

DESCRIPTION

THE BEST preserved tomb chapel in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza is that of Queen Mersyankh III. From the evidence obtained from a study of its reliefs and inscriptions, as well as that deduced from other monuments, her position in the royal family of Dynasty IV can be determined with some degree of certainty.¹ Her father was Prince Kawab, son of Cheops by Queen Merytyotes, presumably buried in Pyramid G I a, the northernmost of the three small pyramids of Cheops' queens. Kawab himself was buried in G 7110 + 20, the northernmost of the great double mastabas in the westernmost row of the East Cemetery. Her mother was Queen Hetepheres II, a daughter of Cheops who seems to have been queen to Rededef, after the death of Kawab, and later to Chephren, and also to have married her daughter Mersyankh III to Chephren. Hetepheres probably lived into the reign of Shepseskaf and died as an old woman of well over seventy. The double mastaba G 7530 + 40 was probably originally built by her in the reign of Chephren but never used for her burial. Instead she made the rock-cut chapel G 7530 *sub* under its northern part and decorated and inscribed it for her daughter Mersyankh. The latter was buried in a chamber excavated in the floor of its western room in a fine black granite sarcophagus originally inscribed for Hetepheres and re-inscribed for her daughter as a gift from her mother. In this sarcophagus were found the skull and other bones of Mersyankh, the study of which indicate that she was about 50 years of age when she died. In all probability Hetepheres herself was eventually buried in mastaba G 7350, the southernmost tomb in the third row of the Eastern Cemetery, in the burial pit A of which an uninscribed red granite sarcophagus was found empty.² The foregoing reconstruction of the relation-

1. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* I, 82, observation (b), on the reconstruction of the mastaba 7530-40 for Hetepheres, this initiating the cemetery *en échelon*; Reisner and Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* II, 5-11 (family relationships of Mersyankh); Reisner, "The Tomb of Meresankh, a Great-granddaughter of Queen Hetepheres I and Sneferuw, *BMFA* 25 (1927): 64-79; W. Stevenson Smith, in Edwards, Gadd, and Hammond (eds.) *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd. ed., 1971, Vol. I, part 2, 172-173.

2. Reliefs from Chapel of 7350.

ships and sequence of events is based on various considerations.³

The mastaba G 7520 (Plans A and B) was probably planned as a tomb for Hetepheres II during her marriage to Kawab, but seems to have been abandoned after his death, no chapel having been constructed, and its principal burial pit A never having been used until later times (G. A. R. Ms, Appendix B, 80-81). On the deaths of Kawab and Cheops and the accession of Rededef, Hetepheres, the child of Cheops, was taken into the household of Rededef, presumably to strengthen his claim to the throne, and may have been married to him. At the accession of Chephren the adjacent double mastaba G 7530 + 40 (Plans A and B) was constructed for Hetepheres,⁴ as evidenced by quarry marks on its casing blocks bearing her name and the title *Wrt hts* (fig. 1 a-d).⁵ This fact, added to the highest queenly titles held by her in the Mersyankh chapel,⁶ is evidence that she had been queen to Chephren. A fine limestone chapel in the southern portion of the east face of G 7530 + 40 is largely destroyed and fragmentary reliefs from it are inconclusive.⁷ A subsidiary northern niche on the east face is only partially preserved, but bears inscriptions giving incomplete dates without names (fig. 1 e). The mastaba thus modified contained no regular burial pit, and it is evident that it was never used for the burial of Hetepheres. Reisner proposed that the incomplete inscriptions on the subsidiary northern niche record dates of commencement and completion of construction, and that they refer to the reign of Chephren.⁸

Hetepheres II built for her daughter Mersyankh III the rock-cut chapel G 7530 *sub* (see reliefs and inscriptions in chapel) and buried her in her black granite sarcophagus re-inscribed as a gift to her daughter (see inscriptions on sarcophagus, fig. 14). This was found partially plundered in the burial chamber under the west room of the chapel and contained the disturbed skull and other bones of the queen (pls. XIV a-c, XVI a-d). The report of Dr. Derry on the anatomical evidence (see below, pp. 21-22) indicates that she was probably over 50 when she died. The two inscriptions at the entrance to her chapel (pl. II a, fig. 2) indicate that she died and was buried in years 1 and 2 of an unnamed

3. In this report: *Visual*. Plan A. East Cemetery at Giza—Cemetery G 7000. Plan B. G 7520 with G 7530 + 40. *Inscriptional*. Figures 1 to 16. Plates I to XX (Photographic). *Anatomical*: Dr. Derry's report on the skeletal remains. In addition: Written statements in an unpublished study of the Eastern Cemetery by G. A. Reisner and W. Stevenson Smith, preserved in the archives of the Museum of Fine Arts, referred to as G. A. R., Appendix B.

4. W. S. Smith, in *JNES* 11 (1952), fig. 7, p. 119, and p. 127.

5. G. A. R. Ms. Appendix B, 65.

6. Appendix, p. 25 below.

7. G.A.R. Ms. Appendix B, 65. See pl. XIII, pp. 3-4 above.

8. G.A.R. Ms. Appendix B, 65; Smith, *ibid.*, fig. 4, pp. 116, 126.

king, whom Reisner identified as Shepseskaf.⁹ In view of Dr. Derry's estimate of her age at death this is unlikely, for she would have been in her middle to late sixties when Shepseskaf came to the throne. It seems probable that she died at the beginning of the reign of Mycerinus, when she would have been less than 42 but might well have been eight or ten years older. However this may be, the chapel of Mersyankh III may have remained accessible long after her death, for the figure of a child inserted on the western pillar on the north wall of the main room bears a name compounded with that of Neuserre, sixth king of Dynasty V (fig. 6, pl. VI). See, however, p. 5 above.

