

GIZA MASTABAS

VOLUME 7

EDITED BY

PETER DER MANUELIAN AND WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON

# THE SENEDJEMIB COMPLEX, PART I

THE MASTABAS OF SENEDJEMIB INTI (G 2370),  
KHNUMENTI (G 2374), AND SENEDJEMIB MEHI (G 2378)

EDWARD BROVARSKI

DEPARTMENT OF ART OF THE ANCIENT WORLD  
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON





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**THE SENEDJEMIB COMPLEX**  
**PART I**



A. General view of the Senedjemib Complex, taken from the northwest corner of the Great Pyramid, looking northwest



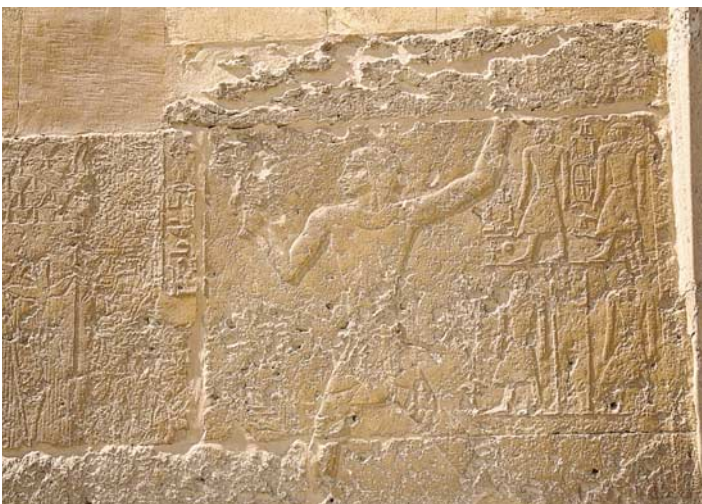
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C. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), reconstructed facade, looking west



D. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), reconstructed facade, looking northwest



E. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, west wall, north of entrance, northern part (see pl. 16), looking west



F. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370 B), burial chamber with sarcophagus (see pl. 53c), looking southwest

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*Based upon the Recording of*  
*The Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition:*  
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NICHOLAS MELNIKOFF, AND MOHAMMED SAID AHMED

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*Front jacket illustration:* G 2370, tomb of Senedjemib Inti with pyramid of Khafre beyond, looking southwest. 14 May 1998. Photograph by Peter János

*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 (93.130.23)

*Frontispiece:* Selected views of the Senedjemib Complex. Photographs A–D by Peter János (14 May 1998), E–F by Bradford M. Endicott (February 1999)

*Endpapers:* Overview plan of the Giza Necropolis, showing the location of the Senedjemib Complex (drawing by Peter Der Manuelian)

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## PREFACE

SINCE 1974, WHEN FIRST COMING to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as Curatorial Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art (now the Department of Art of the Ancient World), it has been the present writer's privilege to work with the unpublished excavation records of George A. Reisner and the Joint Egyptian Expedition of Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The first of the archaeological sites with which I was directly involved was Naga-ed-Dêr in Upper Egypt, which became the subject of a doctoral dissertation for the University of Chicago. Since 1988, however, when I resigned as Curator of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art in order to devote myself full time to the publication of the Harvard–Boston excavations, the Giza necropolis has been my principal focus of attention. The present volume is the first of three projected volumes in the Giza Mastabas series of the Department of Art of the Ancient World. The second of these, like the first, is dedicated to the Senedjemib Complex in the Western Field at Giza, while the third is devoted to the great princely mastabas of the Eastern Field and bears the tentative title *The Mastabas of Hordjedef* (G 7210–20), *Babaef* (G 7310–20), *an anonymous prince* (G 7330–40), *Hetepheres II* (G 7350), *Horbaef and Meresankh II* (G 7410–20), *Minkhaf* (G 7340–40), and *Ankh-haf* (G 7510). The reliefs of these mastabas were largely copied by the staff of the Giza Mastabas Project of the University of Pennsylvania, Yale University, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, during three field seasons at Giza in 1981, 1982, and 1989. Given the financial resources and appropriate circumstances, it is to be hoped that they will appear in print in good time.

