan they are often obscured by lintels or roofing slabs.

North-South Section of the Cluster (Michael Jones). A north-south section was drawn across the western part of the cluster, to elucidate the relationship between 2093 and its various extensions, 2096, 2092a, and 2097 (see pl. 137). Of especial note is the slope down towards the north of the floors, creating a difference in level from south to north of 1.28 meters. This must reflect the natural gradient of the desert surface prior to building the tombs. Note also the position of the bedrock surface exposed at the lip of shaft 2092 a, where the east wall of 2096 is clearly laid straight on the bedrock surface.

The letters labelling the section correspond to the following architectural and archaeological elements: (a) the west jamb of the north entrance to 2092+2093 from the pillared court containing 2092a, with its lintel in position at the upper south side; (b and c) serdab slots 1.0 cm wide created by leaving open gaps between blocks in the facing of the east wall of 2096; (d) south wall of 2092a abutting the east face of the east wall of 2096; (e) north wall of 2092a, formed by the south face of the serdab 2097.S3; (f) west jamb of the entrance between 2092a and 2097; (g) west wall of the passage leading from the pillared court to the open court forming the east room of 2097; (h) west wall of the east room of 2097; (i) doorway between the east and west rooms of 2097; (j) north wall of 2097; (k) site of 2097b.

Additional elevations were drawn of the south and east sides of 2092a, to illustrate the casually built secondary walls abutting the

square pillar. Note especially here how the pillar (49.0 cm square in plan) was clearly part of the original monument and the crudely constructed walls around the top of 2092a were fitted in against it. The pillar still stands vertically without any inclination. The south wall of 2092a is only one block high at its west end, where it abuts the east wall of 2096, and two blocks high at its east end. There may have been one or more additional courses over the uppermost surviving course; it is impossible to determine the original full height of the south and the east walls from what survives *in situ*. Much of the east wall is obscured by rubble that may be the remains of packing behind the false door on Floroff's plan. (When the cluster was cleared by the Giza inspectorate, 1991–1994, this false door was discovered in the corridor between 2092 and 2091. There are plans to consolidate and re-erect it. For the excavation photo and drawing, see pls. 64 and 169.)

The letters labeling these smaller elevations are as follows: (a) the western pillar of the court, around which the walls of 2092a were built; (b) the east face of the east wall of 2096; (c) the southeast corner of the north wall of 2092a, equivalent to (e) on the larger elevation; (d) the south east corner of the southwest jamb of the passage between the courtyard of 2092+2093 and the eastern room of 2097, equivalent to (f) on the larger elevation.

In both drawings, the bottom line at the base of the walls is the level of sand filling below which we could not investigate without excavating, with the exception of the bedrock at shaft 2092a a, as mentioned above.

East–West Section of the Cluster (AMR). In 1991, I discovered that Floroff's notes for the mapping of the cluster included measurements for an east–west section, running from shaft 2094 z through the corridor of 2094 and the chapels of 2092+2093 and 2091. From these notes, augmented by photographs and by field notes from the 1990 season, a second section was drawn (pl. 136). The southern facades of 2089 and 2088 were not recorded in Floroff's notes, but have been reconstructed from previous on-site measurements and photographs, in order to demonstrate the relationship between these tombs and to illustrate the original stepped facades and the stages of growth of 2088. The right half of the section (which is essentially an exterior elevation) is thus both later in date and less accurate than the left half. Unfortunately, it was impossible to plot on this section a brick pavement that, according to the Reis's Diary, originally extended over the bedrock between mastabas 2092 and 2091.

Beginning at the west end of the cluster (left), the section passes through a secondary shaft, 2094 z (labeled x), and the body of mastaba 2094, cutting its serdab (A), but not its chapel. Only the coursing of the top of the serdab was recorded. Between the stepped facades of 2094 and 2093, a roof block and, further north, a doorway to the corridor east of 2095 are seen in elevation (B). In the chapel of

2092+2093, a fragment of a buried column (C) can be seen in the NW corner of the recess; above it can be seen the rubble wall (D) of shaft 2093 d. The doorway (E) to the courtyard to the north is shown in elevation, as is another doorway to the same area (F) east of mastaba 2092. The section through 2091 cuts the serdab (G) and to the north of the central column in this chapel. The doorway to the chapel (H) is flanked by the original facade of 2091 on the left and a bulging, almost vertical wall on the right. The coursing of this wall, however, suggests that the steps of the original western facade have here been filled in to make a vertical wall. (A suggestion of the profile of the original face has been indicated with a dashed line.) In the eastern alcove of the chapel of 2091, the section passes through an angled skylight (I), which currently provides the only light in the chapel.

Beyond the east wall of 2091, many of the measurements are extrapolated from the Floroff plan. At the base of 2089 can be seen the rubble of 2089a, with the surviving top of shaft 2089a b abutting the wall of 2091. The walls facing the chapel (J) of 2089 extend above the outer facing and fill of the mastaba, which have been taken down to a uniform height to support the eastern facade of 2091. Between 2089 and 2088, the tops of two of the three shafts (K) that were built in this passage are visible. The rubble at the base of 2088 is an unnumbered structure built at a later period. No shaft was identified or excavated. The original eastern face of 2088 can be clearly seen in the wall profile, and is marked with a slightly heavier line (L). The first addition, 2088.S1 abuts it; the roof of the serdab (M) can be seen over the southern spur wall. The second addition to this part of the mastaba, 2088.1, is preserved only to the top of a single course on its southern face, and to the top of the second course on its northern face.

Conservation

In an effort to preserve and consolidate some of the most fragile parts of the tombs under study, the Museum of Fine Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities provided a conservator for the 1989 season. Pamela Hatchfield, Conservator at the Museum of Fine Arts, accompanied the expedition and prepared a report evaluating the mastabas and offering recommendations for their conservation, which was presented to the Egyptian Antiquities Organization as part of our report. Ms. Hatchfield's comments on the techniques of decoration and the current condition of the individual mastabas are given in the "Conservation" sections appended to the description of each decorated mastaba in Part ii. These sections also include her description of the protective measures she has taken for the preservation of the relief. In some cases I have added observations based on visits to the cluster in 1991 and 1994.

Part i

Analysis of the Cluster

Chapter 1: DESCRIPTION OF THE CLUSTER

The mastaba tombs presented in this volume form a well-defined, largely contiguous cluster in the Western Cemetery at Giza. In addition to the location of their tombs, all the owners of decorated tombs in the cluster had in common one or more titles showing supervisory responsibility over the *hntjw-s* of the palace. This common sphere of activity reveals each tomb owner's rank relative to the ranks of his neighbors. His tomb can then be compared to his neighbors' tombs, to determine the effects of differences in rank on its characteristics.

Facilitating this comparison is the unusual exactness with which it is possible to date the tombs in this cluster. Their contiguity and the two apparent shifts in the orientation of the cemetery allow the cluster's growth to be charted with considerable precision. As a result, changes in practices of tomb-building and burial in the cluster can be observed over time, and these variations can be distinguished from variations based on the relative ranks of the tomb owners. The cluster is thus an ideal laboratory for addressing questions about the effects of rank on tomb building and about cemetery regulation and growth.

These questions are important not only in themselves, but because they may also shed light on the structure and development of Old Kingdom settlements. Given the Egyptians' identification of tombs as "houses of eternity,"¹ the growth of cemeteries may parallel the growth of urban settlements during the same period. By the same equation, some aspects of tomb architecture probably reflect the architecture of contemporary domestic structures, for example, proportions of rooms and the minimum dimensions required for corridors and doorways. Although there are limits to the usefulness of this analogy, any clues to settlement patterns are valuable, given the scarcity of well-excavated domestic structures and urban areas dating to the Old Kingdom.

To make full use of the information that Old Kingdom tombs offer, their overall forms and interrelationships must be examined in some detail. This chapter describes the architectural and decorative

features of the cluster, focussing on their variability and their distribution within individual tombs and within the cluster.

The Architecture of the Mastabas

Foundation. The mastabas in the cluster appear to have been built directly on bedrock. Reisner surmised that the rock formation upon which the cluster rests was avoided during the building of the core cemeteries of large mastabas. He reasoned that its irregular surface, its sharp slope down to the north, and the frequency of "bad rock," a layer of red gravel and flint nodules that overlies it in some areas, made it undesirable. The slope of the underlying bedrock down to the north can be seen clearly in the shafts cut into the rock as well as the elevation drawn across a north-south section of the cluster (pl. 137). The tombs of this part of the cemetery, Reisner concluded, were built over what had previously been "a drainage gully through which rainwater ran off the terrace into the *wady* on the north."² However, the fact that substantial mastabas were eventually built in this area, and in other areas where the bedrock was far from ideal, casts some doubt on the degree to which Egyptian builders were limited by such considerations.³

Wall Construction. The mastaba tombs in this group were built entirely of stone, with the exception of a few mud-brick lined secondary shafts and some rubble-built structures of uncertain purpose. The mastabas are solid structures, consisting of a rubble fill retained by battered or stepped stone-built facades. Chapels and shafts are similarly lined with vertical retaining walls. Spur walls are not solid, but consist of a rubble fill within two parallel skins. The fill of mastabas and walls was not excavated by Reisner's team. Surface observation reveals that this fill often contained waste stone, granite fragments,⁴ and discarded ceramics, including bread molds, beer jars, and model offering vessels (see figs. 21, 28, 54, 65, 75, 83, and 87).

The mastabas were built entirely of nummulitic limestone, probably quarried from other parts of the Giza plateau area. Some blocks contain veins of a purplish mineral that appear initially to be paint. Other blocks have a distinctive stratum of soft stone that weathers easily and appears as a white streak. This streak runs across several blocks in the final extension of 2088 at the same level, which implies that they were quarried from adjacent areas in a single stratum of stone. This is also true, though less strikingly, of the upper course on the west face of 2230 and in other areas. No granite or other non-native stones survives in architectural use. It may be that imported stone was used, but was removed by the time of the excavations, since such stone was often the first to be scavenged.

In mastaba 2097, the interior chapel walls are of a limestone with a noticeably higher proportion of nummulitic inclusions than that found in the chapel walls of other mastabas. This harder stone allowed the decoration to be carved into the stone itself rather than

¹ *Pr dt.* This conception of the tomb as a house is graphically demonstrated in the private tombs of the 2nd and early Third Dynasty, which contain platforms for sleeping and model bathrooms. J.E. Quibell, *Archaic Tombs, 1913-1914*, Excavations at Saqqara 6 (Cairo, 1923). It is somewhat less applicable in the Fourth Dynasty; A. Roth, "Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries," *JARCE* 30 (1993), pp. 33-55.

² Reisner, *Giza Manuscript*, Chapter "L," pp. 1-2

³ This point was suggested to me by Michael Jones.

⁴ The surface granite fragments may have derived from the removal of pillars and other architectural elements that originally belonged to the mastabas. No granite is now present in the cluster. Since the mastaba fill was not excavated, it was impossible to determine whether the granite fragments continued in sealed lower levels of the fill, or only occurred on the surface.

into a plaster facing (as was the case with wall decoration in most other tombs). Unfortunately, the weathering of the stone between the nummulitic inclusions and the greater whiteness of those inclusions has created distracting patterns that make the delicate low relief carving difficult to see and photograph. The fact that the south wall of the chapel, which was originally the north facade of 2096, also has such inclusions suggests that this nummulite-filled stone was also used for exterior mastaba facades, where the rough finish makes the nummulites less obvious, and the hardness and durability they lend the stone would be desirable. Since the decoration in 2097 is of a higher quality than that elsewhere in the cluster, it may be that this type of stone was more difficult to carve, and could thus be used for decorated walls only by a tomb owner who could afford to hire the most expert craftsmen.

A single thickness of exterior masonry seems to form both the retaining wall and the facade of these mastabas, in contrast to earlier mastabas, where a masonry inner retaining wall was usually faced with a separate casing. Reisner recorded three types of exterior masonry in the cluster, u-masonry, z-masonry, and w-masonry.

Z-masonry forms a stepped facade. Each facing stone has only a slight batter, of between 5° and 10°, but is set back about 5 cm from the front edge of the stone below it. The joints are level, and the courses are horizontal and of uniform height (usually about 35 cm). This facing tends to occur on the earlier mastabas in the cluster.

Among the later mastabas, the most common facade type is u-masonry, which forms a battered exterior wall with an angle of 10° to 15°. The courses tend to be horizontal and uniform, although there are sometimes steps in the horizontal joints. There is more variation in the heights of courses than with z-masonry, and they are generally higher, often around 50 cm in height. Vertical joints can be angled, though usually not more than 15°. Walls of u-masonry vary considerably in their degree of finish; in some walls, the faces of the blocks protrude less than a centimeter beyond the joints, while other walls extend 5 cm or more beyond that point.

Only a single mastaba, 2230, exhibited w-masonry, which is a battered rather than a stepped facade, distinguished by very large, very roughly finished blocks. As in u-masonry, the horizontal joints are level, and only occasionally stepped; but vertical joints seem to be more consistently vertical.

Both horizontal and vertical joints of even the most roughly finished walls were often filled with plaster, down the center of which a single line was scored. These lines appear to have been made with a sharp point while the plaster was still wet. They were perhaps intended to mimic the hairline joints of finer masonry. They occur on the exterior walls of mastabas of both u-masonry and z-masonry. They never appear on walls that were originally inside a fully roofed room, although they do occur on the interior walls of undecorated porticoes, corridors, and courtyards.

Like the scored line marking the joints of the blocks, the battered angle of exterior walls was also apparently felt to be inappropriate to roofed interior spaces. When additions converted previously open areas to interior spaces, various methods were used to make the battered and stepped exterior faces vertical. When the corridor in mastaba 2091 was enclosed and roofed, its eastern wall, which had

originally been the stepped west facade of 2098, was packed with filling blocks to create a vertical wall. The west wall of the corridor, originally the battered east facade of 2091, was cut back to form a more vertical, though still slightly battered, wall. When a portico was built against the exterior of 2091 and 2092, these previously battered faces were encased with a layer of new vertical masonry. In this example, the casing also had the function of disguising different types of facing on adjacent mastabas.

Entrance doorways also required modification when additional construction converted them to internal doorways. For example, the recesses on either side of the doorways of mastabas 2088 and 2230 were filled to a level flush with the adjacent walls when interior spaces were added beyond them.

Changes in the orientation of mastabas and in the functions of their rooms were often camouflaged. When a doorway was moved to another part of the chapel, the old emplacement was not simply filled in with a wall abutting both sides of the gap. Instead, the exterior faces of adjacent walls were partially rebuilt to disguise the change. Examples of such rebuilding are the north and south faces of 2231, the south and east faces of 2091, and the north face of 2097. The south faces of 2092+2093 and 2094 were probably similarly rebuilt, but this cannot be confirmed as they were not excavated by Reisner's expedition. In all these cases, the abutments are clear from the inside, so it is unlikely that the intention was cosmetic.

The "camouflaging" of abutments probably had a structural explanation, since it occurs only on the external faces of mastabas faced with u-masonry. The abutments to buildings with stepped facades (z-masonry) are not camouflaged, even in the case of 2088, where the stepped facade was abutted by a later u-masonry facade. It seems likely that rebuilding of the original wall and camouflaging of the abutment was made necessary by the instability of the angled joint that would result when a new wall abutted a battered facade. A stepped facade, in contrast, would offer more stability and support to a wall that abutted it.

Tomb Types. Reisner described each mastaba in this cluster by assigning it to a mastaba type, designated by a Roman numeral, a lower case letter, and (in every case but one) an Arabic numeral in parentheses. The basic types represented in the cluster range from his types vii through xi, all denoting mastabas faced with stone but with no inner lining of stone.⁵ The distinctions between these five types depend upon the type of chapel: vii = chapel type (4); viii = chapel types (5), (6), (7), and apparently (10); ix = chapel type (8); x = chapel types (9) and apparently (11c); and xi = chapel type (9d). The lower case letter following the basic type corresponds to the type of facing masonry: a = w-masonry (battered, built of oversized blocks), b = z-masonry (stepped facing), and c = u-masonry (battered, built of normal sized blocks). The parenthetical number is one in all cases except for that of mastaba 2097, where it is omitted altogether. Reisner

⁵ *GNi*, pp. 39–56.

does not explain these numbers, but they may refer to the number of rooms in the chapel.⁶

Chapel types (4), (5), (6), (8), (9), (10), and (11) are represented in the cluster. Unfortunately, Reisner failed to recognize that some of these shapes were not the result of the initial intention of the builders, but of successive alterations to the mastaba. For example, Reisner used one such tomb, 2091, as his type-tomb for the “corridor” chapel type (10c).⁷ In fact, the shape of this chapel, like most other “corridor” chapels in this cluster, resulted from a shift in the orientation of the cluster to the north, which forced the closing off of southern entrances in 2086, 2091, 2092+2093, and 2094. These chapels were originally simple recessed chapels, rather like Reisner’s type (11), “portico” chapels, although they are narrower and deeper than his description of this type and contained no, one, or two pillars. When the south end of the passage between mastabas was blocked, the corridor formed by the facade and the back of an adjacent mastaba became the only access to the chapel. g 2098 and 2099 were presumably built in imitation of the resulting “corridor” style, and are the only true corridor chapels in the cluster, although in both cases the history of construction may also be more complex than it at first appears.

Another apparent imitation of a shape resulting from this reorientation is the chapel of 2097. It seems to copy the final form of the complex directly south of it, 2092+2093, resulting in Reisner’s chapel type (5d). The decorated chamber of 2097 is entered from the south, possibly originally through a courtyard. As in 2092+2093, the largest part of the inner room of 2097 is the recess in the west wall, which was decorated with a palace facade design. South of the recess is a dead-end corridor, somewhat wider than the blocked southern entrance of 2092+2093. The west wall of the corridor in 2097 is missing, but may have contained a false door parallel to that in 2093. In 2097, as in 2093, the principal shaft is directly behind this wall.⁸ This chapel type, like (10c), imitated the final shape that resulted when successive changes were made to a chapel that was initially built as another type.

The earlier chapels in this cluster thus appear to be of three basic types, “recessed chapels” resembling Reisner’s type (11), “L-shaped chapels” of type (4), and simple “false door emplacements,” either set into an interior corridor to correspond to Reisner’s type (5) or into the east facade to create type (9). Modifications to these chapels resulted in forms that inspired types (5d) and (10c). The single “cruciform” chapel of type (6) that Reisner identified, 2086, is either a small recessed chapel or an L-shaped chapel with one end blocked off (as the pattern of decoration suggests). Reisner’s two roofed exterior

chapels of type (8) are simply porticoes that acquired false doors in later building phases.⁹

Mastaba chapels have either one or two original false doors (or, in the case of 2086, perhaps none at all). Interestingly, the number of false doors does not correlate with chapel type; recessed, L-shaped, and simple emplacements all occur with both one and two false doors. There also does not appear to be any correlation between the presence of two false doors and references to a wife in the chapel decoration. In only one case (2097) is the northern door dedicated to a woman.

Architraves and Roofing blocks. The ceilings of chapels and corridors were built of narrow limestone slabs (about 60 cm wide in 2091, the best-preserved case). Somers Clark and R. Englebach note that “limestone is not the medium for architraves; the most that can be spanned, for instance, by Tura or Ma’sara limestone is about 9 feet [= 2.75 m]. Even when such a space is spanned by an architrave, it will not bear roof-blocks with any likelihood of lasting.”¹⁰ They quote a communication from Reisner in which he indicated that, at Giza, “the span over which the weight was borne was usually between 120 cm and 150 cm and over these roofs there was usually only a layer of filling 20 to 100 cm thick.”¹¹ This corresponds well with the evidence for roofing in the cluster. In the chapel of 2091, where the original ceiling survives, the space that is actually spanned by a single block of stone was about 1.6 m, the maximum span attested in this cluster. More often the gaps bridged seem to have been shorter, between 1 and 1.5 m, especially in the case of architraves that must themselves have supported roof blocks.

While in L-shaped chapels and corridors these roof blocks rested directly on walls, in recessed chapels they normally rested upon a limestone architrave that spanned the opening in the eastern facade, running north to south, sometimes with the additional support of one or more pillars. A central pillar allowed direct access to false doors at either or both ends of the west wall in 2091, 2094, 2098, and 2099; while the mastabas with two or no pillars, mastabas 2093 and 2097, had only palace facade decoration in the recess.

The roofs of recessed chapels approached by a corridor were similarly supported, with the architrave serving to divide the recess from the corridor. Several mastabas used the facades of earlier mastabas to the east to support the ceilings of their corridors. The owners of two mastabas, 2091 and 2098, apparently found it necessary to encroach further on their eastern neighbors (2089 and 2099) by removing the mastaba fill and building an inner face to support the western facades. The builders of 2094, 2086, and 2099 did not do this, perhaps because their corridors were not roofed (2086 and 2099) or because both facades supporting the roof were stepped rather than battered (2094).

g 2093 probably had at least two pillars, although only a single decorated pillar survives. If this had this been the only support, an

⁶ Reisner’s typological assignments for the mastabas are listed at the beginning of their individual entries in Part ii, based on the information given in his *Giza Manuscript*, Chapter “L.” Most designations of mastaba types and chapel types are internally consistent. The exception was 2095, where the chapel type (9c) implies mastaba type x rather than the type xi listed (which would imply chapel type 8); I have registered this disagreement in a footnote. I have, however, corrected the mastaba type in 2093, to agree with a change made in ink to the chapel type, since Reisner’s final opinion was obvious. I have also corrected both the masonry types and the corresponding lower case letters in the mastaba type so that they reflect reality. (All corrected figures are given in square brackets.)

⁷ *GN1*, p. 285 and fig 182 on p. 286.

⁸ Reisner apparently also assumed there was a false door in this position, since he has assigned 2097 to his chapel type (5d), in which one or more false-door niches were located on the non-recessed part of the west wall.

⁹ In chapel descriptions, I have used the verbal descriptions rather than Reisner’s types, to distinguish my interpretations from his. References to numerical types thus always reflect Reisner’s interpretations unless they are specifically described as reinterpretations.

¹⁰ *Ancient Egyptian Masonry: The Building Craft* (Oxford, 1930), p. 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

architrave would have been required that spanned gaps of 1.85 m; with two pillars this would be reduced to 1.1 m, roughly equivalent to the gaps bridged by the architrave supporting the portico of 2240 and the interior architraves of 2091 and 2098. A block that may be the base of a second pillar was noted in the northwest corner of the recess in 1990. Alternatively, the architrave may have been of a stronger stone, such as granite. Granite fragments have been found on the surfaces of these mastabas, although no granite elements survive in situ. (If this was the case, the surviving limestone architrave fragment bearing the titles of this tomb's owner must be restored elsewhere in the mastaba, perhaps over the doorway at the blocked southern entrance to the chapel, not far from its position in 1987.)

The other chapels where the recess is too wide to be spanned by an unsupported limestone architrave are more problematic. The chapels of both 2097 and 2099 have comparatively shallow recesses. Even a central pillar of half the normal thickness of 50 cm would have allowed less than a meter between the back of the pillar and the west wall. Yet the north-south axes of these recesses (2.4 and 2.8 m respectively) are greater than the maximum that is normally spanned by a single limestone architrave.¹² A lost granite architrave may have spanned these recesses, allowing a roof with no pillars at all. In support of this, the preserved floor of 2097 shows no evidence of a pillar emplacement.¹³

In entrance porticoes, two pillars were normally used to support the architrave. They were not structurally necessary, but they did not block a central doorway as a single pillar would have done.

An examination of the proportions of recesses, porticoes, and corridors reveals some regularities in the spaces spanned by roofing blocks and architraves by the builders of these chapels (see fig. 1¹⁴).

Porticoes	
2088	0.9 m
2092+2093	[.9]
2097	1.0
2240	1.1
Recessed chapels with pillars	
2091	1.6 m
2093	ca 1.6
2094	1.45
2098	1.4
Recessed chapels without pillars	
2086	1.17 m
2097	1.2
2099	1.3

¹² Between 120 cm and 150 cm, according to Reisner in Clark and Englebach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, p. 9.

¹³ A limestone lintel-shaped block was found in 2097, but from its decoration it can be restored with certainty at the top of the south chapel wall. It may represent the reuse of a lintel from another chapel, although no earlier decoration was visible.

¹⁴ The pillars in the courtyard between 2092+2093 and 2097 seem to have been moved or replaced when the function of the portico changed from being the entrance to 2092+2093 (for visitors coming from the north) to an entrance portico for 2097 (for visitors coming from the south). Their current position (about 1.6 m from the north face of 2092+2093) is at the maximum distance for the spanning of roof blocks in this cluster. However, in addition to the two notches in the walls on either side of the portico that supported the ends of the lintel that spanned these pillars, there is a third notch on the west wall, about .9 m (estimated) from the north wall of 2092. (The east wall is not preserved above this point.) This notch probably held an architrave spanning earlier, slightly higher pillars, which supported an entrance portico of standard depth for 2092+2093.

L-shaped chapels	
2088	1.15 m
2089	1.07
2230	1.5
2240	1.3
Corridors	
2084	1.1 m
2086	0.9
2087	1.0
2091	1.0
2093	1.05
2094	1.05
2095	1.0

Fig. 1. Variability in the dimensions of chapels, corridors, and porticoes. The measurements indicate the distance in meters spanned by roof blocks, either from the backs of pillars or jambs, or between walls.

While some of these regularities undoubtedly reflect the structural limitations of the limestone used in these chapels, other patterns cannot be explained structurally. The shapes of the spaces that are not structurally limited probably embody cultural ideas about the proper size and proportions of spaces. These proportions may in turn derive from the structural properties of the materials used in domestic architecture.

The corridor widths are the most consistent, and seem to be uniform even in unroofed spaces. They are comparable to domestic corridor widths as preserved in the houses along the causeway of Khentkawes at Giza.¹⁵ This width probably represents the space the Egyptians felt was necessary to allow people to pass one another comfortably.

The depth of porticoes is presumably less restrained by the requirements of human anatomy. The examples in this cluster suggest, however, that porticoes were regularly built with a space of about 1 m between the back face of the pillars and the back wall. This depth may be determined by the depth allowed by the organic materials used to roof porches and porticoes in domestic buildings. Again, the single Old Kingdom domestic structure that seems to have had such a portico, from the Khentkawes settlement, seems to show similar depth.¹⁶

Recessed chapels were deeper, though still not approaching the structural limit. In later Egyptian domestic architecture, the principal living room was often a central room, roughly square in its proportions, with a high roof supported by a central pillar.¹⁷ If such rooms were equally prevalent in Old Kingdom houses, it may be that their proportions influenced the depth of pillared tomb chapels, despite the difference in materials and resulting structural constraints.

Except for mastaba 2230, which is unusually large throughout, L-shaped chapels are shallower than most pillared recessed chapels. The three recessed chapels that seem to lack pillars are similar in depth to L-shaped chapels. The shallowness of the recessed chapel of 2086, the shallowest of the three, might be explained by the hypothesis that it was originally built as an L-shaped chapel, a possibility that is also suggested by anomalies in its decoration.¹⁸

¹⁵ Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 4, 1932-1933* (Cairo, 1943), fig. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ F. Arnold, "A Study of Egyptian Domestic Buildings," *VA* 5 (1989), p. 83.

¹⁸ See the discussion of the decoration of this chapel in Part ii.

Ceilings and Roofs. It is possible to determine the height of a ceiling with certainty in only one chapel, 2091, where both the ceiling and the floor are preserved. The height of the chapel itself was 2.6 m,¹⁹ while the lower ceiling of the closed-off entrance area (“closet”) was 2.3 m above the floor, a difference that allowed for a clerestory window. The ceiling of the serdab in the same tomb was 1.7 m high. The corridor between 2093 and 2094 also had a roofing block preserved, 2.15 m above the floor as excavated. The surviving height of the interior chapel of 2092+2093 is 2.33 m, but a floor may have been removed. Doorways are always considerably lower than the ceiling. The doorway at the north entrance to 2091 is 1.45 m in height, that of 2094 is 1.4 m, and that of 2092+2093 is 1.8 m, again possibly because of missing floor blocks. An exterior doorway in the passage between 2092 and 2091, giving access to a court, is slightly higher, 1.9 m. The Phase iii doorway from that court into the court east of 2097, as measured in 1990, was also 1.9 m above the present ground level. External doorways thus seem to have been higher than those leading into a roofed space.

No exterior roofing of the mastaba body is preserved in these chapels, although facing blocks often extend higher than the chapel ceiling. There were no fallen architectural elements readily identifiable as cornices or roofing stones. However, if the mastabas were roofed in stone, the roofing blocks would have been the most accessible to scavengers, and would have been the first to be removed for reuse. At least one mastaba, 2089, appears to have been unroofed during the later phases of the construction of the cemetery, since a support wall for an adjacent mastaba was built over it at a level below the top of its chapel walls. (It may be, of course, that the mastaba was re-roofed after the construction of the wall, and that the roofing material was again removed later.) Mastabas may have normally been left unroofed; this would have left the location of shafts apparent from above, but so long as the mastaba facing survived, the tops of mastabas were relatively inaccessible. (There is no evidence of stairs in the cluster.)

Flooring of chapels. Only one chapel has a surviving masonry floor, 2097. This floor is of limestone, and irregular in pattern. Like the walls surrounding it, its surface was clearly cut down after being laid in place, since the join between the wall and the floor rarely occurs at the angle. The floor was laid in large, rough blocks, smoothed from wear, with a staggered bond. The size of the blocks is comparable to the adjacent wall blocks, on the order of 60 x 50 cm. A small clearance adjacent to the door exposed part of the side of a paving block, which was at least 20 cm deep. The joins between the paving blocks are about .5 cm wide, and are uniformly filled with gypsum.²⁰

When a floor such as that found in 2097 was removed from a tomb, the angle between the floor and the wall often left a “scar,” in the form of a protruding unfinished level of wall block. Such a scar is clear on the western wall of the blocked southern corridor of

2092+2093. In other cases, where a change in the finish of the stone coincides with a new course, it is difficult to tell whether a floor has been removed or whether the lowest course has just been left unfinished to form a “baseboard” for aesthetic or practical reasons. In at least two mastabas (2096 and 2097) the lowest courses were quite clearly left rough intentionally, perhaps to emphasize a more finely finished surface higher on the wall.

According to Reisner's *Giza Manuscript*,²¹ the floor of 2091's chapel was not of stone but of packed limestone debris, to a depth of 12.5 cm the east and 25 cm on the west, leveling a downward slope of the bedrock towards the west. (See the cross-section of this chapel in pl. 136.) The Reis's Diary also notes a “limestone floor debris,” in the chapel of 2094, perhaps the same sort of packed limestone debris described in 2091. Since he describes it as being “above the red rock,” and the floor does not seem significantly higher than the bedrock on the section drawn from Floroff's measurements, it was presumably removed during the clearance of the mastaba. This packed limestone debris is also noted in several other mastaba chapels and serdabs, for example, the courtyard of 2097 and the serdab floor of 2240. It seems always to have been removed by the excavators, since the underlying bedrock is normally mentioned in the same sentence. In the chapel of 2240, a mud floor, overlying the limestone, was recorded. It was apparently also removed.

The use of brick flooring for the exterior passage between 2091 and 2092 is recorded in the excavation notes of the Reis. The notes, dated August 7, 1936, read: “g 2091: In the street west of this mastaba, between it and 2092. Limestone debris, drift sand, rubble, pebble and big stones fall[en] in the street. The street is cleared on N on a mud-brick floor on the top of bad rock mixed with pebble.”²² Since the material beneath the floor is described, the floor was presumably removed. No trace of brick remains today in this passage, and there are no changes in the finish of the adjacent walls that might indicate a rougher finish beneath floor level. This brick floor was probably built after the completion of the adjacent mastabas, most likely during Phase ii, when the passage was one of the few routes of access to the tombs south of the cluster.

Subterranean Architecture and Burials

Subterranean shafts with burial chambers were dug into most mastabas. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, to dig very far into the bedrock from the bottom of a pit dug through mastaba fill, because the impact necessary to break the bedrock could be expected to bring the walls that retained the mastaba fill down upon the workers. Therefore, shafts that penetrate the bedrock more than a few centimeters can reasonably be assumed to have been built before the body of the mastaba. The shafts that end at the rock surface could have been dug through the top of the mastaba massif after construction was complete, although they may equally well have been contemporary with the mastaba construction. (The many shafts in the

¹⁹ This measurement and those that follow are based on the measurements made by A. Floroff in June of 1937. I have rounded the numbers to the nearest 10 cm.

²⁰ This description is taken, largely verbatim, from the 1990 field notes of Jeffrey Burden, p. 18.

²¹ Chapter “L,” p. 142.

²² This section appears to refer to the northern part of the passage itself, rather than the courtyard north of it or the passage between 2097' and 2098 on the north side of 2091, since both of these areas were cleared only later.

cluster that appeared not to have been used would argue for such advance preparation. If shafts were dug for specific burials, one would expect them to be used.)

The stone retaining walls that lined the shafts were normally constructed directly on the bedrock. Principal shafts were usually lined with well constructed masonry, whereas the later shafts, ending above the surface of the bedrock, were more commonly lined with rubble and mud conglomerate (“dubsh,” in the notes). Even in rubble-built shafts, however, larger slabs were used for roofing chambers. Shafts lined with mud brick walls are rare; they are presently indicated only by dark areas on the surface, and are too weathered to allow the determination of the dimensions of the bricks or the way in which they were laid. Their chambers are generally stone-built rather than constructed of brick, perhaps because brick walls would not support the weight of the roof and the overlying mastaba massif. The walls of masonry shafts and the subterranean walls of all shafts often show footholds (or possibly holes to support an interior scaffolding) on all four faces (see fig. 2). Some shafts also show red paint marks.

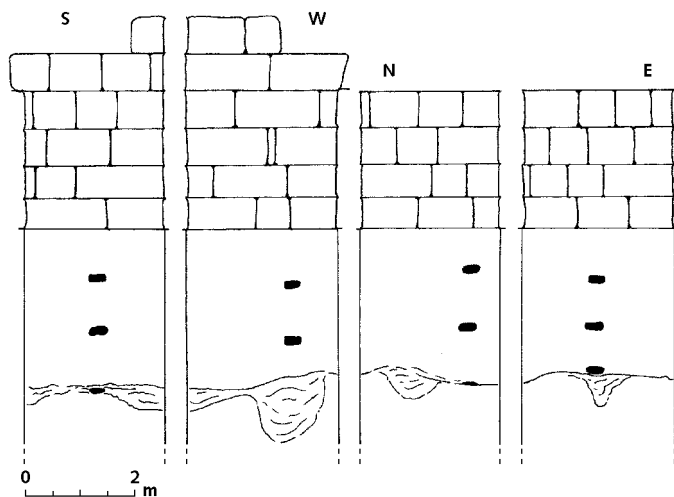


Fig. 2. Measured drawing of the upper part of shaft 2093 a, showing depressions for footholds or possibly scaffolding.

With one exception, the chamber opening off the shaft remains in or under the mastaba massif, even when the chamber is deep in the bedrock. Occasionally chambers extend under adjacent mastabas as well, but there seems to have been a prejudice against placing a burial chamber under an area where there was no covering masonry and where people would walk. The one exception, the chamber of 2088 a, extends under the chapel, with the axis of the burial pit running directly under the west wall. The depth of the shaft may have led to a miscalculation, or it may be that the position directly under the false doors had some other significance.²³

A peculiarity of the principal shaft seems to have been its relative isolation from secondary shafts, a spatial separation between burial chambers that may reflect the wealth or class of their occupants. In

²³ It is possible that the shaft was more angled than the Tomb Card indicates, so the chamber did not extend quite so far to the east, but it must have been at least partially under the chapel. No error in recording the orientation of the shaft on the Tomb Card is likely, since if the chamber opened to the west it would extend under the path between 2088 and 2089, an even more unlikely position; the orientation of the burial pit precludes a northern or southern chamber.

the largest mastabas (2088, 2089, 2091, 2093, 2094, 2097, 2098, and 2240), the principal shaft is isolated in the southern part of the mastaba, while the secondary shafts tend to cluster thickly at the north. (Interestingly, this isolation only seems to apply to the entrances of the principal shafts; their chambers are often quite close to, or even overlap, those of secondary shafts, perhaps because their subterranean depth was seen as a sufficient barrier.) The distance may reflect some sort of taboo, or perhaps a need for greater private space attributed to the officials who were the builders of these tombs.

There are normally not many secondary shafts in major mastabas, suggesting that the owner provided burial only for his immediate family.²⁴ Although evidence about family members from chapel iconography may be incomplete, there are some interesting correspondences. The chapel of 2086 depicts Redi, his wife, and two children; his tomb has four shafts. The chapel of 2097 depicts only the tomb owner and an anonymous boy, and the mastaba has only a single principal shaft. Mastaba 2091 depicts Kapi and Khamer-ernebty and their three daughters, along with several of Kapi's brothers and sisters. Although the mastaba itself has only four shafts, one daughter (Tjezet) was probably buried behind the false door bearing that name in 2097', directly to the north; this would leave enough shafts for Kapi's immediate family in 2091; his brother and sisters may have also been buried in 2097'. On the other hand, there are only two shafts in 2240, although a son (possibly two sons) and at least one daughter are depicted in the tomb decoration, implying the existence of a wife, although she does not seem to have been shown in the decoration. The explanation here may also be that some family members were buried in other tombs, and that this was already known when the tomb of the paterfamilias was planned. The opposite situation, in which fewer family members than anticipated made use of the family mastaba, is perhaps to be seen in the complex of 2092+2093+2096, where all seven shafts in the secondary mastabas 2092 and 2096 apparently remained unused.

Mastaba extensions were presumably built to allow for the burial of dependents and more distant relatives. Perhaps because there was no area of restricted placement, secondary mastabas with no clear principal shaft tend to have many more shafts than principal independent mastabas. g 2084 has seven; 2095 has nine; and 2231 has ten. Smaller subsidiary mastabas, 2096 and 2095', have only three or four shafts, but they are densely packed. Independent mastabas tend to have three to five shafts. The single exception, 2098, has nine shafts, but six of them are clustered at the far north end of the mastaba, some distance from the other three shafts, which may imply a conceptually distinct area.

The dating of the secondary shafts is problematic, and must be based on the form of the shaft itself and the contents of the burial. Reisner was of the opinion that most secondary shafts dated to the Sixth Dynasty; however, it is worth noting that although these shafts are very densely packed, in only one case (2095 b) does a later construction cut into an earlier one. Chambers seem always to be

²⁴ This distribution may again be a reflection of residential patterns. The limited extent of Egyptian kinship terms and other textual evidence has been used to argue for nuclear family households in Old Kingdom Egypt, at least as an ideal; cf. B.G. Trigger, *Early Civilizations: Ancient Egypt in Context* (Cairo, 1993), pp. 35–36.

positioned so as to avoid neighboring constructions, sometimes by a very narrow margin, despite the fact that these earlier chambers would often have been closed and inaccessible. This circumstance suggests two possible explanations: either very detailed records were kept of the exact position of the chambers buried in the body of each mastaba, or, more likely, the secondary shafts were all constructed over a very short period of time, possibly even simultaneously with the mastaba massif. This latter possibility seems especially likely for mastaba extensions, where the shafts are very densely distributed; it is certainly the case in 2096 and 2097', where pairs of burial chambers were constructed directly under serdab chambers.

Burial chambers are normally single rooms with rectangular burial pits or rectangular stone or wooden coffins. The largest chambers tend to be subterranean, although well-built chambers in the body of the mastaba, lined with masonry or rubble walls and roofed with slabs, also existed. Builders of secondary shafts tended to make use of existing masonry by positioning their shafts along the outer facades of mastabas buried by later construction. Other shafts were located in the corridors between mastabas, where the burial chamber could be created by wedging a slab between the battered or stepped walls, building the end wall and the shaft with rubble walls, and then filling in the corridor. Serdabs could also be used for burials, and in 2089, an entire chapel was taken over for this purpose. Most of these intrusive burials were comparatively sterile, so it is difficult to determine at what period they were built. Some shafts had no chambers at all. It may be that a chamber would have been constructed when the shaft was used for burial; or the shaft's occupant may simply have been placed at the bottom of the shaft, sheltered by a few slabs, as was the case in several occupied tombs.

The entrance to the burial chamber could be blocked either by a single slab leaning over the opening, or by a wall in the same position. Frequently the walls built to block the entrance lean at the same angle as a slab would have done. This suggests that the leaning slab was the original method of closing the tomb and the wall was a substitute. The walls could be built of masonry, rubble, loosely piled debris, or a combination of these elements. They were often chinked and faced with mud plaster.

The interment of the dead also varied widely. The majority of the dead seem to have simply been laid in their burial chambers, with few or no grave goods. This paucity of grave goods makes it likely that the emptiness of many small shafts is not the result of robbery, but is due to the fact that they were never used. The position of the body is most often extended in the principal burials, and contracted to varying degrees in the secondary ones. The head normally lies to the north and faces east, even in the extended burials. There are only two exceptions to this orientation, 2098 b and 2095 E(ii). Both of these bodies are contracted, with their heads to the west and their faces to the south. Both burials apparently are those of adults, the latter probably a young adult, and the former of an older individual.²⁵

²⁵ The excavators identified the occupant of 2095 e(ii) as a child. However, on the basis of her examination of the excavation photograph, Allison Webb-Willcox suggested that the body was that of a young adult, a view supported by the indications of visible wear on the teeth. The occupant of 2098 b was skeletally adult and showed significant tooth wear.

Preparation of the bodies apparently included both wrapping in cloth and, in one case, coating of the face and body with a layer of plaster that was then sculpted. Some bodies seem to have received no treatment at all. Most bodies, as they appear in the excavation photographs and in the drawings on the Tomb Cards, appear to have been reduced to skeletons. The flesh had presumably decayed, or may have been removed before burial.²⁶ A few bodies were simply bundled into small cloth-wrapped packets, in order to fit into very small spaces. Coffins of wood or stone and burial pits occur only in the principal shafts, although in some cases secondary burials seem to have been placed, contracted, in wooden boxes. One circumstance not noted in the records, but apparent in many of the excavation photographs, is a stone "pillow" placed under the head of the deceased. This practice appears to be most common in burials with no coffin or other grave goods.

One curious characteristic of the shafts is the great variation that can be seen in the contents of their fill, even in adjacent shafts, as recorded in the Reis's Diary. These variations may offer clues to the subsequent history of the cemetery and the robbery of some burials. This analysis has not been attempted here, but the contents of the fill, as recorded by the Reis, is given in the "excavation" section for each mastaba.

Placement of Decoration

It is difficult to compare the extent and distribution of decoration in the mastabas because the preservation of the decoration is incomplete. Even when a wall is well preserved, and appears to be undecorated, it may once have been decorated in paint rather than painted relief. In general, if any of the walls of a chapel were decorated, they all seem to have been. There are two exceptions to this pattern. In the L-shaped chapel of 2088, the north and south end walls seem not to have been decorated; and in 2098, there is part of an offering list on the west wall of the corridor just south of its recessed chapel, but no other decoration in its corridor. Changes in chapels that involved new walls and appropriation of previously exterior space were accompanied by decoration in some cases (the corridors of 2091 and 2092+2093), but were not in others (2086).

The most consistently decorated elements were doorjambs. With one exception, these depicted the tomb owner striding out of the tomb, often accompanied by a child. The exception is the jamb of the doorway to the courtyard added to 2088, where the tomb owner's son, who presumably built this addition, is shown entering his father's chapel (the facing jamb has been lost). Interestingly, mastaba facades and porticoes flanking the main entrance do not seem to have been decorated, although the pillars of two porticoes (2088 and 2240) bore sunk-relief figures of the tomb owner. The smoothing of the surface and a red ground line on the facade of 2086 suggest that a decorated entrance was planned, but not completed. The figure of a man on the northern back wall of the portico of 2088, like the false door on the southern wall, was not part of a decorated entrance but probably dates to the conversion of that area to an interior space by

²⁶ This technique is described and the evidence for it is discussed in A.J. Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1982), pp. 41-43.

the tomb owner's son. Like the figure on the doorjamb, the man shown is facing into the inner chapel. The exterior facade was recessed around the doorway in only two mastabas, 2088 and 2230, and in both cases the recesses were filled in when the entrance was converted to an internal door by later construction.

A characteristic of mastaba decoration that has not been much noted previously is the height of the lowest register of carved decoration above the floor. In this cluster, the height varies considerably within individual tombs as well as between them. False doors and palace facade niching generally extend to floor level (or to the top of an adjacent offering slab), regardless of the height of the wall decoration. Pilasters flanking a recessed chapel tend to have baselines at the same height as the adjacent chapel walls, while doorjamb have a lower baseline and pillars have a higher one. The measurements of the decoration above the ground level are summarized in fig. 3. These groundlines affect the quantity of wall decoration, since the nearer the floor the lowest register begins, the greater was the ratio of the total area of surface decoration per linear meter of wall.

2086:	0.46 m (all chapel walls) 0.12 m (recess) 0.5 m (pilasters)
2087:	0.36 m (east doorjamb in 1994) 0.10 m (west doorjamb in 1994)
2088:	0.84 m (east and west walls in 1994) 1.22 m (pillars of portico in 1994) 0.60 m (figure on portico in 1994)
2091:	0.98 m (north wall of recess) 0.97 m (south wall of recess) 1.02 m (east corridor) 0.99 m (west corridor) 0.85 m (pilasters) 0.95–8 (pilasters of recess) 1.10 m (column)
2092+2093:	0.68 m (doorjambs in 1994) 1.00 m (east and west walls, above north doorsill in 1994) 0.63 m (west wall, south end, above "bench")
2097:	0.63 m (all walls in 1994)
2098:	0.21 m (west wall between false doors; north wall) 0.25 m (column faces, 1987)
2240:	0.88 m (west wall at south end, 1989) 0.65–69 m (doorjambs)

Fig. 3. The heights of the base of carved decoration above the floors of the chapels. (The measurements date to 1990 unless another date is noted.)

In general, larger chapels decorated during the Old Kingdom tend to have a dado, often about a meter in height, painted black, with two horizontal bands, each about 10 cm wide, near the top. The upper band is red, the lower one is yellow. Narrower black bands, 1–2 cm wide, separate them from each other and from the base of the figurative decoration. Such a dado is attested in only two tombs in this cluster. An 8-cm-wide red border under the scenes on the north section of the west wall of 2240 was noted in 1990, and excavation photographs show a similar band on the south section. In

2092+2093, the excavation photographs of the threshing scene on the east wall show clearly the red band beneath the carved decoration. Presumably both these tombs had a yellow band below the red. The base of decoration was roughly 1 m above the floor in 2092+2093 (the floor is lost); and in 2240 it is about .9 m high. The baselines in 2091 and 2088 are also almost a meter above the floor, so they presumably had such dados as well. The height of the doorjambs in 2091, 2092+2093, and 2240 are all 10–15 cm lower than the adjacent walls, perhaps so that their bases are level with the base of the dado.

In 2086, a narrow band of red paint ran below the lowest register of carved decoration, presumably an alternative to the black dado with red and yellow bands. The base of the decoration is lower in this tomb, only about .50 m above the floor. This single border line may also have been used in other tombs where the decoration extended too low on the wall to allow for a dado. These include 2097, 2086, and 2098.

Techniques of Decoration

The surviving decoration in the mastabas is mostly carved in raised relief. Two different techniques were used for the carving of this decoration, depending largely on the quality of the underlying stone.

Most chapel walls were of poor-quality limestone, unsuitable for carving. These walls were entirely covered with a 5–10 mm thick layer of plaster, then coated with a thinner surface of finer white plaster, into which the decoration was carved. This carving was often done while the plaster was still partly wet.²⁷ This technique, in which the carving is almost entirely in the plaster itself, preserves the decoration and its modelling and fine details better, but only as long as the plaster remains attached to the walls. When it becomes detached, most of the decoration is lost, and only the deepest cuts of the sculptor's chisel remain. This technique was used in 2086, on the east wall of 2088, in the corridor of 2091, on the east wall of 2092+2093, on the north and south walls of 2098, and on all walls but the west wall in 2240.

On chapel walls built of harder stone, and on architectural elements, such as pillars, architraves, lintels and doorjambs, decoration was carved directly into the limestone, although the gaps between blocks were often filled with plaster and decorated using the same technique used to decorate poorer stone. The harder stone surfaces were also generally smoothed with a film of plaster that would have served as a base for paint. In some cases, this plaster film seems to have been applied after the decoration was carved, to smooth out any mistakes in the carving as well as flaws in the stone. The reliefs carved using this technique tend to be pitted and weathered, although the basic outline survives the loss of the plaster better than plaster-cut decoration. Paint, modelling, and lightly-incised details are usually entirely gone. Decoration was carved directly into the stone walls throughout 2097, on the west wall of 2088, on the three walls of the recessed chapel of 2091, on the western walls of 2092+2093, on the west wall of 2098, and the west wall of 2240. In addition, architectural elements such as pillars and doorjambs, which were made of

²⁷ This suggestion was made by P. Hatchfield, who repaired much of this plaster decoration during the 1989 season.

better stone for structural reasons, are uniformly decorated using this technique.

There was a clear tendency to use better stone, into which decoration could be carved directly, on the west walls. This practice may result from several circumstances. Since the false door was located there, the whole wall may have been built of a more durable stone. In some cases, also, this wall was the most visible from outside the tomb, where any cost-cutting use of plaster would have been the most conspicuous, while the side walls and the east wall would be noticed by the visitor only on the way out. In the case of the corridor of 2091 and the east wall of 2092+2093, the walls were decorated later, and the plaster-cut decoration may reflect different economic resources (or different incentives to invest them) in later periods.

In addition to the prevailing raised relief carving, some decoration in the cluster was carved in sunk relief. This includes all the exterior architraves and pillars, and the false door in 2092a. Various names, perhaps added later, were carved in sunk relief on parts of in 2088 and 2091 which were otherwise decorated with raised relief. Unfinished sunk relief decoration can be seen on the drum lintel of 2092+2093. The unfinished figure on the southern doorjamb of 2230+2231 was probably intended to be in raised relief, although only a single cut in the stone was made.

The relief decoration in these mastabas was almost certainly entirely painted. Paint survived only partially in 2092, 2086, 2098, and 2240. Whether the undecorated mastabas were originally decorated in paint cannot now be determined, but it is likely that they were.

Chapter 2: HISTORY AND DATING OF THE CLUSTER

The sequence of construction of the cluster is an essential prerequisite to the analyses of its spatial organization and the factors that influenced the forms of the tombs. In addition, it provides information about the activities and preferences of tomb builders at the site and furnishes an example of cemetery growth. In this chapter, the relative sequence of construction and reconstructions of the tombs are established first, based on their architectural relationships and orientation. The decorated tombs are then assigned dates in terms of kings' reigns, based on features in their decoration and inscriptions, and the relative sequence can be used to narrow these ranges and to date the undecorated tombs.

The Sequence of Mastaba Construction

Reisner ordered these tombs based on his assumption that "mastabas of independent site" were built first, and then subsidiary mastabas were built around them. Dates of the individual mastabas were based on the types of their chapels and shafts. He argued that the presence of his chapel types (4), (5), (8), (9), (10), and (11) in this cluster indicated a date range from the late Fifth through the Sixth Dynasties.¹ The prevalence of shaft type (8) in this cluster, he suggested, meant that most secondary shafts were built during the Sixth Dynasty.² However, the fact that the secondary shafts seem to have fit so well together within the mastabas without overlapping suggests that they were all built within a comparatively short period, probably no more than a generation after the construction of the mastaba they occupied. One secondary shaft, 2097' f, can be shown to predate a change that occurred well before the end of construction in the cemetery. Reisner's shaft typology seems as likely to represent economic differences as chronological developments, and is in any case not very exact.

Aside from the two obvious additions to 2088, the only changes in the cemetery that Reisner discussed were the construction of additional mastabas and secondary shafts. He did not consider the possibility that finished mastabas were modified after their comple-

tion. This narrow view obscured many important changes, including changes in the placement of doors and walls, changes in the original mastaba to accommodate the building of extensions and additions, facing of earlier walls and doorway revetments, and the reuse of architectural elements in later constructions. Like New Kingdom temples, the tombs in this cluster seem to have changed by growing outwards, expanding their area with corridors, porticoes, and courtyards.

Consideration of these changes, in conjunction with the basic pattern of bonds between buildings and parts of buildings, yielded a rough sequence of constructional events. When this sequence was reduced to its most compact form, a distinctive pattern was noted. The earliest tombs have entrances oriented to the south and east. They are arranged in a single line along the path south of the cluster, the path that leads west from the Khufu pyramid enclosure and cemetery 2100, past the north side of mastaba g 2000, and into the western half of the western cemetery. This path was obviously a well-travelled route, and the all of the earliest tombs were oriented to the southeast, in order to attract the attention of people walking along it.

These tombs, and their successors with the same southeastern orientation, were designated Phase i. Many later tombs, however, have entrances oriented toward the north. These tombs are often built away from the path, abutting the north faces of the Phase i tombs. Moreover, many Phase i tombs were modified after their completion to allow entrance from the north, and to cut off the southern approach. These circumstances suggest a second period, Phase ii, that was characterized by the rerouting of foot traffic from the earlier path to a new path along the northern edge of the cluster. The latest tombs show a return to the earlier orientation, which suggests that the southeastern path again became the primary avenue of approach. These tombs belong to Phase iii, as do the modifications made to Phase ii tombs to adapt them to a southern approach.

The uniformity of these changes in orientation across the cluster establishes that the sequence was, in fact, compact. Moreover, these cemetery-wide changes in orientation explain why so many alterations were made in the mastabas after their initial construction. (There is no obvious explanation for the reorientation itself, however.) The recognition of these shifts allows the major tombs and their modifications to be assigned to one of the three phases even where they do not abut other tombs in the cluster, and it allows groups of contiguous tombs to be correlated chronologically.

One of the principal assumptions in ordering these tombs within contiguous groups is that the tombs and the chapel entrances were placed and oriented to capture the attention of passersby and entice them into the chapel where they might make an offering. This desire to attract casual visitors into a tomb is well attested in the Old Kingdom, when invitations to visitors, called "calls upon the living," were often inscribed on a tomb's entrance, addressed to anyone who might walk by it. These texts hint at the advantages to be gained by making an offering to the spirit of a person who had been powerful and virtuous during life, and the dire consequences of damaging the tomb and its chapel decoration. In addition to the physical placement of the tomb and chapel entrance, other strategies for attracting visitors included the placement of decoration within the chapel, where the

¹ Reisner, *Giza Manuscript*, Chapter "L," p. 11. "Chapels of type (4) should be dated to Dyn. V. The chapels of type (10) and (11) should be dated from the latter half of Dyn. V to the end of Dyn. VI. The chapels of type (5), (8), and (9) could be dated to any part of Dyns. V-VI." (Note that these typological datings are all consistent with the late Fifth Dynasty date that I have assigned the mastabas.)

² *Ibid.* The date range for all the types represented, however, was the late Fifth through the Sixth Dynasties.

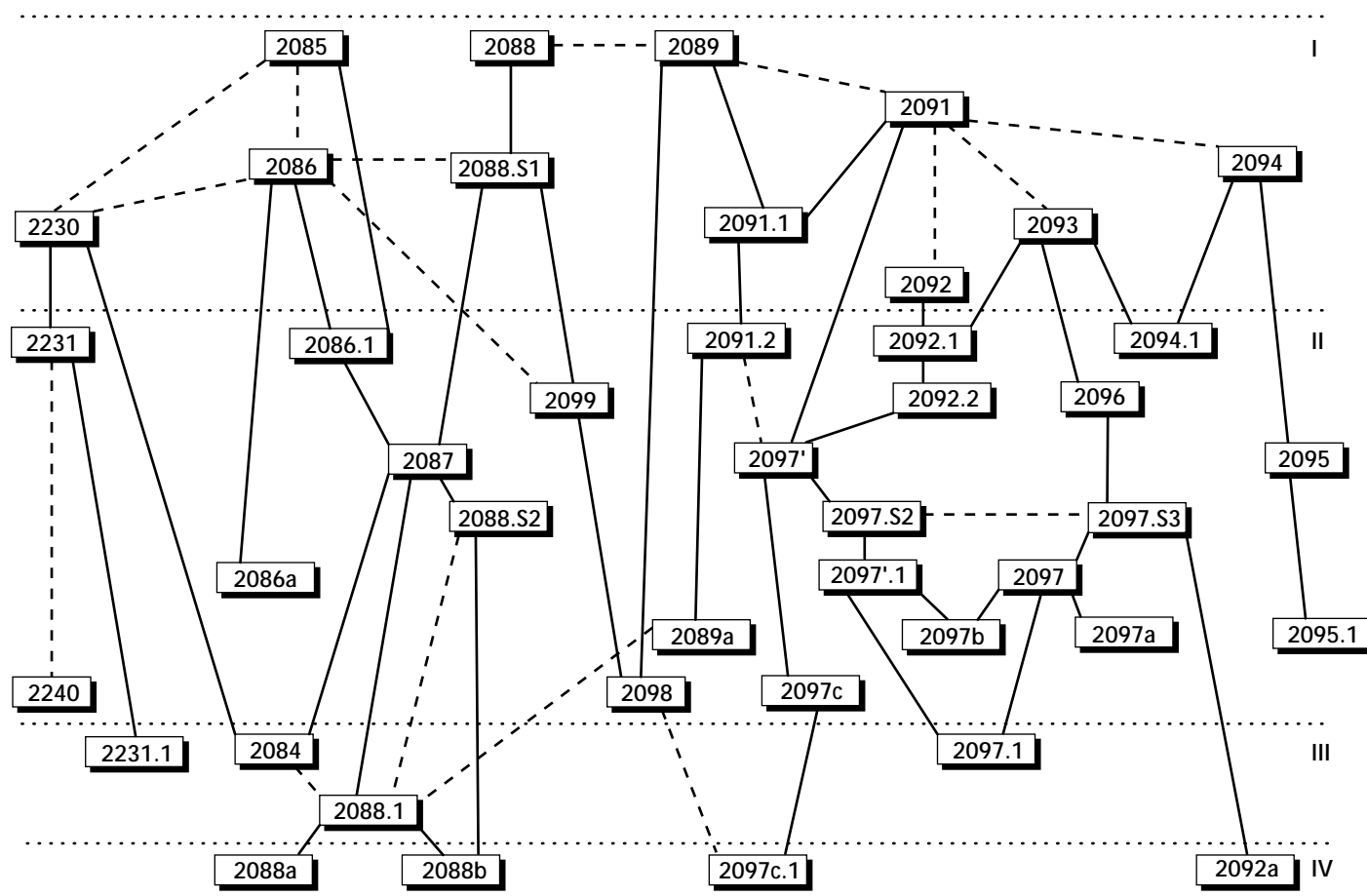


Fig. 4. The chronological relationship of the mastabas. Solid lines indicate architectural abutments; dashed lines indicate other connections. Generally, eastern mastabas are placed to the left, western mastabas are placed to the right.

decoration visible from the door is generally the best and the most interesting in the tomb. Relief decoration that was visible only as the visitor was leaving the chapel was often of an inferior quality. The prominent placement of the titles of the tomb owner, which indicated the level of influence that could be used to benefit a visitor who said an offering formula (and to punish a more destructive visitor) is more evidence of the importance of casual visitors.

As a result of this phenomenon, the orientation of tombs can be used to date tombs relatively within the three phases. It is unlikely that any tomb owner should have intentionally sited a tomb or chapel entrance where it was not easily visible and accessible to visitors. If one tomb's access to the path is obscured by the location of another, then the tomb with better access can generally be assumed to be of later date.

The alignments of walls and facades can also offer clues to the state existing at the time of a tomb's construction. When walls or corners of several mastabas are aligned, it is likely that any intervening construction that blocks or obscures the alignment occurred later. However this criterion is not always dependable. In some cases the builders of separated tombs may have laid them out using the same easily visible points as landmarks. The frequent use of the same landmarks would in effect have created a grid across the cemetery. The use of such points would explain how tombs could be similarly

aligned despite intervening structures that were not oriented using these points.³ The northern line, running between the north faces of 2097', 2231, and 2240, is roughly parallel to the line running along the north faces of 2092, 2093, and 2094, and the south face of 2230; and also to the line running along the southern faces of 2092, 2093, and 2094, which in turn parallels the north face of g 2000.⁴

Following the three phases suggested by the two changes in the orientation of the cemetery, a fourth group of smaller tombs can be identified. The tombs of Phase iv are distinctive because they obstruct access to the cult places of earlier tomb chapels. Encroachments of this kind seem to have been carefully avoided by the builders of earlier tombs, who always left access open to earlier cult places, although they sometimes made such access less visible. These new tombs mark a lapse of the control previously exercised over the cemetery, whether by law or simply by custom.

The chronological relationships of the tombs in this cluster that are revealed by this analysis are summarized in fig. 4. This sequence is not linear but forms a matrix. The iconographic evidence, which suggests that the development of the cluster took place almost

³ Such tombs may have been oriented using a different set of points.

⁴ That these lines all diverge slightly towards the south, and to about the same degree, may be due to a consistent error in Floroff's measurements. This could not be confirmed without making an entirely new plan of the cluster, for which permission was not granted.

entirely during the last few reigns of the Fifth Dynasty, indicates that the periods of construction of the tombs was comparatively short. At least one tomb built early in the first phase, g 2088, was extensively modified by the son of the owner during the third phase, suggesting that the first three phases fit within two generations. Other remodelings, for example the alterations to g 2091 (2091.1 and 2091.2), probably fell within the lifetime of the original tomb owner. The grounds for the relationships recorded in the matrix are described in the following summary of the development of the cluster.

Phase i

During the first building phase of the cluster, most tombs were built along the path to the northeast corner of g 2000. Passersby were attracted into tombs largely by the placement of the tomb itself, of its chapel, and of false doors and other decoration. In several cases, the tomb and its chapel were sited so that an unwary pedestrian, walking past tombs to the east, would be led directly into the chapel and up to the false door. Other tombs were positioned to entice the potential visitor with their most impressive display of decoration.

The visitors for whom these tomb owners were vying presumably were making for one of two destinations: either the part of the Western Cemetery that lay to the west of g 2000 or the northern niche of g 2000 itself. The path around g 2000 was undoubtedly

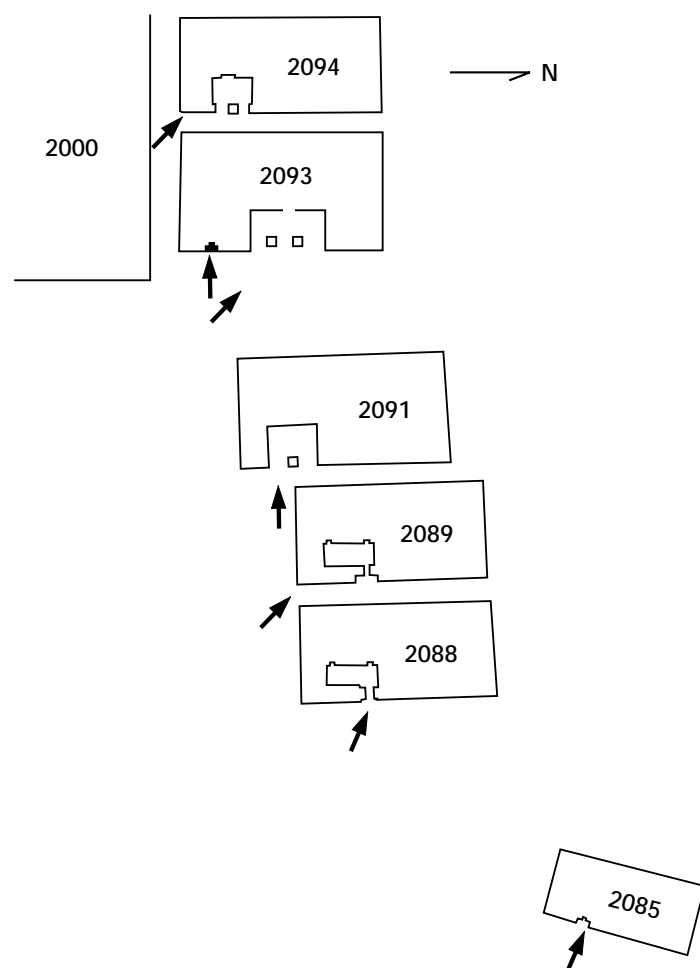


Fig. 5. Construction during the early part of Phase i.

much used, as it is even today; the significance of the northern offering place of the mastaba, and what was done there, is less certain. The direction from which these passersby seemed to be coming was the east and northeast, either through the mastaba fields immediately west of the Great Pyramid, or up the slope onto the plateau from the northeast.

2085 seems to have been one of the first tombs built in the cluster. It is the smallest mastaba on an independent site and its orientation is unrelated to that of mastaba 2000. Its simple plan and its stepped siding also suggest an early date. The height of its false door lintel seems to indicate that it is stratigraphically lower than the surrounding tombs (see pl. 13). It is unique in the cluster in having four principal shafts of approximately equal depth. Although the mastaba is comparatively small and simple, these shafts are deeper than all but those of the most elaborate tombs in the cluster. This apparently communal and egalitarian use of the mastaba suggests that its owners might have belonged to a different social class than the other tomb owners. It may have predated the adoption of the area by the *hntjw-š pr-ꜥ*, or alternatively, dated to a period when the holders of that office had fewer resources.

2088 and 2089 share approximately the same orientation, plan, and dimensions, although no serdab was found in 2088. Like 2085, both of these mastabas have stepped facings. The early date of these two tombs is also suggested by the fact that many other mastabas in the cluster are architecturally dependent upon them or are oriented with respect to them. (See also the discussion of 2230 below.)

The owners of both mastabas hold the title *šꜥd hntjw-š pr-ꜥ*, “inspector of palace attendants,” and the tombs seem likely to have been built at the same time. g 2088, the more accessible of the two tombs may have belonged to a wealthier or more influential man, since it was decorated in raised relief and shows evidence of later additions. In contrast, the chapel of 2089 was decorated only in paint, if it was decorated at all. (The owner’s name and title is known from an ink inscription on some of his burial equipment.) g 2089 was also treated with much less respect in later phases. Early in Phase ii, the owner of the mastaba to its west removed its upper courses and built an eastern extension to his mastaba over it; and in Phase iv, its chapel was converted to a burial shaft, and three more burial shafts were constructed in the passage leading to its door.

2091 was originally a rectangular mastaba with a recessed chapel supported by a single pillar. The facade was battered rather than stepped. Most of its decoration probably belongs to a later phase. The tomb owner held the same title as the owners of 2088 and 2089, *šꜥd hntjw-š pr-ꜥ*, “inspector of palace attendants,” but he ultimately became an *jmj-r st hntjw-š pr-ꜥ*, “assistant overseer of palace attendants.” He may have held some higher offices already when his mastaba was built, since even in its original form his tomb is larger than 2088 and 2089. g 2091 is not aligned with 2088 and 2089, but extends out to the south of them; and the south face of its central pillar and serdab slot are aligned with their south faces. This effort to be

visible and accessible to visitors walking past these two tombs makes it likely that they were earlier.

2094's recessed chapel and its single pillar bear roughly the same relationship to the south wall of *2091* as that tomb's chapel and pillar do to the south walls of *2088* and *2089*. The central axis of the chapel of *2094* is different, however, since the mastaba is aligned with g 2000, and the serdab slot is to the north. The space between *2094* and the west face of *2091* also makes their relationship less clear. All the exterior faces of the mastaba, including its eastern facade, are stepped, usually an early feature.

2093 obscures not only the relationship between *2091* and *2094* but the entrance to *2094*, so it was presumably built later than both. Moreover, had it been built before *2094*, it would probably have been built directly west of *2091*. Like both adjacent mastabas, it had a recessed chapel, though probably with two pillars rather than one. To increase its visibility, the mastaba extended south of its eastern neighbor, *2091*, although its chapel did not (the central axes of the chapels of *2093* and *2091* are almost exactly aligned). Instead, the false door was set into the south end of the facade to draw the notice of passers-by. This false door was clearly part of the original plan of the mastaba because of the position of the principal shaft behind it. Like all early mastabas except *2091*, *2093* has stepped facing on its three exterior facades. Its eastern facade may also have been stepped originally.

2088.S1 was the first contiguous extension of *2088*, consisting of a serdab along the northern part of the west face of the building and a spur wall of the same depth extending the southern face of the mastaba to the east. Together, this spur wall and the serdab created a recess for a new pillared portico at the entrance to the original chapel.⁵ All exterior faces of the extension were of stepped masonry. The northeast corner of the new serdab meets the southwest corner of *2086*, but since the portico of *2088* is standard depth (almost identical to that built under unconstrained circumstances in front of *2240*), *2086* is unlikely to have been the earlier of the two constructions. It is possible that the tombs were built at the same time and the tomb owners negotiated the intersecting corner.

2086 was built a corridor-width west of *2085* and shares its angle of orientation. It extends south of *2085*, however, and the entrance to its chapel was in the exposed southern end of its east facade. The battered eastern facade is finished to a smooth surface on the south, while on the north it was left rough; the border between the two areas is an angled line that roughly parallels the angle of *2085*'s stepped southern face. g *2086* thus clearly postdates *2085*. Because of the way the facade is finished, the builder apparently expected

⁵ Reisner considered the serdab a secondary construction in what he believed was originally a closed corridor added north of the portico, leading behind *2086*. Were he correct, the intermediate appearance of the mastaba would be very strange; the eastern wall of the proposed corridor would have been attached to the mastaba only by doorways at either end. Moreover, there is no necessity for such a complicated reconstruction, since the end walls of the serdab are bonded with the east wall. The reconstruction may have been based on an assumption that both serdabs were added at the same time. In any case, it is probably incorrect.

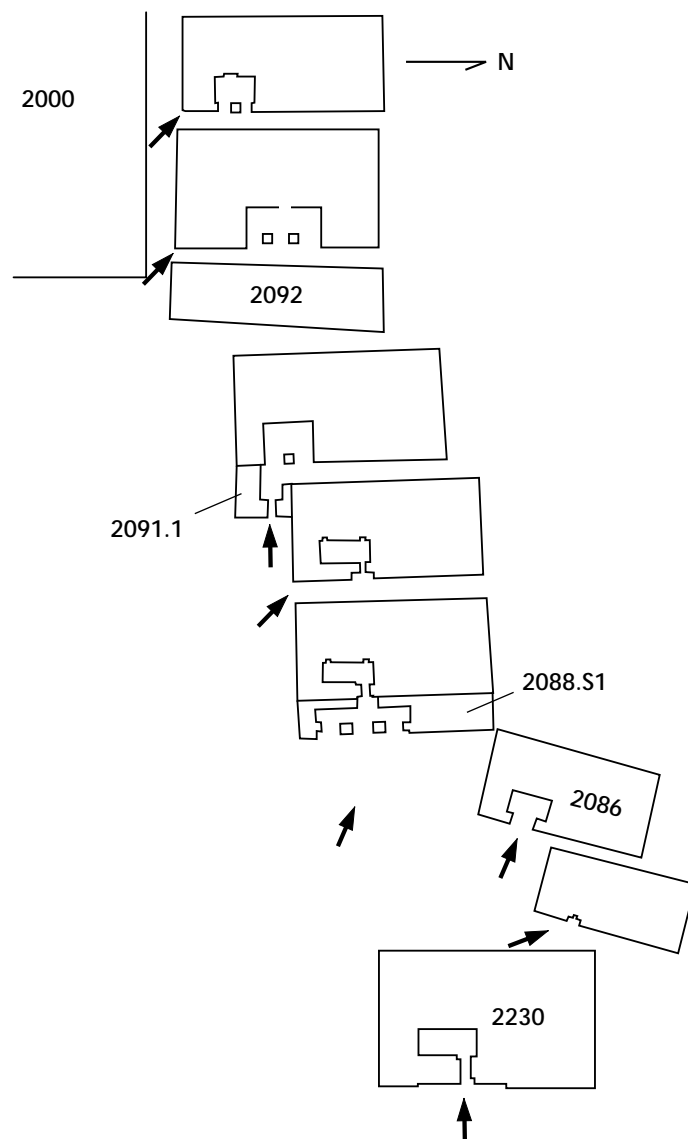


Fig. 6. Construction during the later part of Phase i.

visitors to approach from the east along the southern facade of *2085*. Since *2230* would have obstructed this direction of access, *2086* was probably built before *2230*.

2230 has an L-shaped chapel like those of *2088* and *2089*, but it was faced with battered walls of unusually large blocks (w-masonry), many of which were never finished. The south facade of this mastaba aligns with the north facades of *2093* and *2094*,⁶ which might be used to argue that these three tombs predate the intervening tombs, *2088*, *2089*, and *2091*, which would have obscured this line. However, this alternate chronology is improbable because of the relationship between *2091*, *2094*, and *2093* outlined above. These alignments may simply have resulted from the builders' use of the same exterior

⁶ The alignment of these facades is shared by the north face of g *2220* to the east, the second largest mastaba in the Western Cemetery, after g *2000*. Unfortunately, the owner of this mastaba, like the owner of g *2000*, is unknown. He is depicted with his wife in an unfinished scene in the chapel, but he was apparently not buried in the mastaba, since the only burial chamber, found intact, contained the body of a woman. S. D'Auria et al., eds., *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), pp. 76–77. Any connection he might have had with the mastabas of the cluster is thus unrecoverable.

points for orientation. While the mastaba thus post-dates the earliest mastabas of Phase i, it is difficult to determine how much later it is, since it was at the easternmost end of the cluster. The fact that 2231 was built to give the tomb a northern entrance, just as similar extensions were built for 2091, 2086, and 2093, suggests that like these mastabas, 2230 belonged to Phase i.

2091.1 might have been built any time after the completion of 2091 and before the shift of orientation to the north. It extended the southern facade of the mastaba to the east, enclosing the area east of the chapel, which was then entered through a doorway perpendicular to the north face of 2089. This new entrance was probably decorated with the architraves found in fragments along the path adjacent to this mastaba. The extension was apparently built against rather than over 2089; a loosely filled space on the northern edge seems to have been designed to fit against an upper course of 2089's stepped south facade, which was removed along with the corresponding layers of the western face during Phase ii.

2092 was a significant extension to the east built by the owner of 2093. Like 2091.1, it enclosed an interior space, providing more wall surface for decoration. It may have also created a more impressive entrance. It is difficult to understand why, having placed the false door in an anomalous position to make it more visible, the tomb owner then obscured it by building 2092, but perhaps this disadvantage was outweighed by the advantages of the addition. This change, like the construction of 2091.1 may have signaled a change in strategy with regard to the path, perhaps presaging the change in orientation. Another feature common to both additions is the architrave inscribed with the owner's name and titles. Both of these architraves seem to have been discarded in the path to the south of the mastabas they adorned.

Unlike many additions, 2092 had few shafts. There were only three unused shafts, none of which appear to have had a separate burial chamber. The dating of 2092 to Phase i is based on its similarity to 2091.1 and the position of a hunting scene at the southern end of the corridor. Such scenes tend to be placed near the entrance of tombs, because of their association with the outside world and their apotropaic function.⁷ This would imply that the mastaba was still entered from the south for some time after the construction of 2092. Moreover, the doorway now at the northern entrance to the chapel has clearly been moved, and a southern entrance dating to Phase i is the only feasible original location for it. The external faces of 2092 were battered, not stepped like 2093. If the eastern facade of 2093 was originally stepped, it was presumably rebuilt and decorated as an interior wall at this time. *g* 2092 narrows towards the south, perhaps to make the passage between it and 2091 more visible to people who passed along the eastern facade of *g* 2000.

Phase ii

Some time after the construction of the mastabas and extensions outlined above, the path that runs along the southern edge of the cluster was closed, and the path along the northern edge of the cluster became the principal route to the western tombs. This can be deduced from the fact that five existing tombs were modified by their owners to shift the principal entrance to the north. At the same time, the southern entrances were not only abandoned, but blocked. A simple obstruction in the path would not explain this change in traffic patterns, since pedestrians could be expected to return to the older path beyond it. The entire path around mastaba *g* 2000 must have been out of use, because otherwise tomb owners who left their southern entrances open would have had an additional source of visitors. While a new northern path would offer an incentive to tomb owners to elaborate northern entrances, there would be no obvious incentive to block the southern ones.

Although 2092.2 (an addition to 2092+2093 built during Phase ii) had a doorway giving access to the northern niche of *g* 2000, this doorway was positioned in an obscure corner and did not lead those who used it past any cult places. Had the owner chosen its position, he would undoubtedly have sited it to tempt passersby into his chapel; since it does not, the doorway's position can be assumed to have been mandated by some authority, presumably the same that mandated the blocking of the southern access.

The cemetery to the south of the path was accessible by the doorway just mentioned, by the gap between 2230 and 2085, (the only path to the south that seemed to draw any traffic worth attracting), and by the gap between 2088 and 2089, passing the entrance to the latter tomb, which may already have been abandoned. The passage between 2231 and 2240 was probably created during the course of this phase. All four passages are clearly placed so as to discourage casual visitors, and all pass through narrow gaps that could easily be controlled. The frequency, the equidistant spacing, and the obscurity of these passages all suggest that they were designated by some authority with responsibility for the entire cemetery. The aim of this authority seems to have been to prohibit traffic along the old path. The path could be crossed from north to south, although such crossing was not encouraged.

This closing of the path to traffic can best be explained by a partial collapse of *g* 2000 that made the path adjacent to it impassible. Tomb owners might in that case have been directed to block their southern entrances to limit access to a dangerous area, while four unobtrusive passages were left open so that people with duties in the cemetery to the south of the cluster could reach them. Presumably, access to the eastern end of the path was also blocked; otherwise, these passages would have been unnecessary. If the hypothesis of a collapse is correct, the path itself may have been restricted to workers making repairs to mastaba 2000.

Two methods were used initially for closing the southern entrance. Most commonly, a gap between mastabas or a southern doorway was simply blocked by a wall. A variant of this strategy was the construction of a subsidiary mastaba to the east, creating a corridor that was closed at the southern end. This method converted the area

⁷ Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content* (London, 1987), p. 52. Remains of a similar scene in 2091 occur in the same place: just to the right of the door in an entrance corridor.

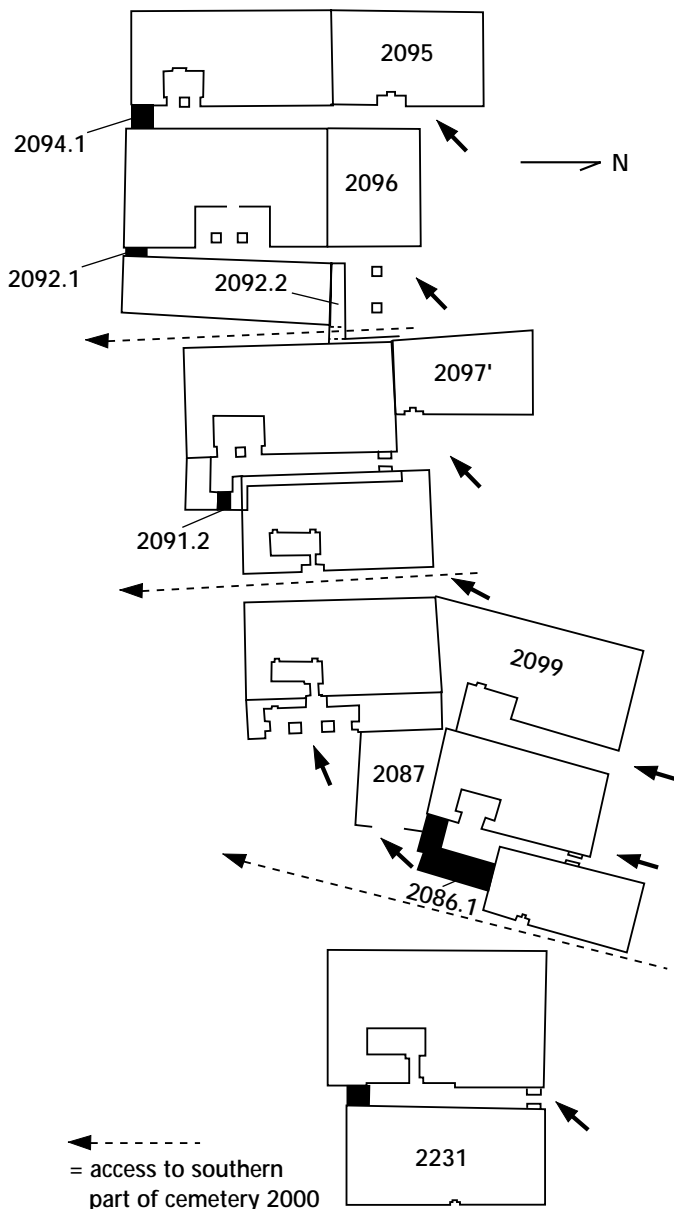


Fig. 7. Construction during the early part of Phase ii.

east of the mastaba into an interior space. Jambs and lintels of the southern doorway were usually removed and re-erected as a new northern entrance.

2231 was clearly built as an addition to *2230*, rather than as an independent mastaba, since its western face was a vertical interior wall rather than a battered mastaba facade. Like other subsidiary mastabas, *2231* has a high density of shafts, and its only cult place is a single, undecorated false door on its eastern facade. A corridor was left between the mastabas, originally open to the north and closed by a spur wall at its southern end. The only surviving evidence of this spur wall is the recess cut into the eastern facade of *2230* to receive the abutment of a battered wall. This scar is visible beneath and extending out from the jamb of the later doorway at the angle of the wall's original batter (pl. 119a). That the corridor originally had a northern entrance is supported by the position of *2231*'s north facade, which is roughly aligned with the northern facade of *2230*. The northern

entrance would thus have been more impressive and symmetrical than the present southern one, which is built at an awkward jog where *2231*, which is smaller, joins *2230* on the south. During the building of *2231*, the recesses on either side of the doorway in the eastern face of *2230* were filled with stone blocks to a level flush with the adjacent walls. Like the monolithic orthostats added to the facade of *2088* in the course of its later remodeling, this packing converted an old exterior doorway to an interior doorway.

2086.1, an L-shaped wall, joined *2086* to *2085* and created a small open courtyard in front of the *2086* chapel. The doorjambs at the northern end of the corridor between the two mastabas were probably part of this addition. Reisner⁸ indicates that this passage was roofed. There is no evidence of such roofing now, nor is there in the excavation photographs. In fact, it seems unlikely that this corridor was ever roofed; if it was, however, the roofing would presumably have been done at the same time the courtyard was enclosed.

2091.2 reoriented mastaba *2091* in a similar way. The monumental doorway that had been added on the extension to the southeast was blocked, and its exterior was rebuilt. This wall (see pl. 41c) was only crudely finished on the exterior, since this part of the tomb was no longer visible from the entrance. The doorjambs and lintels that had framed the southern door seem to have been moved to the northern end of the corridor between *2091* and *2089*, a change that is evident in the alterations made in the lintel and jambs. A second pivot point was cut in the lintel to support a narrower door that allowed for the batter of the west corridor wall. The original pivot point would not have been usable with the lintel in its present position. The upper parts of the doorjambs were cut back to make allowance for the lintel, which was too wide for the new emplacement.

The corridor to which this new doorway gave access led between the stepped facade of *2089* to the east and the battered original facade of *2091* to the west. To convert this exterior passage to an interior space, *2091*'s facade was cut back to reduce, but not entirely eliminate the batter. The steps of *2089*'s rear face were packed with new blocks to create a vertical east wall for the corridor. The resulting wall was apparently too unstable to support roofing blocks, because the fill and facing of *2089* was removed to well below the roof of its chapel so that a wall could be built behind the facade to support the roof. This support wall impinged upon shafts b and c, but avoided shaft A, which was further to the east. Mastaba *2089* may have been rebuilt after the construction of this wall; if so, the relatively unbonded condition of the replaced blocks made them good targets for thieves. It is equally possible that mastaba *2089* had been completely abandoned at this period and was not rebuilt.

2092.1 represents the various modifications in *2092*+*2093* to shift its entrance to the north. The doorjambs and lintel that are now at the northern end of the corridor were probably moved from an original emplacement in the south when the old doorway was filled in. As in *2091*, the door pivot point seems to have been repositioned to fit the new location. The drum set over the doorway, oddly, bears only a

⁸ Reisner, *Giza Manuscript*, Chapter "L," p. 180.

few hieroglyphs of the inscription that was apparently intended for it.

2094.1 blocked the gap between 2093 and 2094 with a wall at its south end. The resulting dead-end passage was then roofed. Again, doorjambs and a drum lintel may have been moved from this gap to the northern end of the passage. Since the exterior facade of this join was not excavated and its interior is difficult to evaluate, it might be argued that the spur wall joining 2094 and 2093 was an original part of 2094; however, the stepped eastern facade of 2094 clearly marks it as an exterior wall at the time of its construction. Like the corridor of 2091, this new corridor was roofed; but the walls of the passage were left as exterior stepped walls, as can be seen by the lack of any filling blocks and the cutting of a later false door into the stepped facade of 2094. The inconsistency may be explained by the fact that both the walls of the 2094 corridor were stepped, while the corridor walls in 2091 were stepped on the east and battered to the west. (The corridor leading into 2086, which also had asymmetrical walls, was probably not roofed, since it led to an open court rather than a closed chamber.)

2099 is one of the more problematic mastabas in the cluster. Its final plan imitates the final form of the recessed chapels of Phase i after their modifications. The resulting chapel is entered through a corridor to the north, which leads to a simple recess with a false door at the southern end of its west wall. Just north of the false door is a rubble wall running west through the body of the mastaba, forming the north wall of shaft b. This wall's intersection with the later support wall of 2098, which runs inside the west facade of the mastaba is marked by a change in the coursing of that wall, as if the builders had seen a difference in the foundation of their wall at this point. This rubble wall may mark the south face of a previous mastaba on this site. Alternatively, it might represent a stage in the construction of 2099.

The junction of 2099 with 2088.S1, 2086, and 2087 at its southeast corner is difficult to analyze. The gap between 2088.S1 and 2086 seems to have been filled in, and then blocked by a large slab at the east end of the serdab chamber. Such special blocking would not have been needed had 2087 been built first, which suggests that 2099, or at least the serdab, preceded 2087. If the rubble wall was the original southern face of 2099, however, the serdab was probably built later than the mastaba.

2096 and 2092.2 were built as extensions of 2092+2093, to create a portico to its north. They were built after the doorway had been relocated at the north end of the mastabas. (Had they coincided with 2092.1, the relocation of the doorway, the door would surely have been set into the new construction.) *g 2092.2* is an L-shaped facing wall that converted the battered facades on the north of 2092 and the west of 2091 into vertical (interior) walls. Where the wall crosses the gap between 2092 and 2091, a narrow doorway was constructed to allow passage to the east face of mastaba *g 2000*. Whether the eastern leg of 2092.2 originally extended north to align with the facades of 2096, 2089 and 2088 cannot now be determined, since the end of the

wall was removed during the construction of 2097'. Such a wall would have had the disadvantage of obscuring the view of the portico from the northeast.

Forming the western wall of the portico is 2096, an extension to 2093, which contains four shafts and a serdab with two vertical slots opening onto the portico. (Like the earlier extension, 2092, its shafts apparently were left unused.) It extends north to align, roughly, with the north faces of 2088 and 2089. Its north and west faces are battered, and on the south it abuts the stepped facade of 2093. The east facade, which faces the portico, is vertical. Its upper courses were finely finished, with narrow vertical serdab slots, while the blocks of the lower courses were left rough. The similarity of this surface treatment to that of the east face 2097', and its dissimilarity to the other two walls of the portico, 2092.2, may indicate that 2096 was built later than 2092.2, replacing a spur wall or another structure of which no trace now remains.

The two square pillars now in this area are unlikely to have been erected in their present position at this point of the construction, since they are set at the standard distance from the serdabs 2097.S2 and 2097.S3, which had not yet been built. A notch in the top of the west wall of the room may represent the seating for an architrave that spanned pillars positioned closer to the back wall of the portico.

2095 was probably built about the same time as 2096 or slightly earlier, since 2096 obscures its tiny recessed chapel and central false door. The mastaba has nine shafts. Since a high density of shafts seems to be characteristic of mastaba extensions, it was probably built as an extension of 2094.

2097' was built onto the north side of 2091, extending out to align quite precisely with the north facade of 2231. The angle of 2230, which intervened between the two, was different, although 2230 clearly predates 2231. This suggests that 2097' was oriented according to the grid alignments postulated above, which apparently began to affect tomb placement in this part of the necropolis during the latter part of Phase i.

The west face of 2097' is no longer in its original position. A line of blocks running under the present west face, as well as the angle of the same wall seen within the serdab chamber of 2097.S2, indicates that the west face originally ran at a sharper angle to the northwest. The original west face was also battered, since it was built as an external wall.

On its eastern face, 2097' is remarkably similar to 2096, in that the blocks in its lower courses have been left roughly finished, while those of its upper courses were carefully smoothed. Also like 2096, the serdab (S1) had two vertical slots, and two shafts were located directly behind it with their burial chambers running beneath. Despite the false door at the southern end of the facade and a smaller one on the north, the density of secondary shafts suggests that this tomb, too, was an extension.

2097.S2 and 2097.S3 designate the two serdabs built in front of the pillared portico of 2092+2093 that turned the portico into a pillared hall. Both the serdabs face north, as indicated by their northern slots;

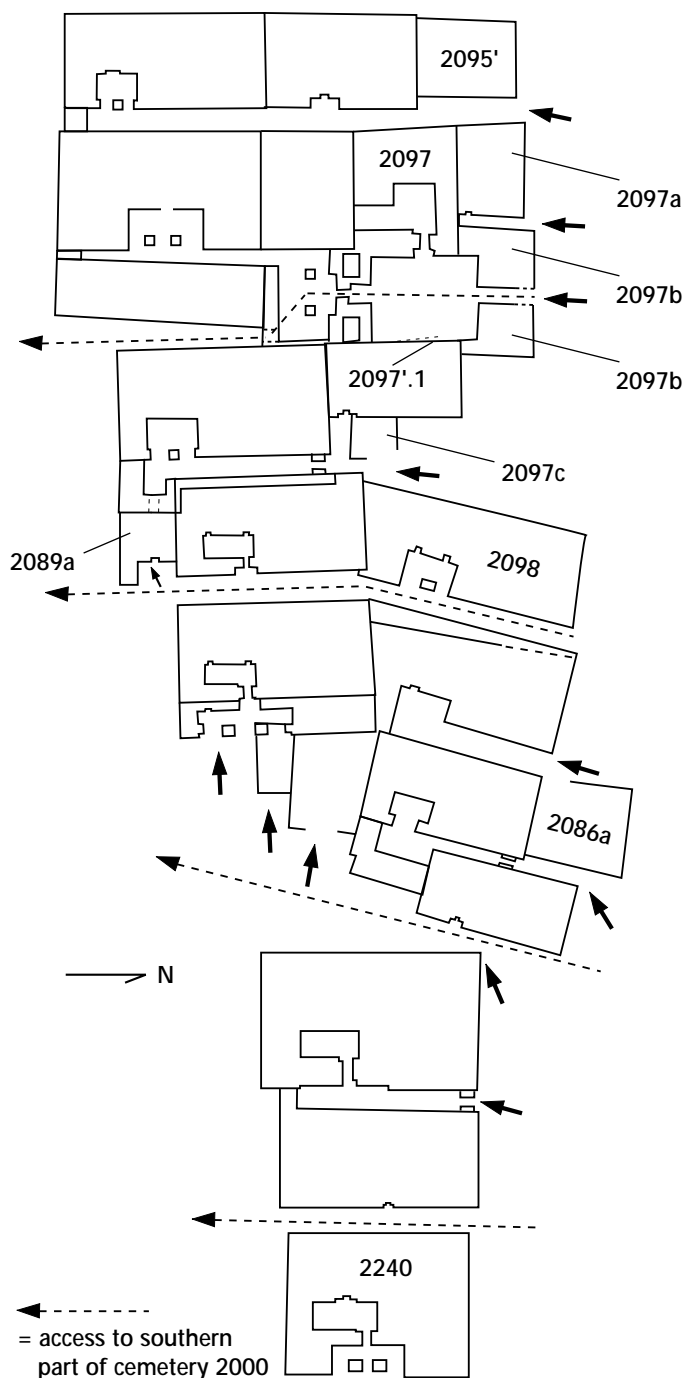


Fig. 8. Construction during the later part of Phase ii.

they are thus extensions of that tomb, rather than of 2097, which they predate. The drum lintel and the symmetrical embrasures of the doorway between the serdabs face south, dating them to Phase iii. They were probably added as part of 2097.1. The interior east wall of S2 is set at the same angle as the original angle of the west wall of 2097'; it is probably a segment of that wall left in position because it was invisible inside the serdab. The west wall inside S3 seems to parallel it, but the east wall of 2097 abutting it is at a different angle. The serdabs were thus clearly built before 2097.

2097 was built abutting 2097.S3 and the north exterior wall 2096, the face of which was partially cut back to make a vertical interior

wall for the new chapel. The limestone lining the chapel has a high density of nummulitic inclusions and by far the finest relief decoration of the tombs in this cluster. Its door opened to the east, onto a courtyard created by the serdabs of 2092+2093 and the west face of 2097'. The north face of the mastaba was aligned with those of 2097' and 2231.

2097'.1, the rebuilding of the west face of 2097' to create a vertical face parallel to the east facade of 2097 probably took place at the same time as the building of 2097. This rebuilding seems to have affected only the wall north of the serdab, because the interior wall of the serdab is at the same angle as the foundation course that can be seen projecting at the northwest corner of 2097'. The rebuilding was probably intended to create a regular rectangular courtyard between 2097' and 2097.

2097b, in its earliest form, was the continuation of 2097 and 2097'.1. It formed the northern end of a courtyard that gave access to both 2097 and the 2092+2093 complex through doorways exactly centered in its west and south walls. As preserved at present, it appears to be built against 2097, 2097', and the wall that joins their north faces. This wall dates to Phase iii (see 2097.1 below); 2097b cannot be placed in Phase iii because it has no access from the south. There is, in fact, no access to the present interior space of 2097b at all. This interior is T-shaped, with its basal leg extending to the north. This northern leg was originally an entrance corridor; the surviving course closing it represents the remains of a door sill construction, such as that still in place at the entrance to 2091. The cross-stroke of the "T" is simply the north end of the original courtyard, cut off by a later wall. A burial shaft was built into the western end of this space; the construction that seems to abut the later wall is probably reconstruction done in connection this and another shaft built in 2097b after the wall was built.

The possibility of an even earlier use of this space is suggested by the central position of the doorway to the chapel of 2097 and the fact that the western half of 2097b is exactly the same depth as entrance porticoes in the other mastabas of the cluster. This western half of 2097b may have been built first, as a portico. The eastern half would then have been added later, as part of the remodeling of 2097'.1, to convert the portico into a courtyard. The evidence for this intermediate phase is, however, very tenuous.

2095' was an extension of 2095, presumably built after the construction of 2097, since its facade was set back to allow for that mastaba's projecting west face. A gap in the facade of 2095' probably held a false door. The north face of 2095, which this addition abuts, is now marked only by a retaining rubble wall, which suggests that the finished blocks of the facade were removed during the construction of 2095'. These blocks were probably reused on the exterior of the extension. This may have been the usual practice in mastaba reconstructions, which would account for the uniformity and lack of joins seen on so many reconstructed exterior walls in this cemetery. The northwest corner of 2095' is co-linear with those of 2099, 2097a, and 2097b, suggesting that this line served as a limit to construction

when these tombs were built. g 2098, which extends north of the line, is thus presumably later.

2097a was built along the north wall of 2097, and therefore after it; as noted above, it also was probably built before 2098. It has no interior space, but a false door stela was set into its eastern face, reached by a narrow passage between this mastaba and 2097b. The false door is no longer in place, and was not photographed by the Reisner expedition.⁹

2097c was built in two phases. The earliest part might have been built any time after the building of 2097'; however it could also have been built during Phase iii, since no change was made in the entrance of 2091 during that period and visitors would have continued to use the northern access. This initial construction left accessible both the false door and the serdab slots of 2097'. The subsequent expansion to the north, 2097c.1, added a serdab and another shaft, but obstructed the serdab of 2097 and perhaps its northern cult place. This later addition, by its intrusive nature, must date to Phase iv.

2089a was built against the south face of 2089 and the blocked eastern entrance to 2091. It must therefore have been built after the beginning of Phase ii. Although its orientation to the southern pathway might suggest a date in Phase iii, it seems more logical to date it to Phase ii, since its presence here at the beginning of Phase iii would explain why the owner of 2091 did not simply re-open the doorway facing the southern path. The corridor between 2088 and 2089 would have brought visitors passing to the southern part of cemetery 2000 directly in front of 2089a. Mastaba 2089a has a recessed chapel, slightly larger than the same type of chapel in 2095, despite the fact that the tomb itself is much smaller. The central false door in the western wall was inscribed with incised, but illegible, signs.¹⁰

2087 was the only new tomb built during Phase ii that was oriented towards the path that runs south of the cluster, although it was also accessible from the north. The original shape of the chapel is difficult to determine; but some plaster remaining on the south face of the wall to its north, now covered by 2084, suggests that 2087 may originally have opened to the east with a door or recess marked by doorjamb. It was clearly built against 2086.1, the extension connecting 2085 and 2086, and thus cannot be earlier than Phase ii. g 2088.S2, which was built against it, was made almost inaccessible by a Phase iii construction, which implies that 2087 predates Phase iii. The surviving decorated doorjamb were probably added, or moved to their present position, in connection with the construction of 2088.1 and 2084 in Phase iii. The anomalous direction of the man leading an ox on the west jamb, leaving the chapel with the offering, suggests an association with the owner of the adjacent tomb, 2088.

2088.S2, a serdab built along the south face of 2087, was apparently also designed to take advantage of the approach to 2088 from the northeast. The slot is oriented to the east, and seems sited to attract visitors who were passing between 2230 and 2085 in order to visit tombs south of the cluster. When the orientation of the cluster reverted to the south, a Phase iii wall (2088.1) was built, shifting the entrance of 2088 to the south. Although the wall passed close in front of the slot of this serdab, a narrow space was left in which to make offerings.

2240, the easternmost mastaba in the cluster, might have been built at any time, since it does not abut any other mastaba and it is oriented towards the east. Its north facade aligns with the north facades of 2231, 2097', and 2097. Its serdab slot was probably in the back wall of the northern part of the portico,¹¹ which also suggests a northern approach. Moreover, the tombs to the south of it are clustered around the southern end of the passage between 2231 and 2240, suggesting that this passage formed one of the few paths of access to the southern part of the cemetery during Phase ii. The mastaba thus probably dates to Phase ii; and the reference to Osiris on the lintel over its portico suggests that it should be placed late in that phase. (The only other major tomb in the cluster to mention Osiris is 2098, the decoration of which appears to date to Phase iii.)

2098 was probably built during Phase ii, because it is located on the north side of the cluster and has an obvious northern entrance. Its decoration, however, suggests a southern orientation. The east, south, and west faces of the chapel's central pillar are decorated, while the north side is not. In addition, the figures on the east and west faces both look south. The only decoration in the corridor is an offering list on the east wall south of the recess. A carrying chair scene, often placed in a prominent position to draw visitors into a tomb, faces the southern entrance from the north wall of the chapel (albeit obscured by the pillar). The southern entrance to the chapel, via the path in front of 2089, is now blocked by a shaft wall reconstructed with modern cement; but remains of a door sill and the base of doorjamb are visible under the reconstruction. The southern entrance was thus clearly open; and to judge from the orientation of the decoration, it was apparently more important than the northern entrance.

The corridor to the north suggests that the north orientation was dominant during the building of this chapel, so the shift from Phase ii to Phase iii probably occurred while the mastaba was still under construction. Another reason for placing 2098 at the end of Phase ii is its projection beyond the line made by the northwest corners of 2095', 2097a, 2097b, 2099, and 2085, which apparently marked the northern limit of construction for most of Phase ii. Perhaps this limit was abandoned just before access to the southern path was restored. Alternatively, the northern end of the mastaba may represent an extension of the mastaba built in Phase iii. As noted in the

⁹ The Reis's Diary makes no mention of a false door on this mastaba, nor does it appear on his plan (pp. 736 and 745). Reisner, *Giza Manuscript*, Chapter "L," p. 168, describes the cult place of 2097a as "a monolith with a ka-door cut in its face. Width of slab, 0.7 m; width of the niche, 0.45 m; unincised."

¹⁰ Reisner, *Giza Manuscript*, Chapter "L," p. 141. The false door is no longer in place, and its present location could not be determined.

¹¹ The other possible opening to the serdab would be from the north wall of the chapel, since neither of these areas survive to the relevant height. Except for three added exterior serdabs, 2088.S1, 2097.S2, and 2097.S3, however, all serdabs in the cluster face east.

previous chapter, the high concentration of shafts at this end of the mastaba suggests a subsidiary mastaba; but if there was an abutment, it was well camouflaged.

The corridor roof blocks of 2098 were partially supported by the back (western) facade of a neighboring mastaba, 2099. As with mastaba 2091, this facade had to be braced by a supporting wall that encroached upon the older mastaba. The builders apparently distinguished two different types of foundation for this wall, and as a result, the two halves of the support wall were differently coursed. The point where the coursing changes is marked by a rubble spur wall that runs east across 2099. North of it, the base of the supporting wall was laid on a relatively high level; south of the spur wall, the supporting wall rested on bedrock. However, the uppermost surviving course on the south part of the wall is very low, presumably to level the courses so that the upper courses could be integrated. (The upper part of the supporting wall is now lost.) The support wall was thus clearly built all at one time.

It is unclear whether the area between 2088 and the northern part of 2099 was empty at the time of construction of 2098, or whether it contained a construction that somehow differed from the northern part of 2099 in its stability. The spur wall resembles the rubble wall seen between 2095 and 2095', which suggests an addition was made to the south of 2099 after its original construction as a smaller mastaba. However, the inner corridor wall of 2098 shows no evidence of a join at the intersection with the spur wall; and, more importantly, one would have expected the battered west wall of the passage to have been rebuilt as a vertical interior wall. The relationship between these mastabas remains a problem. However, the serdab chamber in the southern part of the mastaba probably dates to the construction or reconstruction of this half of 2099 and thus post-dates 2098.

2086a might have been built onto the north face of 2086 at any time during the period when the northern path was in use. Like 2098, however, it crosses the line that seems to have served as a northern limit to the cluster during most of Phase ii. It was thus probably built at a time when the shift back to the southern approach was beginning. Although it has no interior space, it seems to have some interior rubble walls, and thus may have changed in shape after its initial construction.

Phase iii

Phase iii was marked by a return to the original orientation of the cemetery, in which the path to the south of the cluster was the principal means of approach. While many major tomb owners made a clear effort to reorient their mastabas to the south and block off the northern entrances, others retained their northern orientation. The northern path was thus probably still usable, and for tombs where a change in orientation was either architecturally impossible or beyond the resources of the tomb owner, the entrances were left as they had been. There is no evidence to contradict the assumption that all new construction was oriented towards the south during this phase.

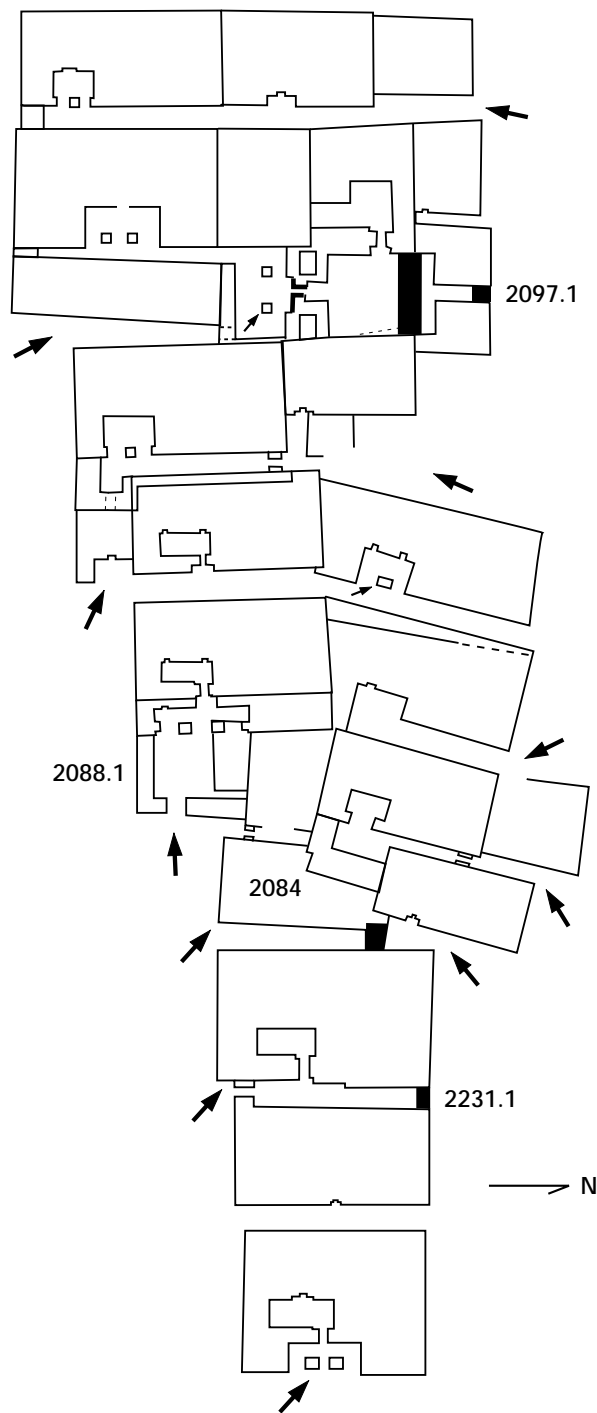


Fig. 9. Construction during Phase iii.

2098's decoration is probably to be attributed to the beginning of this phase.

2231.1 was a modification to 2230+2231. The northern entrance was blocked and the doorway that gave access to the corridor between 2230 and 2231 was moved to its southern end. The join between this filling wall and 2231 is detectable on the inside of the corridor, but cannot be seen on the exterior, suggesting that the battered facade was rebuilt to disguise the blocking of the original doorway. The join with 2230 was not similarly camouflaged, perhaps because the large blocks of its masonry could not be joined to the ordinary u-masonry

of 2231. The original southern spur wall of 2231 seems also to have simply abutted 2230. This spur wall was removed in Phase iv, and two doorjambs, one of which has the beginnings of decoration, were placed in the recess left by its removal. (The angled southern edge of this recess exactly matches the batter of the south face of 2231, and the doorjamb, which is vertical, does not fit it. See pl. 119a.) There are gaps between the eastern doorjamb and the lowest three courses of 2231; the fourth course, which bears the lintel, is better fitted to the jamb, and was rebuilt to support it. The lintel was apparently removed from the original doorway and replaced on the doorjambs at the south end of the corridor with its front face down. The earlier socket and pivot point are visible on its inner face (see pl. 118b). As was the case with the similarly transplanted northern doorway of 2091.2, the original doorway was apparently wider than the new emplacement. However, while the upper portion of the jambs were cut back in 2091, in 2231 the jambs were set at an angle to fit the narrower opening.

2097.1 consists of the wall that runs from 2097 to 2097', which it clearly abuts. The southern interior wall of 2097b is an extension of the rebuilt western face of 2097', which was apparently reduced to a single course when 2097.1 was built. Strangely, the northern half of 2097b seems to have been partially built against this later wall; on the northern exterior face, the wall continues to the northwest corner of 2097. While there are other examples of exterior walls that have been rebuilt to obscure joins, none are underneath earlier constructions. One solution would be to assume that the fill of 2097b was leveled during the construction of shaft 2097b a, and then rebuilt to stabilize the interior of the shaft and prevent access to the area.

Probably at the same time that the northern entrance to 2097's courtyard was blocked, its southern entrance was embellished. The present pillars in the courtyard to the south were probably set up at this point, converting what had originally been a portico entrance to 2092+2093 into a portico entrance to 2097. A well-built entrance doorway was constructed between the earlier serdabs, further emphasizing the southern approach to the chapel. (Both of the pillars and the doorway may have been moved from earlier northern-facing emplacements in the same courtyard.)

2084 must date to Phase iii, since it cannot be earlier than 2086.1 (Phase ii) and it is entered from the south; yet its only exterior facade is stepped, a feature otherwise seen only in Phase i mastabas in this cluster. There are several possible explanations for this anachronism, none of them entirely satisfactory. The construction of 2084 must have also led to the modification of 2087, whatever its original shape. The west wall of 2084 became the eastern boundary of the 2087 chapel, and doorjambs were erected between this wall and the southwest corner of 2087. The doorjambs may have previously occupied another position.

2088.1 represents the addition of spur walls to the south and east of 2088, which created a courtyard that enclosed the pillared portico and both serdabs. These walls, unlike earlier additions to the mastaba, were not stepped. They also extend at a slight angle to the

earlier constructions. As mentioned above, they limit access to the serdab slot at the east end of serdab 2. The door in the eastern wall was placed asymmetrically to the south, roughly centered in the portion of the facade that projected south beyond the southern facades of 2094 and 2230. This extension thus probably post-dated 2094.

The courtyard was probably enclosed by the son of the original builder of 2088, whose name is known from two lintels and a doorjamb found near its entrance. It was probably this same son who added the second major false door, in the southwest corner of the portico, and filled the remaining doorway embrasures on the west face of the portico with two thicknesses of monolithic orthostats. Those on the northern half bear a sunk relief depiction of a man entering the tomb. Since the principal tomb owner is conventionally shown leaving the tomb, this orientation would be appropriate for the owner's son, and in fact the son employed the same orientation on the doorjamb at the entrance to the courtyard.

The orthostats and the blocks of the eastern face of the extension were clearly quarried from the same area (the same vein of soft limestone runs through them all), and hence both modifications were probably part of the same building project. It was apparently this enclosure of the courtyard, rather than the previous conversion to a portico, that required the filling in of the revetments around what was originally an exterior doorway.

Phase iv

The tombs of Phase iv represent the final stage of construction in the cluster. These small tombs were characteristically built in the interior spaces of earlier tombs and tomb chapels. In some cases, they seem to have been deliberately sited to obstruct areas that would have been used in the cult, such as the space in front of false doors, in front of serdab slots, and inside serdabs. These incursions are the more notable because of the care that was taken to avoid obstructing these areas during the three earlier phases in this cluster. Great consideration of earlier constructions, and especially earlier cult places, was shown, for example, by the builders of 2088.1, 2097b, 2098, and the north part of 2097c.

The southern part of 2097c, in contrast, obstructs the serdab slots of 2097'. If it had been built a few meters to the northwest, in the angle between the north face of 2097' and the east face of 2097b, it would have had the same support (two sides of existing walls) without intruding on the cult focus. Although the consistent placement of these intrusive tombs directly in front of cult places suggests that their builders hoped to stop or to appropriate the earlier cult, it is also possible that these intruders simply shared the original owner's views on advantageous positioning of their monuments. Serdab slots and false doors were generally located on west walls in visible and accessible places; these locations would be desirable to the builders of these small intrusive mastabas for the same reasons. Whether the intrusions of Phase iv were malicious or simply the result of shared ideas about good placement, however, it is clear that some sort of restriction must have been in force during the earlier part of the cemetery's development, and that these constraints disappeared in Phase iv.

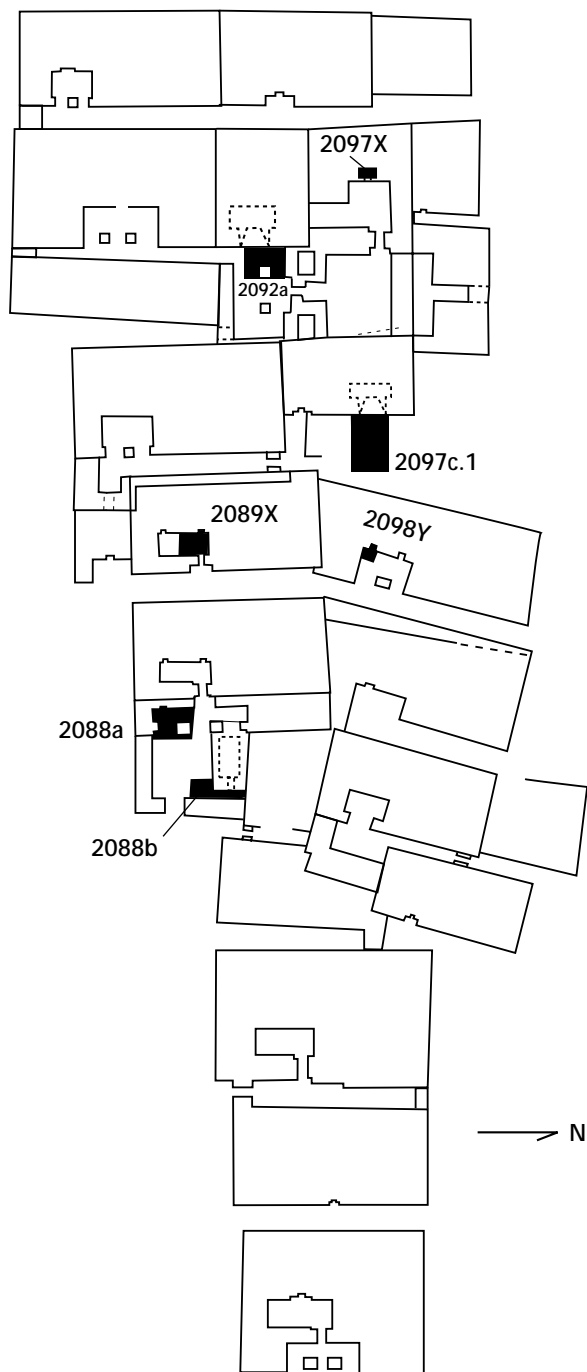


Fig. 10. Construction during Phase IV.

It is possible, of course, that some of these intrusive secondary tombs were built in earlier periods. However, the choice of sites seems to indicate a south-ward orientation, and several other features point to a later date. Mastabas 2088a and 2088b are architecturally dependent upon 2088.1, the last construction of Phase iii. Two of the tombs into which intrusive shafts were built, 2097 and 2098, are among the last tombs built in Phase ii, and the latter was decorated in Phase iii. g 2097 x, built in the serdab of 2097, is probably to be connected with the intrusive inscription on the niched facade of 2097. This sunk relief figure is identified as Mernetjer-Izezi, and since he gives no alternative name, and his titulary shows no special connection with King Izezi that would have justified the adoption of

a name in his honor,¹² he was probably born during or after Izezi's reign, which would date his intrusion into 2097 to the reign of Unis or Teti, or slightly later. The other intrusive tomb from which decoration survives is 2092a, which boasted a false door stela of sunk relief, dedicated to a man named Nimaatre/Tut and is of a type typical of the early Sixth Dynasty. The north side of this stela was usurped by another man, Khnum-khaf/Bebi, shortly thereafter. The fact that these five intrusions, by their location or the style of their decoration, almost certainly postdate the large-scale building in the cluster suggests that the remaining intrusive tombs are also of later date.

2092a is a small mastaba located against the west wall of the pillared courtyard between 2092+2093 and 2097. It obstructed access to the northern of the two serdab slots of 2096 (the extension of 2092+2093), and incorporated the western pillar in its eastern wall. This chapel was decorated with a three-panelled false door, apparently cut to fit the space between the pillar and the south wall of the serdab to the north of it. The placement of this mastaba shows some consideration for the earlier tomb owner, since it rendered only the northern half of the serdab unusable. Later, the northern half of the false door itself was usurped, presenting a nice moral lesson.

2088a and *2088b* were built in the courtyard created by 2088.1. g 2088a was positioned in front of the false door of the owner's son, incorporating the southern pillar of the portico in its northern wall. g 2088b was built into the passage which had been left to provide access to serdab 2 when 2088.1 was built. It is unique in having no western face, before which a cult could be carried out. This may be due to the lack of alternative locations in the crowded and irregularly shaped courtyard. However, the fact that it was placed directly in front of a serdab slot, even when this position was not suitable for a cult focus, again suggests the possibly that the blocking of older cult areas was deliberate.

Another secondary construction in the courtyard of 2088 forms a useful contrast to the intrusive constructions of Phase iv. A false door belonging to a woman was set into the inner doorway of the chapel, but does not obstruct access to a cult place. The owner's name was also found on a servant statue from the serdab of 2088, so she was probably a contemporary of the tomb owner. Since she bears the title "ka-priest" on her false door, she presumably served in his cult, and perhaps received his permission to set up her monument in his tomb. This false door thus probably predates Phase iv.

2097c.1, the northern extension of 2097c in front of the serdab slots of 2097' seems again to have been built with the intention of blocking of the cult area of an earlier tomb. As pointed out above, a nearby area to the northwest would seem to have offered the same structural and positional advantages without blocking access to an earlier serdab. Although the east face of this mastaba is incompletely preserved, it seems to have extended further to the east at its southern end, taking advantage of the angled space created by the west face of

¹² The use of a royal name in personal names seems not to have been entirely uncontrolled. See A.M. Roth, "The Distribution of the Old Kingdom Title *hntj-s*," *Beihfte zu Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 4, Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of Egyptology, 1985 (Hamburg, 1991), pp. 177-86.

2098, confirming that the second phase of 2097c, at least, was built after 2098.

2089x was probably built as a shaft and burial chamber in the chapel of 2089 during Phase iv.

2098B and 2098C also represent the reuse of a serdab. Although the serdab slot does not survive, being above the line of preservation, these shafts were clearly built into a closed chamber of finer masonry than their other walls provide.

2098Y is a shaft that seems also to belong to this category, because of its careful location in front of the false door of 2098.

One type of feature that cannot be dated architecturally is the secondary shaft. These shafts probably post-date the mastabas in which they occur, since they are built into its fill. Shafts cut outside the mastabas, or built into the corridors between them, pose greater problems of dating. It has been noted above that mastabas built as extensions to earlier tombs seem to have more secondary shafts than independent mastabas. (Compare, for example, subsidiary mastaba 2231, with ten shafts, to the slightly larger independent mastaba 2230, with three). This may be explained by a difference in the composition of the mastaba fill, which rendered the body of the mastaba more easily penetrable. It is also possible that the secondary shafts were all built as the mastaba was being built, despite the fact that they do not penetrate below the surface of the bedrock. Alternatively, as was suggested above, the distribution may represent a sort of *Respektsraum* left for the tomb owner and his immediate family. To answer such questions would require careful excavation of these structures.

Secondary shafts seem in several cases to correlate with the positions of minor, presumably secondary, vertical niches, e.g., corresponding to 2091 d, 2094 b and d (where two false door niches appear to have been aligned with two co-linear shafts), and possibly 2240 b. The intrusive shaft 2097 x, built into the serdab of 2097, probably contained the burial of the man whose figure, name, and titles are inscribed on the central panel of the palace facade decoration on the wall directly in front of the serdab. The relationships of 2094 b and d and the false door niches suggest that multiple secondary shafts may have been excavated at the same time.

Dynastic Dating of the tombs

The relative dating of individual tombs in the cluster has been obtained by examining their architecture and then their orientation. Dates in terms of kings' reigns are more difficult to ascertain. Of the two royal names that occur in the decoration, Khufu clearly predates the earliest tombs in the cluster, since the title *hntj-š* is not attested until the Fifth Dynasty; while the other name, Izezi, occurs in the name of a usurper in one of the latest tombs, and thus is not very useful in dating the major construction.

In the absence of textual evidence associating the tombs with specific kings, the best method of assigning these tombs to individual reigns is a comparison of their architectural and iconographic features with other Old Kingdom tombs. The ranges that result from the comparative iconographic dating of the decorated tombs can be

correlated with the ranges of decorated tombs known to be earlier or later architecturally to arrive at reasonably accurate dates.

The dates assigned here are based largely on the application of the stylistic and iconographic criteria for dating developed by N. Cherpion¹³ and by Y. Harpur.¹⁴ Cherpion's criteria include both the earliest and latest dates for features, based on the royal names occurring in the groups of tombs where they are found. The ends of these ranges are thus less dependable than the date at which these motifs first occur, so that the dates resulting from the application of her criteria are more likely to be too early than too late.¹⁵ However, the dates her method yielded proved to be largely consistent with the relative dates arrived at by analysis of the tombs' orientations; and they also do not contradict the dates suggested by parallel scenes and texts. The most significant of her criteria proved to be the continued use of chairs with bull's legs rather than the later and more prevalent lion's legs, the backrests of chairs, the number of jambs on a false door, and the height of loaves on an offering table. The dates of Harpur's features are based on more synthetic tomb datings, argued on a number of different types of evidence; they are thus more realistic than Cherpion's mechanical dating to the latest royal name. In most cases, Harpur gives only the feature's beginning date, and the scarcity of marsh and agricultural scenes in the cluster limits their usefulness. Many of her dates are backed up with tables of examples, but others are more difficult to evaluate.

Another useful dating criterion is the occurrence of a procession of named estates personified as men in 2098. H. Jacquet-Gordon has shown that only women occur in such processions after the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁶ The presence of the god Osiris is also a limiting factor for dating, since this god only begins to occur in offering formulas in the reign of Izezi.¹⁷ Osiris occurs in 2092a, 2098, 2240; but he is absent from offering formulas in 2088,¹⁸ 2091, and 2097'. g 2092+2093 and 2097 have no offering formulas at all, an omission that seems to be more common in the period before the introduction of Osiris. The dates are further narrowed by the relative datings as well as by more specific parallels and the apparent style of the art.

Phase i

g 2088 Ka-khent	Date: Niuserre
g 2086 Redi	Date: Niuserre
g 2091 Kapi	Date: Niuserre

These three datings are based on the occurrence of a tear-shaped chair cushion on a false door of Kapi. This is one of Cherpion's most

¹³ N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire: Le Problème de Datation*, (Paris, 1989). The 64 criteria and the tombs on which they were based are summarized on pp. 146–205.

¹⁴ *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*. Her appendix 3, pp. 253–64, gives the earliest attested dates for 324 features, emphasizing, but not limited to, marsh scenes and agricultural scenes.

¹⁵ See my review of Cherpion's criteria, and an initial attempt to apply them to this cluster, in *JNES* 53 (1994), pp. 55–58.

¹⁶ H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms de domaines funéraires sous l'ancien empire égyptien*, BdE 34 (Cairo, 1962), p. 27.

¹⁷ Recent arguments confirming the evidence for this traditional dating include W. Helck, "Überlegungen zum Ausgang der 5. Dynastie," *MDAIK* 47 (1991), p. 164, and A.O. Bolshakov, "Princess *HMT-R(W)*: The first mention of Osiris?," *CdE* 67 (1992), pp. 203–210.

¹⁸ The chapel of 2088 records no offering formulas at all; however, only Anubis is mentioned on the small secondary false door of Ankhiamanebes, a woman who is also represented among the serdab statuary of the same mastaba. See pl. 31c.

convincing criteria, which disappears after the reign of Niuserre.¹⁹ Architecturally, Kapi must be later than Ka-khent and roughly contemporary with Redi, so their tombs must be dated equally early, despite the lack of clear iconographic criteria. The jar stand on Kapi's false doors is also best paralleled in earlier periods.²⁰ There is one problem with this dating: Ka-khent's children are depicted as musicians, which by Harpur's analysis would date his tomb to Izezi or later.²¹ This feature is so rare in the Fifth Dynasty, however, that extending it a reign earlier does not strain probability. Apart from the terminus ante quem provided by the tear-shaped cushion, the application of Cherpion's criteria result in a dating only of Izezi or earlier. A dating in the reign of Menkauhor, or even early in the reign of Izezi is thus not impossible for this earliest group of tombs, but the earlier date fits better with the multiple additions and alterations made to the cluster between their construction and the end of the Fifth Dynasty.

g 2092+2093 Za-ib Date: Izezi

The application of Cherpion's criteria to this tomb result in a date in the reign of Izezi or earlier.²² One of the most unusual features of the chapel's decoration, however, is the seated figure of the tomb owner on the jambs of the false door, a rare feature which Harpur states began to appear in the reign of Izezi or Unis.²³

Phase ii
g 2097' Tjezet Date: Niuserre? or Izezi

The mixed offerings on the table, Cherpion's criterion #22, do not occur with royal names after Niuserre; while the other criteria that apply restrict it only to the reign of Izezi or earlier.

g 2097 Nimaatre Date: late Izezi–Unis

The tomb is most probably to be dated to early in the reign of Unis, because of the many parallels with the tomb of Ptahhotep ii at Saqqara in the decoration and architecture. The hunting scenes are paralleled not only in the chapel of Ptahhotep ii but in the chapels of Mereruka and Meriteti, dating to the first two reigns of the Sixth Dynasty.²⁴ Several of Cherpion's criteria suggest a date no later than Izezi; and Harpur notes that the *senet* game does not begin to appear in banquet scenes until the middle of that reign.²⁵

g 2240 Nefer-mesdjher-Khufu Date: Izezi–Unis

¹⁹ Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, pp. 147–49 (criterion #3). This feature, according to her chart, does not occur with any royal names after the reign of Niuserre. The fact that it occurs so frequently with Fourth and Fifth Dynasty kings up to that point, and the prevalence of other types of chair back associated with the cartouches of later kings makes it likely that this type of chair back simply went out of fashion. The presence of criterion #1, the lack of a back or a cushion altogether, is less definitive, but also supports a dating before Izezi.

²⁰ For example, in the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Khufukhaf i (W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, Giza Mastabas 3 (Boston, 1978), p. 16), where the stands flank the false door; and a frieze of six stands occur across the base of the early Fifth Dynasty false door of Kai; S. Curto, *Gli Scavi italiani a el-Ghiza* (Rome, 1963), pp. 47–48, fig. 12, and pl. 12.

²¹ Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, pp. 256 and 332, chart 6.13.

²² Cherpion's criterion #5, the high, rounded cushion covering an invisible high back, would seem to limit the tomb to the reign of Niuserre. It is attested in only six examples, however; and while three of them occur with the name of Niuserre, one occurs with Teti (*ibid.*, p. 151).

²³ Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, p. 128 n. 81. She gives no table of occurrences, however, so it is difficult to tell how many examples her dating is based upon.

²⁴ Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, p. 41.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

While Cherpion's criteria yield a possible range from Sahure through Izezi, the features that limit the upper end of the range seem often to extend later.²⁶ The appearance of Osiris in the offering formula on the architrave makes a date before Izezi improbable. Note that the tomb's Phase ii date is somewhat tentative; it may also date to Phase iii.

g 2099 Raramu serdab Date: Izezi–Unis?

The serdab in which these statues stood seems likely to have been built as part of the (re)construction of the southern half of 2099 after the construction of the support wall for 2098's corridor. Supporting this later date are the references to Khufu and the occurrence of the title *wꜣb nswt* on the statues, both of are best paralleled in the cluster towards the end of Phase ii. The poor-quality relief sculpture on either side of the chair of one statue could be inferior work of any period, and the parallel serdab group from 2009,²⁷ which these statues closely resemble, is dated only from the mid- to late Fifth Dynasty.

Phase iii
g 2098 Nefer-khuwi Date: Unis or slightly before

The date applies only to the decoration, which is clearly oriented in anticipation of a southern approach, and thus would date to Phase iii. (The building itself is probably a construction of Phase ii.) Although the chapel has several late features rare in the other mastabas of the cluster (a visible chair back under a cushion, chairs with lions' rather than bull's legs), it probably does not date beyond the end of the Fifth Dynasty, since it contains a procession of alternately male and female personified estates, a feature that disappears at the end of the Fifth Dynasty. The text over the carrying chair scene is also closely paralleled in two other tombs of the late Fifth Dynasty, so the reign of Unis seems the most likely date.²⁸

g 2088.1 Pehen-Ptah Date: Izezi–Unis

The last set of modifications to this tomb, associated with the son of the original owner, must date to Phase iii. None of the known occurrences of the reversal of the tomb owner on the door jamb dates later than the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty.²⁹

Phase iv
g 2097 x Mernetjer-Izezi Date: Izezi or later

The only one of Cherpion's criteria that applies to this intrusive figure is the *shꜣm* scepter without a papyrus umbel at the base of its blade. According to Cherpion's analysis, this feature is characteristic of the reign of Niuserre or earlier; however, such a dating is contradicted by the name of the man represented.

²⁶ According to Cherpion's appendix, the three criteria that apply to this tomb in fact occur in tombs with royal names later than the date ranges Cherpion gives. An armchair (#7) occurs in tombs with the names of Unis and Teti; furniture with a bull's legs rather than a lion's (#10) occurs with the names of Teti and Pepi i; and the bread on the offering table of middle height (#17), though it occurs only once with the name of Izezi in Cherpion's list, also occurs in 2097 in this cluster.

²⁷ E. Brovarski, in D'Auria et al., eds., *Mummies and Magic*, pp. 88–90; and Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 24, b–e.

²⁸ See Roth, "The Practical Economics of Tomb Building," pp. 235–48.

²⁹ Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, p. 53, n. 49–50.

g 2092a Nimaatre/Tut

Date: Teti–Pepi i

The three pairs of side panels, Cherpion's criterion #55, only limit the range of dates between the reigns of Izezi and Pepi i; however, the overall style of the carving argues for a Sixth Dynasty date.

These analyses lead to the conclusion that Phase i began in the reign of Niuserre (or slightly later) and ended early in the reign of Izezi. Phase ii may have begun during the reign of Izezi and ended late in the same reign or early in the reign of Unis. Neither the decoration of 2098 or that of the extension to 2088, both dating to Phase iii, can date later than the last reign of the Fifth Dynasty; so both probably date to that reign or slightly before. The decorated tombs of Phase iv seem to date from the end of the Fifth Dynasty through the reign of Pepi i. The fact that the taboo against obstructing access to earlier tombs seems to have been abandoned at about the time of the change of dynasty may be significant.

That construction in the cluster began during or soon after the reign of Niuserre is especially interesting in view of Jacquet-Gordon's conclusion that this reign marked a new era at Giza, in which officials of contemporary kings began once again to be buried there.³⁰ Her conclusion is based on the evidence of funerary estates formed on the names of contemporary kings, which imply that the occupants of the tombs served the kings named. Such evidence is lacking at Giza for Fifth Dynasty kings until the reign of Niuserre. The same reign may also have marked institution of a cemetery restricted to holders of the newly instituted office of *hntj-š*, of which the tomb owners in this cluster must have been among the first.

Later Activity in the Cemetery

Activity in the area after the construction of the cluster was completed at the end of the Fifth Dynasty is not precisely datable, but most of it seems to have been destructive. A good deal of stone robbing can be deduced for the cluster, probably mostly of granite elements. There is no granite presently in place in the cluster; but granite fragments were noted in the fill, and at least two chapels, 2097 and 2099, must have had lintels of granite or some other hard stone to support the roofs of their chapels, since the spans are too great for limestone.

Another significant circumstance is the number of false doors and adjacent chapel walls that are preserved only to the height of the false door tablets. This suggests that the walls were dismantled to this height, and a granite lintel removed. False doors with missing lintels include the doors of 2093, 2095, and 2231; all three false doors of 2088; the southern doors of 2089 and 2097; and the northern door of 2098. The fact that the more prestigious (and hence usually more richly decorated) southern doors are more likely to be lacking a lintel suggests that more expensive stone was used in their construction, and made them attractive targets for stone robbery. The southern false door of 2098, as well as the false door of 2097, is missing altogether. These are among the most richly decorated tombs in the cluster, and both also date to the very end of the Fifth Dynasty, a period when expeditions to Aswan and further south seem to have become

increasingly commonplace.³¹ It is possible that both of these false doors were of granite.

The contents of three serdabs also seem to have been forcibly removed, though apparently not for reuse, since they were found broken near by. The largest concentrations of model fragments were found in and near the two serdabs of 2088, indicating that they were originally deposited there. Since most roof blocks of these serdabs were found in place, the models and other objects were almost certainly broken by the people who removed them, who also appear to have tossed some of the pieces into other parts of the cemetery. The motive for this destruction is difficult to fathom, unless it was frustration that the serdabs contained nothing more valuable. It seems to have taken place sometime after the construction of the intrusive tombs of Phase iv, since the excavation photographs show that wall blocks belonging to 2088's chapel were found beneath the models, separated only by a thin layer of drift sand, and access to the intrusive mastaba 2088b was obstructed by these blocks (see pl. 5a). The blocks themselves, many of which are decorated portions of 2088's inner L-shaped chapel, seem to have been removed from their original location soon after the cessation of the cult of the owner of 2088, since the blocks appear to lie close to the base of the walls. The destruction in this tomb thus probably occurred before the end of the Old Kingdom.

Most of the other broken models and statues were excavated in the fill above and around 2230, 2231, and 2240; they may have belonged to the serdab of 2240. Directly in front of the mastaba was a headless statue of a seated scribe; the Reis's Diary notes that several days were spent looking for the head but it was not found. This statue was probably also originally in the serdab. Although this serdab did not have an intact roof when excavated, the dispersal of its contents is similar to the that in 2088, so it may have been subjected to the same treatment.

Two serdabs escaped this destruction: 2099, which was found intact, and 2086, where the bases of the four plaster-coated and painted statues remained in place and the destruction was due to natural decay of their wooden cores. That these unlooted serdabs belonged to tombs on the less accessible north side of the cluster, while the broken and dispersed statues belonged to tombs along the much-traveled southern path, suggests that the destruction resulted from the casual hooliganism of passersby after the abandonment of these tombs and their cults. The goal of such passersby was presumably tombs west of g 2000 with cults that were still active; this supports the conclusion reached above that the destruction of the chapel of 2088 and the opening of its two serdabs dates no later than the late Old Kingdom.

Another destructive activity in the cluster, the plundering of the tomb shafts, may have occurred at about the same time. This robbery seems to have been surprisingly uneven. Seven principal (subterra-

³⁰ Jacquet-Gordon, *Noms de domaines funéraires*, p. 17.

³¹ The later autobiography of Harkhuf refers to a dwarf brought from equatorial Africa during the reign of Djedkare Izezi, indicating royal activity in the south of Egypt during this period. In the succeeding reign, the causeway of Unis depicts the transport of granite architectural elements from Elephantine for the adjoining mortuary complex. Granite may have been transported in greater quantities during the late Fourth Dynasty, but most was probably intended for the use in royal monuments.

nean) shafts were left intact, as were all eleven shafts in 2085 and both shafts of 2089a. This was not a result of the tombs' geographical position, since adjacent tombs (2095' and 2097 in one case, and 2091 in the other) were robbed quite thoroughly. It might be argued that this pattern is a result of cults that continued to be active longer than those of the surrounding tombs. However, four burials, including the principal one, survived in the five shafts of 2089,³² which seems to have been abandoned before the end of Phase ii and had four intrusive shafts in and around its chapel. g 2099, which was partially razed and built over by the end of Phase ii, showed three intact chambers out of five, including the principal burial.³³

Eight tombs had no burial chambers that survived intact, among them the largest mastabas: 2091, 2092+2093, the 2096–2097–

2097a massif, and 2230. There is no simple explanation for this pattern, which probably resulted from a number of factors. Careful analysis of the fill of the robbed shafts might have suggested reasons for the distribution of intact and robbed shafts.

There is surprisingly little evidence for activity in the cemetery after the end of the Old Kingdom. Some surface ceramics collected (for example the three-handled flask and incised bowl from 2088) attest to later visits. An unregistered ceramic sherd, perhaps from the neck of a jar, had distinct rilling lines from wheel turning on the interior, and was covered with a white slip and traces of the light blue paint that is typical of Eighteenth Dynasty court ceramics. (It was noted but not drawn, since its provenience within the cluster was impossible to determine.) Such later ceramics are, however, the exception. There was, in fact, a surface deposition of several meters' depth over most of the cemetery; but it was entirely removed in the late 1930s by Reisner's workers, and the evidence for later activities at the site was probably removed with it.

³² Here and elsewhere in this section I counted only shafts with chambers or in which evidence of a burial had been found. "Intact" shafts include those shafts (four in the cluster) where the blocking was intact but no burial was found.

³³ It is possible, however, that some or all of these burials were not original but represented reuse of the empty shafts in connection with the new serdab.

Chapter 3: THE TOMB OWNERS

The owners of the tombs in this cluster are accessible to us in two ways: through the texts and depictions of their tombs' decorated chapel walls and through the remains of their bodies, interred in the shafts of the mastabas. The owners of undecorated tombs, and the people other than the principal tomb owner, are normally accessible only through these remains.

Human Remains

The human remains from the cluster might have been among the most important source of information about the tomb owners; but, unfortunately, it has not been possible to locate them. Since the skeletal material was apparently never sent to the United States, it may still be stored in Egypt, perhaps somewhere on the Giza plateau.¹ As the shafts were excavated, the human remains were evaluated by Dr. Derry, a Cairo physician who worked with Reisner,² but no evaluations from this cluster were found in Dr. Derry's notes (now in Boston).

Allison Webb Willcox has made a determination of the probable ages and sexes of some burials in cases where the excavation photographs showed diagnostic details. These determinations are often tentative, because they are based on isolated indicators such as the development of the supraorbital torus. For the benefit of readers interested in evaluating her conclusions, I have included all of the excavation photographs of burials that I could locate, with the exception of those where the skeletal material is very fragmentary. Ms. Willcox's conclusions are detailed in the plate captions for the convenience of such readers.

Out of 123 shafts, 51 tomb chambers contained some human remains, presumably of single individuals. The expedition records describe eight skeletons as "children;" two as "young;" and three as "small." Ms. Willcox's survey of the photographs cast considerable doubt on the usefulness of these notations as age estimates, since most of the bodies so labelled that were recorded in photographs appeared to be skeletally adult. Three of the four photographed burials called "children" are skeletally adult: 2088b a, 2095 e(i), and 2095 e(ii); there was insufficient evidence to determine the status of the fourth (2097 f). The four unphotographed burials cannot therefore

be assumed to be children. All three skeletons described as "small" were photographed: one (2089a a) is skeletally adult; a second (2099 f) may be a young adult, and the third (2094 e) was judged to be between eight and twelve years old. Only one of the two "young" burials was photographed, and it was also skeletally adult. However valueless as age determinations, however, these descriptions offer useful clues to the size of the skeletons, since unfortunately, there are no scales in the excavation photographs of these burials.

Given the assumed rate of infant mortality in the Old Kingdom, based on that of other pre-modern societies, there must have been a significant number of children who died in infancy. None of the skeletons labeled "small," "child," or "young" that were recorded photographically are necessarily younger than age eight, and most of them are skeletally mature. It is therefore unlikely than any of the unphotographed skeletons were much younger. Infants and very small children were thus probably not buried in the cluster, or at least not in burial chambers entered through the lined shafts that were detectable by Reisner's excavation techniques.

On the other hand, several of the burials recorded in the photographs showed characteristics often associated with old age, that is, advanced tooth wear and osteoarthritis. Four of the photographed burials showed such characteristics: 2095 a (extreme tooth wear, significant cervical osteoarthritis, lipping on the lumbar vertebrae and perhaps also on the head of the right femur), 2088 f (moderate to severe osteoarthritis), 2098 b (significant tooth wear), and 2098 y (significant loss of lower, and perhaps also upper, teeth). These signs of aging indicate that at least some of the people buried in the cluster lived beyond the prime of life.

The cluster contained one case of an obvious skeletal abnormality. The burial in the secondary shaft 2231 f, described by the excavators as an adult, exhibited an abnormal growth of the bone on the right femur, which is clearly visible in the photograph (pl. 120b).

Because of the absence of the human remains and the incompleteness of the photographic record, most of the information about individual tomb owners in the cluster must be based on textual evidence.

Names in the Cluster

About sixty-five different names are attested in the cluster. One common feature among them is the comparative rarity with which they incorporate divine and royal names. Only 12 names are built on the names of gods. Ptah, Re, and Hathor are the most popular deities for men and women, with four, three, and two namesakes, respectively. The gods Khnum and Min are represented by one name each. A woman depicted on the northern false door in 2091 may also be named for the goddess Neith, in whose cult the tomb owner's wife served. If the name of the owner of 2092+2093 is to be read Geb-ib rather than Za-ib, then the god Geb is also represented here, but this divinity does not occur elsewhere in theophoric names in the Old Kingdom.

The four basilophoric names that are attested are built upon on the name of Izezi (Mernetjer-Izezi, the usurper of 2097) and upon the name of Khufu (Nefer-mesdjer-Khufu, the owner of 2240; Mery-

¹ Dr. Zahi Hawass recently discovered a cache of pottery and skeletal material from earlier periods of Reisner's excavations stored in tomb chambers in the western part of the Western Cemetery (Z. Hawass, personal communication).

² See J.L. Smith, *Tombs, Temples and Ancient Art* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1956), pp. 190-91, for an account of the expedition's practice with skeletal materials.

Khufu, his son; and Khufu-seneb, an attendant in 2098). The three names built on the name of Khufu are clearly not contemporary with that king, since the chapels in which they appear were demonstrably built in the late Fifth Dynasty; it is perhaps significant that they all appear in tombs dating to the end of Phase ii, suggesting a renewed interest in the patron of the entire cemetery at this period.³

The elements *ntr* and *nswt* are as rare as their more specific analogues. Each occurs only twice in the cluster. By comparison, other elements are far more frequent. *K3* and *nfr* each occur in nine names in the cluster; *mr* and *nh* occur six times, and *hw* occurs four times.

Two names in the cluster may reflect their bearers' foreign origin. One probable non-Egyptian is Raramu (*R-r-mw* who was represented with his wife, daughter, and sons in the serdab statuary of 2099. This man apparently also used the more Egyptian name Nikau-Ptah,⁴ although it appears on only one of the statues, while Raramu appears on three. His name is written with two groups of *r* followed by determinative stroke, and with the triple-*n* sign "water," both of which are common in Middle Kingdom group writings of foreign names.⁵ These group writings are common in Asiatic personal and place names,⁶ but this combination of consonants would not tend to occur together in a Semitic name.⁷

The other name belongs to an attendant with the title *hntj-š*, depicted in 2098. It makes no sense in Egyptian, suggesting a foreign origin. It is to be read either *Nsttj* or more probably *Nhsttj*. The ending *tj* is normally a feminine ending in Semitic names, but it does appear as the ending of a male name in the execration texts.⁸ It may, however, be simply a nickname, since the man is apparently a son of the tomb owner, Nefer-khuwi.

The Title *hntj-š* and the Hierarchy of the Tomb Owners

In addition to owning tombs in the same part of the Giza necropolis, the tomb owners had in common the title *hntj-š pr-š*, "palace attendant," or one of its supervisory levels. Not only is this title almost universal among the tomb owners, but it is often also applied to the children and retainers depicted on their chapel walls. Fig. 11 shows the distribution of tombs of *hntjw-š pr-š* and their supervisors within the larger Western Cemetery, demonstrating that the cluster studied here indeed represents an unusual concentration of such officials, though it is by no means the only part of the Giza necropolis where holders of this title could be buried during this period.

The title *hntj-š* was an innovation of the late Fifth Dynasty. Invariably, it was qualified by reference to a building rather than a person: either to the palace (*pr-š*), as in this cluster, or to the mortuary temple of a king. Between the reigns of Niuserre and Menkauhor, the titles of *hm-ntr*, which had previously been followed only by a royal or divine name, began instead to be attached to a royal mortuary temple, *hwt*, or *mrt* shrine.⁹ This change may have coincided with the initiation of the title of *hntj-š*.¹⁰ Most bearers of the palace title in the late Fifth Dynasty seem to have been buried at Giza: only in the Sixth Dynasty do they begin to be buried at Saqqara with any frequency.¹¹

The comparative rank of the supervisory levels of this office are known,¹² so that the tomb owners' ranks in the hierarchy are known. The principal supervisory titles in this sequence are, from highest to lowest:

<i>jmj-r hntjw-š pr-š</i>	overseer of palace attendants
<i>jmj-r st hntjw-š pr-š</i>	assistant overseer of palace attendants
<i>shd hntjw-š pr-š</i>	inspector of palace attendants
<i>jmj-ht hntjw-š pr-š</i>	assistant inspector of palace attendants

These translations of the supervisory levels are arbitrary: the Porter and Moss *Topographical Bibliography*, for example, uses with equal justification the sequence "overseer," "overseer of the department," "inspector," and "supervisor." The translations adopted here do not necessarily reflect the literal meaning of the Egyptian, but instead were chosen to make the places of the titles' holders in the hierarchy clearer: inspectors see, and are thus inferior to overseers, who oversee; the assistants rank just below the main titles. The two titles translated "assistant" are much less common than the other two titles, suggesting that these levels of the hierarchy were not always filled.

³ In fact, with the single exception of Mernetjer-Izezi in this cluster, I can find no *hntj-š* at any level of the hierarchy buried at Giza with the name of a king other than Khufu. Bolstering the notion of a connection between the title and the Fourth Dynasty king is the fact that Giza, and particularly the Western Cemetery, was the primary, perhaps exclusive, burial place of Fifth Dynasty holders of the office (see below).

⁴ This name appears with titles otherwise attested for Raramu on a pair statue. The two figures do not interact, and presumably represent the same man. The boy between them is labeled "his son."

⁵ K. Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässchen des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin, 1926), p. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 46–55.

⁷ E.K. Rowson, personal communication.

⁸ *Jj-kw-ḏdi's son m-mw-tj*. Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten*, p. 49.

⁹ For clear illustrations of this, see the index of titles connected with "kings," B. Porter, R. Moss, and J. Malek, *A Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* iii, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1974–1981) (hereafter *PM 3¹*), p. 938, and the chart in K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), p. 253, Table ii, lines 1–4. (Lines 8 and 11, the only titles attested after the reign of Niuserre, connect the royal name with a *hwt* or a *hwt-ks*.) Baer discusses the date of this change, which he concludes follows the reign of Niuserre, on pp. 264–65.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 250, Table i, lines 14–17. Baer dates the appearance in tombs of this title in connection with royal cults to the reign of Unis (pp. 272–73), but notes that its presence in the Abu Sir papyri means that it was probably introduced before the death of Djedkare Izezi.

¹¹ *PM 3²*, Appendix G, pp. 918–29 and 931. This appendix lists 36 proprietors of monuments at Saqqara who hold the title *hntj-š* in a context other than a royal mortuary temple. Of these, only two may date before the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty: a statue in the British Museum dated to the Third or Fourth Dynasty by E.A.W. Budge, which is certainly later (*PM 3²*, p. 728) and part of a Fifth Dynasty false door, now in Copenhagen (*PM 3²*, p. 739). Neither of these monuments is in its original context. In contrast, of the 42 tomb owners with similar titles at Giza from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, all but 14 may be placed in the Fifth Dynasty. Those that must date to the Fifth Dynasty concentrate in cemeteries 2000 (6, in addition to the tombs studied here) and 4000 (2) in the Western Cemetery, and in the Central Field (4). No palace *hntjw-š* are known from the Eastern Cemetery at any period. (The appendix does not necessarily include all holders of the titles, however, since only those listed in the bibliography are indexed.)

¹² Although W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, Af 18 (Glückstadt, 1954), p. 107, expressed some doubt about the rank of the upper two levels; R. Stadelmann, "Die *hntjw-š*, der Königsbezirk *š n pr-š* und die Namen der Grabanlagen der Frühzeit," *Bulletin du Centenaire*, Supplément au BFAO 81, (1981), pp. 156–57 and p. 157, n.1, has argued for the order used here. In addition, the comparative sizes of the tombs of the holders of various ranks in this cluster are entirely consistent with the hierarchy as Stadelmann described it.

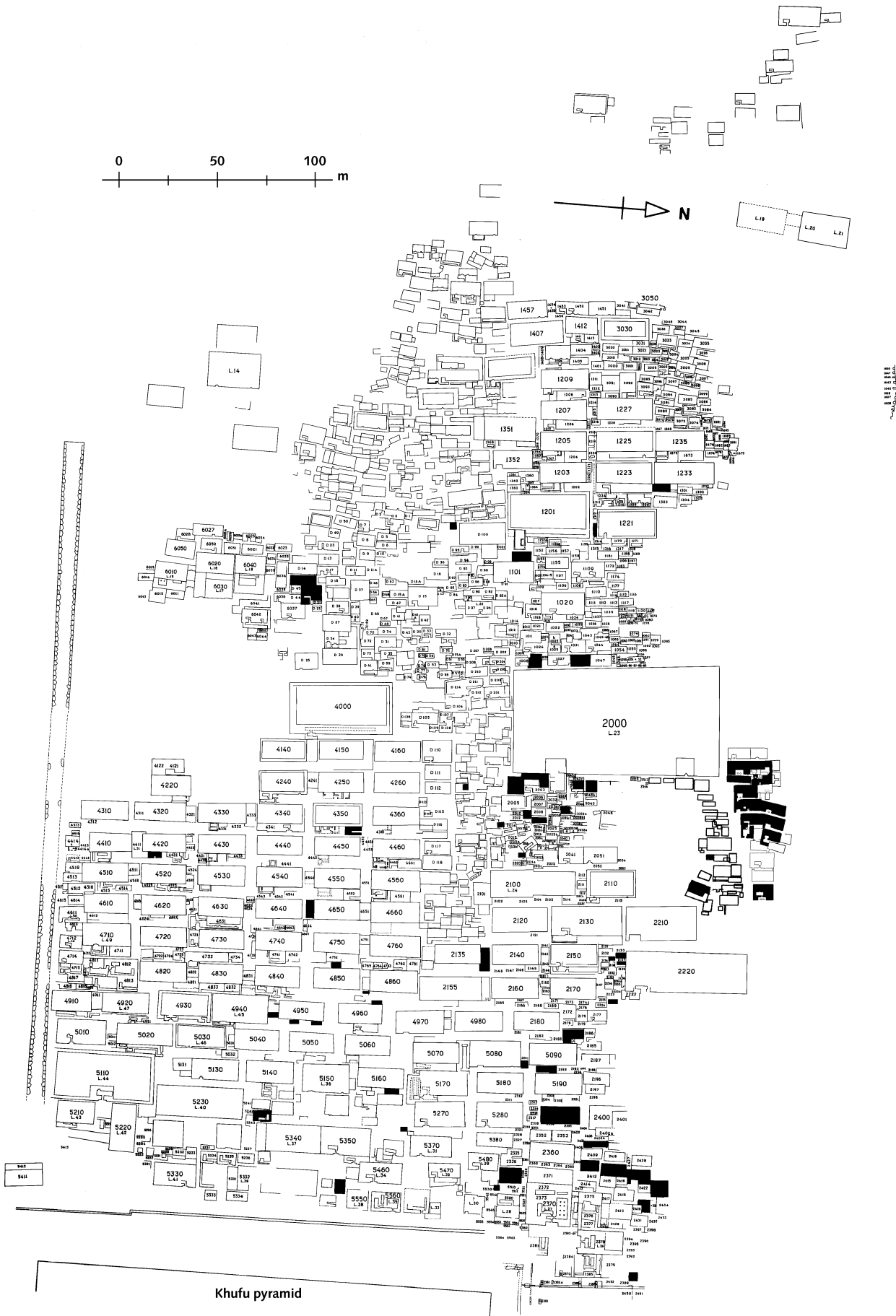


Fig. 11. A plan of the Western Cemetery at Giza, showing the tombs of palace attendants in black.

The translation of the title *hntj-š* as “attendant” is unorthodox. The most common translation of this title, “tenant” or “tenant-landholder,”¹³ derives from an exemption decree for the cult of Snefru, in which holders of the office are recorded as having the right to cultivate the lands of Snefru’s funerary endowment. The publication and analysis of the Abu Sir papyri has clearly demonstrated that the role of *hntjw-š* in the royal mortuary cult was more closely involved with daily rituals than had previously been believed.¹⁴ As a result, P. Posener-Kriéger has suggested the translation “employé.” The more specific term “attendant” has been favored here, because it suggests the relationship of personal service to the king that seems to be the distinguishing feature of the office. People who held the title *hntj-š* were also attached to royal mortuary temples, where they performed services for the deceased king that derived from the human side of his nature: transporting food, and dressing and feeding his cult statue. Their function complemented that of the more priestly *hmw-ntr* at the same temples, who were responsible for censuring and other activities that paralleled the rituals performed for divinities.¹⁵ Just as the services of the *hmw-ntr* were equivalent to the services that people with the same titles performed for the gods, so the personal services the *hntjw-š* did for the dead king probably reflected the services performed for the living king in the palace by functionaries with the same title.

The Title *hntj-š* and Musicians

The tombs themselves offer some clues to the nature of the title. One striking feature is the prominence of musicians in the decoration of all but two of the chapels. The exceptions are 2092+2093 and 2098, the chapels of the two men who held office in the highest level of the hierarchy and who by virtue of their higher positions might have been less involved with this aspect of court life. However, a fragment depicting musicians was found in 2092+2093, which does not fit any of the surviving scenes in other tombs. It is perhaps to be restored on the south wall of 2093. The south wall was the most common position for such scenes (2086, 2091, and twice in 2097), although they were also placed on the east (2088) and west (2240) walls. In the case of 2098, however, there is no place on the south wall or elsewhere in the chapel where such a scene might be restored.

Other titles that occur in the tombs also hint at a connection between *hntjw-š* and palace musicians. In 2091 one of the attendants bears the title “singer of the palace” and in 2086 the tomb owner himself seems to bear a title connecting singers with *hntjw-š*, ... *hst n hnt...*, perhaps “... of singers of the *hntjw-š*.”

A more subtle connection is seen in 2098, where the tomb owner, an overseer of palace attendants, claims to have exercised his office *m hnw šts pr-š*, “in the inner secret places of the palace.” This phrase is paralleled only once in the Old Kingdom, in a tomb in the Central

Field at Giza. This tomb belonged to a contemporary overseer of palace singers, Nimaatre, and also contained a carrying chair scene very similar to that in 2098.¹⁶

This professional connection with musicians and entertainment may also explain the representation of family members as musicians in banquet scenes in 2088, a type of participation that does not become common until the Sixth Dynasty. In her analysis, Y. Harpur correlates this feature with children who take an active part in marsh scenes,¹⁷ and notes that, although both occur first in the reign of Izezi, they are quite rare (four examples of both types) before the Sixth Dynasty. That such a scene occurs in this cluster may indicate that the children were being trained to succeed their parents in a position that required a knowledge of music.¹⁸ Personal attendants upon the king may thus have had the responsibility of entertaining him with music, or at least have been required to work closely with court musicians. Two ordinary *hntjw-š pr-š* buried outside this cluster bear musical titles: Senankhwer was a flautist;¹⁹ and Khufuankh was both an overseer of flautists and of palace singers.²⁰

Other Clues to the Nature of the Title *hntj-š*

In view of the traditional translation of the title *hntj-š*, it is perhaps also worth noting that scenes of cultivation, which one would expect to be the main preoccupation of the lower levels of “tenant-landholders,” occur rarely in the cluster. Only four tombs (2092+2093, 2091, 2240, and 2097) have such scenes, and except for 2097, none of the owners of these chapels belongs to the three lowest ranks of *hntj-š*, the levels where one would expect agricultural ties to be the strongest if the traditional translation is correct. Instead, this distribution probably reflects the fact that richer members of the hierarchy were more likely to possess land. It may also reflect the greater quantity of wall space available in the larger chapels of the higher ranking men, and hence the greater variety of scenes in their tombs.

Roles of the *hntj-š* may also be suggested by the combination of titles on the two architraves of 2091, which were apparently discarded at the beginning of Phase ii. The owner of 2091, Kapi, clearly has the title *jmj-r st hntjw-š* in the wall decoration of his chapel, but that title does not appear on the discarded architraves. Other palace titles do, however: *jmj-r mdw pr-š* (“overseer of tens of the palace”), *jmj-ht pr-š* (“assistant inspector of the palace”), and *jmj-r wpw(t) pr-š* (“overseer of palace messengers”). These titles, which occur on decoration of Phase i, perhaps represent typical offices held by an official whose title became *jmj-r st hntjw-š* when that title was first introduced, probably sometime during the reigns of Niuserre or Menkauhor.²¹

¹⁶ S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 2* (Cairo, 1936), pp. 202–5, figs. 223–51, and pls. 77–83. These two tombs have many other decorative and textual similarities, discussed in Roth, “The Practical Economics of Tomb Building in the Old Kingdom.”

¹⁷ Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, pp. 136 and 332 (chart 6.13).

¹⁸ Another high-ranking *hntj-š*, Seshem-nefer (*PM 3²*, p. 614, in the Unis cemetery) also depicts family members playing the harp for him. (Barsanti, *ASAE 1* (1900) p. 153, fig. 9.)

¹⁹ This title is recorded on a statue from g 2475, now in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (949.42), according to *PM 3²*, p. 95.

²⁰ These titles are recorded on his false door in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.3081), according to *PM 3²*, pp. 129–30.

¹³ *PM 3²*, passim, and H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1968), pp. 170–71, for example.

¹⁴ P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai ii*, BdE 65 (Cairo, 1976), pp. 577–81.

¹⁵ For more detailed argument on this point, see A.M. Roth, “The Distribution of the Old Kingdom Title *hntj-š*,” *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologenkongresses, München, 1985* Beihefte zu Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur 4 (Hamburg, 1991), pp. 177–86.

The older titles suggest a concern with the staff responsible for the practical functioning of the palace (messengers and “tens,” the palace equivalents of divisions of construction workers), which is in line with the translation of the title adopted here.

These titles are attested elsewhere in connection with the title *hntjw-š*.²² The most closely connected seems to be *jmj-r wpwt*, which occurs independently among the titulary of an inspector and an assistant overseer of palace attendants.²³ Two other men bear the composite title *jmj-r wpwt hntjw-š pr-š*,²⁴ a combination that is even more common when attached to royal pyramids.²⁵ A connection between the two titles also correlates well with the references to *hntjw-š* undertaking missions to Upper Egypt to bestow gifts of the king, which occur in late Old Kingdom provincial biographies.²⁶

The connection with overseers of tens is interesting in view of the fact that “tens” occur in work crews as the unit of organization below that of a phyle;²⁷ in temples and probably in the palace, *hntjw-š* were organized into phyles.²⁸ Two men besides Kapi bear this combination of titles.²⁹ A third title of Kapi, *hrj-pr* occurs on one of his false doors in connection with the title *hntj-š*. (The title is written *n pr-š hntj-š hrj-pr Kspj*, but it is presumably to be read *hrj-pr n hntjw-š pr-š*. The *pr-š* has brought the entire *hntj-š* title forward in honorific transposition.) This title is similarly combined in the tomb of Dua-Re.³⁰ Perhaps the most interesting parallel use of these titles occurs in the tomb of Khnumhotep,³¹ where the title *jmj-r st hntjw-š pr-š* occurs in the chapel itself, while two palace titles, *jmj-r wpwt pr-š* and *hrj-pr pr-š*, occur on the lintel, resembling the distribution in 2091.

Another title that may be relevant to the office of *hntj-š* is the title *jmj-r šwj pr-š*, “overseer of the two š’s of the palace.” It is attested

in two tombs dating to the end of Phase ii, that of an overseer, 2098, and that of an assistant overseer, 2240. This title presumably refers to the same š that occurs in the title *hntj-š*, although the titles may have been otherwise unrelated.³² The occurrence of this comparatively rare title in two of the tombs of this cluster, however, suggests that there was still some connection between these two mysterious functions.³³

Several of the tomb owners hold more than one title in the hierarchy, presumably as the result of promotions they received in the course of their careers. Such promotions seem always to occur sequentially (there are no gaps in the sequence of titles attested in a single tomb). Promotions from one level of the hierarchy to the level above may have been the occasion for enlarging and elaborating the tomb, as it seems to have been elsewhere at Giza.³⁴

Family Relationships of Tomb Owners

Sons. That there are few apparent father-son relationships between the owners of tombs in this cluster throws some doubt upon the general assumption that the location of tombs was largely determined by family relationships. There is, for example, no case in which the owner of one tomb can be shown to have the same name as the son of another. In 2088, however, a son has enlarged his father’s tomb and was presumably buried in one of its shafts. There is a representation of a man named ...khu in 2091 and a son with the same fragmentary name in 2088.³⁵ One or both of these men might be equated with the owner of the later mastaba 2098, Nefer-khuwi; but other restorations of these names are equally possible.

Another man who may be a son of an earlier tomb owner is Nimaatre, the owner of 2097. Although Nimaatre is not shown in any surviving representations in 2092+2093, the tomb of Za-ib, the architectural relationship of the two tombs and certain relationships suggested by their decoration (discussed below), make it likely that Nimaatre was a son or another close dependent of Za-ib.

Another relationship between the tombs is shown by the occurrence of sons or ka-priests of one tomb owner as ka-priests or attendants in neighboring tombs. Such connections would have some practical advantages. As sons, these men would be carrying out mortuary rites for their fathers, and a contract to provide similar services at a tomb in the same area would have cost very little extra work. There are only four such relationships, however, and most of them are tenuous.

- (1) Nen-anhk, eldest son of Redi, the owner of 2086, appears with the title ka-priest on a model in the neighboring tomb 2088, where he is

²¹ Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 272–73, has argued that the *hntj-š* titles attached to royal mortuary temples were not used until the reign of Djedkare-Izezi and are not attested in monuments until the reign of Unis. The title seems to have been introduced several reigns earlier in the palace, to judge from the dates of the tombs of this cluster. This lag between the adoption of the title in the palace and its appearance in royal mortuary temples might explain the lack of the *pr-š* designation in so many of the occurrences here: for a while the palace was the only venue in which the title was used. It probably continued to be the unmarked form, so that members of the *hntj-š* hierarchy with no attachment to a building specified can usually be assumed to have been *hntjw-š* of the palace. The palace officials are much better attested than their colleagues at mortuary temples, implying that they were probably considerably richer and in a better position to build tombs. Such a difference can easily be attributed to the advantages of working for a powerful living patron rather than a dead king. As Baer has shown, however, the title of a *hntj-š* attached to the mortuary cult of the reigning king outranked all other titles.

²² As with the early *hntj-š* titles, tomb owners with these titles are found overwhelmingly at Giza rather than Saqqara, regardless of whether they also bear the title *hntj-š*.

²³ *PM 3²*, p. 94 (Min-nefer) and p. 165 (Khnum-hotep). Min-nefer, the owner of g 2427, may be the brother represented on the central pillar in Kapi’s chapel. A third overseer of messengers, Snefru...hetep (*PM 3²*, p. 898), attested on an obelisk of Sixth Dynasty date, has no surviving *hntj-š* titles, but is called “overseer of the five... of the great house,” perhaps a reference to the five phyles into which *hntjw-š* were divided.

²⁴ *PM 3²*, p. 109 (Werbaure) and p. 153 (Khufu-seneb ii).

²⁵ *PM 3²*, p. 923, titles 414–16. This title is attested for officials at the pyramids of Izezi (1 example), Teti (1 example), and Pepi i (2 examples).

²⁶ For example, *Urk. 1*, p. 146.10.

²⁷ A.M. Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a System of Social Organization*, SAOC 48 (Chicago, 1991), pp. 120–21.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 193–94.

²⁹ *PM 3²*, p. 152 (Ked-nes) and p. 736 (Teti).

³⁰ *PM 3²*, p. 287.

³¹ LG 38, as listed in *PM 3²*, pp. 164–65.

³² The occurrence of š in different titles has been differently interpreted. “Overseer of the š’s is conventionally translated “overseer of quarry work,” while “overseer of the two š’s” is translated “overseer of the two weaving rooms.” (Posener-Krieger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai*, p. 578 nn. 2–3.) It seems unlikely that these titles are so unrelated.

