

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

GIZA MASTABAS
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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



B. General view of the Senedjemib Complex, taken from ground level, looking west



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:
GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, WILLIAM STEVENSON SMITH, ALEXANDER FLOROFF,
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Art (now the Department of Art of the Ancient World), it has been the present writer's privilege to work with the unpublished excavation records of George A. Reisner and the Joint Egyptian Expedition of Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.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 János 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. János 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*.

Without the financial support provided by several members of the Visiting Committee of the Department of Art of the Ancient World, this volume might never have appeared in print. In particular I would like to thank Mr. and Mrs. Miles Colliers of Naples, Florida, Mr. and Mrs. Gorham Cross and Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Haynes of Wellesley, Massachusetts, and Mr. and Mrs. James Vaughn of Houston, Texas, to whom the present volume is dedicated in deep appreciation for their continuing support. Significant funding was also provided by the Marilyn K. Simpson Charitable Trust through the good offices of William Kelly Simpson. Additional funding came from a number of close personal friends, Dr. Renée Gelman of Brookline, Massachusetts, Mrs. Miriam Graham of Chicago, Illinois, Mrs. Leah Kaplan of Stanford California, and Mr. Bradford M. Endicott of Dedham, Massachusetts. The first of these was also a member of the Visiting Committee of the Egyptian Department for a number of years. I hope to be able to dedicate *The Senedjemib Complex, Part 2*, to these benefactors.

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.

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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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- ÄIB—Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. 2 vols. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1901–24.
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INTRODUCTION

AT THE NORTHWEST CORNER of the Great Pyramid, on the eastern edge of the Western Field at Giza, stands the complex of mastabas of the Senedjemib family which contains the well-known tombs of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370) and his son Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), who served kings Izezi and Unis respectively as viziers and chief architects (frontispiece A, pl. 1a). In 1842 to 1843 Lepsius excavated these two tombs, made plans, and copied their reliefs and inscriptions.¹ During the spring of 1850, the Reverend Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder re-excavated the two tombs and, together with his wife Alice, made a number of squeezes of the reliefs which are now the property of the Griffith Institute, Oxford.² Seven months later, Mariette made plans of the tombs and copied certain of their inscriptions.³ About 1901, Reisner heard that the villagers of Kafr el-Haram at the foot of the pyramids had conducted illicit excavations at the place and removed some stones.⁴ In the intervening years, sand had drifted over the site and, when Reisner began work in October 1912, all that was visible of the Senedjemib Complex was a double mound rising above the surrounding debris (pl. 1b).⁵

Reisner cleared the site between October 25, 1912 and January 27, 1913 and discovered that the two tombs of Inti and Mehi were only part of a great complex of tombs erected around a stone paved court approached by a sloping ramp leading up to the west from the pyramid plateau (figs. 2, 3). Between Inti's and Mehi's tombs, Reisner uncovered a third tomb, that of Khnumenti (G 2374), another son of Senedjemib Inti, who appears to have carried on his father's duties under Teti.⁶ Two other large mastabas opened on the paved court of the complex, but both had been destroyed nearly to their foundations. One of these was the tomb of Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre Nekhebu (G 2381). The owner of the second (G 2385) was never identified. There were also at least five smaller offering rooms connected with the group (G 2383, 2384, 2386-a and b, 2390). Thus, all told, there were ten separate chapels set up on the pavement of the court. In addition, opposite the tomb of Nekhebu, Reisner came upon a

sloping shaft (G 2381 A) closed with a great rectangular block of limestone that protected the unviolated burial of one of the sons of Nekhebu, Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre Ptahshepses Impy.⁷

The nucleus mastaba was that of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370).⁸ This mastaba stands east of the northernmost row of mastabas of the Cemetery en Echelon with the large mastabas G 2350 and 2360 intervening (pl. 5a; fig. 1).⁹ At the time the mastaba was built, that cemetery had already grown eastwards beyond G 2360, and several smaller mastabas were overbuilt by G 2370.¹⁰ In constructing the mastaba of Inti, the eastern part of an older mud brick mastaba (G 2371) was cut away and the west wall of G 2370, constructed of great blocks of grey nummulitic limestone set in high courses and roughly dressed to a sloping surface (Masonry w), was built inside the east wall of G 2371 (pls. 81c, 82a).¹¹ The remains of walls of small blocks of grey nummulitic limestone set in correspondingly low courses to form a rough sloping surface (Masonry u) inside G 2370 at ground level (numbered G 2372 by Reisner) apparently represented the east face of G 2371, and indicated a wide recess in the middle of a north-south facade forming a portico chapel with a roof supported by pillars (figs. 2, 3, 76).¹² Still within G 2370 and parallel to the presumed face of G 2371/2372, at a distance of 60 cm, ran a north-south wall of small nummulitic limestone blocks set in low-stepped courses forming the back wall of another older mastaba (G 2373). The front part of this mastaba was destroyed by the construction of the interior chapel of Inti. A shaft immediately behind Inti's false door was ascribed to G 2373 by Reisner and lettered A (figs. 2, 3, 76).¹³ Part of a wall that probably belonged to an older mastaba was also discovered by Reisner under the floor at the western end of the pillared hall of G 2370.¹⁴ Older mud brick walls were also found at different levels under G 2378 and 2379 (pls. 102a, 104b).¹⁵

The paved court of the Senedjemib Complex is higher than the foundations of G 2370 and about 2.0 m higher than the rock east of the complex (fig. 7). The east wall of the paved area was formed by a retaining wall of heavy rubble with a batter on the east, and the sloping ramp from the floor level of the court to the lower ground led down between two low walls (pls. 3b, 4b, 6b). Along the retaining wall were five large sloping-passage tombs, G 2370 B (Senedjemib Inti) entering the wall itself, and G 2381 A (Impy), G 2382 A (Nekhebu), G 2385 A (Khnumenti?), and G 2387 A (owner of G 2385?), all to the east of the retaining wall of the platform (pl. 7b).¹⁶ These tombs, along the eastern edge of the Western Field, where the topography favors the use

¹ LD 1, pl. 23 [upper and middle]; LD 2, pls. 73-78; 3, pl. 289 [9]; Text 1, pp. 51-58; LD, *Ergänz.*, pls. xi-xxiii. Cf. Reisner, *BMFA* 11, no. 66 (1913), p. 56. Lepsius numbered the tombs 26 and 27 respectively. For an account of his stay at Giza (November 10, 1842-February 10, 1843), see Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt*, pp. 47-79.

² See Malek, *GM* 13 (1974), pp. 21-31. Malek, *ibid.*, p. 24, n. 3, notes that one of the squeezes is dated "April 8, 1850." For a biographical sketch of the Rev. Lieder, see *Who was Who in Egyptology*, p. 255.

³ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 495-515.

⁴ Reisner, *BMFA* 11, no. 66 (Nov. 1913), p. 56; see below, p. 8.

⁵ Reisner, *BMFA* 11, no. 66 (Nov. 1913), p. 56.

⁶ See below, pp. 115-30.

⁷ Reisner, *BMFA* 11, no. 66 (Nov. 1913), pp. 58-59, figs. 11-16. The burial is to be included in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2 (forthcoming).

⁸ An unpublished manuscript by George Andrew Reisner, "Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," forms the basis of the following observations.

⁹ For the Cemetery en Echelon, see *GN* 1, pp. 13, 69, 81-2, and *passim*.

¹⁰ See Reisner, *JEA* 23 (1937), p. 260.

¹¹ On Reisner's classifications of casings, see *GN* 1, pp. xxiv, 178ff.

¹² See below, pp. 111-12.

¹³ See below, pp. 112-13.

¹⁴ *Giza Diary 1912-13*, p. 29.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 68; cf. Reisner, *JEA* 23 (1937), p. 260.

¹⁶ The designation G 2387 was originally used for the north part of G 2385 and then discarded. Nevertheless, Reisner reserved the number G 2387 A for the northernmost sloping passage tomb, which he assigned to the owner of G 2385 ("List of Tomb Numbers Used in the Senedjemib Complex," p. 1).

of sloping passages from the east, are among the earliest sloping-passage burial places made in this area of the necropolis.¹⁷

The rock underlying the Senedjemib Complex had an uneven surface. Under G 2370, it lay 1.45–2.0 m below the floor and descended eastwards, sloping gently under the ramp leading up from the pyramid plateau (fig. 7). From south to north the rock rose to an east–west ridge in front of the doorway of G 2370, dipped again under the north part of the paved court, and then rose gently to the front of G 2378, whose walls were founded on rock or nearly so (figs. 5, 6). The eastern side of the knoll on which G 2378 was built had been quarried away, probably by quarrymen working on the Great Pyramid,¹⁸ and directly under the east wall of G 2378 ran a north–south scarp. Along the eastern side of the foundation platform, the rock surface descended gently to the north.

The rock surface east of the foundation platform was rough and may well have been a quarry floor. It was crossed from south to north by a drainage channel cut in the rock leading away from the northwest corner of the enclosure of the Great Pyramid (pls. 7b, 8a; figs. 2, 4). Reisner assumed it was cut and constructed in the “late Cheops period.”¹⁹ Where it passed under the enclosure wall of the pyramid, the channel was carefully roofed. A smaller channel was constructed inside the rock-cut drain with slabs on the two sides and a slab roof, bound with gypsum.²⁰ The drainage channel was 1.10 m in width and 0.55 m deep. The excavated length was 57.0 m.²¹

The drain was intended to draw off rainwater from the low ground northwest of the pyramid. The water was, in fact, a danger to the burials in the sloping passage tombs, and in two cases, G 2385 A and 2387 A, where the upper end of the sloping passage cut into the drain, the channel was blocked with masonry on both sides. In the case of the intact tomb G 2381 A, water had run in down the sloping passage and collected in the southwest corner of the chamber.

The foundation platform of the open paved court was constructed in two or three stages. Initially it extended from the south end of G 2381 to the south end of G 2385 and formed a rectangle wider (21.6 m) in front of the north half of G 2370. The court was crossed by a paved path which led from the entrance of G 2370 to the sloping ramp down to the pyramid plateau. Thereafter Inti’s sloping passage tomb (G 2370 B) was excavated under the platform, its approach constructed of rubble and masonry, the opening protected by a rubble well surmounted by masonry walls and roofed with slabs, and the platform extended eastwards by a rubble wall filled with limestone rubbish (pls. 6a–b, 7b; figs. 2, 3). Apparently at the same time, or after the burial of Inti, the platform over his burial place, including the new addition to the platform, was surrounded by a wall on all four sides (pls. 4b, 7b).

The next construction in the Senedjemib Complex was the mastaba of Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), which stood on the north of the paved court and was entered from the south from the court (pls. 5b,

6a, 103a). The pavement of the court was extended northwards to the face of G 2378 and the sloping passage G 2378 A, under the east wall of the mastaba, made as Mehi’s burial place (figs. 3, 9).

At the time G 2378 was built, an older mastaba belonging to a man named Akhetmehu (G 2375), who had no apparent connection with the Senedjemib family, stood in the northwestern part of this area (pl. 6a; figs. 2, 3).²² The mastaba of Khnumenti (G 2374) was built between the north side of G 2370 and the southern side of the mastabas of Akhetmehu and Mehi with a strengthening of the south court wall of G 2375 (pl. 104a). The exterior north wall of G 2370 was dressed flat in Rooms I and II of the chapel of G 2374 to take the reliefs. The sloping-passage tomb G 2385 A probably belongs to mastaba G 2374.²³

Later two additions (G 2376 and 2377) to the mastaba of Mehi were built on the west and closed off all access to Akhetmehu’s chapel. G 2377 was built against the west wall of G 2378, with G 2376 built against its own west wall (pl. 104a; figs. 2, 3). The additions contained one burial shaft each. G 2376 A was found open and empty, but G 2377 A contained the skeleton of an adult female.²⁴

On the pavement of the platform on the east side of the court, north of the entrance passage to the complex, G 2384 was next built. The walls of the mastaba were poorly preserved and the plan not recoverable, but presumably it also opened on the court. Although the false door is missing, it seems likely from the evidence of the offering stone, topped with a torus moulding and cavetto cornice and provided with a carved loaf-on-mat design on its upper surface, which once stood in front of it, that G 2384, like most of the other mastabas on the platform, possessed an east–west offering room (pl. 10b; figs. 2–3).²⁵ Since G 2385 was built against its north wall, G 2384 is clearly earlier in date than the latter. It may well have belonged to the elder son of Senedjemib Mehi, likewise named Senedjemib, who is depicted in his father’s mastaba.²⁶

Next, the old platform was extended northwards north of G 2384 along the eastern side of G 2378 to near its northeast corner. The space east of the north–south scarp on which G 2378 was built was filled with clean limestone debris retained by two parallel north–south rubble walls about 4 m east of G 2378.²⁷ On this extension was constructed a large mastaba without shafts, G 2385 (pls. 4b, 6a; figs. 2–3, 9). Opening on the eastern side of the court, this northeastern mastaba was occupied by a chapel of eight rooms and two serdabs. Burial was presumably in sloping-passage tomb G 2387 A. The mastaba was unfortunately destroyed to within one or two courses of the floor, and no indication of ownership was found. Reisner thought that the proprietor of the mastaba was a son of Senedjemib Mehi²⁸

¹⁷ *GN* I, p. 151. For Reisner’s classification of shaft types, see *ibid.*, pp. xvii–xx, 85–176.

¹⁸ Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 128 a.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Giza Diary 1912–13*, p. 53.

²¹ “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 127.

²² See *GN* I, p. 285; *PM* 3², p. 87. The mastaba is scheduled to be published in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2 (forthcoming).

²³ See below, pp. 30–31, 127.

²⁴ See below, p. 131.

²⁵ In addition to the offering stone, a large stone that formed part of the north wall of the room survived. Alternatively, it is possible that G 2384 was a cruciform-shaped chapel of Reisner’s Type (7 e), consisting of an east–west offering room opening in the middle of the west wall of a north–south hall; cf. below, p. 11, n. 10.

²⁶ See below, p. 30.

²⁷ Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 130 e.

²⁸ *BMFA* II, no. 66 (November, 1913), p. 62.

and, if G 2384 indeed belonged to Mehi's older son Senedjemib, it is possible that the proprietor of G 2385 was Mehi's younger son, who bore his father's "good name," Mehi. There are other candidates for the ownership of the mastaba, however, including a putative son of Khnumenti.²⁹ On the other hand, from its size the mastaba clearly belonged to an important and wealthy individual and, for this reason, the best candidate is perhaps Nekhebu's anonymous older brother who achieved the position of overseer of works under Pepy I.³⁰

Late in the reign of Pepy I, Inti's grandson(?) Nekhebu³¹ built G 2381 on the south end of the paved platform, south of the portico of G 2370, against its east facade (figs. 2–3).³² A little later an east–west serdab was built on its east side adjoining the pathway across the court which led to the sloping ramp to the pyramid plateau (pls. 8b, 9b). According to Reisner, Nekhebu was buried in sloping-passage tomb G 2382 A along the retaining wall just to the north of the sloping ramp.³³ Three other shafts, G 2381 X, Y, and Z were perhaps included within the confines of the superstructure of G 2381.

The distance from the west side of G 2384 to the east face of G 2370 was about 13.65 m. From the north side of the serdab of G 2381 to the south face of G 2378 is about 14.8 m. These measurements give an approximate area of 202 sq. m. for the great paved court of the complex in its final transformation.³⁴

Three smaller tomb chapels were also set up on the pavement of the platform. G 2383 was built against the south face of G 2378, west of the portico, and two others, G 2386–a and b, between G 2384 and the sloping entrance ramp (figs. 2–3). Reisner felt that G 2383, which contained a small false door with cavetto cornice and torus moulding dedicated to a vizier named Wer-kau-ba Iku, belonged to the owner of G 2376 or 2377, since no shaft was found in or behind the chapel.³⁵ Strudwick, however, dates Iku to the end of the Old Kingdom or later, on account of the small size of the offering room and because the insertion of the tomb among those of the Senedjemib family presumably postdated the principal interments, the latest of which (Ptahshepses Impy) in all likelihood dates to the reign of Pepy II.³⁶ If his dating is correct, as seems likely, Iku may instead have been buried in the intrusive shaft constructed in the southern half of the

serdab of G 2378.³⁷ It seems more likely anyway that G 2376 and 2377 were originally intended for members of Mehi's immediate family.

Each of the two chapels built between G 2384 and the entrance ramp leading up to the complex was provided with an (uninscribed) monolithic false door (pls. 4a, 6b, 7a). Chapel G 2386–a was entered by a narrow east–west passage from the main court of the complex and opened eastward into chapel G 2386–b (figs. 2–3).³⁸ The identical nature of the two offering places and the unusual intercommunication suggests that these were the chapels of the two brothers, Ptahshepses Impy and Sabu-ptah Ibebi.³⁹ Along the retaining wall just to the south of the ramp, Reisner found the burial of Ptahshepses Impy in sloping-passage tomb G 2381 A, which descends under ruined mastaba G 2390.⁴⁰ The burial was dated to Pepy II by a jar sealing.⁴¹ On the other side of the drainage channel leading away from the enclosure of the Great Pyramid, Reisner uncovered sloping-passage tomb G 2381 C. The similarity in plan of G 2381 C to G 2381 A suggests it contained the burial of Impy's brother Sabu-ptah Ibebi.⁴²

On the platform east of G 2381 and south of the ramp approach to the court was built the badly denuded mastaba G 2390.⁴³ Shaft G 2390 A, which was found open and plundered by Reisner, may have belonged to this mastaba. The lower part of an uninscribed monolithic false door still marks the location of what was presumably the east–west offering room of this anonymous mastaba (pls. 6b, 7a, 9b, 10a; figs. 2, 3).

Outside the complex proper, on a much lower level to the north of G 2385, was constructed the mud brick mastaba G 2379 (anonymous), and north of this was built G 2391, a small mastaba belonging to a family of priests of the Senedjemib family (fig. 2).⁴⁴ East of the two latter mastabas and east of the drainage channel leading away from the Great Pyramid were built some very late mastabas (Cemetery G 2450). Other priests and servitors of the Senedjemib family had tombs in the immediate environs to the south and west of the complex (G 2337, 2338, 2361, 2362, 2364, 2366, 2396, 5551 [= old 2347], 5554 [= old G 2357], etc.).⁴⁵ Reisner believed that the smaller mastabas of the Senedjemib Complex together with the tombs of the

²⁹ See below, pp. 31, 121.

³⁰ See below, p. 32.

³¹ See pp. 31–32 below.

³² See *GN I*, p. 266 (4); *PM 3*², pp. 89–91. The tomb is to be included in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2 (forthcoming).

³³ It should be noted that if G 2382 A, which enters the rock north of the entrance ramp and the sloping passage tomb G 2370 B (Senedjemib Inti), quite close to G 2384, is assigned to Nekhebu, as Reisner does ("Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," p. 128 d), no burial place remains for the anonymous owner of G 2384. Reisner, *ibid.*, p. 172, makes mention of a square "well" located within the confines of G 2384, but this well, like the masonry wall enclosing it, rested directly on the pavement of the platform and lacked any indication of a burial. It may, in fact, have been the serdab of G 2384. The difficulties associated with the identification of the burial places in the Senedjemib Complex with the owners of the tombs will be discussed further in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2 (forthcoming).

³⁴ Reisner, "Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," p. 130 e.

³⁵ See Brovarski, in *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, fig. 23, and *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2 (forthcoming), as well as p. 35 below.

³⁶ Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 81 [40], 302.

³⁷ See p. 158 below.

³⁸ Reisner originally assigned the number G 2386 to the middle part of G 2385 and afterwards discarded it (see "List of Tomb Numbers Used in the Senedjemib Complex," p. 1). For ease of reference, I have given the numbers G 2386–a and b to the pair of chapels built between G 2384 and the ramp.

³⁹ For the few remaining reliefs from the serdabs of Impy and Ibebi, see *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2 (forthcoming) and below, p. 34. Reisner ("Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," p. 173) evidently thought that the stones inscribed with the names of Impy and Ibebi derived from chapel G 2385.

⁴⁰ See above, n. 7.

⁴¹ See below, p. 34 and n. 184.

⁴² Reisner, "Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," p. 170. G 2381C, like G 2381A, will be published in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2 (forthcoming).

⁴³ The number G 2390 was never used by Reisner. I have assigned it to this badly denuded mastaba for reasons of clarity. Reisner first applied the number G 2384 to the area east of G 2381, which contained G 2390, then later decided that the area "proved not to be a mastaba" and reassigned the number G 2384 to the mastaba on the eastern side of the platform of the Senedjemib Complex between G 2386–a and b and G 2385 ("List of Tomb Numbers Used in the Senedjemib Complex," p. 1). The shafts in the former area were then numbered 2381 A, B, C, X, Y, Z. I do not know what to make of Reisner's remark, since the false door of G 2390 is still to be seen *in situ*.

⁴⁴ *PM 3*², p. 92; Brovarski, in *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, pp. 120, 121.

⁴⁵ Cf. Brovarski, in *ibid.*, pp. 120–21. These tombs are also scheduled to be published in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2 (forthcoming).

funerary priests beside it may well be nearly the last in the Giza cemetery prior to the intrusive burials of the Saite and Roman Periods. According to him, the official cemetery fell into disuse during the time of Pepy II or his successors of the late Old Kingdom, through the dissipation of earlier endowments or their diversion to other uses.⁴⁶

In passing, it is perhaps germane to mention that Reisner found in front of G 2370 B and G 2382 A fragments of a number of alabaster statues of Khafre. In his opinion, the statues had been hauled there either in the Fifth or Sixth Dynasties and broken up to make the small alabaster offering dishes of which he found so many examples.⁴⁷

In Room II of G 2370, Lepsius discovered a great number of mummies of the Saite Period which, according to him, were badly disturbed in Roman times, though some still rested in their sarcophagi. Many small objects, especially faience amulets of poor quality were also found,⁴⁸ while two vases of late form from G 2370 are illustrated

by him.⁴⁹ Lepsius also discovered three fragments of alabaster vessels and three faience amulets of "later date," along with other objects, in G 2378.⁵⁰ In the Roman period an inclined roadway paved with stone slabs had been laid up the mound of debris which covered the Senedjemib Complex to the top of Inti's tomb, and the pillared hall had been used as a communal or family burial place.⁵¹ Prior to that time the tombs on the east and south of the paved court of the complex had been extensively damaged and their separate stones were found scattered in confusion in the debris under the Roman period pavement.⁵²

⁴⁸ LD, *Text 1*, p. 58.

⁴⁹ Ibid., fig. on p. 58; LD 2, p. 153 [2].

⁵⁰ LD, *Text 1*, p. 54. For Giza in the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, see Zivie-Coche, *Giza au premier millénaire*. The Saite and Roman Period objects from G 2370 and 2378 will be dealt with further in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2 (forthcoming).

⁵¹ *Giza Diary 1912-13*, pp. 40-41.

⁵² Reisner, *BMFA* 11, no. 66 (November, 1913), p. 53, fig. 3; see further below, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁶ See Reisner, *ASAE* 13 (1913), p. 250.

⁴⁷ *Giza Diary 1912-13*, p. 52; *HESP*, pp. 33, 34.

CHAPTER I: PREVIOUS WORK IN THE SENEDJEMIB COMPLEX

IN THE PANORAMIC VIEW of *LD* 1, pl. 15, the tombs of the Senedjemib Complex are nearly entirely covered by sand.¹ Lepsius removed the sand from the two mastabas of Inti and Mehi, made plans and sections of both tombs, and copied their reliefs and inscriptions.²

In 1842 to 1843, at the time Lepsius cleared G 2370, the reliefs and inscriptions of its facade and portico had pretty much the same appearance they exhibit at present (figs. 17, 18, 21, 24, 26, 28, 31).³ The roofing stones were all gone, and the uppermost stones of the portico and of the immediately adjacent facade, which bore the beginning of Senedjemib Inti's autobiographical inscriptions and his son's dedicatory inscriptions, had already been removed. Within the confines of the portico the upper parts of the large figures of the vizier on either side were missing.⁴ The cavetto-and-torus cornice and inscribed architrave had also previously been overthrown, and the columns that upheld the roof of the portico apparently carried off.⁵

In general, the relief decoration on the interior walls of the mastaba was in better condition than it is today. Both entrance thicknesses were still preserved to nearly their full height and the drum over the entrance appears to have still been in place (figs. 34, 36).⁶ In the anteroom (Room II), even though the upper course of stone of the north wall was missing and the gap plugged with debris (fig. 44),⁷ the other three walls of the room were preserved to what was essentially their full height (figs. 38, 40, 42).⁸ The door thicknesses between the anteroom and the vestibule (Room III) were likewise largely intact with three registers of estates on either side (figs. 46, 48).⁹ The right- and left-hand thicknesses between the anteroom and the pillared hall (Room V), with scenes of Inti's son Mehi in the presence of his parents, were also essentially complete (figs. 67a, 68a).¹⁰

It sounds from Lepsius's description as though the pillared hall was still mostly intact, even though the architrave between the wall and the eastern pillars of the first row was cracked, and had to be propped up.¹¹ In fact, as will be seen shortly, there is reason to doubt whether its ceiling was entirely undamaged.

The situation in Room III was quite different. Although the northern end wall of the room was preserved to its full height of six registers (fig. 56),¹² and the adjacent northern ends of the east and west long walls also remained in place (figs. 50, 52), Lepsius's plate reveals that the southern end of the west wall had collapsed.¹³ It is not certain whether the corresponding section of the east wall was in a similar state of collapse, although a remark of Mariette's implies that it was still standing in 1850, at least in part,¹⁴ and it is possible that it was simply covered up by the debris which apparently filled this end of the room to the ceiling.¹⁵ Nor is it clear why Lepsius did not bother to remove the debris from the southern end of the room. Given the fact that he could clearly see that the southern end of the west wall had collapsed, he may have felt that the rest of the east wall and the south end wall were in a similar condition and that the time and effort required to clear the remainder of the room would not be well spent. Moreover, it is evident from the plan in *LD* 1, pl. 23 (fig. 12) and his own statement to that effect that he was of the opinion that the false door occupied the south end of Room III.¹⁶ It was most probably for this reason that he did not search for an offering room beyond.

By the time the first text volume of the *Denkmaeler*, edited by Edouard Naville and others, had appeared after Lepsius's death in 1897, the Rev. Lieder had partially cleared the southern end of Room III and discovered the offering room (Room IV) with its false door.¹⁷ This new knowledge is reflected in the plan in *LD*, *Text* I, p. 55 (fig. 13). Lieder, assisted by his wife Alice, made squeezes of a portion of the north wall of Room III, of the two registers of estates on the door thicknesses between Rooms III and IV, of parts of the false door in Room IV, and of the west thickness of the doorway between Rooms II and V.¹⁸ The Lieders themselves published no account of their work. Fortunately, Mariette visited the tombs of Inti and Mehi in November 1850, seven months after the Lieder's excavations, and recorded what he saw in an appendix of *Les mastabas de l'ancien empire*. The Lieders had seemingly cleared in part the two chapels of Inti and Mehi of the sand heaped up over them by Lepsius as a protective measure at the end of his investigations,¹⁹ but from

¹ See also Lepsius's map of Giza in *LD* 1, pl. 14.

² See above, p. 1, n. 1.

³ *LD* 2, pl. 76c-d; *Text* 1, p. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.* Reisner found the block from the north side wall of the portico with the vizier's head and parts of Inscriptions A 1 and B 1 on it tumbled down and buried under sand and debris (pl. 9a-b). This block has been restored to its appropriate place on the wall and is included in pls. 18, 64a; figs. 30, 33.

⁵ See below, pp. 12-13.

⁶ *LD* 2, pl. 78b [left]; *Ergänz.*, pl. xix [right]. The profile of the block in which the drum roll is carved is readily apparent in the latter drawing, while a segment of the drum roll appears at the top of the other plate.

⁷ *LD*, *Text* 1, p. 57.

⁸ *LD* 2, pls. 77, 78b [right]; *Ergänz.*, pl. xix [left].

⁹ *LD* 2, pl. 76a-b.

¹⁰ *LD* 2, pl. 78a. Lepsius did not illustrate the right-hand thickness (below, p. 79, pl. 51b, fig. 68a), probably because it was basically a mirror image of the left thickness.

¹¹ *LD*, *Text* 1, p. 58.

¹² *LD*, *Ergänz.*, pl. xxi.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pl. xxii.

¹⁴ See below, p. 6.

¹⁵ *LD*, *Text* 1, 57. The margins of the heap of sand and debris are evident in *LD*, *Ergänz.*, pls. xxii, xxiii [c] (= figs. 50, 52b of the present volume).

¹⁶ *LD*, *Text* 1, p. 57.

¹⁷ See p. 1 above.

¹⁸ Lieder squeezes 1.1-12. The squeezes are now the property of the Griffith Institute, Oxford. Jaromír Málek has published the squeezes made by the Lieders of the estates on the left and right thicknesses between Rooms II and III in *GM* 13 (1974), pp. 21-24. Except for one problematic squeeze (1.13), all the squeezes in Oxford are cited in *PM* 3², p. 86 (13)a-b, (15-16). A possible location for the odd squeeze, which gives the titles of the deceased, is suggested below, p. 58-59.

¹⁹ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 496.

Mariette's description, drawings, and a sketch and plan of G 2370 made by him (figs. 14a, b),²⁰ it is apparent that even after they had finished their work, much of the mastaba, especially the rear part, was still buried under debris. Furthermore, from the sketches and notes of Mariette, it appears that the Lieders, like Lepsius before them, did not clear the rooms to floor level.²¹

Mariette provides a summary description of the entrance thicknesses of G 2370.²² His account of the scenes of Mehi before his parents on either side of the passageway to the pillared hall (Room V) is somewhat more detailed.²³ With respect to the anteroom (Room II), Mariette refers to a "scene de chasse dans les roseaux," which undoubtedly alludes to a portrayal of Inti in his papyrus skiff watching a hippopotamus hunt on its west wall, a scene which was copied by Lepsius (fig. 42).²⁴ He also refers to "diverses représentations de la vie civile" on its east wall, making specific mention of a "combat sur une barque" in the second register.²⁵ There seems little question that this is a reference to the marsh and riverine scenes reproduced by Lepsius, which include episodes of combat by boatmen (fig. 38). Oddly, Mariette makes no direct mention of the carrying chair scene on the south wall of the room or of the craft scenes on its north wall, although he does provide sketches of the estates on both sides of the passage to the vestibule along with copies of their names.²⁶

Concerning the vestibule (Room III), Mariette notes that the west wall of the chamber was destroyed, except towards the north end where the stones, while disjointed and close to falling, still retained their respective places.²⁷ Although he does not describe the decoration on these blocks, the north end of the west wall is the location of the episodes from the agricultural sequence copied by Lepsius (fig. 52b). Mariette also claims to have seen an image of the deceased with his titles before him on the south wall of the vestibule, most likely above the musicians and singers still visible in this location today (pl. 31a; fig. 52a), but whose figures he does not mention, presumably because they remained covered by sand.²⁸ Of considerable interest is his statement that a similar representation of the deceased appeared on the east wall, where no such image survives today.²⁹ Although he does not specifically refer to a second carrying chair scene that once occupied the south end of this wall, if the upper parts of the scene with the canopy over Inti were already missing, he may not have recognized the subject as such, and his "image du défunt" may actually represent Inti seated in his carrying chair. Similarly, Mariette's "personnages qui apportent des offrandes"³⁰ may have been the palanquin bearers whose feet alone still survive (pl. 30; fig. 51) or alternatively the customary attendants of the owner who would in all likelihood have been depicted higher up on the wall.³¹

At any rate, it seems clear from Mariette's account that the south wall and the southern end of the east wall of Room III stood to a greater height than at present. Hence, it is doubly to be regretted that he made no sketch of these scenes. He did sketch the personified estates on both thicknesses leading to Room IV (fig. 58).³²

As regards the offering room (Room IV), Mariette furnishes a sketch of the false door at the west end and copies of its inscriptions together with a description of the reliefs on the other walls of the room.³³ His sketch of the false door (fig. 62a) reveals that its architrave and cavetto-and-torus cornice were already missing, while the inscriptions on the jambs of the door and the torus moulding framing its sides had also suffered damage.³⁴ His description of the other walls is brief:

A droite et à gauche de cette grande stèle, le défunt est représenté assis et tourné vers l'autre bout de la chambre. Les trois parois de cette chambre sont divisées en deux grand registres horizontaux. Au registre supérieur, des tables, des tablettes disposés horizontalement sont chargés d'objets de toute nature. Au registre inférieur des personnages nombreux apportent leurs offrandes au défunt.³⁵

Nevertheless, it seems to imply that the two side walls and the eastern end wall of the offering room were still largely intact in November 1850. If correct, it furnishes in addition the information that the array of food and drink offerings which is still to be seen in part above the files of offering bearers on the reconstructed southern side wall (pl. 38; fig. 61) originally extended onto the upper parts of the eastern and northern walls above registers likewise occupied by offering bearers.³⁶

A curious feature of Mariette's sketch and plan of G 2370 is a large gap in the center of the south wall of Room IV. In the plan, the gap is shown buried under debris, but broken lines seem to indicate that Mariette considered it to be an entrance to yet another chamber on the south (fig. 14b).³⁷ In his sketch, the debris is absent and the gap in the wall is drawn as if it constituted a separate entrance to the mastaba (fig. 14a).³⁸ Photographs taken by the Harvard-Boston Expedition in 1912 show that the gap did not extend as far down as the floor, and thus could not possibly be a doorway (pl. 11a, 12a-b). If the room had been cleared to floor level by the Lieders, this would have been readily apparent. Mariette does not refer to the gap in his text, but it seems clear that the decorated blocks from this section of the south wall had previously fallen or been pulled down. The western end of the south wall remains intact down to the present day (pls. 39, 41-42) and, inasmuch as the gap shown in Mariette's plan did not include the eastern end of the south wall, it is possible that the relief decoration on the upper part of the eastern section was still intact as late as 1850.³⁹

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 496-515. The plan of G 2370 appears on *ibid.*, p. 497, and the sketch (along with G 2378) on *ibid.*, p. 499.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 508-512. Mariette specifically states (*ibid.*, p. 512) that the debris filled Room II to the height of the second course of stones.

²² Ibid., p. 512 ("Entrée F").

²³ Ibid., p. 512 ("Corridor G").

²⁴ Ibid., p. 512 ("Chambre E").

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 510-12 ("Corridor D").

²⁷ Ibid., p. 510.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ See, e.g., below, pp. 46-48, 120-21.

³² Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 507-509.

³³ Ibid., pp. 505-507.

³⁴ It is possible that a portion of the architrave and moulding are to be seen in an expedition photograph (pl. 12a), lying on the fill just above the southeast corner of Room IV. The present whereabouts of this block are unknown.

³⁵ *Mastabas*, p. 507.

³⁶ For the scheme of decoration on the eastern end wall, see below, p. 70.

³⁷ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 497.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 499. The same feature appears in the plan of G 2370 in *LD, Text 1*, p. 55 (= fig. 13).

It seems more likely that a human agency, rather than a natural cause such as an earthquake, was responsible for the damage done to the walls of G 2370. Whereas the collapse of the southern end of the west wall of Room III or of the central part of the south wall of Room IV could conceivably have resulted from an earthquake, this can hardly have been the case with the damage done to the upper part of the false door in the latter room. As previously mentioned, Lepsius's sections of G 2370 (fig. 12) give the impression that much of the ceiling over Inti's chapel was intact at the time of his visit, yet it seems that stone-robbers would, at the very minimum, have had to remove the ceiling slabs directly over the western end of Room IV in order to remove the large stone which formed the upper part of the false door, and which otherwise would have been firmly held in place by the ceiling. If, as is likely, stone-robbers were also responsible for the collapse of the wall sections in Rooms III and IV, it is reasonable to suppose that the ceiling slabs would similarly have to have been removed over these locations in order to gain access to the walls below. Pulling down a wall with the ceiling still in place would have been a very hazardous and inadvisable operation, since the ceiling slabs would probably have followed in a precipitous fashion. Even if the blocks were pushed over or removed from above, the ceiling slabs above these areas would first have to have been removed. Additional evidence for the removal of the ceiling slabs over the south end of Room III might be the sand which Lepsius found filling the southern half of that room up to the ceiling. Moreover, the ceiling slabs would probably have to have been removed to allow the upper course of stone from the north wall of Room II to be extracted.⁴⁰ Access to any of the ceiling slabs, of course, presupposes the removal of the stone paving of the roof above, and this appears to have been the case, for no such pavement is shown in Lepsius's sections.⁴¹

From Lepsius's and Mariette's descriptions and drawings, it is thus clear that G 2370 had undergone considerable damage before 1842–43, either in antiquity or in the intervening millenia. In all likelihood, parts of the walls in Rooms III and IV had previously been removed along with sections of the roof and ceilings, especially over the southern part of the mastaba. Furthermore, the loss of the block from the top of the north wall of Room II suggests that part of the roof and ceiling over this part of the mastaba must also have been removed.

Something more can be said about the chronology of the depredations in Room IV, when Reisner's field records are taken into account. Except for a few stones left in place in the northeast corner, the paving stones of Room IV had all been pried up and carried away (fig. 3). Later, after sufficient time had passed for a layer of sand and

debris to build up on the floor of the room, the decorated blocks from the middle part of the south wall of the room were pulled or pushed down, as previously mentioned. Although a number of blocks were probably carried off at this time, especially those located near the top of the wall, for an unknown reason most of the blocks from this section were abandoned on the debris layer, where Reisner found them in 1912 (pl. 11a, 12b). If the paving stones were pried up during an initial stage of destruction, it is likely that the entire ceiling and roof over Room IV had also been removed at this time to facilitate the process, and not just the area directly over the false door.⁴² The surviving evidence from Room IV therefore seems to bear witness to the existence of at least two stages of destruction.

The identity of the culprits responsible for the depredations wrought in G 2370 is not certain. Reisner recognized an earlier and later period of destruction within the Senedjemib Complex (fig. 15a–d).⁴³ At some point in time, a hole (Hole 1) had been dug in the sloping ramp that led up from the pyramid plateau to the stone paved court of the complex. This hole was filled with dirt mixed with blocks of limestone.⁴⁴ A low mound of blackened debris and limestone blocks was formed over this.⁴⁵ Many of the blocks in the hole and the mound had decorated surfaces and clearly derived from the tombs on the east and south of the stone paved court of the complex, in particular that of Nekhebu (G 2381), which had manifestly been pulled down by stone-robbers who left numerous blocks behind. In the Roman period an inclined ramp paved with stone slabs (pls. 6b, 7a) was laid upon the mound of debris to the top of Inti's tomb and the pillared hall used as a communal burial place.⁴⁶ On account of a number of amulets found by him, a wooden mask, and other objects, Reisner dated this communal grave to about the same time as that in the Mycerinus pyramid temple, that is, to the first to second centuries A.D.⁴⁷ Reisner assumed the paved way led to the entrance of the communal grave (presumably through the roof of G 2370). The Roman ramp had in turn been broken away by a trench and a great hole (Hole 2), which was likewise filled with sand and limestone blocks.⁴⁸ According to Reisner, stones from G 2370 left on the debris before its entrance overlay the inscribed blocks from G 2381 and the other tombs (fig. 15c).⁴⁹ Reisner does not describe the stones in question in any detail, but they probably included a segment of a cavetto

³⁹ Since the food array in the upper registers of the south wall was confined to its middle and eastern parts, these must still have been at least partially visible in order for Mariette to say they appeared at the tops of all three walls, unless this was just an assumption he made on the basis of the evidence of the preserved eastern and northern walls.

⁴⁰ See above, p. 5.

⁴¹ Relatively few tombs at Giza or Saqqara have preserved any significant portion of their original paved roofs; for some that have, see Davies, *Plabhetep* 1, pls. 2, 23, 24; Junker, *Giza* 1, p. 41; 2, p. 140, fig. 14; 6, pp. 88–89, fig. 22; *GN* 1, fig. 153, pl. 8b; Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 2. The mastaba of Merib also retained its roof intact before Lepsius removed the chapel to Berlin; see *LD* 1, pl. 22; *PM* 3², pp. 71–72.

⁴² It would, of course, have been necessary to dismantle the pavement before the lowest course of wall blocks could be removed, for the pavement would have been laid after the latter were in place; see e.g., Clarke–Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, pp. 130–31; Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, pp. 141–42.

⁴³ *Giza Diary 1912–13*, pp. 40–42. As may be seen from the redrawn figures, Reisner's plans and sections are merely rough sketches.

⁴⁴ A number of complete and fragmentary statues of Nekhebu were also found in Holes 1 and 2; see *HESP*, pp. 84–85. According to the *Giza Diary 1912–13*, p. 42, Hole 1 also produced an obelisk of Nekhebu. For all this, cf. Reisner, *BMFA* 11, no. 66 (November, 1913), pp. 53–57, figs. 4–6, and for the obelisk, see *ibid.*, fig. 6.

⁴⁵ Reisner does not specify the nature of the blackened debris, but it is possible that it represents decayed mud brick from the brick walls erected against G 2376–78 blown south by the north wind (see below, pp. 9, n. 60; 131).

⁴⁶ It is possible that the stones for the pavement of the ramp derived from the paved court of the Senedjemib Complex, although Reisner does not specifically say so. However, far more paving stones are missing from the court pavement than would be accounted for by their use in the ramp.

⁴⁷ *Giza Diary 1912–13*, pp. 40–41. For the communal grave in the Mycerinus pyramid temple, see Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pp. 19–21, 33.

⁴⁸ *Giza Diary 1912–13*, pp. 40–42.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

cornice which in all likelihood derives from G 2370 and also the great block which bears the head of the elderly Senedjemib Inti and part of Inscription B 1 (pl. 9a–b).

The archaeological evidence so far elicited thus seems to argue for at least two periods of destruction, one before the Roman Period and another after that period. A natural candidate for the earlier destruction might appear to be the Saite Period, when there was a renewed interest in the Giza plateau attested to by both the Isis temple and burials in the Eastern and Western Fields at Giza,⁵⁰ including the communal grave in the anteroom of G 2370.⁵¹ Nevertheless, it is unlikely that anyone in Dynasty 26 would have buried his relatives in G 2370 if the destruction was on-going. For that reason, it may be that the initial damage done to G 2370 and the tombs on the south and east of the paved court of the complex took place before Dynasty 26, and perhaps as early as the Ramesside Period.⁵² If part of the roof over Room II had indeed been removed at the earlier date, this would certainly have facilitated the deposition of the Saite Period mummies into that room. The same would hold true of the deposition of the Roman Period mummies in Room V, if sections of the roof over the northern part of Room II and the southeast corner of Room V had previously been removed. If they had not been removed earlier in the case of Rooms II and V, it is likely that they were removed then in preparation for these later burials. But it is again improbable that the Roman burials would have been deposited in a mastaba that was being actively dismantled.

If Reisner was correct in his observation that stones from G 2370 overlay the blocks from G 2381 and other decorated stones from the tombs on the south and east of the complex, this would suggest that the dismantling of G 2370 was indeed resumed at a point in time after the Roman Period ramp was built. This inference may derive support from the fact that no decorated blocks from the walls of G 2370 appear to have been found in either Hole 1 or 2.

Taking all the above into account, one possible scenario for the destruction perpetrated on G 2370 and the other tombs on the south and east of the paved court of the Senedjemib Complex would be the following:

1. In the course of the Ramesside Period(?), the roof and ceiling over Room IV and the southern part of Room III were removed, the paving stones of Room IV pried up, and the different stones carried off for use elsewhere. Perhaps the block with the cavetto-and-torus molding from the false door was also taken away at the same time. Concurrently, the tombs on the south and east of the paved court were pulled down and many of the blocks removed.

2. In the interval between the Ramesside(?) and Saite periods, a thick layer of wind-blown sand accumulated in Room IV and in the southern part of Room III. During the same interval, a low mound

of blackened debris built up over the blocks abandoned in the court by the original plunderers.

3. In Dynasty 26 burials were made in Room II.

4. During the Roman Period additional burials were deposited in the pillared hall (Room V) through a hole in its roof.

5. At some point in time after the Roman Period, but before 1842–43, the middle part of the south wall of Room IV and the southern end of the west wall of Room III were demolished. In both cases, even though a number of blocks were carried off, the majority of the decorated blocks were abandoned on the layer of sand that had built up in both rooms.

6. Subsequently, additional wind-blown sand accumulating through the gaps in the roof of G 2370 and through its entrance built up on the floors of its rooms and in particular covered over the abandoned blocks in Rooms III and IV.⁵³

As to exactly when the later stage of destruction represented by no. 5 above may have taken place, it is impossible to say with any certainty. Reisner noted considerable damage to the Mycerinus pyramid temple by Arab quarrymen from the eleventh to the thirteenth century A.D.,⁵⁴ and it is possible that the later destruction occurred at this time. But it should be emphasized that no independent evidence from the Senedjemib Complex itself supports this conjecture.

Between 1850, when the Rev. Lieder and his wife re-excavated the mastaba of Inti, and 1912, the year Reisner began his work in the Senedjemib Complex, while the tomb presumably lay open and unguarded, extensive additional damage occurred to the reliefs in G 2370 that had been copied by Lepsius and described or sketched by Mariette. Reisner remembered hearing, about 1901, rumors of illicit excavations conducted by the villagers of Kafr el-Haram in the Senedjemib Complex.⁵⁵ Definitive evidence that the Senedjemib Complex was indeed being plundered by dealers in antiquities at about this time exists, for the west end of the north wall of the offering room of Senedjemib Mehi was purchased by Edward E. Ayer on behalf of the Field Museum of Natural History in Spring, 1898.⁵⁶

Two Harvard–Boston Expedition photographs vividly attest to the condition of the southern part of the mastaba in 1912 (pls. 11–12). The greater part of the decorated area of the south, west, and east walls of Room II, all of which had been copied by Lepsius, had disappeared. In Room III all but the lowest portions of the scenes at the northern end of its east and west walls, and virtually the entire six

⁵³ See above, pp. 5, 6, 7, and Lepsius's sections reproduced in fig. 12.

⁵⁴ *Mycerinus*, p. 33.

⁵⁵ See above, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Field Museum accession number 31705. Ayer was a Chicago business man and first president of the (then) Field Columbian Museum. On his first trip to Egypt in Autumn 1894, Ayer approached Emil Brugsch, whom he says was director of the "Gizeh Museum," for help in assembling an Egyptian collection for the Field Museum, and Brugsch readily agreed, vetting the material purchased by Ayer in Cairo and "up the Nile" (Lockwood, *The Life of Edward E. Ayer*, pp. 193–94). Ayer made several more trips to Egypt, each time acquiring additional objects for the museum. Except for the Coptic material and a few other purchases added in subsequent years (such as the mastabas of Netjeruser and Unisankh purchased from the Egyptian government in 1909), the entire Egyptian collection was gathered by Ayer (*ibid.*, pp. 192–94). Warren R. Dawson said of Brugsch that he "left behind him an evil reputation for clandestine transactions with native antiquities dealers" (*JEA* 33 [1947], p. 70, n. 1). According to *Who was Who in Egyptology*, p. 66, Brugsch became assistant conservator in the Bulaq and Cairo Museums under Maspero in 1881, and Keeper in the Cairo Museum in 1883.

⁵⁰ See Zivie-Coche, *Giza au premier millénaire*, pp. 89–266 and *passim*.

⁵¹ See above, p. 4.

⁵² Hölscher, *Grabdenkm. Chephren*, p. 67, attributes the removal of the hard stone from the Mycerinus pyramid temple to the time of Ramses II. Petrie (*Memphis* 1, p. 6) also asserts that it was Ramses II who brought pyramid casing stones of red granite for reuse in the West Hall of the Ptah temple at Memphis, as well as a block with part of a procession of offering bearers from an Old Kingdom tomb, an entire doorway from the sun-temple of Neuserre at Abu Gurob, a lintel of king Teti, and parts of two Old Kingdom lotus bud capitals (*ibid.*, and pl. 3).

registers of the north wall, likewise copied by Lepsius, had been carried off, along with most of the southern wall. Blocks had been removed as well from the upper parts of all three sets of door thicknesses. Reisner actually found the large block with the drum roll from the entrance of G 2370 resting on the debris that filled the southeast corner of Room II (pls. 11b, 12a).

According to Mariette, as we have already seen, the offering room of G 2370 (Room IV), appears to have been largely intact in 1850, except for the gap in the decoration in the middle of the south wall and for the top of the false door. By 1912, however, the decorated blocks from the eastern end of the south wall had entirely disappeared; none of them were found in the accumulated debris on the floor by Reisner. After the fallen blocks found by Reisner on the floor of the room had been restored to their original positions in the middle of the wall, a gap in excess of 1.53 m was left at the eastern end of the wall. If, on the basis of Mariette's testimony, the east end of the south wall was indeed still intact in 1850, as the two entrance thicknesses of the room to the fifth course of masonry clearly were on the evidence of the Mariette sketches and Leider squeezes, then the east end of the south wall and the decorated blocks from the door thicknesses must have been carried off between 1850 and 1912. The same would be true of the upper portion of the east wall and the north wall, east of the entrance.

Furthermore, by 1912, seventeen large slabs had been removed from the middle and southern rows of slabs that formed the ceiling of the pillared hall, Room V (pl. 51a). As previously mentioned, however, certain of the slabs in the southeast corner of the hall may have been removed in antiquity.

When Lepsius excavated the mastaba of Senedjemib Mehi, he found that the entire roof was missing and that the uppermost courses of stones had been removed (fig. 95c).⁵⁷ The mastaba must have remained uncovered for a considerable period of time, for the surviving reliefs, especially those closest to the tops of the walls, were badly weathered. In 1850, the Lieders cleared the mastaba and made a number of squeezes.⁵⁸ Later that same year Mariette described the tomb and provided two sketch plans. In addition, he planned and drew the false door, providing hand copies of its inscriptions, sketched the thicknesses with the figures of agricultural estates between Rooms II and III, and drew the seated figure of Mehi at table on the north wall of the offering room.⁵⁹

The number of registers with relief decoration actually lost from the top of the walls of the portico and interior rooms of the chapel of G 2378 before 1842–43 varied in number from one to three. The only wall preserved to what was essentially its full height was the west wall of the east–west anteroom (Room II) with its agricultural and offering scenes in six registers (fig. 112). The reliefs that were most extensively damaged were those on the east walls of Rooms II (fig. 118a–b) and III, which were exposed directly to the sand blown into the cemetery from the southwest and west, but the eastern ends of the north and south walls of the latter room were also badly eroded.⁶⁰

Like the mastaba of Inti, Mehi's mastaba suffered further damage at the hands of stone-robbers after 1850. In Room II, only two registers remain of the four seen by Lepsius on the south wall west of the entrance, and the figure of Mehi is gone above the waist (pl. 113; figs. 110, 111). The topmost register and portions of the two below are missing from the west wall (pl. 114a–b; fig. 113). At the west end of the north wall, although the scene is still largely intact, the figures of Mehi and his family (fig. 114) have undergone further erosion (pl. 115; fig. 115). Already in Lepsius's day, the first register and most of the second register of the agricultural and marsh activities represented on the other three-quarters of the wall had disappeared (fig. 114). Today the entire upper part of the wall is missing, and only a small section of the fifth register and the figures of some of the offering bearers in the sixth register survive (pls. 116, 117a; fig. 115). In 1842–43 three of an original six registers of craft scenes on the east wall survived (fig. 116a, b); today the decoration is completely spalled away. As for the south wall, east of the entrance, the three lowest registers were essentially complete in Lepsius's time, while the two registers above bore traces of singers, musicians, and dancers (fig. 118a, b). Today the upper two registers together with two blocks from the third register, including one bearing Mehi's head and names, are gone (pls. 118, 119a–b; fig. 119). In Lepsius's day, the door thicknesses between the anteroom and the offering room (Room III) each bore two registers of estates (figs. 120a, 123). At present both registers on the right (east) thickness are lost, while only the last four estates in the bottom register of the left (west) thickness survive (pl. 120; fig. 119). On both long walls of Room III, Lepsius's drawings show figures of Mehi seated at table and facing the door with files of offering bearers approaching him, food and drink offerings piled up, and offering vessels on low tables before him. On the south wall, parts of three registers were preserved, or four, if one takes into account an isolated block from that register with titles above Mehi's head (fig. 124). Today, the entire third register as seen in Lepsius's plate and the isolated block with the titles are lost (fig. 125).⁶¹ The table scene on the north wall was better preserved (fig. 128) and, probably as a result, was removed and, as previously mentioned, ultimately made its way to Chicago (pl. 122). Today, except for damage done during the removal of the table scene, the remainder of the north wall is in pretty much the same condition as when it was seen by Lepsius (pls. 123, 124a–b; fig. 129).

Many of the decorated blocks from the mastabas of Inti and Mehi were undoubtedly carried off in antiquity or more recent epochs to secure building stone for local use or were reduced to lime in kilns for use as mortar and plaster.⁶² Since none of the missing blocks from either of the mastabas which were drawn by Lepsius has been identified at Giza or in museums or private collections, it is likely that this was their fate as well.

⁵⁷ *LD, Text 1*, p. 51.

⁵⁸ *Lieder squeezes 2.1–4*; see *PM 3*², pp. 88 (7); 89 (10–11).

⁵⁹ *Mastabas*, pp. 500–504.

⁶⁰ See below, pp. 147, 153, 157. According to Reisner (*GN 1*, p. 15), the sand blows into the cemetery from the southwest and west, rarely from the north, but once in the cemetery, it is driven southwards by the frequent north winds.

⁶¹ There are traces of several offering bearers in the fourth register on the eastern half of this wall which were not drawn by Lepsius; see fig. 125.

⁶² Compare Breasted's remarks in *Mereruka 1*, p. xii.

Lepsius, the Lieders, and Mariette evidently were not aware of the existence of the mastaba of Khnumenti or the other ruined mas-

tabas of the Senedjemib Complex, so we know nothing of their condition before they were uncovered by Reisner in 1912–13.

CHAPTER 2: ARCHITECTURE AND DECORATION

FROM ABOUT THE REIGN OF NEFERIRKARE, there is an increasing complexity evident in the internal plans of mastabas belonging to high officials.¹ This complexity manifests itself toward the end of Dynasty 5 in multiple-roomed chapels like those of Rawer at Giza,² Ptahshepses at Abusir³ or Ti at Saqqara,⁴ and is likewise evident in the queens' and viziers' tombs of the end of Dynasty 5 and the beginning of Dynasty 6 in the Unis⁵ and Teti⁶ pyramid cemeteries at the latter site.

At both Saqqara and Giza this trend towards elaboration also materializes in family complexes. At Saqqara the Ptahhetep Complex comprises a series of family tombs erected around a large open court.⁷ The same is true of the Senedjemib Complex and, to a lesser degree, of the complex of Seshemnofer IV at Giza.⁸ The individual unit on which the two Giza complexes was based is the east–west offering room.⁹ In the case of both Senedjemib Inti and Seshemnofer IV, a pillared hall and other subsidiary rooms were added to this nucleus. The tomb of Inti's older contemporary, the vizier Ptahhetep I in the Ptahhetep Complex at Saqqara, is also a multi-roomed chapel based upon an east–west offering room, as is the chapel of the latter's son Akhethetep.¹⁰

The open courts of the Senedjemib and Seshemnofer complexes both preserve evidence of cult practices in the form of service equip-

ment. At the center of the court of Seshemnofer is a great, rectangular, double-ledge tank or basin of fine Tura limestone set into the pavement with plaster and measuring 2.00 x 1.20 m.¹¹ Similarly, near the center of the great stone-paved court in front of the mastaba of Senedjemib Inti was a large stone basin, measuring 85 x 53 cm, sunk into the pavement (figs. 2, 3).¹² What appears to be a second, smaller basin is visible just in front of the left-hand column base of the portico of G 2370 in Reisner's detailed plan of the Senedjemib Complex (fig. 3), but this is not otherwise referred to in the records of the Harvard–Boston Expedition. Given its location, it is possible that it belonged to the tomb of Nekhebu, whose portico opened nearby.¹³

Junker believed that the basin in the Seshemnofer court was utilized during the rites of purification contingent upon the mummification of the tomb owner, receiving the libations or remains thereof or of the waters of purification.¹⁴ Reisner, on the contrary, was of the opinion that the large stone basins were filled on feast days with water for the ceremonial purification of the funerary priests and other visitors.¹⁵ Some such arrangement would have been essential, for we know from contemporary sources that visitors to tombs, both priestly and otherwise, had of necessity to be ritually pure.¹⁶

West of the large basin in the center of the stone-paved court of the Senedjemib Complex, and halfway between it and the east face of G 2370, a staple stone with perforated top for tethering sacrificial animals was fixed in the pavement (pl. 10b).¹⁷ Staple stones are rarely in evidence in Old Kingdom tombs. One such stone is embedded in the floor between two pillars in the cult hall of Mereruka's mastaba close to the niche containing the statue of the vizier and the offering stone at its foot, even though Duell expressed doubt as to whether actual sacrifices took place in the mastaba itself.¹⁸ A fragment of what may have been another staple stone was found in the entrance corridor of the mastaba of Ptahhetep I, though not *in situ*.¹⁹ Alongside an I-shaped staple stone in the rock-cut chapel of Pepyankh the Middle at Meir is located what appears to be a circular basin for catching the blood of the victim.²⁰

Some six uninscribed obelisks lined the path leading to the portico of the Seshemnofer complex, and Junker was of the opinion that one pair of obelisks was to be assigned to each of the three proprietors of tombs in the complex, namely, Seshemnofer IV and his sons Tjeti and Ptahhetep.²¹ Obelisks such as these served as a symbol of resur-

¹ See, e.g., *GN I*, p. 260ff.; Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 49; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 30.

² *PM 3*², pp. 265–69, plan XXXIII.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 340–42; Verner, *Ptahshepses 1*.

⁴ *PM 3*², pp. 468–77.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 617–19 (Ihy, usurped by Idout), 623–24 (Khenut), 624–25 (Nebt), 627–29 (Nebkauhor), 629–30 (Ni-ankh-ba). The tombs of queens Khenut and Nebet have recently been published by Munro, *Unas-Friedhof 1*.

⁶ *PM 3*², pp. 508–511 (Khentika), 511–12 (Neferseshemre Sheshi), 512–15 (Ankhmahor), 521–25 (Kagemni), 525–37 (Mereruka).

⁷ *PM 3*², pp. 596–608. For a general plan of the complex, see Hassan, *Saqqara 3*, fig. 12.

⁸ *PM 3*², pp. 223–28. In the case of the Seshemnofer Complex, the two mastabas of Seshemnofer and his eldest son, Tjeti, shared a central suite of rooms that included a columned portico, vestibule, open court, and pillared hall, whereas the chapels of Seshemnofer's wife and two other sons were built outside but adjacent to the central complex. For a detailed plan, see Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 49. The great complex of tombs of Shepseskaf-ankh, Iymery, Neferbaupthah, and Inti, Giza mastabas G 6010–40, certainly qualifies as a “family complex.” It is not organized around a central court, however, and for this reason and a variety of others has been excluded from the present discussion. The mastabas of the complex have recently been made available in a volume by Kent R. Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000, Giza Mastabas 5* (Boston, 1994).

⁹ *HESP*, p. 200.

¹⁰ *PM 3*², pp. 596–97, 599–600. Like the chapels of Seshemnofer IV and Tjeti, the chapel of Ptahhetep's son Akhethetep is actually of Reisner's Type (7 e) and consists of an east–west offering room opening directly from the west side of a north–south anteroom without door jambs; see *GN I*, pp. 261, 271. For the dates of Ptahhetep I and Akhethetep, see Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 55 [2], 87 [49], 301; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 273, 274. Reisner's classification of chapel types is elucidated in *GN I*, pp. xxv–xxix, 184–304.

¹¹ Junker, *Giza II*, p. 106, figs. 49–50, pl. 12c, 13a.

¹² Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 130.

¹³ For the tomb of Nekhebu (G 2381), see above, p. 3.

¹⁴ Junker, *Giza II*, p. 106.

¹⁵ “A History of the Giza Necropolis,” Vol. 1, pt. 2, Chap. IX, p. 83.

¹⁶ Garnot, *L'appels aux vivants*, p. 5ff.; Grieshammer, *LÄ 5* (1983), cols. 212–13; Frandsen, “Tabu,” *LÄ 6* (1985), col. 137.

¹⁷ Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 130.

¹⁸ *Mereruka 1*, p. 8, n. 54; 2, pls. 124A, 126B.

¹⁹ Davies, *Ptahhetep 2*, p. 4, pl. 2.

²⁰ *Meir 4*, p. 27, pls. 1 and 25 [1].

²¹ Junker, *Giza II*, p. 110, fig. 49, pl. 14b, c.

rection.²² If obelisks stood in antiquity before the entrances to the tombs of Inti, Mehi, and Khnumenti, all trace of them has now vanished. Nevertheless, Reisner did find an obelisk inscribed with the name and titles of Nekhebu in a hole at the southern end of the court of the Senedjemib Complex,²³ and a small uninscribed obelisk remained in place beside the door of the anonymous mastaba G 2385 (fig. 3).²⁴

The increasing elaboration in tomb architecture apparent from the middle of the Fifth Dynasty not only affected the size and number of rooms but was also reflected in the character of tomb entrances. In a number of large tombs of the later Fifth Dynasty, the usual entrance recess had evolved into a wide and deep portico which was regularly fronted by square pillars at Saqqara or by columns at Abusir and at Giza.²⁵

The earliest of these columned porticos in a private tomb may be that of Rawer in the Central Field at Giza (the “Amoeba Tomb”), which was entered by means of a portico whose roof was apparently held up by columns with cylindrical shafts.²⁶ Although the actual columns are lost, their circular bases survive, and the columns themselves probably resembled the cylindrical columns with square abaci known from the side entrance to the pyramid temple of Sahure, except for the royal titulary inscribed in a vertical column on the latter.²⁷ Since Rawer’s autobiography refers to an incident which took place under Neferirkare, his tomb must belong to that reign or soon thereafter.²⁸

A short while later, both the original and the final entrance porticos in the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir were fronted by lotus-bud columns.²⁹ Ptahshepses became a member of the royal family upon his marriage to a daughter of Neuserre, and his tomb took over a number of features which may have been the “direct result of the favor shown by that king to his son-in-law.”³⁰ Lotus-bud columns in stone first appear in the mastaba of Ptahshepses, and it is possible that they emulate in form the papyrus-bud columns utilized throughout Neuserre’s pyramid complex.³¹

At Saqqara the tombs of Ni-ankh-khnum and Khnumhotep, of Ka-em-tjenent, of Izezi-ankh, of Ptahhetep I, and of Ti all have or had entrance porticos fronted by square pillars.³² The first tomb

belongs to the reign of Neuserre or Menkauhor,³³ the others were probably decorated in the reign of Izezi.³⁴ The pillars of Ptahhetep I are denuded, but the other pillars are or were inscribed with the titles and name of the tomb owner.³⁵

At Giza, besides the tomb of Rawer, the mastaba of Senedjemib Inti and the complex of Seshemnofer IV were entered through porticos.³⁶ This was probably true also of the tombs of Senedjemib Mehi and Nekhebu in the Senedjemib Complex, even though the paving of the wide and deep recess that precedes the entrance to the tomb in each case has been carried away and no traces of columns or their bases survive.³⁷ Definitely in the case of Senedjemib Inti, since the round bases of the columns survived *in situ* (figs. 2, 3), and probably also by analogy in the cases of Mehi and Nekhebu, the place of the pillars was taken by cylindrical columns. Circular column bases were also found *in situ* in the portico of Seshemnofer IV,³⁸ who appears to have been a younger contemporary of Senedjemib Mehi.³⁹

No columns or fragments thereof were actually recovered from any of the Giza tombs. Even so, an approximate idea of the nature and size of the columns may be had from the sets of column bases which were found *in situ*. It should first of all be noted that the surviving column bases from the tombs of Rawer, Senedjemib Inti, and Seshemnofer IV have rounded sides, being narrower at the top than at the bottom. For the column bases of Rawer, only the outer diameter of 90 cm is given in the publication.⁴⁰ Like Rawer’s column bases, the two bases that were set in gypsum mortar and partially concealed by the paving of Inti’s portico, are of Tura limestone (pl. 13a, b). They differ slightly in their dimensions. One base is 28 cm high, while the other measures 24 cm in height. The upper and lower diameters of the columns are respectively 64 and 74 cm and 65 and 76 cm. Since Old Kingdom columns did not reach to the very edge of the top of the base,⁴¹ the diameter of the columns was therefore probably something less than 60 cm. Seshemnofer’s columns were larger than Inti’s, the outer diameter of the bases at the rim being 1.06 m, while the diameter of the circular marks left on their tops by the columns was 75 cm.⁴²

²² See, e.g., Martin, “Obelisk,” *LÄ* 4 (1981), col. 544.

²³ See above, p. 7, n. 44.

²⁴ *Giza Diary* 1912–13, p. 57. On G 2385, see above, pp. 2–3.

²⁵ A certain number of smaller tombs at Giza have porticos of a different character than those under discussion, the architraves of which were held up by square pillars; see e.g., *GN* 1, pp. 285–86; Junker, *Giza* 9, figs. 28, 31. In the tomb of Akhetmehu (G 2375), the inscribed architrave was protected by a chamfered cornice (see Badawy, *Architecture* 1, p. 189), and this may also have been the case with others of these tombs.

²⁶ Hassan, *Giza* 1, fig. 1.

²⁷ Borchardt, *S’ashu-re* 1, pp. 24–25, 62–65, frontispiece, figs. 20, 28, 79, 118.

²⁸ Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 98, 292 [300]; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 268.

²⁹ The columns in the earlier portico were six-stemmed (Verner, *Ptahshepses* 1, fig. 1; idem, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, pp. 179–80, with plan on p. 175 and fig. on p. 179) and those in the later portico eight-stemmed (Verner, *Ptahshepses* 1, p. 8, fig. 1; idem, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, p. 180, and plan on p. 175; Borchardt, *Denkm.* 1, p. 173, pl. 99 [CG 1748]).

³⁰ Verner, in *Acts of the 1st ICE*, p. 672; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 89. Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, p. 189, notes that Ptahshepses bears the title “King’s Son,” on certain of the pillars of the open court of his mastaba; he is of the opinion that Ptahshepses received this title upon his marriage to Neuserre’s daughter, Khamernebt. Thanks are due Del Nord for calling this passage to my attention.

³¹ Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, p. 180; Badawy, *Architecture* 1, p. 109, fig. 76; pp. 181–83, fig. 124 [3]. Neuserre had completed the pyramid temple of his predecessor Neferirkare in brick and timber, and the roofs of its portico and court were supported by wooden columns on round limestone bases whose capitals were carved in imitation of a bound cluster of lotus stems and buds; see Borchardt, *Nefer-ir-kes-re*, pp. 20–22, figs. 15–18, 20.

³² See *PM* 3², pp. 641–44, plan LXVI; 489, plan L; 596–98, plan LX; 468–78, plan XLVIII; Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 189–91.

³³ See below, p. 14 and n. 70.

³⁴ Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 144, 294 [530]; 60, 288 [64]; 74, 290 [160]; 152, 295 [564]; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 87 (49); 151 (146); 158 (157); Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 273, 276, 277.

³⁵ *Nianchchnum*, pls. 1, 2, fig. 1; Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 187–89; Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, p. 30, fig. 12; Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 2; Epron, *Ti*, pls. 2 [left], 3.

³⁶ For the tombs of Nekhebu and Seshemnofer IV, see *PM* 3², pp. 89–91, plan XX–VI; 223–26, plan XXXII.

³⁷ The same set of circumstances prevails in the case of the tomb of Akhetetep at Saqqara; see Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, fig. 12; Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, p. 3.

³⁸ Junker, *Giza* 11, p. 101.

³⁹ Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 126, 293 [455, 456]; 133, 293 [479]; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 268, 270.

⁴⁰ Hassan, *Giza* 1, p. 4.

⁴¹ See e.g., Borchardt, *Nefer-ir-kes-re*, figs. 16, 18; idem, *S’ashu-re* 1, fig. 118, pl. 9.

⁴² Junker, *Giza* 11, p. 101.

It is clear from the circular marks left on the tops of their bases that the columns of Seshemnofer IV's portico had plain, round shafts. Inti's bases lack any such markings, while Hassan's report gives no further details regarding the bases in Rawer's portico. Whereas it is possible in theory that lotus bud columns originally supported the roofs of the porticos of Rawer and Inti, as they did in the tomb of Ptahshepses at Abusir, the occurrence of floral columns in the latter tomb is apparently unique. For that reason, it is more likely that Rawer and Inti's portico, by analogy with the Seshemnofer IV portico, possessed plain circular columns. Old Kingdom columns of this sort were regularly topped by a square block or abacus on which the architrave rested,⁴³ and this was most likely also the case at Giza. Baraize, following Junker and Balcz, certainly made a similar assumption and set square abaci at the top of the columns in his reconstruction of Seshemnofer IV's portico.⁴⁴ It was presumably Baraize who likewise provided the circular concrete columns utilized in the modern reconstruction of Senedjemib Mehi's portico with square abaci.⁴⁵

At Saqqara, limited evidence survives to attest to the character of the entablature, or horizontal superstructure, that was supported by the pillars or columns at the entrance of the tombs of Ni-ankhknum and Khnumhotep, Ptahhetep I, Ka-em-tjenent, and Izezi-anekh. In each case, this evidence is confined to a large architrave inscribed with the titles and name of the owner.⁴⁶ The same is true in the case of Rawer at Giza.⁴⁷ No trace of a cornice of any sort appears to survive in any of these porticos.

At Giza, on the other hand, sufficient evidence probably exists to show that the entablatures of the porticos of the tomb of Senedjemib Inti and of the Seshemnofer Complex consisted of an architrave and a cavetto cornice with torus molding. Insofar as the Senedjemib Complex is concerned, the architraves of Inti and Mehi are extant, as is a segment of Nekhebu's architrave. The architraves of Inti and Mehi both originally comprised three discrete blocks. All three architraves were inscribed in large-scale, sunken hieroglyphs with the name and titles of their owners between border lines. The height of Inti's architrave was 55 cm, of Mehi's 48 cm, and of Nekhebu's

28.1 cm.⁴⁸ No trace remained of the architrave of Seshemnofer IV, which presumably had been removed for reuse elsewhere.⁴⁹

The Harvard–Boston Expedition found a large section of a cavetto-and-torus cornice lying on the ground in front of the entrance to the tomb of Senedjemib Inti (pl. 8b, 9a–b). Considering its find spot, it is likely that the block derived from the entablature over Inti's portico,⁵⁰ even though there is no certainty that it could not have come from the tomb of Nekhebu, whose portico opened on the south of Inti's, or have been dragged by stone-robbers across the court from Mehi's mastaba. Since it appears to have been the only such block found by Reisner in the Senedjemib Complex, it is in all probability this cornice that was utilized by Baraize in his reconstruction of the facade of Mehi's tomb.⁵¹ If it is the same block, it was subsequently cracked and one end broken off at an angle (frontispiece D; pl. 103a). The restored entablature above the entrance to Mehi's tomb totals 1.30 m in height, the height of the cornice itself being 60 cm, while the torus moulding and the plain band below were each 11 cm high and the architrave, as already noted, 48 cm in height. A plain band sometimes intervenes between the moulding and the architrave in contemporary cavetto cornices, but it is absent in others so that the torus roll sits directly on the architrave.⁵² The latter is true of the cavetto-and-torus cornice from the portico of Seshemnofer IV.⁵³ The cornices from the Senedjemib and Seshemnofer complexes are both plain and devoid of the customary decoration of cross-lashings and foliage.⁵⁴

If the restoration proposed herein of the beginning of Inscription B 1 at the top of the north wall of Inti's portico is correct, then the original height of the side walls of the portico of G 2370 would have been in the neighborhood of 4.70 m.⁵⁵ Assuming that the architrave rested on the side walls directly above the decorated area, and was surmounted by the cavetto-and-torus cornice found by Reisner in front of its portico (at present seemingly utilized in the restoration of the facade of Mehi's tomb), the total height of the facade of G 2370 would have been 6.07 m originally. Once again assuming that there were originally six short registers of marsh dwellers in front of Mehi's figure on both side walls of his portico,⁵⁶ the height of those walls to the top of the decorated area would have been close to 4.66 m. Adding to this figure the height of the restored entablature as given above, that is, 1.30 m, results in a total height for the facade of G 2378 of 5.96 m. The restored heights of the two porticos reached on quite different grounds thus appear to be complementary. The result (fig. 99b) is a much taller portico than Baraize envisioned for Seshemnofer IV (fig. 99a). On the other hand, the portico of the

⁴³ Cf. Junker, *Giza* II, p. 101 and n. 2, and see above, n. 27. Indeed, Jéquier, *Architecture*, pp. 172–73, remarks that the square abacus was, in the eyes of the Egyptians, an indispensable member of columns of all sorts.

⁴⁴ Junker, *Giza* II, pls. I, 11a.

⁴⁵ Emile Baraize succeeded Alexandre Barsanti as Director of Works of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization around 1912; for fifty years thereafter he worked on the restoration and reconstruction of a great number of buildings. At Giza he was also involved in the clearance and repair of the Sphinx (*Who was Who in Egyptology*, p. 30). He almost certainly erred in restoring the column bases as straight-sided, since the bases of Senedjemib Inti (and Seshemnofer IV) had rounded sides.

⁴⁶ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 187–88, 190; Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, pp. 30–32, pl. 14A, B; *Nianchchnum*, pp. 16–18, pls. 1–2. Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, p. 178, states that the columns of the final portico in Ptahshepses's tomb supported a heavy architrave on which the enormous roof slabs rested directly. It is clear from *Ti* 2, pl. 2, that the pillars in the portico of the tomb of Ti no longer support an entablature. Mariette (*Mastabas*, p. 31) provides a sketch of a Saqqara tomb, with a north facing entrance like Ti's, having a two-pillared portico and above what may be intended either as a cavetto cornice(?) which rests directly on the pillars or perhaps a chamfered cornice. It is not clear whether this represents an ideal tomb entrance or actually depicts one of the tombs excavated by him.

⁴⁷ Hassan, *Giza* I, p. 4 (1), pl. 1.

⁴⁸ For Inti's and Mehi's architraves, see below, pp. 37–38, 133. For Nekhebu's, see HU–BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5809.

⁴⁹ Junker, *Giza* II, p. 101.

⁵⁰ See above, p. 7–8.

⁵¹ Note that the cornice had been moved by September 1913 to the northern part of the court, just in front of Mehi's portico (pl. 4a–b).

⁵² E.g., Borchardt, *Ne-user-re*, fig. 43; idem, *S'ashu-re* 1, figs. 86–87; Ricke, *Harmachistempel*, pp. 24–25, fig. 14.

⁵³ Junker, *Giza* II, p. 102, fig. 50a.

⁵⁴ See, e.g., below, pp. 75, 125, 154.

⁵⁵ See below, p. 94, text fig. 2.

⁵⁶ See below, p. 134, fig. 98.

vizier Ptahshepses's tomb at Abusir originally reached a height of 8.00 m.⁵⁷

Whereas the lintel and drum of the chapel entrance in Old Kingdom tombs were frequently inscribed, only sporadically were the recessed jambs and door thicknesses decorated with texts and representations, the latter usually restricted to simple representations of the owner with or without subsidiary figures.⁵⁸ In several of the portico entrances under discussion the walls are denuded below the level of decoration. In the remaining porticos, however, the walls were originally covered with more or less extensive relief decoration.

In the earliest of these, the tomb of Rawer in the Central Field at Giza, on each side of the main entrance were eight vertical columns of large incised hieroglyphics colored blue.⁵⁹ There are no vestiges of figures of Rawer at the bottom of the columns, nor is it definite that sufficient space was available for such. In the tomb of Ptahshepses at Abusir, the final portico is evidently denuded below the level of the decoration, and the walls of the original portico were presumably decorated after it was converted to a columned vestibule.⁶⁰ The portico walls of Ptahhetep I at Saqqara are destroyed to below the level of the reliefs.⁶¹ The figural representations in the portico of Ka-em-tjenent were seemingly restricted to images of the prince and his seated wife at the bottom of the jambs of the entrance.⁶² No traces of figural reliefs at all survived in the portico of Prince Izezi-ankh.⁶³ Ti's portico is relatively well preserved and all three walls are covered with figures of Ti, his wife, sons, and officials viewing personified estates bringing offerings and scenes of daily life, including animal husbandry, a poultry yard, and fishing.⁶⁴

At the rear of the porticos of Senedjemib Inti and Mehi, as in that of Seshemnofer IV,⁶⁵ the tomb owner was shown in pendant scenes, accompanied by his family and retainers, engaged in sports in the marshes. The leisure time activities of spear fishing and fowling are virtually inseparable and are found in combination on the walls of many other tombs,⁶⁶ but, in these three mastabas, they are arranged as great panels flanking the entrance to the chapel.⁶⁷ Smith thought that these were the earliest examples of porticos decorated with marsh hunt scenes, but Harpur⁶⁸ points out that earlier examples are to be found at Saqqara in a tomb unknown to Smith, that of Ni-ankh-khnum and Khnumhotep,⁶⁹ dated by Moussa and Alten-

müller to the time of Neuserre and Menkauhor,⁷⁰ and in the tomb of another of Izezi's viziers, Rashepses, which belongs to the middle of Izezi's reign.⁷¹

In the tomb of Ni-ankh-Khnum and Khnumhotep, the side walls of the portico are occupied by registers of funeral scenes.⁷² Rashepses's portico was thus possibly the first entirely dedicated to marsh pursuits, but only a portion of its decoration survived. The rear (west) wall to the north of the entrance was occupied by a scene of Rashepses fowling and below by a register with a herdsman driving cattle across a stretch of water.⁷³ The northern side wall was taken up by a portrayal of the vizier in a papyrus skiff watching a hippopotamus hunt(?) with two registers of boats returning from the marshes and cattle crossing a stretch of water below.⁷⁴ Since the activities of spear fishing and fowling are virtually inseparable, it is likely that the rear wall on the south side of the entrance was occupied by a scene of Rashepses spear fishing, which did not survive.⁷⁵

Since the decoration of Rashepses's portico was only partly preserved, the tomb of Senedjemib Mehi is the first extant example of a portico given over in its entirety to marsh pursuits, bearing as it does spear fishing and fowling scenes on the rear wall and scenes of the owner viewing the return home of marsh dwellers with the products of their labors on the side walls. It is possible that a similar arrangement was originally intended in the case of Senedjemib Inti's portico but, if so, in the final design Inscriptions B and D replaced the superimposed registers of marsh dwellers, while a small vignette of Inti's sarcophagus being transported by ship from the Tura quarries intruded into the overall decorative scheme.

Although the tombs of Senedjemib Inti and Mehi and that of Seshemnofer IV all bore scenes of fishing and fowling on the rear walls of their porticos, the composition of the scenes on the side walls of the porticos of Mehi and Seshemnofer is especially similar. The side walls of Mehi (pls. 106–107, 110–11; figs. 97, 105) are damaged, and only two blocks, one from either side wall, are preserved in the case of Seshemnofer.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the surviving decoration is probably sufficient to show that large figures of the tomb owner viewing the return of the marsh dwellers originally occupied the side walls of both porticos.⁷⁷ In both porticos likewise, the standing figure of the owner was separated from the registers of marsh dwellers by a vertical band of text containing the caption to the scene, while shorter columns of text above the owner's head contained his name and titles. In addition, registers of marsh dwellers on foot bearing offerings appear to have alternated in both cases with registers of marsh dwellers in papyrus skiffs bringing marsh products. The portico of

⁵⁷ Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, p. 178. According to Davies, the mastaba of Akhetetep was originally sixteen feet or more in height (*Ptahhetep* 2, p. 1).

⁵⁸ See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 43–58.

⁵⁹ Hassan, *Giza* 1, p. 6, fig. 1.

⁶⁰ Verner, *Ptahshepses* 1, pp. 6, 8–27, pls. 1–11, photos 2–24; idem, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, p. 180 and fig. on p. 179.

⁶¹ Hassan, *Sakkara* 2, p. 30, pl. 24C. The same is true of the portico of Akhetetep, on which see n. 10 above.

⁶² Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 187–89; Smith, in Reisner, *Tomb. Dev.*, p. 407.

⁶³ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 190–91.

⁶⁴ *Ti* 1, pls. 4–11.

⁶⁵ Junker, *Giza* 11, pp. 140–42, fig. 60, pl. 16 [c, d].

⁶⁶ Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 718–719, provides a useful discussion with references; see also Müller, *Die Ausgestaltung der Kultkammer*, pp. 79–96; Kaplony, *Meibethi*, pp. 9–20, esp. p. 9, n. 5; Van de Walle, *Nefertitenef*, p. 66; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 197–203 and passim.

⁶⁷ *HESP*, p. 200. In the case of Seshemnofer IV, only the bottom of the fish-spear scene from the left side of the entrance is preserved (Junker, *Giza* 11, pp. 140–42, fig. 60, pl. 16c, d).

⁶⁸ Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 52, 193.

⁶⁹ *Nianchchnum*, pp. 55–61, figs. 5–6, pls. 4–5.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45. The tomb is also assigned to the late reign of Neuserre or that of Menkauhor by Harpur (*Decoration*, p. 274).

⁷¹ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 301, assigns Rashepses to the middle reign of Izezi and Ptahhetep I and Inti to the later part of the same reign. So too does Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 275.

⁷² *Nianchchnum*, pls. 6–15.

⁷³ *LD* 2, pl. 60 [left].

⁷⁴ *LD* 2, pl. 60 [right]; see below, p. 25 and n. 54.

⁷⁵ Although the decoration on the south wall was destroyed, it is possible that Rashepses was shown in a skiff rattling papyrus. For *zš wšd* scenes, see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 738–46; *PM* 3², pp. 355 [I [(c)], 903 [I(c)]; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 140 [3].

⁷⁶ Junker, *Giza* 11, figs. 61, 62, pl. 18a, b.

⁷⁷ The theme is discussed by Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 153.

Seshemnofer was too denuded to indicate whether, as in Mehi's case (and Inti's), two wide registers at the bottom of the side walls were occupied by scenes of cattle and herdsmen in boats fording streams and by homeward bound marsh dwellers.

The resemblance between the two porticos is not altogether fortuitous, for the two tombs were more or less contemporary.⁷⁸ The composition of the file of officials followed by an offering bearer with a yoke over his shoulders on the north wall of room B of Seshemnofer's chapel⁷⁹ may also be compared with the similar file on the north wall of the anteroom in G 2378.⁸⁰ In addition to the yoke bearer, the figure of a scribe holding a scribal palette and papyrus roll occurs in both scenes. What is not certain is whether the similarities between the two sets of scenes was the result of one and the same group of artisans having worked on both tombs or whether the shared motifs represent another instance of scenes copied from one chapel for another person.⁸¹

Given the thematic unity and balanced design of Senedjemib Mehi's and Seshemnofer IV's porticos, it is surprising that no other known instances of the arrangement survive. Mehi's nephew(?), Nekhebu, incorporated a spear fishing scene in the decoration on the walls of his portico, but the corresponding fowling scene was evidently relegated to an interior wall of his chapel.⁸² The spear fishing scene appeared on the right-hand side wall of Nekhebu's portico,⁸³ while a carrying chair scene occupied the opposite wall.⁸⁴ Two registers of priests carrying shrines and men bearing chests on the rear wall to the left of the doorway⁸⁵ were balanced by three registers of boats on its right.⁸⁶ Nekhebu followed the decorative scheme in Inti and Mehi's porticos only to the extent that he placed his lengthy autobiographical texts on the facade to either side of the portico.⁸⁷

Nekhebu's tomb, in fact, was probably among the last to possess a large columned portico with extensive relief decoration. The disappearance of such elaborate porticos may be connected with the general decline in tomb building visible in the Memphite cemeteries after the reign of Pepy I.⁸⁸

Smith observed that the autobiographical inscription on the facade of Senedjemib Inti's chapel should be considered in connection with the similar occurrence of the autobiographical inscriptions of Rashepses and Ka-em-tjenent at Saqqara.⁸⁹ Two copies of a letter from king Izezi were inscribed along with figures of the vizier and a son on each side of the doorway leading into an open court fronting on Rashepses's tomb.⁹⁰ The blocks bearing the autobiographical inscriptions of Ka-em-tjenent were found displaced, but it has proven possible with some degree of assurance to relocate them on the

walls of his portico.⁹¹ As we have already seen, Rashepses was an older contemporary of Inti's, and probably preceded the latter in the office of vizier. Ka-em-tjenent was a prince and, since his autobiographical inscription makes mention of the vizier Rashepses, he was in all probability a son of Izezi.⁹² His tomb therefore dates to about the same time as G 2370.⁹³ Although the portico entrance to the family complex of Seshemnofer IV at Giza does not bear an autobiographical text, such a text was carved on the wall to the north of the entrance recess to his own chapel, even though it was largely destroyed when discovered.⁹⁴ Subsequently, autobiographical texts were inscribed on the vertical facades of the tombs of the viziers in the Teti cemetery at North Saqqara.⁹⁵

An earlier prototype for the occurrence of autobiographical inscriptions at tomb entrances is probably to be found in the reign of Neferirkare, in the Saqqara tomb of the vizier Washptah Izi. On both the jambs and thicknesses of the entrance to his mastaba,⁹⁶ Washptah is represented together with his sons, while over their heads is inscribed a lengthy autobiographical text.⁹⁷ The entrance to the tomb had not always been the traditional location for autobiographical texts, the earlier autobiographies of Metjen,⁹⁸ Debehen,⁹⁹ and Rawer,¹⁰⁰ for example, being inscribed on interior walls of their tombs.

The area immediately above the spear fishing and fowling scenes in both the tombs of Inti and Mehi (also Seshemnofer IV) is destroyed. In the earlier tomb of Ni-ankh-khnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara, the panels with these scenes are surmounted by an architrave with a

⁷⁸ See *PM* 3², p. 489, plan L; Schott, in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, fig. 1.

⁷⁹ *Urk.* 1, pp. 181–86; Schott, in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, pp. 443–61.

⁸⁰ Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 144, 294 [530]; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 276.

⁸¹ Junker, *Giza* II, pp. 174–76, fig. 71.

⁸² Kagemni: *Teti Cem.* 1, pp. 109–111; 2, pls. 7 [lower], 59 [2, 3]; *Urk.* 1, pp. 194–96; Edel, *Phraseologie*, pp. 68–70; idem, *MIO* 1 (1953), pp. 210–26. Ankhmahor: Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, pp. 14–15, fig. 23, pl. 34. Khenika: James, *Khenika*, pp. 36–41, pls. 1, 5–6. Similar texts are to be seen on the facade of the tomb of Nefersehempthah Sheshi (*Rue de tomb.*, pl. 77 [right]; *Urk.* 1, pp. 200–201). These texts are, in general, more conventional than earlier autobiographies and include moral encomium, as well as addresses to passers-by. Nevertheless, Kagemni's texts do incorporate an actual autobiographical section narrating the progress of his career under Unis and Teti. If the other texts were better preserved, they might also have included a curriculum vitae of the tomb owner. Hetep-her-akhthi also had conventionalized autobiographical texts inscribed on each side of the entrance to his Saqqara tomb (Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhthi*, figs. on pp. 34–35). Its precise date is uncertain, however; Baer (*Rank and Title*, p. 108 [357]) dates the tomb to Neuserre or later, while Harpur (*Decoration*, p. 275) assigns it to the period between Neuserre and early Izezi.

⁹⁶ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 267–71. Borchardt, *Denkm.* 1, fig. at bottom of p. 40, evidently assumed that the blocks in Cairo derived from the "petite chambre" or niche found by Mariette. Smith, in Reisner, *Tomb Dev.*, p. 399 [No. 24: D 38] thought that the blocks came from the sides of an outer niche that possibly framed the false door, which is now in the National Museum in Copenhagen. However, the niche measures 1.30 m in depth and is 1.58 m wide, while the false door in Copenhagen is 1.84 m wide (Nielsen, *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1993, fig. 2), and therefore cannot have fit at the back of the niche. Mariette does not actually say that the false door comes from the niche, only that it was found in the debris of the tomb. *PM* 3², p. 456, probably correctly, refers to the blocks preserved in Cairo and Aberdeen as constituting the jambs and thicknesses of a doorway. Nielsen, *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1993, p. 43, also assumes the blocks derive from the tomb's entrance.

⁹⁷ *Urk.* 1, pp. 40–45; Breasted, *Ancient Records* 1, §§ 242–249; Roccati, *Literature*, pp. 108–111.

⁹⁸ E.g., *Urk.* 1, pp. 1–7; Goedicke, *MDAIK* 21 (1966), pp. 1–71.

⁹⁹ *Urk.* 1, pp. 18–21; Hassan, *Giza* 4, pp. 167–70, fig. 118, pl. 48.

¹⁰⁰ *Urk.* 1, p. 232; Hassan, *Giza* 1, pp. 15, pl. 12; 18, fig. 13, pl. 18. For a recent translation, see Allen, in *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honor of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, pp. 14–20.

⁷⁸ See above, p. 12 and n. 39.

⁷⁹ LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. 23b (= Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 81).

⁸⁰ See below, p. 146, figs. 114, 115.

⁸¹ For such scenes, see Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 21–31.

⁸² MFA unaccessioned. Cf. Schürmann, *Li-nefret*, figs. 7a/b, 21.

⁸³ MFA 13.4332; Smith, *BMFA* 56, no. 304 (1958), pp. 58–60, fig. 2.

⁸⁴ EG 476; for the text, see Heerma Van Voss, *Phoenix* 14 (1968), pp. 129–30, fig. 49.

⁸⁵ EG 484; a detail is reproduced in *HESP*, p. 209, fig. 80.

⁸⁶ MFA 13.4349; *ibid.*, p. 307, fig. 164; Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, p. 8, n. 63, fig. 12.

⁸⁷ *Urk.* 1, pp. 215–21; Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), pp. 1–8.

⁸⁸ Cf. Kanawati, *Administration*, pp. 73–74; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 69.

⁸⁹ *HESP*, p. 200.

⁹⁰ Quibell, *Excav. Saq. (1907–1908)*, p. 24, pl. 62 (2). For the letter, see *ibid.*, pp. 79–82; *Urk.* 1, pp. 179–80.

two-way orientation of text and with standing figures of the two brothers on either end, while the space above the architrave is occupied by double representations of Ni-ankh-khnum and Khnum-hotep at table, figures of butchers at work, and food offerings.¹⁰¹

In Nekhebu's portico, as reconstructed by William Stevenson Smith, a lintel over the entrance was inscribed with an offering formula in a single line of large hieroglyphs between border lines. Over the lintel an architrave extended the entire width of the portico. It too was inscribed with an offering formula, but the hieroglyphs were larger yet.¹⁰² If decorated lintels or architraves, or any other kind of decoration, appeared above the marsh hunt scenes at the back of the porticos of Inti and Mehi (or Seshemnofer IV), no evidence for such appears to survive at present.

The offering room of G 2370 (Room IV), the mastaba of Senedjemib Inti, is the first well-dated example of an east–west offering room at Giza.¹⁰³ Long east–west offering rooms with a false door occupying the west wall, Reisner's type (7), first appear in Dynasty 5, in the pyramid temples of Sahure, Neferirkare, and Neuserre.¹⁰⁴ There was very little time lag before this type of offering room began to make its appearance in private tombs. The earliest example of the new type of offering room may be that of Persen, which dates back at least to the reign of Neferirkare, if not earlier.¹⁰⁵ The new type of offering room is most closely associated with multi-roomed mastaba chapels, however, and a new type of false door with cavetto cornice and torus moulding.¹⁰⁶ Harpur believes that the earliest example of an east–west offering room in a multi-roomed, or complex, chapel might be that of Ankhmare at Saqqara, tentatively assigned by her to the reign of Menkauhor,¹⁰⁷ or that of Ptahhetep I dated, as we have already seen, to the reign of Izezi.¹⁰⁸

Like G 2370, the principle mastabas built on the platform of the Senedjemib Complex (G 2374, 2378, 2381, 2384, 2385), all have long east–west offering rooms.¹⁰⁹ Whereas both G 2370 and G 2381 are type (7c) complex chapels based on a two-roomed nucleus comprising an east–west offering room and a north–south anteroom, G 2374, 2378, and 2385 belong to type (7d), and consist of an east–west offering room with other rooms presenting a modification of type (7c), insofar as they lack the north–south anteroom room. G 2384 was too denuded to determine anything more of its plan with certainty.¹¹⁰ Two smaller chapels, G 2386–a and b, adjacent to the entrance ramp,

which probably belonged to Inti's great-grandsons(?), Impy and Ibebi, consisted of single interconnecting east–west offering rooms equipped with the new type of false door.¹¹¹ G 2390 on the platform east of G 2381, south of the sloping ramp leading up to the complex, may also have possessed an east–west chapel, but all that remains of it are the lower part of a false door and a few stones from the north and west walls of the room. Even so, the torus moulding visible at its sides indicates that the false door was likewise of the new type with cavetto cornice.¹¹²

The majority of the east–west offering rooms in the Senedjemib Complex are entered either from a north–south anteroom by a doorway in the east end of the north wall (G 2381) or from an east–west anteroom by means of a doorway in the east end of the south wall (G 2374, 2378, 2384?, and 2385). Inti's offering room (G 2370) is distinguished from these others by the placement of the entrance just to the east of the center of the north wall. As a result this wall is divided into two sections of unequal length. Nevertheless, all of these arrangements result in a shorter entrance wall.¹¹³ An exception to the general layout is provided by the interconnecting chapels G 2386–a and b.

Harpur has analyzed the program of decoration on the walls of the east–west offering rooms with long north and south walls entered from the north or south in the multiple-roomed chapels of late Dynasty 5 and Dynasty 6 in very concise terms.

The tomb owner sits before an offering table, oriented away from his false door. A pile of food separates his table from approaching bearers, or alternatively, food is arranged above the loaves so that the subsidiary figures are brought closer to the deceased. Above, and sometimes extending beyond the pile of food, is an offering list, while further right the shorter registers are occupied by food (optional), and priests. From about V.7 onwards the latter perform rites level with the deceased's head or just above it, depending upon the height allowed for the registers below. Bearers fill the registers level with the food, oriented westward as if they are piling offerings in front of the major figure. One of these processions is often led by the deceased's son, who offers incense to his father or perhaps strangles a goose or duck as a sacrifice. Below, there is sometimes an extra register filled with bearers relating directly to the false door. In Dynasty 6 these figures are occasionally divided into two groups, the first carrying haunches and the second strangling geese as they hold them forward as an offering.¹¹⁴

Harpur supplements her discussion with a schematic diagram which is reproduced here as fig. 10.¹¹⁵

Harpur makes the additional observation that the east–west offering rooms in the multi-roomed chapels are the only type of offering room that consistently follows the pattern of reliefs in the sanctuaries of royal mortuary temples.¹¹⁶ Indeed, the north and south wall compositions in the east–west sanctuary of the pyramid temple of Pepy II, the best preserved example, are almost identical to east–west offering room scenes in multi-roomed chapels.¹¹⁷

¹⁰¹ *Nianchehnum*, pls. 1–5, figs. 4–6.

¹⁰² EG 474.

¹⁰³ GN I, pp. 260–61; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 50.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *Giza Necropolis* I, p. 260. Reisner believed that the east–west offering room first appeared in the outer offering-place of the pyramid temples of Dynasty 4. Stadelmann (*MDAIK* 49 [1993], pp. 259–63, fig. 1b), however, now restores a long east–west offering room with a false door at the back of the mortuary temple of the Bent Pyramid of Sneferu at Dahshur.

¹⁰⁵ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 107. For the mastaba in question, see *PM* 3², pp. 577–78.

¹⁰⁶ GN I, pp. 260–61.

¹⁰⁷ *Decoration*, p. 273.

¹⁰⁸ Strudwick (*Administration*, pp. 135–36) dates the single roomed, east–west chapel to the mid-Fifth Dynasty, citing Sekhem-ankh-Ptah (*PM* 3², pp. 454–55), but Harpur, who thinks this chapel is hardly dissimilar architecturally from that of Persen, assigns it instead to the reigns of Izezi or Unis (*Decoration*, pp. 107, n. 70; 276).

¹⁰⁹ The only definite exception is G 2383, the small, late chapel of Wer-ka-bau Iku built against the south wall of G 2378 (see above, p. 3).

¹¹⁰ See above, p. 2 and n. 25; below, p. 19.

¹¹¹ See above, p. 3.

¹¹² See above, p. 3.

¹¹³ See Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 85.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 31.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*; see *PM* 3², p. 428 [34–35].

The culmination of the decorative program for the east–west offering rooms with long north and south walls in private chapels is to be seen in the tombs of the queens and viziers of Unis in the Unis pyramid cemetery at Saqqara¹¹⁸ and in the tombs of the high officials of the reigns of Teti and Pepy I located in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara.¹¹⁹ Earlier stages in the process of development can be traced in a number of east–west offering rooms at Saqqara, for example, those of Persen, Netjeruser, Hetep-her-akhti, and Ptahhetep I. Persen was in all likelihood a contemporary of Sahure or Neferirkare,¹²⁰ Netjeruser and Hetep-her-akhti's chapels were probably decorated in the period between Neuserre and early Izezi,¹²¹ and Ptahhetep I, as has already been stated on a number of occasions, was a close contemporary of Senedjemib Inti.

In both Persen and Hetep-her-akhti, the table scene appears on the south wall only, rather than on both long walls as later.¹²² In the case of Hetep-her-akhti, this wall is bisected horizontally, with the table scene located above, while below the deceased views farm activities.¹²³ The opposite, north wall in Hetep-her-akhti is occupied by further outdoor activities,¹²⁴ whereas in Persen it is devoted to a banquet scene with the deceased seated before registers of family members, female dancers, and agricultural estates.¹²⁵ In Netjeruser and Ptahhetep I, by comparison, table scenes appear on both the north and south walls. In Ptahhetep I only the lowest registers of the north and south walls survive.¹²⁶ However, the long walls of Netjeruser's chapel are well preserved and in content conform closely to the program of decoration for the walls of the east–west offering rooms with long north and south walls in the multiple-roomed chapels of late Dynasty 5, as defined by Harpur. On each wall appears a seated figure of the deceased at table, an offering list, food offerings, priests performing rites, and registers of men bringing offerings.¹²⁷ The better part of the extra register at the bottom of each wall in Netjeruser is filled with scenes of butchery, but a file of butchers bearing cuts of meat heads the register, the first two figures each offering a foreleg, this last a forward-looking feature. Even though a file of offering bearers largely fills the extra register on the south wall of Persen, a group of butchers is inserted at the very end of the register.¹²⁸ By contrast, in the extra register on the north wall of Persen,¹²⁹ and on both long walls in Ptahhetep I, a procession of agricultural estates approaches a seated figure of the owner.¹³⁰ In the latter case,

the procession of agricultural estates is led by a son of the owner who serves in the capacity of scribe. Otherwise, in most other respects, the south long wall in Persen, and the northern and southern long walls in Ptahhetep I, seem to conform to the common decorative scheme for the long north and south walls of east–west offering rooms in later Dynasty 5.

The extra register at the bottom of both the north and south long walls in G 2370 is occupied by bearers who seem to bring their offerings directly to the offering slab at the foot of the false door (pls. 38, 46a; figs. 61, 64). In this regard, at least, the decoration on its long walls is progressive. Still, Harpur notes that in Dynasty 6 the foremost bearers in this extra register were sometimes divided into two groups, the first carrying haunches and the second strangling geese as they held them forward as an offering. This is not the case in G 2370, where these two groups of bearers appear in separate registers. Thus, the first three bearers in the extra register on the south wall carry haunches of meat, while the five figures who strangle geese appear at the head of the procession in the short register above (pl. 38; fig. 61).¹³¹

Harpur also observes that, from about the reign of Menkauhor onwards, the priests performing rites occupy a short register on a level with the deceased's head or just above it. This is already the case in Netjeruser, and in G 2370 the figures of the priests likewise occupy the shorter register to the left or right of the offering list on a level with the head of the seated figure of Inti at table. As in a number of Dynasty 6 offering rooms, the remainder of the wall above the figures of the priests was apparently occupied by an array of food and drink offerings in narrow sub-registers.¹³² In G 2370 food and drink offerings are also to be seen in the shorter register behind the priests. As is also true of Netjeruser, in G 2370 a vertical column with the caption *shpt stpt* precedes the foremost offering bearer on the south wall.¹³³ Although the same caption continues to appear in Dynasty 6,¹³⁴ in east–west chapels at the later period the vertical column containing the caption is frequently replaced¹³⁵ or supplemented by¹³⁶ a long horizontal line (or lines) which begins with *shpt stpt* but extends the width of the register above the heads of the offering bearers.

Senedjemib Inti's offering room thus fits quite readily into the developmental sequence for the decorative scheme of chapels of type (7). It is therefore all the more curious that Senedjemib Mehi omits the extra register of offering bearers at the bottom of the wall. On the other hand, his draftsman did include the multiple serving tables and jar racks which occupy the beginning of the fourth register in the tomb of his father. In other tombs a limited number of tables

¹¹⁸ See above, p. 11 and n. 5.

¹¹⁹ *Gem-ni-kai* 2, pls. 16–29, 30[b], 33, Beiblatt 1; *Rue de tomb.*, pls. 53–63 (= Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhm'ahor*, figs. 48–49); *Mereruka* 1, pls. 57–67.

¹²⁰ See above, p. 16 and n. 105.

¹²¹ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 275. For discussions of the problems involved in dating the tomb of Netjeruser, see Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 97 [294]; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 114 (91). The tomb exhibits in its decoration a number of progressive features that might be expected to first appear in the tomb of a higher official such as a vizier. For the purposes of this discussion, however, we have accepted Harpur's date.

¹²² *Seven Chapels*, pl. 10 [top]; Mohr, *Hetepherakhti*, fig. 39.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78–86, figs. 44–54.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 52–65, figs. 24–34.

¹²⁵ *PM* 3², pp. 577–78.

¹²⁶ Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pls. 8–9, 12 (as Ptahhotep II); Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, pls. 39b–46.

¹²⁷ Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pls. 21, 23.

¹²⁸ *Seven Chapels*, pl. 10 [top].

¹²⁹ *Seven Chapels*, pl. 10 [bottom].

¹³⁰ Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pls. 9–10; Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, pls. 39 B–46.

¹³¹ For the north wall, which is less complete than the south wall, see below, pp. 76–78.

¹³² E.g., *Gem-ni-kai* 2, pls. 18, 24, 29–31; *Mereruka* 1, pl. 61; James, *Khentika*, pl. 21. In Netjeruser the food offerings appear below the feet of the priests (Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pls. 21, 23).

¹³³ See below, p. 74.

¹³⁴ E.g., Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 56, 64; El-Fikey, *Rē-wer*, pls. 6, 7; Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 19; *Meir* 5, pls. 9, 11, 33, 34.

¹³⁵ E.g., CG 1491–92; *Gem-ni-kai* 2, pls. 20–23, 27, 31–33; *Mereruka* 1, pls. 57–58, 65, 67 (multiple lines); James, *Khentika*, pl. 2.

¹³⁶ E.g., CG 1418; James, *Khentika*, pl. 20; Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, fig. 18; Lauer, *Saqqara*, color pl. XVIII; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 85, 87, 91. A similar horizontal line can also occur on the short, eastern end wall; see below, p. 127.

or racks may be placed under the offering table,¹³⁷ or a table or rack or two may be seen close to the piles of food in the registers before the deceased,¹³⁸ but such an array is otherwise rare and forms one more link in the decoration of the two tombs.¹³⁹

Two further refinements affect the extra register at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty. First, the number of birds presented by the second group of bearers is multiplied, each offering bearer holding up as many as five birds by the neck and wings.¹⁴⁰ Second, cages with other birds appear at the feet of the figures who strangle the birds.¹⁴¹ These developments too are evident in the Senedjemib Complex. Even though the offering room of Khnumenti is largely destroyed, a long block which must belong to the extra register on its north wall shows the legs and feet of nine figures (pl. 94b; fig. 91). A cage of live birds rests on the ground in front of the seventh, eighth, and ninth figures. Since part of a cage is also visible behind the ninth figure, and a fragment preserves the central portion of an offering bearer and another cage filled with ducks, there is clear evidence for at least five such figures originally.¹⁴² Presumably, the six foremost figures carried haunches. Not infrequently, the number of bearers offering haunches and strangling geese is even, and this may have been the case in G 2374.¹⁴³

No mention has been made so far of the decoration of the east wall of the long east–west offering rooms. The offering room of Peresen possessed no east wall, since it was in the form of a deep niche, open to the corridor.¹⁴⁴ The offering room of Hetep-her-akhti is entered by a door in the middle of the east wall, but scenes of netting birds in a tree and of goats browsing occupy the lintel over the doorway, while the jambs have four registers with two offering bearers in each.¹⁴⁵ Outdoor activities still appear on the east wall of the offering room of Ptahhetep I towards the end of Dynasty 5.¹⁴⁶ Conversely, already in middle of the dynasty in the tomb of Netjeruser, outdoor activities are entirely excluded from the offering room, and the east wall is decorated with food and drink offerings over the doorway and with three registers of men escorting sacrificial animals on the jambs to either side.¹⁴⁷ The offerings thus continue the arrays of food and drink at the top of the long walls. Such an arrangement was not uncommon in Dynasty 6.¹⁴⁸

All that remains today of the relief decoration on the east wall of the offering room in G 2370 are back-to-back processions of men and animals in the lowermost register, but Mariette claims to have seen offering bearers in the lower registers of this wall and food offerings arrayed on tables in its upper register.¹⁴⁹ East–west offering rooms of Dynasty 6 often relegate the butchers, which in Netjeruser occupied the extra register at the bottom of the long walls, to the east end wall, where they commonly appear below registers of food offerings and bearers of offerings.¹⁵⁰ Except for the bottom of the wall in Inti's offering room, the east walls of the offering rooms in the other mastabas of the Senedjemib Complex are largely destroyed. Nevertheless, a fragment of relief assigned to the east wall of the offering room of G 2374 does show butchers at work with a horizontal caption above that perhaps once began with *shpt stpt* (pl. 96b).¹⁵¹

The symmetry inherent in the arrangement on the north and south long walls evidently appealed to the Egyptian sense of the aesthetic, for once the scheme was adopted, it remained the norm for east–west offering rooms throughout much of the remainder of the Sixth Dynasty. It appears not only in the multi-roomed chapels of the period, but also in a simplified format in smaller tombs both in the Memphite cemeteries¹⁵² and in the provinces.¹⁵³

Although the cavetto cornice has disappeared and the torus moulding is largely destroyed, the false door of Senedjemib Inti remains the earliest well-dated Giza example of the new type of false door with cornice and moulding that first appears at Saqqara in the early Fifth Dynasty.¹⁵⁴ All the false doors in the Senedjemib Complex for which evidence survives (G 2370, 2374, 2378, 2386–a and b, 2390) were of this new type, including the small, late false door of Wer-kabau Iku (G 2383).¹⁵⁵ As the cornice and torus were introduced in the Fifth Dynasty, the inscriptions, size, and decoration of the jambs of false doors becomes more regular.¹⁵⁶ Strudwick notes that the doors of the high officials of the reign of Izezi and later all exhibit jamb inscriptions of equal length, with a figure of the deceased at the bottom of each.¹⁵⁷ This is certainly true of the false doors of Inti, Mehi, and Khnumenti (G 2374), each of which possesses three recessed pairs of jambs.

For the most part, the surviving false doors of the Senedjemib Complex are monolithic in nature (G 2374, 2378, 2383, 2386–a and b, 2390). Senedjemib Inti's false door though differs from these others inasmuch as it is constructed of several distinct blocks. Both Inti and Mehi's false doors stand on massive blocks of limestone that functioned as offering stones.¹⁵⁸ From Lepsius's drawing, it is clear that a

¹³⁷ E.g., Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pls. 29, 30; *Mereruka* 1, pls. 57–58, 65; James, *Khentika*, pls. 14, 20, 21; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 41; El-Fikey, *Rē-uer*, pls. 6–7. In the offering room of Tjetu, three tables and a rack are set beneath the offering table; see *Teti Cem.* 1, pl. 38.

¹³⁸ E.g., Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pls. 21, 23; Lythgoe–Ransom, *Perneb*, fig. 36.

¹³⁹ As Harpur (*Decoration*, p. 22) observes, other similarities include the spear fishing, fowling, and fording scenes in the porticos of G 2370 and 2378, the father–son group on the entrance thicknesses, and the agricultural estates on the inner thicknesses.

¹⁴⁰ See Brunner-Traut, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), pp. 18–32.

¹⁴¹ E.g., *Gem-ni-kai* 2, pls. 20–21, 27, 32; *Mereruka* 1, pl. 57. See also *Saqqara Tombs* 2, pl. 9, probably from the first half of the reign of Pepy I, and *Meir* 5, pls. 34, 36, from the first half of the reign of Pepy II; for the dates, see Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 274, 280.

¹⁴² See below, p. 126.

¹⁴³ E.g., *Gem-ni-kai* 2, pls. 20–21, 27, 32; *Mereruka* 1, pl. 65; James, *Khentika*, pls. 20, 21; *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pl. 14.

¹⁴⁴ *Seven Chapels*, pp. 9, pl. 22 (27).

¹⁴⁵ Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, pp. 50–52, figs. 20–23.

¹⁴⁶ Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pl. 11; Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, pls. 37–39A.

¹⁴⁷ Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pl. 22.

¹⁴⁸ E.g., *Gem-ni-kai* 2, pls. 25–26; James, *Khentika*, pl. 22. Exceptionally, Nefer-seshemtah has a table scene on the east wall with butchers below (*Rue de tomb.*, pl. 101).

¹⁴⁹ See above, p. 6.

¹⁵⁰ E.g., *Gem-ni-kai* 2, pls. 25, 26; James, *Khentika*, pl. 22; *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pl. 15; *PM* 3², pp. 536 (121), 621 (20). Cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 107.

¹⁵¹ See p. 127 below, and cf. James, *Khentika*, pl. 22.

¹⁵² E.g., Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pls. 29–30; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, figs. 23, 24; El-Fikey, *Rē-uer*, pl. 6; Kanawati, *Excav. Saq.* 1, pls. 34, 36–7; Munro, *Unas-Friedhof* 1, pls. 26–27.

¹⁵³ E.g., *Meir* 5, pls. 33–34; Brovarski, in *Bersheh Reports* 1, p. 67.

¹⁵⁴ Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 15, 35.

¹⁵⁵ See above, p. 3 and n. 35.

¹⁵⁶ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ See below, pp. 75–76, 154–55.

cavetto cornice and torus moulding originally surmounted the offering stone of Mehi (fig. 126).¹⁵⁹ It is possible that Inti's offering stone was similarly ornamented, but the damage is too extensive to be certain (pls. 43, 46a). The tops of both slabs are very uneven, and no traces of a loaf-on-mat motif or of rectangular depressions for liquids are visible. The offering slab in G 2384 is also surmounted by a cornice and moulding (pl. 10b). In this instance, however, vestiges of a loaf-on-mat design are visible on the upper surface of the block.

In most of the other tombs of the Senedjemib Complex, the false doors rest directly on the blocks of the paving of the offering room. In the case of Khnumenti (G 2374) the rear section of the offering stone is carved from the same block as the false door itself and projects a few centimeters beyond the side mouldings (pl. 95). The front surface of this projecting element is roughly finished, and another large rectangular block with or without the customary loaf-on-a-mat carved on its upper surface was presumably set against it and plastered into place.