Between 1902 and 1942 Reisner uncovered nearly four hundred mastaba-tombs at Giza. The results of his excavations were published in *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, Vol. 1 (1942). There the tombs are discussed in exhaustive detail from every conceivable architectural and archaeological perspective. The systematic publication of the wall decorations of the tomb chapels excavated by Reisner, however, was only initiated in 1974 with the appearance of *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, G 7530–7540, by Dows Dunham and William Kelly Simpson.

From 1970 Professor Simpson had divided his time by agreement with Yale University between that institution of higher learning, where he was Professor of Egyptology, and the Museum of Fine Arts, where he was Curator of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art. It was at his initiative that the Giza Mastabas Project came into being, funded originally by a grant to Yale University and the University of Pennsylvania from the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the United States Department of State and subsequently

the International Communications Agency (SCC 29368), as well as a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

Between 1978 and 1980, despite the demands of an active curatorial department and a full-time teaching load at Yale University, Dr. Simpson completed three additional volumes in the Giza Mastabas series. They are: *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*; *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*; *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery, Part 1*.

It was Kelly Simpson who introduced me to the methods of epigraphic work on the Giza plateau. For making me a part of the Giza Mastabas Project, I can never adequately express my debt to him.

It was during a visit to the Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art in the Summer of 1973 that I first met the late Dows Dunham, Curator of Egyptian Art Emeritus, who was then in the fourth quarter of an active professional life largely dedicated to making the results of the Harvard–Boston Expedition excavations in Egypt and Nubia available to a scholarly and wider audience. Mr. Dunham had been trained at Harvard University and in the field by George Reisner himself (“Papa George” as Mr. Dunham referred to him). He possessed an endless store of instructive and amusing anecdotes about the early years of the Harvard–Boston Expedition and what it was like working with the great archaeologist. Many of these stories have made their way into his entertaining account, *Recollections of an Egyptologist* (1972). It was Mr. Dunham who clarified for me the intricacies of Reisner's recording system.

A particular joy of working in the Egyptian Department in Boston in the 70s and 80s was the presence of the lamented Suzanne E. Chapman, Associate Curator of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art. Although never a member of the field staff of the Giza Mastabas Project, Suzanne probably drew and inked more illustrations for Egyptian Department publications than any other single individual. These include many of the drawings in the present volume. Sue also trained a number of the artist/epigraphers who subsequently worked on the Giza Mastabas Project.

The Giza Plateau is a very special place. Even in August—at which time the Giza Mastabas Project was often in the field owing to teaching commitments during the academic year—when the valley below can be hot and humid, there is always a steady breeze blowing across the plateau. Whatever the time of the year, few tourists or locals penetrate the streets and alleys between the serried ranks of mastabas, and a stroll along these by-ways in the quiet of a morning or in the late afternoon, transports one into the far distant past. In antiquity, of course, the cemetery reverberated with the obsequies of court and government officials and with the chanting of funerary priests performing the periodic rites on feast days. In addition, relatives and descendants made frequent visits to the tomb chapels of the dearly departed, and sometimes shared there a meal with the soul of the deceased.

For permission to pursue our work within the confines of the old Harvard–Boston concession at Giza, I would like to express my gratitude to the successive heads of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization (now the Supreme Council of Antiquities). In my time, these have included the late Dr. Shahata Adam, the late Dr. Ahmed Qadri, the late Prof.-Dr. Sayed Tawfik, Prof.-Dr. Mohamed Ibrahim Abu Bakr, Prof.-Dr. Mohamed Abdel-Halim Nur el-Din, and most

recently Prof.-Dr. Gaballa Ali Gaballa. Thanks also go to the members of the Permanent Committee of Archaeology of the Supreme Council of Antiquities for their continuing approval of our work.

Our work on site at Giza was facilitated by a number of individuals who have gone out of their way to aid us in our endeavors and make us welcome. It is a great pleasure to acknowledge their contributions to our work. At the Giza Inspectorate the late Dr. Nassif Mohamed Hassan and Dr. Ahmed Moussa, Directors of Antiquities for Giza, were courteous and encouraging. First and foremost, however, I would like to thank my good friend Dr. Zahi Hawass. Chief Inspector at Giza, when we first met in 1975, in the intervening twenty years he has risen to be General Director of Antiquities of the Giza Pyramids and Saqqara and recently Undersecretary of State for the Giza Pyramids. His diligence, hard work, and concern for the monuments have made the Giza necropolis a great open air museum readily accessible to tens of thousands of visitors each year.