The row of offering bearers on the east wall of the main chamber (fig. 4, pls. III a, IV), representing estates assigned to the service of the Mersyankh tomb, furnish interesting evidence as to the properties at the disposal of Hetepheres. Most of them bear the name of Cheops, having been inherited by Hetepheres from her father. One bears the cartouche of Rededef and might indicate that Hetepheres acquired it through her marriage to him, the only inscriptional evidence that we have bearing on that possible union.

Hetepheres herself, if she was buried in G 7350 as Reisner proposed,¹⁰ must have lived to an old age and been buried in the reign of Shepseskaf in her late seventies.

Approaches to Chapel (Plan B, pl. I a, c)

The chapel of Mersyankh III was approached from a narrow open court excavated in the lowered floor of the street between G 7530 + 40 to the west and G 7650 to the east. It was sunk to a depth of about two meters below street level, and was reached by descending stairs from both south and north. The south stair (pl. I a) is well preserved and has five slightly sloping treads. The north stair is partly obscured by later constructions. At the south end of this court a partially preserved rectangular cubicle may have been a *serdab* to contain the pair statuette of Hetepheres and Mersyankh (pl. XVII a–b, MFA 30.1456) and other small figures (e.g. pl. XVII d, MFA 30.1457), the fragments of which were found in debris in the main chamber. Flanking the doorway to the chapel were two monolithic limestone pilasters for the support of an architrave now missing. These, together with the roof of the doorway itself and two blocks inside, were the only elements of the chapel not cut in the natural rock.

Facade (pl. II a, b; fig. 2)

9. G.A.R. Ms. Appendix B, 69.

10. G.A.R. Ms. Appendix B, 85.

On the sloping facade of the entrance, two incised vertical inscriptions record the dates of her death and burial.

North Side (1) Vertical inscription, signs facing left: *S3t nswt Mr.sy-'nh h3t-sp 1 3bd tpy smw sw 21 htp k3.s hpt.s r w'bt.*

Translation: King's daughter Mersyankh, Year 1, month 1 of Shomu, day 21. The resting of her Ka and her proceeding to the house of purification (embalming).

South Side (2) Vertical inscription, signs facing right: *Hmt nswt Mr.sy-'nh h3t (m)-ht sp tpy, 3bd 2-nw prt sw 18 hpt.s r is.s nfr.*

Translation: King's wife Mersyankh. Year after 1 [Year 2], month 2 of Proyet, day 18. Her proceeding to her beautiful tomb.

Note: The elapsed time between death, recorded on (1) and burial (2) was 273 or 274 days. Reisner placed these dates in years 1 and 2 of Shepseskaf,¹¹ but in view of the examination of her bones made by Dr. Derry, it would seem more probable that the king involved was Mycerinus.

Architrave over Entrance (3) reading from right to left: *M33t Hr-Sth wrt hts Nbtj ht Hr wrt hst mr[yt] Dhwtj Hr smrt.f s3t nswt nt ht.f hmt nswt Mr.sy-'nh.*

Translation: Beholder of Horus and Seth, great favorite of Nebty, follower of Horus, greatly praised, beloved of Thoth and Horus, his companion, King's daughter of his body, King's wife, Mersyankh.

Entrance Doorway (pl. II b–d; figs. 2, 3)

Drum over Doorway (3 A): reading from right to left: *M33t Hr-Sth wrt hts hmt nswt Mr.sy-'nh.*

Translation: Beholder of Horus and Seth, great favorite, King's wife, Mersyankh.

North Door Jamb (4): Scene facing out (east), cut to a large extent in plaster. At top: a large figure of recumbent Anubis. Below: standing figure of Mersyankh with left hand across breast. She wears a long wig and a long dress with shoulder straps, but no ornaments. Behind her are two registers of smaller figures: above, a standing woman holding a box on her head, and below, a walking woman carrying a fan or sun-shade on a pole over her right shoulder in the right hand and holding another type of fan in her left hand.¹² In front of Mersyankh are two registers facing west: above a man pushes forward a hyena, and below a man drags forward a male oryx.

11. W. S. Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952), fig. 4, p. 126. Smith notes the possibility of reading the date as years 2 and 3; published by Sethe, *Urk.* I, 156–157; cited in Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, §§ 54, 413–416, 418, 697–698, 707.

12. Fischer compares Hassan, *Giza* V, fig. 104, p. 245.

Inscriptions: Two lines above and below Anubis, reading right to left: (1) *Htp di nswt Inpw hnty sh-ntr*, (2) *šht špsst hr ntr 'š nb smyt*.

Translation: (1) A boon which the king gives and Anubis foremost of the divine booth (2) to a spirit who is noble in the sight of the great god, lord of the desert.

In front of the queen, three columns, reading right to left: (1) *Mššt Hr-Stḥ s't nswt*, (2) *wrt hst hmt nswt*, (3) *Mr.sy-'nh*.