To the right of Inti's false door and offering stone, a large rectangular offering bench of limestone, measuring 2.06 m in length by 52 cm in width and 44 cm in height, rests against the northern wall of the room. The bench is crowned by a cavetto-and-torus cornice on its southern and eastern sides (pl. 46a). Although not confined to multiple-room chapels based on east-west offering rooms, similar benches form a standard part of the service equipment in Type 7 chapels in a number of important tombs of the very end of the Fifth Dynasty and the early Sixth Dynasty at both Giza and Saqqara.¹⁶⁰ Usually the benches are monolithic but sometimes, as here, the upper part of the bench with the cornice and moulding is cut from a single stone which rests on smaller limestone blocks.¹⁶¹ A number of the benches are inscribed along the top with the name and titles of the deceased.¹⁶² The model for this arrangement is probably the sanctuary in pyramid temples of about the same period.¹⁶³ Three other specimens are to be found within the Senedjemib Complex, in G 2378, 2384, and 2385. Senedjemib Mehi's bench, which apparently was plain and lacked a cornice (fig. 95c), measured 2.12 m in length by 47 cm in width by 45 cm in height.¹⁶⁴ Considering the situation of all these benches close to the false door and the offering stone, it seems likely that they were intended to serve some purpose in the

offering ritual; perhaps they functioned as "sideboards" on which offerings and cult paraphernalia were placed during the periodic funeral ceremonies which were performed in the chapel.¹⁶⁵

In the northeast corner of the offering room of G 2370 is a box-like structure built of three limestone slabs, two set upright on either side of a third which rests flat on the floor and has a rectangular depression or basin in its center (pl. 50a–b; fig. 3). The structure measures 139.5 cm in width by 54 cm in depth and is 75 cm high. It has no top, but a finished limestone slab, measuring 159 cm in length, rests at present alongside the south wall of the room opposite this structure (pl. 50b). Reisner makes no mention of this slab in his records and, if it served as a table top for the boxlike structure, it would have projected some 6.5 cm into the opening of the entrance to the room. On the other hand, the projection would not have served as an obstacle to free passage into the offering room, and the rectangular block may well have served that purpose.

A similar installation was discovered in the offering room of the queen's temple of Pyramid III–a at Giza.¹⁶⁶ In the northwestern corner of the room was a complete and unbroken offering table built of seven limestone slabs. The table was partially closed in front by an upright slab and had a horizontal slab set as a shelf about midway below the tops of the side and back slabs. In the top of the shelf was a small circular depression large enough to take a round-bottomed pottery bowl of medium size. Below the shelf a rectangular stone basin rested on the floor. The front of the circular depression showed signs of wear, as if the bowl had been removed and replaced numerous times.¹⁶⁷ The boxlike structure in G 2370 may have served a similar purpose. Perhaps the basin was filled on feast days with water for use in the offering ceremonies or for the ritual purification of the funerary priests, while libation vessels rested on the shelf above. Installations like Inti's are rare in private tombs, but Selim Hassan found an elevated stone basin with a rock-cut shelf projecting from the wall above in the northeast corner of the rock-cut chapel of Prince Ankhmare at Giza.¹⁶⁸

In the northwest corner of the north-south vestibule of G 2370 evidence survives for another cult installation, of which three slabs of limestone alone remain in place (pl. 34a). Two slabs are set upright against the west and north walls and a third slab, which rests flat on the floor, placed snugly against them. If another slab is restored on the south side and a horizontal slab set on it, the resultant construction is a table like that in the southeast corner of Room IV, albeit without the basin below. On this reconstructed table the funerary priests may have set cult objects, while they burned incense and made offering before the serdab slots during the regular offering ceremonies.

The mastabas of Inti and Mehi were constructed of great blocks of grey nummulitic limestone, and the reliefs in the two chapels were

¹⁵⁹ LD 2, pl. 75.

¹⁶⁰ See e.g., *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pp. 4–5, pl. 2; James, *Khentika*, p. 26, pls. 3, 17B; LD 1, pl. 22; *Text* 1, pp. 49–50; *Ergänz.*, pl. ix = Badawy, *Ni-hetep-ptah and Ankhmahor* 1, fig. 17 (Ni-hetep-ptah); *ibid.*, p. 34, pl. 60 (Ankhmahor); Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, p. 23, pl. 32 [bottom] (Netjeruser); Hassan, *Giza* 5, pp. 189, 271, fig. 118 (Itisen); Hassan, *Saqqara* 1, p. 52, pl. 41A (Nebkauhor); *ibid.* 2, p. 45, pls. 34B, D, 35 (Ptahhetep I). In the tomb of Ptahhetep I at Saqqara, there is a second bench set against the west wall of the pillared hall (Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, p. 38, pl. 28). This bench may have been associated with a statue naos on the opposite side of the doorway located in the middle of this wall.

¹⁶¹ In contrast, the bench of Ni-hetep-ptah (see last note) consists of a slab with a cornice and moulding running along its top set upon two upright blocks and, more properly speaking, constitutes an offering table rather than an offering bench. The same is true of an example in the two-niched rock-cut chapel of Queen Bunefer, wife of Shepseskaf(?), where the table, consisting of a slab of limestone set on four blocks of the same material is placed against the western wall in the space between the two false doors; see Hassan, *Giza* 3, p. 194, fig. 146.

¹⁶² James, *Khentika*, p. 26, pl. 17B; Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, p. 45, pl. 34B.

¹⁶³ Borchardt, *Nefer-ir-kes-re*, p. 9, pl. 10; Lauer, *Saqqara*, p. 184 (Merenre); Labrousse and Cornon, *Regards sur une pyramide*, pp. 90–91 (Pepi I).

¹⁶⁴ See LD 1, pl. 23 [upper].

¹⁶⁵ See the discussion in Hassan, *Giza* 5, pp. 188–89. The bench of Itisen actually has a circular alabaster offering table set in its upper surface (Hassan, *Giza* 5, p. 271).

¹⁶⁶ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pp. 60–61, pl. 77a, Plan V. In two other instances of offering tables, one in an inner offering room in the same queen's temple and the other in a converted magazine of the Mycerinus Valley Temple, certain of the stone slabs were displaced or missing; *ibid.*, pp. 23–24, 61, pl. 61a, b.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 60.

¹⁶⁸ Hassan, *Giza* 6, pt. 3, p. 38.

carved in this stone. Only the offering bench and other cult installations in Inti's mastaba and the offering bench in Mehi's are of fine white limestone, presumably from the Tura quarries.¹⁶⁹ The south walls of Rooms I and II in G 2374 were also the cut-back exterior north wall of G 2370, so the funeral and agricultural scenes of Khnumenti (figs. 83, 88) were similarly carved in nummulitic limestone. The other walls in G 2374, however, were lined with fine Tura limestone, and the false door seemingly cut from a single block of the same stone. The reliefs of the destroyed mastaba of Nekhebu (G 2381) appear to have been entirely carved in fine white limestone. As far as can be ascertained from its denuded remains, G 2385 was likewise built of blocks of the same fine stone. G 2384 is nearly totally destroyed, but a block with an autobiographical inscription which seems to derive from the facade of this mastaba suggests that it too was constructed of Tura limestone.¹⁷⁰ The offering bench in its chapel is also cut from a single large block of white limestone. G 2386—a and b, north of the access ramp to the court of the complex, and G 2390 on the south of the ramp, are also badly denuded. The un-inscribed monolithic false doors in these three mastabas are of nummulitic limestone, however.

The nummulitic limestone used in the tombs of Inti and Mehi was apparently local stone, cut from one of the quarries along the edges of the main promontory at Giza or on its top.¹⁷¹ The coarse nummulitic limestone at Giza is of two varieties, a softer yellow-drab stone and a harder grey stone.¹⁷² As previously mentioned, the stone utilized in G 2370 and 2378 is of the harder grey variety.

Smith says the reliefs of the Senedjemib Complex are the ordinary type of Dynasty 5, the execution being of none too good quality.¹⁷³ Elsewhere he describes the reliefs as "low with moderately good carving."¹⁷⁴ Actually, the relief is neither as low as the fine low relief of the Dynasty 4 slab-stelae¹⁷⁵ nor as high as the bold high relief that characterizes Dynasty 6 carving at Saqqara.¹⁷⁶ It might be more accurate to describe it as relief of medium height, a type of relief that was developed for carving in nummulitic stone in the first rock-cut chapels at Giza towards the end of the reign of Khafre or the beginning of the reign of Mycerinus.¹⁷⁷ Nummulitic limestone is full of little fossils, and the dressing of the surfaces was never as smooth as in white limestone.¹⁷⁸ Often the unfinished wall surfaces are rough and pitted, and it was therefore necessary to apply a coating of plaster in order to provide a smooth surface that allowed a considerable degree of finish. In some places the plaster sizing might be quite thick, in others a thinner layer of sizing served to take the paint.¹⁷⁹ The quality of nummulitic limestone utilized in the Senedjemib Complex is generally good and allowed better workmanship, so that in

most cases a relatively thin layer of sizing was required, with the result that the raised reliefs in the mastabas of the complex are largely carved in the stone with small details cut in the overlying plaster layer. This plaster coating is readily apparent in G 2370 on the south wall of the offering room (Room IV), for example. In the table scene occupying that wall, details such as the curls of the wigs of the offering bearers and the wing feathers of the bird offerings were carved in the plaster (pl. 38). Where this plaster layer has been abraded or fallen away the details have also disappeared. The loss of the plaster layer probably explains the apparent lack of details in the large seated figure of Inti at the right end of this scene (pl. 41). The stone at this end of the wall was particularly bad and plaster also had to be employed to conceal the numerous flaws and breaks in the wall surface.¹⁸⁰ The carving of the bottom of Inti's handkerchief has, in fact, been continued into a large plaster patch on his lower torso.

In a few cases in G 2370 the stone is very hard, being highly fossiliferous, with innumerable nummulites densely packed, and was extremely difficult to cut with the available copper chisels. Instances are provided by the butchery scene at the bottom of the south wall of the anteroom (Room II) and the crafts scene on the north wall of the same room, where the nummulites interfered with the carving of clear outlines (pls. 25a, 27b).¹⁸¹ Much of the pitting within the figures and hieroglyphs that interrupts their outlines probably results from the dislodging of the little fossils by the chisel, although the relief in the latter location has been exposed to weathering as well. In such cases, the whole wall or certain parts of it were probably originally covered with a thick coating of plaster to provide a smooth surface for the cutting of the reliefs.¹⁸² Where this plaster coating has fallen away in the majority of cases, the reliefs often appear unfinished.

An especially interesting example of the loss of the plaster sizing is provided by the west end of the lowest register on the north wall of the offering room of G 2370, where figures which were once executed in plaster have subsequently disappeared. Indeed, it is only by means of the faint chisel marks left behind that it is possible to tell that figures ever occupied this area of the wall (fig. 65).¹⁸³

Nummulitic limestone was sporadically utilized at Saqqara, and Margaret Murray in speaking of the Saqqara mastaba of Sekhemka very well observes:

The stone of the west wall is a nummulitic limestone, full of little fossils which fall out where the stone is worn, leaving a hollow, some of the edges of which are so sharp as to make it difficult to determine whether it is a natural hollow or part of an incised hieroglyph. When two or three little fossils, which are close together, happen to fall out, a ridge is left which is soon worn away by the action of the sand, and thus the surface is defaced more quickly than is the case with ordinary limestone.¹⁸⁴

Murray's words apply only too readily to the relief scenes in the mastabas of Inti and Mehi, especially where they have been exposed to the strong winds which blow across the Giza plateau, picking up sand and delivering it with devastating force against any exposed

¹⁶⁹ For the use of Tura limestone at Giza, see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, pp. 79–80 (Criterion 60, table on pp. 202–3).

¹⁷⁰ See below, p. 30.

¹⁷¹ *GN I*, pp. 11–12.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ *HESP*, p. 211.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 159–61.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

¹⁷⁷ *GN I*, pp. 245, 301; *HESP*, p. 162.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

¹⁷⁹ For the sizing technique employed in the reliefs, see *GN I*, p. 245.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

¹⁸¹ See below, p. 48, 52–54.

¹⁸² *HESP*, p. 200.

¹⁸³ See below, pp. 76–78.

¹⁸⁴ Murray, *Saq. Mast. I*, p. 8.

surface. The uppermost surfaces of the important autobiographical inscriptions of Inti and the upper parts of walls in G 2378 have all been subjected to this sand-blasting effect and have suffered severely from it.

It is puzzling as to why officials of Inti and Mehi's rank and presumed wherewithal would have built mastabas of an inferior local limestone, instead of importing fine quality limestone from the Tura limestone quarries in the Mokattam hills on the east bank just a few kilometers to the south of Giza. Nevertheless, the fact is that the majority of the mastabas built at Giza in Dynasties 5–6 are decorated with reliefs executed in the local nummulitic limestone.¹⁸⁵ Of course, the Giza cemetery assumed a secondary position after Dynasty 4, and except for the tombs of a few royal children and favored courtiers in front of the Neuserre pyramid at Abusir, the most important burial places of Dynasty 5 and the first half of Dynasty 6 are to be found at North Saqqara.¹⁸⁶ The majority of the tombs built at Giza during this period were the modest tombs of funerary priests attached to local cults, who lacked the patronage and the resources to import Tura limestone, and thus perhaps had to make use of local limestone for their tombs out of necessity.¹⁸⁷ This certainly was not the case with Inti and Mehi. Inti especially appears to have been a favorite of Izezi's and, as viziers and overseers of royal works, both Inti and Mehi must have had ready access to the quarries of fine limestone at Tura. Except for his cult installations, which are of fine white limestone, the only other element of Inti's tomb made of Tura stone is his sarcophagus, which was acquired with royal approval at Mehi's request upon the death of his father.¹⁸⁸ The lack of proximity to the Tura quarries alone does not explain the paucity of fine white limestone in G 2370 and 2378. Although Tura is closer as the crow flies to Saqqara than to Giza, Giza is downstream from Tura, so that the transport of stone by boat to Giza would have been easier than fighting the current to go upstream to Saqqara. Indeed, in the relief showing the transport of Inti's sarcophagus from the Tura quarries, the cargo vessel is steered with two long rudders, indicating it was sailing downstream (pl. 80; fig. 23). Perhaps with a ready source of limestone in the immediate vicinity, even though the stone itself was of inferior quality, it was simply thought a matter of diminishing returns to go further afield to the limestone quarries at Tura. Undoubtedly, the final result, after the carved surface was washed with a thin coating of fine plaster and painted, approximated in appearance that of reliefs carved in fine white limestone.¹⁸⁹

Sunk relief was used sparingly on the walls of the Senedjemib Complex and mostly in locations on the outside of the chapels where it took advantage of the play of light and shadow,¹⁹⁰ for example, in the autobiographical inscriptions on the facade and adjacent portico walls of Inti's mastaba (pl. 58ff.) and on the facade of Nekhebu's mastaba.¹⁹¹ Likewise executed in sunk relief was the facade of Khnum-

enti's mastaba with its repeated standing figures of the owner and accompanying texts (pl. 84c). Nekhebu's architect also chose sunk relief for the large hieroglyphs of the architrave over the entrance of the latter's chapel, even though these were out of the direct sunlight, set as they were at the rear of a deep portico. In sunk relief also were the seated figures of Nekhebu at the bottom of the autobiographical inscriptions and his standing figures on the entrance thicknesses to his chapel.¹⁹² During Dynasty 5 there is evident an increased use of inscriptions in sunk relief until this technique became common for parts of the interior walls of chapels, especially the false doors.¹⁹³ This tendency is reflected in the sunk relief inscriptions on the jambs of the false doors of Inti, Mehi, and Khnumenti (pls. 43, 95, 121). The utilization of sunk relief for the offering list of Nekhebu is also in keeping with the general trend.¹⁹⁴

Due to the loss of the finished surfaces on the decorated walls throughout the Senedjemib Complex, it is difficult to gain an impression today of the original appearance of the mastaba interiors. Traces of red and yellow are still visible at the bottom of Inti's false door. Otherwise significant vestiges of color survive at only one location in G 2370. At the base of the north end of the west wall in the north-south vestibule, traces indicate the one-time presence of a black dado finished off with a border consisting of a band of yellow, 9 cm high, topped by a red band, also measuring 9 cm. The red band began 10 cm below the bottom of the scenes. Both bands were edged in black. The dado was still partly visible on the north wall of the room in Lepsius's day and is shown in his drawing (fig. 56), while a section of the border also appears in his drawing of the east wall (fig. 50).¹⁹⁵ Such a dado was traditional at the bottom of walls in Old Kingdom tomb chapels¹⁹⁶ and pyramid temples.¹⁹⁷

In Lepsius's day, the walls of the offering room in G 2378 still retained considerable traces of paint. According to Ernst Weidenbach, the partly preserved block border behind Mehi's figure in the table scene on the north wall of the room (fig. 128) was colored blue, red, green, yellow, and white.¹⁹⁸ Under the representations was a black dado surmounted by red and yellow bands outlined in black, similar to that in Inti's tomb.¹⁹⁹ In addition, Mehi's false door was painted a dark red in imitation of quartzite, while the figures, inscriptions, and cross-lashings on the torus moulding were yellow. The whole was framed by a block border consisting of rectangles painted alternately

¹⁸⁵ See GN 1, p. 37; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, p. 79.

¹⁸⁶ HESP, p. 185.

¹⁸⁷ Two notable exceptions are the tomb of Rawer (see above) and the Iymery Complex, (see n. 8 on p. 11).

¹⁸⁸ See below, pp. 26, 108.

¹⁸⁹ For the successive stages in decorating a private tomb during the Old Kingdom—the preliminary sketch, the carving of the stone, the painting of the sculptured walls—see Williams, *Decoration of Per-neb*, p. 3ff.; HESP, pp. 244–50.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Schäfer, *Principles*, p. 78.

¹⁹¹ See Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), pl. 1 [1].

¹⁹² MFA 13.4331 (= Dunham, *JEA* 24 [1938], pl. 1[1]), 13.4348, 13.4349, Cairo JE 44608. The architrave, Obj. Reg. 13-1-557, is drawn in EG 474.

¹⁹³ HESP, p. 201; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 24–25.

¹⁹⁴ Exp. Ph. B 1291–92.

¹⁹⁵ LD, *Ergänz.*, pls. xxi, xxii.

¹⁹⁶ It occurs, for example, in the following instances: LD 2, *Ergänz.*, pl. xlvii; *Seven Chapels*, pp. 7, 11; *Meir* 4, pp. 27, 46; 5, pp. 9, 24, 30; Abu Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 10. Exceptionally, the dado in the chapel of Persen was painted red with black and white speckles to imitate granite (*Seven Chapels*, p. 8). The black dado in the offering chamber of the vizier Mehu, surmounted by red and yellow bands edged with black is reproduced in color in Lauer, *Saqqara*, color pls. XVIII–XX. A similar arrangement was apparent in the tomb of Seshemnofer III (Junker, *Giza* 3, pls. 1–4) and also occurred in the portico chapel of Tjetu I at Giza (Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, frontispiece). More ornate than any of these is the dado in the tomb of Prince Merib which incorporates panels imitating wood grain (LD 2, pls. 19–22).

¹⁹⁷ See e.g., Borchardt, *S'ashu-re* 1, pl. 1.

¹⁹⁸ LD, Text 1, p. 54. Part of another block border is visible behind the corresponding figure of Mehi on the south wall of the offering room in LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xv.

¹⁹⁹ LD, Text 1, p. 54.

red, blue, yellow, and green between black framing lines, while the broad area between the torus moulding and the colored border as well as the tall, narrow spaces between the border and the walls on either side were painted red (fig. 126).²⁰⁰ Although no reference is made by Weidenbach to the background color of the reliefs, presumably it would have been the usual blue-grey.²⁰¹ The overall effect must have been very much like that produced by the well preserved painted reliefs of the offering room of the vizier Mehu.²⁰²

Little evidence survives as to the treatment of the tops of the walls in chapels of the Senedjemib Complex. If the south wall of the offering room in G 2370 is preserved to essentially its full height, as appears to be the case, there would have been no room at the top for the *khoker*-frieze typical of later Old Kingdom tombs.²⁰³ On the other hand, there is in all likelihood sufficient space for the earlier conventional Old Kingdom border pattern of interpolated diagonals in paint,²⁰⁴ or less likely a border of colored rectangles.²⁰⁵ The only tomb in the complex that preserves definite evidence of the *khoker*-frieze at the tops of its walls is that of Nekhebu (G 2381).²⁰⁶

The base line of the reliefs is not completely uniform throughout the complex. In the chapel of Inti the baseline falls between 1.17 and 1.20 m from the preserved pavement of the floor, except for the boating scene on the east wall of Room II where the base line is set higher, at 1.29 m. The base line of the scenes and inscriptions on the facade falls between 1.24 and 1.30 m. The base line is considerably lower in the interior chapel of Khnumenti, varying from 1.08–1.11 m. The base line of the facade and entrance jambs of the same tomb is lower yet, being located at 99 cm for the former and 37 cm for the latter. According to measurements taken by William Stevenson Smith, the base line of the reliefs in Room II of G 2378 was 1.15 m, while the decoration on the entrance thicknesses started at 1.17 m. The reliefs on the sides and rear of the portico were again set higher than on the interior, beginning at 1.35–1.36 m in the case of the former and 1.22 m in the case of the latter.

We have previously remarked on a number of features that the mastaba complex of Seshemnofer IV shares with tombs of the Senedjemib Complex. A few additional features are worthy of notice.

Reisner thought that the sloping-passage burial places of the Senedjemib Complex were among the earliest sloping-passage type of shafts made in the Western Field at Giza.²⁰⁷ Three other mastabas located just to the south of the Senedjemib Complex, including that of Inti's putative son, Kakherptah Fetek-ti,²⁰⁸ also had Type 9 sloping-passage shafts.²⁰⁹ Seshemnofer IV, his wife Hetepheres, and his son Tjeti were all likewise buried in sloping-passage shafts.²¹⁰

Both Senedjemib Inti and Seshemnofer IV have simple offering lists painted on the walls of their burial chambers.²¹¹ Alongside an offering list on the east wall of the burial chamber of Kakherptah Fetek-ti is a depiction of the deceased seated before an offering table.²¹² Junker saw the appearance of the figure of the deceased in Fetek-ti's burial chamber as an indication of late date.²¹³ Strudwick, on the other hand, has persuasively argued that the decoration of the one wall in this instance is an example of the progression from the simple list in the burial chamber of Senedjemib Inti to the fully decorated burial chamber of Ka-em-ankh.²¹⁴

The burial chamber of Inti was irregular and probably unfinished, and was divided into two parts of unequal length. According to Reisner, it was not possible to determine whether the intention was to cut a larger chamber or to make a chamber with coffin recess on the west wall.²¹⁵ In its present condition, however, the plan resembles in appearance the somewhat later "T" shaped decorated burial chambers of the tombs of a number of Unis and Teti's officials at Saqqara, each of which has a large recess or bay in the western wall of the room to house the sarcophagus.²¹⁶ G 2370 B may well have constituted a precursor of these later chambers in this regard, just as the painted offering list on its east wall represents the earliest securely dated example of the practice of decorating the walls of the burial chamber.²¹⁷ Seshemnofer IV's only slightly later burial chamber is also "T" shaped, as is that of his son Tjeti.²¹⁸

²⁰⁷ See p. 1–2 above.

²⁰⁸ See below, p. 24–25.

²⁰⁹ *GN* 1, p. 153. For Kakherptah's shaft, see Junker, *Giza* 8, fig. 48. Another of these sloping-passage tombs belongs to the vizier Idu I Nefer (ibid., fig. 30). The vizier has been assigned by Strudwick to the mid-Sixth Dynasty, perhaps to the later reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II (*Administration*, p. 68 [22]), but Harpur has dated his tomb to the reign of Teti (*Decoration*, p. 67). The third sloping-passage tomb south of the Senedjemib Complex is anonymous.

²¹⁰ Junker, *Giza* 11, figs. 52, 56, 57.

²¹¹ Seshemnofer's offering list is reproduced in ibid., fig. 53, pl. 16 a. For Inti's list, see below, pp. 80–81, pl. 53a–b; fig. 71.

²¹² Junker, *Giza* 8, pp. 117–21, fig. 56, pl. 21.

²¹³ Ibid., pp. 3–4.

²¹⁴ *Administration*, p. 154. For the burial chamber of Ka-em-ankh, see Junker, *Giza* 4, pp. 43–96, pls. 2–17. One other burial chamber at Giza, that of Rawer III in the Central Field, had decorated walls. The extensive paintings on its east and south walls included human figures (Hassan, *Giza* 5, pp. 296–97). Rawer was a younger contemporary of Senedjemib Mehi (Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 114 [92]; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 268). Subsequent stages in the evolution of decorated burial chambers may be traced in the Unis, Teti, and Pepy II pyramid cemeteries at Saqqara; see most recently, Brovanski, in *For His Ka*, pp. 24–28.

²¹⁵ See below, p. 79–80.

²¹⁶ *Teti Cem.* 1, figs. 9, 12, 15; Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, p. 57.

²¹⁷ Cf. Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 126 [455].

²¹⁸ Junker, *Giza* 11, figs. 52, 56. For earlier "T" shaped burial chambers, see e.g., Reisner, *Tomb Dev.*, fig. 105 (Medum 17); Verner, *Pyramid Schemes*, fig. 1; idem, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, fig. on p. 190. A detailed plan of the near contemporary (above, p. 12 and n. 34) "T" shaped burial chamber of Ti at Saqqara appears in Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 331–33.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ *HESP*, p. 255.

²⁰² See p. 21, n. 196.

²⁰³ The earliest example of the use of the *khoker* as a wall decoration in private tombs known to Murray (*Saq. Mast.* 1, p. 19) was in the tomb of Netjeruser (ibid., pls. 21–23).

²⁰⁴ On this border pattern, see Jéquier, *Architecture*, p. 98 and n. 93; Peck, *Decorated Tombs*, p. 55. Examples are Junker, *Giza* 3, figs. 29, 30; Simpson, *Meryankh III*, figs. 4, 6; idem, *Western Cemetery*, pl. 38b; *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 1, 5, 7, and passim.

²⁰⁵ Except for door frames (e.g., Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 35, 36) and thicknesses (e.g., *LD* 2, pls. 45c–d; 104c–d; *Nianchnum*, pl. 18), the block border pattern, when it appears at the tops of wall scenes in Memphite tombs, is usually coupled with interpolated diagonals (e.g., *Nianchnum*, pls. 3, 28, 31, and passim) or *khoker*-ornaments (e.g., Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pls. 21–23). From the later Sixth Dynasty, however, it appears more frequently by itself at the top of wall scenes (Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, pl. 31; *Gebr.* 1, pls. 3ff.; *Meir* 4, pls. 7–9; 5, pls. 11–12. Cf. Peck, *Decorated Tombs*, p. 94 and n. 33).

²⁰⁶ Exp. Ph. B 1299

CHAPTER 3: SENEJEMIB INTI AND HIS FAMILY

THE SENEJEMIB COMPLEX offers an unique opportunity for reconstructing the careers and fortunes of four generations of royal viziers and architects in the time of Kings Izezi to Pepy II, whose reigns span one hundred and fifty years of Egyptian history towards the end of the Old Kingdom.

The first member of the Senedjemib family known to us with any certainty, and probably the founder of its fortunes, is Senedjemib Inti, who served as vizier of Egypt under King Djedkare Izezi. Izezi was the penultimate ruler of the Fifth Dynasty, and his long reign of at least twenty-eight years¹ inaugurated a new era in the history of the Old Kingdom.²

Inti received from King Izezi three verbatim letters which were engraved on the walls of his tomb. A damaged date associated with one of these letters, on the basis of the content of the letter, which alludes to Izezi's jubilee, probably referred originally to either the sixteenth or the twenty-sixth numbering.³ In the heading of the letter Inti is addressed as vizier, a circumstance that seems to date his tenure of office to the second half of Izezi's reign. Strudwick has concluded that the presence of a cartouche of King Unis in the inscription over the head of Inti's son Mehi in the fowling scene on the west wall of the portico of Inti's tomb,⁴ implies that the latter died at the earliest at the very end of the reign of Izezi.⁵ In consequence, he takes Inti to be the latest of Izezi's viziers.⁶ That Inti was depicted on the side walls of the portico of his tomb in the very long kilt worn by elderly men in the Old Kingdom may well be an indication that he held the

vizierate in his later years,⁷ and one piece of circumstantial evidence suggests that he indeed departed this life before the end of Izezi's reign. Upon his father's death, Inti's son Senedjemib Mehi asked for and obtained from the king the boon of a limestone sarcophagus for the burial of his father. The cargo ship that transported the sarcophagus from the Tura limestone quarries was named after Izezi ("Izezi is great of strength")⁸ and, given the Egyptian sensitivity towards names and what they signified,⁹ it seems unlikely that it would have continued to bear the name of that sovereign into his successor's reign.

Inasmuch as he appears to have functioned as vizier in Izezi's later years, it is uncertain what role, if any, Inti played in the reforms of that king's reign. Nevertheless, as vizier, Inti was at the apex of the pharaonic bureaucracy. Like other viziers of his time he had authority over the principal administrative departments of the state. As "overseer of scribes of royal records," he headed the royal chancellery and directed the work of the scribes who wrote, sealed, and administered the royal writs and who handled communications with other departments.¹⁰ He was responsible for the conduct of justice and the practical running of the law courts as "overseer of the six great courts," and he may also have acted as a court of appeal.¹¹ He had overall control of public works as "overseer of all works of the king," including building projects and irrigation works, and was likewise concerned with the organization of the work forces of quarrymen, builders, craftsmen of all kinds, and agricultural laborers.¹² As "overseer of the two granaries," Inti was charged with the granary organization and the management of the grain supply, including its redistribution as wages for living officials and as offerings for deceased officials.¹³ He also directed the activities of the other great financial department as "overseer of the two treasuries." Presumably in the Old Kingdom as later, the treasury department was concerned with government expenditures and the assessment of taxes from various institutions and individuals.¹⁴ Like the granary department, the treasury department provided tomb-offerings for deceased officials, usually in the form of linen and other commodities.¹⁵ In addition, as "overseer of the two chambers of the royal regalia," Inti administered the workshops in which regalia (as well as ointments and salves) for the king's own use and for the reward of favored officials were produced.¹⁶

In his capacity of overseer of all works of the king, Senedjemib Inti undertook a number of building projects for King Izezi. Apparently early on in his years of service to that sovereign, Inti erected a Hathor chapel for the king on the grounds of the palace.¹⁷ For this, Inti evidently received royal approbation, being cleansed, anointed, and decorated in the presence of his sovereign.¹⁸ The culmination of

¹ Baer, "Egyptian Chronology," pp. 1, 8, while admitting that Izezi celebrated, or at least made preparations for a jubilee, assigns him a mere twenty-eight years and two fractional years, in keeping with the figure in the Turin Canon. According to Baer, *zp* 16 is certain (*The Abusir Papyri*, pl. 1; *Urk.* 1, p. 63), but *zp* 21 (*ibid.*, pls. 40–41) is either Izezi or Unis. On palaeographic grounds, Posener-Kriéger (*Arch-Abusir*, pp. 486–87) assigns the latter date to Izezi. If the biennial count were in effect in Izezi's reign, the last figure would be equivalent to year 41, which is in essential agreement with the forty-four years given to Izezi by Manetho, as Mme. Posener observes. Earlier, Smith (*Old Kingdom*, p. 186) allotted Izezi at least forty years on the basis of the *zp* 21 date. However, serious doubt has recently been cast on the use of the biennial system in the reign of Izezi and, for that matter, on its very existence during much of the Old Kingdom; see Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994), pp. 275–319, esp. pp. 299–301, 314–15, 316.

² See e.g., Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 136; Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 297; Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 18; Kanawati, *Gov. Reforms*, p. 15; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 307.

³ See p. 101, n. m below.

⁴ See below, pp. 30, 40.

⁵ *Administration*, p. 133 (information provided by the present writer).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

⁷ See below, pp. 38–41, pls. 13, 14, 18; figs. 17, 23, 30; text fig. 2.

⁸ See below, p. 38.

⁹ See e.g., Vernus, *L'É* 4 (1980), col. 320. Even personal (basilophoric) names might be changed at the accession of a new king; see Brovarski, in *For His Ka*, p. 37, n. 74.

¹⁰ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 208ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 329.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 240–50.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 264–75.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 275, 293–99.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 269–70, 293–96.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 285–86; Nord, *Serapis* 2 (1970), pp. 1–16.

¹⁷ Inscription A 1: below, pp. 90–92.

¹⁸ Inscription A 2: below, pp. 92–94.

his career, however, came towards the end of Izezi's long reign, when Inti laid out and presumably oversaw the construction of the precinct for the jubilee of the king. Two of the three verbatim letters from Izezi referred to above are devoted to the subject of the construction of this precinct and attest to the importance that Izezi assigned to his approaching jubilee.¹⁹ An alabaster vessel in the Louvre records its celebration.²⁰


As previously mentioned, upon Inti's death, his son Senedjemib Mehi obtained a limestone sarcophagus from king Izezi for his father's burial.²¹ In light of Inti's distinguished career, a limestone sarcophagus hardly seems so regal a reward. Nevertheless, wooden coffins or stone sarcophagi were evidently considered appropriate as parting gifts to deceased courtiers.²²

Reisner was of the opinion that Inti's ancestors were probably connected with the official class who enjoyed the income of the old endowments of the Fourth Dynasty and that, like all their class, they must have been buried in the Giza cemetery.²³ Such associations would go a long way to explaining why a man of Inti's prominence was buried at Giza, and not at Saqqara, nearer the pyramid of his lord. Nonetheless, Reisner himself admitted that no tomb of any of the ancestors of the family can definitely be identified at Giza. The name Senedjemib²⁴ is a relatively common one, both prior to²⁵ and after Senedjemib Inti's time.²⁶ The date of the proprietor of a mastaba uncovered by Mariette at Saqqara (B 13),²⁷ one Bebi Senedjemib, is sufficiently fluid that he could in theory have been Inti's father.²⁸ He is "overseer of works," and this office might conceivably form a link between the two officials. His eldest son was named Isy, however, and no other children are attested, so the connection is tenuous at best. Perhaps the owner of a second Saqqara mastaba (D 28) discovered by Mariette has a better claim to being Inti's male parent.²⁹ The period is about right, and even though this Senedjemib has no titles associating him with architecture or public works, he is both *imy-r3 pr-ḥsw*, "overseer of the armory," and *imy-r3 prw msw-nswt*, "overseer of the houses of the king's children."³⁰ These two titles are rarely attested for viziers, and it may be more than coincidental that Senedjemib Inti has both.³¹ It is conceivable that he came into possession of both titles as heir and successor of the proprietor

of Saqqara tomb D 28. If neither individual was Inti's father, it is possible that one or both of them should at least be counted among his forebears. Still, there is no hint here as to why Inti elected to be buried at Giza rather than at Saqqara. That King Izezi apparently did not establish an official cemetery around his pyramid at South Saqqara³² may help explain why Inti felt free to be buried elsewhere, but it does not explain his choice of Giza. What is more, neither Inti nor any other members of his family appear to have held a priesthood in the cults of the proprietors of the three Giza pyramids, a circumstance which probably explains why Shepseskaf-ankh, for example, selected the necropolis of Giza as his burial place.³³

Senedjemib Inti was married to a woman named Tjefi (*Tjfi*),³⁴ who originally appeared with her husband in the scenes of spear fishing and fowling that flank the entrance to G 2370 (pl. 16; figs. 25, 27). The only title accorded her there and on the thicknesses of the doorway to the pillared hall (figs. 67a, 68a) is "king's acquaintance."³⁵ In the last location, she appears together with her husband and the couple's son Senedjemib Mehi, the proprietor of G 2378.

Senedjemib Inti and Tjefi appear, in fact, to have had several sons. Three sons, each termed "his son of his body," were depicted on the bank behind Inti in the marsh scene on the west wall of the anteroom in G 2370 (fig. 42). Unfortunately, the scene is now largely destroyed (pl. 25b–27a; fig. 43). The captions before the figures of the three sons had apparently sustained damage before 1842–43, for Lepsius's draftsman clearly experienced difficulties in copying them. This was especially so in the case of the uppermost figure whose title and name are, as a result, virtually unreadable. In Lepsius's plate, the middle figure seemingly represented the "personal scribe of the royal records, Fetek."³⁶ It is possible that the uppermost figure also bore the same title. The title of the lowest figure is unintelligible, but the name is fairly certainly that of Khnumenti, the owner of G 2374.

As it stands, the name of the middle of the three sons , is rarely—if ever—attested in the Old Kingdom.³⁷ On the other hand, the masculine personal name *Ftk-ti*, which probably alludes to the cup bearer of the sun-god Re,³⁸ is fairly well known. It is regularly written with the terminal signs $\Delta\Theta$ or with Θ alone,³⁹ both of which were, already in the Old Kingdom, variant writings for *t*, but which could also stand for *ti* at the end of words, especially names.⁴⁰ There

¹⁹ Inscriptions B 1–2: below, pp. 94–96, 96–101.

²⁰ Louvre E. 5323; *Urk.* I, p. 57, 1–5.

²¹ See below, pp. 108–110.

²² E.g., Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 342; *Gebr.* 2, pl. 13; *Urk.* I, p. 99, 10–14.

²³ *BMFA* II, no. 66 (November, 1913), p. 65.

²⁴ *PN* I, p. 316, 21; 2, p. 388. Although Ranke does not say so, *Sndm-ib* literally means "He who sweetens the heart." As a verb it means "make glad, please, gratify" (*Wb.* 4, p. 186, 12–17; *FCD*, p. 235). Senedjemib was presumably his "great name," as it was for Senedjemib Mehi, while *Inti* was his "good name" (below, p. 43). Inti served as both a masculine and feminine personal name in the Old Kingdom (*PN* I, p. 38, 23; 2, p. 342).

²⁵ *PN* I, 316, 21; *PM* 3², pp. 374, 966.

²⁶ Not only does Senedjemib Inti bear the name, but his eldest son was also called Senedjemib, as was the latter's son (below, pp. 135, 138, 139, 143). In addition, see e.g., *LD*, *Ergänz.*, pl. xiv; Junker, *Giza* 7, pp. 246–49, fig. 104, pl. 40b (by-name Inti); Goyon, *Hamm.*, p. 65, no. 20 (L); Buhl, *Mélanges Dunand* (1969), pp. 195–201, pl. 1 [left]; Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, fig. 4; Brovanski, in *L'Egyptologie en 1979*, p. 121 (by-name Inti); Leclant, *Or* 62 (1993), pl. 20, fig. 20.

²⁷ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 104–106; *PM* 3², p. 451.

²⁸ Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 69, 289 [128]; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 83 (43).

²⁹ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 258–89; *PM* 3², p. 463.

³⁰ Harpur (*Decoration*, p. 276) places the tomb between Neuserre and Dyn. 6.

³¹ See below, p. 83, nos. 2 and 3.


³² See below, p. 29 and note 95.

³³ Pace Reisner, *BMFA* 37 (1939), p. 30. Shepseskaf-ankh, his son Iymery, and his grandson Neferbauphtah were all priests of Khufu (*hm-ntr Ḥwfw*); see Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, p. 16 [17].


³⁴ *PN* I, p. 390, 26.

³⁵ As with its masculine counterpart, the original reading of the title in question was probably originally *iry(t)-ḥt nswt*, "(female) custodian of the king's property," or the like, whereas *rh(t) nswt*, "king's acquaintance," was probably a secondary interpretation (Sethe, *Kommentar zu den Pyramidentexten*, p. 119 [PT 855 c], and Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 26–28; on this question, see more recently Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2, pp. 91–92; Brunner, *SAK* 1 [1974], p. 55ff.; Berlev, *JEA* 60 [1974], p. 190; Martin, *MDAIK* 35 [1979], p. 217, n. 20). The reinterpretation of the masculine counterpart of the title may somehow be connected with its all but complete disappearance as a title for provincial officials after Dyn. 5 (Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 18, 69–70; Brovanski, in *Mélanges Mokhtar*, p. 148, n. 129). For reasons of convenience, we have retained the later interpretation of the title here and throughout, for both the masculine and feminine variants.

³⁶ On the title *zš' nswt n ḥft-ḥr*, see p. 50, n. 198 below.

³⁷ A hunter in *Nianchnum*, fig. 13, is apparently called , but Moussa and Altenmüller, *ibid.*, p. 104, read the name *Ftk-ti*(?); see also *ibid.*, p. 32 (16).

³⁸ PT 120 b, 123 g, 545 c.

is almost certainly room after  in the swamp scene in G 2370 for Θ or even $\triangle\Theta$, if written horizontally.⁴¹ Hence, there is a good possibility that the name of the middle of the three older sons was actually *Ftk-[ti]*, “Fetek-[ti].”

If this was indeed so, the son’s tomb may have been located not far from his father’s in the northeast corner of the Cemetery en Echelon.⁴² G 5560 is a medium-sized, stone built mastaba, whose interior was largely taken up by rooms.⁴³ It belonged to an individual with the “great name” of Kakherptah and the “good name” of Fetek-ti.⁴⁴ The mastaba is dated by Strudwick from early to middle Dynasty 6 and by Harpur between Teti and Merenre.⁴⁵ This span of time would not be excessive for a son of Inti’s shown as a man of mature years in his father’s mastaba (particularly if he passed away in the earlier part of the period in question), but it should be noted that Kakherptah Fetek-ti does not have the one title assigned to Fetek[-ti] in G 2370, namely, “personal scribe of royal records,” although he is an *imy-r3 zš(w)*, “overseer of scribes.”⁴⁶ Moreover, he possesses none of the titles related to public works that were held by Senedjemib Inti and Mehi or Khnumenti, and seems rather to have been concerned with provincial administration and internal colonization.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the mastaba was badly denuded, and it is possible that the missing title appeared elsewhere on its walls. Nothing is known about the parentage of the owner from the surviving reliefs so, in theory at least, he could have been identical with Inti’s like-named son.

A number of features of Kakherptah Fetek-ti’s mastaba are suggestive of some connection between him and the Senedjemib Family. The depiction of Kakherptah before an offering table and menu list on the east wall of the burial chamber of G 5560, for example, is reminiscent of the painted menu list on the east wall of Inti’s burial chamber.⁴⁸ Moreover, Kakherptah, like Inti, Khnumenti, Mehi, and their descendants, was buried in a sloping-passage tomb.⁴⁹ It could be argued that these connecting links were merely temporal, appearing as they do in a number of more or less contemporary tombs at Giza.⁵⁰ On the other hand, considering the possible identity in names, the tie could well have been one of blood.

As noted above, the name of the son on the topmost groundline behind Inti in the marsh scene on the west wall of the anteroom of

G 2370 is unreadable. If this son was indeed *zš r nsw n hft-hr*, the space available for his name would have been appropriate to either Senedjemib or Mehi. On the other hand, if any credibility is given to the component signs of the name as copied by Lepsius, it is unlikely that either alternative originally stood in that space.⁵¹ If this was not a depiction of Senedjemib Mehi, consideration should be given to the possibility that Mehi was represented by the small figure facing Inti in the prow of his papyrus skiff, even though any identifying caption, if it once existed, was already lost by 1842–43. In spear fishing and fowling scenes, this position is frequently, though not always, reserved for the eldest son.⁵² In actual fact though the portrayal on the west wall of Room III presents a rarer type of composition in which the tomb owner, perhaps as a preliminary to spearing fish or hunting birds, stands in a skiff watching several harpooners attack a hippopotamus against the background of a papyrus thicket.⁵³ Although direct parallels are few in number, in each of the scenes in question a small figure is likewise depicted at the prow of the boat.⁵⁴ In the tombs of Ti and Idout, the figures face towards the tomb owner, but they are not captioned and for that reason probably represent attendants. In the tomb of Kagemni, the scene is largely destroyed and only the feet of the figure, which face away from the tomb owner, are visible. In the scene from the tomb of the vizier Rashepses, the small figure at the prow of the boat is identified as the tomb owner’s eldest son who, in this instance, faces away from his father. The specific parallels are thus inconclusive and do not help to resolve with any degree of certainty the identity of the figure at the prow of Inti’s boat.⁵⁵

Even if the small figure at the prow of the boat did represent a son of Inti’s, there would still be no certainty as to his identity. It may be noted that none of the three sons behind Inti is identified as “eldest son,” and this fact might imply that the figure at the prow of the boat was that of Inti’s eldest son, that is—considering that he inherited both his father’s name and office—Senedjemib Mehi.⁵⁶ On

³⁹ E.g., *LD*, *Text* 1, pp. 62, 141; Green, *PSBA* 31 (1909), pp. 251, pl. 33 (no. 11); 322, pl. 54 (no. 40); Couyat–Montet, *Hamm.*, no. 69, pl. 17; Junker, *Giza* 8, fig. 51; *Mereruka*, 1, pl. 9; *ArchAbousir*, p. 650; *PM* 3², p. 351; Bell–Johnson–Whitcomb, *JNES* 43 (1984), p. 40, fig. 9.

⁴⁰ Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa* II/1/2, p. 57. The reading *Ftk-ti* is probably confirmed by the presence of a terminal 𓆎 in the occurrence of the name in *Mereruka* 1, pl. 9.

⁴¹ Cf. Junker, *Giza* 8, fig. 51, frg. A.

⁴² See *PM* 3², plan XVI.

⁴³ *LD* 2, pl. 78d; *LD Text* 1, pp. 62–63; Junker, *Giza* 8, pp. 108–16, figs. 47–55, pl. 19; *PM* 3², pp. 166–67.

⁴⁴ *LD Text* 1, p. 62; Junker, *Giza* 8, fig. 51. For the “great name,” see *PN* 1, p. 340, 21; 2, p. 393.

⁴⁵ *Administration*, p. 154 (150); *Decoration*, p. 271.

⁴⁶ He was also *hpr zšw r3-iḥ* (Junker, *Giza* 8, fig. 51; Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 10, n. 47); on this title see idem, *ZÄS* 105 (1978), pp. 58–59.

⁴⁷ He was *imy-r3 Inb-hd imy-r3 Iw*, “overseer of the Memphite nome and overseer of the Letopolite nome,” as well as *imy-r3 niuwt muwt nt Izzī-nfr*, “overseer of the new towns of the pyramid ‘Izezi is beautiful’” (Junker, *Giza* 8, fig. 51; Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 10, n. 47). On the “new towns,” see Hayes, *JEA* 32 (1946), p. 10; Martin–Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, p. 161; Kanawati, *Gov. Reforms*, p. 161.

⁴⁸ See above, pp. 80–81.

⁴⁹ See above, p. 1.

⁵⁰ See above, p. 22.

⁵¹ After the heart-sign, which presumably represented the terminal element in the title *zš r nsw n hft-hr*, Lepsius saw a low, broad space, the mouth *r*, the half-loaf *t*, and another low broad space.

⁵² See e.g., *LD* 2, pl. 60 (eldest); De Morgan, *Dahchour 1894–1895*, pl. 24; ibid. (eldest); Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 5; idem, *Deshasbeh*, pl. 22; *Gebr.* 1, pls. 3 (eldest), 5 (eldest); 2, pl. 5; *Seven Chapels*, pl. 6; Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 8; Mohr, *Hetep-ber-akh-ti*, fig. 34 (eldest); Van de Walle, *Neferitnef*, pl. 1; *Nianchchum*, figs. 5 (eldest), 6 (eldest); Kanawati, *El Hawawish* 2, fig. 18 (eldest). The son on occasion also spears fish or hunts birds or alternatively holds a spare harpoon or boomerang. Sporadically, a non-family member occupies the prow of the boat; see e.g. *Meir* 4, pl. 17; 5, pl. 24.

⁵³ For discussions, see Klebs, *AR*, pp. 37, 69–70; Säve–Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp. 12–15; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 325–26, 773–81.

⁵⁴ *LD* 2, pl. 60; *Teti Cem.* 2, pl. 53; Macramallah, *Idout*, pls. 6–7; *Ti* 2, pls. 115–19. In the first citation, the vizier Rashepses stands in a skiff looking at the papyrus thicket before him; no harpooners or hippopotamus are visible in Lepsius’s drawing, but it is likely they were originally represented, perhaps being missed by Lepsius’s artist because of damage to that area of the wall. All four scenes are close in date to the scene in G 2370; see Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 275–77.

⁵⁵ On the basis of inscriptions accompanying the minor figures in marsh scenes, Harpur (*Decoration*, p. 141) observes that: “non-relatives are those with their heads or whole bodies turned towards the major figure, whereas known relatives on or near the skiff are either shown facing the deceased or turned away from him.” Unfortunately, this observation does not aid us in the present situation.

⁵⁶ Although Mehi is nowhere specifically identified as “eldest son” on the walls of his father’s tomb, in each case where his figure occurs, either the entire caption identifying his figure, or the beginning of the caption, where *zš.fmsw* would be expected, is destroyed; see figs. 23, 25, 27, 30, 35, 36, 67a, 68a.

the other hand, the small figure at the boat's prow is dressed in a short kilt with flaring front panel, whereas the three sons behind Inti, like their father, wear the calf-length kilt which denotes dignity and perhaps also seniority.⁵⁷ The longer kilts could thus be taken as evidence for supposing that the three sons on the bank were older than the presumed son in the boat. However, the lowermost figure appears to be that of Khnumenti, who is generally acknowledged to be a younger son of Inti, since he succeeded his brother Mehi in the vizierate. Perhaps, at this point, it is best to admit that the destruction of the wall has presented us with too many variables to reach any final conclusion concerning the identity of the figure at the prow of the boat or about the presence or absence of Senedjemib Mehi in the marsh scene. Nevertheless, it would indeed be odd if Mehi was entirely excluded from such a family scene.

Yet another son of Inti and Tjefi's, Ni-ankh-min (*Ni-ankh-Mnw*) by name,⁵⁸ is twice depicted on the walls of G 2370, once at the rear of the portico to the north of the entrance (pl. 16; figs. 26, 27) and again on the north wall of the offering room (fig. 64). In the portico, he is one of four senior officials in calf-length skirts who attend Inti on an outing in the marshes.⁵⁹ In the offering room he brings a goose towards the false door.⁶⁰ In the first location, he is entitled "lector priest," while in the latter he is both "lector [priest] and 'inspector of funerary priests'." The last title identifies Niankhmin as an official of his father's funerary establishment.⁶¹ He does not seem to have left any trace of himself outside of G 2370.

Of all of Inti's sons, Senedjemib Mehi occupied the most prominent place in his father's mastaba. His figure evidently appeared on all four walls of the portico, on both entrance thicknesses, and on either side of the entrance to the pillared hall.⁶² In addition, he perhaps headed the procession of offering bearers in the lowermost register on the south wall of the offering chamber (pls. 38, 41; fig. 61).⁶³ In Inscription C on the facade south of the portico of G 2370, Mehi says:

Then I begged from my lord that a sarcophagus [be] brought [for him] from Tura to this tomb of his, which I made for him in one year and three months, while he was in the embalming workshop in his estate which is in (the necropolis of) the pyramid "Izezi is beautiful."⁶⁴

From these words it has generally been assumed that Mehi constructed his father's tomb at Giza, after the latter's death, while his body was in the process of being embalmed.⁶⁵ Although Baer was of the opinion the tomb was erected by Mehi after his father's death, he admitted that fifteen months was an unexpectedly short time in which to construct and decorate so large and elaborate a mastaba.⁶⁶

⁵⁷ The close-cropped, wigless head and long kilt are often associated with adiposity and advanced years; see e.g., Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 244–55. As Fischer also notes (*ibid.*, p. 245), this type of kilt is not confined to the corpulent, aged figure.

⁵⁸ *PN* 1, p. 171, 12; 2, p. 364.

⁵⁹ See below, p. 40.

⁶⁰ See below, p. 78.

⁶¹ See pp. 87–88 below.

⁶² See n. 56.

⁶³ See below, p. 27–28.

⁶⁴ See below, p. 102.

⁶⁵ E.g., Wilson, *JNES* 6 (1947), pp. 239–40; Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 126 [456]; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 133.

⁶⁶ *Rank and Title*, p. 126 [456].

Strudwick, on the other hand, feels that the mention of the time stressed the speed with which the mastaba was built.⁶⁷ Reisner himself held a different opinion and thought that Mehi only finished the tomb, while "his chief work was the decoration of the chapel."⁶⁸

It is difficult to believe that a man of Inti's status and presumed wherewithal would not have prepared a final resting place for himself before his death.⁶⁹ Even given the privileges bestowed upon "the son who buried his father,"⁷⁰ the construction of an entire decorated multi-roomed mastaba for a deceased parent would represent an extraordinary display of filial devotion and a considerable outlay of wealth, especially if Mehi proceeded immediately to the construction of his own mastaba, as Reisner thought possible.⁷¹ For all these reasons, Reisner's opinion that Inti built the mastaba, whereas Mehi merely completed its decoration, deserves serious consideration.

Assuming for the moment that Mehi did, in fact, only complete his father's mastaba, just how much of the decoration could with reason be attributed to him? In Inscription C on the south facade, Mehi as speaker (*infra*) recounts the favors he elicited from the king on his father's behalf at the death of the latter and mentions in passing that he had the royal decrees verifying the arrangements for his father's funerary endowment inscribed on the walls of Inti's tomb.⁷² He goes on to say that he asked the king that a sarcophagus be brought from Tura for Inti's burial.⁷³ Since Inscription D narrates the transport of this sarcophagus from the Tura quarries to Giza, it is clearly related thematically to Inscription C, and it may be taken for granted that Mehi had it carved as well. Presumably, Inscriptions A and B were carved at the same time, since they parallel in arrangement Inscriptions C and D. In fact, all of the elements of the relief scenes on the facade of the tomb and the side walls of the portico are so carefully integrated that at first glance it might seem that they were designed as a unity and executed at one time by craftsmen in Mehi's employ after his father's death. A number of changes effectuated in the decoration of the portico and elsewhere in the tomb suggest that this was not the case, however.

⁶⁷ *Administration*, p. 133.

⁶⁸ "Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," p. 128g. Reisner based his belief on the faulty assumption that the passage from Inscription C just quoted actually gave the date of the completion of the work on Inti's mastaba as the first year (of Unis) in the third month of the season of *akhet*.

⁶⁹ It is, of course, possible that Inti built an earlier tomb for himself at Saqqara in the cemetery that was established for the family and courtiers of King Izezi north and west of the Step Pyramid. On this possibility, see further below, p. 29.

⁷⁰ In the New Kingdom at least the possessions of the deceased were given to the person who buried him or her; see Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), pp. 137–70, and esp. pp. 164–69. The fullest evidence pertaining to the law of inheritance dates to the New Kingdom, but presumably the same principles applied at other periods. *Urk.* 1, p. 164, 1–3, is suggestive in this regard, as are the concluding phrases of the biographical inscription in the Dyn. 9 tomb of Mery-aa at Hagarsa (Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* 3, p. 33, pl. 35) which describe the responsibilities of "a trustworthy heir, ... who buries his father." On the role of the eldest son in the Old Kingdom and its aftermath, see further *Letters to the Dead*, p. 26; Edel, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, pp. 62–63; idem, *NAWG* 6 (1987), pp. 94–103.

⁷¹ "Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," p. 128h.

⁷² See below, pp. 101–102.

⁷³ With Reisner ("Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," p. 128h), we assume that this is the white limestone sarcophagus now in G 2370 B, on which, see below, p. 81. Reisner concludes from this that all the structures made after the introduction of the sarcophagus into the burial chamber—including the construction of the built passage and the plugging of that passage, the well, and the roofing which protected the well, as well as the addition to the platform which enclosed the well—would have to have been made by Mehi.

Joseph Bonomi was the first to note that the figure of Mehi on the southern entrance thickness of G 2370 (pl. 19a–b; figs. 34, 35) was a secondary insertion executed by a less skilled hand than that responsible for the rest of the thickness.⁷⁴ The figure of Mehi is indeed clearly recut, as was the title in front of his face and the name “Senedjemib” over his head. This entire area is lower than the surrounding surfaces, and the background has not received a final smoothing, but still shows traces of tool marks. The surface of the raised relief figure of the son is also below the level of the surface of the original block. By contrast, the inscription in three columns above Mehi’s head is on a level with that surface and appears original. The recutting is puzzling, because the inscription appears suited to the image, terminating with the expression: “one for whom his son shall do the like.”⁷⁵ It thus seems certain that a figure of a son of Inti stood here originally. But if the figure represented Mehi, why would he have had a figure of himself and the accompanying name cut away and replaced? And if the original figure was not Mehi’s, who could it have represented?

One possibility which must at least be considered is that the figure of an older brother of Mehi’s who predeceased him was originally represented here. Still, if the figure of an older brother of Mehi’s did indeed appear on the south door jamb, it would have been a simple enough matter to replace the brother’s name(s) with his own, but Mehi evidently chose instead to cut the figure away and to replace it with a new one. One possible explanation for the recutting would be that the original figure, whether that of Mehi or an older brother, was dressed in a calf-length kilt, as on the opposite north thickness, and that Mehi wished to have this altered to the short kilt of the final version. Nevertheless, in the Saqqara tomb of Neferirtenes, usurped by Ra-em-kai, where an original portrayal of the owner as an older man in a long kilt was reduced to more slender proportions by the usurper, and the long kilt shortened accordingly, the operation was achieved by simply removing the stone around the legs.⁷⁶ The same process could easily have been followed here, but instead the entire figure was recut.⁷⁷ Perhaps the sculptor who was responsible for recarving the figure on the south entrance jamb of G 2370 simply decided, rightly or wrongly, that it was easier to recut the whole figure.

Close examination reveals that in nearly every instance where Mehi’s figure occurs on the walls of his father’s mastaba, it is in palimpsest, even though, in each instance, the location of the secondary image of Mehi is a suitable place for the figure of a son to have appeared originally.⁷⁸ This is true of the northern entrance thickness

(pl. 20b) and of both the spear fishing and fowling scenes at the back of the portico to either side of the entrance, where the figures of Mehi at the bow of his father’s papyrus skiff and the titles in two columns above his head are recut at a lower level than the original surface in a rougher style by a less accomplished hand, and are clearly distinguishable from the original figures and texts (pls. 15b, 16, 17a).⁷⁹ It is likewise true of the figures of Mehi before his parents on either entrance thickness of the pillared hall (pls. 51b, 52a).⁸⁰ It seems also to be the case on both the south and north walls of the portico, where a smaller figure was represented in the presence of a large-scale figure of Inti with close-cropped hair, a corpulent body, and ankle-length kilt (pls. 13c, 18). The smaller figure on the south portico wall is destroyed except for the legs, but the flatness of the relief and the roughly finished area around the legs are a clear indication that the figure had been recut (pl. 65). Although Lepsius saw the legs of the smaller figure on the north wall of the portico, today the legs are destroyed. Nevertheless, a roughly finished area where the figure used to be attests to recutting here as well (pl. 14).

The leftward orientation of the hieroglyphs in the four columns above the smaller figure on the north portico wall and the context of the speech leave little question that the speaker was a son of Inti. The son tells us that he begged favors from the king on behalf of his deceased father. The fourth column of the speech, which contained the titles and presumably the name of the son, is completely recut at a lower level than the preceding three lines, while the hieroglyphs in this column are in raised relief of poor quality, very much in contrast to the well-executed hieroglyphs of the preceding three columns (pls. 18, 64a).⁸¹ Although the name is now lost, the recut titles appear to be those of Mehi, beginning as they probably did with [*hstj-ꜥ*] *ꜥmsꜥ* (fig. 30; text fig. 2).⁸² The recutting of the fourth column and the substitution of Mehi’s titles, however, once again raise the possibility that the figure and titles that were cut away could have belonged to an older brother of Mehi. If so, he rather than Mehi would have been responsible for the completion of the decoration of Inti’s mastaba, including the carving of Inscriptions A–D.

Alternatively, it is possible that it was Mehi himself who had his own figure and titles recarved. If Mehi, for instance, was promoted to vizier subsequent to the initial carving of the portico reliefs, the fourth line of inscription could have been recut to reflect his new dignity. There is certainly ample room for the sequence *iry-pꜥt tꜥtytꜥ zꜥb tꜥty* in the now destroyed space at the top of the recut fourth column.⁸³ But once again this explanation by itself would not account for the recarved figure.

Before subscribing to either proposition, the possible evidence for the existence of an older brother of Mehi’s should be examined.

⁷⁴ *LD Text 1*, p. 55. See *Who was Who in Egyptology*, pp. 53–54, for a biographical sketch of this English sculptor and draughtsman of Italian descent.

⁷⁵ See below, p. 43.

⁷⁶ Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 245.

⁷⁷ It is interesting that the figures of Seshemnofer Tjeti before his parents on the entrance thicknesses to the chapel of Seshemnofer IV also represent a secondary insertion executed by a less skilled hand than that responsible for the remainder of the scene; see Junker, *Giza II*, pp. 180–81, pl. 19 a–b.

⁷⁸ One possible exception is the foremost figure in the lowest register on the south wall of the offering room (pl. 38, 41; fig. 61). The figure here is original, but it is not certain whether or not the name is, and it is possible that Mehi usurped the figure by replacing an original name with his own “great name” Senedjemib. On the other hand, the last element in the name is not visible, and it may be that the name which appears before the figure represents a mortuary priest of Inti’s named Senedjem, on whom see below, p. 87, no. 20.

⁷⁹ See below, p. 39–40.

⁸⁰ See below, pp. 78–79.

⁸¹ See pp. 41–42 below.

⁸² See below, pp. 84 (16), 159 (14).

⁸³ For the reconstruction of the north wall of the portico, see below, p. 94, text fig. 2, and for the title sequence *iry-pꜥt tꜥtytꜥ zꜥb tꜥty*, see p. 155 below. The entire sequence *iry-pꜥt tꜥtytꜥ zꜥb tꜥty hstj-ꜥ msꜥ imy-ꜥt kꜥt nꜥt nt nꜥwt* appears nowhere on the surviving walls of Mehi’s tomb nor, for that matter, in any of the other tombs of the Senedjemib Complex. The usual sequence in vizier’s titularies of the end of the Fifth Dynasty and later is *iry-pꜥt hstj-ꜥ tꜥtytꜥ zꜥb tꜥty*, and *hstj-ꜥ* rarely follows *tꜥtytꜥ zꜥb tꜥty*; exceptions are Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 3, pp. 57, 70.

Heading the file of offering bearers in the lowermost register of the north wall of the offering room in G 2370 were two figures of whom scanty traces alone remain (figs. 64, 65).⁸⁴ The figures themselves were destroyed when the plaster in which they were carved fell away, leaving only faint chisel marks behind, but the traces are sufficient to show that both figures probably offered up forelegs of beef, as do the first three figures in the lowermost register on the opposite wall (pl. 41; fig. 61). Traces of signs before their faces indicate that the second man almost definitely was a son of Inti and that the first figure may have been as well.⁸⁵ In both instances, the names are lost, but traces of their titles survive. The first individual was evidently [*mdh*] [*nswt*] *m prwy* “[royal master] ‘builder’ in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt),” while the second man bore the titles <*tyty*> *zsb* *tyty*, “<chief> justice and vizier.” Two sons of Inti, Mehi and Khnumenti, were viziers of Egypt in their time. Now when siblings are represented in series in Old Kingdom reliefs, it is usually the figure of the elder or eldest brother which takes priority.⁸⁶ If this rule was adhered to in the present instance, the first figure should represent Mehi and the second figure Khnumenti. On the other hand, it is generally assumed that Khnumenti was the younger of the two brothers, since he appears to have followed Mehi in the vizierate (*infra*), and yet it is the second individual here who has the higher ranking vizierial titles. If then the second figure more likely represented Mehi, could the first figure have been that of an older brother who never achieved the vizierate? It was surely not his lower ranking title⁸⁷ which assured the first figure the foremost place in the procession, so could it have been priority of birth that allotted to him a precedence in order, even though a younger brother had risen higher in the pharaonic hierarchy?

Unfortunately, if this was indeed the figure of an older brother of Mehi’s, we are ignorant of his identity. It is possible, but not certain, that his was the topmost figure represented behind Inti in the swamp scene on the west wall of the vestibule of G 2370 or the smaller figure at the prow of Inti’s skiff in the same scene. It seems that Niankh-min, at least, may be excluded as a candidate for in the lowermost register on the north wall of the offering room he occurs as the third figure in the procession with a bird in his arms.

If the first figure was indeed that of an older brother of Mehi’s, could his figure have preceded Mehi’s anywhere else on the walls of Inti’s mastaba? In answer, it must be admitted that the recarved reliefs themselves yield no specific evidence as to the presence of earlier representations of an older brother. If his figure preceded Mehi’s anywhere else in G 2370, the deep recarving of the reliefs effectively eradicated any trace of his titles and name.

There may, of course, be an alternative explanation for the precedence of the foremost figure than the one just offered. It might, for instance, be possible to restore the kinship term immediately before his face as *sn.f* (𓏏𓏏) rather than *z.f*, in which case an otherwise unattested brother of Inti’s may have been assigned precedence over Inti’s son.⁸⁸ Then again, in long east–west offering rooms like Inti’s,

a *shd hmw-k*, “inspector of funerary priests,” not infrequently heads the procession of offering bearers in the extra register at the foot of the wall.⁸⁹ Faint traces above the foremost figure’s title of [*mdh*] [*nswt*] *m prwy* in G 2370 could conceivably be restored as [*shd*] [*hmw-k*].⁹⁰ Alternatively then, the foremost figure might represent a brother of Inti’s, an inspector of funerary priests who served as head of a phyle in his funerary cult, or even a brother of the latter who functioned in that capacity.

One piece of evidence that is definitely in favor of Mehi’s having been the individual who had Inscriptions A–D carved is the occurrence of what appears to be his titles and name on a block assigned to the beginning of Inscription C (pl. 67b; fig. 20).⁹⁰ The block exhibits no erasures and, if it is correctly placed, and the careful integration of all of the texts and representations on the facade of the tomb and the side walls of the portico taken into account, it would again seem to follow that Mehi arranged for the remainder of the decoration on the portico’s wall to be carved as well.

Proceeding on the assumption that it is was Mehi who altered his own figures, it may be that more than a single reason existed for his having done so. For example, in the case of the figures at the prow of Inti’s skiff in the spear fishing and fowling scenes at the back of the portico, it is possible that the figures originally faced toward the prow of the boat, and that their direction was subsequently reversed because Mehi decided to inscribe an address to his father above each of their heads.⁹¹ On the other hand, this explanation would not be suitable in the case of the figures on the two side walls of the portico or on the two thicknesses, where the earlier figures probably already faced Inti. Similarly, if Mehi’s figure on the left (south) entrance thickness was indeed recut to shorten the kilt, this was definitely not true of the opposite thickness, where the final version of the figure is dressed in a calf-length kilt.

One other alteration to the reliefs on the north side of the portico affected the personal names terminating the columns of inscription above the head of the elderly vizier, where it is clear that both Inti’s “great” and “good” names are not original (pls. 18, 64a). Again it is not certain what necessitated the recutting. It may be that Inti here was originally identified only as “Senedjemib.” This is actually the case with the architrave (pl. 12c) and again on the west wall of the vestibule (pl. 32), where the name “Senedjemib” alone appears, and where it may reasonably be presumed to be original. Probably during the early part of Inti’s life, this served as a perfectly adequate designation for the elder Senedjemib. In his later years though, during Mehi’s professional lifetime, when there were two Senedjemibs, this perhaps was felt to no longer suffice. This would have been especially true in the context of the Senedjemib Complex, where there were at least two tombs belonging to individuals named Senedjemib opening on the stone paved court.⁹² As a result, Mehi may have ordered the alterations to be made, and had the “good name” Inti added to

⁸⁴ See below, pp. 77–78.

⁸⁵ See p. 78 below.

⁸⁶ See e.g., Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 4; idem, *Varia*, p. 88, with fig. 8.

⁸⁷ See below, p. 84 (13).

⁸⁸ The segment of the long, narrow sign, which has been restored as a viper on p. 78 below and in fig. 65, actually has a square end, a feature which is not a characteristic of either the viper or the ripple of water. Nonetheless, all of these signs are only visible today as faint chisel marks.

⁸⁹ E.g., Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pl. 23; James, *Khentika*, pl. 21; *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pl. 12.

⁹⁰ See below, p. 101.

⁹¹ See pp. 39, 40 below.

the “great name” Senedjemib on the north wall, if not on all the walls, of the portico. This followed the practice in Mehi’s own tomb, where the “great name,” Senedjemib, and the “good name,” Mehi, were regularly coupled.⁹³ There being insufficient space over Inti’s head for two lines of hieroglyphs on the scale of the inscription above, the two names were consequently recarved on a smaller scale.

If Mehi indeed recarved his father’s names on the north wall of the portico, this might imply that the raised relief decoration on the north wall, and by extension the other walls of the portico, was part of the original decoration of the mastaba. But what then is to be made of the seemingly careful integration of these scenes and the autobiographical inscriptions? The simplest explanation, and the one that seems best in accord with the observations previously made, is that Inti himself had the raised relief scenes on all four walls of the portico carved. At his death the facade of the mastaba on either side of the portico and the immediately adjacent side walls remained blank. Here Mehi had carved the account of Inti’s award ceremony and the three letters from King Izezi (Inscriptions A–B) as well as his own dedicatory inscriptions (Inscription C–D). At the same time, and for a variety of reasons, he had his own representations recarved throughout the mastaba and his father’s name recarved on the north portico wall and perhaps elsewhere in the portico as well. Since the areas where they were carved were previously blank, the sunken hieroglyphs of Inscriptions B and D were actually cut on the same level as the original raised reliefs on the north and south portico walls, thus contributing to a harmonious whole.

In the text inscribed on the southern facade of G 2370 quoted above, Mehi states that while his father’s tomb was being prepared for his burial, his body rested “in the embalming workshop in his estate which is in (the necropolis) of the pyramid ‘Izezi is beautiful.’” There is some evidence that the mummification of private persons in the Old Kingdom took place in workshops attached to their tombs.⁹⁴ However, Inti’s embalming workshop (*w^ḥbt nt ḥꜣw*) is specifically said to be located in (the necropolis of) Izezi’s pyramid (*m Nfr-Izzt*). The statement is perplexing, since, as far as we know, there was no contemporary necropolis in the vicinity of Izezi’s pyramid.⁹⁵ It is possible, of course, that Inti’s embalming workshop was located in the cemetery established for Izezi’s contemporaries to the north and west of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara.⁹⁶ In this connection, it may be noted that the tomb of the vizier Washptah Izi, situated north of the Step Pyramid, is specifically said in his autobiography to be in (the necropolis of) the pyramid of Sahure (*m Ḥḥ-bs-Sḥwꜣ*), whereas the latter’s pyramid was located at Abusir.⁹⁷ The existence of an embalming workshop for Inti in the necropolis of Izezi’s pyramid, wherever

precisely that might be, could be taken as an indication that Inti also had a tomb in the same place. Moreover, if Inti possessed an earlier tomb elsewhere, this might be interpreted as evidence that Mehi indeed constructed his father’s Giza tomb from the beginning, upon the latter’s death. Nevertheless, Inscription C does not specifically say that Inti had a tomb (*iz*) in the necropolis of Izezi’s pyramid, but only states that his embalming workshop was located there, and it may be that he simply possessed an assigned plot therein and authorization from the king to build a tomb. This would have been a convenient place to erect a temporary embalming workshop, away from the hustle and bustle in the courtyard of Inti’s Giza tomb, where the sculptors would have been hard at work finishing its decoration.

Neither Inti’s nor Mehi’s tomb sheds light on the precise period of time that elapsed between the death of the former and the accession of the latter to the vizierate. In the two places within the portico of G 2370 where Mehi’s titulary survives, namely in the fowling scene at the rear of the portico and on its north wall, the vizierial titles do not appear, even though there is space for them in the lacunae before the extant titles. On the other hand, on the loose block assigned to the beginning of Inscription C, Mehi is *imy-rꜣ kꜣt nbt nt nswt*, not *ꜣꜣꜣꜣ ꜣꜣ ꜣꜣꜣꜣ*, and it thus seems likely he was not yet vizier at the time of his father’s death or during the intervening fifteen months while the work on his father’s tomb was underway.⁹⁸ Furthermore, although the similarities between the two tombs⁹⁹ suggest that they were designed by one architect (Reisner assumed Mehi himself was that individual¹⁰⁰), and perhaps carved by the same group of sculptors at no great remove in time from each other, they reveal nothing definite about whether work was progressing simultaneously on both tombs or whether a period of time intervened before Mehi began the construction of his own tomb.

The uppermost stones of virtually all the walls in Mehi’s mastaba had been removed before Lepsius arrived on site to copy its reliefs. Along with them disappeared most of the title sequences that presumably once appeared at the top of the walls. The architrave blocks of Mehi’s mastaba survive, however, and on them Mehi is “overseer of all works of the king,” not vizier (pl. 105a–c). Only on the false door do the vizierial titles appear (pl. 121; figs. 167–27). Thus, if the architrave inscription provides a reliable indication, Mehi appears to have been promoted to vizier in the course of the construction or decoration of G 2378.¹⁰¹ Moreover, the fact that Mehi is “honor[ed by] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Unis” in the architrave inscription, probably indicates that he was not yet vizier at the beginning(?) of that king’s reign.

Baer and Harpur date the construction of Mehi’s tomb to the reign of Unis,¹⁰² while Strudwick assigns his tenure as vizier to the middle of Unis’s long reign of thirty years,¹⁰³ with Akhethetep and Akhethetep Hemi intervening between Mehi and his father.¹⁰⁴ To

⁹² There is a possibility that Mehi’s elder son, Senedjemib, was the proprietor of G 2384 (below, p. 30).

⁹³ See p. 155 below.

⁹⁴ Hassan, *Giza* 4, pp. 84–86; Brovarski, *Orientalia* 46 (1977), p. 110.

⁹⁵ The “tombes en four” in the immediate area of Izezi’s pyramid are of a type that is characteristic of late Dynasty 6; see Brovarski, in *For His Ka*, pp. 25–28.

⁹⁶ See Smith, in Reisner, *Tomb Dev.*, p. 407; Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 50. One of Izezi’s queens, two of his sons, and one of his viziers, for example, were buried on the north side of the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid, while the tomb of Izezi’s famed vizier, the sage Ptahhotep [I], was erected to the west of the Step Pyramid; see *PM* 3², pp. 488 [No. 82], 489 [No. 84], 494 [LS 14], 596 [D 62]; Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 74 [160].

⁹⁷ *Urk.* 1, p. 44, 12; Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 50.

⁹⁸ See above, p. 28; below, p. 102.

⁹⁹ See above, p. 18 and n. 139.

¹⁰⁰ “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 128h.

¹⁰¹ Compare the case of Seshemnofer III; Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 73, 192–215, pls. 1–4; Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 132 [478].

¹⁰² *Rank and Title*, pp. 126, 293 [456]; *Decoration*, p. 269.

¹⁰³ Smith, *Old Kingdom*, p. 188; Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994), pp. 301–303.

¹⁰⁴ *Administration*, pp. 134–35, 301.

some extent Strudwick's date was based on the the assumption that Mehi may have placed his name over that of an older brother in the tomb of his father.¹⁰⁵ While it seems possible from the above discussion that Mehi had an older brother, this possibility alone, as we have previously seen, does not constitute definite evidence as to whether Mehi usurped the images of this older brother on the walls of his father's mastaba or simply recarved his own figures. Nor does it really matter in the present context, for in either case we would still have no accurate means of estimating the period of time that elapsed between the initial carving and the recutting.

Mention has already been made of the badly damaged inscription over the head of the figure of Mehi in the fowling scene at the back of the portico of G 2370. A possible restoration of the inscription is: [*Tr.n.(i) n.f.nw*] *m swt Wnis*, "[It was] out of the largesse of Unis [that I did this for him]."¹⁰⁶ Due to the broken context, the nature of Unis's largesse is not apparent, especially since the gift of a sarcophagus, the establishment of Inti's tomb endowment, and the provision of landed estates that are reported in the grievously damaged Inscription C most likely took place at the end of Izezi's reign.¹⁰⁷

On his false door Mehi (*Mht*)¹⁰⁸ calls himself "one honored by Izezi, whom the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Unis remembered on account of it."¹⁰⁹ The second epithet is quite out of the ordinary, and the juxtaposition seems to suggest that Unis took account of Mehi's achievements under his predecessor Izezi. One possibility is that Unis "remembered" Mehi by appointing him to the vizierate. This interpretation gains support, albeit somewhat tenuous, from a passage in the autobiography of Sabni I at Aswan, who says: *Thr nd.t(i).(i) [...] sh3(w) irt.n.(i) in nb.(i)*, "Now when I was appointed [...], (when) what I had done was remembered by my lord."¹¹⁰

Probably still during his father's lifetime Mehi was married to the "king's daughter of his body" Khentkaus (*Hnti-kw.s*).¹¹¹ Unless she is identical with the "king's eldest daughter of his body, Khentkaus," whose tomb was found by Zaki Saad to the west of Unis's pyramid at Saqqara,¹¹² she is not known from other sources. The vizier Mereruka and the high priest of Ptah, Ptahshepses, were both married to kings' eldest daughters,¹¹³ but in both these instances the seniority of birth is clearly stated, and the lack of the qualifying word in the case of Mehi's wife probably renders her identification with the other Khentkaus unlikely.

On the west wall of the anteroom (Room II) of G 2378, Mehi and Khentkaus appear in a family group together with two sons and

a daughter (pl. 115; figs. 114, 115).¹¹⁴ The two sons were named after Mehi; the "eldest son," who is shown as an adult, was called Senedjemib, and the younger son, who is depicted as a naked child with the sidelock of youth, was called Mehi. Similarly, the daughter was named Khentkaus after her mother. Although dressed like an adult, she was perhaps a third child, since her figure is even smaller than that of her brother Mehi's.

In the family group, the elder son, Senedjemib, bears the titles "royal chamberlain in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt) and royal master builder," while elsewhere on the walls of his father's tomb, he is "royal chamberlain and royal master builder in both houses."¹¹⁵ He may have been the owner of G 2384, on the south side of the great court, for two reasons. First, G 2384 appears to have been the next major construction in the complex built after G 2374, the tomb of Mehi's younger brother, Khnumenti.¹¹⁶ Hence sequentially it would be appropriate as the burial place of a member of the third generation of the Senedjemib family. The second piece of evidence consists of a loose stone with a fragmentary autobiographical inscription that may derive from the facade of G 2384, since it appears by its character to fit nowhere else in the complex.¹¹⁷ The context is mostly lost, but the text evidently related to the building of the speaker's tomb. That individual was apparently named Senedjemib, although only the end of the name survives (*[Snd] m-ib*). The last line refers to the brother of the owner, who is entitled "royal chamberlain, royal master builder in [both houses]." Unfortunately, his name is lost. Nevertheless, he could have been Senedjemib's younger brother, Mehi, who appears without titles in his father's tomb, at a later stage of life.

Senedjemib Mehi's younger brother, Khnumenti, was depicted in the marsh scene on the west wall of the vestibule in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti.¹¹⁸ The cartouches of Unis and Teti appear among the estate names in Khnumenti's tomb (pl. 92; fig. 87a), and Strudwick believes he possibly served both Unis and Teti as vizier.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, twice as many of the names of Khnumenti's estates are compounded with the royal name Teti than with the name Unis, and Khnumenti's other associations are with the latter sovereign. For example, a loose stone found in the offering room of G 2374 (pl. 96a; fig. 89c), which is inscribed with the vizierial titles, also indicates that Khnumenti held the highest available grade in the priestly hierarchy at Teti's pyramid, that of "inspector of priests," a title which becomes a regular prerogative of the vizier from the reign of Teti.¹²⁰ Strudwick also remarks that considering his relationship to other members of his family and probable age, it is unlikely that Khnumenti lived long into the reign of Teti. Reisner, on the other hand, thought that Khnumenti was buried late in the reign of Teti or soon thereafter.¹²¹ The burial shaft of G 2385 A, which Reisner assigned to the mastaba, actually contained a small diorite bowl inscribed for King Teti

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 134–35 (information provided by the present writer).

¹⁰⁶ See p. 40 below.

¹⁰⁷ See above, pp. 23–24.

¹⁰⁸ *PN* I, p. 163, 23; 2, p. 63. In the case of the last citation, Ranke is incorrect in regarding Mehi as the "good name" of a certain Ptah-neb-nefret. Mehi here refers to Senedjemib Mehi, of whose funerary establishment Ptah-neb-nefret was a member; see Brovarski, in *L'Égyptologie en 1979* 2, pp. 121–22.

¹⁰⁹ The epithet *imshw br Izzt* provides another instance of *imshw* as "being honored, esteemed" during one's lifetime; cf. Fischer, *GM* 122 (1991), p. 22.

¹¹⁰ *Urk.* 1, p. 140, 2; Edel, *Aläg. Gramm.* 1, § 560; Doret, *NVS*, p. 65, Ex. 102.

¹¹¹ See below, pp. 135, 136, 143. For the personal name Khentkaus, see *PN* I, p. 273, 7; 2, p. 382. Junker (*Giza* 7, p. 70) translates the name "Die an der Spitze ihrer Ka's ist," but see James, *Khentika*, p. 11 ("Her *kas* are foremost").

¹¹² Saad, *Saqqara and Helwan*, pp. 62–66.

¹¹³ *PM* 3^e, pp. 464, 525. Other viziers who were married to king's daughters include Ptahshepses, Seshemnofer III, and Kagemni (ibid., pp. 153, 341, 521).

¹¹⁴ Below, pp. 143–44.

¹¹⁵ Below, pp. 138–39.

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 115.

¹¹⁷ Exp. Ph. B 7171; EG 4370. The block will be published in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2.





¹¹⁸ See above, p. 24.

¹¹⁹ *Administration*, p. 128 [114].

¹²⁰ See below, p. 129 (21).

(pl. 101b; fig. 94a), a parting gift, perhaps, from that sovereign.¹²² In the final analysis, it may well be that Reisner was correct when he suggested the Khnumenti served with his brother under Unis and only reached the height of his career under Teti.¹²³

Reisner also observed that G 2374 is relatively smaller than either G 2370 or G 2378 and that Khnumenti “in spite of the importance of his titles was possessed of lesser means than his elder brother Mehi.”¹²⁴ The character of Khnumenti’s burial reinforces the impression of a lack of resources. Unlike Inti and Mehi, who were buried in fine stone coffins, Khnumenti’s body was evidently deposited in a simple wooden coffin set in a rectangular coffin-pit excavated in the floor of his burial chamber and roofed with multiple stone slabs.¹²⁵ Both features might be considered as indicative of a short tenure of office. Counter-balancing the impression of limited resources is the fact that the greater part of the reliefs in Khnumenti’s chapel were carved in fine limestone (even though the reliefs themselves are of generally inferior quality).¹²⁶ Moreover, Inti and Mehi are the only proprietors of tombs in the Senedjemib Complex to be provided with sarcophagi, and Khnumenti’s lack of a sarcophagus may reflect a change in burial customs rather than the nature of his financial resources.¹²⁷ Then too, it may be that Khnumenti’s seemingly limited resources may not reflect on his tenure of office at all, but relate rather to his inheritance as a younger son of Inti or to other personal factors of which we are unaware.

The name Khnumenti (*Hnm-nti*) is a relatively rare one, being attested by less than a handful of examples.¹²⁸ Even the reading of the name is contested, Ranke understanding it to be *Hnmt.j*, while Junker reads *Hnmuntj* and Baer *Hnm-nti*.¹²⁹ None of these scholars ventured an opinion as to its meaning. If  conforms to the pattern of , however, the correct reading is possibly *Ny-it.i-Hnm*, “my father belongs to Khnum.”¹³⁰ The date seems somewhat early for  to represent  as the determinative of the name,¹³¹ but might it represent the initial letter of *it* transposed for calligraphic reasons?

It is possible that other occurrences of the name postdate Inti’s son Khnumenti, and that the name became popular as a result of his tenure as vizier.¹³² Two bearers of the name, in fact, are sons of funerary priests of the Senedjemib family, who were in the habit of naming their children after their patrons.¹³³ Late in Dynasty 6 it also serves as the by-name of a certain *Hnmw*.¹³⁴

Khnumenti’s wife is not depicted in the surviving reliefs of his chapel and her name is therefore unknown. None the less, it is likely that the couple had at least one child, since part of what appears to be the figure of a young child holding a bird is preserved in front of Khnumenti in the elaborate palanquin scene in the first room of his chapel (fig. 86).¹³⁵ The hieroglyph *nh* before the figure may have belonged to his name. A photograph taken in 1930 (pl. 91) shows additional traces, including what may be part of the letter *n* centered over the *nh*-sign. The two letters could belong to a name of the pattern *n(y) + substantive + royal name/divine name*, that is, a personal name beginning *N(y)-nh-[...]*, “Life belongs to [...]”.¹³⁶ In the space immediately above the name are visible clear traces of the jackal-sign, presumably representing the title *zsb*, “dignitary,” followed by what appears to be the butcher block. If the latter sign does not belong to the title *hry-hbt*, “lector priest,” it might conceivably form part of the personal name, which would then read *Ny-nh-Hrtj*, “Life belongs to Kherty.” However, the god Kherty is little attested in Old Kingdom personal names,¹³⁷ although he does occur somewhat regularly in estate names of the same period.¹³⁸ If, conversely, *hry-hbt* is to be restored, the available space between the butcher block and the ripple of water only allows for a low broad or narrow sign. Options would include the *hnm-jar* or the emblem of the god Min.¹³⁹

Unfortunately, Nekhebu’s parents are not named on any of the blocks from his chapel, and his precise relationship to the Senedjemib family is unknown. Given the nature of the traces before the small child depicted in front of Khnumenti in the palanquin scene, it is unlikely that they represent Nekhebu’s court name, Mer-ptah-anckhmeryre. Nevertheless, the very fact that he was proprietor of a major tomb in what is definitely a family complex, as well as the fact that his titles are connected with public works, make some relationship very likely.¹⁴⁰ Smith speculated that Nekhebu was the son of Senedjemib Inti,¹⁴¹ but Reisner evidently believed him to be a son of Khnumenti.¹⁴² Since Nekhebu appears to have been a young man at the beginning of the reign of Pepy I, as will be seen shortly, the time differential makes it more likely that he was a son of Khnumenti.¹⁴³

¹²¹ “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 128 i. Reisner (ibid., pp. 128h–i) placed the birth of Inti about thirty years before the accession of Izezi, which would make Inti about fifty-eight years old at death, if the figure of twenty-eight years in the Turin Canon is used or sixty years old, if Izezi celebrated a jubilee in his thirtieth year; see above, p. 23, n. 1; below p. 101, n. m. He thought Mehi would have been about twenty-eight to thirty-eight years old at the accession of Unis; if he lived till the end of the reign of Unis, he would have been fifty-eight to sixty-eight years old at his death. Reisner concluded that Khnumenti was buried about twelve to fourteen years after the death of Mehi. If the skeleton of Inti can ultimately be identified at Giza (see Preface) and analyzed, it may prove possible to confirm or reject Reisner’s conjectures.

¹²² See below, pp. 127, 129.

¹²³ “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 128i.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ On coffin pits, see *GN* 1, pp. 162–63, and Reisner, “A History of the Giza Necropolis,” Vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 224–26. For Khnumenti’s burial, see below, pp. 127–28.

¹²⁶ See above, p. 20.

¹²⁷ Sloping-passage tombs G 2381 A, 2381 C, 2382 A, 2387 A, are all equipped with either coffin- or burial-pits. The coffin of Ptahshepses Impy was actually found by Reisner in the coffin-pit of G 2381 A; see below, p. 33.

¹²⁸ *PN* 1, p. 276, 19; 2, p. 383. See Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 38b, for an official named *Hnm-nty*.

¹²⁹ *Rank and Title*, p. 118 [402].

¹³⁰ See Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 71.

¹³¹ Idem., *Coptite Nome*, pp. 124–25; *Dendera*, p. 239.

¹³² Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 267, dates Nisuptah Nisu, the father of one of the individuals named Khnumenti to the reign of Teti; it is possible that Nisuptah named his son after the vizier under whom he served.

¹³³ A son of Irenakhet Iri, the owner of G 2391, and a son of another Senedjemib Inti, the proprietor of G 2364, on whom see Brovarski, in: *L’Égyptologie in 1979*, p. 121, and *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2.

¹³⁴ Jéquier, *ASAE* 35 (1935), p. 145.

¹³⁵ See below, p. 121.

¹³⁶ Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, p. xlvii (§ 366); Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pp. 55–56.

¹³⁷ *PN* 1, p. 277, 3. The god is better documented in Middle Kingdom personal names; see ibid., p. 277, 9–12; 293, 2; *Inscr. Sinai* 1, nos. 39, 85, 120, 212.

¹³⁸ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, pp. 191 (43), 310 (1).

¹³⁹ Gardiner, *EG*, p. 503 [R 17], 528 [W 9].


¹⁴⁰ See Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 113.

¹⁴¹ *Old Kingdom*, p. 86.

¹⁴² *ASAE* 13 (1914), p. 249; idem, *BMFA* 11, no. 66 (1913), p. 62.

¹⁴³ Pace Brovarski, in *L’Égyptologie in 1979* 2, p. 117.

Considering the extensive damage to Khnumenti's reliefs, it is possible that Nekhebu was originally represented elsewhere on the walls of G 2374.

Like Khnumenti, the name Nekhebu (*Nhbw*) is an uncommon one.¹⁴⁴ As a substantive *nhbw* appears to mean "lamp" or "nocturnal illumination,"¹⁴⁵ and this term may well explain the origin of Nekhebu's name. Alternatively, he may have been named after Nekheb (*Nhb*), an obscure deity known from the Coffin Texts, without doubt the masculine counterpart of the divinity Nekhbet (*Nhbt*), "Fruitfulness."¹⁴⁶ Both the noun and divine names are written with the brazier determinative .

According to his autobiography, Nekhebu advanced step by step to positions of increased responsibility and power in the reign of Meryre Pepy I,¹⁴⁷ a circumstance reflected in his court name Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre (*Mr-Pth-nh-Mryr*).¹⁴⁸ Nekhebu relates that Pepy I found him as a "common builder" (*qdw n ʿst*), but conferred on him in turn, the offices of "inspector of builders" (*shd n qdw*), "overseer of builders" (*imy-r qdw*), and "superintendent of a phyle (of workmen)" (*mty n z*).¹⁴⁹ Next he became "royal master builder" (*mdh qd nswt*), and then was promoted to be "royal chamberlain and royal master builder." Finally, he was made "sole friend and royal master builder in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt)." Previous to this, Nekhebu had served as apprentice to an older brother, as the latter rose through the same series of grades. At the start of his brother's career, Nekhebu evidently functioned as his personal scribe or secretary. When the latter was appointed inspector of builders, he carried his measuring rod (*ms*). When he was appointed "overseer of builders," Nekhebu served as his right hand man (*hmt.f*; lit. "his three").¹⁵⁰ When the brother became "royal master builder" and then "sole friend and royal master builder in both houses," Nekhebu took charge of his estate and substantially increased his holdings. Finally, when the brother became "overseer of works," Nekhebu served as his deputy. Nekhebu says he served under his brother in these various capacities for twenty years.¹⁵¹

The professional offices held by the two brothers in order of progressive importance, and also in order of their acquisition, are as follows:¹⁵²

| NEKHEBU | BROTHER |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Common Builder | |
| 2. Inspector of Builders | Inspector of Builders |
| 3. Overseer of Builders | Overseer of Builders |

¹⁴⁴ *PN* 2, p. 209, 14; 2, p. 371.

¹⁴⁵ *Wb.* 2, p. 308, 12. *ALex* 2 (1978), p. 204, cites an additional occurrence in *FECT* 3, 17 (sp 827), n. 2 (*CTVII*, 28 c).

¹⁴⁶ *ALex* 2 (1978), p. 204, citing *FECT* 2, p. 69 (sp. 422), n. 4 (*CT V* 260 c); see also *LD* 2, pl. 1401 (Berlin 1195; *Nhby*). For *Nhbt*, evidently distinct from Nekhbet, "She of El Kab," see *Wb.* 2, p. 308, 14 and 15.

¹⁴⁷ See Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), pp. 1–8. Nekhebu's inscriptions were published by Sethe in *Urk.* 1, pp. 215–21.

¹⁴⁸ *PN* 1, p. 156, 12 ("Ptah will, daß [König] *mrjj-r'lebt*"); 2, p. 361.

¹⁴⁹ For the organization of the crews of workers," see Roth, *Phyles*, chap. 7.

¹⁵⁰ Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), p. 4, translates *hnm* "companion," and refers to Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten*, p. 120.

¹⁵¹ *Urk.* 1, pp. 216, 9–217, 3.


¹⁵² Cf. Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), p. 7.

4. Superintendent of a Guild

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 5. Royal Master Builder | Royal Master Builder |
| 6. Royal Master Builder in Both Houses | Royal Master Builder in Both Houses |
| 7. Overseer of all Works of the King | Overseer of Works |

As Dows Dunham very well observed in his study of the inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo: "These records not only give us an indication of the relative grades of the various professional offices, but also tend to show that they were not, at this time, acquired purely by inheritance, but were, in part at least, the rewards of training and experience."¹⁵³

It is unfortunate that the name of the brother in Nekhebu's account is lost (or was never given). A brother named Mer-ptah-ankh-pepy (*Mr-Pth-nh-Ppy*) with the title of "senior lector priest" does appear on a block from G 2381 which preserves part of a procession of animals, but in a position subordinate to Nekhebu, so it is unlikely he is the older brother referred to in the inscription.¹⁵⁴ Nekhebu's older brother was clearly an important official who had attained the position of "overseer of works."¹⁵⁵ On that account, he may have been the owner of G 2385, one of the largest chapels in the Senedjemib Complex, but of which only the lowest, undecorated courses of stone remained.¹⁵⁶

Nekhebu's wife, Hatkau (*Hst-kyw*),¹⁵⁷ was depicted at least twice in G 2381, once in the context of a family scene¹⁵⁸ and a second time playing the harp before her husband beneath an awning at the stern of a ship.¹⁵⁹ In the last place, she is given the title "king's acquaintance." Hatkau bore at least two and probably three sons to Nekhebu. Two sons accompany their father in a scene on the right-hand wall of the portico of G 2381 that shows Nekhebu engaged in spearing fish.¹⁶⁰ In front of Nekhebu in his papyrus skiff stands a smaller figure, likewise shown spearing fish. An incomplete inscription before him gave his titles and name. "His son [whom he] loves, the sole friend and royal [master <builder>], Tj[...]" can be made out. The name is damaged, but is probably to be restored on the basis of this son's appearance in the family scene, where he is again the "royal master <builder>," but where the name appears to be Tjemat ( *Tjms*).¹⁶¹ The other son, who stands behind Nekhebu on a separate groundline, is "his son whom he loves, the lector priest and scribe of the house of the god's book, Sabu-ptah." In front of Nekhebu and facing him stands a third male figure, holding an extra fish spear,

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ MFA 13.4346.

¹⁵⁵ As Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 221–22, points out, *imy-r kst nbt (nt) nswt* is frequently abbreviated to *imy-r kst* for reasons of space. Presumably, space was a consideration in the autobiographical inscription, and it is probably safe to assume that Nekhebu's brother also held the fuller version of the title, *imy-r kst nbt nt nswt*.


¹⁵⁶ See above, pp. 2–3.

¹⁵⁷ *PN* 1, p. 232, 24; 2, p. 375.

¹⁵⁸ MFA 13.1343.

¹⁵⁹ MFA 13.4349; see Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, p. 36, n. 63, fig. 12.

¹⁶⁰ MFA 13.4332; Smith, *BMEF* 56 (1958), pp. 58–60, fig. 2.

¹⁶¹ The name is not listed in *PN* 1, but a personal name in Hassan, *Giza* 9, figs. 32–33, pls. 31A–B, is possibly to be compared. The title is actually written , an apparent abbreviation of *mdh qd nswt* which also occurs on the serdab blocks of Nekhebu (Exp. Ph. B 1312).

and identified as: “His brother, whom he loves, the lector priest, the honored [...]” The latter is most likely identical with Nekhebu’s younger (?) brother Mer-ptah-ankh-pepy who appears on the block with the animal procession referred to above, albeit with the higher ranking title there of “senior lector priest.”¹⁶²

The autobiography of Nekhebu contains an account of three missions that he undertook on behalf of his sovereign, King Pepy I.¹⁶³ The first consisted of work on the *ka*-chapels of the king in Lower Egypt from Akhbit near Buto south to Memphis,¹⁶⁴ and included the construction of the king’s own pyramid temple.¹⁶⁵ The second mission was concerned with the digging of a canal at Akhbit itself. The third mission, this time in Upper Egypt, involved the digging of another canal at Qus. Three inscriptions in the Wadi Hammamat commemorate yet another project Nekhebu undertook at the behest of his sovereign, this one specifically dated to the latter part of Pepy I’s long reign of at least twenty-five years.¹⁶⁶ The expedition to the quarries of *bekhen*-stone took place in the year 19, on the occasion of or in preparation for the *sed*-festival of the king.¹⁶⁷ In each of the three inscriptions, it is the court name alone of Nekhebu that is utilized, but there can be little doubt that he was the “overseer of all works of the king, sole friend, royal master builder in both houses, Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre.”¹⁶⁸ Nekhebu took with him to the Wadi Hammamat his grown son Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre, who in one inscription is entitled “lector priest,” and in another “senior lector priest.”¹⁶⁹

Along the eastern edge of the Senedjemib Complex, opposite the mastaba of Nekhebu, but on a lower level, Reisner discovered an intact sloping-passage tomb, G 2381 A. In the chamber at the bottom of the inclined passage an inscribed wooden coffin containing a badly mummified body was found.¹⁷⁰ At first glance, the coffin, which is now in Boston, appears to be inscribed for two people, Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre Ptahshepses Impy and Sabu-ptah Ibebi. The presence of the two sets of names has caused some confusion,¹⁷¹ but this can be resolved by a close examination of the coffin. The coffin has on the lid two identical offering formulas, the first terminating in the

title and names of Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre Ptahshepses Impy (*Pth-šps Impy*)¹⁷² and the second ending with the titulary and names of Sabu-Ptah Ibebi (*Sbw-Pth Ibbi*).¹⁷³ The exterior east side similarly bears two identical offering formulas, the top one for the benefit of Impy, the lower one benefiting Ibebi. The exterior west side has two additional identical formulas, the top line ending with the titles and names of Impy and the lower one with those of Ibebi. The short double line of inscription on the north end is hardly legible, but probably terminated with the same two names. The south end of the coffin was destroyed. The situation is different in the interior, however. The inscriptions along the interior rim on all four sides of the coffin are for the benefit of Impy alone. On the west side a single line of offering formula ends with the titles and names of Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre Ptahshepses Impy. On the north end is a single line of inscription with an offering formula again naming Impy as beneficiary, and beneath this are the jars containing the seven sacred oils. On the east side a pair of *wedjat*-eyes is set above a schematic false door. The offering formula in a single line at the top of this side terminates in the name Mer-ptah-ankh-pepy Ptahshepses Impy. The substitution of Pepy for Meryre in this instance is noteworthy. In Impy’s case, it occurs only here, but the exchange of royal prenomen and nomen in basilophoric names is a fairly common phenomenon.¹⁷⁴ Immediately to the left of the false door is an ideographic offering list, whose signs are arranged in a vertical block, requesting “a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer,” and so forth for “the count Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre, whose good name is Ptahshepses Impy.” Squeezed between this and the lengthy compartment offering list to the right is a column of much smaller hieroglyphs, apparently added as an afterthought, assuring the same offerings for Sabu-ptah Ibebi.¹⁷⁵ The nature of the inscriptions on the wooden coffin proved to Reisner that the burial was that of Impy, and there can be little doubt that he was right in the assumption, even though the alabaster headrest found in the coffin itself, and which supported the head of the mummy, was inscribed for Ibebi.¹⁷⁶ Drawing attention to the similarity in plan between G 2381 A and sloping passage tomb G 2381 c, close-by G 2381 A but on the other side of the drainage channel leading away from the northwest corner of the enclosure of the Great Pyramid, Reisner concluded that Ibebi was buried in G 2381 c.¹⁷⁷

The extraordinary juxtaposition of names on one and the same coffin can perhaps be explained if we assume that, on the death of his brother, Ibebi oversaw the preparations for Impy’s internment and had his own titles and names added to the coffin in commemoration. The identical nature of the two chapels G 2386-a and b and the fact that the two intercommunicated suggests that they belonged to the

¹⁶² In the Wadi Hammamat, Nekhebu’s son Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre is alternately “lector priest” and “senior lector priest” (*infra*).

¹⁶³ See Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), p. 1.

¹⁶⁴ On royal *ka*-chapels in the Old Kingdom, see Fischer, *AJA* 62 (1958), pp. 330–33; O’Connor, in *Followers of Horus*, pp. 90–91; Brovarski, in *For His Ka*, pp. 16–19.

¹⁶⁵ Nekhebu was *imy-rs wpt Mn-nfr-Ppy*, “overseer of commissions of the pyramid ‘Pepy is established and beautiful,’” a title he perhaps acquired in connection with the mission in Lower Egypt; see Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), p. 8.

¹⁶⁶ Baer, “Egyptian Chronology,” pp. 1, 8, 9; Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994), pp. 303–306.

¹⁶⁷ Couyat–Montet, *Hamm.*, no. 106 (= *Urk.* 1, p. 93). The other two inscriptions are Couyat–Montet, *Hamm.*, no. 60 (= *Urk.* 1, p. 94); Goyon, *Hamm.*, no. 21. On the existence of two apparent separate dates (*rnpt ht zp* 18 and *zp* 25) for the jubilee of Pepy I, and their interpretation, see most recently Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1995), pp. 303 and n. 72, 304.

¹⁶⁸ The same sequence of titles, once in connection with the name Nekhebu, and a second time associated with the name Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre, appears in Nekhebu’s tomb at Giza; see Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), p. 7 (B, D).

¹⁶⁹ Couyat–Montet, *Hamm.*, no. 106; Goyon, *Hamm.*, no. 21.

¹⁷⁰ See *BMFA* 11, no. 66 (November, 1913), pp. 58–59, for Reisner’s account of the discovery. The coffin is MFA 13.3085, and is to be included in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2.

¹⁷¹ The present author, in *L’Égyptologie en 1979* 2, pp. 115–16, misled by the alabaster headrest beneath the head of the body (*infra*), which was inscribed for Sabu-ptah Ibebi, mistakenly assigned the burial to that individual, instead of Ptahshepses Impy.

¹⁷² *Impy* (*PN* 1, p. 26, 13) not uncommonly serves as the “good name” of Ptahshepses (*Pth-šps ? Šps-Pth*): *PN* 1, p. 326, 19; e.g., Louvre A 108 (= N 113; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 90 [53 a]); Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs*, cat. no. 31 (= Brovarski, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, p. 110, fig. 6).

¹⁷³ Ranke lists *Sbw-Pth* under *pth-sbw (sb-wj-pt?)* in *PN* 1, p. 141, 13. Fischer, *Orientalia* 60 (1991), p. 302, suggests *Sbw(y)-Pth*, “How bright is Ptah.” For *Ibbi*, see *PN* 1, p. 21, 8; 2, p. 339. In Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 375, 413, *Ibbi* is the “good name” of a *Sbw*.

¹⁷⁴ See Brovarski, in *For His Ka*, p. 37 and n. 54.

¹⁷⁵ *n imy-rs kst imshw hr ntr-s*.

¹⁷⁶ The headrest is MFA 13.2925 b (*smr w’ry, hry-tp nswt, mdh qd nswt m prwy Ibbi*).

¹⁷⁷ See above p. 3 and n. 42.

two brothers, and also attest to the close relationship between them.¹⁷⁸ The only comparable display of filial devotion known to me is the case of the two brothers, Ni-ankh-khnum and Khnumhotep, who were buried together in a single Saqqara tomb.¹⁷⁹

Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre Ptahshepses Impy and Sabu-ptah Ibebi of the coffin are generally taken to be sons of Nekhebu.¹⁸⁰ On the coffin both are designated “count, overseer of all works of the king, royal master builder in both houses, overseer of the two workshops.” On the interior north end, Impy is, in addition, “*sem*-priest, controller of every kilt, chief lector priest, and *ims*-*r*,” while Sabu-ptah Ibebi is “sole friend and lector priest” in the second line on the lid. The title of “lector priest” is also assigned Nekhebu’s son Sabu-ptah in the spear fishing scene from G 2381, and the identity of the two therefore seems likely. Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre Ptahshepses Impy, on the other hand, appears nowhere in the surviving reliefs from the mastaba of Nekhebu. By itself this does not constitute a real objection to identifying him as another son of Nekhebu, since perhaps fifty percent of those reliefs are lost, and his figure may well have appeared in one or more of the missing scenes. Moreover, in the spear fishing scene, Sabu-ptah is designated “son whom he loves,” not “eldest son.” The probability is therefore that an eldest son was depicted elsewhere in the chapel, and that Ptahshepses Impy was that son. Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre in the Wadi Hammamat is “senior lector priest” (*hry-hbt smsw*), whereas Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre Ptahshepses Impy is “chief lector priest” (*hry-hbt hry-tp*) on the coffin from G 2381 A. Nevertheless, outside the Senedjemib family, Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre is a rare name and, although not entirely beyond the bounds of probability, it seems unnecessary to postulate the existence of yet another “overseer of all works of the king, sole friend, and royal master builder in both houses” named Mer-ptah-ankh-meryre, who had a son by the same name, when Nekhebu and his son seem to fit the requirements so well.

If Impy was a teenager or young adult when he accompanied his father to the Wadi Hammamat in the nineteenth year of Pepy I, he could easily have lived on through the remaining years of Pepy I’s reign and the short reign of Merenre (six years) and on into the first half of the reign of Pepy II.¹⁸¹ In fact, an Impy with the titles “overseer of all works, master builder of the king in both houses,” in all probability our man, is depicted along with other officials in a procession in the pyramid temple of Pepy II,¹⁸² whose decoration appears to have been largely completed around years twenty to thirty of Pepy II.¹⁸³ Corroborating the pictorial testimony is a seal impression

of Pepy II found by Reisner on a domed jar stopper still in place on a two-handled vase in the burial chamber of G 2381 A.¹⁸⁴

The importance of the office of “overseer of all works of the king,” incidentally, is immediately apparent from the depiction in the pyramid temple of Pepy II, for Impy is separated by only two other officials, the “overseer of tenant-farmers of the palace” and the “overseer of Upper Egypt,” from the figure of the vizier who heads the procession.

Whereas nothing survives to indicate that Nekhebu ever held the office of vizier, evidence does exist to show that both Impy and Ibebi achieved that dignity. That evidence consists of blocks from the destroyed serdab(s) of the two brothers. Several fragments of the serdab of Ibebi are preserved in Boston. Three complete and nine incomplete representations of Ibebi together with his titles are carefully incised in registers on the surface of two adjoining blocks.¹⁸⁵ On one edge of the larger block the titles *imy-r3 niwt, t3yty [z3b t3ty]* are to be made out. Another block found in the debris of the open court of the Senedjemib Complex, whose present whereabouts are unknown, bears seven lightly incised figures of Impy, none of them completely preserved. Over the figures the titles *h3ty-r, t3yty z3b t3ty, imy-r3 z3 r nswt* appear.¹⁸⁶

Before Impy and Ibebi are added to the list of known viziers, it should be reiterated that the vizierial titles occur only on blocks from their serdab(s). Similarly, in his Meir tomb, Pepyankh Heny the Black is assigned the titles *t3yty z3b t3ty* only once, in his serdab decorated with registers of repeating figures representing statues, so like the files of statues from the serdabs of Nekhebu, Impy, and Ibebi.¹⁸⁷ It is hence legitimate to inquire whether these singular occurrences of the vizierial titles are instances of posthumous promotion of the sort known from the tomb of Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi, who begged for his father Djau Shemai a posthumous promotion from King Pepy II to the rank of *h3ty-r*.¹⁸⁸ In the succeeding First Intermediate Period, such offices which the deceased did not exercise on earth, but which he boasts of in his funerary inscriptions were referred to as *iwrt hrt-ntr*, “offices of the necropolis.”¹⁸⁹ It should be noted, however, that in the one definite instance we possess of posthumous promotions, the beneficiary, Djau Shemai, is promoted in rank and assigned the rank-indicator *h3ty-r*, but receives no new offices or titles which would imply practical duties with functional significance. Very little survives of the chapels of Impy and Ibebi and the vizierial titles perhaps also occurred on their walls.¹⁹⁰ For these reasons, it is

¹⁷⁸ See above, p. 3.

¹⁷⁹ *Nianchnum*.

¹⁸⁰ E.g., Reisner, *BMFA* 11, no. 66 (November, 1913), p. 59; Smith, *Old Kingdom*, pp. 86–87; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 96 [62], 130 [117]. Reisner’s reason for identifying Impy (“Im-thepy”) as a son of Nekhebu was his appearance in the swamp scene with his father; in this observation Reisner was mistaken, for it is Sabu-ptah Ibebi who appears in the swamp scene (actually the scene of spear-fishing). Baer, however, felt the individuals named on the coffin could not be the sons of Nekhebu, since the title sequences on the coffin according to him violate the sequence usual for the second half(?) of the Sixth Dynasty, and on that basis they instead would have to be at least his great-grandchildren (*Rank and Title*, pp. 96, 292 [286A–b]). As a result, he dated Impy and Ibebi after the end of the Old Kingdom.

¹⁸¹ On the lengths of the reigns of Pepy I, Merenre, and Pepy II, see Baer, “Egyptian Chronology,” pp. 1, 8, 9; Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994), pp. 306–307.

¹⁸² Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 2, pl. 48. The connection was already noted by Smith, *Old Kingdom*, p. 187.

¹⁸³ Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 62; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 64–65, 96.

¹⁸⁴ *GN* 2, p. 54, pl. 52 g, fig. 54.

¹⁸⁵ Exp Ph. B 1455; the adjoining blocks are illustrated in Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pl. 31.

¹⁸⁶ Exp. Ph. C 5201.

¹⁸⁷ *Meir* 5, pl. 40. For the blocks from Nekhebu’s serdab, see Fischer, *JARCE* 2 (1963), pp. 21–22, frontispiece (in color), pls. 2–3.

¹⁸⁸ *Gebr.* 2, pl. 13. Helck (*Beamtentitel*, pp. 116–17, 136ff.) thought that there could be only one functioning vizier at a time and postulated the existence of “titular viziers” in an attempt to explain away the embarrassingly large number of viziers from the reign of Izezi onwards. Baer too was of the opinion that even the title of vizier could be a rank-indicator on occasion (*Rank and Title*, p. 3). Kanawati, *Gov. Reforms*, pp. 15, 34–35, 54, and passim, and Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 322–28, have now effectively countered Helck’s arguments, postulating instead that two (sometimes three) viziers served simultaneously, either on a geographical basis, that is, one for Upper and one for Lower Egypt, or in terms of function.