A number of other colleagues at Giza have also received us with cordiality and worked side by side with us on a daily basis. Over time several have become valued friends. In particular I want to mention Miss Amal Samuel and Mr. Mahmoud Afifi, Chief Inspectors at Giza. Among the other members of the Giza Pyramids Inspectorate, who have aided our work in a variety of ways, I would like to acknowledge in particular Messrs. Ahmed el-Haggar, Director of the Pyramids, Mansour Radwan, Senior Egyptologist, and Mohamed E. Sheha, Inspector, as well as Inspectors Abdel-Qader Karamany, Tarek Mohamed Al-Awadi, Ayman Wahby Taher, and Miss Nashwa Gaber.

A debt of thanks is also due the successive directors of the Cairo office of the American Research Center in Egypt—Dr. James P. Allen, Dr. Robert Betts, and Mr. Mark Easton—who aided our work in Egypt. In particular, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the help cheerfully and efficiently given over the years by Mrs. Amira Khettab, Secretary and now Deputy Director of the Cairo Center in processing our paperwork at Abbasiyya and assuring that all went smoothly in numerous other ways. She is now ably seconded in her work by her son, Mr. Amir H. Abdul Hamid.

Home for the Giza Mastabas Project during several field seasons, including those devoted in whole or in part to recording the reliefs in the Senedjemib Complex, was the A.R.C.E. houseboat Fostat, moored on the Nile corniche at Giza close-by Kubri el-Gama'a. Sadly, our snug and comfortable home is now gone and its place taken by a riverside casino.

I would also like to acknowledge the help given in New York by Dr. Terry Walz, until 1999 Executive Director of the American Research Center. Over a period of several seasons Catherine Cline, Manager of Research and Education Programs at the Center, has processed our applications and ensured that communications between the New York and Cairo offices went smoothly. I would like to thank too the members of the Archaeological and Research Expeditions Committee of the American Research Center for its continuing sponsorship.

The Giza Mastabas Project has been fortunate in the participation of several very talented epigraphers. The first of these was not an Egyptologist by training, but rather an artist (and graduate of the School of the Museum of Fine Arts), Nicholas Thayer. Through years

of exposure to the monuments, Mr. Thayer ("Nicky") developed an extraordinary sensitivity to and knowledge of Egyptian art, and many of the reliefs reproduced in previous volumes of the Giza Mastabas series were copied by him. Although not actually participating in any of the field seasons when the reliefs of the Senedjemib Complex were copied, he inked many of the drawings included in the present volume.

It is largely due to the efforts of Dr. Peter Der Manuelian and Mr. Lynn H. Holden that we owe the facsimile copies of the autobiographical inscriptions of Senedjemib Inti reproduced in the present volume, as well as numerous other drawings included herein. Both visited Giza with Kelly Simpson before me and taught me what I know today about the methods of epigraphy utilized by the Giza Mastabas Project.

The individuals comprising the staff of the Giza Mastabas Project changed in part from year to year, and I would like to acknowledge in the following lists all of the collaborators who gave valuable assistance in recording the reliefs of the Senedjemib Complex.

The majority of the reliefs on the walls of the chapels in the Senedjemib Complex were copied in the 1981 and 1982 field seasons, both under the direction of Professor Simpson. Thus, in the February, 1981 season, the staff consisted of: William Kelly Simpson, Director, Yale University/Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Edward Brovanski, Museum of Fine Arts, epigrapher; Lynn Holden, Museum of Fine Arts, epigrapher; and Whitney M. Davis, Harvard University, epigrapher. Miss Nadia Mohamed Abdel Rahman served as the representative of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization.

The July–August 1982 staff comprised Dr. William Kelly Simpson, Director, Yale University/Museum of Fine Arts; Edward Brovanski, Museum of Fine Arts, epigrapher; Lynn Holden, Museum of Fine Arts, epigrapher; Peter Der Manuelian, Museum of Fine Arts, epigrapher; David Pendlebury, University of Pennsylvania, epigrapher; and Carter Wentworth, Museum of Fine Arts, artist. Mr. Mahmoud Afifi worked with us as Inspector for the Egyptian Antiquities Organization.