Translation: (1) Beholder of Horus and Seth, King's daughter, (2) greatly praised, King's wife, (3) Mersyankh.

In front of man with hyena a vertical inscription: *Hm-k' Rry*, the funerary priest Rery.

South Door Jamb (5): Scene facing out (east). At top a large figure of recumbent Anubis. Below this a standing figure of Mersyankh holding a lotus to her nose in her right hand; left arm hanging. She wears a long wig and a dress with shoulder straps, and has a choker and broad collar for adornment, but no other ornaments. Behind the queen in two registers are two smaller women: above stands a girl holding a box on her head with the right hand and carrying a bird in her left, above which is a single sign 'nh "life." Below, a girl advances to the left bearing a chest on her left shoulder and holding out a flap-fan in her right hand.¹³ In front of the queen, facing right, a man holds out to her an open scroll.

Inscription A: Above and beneath Anubis, reading left to right in two lines: (1) *Htp di nswt Inpw imy wt nb tš-dsr* (2) *šht špsst hr ntr 'š nb tš-dsr*.

Translation: (1) A boon which the king gives and Anubis, he who is in Wet, lord of the necropolis, (2) to a spirit who is noble in the sight of the great god, lord of the necropolis.

Inscription B: In front of the queen; four columns reading left to right: (1) *Mššt Hr-Stḥ wrt hts*, (2) *smrt Hr mrt.f*, (3) *ht Hr hmt nswt s't nswt*, (4) *Mr-sy-'nh*.

Translation: (1) Beholder of Horus and Seth, great favorite, (2) companion of Horus beloved of him, (3) follower of Horus, King's wife, King's daughter, (4) Mersyankh.

Inscription C: In front of man with scroll, three columns facing right, reading from right to left: (1) *Rdit sš n ḥmw-k' (2) r mšš in (3) imy-r ḥmw-k' Hmt-nw*.

Translation: (1) Presenting the document of the funerary-priests (2) for inspection by (3) the overseer of funerary priests Khemetnu.

Inscription D: Behind the man with scroll, one column: *W'b nswt imšhw hr nb.f Hmt-[nw]*.

13. Fischer comments, "The rotating fan (here described as a "flap fan") is of interest because only one other Old Kingdom example (LD II, 63) has been noted by Jéquier, who discusses this implement in *Les frises d'objets*, 253-254. The forms shown here and in loc. 16 suggest that at least one other Old Kingdom example may be recognized: Hassan, *Excavations at Giza IV*, fig. 82, p. 143."

Translation: The royal purification-priest, honored before his lord, Khemet[nu].

Main Chamber

(Plans C, D; pl. III-IX, figs. 4-8)

North-South room 7.10 × 3.35 m. and 2.60 m. high. Entered from the east by a doorway in the southern part of its east wall. Socket in floor on left for single door-leaf to open inward and square recess on right reveal for door bolt. Its north end is divided by two pillars into three doorways of which the eastern and western had been blocked up after the decoration of the chapel had been completed, leaving only the central opening to give access to the north room, this central opening having once been provided with double-leaf wooden doors opening outward to the south as indicated by grooves in the floor. In the west wall are two openings, divided by a central pillar, each having once been provided with double-leaf wooden doors opening eastward onto the main room. These openings give access to the west (offering) room. The four walls of the main room are completely covered with reliefs and inscriptions, for the most part in excellent preservation, many areas still retaining much of their original color.

Main Room; East Wall, North of Entrance (6)

(pls. III a-IV; fig. 4. Length 4.24 m.)

General Description: At the north end a large figure of Kawab striding to the left toward the north room fills the full height of the decorated area and stands 1.35 m. high. To the right of this, occupying the upper half of the decorated surface, is a scene showing Mersyankh and her mother pulling papyrus stalks while standing on a light papyrus skiff. To the right of this boating scene are two registers (1) and (2), the upper containing thirteen offering-bearers and the lower showing a bird-netting scene. The right end of this second register is divided into two sub-registers (2A and 2B), the upper showing men tying papyrus stems and the lower men taking birds out of a crate and plucking fowl (see below p. 11). The lower half of the area (from south of the figure of Kawab to the doorway) contains two long registers (3) and (4), the upper showing men conducting birds and cattle, the lower men in four boats and other men driving horned sheep.

At the top of the wall, above the papyrus thicket in the boating scene, a narrow slit window 53 cm. long and 9.5 cm. high, intended to give light to the room, has admitted moisture partially to deface the wall below and to wash away all the color.

Figure of Kawab: A portly man striding to the left. He wears short black hair of which the paint has run to suggest a full wig,¹⁴ a broad collar with alternating blue

14. cf. Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959): 245.

and white bands, and a string of blue beads and amulets from which hangs a large heart pendant. Across his chest and under the beads and pendant are traces of the broad diagonal white band of a lector priest, and he wears blue bracelets. He is shown naked to the waist, painted red, and is clothed only in a flaring white kilt, unpleated, extending to the mid-calf. In his right hand he holds a yellow staff and in his left a folded cloth. Above his head is an inscription in six columns, reading from left to right.

Inscription: (1) *It.s iry p't*, (2) *sš nswt smsw n ht.f*, (3) *hry-ḥbt hry-tp*, (4) *hrp i'wt nrt*, (5) *wn- Dw'w*, (6) *Kš-w'b*.