¹⁸⁹ Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 145.

probably safe to add the two brothers to the list of known viziers who served Pepy II.¹⁹¹

Although the false door from the small offering room of Werkau-ba Iku (G 2383),¹⁹² built against the south face of the mastaba of Mehi is damaged, the titles *ḥḥty zsb ḥḥty* are discernable at the top of its outer jambs.¹⁹³ There is nothing in the palaeography of the inscriptions to suggest that the false door is later than the Old Kingdom, but considering the humble nature of the offering room, Iku

may have served one of the successors of Pepy II.¹⁹⁴ Taking into account the location of his tomb, Iku may well have been a descendant of the Senedjemib family, even though we are ignorant of his exact relationship. Since no shaft was found in or behind his chapel, Reisner felt he was buried in one of the successive additions (G 2376 or 2377) to the west side of the mastaba of Mehi.¹⁹⁵ It seems more likely that he was buried in an intrusive shaft constructed in the serdab of Mehi's tomb (G 2378 B).¹⁹⁶ His wife(?) Tjefreret¹⁹⁷ and a son named Iku after his father are also commemorated on the false door.

¹⁹⁰ In the case of Ibebi, two other adjoining blocks in Boston (Exp. Ph. B 1623, 1668) give his name and the titles [*ḥḥty-ḥ ms; imy-rs kst*].

¹⁹¹ Cf. Brovanski, in: *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, p. 118, and see Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 96 (62), 130 (117).

¹⁹² Ranke's citation to *Wr-kw-b* in *PN I*, p. 417, 27, is our individual. In *PN I*, p. 48, 10, only feminine occurrences are cited for the name *Ikw* in the Old Kingdom, although in *PN I*, p. 417, 27, Ranke does refer to *Ikw* as the other name of *Wr-kw-b*.

¹⁹³ See the sketch in Brovanski, in *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, fig. 21.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 120, and see above, p. 3.

¹⁹⁵ But see above, p. 3.

¹⁹⁶ See below, pp. 157, 158.

¹⁹⁷ The name *Tjfrret* does not occur in *PN I-3*.

CHAPTER 4: SENEDJEMIB INTI – G 2370

THE MASTABA OF SENEDJEMIB INTI, Giza G 2370, was excavated by the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition in October and November, 1912. It comprises a complex interior chapel of type (7c) with a columned portico (I), an anteroom (II), a north–south corridor or vestibule (III), an east–west offering room (IV), and a great pillared hall (V) (figs. 2–3).¹ The outer entrance is from the east at the north end of Room II, from which doors lead to the vestibule and the pillared hall. Room III, entered from the east at the north end of its east wall, has a large serdab behind the west wall with two slots (Serdab II). The east–west offering room (Room IV) with a false door in the west end is entered by a doorway at the east end of its north wall from Room III.² The pillared hall has a roof (preserved in part) supported by eight pillars in two east–west rows of four each. A second large serdab west of its west wall is provided with three slots (Serdab I).

The mastaba itself is of Reisner's type VIII a (1), constructed of great slabs of grey nummulitic limestone roughly dressed to a sloping surface (Masonry w).³ It measures 22.8 x 20.9 m with an area of 476.52 sq. m. The proportion of the length of the mastaba to the width is 1/1.09. The total area of Rooms I–V is 96.55 sq. m. The relation of the area of the mastaba to that of the rooms is 1/4.93. The preserved height of the mastaba is 3.50 m.⁴ The original height, however, was probably in excess of 6.0 m.⁵

Except for the great hall of pillars, virtually all the available wall surfaces in the chapel were originally decorated.

INSCRIPTIONS ON FACADE AND PORTICO

The facade of G 2370 closest to the portico and the adjacent sides of the portico itself are covered with long inscriptions of an autobiographical or dedicatory nature (pls. 18, 58–79; figs. 17, 18–23, 28–33). On the facade to the north of the portico is an autobiographical text and a letter written by King Izezi to Senedjemib Inti on the occasion of the completion of certain architectural works (A 1–2). On the adjacent side wall of the portico stand two other letters from Izezi to Senedjemib, one seemingly dated in the second half of the reign of that sovereign, concerning the erection of structures in connection with the king's forthcoming jubilee (B 1–2). The facade to the south of the portico and the adjacent southern side wall of the portico bear inscriptions narrating the preparation of the tomb and the establishment of its endowment (C, D). The inscriptions are translated below, pp. 89–110.

PORTICO

The dimensions of the portico embrasure are 6.25 by 1.9 m, and the total area measures 11.88 sq. m.⁶ The roof over the portico was originally supported by two columns. When Reisner excavated the tomb, the bases of the columns were still in place (fig. 3). Subsequently, they were pried up and at present rest on the ground nearby, in the area just in front of G 2374 (pl. 13b). The bases are circular with sloping sides. The upper diameter of one base is 64 cm, the height 28 cm, and the lower diameter 74 cm. The upper diameter of the other base is 65 cm, the height 24 cm, and the lower diameter 76 cm.⁷ A ring of plaster that surrounded the northern column base below the level of the stone pavement is still *in situ* (pl. 13a).

An off-center circle on the top of the larger base from Inti's portico is filled with plaster and stone chips. Two perpendicular lines on the top of this base form a cross which is intersected by the circle. The center of the circle is not the point where the lines cross, however, and most of the circle actually lies in one quadrant of the crosslines, although slightly overlapping into the other three quadrants (fig. 37b).⁸ Since the off-center circle is filled with plaster and stone chips, it could not have functioned as a socket to receive a protruding boss on the underside of the column above. Circle and crosslines alike are lacking on the smaller base.

Architrave

On top of the columns rested a long inscribed architrave (pls. 12c–c; fig. 16) measuring 54 cm in height. The architrave probably consisted of three discrete blocks originally, but these were found by Reisner broken into five pieces (fig. 16). The architrave was inscribed from right to left in large, sunk relief hieroglyphs with a certain amount of interior detail. The inscription proclaimed the identity of the tomb owner: *iry-p't hsty-c' t'zty¹ zsb [tsty imy-r3] 'kst¹ nbt nt nswt imy-r3 zšw c n nswt [hry] sšb wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt hry-hbt Sndm-ib*, “The hereditary prince and count, judge and [vizier, overseer] of all

¹ See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 130.

² Reisner originally designated the rooms of Inti's tomb chapel from the inside out, in keeping with the general system devised for other tombs in the Giza necropolis; thus, a = offering room; b = vestibule; c = anteroom; d = pillared hall; e = portico. A different system of lettering was originally utilized for the detailed map of the Senedjemib Complex (fig. 3), as follows: A = pillared hall; B = anteroom; C = vestibule; D = offering room; E = portico. The latter system occasionally appears in other HU–BMFA records, especially the Photograph and Object Registers. The two different lettering systems constitute a potential source of confusion. The present system of numbering is that used by *PM* 3². Reisner's designations have been changed to agree with the latter system wherever they occur on the original expedition maps, plans, etc. This holds true also for the tombs of Mehi and Khnumenti.

³ For Reisner's classifications of core and casing types at Giza, see *GN* 1, pp. xiv–xv, xxiii–xxiv, 39–56, 179–82.

⁴ Cf. *GN* 1, p. 264.

⁵ See above, p. 13.

⁶ *GN* 1, p. 264.

⁷ Cf. above, p. 12.

⁸ I am grateful to Cynthia Sheikoleslami for this detailed description.

works of the king, overseer of scribes of royal records, [master] of secrets of all commands of the king, and lector priest, Senedjemib.”

South Wall

On the southern side wall of the portico stood a large, portly figure of Inti in an ankle-length kilt (pl. 13c; figs. 17, 21, 22, 23). He faced outwards (east) towards a smaller figure before him, presumably that of his son Mehi (see above, pp. 26–28). The upper parts of both figures are destroyed. A roughened area around the legs of the smaller figures indicates that the figure had been recut.

Beneath the feet of the pair is a marsh scene with cattle and herdsmen crossing a stretch of water (pl. 14).⁹ A papyrus skiff at the right was occupied by three rowers and a herdsman. Although the craft itself has disappeared, clear traces of the figures in the skiff remain. The posture of the three rowers is identical; they squat in the skiff, both arms raised before them, grasping their oars high up and lower down on the shaft. They admonish one another: *hn ḥmꜣ* [wsr] *nt(y)-hnꜣ*, “Row,¹⁰ grasp [the oar],¹¹ comrade!” In the stern of the skiff a herdsman stands, his right arm extended in the habitual gesture of conjuration against crocodiles.¹² Although his figure is badly damaged, his body appears to lean forward, while the fact that his forward knee is slightly raised may indicate that he was leaning on a staff. His speech is inscribed above the heads of the swimming cattle: *wš ḥ š n* [iḥw] *ḥsꜣf* *mzꜣḥ* *ḥsꜣf* *mt in mniw*, “The channel has been prepared for [the cattle].¹³ ‘When the crocodile’ is repulsed,¹ then the dead man is repulsed!’ says the herdsman.”¹⁴

⁹ Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 104–109.

¹⁰ Erman, *Reden*, p. 30; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 30, 32.

¹¹ *Hm* for *hmꜣ* (*Wb.* 3, p. 281, 14–282, 4; *FCD*, p. 191; *hmꜣ* is the term for the “butt” or “grip” of an oar; *Wb.* 3, p. 282, 5; *FCD*, p. 191) for the calligraphic reason that it makes a neater group, on which see below, p. 44, n. 103. The distinctions between the various Egyptian words for paddle, oar, steering oar are evidently little understood; see Jones, *Nautical Terms*, pp. 197 (*wsr*, *mꜣwh*), 200 (*hmꜣ*, *hpt*), 202 (*š*, *dpw*). As a result of damage to the wall, it is uncertain whether a word for “oar,” stood in the lacuna after *hmꜣ* or simply a determinative of the verb (see Gardiner, *JEA* 37 [1951], p. 30).

¹² *Rue de tomb.*, p. 30; Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), pp. 108–11; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, p. 64; *HESP*, p. 288; Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 107–109; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 157, 183, 206, 355–67 [92].

¹³ Cf. *Wb.* 1, p. 257, 6; Erman, *Reden*, p. 29, n. 6; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 72; *Alex* 2 (1978), p. 84. Reisner has mistakenly drawn a second letter *n* where the feet of the cattle would originally have been located.

¹⁴ Cf. Erman, *Reden*, p. 29; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 69. On *ḥn*, “says,” see Gardiner, *EG*, §§ 436–37; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 747. Suggestions by James Allen and David Silverman have been incorporated into the translation of this deceptively simple caption. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 69, translates the parallel captions in the tomb of Senedjemib Mehi (*LD*, *Ergänz.*, pls. 11, 12) “Repousser la mort. Repousser le crocodile par le berger.” In his copy, however, he omits the seated man determinative after *mt*, which was actually to be seen in the example on the west wall of the portico of G 2378 in *ibid.*, pl. 12 [lower], and again in the case of the present caption in *LD*, *Text* 1, p. 56. Allen would translate: “The canal has been set for the cattle, the crocodile has been barred, the dead has been barred by the herdsman.” The seated man determinative here and in Mehi’s portico (pls. 106–107; figs. 96–97) would certainly seem to favor Allen’s translation of *mt* as “the dead,” that is, the “dead man,” rather than Montet’s “death.” The signification of *mt* in the present passage is another matter. Although the reason for the crocodile being repulsed or barred from the cattle crossing is clear enough, why should the “dead man” be so excluded, especially if the latter were identical with the deceased tomb owner? If, on the other hand, it was a question of a particular category of inimical deceased spirits (see e.g., *Letters to the Dead*, p. 12), a plural substantive, “deceased persons,” or alternatively some phrase such as *mt mt nb*, “every dead man and every dead woman” (*ibid.*, p. 5, pl. 4, 5) might be expected, and this is clearly not the case here.

The figures of the swimming cattle are damaged and only part of the stretch of water in which they swam survives. The register below is obliterated except for the legs and pole of a punter at the stern of a papyrus boat at the left.

Behind the son’s figure is Inscription D, which relates the transport of a sarcophagus for Inti from Tura (below, pp. 108–110). Immediately beneath the inscription is a vignette (pls. 79–80; figs. 22, 23) which shows a cargo vessel together with the coffin and its lid. A single line of inscription above the vessel reads from right to left: *sꜣt ꜣ pꜣt Izzī rn.f*, “The barge whose name is ‘Izezi is great of strength’.” The cargo vessel has upright stem and stern-posts and probably had a flat bottom, slightly curved sides, and pointed ends like contemporary sea-going ships.¹⁵ The zigzag pattern at the upper edge of the hull towards the prow, which in Lepsius’s day (fig. 21) ran all the way from the prow to the stern, probably represents a truss girdle consisting of a rope run to and fro between two longitudinal cables to strengthen the hull.¹⁶ The ship is provided with two rudders or oar sweeps for steering.¹⁷ The sarcophagus in its rope cradle is set on a sledge on the deck of the vessel. Immediately above is written: *qrsu*, “sarcophagus.”¹⁸ To the right is the lid, similarly protected, and above it the word *ꜣ*, “lid.”¹⁹ The three men at the prow of the barge are identified by labels over their heads as the *imy-rs mdw*, “overseer of ten (men),”²⁰ the *špd wš*, “ship’s lieutenant,”²¹ and the *imy-rs sb*, “overseer of navigation.”²² Over a man at the stern of the boat is written *imy-irty*, “captain.”²³ Like the three men at the prow, the captain wears his own hair cut short and a belted kilt with flaring front panel. As is also the case with the “overseer of navigation,” he holds a scepter-like baton as a symbol of office.²⁴ The two men who maneuver the great oar sweeps of the boat are captionless. They too are wigless, but appear to wear plain, tight-fitting kilts.

West Wall

At the rear of the portico, Inti is shown in pendant scenes, accompanied by family and retainers, engaged in sports in the marshes. The leisure time activities of fishing and fowling are virtually inseparable and are found in combination on the walls of many other tombs,²⁵ but here they are arranged as great panels flanking the entrance to the chapel.²⁶

¹⁵ Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 60–69, especially p. 62 with fig. 186.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 62, 64–65.

¹⁷ Due to Egyptian artistic conventions, it is uncertain whether there were two or four rudders and helmsmen; see below, p. 117 and n. 16.

¹⁸ *Wb.* 5, p. 65, 13–21.

¹⁹ *Wb.* 1, p. 164, 22.

²⁰ See Jones, *Nautical Titles and Terms*, p. 58 [41].

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 99 [220].

²² *Ibid.*, p. 51 [52].

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 49 [4]; Vallogia, in *Mélanges Vercoutter*, pp. 355–64.

²⁴ The outline of the two scepters is worn away today, but is clear in a photograph (pl. 80). On the “baton de commandement,” see Boreux, *Natuïques*, p. 472; Fischer, *MMJ* 13 (1978), pp. 16–17.

²⁵ Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 718–19, provides a useful discussion with references; see also Müller, *Die Ausgestaltung der Kultkammer*, pp. 79–96; Kaplony, *Metbeti*, pp. 9–20, esp. p. 90, n. 5; Van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, p. 66. The popularity of these scenes is to be sought in the deceased’s wish for pleasure as well as his need for sustenance in the next world; see Feucht, in *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, pp. 157–69, with references to earlier literature on the topic.

²⁶ See p. 14 above.

South Panel. To the left of the entrance, Inti stood with his legs spread wide apart, precariously balanced in a papyrus skiff (pl. 15a; figs. 24, 25).²⁷ Facing right towards a thicket of papyrus, he has trans-fixed two large fish, a Nile perch (*Lates niloticus*) and a *bolti* fish (*Tilapia nilotica*), with one cast of his bident or two-pronged fish spear.²⁸ The perch and *bolti* are two of the biggest fish in the Nile and are as a rule depicted in this context.²⁹ Although this area of the wall has sustained considerable damage, it is clear that the fish were surrounded by water which rose like a hill or column from the low rectangle that represented the water below the boat.³⁰ The other fish in the water include a species of catfish which habitually swims wrong side up (*Synodontis batensoda*)³¹ and possibly a *Barbus bynni*.³² The skiff itself is largely destroyed.

Lepsius's draftsman drew a small quadruped within the papyrus thicket at the bottom right of the wall and a crocodile lurking in the water below. In point of fact, what the draftsman mistakenly interpreted as an animal is a fisherman bent sharply over at the waist and using a deep hand net to catch medium sized fish or small fry.³³ Just visible in the photograph is the damaged figure of a hippopotamus behind and facing away from the crocodile. Identifiable among the birds nesting in the superimposed rows of papyrus blossoms above are a hoopoe (*Upupa epops*) at the left and what is possibly a swallow (*Hirundo rustica*) at the right.³⁴

Only a few signs survive of the caption which originally occupied the space above Inti's head and in front of his face: (1) [...] $\bar{h}m\bar{h}w$ [$\bar{h}r$] [...], (2) $st\bar{t}$ [$\bar{m}b$][$t...$], (1) "the o[ne honor]ed [b]y [...], (2) "spear[ing] fi[sh] [...]"³⁵ In all likelihood this was preceded by an overall caption to the scene in one long column coupled with a selection of Inti's titles arranged in shorter columns (as in the north panel) and terminating with his name(s) in line 1, while line 2, just in front of his face, constituted a shorter label describing the specific activity taking place, that is, "spearing fish." Scanty traces alone remain of the small figure of Inti's wife, who sat in the boat at his feet and perhaps held onto his front leg to help steady him. In the caption over her head she was designated as [$\bar{h}mt.$] f $mr\bar{t}$. f [...], "his [wife]

whom he love[s]," but her name can no longer be made out. As in the adjacent north panel, the couple's son evidently stood at the prow of the skiff, for part of his name and titles are preserved, even though his figure is destroyed. Here too, it is clear that the figure was in surcharge, for the original surface around the figure was deeply cut back and part of the left side of the papyrus thicket cut away to accommodate it (pl. 15b). Only a few disconnected signs from the two columns of text that stood above the son's head have escaped destruction. This part of the wall was somewhat better preserved in 1931, and traces of the title *imy-rs* $\bar{r}kt$ nbt nt [$nswt$], "overseer of 'all works' of [the king]," are visible in the photograph. In a compact group between the shaft of Inti's fish spear and the destroyed head of the son's figure [$Snd[m]$ - ib $rn.f$] \bar{r} "[Se]nedj[em]ib, his great name" appears. In this instance, the \bar{r} pillar inexplicably precedes $rn.f$. Space would allow for $rn.f$ nfr *Mhi* to follow below, as it often does in Mehi's own tomb,³⁶ as well as in the north panel on the other side of the entrance to the chapel of G 2370, thus distinguishing son from father.³⁷

Outside the boat, on three ground lines behind Inti, which presumably represented a nearby bank, at least four retainers were depicted. There were originally two retainers standing on the bottom line, but apparently only one on each of the two lines above. Their figures, names, and titles are largely destroyed. The column of text before the best preserved figure at the lower left reads from right to left: *imy-rs* zsw $\bar{r}nh^1$ - m -[...], "the overseer of scribes 'Ankh¹-em- [...]" (fig. 131a).³⁸ Traces suggest that the two retainers on the ground lines above wore calf-length kilts with flaring front panels, the nature of the kilts perhaps reflecting their seniority.³⁹ Although only the belt and waist tie of the kilt of the first of the two retainers on the bottom line are preserved, by analogy with the north panel, all the retainers probably wore calf-length kilts. The figures of the retainers on this wall were omitted by Lepsius.

North Panel. On the right of the entrance, Inti faces left and holds aloft in his rear hand a throwstick or boomerang, which he is about to hurl at the birds in the dense papyrus thicket that forms the setting for the hunt (pls. 16, 17a; figs. 26, 27).⁴⁰ In his front hand he grasps two herons as decoys.⁴¹ Both kilt and wig are better preserved here than in the adjacent panel to the south of the entrance, and it is clear that the surface of Inti's short wig was once covered with the customary horizontal rows of overlapping locks.⁴² His jewelry evidently consisted of a beaded collar and bracelets (traces remain of one on his

²⁷ See LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. 17.

²⁸ For a detailed description of the fish spear and its use, see Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 243–45. Let it be noted here that the Latin terminology for a particular species of flora or fauna, once stated, is not repeated with the exception of catfish species and in the case of uncertain identifications.

²⁹ Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, p. 245; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 20–22; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 722, 725, 730; Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*, pp. 68–69.

³⁰ On the so-called "Wasserberg" or "colonne d'eau," see e.g., Klebs, *ZÄS* 52 (1915), p. 23; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 20; Balcz, *MDAIK* 8 (1938), pp. 158–60; Junker, *Giza* 4, pp. 28–29; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, p. 67; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 733; Schafer, *Principles*, p. 243.

³¹ Gaillard, *Recherches sur les poissons*, pp. 71–74; Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*, p. 34; Brewer-Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, pp. 68–69.

³² The following have been consulted for the identification of the fish types here and throughout the present volume: Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pp. 39–41, pl. 26; Gaillard, *Recherches sur les poissons*; Edel, *NAWG* 1961, p. 209ff. and *NAWG* 1963, p. 91ff.; Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte*; Brewer and Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*.

³³ On the hand net, see below, p. 135 and n. 31.

³⁴ Helpful in the identification of the birds have been Meinertzhagen, *Nicoll's Birds of Egypt*, vols. 1 and 2; Davies, *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 13–20; Edel, *NAWG* 1961, p. 209ff. and *NAWG* 1963, p. 91ff.; Houlihan, *Birds of Ancient Egypt*.

³⁵ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 21. For a selection of the captions attached to scenes of spear fishing, see *Gebr.* 1, pl. 3; 2; pls. 3, 23; *Meir* 4, pl. 4; 5; pl. 24; Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 8; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 34; *Seven Chapels*, pl. 6; *Two Craftsman*, pls. 6, 12; *Nianchnum*, fig. 5; Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 7.

³⁶ Below, p. 155.

³⁷ For rn nfr and rn \bar{r} , see Sethe, *ZÄS* 57 (1922), pp. 77–78; Junker, *ZÄS* 63 (1928), pp. 59–63; *Khentika*, p. 12; Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 117 and n. 513.

³⁸ Faulkner (*Plural and Dual*, pp. 3–4) has noted that $\bar{h}r$ and $\bar{h}w$, and similar writings of other titles, are not to be regarded as abbreviations of writings such as $\bar{h}r$ or $\bar{h}w$, but as survivals of an ancient usage in which the number of nouns was left unexpressed. This was presumably the case with *imy-rs* zsw here and with other titles that occur on the walls of the Senedjemib Complex.

³⁹ See above, p. 26 and n. 57.

⁴⁰ LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xviii. In actuality, the throwstick would have been held in the proper right hand; see *HESP*, pp. 285, 296. According to Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 284, two boomerangs found in an Eleventh Dynasty tomb at Thebes were of the so-called "return type."

⁴¹ See Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* 3, pls. 94–95, 106; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 747.

⁴² For this type of wig, see Vandier, *Manuel* 3, p. 102; Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp. 86–88; Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 238–39; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, pp. 55–56.

upraised arm). He wears the garment customarily worn by the tomb owner in scenes of spear fishing and fowling. This was apparently cut from a semicircular piece of linen, the rounded ends of which were crossed in front, while between them was a trapezoidal panel with concave sides broader at the bottom than at the top.⁴³ The papyrus skiff in which Inti once stood is destroyed for the most part, but its preserved stern curves gracefully upwards.⁴⁴

From the label beneath his front elbow, which reads *hmt.f mr[t].f r' r' [ht] nswt Tfi*, “his wife [whom] ‘he’ loves, the king’s ‘acquaintance, Tjefi,” it is clear that a small figure of Inti’s spouse once sat in the boat at his feet, as in the panel to the south of the entrance. The words [*tyty zsb*] *tyty imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt*, “[chief justice] and vizier, overseer of all works of the king,” are all that remain of the long column of text in front of Inti which once served as a general caption to the scene and which was probably continued in several shorter columns with Inti’s titles above his head, of which only a few disconnected signs now remain. As in the south panel also, a shorter horizontal caption in the space immediately over Inti’s head probably described the specific activity taking place, that is, *m3* “throwing the boomerang.”⁴⁵ Standing in the place where the destroyed prow of the skiff would have been is a figure of Inti and Tjefi’s son, Mehi, facing right towards his parents. A tip alone remains of the boomerang that he held up to his father.⁴⁶ The beginning of the text above his head is lost: (1) [... *imy*]-*r3 kst nbt nt nswt*, (2) [... *ir.n.(i) n.f.nw*] *m 3wt Wnis*. (3) *Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr*, (1) “[... the over]seer of all works of the king, (2) [... It was] out of the largesse of Unis [that I did this for him], (3) (namely) Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.”⁴⁷ As can be seen clearly in pl. 17a, the entire text is in surcharge, as is the figure of Mehi below, the original surface being deeply cut back, and the background left rough.

Behind Inti, on a nearby bank represented by two groundlines, are four retainers. The top pair are the *hry-hbt Ny-rhb-Mnw*, “lector priest, Ni-ankh-min,” and the *hry-hbt Izzi-bs.f*, “lector priest, Izezbaf.” The former individual is known from an inscription elsewhere

in the tomb to have been a son of Inti’s.⁴⁸ Below are the *r3b z3' [shd] hmw-k3 Hm-shy*, “‘dignitary and scribe’, [inspector] of funerary priests, Hemakhti,” who appears both in G 2370 and G 2378,⁴⁹ and another functionary whose name and titles were never carved. All four men are represented without wigs and wear calf-length kilts. The two figures above also had beaded collars around their necks, as the bottom pair may have had originally. There is room for a fifth figure above Izezbaf, and what may be a foot can be seen in the appropriate place in pl. 16.

The long stretch of water beneath the papyrus skiff teemed with fish. From right to left and top to bottom the fish that remain are: a *bolti* fish, a Nile perch, an eel (*Anguilla vulgaris*),⁵⁰ a puffer fish (*Tetraodon fabaka*),⁵¹ two mullets (*Mugil sp.*),⁵² a moon fish (*Citharinus sp.*),⁵³ another mullet(?), and a catfish (*Synodontis schall*).⁵⁴ The weed reaching above the water under the stern of Inti’s boat may be *Polygonum senegalense Meisn.*⁵⁵

On the extreme left of the scene, two harpooners on a smaller scale attacked a hippopotamus in the water beneath their skiff (pl. 17b).⁵⁶ Parts of the figures of two hippopotami, both facing right, still appear in the water under the skiff, but were omitted by Lepsius’s artist. In Lepsius’s day, the papyrus thicket was largely preserved, except for the area immediately in front of the harpooners. At the left, in a part of the thicket which is now destroyed, an ichneumon (*Herpestes ichneumon*)⁵⁷ climbed a papyrus stalk with a view to robbing a nest of chicks, while a parent bird darted in fury at the marauder. Similarly, in the area preserved today, a civet cat or genet (*Genetta genetta*)⁵⁸ stalks a bird hatching eggs, as a parent bird swoops down in an effort to frighten it off (pl. 17a). It is not possible in every instance to identify the species of the birds who live in the thicket. Of the four birds which roosted on the lowest of five superimposed rows of blossoms, the bird on the left in Lepsius’s drawing, because of its hunched stance, is possibly a bittern,⁵⁹ while that on the right in the preserved section of the thicket is a species of egret (*Egretta sp.*).⁶⁰ In the midst of the thicket were three hatching birds sitting on their nests. The bird still remaining on the right may be an Egyptian goose (*Alopochen aegyptiaca*).⁶¹ On a nest below was a hoopoe, now destroyed.⁶²

⁴³ Pace Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 8, and Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 719, Bonnet, *Tracht*, p. 10, has pointed out that this is not the *shendjit*, a type of kilt usually reserved for royalty in the Old Kingdom. The trapezoidal panel of the royal kilt is narrower at the bottom than at the top; see e.g., Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pls. 2–8; Borchardt, *S'ashu-re* 2, pls. 11, 33–36; Bissing–Kees, *Re-Heiligtum* 2, pls. 1–2; 3; pls. 18, 24; Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 2, pls. 12, 24, 28–29, 32, 36–37, 39. In the context of Old Kingdom spear fishing and fowling scenes, private individuals generally have either the garment worn by Inti or a different form of kilt entirely; see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 718–19; *PM* 3², p. 902 (1 a–b), for references. In certain late Sixth Dynasty tombs, the distinction between the royal and private garments begins to break down, and the panel of the private kilt comes to resemble that of the royal kilt (e.g., Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 5; *Gebr.* 1, pl. 5; *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pls. 12, 15). By the Middle Kingdom the tomb owner does indeed don the royal *shendjit* when spear-fishing and fowling; see e.g., Vandier, *Manuel* 4, figs. 400, 402, 403. The kilt worn by Inti here is sometimes adopted by agricultural workers, see below, pp. 40, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, and cf. Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhni*, figs. 4, 9, 14, and passim.

⁴⁴ On papyrus skiffs, see further below, p. 50, n. 199.

⁴⁵ See Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 18–19, for the captions customary in such a context.

⁴⁶ For other examples of the son of the tomb owner holding up a boomerang to his father, see below, p. 136 and n. 38.

⁴⁷ For *swt*, “present, gift,” see *Wb.* 1, p. 5, 2; *ALex* 2 (1978), p. 2; cf. *FCD*, p. 1 (“gifts”); Doret, *NVS*, p. 42, Ex. 47 (“liberality”). In the Old Kingdom, at least, the term commonly designates divine or mortuary food offerings, although vases and baskets are also once mentioned (*ArchAbousir* 1, pp. 332–33; 2, pp. 368, 626, 633, n. 3). What appears to be a close parallel in Junker, *Giza* 7, pp. 147–48, fig. 60, pl. 29b, has prompted the restoration suggested here.

⁴⁸ See below, p. 78.

⁴⁹ See below, pp. 86 (19), 159 (3).

⁵⁰ Brewer–Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, p. 71.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 67–68.

⁵⁵ Both R. Muschler, in von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 2, p. 42, and Keimer, *REA* 1 (1927), pp. 182–97; *REA* 2 (1929), pp. 210–53; *REA* 3 (1931), pp. 36–41, identified the plant as *Potamogeton lucens* L., whereas Tackholm, *Students' Flora*, p. 697, suggested that it might be another Potamogeton species, namely *P. crispus* L. According to Beaux, *JEA* 74 (1988), pp. 248–52, the habitat and appearance of the plant are inconsistent with both identifications, and she proposes *Polygonum senegalense Meisn* as a more suitable alternative.

⁵⁶ The difference between the Old and New Kingdom representations of the hippopotamus hunt is that in the Old Kingdom the tomb owner never takes part; see Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 12, and below, pp. 50–136.

⁵⁷ See Brunner–Traut, *LÄ* 3 (1977), cols. 122–23.

⁵⁸ See Störk, *LÄ* 2 (1976), cols. 598–99.

⁵⁹ See Houlihan, *Birds of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 20–21.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 16–18.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 62–65.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 118–120.

North Wall

Insofar as it is possible to tell, given the considerable damage to both walls, the scenes on the northern side wall of the portico present a virtual mirror image of those on the southern side (pl. 18; figs. 29, 30). Above is a corpulent figure of Inti facing outwards. Unfortunately, the upper part of the figure is damaged, so that the exact nature of the garment Inti was wearing is not certain. It is unlikely that it was the distinctive robe of the vizier, a long kilt overlapped in front, reaching from the breast almost to the ankles, and held up by a pair of straps tied behind the neck,⁶³ since the earliest firm evidence for this distinctive costume seems not to antedate the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty.⁶⁴ It is therefore more likely that Inti was shown wearing (fig. 17a) the very long kilt sometimes worn by elderly men in the Old Kingdom (fig. 79b–c). This kilt must have denoted considerable dignity, for its wearers include viziers, overseers of Upper Egypt, and other senior officials.⁶⁵ The top edge of this kilt reached as high as the waist, while its bottom edge extended almost to the ankles and, on occasion, was longer in front than in back, as is the case here, curving down sharply to a point just above the toes. The selvedge which demarcates the outer edge of the flaring front panel in many examples of the ankle-length kilt is no longer visible, but appears in Lepsius's sketch of the north wall (fig. 17).

Inti's entire body is shown in profile, as is frequently the case in depictions of older men. Equally typical was the position of the arm in the middle of the figure indicating that the upper half of the vizier's body was depicted with abbreviated shoulders.⁶⁶


Inti's head and face are better preserved here than on the south wall of the portico. His hair is cut close to the head. Above are preserved the bottom of three columns and two lines of hieroglyphs with his titles and names, which are perhaps to be restored (text fig. 2) as follows: (1) [*iry-p^t hsty-^c t^yty zsb t^yty imy-r^s] *kst nbt nt nswt*, (2) [*imy-r^s zšw ^c nswt hry ššz wdt-mdw nbt nt] nswt imy-r^s pr-^ch^yw*, (3) [... *mdh] qd [nswt] m prwy*, (4) *Sndm-ib rn.f* [𓄏], (5) *Inti rn.f* [𓄏], (1) “[The hereditary prince and count, chief justice and vizier, overseer] of all works of the king,⁶⁷ (2) [overseer of scribes of royal records, master of secrets of every command of] the king, overseer of the armory, (3) [... royal master] builder in both houses (viz. Upper and Lower Egypt),⁶⁸ (4) Senedjemib (is) his [great] name, (5) Inti (is) his [good] name.”⁶⁹*

Although the surface immediately in front of Inti's figure is largely destroyed at present, Lepsius saw there the legs of a smaller figure, as on the south wall (fig. 17). Moreover, the leftward orientation of the hieroglyphs in the four columns above the destroyed figure and in front of Inti suggest a speech directed to the

deceased by a left-facing figure.⁷⁰ From the context, the speaker is almost certainly Inti's son Mehi. The fourth line of the speech is completely recut at a lower level than the preceding three lines, while the hieroglyphs in this column are in raised relief of poor quality, in contrast to the well-executed hieroglyphs of the other three columns, which still retain traces of inner detail.⁷¹ The text perhaps read as follows: (1) [*rdi hm n nb.(i) šd.t(i) n.(i) dbhw] nb šts wn.n.(i) dbh(i) n it.(i) t^yty zsb [t^yty m^s]*, (2) [*Sndm-ib ...] w n šps.f hr nswt r šps.f nb n^c wr^c [r.f hr nswt]* (3) [*r wr.f nb ...] mnh.k(i) hr hm n nb.(i) sdm.t(i).(i) r ht nb. Dd.b[r hm.f] [...]*, (4) [... *hsty-^c m^s imy-r^s kst nbt nt nswt S[ndm-ib]*, “(1) [The Majesty of my lord had withdrawn for me] every secret [requirement]⁷² which I had requested for my father,⁷³ the chief justice [and true vizier], (2) [Senedjemib ...] because he was better regarded by the king than any noble of his, because [he was more] ‘important’ [to the king] (3) [than any magnate of his ...]⁷⁴ I being trusted⁷⁵ by the Majesty of

⁷⁰ Speeches are usually oriented in the same direction as the speaker and thus proceed from the speaker to the person addressed; see Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* 2, pp. 49–62, especially p. 61.

⁷¹ See p. 27 above.

⁷² Edel's restoration (*Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 676) of [*dbh*]w at the beginning of the preserved section of line 2 makes good sense. The restoration that precedes this was suggested by a text that appears on the right entrance embrasure of the mastaba of Akhetetep in the Louvre (Ziegler, *Akhetetep*, pp. 107–109, 110). The inscription begins *rdit hm.f šd n.f.s.f smr w^cty im^s-^c Sⁿhw-Prh*, “What his Majesty had his son, the sole friend and *im^s-^c* Sankhu-ptah withdraw for him,” and is followed by an itemization of the gifts awarded to Akhetetep. *Rdi* there is probably a perfective relative form followed by the subjunctive *sdm.f*, whereas here it would be an example of the indicative form of the *sdm.f* with nominal subject (Doret, *NVS*, pp. 25, 27) followed by the impersonal passive of the subjunctive form. The Louvre Mastaba has simply *hm.f*, whereas we have restored *hm n nb.(i)* on the basis of its occurrence further on in our inscription because it better fits the space requirements. The verb *dbh* below and once again in Inscription C, line 26, is written in a summary manner with the hand and tusk, but we have restored a fuller writing of the substantive *dbhw* here, on the assumption that it makes a neater group than would a shorter orthography with hand, tusk, and quail chick alone. In fact, *Wb.* 5, p. 440, notes that from the Old Kingdom *dbhw* is seldom written . Additional occurrences of the fuller spelling of *dbh(w)* may also be cited; e.g., *Mereruka* 2, pl. 130; Grdseloff, *ASAE* 51 (1951), pl. 1; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 24. For the verb *šdi*, used of that which is “taken out of” or “withdrawn from” a storeroom, a box, or the like, see *Wb.* 4, p. 561, 10–12; *ArchAbousir* 1, p. 226, also Kaplony, *Methethi*, p. 21, fig. on p. 22; p. 34, fig. on p. 32; Ziegler, *Akhetetep*, pp. 111 (d), 119, 121.

⁷³ Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 676.

⁷⁴ It is not entirely certain that the damaged sign at the bottom of the line is a swallow or House Martin (Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 124–26) rather than a quail chick, although the angle and elongated line of the back are in favor of the identification. I am unable to provide a parallel for the restored passage, although the vizier Mereruka claims: *ink wr n [n]swt*, “I was a magnate of the king” (*Urk.* 1, p. 88, 15). The walls of the Senedjemib Complex supply no clear instance of the last word at the bottom of a column of inscription being broken up and carried over to an adjacent column. For that reason, if *w^cr^c* [r.f hr nswt r wr.f nb] is indeed to be restored, it is likely that *w^cr^c* appeared at the bottom of line 2. Likewise in favor of the suggested restoration is the fact that the vertical lines of text comprising an individual inscription are generally of the same length and, if *dd.b[r hm.f]* is restored at the end of line 3, both the latter clause and *w^cr^c* would terminate at the same level. On the other hand, *t^yty* at the bottom of the first line does not line up with *w^cr^c* and *dd.b[r hm.f]*, and this may militate against the proposed restoration. Theoretically, it would be possible to restore *m^s* after *t^yty*, but the title sequence *t^yty zsb t^yty m^s* is nowhere else attested for Inti, even though the latter is *hsty-^c m^s* on his sarcophagus (see below, pp. 81, 84). Still, *m^s* was sometimes used to fill up a space which was not large enough to take another title or to take the title which should follow next in the sequence (James, *Khentika*, pp. 12–13; Brovanski, *Nagad-Dér Inscriptions*, p. 356 [a]), and it is possible that it served that function here, especially since none of the titles that follow directly on *t^yty zsb t^yty* in Inti's known title sequences, including *smr w^cty*, would fit the restricted space at the bottom of line 1. It may be noted that *m^s* similarly follows on *t^yty zsb t^yty* at the bottom of a text column in James, *Khentika*, pl. 5. For additional examples of *m^s* (and *m^s m^s*) as space fillers, see now Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 77, 78.

⁶³ Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 211; Vandier, *Manuel* 3, p. 250.

⁶⁴ Ibid. Many Old Kingdom viziers are depicted wearing the ordinary short kilt which ends well above the knees; e.g., Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 2, pls. 45, 48, 57; CG 1431, 1569 A, B.

⁶⁵ E.g., *Rue de tomb.*, pls. 16, 17 (fig. 74b); *Mereruka* 2, pls. 174B, 175 (fig. 74c), 181, 185A, 187B; *Meir* 5, pl. 14; Badawy, *Nyhetep-ptah and Ankhm^cabor*, figs. 20–21; Goyon, *Kémi* 15 (1969), pls. 5, 7 [6, 8] (master metalworker). The ankle-length kilt appears in statuary as well; see e.g., Jéquier, *Pepi II* 3, pl. 54; Kaplony, *Methethi*, Nr. 12 and 14; Petersen, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 20 (1985), fig. on p. 20.

⁶⁶ Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 131–34.

⁶⁷ For the sequence *iry-p^t hsty-^c t^yty zsb t^yty imy-r^s kst nbt nt nswt*, see above p. 37.

⁶⁸ For the title adjunct *m pr.wy*, see below, p. 84.

⁶⁹ For the restorations in the last line, see above, p. 24, n. 24.

my lord (with the result) that I was heard⁷⁶ in regard to every matter. There[upon His Majesty] said [...],⁷⁷ (4) [... the] ^rtrue¹⁷⁸ [count] and overseer of all works of the king, Se[nedjemib].” Senedjemib (Mehi) here is referred to as “true count and overseer of all works of the king,” as he originally was on the door thicknesses in G 2370 and consistently was in his own tomb.

Assuming that Edel’s restoration of [dbhw] at the beginning of Mehi’s speech is correct, and that Mehi indeed got what he petitioned for, it could well be that what Inti received from the king, like the earlier vizier Washptah Izi, were the *dbhw n hmt hry-hbt*, “the requirements of the craft of the lector priest,” that is, the equipment for the booth (*ibw n wcb*) where his body was purified prior to mummification.⁷⁹ It was neither unusual nor unprecedented for a king to contribute to the embalming of a favored noble. In fact, enough examples occur of such posthumous gifts as to suggest that it was accepted practice.⁸⁰

Although the arrangement of the first register of the marsh scene with cattle and herdsman below Senedjemib’s feet closely parallels that in the same register on the opposite wall of the portico, the caption above the rowers in the first boat differs in a number of particulars: *hn rzf(i) t[n]t(y)[-hmc] nb*, “Row ^rslowly,⁸¹ [c]om[rade], [(it is) winding].”⁸² The presence of *i[n]*, “says,” in Lepsius’s sketch (fig. 17) before the face of the standing figure with outstretched arm looking backwards in the stern of the skiff is clear evidence that we have here the figure of the herdsman pronouncing the spell against crocodiles, as on the south wall of the portico.

The bottom register, while damaged, is considerably better preserved than the corresponding register on the southern wall. Parts of two papyrus skiffs are visible, each crewed by three herdsman who stand in the boats and propel them along a stretch of water with long

poles. The upper part of the figures are destroyed, but their legs are spread wide to maintain their balance. Between the legs of the middle man in the first skiff and likewise between the legs of the first man in the other skiff are splayed rush baskets with two loop handles filled with fruit. The basket between the legs of the second man in the other skiff was probably similarly filled, but the fruit is now destroyed. The herdsman in the center of the first boat appears to wear the very short round-edged kilt with belt-sash tied behind.⁸³

ROOM II

This north–south anteroom is parallel to the facade. It measures 3.7 by 1.55 m and has an area of 5.74 sq. m. The outer entrance is from the east at the north end, whence two doors also lead to the pillared hall and the vestibule.

The entrance was evidently closed by a single-leaf wooden door.⁸⁴ The construction of the door was of the customary type with one pivot fitting into a socket in the lintel and the other revolving in a recess in the sill or in a separate pivot stone. In the present case, a rectangular recess was cut in the inner end of the lintel and a circular socket drilled in it (pl. 11b; fig. 37c). The lower pivot stone was apparently made from a separate piece of stone and is now missing, though the narrow, raised baulk of stone intended to hold it in place can still be seen. This separate pivot stone probably constituted an aid by means of which the lower pivot of the door could be passed into place, once the upper pivot was engaged in its socket, and replaces the more customary method by which a groove was cut in the sill, leading down to the lower socket, to enable the door pivot to pass into its socket. This groove would then be filled in with a strip of stone after the door had been hung.⁸⁵ Both the upper socket recess and the lower pivot stone were probably fitted with a block of wood with a corresponding hole in it through which the upper and lower pivots passed.⁸⁶ The wood blocks may have reduced the amount of wear and tear the wooden pivots would have been subject to had they rotated solely within a stone socket.

In the undecorated area at the bottom of the north wall of the room, the wall against which the door leaf closing the entrance would have rested when open, a squarish niche is located at a height of about 65 cm and at a distance of about 12 cm from the inner end of the north doorway thickness (pl. 21a). This niche measures approximately 13 cm in height, 12 cm in width, and 11 cm in depth. Bissing found similar niches in the tomb of the vizier Kagemni at Saqqara, and connected these with an apparatus by means of which the door might be sealed when closed. Bissing’s niches, however, were

⁷⁵ The stative first m. sing. in epithet strings enumerating the qualities of the deceased indicates a concomitant circumstance (present circumstantial); see Doret, *NVS*, p. 51.

⁷⁶ *Sdm.t(i)* may represent the first person passive of the subjunctive form. For the passive *sdm.t(i).f* form in clauses of result, see Doret, *NVS*, pp. 48–49.

⁷⁷ Examples of the *sdm.hr.f* form are rare in Old Egyptian; see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, §§ 462, 464, 550 + N; 2, 1123; Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 479–80. Alternatively, it would be possible to read *dd.hr.(i)* [...], “There[upon] I (viz. Mehi) said [...].” James Allen treats this passage differently. Although agreeing that “I was heard in regard to every matter” is grammatically correct, he feels the translation does not sound right. To begin with he would expect *m mdt nbt* or the like rather than *r ht nb*, and would take *sdm.t(i)* as a subjectless passive (circumstantial) *sdm.f*, “it being heard,” and *r ht nb* in the usual sense of “anything.” *Dd* can be taken as a passive participle modifying *ht nb*, followed by *hr*, probably *hr hm.f*. He would thus translate “[...] I was efficient before the Majesty of my lord, and it was heard more than anything said t[o his Majesty].”

⁷⁸ The edges of the presumed *ms*-pedestal (Aa 12) appear to be rounded rather than square (see p. 63, n. 392 below), but traces of what seems to be a badly made sickle (U 1) at its right are visible in pls. 18, 64a.

⁷⁹ Grdseloff, *ASAE* 51 (1951), p. 141, pl. 1; Brovarski, *Or* 46 (1977), pp. 110–12.

⁸⁰ E.g., *Urk.* 1, pp. 137–39; 267, 9–11; Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), pp. 261 [f], fig. 5 [VIII]; *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pl. 26.

⁸¹ Assuming *zf(i)* to be an adverb derived from the verbal stem *zfi/sfi > wzf(i)/wsf(i)()*, “to be sluggish, still,” “neglect, ignore,” “resting, idle, fallow” (*Wb.* 1, p. 357, 2–4; 4, p. 114, 8; Caminos, *Lit. Frags.*, p. 15; Posener, *Enseignement Loyaliste*, p. 29 [14]; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* 2, p. 95).

⁸² I can identify no verb *hst* with a meaning that fits the present context. However, *hn*, “row,” is once written without a postcomplement *n* in G 2378 (pl. 97; fig. 107), and this raises the possibility that the verb represented here was *nh* rather than *hst*. James Allen has suggested *nh*, “to wind” (*ALex* 2 [1978], p. 203), in form either an adjectival predicate without subject or old perfective *nh.(i)*, which fits both the context and the sinuous character of the waterways of the Delta marshes.

⁸³ See below, p. 45.

⁸⁴ A number of door leaves have been preserved from the Old Kingdom. One, which is not a hinged door, comes from the mastaba of Nefermaat and Ankhnesneferibre (Petrie, *The Labyrinth*, p. 25, pl. 16). A second, which is hinged, derives from the mastaba of Ka-em-hezit at Saqqara (Clark–Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, p. 162, fig. 185). Three doors closed the entrances to the deckhouse of the boat found on the southern side of the Great Pyramid; see *The Cheops Boat* 1, p. 9 and pls. 14, 40(A), 47, 48, 52. On the construction of Egyptian doors and doorways, see Koenigsberger, *Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür*, and Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pp. 91–98.

⁸⁵ Clark–Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, pp. 163–64.

⁸⁶ See Davies, *Phahetep* 2, p. 4; Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, p. 1, pl. 3, fig. 2; Lauer, *Saqqara*, pl. 9.

always located on the side of the doorway opposite the door hinge.⁸⁷ Damage to the end of the wall almost directly opposite the aforementioned niche in G 2370 conceals in part a second niche (pl. 21b) which may have served a similar purpose to the niches discussed by the German scholar.

Doorway Thicknesses

The door thicknesses once again were essentially mirror images of one another. On either side of the entry passage, Inti faces out of the tomb (east) towards a smaller figure of his son Mehi. Both thicknesses were in better condition when seen by Lepsius.

Left (south) thickness. On the left thickness Inti holds a walking stick with his right hand in front and a scepter in his hanging left hand (pls. 19a–b, 20a; figs. 34, 35).⁸⁸ The figure is now lost from the waist up, but it is clear from Lepsius's drawing that he originally wore his own close-cropped hair, a beaded collar, and a leopard skin vestment over a kilt with a flaring front panel. As is appropriate for a mature individual, the kilt is calf-length. Inti's scepter passes behind his body, as is to be expected in a figure facing left, and both hands are correctly drawn for a figure thus oriented.⁸⁹ An unusual, though not unparalleled, feature is the belt that encircles the leopard skin at the waist in Lepsius's drawing.⁹⁰

Lepsius copied four damaged columns of texts above Inti's head. These are lost today, but were oriented in the same direction as his figure: (1) [*Htp-di-nswt ... prt-hr*] *w nt*, (2) the [...] *m prwy*, (3) *imy-r3 šnwty*, (4) *imy-r3 prwy-hd*, (1) “[A boon that the king gives ... of invocation offer]ings belonging to⁹¹ (2) the [...] in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt),⁹² (3) overseer of the two granaries, (4) overseer of the two treasuries.” Since they were made to conform to the shape of the drumroll over the entrance (a short segment of which appears at the top right of Lepsius's plate), the columns decreased in height from front to back. Inti's name(s) probably followed, in one or two horizontal lines, as on the north thickness.

Mehi faces right towards his father. His arms hang respectfully at his side, hands open.⁹³ Like his father he is wigless and wears a beaded collar around his neck. Unlike the former, he is attired in the short kilt favored for depictions of younger men. The signs in the three long columns over his head also face right. It is unfortunate that the beginning of each column is missing, for the content is exceptional: (1) [...] *zš m zš qdt*, (2) [...] *irrw n sꜥꜥ*, (3) [...] *imšh*] *w hr ntr nb irrw n.f z3.f mitt*, “(1) [...] drawn in outline (?),⁹⁴ (2) [...] which is done⁹⁵ for a great official, (3) [...] one honor]ed by every god, one for whom his son shall do the like.”⁹⁶ Mehi's name and a title follow: [*h3ty*]-*rꜥ m3ꜥ* *Sndm-ib*, “The ‘true’ [count], Senedjemib.”

The raised relief figure of the son has been recut, as has the title in front of his face and the name above his head (pl. 19a–b). The entire area is lower than that of the surrounding surface, while the background has not received a final smoothing and still shows traces of tool marks. By contrast, the inscription in three columns above his head appears to be original, since the hieroglyphs have been carved on the same level as Inti's figure.

Right (north) thickness. The short columns of text that, on the pattern of the left thickness, presumably appeared above Inti's figure at the top of this wall, had already spalled away by Lepsius's day (fig. 36).⁹⁷ The upper two-thirds of the wall is now missing along with the upper part of Inti's body and the head of the son (pl. 20b; fig. 37). In general the details of Inti's costume appear to be fairly well represented in Lepsius's copy, in particular the horizontal rows of over-lapping curls on the short wig and the leopard skin with claws at the ends of the paws, as well as the animal's head set askew just above the belt and waist tie. On the other hand, the shoulder knot with dangling ends is awkwardly rendered.⁹⁸ Inti wore a beaded collar and held a staff and scepter. The incomplete inscription reading from right to left above his head is plausibly to be restored as follows: [*imšhw*] *hr ntr* ꜥ *Sndm-ib* [*wr*] *Inti rn.f nfr*,” [the one honored] by the great god, Senedjemib [the Elder], whose good name is Inti.”⁹⁹

As on the southern thickness, Mehi stood facing his father, with hands hanging empty at his sides. He was wigless and his calf-length kilt had a flaring front panel. The damaged lines of text above his head faced left and perhaps once read: [*h3ty*]-*rꜥ m3ꜥ* [*mry*] *nb.f*, (2) *Sndm-ib*, “the true [count, beloved] of his lord, Senedjemib.”¹⁰⁰ Presumably, the space above was occupied by columns of text, as on the southern thickness.

Once again clear evidence of recutting survives. The raised relief figure of the son is obviously on a lower level than that of the surrounding surface and the background has never been finished. Moreover, the lower part of Inti's staff is noticeably flatter than it is above, this part evidently having been cut away so that Mehi's right foot

⁸⁷ Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pp. 1–2, fig. 1.

⁸⁸ LD 2, pl. 78 [b, left].

⁸⁹ For reversed hands in Old Kingdom reliefs, see especially *HESP*, pp. 274–79.

⁹⁰ Cf. Borchardt, *S'ashu-re* 2, pl. 19; *Meir* 4, pl. 8.

⁹¹ Assuming *prt hrw nt* is correctly restored, it would undoubtedly have been preceded by *h3p-di-nswt* and possibly a coordinated phrase naming Anubis or Osiris.

⁹² The title preceding *m prwy* in line 2 was determined by the house sign. Of those titles listed by *Wb.* 1 p. 514, 9, which precede *m prwy*, only *imy-r3 wꜥbt* has the requisite house determinative. This is not a title recorded for Inti elsewhere in his tomb, although Khnumenti is *imy-r3 wꜥbty* in G 2374 (below, p. 129 [4]).

⁹³ See Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 319.

⁹⁴ *Zš qd(t)*, “draft, sketch,” is unknown to *Wb.*, but appears again in *Two Craftsmen*, p. 24, pl. 4 a, and possibly also occurred in Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 3, p. 74, fig. 73 ([...] *m zš-qd m kst* [*qsty*]); for *kst qsty*, see Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 19e and pl. A, 2). For a later occurrence, see *DLE* 3, p. 97; *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, p. 195, i. I believe I can make out in pl. 20a the terminal *t* of *qdt* and before it the phonetic determinative *o* which is due to the stem-meaning of *qdt*, “go round” (Gardiner, *EG*, p. 530 [W 24]). Sethe (*Urk.* 1, p. 67, 14) read *zš m zš mdw*, but the sides of the brickmaker's striker (Fischer, *Calligraphy*, p. 52) are quite vertical, and it does not flare at the base like the walking stick. It should be noted that the sign faces backwards, as it also does in *sqdwt* in fig. 39.

⁹⁵ Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 562.

⁹⁶ See Breasted, *Ancient Records* 1, § 277, and cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 562; idem, *Phraseologie*, § 20. The orthography of the verb suggests it is a question of the imperfective relative form (*irrw*) used in reference to future time (Gardiner, *EG*, § 389, 1, and note 4a). Cf. Garnot, *L'Appel aux vivants*, text no. 3 and commentary.

⁹⁷ LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xix [right].

⁹⁸ See Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp. 54–56.

⁹⁹ Lepsius shows a tall, narrow space after the name “Senedjemib” with possible traces of a sign at the bottom. The space is too narrow for *rn.f* ꜥ, but it is possible that the courtier-hieroglyph (*wr*) originally stood here, as it does after the same name in Inscription B 2; see below, p. 100, n. k.

¹⁰⁰ For the epithet *mry nb.f*, cf. *mry nb.f m tsuy.f*, below, p. 129 (13). In the present case, Mehi's “lord” is probably his father rather than the king.

might be inserted. Conversely, the tip of the flaring front panel of Mehi's skirt is actually carved over the staff and is thus at a higher level than the rest of his figure.

East wall

The scene on the east wall consisted of four registers of riverine and marsh scenes: papyrus plucking, the transport of papyrus bundles, the manufacture of papyrus boats, boatmen jousting, and scenes of navigation (pls. 22, 24b; figs. 38, 39).¹⁰¹ Even though it has deteriorated since Lepsius's time, this is the best preserved of the walls in G 2370 that were seen by him.

First Register. The greater part of the topmost register has been destroyed since Lepsius visited Giza. In his drawing (fig. 38), a man at the far right of the register facing right, feet firmly planted, exerted himself to pull up a stalk from a thicket of papyrus with both hands.¹⁰² Over his head was the legend *wꜥꜥ dt*, "plucking papyrus."¹⁰³ Although it is impossible to be certain, since his figure is now lost, it looks as if he had an unusual growth of hair on the back of the head. This may also have been true of the man behind him, the last individual in a file of four papyrus carriers proceeding towards the left.¹⁰⁴ The other individuals in this register all appear to have had their hair close-cut.

The four papyrus carriers transported great bundles of stalks on their backs for use in the construction of the papyrus skiffs.¹⁰⁵ The last of the four stood erect under his load and turned his head and the upper part of his body back towards the worker plucking papyrus. The first three papyrus carriers were shown in a progressively more erect posture from rear to front, almost in cinematographic fashion, as if they represented one individual shown in three consecutive movements. The second and third figures staggered and bent under the weight of their loads. The action of each was identified as: *sꜥꜥ dt*, "hauling papyrus."¹⁰⁶ The first carrier, whose figure was rendered entirely in profile, leant slightly forward and pulled on the rope binding his bundle of stalks with both hands. Unlike his fellows, the second carrier bore his burden with the umbels at the bottom. Only the lower legs and feet of the first carrier, together with the chock under one end of the right-hand papyrus skiff, survive today.

The entire left half of the register was given over to the manufacture of papyrus boats. Six men working on two different skiffs were occupied in binding together the thick bundles of papyrus from which they were made. The men pull vigorously on ropes and spare coils above are at their disposal. The short line of inscription over the men in the boat at the right is perhaps to be restored: *s[p]t s[mh]*, "b[ind]ing papy[rus boats]."¹⁰⁷ Although it does not appear in Reisner's photograph (pl. 22), the block with the figures of the three

men working on the left-hand skiff has been restored to its original position on the wall and is included in fig. 39.

Second Register. Four papyrus skiffs were engaged in a tournament. The skiffs were paired off and their crews evenly matched, three men in each of the craft at the right and four men apiece in each of the skiffs at the left. Today the crews of the right-hand pair of boats are largely destroyed. The goal of the tournament was evidently to plunge the rival crew into the water (represented by a narrow rectangle) by means of the long, forked poles with which they are equipped.¹⁰⁸ The lead man in one of the skiffs at the left has lost his balance and struggles to hang onto its prow. With his left hand he grabs the front leg of the second man in his boat. His opponent at the prow of the other skiff kneels to maintain his balance and to deliver a stinging overhead blow to his prostrate rival, but the blow is blocked with his pole by the second boatman.¹⁰⁹ A large basket of fruit with a bouquet of lotus placed on top was set at the prow of one of the right-hand pair of boats, while piles of fruit occupy the spaces between the wide-spread legs of two of its crew. A similar basket and piles of fruit are set between the legs of the men in the other right-hand boat, and piles of fruit are also to be seen in the left-hand pair of skiffs. The size and shape of the fruit between the legs of the men in one of the two preserved boats, as seen in fig. 39, are suggestive of two different types of figs.¹¹⁰

The garments of the marsh dwellers are typical of those worn by laborers of all classes and will recur repeatedly in the discussion below. A few words on this subject may therefore not be out of order at this point. It is unfortunate that the clothing of the subordinate figures in G 2370 and other tombs of the Senedjemib Complex is, in general, not very well preserved. For that reason better preserved examples of the same garments from other Old Kingdom tombs are reproduced in fig. 75 for purposes of comparison.

The man plucking papyrus at the far right of the first register, possibly two of the men working on papyrus skiffs at the opposite end of the same register, and the jousting boatmen in the register below appear to be clad only in a belt-sash tied at their backs. Belt-sashes like these may be tied in front (fig. 75a) or behind (fig. 75b) or the loose ends may dangle both in front and behind (fig. 75c). The sash by itself is worn by craftsmen,¹¹¹ agricultural workers,¹¹² marsh dwellers, including fisherman and fowlers,¹¹³ and hunters.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ For a detailed treatment of the contest, see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 510–31. Bolshakov (*BSEG* [1993], pp. 29–39) emphasizes quite correctly the relationship of these scenes to the delivery of offerings and the supplying of the deceased with provisions. He is surprised by the rough-and-tumble nature of the contest, seeing in it a real combat. One is reminded, however, of the spectator sport of birling (log-rolling) popular in the American Northwest, in which on occasion injuries were sustained.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 154–55.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Williams, *Decoration of Perneb*, pp. 48–49. Neither of the baskets containing fruit shown here is drawn very accurately, but there is little question that a type of splayed basket with two loop handles was intended, since such baskets regularly appear in this and similar contexts; see e.g., *LD* 2, pl. 105; Davies, *Prahhetep* 2, pl. 14; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 26; *Ti* 2, pl. 111; Ziegler, *Akhetetep*, pp. 128, 131. The form of the splayed basket with loop handles goes back to the Archaic Period and actual examples of probable New Kingdom date are known; see McDonald, in *Egypt's Golden Age*, cat. no. 136. This type of basket served as a kind of carryall throughout Egyptian history. For a discussion, see Junker, *Giza* 4, p. 34. Finely detailed examples in relief are *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pl. 17; 2, pl. 19.

¹¹¹ E.g., *Ti* 3, pl. 174.

¹⁰¹ *LD*, *Ergänz.*, pl. xx.

¹⁰² For details of the papyrus harvest, see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 453.

¹⁰³ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 74. The actual arrangement of signs in the first word is *hwꜥ*, the signs transposed according to the principles elicited by Gardiner (*EG*, § 56) and Edel (*Altäg. Gramm.* 1, §§ 91–97).

¹⁰⁴ Marsh-dwellers with a long growth of hair at the back of the head are not common before the New Kingdom; see Davies, *Puyemre* 2, pp. 73–77.

¹⁰⁵ See e.g., Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 450–52.

¹⁰⁶ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 74.

¹⁰⁷ *Wb.* 4, p. 96, 13; cf. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 79; Boreux, *Nautique*, pp. 177–87.

Belt-sashes are also worn in combination with a very short, round-edged kilt made from a semicircular piece of cloth.¹¹⁵ When coupled with the very-short round-edged kilt, the belt-sash may once again be tied either in front or behind (figs. 75d–f).¹¹⁶ Two of the workers working on the papyrus skiffs at the left side of the first register appear to have worn such round-edged kilts with the knot of the belt-sash at the back. The round-edged kilt and belt-sash combination is worn by much the same categories of workers as the simple belt-sash.¹¹⁷

One of the skiff builders appears to have worn the belt-sash (tied behind) in combination with a plain, short kilt. Parallels are not lacking (fig. 75h),¹¹⁸ and the belt-sash may also be worn with a folded kilt with overlap (fig. 75i).¹¹⁹

Two of the workers busy transporting bundles of papyrus wear another type of laborers garment, a long belt-sash whose loose ends hang down in front. Intact examples of this garment are preserved in a scene in the chapel of Khnumenti, and the garment is discussed under that heading.¹²⁰

Third Register. This register was made twice the height of the other registers in order to accommodate the raised sails of the ships.¹²¹ Three blunt-ended craft sail upriver with the prevailing north wind. All three ships are on the starboard tack with bellying sails.¹²² These are flat-bottomed ships, each with the mast placed well forward and a deckhouse aft of midship. In the first and second ships the deckhouse canopy extends over the foredeck, whereas the third ship has an open verandah or bay in the stern.¹²³ The deckhouses evidently consisted of matwork awnings over a wooden frame.¹²⁴ All three ships are fitted with two steering oars or rudders.

In the first ship, the rowers ship their oars as three sailors standing upon the framework of the deckhouse haul on the halyards to hoist the sail. At the bow a pilot keeps watch, while a sailor at the stern handles the braces, and a steersman (his companion is destroyed) maneuvers one of two oar sweeps. The figure dressed in a

half-length kilt and leaning upon a staff beneath the awning of the deckhouse in two of the ships probably represents Inti himself.¹²⁵

On the second ship the mast is lashed to a heavy pole or knee whose lower part is obscured by a bulwark.¹²⁶ The pilot in the bow steadies himself by hanging onto the forestay. He looks backwards, in the same direction that the three sailors standing on the foredeck and the two beneath the deckhouse canopy are facing. The sailors are perhaps relaying the pilot's instructions to the two steersmen who would have stood at the stern of the vessel (traces of one of their figures survive). The heads of the rowers are visible above the bulwark that would have supported the oars, even though the bulwark itself is destroyed except for a short section on the foredeck.

The third ship is the least well preserved of the three. Nevertheless two figures are visible at the bow, the first holding onto the forestay and the second perhaps the pilot with his sounding pole.¹²⁷ Traces of four sailors are visible behind these two men, while at the stern of the boat two steersmen turn the oars.

All of the captions to the scene face right.¹²⁸ Over the head of the man handling the braces in the first ship, three damaged columns of text perhaps read: (1) [*In hr imy*]-*wrt*, (2) *m [tpt-uy].k tpnfr pw*, (3) [*in i*]*w.k rs.ti r hr*, “(1) [Come about to star]board¹²⁹ (2) in [front] of you!¹³⁰ It is the right moment!¹³¹ (3) [Are] you paying attention to the braces?”¹³² A narrow space separates the last column of text from the next, which evidently contains the commands of the pilot at the bow of the second boat, as he guides his craft: *Ir ts-wr [mw msʕ] hr-hst.ʕ k*, “Make to port,¹³³ [the fairway is] in front of ‘you’!¹³⁴ Above the man at the braces in this boat are two columns of text: (1) [*šz*]*p ts w nb [...]* *nbw*. (2) *Iw ts w nfr hr sz.k*, (1) “[Sei]ze¹³⁵ every wind [...] every [...]. (2) The wind is favorable behind you.”¹³⁶ Another caption of two columns stands above the head of the pilot and his assistant in the last boat: (1) *Ir hr imy-wrt r imnt r* (2) *tp nfr pw. Sz3.n nfr*, (1) “Turn to¹³⁷ starboard

¹¹² E.g., Bissing, *Gemnikai* 1, pl. 27 [98]; Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 75 (= fig. 75c); *Ti* 3, pls. 151, 152 (= fig. 75b), 153, 154–55; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D.

¹¹³ E.g., Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pl. 5 (= fig. 75a); *Teti Cem.* 1, pl. 52; Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 91; *Nianchnum*, fig. 12.

¹¹⁴ E.g., Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 63; *Nianchnum*, fig. 13.

¹¹⁵ The very short round-edged kilt was also worn alone without the belt-sash; see e.g., *Ti* 3, pls. 151–52, 153 (fig. 75g), 154; *Nianchnum*, figs. 4, 8, 13, 17, 24.

¹¹⁶ See Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 56 (36 d). Figs. 75d–f are after *Ti* 3, pls. 152, 153 and *Mereruka* 2, pl. 169.

¹¹⁷ E.g., Bissing, *Gemnikai* 1, pl. 27 [98]; Paget–Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pls. 31–33; Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pls. 5, 7–8, 22–23, 32; *Mereruka* 2, pls. 168–70; Junker, *Giza* 11, pp. 61–62, 74a; *Ti* 3, pls. 151–155, 173; *Nianchnum*, figs. 12–13, 17, 24; also brewers and bakers: Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, figs. 29, 32 (= CG 1534); *Ti* 1, pl. 66.

¹¹⁸ E.g., Junker, *Giza* 11, figs. 63, 74a (= fig. 75h), 75. Cf. Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 56 (75).

¹¹⁹ E.g., Bissing, *Gemnikai* 1, pl. 27 [102] (= fig. 75i); Junker, *Giza* 11, figs. 74a, 75. Women laborers also wear the belt-sash, usually over another garment; see below, p. 68 and n. 473.

¹²⁰ Below, p. 120.

¹²¹ Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 776–874, has investigated virtually every aspect of sailing ships and their crews.

¹²² Cf. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p. 109.

¹²³ See Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 40–51; Jenkins, *Boat Beneath the Pyramid*, pp. 103–106.

¹²⁴ See e.g., Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 34, figs. 85, 92–93, 97, 104; 41, fig. 108–113, 117, 159–60; 71 and figs. 207, 210; Jenkins, *Boat Beneath the Pyramid*, pp. 103–106, figs. 85–90, 93, and passim; *Nianchnum*, figs. 9–11.

¹²⁵ Cf. LD 2, pl. 22d; Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 29; *Mereruka* 2, pls. 141–44; Ziegler, *Akhet-hetep*, pp. 38, 40, 43.

¹²⁶ Cf. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 47.

¹²⁷ See e.g., LD 2, pl. 22d; Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 29; 4, pl. 7.

¹²⁸ For sailing commands in general, see Erman, *Reden*, pp. 53–57, and Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 346–56.

¹²⁹ Presumably *wrt* belongs to *imy-wrt*, “starboard” (*Wb.* 1, p. 73, 7). *Ir hr*, a common element in commands incorporating *imy-wrt* does not completely fill the available space, whereas a less common component, *in hr*, does so. For both commands, see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 355.

¹³⁰ Lepsius thought he saw a loaf *t* immediately before the basket *k*.

¹³¹ Fischer, in *Dunham Studies*, p. 62; pace Junker, *Giza* 4, p. 59.

¹³² Erman, *Reden*, p. 55; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 353; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 593. The restoration at the beginning of line (3) was suggested by James Allen. For *in iw*, see Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions*, pp. 69–86.

¹³³ For the reading *ts-wr*, see Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 350–51; Roth, *Phyles*, pp. 26–30. Lepsius saw a loaf *t* after *ts-wr*. The text is destroyed thereafter, so it is not absolutely certain that the *-t* is to be construed with *ts-wr*. However, *ts-wrt* is written in the tomb of the vizier Mehu at Saqqara (Altenmüller, *Mehu*, p. 116, pl. 20b).

¹³⁴ The expression *mw msʕ* is twice coupled with *ir ts wr* in the tomb of Ti, although not exactly as here; see Erman, *Reden*, p. 55, and Montet, *Scènes*, p. 354. Lepsius has an *n* after *hr-hst*, but the left side of a basket *k* is visible in pl. 23.

¹³⁵ Given that *p* is the final radical, both *šzp* (*Wb.* 1, p. 530ff.) and *ksp*, which appears with uncertain meaning in a nautical context in *Two Craftsmen*, p. 37, pl. 8, offer themselves as possibilities. On *ksp*, see further below, p. 117.

¹³⁶ Erman, *Reden*, p. 55; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 803.

¹³⁷ Lepsius has *d(w) hr*, which provides Erman's (*Reden*, p. 53) and Montet's (*Scènes*, p. 355) sole occurrence of this command.

towards the west at (2) this very moment so that we may fare well!"¹³⁸

Fourth Register. On the return journey, three ships are rowed with the current both to increase the vessel's speed and to assist in steering. To avoid the effect of the adverse wind, the masts have been removed and presumably stowed on the deck.¹³⁹ The procession of ships travels to the left, in the opposite direction from the sailing ships in the register above. In actual fact, located as they are on the east wall of Room II, these ships face north, as if traveling downstream, just as the sailing ships face south or upstream. The pilot in the first two ships here, and probably originally also in the third, stands at the bow with a long sounding pole in one hand and guides his craft. In the first and last ships he has a companion, who glances over his shoulder in the first instance, presumably to pass on the observations of the pilot to the steersmen at the oarsweeps. The man standing facing right on the foredeck of the first ship, and holding a scepter-like baton, may be its captain.¹⁴⁰ The rowers in the first ship, eighteen in number originally, are visible except for their legs. Arms bent at the elbow, they grasp the shafts of the oars, their bodies leaning slightly backwards at the end of the stroke. Even though they appear to sit on crossboards the height of the gunwale, in actuality they probably sat at deck height with the deck beams as thwarts.¹⁴¹ The oars have long, pointed blades and would have been fastened to the gunwale with slings and securing lines.¹⁴² Most of the slings were still visible in 1930 (pl. 24b). Both rudders and helmsmen are represented on the port side, but due to the nature of Egyptian artistic conventions, it is uncertain whether there were two or four rudders and helmsmen.¹⁴³ A rope runs along the shafts of the rudders of the first ship and was presumably tied at the neck of the blade. Also visible in the 1930 photograph are two rectangles fore and aft, beneath the feet of one of the helmsmen and the assistant to the bow watch, which probably represented the ends of transverse beams.¹⁴⁴ In the middle of the forward annex of the deckhouse of the first ship a papyrus bud capital supports the roof.¹⁴⁵ Above the boat a line of hieroglyphs (pl. 24b) informs us that its occupants constitute part of the retinue of the vizier: *[n]ṯ m ḥd dpt n[ṯ]ṯ ḥry wdpw*, "[Tra]veling¹⁴⁶ downstream of a ship carrying cup-bearers."¹⁴⁷

¹³⁸ Erman (*Reden*, p. 55) found *sḥ.n nfr* unintelligible, while Montet, *Scènes*, p. 352, misinterpreted it. For the meaning "fare," see Junker, *Giza* 4, pp. 59, 61, 63. Unlike Junker, who interprets *sḥ.n nfr* as an independent sentence, James Allen and David Silverman would prefer to take it as a non-initial prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f*. Allen, who thinks *sḥ* means "land" (*IVPT*, p. 576), not "fare," would thus translate "that we may land well."

¹³⁹ See Reisner, *Ships and Boats*, p. iii; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 42.

¹⁴⁰ See above, p. 38 and n. 24.

¹⁴¹ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p. 89; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 41. For the Egyptian rowing technique, see Decker, *Sports and Games*, pp. 97–99.

¹⁴² Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, no. 50; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 69.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41; Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, pp. 107–108.

¹⁴⁵ Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 56–57 with figs. 162–63; Jenkins, *Boat Beneath the Pyramid*, p. 63, figs. 34–35; Brovarski, in *Iubilare Conlegae* (forthcoming).

¹⁴⁶ For the verb *nṯ*, "travel by boat," see *Wb.* 2, p. 206, 7, 9; Jones, *Nautical Titles and Terms*, p. 216 (40). For *nṯ m ḥd*, see e.g., Gardiner, *EG*, § 322. The *n* of *nṯ* was lost when the plaster fell out of the bedding joint between this block and the one above; the final *t* was clearly visible in 1930 (pl. 24b).

¹⁴⁷ For *wdpw*, the earlier term for "butler," see *Wb.* 1, p. 389, 1–10; *AEO* 1, p. 43*.

Unlike the first craft, which is blunt-ended, the hulls of the other two ships have rounded ends. A platform protrudes over the stern of the better preserved of the ships. Models show that even these rounded-end ships were flat-bottomed with angular bilges and slightly rounded sides, while the round ends are transoms with a rounded transition to the flat bottom.¹⁴⁸

The rowers in the second craft lean sharply backwards and thus are shown at a different moment of the stroke than the rowers in the first ship. The short superscription, reading right to left, is as follows: *sqdwt m ḥd dpt nṯ ḥry ḥrmtyw*, "The rowing downstream¹⁴⁹ of a ship carrying treasurers."¹⁵⁰

The last boat is poorly preserved. The deckhouse has extensions over the foredeck and stern and a papyrus bud capital to support the roof of the forward annex. In front of the pilot is a short column of inscription which is perhaps to be restored: *[ṯ]r nfr wḥwt.s*, "[Ma]ke good its ways!" A longer line of text above the boat appears to read: *sqdwt nfr r swḥ ṯḥw ṯyry zsb [ṯy Snḏm-ib]*, "A good rowing in order to outstrip(?) the (ship containing) the ṯcattle¹⁵¹ of the chief justice [and vizier Senedjemib]."

South Wall

Of five registers copied by Lepsius (fig. 40),¹⁵² only part of the left-hand two-thirds of the fourth and fifth registers are preserved today (pl. 25a; fig. 41). The upper part of the wall originally showed Inti borne in a palanquin and accompanied by officials and servants carrying personal equipment, while below statues were dragged on sledges and butchers were shown at work.

First Register. The palanquin or carrying chair was a symbol of high social rank and importance,¹⁵³ and the motif of the tomb owner borne in a palanquin or carrying chair is found in the mastabas of a number of high officials of the Old Kingdom.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that the use of a carrying chair was a prerogative granted by the king, who also appointed noble youths of the resi-

¹⁴⁸ Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 47; Reisner, *Ships and Boats*, pp. v–vi (CG 4887, 4888).

¹⁴⁹ As James Allen observes, *sqdwt* is a verbal noun, not the infinitive (*sqdt*); for the verb in question, see *Wb.* 4, p. 309, 9–15. As often the verb is determined here and in the succeeding caption by a seated man holding an oar; cf. *LD. Ergän.*, pl. xxxvii; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 180; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, fig. 56. In *Nianchchnum*, fig. 11, *sqdwt*, determined with a boat without sails or oars, appears twice in the captions over two boats being rowed downstream. In the parallel scene (*Nianchchnum*, fig. 10) the same word and determinative is used of a boat under sail. The verb thus probably means simply to "travel by boat;" cf. *Wb.* 4, p. 308, 7–309, 8; *FCD*, p. 250. We have translated "rowing" only because the determinative seems appropriate to the present context.

¹⁵⁰ Henry Fischer has argued persuasively in *Varia Nova*, pp. 50–52, that the reading of both 𓄏 and 𓄏 is *ḥtm*.

¹⁵¹ None of the meanings for *swḥ* listed in *Wb.* 4, pp. 60, 8–61, 20, really suit the present context, especially since the outline of an animal immediately following seems clear in a photograph taken in 1931 (pl. 23). What appears to be the hind-quarters of an ox is still visible today, and I believe I can make out a head and front horn in the photograph. The middle part of the animal was already damaged at that time, and it is possible that three overlapping oxen, representing the plural, were originally drawn. *Swḥ* occasionally takes a direct object (*Wb.* 4, p. 61, 8), and perhaps this is the case in the present instance. There are two clear objections to this translation: (1) these are not the kinds of ships used in transporting cattle (for which, see e.g., *LD* 2, pl. 62; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 17); (2) there are no cattle evident.

¹⁵² *LD* 2, pl. 78 [b, right].

¹⁵³ Goedicke, *JEA* 45 (1959), p. 9.

dence to carry it.¹⁵⁵ Inti would have been shielded from the sun's rays by a canopy, but the upper part of the palanquin was destroyed and the specific form of the canopy therefore uncertain. Taking the available space into account, it probably adopted the plain, low vaulted, earlier form rather than the later, high vaulted, elaborately decorated form.¹⁵⁶ When Lepsius copied the scene, the area immediately in front of the vizier had also been subjected to damage and along with it Inti's legs and right hand. Parallels from other tombs suggest that the vizier sat on the floor of the carrying chair (presumably on a cushion) with his knees drawn up before him. Lepsius's draftsman misinterpreted the form of the fly whisk made of three fox skins which the vizier held over his left shoulder.¹⁵⁷ As is customary in such scenes, the vizier probably held a short stick or baton before him in his destroyed right hand.¹⁵⁸ He was wigless and wore a beaded collar.

In this register one attendant was represented as if walking in front of the palanquin and three others behind. In actuality these men probably would have marched on the far side of the palanquin, just as the nearest figures, the nine attendants carrying various objects, who were placed below the palanquin in the third register, probably walked on its near side.¹⁵⁹ The foremost man carried over one shoulder a tall case with a floppy top.¹⁶⁰ The first attendant behind the palanquin, with his right arm hanging at his side and his other arm bent at the elbow with the hand held at chest height, was the *zsb imy-r3 zšw Nfr-sšm-^r Sšst*, "dignitary and overseer of scribes, Nefer-seshem-^rseshat."¹⁶¹ Behind him followed two other attendants. The arms of the first were not visible and may have been raised above his head to steady a burden of some sort carried on shoulder or head. The arms of the second man hung at his sides with the right hand open and left hand closed. Unlike Nefer-seshem-^rseshat,¹⁶¹ who wore the long kilt favored for the representation of older men,¹⁶¹ the other two attendants had short, belted kilts with flaring front panels. The heads of all three individuals were destroyed.

Second Register. Even though the porters in actuality would have been arrayed in two rows, each row having charge of one of the carrying poles, the ancient artist only depicted a single row of bearers,

who completely covered those behind.¹⁶² The men were divided into two groups, regularly spaced along the length of the poles, so that the forward figure was partially overlapped by those behind.¹⁶³ Since this is the only example of a palanquin scene in which the porters are not equal in number, and there was sufficient space at the head of the first file, it seems likely, even though the hand of the first preserved figure appears to cup the end of the pole, that Lepsius either inadvertently omitted the first porter or that his figure had previously been destroyed. In the event, Senedjemib would have been borne aloft by a total of twenty-eight porters, more than the number assigned to any personage other than the high granary official Ankhmare, who has a like number.¹⁶⁴ Walking alongside the palanquin was a sunshade bearer and two of the vizier's hunting dogs. Attired like the porters, the sunshade bearer was wigless and wore a long belt-sash whose loose ends hung down in front. The abbreviated garment is regularly worn by all sorts of laborers, including porters of carrying chairs.¹⁶⁵ In the case of the porters and the sunshade bearer, Lepsius's artist has drawn the garment as though it were worn over a kilt. This combination does not seem to appear otherwise in other Old Kingdom reliefs.¹⁶⁶

The sunshade consisted of a piece of cloth stretched over a pair of criss-crossed sticks supported by a pole attached at the point of intersection. A flap hung freely on one side. The border may represent the edge of the cloth rolled inward or a wooden frame around the crosspieces.¹⁶⁷ The sunshade projected into the top register in order to shade Inti's eyes. Beneath the flap was a short horizontal line of text, the speech perhaps of the porters just below: *izi m(y) [r]k bry*, "Go please, O happy one!"¹⁶⁸ Inti's dogs, with erect, pointed ears, narrow flank, and relatively short curled tail, resemble the Sudanese Basenji.¹⁶⁹

Third Register. Nine attendants walked to the left. They wore their own close-cut hair and the long belt-sash with pendant ends. The right arm of the first man hung down with hand open, while his left arm was bent at the elbow and the hand clenched on his chest. The right arm of the next figure was destroyed but his clenched left hand hung at his side. The third man held two sticks(?) over his shoulder in his right hand, while the other hand also hung empty at his side. What look like a pair of sticks are held over the shoulder or in the hand by attendants of the tomb owner (including palanquin bearers) in a variety of contexts.¹⁷⁰ Although they sometimes taper toward the bottom and in at least one instance are capped, the sticks are

¹⁵⁴ References are to be found in Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 329, n. 2 ("chaise longue"), to which should be added Simpson, in *Fs Elmar Edel*, fig. 3; idem, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 27, pl. 11b; fig. 38, pl. 25a (= Vandier no. XXVIII); *Nianchchnum*, pl. 60; Verner, *Pratshepses I*, pls. 53–55; Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 32, pl. 16 (= Vandier no. XVI); Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, fig. 191. For discussions, see Klebs, *AR*, p. 28; Junker, *Giza II*, pp. 251–24; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 382–43.

¹⁵⁵ *Urk.* 1, pp. 43, 16–18; 231, 14; Goedicke, *JEA* 45 (1959), pp. 8–11. See now also Brovarski, in *Simpson Studies*, pp. 152–53.

¹⁵⁶ Compare e.g., Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 100; Hassan, *Giza 5*, fig. 122; Simpson, in *Fs Edel*, fig. 3; *Nianchchnum*, pl. 60; Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 32, with Borchart, *Denkm.* 1, pl. 50 (= CG 1536) and *Meir* 5, pl. 31.

¹⁵⁷ See Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, pp. 255–58.

¹⁵⁸ See, for example, the scene of Khnumenti in a carrying chair discussed below, pp. 120–122. The baton appears in a variety of different contexts where the owner is shown seated and probably substitutes for the more cumbersome scepter as a symbol of authority; see Fischer, *MMJ* 13 (1978), pp. 18–19.

¹⁵⁹ For other examples of scenes that depict an action which occurred simultaneously in several registers, one above the other, see Smith, *HESP*, p. 343.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Junker, *Giza 4*, p. 87, pl. 15; Fischer, *Varia*, p. 32, fig. 8. In the tomb of Neferbaupth (Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 11), an official removes a wand in the form of a human hand from a case like this. In the chapel of Metjen (*LD* 2, pl. 4) a similar bag is labeled *šw*, "case" (*Wb.* 1, p. 3, 8); see now Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 229 and n. 423.

¹⁶¹ See above, p. 26 and n. 57.

¹⁶² Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 341–42.

¹⁶³ For this type of overlapping, see Smith, *HESP*, pp. 335–36.

¹⁶⁴ Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 341; Simpson, in *Fs Elmar Edel*, fig. 3.

¹⁶⁵ See below, p. 120.

¹⁶⁶ The example cited by Baines, *SAK* 3 (1975), p. 10 with n. 34 (= Cooney, *Five Years Collecting*, pp. 30–31, pl. 55), dates to the seventh century B.C., and is worn over a long skirt by three (female?) figures.

¹⁶⁷ Fischer, *Yale Art Gallery Bulletin* 24 (1958), pp. 23–38; idem, *MMJ* 6 (1972), pp. 151–56, esp. pp. 151–53.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Erman, *Reden*, p. 53. The restoration is due to James Allen. For *m(y)*, "pray," see Gardiner, *EG*, § 250; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 615; 2, § 837, and for *(i)rk*, see Gardiner, *EG*, § 252, 2; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 613, 614, 616–18, and *passim*.

¹⁶⁹ For this breed of dog, see e.g., Paton, *Animals*, pp. 19–20; Fischer, *LÄ* 3 (1977), p. 77; *Domestic Plants and Animals*, pp. 116–17.

¹⁷⁰ E.g., *Mereruka* 1, pls. 8, 53; 2, pls. 139, 171.

generally straight and not wavy as in the present case. The next three individuals raised one hand or two to help steady their burdens. The head of the fourth man was destroyed and the rectangular box he carried damaged. The two attendants immediately behind him bore two cavetto-corniced chests on their shoulders, the first one square, the other oblong. The position of the arms and hands of the seventh man suggest that he likewise carried a box or chest, despite the fact that its outline was omitted by Lepsius's draftsman. The eighth man balanced a plain rectangular box on his shoulder with his raised right hand, while a wickerwork frail dangled by a cord from his right elbow.¹⁷¹ His other hand hung clenched behind. The last man appears to have leant slightly forward, as if the cloth sack he carried slung over his shoulder with his left hand contained something heavy. His right hand hung free in front.

Fourth Register. The transport of two life-size standing statues of the vizier was shown in symmetrical scenes. As noted above, the lower left two-thirds of the register survives today. According to Lepsius, both statues had arms at their sides and were attired in plain, tight-fitting, belted kilts. In fact, traces visible today indicate that the left-hand statue wore a short kilt with flaring front panel. It apparently also had a shoulder-length wig, while the other statue was wigless. A detail not apparent in Lepsius's drawing is the pendant tail of a leopard skin vestment between the legs of the statue on the right. The statues stood inside two cavetto-corniced shrines with open doors. So that the statues might be seen, the shrines were represented full front.¹⁷² The heavy shrines were set on sledges and pulled by four men who hauled on ropes attached to their front. The rear figures covered almost completely those behind. To ease their task, the stooped figure behind the haulers poured water from a jar onto the ground before the sledge runners to make slippery the track.¹⁷³ Before each of the shrines an officiant burned incense. Lepsius omitted the left arm of the thurifer on the right as well as his other forearm and the hand which held up the incense burner, and presumably these were already destroyed by the time of his visit. Haulers and thurifers alike were wigless and wore plain, tight-fitting, belted kilts. Two short legends were inscribed over the scenes. They were probably identical and are possibly to be restored: *šms' twt tšyty zsb tšty Sndm-ib*, "escorting¹ a statue of the chief justice and vizier Senedjemib."¹⁷⁴ In the previous registers Inti in the palanquin and his entourage faced left, as though the procession were leaving the tomb on some errand. The action in this register proceeds into the tomb, the direction the actual procession which escorted any statues to be deposited

in the two serdabs behind the west walls of Rooms III and V would have taken.¹⁷⁵

Fifth Register. Three groups of butchers and their assistants appear with an equal number of sacrificial animals thrown on the ground.¹⁷⁶ Since the right third of this register is destroyed, the last group on the right is known only from Lepsius. In each instance, the animal had three legs tightly bound, immobilizing it. The butcher in the first group at the left bends over to the right with a knife in his right hand to cut off a foreleg at the joint. His left hand pushes against the foreleg to ease his task. His assistant at the right faces in the opposite direction and seizes the leg with both hands as he pulls it upright. Although Lepsius has omitted the detail, he places his right foot on the horns of the animal to obtain leverage or to immobilise its head. The tail of the animal is raised and beats the air.¹⁷⁷ The group in the middle differs in a number of particulars from that at the left. For example, the butcher positions his knife midway up the foreleg, as if to section the leg by cutting, while his other hand pushes against the leg above. His assistant kneels on the victim, whose tail is curled around its rump. The tail of the ox in the last group at the right was either erroneously omitted by Lepsius's draftsman or had been destroyed, but otherwise the arrangement of the group resembles closely that of the left-hand group of butchers.

Lepsius shows one of the butchers and all three of their assistants dressed in belt-sashes tied at the back.¹⁷⁸ The butchers in the middle and right-hand groups look to be wearing the short kilt usual in such scenes, although the kilt of the latter butcher has an overlap.¹⁷⁹ From traces visible today, however, it seems clear that the butcher in the left-hand group, in actual fact, wore a short kilt rather than the abbreviated garment drawn by Lepsius's draftsman. It is possible that the draftsman misinterpreted a whetstone that was tucked into the butcher's belt, as is often the case in such scenes, as a belt-sash tied behind the back of this individual. The draftsman has in fact correctly indicated a section of the cord attached to the whetstone hanging down at the back of the butcher in the middle group.¹⁸⁰ Other traces visible today suggest that the figure of the assistant in the left-hand group wore the very short round-edged kilt. No trace of a belt-sash survives, but it is possible that he originally had such a sash tied around his waist.¹⁸¹ Considering how common this combination is, it is possible that the other two assistants were indeed dressed like the first. All the men in this register had their hair cut close to their heads.

The speeches above the heads of each group of butchers were separated by vertical dividers. They proceed as usual from the speaker

¹⁷¹ Wickerwork frails are described by Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, p. 253. One such frail, carried in the hands of a gardener in *Nianchehnum*, p. 102, fig. 13, pl. 34, is said to contain *dibw*, "figs." As many as three such frails might be bound together and carried on cords either horizontally as here or vertically (Bissing, *Gemnikai* 1, pl. 28 [129, 130, 149]).

¹⁷² Cf. Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 386–87; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 423 with n. 1. From surviving examples of portable shrines, it is clear that the doors were at the front; see e.g., De Morgan, *Dahchour* 1, pp. 81–92, figs. 212–16, pls. 33–35; Carter, *Tomb of Tutankhamen* 3, pls. 3, 11; Johnson, *JARCE* 17 (1980), p. 14, pl. 2a.

¹⁷³ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 387; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 96; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 423.

¹⁷⁴ On the expression *šms twt*, see e.g., Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 385–86. Occasionally, *špjt* substitutes for *šms* (ibid., p. 385, no. 4, with figs. 47, 48). Lepsius has *š* mistakenly for *š* in the first occurrence of the vizier's name at right and once again for *š* in *šms twt*. In the second occurrence of the personal name, *š* is likewise in error for *š*.

¹⁷⁵ In the superscriptions of the scenes, the goal of the procession is sometimes stated to be the "tomb (*tz*) of the necropolis;" see e.g., Montet, *Scènes*, p. 385.

¹⁷⁶ On butcher scenes, see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 133–85; Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbraüche*.

¹⁷⁷ Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 136, does not contest Junker's conclusion in *Gîza* 3, pp. 229–31, that the animal was sometimes still alive when the foreleg was cut off, but see Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbraüche*, pp. 54–55.

¹⁷⁸ See p. 44 above.

¹⁷⁹ Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 157.

¹⁸⁰ See Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 138, for the whetstone, which was often attached to the skirt by a cord. For good illustrations, see e.g., Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pl. 29 (199, 200); Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 2, pls. 98, 99; *Ti* 3, pl. 179; *Ptahshepses* 1, pl. 12.

¹⁸¹ See above, p. 45.

towards the person who is addressed.¹⁸² The butcher in the group at the left says to his assistant: *ndr r mnht hnk m nrb*, “Get a good grip by your life!”¹⁸³ The latter replies: *iry(.i) r hzt.k r ht nb*, “I will act with a view to what you will praise more than anything!”¹⁸⁴ *In rk nht nty-hn*, “Pull hard, comrade!”¹⁸⁵ says the next butcher to his assistant. The latter’s reply is damaged, but Erman thought it might have read *mk mn[t]*, “See, the haunch (is in my hand).”¹⁸⁶ The butcher in the right-hand group appears to have said: *ndr sft.fr<n> m^s h^d*,¹ “Hold on so that it (the knife) may slaughter the you<ng> or^ryx!”¹⁸⁷ His assistant in all likelihood replied: *ir[y.i] [nty-]hn*, “[I shall] do (it), [com]rade!”¹⁸⁸

At first glance, the lowermost registers of the south wall seem to be devoted to subjects unrelated to that of the three registers above, that is, to the transport of statues to the tomb and the slaughter of sacrificial animals.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless, both Junker and Wild have discussed scenes where the “living” tomb owner is depicted together with his statues on the occasion of the actual transport of the statues to the tomb.¹⁹⁰ This representation may constitute yet another occurrence of this genre of scenes. Moreover, once the statues of the tomb owner were removed from their sledges, food offerings, including offerings of meat, were made to them.¹⁹¹ The bottom register here perhaps represent a preliminary stage in that ritual, the animals being slaughtered prior to the arrival of the statues. If so, this would certainly help to explain the juxtaposition of the otherwise seemingly unrelated scenes on this wall.

West Wall

The west wall of Room II was largely intact when Lepsius saw it in 1842–43 (fig. 42).¹⁹² By 1912, when Reisner cleared the mastaba, the scene was destroyed except for the very bottom (pls. 25b–27a; fig. 43).

In the middle of the wall Inti stood facing right in a papyrus skiff watching a hippopotamus hunt. Behind him in five registers at the left, episodes from life in the marshes were depicted, including the rearing of cattle, the preparation of food, and the manufacture of mats by herdsman. In contrast to the New Kingdom, when the tomb owner takes an active part in the hippopotamus hunt, in the Old Kingdom he is content to stand in his boat and observe it, while the animal is attacked by several harpooners simultaneously.¹⁹³ This type of scene is relatively rare in the Old Kingdom, and the parallels are all close in time.¹⁹⁴

Inti held a long walking stick at a diagonal with his left hand in front and a handkerchief in his right hand hanging behind. He was wigless and dressed in a calf-length kilt with flaring front panel. A long column of text in front of Inti, continued in five shorter, vertical lines above his head, provided the legend to the scene: (1) *M³ phuw ht nb(t) nfr(t) m kst sht*, (2) *iry-p^rt hsty-^r t^rtyt^r zsb t^rty*, (3) *imy-r³ kst nbt nt nswt hrp zšw [nbw]*, (4) *s[mr w^rty] hry-hbt imy-r³ hkr nswt*, (5) *mdh qd nswt^r m prwy imy-r³ prwy-h^d*, (6) *imy-r³ zšw^r nswt imy-r³ hwt-wrt 6*, (1) “Viewing¹⁹⁵ the hinterlands and every good thing consisting of the activity of the fields (2) (by) the hereditary prince and count, chief justice and vizier, (3) overseer of all works of the king, controller of [every] scribe, (4) [sole fri]end and lector priest, overseer of royal regalia, (5) [royal master builder¹ in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt),¹⁹⁶ overseer of the two treasuries, (6) overseer of scribes of royal records, and overseer of the six great (law) courts.” The vizier’s name was presumably inscribed in a horizontal line below, but this line had apparently already been destroyed before the wall was copied by Lepsius.

Shown facing Inti was a smaller male figure on a separate baseline above the prow of the skiff. This figure stood with hands hanging open at his sides and had close-cut hair and a short kilt with flaring front. Any identifying caption that may have existed was destroyed before Lepsius’s visit. The figure possibly represented a son of Inti.¹⁹⁷ The figures of three other sons stood facing right on baselines one above the other at the stern of the craft. All three were wigless and dressed in calf-length flaring kilts. They likewise had their hands hanging open at their sides. Each appears to originally have had a title and name inscribed in a short column before him preceded by the words *zšfn ht.f*, “his bodily son.” The title and name of the top-most figure is difficult to decipher; all that is certain from Lepsius’s copy is *zšfn ht.f*. It is possible that the title *zš^r nswt n hft-hr* followed, as in the case of the middle figure, but the hieroglyphs do not correspond as

¹⁸² See above, p. 41, n. 70.

¹⁸³ According to James, *Khentika*, p. 55 (135), *hn.k m nrb*, “by your life,” probably means literally “May you be fresh in life!”; cf. Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), p. 68; Simpson, *Sehsem-ankh-ptah*, p. 16. Erman, *Reden*, p. 8 (c), on the other hand, translates “was du kannst,” “was du Kraft hast,” and Sethe, in Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 2, p. 15, “as thou canst,” “as you can.”

¹⁸⁴ Gunn, *Studies*, pp. 9–10, takes *irt r* as an idiom meaning “to act with a view to,” “to aim at,” literally “to act towards,” and believes *r hzt.k* to be an example of the prospective relative form. He appears to be followed in this by Vernus, *Future at Issue*, pp. 20–21, who understands *iry(.i)* to be the prospective *sdm.f* and translates “I will (I am going to) do according to what you will approve of.” Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 734, on the other hand, thinks *r hzt.k* to be an example of the *sdmt.f* form after the preposition *r*; and translates the entire expression: “ich tue, dass du lobst.” Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 463, however, is of the opinion that *r sdmt.f* means only “until he has heard” and that other seeming instances of *r sdmt.f* with the meaning “so that he will hear” instead represent the infinitive with expressed subject. *Iry(.i) r hzt.k* in the latter case would mean something like “I will act according to your favoring.”

¹⁸⁵ Erman, *Reden*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* For *mnt*, “thigh (of ox or man),” “haunch, upper hind leg (of ox),” see *Wb.* 2, p. 68, 8–15; *AEO* 2, p. 244*, 287*; *FCD*, p. 107.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Montet, *Kémi* 6 (1936), p. 98; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 734. The translation assumes that either there was space under the letter *r* for the *n* of *rn* which was already destroyed when Lepsius visited Giza or that his draftsman omitted the letter erroneously. The tall sign with the damaged top alongside of the *m*-sickle might well be the *h^d*-mace.

¹⁸⁸ Lepsius’s draftsman apparently reversed the direction of the eye in *iri*.

¹⁸⁹ For statue transport, cf. Klebs, *Reliefs* 1, p. 42; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 385–88; Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pp. 60–67.

¹⁹⁰ Junker, *Giza* II, pp. 226–33; Wild, in *Mélanges Mariette*, pp. 178–83; both cited and discussed by Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statues*, pp. 73–74.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 72–73, 179, cat. nos. 138–40; see also below, p. 122.

¹⁹² *LD* 2, pl. 77.

¹⁹³ Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 12.

¹⁹⁴ See above, p. 25 and n. 53.

¹⁹⁵ *M³* here probably represents an example of the circumstantial *sdm.f* used in legends to describe a concomitant action, for which see Polotsky, *Tenses*, p. 5, n. 6; Doret, *NVS*, p. 26. Properly speaking, the legend should be translated “the hereditary prince and count ... [Senedjemib] as he views the marshes and every good thing consisting of the activity of the fields.” For practical reasons having to do with the length of the inscription and the numbering of the lines, we have conventionally translated the legend as “Viewing ... (by) ... [Senedjemib].” The same practice is in general followed throughout the present volume.

¹⁹⁶ Lepsius’s artist thought he saw a squatting human figure instead of the wall determinative of *qd* (O 36); he also drew the top two of three paired short strokes comprising the numeral six in the final title as though they were two earth-signs (N 16).

¹⁹⁷ See pp. 25–26 above.

directly. The middle figure apparently represented *z3.f n htf z3' c nswt n hft-hr' Ftk-[ti]*, “his bodily son, the scribe of royal records of the presence,¹⁹⁸ Fetek-[ti].”¹⁹⁸ The bottom figure belonged to *z3.f n htf [...] Hnm-nt[i]*, “his bodily son, [...] Khnument[i].” This last named individual, the owner of G 2374 (below, pp. 115–30), was vizier and overseer of all works of the king under King Teti.

The prow and stern of Inti’s papyrus boat were lifted well clear of the water with the stern more elevated than the prow. It was bound at regular intervals along its length with papyrus cords passed three times around the hull and was reinforced with rope along the upper edge of the body.¹⁹⁹ Boats analogous to this, made from conical bundles of reeds laid side by side and lashed together at intervals, were used until recently in Nubia.²⁰⁰

The papyrus thicket in front of Inti’s boat abounded with wild life. A genet and an ichneumon climbed papyrus stalks intent on robbing the bird nests above. A single fledgling was still to be seen on the lower of the two nests, but Lepsius’s draftsman has shown the upper nest as if it were empty, and presumably the figures of other fledglings in the lower nest and all of the baby birds in the upper nest had been destroyed by then. Lepsius’s draftsman actually indicated the damage to the lower nest as a blank area in the midst of the papyrus stems. Over the thicket fluttered several species of birds and two butterflies. Several of the birds were damaged and the representations on the whole are unidentifiable, but included are what was probably a duck next to the butterfly in the third row from the top and a lapwing (*Vanellus vanellus*)²⁰¹ on the right in the same row, as well as another lapwing and a hoopoe at the left of the bottom row.

The two harpooners in the midst of the dense thicket wore their own hair cut close to the head and belt-sashes tied behind. They faced right and with their right hands hurled home the harpoons at their prey in the water below, while in their left hands they held coiled a rope tied to the harpoon shaft near the bottom.²⁰² Their craft was a papyrus raft different from Inti’s skiff in that the prow and stern were shorter and bent upwards in a gentle curve.²⁰³

From left to right and top to bottom the animals in the water are as follows: an unidentifiable fish, a crocodile, a puffer fish, a hippopotamus, an eel, a *bolti*-fish, a second crocodile, a catfish (*Synodontis schall*), a hippopotamus, a Nile perch(?), a mullet, and three more hippopotami. Many of the details that permit the identification of the fish are now lost but were still visible in 1930 (pls. 26b–27a). The hippopotami include two adults face-to-face and a calf facing right between them. Both adults roared their displeasure at the

hunters above so that their mouths were wide open and their tusks exposed.

On the lintel above the entrance to the vestibule Lepsius drew what was evidently part of a scene of bird trapping with a clapnet.²⁰⁴ On the left side of the scene, four damaged male figures facing to the right are shown in an identical posture, leaning forward with their legs wide apart and their rear heels raised. The four figures overlap each other slightly. Even though their arms are largely destroyed, there seems little question that they held the cable leading from the clap net at shoulder height. The closest parallel is found in a netting scene in the tomb of Itisen, although there the attitudes of the haulers are more varied.²⁰⁵ Only the left portion of the wall above the door to Room III is shown in Lepsius’s plate, presumably because the right half of the scene was already largely destroyed, and Lepsius only saw a few traces of hovering birds to the right of the haulers.²⁰⁶

As previously noted the five registers behind the figures of Inti and his three sons are occupied by incidents of life in the marshes.

First Register. Food is prepared by the herdsmen. An overseer at the left end of the register facing right reclined against a wicker backrest.²⁰⁷ Above his head a short, horizontal line of text contained his title and name: *hpr' srw Ndm*, “the [controller] of officials, Nedjem.” In front of Nedjem stood an attendant who bent forward to the left. Elsewhere the overseer drinking from a bowl is a standard motif,²⁰⁸ but Lepsius has omitted the bowl (along with the stick or baton characteristically held by the overseer) and shows the herdsman grasping the overseer’s wrist instead. Both the overseer and the standing herdsman were wigless, and both probably wore plain, belted kilts, even though the line at the bottom of the overseer’s kilt was evidently not seen by Lepsius’s artist. Behind the attendant and facing towards the overseer sat a pet dog with narrow flank and erect pointed ears. The presence of the isolated hieroglyph *mnw*, “herdsman,” behind Nedjem and separated from his caption by a divider, may indicate the presence of a destroyed figure at the far left. Admittedly, the available space is limited, but a satisfactory alternative does not present itself.

The right half of the register was divided horizontally into two subregisters. On the left of the lower subregister a cook facing left roasted a spitted bird over a low brazier, the coals of which were kept aglow by the action of the wicker fan in his right hand.²⁰⁹ To the right was a group consisting of two more herdsmen sitting face to face on the ground. The man on the left baked what was evidently a rounded loaf on a bed of coal and hot ashes in a brazier, and likewise kept the fire alight by fanning. The short label before his face read

¹⁹⁸ See above, pp. 24–25. Lepsius’s artist apparently mistook the human face (D 2) at the end of the title for the placenta(?) (Aa 1). For *z3' c nswt n hft-hr*, see Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 71–72; Peck, *Decorated Tombs*, p. 13; Ward, *Or* 51 (1982), pp. 382–89.

¹⁹⁹ See Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 226–28.

²⁰⁰ See Breasted, *JEA* 4 (1917), pp. 174–76, pls. 33–34. An account of the construction of a papyrus boat in modern day Chad is provided by Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 17–19.

²⁰¹ See Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 93–96, 120, 154, 182.

²⁰² In reality, the rope from the harpoon blade was attached to the shaft with light cords which were broken when the animal tried to jerk itself free; see Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp. 12–13.

²⁰³ For the distinction between papyrus skiff and papyrus raft, see Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 221–30.

²⁰⁴ See further below, p. 124 and n. 97, for a discussion of the clapnet with bibliography. Mohr (*Hetep-her-akhti*, p. 50, n. 2) mistakenly believed the men formed part of a scene of trapping birds with a drawnet. Vandier (*Manuel* 5, pp. 313–14) corrected her error, but does not include this occurrence in his list of clapnet scenes (*ibid.*, pp. 330–32).

²⁰⁵ Hassan, *Giza* 5, fig. 123.

²⁰⁶ *LD, Text* 1, p. 57, Lepsius Zeichnung Inv.-Nr. 348 [top].

²⁰⁷ On wicker backrests, see Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 226–27. A detailed example is illustrated in *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pl. 4, fig. 2 = *Teti Cem.* 2, pl. 52.

²⁰⁸ *Teti Cem.* 1, p. 10; 2, pl. 52; Hassan, *Giza* 6³, fig. 80; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, fig. 4, pl. C; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12. A related motif shows a male relative of the tomb owner relaxing in a papyrus skiff, while drinking from a bowl held up by an attendant; see e.g., *Teti Cem.* 1, fig. on p. 10; *Mereruka* 1, pls. 42–43.

from right to left and is probably to be restored: *sq^rfn¹*, “baking (dough).”²¹⁰ From the position of the arms of the man on the right, it seems likely that he plunged both hands into a pot at his feet from which he would have extracted the dough, even though the pot itself was destroyed. Although the traces of signs as copied by Lepsius’s draftsman do not entirely conform, parallels to the scene suggest that the legend reading from left to right before his face is probably to be restored: [*sq^r*] *h^sdw*, “[kneading] (dough for) *h^sd*-loaves.”²¹¹ All three individuals in this bottom subregister sat on the ground with both legs raised before them, but the legs of the man at the right are not as tightly drawn up as in the other two cases. All three men were wigless and perhaps naked, since Lepsius’s artist has indicated the private parts of the man on the right.

In the upper subregister a meal for the herdsmen was set out. The subregister was badly damaged but the three tall objects at the left probably represented sealed beer jars on stands. To the right of the lacuna was a conical basket and still further to the right possibly a deep hemispherical basket on a stand along with two small triangular loaves of bread. In the center what may have been two bunches of grapes were depicted.

Second Register. A cow facing right was serviced by a bull, while behind a disappointed rival pawed the ground, sending up a cloud of dust in the process.²¹² Over the cow appeared the caption *n^hp*, “mating,”²¹³ but the head of the rival bull along with any legend that may have existed was destroyed. To the right was the figure of one of Inti’s sons, on the same groundline, but separated from the present scene by a vertical dividing line. The register below was similarly partitioned.

²⁰⁹ On braziers in general, see Balcz, *MDAIK* 3 (1932), pp. 102–105 and figs. 19–20; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 265. Fans of similar shape appear among the objects represented on Middle Kingdom coffins (Jéquier, *Frises d’objets*, pp. 296–97; see also Fischer, *MMJ* 6 (1972), p. 155, n. 9, fig. 5; Thompson, *BACE* 2 (1992), pp. 80–81) and Lepsius is probably incorrect in representing the present example as lotiform. Two open-work fans of copper sheet and wire of probable Old Kingdom date were found at Abadiyeh; see Petrie, *Deshasheh*, p. 37, pl. 25; Radwan, *Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße Ägyptens*, p. 64, pl. 35, no. 166.

²¹⁰ Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 110–11. Lepsius’s artist misinterpreted the *f* and *n* as a crocodile(?) on a stand. The loaves are sometimes shown baking on the coals or in the ashes of a fire (e.g., *LD* 2, pl. 96; Hassan, *Giza* 5, fig. 123(?); van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, p. 63, fig. 12, pl. 20; 71, pl. 13; *Nianchchnum* 1, p. 53, pl. 76), and *Wb.* 4, p. 305, 16, actually translates *sq^rfn*, “(Brot) in der Asche backen.” *LD* 2, pl. 66, instead shows the loaves on coals set on top of a footed brazier or table. Usually, several loaves are depicted, and the present scene is unique in showing only one loaf. On *sq^rfn > q^rfn*, see further Sauneron, *BIFA* 60 (1960), p. 22, n. 8; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, p. 63, n. 213; Verhoven, *Grillen, Kochen, Backen*, pp. 162ff., 205, 206, 207, 213–14.

²¹¹ *Sqi* is the Old Kingdom precursor of Middle Egyptian *sqr* (*Wb.* 4, pp. 306, 10–307, 11); see, e.g., Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 733. Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 110–11, translates *h^sd* as “dough,” but Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2, p. 22 (10), draws attention to a passage in the biography of Uni the Elder in which Uni boasts that discipline was so strict on a punitive campaign he led against the Sand-dwellers that no member of the expedition stole a loaf of *h^sd*-bread or a pair of sandals from any traveler they encountered (*Urk.* 1, p. 102, 13). Edel remarks that *h^sd*-bread must have been an easily transportable item of food, probably a type of flat bread. *H^sdw* is usually determined with three small, round circles, and if the references in the preceding note are examined, it will be seen that the loaves themselves generally have a round or ovoid shape. On *sq^r* (*sqr*) *h^sdw*, see now also Verhoven, *Grillen, Kochen, Backen*, p. 162, 166ff.

²¹² Cf. the determinative of *mtwn*, “arena,” in Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 19.

²¹³ *Wb.* 2, p. 284, 3–4; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 97.

Third Register. On the right a cow turned her head back towards her suckling calf. Lepsius omitted a rear leg which would probably have been lifted so that the calf might better nurse.²¹⁴ At the left were the overlapping figures of two recumbent long-horned bulls or cows. Three older calves, one standing and two lying down, were placed on separate groundlines in the field of the register above.

Fourth Register. This register was also bisected by a horizontal groundline. In the lower portion of the register two groups of herdsmen sat face to face on the ground. All four individuals had their legs drawn up before them, and they appear to have been wigless and naked. The papyrus plant (*Cyperus Papyrus*) was used by the ancient Egyptians for numerous purposes, including the manufacture of mats,²¹⁵ and the two men at the right were shown twining or plaiting papyrus fibers into mats. Between them was a caption in two lines reading from right to left: *sⁿ dt qⁿw*, “twining papyrus mats.”²¹⁶ Beneath the caption a narrow rectangle without inner detail was depicted; from parallels it seems that it represented a mat with papyrus fibers laid out upon it.²¹⁷ Behind the man at the right were piled a number of utilitarian articles presumably made from papyrus or of rushes: a life-preserver or swimming float, an oblong bag with loop handles (only one is preserved), and a splayed, two-handled basket with a lid(?).²¹⁸ The left-hand group of herdsmen were occupied in cleaning a finished mat with brushes of vegetable fiber doubled into half their length and lashed together at the doubled end.²¹⁹ The caption between the two men, reading right to left, is: *w^h3 qⁿ*, “cleaning a mat.”²²⁰

The frieze of objects in the subregister above was once again badly damaged. A *hez*-jar, that is, a shouldered jar with concave lower part and flaring foot,²²¹ and what are probably bread loaves of different shapes are discernible. The whole probably constituted additional provisions for the workers.