³³ The title also occurs in the tomb of another high ranking *hntj-š* at Giza, that of *Jmj-st-ks* (g 4351).

³⁴ See A.M. Roth, “Cat. 14. Mastaba chapel of Akh-Meret-Nesut and his Family,” in S. D’Auria et al., eds., *Mummies and Magic*, pp. 83–87, esp. p. 86. In this chapel (g 2184), each of the two extensive additions to the chapel was decorated with a titulary that included a new title.

³⁵ These very faintly preserved signs, under a fragmentary *zš/zst.f*, occur between a man and a woman. They may belong to either.

represented cutting up a goose. g 2086 is almost exactly contemporary with the earliest serdab of 2088. Ka-khent, the owner of 2088, was a step higher in the hierarchy than Redi.

- (2) The name Kepa-mes, which appears on the false door of Kapi in 2091, might be equated with the man named Kepa... represented censing before the tomb owner on a block of Za-ib, the owner of 2092+2093. Neither of these names is accompanied by an indication of any relationship to the tomb owner. Furthermore, it is possible that the word *kp* on the block of Za-ib is not a name at all, but the beginning of a caption, *kp*, "censing..." while the *kp*-*ms* in 2091 might be interpreted as *msw Kspj*, "the children of Kapi." This latter reading is not likely, however, since the inversion would be curious, the tomb owner's name is never written *kp* elsewhere, and one of the other figures on the door is identified as Kapi's sister rather than a daughter. The other figures on the false doors are called *hm-ks*, so the figure of Kepa-mes would be anomalous in any case for its lack of a title. It is unlikely that he is a son, as no son is represented elsewhere in the tomb (on doorjambs, for example). The tombs involved, again, are roughly contemporary and are separated by a single step in rank.
- (3) An attendant called Iren... in the carrying chair scene of 2098 may be the same man as Iren-Ptah who is the son of the owner of 2240. Iren-Ptah is given the title of *hntj-š*, and though no title survives for the man shown in 2098, many of the other attendants in the same scene bear that title. g 2098 and 2240 appear to be quite closely contemporary. Iren-Ptah's father was a step lower in rank than the man his son would have served, by this reconstruction. The fact that another attendant in 2098 and a ka-priest in 2240 both have names based on the name of Khufu (Khufu-seneb and Mery-Khufu, respectively) may also point to a connection between these two tomb owners.
- (4) The ka-priest Kaemtjenet, who appears twice on the northern false door of 2091, may also be represented as an offering bearer in 2088, although the name is spelled rather differently. g 2091 is slightly later than 2088, but in both cases the name is incised and may be later than the (raised) chapel decoration. The tomb owners are again separated by a single step in rank.

In all cases the tomb owners who share an attendant are separated by a single step in rank; and in the two cases where the attendant is a son, he is a son of the lower ranking of the two. As heirs of their fathers' offices, it is not surprising that these two men should appear in positions subordinate to their fathers' superiors. The two cases where the relationship is not specified may reflect the same situation.

Wives and Daughters. The owners of the principal inscribed tombs in the cluster were all male and all had representations of children in their tombs, presumably their own. There is no case in which a daughter from one tomb appears as a wife in another. Like many Old Kingdom tomb owners, however, several of these men did not include their wives in the program of decoration.³⁶ Women may have been omitted because they were buried elsewhere; or for more idiosyncratic reasons (death, divorce, distaste). A chronological survey of the tombs in this cluster serves to demonstrate only a general trend towards the omission of the wife in later tombs.

2088 – wife shown, at same scale, on east wall; her name is lost

2086 – wife shown, at same scale, on south wall; her name is lost

2091 – wife, *rht-nswt*; *hmt-ntr Nt Hc-mrr-Nbtj*, shown on column, at same scale

³⁶ N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders* (London, 1985), p. 87, notes that none of the female family members of the Ptahhotep-Akhethotep family seem to have been represented. This pattern is quite common, especially at the end of the Fifth Dynasty.

2093 – wife, *hmt-ntr Nt Tntt*, shown, probably on south or west wall, at same scale

2097 – no wife represented

2240 – no wife represented

2098 – much smaller woman shown on west wall; her name was never recorded

In only two tombs, 2091 and 2093, is the woman accompanying the tomb owner specifically identified as his wife. In the other cases, the woman represented with the tomb owner may also be his mother, since mothers were sometimes represented in the same positions that wives were. However, the presence of children in these tombs makes it more likely that it is the wife who is represented. These women were probably identified by name, but the relevant portions of the walls are lost. The woman shown kneeling at the feet of the tomb owner in 2098 may be a daughter, a supposition made more likely by the absence of a name and the small scale at which she is depicted.

In 2086, 2088, and possibly also in 2092+2093, the tomb owner's wife was represented only once. The only clear exception³⁷ to this is 2091, where Kapi's wife Khamerernebty is shown on the central pillar and on both walls of the corridor. With the possible exception of the woman in 2098, wives were either shown standing with their husbands or seated on the same chair. When seated (2086, 2088), they were represented at the same scale; when they are standing (2091, 2092+2093), the wife is shown only slightly smaller than her husband is, perhaps representing only the actual difference in height. (Children, by contrast, are normally shown at a much smaller scale.)

Wives are never shown on the false doors of their husbands, and with one exception,³⁸ they do not have false doors of their own. The two tombs in which the wife is clearly absent, 2097 and 2240, both date towards the end of the development of the cluster. The absence is especially striking in 2097, which shares this feature, like so many others, with the tomb of Ptahhotep ii at Saqqara. In general, the wife seems to be more frequently omitted in tombs of the late Fifth Dynasty than they are in earlier periods.³⁹

The most interesting family relationship in the cluster is that suggested by the northern false door of 2097', which belonged to a woman named Tjezet. g 2097' abuts the north face of 2091, a tomb in which a woman also named Tjezet is represented as a daughter. It seems likely that these women are identical. On the central column in 2091, Khamerernebty is shown with her two daughters, Tjezet and another daughter, Meretites, who is clearly younger. On the corridor wall, which was decorated at a later period, a third daughter, Neferkhu-Hathor, is shown standing together with Meretites below a woman whose name is lost, but who was probably Tjezet, suggesting that Tjezet was the eldest daughter, Meretites the middle daughter, and Neferkhu-Hathor the youngest. The title *rht-nswt* occurs on the northern false door tablet from mastaba 2097', and the same title is accorded to Khamerernebty on the 2091 pillar. This would also

³⁷ Although Za-ib's wife Tjentet is represented only once in the surviving decoration of 2092+2093, the decoration of the central recess is preserved only in isolated fragments, and she may have been shown in more than one scene.

³⁸ g 2097', to be discussed below.

³⁹ I presented a more general study of this question, "The Absent Spouse: Patterns and Taboos in Egyptian Tomb Decoration," at the 1994 meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt. A publication of the work is in preparation.

support the assumption that the Tjjet of 2097' was the eldest daughter of Khamerenebty, and inherited her mother's title.

No sons are identified in Kapi's tomb. On his false door panels, only ka-priests, the untitled Kapa-mes, and a sister are represented. The central pillar depicts a brother and men who would seem to be professional colleagues, which also suggests that Kapi had no sons. An unidentified adult man is represented grasping the lower part of Kapi's staff on the eastern corridor wall, but this position can also be occupied by a ka-priest, as shown on the doorjamb of 2240. This man may, however, be the husband of Kapi's eldest daughter, who took on the role of a son by virtue of his marriage into the family. (Perhaps he is even to be identified with the untitled Kapa-mes?) This would explain why Tjjet's husband built 2097', a tomb to the north of Kapi's tomb rather than a tomb near his own family. That Tjjet had her own separate cult place in the tomb may be due to her family connection with the more elaborate tomb to the south. Even if this reconstruction is correct, however, the circumstances are too unusual to support more general conclusions about a pattern of matrilineal burial. Perhaps significantly, 2097' is one of the few tombs that has two subterranean shafts. The deeper southern one was robbed, but the northern one was sealed and empty.

Comparative Iconography

The tombs in the cluster share several iconographic features, some of which are quite rare outside it. These common features are perhaps due to the geographic and chronological proximity of the tombs, but they may also be a function of the tomb owners' common area of professional activity. It is also likely that they represent to some extent the tastes and preferences of the tomb owners.

One of the rarest and most enigmatic vignettes associated with swamp scenes is a "spanking" scene, of which only six are known, two of them in this cluster. In 2091 and 2097, a kneeling man is shown being beaten by a man who leans over him. The pair is observed by an overseer in a starched kilt, leaning on a staff, who is given the same problematic speech in both scenes: *dj mdw.f m nw sht*, "May his ten give with this a clap." *Sht* is in neither case determined with the clapnet, but a parallel scene from Saqqara with a slightly different text does use that determinative. This text, *wdj m sht.f m nw*, has been translated by H. Altenmüller as "Das Niederlegen beim ihn Einfangen im Grab,"⁴⁰ but the two parallels in this cluster make it unlikely that the association with the beating is accidental. I would prefer to translate "Put in his clap with this." (The spanker has a stick in his hand, as he may in the two examples in the cluster.) The references to a clapnet may be related to the frequent placement of these scenes near scenes of papyrus swamps, where bird-trapping also occurs. That punishment is intended is clear from the parallel scene in the tomb of Ptahhotep ii,⁴¹ where it is the spanker who speaks, *ju c.(j) r.f mr.f*, "My arm is against him, so that he will hurt." Other

⁴⁰ "Arbeiten am Grab des Neferherenptah in Saqqara (1970–1975)," *MDAIK* 38 (1982), p. 8. Altenmüller describes the accompanying scene as "Rinderhirten beim Ringkampf." However, a photograph of this scene is published in J.Ph. Lauer, *Saqqara* (London, 1976), fig. 141, and Lauer correctly points out that the end of a stick is visible in the palm of the spanker's hand.

⁴¹ R.F.E. Paget and A.A. Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hotep* (London, 1898), pl. 31.

examples of the scene occur, in the chapel of Hetep-her-akhti⁴² and, most peculiarly, in a model in the Oriental Institute⁴³ usually identified as children playing leapfrog.

Another unusual scene in 2091 seems to depict the making of rope.⁴⁴ It is directly above a scene of men tying together papyrus reed boats, suggesting that the rope was to be used in such construction. The scene was badly broken when the wall was drawn (and is now entirely gone), but the technique depicted was apparently that in which one man sits and feeds fibers into the rope while a standing man swings the weighted end of the rope to twist it. The same technique is represented in 2092+2093, in a very different context; in the scene below, and perhaps the one above, animals are driven over grain to thresh it. The purpose of the resulting rope may thus be different in this scene.

Many common scenes occur in more than one of the mastabas. Butchering scenes occur in five chapels, invariably in the lowest register, either with offering bearers above (2086, 2088 and 2098) or with a depiction of the offering ritual (2092+2093, 2240). The lack of such scenes in 2091 is surprising, given the quantities of live animals shown in the chapel. g 2091 has by far the greatest number and variety of domestic animals being led in for presentation, a scene that also occurs in 2086, 2087, 2092+2093,⁴⁵ 2097, 2098, and 2240. Birds are included in such offerings only in 2091 (cranes, along with cattle) and in 2097 (cranes and geese being driven, an ostrich in the desert, and killed geese with flowers). Scenes of animal husbandry include milking cows (2091), animals nursing calves (both a cow and a gazelle in 2091, a cow in 2092+2093), the birth of calves (2240), the force feeding of calves (2097 and 2240), and cattle crossing a canal (2092+2093 and 2097).

Desert hunting scenes are shown only in 2097, fowling scenes in 2092+2093, and fishing scenes in 2091 and 2097. There are no surviving scenes of bird trapping or poultry yards in the cluster, nor are there scenes of workshops, cooking, or other industrial activity.

Agricultural scenes relating to grain production are shown in most of the larger chapels, although different stages of the process are depicted in each chapel and no chapel contains the entire sequence: plowing (2091 and 2097); reaping (2092+2093, 2097, and 2240); threshing (2092+2093 and 2097); and winnowing (2240). The plucking of flax is shown only in 2091, and viticulture is shown only in 2092+2093.

One common scene with some interesting implications in this cluster is the "fishing and fowling in the marshes" scene. These scenes normally occur in symmetrical pairs on the facade or on walls near

⁴² W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* i (Leipzig, 1936), pl. 105. The caption here reads *hjt*, probably the speech of the victim, to be translated simply "ouch!" (See *Wb.* 2, p. 471.7).

⁴³ OIM 10639. The model was acquired in Cairo in 1920, along with the models of Nikau-Inpu (to which it may belong); the dealer gave its probable origin as Giza. The figures are quite similar to many of the models from the serdabs of 2088. It is tempting to associate them with this cluster; however, Nikau-Inpu did not hold any *hntj-š* titles. I am grateful to Dr. Emily Teeter for tracking down the accession records for me, and to Dr. Karen Wilson for allowing me to examine the piece.

⁴⁴ For discussion of the process of rope making, see E. Teeter, "Techniques and Terminology of Rope-Making in Ancient Egypt," *JEA* 73 (1987), pp. 71–77.

⁴⁵ A fragment of this scene occurs on the block noted in 1991, which could not be drawn. This block is more fully described in Part ii.

the entrance to tombs.⁴⁶ In this cemetery, such scenes appear to occur in isolation. In 2091, the existence of a fowling scene may be inferred from the remains there of a large-scale reed boat in a papyrus marsh to the right of the northern entrance to the tomb. Since there is no *Wasserberg* (the bending of the water and its fish up into the papyrus plants that characterizes the fish spearing scene), this scene probably depicts fowling. No fish-spearing scene survives to balance it, but one might perhaps be restored on the north end wall of the corridor. This end wall, which now has only traces of plaster, was probably originally decorated with the spanking scene and various other marsh scenes, which are now preserved only in a drawing. The parallel to this spanking scene in 2097 is accompanied by a fish-spearing scene. It is thus likely that the blocked entrance at the southeastern corner of the tomb was decorated with the counterpart of the scene at the northern entrance.

The two remaining scenes also appear to be isolated, in tombs 2092+2093 and 2097. The first is a fowling scene that was probably initially placed next to the Phase i doorway at the southern end of the corridor, between 2092 and 2093. When that doorway was blocked in Phase ii, the scene was left in an anomalous position, at the far end of the corridor, deep within the mastaba. The fish spearing scene in 2097 is placed, like the 2092+2093 scene, at the farthest point from the entrance to the chapel, the west end of its north wall. In this case, however, there is no earlier entrance to justify this unusual placement. One hypothesis that might explain the presence of this scene is to see it as a counterpart to the fowling scene in 2092+2093. Together these scenes would bridge the entire cluster, connecting the two tombs, just as the two scenes restored in 2091 face each other across the length of the tomb.

There are several other connections between 2092+2093 and 2097, apart from their physical proximity, their shared courtyard, and the similarity of the shape of their chapels noted above. The fact that they shared an entrance court suggests that they were built by close relatives, probably father and son, a hypothesis that would also explain why the owner of 2097, a man who was merely an ordinary *hntj-š*, had such an impressive (though small) tomb. The connection would also suggest an explanation for the peculiar circumstance that on both segments of south wall in 2097, the offering bearers are heading east, away from the false doors and away from the seated figures of the tomb owner above them. This may be because they are seen as proceeding out, toward 2092+2093, the same sort of anomalous positioning seen in the doorjamb and wall relief of Pehen-Ptah in the chapel of his father Ka-khent (2088).

Interestingly, the plan of the complex closely parallels that of the contemporary vizier Akhethotep and his son Ptahhotep ii at Saqqara. Both of these complexes had a central court, the father's tomb on the main axis, and the son's at a right angle to it. The similarity is emphasized by several rare motifs that occur in the chapel decoration of both Ptahhotep ii and Nimaatre. These include scenes of a lion attacking a cow, otherwise unparalleled scenes of lions copulating, and the scenes of a public spanking discussed above. These

tombs were clearly contemporary, and their relationships with the larger tombs adjacent to them were probably equally congruent.

Offering bearers with food offerings on footed trays and in their hands occur in all fully decorated tombs. (No men carrying trays are preserved in 2240, but these usually occur on higher registers than are preserved). Offering bearers carry flowers only in 2097. In some chapels, attendants also bring non-food items, such as boxes, sandals, baskets, and so forth (2091, 2097, and 2240); they are shown with scribal equipment in 2091, 2092+2093, and 2097. Offering lists are preserved only in three tombs, 2091, 2097, and 2098, however they also tend to occur on the upper parts of walls, which are lost in many cases.

The standard scene in which the tomb owner is presented with a lotus is preserved on the south chapel walls of 2086 and 2091. In both cases, the tomb owner faces west, the man presenting the lotus is not identified, and there are seated musicians and standing dancers and clappers in the registers below. In 2091, the tomb owner is seated in an armchair and carrying a brachiomorphic scepter; this area is lost in 2086. A similar scene occurs in 2097, where the lotus presentation is replaced by a game of *senet* and the offering bearers in the upper registers are replaced by seated scribes and a bed-making scene. This scene shares with 2091 the depiction of a hanging tapestry (probably originally painted with geometric designs) behind the chair and the brachiomorphic staff. g 2240 also had a scene of this type, but the area of the lotus presentation/*senet* game has not been preserved. All these tombs, where the relevant area is preserved, depict the tomb owner in an armchair, listening to musicians.

Another common characteristic of these tombs is the presence of the tomb owner's children represented standing on a floating baseline in the space between the tomb owner's kilt and his staff, which the child usually grasps. Such scenes occur most frequently on pillars and jambs. The tomb owner's son or other male dependents are represented in this position in 2091, 2098 and 2240; in 2086, a daughter is shown in this role as well as a son. A floating baseline was also used on the north face of the pillar of 2091, to support a daughter standing with her mother. Another girl, shown on a wall fragment from 2093, stands on the same baseline as her father between his legs and his staff, but she does not grasp the staff. On the east wall of 2097 and on an outer doorjamb of 2086, a child, probably a son, is shown on the same baseline as the tomb owner, grasping the staff.

Still other scenes occur just once in the cluster. g 2097 is especially rich in scenes not attested in the other tombs. These include the bed-making scene, the *senet* game, the seated scribes, and, most notably, a scene of desert wildlife with an unparalleled variety of copulating animals. g 2098 has two types of scenes not paralleled in the rest of the cluster, a procession in a carrying chair and the presentation of produce by the tomb owner's personified estates. That these are among the latest tombs in the cluster may explain these unique features; perhaps while they were able to copy features from neighboring tombs, there were no later tombs built in the area which might have copied their innovations. Alternatively, the distribution of unique features may simply be an artifact of personal taste and uneven preservation.

⁴⁶ Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, p. 52.

Another distinction between the tomb owners as they were depicted in their chapel decoration is the clothes they wore. The triangular kilt is worn by every tomb owner, almost invariably on doorjambs, but sometimes in scenes on walls as well. Most tomb owners are shown with both long and short hair; the exceptions are the owners of 2086 and 2087, whose heads are nowhere preserved. Long hair is invariably shown in scenes where the tomb owner is seated at an offering table and on all but two doorjambs. The exceptions are the jamb of the outer doorway 2088 and possibly also the unfinished jamb decoration 2231. The 2088 jamb is also anomalous in depicting the tomb owner's son entering the chapel, rather than the tomb owner leaving it; this may correlate with the shorter hair he wears, though he is shown with a long wig elsewhere in the tomb. Short hair occurs more often on columns, and invariably when the tomb owner is seated in an armchair listening to music (2091, 2097, 2240) or a carrying chair (2098), circumstances that probably were less formal. The hair of the tomb owner's wife is always shown long in this cluster; that of daughters and other women is usually also shown long, unless they are performing as dancers or musicians, or when they are very young girls, in which cases they may wear a long pigtail (2088, 2092+2093).

The leopard-skin of a *stm* priest is worn by the tomb owner in 2086, 2092+2093, 2097, 2098, and 2240; the equally high-ranking owners of 2088 and 2091 do not wear it. The sash of the lector priest is worn only by the owner of 2098 (who is shown wearing it three times). Kapi, the owner of 2091, is the only person in the cluster ever depicted wearing sandals; he wears them in all three preserved scenes inside his chapel where he is standing. He is, however, barefoot on

his doorjambs. No clear pattern of titles could be found to explain any of these distinctions in clothing.

The most common posture of the tomb owner is standing with a staff held lightly in the far (forward) hand and a handkerchief, *hrp* scepter, or nothing at all in the near (back) hand. Two tomb owners hold their staffs even when they are seated: Za-ib, on both jambs of his false door (2092+2093) and Nefer-khuwi, in a scene where he is seated under a canopy (2098). Only Kapi, the owner of 2091, is shown leaning on his staff, with the far hand over the top while the near hand braces it. It is unclear whether this posture is connected with the sandals he wears in the same depictions. Empty-handed tomb owners seem to occur only on pillars: on at least one of the pillars in 2088, on two of the four faces of the pillar in 2092+2093, and on all three faces of the pillar in 2098.

Not only are there different combinations of motifs, postures, and accoutrements in each tomb chapel, but the individual scenes are never exactly the same. Even in the most conventional scene, the tomb owner standing with his staff wearing a long wig and a triangular starched kilt, there are variations in other elements: the presence or absence of children, the angle of the staff, the presence or lack of a collar, and the item held in the other hand, as well as the identifying facial features and texts. Other conventional scenes, for example, butchering scenes, musicians and dancers, and processions of offering bearers, initially appear similar, but always differ extensively in detail. Whether these differences in composition and detail were the strivings toward individual expression of the craftsmen who decorated the tomb, or whether they represented the taste and preferences of the individual tomb owners, is impossible to determine.

Chapter 4: PATTERNS OF TOMB BUILDING

Many Egyptologists believe that the royal cemeteries of the Old Kingdom reflect the structure of Egyptian society during that period. However, neither the overall spatial organization of these cemeteries nor the interrelationships of the individual tombs has yet been fully described. This is partly due to the difficulty of establishing the date of most individual tombs. Unless all the tombs in a cemetery can be dated, it is impossible to determine the shape of the cemetery at any given time during its development. Even when tombs are dated, the dates are often based on their locations. In these cases, comparing the dates of tombs with their locations merely reinforces the untested assumptions about cemetery organization and growth that were used to arrive at the dates.¹ Another impediment to spatial analysis is that most publications have studied individual tombs in isolation, obscuring their relationships to other tombs.² As a result, it is unclear which aspects of social organization affected the arrangement and other characteristics of tombs, and by what principles cemeteries were governed.

Some initial work has been done on this problem. G.A. Reisner³ proposed that the core mastabas at Giza were clustered in family groups. Reisner's identification of tomb owners and their family relationships were often based on tomb placement, however, so that arguments tend to be circular. W.S. Smith also argued for genealogical placement, but admitted the role of profession in tomb placement as well.⁴ W. Helck, on the other hand, argued⁵ that the organization was based on subdivisions within the building trade, whose members' professional connections allowed them to build impressive tombs near the pyramids where they worked. Some tomb owners' titles must be stretched in unlikely ways to connect their holders with pyramid building, however. D.B. O'Connor⁶ has shown a clear division between royal family members and non-royal officials in the

eastern cemetery. The distribution in the west is less clear, and even in the east, finer distinctions are difficult to find. My own work on the organization of royal cemeteries of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties⁷ has dealt only with the changes in the nature of their occupants over time. None of these studies deals with later construction in older royal cemeteries.

The cluster of mastabas of palace attendants studied here is an excellent laboratory for studying the relationships between tombs and their owners, because the tombs can be assigned relative dates with such precision and because their owners all have titles in the same hierarchy. A comparison of the characteristics of the tombs with their owner's titles and the periods in which they were built suggests how these factors influenced the placement of tombs and the allocation of resources to different parts of a burial.

The most basic constraints and controls that affected the builders of tombs, and hence the organization and development of Egyptian cemeteries, are unknown. No textual evidence records the degree to which central control was exercised over the right to construct new tombs or over their placement, size, and orientation. How was space in these cemeteries allocated? What was the comparative importance of factors such as wealth, rank at court, professional specialty, and family heritage in determining the site and form of a tomb? To what extent could all these factors be outweighed by the personal preferences and allegiances of the tomb owner? Was access to earlier structures preserved by some sort of legal restriction, by conventional morality, or only by sentimental or genealogical ties between the owners of older tombs on the site and new tomb builders? What were the social and legal restrictions against reusing, altering, or even robbing these older tombs during the Old Kingdom? Such questions can only be approached through examination of the cemeteries themselves.

The answers to such questions that can be drawn from circumstances in this cluster are limited and tentative, but from them it is possible to suggest hypotheses that might explain the development observed. These hypotheses must be tested against evidence from many cemeteries and parts of cemeteries to arrive at a general picture of how cemeteries developed and functioned. Such studies may allow a better understanding of the factors that influenced tomb builders' choices.

The Distribution of Resources in the Cluster

The titles of the tomb owner, reflecting his rank and status, are only one factor that might have affected the form of his tomb. Other considerations are his family connections and the economic resources available to him in the construction of the tomb, either through his

¹ In *GNi*, Reisner lists textual criteria as the main basis for his datings of core mastabas (p. 31), but he seems in fact to have based his datings on their relationship to other mastabas in the same cemeteries and the Khufu pyramid (pp. 78–84). He dates smaller tombs within the cemetery on their relationships to the core mastabas (p. 14).

² This is true of most epigraphic tomb publications. Even the excavation reports, such as H. Junker's and Selim Hassan's Giza series, tend to be divided into reports on individual mastabas.

³ *GNi*, pp. 28–29.

⁴ W.S. Smith in his appendix to G.A. Reisner, *Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge, MA, 1936), p. 393.

⁵ "Zur Entstehung des Westfriedhofs an der Cheops-Pyramide," *ZÄS* 81 (1956), pp. 62–65.

⁶ "Political Systems and Archaeological Data in Egypt, 2600–1780 b.c.," *World Archaeology* 6 (1974), pp. 20–22.

⁷ Roth, "Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty," and idem, "The Organization of Royal Cemeteries at Saqqara in the Old Kingdom," *JARCE* 25 (1988), pp. 201–14.

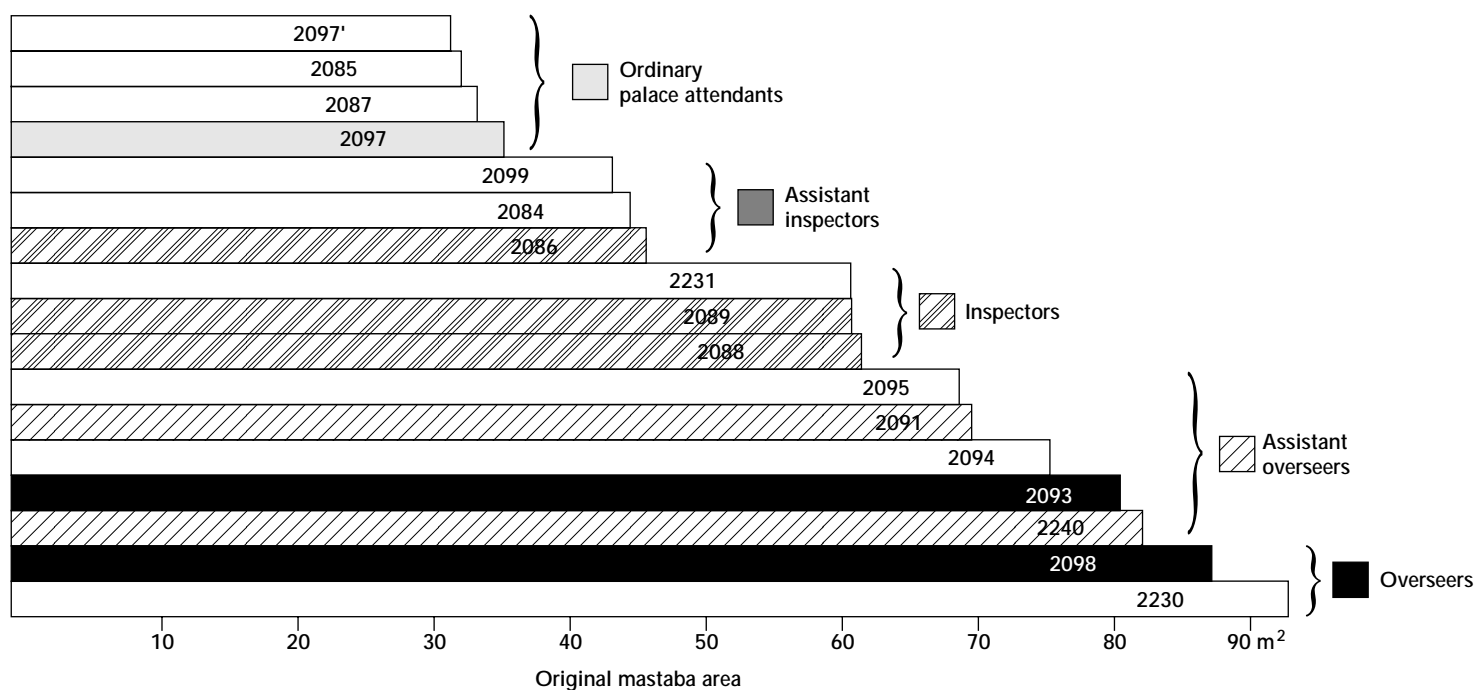


Fig. 12. A histogram of original mastaba areas. The smaller tombs cluster into three groups, tentatively correlated with the three lowest ranks of the palace attendant hierarchy; the areas of the upper two ranks are less uniform. The shading of the bars represents the titles actually attested in the tombs.

own wealth or the generosity of the king.⁸ Current fashions or long-term trends might also have affected certain characteristics of a tomb, which would thus correlate with its date; professional connections and interests might determine the content of the decoration; and idiosyncratic personal tastes, independent of fashion, surely also played a role where other agencies left the tomb builder (or the artisan actually doing the work) a choice. All these factors might have affected independently eleven different areas of potential investment during tomb construction and the use-life of the building.

- (1) The tomb's position in the cemetery
- (2) The total area occupied by the tomb and its approach
- (3) The volume of bedrock excavated to create the subterranean part of the burial shaft and the burial chamber
- (4) The quality of the limestone blocks that form the "skin" of the mastaba and their degree of finish
- (5) The imported materials (granite, other non-local stone) used in construction
- (6) The amount of decoration, and its technique, contents, and quality
- (7) The number, size and contents of serdabs
- (8) The contents of the burial chamber and the technique of mummification used
- (9) The funeral ceremony, mourners, and banquet
- (10) The endowment land set aside to support the cult functionaries and the carrying out of mortuary rituals
- (11) Secondary tombs or monuments, such as the shrines attested at Abydos in later periods

Obviously, the last three provisions are difficult to detect in the archaeological record, especially one that has been largely reduced to

architecture and iconography. No tomb owner in this cluster is attested on monuments elsewhere in Egypt. There are no endowment texts to suggest the organization of cult functionaries. It might be imagined, however, that their number and scale of remuneration reflected the size of the tomb owner's family and his desire to bequeath them his resources, since cult endowments would have been a practical way to confer an inheritance. A large number of children might be supposed to require a proportionately greater allocation of resources to this area.

Even the expenditures that left physical traces may be incompletely preserved. The use of exotic building stone is unattested for these tombs, although, as has been noted above, granite and other exotic stone may have originally been used in the cluster, and later robbed. The preserved contents of the burial chambers and serdabs are also incomplete. The relief decoration is also only partly preserved, and any painted decoration has been completely lost.

The factors to be analyzed thus must be limited to the mastaba's area, the mastaba's position, the shape and size of the chapel, the casing, the decoration, including the type and quantity of texts, the volume of the substructure, and the contents of serdabs and the burial chamber. It must be remembered that there were other areas where economic and social resources may have been expended, and the features that can be measured can give only an incomplete picture.

Mastaba Area. One point at which centralized control might be expected is in the area of the mastaba, since land in a cemetery surrounding a royal pyramid was presumably at a premium and under rationing of some kind. The architectural evidence in this cluster does in fact support a degree of control based on the tomb owner's rank.

⁸ Royal gifts were apparently unpredictable, judging from the texts that record their receipt. A selection of texts recording such gifts are published in *Urk* 1, pp. 18–21; 38–40.3; 40.4–45.9; 98–110; 146.10–15; and 232–4. They ranged from elements such as false doors (often of special imported materials beyond the tomb owner's resources) to endowment of estates (presumably royal gifts, since royal estates are shown bringing offerings to the tomb owner in private tombs) to construction of an entire tomb.

The areas of all the major mastabas that are not extensions of other tombs have been plotted as a histogram in fig. 12. (The original sizes were used, because a different scale may have applied to additions.) The shading of the bars represents the highest attested title where it is known. The tombs at the lower end of the scale fall neatly into three groups; those at the upper end can be divided into two more groups, although less neatly, perhaps because more options in the distribution of wealth and royal largess were open to men of higher rank. (The numerous other titles borne by these higher ranking officials may also have had an effect.)

These five groups seem likely to correlate with the five levels of the palace attendant hierarchy. Of the titles actually attested, no tomb-owner has a larger tomb than his titles would suggest. g 2086 and 2093 are smaller tombs than would be expected from their owners' titles, but both tombs were subsequently enlarged, perhaps as a result of the owners' promotions.⁹ In addition, an uninscribed mastaba, 2099, was extended to the south by a man whose serdab statues indicate that he was an assistant inspector of palace attendants, the same rank that would be predicted by the size of the original mastaba. Perhaps the owner of the serdab built in this area because he had inherited his title from the original owner of 2099. Not shown on the histogram is a mastaba that clearly contradicts the hypothetical correlation of rank and tomb area, 2092a. However, this tomb is an intrusive burial with a usurped false door that may have been moved from a larger structure. As a Phase iv tomb, moreover, it was later than most of the other mastabas, and the amount of land allowed for the various ranks may have decreased with time.

The ranges of mastaba area of the tombs of men whose titles are known allow the anonymous owners of mastabas that have no decoration to be tentatively assigned ranks within the *hntjw-š* hierarchy. These tombs and their areas are listed in brackets in fig. 13, after the tombs that can be assigned to the category on inscriptional evidence. Note that the original area of 2086 fits well into the range of areas for an *jmj-ht hntjw-š*, the rank below the rank he ultimately received. The mastaba of Kapi, 2091, fits the pattern less well. His original mastaba was above the average size for a *šbd hntjw-š pr-š*, and it was later expanded to an area larger than normal for a *jmj-r st hntjw-š*. Perhaps this extra area was the result of some of his other titles; he was, for example, the only person in the cluster to bear all three of the titles *wꜥb nswt*, *rh nswt*, and *hrj-ššꜥ*, all of which allude to a connection with the king.

The area given for 2099 here reflects the area of the mastaba massif north of the spur wall that affected the support wall of 2098; the area south of that wall, and the corridor claimed by its enclosure is assigned to the builder of the serdab. Both tombs would thus fit in the category of *jmj-ht hntjw-š*: the original mastaba massif because of its area, and the addition with the serdab because of its statue's inscriptions. That the addition is too small for the rank its owner holds is probably related to the fact that it is an addition to an older

Tomb	Mastaba Area (square meters)	
<i>jmj-r hntjw-š pr-š</i>		
"overseer of palace retainers"		
2093	81.0	(later enlarged)
2098	87.5	
2092a	4.0	(intrusive tomb)
[2230	92.93]	
[2099	87.14]	
<i>jmj-r st hntjw-š pr-š</i>		
"assistant overseer of palace retainers"		
2091	70.2	(later enlarged to 97.3)
2240	82.4	
2088.1	49.69	(addition; with his father's, 111.64)
[2094	75.47]	
<i>šbd hntjw-š pr-š</i>		
"supervisor of palace retainers"		
2088	61.95	
2089	60.5	
2086	46.71	(later expanded to 64.1)
[2095	69.1]	
[2231	60.5]	
<i>jmj-ht hntjw-š pr-š</i>		
"assistant supervisor of palace retainers"		
2099S	25.3	(addition to 2099; total 69.3)
[2099	44.0]	(original mastaba north of rubble wall)
[2084	45.32]	
<i>hntj-š pr-š</i>		
"palace retainer"		
2097	36.29	
[2085	32.78]	
[2087	34.0]	
[2097'	32.47]	

Fig. 13. Mastaba areas, as a function of the rank of the owner. The tombs given in brackets at the end of each rank category are assigned a rank based on the similarity of the area to that of tombs of men whose titles are attested.

mastaba, where a different scale apparently applied; for comparison, see the addition made by the original owner's son in 2088. Both the original builder of 2099 and the builder of the extension (Raramu) thus are likely to have had the same rank; this would be plausible if Raramu was the original owner's son and inherited his title.

In fig. 14, the tombs have been arranged in roughly chronological order, based on the chart of the cluster's development given in Chapter 2 (fig. 4). The curve in the upper part of the table shows the increasing popularity of this part of the cemetery with high officials in the hierarchy (or at least officials entitled to mastabas of greater area) during Phase i. This popularity declined precipitously in Phase ii, when the blocking of the path to g 2000 made the location less desirable; it is perhaps significant that the largest buildings during this period are extensions of earlier tombs, perhaps built by family members who were already committed to the location. Finally, at the end of Phase ii and the beginning of Phase iii, the area again became briefly popular with higher members of the hierarchy, perhaps when it became clear that the obstruction to the path would be removed.

The correlation between title and mastaba area outlined here agrees with Naguib Kanawati's conclusions and supports his assumption that the land for tombs within the cemetery was allocated by the

⁹ This phenomenon can be seen in g 2184, where a tomb owner's additional titles occur in each of two enlargements of his tomb. (Roth in D'Auria et al, *Mummies and Magic*, pp. 86–87.) The same phenomenon may explain the additions to the tomb of Kapi, who holds two of the titles in the *hntj-š* hierarchy, presumably as the result of a promotion.

Tomb number	Mastaba (square meters)	Level of title	
2085	32.78	[•]	Phase i
2089	60.5	•••	
2088	61.95	•••	
2091	70.2	••••	
2086	46.71	•••	
2094	75.47	[••••]	
2230	92.93	[•••••]	
2093	81.0	•••••	

2231	60.5	[•••]	Phase ii
2095	69.13	[•••]	
2099 orig.	44.0	[••]	
2087	34	[•]	
2097'	32.47	[•]	
2097	36.29	•	
2098	87.5	••••	
2240	82.4	••••	

2099 serdab	25.3 added	••	Phase iii
2084	45.32	[••] or ••••?	
2088 son	49.69 added	••••	

2092a	4.0 intrusive	•••••	Phase iv
2092a	0.0 usurped	•••	
2097x	0.0 usurped	•••	

• = *hntj-š*
•• = *jmj-ht hntjw-š*
••• = *shd hntjw-š*
•••• = *jmj-r st hntjw-š*
••••• = *jmj-r hntjw-š*

Fig. 14. The development of the cluster showing the rank of the builders, ordered chronologically, according to the conclusions in Chapter 2. (The rank restored in brackets is that hypothesized for the owners of uninscribed tombs, based on the area of the mastaba.)

state.¹⁰ However, the distinctions shown here are considerably finer than his, since all five levels of *hntjw-š* fall into his “middle” category. He claims that in this category, the average area of mastabas for the “middle” level of officials declines during this period from 251 to 30 square meters.¹¹ As fig. 14 shows, a decline can be seen in this cluster as well, from an average of 65.2 square meters in Phase i to 55.8 square meters in Phase ii, to 40 square meters in Phase iii, to 4 square meters in Phase iv. This trend, however, reflects not a decrease in the allocation of space in the cemetery to members of the *hntj-š* hierarchy (except possibly during Phase iv), but rather a decline in the cemetery’s popularity with the higher ranking officials in the hierarchy. The correlation of tomb areas with finer levels of rank rather than with date suggests that tomb area was not so entirely dependent upon a single factor.

Mastaba Position. The location of a tomb was clearly related to its owner’s title in this cluster, if only because membership in the hierarchy of palace attendants was apparently a prerequisite for burial there. As the cluster developed along the northern side of the path that led around mastaba g 2000, the earliest tombs showed a spatial patterning in which the highest ranking officials had mastabas closest to g 2000. This huge mastaba seems to have been the focus of several concentrations of tombs of *hntjw-š*, there is a second concentration

around its southern cult place.¹² After the shift in the orientation of the cluster to the north, however, this hierarchical pattern was not maintained. Apparently, proximity to mastaba g 2000 ceased to matter once the path to it was closed, and this suggests that the initial pattern was the result of a comparatively flexible convention.

As fig. 14 illustrated, the tombs of Phase i show a clear predominance of holders of the title *shd hntjw-š pr-š* among the earliest occupants of this cemetery. Most of the men with higher titles built their tombs near g 2000, at the western edge of the cemetery. g 2091 belonged to a *shd hntjw-š pr-š* who was later promoted to a *jmj-r st hntjw-š pr-š*. It was built just west of the tombs of the owner’s future subordinates, perhaps for the same reason that it was slightly larger. g 2093, built by the highest official in the hierarchy, a *jmj-r hntjw-š pr-š*, was located even further west. The westernmost tomb in the cluster, 2094, was smaller, and perhaps belonged to a lower ranking man; perhaps because it was west of the turnoff that led to the east face of g 2000. The greatest anomaly was the position of 2230, which by its size should have belonged to the highest level in the *hntj-š* hierarchy. Its position at the extreme east of the cluster is difficult to explain.

Aside from this problem, the cemetery was apparently organized in relationship to mastaba g 2000 rather than to the pyramid of Khufu. Since the owner of g 2000 is unknown, it is difficult to assess the meaning of this orientation. Since the tomb is of approximately the same dimensions and plan as g 7510, the tomb of Ankhaf, it is likely that its owner had a similar status, that is, he was also a son or brother of Khufu. Reisner notes that its burial chamber contained a “large male skeleton,” and quotes Dr. Derry’s opinion that “the skull is that of a very old man and its dimensions indicate a person of unusual mental capacity.”¹³ Whatever the reason for the status accorded to mastaba g 2000, it demonstrates that the pyramid of Khufu was not the sole focus of the cemetery during the later phases of its development. The spatial metaphor of the pyramid and mastabas as analogues to the king and his surrounding courtiers no longer held in the late Fifth Dynasty at Giza, if it ever existed at all.¹⁴ Instead, the organization seems to have been in part determined by more local considerations within the cemetery.

In Phase ii, tomb placement was apparently less restricted. The tomb of an ordinary *hntj-š pr-š*, 2097, was built in violation of the earlier pattern at the extreme west of the cemetery. This disruption may have been the result of special circumstances, such as a relationship between the owners of 2092+2093 and 2097. Alternatively, the placement of this tomb may simply have been the result of the new northern orientation of the tombs of this phase: the position of a tomb relative to g 2000 may have been less important when that mastaba was inaccessible. This supposition would be supported by the placement of 2240, belonging to a man of the second highest rank in the hierarchy, at the eastern end of the cluster. The fact that

¹² g 2001, 2002, 2004, 2009, 2011, 2035, 2042, and 2043 all contain *hntj-š* titles, all but two of them at the two lowest levels.

¹³ *GNi*, p. 416. One could speculate that the longevity and “unusual mental capacity” of g 2000’s owner might later have inspired burials nearby.

¹⁴ See Roth, “The Organization of Royal Cemeteries,” pp. 201–14.

¹⁰ Naguib Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, p. 38.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23–27.

the owner held a priesthood of Khufu may also have affected the placement of his tomb.

The return to a southern orientation did not lead to a noticeable resumption of the earlier positioning of tombs. The only constructions built in this period both belong to *jmjw-r st hntjw-š pr-ḳ*. The extension to 2088, built by the owner's son, was of predetermined location; but 2084, a tomb that may be the source of a lintel bearing the same title, is even further from the western area that had been so prestigious in Phase i.

The usurpations and incursions of Phase iv seem, however, to show some evidence of the earlier organization. All three of the named individuals dating to this phase who have titles in the *hntj-š pr-ḳ* hierarchy built their tombs in the western part of the complex. The occupant of the serdab of 2097, Mernetjer-Izezi, who left his titular and figure on that tomb's palace facade decoration, was a *šḫd hntjw-š pr-ḳ*, who actually held a higher title in the hierarchy than the man whose tomb he usurped. g 2092a, a subsidiary mastaba in the court just to the south of 2097, was decorated with a false door dedicated to a man who claims the titles *jmj-r*, *jmj-r st*, and *šḫd hntjw-š pr-ḳ*. The southern half of the false door was later usurped by a man who inserted the title *šḫd hntjw-š pr-ḳ* along with his name, so that he, too, presumably held this rank.

The titles within the *hntj-š* hierarchy may not have been the only factor in tomb placement. The two earliest officials to build to the west, the owners of 2091 and 2093, although of different ranks, not only shared a similar tomb plan, but had wives who served as priestesses of Neith. Another pair of tombs that had a similar plan were 2098 and 2099 (in its ultimate form), the western two of the four angled tombs on the north. Their owners also shared the title *wḳb-nswt*, although they were separated by two steps in the *hntj-š* hierarchy. The owners of 2091 and 2240 were also *wḳb-nswt*, however, and their tombs are differently located and differently shaped. The tombs with references to Khufu in names and titles (2240, 2099, and 2098) are all in the northern part of the cluster. A rather unusual title, *jmj-r šwj pr-ḳ*, "overseer of the two *š*'s of the palace," which may be related to the title *hntj-š*, is attested in two tombs, 2098 and 2240. These tombs were different in plan and location, but similar in date. It is difficult to determine to what extent these factors were important, but when more areas of cemeteries are examined at this level of detail, patterns of significance should emerge that will help to determine whether such correlations are coincidental.

Chapel Shape. The place of an individual in the *hntj-š* hierarchy may also have been a determinant of chapel type: "L-shaped" chapels tend to belong to *šḫdw hntjw-š pr-ḳ*, while the "recessed" type with a roof supported by columns tended to belong to their superiors. This distribution may, however, be an artifact of the earlier predominance of the *šḫdw hntjw-š pr-ḳ*, when the "L-shaped" form was more popular. Figure 15 groups the chapel plans according to the titles suggested by the five ranges of mastaba area distinguished in the preceding section. The pattern seems to be that the smallest group of tombs has only an exterior false door, while the second group has a covered offering place, and the third group an L-shaped chapel. Tombs of the fourth group tend to have columns supporting the roof of an open

Fig. 15. Chapel plans arranged into groups corresponding to the original areas of their mastabas, which in turn correlate with the hypothetical titles of the owners at the time of construction. Within each size category, the plans are ordered from left to right in ascending mastaba area.

area, with the number of columns increasing from one to two in the larger tombs, and the interior space increasing in complexity. The largest tombs have enclosed chapels supported by columns. (When 2093 and 2091 were expanded in area, their chapels were enclosed.)

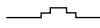
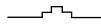
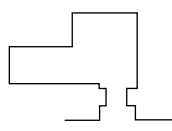
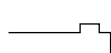



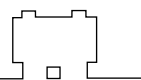
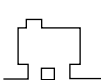
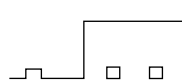
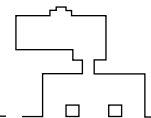
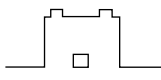
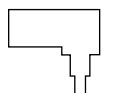
There are two major exceptions, which are interesting because the same two tombs are also exceptional in their decoration. Both types of anomaly may be due to variations in wealth. g 2230, the largest mastaba in the cluster, has an L-shaped chapel (although with the depth of a recessed chapel), but little carved decoration (one door-jamb bears an unfinished figure). Its owner's titles are thus unknown, although the size of the tomb would indicate an overseer of palace attendants. A possible explanation for the anomaly is that the owner was promoted beyond his means and spent most of the resources available to him for tomb building constructing a mastaba that filled the area to which he was entitled. The roughly finished w-masonry used in the mastaba facing may also represent a measure taken in order to economize.

In contrast, 2097 belonged to a man who was only an ordinary palace attendant, or possibly a scribe of palace attendants (depending on how his title is read). Although the area of the tomb is commensurate with his title, its chapel was one of the largest and its decoration is the finest in the cluster. The tomb abuts 2096, which is itself an extension of mastaba 2092+2093, the tomb of an overseer of palace attendants. g 2097's chapel apparently copied the peculiar shape that the chapel of 2092+2093 had acquired during its evolution: a recessed western wall with panelled facade, and a false door in the short corridor to the south, in front of the principal tomb shaft (the door is actually missing in 2097, but can be restored with some certainty). The unusual placement of the false door in 2092+2093 dates to an early phase of the mastaba's construction, and was probably intended to make it more accessible to passersby. Although the position became awkward and obscure as a result of later construction, the owner of 2097 apparently placed his false door in an analogous, equally awkward position. The two tombs are also associated by their decoration, as was described in Chapter 3, and for this and other reasons it is likely that the owners were father and son.

The shape of the chapel may thus have been determined by wealth rather than rank. Its apparent correlation with rank in other tombs may be due to the fact that wealth and rank often go hand in hand.

Casing. In his discussions of mastaba casings, Reisner suggested that stepped casing (z-masonry) might have been more economical than battered (u-masonry).¹⁵ In fact, however, the variations in casing finish seem to be more a factor of date at this period than of wealth. With two exceptions, all the mastabas built after the middle of Phase i are of battered masonry, while the earlier mastabas largely have stepped facades.

¹⁵ *GNi*, p. 178.

30–40 m ²			
	2097'	2085	2097
40–50 m ²			
	2084	2086	
60–65 m ²			
	2089	2088	
65–85 m ²			
	2091	2094	2093
			
			2240
85+ m ²			
	2098	2230	

The first exception was the large undecorated mastaba 2230, built during Phase i, which was cased with Reisner's "w-masonry," large, roughly finished blocks. While these blocks might be seen as more in scale with such a large mastaba, other factors, such as the small undecorated chapel and the disproportionately small burial chamber, indicate that they are more probably an effort to economize in the construction of the largest original mastaba in the cluster, as suggested above.

The other mastaba that departed from the battered u-masonry that was standard after the first part of Phase i was 2084, built during Phase iii. This mastaba abuts earlier construction on three sides, so that only its southern side was cased as an exterior facade. Inexplicably, this side was faced in stepped masonry. This cannot have been in order to match one of the structures to the north or south for a more monumental entrance, since both are battered. One possible explanation might be that the northern end of 2084 abutted and buried the stepped southern face of 2085, a much earlier mastaba. The stepped masonry of the new mastaba might have been intended to preserve the impression of the earlier tomb. However, since the northern chapel wall blocked the access to the false door of 2085 from the southern path, this explanation is unlikely. It may simply have been an idiosyncrasy of the owner's taste, or conceivably the remnant of an early Phase i structure, now lost.

Oddly, the stepped facades seem to have been easier to modify than the later battered casings. The latter apparently had to be entirely rebuilt when a wall was extended or a doorway blocked, whereas an extension could simply be abutted against the stepped casing. Whether the difficulty of modifying walls with battered casing was important enough to make its use an example of conspicuous consumption and explain its increasing popularity is unclear, but it does not seem likely. A change in fashion, or even theology,¹⁶ seems a more probable explanation.

Decoration. As discussed in the previous chapter, the tombs of the cluster reveal certain similarities and interrelationships in decoration that may reflect the chronological and genealogical relationships between the tomb owners. It is difficult to tell to what extent these mastabas were decorated, since some may have had decorated elements

¹⁶ The change from stepped to smooth-sided pyramids might be seen as a model for the latter type of explanation.

that have since been removed, or painted decoration that has completely faded away. Fig. 16 shows the linear extent of the relief

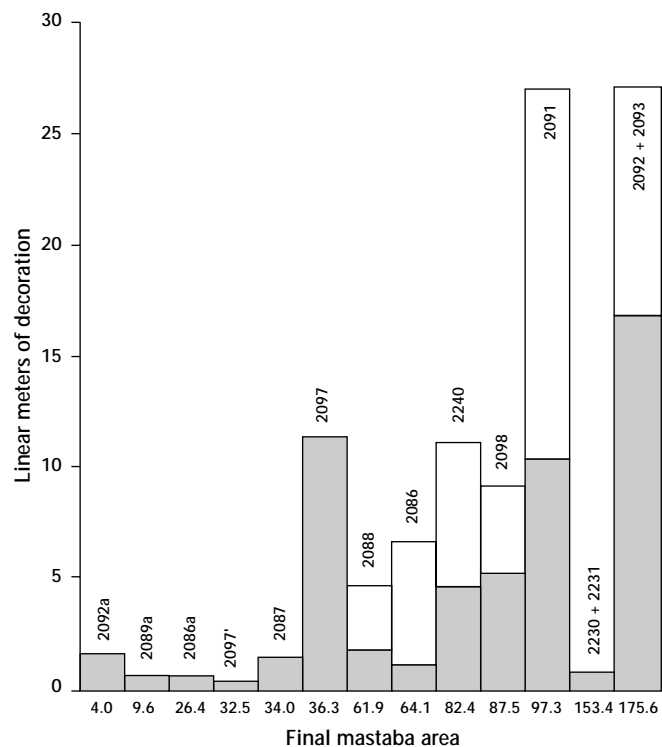


Fig. 16. The linear extent of the decoration, based on the surviving remains. The light area is the plaster-cut decoration, while the dark area is cut directly into the stone. The bars are arranged in increasing order of the mastaba's final area, since decoration was one of the last steps in tomb construction. (Architraves have been omitted, since they are not comparable with wall decoration, and have been lost in most cases.)

decoration of individual tombs in the cluster, insofar as it can be deduced from the surviving remains. No clear pattern emerges, beyond the general tendency for larger tombs to have more extensive decoration.

Another factor affecting the extent of decoration is the height of its baseline above the floor. A lower baseline would have allowed a greater quantity of decorated surface in rooms of equal perimeter, unless the chapel had a correspondingly lower ceiling. The comparative heights of baselines are given in Chapter 1. Although the lowest measurement (.21 m above the floor) belongs to a holder of the highest rank in the *hntj-š* hierarchy, the three highest measurements (.9–1.0 m) are also found in tombs belonging to members of the upper two ranks. The next highest, however, belongs to the lowest ranking member of the hierarchy; and thereafter the rank of the tomb owner increases as the baseline is lowered. Perhaps the high baselines were required for the traditional black dado with red and yellow bands, which two of these three tombs with high-baseline clearly had. If the dado was not desired, the baseline was perhaps lowered to accommodate as much decoration as the tomb owner could afford. However, this sample is extremely limited. It would be useful to check the pattern against other Old Kingdom tomb chapels; however, the height of the dado is rarely recorded in tomb publications.

One interesting parallel that is worthy of note is the pattern of decoration in the Saqqara tomb of Ptahhotep ii and his father Akhethotep, which has already been cited (Chapter 3) as a parallel to

the relationship between the owners of 2097 and 2092+2093. Although Ptahhotep ii never reached his father's high level in the bureaucracy,¹⁷ his smaller tomb chapel was finely decorated, both more creatively and more thoroughly than his father's. Akhethotep's chapel had a 1.53 m high dado around the base of its walls, while Ptahhotep's decoration begins .60 m lower, at .93 m above the floor, as if to squeeze more scenes in. Presumably Ptahhotep was able to make use of his father's wealth, and only had a limited space in which to do it. The exceptional quantity and quality of decoration in Nimaatre's tomb may have had an analogous explanation. A similar difference exists in the base of decoration in the tombs of Za-ib and Nimaatre: the decoration on the east wall of Za-ib's chapel begins about 1.10 m above the floor line, while the decoration in Nimaatre's east wall begins .50 m lower, only .60 m above the floor. It can tentatively be concluded that his father's wealth did not affect the area of the mastaba but only its decoration. Inherited wealth could thus buy a large well-decorated chapel, but the total area the mastaba could occupy was limited by one's place in the bureaucracy. This assumption is also supported by the large but undecorated tomb 2230, which, it was argued above, was an example of the reverse situation: a tomb owner of high rank without wealth.

The distribution of the two techniques of carving used is problematic. As noted in Chapter 2, the decoration of western walls tends to be cut directly into the stone, while the northern, southern, and eastern walls tend to have decoration cut into a plaster coating. The dark area in fig. 16 represents stone-cut decoration, and the light area represents plaster decoration. In general, the more extensively decorated tombs tend to have more decoration cut into plaster, probably because the decoration of the less decorated chapels concentrates on the west wall and on architectural elements, such as lintels and columns, which were made of better stone for structural reasons.

The date of construction of a tomb seems to have had little effect on the quantity or concentration of decoration it contained. The intrusive tombs of Phase iv, when they are decorated at all, are in sunk relief rather than the raised relief that predominated in the earlier decoration, but this chronological shift is attested more clearly elsewhere.

Texts. Of the seven chapels with large areas of preserved decoration, those of both 2088 (belonging to a *šd hntjw-š*) and 2086 (also a *šd hntjw-š*) are notable for the rarity of captions and descriptive texts, especially over scenes of music and offering bearers. Even 2091, which belonged to *šd hntjw-š* later promoted to a *jmj-r st hntjw-š*, has very few such texts on the walls of its inner chapel (with the exception of several labels over large birds). On the other hand, the corridor of this tomb, which was added in a later expansion of the mastaba, quite frequently captions scenes and includes at least one example of the *Reden und Rufe* recording the conversations between people working in the fields. This increase in the frequency of texts may have been a function of the tomb owner's promotion to a higher

¹⁷ The title "vizier" appears only on the sarcophagus and not in the chapel of Ptahhotep ii, and so may represent a posthumous promotion. Alternatively, the sarcophagus may belong to someone else, since the "good name" it bears is also absent from the chapel.

rank.¹⁸ This corridor also represents the addition of a new type of scene to the tomb, the outdoor agricultural scene (as opposed to the mere bringing forward of offerings) and the marsh scene.

The other holder of the title *jmj-r st hntjw-š*, the owner of 2240, captioned his agricultural scenes with about the same frequency. Captions were given to the musical scenes in his tomb as well. Offering bearers and butchers are still not captioned in 2240, and no marsh scenes have been preserved. The same circumstance seems to hold in 2097, where the tomb owner has the lower title *hntjw-š pr-š*: marsh scenes and agricultural scenes are captioned, but the offering bearers are not. This unusually high level of captioning for an ordinary palace attendant may relate to the fact that Nimaatre is the only tomb owner in the cluster to hold a scribal title. It also may reflect his father's higher office. Nimaatre may have received a better education because of his family's status.

The two holders of the title *jmj-r hntjw-š*, the owners of 2092+2093 and 2098, show captions over butchers and offering bearers, as well as in agricultural scenes and marsh scenes. In the case of 2092+2093, much of the walls are lost, and it is difficult to guess what might be missing. In 2098, however, two further elements are added: a carrying chair scene with a long narrative text, and a procession of named estates. The addition of such features may be connected to the tomb owner's higher rank.

The offering list may also occur in a limited context. They are preserved only in 2091, 2097, and 2098. Such lists might also have occurred in 2240 and 2092+2093, where the upper parts of walls are entirely lacking. The presence of the offering list thus correlates well with the frequency of other texts in the tombs.

Again, it will be illuminating to check the patterns observed here against the tombs of the same officials in other parts of the cemetery. Limitations placed on the overall use of texts, or on the use of texts in certain environments, may be a result of the control of knowledge and information discussed by J. Baines.¹⁹ These patterns may also have implications for the degree of literacy of tomb owners and the religious and social importance of the written word in Old Kingdom society. Such a comparison is, however, well beyond the scope of this book.

Serdabs. The apparent stratigraphic level of the remains of the contents of the serdabs of 2088 and 2240 demonstrate that many of them were plundered in antiquity. Only two serdabs were found intact. g 2099's serdab contained statues of an assistant inspector of palace attendants and his family. These four stone statues are of medium to good craftsmanship, although their inscriptions are quite crudely carved. They certainly seem more impressive than the four decayed and fragmentary painted wooden statues found in the serdab of g 2086, whose owner was a level higher in the hierarchy. Given the rarity of wood, however, they may have originally been more equivalent in value than is now apparent. The two serdabs of g 2088,

which belonged to a man a level higher still, clearly contained many fine statues and models, the remains of which were found nearby, contrasting with the comparatively meager extent of decoration of the chapel.

The variability in the contents of serdabs may be a factor of date, since the sizes of the serdabs seem to show a chronological patterning (see fig. 17). During the first phase of construction in the cluster, each serdab built seems to be larger than the one preceding. After the change in orientation, the size becomes quite consistent, with a floor area between 2.7 and 3.1 square meters. The only exceptions are the three serdabs added to previously existing tombs (2097.S2, 2097.S3, and 2099); the size of these serdabs was probably limited by earlier construction.

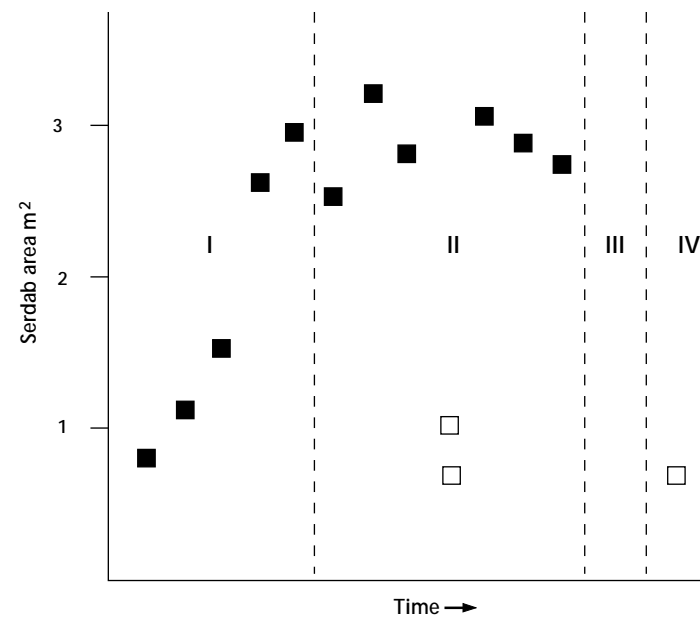


Fig. 17. The area of the serdabs, in chronological order. Numbers indicate the four phases of mastaba construction. The white squares represent serdabs inserted into limited existing spaces.

The sharp rise in the area of serdab chambers during Phase I may have been needed to accommodate the "servant" statues that became increasingly common at just this period.²⁰ These models usually showed men and women processing agricultural products or, more rarely, entertaining the tomb owner. A possible link between the people depicted and the occupants of the secondary shafts is discussed at the end of the next section.

Subterranean volume. The volume of the bedrock excavated under the mastaba for the principal shaft and burial chamber is one of the more quantifiable investments to be seen in these mastabas, and certainly the best preserved. This excavation was divided into two parts: the shaft itself, in which the greater volume represents greater depth and security, and the burial chamber, the volume of which must have to some extent been a function of the quantity of grave

¹⁸ The title *jmj-r st hntjw-š* on the southern false door is very lightly incised, and may be a later addition. For another example of the relationship of promotions to expansions of a tomb, see D'Auria et al., *Mummies and Magic*, p. 86.

¹⁹ John Baines, "Restricted knowledge, hierarchy, and decorum: Modern perceptions and ancient institutions," *JARCE* 27 (1990), pp. 1–23.

²⁰ E. Brovarski dates the beginning of these models to "about the middle of Dynasty 5," and gives several examples of tombs of that date with servant statues (in D'Auria et al., *Mummies and Magic*, p. 88). The enlargement of serdabs in the tombs of this cluster dated to the reign of Niuserre suggests a more precise date for the introduction of these supplementary statues.

goods. One would assume that greater volume of burial equipment would require greater security but this does not seem to have been the case. In fig. 18, the area of the mastaba²¹ is compared both with the volume of the entire underground part of the major shaft and with the volume of the burial chamber only (as an indication of the quantity of grave goods).

Tomb Shaft	Mastaba sq. m	Under-ground cu. m	Chamber cu. m	Mastaba/substructure	Mastaba/chamber
				Ratios	
2084 a	45.32	1.813	0.79	25.0	57.37
2085 a	32.78	4.294	1.01	7.6	32.46
2085 c		5.041	0.98	6.5	33.45
2085 d		5.192	1.25	6.3	26.22
2086 a	46.71	4.51	1.98	10.4	23.59
2088 a	61.95	8.9	3.08	7	20.11
2089 a	60.5	6.4	1.41	9.5	42.91
2091 a	70.2	16.29	8.41	4.31	8.35
2091 d		1.29	0.33	(54.4)	(212.7)
2092a a	4.0	5.82	1.48	.7	2.70
2093 a	81.0	19.16	10.88	4.2	7.44
2094 a	75.47	10.21	3.2	7.4	23.58
2094 b		3.51	1.84	(21.5)	(41.02)
2095 c	69.13	.81	0.47	85.3	147.09
2097 a	36.29	12.55	2.35	2.9	15.44
2097' b	32.47	3.28	0.59	9.9	55.03
2098 a	87.5	3.56	1.73	24.6	50.58
2099 a	44.0	3.59	0.36	12.26	122.22
2230 b	92.93	17.79	3.36	5.2	27.66
2231 a	60.5	3.30	0.80	(24.5)	(75.62)
2231 g		3.66	1.56	16.5	38.78
2240 a	82.4	10.09	4.59	8.2	17.95

Fig. 18. Comparative areas of mastaba superstructures to volumes of shafts.

It is clear from this table that mastaba area, chamber volume, and total substructure volume vary independently (as does the volume of the shaft, which is simply the difference between the last two numbers). The ratios vary tremendously: of the mastaba to substructure ratios, only three of the nineteen are within five points of the average; of the mastaba to chamber ratios, only two are. Nor, in either of these cases, does a comparison with the mastaba area form any pattern at all. There was thus no standard ratio of expenditures allocated to these three parts of the mastaba.

The independence of the volume of the shaft from the mastaba area, and hence from the rank of the tomb owner might be attributed to geological factors; for example, the depth of the shafts might be determined by the depth of a particularly good stratum in the bedrock in which chambers might be cut. In fact, however, this does not seem to be the case. There is no clear trend geographically over the cemetery. The three deepest shafts are distributed on the north and south sides of the west end of the cemetery and at the east end. The shallowest are also evenly distributed in the cluster. The depth of a shaft was thus clearly not determined by geology.

While the larger subterranean areas in general appear with the larger mastabas, subterranean area was more clearly related to the period in which the tomb was built. The earlier mastabas seem to have had the most voluminous substructures, and the volume was reduced over time. While the average mastaba area decreased in each

²¹ Initial area is used, since the cutting of a subterranean shaft must have preceded initial mastaba construction.

of the four phases of the cluster's construction (as discussed in the section on mastaba area above), during the construction of the major mastabas these decreases were slight, only about 14% between Phase i and Phase ii. Substructures, by contrast, averaged 7.26 cubic meters in Phase i, but only 4.58 cubic meters in Phase ii, a 37% reduction. In Phase i, all ten principal shafts were greater than four cubic meters in volume, while in Phases ii and iii, five of seven were smaller.

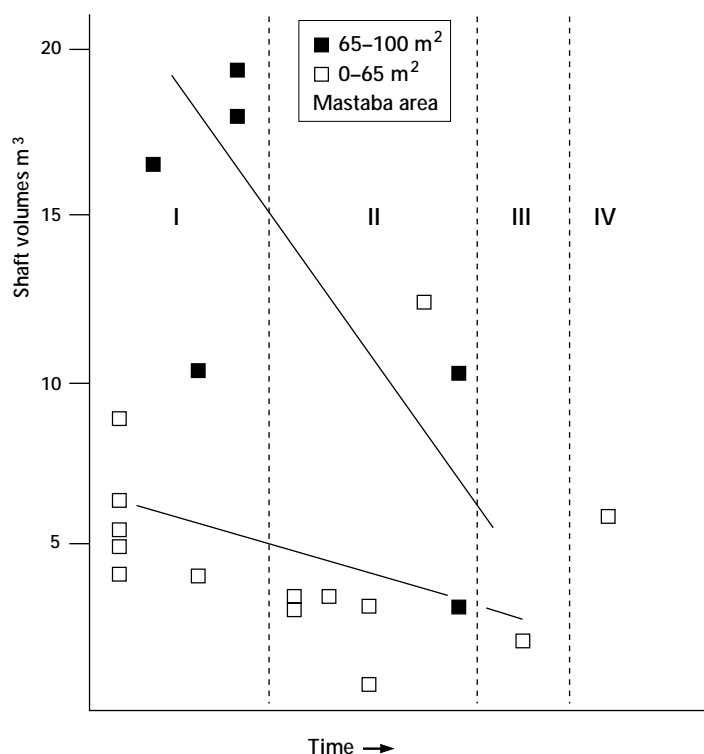


Fig. 19. The subterranean volume of the principal tomb shafts, in chronological order. Numbers indicate the four phases of mastaba construction.

From a plot of these shaft volumes against time (fig. 19), it is clear that two different phenomena are in play. The upper points represent the shafts of the larger tombs, most of which contained coffins or rock-cut burial pits, while the lower line represents the smaller tombs. Over time, the subterranean volumes in both kinds of tombs decline, but those of the largest tombs decline much more sharply. For some reason, a change took place in the general conception of how deep a shaft should be, and smaller chambers with shallower shafts became more normal, at least among the tomb owners in this cluster.

It is interesting to contrast this decline in the area of subterranean construction with the increase of the area of serdabs in the same tombs, discussed above. Since the burial chamber, like the serdab, was an inaccessible part of the tomb in which the likeness of the deceased was preserved, it is tempting to speculate about a functional exchange at this point, in which the serdab took over some function that had previously been filled by the burial chamber.

A functional connection between burial chambers and serdabs is to some extent supported by another postulated relationship between them. From evidence in this cluster, it can be argued that the new "servant models" in some cases represented the occupants of secondary shafts. In one case, as evidenced by the secondary false door

of Ankhimaes, a woman who is depicted as a “servant” in a model was apparently buried in a secondary shaft of the same mastaba. The woman working with Ankhimaes, named Nefertinet, is perhaps to be equated with the daughter of the tomb owner, who is shown playing the harp for him on the east wall of his chapel, Nefret-ser(?) (the last two signs are faint and rather problematic). She may also have been buried in one of the tomb’s several secondary shafts. A third model depicts a man called the ka-priest Nen-ankh, who, as was discussed above, is presumably the identically-named son of a neighboring tomb owner. He may have married into the family and been buried in one of its shafts.

Other models of “servants” dating to the Old Kingdom are specifically identified as daughters and sons, notably those from the serdab of Nikau-Inpu (now at the Museum of the Oriental Institute in Chicago²²), but these relationships have not to my knowledge been widely discussed in the literature. It may be that the relationships between other “servants” represented in serdabs and the principal tomb owner may be closer than has usually been assumed on the basis of later parallels.

Grave goods and Mummification. Some large burial chambers with surviving artifacts hint at rich grave goods; but the contents of these shafts need not have been proportionate to the space available, since so many of the other aspects of the burial seem to have varied independently. Of the primary (usually subterranean and extended) burials, six were either sealed or essentially undisturbed: 2086 a, 2087 a, 2089 a, 2094 b, 2098 a, and 2099 a. Only one primary burial, 2091 A, shows clear evidence of having been disturbed by human forces, although most of the empty chambers were presumably robbed as well. Of the secondary burials (usually above bedrock and contracted), thirty-seven are similarly intact: 2084 b, d, e, f; 2086 b; 2087 d; 2088 b (disturbed, but probably essentially intact), d, f; 2088b a;

2089 b, c, e; 2089a a, b; 2094 e; 2095 a, b, c, d, e(1) (disturbed but probably essentially intact), e(2), f, g, i, k, x; 2097 c, f; 2098 b, e, g, y; 2099 c, f; 2231 b; and 2240 b.

The grave goods found, even in the intact primary burials, were minimal. The only registered objects found in these forty-three burials, beyond bones, were a plaster mask, a coffin, an alabaster headrest, an alabaster cylinder jar, four model alabaster vessels, a beaded copper headband, a flint blade, a Nile-silt ware bowl, and eleven “Meydum” bowls. The richest surviving burial was that of 2094 a, which contained only the alabaster headrest, two “Meydum” bowls and a wooden coffin. This material was found in the principal shaft of a large mastaba, but one that was completely without decoration. It is clear that the owners of these tombs were, in general, not buried with very plentiful or very valuable tomb furnishings, and that the grave robbers knew this. On the other hand, the owners of the most extensive and most elaborately decorated tombs (2088, 2091, 2092+2093, 2097, and 2240), most of whom held the highest or second highest title in the *hntj-š* hierarchy, were not blessed with undisturbed burials. Their burial equipment may have been more valuable and, again, the grave robbers may have known this.

Mummification in the surviving burials seems to have been quite rudimentary. Some remains of linen wrappings were found, but the most elaborately treated body was that in a small intrusive tomb, in which the head and body were coated in plaster and sculpted. This tomb dated to Phase iv, and the more elaborate treatment of the body may have been due to its later date. Partial plaster coatings have been found in tombs as early as the Fourth Dynasty, however.²³

Extended burials tend to occur in subterranean shafts, while burials in secondary, above-bedrock shafts tend to be contracted. The degree of contraction may be significant, but there is little additional evidence to compare with it. Apparently, however, contraction was not simply a function of the size of the burial chamber. If the drawings on the Tomb Cards are accurate, at least three contracted burials (2084 b, 2088 x, and 2240 d) occur in chambers large enough to allow for fully extended burials.

With rare exceptions, the few preserved grave goods were found in the primary shafts. One secondary shaft, 2095 i, contained a tightly contracted skeleton that wore a copper fillet with an elaborate beaded clasp. A polished Meydum bowl was found in 2099 b, and eight more Meydum vessels filled the shaft of 2230 c. (Interestingly, 2230 c had no chamber or burial. The simplest explanation for the presence of the vessels would be that this and other chamber-less shafts were used to deposit additional funerary equipment for the principal tomb owner, although in the case of 2230 c, the shaft was some distance from the principal burial chamber.)

So far as the contents of burials can be determined from surviving information, there is a general tendency for larger tombs to have richer burials, but again there seems to be no consistent proportioning of resources.

²² According to the accession notes for this group, five of the models are identified as the son or daughter of the deceased. Daughters are shown grinding grain (OIM 10622) and mixing dough (OIM 10635); sons are shown making loaves (OIM 10624), stirring a pot over a fire (OIM 10629), and poking a furnace (OIM 10634). (I am grateful to the Museum’s curator, Dr. Karen Wilson, for giving me access to these models, and to Dr. Emily Teeter for helping me to locate the relevant information.)

²³ Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 28.

Conclusions

This initial examination of the factors that can be analyzed has uncovered some suggestive patterns, and it will be interesting to see whether they hold in other parts of the cemetery as well. The apportionment of resources to different aspects of tomb building seems to have been determined by a variety of factors, including rank (affecting mastaba area and position, chapel shape, and the number and kind of texts), wealth (perhaps affecting chapel shape and the amount and quality of the decoration), and date (areas of serdabs and primary shafts, and type of mastaba facings). Literacy and hereditary social class may also have affected the quantity and kind of texts.

Personal preferences seem to have played a more important role among the wealthier and more powerful tomb-owners, to judge from the greater degree of variation at that level. Among other things, however, this initial study demonstrates how dangerous it is to assume that any single aspect of a tomb or burial reflects a single characteristic of the owner. By demonstrating the richness of Old Kingdom mastabas as sources of information about social constraints and individual decisions, it exemplifies an approach to the characteristics of mortuary monuments which may be fruitfully applied to other cemeteries.

Part ii

Catalogue of Individual Mastabas

ANONYMOUS TOMB: Mastaba g 2084

Summary of Reisner's Description

- Mastaba type: viii c[/b] (1) "of irregular form"
 southern part 4.5 x 5.8 m
 middle part 4.0 x 4.2 m [against 2086.1]
 northern part 0.95 x 2.55 m [against 2085 and spur wall]
 total area 45.32 sq. m
 preserved height 1.45 m
 facing masonry type: u; [south face: z]
 Chapel type: (5) "interior corridor type"
 corridor 8.25 x 1.1 m (no preserved doorjambs)
 chapel area: 9.07 sq. m; proportion 1/7.5; relation 1/5.0
 Shaft a: 0.93 x 1.1 m; 1.6 m (4 courses) masonry; -1.0 m in rock
 chamber type: 8 e on north. 1.65 x 0.6 m; height 0.8 m
 area 0.99 sq. m; capacity 0.79 cu. m
 no blocking, no burial
 Shaft b: 1.1 x .65 m; 1.7 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.6 x 0.55 m; height 0.6 m
 area 0.88 sq. m; capacity 0.52 cu. m
 blocking type: v e(2); one leaning slab chinked on both sides
 burial: adult, leg-contracted skeleton
 Shaft c: 0.7 x 0.65 m; 2.15 m lined with rubble; -0.5 in rock
 chamber type: 8 a(1) on east. 1.1 x 0.5 m; height 0.75 m
 area 0.55 sq. m; capacity 0.41 cu. m
 passage: 0.5 x 0.25 m; height 0.6 m
 no blocking, no burial
 Shaft d: 0.95 x 0.9 m; 1.65 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 a(1) on west. 1.3 x 0.85 m; height 0.85 m
 area 1.1 sq. m; capacity 0.93 cu. m
 blocking type: iii d(2); slab with rubble wall on top
 burial: contracted skeleton
 Shaft e: 0.9 x 0.8 m; 1.6 m lined with rubble on 3 sides; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 a(4) on west. 1.2 x 0.65 m; height 0.75 m
 area 0.78 sq. m; capacity 0.58 cu. m
 blocking type: iv e(2)
 burial: contracted skeleton
 Shaft f: 0.75 x 0.6 m; 1.7 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.25 x 0.55 m; height 0.7 m
 area 0.68 sq. m; capacity 0.47 cu. m
 blocking type: v d(2)
 burial: leg-contracted skeleton
 Shaft g: 0.6 x 0.6 m; 1.8 m lined with rubble on 3 sides; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 0.7 x 0.55 m; height 0.65 m
 area 0.38 sq. m; capacity 0.24 cu. m
 no blocking
 no burial, no objects

Excavation

g 2084 was initially cleared between April 22 and 24, 1938. The matrix covering it was described as consisting of sand, limestone debris, rubble, pebbles, stones, and dirty debris from the overlying spoil heap. Five of its shafts were identified, and when the expedition re-

turned to this mastaba on February 19, 1939, they were assigned letters a–e. Two further shafts, f and g, were located at this time, and the faces of the mastaba were cleared. On March 2, all seven shafts were opened. Shafts a and c were filled with drift sand, and shaft g with sand and pebbles; these shafts had no blocking and were cleared and planned. Of the shafts with intact blocking, shaft b was filled with limestone debris, pebbles, and red debris; shaft d with sand, limestone debris, pebbles, and potsherds; shaft e with limestone debris, rubble, pebbles and red debris; and shaft f with red debris and limestone debris. These four shafts were left sealed until their blocking could be photographed.

On March 12, the path between 2084 and the larger mastaba to the south, g 2071, was cleared of drift sand, limestone debris, pebbles, and red debris. A limestone block fragment with a sunk inscription was recovered from this area. This is presumably the fragment registered as 39–3–7, which is said to have been from the debris south of 2084 and east of 2088's courtyard. The piece is preserved only in the registration drawing, which is reproduced in figure 20. It was

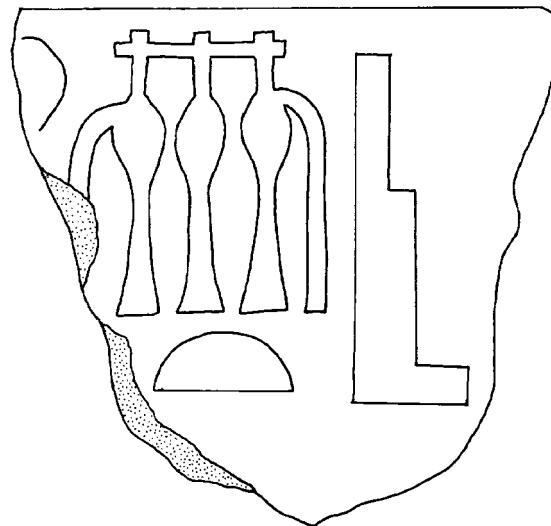


Fig. 20. Drawing of loose lintel block, 39–3–7, based on the registration drawing. From south of g 2094.

described there as an architrave fragment, but its dimensions (28.5 cm high, 29.5 cm long, and 11 cm thick) make it most probable that it comes from the lintel of a false door. The signs preserved are almost certainly to be read as the title *[jmj-r] st hntj-š [pr-š]*, although the only preserved part of the *š*-sign, the right edge, has been drawn as rounded. The son of the builder of 2088, Pehen-Ptah, bears this title, and it might have been part of his addition to that tomb, although there is no obvious place to restore it. It would have served nicely as a lintel over the slabs in the corridor chapel of 2084, although this mastaba is rather small to have belonged to a holder of the second highest rank in the *hntj-š* hierarchy. (In the phase following the phase to which 2084 has been dated, however, a man of the highest rank built an even smaller tomb, g 2092a.) It is also possible that the block belonged to 2071, or one of the other tombs to the south.

The excavation of the shafts of 2084 continued on March 20, when the blocking of all four remaining chambers was removed.

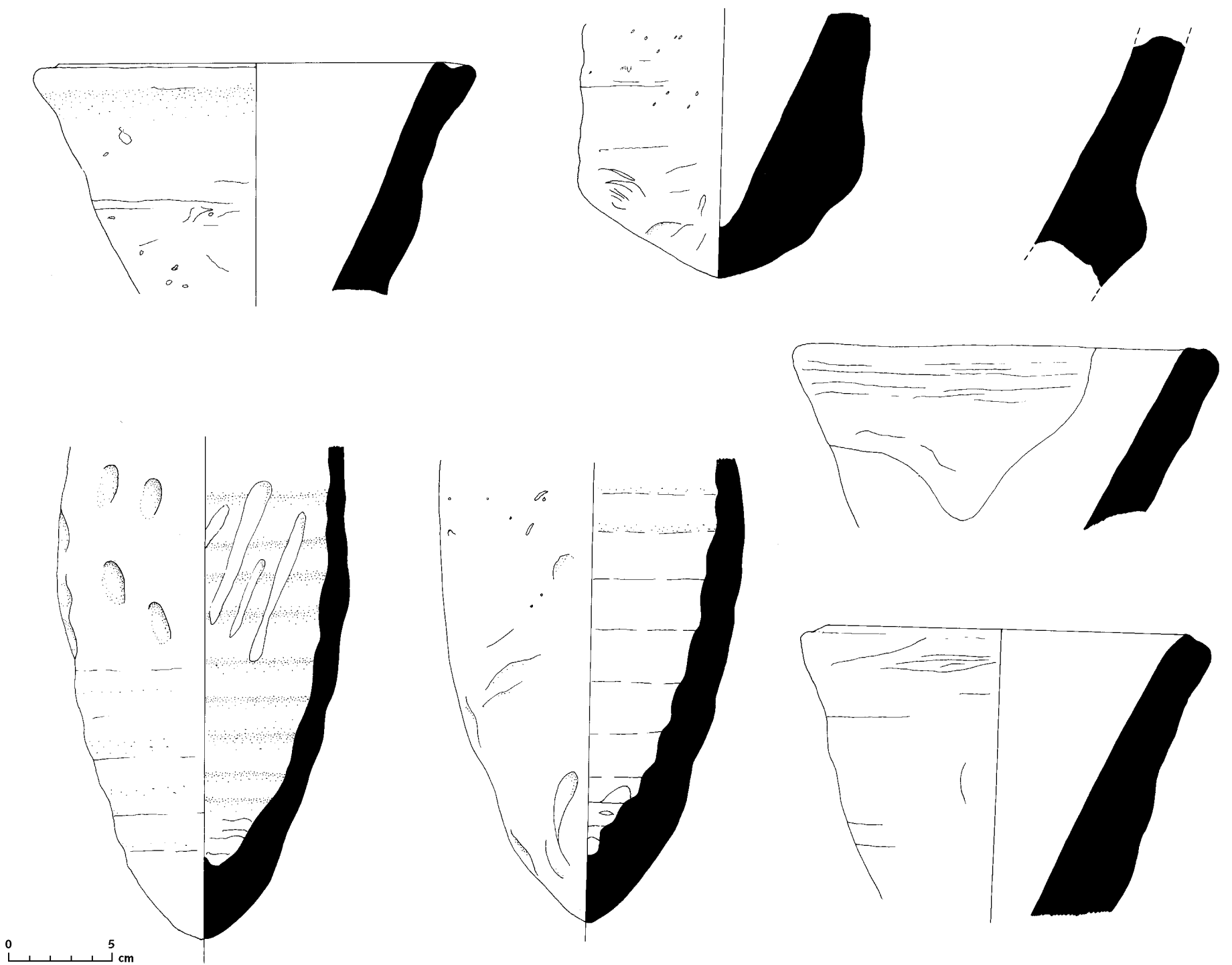


Fig. 21. Fragments of bread molds and beer jars from north spur wall of g 2084.

Each chamber contained a body with the head resting on a stone pillow and oriented to the north. The bodies were photographed (except in 2084 d where the space was too cramped to allow this) and the shafts cleared on March 26.

It was noted in 1987 that the spur wall joining 2084 to 2230 contained ceramics exposed by surface erosion. In 1990, this surface material was removed and drawn (see fig. 21). It consisted of large fragments of ordinary rough bread molds and beer jars, the former of a type that is paralleled for the late Fifth Dynasty.¹ The bread molds are all incomplete, but seem to belong to a type that yielded a bell-shaped loaf with a rounded top and a convex upper half, flaring outward slightly in a concave curve toward the base of the loaf. When it is preserved, the carination on the outer surface of the mold clearly occurs opposite the cavity within, rather than opposite the solid base of the mold as is usual in molds dating to earlier periods.² The inner surface is invariably quite smooth. The fabric is Nile Silt ware, with many abrasions, inclusions, recesses for burnt-out temper, and irregularities in the formation.

The beer jars were also of Nile Silt ware, and the fabric again contained many inclusions and recesses. They were apparently constructed by coiling the clay. The internal ridges from this process are clear on both examples, although on one an attempt seems to have been made to smooth them with vertical abrasions made awkwardly through the neck of the jar. On the upper part of this same example there are a number of finger-shaped depressions, presumably made during the smoothing of the ridges from the coils, which are still clearly visible on the lower part of the jar. Such depressions also exist on the exterior of the second example, although they are not so concentrated, and the outside of the jar has been better smoothed.

Although the contents were not analyzed, several of the bread molds contained a yellow, sandy fibrous fill, distinct from the surrounding matrix; and the beer jars contained a darker brown, organic fill, with an admixture of limestone chips that increased towards the top. M. Jones has compared the fill of these vessels to that of clearer examples, where the fill seems to have served as a model of bread still in its mold and of beer, containing fragments of undissolved bread used in its manufacture.³

The fragments seem to have been used as fill for the wall in the early stages of construction. Although these fragments may be the remains of vessels that had been brought to the area as offerings to one of the nearby cult places, they could also be refuse, either transported in quantity from a garbage dump, or the result of activity on the site itself. In the latter case, they might be identified as the containers supplied with the rations of the construction workers, who are said in a number of Old Kingdom inscriptions to have been supplied by the tomb owner with bread and beer.⁴

¹ H. Jacquet-Gordon, "A tentative Typology of Egyptian Bread Moulds," *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik*, Dor. Arnold, ed. (Mainz am Rhein, 1981), pp. 11–24, especially figure 2 #4.

² *Ibid.*

³ Michael Jones, personal communication, June 1990.

⁴ See the discussion in Roth, "The Practical Economics of Tomb Building in the Old Kingdom," p. 237.

Finds

39–3–7 Limestone fragment bearing the title *[mj-r] st hntjw-s [pr-3]*; l. 29.5 cm; h. 28.5 cm; th. 11.5 cm. From area south of 2084 (fig. 20)

39–3–14 Bones. From the chamber of shaft 2084 b

39–3–15 Bones. From the chamber of shaft d

39–3–16 Bones. From the chamber of shaft e

39–3–17 Bones. From the chamber of shaft f

Architecture

Mastaba 2084 is one of the last major structures built in the cluster, and belongs to Phase iii (fig. 22). It clearly post-dates the return of the orientation to the south, since it blocks the passageway between 2085 and 2230, and its own entrance is oriented to the south. It also created, or perhaps supplanted, the eastern wall of 2087's chapel, giving that tomb a southern entrance as well.

The mastaba has only one exterior face, on the south. Its east face is built against 2230, its north face is built against 2085, and its west face forms an interior wall of 2087. The south facade is unexpectedly stepped rather than battered. This is the only stepped facade built in the cluster after the middle of Phase i, and its presence is difficult to explain. The facade cannot have been part of an earlier mastaba in this position, because such a mastaba would have blocked access to the 2088 complex, which continued to develop during Phase ii. Nor can it be explained as creating a unified facade with the south face of 2230, with which it is roughly aligned, because the latter mastaba has a battered, not a stepped, exterior. One possible explanation would be that 2084 was viewed by its builder as a southward extension of 2085, and the facade was stepped to match the other three sides of the earlier mastaba. Arguing for this view would be the high density of the shafts in this mastaba, which is similar to the density of other additions, for example 2095, 2096, 2097' and 2231. Arguing against this explanation for the stepped face, however, is the fact that 2084 blocked the southern (and now once again principal) access to the false door of 2085, and that as a result, the symmetrically stepped siding of 2085 could only be seen by visitors approaching from the north, from which direction the stepped south facade of 2084 could not be seen.

The other facades of 2084 form interior walls sheltering the offering places of 2085 on the north and 2087 on the west. Its eastern facade forms a corridor, which Reisner identifies as a corridor chapel despite the lack of a clear cult place. There are, however, two recessed panels in the west face of the corridor, which are several times the height of the surviving courses. The northern one measures 67 x 99 cm, while the southern one measures 65 x 120 cm. Despite their moderate size, these blocks may have been painted to serve as false doors, or they may have paralleled the anomalous decorated recess that seems to have served as the cult focus in 2086. As suggested above, the inscribed block fragment found south of the mastaba might have served as a lintel for one of these panels.

The mastaba abuts other tombs, 2086.1, 2085, and 2230, on three sides. In Floroff's plan, the north face of the wall at the end of the corridor, facing the false door of 2085, is shown as a construction of rubble. That is certainly its appearance today; however a photograph taken in February 1939 (see pl. 9) shows the wall to have been

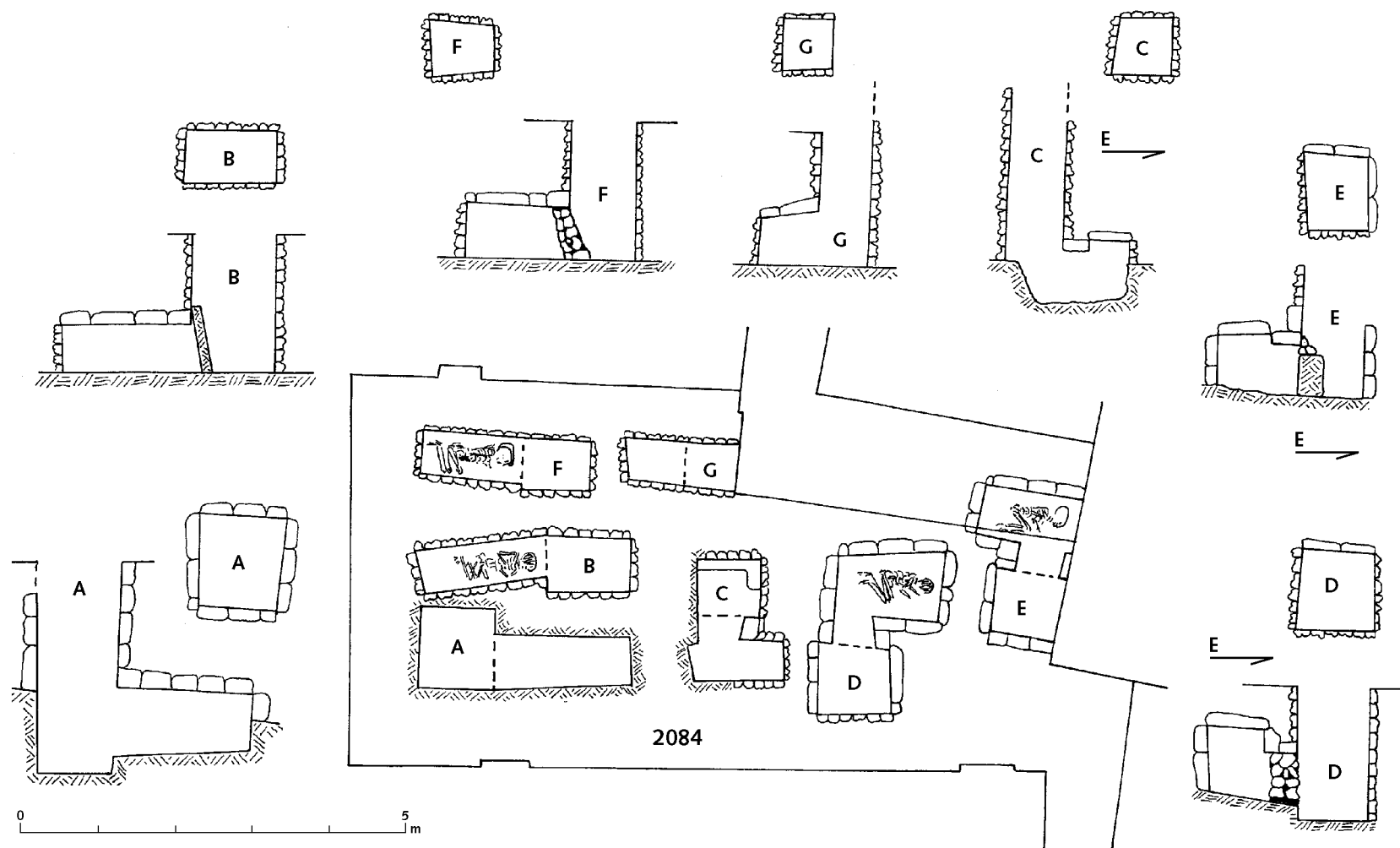


Fig. 22. Outline and shaft plan of g 2084.

built of much larger blocks laid in even courses. Presumably this wall collapsed or was robbed out between 1939 and 1990, when its current condition was verified; the present remains are a secondary inner retaining wall. Perhaps the change had already taken place by the time Floroff made his plan; alternatively, he may have misinterpreted the rubble in front of the false door of 2085 as the northern face. (It was this spur wall that yielded the concentration of bread molds and beer jars described at the end of the section on the excavation of this mastaba.)

Shafts and Burials

Shaft 2084 a was cut 1 m into the bedrock, and was clearly the principle shaft of the mastaba. The walls of the shaft were constructed of stone masonry. The chamber was to the north of the shaft, cut into the bedrock, but roofed with stone slabs. Its floor was 25 cm above the floor of the shaft. It was 1.65 m long, sufficient to have accommodated an extended burial. The entrance to the chamber was not blocked and no artifacts were found in it. Shaft 2084 b was built into the body of the mastaba with rubble retaining walls, although the chamber was roofed with larger stone slabs. The base of the shaft and the floor of the chamber rest on the bedrock underlying the mastaba's superstructure. The chamber opened on the south of the shaft;

its entrance is offset slightly to the west, but it angles to the east. The burial in 2084 b was intact, blocked by a leaning slab on the west and rubble fill bound with mud on the east.⁵ The body was described as an adult skeleton lying on its left side with its head to the north and its legs contracted (see pl. 11b). It was partially decayed and the skull was disjointed and broken. No other finds are recorded.

Shaft 2084 c was built with rubble retaining walls, resting on the crumbly bedrock to the north, but extending into it to a depth of 50 cm on its south and southeast sides. A doorjamb on the north constricted the entrance into a narrow burial chamber to the east, roofed with slabs of stone. No blocking survived, and the chamber contained no artifacts that were recorded.

Shaft 2084 d was lined on three sides with rubble retaining walls, but its northern face is masonry, with regular courses. There is no obvious explanation for this variation. (This wall cannot have been the exterior south face of an earlier extension of 2085, since the only shaft north of it is e, which is clearly secondary; it might be connected with some other earlier construction on the site.) The base of the shaft was cut level, extending down 20 cm into the bedrock on its western side; the floor of the passage and chamber to the west

⁵ Reisner, *Giza Manuscript*, p. 177, describes it as having been chinked on both sides, contradicting the Arabic description on the back of the tomb cards.

follow the level and slope of the bedrock, and so begin about 20 cm above the adjacent shaft floor and slope up to the west. The chamber was blocked with rubble, plastered with mud (see pl. 11c), and a doorjamb on the north was set at an angle to the southern wall of the passage so that the western end of the passage was only 40 cm wide. The contracted skeleton lay on its left side with its head to the north. No other contents of the chamber were recorded.

Shaft 2084 e was built against the stepped southern face of 2085, which forms the northern wall of the shaft. Reisner⁶ records the other three walls of this shaft as being of rubble, and they are so drawn on Floroff's plan; however the Tomb Card shows the southern wall as a masonry wall. This wall did not survive above the level of the chamber. However, the lower part of the western shaft wall opposite it is also shown as masonry, as are the lower courses of the south wall. This distribution suggests that only the top part of the shaft was built of rubble, while the lower shaft and chamber were rebuilt from an earlier serdab (such a serdab would be directly behind the southern recess that may have served as the cult place of 2084). Another problem with this shaft is its relationship to the wall surrounding the courtyard of 2086 (constructed as 2086.1): The chamber is built above the level of the bedrock, so it must have cut into this wall, although no indications of this are visible in the drawing of the shaft and chamber. Only the top of the west wall of the shaft was visible in 1990, so it was impossible to resolve these questions. The entrance

to the burial chamber was blocked by one large block, above which was some rubble plastered with mud (see pl. 12a). The skeleton was contracted on its left side, with its head to the north. The skull was broken, although still in its original position (see pl. 12b).

Shaft 2084 f was built of mud-plastered rubble, on the flat bedrock surface beneath the mastaba. The chamber that opens to the south of it shares the same floor level. It is slightly narrower than the shaft and roofed with stone slabs. The chamber was closed by a plastered rubble wall, set at an angle like a leaning stone slab. The skeleton lay on its left side, its head to the north and its legs contracted. The bones of the feet were broken. Neither Reisner's commentary nor the notes on the Tomb Cards mention the stone pillow that seems to lie under the skull on the Tomb Card drawing. No other finds were recorded.

Shaft 2084 g was built against the south face of the wall surrounding the courtyard of 2086. The new construction was entirely of rubble except the stone slabs that roofed its burial chamber. The surface of the bedrock forms the floor of both the shaft and the chamber. No blocking or burial was preserved.

Date

g 2084 can be no earlier than the beginning of Phase iii in date, but probably preceded the final extension of 2088, which is also in that phase. It was thus probably built in the reign of Unis.

⁶ *Giza Manuscript*, p. 178.

ANONYMOUS TOMB: Mastaba g 2085

Summary of Reisner's Description

- Mastaba type: x b(l)
 measurements 8.3 x 3.95 m
 total area: 32.78 sq. m
 oriented askew: 12 degrees 30 minutes east of north
 proportion: 1/2.10 height: 1.45 m
 facing masonry type: z
- Chapel type: (9c) "open air passage"
 "monolithic ka-door" in recess 0.7 x 0.15 m, uninscribed
- Shaft a: 1.0 x 0.9 at top; 0.65 x 0.65 at bottom
 1.55 m lined with rubble; -4.8 m in rock
 chamber type: 5 c(2) on west. 1.25 x 0.9 m; height 0.9 m
 area 1.12 sq. m; capacity 1.01 cu. m
 floor of chamber 0.15 m lower than base of shaft
 passage 0.65 x 0.25 m; height 0.9 m
 no blocking, no burial, no objects
- Shaft b: 1.0 x 0.9 m; 1.35 m lined with rubble; -3.3 m in rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 no burial, no objects
- Shaft c: 0.95 x 0.95 m; 1.15 m lined with rubble; -4.5 m in rock
 chamber type: 4 a(5) on west. 1.4 x 1.0 m; height 0.7 m
 area 1.4 sq. m; capacity 0.98 cu. m
 passage 0.95 x 0.5 m; 0.05 m lower than floor of chamber
 burial pit 1.15 x 0.65 m; 0.7 m deep; ledge on each side
 no blocking, no burial, no objects; plundered
- Shaft d: 1.0 x 0.95 m; 1.0 m lined with rubble; -4.15 m in rock
 chamber type: 4 a(l) on west. 1.35 x 1.1 m
 roof slopes up to east; height on west 0.85 m
 area 1.48 sq. m; capacity 1.25 cu. m
 passage 0.85 x 0.65 m; step 0.05 m to floor of chamber
 burial pit 1.2 x 0.75 m; 0.7 m deep
 no blocking, no burial
 no objects; completely plundered

Excavation

g 2085 is first mentioned in the Reis's Diary on April 21, 1938, in the description of the location of 2086. Its western and southern facades, facing into the courtyard of 2086, were cleared on April 24. Before any shaft entrances were found, further clearance was postponed until the following season. The focus at the start of that season was on the western end of the cluster, so work on 2085 did not resume until February 18–19, 1939, when the remaining faces and the tops of the shafts were cleared. The matrix above the mastaba consisted of sand, limestone debris, rubble and stones; further down pebbles and red debris were also noted. A small limestone fragment was recovered north of 2085 on February 19 (39–2–12).

The shafts of the mastaba were cleared March 1–3, 1939. Shafts a and b were filled only with drift sand, shaft C also contained

pebbles, and shaft d contained all these components as well as red debris. Red mason's marks were noted on all four sides of shaft d, but were not recorded. (They are mentioned in conjunction with the final clearance of the chamber, so it is likely that they were towards the bottom of the shaft.)

Finds

No finds are registered from the clearance of the paths around the mastaba or from its shafts. To the north of 2085 was a fragment of limestone that was clearly out of its original context. It is not likely to have come from 2085, since there is otherwise no trace of relief decoration in the tomb.

39–2–12 Limestone fragment inscribed with parallel lines ending in a chevron pattern at either end; l. 7.1 cm; w. 7.0 cm; th. 2.0 cm. From debris north of 2085 (fig. 23)

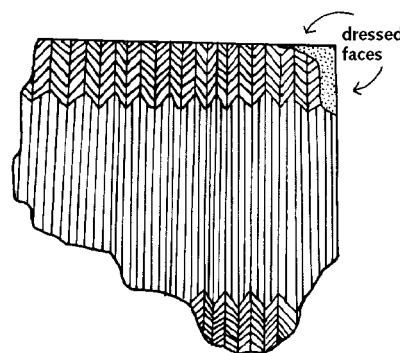


Fig. 23. Drawing of loose block with chevron pattern, 32–2–12, based on the registration drawing. From g 2085.

Architecture

Mastaba g 2085 is one of the smaller mastabas in the cluster, with well-built facades, stepped back 3.5–4.5 cm per course, and a single, deeply recessed false door (pl. 14b). The upper lintel (115 x 36 x 64 cm) projects out from the top of the door 19 cm, although due to the slope of the facade and the door this projection is reduced to 13 cm by the top of the present level of the fill (81.5 cm below the base of the lintel). The rest of the door is cut in a single block. The outer jambs are 13–14 cm wide, and the tablet (34.5 cm wide x 32.5 cm high) is flanked by apertures 5 cm wide. About 2 cm beneath the 10-cm-wide lower lintel is the drum lintel, 9 cm in diameter and 16.5 cm wide, like the central niche. This niche is flanked by two inner jambs, 14 cm wide. The inner jambs are recessed 1 cm from the outer jambs, and the central niche is an additional 5 cm deeper. The false door is uninscribed.

The mastaba was angled to face the southeast, and so does not align with g 2000 or any other major mastabas nearby. This orientation, as well as its abutments to other mastabas in the cluster, suggests an early date; while the anomalously egalitarian shafts and the disproportionate allocation of resources to their construction suggest that the owners belonged to a social milieu different from that of the other mastaba owners in this cluster.

The northern end of the facade, entirely missing now, was very badly preserved even at the time of excavation, but may have contained a second false door. The surviving example is so carefully centered between shafts a and b that it is tempting to see it as serving the owners of both shafts, perhaps a couple, in which case it would be

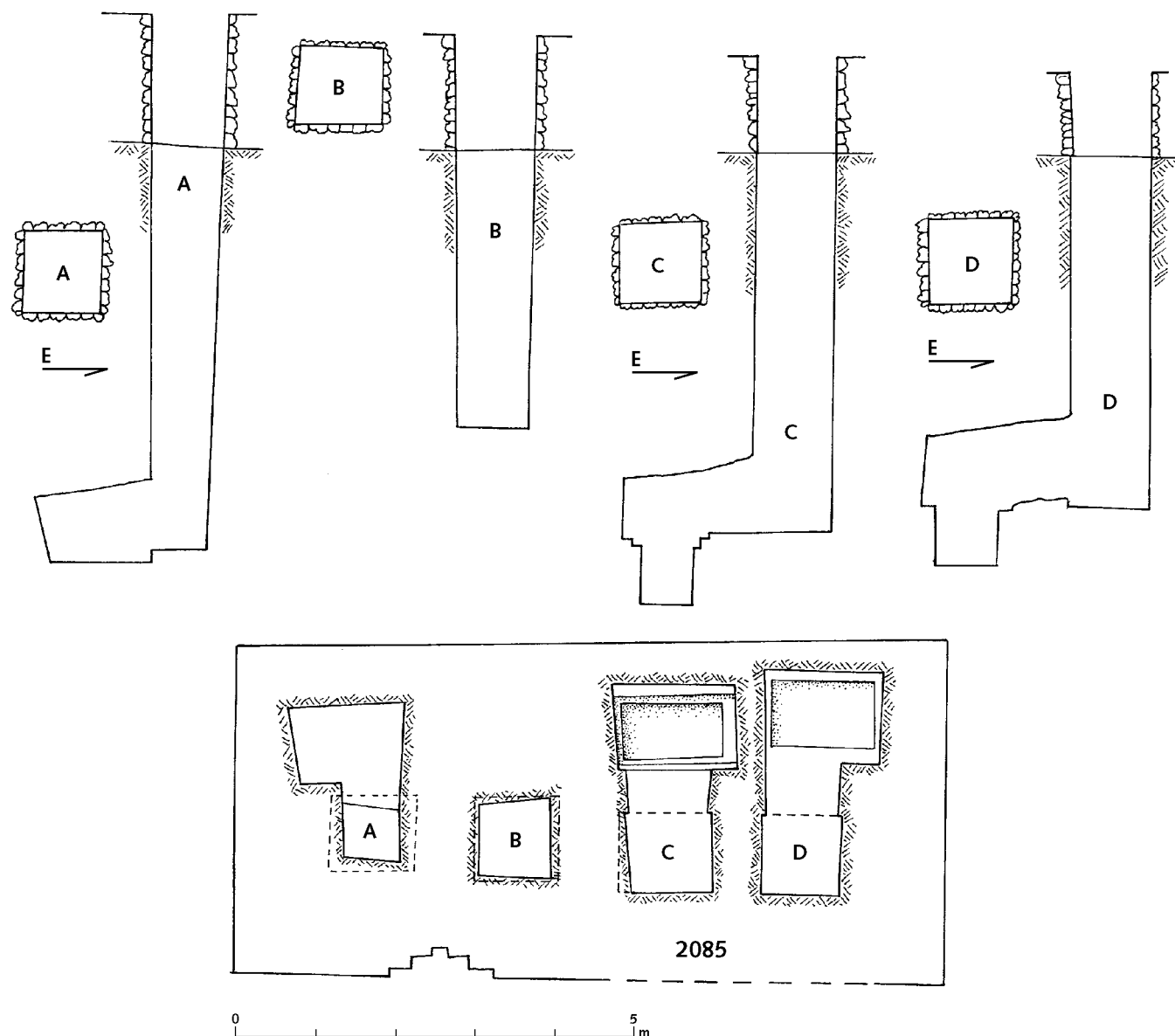


Fig. 24. Outline and shaft plan of g 2085.

plausible to restore a second niche centered between shafts c and d. It is also possible, however, that the false door served as the cult place for the occupants of all four shafts.

Shafts and Burials

g 2085 is unique in this cluster in having more than one principal shaft. There are four subterranean shafts in the mastaba, all cut deeper into the bedrock than is usual for shafts in tombs of this size. These shafts are all of similar depth: shaft b (probably unfinished) extends 3.3 m below the surface of the bedrock; shaft a is 4.8 m deep; shaft c is 5.04 m deep; and shaft d is 5.19 m deep. This shows an unusual expenditure on shaft excavation, despite the fact that the parts of the shafts above the bedrock have only rubble retaining walls. Shafts c and d also have deeply sunk rectangular burial pits, features found otherwise only in the principal shafts of larger mastabas (2088 a, 2230 a, and 2240 a). These anomalies tend to confirm the early

date of this tomb and its lack of connection with others in the cluster that was suggested above based on its orientation. Unfortunately, no blocking, burials, or objects survive from these shafts to allow the position of the builders to be further understood.

Shaft 2085 a narrows as it reaches its base to a stone platform of about 65 square centimeters. To the west, down a step of about 15 cm, is the L-shaped burial chamber, which turns to the south. The ceiling is uneven and lower at the western end, and the western wall is also not vertical.

Shaft 2085 b has no chamber and is less deep than the others in the mastaba. It may have been unfinished, although this would be unusual for a subterranean shaft, since once the mastaba was built above, the stonemasons would risk a collapse if the work was resumed. The floor of the shaft was apparently flat, however, so perhaps it was used for the interment of a child, or even for an extremely contracted adult burial, such as that in 2098 y.

Shaft 2085 c is the most elaborate of these shafts architecturally. Like shaft a, the ceiling of its burial chamber is irregular and slopes downward to the west, but the rest of the chamber is quite regular. A passage centered in the western wall of the shaft widens symmetrically towards the west, and then opens onto a burial chamber. The floor of the passage is level with the bottom of the shaft, but the burial chamber is about 7 cm lower. The chamber, which projects slightly to the south and more to the north, is entirely filled by a deep recess, around which is a shallower recess, about 10 cm in depth and 10 in width. This shallower area extends to the northern and southern walls, but a 10 cm rim of the floor is left on the east and west. No trace of the lid that must have fit into this shallow recess was found; nor were a burial and artifacts present. Reisner's *Giza Manuscript* describes the chamber as "plundered."

Shaft 2085 d shares several characteristics of 2085 c. The opening in the west face of its shaft is also about 5 cm narrower than the shaft wall on either side and the passage widens symmetrically to the west. The burial chamber contains a sunken rectangular pit, and its ceiling is lower to the west. The pit is simpler than that of shaft c, however, having no recessed rim. The narrow floor surrounding the pit is approximately level with the base of the shaft, while the floor of the intervening passage is irregular and higher. It is this shaft in which the red ink masons' marks were noted on all four walls.

Date

Probably the oldest mastaba in the cluster, this tomb was most probably built before the earliest mastabas of the *shdw hntjw-s* to the north and west of it. It can thus be dated no more exactly than to the period between Khufu and Niuserre, inclusive; the latter part of this period is more likely, however.

THE TOMB OF REDI: Mastaba g 2086

Summary of Reisner's Description

- Mastaba type: viii c(1)
 measurements: 9.25 x 5.05 m
 area: 46.71 sq. m; proportion 1/1.83
 roofed⁷ exterior corridor: 5.05 x 0.7 m
 eastern alcove 4.25 x 3.25 m
 area of corridor and alcove 17.34 sq. m
 total area with addition: 64.05 sq. m
 height 2.0 m
 facing masonry type: [u]
- Chapel type: (6) "interior offering room;" fully decorated; 2.2 x 1.17 m
 area 2.57 sq. m; proportion 1/1.88; relation 1/18.17
 addition: "exterior chapel" type (5ax); no niche⁸
 corridor 4.4⁹ x 0.7 m; eastern alcove 3.3 x 1.9 m
 chapel area with addition: 11.92 sq. m
 relation to final mastaba: 1/5.37
- Serdab: 2.95 x 1.0 m; 1.95 m deep; area 2.95 sq. m
 vertical slot window, just north of middle of west wall of chapel
- Shaft a: 1.0 x 1.1 m; 2.1 m (6 courses) lined with masonry; -2.3 m in rock
 chamber type: 5 b(1) on north. 1.75 x 1.2–1.65 m; height 0.8 m
 area 2.48 sq. m; capacity 1.98 cu. m
 passage 0.15 x 1.0; height 0.8 m; jamb on west
 blocking: exterior wall of rubble and mud; penetrated on east
 burial: half-contracted skeleton; remains of linen wrappings
- Shaft b: 0.8 x 0.75; 1.45 m lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on north. 1.1 x 0.65 m; height 0.65 m
 area 0.71 sq. m; capacity 0.46 cu. m
 blocking type: v d(2); leaning exterior wall; intact
 burial: tightly contracted skeleton in decayed wooden box
 no trace of wrappings
- Shaft c: 1.1 x 0.8 m; 2.1 m (6 courses) lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 a(5) on east. 1.45 x 0.7 m; height 1.0 m
 area 1.01 sq. m; capacity 1.01 cu. m
 passage 0.65 x 0.2; height 0.65 m
 burial pit: 1.45 x 0.5 m; 0.15 m deep; no lid found
 no blocking, no burial
- Shaft d: 0.85 x 0.7 m; 2.05 m (6 courses) lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b on north. 1.05 x 0.65 m; height 0.7 m
 area 0.68 sq m; capacity 0.47 cu. m
 no blocking, no burial

Excavation

g 2086, the mastaba of Redi, was excavated on April 21, 1938. The matrix removed from above and around the mastaba was described as consisting of drift sand, limestone debris, rubble, pebbles and

⁷ There is no evidence in the Reis's Diary or in the expedition photograph (a 8112) for the roofing of this corridor.

⁸ There is no reason to view this extension as a chapel at all. It is essentially an enclosed courtyard attached to the interior chapel.

⁹ The difference between the interior length of the corridor given here and its exterior length given above is apparently the depth of the doorjambs.

stones. The chapel was described as full of drift sand. No artifacts were recorded in the chapel, courtyard or entrance corridor. The chambers of shafts a and b were opened on April 30 and cleared on May 19 of the same year. I can find no record of the initial clearance of these shafts or shafts c and d, although were all planned by August 2, 1939.

The serdab was opened on April 21 and cleared by William Stevenson Smith on April 24. Again, it was filled only with drift sand. According to excavation records, it contained the remains of three wooden statues that had been covered with painted plaster. The registration books list four objects from this serdab. Their positions were recorded in manuscript notes on the tomb cards by William Stevenson Smith, who excavated the serdab himself. The Reis's Diary on the day of the clearance recorded "three bases of wooden statues." The photographs are reproduced in pls. 20a–b.¹⁰

Finds

38–4–27 Painted plaster feet, in a striding posture, of a male statue. Wood fragments surround them, and are presumably part of the base, which is not preserved. The statue was located in the southwest corner, and faced east (identified as #1 on serdab plan)

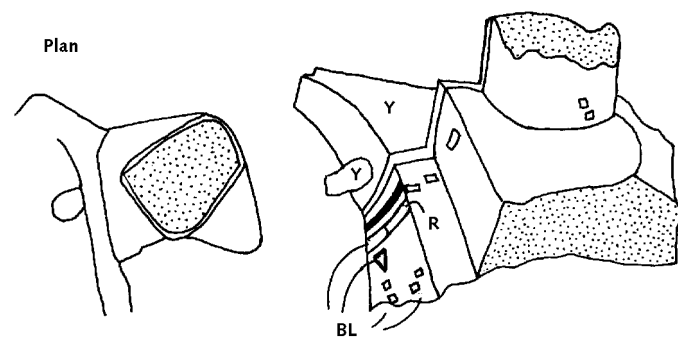


Fig. 25. Drawing from W.S. Smith's notes of painted fragments of gesso-covered wooden figures from the serdab of G 2086. Y = yellow; R = red, BL = blue. (The shading of the drawing suggests that all the small squares of paint were blue.) The stripe and the outline of the blue triangle are black, as drawn. Smith noted that the angles were somewhat exaggerated in this drawing, and commented: "These very puzzling fragments are too badly destroyed to draw much information from. It is possible that they are parts of several figures fallen on top of one another. [The left fragment] might just conceivably be a woman with a checkered patterned dress and one arm raised."

38–4–28 Painted plaster fragments from wooden statues, located along the western wall of the serdab, beginning east of 38–4–27 and ending just south of 38–4–29 (identified as #2 on the plan)

- Bits of red plaster facing, painted black, perhaps part of a base like those to the north
- Leg to knee of a small figure
- Similar smaller leg (or arm?) (not marked on Smith's plan)
- Big pieces of red plaster from a larger figure that may not be connected with fragments a through c

38–4–29 Parts of wooden base, about 10 cm high, with a thick coating of red plaster, painted black (#3 on the plan)

- 10 cm high fragment of the red painted ankle of a statue, with a black line at its base
- A core of wood with a light-colored plaster coating, painted with blue stripes and dots on a white or yellow ground. Possibly a

¹⁰ The descriptions given below are those of the registration book, augmented by the notes of W.S. Smith attached to the tomb card for this serdab.

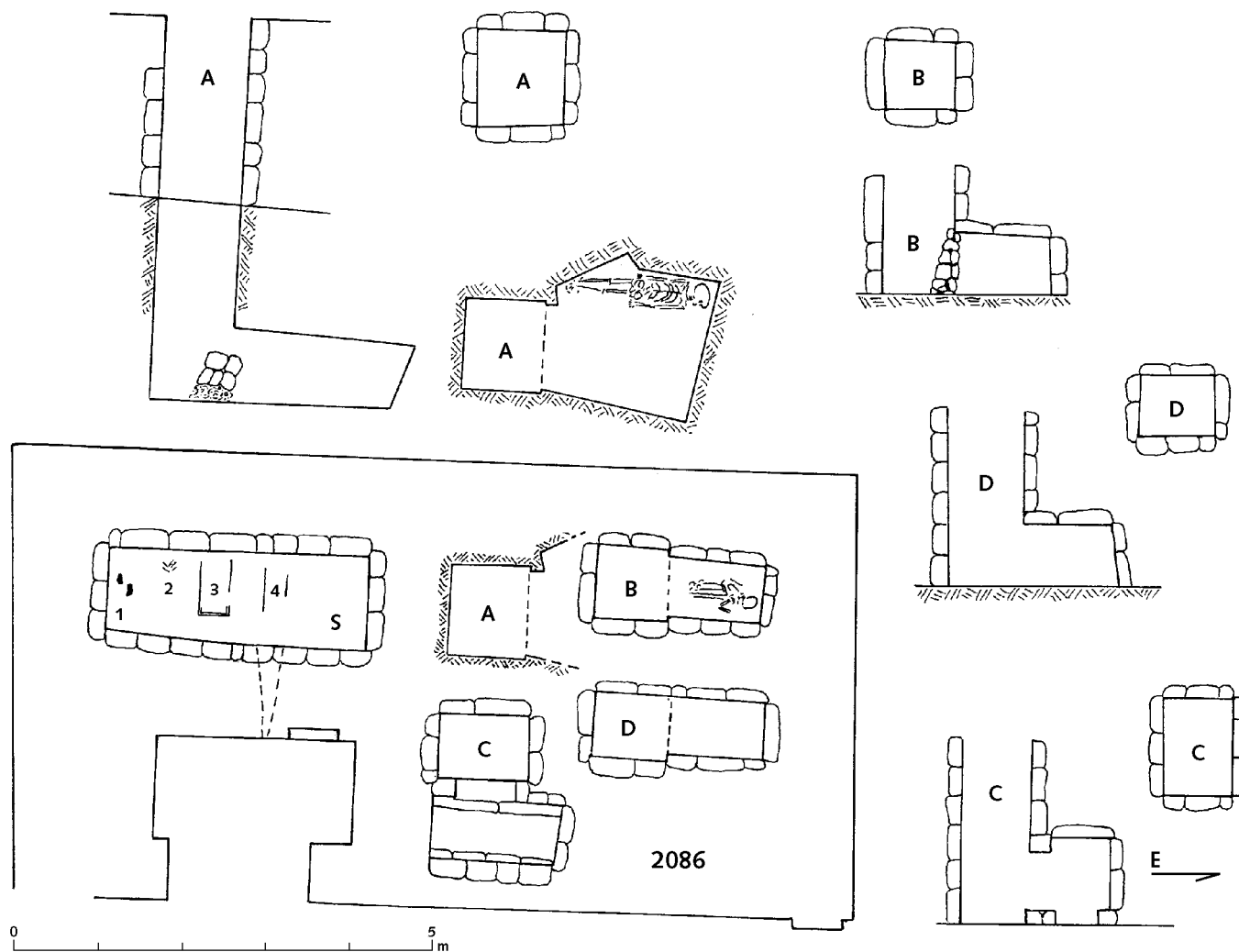


Fig. 26. Outline and shaft plan of g 2086.

collar or a woman's anklet

c) Wooden core with plastered cloth on one side, painted red. About 8 cm high

38-4-30 Fragments from base and one or more statues, including one of a woman (#4 on the plan)

a) Fragments of red plaster from a base, painted gray. It stood about 16 cm higher than the floor of the serdab

b) Fragments of plaster on wood base ; one piece appears to be part of an arm and shoulder join, with yellow skin and traces of blue, red, and black paint (see fig. 25); a second piece is a wood core covered with plaster and painted blue at its base

c) Other small fragments with blue stripes from anklets or bracelets

The serdab (pls. 20a and 20b) thus seems to have contained at least four statues or statue groups, including one female and two male statues.

Architecture

The mastaba was built on the bedrock at the northern edge of the cluster, angled slightly to face the southeast (fig. 26). Although it is technically of independent site, its southwest corner touches the northeast corner of the first extension of g 2088.¹¹ Since this exten-

sion is of standard depth and therefore not influenced by the proximity of 2086, it was presumably either built before 2086 or in conjunction with it.

The mastaba has battered exterior facades, of roughly finished u-masonry. Its recessed chapel is entered at the southern end of its eastern facade, between two pilasters with decorated thicknesses; all three walls are decorated. The Reis's Diary records that it had a limestone floor, laid on the bedrock and that traces of red, green and yellow paint remained. There is no false door in the chapel, but a recess 56 cm wide and 8 cm deep at the north end of its western wall is decorated with the figure of the deceased. The serdab behind this western wall was probably accessible by a horizontal slot just to the left of the recess. (A level area cut out of the rock at this point probably represents the base of the slot.¹²) The facade to the north of the entrance is smoothed to the point where it forms a corridor with 2085, and the edge of the smoothed area is angled to match the angle of the stepped southern facade of 2085. Traces of a ground line survive on this fa-

¹¹ See 2088.S1 in the discussion in Chapter 2.

¹² Floroff's diagram for recording measurements of this mastaba, dated 5-9-38, shows the opening of the serdab slot at just this point, labeled "10," probably 10 cm in width.

cade, so it was probably intended to be decorated, though no trace of carved decoration survives.

The mastaba was built during the later part of Phase i, probably in the reign of Niuserre.¹³ Like the other mastabas of the cluster, its principal entrance was moved to the north in Phase ii. This was effected by an angled wall that joined the southwest corner of the mastaba to the middle of the southern face of 2085. This wall formed a courtyard east of the chapel entrance, which was probably open to the sky. The stepped southern facade of 2085 formed the northern wall of this courtyard; the other two interior walls were roughly vertical. According to Reisner's notes, the corridor was roofed; no traces of roofing blocks survive or can be seen in the excavation photographs taken in February 1939. The corridor is only .7 m wide at its base, but since both its walls are angled, it would have been considerably wider in its upper portions. Had it been roofed, one would have expected to find a backing wall built to support the facade of 2085, as was done with the stepped facade of 2089 when the adjacent corridor was roofed. The corridor in 2086 ends in doorjambs, of which the eastern thickness retains traces of decoration.

It was noted during architectural evaluation in 1990 that the east wall of the serdab is not straight but bowed towards the west in the center. It is unclear whether this was intentional, or whether it is the result of settling or the weight of the modern roof built over the chapel, which seems to rest on this wall. (It does not appear in the excavation drawings.) The 20 x 30 cm slot in the eastern wall gives access to the chapel to the east. It is shown on the tomb card as further south than it is shown on the Floroff plan. Neither of these positions is far enough north to correlate with the slot identified adjacent to the recess, so that either the opening that gave access to the slot was sharply angled, or the apparent slot adjacent to the recess was not the slot.

Shafts and Burials

g 2086 had four shafts (pl. 20c). Shaft 2086 a (pl. 21), the principal shaft, is aligned with the east and west walls of the serdab chamber. It is built of well dressed masonry, and cut 2.3 m into the bedrock, and at the base a fan-shaped chamber opens on its north side. The passage between the shaft and the chamber has a narrow jamb on its north side only, and was blocked with a 50 cm thick wall of limestone debris underlying rubble bound together with mud, set at an angle and extending into the bottom of the shaft. An earlier breach in the blocking had been made in the east half of the upper, more rubble-built, part. The body lay against the irregular west wall, in an extended posture on its left side with its head to the north. The tomb card describes it as very tall. It was partially wrapped in linen, and the legs were covered with sand, presumably from the breach in the blocking. The bones were registered as 38-5-13.

Shaft 2086 b (pl. 22), just to the north of a, is lined with masonry and ends at the bedrock. Its chamber was lined and roofed with slabs of stone. The blocking was a wall of rubble, bound with

mud, angled out into the shaft, although its inner face was vertical. It was found intact. The body was tightly contracted, with its head to the north and no trace of wrappings. It had been placed in a small wooden box-coffin that had decayed and disintegrated badly. The skull had been dislodged, according to Reisner, by decay. It faced south at the time of the discovery, but the orientation of the other bones suggests that it originally faced east. The bones were registered as 38-5-14.

Shaft 2086 c, also a masonry-lined shaft ending at the bedrock, differs in that its chamber was on the east, although its long axis also ran north-south. This perhaps indicates that 2086 d was built first, since that shaft makes a northern burial chamber impossible. Its chamber was also built of masonry, and roofed with slabs. Small doorjambs flanked the entrance, but there was no blocking. A burial pit was constructed by the addition of a surrounding course of masonry, 15 cm high, to the east and west sides of the floor of the chamber, raising it to the same height as the passage. No lid or body survived.

Shaft 2086 d, like 2086 b, was a masonry-lined shaft ending at the bedrock, with a burial chamber to the north. Its masonry lined burial chamber was slightly narrower to the east. It was not blocked, and it was empty.

Date

The tomb is slightly later than the earliest tombs built during the reign of Niuserre, but is also prior to the beginning of Phase ii. It should thus probably be dated to the period including the later reign of Niuserre, the reign of Menkauhor, and the early reign of Izezi.

Decoration of the Chapel

The decoration is largely carved into a thick layer of plaster, which has fallen off in several areas since the expedition photos were taken in 1939 (compare pls. 19a and 19c). For this reason the drawings of the decoration are based on the excavations photographs, collated with the surviving reliefs. The shallow relief was cut by shaving down only the area immediately around the raised features. The background is uneven and undulating. Facial features of minor figures are cut in a single line outline, modeled only around the nose and mouth. The lines of the carving are confident and graceful, however, and the musculature of the major figures is finely modelled.

The Reis's Diary records that the tomb was "decorated with red, yellow, and green paint."¹⁴ The photographs also show traces of paint; some red remains on the reliefs themselves. Lighter areas seem to have been carefully outlined by a fine darker line, which follows the edge of the carving exactly. This finer line was also used to indicate interior details on hieroglyphs. The fineness of the surviving painting suggests that the original decoration of the chapel was far less crude than it appears today.

Doorjambs in corridor (pl. 138b). The corridor between 2085 and 2086 is entered by a door on the north, framed by two monolithic

¹³ See the discussion of the mastaba's date at the end of Chapter 2. The date of 2086 is based on its relationships to 2088 and 2230, as its decoration yields only the most general dating criteria.

¹⁴ Reis's Diary, 1938, p. 644.

doorjambs, 25 cm thick, and 65 cm deep. This doorway presumably dates to Phase ii. Although Reisner's description records "on each side, a man standing facing out," the thickness of the eastern jamb has no surviving decoration. That of the western jamb shows Redi striding out of his tomb, carrying a handkerchief and a staff. In front of him stands a young man, presumably his son, who grasps the staff with one hand while his other hand hangs empty. Unlike the other representations of Redi's children in the chapel, both Redi and his son stand on the same groundline, which is 20 cm above the modern concrete threshold of the tomb. The top of the jamb is lost, so Redi's head, name and titles are not preserved; the area under his elbow, where the name of his son would have been inscribed, is badly eroded, and no trace of an inscription can be seen.

South Pilaster (pls. 15 and 139). The entrance to the recessed chapel, 1.6 m wide, is framed by pilasters that are not monolithic slabs, but built in courses that are bonded to the adjacent walls. The decoration on their thicknesses begins 50 cm above the base of the wall. That on the southern pilaster, which is now almost entirely destroyed, depicts the tomb owner walking out of the chapel. At the time of excavation this relief was preserved intact almost to shoulder height. Redi held a staff in his right hand, and his left hand hung loose at his side. The legs and the navel area were carefully modelled and the paint on the legs was completely preserved. A thin line of paint outlining the front and lower edges of the starched triangular kilt was visible, and a broader line below the carved horizontal ground line was also preserved.

South Wall (pls. 16 and 140). As was often the case in Fifth Dynasty chapels,¹⁵ the southern wall was decorated with scenes of leisure and entertainment. In the upper left corner, a couple, presumably Redi and his wife or mother, are seated on a chair with bull's legs; unfortunately, his lower legs and one arm are all that remain of Redi, and little of his companion is preserved above the ankles. He is shown reaching down to receive a blue lotus from a man in a starched kilt. Two other attendants follow, the first presenting a duck and the second an object held at shoulder height, probably a plate of food. Traces of a register line at the top of the preserved area at right, as well as the larger scale of the seated couple, indicate that at least one more register of attendants was depicted above.

Beneath the presentation of the lotus is a register of six male musicians, seated in three facing pairs. On the left sits a harpist, his fingers curled among the strings; facing him, a singer cups one hand at his ear and gestures with the other to the harpist. The singer of the middle pair, also on the right, takes the same pose; his companion plays a short transverse flute with finger holes at the far end. The rightmost pair is reversed, with the singer on the left and in a more casual attitude, his free hand curved over the top of his bent knee. The flautist to his right holds a longer, thinner flute, angled down to the right, with its finger holes also placed at the far end. The leftmost pair is not captioned; both of the pairs on the right are labeled with the phrase *hst zb*, "singing and playing the flute." Both words in both

texts run from right to left, so they are clearly meant to label the pairs rather than the activities of the individual musicians.

The lowest register, beginning about 46 cm above the floor, depicts female entertainers. To the left, three women, facing right, clap and sing. They are labelled *hst jn hnr*, "singing by the troupe."¹⁶ To the right, facing them, are five dancing women, each with her right foot pointed ahead of her and raised slightly off the ground line. Their arms are rounded above their heads, their hands opened, probably with palms upward, with their longest fingers just touching. No anklets, bracelets or collars can be seen. The original paint can be seen on the feet, which were painted in a lighter color (presumably yellow) and outlined in a darker color (presumably red). The darker outline is also visible around the ties at the back of the dancers' skirts.

West Wall-South Part (pls. 17 and 141). The west wall is largely concerned with food offerings. The upper two registers surviving (and probably at least one more above them) depict food offerings presented in bowls, jars, platters and low tables. These include bread of all shapes, fruit, trussed poultry, and cuts of meat. A footed asymmetrical basket is the most interesting of these vessels. These are known from other tombs,¹⁷ but are not preserved archaeologically. At the right edge of the lower of these two registers are two trussed ducks; centered over the right-most is a horizontal finished edge that was probably the original serdab slot.

Below them is a register of eight men, proceeding not towards the niche, but leftwards, toward the seated figures of Redi and his wife on the south wall. They are, however, not a continuation of the bearers shown there; instead, they are of a slightly smaller scale, and the ground line they stand on is level with that of the male musicians on the south wall. The first three in the procession carry forelegs. The center pair carry between them a small table piled with improbable quantities of bread, fruits, and vegetables; the foremost looks backwards as if to reassure himself of its stability. The last three men each carry two kinds of food or drink, one before them, at shoulder height, the other behind, at hip-height.

The lowest register shows the butchery of two oryxes. On the left, one man sharpens a knife with a whetstone attached to his kilt while his two companions struggle to cut off the animal's foreleg. To the right, the second oryx has been turned on its back and is attacked by two pairs of men. Filets are cut off the rear leg (or perhaps the lower part is being detached from the haunch at the joint), and to the right, the butchers lift the detached foreleg. The oryx's tail does not curl like that of the one behind him, but is bent sharply back under it. To the right, an eighth man faces left, holding two amorphous offerings, perhaps meat already removed from the animal.

Paint survives on the bodies of the butchers and on the feet of some offering bearers. There are also traces of dark paint on the

¹⁵ Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs* p. 75.

¹⁶ For arguments supporting this translation, see D. Nord, "The Term *hnr*: 'Harem' or 'Musical Performers'?", in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in honor of Dows Dunham*, W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davis, eds. (Boston, 1981), pp. 137-45, and B. Bryan, "The Etymology of *hnr* 'Group of Musical Performers,'" *BES* 4 (1982), pp. 35-54.

¹⁷ For example Iasen, in W.K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery: Part I, Giza Mastabas 4* (Boston, 1980), fig. 32.

bodies of the oryxes. An even, narrow (.5 cm) band of dark paint also runs just beneath the lowest ground line.

Niche (pls. 18a and 142). A recess in the west wall is the only apparent focus in the chapel, although none of the decoration is oriented towards it. (The offering bearers on the west wall turn their backs on this larger figure, which also faces left and so appears to follow them.) The base of the niche is 12 cm above the floor level, presumably an offering table of that height was set in front of it. To the right, between the niche and the angle with the north wall, an 18 cm wide panel is decorated with a column of hieroglyphs.

On the back panel of the niche, Redi is represented striding to the left. In his right hand he holds a staff and in his left a *hrp* scepter. A triangular object protrudes above the belt of his simple kilt. He stands on a ground line that is level with that on the adjacent west wall, 34 cm above the base of the recess. Above his right arm is the inscription *shd [hntjw]-š*¹⁸ *pr-ḳ Rdj*,¹⁹ “inspector of palace attendants, Redi.” Below his elbow, his name is repeated, *jmshw hr nb.f Rdj*, “venerated before his lord, Redi.”

This recessed panel is puzzling. If it was the funerary focus, why were the offering bearers all shown walking away from it? And why does the figure of Redi face left, rather than right, the preferred direction on independent elements such as false door tablets?²⁰ And why is the focus at the north end of the chapel rather than the south, where it normally is? If only the northern half of the chapel were preserved, one would restore a principal false door at the south end without hesitation. If the south wall of the chapel were 50 cm further south, the width of a standard false door niche, the chapel would be equally as wide as, and roughly parallel to, the serdab chamber. The doorjambs flanking the entrance would also be more nearly equal in depth (the southern jamb is now 35 cm shallower). Such a wall would also align with the inner face of the extension wall built in Phase ii. However, there is no indication that such a shift in the wall took place (the area is not accessible, due to modern reconstruction and the preservation of ancient decorated plaster); nor is there any suggestion why such a shift might have been desirable.

To the right of the recess is a vertical column of text centered on a panel 18 cm wide. It was not photographed straight on by the Reisner expedition and is now almost entirely destroyed; the drawing has been reconstructed based on a modern photograph and signs visible in the corners of older photographs. It is not an exact facsimile. The top part of the text cannot be reconstructed; the lower part reads: ... *hst n hnt[jw-š?] jmshw hr ntr ḳ Rdj*, “... of singers of the attendants(?), venerated before the great god, Redi.” The phrase *hst n hntjw-š* is, so far as I know, unparalleled. Both titles, however, are connected with the palace, and scenes of musicians are especially common in the tombs of *hntjw-š*, so it is probable this was one of their palace functions. The excavation photographs of parts of this

text show that the hieroglyphs were outlined in a fine line and that the flag of the *ntr* sign was given interior details, another indication of the fineness of the lost paintings of this tomb.

North Wall (pls. 18b and 143). Redi is shown on the north wall being presented with four registers of cattle. He faces right, towards the entrance of his tomb, and is again preserved only to shoulder height. He wears the leopard skin and shoulder knot of the *stm* priest over a simple kilt; and he carries a staff and handkerchief just as he does on the adjacent jamb thickness. Also identical to the northern thickness of the entrance is the position of one of Redi’s children, directly in front of his knees, on a raised ground line, grasping his staff. This child, however is male, and is captioned *z3.fsmsw ... n-ḳh*, “his eldest son, ... n-ankh.” The first sign of the name is battered, but appears to be long and comparatively low. At the left edge can be seen the end of another *n. N-n-ḳh* is the most probable reading for the incised inscription found on a servant model from 2088 (38–4–3; see the discussion of the finds in 2088 below). The man crouches behind a duck, which he appears to be carving, and is labeled *hm-k3 N-n-ḳh*. Such an unusual (foreign?) name might be related to another peculiar name in the cluster, that of *R-r-mw*, whose tomb is directly to the west of Redi’s.

Facing Redi and his son are four registers of cattle. The upper register is only partially preserved. It shows two men bringing in an animal, probably an oryx or an ibex rather than a bull, indicated both by its slighter build and the fact that the men are clearly exerting some energy to move it, as is more common with such less domesticated animals. The three registers below all show bulls, each labeled *rn jw3*, “young bull.” Cowherds lead the upper two of the three by rope halters; in the lowest register, the angle of the staff means that there is no space for a cowherd, so the bull is shown tethered to the ground.

North Pilaster (pls. 19 and 144). The pose and dress of the tomb owner on the north jamb mirrored that on the south, except that he held a handkerchief in his right hand and there were traces of a broad collar. A young woman at a smaller scale stood just in front of him on an elevated ground line, also looking out of the tomb chapel (see detail pl. 19b). She grasped the staff with her left hand and her right hand hung loose at her side. In the area below her father’s elbow is the caption *zst.fMrt* “his daughter, Meret.” Paint was visible on the torso and feet of the tomb owner and again below the ground line.

Tomb Owner and Dependents

Titles of Redi:

shd [hntjw]-š pr-ḳ inspector of palace attendants (back of niche)
... *hst n hnt[jw-š]* ... of singing of attendants (right of niche)

There is a drum in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, accession number 31691, which gives the name and titles *wḳb-nswt shd hntjw-š pr-ḳ Rdj.n.jj*.²¹ The name Redi (which is otherwise unattested) may be an abbreviation for this longer name; Redi’s

¹⁸ The title is probably written here with the *hnt* sign placed over the *š* sign (the left corners of which are visible). There is no space for a *tjw* bird between these signs and the face.

¹⁹ The final reed-leaf is preserved only as a smooth vertical cut edge to the right of the first two signs of the name.

²⁰ H.G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, Egyptian Studies 2 (New York, 1977), pp. 6–7.

²¹ I am indebted to Frank J. Yurco of the Field Museum for this information and for his notes and hand copies of the inscription.

name occurs only three times in the chapel, and one of the occurrences is directly followed by a break. The title *w^cb-nswt*, unattested in the chapel, might have been a later acquisition, celebrated by the addition of the northern door. The title *shd hntjw-š pr-ḳ* is written in the same manner as it apparently was on the recessed panel in 2086: the title *shd* (without the reversed *s*, since the text is written right to left) immediately follows the group *pr-ḳ*, and the lost signs *hntj* and *t* were probably grouped over a single *š*, the corner of which is preserved. The internal details of several of the sunk hieroglyphs might show the same hand as the painted raised hieroglyphs in the chapel, which also show some internal details. If the drum originally came from this tomb, it may have been located over the door at the northern end of the corridor. The drum is 71.5 cm in length, 29 cm high, and approximately 12 cm thick, which would fit the space in this doorway, as well as can be reconstructed without its eastern door-jamb. The drum was purchased in Cairo in 1898, so if it was originally part of the tomb, it was probably removed in antiquity. The restoration must remain tentative, however.

Dependents:

A female relative, probably Redi's wife or mother, is shown seated with him on the south wall. Her name and titles are not preserved. None of the attendants is identified by name or title.

His daughter, *Mrt*, "Meret," is depicted on the north entrance thickness, unless this text is to be interpreted "his beloved daughter."

His son, *N-n-ḳb*, "Nen-ankh" is depicted on the north wall. This name is probably also attested as the label on a model from the serdab of 2088. In this model, Nen-ankh is given the title *hm-k3*, and is represented cutting up a duck.

Conservation (Pamela Hatchfield)

The chapel has a locked door and is partially protected by a modern roof. Upper courses of the wall have been reconstructed. Modern mortar is present in joints between stones and at the edges of the plaster decoration. Some of this mortar is extremely soft.

The decoration was carved into plaster of various thicknesses, and only occasional traces of carved lines are visible in the coarse-textured nummulitic limestone substrate. Two separate applications of the plaster are visible. One appears to have been applied to minimize irregularities and defects in the stone substrate, and subsequent layers applied and sculpted while wet. Very coarse plaster is present in the deepest holes in the surface of the stone.

South pilaster. Plaster varies widely in thickness from area to area. Approximately 80% of the decoration was readable at the time of the Reisner photographs. In 1989, 5% of the total remained.

South wall. Only a very thin layer of plaster is present here. Perhaps 70% of the design scheme was present at the time of excavation. In 1989 approximately 30% was still readable or partially preserved in the form of traces of red painted outlines and faint indications of flesh tones. The west half of the wall is the best preserved.

West wall. The sun strikes this wall in the morning, resulting in differential heating and cooling, contraction and expansion. The south wall is the most severely damaged of the group, whereas the west wall, which one might expect to be damaged by exposure to the sun, is in the best state of preservation. The west and southwest sections seem to have been preferentially preserved, either due to more durable plaster, greater protection from the elements, or better methods of application. Copious amounts of bat and bird droppings are present on the surface due to nesting activities on the ledge above. Stone is delaminating above this area. Significant amounts of paint were preserved, especially in the lower and second registers. Finely divided pigments such as ochers are naturally somewhat self-adhesive and would have been more easily preserved on the surface than fritted glass pigments such as Egyptian blue, which have much larger particle size and require stronger adhesives in greater quantities. The west wall was 95% preserved at the time of excavation; in 1989 only 60% remains visible.

Niche: Separate application of plaster is apparent and preserved at and below the ground line. A foot and a small amount of background is preserved. Very deep fill is present in this area, half of which is lost. Thinner plaster is used above. Very thick plaster at the north angle of the niche is poorly adhered. At the time of excavation 90% of the design was preserved, along with much (red) paint. In 1989, 30% of the surface present at excavation is visible.

North wall. The plaster here is porous—holes are present from air bubbles or soluble material that has leached out.

North pilaster. The surface of the plaster in this area was apparently treated with resin, which flowed, probably due to heat, bubbling and incorporating washed sand into its surface. A large modern patch can be seen at the edge of the kilt. At least two layers of ancient plaster are evident. It is obvious that the plastering was done in two separate stages: the line of the join runs down the left edge of the small female figure, whose head has been lost since Reisner's photographs. In 1989, 65% of the decoration remains, but the surface is extremely weathered, apparently by wind and sand erosion.

ANONYMOUS TOMB: Mastaba g 2086a (= 2083 in some notes)

Summary of Reisner's Description

- Mastaba type: x c(1)
5.5 x about 4.8 m
area: 26.4 sq. m; proportion about 1/1.14
facing masonry type: u on east, north, and west (partially destroyed)
- Chapel type: (9c) open corridor type
corridor 0.9 m wide
near south end, monolithic slab stela, 0.55 m wide, stands behind offering stone, 0.5 x 0.2 m, with a basin at each end
no inscriptions
- Shaft a: 1.0 x 1.1 m; 1.5 m lined with masonry; ends at rock
chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
"completely plundered"
- Shaft b:²² 0.85 x 0.9 m; 1.05 m on south and 1.6 m on north; ends at rock
chamber type: 6 a on south. 0.8 x 1.0 m; height 0.7 m
area 0.8 sq. m; capacity about 0.56 cu. m
step down from floor of shaft 0.2 m; partly cut in rock
no blocking
no burial
- Shaft c:²³ 0.75 x 0.75 m; 1.15 m on south 1.7 m on north lined with masonry;
ends at rock
chamber type: 6 c(1) on south. 0.6 x 0.8 m; height 0.7 m
area 0.48 sq. m; capacity 0.33 cu. m
step down from floor of shaft 0.2 m
no blocking
no burial; "completely plundered"

Excavation

g 2086a, which is called 2083 in the Reis's Diary, was exposed and excavated on May 13th, 1939. The matrix overlaying it was described as sand, limestone debris, and rubble. Shafts a, b, and c all contained sand, limestone debris, and rubble. None contained any artifacts or human remains.

Architecture

The mastaba appears from the Reis's Diary to have been built in two phases. First, an inner structure, the west face of which is missing, was built against the western half of the north face of 2086. In the sketch plan in the Reis's Diary, the north wall of this early structure extends almost as far west as the north wall of 2086. In the Floroff

plan, the wall is far shorter, and the convention used for rubble walls in that plan makes it less clear than it is from the Reis's sketch that these walls form the eastern and northern facades of a mastaba rather than the inner faces of a peculiar recess in the western facade of the later construction. This second part of 2086a filled in the space east of the initial building, lengthening the corridor leading out of 2086. In the Reis's sketch, it extended north almost as far as the north face in 2085, but it was only about two-thirds as deep as 2086. In the Floroff plan, conversely, this second part of 2086a extended considerably further north than 2085, and was as deep as 2086.

To this latter phase, whatever its dimensions, belonged the false door and shafts of 2086a. It is unclear whether it obscured access to a cult place of the earlier structure; if there was a cult place attached to that structure it must have done so, since the western face of the earlier structure is entirely buried. This second structure is of a standard form: a simple rectangular mastaba (allowing for the presence of the earlier structure), with a false door in the south end of its eastern facade.

The Reis's sketch shows one further detail that is omitted entirely from Floroff's plan: an extension of the mastaba to the north for a distance of about 50 cm. His sketch shows a single block extending beyond the northern face, which forms a corner with a row of three large blocks lying in an east-west row. The purpose of such an extension is obscure; perhaps it is only a foundation platform for the mastaba.

When the tomb was inspected in 1990, these walls were not sufficiently clear to resolve these issues. To further confuse matters, a line of blocks now runs parallel to the north wall of 2086, which cannot be equated with any walls on the Reis's sketch or on Floroff's plan. It may be a modern construction.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft 2086a a is a well-built masonry shaft with no chamber and no burial. g 2086a b is cut down into the sloping rock, which forms part of the ceiling of the small, empty chamber. The roof is completed with a single roofing block. The chamber is fan-shaped and irregular, although the floor and ceiling are level and horizontal. Shaft c is very much like shaft b in form, except in that the bedrock is high enough to complete the entire ceiling of the chamber, and in that the chamber is both smaller and more rectangular. Neither blocking nor burial was found in either chamber.

Date

This tomb must post-date the construction of 2086, and probably belonged in part to Phase ii. The northwest corner of the earliest phase of its construction is just within the line that seems to have served as the northern boundary of the cluster until the very end of Phase ii. A date range from the reign of Izezi through the reign of Unis is the most likely for this part of the construction. The second part of the mastaba extended north of that boundary (according to both depictions of it), and hence belongs to the end of Phase ii at the earliest, and was perhaps considerably later. If this part of the

²² This shaft is given as c in the Reis's Diary and Reisner's *Giza Manuscript*, but b on the Floroff plan. Following the plan (and our own notations based upon it) seems less likely to cause confusion.

²³ Called b in some sources. See previous note.

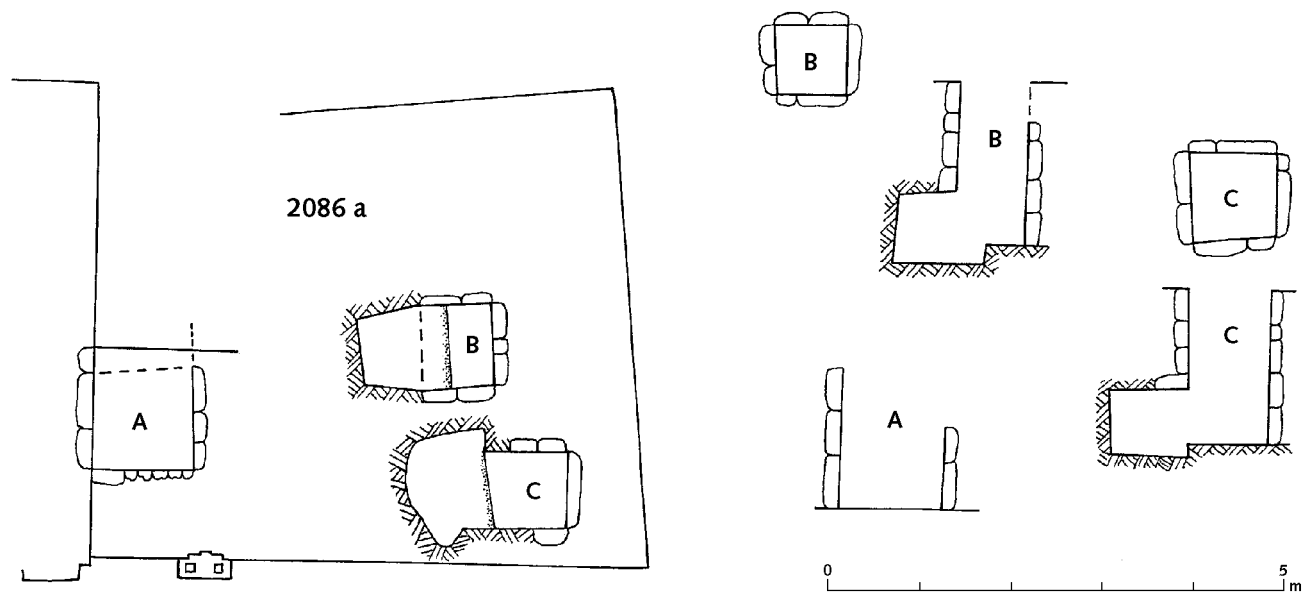


Fig. 27. Outline and shaft plan of g 2086a.

mastaba obscured an earlier cult place, it is perhaps best assigned to Phase iv.

Decoration of the Chapel

According to the Reis's Diary, the cult place of this mastaba was "half of an inscribed limestone stela in sunk relief." Reisner, in *Giza Necropolis 3*, makes no mention of an inscription, and there were apparently no photographs taken of the stela. In 1990, only its very weathered base remained.

ANONYMOUS TOMB: Mastaba g 2087

Summary of Reisner's Description

- Mastaba type: viii c(1) irregular mastaba
3.7–4.55 x 6.75 m
area: 27.81 sq. m; proportion: 1/0.61
height preserved: 1.6 m
facing masonry type: u, east and south
- Chapel type: (5) interior corridor, no niche in west wall
3.2 x 1.0 m
area: 3.2 sq. m; proportion 1/3.2
- Shaft a: 1.1 x 1.05 m; 1.8 m (5 courses) lined with masonry; ends at rock chamber type: 8 a(1) on west. 1.85 x 0.85; height 0.9 m
area 1.57 sq. m; capacity 1.41 cu. m
blocking type: iv d(2)
passage 0.6 x 0.5 m; height 0.65 m
burial pit 1.85 x 0.45 m; 0.15 m deep, lined with masonry
burial: half-contracted skeleton; decayed linen wrappings
- Shaft b: 0.95 x 0.8 m; 2.0 m (7 courses) lined with masonry; ends at rock chamber type: 8 a(2) on east. 1.25 x 0.6 m; height 0.67 m
area 0.75 sq. m; capacity 0.5 cu. m
passage 0.6 x 0.2 m; height 0.5 m without jambs
open and empty
- Shaft c: 0.7 x 0.8 m; 1.4 m lined with rubble; ends at rock chamber type: 8 b(2) on north. 1.0 x 0.6 m; height 0.65 m
area 0.6 sq. m; capacity 0.39 cu. m
no blocking preserved
burial: young contracted skeleton
- Shaft d: 0.95 x 0.55 m; 1.95 m lined with rubble; ends at rock chamber type: 8 a(1) on west. 1.0 x 0.55 m; height 0.75 m
area 0.55 sq. m; capacity 0.41 cu. m
passage 0.55 x 0.3 m; height 0.6 m
blocking type: v c(2); intact
burial: leg-contracted skeleton

Excavation

On April 17, 1938, the expedition began clearing to the north of 2088, removing a matrix of sand, limestone debris, rubble, pebbles, and stones. g 2087 was first noted in the Reis's diary on April 18, when four shafts were revealed between serdab 2 of 2088 and the newly discovered 2086 to the north. By April 21 it had been assigned a number, and its "lining" had been partially cleared.

The shafts were cleared on April 28. The fill of each was different: a contained pebbles and red debris, b contained sand and rubble, c contained sand, rubble, and limestone debris, and d contained pebbles, red debris, and rubble. Intact blocking was present in shafts a and d, which were cleared on April 30.

A fifth shaft was evident on the surface of the mastaba in 1990, along the wall of 2086, west of d. This shaft was apparently not investigated by Reisner's expedition. It is labelled e on the revised plan of the cluster.

Finds

Although no finds were noted during the excavation, a rim from a coarse, Nile-silt ware jar was recorded in 1989 (see fig. 28). A large closed form, probably roughly spherical in shape, the vessel had a rim diameter of 14 cm. The surface is very coarse and rough, with many inclusions and cavities from burnt-out straw temper. Vertical finger grooves can be seen on the interior; the exterior is uneven and was dented before firing. In addition, two model offering vessels and a bowl fragment, all of Nile silt ware, were recorded in 1990.

Architecture

The only exterior wall of the mastaba is on the south and is almost entirely covered by 2088.S2 (fig. 29). Reisner's reference to an eastern facade of u-masonry may refer to the west wall of the corridor chapel, which was only partially preserved at the time of excavation. Reisner's measurements assume there was no recess in this wall, but this is not entirely clear. No eastern facade is visible in the core of 2084. The mastaba is defined primarily by its fill and its shafts.

The mastaba may have originally had a different shape. The wall that was built to close off the courtyard in front of 2086 jogs out to form the north end of 2087's corridor chapel (see pl. 24a). Some

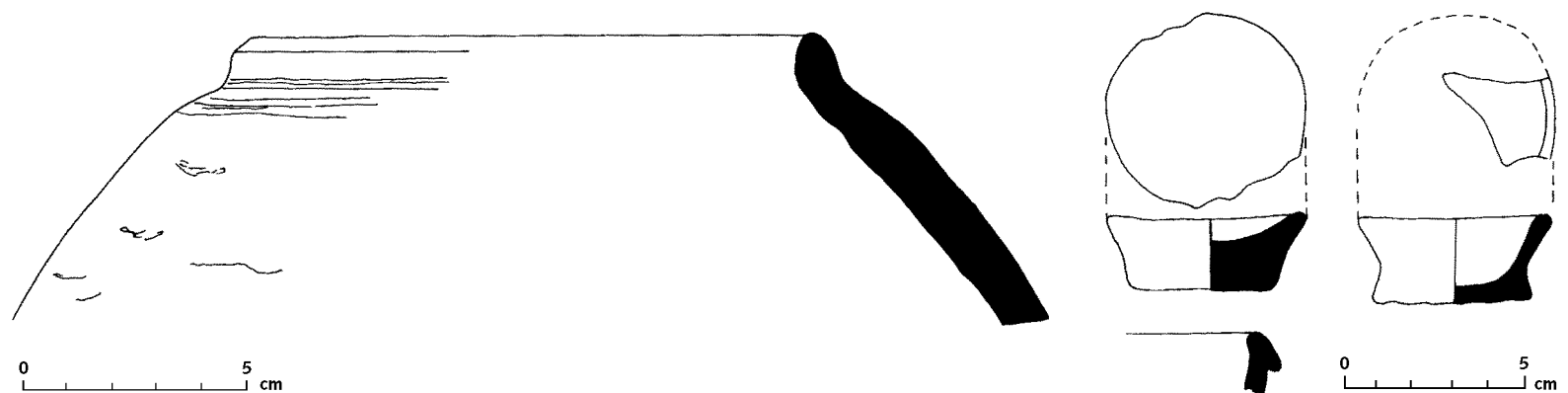


Fig. 28. Rim of Nile-silt ware jar (1989) and two model offering vessels and the rim of a bowl (1990), all from the surface of the body of g 2087.

plaster on the exterior of this wall to the east of that jog (covering a face of the wall now buried by 2084) suggests that this wall at one time received some finishing as an interior wall of a chapel or courtyard. The depth of the jog suggests a doorjamb or pilaster. The decorated jambs on the present southern doorway have notches for the customary drum lintel; the jambs might have originally been set up at the northern end of a lost eastern face of the mastaba, perhaps into a recess created east of the jog, to mark a doorway that led to an L-shaped chapel. The placement of the principal shaft would suggest a false door at the southern end of this hypothetical chapel.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft a (pl. 24b), the principal shaft of the mastaba, may have been meant to be deeper, as its base is roughly excavated below the floor of the chamber, which is at bedrock level. The blocking was rubble bound with mud. The chamber was well built, lined with masonry with plaster filling the joints. The shallow burial pit was also lined with masonry and contained a skeleton on its left side with its head to the north. There were traces of decayed linen wrappings. The skeleton was described by Reisner as half-contracted, but the drawing on the tomb card showed the legs only slightly bent.

Shaft b was also built of masonry on top of the bedrock, with a smaller north-south chamber making an "L" with the base of the

shaft. Its northern shaft wall is the south facade of 2086. It was found open and empty.

Shaft c (pl. 24c-d), a simple masonry shaft and chamber, was also open, although it contained a contracted skeleton, described by Reisner as "young."

Shaft d (pl. 25a), also built against the south facade of 2086, was blocked by a low wall of masonry, topped by a leaning slab, the whole bound with mud. The rectangular, slab-roofed chamber contained a skeleton with contracted legs.

Shaft e, noted in 1990, but not excavated, appeared to be a shaft with rubble walls, built against the north facade of 2086.

Date

The mastaba seems to belong to the middle of Phase ii, and thus can probably be dated to the reign of Izezi.

Decoration of the Chapel

The west wall of the corridor chapel does not survive to a height at which one might expect to see traces of any original decoration. The east wall of the corridor was clearly undecorated, since it can be seen to have been roughly finished two courses above the base of the decoration on the adjacent jamb in one of the excavation photographs (see pl. 23b).

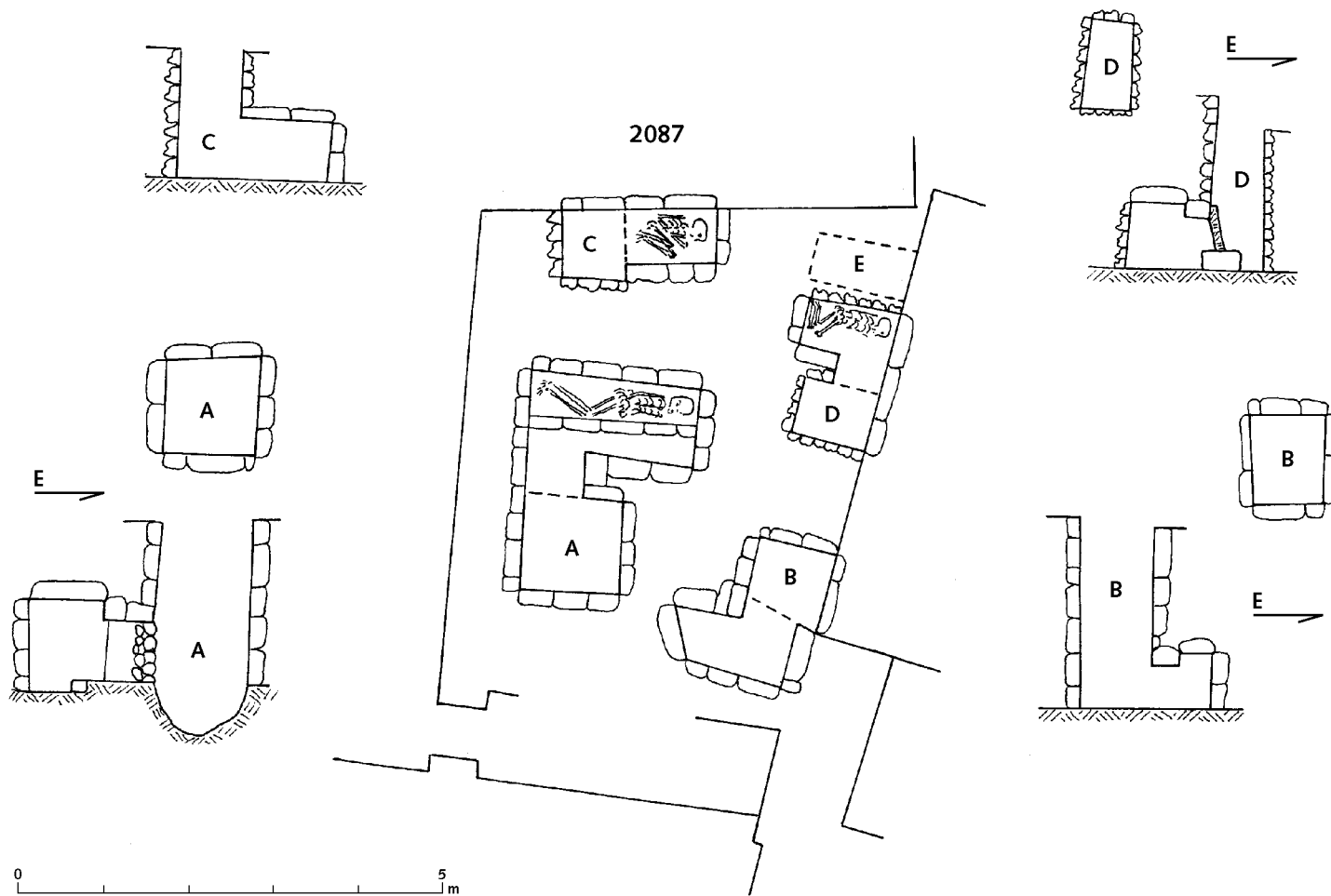


Fig. 29. Outline and shaft plan of g 2087.

Two decorated doorjambs flank the doorway to the south. These jambs were recorded by tracing on textured plastic paper. Both jambs depict the deceased walking out of his tomb, with bare feet, wearing a starched triangular kilt and carrying a staff and handkerchief. On the eastern jamb (pls. 23b and 145b), the baseline is only 36 cm above the base of the jamb. No name is preserved.

On the western doorjamb (pls. 23a and 145a), the area below the figure of the tomb owner is decorated with a scene of a man leading a bull, captioned *rn jw3*, "young bull." This lowers the baseline of the decoration to only 10 cm above the sill. The principal peculiarity of this vignette is its orientation. One would expect the bull to be led into the chapel rather than out of it and towards the tomb owner rather than along with him. A previous placement in the chapel would not explain this orientation, since the juxtaposition of the

tomb owner and the ox would remain. It perhaps reflects some connection with the cult carried out in an adjacent mastaba, 2088.