Translation: (1) Her father, prince, (2) King's eldest son of his body, (3) chief lector-priest, (4) director of divine offices, (5) assistant of Duwa,¹⁵ (6) Kawab.

Boating Scene: Queen Hetepheres, facing right, wears a long wig, a choker and broad collar, a white dress with shoulder straps, extending to just above the ankles, bracelets, and anklets. She is pulling papyrus stalks with both hands. In front of her a small boy, naked but with side-lock, holds a lotus flower in his left hand and grasps the queen's leg with his right. Queen Mersyankh stands behind her mother. She wears a short black wig with a decorated fillet about her head terminating at the back with a bow and double streamers.¹⁶ Around her neck is a choker below which she wears a broad collar. Her long dress with shoulder straps is elaborately decorated below the breast with a bead-net pattern. A bracelet on her right wrist and anklets on both legs complete her costume. With her right hand she plucks a papyrus stem and her left encircles her mother's waist. At the stern of the skiff a boatman with a long black pole steadies the craft, stepping out to the right but with his head turned back to the left. He wears a white lotus flower around the neck and a white belt to which pendant strips of cloth are fastened. The bow of the skiff is thrust into the papyrus thicket. It is partially damaged from the moisture which has descended from the window above.

Inscriptions above: Over the stern of the skiff; five lines reading right to left: (1) *Sš.s wšd*,¹⁷ (2) *n Hwt-Hr m phw*, (3) *hn' mwt.s*, (4) *mš.sn ht nbt nfrt*, (5) *ntt m mht*.

Translation: (1) She pulls papyrus, (2) for Hathor in the marshland, (3) with her mother. (4) They see every good thing, (5) which is in the marsh.

Inscription around and over the two queens: *Mwt.s šst nswt bity Hwfw*, *wrt hts Htp-hr.s*, *šst.s mrt.s*, *mšst Hr-Sth wrt hts Mr.sy-nh*.

Translation: Her mother, daughter of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khufu, great favorite, Hetep-

heres. Her beloved daughter, beholder of Horus and Seth, great favorite, Mersyankh.

Register 1: Procession of thirteen estates bearing offerings in baskets on their heads steadied by their right hands, proceeding to the left, each with its name in front written vertically:¹⁸

- (1) Female figure carrying a bird on her left arm, damaged by moisture from window above. *Hwt Hwfw*. "The mansion of Cheops."
- (2) Male figure, left arm hanging, colored red. *Mtn Hwfw*. "The way of Cheops."
- (3) Female figure carrying a stick and lotus flowers in her left hand and in crook of left arm. *Nfr htpwt Hwfw*. "Perfect of offerings is Cheops."
- (4) Male figure, leading a calf on a string held in the left hand. *Dfš kš Hwfw*. "Well fed of *ka* is Cheops."
- (5) Female figure with bundle of sticks in left hand and basket over the arm. *Irt Dd.f-r'*. "Creation of Dedefre (Rededef)."
- (6) Male figure, leading a hyena on a leash with left hand. *Idb Hwfw*. "Canalbank of Cheops."
- (7) Female figure, carrying stick and lotus flowers (as 3 above). *B'ht Hwfw*. "The boat of abundance of Cheops."
- (8) Male figure, with a small horned animal on a leash held in the left hand. *'nh Hwfw*. "The life of Cheops."
- (9) Female figure, holding a goose in the crook of her left arm. *Mrt Hwfw*. "Beloved of Cheops."
- (10) Male figure, left arm hanging. *Mn Hwfw hr st Hr*. "Established is Cheops on the throne of Horus."
- (11) Female figure, carrying a bag hung from her left shoulder. *Šht Hwfw*. "The field of Cheops."
- (12) Male figure, left arm hanging. *Iw Hwfw*. "The island of Cheops."
- (13) Male figure, leading a gazelle on a leash in the left hand. *Hwt-kš*. "Mansion of the *ka*."

Register 2: Bird trapping scene, left to right, as follows: Standing man facing left, holding out by their necks two or three birds in each hand. In front of him his name is inscribed vertically: [*hm-kš*] *Kš-tsw*. "The *ka*-priest Katjesu."¹⁹ Group of five standing men facing right, hauling on a rope to spring the bird trap; the third man has turned his face left to look at the last two in the group. To the right the leader stands facing right but with head turned toward the group of five. He spreads wide, with both arms, a white cloth as a signal to the group to haul on the rope.

The bird trap is represented closed with various birds caught in it. A man at the right, facing left, is taking two

15. Grdseloff, *ASAE* 41 (1942): 214-216.

16. Ebba E. Kerrn, "The development of the ornamental boatman's fillet in Old and Middle Kingdom in Egypt," *Acta Orientalia*, Havnica 24 (1959): 161-188.

17. Cf. Dunham, *AJA* 39 (1935): 304, 1.

18. The readings are derived from Helen Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'ancien empire égyptien*, Bibl. d'étude 34, Cairo, *IFAO* (1962): 222 seq., Tomb 10 G 4.

19. The title, damaged here, is recorded in the second register on the south wall of the main room, fourth figure from the right, with the same name.

birds from it. The trap is represented as in the middle of a lotus pool, together with two flying birds above, which were not caught in the trap.