Fifth Register. Only the very bottom of this register is preserved today. At the right a long-horned cow stood facing right. Facing in the opposite direction, a herdsman, who was perhaps dressed in a plain kilt of which a belt alone is an indication, knelt with his buttocks resting on his heels and milked the cow. A large bowl was set on the ground below the cow’s udder to catch the milk. Usually in

²¹⁴ Compare e.g., Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 5 (= Kanawati, *Deshasha*, pl. 33) and Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, Pt. 1, fig. 30.

²¹⁵ Crowfoot in *A History of Technology* 1, pp. 415–24; idem, in *Ancient Egypt* (1933), pp. 93–99; Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 136–37.

²¹⁶ Cf. Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 75–76; Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 473–82; Borchartdt, *ZÄS* 44 (1907), pp. 77–79; Klebs, *AR* 1, pp. 98–99. The technique of a papyrus mat from the tomb of Yuya and Tjuya is twined plait or twined weave; see Crowfoot, in *A History of Technology* 1, pp. 416–17.

²¹⁷ Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 478.

²¹⁸ On the life preserver, see Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 231–32. Oblong bags with loop handles at the upper corners are depicted in a number of Old Kingdom mastabas (e.g., Bissing, *Gemnikai* 1, pl. 29 (197); *Ti* 1, pl. 17; 2, pl. 150; *Mereruka* 2, pl. 139). For the splayed basket with loop handles, see above, p. 44, n. 110.

²¹⁹ Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 75–76; Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 473–78; van Walsem, *JEA* 70 (1984), p. 156. The individual fibers are visible in Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 124. See Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 133–34, and Clarke–Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, fig. 265d, for actual examples of fiber brushes.

²²⁰ *w^h3 qⁿ*: see the references at the head of the preceding note. As to the range of meanings of the verb *w^h3*, see *Wb.* 1, p. 354, 9; Junker, *Giza* 4, p. 40, fig. 10; *FCD*, p. 67; *Nianchchnum*, p. 177.

²²¹ See Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 156, fig. 34 (no. 19); *GN* 2, p. 97 (Type OK XV a [3]).

milking scenes the cow's hind legs are bound. If this had also been the case here, the rope binding was evidently lost when the mortar fell out from the bedding joint between two blocks at this point, as is clearly indicated in Lepsius's drawing. The caption over the cow's back read *šr irtt*, "drawing milk."²²² Looking on at the left an overseer leant on a long staff in a relaxed pose, one hand on top of the staff and the other extended along its shaft.²²³ He was wigless and wore a short kilt with flaring front. A calf behind him awaited its turn at its mother's udder. Above the calf a short text in two columns was inscribed; it read from right to left, but damage obscures its meaning: *dw bhz m [...]m*, "Placing the calf in the [...]."²²⁴

North Wall

The decoration on the north wall originally comprised five registers of craftsmen at work. By the time of Lepsius's visit the first register and the better part of the second were already lost (fig. 44).²²⁵ By 1912, only two registers and part of a third remained (pl. 27b; fig. 45).²²⁶

First Register. Destroyed.

Second Register. Only the bottom left half of this register with the lower part of six figures survived in 1842–43. At the far left appeared a group composed of a standing figure facing right and, at its feet and facing it, two other figures, one behind the other, in the ordinary sitting position for men with one leg doubled under and the other leg raised.²²⁷ Closer to the middle of the register a second group can be made out which appears to have consisted of a second standing figure facing right, heel raised and weight resting on his front foot as though leaning forward, and of two more figures sitting face to face. The only vestiges of costume remaining are traces of belts around the waists of the seated figures. Considering that the registers below were occupied with the "production of funerary equipment essential to the proper burial of the tomb owner and for his continued existence in the next life,"²²⁸ it seems plausible that the destroyed top register

and the present register were given over to the same theme. If this was indeed the case, the standing figure at the far left of the register and the seated figures at its feet might well represent a painter and an assistant putting the finishing touches on a statue.²²⁹ Although no base is indicated for the striding figure in Lepsius's plate, the statue base is sometimes omitted from depictions of statues in workshop scenes.²³⁰ The second group could have been working on another statue or alternately adding the finishing touches to another item of funerary equipment, the standing figure leaning over the head of the other figures in order to reach the object being worked on.²³¹ Craftsmen working on wooden statues were not infrequently segregated from the sculptors who made statues of stone and, if the above identification of the activities taking place in this register is correct, it may well be that artisans represented here were indeed working on wooden statues, while the activities of the sculptors in stone were relegated to the fourth and fifth registers where they are associated with the drilling of stone vases.²³²

Third Register. The manufacture of wooden furniture was shown. The first group at the left consisted of carpenters or joiners in the process of making a bed. The carpenter on the left facing right held a mortising chisel in his left hand which he struck on the handle with a club-shaped mallet held in his other hand. The label above read: *mnh stt in fnh*, "mortising a bed by a carpenter."²³³ His partner on the other side of the bed faced left and was evidently at work with an axe. Even though Lepsius's artist has omitted the axe blade, this is what the label over his head (determined with an axe) seems to indicate: *ndr*, "fashioning (with an axe)."²³⁴ The caption over the head and before the face of the man who approached the pair carrying a rectangular object tells us what he was up to: *int mrt in fnh*, "bringing a board by a carpenter."²³⁵

The second group of carpenters was also at work on a bed. The carpenter at the left of the bed facing right held a long, handled implement in his right hand whose other end apparently rested in the palm of his left hand. The damaged label above his head is unintelligible as it stands and, while it is clearly necessary to emend it, the original reading is not at all certain. One possibility is: *dm r'nt' in r'zsp'*, "sharpening 'the adze' by 'a polisher.'"²³⁶ The man on the

²²² On this idiom in dairy scenes, see Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 107–108, and Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, p. 8 with n. 31.

²²³ Smith, *HESP*, p. 279, points out that this pose, with both feet flat on the ground, differs from the more easy pose with the forward knee bent, the heel raised, and the weight distributed between the toe of the forward foot and the flat back foot. Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 127–28, calls these two attitudes respectively the "flat-footed posture" and the "supporting leg and free leg posture." The tombs of Inti and Mehi provide examples of both poses.

²²⁴ James Allen suggests that *dw* is an example of the verbal noun of *wdildi* with *us*; see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 693. A low, broad sign is missing in the lacuna between the two *m*'s. The looped cord serving as a hobble for cattle *𓆏*, phonetic *z3* (V 16), would be the natural choice, but this would not account for the letter *m* at the bottom of the second column, which probably represented a postcomplement to the lost word. The same would hold true if *sm* had been used exceptionally as an ideogram without accompanying phonograms to write *stt*, "binding or catching cord" (Newberry, *PSBA* 22 [1900], p. 65). It would be possible to assume that Lepsius's draftsman erred once again, and to read the final letter as an *z*, that is, as a postcomplement of *z3*. On the other hand, *z3* "hobble," is not ordinarily so written; see e.g., Montet, *Scènes*, p. 94. *Bhz* is a general term for calf, kid, lamb, etc.; see Erman, *ZÄS* 51 (1913), p. 110, n. 4; Paton, *Animals*, p. 7.

²²⁵ *LD, Ergänzt.*, pl. xix [left].

²²⁶ The photograph of the remaining registers reproduced here as pl. 27b was earlier published in Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pl. 28.

²²⁷ See, for example, Winlock, *Models*, p. 60, pl. 49; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 200, page *Prabbetep* 1, p. 13. Examples in statuary include Vandier, *Manuel* 3, pls. 21 [3, 5]; 55 [2]; 57 [2]. For a discussion of squatting postures, especially scribes' poses, see Schäfer, *Principles*, pp. 251–53.

²²⁸ Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 45.

²²⁹ Compare e.g., *Meir* 5, pl. 18; *Ti* 3, pl. 155; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pl. 26.

²³⁰ Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 41.

²³¹ Compare, e.g., Davies, *Gebr.* 1, pls. 12–16; *Nianchnum*, pls. 62–64.

²³² See Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pp. 45–47.

²³³ For the meaning of *mnh* in this context, see Lallemand, *BIFAO* 22 (1923), pp. 88–98. For *stt*, see recently Brovanski, in *Simpson Studies* 1, pp. 130–331, and on *fnh*, "carpenter," see *Wb.* 1, p. 576, 15; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 124–25.

²³⁴ *Wb.* 2, p. 108, 2; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 184, 189; Frandsen, in *AcOr* 40 (1979), p. 294; *ALex* 3 (1979), p. 124.

²³⁵ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 299.

²³⁶ In Lepsius's plate the word beneath *dm*, "sharpen" appears to be *ʔ[...]*, which is otherwise unknown. Considering its determinative, the last word should probably be emended from *znp* to *zsp*, "polisher" (Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 125–26), and it is possible that *ʔ[...]* which has the same determinative as *zsp* should be similarly emended. *Zsp*, "polishing stone," is not otherwise attested, however, and since an adze is the tool habitually sharpened (*dm*) in Old Kingdom handicraft scenes (*ibid.*, pp. 118–19), it seems more likely that *nt* (*Wb.* 1, p. 187, 17; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 302) originally stood here. It should be pointed out though that the carpenter usually squats to sharpen his adze on a large whetstone set on the ground; see e.g., Hassan, *Giza* 2, fig. 219; *Meir* 5, pl. 18; Hassan, *ASAE* 38 (1938), pl. 46. Presumably, the ripple of water directly over the head of the left-hand carpenter represents the second letter of *in*, "by."

right of the bed facing left seemingly dressed the surface of the bed by means of a rounded stone rubber which he manipulated with both hands. Above him was probably written: *sm[^c] s[^t in] fnh*, “poli[shing] a b[ed by] a carpenter.”²³⁷ Polishing or sanding in ancient Egypt was done with pieces of fine-grained sandstone.²³⁸ The next figure to the right brought another board. The legend over his head is again unintelligible, except for the first word: *mrt*, “board.”²³⁹

The last two men in the register both faced towards the right. The left-hand figure may have been sawing wood tied in an upright position to a tall vertical post.²⁴⁰ Saw and sawyer’s post are no longer visible in Lepsius’s drawing but the disposition of the arms is suggestive, even though Lepsius’s artist does not appear to have the position of the hands quite right. Parallels suggest that the sawyer actually held the handle of the saw in his right hand and pressed down on the blade from above with his other hand in order to increase the cutting power.²⁴¹ The last figure cut a board from the top downward with a pull-saw using both hands. Since the cutting edge of the teeth in Egyptian saws was set away from the handle, and the saw functioned only when drawn backwards, his characteristic pose with both hands placed on the handle of the saw indicates he is pulling back the saw.²⁴² The abbreviated-shoulder pose here as elsewhere allowed for the representation of arm movement in front of the body.²⁴³ The rope with which the wood is tied in place is carefully indicated, but Lepsius’s artist has done less well by the saw. Egyptian saws had long, fairly wide blades and the ends were rounded and quite broad.²⁴⁴ Here the saw is thin with parallel sides and the characteristic wooden handle, which curved downwards, is omitted. The captions above the two sawyers are badly damaged. The signs above the head of the right-hand sawyer is perhaps to be read *ws(t)*, “sawing.”²⁴⁵ The saw and the adze just behind the head of the other man probably repre-

sent the determinatives of the word *fnh*, “carpenter,” as in the other two occurrences of the word in this register. All of the carpenters had their hair cut short. All that Lepsius shows of their clothing are a number of belts or belt knots.

Fourth Register. Due to the loss of a block from the left side of this register, a kneeling figure seen by Lepsius is no longer extant. Three other figures facing right are partially preserved today, although their heads are missing. Damage to the wall obscures the nature of their task. The pose of the man at the left seems to have approximated the attitude of the center figure, who stands and bends forward at the waist. He holds what is obviously a tool of some kind in his right hand and places his other, open hand upon the object on which they are working. Inasmuch as the third man apparently sits on and straddles its end, it is possible that they are rough dressing a log with axes, giving it the required shape or profile.²⁴⁶ Since it is raised off the ground, the log presumably rested on chocks or forked rests,²⁴⁷ and one side of such a chock is perhaps indicated by the vertical line directly behind the foot of the middle figure. Above the head of this man Lepsius saw the word (determined with an axe?) *ndr*, “fashioning (with an axe?).” Although the hemline of his garment is missing, the belt is preserved, so the middle man at least appears to have worn a plain, tight-fitting kilt.

Fifth Register. Except for the upper part of the standing figure at the far left, which was on the same block as the kneeling figure in the previous one and as a consequence is now lost, this register is in much the same condition as when Lepsius saw it. It is clear from the latter’s plate that this figure was working on a statue before him, having one or both arms extended at shoulder-height towards the statue. Precisely what he was doing is not apparent, since whatever he held in his hand(s) had been previously destroyed along with the caption, except for the word *twt*, “statue,” directly over the statue’s head. A life-size seated statue with a shoulder-length wig appears to have been represented.²⁴⁸

On the right side of the register facing left a craftsman drills out the interior of a spheroidal stone jar with barrel-lug(?) handles and a flat base.²⁴⁹ He stands at his task and his tool is a shaft-drill which was probably composed of a tree stem with a handle formed by a natural or artificial bend, below which two heavy stones or counterweights were lashed. In the case of the actual tool a stone bit of some form would have been fixed in a cleft or fork at the bottom of the shaft. The far hand of the craftsman grasps the top of the stick while his near hand turns it, apparently by pushing on the weights. In this manner, the swing of the arm was converted into rotary motion.²⁵⁰

²³⁷ *Sn^c*: Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 290, 306. Lepsius shows the first letter of *sn^c* reversed.

It fact, *s* is one of a small number of signs without clearly defined front or back that is regularly reversed in Old Kingdom inscriptions; see Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 3.

²³⁸ Lucas, *Materials*, p. 449. Sliwa, *Woodworking*, p. 37, notes that the rubbers in some cases were moistened or sprinkled with some abrasive material. A caption in the tomb of *Wp-m-nfrt* at Giza (Hassan, *Giza 2*, fig. 219, opp. p. 190) seems to confirm this. One carpenter, who is engaged in smoothing the lid of a coffin with a rubber, seems to say to his companion *d(y) mw, d(y) s*; “Place water, place sand!”

²³⁹ The next sign could be the sedge (M 26) or the combination of the sedge and hobble (V 20) or even theoretically the monogram composed of the sedge and the placenta(?) (Aa 1), for which see *GN 1*, pl. 17 a; Borchardt, *S’ashu-re^c 2*, pl. 11; Ward, *BMB 17* (1964), pl. 2; Fischer, *MMJ 12* (1977), p. 8, n. 40. If correctly copied, the succeeding word, *th*, appears to be followed by a curved line which could conceivably be the haft of an axe, like the axe that determines *ndr* to the right. No such word seems to be attested, however. It may be relevant to call attention here to the occurrence of a word *th*, determined by a seated man holding up something, in an archaic stela illustrated in *Abydos 3*, pl. 1 [15].

²⁴⁰ For illustrations of the Egyptian “vice,” see Sliwa, *Woodworking*, fig. 13.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27–28. Examples include: *LD 2*, pl. 49b; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 108; Petrie, *Deshasbeh*, pl. 21; *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 20–21; *Nianchebnum*, pl. 62; Kanawati, *El Hawawish 2*, fig. 19.

²⁴² Lucas, *Materials*, p. 449; Sliwa, *Woodworking*, p. 28, fig. 4. The captions over two men sawing wooden planks in *Meir 5*, p. 28, pl. 18, confirms the pictorial evidence from the reliefs.

²⁴³ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 146.

²⁴⁴ Sliwa, *Woodworking*, p. 27, fig. 5. For actual specimens or models, see e.g., Emery, *ASAE 39* (1939), pp. 427–37; Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, fig. 69; Hayes, *Scepter 1*, p. 288, fig. 190.

²⁴⁵ *Wb 1*, p. 358, 11–12; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 302; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, p. 115. In this case the first two signs would be reversed and would represent another example of the kind of graphic transposition of signs already noted above, pp. 38, n. 11; 44, n. 103. Cf. *Ti 2*, pl. 173.

²⁴⁶ Sliwa, *Woodworking*, pp. 46–47.

²⁴⁷ Compare *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 20; *Ti 2*, pl. 129; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 69. The process is also illustrated in *LD 2*, pls. 108, 111, Davies, *Gebr. 1*, p. 16, and once again in *Ti 2*, pl. 129, but in these instances and others the log is resting directly on the ground.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 120, cat. no. 18.

²⁴⁹ See Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 164 (type 3–III); *GN 2*, p. 94, pl. 45 k [left]; Ali el-Khouli, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, pl. 84 (Class VI).

²⁵⁰ Childe, in *A History of Technology 1*, p. 192; Hartenberg and Schmidt, *Technology and Culture 10*, No. 2 (April 1969), pp. 155–65; Hester and Heizer, *Making Stone Vessels*, pp. 13–14.

Nummulites are densely packed in this area of the wall, and the surface has also suffered from the action of wind-driven sand. As a result the outlines of the hieroglyphs are not always distinct. Nevertheless, what is probably the hieroglyphic of the shaft-drill²⁵¹ before his face identifies the craftsman as a *hm(ty)*, “stone-worker.”²⁵²

Facing the stone-worker but separated from him by three high-necked jars, sits a badly damaged figure. The deteriorated condition of the wall at this point obscures what this craftsman was doing, but the caption above makes it reasonably certain he was drilling out one of the vases: *wb3¹ qrh[t] nt m¹ntt in imy-[r3] hm(tyw)*, “‘boring’ out²⁵³ a vess[el]²⁵⁴ of r¹dio¹rite²⁵⁵ by the over[seer] of craftsmen.” The tool he utilized to do so is destroyed but parallels would seem to suggest that it was a smaller version of the shaft-drill.²⁵⁶ On the other hand, it is interesting and possibly significant that the word *wb3*, “to bore out,” is written with a different sign 𓏏 , one that Gardiner designates a “drill for small objects,”²⁵⁷ and which may, in fact, represent a tubular drill. The tubular drill was regularly used alongside the shaft drill in the manufacture of stone vases,²⁵⁸ but it is infrequently shown in use in daily life scenes. In the one Old Kingdom scene in which the tubular drill is shown in operation, two lapidaries use it to drill holes in carnelian beads.²⁵⁹ Considering that the verb *wb3*, “bore out (a stone vessel with a tubular drill),” was used in G 2370 in preference to *hmi*, “bore out (a stone vessel with a shaft drill),”²⁶⁰ the seated craftsman may in the final analysis have been shown using a tubular drill.²⁶¹

Sixth Register. Three sculptors are hard at work. At the right side of the register two sculptors work together with mallet and chisel on a standing statue. Set on a low base, the figure faces right and has the left leg advanced. Like a second statue depicted at the left, it is drawn in a combination of frontal and profile views.²⁶² It was dressed in a short wig and a half-goffered kilt, as is evident from the tab with squared corners in outline. Both arms are placed at its sides and the

hands are clenched with no attributes evident.²⁶³ The mallet wielded by the sculptors, like that used by one of the carpenters in the third register above, is slender and elongated.²⁶⁴ The chisel is of the lighter type used for finishing off operations with the cutting edge of the blade a little wider than the rest.²⁶⁵ The use of mallet and chisel suggests that the statue represents a wooden original.²⁶⁶ The legend above the statue reads *[s]rd twt*, “[ca]rving the statue.”²⁶⁷ The sculptor behind the statue bears the title *imy-r3 qstyw (gnwtw?)*, “overseer of sculptors.”²⁶⁸ Like the sculptor at the far left of the register, he wears his own close-cut hair and a calf-length kilt, the latter probably indicative of age or seniority.²⁶⁹ The sculptor working on the statue’s front is also wigless, but by way of contrast wears a short kilt with flaring front panel.

The life-size standing statue facing left on the left side of the register and the sculptor working on it are badly damaged. In Lepsius’s day the torso and front arm of the statue were still visible. This statue likewise depicted a standing male figure on a low base facing to the left, arms held at the sides, but in this instance presumably with both hands hanging open, or so the surviving left hand seems to indicate.²⁷⁰ Like the first statue it probably had a short wig. In Lepsius’s drawing the arms of the sculptor, held parallel and loosely bent at the elbow, are extended towards the statue, but no tools are visible and his activity uncertain.

ROOM III

Room III is entered from the east at the north end of the east wall. The room measures 4.72 x 1.55 m and has an area of 7.32 sq. m. The proportion of the length to the width is 1/3.05.²⁷¹ Inasmuch as a serdab (Serdab II) with two slots was placed behind its west wall, this north-south chamber probably served as a secondary offering place. Reisner was perhaps misled by the damaged condition of the wall adjacent to the serdab slots, for he incorrectly stated that there were two niches in the west wall of the room.²⁷²

In 1842–43, when Lepsius visited Giza, the northern end of Room III was still largely intact. In addition to the entrance thicknesses, the Prussian savant copied parts of six registers of a presentation scene with the bringing of animals at the northern end of the east wall of the room and extending over the doorway. He likewise drew portions of six registers depicting agricultural activities on the northern end of the opposite (west) wall, and on the adjacent north

²⁵¹ Lepsius interpreted the initial sign as the shaft-drill 𓏏 (U 25), and in a photograph taken in 1930 this also looks to be the case (pl. 27b). In November 1993, Peter Der Manuelian examined this wall closely and took several photographs of this section of the fifth register, including the one reproduced as pl. 28a in the present volume which has helped to resolve some of the problems connected with its various captions.

²⁵² Lit. “he of the shaft-drill.” Anthes, *MDAIK 10* (1941), pp. 103–106, distinguished between the *hm(ty)*, or sculptor working in hard stone, and the *qsty* (*gnwtw?*), or sculptor working in softer stone as well as wood and materials like wood, bone, or ivory. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 60–62, 65–66, 75, defines the relationship between the two craftsman in different terms; see also Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 44 and n. 212.

²⁵³ *Wb. Wb. 1*, p. 290, 1–2. Lepsius saw a tall, narrow sign in the first position followed by an *m*. He misread the indirect genitive *nt* as a hoe (U 7).

²⁵⁴ *Qrht* appears to be the generic term for vessels of every type and material; see *Wb. 5*, pp. 62–63; Mesnil du Buisson, *Les noms des vases*, pp. 13–15; Griffith, *Kahun*, p. 62, pl. 26, 2–17.

²⁵⁵ *Mnt*: Harris, *Minerals*, pp. 87–88.

²⁵⁶ *Mereruka 1*, pls. 29–30; *Meir 5*, pl. 17; Badawy, *Nyhetep-ptah and ‘Ankhn’ahor*, pl. 33.

²⁵⁷ *EG*, p. 519 [U 27]; Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy*, p. 46. The circle at the bottom of the shaft may in fact represent the circumference of the drilling tube; cf. Schäfer, *Principles*, p. 97ff.

²⁵⁸ See Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 423–26; Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, pp. 265–66.

²⁵⁹ Davies, *Gobr. 1*, pl. 13 (likewise captioned *wb3*).

²⁶⁰ *Hmi*: *Wb. 3*, p. 82, 7–14.

²⁶¹ The same sign is used exceptionally as the determinative of *mnh*, “mortising,” in the tomb of Iymery; see Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, p. 34 {2.28}, fig. 30, pl. 13.

²⁶² Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pp. 3–4.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 120 and n. 648.

²⁶⁴ For an actual Old Kingdom example of a mallet from Deshasha, see Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, fig. 6.19.

²⁶⁵ Sliwa, *Woodworking*, p. 29. Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 43, points out that statues are customarily shown finished, regardless of the type of tool used. For actual Old Kingdom chisels or their blades, see Sliwa, *Woodworking*, p. 30 and nn. 60–62.

²⁶⁶ Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pp. 50–51.

²⁶⁷ *Srd*: *Wb. 4*, p. 205, 17–18; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 290. Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 120, prefers to translate *srd*, “forming,” “shaping,” which may be closer to its literal meaning.

²⁶⁸ On the vexed question of the reading of the paired signs 𓏏 , see e.g., Barta, *Selbstzeugnis eines altäg. Künstlers*, p. 64; Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge*, pp. 49, 161, n. 212. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 62–65; Werner, *Ptahshepses*, p. 48, n. 10.

²⁶⁹ See above, p. 54.

²⁷⁰ Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 121, cat. no. 20.

²⁷¹ *GN 1*, p. 264.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

wall copied six registers with scenes of viticulture and the brewing of beer. No Lepsius drawings exist of the southern end of the room, and the condition of the south wall and the southern ends of the east and west long walls at that time is not entirely certain.²⁷³

By 1912, when Reisner cleared the mastaba, Room III was largely denuded of reliefs (pls. 11a–12a). The relief scenes on the upper parts of the east, west, and north walls of Room III, which Lepsius had drawn, were mostly gone, having been removed by stone robbers.²⁷⁴ Except for an isolated block with the figure of a funerary priest carrying a haunch, belonging to the lowest register of the west wall still in place in the northwest corner of the room, the west wall was stripped bare to below the line of the reliefs, while only the lowest portion of the wall scenes was still in position on the other walls. Fortunately, Reisner found numerous sculptured blocks from the south end of the west wall as well as a few blocks from the east wall tumbled down and buried in the accumulated debris on its floor, and he and William Stevenson Smith were able to largely reconstruct the southern end of the west wall from these loose blocks.

Door Thicknesses

When they were copied by Lepsius, the wall thicknesses with figures of personified estates on either side of the doorway between Rooms II and III were evidently preserved to their full height (figs. 46, 47).²⁷⁵ They were still intact when Mariette sketched them in 1850.²⁷⁶ By 1912, however, stone-robbers had removed all but the lowest portions of the reliefs on the left (south) thickness and left only a small section of the procession depicted on the right (north) thickness (pls. 28a, 29; fig. 47, 49).

A procession of thirty offering bearers who represented the various agricultural estates of Inti's mortuary endowment originally decorated the doorway thicknesses.²⁷⁷ Fifteen estates were represented in an antithetical arrangement on either side, evenly distributed in three registers. The personifications were all female and were shown progressing into Room III. Each was dressed in a tight-fitting shift held in position by shoulder straps and had a beaded collar and a long wig with a lappet falling over the near shoulder and hanging down to the level of the top of the dress.²⁷⁸ In each instance, the hem of the dress slanted from front to back.²⁷⁹

Left (south) thickness. Of the fifteen personified estates shown walking to the right on the south thickness, only the lower parts of the five figures and of the estate names in the bottom register are preserved today (pl. 28b; fig. 47). Originally, each estate raised a hand

to help steady the basket of offerings balanced on her head, while the other hand, with two exceptions, hung at the side and held either another offering or the lead rope of a sacrificial animal (fig. 46).²⁸⁰ In the first and third registers it was the left arm that was consistently upraised. In the second register only the first woman raised her left arm, while her companions raised their right arms. The variation almost certainly reflects a conscious attempt on the part of the artist to vary a potentially monotonous composition, as do the two other exceptions to the general rule. The first of these is the third estate in the second register, who held a bird to her chest with her right hand. The second involves the second estate in the third register, who carried two papyrus stems over her right shoulder with her right hand. As drawn by Lepsius, the animals led by two of the women are unidentifiable, but the last (in the bottom register) survives today and is clearly a calf. The contents of the baskets were varied, but were too summarily rendered by Lepsius to allow their identification with any degree of certainty, although the offerings apparently included bread, fruit, and vegetables. The estate names are compounded with the names of three Fifth Dynasty kings, Neuserre Ini, Menkauhor Ikauhor, and Djedkare Izezi. On the basis of Lepsius's drawings and sketches of the procession and of Mariette's copies, the estate were (from right to left and top to bottom) as follows.²⁸¹

1. Woman carrying basket(?) on head and bird in hanging right hand: [*hwt* ...]: *mr* ' *ntrw*' [...], "The estate of [...] (named) the 'gods' love [...]."²⁸²
2. Woman carrying hemispherical basket (contents destroyed) on head and brace of birds in hanging right hand: *nfr hb* [...], "The catch (of fish) of [...] is rich."
3. Woman carrying hemispherical basket on head and bird in hanging right hand: [...] *k3* [...], "[...] of *ka* [...]."
4. Woman carrying conical basket on head and bird in hanging right hand: *mr* [...] *nḥ* *Izzi*, "[...] desires that Isesi live."
5. Woman carrying conical basket on head and milk jar(?) in hanging right hand: [...] *Ini*, "Ini [...]."
6. Woman carrying conical basket on head and bird in hanging right hand: *hwt Ikaw-Hr: sḥb* [...], "The estate of Ikauhor (named) [...] makes Ikauhor live."
7. Woman carrying hemispherical basket on head and milk jar(?) in hanging left hand: *nfr nḥrw Izzi*, "Perfect of emulation is Isesi."
8. Woman carrying conical basket on head and holding bird against chest in left hand: *mṯn Ini*, "The track of Ini."

²⁸⁰ For the attitudes adopted by personified estates and the offerings transported by them, see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 131–35.

²⁸¹ With a few exceptions, the reading of the estate names here follows closely Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, pp. 293–95.

²⁸² Another possibility is *mr ntrw* + king's name, "The gods love King [...];" cf. *ibid.*, p. 242 [19G5/18]. However, each of the other files begins with an estate bearing a *hwt*-name.

²⁷³ See above, pp. 5–6.

²⁷⁴ See above, pp. 8–9.

²⁷⁵ LD 2, pl. 76a–b.

²⁷⁶ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 510–12.

²⁷⁷ On Old Kingdom mortuary estates, see the in-depth study by Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*.

²⁷⁸ For this type of tripartite or lappet wig in three dimensional art, see Vandier, *Manuel* 3, pp. 104, 105–106; Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp. 180–81; Fischer, *JARCE* 2 (1963), pp. 27–28.

²⁷⁹ Several near-contemporary occurrences of the oblique hem are LD 2, pls. 46, 50, 74d (= G 2378; see below, pl. 120; fig. 120a), 80; Paget-Pirie, *Prabhetep*, pl. 35; Davies, *Prabhetep* 2, pls. 10, 13; *Seven Chapels*, pl. 10; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhm'abor*, fig. 25; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pls. 14–15. An earlier, Fourth Dynasty, example is LD 2, pl. 15.

9. Woman carrying hemispherical basket on head and leading ruminant (oryx?) on rope held in left hand: *mnz3 Dd-k3-r*, “The *mnz3*-vessel of Djedkare.”
10. Woman carrying conical basket on head and a small box on cord²⁸³ in hanging left hand: *shr-nw*,¹ “The heron flies up(?)”.²⁸⁴
11. Woman carrying conical basket on head and an ill-defined object in hanging right hand: *hwt Izzt: nfr hzwt Izzt*, “The estate of Isesi (named) perfect of favors is Isesi.”
12. Woman carrying conical basket on head and papyrus stems over shoulder in right hand: *s'nh Sst Izzt*, “Seshat makes Isesi live.”
13. Woman carrying hemispherical basket on head and leading calf on rope held in right hand: [...] *nh Izzt* [...], “[...] life [...] Isesi.”²⁸⁵
14. Woman carrying conical basket on head and bunch of lotus flowers in hanging right hand: *Hnty k3 Izzt*, “The *ka* of Isesi is foremost.”
15. Woman carrying conical basket on head and wickerwork frail in hanging right hand: *nfr [b] w* [...], “Perfect of [appear]ances is [...]”

Right (north) thickness. Of the fifteen personified estates shown walking to the left on the north thickness in Lepsius’s drawing (fig. 48), only two figures and part of a third at the lower right survive today (pl. 29; fig. 49). On the right thickness, each estate was identified simply as *hwt-k3 Sndm-ib*, “the estate of the *ka* of Senedjemib.” The inscription in a short column before the last figure in the bottom register is preserved along with part of the inscription before the penultimate figure, which looks as though it was willfully damaged by human agency. Once again the estates carried conical or hemispherical baskets on their heads. In the first and second registers the right arm was raised to steady the basket. In the bottom register, all five women have the left arm upraised. In the case of the last figure, however, the artist varied the composition by having this arm cross her body (hiding the right shoulder in the process). Two of the estates held a brace of birds by the wing in their hanging left hands. Others also carried birds, but in a manner different from their counterparts; thus two estates have their arms bent at the elbow and hold the bird in their clenched right hand against their chests, whereas another holds a larger bird in her hanging front hand. Several estates held vessels on cords in their hanging hands. One has a single papyrus stem over her shoulder, while another held a stem or bundle of

²⁸³ Cf. *Ti 1*, pl. 126; *Seven Chapels*, pl. 15; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 32; Ziegler, *Akhetep*, p. 118; Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 32.

²⁸⁴ Although the bird in Lepsius’s drawing looks like an ibis, it is possible that a heron was actually represented. The label *nw* (or fem. *nw[r]?*) over an accomplished rendering of a heron on a relief fragment from the mastaba of Kawab makes it clear that at least one species of heron, possibly the Grey Heron, was so designated in the Old Kingdom; see Simpson, *Kawab*, p. 3, fig. 11G, pl. 6d; Houlihan, *Birds*, p. 13, fig. 15. For another, less definitive representation of a *nw*-heron from the Unis Causeway, see Edel, *NAWG 1961*, p. 233ff.; Smith, *Interconnections*, fig. 179. For *shr*, “fly up,” see *Wb.* 4, p. 219, 11; *FCD*, p. 238. The direction of the first letter is reversed; see above, p. 53 and n. 237.

²⁸⁵ Lepsius’s draftsman correctly omitted the rope between the hand of the woman and the calf, since this was never carved, even though the woman holds a coil of rope in her hand.

stems of a different kind. The first four estates in the first register and the first estate in the second register held ill-defined objects in the hand hanging at their sides. The contents of the baskets are again too summarily rendered to identify.

East Wall

The decoration on the east wall originally consisted of a developed presentation scene with a figure of Inti at the south end of the wall viewing herdsmen bringing files of animals for inspection and village headmen rendering accounts in six registers. Lepsius copied parts of the registers at the north end of this wall (fig. 50).²⁸⁶ Today only portions of the fifth and sixth registers as seen by Lepsius are still in place (pl. 30; fig. 51). When Reisner cleared Room III to the floor, however, he discovered that the lower portion of the sixth register was preserved along the entire length of the wall. In addition, a loose block found by Reisner joins the sixth register towards the middle of the wall, and contributes to an understanding of its original appearance.

Generally in presentation scenes a standing or seated figure of the owner is shown inspecting the advancing files.²⁸⁷ Exceptionally in the present instance, Inti was carried in a palanquin (destroyed). The closest parallel seems to be at Meir, where Pepyankh Heny the Black is shown sitting in a carrying chair set on the ground, as he oversees the exaction of the impost of bulls and all kinds of small cattle.²⁸⁸

First Register. Above the door two herdsmen seated on the ground each faced left towards a recumbent ox.²⁸⁹ Each man had one leg folded under him and the other raised. The figure of the ox at the left was largely destroyed, but the better preserved group at the right indicates that this was probably a scene of force-feeding animals to fatten them before slaughter.²⁹⁰ Lepsius shows the man’s right hand on the muzzle of the ox, but parallels in other tombs make it likely that the hand was held to or even in the animal’s mouth forcing it to swallow a ball of food or fodder.²⁹¹ Frequently, the herdsman forces open the animal’s mouth with a rope tied to its lower jaw but, even though the men’s left hands were in the correct position in the present scene, the rope has been omitted. The herdsmen are wigless like their fellows in this and the other registers on this wall, and a belt at the waist of each is probably indicative of some sort of garment.

Further to the right are traces of what was probably the tail end of a procession of cattle being led toward Inti.²⁹² The herdsman at

²⁸⁶ *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xxiii [c].

²⁸⁷ *GN 1*, pp. 349–50; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 126–47; Vandier, *Manuel 5*, pp. 13–52.

²⁸⁸ *Meir 5*, p. 41, pl. 32.

²⁸⁹ The artist who decorated the chapels of Nefer-bau-ptah (G 6010) and Iymery (G 6020) similarly took advantage of the low, narrow space above two doorways to depict a scene of cattle being force-fed; see Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, figs. 19, 31. In each instance the adjacent scene likewise consists of the presentation of animals. On the choice of subject matter for the decoration above doorways, see Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 67, and above, p. 50.

²⁹⁰ On the force feeding of animals, see Vandier, *Manuel 5*, pp. 80–83; Moens–Wetterstrom, *JNES 47* (1988), pp. 168–71.

²⁹¹ A few examples do exist where the herdsman simply pats the animal on the head or muzzle, presumably encouraging it to sit or eat; see e.g., Hassan, *Giza 3*, p. 123, fig. 154; Harpur, *JEA 71* (1985), p. 33, fig. 3. Cf. Vandier, *Manuel 5*, p. 82, fig. 55 (2).

²⁹² On animal processions in general, Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 126–49, and Vandier, *Manuel 5*, pp. 13–58, should be consulted.

the rear of the procession appears to have walked alongside the last ox, of which traces only remain. He rested his forward hand on the rump of the ox which preceded him and his other arm hung free. The foreparts of the animal were destroyed. Since his arms were lost, the attitude of the man walking in front of the ox is unclear. There would have been ample room for several other animals and herdsmen between his figure and the palanquin scene at the south end of the wall.

Second Register. Village headmen were ushered into Inti's presence to render accounts.²⁹³ Two attendants at the right forced one of the headmen to prostrate himself.²⁹⁴ The foremost attendant walked to the right but turned his upper body around and with one hand pushed down the shoulder of the headman. Simultaneously, the second attendant placed both hands against the man's back and shoved in order to force him into a full or half-kneeling position. The headman glanced back at the latter and raised his right arm in supplication. At the very edge of the block to the right what was probably the extended rear leg of another headman was to be seen. Behind this group two other headmen in the ordinary male seated position faced right. The first held his left fist against his chest in a respectful gesture but his other arm was destroyed. The right arm of the second man hung down between his knees, as he grasped his left shoulder with his right hand in an alternative gesture of respect.²⁹⁵ The last individual at the left stood facing right and placed his right hand on a tall slender object (an elongated case?) behind him, while his left arm hung by his side.²⁹⁶ Belts were visible at their waists. All that remained of the horizontal caption that ran across the register at the top were the word *T3-mhw*, "the Delta," and an isolated house-sign at the far left.²⁹⁷

Third Register. The first of five preserved figures of male offering bearers walking to the right carried a large bird, possibly a goose, in both arms in front. The next bearer held a bird by the wings in each hand. The small cages slung from the yoke over the shoulders of the third individual probably held young animals whose heads protruded through the wicker at the top, even though Lepsius's draftsman has drawn the heads as loops.²⁹⁸ The fourth man carried a calf across his shoulders. The last bearer had a hedgehog in a wicker cage²⁹⁹ on his left shoulder and led a young ruminant by a rope held in his right hand. Except for the second man, who wore a belt, details of clothing are entirely lacking.

Fourth Register. All that remained of a file of desert animals proceeding to the right are a red deer and a gazelle preceded by her

young.³⁰⁰ The last herdsman in the procession placed a guiding hand on the back and rump of the deer. The man at the gazelle's head walked backwards and led it by the muzzle and horn. The animal was captioned *h3 ghs*, "a thousand gazelles," an indication that she symbolized scores of others of her kind. At the right edge of the register part of the figure of another herdsman who faced forward was visible.

Fifth Register. The left end of this register was divided in two horizontally and various species of birds were depicted in the two subregisters. In bird files the birds normally follow one another by order of size, and it would be expected that the smaller birds still remaining in the two subregisters were preceded by other, larger species.³⁰¹ The bodies of the birds in the lower of the two subregisters are preserved today, although their heads are missing, and the loose block found by Reisner with parts of the fifth and sixth registers, which has been restored to its place on the east wall, shows one of the larger birds, presumably a goose. Its figure probably occupied the full height of the fifth register. Bird files are nearly always headed by cranes,³⁰² and what may be part of the rear leg of a crane appears at the right edge of the isolated block. There hardly seems to have been sufficient room in the space remaining before Inti's carrying chair for a file of cranes, but there was room perhaps for an artfully arranged grouping of cranes.³⁰³

Above the birds appeared their names preceded by the hieroglyph *h3*, "a thousand," even though each species was once again represented by a single individual. Commencing with the bird in the upper subregister at the right and ending with the bird at the lower left, they were respectively: (1) *zt*, "pintail duck" (*Anas acuta*); (2) *phr*-bird, a type of duck; (3) name lost; (4) *wmwn*, "European coot" (*Fulica atra*)(?); (5) *bds*-bird, an unidentified goose or duck; (6) unidentified species, name lost; (7) *mnwt*, "Turtle dove" (*Streptopelia turtur*).³⁰⁴

Sixth Register. In Lepsius's drawing all that remains of the lowest register on the east wall is a spirited rendering of a prize bull with a rope collar tossing his head in defiance. The mouth of the bull was open and its tongue protruded. Before its face were the words *ndt-hr*, "a gift,"³⁰⁵ and above its back was written *rn iw3*, "young stable ox."³⁰⁶ Although Reisner found the block with the head of the bull in 1930, it was never restored to its appropriate position on the wall, and its present whereabouts are unknown.³⁰⁷

As previously mentioned, Reisner's clearance of Room III revealed that the bottom of this register was preserved along the entire

²⁹³ See Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 145, 147–48; Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 91–98; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 169–70.

²⁹⁴ See Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* 2 (1976), col. 578(e).

²⁹⁵ Cf. Vandier, *Manuel* 4, fig. 153 [17]. Similar gestures are discussed by Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), pp. 100–108.

²⁹⁶ Cf. *Ti* 1, pl. 67, and see above, p. 47 and n. 160. See now too Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 229.

²⁹⁷ For examples of the captions accompanying such scenes, see Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 145, 147–48.

²⁹⁸ This detail is relatively rare, but Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 44(c), provides both a discussion and references. For yoke-bearers in Old Kingdom offering scenes, see further below, p. 144 and n. 126.

²⁹⁹ See Droste zu Hülshoff, *Der Igel*, pp. 81–90, and especially p. 86, no. 35, and fig. 11.

³⁰⁰ The animals depicted in the presentation scenes of Old Kingdom date are discussed by Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 2–56.

³⁰¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 398–410.

³⁰² For a list of occurrences, see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 399–400. Junker, *Giza* 4, pl. 7, provides an exception to the rule.

³⁰³ Cf. Davies, *Ptahhetep* 1, pls. 21, 28; Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, fig. 17; Wresz., *Atlas* 3, pl. 83B (= LD 2, pl. 69); Harpur, *MDAIK* 42 (1986), figs. 5, 6. On crane species in ancient Egypt, see Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 83–88.

³⁰⁴ Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 402–404; Behrens, *LÄ* 2 (1976), cols. 503–504.

³⁰⁵ *Wb.* 2, p. 373, 2–5; Junker, *Giza*, p. 86; *Nianchchnum*, p. 102.

³⁰⁶ Moens-Wetterstrom, *JNES* 47 (1988), p. 190. For the distinction between the tall, lean *ng3*, the native wild bull of the Delta marshes, and the short-legged, fattened *iw3*-cattle, see *Food: The Gift of Osiris* 1, pp. 97–98; *Domestic Plants and Animals*, pp. 82–85.

³⁰⁷ The drawing in fig. 51 is made from Exp. Ph. A 6002.

width of the wall. Visible today in front of the legs of the bull is a herdsman walking to the right who pivots his upper torso to pull with both hands on a rope attached to the bull's lower jaw in order to bring it back under control. The closest parallels occur in the tomb of Rashepses, who served Izezi as vizier just prior to Inti.³⁰⁸ Traces suggest the herdsman wore a long belt-sash with pendant ends hanging down in front.³⁰⁹ The man with folded arms preceding him is dressed in the mat kilt with unfolded fringed part hanging down in front that is often adopted by village headmen or the official in charge of the herds or of the herdsmen.³¹⁰ The surface of the wall is worn at this point, but he may have held his left shoulder with his right hand and grasped his right forearm with his left hand in a gesture of respect or greeting.³¹¹ The title before him is also damaged and the reading not entirely certain, but he may have been an *imy-rs* [*mdt*], "overseer of stalls."³¹² Since six legs and parts of two more are preserved, it is likely that the figures of two overlapping oxen continued the procession to the right. The figure of the herdsman in front of these two oxen is lost save for the bottom of his front leg. Before him was another long-horned ox, whose head and legs alone survive. Heading the procession is the badly damaged figure of another herdsman who carries what was probably a bundle of fodder under his front arm.³¹³ This last individual evidently stood face to face with the first of the attendants marching in front of Inti's palanquin.

The right half of the wall was originally occupied by a depiction of Inti in a palanquin carried on the shoulders of sixteen porters (only the eight porters in the closest row being depicted).³¹⁴ That this was indeed a carrying chair scene is apparent not only from the spacing of the men's legs, set close together and advancing in unison to the left, but also from the presence of the monkey between them, since the space between the two groups of porters is often occupied by the owner's pets.³¹⁵ Considering the space devoted to it, this must have been an elaborate rendering, but only the legs and feet of the porters and attendants are preserved. Three attendants walked to the

left in front of the palanquin. On the heels of the porters behind the palanquin at the far right another attendant brought up the rear of the procession. Only the very bottom of the object he carried is preserved, but it may represent the bottom of the situla or bucket-shaped vessel which, together with a brush or brush-like object, is sometimes carried in these and similar scenes.³¹⁶

South Wall

All that remains today of the decoration on the short south wall to the right of the entrance to Room IV is the bottom of the lowest register with the figures of a singer and three instrumentalists (pl. 31a; fig. 52a). The knee of one of the three individuals is destroyed, but the others sit on the ground in the ordinary posture for men with one leg doubled under and the other leg up.³¹⁷ All four are wigless and probably wore plain kilts, even though the belt of the last man at the right has been destroyed and he appears to be naked as a result. The singer, seated on the left side of the register facing right, accompanies his song with stylized hand gestures.³¹⁸ Above his raised left hand is the single letter *b*, but the damaged caption is perhaps to be restored: [*hst n*] *b[nt]*, "[singing to] the ha[rp]."³¹⁹ The next man faces the singer as do the figures behind him. His instrument is largely obliterated, but it is possible that he, like the third musician, played on a bow harp, in which case the damaged column of text between them may have applied to both musicians. It perhaps read: [*sqr m*] *bnt*, "playing on the harp."³²⁰ On occasion the lower part of the harp is represented at right angles so as to show the front of the body of the instrument,³²¹ but here the base of the harp is shown in profile.³²² The third musician blows into a transverse flute held at an angle across his body. The hieroglyphic legend above his head is perhaps to be restored: [*z*] *b(s)* [*mst*], "[P]laying [the transverse flute]."³²³

Mariette claims to have seen an image of the tomb owner on this wall with his titles in front of him, but he makes no mention of the singer and instrumentalists, whose figures were perhaps still buried in sand.³²⁴ A common scene type in Old Kingdom chapels depicts a banquet with the tomb owner seated before food and entertained by dancers and musicians.³²⁵ On occasion he is seated within a matwork pavilion, in which case his family may be depicted along with him, as if they were sharing in the feast.³²⁶ Harpur has noted that the variant with the matwork pavilion is more common at Giza than Saqqara,³²⁷ and it is possible that such a scene appeared on this wall.

³⁰⁸ LD 2, pl. 61b; *Ergänz.*, pl. xxxix. For the respective positions of the two viziers, see above, p. 14, n. 71. Recalcitrant animals are discussed by Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 30–33.

³⁰⁹ See below, p. 120 and fig. 94a–e.

³¹⁰ E.g., LD 2, pl. 106 (*imy-rs mt*); *Gebr.* 1, pl. 8 (*imy-rs tzt*); Paget–Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 31 (*hq hwt*; *imy-rs iw*); Junker, *Giza* 3, figs. 8b (*imy-rs mdh*), 30 (*hq*); II, figs. 63 (*hq hwt*), 78 (*hq hwt*); Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. C (*imy-rs mdh*); Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhm'ahor*, fig. 35 (*hry mniw*); Kanawati, *El Hawawish* 1, fig. 10 (*imy-rs tzt*); Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, figs. 18 (*imy-rs mdh*), 43 (*shd izt*). In a number of instances, it is also worn by a head fisherman (Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 63) or fowler (LD 2, pl. 105; *Sh. Said*, pl. 12; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhm'ahor*, fig. 33). The kilt is not the exclusive preserve of headman, but may also be worn by ordinary farmhands (e.g., Junker, *Giza* 5, fig. 18; Martin, *Hetepka*, pls. 8 [4]; Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 34) and fowlers (Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 14). Especially detailed examples of the mat skirt are Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 30, pl. 6 [7]; Dunham–Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. C; Martin, *Hetepka*, pls. 8 [4], II [8]; Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 34.

³¹¹ For this gesture, see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 320 (b), fig. 153 (13). Vandier cites *Mereruka* 1, pl. 9, to which may be added Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pl. 26 [94] and Paget–Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 35.

³¹² On this title, see *Wb.* 2, p. 185, 7. The top of a rounded sign which may represent the hobble (V II) is visible in pl. 30.

³¹³ See Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 32 (b, ε, 5), 33 (e), and LD 2, pl. 70; *ibid.*, *Ergänz.*, pl. vii; Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pl. 21; Junker, *Giza* II, figs. 78, 79; Hassan, *Giza* 2, fig. 153.

³¹⁴ See above, p. 46–47 and n. 154, for discussions of carrying chair scenes.

³¹⁵ E.g., LD 2, pl. 50, 78b (= fig. 40 of the present volume); Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 100; Hassan, *Giza* 5, figs. 122, 123; *Mereruka* 2, pls. 157–58; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pl. 13, fig. 160; Simpson, in *Fs Elmar Edel*, fig. 3; Kanawati, *El Hawawish* 2, fig. 21.

³¹⁶ See below, p. 121.

³¹⁷ See above, p. 52 and n. 227.

³¹⁸ On the art of chironomy or pantomimic gesticulation in music directing, see Hickmann, *ASAE* 49 (1949), pp. 432–36; *ZAS* 83 (1958), pp. 96–124.

³¹⁹ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 358; see as well LD 2, pl. 61a; *Gebr.* 1, pl. 8; Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 9.

³²⁰ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 361.

³²¹ E.g., LD 2, pl. 109; *Gebr.* 1, pl. 8; Quibell, *Excav. Saq. (1907–1908)*, pl. 64; *Ti* 1, pl. 56; *Meir* 5, pl. 19; *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 27; Dunham–Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 11.

³²² For a summary discussion of the harp in the Old Kingdom with references to earlier literature, see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 305 (3).

³²³ See below, p. 150 and nn. 214, 216.

³²⁴ See above, p. 6.

³²⁵ Harpur, *JEA* 71 (1985), p. 36.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

Since they appear to fit nowhere else on the walls of G 2370, it is possible that four partial columns of titles followed by the name Senedjemib preserved in a squeeze made by Alice and Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, and said to be from the tomb of Inti, belonged to this wall (pl. 31b).³²⁸ Due to the poor technical quality of the squeeze and the fact that the signs were subsequently outlined in pencil by the Lieder themselves or another person insufficiently acquainted with hieroglyphs, thereby obscuring further the already damaged signs, the original contents of the columns are difficult to make out.³²⁹ Insofar as they can be comprehended, the signs appear to read: (1) [...] *imy*-[*r3*] *pr-h3w*, (2) [...], (3) [... *imy-r3 k3*] *t nbt* *nt nswt*,³³⁰ *imy-r3* *hwt-wrt 6*,³³¹ (4) [...], *imy-r3* *sdmt nbt*,³³² (5) [...] *S'ndm*³³³ *-ib*, (1) “[...] over[seer] of the armory, (2) [...], (3) [... overseer of] all the [wo]rks of the king, overseer of the six great (law) courts, (4) [...], overseer of all that is judged, (5) Se³³⁴ nedjem³³⁵ -ib.” The Lieder squeeze is a negative impression and the signs, like Inti’s figure, would therefore originally have faced left, with his back to the wall.³³⁰

West Wall

The northern third of this wall was copied by Lepsius (fig. 52b),³³¹ but nearly all the blocks seen by him were subsequently carried off by stone-robbers.³³² Reisner found tumbled blocks from the southern and middle sections of the wall in the debris on the floor of Room III, and he and William Stevenson Smith were able to reassemble these portions of the wall in a photographic montage (pl. 32). At present the actual blocks have been restored to the wall with the exception of the block with Inti’s head and shoulders and the two adjoining stones with the fish net and the upper parts of the figures bearing fish on poles, which have been mistakenly set in concrete high up on the east wall of Room IV. In addition, an isolated block from the agricultural sequence is now in Boston.³³³ All these blocks have been restored to their appropriate positions in pl. 32 and fig. 53. The two aforementioned serdab slots open in the fifth and sixth registers of relief towards either end of the wall.

A large figure of Inti stands at the left (south) end of the wall viewing the activities taking place in the six registers before him. In mastabas of the Old Kingdom agricultural scenes are frequently placed below marsh pursuits.³³⁴ This was indeed the case at the southern end of the west wall, where a scene of fishing with a dragnet occupied the top three registers directly before Inti’s face, while agriculture activities filled up most of the rest of the wall, being interrupted only by a short offering procession at the south end of the fifth register, by figures of officiants in the lowest register on either side of the serdab slots, and by a butchery scene beneath Inti’s feet.

The mid-part of Inti’s figure is missing, but it is clear from what remains that he leant on a long staff. Although this was intended as a more relaxed pose, both of his feet are placed flat on the ground. He is garbed in a shoulder-length wig, a chin beard, and a mid-calf

kilt. Two long columns of text in front of his face were originally continued above his head in four short columns and terminated in a single horizontal line. Taking the caption to the swamp scene on the west wall of Room II (fig. 42) as a model, the shorter caption here is possibly to be restored: [*m33 ht nb(t) nfr(t)*] *m k3t sht*, “[Viewing every good thing] consisting of the works of the fields.” The sequence of titles commenced at the head of the next column, but the titles preceding [*imy-r3*] *k3t nbt nt nswt*, “[overseer] of all works of the king,” are lost. There does not appear to be sufficient space for the sequence *iry-p^ct h3ty-^c t3yty z3b t3ty*, “hereditary prince and count, judge and vizier,” which preceded that title on the west wall of Room II, and it is possible that *t3yty z3b t3ty* alone headed the title string as it does on the innermost jambs of Inti’s false door (pls. 43–44; fig. 63). The scribal palette at the bottom of the third column perhaps formed part of the title *h3rp z3w*, “controller of scribes.”³³⁵ The fourth column ends with what are presumably the terminal paired house-signs of *mdh qd nswt m prwy*, “overseer of builders in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt),” while the penultimate column terminates in *nswt*, which could be the final word in Inti’s title of *h3ry s3t3 wdt-mdw nt nswt*, “master of secrets of the commands of the king.”³³⁶ The tall, narrow signs at the bottom of the last column may represent *ntr 3*, in which case *im3hw hr ntr 3*, “honored by the great god,” may have stood here and immediately preceded the name *Sndm-ib*, “Senedjemib,” which was written horizontally above Inti’s head.

First Register. The entire register is missing except for a loose block with part of a dragnet scene which evidently belongs at its southern end.³³⁷ Dragnets were sometimes worked from boats but here it seems that the fishermen stood on the river bank.³³⁸ Only the damaged figures of four haulers from the left hand crew are preserved. These four men face right towards the lost figures of the fishermen who hauled on the right-hand cable by which the net was dragged in. The figure of the first hauler on the right in the surviving crew is the most severely damaged, but he may have been shown standing on one leg, the other leg being bent across the first.³³⁹ The second hauler from the right grasps the cable with one hand in front and the other hand behind and leans forward so as to apply the full weight of his body to the rope. The feet of all four haulers are destroyed, but the second hauler may have had his front foot placed flat on the ground and his rear foot raised on the toes.³⁴⁰ The third individual again leans forward and grasps the cable with his two hands before him, while his front foot may have been raised off the ground.³⁴¹ The lower part of the body of the last man at the left is destroyed, but from the broad set of his shoulders it seems that he had both feet firmly planted on the ground. No details of hair or clothing survive.

The net itself probably filled the entire left side of the second register. The top and bottom of the remaining section of the net are

³³⁵ See below, pp. 77, 83, 84, for the fuller form of the title, *h3rp z3w nbw*.

³³⁶ See below, pp. 83 (16), 129 (17), 158 (15).

³³⁷ On dragnet fishing, see Klebs, *AR*, pp. 74–75; Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, p. 258, § 12; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 32–41; Vandier, *Manuel*, pp. 559–601; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 145–48.

³³⁸ Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 260–61.

³³⁹ See Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 146.

³⁴⁰ Compare the stance of the first figure in the left-hand crew in *Idout*, pl. 5D.

³⁴¹ See the third figure in the left-hand crew in *Mereruka* 1, pls. 42–43.

³²⁸ Lieder squeeze 1.13.

³²⁹ Cf. the remarks of Málek, *GM* 13 (1974), pp. 21–24.

³³⁰ See below, p. 69.

³³¹ *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xxii.

³³² See above, p. 8–9.

³³³ MFA 13.4361: Simpson, *Face of Egypt*, cat. no. 4.

³³⁴ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 214.

parallel and the end pointed. The triangular floats (blocks of wood?) on the upper line of the net were tied apex down by cords crossed over them at right angles and tied under the net rope. The bottom line of the net is weighted with sinkers so that the net hung vertically in the water.³⁴² The sinkers or weights here provide little detail; actual examples are made of stone, notched at the middle for cross lashings.³⁴³

Nearly every major species of fish which lived in the Nile is trapped in the net. From left to right and from top to bottom are shown: an Oxyrhynchus fish (*Mormyrus sp.*), an eel, a *boliti* fish, a catfish (*Synodontis schall*), a moonfish, a Nile perch, a mullet, another catfish (*Synodontis batensoda?*), a puffer fish, a third catfish (*S. batensoda*), an unidentified species of fish, a Nile perch, and another *boliti* (forepart destroyed).

The ancient Egyptian dragnet, as most commonly represented, required eight or ten men to haul it home.³⁴⁴ In the dragnet scene on the chapel walls of Inti's son Mehi, for example, there are two groups of five haulers each, including the commonly repeated figures of the haulers at the ends of the net, each bending forward at the waist to gather up the ropes (pl. 116; figs. 114, 115).³⁴⁵ In the space between the two crews in Mehi's chapel is represented the figure of an overseer holding a large catfish by the head and testing its freshness by raising its fin.³⁴⁶ Even if Inti's scene similarly incorporated ten haulers and an overseer, there would still have been space between the last hauler of the destroyed right-hand crew and the man directing the workers who gather flax in the first register at the right in Lepsius's drawing for a number of other workers, perhaps the fieldhands who bound the stalks of flax into sheaves at the edge of the field.³⁴⁷

Scenes of cutting grain and pulling up flax³⁴⁸ are often closely associated in mastabas of the Old Kingdom. In the present instance, they were separated by sowing and ploughing sequences in the second register. The flax harvesters, as may be seen from Lepsius's drawing, were nine in number. The arms of six of the harvesters were nearly parallel and loosely bent at the elbow as they leant over to pull up a handful of flax stalks by the roots. Since this part of the wall was already damaged by Lepsius's time, it is impossible to determine with any certainty what the harvesters who stood erect were doing. From the traces, it is possible that the middle of the three standing harvesters was raising his left arm in a gesture of address and calling out to attract the attention of the harvester standing at the right. The latter may have turned his head back to look at the former, at the same time raising his (nearly destroyed) right arm in acknowledgment.³⁴⁹ The standing harvester at the left may have been removing a weed or straggly stalk from his bundle of flax.³⁵⁰ The overseer on the edge of

the field at the far left stood facing right, left hand clearly raised in a gesture of address as he directed the efforts of the workers.³⁵¹ His staff was apparently held loosely in his right hand with the other end resting on the ground. Any speeches or captions that may have existed were lost because of the extensive damage to the upper right-hand side of the register.

All of the men, including the overseer, had their hair cut short. Usually the field workers in agricultural scenes are clothed, even if scantily so.³⁵² In point of fact, belts may be seen round the waists of several of the harvesters in Lepsius's drawing, while the last man at the left seems to have had a piece of cloth hanging from his belt in back. This suggests that he, and possibly his co-workers as well, wore either the belt-sash with the ends tucked up behind or alternately this simple piece of apparel combined with the very short, semicircular kilt.³⁵³

Second Register. The right part of this register as copied by Lepsius preserves the beginning of the traditional agricultural cycle.³⁵⁴ Only rarely is the entire composition, which commences with the sowing of seed and concludes with the storage of grain in granaries, shown.³⁵⁵ In the present case, at the right end of the register, a flock of four sheep moving towards the right were preceded by four field hands. The latter faced the sheep and walked backwards. Their bodies were bent forward, arms brought together and loosely bent at the elbows, and in their hands they held what were probably bushels of fodder intended to coax the animals to move in the desired direction. Although represented all in a row, in real life the field hands would probably have been standing beside each other. In the majority of scenes a sower (or sowers) with a seedbag carried over one shoulder or hung round the neck precedes the sheep and sows grain broadcast for the sheep to trample into the earth. Sometimes the sower turns and offers the sheep a handful of seed or herbage. Here the figure of the sower was omitted and his role of coaxer assumed by the four field hands.³⁵⁶ The flock of sheep was depicted as an orderly group of four animals, their figures overlapping, the arrangement evidently unbroken by any of the variations that often occur.³⁵⁷ They were probably of the long-legged breed with horizontal horns,³⁵⁸ but their horns were not visible due to the poor preservation of this area of the register. Behind the sheep, three identical, slightly overlapping figures drove them forward. The three figures were shown running and carried sticks before them, but the whips which they undoubtedly held aloft in their other hands were destroyed along with the tops of their heads.³⁵⁹ A pair of oxen, a driver, and a ploughman followed,

³⁴² Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 258–60.

³⁴³ See *ibid.*, p. 259, pl. 22; Brewer–Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, p. 44, fig. 2.39.

³⁴⁴ Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, p. 258; cf. Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 572.

³⁴⁵ See below, pp. 145–46. Less frequently a greater number of haulers is depicted, as for example in *Mereruka* 1, pls. 42–43 [18].

³⁴⁶ See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 146–47.

³⁴⁷ Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 59.

³⁴⁸ Klebs, *AR*, pp. 53–54; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 192–99; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 58–80; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 164–66; Wicker, *Discussions in Egyptology* 39 (1997), pp. 95–116.

³⁴⁹ Compare the figure in Davies, *Prabhetep* 2, pl. 7, who has one arm extended and the other hand cupped(?) at his mouth with his sickle tucked under this arm as he addresses a supervisor who raises his arm in acknowledgment.

³⁵⁰ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 262.

³⁵¹ For gestures of address, see Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), p. 61, and for the present gesture, see *ibid.*, p. 63.

³⁵² Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 170.

³⁵³ See above, pp. 44–45, fig. 75b and f.

³⁵⁴ Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 157–73. For the various episodes and their accompanying legends, see Klebs, *AR*, pp. 45–54; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 180–229; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 1–208.

³⁵⁵ Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 2.

³⁵⁶ The role of the coaxer-sower is discussed by Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 18, and Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 160.

³⁵⁷ See Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 162.

³⁵⁸ See below, p. 145 and n. 133.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 48–51.

but the figure of the ploughman and the better part of his plough were already lost when Lepsius copied the wall. The driver placed one hand on the back of one of the animals and presumably raised a stick above his head with the other hand to drive them forward. Both the stick and his head were once again lost. The pole of the plough, which would have been fastened by a rope to a simple yoke lashed to the horns of the animals, is visible in part behind the legs of the driver in Lepsius's drawing.³⁶⁰ All the field hands in this register appear to be naked but this was probably due to the state of preservation of the wall.

Third Register. At the left end of the register fish hung by cords from poles carried on the shoulders of fisherman who walk to the left and present their catch to Inti.³⁶¹ Although the carrying poles look like one long continuous pole, the artist perhaps meant to show three pairs of fisherman who carried two large fish on individual poles between them. A man with a fish (an Oxyrhynchus, *Mormyrus kannume*?) dangling from his left hand evidently brought up the rear of the procession. A number of blocks are missing from the wall at this point with the result that the lower parts of the fishermen and their catch, as well as the front arm and leg and upper part of the body of the man with the dangling fish, are lost. So too are the upper portions of the figures at the edge of the field behind him. Likewise missing is the bottom of the column of inscription before the first fisherman which provided the caption to the scene. Possibly *in(w) m [s]h*, "what is brought from [the countryside]," is to be restored.³⁶²

The right half of this register was occupied by a portrayal of the grain harvest. Eight reapers bent forward to cut the grain. Most of the figures were missing their heads. If Lepsius is to be trusted, in each case the left hand was outstretched to grasp a bunch of grain, while the right hand held the sickle, regardless of whether the reaper faced left or right. Thus, as in real life, the sickle of the workers facing left was partially hidden by the stems, while the sickle of those who faced right was shown in front of the stems. In the case of the former the sickle curved upwards, but in the case of the latter it curved downwards.³⁶³ The sickles are short-handled with a body fairly wide near the handle but tapering to a point.³⁶⁴ The first four figures at the right evidently worked in pairs. The third figure from the right apparently wore the very short round-edged kilt without a belt-sash.³⁶⁵ It is possible that the other reapers wore the same garment, though in their case only the waistbands survive. The standing reaper, on the other hand, seemingly wore a short, overlapping kilt tied at the waist with a belt-sash whose loose ends hung down in front.³⁶⁶ Traces suggest that this figure, which faced right, had one arm rigidly

outstretched before him. All but the last letter of the legend before his face was destroyed but, given the context, [*ʔ*]b, "fashioning (a sheaf of grain)" is perhaps to be restored.³⁶⁷ Parallels in other tombs appear to show a field hand binding the bottom of a sheaf, which is held in one hand, with a piece of twine held in the other raised hand.³⁶⁸ Behind the standing reaper, three other reapers faced left towards a fourth, who once again faced right. Over the heads of the three reapers were the words *i(w).k rk tn ʔw srf-ib*, "Where are you, (O) zealous man?"³⁶⁹ From the direction of the signs, it seems that this represented the speech of the reaper at the right.³⁷⁰ The sickle of the final reaper at the left swung inwards to cut the grain close to the ground, leaving the stubble still standing, while the arm with the severed sheaf swung across his body to throw the sheaf on the ground.³⁷¹ Over his head was a damaged hieroglyphic legend, the beginning traces of which appear to suit *s[ʔ]h*, "reaping."³⁷² Behind this reaper the lower part of another standing figure was to be seen.

The grain harvest is continued at the left on a block of the reconstructed wall not seen by Lepsius. Unfortunately, the upper parts of the figures and any legends which may have occurred were on the missing block(s) above. The first man on the right bends forward to the right, his arms nearly parallel and loosely bent at the elbow in front of him, and tries to seize hold of one of the frightened quail that bolt from cover in the grain.³⁷³ He appears to wear the same semicircular kilt with trapezoidal front panel that is worn by several of the donkey drovers in the two registers below. The next figure to the left stands with his left hand extended. The hand is open and, for that reason, it is unlikely that it was originally intended to hold a staff, but the sculptor appears to have added one as an afterthought.

³⁶⁷ *Wb.* 1, p. 178, 9; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 256, 414; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 78.

³⁶⁸ Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pl. 12; Sharawi and Harpur, *JEA* 74 (1988), pp. 57–67, fig. 2. In the first example, the arm with the hand that holds the sheaf is outstretched; in the second it is raised and parallel to the other arm. Cf. *HTES* 1², pl. 29 [2], where a fieldhand seems to be fashioning several bunches of flax into a sheaf, and Klebs, *AR*, p. 54, fig. 40, where the caption is missing but a worker binds a sheaf of flax with a piece of twine.

³⁶⁹ A close parallel (omitting *rk*) appears in the harvest scene in the mastaba of Kahif (Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 43). Junker, *Zu einigen Reden*, p. 10, translates the Kahif parallel "Wo bist du, fleißiger Mann?" *Wb.* 4, p. 195, 10, assigns *srf-ib* the meanings "eifrig, sorgsam," while Erman (*Reden*, p. 24), Montet (*Scènes*, p. 203), Wreszinski (*Atlas, Text*, p. 97), and Junker (*Reden*, p. 12) translate *ʔy srf-ib* "sorgsamer Mann," "gars ardent de coeur," "eifriger Mann," and "fleißiger Mann" respectively. Altenmüller (*Nianchnum*, p. 131), on the other hand, takes *ʔy srf-ib* in a speech in that tomb to mean "pausierender" or "müder Mann," citing a verb *srf*, "to rest," which does not, however, appear before the New Kingdom (*Wb.* 4, p. 197, 5–9; *DLE* 3, p. 72; Vycichl, *Dict. étymologique*, p. 197). *Srf* with the basic meaning of "warm, warm sein" appears as early as the Pyramid Texts (*Wb.* 4, p. 195, 6–13). From the Middle Kingdom *srf* is well attested as a noun meaning "warmth, heat, temper, passion, fervor" and the like (*Wb.* 4, p. 196, 1–10). A common Middle Kingdom epithet is *dsr srf*, "he who suppresses (his) passions" (Janssen, *Trad. Autobiogr.* 1, p. 118 [IIGo]). The other utterances that appear alongside *ʔy srf-ib* in the Old Kingdom (e.g., Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 202–203) also appear to have positive connotations (Junker, *Zu einigen Reden*, pp. 6–24) and support the interpretation of *ʔy srf-ib* as "zealous man." In the tomb of Kahif, the reaper thus says "Where are you, O zealous man?" "Come to me!" and a companion responds *ink pw srf(i)*, "It is I! I am dancing!" (Junker, *Giza* 6, p. 142, fig. 43). Recently, I see that Altenmüller (*Mehu*, pp. 119, 282) corrects his earlier interpretation and translates *srf-ib*, "unermüdlich, eifrig, sorgsam."

³⁷⁰ As a rule the inscriptions over figures, whether the titular over major figures or the captions over subordinate figures, are oriented in the same direction as the figures they label; see above, p. 41, n. 70.

³⁷¹ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 164.

³⁷² *Wb.* 1, p. 19, 15–16; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 181, 182, 201, 205.

³⁷³ For the inclusion of quail in the harvest scene, see *HESP*, p. 97; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 215–16, 219, 262 [53], 396–76 [48].

³⁶⁰ For the ancient Egyptian plow, see Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 29–38.

³⁶¹ Fish bearers and the remarkable degree of variation in the way they hold the fish are discussed at some length by Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 147–48.

³⁶² For *ini m*, "bring from" (a place), see Edel, *Altäg. Grammatik* 2, § 758; *ALex* 1 (1977), p. 31; *ArchAbousir* 1, pp. 220, 222–23, 306, n. 1; 391 (63c); 519, n. 6; 632. There is room for the letter *n* in the lacuna after the *in*-ideogram.

³⁶³ See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 164–65.

³⁶⁴ Montet, *Everyday Life*, p. 114. For examples of actual sickles with the handles curving back to form a guard for the hand and with a cutting edge formed of small flints inserted in a groove on the inner curve of the body, see Emery, *Hemaka*, pp. 33–34, pl. 15.

³⁶⁵ See above, pl. 45, and fig. 75g.

³⁶⁶ For the short kilt and sash combination, see above p. 45, and figs. 75g and 75i.

The other hand is not visible and presumably was raised above the level of his waist. Behind him at the edge of the field stand a flute-player and an overseer. The flute-player probably also wore a semicircular kilt with trapezoidal front panel, even though the rounded edge of the kilt is no longer to be seen. He faces left and has both feet flat on the ground. The long transverse flute he played crosses his body at an angle and reaches to his knees.³⁷⁴ He holds the flute in his left hand near its lower end, while his right hand grasps the flute slightly higher up. A flute player, accompanied once by a singer, encourages the workers with his tune in a number of Old Kingdom tombs.³⁷⁵ The overseer leans on a long walking stick. His left hand is extended along its shaft, and his other hand presumably rested on its top. Although his figure is thrown forward, his feet are close together and flat on the ground, as is also the case with the large figure of Inti at the southern end of the wall. He is dressed in a short kilt with flaring front panel.

Fourth Register. At the left end of the register, just in front of Inti, are the overlapping legs of four men running to the left. A long lacuna intervenes before a second group of men is seen running to the right, driving a herd of donkeys before them. These are the donkeys which, relieved of their load of grain near the threshing floor, are being driven back for more by their drovers.³⁷⁶ At present the donkeys are missing their heads and the rest of the register to the right is also lost, except for the bottom of the legs of field hands and the lower parts of the rope-net sacks that they filled with sheaves of grain. Fortunately, the remainder of the register, including the heads of the donkeys, was copied by Lepsius.

The quadrille pattern at the right end of the register in Lepsius's plate undoubtedly represents sheaves of grain stacked up at the edge of the field.³⁷⁷ Immediately to the left were three groups of field hands engaged in binding the sheaves and putting them into rope-net sacks. This scene has been discussed by both Junker and Vandier.³⁷⁸ The right- and left-hand groups consisted each of a pair of field hands standing face-to-face, whereas the middle group comprised three field hands. According to Vandier, the man on the right in the right-hand group leant forward to the left and held a bunch of stems between his outstretched hands, while his companion also leant forward and bound the stems with a cord held in his closed left hand, meanwhile providing support for the stems with his open right hand. Over the first man appeared the legend: *rdit* 'it' n *mshw*, "giving 'barley' for sheaves."³⁷⁹ The caption behind the head of the second field hand read: *mr mshw*, "tying up sheaves."³⁸⁰

The three field hands in the middle group also filled a large rope-net sack with sheaves.³⁸¹ The composition of this group is closely paralleled in the Louvre mastaba of Inti's older contemporary Akhethotep, albeit in a mirror image.³⁸² The figure on the left side of the sack in G 2370 bent forward to the right with his arms hanging down. On the basis of the parallel in the Louvre mastaba, it is clear that he thrust his left hand into the sack and held one of its loop handles in his other hand. The sack was large and evidently extended as far as the field hand on the right who observed essentially the same attitude, although he leant only slightly forward. As these two men held the sack open, the man in the middle bent over to the left to place the sheaf that he held in his hands into the sack. This individual evidently wore a belt-sash tied at his back. In Lepsius's drawing the rear leg of the man holding up the left side of the sack is omitted. Even though the rest of the scene in G 2370 is largely destroyed today, both legs of this figure are preserved. His front foot was indeed placed flat on the ground, as Lepsius indicated, but his figure leant so far forward that his rear leg was raised on its toes to compensate. His words were recorded in the short text before his face: *mḥ r zp*, "Fill (it) at once."³⁸³ The man on the other side of the sack responded: *ir.(i) r ḥzt.k*, "I will act with a view to what you will praise."³⁸⁴

The last group of field hands on the left stood on either side of a sack filled with sheaves, each pressing one foot on the sack and pulling on the rope that passed through the loops at its top in order to close it. Like the middle group, the composition of this group is closely paralleled in the Louvre mastaba. In both instances, the field hands had passed the ropes around a shoulder in order to gain a better grip. The man on the left apparently wore the very short, rounded kilt without a belt-sash. His speech extended over the sack and the head of his companion: [*m*] *k sn iw.s[n] wsr ḥdt*, "Look, they (the donkeys) are coming!"³⁸⁵ Tie the sack!"³⁸⁶ The same group together with the caption *wsr ḥdt* appears again in the Giza chapel of Seshemnofer [IV], a younger contemporary of Inti's son Mehi.³⁸⁷

Immediately behind the left-hand group of field hands, on a section of the wall preserved today, appear the heads and forelegs of the donkeys being driven to the right by the drovers. Running with raised sticks, five of the drovers move together in a compact group. To relieve the potential monotony of the repetition of forms the artist separated the first drover from the rest. This individual places his front foot firmly on the ground, twists his upper body around in a sweeping arm movement, and aims a sharp blow at the donkeys with a stick held firmly in both hands. His rear leg and foot overlap the front leg of the man behind, as his own front leg and foot is overlapped

³⁷⁴ See below, p. 150 and nn. 214, 216.

³⁷⁵ See *PM* 3², pp. 76 (2)–(3), 472 (34), 533 (80), 584 (8), 620 (10), 694. The earliest of these are the tombs of Neferitnef and Ti, which date to the reigns of Izezi and Unis (Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 274, 277).

³⁷⁶ Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 134–43.

³⁷⁷ Sporadically, the interior details of the stacked grain sheaves were carved; see e.g., *Mereruka* 2, pl. 168; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, fig. 57; Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 10 [7]; Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, p. 129.

³⁷⁸ Junker, *Zu einigen Reden*, pp. 36–38; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 119–20.

³⁷⁹ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 206, emended the three strokes seen by Lepsius under *rdit* to the three grains of corn, a common abbreviation for *it*, "barley;" see Gardiner, *EG*, 483 [M 33], 555.

³⁸⁰ Junker, *Zu einigen Reden*, pp. 36–38.

³⁸¹ For a detailed representation of a rope-net basket like this, see Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 240 = Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 94.

³⁸² Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 119, pl. 12 (1) = Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, pp. 126, 129, 135, 136. Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 272, dates the tomb of Akhethetep from Neuserre to the early reign of Izezi.

³⁸³ Junker, *Zu einigen Reden*, pp. 37–38.

³⁸⁴ See above, p. 49 and n. 184.

³⁸⁵ For the construction *mk* followed by dependent pronoun and circumstantial *sdm.f*, see Edell, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 170c; Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, § 41.

³⁸⁶ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 207. *ḥdt* is the word for any kind of a net, whether for trapping birds or fish; it is also used of a bead-net dress; see *Wb.* 1, p. 36, 9–10; *FCD*, p. 10; Hall, *GM* 42 (1981), pp. 37–46.

³⁸⁷ Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 75 (= *LD* 2, p. 80). For the date of the tomb, see above, p. 12 and n. 39. See now too, Altenmüller, *Mebu*, p. 119, pl. 23b.

by the leg of the last donkey, the overlap constituting a simple artistic device for tying the groups together. The lead drover is also distinguished by his garment. The field hands running in a group wear a semicircular kilt with trapezoidal front panel,³⁸⁸ whereas he wears the very short, round-edged kilt with belt-sash tied at the front.³⁸⁹ Above the heads and backs of the donkeys was a legend in three short lines, reading from right to left: *šb[š] i[n] mrt[š] nt pr-dt in.(w) m mš^c sw*, “Driving back(?) (the donkeys)³⁹⁰ b[y] the labor[er]s³⁹¹ of the estate, they having been brought away from conducting it (viz. the grain).”³⁹²

Fifth Register. A procession of laden donkeys and drovers proceeding to the left occupies the better part of the section of this register located between the serdab slots. Except for the front part of the last donkey and his burden, the right end of the register had largely been destroyed by 1842–43. The broken block on which the body of the donkey was carved is now lost and only his head and the lower portions of two of his legs survive on the edge of the adjacent block. Lepsius did not draw the lead donkey in the file, although he sketched the sack on its back and an attendant walking at its side. The wavy diagonal line in his drawing presumably represents the unexcavated earth fill in the southern part of Room III which evidently covered most of the donkey’s body.³⁹³

Walking alongside the last donkey was a drover, whose figure had been lost before 1842–43, but whose feet are still visible today. The brief legend, reading from right to left over the head of the donkey, and almost certainly the speech of the drover, continued onto the broken block seen by Lepsius: *ir škr.f¹*, “Steady ‘its’ pannier¹(?)”³⁹⁴ The drover marching alongside the next donkey raises his front hand to steady its load. His speech is inscribed over the ears of the donkey: *m ss* “Don’t hurry!”³⁹⁵ Haste has already caused the

load to shift on the back of the third donkey in the file. It waits with lowered head while three drovers worry the load back into place. The drover at the donkey’s tail seizes the back edge of the rope-net sack with both hands and pulls it back into place. The man in the middle raises his hands as if he held onto a loop at the top of the sack and one of is component ropes. The drover at the donkey’s head bends over to the right and perhaps held on to the front edge of the sack with his lost left hand. His left shoulder and his face are also destroyed, and only the tip of the stick he appears to have held in his left hand survives. With his right hand, he pats the donkey reassuringly on the neck. The caption over his head, reads from right to left: *m^r d(y).f¹ iw hi.k(?)*, “Do not let ‘him kick!’³⁹⁶ [...]”³⁹⁷ Both this animal and the lead donkey in the file have saddle cloths on their backs to reduce the chaffing from the heavy rope sacks. What are probably the traces of a saddle cloth are also visible on the third donkey. The drover behind the lead donkey grasps his own shoulder with his left hand and strikes the animal on the rump with a stick held in his other hand. The utterance written from right to left in front of his face is damaged but is probably to be restored: *i[z]i rk*, “Gid-dap!”³⁹⁸ The man walking alongside the donkey holds a stick in his left hand and perhaps held onto the side of the sack with his other (destroyed) hand.

Further to the left a field hand tosses a sheaf on top of a stack of grain. He leans backward as he does so and the weight of his body rests on his raised rear foot. His raised arms cross over his slightly tilted body as if to swing the sheaf backwards and upwards in one continuous movement.³⁹⁹ The caption before him reads: *ptb it hr zp*, “throwing grain⁴⁰⁰ on the threshing floor.”⁴⁰¹ The individual sheaves which make up the stack are indicated by incised lines. The left end of the block on which this scene was carved is lost together with the left side of the stack. The scene of tossing sheaves usually consists of a symmetrical pair of sheaf throwers, one on each side of the stack, but single throwers are sometimes depicted, as appears to have been the case here.⁴⁰²

Two adjacent blocks to the left of the grain stack bear the lower parts of three human figures. All that remains of the first figure to the left of the stack are parts of two feet facing right firmly planted on

³⁸⁸ The semicircular kilt may be the same garment as the round-edged kilt distinguished only by the addition of a front panel for the sake of modesty. It is also related to the garment that is worn by the tomb owner in scenes of spear fishing and fowling, for which see above, p. 40 and n. 43.

³⁸⁹ See above, p. 45 and fig. 75d.

³⁹⁰ *Šbr*: Montet, *Scènes*, p. 208; *Sh. Saïd*, p. 22; cf. *Wb.* 3, p. 10, 14–16.

³⁹¹ *Mrt*: Bakir, *Slavery*, pp. 22–25; Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, p. 211 (15); Helck, *LÄ* 2 (1977), cols. 1235–37; Moreno Garcia, *JEA* 84 (1998), pp. 71–83.

³⁹² This translation assumes that the *-w* ending of the Old Perfective 3rd plur., as often, was not written out; see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, pp. 572–76; Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 564E. For the verb *mš*, “conduct, lead, guide, send out,” written here with the platform or pedestal alone, see *Wb.* 2, p. 23, 1–3; *ALex* 1 (1977), p. 148; 2 (1978), p. 151. Gardiner states that \equiv is the Old Kingdom form of \equiv (*EG*, p. 541 [Aa 11, 12]). It probably is the predominant form, but the sign nonetheless shows considerable variation during this period. It may be tapering, rectangular, have a rounded edge, or be beveled as here; see Davies, *Ptahhetep* 1, p. 35, pl. 18, figs. 393–95; Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pl. 7; Hassan, *Giza* 3, fig. 3; Jéquier, *Tomb. part.*, pl. 15. Cf. now also, Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 229 and n. 420. James Allen understands this caption quite differently. He thinks that the first word is probably for \equiv , “assemble” (*Wb.* 4, p. 212, 3; *ALex* 1 [1977], p. 36), the \equiv being an ancient or modern mistake for \equiv , and takes the *sw* as referring to *mrt* (see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, §§ 982, 988). According to him, the *m* in the last sentence represents the enclitic particle *m(y)* after the imperative (above p. 47 and n. 168). He would read: “Assemble the serfs of the funerary estate! Please bring the one who guides them!”

³⁹³ See p. 5 above.

³⁹⁴ Is this the word *škr*, “pannier,” attested from New Kingdom times, for which see, Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 161–64; *ALex* 1 (1977), p. 380? The only alternative that occurs to me is to take *škr* as the word for “ornament” (*Wb.* 3, pp. 401, 15–402, 4), used here with ironic intent.

³⁹⁵ According to *Wb.* 1, p. 20, 1–8, *ss* does not appear before the Middle Kingdom. There is no trace of a walking-legs determinative.

³⁹⁶ Lit. “strike.” For *wdi/d(y)* with this meaning, see Erman, *Reden*, pp. 22, 54; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 192 and n. 1; *Nianchchnum*, p. 91 and n. a; *ALex* 1 (1977), p. 104; 3 (1979), p. 79.

³⁹⁷ A possible parallel to *hi.k* occurs in a threshing scene in the tomb of Ni-hetep-ptah (*LD* 2, pl. 71a). Four field hands drive donkeys around the floor with sticks; one says to another: *ir hs.k im.sn hi.k m.k*. For the first part of the phrase (“Get back among them!”), see below, p. 64. A common utterance in threshing scenes is *hs.k m.k*, “Hey you, watch (what you are doing!)” (below, p. 64). If *hi.k m.k* is indeed a parallel to the latter phrase, it is possible that *hi.k* is an introductory interjection like *hs.k*. This explanation does not seem appropriate in the present context, however. Moreover, Altenmüller (*SAK* 9 [1981], p. 22) emends *hi.k* to *hs.k*. Although recognizing the difficulty presented by \equiv for \equiv (however, see Junker, *Giza* 9, p. 38), James Allen suggests *m d(i).f i.hwi.k*, “Don’t let him prevent you!” For *i.hwi.k*, see Allen, *IVPT*, § 375 B.

³⁹⁸ Erman, *Reden*, pp. 24, 27; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 27; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 101, fig. 57; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 857; *Nianchchnum*, p. 132, pl. 59b. The initial reed leaf is visible in the photograph.

³⁹⁹ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 166.

⁴⁰⁰ For *ptb hr*, “throw something on the ground,” see *Wb.* 1, p. 565, 17.

⁴⁰¹ Although feminine in gender, the word for “threshing floor” (*zpt*) can on occasion be written without the terminal *-z*; see *Wb.* 3, p. 434; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 182; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, p. 59 and n. 191.

⁴⁰² See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 166–67.

the ground and the bottom of his staff. The staff nonetheless implies that he was an overseer supervising the activities on the threshing floor. The legs and feet of the two figures behind him face in the opposite direction. All that survives of the figure at the left edge of the block are a rear leg and foot. A similar arrangement is seen in the mastaba of Mereruka, where an attendant stands behind the overseer leaning on his staff and holds the latter's sandals, while three men walking to the left carry offerings to the tomb owner, including the first fruits of the harvest.⁴⁰³

If the two men behind the overseer indeed bore offerings, then they probably represent the end of a procession that began on the opposite side of the southern serdab slot with the figures of four more offering bearers. The best preserved of these figures is the foremost who proffers to Inti a goose held by the neck and wings. Over the goose are the words: *iw nm [n] ks.k*, "This is [for] your *ka*." The bearer behind holds a brace of ducks by the wings in his right hand. Except for part of the line of his chest and his legs, the rest of his figure is lost, and only the legs and feet of the two men who followed survive.

The heads of all of the individuals in this register, offering bearers and field hands alike, are close-cropped and wigless. Except for waistbands, only in the case of the sheaf thrower and the fifth drover do any details of clothing survive. Both of these individuals wear the semicircular kilt with trapezoidal front panel.

A few details bear witness to the finished state of the original carving on this wall. These include the interior markings of the placenta(?) and of the hieroglyph of the human face in the caption over the man throwing sheaves onto the stack, the fringes of the blanket on the back of the second donkey, the hair in the mane of the third donkey, and sections of the twisted double strands along the sides of the rope-net sacks on the backs of both donkeys.

Sixth Register. The activity on the threshing floor is depicted in the space between the two serdab slots.⁴⁰⁴ The action again proceeds from right to left. The circular threshing floor is represented as a rectangle above the baseline. Three field hands and a group of ten donkeys are shown knee-deep among the sheaves. The five donkeys in the center face right with the first overlapped by the second, the second by the third and so forth, with a complete figure at the end of the line.⁴⁰⁵ Two donkeys lower their heads to take a mouthful of the mixed grain and straw, while a third raises his head and brays his displeasure at the field hands brandishing sticks. The figure of one of the donkeys is turned in the opposite direction, both to diversify the arrangement and to indicate their circular motion on the threshing floor. The two field hands on the right of the threshing floor brandish sticks above their heads to keep the donkeys on the floor moving. The second man says to one of the animals, perhaps the braying donkey: *hs.k ms.k*, "Hey you, watch (what you are doing)!"⁴⁰⁶ His companion, who holds a stick poised above the rump of the last donkey, places his left hand on the head of the one donkey who is out of

step with his fellows and exclaims: *ir hs.k im.sn*, "Get back among them!"⁴⁰⁷ All three field hands wear a folded kilt with overlap and in one case a dangling belt tie.

Further to the left, a group of women are winnowing the threshed grain in order to separate the seed from the chaff. Dressed in long, tight-fitting dresses with oblique hems held up by shoulder straps, three of the women wear kerchiefs gathered back behind the neck and tied with a strip of cloth to keep the seed cases and other debris out of their hair, while the fourth evidently had only the headband cloth.⁴⁰⁸ The woman on the right handles a sieve with which she sifts the threshed grain, while the seed falls to the ground. The legend before her face is now largely destroyed but can be restored from parallels: *m[fbt] it*, "sie[ving] barley."⁴⁰⁹ The pair of winnowers in the middle bend forward and downward to pick-up the mixed seed and chaff with palm fiber brooms and toss it up to let the action of the air clean it.⁴¹⁰ The legend over the head of the woman on the right is: *sh it*, "broom-winnowing of barley."⁴¹¹ The column of text before the left-hand woman is badly damaged and only a few signs can be made out. From traces visible in the photograph, however, it is possible that the column terminated in *sh it*. The last winnower at the left scoops up the grain with a pair of winnowing scoops and lets the wind blow away the chaff and dust while the grain falls to the ground.⁴¹² Over her upraised arms traces of the component signs of *hsbs*, "scoop-winnowing," can also be made out in pl. 32.⁴¹³

Behind this woman, a field hand armed with a three-pronged pitchfork pitches the mixed grain and straw from a stack in the form of a truncated pyramid onto the winnowing floor. The operation is shown out of sequence, but the pitchfork has taken a substantial bite out of the side of the stack closest to the winnowers.⁴¹⁴ In front of the field hand's face and over the stack is a short caption: *ns it*, "separating the barley."⁴¹⁵

At the far left is another stack, which undoubtedly represents the winnowed grain. Both of the stacks, like the stack determinative of the verb *ns*, are decorated with papyrus umbels at the corners.⁴¹⁶ In addition, a beer jar on a tall stand is set out at the foot of the left-hand stack. Similar stands with food or drink appear near the threshing floor in a number of Old Kingdom harvest scenes.⁴¹⁷ The assumption is often made that these represent offerings to the snake goddess and patroness of the harvest, Renenutet, at the completion

⁴⁰⁷ For this deceptively simple caption, see Erman, *Reden*, pp. 26–28; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 218–19; *Sh. Said*, p. 23; Junker, *Giza 6*, p. 148; *Meir 4*, p. 39; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, p. 16; Vandier, *Manuel 6*, p. 174; Guglielmi, *Reden*, p. 62 and n. 73; van de Walle, *Nefertentef*, p. 61 and n. 201; Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, p. 18.

⁴⁰⁸ Vandier, *Manuel 6*, p. 176.

⁴⁰⁹ Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 222–23. For a drawing of such a sieve in plan, see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 225, fig. 33.

⁴¹⁰ A detailed depiction of a winnowing broom is to be seen in Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D. For an actual broom of New Kingdom date made from palm(?) fiber, see *Egypt's Golden Age*, cat no. 137.

⁴¹¹ See Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 221–23; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, p. 16.

⁴¹² For examples of winnowing scoops, see e.g. Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, p. 173, fig. 19; Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 54, pl. 68, nos. 65–67; *Egypt's Golden Age*, pp. 47–48, cat. no. 16.

⁴¹³ *hsbs*: Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 222–23.

⁴¹⁴ In a number of tombs the man with the pitchfork and the indented pile of grain and straw are shown in the proper sequence; see e.g., *LD 2*, pls. 9, 47; Murray, *Saq. Mast. 1*, pl. 11; Junker, *Giza 11*, fig. 75, pl. 20b; *Two Craftsmen*, pl. 9; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D; idem, *Kayemnofret*, pl. F.

⁴⁰³ *Mereruka 2*, pl. 170.

⁴⁰⁴ For the activities of piling sheaves, threshing, and winnowing, see Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 166–69.

⁴⁰⁵ See *HESP*, pp. 335–36.

⁴⁰⁶ See Gunn, *Studies*, p. 4; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 866, pace Montet, *Scènes*, p. 220; Vandier, *Manuel 6*, p. 175.

of the harvest cycle,⁴¹⁸ despite the fact that the goddess herself is never depicted, whereas she is in New Kingdom scenes of the harvest.⁴¹⁹ The legend above the beer jar in the present scene, *hpt*, “an offering (of bread and beer),” perhaps lends support to the view that these are not merely victuals for the field hands.⁴²⁰

The label above the stack at the left reads: *mh* [x +] 32, “32 [plus] cubits,” presumably the height of the stack. The figure is clearly exaggerated, for 32 cubits converts to 16.80 meters (55' 10")!⁴²¹ Similarly inflated measurements occur above or beside grain piles in a small number of other cases.⁴²²

To the left of each of the serdab slots in the west wall stand figures of thurifers. Both figures are wigless and wear a folded kilt with overlap. The thurifer beside the northern slot has his back to the threshing floor and faces toward the slot. He elevates in his left hand a “double-bell” censer, consisting of a round-bottom bowl on a shaft handle and a cover with the same form.⁴²³ His right arm is outstretched and he is about to lift the cover to release the purifying and revivifying incense smoke.⁴²⁴ Although the right upper edge of the

block on which his figure is carved is broken away, the presence of the word *sntr* beneath the censer is a good indication that the caption *ksp sntr*, “burning incense,”⁴²⁵ originally stood in the first column of text before this thurifer, as it did before the thurifer alongside the southern serdab slot. Due to damage, it is difficult to make anything definite out of the traces of signs inscribed in front of the thurifer’s face and extending above his head. Nevertheless, they perhaps belonged to a title or titles, as is the case with the other thurifer, and it is just possible that here too they read *zsb smsw h3yt*, “dignitary and elder of the porch” (figs. 53, 54).⁴²⁶ The thurifer’s name, *Ṛz-n-s-Pth*, “Tjesnesptah,” also inscribed in smaller and rougher signs than the original caption, was squeezed into the available space between his body and the word *sntr*.⁴²⁷ Titles and name alike were hence probably later additions.

In the offering chamber of the tomb of Inti’s near contemporary Ti at Saqqara, a pair of thurifers is located to either side of three individual serdab slots in its west wall.⁴²⁸ There does not appear to be room for the figure of another thurifer to the right of the southern serdab slot, and it is impossible to be certain whether or not the same arrangement recurred on either side of the northern serdab slot in G 2370 because of damage to the slot and the adjacent wall surfaces, and only the head, shoulders, and the upper part of the arms of the man opposite Tjesnesptah on the right side of the northern serdab slot are preserved. From the disposition of his arms he could have held up a censer. On the other hand, he may have been shown presenting a bird, with his straight outstretched hand holding the neck and his other hand the wings. In fact, just such an arrangement—with the figure of a thurifer balanced by that of a priest offering up a bird—appears alongside the serdab slot in the tomb of Senedjemib Mehi.⁴²⁹ In G 2370 the titles *zsb zš*, “the dignitary and scribe,” above the arm of the bird presenter were probably followed by his name in the now destroyed space below the tail of the bird. The other officiant in G 2370 proffers the foreleg of an ox. His titles and name in one short line before his face and his name in a column under his arm appear to read: *zsb smsw h3yt hm-k3 Ṛz-n-ṚPth*¹ “the dignitary, elder of the porch, and funerary priest, TjezenṚptah¹.”⁴³⁰

Above the heads of the two officiants on the right side of the northern serdab slot is the badly preserved bottom portion of a scene. It is difficult to resolve the remaining traces, but it is possible that a butchery scene was depicted in this confined space. In actuality, if not thematically, this scene formed part of the fifth register.

⁴¹⁵ *N3: Wb.* 2, p. 337, 11; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 228; Junker, *Giza* 6, p. 151; *Nianchehnum*, p. 126, translate *nš* respectively as “abkehren,” “puiser,” “zusammenscharren,” “zukehren.” Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 206, notes in regard to Montet and Junker’s translation that the pitchfork is not the ideal tool for raking up grain. In addition, the concave indentations in the sides of the piles show that the men armed with the pitchforks are not adding grain to the pile, but taking it away. Vandier, *ibid.*, pp. 205–207, first considers and then rejects the idea that *nš* is a synonym for *h3bs*, “to winnow with fans;” he then concludes that *nš* is a type of grain, a suggestion which seems unlikely, since the word is not otherwise attested as a term for grain. The literal meaning of *nš* in the present context may be “separate;” see *Wb.* 2, p. 337, 11–338, 3; *ALex* 3 (1979), p. 157. Hair is “combed” (*nš*), that is, the individual strands are “separated” or “divided” and the steering oar of a divine boat which ferries across the deceased is referred to as “Hair Comber” (*nšy šny*), perhaps because its blade “divides” or “separates” the water like a comb separates hair; see *Wb.* 2, p. 337, 3; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 58 § S 2; 122 a § S 2. See also *nš*, *Wb.* 2, p. 337, 13–338, 3 (attested from Middle Kingdom).

⁴¹⁶ On occasion, the field hands are actually shown in the process of attaching the umbels to the corners of the piles; see Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 184, 190–91.

⁴¹⁷ Klebs, *AR*, p. 52; Mogensen, *Mastaba ég.*, fig. 19, pl. 8 (= CG 1534); Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 75, pl. 20b; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12 (stands but no offerings visible). In the tomb of Ankhmahor, instead of the tall stands, a triangular loaf of bread and a covered dish on a low stand are twice represented (Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, fig. 24, pl. 26). A high-shouldered vessel on an earth pedestal appears in the tomb of Irenkaptah (*Two Craftsmen*, pl. 9).

⁴¹⁸ Klebs, *AR*, p. 52; Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, pp. 24–25; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 204.

⁴¹⁹ *PM* 1, p. 488 (Termuthis).

⁴²⁰ In Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-Ptah*, pl. D, food of all sorts is set out for the field hands under a portable booth at the edge of the fields, and elsewhere reapers sometimes interrupt their labors to drink from a jar or eat a meal (*LD* 2, pl. 9; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhui*, fig. 21; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12; *Two Craftsmen*, fig. 5). The workers on the threshing floor or the winnowers are never shown helping themselves to the food set out near the piles of grain, however.

⁴²¹ Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, p. 10, observes that the ancient Egyptian cubit measured 52.5 cm.

⁴²² *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xxxvi; *Two Craftsmen*, pl. 9; *Nianchehnum*, pl. 59b. Moussa and Altenmüller, *ibid.*, p. 133, n. b, are of the opinion that the figure of “60 cubits” written above a grain rick in the tomb of Ni-ankh-khnum and Khnumhotep is a realistic one because it pertains to both of the brothers. This consideration would not apply in the present case or the other instances just cited. In *ibid.*, n. c, if I understand them correctly, Moussa and Altenmüller have made the interesting suggestion that it was the field which produced the grain in the stack that measured sixty cubits. However, they also note that *mh*, “cubit,” is not attested as a land measurement before the Middle Kingdom.

⁴²³ Balcz, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), pp. 211–14; Ogden, *Varia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1985), pp. 131–42. For examples of incense burners like this in pottery, see e.g., Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. 7b, and Abu Bakr, *Giza*, pl. 41B, the last found *in situ* between two statues in a serdab and containing six pieces of charcoal.

⁴²⁴ On the significance of incense in the offering ritual, see e.g., Blackman, *ZÄS* 50 (1912), pp. 69–75; Fischer, *BMMA* 12, no. 7 (March, 1964), pp. 244–45; Germer, *LÄ* 6 (1986), cols. 1167–69.

⁴²⁵ *Wb.* 5, p. 103, 9–10.

⁴²⁶ As previously mentioned, the inscriptions pertaining to the two thurifers were recollated by Mark C. Stone in March 1995. The resulting drawings are reproduced as figs. 54, 55 in this volume. In the present case, Mr. Stone was of the opinion that *zsb smsw h3yt* may indeed have been written, although he was not certain that the presence of the title explained all the visible traces.

⁴²⁷ The component signs of *Pth* are written as if they read from left to right, whereas the other signs face right in keeping with the other texts. The sign following the rope *z* is crudely rendered and could either be the bolt *z* (as in the name *Ṛz-n-ṚPth*¹ opposite) or the sign of the girdle-knot (*z*).

⁴²⁸ Wild, *Ti* 3, pls. 169, 172, 188. As regards the thurifers in the tomb of Ti, Schäfer (*Principles*, pp. 219–20) recognized that, even though the mortuary priests censuring apparently approach the serdab squints from the side, they undoubtedly are to be imagined coming up to the slot from the front, as they would have in real life.

⁴²⁹ See below, pp. 141–42.

⁴³⁰ The *t* and *h* of *Pth* are to be made out in pl. 32. The group *hm-k3* is visible to the left of the divine name, although the traces are very faint.

The thurifer on the left of the serdab slot at the south end of the wall raises the lid of his censer in order to release the incense smoke. The text before him is in palimpsest (fig. 55). The words *kꜣp s[nꜥ]r* were carved in raised relief of a similar height and quality to that of the rest of the wall, and are clearly original. Subsequently, the title and name of the *zꜣꜣ nswt n hft-hꜣr, Sndm*, “personal scribe of royal records, Senedjem” was added.⁴³¹ The title was carved right over the sign of the censer (*kꜣp*)⁴³² and the name once again squeezed into the blank space between the body of the thurifer and the word *s[nꜥ]r*. The signs of the addition are also in raised relief, but of inferior quality, like the labels identifying the figures of the other officiants on either side of the northern serdab slot. Both title and name were then apparently recarved, in the case of the title probably more than once, perhaps because the sculptor had made an inadvertent omission or was dissatisfied with the original arrangement of the signs.

It was not at all unusual for funerary priests to add their names and titles to the initially anonymous figures of officials or offering bearers at a date subsequent to the completion of the original decoration of a tomb. It is, of course, possible that these additions were made with the knowledge and consent of the tomb owner before his death, after the arrangements for his funerary cult were finalized. On the other hand, funerary priests who served cults that lasted for several generations might also wish to be commemorated.⁴³³ Further examples of both practices are evident in the decoration of the offering room of G 2370.

Three groups of butchers and their assistants originally occupied the remainder of the register to the left of the southern serdab slot. In order to immobilize the head of the dying ox, the butcher’s assistant on the right in the first group places one foot on its head and lays hold of both its horns. His figure is wigless like those of his comrades. Unlike the other figures, his garment is preserved; he wears the semicircular kilt with trapezoidal front panel. The butcher in the middle of the group stands facing right towards the previous individual, the lower part of his figure being hidden behind the ox. As the caption above indicates, he is *dm ds*, “sharpening a knife.”⁴³⁴ The knife is held in the left hand and the whetstone, which would have been secured by a leather thong whose other end was tied to one edge of his kilt, is held in the right hand.⁴³⁵ His other assistant leans slightly backwards to the left and pulls hard on the end of a rope whose other end presumably secured the animal’s legs. Before his face is written: *qꜣs*, “binding.”⁴³⁶

The next group also consists of three individuals. The nummulitic limestone was intractable here, and the scene was undoubtedly finished in plaster which has fallen away in the intervening millennia. The details of the figures are lost as a result, though their outlines are visible. The butcher on the right stoops over to the left. His arms

hang down in front of him and he is perhaps about to sever one of the animals legs. The legend above reads either *stp*, “cutting off,” or, if the damaged sign that follows was the foreleg of an ox, *stp hꜣpꜣ*, “cutting off the foreleg.”⁴³⁷ The two butcher’s assistants appear to be struggling with another leg. Enough remains of the caption between them to see that the signs read from right to left.

The left end of the block on which the third group of butchers is drawn is broken off and lost, and only part of the right-hand figure survives. His back is shown in profile and he evidently held both arms in front of him; perhaps he grasped a foreleg of a third animal and pulled it upright.⁴³⁸

The serdab behind the west wall of Room III measures 1.0 by 4.45 meters. Its height is 1.92 meters. It had been broken into by means of large holes battered through the north and south slots. Inside was found part of a base with the toes of an intrusive statuette of Nekhebu, whose seat and legs were discovered in debris in Room III, and whose upper body and head were found in G 2381, Hole 1.⁴³⁹ The cult installation in the northwest corner of the room has already been described in some detail.⁴⁴⁰

North Wall

Of the scenes on the short north wall recorded by Lepsius (fig. 56), only the bottom right corner is still in place (pl. 33a; fig. 57).⁴⁴¹ Originally, its six registers were devoted to the picking of fruit and the gathering, treading, and pressing of grapes, activities which would have taken place toward the end of the summer,⁴⁴² and, in the lower registers, to bread making and the brewing of beer.

First Register. This register was already badly deteriorated in Lepsius’s day. The figures in this, in the second register, and at the right side of the third register have been identified as men bringing baskets of grapes.⁴⁴³ This does not account for the pair of tall, round-topped objects in the center of the register, however. Since fruit picking scenes are sometimes associated with vintage sequences,⁴⁴⁴ like those depicted below, it seems more likely that the first register contained a depiction of fruit picking and that the round-topped objects represent two fruit trees. The activity of the three men would then be explained: they were picking fruit from the branches of the trees (a third tree to be restored at the far right). The picker on the right and the picker at the left both carried loaded baskets on one shoulder, which they each supported with a raised hand. According to Lepsius’s copy, the middle picker lacked a basket, but it is possible that

⁴³⁷ *Stp. Wb.* 4, p. 336, 3–6; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 166.

⁴³⁸ See above, p. 48.

⁴³⁹ Obj. Reg. 12–11–26; see *HESP*, p. 84 (2).

⁴⁴⁰ See p. 19.

⁴⁴¹ *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xxi.

⁴⁴² Lucas, *Materials*, p. 18.

⁴⁴³ *PM* 3², p. 86 (12).

⁴⁴⁴ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. III. To the citations in *PM* 3², pp. 355 (3) (c) and 903 (3) (c), is to be added another fruit picking scene from the Saqqara tomb of Ni-ankhnesut now in Berlin; see *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, p. 32, no. 295 (Berlin 3/65). This scene is joined at the right by another block sold at public auction which completes the caption *stt dsbw m hꜣdt* over the tree at the right edge of the Berlin block; see *Egyptian Antiquities*, no. 130. Harpur, *Decoration*, p. III, cites two provincial examples of fruit gathering and fig picking in the chapels of Ibi and Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi (*Gebr.* 1, pl. 6; 2, pl. 17). The fruit picking scene in the tomb of Iymery is now published in Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 38, pl. 21 a–b.

⁴³¹ The title is usually written without the *n(y)*; see e.g., Peck, *Decorated Tombs*, p. 13, who provides examples of both orthographies. The *n* here appears to follow *hft-hꜣr*.

⁴³² For the censer sign, see Gardiner, *EG*, p. 501 [R 5]; Brunner, *NAWG* 1965, no. 3, pp. 79–96; Fischer, *Calligraphy*, p. 57.

⁴³³ See Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 2, pp. 57–62, for numerous examples of officials who inserted their names at a later date, even usurping the place of earlier officials. Cf. Fischer, *JARCE* 4 (1965), p. 51.

⁴³⁴ Erman, *Reden*, p. 13; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 157, 302.

⁴³⁵ See above, p. 48 and n. 180.

⁴³⁶ *Wb.* 5, p. 13, 1; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 103, 152.

he held a smaller basket with his right hand, as is sometimes the case in fruit-picking scenes.⁴⁴⁵ The middle and right-hand pickers face right, whereas the left-hand picker walked to the left, away from the trees, but turned back to pluck one final fruit. At the left end of the register another man, with arms largely destroyed, proceeded to the left. Apart from a scene in the Giza chapel of Iymery, all known depictions of fruit picking at the Memphite cemeteries occur in Saqqara tombs.⁴⁴⁶ If we are correct in identifying the activity in the first register as fruit picking, this is a second example of the genre from Giza.

Second Register. A vintage sequence was depicted in this and the succeeding registers.⁴⁴⁷ In this register six men carried conical baskets of grapes to the pressing vat shown below. Two of the men carried two baskets of grapes apiece on their shoulders, whereas the other bearers had only a single basket each. Each basket was supported with a raised hand. The fourth and fifth men in line turned back to speak to the bearer at the rear of the procession.

At first glance it seems that the vineyard with the vines supported on trellises and with laborers picking grapes, the most significant element of the vintage along with the pressing⁴⁴⁸ was omitted from the present portrayal. Nevertheless, Lerstrup says that in all the vintage scenes known to her, there is room enough to have included the picking.⁴⁴⁹ She does not specify where the vineyard stood in the present scene, but the only possible space seems to be the damaged area at the left end of the topmost register. Usually, the trellises on which the vines are trained are quite low and the pickers have to kneel in order to reach the clusters of grapes. Nevertheless, in certain scenes, the forked pole supports are taller than usual and the pickers stand at their task.⁴⁵⁰ It may therefore be that the man facing left at the left end of the topmost register was actually shown picking grapes from a trellis which had been destroyed before Lepsius copied this wall. If so, there is room for a kneeling figure to his right.⁴⁵¹ It should be noted though that the mastaba of Mereruka provides one definite example of the omission of grape picking from vintage episodes.⁴⁵²

Third Register. The two men on the right were engaged in conversation as they awaited their turn to empty their baskets of grapes into the pressing vat. Five workers treaded on the grapes in the large, shallow vat until no more juice could be extracted.⁴⁵³ Those on either end held onto the pole framework erected above the vat so as to steady themselves. The top of the pole on the left side of the vat is destroyed, but the right-hand pole may have been shaped like the so-called “tent-pole” columns.⁴⁵⁴ The treaders placed their arms around

each other’s waists to prevent a tumble in the slippery residue of stalks, skins, and pits. They raised and lowered their feet in time to the clacking of the sticks beat by two men seated on a circle of hardened earth to the left.⁴⁵⁵ In similar vignettes in the tombs of Mereruka and Neferherentpakh at Saqqara, a caption over the musicians reads: *msh*, “marking the rhythm.”⁴⁵⁶ Sometimes the treaders wear a special kilt with a downward triangular extension,⁴⁵⁷ but in the present case they appear to be dressed only in belts with dangling ties.

Fourth Register. A group of four men at the left twisted poles attached to either end of a cloth sack in opposite directions in order to squeeze the remaining juice out of the pulp and skin of the crushed grapes into the large vat set below. The twisting was hard work and one worker on either side added the weight of his body to the effort by standing on one end of the poles. The worker on the left says to his counterpart on the other side of the vat *wsh rk*, “Press down!”⁴⁵⁸ Missing here is the man who is frequently shown suspended in mid-air above the twisted sack and who keeps the poles apart with his outstretched arms and legs.⁴⁵⁹ The two workers on the left side of the sack-press are wigless and wear plain belted kilts whose edges have separated on account of their wide stance. Their comrades on the right also have close-cropped hair and were presumably dressed in the same sort of kilts, although the belts alone survive. Further to the right two workers decant the must, or juice, from the treading or the pressing of the grapes from small jars into five large pottery amphoras to ferment.⁴⁶⁰ The last man on the right may have been similarly engaged or may have been sealing the wine jars.⁴⁶¹ A damaged caption before him preserved only the last two letters of the word *irp*, “wine.”

Fifth Register. In this and the bottom register baking and brewing were depicted, bread making being a preliminary step in the brewing process.⁴⁶² On the right side of the register a pair of scribes was seated on the ground before a granary consisting of two rows of domed structures with knobbed tops, the small silos in which grain, dried fruit, and other commodities were kept.⁴⁶³ They adopted the ordi-

⁴⁴⁵ See especially *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, p. 32, no. 295 (Berlin 3/65).