A certain amount of collation and recopying of scenes was also undertaken in subsequent seasons, and especially in the February–March 1989 field season, which was otherwise devoted to copying the great princely mastabas of the Eastern Field at Giza. The staff for that season consisted of the following: Edward Brovanski, Director, Museum of Fine Arts; David Silverman, Deputy Director, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania; Nathalie Beaux, Paris, epigrapher; Del Nord, University of Chicago, epigrapher; Huub Pragt, Leiden University, epigrapher; Melissa Robinson, University of Pennsylvania, epigrapher/photographer; Mark Stone, Yale University, epigrapher; and Susan Weeks, American Research Center in Egypt, epigrapher/artist. Mr. Mahmoud Sherif again joined the Giza Mastabas Project as Inspector.

In December of 1991 and 1992, the present writer spent two shorter seasons at Giza collating drawings and making supplementary measurements and drawings. At that point an additional field season to check certain details of the drawings and architecture of the Senedjemib Complex would have been desirable, but appeared to be out of the question because of limited financial resources and to

other circumstances beyond the writer's control. Fortunately, a number of colleagues stepped in to help plug the gap. In November, 1993, Peter Der Manuelian very graciously interrupted his own work in Giza Cemetery 2100 to recheck certain details of the scenes and inscriptions in G 2370. He likewise took a number photographs reproduced as plates in the present volume. This seems like an appropriate place to thank him for even earlier efforts on my behalf. In 1983, while yet a graduate student at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Dr. Manuelian drew and inked the blocks from the offering room of Senedjemib Mehi in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago for the present volume.

During the March 1995 field season of the Saqqara Expedition of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the expedition photographer, Mr. Edward D'Angelo, kindly photographed a number of outstanding reliefs in the mastabas of Senedjemib Inti and Khnumenti for the present volume, while Dr. Rita E. Freed, with the assistance of Miss Nadia Lahma, graciously kept the photographic record. At the same time, Mr. Mark Stone, an epigrapher for the Saqqara Expedition, who had worked with the Giza Mastabas Project in 1989, recollated two scenes in the mastaba of Senedjemib Inti for inclusion herein. I would like to thank all of them, but especially Dr. David P. Silverman and Dr. Freed, co-directors of the Saqqara Expedition, for allowing these expedition members time off from their own busy season to work at Giza on my behalf.

During much of the time that the Giza Mastabas Project worked in the Senedjemib Complex, the boxes which contained the apparatus for the Sound-and-Light spectacular cut across the court at a diagonal. Only in 1997, when the present volume was virtually complete, were the light boxes removed. Thanks to the initiative of Dr. Zahi Hawass the tombs of the Senedjemib Complex are now restored and open to the public. In the summer of 1998, Peter Jánosi of the Institute for Archaeology of the University of Vienna and Cynthia Sheikolislami of the American University in Cairo made a special visit to Giza on my behalf to examine the newly unencumbered court and the reconstructed portico of Inti. I thank them whole-heartedly for their efforts. A number of photographs by Dr. Jánosi have been included as plates in the present volume. On the occasion of that visit, they also made a number of important observations on the architecture of the complex, in particular of the tomb of Khnumenti, which have likewise been incorporated in the text.

In keeping with the usual practice of the Giza Mastabas series, an effort has been made in this volume to provide a complete photographic record of the reliefs for purposes of comparison. Again because of the limited resources available to me, it was not possible to complete that record. Nonetheless, the majority of scenes are documented in line and photographs, with the exception of the south wall of the offering room of Senedjemib Mehi, G 2378.

In February and March 1999, it was possible to return to Giza with a small team in an effort to complete the recording in the Senedjemib complex for this volume and to undertake additional recording for *The Senedjemib Complex, Part 2*. In addition to the writer, the staff consisted of Mr. Bradford M. Endicott, of Dedham, Massachusetts, photographer, and Mr. Stephen R. Phillips, University of Pennsylvania, epigrapher. Happily, it proved possible to

include a number of the photographs taken by Mr. Endicott in the present volume. Notable are the color photographs reproduced in the Frontispiece of the burial chamber and sarcophagus of Senedjemib Inti, which had been newly uncovered by Dr. Hawass in 1997. Mr. Endicott very kindly underwrote the costs of his travel and stay in Egypt, as well as the photographic expenses of the expedition. His generosity is most kindly appreciated.