Above the men working the bird-trap is an inscription in one line, reading from left to right: *Mšš šht špd[w] m mḥt* and *rdi šht*. “Viewing the trapping of birds in the marsh,” and “Working the trap.”²⁰

To the right of the bird trap the wall is divided into two sub-registers.

Register 2A (above): Three men are preparing a yellow papyrus mat. The first, seated and facing right, is pulling on a stem; the other two, again seated and facing each other, are constructing the mat, its ties being colored red. The man on the left is labelled (right to left) *sšš wšdt(?)*, “pulling papyrus.” The label over the other pair, reading left to right is *whš kn*. “making a mat.”

Register 2B (below): At the left a seated man, facing left, is taking a bird from a crate with red hatching. At right two seated men facing each other are plucking birds. This scene is uninscribed.

Register 3: This register extends from the figure of Kawab to the entrance doorway and shows a procession of birds and cattle proceeding to the left. First at the left is a standing man, facing left. His right hand rests on his left shoulder while with his left he grasps the beak of a large crane. Behind this crane is a second one, both with black necks, wing markings and lower legs, and red beaks and eyes. To the right are three geese, the first yellow with brown wing markings and a red beak, the second two now without color. All these birds face left and are as large as the human figures. Next a walking man, facing left, has his right hand resting on his left shoulder and leads a collared ox by a rope with his left hand. The ox hide has black markings; its horns are yellow and its muzzle and eye are red. Over the ox is inscribed *itt iwš šht* “Bringing an ox of the fields.” Next comes a man with his right hand on the rump of the first ox while he leads a second, similarly colored ox with his left hand and looks to the right. This second ox is labeled *itt imy mdt*. “Bringing a stalled ox.” The next man is partly bald, is emaciated, and leans forward. He has his right hand resting on his left shoulder and leads a red stippled hornless cow labeled *iwšt nt ndt-hr*. “a cow of offering.” The procession ends with a fourth man, partly bald and bearded, who wears a kilt with fine cross-ribbing in red on a white background. He rests his right hand on the rump of the preceding animal, looks to the right, and leads a small blanketed calf with black markings with his left hand. The blanket is yellow with red lines, evidently a representation of matting.

20. Fischer notes, “The latter applies solely to the man who gives the signal for the trap to be closed. Cf. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza V*, Fig. 123, and references given on p. 267; also Mohr, *Hetep-herakhty*, 54. Translate, “the fowler causing the trapping.”

The caption reads *itt bḥs, šdi hr db'*. “Bringing a calf which suckled on the finger.”²¹

Register 4: The lowest, same length as Register 3. Left to right: Four skiffs proceeding to the left, the first containing four men. In the bow a man, with a black pole and carrying a lotus, looks to the right at the second man who stands, facing left, smelling a lotus and leaning on a staff. In the center of the skiff a crate of birds rests on a basket containing a lotus, a bird, and other objects. In the stern two men face right toward a second skiff. The first pushes on a pole in the water, while the second holds up a bunch of lotus flowers and threatens the second skiff with upraised arm containing a bundle of stalks(?). The second skiff is paddled by a seated man in the bow while a second man in the center tends a calf. A third man in the stern is poling. To the right the third and fourth skiffs contain respectively three and four men with paddles and poles who are engaged in a combat. These four skiffs are shown on a band representing water. Above this scene is the inscription, reading left to right: *Prt m šš ḥn' nḥbt in mḥtyw.s, in.sn n.s ḥt nbt nfrt innt n špst m k't šht*. Translation: “Coming out of the marsh with lotus blossoms by her marsh-men, that they may bring to her every good thing which is brought to a noblewoman as the work of the field.” To the right of the water scene a man, facing right, leans on a staff watching the action to his right. He is labelled *ḥkš n niwt*, “Headman of a town.” To his right herdsmen march to the right with upraised whips driving a herd of horned sheep among which a fourth man with upraised whip helps to drive them along. To the right again a man facing left and carrying a bag of grain entices them forward by holding out a handful of food. Finally, at the right end of the register, a man walks to the left leaning on a staff and carries a bag (of grain?) over his shoulder. This scene bears two captions, the first of which at the left reads, right to left: *skš m šht*. “Cultivating with a herd of sheep”. The second to the right reads from left to right: *stt prt*. “Sowing the seed.”

Main Room, East Wall, South of Entrance (7)
(pls. III b, V; fig. 5)

From entrance doorway to the south-east corner of the main room: 1.60 meters. Five registers of relief scenes. Adjacent to the doorway, at the top, there were originally two masonry blocks of which the uppermost is missing, presumably pried out in removing the upper socket on which the wooden door turned. The rest of the wall is rock-cut, but with plaster overlay.

Top Register: Two boats proceeding to the left, the prow of the first now missing. The first boat, painted

21. Fischer notes, “This particular caption is the subject of a brief communication by Goedicke: “*Hry-dḥ*, ‘suckled calf,’” *RdE* 11 (1957): 159-161.”

yellow, is rowed by four oarsmen and steered by two helmsmen. Mersyankh sits on a yellow chair, facing forward, with a female attendant squatting behind her. The second, a white papyrus skiff, is paddled by three (or six?) men. In front of the first paddler stands the pilot or lookout, holding a stick in his right hand, his body turned to the stern but his face turned left towards the first boat. Behind the paddlers Mersyankh sits on a chair smelling a flower. In front of her squats a little maid with a fly-whisk, and behind the chair a squatting woman holds up a sun-shade. In the stern a single helmsman holds a long steering oar. There is no caption. The two boats in the top register are light skiffs in which Mersyankh is seated, leading a procession of larger boats shown in the second register. The two skiffs are distinguished from each other in form and color, the second evidently of papyrus with bindings indicated at bow and stern. In both the male crews are colored red whereas the queen and her female attendants are yellow. The oars are red.