⁴⁴⁶ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 111.

⁴⁴⁷ *PM* 3², p. 904 (4). For discussions of wine making, see e.g., Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing*; Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 16–22; Lesko, *King Tut’s Wine Cellar*; and most recently Lerstrup, *GM* 129 (1992), pp. 61–82.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66 and n. 20.

⁴⁵⁰ E.g., *LD* 2, pls. 53b, 111; Hassan, *Saqqara* 1, p. 31, fig. 14; Lauer, *Saqqara*, pl. 139.

⁴⁵¹ Compare the detail from the grape picking scene in the tomb of Neferherentpakh published in Lauer, *Saqqara*, pl. 139.

⁴⁵² *Mereruka* 2, pls. 113–14, 116.

⁴⁵³ Lucas, *Materials*, p. 17.

⁴⁵⁴ See Lerstrup, *GM* 129 (1992), p. 68, and below, p. 120 and n. 60.

⁴⁵⁵ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 267. For examples of clappers, see Ziegler, *Catalogue des instruments*, pp. 22–30. Lerstrup, *GM* 129 (1992), p. 70, mentions another example of men beating the rhythm in the unpublished tomb of Neferherentpakh near the Unis causeway at Saqqara, for which, see now Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), pp. 14–15.

⁴⁵⁶ *Mereruka* 2, pls. 114, 116; Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), p. 15. On *msh*(t), see further Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 24, n. 98; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38, pl. 24b.

⁴⁵⁷ E.g., Paget-Pirie, *Prabhetep*, pl. 33; *Ti* 3, pl. 171; *Nefer and Ka-hay*, p. 24, pl. 9; *Nianchnum*, fig. 16.

⁴⁵⁸ *Wsh* —in the sense of “push,” “press down,” “put one’s weight on,” etc.: *Wb.* 1, p. 257, 4–5; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 72, 315.

⁴⁵⁹ The spatial relationships of this scene are difficult to comprehend, but see Montet, *RecTrav* 35 (1913), pp. 120–24; idem, *Scènes*, pp. 268–73; Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing*, p. 55; Smith, *HESP*, p. 309; Hartmann, *L’Agriculture*, pp. 166–67; Schäfer, *Principles*, pp. 200–202.

⁴⁶⁰ Lucas, *Materials*, p. 17.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. *LD* 2, pls. 13, 96; *Nianchnum*, pl. 39.

⁴⁶² Lucas, *Materials*, p. 13. For scenes of baking and brewing, see *PM* 3², pp. 356 (10)(a)–11; 905 (10). On the processes of baking and brewing, see Klebs, *AR*, pp. 90–94; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 231–54; Wreszinski, *ZAS* 61 (1923), pp. 1–5; Winlock, *Models*, pp. 27–29; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 272–96; Wild, *BIFAO* 64 (1966), pp. 95–120. An in-depth study of brewing is Helck, *Das Bier im Alten Ägypten* (1971).

⁴⁶³ Fischer, *MIO* 7 (1960), p. 308, n. 18.

nary posture for Egyptian men when seated, with one leg doubled under and the other knee up, and were presumably engaged in recording the contents of the silos on writing boards. Their writing cases rested on the ground before them, and scribal paraphernalia was set out on top of these. A brief line of text reading from right to left over the writing case of the scribe in front of the lower row of storehouses identified him as a *zš šmw*, “scribe of the granary.”⁴⁶⁴ The scribe before the upper row of granaries was also captioned, but only the letter *m* remained of the short text above his scribal case. Over the bottom row of storehouses the lotus-leaf sign for a “thousand” alternated with stacks of and designations for grain, but the only names preserved are *šm*, “barley of Upper Egypt,” and *mḥ[w]*, “barley of Lower Egypt.”⁴⁶⁵ Over the upper row of storehouses the designation *bš(s)*, an as yet unidentified grain used in the fabrication of beer, perhaps a variety of barley, alone survived.⁴⁶⁶

The scene on the left side of this register represents the end results of the process of brewing, whose initial stages were perhaps depicted in the destroyed left-hand portion of the register immediately below. The fermented beer was first decanted into jars, and then, although the details are unclear, the jars probably stoppered with cone-shaped clay stoppers⁴⁶⁷ and imprinted with a cylinder seal.⁴⁶⁸ In a subregister above a variety of vessels were laid out; from left to right they were as follows: a round-bottomed bowl with a recurved rim on a separate stand or just possibly a bowl-table⁴⁶⁹ with a (basketwork) cover; a tall, neckless shoulder jar on a stand; a straight-sided vase with a scalloped rim;⁴⁷⁰ another bowl on a stand or a bowl-table with a (basketwork) cover; a slender-shouldered jar with a short neck, a flat-topped rim, and a curved spout; a bulging flower vase on a stand containing three lotus blossoms; and a second flower vase with a scalloped rim holding lotuses.⁴⁷¹

Sixth Register. In spite of the fact that only a small part of the bottom of this register still survives, a number of details are evident today that were omitted by Lepsius’s draftsman. At the right end of the register in Lepsius’s drawing, a woman knelt on the ground and leant over to the left. It is clear from fig. 57 that she ground grain on a stone saddle quern or millstone. The quern is of a primitive type with one depression so that the ground meal falls directly on the earth.⁴⁷² The Rev. Theophilus Lieder and his wife Alice made a squeeze of this small area of the wall (pl. 33b). The squeeze confirms the nature of the quern and also provides a more accurate impression of the

woman’s garb. As female laborers often do, she wore a tight-fitting dress girded by a belt-sash and held up by tapering shoulder straps (only one strap was visible, since her figure was drawn in profile).⁴⁷³ The head-kerchief over her hair, tightly gathered at the nape of the neck, was of the sort sometimes worn by agricultural laborers.⁴⁷⁴ In both Lepsius’s drawing and the squeeze, the caption above the head of the woman is *nd*; there is space for a terminal *-t* under the cobra, however, and presumably it originally read *ndt*, “grinding.”⁴⁷⁵

The activity of the woman who sat with knees drawn up facing the woman at the quern is not clear from Lepsius’s plate, but our drawing shows flour being sifted through a deep sieve into a shallow tray. The caption recorded by Lepsius and the Lieder can, as a result, be restored with some confidence: *šš dw’dw¹ in ndt*, “sifting⁴⁷⁶ flour⁴⁷⁷ by the female miller.”⁴⁷⁸ The two women facing each other grinding grain and sifting flour are, in fact, a stock motif in Old Kingdom scenes of baking and brewing.⁴⁷⁹ Further to the left a third woman squatting on the ground facing right tended the fire under a stack of bread moulds. Curiously, Lepsius’s artist drew only the central part of the stack with the outline of some of the moulds and the spaces between others. The two moulds at the base of the pile are visible in our drawing. The woman’s task was identified by the caption over her head: *qr¹ bds¹*, “heating the bread moulds.”⁴⁸⁰ Once the moulds were sufficiently hot, they were removed from the fire, the dough poured into them and allowed to bake by means of the pre-heated clay.⁴⁸¹ In Lepsius’s plate the upper part of the woman’s figure is preserved, and she is shown with her right hand raised to shield her face and eyes from the fire, while her open left hand is extended to the moulds.⁴⁸² In our drawing, it can be seen that she actually holds a stick in her left hand to poke the coals of the fire, while her right hand hangs down in a fist behind her. Both the woman sifting grain and her companion tending the bread moulds perhaps had a head covering like the woman grinding grain.

Today only the feet of the next figure to the left are preserved. Originally this figure bent over at the waist to the left with arms held forward and widely spaced. In Lepsius’s drawing the figure appears to

⁴⁶⁴ For this title, see *PM* 3², p. 932 [757].

⁴⁶⁵ *Šm* and *mḥw*: *Wb.* 4, p. 476, 8–477, 7; *FCD*, p. 32. Müller-Wollerman, *VA* 3 (1987), pp. 39–41, is of the opinion that (*it*) *šm*, “scanty barley,” and (*it*) *mḥ*, “full barley,” represent 4- and 6-row barley, respectively, for which, see Germer, *Flora*, pp. 208–210. However, the earlier view that the two terms probably refer to the geographical origins of the grain rather than any botanical differences continues to find support (*Domestic Plants and Animals*, p. 27).

⁴⁶⁶ *Bš(s)*: Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 200, 234; *AEO* 2, pp. 223*–25*; Nims, *JEA* 44 (1958), pp. 62–63; Wild, *BIFAO* 64 (1966), pp. 95–120; Darby, *Food* 2, pp. 534–35; Faltings, *GM* 148 (1995), pp. 35–43.

⁴⁶⁷ For the different types of clay stoppers, see Emery, *Archaic Period*, pp. 210–11.

⁴⁶⁸ Compare the sequence of operations in *Ti* 1, pl. 66.

⁴⁶⁹ See Balcz, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), pp. 25–26 and fig. 36; *GN* 2, p. 87, fig. 76, pl. 49d, e.

⁴⁷⁰ Balcz, *MDAIK* 3 (1932), pp. 106–107 and fig. 21.

⁴⁷¹ For the flower vases, see Balcz, *MDAIK* 3 (1932), p. 113 and fig. 25h; 4 (1933), pp. 26–27 and fig. 39. For the different kinds of vessels appearing in Old Kingdom scenes in general, see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 144–57, figs. 47–52.

⁴⁷² Peck, *Decorated Tombs*, p. 49; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 273, 296–98. Ancient Egyptian querns were made of a variety of coarse grained stones and a lot of grit made its way into the bread to cause dental attrition; see Leek, *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 126–32. According to Leek it is also possible that sand was added to the grain to aid in the grinding. For a different view, see Samuel, *Egyptian Archaeology* 4 (1994), pp. 9–11.

⁴⁷³ Compare e.g., Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 47, pl. 10b; 11: fig. 64; *Ti* 1, pl. 66; 3, pl. 155; *Mereruka* 2, pl. 168; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, p. 23, pl. D, and see Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 176. I believe I can see traces of the dangling ends of the belt-sash at the woman’s lower back in the Lieder squeeze.

⁴⁷⁴ See p. 64 above.

⁴⁷⁵ *Wb.* 2, p. 369, 11–12; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 234–35.

⁴⁷⁶ *Sš dw’dw*: Montet, *Scènes*, p. 234; Junker, *Giza* 11, p. 161, fig. 64; *Ti* 1, pls. 66–67; Schurmann, *Ii-nefret*, p. 39, figs. 14a/14b; *Nianchchnum*, p. 68, pl. 23. As Montet, *Scènes*, p. 235, observes, on account of the different orthographies, it is not entirely certain whether the verb is to be read *sš* or *šš*.

⁴⁷⁷ *Dw’dw*: *Wb.* 5, p. 502, 8–10; Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa*, II/1/2, pp. 25–27; *ALex* I (1977), p. 441.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ndt*: *Wb.* 2, p. 370, 14; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 234, 237, 238.

⁴⁷⁹ See the references in p. 149, n. 195 below.

⁴⁸⁰ For the emendation, see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 237 (5).

⁴⁸¹ Klebs, *AR*, pp. 92–94; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 236–39. For a recent experiment in bread baking, see Roberts, in *National Geographic* (January 1995), pp. 32–35.

⁴⁸² Compare, e.g., Junker, *Giza* 11, p. 161, fig. 64; *Ti* 1, pls. 66–67; Schurmann, *Ii-nefret*, p. 39, figs. 14a–b; *Nianchchnum*, p. 68, pl. 23.

be that of a man with close-cropped hair, but the partially preserved caption, [...] *in ndt*, seems rather to identify this individual as a “female miller.” Although female workers sometimes have close-cut hair like their male counterparts,⁴⁸³ it is more likely that this woman wore a head-kerchief like her companions, the ends of which were not seen by Lepsius’s artist. She probably also wore the tight-fitting dress with belt-sash and shoulder straps, but only the part of the sash around her waist survived. The disposition of her arms and a segment of a curved line at her feet, which perhaps belonged to a large vat set on the ground before her, suggest that she might have been mixing dough to fill the heated moulds.⁴⁸⁴ Usually, the men or women who mix the dough face towards the woman tending the fire, but there is at least one exception to the general rule.⁴⁸⁵ If she was indeed mixing dough, there is sufficient space in the destroyed area at the left for the figure of a worker straining the half-liquid mash through a sieve into a vat in order to start the fermentation process for beer, as well as for a second individual lining the beer jars with clay.⁴⁸⁶

ROOM IV

Room IV is an east–west offering room. It measures 2.05 meters wide and 6.35 meters long and has an area of 13.02 square meters. The proportion of the length to the width is 1/0.32.⁴⁸⁷ The reconstructed height of the south wall is about 3.55 m (11.65 ft.). The room is entered from the north by means of a doorway from the vestibule which divides the north wall into two unequal sections. The north and south walls of the room are covered with symmetrical processions of offering bearers who move towards a figure of Inti seated behind a table at the west end of either wall or towards the false door behind him. The surviving decoration on the east wall shows a balanced composition of men and animals. The west wall of the room is taken up by a false door.

At the foot of the false door and extending across the entire width of the room is an unscribed limestone offering stone, approximately 20 cm in height. The top of the slab is very rough and uneven, and there are no traces of the loaf-on-mat motif or of rectangular depressions for liquids visible on its top. In front of the false door and offering stone, and abutting against the latter at a right angle, is a large rectangular offering bench of limestone which has already been described.⁴⁸⁸ Built against the northern wall of the room, this bench is crowned by a cavetto-and-torus cornice on its southern and eastern sides (pl. 46a). In the southeast corner of the room is located a boxlike structure built of three limestone slabs with a rectangular depression or basin underneath (pl. 50a–b).⁴⁸⁹

Door Thicknesses

Like the passageway between Rooms II and III, the thicknesses of the passage between Room III and IV bore personifications of the agricultural estates belonging to Inti’s funerary endowment. Today the walls are denuded to the third course of masonry and only the lower portions of the bottom registers remain with the legs and feet of the estates and the animals they were leading, all facing into Room IV, as if they were entering into it (pls. 34b, 35c; fig. 59a–b). A few hieroglyphs from the estate names also survive.

Sketches of the thicknesses, drawings of a few details, and copies of the estate names were made by Mariette.⁴⁹⁰ Jacquet-Gordon utilized these and her own personal copies of the few signs remaining in her study of funerary estates in the Old Kingdom.⁴⁹¹ The Rev. Lieder and his wife Alice made paper squeezes of the thicknesses, and these were utilized by Jaromir Málek to correct the names of certain of the estates in an article published in 1974.⁴⁹²

Mariette copied the thicknesses when they were preserved to the height of two registers. As in the passageway between Rooms II and III, there were presumably three registers of estates originally. Mariette’s sketches of the thicknesses (fig. 58) are very approximate and misleading on a number of counts.⁴⁹³ Ten female figures are shown on either thickness, five in each register, carrying in baskets on their heads the produce of the estates whose names were inscribed before them. In the sketches, each figure raises a front hand to help balance her burden, while the other hand hangs empty behind. It is clear even from Mariette’s larger scale renderings of a few representative estates that this was not always the case.⁴⁹⁴ The first figure in the upper register of the left thickness, for example, actually raised her rear hand to steady her basket and held stems of papyrus in her other hand. In addition, the third figure on the left thickness has a hemispherical basket on her head on one page, but is shown with a conical basket on another.⁴⁹⁵

The paper squeezes made by the Lieders convey a clearer picture of the appearance of the two thicknesses (pls. 35a–b, 36a–b). Unfortunately, folds and tears in the squeezes, as well as their relatively poor technical quality, obscure some of the details. Furthermore, either the Lieders themselves or a third party once again outlined the figures and hieroglyphs in pencil and did not always do so with accuracy.

Each estate apparently wore a tight-fitting shift held in place by tapering shoulder straps, a beaded collar, and a long wig with a lappet falling over the near shoulder and hanging down to the level of the top of the dress. As on the thicknesses between Rooms II and III, the hems of the dresses slant from front to back (except perhaps the last estate on the right jamb). The estate names incorporate the cartouches of six Fifth Dynasty rulers: Userkaf, Sahure, Neferirkare (Kakai), Neuserre (Ini), Menkauhor (Ikauhor), and Izezi. With few excep-

⁴⁸³ See e.g., Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 176.

⁴⁸⁴ Compare the posture of the women mixing dough in Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, figs. 34–35, pl. 9; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, fig. 54;

⁴⁸⁵ See James, *Khentika*, pl. 42; Abu Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 95-D; Schurmann, *Ii-nefret*, fig. 14a–b. The exception is Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, figs. 34–35, pl. 9.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. *Ti* 1, pl. 66, and especially Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 97.

⁴⁸⁷ *GN* 1, p. 264.

⁴⁸⁸ See above, p. 19.

⁴⁸⁹ See above, p. 19.

⁴⁹⁰ *Mastabas*, pp. 507–509, 513–15.

⁴⁹¹ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, pp. 293, 296–97 [38G5], nos. 17–36, cf. figs. 82, 83 (c, d).

⁴⁹² Málek, *GM* 13 (1974), pp. 21–24.

⁴⁹³ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 508 and 509. In addition, Mariette notes (*ibid.*, p. 509) that in his published sketch of the east (left) jamb the figures by error face left. The error has been mechanically adjusted in our figure.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 513 and 514.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 509 and 514.

tions, the transliterations and translations of the estate names follow Jacquet-Gordon and Málek.

Left (east) thickness

1. Woman carrying a conical basket on her head and papyrus stalks in her left hand and in crook of left arm: *ḥwt K3k3i: i3gt K3k3i*, “The estate of Kakai (named) the *i3gt* of Kakai.”⁴⁹⁶

2. Woman carrying a crescent-shaped basket on a pad on her head: [...] *Izzzi*, “[...] Izezi.”

3. Woman carrying a hemispherical basket on her head and leading an oryx on a rope: *n(y) ws Izzzi*, “Dominion belongs to Izezi.”⁴⁹⁷

4. Woman carrying a crescent-shaped basket on a pad on her head: *wsḥ Ik3w-Ḥr*, “Ikauhor is abundant.”

5. Woman carrying a conical basket on her head: *š qbḥw Sḥw-r*, “Libation basin of Sahure.”

6. Woman carrying a conical basket on her head: *ḥwt Ik3w-Ḥr: [...] B3stt*, “The estate of Ikauhor (named) [...] Bastet.”

7. Woman carrying a hemispherical basket on a pad on her head and leading a calf on a rope. *Mr [...] Ik3w-Ḥr*, “[...] loves Ikauhor.”

8. Woman carrying a conical basket on her head and holding a bird by the wings against her body: [...] *b3w- [...] i*, “[...] of power is [...]i.”

9. Woman carrying a hemispherical basket on her head and leading a calf on a rope: *ws-ḥw-K3k3i*, “Strong of power is Kakai.”

10. Woman carrying a conical basket on her head and holding two birds in her hanging rear hand: *ḥtpwt Ini*, “The offerings of Ini.”

Right (west) thickness

1. Woman carrying a hemispherical basket on a pad on her head and a goose on her forward arm: *ḥwt Izzzi: irt wdt Izzzi*, “The estate of Izezi (named) work of the command of Izezi.”

2. Woman carrying a conical basket on her head: *ḥwt Izzzi: mr B3stt ḥḥ Izzzi*, “The estate of Izezi (named) Bastet wishes that Izezi lives.”

3. Woman carrying a hemispherical basket on a pad on her head: [...] *Sḥw-r*, “[...] Sahure.”

4. Woman carrying a conical basket on her head: [...] *Wsr-k3.f*, “[...] Userkaf.”

⁴⁹⁶ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 296, reads *i3pt-K3-k3.i* (“le pieu[?] de Kakai”), but this is corrected by Málek, *GM* 13 (1974), p. 22 [17], to *i3gt-K3-k3.i*. Although its exact meaning is uncertain, *i3gt* has the advantage of being a regular component in estate names (*Wb.* 1, p. 34, 17; Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 457).

⁴⁹⁷ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 296 (19), and Málek, *GM* 13 (1974), p. 22 (19) read the name ... *ws n Izzzi* (“... la prospérité[?] à Isési”) and *ws n Izzzi* respectively. Might this not instead be a toponym constructed on the pattern of the personal names discussed above, p. 31.

5. Woman carrying a crescent-shaped basket on a pad on her head: Destroyed except for traces of the *ḥwt*-sign.

6. Woman carrying a crescent-shaped basket on pad on her head: *ḥwt Izzzi: srwd Ḥr Izzzi*, “The estate of Izezi (named) Horus perpetuates Izezi.”

7. Woman carrying hemispherical basket on her head and leading an oryx on a rope: Destroyed except for the city-determinative and traces of a preceding sign.

8. Woman carrying a conical basket on her head: *ḥtpwt Izzzi*, “The offerings of Izezi.”

9. Woman carrying a hemispherical basket on a pad on her head and leading a gazelle on a rope: *mr ḥḥ Izzzi*, “Izezi is one who loves life.”

10. Woman carrying conical basket on her head and holding a wickerwork frail in her hanging rear hand: *srwd* [...], “[...] is one who perpetuates.”

East Wall

Only the bottom of the lowest register is preserved (pl. 36c–37b; fig. 60). The figures present an essentially balanced composition.⁴⁹⁸ On either side a bull walks away from the center. Each bull is preceded by a herdsman who perhaps led it by a short rope tied around the jaw and simultaneously placed his other hand on the rump of the animal before him to hurry it along. The elements of the register are not entirely equal, however, for the bull to the immediate left of the central axis has its own attendant walking by its rump on the far side, whereas the bull to its right lacks an attendant. Furthermore, the man who stands facing his fellows at the left end of the register is not mirrored by a figure at the right end. Instead his figure is offset by that of a calf and an attendant who leads it by means of a rope tied to a foreleg. The two opposing files of men and animals were probably perceived as bringing up the tail ends of the processions of offering bearers on the north and south long walls.

Mariette claims to have seen offering bearers in the lower registers of this wall and offerings arrayed on tables in its upper registers.⁴⁹⁹ It is therefore possible that the missing registers of offering bearers above were divided in a manner similar to the lowest registers with half of the offering bearers marching left and half right.⁵⁰⁰

South Wall

The wall is occupied by a traditional table scene with a compartmental offering-list above, by files of men in rows transporting offerings, and by priests performing the mortuary rites (pl. 38; fig. 61). At the right end of the wall Inti is seated behind an offering table, his back to the west wall and the false door, facing left toward the priests and offering bearers depicted before him and also toward any earthly visitor to enter the room (pls. 39–41). He extends his right hand to the bread offerings on the table, while the other hand, clenched in his

⁴⁹⁸ Schäfer, *Principles*, pp. 226–27.

⁴⁹⁹ See above, p. 6.

⁵⁰⁰ See above, p. 18.

lap, holds a folded cloth which probably served as a napkin.⁵⁰¹ As is usual, the right hand is incorrectly rendered, the back of the hand being shown, rather than the palm of the hand, with the fingers partly in profile curving over at the top, and the thumb in profile curving up from below.⁵⁰² Inti wears a short wig reaching to the nape of the neck. Traces of the usual pattern of horizontal rows of overlapping locks were still visible at the back of his head in 1931 (pl. 40).⁵⁰³ A segment of a curved line indicates that he wore a beaded collar, but the hemline of his short kilt is no longer evident. Inti sits on an animal-leg stool whose lion's feet are set on beaded drums and the frustrum-shaped stone supports which kept furniture away from the damp floor and crawling insects.⁵⁰⁴ The beading, or superimposed series of small half-round moldings, is still visible on one of the drums. The side-rail of the stool terminates at the rear in a papyrus flower ornament, and the seat is provided with a low cushion that slopes gradually from back to front. The stool rests on a low rectangle which probably represents a reed mat drawn as if seen from above.⁵⁰⁵

Above his head, Inti's name and titles are given in seven badly damaged columns of hieroglyphs which perhaps read as follows: (1) [*iry-p't hty-ꜥ*] *tyty zsb tity smr* [*w'ty ...*], (2) [...] *nsu[t] imy-r3* [...] *n* [...] *h*ry^r *ss*^r [*t*], (3) [...] *imy-r3* [...], (4) [...] *imy-r3 pr* [*h3w*], (5) [*hry sst3 n wdt-mdw n[t nsu]t*], (6) [...] *imy-r3 sdmt*, (7) [*nbt imsh*] *w hr nsut n(y)-mrw[t]*, (1) “[the hereditary prince and count],⁵⁰⁶ chief justice and vizier, [sole] friend [...], (2) [...] of the kin[g], overseer of [...] of [..., mas]ter of ^rse^r[cret]s (3) [...] overseer of [...], (4) [...], overseer of the ar[mory],⁵⁰⁷ (5) [master of secrets of] the commands o[f the kin]g,⁵⁰⁸ (6) [...] overseer of [all] that is judged,⁵⁰⁹ (7) [one honored by the king, possessor of lov[e].”⁵¹⁰ As on the north wall opposite, *Sndm-ib*, “Senedjemib” was presumably written in a horizontal line reading from right to left beneath the last four columns, but traces of the letter *m* alone are legible today.

The table in front of Inti would have consisted of two separate elements, a circular plate and a cylindrical foot or base.⁵¹¹ Twenty tall, conventionalized half-loaves of bread are shown on the offering table; the loaf at the far left is missing its outer edge, however, and a number of the other loaves at this end of the table are missing their tips.⁵¹² Between Inti's legs and the base of the table is a short offering list in ideographic form. The large hieroglyphs face Inti, the recipient of the offerings,⁵¹³ and read: *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3 h3 3pd h3 m3-hd h3 ghs h3*

sr h3 mnht h3 ht bnrt, “A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand birds, a thousand oryx, a thousand gazelles, a thousand alabaster jars of ointment, a thousand pieces of cloth, and a thousand sweet fruit.”⁵¹⁴

On the far side of the table, food offerings of every kind and a bouquet of blue and white lotus blossoms are piled up. Prominent among the offerings are a tall, sealed beer jar on a stand, a round-bottom bowl with a recurved rim and a (basketwork) cover on a separate stand, and a tall storage jar with (basketwork) flaps and a rilled neck.⁵¹⁵ In the register above, a variety of jars and bottles for wine and other beverages are placed in two superimposed rows of racks, while to the left nested ewers and basins, for washing the hands at the beginning of the meal, are set out on a pair of rectangular tables with horizontal struts. The right ends of the jar racks were located on a missing block, on which there would also have been room for two more pairs of tables or racks. The bottles are slender shouldered with short necks, and the neck of the middle of the surviving three bottles is rilled. Both of the tall storage jars here, like the one below, have (basketwork) flaps, while the one on the left has a long spot.⁵¹⁶ Jars and bottles alike have rounded stoppers.

Before Inti's face is a list of offerings which seems originally to have comprised ninety-three compartments arranged horizontally in four rows.⁵¹⁷ Rows A and B apparently contained twenty-three compartments each, and Row D twenty-two compartments. The compartments in Row C are narrower, and it is likely that it originally consisted of twenty-five compartments. About half the entries are missing but can be restored with reasonable certainty by comparison with other offering lists,⁵¹⁸ including one on the east wall of Inti's own burial chamber.⁵¹⁹ Additional signs, now lost, are visible in photographs taken in 1912 and 1930 (pls. 38, 39). These are incorporated into the transliterations of the individual entries below without further comment. Each entry occupied four compartments: the upper compartment with the name of the entry; two smaller compartments below with the determinative of the offering or the vessel in which it was contained and a stroke or strokes indicating the portion of each item; and the bottom compartment with small figures holding up the items named above.⁵²⁰ As is the case with the ideographic list under the table, the signs are turned to the right so that they face Inti for whom they were intended.

A noteworthy feature of the list is the substitution of standing figures performing rites for the more usual kneeling figures in the bottom compartments in most of the first row. A number of these figures are lost and the upper parts of the others are missing (along with the names of the entries above), but it is likely that the first

⁵⁰¹ See Fischer, *MMJ* 10 (1975), pp. 9–21.

⁵⁰² *HESP*, p. 280.

⁵⁰³ For this type of wig, see above, p. 39 and n. 42.

⁵⁰⁴ See Fischer, *JARCE* 4 (1965), p. 49; Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 78 (1978), pp. 81–100; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, p. 36ff.; Brovanski, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, p. 104, n. 40.

⁵⁰⁵ Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, p. 40 (Criterion 15). The mat pattern was rarely, if ever, carved in the Old Kingdom. On this feature, see also, Schäfer, *Principles*, p. 168.

⁵⁰⁶ For the restoration, see above, pp. 37, 49.

⁵⁰⁷ See above, p. 41, pl. 18, and fig. 30, and below, p. 83 (2). This is the only title of Inti that seems to fit the available space.

⁵⁰⁸ See above, p. 37, pl. 12c, and fig. 16, and below, p. 84 (16).

⁵⁰⁹ See below, p. 84 (9).

⁵¹⁰ For the title adjunct *n(y)-mrwt*, see Gunn, in *Teti Cem.*, 1, p. 101 (XX); Fischer, *ZÄS* 105 (1978), p. 49.

⁵¹¹ See e.g., Hassan, *Giza* 5, pp. 168–69; Brovanski, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 18 (1983), p. 5; Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, pp. 50–51.

⁵¹² On the origin and development of the conventionalized loaves of bread, see recently *ibid.*, pp. 42–49.

⁵¹³ Fischer, *Reversals*, pp. 63–64.

⁵¹⁴ For *ht bnrt*, see Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 227d.

⁵¹⁵ See above, p. 68 and nn. 469–71.

⁵¹⁶ On the basketwork flaps, see *Teti Cem.* 1, p. 163; Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, p. 21; Williams, *Decoration of Per-neb*, p. 52.

⁵¹⁷ The block with the determinatives of items 60 to 71 and 84 to 93 is at present incorrectly set into the north wall of the room in front of Inti's face. It has been restored to the appropriate position on the southern wall in pl. 38 and fig. 61.

⁵¹⁸ Such lists have been studied in depth by Hassan (*Giza*, 6, pt. 2) and Barta (*Opferformel*). The list belongs to Barta's Type A; see *ibid.*, Chap. 2, esp. pp. 47–50.

⁵¹⁹ See below, pp. 80–81; pl. 53, fig. 71.

⁵²⁰ Cf. Hassan, *Giza*, 6², pp. 61–62.

eighteen compartments were originally affected. The first and thirteenth compartments actually contain a pair of kneeling and standing figures performing the rites of *zst* and *qbh* *ḫwy* respectively. Item (18), *ḫms*, is lost, but would appropriately be determined by a man sitting on his heels. The first eighteen items of the great ritual offering list are in fact those which constituted the preliminaries or opening rites to the funerary meal, and it may be for this reason that the figures were thus distinguished.⁵²¹ The usual kneeling figures presumably commenced thereafter. Certainly, items (21–23) at the end of the first row are determined with kneeling figures. Parallels are provided by offering lists in a number of tombs of late Fifth or early Sixth Dynasty date.⁵²² In the case of the present list the standing determinatives of numbers (1), (13), and (14) are sufficiently well preserved to aid in the identification of the lost entries above.

Offering List

Row A:

- (1) [*zst*, 1] “[Libation of water, one]”
- (2) [*sntr* *sd*, 1] “[Incense (on) the fire, one]”
- (3) [*stt*-*hb*, 1] “[Festival ointment, one jar]”
- (4) [*ḫknw*, 1] “[*ḫknw*-oil, one jar]”
- (5) [*sf*, 1] “[*sf*-ointment, one jar]”
- (6) [*ny-ḫnm*, 1] “[*ny-ḫnm*-oil, one jar]”
- (7) [*twzwt*, 1] “[*twzwt*-ointment, one jar]”
- (8) [*ḫst nt* ʕ, 1] “[Best cedar oil, one jar]”^a
- (9) [*ḫst nt thnw*, 1] “[Best Libyan ointment, one jar]”
- (10) [*ʕfn wsdw*, 2] “[Bag of green eye paint, two]”
- (11) [*ʕfn msdmt*, 2] “[Bag of black eye paint, two]”
- (12) [*wḫwy*, 2] “[Cloth, two pieces]”
- (13) [*qbh* *ḫwy*, 2] “[Libation and two pellets of natron]”
- (14) [*sntr* *sd*, 1] “[Incense (on) the fire, one]”
- (15) [*ḫst*, 1] “[Offering table, one]”
- (16) [*ḫtp-nswt*, 2] “[Offering of the king, two]”
- (17) [*ḫtp-wsh*, 2] “[Offering of the broad court, two]”
- (18) [*ḫms*, 1] “[Sit down!, one]”
- (19) [*šns dwtw* *ḫw-r*, 1] “[Repast:^b a *šns*-loaf and jug,^c one each]”
- (20) [*t-wt*, 1] “[Barley bread(?),^d one]”
- (21) ^r *t rth*¹, [1] ^r “Baked bread,¹ [one]”
- (22) *nmst* *dsrt*, 1 “Jug of strong ale(?),^e one”
- (23) *nmst* *ḫnqt*, 1 “Jug of beer, one”

Row B:

- (24) [*ḫst* *šns* ʕ, 1] “[Serving of *šns*-bread, one portion]”
- (25) [*šns dwtw* *šbw*, 2] “[Food: a *šns*-loaf and jug, one each]”
- (26) [*swt*, 1] “[*swt*-cut of meat, one]”
- (27) [*mw* ʕ, 2] “[Water], two [portions]”
- (28) *bd* [ʕ, 2] “Natron, two [portions]”
- (29) *šns dwtw* [*ḫw-r*], 2 “[Repast:] a *šns*-loaf and a jug, one each”

- (30) [*t wt*], 1 “[Barley bread (?), one]”
- (31) *t rth*, 1 “Baked bread, one”
- (32) *ḫ[ḫ]*, 1 “*ḫ[ḫ]*-bread, one”
- (33) [*nḫrw*, 2] “[*nḫr*-bread, two]”
- (34) *dp[t]*, ^r 4¹ “*dp[t]*-bread, ^rfour”
- (35) *pz[n]*, 4 “*pz[n]*-bread, [four]”
- (36) *šm[s]*, 4 “*šm[s]*-bread, [four]”
- (37) *t imy* [*ḫ*, 4] “Bread which is (baked) in [the earth, four]”
- (38) [*ḫnfw*, 4] “[*ḫnfw*-bread, four]”
- (39) *ḫbnn[wt]*-bread, ^r 4¹ “*ḫbnn[wt]*-bread, ^rfour”
- (40) [*q*] *mḫw* [*qms*, 4] “*q**mḫw*-bread (in) [an hexagonal mould,^f four]”
- (41) *ids[t ḫs.]k*, [4] “*ids[t]*-bread. (Place it) behind you!,^g four”
- (42) [*pwt*, 4] “[*pwt*-bread, four]”
- (43) [*t šr*, 4] “[Toasted bread, four]”
- (44) *ḫdw*, 4 “Onions, four”
- (45) *ḫps*, 1 “Foreleg, one”
- (46) *iw*^r, 1 “Thigh, one”

Row C:

- (47) [*zḫn*, 1] “[Kidney, one]”
- (48) [*swt*, 1] “[*swt*-cut of meat, one]”
- (49) [*spr*, 4] “[Rib, four]”
- (50) [*šrt*, 1] “[Roast, one]”
- (51) [*mizt*, 1] “[Liver, one]”
- (52) [*nmšm*, 1] “[Spleen(?), one]”
- (53) [*ḫ*^r, 1] “[Flesh, one]”
- (54) [*iwf n ḫst*, 1] “[Breast meat, one]”
- (55) [*r*, 1] “[Greylag goose, one]”^h
- (56) [*trp*, 1] “[White-fronted goose, one]”
- (57) [*zt*, 1] “[Pintail duck, one]”
- (58) [*sr*, 1] “[Greylag goose, one]”
- (59) [*mnwt*, 1] “[Pigeon, one]”
- (60) [*t zif*], 1 “[*zif*-bread], one”
- (61) [*š*ʕ, ^r 2¹] “[*š*ʕ-*t*-bread, ^rtwo]”
- (62) [*npst*, 2] “[*npst*-bread, two]”
- (63) [*m*] *zwt*, [2] “[*m*] *zwt*-bread, [two]”
- (64) [*dsrt*, 2] “[Ale, two]”
- (65) [*ist* *dsrt*, 2] “[Milky ale (?),ⁱ two]”
- (66) [*ḫnqt* *ḫnms*, 2] “[*ḫnms*-beer, two]”
- (67) [*ḫnqt*, 2] “[Beer, two]”
- (68) [*s*] *ḫ[p]* *t*, 2 “[*s*] *ḫ[p]* *t*-drink, two”
- (69) *p[ḫ]*, 2 “[*p[ḫ]*-drink, two]”
- (70) *dwtw* [*ššr*], 2 “Jugs of [*ššr*]-drink, two”
- (71) *d[šb]*, 2 “[Fi]g wine, two”

Row D:

- (72) [*irp*, 2] “[Wine, two]”
- (73) [*irp* *ḫšwy*, 2] “[*ḫš*-jars^j of wine, two]”
- (74) [*irp*, 2] “[Wine, two]”
- (75) [*irp*, 2] “[Wine, two]”
- (76) [*irp*, 2] “[Wine, two]”
- (77) [*ḫbnnwt*, 2] “[*ḫbnnwt*-bread, two]”
- (78) [*ḫnfw*, 2] “[*ḫnfw*-bread, two]”
- (79) [*šd*], 2 “[Hegelig-fruit, two]”^k

⁵²¹ See Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 69.

⁵²² E.g., Hassan, *Giza 2*, fig. 239; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 41. In a limited number of other tombs the figures of the officiants appear on a small scale as a frieze immediately below the offering list; *Saqqara Tombs 1*, pl. 12; Hanover 1972.19: Kestner-Museum, Hanover, *Jahresbericht 1970–1973*, p. 306, no. 1 (Ni-ankhnesut).

- (80) [*šht hdt*, 2] “[White 6-row barley¹, two]”
 (81) [*šht wšdt*, 2] “[Green 6-row barley, two]”
 (82) [*ḡt zwt*, 2] “[Parched^m wheat, two]”
 (83) [*ḡt it*, 2] “[Parched barley, two]”
 (84) [*bšbš wt*, 2] “[*bšbš wt*-fruit,ⁿ two]”
 (85) *nbs*, 2 “Nabq-fruit,^o two”
 (86) *t nbs*, 2 “Cake of nabq-fruit, two”
 (87) [*w^c h*, 2] “[Earth al]monds^p, two”
 (88) [*h^t nbt bnrt*, 1] “[Every sweet fruit, one]”
 (89) [*rnpt nbt*, 1] “[All year-offerings, one]”
 (90) [*hnkt nbt*, 1] “[All offerings, one]”^q
 (91) [*gs¹ w*, 1] “[Half loaves, one]”
 (92) [*h^t w dh¹ w*, 1] “[The best of the of]fering tab[le, one]”
 (93) [*stpt*, 1] “[Choice joints, one]”

Comments

- ^a For this entry and the three following, compare the offering list in Inti’s burial chamber, pl. 53, fig. 71.
^b For the reading *bw-rs*, see De Meulenaere, Supplement to *BIFAO* 81 (1981), pp. 87–89; Dorman, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* 1, pp. 455–70; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pp. 33 (h), 182 and n. 62.
^c For the translation “a loaf and jug,” see Fischer, *Varia*, pp. 16–17. The abbreviated writing of (29) most likely occurred here as well.
^d Junker, *Giza* 5, p. 94; Fischer, *OMRO* 41 (1960), p. 4, n. 17; idem, *Varia*, p. 17, n. 44.
^e Caminos, *L.-Eg. Misc.*, p. 425.
^f See Wild, in *BIFAO* 64 (1966), p. 106, with notes 1 and 2.
^g Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 49 and n. 7.
^h The order of the restored list of fowl here is that of the offering list in Inti’s burial chamber. For the identification of the individual species, see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 403–404; Boessneck, *Gänsehaltung*, pp. 192–206.
ⁱ James, *Khentika*, p. 64 [2]; Fischer, *Varia*, p. 17.
^j On the *bs*-jar, see Mesnil du Buisson, *Noms des vases*, pp. 33, 35, and 117, n. 7; Davies, *Ptahbetep* 1, p. 29, fig. 253.
^k *Balanites aegyptiaca*: Germer, *Flora*, pp. 99, 148; *Food: The Gift of Osiris* 2, p. 716.
^l Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2, p. 25 [16].
^m *Wb.* 1, p. 235, 5; *FCD*, p. 40; Kaplony, *LÄF*, pp. 266–67; Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2, pp. 124–25.
ⁿ Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2, pp. 127–28.
^o Emery, *Hemaka*, p. 52.
^p Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2, p. 22; Germer, *Flora*, pp. 245–46.
^q Contemporary offering lists frequently determine *hnkt* with three jars (e.g., *Teti Cem.* 2, pl. 3; Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pls. 21–23; James, *Khentika*, pl. 36). Here the three jars have instead been placed in the small compartment that contains the pictorial determinative of the item.

First and Second Registers. A space at the top of the wall approximating in height two of the registers below was divided horizontally into three subregisters entirely filled with an array of food and drink offerings piled on tables, stands, and trays or contained in a variety of receptacles. If the wall is preserved to its full height here, as seems likely, the plain, narrow band between the top register and the ceiling may have borne the earlier conventional Old Kingdom border pattern of interpolated diagonals in paint or less likely a border of colored rectangles.⁵²³

Third Register. On a level with Inti’s head six funerary priests perform ritual acts.⁵²⁴ The two-fold aim of these funerary rites was, firstly, the transmission of food offerings and, secondly, the “spiritual-

ization” of the deceased by the recitation of spells to render him an effective blessed spirit.⁵²⁵ The combined rite performed by the foremost pair of officiants constitutes the introduction to the service. The first priest kneels, both hands palm down before him with finger tips resting on a mound of sand(?).⁵²⁶ The second stands behind him and pours a stream of water and natron, a cleansing soda used anciently in place of soap⁵²⁷ from a tall, spouted *znbt*-jar over the first priest’s head and onto his hands.⁵²⁸ The caption under the raised arms of the standing man identifies him as the *hrp stiw nwb imy-h^t hmw-k³ M^c[m](?)*, “controller of necklace-stringers and supervisor of funerary priests, *Ma*[m](?)”.⁵²⁹ In other depictions the water falling directly upon the hands of the kneeling man indicates that this is the rite of hand-washing or purification with which every feast began.⁵³⁰ A belt around the waist of the kneeling man indicates that he was clothed, but the hem of his garment is not visible. The standing figure wore a folded, belted kilt, the overlap being visible in part in pl. 38. Both officiants have short wigs with horizontal rows of locks from crown to base.

The next officiant stands (his head is missing in the gap between stones) and elevates a double-bell censer whose lid he holds firmly in place while the incense smoke accumulates. The label under his arms reads: *kyp sntr*, “burning incense.”⁵³¹ Elsewhere the thurifer is shown at different stages of the action: holding up the bottom part of the censer and throwing grains of charcoal into it; poking the embers to encourage combustion; or raising the cover either straight up or at an angle to direct the incense smoke towards the deceased.⁵³²

Even though the figure of the fourth officiant from the right has been chiselled away almost completely, the manner in which the erasure was executed has left a “negative impression” which shows that he probably originally stood with forward arm raised to the level of his face in a gesture of invocation or address.⁵³³ Beneath his arm is inscribed: *wdn ht*, “presenting offerings.”⁵³⁴ The consecration of food offerings for the deceased is generally in the province of the lector priest who, wearing a shoulder-length wig, a ceremonial beard and a sash across his chest, makes the gesture of invocation and carries a papyrus roll in his other hand.⁵³⁵ Nevertheless, on occasion the individual performing the rite of *wdn ht* does wear a short wig and lacks the sash.⁵³⁶ It is impossible here, because of the damage, to tell whether the effaced figure wore a sash, but he appears to have worn

⁵²⁵ See Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), pp. 213–17; Badawy, *ZÄS* 108 (1981), pp. 85–93.

⁵²⁶ Cf. Hassan, *Giza* 6², pp. 88–89.

⁵²⁷ Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119.

⁵²⁸ The *znbt*-vessel is discussed by Mesnil du Buisson, *Noms des vases*, pp. 116–17; Jéquier, *Frises d’Objets*, p. 306; and Brovanski, in *Mélanges Mokhtar* 1, p. 142, n. 49.

⁵²⁹ For the first title and name, see below, p. 86 (10).

⁵³⁰ See e.g., Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), pp. 86–87; Hassan, *Giza* 6², pp. 166–68; *Mereruka* 1, pl. 67; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 107 (4), fig. 30.

⁵³¹ See above, p. 65.

⁵³² Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 109, fig. 31; Badawy, *Giza*, p. 8.

⁵³³ Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), pp. 69–71; Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), p. 86; idem, *EG*, p. 445 (A 26); Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 109–110; Hassan, *Giza* 6², p. 97; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 110 (13–14).

⁵³⁴ *Wb.* 1, p. 391, 7; Junker, *Giza* 2, p. 63; 4, p. 92; 10, p. 126; Barta, *Opferformel*, pp. 68, 86, 96; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pp. 4–5.

⁵³⁵ See e.g., Williams, *Decoration of Per-neb*, pl. 9; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 22a, 28, pl. 7a, b.

⁵³⁶ E.g., Junker, *Giza* 4, pl. 17; Hassan, *Giza* 4, fig. 122, pl. 50 (= LD 2, pl. 35); Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 31, pl. 19.

⁵²³ See above, p. 22.

⁵²⁴ For discussions of these rites, see e.g., Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), pp. 85–88; idem, *Amenemhet*, pp. 93–94; *GN* 1, pp. 369–71; Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 103–115; Hassan, *Giza* 6², pp. 84–98; Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), pp. 213–17; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 106–113; Badawy, *ZÄS* 108 (1981), pp. 85–93.

a short wig and conceivably carried a papyrus roll in his hanging right hand. The reason for the erasure of this figure, as well as for that of the foremost offering bearer in the register below, is not readily apparent. Possibly the ancient sculptor wished to change some aspect of their appearance, and hence cut away the original raised figures with the intention of recarving them in a new layer of plaster. However, if his aim was to transform the figure into a lector priest, it would hardly have been necessary to efface the entire figure; all that would have been required was to add a sash and recut the wig.⁵³⁷ What is presumably an erasure of like character occurs on the north wall of the offering room of Ptahhetep I in the Unis pyramid cemetery at Saqqara, where the figure of an officiant was once again chiselled almost completely away. Although it is impossible to identify the motivation behind this latter erasure, it was clearly the artist's intention to put another figure in its place, for the dark red flesh color of a figure, which had been painted in, was still visible.⁵³⁸

The lector priest, the fifth figure from the right, stands and holds up in both hands before him an unrolled papyrus. Before his face is written: *šdt zš*, “reading the document aloud.”⁵³⁹ A caption just below the papyrus places his recitation in its ritual context: *šbt in hry-hbt*, “spiritualizing by the lector priest.”⁵⁴⁰ He wears a folded kilt with overlap and dangling belt tie. His shoulder-length wig lacks the customary pattern of strands of hair but, as is the case with the last officiant and many of the offering bearers below, the details may have been carved in plaster which has subsequently fallen away.⁵⁴¹ On his chin is a short beard.

The last officiant walks to the left trailing a bundle of grasses or reeds behind him, but turns his head and looks back at his fellows. Although the label before his face is damaged, there is little question that this is the rite of *int [rd]*, “removing the footprints,” the last act in the sequence of ceremonies, a terminal rite of prophylactic nature performed so that an offering room or sanctuary would be purified and rendered inaccessible to evil spirits.⁵⁴² He is dressed in a short wig without the overlapping pattern of locks and a folded kilt with overlap. The artist has incorrectly reversed the kilt of the figure. It is known from Old Kingdom statues that a man wrapped his kilt right over left. A right-facing figure in relief normally has a right-over-left fold, while a left-facing figure has the opposite left-over-right fold.⁵⁴³ Here, however, even though the man's body faces left, the kilt is still wrapped right-over-left, just as in the case of the right-facing offering bearers below.

The block on which the figures of the last three priests are carved is the last surviving block in this register. At its left edge a few food offerings on trays are visible, a continuation in all likelihood of the

array of tables, stands, baskets, platters, trays, and jars of food and drink arrayed in the registers above. These few offerings suggest that the remainder of this register was likewise taken up with heaped-up offerings.⁵⁴⁴

The better parts of the fourth and fifth registers and the sixth register in its entirety are occupied by bearers of offerings. A short column of hieroglyphs in front of the first man in the sixth register constitutes the caption to the files of offering bearers: *špṯ stṯ*, “bringing choice viands.”⁵⁴⁵

Each of the offering-bearers appears to have been attired originally in a short wig with an overlapping pattern of locks and a folded, belted kilt with overlap. Perhaps each of the bearers was once identified by title and name but, as was the case with these details of dress, many of the captions have been lost as a result of the falling away of the plaster sizing which covered the sculptures. Considerably more was visible in 1930–31, and pls. 38, 39, 41 should be consulted for these additional signs.

Fourth Register

Man presenting an ox's foreleg (effaced); [*šḥd*] *ḥmw-k3* [...], “[In]spector of funerary priests, [...]”

Man presenting an ox's foreleg.

Man presenting a goose held up by the neck and wings.

Man presenting an ox's foreleg; name in paint: [*šḥd*] *ḥmw-k3* *Ny-nḥ-Inpw*, “[Inspector] of [funerary]-priests, Ni-ankh-inpu.”

Man presenting an ox's foreleg; in paint: *ḥm-k3* [...], “Funerary priest, [...]”

Man carrying a tray loaded with assorted offerings and holding a calf on a rope; *ḥm-[k3]* *Ihy*, “[Funerary] priest, Ihy.”

Man carrying a tray loaded with assorted offerings and holding three ducks by the wings; [*šḥd*] *ḥmw-k3* *H*[...], “[In]spector of funerary priests, H[...].”

Man carrying a tray loaded with assorted offerings (back of figure destroyed); *ḥm-k3* *Wr-ti*, “[Funerary priest, Wert].”

Fifth Register

Man presenting a goose held up by the neck and wings; *z3b imy-r3 zšw* [...], “Dignitary and overseer of scribes, [...]”

Man presenting a goose held up by the neck and wings; *z3b imy-r3 zšw* *imy-ḥt ḥmw-k3 I3mw*, “[Dignitary and overseer of scribes,] supervisor of funerary priests, Iamu.”

Man presenting a goose held up by the neck and wings; [...] *Nb¹-R6*, “[...], [Neb¹-re.]”

⁵³⁷ For examples of a short wig altered to (or from) a shoulder-length wig, see Dunham–Simpson, *Meryankh III*, pl. 4; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-Ptah*, p. 7, n. 28, pl. B.

⁵³⁸ Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, p. 16, pl. 12; cf. Hassan, *Saqqara 2*, pl. 40.

⁵³⁹ *Šdt: Wb.* 4, pp. 563–64, 16.

⁵⁴⁰ *Šbt: Wb.* 4, p. 22, 11–23, 10; Junker, *Giza 3*, p. 110; Badawy, *ZÄS* 108 (1981), pp. 90–93.

⁵⁴¹ For the long, stranded wig, see Vandier, *Manuel 3*, pp. 103–104; Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp. 88–89; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 132; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, p. 57, fig. 45.

⁵⁴² In addition to the citations in n. 524, see Nelson, *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 82–86. A different interpretation is offered by Altenmüller, *JEA* 57 (1971), pp. 146–53.

⁵⁴³ Simpson, *JEA* 74 (1988), pp. 203–204.

⁵⁴⁴ See above, p. 6.

⁵⁴⁵ *Wb.* 4, p. 239, 10–11; *FCD*, pp. 240, 254.

Man presenting a duck held up by the neck and wings.

Man presenting a pintail duck held up by the neck and wings.

Man carrying doves in a cage and a tray loaded with different kinds of bread.

Man carrying braces of birds of two different species by the wings.

Man (head and shoulders destroyed) carrying a boat-shaped basket⁵⁴⁶ filled with assorted offerings and a wicker frail on a cord.

Figure of offering bearer largely destroyed.

Sixth Register. The offering bearers in this register appear to bring their offerings directly to the offering slab at the foot of the false door.

Man presenting an ox's foreleg; [...] *Sndm^rib^r*, “[...], Senedjem^rib.”⁵⁴⁷

Man presenting an ox's foreleg; *zsb^r [imy^r]-r³ [zšw^r] šhd^r hmw-k³ [n^h]-m-²[nnt]*, “[Dignitary^r and [over]seer of [scribes], inspector of funerary priests, [Ankh]-em-tje[nent].”⁵⁴⁸

Man presenting an ox's foreleg; *s[hd^r hmw-k³ ...]*, “[in]s[pector of ka-priests, ...].”

Man holding a goose in his arms; *zsb zš šhd^r [hmw-]k³ Hm^r šb^r[ty]*, “[Dignitary and scribe, inspector of funerary [priests], Hem^rakh^r[ti].”

Man carrying two braces of ducks; [...] *šhd^r hmw-k³ Nkn*, “[...], inspector of funerary priests, Neken.”

Man holding a goose in his arms; *zš pr mds^t-ntr Iry*, “[scribe of the registry of the divine book, Iry.”

Man holding a brace of ducks before his face and a brace of smaller birds (doves?) in his hanging right hand; *imy^r-r³ [zšw^r] šb[wt] hm-k³ Ihy*, “[over]seer of [scribes^r] of fie[lds] and funerary priest, Ihy.”

Man holding a bird in his arms; [...] *N(y)^r-Pt^h*, [...] *Ni^r-pt^h*.”

Man carrying a tray loaded with assorted offerings and a duck; *[i]^r m^r[y-^h]^r hm[w]-k³ Nfr-[^h]r-n-[Pt^h]*, “[Sup]^rer^r[visor] of funerary priest[s], Nefer-[he]r-en-pt^h” (fig. 131b).

Man carrying two trays loaded with assorted offerings; traces of a name survive.

Man holding a brace of birds and leading a young gazelle on a rope; traces of a name survive (fig. 131c).

Man carrying a tray of breads and holding a bundle of papyrus stalks; [...] *Rwd^r k³*, [...] *Rudj^rka*.”

Man carrying a tray with assorted offerings and holding a brace of birds by the wings; *zš pr [mdst-]ntr hm-k³ K³-m-tmnt*, “[Scribe of the registry of divine [books] and funerary priest, Ka-em-tjenet.”

Man holding up a brace of birds by the wings and leading a young antelope on a rope; *sn-dt.f hm-k³ Qsr*, “[brother of his estate and funerary priest, Qar.”

Man carrying a crescent-shaped basket loaded with assorted offerings and holding a brace of birds by the wings; *sn-dt.f^r hm-k³ Tz^w*, “[brother of [his^r] estate and funerary priest, Tjezu.”

Man carrying a calf across his shoulders; *hrp^r z^h Ihy*, “[controller^r of the kitchen, Ihy.”

Man carrying a goose in his arms.

Man carrying a tray loaded with assorted offerings and a pot or jar(?).

Man carrying a bird by the wings and a wicker frail.

Man carrying a tray loaded with assorted offerings and a bird by the wings.

Man carrying an antelope across his shoulders.

Man (largely destroyed) holding a bouquet of lotus before his face.

Man (largely destroyed) leading a young ibex on a rope.

At this point there is a gap in the wall some 1.54 m in width before the southeast corner of the room is reached (pl. 50a). Only two courses remain at the bottom of the wall.

West Wall

The false door that fills the west wall of Room IV (pls. 42–44; figs. 62a, 63) measures 2.03 meters in width, while the preserved height is 2.90 meters. The architrave has vanished along with the cavetto cornice that once topped the door, and the torus moulding which framed it is largely destroyed except at the bottom of the sides. The damage to the torus moulding and adjacent areas of the false door was probably the result of blows sustained when the architrave block or blocks from the side walls were pushed over by stone-robbers.⁵⁴⁹ Additional damage to the surface of the false door is likely due to wind-driven sand.

The inscriptions and representations on the false door were all executed in sunk relief with some internal detail. The usual decoration of diagonal lashings and cross-lashings was not carved, but was instead presumably completed in paint. There are still extensive traces

⁵⁴⁶ See below, p. 156, no. 273.

⁵⁴⁷ A son of the owner not infrequently heads a procession of offering bearers on the walls of Old Kingdom offering rooms; see e.g., Davies, *Ptahbetep* 2, pls. 24, 34; Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, pls. 23, 30; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, figs. 23, 24. For that reason, this individual could represent Inti's son Senedjemib Mehi (see above, p. 27, n. 78). The wall surface here is very hard and any indication of filiation (and titles?) could have been cut in plaster which has since fallen away.

⁵⁴⁸ See below, p. 86 (7).

⁵⁴⁹ See above, pp. 6, 7.

of red paint visible at the bottom of the jambs, and a few traces of yellow paint remain in the small figures of Inti (pl. 44).

The two inner jambs of the false door and the two middle jambs as well were cut from a single large stone (fig. 62b).⁵⁵⁰ The right-hand outer jamb together with the torus moulding and the recess thickness between the torus and the north wall, are carved from another upright slab. By contrast, the left-hand outer jamb, moulding, and recess thickness are constructed from two large upright slabs.⁵⁵¹ This method of construction is of some interest, since properly speaking the central niche and the two jambs on either side of it represent the vertical elements of the traditional false door, whereas the other four, taller jambs belong to the frame.⁵⁵² The large scale of the false door may help explain why it was constructed in this fashion. From Mariette's sketch, it seems that the architrave of the door consisted of another large stone (fig. 62a).⁵⁵³ Presumably, the torus moulding and cavetto cornice that surmounted the door were carved in the same monolith.

The architrave of the false door was still preserved in 1850. Thanks to squeezes of the architrave made by the Lieders (pl. 45a–c), it is possible to reconstruct the text it bore in part: *Htp di nswt htp di Inpw hnty zb-ntr [imy-wt] nb ts-dsr qrs(w) m [...] isw nfr wrt pr n.f hrw m hbw r nb tzyty zsb tzyt Snđm-ib*, “An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis, Who-presides-over-the-God's Booth, [Who-is-in-Ut], ‘Lord of the Sacred Land,’ gives ‘that he be buried in’ [...],⁵⁵⁴ having attained a very good old age, and that offerings be invoked for him during the festivals of every day, (namely) the chief justice and vizier, Senedjemib.”⁵⁵⁵ Curiously, Mariette, who copied the inscriptions later on in the same year, drew only the initial signs of the offering formula.⁵⁵⁶

The six jambs of the false door are decorated with vertical columns of hieroglyphs containing Inti's titles and name determined by a small standing figure of the owner located at the bottom of each jamb. Hieroglyphs and figures alike face towards the central door niche. The outermost and middle jambs were originally of equal height, reaching to the architrave, and are of approximately the same width. The innermost pair are not only shorter than the others but narrower as well. The jamb inscriptions, however, are of equal width and, with the exception of minor variation at the bottom of the middle jambs, the corresponding pairs of jambs appear to have been alike in content, the hieroglyphs to the left and right placed symmetrically, so that they are mirror images of each other. The hieroglyphs on the jambs are large, averaging 7.5 centimeters in height.

The inscriptions on the outermost jambs are the most seriously damaged. What survives is perhaps to be restored: *[tzyty zsb tzyt smr wty imy-r3 zšw nswt imy]-r3 kst nbt nt nswt imy-r3 hwt wrt 6 hry s[št n wd-t-mdt nbt nt nswt mry] nb[f] Snđm-ib*, “[the chief justice and

vizier, sole friend, overseer of scribes of royal records, over]seer of all works of the king, overseer of the ‘six great (law) courts,’ master of se[crets of every command of the king,⁵⁵⁷ beloved of his] lord, ‘Senedjemib.’”⁵⁵⁸ The left middle jamb most likely read as follows: *[iry-p^t, hsty-ḥ] tzyty zsb tzyt smr wty imy-[r3] kst nbt nt nswt imy-r3 zšw nswt mdh qd nswt m prwy imy-r3 prwy-hd, Snđm-[ib]*, “[the hereditary prince and count],⁵⁵⁹ chief justice and vizier, sole friend, over[seer] of all ‘works’ of the king, overseer of scribes of royal records, royal master builder in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt), overseer of the two treasuries, Senedjem[ib].” The text on the right middle jamb was identical, with the exception of the final title: *imy-r3 hkr nswt*, “overseer of royal regalia.”⁵⁶⁰ On the shorter, inner jambs the following text appears: *tzyty zsb tzyt imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt imy-r3 šnwt imy-r3 pr-hsw Snđm-ib*, “the chief justice and vizier,¹ overseer of all works of the king, overseer of the two granaries, and overseer of the armory, Senedjemib.”

Certain of the signs of the inscription in two lines on the lintel over the niche are damaged. At the time the Lieders (pl. 45d) and Mariette made copies of the lintel, the inscription was still intact, and read from left to right:⁵⁶¹ (1) *Htp-di-nswt Wsir nb Ddw pr n.f hrw m šbd smndt Dhwt Wšg* (2) *imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt mdh qd nswt m prwy hry-hbt*, (1) “An offering which the king and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, give that offerings be invoked for him on the monthly and bimonthly feasts, the festival of Thoth, and the Wšg-festival, (2) (namely) the overseer of all works of the king, royal master builder in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt), and lector priest.” The name is unexpectedly absent at the end of the prayer on the lintel, but *Snđm-[ib]*, “Senedjem[ib]” is inscribed on the drum in the door niche immediately below, where it probably served to terminate the prayer.

The badly obliterated panel over the lintel is squarish and the apertures narrow. The owner sits on the left-hand side, facing right, left hand clenched on the chest, right hand extended towards a table of bread. Mariette saw the name *[S]nđm-ib*, “[Se]nedjemib” above the head of this figure as well as three *hš* (“thousand”) signs from an ideographic offering list set vertically at the right edge of the panel.⁵⁶² A few other signs from the list are visible in a Lieder squeeze, which also reveals the presence of signs between Inti's legs and the support of the table (pl. 45e).⁵⁶³ In a photograph taken in 1913 (pl. 43), the words *m prwy* are visible on the left edge of the panel above the name, and presumably represent the terminal elements of the title *mdh qd nswt m prwy*, “royal master builder in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt).”

North Wall, West of Entrance

With minor variations, the north wall was a mirror image of the southern, but it is less well preserved and sections of it were left

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. *GN* 1, fig. 215.

⁵⁵¹ For the term “recess thickness,” see *Saqqara Tombs* 1, p. 27. In Dynasty 6 and later, these recess thicknesses are not infrequently decorated; see e.g., *ibid.*, pl. 26; James, *Khentika*, pls. 13, 19; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 75, 95.

⁵⁵² See *GN* 1, pp. 372–79.

⁵⁵³ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 505.

⁵⁵⁴ One penciled over squeeze (pl. 45b) shows *hrt-ntr*, the other (1.4) *imntt*. If the latter reading is correct perhaps *m [zmm]t imnt[tt]* is to be restored.

⁵⁵⁵ Lieder squeezes 1.4–1.6.

⁵⁵⁶ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 505.

⁵⁵⁷ See above, pp. 37, 41, 59.

⁵⁵⁸ The order of *imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt* and *imy-r3 zšw nswt* alternate in Inti's title sequences; see below, p. 90 (a).

⁵⁵⁹ For the restoration, see p. 49, fig. 42.

⁵⁶⁰ A Lieder squeeze (1.11) of this jamb shows the inscription was in approximately the same state of preservation as it is today.

⁵⁶¹ Lieder squeezes 1.8 (not illustrated), 1.9–10; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 506.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

⁵⁶³ Lieder squeeze 1.7.

unfinished (pls. 46a–48; fig. 64). For instance, the sculptor had begun to clear away the background around the seated figure of Inti at the left (west) end of the wall (pl. 46b), the outlines of the body and limbs having been cut free for the most part and the contours partly rounded. Certain internal details, such as the fingers of the right hand, the belt, and segments of the upper and lower edges of the beaded collar, were also carved. Due to the intractability of the nummulitic limestone at this spot, the head is in one plane, however, and the outline at the top and back of the head interrupted. Only the cushion and front edge of the leg of Inti's stool were ever carved, and his feet are visible only as chisel marks in the stone. Several of the hieroglyphs in the columns above his head were also left incomplete. So too was the pedestal of the offering table, even though the carving of the twenty conventionalized loaves and the right edge of the table top had been initiated. Undoubtedly, much of this was completed in plaster, like the offerings heaped up to the right of the table, which were cut in a coat of plaster that now has largely flaked away (pls. 47–48).

In the lowermost register the sculptor had started to cut away the background around the back and legs of the foremost figure at the far left of the file of offering bearers, but the front part of the figure had not been freed entirely from the wall. The next seven offering bearers are all sharply outlined in one plane but, even though the background has been removed, the wall surface is still rough and pitted. In the case of the succeeding figures (the last three are only partly preserved) the cutting of the inner details and the modelling of the forms seems to have been confined to the upper body and limbs, the head, and the offerings, whereas the lower torso and legs were left in a sharp-edged, one plane relief. Similarly, while the lower part of the wall surface here is rough and pitted, sections of the upper part of the wall have been smoothed. The upper parts of the three most nearly complete figures in this register and the bodies of the two in the register above (except for their heads) were executed in a single block of better quality limestone.

In contrast to the south wall, Inti's titles were originally inscribed in six columns above his head. These are badly obliterated today and all that can be made out are *[hry-h] bt hryp zšw nbw*, “[lector priest] and controller of every scribe,” at the bottom of the first column and *[hry] sšš n* [...], “[master] of secrets of [...],” in the corresponding part of the second column. What appears to be the potter's kiln (U30) (of *hry-sšš*) recurs at the bottom of the fourth column. Although the beginning of the name is destroyed, *[Sn] dm-ib*, “[Sene]djemib” was written in a horizontal line reading from right to left over Inti's head and below the last four columns. Immediately to the right an offering list was inscribed, as on the opposite wall, but only traces of the outlines of the compartments survive.

To the right of the half-loaves on the table, eight jar racks in two rows, holding jars and bottles of beverages and lotus blossoms in vases, were originally depicted. Of the eight jar racks, six and parts of two more survive.⁵⁶⁴ The jars are slender-shouldered and have short necks and flat rims. At least three of the tall storage jars bear (basket-work) flaps and two have long spouts. One of the bottles has a rilled

neck and one of the jars may have a collar neck. Even though the majority of the jars and bottles are stoppered, several function as flower vases. The racks constitute one of the points of departure from the decorative scheme of the southern wall. On that wall the place of two of the jar racks is taken by tables with paired basins and ewers.

Of the offerings and offering-bearers in front of Inti, only portions of the fifth and sixth registers survive down to the present, although vestiges of offering bearers were still to be seen in 1930 in the fourth register above (pl. 48). In addition, two fragmentary blocks with parts of bearers and their offerings may belong on grounds of style and scale to this part of the wall or to the section of the north wall to the east of the doorway, but cannot be assigned with any assurance to their original position (pl. 46c–d; fig. 64).⁵⁶⁵

Fifth Register. To the right of the largely destroyed heap of offerings in front of the offering table are the figures of four men facing left and presenting birds (geese and ducks) held up by the neck and wing. Of a fifth individual only part of the front leg and foot and of the rear foot are preserved. If the pattern of the south wall was replicated, he too held up a bird and was succeeded by bearers of offerings. A short text before the legs of the first man identifies him as *[I]zz[i]-bs.f*; “[I]zez[i]baf,” who is also depicted in the portico north of the entrance with the title “lector priest.”⁵⁶⁶ Of the identifying label before the second man only the initial letter *s* of his name remains.

Sixth Register. As on the south wall, this entire register, which extended the length of the wall beneath the main scene, was occupied by bearers of offerings. Seventeen figures are preserved in whole or in part. Moreover, at the far left end of the register faintly visible chisel marks attest to the existence of other figures. Presumably, these figures and their identifying captions were originally carved in plaster, which has subsequently fallen away leaving only the faintly visible marks. Two curved lines suggest that the first of the figures held up an ox's foreleg like his counterpart on the south wall. Over the traces of the foreleg is a short, largely obliterated inscription in one line reading from left to right: [...].f “his [...]” Beneath the traces of the foreleg another short line of text is most likely to be restored: [... *mdh*] *gd* *[nswt] m prwy*, “[... royal master] ‘builder’ in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt).” The phrase *m prwy*, unlike the other traces, is in raised relief, an indication that the rest of the area had also once been so carved.

On the south wall, three individuals presenting forelegs and a man with a goose in his arms head the file of offering bearers. The man with the goose in his arms also appears on this wall, but there appears to be sufficient space at the left end of the register in front of him for only two foreleg bearers, rather than three, as on the south wall, plus the same brief vertical caption that introduces the bearers on the south wall (*shpt stpt*, “bringing choice viands”) (fig. 65).

All traces of the second foreleg bearer have disappeared except for a caption reading left to right: *[z3.f] n ht.f <tyty> zšb tyty* [...], “[his son] of his body, the <chief> justice and vizier, [...]”⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁴ In pl. 47, the block with the racks is positioned too far to the left. At present it occupies its correct position, as may be seen in fig. 64.

⁵⁶⁵ Obj. Reg. 35–7–14, 35–9–12; see below, pp. 82, 113.

⁵⁶⁶ Above, p. 40.

⁵⁶⁷ On the identity of these two figures, see above, p. 28.

Presumably, his name originally followed in a vertical column in front of his figure. On the basis of this caption, it is possible that the caption before the first foreleg bearer is to be restored [z3].f⁵⁶⁸ [n h].f⁵⁶⁸ A vertical column of inscription in front of the third (first preserved) figure with the goose in his arms reads: z3.f hry [hbt] r shd hmw-ks¹ Ny-nh-Mn, “his son, the lector [priest] and r inspector of funerary priests,¹ Ni-ankh-min.” This last individual, Inti’s son Ni-ankh-min, was also represented in the portico north of the entrance.⁵⁶⁹

Behind these figures are sixteen other men carrying offerings. The first man has two braces of birds; the second holds a bird in his arms; the third carries papyrus stems. The fourth man holds two trays aloft loaded with assorted offerings, the first tray being largely obliterated. The fifth man holds a bird in his arms; the sixth carries three birds and a cage(?) whose contents have been destroyed; the seventh has a brace(?) of pintail ducks and a bouquet of lotus(?). The eighth man carries aloft a tray with assorted offerings and papyrus stems over his shoulder; the ninth has a duck in his arms; the tenth carries aloft a tray with breads and a lettuce(?) on it and holds birds in his other hand; and the eleventh bears a young animal across his shoulders. The twelfth has a tray laden with assorted offerings and a bird(?), while the thirteenth also carries a tray laden with offerings. The next three figures are largely destroyed, but the fourteenth had a crescent-shaped basket of offerings, now mostly destroyed, and a brace of birds. The offerings of the fifteenth man are lost, but the last man may have carried a bouquet of lotus.

North Wall, East of Entrance

The procession of offering bearers continued on the north wall to the east of the entrance (pls. 49a–b, fig. 66). The lower legs and feet of seven figures remain. Only in the case of the fifth figure from the left does any trace of an offering, probably the bottom of a wickerwork frail, survive.

ROOM V

Room V, an east–west pillared hall, measures 5.57 by 10.7 m and has an area of 59.60 sq. m.⁵⁷⁰ The heavy stone roofing of the hall was carried on two massive east–west architraves which crossed the room in five spans with the aid of eight pillars (pl. 51a). The pillars were square and rested on square bases. When Lepsius excavated the mastaba in 1842–43, the pillared hall appears to have been largely intact, although the architrave between the east wall and the easternmost pillar of the southern row was cracked, and had to be propped up by a support.⁵⁷¹ By the time Reisner cleared the pillared hall in November, 1912, whereas the architrave resting on the northern row of pillars was still intact, only the central part of the southern architrave was still in place (fig. 3). Eleven intact roofing blocks from the northernmost row rested on the northern architrave, three blocks spanned the space between the two architraves, and two blocks rested on the

southern architrave. Assuming the other roofing slabs were of approximately equal size, there would originally have been thirty-three slabs. The height of the hall of pillars from floor to ceiling is 3.25 m, the height of the base being 0.10 m, the height of the pillars 2.60 m, and the height of the architrave 0.55 m. According to Reisner, the height of the roof was 2.25 m thick, but it stands to reason that this figure includes the rubble fill between the ceiling and the roof. Behind the west wall of the hall is a large serdab (Serdab I) connected with it by three slots. The serdab is a north–south room measuring 1.14 by 5.23 m with a total area of 5.95 sq. m. The height, 2.70 m, was the same as the height from the floor to the bottom of the architrave in the pillared hall. The three slot-windows open in the hall in the fifth course of masonry (above 1.5 m). The serdab was found empty with a robber’s hole penetrating laterally from the hall and with a roofing slab removed from the south end of the room. A neckless model shoulder jar of copper was found in the hole.⁵⁷²

Except for the door thicknesses, there are no reliefs or inscriptions on any of the walls of the pillared hall. Indeed, the surface of the walls has been left rough, so that the uninscribed state may have been intentional.⁵⁷³

Door Thicknesses

On both sides of the entrance to Room V were representations of Inti, accompanied by his wife, both turned towards the doorway, with a figure of their son, Senedjemib Mehi, facing them. When Lepsius copied them, the decoration on the thicknesses was still largely complete. Today the upper parts of both scenes are missing.

Left (west) thickness. Inti stood, holding a staff with his right hand at a diagonal before him and with his hanging left hand grasping a scepter (pl. 52a; fig. 67a, b).⁵⁷⁴ The scepter passes behind his figure and for that reason may not have been seen by Lepsius’s draftsman who omitted it entirely. Inti was wigless and wore a beaded collar and a mid-calf skirt with a flaring front. Before him was a long column of text which continued in four short columns above his head. Today only the bottom of the long column of text survives. The signs faced left and read: (1) t3yty z3b t3ty imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt imy-r3 z3w r nswt hry-hbt (2) [mdh] r qd¹ nswt (3) m prwy (4–5) Sndm-ib, “chief justice and vizier, overseer of all the works of the king, overseer of scribes of royal records, lector priest, (2) royal [master] r builder¹ (3) in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt), (4–5) Senedjemib.”⁵⁷⁵ Lepsius shows no dividers between the short columns, and it is not certain that they ever existed.

Although Inti’s wife appears to be standing behind him, in reality she would have been located on his left.⁵⁷⁶ Her right hand grasped his right shoulder, while she held on to his left wrist with her left hand. She was attired in a long wig with a lappet falling over the

⁵⁷² See Obj. Reg. 12–11–20 on p. 82.

⁵⁷³ Cf. *Plabhetep* 2, p. 4.

⁵⁷⁴ See LD 2, pl. 78a; *Text* 1, p. 58.

⁵⁷⁵ In his copies of wall reliefs made in the Senedjemib Complex, Lepsius’s draftsman consistently misinterprets the two component signs of *qd* in the title *mdh qd nswt m prwy* as *hry h*; cf. LD 2, pls. 73 [right], 74b, 75; *Ergänz.*, pl. xiii [upper] (= figs. 106, 110, 114, 126 of the present publication).

⁵⁷⁶ Schäfer, *Principles*, pp. 173–77.

⁵⁶⁸ For an alternative restoration, see p. 28 above.

⁵⁶⁹ See above, p. 40.

⁵⁷⁰ Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 130.

⁵⁷¹ LD, *Text* 1, p. 58; but see p. 8 above.

near shoulder and hanging down on the chest, a beaded collar, and a long, tight-fitting dress with tapering shoulder straps (only one is visible). Both the upper border of her collar and the hemline of her dress were omitted by Lepsius, even though the latter is clearly visible today. Over her head in two short columns was the following caption: (1) *hmt.fmrt.f*, (2) *rht nswt Tjfi*, (1) “his wife whom he loves, (2) the king’s acquaintance, Tjefi.”

Mehi stood deferentially in the presence of his parents, hands hanging open at his sides with palms down.⁵⁷⁷ Already in Lepsius’s day his head and upper torso were destroyed along with the first of the two columns of hieroglyphs located above his head. The signs faced right and read: (1) [...], (2) *imshw hr nb[.f]*, “one honored by his lord.” Before his face was his name: *Sndm-ib*, “Senedjemib.”

Right (east) thickness. The scene on the other side of the entrance (pl. 51b; fig. 68b) was entirely similar to that on the left thickness, except that Inti’s scepter passes in front of his body, as is customary for figures facing right. It was probably because the right thickness was a virtual duplicate of the other that Lepsius did not publish the sketch that he had, in fact, made. That sketch is included here (pl. 68a) by kind permission of Prof. Dr. Walter Reineke. At present only the word *ḥryḥ-ḥḥḥ*, “[lector] pr’ie’st,” can still be made out at the bottom of the otherwise destroyed column of text before Inti.

Just inside the entrance to the pillared hall are two shallow holes with squarish outlines sunk in the stone low down in the eastern wall and in the inner western thickness (pl. 52b–c). Although the niches are once again placed rather low, it is possible they were somehow used to secure a door for which no other evidence survives.

ASSOCIATED SHAFTS AND BURIAL CHAMBERS

Shaft G 2370 A

Only one shaft within the confines of the mastaba seemingly belonged to G 2370. This was G 2370 A, southwest of the false door in Room IV. The shaft (fig. 69a) measures 1.25 by 1.25 m. Its upper part was lined with rubble for a distance of 2.9 m, after which it was cut into the bedrock for an additional 3.1 m.⁵⁷⁸ Of type 5 a(3), it has a short connecting passage without door-jambes between the shaft and chamber. The passage, which enters the chamber near the middle, measures 0.5 meters on the north and 0.0 meters on the south. The chamber, opening off the shaft on the east, was irregularly cut and measures ca. 2.65 x 2.35 m. It is 1.15 m high with an area of 5.68 sq. m. and a capacity of 6.53 cu. m. It was found open and empty. In debris in the shaft were found a number of red polished potsherds, a diorite bowl, a model alabaster cylinder jar, a model bowl in pottery, five narrow bronze or copper chisels, several other twisted copper fragments, the lower part of a wooden statuette, and fragments of a wooden coffin.⁵⁷⁹ Reisner considered the statuette fragment to be

intrusive and was uncertain as to whether or not the other objects derived from the original burial.

Since Inti was interred in sloping passage tomb G 2370 B, it may be that G 2370 A was assigned to Tjefi as her burial place. The coffin fragments may be an indication that an interment actually took place therein.

Shaft G 2370 B

The actual burial of Inti was in G 2370 B, a sloping passage tomb of type 9 (fig. 70) entering the eastern edge of the platform of the Senedjemib Complex higher up than the adjoining sloping passage tombs of the complex, in the floor of the second rock scarp (pls. 6a–b, 7a–8a; figs. 2–3, 7).⁵⁸⁰ The rock-cut sloping passage had a horizontal opening measuring 3.6 by 1.75 m and a horizontal length of 6.85 m. The inclined length measured 8.65 m on the floor and 4.25 m on the right roof. A section perpendicular to the passage was 1.75 m wide and 1.65 to 1.5 m high. Reisner observed that the inclined shaft was cut very large to admit the sarcophagus. The smaller masonry passage was then subsequently built within this and plugged with long blocks to foil any would-be robbers.⁵⁸¹ Only the ends of the highest and the lowest of the plug stones could be seen. The sloping masonry passage built into the rock-cut passage had a horizontal length of 6.95 m and an inclined length of 8.65 m on the floor and 9.0 m on the roof. The section of the built passage perpendicular to the slope was 0.8 to 0.72 m wide and 0.7 m high. The space between the roofing slabs of the built passage and the roof of the rock passage was 0.8 to 1.0 m. The spaces between the built passage and the natural rock on the two sides and top was filled with a packing of rubble and mud. It was through this packing that the robbers penetrated the burial chamber. The angle of inclination to the horizontal was 35° 17′. After the construction of the built passage, the opening of the rock-cut shaft was continued upwards by a wall of rubble standing on the edge of the rock cutting and measuring 2.35 m high. This rubble wall ran east to the opening of the built shaft where the sides and roof of the passage were built of extra large blocks. The rubble wall was 4.3 m long and the outer 2.15 m was also capped by heavy blocks. This well over the opening of the sloping passage was roofed at the level of the court with large north–south slabs of which two were found more or less displaced. The robbers had dug down through this well, and Reisner was unable to determine for certain how it had been filled. The white limestone sarcophagus had clearly been introduced before the construction of the built passage.

The burial chamber was irregular and probably unfinished. It was divided into two parts of unequal length. The less finished eastern part measures 5.7 by 1.8–2.6 m and 2.0 meters in height. The western part measures 3.75 by 1.6 m in width and 2.15 meters in height. The area was 16.92 sq. m and the capacity 33.84 cu. m. Reisner was initially uncertain whether the intention was to cut a larger chamber or to make a chamber with a sarcophagus recess on

⁵⁷⁷ See above, p. 43 and n. 93.

⁵⁷⁸ Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 131.

⁵⁷⁹ *Giza Diary 1912–1913*, p. 30; Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 131. Not all of these objects were registered; see below, p. 82. The model knife, Obj. Reg. 12–11–30, is perhaps identical with one of the five narrow “chisels” referred to in the diary.

⁵⁸⁰ Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” pp. 131–32. Reisner originally labeled Inti’s burial place G 2370 A, but later changed its designation to G 2370 B. This is a source of potential confusion as both designations are used in the Photograph and Object Registers (cf. p. 37, n. 2 above).

⁵⁸¹ *Giza Diary 1912–1913*, p. 57; cf. *GN1*, p. 150.

the west wall, but ultimately included G 2370 B among the large chambers with a coffin-recess.⁵⁸² Even in its unfinished state, the plan resembles in appearance the “T” shaped decorated burial chambers of Unis and Teti’s vizier’s tombs at Saqqara, which have a large recess or bay in the western wall of the room to accommodate the sarcophagus.⁵⁸³ These slightly later burial chambers were provided with a kind of shelf at the back of the recess on which the lid of the sarcophagus appears to have rested until the interior wooden coffin with the body of the deceased was placed in the sarcophagus.⁵⁸⁴ In G 2370 B a bank of rubble of the same height as the sarcophagus and between the latter and the west wall of the recess presumably served a similar function. Reisner makes no reference to this rubble bank, and for some reason it was omitted from the ground plan of the burial chamber, but it appears in the section of G 2370 B (fig. 70).

The east wall of the chamber north of the entrance was plastered and painted in black with a compartment offering list (pl. 53a–b; fig. 71). If the draftsman followed the ordinary procedure and ruled out the large rectangle reserved for the offering list into compartments of equal size, it would have been a fairly straightforward matter to reconstruct the missing entries. This does not appear to have been the case, however.

Two compartments are clearly missing at the beginning of each of the first four rows. When the two items preceding the surviving items in Rows A and B are restored on the basis of the standard Sixth Dynasty lists, this seems to show that the first two rows contained seventeen items each. Row E ends with *ht nb(t) bnrt*, item 88 in Barta’s listing.⁵⁸⁵ Had the remainder of the entries followed standard usage, this would mean that fifty-four items remained to be distributed in Rows C to E, that is, eighteen rather than seventeen entries per row, assuming that the distribution of the items was uniform. This would also mean that a certain number of the compartments in Rows C to E were smaller than the compartments in other rows. This assumption has been made in the reconstructed list that follows, even though the preserved compartments in Rows C and D and the first and last compartments in Row E are the same size as the compartments in Rows A and B. In fact, even though it is impossible to be certain because its outlines are incomplete, the penultimate compartment in Row E with the entry *w^ch*, “earth almonds,” does look as if it was originally smaller than the other surviving compartments.

Offering List

Row A:

- (1) [*zst*, 1] [Libation of water, one]
- (2) [*sntr sdt*, 1] [Incense (on) the fire, one]
- (3) [*stt-hb*, 1] “Festival ointment, one (jar)”
- (4) [*hknw*, 1] “*hknw*-oil, one (jar)”
- (5) [*sft*, 1] “*sft*-ointment, one (jar)”
- (6) [*ny-hnm*, 1] “*ny-hnm*-oil, one (jar)”
- (7) [*twswt*, 1] “*twswt*-ointment, one (jar)”

⁵⁸² “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 133; *GN I*, p. 163.

⁵⁸³ See p. 22 above.

⁵⁸⁴ *Teti Cem. I*, pp. 16–17, fig. 9; 18–19, fig. 12; 21–22, fig. 15; Hassan, *Saqqara 2*, p. 57.

⁵⁸⁵ Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 47–50.

- (8) [*bstt nt* ʕ, 1] “Best cedar ointment, [one (jar)]”^a
- (9) [*bstt nt thnw*, 1] “Best Libyan ointment, [one (jar)]”
- (10) [*rfwy wsdw*, 2] “Bag of green eyepaint, two”^b
- (11) [*rfwy msddmt*, 2] “Bag of black eyepaint, two”
- (12) [*wnhwuy*, 2] “Cloth, two pieces”
- (13) [*sntr sdt*, 1] “Incense (on) the fire, one”
- (14) [*qbh ʕwy*, 2] “[Libation and two pellets of natron]”
- (15) [*bst*, 1] “[Offering table, one]”
- (16) [*htp-nswt*, 2] “[Offering of the king, two]”
- (17) [*htp-wshb*, 2] “[Offering of the king in the broad court, two]”

Row B:

- (18) [*hms*, 1] [Sit down!, one]
- (19) [*šns ʕwiw ʕbw-r3*, 2] “[Repast: a *šns*-loaf and a jug, one each]”
- (20) [*t-wt*, 1] “Barley bread(?), one”
- (21) [*t-rth*, 1] “Baked bread, one”
- (22) [*nmst nt ʕsrt*, 1] “Jug of strong ale(?), one”
- (23) [*nmst nt hnm*, 1] “Jug of *hnm*-beer, one”^c
- (24) [*ft n šns* ʕ, 1] “Serving of *šns*-bread, one portion”^d
- (25) [*šns šbw*, 1] “Food: *šns*-loaf, [one]”
- (26) [*ʕw[i]w šbw*, 1] Food: “jug, [one]”^e
- (27) [*sw[t]*, 1] “*sw[t]*-cut of meat, [one]”
- (28) [*mw* ʕ, 2] “Bowl of water, [two]”
- (29) [*bd* ʕ, 2] “Bowl of natron, [two]”
- (30) [*šn[s] ʕwiw ʕbw-r3*, 2] “[Repast: a *šns*-loaf and a jug, one each]”
- (31) [*t-wt*, 1] “[Barley bread(?), one]”
- (32) [*t-rth*, 1] “[Baked bread, one]”
- (33) [*hš*, 1] “[*hš*-bread, one]”
- (34) [*nhrwy*, 2] “[*nhr*-bread, two]”

Row C:

- (35) [*dpt*, 4] “[*dpt*-bread, four]”
- (36) [*pzn*, 4] “[*pzn*-bread, four]”
- (37) [*šns*, 4] “*šns*-bread, four”
- (38) [*t swd¹t*, 4] “*t swd¹t*-bread, four”^f
- (39) [*hnfw* ʕ, 4] “Bowl of *hnfw*-bread, four”
- (40) [*hbnnt* ʕ, 4] “Bowl of *hbnnt*-bread, four”
- (41) [*qmhw* ʕ, 4] “*qmhw*-bread (in) an hexagonal mould, four”^g
- (42) [*idst h3.k*, 4] “[*idst*-bread. (Place it) behind you!, four]”
- (43) [*pswt*, 4] “[*pswt*-bread, four]”
- (44) [*t-šr*, 4] “[Toasted bread, four]”
- (45) [*hḏw*, 4] “[Onions, four]”
- (46) [*hps*, 1] “[Foreleg, one]”
- (47) [*iw* ʕ, 1] “[Thigh, one]”
- (48) [*zhn*, 1] “[Kidney, one]”
- (49) [*swt*, 1] “[*swt*-cut of meat, one]”
- (50) [*spr*, 4] “[Ribs, four]”
- (51) [*šrt*, 1] “[Roast, one]”
- (52) [*mizt*, 1] “[Liver, one]”

Row D:


- (53) [*nnšm*, 1] “[Spleen, one]”
- (54) [*h* ʕ, 1] “[Flesh, one]”
- (55) [*iwf n hst*, 1] “[Breast meat, one]”

- (56) *rs*, 1 “Greylag goose, one”
 (57) *trp*, 1 “White-fronted goose, one”
 (58) *zt*, 1 “Pintail duck”
 (59) *sr*, 1 “Greylag goose.”
 (60) [*mmwt*, 1] “[Pigeon, one]”
 (61) [*t-zif*, 1] “[*zif*-bread, one]”
 (62) [*šrt*, 2] “[*šrt*-bread, two]”
 (63) [*npst*, 2] “[*npst*-bread, two]”
 (64) [*mzwt*, 2] “[*mzwt*-bread, two]”
 (65) [*dsrt*, 2] “[Ale, two]”
 (66) [*istt dsrt*, 2] “[Milky ale(?), two]”
 (67) [*hnqt*, 2] “[Beer, two]”
 (68) [*shpt*, 2] “[*shpt*-drink, two]”
 (69) [*phs*, 2] “[*phs*-drink, two]”
 (70) [*dwiw šsr*], 2 “[Jugs of *šsr*-drink], two”

Row E:

- (71) [*dsb*], [2] “[Fig wine,¹ [two]”
 (72) [*irp*], [2] “[Wine,¹ [two]”^h
 (73) [*irp ššwy*, 2] “[*šš*-jars of wine, two]”
 (74) [*irp*, 2] “[Wine, two]”
 (75) [*irp*, 2] “[Wine, two]”
 (76) [*irp*, 2] “[Wine, two]”
 (77) [*hbnnwt*, 2] “[Bowl of *hbnnwt*-bread, two]”
 (78) [*hnfw*, 2] “[Bowl of *hnfw*-bread, two]”
 (79) [*išd*, 2] “[Hegelig-fruit, two]”
 (80) [*shh hdt*, 2] “[White 6-row barley, two]”
 (81) [*shh wšdt*, 2] “[Green 6-row barley, two]”
 (82) [*šgt zwt*, 2] “[Parched wheat, two]”
 (83) [*šgt it*, 2] “[Parched barley, two]”
 (84) [*bšbw*, 2] “[*bšbw*-fruit, two]”
 (85) [*nbs*, 2] “[Nabq-fruit, two]”
 (86) [*t nbs*, 2] “[Cake of nabq-fruit, two]”
 (87) *wšp* ʿ, 2¹ “Bowl of earth almonds, ʿtwo”¹
 (88) *ht nbt bnrt*, 1 “Every sweet fruit, one”

Comments

- ^a *Hstt nt* is written across the top of compartments 8 and 9 and applies to both entries.
^b Similarly, *šfwy* is written across the top of compartments 10 and 11 and applies to both *wšdw* and *msddmt* (sic). In the case of the last word, the letter *d* is mistakenly written twice.
^c *Nmst nt* is written across the top of the two columns and once again pertains to both entries.
^d —, “portion” (*Wb.* 1, p. 158, 5–12) is written here instead of , “bowl” (*Wb.* 1, p. 158, 13–17), as in items (28) and (29), (39) and (40), and (87).
^e Not infrequently, the single entry *šns dwiw šbw*, “food: a *šns*-loaf and a jug” (Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 48, no. 25), is divided into two entries with *šns* in one column and *dwiw n šbw* in the second. Elsewhere *šbw* may be written across the top of both columns or *n šbw* across the bottom of both columns, so that it is clear the terms apply to both entries; see e.g., *Teti Cem.* 1, pp. 94, 125; 2, pl. 3; James, *Khentika*, pl. 36; *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pl. 13. *šns* and part of *dwiw* are visible in pl. 53a, and there are also traces of *šbw* below *šns*, presumably the determinatives of *šbw* extended into the next column under *dwiw*. The original arrangement was thus probably:



^f *T imy n*, “bread which is (baked) in the earth,” would be expected here; see Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 48. Instead, an otherwise unattested *t' swa' t* occurs. It is likely that the draftsmen who copied the list onto the walls of the burial chamber mistook a 𐎗 for a 𐎗 in the hieratic original of the list, for the two signs can be quite similar in Old Kingdom hieratic; see Möller, *Paleographie* 1, nos. 289 and 564; Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Palaeography*, M 23, Z 11. The damaged third sign might then represent the earth sign and the final sign the 𐎗 loaf rather than a half-loaf, as in item (41). There

also appear to be traces in pl. 53a of a vertical sign in the space below the quail chick, but it is not possible to make out what this might be.

^g *Qms* alone appears in lieu of *qmbw qms* (see p. 72 [40] above)

^h Although in the photograph (pl. 53a) the first letter of *irp* does look like a folded cloth *s* instead of a reed leaf, it is probably just a question of a carelessly drawn *i*. The *p* of *irp* also proceeds the letter *r*. *irp* habitually follows *dsb* in the lists, however, and it is difficult to imagine what other item could have occurred here.

Inti’s sarcophagus belongs to Reisner’s type (g), that is, a fine stone coffin with heavy thick lids of ill defined form, sometimes a slightly rounded top with rudimentary end-bars, sometimes a slightly rounded top with rounded corners, and sometimes flat with all four edges rounded.⁵⁸⁶ It measures 2.8 by 1.27 m. The height of the box is 0.90 m and the thickness of the walls 0.30–0.37 m. Inside measurements are 2.15 by 0.60 m, while the depth is 0.57 m. The thickness of the lid is 0.40 m. The lid had been thrown off to the east by plunderers and rested at an angle on a large stone (fig. 70).

The sarcophagus was covered with a layer of fine white plaster and bore two short inscriptions in black painted sunk relief.⁵⁸⁷ Outside on the east facing right (north) was inscribed the following: *ḥšty-ꜥmꜥ Inti ššty zsb ššty Sndm-ib ḥry-tp nswt Inti*, “The true count Inti; the chief justice and vizier Senedjemib; the royal chamberlain Inti” (frontispiece F, pl. 53c, 54c–e). On the inside, east of the head, facing left, was the following inscription: *Sndm-ib Inti*, “Senedjemib Inti” (pl. 54b).

In the coffin, “a pathetic blackened figure,” the mummy of Inti himself, lay in an extended position on the back with limbs wrapped separately (pls. 54a, 55).⁵⁸⁸

A large fragment of an ovoid jar was found inside the sarcophagus. In the burial chamber were found fragments of at least eight similar jars, a two-handled jar of foreign origin, five mud jar stoppers, two coarse bowl stands, and a fragment of white plaster with hieroglyphs in black ink, probably from the offering list on the east wall of the chamber.⁵⁸⁹

The two-handled vessel proved to be a Syrian oil jar with a flat bottom, well-formed neck and roll rim, and combed decoration (pl. 57a; fig. 73). Combed Metallic Ware of this sort provides direct evidence of the flourishing trade between Egypt and Byblos during the Early Bronze Age.⁵⁹⁰ Broken and incomplete, it bore a cylinder seal impression on the shoulder of the jar (pl. 57b, fig. 73). According to Smith, the design of the seal accords well with the suggested Syrian source of these jars.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁶ Reisner, “A History of the Giza Necropolis 1, pt. 2,” pp. 167, 182. Reisner nowhere describes in detail the exact character of the lid of Inti’s sarcophagus. The drawing in fig. 70 makes it look completely flat, but this goes against Reisner’s statement to the contrary in *ibid.*, p. 182. In Mehi’s case, we are fortunate to possess a photograph of the sarcophagus (pl. 125b), which is likewise of Type (g); see below, p. 157. For a summary of Reisner’s sarcophagus types, see Brovarski, *LÁ* 5 (1983), cols. 472–73.

⁵⁸⁷ Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 131.

⁵⁸⁸ *Idem*, *BMFA* 11, no. 66 (November, 1913), p. 58. The number “G 2383 a” on a piece of paper visible in the sarcophagus in pl. 54a is patently in error, that designation at no time having been assigned to Inti’s burial chamber; cf. *Giza Reis’ Diary*, p. 69.

⁵⁸⁹ See the List of Objects, below, p. 83.

⁵⁹⁰ For discussions of this type of import ware, see Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 119–26; Smith, *Giza Necropolis* 2, pp. 74–75; Smith, *Interconnections*, pp. 5, 7, 11; Kantor, in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* 1, pp. 20–21, and especially Esse and Hopke, in *Proceedings of the XXIVth International Archeometry Symposium*, pp. 327–39.

⁵⁹¹ *GN* 2, p. 75; cf. Kantor, in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* 1, p. 20.

Shaft G 2370 X

Situated at the northwest corner of G 2370 is an intrusive shaft labeled x. A plan of the shaft without measurements or scale (fig. 69b) and two photographs, one of the shaft itself and one of the burial exist.⁵⁹² The shaft is of type 6 a(3) with a long chamber parallel to the east side. It descends into the rock and is lined with mud brick above (pl. 81a). A note on the tomb card states that the mud brick was plastered. The female skeleton from this burial (pl. 81b) is on deposit at the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, where it bears the number 14-2-59324 H 56 SK. The skeleton lay with the head to the north.

REGISTER OF OBJECTS—G 2370

For pottery types, see Reisner-Smith, *GN* 2, pp. 60–89. For stone vessel types, see *ibid.*, pp. 90–102.

G 2370, from top of mastaba on west

35-9-12 Fragment of relief with parts of offering bearers, limestone, h. 36 cm, w. 25.5 cm, th. 12.5 cm. (pl. 46c; fig. 64). In Boston. Assigned to G 2370, Room IV, north wall; see above. p. 77. Exp. Ph. A 7325 2/1

G 2370, in sand along north wall of Hall of Pillars

12-11-23 Amulet, standing figure of Bastet with cat-head, on footplate, eyelet on back of head, blue faience, h. 5.2 cm. Not drawn. Not photographed
12-11-24 Cylinder bead, blue-green faience, 1st cent. A.D., l. 0.13 cm. Not drawn. Not photographed

G 2370, high up in sand about 30 cm south of entrance to Room II

12-11-25 Misc. lot of antiquities accompanied by frgs. of modern English newspaper, rags and frgs. of a match box. (pl. 56a). Probably a dealer's cache. Exp. Ph. A 716
(1) Osiris statuette, eyelet on back, bronze, h. 11 cm
(2) Osiris statuette, eyelet on back, bronze, h. 8.5 cm
(3) Onuris statuette, eyelet on back, bronze, h. 10 cm
(4) Onuris statuette, eyelet on back broken, bronze, 5.5 cm
(5) Left-hand feather of Osiris statuette, bronze, 9.5 cm
(6) Fish on stick, bronze, l. 4.5 cm
(7) Bird, ring in beak, bronze, h. 5.2 cm
(8) Eleven Roman coins (one perhaps late Ptol.), bronze
(9) Bes figure (modern?), pottery, h. 0.5 cm
(10) Pair feathers (amulets), soapstone, h. 3 cm
(11) Broken blue glazed ushebti, faience, h. 7.2 cm

G 2370, found in serdab I

12-11-20 Model neckless shoulder jar, copper, h. 6.5 cm, diam. 5.3 cm (pl. 56b; fig. 72). The jar was found within the plunderer's hole broken into the serdab. Exp. Ph. A 997 1/1

G 2370, in serdab II

12-11-26 Two frgs. of a seated statuette of a man, lst.: a) lower body; right hand clenched on knee, left open, palm down; b) toes and base; latter inscribed on top: (1) on right (signs face right) *smr wsty mdh qd nswt m prwy Njbu*, (2) *mdh qd nswt m prwy imsh ntr 3 Njbu*, h. 22 cm. Frg. a was found in front of the serdab, frg. b in the

serdab. The torso and head of the statue were discovered in Hole 1 in the court of the Senedjemib Complex. In Cairo. See *HESP*, p. 84 (2). Exp. Ph. c 3366. Not illus., see *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2.

G 2370 A, in shaft

12-11-28 = MFA 13.3132. Model cylinder jar with straight sides, bored, rubbed, alab., h. 9.2 cm, diam. 4.7 cm, type OK I c. (pl. 56e; fig. 72). See *GN* 2, p. 92, fig. 134. Exp. Ph. A 997 1/2
12-11-29 = MFA 13.3394. Model BrW bowl with flaring sides and flaring foot, wheel made, h. 5.8 cm, diam. 8.6 cm, type D-LXXIX. (pl. 56f; fig. 72). See *GN* 2, p. 87, fig. 127. Exp. Ph. A 997 1/3
12-11-30 Frgs. of knives, oxidized lumps, and other unintelligible frgs., as well as model knife with rounded tip, copper, l. 10 cm, w., tip 0.4 cm, w., butt 0.6 cm. (pl. 56d; fig. 72). Exp. Ph. A 992 2/8
12-11-31 Frg. of standing male statuette, thighs to ankles, with apron, wood, h. 24 cm. (fig. 72). Not photographed
12-11-32 Bowl with round bottom and internal rim, broken in many frgs. but nearly complete, bored, rubbed, worked thin, diorite, h. 9 cm, diam. 21.5 cm, th. walls c. 0.3 cm. (pl. 56c; fig. 72). See *GN* 2, p. 100, pl. 45 f. Exp. Ph. c 4466

G 2370 B, in surface debris in front

12-12-84 Frgs. of seated statuette of "an old man," slate, l. 7.8 cm. (fig. 72)
12-12-89 Circular jar lid, chipped and worn on edge, alab., diam. 8.8 cm, th. 1.9 cm. (pl. 57d; fig. 72). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/7
12-12-90 Cylindrical dummy offering jar with straight sides, bored and rubbed, poor alab., h. 7.4 cm, diam. 5.4 cm, type OK I c. (pl. 57d; fig. 72). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/1
12-12-91 Cylindrical dummy offering jar, bored and rubbed, poor alab., h. 6.6 cm, diam. 4 cm, type OK I c. (pl. 57d; fig. 72). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/2
12-12-92 Dummy shoulder jar with short neck and ledge rim, bored and rubbed, poor alab., h. 8.2 cm, diam. 4.5 cm, type OK XV a (1). (pl. 57d; fig. 72). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/3
12-12-93 Dummy collar jar with flat base, bored and rubbed, poor alab., h. 8.6 cm, diam. 4.2 cm, type OK XVI a. (pl. 57d; fig. 72). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/4
12-12-94 Dummy collar jar with flat base, bored and rubbed, poor alab., h. 9 cm, diam. 4.5 cm, type OK XVI a. (pl. 57d; fig. 72). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/5
12-12-95 Rough drill core, poor alab., h. 5.2 cm, base 3.8 x 3.5 cm. (pl. 57d; fig. 72). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/8
12-12-96 Core, lst., h. 6.6 cm, base 4.4 x 3.9 cm. (pl. 57d; fig. 72). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/6
12-12-98 Twenty-one rough, unfinished offering saucers, bored and rubbed, many flat surfaces on exterior, alab., diam. 7.5–8.0 cm. (pl. 57d). Exp. Ph. B 1684 1/1–9 (samples)
12-12-99 Large hammer, diorite, bruised ring for fastening to handle around neck, apparently made from a statue, judging from polished surface; broken in use, l. 20.5 cm, w. 13.0 cm, th. 7.51 cm. (fig. 72). Not photographed

G 2370 B, in chamber

35-7-23 Fragments of at least fourteen ovoid jars with ledge rims, scored concentric lines around base of the neck above shoulder, RW with red polished wash, none complete, diam. rim 7.8–9.2 cm, diam. body 20.5 cm, h. 21.6 cm. Upper part of one jar found in sarcophagus (pl. 54a). Nine jars appear in the photograph. (pl. 57c; fig. 73). 35-7-23 (A–F) are in the Museum of Fine Arts, where (H) bears the accession number 37.2721, while (I) is 37.2717. Yet another (G), is in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, acc. no. 5873 (information courtesy of Peter Der Manuelian). See *GN* 2, p. 71, fig. 86, pl. 55 c
35-7-39 Five mud jar stoppers, diam. 9–10 cm, h. 3.45 cm (fig. 73). Not photographed
35-7-41 = MFA 37.2724. Two-handled Syrian oil jar with flat bottom, well-formed neck and roll rim, combed decoration, broken and in-

⁵⁹² The usual scale of the drawings on the tomb cards of the subsidiary shafts in the Senedjemib Complex is 1:50; cf. Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, p. 4.

- complete, cylinder seal impression on shoulder of jar with figures of couchant lions, h. 69.0 cm, diam. mouth 13 cm, diam. body 31.6 cm (pl. 57a, b; fig. 73). See *GN* 2, p. 76, fig. 98, pl. 53 a, b; Smith, *Interconnections*, p. 5, figs. 3–5
- 35–7–42 Two coarse bowl stands, RW, h. 22.6 cm, diam. 15.2 cm (fig. 73). Not photographed
- 35–7–43 Frg. of white plaster with hieroglyphs in black ink, l. 6.6 cm, w. 6.3 cm, th. 1.0 cm (fig. 73). Probably from offering list on east wall of chamber. Not photographed

TITLES OF SENEDJEMIB INTI

In his volume on Old Kingdom administration, Strudwick has examined at length a group of the highest civil administrative titles of the Old Kingdom which encompass five important areas of the administration: the legal system, the scribal bureaucracy, the organization of labor, and the granaries and treasuries.⁵⁹³ As the highest ranking officer in the pharaonic administration, the vizier held either the principal title or subordinate ones (in the case of labor or scribal and legal administration) in each administrative area or department.⁵⁹⁴ Strudwick has examined his role in minute detail, and there is no need to repeat his conclusions here.⁵⁹⁵ Instead, we shall touch upon a few specific aspects of the titularies of Inti here and of his sons Mehi and Khnumenti below.

With the exception of nos. 2, 3, 8, 9, and 17, most of the titles borne by Senedjemib Inti are those characteristic for viziers after the reign of Neferirkare or once again after the end of the Fifth Dynasty, and are either honorary or reflect control of the various administrative departments of state.⁵⁹⁶ The titles are listed in alphabetical order.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>imy-r3 izwy¹ hkr¹ nswt</i> | “overseer of the two chambers of royal regalia” |
| 2. <i>imy-r3 pr-ḥsw</i> | “overseer of the armory” |
| 3. <i>imy-r3 prw¹ msu nswt¹</i> | “overseer of the houses of the king’s children” |
| 4. <i>imy-r3 prwy-hd</i> | “overseer of the two treasuries” |
| 5. <i>imy-r3 hwt-wrt 6</i> | “overseer of the six great (law) courts” |
| 6. <i>imy-r3 hkr nswt</i> | “overseer of royal regalia” |
| 7. <i>imy-r3 zšw^c (n) nswt</i> | “overseer of scribes of royal records” |
| 8. <i>imy-r3 swt nb(t) nt hnw</i> | “overseer of every department of the residence” |
| 9. <i>imy-r3 sđmt [nbt]</i> | “overseer of [all] that is judged” |
| 10. <i>imy-r3 šnwty</i> | “overseer of the two granaries” |
| 11. <i>imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt</i> | “overseer of all works of the king” |
| 12. <i>iry-p^ct</i> | “hereditary prince” |

⁵⁹³ See *Administration*, p. xiv.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 306–307.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter 8 and passim; see above, p. 23.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 13. <i>mdh qd nswt m prwy</i> | “royal master builder in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt)” |
| 14. <i>hsty-^c</i> | “count” |
| 15. <i>hsty-^c ms^c</i> | “true count” |
| 16. <i>hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw (nbt) nt nswt</i> | “master of secrets of (every) command of the king” |
| 17. <i>hry zšw (nbw)</i> | “controller of (all) scribes” |
| 18. <i>hry-hbt</i> | “lector priest” |
| 19. <i>hry-tp nswt</i> | “royal chamberlain” |
| 20. <i>smr w^cty</i> | “sole friend” |
| 21. <i>t3yty z3b t3ty</i> | “chief justice and vizier” |

No. 1 is most frequently held either by viziers or *imy-r3 prwy-hd* or holders of both titles.⁵⁹⁷ Thus, the *izwy hkr nswt* appear to have formed an independent department, but one very closely linked to the treasury.⁵⁹⁸ They were concerned principally with the king’s crowns, vestments, personal adornment, and ointments.⁵⁹⁹

No. 2. The title *imy-r3 pr-ḥsw*, and the presumably higher-ranking *imy-r3 prwy-ḥsw*, occur only sporadically in the titulary of viziers.⁶⁰⁰ Helck saw a link between the treasury, granary, and the *pr-ḥsw*,⁶⁰¹ whereas Strudwick thinks that the *pr-ḥsw* was closely associated with the treasury, perhaps because the provision of weapons would be made from the national expenditure.⁶⁰² Although it is true that the administration of the armory was sometimes entrusted to treasury overseers,⁶⁰³ they seem to have been outnumbered in the aggregate by overseers of works, officials with legal or scribal titles, and even *hnty-š*-officials.⁶⁰⁴

No. 3 was commonly held by individuals concerned with the administration of the royal estates (*hwt-št*),⁶⁰⁵ but also by an official with legal functions, another with an important scribal office, and a steward and overseer of funerary priests of a king’s daughter.⁶⁰⁶ Inti is apparently the only vizier to have claimed this title.

Although no. 6 was held by a number of king’s personal attendants (*hry-sšt3 n pr-dwst*, *imy-r3 irw šni*, and so forth)⁶⁰⁷ and treasury overseers⁶⁰⁸ in the course of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, it

⁵⁹⁶ See *ibid.*, pp. 308–309, Table 29.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 281, 285–86, 290.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 285–86.

⁵⁹⁹ Nord, *Serapis* 2 (1970), pp. 1–16. For the translation of *hkr* in this context and also that of title No. 6 as “regalia,” see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pp. 14, 19, 30, and passim.

⁶⁰⁰ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 228–30; *Teti Cem.* 1, p. 136 (77); Junker, *Giza* 3, p. 204. Senedjemib Mehi has the latter title; see p. 155 below.

⁶⁰¹ *Beamtentitel*, p. 65.

⁶⁰² *Administration*, p. 284.

⁶⁰³ E.g., *GN* 1, fig. 421; Smith, *AJA* 46 (1942), figs. 3–4; Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs*, p. 208 (= *PM* 3², p. 691).

⁶⁰⁴ E.g., *LD* 2, pl. 97; Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 214–19, 259; Junker, *Giza* 6, figs. 82–83; *PM* 3², 87; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhm’ahor*, figs. 2–3, 10, 14.

⁶⁰⁵ E.g., Junker, *Giza* 3, figs. 27–31; Abu Bakr, *Giza*, p. 34, figs. 29; 35, pl. 20 A, B; *PM* 3², p. 696 (Cleveland 64.91); Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 20.