Representative of the Supreme Council of Antiquities in the February–March 1999 field season was Mr. Mohamed E. Sheha. I would like to thank him whole-heartedly for his efforts on our behalf.

I would also like to express my appreciation to two other individuals who played a part in the production of this volume. Jordi Ensign, a student at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts spent a considerable amount of time inking drawings of scenes copied in the Senedjemib Complex. Betsey Nebesar, a volunteer at the Museum of Fine Arts, helped the writer in many different ways, and in particular by assembling the object lists of the different tombs published herein.

Two old friends and colleagues, James P. Allen, Associate Curator of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and David P. Silverman, Professor of Egyptology, The University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, kindly agreed to review my translations of the important autobiographical inscriptions of Inti and of the dialogues and utterances of the workmen in the tombs of Inti, Mehi, and Khnumenti. Both have made valuable criticisms and suggestions, for which I thank them. Specific acknowledgements are made in the text, but Dr. Allen in particular generously shared with me his knowledge of Old Egyptian and helped to refine the translations of the autobiographical inscriptions more closely from the view of tense and aspect.

Thanks are also due Andrey O. Bolshakov, Curator of Egyptian Antiquities at the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, and Leonard Lesko, Charles Edwin Wilbour Professor of Egyptology at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. The former very kindly arranged to have Professor Oleg Berlev's interesting 1966 article on the Egyptian unit of value in Russian translated for me into English, while the latter drew to my attention a very interesting, unpublished Berkeley M. A. thesis on expanded verbal bases in Egyptian by a former student of his at the University of California at Berkeley, Sandra Kay Simons. In addition, Professor Lawrence Staeger of Harvard University generously provided me with a reference to an important recent article by Doug Esse and Paul K. Hopke on a special type of Syrian ware imported into Egypt in the course of the Old Kingdom, an example of which was found in the burial chamber of Senedjemib Inti.

I would also like to express my appreciation to Janice Klein, the Registrar of Anthropology at the Field Museum of Natural History for information about the purchase of FM 31705, the table scene from the north wall of the offering room of Senedjemib Mehi, which has been in Chicago since 1898. Ms. Klein was most considerate and forthcoming in this matter as in other requests over the years.

Reisner's recording system—the Harvard–Boston Expedition Diary, Object Registers, Photograph Registers, Tomb Cards, and so forth—have been fully described by Dr. Ann Macy Roth in volume 6 of the Giza Mastabas series (1995), and there is no reason to repeat

her observations here. Something should, however, be said about the maps and plans of the Senedjemib Complex. The Senedjemib Complex is included in Reisner's overall "Map of Cemetery on Echelon," a detail of which (redrawn by Peter Der Manuelian) is incorporated among the figures of the present volume, along with an enlarged detail of the Senedjemib Complex itself. Reisner's detailed Plan of the Senedjemib Complex—presumably surveyed and drawn by Alexander Floroff, who completed so many other maps and plans of the Giza necropolis—was unfortunately never completed. Chris Dewara, a former student at the Boston Architectural College, volunteered his time to redraw the plan. In the process he inked in penciled lines on the original plan and completed some of the more obvious architectural conventions. Recently, Peter Der Manuelian has renumbered the tombs and shafts illustrated on the plan in accordance with the numbering system used in the present volume. While it would have been desirable to draw an entirely new plan of the Senedjemib Complex, any such notion was hampered by the light boxes of the Sound-and-Light extending across the court of the complex, and by the modern concrete roofs and other additions made to the tombs of the complex. Furthermore, the necessary financial resources were simply not available to me.

Circumstances have also prevented me from checking the original squeezes in Oxford of selected reliefs in the tombs of Senedjemib Inti and Mehi made in 1850 by the Rev. Johann Rudolph Theophilus Leider, a German missionary in Cairo, and his wife Alice. Nevertheless, Dr. Jaromir Malek, Keeper of the Archives of the Griffith Institute, and his assistant, Miss Elizabeth Miles, went to considerable trouble to photograph the squeezes, which the Griffith Institute very generously made available for inclusion in the present volume.