Second Register: Two yellow painted wooden boats proceed to the left, each bearing a long shelter of which the center part is covered by a cloth tent; the first rowed by eleven oarsmen and the second by eight. On the prow of the first boat stands the pilot holding a long sounding pole in one hand. A man squats on top of the shelter, and among the rowers stands a female figure with lappet wig, perhaps Mersyankh. At the stern three helmsmen with steering oars stand under the shelter. The second boat is like the first except for the animal head on the bow.²² The pilot shields his eyes with one hand and holds a sounding pole. A man(?) stands facing forward among the rowers, one hand holding the framework of the shelter. Also under the shelter are two steersmen with steering oars at the stern. While the color in this register is only partially preserved, the crews and oars were red. There were no captions.

Third Register: Four scenes, in order left to right. (A) A standing female statue, facing right, being painted by a painter (red), with brush and shell palette, facing left. Over him (now illegible) are faint traces of an ink inscription which Reisner thought to read *kdwt R'-ḥḥy*, "the painter Rehay." (B) Seated female statue facing right, in front of which a sculptor (red) labelled *Gnwty In-k'ḥf*, "The sculptor Inkaf," is working on it with a tool held in the right hand. Beyond him a man (red), facing left, appears to be pulling on a rope attached to the base of the seated statue. (C) Two men, facing right, drag a shrine toward the left. The shrine contains a standing female statue facing left standing on a sledge, and is shown with two open doors. To the left of the shrine,

22. Other examples are well known in the Old Kingdom at Giza, in the tomb of Ka-ni-nesut: Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 22, described as the head of a hedgehog turned backwards; also Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 14 b, tomb of Seneb.

partly superimposed on the open door, stands a man facing right, holding a double-bell censer. Behind the shrine another man, facing left but with head turned right, steadies the shrine with both hands. (D) Three men facing right are dragging a seated female statue facing left, while a fourth man stands in front of the statue, facing right, and holds out an ill-defined object. Scenes (C) and (D) are without captions and have lost their color.

Fourth Register: Five scenes of craftsmen at work, reading from left to right. (A) Two men polishing a granite coffin, stippled red and black, the second standing on a raised yellow platform or box. Over the coffin is an ink inscription *ḥmw(?)*, "craftsman". (B) Damaged area showing a seated man, facing right, at work on an unidentified object. (C) A man, facing right, bends over a door which he appears to be polishing.²³ (D) A kneeling man facing right before a false door, its inner jambs painted red, with an upraised adze in his right hand. (E) Man striding to the right sawing a plank fixed vertically.²⁴

Fifth Register: Divided into two parts. On the left five men under a shelter are engaged in smelting metal. At the left a squatting man appears to be pouring molten metal (?) from a crucible, while to the right two groups of two men each are using blow-pipes to melt the metal. The right half of the area is divided into two-sub-registers. *Above* (A) Two seated men face each other on either side of a low stand. (B) A round-topped chest is being worked on by a seated man facing left. (C) A seated man facing right had before him an object too obliterated to identify. *Below:* At left two men are working on a carrying chair which rests on long poles.²⁵ At the right two seated men flank a rectangular chest with flaring top. This register is in part badly damaged. There are no inscriptions.

Main Room, North Wall (8-10)
(pl. VI a; fig. 6)

Length east to west 3.35 m. Beneath an ornamental conventionalized border which is partially preserved here and on the east and west walls of this room, an inscribed architrave extends the full length of the wall. Below, the wall is broken by three openings into the North Room. The central opening was originally provided with double-leaf wooden doors opening outward to the south, as indicated by channels in the floor (see Plan C). The upper pivots of these doors are now missing, but there was found, lying on the floor beneath,

23. Fischer notes, "a door viewed from rear, showing battens; cf. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, fig. 219."

24. Fischer compares *LD II*, pl. 49.

25. Compare the carrying chair of Queen Hetep-heres I. See Reisner and Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis II*, pl. 27a.

a damaged block of exactly the right length, bearing the remains of an ink inscription which formed an inner drum over the entrance. The east and west openings were not provided with doors and may at one time have been blocked up. Only the south face of this wall was decorated. Between the three openings two pillars bearing relief figures flank the central opening.

Architrave: Running the full length of the wall, reading from right to left as follows: *Htp di Inpw nb t3-dsr krs nfrt hr ntr '3 prt hrw n.s t hnkt p3t k3 m hb <nb> r' nb ht nbt nfrt m htp di nswt w3h n.s phr t hnkt p3t stp n.s stpt 3pd k3t i3wti nfrt 3psst hr Inpw hnty sh-ntr*.

Translation: A boon which Anubis gives, lord of the divine land, a good burial before the great god, that funerary offerings go forth to her [of] bread, beer, cakes, and cattle on every festival and every day as a royal boon. That there be dedicated to her a choice selection of offerings of birds and cattle, when she has grown gracefully old as one who is noble in the sight of Anubis, foremost of the divine booth.