Conservation (Pamela Hatchfield)

The decorated doorjambs of this tomb are in an advanced stage of weathering. The stone is delaminating, and the upper portions of both the west and east jambs are mostly destroyed. The decoration, carved in raised relief, was finely done but is obscured by severe weathering, especially above the waist level of the figures. A large defect in the stone of the eastern jamb, at the height of the figure's chest, was originally filled with plaster.

The jambs had fallen, and were replaced by conservators supplied by the EAO from the Giza inspectorate during the 1990 field season.

THE TOMB OF KA-KHENT AND PEHEN-PTAH: Mastaba g 2088

Summary of Reisner's Description

Mastaba type: vii b(1)²⁴

original mastaba: [10.5 x 5.9 m]

original area: 61.95 sq. m

facing masonry type: [z]

1st addition: extension and pillared portico

10.5 x 1.85 m (exterior measurements)

area of addition: 19.43 sq. m

facing masonry type: [z]

2nd addition: open court

5.65–6.0 x 5.2 m (exterior measurements)

area of addition: 30.26 sq. m

facing masonry type: [u]

total area: 111.64 sq. m

Original chapel: type (4b)

2.9 x 1.15 m

south stela 0.65 x 0.25 m

north stela 0.64 x 2.7 m

width of recess inside door 1.4 x 0.6 m

area: 3.33 sq. m; proportion: 1/8.52; relation 1/18.6

1st added chapel:²⁵ type (8), exterior corridor

3.3 x 1.1 m, converted later into serdab 1

portico interior 5.25 x 0.9; portico to east side of roof 5.25 x 1.85 m

2nd addition: open court in front of portico

4.9–5.2 x 4.1 m

area: 20.7 sq. m

Additional niche: s. of doorway to room a in e. face of mastaba in the back of the embrasure n. of doorway to room a

Serdab 1: "built by blocking corridor leading to portico."²⁶ Wall 0.65 m thick; a filled wall with [u-masonry on the south, z-masonry on the east and north]. 2.7 x 0.95 m (2.56 sq. m) in area, 2.3 m high. Window slot in south wall (opening onto portico)

Serdab 2: E–W serdab in court: three walls of u-masonry, incorporating n. pillar and n. pilaster of portico. Interior area 1.05 x 2.7 m (2.83 sq. m) in area, 1.85 m high. Window slot in east wall

Shaft a: 1.15 x 1.15 m; 2.45 m (8 courses) in masonry; -4.4 m in rock chamber type: 5 a(1) on east; 2.1 x 1.4 m; height 1.05 m area 2.94 sq. m; capacity 3.08 cu. m

passage 0.9 x 0.3 m; height 1.05 m

blocking: type v e (1), penetrated

burial pit 1.75 x 0.55 m; 0.5 m deep; roofed with two slabs

burial: removed; fragments of bones, no objects

Shaft b: 0.9 x 0.9 m; 2.55 m lined with rubble; -0.65 m in rock chamber type: 8 b(1) on north. 1.5 x 0.65 m; height 0.7 m area 0.97 sq. m; capacity 0.67 cu. m

floor 0.35 m above rock

passage 0.15 x 0.5 m; height 0.7 m

blocking: interior rubble wall bound with mud

upper part broken away [no type assigned]

burial: half-contracted skeleton, no objects

Shaft c: 0.95 x 0.85 m; 2.0 m lined with rubble; ends in debris chamber type: 8 (destroyed); completely plundered

Shaft d: 0.85 x 0.95 m; 1.6 m lined with rubble; ends at rock chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.1 x 0.7 m; 0.75 high area 0.77 sq. m; capacity 0.57 cu. m

blocking type: v d(2) intact

burial: tightly contracted skeleton, partly decayed

Shaft e: 0.75 x 0.7 m; 2.4 m lined with rubble; ends at rock; two chambers chamber (1) type: 8 b(2) on north. 1.3 x 0.65 m; 0.95 high area 0.84 sq. m; capacity 0.79 cu. m

1.25 m above floor of shaft

chamber (2) type: 8 b(2) on north. 1.05 x 0.7 m; 0.7 high

area 0.73 sq. m; capacity 0.51 cu. m at bottom of shaft

both found open and empty

Shaft f: 0.9 x 0.8 m; 2.45 m lined with rubble; ends at rock

chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.2 x 0.7 m; height 0.75 m

area 0.84 sq. m; capacity 0.63 cu. m

blocking type: vi d(2)

burial: contracted skeleton, skull disjointed by decay

no objects

Shaft x: 1.4 x 1.15 m; 2.25 m lined with masonry on n., w., s.; ends at rock chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 2.0 x 0.65 m; height 0.8 m area 1.3 sq. m; capacity 1.04 cu. m

blocking: not preserved

burial: leg-contracted skeleton

Shaft y: 1.4 x 1.05 m; 1.8 m lined with masonry on n., w., s.; ends at rock chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 2.0 x 0.7 m; height 0.75 m area 1.4 sq. m; capacity 1.05 cu. m

open and empty

Shaft z: 1.25 x 1.05 m; 1.85 m lined with masonry on n., w., s.; ends at rock chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 2.1 x 0.75 m area 1.57 sq. m; capacity 1.41 cu. m

open and empty

Excavation and Finds

Work was begun on g 2088 on April 4, 1938. According to the Reis's Diary, the surface debris consisted of limestone debris, rubble, potsherds, dirty debris, pebbles and stones. As the walls lining southern and eastern faces of the mastaba and the chapel began to emerge, a number of fragments of limestone model figures were found "in the chapel debris." This was later reinterpreted as "room e" and later again renamed "court (c)." The sculpture must have come from the western area of the court, as a massive dump lay over the eastern part of the court and was laboriously excavated later. The model fragments are listed below in the order in which they were described in

²⁴ The beginning of the summary for this mastaba in the *Giza Manuscript* was apparently lost in the gap between the original and corrected typed versions. The type and the mastaba area were taken from page 20 of the summary "List of Finished Mastabas" in the *Giza Manuscript*; the measurements were taken from Floroff's plan and agree with the area given in Reisner's summary.

²⁵ No clear evidence is given in the notes for this "corridor chapel;" the extension was almost certainly a serdab from the very beginning. The reason behind Reisner's reconstruction was probably the large un-inscribed false door at the southern end of the back wall of the portico; however, the dimensions of the "chapel" he gives do not include the portico itself. The false door in any case was almost certainly a Phase iii addition to the mastaba.

²⁶ This area never, in fact, served as a corridor, since the portico would have been entered from the east. There is evidence of only one abutment in the north facade of 2086, that of the construction of the serdab; any blocking would have been visible, since such changes were not camouflaged in z-masonry facades as they were in u-masonry. Moreover, such a corridor would have been extremely peculiar. The evidence points to the fact that the serdab, the columned portico, and the spur wall to the south were all built simultaneously, extending east to the same point and forming a coherent facade, with all exterior faces of stepped masonry. All these elements are designated 2088.S1 in my discussion.

the Reis's Diary.²⁷ It may represent the order in which they were encountered and offer a clue to their stratigraphic relationship.²⁸

38-4-1a (see fig. 30) Headless limestone statue of a seated man in 10 pieces. (The upper torso was found later.) The proper right side of the chair is inscribed vertically with the name *Nfr-hn-nswt*. The kilt is painted white and the body is painted brown. A negative area of paint indicates that the man wore a broad collar, but no trace of its color is preserved.²⁹ Dimensions: height 30 cm; length 23 cm; width 13 cm. Provenience: debris of court c



Fig. 30. g 2088: Small statue, 38-4-1, from the registration drawing.

(b) is preserved only below the waist. She stands, knees slightly bent, grasping a tall pestle with which she pounds the grain in the hollow in front of her. Her name is written vertically alongside her: *ḥnbj-m-ḥs*. Such grain-processing tasks would be required for the making of either bread or beer. Dimensions: height (of a) 25.5 cm; length 26 cm; width 19 cm. Provenience: Only the torso of (a) was found in the "chapel debris." According to Reisner's description most was found in the debris of the portico (which is included in court c); the pestle was found in serdab 1, which was thus probably the original position of the model

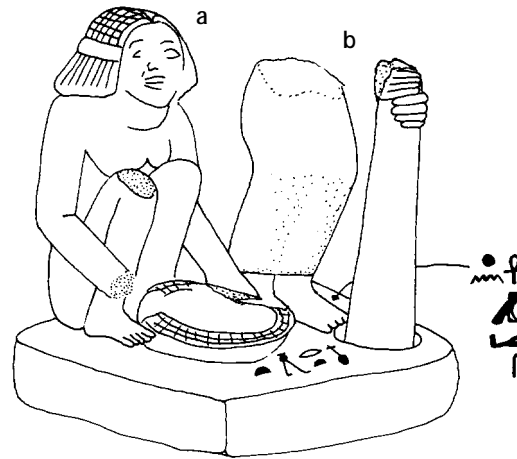


Fig. 32. g 2088: Model of two women, one pounding grain and the other sifting, from the registration drawing, 38-4-2.

38-4-6 (see pl. 32a and fig. 31a) Limestone torso of a female statue, depicting a woman grinding grain.³⁰ Her flesh was colored yellow, and her white tunic has a shoulder strap on the left, leaving her right breast exposed. It was outlined in red. Three parallel black lines remain of her necklace. Dimensions: length of torso 12+ cm; width 9.6 cm; thickness 5.7 cm. Provenience: court c of 2088

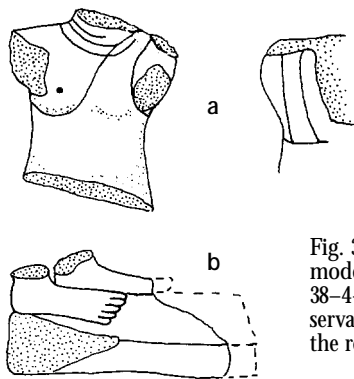


Fig. 31. g 2088: (a) Fragment from a model of a woman grinding grain, 38-4-6, and (b) fragment of base of male servant statue, 38-4-11. Both are from the registration drawing.

38-4-11 (see pl. 32a and fig. 31b) Limestone fragment of a black-painted base with parts of two feet, the left striding forward. The feet are red, so this was probably a male servant statue. Dimensions: length 10.2 cm; width 10.4 cm; height 5.6 cm Provenience: Found in court c

The objects recovered also included "fragments of arms, feet, and bases of those statuettes, and some still unidentified." Following this discovery, efforts shifted to moving a large dump to the east. On April 8, the east wall of the court had still not been uncovered, but the north wall of the court (the south face of serdab 2) had been partially exposed and another group of statue and model fragments had come to light (see pl. 3a). At least some of these, to judge from the photograph, were located near serdab 2.

38-4-3 (see fig. 33) Limestone model of man cutting up a goose.³² Incised on base is the phrase *ḥm-k3 N-n-ḥnb*, "ka-priest, Nen-ankh." The name is paralleled by a son of Redi, depicted in 2086

38-4-2a (see pl. 32c and fig. 32) Limestone group of two women on one base.³¹ The base is painted black, the bodies of the women yellow, and their dresses white. One woman (a) squats to sieve grain. She wears a black full wig with a red band around the head and a small necklace. Her nipples are painted black. Her name, *Nfrt-jnt*, is written horizontally on the base in front of her. Her companion

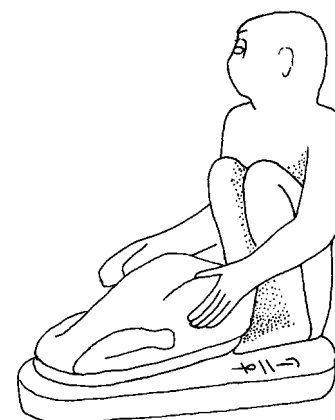


Fig. 33. g 2088: Model statue of a man cutting up a goose, from the registration drawing, 38-4-3.

²⁷ P. 638. The diary gave only brief descriptions; the registration numbers have been added at a later date.

²⁸ The descriptions are taken from the registration list and Reisner's *Giza Manuscript*. They thus include the entire object in some cases where only part of it was found in the "chapel debris." Where the findspot listed in the registration book differs from that in the Reis's Diary, the difference is noted. It may be attributable either to confusion that developed between the discovery of a piece and its registration, or to a change in the interpretation of the provenience.

²⁹ This statuette is currently in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

³⁰ This model has been discussed by J.H. Breasted, Jr., *Egyptian Servant Statues*, Bollingen Series 13 (Washington, DC, 1948), p. 19.

³¹ This model is now in the Cairo Museum. It has been published in Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, p. 29 and pl. 29a.

³² Ibid., p. 43 and pl. 142d.

38-4-8 (see pl. 32a and fig. 34) Limestone model of male torso, bending over. A wide raised belt is preserved

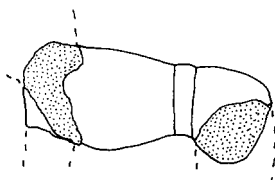
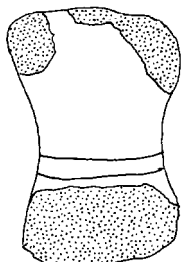


Fig. 34. g 2088: Fragment of male servant model, from the registration drawing. 38-4-8.



38-4-2b (see pl. 32c and fig. 32) Limestone model of woman pounding grain (see entire model described above)

38-4-1b (see fig. 30) Upper part of seated male statue of limestone

38-4-2a (see pl. 32c and fig. 32) Head of woman sieving grain (see entire model described above)

38-4-9 (see pl. 32a and fig. 35) Front of base of female statue (two feet). It belongs to 39-4-25 (which was found outside this cluster), which has the name *hm-k3 N-n-j*, "ka-priest, Neni," incised on the front of the chair left of her legs. See also 38-4-16

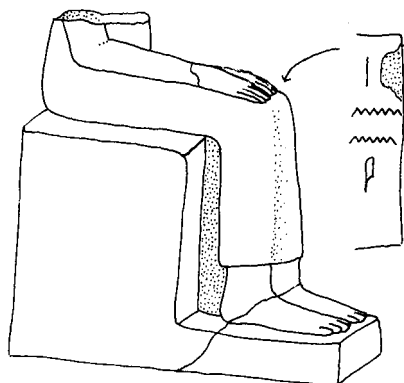


Fig. 35. g 2088: Headless female statue, from the registration drawing. 39-4-25, 38-4-9, and 38-4-16.

38-4-2 Base of double grain-processing model (see entire model described above)

38-4-11 Fragment of base of statue (attaches to more of base, above)

38-4-7 (see pl. 32a and fig. 36) Upper legs of bending female figure

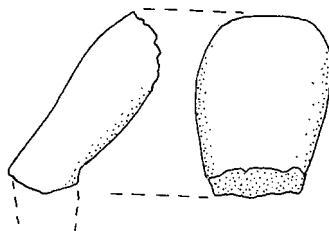


Fig. 36. g 2088: Lower torso of female model, from the registration drawing. 38-4-7.

38-4-2 Part of arm from double grain-processing model (see entire model described above)

Other fragments of statues were also recovered at this time. The following day, clearance continued. All shafts were located, and serdab 1 was cleared. The fill in the serdab was described as "drift sand, broken stones from the roof, dirty debris and limestone debris." In Serdab 1 were found the following models:

38-4-2b Pestle of double grain-processing model

38-4-10 (see pl. 32a and fig. 37a) Head of a female statue without wig, possibly a child with a lost pigtail

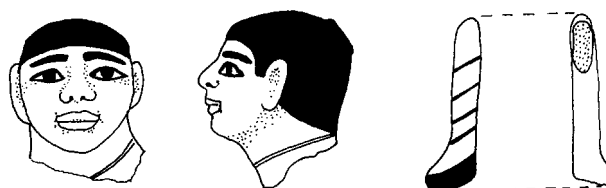


Fig. 37. g 2088: (a) Head of female statue, possibly a child, from the registration drawing. 38-4-10; and (b) fragment of a sidelock, 38-4-14.

38-4-17 (see fig. 38) Fragments of yellow limestone model table with hand attached.³³ An inscription on the base identifies the hand's owner as *K3-tzw*

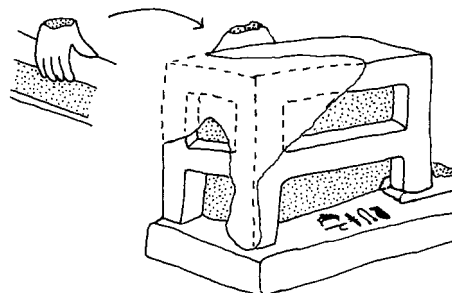


Fig. 38. g 2088: Model of table with hand of servant attached, from the registration drawing. 38-4-17.

38-4-21 Fragments of plaster from wooden statues, from both serdabs. These probably include those removed during later work by W.S. Smith in both serdabs as well as those found in the initial clearance of serdab 1

38-4-19 (see fig. 39) Fragment of rectangular basin

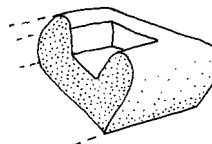


Fig. 39. g 2088: Fragment of model basin, from the registration drawing. 38-4-19.

Serdab 2 was cleared on April 10. The fill was described as limestone debris, black debris, and sand. Many plaster fragments from wooden statues were removed from the serdab, but apparently not registered. Two more fragments of limestone statues were registered. 38-4-4 (see pl. 33b and fig. 40) Upper part of a bending female limestone statue with necklace and collar. Her head is covered by a cloth, so she was probably grinding grain.



Fig. 40. g 2088: Head from model of a woman grinding grain, from the registration drawing. 38-4-4.

³³ Ibid., p. 104.

38-4-5 (see pl. 32d and fig. 41) Partially nude male limestone statue carrying jars.³⁴ This figure is paralleled by a completely nude, dwarf-like figure in the same pose from mastaba g 7715.

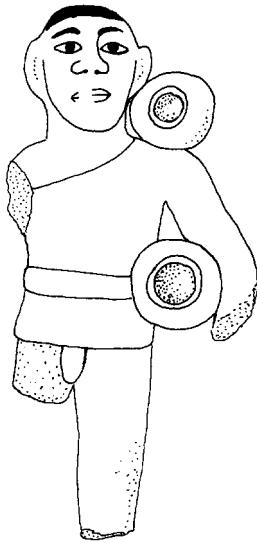


Fig. 41. g 2088: Model of a man carrying jars, from the registration drawing. 38-4-5.

Work on 2088 continued through May 13th, during which time its shafts were cleared and the huge mound of debris that covered the eastern end of the mastaba was removed so that the work could continue eastward.

Shaft a is recorded as having been filled with drift sand, limestone debris, rubble, and sand. The Reis's Diary for April 14 records a break on the north side of the shaft leading into the chamber of shaft b. Since the chamber of shaft b is much further south, it may have been the chamber of an otherwise unrecorded shaft behind the northern false door, noted in 1990 and later cleared by the EAO. (Masonry indicating its position is shown on the revised plan.) The chamber of 2088 a was partially blocked and filled with sand.

Shaft b contained sand, limestone debris, dirty debris, and pebbles. The rubble blocking of the chamber was intact except for a space at the top. The shaft continued down into the bedrock below the chamber entrance, and was filled with limestone debris and rubble. Shaft c ends above the roof of chamber b and had no chamber of its own. It was filled with limestone debris, rubble, pebbles, dirty debris, and stones. Shaft d contained the same type of fill, except for the stones. Its blocking was intact. Shaft e was filled with limestone debris, rubble, pebbles, and red debris. It had two chambers, one above the other, and neither with surviving blocking. Shaft f was filled with the same materials, however, its blocking was intact.

The shafts built between the west face of 2088 and the east face of 2089 were also cleared at this time. Shaft 2088 x, 2088 y and 2088 z were all filled only with drift sand. There was no blocking in any of them, although shaft y contained a body. The alabaster statue fragment found in the same shaft is almost certainly from somewhere else, as is the limestone fragment inscribed with a text in sunk relief (*jmj-r st hntjw-š [pr-š]*, "assistant overseer of palace [attendants]") taken from the top of shaft z (pl. 152c). The latter fragment was not assigned a registration number.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 58 and pl. 50c.

38-4-31 (see fig. 42) Alabaster fragment from pleated kilt of life-sized statue; l. 21 cm; w. 3.3 cm; th. 6.7 cm

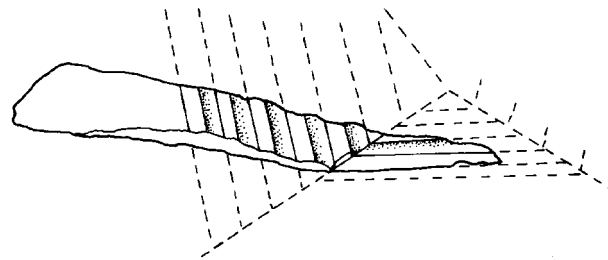


Fig. 42. g 2088: Fragment from the pleated kilt of a calcite statue, from the registration drawing. 38-4-31.

The court of 2088 was not completely cleared until the expedition returned to the area in March of 1939. According to the Reis's Diary, they cleared court (c) and then moved south of the mastaba, "removing the debris and searching for new mastabas." The list of finds, again following the Reis's sequence, is as follows:

39-3-3 (see fig. 43) Limestone base with yellow feet of model, inscribed *stj-mw*, "pouring water," or, more probably, the common personal name "Seti-mu," since the broken circular area would be most consistent with a model of straining mash; l. 23.6; w. 10.2; th. 6.6

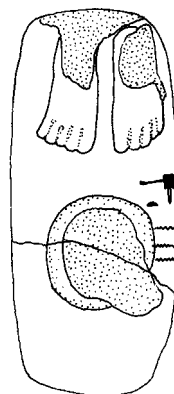


Fig. 43. g 2088: Base of model figure, probably female, from the registration drawing. 39-3-3.

39-3-4 (see pl. 33a and fig. 44) Fragment of limestone that was fitted on a model of a servant straining mash for the making of beer. (The rest of this statue, excepting the head, was eventually found in room c; see below. Total measurements: h. 27.5 cm; w. 10.5 cm; l. 22.5 cm)

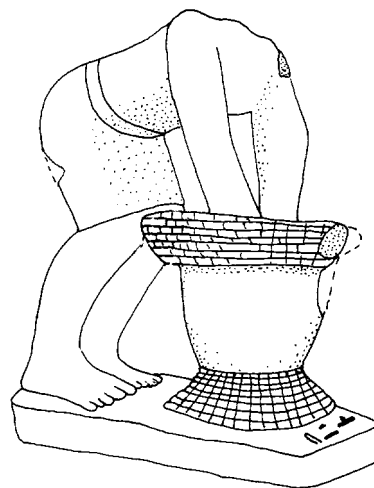


Fig. 44. g 2088: Model figure of a man making beer, from the registration drawing. 39-3-4.

— Four fragments of arms of small limestone statues with traces of red paint. (These presumably could be attached to extant models from elsewhere in the mastaba)

39-3-2 (see fig. 45) Fragment of the relief, showing the belt of a man's kilt and the end of the tie extending above it, and perhaps the line of a leopard skin; h. 14 cm; w. 9 cm; th. 4.8 cm

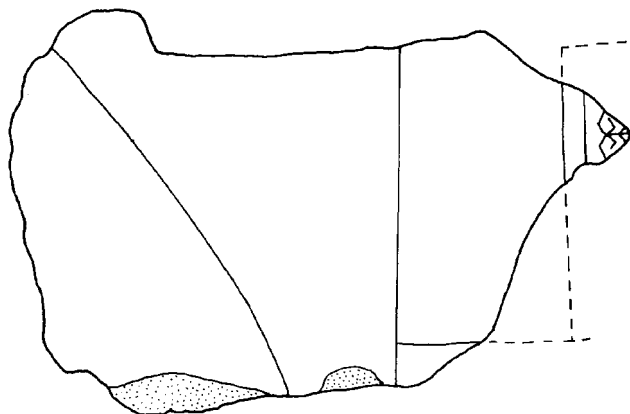
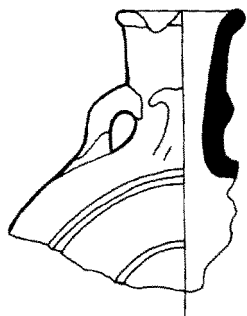


Fig. 45. g 2088: Fragment of raised relief, showing a man's belt, from the registration drawing. 39-3-2.

39-3-1 (see fig. 46) Gray ware pilgrim flask fragment, from the registration drawing. 39-3-1.



Apparently in room c itself was found:

39-3-4 (see fig. 44) Headless model of a brewer, straining mash into a beer jar, inscribed *htp.n.s(?)*. This very fragmentary piece may contain pieces from the area south of the mastaba as well

The following objects were not recorded in the Reis's Diary, but were recorded in the registration book with proveniences in and around the superstructure of 2088.

From the inner chapel (a):

38-4-12 (see fig. 47) Part of a limb. (This object is described in the Reis's Diary and the registration book as the lower half of a limestone statue of a seated woman. It is unclear why it was thought to be female. It may represent a leg)

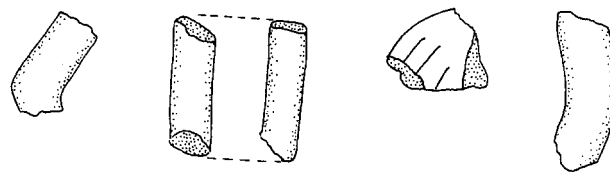
38-4-13 (see fig. 48) Fragment of an arm, painted red (= male)

38-4-14 (see fig. 37 b) Fragment of a sidelock

38-4-15 (see fig. 35) Hand from seated female statue 39-4-25. See also 38-4-9

38-4-16 (see fig. 49) Fragment of a limestone right hand of a larger female figure

38-4-18 (see fig. 50) Arm fragment, possibly of 38-4-17



Figs. 47-50 (left to right). g 2088: (47) Leg fragment of a seated woman(?), 38-4-12; (48) arm fragment 38-4-13; (49) fragment of the right hand of a larger female figure, 38-4-16; and (50) arm fragment, 38-4-18. All from registration drawings.

38-4-22 (See fig. 51) Lower part of badly eroded male statue

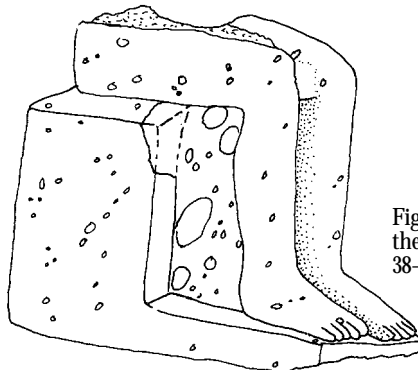


Fig. 51. g 2088: Lower part of badly eroded male statue. 38-4-22.

From court c:

38-4-26 (see fig. 52) Ostrakon



Fig. 52. g 2088: Ostrakon, from the registration drawing. 38-4-26.

From several places in 2088:

38-4-20 Small fragments of models

While the breaking and dispersal of these model fragments makes it difficult to determine with certainty where they were originally placed, it can probably be assumed that when fragments of a statue are found in one of the serdabs, that serdab was the entire statue's original provenience. Serdab 1 thus probably contained models of two women processing grain (38-4-2), a man lifting a table (38-4-17), a small child (38-4-10) and a rectangular basin (38-4-19); while serdab 2 contained models of a woman grinding grain (38-4-4) and a man carrying jars (38-4-5). Other models cannot be located in one serdab rather than the other. These include models of a man cutting up a goose (38-4-3), two or three statues of brewers (38-4-8, 39-3-3, and 39-3-4), and two other statues of women grinding grain (38-4-6 and 38-4-7). Both serdabs also contained the decayed remains of wooden figures, probably larger-scale statues of the tomb owner and his family. The statues of seated figures (38-4-9/38-4-15/

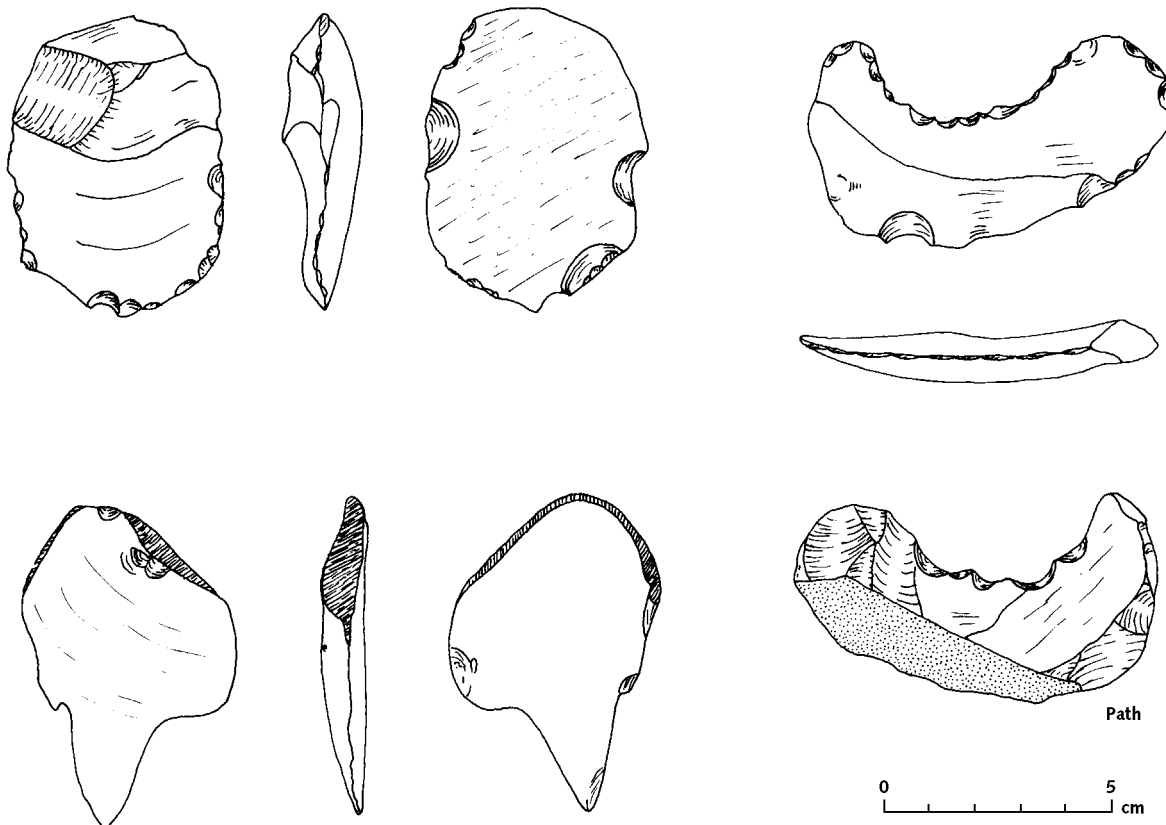


Fig. 53. Worked lithic material from the surface of g 2088 and the path to the south.

39-4-25, 38-4-1, and 38-4-22) may have been from one or another of the serdabs; alternatively, they may have been set up in the courtyard.

In addition to the finds of the Reisner expedition, a number of ceramic and lithic materials were noted in 1989 on the surface of the mastaba fill. Fig. 53 illustrates an oval flake of brown-yellow flint with unifacial retouch and a dorsal surface almost entirely covered with cortex. Nearby was found a shaped brown flint flake, with little additional retouching. From the path near this mastaba came a

spoke-shave, with a bifacially retouched inner curve, and again considerable cortex remaining on one face.

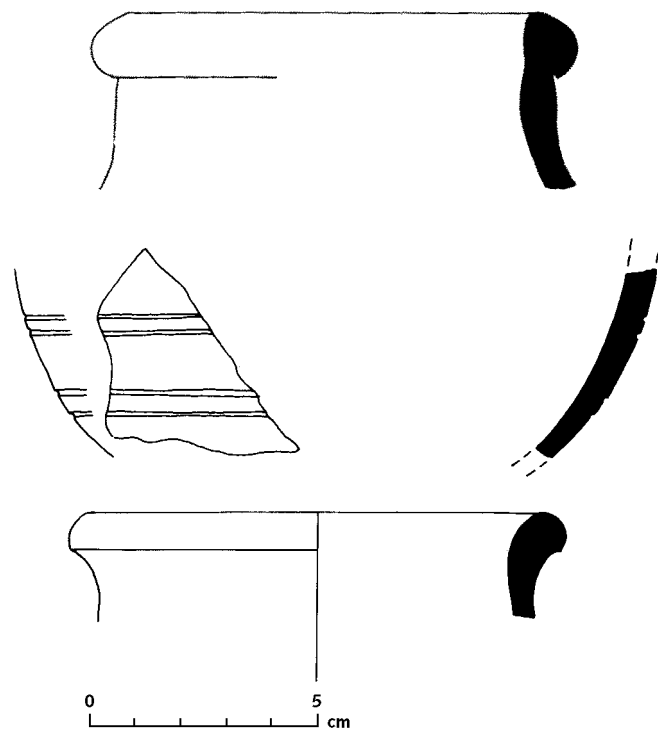


Fig. 54. Ceramic material from the surface of g 2088.

Three fragments of ceramic vessels were also found on the surface of the mastaba (see fig. 54). The rolled rim and neck of a soft marl clay jar had a few small inclusions of mica, shell, and bone, and

A CEMETERY OF PALACE ATTENDANTS

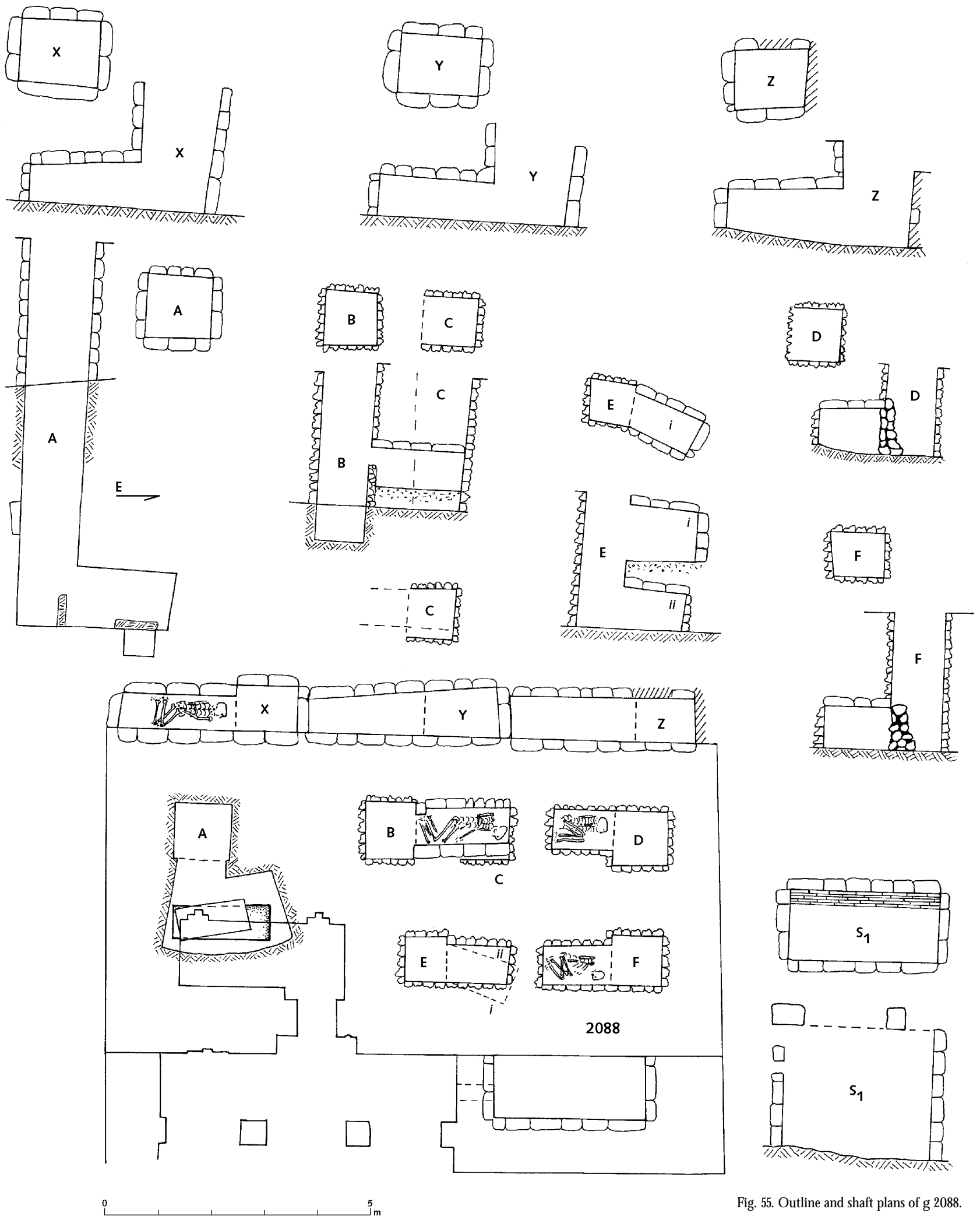


Fig. 55. Outline and shaft plans of g 2088.

very occasional straw cavities. The core of the clay was pink, but the surface was creamy white, and the exterior was whiter still, perhaps as the result of efflorescence. Another fragment comes from an open bowl with incised horizontal decoration. The fabric is mixed, and the clay appears to have been evenly fired, and perhaps over-fired. The third fragment is a cup or bowl with very thin sides and a thicker flaring rim. It had a fine Nile Silt fabric, with a dense temper of crushed bone or shell, and its outer surface was burnished red.

Architecture

Mastaba g 2088 was built on an independent site, and was probably among the earliest in the cluster (fig. 55). It was probably built simultaneously with 2089, the undecorated mastaba behind it, because their dimensions and plan are almost identical, and they are aligned.

It was built in several phases, but retained its orientation to the east and south, probably because northern access had already been blocked by the time of Phase ii by other constructions. The earliest form of 2088 was identical to 2089 to its west: a rectangular mastaba with stepped (z-masonry) facing, with a recessed entrance in the southern half of its eastern facade giving onto an "L"-shaped offering chapel with two false doors. Like 2089, the principal shaft was built directly behind the southern false door, with a burial chamber oriented towards the chapel. The northern false door has no serdab slot just below the lintel as 2089 does; instead there is a shaft directly behind it (see below).

Both false doors in the L-shaped chapel are of single blocks of stone. The southern example has outer jambs 10 cm wide, and a tablet of 36 cm wide x 40 cm high without apertures, set back 10 cm from the outer jambs. The lower lintel is also set back from the outer jambs, although less so, and is 20 cm high. Below it, the inner jambs and the niche are all 12 cm wide, the jambs being set back further from the lintel and the central niche an additional 12 cm deep. The base of the drum lintel is 15 cm below the base of the lower lintel. The south door is similarly proportioned, giving an impression of verticality and depth. The jambs do not diverge noticeably from the vertical. Notches in the upper courses of the north and south walls of the chapel above the top of the false doors suggest that both these doors and the scene between were topped by a single projecting lintel, like that in 2091.

Before the end of Phase i, the original mastaba was expanded by the addition of a serdab to the east of the north end of the eastern facade, creating a new eastern facade, also cased in stepped masonry. The recessed original facade around the doorway was transformed into the back wall of a portico by a stepped spur wall extending the southern facade of the mastaba. The abutment of the stepped masonry additions to the original mastaba can be clearly seen in both the north and the south faces of the mastaba (see pls. 25d and 136). The portico had two square columns set slightly back from the line of the new facade and two pilasters set level with them on the end walls. The serdab slot opened in the north wall of the portico recess. It was horizontal, about 25 cm high by 30 cm wide. It is difficult to date this addition, although the reconstruction of the lintel of the portico sug-

gested below implies that it was done by the original owner. A similar portico was added to the north side of 2092+2093 early in Phase ii.

The next addition is almost certainly to be dated within Phase ii. It is a serdab built against the north wall of 2087, which had in turn been built against 2088's new eastern facade, extending south to the edge of the portico and east along 2086 and the wall enclosing its new courtyard. The new serdab incorporated the northern pillar of the portico as its southwest corner. Its slot opened at the eastern end, presumably oriented to be accessible to the path that ran south between 2230 and 2085, leading to the southern cemetery. The slot was narrow and vertical, 30 cm high and only 8 cm wide at its outer edges, and widened only slightly inside.

The final alteration converted the rectangle of space east of the portico as far as the entrance to 2087 into an open courtyard. It left only a very narrow space in front of the slot of the serdab built in the preceding phase, which is the principal argument for interpreting these two stages as sequential rather than simultaneous. The placement of its door at the southern end of the east wall of this enclosure suggests that traffic was again perceived as coming from the southeast. This would date the extension to Phase iii. Only a few courses of the walls built around the court are preserved, but they seem to have been of u-masonry, rather than the stepped z-masonry used for the earlier parts of the building. They may never have extended to the full height of the mastaba. This area was almost certainly never roofed, as its width is too great to have been spanned by limestone blocks.

This extension was almost certainly built by Pehen-Ptah, the son of the original tomb owner, who is depicted on one of the doorjambs of the entrance to the new courtyard. To judge from the area cut away for the drum lintel, he faced into the chapel, raising his hand in greeting to his father. He is presumably also responsible for the orthostats facing and leveling the doorway to the original chapel (pls. 27a-c, and 30b), and the false door at the southern end of the portico, both of which show the same vein of soft whiter limestone that appears in the east wall of the court (see pl. 25 b-c). This filling in of the door recess would not have been necessary before the portico was converted to an internal space by closing off the southern approach with a wall. This relationship has implications for the dating of the whole cluster, since apparently the time between the beginning of Phase i and the beginning of Phase iii did not extend beyond two generations.

Pehen-Ptah's false door (pl. 27b) was in marked contrast to that of his father, being less deep and less vertical. Again, however, an upper lintel is missing. The door is 30 cm north of the south wall of the courtyard, and seems to angle right at the bottom following its slight batter. The outer jambs are 18 cm wide, and the tablet is 55 cm wide x 40 cm high, and flanked by apertures 7 cm wide and 3 cm deep. Below a lintel 17 cm high are 28-cm-wide inner jambs, and a central niche 12 cm wide. The drum lintel extends 12 cm below the base of the lower lintel. The left edge of the right inner jamb is noticeably bowed, narrowing the central niche. There is considerable plaster on and around the false door, but no discernible decoration.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft a (pl. 33c) had a deep rock-cut chamber with a burial pit cut in the floor. The lid of the pit was two slabs of stone. The southern slab was in place, but the northern one had been moved aside. The pit was empty, but fragments of bone were found in the chamber.

Shaft b descended into the bedrock, but the chamber itself was built in the fill, with its floor 30 cm above the surface of the bedrock. The blocking wall, built of rubble and mud, had been broken away at the top. The chamber contained a skeleton with contracted legs (Reisner calls it “half contracted”). This burial may be connected to the small false door of *ḥntjw-š* that was set into the northern embrasure of the door to the chapel.

Shaft c appears to be less of a burial shaft than a construction shaft or an access shaft to the chamber of shaft b. It has no separate chamber, and the wall separating it from shaft b has now collapsed.

Shaft d had a small rubble-built chamber built on the surface of the bedrock. It was blocked with an intact rubble wall, and contained a tightly contracted skeleton (pl. 34b).

Shaft e (pl. 34a) had two chambers in its north face. The lowest, E(2) rested on the bedrock and was built of rubble. The upper chamber, E(1), rested on fill, some directly over the roof of E(2). Both were open and neither contained human remains or grave goods. This shaft might also have been constructed in conjunction with the stela of *ḥntjw-š* in the northern embrasure of the chapel entrance; but shaft b is an equally likely candidate.

Shaft f was very much like shaft d, both in form and contents. The chamber and blocking were both constructed of rubble, and the skeleton in the chamber was tightly contracted (pl. 34c). (Reisner calls it “contracted.”)

Shafts x, y, and z were built to the west of 2088 and the east of 2089. Each had a well-built masonry chamber with a bedrock floor on the south of the shaft, with no surviving blocking. Despite the lack of blocking, a skeleton with contracted legs was preserved in the chamber of shaft x (pl. 35a). An alabaster fragment of the pleated kilt of a life-sized statue was found in the debris in the same shaft (38–4–31; fig. 42). Shafts y and z contained no human remains, but the architrave block (pl. 152c) inscribed with the title *jmj-r st ḥntjw-š [pr-ḳ]*, mentioned above, was found in the fill of shaft z.

Based on walls noted in our 1990 report to the EAO, a seventh shaft was excavated directly behind the northern false door sometime before July 1994. Its masonry faces were coated with mud plaster in which finger impressions were clearly visible. I could obtain no information about its contents. Based on the Reis’s record of a break in Shaft a (p. 83 above), the chamber was probably to the north.

Date

The earliest part of this tomb can be dated iconographically to the reign of Niuserre. Construction and modification by the tomb owner and his son continued into Phase iii, and thus probably into the reign of Unis.

Decoration of the Chapel

With the exception of the pillars of the portico and the block that remains of its lintel, all decoration in the chapel of 2088 was recorded by tracing enlarged photographs and, where possible, collating the drawings with the remains. The lintel fragment was recorded by direct tracing, since the excavation photograph omits the left edge. The pillars were also traced directly, since the decoration seems to have gone unnoticed by the Reisner expedition and no excavation photographs were taken.

The earliest preserved decoration in the chapel of 2088 is the raised relief decoration carved in the plaster coating the L-shaped chapel of the first building stage, although some additions to this decoration may have been made later.

False doors. Decoration survives on only the northern of the two false doors (pls. 26a–c and 146a), and only at the very base of the outer panels where the plaster survives: on the right ... *šḥd ḥntjw-š*³⁵ *Kḳ-ḥnt*, “... inspector of [palace] attendants;” and on the left ... *pr-ḳ Kḳ-ḥnt*, “... of the palace, Ka-khent.”

West Wall. The wall between the false doors has been disassembled and the blocks were found lying in the courtyard to the east. They were reassembled on paper and are so shown in pls. 29 and 148. At the left, the tomb owner can be seen seated at a table of tall loaves. He wears a long wig, a beard, a broad collar, and a wrapped kilt. With one hand he clutches a handkerchief to his breast; with the other he reaches out to the table. Before his face are his name and titles: *šḥd ḥntjw-š pr-ḳ, ḥb-nswt Kḳ-ḥnt*, “inspector of palace attendants, king’s acquaintance, Ka-khent.” Beneath the offering table is a man on a much smaller scale, presenting a foreleg, presumably derived from one of the two animals shown in butchering scene to the right. Above this is a register showing two men presenting incense and strips of cloth, and behind them, two pairs of men carrying trays of offerings. Another pair is similarly occupied in the register above, followed by a man carrying something on his shoulders. These figures are sandwiched in between the oversized offerings that entirely fill the upper register. The first and last of the three men in the third register are labelled with what are probably personal names: *Rḫ* (or perhaps *Rmḫ*) and ... *nn-...-kḳ-n* (perhaps Ka-en-tjenent?). These texts are in sunk relief, and may have been added to the scene some time after its original production.

East Wall. The scene on the east wall opposite is still in place, though it is now considerably more fragmentary than the photograph taken at the time of excavation (see pls. 28 and 147). It also shows Ka-khent seated before a table of offerings, in this case on the right and wearing a starched triangular kilt. The vertical lines under his chair, which would not fit his own legs, probably represent the legs of his wife or mother seated beside him. There is only a single trace remaining of the text in front of his face. The two upper registers are again filled with oversized offerings, and below them are two pairs of men bringing trays of offerings. The lowest register shows a

³⁵ The reversal of the *t* of *ḥnt* and the final *š* is not unusual.

table bearing a bird directly beneath the table, and to its left, a seated man labeled *z3.f smsw*, “his eldest son,” whose name has been lost, but who has been given a further title in sunk relief directly before this text: *hntj-š pr-ḳ*.³⁶ This may be the son Pehen-Ptah who is responsible for later constructions in this tomb, already a member of the hierarchy in which he was to surpass his father. Seated behind him is a figure playing a harp, labeled *z3.f...hw*, “his son(?) ...khu.” (The text is faint enough to allow the possibility that this was a daughter.) The second harpist appears to be female, as does the name attached to the figure, so the caption should probably be restored *z3[ḫ].f St.s-k3w*, “his daughter Seteskau.” The two women seated behind her are clearly daughters, labelled *z3.f smsw[ḫ]*, “his eldest daughter.” The first appears to be named *Nfrt-sr(?)*; the last two signs are uncertain, and it would be tempting to read the signs *Nfrt-jnt*, equating her with the woman who is sieving grain in the double model 38-4-2.³⁷ The second is labeled with an intrusive sunk name that partly obscures the *smsw* sign, *Nj-ḳnb-Hwt-Hr*, Niankh-Hathor.

The north wall seems to have been plastered, so presumably the south wall was as well. No decoration survives, however, on either wall.

A drum lintel in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago (accession number 31733) bears the name *šḫd hntjw-š pr-ḳ K3-hnt*.³⁸ The name is not rare, but it is more often written with a *k* than the *k3* sign used on the Field Museum’s drum and in 2088. Given the identical title, it is tempting to restore this lintel over the entrance to the L-shaped chapel of 2088. The drum lintel’s measurements, 79 cm in length, 28 cm in height, and about 10 cm deep, would not conflict with such a restoration. The arrangement of the signs of the title of the drum is identical to that on the architrave of Ka-khent’s son. (Ka-khent’s own texts spell the title in a variety of different ways.) If it is from this mastaba, however, it must have been removed in antiquity, since it was purchased in Cairo in 1898. The drum may also derive from another mastaba altogether.

Pillared Portico. Decoration is more scattered in the later phases of the mastaba. The two pillars of the portico are both inscribed with sunk relief figures of a man in a starched kilt, apparently empty-handed (pl. 146b). The decoration on the northern pillar is still partially obscured by the later serdab. These pillars were probably spanned by a lintel, of which the left-most third is preserved in a fragment bearing the raised relief inscription ... *[j]m3ḫw hr nḫr ḳ K3-hnt*, “... venerated before the great god, Ka-khent” (pls. 30a and 149). The dimensions of this piece correspond to the dimensions of the pillars and it has a protrusion at the bottom left that would fit into a recess in the top of the southern column. It also has what appears to be half of a butterfly joint on the underside of this protrusion. If this

restoration is correct, it would imply that 2088.S1 was constructed by Ka-khent himself.

It would be tempting to see the block of similar dimensions bearing the title *jmj-r st hntjw-š [pr-ḳ]*, “assistant overseer of [palace] attendants” found at the top of shaft 2088 z (pl. 152c), as part of the right span of this same lintel, since it would imply that the expansion of the mastaba was coincident with a promotion; however, this inscription was in sunk rather than raised relief. If it was a part of this lintel, one must assume that the title was acquired after its erection and was changed in a different style of carving, just as additional names and titles were added in sunk relief to the raised relief scenes in the L-shaped chapel. While this is possible, it seems simpler to assume that this block came from a part of the mastaba built by Ka-khent’s son, Pehen-Ptah, who is known to have had that title, or from elsewhere in the cluster.

A secondary false door (pl. 27b) was placed in on the west wall of the portico left of the door to the L-shaped chapel. It has a broad tablet and broad inner jambs, and a narrow central niche and apertures, but no relief decoration. Its surface was covered with plaster; it may have been decorated in paint. To the right of the door, the filling blocks are decorated with a standing figure of a man in sunk relief, presumably either Ka-khent or Pehen-Ptah (pls. 30b and 150). He wears a wrapped kilt, a long wig, and a beard, and carries a staff and *šhm* scepter. Although the figure is well carved and traces of red paint remain on the feet, it seems not to have been entirely finished, since the lower half of the staff has not been carved, nor has the segment of the *šhm* scepter that extends from the hand to the body.

Courtyard. The builder of the second serdab is uncertain, but the wall enclosing the courtyard was almost certainly built by Pehen-Ptah, who built the doorway. The northern doorjamb, which is now displaced but can be restored with certainty based on the position of the notch cut to carry the drum lintel, bears his name and figure in raised relief (pls. 31a and 151). He strides into the courtyard, his right hand raised in greeting to his father, while his left hand holds a handkerchief. He wears a starched triangular kilt, a broad collar, a short wig, and a beard. The text behind his head reads *jmj-r st hntjw-š pr-ḳ Ph.n-Pth*, “assistant overseer of palace attendants, Pehen-Ptah.” This reversal of direction is very rare, but does occasionally occur.³⁹ In this case, it probably reflects the son’s relationship to his father, the original owner of the tomb.

Another block (pls. 31b and 152) bearing the same name and explicitly identifying him as the son of the tomb owner reads *z3.f šḫd hntjw-š pr-ḳ Ph.n-Pth*, “his son, the inspector of palace attendants, Pehen-Ptah.” Pehen-Ptah here bears a lower title than on his doorjamb, so it may be part of an earlier construction in the mastaba. This piece is crudely finished and carved in sunk relief; and there is a major scribal error in its badly spaced hieroglyphs (the name is actually written Pth-Pth, although space has been left for the uncarved *n*

³⁶ Note that the reversal of the *t* and the *š* are exactly parallel to the spelling on the northern false door.

³⁷ Such an occupation for the daughter of a tomb owner is less unlikely than it may at first seem. Other models in this tomb depict two ka-priests, one of whom is probably the eldest son of a neighboring tomb owner and the other a woman with a small intrusive false door in the courtyard of this mastaba. See Chapter 4.

³⁸ I am indebted to Frank J. Yurco, of the Field Museum, for this information, and for his hand copy of the inscription.

³⁹ Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, p. 53 cites two examples: *Kw-nswt*, published in S. Hassan, *Giza 2*, pp. 83–84, dated to the late Fourth or early Fifth Dynasty; and *Jn-ks.f*, published in S. Hassan, *Giza 6/3*, p. 119, and dated to the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty. Therefore this extension probably dates to the late Fifth Dynasty.

and an attempt has been made to obliterate the *t*). The block is only 20 cm thick, too thin to serve as a lintel. The top half of its left edge protrudes 5 cm beyond the bottom half, so it was presumably meant to fit into something; it is difficult to imagine where it could be placed. Reisner considered it to be the lintel of the doorway to (a), which is structurally unlikely; there is no indication whether his restoration was based upon the block's position at the time of its excavation or simply the assumption that a lintel must have come from the most obvious doorway.

The only other decorated part of the tomb is an intrusive false door carved in crude sunk relief and placed to the right of the inner embrasure of the door (pls. 31c and 152b). Traces on its upper edge indicate that its tablet was decorated with the standard figure seated before an offering table. Below, its lower lintel is inscribed *hm-k3 nb.j-m-c.s*, “the ka-priest Ankhimaes”⁴⁰; its right jamb reads *jmshwt nb*, “venerated [before her] lord;” and on the left jamb is *htp-dj-nswt htp-dj-jnpw n k3 n [hm]-k3...*, “May the king give an offering and may Anubis give an offering, for the ka of the ka-[priest]...” This woman's name is also attested on a model of two women processing grain (38-4-2), where the figure so labeled is pounding grain. This suggests that the date of its erection was not more than a generation after the death of the owner of 2088.

Tomb Owner and Dependents

Titles of Ka-khent:

- ... *pr-c3* (false door)
- ... *t shd* (false door)
- shd hntjw-s pr-c3; rb nswt* (west wall)

⁴⁰ The name, “I live from her hand” is a common form. What looks rather like a *nb* basket before the *s* sign may be a mistake, or possibly just a break.

Family:

wife: may be shown seated behind him on the east wall (There is a vertical trace that can only be the front of the leg of a second figure, and the space is adequate for such a restoration.)

daughters: *z3[t].f St.s-k3w* (east wall)

z3.f smswt Nfrt-sr(?) or *Nfrt-jnt* (east wall)

Nj-cnb-Hwt-Hr (sunk relief on east wall)

son: *z3.f Ph.n-Pth* (lintel, doorjamb, possibly chapel)

hntj-s pr-c3 z3.f smsw ... (east wall; initial title added)

child: *z3[t?].f ... hwt* (east wall)

Titles of Pehen-Ptah: *jmj-r st hntjw-s pr-c3* (doorjamb)

z3.f shd hntjw-s pr-c3 (lintel)

Lintel with (sunk) *jmj-r st hntjw-s* may belong to either or neither of the principal tomb owners

Other people mentioned:

in sunk relief on west wall: ... *nm...-k3-n*

Rt or *Rmt*

in sunk relief on east wall, before harpists: *hntj-s* (name lost)

False door (right recess of door to inner chapel): *hm-k3*

nb.j-m-c.s

Statue of seated man (38-4-1): *Nfr-hn-nswt*

Statue of seated woman (38-4-9/15/25): *hm-k3 Nnj*

Female servant figures:

38-4-2 *nb.j-m-c.s* pounding grain (= owner of little false door)

38-4-2 *Nfrt-jnt* sifting grain (= daughter on east wall?)

Male servant figures:

38-3-3 *Stj-mw* straining mash(?)

38-3-4 *Htp.n.s(?)* straining mash

38-4-3 *hm-k3 N-n-cnb* carving goose (= eldest son of Redi)

Conservation (Pamela Hatchfield)

Access to the chapel is not restricted. Some recent mechanical damage was noted, and the chapel would probably benefit from some restriction of public access. The chapel has not been reconstructed in any way.

Inside the chapel, the false doors in the west wall show the remains of plaster and mortar, but are largely detached from the adjacent walls. The west wall of the chapel, between the false doors, has been completely dismantled, and is probably the source of the blocks now littering the courtyard to the east. The east wall of the chapel is still in place, although only fragments of its plaster facing survive. Lines of carving are visible both in the plaster and in the stone.

Plaster remains on the false door set into the facade of the original mastaba, but no decoration is now evident. The surface is very weathered and largely delaminated but still in place. The jambs and pillars of the portico covering this external false door show remains of plaster in a similar condition. To the north of the door, the large figure shown in sunk relief is still fairly finely finished within the sunk area, but the raised surface is quite rough. Traces of mortar remain in the joints between the large stone slabs into which this figure is carved. Large amounts of debris are present in this area.

Several decorated blocks lie face up in the open courtyard to the south. Most of them show mechanical damage, weathering and delamination. In their present state, however, turning them so that the decorated faces are not exposed would dislodge the loose fragments of decorated plaster still adhering to them, so they were left in their current positions.

SUBSIDIARY MASTABAS

g 2088a and g 2088b

Summary of Reisner's Description

2088a

small mastaba intruded in southern half of pillared portico

Mastaba type: xi c(1)

1.9 x 1.9 m

area: 3.61 sq. m; proportion 1/1

height 0.64 m

facing masonry type: [u]

Chapel type: (9d); east face has no niche

Shaft a: 0.8 x 0.5 m; 0.8 m lined with rubble; ends at rock

chamber type 8 a(1) on west; 1.5 x 0.55 m; height 0.65 m

area 0.82 sq. m; capacity 0.53 cu. m

passage 0.55 x 0.2 m; height 0.6 m

open and empty

2088b

mastaba intruded in NE corner of court

Mastaba type: xi c(1)

in court: 1.35 x 1.3 m; between serdab 2 and east wall: 1.55 x 0.8 m

area: 2.99 sq. m

facing masonry type: [u]

Chapel type: no niches

Shaft a: 0.8 x 0.8; 1.4 m lined with crude brick on south and west, uses

existing masonry east and north; ends at rock

chamber type 8 b(1) on north; 1.2 x 0.7 m; height 0.7 m

area 0.84 sq. m; capacity 0.58 cu. m

passage 0.2 x 0.55; height 0.7

blocking type v d+e(2) intact

burial: contracted skeleton of a child, partly decayed; no objects

Excavation

These two subsidiary mastabas, 2088a and 2088b, were uncovered in the course of excavating the courtyard of 2088. The existence of 2088b is noted in the Reis's Diary on April 15, 1938; 2088a is not mentioned but was presumably discovered earlier. Neither of these mastabas had interior chapels; surrounding finds were registered as from 2088.

Architecture

g 2088a was built intrusively in the south end of the portico of the chapel of 2088 (fig. 56), incorporating its southern pillar as part of its

northern facade (pl. 27a). The mastaba was faced with a rough masonry wall; it is not preserved high enough to determine whether it is battered. Its eastern side extends into the courtyard, and Reisner noted that although the eastern facade was exposed, there was no trace of a cult place.

g 2088b was also intrusive, built between serdab 2 in the courtyard of 2088 and that courtyard's southern wall (pls. 5a and 25c). This narrow space had clearly been left open to allow access to the slot of the serdab, on its east face; 2088b obstructed that access. The mastaba extends out into the courtyard 1.35 m, and its southern and western faces are rubble walls. No cult place was visible on either of these faces; the other faces were against earlier constructions.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft 2088a a was a small rubble-built shaft and a masonry chamber using the false door in the facade of 2088 as its western face. It was found open and empty.

Shaft 2088b a was partially built of rubble, but gave access to a chamber built of pre-existing masonry walls. It was blocked by a leaning wall of one slab packed with rubble, and contained the partly decayed contracted skeleton described by Reisner's notes as a child, but which appears from the photograph (pl. 35b) to be fully adult.

Date

g 2088b was built in front of a serdab slot, filling an area between that serdab and a wall that was built during Phase iii of the cemetery's development. It should thus probably be dated to the reign of Unis or later. The obstructive choice of location relates it to several other tombs that I have assigned to Phase iv, which may date to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.

g 2088a was built in front of the false door in the portico of the mastaba. There are no indications of date, but it is likely from the fact that it blocks access to that false door that it also dates to Phase iv.

A CEMETERY OF PALACE ATTENDANTS

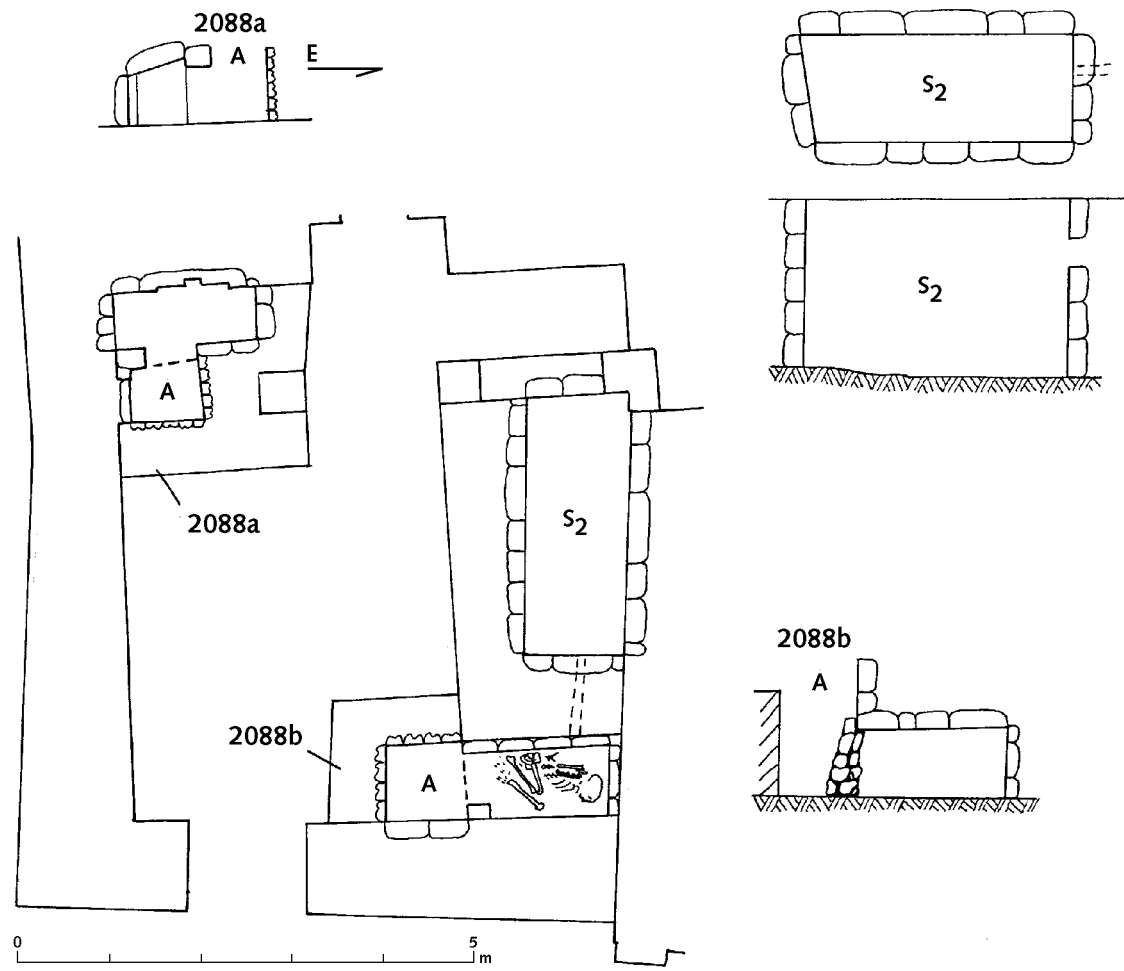


Fig. 56. Outline and shaft plans of g 2088a, g 2088b, and g 2088 S1.

THE TOMB OF NEFER-KED: Mastaba g 2089

Summary of Reisner's Description

- Mastaba type: vii [b] (1)
 10.4 x 5.3 m; height 2.10 m
 area: 55.15 sq. m; proportion: 1/1.96
 area after encroachment by 2091 extension: 41.37 sq. m
 facing masonry type: [z]
- Chapel type: (4b) interior offering room
 2.87 x 0.9⁴¹ m
 area 2.58 sq. m; proportion: 1/3.18; relation 1/21.37⁴²
 south monolithic false door
 north recess 0.45 x 0.05 m; serdab slot [under lintel of false door]
 doorway embrasure: 1.5 x 0.28 m
- Serdab: 1.35 x 0.6 m
- Shaft a: 1.3 x 1.3 m; 1.4 m (4 courses) lined with masonry; -2.95 in rock
 chamber type: 6 a(2) on east. 1.75 x 0.9 m; height 0.9 m
 area 1.57 sq. m; 1.41 cu. m
 blocking type: v e+(2) intact
 coffin: plain wooden box, 1.55 x .70 m; .57 m high
krst lid, .15 m high; thickness of south end, .085 m
 burial: half-contracted skeleton wrapped in linen
- Shaft b: 1.2 x 1.2 m; 1.5 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 7 b(1) on west. 1.15 x 0.35 m; height 0.5 m
 area: 0.4 sq. m; capacity 0.2 cu. m
 burial chamber built into base of shaft; no separate blocking
 burial: leg-contracted skeleton, young, partly decayed
- Shaft c: 0.9 x 1.0 m; 1.6 m lined with rubble; ends in bad rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.1 x 0.75 m; height 0.75 m
 area: 0.82 sq. m; capacity 0.61.
 blocking type: iv e, two vertical slabs bound with mud
 burial: contracted skeleton, partly decayed
- Shaft d: 0.9 x 0.8 m; 1.6 m lined with rubble; ends at bad rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on west. 0.75 x 1.2 m; height 0.75 m
 area: 0.9 sq. m; capacity: 0.67 cu. m
 open and plundered; bones of child in debris
- Shaft e: 0.95 x 0.95 m; 1.7 m lined with rubble; ends at bad rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south; 1.1 x 0.7 m; height 0.75 m
 area: 0.77 sq. m; capacity 0.57 cu. m
 blocking type: v e+(2)
 burial: tightly contracted skeleton; decayed wood, perhaps
 from a coffin
- Shaft x: 1.0 x 0.95 m; 2.3 m (5 courses) lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south; 1.9 x 0.7 m; height 0.95 m
 area: 1.33 sq. m; capacity 1.26 cu. m
 open and empty

⁴¹ The chapel is in fact 1.07 m deep. Floroff seems to have measured the interior wall of the intrusive burial chamber.

⁴² This entire line is incorrect, due to the incorrect depth of the chapel. It should have read "area: 3.07 sq. m; proportion 1/2.7; relation 1/17.9."

Excavation

Excavation east of 2091 was begun on March 30, 1938. After the removal of sand, limestone debris, rubble, and pebbles, the outline and shafts of 2089 appeared on April 2. According to Reisner's account,⁴³ it first appeared that 2089 had been built against the east wall of 2091, but "the examination of the foundations by Mohammed Said" showed that 2091 was built over 2089 and was thus subsequent to it. Further clearance on the east face of the mastaba involved removing the same type of matrix with the additional components of red debris and potsherds. The chapel seems never to have been entirely cleared, since a secondary shaft and burial chamber was built into it and the walls of this are still partially intact.

The preliminary clearance of the shafts took place on April 2 and 3, and the clearance of the burial chambers continued intermittently with pauses for photography until April 27. Shaft a was filled with limestone debris, red debris, pebbles, and rubble; toward the bottom, white limestone debris also appeared. Its blocking was intact. The fill of Shaft b had the same components, with the exception of the white limestone, and its blocking was also intact. The burial chamber was built into the western half of the shaft bottom, and the chamber roof was removed to open the burial chamber. Shafts c, d, and e had the same fill. The blocking was intact in both shafts c and e. Shaft x was filled entirely with drift sand. It had no blocking and was empty.

Finds

Aside from the bones from the shafts, which were registered as 38-4-27, 38-4-17, and 38-4-23 through 38-4-25, the only finds were the coffin and alabaster jar found in shaft a.

38-4-33 The coffin was wooden, with a barrel-vaulted top. One of its sides was removed to allow *in situ* photography of the body. It was left in place

38-4-32 The alabaster jar (fig. 57) bore the inscription *šd hntjw-š pr-š Nfr-kd*, "inspector of palace attendants, Nefer-ked." It was filled with resinous material

Architecture

g 2089 was built as a standard rectangular mastaba with stepped facing and an L-shaped offering chapel (fig. 58). The chapel had two small false doors. In the northern false door a small trapezoidal slot cut in the top of the panel gave access to the serdab (pl. 36b).

When the extension of 2091 was built, the facing and fill of 2089 was removed to a level below the top of its chapel walls (which were left in place. This seems to point to an abandonment of the tomb, although in fact all the shafts were eventually occupied.

The placement of this extension wall of 2091 across shaft b and over the corner of shaft c (pl. 40d) is clear evidence that these shafts were built, and probably sealed, prior to the beginning of Phase ii, when the wall was built. This would contradict Reisner's conclusion that most shafts date to the Sixth Dynasty. (He assigns shaft c to type 8, which he considers to be a Sixth Dynasty form, although it clearly is not.)

⁴³ *Giza Manuscript*, Chapter L, p. 139.

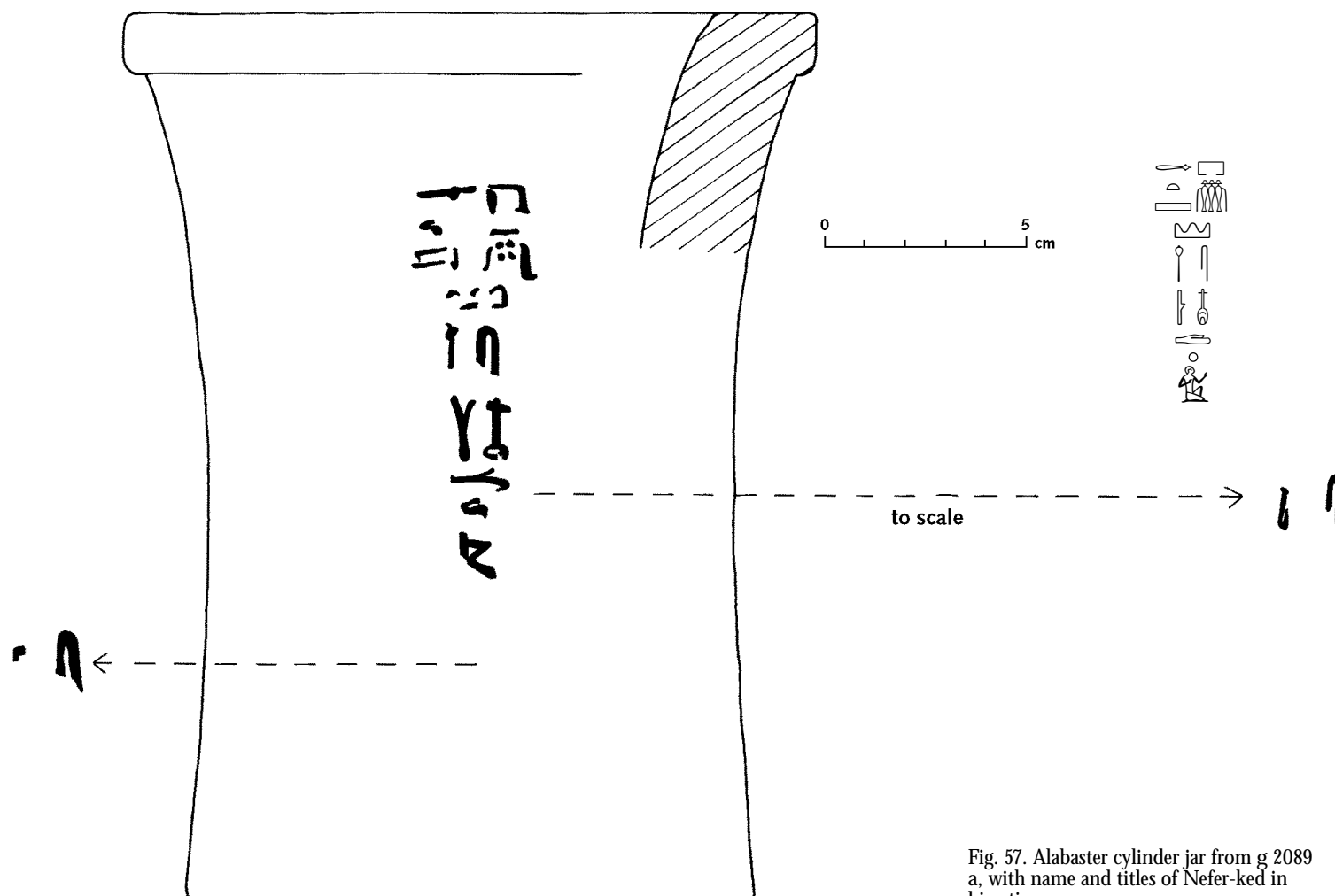


Fig. 57. Alabaster cylinder jar from g 2089 a, with name and titles of Nefer-ked in hieratic.

The intrusive shafts between 2088 and 2089 would have blocked access to the entrance, and also the passage from the path south of the mastabas. Since 2098, located along this passage, shows some signs of a southern approach, it is likely that they date to a later period. The date of the intrusive shaft built in the chapel of 2089 itself probably belongs to Phase iv.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft a had a chamber blocked with three leaning slabs, resting on limestone debris and a single course of masonry. The small chamber contained a wooden coffin with a *kerst* lid (pl. 37a). Inside was found a half-contracted skeleton wrapped in linen of which the mass is preserved. In the southwest corner of the coffin was an alabaster cylinder jar (see pls. 37b and 38a, and fig. 57), with resinous remains in the bottom. The coffin, though registered, was left in the shaft;⁴⁴ the cylinder jar is in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

Shaft b had a small chamber built against the west side of the shaft itself, with a rubble wall supporting a roof of slabs (pl. 38b). In the chamber was a skeletally adult, leg-contracted skeleton. The bones were partly decayed (pl. 38c).

Shaft c had a simple rectangular chamber, blocked with two vertical slabs. It was roofed with stones and contained a contracted skeleton, partly decayed (pl. 38d).

Shaft d was open and plundered, but contained fragments of the bones of a child, according to Reisner. (It does not seem to have been photographed.)

The chamber of Shaft e was blocked with two leaning slabs set onto a rubble wall and bound together with mud. It contained a tightly contracted skeleton and fragments of decayed wood, perhaps from a coffin (pl. 39a).

Shaft x was built into the chapel itself, but was found open and empty.

Human remains were thus found in all the shafts belonging to the original mastaba, although shaft d had apparently been opened. Perhaps the neglected state of the mastaba and encroachments by 2091 and secondary shafts (2088 x, y and z block the entrance to the chapel, while 2089 x fills the chapel itself) discouraged tomb robbers from investigating the shafts.

Date

The mastaba of Nefer-ked was almost certainly built at the same time as its nearly identical neighbor, 2088, that is, during the reign of Niuserre. It was stripped down to its lower courses at the time of the

⁴⁴ Reis's Diary, p. 725.

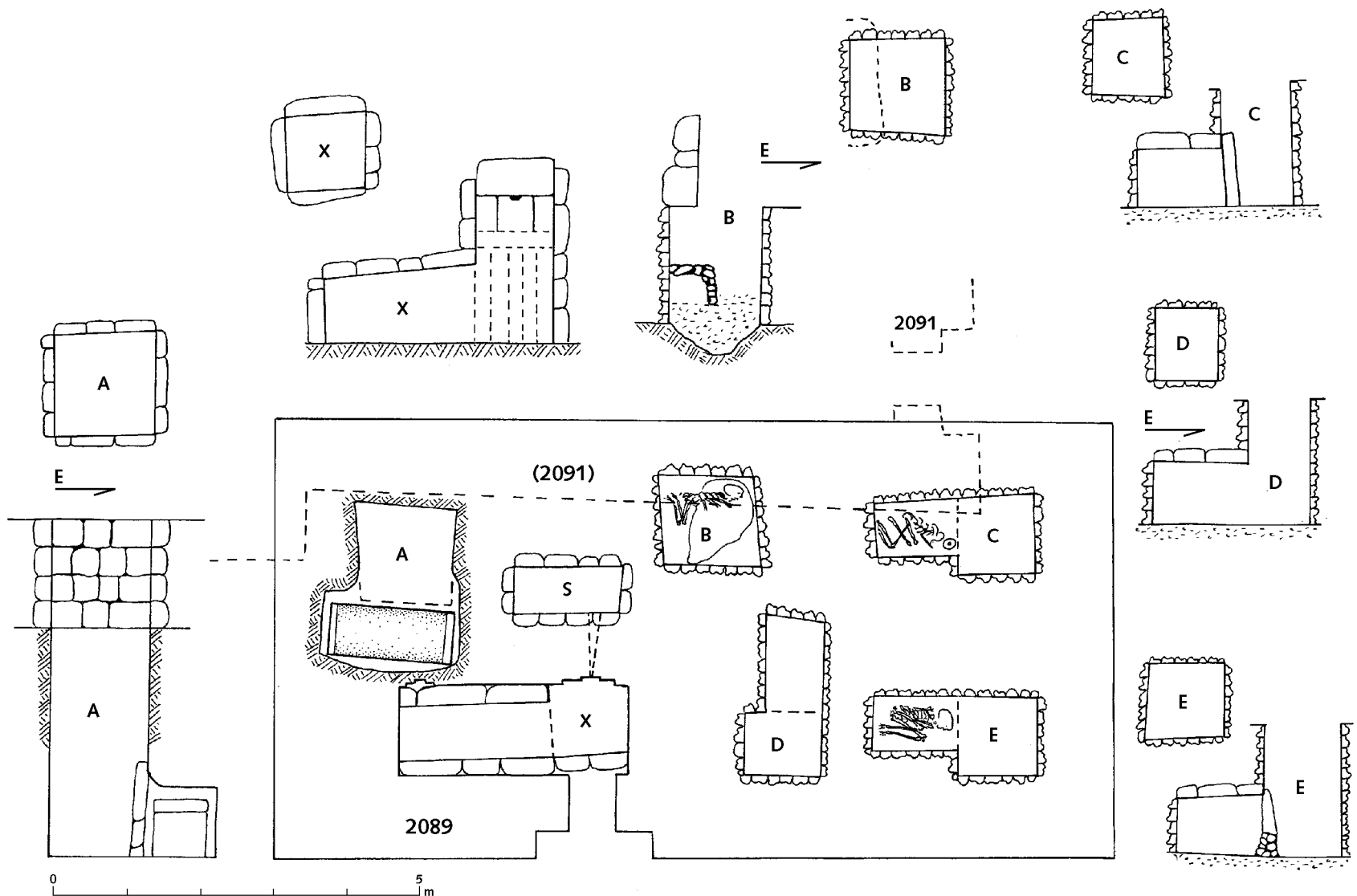


Fig. 58. Outline and shaft plans of g 2089.

first shift of orientation, Phase ii, which cannot be later than the reign of Izezi.

Tomb Owner

The tomb owner's name and title are known only from the inscription on the jar found in the principal shaft. The sole title mentioned, *shd hntjw-š pr-ḳ*, is consonant with the position and scale of the tomb and it has thus been assumed that Nefer-ked was the builder of 2089. The same name and title have been recorded in another larger decorated mastaba further west, in the Western Cemetery, g 1151. The owner of that tomb had a wife named *Hmt-Rc*, and bears the additional titles *rh nswt*, *hm-ntr Hwfw*, *w^cb nswt*, *hrj ššb*, *hm-ntr Rc m šsp-jb-Rc*, and *jmj-r st hntjw-š pr-ḳ*.⁴⁵ There is good precedent for the expansion of one's tomb upon receiving a promotion,⁴⁶ and it is

possible that Nefer-ked abandoned g 2089 and built a larger tomb to the west at this point. Such a reconstruction would explain the incursions that were made upon it by the owner of 2091 as early as the beginning of Phase ii. By this reconstruction, the body found in shaft a would belong to someone else, who appropriated both the principal shaft and a jar that had been abandoned along with the tomb. Other interpretations include the possibility that the jar was appropriated by an anonymous builder of g 2089. It is unlikely that there were two unrelated men named Nefer-ked serving in the palace *hntj-š* hierarchy during the reign of Niuserre.

⁴⁵ J.T. Dennis, "New Officials of the ivth to vith Dynasties," *PSBA* 27 (1905), p. 34; G.A. Reisner and C. Fisher, "Preliminary Report on the Work of the Harvard-Boston Expedition in 1911-1912," *ASAE* 13 (1914), p. 245.

⁴⁶ See, for example, my analysis of the construction phases of the tomb of Akh-meretnesut (g 2184) in D'Auria et al., *Mummies and Magic*, pp. 86-87.

ANONYMOUS TOMB: Mastaba g 2089a

Summary of Reisner's Description

- Mastaba type: x c(1): 3.2 x 3.95 m
 area: 9.58 sq. m; proportion 1/0.8
 facing masonry type: u
- Chapel type: (11c): 2.0 x 1.2 m
 area 2.4 sq. m
 monolithic false door in center of w. wall,
 0.55 m wide "inscribed with incised signs but illegible"
- Shaft a: 1.05 x 1.05 m; 1.3 m (5 courses) lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 a(1) on west. 1.15 x 0.6 m; height 0.8 m
 area 0.69 sq. m; capacity 0.55 cu. m
 passage with south jamb 0.5 x 0.3 m height 0.65 m
 blocking type: v e+(2)
 burial: small tightly contracted skeleton
- Shaft b: 1.1 x 1.05 m; 1.4 m lined in masonry; -0.65 m in rock
 chamber type: 8 a(5) on east, not parallel to the shaft
 1.25 x 0.7 m; height 0.8 m
 area 0.87 sq. m; capacity 0.69 cu. m
 passage with two jambs: 0.5 x 0.3; height 0.65 m
 blocking type: v e(2)
 burial: contracted skeleton

Excavation

First partially exposed on March 5, 1939, 2089a was further excavated on March 11, when a covering of sand, limestone debris, pebbles and stones were removed. It was not completely cleared until March 16, when its chapel was cleared of sand, limestone debris, and pebbles. Shaft a contained dirty debris, potsherds, limestone debris, and rubble; shaft b contained the same materials, although potsherds were listed last in the description. (It is uncertain whether the ordering of the components of the fill indicates stratigraphic position or relative quantity, or indeed if the order is of any significance at all.)

Architecture

The mastaba seems to have been a simple subsidiary mastaba with a small recessed chapel, built in the corner between 2091 and 2089 (see pl. 39b, fig. 59). It was built after the beginning of Phase ii, and presumably before Phase iii, because otherwise the southern doorway of 2091 would probably have been reopened at that point.

The walls of the mastaba and its chapel were only partially visible in 1990.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft a rested on the bedrock. Its chamber was built of masonry and roofed with slabs. It was blocked by a single leaning slab, resting on

a single masonry slab (pl. 39c). Inside was a small, tightly contracted skeleton (pl. 39d).

Shaft b seems to have been the principal shaft of the mastaba, cut down into the bedrock, with the slabs of its roof resting partially on the bedrock surface and, to judge from observations of the remains in 1990, partially on a slot cut in the roughly built wall blocking the southern entrance to 2091 on the west. The chamber was blocked by two leaning slabs, bound with mud. The burial was contracted (pl. 40a).

Decoration of the Chapel

According to Reisner's description,⁴⁷ a monolithic stela 0.55 m wide stood in the center of the west wall of the chapel, presumably a false door. It was inscribed with "illegible" incised signs. It was neither photographed nor drawn; its present location is unknown.

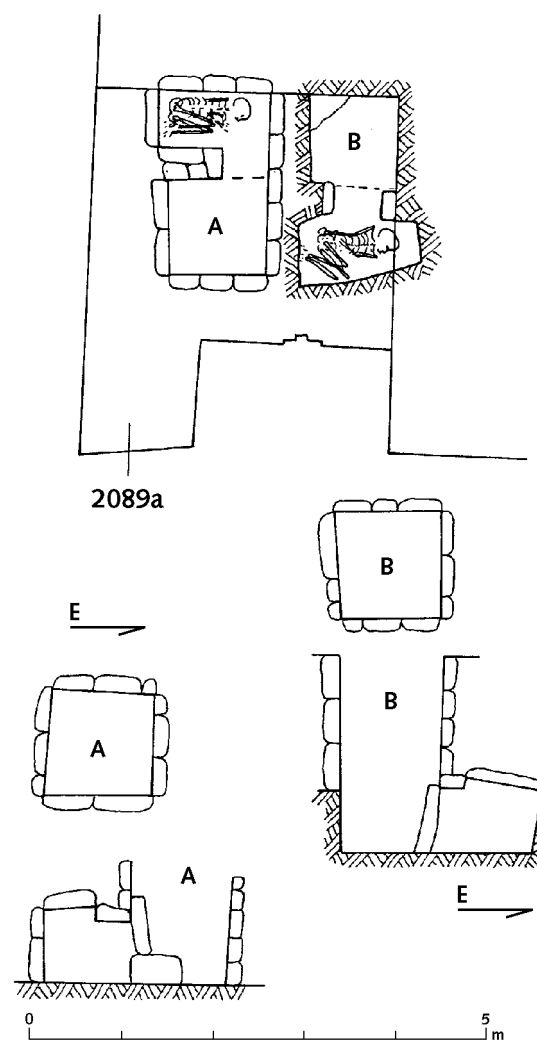


Fig. 59. Outline and shaft plans of g 2089a.

⁴⁷ Reisner, *Giza Manuscript*, Chapter L, p. 141.

THE TOMB OF KAPI: Mastaba g 2091

cut immediately under (1) in bad rock; roof caved in completely plundered

Summary of Reisner's Description

- Mastaba type: viii c(1) with eastwards projection to contain alcove
 main body of mastaba: 11.4–11.9 x 8.1 m⁴⁸
 area 94.36 sq. m; proportion: 1/1.43
 east projection: 3.25 x 0.9 m
 area 2.92 sq. m
 total area: 97.28 sq. m
 facing masonry type: large u-masonry
- Chapel type: (10c)
 interior of recessed offering room 3.0 x 1.8 m
 pillared doorway between recess and corridor 2.65 x 0.5 m
 pillar 0.45 x 0.5 m, 2.25 m high
 corridor, 9.3 x 1.05 m, 2.6 m high
 w. wall (6.5 m long) sloping
 e. wall (8 m long) vertical
 eastern alcove at south end 1.05 x 1.0 m, 2.3 m high
 doorway at north of corridor: slab jambs and an embrasure in
 n. wall of mastaba 0.45 x 1.25 m
 total area 16.21 sq. m; relation 1/6.0
- Serdab: 1.45 x 0.75 m; area 1.08 sq. m; height 1.75 m
 north–south, built of 5 courses of masonry, roofed with E–W
 slabs
 Window slot near n. end of e wall; “under the aperture, a break
 through from room a to the serdab; Mr. Ballard examined the
 serdab but no record of his proceeding was made.”
- Shaft a: 1.45 x 1.4 m; 2.22 m (6 courses) lined in masonry; -3.75 in rock
 chamber type: 4 b(2) on south. 2.7 x 2.15 m; height 1.45 m
 area 5.8 sq. m; capacity 8.41 cu. m
 blocking type: remains of exterior rubble with traces of mud,
 probably v e+(2)
 passage without jambs 0.5 x 1.2 m; height 1.45 m
 coffin: limestone; outside 2.4 x 0.95 m; height 0.7 m cavity 2.1 x
 0.6 m; 0.5 m deep; thickness of *krst* lid 0.24 m
 burial: skeleton thrown out by thieves; no objects found
- Shaft b: 0.9 x 0.9 m; 3.6 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 a(1) on west. 1.05 x 0.56 m; height 0.67 m
 area 0.58 sq. m; capacity 0.38 cu. m
 passage with jamb on south: 1.03 x 0.38 m; height 0.56 m
 completely plundered
- Shaft c: 0.9 x 0.85 m; 3.2 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 a(1) on west. 1.22 x 0.68; height 0.75 m
 area 0.82 sq. m; capacity 0.61 cu. m
 passage with jamb on south: 0.95 x 0.37 m; height 0.58 m
 completely plundered
- Shaft d: 1.0 x 0.95 m; 3.25 m lined with rubble; -1.05 in bad rock
 (1) chamber type: 8 a(1) on south. 0.49 x 0.9 m; height 0.8 m
 area 0.44 sq. m; capacity 0.29 cu. m
 passage with jamb on west: 0.4 x 0.5 m; height 0.6 m
 built on rock surface
 (2) chamber type: 6 c(1) on south. 1.0 x 0.55; height 0.6 m
 area 0.55 sq. m; capacity 0.33 cu. m

⁴⁸ These measurements apparently include the part built over the top of 2089.

Excavation

The chapel of this mastaba was cleared by the Ballard expedition in 1901–1902 “in his search for serdabs,” as Reisner put it. None of the objects recorded in these excavations⁴⁹ can be shown to have come from this area, although the record is most likely incomplete.

The Reisner expedition began its work in the cluster with this mastaba in 1936, when the main dump had been extended to the east of it, and the Decauville railway could easily move the debris surrounding it. Between July 26 and August 1, 1936 the perimeter was cleared and the shafts were located. The chapel is described as containing “drift sand and some paper,” the exterior fill consisted of limestone debris, pebbles, rubble and sand. The shafts and serdab of the mastaba were cleared by August 8. The serdab contained only drift sand, because it had been opened and cleared by the Ballard expedition. No objects were registered from the serdab or from the chapel. The shafts, in contrast, were sealed by debris, and apparently had not been explored by the Ballard expedition.

On March 6, 1939, excavations south of the mastaba turned up five “very big stones, inscribed in sunk relief.” Two more fragments were found on March 8. These were presumably the fragments of the two architraves inscribed with the name of Kapi. A small limestone statue (39–3–5) was also found in this area.

The mastaba was identified as “g 2090” in some notes and photo captions. The designation g 2091, however was used by Reisner, Reis Mohammed, and Alexander Floroff in drawing up the plan. The number 2091 has therefore been adopted here.

Finds

Aside from two architraves and one architrave fragment that were discovered south of the mastaba and are discussed as chapel decoration below, the only registered finds were the bones and skull found in shaft a (36–8–1), and the torso of a small, very badly weathered, standing male statue (pl. 32b, second from left, and fig. 60), registered as 39–3–5. The hands of the man are closed around handkerchiefs at his side. The statue is 34 cm high, 14 cm wide, and 10 cm thick.

Architecture

g 2091 was apparently built in three stages, only the second of which is problematic. In its original form, it was a rectangular mastaba with a recessed chapel supported by a square pillar and lintel in its eastern face. The mastaba was placed so that the southern half of the chapel and the southern of the two false doors extended south of the south face of 2098 to the east, so that the entrance was visible to passersby on the path. Unlike earlier mastabas in the area, 2091 was faced with battered walls rather than stepped masonry.

⁴⁹ *PM* 3², pp. 175–76. The objects listed here are said to come from cemeteries g 1000–1400 and the Steindorff and Junker cemeteries, but Reisner notes that Ballard also worked in the area around 2091.

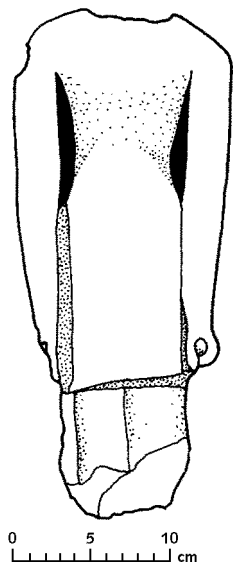


Fig. 60. Weathered torso of statue from the area south of g 2091. 35-3-5.

The first extension of the mastaba was to close off the southern end of the gap between 2091 and 2089 by extending the southern facade and building an east-facing doorway to the south of 2089. The point where the extension abutted the original mastaba is visible in the south wall inside the chapel 2091, but the outer face has been rebuilt to obscure the join. The fact that this southeast extension was originally a doorway is apparent both from its anomalous shape (a small “closet” recess on the east, opposite the recessed chapel) and also from the coursing of the internal faces of the recess. The southern face continues the coursing of the chapel and the west corridor wall; the northern face continues the coursing of the east corridor wall (which is actually the coursing of the underlying stepped facade of 2089); and the east face is differently coursed from both. This suggests that the eastern wall of the extension was built at a later period, to close off an earlier doorway.

The construction of the exterior face of this eastern end wall and former doorway suggests that the gap between 2089 and 2091 remained an open passage during this phase. The wall that eventually supported the east end of the blocks roofing this passage was built on top of mastaba 2089, which had been reduced to a uniform level to support it. The southeastern extension of 2091 seems to have been built against a stepped facade that still extended above that reduced level (see pl. 41c), and had to be shored up with smaller stones when it was removed. This extension thus presumably predates the building of the support wall and the roofing of the corridor.

The building of the support wall was part of the third stage of construction, which also involved the blocking of the southeastern doorway built in the second stage, the roofing of the gap between 2089 and 2091, and the conversion of the inner walls of this corridor to vertical. It is probably to be dated to the beginning of Phase ii. The new wall over the west facade of 2089 was carefully built (pls. 40b and 40c). The top of 2089 was removed to a level somewhat below the level of the chapel walls, which were left standing above this lower surface. The exterior face of the new wall was built on this surface, bridging earlier secondary shafts b and c of 2089 (see pl. 40d). The lower part of the interior face of this wall, forming the vertical east wall of the corridor, was constructed by packing the steps of the

facade of 2089, as is apparent from a comparison of the walls inside and outside the door. This packing now seems to have separated from the original facade, so that this wall bulges noticeably. The corridor wall facing it has been cut down from the original battered mastaba facade to form a more vertical (but still slightly battered) surface.

This third stage must also have involved the replacement of the lintel of the earlier recessed chapel, since it was now required to carry roofing blocks on both its east and west sides rather than just on the west. (The ancient roofing blocks at the south end of the tomb are still in place, each measuring about 60 cm wide.) One of the inscribed architraves found to the south of the mastaba may have been the original one used in this position. The current (uninscribed) architrave is about 3.4 m long, and extends about .7 m over the pilasters of the recessed chapel; the longer of the two architraves is about 3.3 m long, and would thus have fit the same space fairly well. The shorter of the two is about 3.05 m long, and is perhaps to be restored above the east face of the southeast extension, which measures 3.1 m. During the replacement of the architrave, the tomb owner may also have replaced the pillar, since its decoration has a clear northern orientation.

A skylight admitted light above the blocked doorway (see pl. 136 for a section). It would have been unnecessary before the roofing of the corridor, and therefore must also have been constructed at this time, taking advantage of the difference in height between the corridor and the “closet” formed by the closing off of the southeastern extension. The horizontal slot (about 25 cm long by 15 cm high) was cut into the top of the block that bridges the entrance to the “closet” and carries the last three roofing blocks. It appears to angle up (very approximately) about 30° to the east. The light from this slot is not enough to illuminate the decoration today; however its outer surface was much constricted by cement during the restoration of the roof, and it may originally have been sufficient.

The present entrance to the chapel flares oddly at the top, where the jambs have been cut back to take a lintel that is longer than the space between them (see pls. 40b and 40c). On the lintel itself, a second socket for the doorpost has been cut, since no door set into the outer position could possibly open. These changes suggest that the lintel and jambs of the present doorway were moved from the earlier southeastern doorway, built in an area with no constraints on space, to the narrower space allowed for the new northern entrance, which was fitted in between two existing mastaba facades, further narrowed by packing to fill in the batter of 2089.

The filling in of the southeastern entrance does not seem to have been done with much consideration for exterior appearances (pl. 41c), probably because the path adjacent to it was inaccessible at the time. The blocks are both roughly finished and loosely fitted, many of them probably reused from the earlier construction. The fact that this facade was not rebuilt and the doorway reopened when the path to the south once again became the principal approach to the cemetery must be attributed to the construction of 2089a in front of it.

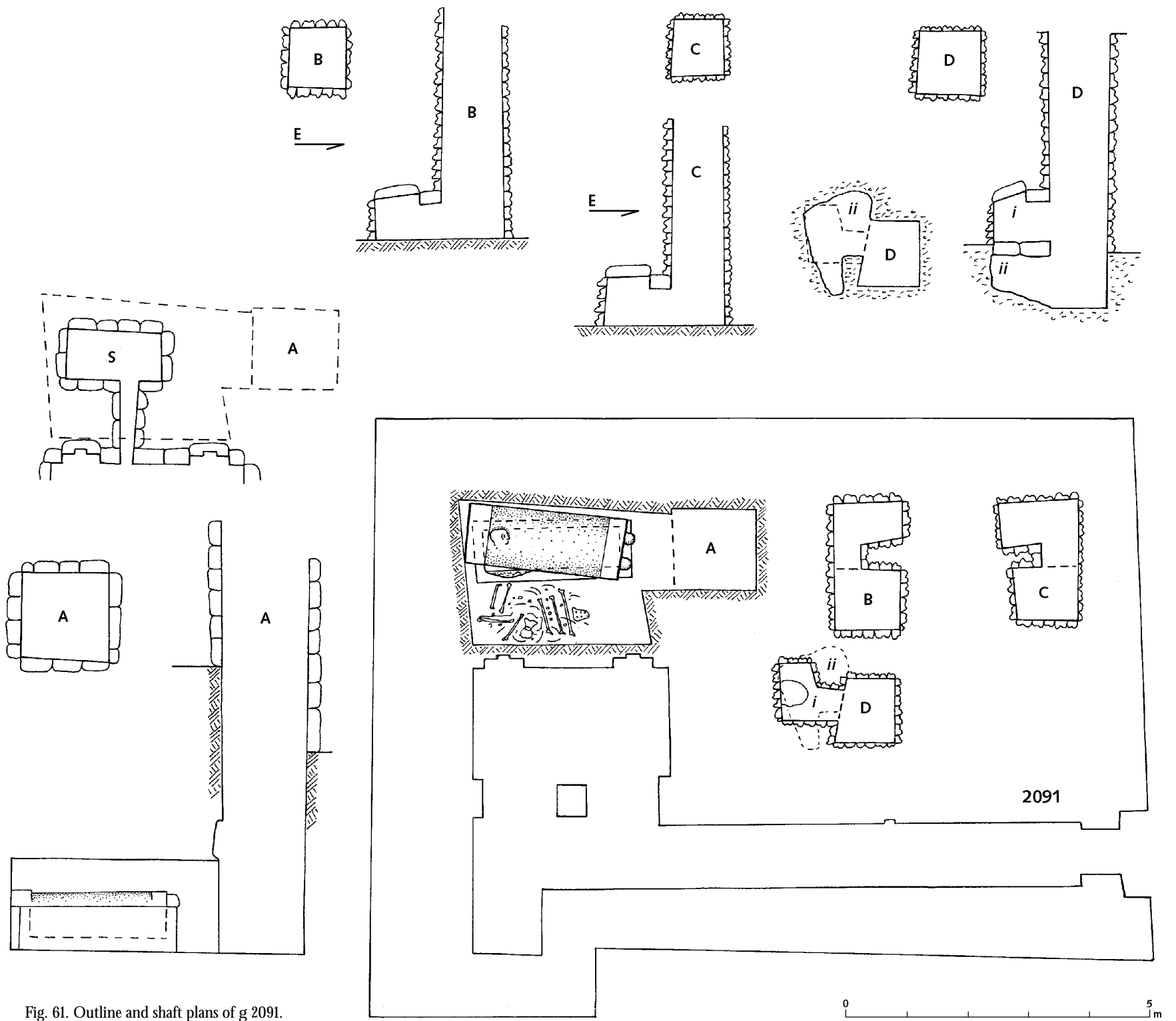


Fig. 61. Outline and shaft plans of g 2091.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft 2091 a (pl. 60b) was the principal shaft of the monument. Large blocks from the upper courses of the stone lining had collapsed into the shaft, along with limestone debris, pebbles and rubble. A large, rectangular chamber with a north–south axis opened to the south side at the bottom of the shaft. The entrance was originally blocked with rubble and mud, which was partially preserved. Originally, leaning slabs probably covered this rougher wall. The field plan shows two slight protrusions on the eastern wall. On the west side of the chamber was a limestone coffin with a vaulted lid, slightly askew (pl. 61). The skull had been placed on the south end of the coffin lid, presumably by tomb robbers, and the remaining bones of the body were scattered on the floor to the east. The coffin was of roughly dressed nummulitic limestone and had two large knobs on the northern end, presumably for use in maneuvering it. No objects were found in the burial.

The shaft to the north, 2091 b, was dug into the body of the mastaba and was lined with rubble. The chamber extended to the west of the shaft, at a floor level slightly above its base. It was also lined with rubble, and the passage from the shaft to the chamber was restricted by a jamb on the north. The chamber was open and empty.

North of shaft b, 2091 c was similarly constructed and similarly shaped except that the jamb at the entrance to the chamber was on the south and its chamber is somewhat larger. Also like 2091 b, it had been completely plundered in antiquity.

Shaft 2091 d is one of the few shafts in the cluster that contained two burial chambers, one above the other. Like 2091 b and 2091 c, it was constructed of rubble walls above bedrock, but was excavated 1.05 m deeper into the rock. Chamber (1), at the level of the bedrock, is rectangular with a jamb to the west. It is lined with rubble, and roofed with slabs. Chamber (2) is below it, cut into a crumbly rock that has collapsed and obscured its original shape. At its south end, the floor of Chamber (1) has collapsed into it. Both chambers had been completely plundered.

Date

The earliest version of the mastaba dates to the reign of Niuserra, based on the application of Cherpion's criteria to its decoration, and the later revisions probably date to the earliest part of Phase ii, in the reign of Izezi.

Decoration of the Chapel

The decoration of the tomb used two techniques. The scenes in the corridor were carved on a thick layer of plaster, which has now almost entirely disappeared, while the jambs, the pillar, the pilasters, and the walls of the recessed chapel were carved into the stone, and plaster was used only for smoothing and filling.

The decoration on the pillar almost certainly dates to the period of the change in orientation at the beginning of Phase ii, since it cannot be turned in any way that would make it suitable for a southern entrance. The plaster-cut decoration on the long walls of the corridor must also have been done at this period, or even later. (Only two daughters are depicted on the pillar, while three are depicted in the

corridor.) The walls of the recess might have been decorated at any point, but the secondary appearance of the higher title on the false door and the markedly fewer text captions in this area suggest that it was decorated during Phase i.

The drawings of this tomb come from three sources. The corridor scenes were drawn by N. de Garis Davies in 1906. Many of the scenes he drew are now gone, so his drawings were used for the sake of completeness. (These drawings were collated with the remaining fragments on the walls in 1990 and found to be largely accurate; the only errors noted were the occasional omission of preserved register lines.) The rest of the chapel, with the few exceptions noted below, was recorded with full-sized tracings made in 1987 and 1990, reduced to a uniform scale. The exceptions are the false doors, the area above the architrave on the west wall, and the architrave fragments found south of the mastaba, which were drawn from photographs, in the first two cases because of difficulties of topology and lighting and in the latter case because several of the fragments are stored in 2240 with their faces against the wall, and it seemed best to leave them as they were.

Architraves (pls. 41a–b and 153a–c). Two architraves and one architrave fragment in sunk relief probably formed part of the decoration of the mastaba at various times. All are decorated with hieroglyphs in sunk relief with no interior details, with incised border lines above and below the text. The longest of them is oriented towards the right and reads *jmj-r mdw pr-ꜣ, jmj-ḥt pr-ꜣ, mrr nb.f rꜣ nb Kꜣpj*, “the overseer of tens of the palace, the assistant inspector of the palace, whose lord loves him daily, Kapi.” As noted above, this architrave may have been the beam that supported the roof of the original recessed chapel, which was replaced when the corridor was enclosed and roofed. Only slightly shorter, and oriented in the same direction, the second architrave reads *jmj-r wpw pr-ꜣ jmshw ḥr nb.f Kꜣpj*, “overseer of palace heralds, venerated before his lord, Kapi.” A restoration above the late Phase i doorway at the southern end of the mastaba has been suggested, where it may have served as a cornice. It would have been discarded along with the interior architrave when the doorway was moved at the beginning of Phase ii.

The architrave fragment (pl. 153c) is of the same style and proportions as the other two architraves, but it is oriented to the left, so it cannot have been part of the other two architraves. The most reasonable place to restore it would be as part of a cornice along the top of the north facade of the mastaba, where the door in the southern end of the facade would explain its leftward orientation. The surviving text reads simply *jmj-r st ḥntjw-š*, “assistant overseer of palace attendants.” This title, it has been suggested above, replaced Kapi's other palace titles between Phase i and Phase ii, which would be consistent with the Phase ii date of this doorway.

Doorjambs (see pls. 154a–b). In its final form, the tomb was entered through a door in the east facade. The door had two decorated jambs, depicting Kapi striding out of his chapel. On the better-preserved western jamb, he wears a long wig and short beard, a broad collar, and a starched triangular kilt with a looped belt. He carries a staff and a scepter, and there are traces of his name before his face.

Nothing remaining on the east jamb would contradict the assumption that it was identical.

Corridor, west wall (pls. 43a, 155, and 156). This wall has in its lowest register a procession of nine bulls into the chapel, accompanied by seven men. The bulls are identical except for the fourth in the procession, which has a deformed front horn. The second, and probably also the first, is tethered; the others are led by ropes held by the men. Most of the men wear very short kilts with a flap in front; the exceptions are the first, who wears the longer standard wrapped kilt with a tie to the side, and the fifth, who wears a kilt with a billowing front that droops to a point. Most of the bulls are captioned *rn jws*, “young bull.” There seems to have been no border at the left edge of the scene, since the horn of the first bull almost touches the corner of the chapel recess.

Above this register, at the left edge of the wall, there may have been figures of Kapi and his wife Khamerernebt, facing right. (An unplaced fragment of plaster bearing her name written in right-facing hieroglyphs can only be from such a depiction.) Above the fourth and fifth bulls is a pair of oxen and two men, moving to the right, plowing. In front of them, also facing right, are, from the left, two more bulls, a cow lifting her leg to suckle her calf (unnecessarily captioned *hmt*, “female”), and another cow being milked as her calf looks on, above which is the beginning of the caption *s[r]t*, “milk-ing.” The only remains of the third register is directly above: a recumbent cow, facing right and probably originally depicted munching on a papyrus stalk from the marsh that fills both the second and third registers just to the right, a scene paralleled in 2093 and frequently outside this cluster as well. There are traces of a large-scale boat in the marsh, and a small figure among the papyrus stalks.

Corridor, south wall(?) (pl. 157). In his description of the chapel, Reisner placed another scene on the west wall.⁵⁰ The reliefs just described, however, clearly account for all of the available space. The height of the lowest register matches that of the lowest register on the east wall, but here also, there is no space for it, and the second register appears to be a different height. The only other wall with the required horizontal space (about 1.4 m at a minimum), is the south wall of the corridor, extending into the “closet” to the east. From the contents of the scene, a papyrus marsh can probably be restored at its left edge to fill the .5 m remaining on this wall, corresponding symmetrically with the marsh depicted at the opposite end of the corridor.

The scene recorded shows at the left end of its lowest register, two nude men carrying bundles of cut papyrus on their backs, proceeding to the right. In front of them is the scene of a kneeling man being beaten, observed by an overseer in a starched kilt, leaning on a staff. Before the overseer are his words: *dj mdw.fm nw sht*, “May his ten give with this a clapping.”⁵¹ Behind the overseer is another man

carrying something on his back, presumably not papyrus, to judge from the differences in its shape and his attitude compared to the figures on the left. In the register above, at the far left, a dog observes the activity to his right, probably the manufacture of papyrus matting. Parts of four men are preserved, two of them clearly pounding something on the ground. In the register above are traces of two, or perhaps three men, proceeding to the right, and possibly another dog.

Corridor, East wall (pls. 41d, 42a–b, 158, and 159). At the inner end of the east wall, facing the entrance, Kapi was depicted with his wife and at least three daughters. This scene has suffered considerable damage since its excavation, as attested by photographs taken in 1905, 1936, and 1989. The two daughters in the lowest register are identified as *zst.f Mrt-jt.s* and *zst.f Nfr-hw-hwt-hr*, “his daughter Meretites and his daughter Neferkhu-Hathor.” Their father is wearing sandals, as he often does in this tomb. He holds a staff, which is also grasped by a man who wears a starched triangular kilt and stands under his elbow on a slightly elevated ground line. Three men approach this family group from the left, presumably bearing products of the agricultural work depicted behind them. Directly behind them are scenes of men plucking and working with flax. The hieroglyph *ḫ* occurs, probably part of the word *ḫt* “a pulled piece,” which occurs elsewhere in flax harvesting scenes.⁵² The register above shows the bottom of a large fishing net and fish, such as that usually pulled by two gangs of men. Some distance to the left of this, another fragment of this second register shows a man seated cleaning fish, his back to a clump of papyrus. Below this is the end of the flax harvesting scene, preserved only in the caption *[ḫwj] m[h]c n ct smc*, “[harvesting] flax for the *smc*-rope.”⁵³ To the left begins a scene showing men constructing two papyrus boats. The caption reads *spt m mht*, “tying papyrus boats together in the swamp.” Above these boats are a number of scenes with no obvious connection, including a possible rope making scene, two men scooping something out of a bowl to pat it into pellets, and the plucking of a bird.⁵⁴

A fragment of decoration showing piled offerings (pl. 160a) apparently belongs in the upper registers this wall or one of the other walls of the corridor.

Pillar, north face (pls. 43b, 46, 47, and 161a). The most visible side of the central pillar depicts the wife of the tomb owner, Khamerernebt, facing out of the chapel. She wears long hair, both a broad collar and a high choker, and a narrow dress with two wide straps; in her right hand she holds the looped stem of a blue lotus, its blossom almost touching her nose. Four columns of inscription are given above: *hmt.f mrt.f / rht-nswt hm-ntr Nt / jmsḫwt / Ḥc-mrr-Nbtj*, “his wife, whom he loves, king’s acquaintance and prophet of Neith, the

⁵⁰ *Giza Manuscript*, Chapter “L,” p. 146. Reisner gives these scenes in place of those just described, as decorating the west wall. Enough of the west wall scenes are preserved to confirm the location of the Davies drawing; there is no additional room for the scenes described here on that wall. They might have occurred in a much higher register, but the extent of their preservation (in the drawings) corresponds well with the three lowest registers preserved on other walls of the corridor.

⁵¹ This text is paralleled exactly in a scene in 2097 (see pls. 89 and 185); further parallels are discussed in Chapter 3.

⁵² W.K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I*, Giza Mastabas 4 (Boston, 1980), fig. 4 and p. 2, for example.

⁵³ I can find no parallel for the latter part of this caption. *Wb.* 4, p. 190.12 gives *smc* as a wooden piece of ship’s equipment, often named in connection with the steering oar, and *Wb.* 1, p. 161.1 gives *ct* as a type of rope used in connection with a mast. The placement of the rope determinative after *smc* suggests a compound word.

⁵⁴ This last vignette was published by Smith, *HESPOK*, fig. 184.

venerated one, Khamererneby.” Beneath her right elbow stands another woman with long hair, on a slightly elevated register line, labelled *zst.s Tzt*, “her daughter, Tjezet.” Almost certainly another daughter, despite the fact that she is called *zst.fMrt-jt.s*, “his daughter Meretites,” stands behind her. This daughter stands on the same register line as her mother and reaches out to touch the calf of her leg. Except for the dancers in this tomb, she is the only woman who wears her hair short; this, her attitude, and her scale all suggest youth.

Pillar, east face (pls. 43b, 44, 54, and 160b). Facing his wife and the door of his tomb to the north, Kapi stands leaning on his staff. He wears sandals, a broad collar, a starched triangular kilt with a looped sash and short hair. His name and titles crowd about his shoulders, and it is uncertain in what order they are to be read. With some interpretation this text can be read *shd hntjw-š pr-ḳ, jmj-r st hntjw-š pr-ḳ, rh-nswt, Kspj*, “inspector of palace attendants, assistant overseer of palace attendants, king’s acquaintance, Kapi.”

Pillar, south face (pls. 48a–b and 162b). Striding in towards the false door are four men wearing triangular starched kilts, identified by hieroglyphic inscriptions. From left to right and top to bottom, they are *Nj-hyswt-nswt*, “Nikhasut-nesut,” *jmj-r st Ks-rs*, “the assistant overseer, Kares,” *hst pr-ḳ Nfr-ntr*, “the palace singer, Nefer-netjer,” and *sn.fMnw-nfr*, “his brother, Min-nefer.”

The west face of the pillar is not decorated.

The recessed chapel itself is here described in a clockwise sequence, beginning with the south pilaster.

South pilaster (pls. 49a–b and 162). The lowest register here shows three servants bringing household equipment into the chapel: the first holds a staff and a sack; the second brings a pair of sandals and a common, (but enigmatic) item; the third carries a satchel on his shoulders, and in his hand what looks like a bucket and shovel. The three gentlemen in the second register are more elevated in status as can be seen from their triangular starched kilts. The first two stand in respectful attitudes, while the third is writing on a tablet and has a spare pen tucked behind his ear in anticipation of further service. The three top registers are narrower and contain a still-life of jars and boxes holding more equipment, most notably a shell-shaped scribal palette in the upper register, and a headrest in the register below it.

South wall (pls. 50, 51, 52a–b, and 163). On the left half of this wall, Kapi is shown seated in an armchair behind a tapestry hanging that was probably originally painted with bright geometric designs. Above the hanging are his names and titles: *shd pr-ḳ, rh-nswt / hrj pr* (or perhaps *hrj-šstḳ pr-ḳ / jmj-r st / hntjw-š pr-ḳ / [K]s[pj]*, “palace inspector, king’s acquaintance, chief of the household (or he who is over the secrets) of the palace, assistant overseer of palace attendants, Kapi.” The wall is otherwise without inscription.

Kapi wears a triangular starched kilt and short hair. His eye, which was originally set lower in his face as on the representation on the pillar, has been recut at a higher level. In his right hand, he holds a brachiomorphic *ms*-scepter over his shoulder; with his left he accepts a lotus from an attendant who also wears a triangular starched kilt. Behind this figure are a pair of men bringing a tray of offerings

and two individual men, also carrying offerings. All four men are dressed in wrapped kilts with short ties. Above them are preserved four registers of piled food offerings; there is space for a fifth above them. In a register running beneath the entire scene, musical entertainment is offered. At left, three women clap while three men (or women dressed like men) dance. Then the register divides: in the upper one a man playing the transverse flute faces a singer to the right; while in the lower register the singer is on the left and the flautist plays a recorder-like flute, held horizontally. At the far right, a third singer faces a harpist, who sits in the corner. The triangular area above them is clearly uninscribed, though it may have contained a painted text.

West wall (pls. 53, 54, 55, 164, 165, and 166). There are two false doors in the chapel, each sunk at a slightly battered angle in a recess in the western wall of the chapel. They are similar in form, containing a tablet showing a standard offering scene, a horizontal lintel, a drum inscribed with the name of the tomb owner, a central niche showing a bowl on a stand, and two flanking panels upon each of which are depicted a man in an upper register and a woman below. The thicknesses of the recesses on Kapi’s false door still have red paint on them. They differ mainly in the contents of their inscriptions, and in that on the southern false door the drum and lintel texts are sunk, while they are raised on the northern door. With these exceptions, and the exception of the labels attached to the people shown on the panels of both doors, the texts are all in raised relief.

On the southern false door (pls. 53a–b and 164 left), Kapi is shown with his left hand held to his chest and his right extended to the offering table. Beneath the table the commodities bulls, alabaster, and cloth are listed; birds are probably to be restored to the right. The titles given are ... *jmj-r st hntjw-š rh-nswt n Kspj*, probably to be restored “... assistant overseer of [palace] attendants, king’s acquaintance of [the palace], Kapi.” The title *jmj-r st hntjw-š* and the groups to the right of it seem to have been shaved off, or lightly incised over an earlier erasure. The lintel reads *rh-nswt, w^b-nswt jmh^w Kspj*, “king’s acquaintance, king’s wab-priest, the venerated one, Kapi.” This text, like the captions on the jambs below, is in sunk relief, which is often a sign of a later addition. The type of carving may be connected with the fact that the title *w^b-nswt* is attested here, but nowhere else in the chapel. It perhaps represented a significant promotion attained late in life, and marked by the revision of the texts on the more important southern false door. (The different level of the higher *hntj-š* title on the tablet of the same door may be related to this alteration.)

The man on the upper left jamb holds two strips of cloth and is called *hm-kḳ ... h^w*, “the ka-priest ... k^hu.” Below him, a woman carrying two bags is labelled *snt.f Wpt*, “his sister, Wepet.” On the right jamb is shown a man offering a round loaf, captioned *Kps-ms*. This may be writing of *msw-Kspj*, “Kapi’s children,” and meant to apply to all the figures on the door; however since this would leave this figure without a name, and could not in any case apply to Wepet, it seems best to take it as a personal name Kepa-mes. The woman below, holding birds, is perhaps called *hm-kḳ Nt-mrt*, “the ka-priest Neith-meret.”

The tablet of the northern false door (pls. 54a–b and 164 right) depicts Kapi on the left, holding out both hands to his offerings. The text reads: *rh-nswt n pr-ꜣ hntj-š hrj-pr, jmsḥw hr nb.f Kspj*, “king’s acquaintance of the palace, attendant, chief of the household, venerated before his lord, Kapi.” (The phrase “venerated before his lord” is written vertically along the right border.) Beneath the table are notations for “1,000 loaves of bread,” “1,000 jugs of beer,” and, to the left of the table, “invocation offerings.” The lintel reads *htp-dj-nswt Jnpw kṛst.f m zt jmntt nfrt Kspj*, “May the king give an offering and Anubis, his burial in the desert of the beautiful West.” The two men shown on the panels of this door, censing on the left and offering a spouted jar on the right, are both labelled *hm-k3 K3-m-tnnt*, “the ka-priest Kaemtjennet.” The two women on the lower part of the panels are carrying birds and are both called ka-priests. The name of the woman on the left seems to begin with the sign *w*; that of the woman on the right to contain three vertical signs and end in *nb.s*.

Each of the two false doors has in its inner recess a tall stand holding a vessel with flaring sides. This probably represents a lamp on a stand. Such objects are also depicted flanking the false door of Khufu-khaf i,⁵⁵ on the base of false door panels,⁵⁶ and one atop the other on the outermost panels of false doors.⁵⁷ The most exact parallel, however, is from the tomb of Abdu, in the area to the west of this cluster that was excavated by Abu-Bakr. The single false door of this tomb places two of these stands in the central niche. The tomb was given a Sixth Dynasty date by the Porter and Moss *Bibliography*,⁵⁸ but it is more likely to be contemporary with Kapi’s tomb, to judge from this feature and the similarity of other aspects of tomb decoration.⁵⁹

The outer jambs at the north and south corners of the wall are uninscribed. Between the doors there are no jambs, but instead a niched palace facade with a single central niche, ornamented with a diamond shape on its drum. Extending the length of the west wall, and forming the upper lintel for both false doors and the facade between them is a long inscribed lintel (pls. 55 and 165). Its inscription reads: *htp-dj-nswt Jnpw hntj zḥ ntr krs m zt jmnt jsw nfr wrt, jḥp.f m htp hr wst nfrt ḥpḥt jmsḥw nfr hr.s, pr-hrw n.f t ḥnkt m Wp rnt, Tpj rnt, Dhwtj, Wsg, Zkr ḥb, ḥb-wr, Rkh, Pr-Mnw, sḏd n sḏd, tp sḏd ḥb, tp smdt ḥb, n jmsḥw hr ntr ꜣ nb krs hrj-pr pr-ꜣ rh-nswt, jmj-r st hntjw-š [pr-ꜣ] Kspj*.

“May the king give an offering, and Anubis foremost of the divine booth: a burial in the western desert at a very good old age; that he may proceed in peace upon the good road upon which a good venerated one proceeds; and invocation offerings for him (with

bread and beer at the opening of the year feast, the new year’s feast, the feast of Thoth, the *wag* feast, the feast of Sokar, the great feast, the feast of the burning, the going forth of Min, the monthly *sadj* feast, the new month feast, and the new half-month feast, for the one venerated before the great god, the lord of a burial, the chief of the household of the palace, the king’s acquaintance, the assistant overseer of [palace] attendants, Kapi.”

Above the lintel, set back from it, and just below the ceiling, is another scene that stretches the entire length of the wall (pl. 166 and the upper parts of pls. 55a and 55c). At the left end is a third scene of Kapi seated before an offering table. Beneath the table are inscribed *prt-hrw k3w 3pdw ḥs*, “invocation offerings of 1,000 cattle and 1,000 poultry.” Three kneeling men to the right present what look like eggs, but are probably cups or loaves. The text above them, which is oriented right, like Kapi, reads *htp-dj-nswt htp-[dj]-Jnpw pr(t)-hrw t ḥnkt m ... rnt nb rꜣ nb n Kspj*, “May the king give an offering and may Anubis give an offering of invocation offerings of bread and beer, and of all ... and vegetables, every day, to Kapi.”

To the right is an offering list arranged in four rows, of which only five compartments at the far right edge can be distinguished. The distribution of offerings in these offering compartments indicate that the offering list as planned probably had twenty-four offerings in each row. This arrangement would exactly fit the space remaining on the wall right of the offering scene just described, assuming the compartments were of consistent size. When compared with W. Barta’s type a offering list,⁶⁰ the following offerings are represented (reversed):

1	2	3	4	6
26	27	28
50	51	52	53	...
...	77	78	79	...

This list would have contained ninety-six offerings, one more than the model Barta gives for type a. Moreover, one offering seems to have been omitted from the first row (conceivably the 5th, though it is difficult to imagine that one of the seven sacred oils would be left out), and two were omitted from the third row; four additional offerings must thus have been incorporated into the latter part of the fourth row. The left part of the list was apparently never carved.

North wall (pls. 56, 57, 58a–b, and 167). Standing at the left of this scene and leaning heavily on his staff, Kapi wears sandals, a triangular starched kilt, a collar, a long wig, and a short beard. Here also, his eye was recut at a higher level. Facing him are four registers of animals. Over his head is a very broken inscription reading *[htp-dj] nswt ... n prt-hrw [n ks n] ... pr-ꜣ, rh-nswt, jmj-r st hntjw-š pr-ꜣ, [hrj sš]ḥ [pr-ꜣ] Kspj*, “May the king give an offering ... of invocation offerings [for the ka of]... of the palace, king’s acquaintance,

⁵⁵ W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab and Khufukhaf I and II*, Giza Mastabas 3 (Boston, 1978), pls. 20 and 21 and fig. 32.

⁵⁶ This feature occurs on a false door of *Ksj* from Giza at the Museo Egizio, Turin. S. Curto, *Gli Scavi italiani a el-Ghiza* (Rome, 1963), fig. 12 and pl. 12.

⁵⁷ T.G.H. James, *British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts I* (London, 1961), pls. 15 and 7. The example on plate 15 has a man named *Kspj* next to it, offering incense.

⁵⁸ *PM 3*, p. 51.

⁵⁹ For example, the very similar portrayals of the tomb owner and his wife on adjoining faces of the pillar, the depiction of children on the inner panels of the false door, and the use of single animals to fill entire registers on jambs and columns. The poses and dress of the figures is also similar in the two tombs. The occurrence of the goddess Reput in the name of Abdu’s wife would also point to a pre-Sixth Dynasty date, since one of the queens of Niuserre has a name based upon that of the goddess, and it seems most prominent in names of that period and earlier (W. Kaiser, “Zu den 𓂏 𓂏 der älteren Bild Darstellungen und der Bedeutung von *rw.t*,” *MDAIK* 39 (1983), pp. 278–79).

⁶⁰ Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, fig. 4.

assistant overseer of palace attendants, [he who is over the se]crets [of the palace], Kapi.”

The animals before Kapi may represent a continuation of the registers of animals shown on the adjacent jamb. The upper register is almost entirely destroyed, but seems to have contained at least three men, and a pair of smaller animals shown in a split sub-register at the right end. Below are a tethered oryx and another desert animal, perhaps an ibex since it seems to require two men to move it. In the third register from the top are shown two bulls, the first led by a man in the billowing kilt of an overseer, and the second by a more humble man whose twisted stance may suggest a physical deformity. In the lowest register a man with a stick is followed by three cranes, each labelled *h3 d3*, “one thousand cranes.”

North pilaster (pls. 59a–b, 60a, and 168). Four animals are depicted in as many registers, facing in towards the false door. In the lowest register, an ibex is pulled by one man and pushed by another who also wields a stick. (These animals seem to have been comparatively stubborn in their resistance to domestication.) Above, a man brings a placid bull on a lead, carrying something else over his shoulder; and above this another man coerces an oversized hyena from behind. In the top register, a mother gazelle elegantly lifts one leg to feed her offspring, and the baby gazelle crouches on one knee to nurse.

Secondary Niche. The only further decoration still in place in the chapel is a secondary false door niche on the west wall of the corridor. It is a simple, single niche, 9 cm wide by 62 cm high, and angles slightly to the right at its top. Its position on the wall suggests a possible connection with shafts b or d, which are directly behind it.

Tomb Owner and Dependents

The name of the tomb owner is spelled both with a basket *k* and, more rarely, with the *k3*-arms. The *k3*-arms are used only on the discarded lintel fragments found south of the tomb, on the central pillar, and on the offering scene above the lintel on the west wall. From the spacing, this sign was also used on the lintel on the west wall; and the preserved traces suggest it occurred on the doorjamb as well. If there is any chronological significance to the two writings, the *k3*-arms probably mark the earlier elements. Perhaps significantly, the owner of the slightly earlier mastaba 2088, Ka-khenet, invariably spells his name with the *k3*-arms, while his daughter uses the *k*. On the other hand, the same pattern holds in the names of the later serdab statues of 2099, where the father writes his name with the *k3*-arms and the son uses the *k*.

Titles of Kapi:

<i>jmj-r wpt pr-3</i>	(short discarded architrave)
<i>jmj-r mdw pr-3</i>	(long discarded architrave)
<i>jmj-h3t pr-3</i>	(architrave fragment)
<i>rh-nswt</i>	(pillar; s. wall; w. lintel; s. false door lintel; n. false door lintel)
<i>rh-nswt n pr-3</i>	(s. false door; n. false door)
<i>jmj-r st hntjw-3 pr-3</i>	(pillar; s. wall; n. wall, w. lintel; architrave fragment; s. false door)

<i>shd hntjw-3 pr-3</i>	(pillar)
<i>hntjw-3 pr-3</i>	(n. false door)
<i>hrj-pr pr-3</i>	(w. lintel; n. false door; s. wall)
<i>shd pr-3</i>	(s. wall)
<i>w3b nswt</i>	(s. false door lintel)

Family:

wife: <i>rh3t nswt, hmt-ntr Nt, H3c-mrr-Nbtj</i>	
daughters: <i>zst.s Tzt</i>	(on pillar)
<i>zst.f Mrt-jt.s</i>	(on pillar; e. wall)
<i>zst.f Nfr-hw-hwt-hr</i>	(e. wall)
feet of a third daughter,	
perhaps <i>Tzt?</i>	(e. wall)
brother: <i>sn.f Nfr-Mnw</i>	(on pillar)
sister: <i>snt.f Wpt</i>	(on s. false door)

Other people:

<i>hs pr-3 Nfr-ntr</i>	(pillar)
<i>Nj-h3swt-nswt</i>	(pillar)
<i>jmj-r st K3-rs</i>	(pillar)
<i>Kp3-ms</i>	(s. false door)
<i>hm-k3 ... hw.</i>	(s. false door)
<i>hm-k3 Nt-mrt</i>	(s. false door)
<i>hm-k3 K3-m-tmnt</i>	(n. false door (twice))
<i>hm-k3 W...</i>	(n. false door)
<i>hm-k3 ... nb.s</i>	(n. false door)

Conservation (Pamela Hatchfield)

This tomb is locked and covered. It is well protected from public access. Blocks from the southern chapel wall of 2097 are stored here.

The west outer doorjamb is decorated with a standing figure in raised relief. Traces of paint remain on his foot and arm, but no plaster remains. The general indications of about 60% of the original figure are preserved, but these are damaged; traces of carved hieroglyphs remain. The surface of the stone is differentially weathered. There is a large area lost on the left of the jamb at the figure's knee level, and extensive erosion (probably wind erosion) is present at the upper part of the relief. The stone is delaminating around these losses. Small traces of plaster survive below the baseline. The east jamb is even more poorly preserved. It is deeply scarred, and less than 5% of the original decoration remains.

The corridor was decorated with very low relief carved entirely into the plaster, of which only isolated fragments remain. The underlying stone is fairly coarse, nummulitic limestone, roughly finished. No traces of paint are visible. Some vandalism appears in the form of scratching, graffiti, abrasion, and impact damage. Modern mortar surrounds the remaining plaster, which is mostly well adhered, although some is loose, and sounds hollow when tapped with a fingernail. Davies recorded the decoration, of which about 40% of the original then survived, in 1905–1906. Only about 10% survives today. There are no excavation photographs of most of this area, due to the narrowness of the corridor. However, notes by W.S. Smith indicate that these reliefs “were almost entirely effaced in 1930,” so that most

of the damage was presumably done before the tomb was closed. At the south end of the east wall, opposite the recessed chapel, photographs were taken in 1905–1906, and again in 1939, which show the progressive loss of the entire upper part of the wife's figure, as well as an accompanying daughter and a hieroglyphic inscription. (See pls. 41d, 42a, and 42b for records of the progressive state of this area.)

The plaster appears buff to gray in color. Diagonal lines running from upper left to the lower right of the west wall, possibly dating from the time of excavation, appear to have weathered in a manner similar to the rest of the plaster surface. There is a slight variation in the color of the plaster: a yellow streak appears near the bottom of the feet of the cattle that does not appear to be related to the design. This is most likely an area high in hydrated iron oxide and/or natural yellow ocher (a yellow clay material containing silica and hydrated iron oxides). These yellow materials are frequently found as a constituent of limestones, and examples of limestone with a distinctly yellow, clay-like appearance were found in the area of the mastabas. The blocks of the wall are mortared together with what appears to be the same plaster as the plaster that remains on the surface. Modern mortar is also present in the joints between blocks and around the edges of plaster fragments.

In the recessed chapel, the pillar is generally in a good state of preservation. On the east face is a standing male figure in raised relief, with a thin layer of fine plaster surviving on his legs and traces of coarse pink plaster fill irregularities in the stone. The painted plaster has been coated with a varnish or resin. The surface seems fairly cohesive, although some areas sound hollow when tapped with a fingernail. The damage to the belt tie appears in 1987 photographs but not in Reisner's 1939 photographs. Old graffiti are carved into the surface. The south face of the pillar is 90–95% intact, except for the surface of plaster gesso and paint, of which only about 5% remains. The figure is carved in raised relief. Flaws in the stone were patched with coarse pink plaster and covered with finer pink plaster. The north side of the pillar shows a similar degree of preservation. Traces of green paint were noted at the edge of the eastern border. Pencil graffiti, scratches, and abrasion were already present in the 1987 photograph.

The jambs facing the pillar are almost as well preserved. On the north, 70% of the decorative scheme and about 5% of the original surface plaster remains. There are several loose plaster fills. On the southern jamb, 80% of the original design scheme remains, along with 40% of the original surface. Modern mortar is present in joints that appear filled with ancient plaster in Reisner's photographs. The underside of the arms of figures in the second register have been carved out; this alteration appears in the 1987 photographs. In the lower register, old adhesive is visible in the middle figure, where loss of plaster has occurred. Some of the plaster is loose, but most of it is well adhered.

The south wall of the chapel has been more crudely carved in raised relief, then thinly plastered and recarved and painted. Although much of the original surface was lost even before excavation, 70% of the total design scheme remains. Perhaps an additional 5% has been lost since the 1930s. Modern mortar is present, and the plaster is generally well adhered.

The southern false door, on the western wall, preserves about 30% of the raised relief decoration. The inscriptions are in sunk relief. Pink plaster and red paint survive. On the tablet, pale pink plaster underlies the fragmentary remains of a darker red plaster. The roughly cut limestone was thus surfaced with at least two layers of coarse plaster. Although some loss of plaster was noted since Reisner's photographs, there has been little change since 1987. Traces of red paint are present clearly in the central niche of the false door.

The niched facade between the two false doors is 90% preserved, although only about 30% of the original surface survives. The block in the upper left of the facade, which had been removed in the 1930's photograph, has been replaced. Modern mortar is present, as are scrapes and abrasions that apparently occurred between Reisner's photographs and those taken in 1987. There are traces of red paint and also blue or green paint on the panels. The lower left section of niching is in danger of being lost, because the stone is delaminating. There are signs of recent loss here, probably visible in the 1987 photograph.

The north false door seems more or less intact since Reisner's photographs, although brown drip marks appear in the innermost niche. The signs of impact damage appear already on the 1987 photographs. Of the decorative scheme, 50% remains, but only 10% of the original surface is intact. The surface is very worn.

Above both false doors and the facade between them is a lintel with a long inscription in raised hieroglyphs, of which about 70% seem clear although less than 5% of the plaster surface remains. There are traces of red paint. Of the offering scene and offering list at the ends of the wall above the lintel, almost no original surface remains. The central portion appears never to have been carved.

On the north wall of the chapel, most of what Reisner photographed is still extant, amounting to about 60% of the original design scheme. Only 5–10% of the original plaster surface survives, however; and some of this is in immediate danger of loss, especially near the top of the wall.

Conservation treatment. Several areas of plaster on the west wall of the corridor were consolidated and adhered with Rohm and Haas acryloid B48N 5% in 1,1,1 trichloroethylene and Kodak polymerized methyl methacrylate 20% in trichloroethylene or xylene. Extensive treatment was not possible in this tomb due to poor air circulation and the extended epigraphic work required there.

THE TOMB OF ZA-IB: Mastaba g 2092+2093

area 0.91 sq. m; capacity 0.72 cu. m
 passage without jambs 0.7 x 0.35 m; height 0.75 m
 completely plundered
 Shaft 2093 d: 1.1 x 1.02 m; 3.0 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 completely plundered
 Shaft 2093 e: 0.9 x 0.97 m; 3.2 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on east. 0.82 x 1.3 m; height 0.7 m
 area 1.06 sq. m; capacity 0.74 cu. m
 scattered human bones; no objects

Summary of Reisner's Description

Mastaba type: viii c[/b](1)⁶¹
 composite mastaba formed by addition to nucleus
 13.85 x 10.45 m; height 3.0 m on east, 2.45 m on west
 area 144.73 sq. m; proportion 1/1.32
 exterior chapel [pillared court] on the north: about 4.9 x 6.3 m
 area 30.87 sq. m
 total area: 175.60 sq. m
 facing masonry type: [2093 is z-masonry, 2092 is u-masonry]
 Chapel type:
 interior chapel of type (11b)
 recess: 4.15 x 2.25 m; no pilasters, one loose pillar
 area 9.33 sq. m; proportion 1/1.84
 walls preserved only to height of 1.0 m
 corridor: 9.1 x 1.05; area 9.55 sq. m
 false door recess at north end 0.65 x 0.1 m
 total area of chapel 18.88 sq. m; relation 1/7.66
 exterior chapel of type (8) [= court]
 court 3.05 x 5.6; area 17.08 sq. m
 embrasure in front of doorway 1.0 x 1.3 m; area 1.3 sq. m
 total area 18.38 sq. m
 Shaft 2092 a: 0.9 x 1.05; 2.9 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 7 a(1) in middle of shaft; 0.93 x 0.51 m
 area 0.47 sq. m; preserved to height of .15 m
 completely plundered
 Shaft 2092 b: 1.1 x 1.15 m; 3.5 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 completely plundered
 Shaft 2092 c: 0.85 x 1.0 m; 1.3 m lined with rubble; ends at limestone fill
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 completely plundered
 Shaft 2093 a: 1.3 x 1.3 m; 2.6 m (7 courses) of masonry; -4.9 m in rock
 chamber type: 5 a(2) on west. 3.05 x 2.1 m; height 1.7 m
 area 6.4 sq. m; capacity 10.88 cu. m
 passage without jambs: 1.3 x 0.3 m; 1.7 m high
 coffin: outside 2.4 x 1.05 m; height 0.75 m
 cavity 1.8 x 0.5 m; 0.525 m deep; lid thickness [not given]
 no remains of burial; four alabaster models
 Shaft 2093 b: 0.85 x 1.0 m; 2.7 m lined with rubble, ends at bad rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.95 x 0.7 m; height 0.65 m
 area 1.36 sq. m; capacity 0.88 cu. m
 completely plundered and nearly destroyed
 Shaft 2093 c: 1.0 x 0.9 m; 2.45 m lined with rubble; ends at bad rock
 chamber type: 8 a(2) on east. 1.3 x 0.7 m; height 0.8 m

Excavation

Mastaba g 2092 was first encountered on August 1, 1936, by workmen in the process of clearing the west face of 2091. The area between the mastabas was filled with drift sand, rubble, and stones at the top, and lower down included limestone debris of increasing size and "black debris." At the base was a mudbrick floor, laid over a pebbly red bedrock surface. The portico/pillared room to the north of 2092 was noted on August 7, but not cleared. The top of 2092 continued to be cleared of a layer of drift sand, limestone debris and rubble until the shafts were exposed. Some large limestone debris and rubble from the collapse of the facade of g 2000 was removed on the south. The clearance then apparently moved westward to the top of 2093, and the shafts of this part of the mastaba were exposed on August 13 and 14. The corridor and recessed chapel were cleared on the 15. A single pillar, with decoration and traces of red paint, was noted in the chapel; the decoration and paint on the walls of the corridor were also noted. August 16 and 17 were spent clearing the room to the north, where limestone debris and rubble underlay the surface drift sand, and the small secondary mastaba, 2092a, was exposed.

The eight shafts of 2092 and 2093 were cleared between August 20 and 23. In none of them was the blocking intact; and only 2093 a and 2093 d contained any remains. Most of the shafts were filled with limestone debris, rubble, and sand. g 2092 b also contained black debris, and 2092 c contained pebbles and no sand. Shaft 2093 a seems to have been stratified, with a thick layer of drift sand above a layer of limestone debris, pebbles and red sand. Pebbles and black debris were also noted in the fill of shaft 2093 e.

Clearance south of the eastern part of this tomb (mastaba g 2092) in search of new mastabas on March 9, 1939, led to the discovery of the torso of a seated male statue with remains of red paint. The two large fragments with sunk inscription found on the previous day south of 2091 were almost certainly the architrave inscribed with the titles of the owner of this mastaba that are presently in this area.

Further clearance was carried out by the Giza inspectorate of the EAO between 1990 and 1994, when the walls of the chapel were being reconstructed. Parts of the chapel floor were uncovered to bedrock, exposing a large cavity near the northwest corner of the recess. This irregular cavity is about a meter in diameter and roughly three-quarters of a meter deep, although a large decorated block from the eastern wall of the chapel is currently lodged in the hole, so it may be even deeper below. Presumably the block fell into the hole after the removal of the flooring. This clearance also uncovered a number of large, apparently undecorated blocks, including two large pieces that clearly represent the bases of two pillars.

⁶¹ This type, assigned in the manuscript, is consonant with the chapel type (10c) that was assigned in the first draft and later changed to (11b). Type (11b) would imply mastaba type x; it is not clear whether Reisner would have reassigned 2092+2093 to type x as well. The mastaba in its final form might equally well have been assigned to chapel type (5d), "alcove... at south end of west wall, with or without niches in alcove, and one or more niches in remainder of west wall." This type would imply the mastaba type viii b/c(1). (The designation b/c indicates that the masonry of the facing is a mixture: 2093 is faced with z-masonry, while 2092 is faced with u-masonry.)

The courtyard to the north of the chapel has also been cleared, revealing the square bases of both pillars, which extend about 10 cm out from the pillar itself, and seem to be about 10 cm high. The door-sill of the chapel is approximately 50 cm above these bases; there may have been one or more steps leading up to it, although there is no trace of such steps present now.

Finds

South of the eastern part of the mastaba was found the upper torso of a seated male statue.

39-3-6 Well-carved statue fragment (see fig. 62 and pl. 32b, upper right).

The chest is modeled, and the tie of the kilt can be seen above the belt h. 13 cm; w. 16.5 cm; th. 7.8 cm

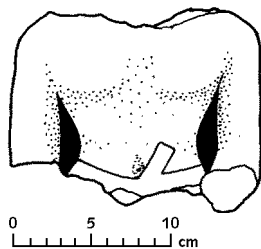


Fig. 62. Upper torso of seated male statue from south of g 2092. 39-3-6.

In Shaft 2093 a, which had apparently been plundered, four alabaster vessels were found.

36-8-3 Three model dishes:

(a) type s-ixa; h. 1.5 cm; d. 4.6 cm

(b) type s-ixa; h. 1.7 cm; d. 4.6 cm

(c) type s-xa(1) h. 2.1 cm; d. 5.6 cm; d. base 2.5 cm

36-8-4 Model cylinder jar, with concave sides, type s-i d (fig. 63); h. 4.0 cm; d. rim 4.6 cm; d. min. 2.9 cm; d. base 3.1 cm

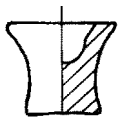


Fig. 63. Alabaster model cylinder vessel from shaft g 2093 a. 36-8-4.

Shaft 2093 e contained bones registered as 36-8-5.

Architecture

The two mastabas, 2092 and 2093 both belonged to a man named Za-ib.⁶² g 2096 and serdabs 2 and 3 of 2097 were later extensions of this same complex. The building history of the tomb is quite complex.

In its first manifestation, the large mastaba 2093 was built, with a recessed chapel (pl. 66a). This chapel probably had an architrave supported by two pillars, based on the carrying limits of Giza limestone. (Large fragments of these pillars are still preserved in the chapel, including both bases.) This first mastaba resembled the orig-

inal form of 2091 to the east in its shape and orientation, although it exceeded it considerably in size. Like 2091, it extended further south than the mastaba east of it (in this case 2091 itself) so as to make it more visible to passersby. The desire to attract the attention of these passersby was also probably the motive for the anomalous placement of the false door. It was built in the protruding southern part of the facade, rather than in the recessed chapel.

It is unclear why 2092 was built, obscuring this false door. It has no trace of an independent cult place, so it was almost certainly an extension of 2093 from the beginning. It seems probable from the alterations to the door socket emplacement that the door at the north end of the chapel was moved from a previous position, and the south end of the gap between 2092 and 2093 is the most likely original location for it. The fact that 2092 is faced with battered masonry while 2093 is faced with stepped masonry also suggests that the two mastabas were not originally contiguous. The inner joins of these mastabas on the south are indeterminate, and the outer facades were not cleared.

Shortly after the building of 2092, when Phase ii began, the jambs and lintel of the new southern doorway were moved to their present position at the northern end of the chapel. Slightly later, the extension 2096 was built against the north face of 2093, perhaps in part to mask the discrepancy in facing styles that would have been especially obvious from the new northern approach. (The abutment is clear in pl. 66b.)

The area directly north of 2092 was then rebuilt as a pillared portico. This involved covering the exterior walls of 2091 and 2092 with a vertical facing, both to match 2096 and to support the roof blocks. The pillars of this portico may originally have been closer to the north face of 2092, since there is a notch to hold a lintel in that position in the east wall of 2096 (as well as lower notches that align with the pillars in their present position; see pls. 63a and 83c).

A small, unobtrusive door was left in the facing, to allow passage between 2091 and 2092 (pls. 62a-b). This seems to have been strictly utilitarian, with no monumental characteristics. As suggested in Chapter 2, it may have been required to allow people to visit the tombs to the south of the cluster during the closure of the path leading to and around g 2000, but it was clearly not meant to draw casual passersby.

The final additions to 2092+2093 by its owner were probably the two serdabs in front of the portico, which converted it into a courtyard (pls. 84b and 85a-b). These serdabs, which Reisner numbered as part of 2097 (2097.S2 and 2097.S3), have slots in their north faces, which indicates that the expected visitor would be coming from the north, then continuing on into 2092+2093. They thus properly belong to this mastaba rather than 2097. The doorway between these two serdabs, however, is to be connected with 2097, because of its monumental appearance from the south and the orientation of its drum lintel; it is thus probably considerably later than the serdabs. The motive for closing off the portico may have been the construction of 2097', which made the portico much deeper and hence less accessible than it had been previously. Za-ib was perhaps also responsible for a final extension to the north, the construction of a court-

⁶² This name has been given as Geb-ib in most of the notes. One text complements the goose sign in this name with a bolt *z* sign, however, suggesting that the name is to be read *Zi.(j)-jb.(j)*, "My son is my desire." The placement of the *b* complement consistently before rather than after the *jb* biliteral might point towards the reading *Gb-jb*, "Wish of Geb," but as far as I can determine, however, no theophoric names based on the name of the god Geb are known from the Old Kingdom or any later period. Neither name formation is paralleled, since names formed on *jb* in the Old Kingdom are normally adjectival (*Sndm-jb*, *Ndm-jb*, *Mri-jb*, *swt-jb*) or adverbial (*Ks-m-jb*), or diminutive (*Bb-jb*). *Hks-jb* may be the closest parallel. Together with the occurrence of the *z* in one writing, the absence of Geb from other theophoric names tilts the balance towards the reading *Za-ib*. *PM* ³² assigns this mastaba to "Nima^cetre^c. Dyn. VI," but this attribution properly belongs only to the subsidiary mastaba 2092a.

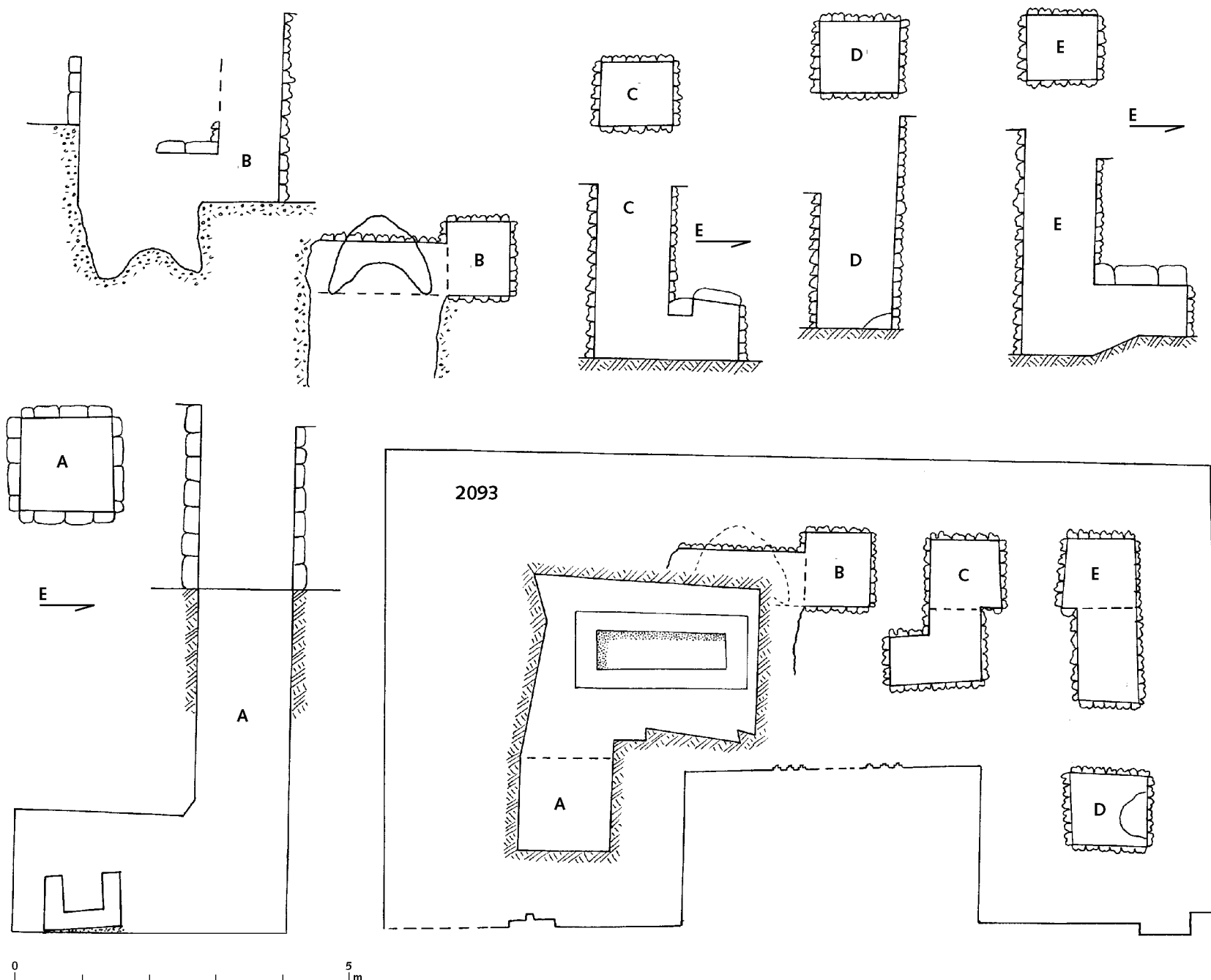


Fig. 64. Outline and shaft plans of g 2093. (No plans of the shafts of 2092 seem to have been made.)

yard between 2097 and 2097', in cooperation with Nimaatre, the owner of 2097.

The floor of the chapel is problematic. The bedrock slopes up markedly at this point (pl. 137), and there is a step up of about 50 cm from the courtyard on the north to the doorsill, and the corridor at the south end of the chapel has a "bench" outcropping, probably a floor-scar, on its west wall that is several centimeters higher still. In the central recess, however, the current floor is much lower, but it is much too irregular to have served as the floor of the chapel. Perhaps a masonry floor is to be restored at the level of the floor-scar, which

is just a few centimeters lower than the bases of the false door and the niched facade on the west wall of the recess.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft 2092 a had a shallow north-south chamber cut down into the rock across the center of the bottom of the shaft. The roof was gone and the chamber was empty. Shafts 2092 b and c were simply shafts from the top of the mastaba down to the surface of the bedrock, with no chambers. Nothing of note was found in them, nor are Tomb Cards preserved showing them.

Shaft 2093 a was the principal shaft of the mastaba. It has clear foot-holds cut into all four sides (see fig. 2 above). Its chamber was rock cut, and extended to the west and north of the shaft. Its north and west walls were straight, but the other two were quite irregular. The limestone coffin lay north to south. According to the Reis's Diary, its lid was displaced⁶³ and it contained sand, rubble, and stones. The Tomb Card shows the eastern side of the coffin to have been raised, or perhaps leveled, by underlying debris. No human remains were recorded, but four small alabaster vessels, 36-8-3 and 36-8-4, were found among the debris.

Shaft 2093 b was described as nearly destroyed, and the Tomb Card drawing is difficult to understand. There was apparently an irregular crescent-shaped excavation in the bottom of the chamber, which intersected another shaft that is not otherwise recorded.

Shaft 2093 c had a simple chamber built of rubble and roofed with stone slabs. It was found open and empty.

Shaft 2093 d was a straight shaft with no chamber, like 2092 b and c. The tomb card shows a peculiar lump, presumably bedrock, at the center of the base of the north wall.

Shaft 2093 e had a slab-roofed chamber a few centimeters above the base of the shaft. It was open, but contained scattered human bones, the remains of a burial.

Date

Cherpion's criteria date 2092+2093 to the reign of Niuserre,⁶⁴ but other features suggest that a date in the reign of Izezi is more likely. The most interesting peculiarity of the decoration is the tomb owner's posture on the false door, standing on the tablet, and seated on the jambs. The seated posture on the jambs occurs rarely in the last two reigns of the Fifth Dynasty, but primarily in the Sixth Dynasty.⁶⁵ The only example where this feature is combined with a standing figure on the tablet is the Giza false door of Nagy, in g 2352.⁶⁶ Since Nagy bears a title referring to Izezi, his monument can be no earlier than that reign. The standing figure on the false door tablet, though not the standing figure on the jambs, also occurs in the Saqqara tomb of Ma-nefer,⁶⁷ which likewise contains titles precluding a date earlier than Izezi.

Za-ib's tomb thus probably dates to the same period, or perhaps slightly earlier, in the reign of Menkauhor. Corroborating this date is the order of the titles on an architrave from the tomb that may have been discarded as early as the beginning of Phase ii, which, as is discussed below, does not fit Baer's variable sequence Vb (Neferirkare-Djedkare), but does fit his sequence Vc (Djedkare-Unis).

The original mastaba (2093) and probably also its first extension (2092) were built during Phase i, although the decoration may have been applied later. Its northern courtyard and northern entrance were added at the time of Phase ii. It continued to be expanded into

the later part of Phase ii, as can be seen by the construction of the two serdabs north of the court. This, however, is probably the last part of the period of construction. Strangely, the decoration of the doorway appears to be unfinished, although this is not the case with the interior decoration.

Decoration of Chapel

Almost all the drawings of decoration in this chapel were made from full-sized tracings of the relief made in 1987 and 1989 and reduced to the same scale (1:5). The exceptions are a loose block no longer in the chapel (pl. 173a) and a scene on the east wall of the chapel that had disappeared almost entirely (pl. 182); these were drawn from tracings of the enlarged excavation photographs.

Entrance (pls. 66b, 67a-b, 170-71, and 172a). The thicknesses of the door jambs show mirror images of the tomb owner, very well-carved and finely modeled. He wears a starched triangular kilt, broad collar, long wig and a short beard, and carries a handkerchief and a tall staff. The titles above his staff read *smr, hrp ḥ, jmsḥw, jmj-r ḥntjw-š pr-ḳ, zsb ḳd-mr, Zs-jb*,⁶⁸ "companion, controller of the palace, venerated one, overseer of palace attendants, judge and administrator, Za-ib." The carving on the west jamb is incomplete; only the last sign of the name is clear. The drum lintel above is also unfinished, and is inscribed with only four signs: *nb.frc nb*. It was apparently intended to list Za-ib's name and titles, with an epithet such as "[venerated by] his lord every day."

West wall, north end (pls. 68b and 172b). Only one block is preserved in this part of the wall, representing the lower right hand corner of the decoration. It is quite easily moved, but it appears to fit well in its present position, which can probably be assumed to be its original one. The block shows two men picking grapes into baskets. Other parts of the wall probably had representations of wine-making.

Recessed chapel. The walls of the recessed chapel are not preserved to the height where the decoration begins in this tomb. The only standing decoration is the large palace facade niching centered on the west wall. Several loose blocks can probably be assigned to this area, however.

The most interesting of these is a block found on top of 2096 (pls. 68c and 173a), preserving the head and shoulders of Kapi and his wife. He wears a long wig, a broad collar, a shoulder knot, and probably a leopard skin, and holds a staff. She wears long hair and a broad collar with a high choker. The seven lines of text above them are badly damaged but they can largely be read: *zsb ḳd-mr pr-ḳ, smr, hrp ḥ, hrj sḥs n pr dwst, jmj-r ḥntjw-š pr-ḳ, jmsḥw hr ntr ḳ, mrr nb.f Zs-jb; [ḥmt.f] ... ḥmt-ntr Nt, ... mrr ... Tntt*. "Judge and district administrator of the palace, companion and controller of the palace, who is over the secrets of the *pr-dwst*, overseer of the palace attendants, venerated before the great god, beloved of his lord, Za-ib; [his wife] ... prophetess of Neith, ... beloved [of her husband/lord]

⁶⁸ It is on the eastern jamb that the name is written with the phonetic complement *z*, making the reading of the goose hieroglyph more likely to be *z* than *Gb*.

⁶³ Reisner's *Giza Manuscript*, p. 151, in contrast, states: "both box and lid slightly displaced."

⁶⁴ See Chapter 2.

⁶⁵ Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, p. 130, n. 82 and p. 263, gives this dating and describes this feature as "fairly uncommon."

⁶⁶ W.K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery: Part I*, Giza Mastabas 4 (Boston, 1980), pp. 34-35, pl. 57b, and fig. 45.

⁶⁷ LS 17, published in H. Junker, *Giza 8*, (Vienna, 1947), pp. 59-60 and fig. 23.

Tjentet.” Behind Tjentet stand two women; the one in the upper register, named *Tt*, at least in part, holds two ducks; the top of a goose’s head may be discerned above, suggesting that she was a daughter. Below her, another woman is identified as *zst.f Mjt*, “his daughter Mit.” At the right edge of the block are traces identifying two men. Above the foot of a man called *Pth... zst.f*, “Ptah..., his son,” or perhaps the group Ptah belongs to one of the son’s titles. In the register below are the signs *kps...*, determined with an incense burner. This may be a caption, *ksp*, “censing,” or perhaps part of a personal name (a man named *Kps-ms* is represented on the southern false door in 2091).

This block is probably to be restored on the north wall of the recess, or perhaps on the west wall to the right of the palace facade. One puzzling circumstance is the serdab slot in the top of the block (see pl. 83c). The position of this slot, well above the heads of the principal figures, would be unusually inaccessible. Moreover, no serdab was found in the mastaba. The most likely explanation is that the block was reused from an earlier structure.

Four of the other fragments can be pieced together. The resulting scene shows a man in a starched triangular kilt, presumably Za-ib, striding towards the left (pl. 68d, left, and 173b, c). In front of him, still to the right of his staff stands a woman with a long pigtail, holding two birds. Above her is the inscription: *zst.f Nfr-wn.s*, “his daughter Nefer-wenes.” Another man, depicted on a smaller scale, approaches from the right. This scene is at approximately the same scale as the right facing scene on the block found on 2096, so their placement may have been symmetrical, although one would have expected Tjentet to appear in both.

An isolated fragment shows the decoration of the left face of a corner block (pl. 173c). This could have been from either corner of the recess: if it was from the southern corner, it probably depicts piled offerings above the offering table scene on the west wall of the corridor south of the recess; otherwise it is probably from the north wall of the recess itself.

Another isolated fragment was recorded as coming from north of this area (pls. 68b and 172c). It is preserved only in a photograph with no scale. Its style and the appearance of the stone differ markedly from 2097, the only other decorated tomb in the area, so 2092+2093 is a likely provenience. The block shows the hand and shoulder of a left-facing man holding a staff and labeled *jmshw ...*, “the venerated one ...” Approaching him are two men depicted on a smaller scale, wearing starched triangular kilts. The first displays an unrolled papyrus and is accompanied by an incomplete caption that probably began above his head: *... r ms jmj-r pr*, “... in order to see. The steward.” Behind him is another man with two scrolls. The caption in front of him reads *... d... nt pr dt*, “[something feminine] of the funerary estate.” (I can suggest no appropriate restoration.)

The other decoration that can be restored in the recessed chapel is the surviving pillar, decorated on all four sides (pl. 69a–d, 175a–b, and 176a–b). As noted above, this was probably one of two or even three pillars supporting the roof in this area. This pillar shows two pairs of representations of Za-ib, each pair sharing the same basic dress, attitude, and to some extent the same sequence of names and titles. The two figures of each pair are of opposite orientations, and

face each other around a corner. In one pair (the original orientation of the pillar is unknown), Za-ib wears short hair and a starched triangular kilt and holds a handkerchief and staff; in the other, he is shown with long hair, a simple wrapped kilt and holds his hands empty at his sides. In all four cases, there is a four-line text above the figure, ending in the name Za-ib, which is written again in front of the face.

Assuming that there were originally two pillars, the two figures shown with triangular skirts holding staffs probably depicted the tomb owner walking away from the niche and facing the other pillar. This seems to be the usual attitude of the outer figures on a pair of pillars in this cemetery; for example in 2088 (pl. 146b), although these two are empty handed, and 2240 (pl. 121c). The more passive empty-handed figures with wrapped kilts would have been oriented toward the back of the recess and away from the center aisle between the pillars. Since the two faces of the pillar with left-facing figures are more badly damaged, it seems reasonable to assume that they were on the sides not sheltered by the architrave and more likely to have been damaged by falling roof material and weathering, that is, the east and west. These two assumptions imply that this surviving pillar was the one originally on the north side of the chapel, and they allow the faces to be assigned orientations. These proposed orientations are used in the plates and in the following discussion, in part for simplicity of reference.

The active, short-haired pair (pls. 69a–b and 175a–b) shows more differences in detail between the figures. In the representation placed on the south, Za-ib wears his hair over his ears and also wears a short beard. On the east, he is beardless, and his hair is somewhat shorter, revealing his ears; and he also wears a broad collar. The texts accompanying this figure are identical, and identically written. (The missing *jb* sign before the face of the right-facing figure is visible on the excavation photograph.)

<i>smr, hrp ḥ, mrr nb.f</i>	Companion, controller of the palace, beloved of his lord,
<i>zsb ḏ-mr pr-ḳ, hrj sšts</i>	judge and administrator of the palace, who is over the secrets,
<i>jmshw hr nb.f</i>	venerated before his lord,
<i>jmj-r hntjw-š pr-ḳ Zs-jb</i>	the overseer of palace attendants, Za-ib.

The two representations of Za-ib in a long wig seem to have been identical, with the exception of the tie that can be seen in the belt of the figure on the west, and the carved line of the kilt’s overlap carved on the north figure. The first two lines of the texts accompanying them vary slightly, however. The text on the north face (pls. 69c and 176a) reads:

<i>zsb ḏ-mr pr-ḳ, mrr nb.f</i>	judge and administrator of the palace, beloved of his lord,
<i>smr, hrp ḥ, hrj sšts</i>	companion, controller of the palace, who is over the secrets,

while the text of the figure on the west face (pls. 69d and 176b) begins:

<i>smr, hrp ḥ, mr.tw</i>	Companion, controller of the palace, whom one loves.
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hrj sšꜣ n pr dwꜣ He who is over the secrets of the *pr-dwꜣt*.

Both texts end identically:

jmj-r hntjw-š pr-ꜣ overseer of palace attendants,
jmšhw Zꜣ-jb the venerated one, Za-ib.

An architrave found to the south of 2092 (pls. 70a and 177) may have originally rested upon this pillar, or it may have served as a cornice above the abandoned southern entrance. The titles it gives (almost certainly those of Za-ib, since no other tomb owner in this area is called *zsb ꜥd-mr* or *hrp ꜥh*), are identical to those on the faces of the pillar, but in a different sequence: *smr, hrp ꜥh, hrj sšꜣ, zsb ꜥd-mr pr-ꜣ, jmj-r [hntjw-š] pr-ꜣ* The consistent features of Za-ib's titulary is that the title string *smr, hrp ꜥh* precedes the title *hrj sšꜣ n pr dwꜣ*, which suits a date after the beginning of the reign of Djedkare Izezi.⁶⁹ The title "overseer of the palace attendants" invariably comes last, presumably because it was the most important.