⁶⁰⁶ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 256, 259; Junker, *Giza* 3, figs. 14–16.

appears to have been a prerogative of the vizier at the end of the Fifth and beginning of the Sixth Dynasties.⁶⁰⁹ Senedjemib Mehi also has this title.⁶¹⁰

A regular component in vizier's titularies from the early Fifth Dynasty to the early reign of Pepy II, from the reign of Teti no. 7 may have become the preserve of the vizier alone.⁶¹¹ There was a close connection between this title and both legal (*imy-r3 hwt wrt*) and public work titles (*imy-r3 kst nbt [nt] nswt*).⁶¹²

Title No. 7 is written either with or without a genitival *n*.⁶¹³ Both *imy-r3 zšw ʿ nswt* and *imy-r3 zšw ʿ n nswt*, appear on the walls of G 2370.⁶¹⁴ Interestingly, Inti's son Mehi appears to have preferred the first version,⁶¹⁵ whereas his younger brother Khnumenti favored the second.⁶¹⁶

No. 8. The *swt nbt nt hnw* occur in a variety of contexts which make it clear that the two granaries (*šnwtj*), treasuries (*prwy-hd*), and chambers of the royal regalia (*izwy hkr-nswt*) were all subsumed under this expression.⁶¹⁷ Indeed, it is probable that the term referred to any and all of the departments of the central government. The *swt nbt nt hnw* only appear sporadically in titles, however. At one stage in his career, the vizier Kagemni served as *imy-r3 n swt nb(t) n unwt nb(t) nt hnw*, "overseer of every department and of every time-service of the residence."⁶¹⁸ A related title held by viziers and non-viziers alike, *hry sšt n nswt m swt.f nb(t)*, presumably had reference to the same governmental departments.⁶¹⁹ An official who seems to have been involved in constructing the pyramid city of Pepy I was *hry-sšt n nswt m swt nb(t) nt hnw rwty*, "master of the king's secrets in all the departments of the interior and exterior."⁶²⁰

No. 9. Fischer has demonstrated that Gunn's translation "overseer of all (judicial) hearings"⁶²¹ is not tenable and proposes instead the rendering "overseer of all that is judged."⁶²² The title was held sporadically by viziers after the reign of Izezi, but also by an overseer of Upper Egypt.⁶²³

No. 13. Helck saw *mdh* as an older version of *imy-r3*.⁶²⁴ *Mdh*, "master," is commonly used of carpenters, sculptors, and builders.⁶²⁵

⁶⁰⁷ E.g., Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 304–309, 431–32, and Kanawati, *GM* 100 (1987), pp. 41–43; Lythgoe–Ransom, *Perneb*, fig. 34; Hassan, *Giza* 1, p. 2 (*imy-r hkr nswt nb, imy-r hkr nswt m prwy*, as well as *imy-r izwy n hkr nswt*).

⁶⁰⁸ E.g., Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 109 (84), 120 (101).

⁶⁰⁹ E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 87 (49); 89 (51); 100 (68); 109 (84); 120 (101). The title is also held by Kai, whom Baer (*Rank and Title*, pp. 138–39 [505]) dates from the middle reign of Izezi to the middle reign of Unis, but whom Strudwick (*Administration*, p. 142 [136]) assigns to the middle of Dynasty 5, perhaps early in the reign of Neuserre.

⁶¹⁰ See below, p. 158, no. 7.

⁶¹¹ Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 202–203, 208.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁶¹³ Ward, *Or* 51 (1982), pp. 383–84.

⁶¹⁴ See above, pp. 37, 41, 76, 78.

⁶¹⁵ See below, pp. 154, 155.

⁶¹⁶ See below, pp. 123 and 125.

⁶¹⁷ Goelet, *Royal Palace*, pp. 94–99.

⁶¹⁸ Edel, *MIO* 1 (1953), p. 213, pl. 2. On *unwt*, "time service," see below, p. 105, n. k.

⁶¹⁹ E.g., *Teti Cem.* 1, p. 93; James, *Khentika*, p. 9 (15); Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 67 (19); 97 (63). Non-viziers: Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 413 (= CG 1565); Junker, *Giza* 11, figs. 47, 61, 70; Kanawati, *Excav. Saq.* 1, pls. 6, 16.

⁶²⁰ Goyon, *BIFAO* 68 (1969), pp. 147–57; Goelet, *Royal Palace*, p. 99.

⁶²¹ *Teti Cem.* 2, p. 105 (11).

⁶²² *GM* 128 (1992), pp. 69–70.

⁶²³ *Rue de tomb.*, pl. 73; *Teti Cem.* 1, p. 105 (11); 2, pls. 12 A, 59 (1); Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 67 (19); *Saqqara Tombs* 2, p. 35, pl. 21.

⁶²⁴ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 75–77. On *mdh*, see also Kees, *WZKM* 54 (1957), p. 92; Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 149–50.

Since both Nekhebu and his anonymous older brother held title no. 13 before being promoted to *imy-r3 kst (nbt nt nswt)*, "overseer of (all) works (of the king),"⁶²⁶ it is likely that *mdh qd nswt m prwy* was inferior in status to the former title. The title is not a regular component in vizier's titularies, and probably was prominent in the titulary of the members of the Senedjemib family who reached the vizierate (Senedjemib Inti and Mehi, Khnumenti, Ptahshepses Impy, and Sabu-ptah Ibebi) because of their previous association with building and public works.

The adverbial phrase *m prwy* forms a regular adjunct to *mdh qd nswt* in the inscriptions of the Senedjemib family. *Wb.* 1, p. 514, 8–9, defines *prwy* as "both administrations." A title of the owner of a Saqqara tomb, *imy-r3 zšw šhwt m prwy Mhw Šm'w*, "overseer of scribes of fields in both houses of Lower and Upper Egypt," implies that the phrase denoted authority in both halves of the country and that the two administrations were, in actual fact, Upper and Lower Egypt.⁶²⁷

Two titles, nos. 15 and 19, appear only on the sarcophagus that Mehi obtained on his father's behalf from the king. Mehi regularly adds *m3* to his own title of "count," whereas *h3ty-ʿ* unaccompanied by this epithet consistently appears on the walls of G 2370. It is therefore likely that *h3ty-ʿ m3* was a dignity assigned retrospectively to Inti on the sarcophagus.

No. 16. Strudwick notes that this title occurs more frequently with *imy-r3 zšw ʿ (n) nswt* than with the holders of *imy-r3 hwt-wrt*, and suggests that it was in some way associated with the responsibilities of *imy-r3 zšw ʿ (n) nswt*.⁶²⁸ Since the latter title was involved with record keeping, the function of the *hry-sšt n wdt-mdw (nbt) nt nswt* may have been as well. The connection between the two functions is further emphasized by the title *imy-r3 zšw ʿ nswt n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt* borne by the vizier Mereruka.⁶²⁹

No. 17. *Hrp zšw (nbw)* is not ordinarily held by viziers, although it was borne by many non-viziers who, like the viziers, held the title *imy-r3 zšw ʿ (n) nswt*.⁶³⁰ It also on occasion formed part of the titulary of granary officials.⁶³¹

No. 19, like no. 15, is only attested on Inti's sarcophagus. Since *hry-tp nswt* was an honorific commonly assigned to viziers,⁶³² it is, of course, possible that the title appeared in the damaged or destroyed portions of Inti's tomb. The title also features prominently in the titularies of non-viziers, and Strudwick wonders whether "this title is not in some manner related to features of the career of a vizier in the period before he was promoted, as it bears no relation to the other common vizierial honorifics."⁶³³ On the other hand, insofar as the

⁶²⁵ But also of scribes and priests; see Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 75–76; Fischer, *Varia*, p. 30, n. 9.

⁶²⁶ See pp. 32 above.

⁶²⁷ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 115; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 105; Edel, *NAWG* 6 (Spring 1983), pp. 166–67; *PM* 3², p. 925 (551). Two other titles, show that "the two houses" were subdivisions of the administration of the palace (*pr-ʿ*); see Fischer, *MMJ* 6 (1972), p. 13, n. 25.

⁶²⁸ *Administration*, p. 207.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, p. 310, Table 30.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 310–11.

title implies access to the king's person, it is perfectly appropriate for viziers.⁶³⁴

No. 21, literally probably “he-of-the-curtain/screen, dignitary, and vizier,”⁶³⁵ is conventionally translated “chief justice and vizier” throughout the present volume; cf. Wente, *Letters*, nos. 2–4 and passim.

In general terms, it may be said that Inti's titulary reflects the trends apparent in other vizierial titularies of the reign of Izezi.⁶³⁶ The honorific content of his titulary (nos. 12, 14–15, 19, 20) is far less extensive than is the case with the Fifth Dynasty viziers Washptah and Ptahshepses or for the Sixth Dynasty viziers who follow Inti.⁶³⁷ Except for No. 18, it is also lacking in the religious titles which fell into disuse after the early Fifth Dynasty, but which were revived and to some extent supplemented in the later Fifth and early Sixth dynasties.⁶³⁸ Similarly, Inti held no office at the royal pyramids. This is not unexpected, for even though it was Izezi who changed the organization of the royal pyramid temples from priest of the king to priest of the pyramid,⁶³⁹ it was not until the early reign of Unis that these new-style royal priesthoods appeared in the titularies of men of higher rank, including the viziers.⁶⁴⁰

DEPENDENTS OF SENEDJEMIB INTI

1. *Imw* (PN I, pp. 25, 14; 414, 11). One of five individuals who strangle a goose for Inti's funerary banquet on the south wall of the offering room. Beneath the bird is written his name preceded by the title *imy-ht hmw-k3*, “supervisor of funerary priests.” Although fallen away at present, traces of the title *imy-r3 zšw*, “overseer of scribes,”⁶⁴¹ are visible in the space before his face in pl. 38.

2. *Iry* (PN I, p. 41, 6; II, p. 343).⁶⁴² On the south wall of the offering room, Iry carries a goose towards the false door. The title before his face is *zš pr-mdst ntr*, “scribe of the house of the god's (viz. the king's) book.”⁶⁴²

The basic meaning of *mdst* is “papyrus roll,” but the word is also attested with the extended meanings of “book; letter, dispatch; transcript, report; register,” and the like.⁶⁴³ *Pr-mdst* is “library; archive.”⁶⁴⁴ At Edfu the *pr-mdst* is a small room at the back of the entrance to the vestibule.⁶⁴⁵

In ancient Egypt no hard and fast distinction was made between the scribe and the painter. Both could be designated *zš*, even though a term for a particular type of painter, the *zš qdwt*, “outline draftsman” also existed.⁶⁴⁶ In tomb scenes, individuals entitled *zš* are sometimes shown painting statues.⁶⁴⁷ while in one of the rock tombs

at Meir, the *hry-hbt zš pr-mdst ntr pr-3*, “lector priest and scribe of the house of the god's book of the palace,” Ihy-em-sa-pepy, paints an elaborate shrine and puts the finishing touches on a wooden statue of an important local official.⁶⁴⁸ A *zš pr-mdst ntr pr-3* and *zš qdwt* named Seni decorated two tombs at Akhmim.⁶⁴⁹ Given this and other evidence, it may be that the “scribes of the house of the god's book” also had access to “prototypical drawings or representations of cultically effective statuary and cult objects, and perhaps even of total repertoires of scenes for temples and tombs.”⁶⁵⁰

3. *Ihy* (PN I, p. 44, 22).⁶⁵¹ He is both a *hm-k3*, “funerary priest,” of Inti and *imy-r3 zšw 3h[wt]*, “overseer of [scribes of] [ds].”⁶⁵² Two other offering bearers on the south wall have the same name.

4. *Ihy*. The title of this man, who carries a calf across his back in the bottom register on the south wall of the offering room, was evidently *[hry] zh*, “controller of the kitchen.”⁶⁵³ The role of the *hry zh* is clarified by his depiction in a number of daily life scenes. In the chapel of Pepyankh Heryib at Meir, for instance, several *hry zh* preside over the dismemberment of oxen, while another individual with the same title supervises the cleaning and cooking of fowl, himself hanging up cuts of meat in the outdoor booth (*zh*) where the cooking was done.⁶⁵⁴ In a second tomb at the same site, belonging to Ni-ankh-pepy the Black, two other *hry zh* roast fowl over charcoal braziers in the same sort of open booth.⁶⁵⁵ The *hry zh* was thus the director of the outdoor booth or kitchen where food was prepared.

5. *Ihy*. This individual, who is distinct from the last, appears in the fourth register on the south wall with the title *hm-[k3]*, “[funerary] priest.”

6. *Izzi-b3.f* (PN I, p. 45, 22). With the title *hry-hbt*, “lector priest,” he is shown as attendant in the fowling scene at the rear of the portico. In the table scene on the north wall of the offering room, he strangles a goose before Inti.

Of the more than twenty dependents of Inti depicted on the walls of G 2370, Izezibaf is one of the few about whom anything is known from other sources. Inserted between the tombs of Rawer II (G 5470) and Djaty (G 5370) in the Western Field at Giza, and built against the face of the latter is a small, stone-built mastaba which belongs to the Hathor priestess and king's acquaintance, *Hnti*.⁶⁵⁶ On a fragmentary architrave, which presumably surmounted its entrance, Khenit, seated at the left, was approached by at least two children.⁶⁵⁷ The first of these was *z3.s smsw hry-hbt Izzi-b3.f*, “her eldest son and lector priest, Izezibaf.” The rarity of the name almost certainly assures that this is the same person.⁶⁵⁸

7. *[nh] m¹-t[nmt]* (PN I, p. 64, 10; 2, p. 346, “Leben [der Lebendige] ist in der *tm.t*”).⁶⁵⁹ The name of the individual, who

⁶³⁴ For the connotation of the title, see Gunn, *JEA* 27 (1941), p. 145.

⁶³⁵ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 16, 56; Spencer, *Temple*, pp. 211–12.

⁶³⁶ See Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 310, for a list of viziers and the specific entries by name, and *ibid.*, pp. 55–170, for their titularies.

⁶³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 311–12.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 312, 315–16.

⁶³⁹ Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 297.

⁶⁴⁰ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 317.

⁶⁴¹ Additional citations: Murray, *Index*, pl. 2.

⁶⁴² Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 71; cf. *PM* 3², p. 934 [748, 751].

⁶⁴³ *Wb.* 2, p. 187, 8; *FCD*, p. 89; Caminos, *L.-Eg. Misc.*, p. 33; Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 259 (6).

⁶⁴⁴ *Wb.* 2, p. 187, 8.

⁶⁴⁵ Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), p. 177.

⁶⁴⁶ Wilson, *JNES* 6 (1947), p. 235; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, p. 69.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 69 and scenes X, XIII, and XIV, on pp. 52–53.

⁶⁴⁸ *Meir* 5, pls. 18, 19.

⁶⁴⁹ Kanawati, *El Hawawish* 1, pl. 8; 2, pl. 18.

⁶⁵⁰ O'Connor, in *Simpson Studies* 2, pp. 627–28.

⁶⁵¹ Additional citations: Murray, *Index*, pl. 2.

⁶⁵² Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 70; *PM* 3², p. 934 [547].

⁶⁵³ *Wb.* 3, p. 464, 16–17; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 33, 85.

⁶⁵⁴ *Meir* 4, pls. 8, 9.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5, pl. 13.

⁶⁵⁶ Junker, *Giza* 7, pp. 241–46.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 102.

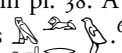
⁶⁵⁸ *PM* 3², p. 162, comes to the same conclusion.

appears in the second position in the bottom register of the south wall of the offering room, is damaged. Nevertheless, the placement of the owl suggests that it was balanced by a tall sign to the right with both centered on the ξ which most likely belongs to *tnmt*. Like the first two officiants, he offers a foreleg of beef to Inti. His title is given as *shd hmw-k3*, “inspector of funerary priests.”

8. *nh-m*[...]. Three of the four attendants shown behind Inti in the spear fishing scene at the rear of the portico have lost their names and titles. The fourth official is an *imy-r3 zšw*, “overseer of scribes,” but only traces of his name survive (fig. 131a). It is possible that he is identical with the last individual.

9. *Wr-ti* (*PN* I, p. 64, 10). What seem to be the component signs of this name, preceded by even fainter traces that may read *zsb* [...] *hm-k3*, “dignitary [...] and funerary priest,” are visible in pl. 38.⁶⁶⁰ His is the last (partially) preserved figure in the file of offering bearers in the fourth register on the southern wall of the offering room. A *zsb* *zš* by this name, who appears on the false door of his father, *Snmw*, the proprietor of Giza tomb G 2032, could theoretically be the same individual.⁶⁶¹

10. *M[m]*(?). One of the priests performing the funerary rites before Inti’s face on the south wall of the offering room, this man is both *hrp stiw nwb*, “director of necklace-stringers,”⁶⁶² and *imy-ht hm(w)-k3*, “supervisor of funerary priests.” A parallel to the first title appears on a statue base from Saqqara.⁶⁶³ *Sti nbw* also occurs as an element in a number of other titles.⁶⁶⁴

The name is damaged and only the first two signs are clear. Ranke offers two possibilities. The first, *M^{rw}* (*PN* I, p. 146, 22) is the *rn nds* of an offering bearer in the tomb of Akhetetep.⁶⁶⁵ The second, *M^m* (*PN* I, p. 146, 25) is known as a feminine name in a Middle Kingdom stele, CG 20117. In fact, what may be traces of a final *m* are visible in pl. 38. A third possibility that seems excluded by lack of space is .⁶⁶⁶

11. *Ny-nb-Inpw* (not in *PN*). This individual holds up a haunch towards the front of the procession of offering bearers in the fourth register on the south wall of the offering room. In contrast to the title(s) which preceded them, the component signs of his name were rendered in paint alone. The entire caption has disappeared today, but the name is clearly visible in pl. 38. *Hm-k3* is to be made out at the end of the horizontal line that contained the titles, and the spacing of the signs suggests that this could have been preceded by *shd*. The name does not appear to be attested elsewhere.

12. *Ny-Pth* (*PN* I, p. 172, 14, “der zu Ptah Gehörige”). The eighth figure in the procession of offering bearers in the lowermost register

on the south wall of the offering room. The terminal sign is to be seen in pl. 38b. No traces of a title or titles remain.

13. *N¹b-R^c* (*PN* I, p. 186, 1, “der [mein?] Herr ist Re”). Although *Nb-R^c* occurs as the Horus name of one of the early kings of Dynasty 2,⁶⁶⁷ it is not otherwise attested as a personal name during the Old Kingdom. The bearer of the name in the present context strangles a goose before Inti in the fifth register on the south wall of the offering room.

14. *Nfr-[h]r-n-[Pth]* (*PN* I, p. 198, 9). The title of this man, the ninth offering bearer in the procession in the bottom register on the south wall of the offering room, is damaged. The arrangement of the terminal signs of the name suggest the restoration *Nfr-[h]r-n-[Pth]*, since *nfr-hr*, “fair of face,” is a common attribute of Ptah in the Old Kingdom (ibid.) and later. The restoration of the first element in his title, *[i] m¹[y-h]* *hm[w]-k3*, is less certain.

15. *Nfr-sšm^c-Sšit¹* (*PN* I, p. 200, 11; 2, p. 370). With the titles *zsb imy-r3 zšw*, “dignitary and overseer of scribes,” this official walks behind the palanquin of Inti on the south wall of the anteroom. He is distinguished from the other officials depicted on this wall by his garment, a calf-length kilt.⁶⁶⁸ His title and costume imply that he was a person of some importance, at least in the retinue of Inti, but he does not appear to be known from other sources. *Zsb* here and elsewhere is probably a rank title.⁶⁶⁹

16. *Nkn* (not in *PN*). Although unattested elsewhere, the name seems certain. Fifth in the lowermost procession of offering bearers on the south wall of the offering room, he is designated *shd hmw-k3*.

17. *Ndm* (*PN* I, p. 215, 8; 2, p. 372). Reclining against a wicker backrest in the marsh scene on the west wall of the anteroom, he looks on as herdsmen prepare a meal. His title is damaged but could have been either *hrp¹* or *[s[h]d] srw*. Both alternatives are otherwise attested.⁶⁷⁰ Junker translates the name “Der Süße.”⁶⁷¹

18. *Rwd^c-k3* (*PN* I, p. 221, 21, “stark ist mein k3”). The titles of this offering bearer, the eleventh represented in the extra register on the south wall of the offering room, are lost.

19. *Hm-šty* (*PN* I, p. 239, 17, “Der Diener des šh.tj”).⁶⁷² One of four senior officials represented behind Inti in the fowling scene at the rear of the portico. On the south wall of the offering chamber, he appears again as the third of four inspectors of funerary priests who carry offerings towards the false door. In the first location, his titulary is damaged and only *hm-k3* at the end of the column is readily visible. In the offering chamber, he is *zsb zš shd hmw-k3*, “dignitary and scribe, inspector of funerary priests,” and traces suggest that the same sequence should be restored in the portico.⁶⁷³ *Hm-šty* also appears in the tomb of Senedjemib Mehi.

⁶⁵⁹ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 74, translates the name “Life (or *nh.i*, “my life”) is in the *Tnmt*-shrine.”

⁶⁶⁰ On the last element in the name, see above, pp. 24–25.

⁶⁶¹ *PM* 3², p. 68. The son appears in Exp. Ph. A 5823. On the date of the tomb, see *HESP*, p. 70.

⁶⁶² *Sti*: “fasten together, string” (beads, etc.): *Wb.* 4, p. 330, 2; *Meir* 5, pp. 25–26, pl. 17; Fischer, *JARCE* 13 (1976), p. 13, n. 12; *ALex* 2 (1978), p. 359; 3 (1979), p. 276. *PM* 3², p. 919 (93), renders the title as “director of smelters of gold.”

⁶⁶³ Martin, *Hetepka*, p. 34 (no. 84), pl. 33.

⁶⁶⁴ *LD* 2, pl. 60; *Rue de tomb.* 2, pl. 99; *PM* 3², p. 754. For *sti*, “stringer,” see *Meir* 5, p. 26, pl. 17; *Nianchmum*, pl. 64.

⁶⁶⁵ Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pl. 25

⁶⁶⁶ *PM* 3², p. 978 [814].

⁶⁶⁷ Smith, *Old Kingdom*, pp. 30–31.

⁶⁶⁸ See p. 54 above.

⁶⁶⁹ See Ward, *Index of Titles*, p. 147 (1263); *FCD*, p. 209. For discussions of the title, see Junker, *Giza* 7, pp. 198–99; Helck, *Beamentitel*, pp. 79–85; Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 265 (14); Vernus, *RdE* 26 (1974), pp. 109–10; de Cenival, *RdE* 27 (1975), pp. 62–69.

⁶⁷⁰ E.g., *PM* 3², pp. 308, 310, 458; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhm^cahor*, fig. 35.

⁶⁷¹ E.g., Junker, *Giza* 5, p. 21.

⁶⁷² Additional citations: Murray, *Index*, pl. 1.

⁶⁷³ For *zsb zš*, see Junker, *Giza* 7, p. 199; Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 259 (5); *PM* 3², p. 934 [276].

20. *Sndm* (*PN* 1, p. 316, 20). With the title *zš ʿ nswt n hft-hr*, he is shown burning incense to the left of the southern serdab slot in the west wall of the vestibule. It is tempting to identify him with the owner of Giza mastaba G 2364, a *zš ʿ nswt hft-hr* and *zš n zš n hmw-k3*, named *Sndm-ib Inti*.⁶⁷⁴ G 2364 is located in the first avenue west of the Senedjemib Complex, and it is likely that this Senedjemib Inti, like at least one other individual who built his tomb against the large mastaba G 2360,⁶⁷⁵ served the Senedjemib family as a funerary priest. No trace is visible of a heart-sign at the end of the name in G 2370 (fig. 55), but successive recuttings of the inscription may have obliterated the sign.

21. *Q3r* (*PN* 1, p. 333, 9, “die Tasche;” 2, p. 391). With the titles *sn-dt.f hm-k3*, “brother of his estate and funerary priest,” this individual brings offerings on the south wall of the offering room. The role of the *sn-dt* has been the subject of considerable discussion.⁶⁷⁶ The name is a relatively common one in the Old Kingdom.⁶⁷⁷

22. *K3-m-tntt* (*PN* 1, p. 340, 1, “mein *k3* ist in *tntt*.i?”). The titles *zš pr-[m3st] ntr, hm-k3*, “scribe of the house of the god’s [book] and funerary priest,” serve to identify this offering bearer, who appears in the bottom register on the south wall of the offering room.

23. *Izw* (*PN* 1, p. 394, 12; 2, p. 400). Like no. 19, also an offering bearer, this man is *sn-dt.f* and *hm-k3*. The name occurs sporadically in the Old Kingdom, but none of its other bearers has a very good claim to being identical with the present individual.⁶⁷⁸ The girdle knot ideogram is missing from the present spelling of the name.

24. *Iz.n-Pth* (not in *PN*). The second of the titles *zsb smsw h3yt*, “dignitary and elder of the porch,” written before the face of this individual, who appears on the right of the northern serdab slot in the west wall of the vestibule proffering a haunch, appears to have had judicial associations.⁶⁷⁹ Although the beginning of the name is damaged, the last two letters of the divine name Pth can be made out in pl. 32. A loose block from an Old Kingdom tomb at North Saqqara supplies an additional occurrence of the name.⁶⁸⁰

25. *Iz.n.s-Pth* (not in *PN*). This functionary elevates a censor on the left side of the northern serdab slot in the west wall of the vestibule. The name is perhaps a relative *sdm.f* form with perfective meaning “Whom Pth has raised up for her.”⁶⁸¹ A personal name from Giza mastaba G 1038, *Iz-w(i)-Pth*, which Ranke translates “Pth richtet mich auf,” may be compared.⁶⁸²

It is possible that *zsb smsw h3yt*, “dignitary and elder of the porch,” appeared in the damaged space before his face and over his

head.⁶⁸³ If so, consideration should be given to the possibility that this individual was identical with the last, there being ample space for the folded cloth *s* after the terminal signs of the latter’s name.

26. Name illegible. Two vertical signs only remain of the name of the tenth offering bearer in the bottom register on the south wall of the offering room. The title is lost.

27. Name illegible (see fig. 131C). The title of this individual, who holds a brace of birds and leads a young gazelle on a rope in the bottom register on the south wall of the offering room, is once again lost.

28. Name lost. Although the name of the foremost functionary who strangles a goose on the right of the serdab slot in the west wall of the vestibule is lost in the robber’s hole along with the lower part of his figure, the titles *zsb zš* survive in the space before his face.

29. Name lost. The foremost figure (erased) in the procession of offering bearers in the fourth register on the south wall of the offering room. Even though his name is lost, the title *[s]hd hmw-k3*, “[in]specter of funerary priests,” is clear.

30. Name lost. The third figure in the file of offering bearers in the bottom register on the south wall of the offering room. The figure that immediately precedes the present man and the two that follow each bear the title *shd hm(w)-k3*, and the position of the present individual in the file as well as the folded cloth *s* that is all that survives of his title suggest that he may likewise have been an inspector of funerary priests.

Due to the falling away of the plaster layer in which they were carved, many of the figures on the south wall of Inti’s offering room have lost their titles, their names, or both. Nonetheless, at least four individuals on the south wall of the offering room (nos. 7, 16, 19, 29) and Inti’s son Ni-ankh-min on its north wall definitely have the title *shd hmw-k3*, “inspector of funerary priests.” This circumstance suggests that the personnel of Inti’s cult were organized into phyles, even though no direct mention of phyles by names survives. Further, if two other individuals on the south wall (nos. 11 and 30) also had the same title originally, as has been suggested, this would constitute evidence that the more elaborate form of phyle organization with the customary five phyles separated into two divisions was in operation in this tomb.⁶⁸⁴ Since the names and titles of the majority of the offering bearers on the long walls of the room appear to have formed part of its original decorative scheme, Inti’s phyle system presumably constituted part of the original arrangements for his mortuary cult.⁶⁸⁵

The *shdw hmw-k3* were actually first in authority in the phyle organization, being superior to the *imyw-ht hmw-k3* and the *zšw n z3w*.⁶⁸⁶ At least two *imy-ht hmw-k3* are also depicted on the south wall (nos. 1 and 10, possibly also 14). This is the only other evidence that attests to the character of the phyle organization on the walls of G 2370, although additional evidence is forthcoming from the tombs

⁶⁷⁴ See Brovarski, in *L’Égyptologie en 1979*, p. 121. The tomb is scheduled to be published in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2.

⁶⁷⁵ *Rwd*, the owner of G 2362, who was *dyt.f* of Senedjemib Mehi; see Brovarski, in *L’Égyptologie en 1979*, p. 121. This tomb is also to be included in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2. Probably also *Ny-Mzti*, the owner of G 2366, for whose tomb, see Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, pp. 32–33, figs. 40, 43, pl. 56 b.

⁶⁷⁶ Junker, *Giza 2*, pp. 194–95; 3, pp. 6–7; 9, p. 73; Grdseloff, *ASAE* 42 (1943), pp. 39–49; Perepelkin, *Palestinskiy sbornik* 16 [79] (1966), pp. 17–80; Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, pp. 122–30; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 80, 85, 89–90; Harpur, *JEA* 67 (1981), pp. 30–35; Boochs, *VA* 1 (1985), pp. 3–9.

⁶⁷⁷ *PN* 1, p. 333, 9; *PM* 3², pp. 371, 958 (674).

⁶⁷⁸ In addition to the references provided by Ranke, see Obj. Reg. 32–3–38 (n. t.).

⁶⁷⁹ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 83, n. 31; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 227 and n. 413.

⁶⁸⁰ Martin, *Hetepka*, p. 22 (no. 22), pl. 23.

⁶⁸¹ See *PN* 2, p. 26; Fischer, *Kush* 10 (1962), p. 333.

⁶⁸² *PN* 1, p. 431, 17.

⁶⁸³ See above, p. 65.

⁶⁸⁴ For the phyle subdivisions in mortuary cults, see Roth, *Phyles*, pp. 77–79, 85–89, and passim. For the more elaborate type of organization in private mortuary cults, see *ibid.*, pp. 93 (92), 102 (19), 103 (21), 107 (30), 113.

⁶⁸⁵ Pace Roth, *Phyles*, p. 98 (10).

⁶⁸⁶ Roth, *Phyles*, p. 113.

of the funerary priests erected in the vicinity of the Senedjemib Complex.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸⁷ See Brovarski, in *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, p. 121, and above, pp. 3–4.

This is perhaps as suitable a place as any to note that the title *shꜣ* is distinct from the verb *shꜣ*, “to make white, illumine, etc.,” cf. Schneider, *Shabtis* 1, p. 132. Conventionally translated “inspector” herein, *shꜣ* is an intermediate rank between *imy-r3* and *imy-hr*; see e.g., *Inscr. Sinai* 2, p. 61, n. s; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pp. 17–18.

CHAPTER 5:
 SENEDJEMIB INTI – G 2370
 TRANSLATION OF
 INSCRIPTIONS A–D

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTIONS of Senedjemib Inti are carved in sunk relief of good quality on the facade of G 2370 to either side of the portico and on the adjacent north and south side walls of the portico. They were first copied by Lepsius and the Prussian Expedition (figs. 18, 21, 28, 31).¹ It was apparently Reisner who designated the inscriptions A–D. The latter’s own copies of the texts (figs. 19, 22, 29, 32) appear to have been made by inking photographs taken by the Harvard–Boston Expedition. Sethe included his own hand copies of the texts in *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*.² The inscriptions were copied anew by the Giza Mastabas Project in 1981 and 1982.

The inscriptions on the north wall of the portico and the adjacent facade recount episodes of Inti’s career under King Izezi. Three verbatim letters from the king are included. Inscription A 1 is a first person narrative in which Inti tells how he was rewarded by the king at an impromptu ceremony held on the palace grounds. Inscription A 2, the first of Izezi’s letters to Inti, relates to a chapel dedicated to the goddess Hathor that Inti was in the process of erecting (or at least decorating) within the palace precinct. Inscription B 1 provides the background for another building project that Inti undertook for Izezi in conjunction with the approaching royal jubilee, while in B 2 Izezi expresses his satisfaction with Inti’s plans for the project and promotes him to the position of overseer of all works of the king.

King Izezi evidently enjoyed letter-writing, for he also addressed a personal missive to Inti’s older contemporary, the vizier Rashepses.³ It is not entirely clear if this was a personal quirk on Izezi’s part or a regular tool of the pharaonic bureaucracy, for we also possess a letter written on behalf of the boy-king Pepy II to the caravan leader Harkhuf expressing concern over the safety of a pygmy from Africa being brought to the royal court.⁴ In Inti’s case, one of the letters (A 1) was actually penned in the king’s own hand. Either way, these letters were undoubtedly appreciated as a mark of special favor and esteem by the addressees and encouraged them to greater exertions

on behalf of their royal master. They also lent a certain authority to the “verbal self-presentation” of the autobiographies.⁵

Inscriptions C and D on the facade immediately to the south of the portico and the adjacent south portico wall are again in the first person, but the narrator has changed, and here Inti’s son, Senedjemib Mehi, recounts his benefactions on his father’s behalf upon the death of the latter. The first part of Inscription C evidently recorded the establishment of Inti’s mortuary endowment in considerable detail. It is most unfortunate that its fragmentary condition renders the account obscure, for the content in part appears to be unique. In the second part of the inscription, Mehi states that he had the decrees pertaining to his father’s mortuary endowment inscribed on the walls of the latter’s tomb and that he, moreover, had requested a sarcophagus from the king for the burial of his father. In passing, he mentions that the work he undertook on his father’s tomb took a total of fifteen months. Inscription D details the transport of the sarcophagus from the Tura quarries to Inti’s Giza tomb.

It was hoped that modern facsimile copies of the autobiographical texts inscribed on the facade and portico of G 2370 might yield up significant new traces of signs not seen by our predecessors. Alas, in most cases the opposite has proven true, the inscriptions by and large having deteriorated further through exposure to the elements. Only at the top of Inscriptions A 1, B 1, C, and D has it been possible to add a few additional signs.

For that reason, it has been thought advisable to juxtapose in the figures the copies of the inscriptions made by the Giza Mastabas Project with Lepsius’s and Reisner’s earlier copies of the same texts.⁶ Photographs of Inscriptions A–D taken by the Harvard–Boston Expedition have been reproduced in pls. 18 and 58–80a, so that the reader may be assured of the accuracy of the copies.⁷ A few photographs from other sources have also been incorporated and are acknowledged in the List of Plates.

In addition to the translations and commentaries listed below, I have had access to notes in what appears to be Kurt Sethe’s handwriting on file in the Department of Art of the Ancient World in Boston. In the course of collating Senedjemib Inti’s inscriptions for the second edition of *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*, Sethe had access to the photographs taken by the Harvard–Boston Expedition and to copies of the texts made by Reisner.⁸ The handwritten notes in Boston seemingly represent his comments made on the basis of these photographs and Reisner’s copies. Although Reisner’s original copies are no longer extant, it is clear from Sethe’s notes that Reisner’s final copy of the texts incorporated several of Sethe’s own readings. Conversely, Sethe incorporated certain of Reisner’s readings into his published version of the texts.

¹ LD 2, pl. 76c–f.

² *Urk.* 1, pp. 59, 1–66, 14.

³ *Urk.* 1, pp. 179, 8–180, 10. For the tomb of the vizier Rashepses, see above, pp. 14, 15.

⁴ *Urk.* 1, pp. 128–31.

⁵ Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, p. 5. On Old Kingdom autobiographies, see e.g., *ibid.*, pp. 5–10; *idem*, *Literature* 1, pp. 3–5; Van de Walle, *LÄ* 1 (1974), cols. 817–18.

⁶ In the discussion of the individual inscriptions that follows, under the heading “Present volume,” the copies of Lepsius, Reisner, and the Giza Mastabas Project are distinguished in parentheses by the letters L, R, and GMP respectively.

⁷ These photographs represent only a selection of the numerous photographs taken by the Harvard–Boston Expedition under different lighting conditions over the course of time.

⁸ See *Urk.* 1, p. 59, 4–6. For the first edition Sethe had recourse solely to Lepsius’s publication and the original drawings in Berlin; see *Urk.* 1¹, p. 59, 4–5.

That Reisner utilized photographs made by the Harvard–Boston Expedition in arriving at his final copies of Inscriptions A–D is clear from the fact that both prints and certain of the original glass plates bear his penciled or inked markings. Nowhere is it specifically stated that he collated his copies against the originals, but it is difficult to believe that a scholar who spent so much of his professional life at Giza would not have taken the opportunity to do so.

The conventions employed in the following translations require some explanation. Brackets [] indicate when a word or phrase missing in the text has been restored. When a word or phrase is uncertain or imperfectly understood, half-brackets [] are employed. Curly brackets { } indicate a letter, word or phrase visible in the Harvard–Boston Expedition photographs or copied by Lepsius or Reisner but since destroyed. Angle brackets < > are used for words erroneously omitted by the ancient draftsman. A row of three dots within brackets [...] is used when a lacuna in the text cannot be filled with any certainty. Round brackets () are utilized for letters or words not in the original text that have been inserted as an aid to the reader. Except for the curly brackets, these are the same conventions used throughout this volume.

It may be added that the references to publications, translations, and so forth under the individual entries are selective and could be readily extended.

INSCRIPTION A

Inscriptions A 1 and 2 are inscribed on the facade of the mastaba to the north of the portico. The titulary of Senedjemib Inti introduces an autobiographical text (A 1) which is followed by a letter written to Inti by Izezi early in his tenure of office as vizier (A 2).

Inscription A 1

PUBLICATION: *LD* 2, pl. 76d; *Urk* 1, pp. 59, 10–60, 11

PRESENT VOLUME: figs. 31 (L), 32 (R), 33 (GMP); text figure 1; pls. 58–61

TRANSLATIONS: Breasted, *Ancient Records* 1, § 270; Roccati, *Littérature historique*, § 92

TRANSLATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL PASSAGES: Grdseloff, *JEA* 35 (1949), pp. 61–62; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 137, n. 28; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, §§ 468, 480, 503, 596 (1), 709; 2, §§ 896, 908, 946, 1023, 1030 a, aa; Stadelmann, in *Bulletin du Centenaire*, p. 158; Doret, *NVS*, p. III, Ex. 207; Goelet, *Royal Palace*, pp. 547–48; Schott, in: *Fragen an die Altägyptische Literatur*, p. 459

COMMENTARY: Janssen, *Autobiografie* 1, IAX3, IIIA8, IIBz35, IIF181, VIH9, IAa1, IAX4; 2, pp. 35, 52, 76, 124, 169, 202; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 137; Goelet, *Royal Palace*, pp. 547–48; Schott, in: *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, pp. 459–60

Transcription

(1) [iry-p^ct h^cty-^c t^ctyt^c zsb t^cty imy-r3 zšw ^c n nswt (2) imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt imy-r3 hwt-wrt 6] (3) imy-r3 šnwty imy-r3 prwy h^cd (4) imy-[r3] izwy^r hkrⁿ nswt imy-r3 pr-^ch^csw (5) imy-r3 swt nb(t) nt h^cnw imy-r3 prw^r msu nswt.^r (6) Rnpt 5 sbd 4 sw^r 3^r m^rn hr Izzī (7) sk w(i) šps.k(i) hr Izzī {r} [mr(w)t(i) nb m] {hry-sšt} n hm.f m imy-ib n hm.f m ht nb(t)

(8) mrrt hm.firt sk hm.f h^cz[.fw(i) hr] {kst nb(t) wdt.n hm.firt} wn(i) ir(i) mr st-ib nt hm.f r.s. (9) iw rdī.n n. (i) Izzī izn n [h]^r h^r wsd Šm^cw [...] {hm.f sk sw m} st-^c sk h^cpr (10) h^c. (i) hr š rdī hm.f iz.t(i).f r h^c. (i) [...] {rdī hm.f} wrh.t(i). (i) m^cndw (11) sm^cr.t(i) iw.f.(i) r-gs hm.f in sh^cd [irw šn] pr-^c3 [hry-tp Nhb iry nfr-hšt] {n zp} [ir.t(i)] {mrt r-gs nswt} n rmt nb (12) n šps.(i) mnh.(i) mrw.(i) hr Izzī r mr(w)t.(i) nb. (13) iw ir.n n. (i) [Izzī wd] {zš hm.f ds.f} m db^c{wy}.f r hzt.(i) (14) hr h[^ct] nb(t)^r {irt.n.(i)} [r šps] {r nfr [r] mnh hft st-ib [n]t hm.f r.s}

Translation


(1) [The hereditary prince and count, chief justice and vizier, overseer of royal document scribes, (2) overseer of all works of the king, overseer of the six great (law) courts]^a (3) overseer of the two granaries,^b overseer of the two treasuries, (4) over[seer] of the two chambers of royal regalia,^c overseer of the armory, (5) overseer of every department of the Residence, and overseer of the houses of the royal children.^d (6) Five years, four months, and 'three' days today under Izezi,^e (7) during which time^f I was esteemed by Izezi {more than} [any peer of mine as] {master of secrets} of His Majesty and as favorite of His Majesty in everything (8) which His Majesty wanted done, (and) during which time His Majesty was praising [me for] {every work which His Majesty had ordered to be done}, because I used to act according to the wish of His Majesty regarding it. (9) Izezi gave to me a [neck]lace^g of malachite^h [...] {His Majesty, while he was} 'in' the registry office,^h and I happened to be (10) in attendance onⁱ the grounds (of the palace).^j His Majesty had it tied around my neck [...]. {His Majesty had} me anointed with unguent, (11) and had my skin cleansed^k in the presence of His Majesty by an inspector of the [hairdressers]^l of the palace, [overlord of Nekheb, and keeper of the diadem].^m {Never had the like} [been done] {in the presence of the king} for any person, (12) because I was esteemed, trusted, and beloved by Izezi more than any peer of mine. (13) [Izezi] made [a decree]ⁿ for me, (which His Majesty himself wrote) with his {two} finger{s},^o in order to praise me (14) for everyth[ing] {which I had done} [estimably],^p well, and thoroughly, according to the wish [o]f His Majesty concerning it}.

Comments

^a Assuming that Inti's vizierial titles preceded the surviving titulary at the top of Inscription A 1, a minimum of two additional horizontal lines would probably be necessary to accommodate them. The title sequence restored here is one of the two sequences usual for Inti through *imy-r3 hwt-wrt* 6, which may or may not have stood in this position. *Imy-r3 zšw^c n nswt* and *imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt* in fact alternate in the titulary at the beginning of Inscriptions A 2 and B 2, but the latter title is too long for the space at the end of the restored first line, whereas the former title fits it closely.

^b The titles in bold type are from the front face of a block in Boston (pl. 59, fig. 33) that provides a number of additions to the beginning of Inscriptions A 1 and B 1.

^c The block in Boston also contains part of the component signs of the title *imy-r3 izwy^r hkrⁿ nswt*, likewise given here in bold type. The left edge of the *hkr*-sign is visible in pl. 59.

^d For this title, see above, p. 83 (3). Traces of the composite hieroglyph  are to be seen in the photograph (pl. 59). Sethe erroneously restored the damaged sign as the sedge plant of Upper Egypt, but Helck corrected the error already in *Beamtentitel*, p. 109, n. 15.

Inti is not named in the preserved section of the text. It is possible that his name(s) appeared in a lost column to the right of the horizontal lines of titles. If so, *Sndm-ib Inti rn.f nfr*, an arrangement patterned on that which appears on the jambs of the false door of Mehi (pl. 121; figs. 126, 127) would fit the available space. Such a column would fall outside the (restored) margins of the inscriptions, however, and the omission may simply represent an error on the part of the ancient draftsman.

^e As William Stevenson Smith observed (*JNES* 11 [1952], p. 123), Grdseloff misinterpreted the statement of the length of time, expressed in the form of the number of years, months, and days during which Senedjemib Inti served under Izezi, as a date in year 5 of that king (*ASAE* 42 [1943], p. 59).

Edel (*MIO* 1 [1953], p. 215 [7]), who thought *min* (= *mrrn*) to be a substantive meaning “honor,” translated the passage: “5 Jahre, 4 Monate, 3 Tage (alt) ist meine *mjn* bei Jzezi; siehe ich bin angesehen bei Jzezi (mehr als irgendeiner meinesgleichen),” or again “meine Ehrung bei Jzezi hat die zeitliche Ausdehnung von fünf Jahren usw.,” and more freely “meine Ehrung bei Izezi währt bereits fünf Jahre usw.” The translation of *min* as “honor” does not appear to have gained wide acceptance, however. The same may be said of Goedicke’s proposed translation of *min* as “companion, attaché” (*RdE* 11 [1957], pp. 63–68).

^f Pace Edel (*Altäg. Gramm.* 2, §§ 855–56), Satzinger (*MDAIK* 22 [1969], pp. 102–103), and Osing (*Or* 46 [1977], pp. 180–81), Doret (*NVS*, p. 25, n. 105), argues that the particle *sk/sṯ* in narrative texts from the Old Kingdom always introduces circumstantial clauses linked in meaning with what precedes them. On this passage, see *ibid.*, p. 111, Ex. 207. James Allen has suggested translating *sk* in the present context as “during which time.”

^g Izezi rewarded Senedjemib with a *izn n [h]’h’ wsd Šm’w*. The determinative of *izn* is a coil of rope or cord (Sign List V 1), and *izn* probably had the primary meaning of “thread,” “string,” or “cord.” In the tomb of Pepyankh Heny the Black (*Meir* 5, pp. 25–26, pls. 16–17), dwarfs are shown “twisting thread (*izn*) for stringing beads.” The word perhaps only secondarily came to mean “necklace,” that is, a string of beads worn around the neck as an ornament. The determinative of *izn* in the “Louvre Mastaba” (Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, pp. 107, 113) shows a string of beads and a pendant amulet of oval shape with five oval projections, the projection at the top evidently pierced for stringing. The amulet may represent a turtle (see e.g., Fischer, *Turtles*, pp. 25–30, figs. 17–18, pl. 17, and frontispiece). Senedjemib’s necklace was made of *wsd Šm’w*, while Akhethetep’s was of *wsd Šm’w* and a second, unidentified material (Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, p. 113 [1]). *Wsd* in most cases refers to malachite, but perhaps also included any green stone for which no more specific term existed, including green jasper, beryl, feldspar, and other stones of similar color (Harris, *Minerals*, pp. 102–105). *Wsd Šm’w* seemingly corresponds to the variety of malachite obtained from the deserts to the east of the Nile Valley, as

opposed to *wsd mh* from Sinai (*ibid.*, pp. 102–103). Akhethetep also received his necklace as a gift from the king.


^h For *st-ṣ*, “registry office,” cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records* 1, § 270; Ward, *Or* 51 (1982), p. 382, n. 6; Goelet, *Royal Palace*, p. 547; Roccati, *Littérature*, p. 124. This office appears only here and, in the absence of parallels, it would be tempting, but for the presence of the book roll determinative, to understand *st-ṣ* to be the term for “activity” (Gardiner, *PSBA* 34 [1912], p. 261, n. 14; Firchow, *ZÄS* 79 [1954], pp. 91–94; Fischer, *Varia*, p. 14) and to render *sk sw m st-ṣ*, as “while he was at work.”

ⁱ For *ḥr hr*, “attend to, wait (upon), oversee,” Blackman, *JEA* 17 (1931), p. 59 [30]; Smither, *JEA* 28 (1942), p. 18; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 901, and Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* 1, p. 14 and n. 37, should be consulted.



^j The meaning of *š* is discussed in note b to Inscription B 2 below.

^k For *sm’r*, see *Wb.* 4, p. 130, 15. The verb occurs in a passage in the Pyramid Texts (PT 1297d): *sm’r.n.f n(w)t ḥrt ḥrt*, “he has cleansed his fingernails and toenails.” In a letter of Middle Kingdom date published by Grdseloff, *sm’r* is used of a house (*pr*) (*JEA* 35 [1949], pp. 60–61, pl. 5). The determinative of *sm’r* in the present text is damaged, but is unlikely to be \times as Sethe suggested (*Urk.* 1, p. 60, n. a).

^l Grdseloff (*JEA* 35 [1949], pp. 61–62), restored “inspector [of the barbers] of the palace,” while Roccati (*Littérature*, p. 124) has “le supérieur des [employés] du grand palais.” By “employés,” *ḥntyw-š* is perhaps intended. The badly damaged partial parallel in the biography of Washptah (*Urk.* 1, p. 43, 9–11) suggests that it was instead an “inspector of [the hairdressers] of the palace” who undertook Inti’s grooming. For the title *šḥd irw šn pr-ṣ*, see *PM* 3², pp. 920, 933 [181], and for hairdressers in general, see Speidel, *Friseure*.

^m Visible in the middle of the long lacuna after *šḥd [irw šn] pr-ṣ* in a photograph taken in 1913 are the signs . Both Reisner and Sethe included these in their copies of Inscription A 1. It is difficult to know what to make of them. Roccati translates “supérieur . . .” and thus evidently takes the signs to represent the designation *ḥry-tp*, for which see Quagebeur, *Form und Mass* 2, pp. 368–77. Other than its employment to designate a nomarch (see e.g., Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 74–76), *ḥry-tp*, “overlord, superior, chief,” or the like forms a component in only a limited number of titles. If, in the present context, it forms the first element in a title, then *ḥry-tp ššr*, “overlord of linen” (*PM* 3², pp. 923, 935 [382]; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 218) or *ḥry-tp dšt*, “overlord of the wardrobe” (*PM* 3², pp. 923, 935 [381]; Fischer, *MMJ* [1975], p. 154) might conceivably have stood here originally. However, in neither title does the second element begin with the *r*-mouth, a circumstance which seems to preclude them from consideration. If, on the other hand, *ḥry-tp* was actually the second element in the title, it is possible that *ḥry-tp Nhb*, “overlord of Nekheb” (*PM* 3², pp. 923, 939 [383]) or *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*, “chief lector priest” (*ibid.*, pp. 918, 935 [41]) is to be restored. Both titles are on occasion found in the titularies of royal hairdressers, the first (Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 312, 390; Lythgoe–Ransom, *Perneb*, figs. 34, 35; Hassan, *Giza* 1, pp. 6, 7, 9, 29) perhaps somewhat more frequently than the latter (Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 390; Hassan, *Giza* 4, fig. 115). Whether either dignity was theirs by virtue of the fact that certain of the same indi-

viduals are *hry-sšt n pr-dwst*, “master of secrets of the house of the morning,” an office concerned with the care of the king’s diadem, ornaments, apparel, and his daily toilet (Blackman, *JEA* 5 [1918], pp. 148–65), is a question which needs be investigated at length elsewhere.

If *hry-tp Nhb* is indeed to be restored in the lacuna after *shd [irw šn] pr-3*, what then is to be made of the *r*-mouth that follows? The mouth-sign alone is a well known writing for *iry*, “keeper,” in Old Kingdom titles (Fischer, *ZÄS* 105 [1978], pp. 54–55). If we are correct in our assumptions so far, it is possible that it represents the first element in the title *iry nfr-hst*, “keeper of the diadem,” a regular component in the titularies of royal hairdressers; see e.g., *PM* 3², p. 933 [299]). The availability of space, however, would require an arrangement of the title like  (Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 294, 390; Hassan, *Giza* 1, p. 29; 4, fig. 116) or  (Hassan, *Giza* 4, fig. 119).

All this, of course, presupposes that *shd [irw šn] pr-3* is correctly restored in the first place. Even so, there may be other possibilities here I have not envisaged, and it is with some reticence that the proposed restoration is included in text fig. 1.

ⁿ For the restoration, cf. *Urk.* 1, p. 60, n. d.

^o *Dbr{wy}*.f apparently alludes to the fact that the ancient Egyptians wrote with a reed held between the thumb and index finger of the right hand. Only rarely is the writing implement actually carved in scribe statues, but the right hand is occasionally drilled between the thumb and index finger for the insertion of an implement made from another material (Scott, *Scribe Statue*, pp. 49, 69, 80–81).

^p James Allen suggests restoring *n hm.fr šps* after *{irt.n.(i)}* and before *r nfr* in line 13. There is insufficient room for the proposed translation in its entirety, but *r šps* alone fits the lacuna and, as Allen notes, gives a reflection of *n šps.(i) mnh.(i)* above.

Inscription A 2

PUBLICATION: LD 2, pl. 76d; *Urk.* 1, pp. 60, 14–61, 14

PRESENT VOLUME: figs. 28 (L), 29 (R), 30 (GMP); text figure 2; pls. 58, 61–63b

TRANSLATIONS: Breasted, *Ancient Records* 1, § 271; Roccati, *Littérature*, § 93; Wentz, *Letters*, no. 4; Eichler, *SAK* 18 (1991), pp. 144–45

TRANSLATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL PASSAGES: Junker, *Giza* 6, p. 7; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, §§ 498, 609, 622, 668 cc; 2, §§ 839, 869 a, 888, 892, 907, 908, 949; Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions*, p. 28, Ex. 34; 89, Ex. 2; Barta, *ZÄS* 110 (1983), p. 99 (5); Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 240 (1); Doret, *NVS*, p. 43, Ex. 52; Golet, *Royal Palace*, p. 547

COMMENTARY: Janssen, *Trad. Autobiogr.* 1, IIHC1; 2: 165; Schott, in: *Fragen an die Altägyptische Literatur*, p. 460; Eichler, *SAK* 18 (1991), pp. 155–57

Transcription

(1) *wd nswt tyty zsb bty imy-r3 zšw c n nswt* (2) *imy-r3 kst [nb]t n{t nswt Sndm-ib.* (3) *{š}w m.n hm.(i) mdt.k tn irt.n.k r rdit rh hm.(i) {ht nb(t) ntt ir.n.k 'm qd' zš* (4) *n mrt Izzī ntt hr š n pr-3. in rr iw wn msc sndm {ib.(i). im' } wnn dd ht is pw* (5) *m sndm ib n Izzī. di rh 'hm'.(i) bw msc (i)r(y) hr c{w}(y). {in hm} wn r hpr twt* (6) *dd mrrt Izzī {r} s' h nb hpr m 'b' pn. {r[h].n.(i) š}w[t šps] wrt n.(i) {m} (i)šst, (7) {sk} hm*


hm.(i) rh.(i) wnt h'w nb 'hr nfrw'.{f}. t[w]t n.(i) dd imy-r3 'kst nbt n'(t) nswt. (8) sndm ib pw n Izzī 'mst' msc.t. h'z' i{w}[t.k] hr.(i) [n] 'irr'.k ht pw hr.'s' (9) iqr iqr {š}w ir.{n.k hhw} nw zp {mr tw} [hm.š] {sk h} m rh.t(i) mrr.(i) tw

Translation

(1) Royal decree to^a the chief justice and vizier, overseer of scribes of royal records, (2) and overseer o{f} [al]l works o{f} the king, Senedjemib. (3) My Majesty has seen this letter of yours which you wrote in order to inform My Majesty of {every thing that you have done 'in drafting}^b the decoration^c (4) of the Hathor chapel^d of Izezi which is on the grounds of the palace. Can I have been correctly info{rmed}?^e Don't let it be said that it is a matter (5) of (just) gratifying Izezi!^f Let 'My Majesty' know the truth about it immediate{ly}!^g [And if] it is {yet} to happen,^h you are (6) one who says what Izezi likes {better than} any official who has (ever) come into being in this 'land.'ⁱ (7) {Inasmuch as} My Majesty knows that every ship is 'on an even keel,'^j {I kn[ow] in} what way {y}ou [are one who is] very [valuable] for me.^k The speaking of the overseer of all works of the king is 'pleasing' to me.^l (8) It is an informing of Izezi very correctly.^m If only [you] could co]meⁿ to me, [since] you 'do' this (sort of) thing because of 'it' (9) in the best manner.^o You have performed innumerable deeds, (in such a way) that [My Majesty] should love you, and assuredly you know that I do love you.^p

Comments

^a As Fischer observes (*Reversals*, pp. 58–59), the dative *n* is regularly omitted in Old Kingdom writings of *wd nswt (n)*, the reversal of the phrase sufficing to convey the idea of the dative.

^b So Wentz; Roccati has “la rédaction.” Presumably, *qd* (*Wb.* 5, p. 73, 13–24; *AEO* 1, p. 71*; *FCD*, p. 287) is meant in both cases. The spelling  (Jéquier, *Mon. fun.* 3, p. 74, fig. 73) corresponds fairly well to the traces visible in pl. 62.

^c Roccati and Wentz may well be correct in translating *zš* “inscription” and “inscriptional(?) decoration” respectively. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the verb *zš* means equally “to write,” “draw,” and “paint” (*Wb.* 3, p. 476, 7–15; *FCD*, p. 246), so that the substantive *zš* in the present context could refer both to representational and inscriptional decoration.

^d On the *mrt*-chapels of Hathor, see especially Barta, *ZÄS* 110 (1983), pp. 98–102. Kings Snefru, Userkaf, Sahure, Menkauhor, Izezi, Unis, Teti, Pepy I, and Pepy II are all known to have possessed such cult places. Both men and women served as priests of Hathor in the *mrt*-chapel, but the supervisors were men. Two male “inspectors of priests of the *mrt*-chapel” are known, as well as an “inspector of priests of Hathor of the “Great” phyle of the *mrt*-chapel of Sahure.”

Few texts have anything substantive to say about the *mrt*-chapels themselves. An entry in the Palermo Stone makes mention of “the fashioning and opening the mouth of an electrum statue of (the god) *Ihy*, escorting (it) to the *mrt*-chapel of Snefru of the *nbt*-shrine of Hathor” in the first year of Neferirkare (*Urk.* 1, p. 247, 15–16). The passage perhaps provides an indication that King Snefru constructed a *mrt*-chapel within the confines of the well-known temple of

Hathor in a southern suburb of Memphis (Brovarski, *Or* 46 [1977], p. 115). A Fifth Dynasty priest was “overseer of the *mrt*-chapel of the *nht*-shrine of Hathor,” possibly the same Memphite sanctuary, although his other titles connect him with the pyramid and sun-temple of Userkaf (*PM* 3², p. 578). On the other hand, the title of a contemporary of Pepy II, “priestess of Hathor in the *mrt*-chapel of the *dsdw* of Pepy,” appears to locate a *mrt*-chapel of that sovereign in the throne room of the palace; see *Wb.* 5, p. 527, 11; Reisner, *GN* 1, pl. 65 b. *Izzi-h[.f]* was “priest of the *mrt*-chapel of Meryre of the *rs-š*” (Mar. *Mast.*, p. 456), while the *mrt*-chapel which Inti built for Izezi was located *hr š n pr-š*, “on the grounds of the palace.” For *š* (*n pr-š*), see Inscription B 2, n. b, and on the vexed question of the nature of the *rs-š*, see Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, pp. 69–71; Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* 1, pp. 318–19; *ArchAousir*, p. 612ff.; Stadelmann, *Bulletin du Centenaire*, pp. 163–64.

^c With a few exceptions, I have followed James Allen closely in his rendering of columns 4–9. He analyzes *mš* in line 4 as an adjectival predicate (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 995) and *sndm ib* as its subject. *Sndm-ib*, literally “sweeten the heart,” can mean “gladden (the heart), please, gratify,” see *Wb.* 4, p. 186, 12–17; *FCD*, p. 235; Wentz, *Letters*, p. 19. In the present context, Allen thinks *sndm ib* must be a variant of the more common (and later) *swš ib*, “make sound the heart,” that is, “inform” (*Wb.* 4, p. 80, 7–18), although it is difficult, as he remarks, to render *sndm ib* fluently in English as “inform” in the succeeding sentence, even though it has the same meaning in both instances. As observed by Silverman (*Interrogative Constructions*, pp. 80–81), *in iw* makes the sentence a question, while *rr* converts it to a rhetorical question with an expected response of “yes” (ibid., pp. 88–93). On this sentence and what follows, cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 949ßß; Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions*, p. 28, Ex. 34; 89, Ex. 2; Wentz, *Letters*, p. 19.

^f Allen notes that *is* here makes the nominal *ht pw n sndm ib n Izzi* the object of the infinitive *dd*. This construction in turn serves as the object of *im wnn*, the *sdm.f* of the negative verb *imi* plus the negational complement *wnn*.

Senedjemib’s name, of course, means “He who sweetens the heart,” or the like, and Breasted suggested (*Ancient Records* 1, p. 122, n. f) that Izezi is punning on the vizier’s name. Be that as it may, it should be noted that the same expression is used by Izezi in his letter to the vizier Rashepses (*Urk.* 1, p. 179, 14).

^g Lepsius has *hr-šy*, but it is clear from pl. 63b that Reisner and Sethe’s *hr-w(y)* is correct. Lepsius’s second reed leaf actually belongs to the non-enclitic particle *in* at the beginning of the next sentence.

^h A nummulite (now fallen away) in the stone beneath the beetle probably explains the asymmetrical arrangement of *hpr*; see pl. 63b.

ⁱ Edel (*Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 839) emends *in* to *ii n.(i)* and understands the following verb *wn* as an imperative “hurry!” He translates the entire passage: “Komm doch zu mir! Eile, so daß (es) ausgeführt wird!” Similarly, Roccati has “Viens donc chez moi, hâte-toi à faire cela!” In discussing this passage, however, Silverman (*Interrogative Constructions*, p. 89, n. 515) observes that Edel’s suggestion involves an otherwise poorly attested imperative of the verb *ii*. Moreover, he notes, *hm* usually occurs before a nominal subject in a participial statement introduced by non-interrogative *in* (PT 711 a, c, PT 123 d,

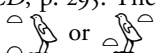
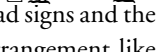

and CT II 265 b) or before a nominal subject in anticipatory emphasis followed by the *sdm.f* form of the verb, with non-interrogative *in* at the head of the whole expression (CT IV 333 e), neither of which happens to be the case here. However, Silverman also provides two examples of *hm* after *in iw* in two clear questions (*Hekanakhte*, II, ro. 42; *Hieratische Papyrus* III, pl. VI, Str Cb3), and a third example (Roccati, *JEA* 54 [1968], pl. 4, 7) in which *hm* follows *in* directly (as is the case in the present passage), but whose meaning is ambiguous. In the Old Kingdom letter published by Roccati, Silverman thinks it unlikely that, if the passage is understood as a question, it is a rhetorical one with an expected answer of “yes.” If there is an expected response at all, one of “no” would be anticipated. In the present context, if the passage is understood as a rhetorical question, the expected response would be “yes.”

Allen remarks that these two passages can indeed be taken as two separate sentences (which, grammatically, they are anyway): “Is it yet to happen? You are one...,” but he thinks they work better together in English. For *in*, “if,” see Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions*, pp. 105–108. Allen takes *wn r hpr* as the subjunctive (prospective) counterpart of *iw.(f) r hpr*, without an expressed subject.

^j The translation of the idiom *hrw nb hr nfrw.f* is Wentz’s. Roccati, *Littérature*, p. 124, has: “Or ma Majesté sait que tout bateau est sur sa perfection.” However, *nfrw* can mean “ground level, base, zero line” (Carter, *JEA* 4 [1917], p. 110, n. 1; Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, pp. 16–18), and the sense of the passage seems to be that Izezi knows that Inti’s perspicacity will serve him well, just as he knows with certitude that a boat rides level on the water.



^k The translation here reflects Wentz’s. There is only room in the constricted space below the *t*, behind the *w* of *twt*, and above the back of the swallow or House Martin (Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 124–26) of *wrt* for one tall sign. That sign is largely destroyed, but the seated “man of rank” hieroglyph fits the context and just possibly the space as well. Traces that may represent the top of the head and the base of the sign are visible in pl. 63b.

Twt [...] *wrt n.i* must be a nominal sentence with a missing adjective (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 943). Allen further observes that this must be an indirect question, for if it were a direct question (“By what means do I know you are one who is very [...] for me?”), the nominal sentence would be subordinated by *is* (ibid., § 1017). For an example of such a direct question, he cites CT II, 215c–216a.

^l For *twt*, “be pleased,” see *Wb.* 5, p. 258–59; *FCD*, p. 295. The usual arrangement of the component signs of *twt* is  or  (*Wb.* 5, pp. 258–59), but the placement of the two bread signs and the size and shape of the lacuna here presupposes an arrangement like . The partial parallel to this passage in the autobiography of the vizier Rashepses reads *twt tr n.(i) dd.k r ht nb(t)* (*Urk.* 1, p. 179, 18; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 698).

Allen sees *sk hm hm.(i) rh(i) wnt hrw nb hr nfrw.f* as an example of a *sk*-clause before a main clause (see e.g., ibid. 2, § 1030), and would translate: “And since My Majesty (therefore) knows that every ship is on an even keel, the speaking of the overseer of all works of the king is ‘pleasing’ to me.” As he notes, *dd* should be an infinitive, *dd.k*, “your speaking,” rather than *ddt.k*, “what you say,” a relative *sdm.f*, because it is missing a final *t*.

^m Cf. Wente, *Letters*, p. 19. Allen would once again translate *sn̄dm-ib* as “inform.”

ⁿ Sethe has  but the traces suggest . The non-enclitic particle *ḥr* seemingly occurs only before optatives (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 867). *ṯwt.k*, the subjunctive *sdm.f* of *iw* (ibid. 1, p. 476 cc) fits the lacuna admirably, although only the first two letters of the word were preserved according to Reisner. Cf. Wente, *Letters*, p. 19.

^o Roccati translates “Si ... tu feras cette chose à son egard de la façon la meilleure.” Wente has “If only you might come to [me. But] it means that you are working at this very assiduously.” In fact, there is space in the lacuna between *ḥr.(i)* and *irr.k* for a low broad sign, even though the area is badly damaged and no clear traces are discernible. I had originally restored an *r*-mouth in the lacuna, and translated “so that you might do this thing.” Although the restoration is grammatically possible (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 491 c; Doret, *NVS*, p. 52), Allen has persuaded me that it does not really make sense in this context. He thinks Izezi wants the project finished, and that obviously requires Inti’s absence, since they are communicating by letter, so the latter cannot “come to” the king “in order to do this thing.” Consequently, the ripple of water has been restored instead.

Allen comments further that *Wb.* 1, p. 111, 14 and 21, knows only *iri ḥr* plus directions and *iri ḥr mw*, neither of which fits this context. *Ḥr* must therefore have its usual meaning “because of.” Given the present restorations, the only possible antecedent of *ḥr.s* is *m̄r̄t* in the preceding sentence.

^p Allen’s parenthetical “(in such a way)” makes clearer the relationship between the *iw ir.n.k* and *mr tw* clauses, while “do love” in the last clause points out the difference between *mr* and *mrr.(i)*.

INSCRIPTION B

On the north wall of the portico stand two other letters from Izezi to Senedjemib, one (B 2) originally dated to year 16 or 26 (*rnpt zp 16* or *2ḏ*).

The inscription on the side of the corner block in Boston (pl. 64a; fig. 30) suggests that the first vertical line of letter B 1 is to be restored on the pattern of *Urk.* 1, p. 128, 5–8. Once this is done (text fig. 2), it becomes apparent that nearly half of the letter is missing. Even if an alternative introduction patterned on that in letter A 2 (*Urk.* 1, p. 60, 16–17) is utilized, the necessary space is virtually the same. It seems fair to assume that the words *wḏ nswt* and the vizier’s titulary and name on the pattern of one of the missives comprising Inscriptions A 2 or B 2 preceded the body of the letter. The batter of the facade of the mastaba, however, does not permit the usual arrangement of the opening of the letter in wide horizontal lines, as is the case in the letter below and that on the adjacent north facade. It is possible that the address was contained in five narrow horizontal lines of slightly increasing width from top to bottom. I am at a loss to provide a parallel for the arrangement, but it is difficult to identify a more satisfactory alternative. If this arrangement is accepted, it is clear that something in the neighborhood of 95 cm is missing from the height of the wall here. This reconstruction would also allow the restoration of the title sequence [*iry-p̄t ḥty-ḥ tyty zsb ṯty imy-r̄3*] *kst nbt nt nswt* in the right hand column of large hieroglyphs over

the vizier’s head. The height of the decorated area of the wall was thus something like 3.45 m originally. Since the baseline of the reliefs of the north wall of the portico lies between 1.20 and 1.26 m above the pavement, the total height of the wall would have been in the neighborhood of 4.70 m.

Inscription B 1

PUBLICATION: *LD* 2, p. 76f; *Urk.* 1, p. 61, 17–62, 12

PRESENT VOLUME: figs. 28 (L), 29 (R), 30 (GMP); text figure 2; pls. 64a–66a

TRANSLATIONS: Breasted, *Ancient Records* 1, § 272; Roccati, *Littérature*, § 94; Wente, *Letters*, no. 5

TRANSLATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL PASSAGES: Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 137, n. 29; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 716; 2, §§ 839, 853, 878; Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions*, p. 98, Ex. 15; Stadelmann, in *Bulletin du Centenaire*, p. 158; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 241 (2–4); Doret, *NVS*, p. 82, Ex. 168; 95, Ex. 168

COMMENTARY: Schott, *Fragen an die Altägyptische Literatur*, p. 459.

Transcription

(1) [*wḏ nswt*, (2) *tyty zsb ṯty*, (3) *imy-r̄3 zšw ḥ n nswt*, (4) *imy-r̄3 kst nbt nt nswt* (5) *Sn̄dm-ib wr.* (6) *iw s̄s mdt nt m̄dt.k tn ir̄t*]. *n.k ḥr nswt r izt r rd̄it rh ḥm.(i) wnt in n.k wḏ n nswt r* [... *sk tw ḏd.k*] [*ḥr ḥm.(i) wnt.k*] *r ir̄t* {*s̄*} [*ḥft ḏdd[ṯ]*] *m* [*stp*]-*z3*. (7) [...] *kst m stp-z3 m ḥmt.k sk tw ḏd.k ḥr ḥm.(i) wnt.k r* [...] {*ḥb-sd. iw mr.n ḥm.(i) sdm*} *ḥm̄w*.*k pn wrt.* (8) [*n d̄y tw ḥr gs.k. n rd̄i tw k; n Izz̄i n ḥt nb(t) m*] {*r*} [*ḥft*].*k* [... *tw ir(y)*] {*n.f ḥm.(i) ḥt nb(t) srḥt ḥm.(i) [ḏ]r-ntt ḏd.t(i)*} *imy-r̄3 kst nb(t) nt* {*nswt*} (9) *ḥr-ḥwy m̄3.(i) kst m stp-z3 sk tw m* [... *ḥr rs-tp ir.n*].*f* *m grḥ mr hrw* [*r ir̄t wḏt.n*] (10) [*nb(t) ḥm.(i) im*] [*hrw nb*].*r* [*ḥ.n.(i)*] *ḥm mrr w(i)* {*R*} [*ḥr*] (11) [*rd̄it.f.n.(i) tw*]

Translation

(1) [Royal decree to (2) the chief justice and vizier, (3) overseer of royal document scribes, (4) and overseer of all works of the king, (5) Senedjemib the Elder. (6) Note has been taken of the contents of this letter of yours]^a which you [sent] to the king^b to the council chamber^c in order to inform My Majesty that an order of the King was brought to you regarding [... and you say]^d {to My Majesty that you} are going ^eto lay out^e {the grounds} according to what was said in the [court] council^f (7) [...] the construction work in the court council in your absence,^g and you say to My Majesty you are going to [...] {the jubilee festival. My Majesty has wished to hear} this ^h‘speech’ of yours very much (8) [... , and I will not] discomfit you.^h The *ka* of Izezi will not put you in {the hand of} your [opponent] for any reason.ⁱ [... You are one] {for whom My Majesty [will do] anything about which My Majesty learns, [be]cause the ^eoverseer of all works of^f {the king is mentioned} (9) immediately, whenever I inspect a project in the court council,^j while you are [... on account of the vigilance which] he [has exerted] ^h‘by night and by day’ [in order to do everything which My Majesty ordered] (10) [therein] {every day}.^k (11) It is [because]{he} ^h‘has given you to me’ [that I] ^h‘assuredly’ ^hk[now that] {Re} ^h‘loves me.’^l

Comments

^a For the reconstruction, see *Urk.* 1, p. 128, 5; Wente, *Letters*, p. 19. In the second letter from King Izezi, Senedjemib is so addressed. In the third letter, the order of the titles “overseer of scribes of royal records” and “overseer of all works of the king” is reversed. Either alternative is possible here. For the epithet *wr* after the personal name Senedjemib, see below, Inscription B 2, n. k.

^b The phrases in bold type represent the additions made to Inscription B 1 from the corner block now in Boston whose two inscribed faces join both inscriptions A 1 and B 1 at the top.

^c For *izt*, “cabinet, council chamber” see Roccati, *Littérature*, p. 206. An officer of the royal household (*zš šsr nswt; iry-rdwy n stp-zš; iry nfr-ḥst m st nt nswt*) had the title *ḥm-nṯr Ḥr ḥnty izt wḥbt*, “priest of Horus (the king?) who presides over the pure *izt*-chamber” (Hassan, *Giza 6*³, fig. 188, pl. 81 A.). A second functionary about whom nothing more is known was *zš n izt šst[š]*, “scribe of the secret *izt*-chamber” (Kaplony, *Rollsiegel 2*^B, p. 467, pl. 124 [66]). It is possible that both the “pure” and the “secret” chamber are identical with the *izt* referred to by King Izezi. The identification is less likely in the case of the “great chamber” mentioned in the title *ḥry-ššṯ n izt ʿt*, which belongs to an individual who ushers tax payers into the presence of officials in the tomb of Mereruka (*Mereruka 1*, pl. 36), but what is presumably the same place-name appears in a title evinced by numerous examples, *smsw izt*, “elder of the *izt*-chamber” (Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 38), and in a second title known from four occurrences, *imy-ḥt ḥn izt*, “supervisor of those who are within the *izt*-chamber” (Fischer, *Varia*, p. 16; idem, *Varia Nova*, p. 237). Given Inti’s connection with construction works and the context of Izezi’s letters, Helck’s observation that *smsw izt* in the (earlier) Old Kingdom is a rank title of building overseers is of some interest (*Beamtentitel*, pp. 38–39). On the other hand, it appears in none of the titularies of the Senedjemib family, and the association may have been discontinued by this time.

^d For the restoration, see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 1025.

^e On *iri š*, see Inscription B 2, n. b.

^f Goelet, *Royal Palace 2*, pp. 442–70, and *JARCE 23* (1986), pp. 85–98, should be consulted for the nature and function of the *stp-zš*. Goelet renders *stp-zš* as “escort, body-guard,” but Gunn’s translation of “court council” (*Teti Cem.* 1, p. 110, n. 2), in the sense of the body of persons who make up the retinue or council of a ruler, perhaps better summarizes the nature of the duties of those officials who are associated with the *stp-zš* (see Goelet, *Royal Palace 2*, pp. 461–65). Those duties included both attendance on the person of the sovereign and participation in the decision-making process (ibid., pp. 454–55, 468–70).

^g For the compound preposition *m-ḥmt*, see Gardiner, *EG*, § 178. Although the passage is damaged, it seems that Inti was not present at court when the original plans for laying out the grounds for Izezi’s jubilee celebrations were settled upon.

^h *Ḥr gs.k* rather than *r-gs.k* as in Inscription A, line 9; see PT 1002 b; 1003 b; 1878 c; 2182 b. Gardiner (*EG*, § 178) gives *ḥr-gs* as a preposition meaning “beside,” but according to Edel (*Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 805) only *r-gs* is known in Old Egyptian.

As James Allen observes, and as may be seen from the Pyramid Text references just cited, *ḥr gs* in Old Egyptian appears in the idioms *wḏi ḥr gs*, “put (someone) on (his) side,” and *ṯzi ḥr gs*, “raise (someone) from (his) side.” Given the broken context, it is not clear which of the two idioms stood here originally but, as Allen also notes, this and the succeeding sentence appear to constitute promises of the king’s protection (or at least of his continued esteem). The later idiom *rdi ḥr gs*, “lay low, fell (an enemy)” (*FCD*, pp. 155, 291), suggested to me the translation proposed here. Allen, on the other hand, favors a participial rendering of the passage: “There is no one who will put you on your side.”


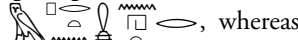

For the -y ending in the 1st pers. sing. of the anomalous verbs in the regular conjugation, see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 473cc; Allen, *IVPT*, § 143ff.

ⁱ Allen has suggested the restoration *m [ʿ n ḥft].k* in the damaged portion of line 8 before the large lacuna in the middle of the inscription. Reisner thought he saw *ʿ n* but, in actual fact, there is insufficient room for the suggested restoration in the space between the *m* and *k*, whereas *m [ʿ] [ḥft].k* does fit the available space. Furthermore, its component signs more readily correspond to the faint traces visible today. The unnamed “enemy” may have been a rival at court who had presented an alternative proposal for the building project under discussion. *Ḥft* has been translated “opponent” because “enemy” seems unnecessarily harsh given the context. In fact, *ḥft* is used of persons who litigate against one in the court of the magistrates; see *Letters to the Dead*, pp. 20–21. Allen’s understanding of *n rdi* as future (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 1079), instead of past, also yields a better sense here.


^j The first sign clearly visible after the lacuna in line 8 is the fullers’ club. Alongside this sign, both Reisner and Sethe thought they saw the word *ḥt* followed below by a *nb*-basket. The bread loaf of *ḥt* is definitely visible in pl. 64b and the placenta(?) perhaps to be made out. Directly over these two signs Reisner thought he could see a viper and above that a short horizontal line segment. Sethe thought that the viper was instead probably a ripple of water. The area is, in fact, badly pitted and damaged, and the grouping unconventional. Both scholars then read *srḥt*, the folded cloth and bread loaf of which are visible in the plate and possibly also the mouth and placenta(?). What follows is once again badly damaged. Both Reisner and Sethe thought they saw a second, damaged fullers’ club on the left and following this *r ntt*. Faint vestiges in the photograph which might conceivably be interpreted as the fullers’ club are not centered on the two vertical signs in the column immediately above, however, and this calls the existence of the sign into doubt. Nothing is visible in the space immediately to the right of the club. The two bread loaves of *ntt* are still to be made out, and there are traces which could conceivably represent both the *r*-mouth and the ripple of water above these. On the other hand, the putative mouth-sign is set too high to allow sufficient room for the second fullers’ club between it and the folded cloth *s* of *srḥt*.

It should be apparent from these remarks how very tentative any translation of the passage must be. Nonetheless, Reisner presumably had the advantage of viewing the wall when its inscriptions were better preserved, and we have simply followed his version of the text.

Allen offers a different translation from my own. He notes that the key is the verb *srh*, which can mean both “announce” and “make known” (*Wb.* 4, p. 199, 2). According to him the former would fit with what seems to precede, the latter with what seems to follow. He finds the latter slightly easier grammatically, in which case he thinks my restoration of [*twi*] makes sense. But he takes exception to *ir(y)*, since he feels what is wanted is a verb like “assign” or “command.” He opts for *wḏ* because of its use in column 6. He points out that *r-ntt* cannot mean “because,” since it is used to introduce the object of a speech, and then not apparently till Middle Egyptian. He observes further that if the second fullers’ club is correct, it needs a sign next to it, probably the bundle of flax, giving [*d*] *r-ntt*, “since” (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 1043). I have followed him in this, because *n-ntt*, “because,” like *r-ntt*, “inasmuch as, seeing that,” does not seem to occur in clauses of cause before the Middle Kingdom (ibid. § 1054; Gardiner, *EG*, § 223). Allen does not like *dd* with a person as object meaning “mention (someone)” — the only good Old Egyptian example being PT 1186 b. Nonetheless, this seems to be the only possibility, since the *dd.t(i)* is clear. He thinks *mḥ* is most likely an imperfective active particle modifying *imy-rs kst nb(t) nt nswt*, in the common sense of “see to” a job (*Wb.* 2, p. 8, 17), whereas I take it to be a 1st pers. sing. circumstantial *sḏm.f.* Altogether then, he proposes the following: ... [*twi wḏ n*].*f* *hm.(i) ht nb srht hm.(i) [d]r-ntt dd.t(i) (i)m(i) r kst nb nbt nt nswt hr wy mḥ kst m stp-zs sk tw m* “... {You are the one to} whom My Majesty [commands] everything that My Majesty announces (as a project), since the overseer of all works of the king, who sees to work at court, is mentioned immediately. Since you are....”

^k Although Reisner and Sethe agreed they saw  after the lengthy lacuna in the middle of line 9, they differed somewhat in their interpretation of the damaged signs that followed. The former thought he could make out , whereas Sethe saw . The two scholars were once more in agreement in seeing *zs nb* followed by a low, broad lacuna at the bottom of the line. Following Sethe’s transcription, Roccati translates the passage, which continues into the succeeding line, as “que [Sa] Majesté a ordonné qu’ils lui donnent(?) sous le roi, comme défense contre(?) ... tout écrit ... chaque jour.” Wenté, on the other hand, renders it as follows: “that whereof My Majesty commands them to give to him while under the king according as I retire(?) in order to [read] each letter [which arrives from you] every day.”

The signs following the lacuna in the middle of the line were either already destroyed or badly damaged in 1913 (pls. 64b, 65). Today they are nearly completely obliterated. Although there are traces visible in the photographs which might possibly be construed to read [*w*] *dt di.sn n.f.* what appear to be vestiges of other signs cast the reading into doubt. Whereas the viper is clear, the signs that follow are conducive of a different interpretation. There was probably not room for a reed leaf before the owl, which is largely visible. The ring-stand or butcher’s block (not a stool of reed matting) is relatively certain and the mouth alongside it is definite, but the same cannot be said for the word *nswt*. The loop of the milk-jug in a net is to be seen as is the better part of the reed shelter. The letter *n*, which both Reisner and Sethe thought to see above the latter sign, is not at all

evident. Moreover, the putative loaf *t* beneath the reed shelter is excessively small and is probably simply a hole in the stone. The mouth that follows is clear though, and there are also traces of the figure of a quail chick on the left of the space below and just possibly of a circular sign over the back of the chick. If these observations are correct, the damaged signs may resolve into the phrase *m grh mr hrw*, “by night and by day.” In fact, even though no trace remains of the night determinative, what Reisner and Sethe saw as the top of the *swt*-plant in *nswt* actually looks more like the uppermost loop of the twisted flax wick, the final radical in *grh*. According to *Wb.* 5, p. 184, 4, the earliest occurrence of the adverbial phrase (*m*) *grh mi hrw* dates to the Second Intermediate Period. Nevertheless, it actually appears in late Dynasty 5 in an abbreviated writing  on a block from the tomb of the chief metal worker Smerkhuaptah Itwesh (James, *Corpus*, p. 14, no. 38, pl. 20), and it is most probably to be restored in the following passage from the autobiography of Prince Ka-em-tjenet: [... *r*] *s hr.s m grh [mr hrw]* (*Urk.* 1, p. 184, 6; Edel, *Phraseologie*, § 50 a; Schott, in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, p. 451). It is this last passage which has prompted the restoration suggested here which should nonetheless be considered as no more than one possibility, since none of the component signs are actually visible except for some traces which might conceivably represent the eye of *ir.n.f.* “He” would refer back to “the ‘overseer of all works of’ {the king}.” For *rs* and *rs-tp*, Edel, *Phraseologie*, § 50, should be consulted.

The bottom of line 9 is badly pitted and chipped, and I believe that Reisner and Sethe were misled by hollows in the stone into seeing *zs nb*. If their reading is disallowed, it would then be possible to restore one of the clauses that follow on *rs-tp*, for which see Edel, *Phraseologie*, § 50. *R irt wḏt.n nb(t) hm.(i) im* would fit the lacunae at the bottom of line 9 and the beginning of line 10, even though it is unsubstantiated by any actual traces.

^l For the reading with the stressed adverbial adjunct *hr rdit* as the object of the nominal “emphatic” form of the verb *rh*, see Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, § 26 a; Doret, *NVS*, p. 82.

Reisner mistakenly saw traces of the letters *m* and *t* at the bottom of line 11 after the mention of the sun-god. The traces visible in pl. 66a suggest that Sethe was correct in restoring the preposition *hr*.

Inscription B 2

PUBLICATION: *LD* 2, pl. 76f; *Urk.* 1, pp. 62, 14–63, 11

PRESENT VOLUME: figs. 28 (L), 29 (R), 30 (GMP); text figure 2; pls. 65–66b

TRANSLATIONS: Breasted, *Ancient Records* 1, § 273; Roccati, *Littérature*, § 95; Wenté, *Letters*, no. 3; Eichler, *SAK* 18 (1991), pp. 147–49

TRANSLATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL PASSAGES: Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, §§ 303, 363 aa, 381, 498, 537, 547 aa, 710; 2, §§ 839, 842, 888, 907, 908, 1022, 1025; Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions*, p. 98, Ex. 15; Stadelmann, in *Bulletin du Centenaire*, p. 158; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 235, 241 (4); Doret, *NVS*, p. 50, Ex. 74; 92, Ex. 160; 103, Ex. 184; Goelet, *Royal Palace*, p. 251

COMMENTARY: Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952), p. 113, n. 2; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 137; *ArchAbousir*, p. 620; Goelet, *Royal Palace*, pp. 250–57, 455–56, 546–47; Schott, in: *Fragen an die Altägyptische Literatur*, p. 460; Eichler, *SAK* 18 (1991), pp. 157–58

Transcription

(1) *ṛwḏ nswt¹ ʿsytj zsb¹ ʿḳty¹ imy-r3 kst nbt nt n[swt]* (2) *imy-r3 zšw^c n nswt Sndm-ib [wr]*. (3) *iw m3.n ḥm.(i) sntw pn {rdi.n.k [in].{t(i).f} r s3s m stp-z3 n š n¹ sht¹* (4) *n ḥ n Izzī n ḥb-¹sd¹ sk {tw} ḏd.k¹ ḥr ḥm.(i) wnt ir.n.k {s}w {r}* (5) *z3w¹ mh 1000 {r} [shw] mh¹ 440¹ ḥft wddt n.k m stp-z3. rh wi {t}w {tr} ḏd mrrt {Izzi r ḥt nb}*. (6) *ir.n tw ḥm ntr r st-ib nt Izzī. ṛiw ḥm.(i) rh.(i) ḥmw.¹ k¹ r imy-r3 kst nb(t)* (7) *ḥpr m ʿs pn r [d]r.f. iw.(i) ir.(i) ḥr.k wrt ir.[t(i)] ṛmr¹[t] r ḥt nb(t). iw ḥm ir.n.k* (8) *ḥrp¹ ḥḥw nw [zp]. {iw.[k] r irt imy}-r3 kst nt nswt.* (9) *i {S}ndm-ib wr mr{r}.(i) tw ḥm sk ḥm rh.t(i) mrr.(i) tw.* (10) *rmpt-zp [1]⁶ ʿbd 4 šmw sw 28*

Translation

(1) ‘Royal decree’ (to) the chief justice and ‘vizier,’ overseer of all works of the k[ing], (2) and overseer of scribes of royal records, Senedjemib [the Elder]. (3) My Majesty has seen this ground plan^a [which you [se]nt] to be considered in the court council for the precinct^b of the ‘broad court’^c (4) of the keep^d of Izezi of the ‘jubilee’ festival.^e Moreover, [you] ‘say’ to My Majesty that you have made [i]t (5) [to] ‘a length’ of 1,000 cubits and [to] [a width] of ‘440’ cubits,^f in accordance with what was commanded to you in the court council. How well [indeed y]ou know how to say [better than anything] what [Izezi] wishes!^g (6) It is surely in accordance with the heart’s desire of Izezi that god has made you.

‘My Majesty knows’ that ‘you’ are more skillful than any overseer of works (7) who has (ever) come into being in this [en]tire land. Much has been done through you so that what I want more than anything might [be] done.^h You have indeed acted as (8) ‘director’ⁱ on innumerable [occasions], and [you] {are (henceforth) to serve as over}seer of all works of the king.^j (9) O {Se}nedjemib the Elder,^k I assuredly lo[ve] you,^l and assuredly it is known that I love you. (10) Year of the [1]⁶th count, 4th month of summer, day 28.^m

Comments

^a According to *Wb.* 4, p. 179, 2–3, *snt*, ‘ground plan,’ is not attested before the Middle Kingdom.

^b The hieroglyph here is too small to possess any interior detail, but the standard form of the sign shows it full of water (e.g., Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 9, 13; cf. Gardiner, *EG*, p. 491 [N 39]). The basic meaning of the term *š* is therefore probably ‘basin’ or ‘pool of water.’ This definition finds support from a number of rectangular stone offering basins of the sort that are placed at the foot of false doors or other offering places to contain water for the soul of the deceased and that are so identified in their inscriptions (*Wb.* 4, p. 398, 10–11). These rectangular offering basins were sometimes regarded as a miniature lake or pool beside which the deceased owner could sit beneath the trees along its margin, and on which his spirit could be rowed up and down (Junker, *ArOr* 20 [1952], pp. 185–89, and Fischer, *ZÄS* 105 [1978], pp. 51–52; idem, *MDAIK* 47 [1991], pp. 128–30). The rims of one basin are, in fact, decorated with boats carved in relief, while the figure of the deceased owner is conveyed in the boats carved on the outer sides of another basin (ibid., pp. 127–33).

In the Old Kingdom, the term *š* can also designate a body of water much larger than a pool or basin, that is to say, a lake (*Wb.* 4,

p. 397, 1). Having survived a sudden squall on the Nile, Izezi says: *iw.(f) mr sqdwt R^c m š ʿ3*, ‘It was like the voyage of Re on the great lake’ (*Urk.* 1, p. 183, 9; Goelet, *Royal Palace*, pp. 545–47; Schott, in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, p. 450, fig. 5).

On the other hand, there seems to be little question that *š* also encompassed the ‘garden’ or ‘plantation of trees’ which surrounded a pool. This is graphically illustrated by yet another offering basin which exhibits at each corner of the basin’s rim the word ‘sycamore tree’ (Fischer, *MDAIK* 47 [1991], pp. 129–30). Tomb biographies of Old Kingdom and later date sometimes claim that the deceased had excavated a pool (*š*) and planted trees, especially sycamore-figs, on its banks (*Urk.* 1, p. 121, 15–16; Kanawati, *El Hawawish* 6, p. 49, fig. 20c, pls. 3b, 8c; CG 20539, 45600; cf. Edel, *Phraseologie*, § 45). Considering that the tomb owner may simultaneously refer to the construction of a house (e.g., *Urk.* 1, p. 121, 15–16), it is possible that the *š* referred to in the biographies is a household garden, like Meket-re’s with a pool in the center and sycamore trees on its margins (Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, pp. 17–19, pls. 9–12, figs. 56–58). Metjen’s country garden (*š*), in addition to shade and fruit trees, incorporated an orchard and a vineyard (*Urk.* 1, p. 4, 10–14).

š was also applied to ‘market gardens’ or ‘plantations.’ Such plantations were probably situated along the Nile levees or on high ground on the edge of the cultivated area which were out of reach of the annual inundation and therefore required artificial irrigation or were alternately located on low lands which were protected from flooding (see Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization*, p. 47; Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 70–71, 159). One such plantation is depicted in the tomb of the two brothers, Ni-ankh-Khnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara (*Nianchchnum*, pp. 76–77, fig. 8, pl. 20). At the left-hand end of the bottom register on the north wall of the ‘Torraum,’ two gardeners tend a plot of lettuces and onions. Over the head of the right-hand gardener, who waters the lettuces by means of two pottery jars slung on a yoke, appears the legend *ntf ḥzp ḥr š n pr-ḏt in k3nw*, ‘watering the beds in the plantation of the estate by the gardener.’ At the right side of the register a similar bed of garlic, lettuces, and onions is cultivated by other gardeners. To help retain the water so laboriously transported, the plantations were divided into square, earth-bordered plots; the outlines of the squares are omitted in *Nianchchnum*, fig. 8, but are indicated in the parallel scenes in *Mere-ruka*, pls. 20–21. In cases where a crop like papyrus required extensive irrigation, the plots could be kept filled with water (Edel, in *NAWG* 1963, p. 126, fig. 4). Between the vegetable beds in the ‘Tomb of the Two Brothers’ is just such a plot of papyrus which is captioned: *š n ʿpdw n ḏt n pr-ḏt*, ‘The plot of the birds and of the papyrus of the estate.’ The thicket was a home to ducks and other wild fowl which, startled by the gardeners harvesting lotuses, take flight. Adjacent to the papyrus thicket and the vegetable gardens an orchard and vineyard are laid out.


A personification of a plantation attached to a funerary estate is to be found in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of the vizier Ankhmahor (Badawy, *Nyhetep-ptah and Ankhmahor*, fig. 37, pl. 49; Fischer, *MDAIK* 47 [1991], p. 130). The figure heads a file of attendants bringing offerings to the tomb owner, but has a separate caption: *int ndt-ḥr in š n ḏt.f*, ‘The bringing of gifts by a plantation of his estate.’ The

gifts include lettuce and onions (the vegetables shown cultivated in Ni-ankh-Khnum's and Khnumhotep's garden plots), a wickerwork frail of figs(?), the fig being a tree commonly grown in Egyptian orchards, and wild fowl like those rising from the two brother's papyrus thicket.

Neuserre's *sed*-festival rites seem to have included a water procession or processions (Bissing–Kees, *Re-Heiligtum* 2, pl. 15 [38]; 3, pls. 9 [193], 10 [198, 201–204]). This episode (or episodes) is lost or was not depicted in other surviving representations of the *sed*-festival, but in the portrayal of the jubilee rites of Amenhotep III in the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes, that king and Queen Tiye are shown in the night bark of the sun, which is towed by attendants across a stretch of water (*Kheruef*, pp. 51–54, pls. 44–46). Since Amenhotep III's first jubilee was celebrated in accordance with writings of old (Wente, in *Wilson Studies*, p. 86), the portrayal in Kheruef may be an indication that water processions also formed part of earlier jubilee celebrations. Thus, on the basis of the Neuserre scenes and the later evidence from the tomb of Kheruef, it would be possible to conclude that the *š* constructed for king Izezi by Senedjemib was a lake intended for a ritual journey or journeys by boat. That a “lake” or “basin” was intended by *š* in the present passage has, in fact, been the generally accepted interpretation (e.g., Breasted, *Ancient Records* 1, §§ 268, 273; Roccati, *Littérature*, §§ 93).

In Inscription B 1, line 6, Izezi refers to the planning for a *š* that is very probably identical with the *š n ṣḥt n ḥ n Izezi n ḥb-ṣd*¹ referred to here. The expression utilized is *iri š*. *Wb.* 1, p. 108, 11, states that *iri š* can refer to the laying out of either a garden or a pool. Nevertheless, a closer examination of the textual evidence seems to indicate that a pool or the like (*š*) is generally “excavated” or “dug” (*šd*: *Urk.* 1, p. 121, 15; CG 20539, 45600 [= Edel, *Phraseologie*, § 45 B]; *Bersheh* 2, pl. 21, 13; Bosticco, *Stele egiziane* 3, cat. no. 15; Kanawati, *El Hawawish* 6, p. 49, fig. 20c, pls. 3b, 8c), whereas a garden or plantation (*š*) is “laid out” (*iri*) (*Urk.* 1, p. 4, 10–14; Sinuhe 305; *Urk.* 4, p. 749, 4–7; *Harris*, 27, 9; but see *Urk.* 4, p. 1737, 12–14).







In discussing the occurrences of *š n pr-š* in Inscriptions A 2 and B 2, Helck (*Beamtentitel*, p. 137, n. 29) suggested an extended meaning of “Areal,” “Anlage,” for *š*; cf. Stadelmann, *Bulletin du Centenaire*, p. 158 (“Königsbezirk”); Barta, *ZÄS* 110 [1983], p. 99 (“Gebiet”). A broken passage in the biography of the vizier Washptah provides support for Helck's suggestion: [... *in*] *r-ḥd ḥr š dt nty m Ḥ-ḥs-Šḥwr*. (*Urk.* 1, p. 44, 12–14). The passage seems to indicate that a stone structure, presumably the vizier's tomb, was erected upon the *š* (or assigned plot of land) of Washptah's “estate” which was located in the necropolis of the pyramid “The *ba* of Sahure shines forth” (see above, p. 29). The context seems to preclude translating *š* here as “basin, pool, lake,” or even “garden, plantation.”

Goelet, *Royal Palace*, pp. 549–55, calls attention to sporadic writings of *š* (in *š n pr-š*) with the *pr*-determinative, which he feels insures that the term *š* represents some administrative concept or entity of the highest level. But the *pr*-determinative in these examples may instead have reference to the circumscribed character of the *š n pr-š* (cf.  in Paget-Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 31, and see Brovarski, in *Studies in Honor of Martha Rhoades Bell*, p. 141), or even to edifices erected on it. In Inscription A 1 Inti was evidently overseeing or inspecting

(work on) the *š* where Izezi's records office was located, when the king took the opportunity to reward Inti for his diligence. At the king's instigation an inspector of hairdressers of the palace tied a necklace around Inti's neck, then anointed him with unguent and cleansed his skin, while Izezi looked on. Not satisfied with this, Izezi then sat down and composed a letter expressing his appreciation of Inti's efforts. It is of interest to note that in the autobiographical inscription of Rawer the king has a document made for Rawer “in the presence of the king himself *ḥr š n pr-š*,” “upon the *š* of the palace” (*Urk.* 1, p. 232, 14–16; see recently Allen in *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society*, pp. 14–20), while in the autobiography of Washptah, the elderly vizier was rewarded by the king and was anointed with oil by the palace hairdressers *r š n pr-š*,” “at the *š* of the palace” (*Urk.* 1, pp. 42, 14–43, 11). The *š (n pr-š)* thus seems to form the setting for a number of royal activities not particularly appropriate to a body of water, but rather to an administrative area of the palace grounds where the king conducted public business.


Taking the preceding into account, we have translated *š* “grounds” or “precinct” in the present letter and in Inscriptions A 1–2 and B 1.












If the dimensions of the *š* given in Inti's inscription are indeed 1,000 x 440 cubits, that is, 525 x 231 meters (see further note f), it is perhaps worth mentioning that these dimensions are roughly the same as those of the pyramid complexes of Djoser and Sekhemkhet at Saqqara (544 x 277 m and 536 x 272 m respectively; see Swelim, *Third Dynasty*, p. 33). We know in the case of Djoser that the Step Pyramid Complex provided the deceased king with the setting necessary for repeating in his after-life his jubilee ceremony (e.g., Edwards, *Pyramids*, p. 44). If the similarity in measurements is more than coincidental, it may be that Senedjemib erected a similar precinct, albeit one made from more perishable materials, for king Izezi's *sed*-festival.


^cThe hieroglyphs within the *ḥwt*-enclosure are damaged and, in the course of comparing photographs taken under different lighting conditions (pls. 65, 66b, 67a), I have come to believe the outlines of the upper sign within the enclosure are less definite than is actually shown in the copy made by the Giza Mastabas Project (fig. 30). Although the lower sign does appear to represent the cup (W 10), the nature of the upper sign is uncertain. Sethe's published transcription has , but in his unpublished notes in Boston the upper sign resembles more the foreleg of an ox . Goelet (*Royal Palace*, p. 252 [c]) suggests that the word  *ḥ*, “cup” (*Wb.* 1, p. 158, 13–17), or  *niw*, “cup” (*Wb.* 2, p. 202, 12), may have been intended. He then draws a possible connection between  *ḥwt-ḥ* and a putative  *pr-ḥ(?)*, “house of the cup(?),” mentioned in PT 334 a^{W, T}. Goelet concludes, however, that the reading of the place-name is uncertain, *pr-ḥs*, “house of the *ḥs*,” being an optional or even preferable reading (ibid., pp. 253–57). Moreover, a *ḥwt-niw* is not otherwise attested.


Several scholars have taken the upper sign within the enclosure to represent the hieroglyph of the collar of beads and have read or considered reading the group as *ḥwt-nub*, that is, as “Hatnub,” the alabaster quarries in Upper Egyptian nome 14 (Roccati, *Littérature*, p. 126) or as the “House of Gold,” the sculptor's workshop where sacred statues were made (Doret, *NVS*, p. 92, Ex. 160; Wente, *Letters*,

p. 40, n. 1). As ill preserved as are the outlines of the sign, however, they seem to preclude the collar of beads from consideration.


Even though damage to the upper sign makes it difficult to identify with certainty what was actually represented, the cup serves as a phonogram or a phonetic determinative for *ʿb*, *ʿb*, *wsh/shw*, and *h̄n*, and as such should provide some clue as to the word intended (Gardiner, *EG*, p. 528 [W 10]). It is tempting to read the group as *wsh̄t*, “broad court, hall” (*Wb.* 1, pp. 366–67; cf. Wente, *Letters*, p. 19; Eichler, *SAK* 18 [1991], p. 147), this architectural term being especially appealing in the present context because the building in the corner of the *wsh̄t*-ideogram is commonly an *ʿb*, a structure which is referred to by Izezi immediately thereafter (see note d). Nevertheless, the feminine ending is usually included in the writing of *wsh̄t*, and regularly appears within the enclosure, thus: .

An alternative possibility for the reading of the signs within the *hwt*-enclosure that deserves consideration is *sh(w)*, “breadth” (*Wb.* 4, p. 228, 14–18). As a matter of fact, , the forearm ideogram or determinative in , var.  *mb*, “cubit” (Gardiner, *EG*, p. 455 [D 41]), also occurs as the determinative of  *shw*, “breadth,” (and  *sw*, “length”) in at least one Old Kingdom inscription (*Urk.* 1, p. 108, 4–5), and it is conceivable that in Inscription B 2 the forearm with the palm of the hand downwards was placed above the cup for calligraphic reasons,  being more pleasing visually than . The resultant designation might then read *hwt-sh̄(t)*, “broad court.” On the other hand, it is possible that the sign of the enclosure with the building in one of its lower corners, the usual writing for *hwt*, is not actually to be read in the present case, but serves rather as an ideogram, and that the entire group is to be read simply *sh̄t*, “broad court.” In like manner, *wsh̄t* is sometimes written  or  in the Middle Kingdom and later (Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, pp. 72, 79). Since *wsh̄t* is seemingly the standard designation for a “broad court” (ibid., pp. 71–80), it is unclear why it should be necessary to have two terms with apparently identical meaning. Nevertheless, the proprietor of a 5th Dynasty tomb in the Central Field at Giza is  (Hassan, *Giza* 7, fig. 72). A king's son and chief lector priest, whose name is damaged, but which may reasonably be restored as *Ny-[mʿt]-Rʿ*, his tomb is assigned to the period between Neuserre and Unis by Harpur (*Decoration*, p. 276). The title is damaged and the second sign in the word *sh̄t* destroyed, but the restoration seems certain, since the cup appears within the battlemented enclosure determinative. The title is in fact listed in *PM* 3², pp. 923, 938 [394] and translated as “overseer of the broad hall.” The earliest instance of a *scriptio plena* for *wsh̄t* appears to be  in the Abusir papyri (*Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 32 A/B, 11; cf. Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, pp. 71–72) of late Dynasty 5–6 date (*ArchAbousir* 2, pp. 483–91). As may be seen from note f below, *shw*, “breadth,” appears to be older than *wsh̄*, “breadth,” and it is possible that *sh̄t* is likewise the earlier of the two words for “broad hall, court.” I am unable to provide any corroborative evidence for this conjecture. Still, if Simons (*Expanded Verbal Bases*, pp. 20–26) is correct and *wsh̄* is a verb with an initially weak *w* derived from a biliteral simplex *sh̄*, it is possible that a similar relationship existed between the two substantives *sh̄t* and *wsh̄t*. The situation is further complicated by the existence of yet another term, *shw*, which *Wb.* 4, p. 229, defines as “breiter Raum,

Hof,” and which has been further investigated by Hayes (*JEA* 32 [1946], p. 8), Goedicke (*Königl. Dokumente*, pp. 109, 247), and Fischer (*MIO* 7 [1960], pp. 304–10; idem, *Or* 30 [1961], pp. 170–75). In this connection, it is also of interest to note the occurrence of a damaged title in the tomb of Prince Babaf at Giza, G 7310+20, which incorporates the following hieroglyph: . The location of the cup in the center of the open area of the enclosure, without an accompanying letter *t*, would seem to favor the reading *sh(w)*, rather than *sh̄t* or *wsh̄t*. At this stage, however, our digression has taken us rather far afield, especially as the identification of the upper sign within the enclosure is in doubt. The suggestion that the architectural term under discussion reads *sh̄t* would inspire more confidence if a trace of the upper arm of the forearm with the palm of the hand downwards was actually visible within the enclosure where it might be expected. On the other hand, it may simply have been worn away.

A less tenable option is that the damaged sign within the enclosure represents the clenched fist  (D 49), which serves as a determinative of *zh̄i/sh̄i* in PT 672c as well as later (*Wb.* 3, pp. 466, 13–467, 13). This would more readily fit within the confines of the eroded hole that represents the upper sign and might conceivably function here as a phonogram in combination with the cup.

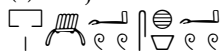
^d In Bissing–Kees, *Re-Heiligtum* 2, pl. 1 [1 a], Neuserre is depicted inspecting the building of the “keep” or “palace” constructed especially for the jubilee ceremonies (*ʿh h̄b-sd*); cf. ibid., pl. 3. Here the king would rest and change costume and regalia between the various ritual performances (ibid. 1, pls. 9, 13, 16, 18, 19, 22; 2, pl. 1; cf. Goelet, *Royal Palace*, p. 400). The *ʿh n h̄b-sd* also occurs in the Abusir papyri in connection with Horus and Seth (*Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 88 B; cf. Goelet, *Royal Palace*, p. 267). As Goelet (ibid., p. 385) observes, the *ʿh* was one of the most important structures, if not the most important structure, to be associated with the *sed*-festival. The *ʿh* would probably have been located within a broad-court, like the small square building near the northeastern gate of the Shunet el-Zebib (*Abydos* 3, pl. 6), which it probably resembled. An interesting feature shared by the square building at Abydos and the palace (also designated *ʿh-nt̄*) in the Neuserre reliefs (Bissing–Kees, *Re-Heiligtum* 2, pls. 9 [20], 22 [52]; 3: pl. 1 [102]) is an indirect axis approach, which would screen the activities within from profane view. Indeed, like the Djoser complex, the Shunet el-Zebib and the other Dynasty 1 and 2 enclosures at Abydos (see O’Connor, *JARCE* 26 [1989], pp. 51–83) may well have been the locale for the earthly and otherworldly jubilee ceremonies of their builders.

^e Albeit damaged, the constituent signs of *h̄b-sd* are still legible. Sethe thought he could see the upper part of the double kiosk serving as the determinative of the word, and traces thereof are visible in pl. 66b, even though the sign is largely destroyed today. A number of commentators have been misled by Sethe’s copy of the signs following Izezi’s cartouche () and have seen therein the name of a palace or pavilion called “Nehbet” or “le lotus d’Izezi” (Breasted, *Ancient Records* 1, § 273; *ArchAbousir* 2, 620; Roccati, *Littérature*, p. 126), although Wente (*Letters*, p. 18) has actually read “the jubilee palace of “Lotus-of-Izezi.” For *nhbt*, “lotus flower, bud,” see *Wb.* 2, p. 294, 2–3.

Izezi's jubilee festival is also referred to in line 7 of Inscription B 1. The orthography in both instances is unusually full; cf. e.g., *Urk.* 1, pp. 57, 4; 93, 6; 115, 1.

^f At the head of the column, Reisner felt certain that he could make out the letter *r*; see *Urk.* 1, p. 63, n. a. As Sethe notes, however, the mouth-sign was not visible in the photographs. After the mouth, Reisner restored *sw*, "length," and *wsh*, "breadth." The mouth-sign is indeed no longer discernable, and what follows is in a lacuna, except for traces of the spinal cord issuing from both ends of the *sw*-backbone and a stroke below. The system of recording measurements is subject to some variation in the Old Kingdom, as the following examples from the tombs of Metjen, Debehen, and Uni the Elder (*Urk.* 1, pp. 4, 10–14; 21, 12 [= Hassan, *Giza* 4, p. 168, fig. 118, pl. 48]; 108, 3–5) demonstrate:

(a) Metjen:



(b) Debehen:



(c) Uni the Elder:



Reisner construed the *r* with *sw* rather than *shw*, reading *r* [*sw*] 1000 [*wsh*] 440 ("Translation of Doorway Inscriptions of Senzemib," p. 4), whereas it actually follows *sw* in one of the three texts just cited (b), presumably with the meaning "by" (see Gardiner, *EG*, p. 199). In texts (a) and (c), the dimensions follow immediately upon the object measured and stand in a genitival relationship to it, whether direct (a) or indirect (c), while *sw* and *sh(w)* (and probably originally *qs* as well in [b]) are relegated to prepositional clauses following the dimension. In (b) the first dimension follows in an indirect genitival relationship, but the other two dimensions are preceded by the preposition *r*. The numbers in the present inscription are arranged in an especially compact fashion, more like the arrangement in (a) than that in (b) or (c). Examples (a) and (b) make it clear that the word for "breadth" is *sh(w)*, not *wsh* (cf. *Wb.* 4, p. 228, 14–18). If Reisner was correct about the presence of a large letter *r* at the head of line 5, it presumably applied to both measurements, and was thus to be read twice; cf. Wentz, *Letters*, p. 19.



The dimensions themselves are not absolutely certain. Sethe and Reisner both evidently understood the length and breadth to be respectively 1,000 cubits and 440 cubits, and this seems to be the most straightforward rendering, even though it might be possible to divide the numerals in some other fashion (see Stadelmann, *Bulletin du*

Centenaire, p. 158). Sethe thought that space existed beneath the surviving figure 440 for other numerals (*Urk.* 1, p. 63, 2). It is doubtful, however, whether any additional numerals could have fitted into the very restricted space available.

^g See Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions*, p. 98, Ex. 15; Doret, *NVS*, p. 103, Ex. 184.

^h There is a substantial space after the eye of the second occurrence of the verb *iri*. In his notes in Boston, Sethe evidently thought he could make out the bottom of a milk-jug (*mr*) on the left of the gap and traces of a tall, narrow sign on the right. Following this he thought he saw definite traces of the letter *n*. He suggested "gethan als Belohnung (oder gemäß) dessen, was du kannst" as a possible translation. I see nothing which might represent the letter *n* in the area in question in pl. 66b, but I do believe I can see clear traces of a *mr*-hoe at the left of the damaged area below the eye.

My own original translation, "I am doing great things on your behalf in order that [what you] 'desire' [might] best [be] accomplished," followed that of Roccati and Wentz, but restored ' *mr* ' [*t.k*], a presumed *sdm(w).f* relative form in the lacuna after *ir.t(i)* in the second clause. Pepy II in fact says something very similar to Harkhuf in *Urk.* 1, p. 131, 1–2.

The translation actually utilized here was suggested by James Allen, who takes *ir* as a subjectless passive *sdm.f* after *iw* (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 992). For the sense of *hr.k*, Allen cites *ibid.* 1, § 678. He also notes that  fits the available space better than .

In either case, the *n.k* tentatively restored by Reisner in the lacuna is excluded from consideration.

ⁱ Both Reisner and Sethe (*Urk.* 1, p. 63, 8) saw an arm holding a scepter or other object. Albeit damaged, it is likely that the object held was actually an 'bs-scepter (see pls. 65, 66a). If so, the ideogram may represent the verb *hrp*, "govern, control, administer, direct; act as controller" (*Wb.* 3, p. 326, 1–20; *FCD*, p. 196). The form of the *hrp*-determinative exhibits considerable variety in the Old Kingdom, sometimes resembling the *dsr*-arm (PT 1143a^M, 1159c^P, 1204a^M, 1371c^P; CG 1433) or the *rmn*-arm with the upper arm bent at an acute angle (PT 1204a^{P,N}, 2104^N), as is the case in the present instance, or sometimes the standard Middle Egyptian form of the sign (PT 1143a^P, 1159c^N; *Urk.* 1, p. 215, '11, '13 = Dunham, *JEA* 24 [1938], pl. 2). For the verbal construction involved, see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 902. Since the meaning "act as director" is not definitely attested before Dyn. 11 (*FCD*, p. 196), it might be better to translate *ir.n.k hrp* here as "you have directed."

^j Inti is entitled *imy-r3 kst nbt nt n[swt]* already in the address to the letter. James Allen sees nothing unusual about this and emphasizes the deontic future value of *iw.fr sdm* (see Vernus, *Future at Issue*, pp. 5–28), which seems to preclude translating *iw.k r irt imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt* as "you shall (continue) to serve as overseer of all works of the king." The inference to be drawn from all this is that Inti had been appointed chief justice and vizier before being made "overseer of all works of the king."