East Opening Lintel (slightly recessed): Right to left.

Inscription: *M33t Hr-Sth Mr-sy-'nh*.

Translation: Beholder of Horus and Seth, Mersyankh.

Central Doorway, Lintel: Right to left.

Inscription: *S3t nswt nt ht.f hmt nswt Mr-sy-'nh*.

Translation: King's daughter of his body, King's wife Mersyankh.

"Drum", displaced from Central Doorway, but now replaced in position: Ink inscription, damaged but legible.²⁶

Inscription: *Wrt hts ht Hr Mr-sy-'nh*.

Translation: Great favorite, follower of Horus, Mersyankh.

West Opening Lintel, slightly recessed: Right to left.

Inscription: *Smrt Hr mrt.f Mr-sy-'nh*.

Translation: Companion of Horus, his beloved, Mersyankh.

East Pillar: Standing figure of Mersyankh, facing left.²⁷ She wears a short wig, a choker and broad collar, and bracelets and anklets on both wrists and ankles. She is clad in a long white dress with shoulder straps. Her right hand is on her breast and her left is hanging. Over her head is an inscription in four columns, reading left to right.

Inscription: (1) *S3t nswt nt ht.f*, (2) *m33t Hr-Sth*, (3) *smrt Hr*, (4) *Mr-sy-'nh*.

Translation: (1) King's daughter of his body, (2) beholder of Horus and Seth, (3) companion of Horus, (4) Mersyankh.

26. This text would have been invisible when the drum was in place.

27. The color on this pillar is exceptionally well preserved. The figure of the queen shows corrections in the outlines made by the master painter in red, and there are also notations in red on the jamb reveals of the doorway. See W. S. Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 253.

In front of the queen's feet stands, facing left, a small figure of a boy painted red and naked except for a broad collar and bracelets. This figure and the accompanying inscription is not in relief and may have been a later insertion. Above his head, left to right in two lines:

Inscription: (1) *S3 nswt n ht.f*, (2) *Dw3-R'*.

Translation: (1) King's son of his body, (2) Duwa-Re.

West Pillar: Large standing figure of Mersyankh, facing right. Costume, ornaments, and attitude like the figure of the queen on the east pillar. Here too, alterations to the outline of the figure in red are visible. Above the queen's head is an inscription in four short columns, right to left.

Inscription: (1) *S3t nswt nt ht.f*, (2) *tist Hr*,²⁸ (3) *ht Hr*, (4) *Mr-sy-'nh*.

Translation: (1) King's daughter of his body, (2) intimate of Horus, (3) follower of Horus, (4) Mersyankh.

In front of the queen's feet, painted figure of a boy walking right but with head turned left. He has his right finger to his mouth and his left arm hanging down, and he is naked. Above a two line inscription reading right to left gives his name.

Inscription: (1) *S3 nswt n ht.f*, (2) *Ny-wsr-R'-'nh*.

Translation: (1) King's son of his body, (2) Ny-user-Re-ankh.²⁹

Main Room, West Wall (11-15) (pl. VII, fig. 7)

Length 7.57 meters. Near the center two openings give access to the West Room, each opening originally closed with double-leaf wooden doors opening into the main room as indicated by reserved slots in the floor (see Plan B). Between them is a pillar. The entire wall surface is decorated with reliefs and inscriptions, with a good deal of the original coloring still preserved, especially in the northern part. At the top traces of an ornamental border as on the east and north walls. Below this, extending over a large portion of the entire wall, is an architrave in two lines, reading from right to left.

Architrave Inscriptions: Line (1). *Htp di nswt Inpw hnty sh-ntr nb krs <krs(s)> m smyt imnty hps m htp hr w3wt nfrt hpp im3ht hr.sn i3wti nfr n.s hr ntr-'3 pr-hrw n.s t hnkt p3t m hb tp 3bd tp . . . nt w3h n.s dbht-htp r' nb*. Line (2). *Mwt.s s3t nswt m33t Hr-Sth Htp-hr.s s3t.s m33t Hr-Sth*

28. Fischer notes that Junker, *Giza II*, 189-191, reads this title *ist Hr*.

29. The painted insertion of the boys on both pillars, the western one bearing a name compounded with that of King Neuserre of the Fifth Dynasty seems to prove either that the chapel remained accessible until that time, or was re-opened during the subsequent dynasty to add these figures. Fischer notes that it is hardly surprising that the funerary cult continued that long and that it required the use of the chapel. See p. 5 for a suggestion by Simpson.

wrt ḥts ḥt Hr smrt Hr mrt.f tist Hr sm'wt mry Nbty wrt ḥst ḥm-ntr Dḥwty s't nswt ḥmt nswt Mr-sy-nḥ.

Translation: Line 1: A boon which the king gives (and) Anubis, foremost of the divine booth, lord of burial (that she may be buried) in the western necropolis. May she proceed in peace upon the ways on which an honored one proceeds when she has become old, it having gone well with her in the sight of the great god. May offerings go forth to her (of) bread and beer and cakes on the feast of the first of the month, the first of the half-month. That there be supplied for her the requisite offerings every day. Line 2: Her mother, King's daughter, beholder of Horus and Seth, Hetepheres. Her daughter, beholder of Horus and Seth, great favorite, follower of Horus, beloved companion of Horus, intimate of Horus, consort of him who is beloved of the Two Ladies, greatly praised, priestess of Thoth, King's daughter, King's wife, Mersyankh.