West wall, south end (pls. 70b–c, 71a, and 178). To the south of the recess, the chapel of 2092+2093 narrows to a corridor. The right end of the west wall is decorated with a standard offering scene, of which only the base and the left edge are preserved. Za-ib is seated at a table, wearing long hair, a broad collar, and kilt. Above him are the signs *fand jb*, probably the remains of *[mrr nb.]f[Zꜣ]-jb*, "beloved of his lord, Za-ib." Below the table are four "1,000" signs, the commodities they enumerated above them are lost. To the right of the table leg is the end of an offering formula: *m ht nb nfr rꜥ nb Zꜣ-jb*, "... with every good thing every day, Za-ib." Below is a scene of butchers. At the left a man brings a foreleg to the false door. The two butchers behind him are captioned *dm ds*, "sharpening the knife," and *šdt hstj*, "removing the heart," and their actions suit the words. A third butcher stands waiting behind them with the spouted jar used to hold the heart. A fourth man, carrying another leg, is captioned *špꜣt stpw*..., "bringing choice things (forelegs and birds)..." No birds are depicted. The figure at the right edge of the block bends over slightly, and is probably occupied with the butchery of another animal.

False door (pls. 71b, 72a, and 179). The principal feature of this corridor is the false door, which is recessed and slightly battered. Its decoration is unusual principally in that Za-ib is shown seated on the jambs, but standing on the tablet, the reverse of the usual positions. On the tablet, Za-ib stands, holding a handkerchief and a tall staff, wearing a long wig, a short beard and a starched triangular kilt. Before him, in three vertical lines of inscription, is *smr, hrp ꜥh n mrwt mrr nb.f, zsb ꜥd-mr pr-ꜣ, jmj-r hntjw-š pr-ꜣ, jmšhw Zꜣ-jb*, "companion, controller of the palace because his lord loves (him), judge and administrator of the palace, overseer of palace attendants, the venerated one, Za-ib." On the lintel below, he is again called overseer of palace attendants, and on the jambs below the lintel, simply overseer of attendants. On these wide jambs, he is shown seated, again hold-

ing a handkerchief and staff. His title and his name are given in two horizontal lines above his head.

South wall (pls. 72b and 180). This short end wall shows two registers of offering bearers below a register of sealed jars. In the middle register, two men bring a platter piled with offerings, while a third man to their right carries something, perhaps meat, dangling from a stick. In the lowest register, three more men carry individual offerings. They are captioned ... *rꜥ nb m ht nb nfr rꜥ nb*, "... daily, with every good thing daily." The right half of the wall is entirely lost.⁷⁰

East wall, south end (pls. 73a–b, 74a, 181 and 182). Directly opposite the false door is a marsh scene. At the right end, Za-ib is shown standing in a papyrus boat holding a bird in one hand as a decoy, while the other is raised behind him to cast a throw stick. To the left, in the lowest register, the marsh is crossed by a herd of cattle. In the lead is a cowherd carrying a calf over his shoulder, and to the left the horns of the cattle following him can be seen. The register above this shows a recumbent cow with the top of a papyrus stalk from the adjacent stalk in her mouth. Her calf is tethered nearby. To the left, another cow walks to the left: the text above her reads *hmt*, "cow." In the upper preserved register can be seen the legs of a cow, facing right, and beneath them, the legs of her nursing calf, facing left. The farthest left scene in this section of the wall is in the lowest register. It shows several men walking away from the marsh, carrying their rolled mats and their catch on sticks over their shoulders.

East wall, north end (pls. 74b and 183). The center portion of the east wall has fallen completely and the surfaces on each side are badly worn. At the northern end, in the lower register, three men can be seen at the right cutting wheat, bending with their sickles. To the left of the first man is a fourth man walking upright, probably a supervisor. To the left of these men, in an area bordered on either side by four bales of hay, a group of five donkeys are treading the grain, urged on by three men running after them and banging sticks together. Above the donkeys is the caption *šbt*, "threshing." The men were quite brightly painted at the time of excavation, and some red paint can still be seen on their legs.

In the far right corner of the register above is a pair of men making rope. The seated man holds the ends while the standing man swings a weight to twist the fibers.⁷¹ Between them are three coils of finished rope. The two seated men to the right may be engaged in the same or a similar process: the foremost, at right, has his left leg held out straight in the same attitude as that of the seated rope maker at left. At the right edge of the preserved scene, after a long gap, two standing men face a fourth seated man. This may be still more rope-making, or possibly another scene entirely.

⁶⁹ According to the charts in K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, (Chicago, 1960), pp. 231–33, the title *hrj sšꜣ n pr dwꜣt* should precede *hrp ꜥh* in his period vb (Neferirkare–Djedkare) and come after *hrp ꜥh* (as it does on the architrave, the west face of the pillar, and the loose block from 2096) in period vc (Djedkare–Unis) and period Vd/V1a (Unis–Teti).

⁷⁰ When the wall was traced, the block on the upper right had been moved to fill the gap to the right of the block below it. Its position in the drawing was restored based on the excavation photographs and the coherence of the decoration. This block has now been restored on the wall in accordance with the photograph as part of the 1994 restoration work in this tomb. See the section on conservation in this mastaba below.

⁷¹ See Teeter, *JEA* 73 (1987), pp. 71–77, for parallels.

The upper register seems to show a procession of desert animals. At the far right a man runs behind an animal (completely lost) threatening it with a whip. Farther to the right two men run after an ibex or gazelle.

In 1991 when I visited the tomb, a large decorated block was lodged in the huge hole in the floor of the northwest corner of the chapel, which had been revealed by the EAO clearance. It could not be photographed or drawn, and I could not locate it in 1994. The block was about 60 cm long by 50 cm high, and its surface was coated with a layer of weathered plaster. The decoration was very eroded, but parts of two registers could be seen. At the lower left were the overlapping heads and horns of two oxen, perhaps part of a plowing scene. The register above depicted a body of water that extended the entire length of the block. Near the right edge of the block, a man was shown wading through it, moving to the right. His body was bent slightly forward, and his left arm was bent in front of him at a right angle, so that his forearm paralleled the surface of the water below. He was perhaps grasping the stern of a boat to keep his balance. His left arm was extended behind him almost horizontally, perhaps to pull some large animal along, or in a gesture to his companions. The left part of this register was entirely eroded. This block presumably belonged in the gap on the eastern wall of the chapel, perhaps to the left of the other marsh and cattle scenes at the north end.

Tomb Owner and Dependents

Titles of Za-ib:

<i>zsb ʕd-mr [pr-ʕ]</i>	Dignitary, administrator [of the palace] (entrance jambs, pillar, false door tablet, architrave, block from 2096)
<i>smr</i>	Companion (entrance jambs; pillar; false door tablet; architrave; block from 2096)
<i>hrp ʕh</i>	Controller of the palace (entrance jambs; pillar; false door tablet; architrave; block from 2096)
<i>jmj-r hntjw-š pr-ʕ</i>	Overseer of palace attendants (entrance jambs; pillar; false door tablet, lintel, and jambs; architrave; block from 2096)
<i>hrj ššš [n pr dwš]</i>	Master of the secrets [of the <i>pr-dwš</i>] (pillar; architrave; block from 2096)
<i>jmšhw hr ntr</i>	Venerated before the god (false door tablet; block from 2096)

Family:

Wife: ... <i>hmt-ntr Nt</i> ... <i>Tntt</i> ...	prophetess of Neith... Tjentet (block from 2096)
daughter: <i>zst.fNfr-wn.s</i>	(block from 2093)
daughter: <i>zst.fMj.t</i>	(block from 2096)
daughter?: <i>zst.fTt</i> ...	(block from 2096)
son: ...- <i>Pth</i>	(or part of his title?) (block from 2096)
attendant: <i>Kpš-...</i>	(or part of a caption?) (block from 2096)

Tjentet is the name of a “king’s daughter,” daughter of a king’s daughter named Wenshet (g 4840), who is a prophet of Neith and Hathor.⁷² Another daughter of the same woman is Wehem-neferet, called Tjentet, who is also attested in two tombs at Saqqara.⁷³ She and her husband had five children, and Tjentet seems to be a common name in this family. A false door from Giza in the British Museum is shared by a woman named Tjentet and her husband Ramu, and depicts their son Ka-khent, suggesting family connections with the similarly named owner of 2099, Raramu, as well as the owner of 2088.⁷⁴ One of these women. One of these women, or a fourth woman named *Tntt*, owned a lintel that was found reused.⁷⁵ Some sort of connection between these families is suggested by the similarities of their names, but would be it would be difficult to define them more precisely.

Conservation (Pamela Hatchfield)

This tomb stands unroofed and open to the elements. Public access is not physically restricted. Perhaps 10% of the total original decoration remains today.

On the doorjambs, the standing figures in raised relief were apparently first carved in the stone, and then sculpted in plaster. Modern graffiti, both scratched and in pencil, are present. The eye of the western figure has been attacked with a sharp tool of some sort since the record photographs of 1987 were taken. The figure has been outlined in pencil. This jamb has apparently been treated with a resin or varnish, which seems to have had a preservative effect on the surface; it seems relatively intact since the 1930s photographs. Significant amounts of plaster remain.

Almost no plaster remains on the eastern jamb, except for traces of pink plaster in the eye of the figure. No coating is present and the stone is heavily and irregularly weathered. The stone itself is very coarsely textured, with large nummulites and voids.

On the north side of the door, fragments of large plaster fills remain in the corners. There is no apparent decoration on the north sides of the jambs, but there are the beginnings of a deeply sunk hieroglyphic inscription on the north side of the drum lintel.

The east wall of the chapel is preserved only at its north and south ends; the decorated blocks of the middle portion, opposite the recessed part of the west wall, have completely disappeared. The decoration on this wall was carved almost entirely into a plaster coating, although the deepest cuts are also visible in the limestone.

At the north end of the wall, Reisner’s photographs show extensive paint, but now only traces of paint remain. Since Reisner’s photographs, a 2–3” border has been lost around the edges of the plastered areas, but the surviving plaster is fairly hard and well-preserved. Outlines of the figures were made by incision, now “enhanced” by graffiti already visible in the 1987 photographs. Some graffiti and scratching of the surface were noted even since the 1987

⁷² *PM* 3², p. 139. The tomb is dated to the late Fourth or early Fifth Dynasty.

⁷³ A. Mariette, *Mastabas de l’ancien empire* (Paris, 1889), D.80 (her own mastaba) and that of her husband, D.213. She holds the title *rbt nswt*. See also Catalogue Général, Cairo #57133.

⁷⁴ James, *British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts* i², pl. 16 (528).

⁷⁵ R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* 2 (Berlin, 1849), pl. 94b.

season. This may be the result of vandalism or simply accidental abrasion due to the narrowness of the corridor and easy public access. (Compare the excavation photo, pl. 74b, with the 1989 photograph, pl. 75a.)

At the south end of the wall, a fine layer of white plaster was laid over a coarse red underlayer (although this difference may be attributed to advanced weathering as well as different composition). Deeply incised lines were cut in the plaster, apparently while it was still wet, and are visible in the underlying limestone. This area is being undercut by the loss of the coarser plaster underlying the finish layer. Consolidation and adhesion of this area was begun, but extensive work is necessary. The crouching cow and papyrus swamp at the north end of this area, which were intact in the excavation photographs, are now almost totally lost. Both of these areas have remains of a thick plaster coating that is only marginally adhering to the wall.

In the corridor to the south of the recessed area of the chapel, a false door is decorated with raised relief carved directly into the stone of the west wall; the lower parts are very weathered, the upper courses exceedingly so. Original mortar can be seen in the joins between the

blocks. North of the false door are some particularly well-preserved areas of red-painted plaster, which seems very fine-grained compared to the plaster in other areas. The saturated appearance of the surface may indicate that it has been coated with a resin or varnish. Even in this exposed position, the plaster is still very well-adhered to the wall. South of the false door are large defects in the stone, which are filled with coarse plaster.

On the south wall of this corridor, there are remains of raised relief and plaster on the upper courses. The western block in the upper course was originally placed on top of the eastern block. Sometime after Reisner's excavation, this upper block was moved to its present position, upside-down and adjacent to the block that was originally under it. (This may have been done to stabilize the path around mastaba 2000, which runs just south of the face of this wall.)⁷⁶

⁷⁶ As noted above, the original position of this block has been restored as part of the 1994 restoration work by the EAO.

TOMB OF NIMAATRE/TUT Mastaba g 2092a

Summary of Reisner's Description

Mastaba type: x c(1); 2.0 x 2.0 m; 2.28 m high; area 4.0 sq. m; proportions 1/1 facing masonry type: [u]
 Chapel type: (9c), low u-masonry wall extends east from pillar 1.7 x 0.9 m; area 1.53 sq. m
 Shaft a: 1.3 x 1.4 m above ground; 1.4 x 1.0 m in rock; -3.1 in rock ledge on east side at base of shaft, 0.2 m step
 chamber type: 6 a(3) on west. 1.95 x 0.85 m; height 0.9 m area 1.65 sq. m; capacity 1.48 cu. m
 blocking type: iv c(2)

Excavation

The remains of this small mastaba were exposed in the courtyard north of 2092+2093 on August 17, 1936, and the shaft was cleared on August 23 and 24. The shaft contained drift sand, rubble, and some stones, beneath which was limestone debris from the chamber blocking. Two stones of the blocking remained in place. (These stones were broken and removed.)

In the summer 1990 season, a small cache of model ceramic vessels was discovered on the surface of the fill between the mastaba wall and the shaft wall, at the abutment to the east face of 2096 (fig. 65). These small vessels and the somewhat smaller fragments of larger vessels accompanying them, were all of Nile silt ware, and consisted mostly of flat offering dishes with string-cut vases. The fragments were all of a comparable size and, given their context, may also have been used to present offerings. One piece resembled a tall flaring jar with closed mouth, or perhaps a closed bowl on an offering stand.

Finds

In addition to the false door, which was apparently removed, only artifacts forming part of the burial were found.

36-8-6 Bones and a skull

36-8-7 White plaster (gyps = sulfate of lime) fragments of covering of linen wrapped body, a heavy thick layer

(a) Mummy mask (see pl. 65), broken in two and damaged; thickness 3.4 cm, 22.2 cm in height, and 17 cm in width. (Accessioned as MFA 37.644)⁷⁷

(b) Thick fragments of plaster from the legs of the mummy, particularly from the knees, with the imprints of linen wrappings on the undersides

⁷⁷ See G.A. Reisner, "Notes on Objects Assigned to the Museum by the Egyptian Government," *BMFA* 36 (1938), pp. 27-28 and fig. 7 on p. 31.

Architecture

The chapel was built during the last phase of major building in the cemetery (fig. 66). A small mastaba, only slightly wider than the rock-cut shaft, incorporated the western pillar of the courtyard (pls. 63a-b). A small masonry spur wall, which has now entirely disappeared, sheltered the recessed cult place. The mastaba obscured access to the northern serdab slot of 2096 and in its original form probably also partially obstructed access to the 2097 complex to the north. The false door, set between the pillar and the north wall of the court (serdab 3 of 2097), formed almost the entire west wall of the chapel. At its base, a stone platform extended out from the wall about 30 cm.⁷⁸

Shaft and Burial

The mastaba had only a single shaft with a rock cut chamber. Only two blocks of a masonry blocking wall remained in place; no blocking at all is shown on the Tomb Card. A shallow and irregular burial pit seems to have been cut in the floor, but its outline is unclear. Perhaps it was unfinished. The chamber was described as "plundered." A skull and other bones of the same body were found scattered around the chamber. The skull was covered with a plaster mask (pls. 65a-b); large fragments of plaster found among the bones indicated that the entire body was encased and sculpted in plaster. Impressions of linen on the underside of these fragments indicated that the body was wrapped in linen before the plaster was applied.

Date

Based on the three pairs of jambs and the general style of the carving on the false door, it can be dated to the early Sixth Dynasty. It shows clear evidence of usurpation, however; and it is not clear whether it was put in its present position by its original owner or its usurper.

Decoration of the Chapel

False door (pls. 64 and 169). A large false door with three pairs of jambs was the only decorated element in the chapel. The inscription is in sunk relief, and a standing figure of the owner is depicted on the base of each jamb in a starched triangular kilt and broad collar, carrying a staff and handkerchief. On the inner and outer jambs of each side he is depicted with short hair, while on the central jambs he is shown with longer hair.

The stela originally belonged to a man named Nimaatre, whose good name was Tut. The right side of the stela has been usurped by another man, whose names are Beby and Khaef-Khnum.⁷⁹ Traces of the original inscription of Nimaatre are visible under the names and new titles added by Beby, and the jambs are visibly cut back in this area. The placement of titles after the phrase *jmshw hr nswt* and after the *hntjw-s* title, which always ends the title strings elsewhere in the

⁷⁸ This platform was noted in 1991, after it was exposed by the EAO clearance in this area. Since the stela is no longer in place, its depth can only be approximate.

⁷⁹ Reisner apparently missed the recutting of the three right panels, and suggests, on the basis of the single burial and the lack of a specified relationship between them, that all four of these names belonged to the same person (*Giza Manuscript*, p. 152).

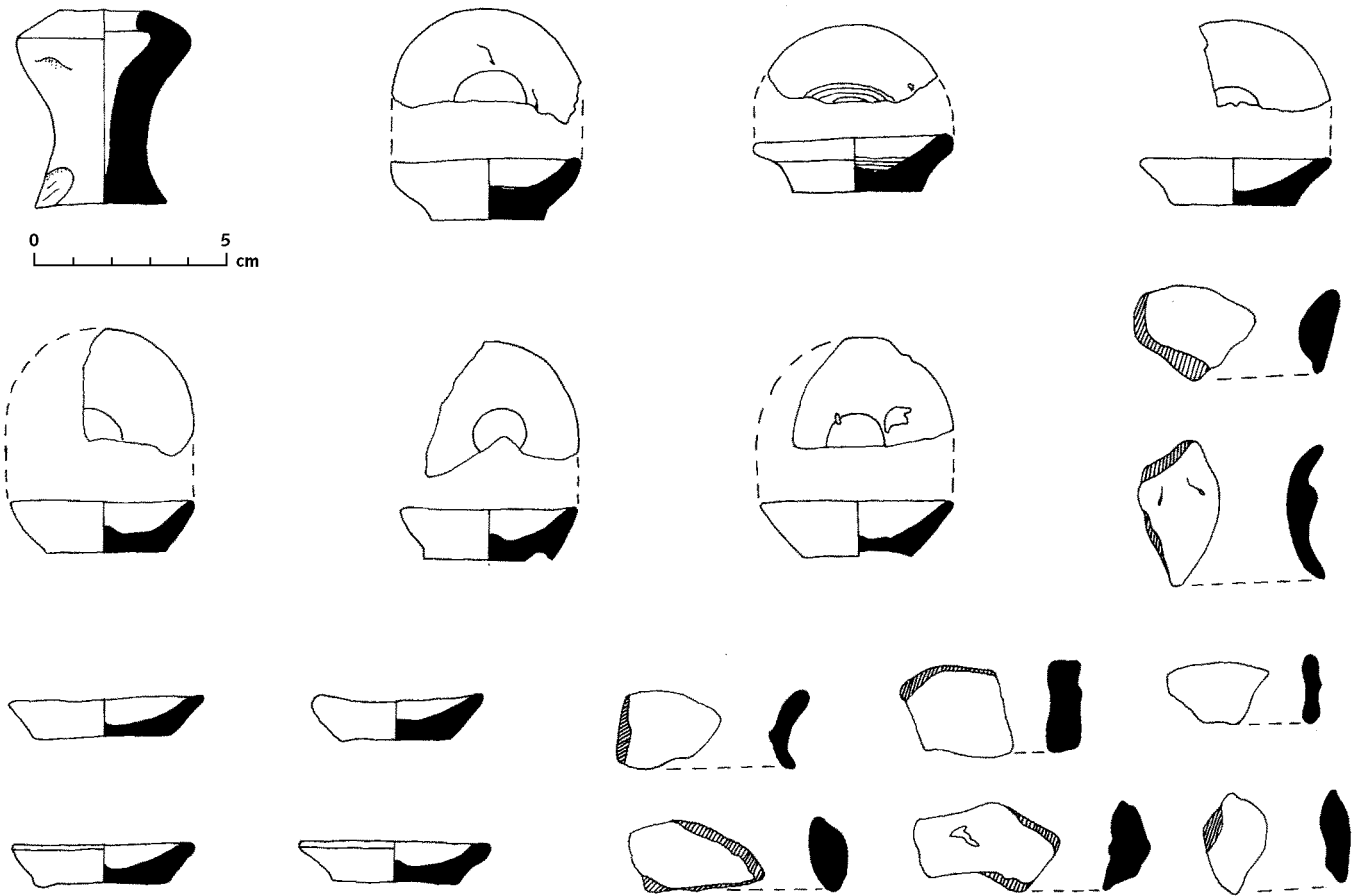


Fig. 65. Model offering vessels of Nile-silt ware and similarly-sized sherds from larger vessels, noted in the fill of g 2092a in 1990.

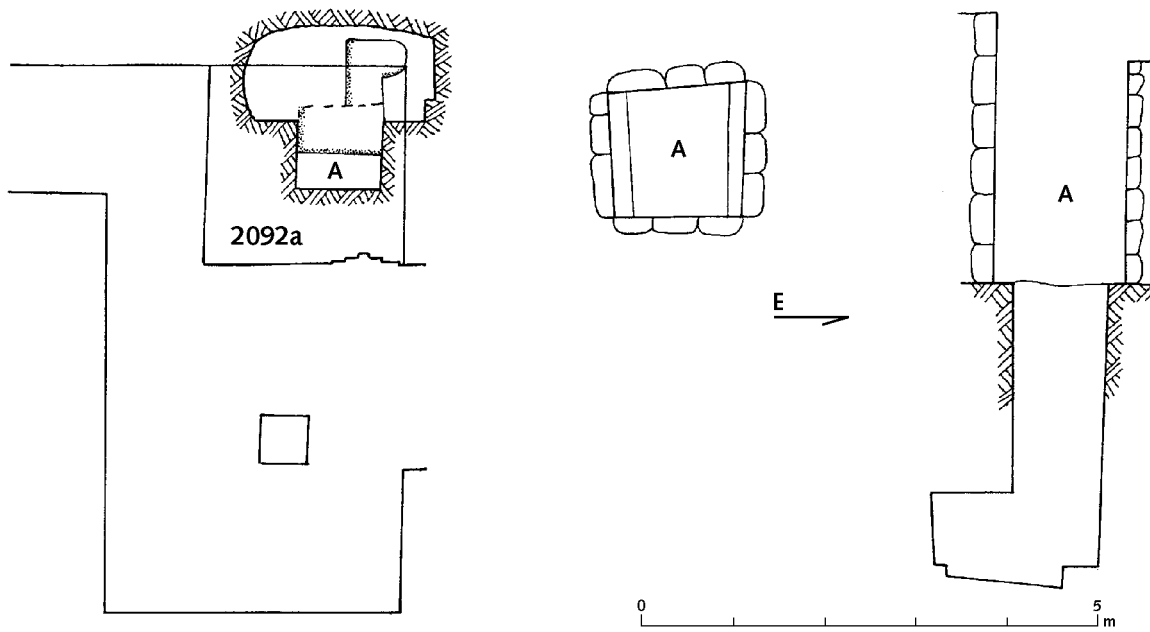


Fig. 66. Outline and shaft plan of g 2092a.

cluster, is also evidence that the inscription has been adjusted after its completion.

It is unclear whether the false door was taken by Beby from another site, modified slightly and set up in front of his tomb, or whether Nimaatre was the original builder of 2092a and the stela was usurped by Beby after it was already in position. This latter hypothesis is simpler, but it would suggest that there were two burials in the mastaba, which there were not. Had Beby found the tomb unused, one would have expected him to usurp the entire stela; this would also be the case, however, if he had moved it from another site. The larger, earlier mastaba extension behind 2092a, 2096, contained four shafts, none of which contained any remains of a burial.

Nimaatre is also the name of the builder of the adjacent mastaba, 2097. There is an empty false door emplacement at the south end of its western wall, of approximately the same dimensions as the 2092a false door. It is thus tempting to assume that the 2092a false door was taken from Nimaatre's tomb, 2097, by Beby. However, the owner of 2097 is nowhere given the nickname Tut, and his titles are different (and considerably lower) than those on the false door. The style of carving is also later and much cruder than the decoration of 2097. The fact that the door is in sunk relief might partially explain this; however, had the owner of 2097, after the completion of his tomb, risen from the lowest to the highest rank in the *hntj-š* hierarchy and acquired four other high titles as well (*zsb ḳd-mr pr-ḳ*, *špss-nswt pr-ḳ*, *ḥrj-tp nswt*, and *smr pr*), one would expect him to build a more impressive false door rather than a less impressive one.

The most likely reconstruction is that the builder and occupant of 2092a was Nimaatre/Tut, perhaps a son or grandson of the like-named builder of 2097. (He may have taken the false door from 2097 and completely recarved it, or the door may have been removed for

other reasons, such as the value of its materials, and the similar sizes may be coincidental.) Beby may have taken over the northern part of the stela in anticipation of burial in one of the unused shafts in 2096, and then was either never buried there or was thoroughly robbed.

The tablet of the door is decorated by the figure of Nimaatre seated at a table of very tall loaves, behind which is a short table bearing a spouted vessel. The bases of six *ḥs* signs ("1,000") are visible above the top of the loaves, and the name *Nj-mḳt-Rḳ* is written beneath the far side of the table and above the vessel. On the lintel are three horizontal rows of inscription: *jmsḥw ḥr Jnpw tpj ḏw.f*, *jmsḥw ḥr Wsjr nb ḥrtj-nṯr*, *jmsḥw ḥr nṯr ḳ*, *nb ḳrs*, "venerated before Anubis who is upon his mountain; venerated before Osiris, lord of the necropolis; venerated before the great god, lord of a burial." This text is probably completed by the name *Nj-mḳt-Rḳ* that is inscribed on the drum.

The inscription on the panels of the false door were originally almost symmetrical (only the first titles on the outer jambs differed). The points of difference (mostly due to Beby's usurpation) are given here in parentheses, with the left hand version followed by a slash and the right hand version. Outer jambs: (*zsb ḳd-mr pr-ḳ / ḥrj-tp nswt*), *jmj-r hntjw-š pr-ḳ jmsḥw ḥr nswt (Nj-mḳt-Rḳ / jmj-r zšw jpt-nswt Bbjj)*, "(the judge and administrator of the palace/royal chamberlain), overseer of palace attendants, venerated before the king (Nimaatre/overseer of scribes of the harim of the king, Beby)." Middle jambs: *špss-nswt*, *jmj-r st hntjw-š pr-ḳ*, *smr-pr*, *rn.f nfr (Twt / Ḥḳ.f-Ḥnmw)*, "king's nobleman, assistant overseer of palace attendants, companion of the house, his good name (Tut/Khaef-Khnum)." Inner jamb: *šḥḏ hntjw-š pr-ḳ (Nj-mḳt-Rḳ / ḥrp jrj-mḏst ḳ-nswt Bbjj)*, "inspector of palace attendants (Nimaatre/controller of those of the texts of the royal archives, Beby)."

ANONYMOUS TOMB: Mastaba g 2094

Summary of Reisner's Description

Mastaba type: viii [b](1)
 original mastaba 11.35 x 5.6 m; area 63.56; proportion 1/2.02
 finished by building s. wall east to s.w. corner of g 2093
 final dimensions: 11.35 x 6.65 m
 total final area: 75.47 sq. m; proportion 1/1.7
 height 2.45 m on east; 1.75 m on west, where rock is higher
 facing masonry type: z

Chapel type: (10c) in finished mastaba
 recess (within pilasters and pillar): 2.1 x 1.45 m; height 2.2 m
 area 3.04 sq. m; proportion 1/1.44
 frame panels of false door at south of w. wall project slightly
 Pillared connection: pillar 0.45 x 0.45; height 2.2 m
 n. pilaster 0.1 x 0.45; s. pilaster 0.05 x 0.45
 N-S corridor: 9.25 x 1.05 m; slab jambs compose doorway at north
 area 9.71 sq. m; depth of floor of limestone debris 0.3 m
 preserved roofing slab: 2.0 m long; height of corridor 2.15 m
 height of entrance doorway on north 1.7 m
 total area: 12.75 sq. m; relation to finished mastaba 1/5.91

Serdab: 1.55 x 0.95 m; area 1.47 sq. m
 height 1.4 m, built of masonry
 no trace of window slot

Shaft a: 1.4 x 1.4 m; masonry lined
 2.35 m (7 courses) on south; 3.0 m (10 courses) on north
 -3.9 m in rock on south; -3.25 m in rock on north
 slope down from shaft to floor of chamber 0.3 m;
 corresponding slope in top of doorway sloping down to roof of chamber
 chamber type: 6 b(2) on north. 2.2 x 1.2-1.7 m; height 1.0 m
 area 3.2 sq. m; capacity 3.2 cu. m
 blocking type: iii c(2)
 burial: scattered bones, with wooden fragments from coffin,
 alabaster headrest, two RP bowls and fragments of
 RW bowls.

Shaft b: 1.15 x 1.0 m
 lined with 0.7 m (2 courses) masonry, above 1.5 m rubble
 total above-ground lining 2.2 m; -1.45 in rock (bad above,
 sound below); step down to chamber 0.25 m
 chamber type: 5 c(2) on south. about 1.45 x 0.7 m; height 0.75 m
 area 2.46 sq. m; capacity 1.84 cu. m
 passage without jambs, 0.15 x 1.0 m; height 0.75 m
 blocking type: v e(2)
 burial: extended skeleton, completely wrapped with linen
 no objects

Shaft c: 0.95 x 1.05 m; 2.7 m lined with rubble; ends at bad rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.35 x 0.7 m; height 0.9 m
 area 0.94 sq. m; capacity 0.84 cu. m
 completely plundered

Shaft d: 1.05 x 1.0 m; 1.75 m lined with rubble; -0.35 m in bad rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.0 x 0.75-0.45 m; height 0.4-
 0.25 m

area 0.6 sq. m; capacity 0.19 cu. m
 burial: scattered bones; no objects

Shaft e: 0.85 x 0.9 m; 2.3 m lined with rubble; ends at bad rock
 chamber type: 8 a(3) on west. 1.3 x 0.7 m; height 0.9 m
 area 0.91 sq. m; capacity 0.81 cu. m
 passage with jamb on north: 0.7 x 0.4 m; height 0.75 m
 blocking type: v e(2)
 burial: small, tightly contracted skeleton, partly decayed
 no objects

Shaft u: 1.05 x 1.05 m; 2.5 m lined on north and west with crude brick, lined
 on south with masonry; -0.8 m in bad rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 burial: broken bones in shaft debris
 no objects

Shaft x: 1.1 x 1.2 m; 1.95 m lined with crude brick topped with masonry on
 north, west and south; ends in bad rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 completely plundered

Shaft y: 0.9 x 1.1 m; 2.0 m lined with crude brick topped with masonry on
 north west and south; -0.45 m in bad rock
 chamber type: 6 a(2) on east, but with burial partly in shaft⁸⁰
 1.1 x 0.25 m; height 0.4 m
 area ca. 0.27 sq. m; capacity 0.1 cu. m
 completely plundered

Shaft z: 1.1 x 1.0 m; 1.4 m lined with crude brick topped with masonry on
 three sides; -1.6 m in bad rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 completely plundered

Excavation

The presence of 2094 was first noted on the August 31, 1936. It was covered by limestone debris, rubble, drift sand, and some large stones that had to be broken to be removed. The top of the mastaba was cleared between September 2 and 6. The overlying deposit was clearly stratified: the Reis's Diary notes the composition four times: "drift sand, and underneath limestone debris, and underneath drift sand again." This sequence suggests that the deposition of debris from the collapse of the facade of 2000 to the north was not continuous, but of limited duration (perhaps the result of an earthquake or a period when it served as a quarry for other construction). Before this period, 2094 had been filled and covered with drift sand, and after the period when limestone debris accumulated over it (which may have lasted for centuries) it again was covered with drift sand. On the western part of the mastaba, a layer of "red debris" mixed with pebbles lay under the lower level of drift sand. This may be debris from the excavation of shafts u, x, y, and z against the mastaba's western facade, since the Reis's Diary describes the bedrock in this area several times as "red rock."

The corridor and recessed chapel were cleared on September 7 and 9. Two false door niches were noted in the corridor between 2093 and 2094, the southern one with an unincised offering basin at its base. These niches are both unclear and incorrectly placed on Floroff's plan; in 1990 only one niche was noted, presumably the southern one, somewhat to the south of the southern niche on Floroff's plan. This placement suggests, as does the sketch plan in the Reis's Diary, that these niches are both aligned with shafts b and d.

⁸⁰ This description seems to contradict the later statement that the burial was completely plundered. No skeleton or human bones were recorded in this tomb elsewhere.

In the chapel, in front of the false door stela, a small platform or bench⁸¹ faced with rubble was noted. This is not recorded on the Floroff plan, nor is it now extant. From the sketch plan in the Reis's Diary, this platform seems to have abutted the south wall of the chapel as well as the west, and extended north of the false door to the central axis of the room. It may have extended about half a meter into the room. There is no indication of its depth.

The shafts and serdab were investigated between September 10 and 12. Three layers of fill are noted in shaft a: drift sand; then rubble, limestone debris, pebbles, and stones from the blocking of the chamber; and, at the bottom, white limestone debris, pebbles, rubble, sand, and decayed wood fragments, probably the remains of a coffin. Shaft b contained pebbles, red debris, and limestone debris. The fill of shaft c, beneath the drift sand was pebbles, black debris, and limestone debris. Shaft d contained drift sand at the top, and below this pebbles and red debris. Shaft e contained limestone debris, red debris, and pebbles. West of the mastaba, were four additional shafts. Shafts x and y were filled entirely with drift sand; shaft z is said to have contained pebbles and red debris; and shaft u contained pebbles, red sand, and bones. The chamber blocking was intact in both shafts b and e. The blocking was sealed with mud in the former and gypsum plaster in the latter. The sealed chambers were opened on October 21, but they were not cleared until the following year, on January 27, 1937. Shafts a and d also contained some bones and, in the former case, grave goods. The serdab was roofless, and empty except for drift sand.

Finds

Shaft 2094 a had been opened and disturbed, but several objects were recovered from the debris.

- 36-9-1 White limestone headrest with a fluted stem, in three pieces joined together with two tenons and mortises, and cemented with plaster; h. 25 cm; length of top 20 cm; length of base 19.6 cm; width of base and of top in middle 8.8 cm. The three pieces are: a curving top with an abacus on its lower side, in the underside of which there is a round mortise; a fluted stem, h. 14.2 cm, d. top 7.2 cm, d. base 7.4 cm, on the top of which is a round tenon fitting the mortise in the piece above, on the underside of which is a rectangular tenon fitting into the mortice of the piece below; and the base, h. 2.6 cm, with a raised disc on top, h. 4 mm, into the top of which a rectangular mortise has been cut (fig. 67 and pl. 77a)
- 36-9-2 Thin red polished, round-bottomed ceramic bowl with a recurved rim, type c-xxxii a; broken; h. 6.8 cm, d. rim 17.4 cm, d. body 18.4 cm, th. 2 mm (fig. 67)
- 36-9-3 Red polished, round-bottomed ceramic bowl with a recurved rim, type c-xxxii a; broken but nearly complete; h. 8.6 cm, d. rim 20.8 cm, d. body 22.6 cm, th. 4 mm (fig. 67)
- 36-9-4 Several fragments of red ware from one or more dishes with round bottoms and ledge rims, type c-xxvii c. d. 16-17 cm

Not registered as an object was an uninscribed offering basin placed in front of the southern of the two false door niches in the corridor of the tomb. This niche was the only one noted in 1989 and 1990; the basin is apparently no longer in place. Both Floroff's plan

⁸¹ The Reis's Diary called it a "mastaba," presumably in the original Arabic meaning of the word rather than in the Egyptological sense. There is no indication of an internal shaft on his drawing.

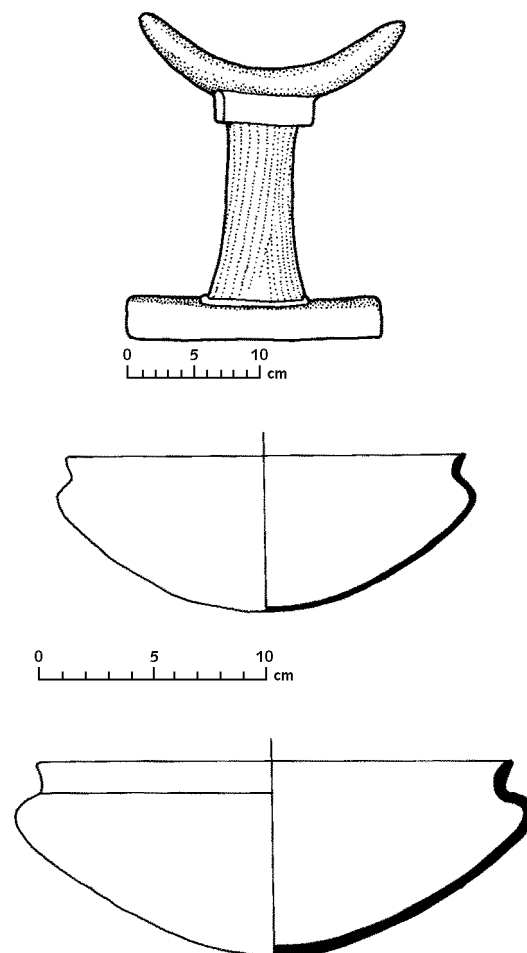


Fig. 67. Limestone headrest with fluted support pillar, from shaft g 2094 a (36-9-1) and two Meydum bowls (36-9-2 and 36-9-3).

and the Reis's Diary represent it as rectangular, with two narrow rectangular basins flanking a circle, which was probably raised and served as an offering plate.

Architecture

g 2094 is a rectangular mastaba with stepped masonry on three sides (fig. 68). The eastern facade was also stepped north of the chapel entrance, and was thus originally seen as an exterior facade (see pl. 76). South of the chapel, the facade is smooth, although slightly battered, perhaps marking this as the original entrance passage.

At the beginning of Phase ii, probably, the north end of the passage between 2094 and 2093 was blocked. The resulting corridor was roofed and a doorway was added at its north end. The blocking wall was not very carefully constructed, with a 15 cm gap on either end filled with rubble. There was no attempt made to make the mastaba facades vertical by facing them, or to strengthen them with backing walls, as can be seen in 2091 and 2098. The stepped facades were apparently more capable of bearing weight than the battered ones, since a roof block was still in place at the time of excavation.

The walls of the recessed chapel are built of monolithic slabs, thinner than the facing masonry (pl. 75b). They have been covered with a plaster coating, but no carving or paint survives. They extend

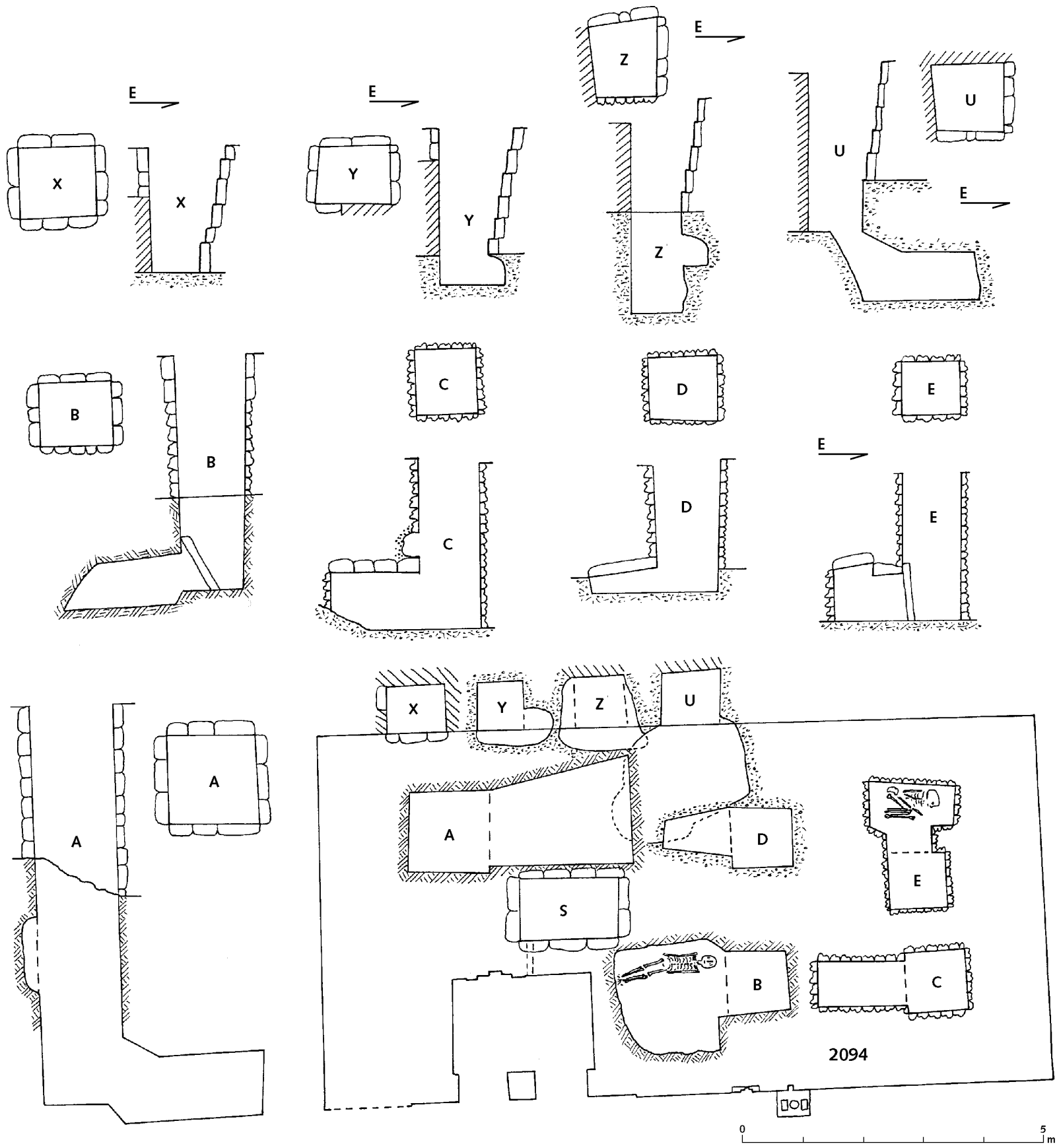


Fig. 68. Outline and shaft plan of g 2094.

above the tops of the pillar and north corner pier about 30 cm, which was presumably the depth of the architrave. The two corner piers or pilasters are continuations of the blocks of the facade, which extend 10 cm into the chapel. The facing blocks of the chapel abut these piers and the gap between them has been filled with rubble and plastered. The central pillar is 45 cm square, and slightly above the middle of its northern face is a 5 cm protrusion that is probably the remains of a boss.

The false door at the south end of the west wall is monolithic except for its upper lintel, which is indistinguishable from adjacent wall facing blocks. The top of the tablet is 1.35 m above the current floor of the chapel. The door is well cut and all its elements are clearly differentiated. It has a tablet about 30 cm square flanked by 5 cm apertures. The inner and outer jambs and the central niche are all about 15 cm wide, and the lintel is about 15 cm thick. Its proportions are not square, however: the inner face of the right inner jamb slopes out and down from the top at an angle of about 15°, so that the jamb widens towards its base; and the top line of the upper lintel is perpendicular to it, so that the lintel widens towards its left end. It is tempting to think that the stonemason's pattern slipped.

Just to the right of the upper lintel of the false door, a vertical gap was cut into the adjacent monolithic slab, and then partially filled. The southern edge of this gap aligns with the southern edge of the serdab that lies behind it, and may have been the serdab slot. (The eastern wall of the serdab cannot now be seen, although the Floroff plan represents it as intact.)

A later false door emplacement was cut in the eastern facade of the corridor of the chapel, presumably after the beginning of Phase ii, when visitors to the chapel would be approaching it from the north. It is better cut and more complete than most such secondary doors, with a clear tablet and apertures 1 cm deep. Two jambs, 23 cm wide, flank a central niche 13 cm in depth, and over this is a lintel 18 cm thick. The inner edge of the right jamb is bowed, perhaps following the curvature of the right edge of the block, which begins at the outer edge of the jamb but bows in slightly towards the bottom, while the outer edge of the jamb is cut straight, into the adjacent block. This false door aligns with both shafts b and d, and may have served as the cult place for their occupants. That shaft b was cut 1.45 m into the bedrock, and that the burial it contained was extended and carefully wrapped in linen, suggests that it may have belonged to the wife of the tomb owner. This false door may have functioned as the southern cult place, which was often assigned to the wife; and it perhaps served the occupant of shaft d as well.

A doorway with monolithic jambs was set up at the north end of the corridor between 2093 and 2094 (pl. 76b), probably when the southern entrance was blocked. A drum lintel currently lies just south of the jambs.

Shafts and Burials

Both shafts a and b have chambers cut into the bedrock, and were thus presumably original parts of the mastaba.

Shaft a has a fan-shaped chamber cut below the base of its shaft on its north. The rough stone blocking, and a secondary blocking wall inside the doorway were almost entirely destroyed; it is not clear from the notes whether this was the result of robbery or natural disturbance. The chamber contained human bones and many decayed wood fragments from a wooden coffin, the decay of which may have been responsible for the disarrangement of the burial. On the other hand, neither the blocking nor the body were sufficiently intact to warrant a notation on the back of the Tomb Card. A headrest in three pieces made of white limestone (pl. 77a), two "Meydum wear" bowls, and fragments of several Nile-silt ware dishes were found amidst the rubble. On the south, 1.75 m above the base of the shaft, there is a shallow second excavation, which may be an incomplete attempt to cut a second chamber.

Shaft b was shallower, and had intact blocking consisting of two leaning slabs chinked with mud and chips. The extended skeleton lay on its back with its head to the north (pl. 77b). It had been completely wrapped in linen, with its arms and legs wrapped separately. The linen was badly decayed, but apparently undisturbed. There were no accompanying grave goods.

Shafts c and d were both cut slightly into the crumbly bedrock, with chambers on the south side roofed with slabs. The chamber of c was empty; d contained scattered bones. Shaft e, built on the surface of the rock, had a chamber to the west blocked with two leaning slabs bound with mud. It contained a small, tightly contracted skeleton, which was partly decayed (pl. 77c).

Four subsidiary shafts were built against the western face of 2094. Shaft u was cut down into the bedrock under the mastaba, with an open irregular chamber. The chamber was empty but broken bones were found in the shaft. Shaft x had no chamber and no contents. Shaft y had a small chamber that Reisner describes as "anomalous," because the "burial [space?] is partly in the bottom of the shaft." Since no burial was found, it is also possible that it was unfinished. Shaft z also looks unfinished, although the area of excavation halfway down the subterranean portion of the shaft extends on three sides and may simply be an extremely bad layer of rock.

Date

The mastaba was probably built late during Phase i (late Niuserre-Izezi), since it had a southern entrance and the eastern facade north of the chapel was viewed as an exterior facade. During Phase ii the southern entrance was blocked, and the principal route of access became the doorway at the north end of its corridor. The southern doorway was apparently never reopened, suggesting that the cult (or at least the tomb owner) was no longer active after the end of Phase ii.

ANONYMOUS TOMBS: Mastabas g 2095 and g 2095'

Summary of Reisner's Description

Mastaba type: ix c(1)⁸² (original mastaba): 8.5 x 5.25 m
 n. face finished only for 0.7 m on east
 rubble wall continues westward, preserved for 2.7 m⁸³
 area 44.62 sq. m
 addition on north [= 2095'] of type ix c(1), 5.7 x 4.3 m
 area 24.51 sq. m
 total area: 69.13 sq. m
 facing masonry type: [u]

Chapel type: two corridor chapels of type (9c)
 original: corridor 8.5 x 1.0–0.95 m; recess 1.45 x 0.8;
 total area 9.83 sq. m
 uninscribed monolithic stela set back in of w. wall, s. of middle
 monolithic false door set in corridor s. of recess
 addition [= 2095']: corridor 5.7 x 1.7–1.3; area 8.55 sq. m
 space where monolithic slab had been removed near s. end of
 corridor

[Shafts h, i, l, and m belong to 2095'; the remaining shafts belong to 2095']

Shaft a: 1.5 x 0.7 m; 1.3 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 a(1) on west. 1.75 x 0.95 m; height 0.8 m
 area 1.66 sq. m; capacity 1.32 cu. m
 blocking type: v e(1)
 passage with 0.15 m wide masonry jamb on south side 0.65 x
 0.15 m; height 0.8 m
 burial: contracted skeleton

Shaft b: 0.75 x 0.75 m; 1.7 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on north. 1.85 x 0.7 m; height 0.75 m
 area 1.29 sq. m; capacity 0.96 cu. m
 blocking type: vi d(3)
 burial: leg-contracted skeleton; no objects

Shaft c: 0.8 x 0.75 m; 2.0 m lined with masonry; -0.6 m in rock
 chamber type: 6 a(1) on east. 1.05 x 0.65 m; height 0.7 m
 area 0.68 sq. m; capacity 0.47 cu. m
 blocking type: v c(2), intact
 burial: tightly contracted skeleton; no objects

Shaft d: 0.7 x 0.7 m; 1.6 m lined with rubble; ends in limestone debris
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.4 x 0.6 m; height 0.65 m
 area 0.84 sq. m; capacity 0.54 cu. m
 blocking type: vi d(2), intact
 burial: half-contracted skeleton; no objects

Shaft e: 0.65 x 0.65; 1.5 m lined with rubble; ends in bad rock
 (1): chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.05 x 0.65 m; height 0.7 m

⁸² The mastaba type assigned to 2095 and 2095' by Reisner does not agree with the chapel type he assigned. It is not clear whether the chapel type should be changed to type (8) or if the mastaba type should be changed to x, so the inconsistency has been allowed to stand. Applying Reisner's typology myself, I would be inclined to assign 2095 to chapel type (10a), and hence mastaba type viii c(1); and 2095 to chapel type (9c), and hence to mastaba type x c(1).

⁸³ In 1990 it could be seen all the way across the mastaba to its west face. The north face was probably finished originally, but its outer blocks were removed and reused elsewhere when the mastaba was extended. The rubble wall was either an original inner retaining wall, or perhaps a retaining wall built to hold up the rubble during the expansion of the mastaba.

area 0.68 sq. m; capacity 0.47 cu. m
 no blocking preserved
 burial: tightly contracted skeleton of a child
 (2): shaft 0.6 x 0.65 m, opening at south end of chamber (1)
 1.1 m lined with rubble on south, west, and east; ends in
 limestone debris
 chamber type: 6 b(3) on south. 0.45 x 1.0 m; greatest height
 on shaft side 0.4 m
 area 0.45 sq. m; capacity less than 0.18 cu. m
 blocking type: vi d(2)
 burial: tightly contracted skeleton of a child; on left side with
 its head to the west

Shaft f: 0.75 x 0.65; 1.7 m lined with rubble; ends in limestone debris
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. built of crude brick on west,
 rubble on south and east. 1.45 x 0.7 m; height 0.7 m
 area 1.01 sq. m; capacity 0.7 cu. m
 blocking type: vi d(2)
 burial: leg-contracted skeleton

Shaft g: 0.75 x 0.55 m; 1.55 m lined with rubble; ends in limestone fill
 chamber type: 8 a(3) on west. built of brick
 1.3 x 0.6 m; height 0.7 m
 area 0.78 sq. m; capacity 0.54 cu. m
 blocking type: v d(2)
 passage with jamb on each side 0.55 x 0.2 m; height 0.65 m
 burial: leg-contracted skeleton; no objects

Shaft h: 0.7 x 0.75 m; 1.05 m lined with small masonry on 3 sides, crude
 brick on 4th; ends at bad rock
 chamber type: 8 b(1) on south. 1.65 x 0.65 m; height 0.75 m
 area 1.07 sq. m; capacity 0.8 cu. m
 passage with jamb on east side, 0.35 x 0.45 m; height 0.5 m
 no blocking
 completely plundered; no bones; no objects

Shaft i: 0.65 x 0.5 m; 1.05 m lined with crude brick; ends at bad rock
 chamber type: 8 b(1) on south. 1.05 x 0.55 m; height 0.6 m
 area 0.57 sq. m; capacity 0.34 cu. m
 blocking type: v e(2)
 passage with jamb on the east, 0.25 x 0.4 m; height 0.55 m
 burial: tightly-contracted skeleton⁸⁴ wearing fillet

Shaft j: 0.7 x 0.7 m; 1.4 m lined with rubble; ends in bad rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.7 x 0.6 m; height 0.6 m
 area 1.02 sq. m; capacity 0.61 cu. m
 no blocking
 burial: leg-contracted skeleton

Shaft k: 0.7 x 0.5 m; 1.65 m lined with rubble; ends in bad rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 0.8 x 0.45 m; height 0.65 m
 area 0.36 sq. m; capacity 0.23 cu. m
 blocking type: "abnormal" (rubble bound with mud); intact
 burial: leg-contracted skeleton; head resting on rough stone

Shaft l: 0.75 x 0.85 m; 1.0 m lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.5 x 0.65 m; height 0.65 m
 area 0.97 sq. m; capacity 0.63 cu. m
 no blocking
 no burial, no objects

Shaft m: 0.65 x 0.7 m; 0.75 m lined with crude brick; ends at bad rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.3 x 0.55 m; height 0.55 m
 area 0.71 sq. m; capacity 0.39 cu. m
 no blocking
 no burial, no objects

Shaft x: 0.75 x 0.75 m; 1.1 m lined with rubble on 3 sides; ends at rock
 step down from shaft to chamber 0.2 m
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.45 x 0.55 m; height 0.9 m
 area 0.79 sq. m; capacity 0.71 cu. m
 blocking type: v e(2)
 burial: half-contracted skeleton

⁸⁴ This burial appears to be only half-contracted in the photographs.

Excavation

Reisner's excavations treated 2095 and 2095' as a single mastaba. The excavation clearing to the north of 2094 began on December 23, 1938. The matrix above it is described as consisting of sand, limestone debris, rubble and stones mixed with pebbles. The mastaba and its shafts were completely exposed by December 26. Larger stones were noted at the lower levels, and especially in the corridor between this mastaba and those to the east (presumably the remains of roofing blocks).

The clearance of the shafts began on December 28. The fill of the shafts c through g consisted of red debris, limestone debris, and rubble. Shafts c, d, f, and g also contained sand; shafts c, e, f, and g also contained pebbles. Shaft h contained only sand and red debris; shaft i contained sand and dirty debris; shaft j contained sand, red debris and pebbles; shaft k contained red debris, pebbles, and limestone debris; shaft l contained sand and red debris; shaft m contained sand and dirty debris; and shaft x contained sand, limestone debris, rubble, red debris, and pebbles. The fill of shafts a and b is not recorded. The burial chambers of the shafts with intact blocking (all except e, h, l and m) were cleared between January 1 and 5, 1939, with the exception of the lower chamber of shaft e, which was opened on January 20.

Finds

The burials were in general very poor. The single registered object from the shafts, however, indicates that personal possessions of some value were sometimes interred even in the less well-built tombs shafts. This beaded fillet was worn by the owner of shaft 2095 i.

39-1-8 Fragments of an ornamental copper fillet decorated with faience beads. Several fragments of the copper band show that the lower and upper edges were turned up, forming a shallow channel. A strip of linen was laid in the channel, and on the linen was spread a thin layer of plaster. The beads were set into the plaster so that their holes were hidden. A line of blue-green glazed faience cylinder beads, 8-11 mm long and 2 mm in diameter, was placed along on the upper and lower edges of the fillet. Between them, ring beads, 1 mm long and 3 mm in diameter, were laid vertically, in staggered rows resembling basketry or brickwork. Areas of blue-green ring beads at least 13 beads wide formed the background, which was interrupted by three vertical stripes of black, white, and black. Each stripe was two ring beads wide. Only one group of these three stripes is preserved intact, but other groups of black and white beads sticking together demonstrates that there was at least one other such group. A fragment of the upper edge of the band is preserved to a length of 11 cm; the diameter of the band suggested by this fragment was 17 cm, with its ends overlapping at the front 8-9 mm. The beaded copper band is 31 mm wide, while the band it overlaps is 34 mm wide. The beading apparently only covered the area where the bands overlapped, since some fragments of the plaster show a smooth surface on one side and linen impressions on the other.⁸⁵ (pls. 82b-c)

Another artifact found in a burial chamber was an uninscribed false door stela that was apparently used as a roofing block for the chamber of 2095 j. It was not registered. The remaining registered

⁸⁵ This description is based on the description in Reisner's *Giza Manuscript*, and other notes, augmented by observation of the photograph. None of these sources is entirely clear, including the photograph, which seems to show three stripes 3-4 beads wide.

objects from this tomb, 39-1-1 through 39-1-11, excluding 39-1-8, are all bones from the shafts.

During the architectural survey in 1990, the base of a large jar was recovered from the surface west of shaft g (see fig. 69). It was of Nile Silt ware, with mixed temper, and may have been the bottom of a beer jar, although its internal surface is more regular than the examples recovered from the fill of 2084.

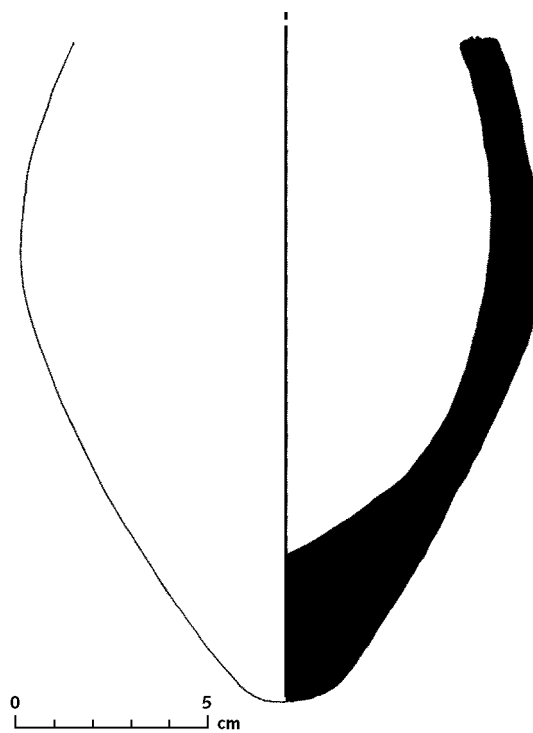


Fig. 69. Lower part of Nile-silt ware beer jar from surface of g 2095 (1990).

Architecture

g 2095 and 2095' are most remarkable for the number (fourteen) and density of their shafts, all but three of which were still occupied. g 2095 may have been built as an extension of 2094, since in general extensions seem to have more shafts (fig. 70). It was not, however, faced with the stepped masonry of its southern neighbor, but with slightly battered facades. Later, part of the northern facade was taken down and another, narrower mastaba, 2095' was built adjoining it.

The recessed chapel of 2095 has no pillar (pl. 78a). Its side walls are a continuation of the masonry of the facade, but its west facade is faced with three monolithic slabs. The center slab, 66 cm wide, was carved as a false door, with no relief decoration (pl. 78b). Its tablet (46 cm wide x 24 cm high) has flanking apertures (6 cm wide, 2 cm deep); below are the lintel and the niche and inner jambs. Flanking this central door are two narrower (36 cm) slabs, which served as outer jambs. The top of its tablet is level with the adjacent slabs, so presumably a single lintel originally covered all three.

A second false door, occupying a single slab and now very weathered, was set back into the center of the eastern facade between the recess and the join with 2094. Two rectangles are shown along the northern end of this facade on the Floroff plan, and their explanation was not apparent in 1990. Presumably they represent offering slabs or some other structures at the base of the wall. (They are not

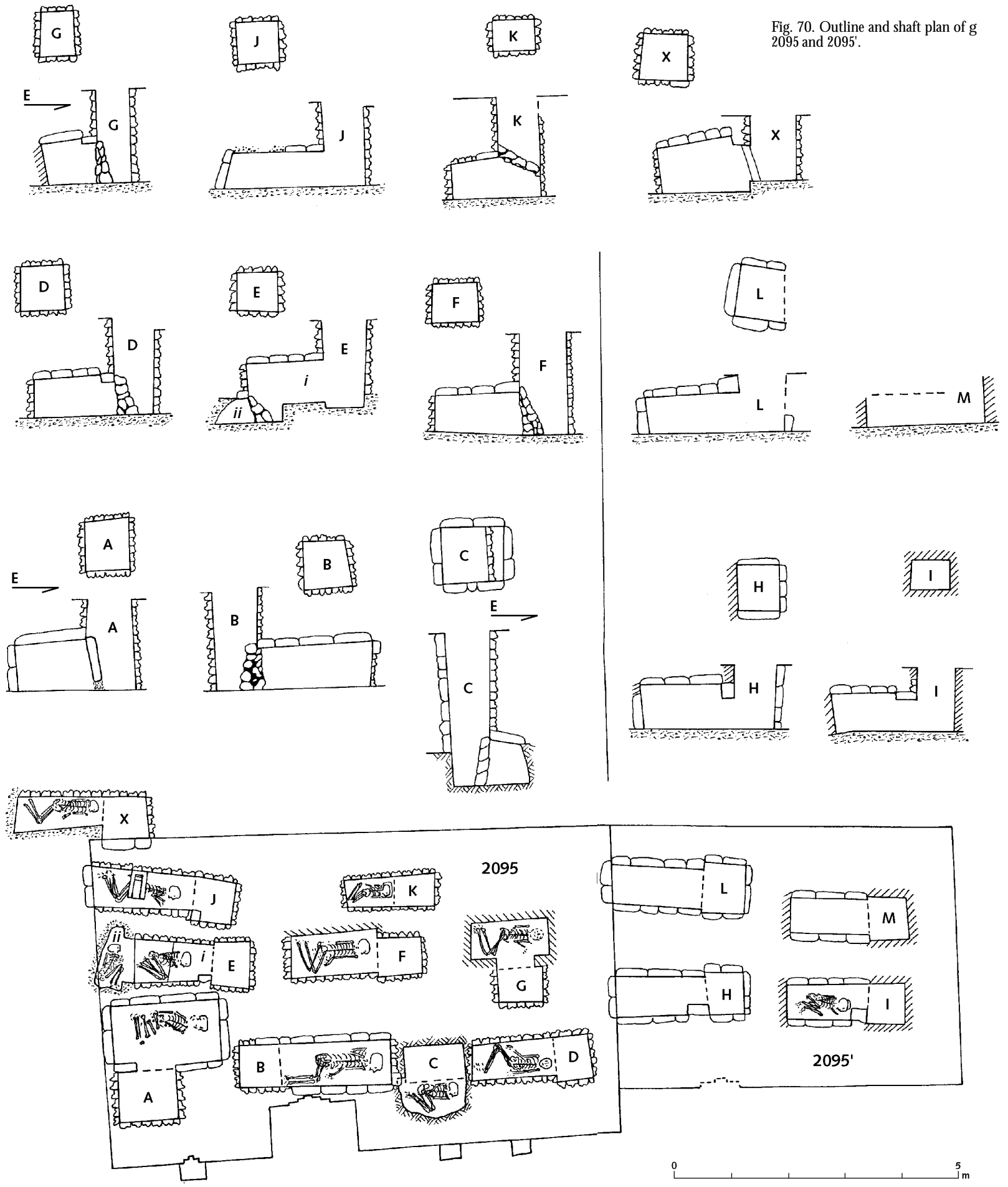


Fig. 70. Outline and shaft plan of g 2095 and 2095'.

mentioned in Reisner's description or in the Reis's Diary, although they are shown on his sketch plan.)

The facade of 2095' is set back from that of 2095. Towards the south end is a gap that was identified by the excavators as an emplacement for a monolithic false door. This might have been the door found reused as a roofing block in Shaft 2095 j (see pl. 83a), if that shaft was later than the construction of 2095'.

Shafts and Burials

None of the shafts is clearly marked as the principal shaft of the mastaba by its position relative to the false door. Only shaft c is cut into the bedrock to any extent, and it is quite shallow. This supports the supposition that both 2095 and later 2095' were built as extensions of 2094. All of the shafts of 2095 contained intact burials; only one of the four in 2095 did.

Shaft a's chamber was roofed with slabs, and was blocked with a single leaning slab resting on rubble and chinked with fragments of stone and plaster. The burial was a contracted skeleton with no evidence of wrappings (pl. 78c).

The chamber of shaft b was constructed of masonry, except for a break in its northern end, where it intersected with shaft c and was repaired with rubble and mud. It was roofed with slabs, and blocked by a rubble wall without mud or plaster chinking (pl. 79c). The skeleton was decayed, in an extended position with slightly contracted legs (pl. 79b).

Shaft c contained an intact leaning masonry wall (pl. 79c), sealing a small underground chamber that contained a tightly contracted skeleton (pl. 80a). The slab roof rests on the surface of the bedrock.

Shaft d contained a leaning wall of rubble that blocked a chamber roofed with four slabs. Reisner described the skeleton as half-contracted, but in fact only the legs were bent.

Shaft e had two burial chambers, each containing a tightly contracted body, which Reisner's notes describe as children. Examination of the photographs suggested, however, that the occupant of E(1) was at least 15 years old (pl. 80b), and the occupant of E(2) was a young adult (pl. 80c). The upper chamber was open, and extended south of the shaft. At its far end, a shallow second shaft and a second chamber on the south of the first were excavated, and sealed by a leaning rubble wall. The skeleton in the lower chamber, E(2), was unusually oriented with its head to the west, presumably because of the limited space. Reisner identified E(2) as the "older chamber,"⁸⁶ and while it must have been sealed before the body in E(1) was placed in its final position, it seems likely to have been secondary to the original plan. It might have been excavated before E(1) was occupied, or

E(1) may have been opened shortly after the burial and extended to admit another body.

Shaft f had a well-constructed rectangular chamber, blocked by an intact leaning rubble wall. It contained an extended skeleton with tightly contracted legs (pl. 81a).

In Shaft g, a leaning rubble wall (pl. 81b) blocked a small north-south chamber. The skeleton had contracted legs, but was otherwise extended.

Shaft j (see below for shafts h and i) was without blocking but still contained a half-contracted skeleton (Reisner typed it as leg-contracted, but in the drawing it appears to be contracted at the hips as well). Fallen over the hips of the skeleton was an uninscribed monolithic false door stela (see pl. 83a) that was probably originally one of the slabs that served as the roof of the chamber.

Shaft k was blocked by an angled, almost horizontal wall extending from above the door of the chamber over the base of the shaft to the north wall. Despite the additional chamber space this blocking yielded, the oddly contracted skeleton, with the lower legs folded behind, was clustered in the south end of the chamber. The head rested on a rough stone (pl. 83b).

Shafts h, i, l, and m belonged to mastaba 2095'. Shaft h (pl. 81c) seems to have been the principal shaft, to judge from its position directly behind the false door. It was built of masonry, but did not extend below the surface of the mastaba. Shaft h was also one of the few shafts that did not contain a burial. It had a long north-south chamber and no blocking. It may never have been used.

Shaft i had a small chamber sealed by a single leaning slab bound with mud (pl. 82a). The half-contracted (Reisner said "tightly contracted") skeleton within was badly decayed, and according to the notes was found flooded with rainwater (pl. 82b). On the head was the beaded copper fillet described above (pl. 82c).

Shaft l led to a badly-preserved but well-constructed masonry chamber. It was found open. The chamber of shaft m was even more badly preserved; the roofing of its chamber was gone and the original south face of the shaft could be distinguished only by the change from the mud brick facing of the shaft to the masonry lining of the chamber. No burial or grave goods were recovered from either shaft.

Shaft x, built against the west face at its south end, had a slab-roofed rubble chamber cut a short distance into the crumbly bedrock. It was blocked by a single leaning slab chinked with mud and plaster. The skeleton was called half-contracted by Reisner; according to the tomb card it was leg-contracted.

Date

As secondary construction, 2095 and 2095' were built after 2094, probably after the beginning of Phase ii (Izezi-Unis).

⁸⁶ *Giza Manuscript*, p. 158.

ANONYMOUS MASTABA EXTENSION Mastaba g 2096

Summary of Reisner's Description

- Mastaba type: xi c(1); an addition to 2093
4.85 x 6.25 m; total area: 30.31 sq. m; height about 2.68 m
facing masonry type: [u]
- Chapel type: "funerary offerings were carried out in the exterior room c of g 2092+2093"
- Serdab: 3.4 x 1.0 m; area 3.4 sq. m
height 1.74 m; slots open to courtyard at level of serdab floor, which is 1.26 m above the floor of the courtyard
- Shaft a: 1.05 x 1.0 m; 2.5 m lined with masonry on east, north, and west ends in bad rock
chamber type: 8 a(2) on east. 1.3 x 0.75 m; height 0.9 m
area 0.97 sq. m; capacity 0.87 cu. m
passage without jambs, 1.0 x 0.2 m; height 0.75 m
no blocking
no burial, no objects
- Shaft b: 0.85 x 0.85; 2.8 m lined with masonry; ends in bad rock
chamber type: 8 a(4) on east. 1.3 x 0.65 m; height 0.7 m
area 0.84 sq. m; capacity 0.58 cu. m
passage with jambs on each side, 0.5 x 0.3 m; height 0.5 m
no blocking
no burial, no objects
- Shaft c: 0.9 x 0.9 m; 2.25 m lined with rubble on east, north, and west ends in bad rock
chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
no blocking
no burial, no objects
- Shaft d: 0.9 x 0.9 m; 2.35 m lined with rubble; ends in bad rock
chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
no burial

Excavation

The excavation of 2096 and 2097, initially identified as a single large mastaba, was begun on December 29, 1938. The overlying fill consisted of sand, limestone debris, rubble, large stones, and pebbles. The two mastabas were differentiated on January 2, 1939, when all of the facing and shafts of 2096 had been exposed.

The four shafts of 2096 were cleared on January 5. Shaft a contained sand, limestone debris, rubble and pebbles; shaft b contained sand and pebbles; shaft c contained sand, limestone debris, red debris, and pebbles, and shaft d contained sand, limestone debris, rubble and pebbles. Shafts a and b had no blocking, and shafts c and d no chambers.

The clearance of the serdab is not mentioned in the Reis's Diary, although it appears on his sketch plan. Reisner noted that it was filled with debris, with no statuettes or fragments.

In 1990, during the recording of the architecture of this mastaba, several chunks of granite were noted on the surface towards its north face. Two were noted in the fill of shaft d and three more just north of the serdab.

Finds

No finds were registered.

Architecture

The mastaba was built as an extension to the already large mastaba complex to the south, 2092+2093, possibly to cover the stepped northern facade of 2093 and make a more uniform facade when the entrance to that tomb was moved to the north (fig. 71). The motive seems not to have been to make space for more subsidiary burials, since its shafts, though close together like secondary shafts, seem never to have been used. The mastaba's northern and western facades, like those of 2092, are battered; the facade facing the court to the east is vertical.

Its most interesting feature is its serdab, which was built over the burial chambers of Shafts a and b. The two slot openings are narrow (about 1 cm wide), vertical, and finely finished. They were created by leaving very narrow gaps between the blocks of one course. These gaps were widened towards the serdab (see pl. 83c).

The serdab slots open onto the east wall of the facade, which forms the west wall of the portico/court north of 2092+2093. The upper courses are finished to a level surface extending out less than a centimeter from the joints between the blocks (pls. 63a-b). This finish includes the course containing the slots and one course below it; but below that course, the base of which is level with the baseline on the adjacent doorjamb of 2092+2093, the blocks are considerably more roughly finished. This same pattern also occurs on the east face of 2097', which also had serdab slots constructed in this way. Both mastabas also have two burial shafts adjacent to the serdab, with their burial chambers built under the serdab floor. Both mastabas must have been built within a short period of time, although 2097' would have been somewhat later than 2096, to judge from its abutment of the south wall of the portico.

Shafts and Burials

Shafts a and b were clearly built at the same time as the mastaba, although neither are subterranean. They both have masonry chambers to the east, directly under the floor of the serdab chamber. Shaft a is built against the stepped northern facade of 2093. They differ otherwise only in that the roof slabs of shaft a slope down to the east, while those of shaft b slope up, and in that shaft b shows carefully built masonry jambs at the entrance to its chamber. No human remains, grave goods, or blocking was found in either shaft.

Shaft c was also built against the stepped northern facade of 2093, but its other three walls are of rubble. It rests on the surface of the crumbly bedrock, and has no chamber. Shaft d is identical, except that it is rubble masonry on all four sides. Shaft c is directly behind shaft a and shaft d is directly behind shaft b. One of the latter two shafts (b and d) may have been intended as the burial connected

with Beby, the usurper of mastaba 2092a (unless he moved the stela from elsewhere). In fact, however, there was no trace of any human remains found in any of the shafts.

Date

2096 was built during the early part of Phase ii, after 2093 and 2092, at the same time as 2092.2 (the facing of 2092 and 2091), shortly before 2097', and some time before the construction of the serdabs 2097.2 and 2097.3. It thus probably dates to early in the reign of Izezi, or slightly before.

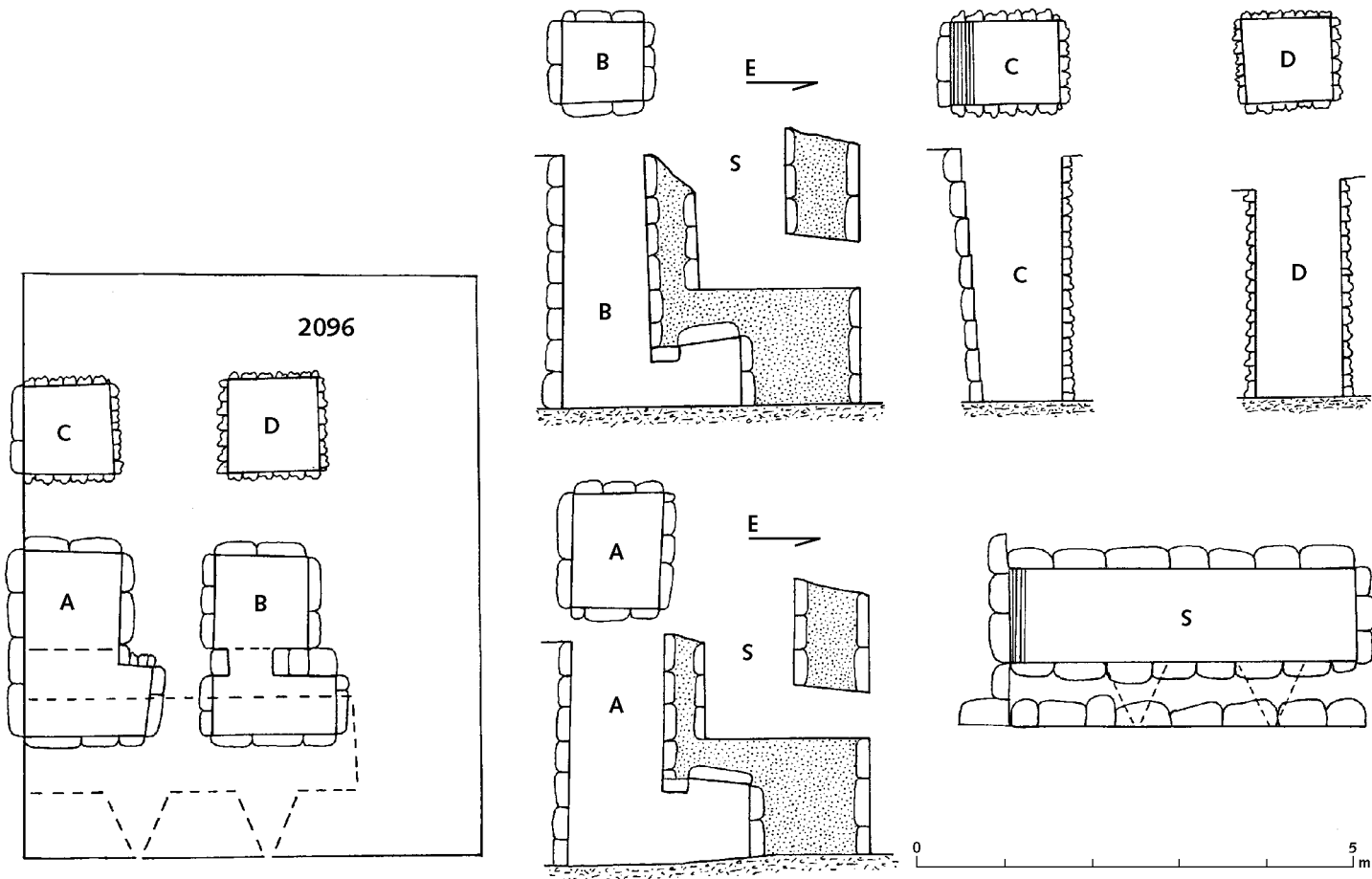


Fig. 71. Outline and shaft and serdab plan of g 2096.

THE TOMB OF NIMAATRE: Mastaba g 2097

Summary of Reisner's Description

Mastaba type: viii c

three different sections, extending 16.5 m E–W [includes 2097']
west part [decorated room]: 6.15 x 5.9 m; area 36.28 sq. m
center part [court; includes serdabs]: 7.15 x 5.95 m; area 42.54 sq. m
east part [= 2097']: 7.55 x 4.3 m; area 32.46 sq. m total area: 111.28
facing masonry type: [u]

Chapel type:

west part [decorated]: (5d)
corridor 4.9 x 1.45 m; area 7.1 sq. m; proportion 1/3.38
recess 2.4 x 1.2 m; area 2.88 sq. m
total area: [9.98]
center part [court]: embrasure of doorway to 2092+2093:
0.25 x 2.1 m
east part [= 2097']: 2 false doors cut in the masonry of the east
face, one south and one north of the serdab slots

Serdab 1 [in 2097']: 2.6 x 0.9 m; area 2.34 sq. m distance between two
[vertical] slots 1.0 m

Serdab 2 [e. of pair]: 0.7 x 1.4 m; height 1.5 m; area 0.98 sq. m; window to
south [e. wall angled]

Serdab 3 [w. of pair]: 0.65 x 1.1 m; height 1.53 m; area 0.71 sq. m; window to
south [w. wall angled]

Serdab 4 [in 2097, called S on plan]: 2.6 x 1.1 m; area 2.86 sq. m; no slot
preserved; behind niched facade; intrusive shaft x of type 8

Shaft a: 1.45 x 1.4 m; 2.9 m (7 courses) lined with masonry;
-4.85 m in rock
chamber type: 6 a(3) on east. 2.05 x 1.15 m; height 1.0 m
area 2.35 sq. m; capacity 2.35 cu. m
blocking type: v c(?)
no skeleton, no objects

Shaft x: intruded into serdab 4 [S on plan]
0.75 x 1.05 m; 2.1 m lined with masonry; ends at rock
chamber type: 8 b(3) on south. 1.95 x 1.0 m; height 1.0 m
area 1.95 sq. m; capacity 1.95 cu. m
passage with built jamb on each side, 0.25 x 0.75; height 0.8
burial pit sunk in bad rock, 1.7 x 0.5 m; depth 0.4 m

Excavation

The excavation of this mastaba and mastaba 2096 to the south was begun on December 29, 1938. The overlying fill consisted of sand, limestone debris, rubble, large stones, and pebbles. The two mastabas were not differentiated until January 2, 1939. The clearance of 2097 and 2097' and their shafts and serdabs was completed on the January 4. g 2097 and 2097' were never differentiated.

The Reis's Diary gives a puzzling description of the chapel on January 2: "[O]n the east wall are two stelas, the southern one uninscribed and the northern one inscribed with a standing man in sunk relief." It seems most probable that the "southern one" refers to the

uninscribed false door on the east face of 2097', while the "northern one" refers to the intrusive inscription of *Mr-ntr-Jzzj* on the west face of the recess in 2097. These two walls are, however, separated by a distance of over 13 m; it is also possible that an uninscribed false door was originally present just to the east of shaft a; against this, however, is the lack of any indication of such a door on the Reis Mohammed's sketch plan, where the wall in question is drawn as schematic masonry. This same plan does show a single small northern niche on the east face of 2097', directly centered on the serdab, and Reisner's summary also lists two false doors on the east wall of 2097'. A niche in this position can also be seen at the left edge of photograph a 8112, which appears to correspond to the small false door tablet preserved only in photos c 14258 and b 9032, and revealed by EAO clearance between 1990 and 1994; but this tablet shows a seated woman in sunk relief, rather than a standing man. The Reis may have been confused by his own account of the 2097 chapel a few pages previously.

Shaft a was cleared on January 6. Its fill consisted only of drift sand. Shaft x, which is intruded into serdab 4 (S on Floroff's plan), was also filled only with drift sand. It was cleared on January 7.

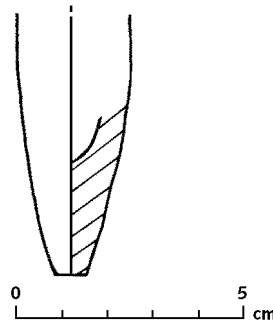
On January 8, the undecorated courtyard east of the chapel, room (b), was cleared. It was filled with drift sand and large stones, and had a floor of limestone debris about the rock. Both serdabs opening onto this room were cleared at the same time. They were recorded as being filled with drift sand.

Finds

In the debris of room (a), the chapel of 2097 (no more precise location is given) a model vessel was found.

39–1–12 Lower part of a slender tapering alabaster jar with a small flat spot on the bottom; h. 7.0+ cm; d. at top 3.2 cm; d. at base 0.9 cm (fig. 72)

Fig. 72. Fragment of alabaster vessel from g 2097 (a). 39–1–12.



Architecture

Mastaba g 2097 (fig. 73) belongs to Phase ii. It was clearly built after 2096 and also after two of the serdabs that Reisner assigned to it, 2097.S2 and 2097.S3. The first relationship is indisputable, since part of the exterior north facade of 2096 forms the south wall of the corridor in the chapel of 2097. Its original battered facade was cut back to form a smooth vertical surface, and then decorated with raised relief. The relationship with the serdabs is more subtle. The inner wall of S2 is at an angle relative to 2097 and the walls of the adjacent courtyard. This angle is parallel to the inner wall of S3 and also the earlier version of the west facade of 2097', as seen in the lowest preserved course. The eastern wall of the decorated chapel of 2097

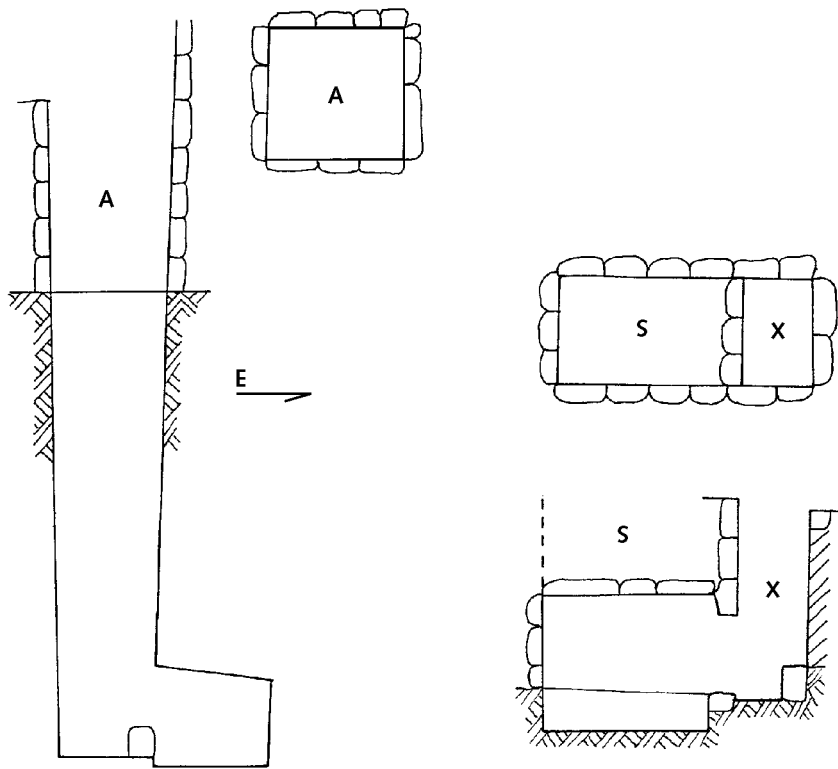
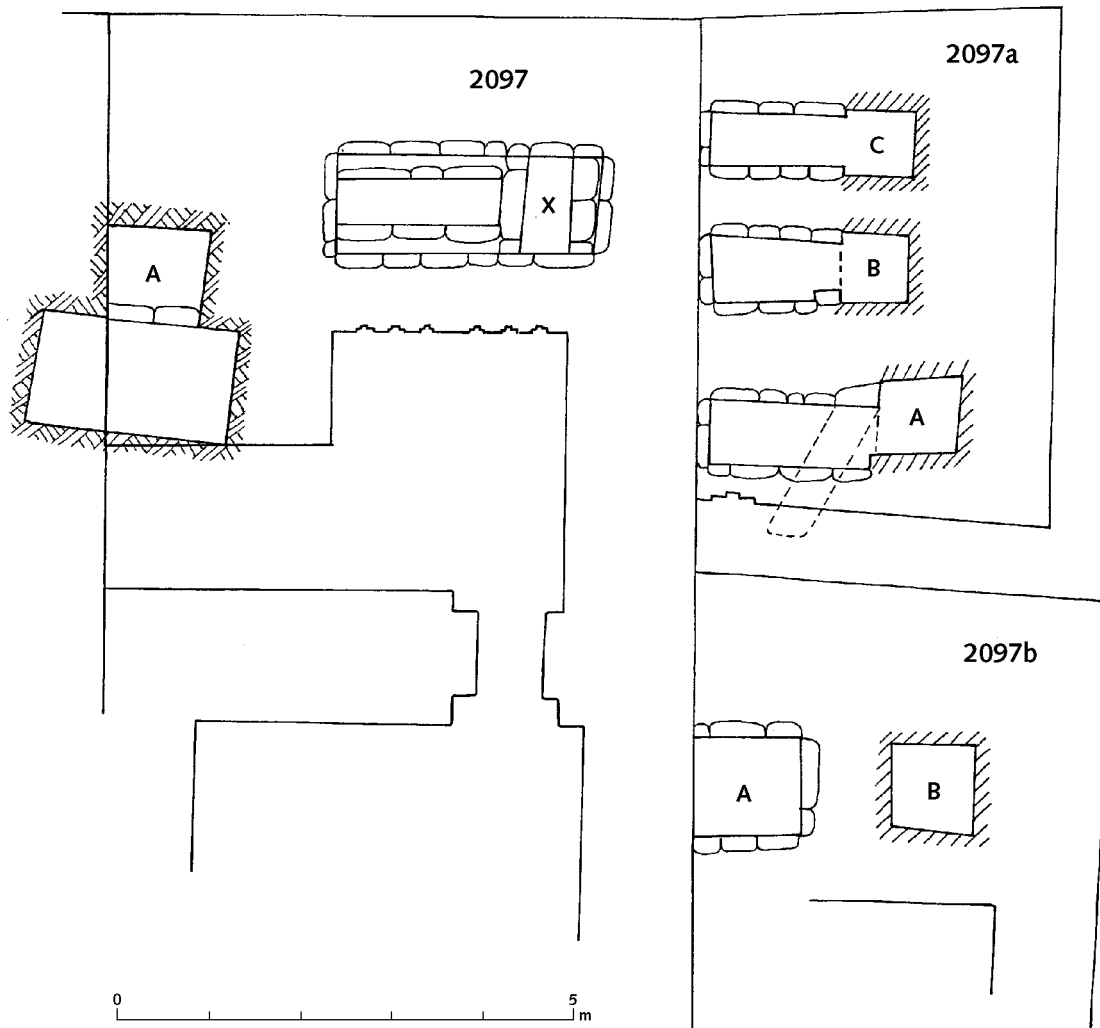


Fig. 73. Outline and shaft and serdab plan of g 2097.



can also be seen to abut the northern face of S3, at least on the east (see pls. 85a, 85b, and 86a).

The shape of 2097 is unique in this cluster. It appears to mirror the final shape resulting from the evolution of 2092+2093 in much the same way that 2099 seems to mirror the shape created by modifications to 2086 and 2091. The chapel has a recessed area, either with a lost pillar to support the roof or a granite lintel.⁸⁷ (The space is too great to be spanned by limestone blocks alone). At the back of the recess is a panelled palace facade. To the south of the recess is a short wide, corridor, which leads nowhere, and which seems likely to be modeled on the blocked northern entrance of 2092+2093.

The west wall of this corridor probably was decorated with a false door, already missing at the time of excavation. Reis Mohammed and Floroff both show the west wall as ordinary masonry with no large monoliths on their plans, and neither the Reis's Diary nor Reisner's manuscript make any reference to this part of the wall. The excavation photographs seem almost intentionally to have avoided recording it. Clearance by the EAO between 1990 and 1994 revealed a single course of masonry, with a 70-cm-wide emplacement for a false door adjacent to the south wall. There was a small offering platform in front of this false door.

The recessed area of the chapel may have been roofed at a lower level than the corridor to the east, judging from the reconstructed height of the walls of the recess, which is roughly a course lower than the east wall and the south wall at the end of the corridor. The smaller scale of the figures of Nimaatre in the recess also suggest a difference in architectural scale. (Interestingly, the figures restored in the recess of 2092+2093 are also unexpectedly small in scale.) The north wall of the chapel, which borders both areas, may have been higher at its east end; this would be possible since the east end is made up of individual registers without a large figure and it is impossible to determine its height. If the roof of the recess was lower, the chapel may have been lit by clerestory windows, or by a skylight like that preserved in 2091.

The construction of a courtyard to the east of 2097 seems to have been related to the construction of 2097. It involved both the construction of 2097b (q.v.) and the rebuilding of the west facade of 2097' to make it parallel to the east wall of the chapel of 2097 and create a court with parallel sides. If it was roofed with limestone, it would have required four pillars. Although the courtyard contains many large blocks, most are clearly fall from the surrounding walls, and none has the dimensions of a pillar. One possibility is that the pillars in the court were granite, which would have rendered them more likely taken for reuse elsewhere (several pieces of granite were noted on the surface of nearby mastabas 2096 and 2097' in 1990). Another possibility is that the court was not roofed.

If the outer room of 2097 was in fact a covered pillared hall, the tomb and the complex of 2092+2093 to the south would resemble closely the nearly contemporary complex of Akhethotep and Ptahhotep ii at Saqqara, with the older tomb on the main axis and the later addition at right angles to it, built off a central pillared hall.

⁸⁷ There is no trace of a pillar emplacement on the surviving stone floor of the chapel, so a granite lintel seems most likely.

This architectural similarity is especially striking because of the close iconographic and stylistic parallels between the chapel decoration of 2097 and that of Ptahhotep ii (see Chapter 3).

The final alterations to the tomb took place in Phase iii, where a wall was built blocking the north end of the courtyard, probably after the razing of 2097b. During this phase, most visitors would be coming from the south, so that this wall presumably had the function of preventing them from passing the chapel accidentally without visiting it. The main entrance to the tomb was now the small doorway between 2091 and 2092, at the eastern end of 2092+2093's pillared court. Also dating to Phase iii is the well-built monumental doorway between the two serdabs leading to 2097 from this smaller court (see pls. 84a–b) into the court east of 2097's chapel. Its striking symmetrical masonry is clearly oriented towards the south, as is its drum lintel.

The intrusion of a burial (shaft x) into the serdab (S4) of the tomb dates to Phase iv, which is defined as a period of intrusive burials. The equally intrusive figure and titulary of Mernetjer-Izezi was probably added to the center panel of the palace facade by the occupant of shaft x, since the serdab lies directly west of the panel.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft a was the chief shaft. Two large blocks remained of the lowest course of an exterior blocking of masonry, but the upper part was open, and no objects or human remains were recovered from the chamber. The chamber itself was rock-cut, and about 10 cm below the base of the shaft. Shaft x was built in serdab S4. A low burial pit, narrower than the chamber, was cut down into the crumbly bedrock, and lined with masonry. Another course of masonry at the bottom of the shaft supported the slab that was meant to cover the pit. The slab was displaced, and there was no blocking, no human remains, and no grave goods. Another course of masonry was laid across the side of the shaft opposite the entrance to the burial chamber, and is higher than the line of masonry at the entrance to the chamber. Whether this was part of another burial pit built into the base of the shaft, or some remains of the original serdab construction is unclear. The tomb card shows the north wall of the shaft above it as mudbrick except for the upper course. The wall of the north face of the serdab was perhaps removed and rebuilt in mud brick some 25 cm further north to allow more of the serdab floor to be used for the burial pit.

Date

The tomb can be dated according to Cherpion's criteria to the reigns of Izezi and Unis,⁸⁸ and, according to Harpur,⁸⁹ the occurrence of the senet game along with the musicians does not begin until the middle of Izezi's reign. The reign of Unis seems more probable, based on the close iconographic parallels with the decoration of the tomb of Ptahhotep ii at Saqqara. The usurpation of the central panel

⁸⁸ A dating in the reign of Unis is only made possible by disregarding several features that seem to be less limiting than Cherpion believes, such as the shell-shaped inkwell and bull's-leg chairs.

⁸⁹ Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, p. 257.

of the palace facade on the west wall seems most likely to have occurred in the following reign.

Decoration of the Chapel

The decoration was recorded by tracing, in consultation with excavation photographs. The drawings were uniformly reduced to 15% of their original size. The only exception to this method was one block on the upper right of the north wall of the chapel. This block had weathered completely in the years since the chapel's excavation, and because of the interest of the scene it held, and the obscurity of the photograph, a drawing was made from the photograph and enlarged to fit the block. This area is outlined in darker line in the drawing.

The decoration of the chapel was entirely in raised relief, with the exception of the intrusive inscription on the central panel of the palace facade which is in sunk relief. The decoration was carved on a nummulitic limestone with a very high proportion of nummulites, and the resulting speckled appearance makes the decoration very difficult to see and photograph.

North wall (pls. 87, 88a–b, 89, and 185). Fishing and other marsh pursuits is the theme of the wall to the right of the chapel entrance. At the far end, on the left, the tomb owner is shown in a papyrus skiff, clearly spearing fish, since the water beneath him curves up into a *Wasserberg* at right to allow him to do so. Three retainers carrying equipment (including a brachiomorphic wand) walk behind him, and a male child clutching a bird in one hand holds with his other the staff with which Nimaatre is (rather incongruously) equipped. Behind the stern of the skiff is a marsh plant inhabited by a frog and a butterfly, and the water at this end of the wall holds an eel and a hippopotamus as well as a variety of fish.

On the floor of the chapel, directly below this wall, was a very long block (pl. 88a) that almost certainly came from the top of the wall, above the spearing scene. Its surviving decoration consists of only a few hieroglyphs, the first of which appear to be parts of Nimaatre's titles ... *hntj-š hrj [ššš]* ... *jmšhw* ..., "... palace attendant, who is over [the secrets], ... venerated...." At the far left end, he is apparently called "venerated before ... lord of the holy land," since the epithet [*nb š-]dsr*, immediately precedes the right-most column that must have contained his name. (This epithet can apply to Anubis or to the great god; it does not usually occur with the name of Osiris.)

To the right of the *Wasserberg* is a thick papyrus marsh, in which two fishermen in a boat swing nets framed by two crossed sticks. In a second boat to the right of them, a third man fishes with a hook and line, and has hooked a catfish. The water below this scene holds a crocodile and, further right, two hippopotami. The water here is being crossed by five cattle, led by a calf towed by the occupants of a small rowboat at the right margin of the scene. The text over the cattle ends ... *mht phw*, "... the Delta and the marshes." The text to the left, probably spoken by one of the occupants of the boat, represents part of the standard spell protecting those who cross the water: *nh hr.k wrt r šlj pw] ntj hr mw* ... "May your attention be very alive against [this] lake-dweller who is upon the water...."⁹⁰ (The texts in this scene, and the scenes directly above, are restored from the

photograph of the wall. The block on which they were inscribed was of very bad stone; its surface has completely weathered away since the time of the excavation.)

The register above shows, at the left, an overseer wearing a starched kilt with a drooping flap. His back is to the adjacent papyrus marsh, and he leans heavily on a staff as he observes one man spanking another in the lowest of the two registers before him. Over his head a caption is partially preserved: ... *hrp jrj ... mš* ..., "... the controller of herdsmen ... watching ...;" the end of the text, which presumably explained the motive for the enigmatic spanking scene, has unfortunately been lost. This spanking scene, and the speech of the controller of herdsmen who is watching, are both paralleled in mastaba 2091 of this cluster (pl. 157). The speech, *dj mdw.f m nw šht*, might tentatively be translated "May his ten give with this a clapping." (See Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of the parallels.) One unusual feature of this version is that the recipient of the punishment appears to be resisting, grasping the shoulder of his tormentor. To the left of this scene, two men force feed cattle, under the captions *wš jwšt*, "fattening a cow." The verbs are oriented to the right, as are the men who are doing the feeding, while the labels of the cows, like the cows themselves, faces left. The activities of the two men in the register above them are more obscure. They may be preparing the food that is fed to the cows below, the first by chopping something, the second by mixing something in a flaring bowl. Behind the second man, two calves are tethered in separate subregisters.

West wall of recess (pls. 90, 91, and 186). The palace facade on this wall originally formed its sole decoration, again resembling the tomb chapel of 2092+2093 to the south. The central panel was carved to imitate two closed doors, as can be seen from the tops of the door panels and door posts directly below the lowest central lintel. Probably in connection with the conversion of the serdab behind it into a burial chamber, it received an intrusive inscription in sunk relief. Four vertical lines of inscription give the titles of the intruder, and his name is written horizontally below, labelling a figure in a long wig, short beard, broad collar, and starched triangular kilt, holding a staff and *hrp*-scepter. Traces of red paint still remain on the legs, and the base line is indicated only in paint. The inscription reads *zš hntj-š pr-š, hrj [ššš?] pr-š nb.f, šhd hntjw-š pr-š, jmšhw hr ntr š, Mr-ntr-Jzzj*,⁹¹ "scribe and attendant of the palace, chief of [secrets?] of the palace and of his lord, inspector of palace attendants, venerated before the great god, Mernetjer-Izezi." This name and several variants

⁹⁰ See parallels in A. Erman, *Reden, Rufe, und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches*, Abhandlungen der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1918 (Berlin, 1919), pp. 29–31.

⁹¹ I have read this name as a *sdm.f* construction with Izezi as the object, "God loves Izezi" or "May god love Izezi," based on the principle that love is most often extended downward socially rather than upward. See W.K. Simpson, "Amor dei: *Ntr mrr rmt m šš wš* (Sh. Sai. 147–148) and the Embrace," *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*, J. Assmann, E. Feucht and R. Grieshammer, eds. (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 493–98. The other possible reading, *Jzzj-mr-ntr*, "Izezi is one who loves god," might be argued on the grounds that the king's name is placed first graphically; but the king's name is invariably the first element in the writing of basilophoric private names.

on the same pattern are known from the Abu Sir papyri.⁹² Although this need not be the same individual (the Abu Sir Mernetjer-Izezi bears only the title *jmj-ht hmw-ntr*), the frequency of this naming pattern in late Fifth Dynasty–early Sixth Dynasty texts suggests that the usurpation took place not long after Nimaatre’s death.

South wall of recess (pls. 92, 93a, and 187).⁹³ This scene shows Nimaatre involved in more sedentary leisure activities. He sits in front of a tapestry in a high-backed armchair, wearing a starched triangular kilt and a collar and bracelet, and holding a brachiomorphic *ms*-scepter over his shoulder. A dog crouches under his chair. Both the legs of Nimaatre and the bull’s legs of the chair show careful modelling. With his right hand, he moves a piece on the gameboard before him.

The lowest register, which runs under Nimaatre as well as the rest of the scene, depicts men bearing offerings, mostly birds and flowers of various sorts. (The flowers held by the fourth man from the right edge include both the white lotus, with its rounded tips, and the looped stem that usually indicates the blue lotus. The man behind him carries papyrus stalks. As on the south wall of the corridor, these offering bearers seem to be walking away from the seated tomb owner in the scene. The orientation here could be explained by a false door on the west wall of the corridor.

In the second register, level with Nimaatre’s feet, sit male musicians playing for him. The first is a harpist, captioned *hst skr*, “singing and striking.” Behind him sits a singer, marking time with his left hand while his right is held to his ear to help him hear. He is captioned simply *hst*, “singer.” A flautist must have sat behind him, since the caption *z bj*, “playing the flute,” begins just before the break.

The third register depicts Nimaatre’s opponent at the gameboard. He kneels and reaches forward to touch a piece with his right hand. He is captioned *hcb zz...*, which E. Pusch plausibly suggests is a mistake for *hcb znt*,⁹⁴ “playing senet.” The man to the left, to judge from the curve left of his foremost foot, is playing the game of *mhj*, “mehen,” in which the circular board is marked with the segments of a snake.⁹⁵ The end of the caption, ... *cb*, presumably is also the verb *hcb*, “playing.”

The fourth register, opposite Nimaatre’s face, shows two scribes at work. The first is called *zš n jmj-r pr*,⁹⁶ “scribe of the steward,” and

the second simply *zš*, “scribe.” Both are writing, and in front of them is collected their scribal equipment: desks, shell inkwells on little stands, and papyrus rolls standing vertically or leaning against the desk. More equipment can be seen behind them. The register above this shows men bringing household equipment, largely bags and staves. They are proceeding towards the tomb owner, unlike the offering bearers in the register at the base of the scene. The top edge of the block is at the level of their shoulders.

The sixth register of this scene is almost certainly preserved in a block discovered on top of the neighboring mastaba 2096 (pl. 93a). It clearly was a part of the decoration 2097, by the high nummulitic content of its limestone and the style and scale of the carvings. The titles are also the same as those given on the south wall of the corridor. These titles face right, and could either belong to the east wall or the south wall of the recess. Both the domesticity of the adjacent scene and the coursing of the two walls make the recess a more likely location. Moreover, the right angle under the titles seems likely to have been the upper left corner of the tapestry in front of which Nimaatre is sitting in this scene. It has therefore been restored to this position in the drawing.

There are only two titles at the right border of the block before the beginning of the honorifics: *zš pr-ꜥ*, *hntj-š pr-ꜥ*, *jmshw* ... , “scribe of the palace, palace attendant, venerated” It seems likely that the rest of the space above the tapestry was taken up with the name and epithets of the god who was said to venerate Nimaatre, and the name of Nimaatre himself. (This text would then be a shorter version of the text on the north wall opposite this wall, where the word venerated precedes the epithet *nb ts-dsr* by ten columns.) To the left is a scene in which two men are making a bed with bulls’ legs, set beneath a canopy. The man on the left is smoothing the mattress, while another man approaches from the right, carrying a headrest and another object. He is captioned ... *hr ꜥj*, “... approaching.”⁹⁷ Such scenes are rare at Giza, and not common at Saqqara.⁹⁸

West wall, north end. No decoration, indeed no wall, is preserved in this area. A false door emplacement occupies the 70 cm adjacent to the south wall, another feature this tomb shared with 2092+2092 to the south. The possibility that the false door of Nimaatre found in 2092a originally came from this wall has been suggested above; but since the titles are entirely different and the style is later than any in 2097, it seems most likely to attribute the stela to a later descendant.

South wall of corridor (pls. 93b, 94 a–b, and 188). A standard offering-table scene adorns this wall. Nimaatre sits in a starched triangular kilt and broad collar at a table of tall loaves. He carries a handkerchief in one hand and with the other reaches out to the table.

⁹² Posener-Kriéger and J.L. de Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri*, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, 5th series (London, 1968), 47 A nd 71 B. Names using the same pattern also occur in these papyri in the names *Mr-ntr-nswt* and *Mr-ntr-Kskj*. Another variant, *Mr-ntr-jzj*, occurs in the roughly contemporary papyri from the pyramid of Neferefre. Idem, “Remarques préliminaires sur les nouveaux papyrus d’Abousir.” *Égypte: Dauer und Wandel*, Symposium anlässlich des 75-jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), pp. 35–43.

⁹³ The lower part of this wall has been published by T. Kendall, *Passing through the Netherworld: The Meaning and Play of Senet an Ancient Egyptian Game* (game rule book), Belmont, MA 1978, pp. 12–13, based on the work of the 1975 season. A drawing based on the excavation photograph was published in E. Pusch, *Das Senet-Brettspiel im Alten Ägypten*, MÄS 38 (Munich, 1979), pp. 29–33 and pls. 8 and 9. (The tomb owner is identified as “Izezimernetjer” rather than Nimaatre.)

⁹⁴ Pusch, *Das Senet-Brettspiel*, pp. 29–32.

⁹⁵ See P. Piccione, “Mehen, Mysteries, and Resurrection from the Coiled Serpent,” *JARCE* 27 (1990), pp. 43–52.

⁹⁶ The reed-leaf under the *n* is indisputably there; it is anomalous whether it belongs to the genitive particle or is a phonetic complement to *jmj-r*. In view of the mistaken *z* for *n* in *znt* in the register below, it is tempting to suggest another mistaken carving, perhaps where the scribe laying out the text intended a stroke.

⁹⁷ This text may be related to the fact that in other bedmaking scenes the men performing the task are sometimes titled *jmj-r ꜥj*, which is conventionally translated “overseer of the workgang” or “overseer of the equipment,” but which may be related to a specialized meaning of the verb *ꜥj* used here.

⁹⁸ This assessment is based on an unpublished study by Robin Sewell, collecting and analyzing the iconography of such scenes. The only other Memphite scene with a caption (as opposed to titles) is that from the tomb of *Wr-jr.n.j-Pth*, published in T.G.H. James, *British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts* 1, pl. 29. There the caption over the man who is placing the headrest reads *wdj st jn sꜥwtj*, “the placing of it by the sealbearer.”

Offerings are stacked in the two registers above this table, and also in the split register adjacent to the table. Above the tomb owner are three lines of vertical inscription of decreasing length, ending in a horizontal line containing only his name. These lines read *rh-nswt*, *zš pr-ḳ hntj-š pr-ḳ / jmsḥw hr ntr ḳ / hrj sšs pr-ḳ / Nj-mst-Rḳ*, “king’s acquaintance, scribe of the palace, attendant of the palace, venerated before the great god, who is over the secrets of the palace, Nimaatre.”

Above the offering table and the titles of the tomb owner, an offering list stretches across the entire wall. Three offerings can be read in the lowest register, *rnpt*, “vegetables,” *hnt*, “offerings” and *stpt*, “choice pieces.” All are in their customary places, although the spacing of the list seems uneven. The individual rows of the offering list seem to be made up of 19 or 20 offerings, so if the list was one of Bart’s type a (as seems most likely), it probably had five horizontal rows of offerings.

Beneath the offering table scene is a register of six female dancers, each in the same posture, with left arm raised, right hand on hip, and left toe tapping the ground. At the right end of the register, two women are depicted clapping their hands; a third probably sat behind them. The caption between the first two reads *hst*, “singing.” The bottom register shows eight men carrying offerings to the left. These bearers would be expected to be moving towards the west, directed either towards the major figure on this wall or the false door that would have originally stood on the west wall. Instead, they face east. The third and fourth men carry a table of offerings between them: the other offerings seem to be offered individually.

East wall (pls. 95, 96, 97, 189). The east wall, like the north wall, represents outdoor scenes, both agricultural and hunting. At the right of the scene, the tomb owner stands with a small boy who carries a bird. Nimaatre wears a short wrapped kilt with a vertical tie, under a leopard-skin tied with a shoulder knot. He holds a staff and handkerchief. He has short hair, although it seems to cover his ears, and he wears a short beard and a broad collar. Above his head, the ends of three lines of text are partially preserved of five or more that were originally there. They read ... *[mrr] nb.f [jmsḥw] hr ntr ḳ [Nj]-mst-Rḳ*, “... beloved of his lord, venerated before the great god, Nimaatre.” Another vertical text separates Nimaatre from the registers to the left. It probably contained a caption to the action, but it has been destroyed except for a group of three signs, *š*, *r* and *ḥ*.

The figure stands on the base line of the fourth register from the bottom of the scene. Three registers are preserved to his left; there was at least one, and were probably two more registers above those, making a total of eight registers of decoration. The lowest three registers show animals and hunters in the desert, while the three registers that Nimaatre confronts depict more agricultural and domestic scenes.

In the lowest register, an astonishing variety of animals are engaged in copulation.⁹⁹ The animals at the right end of the preserved decoration can be seen in the photographs (pl. 97b) to have been

copulating lions, although this part of the wall is now badly weathered. (Copulating lions are otherwise known only from the tomb of Ptahhotep ii at Saqqara.¹⁰⁰) Left of them are two oryxes, captioned *nk mš ḥd*, “copulating oryxes.” The horns of the male extend well into the register above. To the left of that is another pair of animals with the caption *nk wn[š]*, “copulating wolves;” their appearance matches the caption. Further along, at the left edge of a large gap are two smaller copulating animals, judging from the size of the legs and the angle of the tail. To their left are copulating donkeys, uncaptioned. The register then divides to show two pairs of copulating small animals. The top pair, labelled *[gs]fnw*, could be small foxes.¹⁰¹ The copulating pair below are labelled ... *zšt*. They are the only pair facing left, towards a small tree, and they have mole-like noses. The caption might be a miswriting of *ḥts*, “weasel.” Beyond them, again filling the whole register, are two hyenas, labelled *nk ḥtt*, “copulating hyenas.” They are followed by a pair of copulating antelopes, who are captioned *nk nwdw*, “copulating antelopes”¹⁰² and a pair of copulating hedgehogs, who are uncaptioned. The couple behind these, labelled *nk jnb*, have been identified as copulating caracals.¹⁰³ To the left of them are two superimposed pairs, the outermost are gazelles and the innermost are bubalis. At the extreme left of the register is a sycamore tree.

The second register shows hunting, by both humans and animals, in the wild. After the break at the right, an ungulate can be seen, and then a hound attacking an animal that resembles a long-legged fox. Facing this animal over a tree is a bearded ungulate that could be an ibex, behind which, on a smaller scale, is a bull. To the left of the bull is a group in which two dogs are attacking a gazelle. Left of this scene, the registers are split. The lower register contains a striding panther or another large cat; while above, two small animals emerge from their burrows. Further along, once again filling the entire register, a hunting dog attacks an ungulate of some kind, while two more dogs are held at bay by a huntsman. Behind him are an unidentified ungulate, an oryx, and two gazelles, followed by a dog attacking another ungulate. In a subregister above these last two groups is a pair of overscale animals resembling rats.

The third register continues the hunting theme at its left end; at the right, nearer and beneath the large figure of the tomb owner, these scenes give way to a procession of men bringing animals for presentation. A man is shown at the far right, but his activity is uncertain; another man has his arm around the horn of an ibex, dragging him forward, and two more ungulates follow, led by a man who is also giving the ibex a shove from behind. Following the pair is a man bringing a small gazelle over his shoulder, and another man, carrying a yoke, the forward half of which seems to contain a swaddled baby gazelle. There follow two antelopes labelled *šsw*, “bubalis,” and then the registers split to contain a hyena on the upper register. The animal in the lower register is lost, but a lion can be restored on the

¹⁰⁰ Paget and Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hotep*, pl. 31.

¹⁰¹ *Wb.* 5, p. 206,8 gives only the general definition “kleines Wüßtentier;” the *Belegstellen* lists only a scene from Abu Gurob.

¹⁰² *Wb.* 2, p. 226,15 identifies the animal more specifically as Mendes antelopes, *addax nasomaculata*.

¹⁰³ L. Keimer, “*INB*, Le Caracal (*Caracal caracal*/Schmitzi Matsch) dans l’Égypte ancienne,” *ASAE* 48 (1948), pp. 374–77, pl. 1 and fig. 1.

⁹⁹ For a collection parallels, none of which is as extensive and varied as the depictions here, see S. Ikram, “Animal Mating Motifs in Egyptian Funerary Representations,” *GM* 124 (1991), pp. 51–68. The present scene is described on p. 52 of the article, based on an earlier drawing.

basis of a parallel in the tomb of Ptahhotep ii.¹⁰⁴ Here, as there, the lion seizes the neck of a bull to the right. The bull's tail is swung out to reveal that the bull is defecating its fright. To the left, the registers are again divided, the upper register containing a hedgehog, a rabbit, and a pheasant-like bird; the lower containing a peculiar animal, perhaps a member of the cat family, but with ears like short antennae. Beyond this, the register is again unified with the depiction of an ostrich and two dog-like animals copulating. They are captioned *nk hm*, I can suggest no translation. At the left end of the register, two dogs attack an oryx while a third attacks a gazelle and a fourth is restrained on a leash by the huntsman. The huntsman's dog is labelled *Tfw*, which may be the dog's name rather than a distinct breed.

The fourth register, which begins with the base of the representation of Nimaatre at the right, is clearly a presentation scene. To the left of Nimaatre, the feet of a standing man are visible, probably a steward making an account of the agricultural work. Behind him sit two scribes, writing, and a man leaning forward to show deference. The man who follows is titled *jmj-r mdt*, "overseer of the stables." He leads in the first of three cows, only parts of which are still visible, interspersed with four men. After the last cow and its herdsman are three herons, followed by five geese. The first of these geese is unlabeled; the others are *t*, *trp*, *hsp*, and *p*, all different varieties of fowl. Behind them, at the left border of the scene, walks a gooseherd, carrying a long stick and a basketry bag with a loop handle.

The fifth register is again a mixture. Adjacent to the tomb owner at its right end, more scribes are depicted, to judge from the caption, but this area is badly eroded. Some distance to the left begin scenes depicting the production and preparation of grain. A man drives back and forth a group of four or more donkeys, who thresh the cut grain; the rectangular object behind him may be a stack of bales of hay. Beyond this are four men engaged in tying and stacking such bales, and at the far left, eight men are shown cutting wheat. These scenes are clearly meant to be read from left to right.

The sixth register, at its center, shows even earlier stages of the growing of grain. The area adjacent to Nimaatre is almost entirely worn away, with the exception of the feet of one figure who is turned to the left. A bending figure facing right, may be sowing. Following him, a man urges on a pair of oxen, while his companion steadies the plow that will mix the seeds with the soil. The leftmost third of this register at the left shows an unrelated scene, the stereotypical battle of the boatmen, probably involving three boats. This seems almost an extension of the north wall, although more water scenes may have existed above it.

Neither the jambs of the doorway to the chapel nor the courtyard to the north were decorated.

The Tomb Owner and Dependents

Titles of Nimaatre:

<i>rb-nswt</i>	king's acquaintance
<i>zš pr-ḳ hntj-š pr-ḳ</i>	scribe and attendant of the palace ¹⁰⁵
<i>hrj ššḫ pr-ḳ</i>	who is over the secrets of the palace

¹⁰⁴ Paget and Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hotep*, pl. 31; this scene also occurs in the tomb chapels of Mereruka and his son Merititi at Saqqara.

The first of these titles is preserved only on the south corridor wall; the third is preserved there and on the displaced upper block of the north wall. The second (combined) title is preserved in both of those places, as well as on the loose block that has been restored on top of the south wall of the recess.

Family members of Nimaatre are nowhere named. His wife is not depicted. A small son is shown on both the north and east walls. None of the attendants or offering bearers is identified by name in the surviving decoration.

Titles of Mernetjer-Izezi. The titles of the usurper of the central niche of the palace facade, and presumably the serdab behind it, are mentioned only once, and are given in the discussion above.

Conservation (Pamela Hatchfield)

This tomb has no roof and is open to the elements and public access. Little change in the condition of the tomb is apparent since 1987, according to members of the earlier expedition. There are lots of modern graffiti on the walls, especially the east wall. The north, east and south walls are carved in very low relief in coarse nummulitic limestone.

The north wall shows considerable differential weathering due to the different qualities of limestone used. The scene of one man spanking another, which was more or less intact in the 1939 photograph is now totally gone. The stone is very weathered, but next to it is a stone of better quality in which the decoration is much better preserved. At the west end of the wall, the fish were surrounded by a cut-away area approximately 2 mm wide, which makes them appear to be in raised relief, although they are in fact at the same level as the background.

On the east wall, large plaster fills remain in joins of blocks and in one patched area of the stone in which the relief is carved into the plaster rather than the stone, due to a defect in the stone. The block at the upper right, on which the head of the tomb owner was represented, had fallen and was replaced by workmen from the Giza inspectorate of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization.

The surface of the south wall of the chapel has been dressed back to vertical from a surface that was originally battered and only roughly finished, as can be seen from its continuation to the west, which was originally buried in the fill of the mastaba. The decoration on this wall is very weathered.

The south part of the west wall is missing; the north part, which is set back from the southern part, shows a niched facade with an inscription and a standing figure carved in sunk relief on the central panel. The feet of the figure show the remains of dark paint, appar-

¹⁰⁵ These two titles are never separated in the inscriptions of Nimaatre, and seem even more closely related in the titulary of Mernetjer-Izezi, where they share the group *pr-ḳ*. Mernetjer-Izezi is also a *šbd hntjw-š*, and since this is two levels in the hierarchy above an ordinary *hntj-š* and he does not hold the intervening titles, it seems reasonable to conclude that Mernetjer-Izezi is not an ordinary *hntj-š* at all, but bears a higher title in which it is combined with his scribal office at the palace. This office is perhaps near that of the *šbd hntjw-š* in the hierarchy. Nimaatre's scribal title perhaps raised his pay above that of an ordinary palace attendant, allowing his elaborate chapel decoration.

ently applied directly to the stone's surface. Traces of plaster survive mostly in the joins between blocks. One red line of underdrawing survives at the north end of the wall. The niching appears not to have been as well carved in this area, and was perhaps never finished. The wall joining the two parts of the west wall was largely intact when the mastaba was excavated. After it was traced in 1975, it was decided to protect it from further damage by dismantling its upper courses. These blocks are now stored in 2091, and only the bottom part of the lower register was left in situ.

Addendum (amr). By 1994, considerable conservation work had been done in this chapel. The upper right block on the east wall,

which had fallen again by 1991, was replaced and secured with new limestone blocks protecting the upper edges of the walls. Ms. Niveen Mohammed, who was directing the conservation work in the area, indicated that the south wall of the recess would be restored from the blocks in 2091, and that the chapel would be roofed and locked. She also considered the possibility of setting up the false door from 2092a (recovered during EAO clearance of the area) in the false door emplacement, on the strength of the possibility that it originally came from there, and the practical consideration that it would be better protected there.

THE TOMB OF TJEZET AND HER HUSBAND: Mastaba g 2097'

Summary of Reisner's Description

Mastaba type: Not recognized as a separate mastaba by Reisner
facing masonry type: u

Chapel type: "two ka-doors cut in the masonry, one on the south and the other on the north. Between the niches open two slot windows connected with a serdab behind the wall"

Serdab 1 [also listed in 2097 summary]: 2.6 x 0.9 m; area 2.34 sq. m distance between two [vertical] slots 1.0 m

Shaft b: 1.35 x 1.2 m at top; 0.9 x 1.05 m at base 2.3 m (6 courses) lined with masonry; -2.85 in rock
chamber type: 6 c(1) with rounded corners; on east. 0.9 x 0.7 m
height 0.95 m;
area 0.63 sq. m; capacity 0.59 cu. m
no blocking
no burial, no objects

Shaft c: 0.85 x 1.1 m; 2.45 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
chamber type: 8 a(2) on west at an angle to the shaft 1.55 x 0.65 m;
height 0.9 m
area 1.0 sq. m; capacity 0.9 cu. m
blocking type: vi d(2), apparently intact
burial: skeleton of a child, broken

Shaft d: 0.9 x 1.0 m; 2.6 m (8 courses) lined with masonry; ends at rock
chamber type: 8 a(4) on east. 1.2 x 0.75 m; height 0.85 m
area 0.9 sq. m; capacity 0.76 cu. m
passage with jamb on either side, 0.45 x 0.35; height 0.75 m
no blocking
no burial, no objects

Shaft e: 1.0 x 1.0 m; 2.15 m (6 courses) lined with masonry; ends at rock
chamber type: 8 a(4) on east. 1.2 x 0.7 m; height 0.95 m
area 0.84 sq. m; capacity 0.79 cu. m
passage with jamb on either side, 0.5 x 0.4; height 0.75 m
no blocking
no burial, no objects

Shaft f: 0.65 x 0.6 m; 1.3 m lined with rubble; ends in bad rock
chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.1. x 0.5 m; height 0.6 m
0.55 sq. m; capacity 0.33 cu. m
blocking type: vi d(2)
burial: leg-contracted skeleton of a child; no objects

Excavation

Excavation of 2097' presumably began on January 2, 1939, when it became apparent that 2096 and 2097 were two different mastabas. g 2097' was never differentiated from 2097, and the shafts and serdabs of both mastabas are numbered together. The fill from above them was composed of sand, limestone debris, rubble, stones, and pebbles.

The problem posed by the description of the chapel of 2097 in the Reis's Diary has been discussed above, in the section discussing

the excavation of that mastaba. If the uninscribed southern false door mentioned there is in fact the southern false door of 2097', this would mean that the east face was largely cleared in a single day. This does not seem unlikely, since the adjoining mastaba, 2091, had been open since the Ballard excavations of 1901–1902.

The shafts of 2097, b, c, d, e, and f, were opened on January 6 and 7. Shafts b, d, and e were filled with drift sand, and d contained a square, uninscribed granite block. Shaft c contained sand, red debris, limestone debris, and pebbles; shaft f contained limestone debris, pebbles and rubble. The blocking of shafts c and f was removed on January 20.

Architecture

Mastaba 2097' is a roughly rectangular mastaba built against the north face of 2091 (fig. 74). It was constructed in Phase ii, after the building of the 2092+2093 portico, but before the construction of the serdabs converting that portico into a courtyard. Its western facade was more angled in its original form, so that the mastaba was wider at the north than at its south end. This earlier shape is still attested by a single course of masonry under the present western facade, as well as the interior east wall of serdab 2097.S2. The reason for this irregular shape is not apparent. At its south end, space was limited by the need to allow access to its southern false door without blocking the northern doorway of 2091, and the resulting mastaba may simply have not seemed deep enough, so the back wall was angled out to cover more area.

At some point, probably in concert with the construction of 2097 to the west, the back (west) facade of 2097' was rebuilt to parallel the east wall of 2097 and extended to form 2097b at the north end of the resulting courtyard. One course of masonry, probably below the floor level, was left in its original position (pl. 86a), and the inner wall of serdab 2 was left in place, preserving the original angle (pl. 85b).

The mastaba bears a striking similarity to mastaba 2096. Both were extensions of large, earlier mastabas, and both had north–south serdabs with two vertical flaring slots built into an entire course of masonry. In each case, a pair of burial shafts was built under the serdab, with shafts behind it. Both also had upper courses of masonry finely finished while the lower courses were left more rough. In the case of 2097', however, the finished masonry extended two courses below the course containing the serdab slots rather than just one.

The principal cult place was a monolithic false door at the southern end of the east facade (pl. 98a). It is set back 13 cm, and battered only slightly, although the fact that the tablet is cut at a lower level than the jambs below the lintel makes the angle appear greater than it is. Its proportions are broad, like the similar door in the portico of 2088. The block itself is 97 cm wide, and set vertically into the wall, although the vertical edges of the tablet and the central niche angle left at the top, perhaps influenced by the batter of the adjacent northern facade of 2091. The false door has no outer jambs. Its tablet is 48 cm high and 77 cm wide, flanked by apertures 10 cm wide at the base of the tablet; however, because of the angle of the tablet's sides, the left aperture is 9 cm at the top while the right aperture is

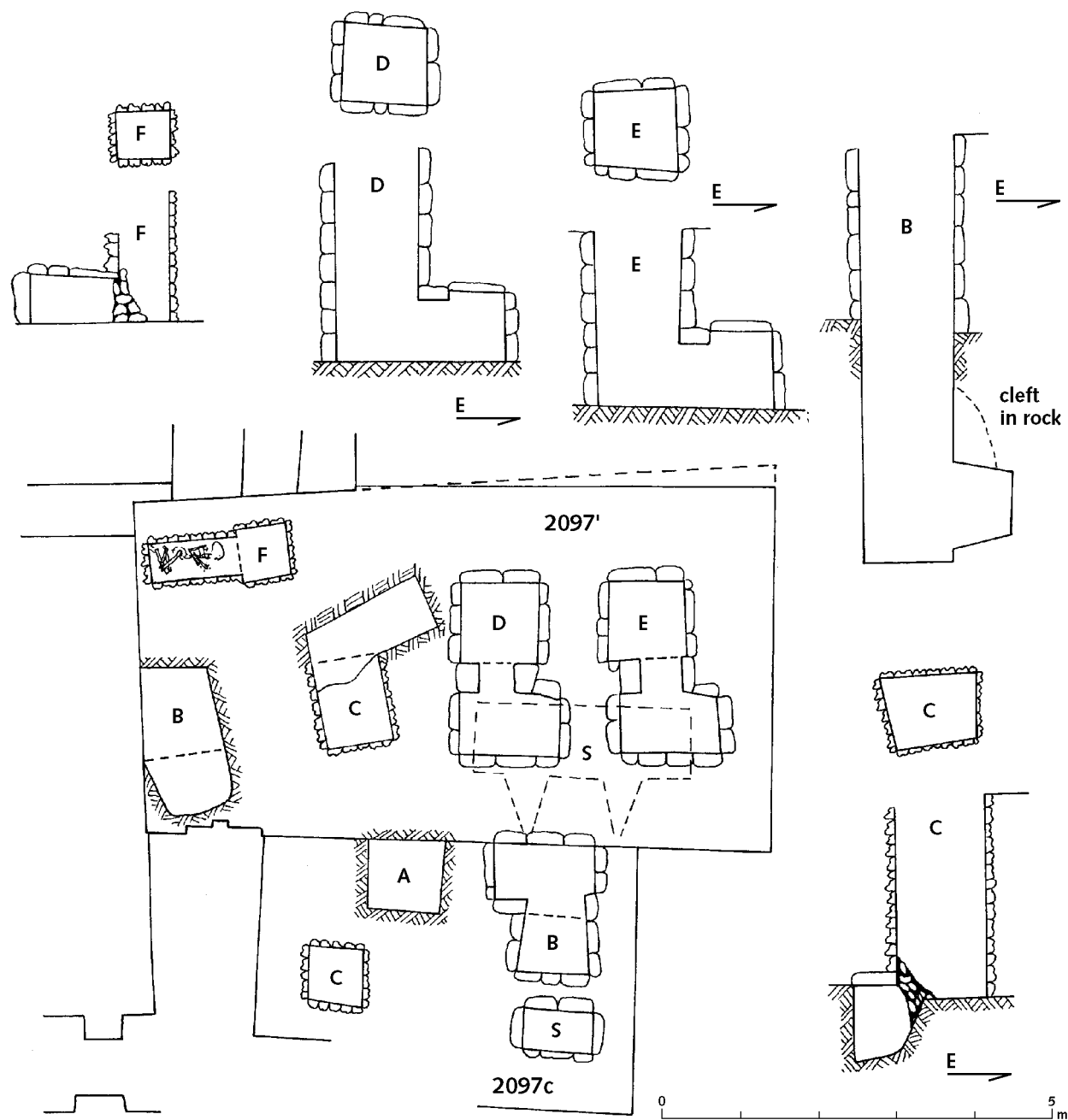


Fig. 74. Outline and shaft and serdab plans of g 2097'.

11 cm. The apertures are 3 cm deeper than the tablet. The lintel, which is 23 cm thick, projects 2 cm from the tablet and 3 cm from the inner jambs below it. The central niche, which is 9 cm deep, is 11 cm wide at the top and widens to 13 cm at the base, also angling to the right, so that the left jamb widens from 41 to 43 cm at the base while the right jamb narrows from 45 to 41 cm. The jambs are 1.25 m high. The drum lintel is indicated by the disappearance of the central niche beginning 22 cm below the lintel, and a slight central depression just under the lintel. The surface of the door is less well finished than the upper courses of the adjacent facade wall, and is almost as rough as the blocks of the lower courses. No plaster or traces of inscriptions are visible.

The decorated tablet of a second false door was carved into a block in the second course of masonry below the serdab slots at the northern end of the mastaba. In the more roughly finished blocks below it, a single central niche was carved. This door is described more fully below.

Shafts and Burials

The shafts of this mastaba were combined with shafts a and x in 2097 in the expedition records and Reisner's analysis. This explains why the principal shaft is called shaft b rather than shaft a. Shaft b was cut down into the rock. Its chamber was a small recess, about 15 cm above the floor of the shaft, with irregular and rounded internal

corners that may indicate an unfinished state. No trace of blocking, human remains, or grave goods was found.

Shaft c stopped at the surface of the bedrock, but the chamber was cut down into it about 75 cm and roofed with slabs resting on the bedrock surface. The blocking was called “apparently intact” in Reisner’s account. It was built of rubble bound with mud, and angled over the entrance to the chamber, collapsing down inside it to a certain extent, to judge from the tomb card drawing. The chamber contained the skeleton described as that of a child, decayed and broken into many fragments. The head was not found.

Shaft d had a small chamber built of masonry on the surface of the bedrock. No blocking, no human remains and no grave goods were found. Shaft e was almost identical in its structure and its lack of contents. Both chambers were built under the serdab (S1).

Shaft f and its chamber were built of rubble. The entrance was blocked with a wall, leaning on the exterior, built of rubble and mud. It seems to have been intact. The chamber contained a skeleton with legs contracted, said to have belonged to a child by the excavator.

Decoration of the Chapel and its Date

On the northern part of the east facade of the mastaba, a small false door tablet and central niche was cut into the roughly finished blocks (see pls. 98b and 190). This feature was buried during the field work at the cluster but was exposed during the EAO clearance following our last field season. Its position at the northern end of the facade can be seen (albeit at a very small scale) in excavation photo a 8112, reproduced as pl. 6. The tablet was carved into a block of the lowest course

of finely finished blocks in this wall, while the niche was cut in the more roughly finished blocks directly below. The drawing was made from an enlargement of an excavation photograph.

The false door stela consists simply of a niche surmounted by a drum and a tablet. No panels are indicated, and the borders of the tablet are not indicated except by the edges of the block. The tablet shows a woman with long hair seated before a table that holds two triangular loaves of bread and a flared bowl covered by an inverted bowl of the same type. Before the table is the notation *t h3 hmk t h3*, “1,000 loaves of bread, 1,000 jars of beer.” Behind the table on the floor, a joint of meat rests on another loaf and a different kind of offering, and behind them are three jars on stands. Above the jars is another table covered with two loaves and a dish. The inscription across the top of the tablet reads *h3p dj nswt Jnpw k3rst.s m jmntt / jms3w[t] hr ntr 3 rht nswt, Tzt*, “May the king give an offering and Anubis: her burial in the West, venerated before the great god, the king’s acquaintance, Tjezet.”

The scene on the tablet appears to have been carved after the blocks were in place. It was confirmed in 1994 that the jambs of the false door were uninscribed.

From the placement of the false door, and its size compared to the southern door, it was presumably that of the wife of the tomb owner. She may also be identified with the daughter of Kapi, the owner of 2091 to the north, as discussed in Chapter 3.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the iconographic features of this stela suggest a date in the reign of Izezi.

SUBSIDIARY BUILDINGS g 2097a, 2097b, 2097c, and “1903”

Summary of Reisner’s Description

2097a

- Mastaba type: ix c: 3.8 x 5.15 m
 area: 19.57 sq. m; proportion 1/0.73
 facing masonry type: [u]
 Chapel type: narrow passage, 0.8 m wide.
 Shaft a: 0.85 x 0.75 m; 1.35 m lined with crude brick; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. lined with masonry. 1.75 x 0.65 m
 height 0.75 m;
 area 1.13 sq. m; capacity 0.84 cu. m
 no blocking
 no burial, no objects
 Shaft b: 0.75 x 0.7 m; 1.3 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(1) on south. 1.05 x 0.65 m; height 0.7 m
 area 0.68 sq. m; capacity 0.47 cu. m
 passage with jamb on east, 0.25 x 0.45; height 0.65
 no blocking
 no burial, no objects
 Shaft c: 0.7 x 0.7 m; 1.4 m lined with rubble on south and west and crude
 brick on east and north; ends at rock
 chamber type 8 b(2) on south. 1.4 x 0.55 m; height 0.65 m
 area 0.77 sq. m; capacity 0.5 cu. m
 no blocking
 no burial, no objects

2097b

- Mastaba type: xi c(1) “an incomplete structure, built partly before and partly
 after g 2097” with “masonry close to the rock which cannot be
 explained”
 4.2 x 7.1 m; area 29.82 sq. m; proportion 1/0.5
 facing masonry type: u
 Chapel type: none preserved
 Shaft a: 1.1 x 1.05 m; 1.7 m lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 no burial
 Shaft b: 0.85 x 0.9 m; 0.65 m lined with crude brick, rubble on east ends
 at rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber); no burial

2097c

- Mastaba type: “the remains of two mastabas, both partly destroyed”
South mastaba
 east wall 0.95 m (probably originally 2.3 m); south wall 2.45 m
 estimated area 5.71 sq. m
 facing masonry type: u
 Shaft a: 1.0 x 1.0 m; 0.7 m masonry on three sides; -0.35 in rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 no burial
 Shaft c: 0.65 x 0.65 m; 0.6 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 no burial

North mastaba

- east wall 1.85 m (probably originally 2.5 m); north wall 3.25 m
 estimated area 8.12 sq. m
 Shaft b: 1.85 x 0.7 m; one course masonry preserved; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 a(5) on west. 1.25 x 0.6 m; height 0.55 m
 area 0.87 sq. m; capacity 0.47(?) cu. m
 passage with jamb on either side, 0.7 x 0.2 m
 no burial, plundered chamber
 Serdab: small N-S serdab behind the east face of the mastaba 0.85 x 0.55 m;
 area 0.47 sq. m; badly destroyed

Excavation

The first of these subsidiary structures to be exposed was 2097c, between January 9 and 12, 1939. It lay under a matrix of sand, limestone debris, rubble, pebbles, stones, and bones of bodies from the shafts of 2097'. After exposing and recording the walls and shafts, the work moved east to 2098 and 2099. On January 20, work in this area resumed. The three shafts of 2097c were cleared of the drift sand that filled them; the clearance of the serdab was not recorded.

g 2097a was also cleared on January 20; no description of the overlaying matrix or its structure are given. Shafts a, b, and c were cleared of sand, dirty debris, limestone debris, and rubble. The rather unusual circumstance that the same collection of materials was recorded in the matrix filling all three shafts suggests that they were all filled in at the same time, pointing to a simultaneous robbery, or perhaps simply an abandonment soon after their construction.

g 2097b and its two shallow shafts filled with drift sand were cleared on the same day. Reis Mohammed noted that “east of these two shafts we cleared to a rock floor, a stone course perhaps the foundation of a small room in the mastaba.” This floor was presumably bedrock rather than masonry. Since the shaft a and the walls thus consist equally of a single course of masonry laid on the bedrock, and both are to some extent discontinuous (although the blocks missing in Floroff’s plan differ from the observations made in 1990), it is difficult to determine whether a is in fact a shaft at all.

Recent Finds

In 1990, while cleaning the walls of 2097b, a small cache of offering vessels was noted in the mastaba fill. Like the similar cache found in 2092a, it consisted primarily of small shallow bowls of Nile silt ware with mixed temper, with string-cut bases, roughly 5 cm in diameter. Some fragments of larger vessels may have served as makeshift model vessels, since they are approximately the same size as the models. One of these fragments was apparently from a red-polished, carinated bowl. These sherds were recorded, along with some base fragments of taller model vessels. An isolated, but more complete, model vessel of the same type was found on the surface of 2097a. (See fig. 75 for the ceramics from both mastabas.)

Architecture

G 2097a. The tomb was clearly built against the north face of the chapel of 2097 (fig. 76). According to Reisner’s account an unincised monolithic false door was found at the southern end of the east face. The slab itself was 0.7 m wide; the width of the niche was 0.45 m. It could not be seen in 1990.

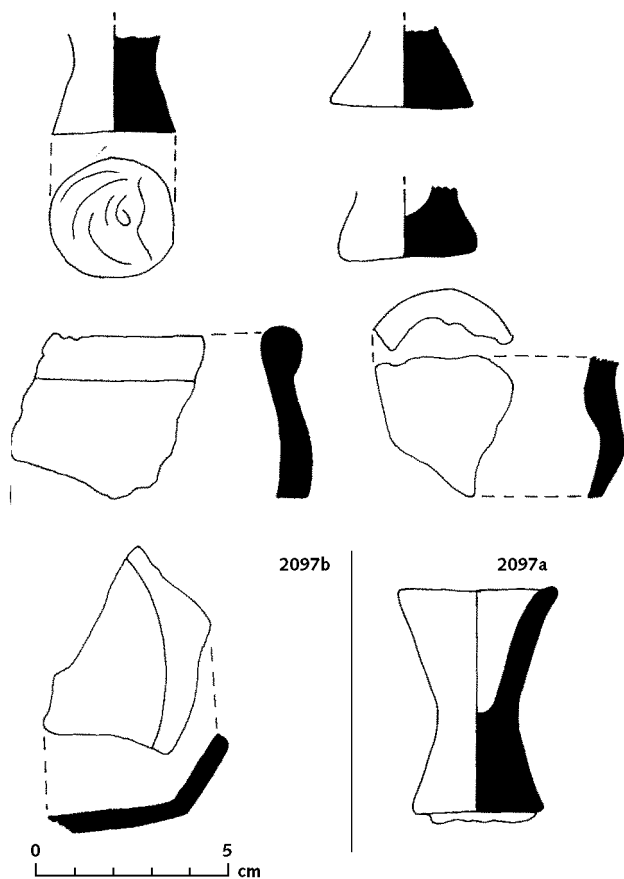


Fig. 75. Model offering vessels and sherds from surface of fill of g 2097a and g 2097b (1990).

G 2097b. Whether this is a separate tomb at all is debatable. It is only one course deep, and has a T-shaped interior space and no discernible entrance (pls. 99b–c and 100a). Its southern edge is defined by a wall that almost certainly postdates it (2097.1), the outer face of which has been bonded with the north walls of both 2097 and 2097'. Without this wall, 2097b would clearly function as the northern part of the courtyard between 2097 and 2097'.

Most probably then, 2097b was built as the north wall and doorway to a courtyard built as an entrance to 2092+2093 and 2097. It would have been constructed during the reconstruction of the west face of 2097' (2097'.1). The doorway would have been at the northern end of the T, and the single course of masonry would probably have supported a doorsill. (Such sills occur in both 2091 and the blocked southern entrance to 2098.) This entrance apparently fell into disuse after the principal route to the cemetery switched back to the southeast at the beginning of Phase iii. The building of the wall (2097.1) would have been preceded by the razing of 2097b to its foundations. This reconstruction is problematic, because of the wall of three blocks that constitutes the east wall of "Shaft a:" a shaft would have been impossible with the surrounding mastaba razed to its foundations. Furthermore, both this wall and the wall west of it apparently abut the later wall. The building history may be even more complex (perhaps an unused secondary mastaba was built in the northwest corner of the courtyard, and entirely removed with the construction of the wall).

G 2097c. This structure does indeed seem to be two adjoining subsidiary mastabas, almost entirely destroyed (fig. 77). The one on the south carefully avoided the serdab slots and false door, while the northern extension obscured both of the slots and also the small false door on the north. This would suggest that the extension was later, and dated to the period where earlier cult places seem to have been obscured intentionally. Two previously unrecorded blocks in the interior of this structure that seem to form a finished north face (shown on the 1990 plan of the cluster) can probably be assigned to the southern mastaba, supporting the supposition that the northern part of 2097c was later.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft 2097a a was a mudbrick shaft, but its chamber was built of masonry and roofed with slabs. It rested on the surface of the bedrock, but a diagonal trench was cut into the bedrock running across the shaft and beyond it. Its purpose was unclear. There was no blocking, no human remains, and no grave goods. The chambers of 2097a b and c were both built of masonry, despite shafts built of mixed rubble and brick. They differ primarily in that shaft b has jambs and a lintel at the entrance to the chamber. Neither chamber was blocked, and no human remains or grave goods were found in either.

Shafts a and b of 2097b were both preserved only to a very shallow level above the bedrock. They differ in that shaft a was built of masonry and shaft b of brick. Neither contained any trace of a chamber or a burial, and shaft a may not even have been a shaft, since its fourth face was apparently built after its other three had been razed.

Shaft 2097c a was likewise built of masonry, and only one course deep without a chamber. Shaft 2097c b was equally shallow, although the masonry preserved shows a distinct trapezoidal masonry shaft with a chamber opening off its shortest end, which chamber was built against the east facade of 2097'. No human remains were found, although the chamber was described as "plundered" rather than empty. Shaft 2097c c was a rubble shaft preserved to only a slightly greater height than the two other shafts in this mastaba. It contained neither chamber nor burial.

Decoration of Chapels

The only decorated element that can be assigned to this area is the unscribed false door on the eastern face of 2097a. The door was not photographed, and is no longer in place. It was monolithic, with a niche almost half the width of the tablet.

Excursus: "g 1903 x" or "g 2091 x"

Four days of further excavation in this area and to the north of 2097 and 2097' are recorded in the Reis's Diary beginning on January 25, 1939. On January 27, the Reis noted: "exposed the lining of some small mastabas," and on the following day: "exposed parts of the lining of new mastabas and shafts; remains of lining and shafts not yet exposed and not numbered yet. We stopped working in that place." No shafts or architecture were ever, to my knowledge, further excavated in this area, and they were certainly not visible in 1990. Two

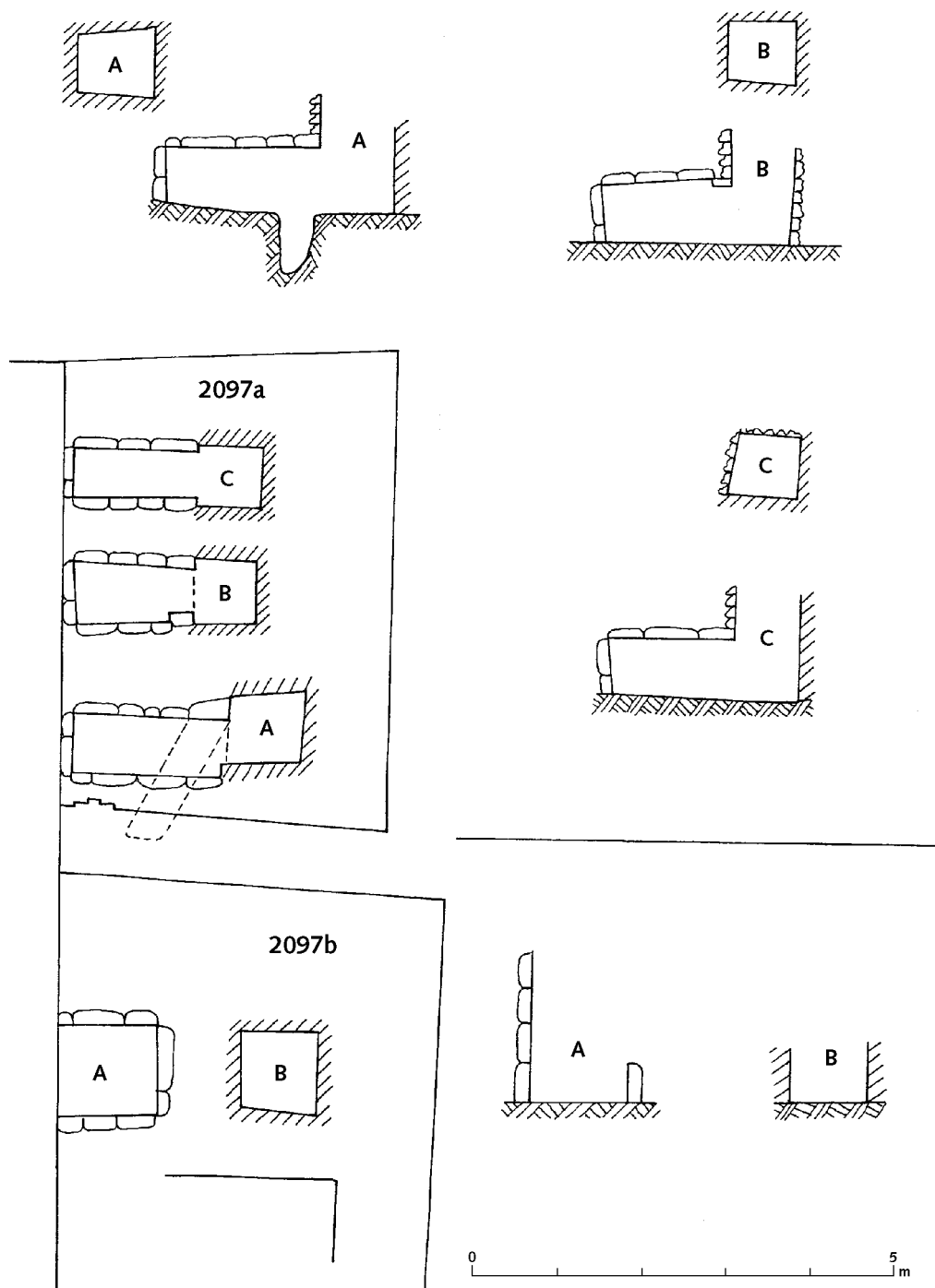


Fig. 76. Outline and shaft plans of g 2097a and g 2097b.

enigmatic photographs of this area exist, b 9049 and b 9050, both taken on January 28, 1939 (pls. 100c and 101a).

The position of these “new mastabas” north of 2097 corresponds to the position recorded for the mysterious mastaba from which two uninscribed statues were registered in 1926 as 26-1-132 and 26-1-133 (see pls. 101b-c). For several pages on either side of these statues in the registration book, all the objects that are registered come from the excavations at the Isis temple, so it seems likely that these statues were discovered by chance. The registration book gives their provenience as “serdab in south wall of pit of isolated burial 50 m north of northeast corner of g 2000.” When 26-1-133 came to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston after the excavation of this

cluster, both the packing list and its accession card listed the provenience of this statue as 2091 x, indicating that at some point it was thought that the shaft from which these statues came was outside g 2091. In his notes on this cluster, taken in the 1950s, W.S. Smith describes the original provenience of these statues as “North of 2097a, 3 pits, about 50 feet north, one with niche and two statues.” He adds “mother and child, I have called [mastaba] 1903 in *Sculpture*.”

These two accounts of the position of the source of these statues differ somewhat: the northern edge of 2097a is about 26 m north of the north face of g 2000 and an additional 15.25 m (50 feet) would place the statues 41.25 m north of 2000 rather than the registration book’s 50 m. However, both measurements seem likely to have been

estimates; and since the escarpment slopes quite steeply at this point, it is tempting to equate g 1903 x/2091 x with the architecture noted in January of 1939. Arguing against this identification, however, is the fact that work was abandoned so quickly in this area. If the area was recognized as the source of these statues, as the accession information would indicate, one would have expected the excavators to clear the entire area.

The excavation photographs of these statues are published here, since, whatever their original location, they are more closely associated with this cluster than any other Giza tombs presently known.

The more unusual of the two statues, 26-1-132, depicts a woman holding a child (pl. 101c). This theme is very rare in statuary of the Old Kingdom, and the upward gaze of the woman and the indication of the plaiting of her hair are also uncommon. It was assigned to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The male statue, 26-1-33 is more conventional (pl. 101b), although the indication of the bracelets is somewhat unusual. This statue was granted to the Museum of Fine Arts, where it was accessioned as 39.829. Neither statue was inscribed.

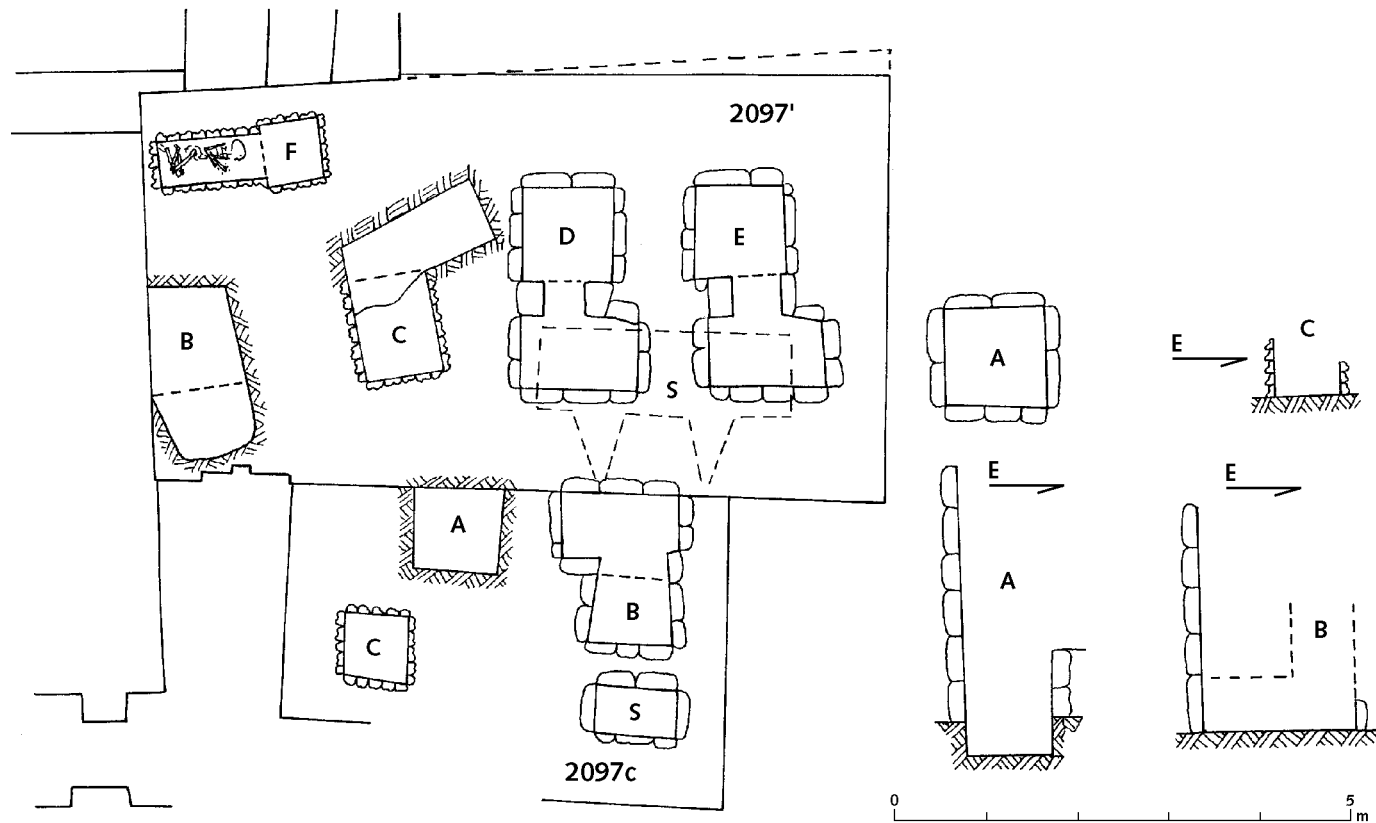


Fig. 77. Outline and shaft plans of g 2097c.

THE TOMB OF NEFER-KHUWI: Mastaba g 2098

Summary of Reisner's Description

- Mastaba type: x c: 12.2–13.0 x 5.15–5.35 m¹⁰⁶
 total area: 66.15 sq. m
 facing masonry type: [u]
- Chapel type: (11c): recess s. of middle of E. face: 2.85 x 1.9 m
 area 51.41 sq. m; relation 1/1.2
 two stelae: s. (gone) 0.9 m wide; n. (inscribed) 0.5 m wide
 offering stone w/ relief disk 0.85 x 0.45 m
- Shaft a: 1.0 x 1.05 m top; 0.9 x 0.75 m at base 2.35 m lined with masonry
 (7 courses); -2.4 m in rock
 chamber type: 6 a(3) on west; irregular; 1.95 x 1.05 m;
 height 0.85 m
 area 2.04 sq. m; capacity 1.73 cu. m
 blocking type: v e
 intact burial: half-contracted adult skeleton
- Shaft b: 1.0 x 0.95 m; 2.3 m lined with mixed masonry and rubble; ends at
 bad rock
 chamber type: 8 a(1) on south. 0.55 x 0.95 m; height 0.9 m
 area 0.52 sq. m; capacity 0.56 cu. m 0.45 m above the bottom
 of shaft
 passage with jamb on west, 0.3–0.4 x 0.45 m; height 0.65 m
 blocking type: iii d(3)
 intact burial: leg-contracted skeleton, with head to west
- Shaft c: 1.05 x 1.05 m; 2.2 m lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 no burial
- Shaft d: 0.95 x 0.9 m; 1.2 m lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.1 x 0.7 m; height 0.7 m
 area 0.77 sq. m; capacity 0.53 cu. m
 plundered; no blocking, no burial
- Shaft e: 0.85 x 0.9 m; 1.4 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on north. 0.9 x 0.55 m; height 0.6 m
 area 0.49 sq. m; capacity 0.29 cu. m
 blocking type: v d
 intact but empty
- Shaft f: 0.75 x 0.7; 1.6 m lined with mixed rubble, crude brick, and
 masonry ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(3) on south. 1.55 x 0.85 m; height 0.85 m
 area 1.31 sq. m; capacity 1.11 cu. m
 passage with jamb on either side, 0.2 x 0.55 m; height 0.75 m
 no blocking, no burial
- Shaft g: 0.45 x 0.73 m; 1.1 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.15 x 0.55 m; height 0.8 m

¹⁰⁶ Reisner does not include the wall overlapping 2099, which was almost certainly a part of this construction, since no corridor measurements are given. It is similar to the east corridor wall of 2091 that overlaps 2089 and presumably had the same purpose: to strengthen the facade of an older mastaba so that it would support a roof. The external measurements given are therefore for the mastaba only, and do not include the wall and the corridor. The wall now blocking the south end of the corridor is thus probably a modern construction; had it been original, Reisner would presumably have considered the corridor part of the mastaba, as he did in the parallel case of 2094.

- area 0.63 sq. m; capacity 0.5 cu. m
 no blocking,¹⁰⁷ no burial
- Shaft h: 0.55 x 0.75 m; 0.95 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.45 x 0.6 m
 area 0.87 m roof destroyed
 plundered and partly destroyed; no burial
- Shaft i: 0.7 m x 0.7 m; 2.0 m lined with masonry topped with rubble;
 ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on north. 1.4 x 0.6 m; height 0.55 m
 area 0.84 sq. m; capacity 0.46 cu. m
 no blocking, no burial
- Shaft x: 1.0 x 1.0 m; 1.9 m lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 no burial
- Shaft Y: 0.95 x 0.87 m; -5.25 m in rock; on east, 1 course masonry
 chamber type: 7 b on east side of shaft bottom; 1.05 x 0.6 m
 height 0.8 m
 area 0.63 sq. m; capacity 0.5 cu. m
 blocking type: anomalous
 burial: small, tightly contracted skeleton, wrapped in linen

Excavation

The west face of 2098 was uncovered on Friday, January 13th, 1939, and its chapel and shafts were exposed in the three days following. The overlying fill is described as sand, limestone debris, rubble and pebbles. Large stones were added to the mix above the chapel. The chapel was described as decorated in inscribed plaster with traces of red, yellow, green and black paint. Plaster fragments with red paint and a doorjamb with traces of red and yellow paint were recorded and registered (39–1–13 and 39–1–14).

The chamber was cleared slowly, by W.S. Smith, F.O. Allen, and Ahmed Effendi, in order to recover all the fallen plaster fragments. The fill consisted of drift sand and limestone debris, below which was limestone debris, sand, and pebbles. Ahmed Effendi, apparently the expedition's conservator, was also able to replace some of the plaster fragments. This work was recorded on January 17 through 22; on the final day the floor of the room was reached and the intrusive shaft y was discovered in front of the southern false door. It is unclear whether the "floor" was the bedrock; the east side of shaft y is recorded as a single course of masonry resting on bedrock; it is unclear whether the floor was the customary packed limestone debris to the level of the top of this course, or the bedrock underlying it. This course, as well as any surrounding floor, were cleared by the time the room was photographed.

Shaft x was uncovered in the corridor between 2098 and 2099 on January 21. Its depth of 1.92 m indicates the minimum depth of the fill in this area; it was filled with drift sand and was apparently removed entirely.

On January 22, a search for serdabs in 2098 was conducted, inspired by the spectacular find in 2099 two days previously. No serdab was found (it seems likely to me that the serdab of this mastaba was converted into shafts b and c), but two further shafts, h and i, were uncovered. These and the remaining shafts of 2098 were all opened on the same day. Shaft a was filled with pebbles, red debris, and

¹⁰⁷ The tomb card disagrees with Reisner's description here, recording intact blocking, but no burial.

potsherds; shaft b with sand, stones, and rubble; shaft c with drift sand and stones; shaft d with drift sand; shaft e with red debris, pebbles, and limestone debris; shaft f with sand and dirty debris; shaft g with sand, dirty debris, and pebbles; shaft h with pebbles, limestone debris and rubble; shaft i with drift sand; and shaft y with white limestone debris. The chambers of the shafts with intact blocking (a, b, e, g, and y) were opened between January 23 and 28, and the human remains in a, b, and y were cleared on April 21.

Finds

- 39-1-13 Carved and colored plaster fragments (see pls. 103a-d and 104a). Many of these are restored in the drawing of the north wall of the mastaba
 39-1-14 Displaced doorjamb (pl. 198); h. 92 cm; w. 56 cm. No thickness given
 39-3-8 Weathered unfinished male statue with starched triangular kilt, from the top of the mastaba; h. 39.4 cm; w. 10.0 cm; th. 14.6 cm (fig. 78)

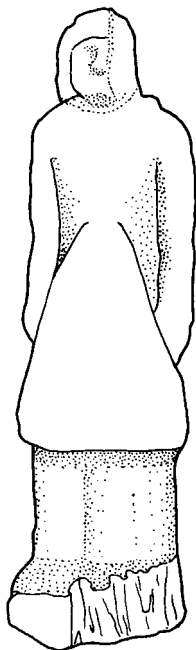


Fig. 78. Weathered unfinished limestone statue from the top of g 2098. 39-3-8.

- 39-4-18 Bones and fragments of a coffin in chamber of shaft a
 39-4-19 Bones from shaft b
 39-4-20 Bones and fragments of linen in chamber of shaft y

Architecture

Mastaba 2098 was built abutting the earlier mastaba 2089 to the south, but followed the orientation established by 2085 and adopted by 2086 and the immediately adjacent mastaba 2099. The corridor that ran in front of 2089 thus angled to the east at the point of 2089's intersection with 2098. The mastaba had a recessed chapel like those of 2091, 2093, and 2094. The ceiling of the chapel was supported by a single pillar, which is still in place.

It seems likely that the corridor in front of the recess was open at both ends, although this cannot be entirely certain because of the existence of shaft 2088 z, the northern wall of which has been reinforced in modern times to close off the chapel. This wall might have blocked the southern access at construction and then been used as the west wall of shaft 2088 z; more probably, the southern access

remained open until the shaft was built. This area is currently covered with too much cement for the sequence of events to be certain, although the presence of a doorsill also suggests that this was an ancient entrance to the chapel. The figures of Nefer-khuwi on the east and west faces of the pillar both face the south, suggesting that this direction was seen as the principal entrance to his tomb. The southern entrance was thus probably open during some period after the decoration of the tomb, although the northern entrance must also have been used, or it would have been closed off. The mastaba was probably built and decorated towards the end of Phase ii when the opening of the southern path was already anticipated, or possibly during a transition between Phase ii and Phase iii.

The corridor formed by the gap between 2098 and 2099 was undoubtedly roofed. The intrusive wall encroaching upon the massif of mastaba 2099 was clearly built with the same purpose as the corridor wall of 2091 over 2089, that is, to buttress the original battered western facade of 2099 so that it would support limestone roofing blocks. In contrast to 2089, however, 2099 was not taken down to a uniform level, but seems to have been cleared to bedrock on the south and only to the top of the shafts on the north. (See pl. 112b, where the jog in the masonry can be seen, together with a shallow course intended to even out the coursing of the two halves of the wall.)

The chapel contained two false doors, flanking a central space decorated with a scene of the tomb owner and a woman receiving offerings. A limestone "bench" runs under this scene; its purpose is uncertain (pl. 102a). The northern false door is only preserved below its tablet. An offering table was set in front of it with a raised central disk and two flanking rectangular basins (pl. 104b). The southern false door was removed in antiquity, perhaps because it was made of a rarer material, such as granite. Directly in front of it, an intrusive shaft (y) was cut in the floor, destroying any evidence of an offering stone.

It is difficult to determine whether the original height of the ceiling over the recess differed from the height of the ceiling over the corridor, although it seems likely that it did, allowing for a skylight like that in 2091.

There was no serdab discovered in the mastaba; however, as noted below, the adjacent shafts b and c give the appearance of having been built into a single masonry serdab, perhaps because the wall separating them had collapsed by 1990, revealing the solid masonry outline of the original rectangular shape. This rectangle is located directly behind the recessed chapel, as is the case with serdabs in 2086, 2091, 2094, and 2097.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft a was the principal shaft, built against the stepped west facade of 2089. When the shaft was excavated, the steps were packed with masonry (pl. 110a) that has now entirely disappeared. The chamber was blocked by two thin slabs, chinked with rubble and mud. Behind it was an adult skeleton lying on its back (pl. 110b). Reisner describes it as half contracted, but it appears on the Tomb Card and in the photograph to be fully extended. It was originally placed in a wooden coffin, which had decayed and fallen into fragments.