^k This is the only place in his surviving inscriptions that Inti is definitely referred to as Senedjemib the Elder. Nevertheless, sufficient space exists after the name Senedjemib for the sign of the aged man leaning on a staff in line 2 of the present text, and the epithet

wr, “the Elder,” has been accordingly restored. For the phonetic value of the bent man (Sign List A 19) in the Old Kingdom, see Fischer, *Varia*, pp. 87–88.

^l Sethe has *i Sndm-ib wr mrr.(i) tw h[n^c]*. In fact, clear traces reveal the presence of the particle *hm* instead of *h[n^c]*.

^m The season, month, and day remain clear, but the year date is entirely destroyed. It was seriously damaged already in 1930–31, when photographed by the Harvard–Boston Expedition (pls. 65, 66b). Reisner thought grounds existed for reading *mp^t-z^p [i]6*. Sethe in his unpublished notes in Boston originally favored the reading *15(?)* but, in the second edition of *Urk. I*, he read *[i]6*, albeit admitting with Reisner that *[2]6* was also possible. Sethe’s uncertainty reflects the damaged state of the wall.

Five of the six strokes of the year date are probably to be made out in pl. 66b. Centered over the three topmost strokes is a faint outline which could conceivably represent the hobble-sign for “ten.” Since this area is now destroyed, it is impossible to verify whether part of the original wall surface was actually preserved here or whether the sign is, in fact, spurious. If the sign is not legitimate, the spacing of the strokes would probably allow for two hobble-signs above them.

Given the subject matter of the letter, that is, preparations for Izezi’s jubilee, and the fact that year 30 was the ideal date for the jubilee (see, e.g. Martin, *LÄ* 5 [1984], col. 784), the broken dateline of the letter could well have read “Year 26” originally. It should be noted, however, that the highest year date known for Izezi at present is *mp^t-z^p 21* (see above, p. 23, n. 1).

In this connection, it is also worth recalling that Pepy I appears to have celebrated his jubilee as early as year 19 (*m-h^t z^p 18*); see Spalinger, *SAK* 21 (1994), p. 303, n. 72. So, it is not out of the question that Izezi held his around year 16.

INSCRIPTION C

PUBLICATION: *LD* 2, pl. 76c; *Urk. I*, pp. 63, 14–65, 9

PRESENT PUBLICATION: figs. 18 (L), 19 (R), 20 (GMP); text figure 3b; pls. 67b–74b

TRANSLATIONS: Breasted, *Ancient Records I*, § 274; Roccati, *Littérature*, § 96

TRANSLATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL PASSAGES: Pirenne, *Histoire* 2, p. 328, n. 1; *HESP*, p. 356; Wilson, *JNES* 6 (1947), p. 239; Junker, *Gîza* 9, p. 161; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, §§ 468, 564; 2, §§ 887, 917, 941, 946; Brovarski, *Or* 46 (1977), p. 110; Doret, *NVS*, n. 168; p. 64, Ex. 100; n. 1177; p. 106, Ex. 191

COMMENTARY: Pirenne, *Histoire* 2, p. 328; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, p. 70; Schott, in: *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, p. 460

Even though Sethe does not provide a schematic diagram of Inscription C, as he does in the case of Inscription D (*Urk. I*, p. 66), his copy of the text in *Urk. I*, pp. 63–65, and the accompanying notes indicate that he understood the inscription to be laid out in the fashion shown in text figure 3a. My own understanding of the manner in which the text was arranged is represented by text figure 3b. There appear to have originally been seven vertical lines at the top of the preserved section of the wall ([7] to [13]), but the upper part of these

lines are now lost and the remaining part considerably mutilated. Horizontal line (14) was a through-going line occupying the entire width of Inscription C beneath lines (7) to (13), and was not divided into two lines (7/12) as Sethe thought. Lines (15) and (16) are vertical and descend the height of the wall between horizontal line (14) and the two horizontal lines (28) and (29) at the bottom of the wall. Sethe’s horizontal lines (13) and (14) never actually existed, that scholar having misconstrued the tops of columns (17) to (21) as independent horizontal lines of text. In fact, traces of the line dividers between columns (15) to (21) are faintly visible in the expedition photographs and others survive today. Reisner was evidently of like opinion, although in his unpublished (and incomplete) translation of the text, he left open the possibility that line (22) ran across the whole width of the inscription including lines (15) and (16).⁹ Still, in the photographs the vertical dividing line at the left of line (16) clearly proceeds up beyond the bottom of line (22). It is curious that neither of the through-going lines (14) or (22) are demarcated at the bottom by a carved line, but the same is true of horizontal lines (28) and (29) at the bottom of the wall.

An inscribed block with six horizontal lines of text from the court of the Senedjemib Complex, known only from a photograph, in all likelihood belongs at the top of Inscription C (pl. 67b). There is no direct join, but neither does there appear to be a suitable alternative location for it at the top of any of the other walls of the facade or portico. In addition, the right edge appears to be finished, as would be appropriate for a block in this position. The block evidently preserves at its beginning the titulary of Senedjemib Mehi, the title [*hsty-^c*] *ms^c* in particular being associated with him,¹⁰ and the name Senedjemib actually surviving. The titulary of a vizier, presumably his father Inti, then follows. Mehi’s name and titles at the head of the inscription form an appropriate introduction to Inscription C, since what follows recounts his benefactions on his father’s behalf. If the inscribed block is correctly placed, and the assumption made that both inscriptions were of equal height, the six lines of text at its top would balance the six horizontal lines of (partially restored) titulary at the top of Inscription A on the facade to the other side of the portico. Such a nearly identical arrangement would undoubtedly have appealed to the ancient Egyptian’s “instinctive preference for balanced symmetrical composition” (Schäfer, *Principles*, p. 226). It would also leave ample room for the now lost beginning of the narrative portion of Inscription C which was contained in vertical lines (7–13). It may also be noted that the six horizontal lines of text likewise lack dividing lines.

Transcription

(1) [*iry-p^ct hsty-^c*] *ms^c imy-r3 kst³ [nbt nt nswt]* (2) *smr w^cty³ hry³ tp nsw³t [mdh]* *qd nswt³ [m prwy]* (3) *Sndm-ib³ [Mh]³i d³d[.f ir.n nw]* (4) [*n it.(i)*] *tyty z3b t3ty imy-r3 kst nb[t n3]* (5) *n[swt³ imy-³r3] z3w^c n³ nswt³ imy³-³r3] pr³[wy-hd imy-r3]* (6) [*hkr nswt imy-r3*] *šnwy [Sndm-ib]* (7) [...] {*m*} *s{w}z3.f*(8) [...] (9) [...] (10) [...] (11) [...] (12) [...] *nb ir* [...] *r* [...] *hr* (13) [...] *m stp-z3* (14) *ir.t(i) n.f [im. rd3.n hm] n*

⁹ “Translation of the Doorway Inscriptions of Senedjemib,” p. 5.

¹⁰ See above, p. 84; below, p. 159 (14).

*nb(.i) ir.t(i) (15) wd̄w r dmd̄ srw [hn̄c̄ i]st [izwt] ntyw m [wpt̄] htpt-ntr
nt D̄r (16) r ir[t(i) n.f] r̄ idr unwt̄ nty m mdw n.f(i)t.(i) dr-bsh̄ in r̄ s̄ sh̄
m wpt̄ htpt-ntr m T3-mh̄w Šm̄c̄w m idr unwt̄ (17) [...]t [...] (18) [...]t
[...] (19) [...] Nfr-Izzi hr[.s] (20) tp̄ r̄ [...] hwt-ks [tn] iry r̄ t̄.(i) [...] (21)
[...] sh̄ [n.f] hr.f m s̄r [nb] n n[t]t.f (22) [h]r [r̄] n niwut (i)ptn
r̄ r̄ ir̄ t̄ n(y) (23) mrm mr mswt. iw rdi hm.f htm wd̄w r.s m s̄d̄st nt r̄ c̄
(24) iw ir n.f hm̄w-ks. iw rdi.n.(i) d(i).t(i) m z̄s̄ (25) m [z̄s̄-qd(t) hr iz].f
pn s̄hr.[sm] in qsty. (26) D̄d m hry.(i) tpt-[rd] [i]m mr ps̄ m stp-zs̄.
(I)hr dbh̄.(i) (27) hr nb.(i) in.[t(i)] n.f qrs̄w m R3-sw (28) r iz.f pn
ir.n.(i) n.f n r̄npt I s̄bd 3 sk sw m w̄c̄bt (29) nt h̄c̄w m pr-d̄t.f nty m Nfr-
Izzi*

Translation

(1) [The hereditary prince] and 'true' [count], 'overseer' of [all] 'works' [of the king], (2) 'sole friend,' 'royal' chamberlain, royal [master] 'builder' [in both houses] (3) 'Senedjemib' [Meh]i, [he] 'sa'ys: [I did this] (4) [for my father] the chief justice and vizier, overseer of al[l] works [of] (5) the k[ing], over'seer' 'of' royal document scribes, 'over'[seer] of the [two treas]uries, [overseer of] (6) [royal regalia, overseer] of the two granaries, [Senedjemib].^a (7) [...] {when} he paid {ho}nor to^b (8) [...] (9) [...] (10) [...] (11) [...] (12) [...] (13) [...] in the court council. (14) [A warrant] was made for him [thereof].^d The Majesty of my lord [ordered] the making (15) of decrees to assemble the officials [together with]^e the [s]ix [crews]^f who were (engaged) in [apportioning]^g the god's offerings of Memphis^h so that (16) there might be made [for him]ⁱ the 'share' of the time-service,^k which is one that my father had formerly claimed,^l once^m the harvest was brought, from the apportionment of the divine offerings from Lower and Upper Egypt, namely the 'share' of the time service (17) [...] (18) [...] (19) [...] the pyramid "Izezi is perfect" on account of [it]^o (20) [...] [this] tomb [which I am going to] make^p [...] (21) [...] [It] was beneficial to him^q in [every] respect^r because [he] (22) [had a warrant]^s for these villages so that 'it might be [done] 'for him'^t (23) anew this day. His Majesty has had the decrees concerning it(?) sealed with the documentary seal.^u (24) Funerary priests^v were appointed for him. I have had them (viz. the decrees) put in writing (25) in [a preliminary sketch on] this [his tomb],^w and {they} were 'carved'^x by the sculptor. (26) The stipulations in them were recited in my face according to the apportioning in the court council.^y Then I begged (27) from my lord that a sarcophagus [be] brought [for him] from Tura (28) to this tomb of his,^z which I made for him in one year and three months,^{aa} while he was in the embalming workshop^{bb} (29) in his estate which is in (the necropolis of) the pyramid "Izezi is perfect."^{cc}

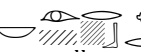

Comments

^a The initial title sequence at the beginning of this inscription is known from one of the broken blocks from the architrave which spans Mehi's portico (pl. 105a). The space seems somewhat cramped for the restoration of Mehi's "good name" after the occurrence of the name Senedjemib in line 3, but I am unable to offer a better alternative; for the arrangement of the component signs of the name, see e.g., figs. 104–105, 110, and 114–15.

After 'd' in the middle of line (3), the context seems to require some such phrase as has been restored in the lacunae at the end of this line and the beginning of the next. As Fischer has noted in *ZÄS* 105 [1978], pp. 50–51, Old Kingdom dedications follow two basic patterns: 1) *in* NN *ir n.f (nw)*..., "It is NN who acted for him (or 'made this')...", and 2) *ir.n.i (nw) n* NN..., "I acted (or 'made this') for NN..." Although *in* would fit the gap at the beginning of line (1) just as well as *iry-p̄t*, the first formula seems precluded by the occurrence of *dd*, whereas examples of the second formula regularly introduce the statement with the name of the donor and *dd.f* or *dd.s*, "he says" or "she says" (Fischer, *OMRO* 41 [1960], p. 5). Nevertheless, if *in* indeed stood in the initial position, a variant similar to *ink ir(w) nn n it.i* (Curto, *Ghiza*, fig. 32) would also be possible. There does not appear to be sufficient room in the lacuna at the end of line (3) to accommodate the phrase *ir.n.i iz pn*, however. It should be clearly stated that the lacunae yield up no traces that would substantiate any of these restorations, and there may be other possibilities than those envisioned here.

Of Inti's remaining titles, *imy-r3 hkr-nswt* best fits the lacunae at the end of line (5) and the beginning of line (6).

^b *Sws̄* is otherwise unattested before the Middle Kingdom (*Wb.* 4, pp. 63, 22–65, 5; *FCD*, p. 216). Nevertheless, the verb-stem *ws̄* is well known in Old Egyptian (*Wb.* 1, p. 262, 7, 9; Ranke, *PN I*, p. 74, 10–13). If Lepsius's copy is to be relied upon the preposition *m* preceded *sws̄.f* at the bottom of the first preserved column. Otherwise, some phrase such as *iw rdi.n hm.f sws̄.f* is possibly to be restored; cf. *Urk.* 1, p. 41, 6.

^c In his unpublished notes in Boston, Sethe thought he could make out the vertical text (shown at right) in the penultimate line in the upper section. His published copy, however, has , which corresponds more closely to the traces actually preserved today or visible in the photographs. The identity of the sign which Sethe took to be a  is very much in doubt, however.


^d As noted above, Sethe apparently did not recognize that horizontal line (14) extended over vertical lines (15) to (21) and instead thought *ir.t(i) n.f* at the beginning of the through-going line to be followed directly by *wd̄w* at the head of the first tall column (15). For the restoration proposed here, cf. *Urk.* 1, p. 232, 14.


^e Reisner and Sethe both thought they could see the top loop of the twisted wick-hieroglyph immediately after the courtier determinative of *sr*; and consequently restored *hn̄c̄*. Traces visible in pl. 69 suggest that what they actually saw was the head of the second of three courtier figures that served as a designation of the plural. If this is indeed the case, then sufficient space existed after the courtiers for *hn̄c̄*, even though no traces of the conjunction are visible in the lacuna, and both scholars believed they saw other traces there which would argue against such a restoration. It can be said in favor of the restoration proposed here that *srw hn̄c̄* fits the available space closely.


^f Three of the six strokes and the terminal *-t* of *ist*, "six," seem relatively certain. In contrast to the numbers 1 and 2, the numbers 3–9 stand before the plural of the substantive enumerated (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 393). The *-t* ending of *ist* here should indicate that the lost word which followed was a feminine noun or possibly a feminine


collective. That word, however, is determined by three seated men, while the relative clause that immediately succeeds is introduced by *ntw*, the masculine plural relative adjective (ibid. 2, § 1055). One would expect a plural feminine noun to be followed by *ntt* (ibid.), but this is definitely not the case here. Whereas feminine collectives in the Old Kingdom are also generally treated syntactically as feminine (ibid., § 988), Edel cites one instance in which a feminine collective (*mrwt*, “laborer,” or the like) is treated as masculine. Still, the lack of concordance between the number which precedes and the relative adjective that follows is disconcerting. On the other hand, Edel does provide another example of a feminine collective which is modified by both a feminine and a masculine adjective ([...] *hmwt nbt nw pr-dā*). Thus, perhaps the simplest solution here is to restore a feminine collective. Of the alternatives that come most readily to mind, namely *izt*, *rmṯ*, and *tzt*, the first is perhaps the most suitable due to its regular association with agricultural activities (e.g. Junker, *Giza* 3, p. 98; 6, p. 59; 9, p. 47; *Seven Chapels*, pl. 17 [7]; Schürmann, *Ii-ne-fret*, fig. 11).

^g Sethe’s restoration of *wpt* fits both the space and the context. For *wpt*, “divide, apportion,” fields or goods, see *Wb.* 1, p. 298, 7–16; *FCD*, p. 59; Goedicke, *JNES* 15 (1956), p. 30; Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 221–22.


^h As a toponym  *Dr*, “the Wall” appears on a seal impression of King Djoser from Beit Khallaf (Garstang, *Mahasna*, pl. 9 [K I.5 a]). In fact, the impression is one of two official seals of public vineyards bearing nearly identical inscriptions. In the other impression (ibid., pl. 9 [K I.5 b]), *Inbw-ḥd*, “the White Walls,” the well known name of Memphis (Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, pp. 39–42) substitutes for *Dr*. In his discussion of the two seals (Garstang, *Mahasna*, p. 22), Sethe thought *Dr* was probably the same as the later *Inb*, *Inbw*, a by-name of Memphis (see ibid., pp. 39–42). Zibelius (*Siedlungen*, p. 268) demurs and believes *Dr* to be the name of a vineyard located in the Western Delta. In favor of Sethe’s hypothesis is the fact that both cylinders were imprinted on the same clay sealing (Weill, *Ile et IIIe Dynasties*, p. 83). Since wine in ancient Egypt was estate bottled (Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 22), and both seals were presumably rolled simultaneously over the clay capsules at one and the same vineyard while the clay was still wet, this constitutes strong circumstantial evidence that *Dr* was indeed a synonym for *Inbw-ḥd* and an alternative name for Memphis in the Old Kingdom.

Hezi, the original owner of a tomb discovered behind the mastaba of the vizier Kagemni in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara, in the course of excavations conducted by Dr. Mahmud Abd el-Razik on behalf of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, was  *imy-r3 wpt ḥtpt-nṯr m T3-mḥw Šm'w Dr*, “overseer of the apportionment of divine offerings from Lower and Upper Egypt of Memphis.” The tomb was afterwards usurped, apparently with royal approval, by an official named Seshemnefer; see Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara* 1, pp. 8–9. The title is inscribed on the lintel above the entrance to the tomb and was seen by the present writer in 1992.


The arrangement of the signs at the bottom of line (15) of Inscription D is admittedly curious, and James Allen asks why, if this really is *nt Dr*, the scribe did not write . Allen suggests instead

that the wall sign and *dr* sign belong to separate words. His objection is even more pertinent when the writing of *Dr* in the tomb of Hezi is taken into account . Allen thinks that the signs at the end of this line and the beginning of line (16) should instead be read *nt inb(?) dr*.¹ “of all Memphis,” which he thinks would fit the writing, grouping, traces, and Reisner’s stroke after the *r* at the top of column (17). There is definitely room for a folded cloth-*s* to the right of *ir[t n.f]* at the top of line (16), and even though the area is damaged today (see note i), and no traces of the sign survive, its presence in the space originally would certainly have accounted for the rightward shift of *ir[t n.f]*.

As appealing as the suggestion is, *Wb.* 5, p. 589, 7, says that the omission of the *r* before *r-dr* is common only from Dynasty 18, and especially in Late Egyptian and thereafter, whereas earlier occurrences of this feature are sporadic. In fact, the only earlier occurrence cited is CG 20537, a stele which apparently belongs to the end of Dynasty 13 (Franke, *Personendaten*, no. 433). Allen adds a number of Coffin Texts citations in which *dr* alternates with *r-dr*, certain of which date to the early Middle Kingdom; CT 3, p. 303h; 4, pp. 121e, 142f; 7, p. 369d. Nevertheless, Old Kingdom examples of the omission are seemingly lacking. Moreover, this would be the only instance in Inscriptions A–D where a word at the bottom of one column would be continued at the top of the next column (see above, p. 41, n. 74). In addition, the title in the tomb of Hezi, which is written horizontally, likewise terminates with *dr*, not (*r*)-*dr.s*.

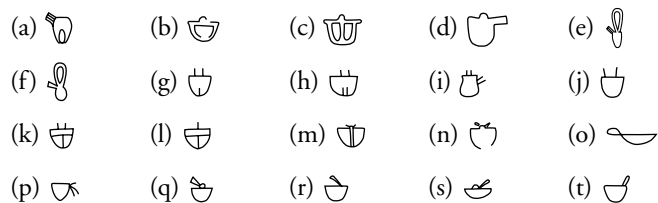
ⁱ There are a number of serious spacing problems involving the upper part of line (16). To begin with, the *r*-mouth (see note h) and the eye of *ir[t(i) n.f]* at the beginning of the line exhibit a leftward shift. In the space to the right of the eye, Sethe thought he saw a  and Reisner a tall sign with a trifurcated top. While such a sign would indeed account for the shift of the eye, it is clear from pls. 69–70 that what the two scholars actually saw was a crack in the stone. James Allen asks why, if the crack is ancient, the scribe did not fill it with plaster and carve the signs as normal. I can provide no real answer to this, other than to say that he manifestly did not.


Reisner also thought he saw traces of *ḥt n* below the eye, but the putative signs actually fall in a hole in the stone. Even so, the available space between the eye and the next preserved sign seems overly large for the terminal *-t* of the infinitive alone. For that reason, *n.f*, which appears to fit the context, has been restored.



^j The crux of this passage hinges on the identification and interpretation of the sign that precedes *wnwt* here and again below. The first occurrence is damaged but the second example (d, below) is intact. The sign resembles closely in form Sign List V 37 .


Gardiner was of the opinion that Sign List V 37 represented a “bandage(?) (*EG*, p. 527).” Griffith thought it rather to be a bowl tied over and sealed at the top and perhaps somehow connected with the preservation of meat in jars (Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 41, pl. 9, fig. 181; idem, *Kahun*, p. 46 [xvi.13 note, add.]). More recently, Staehelin (*Tracht*, pp. 58–59) identifies the sign with the shield-shaped element that dangles from the loose ends of the knot at the shoulder of panther skin vestments; cf. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pp. 216–19. As a matter of fact, the form of the *idr*-sign exhibits considerable variation over

the passage of time (a–t).¹¹ Edel saw a resemblance between the lower












part of variant (f) and Sign List V 33 . Since the latter sign apparently represents a “bundle of linen,” he took the former to be the same but provided with a carrying strap.¹² The projection in front of the lower part of (f), which appears as a pair of projections in the more detailed example of the same sign (e), may be compared to the projection at the back of our intact example (d), as well as to those at the front of what Edel takes to be the oldest form of the sign (a), even though the latter seems in part to have been assimilated to detailed examples of the heart-sign (Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 217). If Edel is correct in his identification of variant (f) as a bundle of linen with a carrying strap, example (d) and variants (b–c) might well represent bundles of linen without the carrying strap but with indications instead of the knot or the loose end(s) of the knotted cloth, especially since the characteristic features of the late Old Kingdom and early Middle Kingdom variants (g–l) are the vertical line(s) and/or the tick(s) at the top which could indicate the knotted string.¹³ On the other hand, Griffith’s Dyn. 12 example (m), which derives from the tomb of Djehutyhotep at El Bersheh, is painted red with a beige tie and could indeed represent a red pottery bowl tied over with a strip of linen and sealed. A second example from the tomb of Djehutyhotep and later variants of the sign omit the vertical line(s) (n–t). The New Kingdom sign (s) is painted blue with a red projection, whereas one would expect it to be white if a linen bundle was intended. As indicated also by variant (m), however, the sign may well have been reinterpreted with the passage of time. Interestingly, our sign (d) most closely resembles the standard New Kingdom sign (q), but then a Dyn. 13 variant (o) likewise resembles the later New Kingdom version of the sign.¹⁴

Sign List V 37 serves, according to Gardiner, as the determinative in *idr*, “bandage,” or “bind,” and as a phonogram or phonetic determinative for  var.  *idr*, “herd” (EG, p. 527). *Idr* with the meaning “herd” of cattle, “flock” of birds, is in fact well attested (*Wb.* 1, p. 154, 12–14). Breasted (*Edu. Smith Pap.*, pp. 229–30) argued that *idr* in the medical texts meant “stitch,

suture,” rather than “bandage, bind” (*Wb.* 1, p. 154, 18), but Gardiner retained the former meaning in *AEO* 2, p. 260*. The corresponding substantive, whether translated “stitch, suture” (Breasted, *Edu. Smith Pap.*, p. 519) or “bandage” (*Wb.* 1, p. 154, 17; *AEO* 2, p. 260*) also appears in the medical papyri. All these words proceed from a root *idr*, “to tie, bind together,” and Gardiner was of the opinion that the sign  was first used as a determinative for *idr*, “bandage,” being only subsequently transferred, apparently for purely phonetic reasons, to *idr*, “herd” (*AEO* 2, p. 260*; Ward, *Four Homographic Roots*, pp. 167–68). Be that as it may, the label *idr* over a belt-knot depicted in the object frieze on the side of a Middle Kingdom coffin in Cairo serves to confirm the basic meaning of the verb, since a belt-knot is that which “ties” or “fastens” a belt around the waist.¹⁵ That meaning also finds confirmation in the fact that the sign in question is also used on occasion to determine the word *rf*, “combine, enclose” (*Urk.* 4, p. 1929, 9; Ward, *Four Homographic Roots*, p. 168).

In addition to the above, a sign (g–i) that is generally read *idr(w)* appears in two edicts of Pepy II for the Min temple at Coptos (Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, figs. 8, 9), where it usually occurs in the plural. Weill translated the word as “dépendances” (*Décrets royaux*, p. 14) and Gardiner as “domains” (*PSBA* 34 [1912], p. 261), whereas Goedicke (*ibid.*, pp. 26, 97) sees in *idr(w)* a precise legal form of possession which can be translated in English by “holding” or “property.” Ward likewise derives this word, which appears without accompanying phonograms and usually in the plural, from *idr*, “tie, bind together,” since a land-holding is “bound up” as a unit of property by legal ownership (Ward, *Four Homographic Roots*, p. 168). Unfortunately, none of these meanings appears to precisely fit the present context.

Roccati (*Littérature*, p. 126, n. d) reads the sign in the Senedjemib inscription as “paiement.” His translation, however, is apparently based on a supposed resemblance between V 37 and a hieratic sign studied by Berlev which determines the word *š(n)ṛ*, “unit of value, money” (*Palestinskiy Sbornik* 15 [1966], pp. 6 and 15). Berlev is of the opinion that the correct transcription of that sign is not  but . The latter sign according to him does not represent “bandages,” but is rather the result of a misinterpretation of the sign for vulva  (*ibid.*, p. 27). Janssen (*Commodity Prices*, p. 102, n. 8) remarks that Berlev cannot explain why  usually *idr*, should have the phonetic value *šnṛ*. Nonetheless, signs quite like (j), or (n) and (t), do determine a homophonous word  or  known from the Middle Kingdom title *imy-rš šnṛ(ty)*, “overseer of stores(?)” (ANOC 13.1/3; Ward, *Four Homographic Roots*, p. 167; *idem*, *Index of Titles*, nos. 381, 438; Fischer, *Egyptian Titles*, pts. 2–3, fasc. 1, no. 381; Patch, *Reflections of Greatness*, cat. no. 18). More to the point perhaps is that *š(n)ṛ* in the Old Kingdom is not determined by  but rather by the sign for metal  (Hölscher, *Grabdenkmal des Chephren*, p. III, fig. 164 = *Urk.* 1, p. 157, 16–18) or the cup  (Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, pl. 17 b), a circumstance which probably renders the reading *š(n)ṛ* unlikely in the present context.

¹¹ The sources for the signs in the chart are the following: (a) Fischer, *Varia Nova*, fig. 27b (= Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 27; see also *ibid.*, pl. 6 [9]); (b) Leprohon, *CAA Boston MFA* 2, p. 52; (c) *ibid.*; (d) G 2370, Inscr. C; (e) Fischer, *Varia Nova*, fig. 27a (= Hassan, *Giza* 4, pl. 17 H); (f) Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* 1, PT 1462 d^M; (g) Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, fig. 8; (h) *ibid.*; (i) *ibid.*, fig. 9; (j) Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches* 4, pl. 1 [CG 20001]; (k) Gardiner, *JEA* 4 (1917), pl. 8; (l) *ibid.*; (m) Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, pl. 9 [181] (= *Bersheh* 1, pl. 18); (n) *ibid.*; (o) Edel, in *Polotsky Studies*, p. 381 (= Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches* 2, pp. 265–66 [CG 20627]); (p) *Urk.* 4, p. 85, 5; (q) *Urk.* 4, p. 159, 5; (r) *Urk.* 4, p. 196, 1; (s) *Urk.* 4, p. 699, 13; (t) Davies, *Rekhmire* 2, pl. 26, 13 (= *Urk.* 4, p. 1108, 14). For parallels to (s), see *Urk.* 4, pp. 159, 5; 755, 2. For the date of the stele whence (o) derives, see Franke, *Personendaten*, p. 200.

¹² Edel, in *Polotsky Studies*, p. 383.

¹³ Cf. Ward, *Four Homographic Roots*, p. 166.


¹⁴ For Ramesside and later variants, see *AEO* 2, pp. 260*–62*.


¹⁵ The same word may appear in PT Utterance 57M in the pyramid of Queen Neit; see *FPT* 1, p. 13 and n. 2; 2, p. 2; Staehelin, *Tracht*, p. 59.



Alternatively, our word might derive from the homophonous verb *idr*, “to withhold from, to keep away” (*Wb.* 1, p. 154, 15; *FCD*, p. 36; Edel, in: *Polotsky Studies*, pp. 386–87). Edel (ibid.; see also van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, pp. 116–17) thinks the latter verb a rare allograph of the 2-rad. verb *dr*, “to expel, repress,” etc. (*Wb.* 5, pp. 473–74). *Idr* in this sense does not appear before the New Kingdom, but a *nomen actionis* from this verb, *idryt*, “punishment, repression, suppression,” or the like occurs as early as the Pyramid Texts (*Wb.* 1, p. 155, 3–4; *FCD*, p. 36; Edel, in: *Polotsky Studies*, pp. 385–87; van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, pp. 116–17).

In the final analysis, it is perhaps best to turn to the content of the passage in Inscription C itself. The sense of the passage seems to be that the *idr* of the time-service (*wnwt*) was apportioned from the “god’s offerings,” that is, the “income” that Memphis (“the Wall”) derived from the yield of the harvest throughout the land. In other words, *idr* represents a portion of that income allotted or set aside, that was, “tied,” “bound together/up,” or “withheld from,” the whole for the recompense of the time-service rendered by certain individuals, presumably, considering the context, Inti’s funerary priests. Thus, the word *idr* perhaps represents “an allotment, a distribution, a portion, a share,” or the like, of that income. Whether *idr* can itself be suitably translated “income, revenue,” (cf. Roccati’s “paiement”) needs further investigation.

^k For *wnwt*, “time-service, duty,” see *Wb.* 1, p. 317, 3–5; *FCD*, p. 61; and especially Gunn, in *Teti Cem.* 2, p. 110. In the context of the Coptos decrees, where *wnwt* is contrasted with *mdd*, Goedicke translates *wnwt* as “Pflichtarbeit,” that is, “compulsory labor,” and *mdd* as “Steuer,” that is “tax, duty” (*Königl. Dokumente*, pp. 87, 98 [18]). Perhaps Gardiner’s translation of *mdd* as “(special) corvée” vis-à-vis *wnwt* (“regular labour”) comes closer to the mark in regard to the latter term (*PSBA* 34 [1912], p. 262). *Wnwt* is used of the service performed by magistrates (*Meir* 4, p. 24, pl. 4) and craftsmen (Hassan, *Giza* 4, p. 168, fig. 118; Doret, *NVS*, p. 46, Ex. 60; Janssen, *Trad. Autobiogr.* 1, pp. 29–30), and also of the service rendered by lector priests (Edel, *Phraseologie*, § 24) and funerary priests (Goedicke, *Rechtsinschriften*, pp. 75, pl. 8; 89, pl. 9).

^l Roccati has “que lui avait confié son père.” Allen, on the other hand, would restore the entire passage as follows , and would read *nt(y) m mdw n.f(i)t.(i) dr.f*, “which is one that my father claimed in its entirety.” He remarks that it is impossible to read *nt(y) mdw n.f(i)t.f*, “which his father confided to him,” citing Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 1057 bb, as his authority. In addition, the *m* has to be a preposition (“*m* of predication”), not a complement of *mdw*, the literal meaning of the clause being “for which my father spoke.” *Mdwi*, he notes, is well attested in the sense of “claim” (*Wb.* 2, p. 179; Allen, *IVPT*, p. 582). *Mdw*, a relative *sdm.n.f* and *dr.f* are all masculine because they refer to *idr*.

Allen thinks the restoration of the seated man in *(i)t.(i)* would account for the shift of the bread loaf, but he feels that the grouping is really tight, and wonders what is wrong with Reisner’s stroke, which would also explain the shift. The surface in this area was badly abraded; there are some faint marks and scratches that Reisner could conceivably have interpreted as a stroke, but there is no real evidence that a stroke ever actually existed. Moreover, although  is

well attested as a writing for “father” in Old Egyptian (e.g., *Urk.* 1, pp. 9, 14; 15, 16; 47, 1; cf. *Wb.* 1, p. 141; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 273), I am unable to provide a contemporary parallel for . Indeed, while the stroke was sometimes used in the Pyramid Texts to replace human figures that were regarded as magically dangerous (see e.g., Gardiner, *EG*, p. 535 [Z 1]), in above ground inscriptions there is no evidence of | for  before the Middle Kingdom (ibid., § 34).



The spacing of the *dr*-bundle also creates a problem, since the shift to the right demands a sign at the left, and Allen would restore another stroke to the left here. Although a stroke after *dr* would explain the rightwards shift, it nonetheless seems contrary to the usages of Old Egyptian (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, §§ 66–68), the employment of the stroke as a space filler being rather a feature of texts of the First Intermediate Period and thereafter (Couyat-Montet, *Hammamat*, pp. 13–14; Schenkel, *Fmäs*, § 5a–d). Again, however, I am unable to account for the shift, unless it resulted from the presence of a nummulite which has now fallen out. There is, in fact, a deep hole to the left of the *dr*-sign which could conceivably have contained such a fossil.

Reisner thought he saw both the *r*-mouth and the *ayin*-arm beneath the bundle, but no such traces are visible in this badly damaged area in the photographs. According to his notes in Boston, Sethe did not see the two signs, even though he included them in his published copy along with a note citing Reisner and questioning whether they actually existed. In fact, *dr*-*r*, “originally, long ago,” is apparently not attested before the Middle Kingdom (*Wb.* 5, p. 594, 6ff.). Even without the stroke, Allen’s restoration of (*r*)-*dr.f* would have been appropriate here, if not for the reasons already given in note (h). However, the preposition *dr-bsh* in its adverbial usage with the meaning “formerly, previously” (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, §§ 752, 781), provides a satisfactory alternative from the point of view of meaning, and likewise fills the available space.

^m Allen construes *in* here as a passive *sdm.f* in a temporal clause; see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 567; Allen, *Inflection*, § 498.

ⁿ Reisner thought he could make out the word *qs[ty]*, “sculptor,” at the bottom of the line. Sethe read the same traces as *kst tn*. The mutilated state of this area of the wall renders hazardous any attempt at a reading.




^o The name of Izezi’s pyramid is off center. It is possible that the column was split here and that other signs originally stood in the space to the right.





^p The *tp*-sign seen by Sethe and Reisner at the top of the column is visible in the photographs and just possibly directly beneath it the letter *t*. After a gap and the name of Izezi’s pyramid, Sethe has , which Roccati translates: “Le grand du temple du ka ... Iri.” On the basis of the photographs, it is not certain the 3-column ever existed. Furthermore, the use of 3 *n* with the meaning “chief of” is not attested for the Old Kingdom (*Wb.* 1, p. 163, 1–2). *Iry* could as well represent a verbal form as a personal name, an alternative we have opted for here with the possible and likewise damaged parallel of CG 1433 (= *Urk.* 1, p. 86, 15) in mind. In his unpublished notes Sethe thought he saw  under *hwt-k* and over *iry*. Reisner appears to have followed him in this. Although there are traces of signs visible, they do not necessarily resolve themselves into the

group seen by Sethe. The latter evidently had second thoughts, for the signs do not appear in his published copy. In fact, I believe I can make out a loaf *t* below the front edge of the *hwt*-sign in a 1931 photograph (pl. 69) as well as traces which could represent the house-determinative of *hwt-k3*. If so, a reasonable option would be to restore the demonstrative pronoun *tn* in the space thereafter. Considering the *-y* ending, *iry* might well represent the prospective relative form discussed by Gunn, *Studies*, p. 1ff., both in the present case and CG 1433. Moreover, traces of a feminine *t* are very likely visible after the *-y* in pl. 69. Of course, the bottom of the column is very broken and *hwt-k3* [*tn*] *iry*^r.(*t*) may not be the only possible restoration.


At any rate, given the context, *hwt-k3* here in all probability refers to Inti's tomb (Blackman, *JEA* 3 [1916], pp. 250–54; *Wb.* 3, p. 5, 14–15; Fiore-Marochetti, *GM* 144 [1995], p. 49). It might also be possible to read *hwt-k3*, “agricultural estate” (*Wb.* 3, p. 5, 16–17), and Inti in fact possessed several such estates. The availability of space after *hwt-k3*, however, seems to exclude a plural writing of the term (e.g., Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 2, p. 17 (93); Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pl. 20; CG 1492; Dunham, *JEA* 24 [1938], pl. 2; Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, fig. 28). It is even less likely that a royal *ka*-chapel is referred to (see above, p. 33 and n. 164).



⁹ Sethe's transcription of his lines 19–21 is shown at right. Roccati translates the relevant portion of the text: “(Le grand du temple du *ka* ... Iri,) que j'ai trouvé auprès de lui avec un vêtement, qu'on m'apporte à son sujet... parce que le chargé de ces villages, nommé tel et tel(?)” Roccati's rendering has the advantage of yielding a coherent translation. As previously mentioned, however, Sethe was mistaken in treating the bottoms of columns (17) through (21) as an independent line of text.

Roccati has evidently taken the damaged bird in column (21) to represent the black ibis, that is, the *gmt*-bird, rather than the crested ibis and emended Sethe's  to  (G 28). The more upright posture of the bird favors the crested ibis  (G 25) although, given the state of the wall at this point, this is not absolutely certain. Reisner actually thought he saw the *in*-ideogram, but Sethe with Lepsius's copy and the Harvard–Boston Expedition photographs before him corrected Reisner in this regard. Clear traces of a bird exist at present followed by a lacuna. The possibility that part of a viper is to be made out at the bottom of the lacuna has prompted the restoration of *sh.n.f*. If the trace is spurious, one alternative would be to restore *dd* after *sh* on the pattern of *Urk.* 4, p. 47, 6, and to read: “My speaking was beneficial to him...” *sh.n.(i)*, “I was beneficial,” is probably insufficient to fill the space. For *sh*, “be beneficial, useful, profitable,” see *Wb.* 1, p. 14, 19–24; *FCD*, p. 4.


^r Reisner's copy shows the sign of the loop of rope  after *ssr*. Sethe likewise has the looped rope. A close examination of the damage in this area makes it unlikely that any determinative at all survived. Moreover, in the Old Kingdom *ssr* is determined with the bag , or its equivalent  (Gardiner, *BIFAO* 30 [1931], pp. 176–78). If *ssr* was indeed determined by , there would probably have been room beneath this sign for a *nb*-basket.

For *ssr*, “thing, action, matter, service, respect,” according as the context demands, see Gardiner, *BIFAO* 30 (1931), p. 177.

Under *ssr* Reisner saw two ripples of water and the loaf of bread *t*. Sethe restored . The loaf on the left can be made out in the photographs, but the other loaf is lost in a hole.

^s The beginning of horizontal line (22) is seriously damaged. The first preserved sign is , but there is sufficient space above it for another. Sethe restored [*h*] *r*^r.^r, taking the remnants of the largely destroyed low, broad sign that follows as the forearm and restoring a stroke under it, the top part of which he perhaps thought to see at the upper edge of the deep hole immediately below. Reisner, on the other hand, believed he could make out traces of a forearm above the *r*. Indeed, what could conceivably be the hand of a forearm appears in two photographs (pls. 59, 72), although the traces are far from certain. If Reisner was correct, a possible solution would be to restore *r(t)*, “roll” (of papyrus or leather) (*Wb.* 1, pp. 208, 17–209, 1),¹⁶ taking the destroyed low, broad sign to represent a book roll with the *t* fitting into the destroyed space above. On the other hand, the word in question appears relatively rarely, and Sethe's restoration probably makes better sense in the present context. There is definitely room for another low, broad sign in the area of the large, irregularly shaped hole beneath the destroyed sign which Sethe restored as a forearm, and it is possible that this space was originally occupied by the book roll determinative of , “warrant” (see note u), in lieu of Sethe's stroke.

Reisner also thought he saw the letter *n* above the first two city-signs and was followed in this by Sethe. A faint trace in the photograph may, in fact, represent the ripple of water.

Assuming that the restoration of *hr* ^r was correct, I had reconstructed the passage at the end of line (x + 21) and the beginning of this line as follows: *n-ntt* [*ink hr*-^r *n niwut (i)ptm*], “because I was an owner of (lit. “I am under”) a warrant for these villages...” For *n-n[t]t*, “because,” see Gardiner, *EG*, § 223; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 1043. There is, in fact, a very suggestive round hole centered beneath *n[t]t* in pl. 69 that might well represent the *nw*-jar of . However, James Allen observes that good Old Kingdom grammar would require *is* after *ink*. He suggests instead restoring a viper below *ntt*, that is, the normal form of the 3rd pers. sing. pronominal subject after *wnt/ntt* (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 1020). Allen originally suggested restoring *r irt n.f*, “to act for him,” at the end of the line, but there is insufficient space available for both *n* and *f*. *R irt n.(i)*, “in order that it might be done for me,” would be possible, but in that case there is a certain confusion of person evident. Allen ultimately suggested *r irt n(y)*, in order that it might be done for him,” the *n(y)* being the adverb “therefor, for (him, it, etc.)” (Gardiner, *EG*, § 205, 1; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 751 a).

^t At the end of the line Reisner thought he saw *n.f*. Sethe restored [*r*] *n.f*. The only sign definitely visible today is a bread loaf *t*, which seems to preclude Sethe's suggestion. I think I may see the end of a ripple of water at one edge of the hole beneath the loaf, but this is not certain. Reisner may have misinterpreted the hole in the stone,

¹⁶ *Wb.* 1, p. 208, 16 cites a word *r* known from Old Kingdom titles. I am not at all persuaded that the word exists, since the occurrences cited by *Wb.* can all as readily be interpreted as *iry-mdst* ^r *nsut* (*pr*-^r), “book-keeper of the royal records (of the palace).”

which has a suggestive shape, as a viper. Traces above the letter *t* are likewise suggestive of the mouth or the human eye, and it is on this basis that $\overset{\circ}{\text{ir}}^{\text{t}} \text{r}^{\text{t}} \text{n}(\text{y})^{\text{t}}$ has been restored.

^u For $\overset{\circ}{\text{sdst}} \text{nt} \text{r}(\text{?})$, see Breasted, *Ancient Records* 1, § 274; Schott, *WZKM* 54 (1957), p. 178; *FCD*, p. 36; Roccati, *Littérature*, § 96. The present example is apparently the only known occurrence of the term. According to Schott, *sdst* is determined by a cylinder seal (seen from the front) without the usual bead-necklace. The commentators appear to be unanimous in reading r , even though the word is written with the forearm with hand holding a rounded loaf r , which usually represents phonetic *mi* (Gardiner, *EG*, p. 454 [D 38]; Sethe, *Verbum* 2, § 538).

An r was a formal written document authorizing someone to do something, that is, a “warrant,” or conversely a “writ,” prohibiting the performance of some action (see e.g., Kanawati, *El Hawawish* 6, p. 49, fig. 23c, pls. 3b, 8c; Gunn, *JEA* 34 [1948], p. 28 [3]; Wilson, *JNES* 13 [1954], p. 254; Goedicke, *JNES* 15 [1956], pp. 29–30; Baer, *ZÄS* 93 [1966], pp. 6–7; Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, p. 28 (12); Théodorides, *RIDA* 3 ser. 20 [1973], p. 78, n. 83; *ArchAbousir* 2, p. 479; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 210).

^v Restoring a second man determinative after the woman sign on the pattern of $\text{m}^{\text{t}} \text{m}^{\text{t}} \text{m}^{\text{t}}$ and $\text{m}^{\text{t}} \text{m}^{\text{t}} \text{m}^{\text{t}}$ (*Urk.* 1, pp. 2, 10; 3, 9). Admittedly, when a noun denoting human beings is a class-name including both sexes, the usual practice during the later Old Kingdom is to use the group $\text{m}^{\text{t}} \text{m}^{\text{t}}$ (Faulkner, *Plural and Dual*, pp. 35–36). In such cases, the determinative is regularly followed by the adjective *nb* (*Urk.* 1, pp. 129, 10; 150, 9; 204, 19; 224, 12; 283, 2). In fact, $\text{h}^{\text{m}} \text{w} \text{-k}^{\text{s}} \text{nb}(\text{w})$ would represent an alternative restoration in the present instance. In his unpublished notes Sethe suggested that either m^{t} or m^{t} originally stood in the space after the surviving determinatives.

^w $\text{Z}^{\text{s}} \text{m} \text{z}^{\text{s}} \text{-qdt}$, lit. “drawn in a preliminary sketch,” recurs on the left jamb of the entrance to G 2370 (above, p. 43 and n. 94). The proposed restoration fits the space requirements better than a possible alternative in *Urk.* 1, p. 44, 6: $\text{wd.in h}^{\text{m}} \text{.f n iry-p}^{\text{t}} \text{rdi.t}^{\text{t}} \text{[i]} \text{wdt m z}^{\text{s}} \text{hr iz.f}$. On the latter passage, see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 708.

^x Wilson’s remark (*JNES* 6 [1947], p. 239, n. 26) that the verb *shr* means basically “to make distant,” and thus could hardly mean “carved(?)” as suggested by Smith (*HESP*, p. 356) is perhaps too categorical. *Shr* in the present context is, after all, something done by a sculptor (*qsty*), and Breasted (*Ancient Records* 1, § 275) similarly suggested “engraved.” Wilson’s translation, “when they were removed,” perhaps hints at a solution, since *shr*, a causative *3ae inf.* verb, is well attested with the meaning “to remove, take away” (*Wb.* 4, pp. 219, 9–220, 12), and what a sculptor does in executing sunk relief is to “remove” the stone from within a hollowed-out area below the surface plane. Alternatively, *shr* might be considered a causative of *hr*, “prepare, make ready,” but the latter verb is apparently unattested before the New Kingdom (*Wb.* 3, pp. 146–47, 9; *FCD*, p. 176). The 3rd pers. pl. suffix pronoun *sn* is no longer visible today, except possibly for a depression that may represent a trace of the letter *s*, but Sethe and Reisner thought they saw clear traces of both letters.

Doret, *NVS*, p. 95, n. 1177, understands *shr.(w).sn in qstj* to be an instance of the passive *sdm(w).f* used in a past circumstantial

clause, that is, “after they (= the decrees) had been engraved(?) by the sculptor.” If the restoration suggested in n. w is correct, however, the decrees could not have been engraved before being drawn on the facade and portico of Inti’s tomb.

^y Wilson (*JNES* 6 [1947], p. 239, n. 26) found it difficult to conceive of the word *dd*, “speak,” except as part of an emphasizing participial construction. Separating the word sculptor from *shr*, he translates: “It was the sculptor who spoke as head ‘of the gang in’ ... apportioned in the palace.” Roccati (*Littérature*, p. 127) has: “... ils furent gravés(?) par le sculpteur, étant dit au chef du Cabinet... étant poli(?) au Palais.” Wilson and Roccati had only Sethe’s published copy to go by which has: $\text{m}^{\text{t}} \text{m}^{\text{t}} \text{m}^{\text{t}}$. Sethe’s unpublished notes on file in Boston clearly show the group $\text{m}^{\text{t}} \text{m}^{\text{t}} \text{m}^{\text{t}}$ after *dd m*. Reisner originally had $\text{m}^{\text{t}} \text{m}^{\text{t}}$, but changed this in his final copy to reflect Sethe’s improved reading. Sethe evidently had second thoughts, however, for in his published copy he appears to have interpreted the stroke under the *hr* as the top of the *iz*-sign. After a close examination of the photographs, I believe what Reisner and Sethe saw as the letter *n* is simply damage to the stone. The presence of the letter *t* under the *tp*-sign seems to exclude both “head ‘of the gang’ and “chef du Cabinet” from consideration, since “head, chief,” is *hry-tp* (*Wb.* 3, p. 40, 6–2), not *hry-tp*.

Having said as much, it is not easy to find a suitable alternative translation. The presence of the letter *t* also seems to preclude the compound preposition *hry-tp*, “over, upon, on behalf of” (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 880). Contextually, *tp-r*, “utterance” (*Wb.* 5, p. 287, 13–16) is possible, but is apparently otherwise unattested before the Middle Kingdom, the corresponding Old Kingdom form evidently being *tp-r* (Smither, *JEA* 28 [1942], p. 18 (d); *ArchAbousir*, pp. 467, 470; Edel, *ZÄS* 106 [1979], p. 107). *Tpt-rd* is another possibility and has the advantage of being known from the Old Kingdom (*Wb.* 5, p. 290, 6; Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pp. 15–16, pl. 22; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, p. 99, pl. 55, Inscr. no. 145). Assuming it is identical with the later *tp-rd*, “instructions, regulations, duty, task” (*Wb.* 5, pp. 288, 2–289, 22), it allows a viable solution.

The compound preposition *m-hr*, “in the sight of, before,” is not known till later (*Wb.* 3, p. 128, 1–3; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 807; Lefèbvre, *Gramm.*, § 518) but, as James Allen points out, *hr* here is the primary object of *m*.

Allen has also suggested the restoration of $[\text{i}] \text{m}$ after *tp*-[rd] and before *mr*.

Breasted (*Ancient Records* 1, § 274) thought that the mortuary priests were “divided into phyles.” The reading may fit the context, but there is insufficient room for three phyle signs before the beginning of the next sentence.

^z The ripple-of-water sign substitutes erroneously for the door-bolt in *iz*. Possibly the draftsman who copied the original decree onto the wall mistook a badly drawn hieratic *z* for *n*; see Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Paleography*, pp. 26 a–b (N 35), 29 a–b (O 34).

^{aa} See Wilson, *JNES* 6 (1947), p. 239; Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952), p. 123.

^{bb} The *wbt nt hrw*, the “wabet of attending,” is discussed by Edel, *ZÄS* 96 (1969), pp. 4–6. For *hr* (*hr*), to “attend (to),” “wait (upon),” “oversee,” see Inscription A 1, note i. The *wbt nt hrw* is represented in

the tomb of *Qsr* at Giza (G 7101); see Simpson, *Qar and idu*, p. 6, pl. 24. The modifying phrase *nt ḥrw* may allude to the long period of time required for the embalming process in the Old Kingdom. In the case of Queen Meresankh III, 273 or 274 days elapsed between the time of death and burial (Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, p. 8, pl. 2a, b, fig. 2), that is, in the neighborhood of nine months, whereas Senedjemib Inti's body remained in the *wabet* for fifteen months, albeit under special circumstances. Yet another example of the term *wḥbt nt ḥrw* is to be seen in *Gebr.* I, pl. 14, where metalworkers are depicted smelting metal for funerary equipment destined for the embalming workshop; see Edel, *ZÄS* 96 (1969), p. 5.

^{cc} Breasted (*Ancient Records*, § 274) translates “while he was in [—] in the eternal house which is at the pyramid: ‘Ise-si-[Beautiful].’” Whereas *m* on occasion can mean “alongside” a lake, canal, etc. (Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 161), for reasons already elucidated (above, p. 29), it is more likely that the preposition in the present context means “in (the necropolis of).” Indeed, the tomb (*iz dt*) of the owner of the anonymous testamentary enactment, CG 1432, is referred to alternatively as being *m Wr-Ḥḥr* and *m hrt-ntr m Wr-Ḥḥr*, “in (the necropolis of) the pyramid Khafre is Great.”

INSCRIPTION D

PUBLICATION: *LD* 2, pl. 76e; *Urk.* I, pp. 65, 15–66, 14

PRESENT VOLUME: figs. 21 (L), (R), 22 (GMP); text figure 4; pls. 75–80a

TRANSLATIONS: Breasted, *Ancient Records* I, § 275; Roccati, *Littérature*, § 97

TRANSLATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL PASSAGES: Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 887.

COMMENTARY: Boreux, *Études de nautique*, p. 126; Janssen, *Trad. Autobiogr.* I, IIF76; 2, p. 66; Eyre, in *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, p. 11

Transcription

(1) [*Dbh.k(i) hr nb.(i) {in}.t(i) [n.f] ḥrsw*¹ (2) [*m R3-sw*]. ***Rdi hm n nb.(i) ds*** [*imy-r3 mšc hnḥ imy-r3 srw r int qrsw pn m R3-ḥ m* *st* [ḥ] {n} *hnw* (3) [... *imy-r3 mšc*] *imy-r3 srw*¹ (4) *hr dšt*. {*Tr*} *ht {nb} n* (5) *mšc* (6) (*i*)*p*[*n*] (7) *mr* {*w*}*n*[*t*].*n* [*wd.t(i)*] (8) *im m hnw*. (9) [...] *In.t(i)*] *qr[sw] pn hnḥc ḥr ḥt-[Ḥ]w{f}w* (10) [...] *dy m iz.f*] *ḥ*¹*n.(i) m R3-sw* (11) *dy m ḥnkt.*¹[*f*] (12) *n* (13) *hrw* [ḥ] (7?) (14) *m [šm(t) ii(t)]*. (15) *Tw {tr}.n n.sn hm.f*(16) *wdw r hzt.sn* (17) [*r ht nb*] *s{k g}r wn.sn ir.sn* (18) [*mdswt m hrt-hrw*] *rḥ nb r rdit rh* (19) [*hm.f wn*] *qrsw pn* (20) [*spr.(y) r htp*].{*f*} *m st*.{*f*}

Translation

(1) [I begged from my lord]^a that a ‘sarcophagus’ be {brought} [for him]^b (2) [from Tura]. The Majesty of my lord had [an overseer of troops together with an overseer of officials] ferry over [in order to bring this sarcophagus from Tura in] a [great]^c cargo vessel {of} the Residence,^d (3) [... the overseer of troops] and the overseer of the official’s^e (4) ferrying over (the river). (5–6) Everything {was done} for the[se] troops, (7) just like ‘that which’ [had been commanded] (8) thereunto in the Residence.^f (9) [...] This sarco[pha]gus [was] brought together with its ‘lid’ to (the necropolis of) the pyramid

“Horizon of {Kh}u{f}u,” (10) [...] being placed in {his} tomb, it having been ‘con’veyed by water from Tura^h (11) and placed in [its] ‘bed’ⁱ during (13) [five] (or seven?) days^j (14) in [transit].^k (15) His Majesty [issued] for them (16) decrees in order to reward them (17) [more than anything], wh[ile] they, [more]over, were making (18) [dispatches in the course of] every day^l in order to inform (19) [His Majesty that] this sarcophagus (20) [had arrived so that] {it} [might rest] in {its} place.^m

Comments

^a Restoring [*dbh.k(i) hr nb*].(*i*) on the pattern of Inscription C, lines (20) to (21). Inscription D is in part closely paralleled in the autobiography of Uni the Elder (*Urk.* I, p. 99, 10–17), who also requested a sarcophagus from his sovereign, and who likewise describes its transport by cargo vessel from the Tura quarries. It would be possible to restore *dbh.k(i) m-ḥ hm n nb.(i)* on the basis of the parallel passage, but Inscription C furnishes a more immediate model. The beginning of the line was presumably occupied by Mehi’s name(s) and a selection of his titles, perhaps followed by *dd.f*, “he says.”

^b In contrast to Sethe, Reisner restores *inr hḏ* between *in.t(i)* and *qrsw*.

^c ḥ is restored on the basis of the caption over the cargo vessel at the bottom of the wall. Uni’s sarcophagus was also transported in a *st ḥ n hnw*.

^d The present text is more circumstantial than Uni the Elder’s, and the extent to which the two were parallel is unclear. Nevertheless, the inscription on a loose block found in the court of the Senedjemib Complex, which on stylistic and contextual grounds probably belongs to Inscription D, but which is known only from a Harvard–Boston Expedition photograph (pl. 74b), indicates that Uni’s text probably does furnish a valid model for the lost portion of line (2) here. The identity of the first sign at the bottom right edge of the aforementioned block is not absolutely certain, but it more likely represents a damaged fire-drill (U 29), as suggested by Peter Der Manuelian, than the walking-stick (S 43). Moreover, the bird-sign that follows is probably a vulture rather than an owl. Proceeding on the assumption that the identification of the two signs is correct, the inscription on the block, which is set in bold type in the above transcription, would then read: ***rdi hm n nb.(i) ds***, “The Majesty of my lord had [...] ferry over.”

In Uni’s autobiographical inscription, Pepy I directed a “seal-bearer of the god together with the battalion of a ship-master (*ḥr wḥ*) under his command” to cross the river together with a ship’s crew in order to bring a sarcophagus back from the Tura quarries. This was only appropriate, as the *hmty-ntr* was a functionary responsible for official travel by boat; see e.g., Junker, *Giza* 2, p. 32; Fakhry, *ASAE* 38 (1938), p. 38; Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), p. 204 and n. 18; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 99, 104, and for the reading of the title, Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pp. 50–52. The command staff sent to fetch Senedjemib Inti’s sarcophagus appears to have differed in composition. To begin with, the occurrence of the demonstrative adjective *pn* after *mšc* in lines (5) and (6) clearly refers back to an earlier mention of the “troops.” Since “troops” in the Old kingdom and later were normally under the command of an *imy-r3 mšc*, and inasmuch as the

latter official was not infrequently put in charge of quarrying or mining expeditions (see e.g., Faulkner, *JEA* 39 [1953], pp. 33–34; Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, p. 221ff.), an “overseer of troops” might well have been sent to Tura to bring a coffin back for Inti. The *imy-r3 srw*, “overseer of officials,” mentioned in line (3) of the present inscription was in all probability also a member of the command staff of the quarrying expedition sent to Tura on Inti’s behalf.

If the calculation of the height of the decorated sidewalls of the portico of G 2370 presented under Inscription B 1 above is accurate, something more than half of the height of Inscription D is missing. Presumably a clause of purpose identical or similar to that in Uni’s autobiography, *r int qrs w pn m R3-sw*, “to bring back this sarcophagus from Tura,” followed the mention of the officials sent by Izezi to Tura in Inti’s text. At this point, however, the usefulness of Uni’s autobiography as a model ceases, for it continues *ii.n.f m-ꜥ.f m sꜥ ꜥ n hnw*, “It (viz. the coffin) came in his charge in a great cargo boat of the Residence,” and there is insufficient space for this at the end of column (2) in Inti’s text after the mention of the personnel who were sent to Tura and before the adverbial clause [*m*] *sꜥ [ꜥ n] hnw*. Furthermore, the return of Inti’s sarcophagus from Tura is seemingly narrated further along in Inscription D.

The orthography of *mꜥꜥ* in lines (5–6) is unusually full and is unlikely to have been repeated in a writing of *imy-r3 mꜥꜥ*. After a number of attempts, the restoration offered in text fig. 4 appeared to best fit the space requirements, especially if the apparent parallel in Uni’s autobiography is indeed relevant. For the spelling of *imy-r3 mꜥꜥ* utilized in the reconstructed text, see e.g., the Sixth Dynasty letter of protest to a rescript of a vizier contained in pCairo JE 49623 (Gunn, *ASAE* 25 [1925], pls. 1/1a; Gardiner, *JEA* 13 [1927], p. 75; Grdseloff, *ASAE* 48 [1948], pp. 505–12). Of the three seated men of the determinative of plurality, only one is completely preserved, but the circular outline to the upper right of the surviving determinative and the horizontal line to the left possibly represent the head of one seated man and the line of the leg of another.

^c Sethe restored two seated men after *imy-r3 sr*, whereas Reisner repeated the courtier determinative of *sr* twice more after the pattern of Inscription C, line (15). When set one above the other in our facsimile copy, as Reisner has done in his hand copy, the figure of the last courtier intrudes into horizontal line (4) below. If the latter two determinatives are set side by side, they fail to reach down as far as the bottom of line (3). On the other hand, the repeated generic determinative of the three seated men fits the lacuna admirably. The title *imy-r3 srw* is generally written without determinatives (compare e.g., *Sinai Inscr.*, nos. 13, 16, 17, and Goyon, *Hamm.*, no. 36) and, if this were the case here, another official designation could have followed immediately on this title, although it is difficult to imagine what title might fit into the limited space available. *Htmty-ntr* would do so, if followed by the seated man determinative but, as expedition leader, the “seal-bearer of the god” might be expected to precede, not follow, the *imy-r3 srw*; see e.g., Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, p. 234ff. Although *srw* is evidently spelled differently in Inscription C (line (15), an orthography like that with the courtier-sign and three seated men as an indication of the plural, such as restored here, appears, for example, on the facade of G 2374 (pl. 84c; fig. 80).







^f Breasted has “Everything was done by these sailors,” and Roccati similarly “et toute chose fut faire par ces matelots.” Edel considers *n* a defective writing for the preposition *in*, “by, through,” but it does occur more than once (*Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 756), so Breasted and Roccati’s treatment is certainly possible.

Lepsius mistakenly thought that the three ideograms of *mꜥꜥ* held oars. He was followed in this by Sethe, but the kneeling men are, in actual fact, equipped with bows and arrows, as Reisner has seen.



After *mr* in line (7), Reisner and Sethe restored [*w*] *n.t(i) wd*. Apparently, neither scholar saw a second ripple of water which is clearly visible in pls. 76, 77, and 79. James Allen explains {*u*} *n[ꜥ]* as the relative *sdm.n.f* with [*wd.t(i)*] as its circumstantial complement; cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, §§ 676–77.

^g Before *dy* at the head of the preserved portion of this line, Reisner thought he could make out an *ꜥ*-column and Sethe a *z*-bolt. All that actually remains at present is a segment of a horizontal line.

^h *R3-sw* in the Old Kingdom is ordinarily determined by the hill-country sign (Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, p. 135). In Inscription C, line (27), it has the additional determinative of the city-sign. What follows *R3-sw* here is damaged, but Reisner thought he could make out the hill-country and city signs, whereas Sethe saw three horizontal lines in the lacuna before the determinatives. There is extensive damage to the wall surface at this point, and Sethe may have been misled by shadows cast by the edges of the breaks.

ⁱ The object in the hand is destroyed at present. In his published copy, Sethe has . In his unpublished notes on file in Boston, on the other hand, he writes “ꜥ ‘Kammer’ oder  *hnkt*, ‘Bett?’” and has added alongside *hnkt*: “Wohl so!” The forearm with hand holding a rounded loaf  usually represents phonetic *mi* (see Inscription C, n. u, above). Nevertheless, in the Old Kingdom, the same sign does on occasion serve as a substitute for , a forearm with hand holding a bowl, the ideogram or determinative for *hnk* “present” (Gardiner, *EG*, p. 454 [D 39]; see e.g. LD 2, pl. 12c = Hassan, *Giza* 4, fig. 38; PT 468 b; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 9). It is less likely that the group under discussion is to be read *ꜥ*, “room,” even though  does seem to substitute for  in Inscription C, line (23).

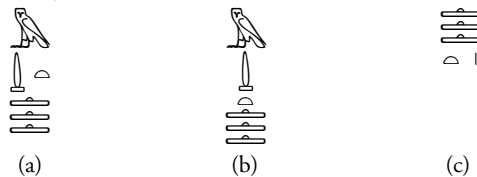
It is not entirely certain to what *hnkt*, “bed” (*Wb.* 3, pp. 119, 14–120, 1; *FCD*, p. 173) might refer, however. Unlike Khnumenti’s burial chamber (above, p. 127), G 2370 B is not provided with a coffin pit which might warrant the nomenclature. Could the term refer to the “cradle” or framework of lashings (and bars?) that holds the sarcophagus secure on its sledge aboard the transport vessel in the vignette at the bottom of Inscription D (pls. 79, 80a)?

^j Sethe states the number of days can only be five () or seven () given the placement of the surviving stroke after the determinative of *hrw* (pls. 76, 77).



^k For the expression *m šm(t) ii(t)*, literally “going and coming,” that is, a round-trip, see Fischer, *JEA* 61 (1975), p. 35 (c). Fischer observes that the omission of the feminine ending from the two infinitives is comparable to *m hnti(t) m hdi(t)*, for which, see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, §§ 688, 691, and Gardiner, *EG*, § 299.

^l Whatever the officials and the troops under their charge were “doing” or “making,” its object was clearly to inform the king about

the progress being made in transporting Inti's sarcophagus. It is logical, as in the case of Harkhuf (*Urk.* I, p. 128, 5–9) and Sabni I (*Urk.* I, p. 136, 9–11), that they were sending dispatches and, inasmuch as they were doing this “every day,” it is also likely that the word was plural. A full writing of *mdšwt* similar to (a) below, from PT 491 h, would fill the lacuna at the head of line (x + 17) completely,



if the first three signs were written one above the other, as in (b). The signs that precede and follow, are arranged much more compactly, however, and a writing of *mdšwt* used by Sabni I that does without phonograms save for the feminine ending (c), should also be taken into consideration. The restoration of either (a) or (c) would leave a short gap before the surviving signs at the end of the line which, in

the case of the latter, an abbreviated writing of the adverbial phrase *m hrt-hrw*, “in the course of the day,” such as has been restored in text fig. 4, would fit both spatially and contextually. The latter option was selected largely because *mdšwt* tends not to be spelled out in Old Kingdom narrative texts. Harkhuf, for example, writes  and Inti himself has  in line 3 of Inscription A 2. For variant writings of *m hrt-hrw* (*r^c nb*) see the following occurrences, all of which are cited by Fischer, *MMJ* 12 (1977), p. 8, n. 39: Davies, *Plabhetep* I, pl. 18 (403) (and 2, pl. 17, probably the same); *Rue de tomb.*, pls. 52, 58, 61, 63; *GN* I, pl. 65b; *Urk.* I, p. 37, 14; Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 76. Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be entirely excluded that a fuller writing like (a) or (b), followed directly by the adverbial *r^c nb*, originally stood in the lacuna here.

^m Sethe restores *r^c [hrt] f m st.f* in the last line. In actual fact, his restoration falls short of filling the available space. Roccati has “que ce sarcophage [arrivait] pour son [repos] à sa place.” Assumedly *spr. (y)*, a third person singular Old Perfective, is intended by “arrivait.”

CHAPTER 6: ANONYMOUS TOMBS G 2371–73

WE HAVE ALREADY TOUCHED ON the fact that Reisner found older mastaba walls beneath G 2370, the tomb of Senedjemib Inti (figs. 2, 3).¹ The older tombs in question are the following.

ANONYMOUS—G 2371/2372

G 2371 was a filled mud brick mastaba with mud brick or rubble compartment walls built on an independent site east of G 2360 (pls. 80b, 81c, 82a).² Part of the mastaba had been cut away to admit the back wall of G 2370. Still under the back part of G 2370 but further east, Reisner found at ground level against a mud brick construction the remains of a casing (numbered G 2372) of small blocks of grey nummulitic limestone set in correspondingly low courses to form a rough sloping surface (Masonry u) (pls. 81c, 82a).³ Reisner was of the opinion that these remains indicated a wide recess in the middle of a north–south facade forming a portico chapel probably with a roof supported by pillars, like G 2375 and G 2414.⁴ Of Reisner’s type (II c), it lacked a court and opened directly on a street of tombs.⁵ The north end of the recess was preserved and, further south, two stones of the west wall of the recess-portico (figs. 2, 3). The length of the west wall of the recess was at least 6.0 m. No niche was preserved.

Reisner showed considerable uncertainty as to whether or not the remains of the walls numbered G 2372 formed the east face of G 2371. He originally believed G 2371 to be an independent structure whose front wall had been destroyed by the insertion of the back wall of G 2370, and conjectured that the mastaba was probably of type X e (1), that is, a mud brick mastaba with an open-air corridor chapel, without niches preserved, of type 9 (d).⁶ The remaining structure was 2.50 meters in height and would have measured 22.65 x 8.02–7.6 m, while the area would have been 176.9 sq. m. Although it was impossible to make sure of the facts without demolishing the west wall of G 2370, Reisner ultimately appears to have decided that the remains of the walls numbered G 2372 did indeed form the east face of G 2371. The resulting mastaba G 2371/2372 would then have

measured 22.65 x ca. 12.51 m with an area of 283.35 sq. m. The proportion of the length of the mastaba to the width would have been 1/1.81. The recess would not have been exactly in the middle of G 2371/2372 but a little to the south of the middle.⁷

Four shafts were irregularly placed within the confines of G 2371. Shaft A, the chief shaft, lay in the axis north of the middle of the mastaba within the second compartment from the north. B was an older shaft of type II c in its south end underneath the rubble cross wall that separated the fourth and fifth compartments. C, a shaft of type 8, was in the axis in the south end, while D was an intrusive shaft southwest of A. Shaft D does not appear in the plan of the northern part of the Cemetery en Echelon (fig. 2), in which shafts A–C are all identified, but it may be the additional, unlettered shaft(?) shown on the sketch plan (fig. 76) between shafts A and C. The latter shaft is certainly south of and also a little west of shaft A. Reisner notes that plunderers hunting the statue chamber had dug down in the area of shafts B and C to the burial chamber of the latter and torn up its roof (pl. 82c).⁸

No further details are available concerning G 2371 A–D, and no plans of the shafts or chambers have been identified. The expedition records do, however, make reference to several large, rough flaring flat-bottomed bowls, or bread moulds, that were placed rim down in the fill of the second compartment from the north (fig. 79a).⁹ The bowls also appear in a photograph (pl. 82b).

Along the face of the north wall of G 2371 are four intrusive shafts, X, Y, Z, and U, from east to west (fig. 2).¹⁰

The intrusive shaft X (fig. 77a) was of type 8 b(2) with a chamber at right angles to the north side of the shaft.¹¹ Its dimensions were 0.85 by 1.0 m. The shaft was lined with rubble and mud brick to a height of 2.0 m and the chamber sunk an additional 1.1 m in the rock. The chamber itself was roofed with stone slabs. It measured 1.0 by 0.7 m and was 1.0 m in height. Its area was 0.7 sq. m; the capacity 0.7 cu. m. The chamber was found open. Within a body lay on its left side with the legs contracted and the heels drawn up to the pelvis.

Shaft Y (fig. 77b) was of type 6 a(3) with a long chamber parallel to the east side of the shaft. The shaft measured 0.88 by 0.91 m. Cut 1.16 m into the bedrock, it was lined with mud brick for 1.35 m above. The tomb card for G 2371 Y adds the information that the brick was mud plastered and lime watered with the straw showing through. The entrance opened near the middle of the chamber, which measured 1.23 by 0.6 m and had a height of 0.88 m. The area of the chamber was 0.73 sq. m; the capacity was 0.64 cu. m. It was open when excavated and the body lay on its left side with the legs contracted and the heels drawn up to the pelvis. The head was on a higher level than the pelvis. The skeleton from G 2371 Y is male and is on deposit in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, where it has the number 14–2–59329 H 59 SK.

¹ See above, p. 1.

² See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 133.

³ See *ibid.*, p. 134.

⁴ G 2375 and 2414 are included with other portico chapels of Reisner’s type (II) in *GN I*, pp. 286–88. On G 2375, see also *PM 3*², p. 87. The latter mastaba is to be published in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2.

⁵ *GN I*, pp. 287–88.

⁶ Reisner, “List of Numbers Used in the Senezemib Complex,” p. 1; *idem*, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 133.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁸ *Giza Diary 1912–1913*, p. 30.

⁹ See below, p. 112.

¹⁰ See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 133.

¹¹ Reisner, *ibid.*, classifies G 2371 X as type 8 b(1), but no door jamb is visible on the plan; cf. *GN I*, pp. 99–101.

Also of type 6 a(3), shaft z (fig. 77c) measured 0.82 by 0.9 m. It was lined with mud brick on three sides to a height of 1.4 m and descended for a distance of 1.32 m into the rock (pl. 83a). The tomb card for G 2371 z indicates the presence of a “construction trench” around three sides of the pit, measuring 19 cm in width and 14 cm in depth. The chamber opened on the west and measured 1.1 x 0.54 m with a height of 0.72 m, an area of 0.59 sq. m, and a capacity of 0.42 cu. m. The blocking, which had been broken open, was of type V e(2), that is, it consisted of exterior leaning masonry resting on the shaft side above the doorway and bound with mud.¹² Once again the body lay on the left side with the legs contracted and the heels drawn up to the pelvis (pl. 83b).

Shaft u (fig. 78a) measured 0.72 by 0.72 m. Of type 8 a(1), the shaft and chamber were dug in the sand and constructed of mud brick (pl. 83c), the chamber being roofed with stone slabs. The shaft was 1.98 m high. The chamber was parallel to the west side of the shaft and had a false door jamb on one side of the doorway. It measured 1.5 x 0.7 m and had a height of 0.54 m. The area was 1.05 sq. m and the capacity 0.56 cu. m. According to the tomb card, the mud brick of the chamber was lime watered. The type V e(2) blocking was intact and consisted of slabs resting on horizontal courses of stone leaning on the side of the shaft above the doorway (pl. 83c). According to Reisner’s description, the body was half contracted, on the left side with legs bent at the knees, that is, half extended, but had fallen over.¹³ Nonetheless, the description does not appear to correspond to the sketch on the tomb card (fig. 78a).

Intrusive shaft w was located against the south face of G 2371, east of the small mastaba G 2339. It perhaps represents a variation of Reisner’s Type 8, being intruded in a sand-filled corridor as it was.¹⁴ As may be seen from the plan (fig. 78b), the shaft and chamber were partly constructed of masonry and partly cut in the rock. The chamber, which had a long north–south axis, opened on the south of the shaft and was without connecting passage or doorjamb. A portion of the shaft was excavated in the bedrock to a level below that of the floor of the burial chamber. The burial chamber was apparently found open and empty.

REGISTER OF OBJECTS—G 2371

G 2371, outside north wall

12–11–34 Model brewer’s vat from a servant statue, hole in bottom for fastening to separate base, outside painted red, top white, bottom not painted, rim chipped, 1st., h. 46 cm, diam. 4.4 cm. (pl. 83f; fig. 79a). Exp. Ph. A 994 1/1

G 2371, upper debris

12–11–35 Slightly conical core from a jar bored with a tubular drill, alab., h. 5.5 cm, diam. 3.5 cm. (pl. 83g; fig. 79a). Exp. Ph. A 997 2/1

G 2371, second compartment from north

Not registered. Several large, rough, flaring flat-bottomed bowls, or bread moulds, placed rim down in the fill, type OK F-XXV. (pl. 82b;

¹² See *GN I*, p. 174 and fig. 82.

¹³ “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 133.

¹⁴ Cf. *GN I*, p. 98.

fig. 79a). Cf. Jacquet-Gordon, in *Studien zur altäg. Keramik*, fig. 3 (no. 5)

ANONYMOUS—G 2373

On ground level under G 2370, parallel to the presumed face of G 2371/2372, at a distance of 60 cm, runs a north–south wall of small blocks of grey nummulitic limestone set in low-stepped courses (Masonry z) forming the back wall of an older mastaba (pls. 81c, 82a; figs. 2, 3).¹⁵ This wall was visible for a length of around 10.5 meters. The front part of the mastaba was destroyed by the construction of Rooms II–IV of G 2370. In the filling of G 2373 a group of ten to fifteen shoulder jars filled with plaster was discovered (fig. 79a).¹⁶

A shaft immediately behind the false door of Room III of G 2370 was ascribed by Reisner to G 2373, and lettered A.¹⁷ This shaft (fig. 78c) measures 1.35 by 1.05 m. It descends 3.2 meters in the rock and is lined with mud brick for 3.5 m. The chamber of type 5 c (5) opens on the east and has two door-jamb between the shaft and the chamber, each 0.2 m wide. The door-jamb opened near the middle of the chamber, which measured 1.3 x 0.55 m with a height of 0.8 m. The area was 0.72 sq. m; the capacity 0.57 cu. m. Reisner specifically states that the shaft was found open and empty.¹⁸ This is puzzling, as a skeleton in the Hearst Museum at Berkeley is said to be from G 2373 A,¹⁹ but the plan and section also show the chamber as empty.

From the debris between G 2372 and 2373 comes a black granite fragment consisting of the head and shoulders of a male statue (pl. 84a, b). The statue had been made into a stone hammer and was battered by use. Smith thought the face exhibited “a rather sullen expression,” and compared it to the heads of the seated statue of Akhet-mery-nesut and the faces of the standing figures of Pehenptah and Pen-meru, all of which date to the end of Dynasty 5.²⁰ The latter in their physiognomy preshadow the new conventional rendering of the face characteristic of the Nekhebu group of the reign of Pepy I,²¹ what Edna R. Russman has conveniently labelled a “Second Style” in Old Kingdom art.²² Smith comments, however, that the black granite fragment follows more closely the usual convention of Dynasty 5 with less exaggeration of the eyes and nose. The black granite head originally had a full wig, but this had been cut away between the base of the wig and the shoulders, when the piece was converted for use as a hammer. Smith considered the fragment to be unfinished, and further thought it might possibly be as early as the end of Dynasty 5 in date, if it had been thrown out of G 2370 itself. On the other hand, if it formed part of the original equipment of G 2371/2372 or 2373,

¹⁵ See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 134.

¹⁶ *Giza Diary 1912–1913*, p. 39. The height of one of the pots is said to be 30 cm.

¹⁷ This shaft was originally assigned the number G 2370 c by Reisner, but the designation was changed when he decided that the burial place belonged to the older mastaba, G 2373. The original designation appears both in the *Giza Reis’s Diary*, pp. 78, 79, and in the Object Register under number 35–7–14, for which see below. On the original tomb card, G 2370 c had been crossed out and G 2373 A substituted.

¹⁸ “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 133.

¹⁹ Specimen no. 5166; acc. no. 462.

²⁰ *HESP*, p. 85. On the statues of Pehenptah, see now Brovarski, *Lipinská Essays*, pp. 261–73.

²¹ *HESP*, pp. 84–85.

²² *MDAIK* 51 (1995), pp. 269–79.

converted into a hammer at the time Inti's stone masons usurped these tombs, it would be older yet.

REGISTER OF OBJECTS—G 2372–2373

G 2372–73, debris between

12–11–72 = MFA 13.3139. Hammer, black granite, made from a statue, h. 24 cm. (pl. 84a, b). See *HESP*, p. 85. Exp. Ph. c 3377–78

G 2373, filling

Not registered. Ten to fifteen shoulder jars, filled with plaster, h. 30 cm, type A–II b. Not photographed. (fig. 79a). Cf. *GN2*, p. 69, fig. 81

G 2373 A (= old 2370 C), pit

35–7–14 Frg. of relief with parts of two male figures, h. 30 cm, w. 10 cm, th. 17 cm. (pl. 46d; fig. 64. Exp. Ph. c 13643. In Boston. Assigned to G 2370, Rm. IV, north wall; see above, p. 77

CHAPTER 7: KHNUMENTI – G 2374

THE MASTABA was excavated by the Harvard–Boston Expedition on November 16, again on November 28 to 29, and on December 6 of 1912. Shaft A was cleared on January 26–27, 1913. Shaft G 2385 A, the probable burial place of Khnumenti, was cleared between December 10 and 12, 1912.

As previously mentioned, G 2374 was inserted between the north side of G 2370 and the south side of G 2375, 2376, 2377, and 2378 (pl. 94a), and was probably the next mastaba built in the Senedjemib Complex after that of Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378).¹ Two walls were constructed closing off the resultant east–west corridor, one on the west and the other on the east with a doorway opening into the court. Even though the exterior north wall of G 2370, which was constructed of great blocks of grey nummulitic limestone, was dressed flat in Rooms I and II of G 2374 to take the reliefs, Reisner still classified the mastaba as his type VIII a(3), with retaining walls of white limestone backed by nummulitic blocks of grey stone. The type (7d) chapel is entered from the east at the south end of its east–west vestibule (II) with an east–west offering room (III). The mastaba measures 4.1 (east)–3.6 (west) by 18.5 m. The proportion of the length of the mastaba to the width is 1/0.22. The total area is 75.85 sq. m, while the total floor area of Rooms I–III is 19.03 sq. m. The relation of the floor area of the chapel to the area of the mastaba is 1/3.98. The height on the east is 3.05 m and on the west 3.43 m.²

The roof of G 2374 has entirely disappeared, but the ceiling in Room II apparently consisted of slabs bedded in the south side wall. A groove in the south wall of the room (pl. 88b, c) is well preserved. Its bottom is located at the top of the decorated wall surface at a height of 2.83 m from the preserved pavement and its top is at 3.13 m above the floor. It is thus 30 cm in height, while its depth is 6.0 cm. This seems rather shallow to hold the ends of the ceiling slabs, but it is difficult to imagine what else the groove might represent, especially as there is no interior wall on the south side of the room on which the slabs might rest. Room II is only 1.05 m wide, and limestone ceiling slabs in the tombs of Ni-ka-anekh and Ka-pu-inpu at Saqqara spanned comparable distances of 1.54 m (5 ft.) and 2.0 (6 1/2 ft.) respectively.³

Resting at present on the top of the south wall of G 2374 between Rooms I and II is a large block with a right-angle cut in its

surface (pl. 88a, c). It seems very likely that this block is out of place, for if it is moved 40 cm or so to the left, it would be in a position to form the southwest corner of Room II. The top of the right-angled cut is located at 3.43 cm above the preserved pavement at the foot of the south wall. The ceiling of Room I therefore seems to have been somewhat higher than that of Room II. In the case of Room III, the side walls are largely destroyed, and it is not possible to ascertain if the ceiling was at the same height as or higher than the ceilings in the other rooms.

Unlike the mastabas of his father Inti (G 2370), his brother Mehi (G 2378), and of Nekhebu (G 2381), Khnumenti's tomb lacked a portico. Instead the facade appears to have been crowned by a frieze inscription proclaiming the identity of the owner.⁴ A surviving block from the left end of the frieze (pl. 85a; fig. 79b) measures approximately 71.3 cm in length and 28.1 cm in height. The inscription, in large sunken hieroglyphs between incised lines, reads from right to left: [... *imy-rs kst*] *nb(t) n(t) nswt imshw hr ntr-3 Hnmnti*, “[... overseer of] all [works] of the king, one honored by the great god, Khnumenti.”

On the facade north of the entrance are four standing figures of Khnumenti in the same attitude facing left and preceded each by a long column of inscription (pl. 84c; fig. 80). The arrangement is reminiscent of a popular type of Old Kingdom architrave with standing figures of the owner repeated, although many of these are later in date than Khnumenti.⁵ Figures and inscriptions alike are in sunk relief. The costume of the best preserved figure at the right consists of a shoulder-length wig, chin beard, beaded collar, and a short kilt with flaring front panel. He holds a long walking stick at a diagonal with his right hand in front and a scepter in his hanging left hand behind. The walking stick appears to be capped rather than knobbed. As is appropriate in a figure facing to the left, the scepter passes behind the figure and is largely hidden by the kilt.⁶ The other figures were apparently identical except that the first wore a leopard skin vestment, as is evident from the tail hanging down between the legs. An isolated fragment with the face, front shoulder, and arm from the first figure is in Boston and has been restored to its approximate position in fig. pl. 84c and fig. 80. There is a minimum of carving within the outlines of the figures, and details such as the beads of the collars and the spots of the leopard skin were presumably added in paint.

Insofar as they are preserved, the long columns of text read from left to right as follows: (1) [... *iry*]-*p^ct hsty-c t^yty zsb t^yty Hnmnti*, “[... the hereditary] prince and count, chief justice and vizier, Khnumenti; (2) [... *mdh*] [*qd*] [*nswt*] *m prwy Hnmnti*, “[... royal master] ‘builder’ in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt), Khnumenti;” (3) [*i*] *mshw¹ hr Inpw* [...] *Hnmnti*, “[one h]onor^{ed} by Anubis, [...], Khnumenti;” (4) [*i*] *mshw hr* [...], *imy-rs kst nb(t) nt nswt*

¹ See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” pp. 135ff.

² Cf. *GN* 1, p. 267 (2), fig. 165.

³ *Seven Chapels*, pp. 6, 13.

⁴ Junker, *Giza* 8, p. 112, provides a discussion of inscribed friezes like this. It is interesting to note that the mastaba of Khnumenti's putative nephew, Kakherptah Feteki (see above, p. 25), was surmounted by just such a frieze (Junker, *Giza* 8, figs. 50–51).

⁵ Discussed in Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 217–18.

⁶ See above, p. 43.

Hnmnti, “[one] honored by [...], the overseer of all works of the k[ing], Khnumenti.”

An autobiographical text in short columns appears to have occupied the remaining height of the wall between the frieze inscription and the heads of the four figures. Only five damaged columns remain above the last figure at the right along with an isolated sign (the cobra) over the previous figure. What can be made out is as follows: (1) [...] *f*[...] *nb n it.i*, (2) [...] *m ht nb(t)*, (3) [...] *sk w(i) m stp-z3*, (4) [...] *fsm.f(?) dd.f*, (5) [...] *f*[...] *f sru*, (1) He (his?) [...] every [...] for (of?) my father. (2) [...] consisting of everything, (3) [...], while I was in the court council. (4) [...] he (his?) [...] that he [...], and(?) he said: (5) [...] he (his?) [...] he (his?) [...] the officials.” A sixth column of text was still visible in 1930, but little more than the bare existence of several signs (pl. 84c) is to be made out in the photograph.

All that remains of a right-facing figure of Khnumenti on the short wall south of the entrance is part of his front foot in sunk relief (pl. 85b; fig. 79c). Approximately 16 cm to the left of the damaged vertical border line behind the destroyed figure is a deep but irregular cutting in the facade of G 2370 which was probably intended to demarcate the southern end of the facade of G 2374.

ROOM I

Room I is a north–south anteroom entered at the south end of the east wall from the great court. In the south end of the opposite west wall opens the entrance to Room II. Room I measures 3.15 by 1.8 m and has an area of 5.67 sq. m. The proportion of the length of the room to the width is 1/1.75.

Outer Entrance Thicknesses

Left (south) thickness. All that is preserved today on the south thickness are the feet of a large, raised relief figure of Khnumenti facing outwards, what is presumably the bottom of his staff, and the hieroglyph of a wickerwork basket at the bottom of a lost column of text, as on the opposing thickness (pl. 86a; fig. 81a).

Right (north) thickness. Another large figure of Khnumenti in raised relief, dressed in a calf-length kilt and holding a walking stick at a diagonal, faced outwards on the north thickness (pl. 86b; fig. 81b). The lower part of the figure and walking stick survive. Just in front of the figure, a few characters from the bottom of a largely destroyed column of inscription, likewise carved in raised relief, are to be made out.

Inner Entrance Thicknesses

Beyond the outer thicknesses, the passage widens. Presumably both inner thicknesses were originally decorated, although the only decoration to survive is on the north (right) thickness.

Left (south) thickness. Destroyed.

Right (north) thickness. In the bottom register of the right-hand inner entrance thickness was a scene of Khnumenti in a ship sailing to the right, that is, out of the chapel (pl. 87b; fig. 82b). At present

the block with this scene on one long side rests on top of the the west wall of Room I. There is no question about its original location, however, because the scene of censuring on one of the short ends of the block forms part of the carrying chair scene on the adjacent east wall of the room (pl. 91; fig. 86). Since the censuring scene occupies the bottom register of the east wall, the block with the sailing ship must have formed the corresponding register of the inner right thickness. The orientation of the boat is unusual. Scenes of boats appear on entrance thicknesses of private tombs at Giza, Saqqara, and Abusir, but generally they face into the tomb and carry the deceased on his “journey to the West.”⁷ Nonetheless, in the tomb of Kapure from Saqqara, boats in this location face both into and out of the tomb.⁸

As might be expected, the details are better preserved in the photograph taken in 1930 than today. The hull of the sailing ship has rounded ends and a platform extending over the stern.⁹ A bulwark visible amidships runs out in an unbroken line beyond the stern.¹⁰ A deckhouse stands aft of midship and a bipodal mast is placed well forward. The lower yard and sail rest against the legs of the mast. The upper half of the scene was on the block above and is now lost, so it is impossible to tell if the upper and lower yards were of equal length. Since the rigging and sail began to be altered at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, however, it is possible that the yards were already equal in length by this time and the sail rectangular.¹¹ A double hal-yard for hoisting the sails runs between the legs of the bipodal mast, and the bottom of the mast is lashed round with heavy ropes. A powerful forestay is fastened in a great knot at the prow of the vessel and disappears behind the billowing sail.

The first of six sailors standing in the prow hangs on to the forestay with his left hand, while his right arm hangs at his side. The second appears to have his left arm raised and to be hanging on to the lower yard (hand lost), while his right arm likewise hangs at his side. The third sailor grasps his right shoulder with his left hand in a gesture of respect¹² and holds a rope(?) in his hanging right hand. The man following has both arms reverentially crossed on his chest,¹³ while the fifth sailor again grasps his right shoulder with his left hand and holds his other arm at his side. The sixth sailor turns his head around to look back at a larger figure of the *mdh qd nsut m prwy Hnmnti*, “royal master builder in both houses, Khnumenti,” who stands amidships leaning on a long staff. He appears to grasp the upper part of his hanging right arm with his left hand in a gesture of reverence.¹⁴ Traces indicate that all six sailors were identically garbed in belt-sashes whose loose ends hung down in front and wore their hair close-cropped. Over the prow of the boat, the end of a vertical

⁷ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 56.

⁸ Information courtesy of David P. Silverman, who is in the process of publishing the chapel, which is now in Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Museum E. 15729), for the University of Pennsylvania; cf. *PM* 3², p. 455 (i) (a) and (b).

⁹ For travelling ships like this, see Reisner, *Ships and Boats*, pp. v–xi, and especially Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 35–55. A comparable ship is reconstructed *ibid.*, fig. 146.

¹⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 47; Reisner, *Ships and Boats*, p. iii (CG 4886).

¹¹ Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 47.

¹² Cf. *LD* 2, pl. 50 = Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), p. 104, fig. 36.

¹³ Cf. *LD* 2, pl. 27 = Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), p. 102, fig. 33 = Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 322, fig. 153, 6.

¹⁴ Cf. Paget-Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, fig. 31 = Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), p. 102, fig. 35.

caption is preserved: [...f]^r3^r ʔw^r hmt.nw^r [...], “[...] [Rai]^r se^r the sail and the upper yardarm^r!”¹⁵

Although the top of the mast is lost, it is clear that several stays were attached to various points on its upper part whence they ran diagonally aft to be fastened to either side of the hull. One sailor at the stern of the boat leans backward with the effort of handling two braces or guide ropes fixed to the ends of the ship's yard to swing it horizontally. Both braces are secured to a large staple on the deck. Even though the two helmsmen are placed on the starboard side, this is almost certainly a convention designed to show both rudders, and in reality one helmsman must have stood on each side of the deck.¹⁶ The hands of the helmsmen are destroyed, but the two rudders were probably managed without tillers. Both rudders appear to be carried outside the projecting bulwark.

It is possible that a loose stone found in the court of the Senedjemib Complex, and known only from a photograph, came from the right inner thickness of G 2374 (pl. 87a; fig. 82a). If it does not belong immediately above the boat just described, it may have belonged to another boat in one of the destroyed registers above. Parts of two columns of text and the better part of a third are preserved: (1) [...] mr^rwy^r ʔw^r.k^r m imy.k wr^rt^r [...], (2) [K^r]^r p^r m t^r(y)t^r ʔh^r ʔw^r.k rs[.t(i) r h^r], (3) ʔw^r h^r.k w hmw m(i) s(y) d^ri.s,^r (1) “[...] the [two] channel[s].”¹⁷ “Your two winds are on your right^r [...]. (2) [Adjus]^r t^r(?) the rigging!”¹⁸ Fight your wind! Pay attention [to the

brace(s)]!¹⁹ (3) The wind is behind you, o transmitter of commands.²⁰ Behold it “is blowing!”²¹

East Wall, South of Entrance


In the bottom register of this short wall the lower part of a male offering bearer is preserved. He seemingly faced left and was dressed in a plain, tight-fitting kilt (pl. 87c; fig. 82c). In his hands he once held an object or food offering, of which faint traces alone remain. The relief is poorly executed with the background only partially cut away and the figure defined by deep chisel lines. Additional bearers of offerings may have occupied the destroyed registers above, as is certainly the case on the short, west wall opposite.

South Wall







Episodes from Khnumenti's funeral were depicted on the south wall of Room I (pl. 88a; fig. 83). The location of the scene on a wall adjacent to the entrance is of some interest, inasmuch as the preferred location for funeral scenes was in pillared halls or in open courts which were functionally equivalent to pillared halls. Only in exceptional cases do such scenes penetrate into the chapel and then only on the thickness of the entrance or on a wall near the entrance.²²

The scene is virtually illegible on cursory inspection, consisting as it does of chisel lines left behind when the plaster in which it was evidently carved fell away. As has previously been noted, this wall, like the south wall of Room II, which is in a similar condition, represents the exterior north wall of G 2370, which was dressed flat to take the reliefs. The masonry blocks thus cut back were of gray nummulitic limestone of a quality that necessitated the application of a coating of plaster in whose surface the reliefs might be cut.²³

The portrayal is an abbreviated one and several of the usual episodes of the journey from the realm of the living to the final internment in the necropolis are omitted.²⁴ At the top right of the wall is a large figure of Khnumenti in a kiosk. The remainder of this register is destroyed. In the registers below are depicted the journey on land and water of Khnumenti's coffin and of a statue(?). The movement in the three lower registers proceeds from the left to the right, that is, from east to west, as though the funeral procession were proceeding into the chapel. The same orientation probably held true in the largely destroyed top register. Since the sequence of the episodes clearly proceeds from the bottom register to the top register, we reverse our usual procedure and describe the registers in order from the bottom to the top of the wall.

¹⁵ For *fil ʔw*, “raise sail,” see *Wb.* 1, p. 574, 1; *LD* 2, pl. 22d. *Wb.* 3, p. 284, 16, cites a word *hmt* known from CT V, 131b, 132a, where it designates part of a boat. Jéquier, *BIFAO* 9 (1911), pp. 58, 80, was of the opinion that the word means “upper yardarm.” Faulkner agreed that *hmt*, literally “three” (*Wb.* 3, p. 283, 8–12), is in some way connected with the mast, as is shown by the Coffin Text context (Sp. 398) in which it occurs, but he suggested that the word refers to the three spars, that is, the mast and two yards (*FECT* 2, p. 37, n. 24). It is clear from the photograph that the word in front of the boat in G 2374 is spelled . Properly speaking, the orthography suits neither *hmt*, “three” nor *hmt*, “upper yardarm, spars.” In CT V 132 (M2NY) the nautical term is once written without a *t* and twice without the *nw*-pot. It is thus possible that the original nautical term reflected in the variants was *hmt.nw*, literally “the third” (*Wb.* 3, p. 284, 1–8). If so, this might favor Jéquier's interpretation.


¹⁶ Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 36.

¹⁷ A second  is probably to be restored here. The groups  and  appear respectively in the tombs of Kapure at Saqqara (Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 272), of Ka-em-ankh at Giza (Junker, *Giza*, 4, pl. 3), and in a provincial tomb of the Old Kingdom at Al-Ma'abda (12. *Oberägyptischen Gau*, fig. on p. 149). The reading of  is uncertain, but *itrwy*, “two rivers, streams, canals, channels” (*Wb.* 1, p. 146, 10–17), should perhaps be considered as well as *mr.wy*, “two canals, channels” (*Wb.* 2, p. 97, 3; *AEO* 2, pp. 164*, 179*). The significance of  is also unclear, but Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p. 116, suggests it is a question of a technical sailing term. It should be noted that Kurth and Rößler-Köhler (12. *Oberägyptischen Gau*, p. 49) appear to read the group  as *ʔw*, a possibility that deserves consideration. The reversal of the component signs and the repetition of the sail in the example from the Senedjemib Complex is curious.

¹⁸ *Ksp m t^ryt* appears behind a sailor (*h^rp iz*) who sits on a ship's cabin in the tomb of Sekhentiu Neferseshemtah at Saqqara and adjusts the braces to trim the sail (*Two Craftsman*, pl. 8). As Moussa and Junge note, *ibid.*, p. 37, this command is not usual in sailing scenes and none of the conventional meanings of the verb *ksp* appear to fit the context. In *ibid.*, n. 167, they hesitantly translate “Boatwain, shelter is on the port bow.” *Ksp m* in the Saqqara scene, however, pretty clearly defines the activity of the sailor. Hence, the tentative translation offered here. In Sekhentiu's tomb the postcomplement *p* is centered under the *ksp*-sign. In the loose block from the Senedjemib Complex, the letter *p* at the right was presumably balanced by a (now destroyed) determinative at the left. If the proposed restoration in the present context is correct, *ksp m t^r(y)t* would form a suitable description of the activity of the sailor handling the braces in Khnumenti's sailing ship. For *t^ryt*, “tackle, rigging,” see Jones, *Nautical Titles and Terms*, p. 193 [176]. *FECT* 3, p. 204, translates *t^ryt*, “sail and mast.” Beiß (*Schiffe*, pp. 119; 133, 37; cited by Jones [*Nautical Titles and Terms*, p. 193 (176)]) thinks that *t^ryt* encompasses not only the sailcloth but the entire tackle or rigging.

¹⁹ Junker, *Giza* 4, p. 57.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 60–61; Edell, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 915 β; Jones, *Nautical Titles and Terms*, p. 75 (111). Allen would take *w hmw* as the adverb “again,” as does Boreux, *Nautique*, p. 453, in translating a parallel passage in the tomb of Kapure (Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 272). Montet, *Scènes*, p. 353, translates the same text “Le vent derrière toi redouble.”

²¹ Literally, “It is giving.” For the imperative *m(i)*, “behold,” see Edell, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 612. Edell, *ibid.*, § 166, observes that the 3rd sing. m. dependent pronoun *sw* is sometimes written *s*. James Allen suggests instead that  here represents feminine *s(i)*, “it,” used without antecedent, like English “It's windy.” A partial parallel from Saqqara helps clarify the passage here; see Altenmüller, *Mehu*, p. 117, pl. 21b.

²² Bolshakov, *GM* 121 (1991), p. 41.

²³ See above, p. 20.

²⁴ See Bolshakov, *GM* 121 (1991), pp. 35–55, for the complete repertoire of scenes.

Fourth Register. A funeral procession conveyed the bier with the body of the deceased from his dwelling place to the bank of the Nile or to a canal nearby. The house with mourning relatives is sometimes depicted in such scenes but is lacking here.²⁵ The bier consisted of a coffin set under a shrine-shaped canopy (largely destroyed) supported on ten posts (only the five closest are shown) and mounted on a lion-headed sledge.²⁶ The coffin is a long rectangular box, and the parallel lines at its top may represent a cavetto cornice lid.²⁷ The bier is dragged by a team of oxen assisted by a file of men who haul on a long tow-rope. Seven haulers are preserved in part. In parallel scenes, the coffin of the deceased is most often carried to a boat for the crossing of the river by coffin-bearers.²⁸ When the coffin is set on a lion-headed bier, however, the bier may either be drawn by men alone²⁹ or by both men and oxen as here.³⁰ An eighth man, immediately in front of the sledge, turns back and steps up onto it, his arm(s) raised as if to steady the canopy. His figure is wigless and he wears a plain kilt. Although it seems probable from traces that the haulers for the most part wore belt-sashes with pendant ends, the last man in the file is distinguished by a short kilt with flaring front panel. A horizontal line of text extended across the whole length of the register above the procession, but only the beginning is preserved. From left to right it reads: *m htp m htp r imntt nfr[\bar{t}]*, “In peace, in peace to the beautiful West.”

Third Register. In this register and the next the funeral cortege crosses the Nile or a canal.³¹ The ferrying of the coffin on a ship is a favorite theme of Old Kingdom funeral processions.³² The traces remaining suggest a similar arrangement of elements in this register and the one above. In both registers, for example, two ships tow a larger vessel. The ship towed in this register is the better preserved of the two and appears to be a funeral barque with overhanging ends constructed in imitation of a papyrus boat.³³ In the center of the funeral barque in this register the coffin of the deceased rests under a shrine-shaped canopy. The two men (largely destroyed) who stand in front of and behind the canopy both face the prow. Identifying

labels are destroyed, but the man immediately to the right of the coffin may be the pilot and the man behind a member of the funeral cortege. Alternately, since a lector priest and an embalmer often sit or stand in the bow or stern of the funerary barque, the two men could represent these officiants.³⁴

The towboats in both registers are blunt-ended craft with bulwarks amidship. In the upper towboat in this register traces of what is probably a deckhouse canopy are to be seen behind the damaged figures of the oarsmen. Each of the boats evidently had seven rowers apiece. The best preserved oarsman in the lower towboat in this register extends his arms in front of him. He grasps his oar with both hands, his upper body leaning forward, legs braced, as if at the beginning of a stroke. The blade of his oar is lancet-shaped like those of the better-preserved oars in both registers. The bow watch in the lower boat stands with front arm raised and holds a sounding pole which trails behind him in the water in his other hand. His hair is close-cropped and no traces of clothing are preserved. The man behind him stands with left fist closed on his chest in a gesture of respect, while his other arm hangs at his side.³⁵ Like his companion, he is wigless but traces suggest he wore the belt-sash with pendant ends. The stance of the rowers in the upper towboat in this register is different from that of their counterparts below, for each rower appears to rest his forward foot on the gunwale. Part of what may be the shaft of a steering oar is visible towards the stern of this boat.

Second Register. A papyriform(?) ship was once again towed across a long stretch of water by two boats. Towards the center of the towed vessel an isolated leg and foot, on a horizontal line that could represent the top of a base, suggests that a statue of Khnumenti was being transported. Traces of two rowers and parts of four oars are preserved in the lower of the two towboats in this register. In the upper boat, no traces remain of the rowers or their oars, but traces of a figure at the stern of the vessel survive.

First Register. At the right end of the register a figure of Khnumenti was depicted in a kiosk. Little remains of the kiosk except for its floor and the lower part of the front. Khnumenti was shown seated on a lion-footed chair or stool whose front leg rests on a frustrum-shaped support. The front of his torso and the upper section of one arm, along with the lower part of his body and both legs are still visible. From the position of the arm, it seems possible that he held a staff, though no traces of such remain. He was probably dressed in a short kilt of which part of the belt and the belt knot survive. Traces of hieroglyphs towards the front of the kiosk, on a level where his face would have been, can be restored to read [*Hnm*]nti, “[Khnum]enti.”

Although the goal of funeral processions was, of course, the tomb, at which various rites were enacted and a ritual meal took place,³⁶ the tomb itself is rarely depicted in the Old Kingdom. In the mastaba of Mereruka the entrance to his tomb appears, while in the “Tomb of the Two Brothers” at Saqqara a tomb front with elaborate palace-facade panelling and entrance portal is twice

²⁵ It occurs in *Rue de tomb.*, pls. 70–72; *Mereruka* 2, pl. 130; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhm \bar{a} hor*, pl. 71, fig. 56; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 35.

²⁶ Cf. *Gebr.* 1, pl. 10; 2, pl. 7.

²⁷ See *ibid.*, 1, pl. 10; *Meir* 5, pls. 42–43; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 35. Reisner found a cavetto-corniced coffin in Giza shaft G 2416 D III (Obj. Reg. 36–7–24; Exp. Ph. A 7655, 7674).

²⁸ *Meir* 5, pls. 42–43; *Mereruka* 2, pl. 130; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 35; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhm \bar{a} hor*, fig. 56.

²⁹ *Gebr.* 2, pl. 7.

³⁰ Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 35; Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, fig. 28 (?); Kanawati, *El Hawawish* 3, fig. 12.

³¹ Bolshakov, *GM* 121 (1991), pp. 37–38, feels that the group of men hauling the ship in *Meir* 5, pl. 43, indicates that no crossing of the Nile was implied, but rather that the ferrying scenes represent a purely ritual cruise or at most coursing along the shore of a canal. He thinks that the house of the deceased and the necropolis to which the corpse was taken were both located in the capital region, that is, in close proximity to Memphis (or at Meir in the case of Pepyankh Heny the Black) on the western side of the Nile, so that there was no need to cross the river. Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), p. 205, discusses the same question and concludes that the fact that towboats of some size are used in the journey argues for a Nile crossing, although he also acknowledges that a system of canals on the west bank would facilitate movement over any considerable distance. Like Bolshakov, Wilson notes that Egyptian scenes sometimes combine the actual and spiritual.

³² Bolshakov, *GM* 121 (1991), p. 37.

³³ On papyriform craft, see Reisner, *Ships and Boats*, pp. xviii–xxi; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 56–59.

³⁴ E.g., *LD* 2, pl. 101b; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 24.

³⁵ See p. 57, n. 295 above.

³⁶ Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), pp. 213–18.

depicted.³⁷ All that remains of an interesting representation in the tomb of Tjeti Kahep at Akhmim is part of a tomb facade and entrance along with a ramp ascending to what was presumably the roof of the tomb.³⁸ The damage in this instance is particularly unfortunate, since the representation, when intact, may have supplied a parallel to a well-known scene in the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Debehen at Giza.³⁹ The Debehen scene is the earliest depiction of the funeral services performed at the tomb to survive. While funerary priests perform ritual acts, men with offerings ascend a ramp to the roof of the mastaba and present them to a statue of Debehen standing in a double shrine with cavetto cornices. In the double depiction of funeral services in the “Tomb of the Two Brothers,” the statues of the deceased in their shrines are said to be set up “in front of” their tomb, but the same ritual acts are performed.⁴⁰ By analogy with the Debehen scene and the double depiction in the “Tomb of the Two Brothers,” the seated figure in the kiosk depicted as the goal of Khnumenti’s funeral cortege most likely represented a statue of the deceased. Certain depictions of seated statues do hold a staff in the far hand, as the figure of Khnumenti in the kiosk may have done. In these depictions, the near hand that rests on the lap may be open or closed to hold a handkerchief or scepter.⁴¹ As Eaton-Krauss points out, this attitude is not known in actual statuary, though it is found in portrayals of the “living” tomb owner. As she also observes, wood is the only medium technically suitable for the arm position depicted, and the representation in G 2374 therefore may represent a wooden prototype.⁴² It seems more likely that the figure in the booth did indeed represent a statue of Khnumenti rather than a “living” figure of the owner itself, even though in depictions of seated statues in Old Kingdom reliefs the statues generally sit on block seats or thrones, whereas the present example appears to be seated on an ordinary chair or stool with animal’s legs. A few examples of actual statues where the owner is seated on a theriomorphic chair or stool are known, however.⁴³ If this was indeed a statue of Khnumenti, priests performing the funerary ritual may have been shown in the destroyed portion of the register at the left. Further, if the misplaced block referred to above actually does form the southwest corner of the room, it is possible that its surface originally bore, in addition to the top of the kiosk, a caption to the scene.

West Wall, South of Door

Three registers with two offering bearers in each remain on the short west wall south of the door to Room II (pl. 89b; fig. 84a). As on the east wall opposite, the relief is of poor quality with deep lines incised around the figures and the background unevenly cut away. All six figures faced right but only the foremost figure in each register was identified by name and title. Although the second figure in each register is damaged and any details of costume lost, the foremost figure

wears a folded kilt with belt and overlap, and presumably all six figures were similarly attired originally. Although all six bearers probably had their hair close-cropped, the line of the hair around the face survives only in the case of the foremost figures in the middle and lower registers. A large round hole drilled through the name of the foremost figure in the second register may represent a place where a nodule of flint was removed. The falling away of the plaster with which it would have been filled resulted in the loss of the first sign in his name.

First Register. Man holding a tray aloft with produce destroyed and an amorphous object in his hanging hand: *ḥm-kꜣ Sndm*, “funerary priest, Senedjem.”

Second figure largely destroyed.

Second Register. Man holding aloft a tray laden with two filled small, flat-bottomed, flaring bowls,⁴⁴ a triangular loaf of bread, and a lettuce, and holding a bird (largely destroyed) by the wings: *ḥm-kꜣ [K]i(?)*, “funerary priest, [K]ai(?)”

Man holding aloft a tray laden with two filled small, flat-bottom, flaring bowls, a triangular loaf of bread, and a lettuce.

Third Register. Man holding aloft a tray laden with two filled small, flat-bottom, flaring bowls, a triangular loaf of bread, and a lettuce(?), and holding an ill-defined object in his other hand: *ḥm-kꜣ Mn-ihy*, “funerary priest, Men-ihy.”

Man holding aloft a tray on his right shoulder with part of a triangular loaf preserved.

West Wall, North of Door

Only a section of the lower part of the marsh scene in medium-high raised relief that once occupied this wall is preserved (pl. 89c; fig. 84b). The cutting away of the background was more consistent here than elsewhere in the anteroom but wide, deep chisel lines are nonetheless apparent. In the rectangle that represents a stretch of water, Nile fish and a crocodile are visible. Above to the right the very bottom of a papyrus skiff is recognizable by its cord bindings. The crocodile has its mouth agape and is in the process of devouring what appears to be, from the characteristic shape of the tail, a catfish.⁴⁵ An eel swims over the crocodile’s back towards a large fish of indeterminate species at the right. Other traces are visible to the left of the crocodile and its prey.

North Wall

The scene was executed in a low raised relief with more or less flat surfaces and without detailed modeling (pl. 90b; fig. 85). More attention appears to have been devoted to the large figure of the owner than to the subsidiary figures, the toe nails, for example, being carefully

³⁷ *Mereruka* 1, pl. 130; *Nianchchnum*, pp. 50–51, 52–53, pls. 6–7, 10.

³⁸ Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, fig. 12.

³⁹ *LD* 2, pl. 35; Hassan, *Giza* 4, p. 176, fig. 122, pl. 1.

⁴⁰ *Nianchchnum*, pp. 50–51, 55, pls. 11, 15.

⁴¹ Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 13.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 14–17.

⁴³ See e.g., Curto, *Ghiza*, pp. 42–45, pls. 9–11; Valloggia, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), pl. 24a–g. Both of these statues are carved from limestone.

⁴⁴ In Williams, *Decoration of Perneb*, pl. 13, the contents of the bowls are green with black stippling; in Meir 4, pls. 18, 21, they are yellow. Perhaps an edible seed of some sort was intended. For the bowl, cf. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 229, fig. 80 [1], Type XLIV [1].

⁴⁵ Cf. *Teti Cem.* 2, pl. 53 [2].

indicated. At the left end of the wall, Khnumenti stood facing right. His legs and feet, the bottom line of a short kilt with flaring front panel, and the outline of his walking stick held at a diagonal before him are preserved. Five offering bearers with close-cropped hair and folded kilts with overlap approach from the right. The bearer at the head of the file held an offering tray aloft in front with his now destroyed right hand and a bird by the wings in his hanging left hand. The offerings on the tray consist of a triangular loaf of bread between two filled, small, flat-bottom, flaring bowls with a lettuce(?) placed on top. The second offering bearer held a bird, whose tail alone survives, in the crook of his right arm and a wickerwork frail by a cord in his left hand hanging behind. The third bearer carried a tray of offerings aloft in front and probably a young animal or other offering, now lost, in the crook of his left arm. The fourth man holds aloft a tray with his right hand and a wickerwork frail by a cord in his hanging left hand. The offerings on the tray are destroyed but, on the basis of the photograph, they evidently consisted of a triangular loaf between two filled bowls with possibly a lettuce above. The last man balanced two trays on his shoulders, but the offerings on the trays are destroyed. In addition, a bunch of vegetables(?) and another of papyrus flowers hang from his elbows. Visible above the heads of the third and fourth figures in the photograph is a segment of groundline from the register above and possibly the very bottom of the foot of another figure walking to the left.