The original plans, drawings, and sketches of the Senedjemib Complex made by Karl Richard Lepsius are today on deposit in the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaft. The majority of these were published in the different volumes of Lepsius's *Denkmäler*, but some years ago Prof.-Dr. Walter-Friedrich Reineke, Director of the Academy, through the good offices of Peter Der Manuelian, called my attention to several unpublished drawings made by the Prussian Expedition in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti. Thanks to the kindness of Dr. Reineke, it has proven possible to reproduce two of these drawings herein. I thank him for the permission to do so. I would, moreover, like to express my appreciation to Dr. Elke Freier, assistant at the Academy, for taking the time to answer a number of inquiries about Lepsius's drawings and records.

Further acknowledgement is due Peter Der Manuelian. As co-editor (with Kelly Simpson) of the Giza Mastaba series, he has edited, typed, designed, and produced the present volume. In addition, he dedicated considerable time and effort to reproducing Inscriptions A–D in a standard hieroglyphic font. My debt to Dr. Manuelian is much greater, however, for his interest and enthusiasm have helped to keep the present volume on track.

A word at this point about the reconstructed versions of Inscriptions A–D presented in the text figures is perhaps appropriate. Due to the use of the standard hieroglyphic font, it has not always been possible to maintain the exact spatial relationships of individual hieroglyphic signs. Where doubt exists the facsimile copy by the Giza

Mastaba Project should be consulted. The same is true of the individual signs themselves which reproduce the stereotyped Middle Egyptian forms of Sir Alan H. Gardiner's type font.

It should be mentioned that the physical descriptions and measurements of the individual mastabas throughout the present volume are virtually all Reisner's. In most instances, the present writer has only converted his descriptions of the architecture of the tombs from the tabular form in which he presented them into complete sentences. This is especially true of the Introduction, but also of the descriptions of the individual tombs.

The present volume incorporates three of the largest tombs of the Senedjemib Complex, those of Senedjemib Inti, Senedjemib Mehi, and Khnumenti. The remaining tombs are scheduled to be published in *The Senedjemib Complex, Part 2*. These include the well-preserved little tomb of the judge Akhet-mehu (G 2375) and that of Senedjemib Inti's grandson(?), Nekhebu (G 2381). Except for one of his two important autobiographical inscriptions, which is now on view in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, the reliefs of Nekhebu are all in storage in Boston. To be likewise contained in Part 2 is the important intact burial of Nekhebu's son, Ptahshepses Impy, the contents of which are again largely in Boston. Presumably this volume will also include the tombs of the mortuary priests and servitors of the Senedjemib family, who erected their tombs in the immediate environs of the Senedjemib Complex.

As may be seen from the Introduction, Karl Richard Lepsius, the head of the Prussian Expedition of 1842–45, discovered a great number of mummies of Saite date in G 2370 along with other material of later date in both G 2370 and G 2378. We hope to be able to deal further with this material in *The Senedjemib Complex, Part 2*.

The same holds true for the skeletal remains discovered by the Harvard–Boston Expedition in the course of its excavations in the Senedjemib Complex. The skeletons of Senedjemib Inti and his great-grandson(?) Ptahshepses Impy, in particular, were found by Reisner still resting respectively in their limestone sarcophagus and wooden coffin. In the course of writing the present volume, Peter der Manuelian made me aware that much of the skeletal material excavated by Reisner at Giza still survives in the magazines of the Supreme Council of Antiquities at that site or in the Qasr el-Aini Faculty of Medicine in Cairo, as well as in the Peabody Museum at Harvard University and in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley. The skeletons of Inti and Impy have yet to be identified, but a careful analysis of the mummies might well yield important chronological and scientific insights.

During the time this volume has been in proof, it was only possible to add brief references, mostly in the footnotes, to a number of important monographs that appeared in print. One book appeared too recently to be cited even in this manner. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the tomb of Hezi referred to on page 103 of the present volume is now published in N. Kanawati and M. Abderraziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, Vol. 5: *The Tomb of Hezi* (2000). In addition, I only recently became aware of an article by Hartwig Altenmüller in *SAK* 14 (1987), pp. 1–24, in which that scholar comes to a similar conclusion to mine (see page 64) regarding the meaning of the verb *nsi*.