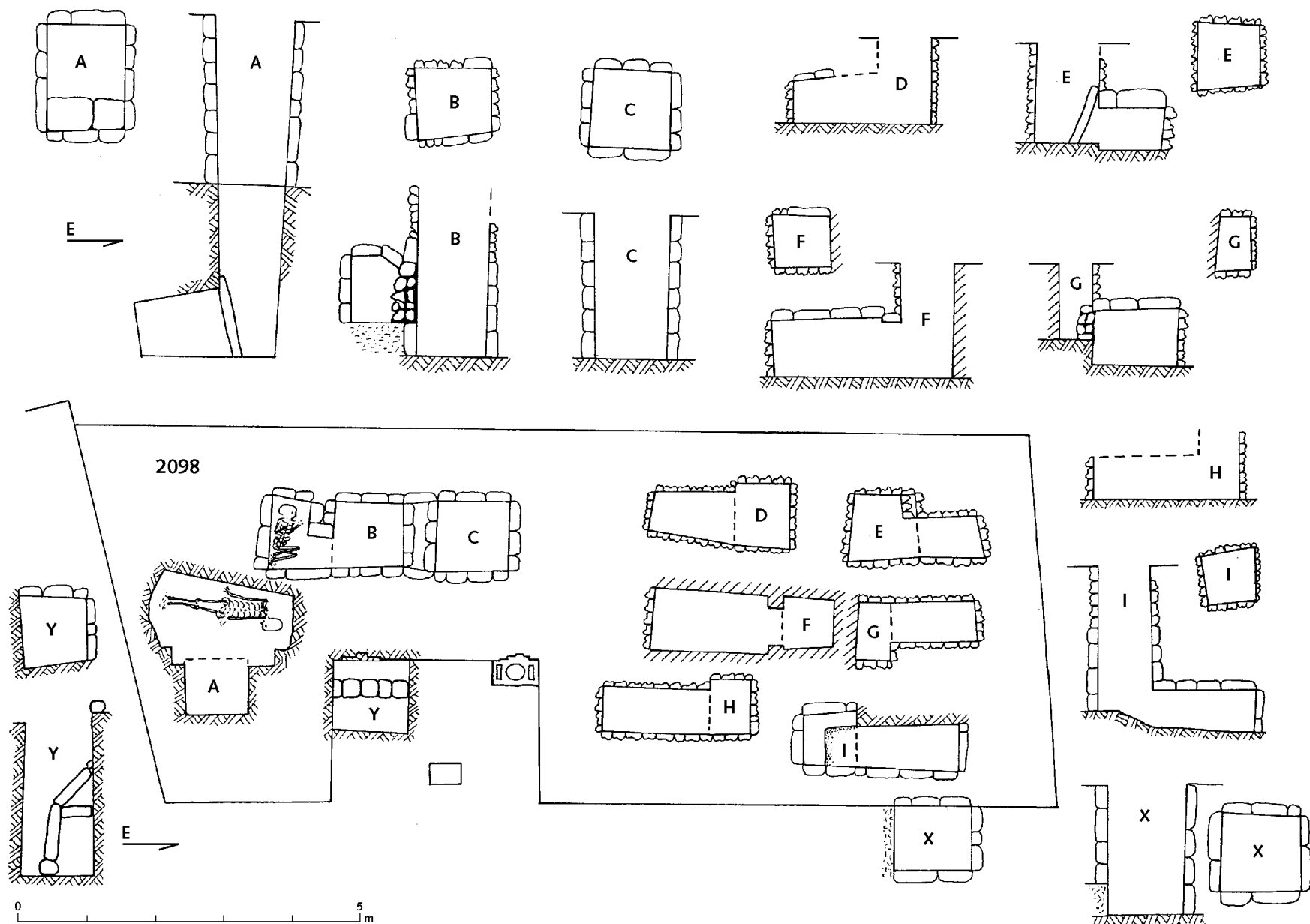


Fig. 79. Outline and shaft plans of g 2098.

Shaft b was built into the south end of what seems to have been an earlier serdab. The shaft walls above the level of the serdab roof were built of rubble; the lower walls used the serdab masonry. A gap made in the south face led to a small chamber built on rubble about 45 cm above the bedrock. This gap was sealed by a thin wall of rubble with no mud binding. Inside was a skeleton that Reisner describes as leg-contracted, although it seems also to be bent at the hips (pl. 110c). Significant tooth wear is visible in the photograph. No grave goods were present.

Shaft c is built into the north end of the original serdab. It had no chamber, and no human remains or grave goods. It may have been unfinished, or perhaps it was just part of the construction of the adjacent shaft, b.

Shaft d was built entirely of rubble, except for the roof of its chamber, which was made of slabs. It was open and contained no burial, but was described as plundered rather than empty.

Shaft e, a small rubble-built shaft and chamber, contained what appeared to be intact blocking of leaning slabs (pl. 110d), but the chamber held no human remains or grave goods. The burial chamber was cut slightly into the rock, and was roofed with very thick slabs.

Shaft f was built on the surface of the bedrock, with a large rectangular chamber lined with rubble and brick, but no blocking remained. It contained no human remains or grave goods.

Shaft g was very narrow, built of mudbrick and rubble. The chamber was cut down slightly into the bedrock. Although Reisner states that there was no blocking and no burial, the Tomb Card notes and illustrates a rubble wall, and indicates that despite the complete blocking, no human remains were found. The photograph (pl. 111a) is ambiguous.

Shaft h and its chamber are largely destroyed. They were both built of rubble, and no remains of any kind were noted.

Shaft i was built of masonry, and was cut down slightly into the bedrock so that the floor of its chamber was more than 25 cm below the level of the shaft. There was no blocking, and neither human remains nor grave goods were recovered.

Shaft x as a masonry shaft with no chamber, cut down slightly into the bedrock at its eastern side. No human remains or grave goods were found.

Shaft y was cut over 5 m into the bedrock in front of the southern false door of 2098's chapel. A small masonry chamber was built in the east side of the shaft's base (pl. 111b), inside which was a tightly contracted skeleton, completely wrapped in linen (pl. 111c). Despite its compact size, the skeleton appears to have been an adult with significant tooth loss (pl. 111d).

Date

The tomb can only be dated to the reign of Izezi or later based on Cherpion's criteria. The reference to Osiris in the offering formula on the false door indicates that it is not much before the reign of Unis, the earliest clear case in which that god is mentioned. The procession of personified estates on the south wall shows alternating men and women, a feature that died out, first at Saqqara, and finally at Giza at the end of the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁰⁸ Both the procession of estates and the carrying chair scene on the north wall have parallels in two other late Fifth Dynasty tombs at Giza, confirming a date at the end of that dynasty.¹⁰⁹

Decoration of the Chapel

As in many of these tombs, plaster decoration was used on the north and south walls of the chapel, while the decoration on the west walls was carved into the stone blocks. As a result, the north and south walls have suffered far more in the interim since excavation, and it has seemed best to record them based on the excavation photographs, and collate the surviving fragments at the wall. The west walls, however, both in the recess and the corridor, were traced and drawn at full size, as were the pillars; these were uniformly reduced to 20% of their original size for publication. The doorjamb has not been located. It was drawn from a photograph in consultation with the registration drawing, and could not be collated. The false door was also drawn from a photograph.

North wall (pls. 102b, 103a–d, 104a, and 191). The reconstruction of this scene was one of the main goals of the field work done in this tomb by the Reisner expedition. Every fragment of fallen plaster was carefully collected and photographed, and the largest piece of the inscription was put together in a sandbox. Other fragments were replaced on the wall. At the time of the expedition photograph on which the reconstruction presented here was based, most of the plaster had fallen off. Only the large area of plaster attached to the western corner, the two pairs of legs at the right end of the third register from the bottom, two fragments of kilts to the right of the dog in the

second register, and the isolated arms and shoulders in the left half of the lowest register were still attached. Based on those surviving fragments it was possible to determine that the men in the lowest register and the left half of the third register were all moving to the left; the occupants of all the other registers were moving right. Other deductions were made based on parallel scenes. The placement of the less distinctive fragments (especially heads) is conjectural, but their orientation and the presence or absence of texts should be generally correct and placing them in exactly was useful for the conclusions these additional details illustrate. Unplaced fragments are recorded at the same scale.

The central figure on this wall is Nefer-khuwi, carried in a chair, moving away from the false door. He is escorted by at least three registers of followers, and above him is a long text, now entirely separated from the wall. Before him is another register of attendants, while below, a procession of offering bearers moves towards the false door.

The lowest register shows men bringing birds with a caption over the top reading *shpt stpt bpsw ... b... d[blt] htp*, "Bringing choice pieces, forelegs, [birds] ... offerings..." Although the earlier part is very common, the text following the break is, so far as I can tell, unparalleled, and I can suggest no restoration. The men are walking towards the left and are probably associated with the adjacent false door rather than the carrying chair scene above them.

Above this is a register of men who are carrying Nefer-khuwi in a carrying chair or accompanying the procession. They proceed away from the false door, towards the entrance to the chapel. The first group of bearers to the right is preserved only in fragments, most of which had fallen off the wall and are now lost: there were at least four of them, probably five. The bearers behind the chair hold its poles at shoulder level. They wear short hair and breechcloths with four front ties, the typical dress of carrying chair porters. Behind them walks a man steadying the pole with one hand, the other at his shoulder. He wears a starched kilt and is labelled *swnw hsj.f*, "the physician, Hayef." Between the groups of bearers, under the chair, walks a boy with a sack over his shoulder and a rectangular object under his arm, while his other hand holds the leash of a hound.

The tomb owner sits on the chair platform in the next register; his name is partially preserved just in front of his face. Behind him on the same level walk three men in starched kilts, each with one hand to shoulder, the other empty. The first is labelled *hntj-š pr-ḳ Hwfw-snb*, "palace attendant, Khufu-seneb;" the second *z[.f] hntj-š pr-ḳ Nhtj*, "his son, the palace attendant Neh-tjeti;"¹¹⁰ the third *hntj-š pr-ḳ* "palace attendant." Nefer-khuwi sits with his knees drawn up, one elbow over the arm of his chair. The other arm seems to reach out in front of him. It seems most likely that he is being handed a scroll by his steward (see the loose block found in mastaba 2092+2093 as a parallel), so the fragment of his steward has been restored here. Other figures that must be placed in this register are a dog, two scribes, and a man with the titles *hm-k hrtj-sštz*, "ka priest, who is over the secrets." The man carrying a sunshade has been

¹⁰⁸ H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les Noms des domaines funéraires sous l'ancien empire égyptien*, (Cairo, 1962), p. 27.

¹⁰⁹ See Roth, "The Practical Economics of Tomb-Building," pp. 227–40.

¹¹⁰ This name might also be read *Nstj* Na-tjeti; the sign is not clear enough to justify a preference for either reading.

placed in the register above, since this seems the most popular position for such a figure.

The text over the carrying chair is very similar to those in two other Giza tombs: those of Nimaatre¹¹¹ and that of Ankhmaare.¹¹² Many of the fragments can be placed using these parallels, to yield the following inscription:

<i>[sd]s[t m htp r hnw]</i>	Proceeding in peace to the Residence
<i>m ht m3[s] kst jr[t]</i>	after seeing the work that was done
<i>m [jz].fn hrtj-ntr</i>	in his tomb of the necropolis.
<i>[jw jr n.f.jz].f pn</i>	This tomb of his was made for him
<i>[m šw j]m3b.f [nfr hr ntr</i>	because he was well venerated before
	god.
<i>[jr jz].f hmt nb</i>	As for his tomb, every craftsman
<i>jr sw rdj.n.f.n.sn db3</i>	who made it, he gave them a very great
	payment,
<i>3 wrt dw3.n.sn n.f.ntrw nb</i>	so that they thanked all the gods for
	him,
<i>[jmj]-r hntjw-š [pr-3]</i>	the overseer of palace attendants
<i>[Nfr-hw-w(j)]</i>	the venerated one, Nefer-khuwi. ¹¹³

Nothing was restored in the upper right corner of the scene, a block that was probably lost along with the architrave that rested upon it. It presumably depicted more attendants.

False Door (pls. 104b, 105a, and 192). There was a false door at either end of the west wall; only the northern one is preserved, and that incompletely. The right jamb was uninscribed, and the upper lintel and tablet have been completely destroyed.¹¹⁴ The left outer jamb bears a title attesting to the intimate relationship Nefer-khuwi had with the king: *hrj-sš3 n nswt m hnw š3w pr-3, jmj-jb.fr nb, mrr nb.f*, “who is over the secrets of the king in the secret interior of the palace, who is in his heart every day, whom his lord loves.” The lower lintel reads *[j]m3hw Nfr-hw-w(j)*, “the venerated one, Nefer-khuwi,” and is probably the conclusion of the text on the left jamb. The two inner jambs each contain a standard offering formula, calling upon the king and the two principal mortuary gods. On the right the text reads *htp dj nswt htp dj Wsjr nb Ddw hp.f m htp m htp r jmntt*, “may the king give an offering and may Osiris, lord of Busiris, give an offering: that he may proceed, in peace, in peace, to the West.” This refers to the desired funeral; the left jamb is probably to be read after it: *htp dj nswt htp Jnpw nb 3-dsr tpj dw.f prt-hrw t hnk3 k3 pd n.f.fr nb dt*, “May the king give an offering, and Anubis, the lord of the holy land, who is upon his mountain, an offering: an invocation offering of bread and beer, bulls and poultry, to him every day, forever.”

West wall (see pls. 104b, 105b, 106a–c, 107a, and 193). To the left of the false door, Nefer-khuwi is shown seated in a kiosk with lotus bud

capitals and the roof of a shrine, with torus molding and cavetto cornice. He wears a triangular starched kilt, a broad collar, the sash of a lector priest, a long wig, and a short beard; and he holds a *hrp* scepter and a tall staff. A woman, perhaps his wife or a daughter, kneels at his feet, with one arm around the calves of his legs and the other held to her chest.

Outside the kiosk, to the left on the same ground line, are six seated figures. The first two have wider shoulders and are more widely spaced than the last four; it is likely that they are men and the four figures behind them are women, probably representing the children of the couple. The man directly left of the kiosk seems to have some equipment piled in front of him, probably scribal equipment. He turns to the man behind him, who is almost entirely lost. The four figures behind these men each hold their left hands to their chests, and extend their right hands above their laps. In the register above, two pairs of men bring tables piled with offerings, the first man in each pair looking over his shoulder to ensure a safe transit. The first of these four men is labeled *Nfr-hw-(wj)*,¹¹⁵ “Nefer-khuwi,” and presumably labels a son or another relative since it is oriented to correspond to the attendant rather than the tomb owner. Three registers above show piled offerings of bread and an unusual number of sealed vessels on jar stands. To the right, the curved facade of the kiosk can be seen, and above it the beginning of the titulary of Nefer-khuwi: *hrj [sš3] pr-3 . . .*, “he who is over the secrets of the palace. . . .”

Below both halves of the scene, butchers are shown cutting up three animals. The animal at the right is almost certainly a bull, the one in the middle seems to be an oryx, and the one on the left is too badly damaged to be identified. The scenes preserve traces of details added in paint, in the case of the group occupied with the animal to the left, to the extent of an entire figure. This group depicts two men bending over the animals, while the only figure preserved in the middle group seems to be raising the animal’s foreleg. The group at the right is better preserved. The central of the three men occupied with this animal cuts the foreleg from the bull, pushing against the foreleg with his other hand. To his left, another man grasps the same foreleg with both hands, and is accompanied by the inscription *jrj. (j) nfr*, “I will do well.” At the far right, another man sharpens a knife, and a horizontal sign in paint above his hands may be part of one of the “sharpening the knife” captions that are so popular in these scenes, perhaps *pdt ds*.

South wall (pls. 107b, 108a, and 194). Only a few small areas of plaster are preserved on the eastern corner of this wall, showing parts of the lowest three registers of decoration. At the right edge of the lowest register are what appear to be the remains of two *š* signs followed by a vertical line extending almost to the bottom of the register. This may be the remains of the title *jmj-r šwj pr-3*, “overseer of the two *š* of the palace,” which is attested elsewhere in this tomb. This would suggest that the right half of the wall contained depictions of the tomb owner and perhaps his wife, separated from the estates and offering bearers by two full columns of inscription, giving Nefer-khuwi’s full titulary.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ The *nfr* sign is presumably to be read first; the *h* is in front of it, but lower.

¹¹¹ S. Hassan, *Giza 2*, fig. 240.

¹¹² W.K. Simpson, “Topographical notes on Giza Mastabas,” pp. 494–95 and fig. 3.

¹¹³ For a discussion of the parallels and implications of this text, as well as a more detailed account of its restoration, see Roth, “The Practical Economics of Tomb-Building.”

¹¹⁴ The upper part of the door seems to have been in better condition at the time of excavation, judging from the general view reproduced as pl. 104b; but only the lower part was photographed.

The lowest register shows a procession of personified estates, the only such procession in the cluster. These estates are personified by men as well as the more usual women, and all of the preserved estate names were built on the name of the tomb owner, which, like royal names in the same context, are written in honorific transposition. Following the remains of the vertical text is the first estate name, *ḥwt-ks Nfr-ḥw-w(j)*, “the mansion of the ka of Nefer-khuwi,” personified as a woman carrying a duck.¹¹⁷ To the right is a man carrying a box on his head, labeled *bḥ[ṯ] Nfr-ḥw-w(j)*, “the overabundance of Nefer-khuwi,” another common estate name. Behind him is a woman with a basket of offerings leading a small gazelle on a leash. Her name is given as *ḥbnni Nfr-ḥw-w(j)*, also a common pattern for estate names, “the hebenent-bread of Nefer-khuwi.” The figure behind, probably another man carrying a box, was also identified by an estate name, although it can no longer be read. He was followed by another individual, probably another man, carrying a small basket, a woman carrying a large basket, someone, probably a man, carrying a box, and another individual carrying a small basket. As mentioned above, men did not occur in such processions after the end of the Fifth Dynasty.

The registers above show men leading cattle (second register) and desert animals (third register) towards the false door. This register is perhaps to be connected to the scene of butchers on the lowest register of the west wall.

In the second register, at the left corner, a man follows two bulls who are led in tandem on leashes by the man in front of them. There are traces of the label *r[n] j[wjt]*, “young cows,” to the left of the animals’ horns. Ahead of this group is an aggressive-appearing bull, also led on a leash. His right horn seems to be bound to his neck, perhaps to prevent him from goring the herdsman who tend him. Over him the caption *jnt jsw*, “bringing an ox,” occurs. A third bull appears at the right end of the preserved register. Beside him, a man leans forward, probably to hasten his progress in some way. The men all appear to be nude, with the exception of the man at the right margin, who wears a belt.

The third register contains, at its left edge, a depiction of an oryx brought forward by the efforts of two men. Over his back is the caption *jnt rn ms-ḥd*, “bringing a young oryx.” The man in the lead, who seems to be grasping the animal’s horn, wears a four-panelled breechcloth, and is probably also engaged in propelling the animal ahead of him, which is perhaps an ibex or gazelle, to judge from the tail.

West corridor wall, south of chapel (pls. 108b–c and 195). The offering list recorded here seems not to have been entirely carved. The scribe has reversed the sequence of some of the items as compared with the customary order.¹¹⁸ The list begins at the corner of the

recess, with the corner serving as the right border. Throughout the list, the hieroglyphs listing offerings spill over the lines of the compartments. The topmost preserved row of the list gives the first ten offerings in Barta’s type a list. The third compartment of the second row gives the sixteenth offering of the same list, so that one would presume that three offerings can be restored beyond the left end of the preserved list. However, the next row begins with the twenty-fifth offering, implying that only one offering is missing from the left edge. The third row proceeds with one irregularity (the insertion of the seventieth offering for the twenty-seventh) to the thirty-second offering in list a. The preserved part of this row ends with two unidentifiable offerings. Row four begins with offering seventy-one, and switching number twenty-seven for seventy, runs backwards to offering sixty-three. The fifth row begins with the sixty-first offering (suggesting a gap of two), and proceeds backwards to fifty-four (skipping fifty-five), where it breaks off.

The offerings in these compartments are normally spelled retrograde, probably an indication of the confusion of the scribe. He may have been copying from a left-to-right original, or, perhaps more probably (since hieratic is normally written right-to-left), may have taken his hieratic original from a left-to-right list. A fragment of plaster located two compartments to the left of the preserved compartments indicates that the list was at least that wide, but the list is far too irregular to suggest any more definite restoration.

Pillar (pls. 109, 196, and 197). The pillar is asymmetrical, being far narrower east to west than it was north to south. On its east and west faces, the tomb owner is seen in a long wig, short beard, starched triangular kilt, broad collar, and the sash of the lector priest, although he nowhere records that title in his inscriptions. In both cases, both the figure and the accompanying inscription face to the south. On the eastern face, the title is *ḥrp [ḥ Nfr]-ḥww(j)*, “controller of the palace, Nefer-khuwi.” On the western face, the three columns above the figure are better preserved. There, the text reads *jmj-r ḥntjw-š [pr-ḳ] mrr.nb.f / ḥrj ššš n nb.f, wḥb nswt, ḥrp ḥ / [jmj-r] šwj [pr-ḳ], jmj jb nb.f, ḥrj ššš / jmšḥw Nfr-ḥw-w(j)*, “overseer of palace attendants, whom his lord loves, who is over the secrets of his lord, royal wab-priest, controller of the palace, [overseer of] the two šš [of the palace], who is in the heart of his lord, who is over the secrets, the venerated one, Nefer-khuwi.”

The narrower south face shows Nefer-khuwi in a simple wrapped kilt, with a broad collar and no sash. The two columns of text above him are badly destroyed at the top. They read ... *šḥ pr šps ḥr ntr / jmj-r ḥntjw-š [pr-ḳ], jmšḥw* and below, horizontally, *ḥrp ḥ Nfr-ḥw-w(j)*. The beginning of the first line is probably to be restored *ḥtp-dj-nswt*, hence “[May the king give an offering] ... the state of being transfigured, equipped, and noble before the god, the overseer of palace attendants, the venerated Nefer-khuwi.”¹¹⁹ Both the figure and the text face east.

¹¹⁶ Reisner’s *Giza Manuscript*, p. 171, in fact describes such a figure in this position; however, his description fits exactly the decoration on the isolated doorjamb (Nefer-khuwi’s name is lost, but a son with the title *ḥntj-š* and no preserved name is shown in a starched kilt with his arm hooked around his staff). There is no excavation photograph of the right half of this wall, but it is unlikely that the content and preservation of such a scene would so exactly match the doorjamb; it is simpler to assume that Reisner was working from a photograph, which he placed incorrectly.

¹¹⁷ For this and other estate names, see H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines funéraires* ..., passim.

¹¹⁸ Barta, *Opferlisten*, fig. 4 and p. 47.

¹¹⁹ For a convincing argument for this rather awkward translation, see G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches*, DAIK Sonderschrift 21 (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), p. 202, and references cited therein.

Doorjamb (pl. 198). The doorjamb found in the chapel was registered as 39-1-14. It was almost certainly either the east jamb of the doorway to the north or, perhaps more likely, the west jamb of a doorway to the south, now largely covered by a modern wall and cement. This latter reconstruction would explain the jamb's displaced position, since it would have been removed when shaft 2088 z was built into the gap between 2088 and 2089.

The jamb depicts Nefer-khuwi standing with a staff in one hand and a handkerchief in the other. He wears a long wig, a short beard, a broad collar, the sash of a lector priest, and the leopard skin over a starched triangular kilt. Aside from a *nb* basket, nothing can be made of the traces of text over his head. Between his kilt and his staff stands a man who also wears a starched triangular kilt, with one arm wrapped around the staff and the other held closed at his side. (There is no trace of the handkerchief that must have been here.) The ground line he stands on is slightly above that on which Nefer-khuwi stands. The text over his head can be restored [z3.f] n [ht.f] hntj-š pr-š, "his son of his body, palace attendant." The vertical trace before his face may be the remains of his name or, if it is a stain or buckling of the plaster, the name may have been written to the left of Nefer-khuwi's belt loop. In either case, it must have been a very short name.

Tomb Owner and Dependents

*Titles of Nefer-khuwi.*¹²⁰

<i>jmj-r hntjw-š [pr-š]</i>	overseer of palace attendants
<i>hrj ššš n nb.f</i>	who is over the secrets of his lord
<i>n nswt m hnw</i>	of the king in the secret interior
<i>ššw pr-š</i>	of the palace
<i>w^cb nswt</i>	royal wab-priest
<i>hrp š</i>	controller of the palace
<i>[jmj-r] šwj [pr-š]</i>	overseer of the two šš of the palace

Family:

wife or daughter (unnamed) at his feet on north wall
children:

a son who is a palace attendant shown on door jamb (name not preserved)

a son who is a palace attendant, Neh-tjeti on north wall

two men and four women (uncaptioned) on west wall

Attendants

a palace attendant (north wall)

a palace attendant named Khufu-seneb (north wall)

a steward (north wall)

a ka-priest who is over the secrets (north wall)

two scribes (north wall)

a physician named Hayef (north wall)

a man making offerings named(?) Nefer-khuwi (west wall)

Conservation (Pamela Hatchfield)

This tomb is partially protected from access by a locked door and a roof over the chapel area. Access from the outside is still possible from the top. Two kinds of plaster are present in the tomb: a coarser grayish plaster used as a mortar between stones, and a finer surface plaster that ranges from pink to buff in color.

Decoration on the north and south walls was apparently carved entirely in thick plaster. The west wall was carved in limestone and then in plaster. The south wall appears to have been unfinished or crudely carved; details such as hoof hocks and ground lines are not completed. When the tomb was reconstructed, ancient stone seems to have been used interspersed with modern in no apparent order. Modern mortar appears around the edges of plaster fragments and in joints between the stones.

Red plaster carved in raised relief survives on the north wall of the chapel. A rather recent attempt has been made to chisel some of this decorated surface off the wall; numerous large fragments were found on the ground in this area. One area of similar damage is apparent in the 1987 photographs, but much of this damage is relatively recent. Other recent damage includes long scratches and abrasions apparently caused by vandals who were able to climb down into the tomb from the unprotected area of the roof.

The stone blocks that form the west wall of the chapel are generally in good condition, with the exception of the two blocks at the north end of the upper course, which are in an advanced state of deterioration. These appear to have suffered, especially at the top, from exposure to water and/or wind erosion. The block at the northwest corner forms the top of the false door, and shows the presence of large quantities of bird and bat droppings. These are extremely acidic and damaging to limestone and plaster. The bottom of the stone is also badly eroded. The block to the left of it, which forms the top of the offering scene, appears to be of high clay composition and is rather yellow in color. It has large amounts of salt efflorescing from what was the design surface. Modern gray mortar is present in joins between the stones.

The west wall of the chapel, with offering scenes carved in raised relief, has also suffered from vandalism, showing scratches, particularly over the seated figure of the deceased. Reisner's photographs show large amounts of original plaster fill material between stones; this has since been replaced with modern mortar. Ancient plaster, white, finely-textured, and still bearing traces of paint, is still visible in some areas. The stone at the center of the west wall appears significantly degraded in Reisner's photographs, although obvious deterioration has taken place since then. This appears to be a particularly poor-quality piece of limestone. Perhaps 80% of the total design was preserved at the time of excavation; approximately 50% of that is still preserved. As much as 60% of the original plaster fill between the blocks had already been lost at the time of excavation; only about 5% remains today, and this subsequent loss includes all the large areas of fill. Red lines of underdrawing and other traces of paint survive on the remaining plaster. Graffiti that are scratched into the outlines of the proper left arm of the large seated figure appear already in the 1987 photographs.

¹²⁰ A prophet of Neferirkare with the name *Nfr-hw.w(j)* is attested in the Abu Sir papyri, along with several fuller forms of the name: *Nfr-hw-w(j)-Prh* and *Nfr-hw-w(j)-Jzzj*. P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai*, BdE 65 (Cairo, 1976), p. 653.

The scene on the west wall was originally flanked by two false doors, of which the southern is entirely lost. The northern false door is of poor-quality limestone, and was already obviously degraded in Reisner's photographs. Only very faint traces of pink plaster survive, and the raised relief inscription is largely carved into the limestone itself, with a fairly high degree of finish. The two blocks of the false door appear to be finer in texture but much higher in clay and perhaps salt than the majority of the stone used in the mastabas. Yellow veins are present in them, probably high in hydrated iron, a common constituent of clay materials. Approximately 80% of the false door

decoration that appears in Reisner's photographs remains visible today.

Conservation treatment. Pieces of plaster found on the ground, which had been removed from the north wall of the tomb by vandals, were consolidated with 5% acryloid B48N in 1,1,1 trichloroethylene, and were adhered with Kodak methyl methacrylate 25% in the same solvent. Areas requiring support were filled with a mixture of these two resins, Gougeon glass microballons, and sand.

THE TOMB OF RARAMU: Mastaba g 2099

Summary of Reisner's Description

- Mastaba type: viii c(1): 9.6–14.3¹²¹ x 7.4–7.2¹²² m
 area 87.14¹²³ sq. m; proportion 1/1.62¹²⁴
 facing masonry type: [u—east wall of mastaba facade]
- Chapel type: (10b)
 recess: 2.8 x 2.4 m; area 6.72 sq. m
 no pillars; roof probably supported by one or two pillars
 corridor: 6.05 x 1.1 m; area 7.76 sq. m
 total area 14.48 sq. m; relation 1/6.01¹²⁵
 false door 0.9 m wide
- Serdab: 0.5 x 1.45 m; area 0.72 sq. m; depth 0.9 m connected with south wall
 of room by a narrow vertical slot¹²⁶
- Shaft a: 1.25 x 1.2 m; 1.25 m lined with masonry (4 courses);
 -2.15 m in rock; block of rock in northwest corner 0.25 m
 chamber type: 6 c(1) on east. 1.2 x 0.5 m; height 0.6 m
 area 0.6 sq. m; capacity 0.36 cu. m
 no blocking
 burial: leg-contracted skeleton, plundered
- Shaft b: 1.0 x 1.0; 0.9 m lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
 no trace of burial
- Shaft c: 0.8 x 0.9 m; 0.95 m lined with masonry (3 courses); ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.1 x 0.55 m; height 0.7 m
 area 0.6 sq. m; capacity 0.42 cu. m
 blocking type: iv e+
 burial: broken bones of a child; no objects
- Shaft d: 0.75 x 0.9 m; 1.4 m lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on south. 1.1 x 0.6 m; height 0.8 m
 area 0.66 sq. m; capacity 0.53 cu. m
 no blocking
 no burial, no objects
- Shaft e: 0.85 x 0.9 m; 1.0 m lined with masonry (4 courses); ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 a(1) on east. 1.25 x 0.6 m; height 0.75 m
 area 0.75 sq. m; capacity 0.56 cu. m
 passage with jamb on south, 0.5 x 0.45 m; height 0.7 m
 no blocking
 no burial

¹²¹ This measurement is impossible. The length of the western facade (which forms the east wall of the corridor of 2098) is 11.75 m.

¹²² These measurements include the corridor of 2099, and consider its western face to be the eastern corridor wall of 2098. Even so, however, the distance from the west facade of 2086 to the west facade of 2099 is consistently about 7 m, i.e., the two facades are parallel. The 7.4 m measurement seems to be the length of the north facade of 2088, which is at an angle to the east and west facades of 2099.

¹²³ The actual area of the final mastaba as Reisner defined it, using the revised figures given in the two preceding notes, is 74.7 m.

¹²⁴ The corrected figure is closer to 1/1.5.

¹²⁵ The revised area of the mastaba also affects this fraction, which should be 1:5.16.

¹²⁶ There is a note on Reisner's manuscript here: "See photo; on the spot. There is no window slot. A[lexander] F[loroff], 21–12–43." The Reis's diary describes the slot as so narrow that it "would look to an observer only like the space between two stones in the foundation of the room." No tomb card for this serdab could be located. From the Reis's account, it would seem that the slot was well above the height of the statues.

Shaft f: 0.8 x 0.65 m; 1.5 m lined with masonry; ends at rock
 chamber type: 8 b(2) on north. 1.0 x 0.6 m; height 0.7 m
 area 0.6 sq. m; capacity 0.42 cu. m
 blocking type: vi d(2)
 burial: small tightly contracted skeleton

Excavation

The excavation of the mastaba began on January 16, 1939, moving east from the chapel of 2098. The exposure was completed on the 19th.

The Reis's Diary for 1939 gives an unusually full account of the excavation of the serdab, which is reproduced in full here, as it gives a useful impression of the procedures of Reisner's expedition at this period. (The English of the translation has been smoothed, but the account is otherwise unaltered and unabridged.)

"Jan. 20: Friday ... g 2099: I said (Mohammed Said Ahmed) in my diary of Jan 19, 1939 that we exposed the lining of the mastaba and exposed all the shafts in it and also room (a) of the mastaba. I drew the mastaba and the Dr. [Reisner] numbered it. I went to the excavation early this morning and stood on the top of the mastaba, thinking 'it is funny that such a big stone mastaba is without a serdab, while all the mastabas beside it have serdabs.' I spent more than half an hour thinking and looking at the lining of the mastaba and the shafts. I noticed that between g 2088 and the face of the room of g 2099 (a) on the south there was a space. The workers were working some distance from me, so I went myself into the space between g 2088 and the south face of room g 2099 (a) and began to remove with my own hands some of the sand in the space. I found a very narrow slot window that opened onto the room. The slot was very narrow and would look to an observer only like the space between two stones in the foundation of the room. I continued removing the sand and found the inner lining of the serdab on the west and north. I called one of the boys (Abd el-Aziz Mohammed Tantawi) to come and bring a hoe and a basket to remove with me part of the sand and to expose the lining I had just found on the north and west. Then I was very sure that this was the serdab of the mastaba, although only one stone of the roofing slabs remained on the east. After removing the debris—sand, pebbles, stones (remains of the roofing slabs), and limestone debris—we found the heads of 6 statuettes of limestone. One is on the east facing west, four are on the south facing north in pairs, and the sixth is in front of the four facing north. We cleaned the heads of the statuettes and directed Mohammedani to photograph them in position as they were found. I sent a note to Mahmud Said Ahmed asking him to tell the Dr. about what we had found and told him to congratulate him upon our good luck. I also told Mahmud in my note to him to ask Mr. Bill [W.S. Smith] to come soon to the excavation. Bill came to the excavation and saw the statuettes in position. The statuettes were left in place for drawing and photos. The serdab is not yet cleared and I am hoping that we might find more, God willing. P.S. The statuettes spend the night in their place and I and four guards guarded them."

"Jan. 21: Saturday ... g 2099 (a) serdab: I (Mohammed S. Ahmed) and W.S. Smith cleaned and removed the debris from the serdab to expose the statuettes found yesterday: limestone debris, pebbles, and sand. We cleaned the six statuettes found yesterday and exposed a seventh one between the two boys. All the statuettes are in perfect condition. The statuettes were drawn, photographed and removed to the camp."¹²⁷

The excavation of the shafts began on January 23. Shaft a contained drift sand, limestone debris, rubble, and pebbles; shaft b

¹²⁷ The Reis seems to have counted each person in the four statue groups, hence his count of seven statuettes.

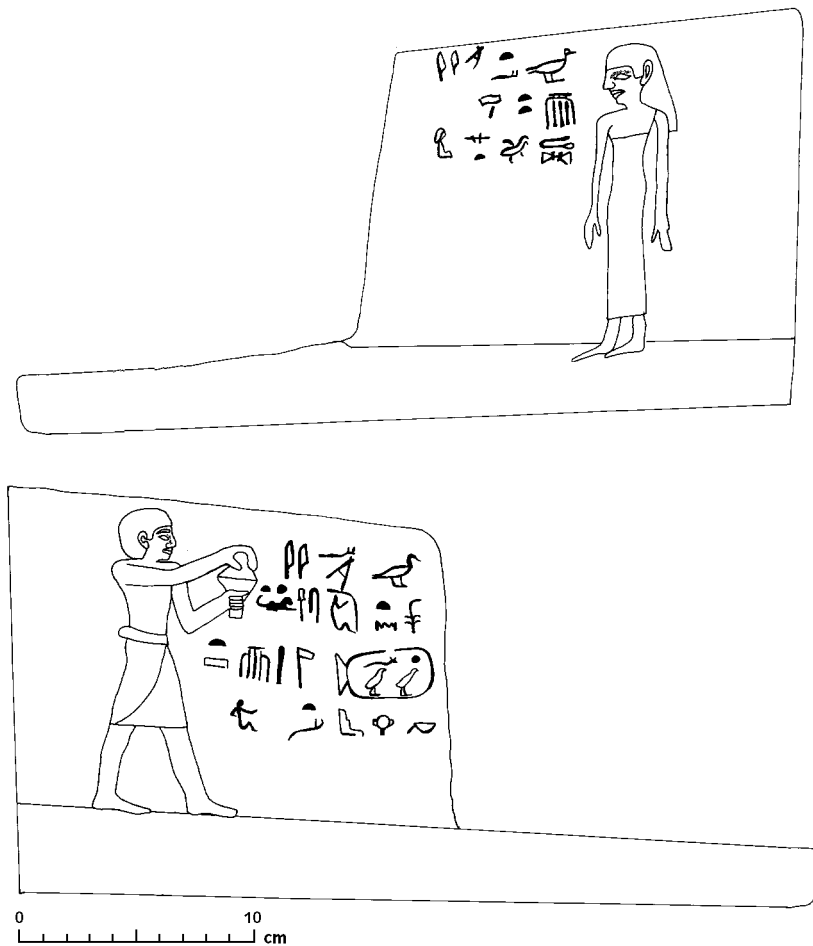


Fig. 80. Sides of the seat of a statue of Raramu from the serdab of g 2099. 39-1-17.

contained drift sand and a ceramic bowl; shaft c contained limestone debris, pebbles, and sand; shafts d and e drift sand; and shaft f red debris, pebbles, limestone debris, and rubble. The blocking of shafts c and f were opened on January 28, and the chambers of a and f were cleared on February 3.

Serdab Statues

The most important artifacts found in this mastaba were the four statue groups found in the serdab. For their relative positions, see pl. 113a.

39-1-16 A standing pair statue of Raramu and his wife (pls. 114a-b). She wears a long sheath and a vertically striated wig, and stretches her left arm around her husband's shoulders. He wears a short shingled wig, and a wrapped kilt; his hands hold dowels at his sides. The inscriptions to the right of the man reads *rht nswt, pr-3, w^b-nswt, R-r-mw*, "king's acquaintance, palace official, royal wab-priest, Raramu;" to the right of the woman is the shorter text *hmt.f mrjy nht*, "his beloved wife, Ankhet." (Now in the Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art)

39-1-17 Seated limestone statue of Raramu, with much red paint (pls. 116a-c). He wears a wrapped kilt and a shingled wig, and holds his hands on his lap, the left one open and the right one clasped around a dowel. A vertical inscription on both sides of the figure runs down the front of the seat onto the top of the base. The left column reads *w^b-nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw m swt nb R-r-mw*, "royal wab-priest, prophet of Khufu in all (his) places, Raramu;" and the right column reads *rht nswt, jmj-ht hntjw-3 pr-3 R-r-mw*, "king's acquaintance, assistant inspector of palace attendants, Raramu." On the left side of the seat is a figure of a man carved in high raised

relief with an incised inscription above him: *z3.f mrjy, smr htru(?)*, *w^b-nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw, hntj-3, K3-hr-st.f*, "his beloved son, royal wab-priest, companion of the *htru*(?), prophet of Khufu, palace attendant, Kahersetef." On the right side of the chair is the figure of a woman in sunk relief with an incised inscription above her that reads, *zst.f mrjy hntjt-3 Iz-3zst*, "his beloved daughter, (female) palace attendant, Tjez-tjzet (or possibly just Tjezet)." See fig. 80 (now in the Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art)

39-1-18 Two figures of standing men wearing wrapped kilts and striated wigs (pls. 115a-b). All four hands grasp dowels. Their names are inscribed on the adjacent supports. On the right, *rht nswt, jmj-ht pr-3 w^b-nswt hntjw-3 R-r-mw* "king's acquaintance, assistant palace (royal wab-priest) attendant, Raramu." (The words of the titles seem to have been copied slightly out of sequence.) On the left, the vertical inscription reads *w^b-nswt hm-ntr Hwfw Nj-kw-Pth*, "royal wab-priest, prophet of Khufu, Nikau-Ptah." Between the men is a small boy, identically dressed and posed. A horizontal text across the base identifies him as *z3.f n ht.f w^b-nswt z3 Kd-ns*, "his son of his body, the royal wab-priest, the scribe Kednes." The stone on which this text is carved jogs back noticeably between the titles "royal wab-priest" and "scribe," and it seems likely that the name of Kednes has been inserted here (Kahersetef has the former, but not the latter, title on his father's statue). (Now in the Cairo Museum)

39-1-19 A statue of a standing man with a wrapped kilt, a broad collar and pendant amulet, and a shingled wig (pls. 113b-d). On the base is inscribed *w^b-nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw, hntj-3 K3-hr-st.f*, "royal wab-priest, prophet of Khufu, attendant, Kahersetef." The back pillar is inscribed with a different name: *w^b-nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw Kd-ns*, "king's wab-priest, prophet of Khufu, Kednes" (see fig. 81). Again the part of the text containing the name of Kednes has been noticeably shaved down. (Now in the Richmond Museum of Art, Richmond, Virginia)

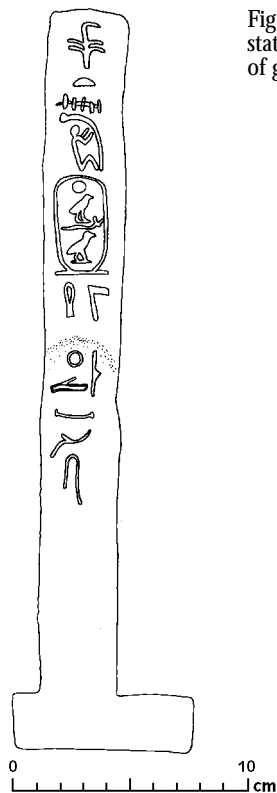


Fig. 81. Back pillar inscription of a statue of a young man from the serdab of g 2099. 39-1-19.

Since all of the titles of Nikau-Ptah are attested elsewhere for Raramu, and since the two figures are identical and not interacting with each other, it seems likely that the oddly named Raramu also used the more Egyptian name Nikau-Ptah. Kednes and Kahersetef are less likely to be two names of the same person. If they were, either name would have done as well, and it is difficult to understand why modification would be undertaken. It seems more likely that Kednes was a younger child, added to his parents' serdab statues after their completion. The even-handedness of the usurpations would support this conclusion.

In many respects, these statues resemble another assemblage of serdab statues, those excavated from the intact serdab of g 2009, east of the false door of g 2000.¹²⁸ Both groups contained four pieces: a statue of a man and wife, considerably larger and of better quality than the other three, a statue of their son, a group statue depicting three standing males, and a seated statue. (The seated statue of 2009 differed in showing both a man and a woman, where 2099's shows only a man; and the three standing males are all adults, and are holding hands, indicating that they are all different people. Altogether, eight people were depicted in 2009, compared to three to five in 2099.) In both serdabs, all statues were placed facing into the chapel (though the seated statue in 2099 is at an angle). Though the style of the carving shows a likeness, the most striking similarity is in the inscriptions: the forms of the hieroglyphs, the carving style, and the placement of the texts. The titles represented on the 2009 statues are also similar to those found in the cluster: all are *hntjw-š pr-ḳ*, and one

¹²⁸ E. Brovarski, in *Mummies and Magic*, pp. 88–90. These entries show a photograph of the excavated serdab, and three of the four sculpture groups it contained. The fourth piece is illustrated in Smith, *HESPOK*, pl. 24b.

of the women is *hm-ntr Nt*. (Raramu, is an *jmj-ht hntjw-š*, only one level higher; his son is an ordinary *hntj-š*.) The peculiar name of one of the women, Baru (spelled out alphabetically), may be an indication of a foreign origin like that proposed for Raramu himself.

Other Finds

39-1-20 An incomplete red-polished bowl, type c-xxxiii b, was found in the debris of shaft 2099 b (fig. 82); h. 7.8 cm; d. of rim 26.8 cm; d. of body 24.8 cm

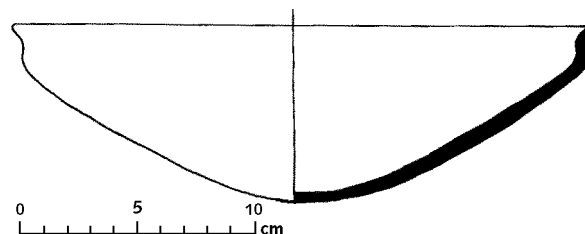


Fig. 82. Red-polished bowl from the debris of shaft g 2099 b. 39-1-20.

39-1-21 Bones and a skull found in the chamber of shaft c

39-2-1 Bones and a skull and remains of linen wrappings found in the chamber of shaft a

39-2-2 Bones and a skull and remains of linen wrappings found in the chamber of shaft f

During the architectural investigations of this mastaba in 1990, a large ceramic fragment was recovered from the fill to the south of the rubble wall across the mastaba's center. The shoulders and flaring rim of a red Nile-silt ware beer jar were preserved (see fig. 83). The temper was mixed and the texture fairly coarse, but the shape was more regular than that of the jars recovered from the fill of 2084.

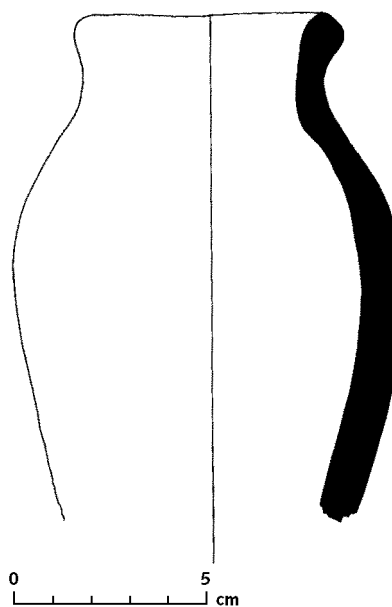


Fig. 83. Fragment of a Nile silt ware beer jar noted in the fill of mastaba g 2099 in 1990.

Architecture

At first glance, it appears that 2099 was built during Phase ii as a corridor chapel with a northern entrance and a recessed cult place; and that it was later partially excavated so that a buttress wall could be built behind its western face to support the roof of the corridor of

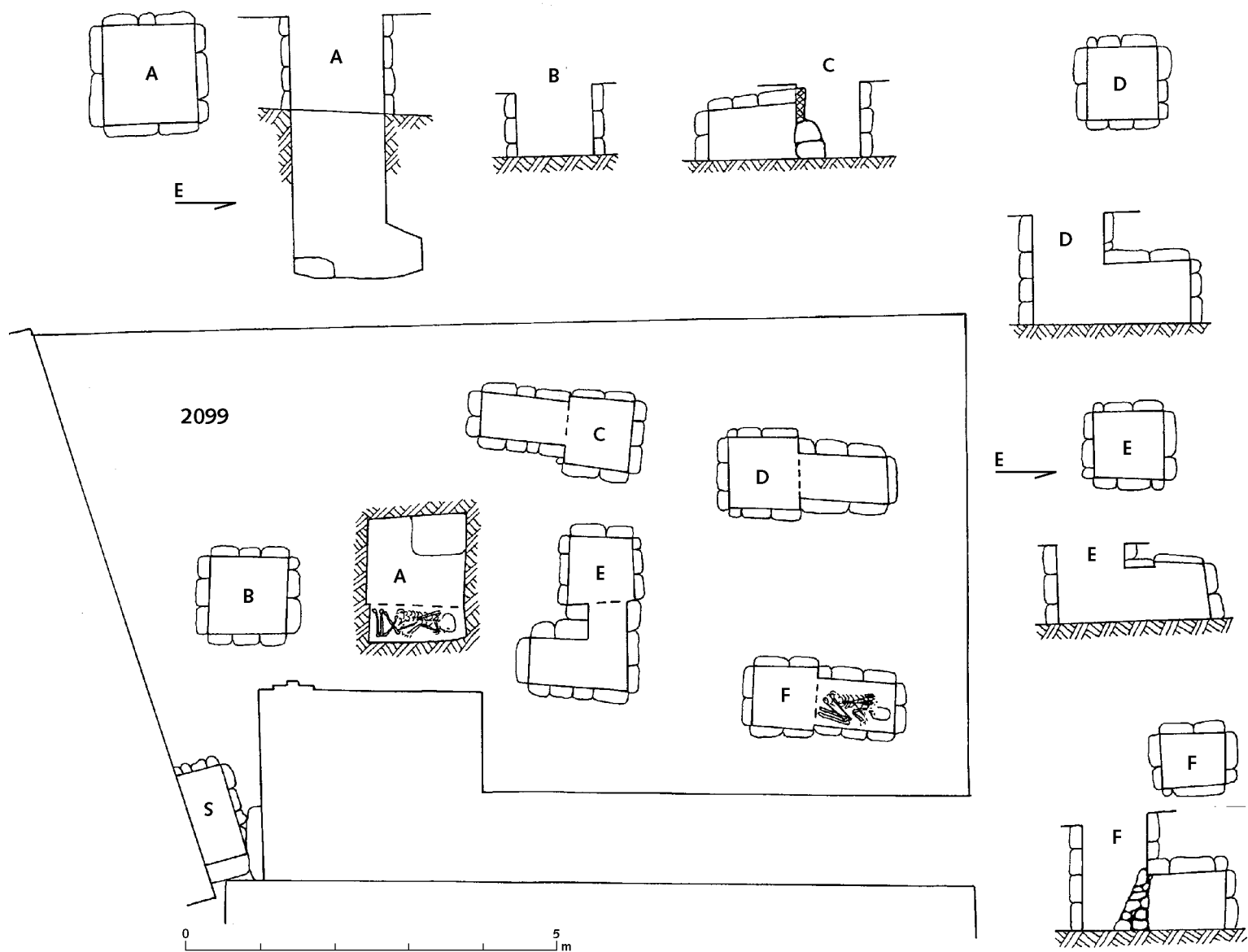


Fig. 84. Outline and shaft plans of g 2099.

2098. In fact, however, the construction of that buttress wall suggests that the architecture of 2099 was more complicated.

As mapped on pl. 134, a rubble wall runs from behind the back wall of the recessed chapel, beginning about 20 cm north of the false door, west between shafts a and b, and under the buttress wall, roughly parallel to 2099's north face. (See also the 1990 photograph, pl. 112b.) The importance of this wall can be seen in the buttress wall: to the north of this wall, the buttress wall is built over the mastaba fill and the west wall of shaft c; while to the south of it, the buttress wall extends down to bedrock, and is differently coursed than the northern half. The highest surviving course of the southern half is a low course of blocks that brings this wall level with the segment to the right, suggesting that the two halves of the wall were built at the same time, and that their upper courses were bonded.

It is difficult to understand the function of the rubble wall in its present context. The most likely reconstruction would be to assume that the area to the left of this wall was not part of the mastaba when

the buttress wall was built. The rubble wall may have backed the southern facade of a smaller, independent mastaba built in this area. If such a mastaba were built before the first extension of 2088 (2088.S1), it might even have had a southeastern approach, and hence could date as early as Phase i. The dimensions of this hypothetical earlier mastaba, 44 sq. m (not including the corridor) would have been an appropriate size for an *jmj-ht hntjw-š pr-ḳ*, the same rank held by Raramu, who may have been a son or heir of the original owner.

The distance between the rubble wall and the edge of the false door is about the thickness of a casing stone, so it seems reasonable to assume that the rubble wall was cased, and lay 20 cm south of its present position. The casing stones were perhaps taken down and re-used in the building of the buttress wall, since the jog in its masonry aligns with the rubble wall rather than 20 cm to the left. The mastaba was then extended to the south, filling the space between the earlier mastaba and 2088, and creating the new serdab and probably also the

new recessed chapel. The construction was probably contemporary with 2098.¹²⁹ This reconstruction of the architecture would also explain why statues with such low titles (Raramu is an *jmj-ht hntjw-š*, an assistant inspector, just a step above an ordinary palace attendant) were found in such a large tomb.

The false door (pl. 112c) was found in the part of the tomb that has been identified as a later addition, but it may have been moved to its present position from another position in the mastaba. It is monolithic, although it may have had a separate upper lintel. Its tablet is almost square, 49 cm wide x 50 cm high, with no discernible apertures. (This may be a result of the extreme weathering.) The lower lintel is equally wide, and 17 cm thick. The outer jambs are 17 cm wide; the inner jambs measure 18 cm wide and are recessed 8 cm; and the central niche is 13 cm wide and 6 cm deep, and begins 16 cm below the lower lintel. The lower part of the door is presently buried by a sand fill to within 36 cm of its lower lintel; it is extremely badly weathered and shows no trace of any inscription.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft a contained a very small niche-like chamber cut in the rock. There was no blocking, though a large block of rock sat in the opposite corner of the shaft. A skeleton with contracted legs lay in the chamber, with remains of linen wrappings on its skull and on the body (pl. 117a). Reisner describes the burial as plundered, although there is little space in the chamber beyond that occupied by the body.

Shaft b had no chamber. The shaft stopped at bedrock and was preserved to a height of three courses of masonry. There was no trace of a burial, but an incomplete “Meydum” bowl, registered as 39–1–20, was found in the debris that filled the shaft.

Shaft c ended in a masonry-built chamber floored with bedrock, which was blocked by two vertical slabs resting on two courses of masonry (pl. 117b). Behind the blocking were the decayed and broken bones of a child, according to the notes. The attitude of the body was not apparent, and no grave goods were found.

Shaft d and Shaft e also contained masonry chambers built just at the level of the bedrock. No blocking, human remains, or grave goods were found in either. Shaft f was also a masonry shaft and chamber, the latter blocked by a leaning rubble wall (pl. 117c). A small, tightly contracted skeleton was found inside it (pl. 117d).

¹²⁹ The casing of the rubble wall would not have been removed if it were not going to be buried by an extension (for a parallel, see the wall between 2095 and 2095’).

Date

As the above architectural analysis demonstrates, it is not entirely certain what was built here, much less when it was built. The initial construction of the mastaba may have dated to Phase i or the early part of Phase ii, since it was apparently abandoned by the time that 2098 was built impinging on it. The serdab may have been built at the same time as that mastaba, that is, the end of Phase ii or early Phase iii; in any case the style of the statues suggests a date before the end of the Fifth Dynasty.

Tomb Owner and Dependents

The name Raramu (*R-R-mw*) appears to be a group writing. A man with a similarly written name, Ramu (*R-mw*), married to Tjentet (*Tjntt*), a woman with the same name as the wife of Za-ib in this cluster, is attested on a false door in the British Museum, probably from the Central Field at Giza.¹³⁰ The similarity of the names in this family to the names used in this cluster may indicate that many of the people buried in this cluster are their descendants.

Titles of Raramu/Nikau-Ptah:

<i>rh nswt</i>	king’s acquaintance
<i>pr-ꜣ</i>	attached to the palace
<i>wꜥb-nswt</i>	royal wab-priest
<i>hm-ntr Hwfw m swt nb</i>	prophet of Khufu in all (his) places
<i>jmj-ht hntjw-š pr-ꜣ</i>	assistant inspector of palace attendants

Family

Ankhet: no titles (wife of tomb owner)

Kahersetef: (son of tomb owner)

<i>smr htrw(?)</i>	companion of the <i>htrw</i>
<i>wꜥb-nswt</i>	royal wab-priest
<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i>	prophet of Khufu
<i>hntj-š</i>	(palace) attendant

Kednes: (son of tomb owner)

<i>zš</i>	scribe
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possibly

<i>wꜥb-nswt</i>	royal wab-priest
<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i>	prophet of Khufu

Tjez-tjzet: (daughter of tomb owner)

<i>hntjt-š</i>	(palace) attendant
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¹³⁰ James, *British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts* 1², pl. 16 (528). Their only titles are *rh nswt* but their son’s name is *Ks-hnt* and their daughter’s son is named *Nfr*. James dates it to Fourth Dynasty. Purchased at the sale of the Salt collection, 1835.

ANONYMOUS TOMB: Mastaba g 2230+2231

Summary of Reisner's Description

2230

- Mastaba type: vii a(1): 12.2 x 7.7 m;
area 92.93 sq. m; proportion 1/1.65; height near 1.8 m
facing masonry type: w
- Chapel type: (4b) without northern subsidiary niche; south niche drawn
in red lines but not cut¹³¹
3.25 x 1.5 m; area 4.87 sq. m; proportion 1/2.16; relation 1/19.09
no external embrasure;¹³² internal embrasure [no measurements]
- Shaft 2230 a:¹³³ 1.25 x 1.35 m; 2.45 m lined with masonry topped with rubble;
ends at rock
chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
no burial
- Shaft 2230 b: 1.6 x 1.55 m; 2.4 m lined with small masonry (6 courses)
-5.9 m in rock
chamber type: 5 b(2) on south. 2.4 x 1.65 m; height 1.1 m
area 3.3 sq. m; capacity 3.63 cu. m
passage without jambs, 0.4 x 1.1 m; height 1.0 m step down from
passage to chamber, 0.15 m
burial pit along west wall, 0.95 x 0.45 m; depth 0.4 m
completely plundered; no blocking, no burial
- Shaft 2230 c: 1.15 x 1.15 m; 1.65 m lined with rubble; -0.45 in debris
chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
no burial

2231

- Mastaba type: x c(1): 11 x 5.5 m
area 60.5 sq. m; proportion 1/2; height 1.8 m
facing masonry type: u-masonry with some large blocks
- Chapel type: (9c) e. of mastaba, in 1.2 m wide corridor with 2240
monolithic false door stela just north of middle of east face
1.05 m wide; outer niche 0.55 x 0.15 m; inner niche 0.15 x 0.15 m
- Shaft 2231 a: 1.2 x 1.05 m; 1.75 m lined with rubble on east, south, and west;
on north with masonry (6 courses); -2.4 m in rock
chamber type: 6 d on north 0.125 x 0.95 m; height 0.67 m
area 0.11 sq. m; capacity 0.07 cu. m
completely plundered
- Shaft 2231 b: 1.0 x 0.7 m; 0.85 m lined with masonry; ends in fill
chamber type: 7 a in middle of shaft. 0.7 x 0.45 m; height 0.5 m
area .31 sq. m; capacity 0.15 cu. m
roofed with two slabs bound with plaster; intact
burial: tightly contracted skeleton of a child
- Shaft 2231 c: 0.8 x 0.9 m; 0.8 m lined with rubble on east and north; masonry
on south and west; ends in fill
chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
completely plundered

- Shaft 2231 d: 0.8 x 0.7 m; 1.15 m lined with rubble on 3 sides, masonry on
south; ends in fill
chamber type: 8 b(2) on east. 0.55 x 1.1 m; height 0.6 m
area 0.33 sq. m; capacity 0.36 cu. m
completely plundered
- Shaft 2231 e: 0.7 x 0.7 m; 1.5 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
chamber type: 8 b(2) on north. 1.1 x 0.6 m; height 0.6 m
area 0.66 sq. m; capacity 0.39 cu. m
blocking type: v d(3)
burial: tightly contracted adult skeleton
- Shaft 2231 f: 1.05 x 1.15 m; 1.8 m lined with rubble on 3 sides, masonry on
north; ends at rock
chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
completely plundered
- Shaft 2231 g: 1.0 x 1.0; 1.5 m lined with masonry (4 courses); -2.1 m in rock
chamber type: 6 b(2) fan-shaped, on east. 0.85-1.7 x 1.45 m;
height 0.85 m;
area 1.84 sq. m; capacity 1.56 cu. m
completely plundered
- Shaft 2231 h: 0.95 x 0.9 m; 1.45 m lined with rubble on 3 sides, masonry on
south; ends at rock
chamber type: 7x (no chamber)
completely plundered
- Shaft 2231 i: 0.7 x 0.8 m; 1.7 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
chamber type: 8 b(2) on north. 1.05 x 0.55 m; height 0.65 m
area 0.57 sq. m; capacity 0.37 cu. m
completely plundered
- Shaft 2231 j: 0.75 x 0.75 m; 1.4 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
chamber type: 8 b(2) on north 1.05 x 0.55 m; height 0.7 m
area 0.57 sq. m; capacity 0.39 cu. m
completely plundered

Excavation

The exposure of 2230 began on February 6, 1939. While clearing the north face, four inscribed fragments and one very small alabaster fragment (perhaps from a rim or the base of a bowl) were recovered. February 8 through 13 were entirely taken up with removing the debris from this area, which had previously served as a dump. Over the last five of these days, 2,114 railway cars of fill were removed; and in the four days following that and between February 22 and 24, 3,637 cars of fill were removed from the top of the mastaba.

The chapel and corridor were excavated on February 26 and 27. The fill contained sand, limestone debris, and pebbles. The upper part of the corridor fill was of drift sand, in which the model fragments 39-2-14 were found; below this level was more sand, mixed with limestone debris, rubble, and pebbles.

The clearance of the shafts began on March 13. Shaft a contained drift sand above limestone debris and sand; shafts b and c contained sand, limestone debris, and rubble.

Not until April 16 and 17 did the work return to this area to expose the remaining faces of 2231. The shafts were opened on April 22 and 23. Shaft a contained drift sand; the fill of shaft b is not recorded; shafts c and e contained limestone debris and rubble; and shafts d, f, g, h, i and j contained sand, limestone debris, and rubble.

Finds

Several objects were found during the excavation of the top and sides of 2230 (more exact locations are given with each entry). These are doubtless of various origins; some of them appear to be of Fourth Dynasty date (for example the possible reserve head fragment and

¹³¹ These red lines were no longer visible in 1990.

¹³² In fact, there was an external embrasure, the profile of which can be seen from the top and sides (see pl. 118b). It was filled with masonry, presumably during the building of 2231, which converted the eastern facade to the west wall of a corridor.

¹³³ Reisner seems to have re-lettered shafts a and b in his *Giza Manuscript*, reversing them so that a is the principal shaft. Since they are elsewhere consistently the reverse, the original letter assignments are used here.

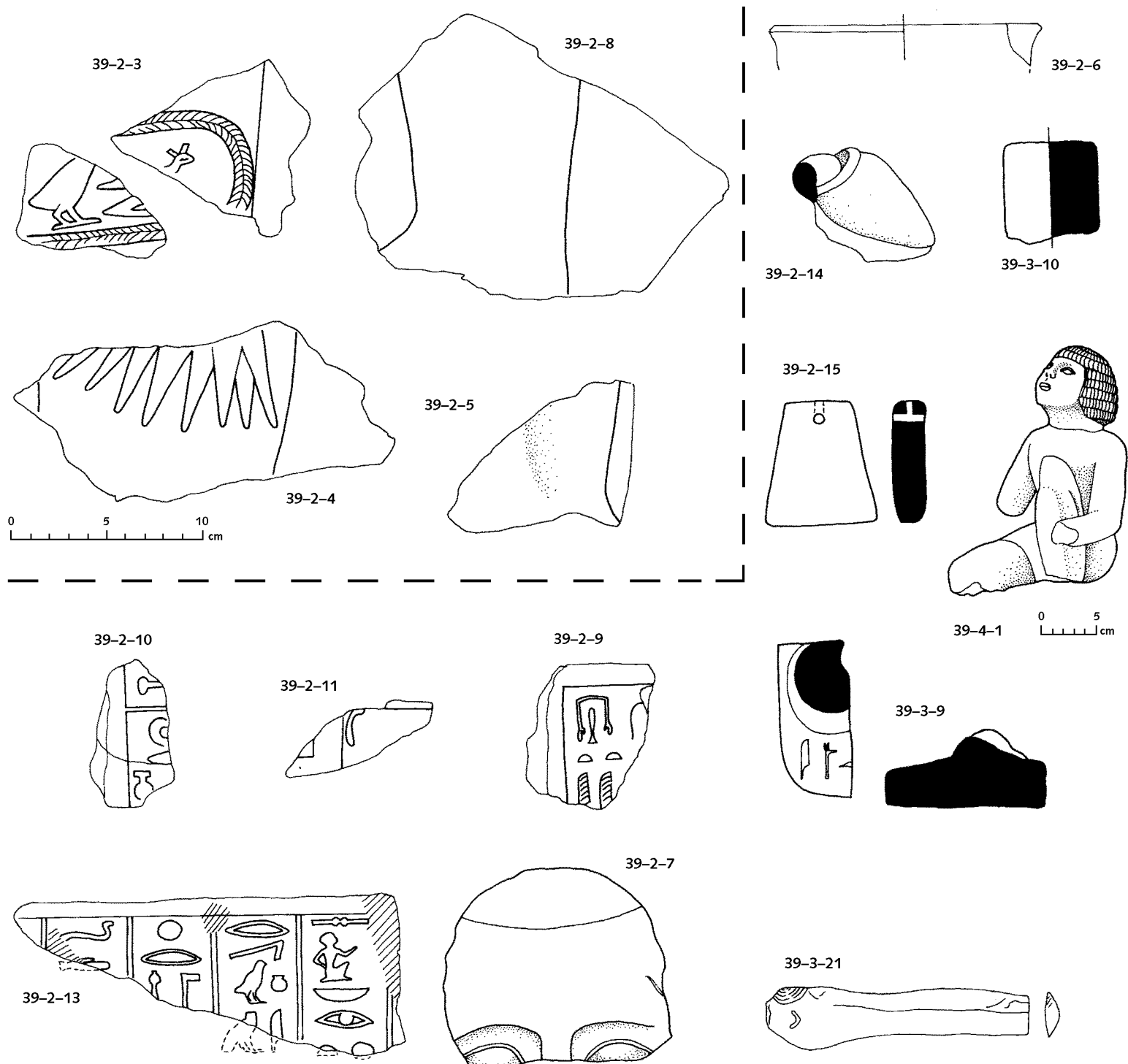


Fig. 85. Objects recovered from the debris covering g 2230, including back-dirt from the southern part of the Western Cemetery.

the cartouche surrounded by a double twisted cord), suggesting that at least some of the objects derive from a Fourth Dynasty tomb outside this cluster, which is not surprising, since this area had previously served as a dump, possibly for the Fourth Dynasty core cemetery 4000 directly to the south. Since the objects were registered in order of recovery, those with the lowest numbers are the most likely to have come from the dump, while those with higher numbers probably derive from the lower levels and are more likely to be related to

the tombs of the cluster, if not necessarily to 2230+2231. These finds are illustrated in fig. 85.

39-2-3 (from debris north of 2230) Two relief fragments bearing a cartouche, possibly of Snefru. The cartouche surrounding the royal name is a double strand of twisted rope, which according to Cherpion's iconographic criteria,¹³⁴ is an indicator of a Fourth Dynasty date. The signs *f*, *r*, and *w* seem to begin the cartouche, however; the omission of the *s* and *nfr* signs is difficult to explain. The tangent angled edge of another raised surface at the right edge of the

¹³⁴ Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, pp. 75-76.

- cartouche is also difficult to understand (pl. 130d, upper left).
Upper fragment: l. 13 cm; w. 9 cm; th. 4.5 cm. Lower fragment:
l. 7.5 cm; w. 6.5 cm; th. 10.0 cm
- 39-2-4 (from debris north of 2230) A relief fragment showing a blue lotus flower (pl. 130d, lower left); l. 20 cm; w. 11cm; th. 5 cm
- 39-2-5 (from debris north of 2230) A fragment showing the back of an ankle (pl. 130d, lower right); l. 10 cm; w. 8 cm; Th. 2 cm
- 39-2-6 (from debris north of 2230) A fragment of the rim of an alabaster bowl; l. 5.3 cm; w. 2.8 cm; th. 2.3 cm; diam. 20+ cm
- 39-2-7 (from debris covering core of 2230) White limestone fragment of the eyes and forehead of a reserve head(?) (pl. 130b); h. 11.0 cm; w. 12.4 cm; th. 5.7 cm (Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)
- 39-2-8 (from debris covering core of 2230) Relief fragment of a man's ankle (pl. 130d, upper right); l. 20 cm; w. 15 cm; th. 4 cm
- 39-2-9 (from debris covering core of 2230) Relief fragment, giving the name of a *hym-k3* named *Tijj*. This fragment is said in *Giza Necropolis 3* to be a fragment of the base of a model; l. 13.5 cm; w. 11.5 cm; th. 3.5 cm
- 39-2-10 (from debris covering core of 2230) Fragment from an offering list; l. 13 cm; w. 7 cm; th. 2.5 cm
- 39-2-11 (from debris covering core of 2230) This fragment was clearly from a decorated wall, but it is difficult to determine even its orientation; l. 12 cm; w. 6.5 cm; th. 6.5 cm
- 39-2-13 (from debris covering core of 2230) Fragment of a warning to desecrators of a tomb. This reads ... [jr] / z nb jr ht ... / r nw jm [wdf: j hm: f] / hr ntr-3 ... dd ..., "... As for any man who does a thing¹³⁵ ... against this therein, [I shall be judged with him] before the great god ... says ...;" l. 34 cm; w. 14.8 cm; th. 5 cm
- 39-2-14 (from corridor south of the door to the chapel of 2230) Fragment of the hand and pot of a model potter; h. 9.0 cm; w. 5.4 cm; th. 4.4 cm (Now in the Cairo Museum)
- 39-2-15 (from debris of chapel of 2230) Limestone weight. This was pierced from side to side to allow the attachment of a string, but vertically from the top, to ensure that the string was weighted from the center of the weight. It seems likely to have been used as a plumb-bob, perhaps for building or decorating tombs, rather than a loom weight or other weight requiring less exact centering; h. 9.0 cm; w. top 6.2 cm; w. bottom 8.1 cm; th. 8.1 cm
- 39-3-9 (from the top of 2230) Fragment of the base of a model, perhaps of beer-making (the raised area suggests the bottom of the tall pot into which the mash is strained. The end of a name is preserved, perhaps *Wsrj*, Useri; l. 11.5 cm; w. 5.1 cm; th. 6.0 cm
- 39-3-10 (from the top of 2230) Granite fragment from a boring core; l. 7.2 cm; diam. 6.6-6.8 cm
- 39-4-1 (from south of the south entrance) Head of a limestone model figure; the body (registered under the same number) was found still farther to the south. There is a flattened area on the front of the bent leg against which some equipment must have rested. One possibility is the pot and hand registered as 39-2-14, although the abstracted gaze would be unusual for a potter. A more likely possibility would be a harp. This would be more suited to the upward tilt of the head, which might even be meant to suggest the blindness that became such a cliché in the representation of harpists of later periods (see pl. 130c); h. 23.4 cm; l. 16.4 cm; w. 13 cm
- 39-5-2 (from top of 2230, north of shaft b) White limestone fragment of left forearm of a female servant statuette, colored yellow; l. 7.8 cm; w. 3.4 cm; th. 2.8 cm

Nine artifacts were found in the debris of shaft c. They are presumably intrusive. (For the flint blade, see fig. 85; the ceramics are illustrated in fig. 86.)

- 39-3-21 Flint blade fragment of type 8 or 9; h. 5.8 cm; w. 1.4 cm; th. 0.3-0.4 cm. Section is in the form of a truncated pyramid

¹³⁵ This could refer either to the carrying out of the ritual, or doing damage to the tomb, depending on the following context. Some indication of harmful activity was included before the end of the line, to judge from the following line.

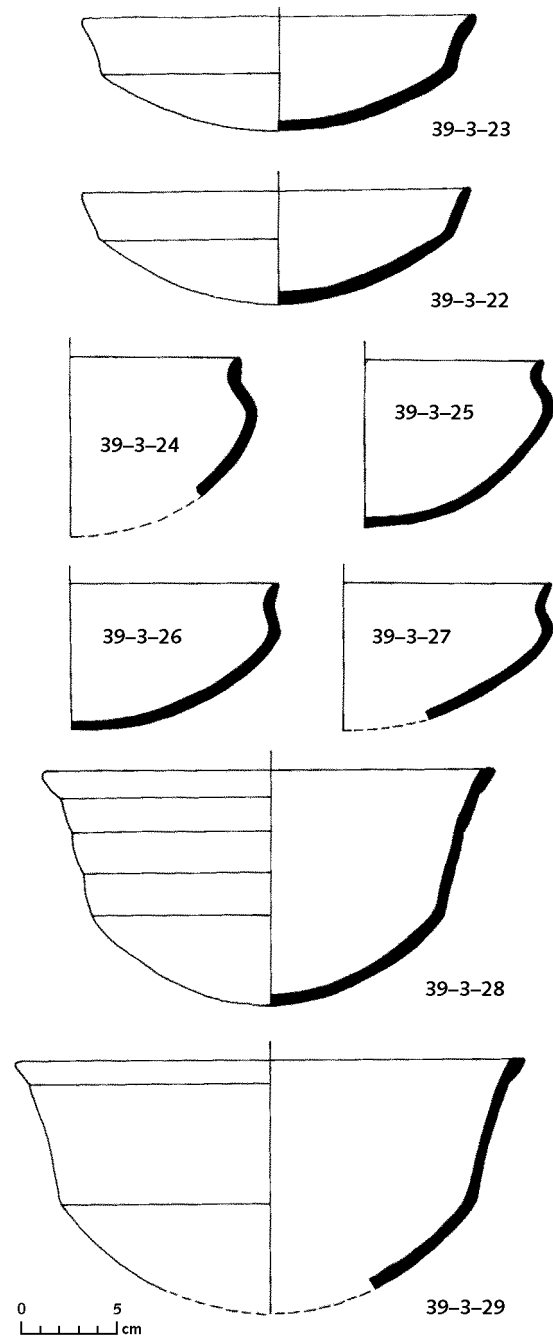


Fig. 86. Ceramics from the fill of shaft g 2230 c. All are red polished (Meydum ware) bowls.

- 39-3-22 Four fitting fragments of red-polished carinated bowl of type c-xxx b(1); h. 6.0 cm; h. of upper part 2.6 cm; diam. 20-21 cm; diam. of carination 18.4 cm
- 39-3-23 Nearly complete red-polished bowl of type c-xxx b(1); h. 6.0 cm; h. of upper part 3.0 cm; diam. 20.8 cm; diam. of carination 18.8 cm
- 39-3-24 Three fragments of red-polished bowl with recurved rim of type c-xxx a; h. 7.2 cm; diam. rim 18 cm; diam. body 19.6 cm
- 39-3-25 Incomplete red-polished bowl of type c-xxxii b; h. 8.8 cm; diam. rim 19 cm; diam. max. 20 cm
- 39-3-26 Incomplete red-polished bowl of type c-xxxii b; h. 7.8 cm; diam. rim 22(?) cm; diam. max. 22 cm
- 39-3-27 Incomplete red-polished bowl of type c-xxxii b; h. 7.2+ cm; diam. rim 22 cm; diam. max. 22 cm
- 39-3-28 Incomplete red-polished carinated bowl with rolled rim, of type c-xxx a(2); h. 12.4 cm; h. of upper part 7.7 cm, with two incised horizontal lines. diam. rim 24 cm; diam. of bent line 12.6 cm

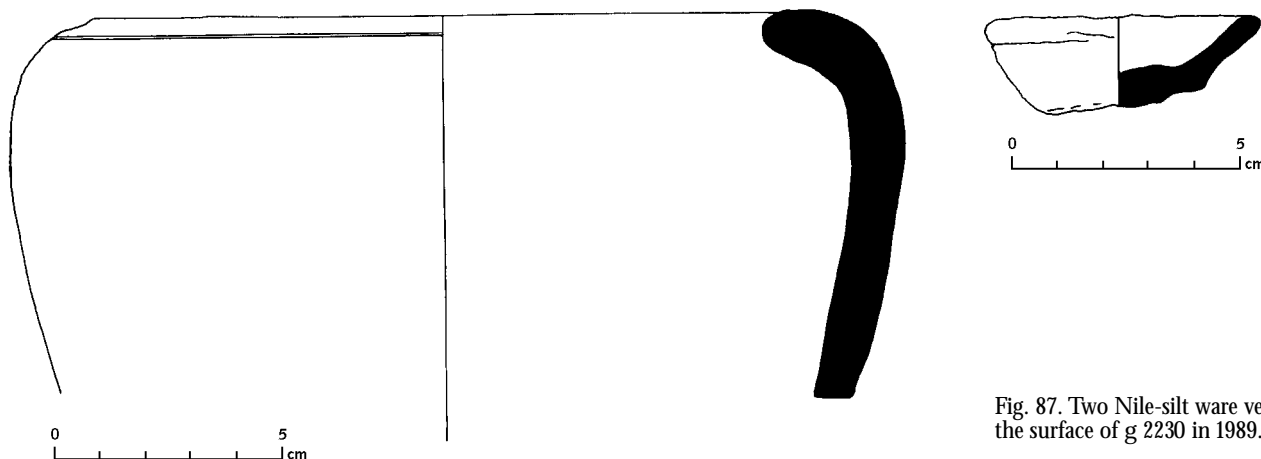


Fig. 87. Two Nile-silt ware vessels recorded on the surface of g 2230 in 1989.

39-3-29 Incomplete red-polished carinated bowl of type c-xxx a(2); h. 12.1 cm; h. of upper part 7.6 cm; diam. of rolled rim 27 cm; diam. of carination 22 cm

In addition, a large Nile silt ware vessel with an interned rim and a small Nile silt ware model offering vessel were collected from the surface in 1989 (see fig. 87).

Architecture

Mastaba g 2230 is an anomaly in this cluster. It is faced with much larger stones than any of the other mastabas, and its overall dimensions are considerably larger than the other mastabas with L-shaped chapels. It was presumably built during the period of southeastern access (Phase i), although as the end mastaba of the cluster it would have been accessible from both north and south.

Its chapel was faced with equally large blocks and orthostats (pl. 118a), undecorated except for traces of red paint noted by the excavator. Deep embrasures in its southern facade flanked the entrance. The southern facade itself was very roughly carved, one block south of the door in particular protruding very irregularly.

The construction of 2231 initially appears to have been independent, with its own cult place (a false door on the eastern face) and two subterranean burial chambers (fig. 89). The width of the corridor between the two mastabas is more comparable to the space left between independent mastabas (for example, 2088 and 2089, or 2093 and 2094) than the narrower space allotted for an interior corridor (for example, 2098 or 2094). More probably, however, the proportions of the corridor simply reflect the larger proportions of the mastaba, since the west face of 2231 was apparently originally built with a vertical, interior facing rather than a battered exterior facade. At the beginning of Phase ii, then, 2231 was built, abutting 2230 at its south end, to block access to the southern path. This area was almost certainly roofed. To convert it to interior space, the embrasures surrounding the doorway were filled in with well-finished masonry (pl. 118b).

At the end of Phase ii, when the orientation was changed back to the south, the doorway was moved to the south end of the mastaba, and the northern doorway was filled in. The abutments of the end wall are clearly visible on the inside of the corridor; on the outside, the facade seems to have been completely rebuilt so that the

change from the doorway blocking to the mastaba's north facade cannot be seen although the abutment of 2231 with 2230 is clearly visible, because of the different styles of facing.

The lintel of the earlier northern door apparently did not fit the new southern emplacement, and so was turned 90°. Two earlier doorsockets can now be seen clearly on the inner face of the lintel (pl. 118b). The jambs of the door were also too narrow to fit the scar left in mastaba 2230 by the previous spur wall where its battered face abutted the earlier facade. South of the western jamb, a scar can be seen that has exactly the batter and placement of the south facade of 2231 to the east of it (pl. 119a), confirming that this facade originally extended west to about 2230. The lintel and the adjacent course, as well as the course below adjacent to the doors were rebuilt. Below this point, gaps are visible between the original facade blocks and the relocated doorjambs that have been ineffectively chinked with smaller stones.

The false door on the eastern face of 2231 is monolithic, and well carved, although both right jambs angle in towards the base (pl. 120a). Its outer jambs are 26.5 cm wide on the left and 22 cm wide on the right. Flanked by apertures 3 cm wide and 5 cm deep, the tablet is 46 cm wide, and was probably originally about 60 cm high, although only 38 cm are now preserved. The lower lintel is 21 cm thick, and the drum lintel below is 16 cm thick. The inner jambs are 20.5 cm in width, set back 3 cm from the outer jambs, and the central niche is 12 cm wide and a further 3 cm deep. For the 2.2 m south of the false door, the mastaba is faced not with coursed masonry, but with large facing stones. Left of the false door are two such blocks, about 1.1 m wide, which together equal the height of the false door. Their junction is at a level slightly below the base of the lower lintel of the false door. Left of these is a third block, equal in height to the false door, and also about 1 m wide. These blocks are not well finished, but their configuration suggests that they were intended to serve as the back wall of an exterior chapel, perhaps of mud brick. No trace of enclosing walls is visible today, however, and the chapel may in fact never have been built.

Another notable peculiarity about 2231 is the facing of its shafts. In five separate cases, one or two sides of an otherwise rubble built shaft is built of good masonry, including in shaft d, the entire side of a burial chamber. The masonry south walls of shafts d and h are

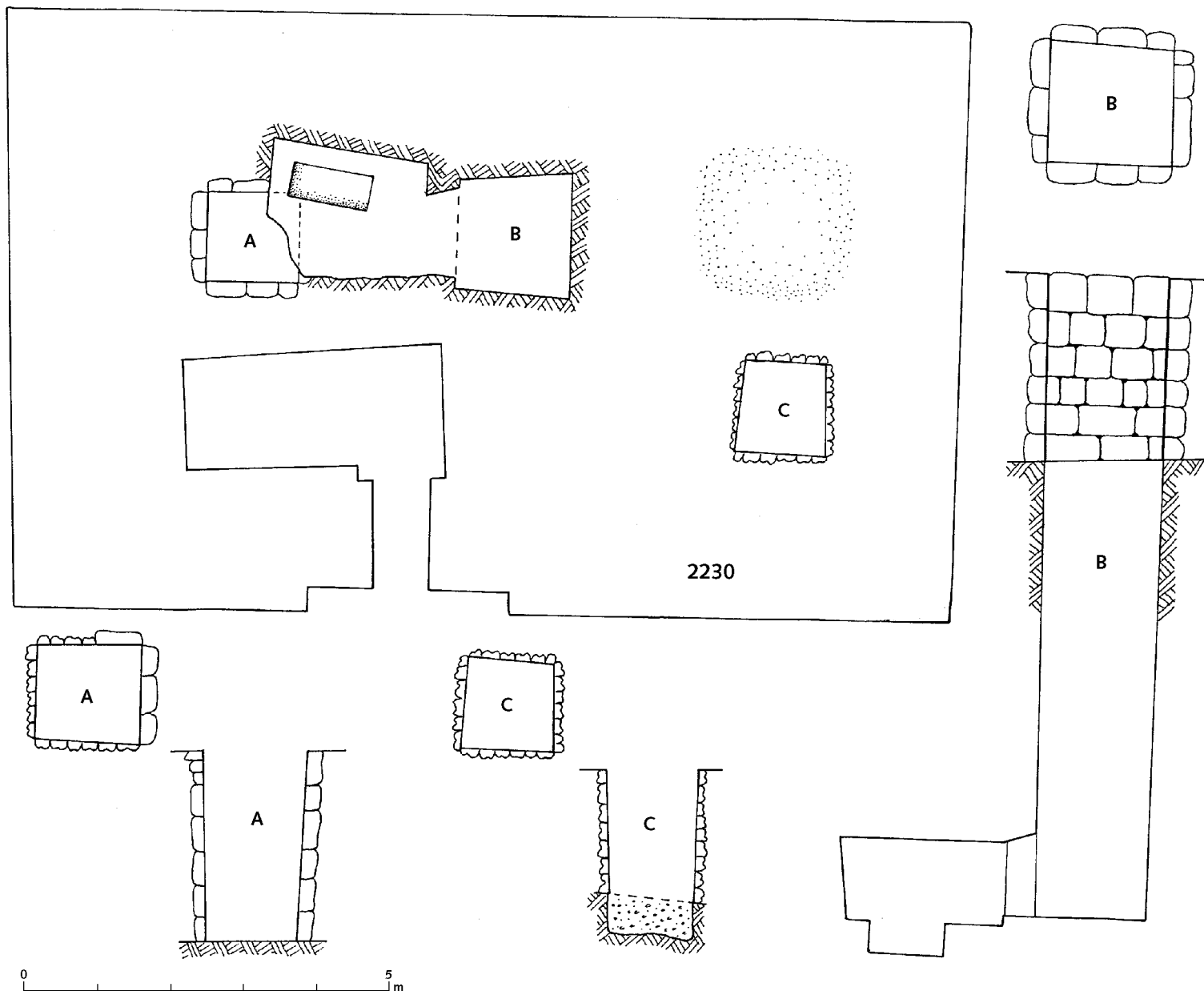


Fig. 88. Outline and shaft plans of g 2230.

aligned, as are the masonry north walls of shafts f and a. When these stretches of masonry are extrapolated to the east facade of the mastaba, the exterior chapel hypothesized on the basis of the monolithic blocks above is approximately centered between them. The density of the secondary shafts is also much greater outside these walls (fig. 89). These circumstances suggest that a small mastaba preceded 2231 on the site. Its western facade may be indicated by the rubble wall noted in the fill north of the shafts (see the revised plan, pl. 135).

Shafts and Burials

Shaft 2230 a was built of mixed masonry and rubble walls. It extended down to the bedrock, and had no chamber. No human remains or grave goods were found.

Shaft 2230 b was a deep, rock cut shaft with a large irregular burial chamber. It was clearly the principal shaft of the mastaba. A burial pit was cut parallel to the western wall. The floor space was much greater than that required for the placement of the body, which is unusual in these tombs. The tomb is described as completely plundered. No blocking, human remains, or grave goods were found.

Shaft 2230 c, like shaft a in the same mastaba, was a shaft without a chamber. It extended almost 50 cm below the bedrock, but this excavation was filled with limestone debris, according to the drawing on the Tomb Card. The nine objects that were registered from this shaft (eight "Meydum" bowls and a worked lithic flake) were recovered from the fill above this debris, according to the Reis's Diary. It may have been built in order to store grave goods, rather than as a burial shaft.

A marked depression in the northwest corner may be due to the collapse of the burial chamber of an unexcavated fourth shaft.

Shaft 2231 a was built of rubble and small masonry, and was cut into the bedrock. Like the adjacent shaft f, its north face was built of masonry, while its other faces were of rubble. A burial chamber was begun on the north side of the shaft, but the cutting extended less than 13 cm beyond the face of the shaft at its deepest point, and less than five at its shallowest. It was obviously not finished. No remains, human or artifactual, were recovered.

Shaft 2231 b was a small, shallow shaft, ending in a masonry-lined burial pit that rested on the bedrock and was covered with two slabs. It contained the decayed remains of a child, on its right side with its head to the north.

Shaft 2231 c was built of rubble on two sides and masonry on the south and west, ending on the surface of the bedrock. The shaft had no chamber and contained no burial or grave goods.

Shaft d and its chamber were built entirely of rubble except for the slab roof and the south face, which is of masonry. Shaft h, just to the west of it, also has a masonry built south wall, probably pointing to some internal structure within the mastaba massif. Shaft d and its chamber rest on the bedrock. There was no blocking, and the shaft held no human remains or grave goods.

Shaft e¹³⁶ had a masonry built chamber blocked with leaning rubble walls. The burial is described as an adult, tightly contracted, with an abnormal growth of the bone on the right femur (pl. 120b).

Shaft f was a shaft with no chamber ending at the bedrock. It was built of rubble on three sides but masonry on the north. No remains of any kind were found.

Shaft g was lined with masonry on four sides and cut into the bedrock. From its size, construction, and placement directly west of the false door, it seems likely to have been the principal shaft of the mastaba. Its chamber was irregular and fan-shaped, but with a level floor. There was no blocking, and the shaft contained no human remains and no grave goods.

Shaft h is the mirror image of shaft f. It was lined with rubble on three sides and masonry on the south, rested on the bedrock, and had no chamber. No remains of any kind were found.

Shafts i and j were built of rubble with chambers on the north. Both rested on the bedrock and were roofed with slabs. Neither contained blocking, human remains, or grave goods.

One further shaft, labelled g 2231 y, is recorded on a Tomb Card only. Its location is not given, nor is a north arrow recorded on the drawing. The notations on the card are in English rather than Arabic, and the convention used to indicate the casing of the shaft and chamber is not one used by the expedition surveyor. Moreover, the letter assigned to the first external shaft is usually x; y is normally the second such shaft. No evidence at all of a shaft x survives, however. No external shafts were noted in 1990.

¹³⁶ The Tomb Card for this shaft seems to have been lost; the plans drawn here have been reconstructed from the sketch in the Reis's Diary and the measurements in Reisner's *Giza Manuscript*. The skeleton shown is the mirror image of the body in 2095 c, which was similarly described in Reisner's *Manuscript*, but said to be lying on its left rather than its right side.

Shaft y seems to have measured about .90 x .70 m, with the top of the shaft preserved to a height of 1.2 m above the bedrock. The chamber, which tapered slightly away from the shaft, was 1 m long. The construction was entirely of mud brick, except for the slab roof of the chamber, most of which was gone. There are two notations on the drawing: "Mud brick, mud plastered in pit and lime plastered in chamber" and "Bones in a confused heap, the head (disturbed position) at south of pile, top up."

Date

g 2230 seems to have been constructed towards the end of Phase i. g 2231 was presumably constructed, or at least abutted against the south face of 2230, at the beginning of Phase ii, in order to block access to the southern path and give the tomb a northern entrance. The rebuilding of the doorway, and the inscription of the name of Khuwi-Re, can thus be dated to Phase iii.

Decoration of the Chapel

The interior of the L-shaped chapel is lined with monolithic slabs. No traces of paint were visible in 1989 and 1990, but the Reis's Diary mentions red marks on the west wall, concluding "they were going to cut a stela but they did not do it." Reisner's summary seems to indicate that this unfinished false door was on the south part of the wall. It seems unlikely, however, that a false door would be carved in place. Perhaps these lines were simply the remains of painted decoration.

The back profile of a male figure was outlined on the eastern doorjamb of the outer door (pl. 200), but the carving was never completed. There are also traces of paint on this door, so perhaps the design was finished in paint.

On the south face of 2231 is an inscription in large sunk hieroglyphs (pls. 118c and 199). It reads *ḥm-nṯr Ḥmnw, mrj Hr, šḥd srw, Ḥw-wj-R*; "prophet of Khnum, beloved of Horus, inspector of officials, Khuwi-Re." Such exterior carving is more typical of the Sixth Dynasty than the Fifth, and this factor, together with the lack of any mention of *ḥntj-š* title, suggests that Khuwi-Re's name is an addition made in a later period. Unlike the courses above it, the course of masonry on which this text is carved was not rebuilt when the entrance of the mastaba was moved to the south in Phase iii, so the inscription might physically be dated as early as Phase ii and contemporary with the construction of 2231. However, the text is exactly centered in the part of the course that remained after the insertion of the doorway at the west end; if it had been carved in Phase ii, it would probably have been placed further to the west. Moreover, it is not very probable that such a text would be carved on the south face of a mastaba during Phase ii, since that period is marked by the blockage of the southern path. Its placement, like its style, suggests that the text was a later addition, Phase iii at the earliest, and probably later. For this reason, it seems most likely that Khuwi-Re was not the original owner of 2231.

Conservation (Pamela Hatchfield)

This chapel is open to public access and has no substantial decoration. The lintel of the exterior door and associated blocks, including

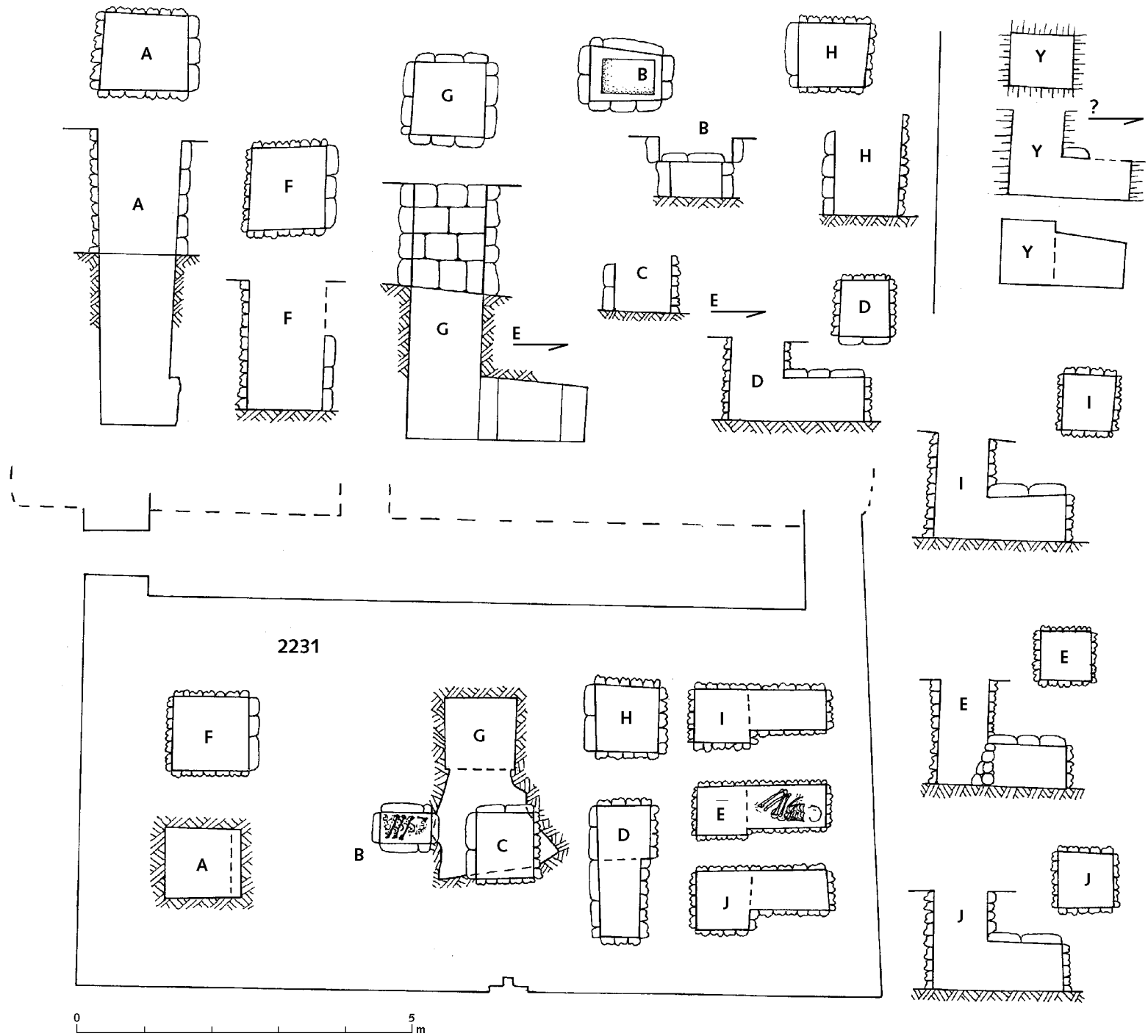


Fig. 89. Outline and shaft plans of g 2231.

the door socket on the inner south face, are in advanced stages of disintegration. Traces of red paint survive on remains of plaster on the east doorjamb, suggesting that the partially carved figure here was completed in paint. Graffiti have been scratched into the south face of the west jamb.

The blocks of the west wall of the corridor are similarly degraded. One appears to be particularly high in clay. Delamination and powdering of the limestone is severe, probably because of a high salt

content. The upper courses are in worse condition, due to an extended exposure at or near to the level of the sand, condensation, and heating-cooling cycles. Pink mortar in the joints between the blocks is powdering and seems moist and hydrated; hygroscopic salts may be present.

THE TOMB OF NEFER- MESDJER-KHUFU: Mastaba g 2240

Summary of Reisner's Description

Mastaba type: vii c(1): 10.3 x 8.0 m; area 82.4 sq. m; proportion 1/1.28
facing masonry type: u
Chapel type: (4b): 3.4 x 1.35 m; area 4.59 sq. m; proportion 1/2.51
recess for central false door: 0.95 x 0.1 m
slab of central false door in recess: 0.95 x 0.2 m
inner niche: 0.15 x 0.05 m
other niche to north: outer niche 0.05 m, inner: very small
embrasure on inside of door [no measurements]
Portico: 4.2 x 1.8 m; area 7.2 sq. m s. pillar: 0.47 x 0.5 m; n. 0.5 x 0.47 m
Total area of chapel and portico, 11.79 sq. m; relation 1/7.22
Serdab: 1.85 x 1.2 m; area 2.22 sq. m; slot window gone
Shaft a: 1.6 x 1.6 m; 1.25 m lined with masonry topped with rubble;
-2.15 m in rock, but the floor of the chamber is -3.185 m below
the bedrock surface, reached by three steps
chamber type: 5 a(4) on north. 2.25 x 1.75 m; 1.2 m to the
sloping roof;
area 3.83 sq. m; capacity 4.59 cu. m
passage with jamb on either side, 0.23 x 1.1 m; height 1.15 m
burial pit on west of chamber, 2.0 x 0.5 m; depth 0.45 m
covered with single slab; completely plundered
Shaft b: 1.05 x 0.95 m; 1.6 m lined with rubble; ends at rock
chamber type: 8 b(1) on south. 1.75 x 0.9 m; height 0.95
area 1.57 sq. m; capacity 1.49 cu. m
blocking type: v e+
burial pit: an irregular hollow in the rock
burial: adult leg-contracted skeleton

Excavation

The existence of 2240 was first noted on April 16, 1939, during the clearance of the east face of 2231, and its number was assigned on April 19.

The chapel and tops of the shafts were cleared by April 26. The overlying fill was sand, limestone debris, and rubble. The chapel was described as decorated with inscribed plaster with remains of red paint; red paint was also noted on the central false door. Inscribed fragments of plaster from the room were found in the fill.¹³⁷ The debris was excavated to a mud floor, which was above a limestone floor (probably bedrock). The portico also contained sand, limestone debris, and rubble, which overlay a limestone floor. The serdab was also filled with sand, limestone debris, and rubble; its floor was packed limestone debris. No artifacts were recorded from the serdab.

¹³⁷ There are no photographs or further records of these fragments. They may have been reattached to the walls.

The shafts were excavated on May 3. Shaft a was filled with sand, limestone debris, rubble, and stones; shaft b contained only sand, limestone debris, and rubble. Much of the effort in this area seems to have been devoted to clearing the area east of this mastaba in hopes of finding the head of the headless seated scribe statue found just southeast of the portico. (This statue was never photographed, except in situ, presumably because Reisner hoped eventually to find the head. Its present whereabouts are unknown.) The north face of the mastaba was cleared on May 12, and the chamber of shaft b was finally cleared only on May 28.

Finds

A statuette, which may originally have come from the serdab of this mastaba, was found in the debris to the east, just south of the portico.

39-4-21 A squatting scribe of nummulitic limestone, with both hands on the lap of the skirt. The left hand is open on the left thigh and the right hand is closed around a handkerchief on the right thigh. On a round base, the left leg crossed in front of the right. The head is missing and the break, like the rest of the figure, is weathered; h. 48 cm; w. of shoulders 36 cm; w. of knees 51 cm; th. from front to back 36 cm. No inscription (see pls. 121a-b)

Found in the debris to the north of 2240:

39-5-29 A small limestone vessel with a spout, described in the registration book as "fruit case?" 9.5 x 7.3 cm; h. 3.8 cm (see fig. 90)

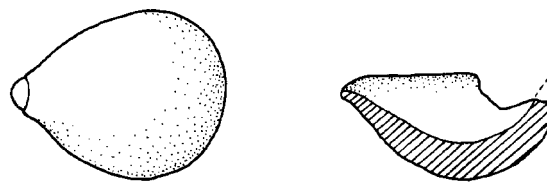


Fig. 90 Small limestone cup, perhaps in the shape of a fruit, from g 2240. 39-5-29.

Architecture

g 2240 was built after 2231, to judge from the conventional spacing left between its west face and the east face of 2231.¹³⁸ Its L-shaped chapel is surprisingly similar in plan to the chapel of 2230, differing mainly in its lack of exterior embrasures (due to the portico) and the fact that it was lined with masonry rather than orthostats. Also like 2230, it has very few shafts, and the plan of its principal shaft, shaft a, has many similarities in plan to shaft b of 2230, the principal shaft of that mastaba. The differences between the mastabas are more obvious: 2240 is smaller, has a portico (pl. 120c), was faced with smaller blocks, and is completely decorated.

The serdab presumably had a slot that opened onto the portico. Neither the slot nor the roof of the serdab were preserved.

¹³⁸ It would have postdated even more clearly the hypothetical earlier mastaba proposed on the basis of 2231's shaft facings and the three meter stretch of orthostat facing on its east face. The orthostats suggest either that 2231 had an exterior chapel or that they formed the back wall of an interior chapel of a destroyed earlier mastaba on the site. In either case, the chapel would have been made inaccessible by the building of 2240.

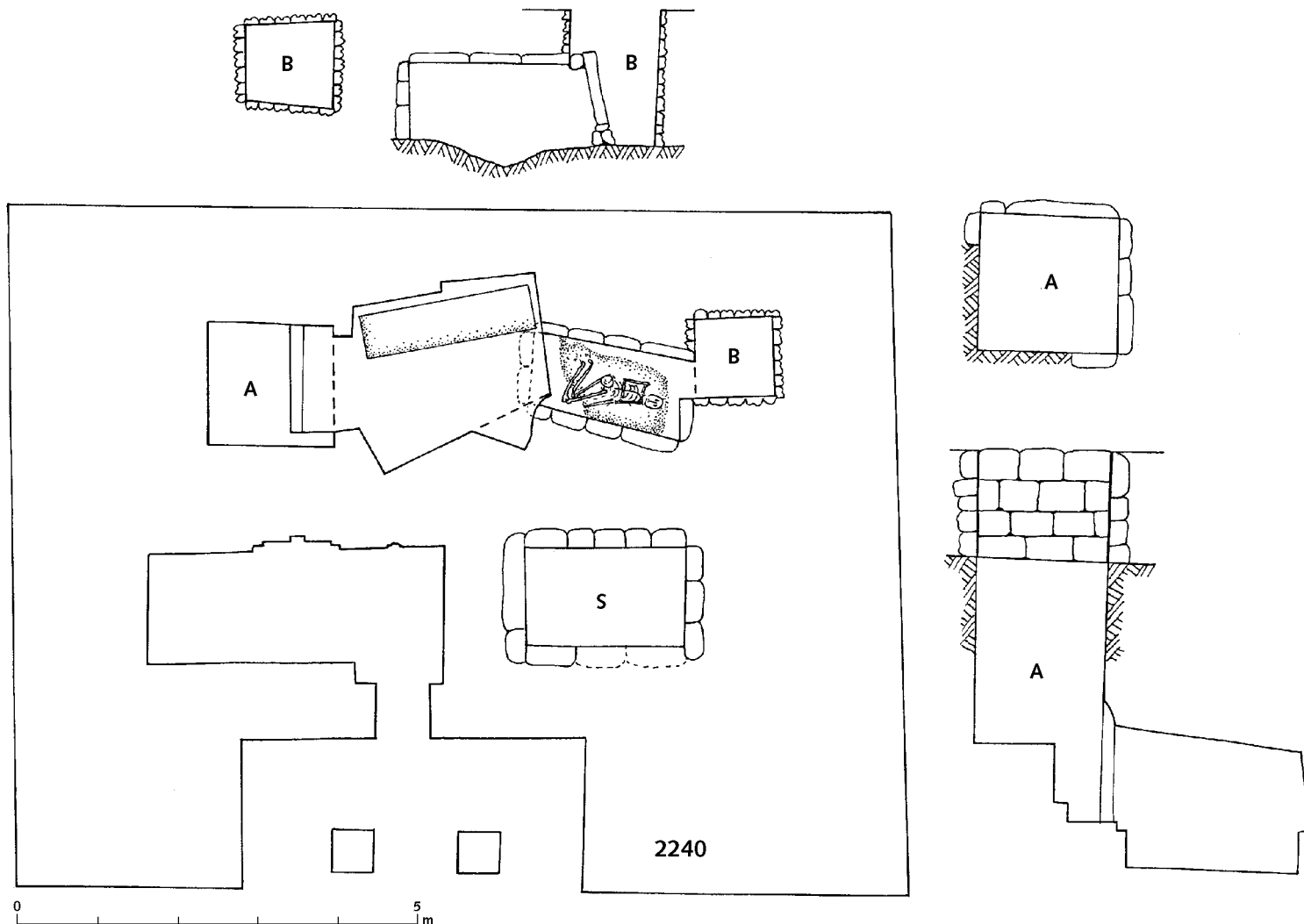


Fig. 91. Outline and shaft plans of g 2240.

Shafts and Burials

Shaft a (pl. 130a) is the principal shaft of the mastaba, located behind the false door. Its floor ends over two meters into the bedrock. From the floor of the shaft are a number of steps of varied height down into the chamber, which is large and irregular. A burial pit was cut with its long sides at an angle, paralleling the west wall of the chamber. The lid of the pit was found on the east side of the chamber, where there was abundant space for grave goods, although neither these nor human remains survive. No blocking was visible.

Shaft b was built on top of the bedrock. It may have had a relationship to the short text and false door niche carved on the north part of the west wall of the chapel, below the lowest register of decoration. The shaft was lined with rubble, but the chamber was built of large thin blocks of masonry. The entrance to the chamber was blocked by a leaning slab resting on a platform of rubble bound with mud (pl. 129b). The floor of the chapel contained a rough hollow, in which lay an adult skeleton, with legs contracted (pl. 129c).

Date

The chapel can be dated by Cherpion's criteria only to the range of reigns from Sahure to Izezi. It seems likely, however, that it is slightly later, dating to the reign of Unis, since its offering formula alludes to Osiris, and the formula itself is so similar to the example in 2098, which is dated to the very end of Phase ii and early Phase iii. An attendant named *Jr-n-...*, possibly to be equated with the son *Jr-n-Prh* attested in 2240 is depicted in 2098. g 2240 is most probably contemporary with 2098.

Decoration of the Chapel

The chapel is very fully decorated. The scenes and inscriptions are cut in plaster on the east wall, the south wall, the south part of the west wall, and the false door at the center of that wall. The north wall, the north part of the west wall, and the architectural elements are all decorated with scenes and inscriptions carved directly into the stone, although when these areas are well preserved, a thin layer of plaster remains over the carvings to smooth the irregularities and to serve as a surface for the paint. The interior decoration and the architrave were drawn based on photographs, while the doorjambs, for

which no undistorted photographs existed, were traced and the drawings reduced to 20% of their original size. The decoration on the northern pillar was recorded only in a photograph, since the cut lines were so badly weathered that only a general impression of the figure was distinguishable.

Pillars. The pillars of the portico are very badly weathered (pl. 120c). The lower half of a figure in a starched triangular kilt, carved in sunk relief, can still be seen on the northern pillar, facing the entrance to the tomb (pl. 121c). The southern pillar was almost certainly similarly decorated with a figure facing the opposite direction.

Architrave (pls. 122a–b and 201a–b). A large architrave, now fallen in front of the portico and badly weathered, completed the facade of the tomb. The architrave is decorated with hieroglyphs in sunk relief, with many interior details indicated. The upper horizontal line of text reads *hṯp dj nswt, hṯp dj Jnpw hntj sh-nṯr nb t3 dsr kṛst.f m zt jmntt j3w nfr wrt, nb jm3h hr nṯr-3 Nfr-msdr-Hwfw* and the lower line reads *hṯp dj Wsjr hntj Ddw prt hrw t hnkṯ n.f m wp rnpt Dhwtj tpj rnpt w3g m hb rṯ nb, smr pr, jmj-r st hntjw-š Nfr-msdr-Hwfw*.¹³⁹ “May the king give an offering, and may Anubis, foremost of the divine booth, lord of the holy land, give an offering: that he be buried in the western desert, at a very great old age, the possessor of veneration before the great god, Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu; and may Osiris, foremost of Busiris, give an offering: an invocation offering of bread and beer to him at the opening of the year, the feast of Thoth, the New Year’s feast, the wag feast, and at the feast of every day, the companion of the house, assistant overseer of palace attendants, Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu.”

Jambs (pls. 123a–b, 202, and 203). Both jambs show a man in a starched triangular kilt holding a staff, with his other hand hanging open behind him. In each case, a male figure on a smaller scale stands on an elevated register line, between his staff and his legs. This smaller figure grasps his staff with one hand. On neither jamb are the names and titles of the larger figure preserved, but they are certainly Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu.

The north jamb is broken at the level of the waist of the principal figure. An inscription labelling the smaller figure is preserved below the break and is probably to be restored *hntj-š [pr-3] z3.f s msw Jr-n-Pth*,¹⁴⁰ “palace attendant, his eldest son, Iren-Ptah.” Iren-Ptah wears a starched triangular kilt like his father.

On the south jamb, the principal figure is preserved to a greater height. He wears a long wig and a short beard. The figure before him

is smaller than the one on the north jamb, and he is almost certainly meant to be younger, since he is represented in the nude (the entire line of his leg and hip, clearly masculine in shape, is visible in the photograph). Above his head is the caption *hm-k3 dt, Mrjj-Hwfw*, “ka-priest of the mortuary endowment, Mery-Khufu.” The nudity and intimate, dependent position of this figure suggests that he is also a son of Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu. On the photograph, a raised horizontal area that may be the feet of a *z3* sign is visible above the *k3* of *hm-k3*. It may be that the hole here obscures the group *z3.f*.

North wall (pls. 124a–b, 204). The wall to the right of the entrance depicts scenes from the raising of cattle. At the west end, an overseer wearing a kilt with a starched rectangular flap leans on a staff, supervising the scene before him in which two cows are simultaneously giving birth. The cow at the left is assisted by a herdsman, who pulls the calf by his head and front legs. The cow on the right also faces away from the kneeling herdsman, but has apparently been left to her own devices. To the right of this second cow, at the north corner of the wall, the register is split. In the upper register, another herdsman force-feeds a kneeling calf from the bowl between them; and in the lower register a tethered cow rests crouching. Behind her is a basket containing the herdsman’s equipment.

An isolated block is restored on the north wall, probably because the decoration is carved directly into the stone. A horizontal shape, perhaps the back of an animal, can be seen at the bottom edge of the block. In the register above it, a calf walks purposefully towards his mother. The rear part of the cow is missing; she may be being milked.

West Wall, north part (pls. 125a–b, 126, and 205). The west wall is decorated in three parts: on the south, an offering scene; in the center, the false door; and on the north, a scene of Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu enjoying musicians and his family.

The northern end of the west wall shows Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu seated in an armchair facing his family. (The placement of the upper block and the block below it to the right is approximate.) He wears a short wig, a short beard and a broad collar. One hand rests on the chair arm and the other seems to hold a *ms*-scepter. The upper corner of a starched triangular kilt can be seen just above the break. The titles above him read ... *rṯ nb / ... hrj-šš3 / jmj-r st [hntjw-š pr-3 / jm3hw hr nṯr-3 / [jmj jb] n nb.f rṯ nb / ... Nfr-msdr-Hwfw*, “... daily, ... who is over the secrets, the assistant overseer of [palace attendants, vene]rated before the great god, [who is in the heart] of his lord every day ... Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu.” The right edges of three registers of offerings survive opposite him; presumably there was at least one register of offerings above them. Beneath the offerings, kneeling on the same ground line as the seat of the tomb owner’s chair, two women can be seen at the far left. Their names are ... *jt*, “...it,” and *z3t.f nḥ.s*, “his daughter, Ankhes.” They are probably both daughters.

The register below shows a group of musicians: the four on the left face right, towards Nefer-mesdj-er-Khufu, while the three below his chair face left. At the left border of the scene, a man sings, conducting the orchestra with his hand. Above him is the caption *hst n bnt*, “singing to the harp.” A harpist sits to his right. Another singer and another harpist sit to the right of this man. In front of the lead

¹³⁹ The reading of the middle element of the name is not certain: *sdm* and *m-sdr* are also possible. (The Reisner expedition read the name Nefer-sedjem-Khufu, according to the *Giza Manuscript*, p. 196.) The name usually ends with a *nfr*-sign, followed by the alphabetic signs *s* and *ḏ*, which frame an ear sign. On the left panel of the false door, however, an *m* is placed between the *nfr* and *s* signs; it is unlikely to be a preposition, since it is so often omitted elsewhere, and if it is a complement to the final *m* of *sdm* it is difficult to imagine why it should be moved so far forward. The translation, “Beautiful is the ear of Khufu,” (or indeed any of the possible translations of this name) may refer to Khufu’s role as the recipient of personal petitions at this period, a role that would explain the revival his cult seems to have experienced in the late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties.

¹⁴⁰ This is probably to be read as this common name, although *N-jr-Pth* is actually written.

harpist is the end of the word *hst*, “singing.” To the right are two flautists playing long end-blown flutes.¹⁴¹ They are captioned [*zbj*] *mwb nfr ks*, “playing the long flute that the ka might be happy.” Behind them, at the right edge of the scene, a man cups one hand to his ear and beats time for the musicians with the other. He is captioned *hst n mwb*, “singing to the long flute.”

The lowest register of the decoration shows a procession of nine men, bringing household equipment and furniture towards the false door. They carry baskets, jars, sandals, and chests. All wear simple wrapped kilts and are oriented to the left.

Below the border of the scene is a secondary false door niche, which seems quite likely to have been carved for the occupant of the secondary shaft b, which is also on the north side of the mastaba, though not directly aligned with the niche. The niche has two panels on either side. It is surmounted by three horizontal lines of inscription, which serve as a sort of lintel. The entire left end of the text has been lost, so the name and titles of the person to whom it was dedicated are not preserved. The text reads *htp dj nswt, htp Jnpw hntj sh ntr krs... / htp dj Wsjr, prt hrw t hntk n.f m wp rnpt ... / m wsg hb, Zkr hb ...*, “May the king give an offering and Anubis, foremost of the divine booth, an offering: [that he be] buried ... And may Osiris give an offering: invocation offerings of bread and beer to him at the opening of the year feast ... the *wag* feast, the feast of Sokar,” This text is similar to the text on the lintel that supported the roof of the portico.

West Wall, false door (pls. 126b and 206). The central false door has only two wide jambs and a badly damaged lintel, on which only fragments of the initial phrase *jmsjhw hr ntr 3*, “Venerated before the great god...” are preserved at the right edge. The tablet has been completely lost. At the base of each jamb, Nefer-mesdjerkhufu is shown facing the central niche, wearing a long wig with vertical striations, a short beard, a broad collar, a leopard skin with a shoulder knot, and a starched triangular kilt. He carries a staff in one hand and a handkerchief in the other, and his figure is surmounted by four vertical lines of inscription. On the left this text reads *smr pr, jmj-jb nb.f hrj sst / jmj-r st hntjw-s pr-3, mrr nb.f / jmj-r šwj pr-3, 3-nswt, jmj-r šw/w3b-nswt, Nfr-msdr-Hwfw*, “companion of the house, who is in the heart of his lord, who is over the secrets, the assistant overseer of palace attendants, whom his lord loves, overseer of the two šs of the palace, attached to the royal archives, overseer of fighters,¹⁴² royal wab-priest, Nefer-mesdjerkhufu.” The text on the right jamb is identical except in that the fourth line gives the title *hm-ntr*, “prophet,” after the title *w3b-nswt*. Prophets are invariably attached to a specific god or dead king, and it seems unlikely that the *nswt* of the preceding title is serving for both. (The combination **hm-ntr nswt* is unparalleled in any case.) It is more likely that the title applies to Khufu, whose cartouche follows directly, in honorific transposition within the name of Nefer-mesdjerkhufu. A mortuary priesthood of

Khufu would be consistent with the use of the king’s name in his own name and that of his (probable) younger son, Mery-Khufu. This priesthood is also frequently paired with the title *w3b-nswt* elsewhere.¹⁴³

West Wall, south part (pls. 127a–b and 207). At the south end of the west wall, Nefer-mesdjerkhufu is seated before a table of tall loaves, with traces of stacked offerings above. His figure is almost entirely destroyed. On the far side of the table, is the inscription *prt-hrw t hntk šs*, “invocation offerings of bread, beer, and alabaster.” Farther to the right of the table, a man wearing the sash of a lector priest, brushes the footsteps away, as at the end of the offering ritual. The ritual itself is shown to the right. Another lector priest kneels at an offering table under the caption *wdb ht t hntk*, “presenting offerings of bread and beer.” Farther right, another man kneels before a vessel with flaring sides, while his companion stands behind him and pours a libation into it. At the right edge of the register a man lifts the lid of his incense burner. Below his arms is written the caption *k3p sntr*, “burning incense.” The badly preserved register above shows the feet of four men bringing offerings. The first apparently is presenting two strips of cloth.

Below the offering scene, extending from the south corner of the wall to the false door, a register shows ten men engaged in butchering three animals, probably two bulls at the left and an ibex at the right. The ibex and its butchers are the least well preserved. Apparently two men are cutting off its foreleg while two more sever one of its rear legs. Two more men prepare to cut off one foreleg of the middle animal; a third man stands behind them, holding yet another foreleg over his shoulder. The bull on the right has perhaps not yet been killed. One man holds its horns and rests his foot on the top of its head, while another man tightens the ropes binding its rear legs. Between them, a third man sharpens his knife in preparation for the operation. The foreleg of an earlier victim lies in the foreground.

South wall (pls. 128a and 208a). Only one register is preserved on the end wall of the chapel. It shows two men in kilts with starched rectangular flaps leading two oxen towards the west wall, where the lowest register depicts their butchering. Two vertical strokes preserved at the upper edge of the block are probably part of the caption *rn jw3*, “young ox.”

East wall (pls. 128b, 129a, and 208b). On the wall facing the false door, the tomb owner supervises scenes of the grain harvest. He stands at the right edge of the scene, holding a staff and wearing a starched triangular kilt. His figure is preserved only to the level of his hips. To the left, the upper of two registers shows at least three men cutting stands of wheat with sickles. At least two other men are also involved and, at the right edge of the register facing Nefer-mesdjerkhufu, another man in a starched triangular kilt is probably reporting on the progress of the harvest. This is clearly the case at the right end of the lower register, where a man in a starched triangular kilt carries a roll of papyrus, probably an account. Behind him, a man

¹⁴¹ The flute called *mwb* here appears indistinguishable from the more commonly occurring *mt* flute.

¹⁴² It is tempting to read this title “overseer of fighters of the royal archives,” which would have been a useful position, judging from later attestations of administrative infighting, but it seems an unlikely title.

¹⁴³ An obvious example would be in the titularies of two individuals attested in the serdab statues of 2099 in this cluster.

with a pitchfork tosses wheat from the haystack in front of him to the women behind him who are winnowing it. He looks over his shoulder, so that the label *djwt*, “field laborer”¹⁴⁴ might apply to him, but since the title is not normally applied to men until the Middle Kingdom, it more probably applies to the woman behind him. To her left is another woman, holding a sieve. Before her is a caption that is probably to be read *m[ff]bt jt*, “sifting grain.” The area further to the left is almost entirely lost.

Loose blocks. Two loose blocks depicting cattle raising were found near the tomb and probably belong to the upper part of the north or south walls (pl. 209). A third block, of unrecorded provenience, also depicts cattle raising (pl. 210) and is perhaps also to be restored in this mastaba.

Tomb Owner and Dependents

Titles of Nefer-mesdjer-Khufu:

<i>smr-pr</i>	companion of the house
<i>hrj-sšts</i>	who is over the secrets
<i>jmj-r st hntjw-š pr-ꜥ</i>	assistant overseer of palace attendants
<i>jmj-r šwj pr-ꜥ</i>	overseer of the two šš of the palace
<i>ꜥ-nswt</i>	attached to the royal documents
<i>jmj-r ʒhꜥw</i>	overseer of the fighters
<i>wꜥb-nswt</i>	royal wab-priest
<i>hꜥm-ntr [Hwfw?]</i>	prophet [of Khufu?]

Family and attendants:

<i>z3.fsmsw Nj-jr-Pth</i>	his eldest son, Iren-Ptah
<i>zst.fꜥnh.s</i>	his daughter, Ankhes
<i>...jt</i>	...it (probably another daughter)
<i>hꜥm-kꜥ dt Mrj-Hwfw</i>	ka-priest of the endowment, Mery-Khufu (probably also a son)

Conservation (Pamela Hatchfield)

This tomb has a locked door and is completely covered, making it inaccessible to the public. Differential heating and cooling still occurs, as during certain times of the day the sun beats directly upon the wall facing the door. In the forecourt, the upper portions of the exterior east wall have been rebuilt with modern limestone blocks, poured concrete, and modern mortar. The original stones in this wall appear to have some very coarse original mortar still in place. Much of this mortar has been lost, and most of what is still in place is poorly attached to the limestone substrate. The exterior surfaces of the lime-

stone blocks have a hard, dense, yellowish weathering crust. The two pillars in the courtyard, which originally carried the architrave fallen to the east of them, exhibit an advanced stage of weathering, with severe spalling and numerous delaminations of surface layers of stone and large areas of loss. The limestone is coarse and nummulitic in character.

The graffiti inside the tomb date to the 1970s. At that time, all elements appear to have been more or less intact since Reisner's photographs, with the exception of one block at the south end of the west wall. This block was probably undecorated, and seems to have been lost at the time of the reconstruction of the tomb.

At the time of excavation, the east wall was decorated with scenes of harvesting and winnowing cut in plaster, perhaps 50% of the original decoration on this wall. Two registers, about 80% of the then-surviving decoration, have since been completely lost; only traces of the foot of the deceased and the leg of another figure remain. Similarly, approximately 50% of the south wall decoration existed at the time of excavation. Today, 5% or less remains.

The west wall was carved in raised relief in the limestone and surfaced with plaster, which was then also shaped. The figures at the base of the central false door and the texts on its panels are almost entirely lost; only fragments of the southern figure remain. To the south of the false door, by contrast, the decoration has survived well, with the exception of the lost block mentioned above.

A particle of what appears to be Egyptian blue is present between register lines at the north end of the west wall. This wall, and the adjacent south wall were coated previously with an unidentified resin, either to consolidate the fragile surface or to enhance the colors of the decoration. Brush hairs are attached to the surface by this coating. This attempt at consolidation has resulted in a dark, saturated, yellowed surface that attracts dirt and dust. The consolidated skin of plaster does not appear to be well-attached to the stone itself, and sounds hollow when tapped with a fingernail. Access to the gaps between plaster and stone is limited. Modern mortar is present around numerous sections of plaster and in joints between stones.

The north wall was carved in raised relief and then covered with a thin coating of plaster. It appears to be in roughly the same condition as it was in Reisner's photographs, except for deeply scarred areas of the stone that previously held large coarse plaster fills. Other losses to plaster occurred previous to excavation.

Conservation Treatment. The stones were dusted with a soft brush. The consolidated stones were cleaned with 1,1,1, trichloroethylene and xylene to remove adhered dust and dirt for photography. Fragile areas were consolidated with acryloid B48N 5% in 1,1,1, trichloroethylene. Gaps were injected with the same resin mixed with 20% methyl methacrylate with or without glass microballons.

¹⁴⁴ *Wb.* 5, p. 421.1. This text is not uncommon in such scenes, but it is often miscopied.

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Plates



1a. View of the cluster, looking northwest from the top of the pyramid of Khufu, taken on November 16, 1993 (pdm 93.131.13)



1b. View of the cluster, looking west from mastaba g 2220 (rg 1989)



1c. View of the cluster, looking southeast from the western dump (rg 1989)



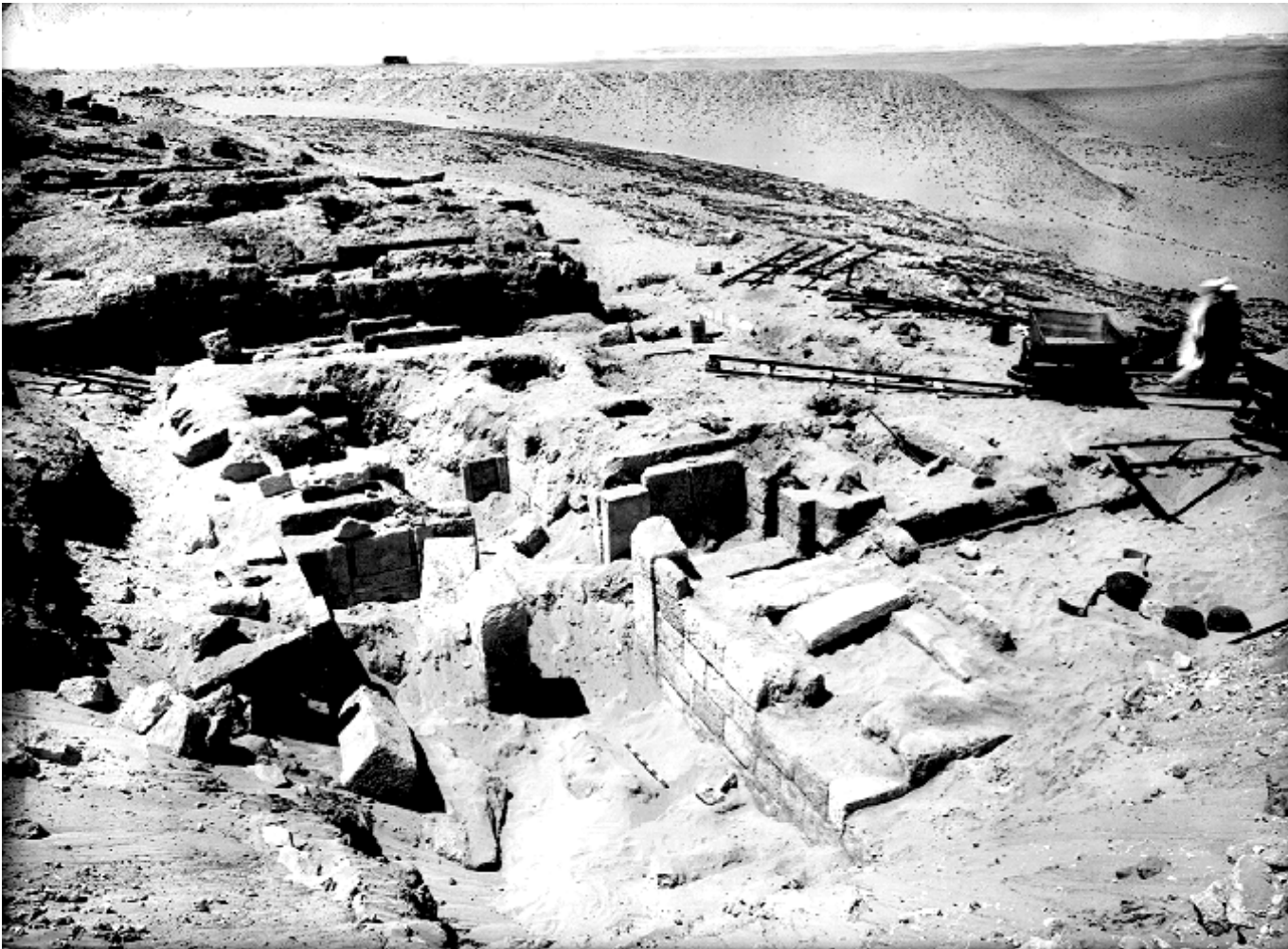
2a. An overview of the cluster from the northeast on March 28, 1938, when only its southwest part had been excavated. Behind the workmen and the mastabas is the massive mastaba g 2000. Further south are the pyramids of Khafre (left) and Menkaure (a 7972)



2b. The southwest corner of the cluster from the top of g 2000 on September 14, 1936. From left: 2094, with subsidiary shafts to the west and some corridor roof blocks still in place; 2092+2093, with 2096 and pillared court to the north; and 2091, the large gap in its western face marking the position of its principal shaft. Note the painted decoration (three running men and the wide red band below) adjacent to the north doorway of 2092+2093; and also the loose block from 2097 atop 2096 (near the end of the railway tracks; the serdab slot is visible on the face toward the camera) (a 7692)



3a. View from the "big dump," April 8, 1938, looking west into the chapel of 2088. The models in the foreground include the base of the double model. Sunk relief is visible on the southern pillar and the back wall of the portico. The door and northern false door align clearly with the lintels of the door and false door of 2089 behind them. Further west lie 2091 and at left, the north face of g 2000 (a 7981)



3b. View from the "big dump" after the clearance of the roof of serdab 2 of 2088, April 8, 1938. At least five roof blocks seem to have been in place at the time of excavation (a 7983)



4a. Detail of model fragments outside serdab 2 of 2088. The pillar at left is the northern pillar of the portico, which was incorporated into the exterior wall of the serdab (b 8954)



4b. More model fragments from 2088 S2. This photograph was most probably taken in the courtyard of 2088; however, the presence of railway tracks at the top of the picture is disturbing (b 9063)



5a. Serdab 2 of 2088 and, left of it, subsidiary 2088a, taken on April 15, 1938. The doorjambs leading to 2087 have been partially exposed behind the spur wall of 2088. The courtyard in the foreground is filled with loose blocks, including one of the jambs that originally flanked its entrance. To the left, two pillars and a pilaster of the original portico are visible (a 7990)



5b. The removal of the "big dump" over 2230, February 11, 1939. The jambs and corridor of 2087 are visible in the foreground. Note larger blocks ("w-masonry" of the west facade of 2230 and the extensive weathering of its top course (a 8099)



6. View of the cluster from the northeast, February 17, 1939, with the pyramids of Khafre and Menkaure and g 2000 in the background. (The tombs south of the cluster are being excavated.) Two architectural details are preserved only in this photograph: the masonry wall just beyond the false door of 2085 in the foreground just left of center; and the northern false door of Tjzet, a slot and drum lintel cut into the east facade of 2097' (below the two pillars, near the right edge of the photo). The latter is the only monument in the cluster dedicated to a woman (a 8112)



7. View of cluster from Mastaba g 2000 (southwest), February 18, 1939 (a 8114)



8. View south from the surviving northern end of the "big dump," April 7, 1939. Centered in the foreground is the corridor of 2230+2231; beyond that mastaba is the path and more mastabas to the south. In the background are the pyramids of Khafre and Menkaure (a 8204)



9. View southwest from the surviving northern end of the "big dump," April 7, 1939, showing the cluster, the path, and the tombs to the south. In the background is g 2000. (Compare with pls. 1a and 6) (a 8205)



10a. The excavation of 2240, taken on April 26, 1939. In front of the portico is a fallen lintel; a headless statue of a seated scribe lies in situ to the east. In the background is the surviving northern end of the "big dump" (a 8219)



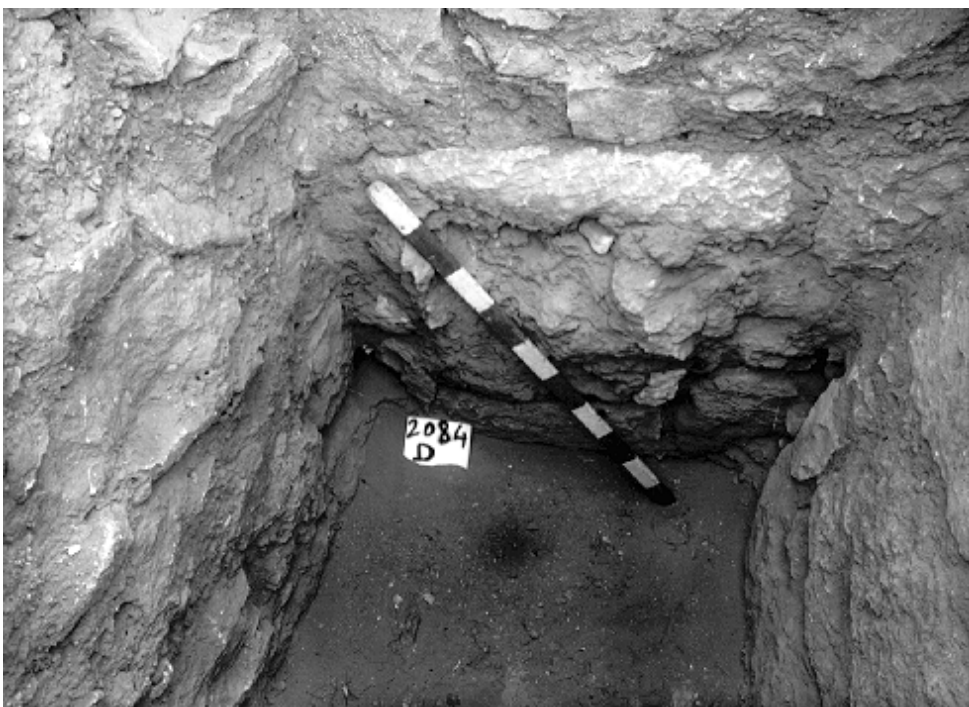
10b. A recent view of the cluster from the east, showing clearly the path that leads between the cluster and the mastabas to the south, and then along the northern side of g 2000 (amr, 1990)



11a. 2084: Corridor chapel (foreground) with gap and partially buried ashlar probably representing cult place. Shaft d is at upper left, and the stepped facade of 2085, against which 2084 was built, is at upper right (rg 12-32, 1990)



11b. 2084 b: skeletally adult burial. Although it is not recorded in the notes, the skull seems to have been placed on a stone pillow, a common occurrence in these tombs (c 14286)



11c. 2084 d: blocking of the chamber. This is Reisner's blocking type iii d(2), an internal wall of rubble bound with mud (b 9065)

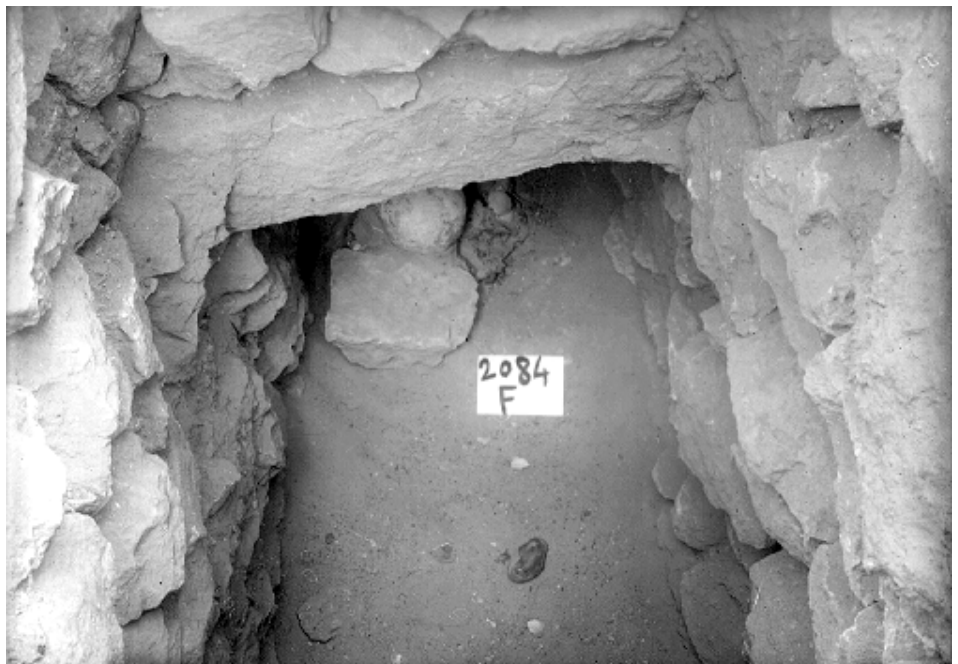
12a. 2084 e: shaft and an example of Reisner's blocking type iv e(2), a vertical slab with a rubble and mud wall built above it (c 14283)



12b. 2084 e: skeletally adult burial, again with head resting on stone pillow (c 14287)



12c. 2084 f: bottom of shaft, with partial view of skull resting on stone pillow (b 9071)



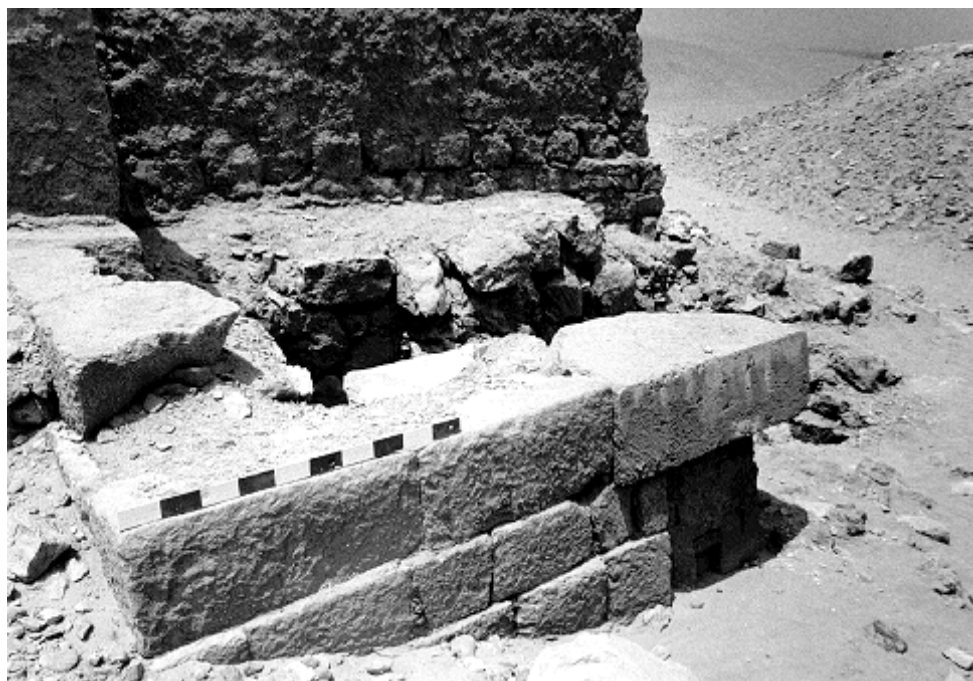


13a. 2085: from the northeast, with partially buried false door and entrances to shafts a, b, and c; the fourth shaft, d, is no longer visible. Note the relative levels of the false door lintel of 2085 and the lower parts of the doorjambs of 2086 to the west. (The enclosure of 2086 is modern reconstruction, built over the western facades of 2085 and 2084; but the height is approximately that of the original mastaba) (rg 12-25, 1989)

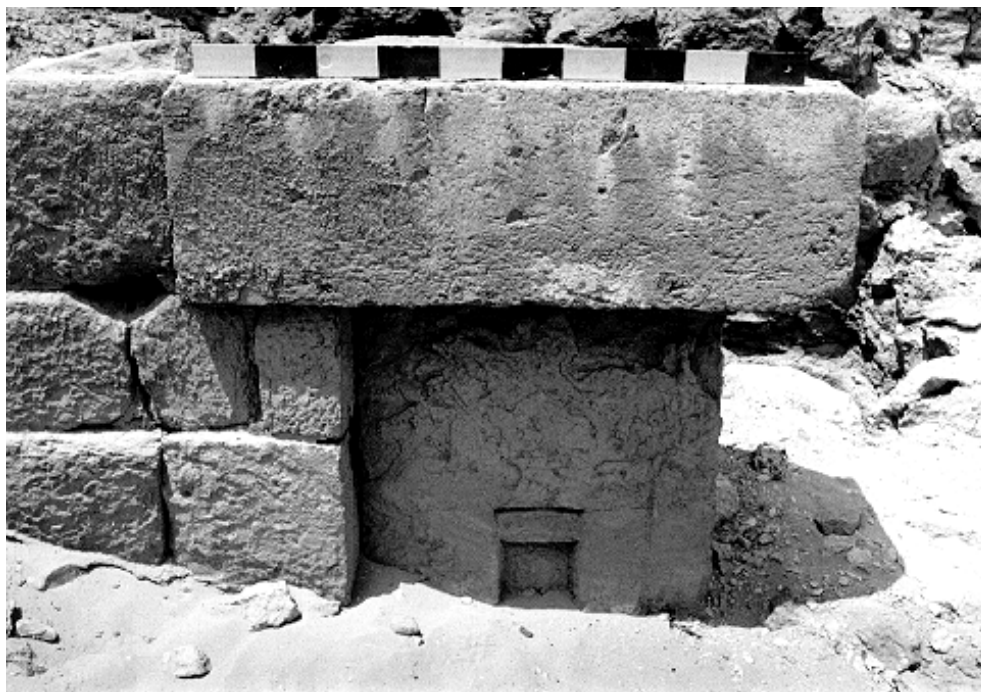


13b. 2085: false door, in profile (beneath pyramid of Khafre), and entrance jambs and modern reconstruction of 2086. The wall abutting the north facade of 2086 north of its doorway belongs to 2086a (rg 7-35, 1989)

14a. 2085: southeast corner of the stepped ("z masonry") facade and false door (rg 12-27, 1989)



14b. 2085: false door. Despite the protective overhang of the massive lintel, the tablet and jambs are badly weathered, and it cannot be determined whether they were originally decorated (rg 12-22, 1989)



14c. 2086: entrance to inner chapel and original facade, with Phase ii enclosure wall at left and modern restoration. Note the smoothed areas on either side of the doorway. On the north this smoothing extended only to the point opposite the stepped facade of 2085, which can be seen at lower right. This facade showed traces of red paint, and was probably decorated or meant to be decorated (rg 12-24, 1989)





15. 2086: southern pilaster of the entrance. The tomb owner, Redi, is depicted in painted raised relief (a 8014)



16. 2086: south wall. Redi is seated with a woman, receiving a lotus, and entertained by musicians and dancers (a 8021)



17. 2086: west wall south of recess. Scene of butchers, offering bearers, and offerings. Much less paint survives today (a 8020)



18a. 2086: niche in west wall. Headless figure of Redi striding left. To the left is a damaged text not recorded elsewhere, possible linking singers and *hntjw-s* (a 8015)



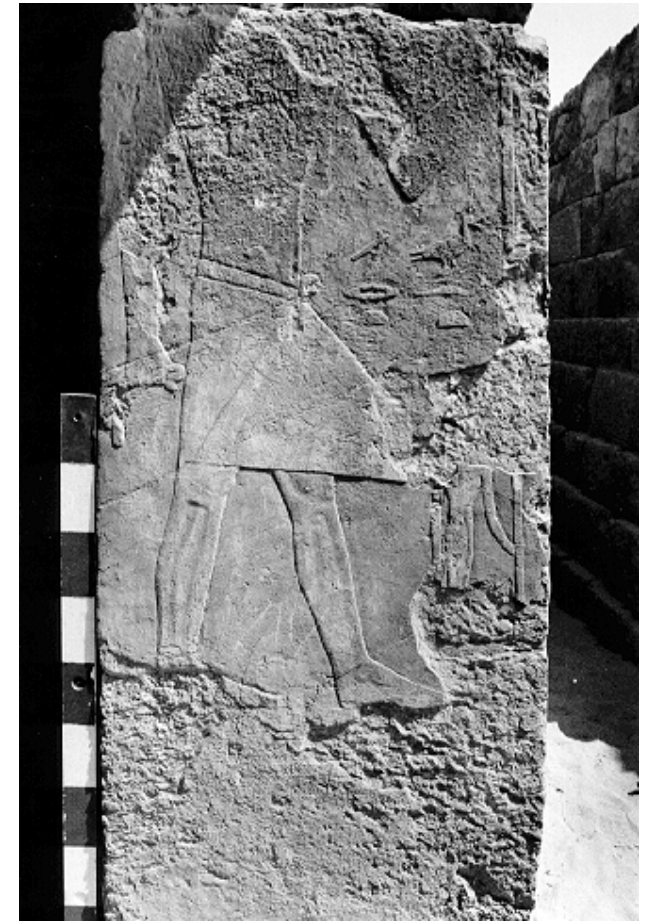
18b. 2086: north wall. Redi and his son Nen-ankh are depicted inspecting cattle and (probably) an oryx (a 8022)



19a. 2086: north pilaster. Redi and his daughter Meret (a 8013)



19b. 2086: north pilaster. Detail of daughter, Meret, now badly damaged (b 8961)



19c. 2086: north pilaster, showing damage to the figures since excavation (rg 23-3, 1989)



20a. 2086: serdab at time of excavation, from the north. The bases of three statues (two large and one small) of wood and painted gesso. Fragments of the statue itself can be seen on the nearest (a 8010)



20b. 2086: serdab. Detail of three wooden statue bases (b 8958)

20c. 2086: the four shafts (clockwise from upper left) a, b, d, and c (rg 12-18, 1989)





21a. 2086 a: shaft and blocking, showing robbers' entrance (in which the label has been placed). The blocking is not typed, but described as "exterior wall of rubble bound with mud, resting on limestone debris; penetrated on east through upper part" (c 14155)



21b. 2086 a: extended, skeletally adult burial, presumably of Redi himself. (The well-developed supraorbital torus is consistent with a male). Note the remains of cloth wrappings on the chest and the roughly hewn walls of the burial chamber (a 8012)



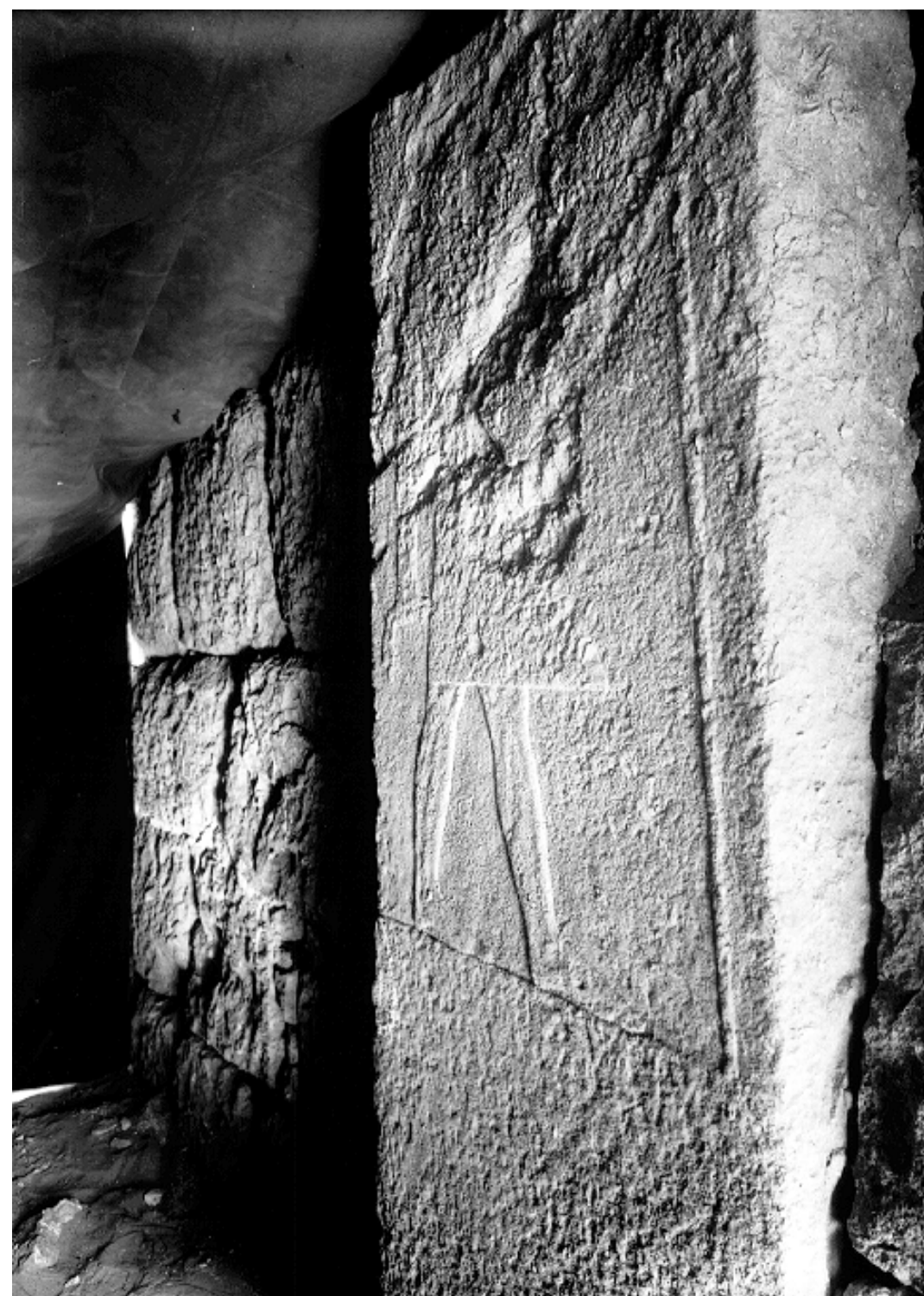
22a. 2086 b: intact blocking of rubble bound with mud, Reisner's type v d(2) (c 14156)



22b. 2086 b: tightly contracted burial, possibly female, surrounded by the remains of a small wooden box coffin (b 8960)



23a. 2087: west doorjamb, depicting anonymous owner and a servant leading an ox. Oddly, the ox is shown leaving the chapel rather than entering it, which perhaps indicates some relationship with the adjacent tomb 2088 (a 8309)



23b. 2087: damaged east doorjamb with the remains of a figure of the owner (a 8368)



24a. 2087: Northeast corner of corridor (in foreground). Behind the east wall is the later mastaba 2084 and its shafts g and c (at the very top of the plate). The north wall (at left) is the exterior wall of the Phase ii addition to 2086. The jog in this wall where it meets the east wall, as well as some plaster noted on the north wall under the fill of 2084 suggests that the chapel of 2087 may have had a different form before the construction of 2084 (amr, 1990)



24c. 2087 c: chamber, showing the construction of the roof against the stepped eastern face of serdab 1 of 2088 (c 14158)



24b. 2087 a: blocking of rubble bound with mud, Reisner's type iv d(2) (c 14157)



24d. 2087 c: skeletally adult burial, shown after the removal of the two southern roof blocks (c 14164)



25a. 2087 d: intact blocking of leaning slabs resting on low wall of rough masonry bound with mud, Reisner's type v c(2) (c 14159)



25c. 2088: courtyard from the southeast, showing the abutment of its serdab 2 against the northern pillar of its portico and the south face of 2087. Between serdab 2 and the east wall of the courtyard was built the intrusive mastaba 2088b; the dark square is the entrance to its chamber. The loose blocks in the courtyard are mostly from the west wall of the inner chapel. The south end of the portico's lintel (see also pl. 30a) lies between the pillars; the mortise on its underside faces the viewer (rg 14-2, 1989)



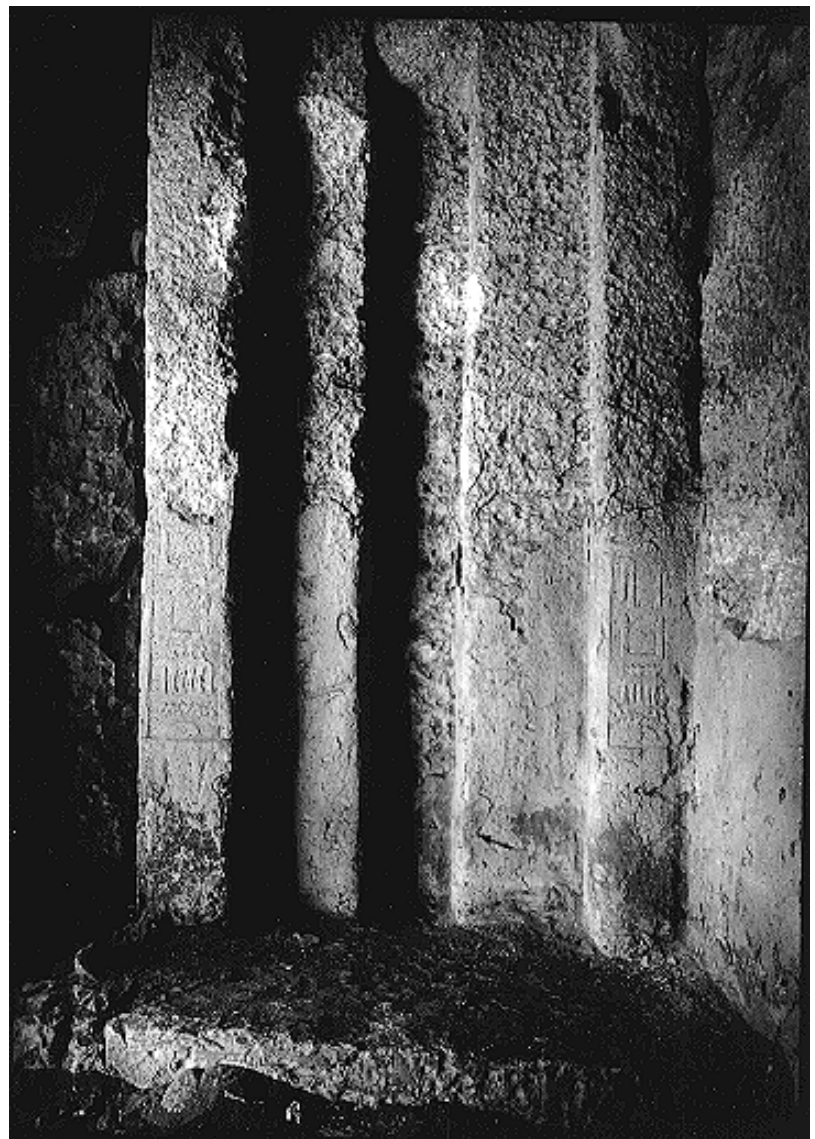
25b. 2088: courtyard from the east. The horizontal white streak across the enclosure wall in the foreground and also across the ashlers facing the back of the portico represent a softer layer in the limestone, and suggest that all these blocks were quarried together. The smaller false door in the center of the is the northern false door in the inner L-shaped chapel; the walls surrounding it have been dismantled (rg 14-7, 1989)



25d. 2088: stepped northern facade and the abutment of serdab 1. A roof block of serdab 1 is centered under the tip of the pyramid of Khafre; under its right end begins the stepped joint that represents the original stepped facade of the mastaba against which serdab 1 was built. At left is the southwest corner of 2086, and at right the badly weathered door of 2099. The intact serdab of 2099 was found in this corner (rg 7-28, 1989)



26a. 2088: southern false door of L-shaped chapel. The coarse, weathered plaster that still clings to the stone probably originally supported a finer decorated layer. Note the unusual depth of its recesses (rg 14-17, 1989)



26b. 2088: the lower part of the northern false door and the fine plaster decoration preserved at its base (b 9034)

26c. 2088: northern false door and the north wall of the L-shaped chapel (to the right). The west wall between the two false doors was dismantled in antiquity; its blocks are scattered in the courtyard. (The masonry visible behind and left of the false door is the west wall of the principal shaft) (rg 14-15, 1989)





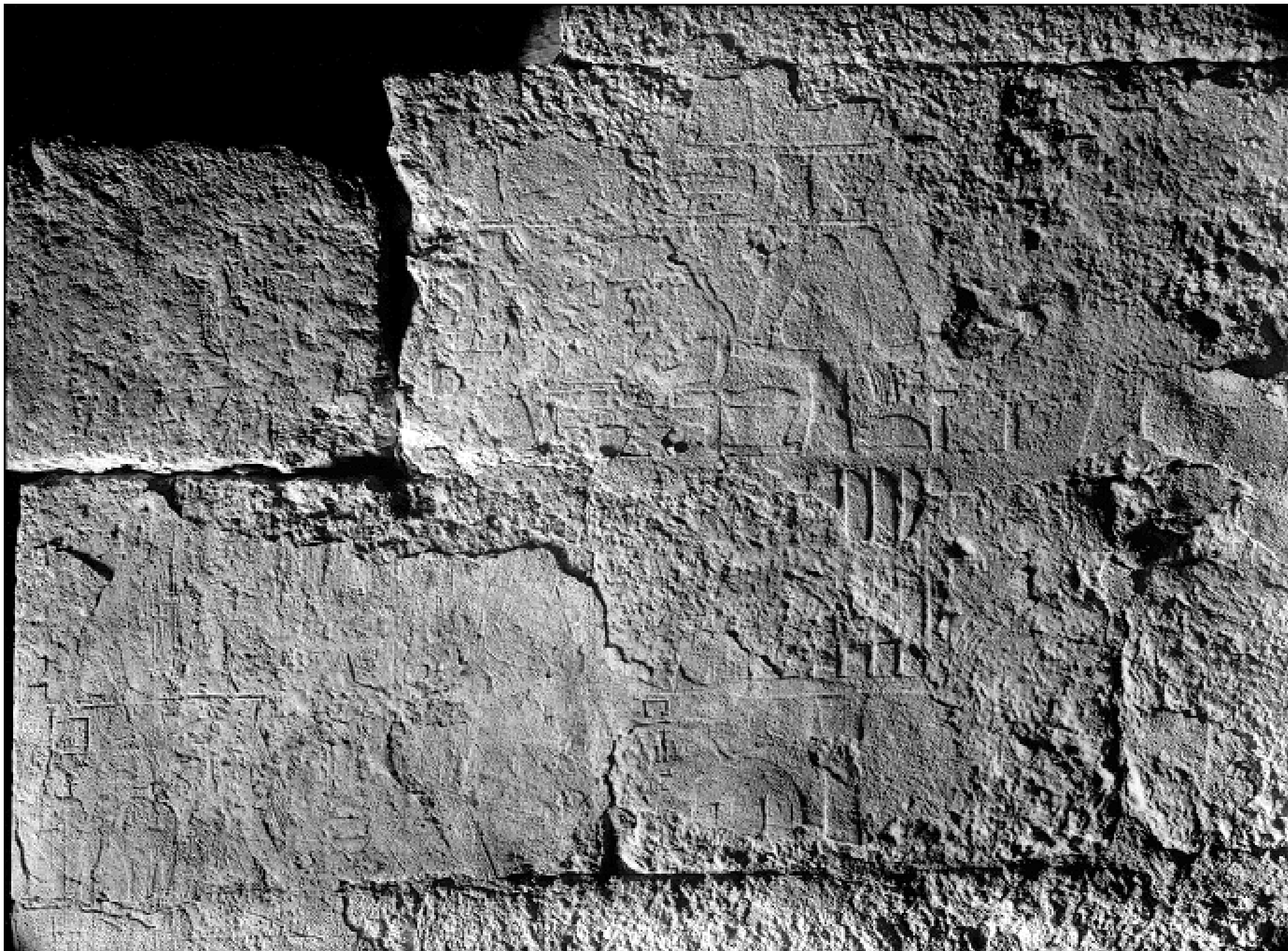
27a. 2088: portico from the north, showing the ashlar block facing added to make its back face somewhat more vertical. (The false door, however, retained the angle of the underlying facade.) The wall under the photo scale is part of the intrusive mastaba 2088a. The L-shaped chapel and its southern false door can be seen to the right (rg 14-24, 1989)



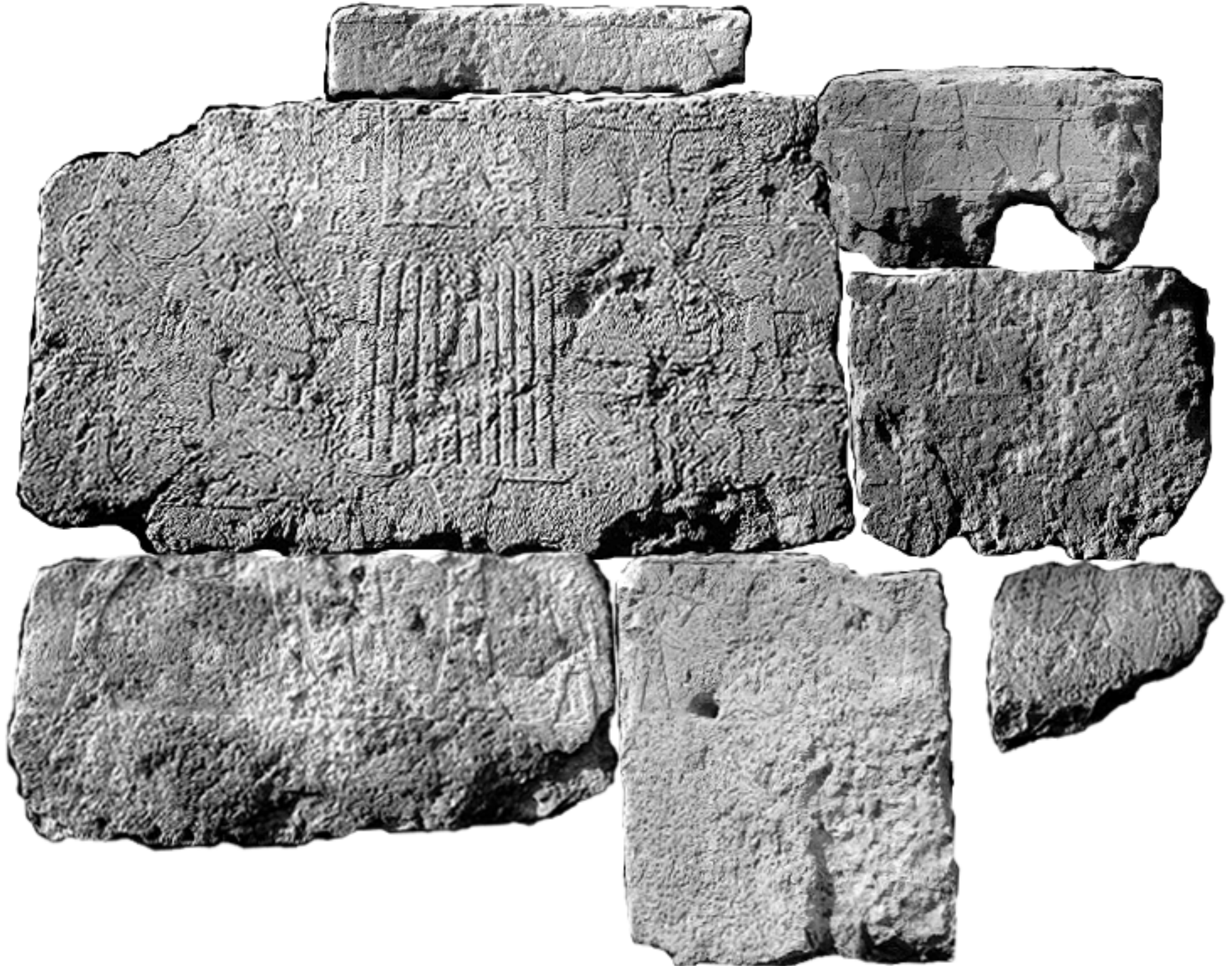
27b. 2088: undecorated false door in the portico. The wall at left (under the photo scale) is the exterior wall of the intrusive mastaba 2088a, which was built in front of this false door (rg 14-10, 1989)



27c. 2088: portico from the south and the ashlar fill blocks laid against the more sharply angled original facade. At the north end of the portico, under the photo scale, was the slot giving access to serdab 1 (now considerably enlarged). Serdab 2, incorporating the northern pillar, is to the right (rg 7-25, 1989)

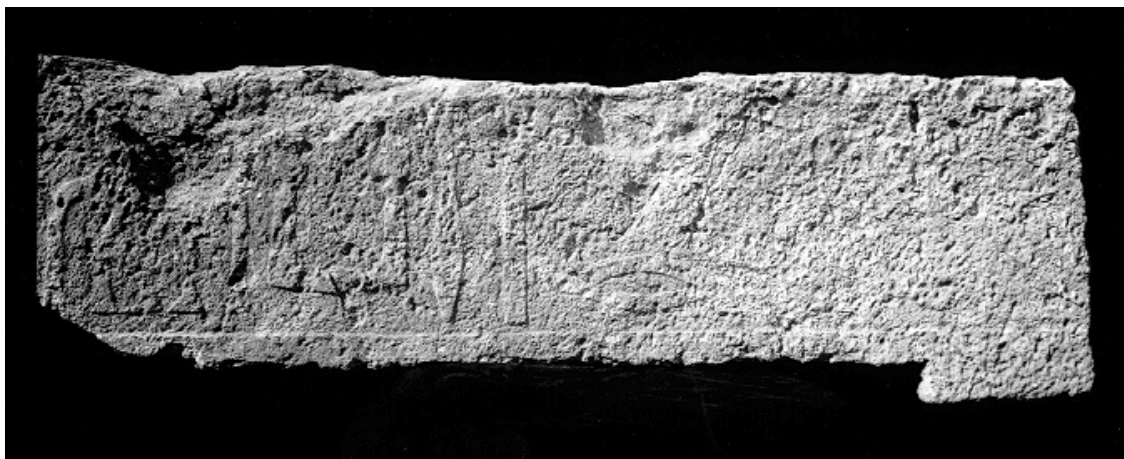


28. 2088: east wall of chapel. Ka-khent is seated at right before a pile of loaves; several children, two of them playing harps, are seated at the lower left. The vertical edge visible under Kakhent's chair is probably the front of the legs of his wife, who was originally represented seated beside him (a 8068)