Northern Section (below the architrave) (11): Three large figures, all facing left; from left to right:

Figure A. Standing woman. She wears an unusual short wig, colored yellow with red painted cross lines. As ornaments she has a choker and broad collar colored blue, and anklets but no bracelets. She wears a long white dress with unusual peaked shoulders and both arms are covered and crossed over the breast.³⁰ In front of her is a single column inscription with signs facing left.

Inscription: Mwt.s m'ḥt Hr-Stḥ wrt ḥts ḥrp ssm[tyw] šndt ḥmt nswt Htp-ḥr.s.

Translation: Her mother, beholder of Horus and Seth, great favorite, controller of the butchers of the acacia house,³¹ King's wife, Hetepheres.

Behind the queen a girl squats on the floor, apparently clad in a knee-length garment and with a simple fillet around her head. In her right hand she holds up a fly-whisk, and her left hand grasps her right shoulder.

Figure B. Standing woman. Right hand across breast holding the red tie that usually appears on the shoulder to affix a leopard skin. This gesture is also usual (although all other cases are masculine). Her left arm is hanging. She has short black hair, wears a choker and a broad collar colored blue. She has blue bracelets on both wrists but no anklets. Over her long white dress she wears a leopard-skin, yellow with black spotting, which passes over the right shoulder. In front of and over this

30. Reisner at first considered that her unique hair color indicated that she was blond, and proposed that she was of Libyan blood, but this proposal has not been generally accepted. The peaked shoulders of her dress, though not unique, are quite unusual. For the latter see the relief of the mother of Prince Khafkhufu from G 7140 in W. Stevenson Smith, *HESPOK*, 22, Pl. 44 b. For both of these unusual features see also Reisner and Smith, *Giza Necropolis II*, 7, where they cite the views of Mariette and Caroline R. Williams on these peculiarities.

31. See Henry G. Fischer, *Orientalia* 29 (1960): 184 (3a, 3b). Edel in *Das Akazienhaus und seine Rolle in der Begräbnisriten*, MÄS 24, Berlin, 1970, 28–29, reads šndt instead of im't and renders it as "acacia-house."

figure is an inscription in five columns, reading from left to right:

Inscription: (1) S't.s nt ḥt.s s't nswt m'ḥt Hr-Stḥ Mr-sy-nḥ, (2) wrt ḥts wrt ḥswt. (3) ḥmt-ntr Dḥwty smrt Hr, (4) sm'wt mry Nbty, (5) ḥmt nswt mrt.f Mr-sy-nḥ.

Translation: (1) Her daughter of her body, King's daughter, beholder of Horus and Seth, Mersyankh. (2) Great favorite, greatly praised, (3) priestess of Thoth, companion of Horus, (4) consort of him who is beloved of the Two Ladies, (5) King's beloved wife Mersyankh.

In front of the queen's feet a boy is walking to the left with face turned right. He wears a side-lock and broad collar but is otherwise naked. In the right hand he grasps a hoopoe-bird by its wings and holds up a lotus flower in his left. Over his head his name is inscribed, left to right: Ḥnt-r-k. "Khenterka".

Figure C. A somewhat smaller man walking to the left, with both arms hanging, holding a folded cloth in his left hand. He wears a full (white) wig, a broad collar, and blue bracelets on both wrists but no anklets. He is colored red and is clad in a knee length kilt and has a broad band across the chest passing over the right shoulder, both white. In front of him is an inscription in two columns, reading left to right:

Inscription: (1) S's s' nswt n ḥt.f ḥry-ḥ'bt ḥry-tp, (2) Nb-m-ḥt.

Translation: (1) Her son, King's son of his body, chief lector priest, (2) Nebemakhet.

Behind, in three superimposed registers, are three small figures, all facing left, none inscribed. *Above:* A naked boy wearing only a broad collar, his right hand to his mouth and left hand hanging. *Center:* A naked girl carrying a hoopoe held by the wings in her right hand, left arm hanging. *Below:* A naked boy with his right hand to his mouth, fingers to lips, and left arm hanging.

Central Pillar (12): On east face a standing woman, facing left. She has a long wig, a choker, and a broad collar colored alternately blue and green, multiple blue bracelets, and anklets. She wears a long dress with ribbed shoulder straps, the dress showing traces of a net pattern from below the breasts down. Her right hand rests on her breast and her left arm is hanging. In front is a single column inscription, signs facing left.

Inscription: M'ḥt Hr-Stḥ wrt ḥts Nbty ḥmt-ntr Ḥwt-Hr nbt iwnt ḥmt nswt Mr-sy-nḥ.

Translation: Beholder of Horus and Seth, great favorite of Nebty, priestess of Hathor mistress of Denderah, King's wife Mersyankh.

South Section: (13, 14, 15). Divided into three parts; Figure D (13), False door and tablet (14), and Figure E (15). No color remains in this area.

Figure D (13): Standing figure of the queen, facing right. She wears a long wig, a choker and broad collar, and has multiple bracelets and anklets on both wrists and ankles. She is clad in a long dress with shoulder