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My wife, Del Nord, also agreed that we would ourselves cover the costs of my expenses during the 1991, 1992, and 1999 field seasons,

when financial support was not otherwise forthcoming. For her generosity I thank her. In addition, she has with great forbearance read through the manuscript of the present volume on several occasions from both an Egyptological and editorial viewpoint.

I also owe a debt of thanks to Dr. Henry G. Fischer, Curator Emeritus of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Some years ago, before his untimely death, Edward L.B. Terrace, Associate Curator in the Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, had suggested to Dr. Fischer that they collaborate on a study of the Senedjemib Complex with the ultimate aim of its publication in mind. Subsequently, Dr. Fischer relinquished his prior publication rights to me.

Finally, special thanks go to Dr. Rita E. Freed, Norma-Jean Calderwood Curator of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Art of the Ancient World at the Museum of Fine Arts, for her encouragement in the present project, as in many others. Without her on-going interest, the present volume would never have appeared in print.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A 1–Aa 31 Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, Sign-List, pp. 442–543. 3d rev. ed. London: Oxford University Press for Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1964
- ÄA Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden
- AcOr *Acta Orientalia*, Leiden, from Vol. 21: Copenhagen
- ADAIK Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Glückstadt, Hamburg, New York
- AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*, Baltimore, from 1897, Norwood
- AnOr Analecta Orientalia, Rome
- APAW Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin
- ArOr *Archiv Orientální*, Prague and Paris, vols. 14 and 15: Stuttgart and Prague
- ASAE *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte*, Cairo
- ASE Archaeological Survey of Egypt, London
- AV Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abt. Kairo, vols. 1–3, Berlin, vols. 4ff., Mainz
- BACE *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*, Sydney
- BAe Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, Brussels
- BdE Bibliothèque d’Étude, Cairo
- BMMA *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York
- BSA British School of Archaeology in Egypt, London
- CG Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Cairo
- DAWW Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Vienna
- EEF Egypt Exploration Fund, London
- EG Museum of Fine Arts, Department of Art of the Ancient World negative.
- EES Egypt Exploration Society, London
- ERA Egyptian Research Account, London
- Exp. Ph. Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition Photographic Registers, new series A, B, C, 1906–42, Department of Art of the Ancient World, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- FuB *Forschungen und Berichte*, Berlin
- GMP Giza Mastaba Project
- HÄB Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim
- HU–BMFA Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition
- Obj. Reg. Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition, Object Registers
- JESHO *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago
- Kêmi *Kêmi. Revue de Philologie et d’Archéologie Égyptiennes et Coptes*, Paris
- MÄS Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
- MDAIK *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*; to 1944: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, Berlin, Wiesbaden, from 1970: Mainz
- MFA Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- MIFAO Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire, Cairo
- MIO *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, Berlin
- MMAB *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New York
- MMJ *The Metropolitan Museum Journal*, New York
- MonAeg. Monumenta Aegyptiaca, Brussels
- NAWG *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., Göttingen
- n.d. No date
- n.t. No title
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago
- Or *Orientalia*, Rome
- OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Freiburg, Switzerland and Göttingen
- PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, London
- RACE Reports of the Australian Centre for Egyptology, Sydney
- RAPH Recherches d’Archéologie, de Philologie et d’Histoire, Cairo
- REA *Revue de l’Égypte Ancienne*, Paris
- RdE *Revue d’Égyptologie*, Paris
- RecTrav. *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l’Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*, Paris
- RIDA *Revue Internationale des Droits de l’Antiquité*, 3 ser., Brussels
- SAK *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Hamburg
- SAWW *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Vienna and Leipzig
- Sign List Alan Gardiner. *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, pp. 442–53. 3d rev. ed. London: Oxford University Press for Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1964
- TÄB Tübinger Ägyptologische Beiträge, Bonn

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|------|--|-------|--|
| UGAÄ | Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Leipzig                                       | WVDOG | Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft, Berlin, Leipzig |
| VA   | <i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i> , San Antonio, TX  | WZKM  | <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> , Vienna                      |
| VIO  | Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichungen, Berlin |       |  |

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
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