29. 2088: reconstructed west wall of chapel. Ka-khent is seated at right before an offering table. At left are offerings and offering bearers (a 8060, a 8061, b 9030, and b 9031)

30a. 2088: southern third of the architrave from the portico, bearing the name of Kakhent. (The left end extends slightly beyond the photograph.) The protrusion at the right end rested on half of the southern pillar, and was joined to the middle section by a concealed tenon (see pl. 25c) (a 8062)



30b. 2088: sunk relief figure on ashlar facing the back of portico, north of the doorway. Since the figure is oriented facing into the chapel, it probably represents Pehen-Ptah, son of Kakhent, rather than the tomb owner himself (a 8063)





31a. 2088: displaced northern doorjamb of the entrance to courtyard. The notch in the upper left held a drum lintel. Probably, because his father Ka-khent was the principal owner of the tomb, Pehen-Ptah is anomalously shown entering the door rather than leaving, his arm raised in greeting (a 8059)



31b. 2088: lintel or cornice from bearing the name and titles of the tomb owner's son, Pehen-Ptah, who made extensive additions to the chapel (b 9029)



31c. 2088: small secondary false door of the woman Ankhimaes, a mortuary priest of Kakhent, built to the right of the entrance to the inner chapel. The same woman is probably represented in one of the tomb's serdab models (see fig. 32) (c 14257)

32a. 2088: fragments of models. From upper left: 38-4-10, 38-4-14, 38-4-12, 38-4-6, 38-4-8, 38-4-13; lower row from left: 38-4-9, 38-4-18, 38-4-15 (upper), 38-4-16 (lower), 38-4-7, 38-4-11 (b 8996)



32b. 2088, 2091, and 2230: serdab models and statues. From left, 39-3-8, 39-3-5, 39-3-6 (above), 39-3-9 (below) and 39-3-3 (below) (b 9063)



32c. 2088: double model of two women pounding (right) and sieving grain, 38-4-2 (b 8988)



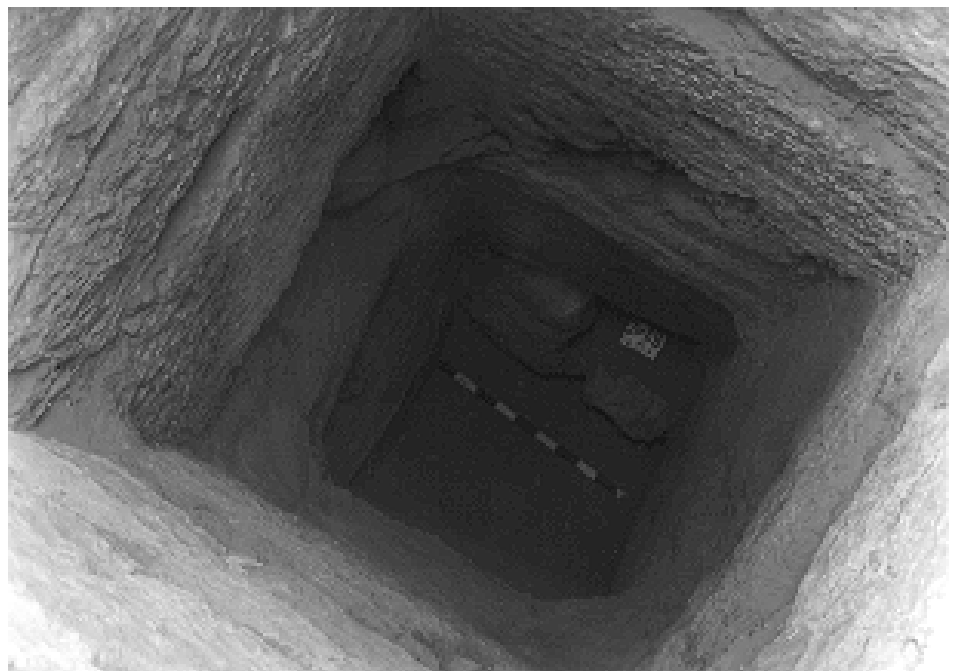
32d. 2088: serdab model of a man carrying two (or more) jars, 38-4-5 (b 8994)



33a. 2088: two views of a serdab model of a man sieving grain, 39-3-4 (b 9083, 9085)



33b. 2088: upper part of model of woman, probably grinding grain, 38-4-4 (c 14231)



33c. 2088 a: shaft and blocking of leaning slabs bound with plaster, Reisner's type v e(1). The blocking was penetrated in the upper right; the label is in the hole. Note the regularly spaced footholds in the walls of the shaft (c 14160)

34a. 2088 e: shaft and burial chamber. The shaft was lined with rubble, but the walls of the burial chamber were better built, of masonry, in order to support the roof, which was of slabs when the shaft was excavated, but is now missing (rg 14-30, 1989)

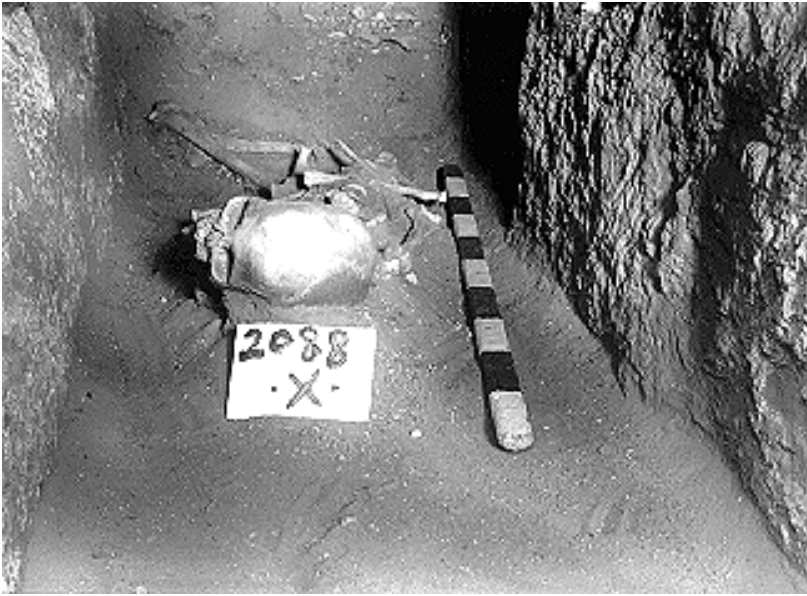


34b. 2088 d: tightly contracted skeletally adult burial. The hole in right ramus of the mandible was almost certainly made after death (c 14161)



34c. 2088 f: burial, possibly of an older adult, with moderate to severe osteoarthritis. Although characterized as "contracted" in Reisner's summaries, this skeleton is perhaps better described as "tightly contracted" (see pl. 34b) (c 14162)





35a. 2088 x: leg-contracted skeletally adult burial. The head may be resting on a stone pillow (c 14163)



35b. 2088b a: the burial was described as a child by the excavator; perhaps because of its small size. The skeleton appears to be fully adult (c 14165)



35c. 2088: view from the southwest, illustrating its stepped casing and the rubble construction along its southern face. At the lower left is 2089, also with stepped casing. The southernmost of three intrusive shafts and burial chambers between the mastabas is visible (rg 14-31, 1989)



36a. 2089: entrance and L-shaped chapel with two false doors. Behind, shafts a and b flank a small serdab chapel. The entire mastaba, with the exception of the entrance and chapel, was reduced to a uniform level during Phase ii, so that the wall in the background could be built over it to support the corridor roof of 2091 (rg 10-27, 1989)



36b. 2089: view through the largely buried entrance doorway. Beneath the drum lintel, the lintel, jambs and part of the tablet of the northern false door are visible. A small opening at the top of the tablet is the serdab slot. The entrance and chapel of this tomb were buried by four intrusive shafts and burial chambers (amr, 1990)



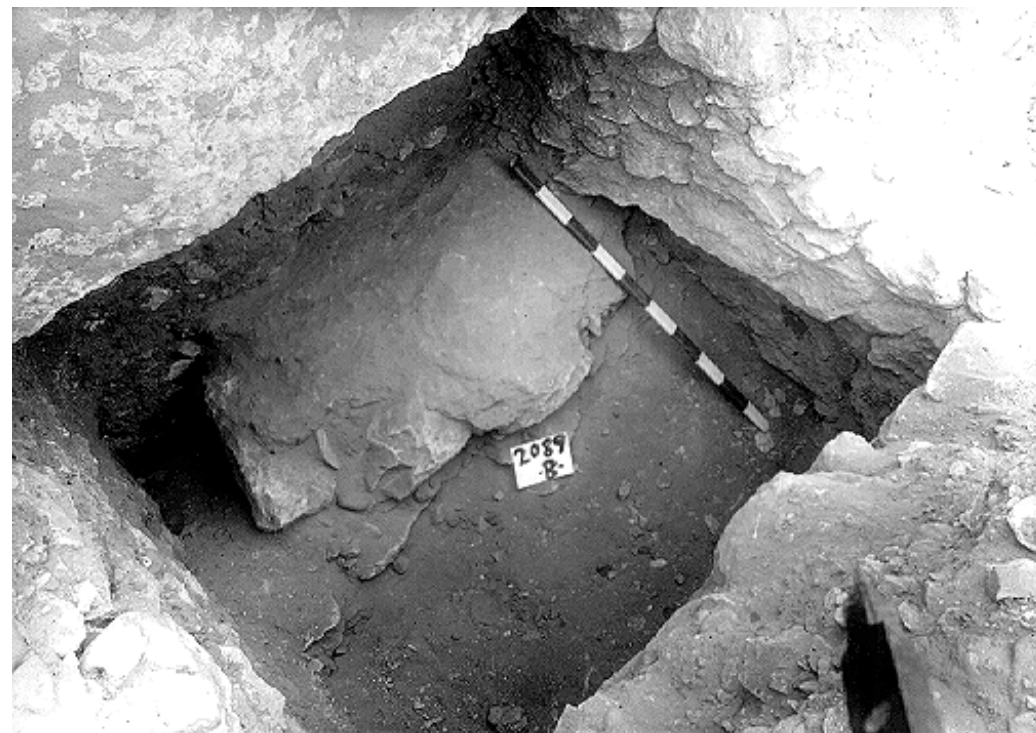
37a. 2089 a: burial chamber, containing a wooden coffin with a *krst* lid (a 7985)



37b. 2088 a: burial after the removal of the lid and side board of the coffin. The body is half contracted and thickly wrapped in linen. In the southwest corner of the coffin is a cylinder jar with a hieratic inscription in black ink, containing resinous remains (a 8011)



38a. 2088 A: detail of coffin and the cylinder jar inside it (b 8959)



38b. 2089 b: chamber, type 7 b(1), built in the shaft of rubble roofed with slabs. The block at upper left is part of the later wall of 2091 which bridges the top of this shaft (see pl. 40d) (b 8952)



38c. 2089 b: skeletally adult burial (described as "young" by the excavators) with contracted legs. The overlying chamber has been removed except at the north end (b 8955)



38d. 2089 c: contracted skeleton, possibly female (c 14150)



39a. 2089 e: tightly contracted, skeletally adult burial, possibly male, based on the definition of the supraorbital torus. The notes record traces of wood, perhaps belonging to a decayed coffin (c 14151)



39b. 2089a: eroded remains of a mastaba built in the angle between 2091 and 2089. Excavations records indicate that there was a small recessed chapel with a central false door to the right of the photo scale (rg 10-21, 1989)



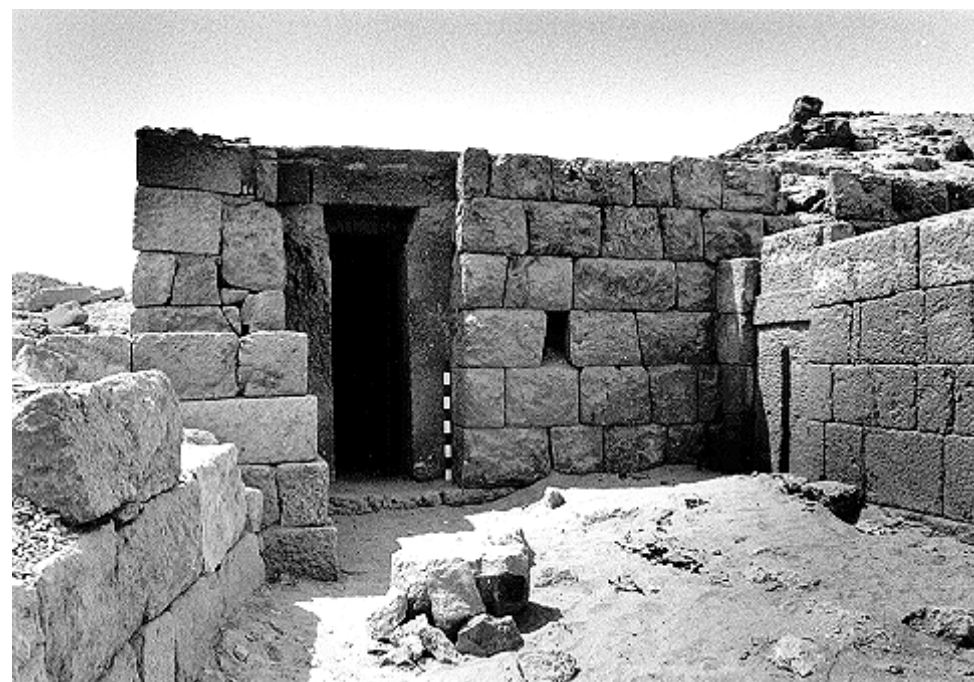
39c. 2089a a: blocking of Reisner's type v e(2), "a horizontal slab on which rests a leaning slab, completed with rubble bound with mud" (c 14288)



39d. 2089a a: a tightly-contracted skeleton with its head on a stone pillow. Though described by the excavator as "small," the skeleton is clearly adult, as indicated by the fused femoral and tibial epiphyses (c 14297)



40a. 2089a b: contracted skeleton, probably of an adult under the age of 40 (b 9102)



40b. 2091: northern entrance, with the stepped corner of 2089 left of the doorway showing the level to which it was reduced when the east wall supporting the 2091 corridor was built over it. When this doorway was moved from the south, its jambs of the doorway were cut back at the top so that the lower lintel could be accommodated in a narrower space. (The more prominent upper lintel, and the course of blocks to the left of it, were restored after excavation.) The lowest course of stone of the original mastaba was apparently left in place as a threshold. At right is 2097', with its southern false door (rg 23-6, 1989)



40c. 2091: northern entrance and, left of it, the north end of the corridor support wall built over 2089. At the lower left, 2098 abuts against 2089; the pyramid above is that of Khufu (rg 23-8, 1989)



40d. 2091: east face wall supporting the corridor roofing, which was constructed over the reduced mastaba 2089, and had to bridge shaft 2089 b. The actual bridge was an unusually large block; three smaller blocks were laid above it to even the coursing (rg 10-13, 1989)



41a. 2091: longer of the two displaced architraves, which probably was the original support for the chapel roof. Kapi is given the titles "Overseer of tens of the palace," "Assistant of the palace," and "One daily beloved of his lord" (a 8209)



41b. 2091: shorter of the two displaced architraves, which may have served as a cornice over the southern entrance. Kapi is given the titles "Overseer of missions of the palace," and "One venerated before his lord" (a 8210)



41c. 2091: eastern facade of the eastern extension, probably a blocked southern doorway. (The upper course, left of the photo scale, is restored.) That this extension was built against 2089 before it was reduced in height is demonstrated by the awkward way its right corner is supported where one of the stepped facade blocks has been removed. The contrast between the rough finish of the blocks in the central area, where the doorway would have been, and the smoother blocks to the left is also suggestive (rg 10-17, 1989)



41d. 2091: east wall of the corridor, south end, showing the state of the figures of Kapi, Khamernernebt, and their three daughters soon after the mastaba's excavation by the Ballard expedition (1905-06) (Hearst Negative b 13012)



42a. 2091: east wall of the corridor, south end, showing the state of figures of Kapi and his family on March 28, 1931 (a 6457)



42b. 2091: east wall of the corridor, south end, showing the present state of Kapi and his family at the south end of the eastern corridor wall (rg 15-7, 1989)



43a. 2091: west wall of corridor, showing the present state of the plaster-cut decoration, in which men are depicted driving cattle (rg 15-4, 1989)



43b. 2091: east and north faces of the pillar, viewed from the south end of the entrance corridor. They depict Kapi (left) and his wife Khamerernebt (right). Although the orientation of the figures is conventional, away from the inner part of the chapel and towards the entrance, their comparative scales suggest that they were meant to be seen as a couple in a single scene, facing one another (rg 20-20)



44. 2091: east face of the pillar. Kapi is shown leaning on his staff. Note his leather sandals (a 6105)



45. 2091: east face of the pillar, detail of the upper part giving Kapi's titles (a 6431)



46. 2091: north face of the pillar, Khamerernebt and two of her daughters are represented (a 6009)



47. 2091: north face of the pillar, detail of Khamererneby's titles (a 6432)



48a. 2091: lower part of the south face of the pillar. Two attendants, an overseer of singers and the tomb owner's brother, are shown (a 6010)



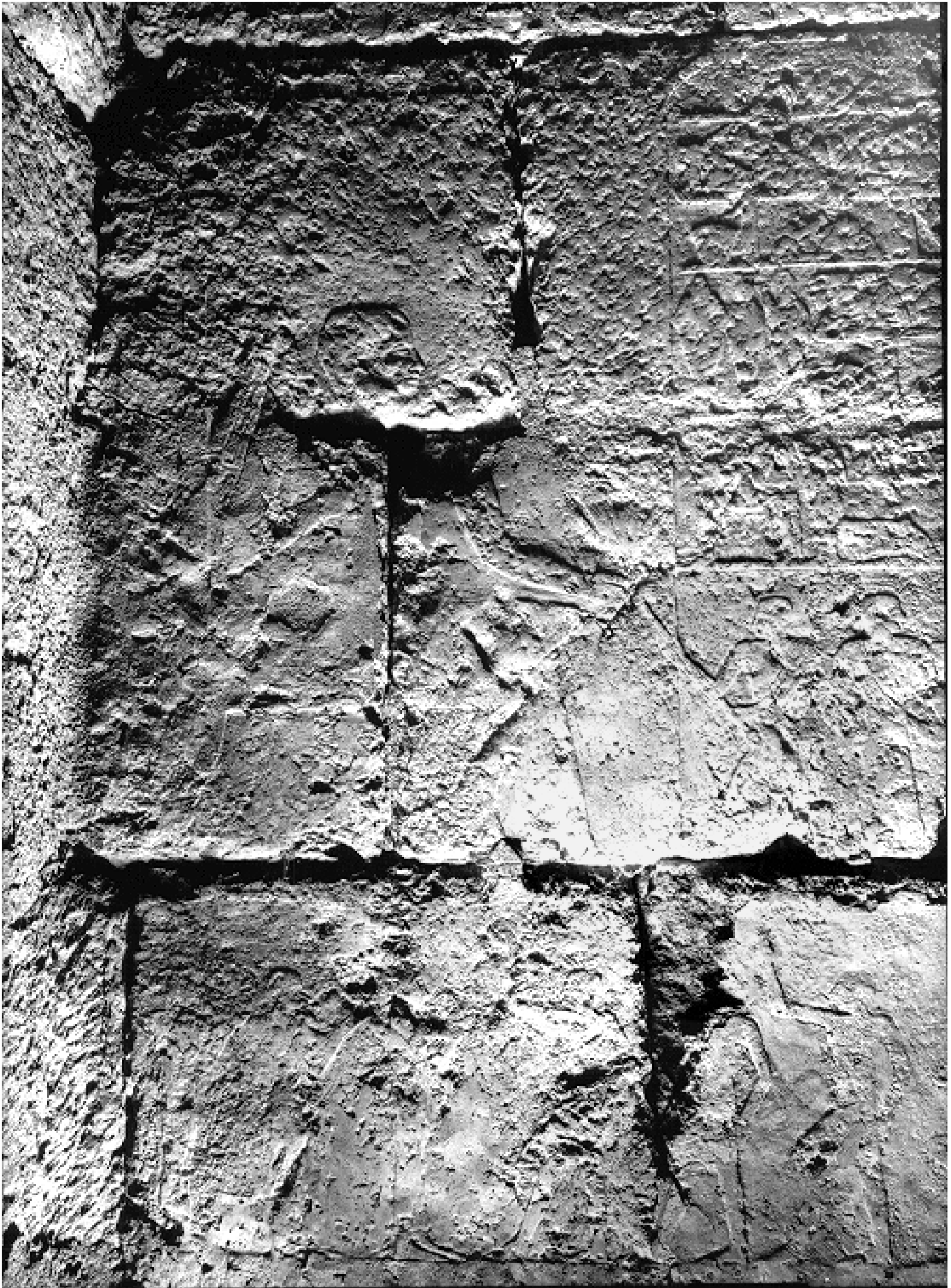
48b. 2091: upper part of the south face of the pillar, showing two attendants (a 6011)



49a. 2091: lower part of the south pilaster. Six attendants are shown; four of them bring sandals, a staff, and various equipment into the chapel (a 6434)



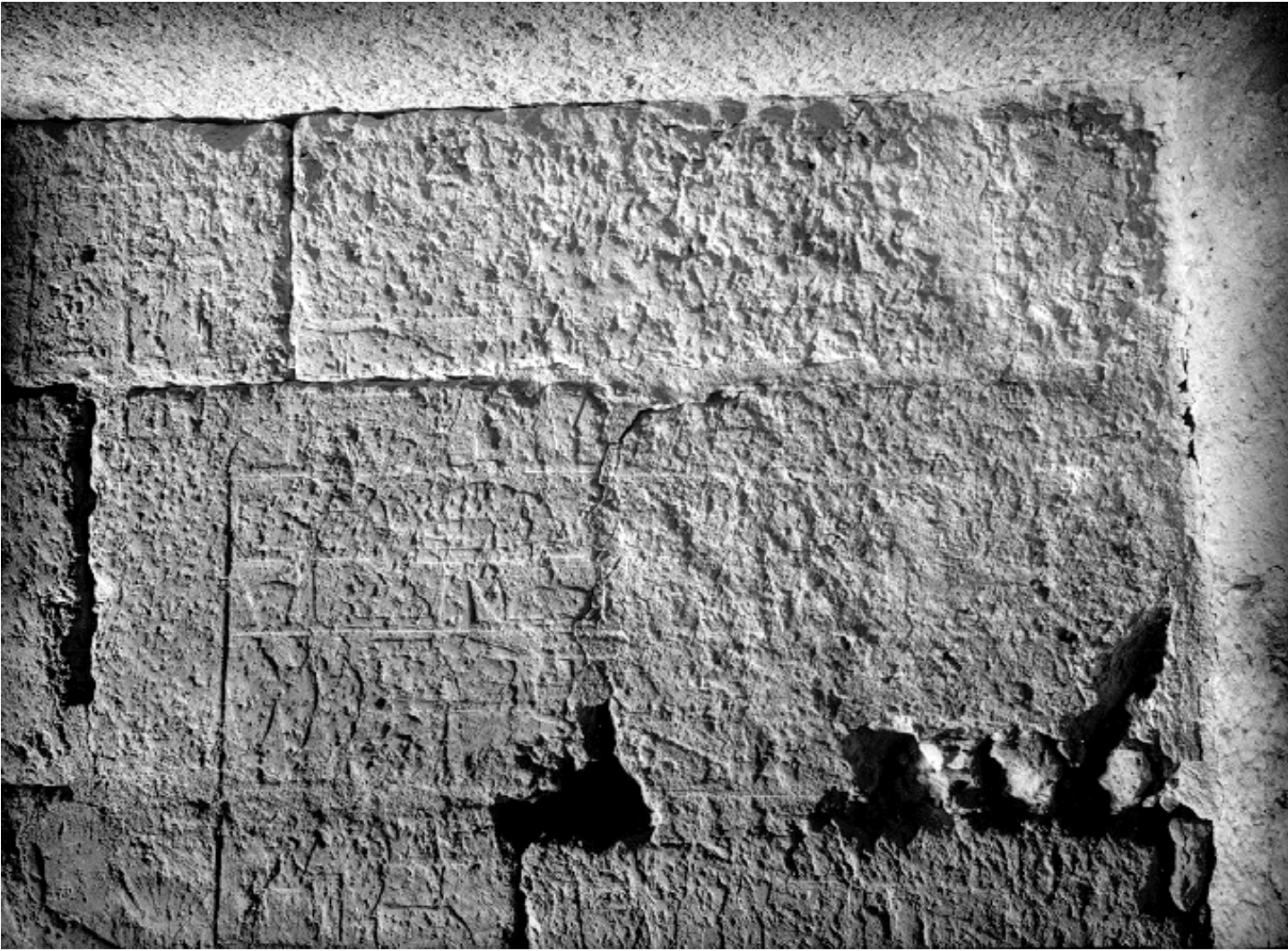
49b. 2091: upper part of the south pilaster, with three registers of piled equipment and vessels (a 6433)



50. 2091: left end of the south wall of the chapel. Kapi is shown accepting a lotus, while seated in an armchair in front of a tapestry hanging (a 6424)



51. 2091: upper left part of the south wall of the chapel, with the remains of Kapi's titulary (a 6443)



52a. 2091: upper right portion of the south wall of the chapel, where five badly damaged registers of food offerings are represented (a 6441)



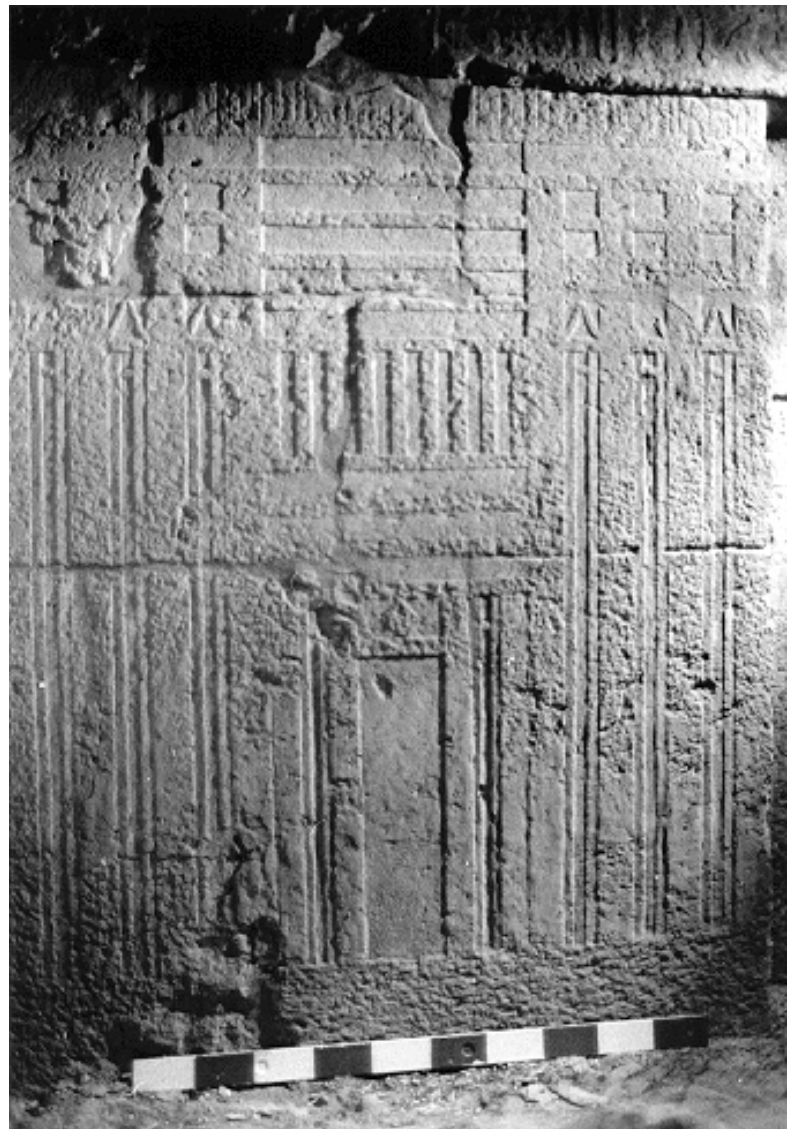
52b. 2091: lower right part of the south wall of the chapel, showing dancers, musicians, and men bringing offerings (a 6425)



53a. 2091: tablet of the southern false door. The tablet is in raised relief, but the text on the lower lintel is in sunk relief (rg 19-29, 1989)



53b. 2091: lower half of the southern false door. Note the stand and offering bowl decorating the inner niche (rg 19-34, 1989)

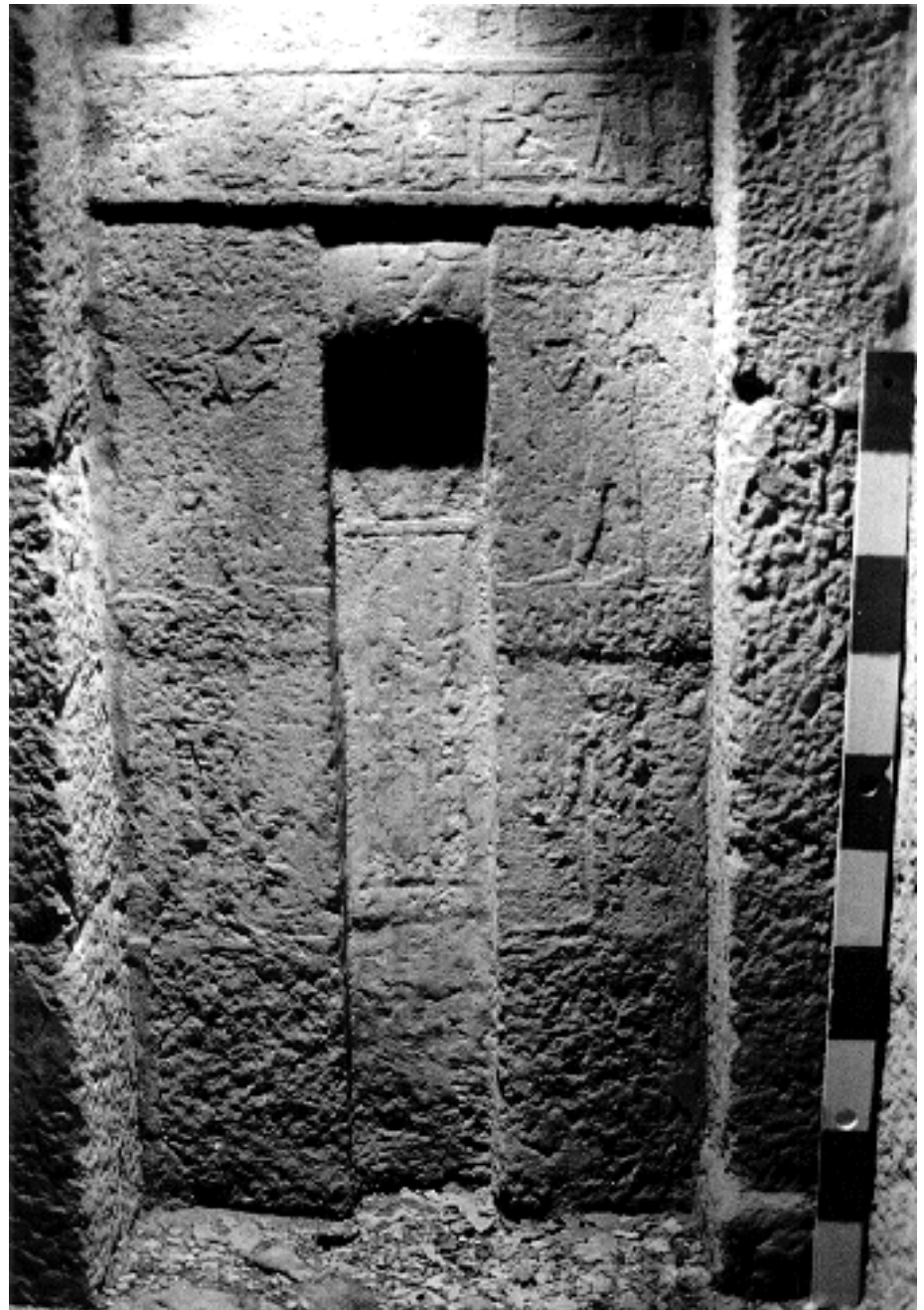


53c. 2091: palace facade decoration between the two false doors on the west wall of the chapel (rg 19-20, 1989)

54a. 2091: tablet of the northern
false door (rg 19-28, 1989)



54b. 2091: lower part of the
northern false door (rg 19-25)





55a. 2091: north end of upper lintel surmounting the false doors, and the wall above it. Above the lintel and slightly set back from it, an offering list was planned, of which only the rightmost part was carved (a 6447)



55b. 2091: center part of the upper lintel surmounting the false doors. (The photograph overlaps pl. 55a at the right by only a few millimeters; at the left it overlaps pl. 55c by a single group of hieroglyphs) (rg 19-15, 1989)



55c. 2091: south end of the upper lintel surmounting the false doors. On the wall above the lintel Kapi is shown seating at an offering table before cult personnel. The uncarved area at right would have held the end of the offering list. The notch cut in the bottom of the lintel at the left edge of the photograph is the serdab slot. The block below had been displaced at the time of the Reisner photographs, to allow passage from the serdab to the chapel or the reverse. It is not clear whether this damage was ancient. The block has since been restored (see pl. 53c) (a 6444)



56. 2091: upper left portion of the north wall, showing the damaged text above the tomb owner and two registers of men leading in animals at right (a 6438)



57. 2091: lower left portion of the north wall. Kapi is depicted leaning on a staff (a 6439)



58a. 2091: upper right portion of the north wall. Two registers and one sub-register of animals are depicted with their herdsmen (a 6435)



58b. 2091: lower right portion of the north wall, with a register of men bringing cattle and below it a register of cranes (a 6437)



59a. 2091: lower part of the north pilaster. In two registers, three men bring a bull and an ibex into the tomb (a 6440)



59b. 2091: upper part of the north pilaster. Above, a gazelle nurses her calf, while below a man leads in a hyena (a 6013)



60a. 2091: upper part of the north pilaster. Detail of gazelle nursing her calf (a 6014)



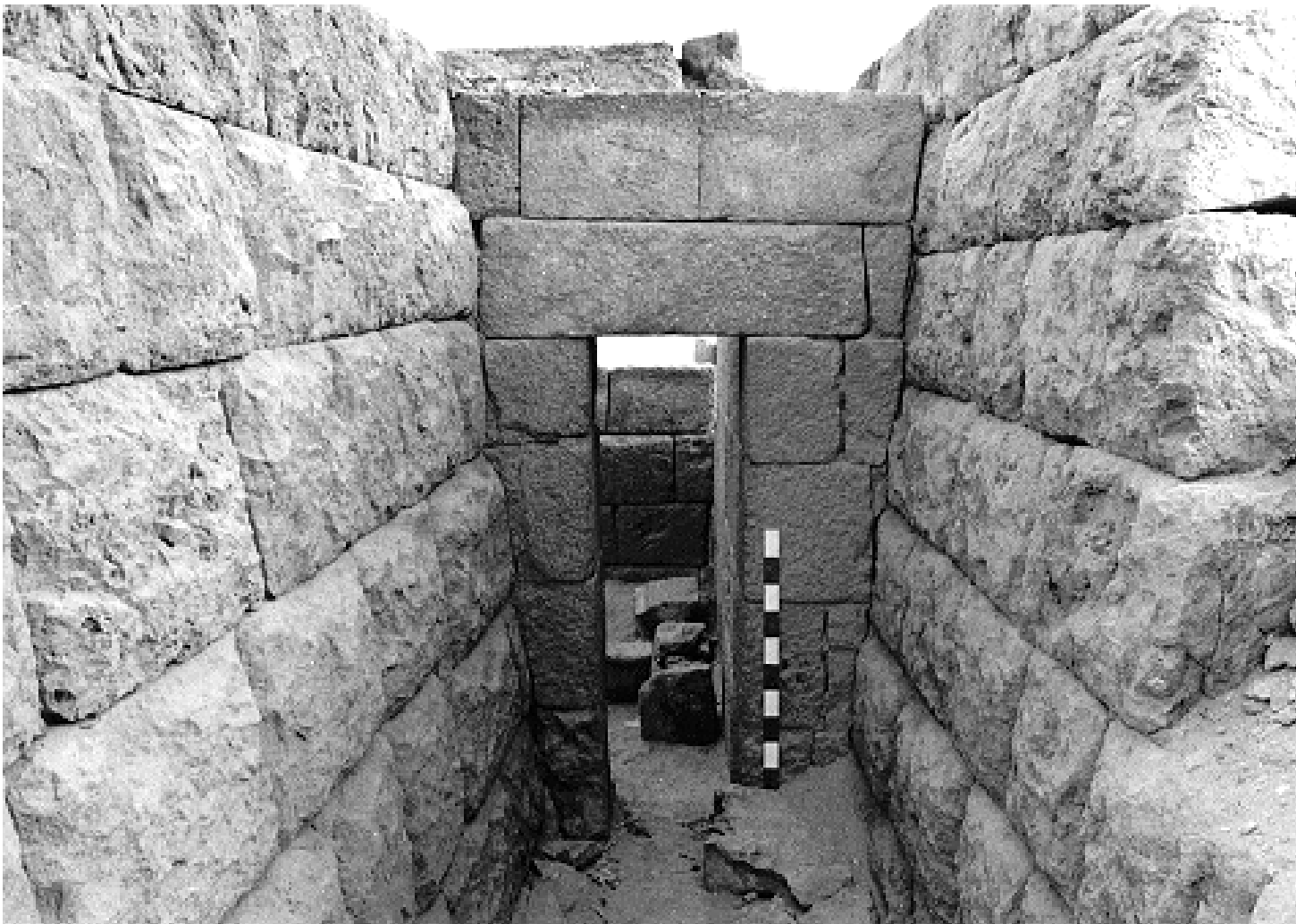
60b. 2091 a: top of shaft. Footholds have been cut down the center of the north face. (The other three faces have similar footholds) (rg 23-13, 1989)



61. 2091 a: the *kerst* coffin of Kapi in situ. The lid is displaced and a skull (presumably Kapi's) has been placed by some macabre tomb robber atop the lid at the far end. The irregular silhouette of the head suggests that some of his hair was preserved (a 7681)



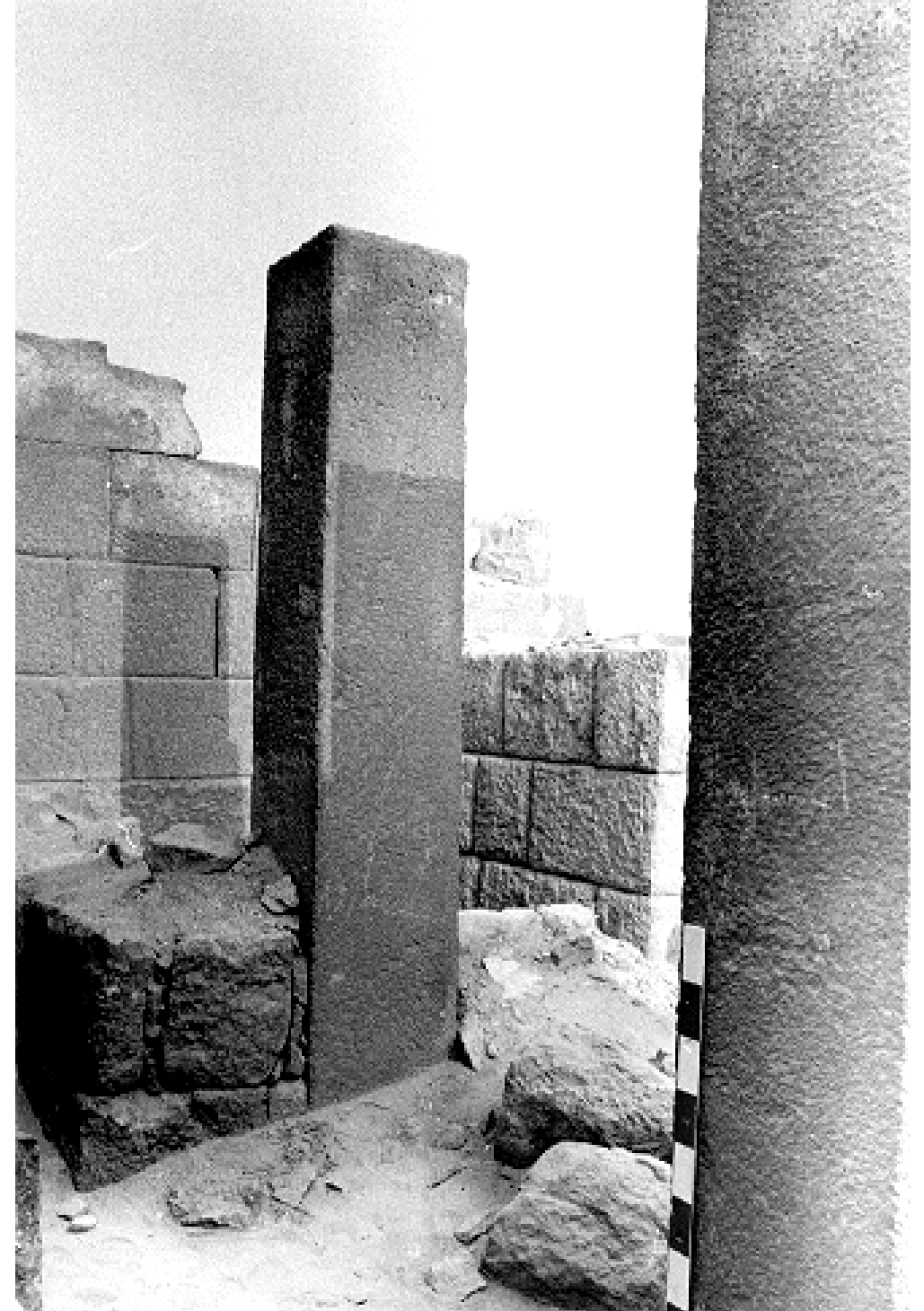
62a. The passage between 2092 (left) and 2091 from the south. A low, enigmatic rubble-built structure lies against the north face of 2091 (rg 23-12, 1989)



62b. South face of the doorway built between 2092 (left) and 2091, showing the fitting of the abutting masonry (rg 6-29, 1989)



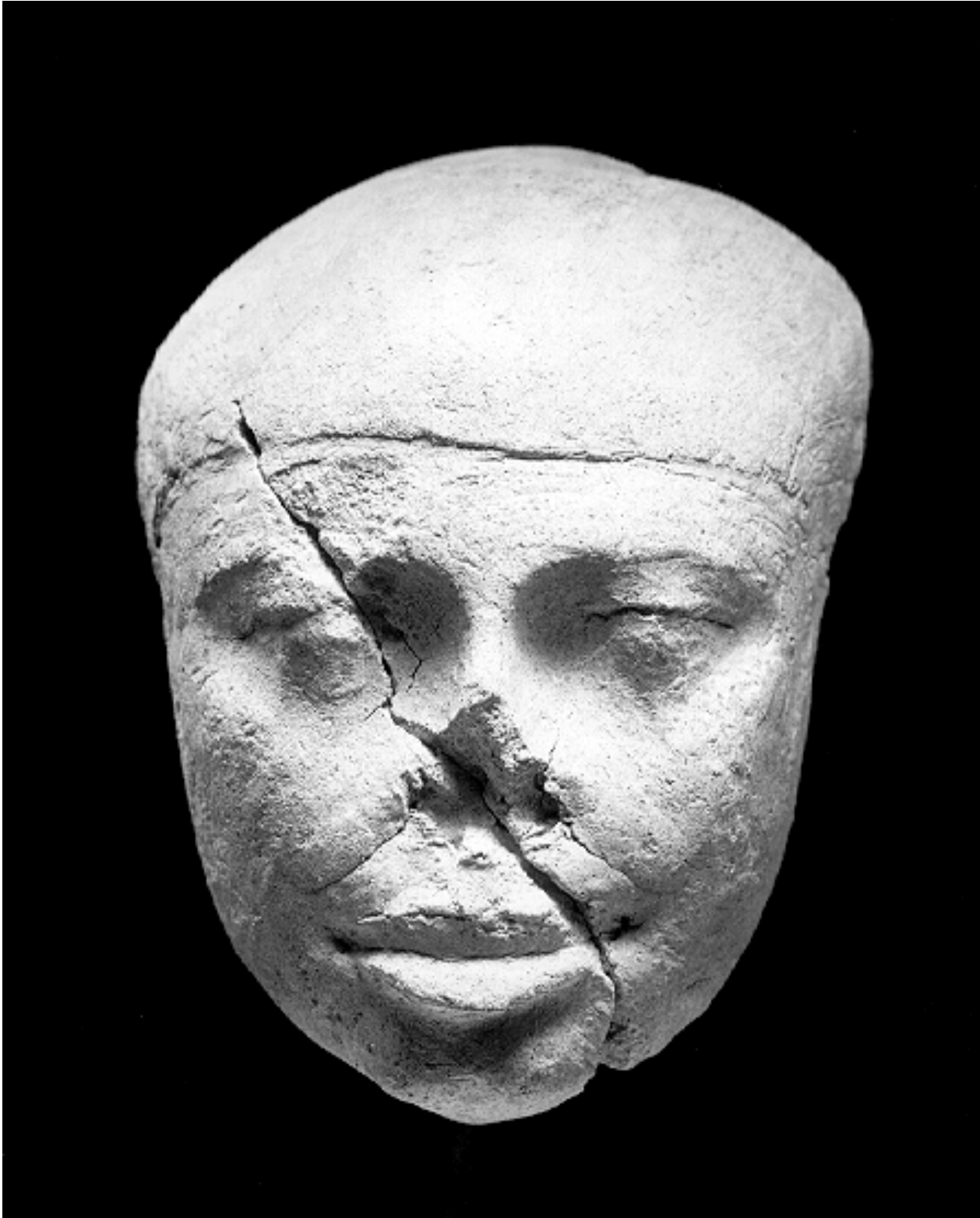
63a. The pillars in the courtyard north of 2092+2093, showing the alignment of the pillars with notches in the facades of 2091 (center, foreground) and 2096 (the wall in the background). A slightly higher notch in 2096, about 1 m to the left of the lower notch, probably represents the position of the architrave when this courtyard served as a portico entrance to 2092+2039. The intrusive mastaba 2092a and its shaft can be seen around the base of the far column. Just above and to the left of its southern (left) face is the southern serdab slot of 2096, a finely finished thin vertical gap between two wall blocks (amr, 1990)



63b. Detail showing the construction of 2092a in the courtyard of 2092+2093. The false door was originally set into the gap between the far pillar and the adjacent wall. The northern serdab slot of 2096 can be seen at the edge of the pillar's shadow (rg 6-27, 1989)



64. 2092a: false door, carved in sunk relief. The name of the original owner, Nimaatre/Tut, survives on the drum lintel and the three left jambs. The three right jambs have been shaved back to admit the name and titles of a second individual, Khaef-Khnum/Beby. (The clearest trace of the original inscription can be seen on the rightmost jamb where the blade of the earlier *ms*-sickle can be seen crossing the *x*.) The cutting back begins below the title *hntj-š* on the inner jamb, after the *rn nfr* of the middle jamb (the *f* seems to have been moved down to fill more space), and below the phrase *hr nswt* on the outer jamb (a 7688)



65a. 2092a a: Front view of the plaster mask covering the face of the burial (psd c 8282)



65b. 2092a a: Side view of the plaster mask covering the face of the burial. The rest of the body was also covered with plaster (c 13909)



66a. 2092+2093: overall view of the chapel, with the fallen pillar in the center of the recess. The position of shaft a in the foreground is directly behind the false door, at right. The rubble-built shaft behind the recess is shaft d (rg 7-10, 1989)



66b. 2092+2093: view of north doorway, showing the abutment of 2096 (at right) against the earlier stepped facade of 2093. Some of the blocks of the older structure were clearly cut back to receive the new masonry (amr, 1990)



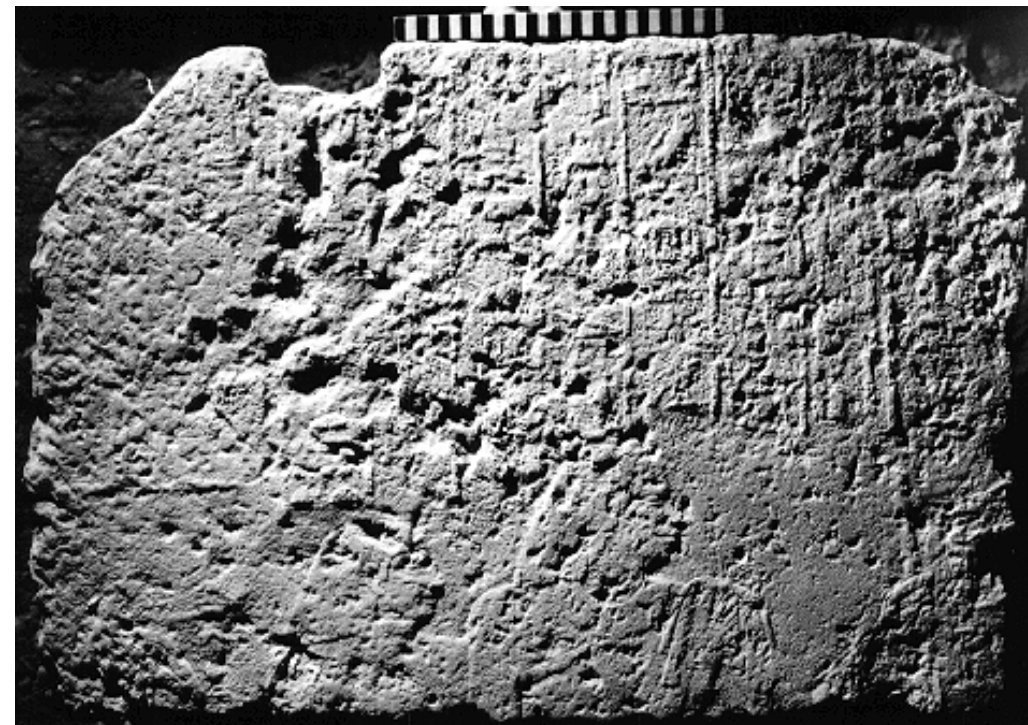
67a. 2092+2093: drum lintel and east doorjamb. Za-ib with his name and titles. Note the clear use of a z in the writing of his name here (a 7685)



67b. 2092+2093: west doorjamb. Za-ib's figure is complete, but his name and titles are only partially carved. Also unfinished is the inscription on the adjacent drum lintel, of which only four hieroglyphs were carved (a 7684)



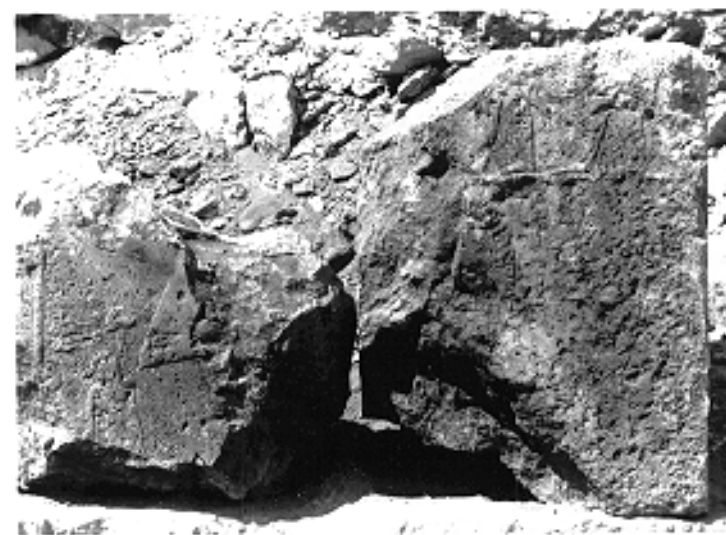
68a. 2092+2093: west wall, north of recess. The only remaining decoration from this wall shows two men under an arbor picking grapes into baskets, presumably part of a larger wine-making scene (b 8729)



68c. 2092+2093: very battered loose block from the top of 2096, certainly to be restored here. Za-ib and his wife Tjentet are shown with family members. The rectangular area cut out at the top of the block was a serdab slot; however, no serdab survives in this mastaba (rg 21-20, 1989)



68b. 2092+2093: loose block from the upper left border of a scene, probably to be restored here. Za-ib was depicted at right, while a steward shows him a scroll and an endowment official stands ready with another (b 9325)



68d. 2092+2093: two loose blocks probably from here. (The left block is presently in the chapel, and seems to join with other fragments still in the area; the right block's position is less clear, but since they appear in the same photograph, they presumably were excavated together.) The left block shows the staff and kilt of the tomb owner with his daughter Nefer-wenes, while the right fragment shows musicians and offering bearers (c 14365)



69a. 2092+2093: dislocated pillar, perhaps south face (b 8736)



69b. 2092+2093: dislocated pillar, perhaps east face (b 8730)



69c. 2092+2093: dislocated pillar, perhaps north face (b 8431)



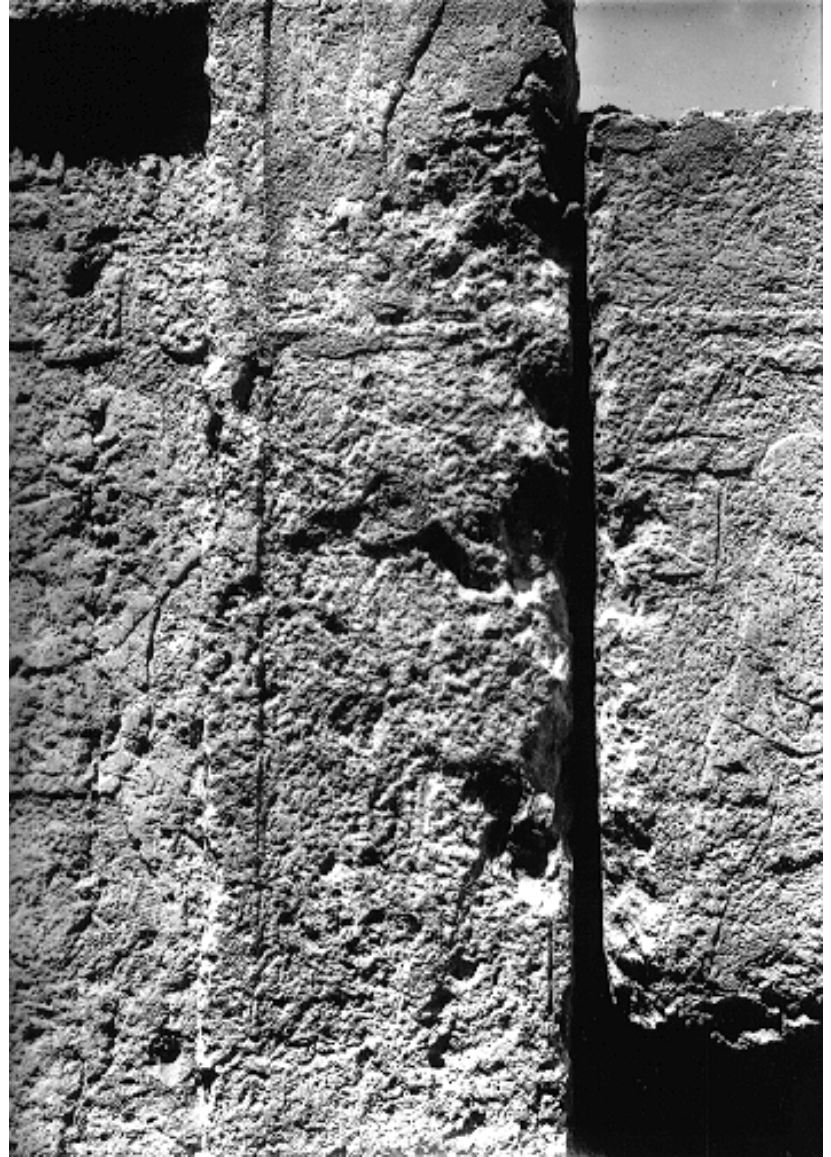
69d. 2092+2093: dislocated pillar, perhaps west face (b 8437)



70a. 2092+2093: architrave fragment, found south of mastaba (a 8211)



70b. 2092+2093: west wall, south of recess, upper left. Only the left edge of a seated figure of Za-ib remains (b 8733)



70c. 2092+2093: west wall, south of recess, lower left, showing the base of Za-ib's chair and, in the badly damaged lower register, a butcher (b 8734)



71a. 2092+2093: west wall south of recess, lower right. Butchers and, above, the bottom of an offering table scene, with an offering-bearer at right (a 7683)



71b. 2092+2093: tablet of false door. Za-ib is shown standing before three columns of text (b 8732)



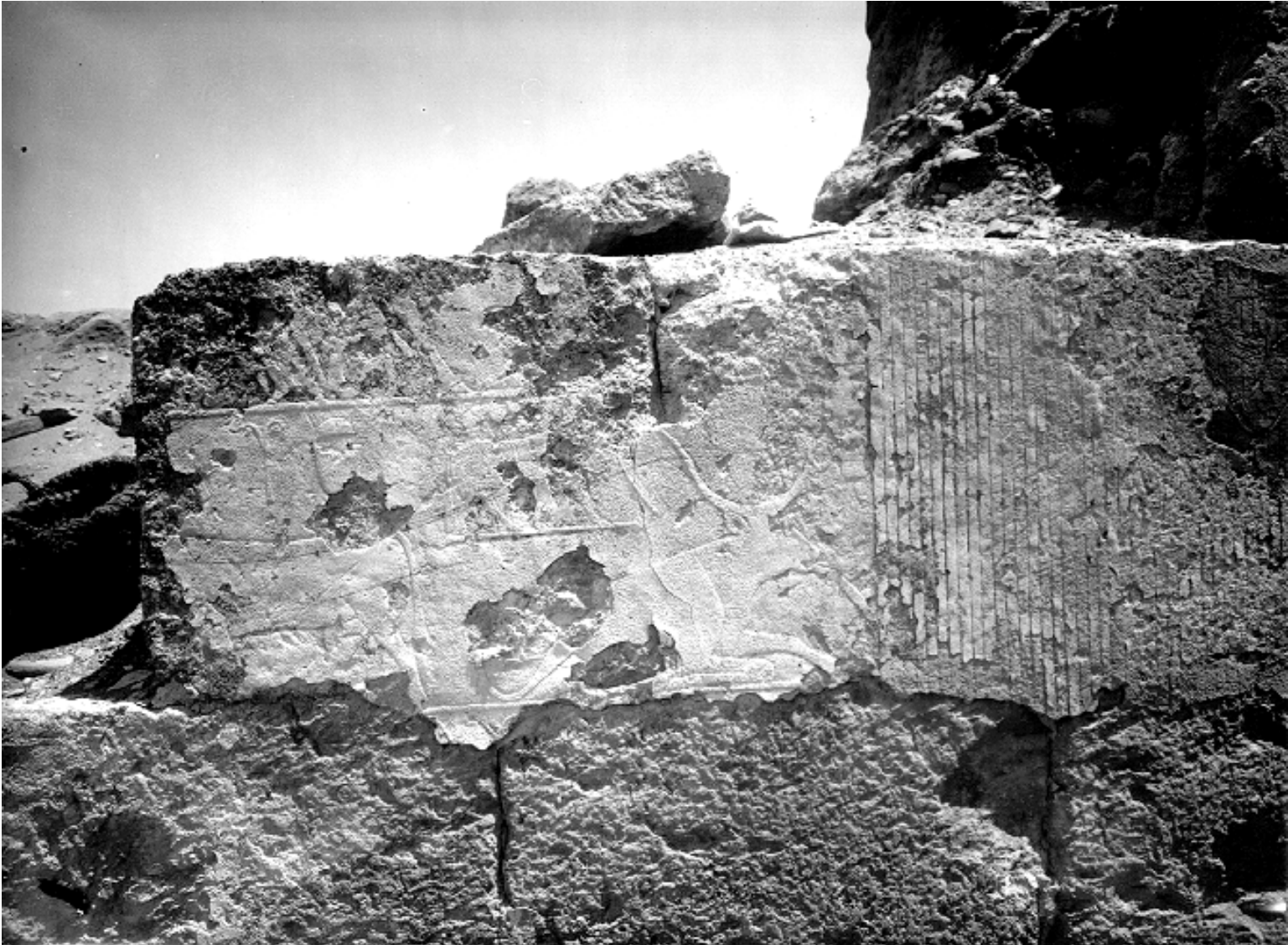
72a. 2092+2093: lower part of false door, with Za-ib shown seated with a tall staff on both jambs (a 7682)



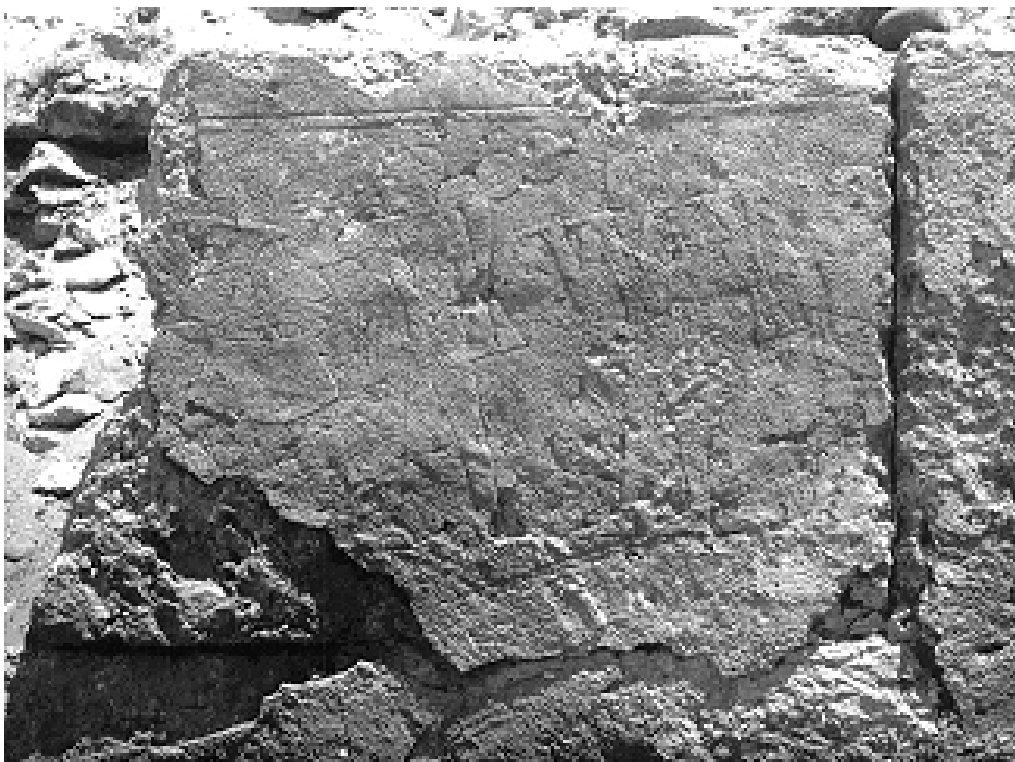
72b. 2092+2093: south wall at end of corridor (only the left part survives). Men carry offerings toward the false door (b 8735)



73a. 2092+2093: south end of east wall. The remains of a scene of Za-ib fowling in a papyrus marsh (rg 16-25, 1989)



73b. 2092+2093: south end of east wall. The left end of the fowling scene is at left; at right are scenes of cattle-raising (a 7686)



74a. 2092+2093: east wall, opposite beginning of recess. Men carrying marsh products and other offerings to the north (c 13899)



74b. 2092+2093: north end of east wall. Reaping and threshing of wheat (lowest register), rope making (middle register), and the driving of animals (top). Note the remains of red paint on the three men at left and in the wide band at the top of the dado (a 7687)



75a. 2092+2093: north end of east wall. Detail of three men, showing the weathering and vandalism since excavation (rg 15-34, 1989)



75b. 2094: undecorated chapel. The partially-filled vertical slot right of the false door may have given access to the serdab. Note that the pilasters are not single slabs, but are coursed with the adjacent walls (rg 8-8, 1989)



76a. 2094: stepped facade north of the chapel. A small secondary false door, cut in the lower two steps, is visible just left of the fallen blocks in the corridor (rg 8-9, 1989)



76b. 2094: remains of northern entrance doorway in corridor. At left, 2096 and, behind the doorjamb, 2093. The low platform in the right foreground is 2095 (rg 7-5, 1989)



77a. 2094 a: limestone headrest (36-9-1) from the burial chamber (c 13940, top half)



77b. 2094 b: burial of extended skeleton. The body was completely wrapped in linen, with the arms and legs wrapped separately (c 13931)

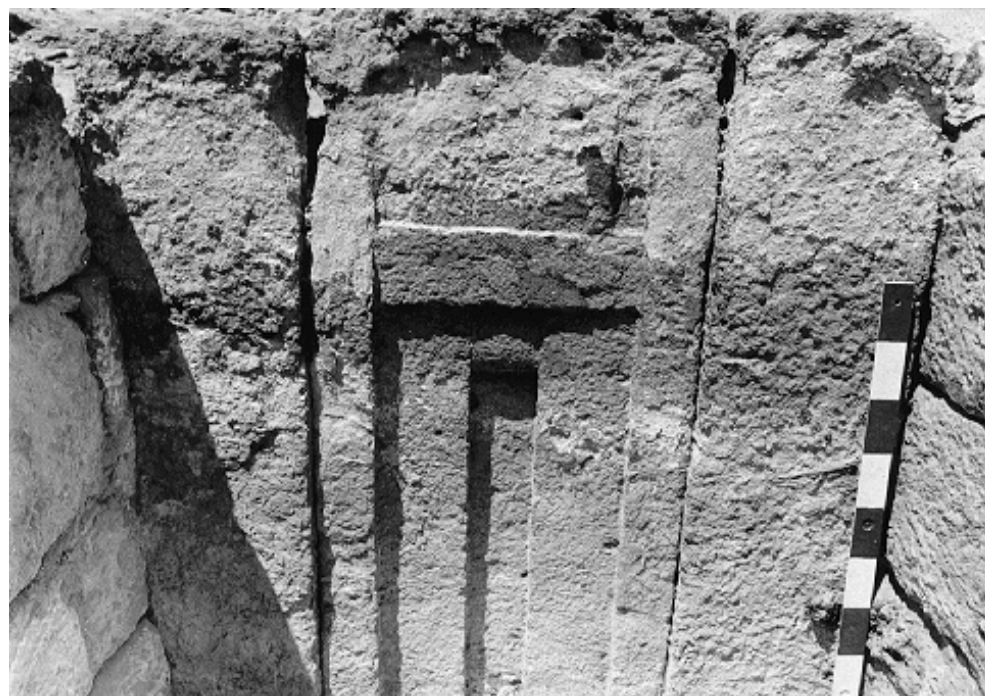


77c. 2094 e: burial of small, tightly contracted skeleton. Judging from the state of the teeth (the canines are only partially erupted), the age is about ten years (+/- 2 years) (c 13932)

78a. 2095: recessed chapel (rg 25-15, 1989)



78b. 2095: west wall of chapel and central false door (rg 8-2, 1989)



78c. 2095 a: contracted burial of an older adult with no wrappings. The teeth are extremely worn, and there is significant cervical osteoarthritis as well as lipping on the lumbar vertebrae and possibly also on the head of the right femur. The width of the pelvis suggests a female skeleton, but this may be an abnormality (or an artifact of the photography); the heaviness of other bones points towards a male identification. From the position of the lower jaw, the skull originally rested on a stone pillow, but is now displaced (b 9017)





79a. 2095 b: blocking of type vi d(3), external wall with neither mud nor plaster binding (b 9013)



79b. 2095 b: chamber with leg-contracted, skeletally adult burial. At its north end (beyond the head), the chamber broke through to shaft c, and was repaired with rubble and mud (b 9014)



79c. 2095 c: blocking of type v c(2), leaning wall of four courses of rough masonry (b 9012)

80a. 2095 c: tightly contracted, skeletally adult burial. The skull rests on a stone pillow (b 2096)



80b. 2095 e(1): tightly contracted skeleton. Although described as a child by the excavators, this person was at least 15 years old, based on the fused distal end of the femur (b 9019)



80c. 2095 e(2): tightly contracted skeleton, described by the excavators as a child. However the skeleton is more probably a young adult, a conclusion supported by the visible wear on the teeth. Anomalously, the head lies to the west rather than the north (b 9035)





81a. 2095 f: entrance and north part of burial chamber, showing skull of leg-contracted skeleton, which may be male, based on the well-developed supraorbital torus (c 14253)



81b. 2095 g: intact blocking of type v d(2), leaning rubble wall bound with mud (c 14248)



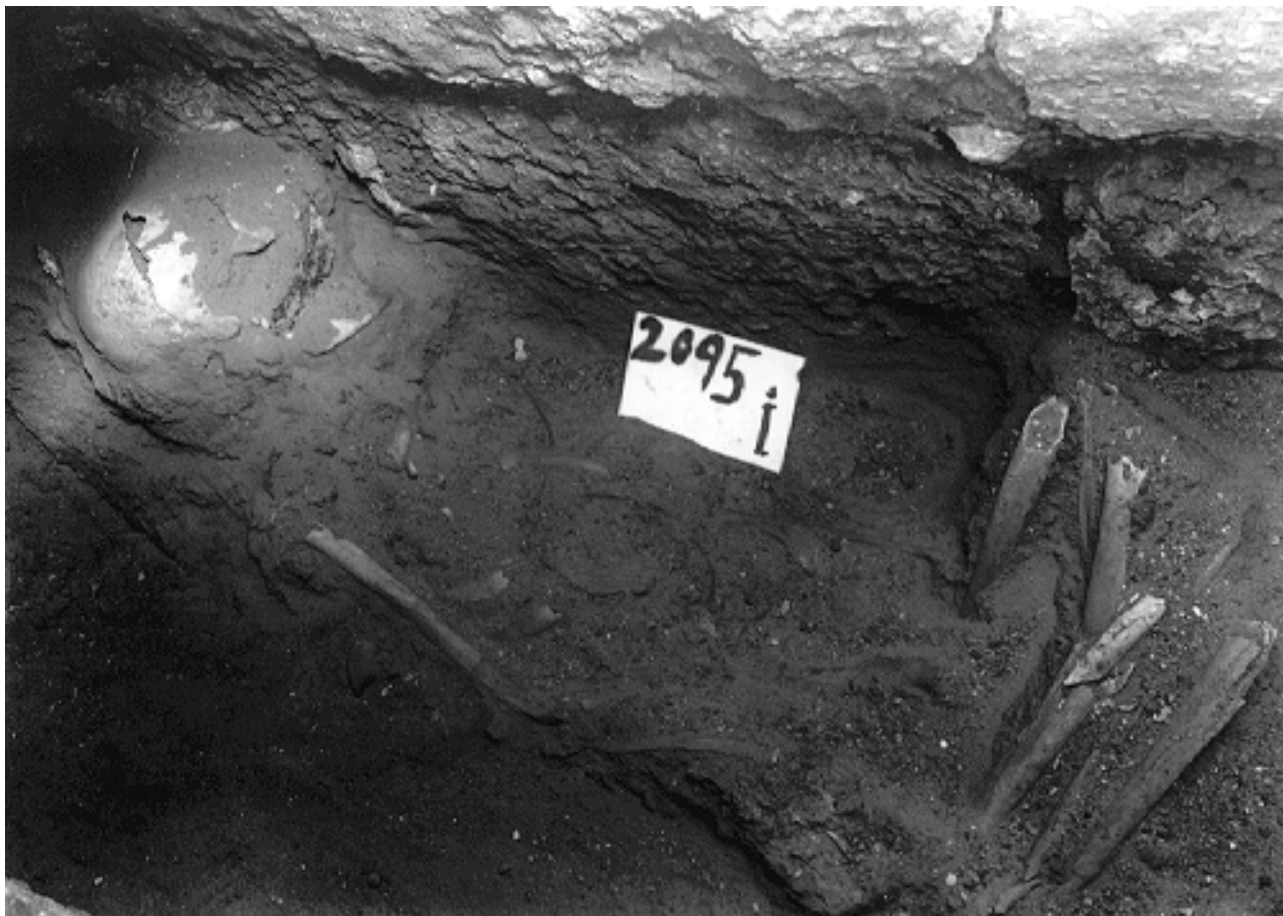
81c. 2095 h: shaft, roofing slab, and entrance to burial chamber (b 9010)



82a. 2095 i: blocking of chamber, type v e(2), one leaning slab bound with mud (c 14247)



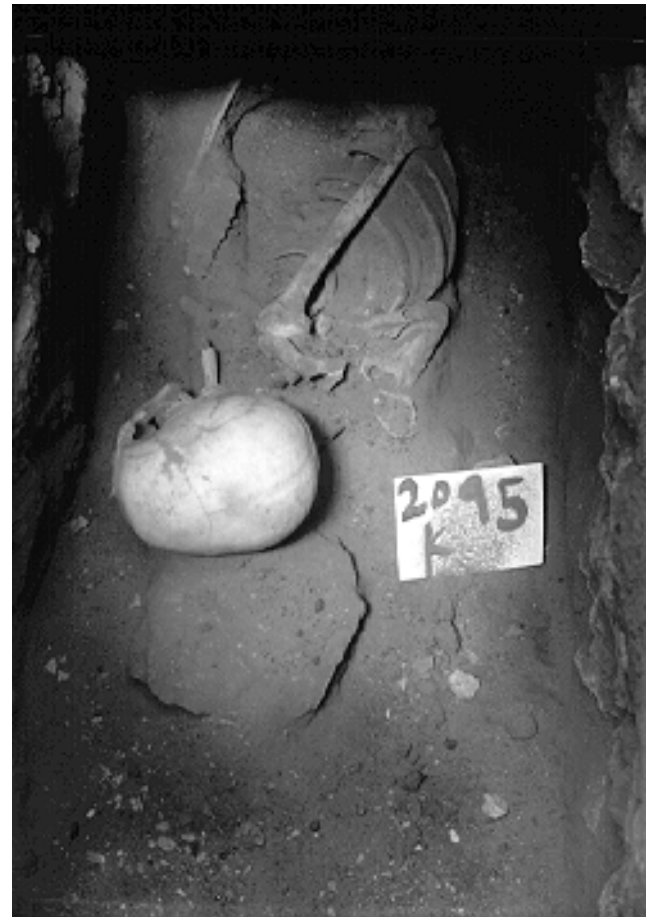
82b. 2095 i: fragment of copper band from the head of the skeleton and, below, a section of the beadwork that filled it. The horizontal cylindrical beads framing the beading are of blue-green faience. The space between was filled with blue-green faience ring beads, broken in at least two places by three vertical black-white-black stripes, two beads in width. (These stripes may be discernible at the left edge of the fragment, although the stripes appear slightly wider) (b 9028)



82c. 2095 i: burial. In its original position around the skull is a copper band decorated with blue, black, and white beads (b 9015)



83a. 2095 j: leg-contracted burial. The unscribed false door was presumably re-used as a roofing block, from which position it fell into the burial chamber (b 9018)



83b. 2095 k: leg-contracted, skeletally adult burial with the head resting on a rough stone pillow (c 14254)



83c. 2096: top. Shafts b (right) and a are in the foreground. The loose block lying above Shaft b is from 2092+2093; a serdab slot was cut in its upper surface (turned to the viewer). Behind the shafts is the serdab chamber, with its two narrow vertical slots (see pls. 63a–b) widening to windows on the inside. Beyond it, the tops of the pillars of the 2092+2093 courtyard can be seen, aligned with the notches in the neighboring walls that support the architrave. To the left of the nearer of these notches is another, higher, notch, which supported an architrave in an earlier stage of construction, when it served as a portico for 2092+2093 rather than for 2097 (amr, 1990)

84a. 2097: doorway set between serdabs 2 and 3, leading from 2092+2093 courtyard into courtyard south of 2097. The direction of the drum lintel implies that it was an entrance to 2097 rather than 2092+2093, as does the elegant symmetrical stonework on this face. The large blocks behind the jambs rest on a lower course and a slight horizontal extension at the base of each jamb (amr, 1990)



84b. 2097: view from the top of 2092. The courtyard behind the serdabs and the monumental doorway leads into the decorated chapel to the left. The lower course of the original back face of 2097' is visible at the bottom of the wall on the right of the courtyard (rg 24-28, 1989)





85a. 2097: The abutment of the west wall of the 2097 courtyard against the north face of serdab 3, viewed from the back. The angle of the 2097 wall is clearly different from the inner west wall of the serdab. That wall is parallel to the earlier angle of the west facade of 2097'. (See pl. 85b) (amr, 1990)



85b. 2097: Serdab 2 (left) and shaft 2097' f, showing the original angle of the west facade of 2097'. North of the serdab (above), the facade has been rebuilt at a different angle to form the east wall of the rectangular courtyard east of 2097 (amr, 1990)



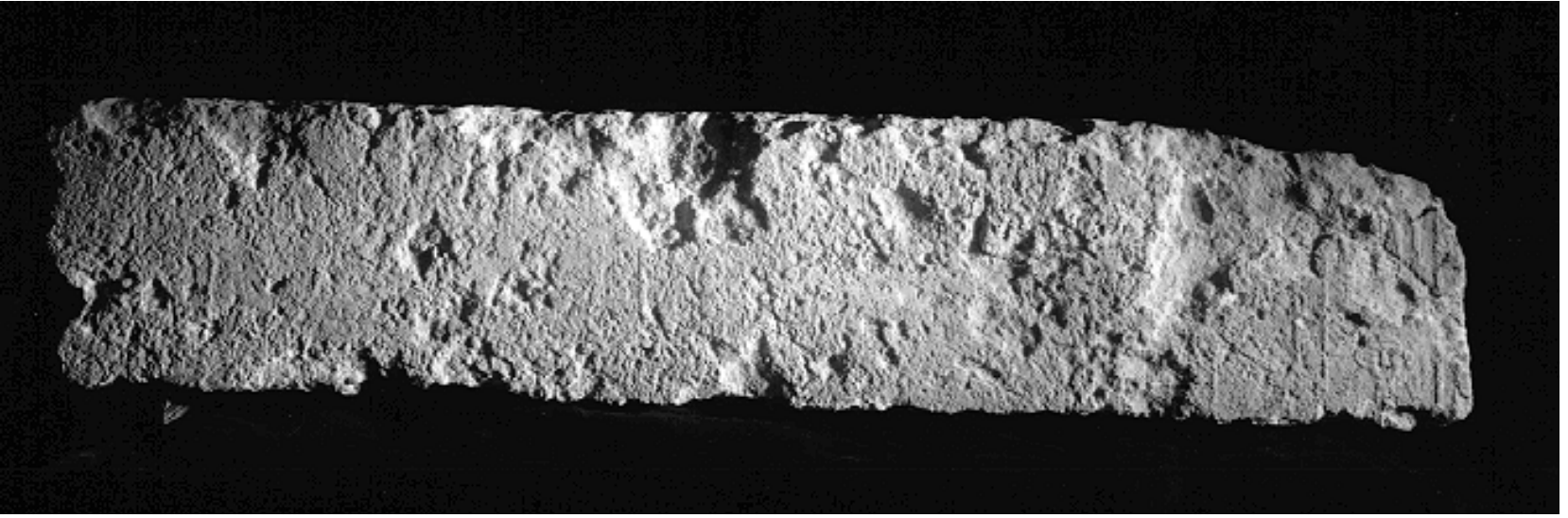
86a. 2097: corner of the courtyard to the east. The angled line at the base of the later east wall of the courtyard shows the line of the original west facade of 2097', rebuilt to make the courtyard rectangular. The wall at left is the north wall of the courtyard, added in Phase iii (rg 6-23, 1989)



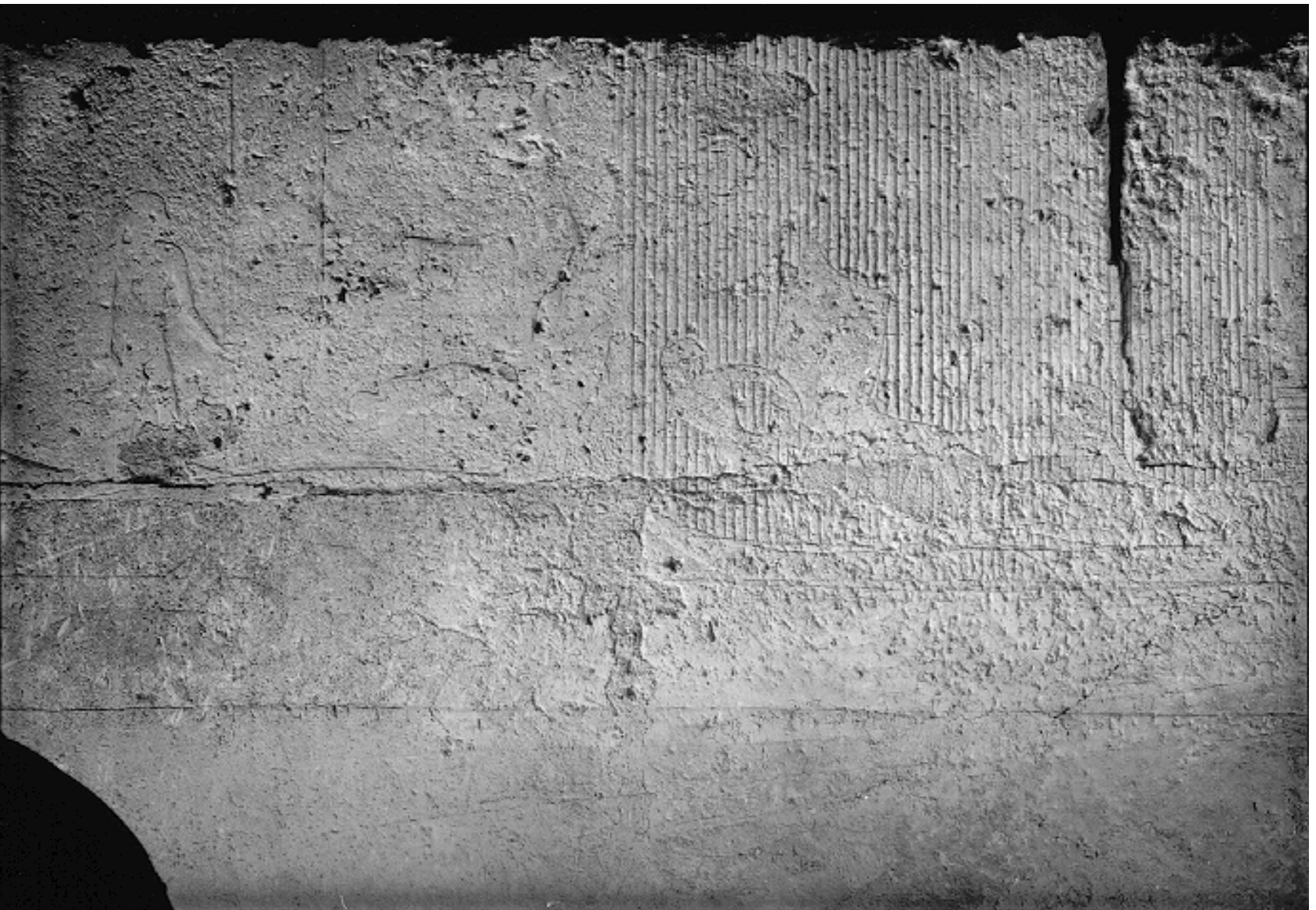
86b. 2097: door from chapel to courtyard. Beneath the scale stick is a raised round area which was perhaps intended to hold a door pivot, although the hole was never cut. To the right can be seen the "scar" left at the base of a wall when a floor block is removed (rg 6-15, 1989)



87. 2097: north wall, west end. Lower part of fish-spearing scene (a 8128)



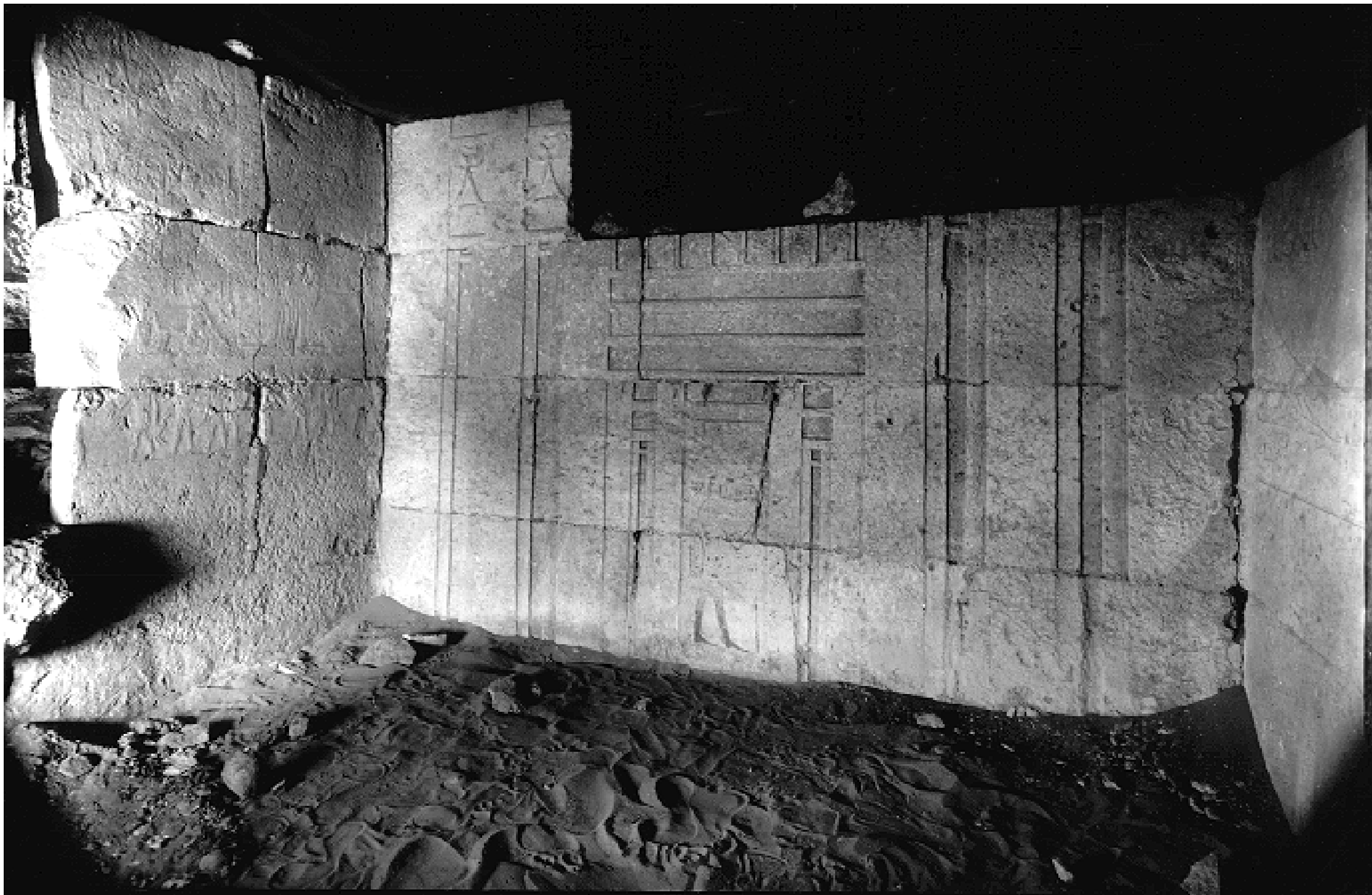
88a. 2097: loose block from upper part on north wall, west end. Titles of Nimaatre (a 8159)



88b. 2097: north wall, center. Tomb owner and *Wasserberg* are at left; at right are fishermen casting nets in a papyrus marsh (a 8129)



89. 2097: north wall, east end. Scenes of fishing and cattle raising (a 8130)



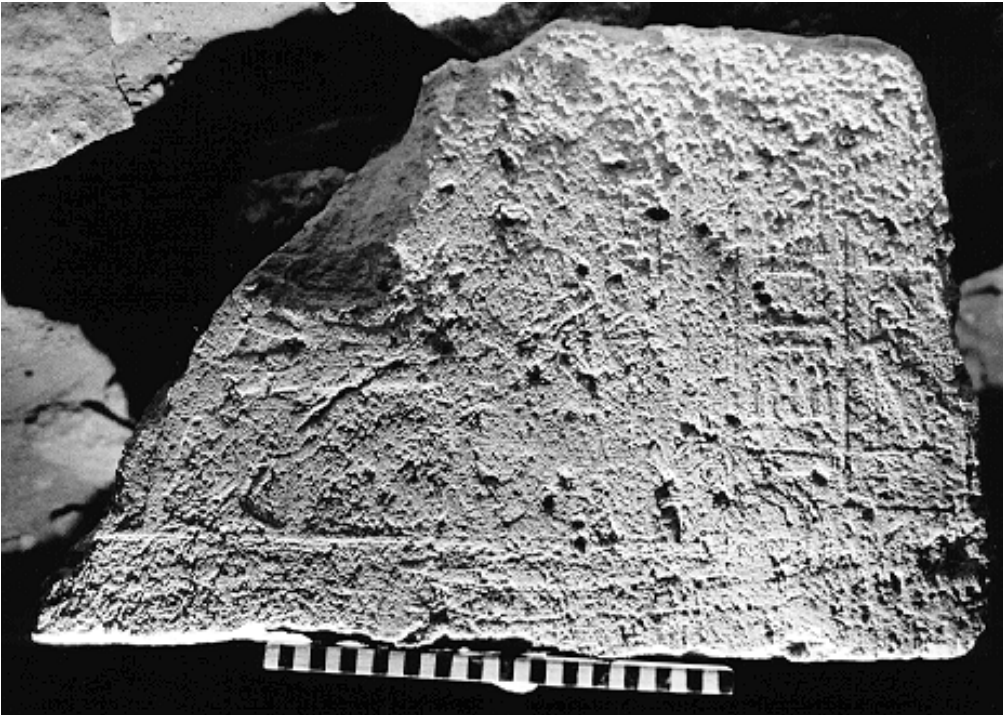
90. 2097: recess, showing palace facade paneling on west wall (a 8160)



91. 2097: west wall of recess. Detail of the intrusive figure of Mernetjer-Izezi on central door of palace facade (a 8134)



92. 2097: south wall of recess. Nimaatre playing senet (a 8136)



93a. 2097: loose block, to be restored above west wall of recess. Bed-making scene (rg 21-22)



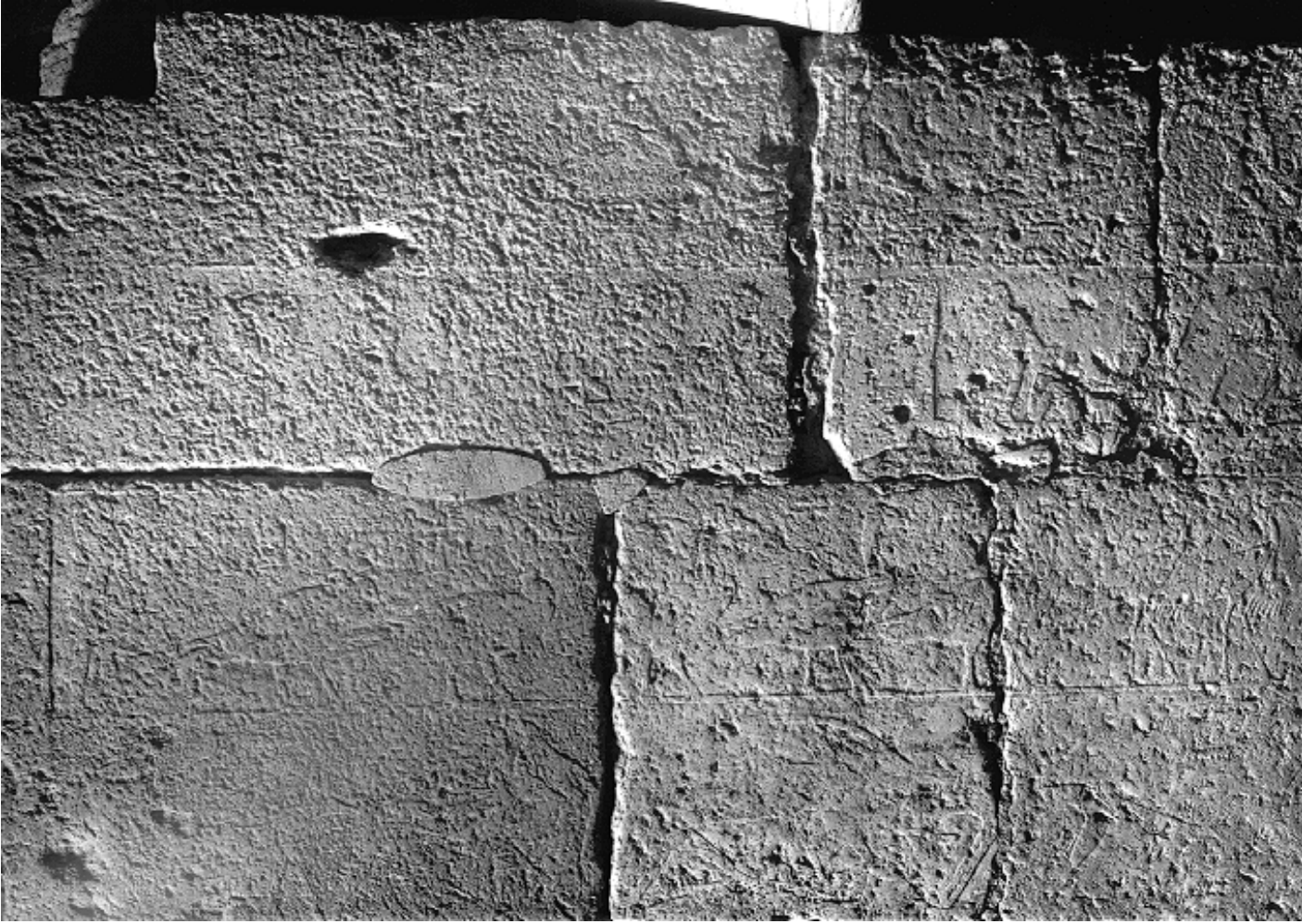
93b. 2097: south wall. Nimaatre at offering table, with offering list above (rg 18-39, 1989)



94a. 2097: south wall, upper part. Offering scene, with Nimaatre at right. Above the piled offerings and titles are traces of an offering list (a 8117)



94b. 2097: south wall, lower part. Offering bearers (lowest register), dancers and musicians, and the lower part of the offering table scene (a 8119)



95a. 2097: east wall, upper left section. Above repeated register of desert life are a register of domestic fowl, a register of reaping scenes, and a register showing fighting boatmen (a 8126)



95b. 2097: east wall, lower left section. Animals copulating (lowest register), hunting and being hunted in the desert (a 8127)



96a. 2097: east wall, upper middle section. Above the repeated register of desert life are scenes of men leading animals to offer, scenes of threshing, and scenes of plowing (a 8124)



96b. 2097: east wall, lower middle section. Three registers of desert wildlife (a 8125)



97a. 2097: east wall, upper right section. Mernetjer-Izezi observing scenes to left. The scenes immediately before him seem to depict scribes (a 8120)



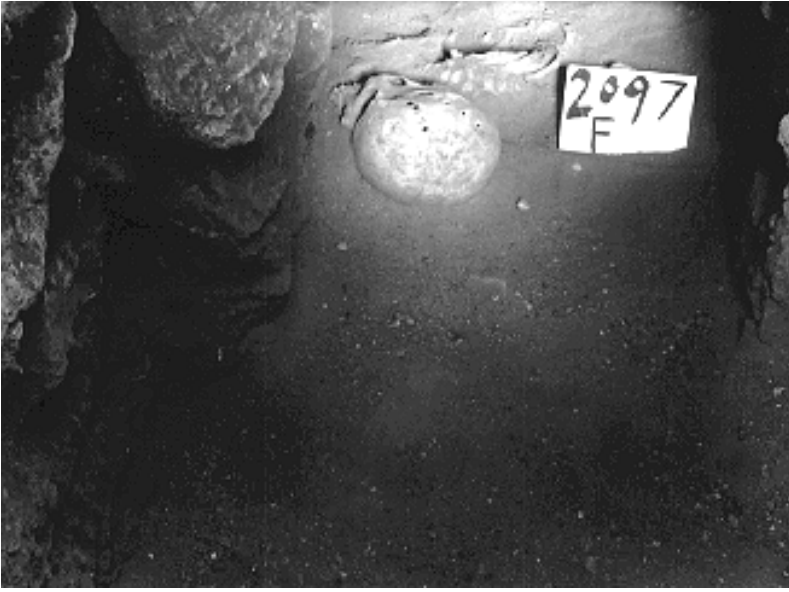
97b. 2097: east wall, lower right section. Two registers of wildlife in the desert and, above, a register of men bringing animals to offer (a 8121)



98a. 2097': undecorated false door at south end of east face (rg 7-4, 1989)



98b. 2097': small false door tablet of Tjezet, under serdab slots at the north end of the east face (b 9032)



99a. 2097 f: leg-contracted burial, described as a child. The holes and pitting in top of skull are likely the result of post mortem damage (c 14259)

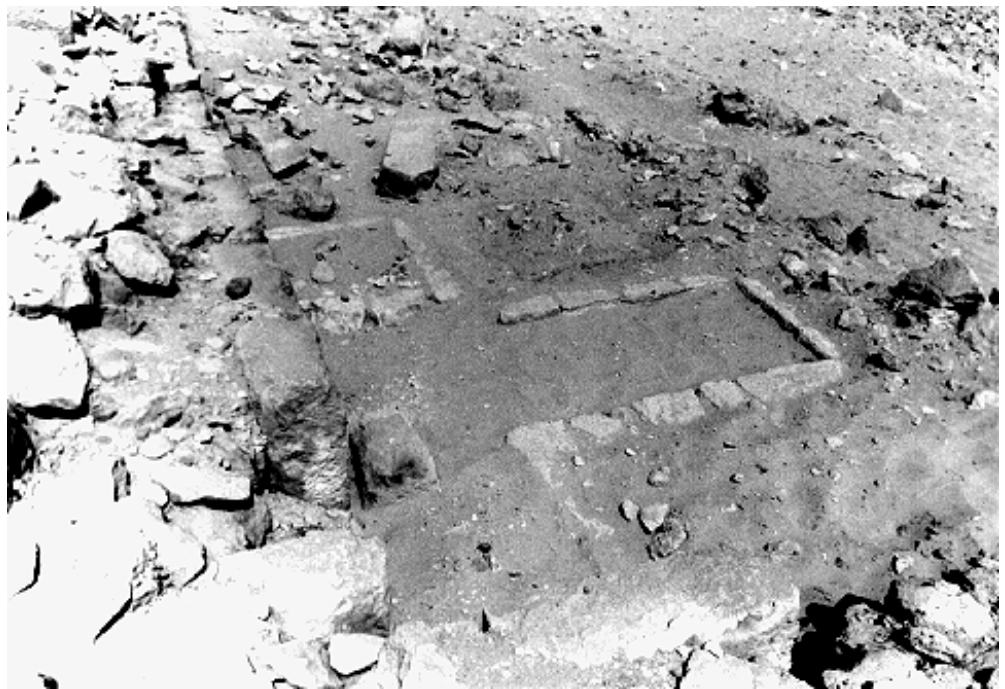


99b. 2097b: view of "mastaba" from the west (amr, 1990)

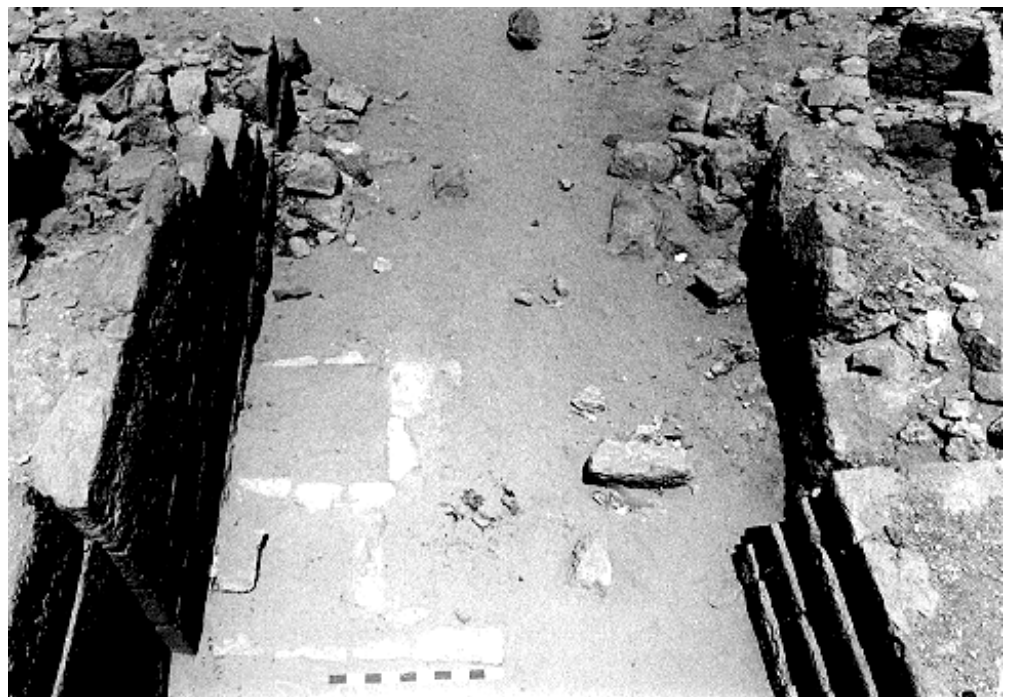


99c. 2097b: interior space. The parallel walls in the foreground are the base of the T-shaped interior space, reconstructed as the entrance to a courtyard before the construction of the wall in the center of the photo. Behind the wall, note the doorway to the portico of 2092=2093, which aligns exactly with the base of the "T" (rg 7-13, 1989)

100a. 2097b: view of "mastaba" from the southeast (amr, 1990)



100b. 2097c: remains of mastaba from the south and above (rg 24-9, 1989)

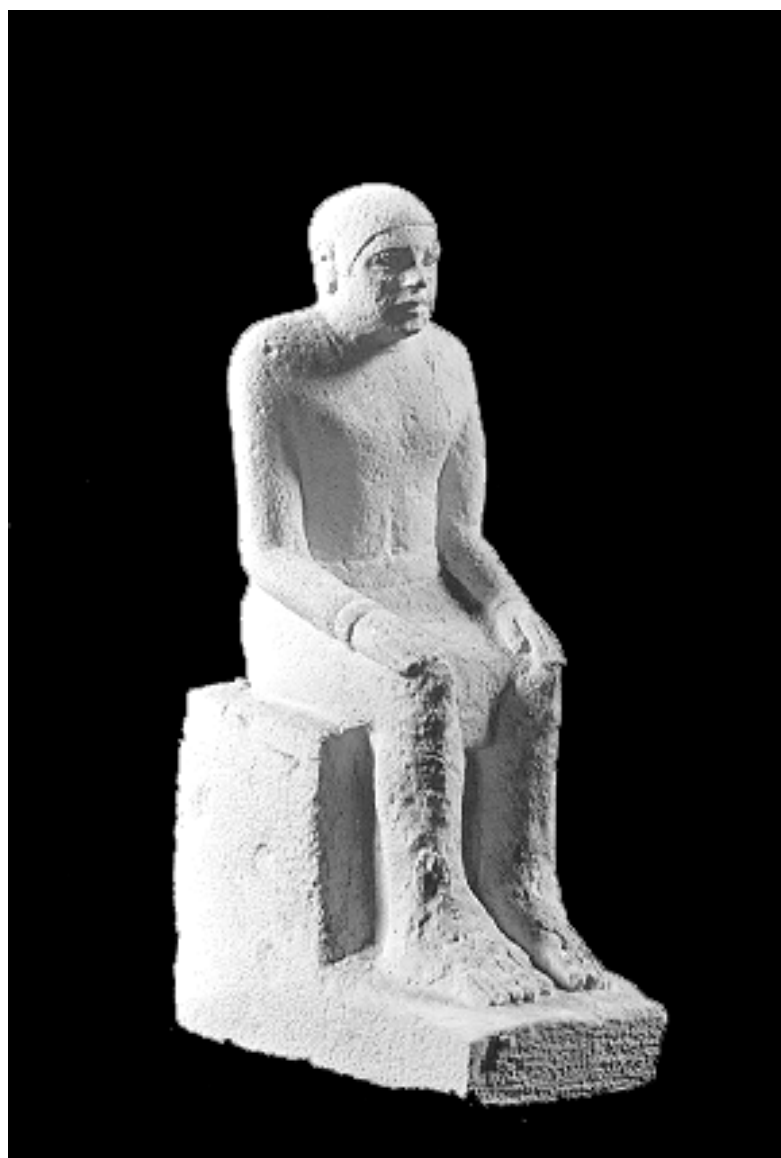


100c. 1903x/2091x?: view from north of excavation in the area north of 2097 and its subsidiary tombs, perhaps to be identified with serdabs from which two statues were registered in 1926, later called "1903x" or "2091x," and said to be 50 feet north of 2097a (b 9050)





101a. 1903x/2091x: view from south of excavation (b 9049)



101b. 1093x/2091x: Conventional uninscribed male statue from "serdab" (mfa 39.929=26-1-133) (c 13962-65)



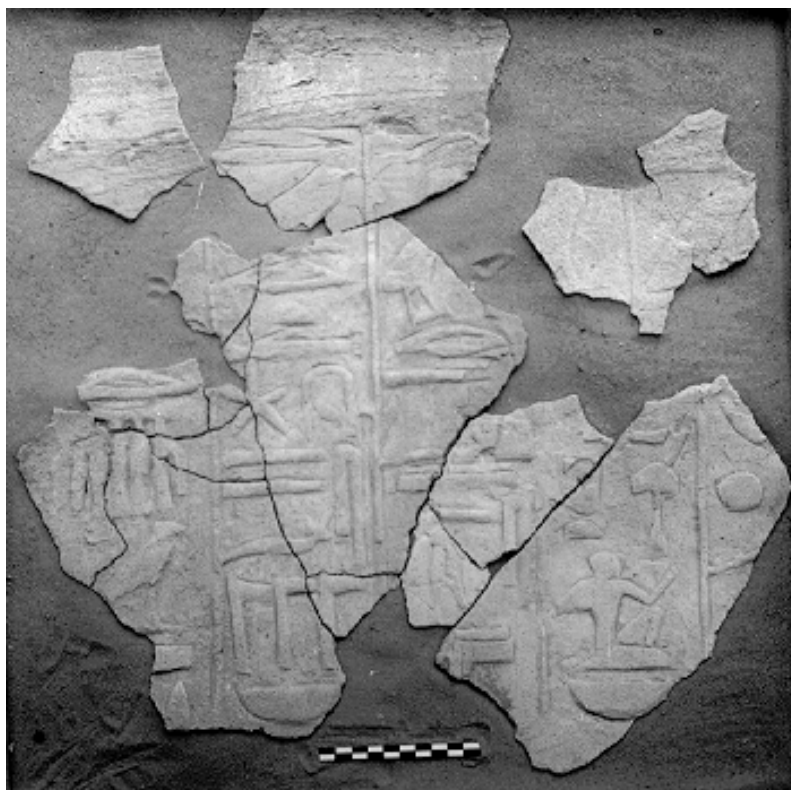
101c. 1093x/2091x: Uninscribed female statue from "serdab." The figure of the woman holding a child (26-1-132) is unusual for this period (c 13964, 13965)



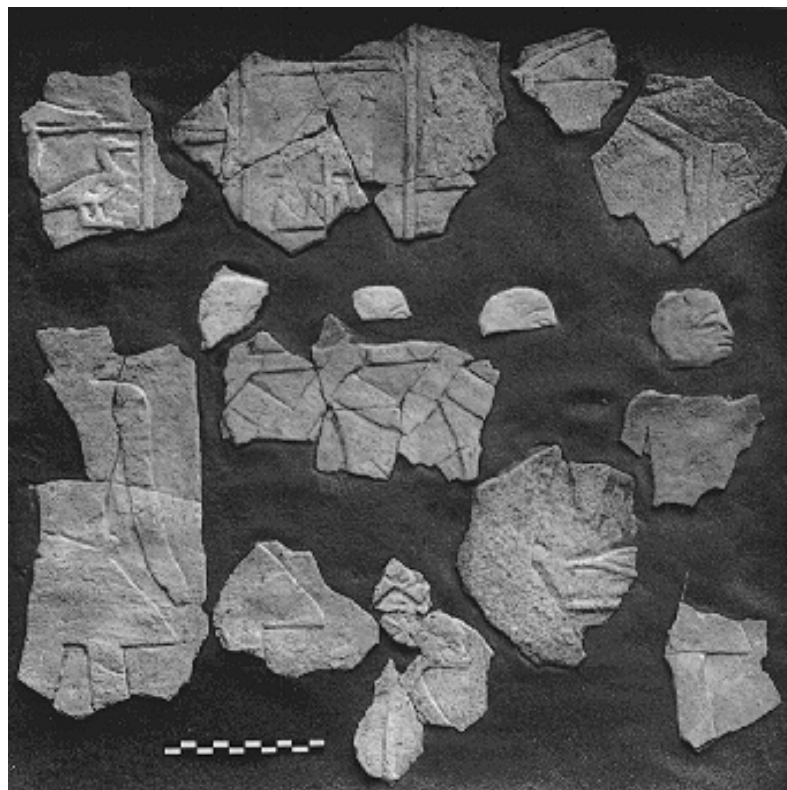
102a. 2098: west (left) and north walls, illustrating the "bench" between the false doors and the offering table below the northern door (a 8104)



102b. 2098: north wall. Fragmentary remains of a scene of Nefer-Khuwi in a carrying-chair (a 8106)



103a. 2098: plaster fragments of text from north wall (b 9059)



103b. 2098: plaster fragments of text and scene from north wall (b 9060)

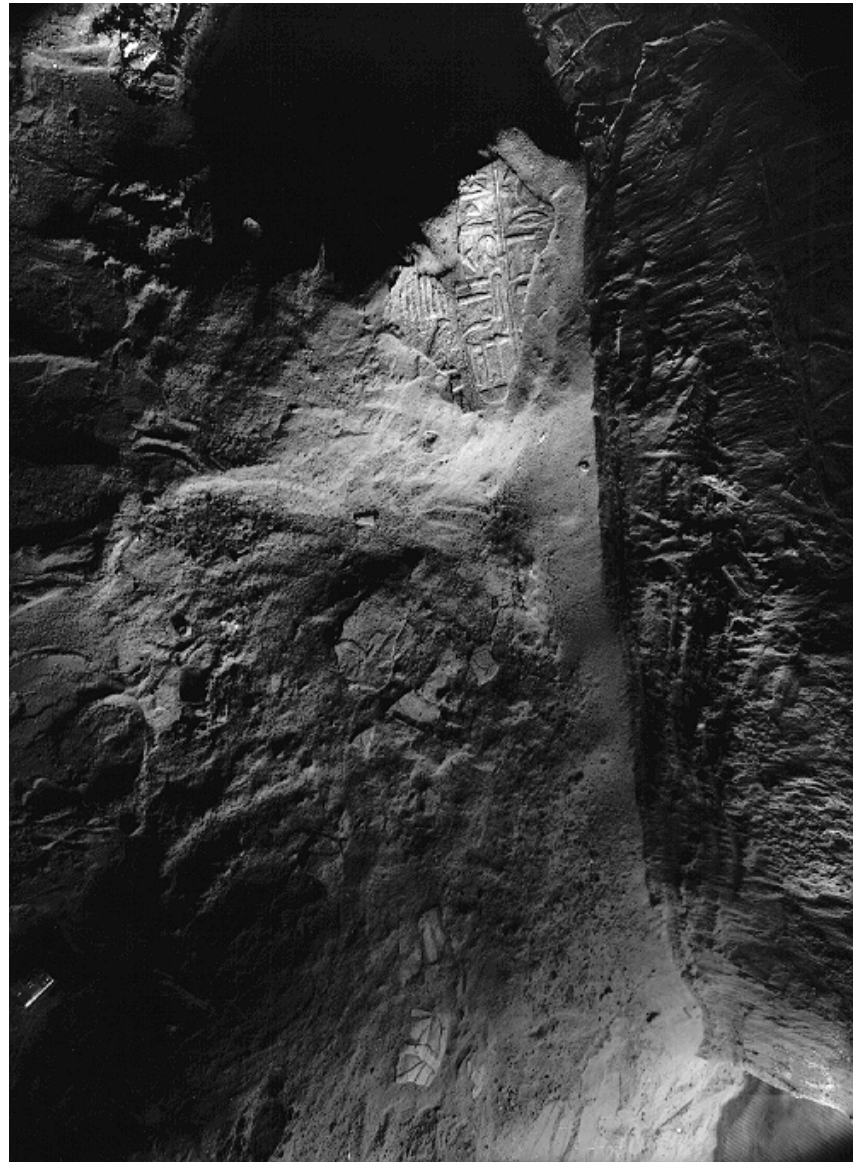


103c. 2098: plaster fragments of text and scene from north wall (b 9061)



103d. 2098: small plaster fragments from north wall (b 9062)

104a. 2098: plaster fragments from north wall in situ. The north wall is visible at the top of the photograph, placing the fragments at the level of the middle of the lowest register (a 8067)



104b. 2098: pillar and west wall from east. The northern false door and its offering table are at right; the southern false door (behind the pillar) was removed in antiquity (a 8103)





105a. 2098: lower part of northern false door (a 8086)



105b. 2098: west wall, central part of right end. Nefer-khuwi and his wife (a 8087)



106a. 2098: west wall, upper part of right end. Columns and roof of canopy (b 9051)



106b. 2098: west wall, lower part of right end. Butchers (b 9052)



106c. 2098: west wall, middle part of left end. Offerings (top) and men bringing offerings (a 8089)



107a. 2098: west wall, upper part of left end. Piled offerings and top of canopy (a 8088)



107b. 2098: south wall. Men bringing animals (upper two registers) and personified estates (a 8105)



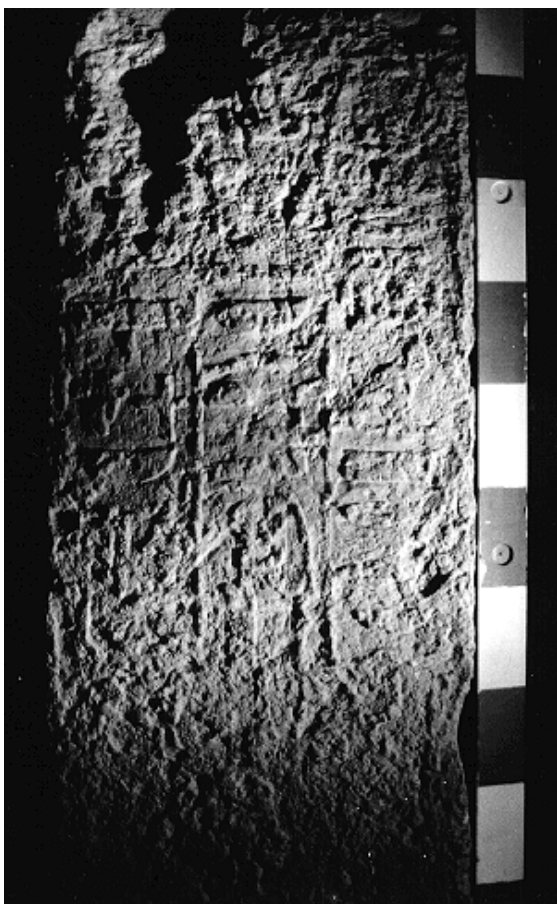
108a. 2098: south wall. Detail of alternating male and female personified estates (b 9054)



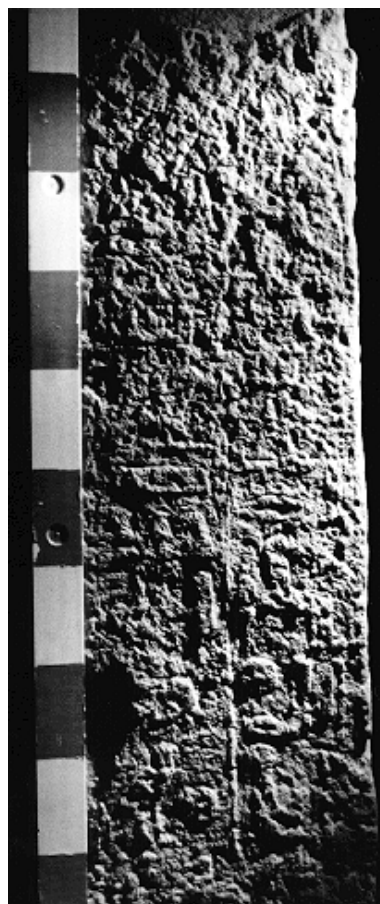
108b. 2098: west wall of corridor south of recess, left. Offering list (rg 17-36, 1989)



108c. 2098: west wall of corridor south of recess, right. Offering list. Scale stick is held against the corner of the recess (rg 17-32, 1989)



109a. 2098: upper west face of pillar. Text (rg 17-8, 1989)



109c. 2098: upper south face of pillar. Text (rg 17-14, 1989)



109b. 2098: west face of pillar. Nefer-khuwi (a 8094)



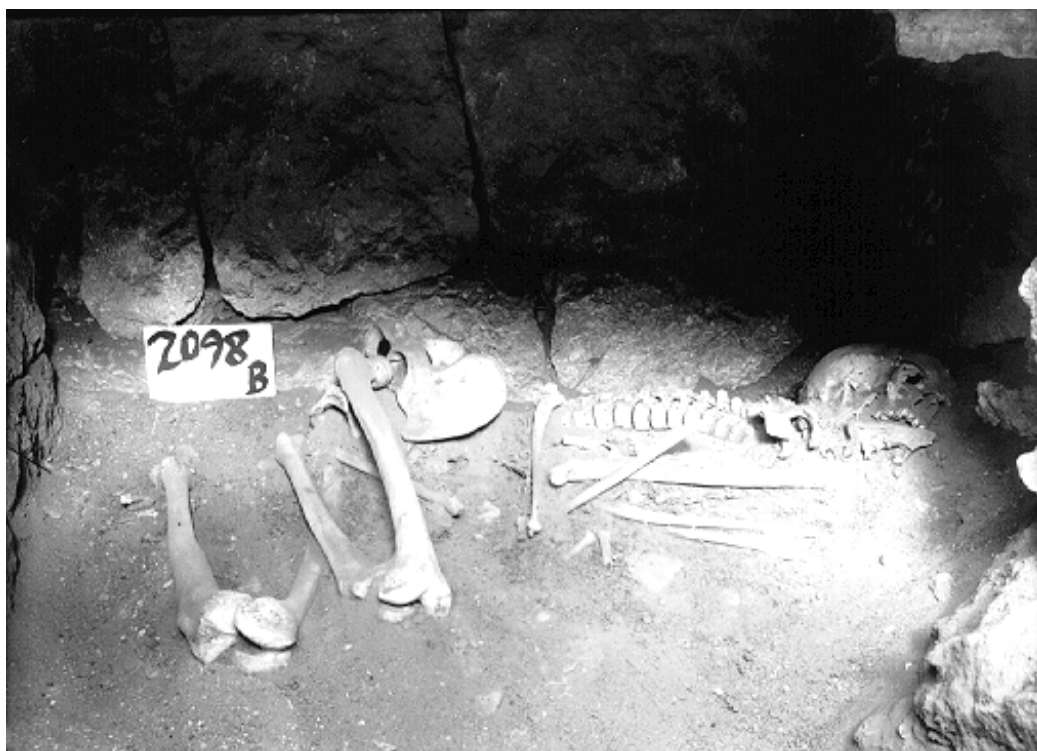
109d. 2098: south face of pillar. Nefer-khuwi (a 8097)



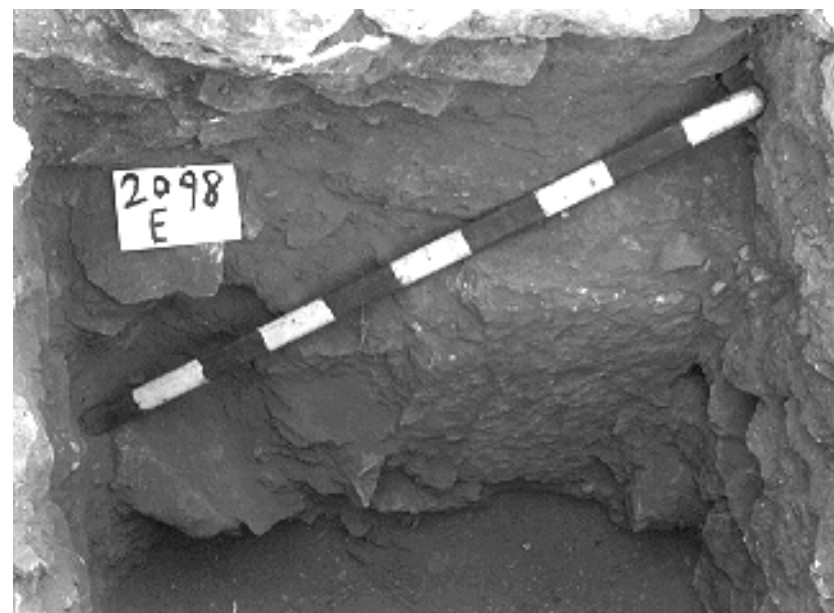
110a. 2098 a: shaft and blocking of type v e (b 9045)



110b. 2098 a: extended, skeletally adult burial, with noticeable tooth wear. The body is presumably that of Neferkhuwi (the well-developed supraorbital torus would be consistent with a male), surrounded by the decayed remains of his wooden coffin (b 9103)



110c. 2098 b: leg-contracted, skeletally adult burial, with significant tooth wear (b 9104)



110d. 2098 e: intact blocking of type v d, although no burial was found in the chamber behind it (c 14263)



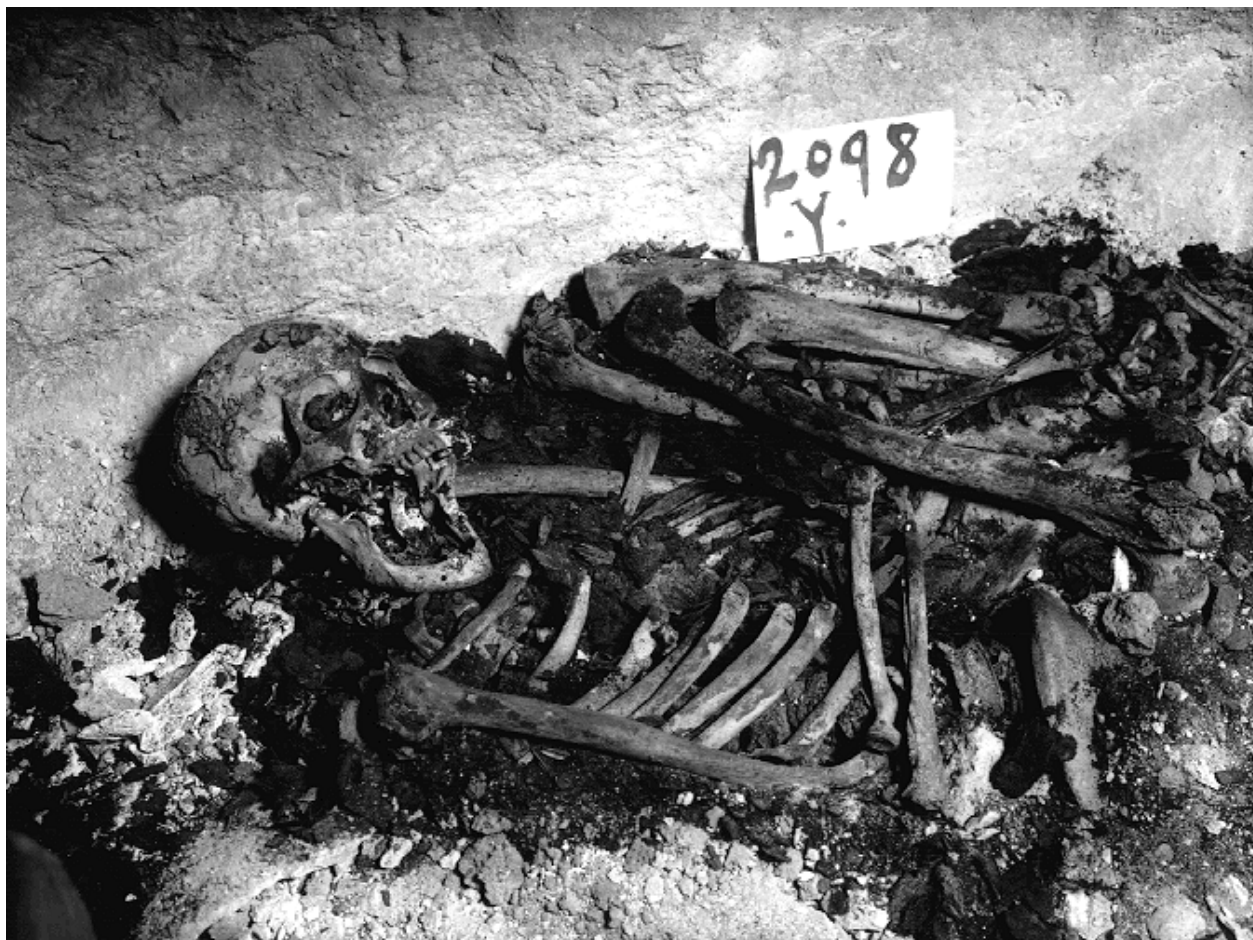
111a. 2098 g: entrance to chamber. No blocking (c 14260)



111c. 2098 y: burial, tightly bundled in linen wrappings (a 8084)



111b. 2098 y: chamber type 7 b, built at the base of the shaft on the east side (b 9046)



112a. 2098 y: skeletally adult burial, tightly contracted, after the removal of the linen wrappings. There was apparently significant loss of lower teeth (and perhaps also upper ones) before death (a 8085)



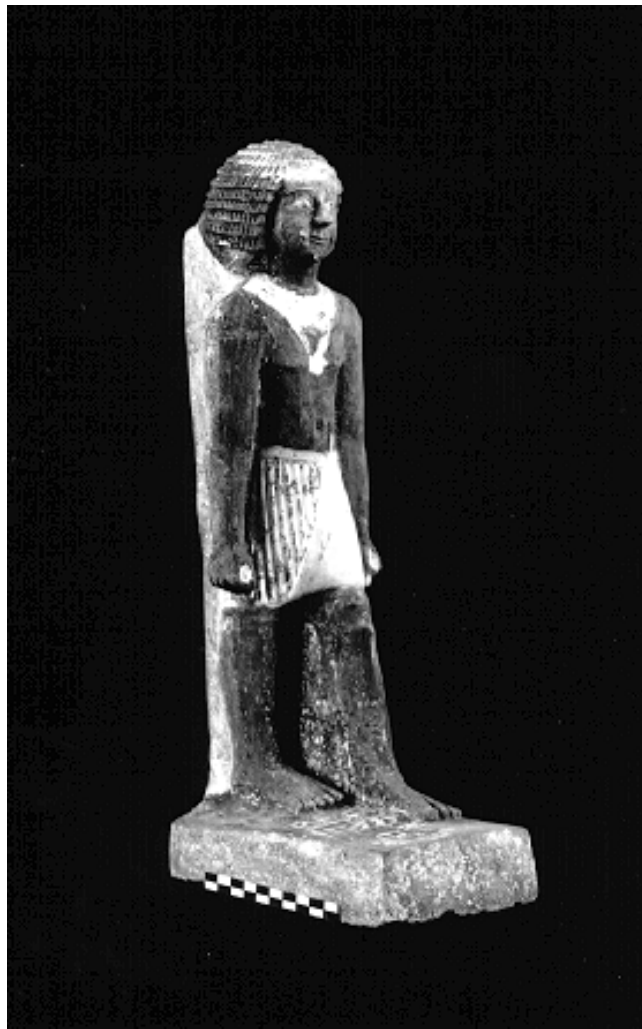
112b. 2099: view of false door and shaft a from the east, showing the rubble wall (behind the false door) and its coincidence with a change in the coursing of the support wall for the corridor of 2098 (amr, 1990)



112c. 2099: false door (rg 7-29, 1989)



113a. 2099: serdab, during excavation (b 9039)



113b. 2099: serdab statue of Kahersetef, also labeled Kednes, left front. 39-1-19 (b 9042)



113c. 2099: serdab statue of Kahersetef, also labeled Kednes from above. The text is left of his foot. 39-1-19 (b 9040)



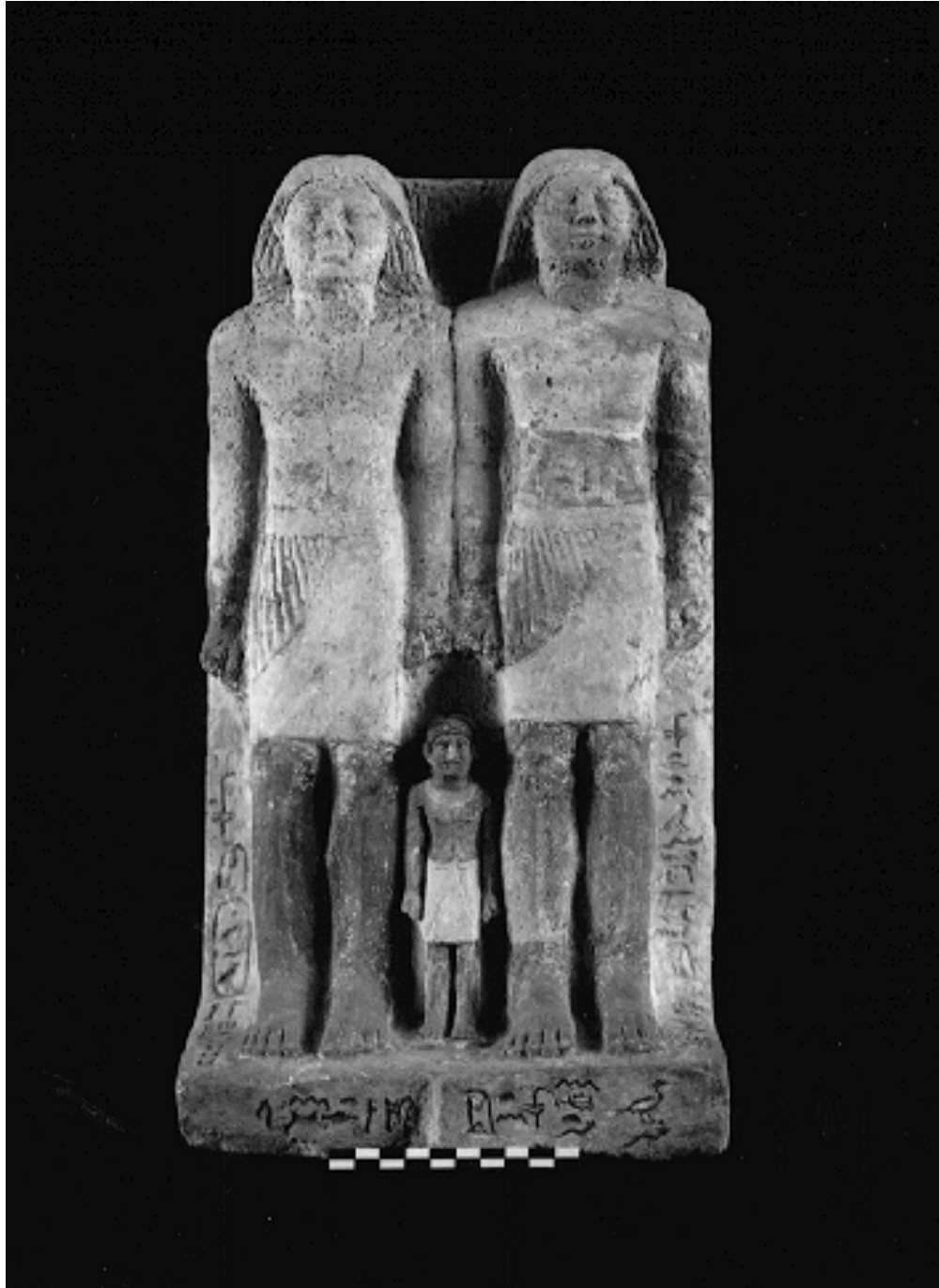
113d. 2099: serdab statue of Kahersetef, also labeled Kednes from back, showing the recutting of the name. 39-1-19 (b 9041)



114a. 2099: serdab statue of Raramu and his wife Ankhet. 39-1-16 (a 8078)



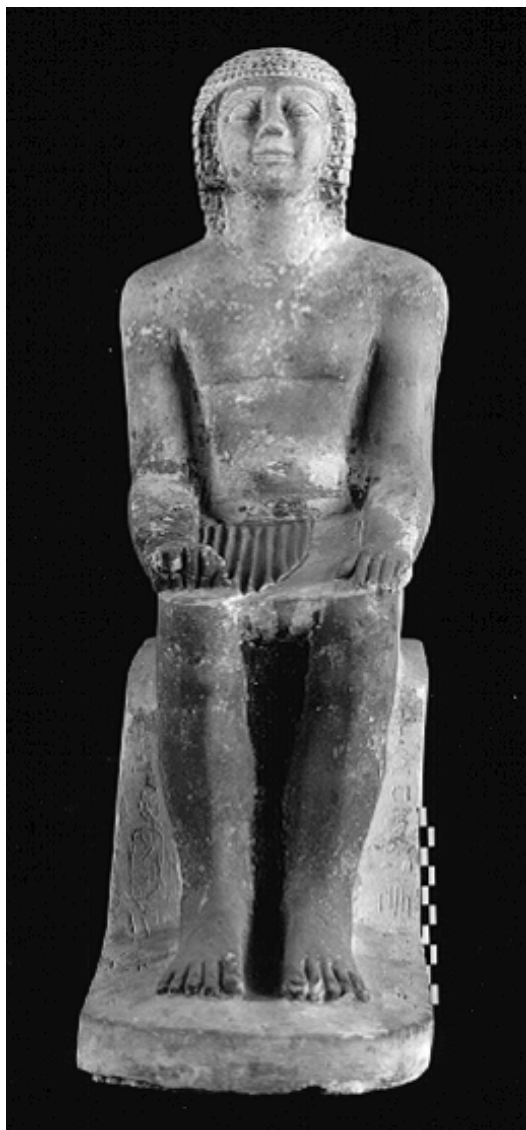
114b. 2099: serdab statue of Raramu and his wife Ankhet. 39-1-16 (a 8077)



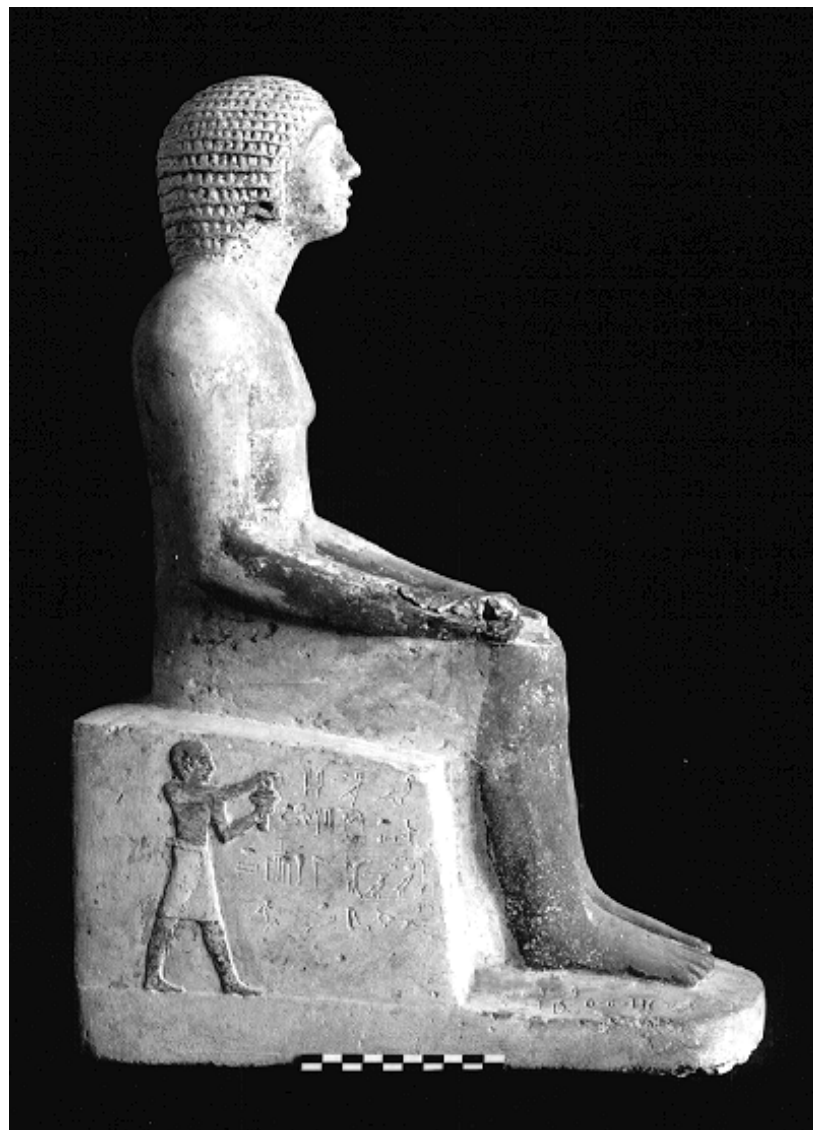
115a. 2099: serdab statues of Raramu and Nikau-Ptah (probably the same man) with a son labeled Kednes. Note the cutting back of the front of the base, to revise the son's name. 39-1-18 (a 8080)



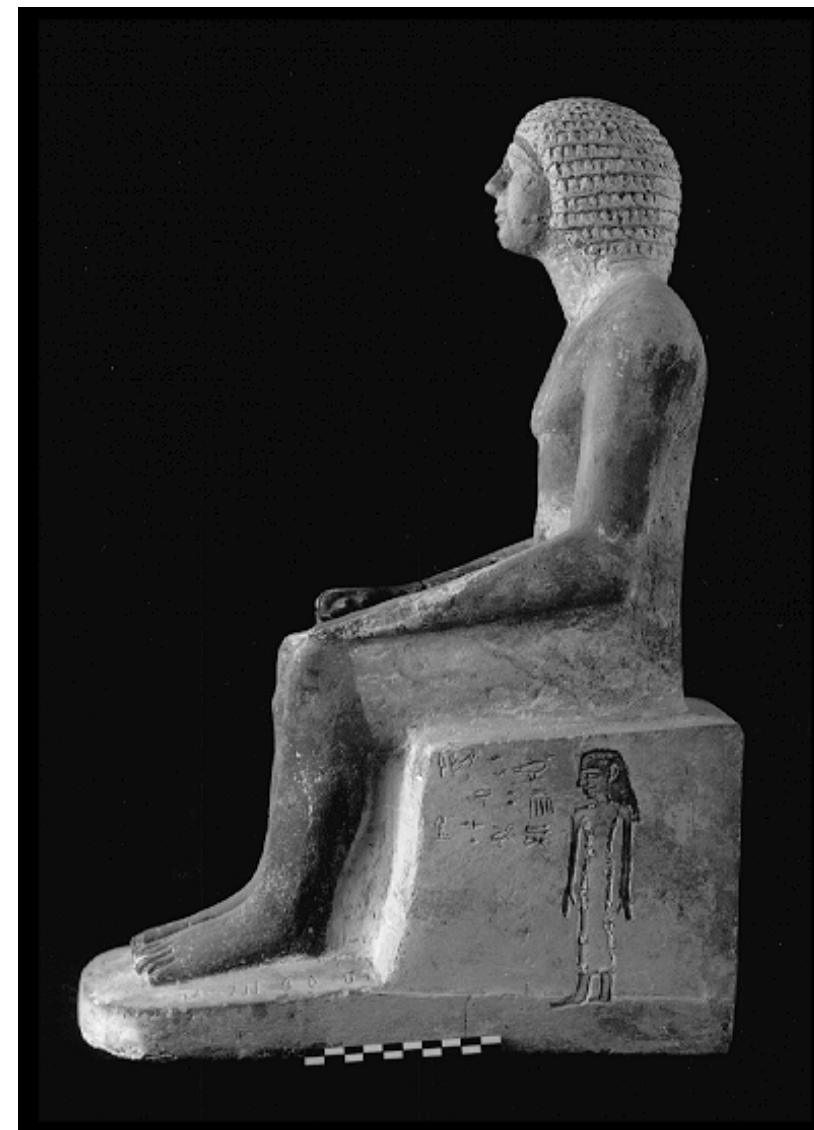
115b. 2099: serdab statues of Raramu/Nikau-Ptah and his son Kednes. 39-1-18 (a 8079)



116a. 2099: seated statue of Raramu. Front view. 39-1-17 (a 8073)



116b. 2099: seated statue of Raramu. Proper right side. Raised relief figure of his son Khersetef censing is on the side of his chair. 39-1-17 (a 8072)



116c. 2099: seated statue of Raramu. Proper left side. Sunk relief figure of his daughter Tjez-tjaset. Her feet extend below the groundline, and the text giving her name is oriented in the wrong direction. 39-1-17 (a 8075)



117a. 2099 a: leg-contracted burial with linen wrappings (c 14262)



117b. 2099 c: blocking type iv e+, vertical slabs resting on two courses of rough stones, bound with yellow clay (c 14261)



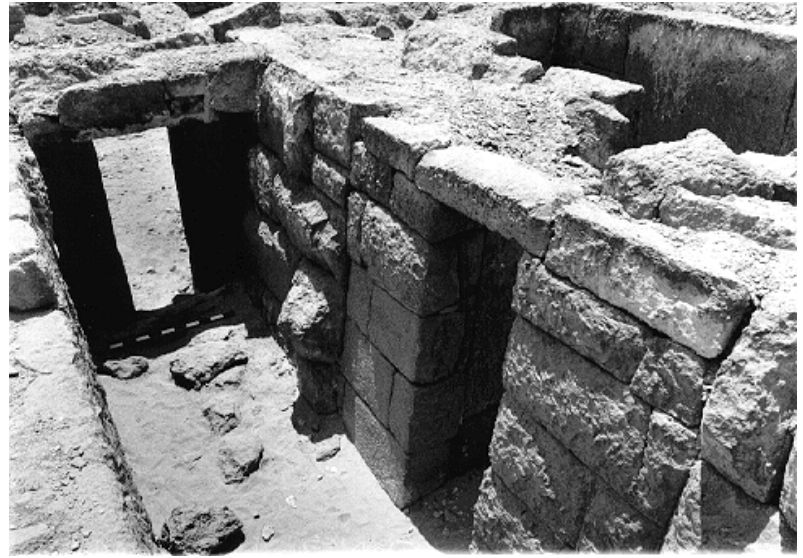
117c. 2099 f: intact blocking type vi d(2), wedge-shaped wall of rubble bound with mud (c 14264)



117d. 2099 f: small, tightly contracted skeleton, perhaps of a young adult, since the proximal humeral epiphysis is fused but an epiphyseal line is still apparent (b 9048)



118a. 2230: view from south of L-shaped chapel (center) serdab (left) and chapel entrance (right). (A block is missing from the top course in the center foreground) (rg 9-35, 1989)



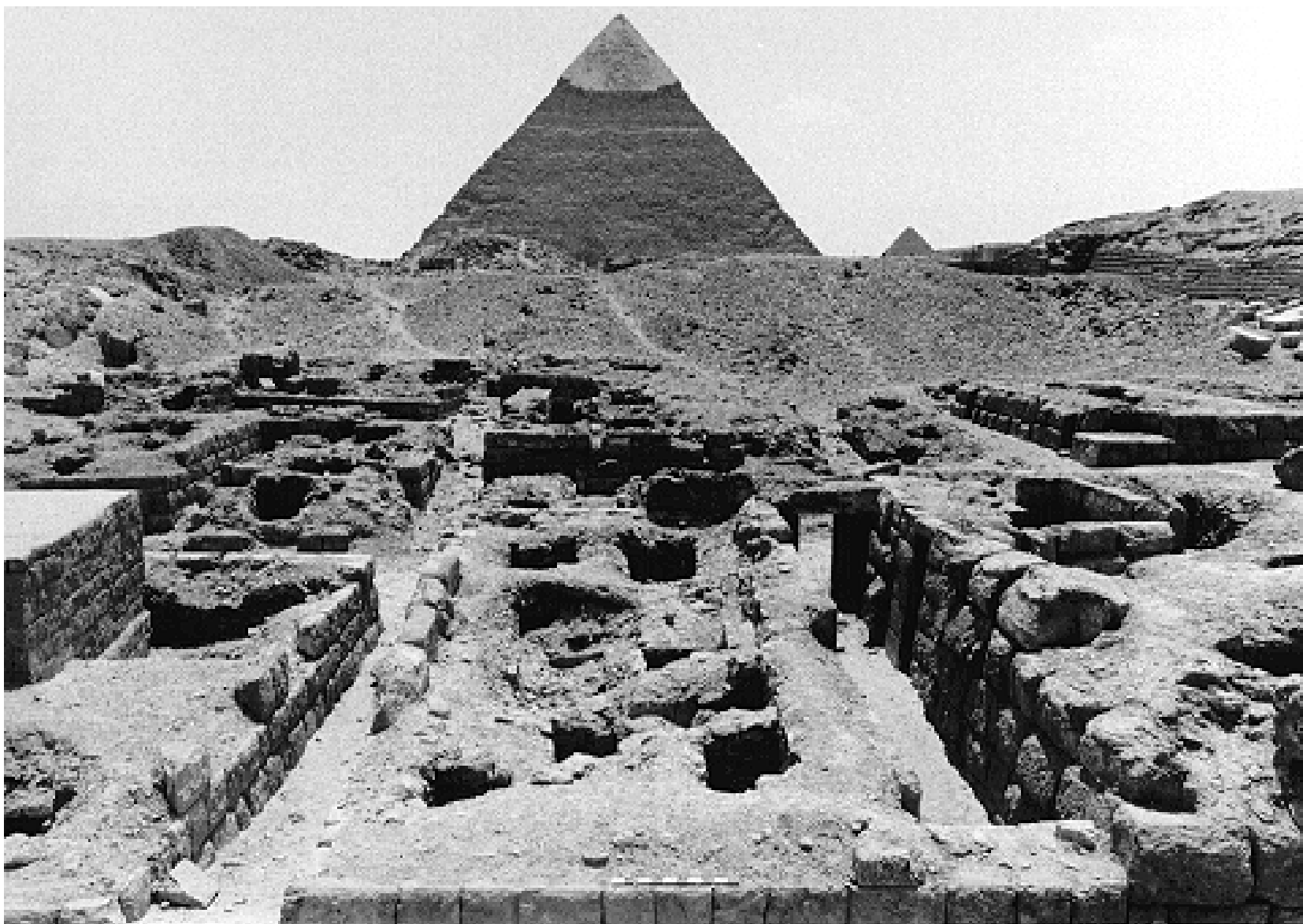
118b. 2230+2231: entrance corridor from southeast. The doorway to the L-shaped chapel at upper right was originally exterior, and was flanked by recesses. These were packed with masonry when 2231 converted it to an interior doorway. Note the rough "w-masonry" left of the packing blocks. The lintel of the Phase ii northern doorway was turned when it was moved to the south. The doorsockets from the original wider emplacement can be seen on the inner face of the lintel (rg 9-31, 1989)



118c. 2230+2231: southern doorway and south face of 2231, with an intrusive inscription of Khuwi-Re centered on the two large blocks of the third course. The angled doorjambs and the unevenness of their join with the adjacent facades is a result of its transplantation from the northern end of the corridor in Phase iii. May 1, 1939 (a 8221, and e 3625)

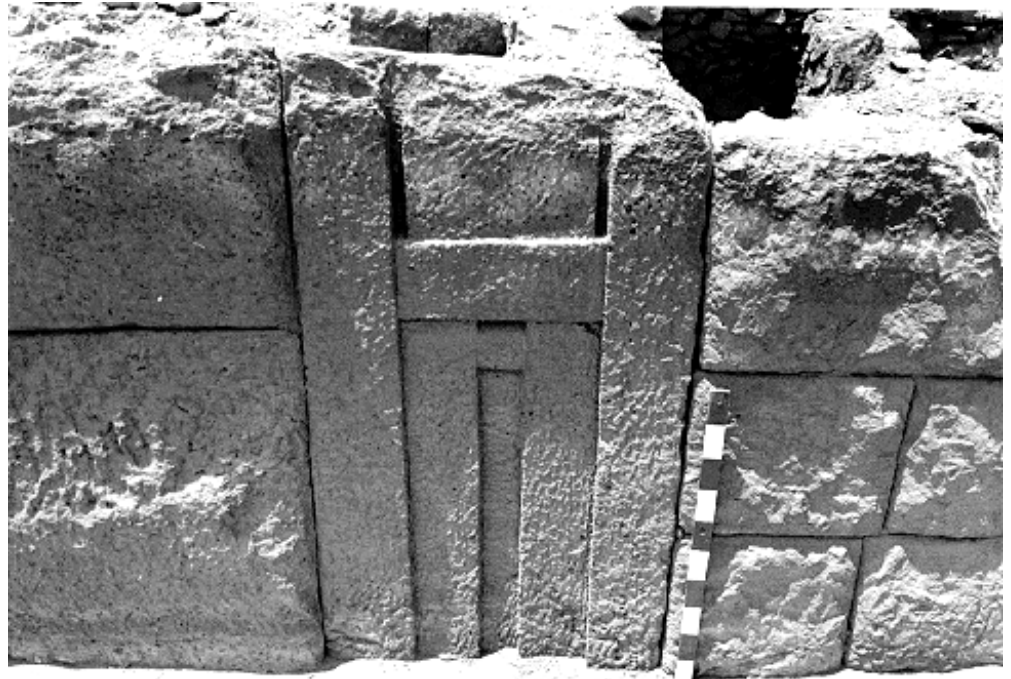


119a. 2230+2231: detail of southern doorway. Left of the far jamb is the angled scar made by the abutment of the battered wall of 2231 during Phase ii, when the entrance was at the north end of the corridor (amr, 1990)



119b. 2230+2231: view from the north, illustrating the density of shafts in 2231 (center). The pyramid is Khafre's; the stepped facing of g 2000 can be seen at the upper right (rg 9-25, 1989)

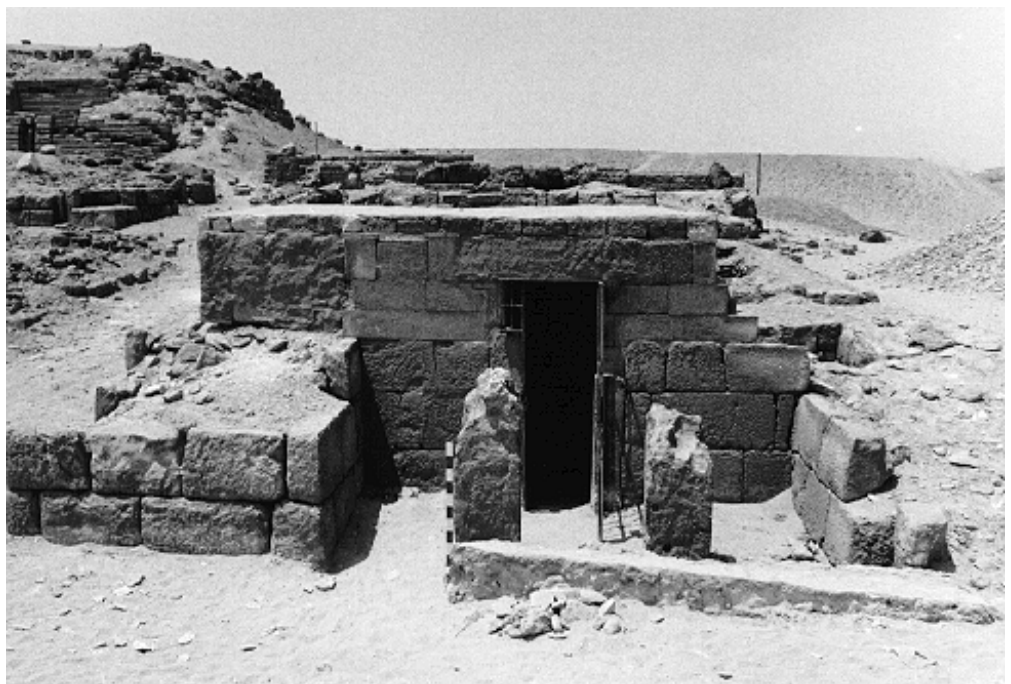
120a. 2231: false door (rg 9-20, 1989)



120b. 2231 e: tightly-contracted skeleton of an adult, according to the excavator. The excavator also noted an abnormal bony outgrowth on the right femur, which is visible in the photograph and may be the result of ossification of the muscle after a traumatic injury (c 14327)



120c. 2240: view from the east. The long block in front of the columns is the fallen lintel of the entrance portico (rg 9-10, 1989)





121a. 2240: excavation photo, showing headless seated scribe statue and fragment of fallen architrave in situ (b 9122)



121b. 2240: excavation photo, showing back of headless seated scribe statue, in situ (b 9123)



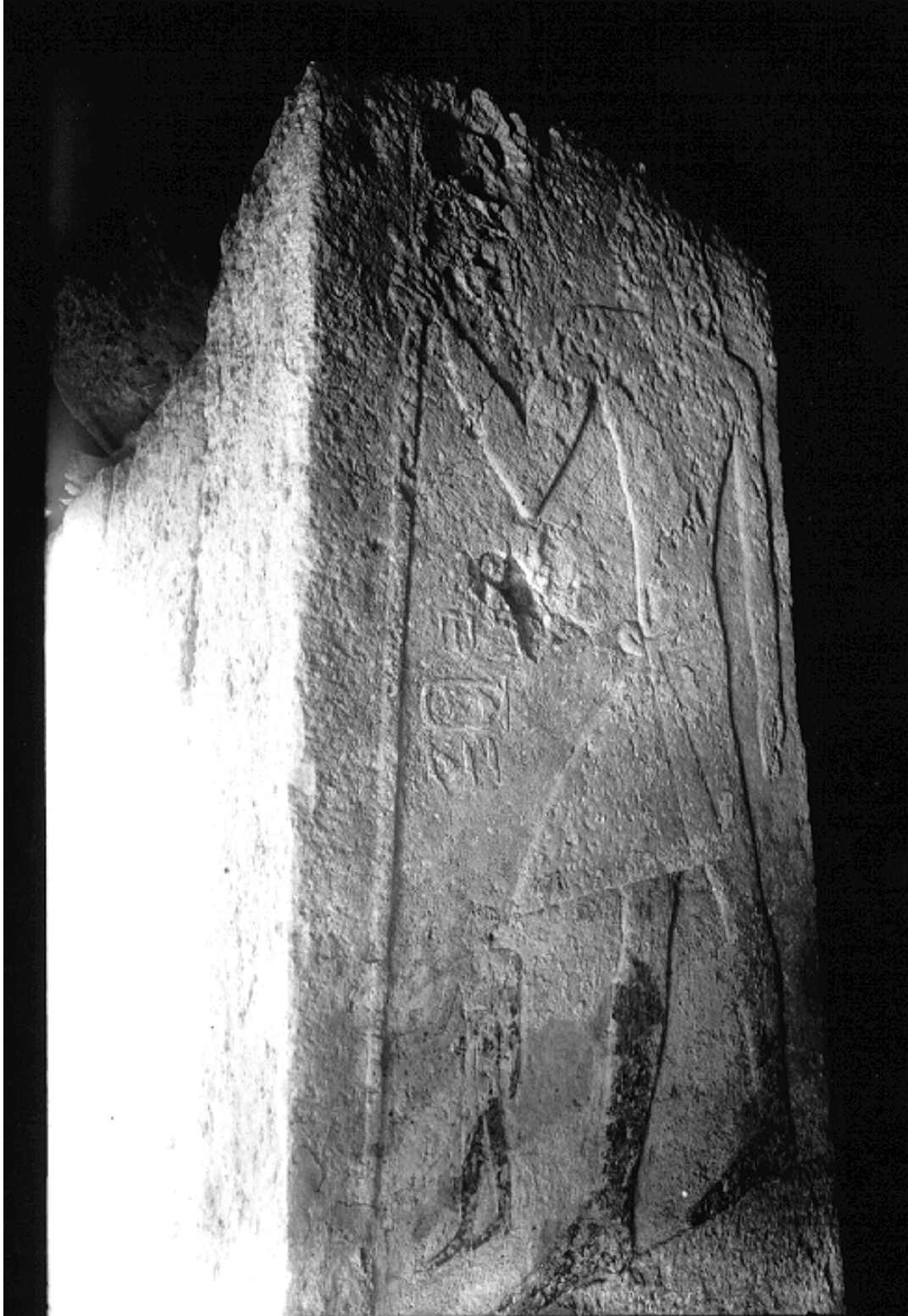
121c. 2240: north pillar of portico, east face. A standing figure in sunk relief, wearing a triangular kilt, facing left, originally decorated this pillar (rg 9-14, 1989)



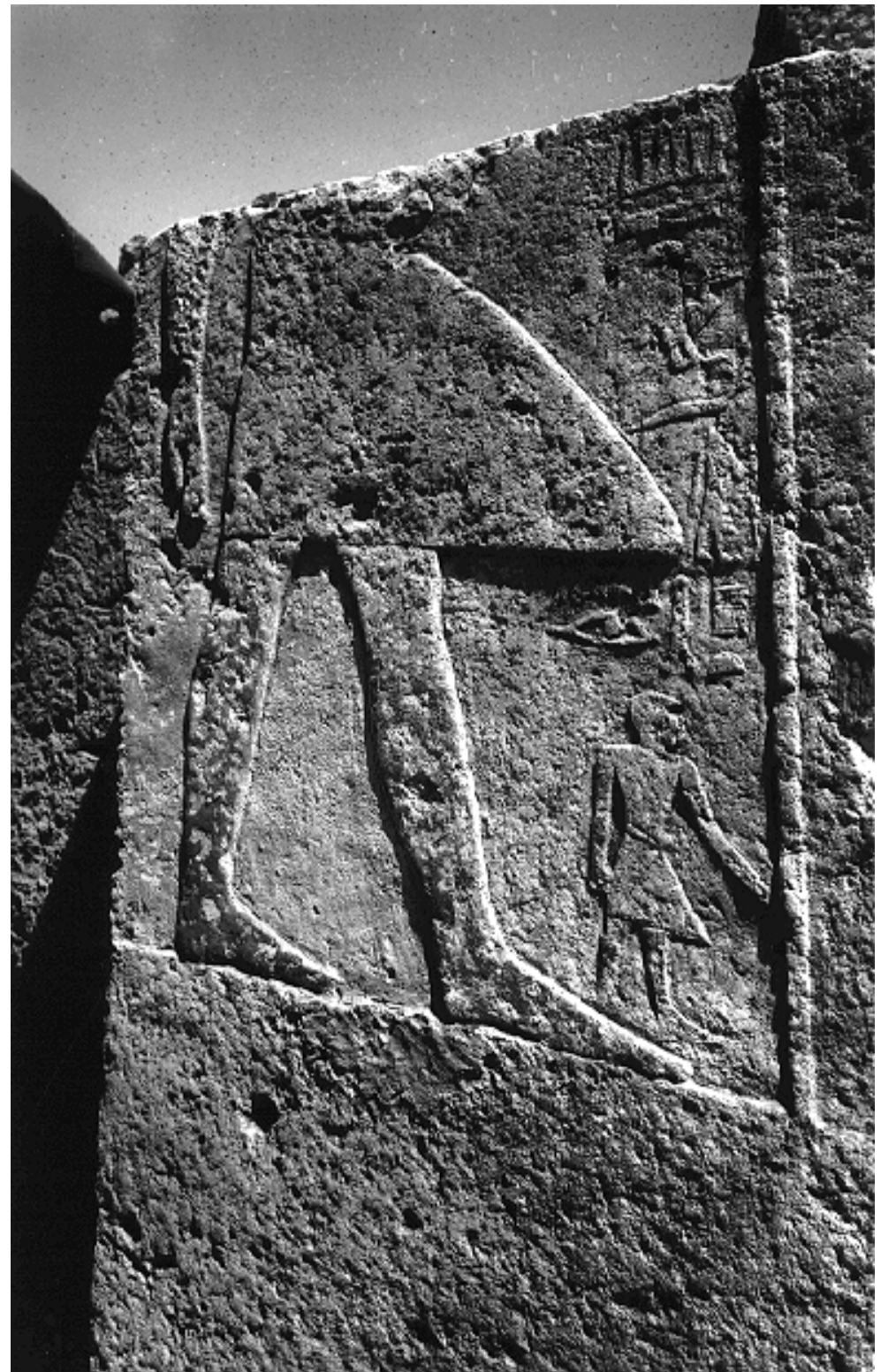
122a. 2240: architrave from portico, north (right) end (a 8222)



122b. 2240: architrave from portico, south (left) end (a 8223)



123a. 2240: south jamb of entrance. Nefer-mesdjerkhufu and his ka-priest Mery-Khufu (a 8246b)

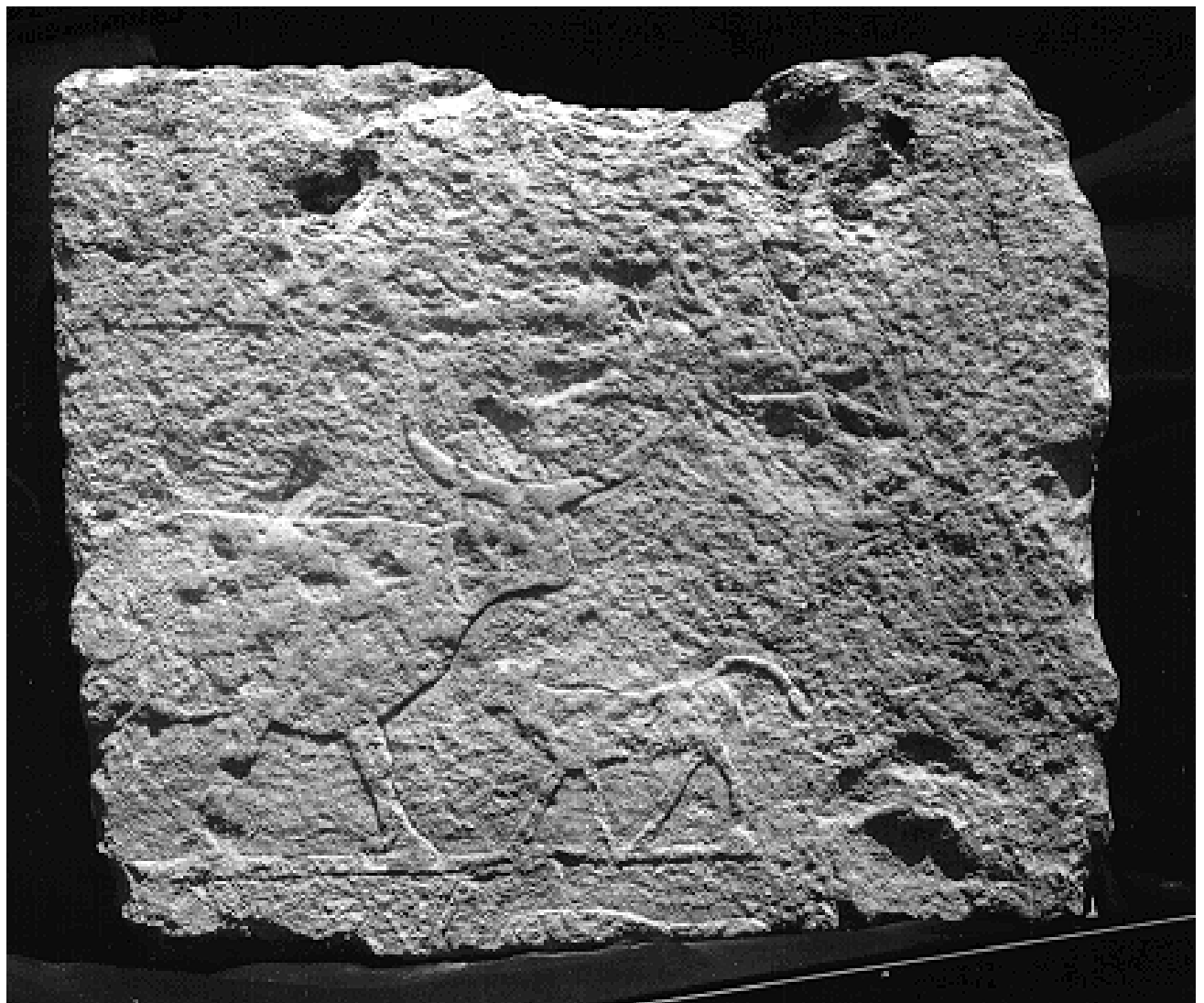


123b. 2240: north jamb of entrance. Nefer-mesdjerkhufu and his son Iren-Ptah (a 8247)



124a. 2240: north wall. Scenes of cattle raising (a 8242)

124b. 2240: loose block, restored on north wall (b 9152)





125a. 2240: loose blocks, to be restored on north end of west wall (a 8246a)



125b. 2240: north end of west wall, right. Secondary niche with three lines of inscription and, above, lowest register of scene (a 8240)



126a. 2240: north end of west wall, left. Three registers depicting daughters (top), musicians, and offering bearers. At lower right is the unfinished text over the secondary niche (a 8239)



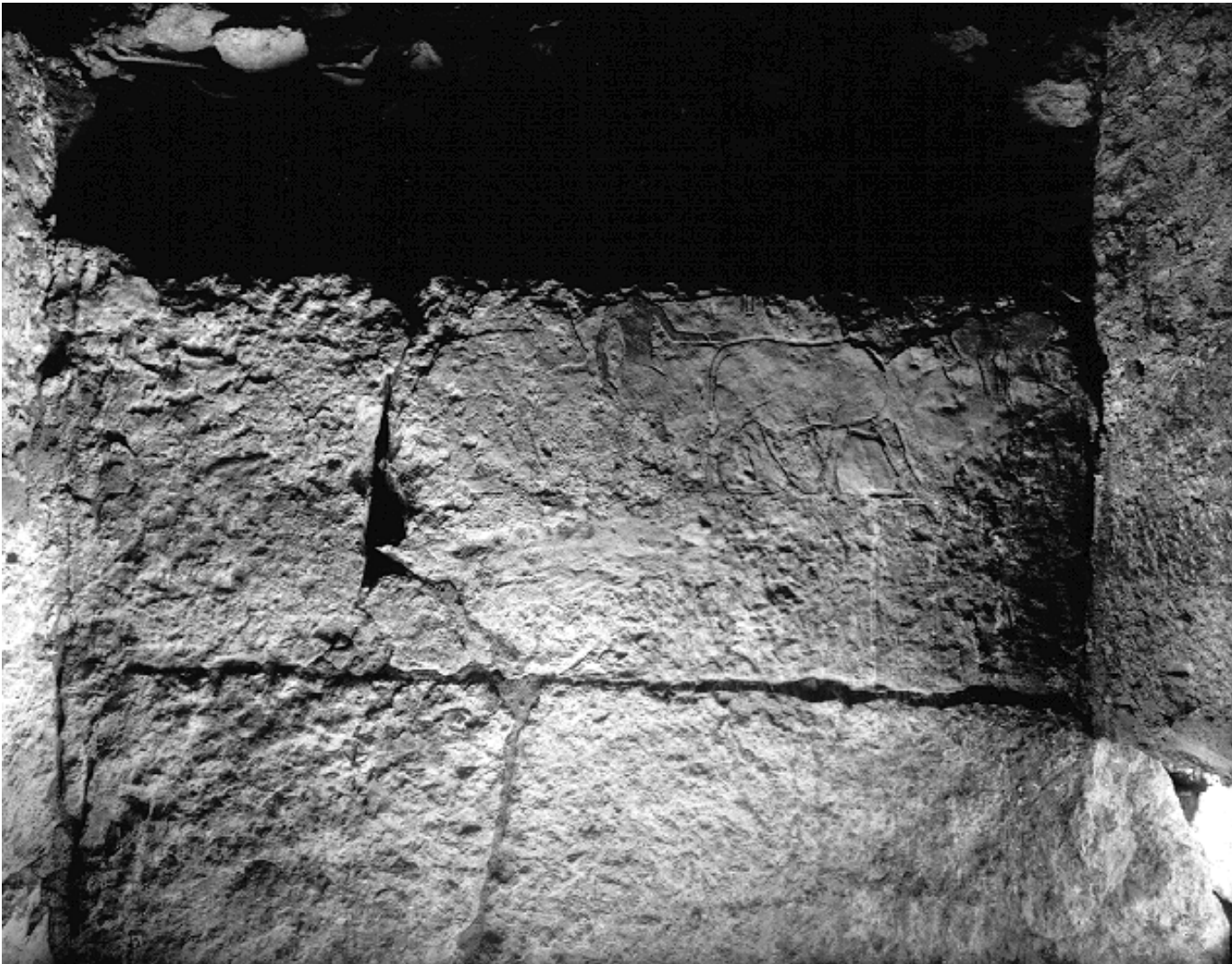
126b. 2240: center of west wall. False door of Nefer-mesdjer-Khufu (a 8229)



127a. 2240: south end of west wall, right. Two registers, showing butchers (bottom) and priests doing the ritual. At left is the offering table (a 8231)



127b. 2240: south end of west wall, left. Nefermesdjer-Khufu (left) at his offering table. Below him is a register of butchers (a 8232)



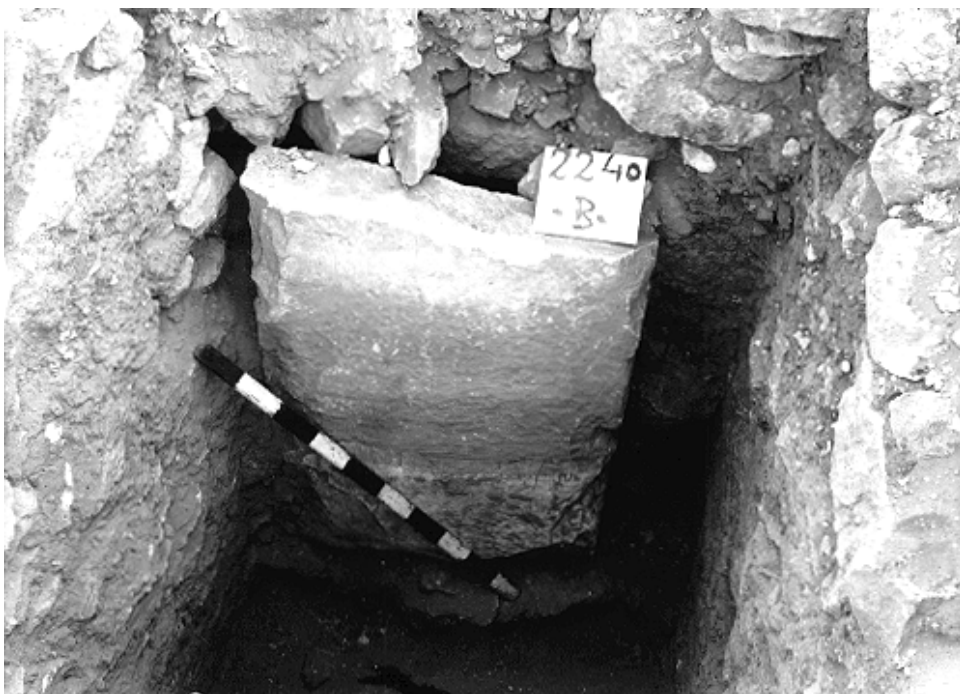
128a. 2240: south wall. Herdsmen driving cattle (a 8241)



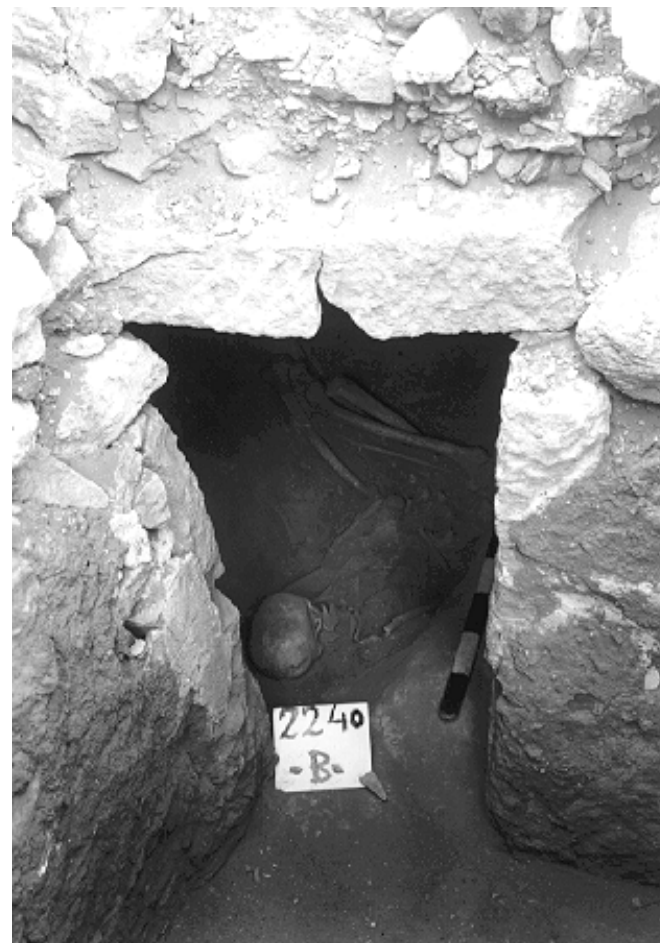
128b. 2240: east wall, south. Nefer-mesdjer-Khufu watching work in the fields (a 8244)



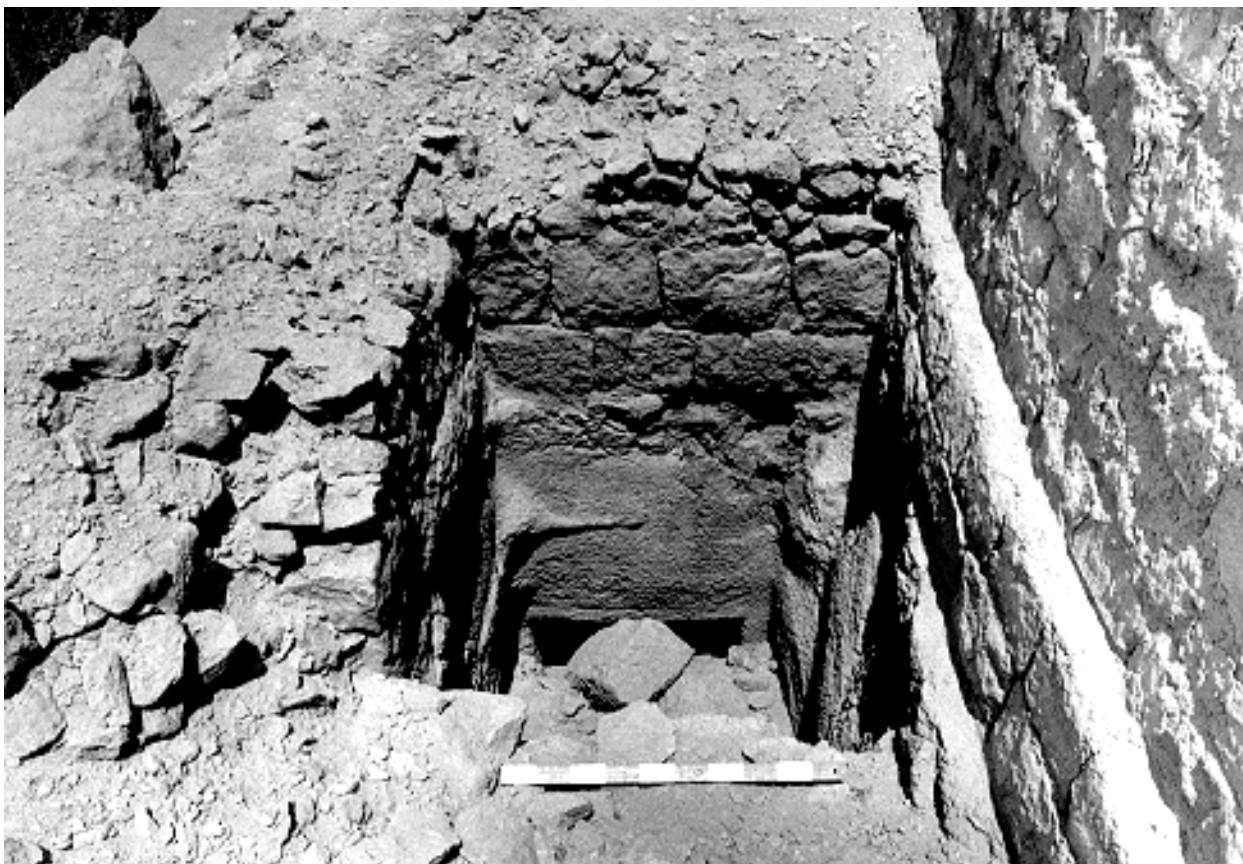
129a. 2240: east wall, north. Work in the wheat fields (a 8245)



129b. 2240 b: blocking type v e+, a leaning slab resting on rubble bound with mud (b 9147)



129c. 2240 b: a skeletally adult burial lying in a shallow burial pit in the floor of the chamber (b 9156)

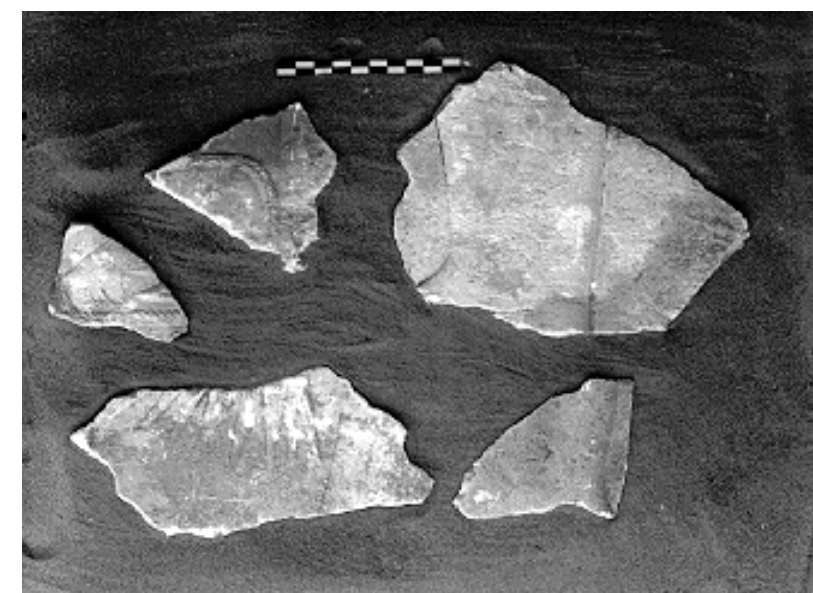


130a. 2240 a: shaft from its top, showing construction and top of entrance to burial chamber (rg 9-19, 1989)

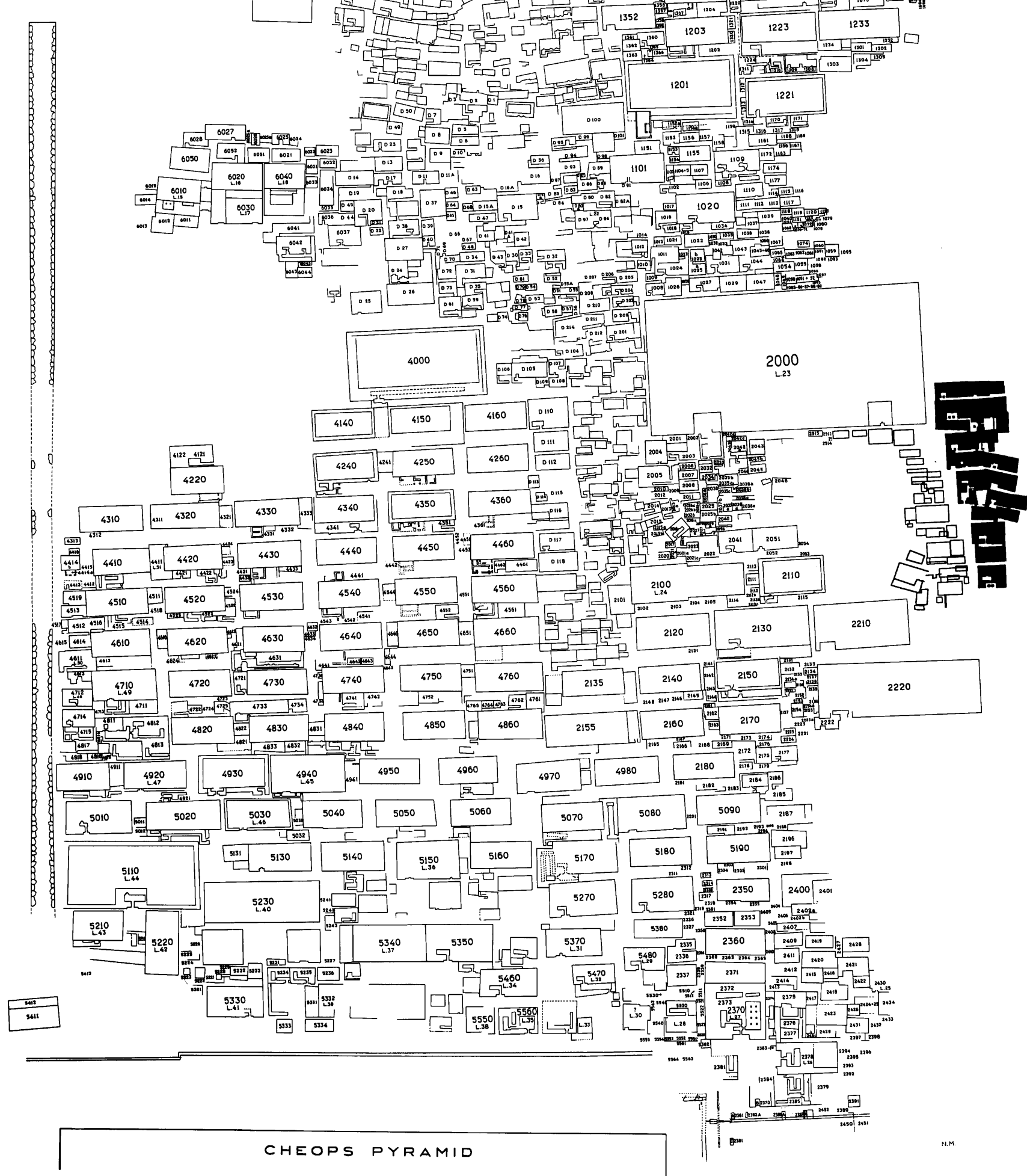


130b. Part of head, from debris on top of 2230, but possibly originally from 2240 serdab. 39-2-7 (b 9058)

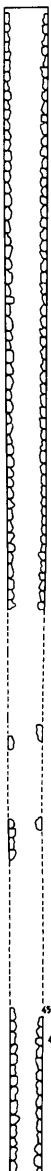
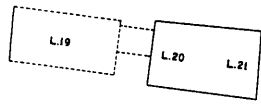
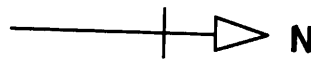
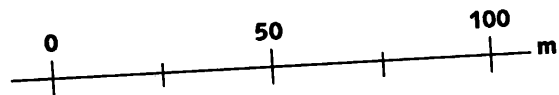
130c. Model figure of a man, perhaps playing a harp. Found south of 2230+2231. 39-4-1 (b 9110, left)



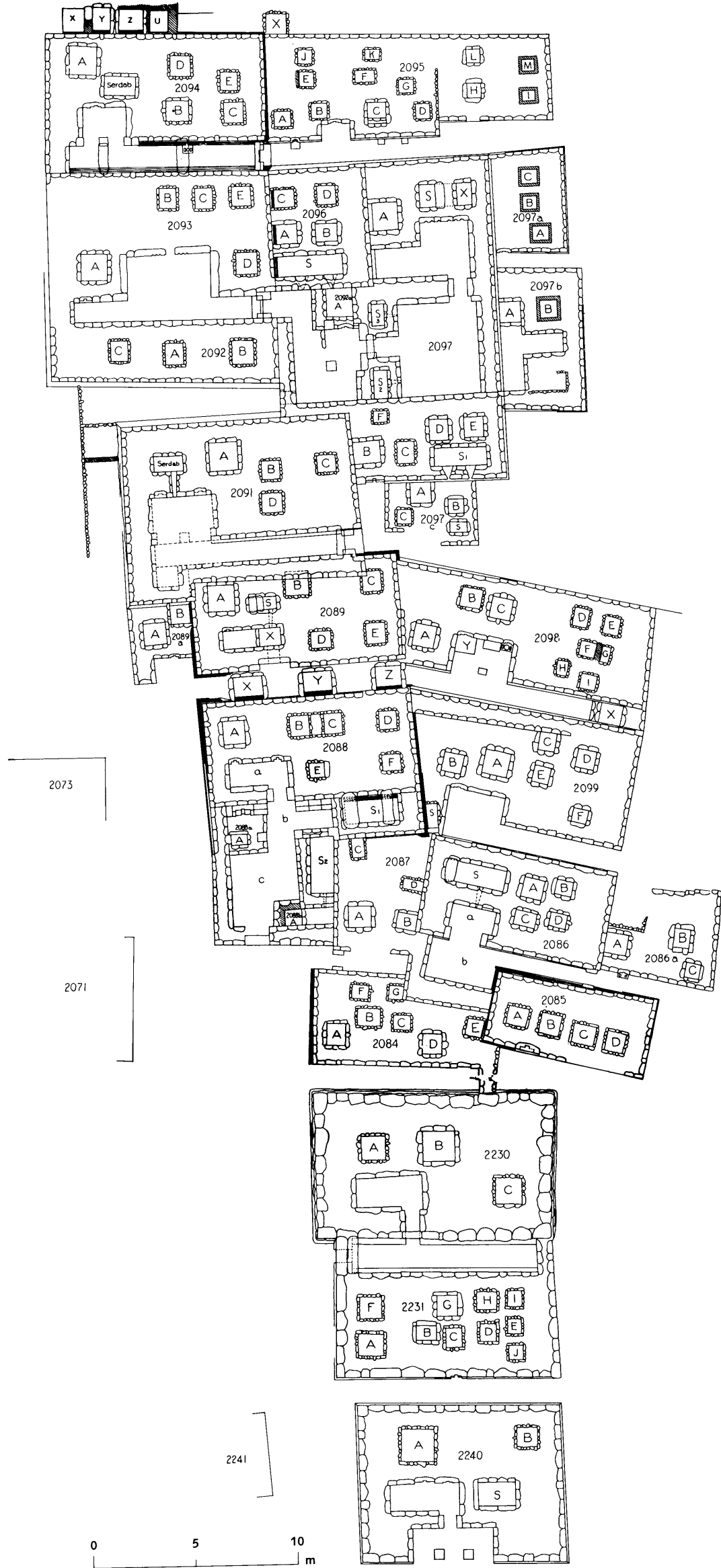
130d. Displaced fragments of relief (some probably of the Fourth Dynasty) from the top of 2230+2231 (c 14270)



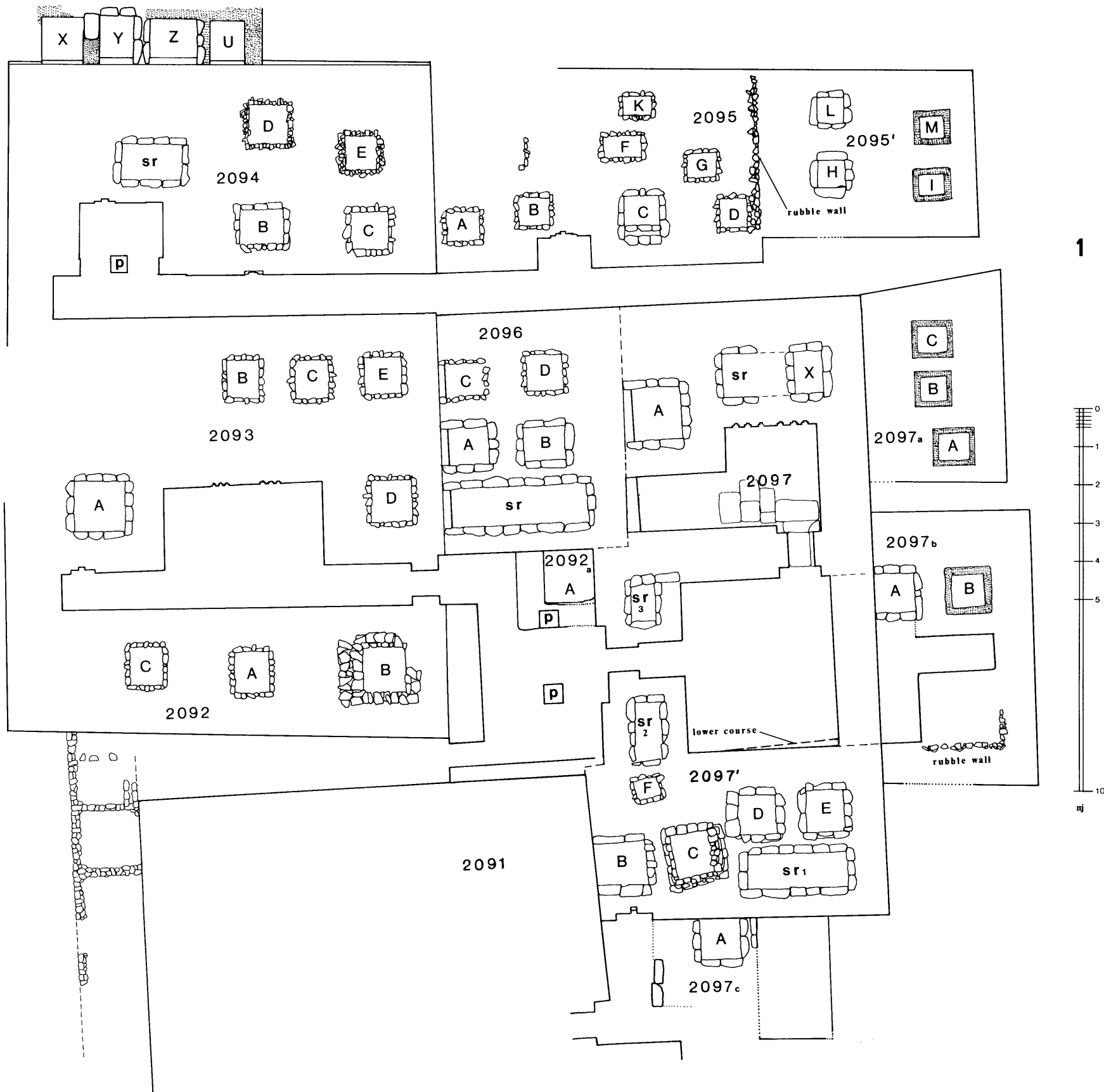
131. Plan of the Western Cemetery at Giza showing the cluster of tombs of palace attendants



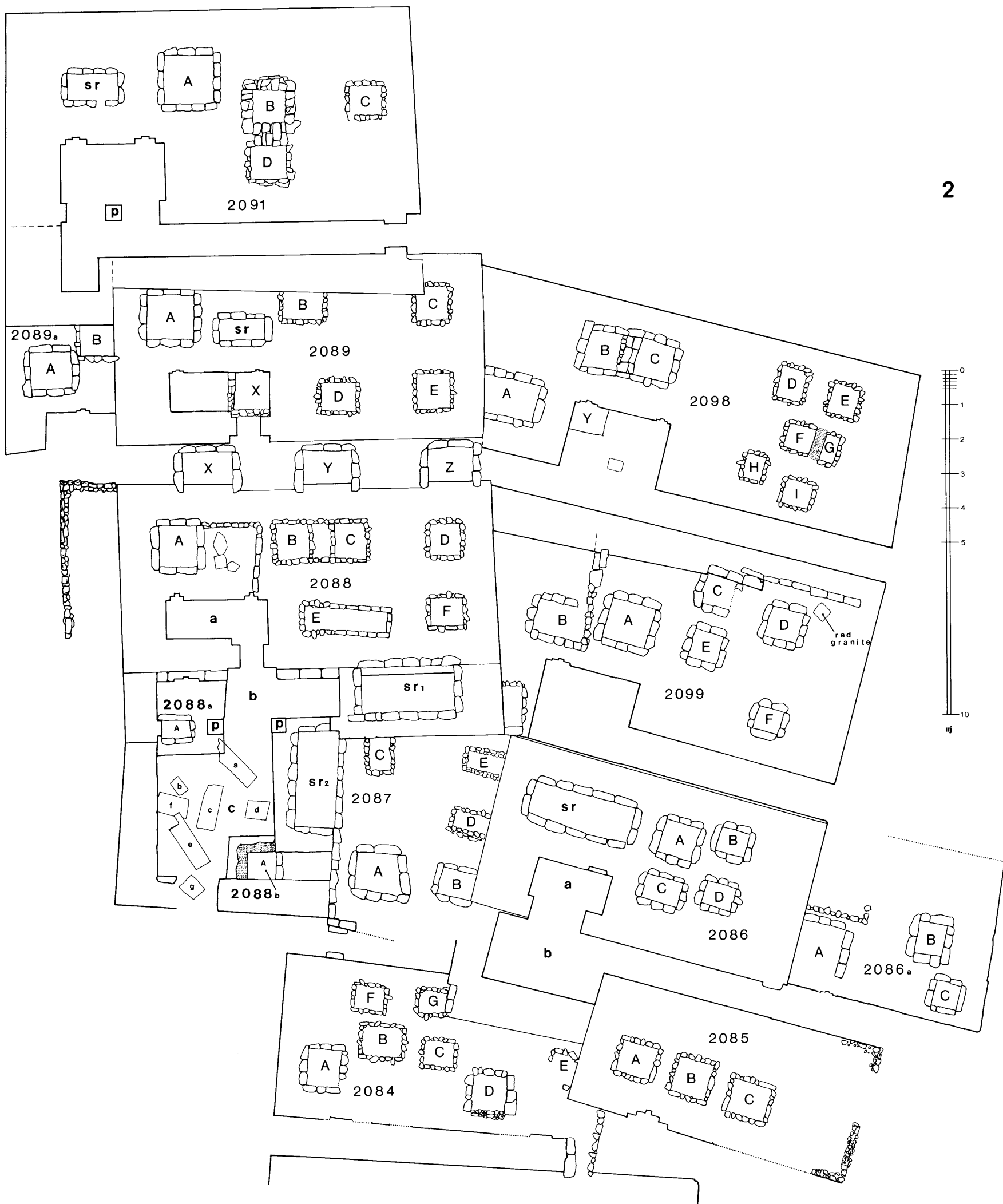
1605
1606
1607
1608



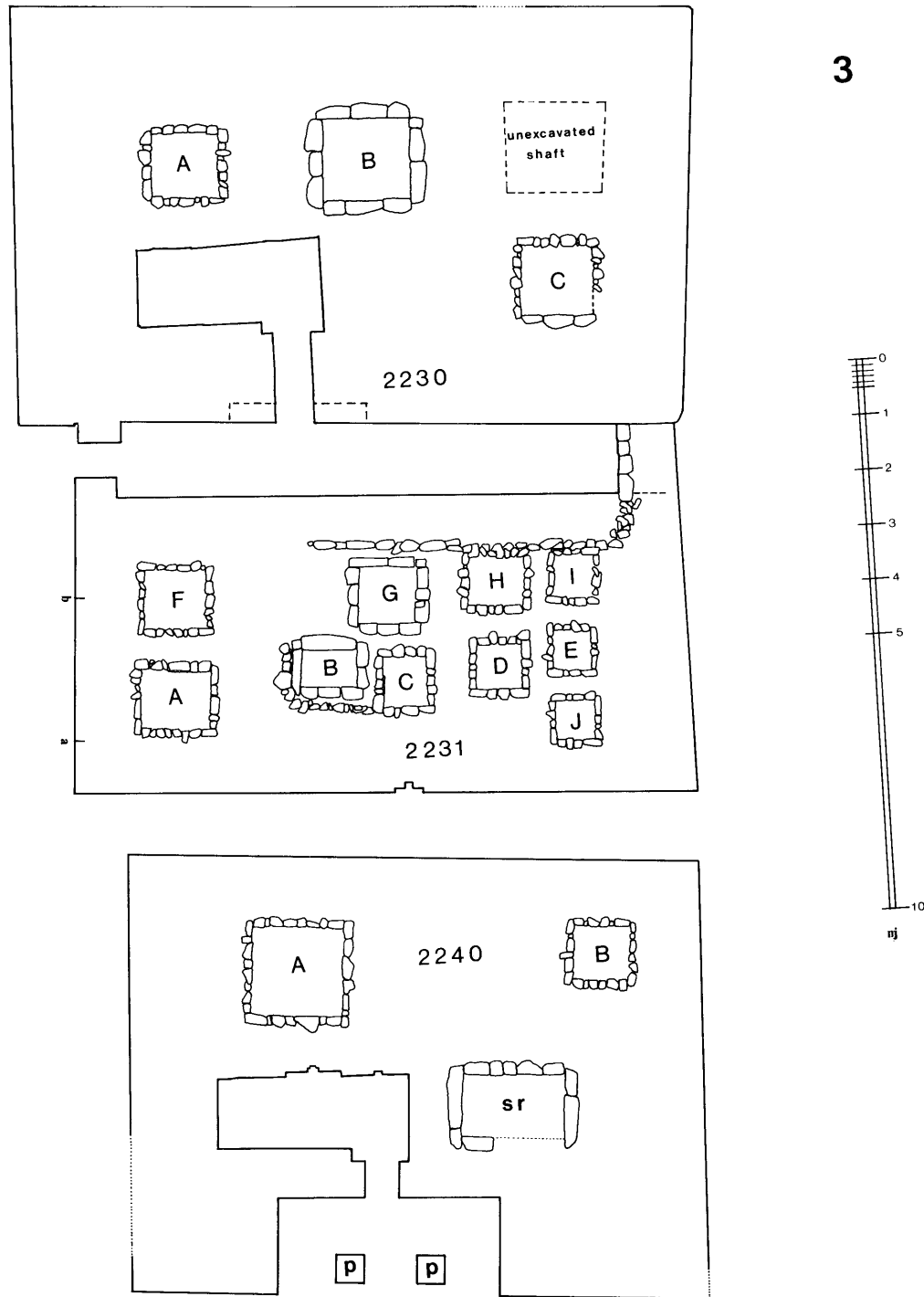
132. The Floroff plan of the cluster



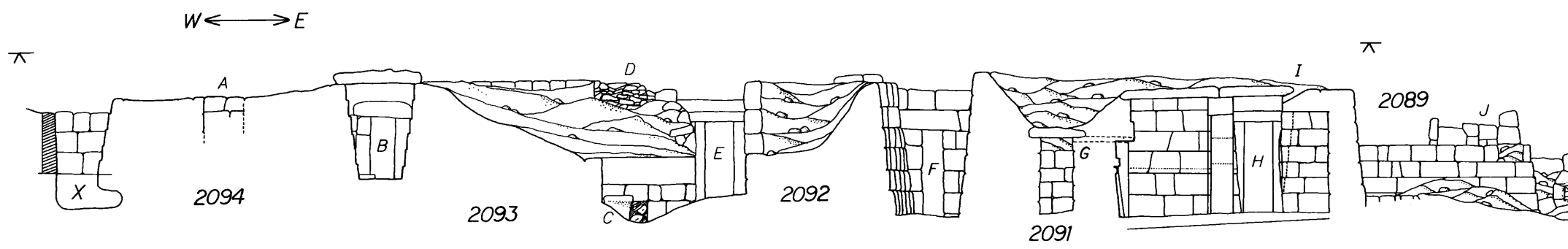
133. The 1990 revised plan of the cluster, western end



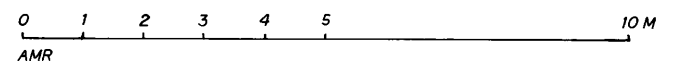
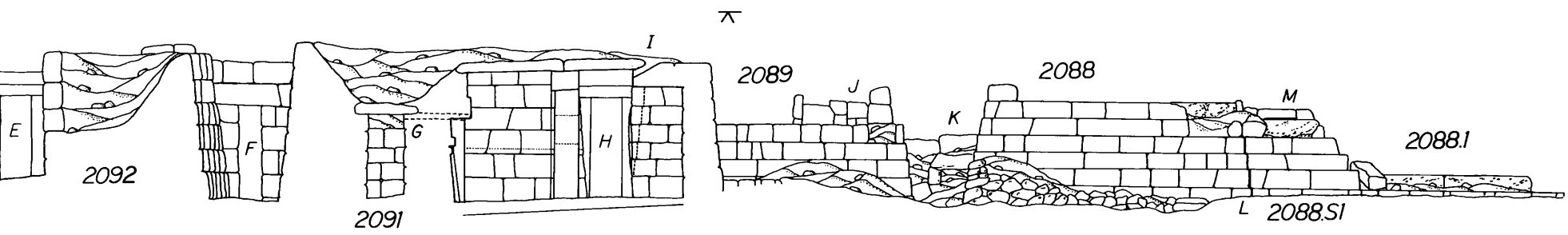
134. The 1990 revised plan of the cluster, center part

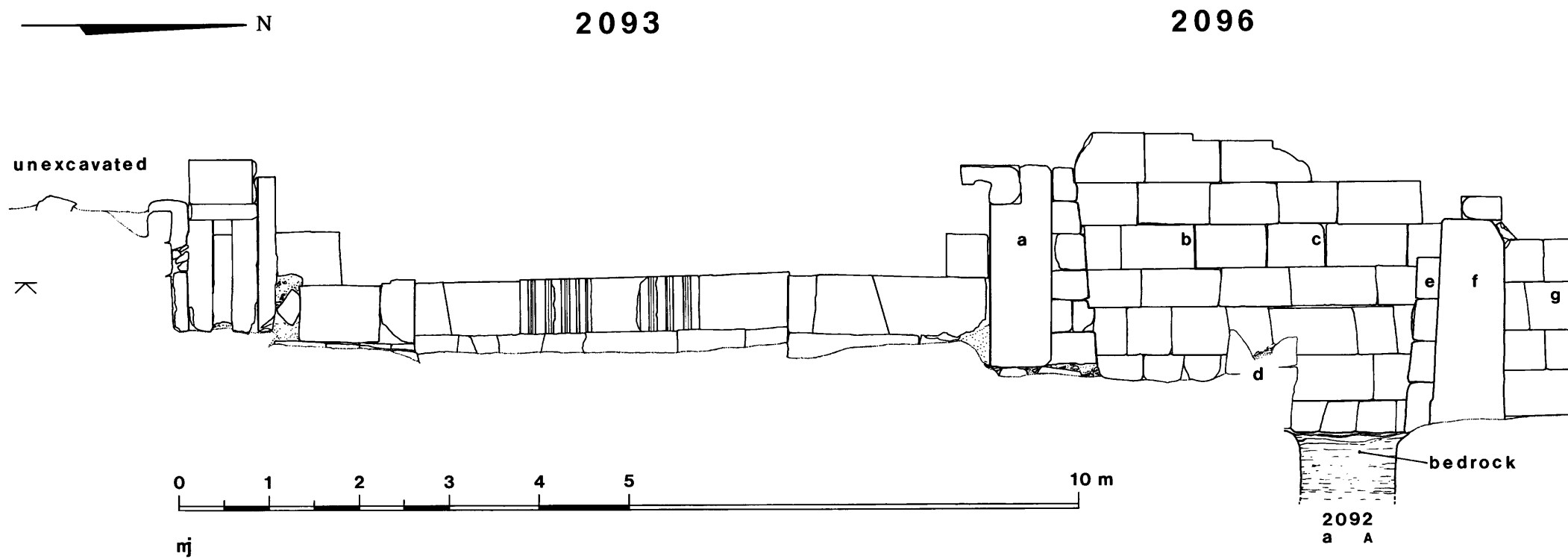


135. The 1990 revised plan of the cluster, eastern end

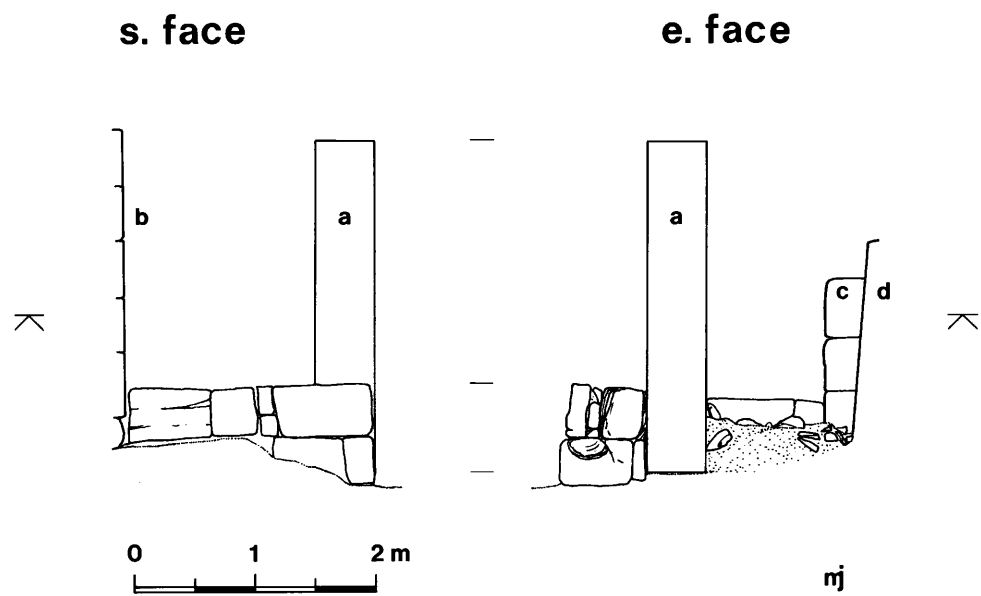


136. East-west section of the cluster. (See p. 9)



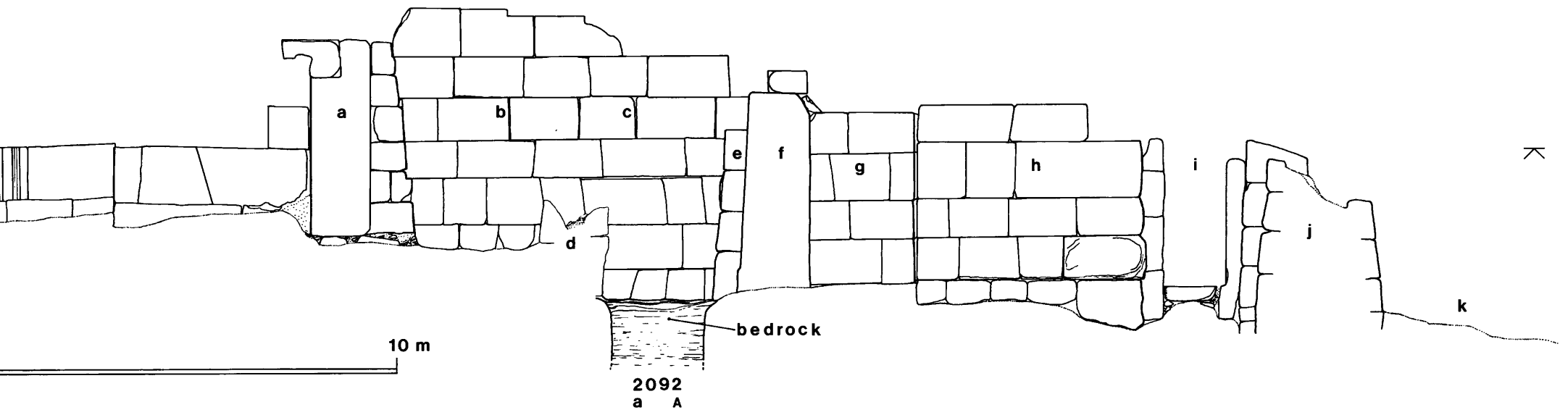


137. North-south section of the cluster, with elevations of the remains of 2092a. (See pp. 8-9)



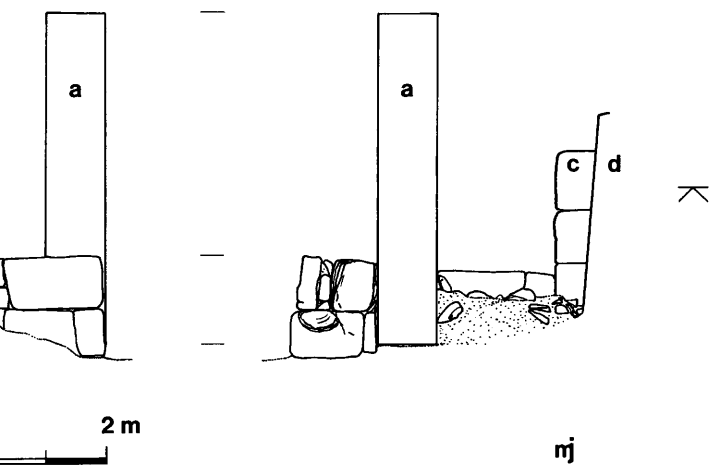
2096

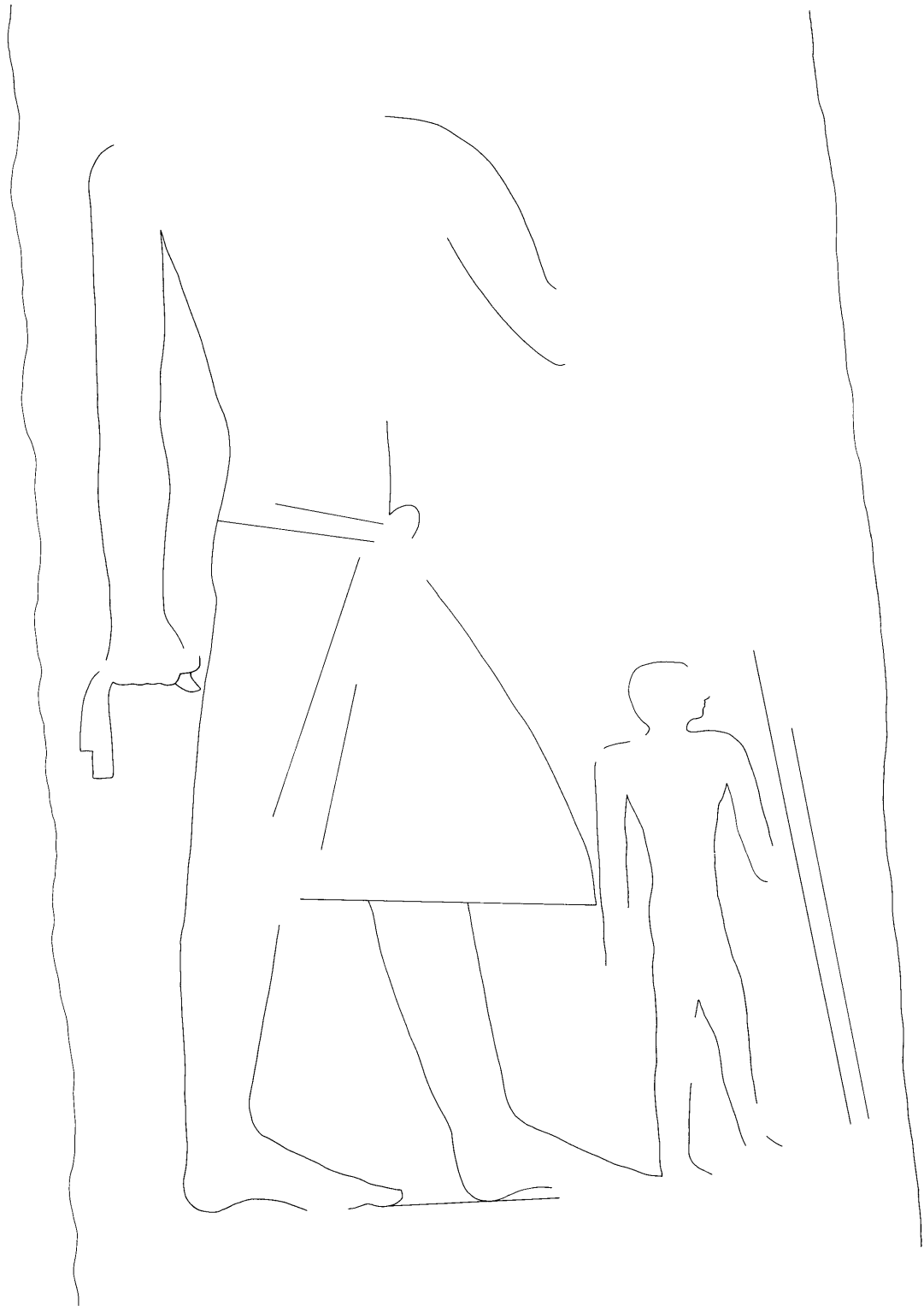
2097



f 2092a. (See pp. 8-9)

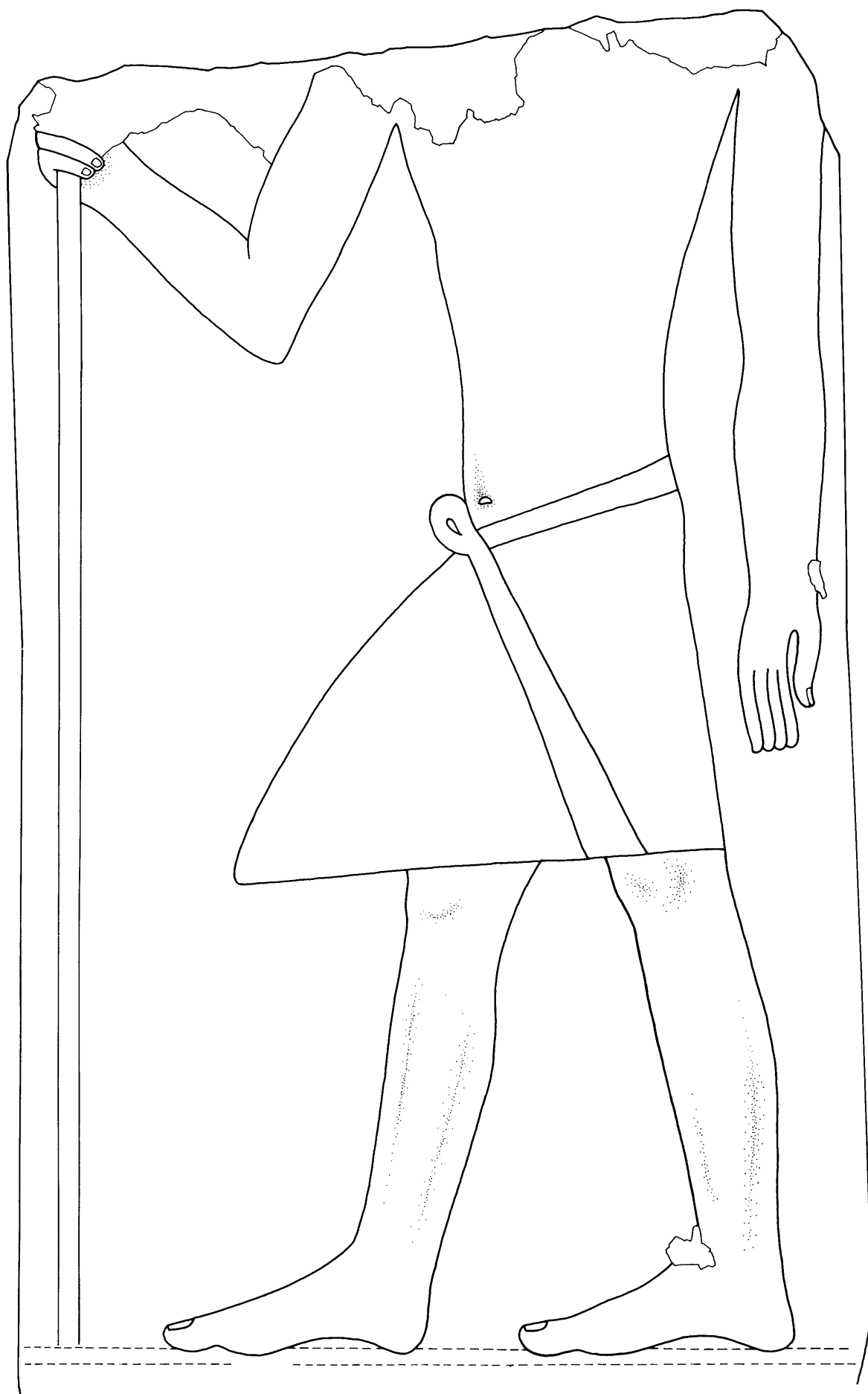
e. face



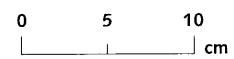


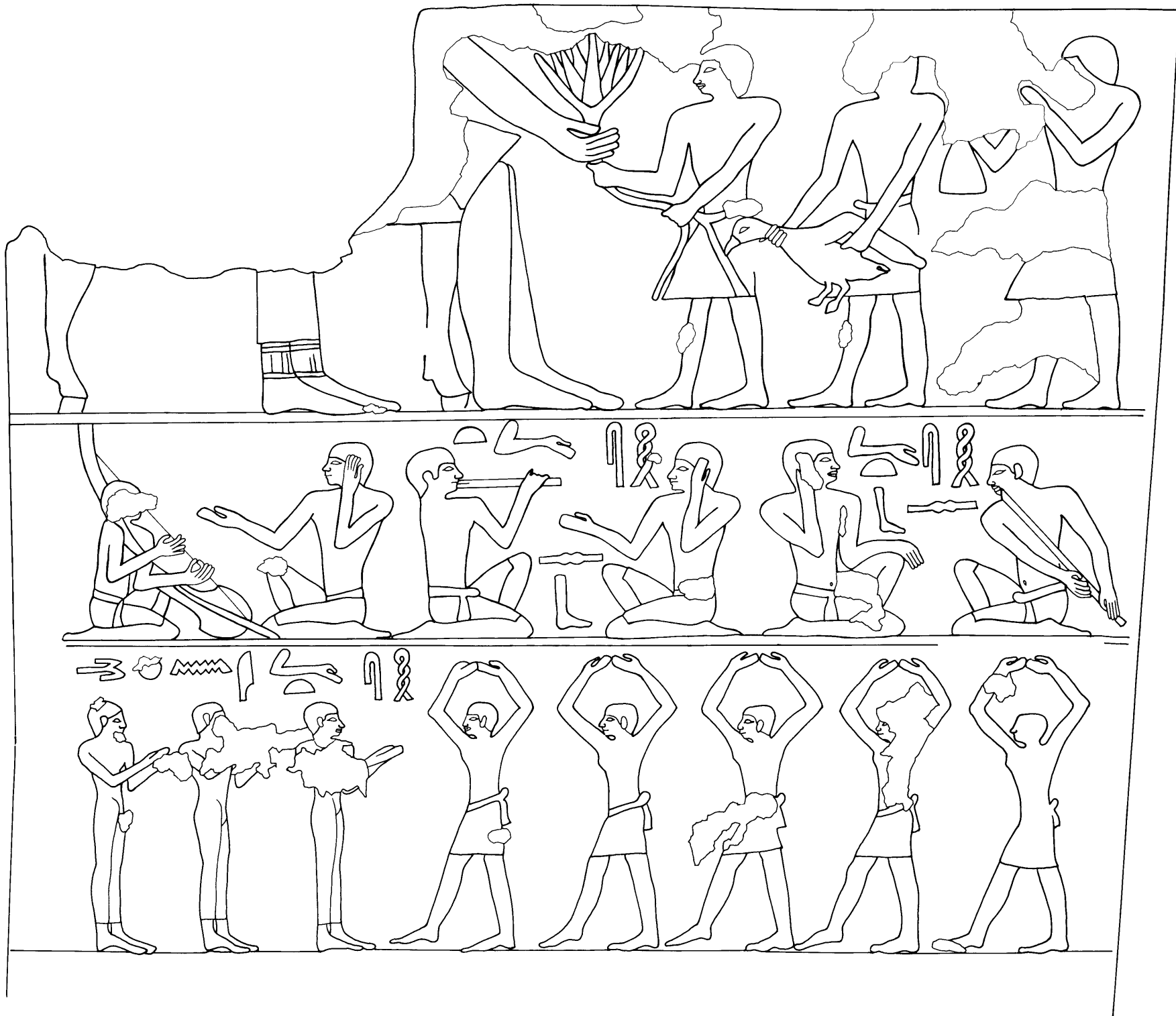
138. 2086: West jamb of northern doorway to entrance corridor

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



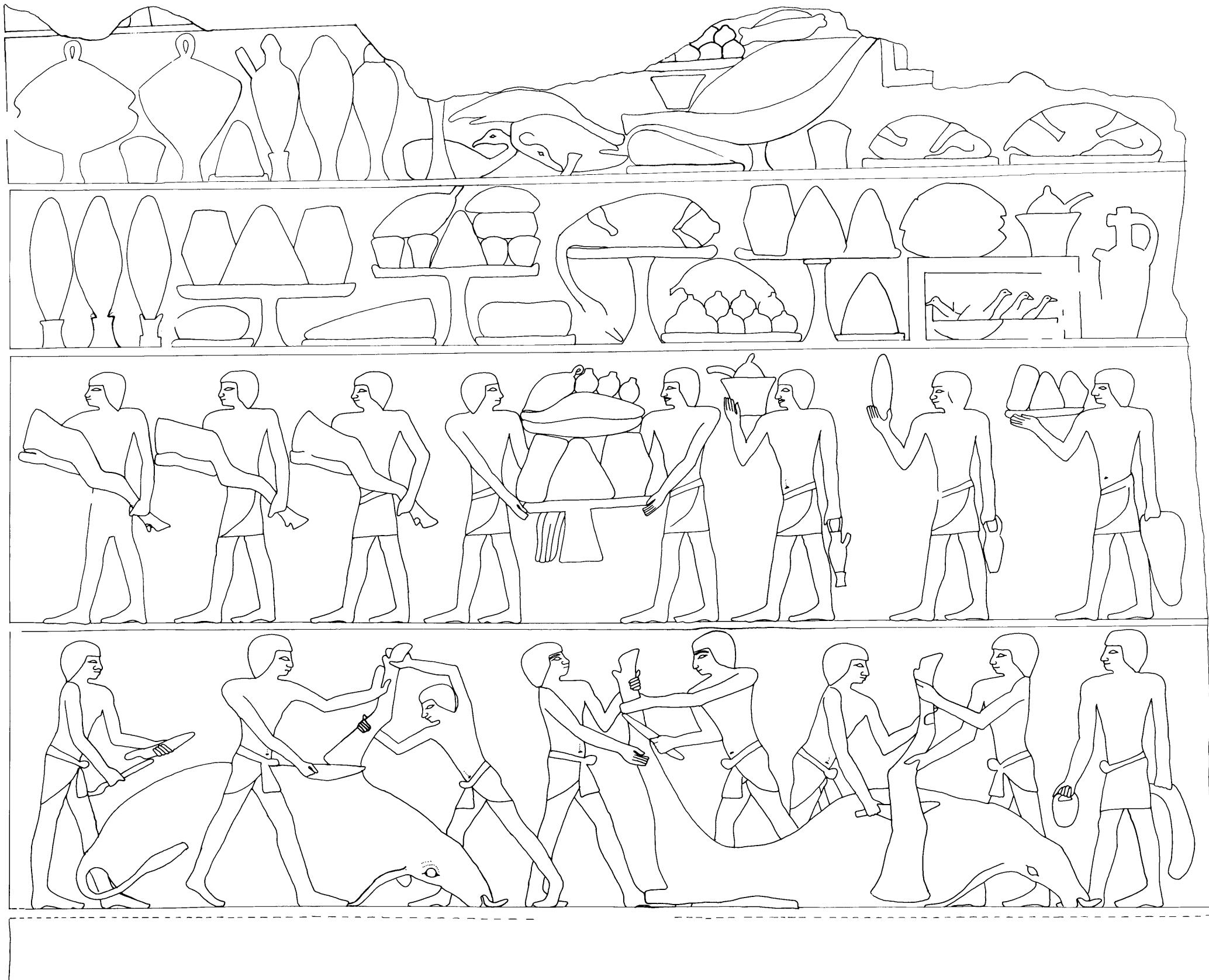
139. 2086: Southern pilaster at entrance to chapel. (See pl. 15)





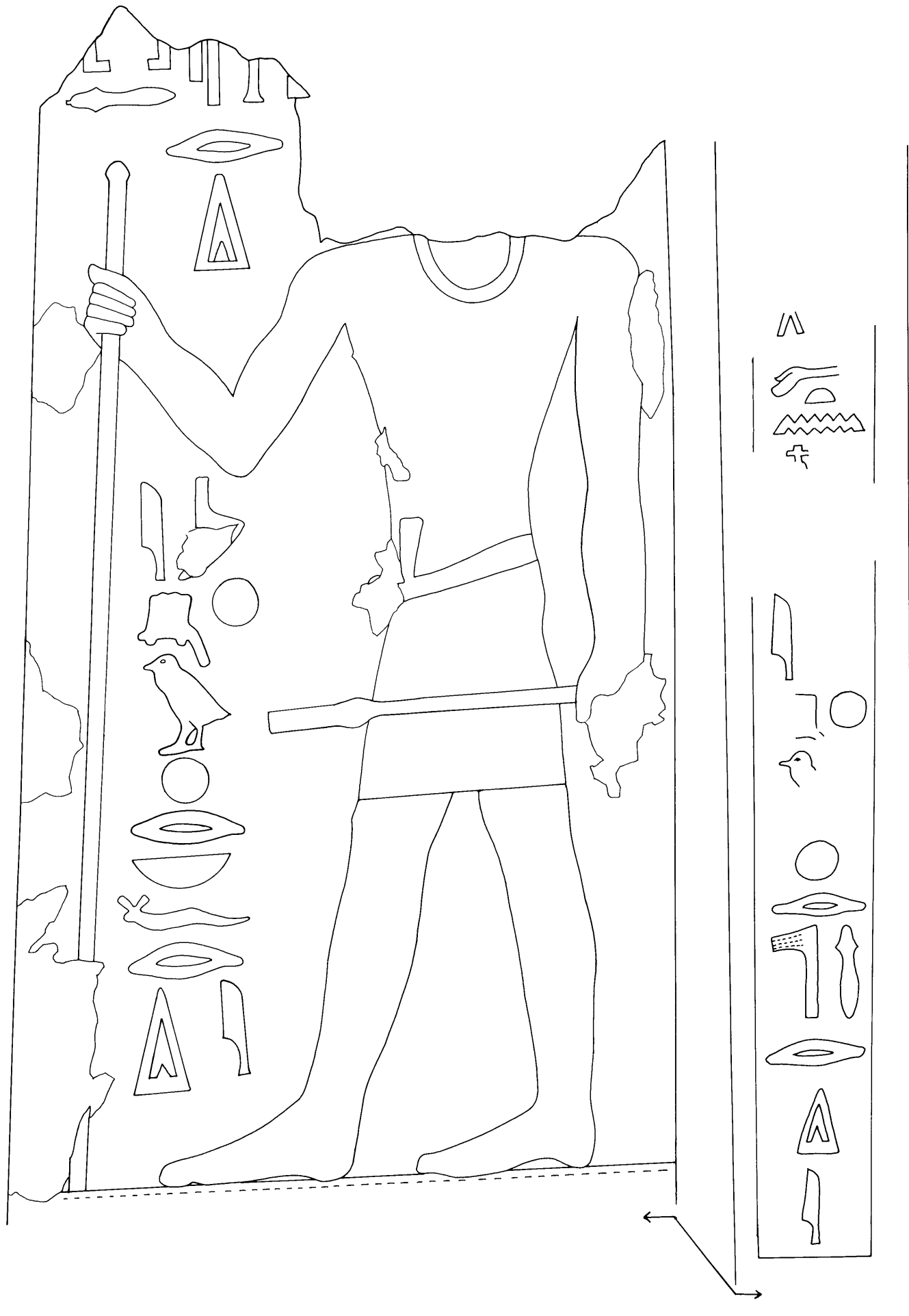
140. 2086: South wall of chapel. (See pl. 16)

0 5 10
cm



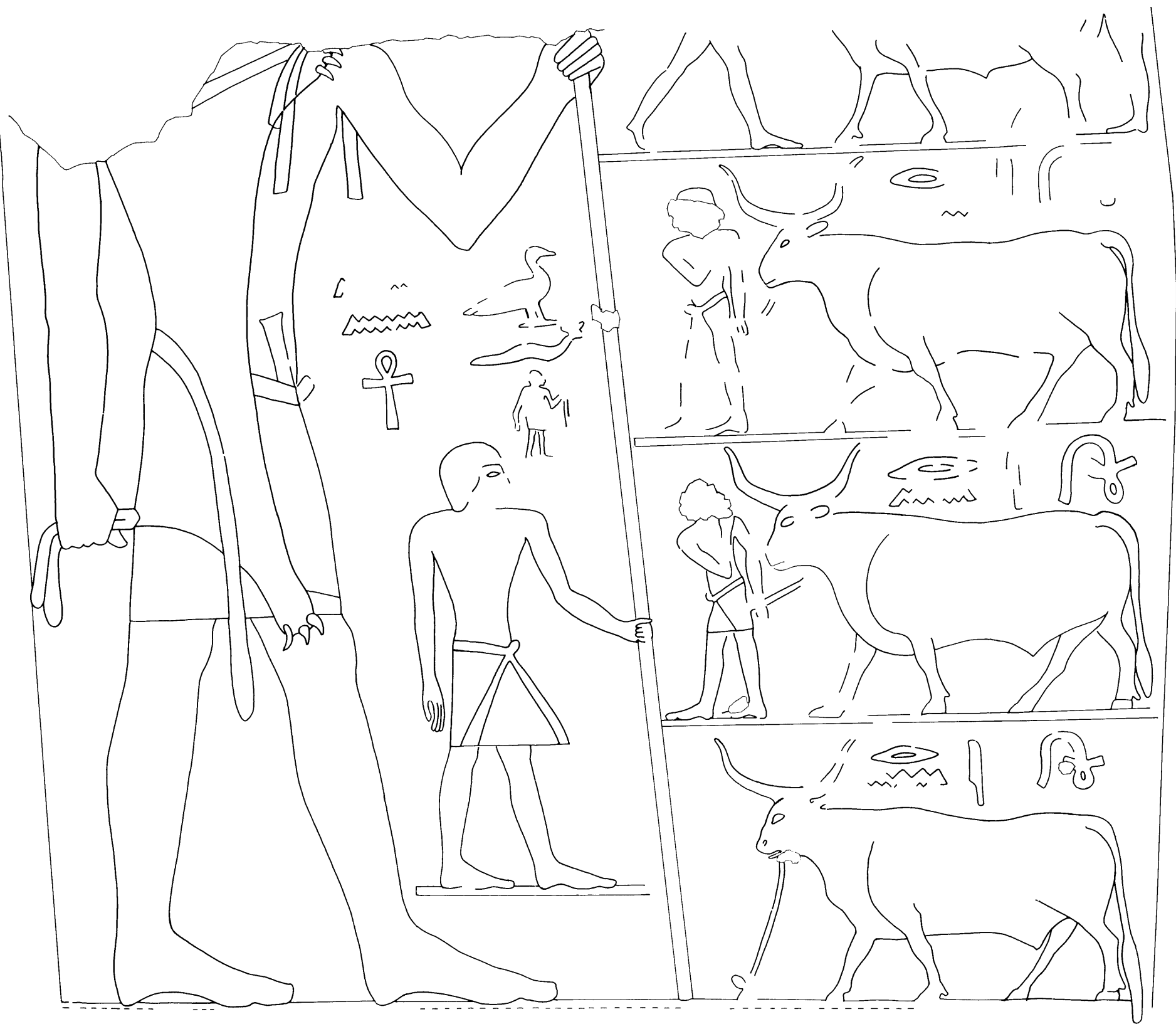
141. 2086: Southern part of west wall of chapel. (See pl. 17)

0 5 10
cm



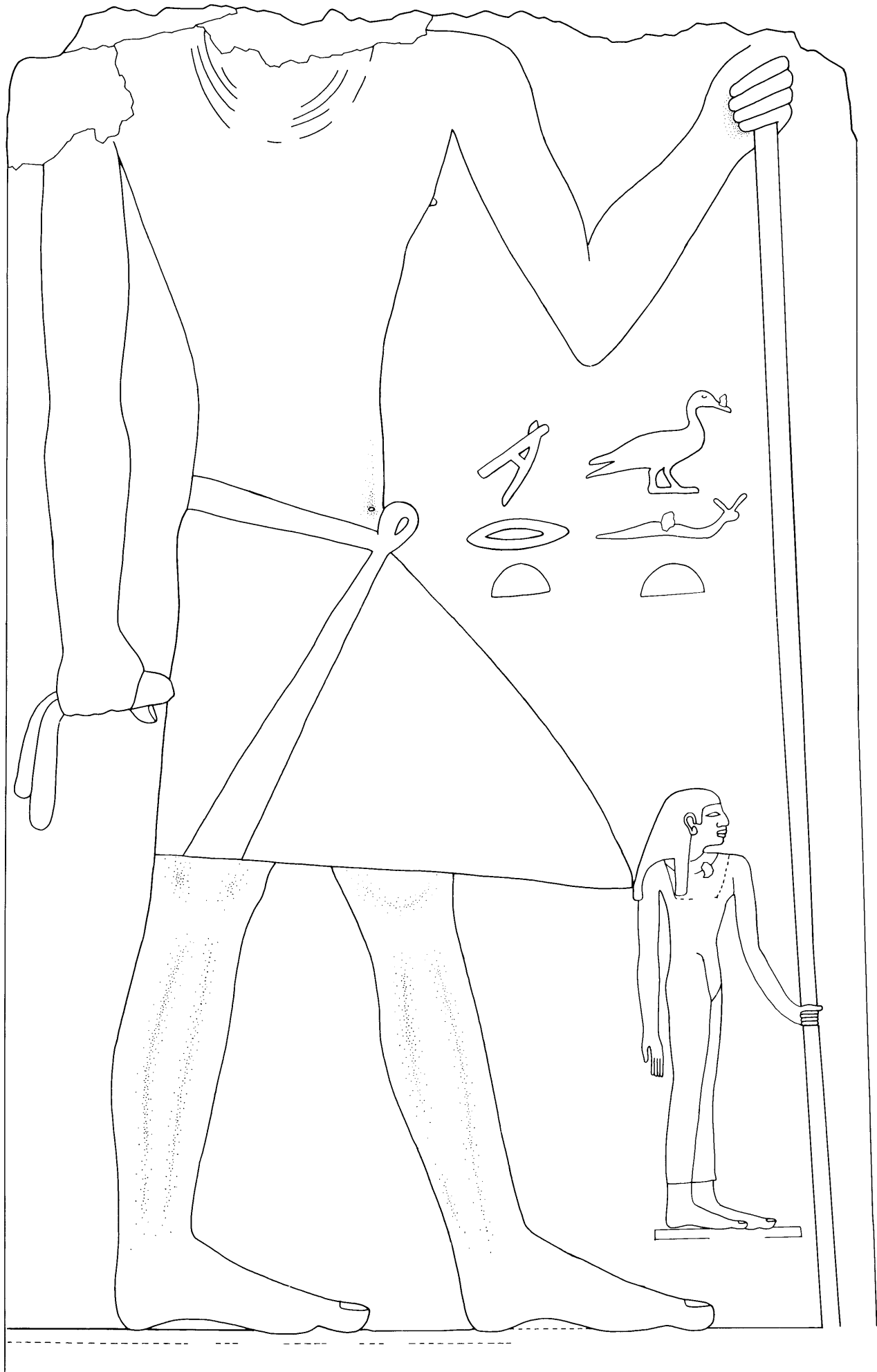
142. 2086: Niche at northern end of west wall of chapel. (See pl. 18a)

0 5 10
cm



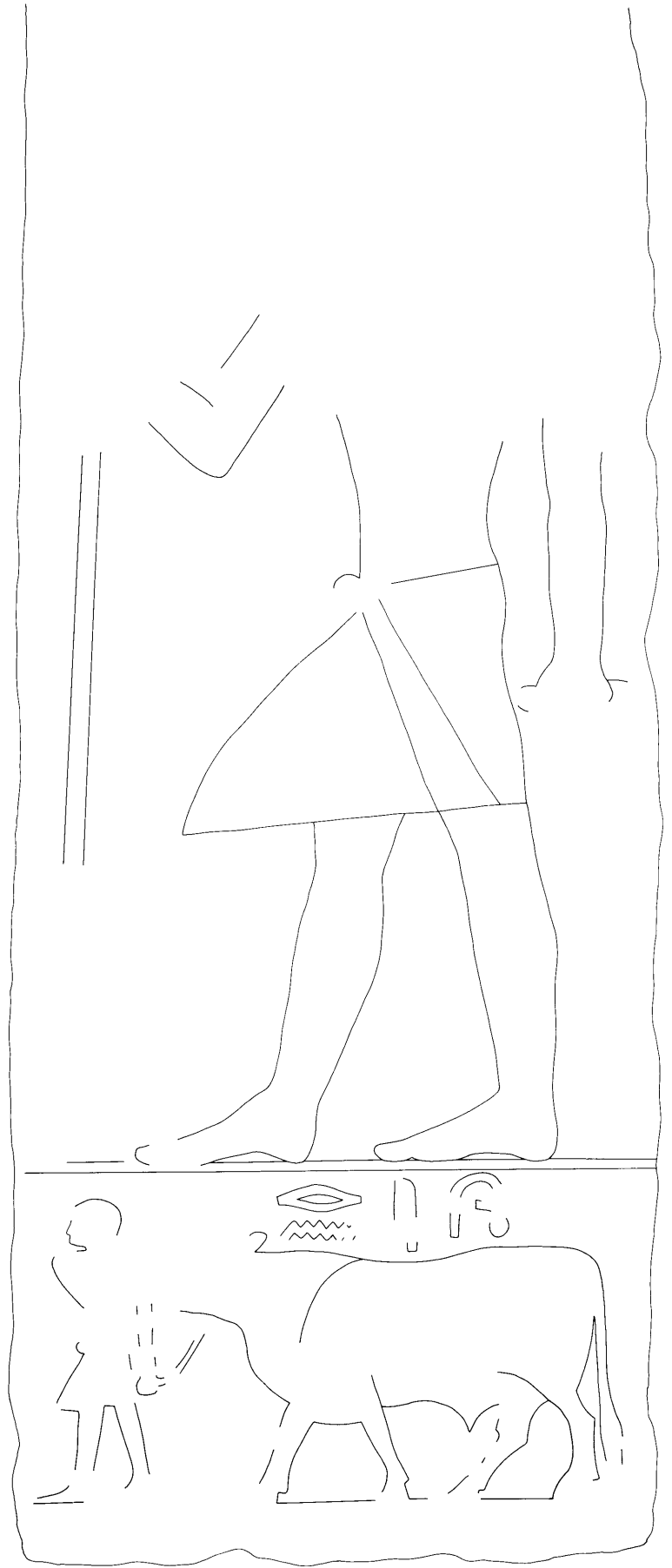
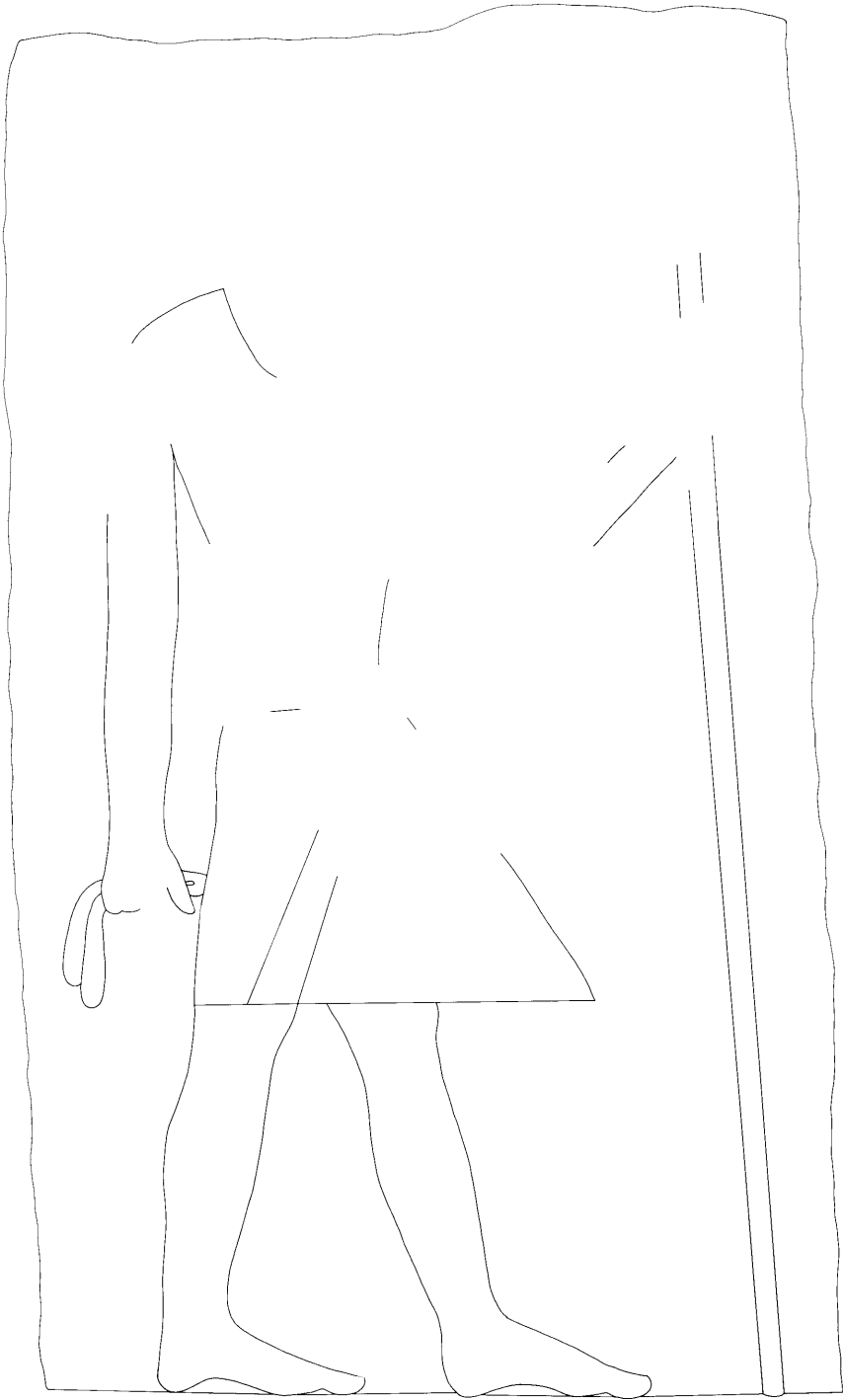
143. 2086: North wall of chapel. (See pl. 18b)

0 5 10
cm



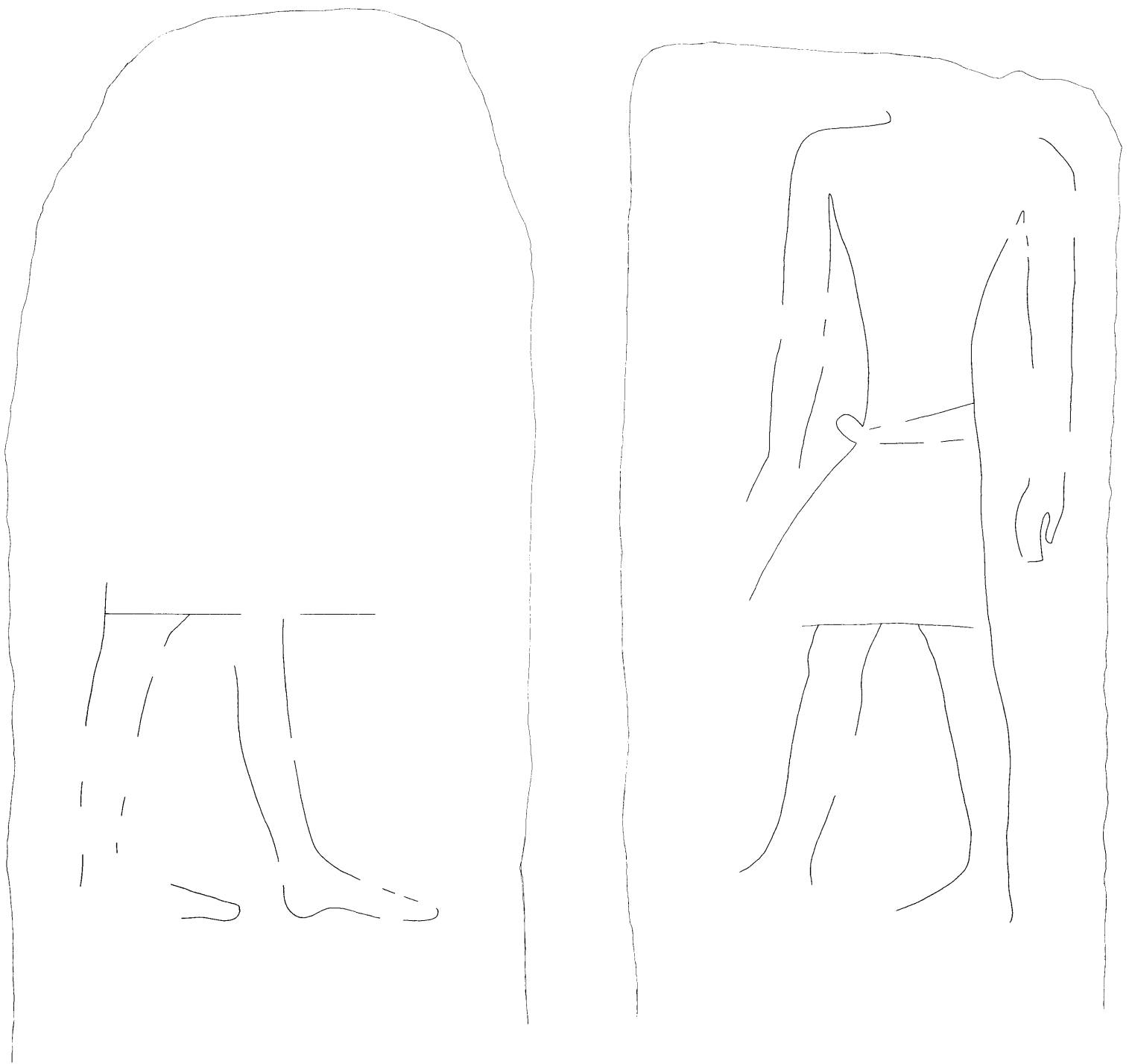
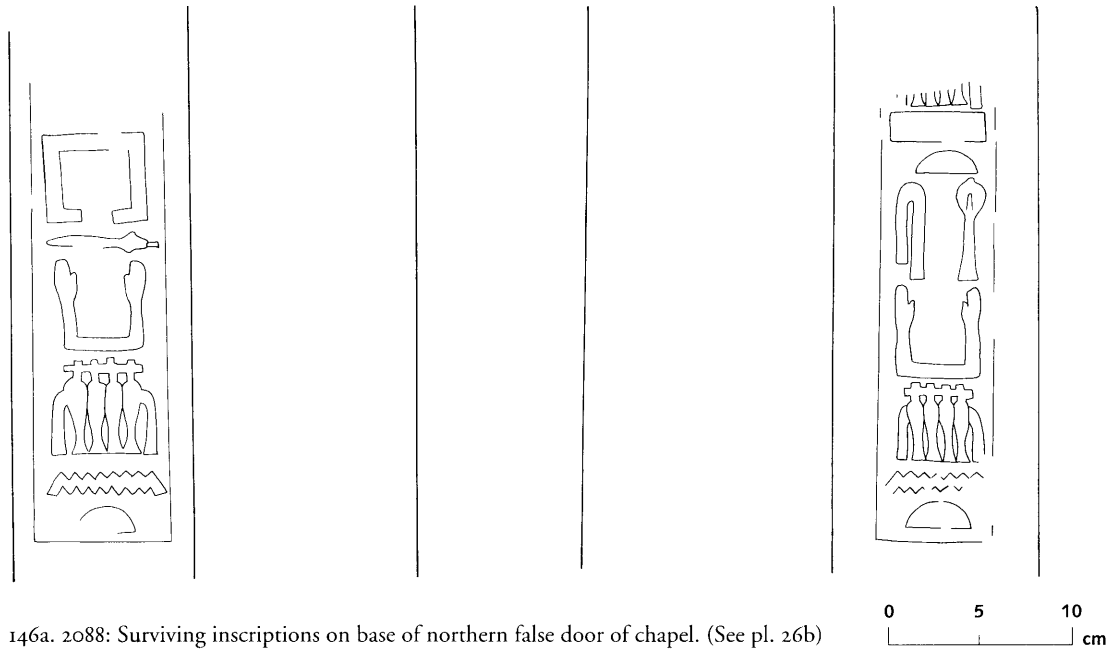
144. 2086: North pilaster at entrance to chapel. (See pl. 19a)

0 5 10
cm



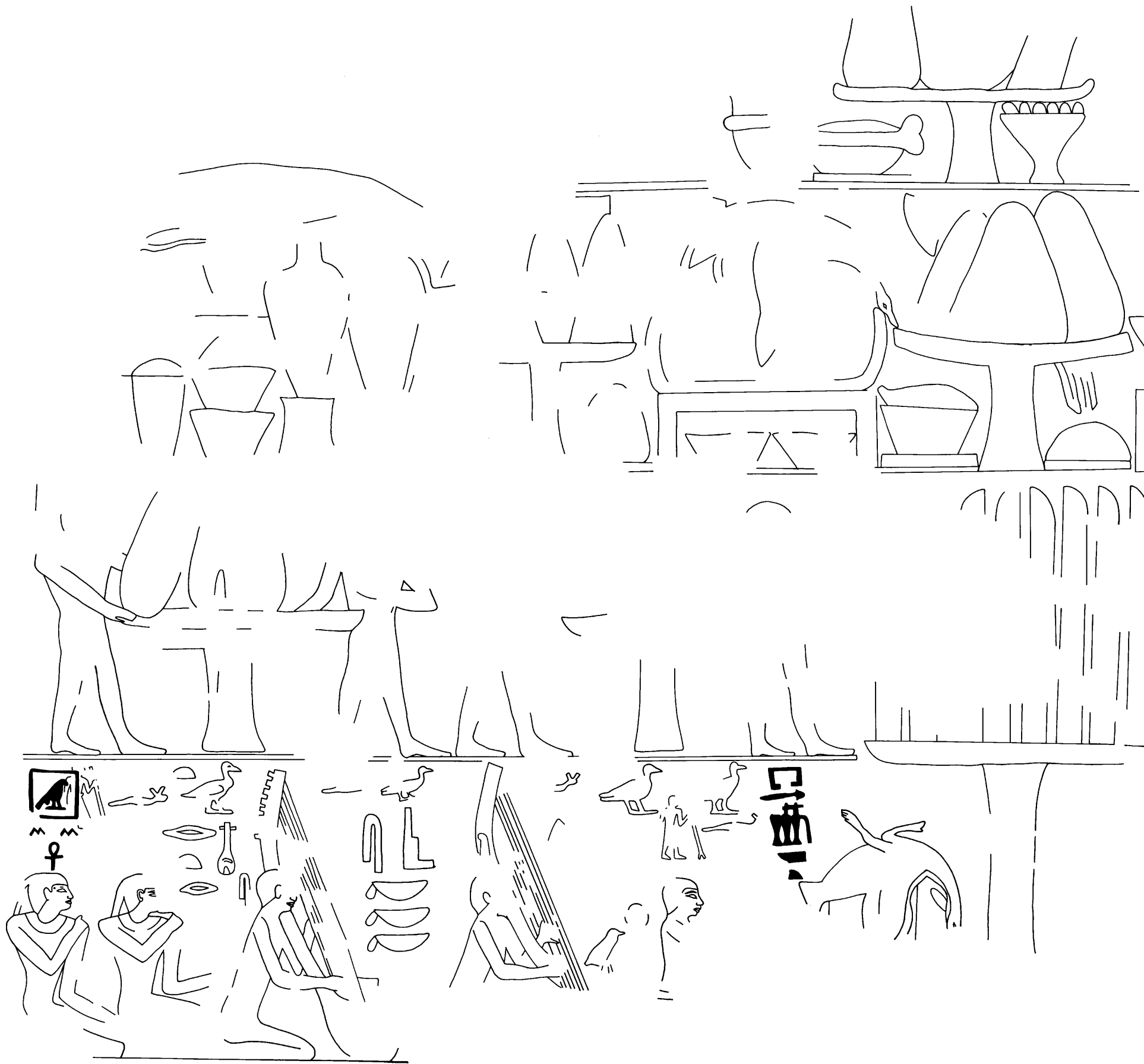
145a, b. 2087: West (right) and east door jambs at southern entrance. (See pl. 23)

0 5 10
cm

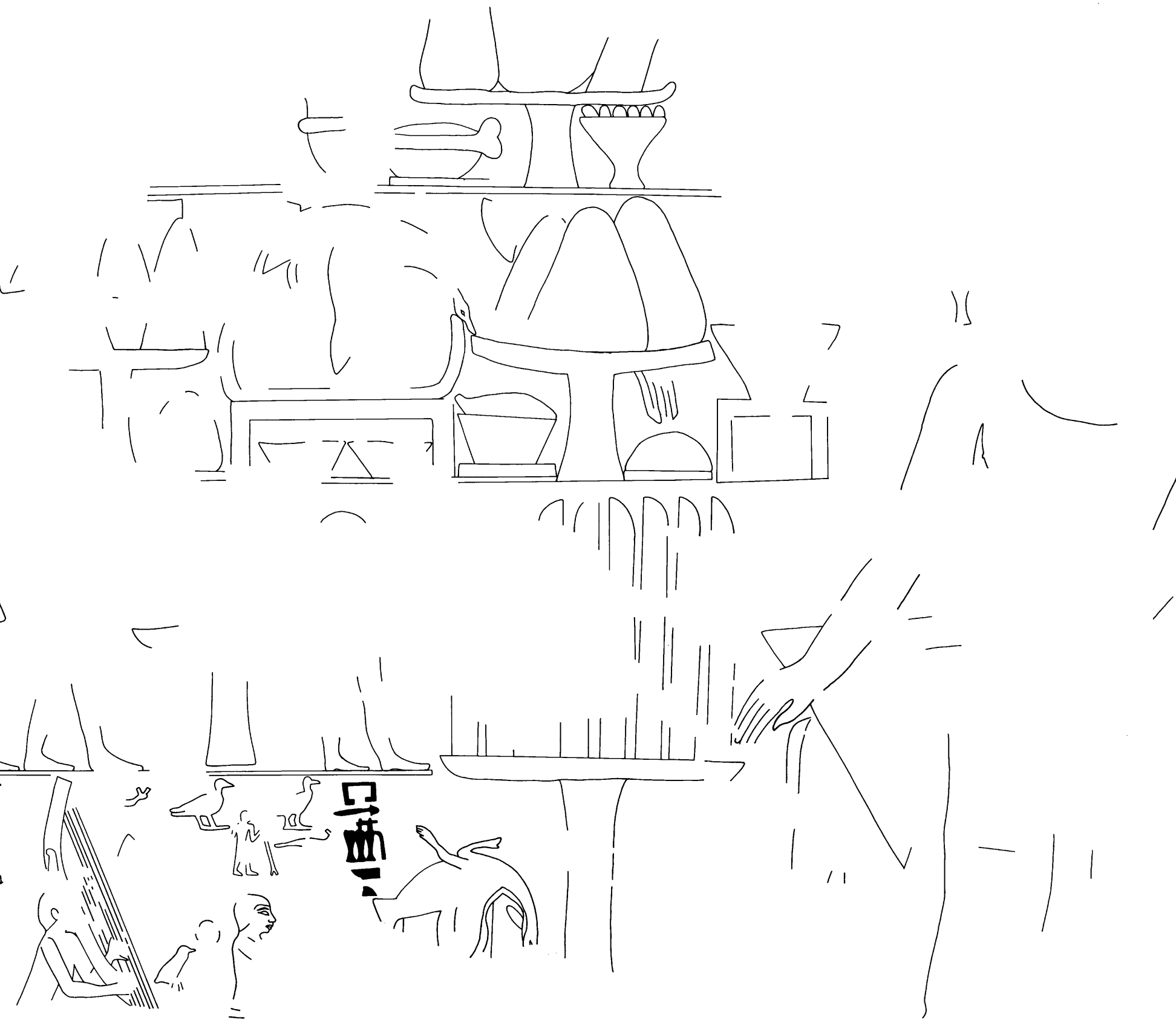


146b. 2088: East faces of pillars of portico

0 5 10 cm (1:5)



147. 2088: East wall of chapel. (See pl. 28)



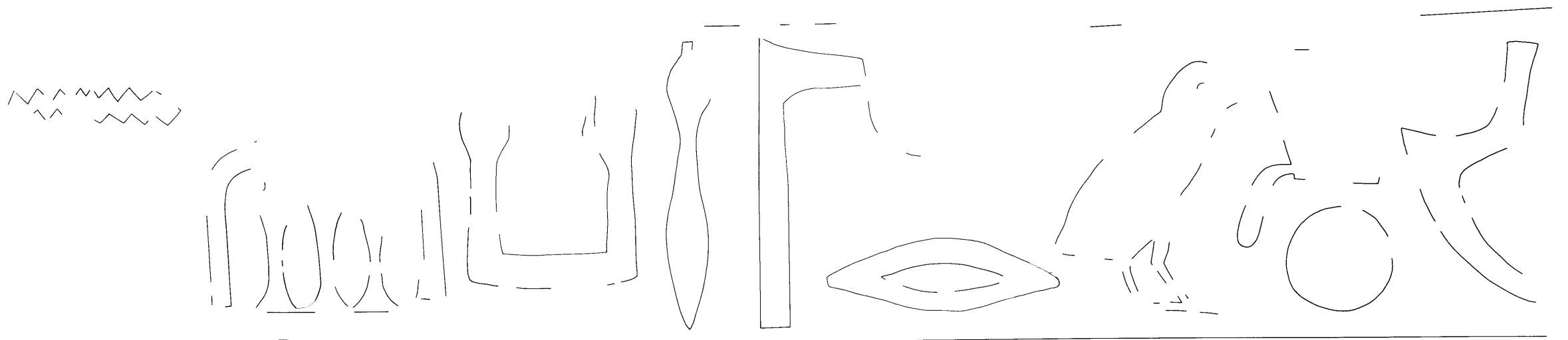
0 5 10
cm



148. 2088: Reconstructed west wall of chapel. (See pl. 29)

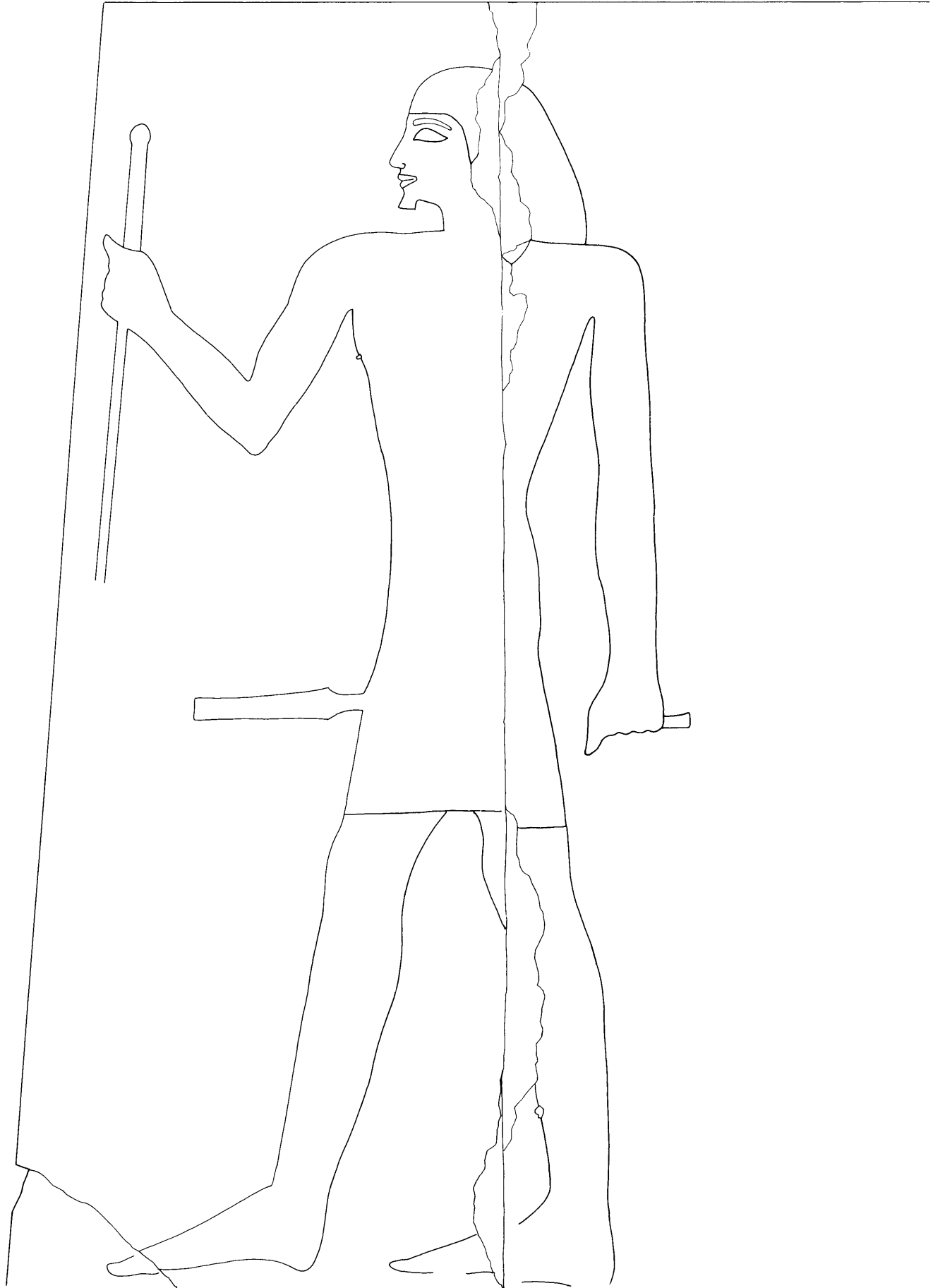


0 5 10
cm



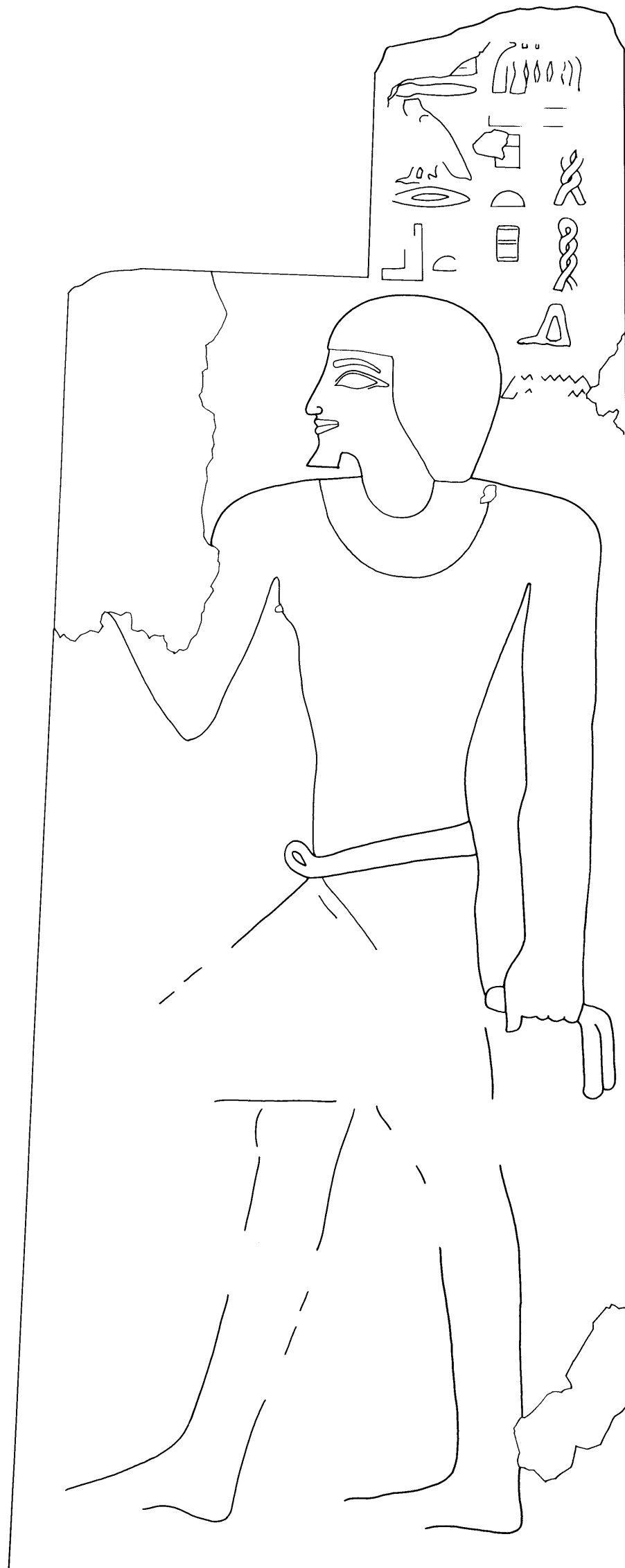
149. 2088: Lintel fragment from portico. (See pl. 30a)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)

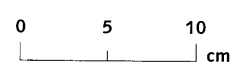


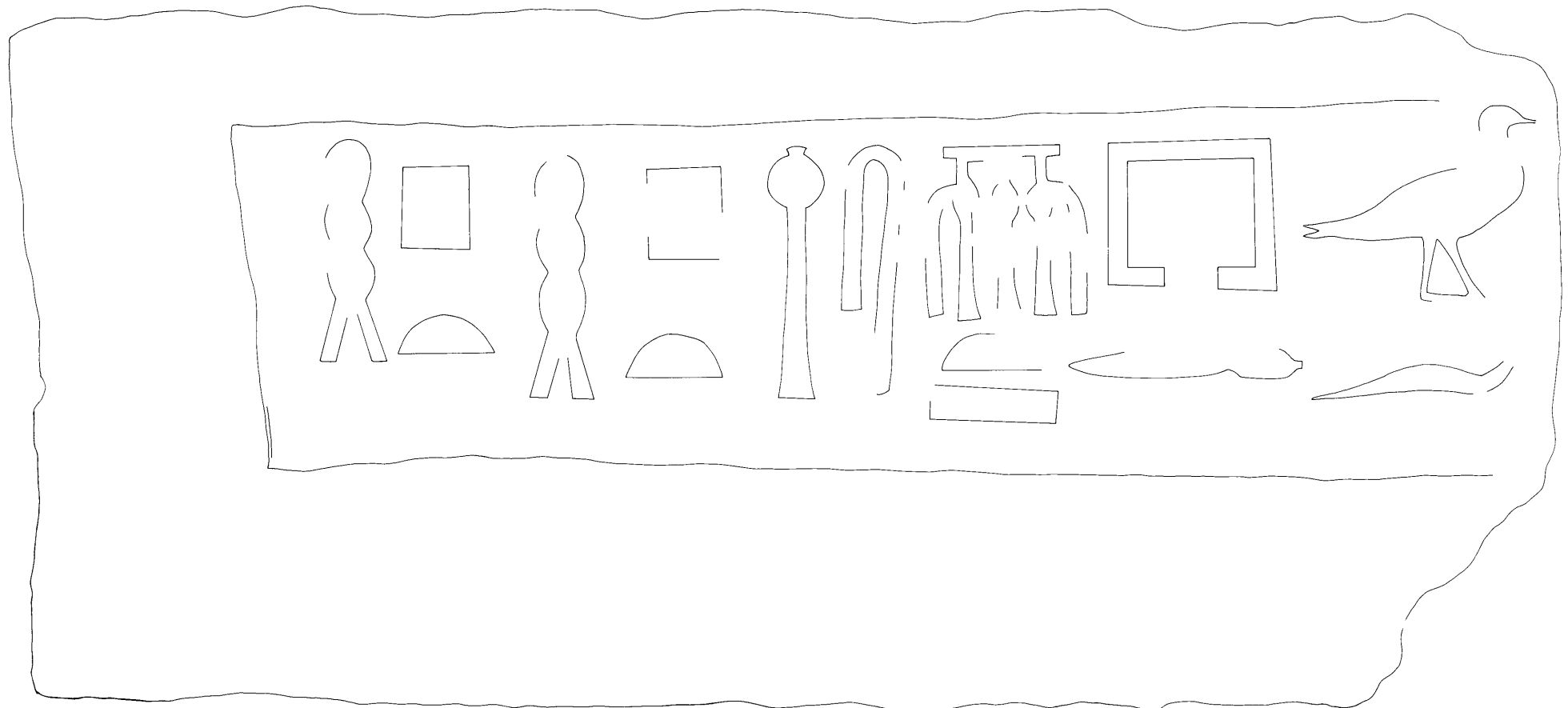
150. 2088: Back wall of portico, north of chapel entrance. (See pl. 30b)

0 5 10
|-----| cm



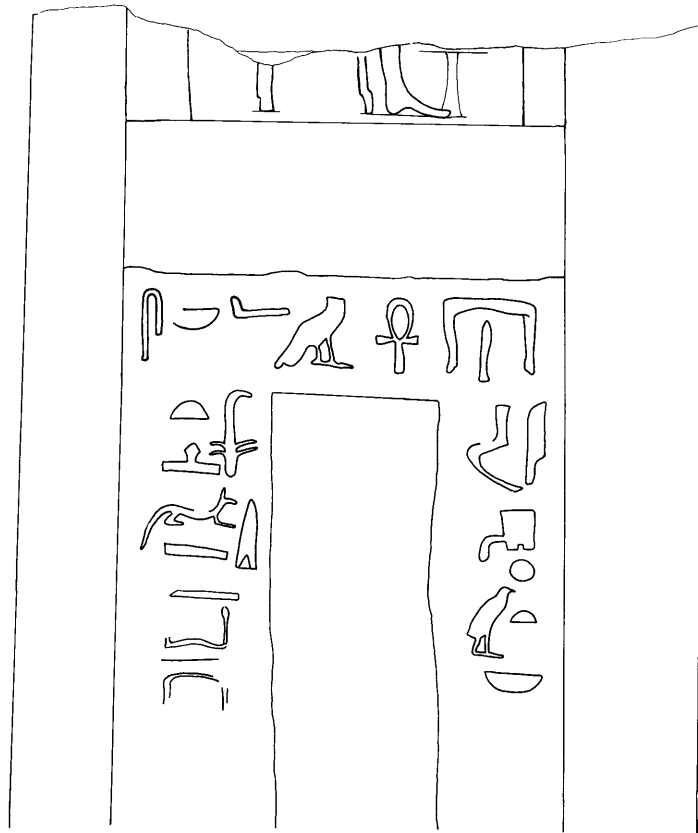
151. 2088: Displaced jamb from eastern entrance to courtyard. (See pl. 31a)



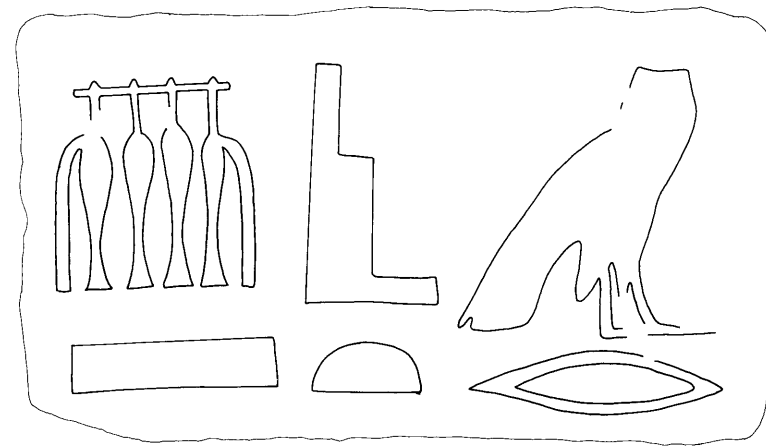


152a. 2088: Displaced lintel fragment. (See pl. 31b)

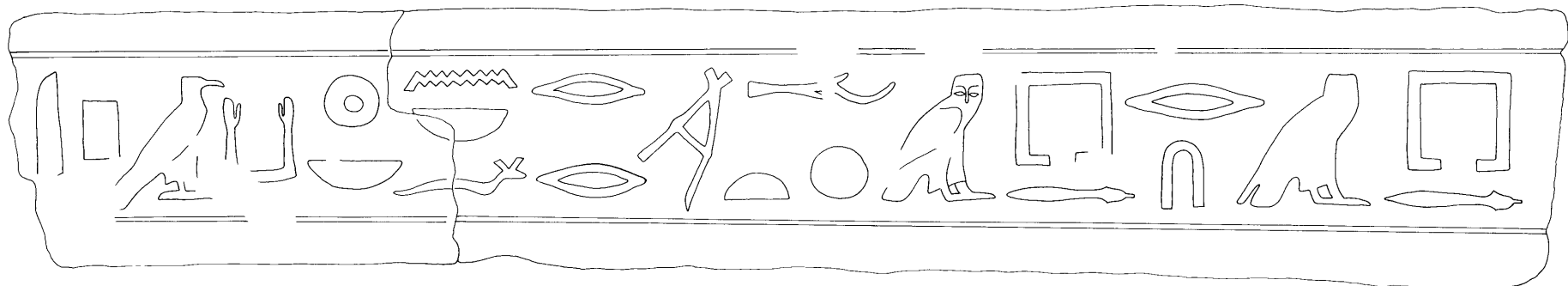
0 5 10
cm (1:5)



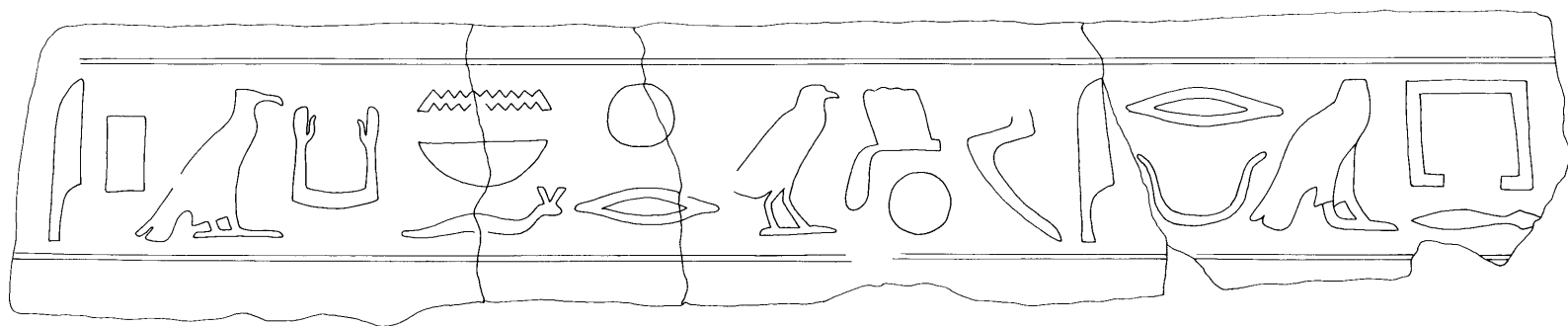
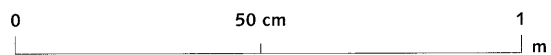
152b. 2088: Secondary false door set in embrasure north of chapel entrance. (See pl. 31c)



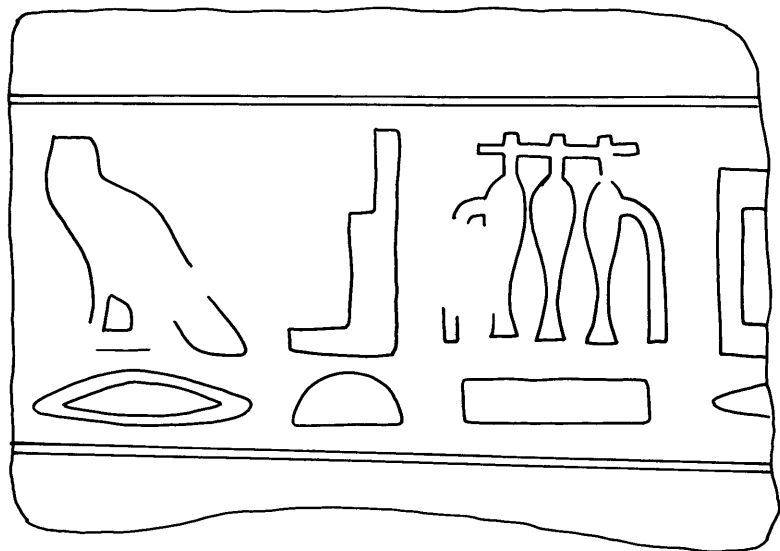
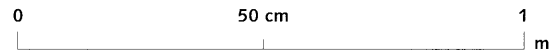
152c. 2088: Loose block from the top of shaft z



153a. 2091: Architrave or cornice. (See pl. 41a)

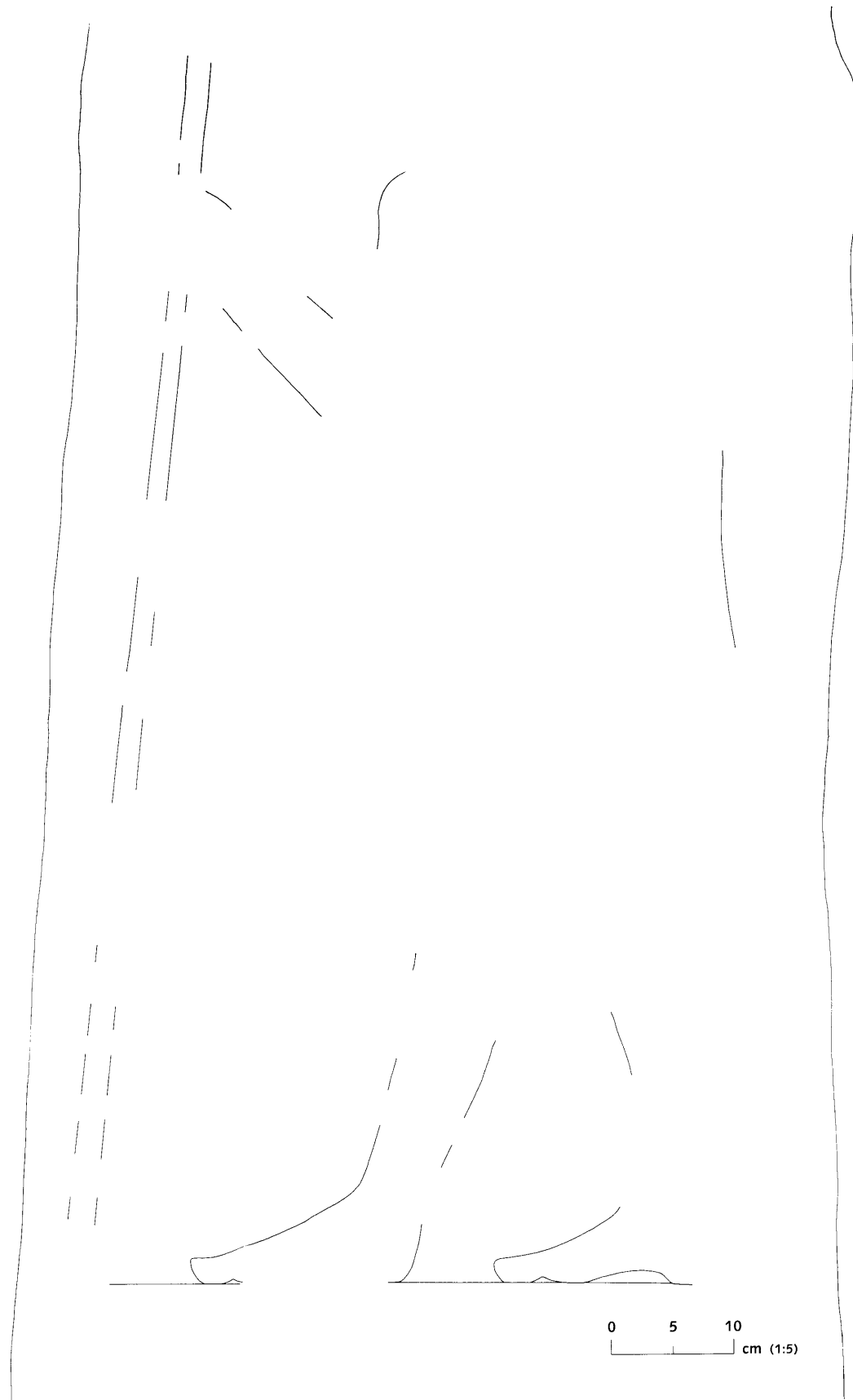
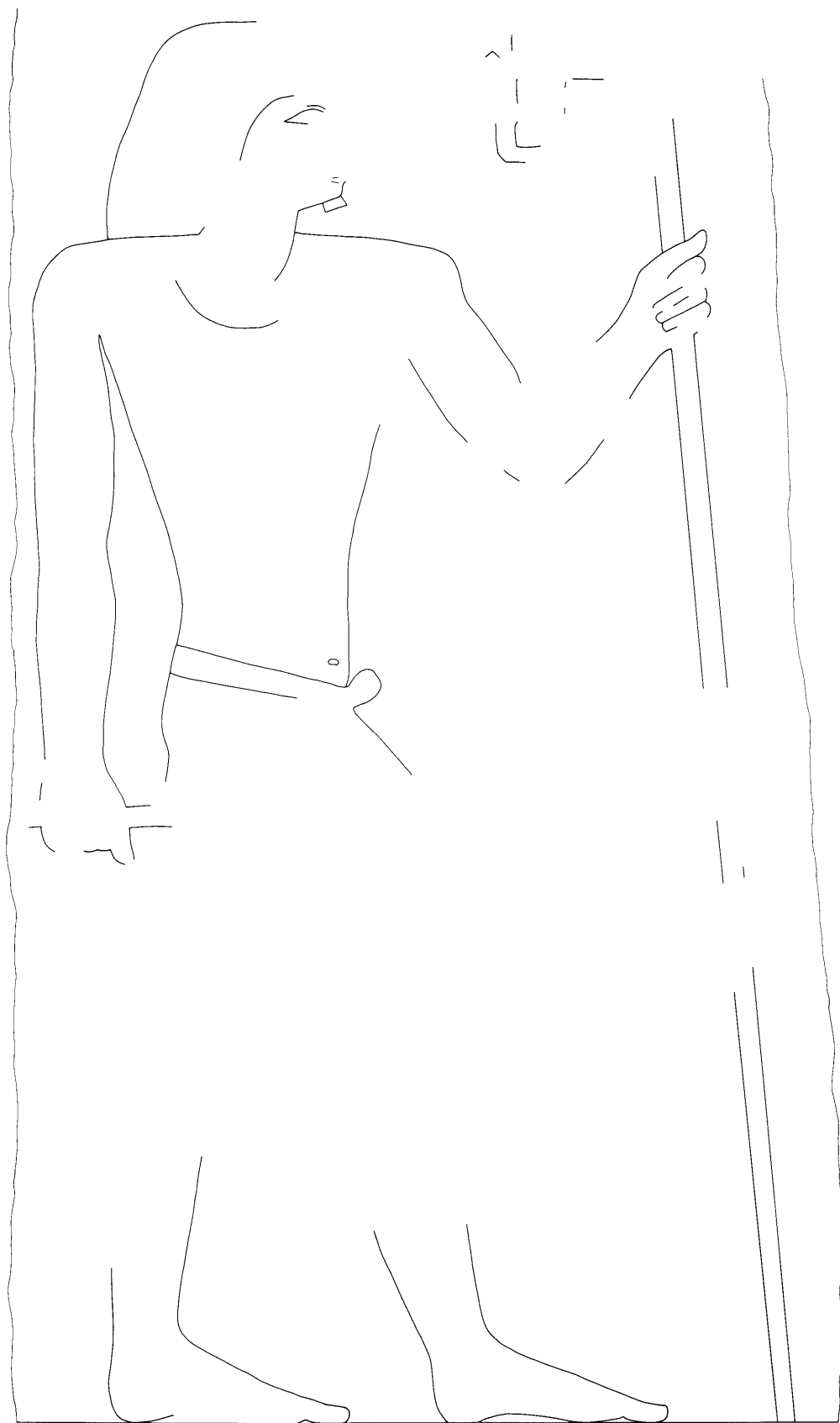


153b. 2091: Architrave or cornice. (See pl. 41b)



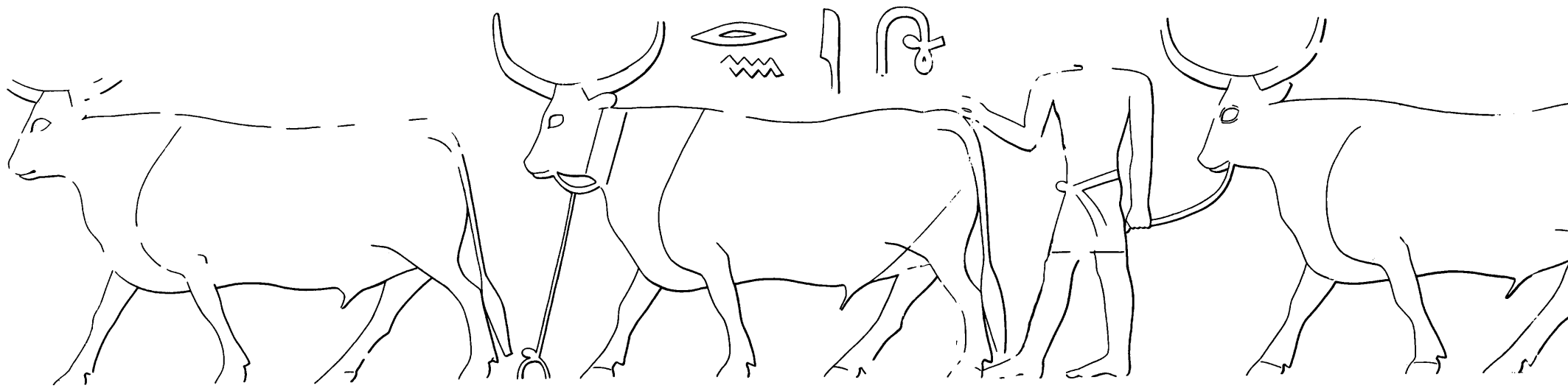
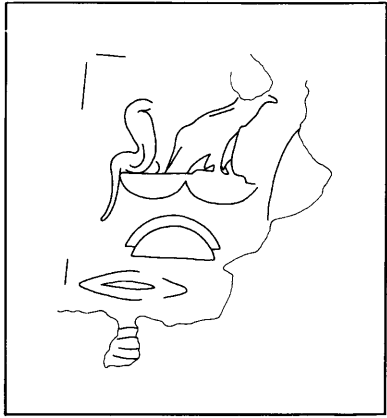
153c. 2091: Fragment of architrave or cornice

scale not determinable

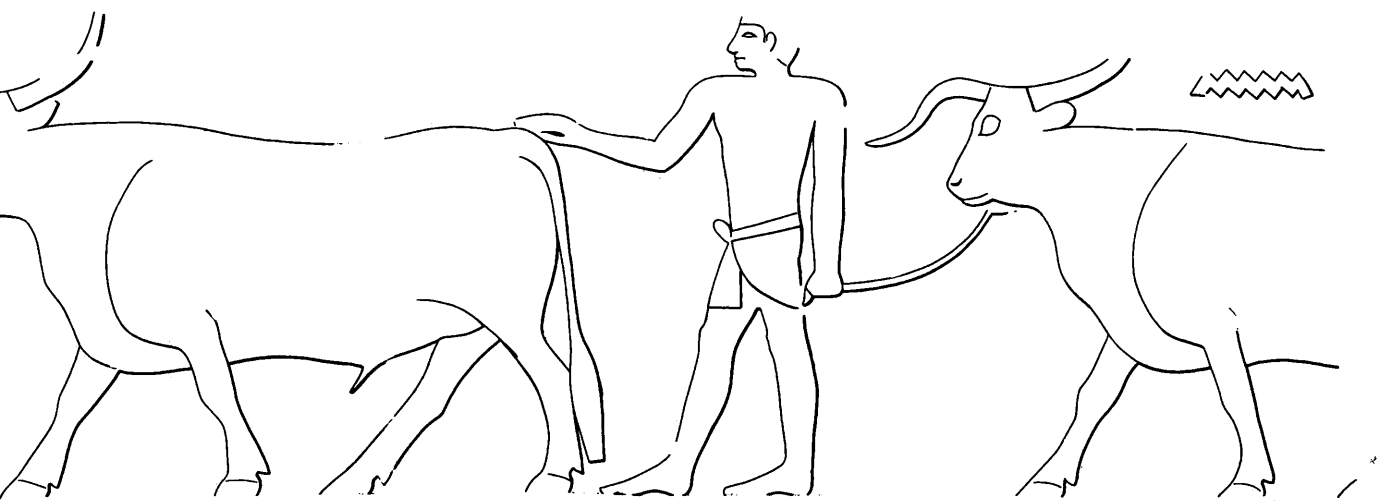


154a, b. 2091: Jambs at northern entrance to corridor

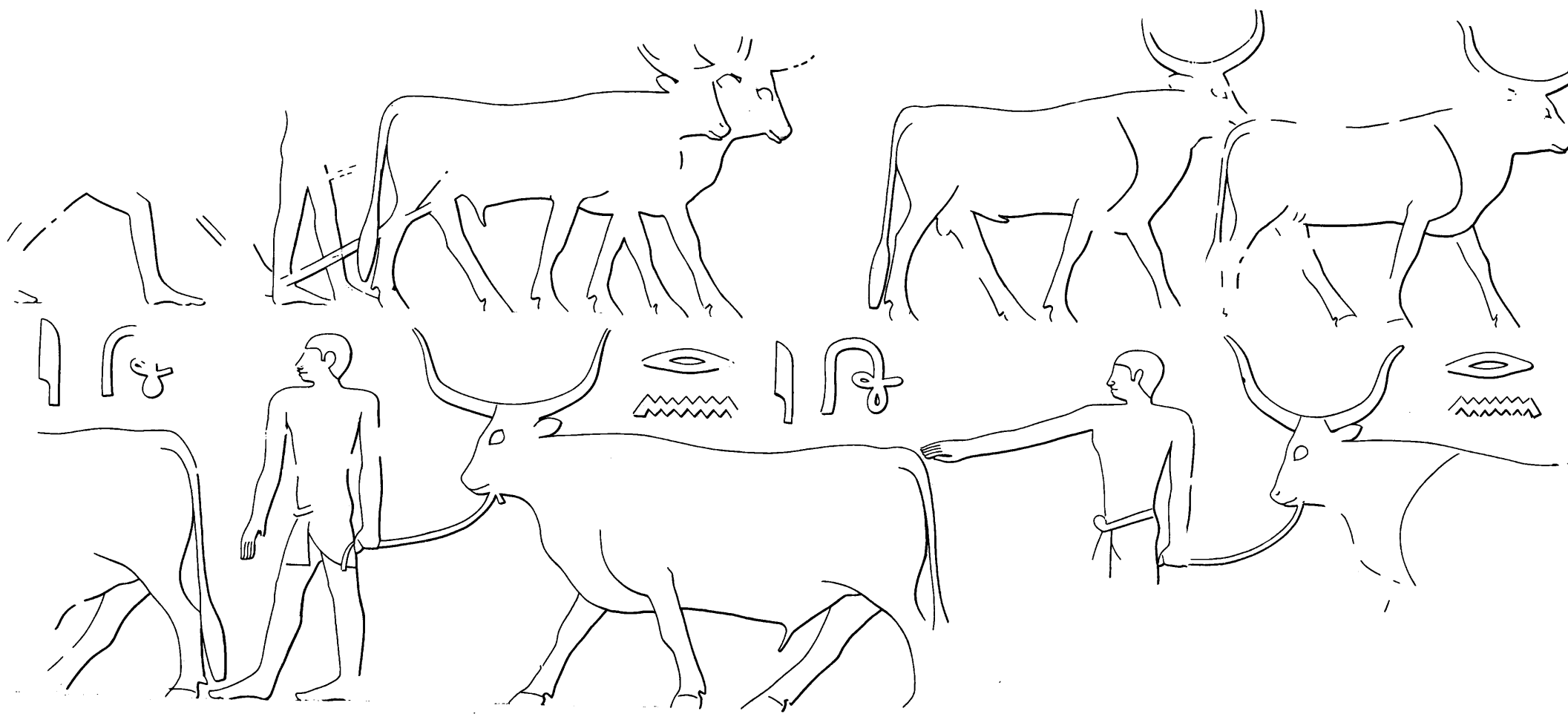
0 5 10
cm (1:5)



155. 2091: West wall of corridor, south end

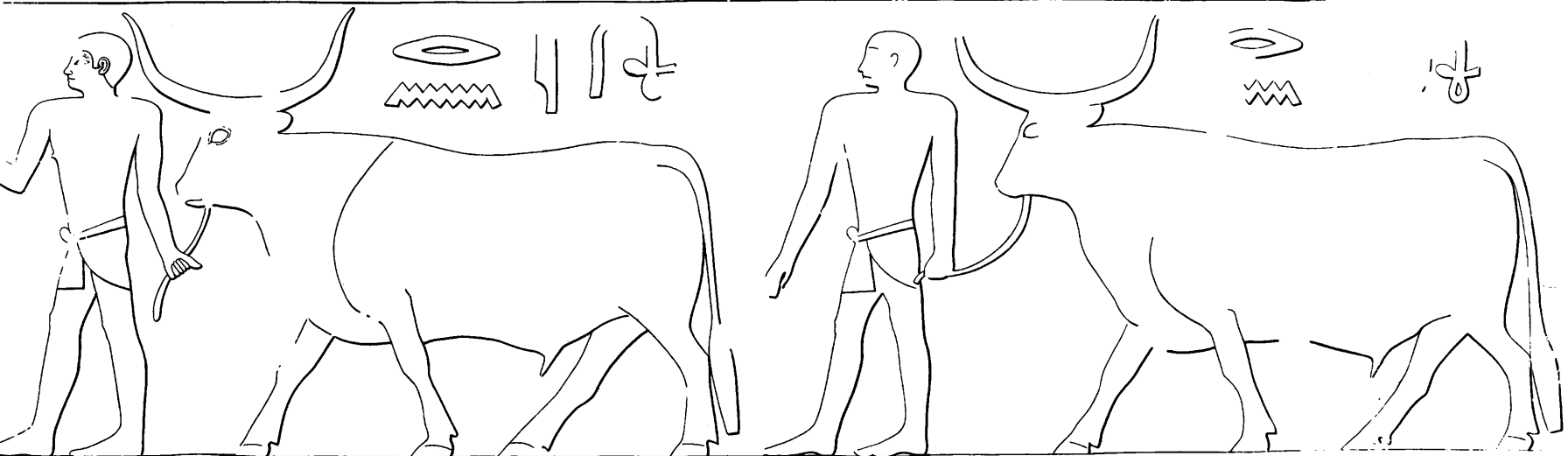
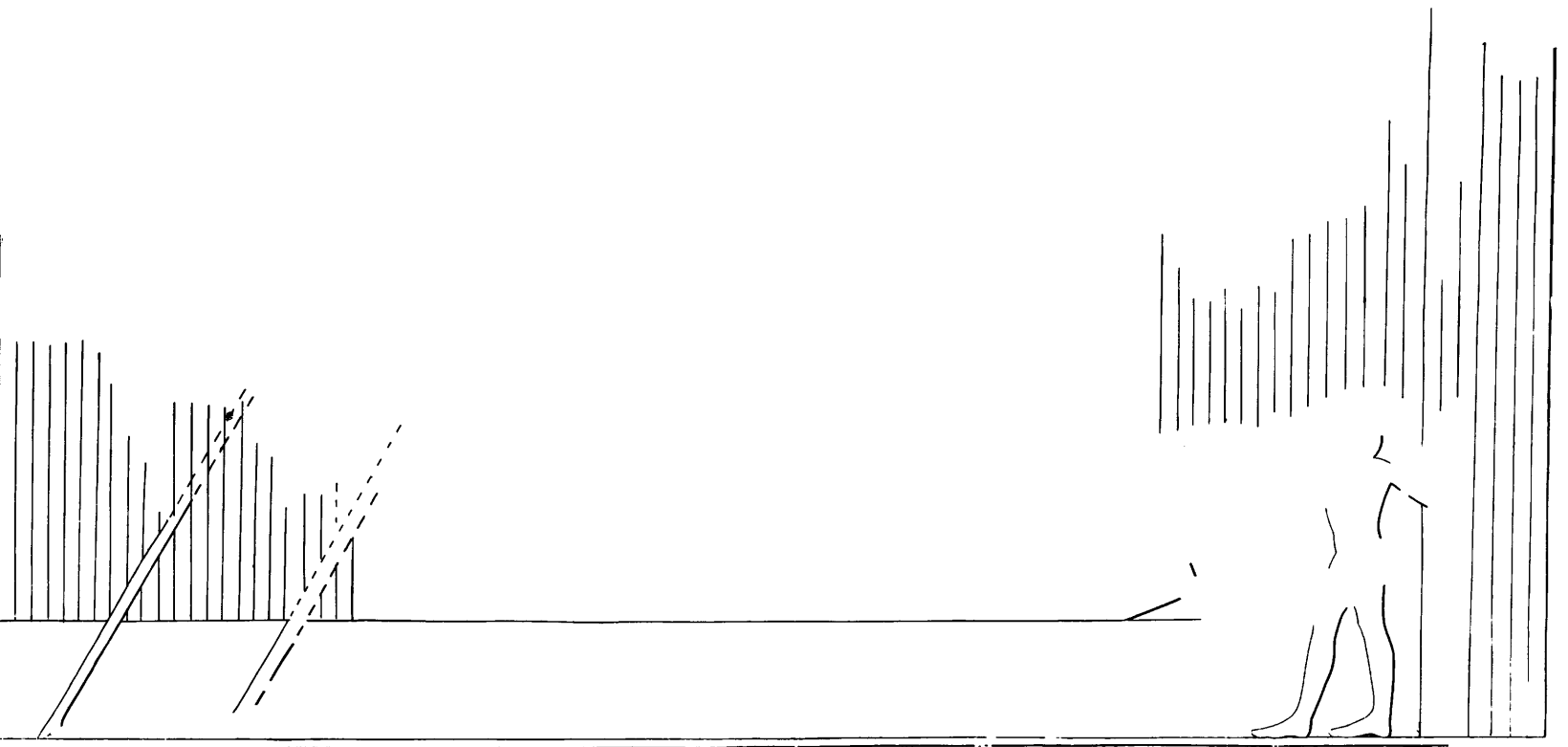


0 5 10
cm (1:5)

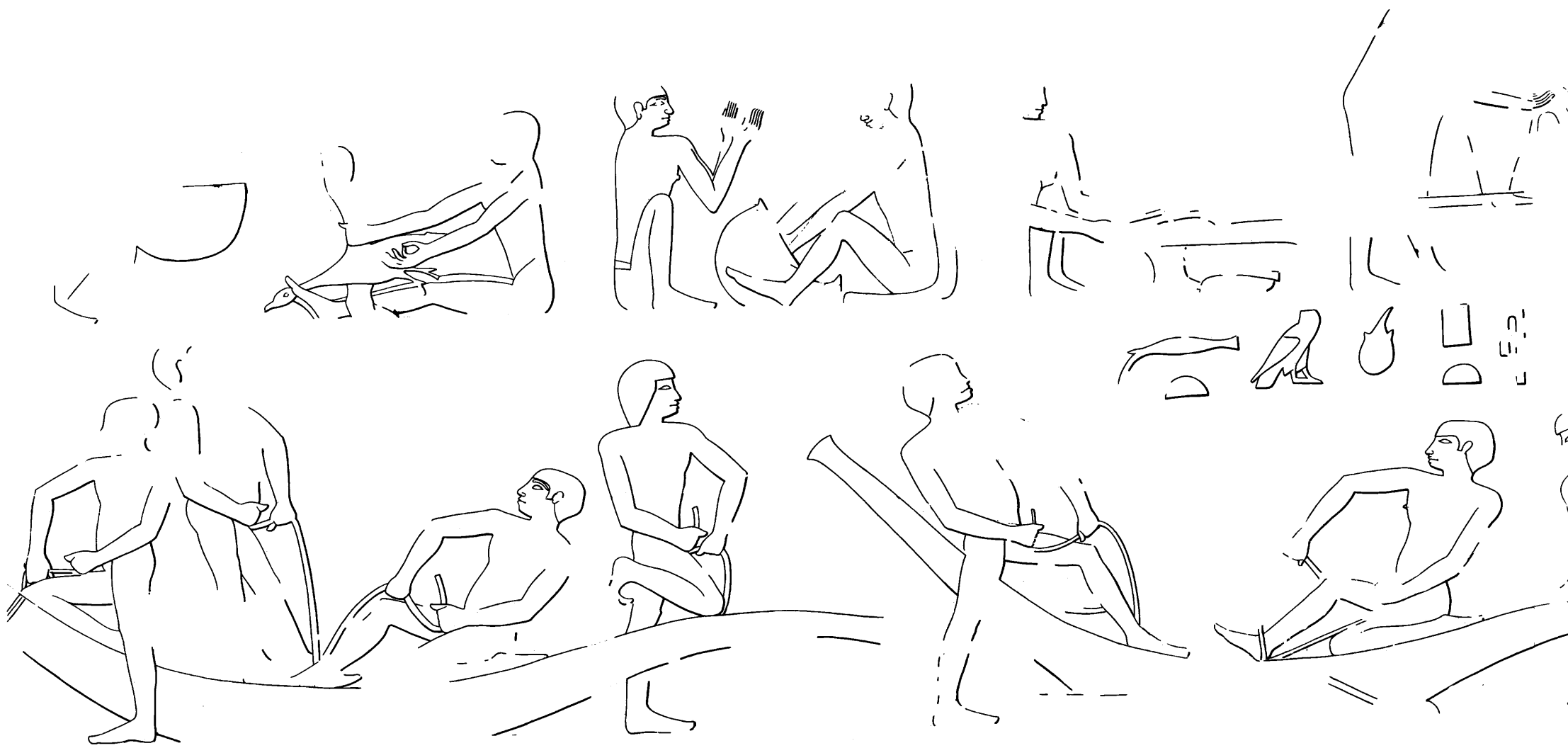


156. 2091: West wall of corridor, north end

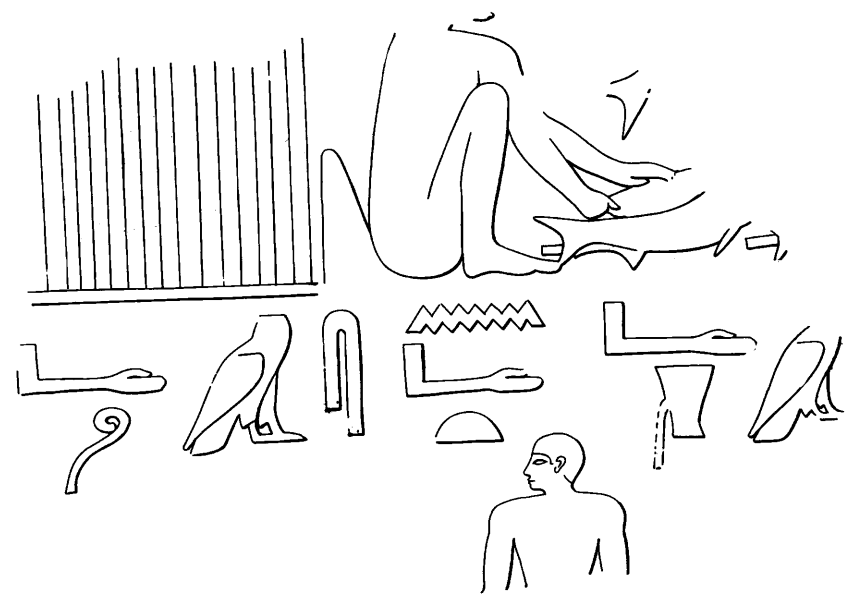




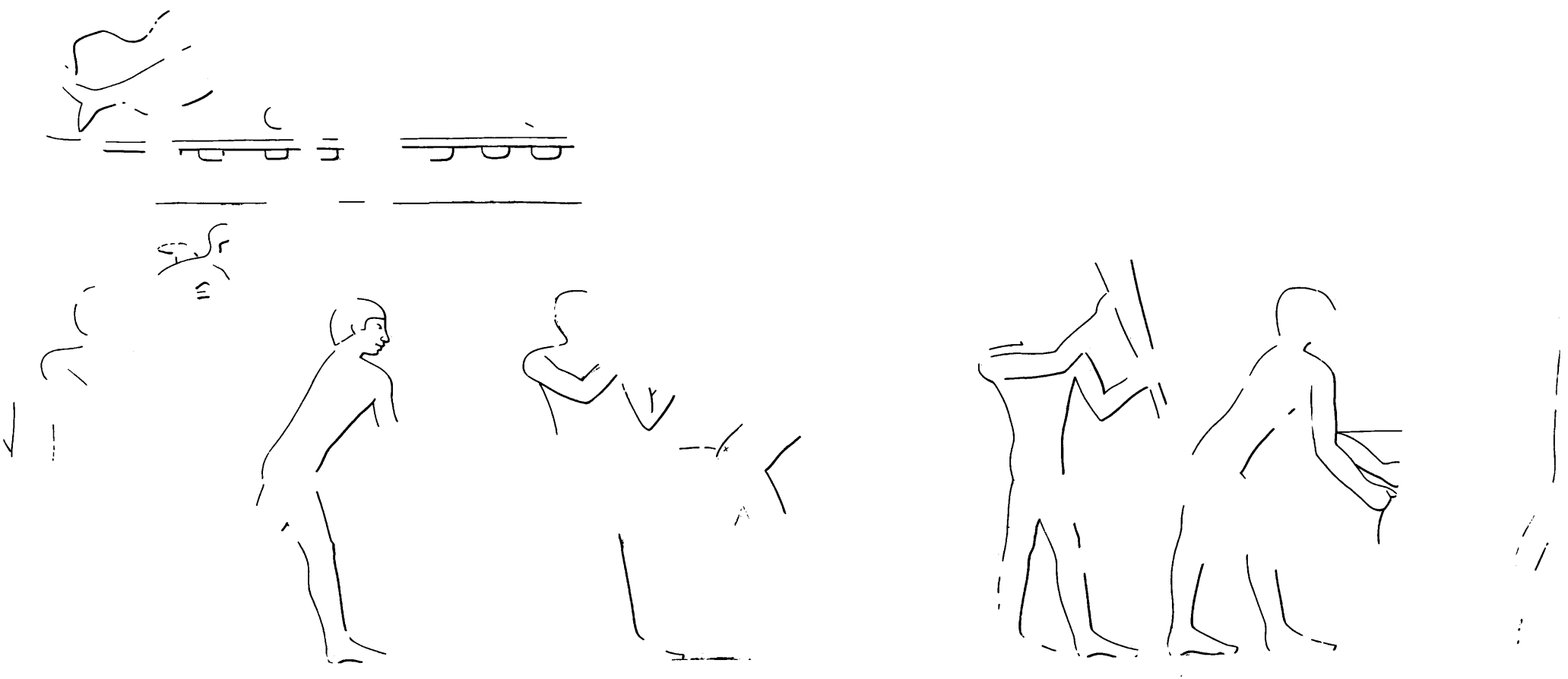
0 5 10
cm (1:5)



158. 2091: East wall of corridor, north end. (See pl. 42a)



0 5 10
cm (1:5)



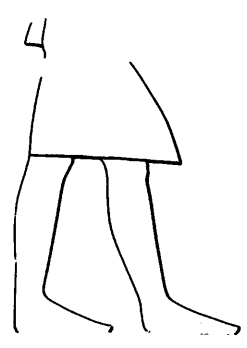
159. 2091: East wall of corridor, south end

1
/ /
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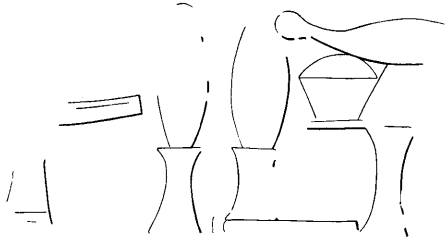
/

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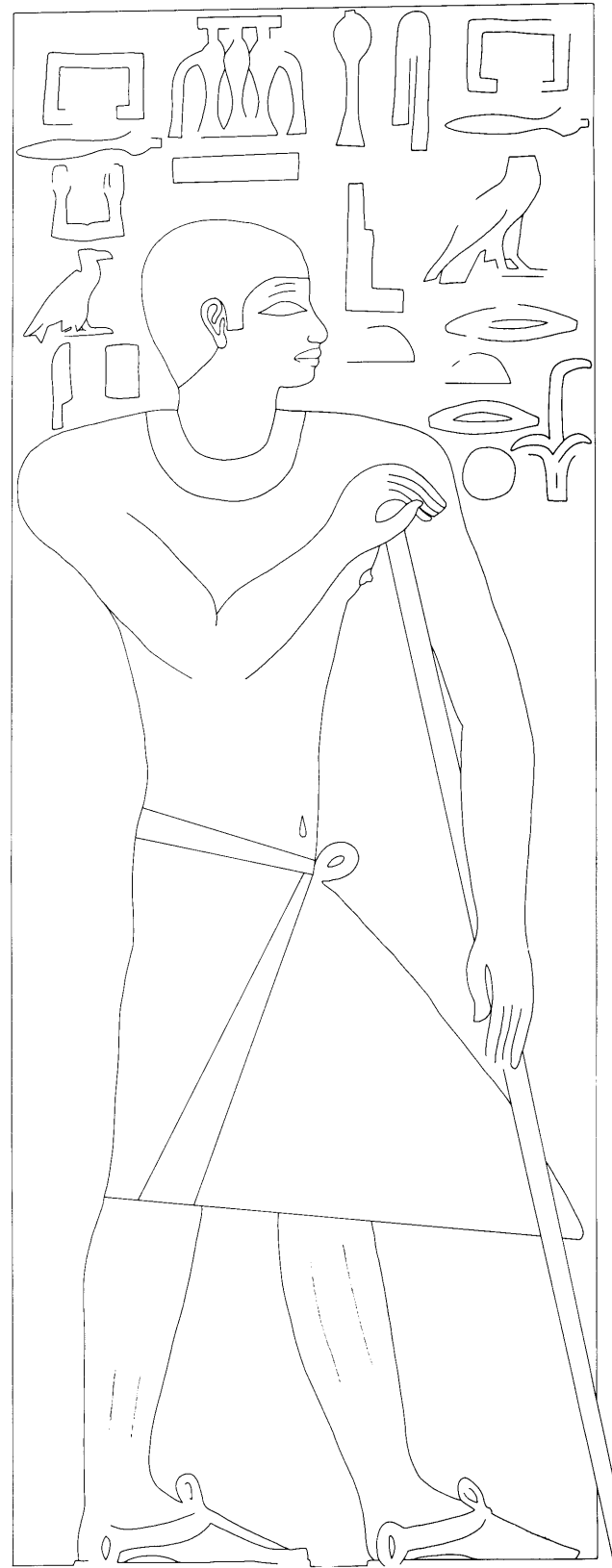




0 5 10
cm (1:5)

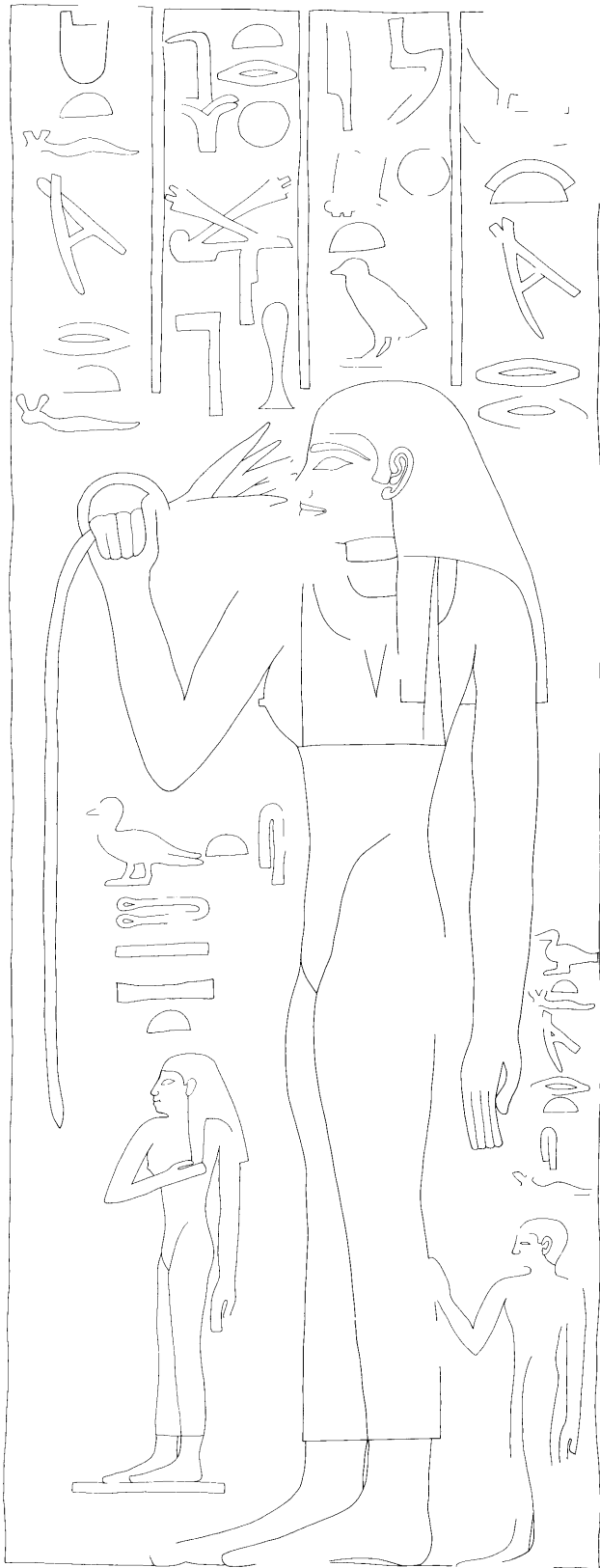


160a. 2091: Unplaced decoration from corridor

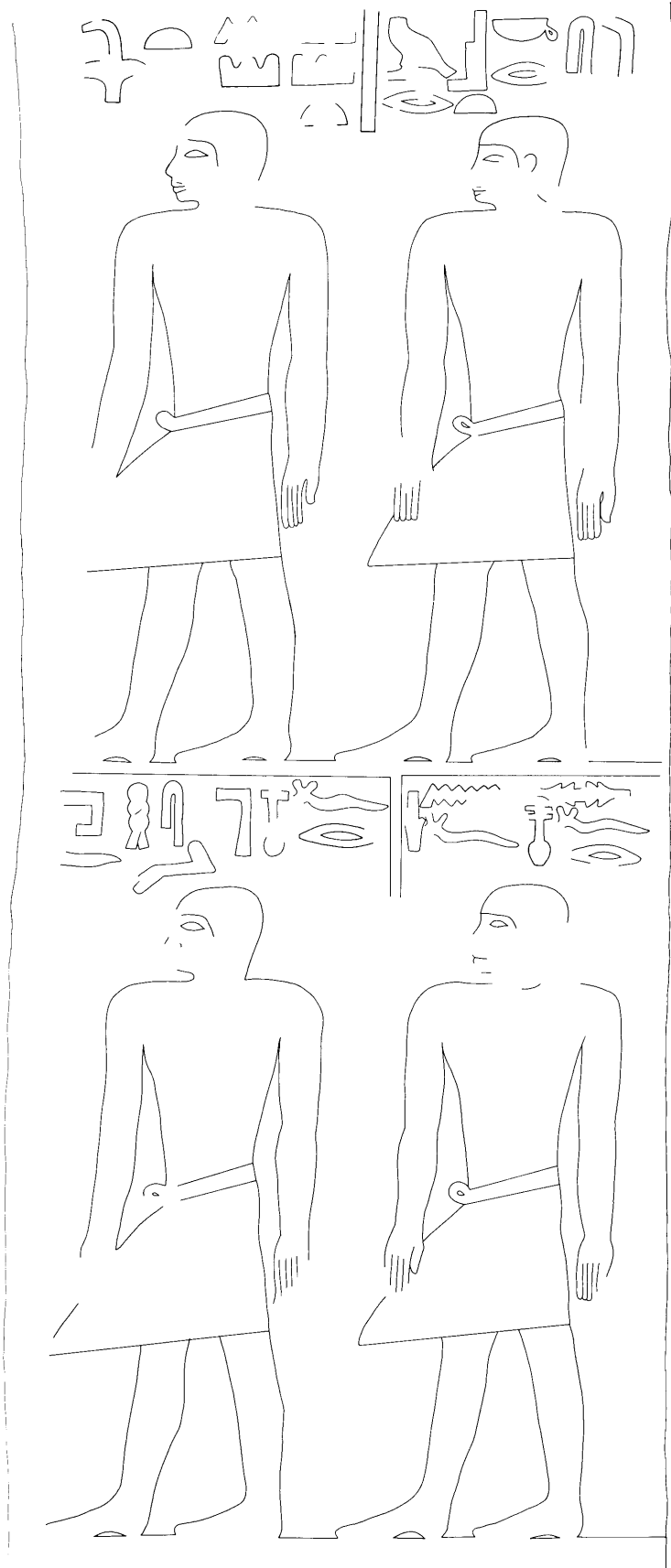


160b. 2091: East face of pillar. (See pls. 43b, 44, 45)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)

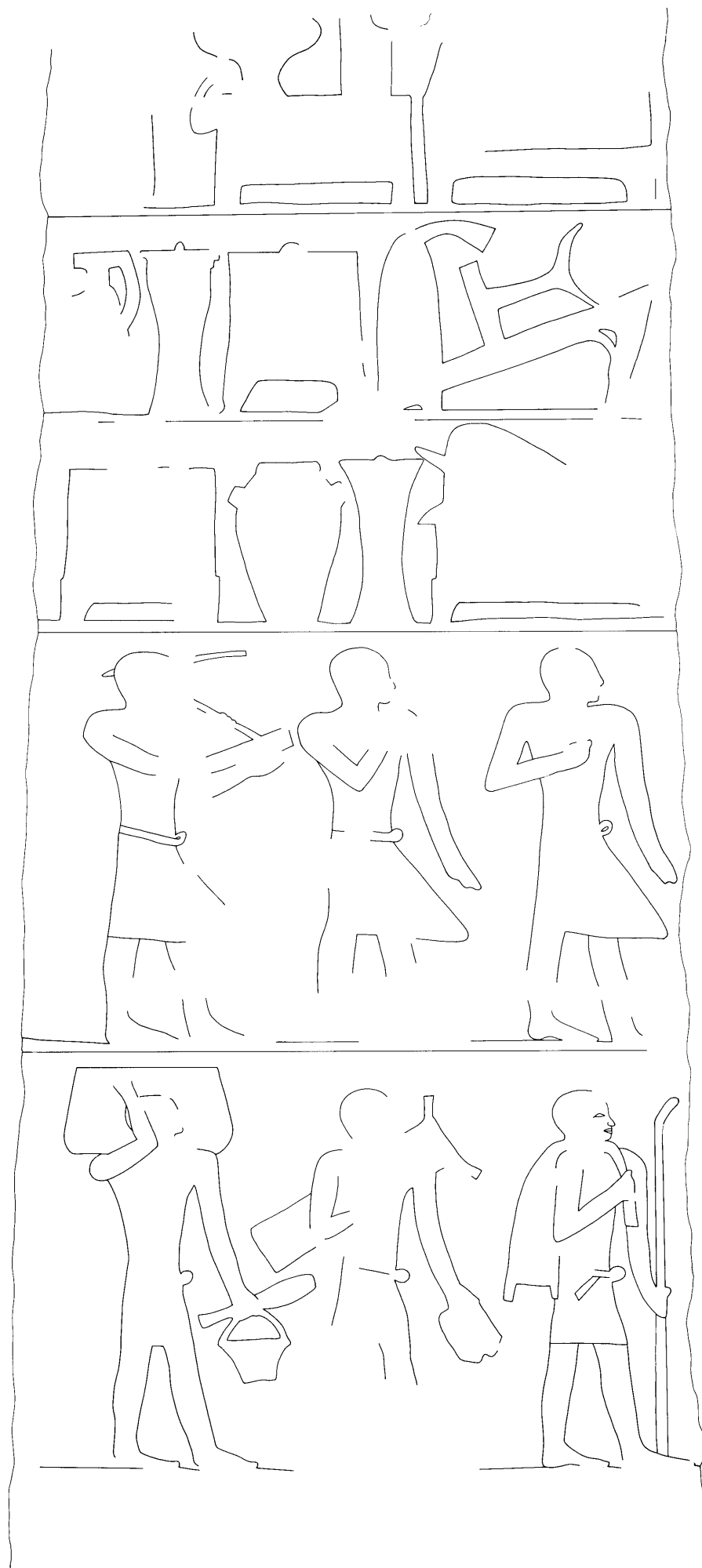


161a. 2091: North face of pillar. (See pls. 43b, 46, 47)



161b. 2091: South face of pillar. (See pl. 48)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)

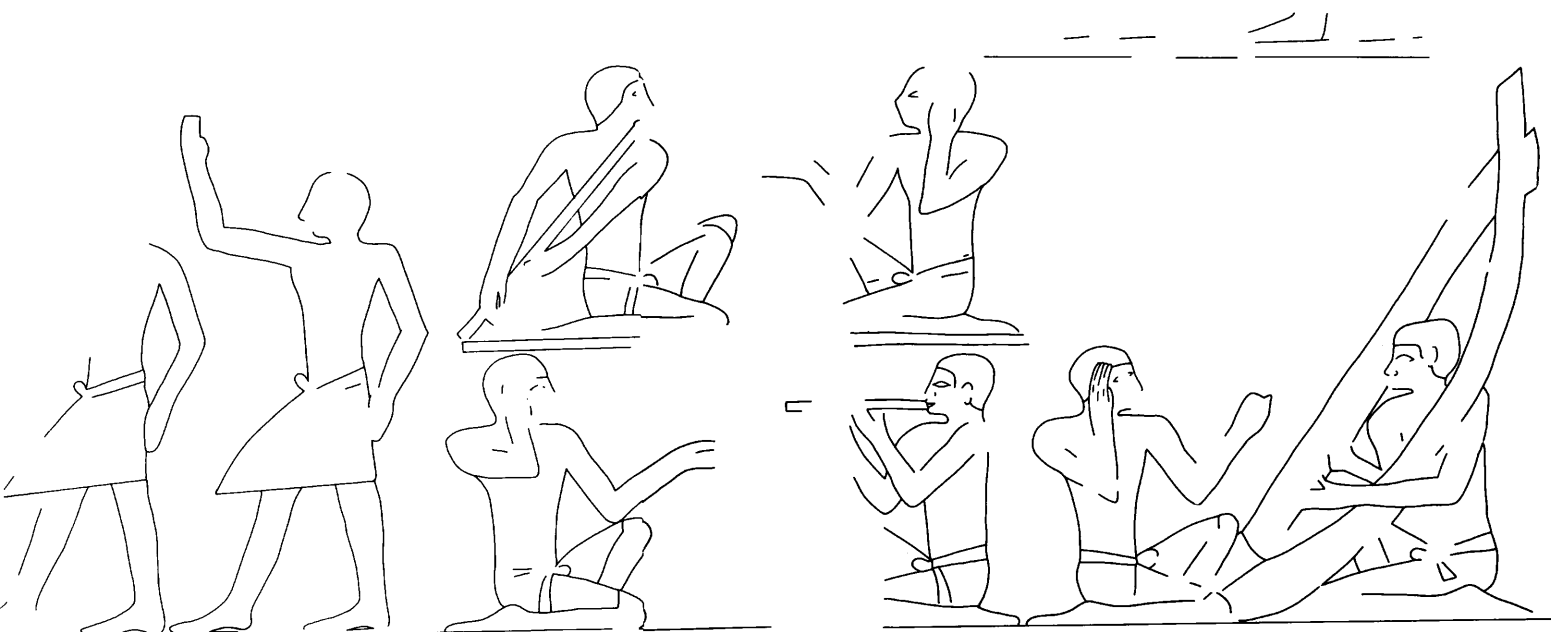
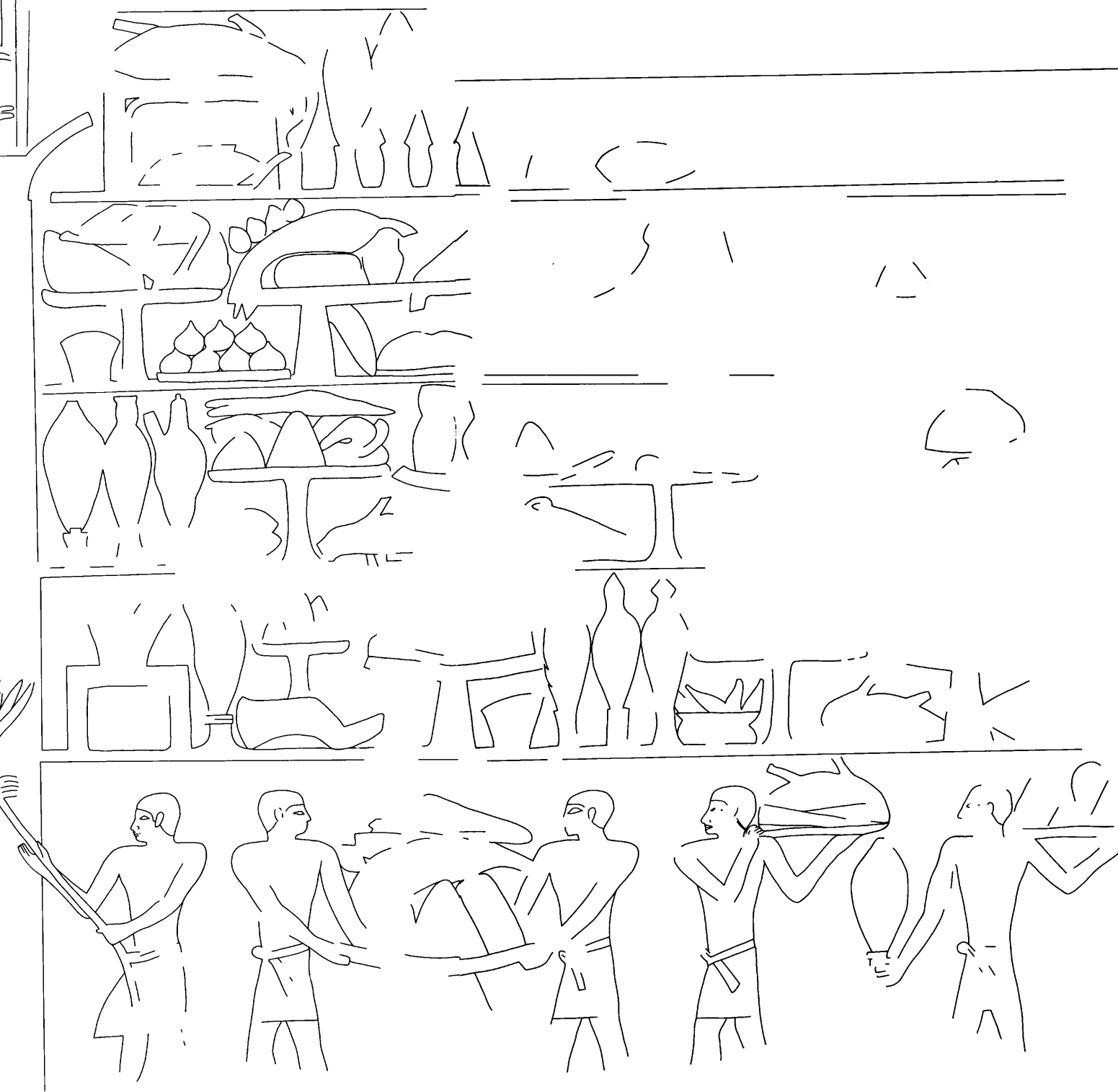


162. 2091: South pilaster of chapel. (See pl. 49)

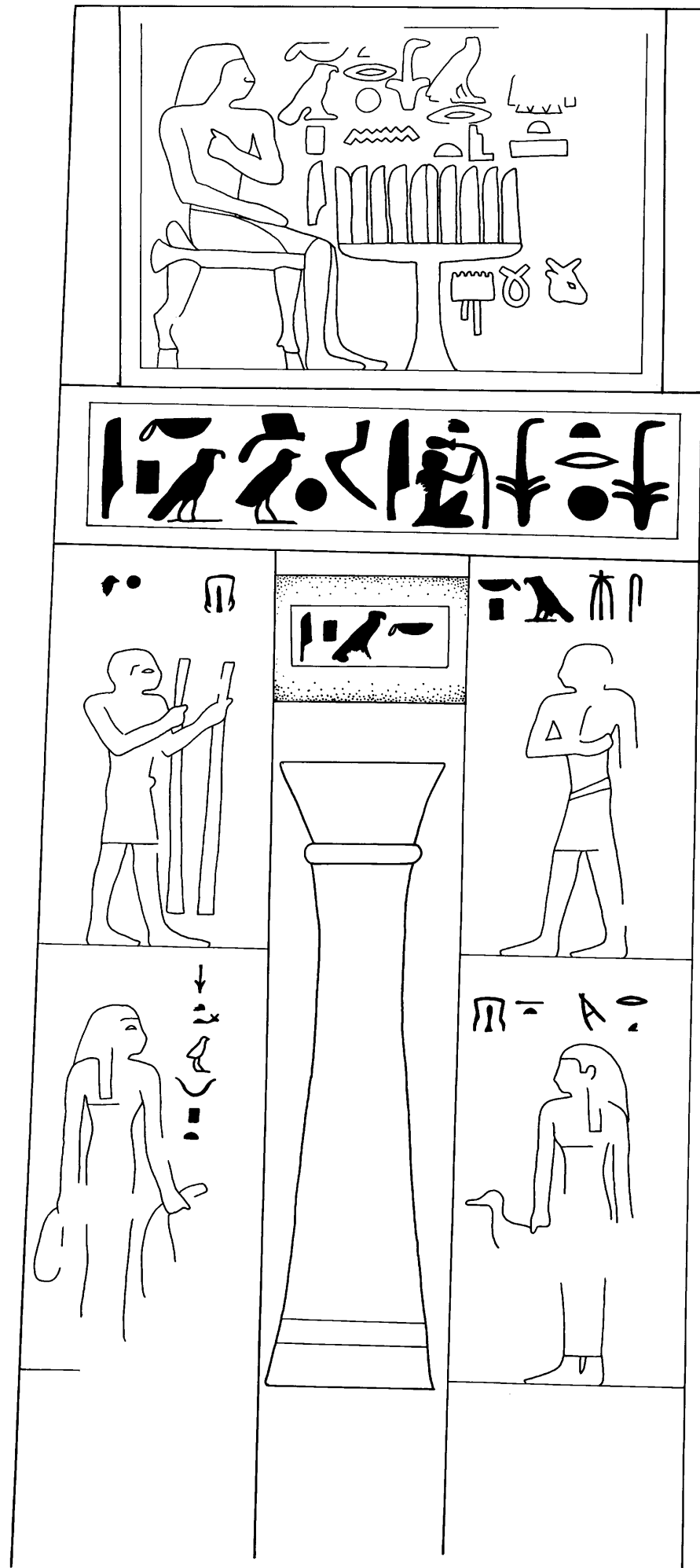
0 5 10
cm (1:5)



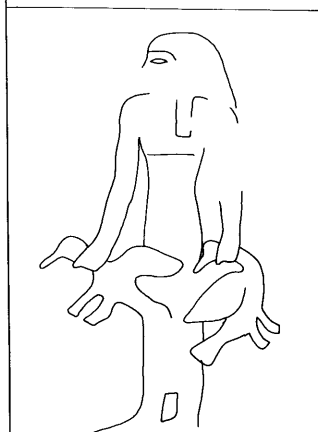
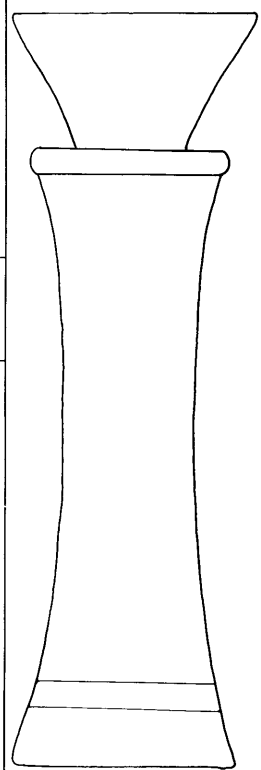
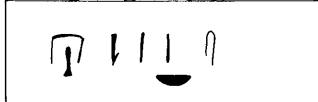
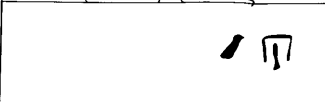
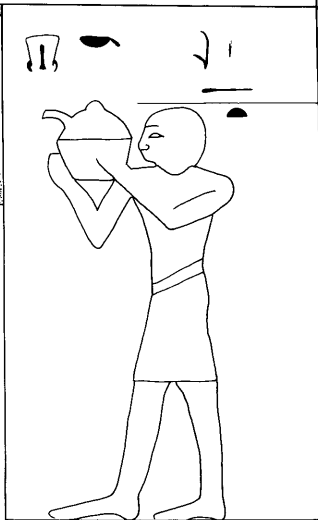
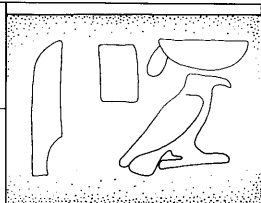
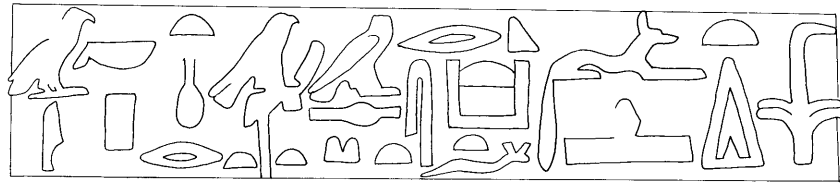
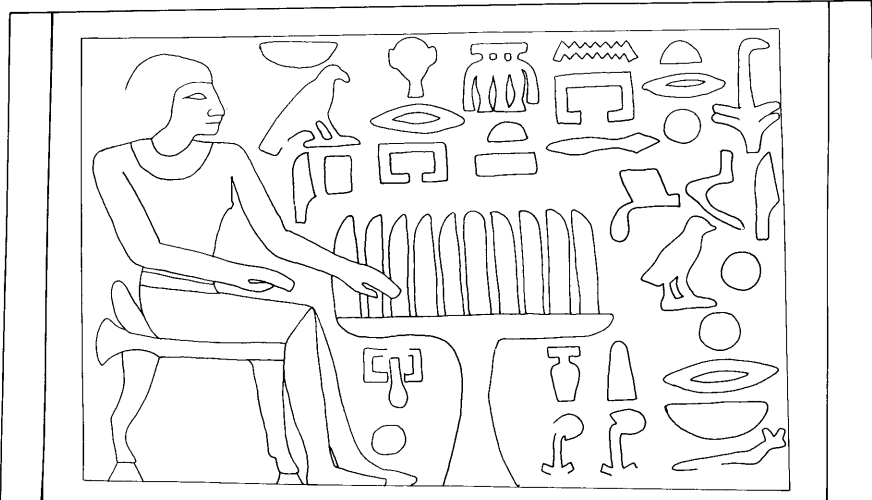
163. 2091: South wall of chapel. (See pls. 50, 51, 52)



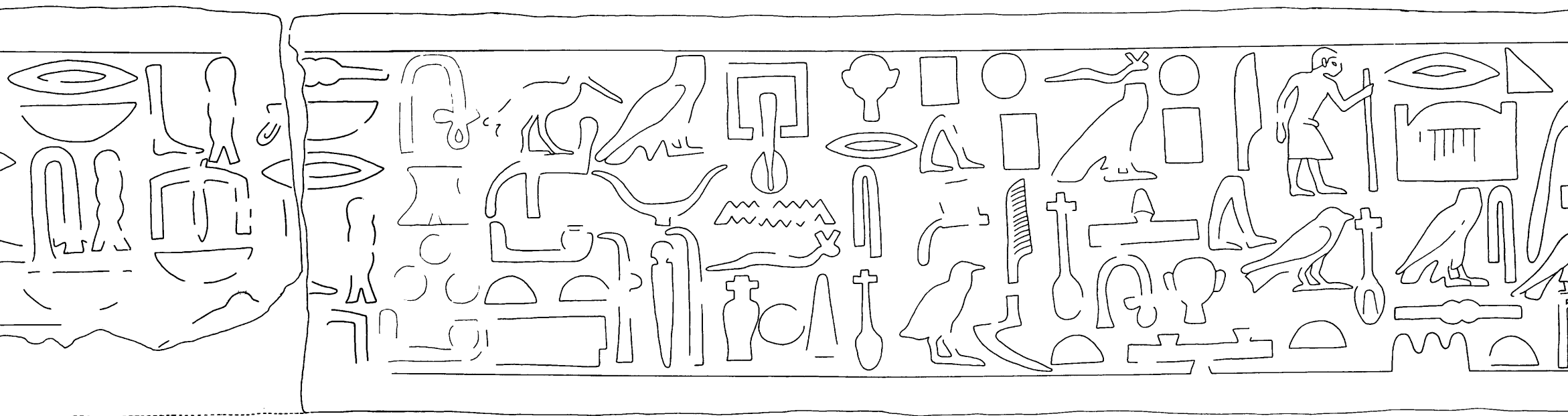
0 5 10
cm (1:5)



164. 2091: False doors of chapel. (See pls. 53, 54)



0 10 20 cm

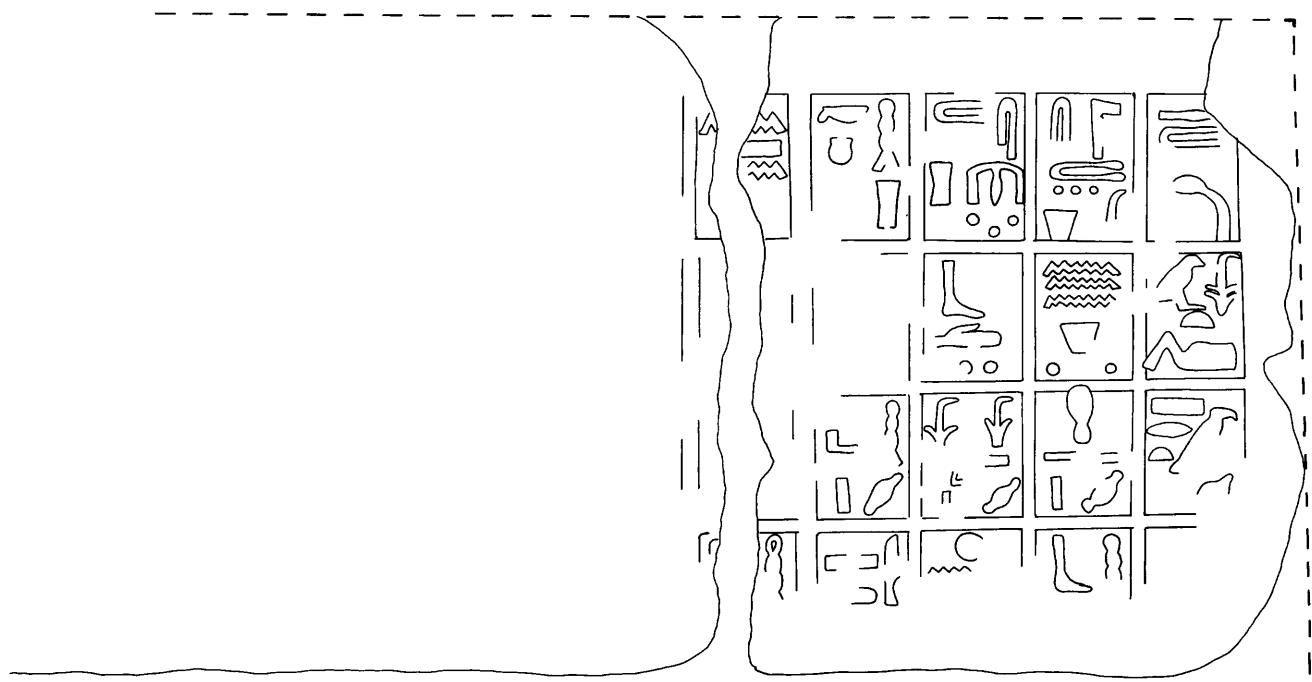




166. 2091: Decoration on both ends of west wall above lintel. (See pls. 55a, 55c)



← GAP →



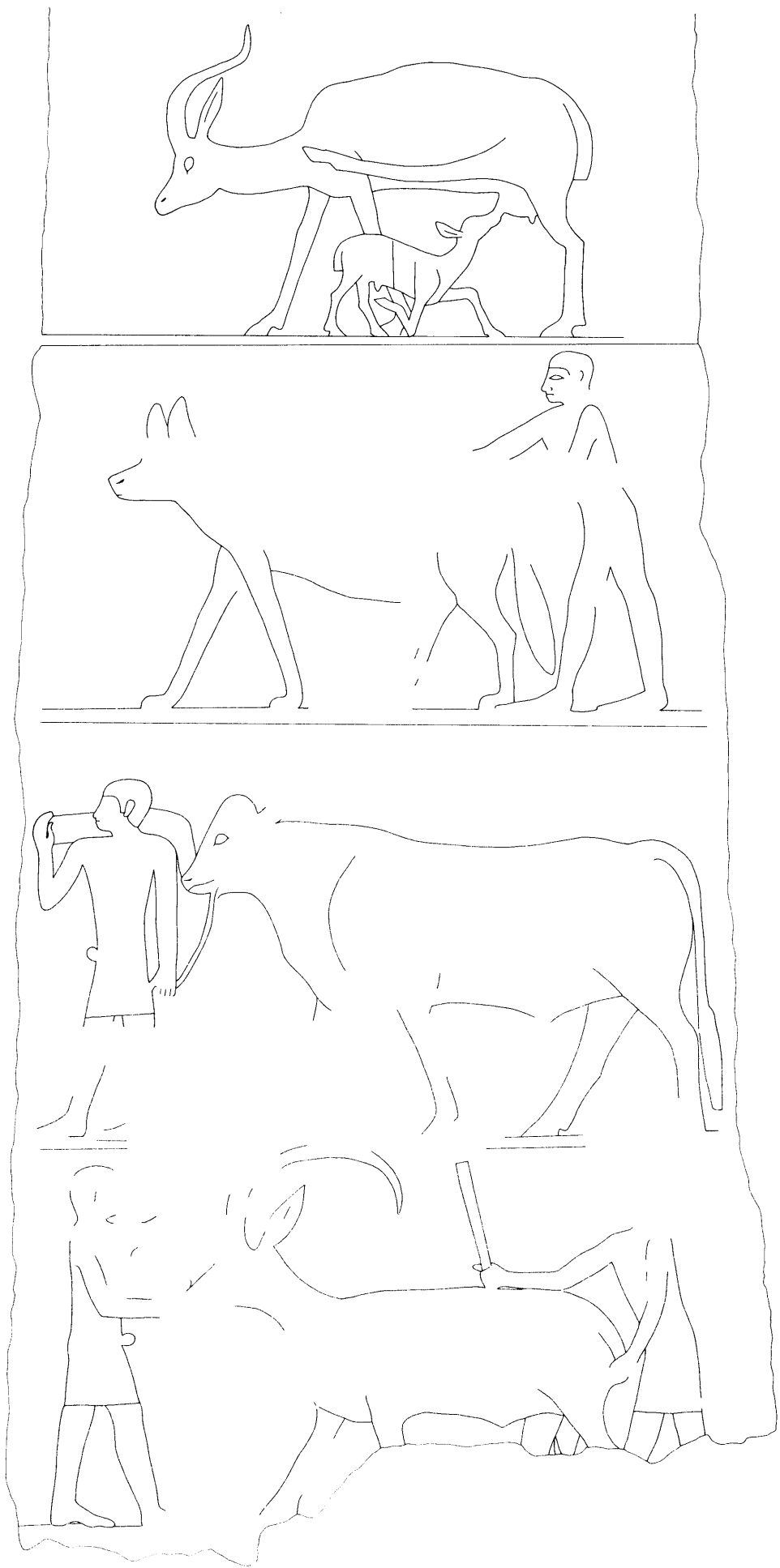
0 10 20 cm



167. 2091: North wall of chapel.
(See pls. 56, 57, 58)

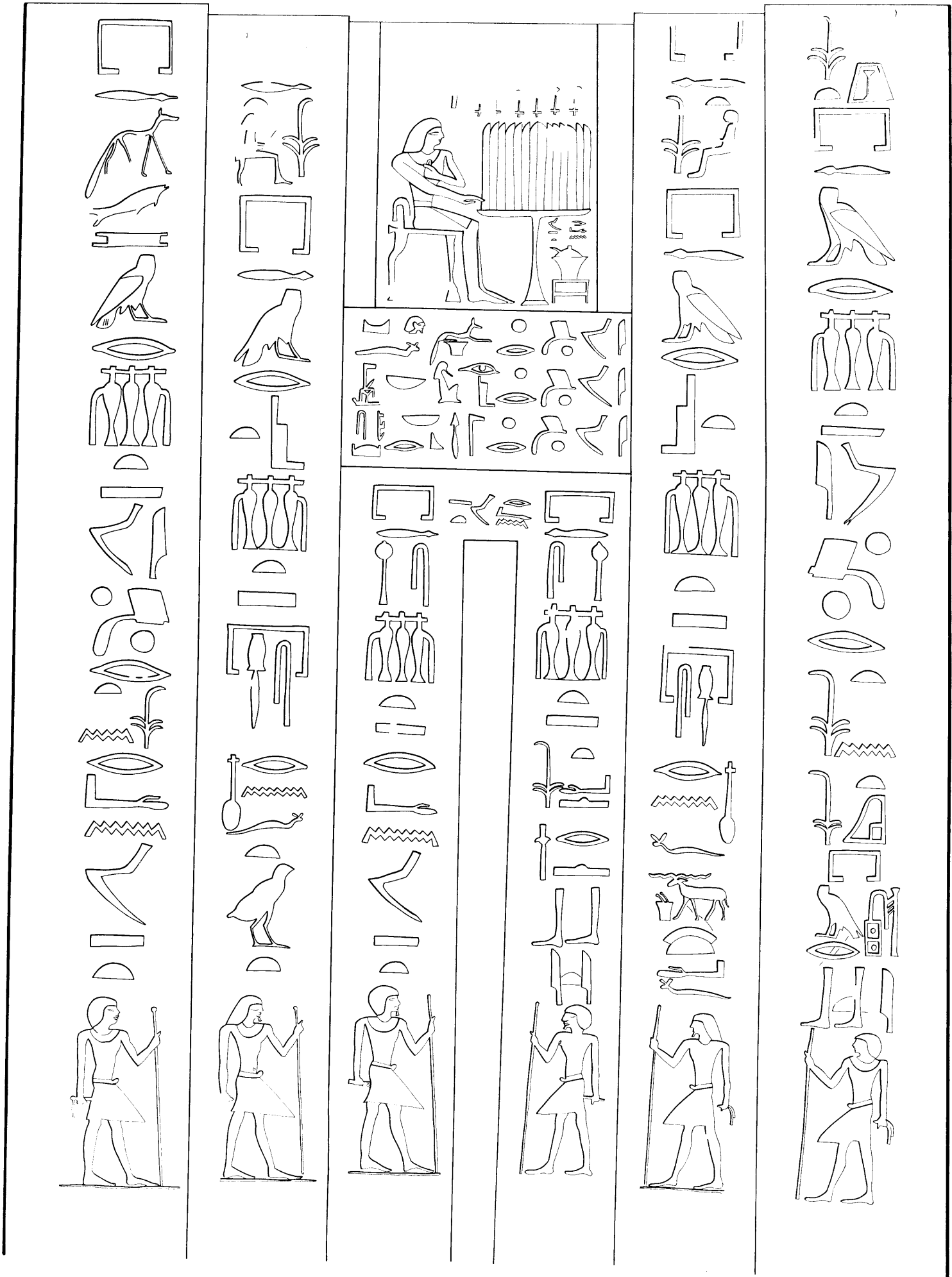


0 5 10
cm (1:5)



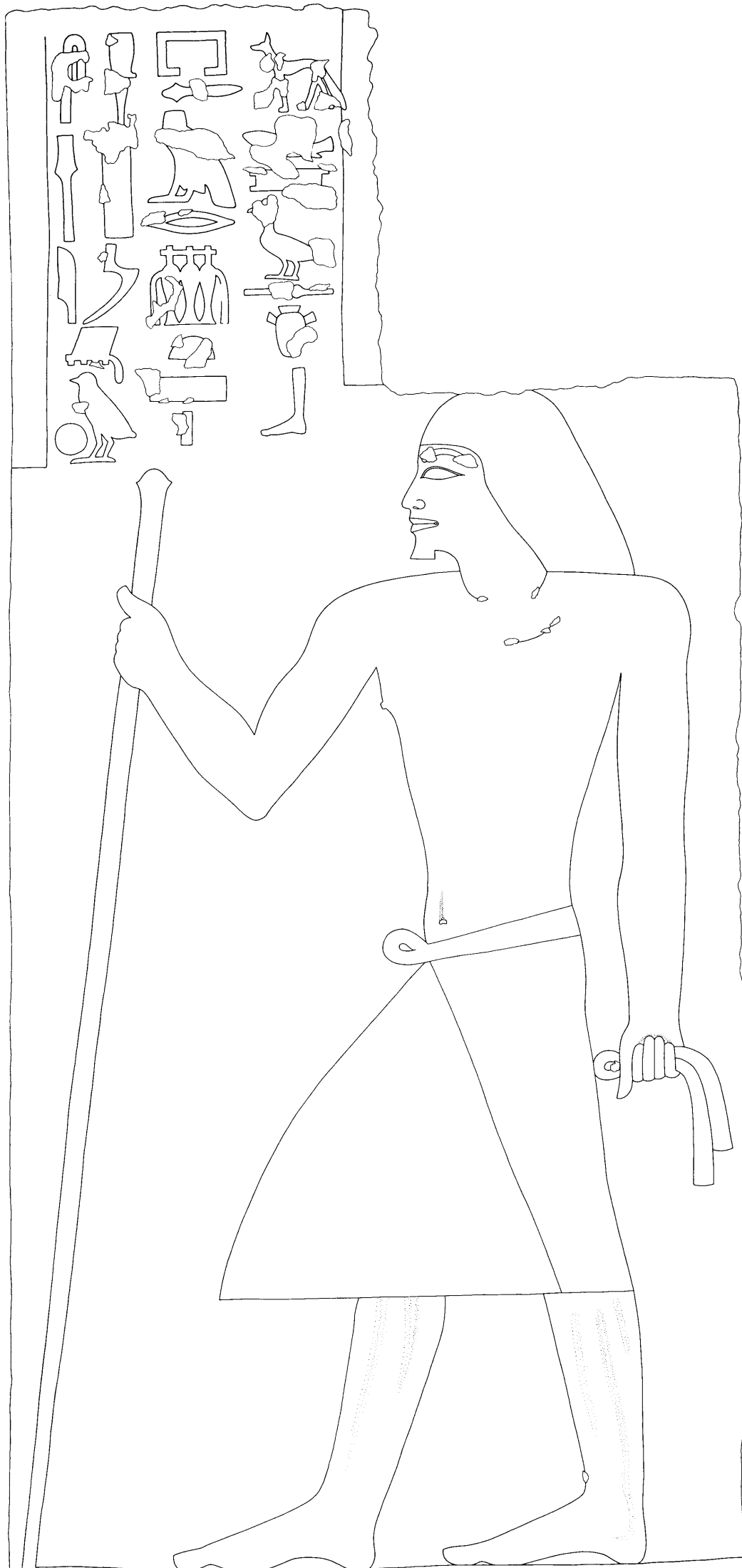
168. 2091: North pilaster of chapel. (See pls. 59, 60a)

0 5 10
|-----| cm (1:5)



169. 2092a: False door. (See pl. 64)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



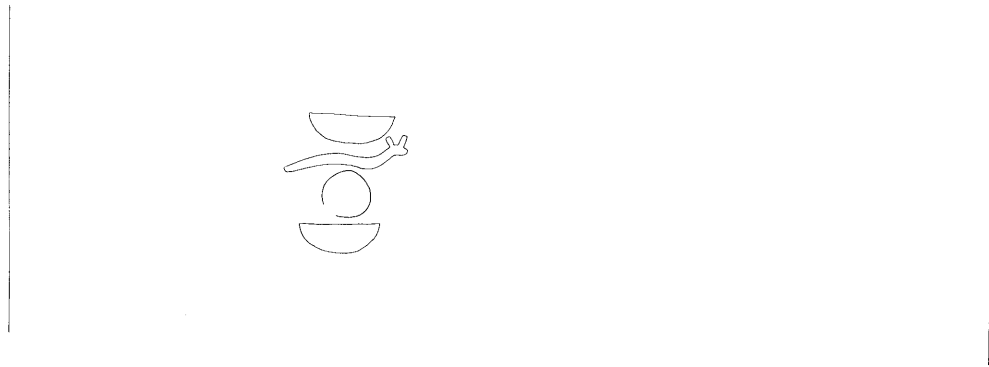
170. 2092+2093: East entrance doorjamb. (See pl. 67a)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



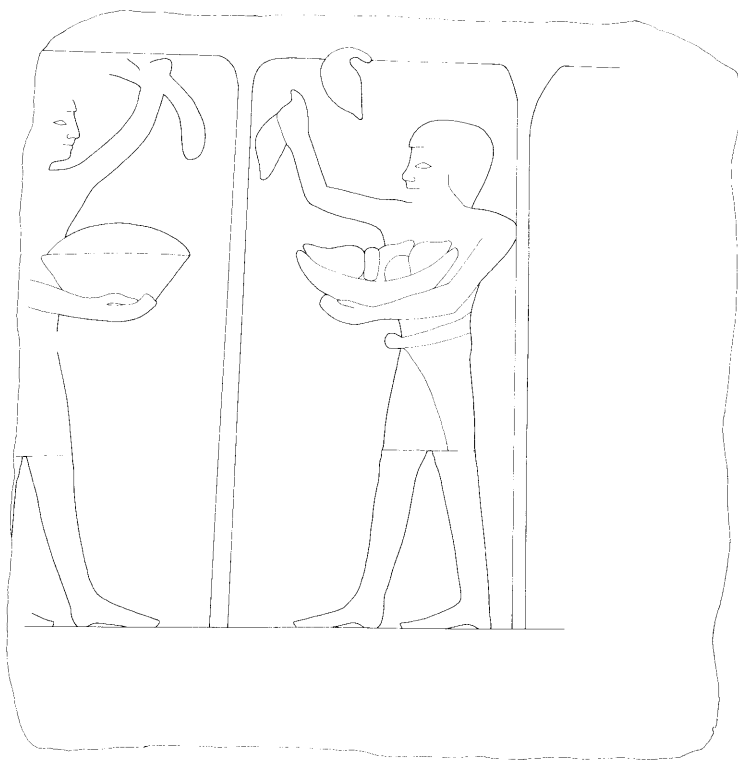
171. 2092+2093: West entrance doorjamb. (See pl. 67b)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



172a. 2092+2093: Unfinished inscription on entrance drum lintel. (See pl. 67)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



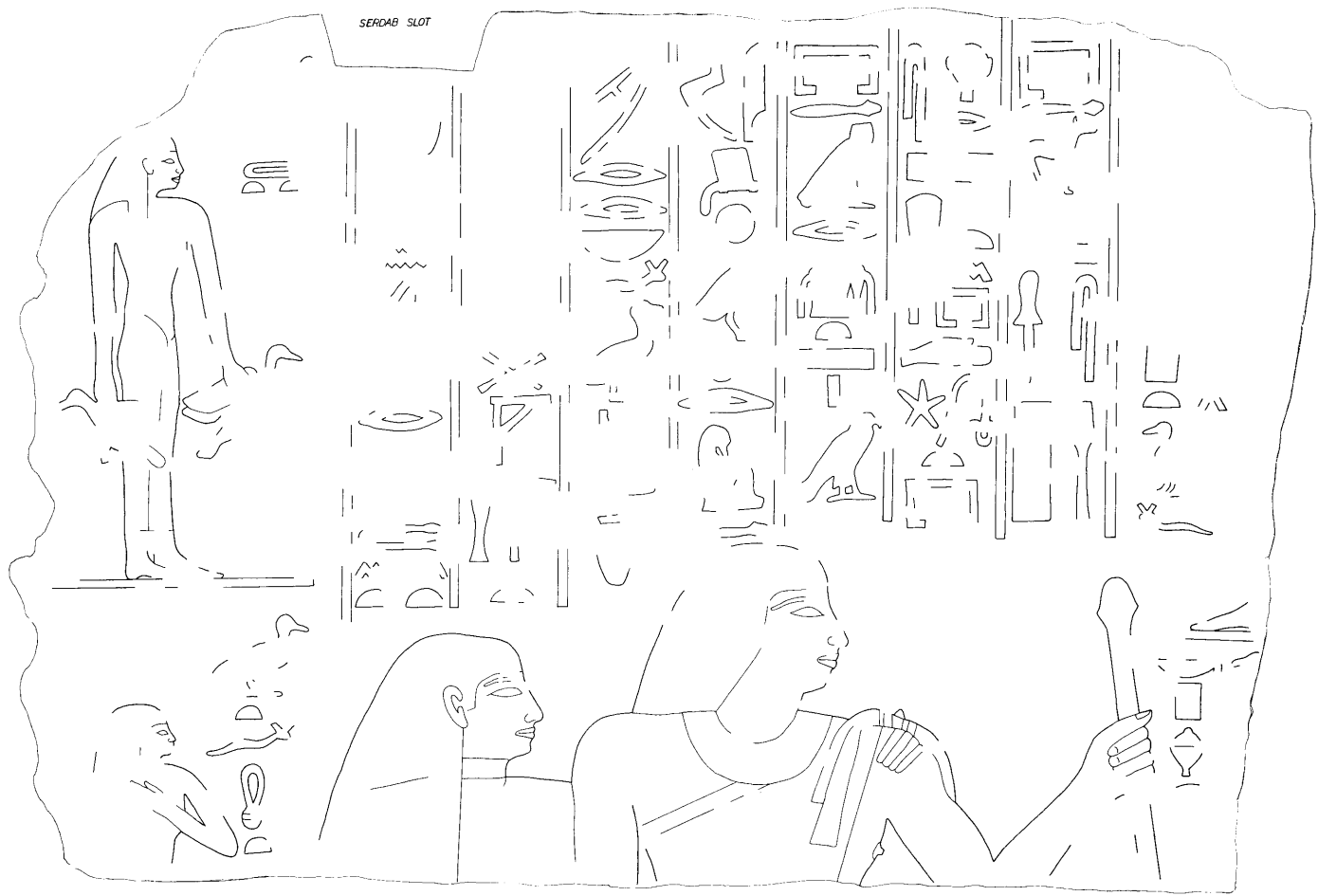
172b. 2092+2093: North end of west wall of corridor into chapel. (See pl. 68a)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)

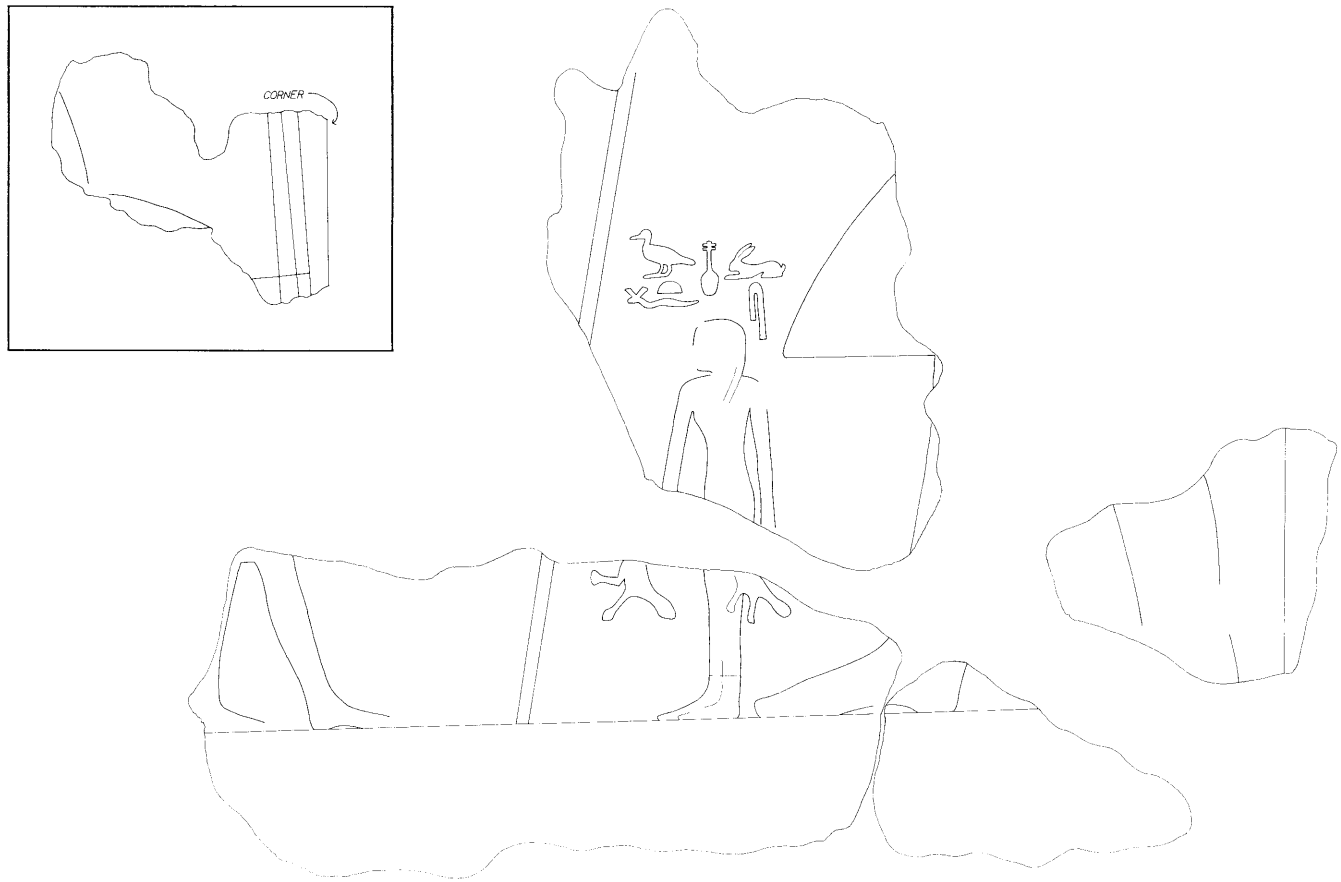


172c. 2092+2093: Loose block. (See pl. 68b)

scale not determinable

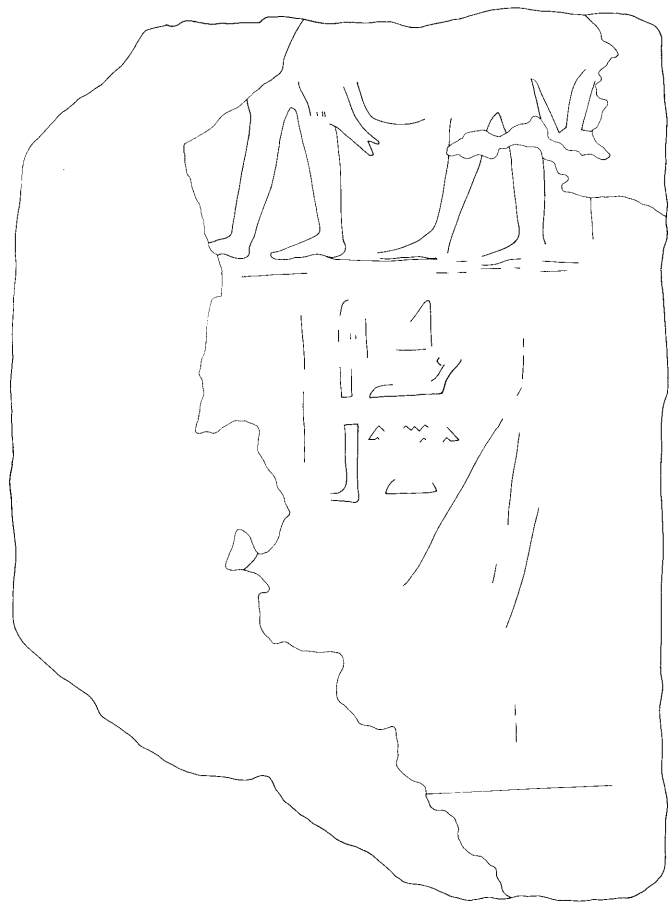


173a. 2092+2093: Loose block from top of 2096. (See pl. 68c)

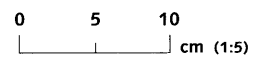


173b, c. 2092+2093: Loose blocks. All blocks seem to belong to the same scene. (See pl. 68d)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



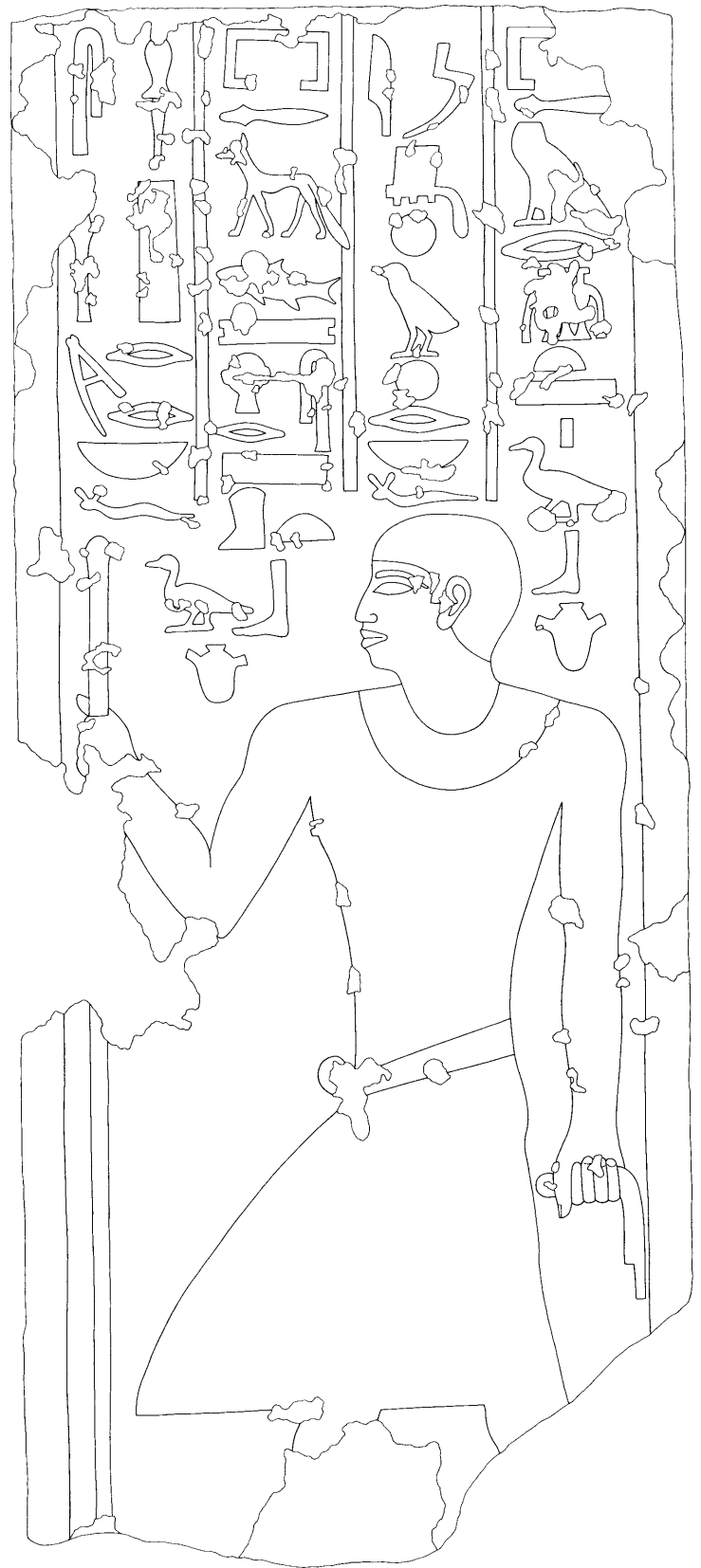
174. 2092+2093: Loose block, probably from here. (See pl. 68d)





175a. 2092+2093: Dislocated pillar, perhaps south face. (See pl. 69a)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



175b. 2092+2093: Dislocated pillar, perhaps east face. (See pl. 69b)

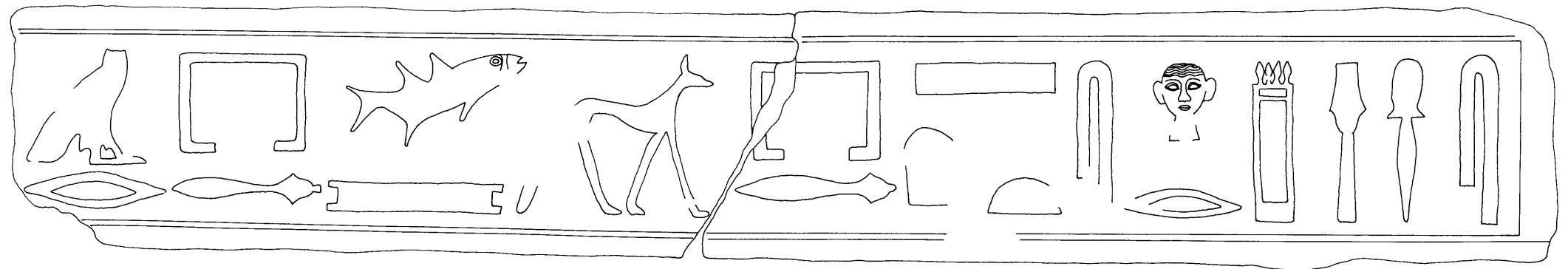


176a. 2092+2093: Dislocated pillar, perhaps north face. (See pl. 69c)



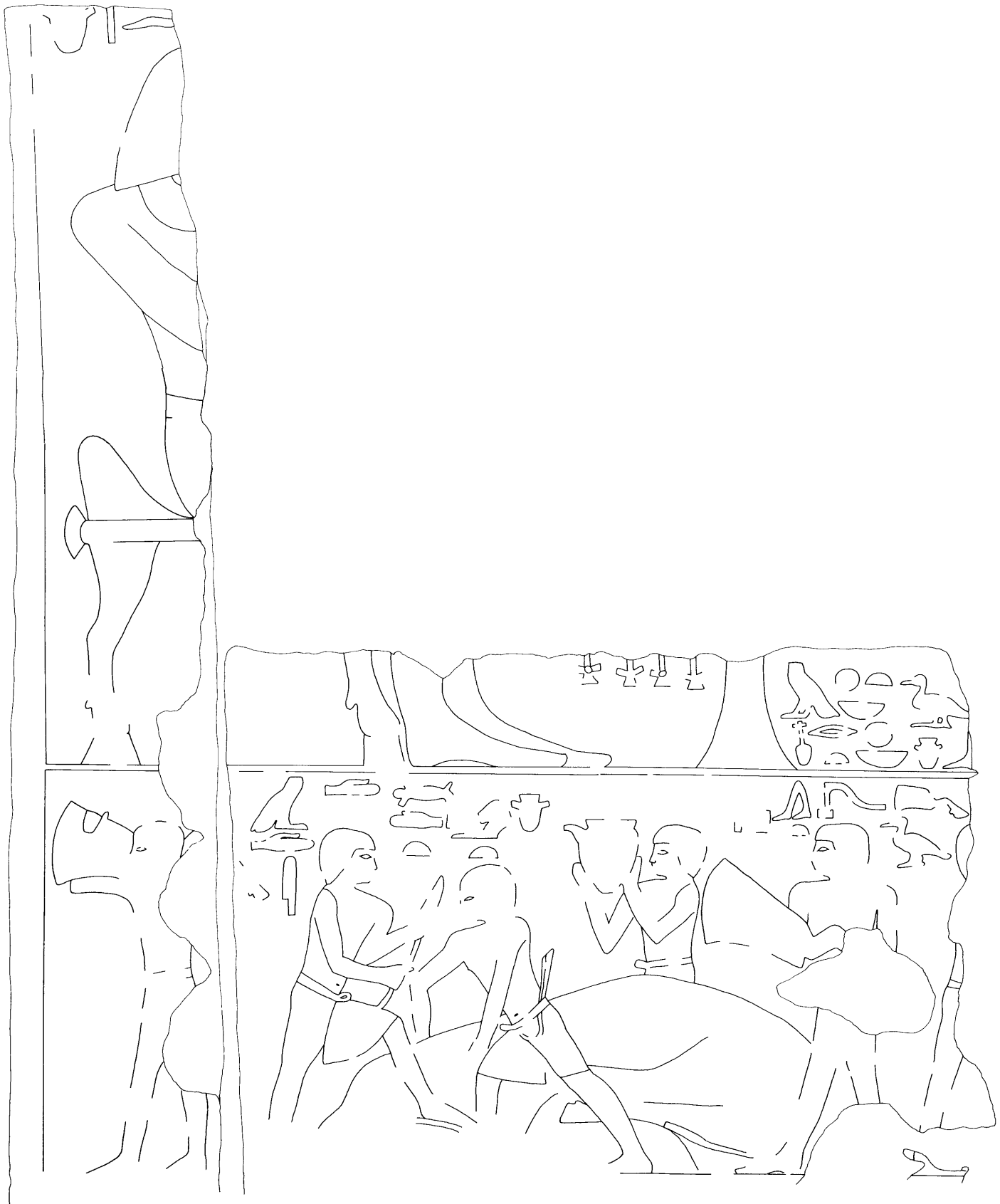
176b. 2092+2093: Dislocated pillar, perhaps west face. (See pl. 69d)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



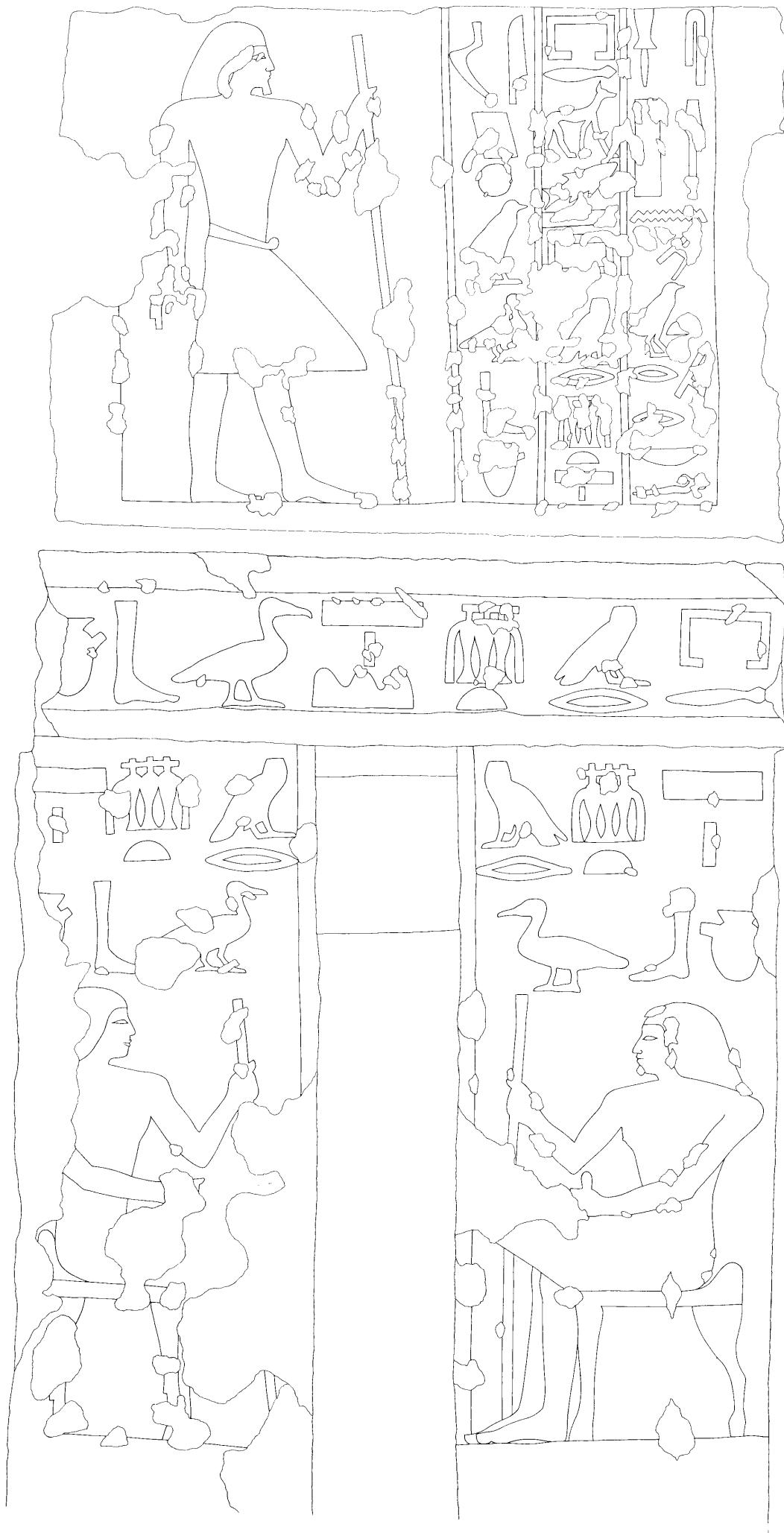
177. 2092+2093: Architrave fragment from path south of mastaba. (See pl. 70a)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



178. 2092+2093: West wall of corridor south of recess and north of false door. (See pls. 70b, 70c, 71a)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



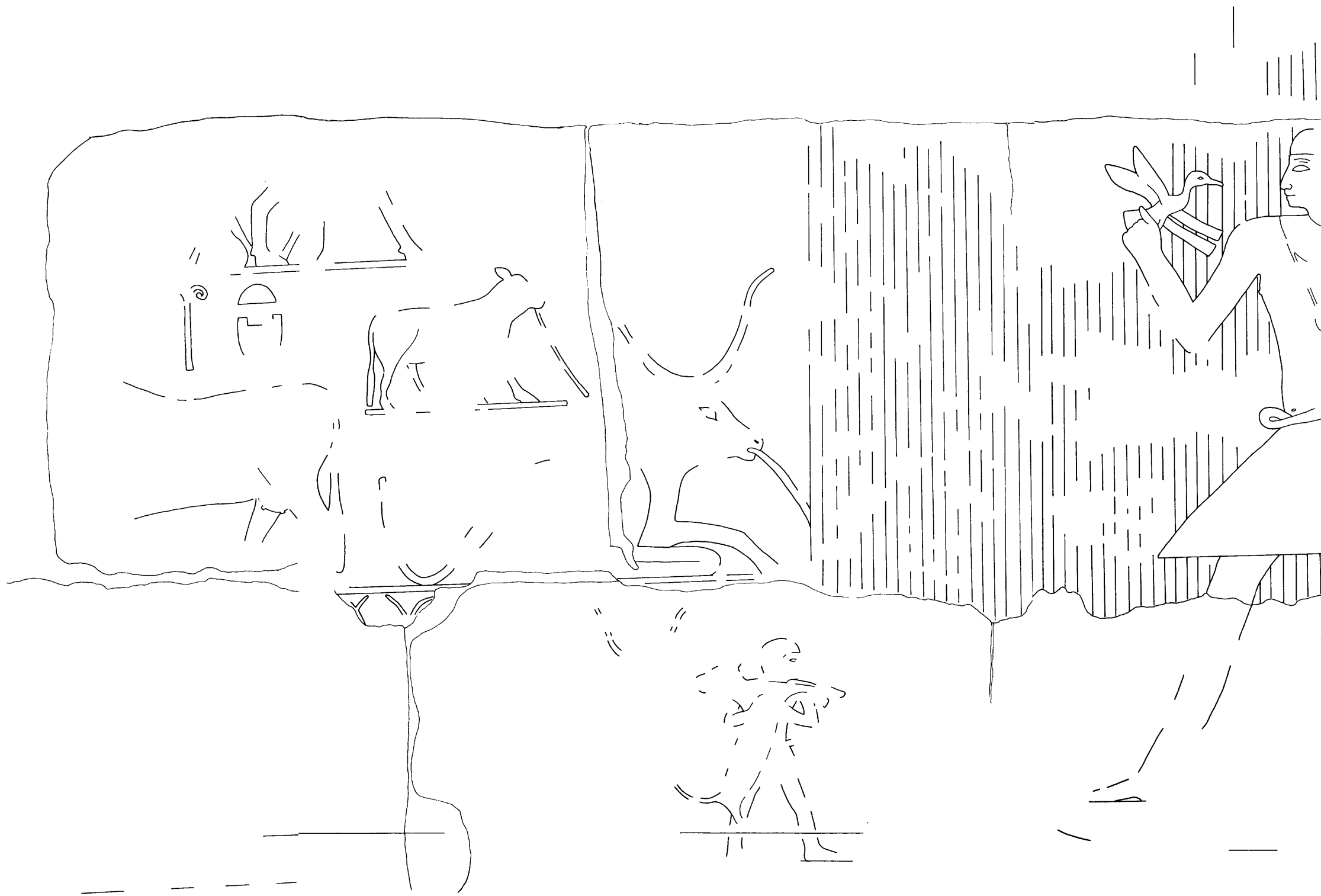
179. 2092+2093: False door in west wall of corridor. (See pls. 71b, 72a)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)

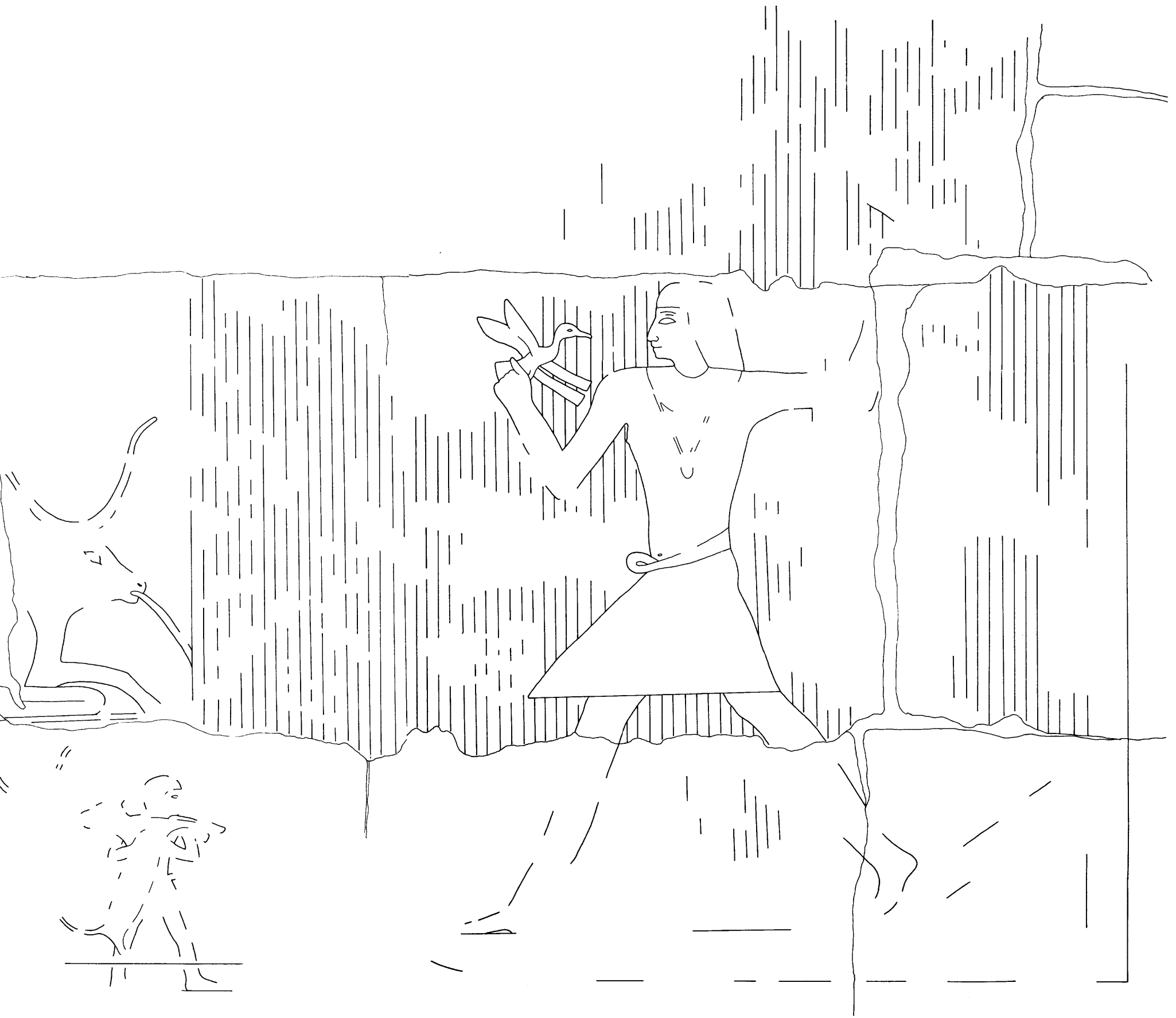


180. 2092+2093: South wall of corridor. (See pl. 72b)

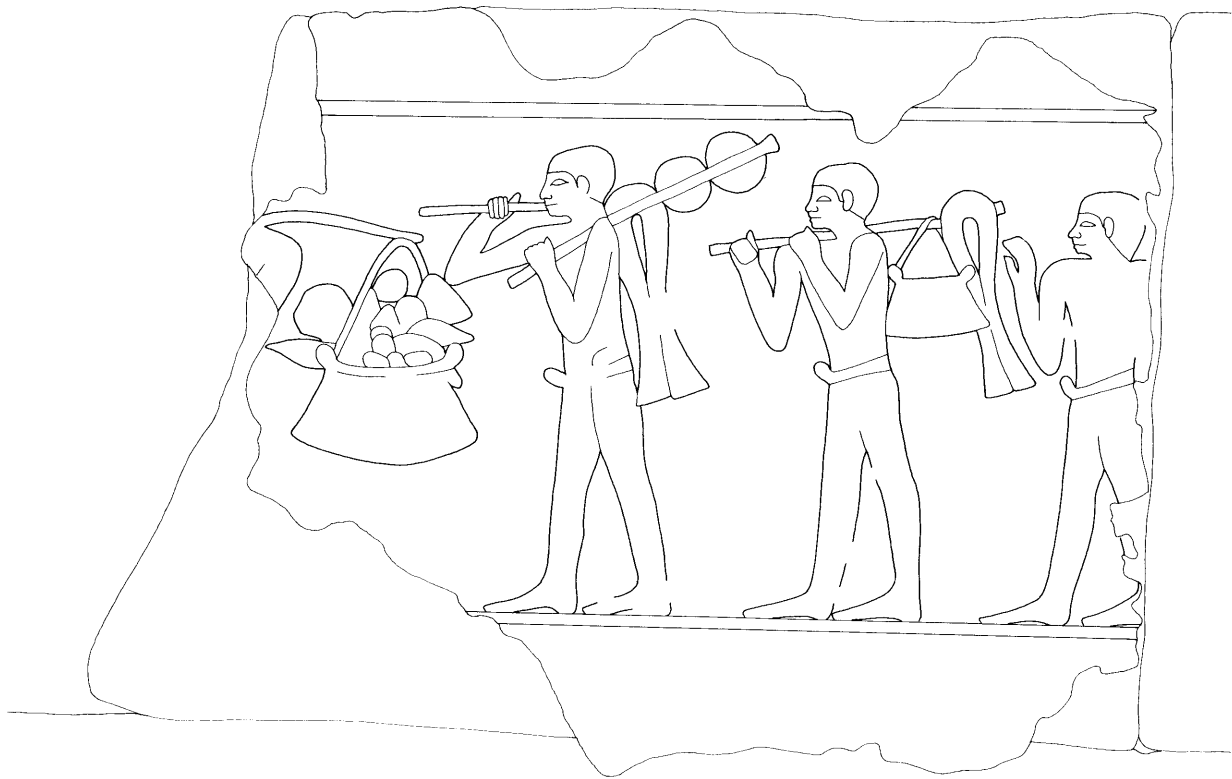
0 5 10
cm (1:5)



181. 2092+2093: East wall, south end. (See pls. 73a, 73b)



0 5 10
cm (1:5)

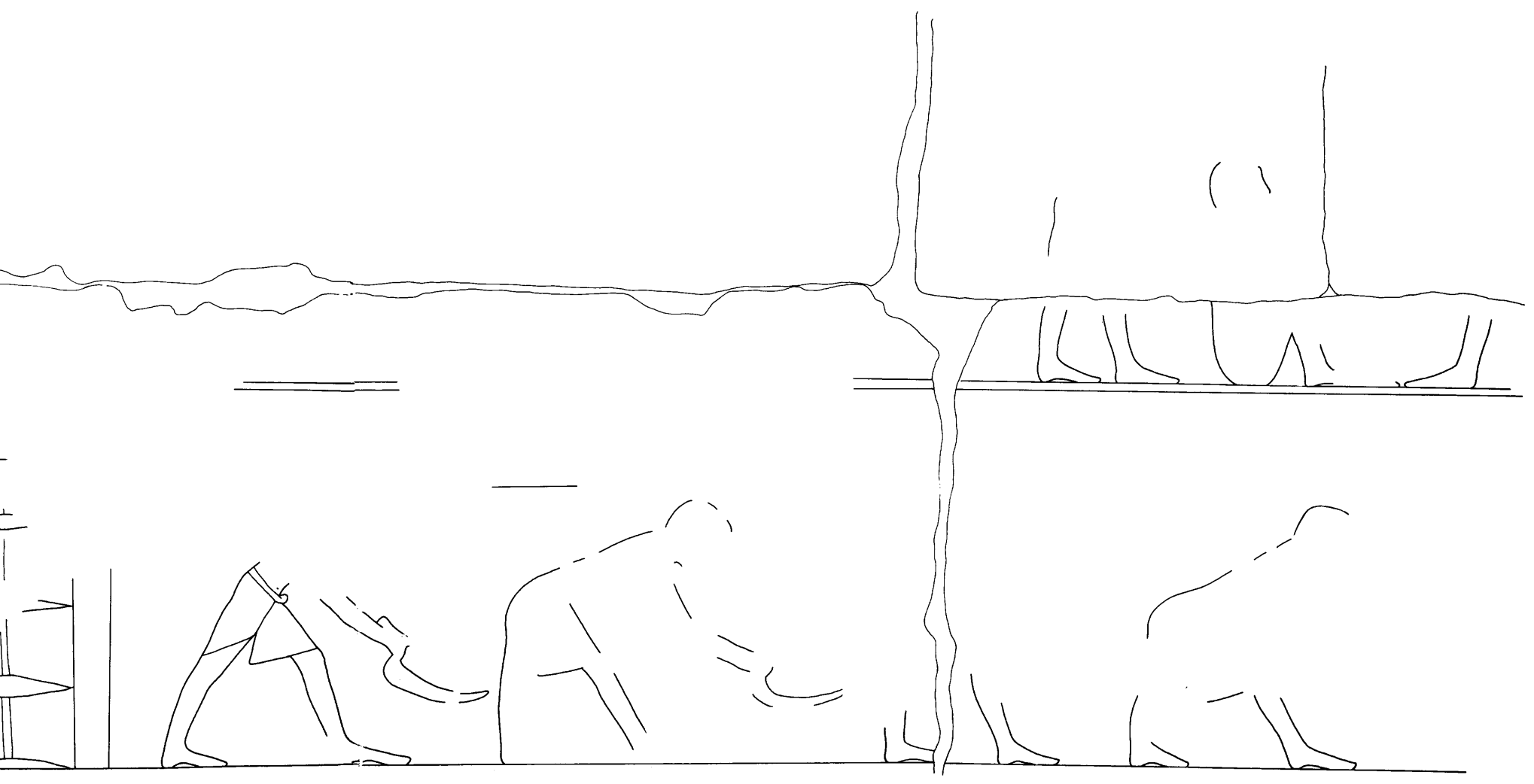
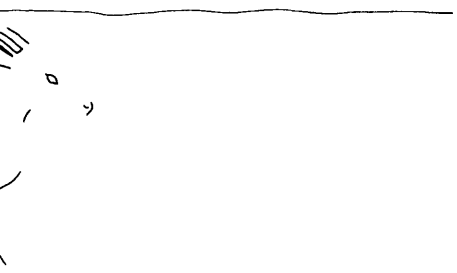


182. 2092+2093: East wall, third segment from south. (See pl. 74a)

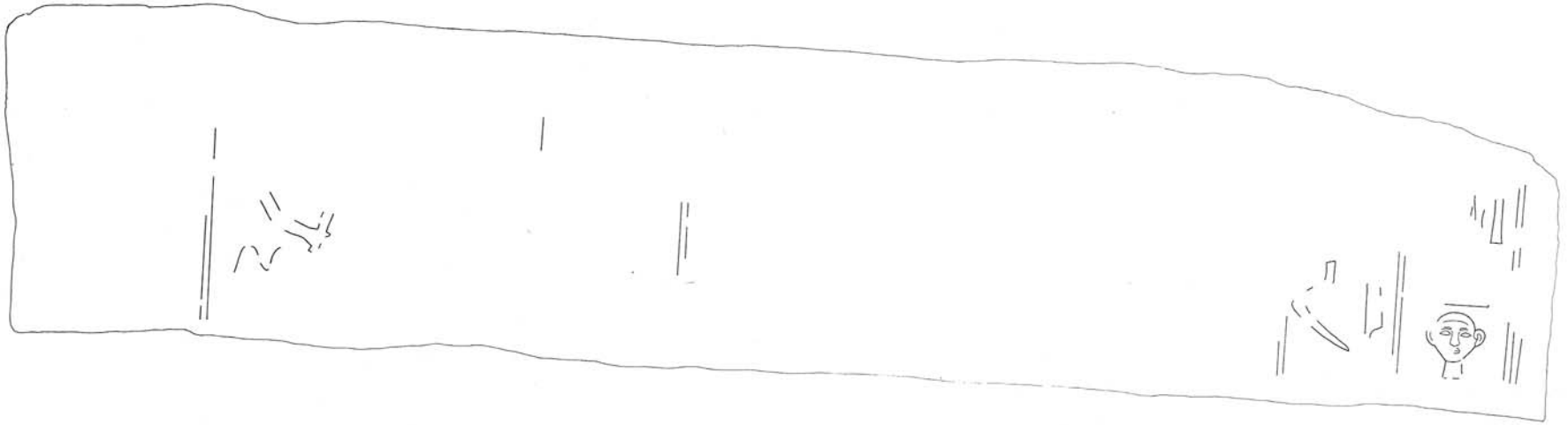
scale not determinable



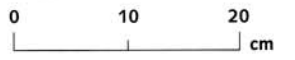
183. 2092+2093: East wall, north end. (See pls. 74b, 75a)

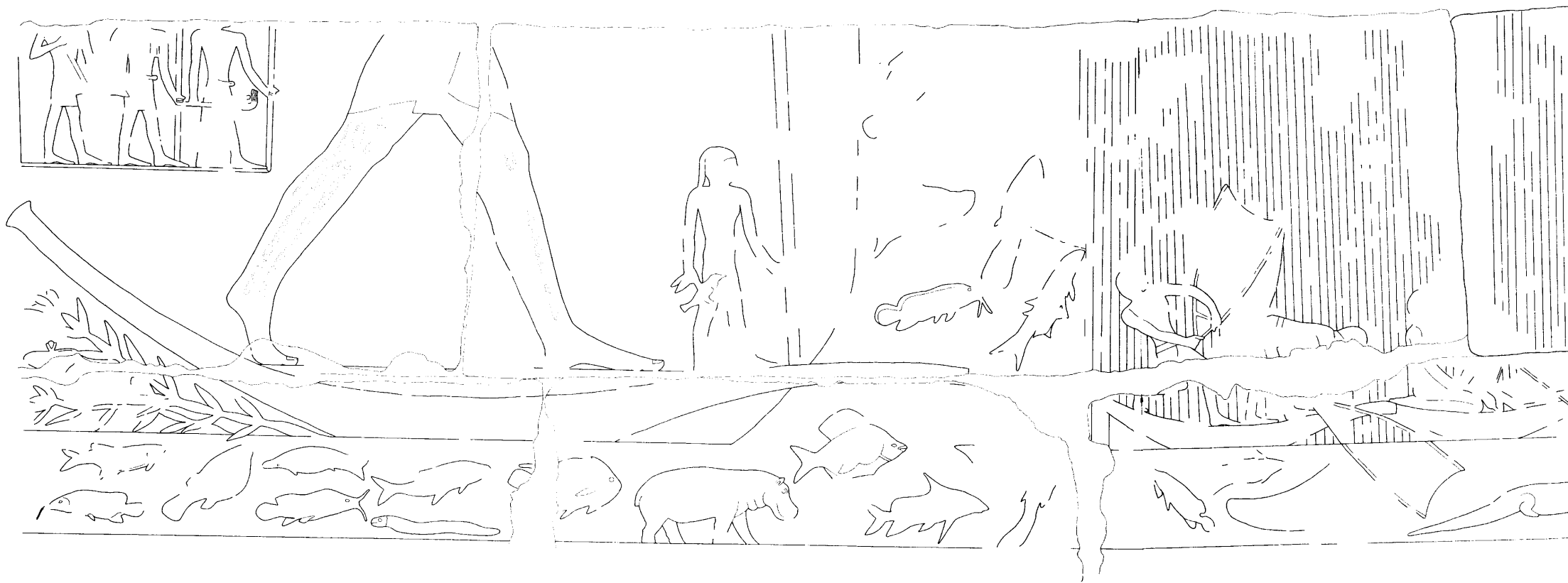


0 5 10
cm (1:5)

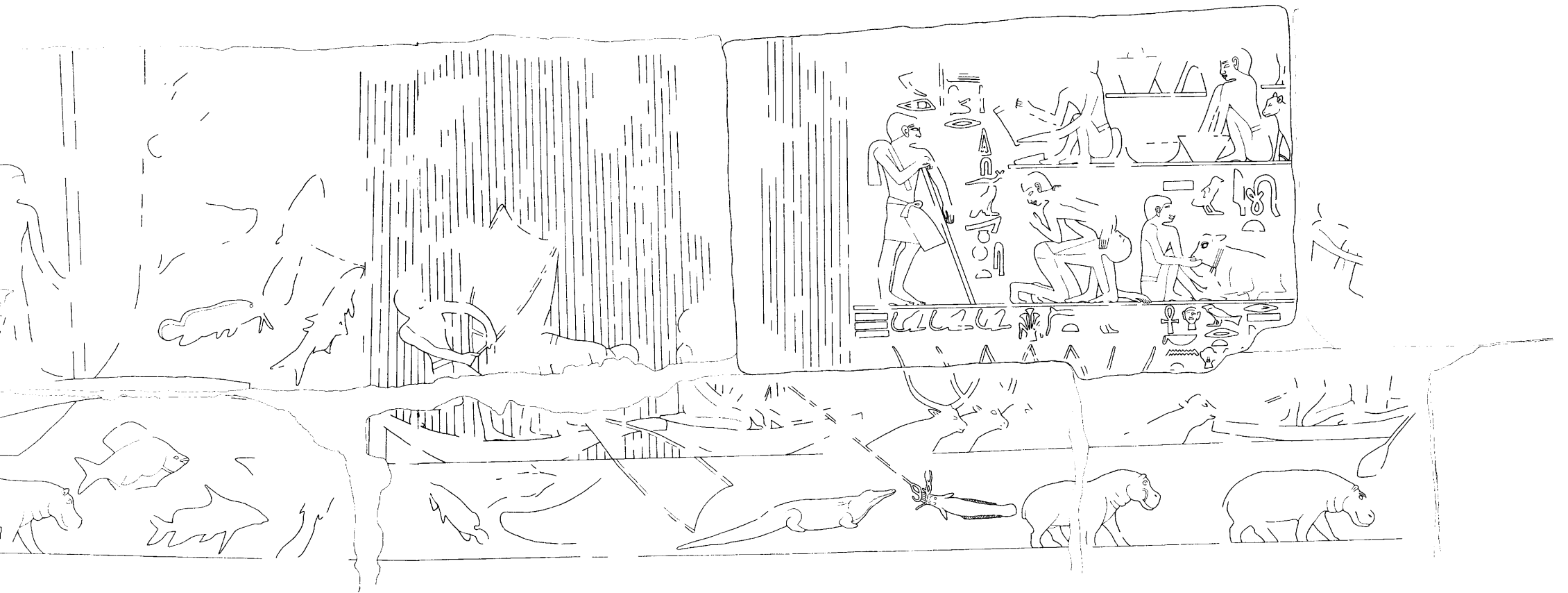


184. 2097: Loose block, almost certainly to be restored above west end of north wall. (See pl. 88a)

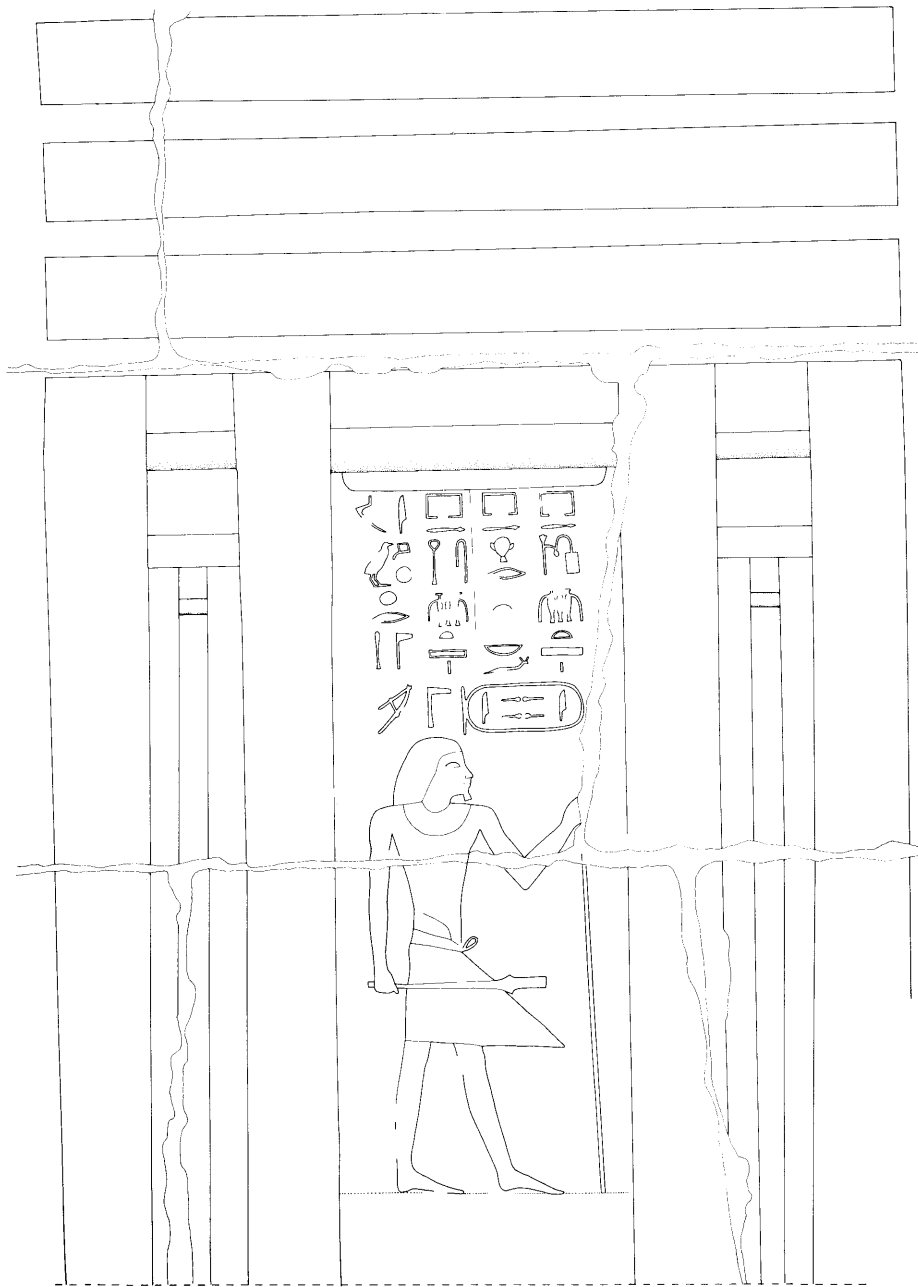




185. 2097: North wall of chapel. (See pls. 87, 88b, 89)

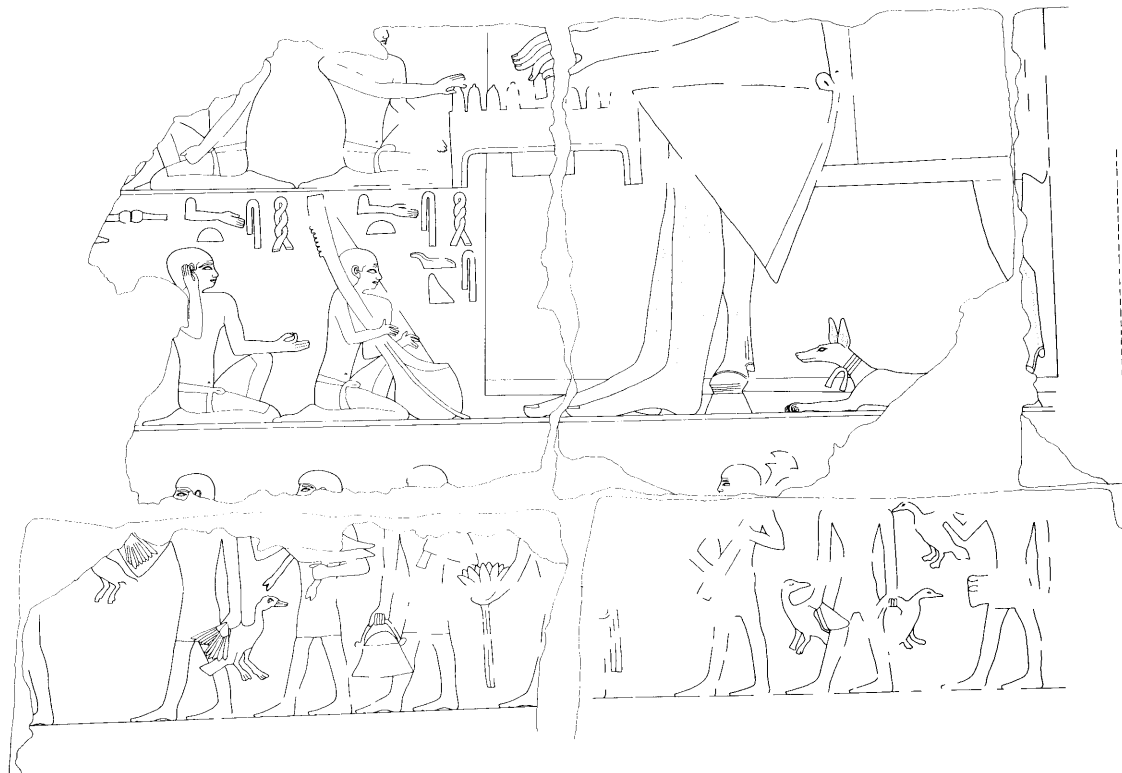
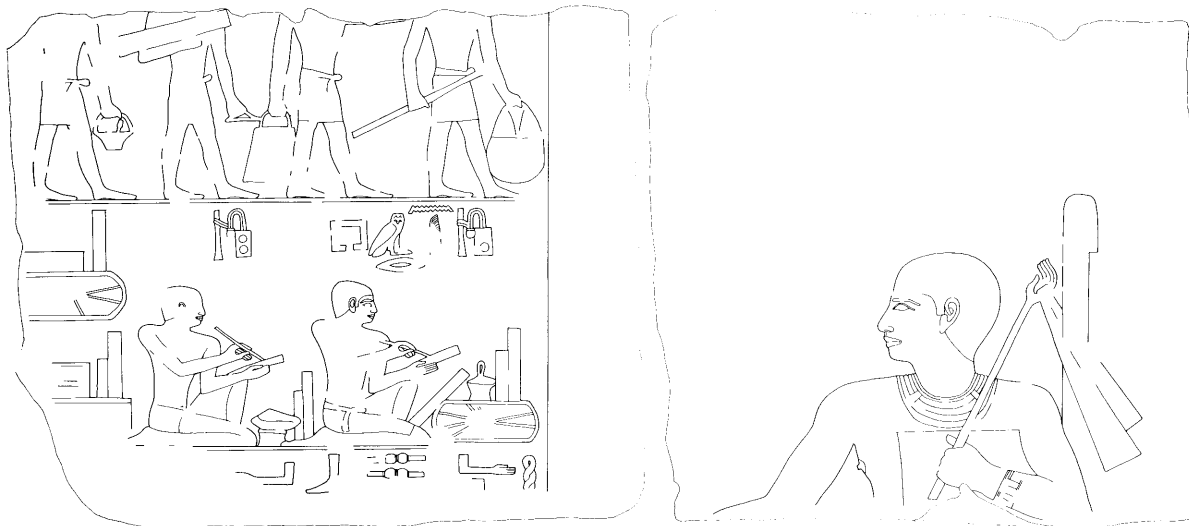
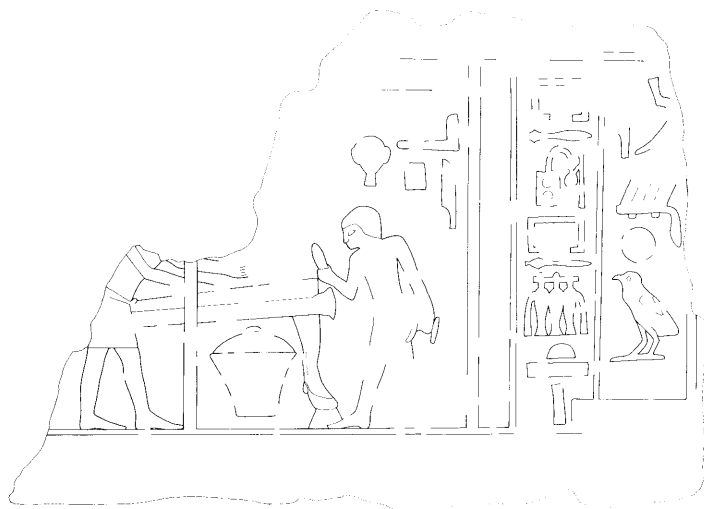


0 10 20
cm



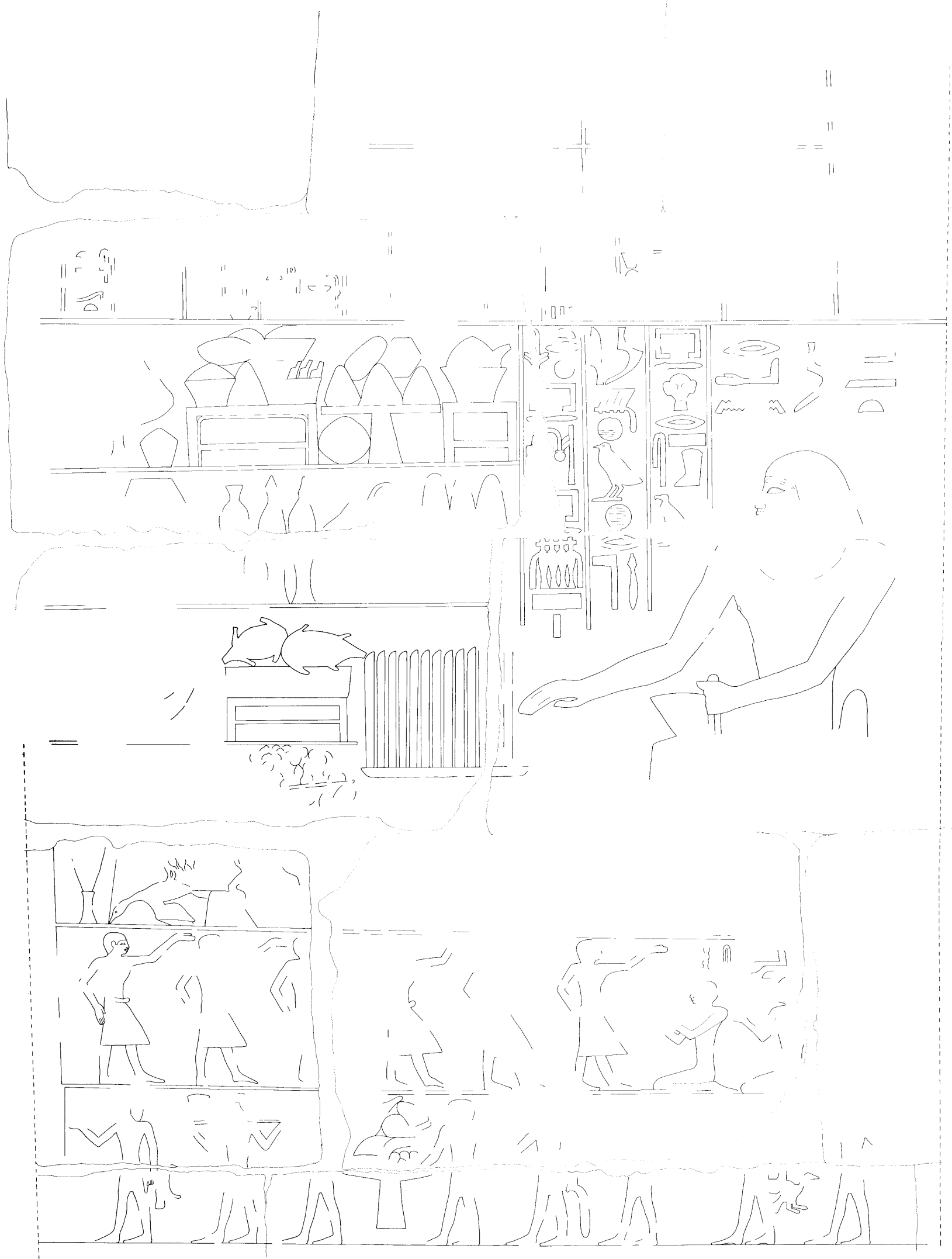
186. 2097: Intrusive inscription on palace facade door, west wall of chapel. (See pls. 90, 91)

0 10 20
cm



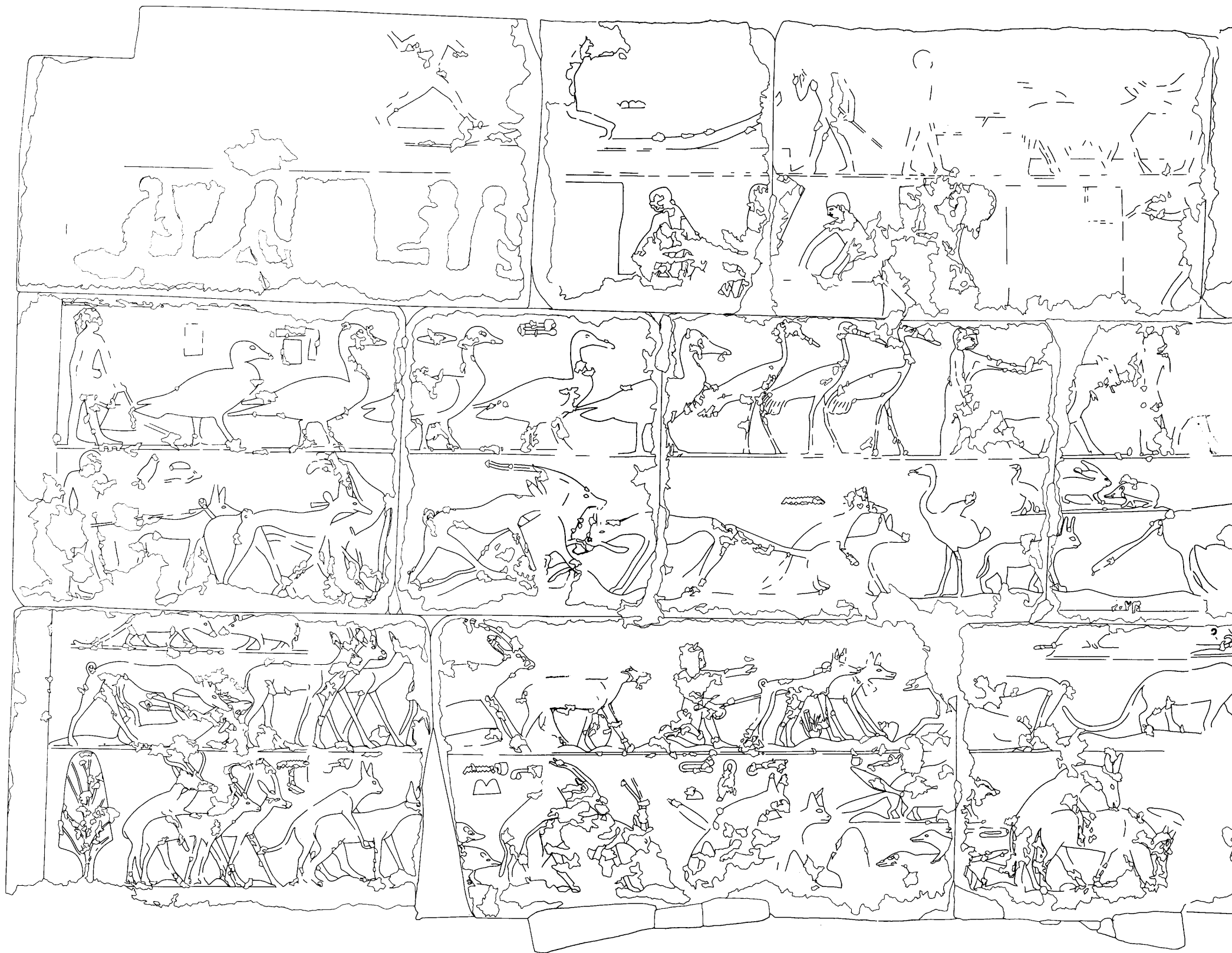
187. 2097: South wall of chapel recess. (The upper left block is a loose block from the top of 2096 restored to this position. See pls. 92, 93a)

0 10 20
cm

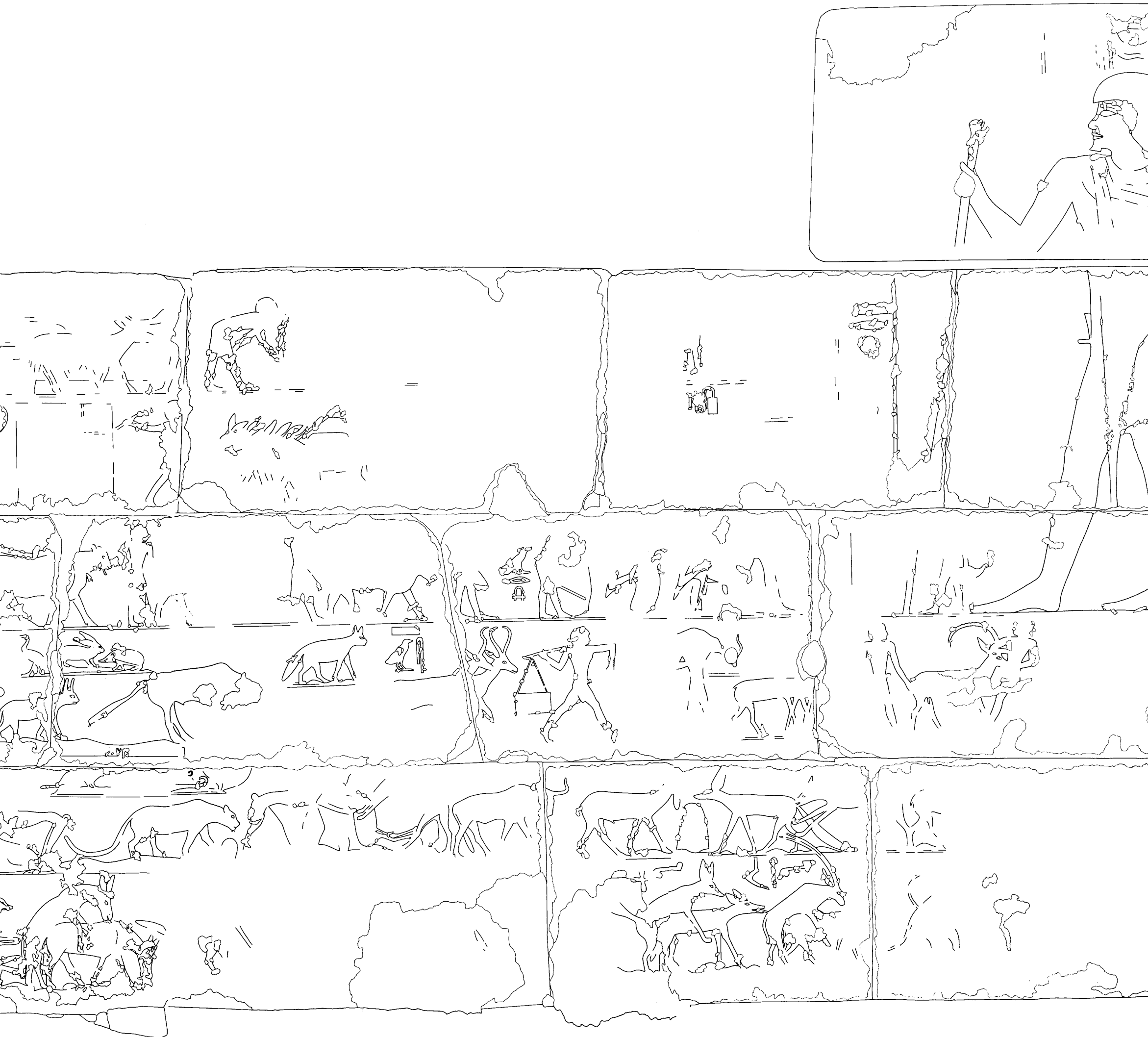


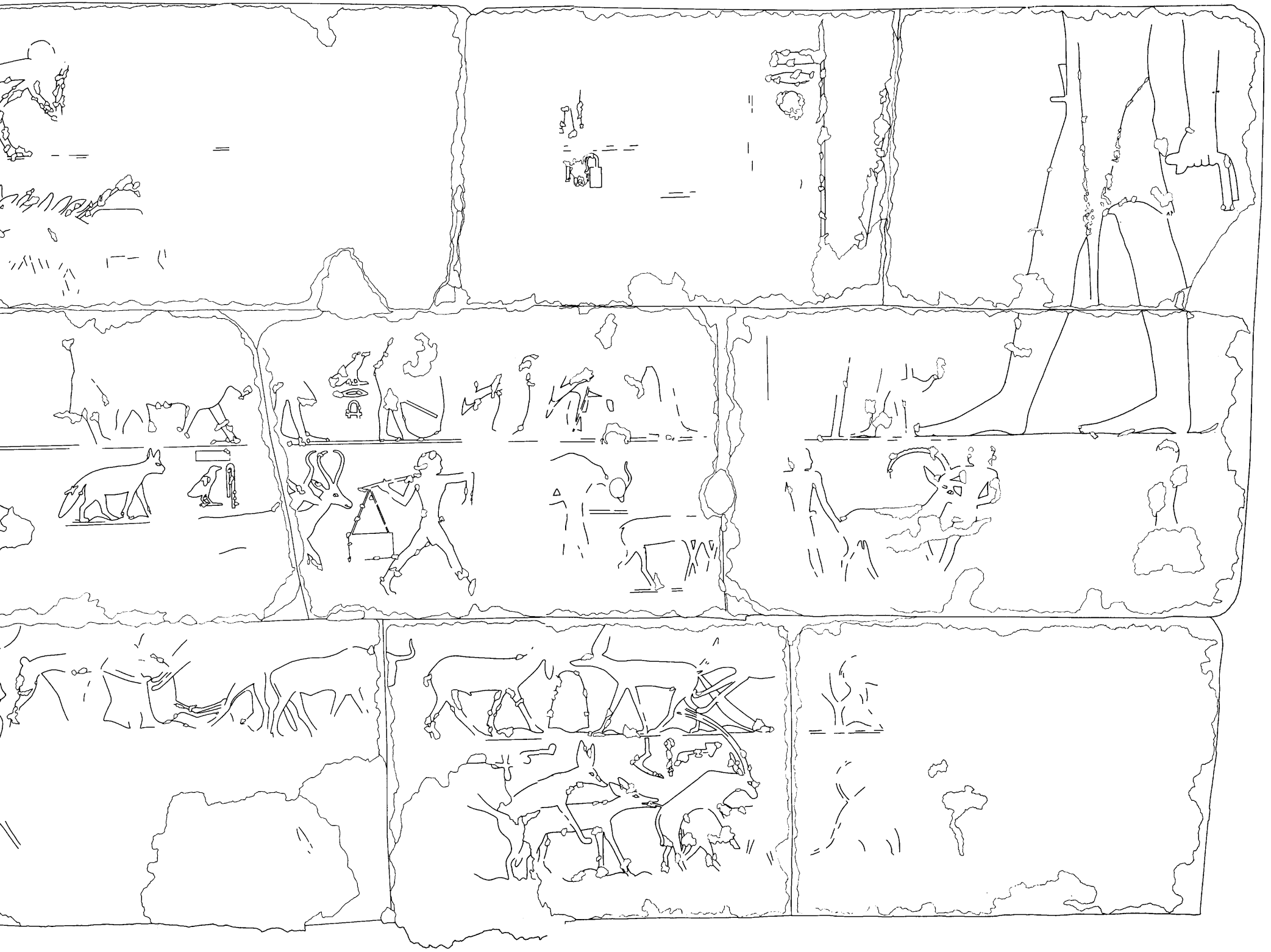
188. 2097: South wall of corridor. (See pls. 93b, 94)

0 10 20
cm



189. 2097: East wall of chapel. (See pls. 95, 96, 97)



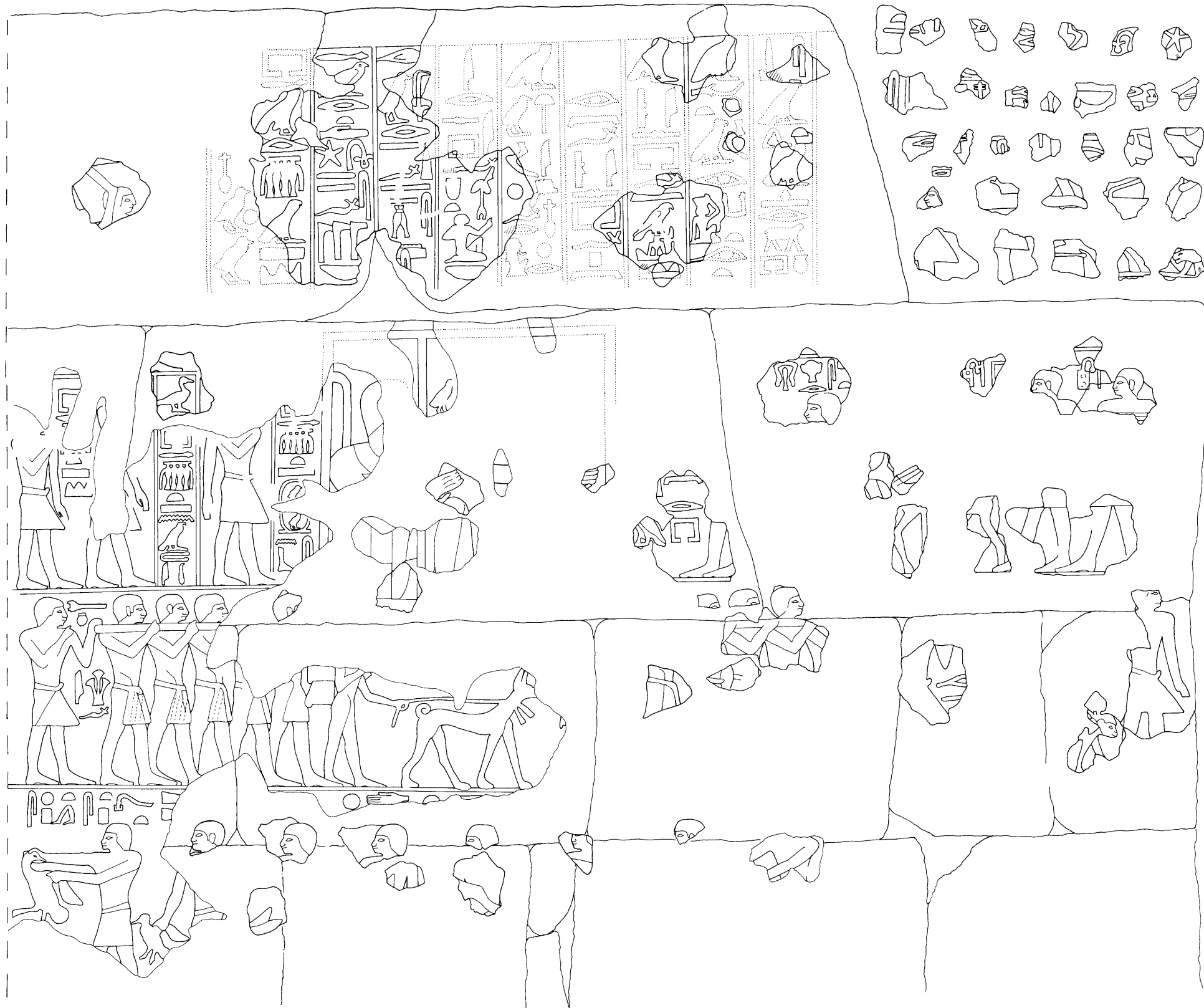


0 10 20 cm



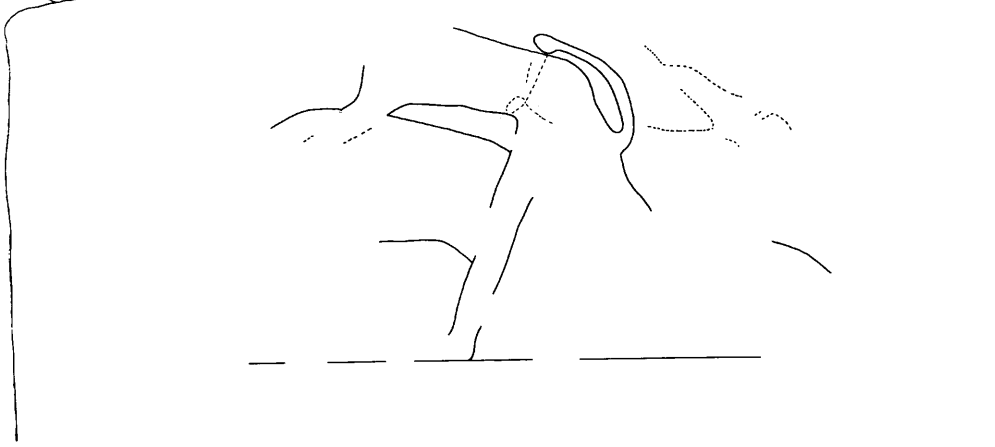
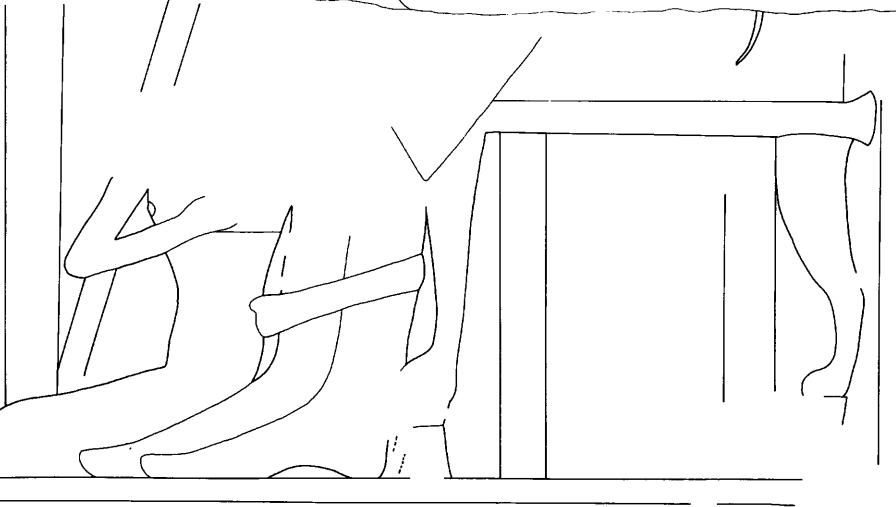
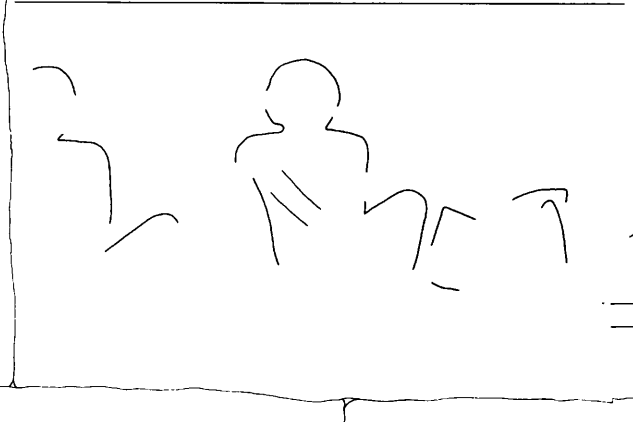
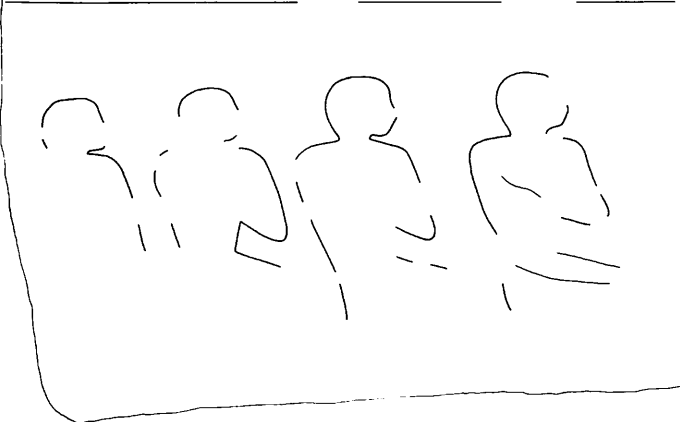
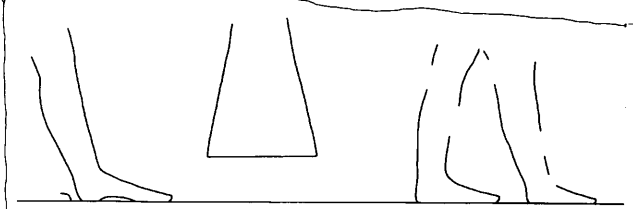
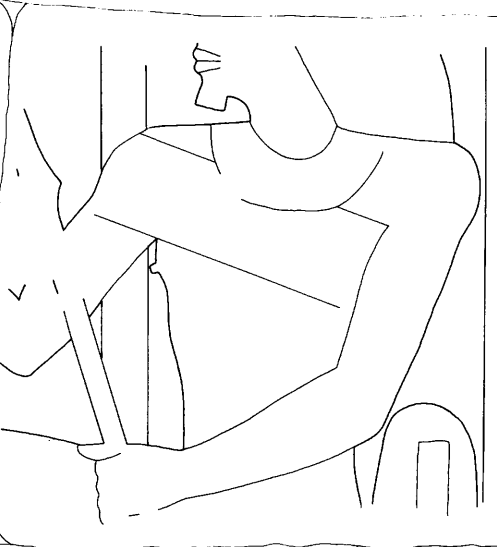
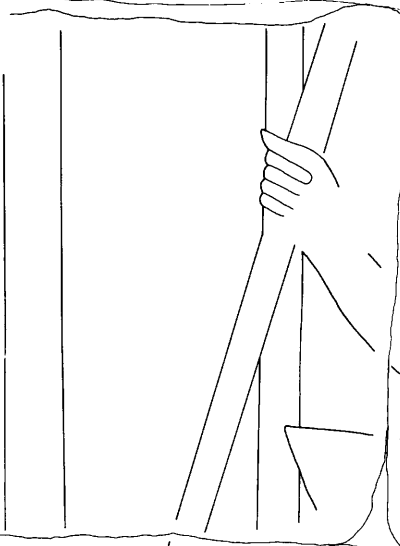
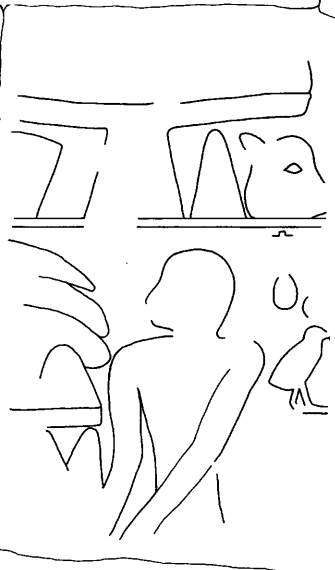
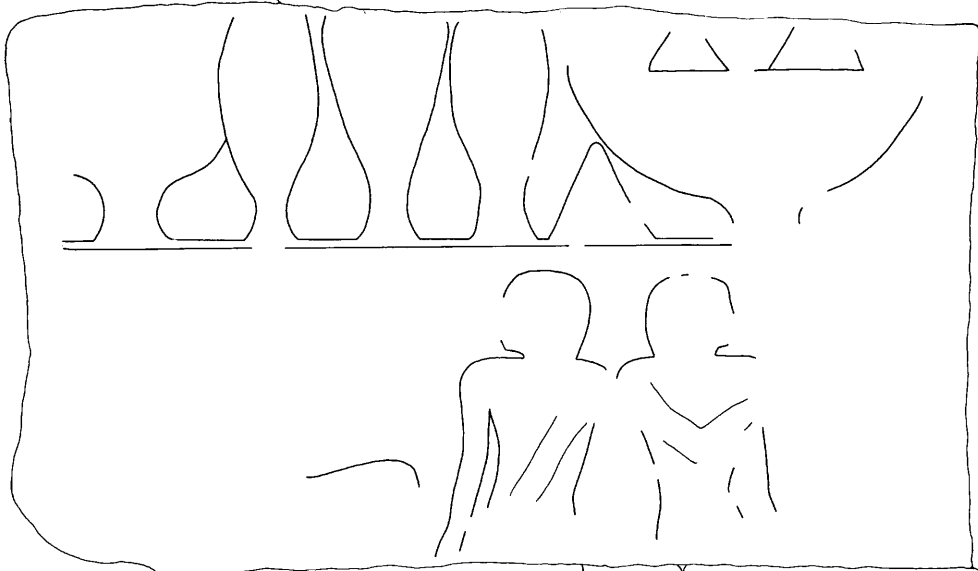
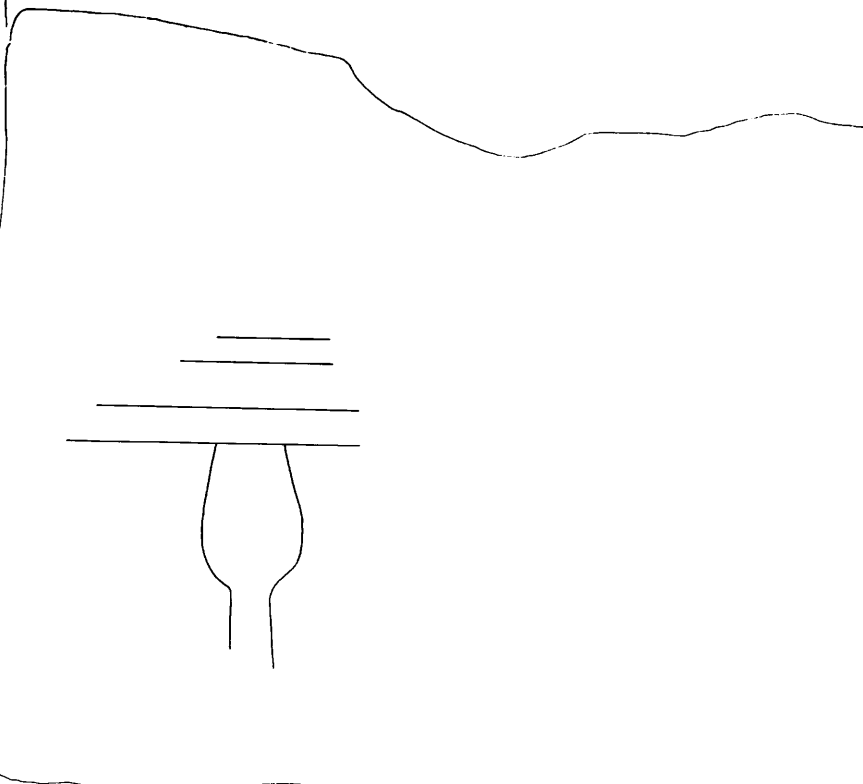
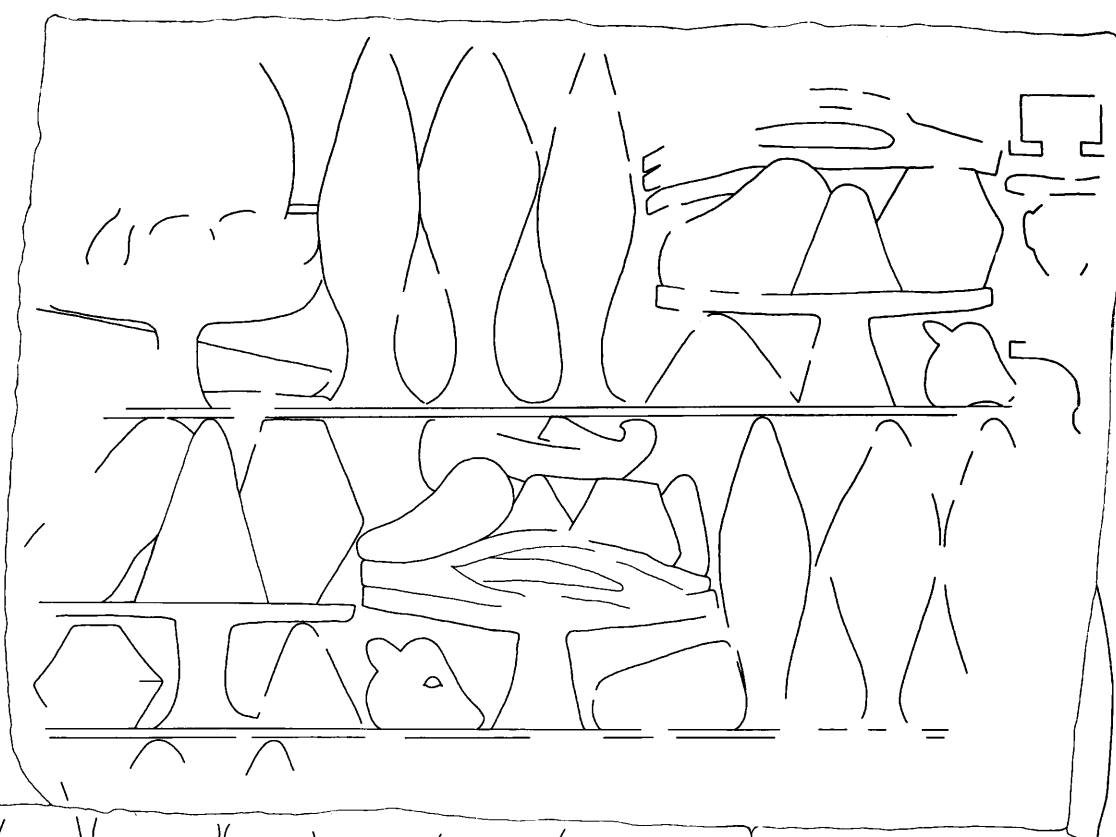
190. 2097': Northern false door tablet. (See pl. 98b)

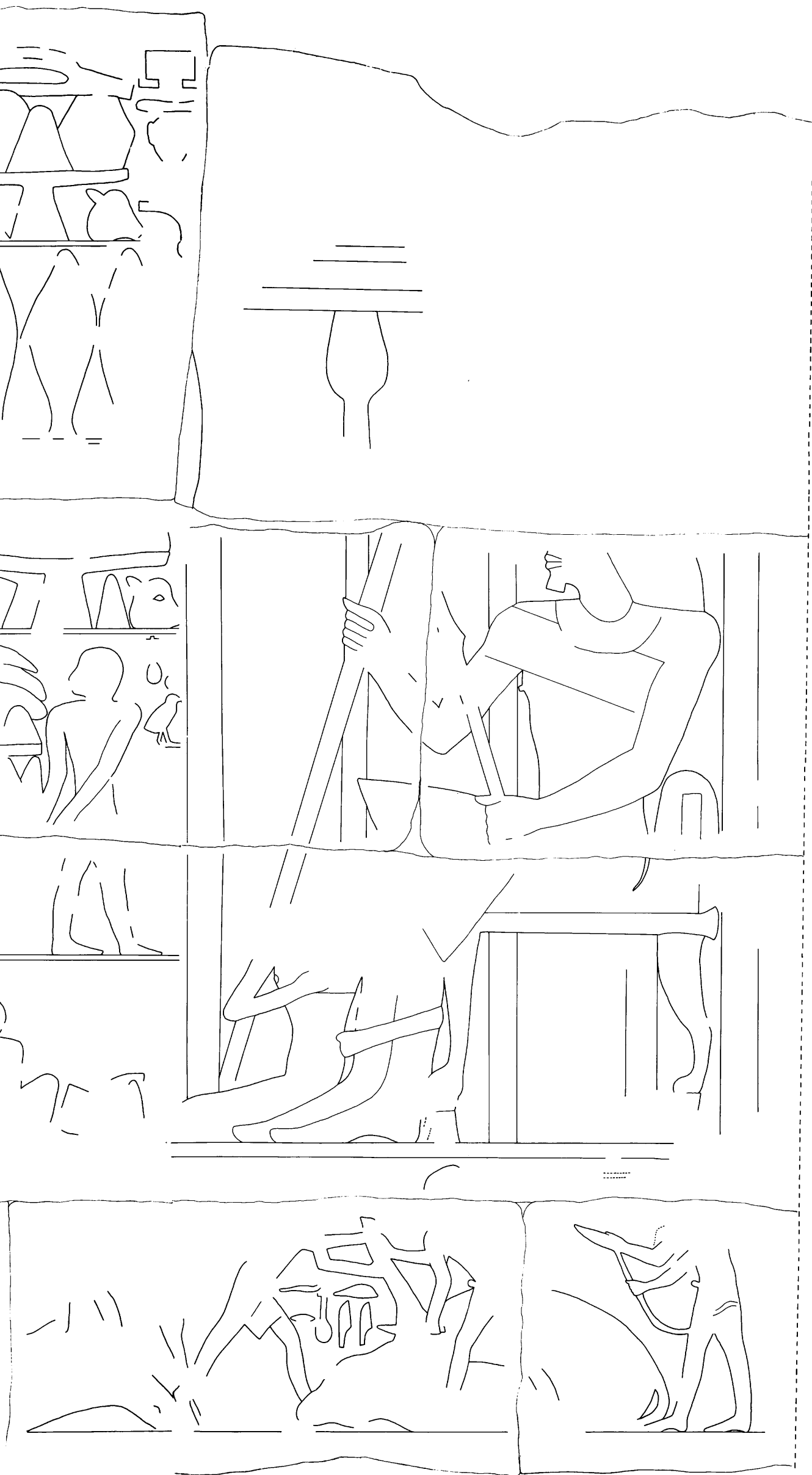
0 5 10
cm



191. 2098: North wall of chapel; unplaced plaster fragments from north wall of chapel. (See pls. 102, 103)

0 10 20
cm





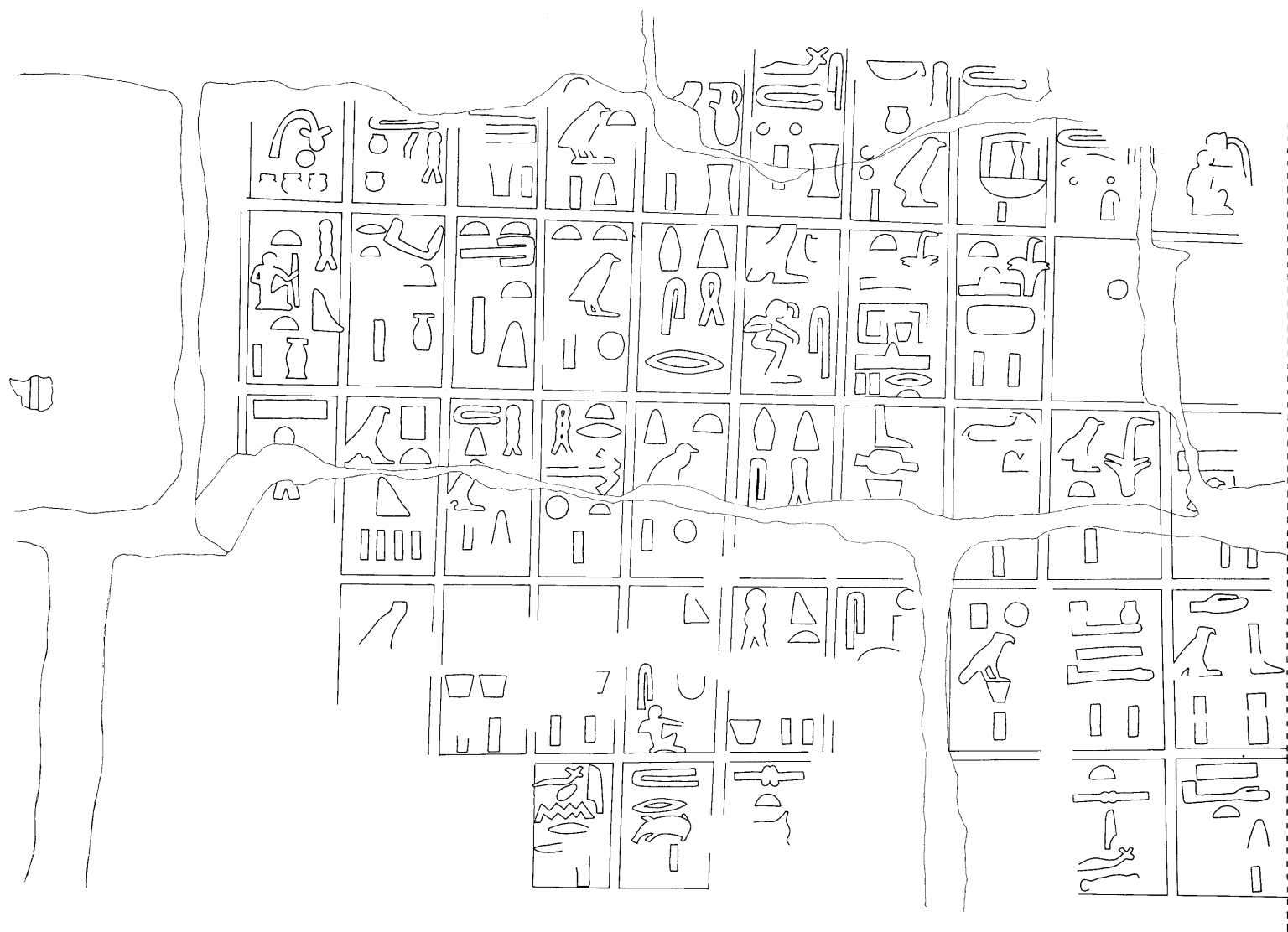
193. 2098: West wall of chapel, decoration between false doors. (See pls. 105b, 106, 107a)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



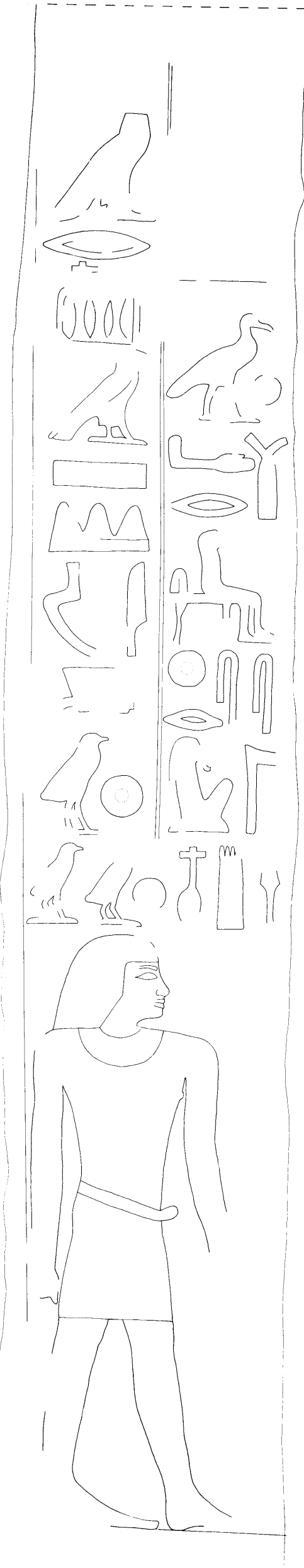
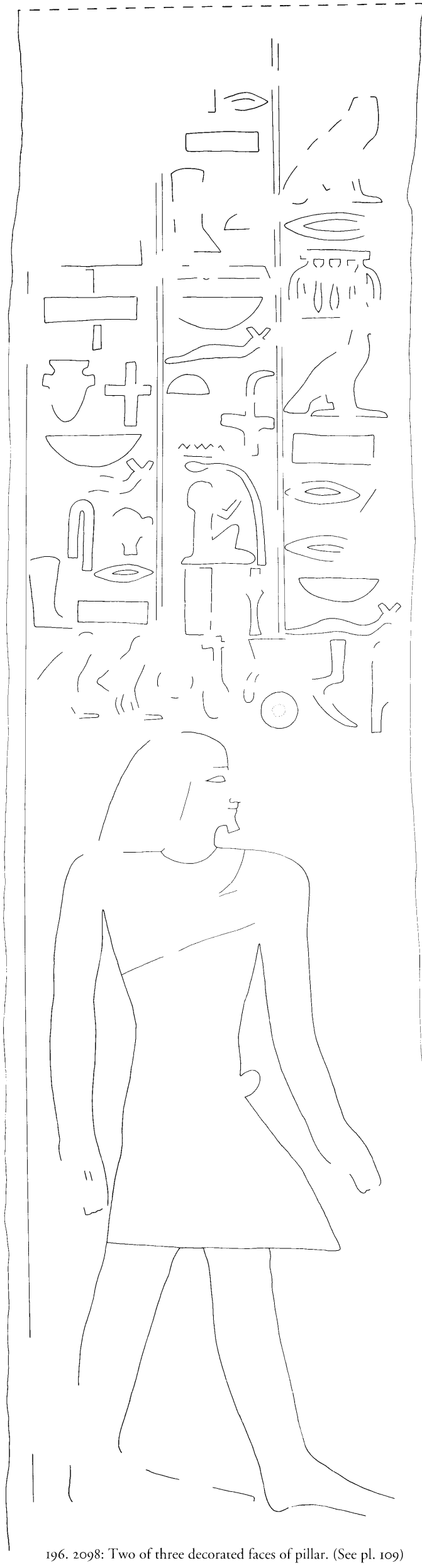
194. 2098: South wall of chapel. (See pls. 107b, 108a)

0 5 10
cm



195. 2098: Offering list on west wall of corridor south of chapel recess. (See pls. 108b, 108c)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)

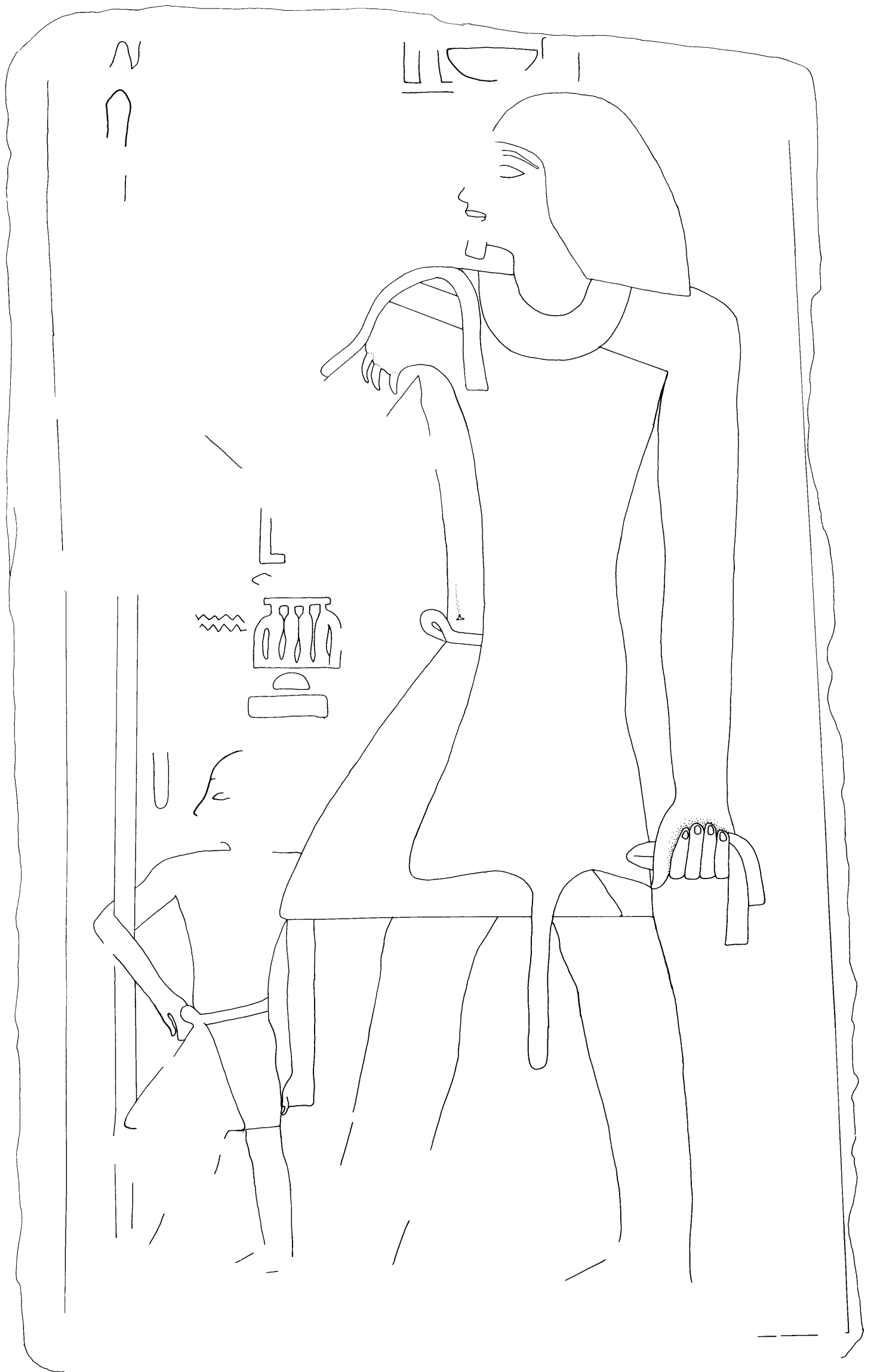


196. 2098: Two of three decorated faces of pillar. (See pl. 109)



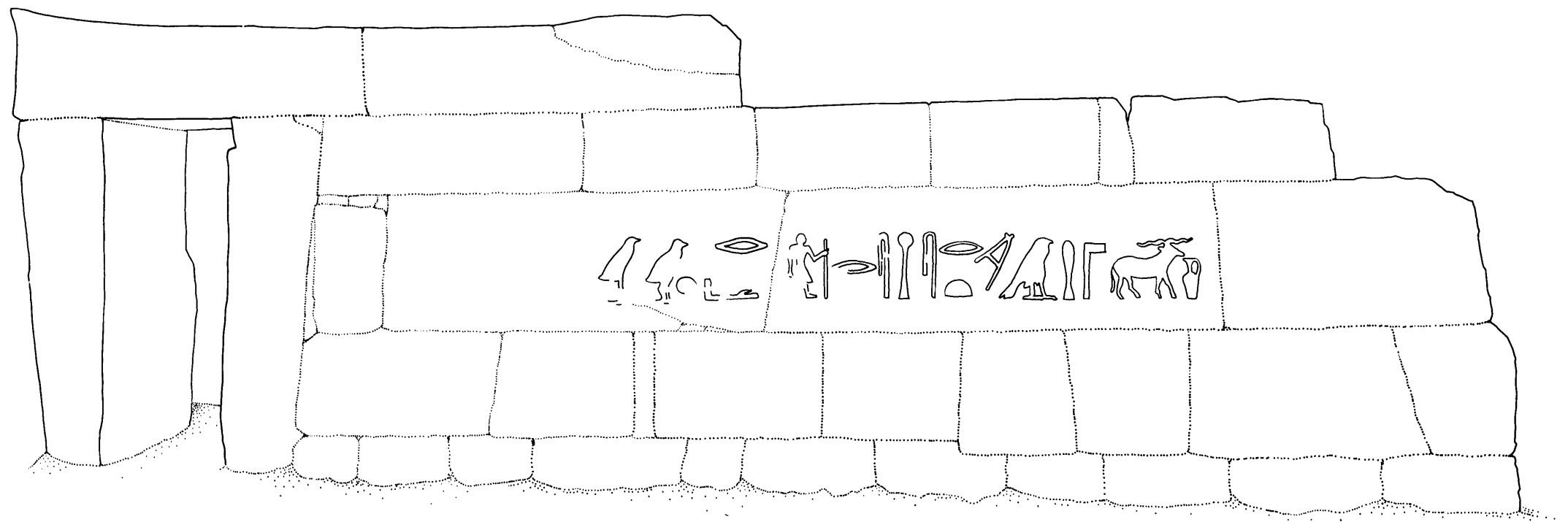
197. 2098: One of three decorated faces of pillar. (See pl. 109)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)

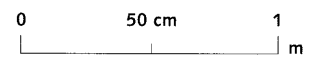


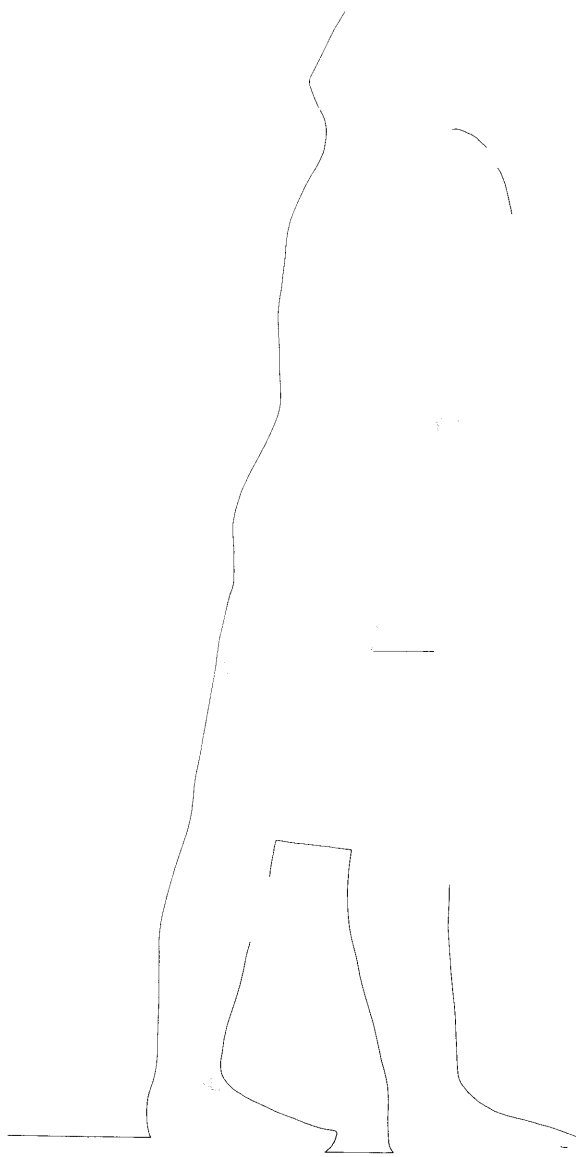
198. 2098: Loose block found in tomb, presumably a doorjamb

0 5 10
cm



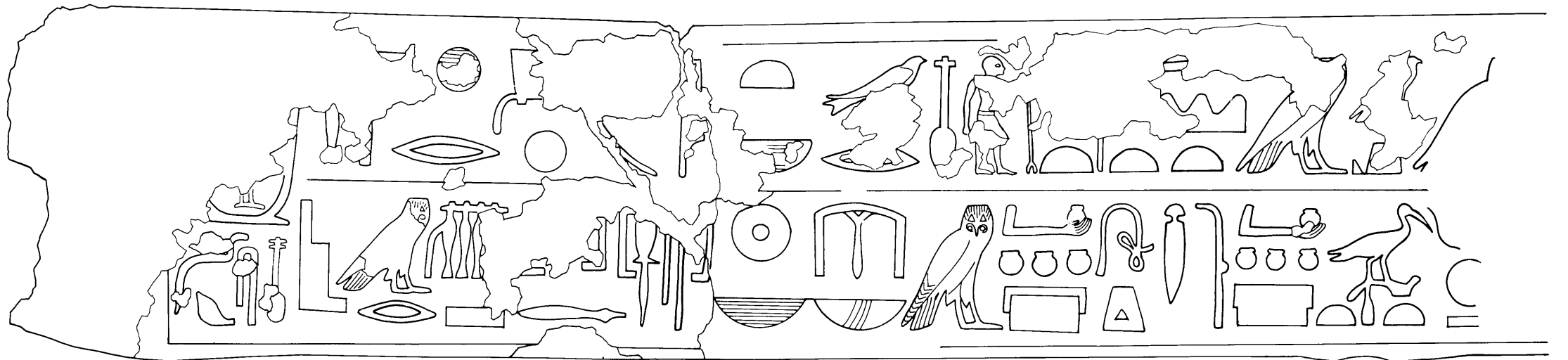
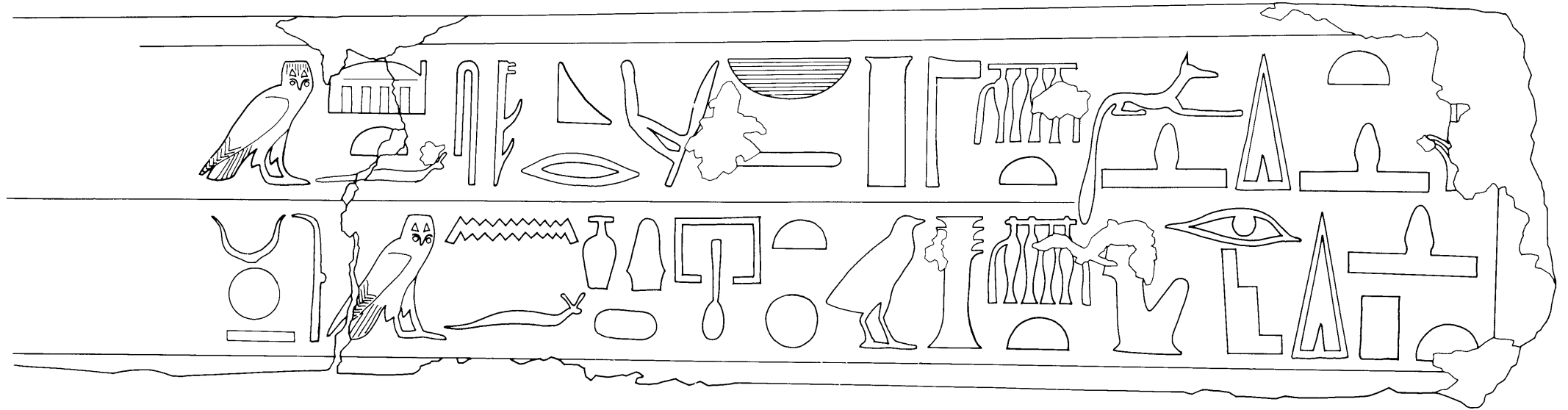
199. 2230+2231: Southern facade of mastaba 2231, showing inscription (probably intrusive). (See pl. 118c)





200. 2230+2231: Unfinished relief on eastern doorjamb at southern entrance to chapel. Light dashed lines = red paint

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



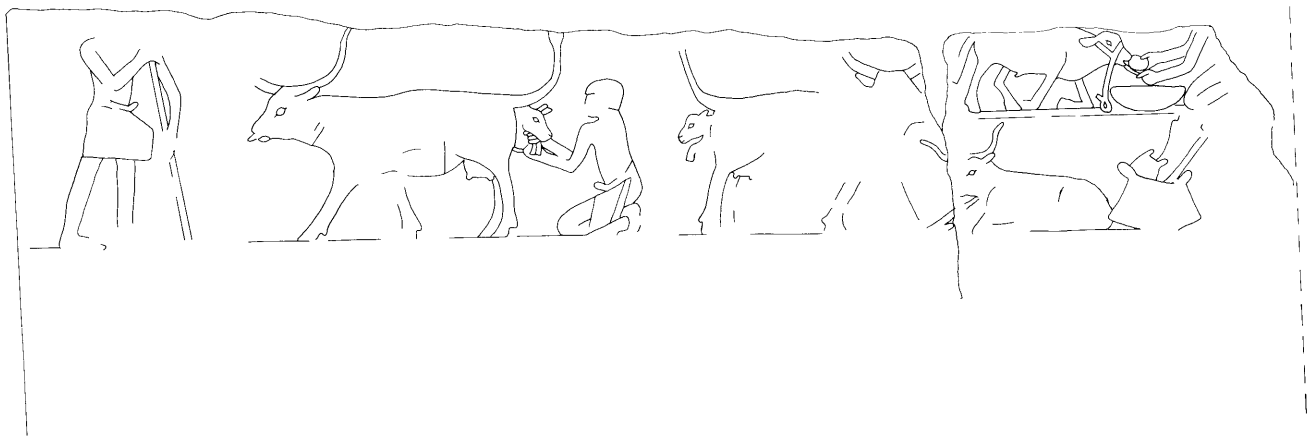
201a, b. 2240: Architrave from portico. (See pl. 122)

0 10 20
cm



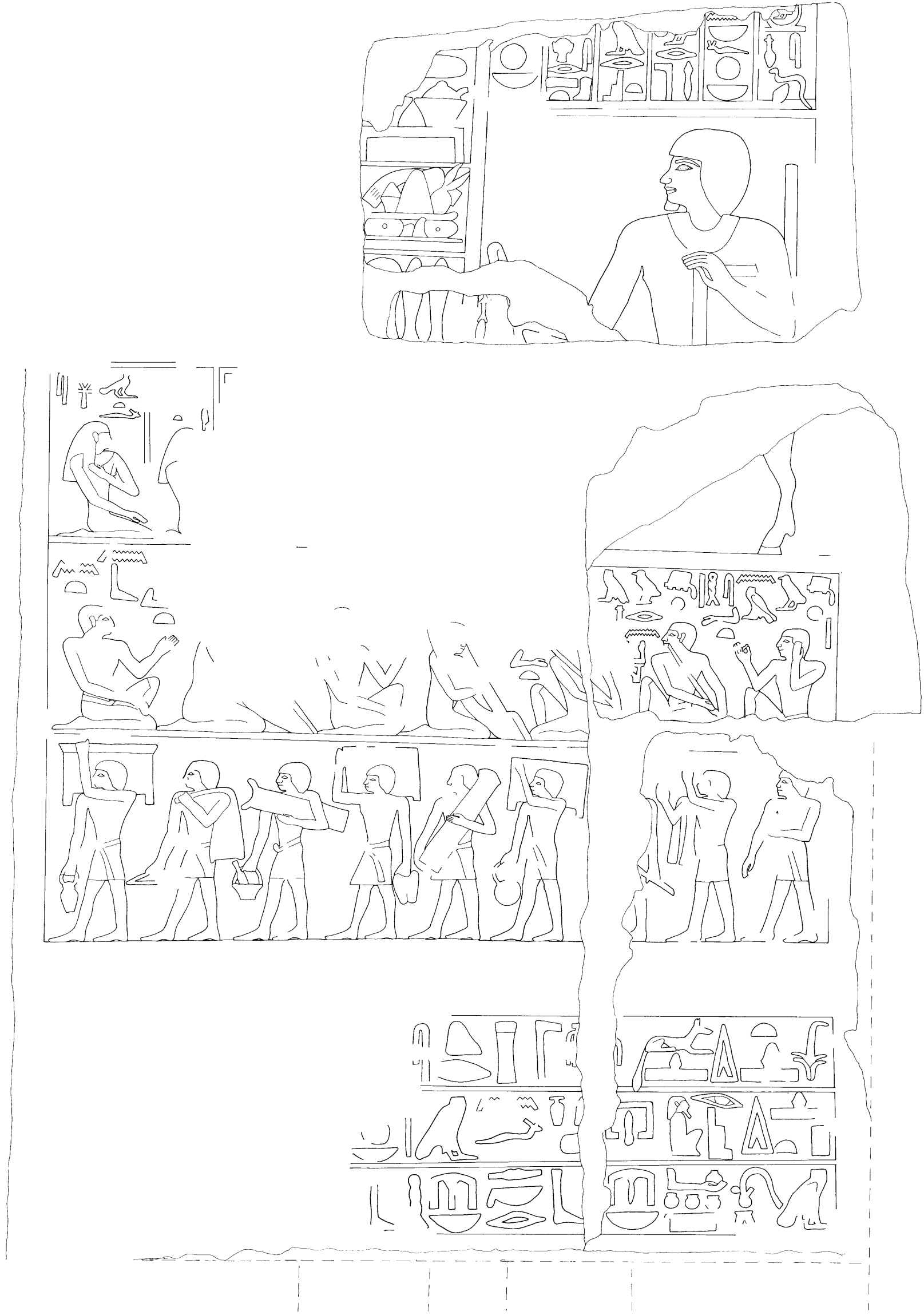
203. 2240: Jamb of entrance. (See pl. 123a)

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



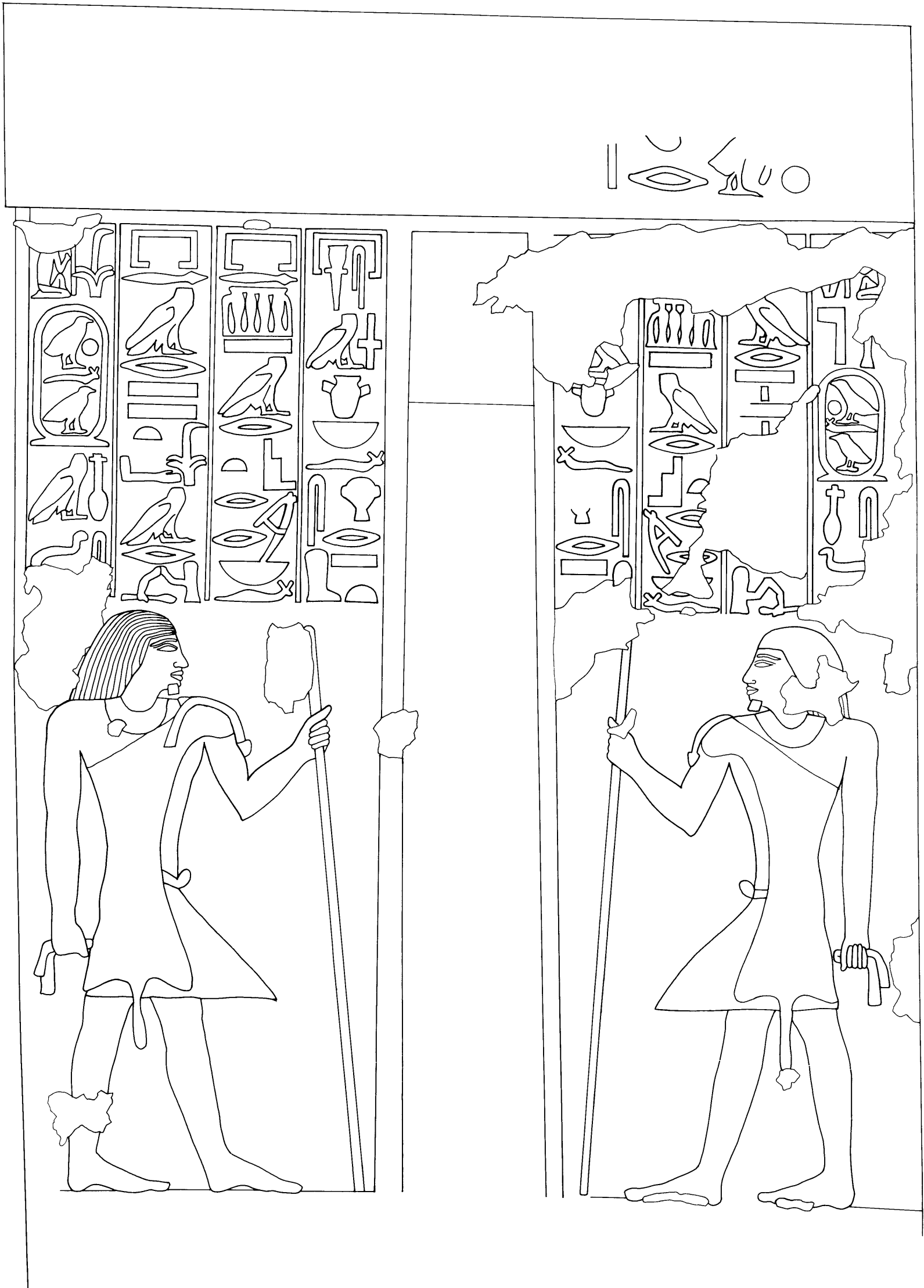
204. 2240: North wall of chapel. (See pl. 124a)

0 10 20
cm



205. 2240: West wall, north end. (See pls. 125, 126a)

0 10 20 cm

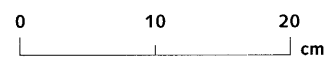


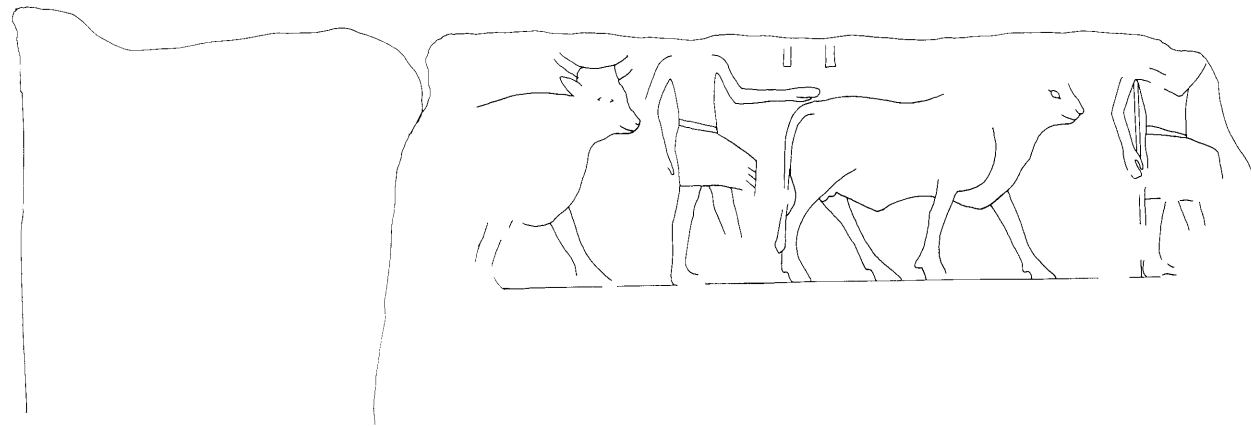
206. 2240: West wall, central false door. (See pl. 126b)

0 10 20
cm

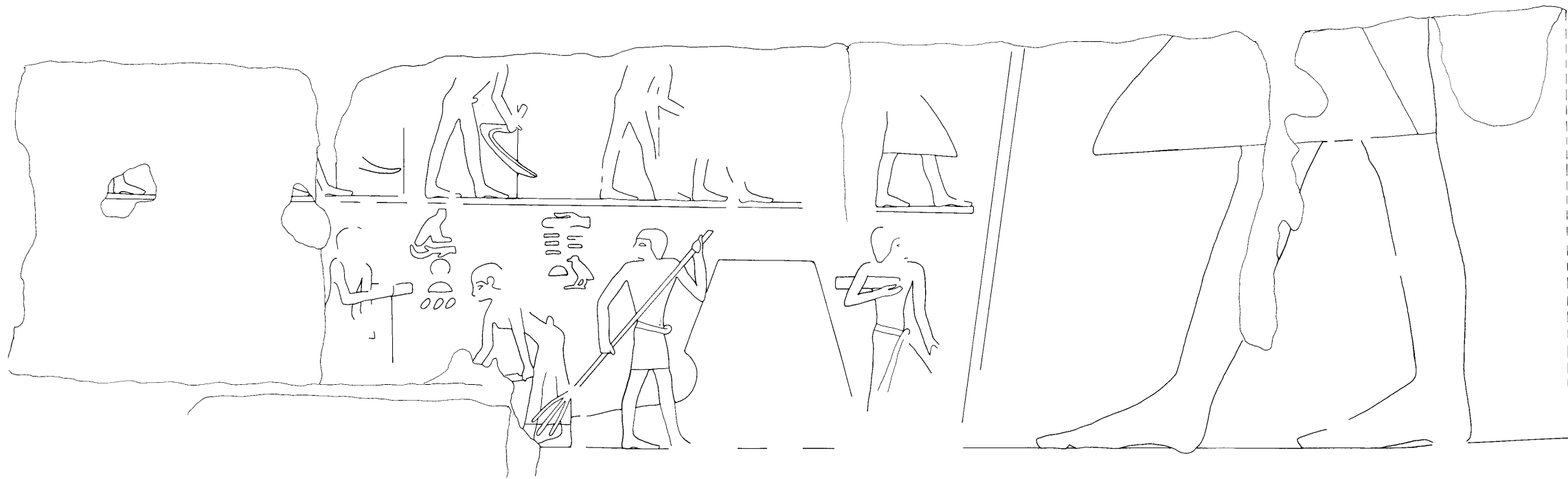
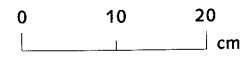


207. 2240: West wall, south end. (See pl. 127)

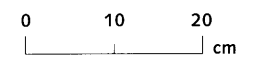


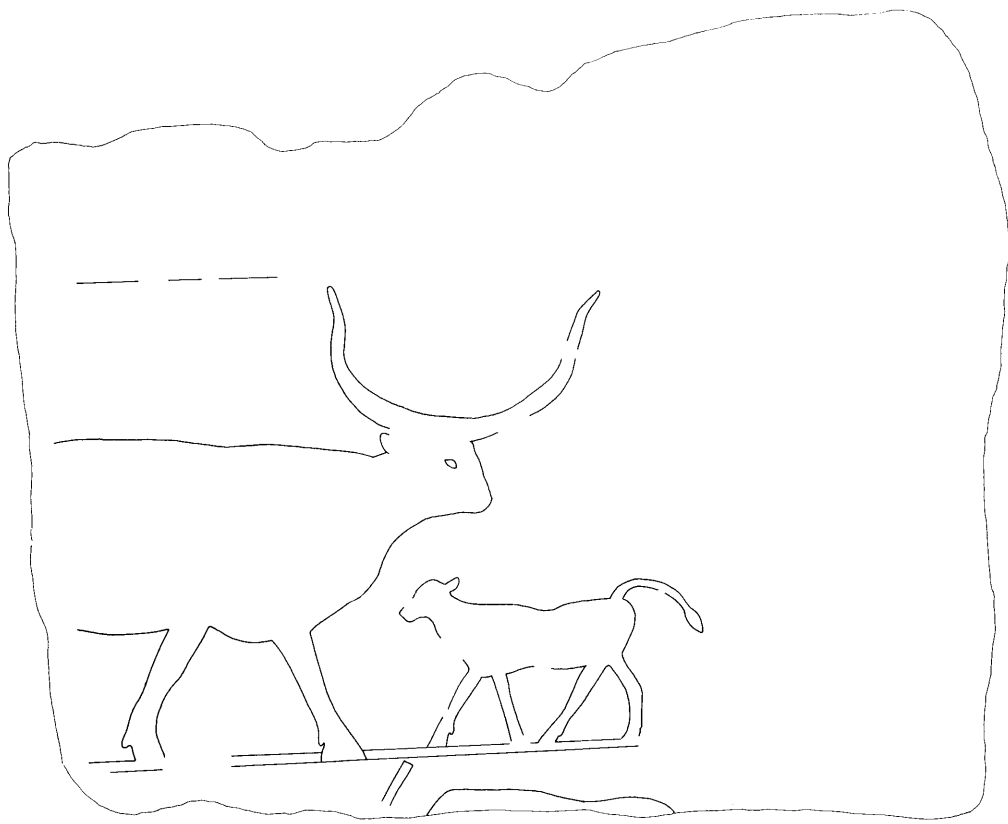


208a. 2240: South wall. (See pl. 128a)



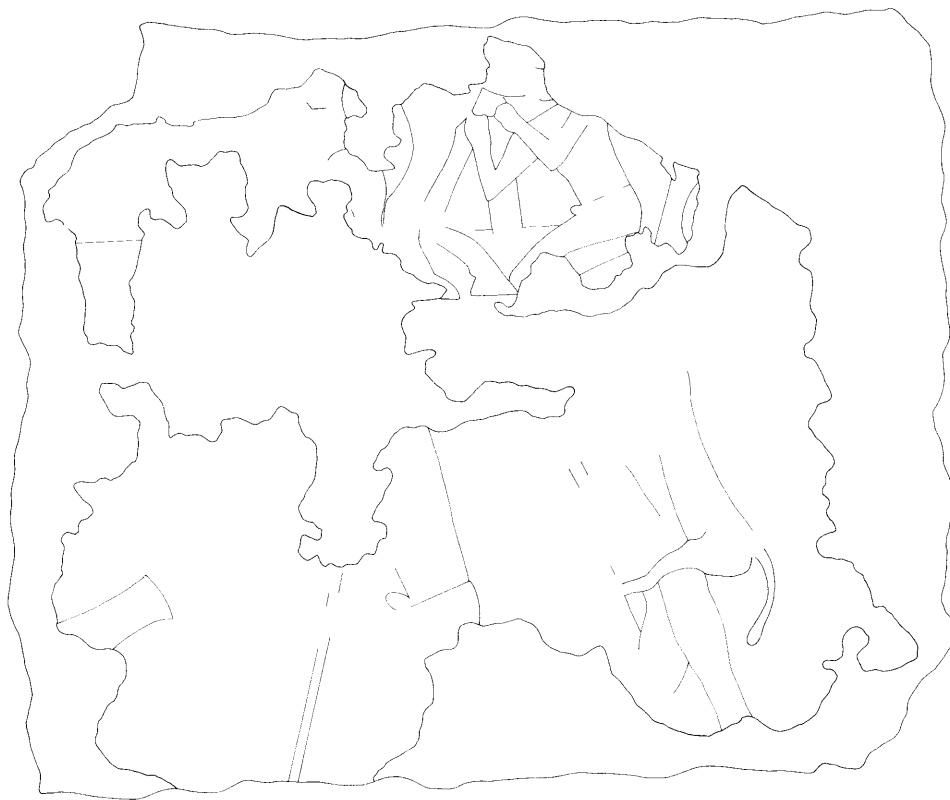
208b. 2240: East wall. (See pls. 128b, 129a)





209. 2240: Loose blocks

0 5 10
cm (1:5)



210. Loose block of unknown provenience