East Wall

An elaborate palanquin scene occupied this wall.⁴⁶ As restored from photographs by William Stevenson Smith, the wall is shown in pl. 91 and, as copied by the Giza Mastabas Project, in fig. 86. As may be seen from the modern masonry visible at the east end of the north wall in pl. 90a, the east wall has been re-erected too far to the east. The correct position is indicated by the broken line in figs. 2, 3.

Khnumenti is shown seated in his portable covered chair borne on the shoulders of twenty men. Only the lower part of the first three pairs of porters is preserved, on the end of the block which forms part of the inner entrance thickness and whose other face bears the representation of a sailing ship.⁴⁷ In each pair of porters, the forward figure covers almost entirely the figure of the man behind, and only a narrow portion of the front edge of the second porter projects in front of the complete figure.⁴⁸ They proceed to the right and are evenly spaced along the length of the carrying poles, which they grasp with both hands in front of them. Their figures occupied the entire width of the register.

The porters are wigless and wear long belt-sashes whose loose ends hang down in front.⁴⁹ Well-executed examples of this garment show a loop and two ends hanging down in front (fig. 94b, 1–3), but it is in general drawn as if it were an apron of cloth strips (fig. 94b, 1–5).⁵⁰ It is commonly worn by agricultural workers of every sort,⁵¹

marsh dwellers,⁵² huntsmen,⁵³ butchers,⁵⁴ mariners,⁵⁵ guards,⁵⁶ and individuals engaged in a variety of other strenuous activities.⁵⁷ But the garment is also that adopted by porters of carrying chairs⁵⁸ who might be noble youths appointed by the king to that service.⁵⁹ In the course of strenuous activity, the loose ends may be tucked up under the belt behind (fig. 94b, 4).

Khnumenti is shielded from the sun by an elaborate baldachin whose curved roof is supported by six slender, bulbous-headed columns (only the three columns closest to the viewer are shown).⁶⁰ He is seated on a cushion on the floor of the chair with his knees drawn up. The chair has a high back and panelled sides, and the end of the cushion is draped over the back. Khnumenti's right forearm is held parallel to the rail of the chair and the clenched hand holds a handkerchief. Between the fingers of his raised left hand he holds a short baton.⁶¹ He wears a shoulder-length wig which hides his ears and has a beaded collar around his neck. The flaring front panel of his short belted kilt projects stiffly. Between the columns of the canopy is written: *hry-tp nswt imy-r3 kst nbt n(t) nswt mdh qd [nsw] t m prwy [Hnm]-nti*, "the royal chamberlain, overseer of all works of the king, [royal] master builder in both houses, [Khnum]enti. Above the canopy are two incomplete horizontal lines and a short column of text which brackets the two lines at the left: (1) [... *h*]ry sst3 wdt-mdw nb(t) nt [n]sw[t mr]y nb[.fm] t3[wy.f], (2) [...] *imy-r3 kst nbt n(t) nswt imy[-ib] nswt imy-r3 kst nbt*, (3) *Hnm-nti*, (1) "[... mas]ter of secrets of every command of the [k]in[g, beloved] of [his] lord [in his] (viz. the king's) [two] land[s], (2) [...] overseer of all works of the king, favorite of the king, overseer of every work, (3) Khnumenti."

Other members of Khnumenti's retinue are shown on separate ground lines behind the carrying chair. They carry equipment essential to their master's comfort in the course of his outing. In the top-most of three subregisters, two men walking to the right raise both hands to steady the plain, rectangular boxes balanced on their heads. A headrest is set on top of each of the boxes. Like the porters, each man is wigless and wears a belt-sash with pendant ends. In the next subregister at the level of Khnumenti's shoulder are three more individuals. The first is a dwarf who likewise carries a box on his head; he steadies the box with one hand and in the other holds a bag(?) by its strap. He is naked and has a disproportionate short stature with

⁵⁰ The sources for fig. 94, 1–5 are the following: (a) Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 18; (b) Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, fig. on p. 67; (c–e) Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D. Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 56.

⁵¹ E.g., LD 2, pl. 46; *Ti* 2, pl. 111; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D; Ziegler, *Akhet-hetep*, pp. 128, 131–34.

⁵² E.g., Paget-Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 33; *Nianchchnum*, figs. 18, 19.

⁵³ E.g., Ziegler, *Akhet-hetep*, pl. 108; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pl. 12.

⁵⁴ E.g., LD 2, pl. 45a–b; *Mereruka* 2, pl. 144; Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, nos. 42, 53, 59, 61–62; *Nianchchnum*, figs. 9, 10; Ziegler, *Akhet-hetep*, pp. 138–43; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pl. 84.

⁵⁵ E.g., Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, nos. 30–33, 35–38, 41.

⁵⁶ Van de Walle, *Nefertitenef*, pls. 14, 15; Ziegler, *Akhet-hetep*, pp. 106, 108.

⁵⁷ E.g., Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 100; CG 1419, 1536; *Meir* 5, pl. 31; Simpson, in: *Fs. Elmar Edel*, fig. 3.

⁵⁸ See above, pp. 46–47.

⁵⁹ The finials of these so-called "tent poles" probably represent papyrus buds; see Jenkins, *Boat Beneath the Pyramid*, captions to pls. VII, IX; Brovanski, in: *Iubilae Conlegae* (forthcoming). For actual examples of such poles, see Firth–Quibell, *Step Pyramid* 1, p. 62; 2, pls. 37 (1), 47 L; *GN* 2, p. 24, figs. 19, 20, pls. 4, 5, 7, 9c; Jenkins, *Boat Beneath the Pyramid*, fig. 35, pls. V, VI, VII, and passim.

⁶⁰ See above, p. 47.

⁴⁶ See Klebs, *AR*, pp. 27–29; *GN* 2, pp. 367–68; *HESP*, pp. 155, 293–95; Junker, *Giza* 11, pp. 251–54; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 328–51.

⁴⁷ See above, p. 116.

⁴⁸ Cf. *HESP*, pp. 334–37.

⁴⁹ On this item of apparel, see Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 56; Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p. 66; Roth, *Phyles*, p. 141.

short, thickset trunk, short bowed limbs, and large head.⁶² Like the other attendants he is wigless. The attendant behind him carries a vessel shaped like a bucket by its handle in his left hand and a case with a rounded cap and loop handle in the crook of his right arm.

Visible inside the bucket is a pointed object. Bucket-shaped situlas are commonly carried by attendants of the tomb owner during outings, while a spatulate implement of unknown use is either placed in the bucket or held by the attendants, some of whom are identified as barbers or manicurists.⁶³ An example in the tomb of Iymery seems to show that the implement was a kind of brush made from vegetable fibers.⁶⁴ Possibly the bucket contained a scented liquid and the brush was used for asperging. A bucket-shaped vessel with handle appears along with vessels of different shapes in a metallurgy scene in the tomb of Ka-em-rehu, and it is a logical assumption that these vessels were of metal.⁶⁵ The form does not seem to be represented in the surviving corpus of metal vessels, however.⁶⁶

The last man in this register wore a belt-sash whose loose ends hung down in front and with his left hand carries by its strap a basket wider at the bottom than at the top. Across his back he holds a pack bag, both ends of which are shown together with the broad main surface.⁶⁷ He steadies the bag with his right hand. A three-dimensional example of such a pack bag, on the back of a servant statue from Meir, was carried by a broad strap around the neck.⁶⁸ Taking the painted details into account, the original of the latter pack bag was probably made from leather over a wicker frame and had a decorative leopard skin patch with a border of bead work.

The first attendant in the third subregister held his master's knobbed walking stick in his left hand and a capped, tubular case that probably held spare sticks over his right shoulder.⁶⁹ The next man carries his master's sandals in his left hand and a triangular cloth bag over his right shoulder.⁷⁰ The figure of the third attendant is damaged, but enough is preserved to suggest that he had his arms folded in front of him and carried a wickerwork frail suspended on a cord around his neck. These last two figures wear the long belt-sash with pendant ends. In contrast to them and the other attendants

above, the first man in this register wears a short kilt with flaring front panel, his garb presumably reflecting a superior status.

In front of the carrying chair other attendants were shown on two other groundlines. The right side of the wall is now lost, however, and only two partly preserved figures immediately in front of Khnumenti's carrying chair survive. Both face towards Khnumenti. The upper figure holds a bird in his right hand, perhaps a golden oriole considering its moderately long bill.⁷¹ A young son of the tomb owner often holds a bird in his father's presence in Old Kingdom daily life scenes,⁷² and it is possible an otherwise unknown son of Khnumenti's was represented here. If so, the hieroglyph *ꜥnh* before him probably formed part of his name.⁷³

The man on the ground line immediately below this figure, who was perhaps Khnumenti's steward, proffered a sheet of papyrus held between his two hands for examination.⁷⁴ Except for the edge of the flaring front panel of his kilt and the line of his front leg, the rest of his figure is destroyed.

The lowermost register of the east wall appears to be devoted to an entirely different subject: the transport of a life-size striding statue of Khnumenti to the tomb. Further investigation reveals that this is not the case. Junker and Wild have both discussed scenes where the "living" tomb owner is depicted together with his statues on the occasion of the actual transport of the statues to the tomb, and this representation, like a corresponding representation in G 2370, may constitute another instance of the genre.⁷⁵

On the right side of the register, three men facing right haul on a tow rope and pull the statue in its shrine mounted on a sledge towards the left. It is clear from the photograph that the last of the haulers had passed the rope across his shoulders to prevent it from slipping. A man immediately in front of the sledge bends over to the right and pours water on the ground from a tall jar with short neck, tapering body, bulging shoulder, and rounded base.⁷⁶ The stream of water is indicated by several ripples. Mixed with the dirt the water would have made a mud slurry to ease the passage of the sledge. In the space above the man's head is the caption: *šsp twt n Hnm-nti*, "Receiving a statue of Khnumenti." The use of the verb *šsp* in this context is exceptional; *šms*, "escorting," or *špjt*, "bringing," are usual, while *itj*, "towing," and *stj*, "dragging," are also attested.⁷⁷ A priest on the sledge steps up on the front of the statue base to cense the statue. The double doors of the cavetto-corniced shrine are thrown open to allow the purifying incense to reach the statue, as the priest lifts the cover of the double-bell censer with his right hand, thus directing the incense smoke to the statue's face. The life-size statue is drawn in profile with both arms held at the sides. The costume consists of a

⁶² See Dasen, *Medical History* 32 (1988), pp. 253–76. On dwarfs, terms for dwarfs, and their place in ancient Egyptian society, see below, p. 148 and n. 184.

⁶³ E.g., LD 2, pls. 50, 63; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 381 (= CG 1919); Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pl. 22 (= *ibid.*, pl. 29 [196]); *Mereruka* 1, pls. 14, 46; 2, pls. 139, 171–72; Hassan, *Giza* 2, fig. 240; 5: fig. 122; Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 8; 10; fig. 12; *Seven Chapels*, pl. 15; Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 126; Verner, *Prabshepses*, fig. 31; Simpson, *Kaymnoftret*, pl. E; Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, figs. 162, 205.

⁶⁴ Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 32.

⁶⁵ Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, figs. 39–42, pls. 8–9.

⁶⁶ Radwan, *Die Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße Ägyptens*.

⁶⁷ See Schafer, *Principles*, p. 99, fig. 50 (= *Ti* 3, pl. 174). The pack bag is very common in relief; see e.g., Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 8; *Ti* 1, pl. 16; 3, pls. 150, 174; Verner, *Prabshepses* 1, pl. 3; Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, pp. 167, 168; Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, fig. 162.

⁶⁸ CG 241: Borchardt, *Statuen* 1, pl. 51.

⁶⁹ Two tubular leather cases for walking sticks were found by Emery in a First Dynasty tomb at Saqqara (*Hemaka*, fig. 12 and p. 41, no. 435) and another by Reisner in the tomb of Queen Hetepheres I at Giza (*GN* 2, pp. 45–47, fig. 46). All three cases appear to have had flat caps, while the top of the case depicted in G 2374 is rounded. In *Ti* 3, pl. 174, an attendant removes walking sticks from a long, tubular case.

⁷⁰ The attendant with a linen bag and sandals is a regular member of the retinue of the tomb owner in the Old Kingdom; see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 118 (e), fig. 33 [26–29].

⁷¹ Cf. Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 129–31.

⁷² See below, p. 143.

⁷³ See above, p. 31.

⁷⁴ See Manuelian, in *Simpson Studies* 2, pp. 561–88.

⁷⁵ See above, p. 49.

⁷⁶ Cf. Reisner's Type A–II c pottery jar (*GN* 2, p. 70, fig. 82).

⁷⁷ See e.g., Montet, *Scènes*, p. 358; Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pp. 64–65. The verb here is written *šp* with the folded cloth *s* rather than the *šzp* with the door bolt *z*, the latter being the customary earlier form of the verb (*Wb.* 4, p. 530). This may simply represent an early instance of *s* for *z* (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 116). Alternatively, it may be that the ancient draftsman conflated *šms* and *šzp* in his mind and then transferred his error to the wall.

shoulder-length wig, beaded collar, and short kilt with a flaring front panel. A lector-priest's sash is tied across the chest and what is apparently a papyrus roll is clasped in the left hand hanging behind.⁷⁸

The presence of the sledge shows that the statue had yet to be installed in its final position in the serdab behind the west wall of Room I.⁷⁹ An unusual detail here is that of the haulers leaning backwards with their effort;⁸⁰ usually the men pulling on the tow rope walk without visible strain in the same direction that the statue faces.⁸¹ It is unlikely that the haulers in G 2374 could have dragged the statue very far in this fashion, and they may be shown maneuvering the statue into position as a preliminary to removing it from the sledge.

In the Old Kingdom offering ritual before a statue of the deceased, the statue itself is usually set on the ground. Bearers may approach with offerings to add to a pile already in front of the statue.⁸² There is no pile of offerings in G 2374, but on the left side of the bottom register a file of four offering bearers marches to the right towards the statue. The figures of the bearers have all been subjected to a varying degree of damage, but the three better preserved figures all appear to have carried aloft with their left hand a tray laden with a triangular loaf of bread between two filled small, flat-bottomed flaring bowls, with a lettuce laid across the top.⁸³ The first offering bearer held in addition a wicker frail on a cord with the right hand hanging at his side, while the second man carried a milk jar on a cord in his hanging right hand.⁸⁴ The figure of the last man is lost except for his feet.

ROOM II

Room II is an east–west vestibule connecting Rooms I and III. It is entered from a door at the east end and exited by a door in the west end of the north wall. It measures 1.05 x 3.72 meters, and its area is 3.91 square meters.

Outer Door Thicknesses

The thicknesses of the door from Room I were originally decorated with registers of offering bearers representing Khnumet's agricultural estates. The south thickness is preserved to its full height of three registers. On the north jamb opposite only the lowest part of the bottom register survives.

Left (south) thickness. The three registers each contain six striding female figures facing right (west), as if walking into Room II (pl. 92; fig. 87a). Each of the personified female estates was dressed in a long sheath dress with tapering shoulder straps and a long wig with the near lappet resting on the breast. In every case the left hand is raised to steady a basket balanced on the head. In most instances the figures

bear conical baskets, but six estates carry hemispherical baskets on their heads. In contrast to the other estates, the fourth, eighth, sixteenth, and eighteenth figures have covered baskets on their heads. Visible over the rim of the baskets are a variety of foodstuffs, most of which are insufficiently defined to render any attempt at identification profitable. In addition, the first estate in the top register carries a wickerwork frail on a cord in her hanging right hand, the second a bunch of papyrus flowers, the third a rush basket splayed towards the bottom by its handle, the fourth a pintail duck by the wings, the fifth a milk jar on a cord (destroyed), and the sixth once again a bunch of papyrus flowers. In the second register, the first estate holds her right arm parallel to the ground, palm up, but empty. The second figure in this register holds with her hanging right hand a jar on a cord and a duck by the wings, the third a bunch of papyrus, and the fourth a bunch of vegetables(?). The fifth again has a duck, while the sixth carried a wickerwork frail on a cord (destroyed). At the head of the third register, the first estate carries with her hanging right hand a jar on a cord, the second a brace of ducks by the wings, the third a wickerwork frail, the fourth a bouquet composed of a lotus flower and two buds, the fifth a jar on a cord. The right hand of the final estate in the procession hangs empty at her side.

The names of the estates have been published by Helen Jacquet-Gordon utilizing her personal copy of the original.⁸⁵ Corrections and improved readings are minor and affect mainly numbers 2, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 16 below.

1. *Hnt* ' *ibbt*': *mr Hrty nhy Tti*, "Kherty desires that Teti live, the 'Front of 'the East' nome."⁸⁶
2. *Isbt*: *mr Hnm nhy Tti*, "Khnum desires that Teti live, the Eastern nome."
3. *Hst mhyt*: *shpt Pth Tti*, "Ptah satisfies Teti, the Mendesian nome."
4. *Wc m hww, gs imnt*: *mn dff Tti*, "The nourishment of Teti abides,⁸⁷ the Harpoon nome, western half."
5. *Iw*: *qbht Tti*, "The coolness(?) of Teti, the Letopolite nome."
6. *Imnt*: *mr Sst nhy Tti*, "Seshat desires that Teti live, the Western nome."
7. *Nt*: *mr Hr Trty nhy Tti*, "Horus of Tjerty desires that Teti live, the Saite nome."
8. *Wnw*: *S nhy Pth Tti*, "Ptah causes Teti to live, the Hare nome."
9. *Inpw*: *Htpwt Tti*, "The offerings of Teti, the Jackal nome."
10. *Nrt hntt*: *mr Sst nhy Tti*, "Seshat desires that Teti live, the Heracleopolitan nome."

⁷⁸ Cf. Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, cat. no. 116.

⁷⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 73.

⁸⁰ Cf. Dunham-Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 5.

⁸¹ See the majority of the scenes of statue transport discussed by Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pp. 60–76.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 72–73, 179.

⁸³ This motif is discussed above, p. 119, n. 44.

⁸⁴ As here, milk jars were commonly stoppered with a plug of leaves or grass; see e.g., Davies, *Prabhetep I*, p. 38, pl. 16; Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai I*, pl. 29 [184, 187]; Gardiner, *EG*, p. 530 [W 20]; Vandier, *Manuel 4*, p. 153 [2].

⁸⁵ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, pp. 310–12.

⁸⁶ For the easternmost nomes of the Delta in the Old Kingdom, see Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 129–42.

⁸⁷ On this estate name, cf. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 75.

11. *Inpw: S<nh> Sst Wnis*, “Seshat makes Unis <live>, the Jackal nome.”

12. The figure lacks a name.

13. *Nrt hnt: Hnty b Wnis*, “The *b* of Unis is foremost, the Heracleopolitan nome.”

14. *Iw: Nfr h'w Wnis*, “Beautiful of appearances is Unis, the Letopolite nome.”

15. *Iw: Shtp P'th' Wnis*, “P'tah' satisfies Unis, the Letopolite nome.”

16. *Wnw: mr Sst nh Wnis*, “Seshat desires that Unis lives, the Hare nome.”

17. The figure lacks a name.

18. The figure lacks a name.

Fischer has expressed the opinion that the occurrence of Seshat, patroness of architects, in the names of the estates located in Lower Egyptian nome 3 and Upper Egyptian nomes 15, 17, and 20, has nothing to do with geographical factors, but is related to the fact that Khnumenti was a royal builder.⁸⁸

Right (north) thickness. Only the legs and a few of the offerings carried by the six bearers originally depicted in the lowermost register survive (fig. 87b). The bearers of offerings on this thickness may well have been male, since the line which would indicate the bottom hem of the long dress customarily worn by female estates is lacking. The first offering bearer held a brace of birds in his left hand hanging behind and the second holds a jar by a cord in the corresponding hand. Since no offerings are visible in the case of the other four figures, these men probably had both arms raised, holding a tray aloft with one or both hands or possibly carrying a young animal or bird at chest height.

Inner Door Thickness

The inner, left (south) door thickness is lost to below the level of the reliefs, and it is impossible to be sure that it was once decorated. There is no corresponding north door thickness, but rather a long north wall that still bears vestiges of relief.

South Wall

Khnumenti stands at the right and faces towards the entrance. Before him appear five registers of agricultural and marsh scenes, the action in which proceeds from left to right (pl. 88b; fig. 88). As on the south wall of Room I the decoration is mostly visible as chisel lines since the plaster has fallen away.

Khnumenti's face, shoulders, and shoulder-length wig are damaged but, as for the rest, it is clear that he wore a short kilt with belt, waist tie, and flaring front panel with sledge indicated. He carries a walking stick knob-end up at a diagonal with his right hand in

front and a scepter in his left hand behind. The scepter is incorrectly drawn for a figure facing left, passing as it does in front of the kilt.⁸⁹ The long column of text in front of Khnumenti contains the caption to the scene and is continued in six shorter columns containing titles, epithets, and names over his head: (1) *M3 ht nb [nf]r[t] innt m [ph'w m] kst [sh]t [...]*, (2) *iry-p't hsty-ꜥ imy-r3 kst nb(t) nt n[swt]*, (3) *imy-r3 'zšw' ꜥ n 'nswt' imy-r3 hwt-wrt '6'*, (4) *[smr w'ty mdh] 'qd' [nsw]t m prwy*, (5) *[i]mshw hr Pt'h'*, *Hnm-nti*, (6) *[i]mshw hr Inpw<tp-dw>.f Hnm-nti*, (7) *imshw hr ntr-ꜥ Hnm-nti*, (1) “Inspecting everything [g]oo[d] which is brought from [the hinterlands consisting of] work of the [fel]d(s)⁹⁰ [...], (2) the hereditary prince and count, overseer of all the works of the k[ing], (3) overseer of ‘scribes’ of ‘royal’ records, overseer of the ‘six’ great (law) courts, (4) [sole friend, roya]l [master] ‘builder’ in both houses, (5) [one] honored by Pta’h,’ Khnumenti. (6) [One] honored by Anubis, <Who-is-upon->His-<Mountain>, Khnumenti. (7) One honored by the great god, Khnumenti.” The pattern of repeated epithets introduced by *imshw hr* and followed by the name of a god and that of the tomb owner in symmetrical columns is especially common in tombs of the early to mid-Sixth Dynasty at Saqqara.⁹¹

First Register. Herdsmen drive a file of cattle to the right. The first animal balks but is pulled up short by a drover who yanks on a rope tied round one of the animal's front legs; startled, it turns its head round and glances back. The rope is now lost save for a short section between the hands of the drover. The next two oxen walk placidly ahead, encouraged by their drovers who extend an arm over the back of each animal. The figure of the second herdsman is destroyed except for traces. The third man, like the first, wears the headman's garment, a kilt of matting with a rigid, fringed piece hanging down in front.⁹² Only part of the leg and front foot remain of the figure who brought up the tail end of the procession.

Second Register. An abbreviated agricultural scene occupies this register. Of the large number of episodes that make up such scenes, only the concluding activities of reaping, transport, and piling sheaves appear in G 2374.⁹³ The first group at the right is composed of three field hands. Two reapers bend forward to cut the grain. They grasp the sheaves high up in their left hands and hold the sickles in their right hands so that they curve upward. The man between them has his arms raised and his hands held in such a manner as to suggest that he was drinking from a jar of water, although no traces of the jar remain.⁹⁴ At the left is a symmetrical group of two field hands tossing sheaves on a grain stack. Their arms cross over their slightly tilted bodies, as if to swing the sheaves back and up in a continuous movement.⁹⁵ Above the stack are the words, reading from right to left: *wbs*

⁸⁹ See *HESP*, pp. 275ff.

⁹⁰ For the restoration, cf. above, pp. 49, and below, pp. 134, 137.

⁹¹ E.g., *Teti Cem.* 1, p. 143; *Idout*, pls. 7, 12, 20; *Mereruka* 1, pl. 35; El-Fikey, *Rē-wer*, pls. 1, 2; *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pls. 4, 9, 12; see also Drioton-Lauer, *ASAE* 55 (1958), p. 250; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pls. 38, 40.

⁹² See above, p. 58 and n. 310.

⁹³ Compare the extensive repertoire of agricultural scenes depicted on the west wall of the vestibule in G 2370 (above, pp. 59–65).

⁹⁴ Cf. *Gebr.* 1, pl. 12; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 47; van de Walle, *Neferitenef*, pl. 12; *Nianchchum*, pl. 58.

⁸⁸ Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 133, n. 14.

zpt, “Piling up the threshing floor.”⁹⁶ The two donkeys at the left, relieved of their burden of sheaves, wait patiently in the charge of their drover. Traces suggest that this man, like the field hands stacking grain and the laborers in the field, wore a folded kilt with overlap and his own short-cropped hair.

Third Register. The better part of the register is occupied by a scene of fowling netting water-fowl.⁹⁷ The first man at the right wears the headman’s mat kilt. His left arm is bent at the elbow and held across his body, in what is probably a gesture of respect, while his other hand hangs at his side.⁹⁸ A seemingly superfluous line at the bottom of his kilt may indicate that he held a stick or sceptre. The figure of the next man is largely destroyed but he evidently wore a flaring kilt. At the left end of the register a large clapnet is set out on either side of a small pool full of birds. As usual in Old Kingdom scenes of trapping birds, the net was shown as a hexagon, the shape it assumed when closed.⁹⁹ Between the net and the two figures already described, three men stand, facing right and holding on to a rope attached to one end of the net. The arms of the second and third men overlap but otherwise the three figures show none of the variety of posture usual in such scenes.¹⁰⁰ All three figures are damaged, but the outline of the best-preserved figure in the middle suggests they were naked. Between the haulers and the net is a fourth figure, probably the signalman whose job was to judge when the net was full of birds, and then to signal the haulers to close the net either by pulling a cloth held between his outstretched hands back and forth across his shoulders or by giving a simple hand signal.¹⁰¹ The upper part of his figure is destroyed, so the identification is not absolutely certain, but he is separated from the haulers by a narrow space, his hands do not appear on the rope where expected (though the rope is destroyed about where his hands should be), and most importantly, his presence is indispensable in such scenes.¹⁰² The figures of the fowling were concealed behind a stylized clump of foliage on the margin of the pool but, inasmuch as the upper part of this blind is lost, it is not clear whether a thicket of reeds or a clump of papyrus was represented. The birds which fill the pool, along with lotus buds and leaves, appear to be ducks. As the net snaps shut, five birds, the one on the upper left almost certainly a pintail duck, make good their escape.

Fourth Register. Boatmen are shown returning home from a day in the marshes. Three papyrus skiffs are depicted on a narrow rectangle representing a stretch of water. The ends of the skiffs bend slightly upward. The posture of the crew in the boats is essentially identical,

although the first boatman in the lead boat and the second man in the last skiff turn their heads around to look at the man behind. Each boatman leans slightly backwards with knees bent and body evidently poised on the ball of the foot, so as to apply all of his weight to the pole.¹⁰³ In each case their hands are held as if they were wielding long punting poles, but the poles themselves were never carved. Traces suggest that all the boatmen wore the very short kilt with rounded edge and belt-sash tied in front. Resting in the prow of the first skiff is a flat-topped chest on legs. The object in the stern of the second boat is not so readily identifiable. It appears to be round and has a trapezoidal projection at the top. Possibly it represents an example of the *mhn*-game, although the game seemingly does not otherwise appear in this context.¹⁰⁴ Several different objects are piled up at the stern of the last boat. Three have indistinct shapes, but the object on top of the pile is the papyrus bandolier used as a life preserver by boatmen.¹⁰⁵ The presence of the chest and the board game(?) suggest that this was no ordinary scene of boatmen returning from the marshes,¹⁰⁶ but rather a scene from an outing intended for Khnumenti’s amusement.

Fifth Register. Herdsmen lead three bulls into Khnumenti’s presence. The first three figures have short, belted kilts, waist ties (destroyed in the case of the third individual), and flaring front panels. Judging from the waist tie, the last herdsman also wore a kilt, but one lacking a flaring panel. All four men probably had their own hair cropped close, but the last figure is too damaged to be certain of this detail. Like the man at the head of the third register, the first man here bends his arm at the elbow and holds the forearm across his body. The second herdsman places his left hand on the rump of the first bull and leads a polled animal by a rope held in his right hand.¹⁰⁷ Next comes a man with his left hand on the rump of the second animal and his right hand hanging at his side. The last man places his left hand on the rump of the horned bull which precedes him, while his other arm hangs free. Above the backs of all three animals is the label *rn iw*, “young stable ox.”¹⁰⁸

West Wall

This short end wall (pl. 93a; fig. 89a) is largely destroyed. At the right are the feet of a large figure of Khnumenti oriented towards the left and the bottom of his walking stick, both in medium high relief of good quality. In the bottom register before him are traces of the figures of three offering bearers in lower relief facing right. Above the last offering bearer at the left parts of two more registers are preserved. The figure of an offering bearer at the left end of each of these partially preserved registers was evidently aligned with the last figure

⁹⁵ See p. 63 and n. 399 above.

⁹⁶ *Wb.* 1, p. 296, 13; 3, p. 434, 15; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 213; Junker, *Giza* 4, p. 146; 11, p. 194; *Nianchechnum*, p. 132.

⁹⁷ On bird trapping in general, see Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 42–66; Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 320–61. Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 141–44, deals with the development of clapnet scenes and the postures of the haulers and other participants in considerable detail.

⁹⁸ Neither Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), pp. 100–108, or Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 319–25, discuss this particular gesture.

⁹⁹ For a detailed description of bird trapping and a modern reconstruction of the ancient Egyptian net trap, see Dunham, *BMFA* 35, no. 210 (August, 1937), pp. 52–54.

¹⁰⁰ See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 142–44.

¹⁰¹ See *ibid.*, p. 142.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 144.

¹⁰³ On the postures of boatmen, see *ibid.*, pp. 153–56.

¹⁰⁴ See Kendall, *LÄ* 5 (1984), p. 654 and n. 8.

¹⁰⁵ See above, p. 51 and n. 218.

¹⁰⁶ For this genre of scene, Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 153, should be consulted. Examples appear or once appeared in the porticos of both Inti (above, pp. 38 and 42) and Mehi (below, pp. 134 and 137).

¹⁰⁷ There is considerable debate as to whether a true, hornless race of cattle existed under the Old Kingdom, especially since the animals represented as being hornless may have been mutilated instead; see, e.g., *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, p. 98; *Domestic Plants and Animals*, pp. 82, 84.

¹⁰⁸ See above, p. 57.

in the bottom register. In all likelihood two additional offering bearers in front of the partly preserved figures balanced the figures of the other two offering bearers in the lowermost register. The last offering bearer in the lowest register and the two corresponding offering bearers above each held a tray of offerings aloft with the right hand. Part of a vessel(?) is visible on the tray of the topmost figure. On the tray of the offering bearer in the middle is the bottom of a small, flaring bowl, while the offerings on the tray of the figure in the lower register included a triangular loaf. If the diagonal line to the right of this loaf belongs to another flaring bowl, it is possible that a triangular loaf appeared between two flaring bowls on the trays of both the middle and lowermost offering bearers.¹⁰⁹ The topmost offering bearer has in addition a milk-jar hanging from his elbow on a sling, while the offering bearer in the middle has a large, filled, two-handled basket (only one handle is preserved) with a splay toward the bottom suspended by a cord from his elbow.

North Wall

The north wall (pl. 93b; fig. 89b) is lost except for part of the lowest register. The scene consisted of cattle being led to the left by attendants. The left end of the register is destroyed, and all that is preserved of the first animal are its hindquarters. The wall itself ends some 27 cm to the left, and there was probably sufficient room for the figure of another herdsman, perhaps the stall overseer, at the head of the file. Walking behind the lead animal was a herdsman who probably placed a hand on its back. The next group on the right is similar to the first, though the animal is better preserved. The animal at the end of the file lacks an attendant, but may have been led by means of a short rope tied round its lower jaw.

ROOM III

This long east–west offering room (pl. 94a) is entered by a door in the east end of the south wall. The room measures 1.82 by 5.19 m and its area is 9.45 sq. m.

South Wall

Although the south wall of Room III is destroyed to below the level of the decoration, a number of fragmentary reliefs found by Reisner in the debris of G 2374 probably derive from this wall. One fragment (pl. 96a; fig. 89c) shows at its left edge the end of a compartment list of offerings and on the right the tops of two columns of titles, all executed in a rather poor quality raised relief. The titles are as follows: (1) $\text{ḥ}^{\text{d}} \text{ḥ}^{\text{m}^{\text{w}}-\text{n}^{\text{t}^{\text{i}}}$ $\text{D}^{\text{d}}-\text{s}^{\text{w}^{\text{t}}}-\text{z}^{\text{s}} \text{R}^{\text{c}} \text{T}^{\text{i}}$ [...], (2) $\text{i}^{\text{r}^{\text{y}}}-\text{p}^{\text{c}^{\text{t}}}$ $\text{ḥ}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}^{\text{y}}}-\text{c}^{\text{t}}}$ $\text{t}^{\text{s}^{\text{y}^{\text{t}^{\text{y}}}}$ $\text{z}^{\text{s}^{\text{b}}}$ $\text{t}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}^{\text{y}}}$ $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}}-\text{r}^{\text{s}}$ [...], (1) “in[spector of priests] of the pyramid (named) ‘the Son of Re Teti is enduring of places,’ [...]” (2) the hereditary prince and count, chief justice and vizier, overseer of [...].¹¹⁰ The constituent signs of the titles face left and, given the character of the decorative scheme of east–west offering rooms at Giza, it is likely that the block came from a table scene located at the right (west) end of the south wall, where it would have stood above the head of a seated figure of the vizier at table, with his back to the false door.¹¹¹ Only

two entries from the offering list at the left edge of the block are partly preserved, $\text{z}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}^{\text{w}}}$, “libation,” at the head of the first row of three compartments and $\text{t}^{\text{-w}^{\text{t}}}$, a type of bread, at the head of the second row.¹¹² Beneath each entry is a compartment giving the portion of each item presented and a second compartment with a pictorial determinative of the offering. As is to be expected, the signs which make up the names of the offerings faced toward Khnumenti, their recipient.¹¹³ This block, and a number of other relief fragments that appear on a handwritten list of fragments from G 2374 on file in Boston, and which were presumably stored at Giza, have yet to be located. The list records two more fragments of the same offering list, including one fitting on to the lower left portion of the block just described. These were apparently neither photographed nor drawn.

West Wall

The west wall of the offering room is occupied by a false door (pl. 95; fig. 90) cut from a single block of fine white limestone. Originally the door was surmounted by a cavetto cornice and enclosed in a torus moulding. At a subsequent date, the upper part of the false door with the cornice was broken away, and is now missing. The customary decoration of diagonal lashings and cross-lashings appears on a fragment of moulding preserved at the lower left. The door has three pairs of jambs of equal width, inscribed in sunk hieroglyphs for Khnumenti. Like the small sunk relief figures of the owner at the bottom of each jamb, the hieroglyphs face inward.

On the false door panel is the lower part of a seated figure of Khnumenti facing right and the base of the offering table behind which he sits. Only the papyrus flower terminal of the side rail and the rear leg of the stool on a tall fulcrum-shaped support is shown, its front leg being concealed by Khnumenti’s legs.¹¹⁴ Under the table at the right is a large ewer and basin.

The lintel below the panel bears two horizontal lines of text. From right to left, they read: (1) $\text{ḥ}^{\text{r}^{\text{y}}}-\text{t}^{\text{p}}$ $\text{n}^{\text{s}^{\text{w}^{\text{t}}}}$ $\text{m}^{\text{d}^{\text{h}}}$ q^{d} $\text{n}^{\text{s}^{\text{w}^{\text{t}}}}$ m $\text{p}^{\text{r}^{\text{w}^{\text{y}}}}$ $\text{Ḥ}^{\text{n}^{\text{m}}}-\text{n}^{\text{t}^{\text{i}}}$, (2) $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{s}^{\text{h}^{\text{w}}}}$ ḥ^{r} $\text{n}^{\text{t}^{\text{r}}}-\text{z}^{\text{s}}$ $\text{Ḥ}^{\text{n}^{\text{m}}}-\text{n}^{\text{t}^{\text{i}}}$, (1) “royal chamberlain and royal master builder in both houses, Khnumenti, (2) one honored by the great god, Khnumenti.”

The inscriptions on the respective pairs of jambs are identical. Each jamb bears two columns of text and one short horizontal line with the name $\text{Ḥ}^{\text{n}^{\text{m}}}-\text{n}^{\text{t}^{\text{i}}}$ directly over the head of the standing figure at the bottom of the jamb. The figure in each instance has a shoulder-length wig, a chin beard, beaded collar, and short kilt with belt, waist tie, and flaring front panel. The hand in front holds a walking stick, knob end up, at a diagonal and the hanging rear hand a scepter. The figures are equal in height.

The tops of the two columns on the outer jambs are lost. What remains is as follows: (1) [...] $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}}-\text{r}^{\text{s}}$ $\text{ḥ}^{\text{w}^{\text{t}}}-\text{w}^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}$ ḥ $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}}-\text{r}^{\text{s}}$ $\text{k}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}}}$ $\text{n}^{\text{b}^{\text{t}}}$ $\text{n}^{\text{(t)}}$ $\text{n}^{\text{s}^{\text{w}^{\text{t}}}}$ $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}}-\text{r}^{\text{s}}$ $\text{ḥ}^{\text{r}^{\text{y}}}-\text{s}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}^{\text{s}}}$ n $\text{w}^{\text{d}^{\text{t}}}-\text{m}^{\text{d}^{\text{w}}}$ $\text{n}^{\text{b}^{\text{(t)}}$ n^{t} $\text{n}^{\text{s}^{\text{w}^{\text{t}}}}$ $\text{m}^{\text{r}^{\text{y}}}$ $\text{n}^{\text{b}^{\text{.f}}}$ m $\text{t}^{\text{s}^{\text{w}^{\text{y}}}$.f, (2) [...] $\text{s}^{\text{m}^{\text{r}}}$ $\text{w}^{\text{c}^{\text{t}^{\text{y}}}$ $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}}-\text{r}^{\text{s}}$ $\text{z}^{\text{s}^{\text{w}}}$ c^{t} n $\text{n}^{\text{s}^{\text{w}^{\text{t}}}}$ $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}}-\text{i}^{\text{b}}$ $\text{n}^{\text{s}^{\text{w}^{\text{t}}}}$ m $\text{k}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}}}$.f $\text{n}^{\text{b}^{\text{t}}}$ $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}}-\text{r}^{\text{s}}$ $\text{p}^{\text{r}^{\text{w}^{\text{y}}}-\text{ḥ}^{\text{d}}}$ $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{s}^{\text{h}^{\text{w}}}}$ ḥ^{r} $\text{n}^{\text{t}^{\text{r}}}-\text{z}^{\text{s}}$ n^{b} $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{n}^{\text{t}}}$, (3) $\text{Ḥ}^{\text{n}^{\text{m}}}-\text{n}^{\text{t}^{\text{i}}}$, (1) “[...] overseer of the six great (law) courts, overseer of all works of the king, overseer of the

¹¹¹ See above, pp. 16–17.

¹¹² See above, p. 73, n. d.

¹¹³ See above, p. 71.

¹¹⁴ See Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, p. 41, § 10.

¹⁰⁹ See above, p. 119.

¹¹⁰ Obj. Reg. 35–10–32.

two granaries, master of secrets of every command of the king, beloved of his lord in his (viz. the king's) Two Lands, (2) [...] sole friend, overseer of scribes of royal records, favorite of the king in every work of his, overseer of the two treasuries, one honored by the great god, lord of the west, (3) Khnumenti." The columns of text on the middle jambs also lack their beginning, which is perhaps to be restored as follows: (1) [*Htp-dī-nswt h̄p.f h̄r*] *wswt nfrt n h̄rt-ntr h̄p̄pt imshw h̄r.sn m h̄tp h̄r ntr-ꜣ h̄ry-tp nswt mdw rhyt iwn knmt*, (2) [... *imshw h̄r Wsir h̄r nswt h̄r Inpw tp-dw.f nb tꜣ-dsr imy-wt imy-rꜣ wꜣbty imy-rꜣ prwy nwb h̄ry-sꜣtꜣ n nswt*, (3) *Hnm-nti*, "[An offering which the king gives that he may travel on] the goodly ways of the necropolis¹¹⁵ on which the honored ones travel in peace with the great god,¹¹⁶ (namely) the royal chamberlain, staff of the people, pillar of the *knmt*-folk, (2) [...] one honored by Osiris, by the king, and by Anubis, Who-is-upon-His-Mountain, Lord of the Sacred Land, Who-is-in-Ut,¹¹⁷ (namely) the overseer of the two workshops, overseer of the two houses of gold, master of secrets of the king, (3) Khnumenti." The text is complete on the two shorter, inner jambs, which extend only as far as the lintel. (1) *Htp-dī-nswt qrs.t(i).f m h̄rt-ntr m zmt imnti*, (2) *imshw h̄r Pth rsy-inb.f smr wꜣty h̄ry-tp nswt mdh qd nswt m prwy*, (3) *Hnm-nti*, (1) "An offering which the king gives that he be buried in the necropolis in the western desert, (2) the one honored by Ptah, Who-is-south-of-His-Wall, the sole friend, royal chamberlain, royal master builder in both houses, (3) Khnumenti."¹¹⁸

Khnumenti's offering stone, the rear part of which is still in place, was 150 cm wide. This section of the stone, which is carved from the same block as the false door, projects 15 cm beyond the surface of the outermost jambs and is roughly finished. Most likely another large block with the customary loaf-on-a-mat carved on its upper surface was set against it.

North Wall

Although destroyed to the first course, about a quarter of this wall is still in place at the east end (pl. 94a). A large block with the legs of offering bearers and crates of birds executed in a flat, sharp-edged relief now rests on the ground at the opposite side of the room (pl. 94b; fig. 91). Since the offering bearers face left, it is clear that this block comes from the north wall of the room. Seeing that it is smooth and finished below the feet of the offering bearers, it is also clear that the bearers of offerings comprised the bottom register of the wall. A horizontal line of drill holes visible in the photograph is witness to an attempt at some point in time to sunder the block in two.

The legs of eight offering bearers and feet of a ninth, proceeding to the left towards the lost table scene and the false door at the west

end of the wall, are preserved. A cage of live birds rests on the ground in front of the seventh, eighth, and ninth figures. Since part of a cage is also visible behind the ninth figure, there was probably at least one more such figure to the right. The length of Room III is 5.19 m and the decorated block is only 2.17 m long, so less than half of the bottom register is preserved. The handwritten list of fragments from G 2374 in Boston includes a fragment with the lower part of an offering bearer and another cage filled with ducks, which may have belonged in the bottom register further to the right, thus totalling five offering bearers preceded by cages. Taking into account the decorative scheme in contemporary east-west offerings rooms, it may be inferred that the group of six figures on the left side of the block carried haunches, while the group of figures to the right, with the bird cages at their feet, held up strangled geese as offerings.¹¹⁹

Another loose block found by Reisner shows parts of two superimposed registers (pl. 96a). In the lower register, the figure of a man with feet missing faces left and holds two bouquets of papyrus and lotus flowers before him in his right hand. In his left hand hanging behind, he holds an ill-defined offering dangling from a cord. His costume consists of a short wig with overlapping rows of curls and a short kilt with belt, waist tie, and overlap. Since he faces left, his figure most likely belongs to the north wall. The projecting ridge of stone at the right edge of the block identifies it as a corner block, so the figure probably brought up the tail end of a procession of similar figures, either that in the bottom register or one higher up on the same wall. In the register above are the feet of another figure, this time facing right. The unexpected shift in orientation would be explained, if the figure in the upper register presented offerings to the back of a large figure of Khnumenti (now destroyed) on the adjacent east wall. Scenes or parts of scenes in Old Kingdom tombs do occasionally extend onto an adjacent wall in a similar fashion.¹²⁰

East Wall

The east wall of the room is destroyed to the course below the bottom register. A loose stone with part of a butchery scene on it found by Reisner may have belonged on the lower right side of the wall, since such scenes commonly appear in bottom registers, and the broad border on the right side of the block implies such a location (pl. 96b; fig. 92a).¹²¹ The broken area at the right of the border may represent all that remains of the projecting jamb on the east side of the doorway between Rooms II and III. As may be seen from the plan (fig. 3), both door jambs were cut in the same stone that forms the adjacent wall. Another reason for assigning the fragment to the east wall is the presence in the upper register of the partially preserved figure of an offering bearer walking towards the left. This is the wrong direction for a figure on the south wall, where the movement is from the right to the left, while the north wall of the room is also excluded from consideration because it bore a procession of

¹¹⁵ The writing of *h̄rt-ntr* with the mountain determinative (N 26) instead of the hill-country determinative (N 25) on both jambs is unusual, but is attested in at least one other instance (Hassan, *Giza* 5, p. 259, fig. 116, pl. 32). The orthography with the combination of hill-country and city determinatives is not uncommon from about the middle of the Fifth to the first half of the Sixth Dynasty; e.g., LD 2, pl. 65; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 279; Davies, *Ptahhetep* 1, pl. 39; 2, pl. 29; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, p. 33; Badawy, *Giza*, fig. 19; *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pl. 27–28.

¹¹⁶ For this wish and its variants, see Barta, *Opferformel*, pp. 17, 28, 39, 48, 60 and passim (Bitte 12).

¹¹⁷ The writing of *imy-wt* is faulty, the city-determinative being omitted on both middle jambs.

¹¹⁸ The orthography of *h̄rt-ntr* with *ntr*-pole and the sign of the falcon on the divine standard separate from the *h̄rt-ntr* monogram is worthy of note.

¹¹⁹ See p. 18 above.

¹²⁰ E.g., LD 2, pl. 27; Junker, *Giza* 2, fig. 18; GN 1, fig. 242.

¹²¹ On the location of butchery scenes on the walls of the east-west offering rooms in multi-roomed mastaba chapels, see Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 107–108 and above, p. 18.

offering bearers in the bottom register. Furthermore, the style of the relief is inferior in quality to that on the north wall.

The relief fragment in question was identified and drawn by the Giza Mastabas Project but, as is evident from the drawing, the surface of the relief has undergone further deterioration in the intervening years since its discovery. Nevertheless, it can be seen from the photograph that the butcher in the bottom register leant to the left over the carcass of an ox. Behind him an assistant facing in the same direction carried a large basin, presumably for the blood of the sacrificed ox.¹²² Both men were dressed in short wigs and plain kilts, although in the case of the butcher, the rows of overlapping locks covering the surface of his wig had been carved. The butcher appears to have had a whetstone tucked into the back of his kilt. Above the slaughter scene ran a line of inscription of which only the end survived: [*shpt stpt* ...] ‘*mdh*’ *qd* [*nswt*] *m prwy*, *Hnmnti*, “[Bringing choice things ...] [the royal] ‘master’ builder in both houses, Khnumenti.”¹²³

The offering bearer in the upper register held the diminutive figure of a bull on a rope. In front of the right leg of the bearer are traces that perhaps represent another animal.

As previously noted, the loose block from the north wall with the legs of the figure facing right suggests that a large figure of Khnumenti, facing right towards the offering bearers in registers before him and the butchers in the extra register below his feet, occupied the left side of this wall.¹²⁴

Serdab

In the masonry behind the west wall of Room I, north of Room II, and east of Room III, is a chamber which Reisner identified as a serdab (pl. 94a), even though the upper parts of its walls are destroyed along with any serdab slots that may have existed. It measures 1.55 by 2.1 meters and has an area of 3.25 square meters.

ASSOCIATED SHAFTS AND BURIAL CHAMBERS

Shaft G 2374 A

In the masonry behind the false door of Room III is shaft A, an unfinished cutting in the rock lined with masonry for a distance of about 1.6 m (fig. 92b).¹²⁵ The shaft measures 2.15 by 1.97 m, and had been cut about 6 m into the rock, when the work was abandoned. There was no chamber at its bottom and the shaft was filled with clean masons’ debris. The upper courses of the west wall of G 2374 were actually built over the shaft and had to be removed in order to excavate it.

Since G 2374 A was never finished, Reisner concluded that Khnumenti’s actual burial took place in G 2385 A (pl. 97b, 98a;

fig. 93), a sloping passage tomb cut in the lower rock terrace under the edge of the platform, roughly opposite the entrance to Khnumenti’s chapel. In part his conclusion was based on a process of exclusion, the burial place of Inti (G 2370 B) definitely being known from the inscriptions on his sarcophagus, and that of Mehi (G 2378 A) being virtually assured by its location under the east wall of his mastaba. Moreover, Khnumenti held a priesthood of King Teti, and a diorite bowl bearing Teti’s name was found in the debris in the burial chamber of G 2385 A.¹²⁶

Shaft G 2385 A

Of Reisner’s type 9 a (1), sloping-passage tomb G 2385 A (fig. 93) descends from the east to terminate in a large chamber, in the floor of which a vertical shaft descends to the actual burial chamber.¹²⁷ The passage was originally plugged with stones, but was found open and filled with rubbish except for one long block at its lower end. The opening of the shaft at the upper end measured 1.05 by 2.2 m. The horizontal length of the sloping passage was 11.25 m; the angle of descent 28° 15’. The sloping length of the floor was 12.35 m and that of the roof 10.25 m. At the foot of the slope in the floor is a horizontal space 0.5 m wide (east–west). The upper chamber is entered near the middle of its east wall. The sloping drop from the end of the passage to the floor of the chamber is 0.8 m in height. The chamber is irregularly cut and measured 5 by 4 m with a height of 2.0 m. The area is 19.6 sq. m and the capacity 39.2 cu. m. In the southwest corner an oblong vertical shaft descends to the burial chamber. Three of its roofing slabs were found in place, while the fourth had been shoved aside (pl. 98b). The shaft to the lower chamber measures 2.55 by 1.0 m. It is 1.65 m to the roof of the lower chamber and 3.15 m to the floor. The lower chamber opens to the east of the shaft and measures 2.55 by 3.6 m. The height is 1.25 m and the area 6.6 sq. m with a capacity of 8.25 cu. m. The total floor area of the passage and upper and lower chambers is 26.2 sq. m, and the total capacity 47.45 cu. m. A rectangular coffin pit was sunk in a bench in the floor of the lower chamber. The bench measures 2.6 by 1.5 m and is 0.1 m in height, while the pit measured 2.45 by 0.85 meters and had a depth of 0.55 meters. It was roofed over with three stone slabs, but was found open and empty.

Inscribed on the shoulder of the translucent diorite bowl found by Reisner in Khnumenti’s burial chamber (pl. 101b; fig. 94a) was a single horizontal line of inscription: *nswt bity z3 R^c Tti nḥ dt*, “the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Son of Re, Teti, living forever.” The bowl is now in Boston.

From debris in the the sloping passage came a number of carved limestone food cases (pls. 99a–101a). The cases consist of two parts, a lower case or receptacle and a fitting upper case or cover. The edges of the cases lack a rebate or groove and the upper case lay edge to edge on the lower cases with no evidence of fastening. Presumably they would have been tied together with cloth strips or string. The cases were originally painted yellow inside and out. In form the food cases represent pieces of meat, including ribs and the upper joint of the leg

¹²² See Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 156, 165, 176.

¹²³ The scribe has inadvertently placed the preposition *m* between *mdh* and *qd*, instead of at the head of the prepositional phrase *m prwy*. For the restoration at the beginning of the line, see above, p. 18.

¹²⁴ For this arrangement, see p. 18 above.

¹²⁵ See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” pp. 138–39. Certain of Reisner’s measurements for shaft G 2374 A are manifestly incorrect. The measurements given here are based on the scale drawing in fig. 92b and are only approximate.

¹²⁶ Cf. *GN* 1, p. 153 (1).

¹²⁷ *GN* 1, pp. 89, 101, 153 (14).

of an ox, trussed birds of varying sizes, and round cakes, in addition to an ovoid case which could represent either a cake or a piece of meat. Virtually identical food cases were found in a second burial chamber of the Senedjemib Complex, G 2381 z. The hollows of the cases were large enough to have contained food offerings, and evidence from G 2381 z, consisting of seventeen lots of animal and bird bones, suggest that they originally did.¹²⁸

In addition to the bowl and the food cases, a number of miscellaneous items were found in the debris in the sloping shaft of G 2385 A. Without stating his reasons, Reisner felt that a fragmentary wig from a statue, two alabaster boring cores, blue glazed faience cylinder beads found together with one blue glass(?) bead, and a wooden finger with plaster on the end were intrusive. He considered the wooden finger to be a Ptolemaic amulet.¹²⁹

REGISTER OF OBJECTS—G 2374 AND G 2385 A

For stone vessel types, see *GN* 2, pp. 90–102.

G 2374, in upper debris

12–11–33 Fig. headrest, alab. l. 7.5 cm (pl. 101c; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. A 994 1/4

G 2374, in Room II

35–10–32 Two blocks with relief decoration. (pl. 96a). Exp. Ph. A 6024

G 2374 A, built into rear wall

13–1–566 Two adjoining fragments of relief showing two registers of butchers at work, the fragmentary figure of a singer, and above a half-register of food and drink offerings. The carving is of much better quality than that visible in G 2374, and the relief presumably derives from another, earlier mastaba in the vicinity. (pl. 97a). MFA 13.3101. Exp. Ph. C 3370

G 2385 A, in debris in sloping shaft

- 12–12–46 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, head of goose bruised, l. 35.5, w. 24 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 2/4. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.6.2A, by exchange; fits 12–12–56(?). Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119, fig. 73
- 12–12–47 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in three pieces, l. 39, w. 24.5 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 2/3. MFA 13.3478
- 12–12–48 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in three pieces, l. 39, w. 25 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 2/2. MFA 13.3479
- 12–12–49 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in three pieces, l. 38, w. 26.5 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 2/1
- 12–12–50 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in four pieces, l. 28, w. 19 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 1/4. MFA 13.3481
- 12–12–51 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in six pieces, l. 32, w. 21.8 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 1/3. MFA 13.3482, fits 12–12–55(?)
- 12–12–52 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in five pieces, not complete, l. 23, w. 15 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 1/2
- 12–12–53 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, l. 27, w. 18 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 1/

1. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.6.4A, by exchange; fits 12–12–57(?); Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119, fig. 73
- 12–12–54 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in two pieces, quarter missing, l. 32, w. 21 cm. (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 3/3
- 12–12–55 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in seven pieces, l. 31, w. 22 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 3/2. MFA 13.3485, fits 12–12–51(?)
- 12–12–56 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in four pieces, l. 34.5, w. 23.5 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 3/1. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.6.2B, by exchange; fits 12–12–46(?); Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119, fig. 73
- 12–12–57 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in two pieces, l. 26.5, w. 16.5 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 2/3. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.6.4B, by exchange; fits 12–12–53(?); Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119, fig. 73
- 12–12–58 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in two pieces, l. 38, w. 26.5 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 2/2. MFA 13.3487
- 12–12–59 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in six pieces, incomplete, l. 31.5, w. 22.5 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 2/1
- 12–12–60 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in four pieces, incomplete, l. 25.7, w. 18 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 1/3
- 12–12–61 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in two pieces, incomplete, w. 15.5, orig. 17 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 1/2
- 12–12–62 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in three pieces, incomplete, l. 27.3 cm, orig. 17 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 1/1. Fits 12–12–60
- 12–12–63 Lower part of offering case for round cake, lst., yellow wash inside and out, very shallow hollow, five pieces, incomplete, h. 3, diam. 28.8 cm (pl. 100a). Exp. Ph. B 1676 1/3. MFA 13.3489, may belong to 12–12–65
- 12–12–64 Lower part of offering case for round cake, lst., yellow wash inside and out, shallow hollow, four pieces, incomplete, h. 3.5, diam. 28.5 cm (pl. 100a). Exp. Ph. B 1676 1/3. MFA 13.3490, fits 12–12–66
- 12–12–65 Upper part of offering case for round cake, lst., yellow wash inside and out, shallow hollow, four pieces, h. 4, diam. 28.8 cm (pl. 100a). Exp. Ph. B 1676 1/2. MFA 13.3491, may belong to 12–12–63
- 12–12–66 Upper part of offering case for round cake, lst., yellow wash inside and out, shallow hollow, three pieces, half missing, h. 6, diam. 28.5 cm (pl. 100a). Exp. Ph. B 1676 1/1. MFA 13.4306, fits 12–12–64
- 12–12–67 Offering case for ovoid cake(?), lst., yellow wash inside and out, consisting of two parts which appear to fit: (a) three pieces, incomplete; (b) two pieces, incomplete, l. 32, w. 24, h. 11 (5 + 6) cm (pl. 100a). Exp. Ph. B 1676 2/3. MFA 13.3475 a–b
- 12–12–68 Offering case for ovoid cake(?), lst., yellow wash inside and out, consisting of two parts which appear to fit, l. 31, w. 23.5, h. 11.25 (5.25 + 6) cm (pl. 100a). Exp. Ph. B 1676 2/1 and 2/2. MFA 13.3476 a–b
- 12–12–69 Upper part of offering case for ribs, lst., yellow wash inside and out, three pieces, l. 55, w. 24–27, th. 3 cm (pl. 100b). Exp. Ph. B 1677 2/2. MFA 13.4324, probably belongs to 12–12–71
- 12–12–70 Upper part of offering case for ribs, lst., yellow wash inside and out, eight pieces, incomplete, l. 57, w. 28, th. 4 cm (pl. 100b). Exp. Ph. B 1677 2/1. MFA 13.4325, probably belongs to 12–12–72
- 12–12–71 Lower part of offering case for ribs, lst., yellow wash inside and out, eleven pieces, l. 56, w. 24.3–26.5, th. 5 cm (pl. 100b). Exp. Ph. B 1677 1/2. MFA 13.4326, probably belongs to 12–12–69
- 12–12–72 Lower part of offering case for ribs, lst., yellow wash inside and out, four pieces, incomplete, l. 34+, w. 27.7 cm (pl. 100b). Exp. Ph. B 1677 1/1. MFA 13.4327, probably belongs to 12–12–70
- 12–12–73 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, eight pieces, l. 55, w. 23.5, h. 10.5 cm (pl. 100c). Exp. Ph. B 1678 3/2. MFA 13.4307, fits 12–12–79
- 12–12–74 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, three pieces, incomplete, l. 50+, w. 24, h. 13 cm (pl. 100c). Exp. Ph. B

¹²⁸ See Reisner, "A History of the Giza Necropolis," Vol. 1, Pt. 2, pp. 619–22; Brovarski, in *Mummies and Magic*, cat. no. 26.

¹²⁹ "Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," p. 139.

- 1678 3/1. Ex-MFA 13. 4308. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.6.5A, by exchange, fits 12–12–75; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119, fig. 73
- 12–12–75 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, three pieces, l. 55, w. 22.5, h. 10 cm (pl. 100c). Exp. Ph. B 1678 2/2. Ex-MFA 13. 4309. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.6.5B, by exchange, fits 12–12–74; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119, fig. 73
- 12–12–76 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, five pieces, l. 55, w. 25, h. 10 cm (pl. 100c). Exp. Ph. B 1678 2/1. MFA 13. 4310, probably belongs to 12–12–80
- 12–12–77 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, two pieces, l. 49, w. 29, h. 10 cm (pl. 100c). Exp. Ph. B 1678 1/2. Cairo(?)
- 12–12–78 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, two pieces, l. 50, w. 28.5, h. 11.5 cm (pl. 100c). Exp. Ph. B 1678 1/1. Cairo
- 12–12–79 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, l. 56, w. 25, h. 9 cm (pl. 101a). Exp. Ph. B 1679 2/2. MFA 13.4311, fits 12–12–73
- 12–12–80 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, l. 55, w. 23.5, h. 11 cm. (pl. 101a). Exp. Ph. B 1678 2/1. MFA 13.4312, probably belongs to 12–12–76
- 12–12–81 Offering case for shoulder piece or thigh of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, incomplete, l. 27, w. end, l. end 10.5 cm. (pl. 101a). Exp. Ph. B 1679 1/3
- 12–12–82 Offering case for shoulder piece or thigh of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, three pieces, incomplete, l. 41+, w. 18+, h. 5.5 cm (pl. 101a). Exp. Ph. B 1679 1/2
- 12–12–83 Offering case for shoulder piece or thigh of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, three pieces, incomplete, l. 23+, w. 29.25, h. 5.5 cm (pl. 101a). Exp. Ph. B 1679 1/1
- Also a lot of small fragments that could not readily be fitted onto the above cases.
- G 2385 A
- 12–12–85 Frg. from wig of statuette, wood, l. 6.5 cm (pl. 101e; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. A 992 2/1
- 12–12–86 Core(?), alab., l. 5.4, diam. above 2.5, diam. below 2 cm (pl. 101i; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/7
- 12–12–87 Core(?), alab., l. 4.2 cm (pl. 101i; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/9
- 12–12–88 Flint blade, l. 7.5 cm (fig. 94a). Not photographed
- G 2385 A, in debris
- 12–12–97 Model block headrest(?) with concave top, lst., l. 7.9, h. 7.0 cm (pl. 101i; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/10
- 12–12–105 Finger, wood, with plaster on end, apparently not from a statue, l. 14.7, w. 1.3 cm (pl. 101f; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. A 992 3/2
- 12–12–106 Hanging left arm and hand of standing statue, wood, poor condition, l. 20 cm (pl. 101d; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. A 992 3/3
- 12–12–107 Dummy shoulder jar, alab., bored and rubbed, rough work, piece missing from rim, h. 8, diam. 4.8 cm, type OK XV a (pl. 101g; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. A 996 1/2
- 12–12–108 Rough offering saucer, bored and rubbed, alab., diam. 7.4 cm, type OK IXa (pl. 101g; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. A 996 3/2. Object in Boston
- 12–12–109 Small bowl with flat bottom and recurved rim, diorite, on the right side, just under the shoulder, *nswt bity z3 R^c Tti* is incised in fine, small hieroglyphs, diam. 9.3, h. 4.2 cm, type OK XI b. (pl. 101b; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. C 4464. MFA 13.3141. *GN* 1, p. 101, fig. 147, pl. 45c
- 12–12–110 Quantity of crumpled gold foil frgs., very thin. Object in Boston. Not illustrated or photographed
- 12–12–111 Fifteen cylinder beads, mostly broken, faience; one blue cylinder bead, glass(?); one large shell, l. 13.8 cm (pl. 101h). Exp. Ph. A 991 1/9
2. *imy-ib nswt* “favorite of the king”
3. *imy-ib nswt m kst.f nbt* “favorite of the king in all works of his”
4. *imy-r3 w^cbty* “overseer of the two workshops”
5. *imy-r3 prwy-nwb* “overseer of the two houses of gold”
6. *imy-r3 prwy-hd* “overseer of the two treasuries”
7. *imy-r3 hwt-wrt 6* “overseer of the six great (law) courts”
8. *imy-r3 zšw^c n nswt* “overseer of scribes of royal records”
9. *imy-r3 šnwt* “overseer of the two granaries”
10. *imy-r3 kst nbt* “overseer of all works”
11. *imy-r3 kst nb(t) nt nswt* “overseer of all works of the king”
12. *iry-p^ct* “hereditary prince”
13. *mry nb.f m tšwy.f* “beloved of his lord in both his lands”
14. *mdw rhyt* “staff of the people”
15. *mdh qd nswt m prwy,* “royal master builder in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt)”
16. *hsty-^c* “count”
17. *hry-ššt n wdt-mdw nb(t) nt nswt* “master of secrets of every command of the king”
18. *hry-ššt n nswt* “master of secrets of the king”
19. *hry-tp nswt* “royal chamberlain”
20. *smr w^cty* “sole friend”
21. ¹s¹[*hd hmw ntr*] “in[s]pector of priests] of the pyramid
Dd-sw^ct-z3-R^c-Tti,
“Enduring are the places of the Son of Re Teti”
22. *tšyty z3b tšty,* “chief justice and vizier”

Titles No. 1 and 14 are commonly paired in Old Kingdom titularies. Helck suggests an implied contrast between the lapwing and *knmt-bird* as folk designations.¹³⁰

With the reign of Teti, all viziers bear title No. 21, *šhd hmw-ntr Dd-sw^ct-z3-R^c-Tti*.¹³¹ Khnumenti is no exception. *šhd hmw-ntr* was the highest available grade in the priestly hierarchy at the later Old Kingdom pyramid temples.¹³² Priesthoods of this type first appear in vizierial titularies in the reign of Unis.¹³³ Akhethetep, who served as vizier in the early reign of Unis, was *šhd hmw-ntr* of the pyramids of Neuserre, Menkauhor, and Izezi, and evidently the first vizier to hold the newer type of priesthood,¹³⁴ but it is interesting to note that his

TITLES OF KHNUMENTI (IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

1. *iwn knmt* “pillar of the *knmt*-folk”

¹³⁰ Helck, *Beamtenitel*, p. 74, n. 54.

¹³¹ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 317.

¹³² Brovarski, *LÄ* 6 (1985), col. 393.

¹³³ See above, p. 85.

¹³⁴ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 317.

younger contemporary Senedjemib Mehi lacks any such title (below, p. 158).

In Khnumenti's title, the figure of a squatting female offering bearer is appended as a determinative to the name of the pyramid. Wilke collected and discussed a number of such examples, the oldest of which involved the pyramid of Sahure, and furthermore argued that the royal pyramid was conceived as a female divinity in its own right.¹³⁵ Subsequently, Gardiner confirmed Wilke's contention.¹³⁶

Unis was the first king to place *z3 R^c* before his personal name in a cartouche, a custom that was followed by his successors, including Teti, as is evident from the present title.¹³⁷

DEPENDENTS OF KHNUMENTI

The figures of three offering bearers surviving on the west wall of the anteroom to the south of the doorway to the vestibule are identified

by name and title. All three are entitled *hm-k3*, "funerary priest," and their names are as follows.

1. *Mn-Ihy* (*PN* I, p. 150, 4, "es bleibt *ihjj*"). Although the name is poorly attested, an official with this name and the title *zš pr-mḏst ntr pr-3* is known.¹³⁸ If Harpur's date for the latter is correct, he could conceivably be our individual.¹³⁹ In the absence of a title other than *hm-k3* in G 2374, certainty is lacking, however.

2. [*K*]i? (*PN* I, p. 341, 15 and 16). Although *H3i* (*PN* I, p. 262, 3; 2, p. 380) cannot be entirely excluded from consideration, taking the available space into account, the more likely restoration appears to be *K3i*, written either with the basket with handle or the embracing arms. *K3i*, moreover, is by far the more common name.

3. *Sndm* (*PN* I, p. 316, 20). The name is not especially common.¹⁴⁰ A like-named *zš c nswt hft-hr* seemingly appears in the tomb of Inti.¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ *ZÄS* 70 (1934), pp. 56–83.

¹³⁶ *JEA* 41 (1955), p. 121.

¹³⁷ See Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, p. 32.

¹³⁸ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 378.

¹³⁹ *Decoration*, p. 276 (*Sibw: Ibbi*).

¹⁴⁰ See also *PM* 3², pp. 546, 548.

¹⁴¹ See p. 87 (20) above.

CHAPTER 8: ANONYMOUS TOMBS G 2376–77

THE SUB-COMPLEX of Senedjemib Mehi stood on the east of G 2375.¹ The nucleus was G 2378 on the north edge of the great court of the main complex and facing the court. As previously noted, this nucleus was built soon after G 2370 and before G 2374. At that time G 2375 was already in place with its open court and probably with its subsidiary mastaba or mastabas built in the court.² The south wall of G 2378 was continued westwards to form the north side of the court of the Senedjemib Complex (pl. 103b; figs. 2, 3). The massive masonry (w masonry) of this wall actually continued 1.5 m to the east face of G 2374, where it continued for about half a meter, before changing to small blocks (u-masonry). The irregular joint between the two kinds of masonry was concealed from view by G 2374 (pl. 103b). The southwest corner of G 2378 is not indicated by a joint in the massive masonry, but west of the corner the wall is dressed to a slope which marks the face of the west wall of G 2378 which lies behind the masonry. The south wall of G 2378 was thus built for about 2.0 m west of the southwest corner of the mastaba. This wall was continued westwards with small masonry to a jut, 2.7 m from the east face of G 2374 (c. 2.2 m from the end of the massive masonry); this point is a little east of the west wall of G 2377 but has no relation to that mastaba. The jut in the masonry appears to represent the southeast corner of the court of G 2375 at 9.2 m east of the southeast corner of G 2375. This long composite east–west wall, extending from the southwest corner of G 2378 (marked by a difference in the dressing of the south face of the masonry) to the southeast corner of G 2375, was that against which the mastaba G 2374 was built (pl. 94a). On the north side, the composite wall was strengthened first by masonry facing north, which entailed a widening of the south wall of the open court of G 2375, and finally with a thick wall of mud brick (pl. 104a). The doorway in the eastern boundary wall of G 2375, which provided access to its court, was presumably still open at this point. At the same time or somewhat later a similar mud brick casing wall was built along the west wall of G 2378 before the construction of G 2377 and was cut by the northern stone retaining wall of G 2377 (figs. 2, 3). Reisner remarked that the addition of the mud brick walls was a most unusual procedure, but he had no ready explanation for their construction.³ Then G 2377 and 2376 were built as successive additions to G 2378 and were themselves cased in mud brick.⁴ They

contained only one burial shaft each and neither had chapels of their own. Reisner assumed the services were held in the chapel of G 2378.

G 2376

G 2376 was built against the west side of G 2377 and was of the same length (pl. 102a, 104a).⁵ It was bounded on the south by the east–west stone wall that forms the north boundary of G 2374. On the north and west the retaining wall was built of small blocks of gray nummulitic masonry set in low courses to form a rough sloping surface (u-masonry) with a mud brick backing or casing on the west. The casing was continuous along the north side of G 2376 and 2377. The mastaba measured 7.65 by 7.35 m, and the area was 28.68 sq. m. It was preserved to a height of 3.20 m.

There was only one shaft, A, in the center of the mastaba (figs. 2, 3, 95a). It measured 1.17 by 1.04 m and was cut 15.8 m into the rock. Above it was lined with mud brick for 1.2 m and with masonry for 2.9 m. The total height of the lining was thus 4.1 m. The shaft was of type 6 a (2) with a long chamber parallel to the west side, opening flush with one end of the chamber. The chamber measured 2.6 by 1.2 m with a height of 1.65 m. The area was 3.02 sq. m. and the capacity 4.9 cu. m. It was found open and empty.

G 2377

G 2377 was built against the west wall of G 2378 with G 2376 built against its own west wall (pl. 103b). With a retaining wall of u-masonry on the north and west, the superstructure covered the mud brick casing on the west wall of G 2378 and that along the north boundary wall of the court and G 2374.⁶ The mastaba measured 7.15 by 5.15 m, and the preserved height was 2.66 m. Its area was 36.73 sq. m. Along the north wall, the mud brick casing of G 2376 was continued to the west face of G 2378.

Once again there was only one shaft, A, just north of the center of the mastaba (figs. 2, 3, 95b). It measured 1.5 by 1.51 m and was cut 4.33 m into the bedrock. Above, it was lined with mud brick to a height of 1.0 m and with five courses of masonry above that to a height of 1.85, the total lining being 2.85 m in height. Also of type 6 a (2), the shaft again had a long chamber parallel to its west side. The dimensions of the chamber were 2.5 by 1.0 m with a height of 1.38 m. The area is 2.5 sq. m. and the capacity 3.45 cu. m. The shaft was found open. The body of an adult female with the skin well preserved was found lying extended on its back, head toward the north, arms by its sides, and with the bones of the legs badly broken. The body rested on debris consisting of rubbish and large stones that filled two-thirds of the chamber (pl. 102b) and, for this reason, Reisner thought it might be intrusive.⁷ In the debris of the chamber were found six small model vessels from an “Opening of the Mouth” set (pl. 102c).

REGISTER OF OBJECTS—G 2377 A

For stone vessel types, see *GN* 2, pp. 90–102.

¹ For what follows, see Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” pp. 143, 145.

² See p. 2 above.

³ “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 143.

⁴ *Giza Diary 1912–1913*, pp. 56–57.

⁵ See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 143.

⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 144.

⁷ See Tomb Card G 2377 A.

THE SENEDJEMIB COMPLEX, PART I

- 13-1-516 Model bowl with spreading sides and plain rim, slate, h. 2.8 cm, type OK Xb (pl. 102c, 1/2). Exp. Ph. c 3351 1/2
- 13-1-517 Model bowl with spreading sides and plain rim, slate, h. 2.8 cm, type OK Xb (pl. 102c, 2/4). Exp. Ph. c 3351 2/4
- 13-1-518 Model ovoid jar with flaring neck and flat base, slate, h. 5.5 cm, type OK XVc (pl. 102c, 2/3). Exp. Ph. c 3351 2/3
- 13-1-519 Model ovoid jar with flaring neck and flat base, quartzite, h. 5.3 cm, type OK XV c (pl. 102c, 2/2). Exp. Ph. c 3351 2/2
- 13-1-520 Model bowl with spreading sides and plain rim, quartzite, h. 2.7 cm, type OK Xb (pl. 102c, 2/1). Exp. Ph. c 3351 2/1
- 13-1-521 Model bowl with spreading sides and plain rim, hard grey stone, h. 2.2 cm, type OK Xb (pl. 102c, 1/1). Exp. Ph. c 3351 1/1

CHAPTER 9: SENEDJEMIB MEHI – G 2378

G²³⁷⁸, THE MASTABA OF Senedjemib Mehi, eldest son of Senedjemib Inti, sits on an independent site on the north side of the paved court of G 2370 (pls. 103a, b; figs. 2, 3, 95c).¹ According to Reisner G 2378 was built soon after G 2370 and before G 2374. At that time G 2375 was in place with its open court facing west. G 2378 was built over the eastern end of the court of G 2375. Moreover, its northern part overlay older constructions of mud brick represented by a series of rooms (pl. 104b).² The mastaba received two additions on the west, G 2376 and G 2377. It was excavated by the Harvard–Boston Expedition in December, 1912.

G 2378 has a retaining wall or casing of different types of masonry and therefore belongs to Reisner's type VIII a(2) or (3). The chapel is of the multiple room type (7), and consists of a pillared portico (Room I) and two interior rooms. Room II is an east–west corridor or anteroom, south of and parallel to the east–west offering room (Room III). It has a slot with a serdab behind its west wall.

The mastaba measures 23 x 12 m and has an area of 276 sq. m. The proportion of the length of the mastaba to the width is 1/1.92. The total floor area is 34.86 sq. m; the relation of the floor area of the chapel to the area of the mastaba is 1/7.91.³

PORTICO

The embrasure of the portico is nearly in the middle of the south facade of the mastaba, 2.75 m from the southwest corner and 3.1 m from the southeast corner (pl. 103a). The portico measures 1.8 x 5.9 m and has a total area of 10.06 sq. m. It was roofed with north–south slabs. The architrave was presumably supported by two columns on the pattern of G 2370.⁴ Except for a central pathway, however, the pavement of the portico had been torn up, and no traces of column bases were actually found (fig. 3). The bases, column shafts, and abacus which support the roof of the portico at present are modern creations made of concrete. On the other hand, the cavetto-and-torus cornice is ancient.⁵

Architrave

The architrave that spanned the embrasure of the portico originally comprised three discrete pieces, one of which when found was broken in two (pl. 105a–c). It has been restored to its original position. It bears the following inscription between incised border lines: *iry-pꜣt ḥsty-ꜣ mꜣꜣ imy-rꜣ kꜣt nbt nt nswt ḥry sꜣꜣ n wꜣt-mdw nb(t) nt nswt imy-ib n nswt m st.f nb(t) imꜣḥ[w ḥr] nswt bity Wnꜣs nb imꜣḥ ḥr nꜣr-ꜣ Sndm-[ib]*, “the hereditary prince and true count, overseer of all works of the king, master of secrets of every command of the king, favorite of the king wherever he is, one honor[ed by] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Unis, and a possessor of honor with the great god, Senedjem[ib].”

West Wall

The upper part of the scene on the left (west) wall of the portico was divided in two by a long column of inscription which furnished the caption to the scene (pl. 106a; fig. 97). In the broader area to the right of the column Mehi and a smaller figure, most likely that of a son, stood facing outwards (left), as if welcoming the marsh dwellers and offering bearers who approached them from its opposite side. At the time this wall was copied by Lepsius, the large block with the upper portion of Mehi's figure and the smaller figures of the marsh dwellers and bearers before him was displaced, and thus not included in his drawing (fig. 96).⁶ It has been restored modernly to its original position. Mehi wears a short wig, a neat chin beard, and a short kilt with flaring front. He carries a long walking stick with knobbed end up in his right hand in front and a folded handkerchief in his left hand hanging behind. Over his short wig he wore a diadem with a double flower-knot. The details are not entirely clear, but the short end of the bow is turned down towards the ear, while a long streamer hangs down over the shoulder. In reality, there would probably have been a pair of flower-knots on either side of the head, each with a long and short streamer.⁷ This type of diadem is derived from the floral fillet worn by boatmen and is common to both men and women who wear it when engaged in a variety of outdoor activities.⁸ Traces indicate that a beaded collar formed part of his attire. The middle part of Mehi's figure is destroyed, and the smaller figure of the son badly damaged. Lepsius shows the son with head turned back towards his father and holding up an ill-defined object with his right hand in front, whereas traces visible today indicate that he, in fact, had both arms hanging at his sides. The object he supposedly held was probably in actuality the hieroglyph of the papyrus thicket at the bottom of the long column of hieroglyphs, which served as the determinative of [*Tꜣ-m*]ḥw, “[Lower E]gypt.” Lepsius's artist evidently misinterpreted traces of other signs above as the upper part of the object. Over Mehi's head and extending into the space before his face is an inscription which, on the basis of a parallel on the opposite

¹ See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” pp. 145–47.

² *Giza Diary* 1912–1913, p. 56. The walls showed a yellowish-white plaster. The rooms were filled with stones, and there was no pit. The ends of a series of older, small, poor mastabas were also to be seen in the excavation to the north of G 2376–77 (pl. 102a). Reisner assigned them the number G 2461.

³ Cf. *GN I*, pp. 266–67.

⁴ See above, p. 12.

⁵ See above, p. 13.

⁶ *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. 11 [lower].

⁷ In a few instances, where they rest on box lids or table tops, diadems are shown with a pair of double flower-knots on opposite sides of the circlet, either with or without long streamers; e.g., Junker, *Giza* 5, fig. 9; Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, pl. 28. In addition to two pairs of knots with a long and short streamer each, a diadem in the tomb of Mereruka has a third double flower-knot without streamers which presumably was positioned over the forehead; *Mereruka* 1, pls. 29–30.

⁸ Kern, *AcOr* 24, nos. 3–4 (1959), pp. 161–88; Dunham, *BMFA* 44 (1946), pp. 23–29.

side wall, is probably to be restored as follows: *h3ty-ε msε Sndm-ib [rn.f ε] Mh[i] rn.f nfr*, “the true count [whose great name is] Senedjemib, and whose good name is Meh[i].” This was undoubtedly preceded by other titles and epithets inscribed in columns, but the latter are now lost along with the upper portions of the wall.

Part of the caption to the scene appears on the restored block in front of Mehi’s face. With the aid of the presumably identical text on the opposite wall, it can be restored with some confidence as follows: *[m3ε kst sht] ht nb(t) nfrt innt m phww [m sht.f niwwt.f hwwt.f nt] T3-mhw* [Šm’w], “[Inspecting the work of the countryside] and every good thing which is brought from the hinterlands,⁹ [from his countryside, his villages, and his estates of] ‘Lower Egypt’ [and Upper Egypt].”¹⁰

On the same wide block of stone as Mehi’s head and shoulders are preserved one complete register and portions of two others which contained the figures of marsh dwellers. A block is missing from the middle section of the wall below, and the rest has sustained serious damage, but the damaged and missing sections certainly bore the lower parts of the figures at the bottom of the wide block and very probably an additional register of marsh dwellers. That two more marsh dwellers stood on the same ground line as Mehi and his son is indicated by clear traces. Evidence thus survives for at least five registers of marsh dwellers.

It is clear that certain of the marsh dwellers proceeded on foot, while others traveled in papyrus skiffs, and it is tempting to restore alternating registers of marsh dwellers so engaged. Support for this arrangement seems to come from the mastaba of Mehi’s younger contemporary Seshemnofer IV, the decorative scheme of whose portico appears to closely parallel that of Mehi.¹¹ Although two blocks alone survive from Seshemnofer’s portico, one from its west and the other from its east side wall, one of these preserves parts of three contiguous registers with marsh dwellers in boats in the top and bottom registers and others on foot in the middle register.¹²

It is not certain whether five or six registers of marsh dwellers were originally depicted on the west wall of the portico of G 2378. The present height of the reconstructed portico of G 2378 does not appear to allow for a sixth register. On the other hand, it is not clear on what grounds the modern reconstruction was made, since the walls of the portico were not preserved to their full height. The restoration of a sixth register would allow ample room for Mehi’s titles and would be more in keeping with the scale of the portico of G 2370, inasmuch as the height of the restored wall from the pavement line to the top of the decorated area in G 2378 would then be in the neighborhood of 4.66 m (fig. 98), and the corresponding part of the north wall of the portico of G 2370 apparently measured originally something like 4.70 m.¹³

⁹ *Phww. Wb.* 1, p. 538, 8–9; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* 2, p. 26; 4, p. 79 (“backland”); Caminos, *L.-Eg. Misc.*, p. 80 (“hinterlands”). For the distinction between the open country or alluvial flats and the waterlogged backswamps, see Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization*, pp. 15–20 and passim.

¹⁰ Compare the legends assembled by Montet, *Scènes*, p. 4.

¹¹ See above, p. 14.




¹² Junker, *Giza* II, figs. 61 and 62.

¹³ See p. 13 above.

The upper part of the first partially preserved register of marsh dwellers on the restored block is missing, but the legs and feet of two men remain. Whatever the first offering bearer may have carried is destroyed. The second evidently held a bunch of flowers or vegetables in his left hand and a wickerwork frail suspended from a cord in his other hand. The register below is complete and shows two men in a papyrus boat. The first man proffers a goose which he holds by the neck and wings. The man behind bears down heavily on a pole thrust into the water to propel the skiff forward, his knees bending under the effort. The prow of the boat is bowed down under the weight of a large object, possibly a rush basket with a splayed bottom, but the stern curves sharply upwards. The first offering bearer in the next register holds a duck in the crook of his right arm, while his companion carries a calf. The lower parts of both figures are missing. The next register was carved on the missing block and is lost. As far as the lowermost register is concerned, only traces remain of two figures on foot bearing offerings. The first man held a bunch of flowers or vegetables in his hanging right hand. The two figures appear to be on the same scale as Mehi’s son. Boatmen and bearers alike appear to have been wigless. Scanty traces suggest they wore short, tight-fitting kilts.

Beneath Mehi’s feet two horizontal registers extend across the width of the wall (pl. 107). In the upper of the two registers, herdsmen in papyrus skiffs and their charges are seen crossing a stretch of water. The movement is again directed inwards and the episodes depicted here and in the lower register are linked to those on the wall above by their common locale. The prow and stern of the lead boat in the upper register bend upwards in a gentle curve. This boat has a crew of three who sit on their heels as they ply their egg-shaped paddles.¹⁴ Over their heads is a caption in a single horizontal line: *hn nty-hnε zfs* in *nniw*, “Row comrade, ‘go slowly’!,¹⁵ says¹⁶ the herdsman.” The next boat is different in form from the first in that both ends are bent up and backwards, but it also has a crew of three. The first man sits back on his heels and rows with a paddle. The second stands and faces backwards. This individual wears the headman’s mat kilt with an unfolded fringed part hanging down in front¹⁷ and extends his arm in the gesture of conjuration.¹⁸ The last man at the stern of the boat kneels and pulls a calf out of the water by its forelegs. The frightened animal looks back imploringly at its mother.¹⁹ The lower parts of the adult animals behind the boat are hidden in the water in which they swim.²⁰ The first two cattle are polled, while the last three have long, curved horns. In two horizontal lines above

¹⁴ See Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 55, for the distinction between paddles and oars.

¹⁵ On the verb *zfs*, “go slowly(?)” see p. 42, n. 81 above. The orthography here with the *aleph* in the initial position is presumably an instance of graphic metathesis, similar to the sporadic writings of  for , *mzh*, “crocodile” (*Wb.* 2, p. 136, 10–14; *Urk.* 1, p. 23, 12; *Rue de tomb.*, pl. 30; Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 164, 14), only in this case with a twofold metathesis like  for *msh* in James, *Hekanakhte*, p. 1, n. 3.

¹⁶ See above, p. 38, n. 14.

¹⁷ See above, p. 58.

¹⁸ See above, p. 38 and n. 12.

¹⁹ For the motif of the calf preceding a herd crossing the marshes, see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 110–13.

²⁰ Partially hidden figures in Old Kingdom relief are discussed by Smith, *HESP*, pp. 346, 347.

the heads of the swimming cattle is the headman's speech which, on the basis of a parallel on the south wall of Inti's portico, is probably to be restored: [*wsh š n ihw hsf*] *mt hsf mzh* [*š*] *n* [*mniw*], "[The channel has been prepared for the cattle.] 'When the crocodile is repulsed, then the dead man is repulsed!,' says the herdsman."²¹

In the lower register, boatmen return home with their produce after a day in the marshes.²² They propel their boats by means of long punting poles.²³ It seems from the traces that three boats were originally represented. The first is manned by three standing boatmen who wield their poles diligently. The first man leans forward, bending both knees, and applies the force of his arms to the pole whose top he grasps with both hands. His attitude is worth noting for his body is drawn in a near approximation to true profile—the far shoulder and arm disappear behind the near shoulder and arm, even though the far hand is shown.²⁴ On the prow at his feet is a large, two-handled splayed basket filled with some product of the marshes. The body of the next boatman is tipped back so that his face looks slightly upwards, one hand grasping the top of his pole and the other hand placed further down on its shaft. Except for the figure in the middle of the second boat, who holds a goose in both arms before him, and the man in the prow of the last boat, all the other boatmen assume a similar attitude. The boatman in the prow of the second boat, however, leans so far backwards as he applies his weight to the pole that it looks as though he is about to topple into the water. The figure of the man at the prow of the last boat is damaged, but may have been portrayed in the same attitude as the first boatman. At his feet also is a large, splayed basket.

Traces in both registers suggest that the boatmen wore the belt-sash tied in front with pendant loose ends, or possibly the belt-sash coupled with the round-edged kilt, as on the opposite wall, and their own hair close-cropped.

North Wall, west of entrance

On the rear wall of the portico to either side of the entrance to the interior chapel are scenes of Mehi spear fishing and fowling.

The scene on the left of the entrance is both incomplete and badly weathered at present (pl. 108a; fig. 101). It was already so in Lepsius's day (fig. 100).²⁵ Mehi stands in a papyrus boat spearing fish, his wife and son accompanying him, as attendants watch from a nearby bank. The boat curves upwards at the prow, more sharply upwards at the stern. Beneath the stern a large clump of swamp reed projects above the water.²⁶ Mehi's legs are widespread for balance. With both arms raised nearly symmetrically to the height of his shoulders, he holds either end of a fishing spear. Numerous parallels to the scene indicate that he was portrayed in the act of transfixing two large river fish; the back of one fish is still to be made out in the midst of the badly damaged papyrus thicket at the right.²⁷ His dress

consists of a shoulder-length wig and the semicircular kilt usual in fishing and fowling scenes, the trapezoidal front panel destroyed, but the overlapping folds, belt, and waist tie still evident.²⁸ Above his head are the remains of a horizontal line of large hieroglyphs which probably read: [... *Snd*] *m-ib m.f nfr*, "[Sened]em-ib, his good name."

On a separate ground line above the curving prow of the boat stands one of Mehi's sons. He is wigless, and it is clear from Lepsius's drawing that he was dressed in a short kilt with flaring front panel. He apparently held a spare harpoon, blunt end up, in his left hand before him. A short column of text probably occupied the space between his figure and the papyrus thicket at the right, but all that remains are a few damaged signs giving his name, which was better preserved in Lepsius's day: *Sndm-ib*, "Senedjemib."

Sitting with both legs tucked under her at her husband's feet is Mehi's wife. Before her face are traces of the signs that made up her name, [*Hnt*]-*ḥ ksw*.s, "[Khent]ḥkau's." It is clear from Lepsius's copy that she held a blue lotus to her nose with her left hand, while the other hand lay open in her lap. Except for the stem the lotus is now destroyed, and her hand and head mostly lost. She wore a short wig and over it a double flower-knot diadem with long streamers, which is better preserved in Lepsius's copy.

Behind Mehi three attendants stood on separate groundlines. The figure on the upper line is the most severely damaged of the three but, like his fellows, he was presumably wigless and wore a kilt with flaring front panel. Traces make it clear that he held something in his hanging right hand, possibly a bird. Even though his rear hand is destroyed, the foremost attendant on the lower groundline probably had both hands hanging empty at his sides, since the duck held by the second individual otherwise fills the space between the two. His title and name were inscribed in a column before him but all that remains is: *zš ḥ nswt n hff[-hr]*, "per[sonal] scribe of royal records." The last attendant also appears to have held something in his hanging right hand, perhaps a wickerwork frail, but the object itself is destroyed, even though the cord from which it hung can still be made out.

The stretch of water below the papyrus skiff teemed with aquatic life. The fish from left to right are: destroyed, destroyed, a catfish(?), destroyed, an eel, and an Oxyrhincus fish (*Mormyrus kannume*). Further to the right Lepsius saw a crocodile with mouth agape waiting to devour a newborn hippopotamus calf. The motif is a popular one in the Old Kingdom.²⁹ Only the line of the crocodile's back and the outline of the hippopotamus cow are still visible. From the angle of its body, the fish to the right is probably a puffer fish.³⁰

At the far right a man in a papyrus boat fishes with a handnet.³¹ A well preserved example of the handnet in the tomb of Kagemi consists of a pair of sticks crossed and lashed near the head end to form a V with a third stick placed crosswise to act as a spreader, while

²¹ See above, p. 38. There is room for the terminal clause *in mniw* after *mzh*, and part of the letter *n* may be visible in the appropriate place in the photograph.

²² See above, p. 124 and n. 106.

²³ See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 155–57, for the postures adopted by the boatmen.

²⁴ Compare *HESP*, pp. 309–11; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 152.

²⁵ *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xii [top].

²⁶ See above, p. 40 and n. 55.

²⁷ See above, p. 39.

²⁸ See above, p. 40, n. 43.

²⁹ See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 355–67 [feature 49].

³⁰ See p. 40, n. 51 above.

³¹ See Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, p. 254; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 24–26; Vandier, *Manuel 5*, pp. 541–47; Brewer–Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, pp. 38–40; van Elsbergen, *Fischerei*, pp. 40, 169 (612).

the projecting ends of the side were connected by a rope which formed one side of the mouth of the deep net that hung between the sticks.³² A few faint lines here indicate that the net was filled with small fry. As in the tomb of Kagemni, it is possible that another fisherman shared the boat, for other traces appear to show a fish caught on a line.³³

North Wall, East of Entrance

On the wall to the right of the entrance, Mehi was depicted with his wife, son, and attendants fowling in the marshes (pl. 109; fig. 101). The upper part of the wall was already destroyed in Lepsius's day (fig. 100), and what survives has undergone further deterioration.

The skiff is better preserved here than on the flanking wall. The stern is more elevated than the prow, and it is clearly fitted out with a wooden deck to protect Mehi and his wife from the water which would have seeped up through the bottom of such craft.³⁴ A clump of swamp weed again fills the space under the stern.

Mehi's figure is destroyed above the waist. He stood facing left and would undoubtedly have held a throwstick aloft in his rear hand and decoys in the other.³⁵ He apparently wore the same semicircular kilt with overlap and trapezoidal front panel as in the spear fishing scene on the other side of the entrance, but here the garment is even less well preserved. In contrast to the flanking scene, his wife sits at the front of the deck. She has both legs tucked under her and holds on to Mehi's front leg with her rear hand. Her figure is now nearly destroyed, but it is clear from Lepsius's drawing that she had fresh flowers stuck into her hair and sniffed a blue lotus held in her other hand.³⁶ Over her head was a short, horizontal line reading from right to left which contained her name: *Hnt-kw.s*, "Khentkaus." Except for faint traces, this is lost today.³⁷

Above the prow of the boat, a standing figure on a separate groundline faces the couple and holds a throwstick in his left hand. The figure is badly damaged and any identifying text lost, but probably represents one of the couple's sons, since a son of the owner oftentimes stands in the prow or stern of the boat in such scenes and holds a spare throwstick or two.³⁸ Here the son actually turns towards his father and holds the spare boomerang out to him.³⁹

On separate groundlines behind Mehi, Lepsius shows the damaged figures of four attendants two-by-two. All that remained of the

attendants in the upper row were their legs. The figure of the first man in the bottom row was better preserved and stood facing left with hands hanging at his sides. He was wigless and wore a kilt with flaring front. Part of the line of his back is all that is visible today. Before him was a short column of hieroglyphs which undoubtedly contained his title(s) and name; *nswt* was to be made out in 1842–43, but only a few traces of signs survive at present. The front part of the figure of the man behind was also preserved, as was the column of text before him, which can be restored with some confidence, since his figure appears elsewhere in Mehi's tomb: [*imy-r3*] *zšw* [*Hm*]-*šty*, "the overseer of scribes, [Hem]-akhti."⁴⁰ Here he wore a flaring kilt and probably had both hands at his sides like his fellow, even though the front arm and hand alone are preserved in the Lepsius drawing.

In the midst of the papyrus thicket in front of Mehi, a hippopotamus hunt is depicted (pl. 108b). Two harpooners and a boatman, on a smaller scale than Inti and his family, occupy a papyrus skiff. The attitude of the harpooners, whose figures partly overlap, was identical: legs spread wide for balance, rear hand raised ready to cast a harpoon, front hand lowered. As is also the case with certain of the punting poles on the east wall of the portico, the harpoons themselves were never carved. Neither were the lines that would have been attached to the harpoon points embedded beneath the skin of the animals, and only the first harpooner is shown with gathered retrieving lines in his front hand, whereas the other man's front hand is clenched but empty. Both harpooners wear the very short, rounded kilt with the loose ends of the belt-sash hanging down in front, but the figure of the second harpooner is damaged, so that it is impossible to know whether he too wore the kind of halter held up by a single strap that covers the upper body of the foremost man.⁴¹ The boatman in the stern raises one heel and leans on his pole to hold the craft steady for the harpooners. Once again his pole was not carved. The lower parts of the bodies of the two hippopotami which are the quarry of the harpooners are hidden in the water; all that projects above the surface are their gaping jaws.⁴²

The upper part of the thicket was already destroyed by Lepsius's day, and only one bird is seen at present nesting on a low lying papyrus umbel. A stalk at the left is bent down, presumably under the weight of a marauder, either an ichneumon or civet cat, who climbed towards the nests.⁴³ Part of its tail is still visible as a broken diagonal line.

East Wall

Although there is some variation in the subsidiary figures in the registers beneath Mehi's feet, the scene on the upper part of the east wall (pls. 110, 111; fig. 105) essentially duplicated that on the west wall. Once again Mehi and a son stood facing outwards towards marsh dwellers in superimposed registers before them. The figure of the son and those of the two marsh dwellers on the same ground line are badly damaged and only their legs remain. Traces of five other marsh dwellers appear on an isolated block high up on the wall (pl. 111).

⁴⁰ See below, pp. 146, 150.

⁴¹ Called by Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 56, a "baudrier" or "bretelle." For other examples, see *Ti* 3, pl. 155; *Two Craftsmen*, fig. 9.

⁴² For partially hidden figures in Egyptian art, see above, p. 134 and n. 20.

⁴³ See p. 40 above.

³² Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pls. 4 [2] and 29 [212]; Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, p. 254.

³³ *Teti Cem.* 2, pl. 53. On hook and line fishing in ancient Egypt, Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, p. 254; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 23–24; Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 533–41; and Brewer–Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, pp. 26–31, should be consulted.

³⁴ Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 229–30.

³⁵ See above, p. 39, n. 41.

³⁶ Kern, *AcOr* 24, nos. 3–4 (1959), p. 166, actually considers this the best example of the "flower-cap" fashionable for women during the late Fourth to Sixth Dynasties.

³⁷ If Lepsius is correct, the direction of the terminal letter *s* in the name was reversed. The letter *s* is one of a small number of signs that are sometimes reversed in Old Kingdom inscriptions, apparently because they lack a clearly defined front or rear side; see above, p. 53 and n. 237.

³⁸ E.g., *Deshasheh*, pl. 22 = Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasheh*, pl. 48; *Seven Chapels*, pl. 6; Taylor, *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum* 23 (1932), fig. on p. 11 (Ni-an-kh-nesut); *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 12; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 1.

³⁹ Traces suggest that in the parallel scene on the rear of the portico of G 2370 to the north of the entrance Mehi likewise held a boomerang up to his father; see above, p. 40.

In 1842–43 the bottom of the wall, as high up as Mehi's feet, alone remained in place (fig. 104).⁴⁴ Two fallen blocks also copied by Lepsius, the first with the upper part of Mehi's figure, the second the isolated block with the figures of the marsh dwellers, have subsequently been returned to the wall, albeit not quite to their original places. In fig. 105 these blocks have been restored approximately to their original positions. There is considerable damage to Mehi's figure, so it is not certain that his costume was identical in every respect to the portrayal on the opposite wall. Nonetheless, it is clear that he once again wore a double-flower knot diadem with streamer over a short wig and carried a walking stick knob-end up at a diagonal in his front hand. Above his head appears the identifying caption: *ḥty-ꜥ msꜥ Sndm-ib rn.fꜥ Mḥi rn.f nfr*, "The true count whose great name is Senedjemib and whose good name is Mehi."⁴⁵ Presumably here too, the space above would have been occupied by columns of text giving his titles and epithets. Before Mehi's face is part of the long column of text that served as a caption to the scene. Assuming that it was identical to the column on the west wall, it probably read: [*mꜥ kst sḥt ḥt nb(t) nfrt innt m phww m sḥt.f niwwt.f [ḥwwt.f nt Tꜥ-mḥw Šmꜥw]*], "[Inspecting the work of the countryside and every good thing] which is brought from the hinterlands, from his countryside, his villages, [and his estates of Lower and Upper Egypt]."

The isolated block at the top of the wall preserves most of one register and parts of two more. The traces remaining in the uppermost register are difficult to make out. From the posture of the first marsh dweller, it is likely that he knelt in and paddled a papyrus skiff. The figure of the second individual is only represented by a few surviving lines, but it is possible that he held up a goose by the neck and wings. The first marsh dweller in the middle register carries two papyrus stalks with his left hand, the arm bent at the elbow and fist closed on his chest, and a splayed basket in the hand hanging behind. The second man may have carried a small animal, since what appear to be a snout and ears(?) are to be made out at his right shoulder. Only the very top of the register below survives. It may similarly have contained two figures originally. All that is visible now is the top of the head and face of the marsh dweller at the right and part of the offering he carried.

The representations in the two broad registers underneath Mehi's feet are badly weather worn. Enough remains though to show that the composition in both registers differs in a number of particulars from that on the opposite wall. For example, the lead skiff in the upper register was evidently propelled by punters rather than by rowers as on the west wall. In the middle of this skiff are the legs and feet of a standing figure who may have held up an offering to Mehi in his destroyed right hand. The upper part of his figure and that of the boatman in the prow are destroyed, but a broken line suggests that his left arm hung behind. Both punters were clearly poised in a deep crouch. Presumably the man in the prow, like his fellow in the stern, held his punting pole across his chest with one hand close to his head and the other hand close to his hip. As is the case with the harpoons of the hippopotamus hunters on the north wall of the

portico to the east of the entrance, the punting poles here were apparently never carved. The figures in the second skiff are badly damaged, but there appear to have been only two occupants instead of the three as on the opposite wall. Traces suggest that the first man sat on his heels, and probably rowed with a paddle. The other individual clearly stood and faced backwards. He was almost certainly the headman making the gesture of conjuration, for his spell survives in the space over the head of the swimming cattle: *wšḥ š ihw ḥsf mt ḥsf mzh in mniw*, "The channel has been prepared for the cattle. 'When the crocodile is repulsed, then the dead man is repulsed!', says the herdsman." As on the opposite wall a group of polled and long-horned cattle swims behind the boat, but the figure of the crocodile is omitted. The calf at the rear of the file appears to be confused or distracted, for it faces in the wrong direction.

The attitudes of the boatmen in the lower register likewise differ from those in the corresponding register on the west wall. Although the figures are badly damaged, they were much better preserved in Lepsius's day (fig. 104). The first and second men in the first papyrus skiff were punters, their knees bent, the pole held close to the top and lower down, in the case of the first man at chest height and in that of the second man close to the hip. The man at the stern faced in the opposite direction and evidently pushed on the top of his pole to propel or direct the boat. The attitudes of the boatmen in the other two skiffs show little variation and, even then, mostly in regard to how they hold the poles or where they place their feet. Once again, the poles of the first three punters, and evidently also of the punter at the prow of the second skiff, were never carved, in contrast to the poles of the punters on the right side of the register. The man in the center of the second skiff held a goose or duck in both arms in front. The figure of the calf lying down between his wide-spread legs is now completely destroyed. In contrast to the west wall, Lepsius's artist shows the boatmen in this register dressed in the round-edged kilt with the belt-sash tied behind and the private parts exposed. The curious outline at the stern of the last boat was also seen and drawn by Lepsius. It appears to be the raised arm and back of the head of a boatman who has fallen overboard and is hauling himself out of the water. This detail and that of the calf above, neither of which are part of the standard repertoire of motifs, may represent a rare instance of an ancient artist inserting his own personality into the composition, perhaps in this instance even with comical intent.

ENTRANCE

Both the drum and the lintel over the entrance to the interior chapel were already missing when Lepsius cleared the mastaba.⁴⁶ Flanking scenes of Mehi and his eldest son Senedjemib decorated both entrance thicknesses.

Left (west) outer thickness

The left thickness (pl. 112a; fig. 107) was in a somewhat better state of preservation when drawn by Lepsius (fig. 106).⁴⁷ Mehi stands at the right facing outwards towards a smaller figure of a son. He holds

⁴⁴ LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xii [bottom].

⁴⁵ For the relationship between the *rn nfr* and the *rn ꜥ*, see e.g., Junker, *ZÄS* 63 (1928), pp. 59–64; *PN* 2, pp. 6–7; Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 117.

⁴⁶ LD, *Text* 1, p. 51.

⁴⁷ LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xiii [upper].

a walking stick knob-end up at a diagonal in his right hand in front and a folded handkerchief in his hanging left hand behind. Over a mid-calf kilt with a flaring front panel and waist tie, he wears a leopard skin. His right hand (seen from the front) holding the walking stick is correctly rendered but, as is apparent from Lepsius's sketch, the hand holding the handkerchief was a right hand (seen from the front) attached to the left shoulder.⁴⁸ Mehi's head has been destroyed, but it is likewise clear from Lepsius's sketch that his wig was a short one, probably worn together with a double-flower knot diadem and streamers (of which one had survived), a chin beard, and a beaded collar. Lepsius also shows bracelets on Mehi's hanging left arm which are no longer visible. The upper border of the leopard skin and the shoulder knot have likewise disappeared, but part of the ribbons dangling from the shoulder knot are still to be made out. There are also traces of the claws dangling from the leopard's paws. A seemingly odd feature is the leopard's head set on its side at waist level, but the same placement appears on the north entrance thickness of G 2370 and in a number of other instances both at Giza and Saqqara.⁴⁹ Before Mehi's face stood an inscription in four columns: (1) [... *imy-rs kst nb*] *nt nswt*, (2) [... *imy-ib n nswt*] *m st.f nb(t)*, (3) [...] *r^c nb*, (4) [... *hsty-c*] *ms^c M[hi] rn.f nfr*, "(1) [...] overseer of all works] of the king, (2) [...] favorite of the king] wherever he is, (3) [...] every day, (4) [...] the true [count] whose good name is Me[hi]."

Mehi's son stands respectfully in his father's presence with both hands hanging open at his sides. He is wigless and wears a short kilt with flaring front panel and waist tie. Over his head in four short lines stood the following inscription, which is still largely intact today: (1) *z.f smsw mry.f*, (2) *hry-tp nswt mdh qd nswt*, (3) *m pruy*, (4) *Sndm-ib*, (1) "His eldest son whom he loves, (2) the royal chamberlain and royal master builder (3) in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt), (4) Senedjemib."

Right (East) Outer Thickness

The right thickness (pl. 112b; figs. 108, 109) has sustained considerably more damage than the left thickness.⁵⁰ As on the flanking wall, Mehi stands facing a smaller figure of his son. He is dressed in a leopard skin worn over a flaring, calf-length kilt and holds a walking stick knob-end up at a diagonal in his left hand before him. In contrast to the flanking figure which has a short wig, he wears a shoulder-length wig and carries a scepter in his right hand instead of a handkerchief. Traces of a chin beard remain. Mehi faces right but, as on the left thickness, the artist experienced trouble in the rendering of the hands. He correctly placed a left hand (seen from the front) holding the walking stick on the left arm, but incorrectly showed the right hand, as though it were seen from the front instead of the back. In a figure facing right the scepter normally passes in front of the body, whereas in a figure facing left it usually passes behind the body.⁵¹ It is clear from Lepsius's sketch that in the present case the scepter passed behind the body, even though Mehi faces right. The outline of the leopard skin was better preserved in 1842–43, but Lepsius's

artist failed to draw or did not see the leopard's head located just above Mehi's waist.

Presumably as on the left thickness, an inscription of several short columns stood before Mehi's face, but it had already been destroyed before Lepsius visited Giza. The same is true of the identifying inscription in horizontal lines over the son of which only the name [*S*] *ndm-ib*, "[S]enedjemib," preserved. As on the left thickness, the son stands deferentially before his father with both hands hanging open at his sides. He is identically garbed in beaded collar and short kilt with flaring front panel and wears his own short hair.

ROOM II

Room II, the east–west anteroom south of and parallel to Room III, is entered from the south at the west end of the south wall. A doorway to Room III occupies the east end of the north wall. The room measures 1.85 x 5.2 m. The area is 9.62 sq. m and the proportion of the length of the room to the width is 1/0.36.

Just beyond the outer entrance thicknesses were two inner thicknesses. Neither has survived to its full height, but cut in the better preserved western wall were four horizontal notches (figs. 95c, 106; pl. 117c).⁵² Presumably the door pivot was also located on this side, so that the door swung back against this wall and the notches accommodated the battens at the rear of the door.⁵³ The same feature appears in a number of other tombs at Giza.⁵⁴ The eastern inner thickness appears to have been blank (fig. 108).

South wall, west of entrance

Mehi and his son Senedjemib stood at the right side of the wall facing left toward the entrance, viewing the presentation of animals in several registers before them (pl. 113; fig. 111).⁵⁵ A good deal more of this wall was preserved in Lepsius's time (fig. 110). Today only portions of the bottom two registers survive, and everything above the level of Mehi's waist is lost. Assuming there were originally six registers on this wall, as there clearly were on the adjacent west wall, then the first preserved register in Lepsius's plate would be the third.

Mehi wore a shoulder-length wig, chin beard, beaded collar, and short kilt with flaring front, belt, and waist tie. In his forward hand he held a walking stick at a diagonal, while in his hanging rear hand he has a handkerchief. The two outer beaded rows of his beaded collar appear to have been carved, although the individual beads were evidently not delineated.⁵⁶ In this instance, the artist has correctly reversed the hands according to convention. The titles and epithets in columns that presumably filled the space above Mehi's figure had disappeared by 1842–43, and only the end of the inscription in horizontal lines immediately above his head and before his face survived. The text is perhaps to be restored as follows: (1) *hsty-c* [*ms^c Sndm-ib rn.f*]

⁵² LD 1, pl. 23 (section g–h); LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xiii [upper right].

⁵³ LD, *Text* 1, p. 51.

⁵⁴ E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 45, 91–92.

⁵⁵ LD 2, pl. 74 [b]; head of deceased, LD 3, pl. 289 [9]; see *PM* 3², p. 88.

⁵⁶ In the detail of Mehi's head from this wall in LD 3, pl. 289 [9], the two outer beaded rows of the broad collar are not indicated, but such details are also omitted from the portraits of Iymery and Neferbaupth reproduced on the same plate.

⁴⁸ See *HESP*, pp. 274–75.

⁴⁹ See above, p. 41 and n. 98.

⁵⁰ LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xiii [lower].

⁵¹ *HESP*, pp. 274–75.

(2) *m.f nfr Mhi*, “(1) The [true] count [whose great name is Senedjemib], (2–3) and whose good name is Mehi.”

The smaller figure of the son has both hands at his sides and, although he is wigless, he is otherwise dressed in a fashion similar to his father. Over his head, in the space bordered by his father’s arm, walking stick, and kilt, was an identifying inscription, which is still largely intact: (1) [z3.f] *smsw mry.f*; (2) [*hry-tp*] *nswt³ mdh qd nswt m prwy*; (3) *Sndm-ib*, (1) “[His] eldest [son] whom he loves, (2) the ‘royal’ [chamberlain] and royal master builder in both houses, (3) Senedjemib.”⁵⁷

First Register. Destroyed.

Second Register. Destroyed.

Third Register. Three cranes were driven towards Mehi by a keeper. Their heads were already destroyed when Lepsius copied them, but they are readily recognizable by their long legs, the form of their bodies, and the drooping outline of their tail plumage.⁵⁸ As is generally the case in bird processions, their species were probably given in captions over their backs, just as the smaller birds are identified in the next register below.⁵⁹ All that was preserved of their keeper were his legs.

Fourth Register. Three birds faced Mehi. All three were of approximately the same size but were distinguished by short captions. Over the back of the first bird was written: *hs sr*, “a thousand greylag geese (*Anser anser*).”⁶⁰ Over the second bird was *hs trp*, “a thousand white-fronted geese (*Anser albifrons*).”⁶¹ Over the back of the third animal *hs hd*, “a thousand white geese” appeared.⁶²

Fifth Register. This register was occupied by three men struggling with an oryx. The figure of the man on the right, part of the individual directly in front of him, the better part of the caption behind them, and traces of the legs of the figure on the far left and of the oryx are all that survive today. From Lepsius’s drawing, it is clear that the oryx had all four feet firmly planted on the ground and was refusing to budge. The efforts of the men were of little avail. The two men at the right leaned forward to the left, weight shifted to the right foot placed flat on the ground, rear heel raised. The first man grasped the oryx’s horns just above its head with his right hand, while his other hand, which was hidden behind his companion’s body, probably held the animal’s snout. The man in front of him wrapped both arms around the oryx’s head and held on to his own right forearm with his left hand to gain purchase. The caption behind them read: *int rn ms-hd*, “bringing a young oryx.” The man on the far left faced right and

bent forward at the waist, both feet flat on the ground, and held onto the horns of the oryx midway up with both his hands. A short inscription behind him presumably represented his utterance: *wds-ib.k wrt*, “May it please you very much!”⁶³ All three men were wigless and wore the belt-sash with pendant ends.

A interesting feature of the caption to the scene is the partial reversal of signs. The component signs of the caption might reasonably be expected to maintain the same direction, but the reversed sickle in *rn ms-hd* is a clear indication that the second column faces a different direction (right) from the first, *rn ms-hd* in actuality being oriented in the same direction as the animal it refers to, even though it is not placed directly over it, whereas *int*, which designates the activity of the first two men, faces in the same direction as they (left).⁶⁴

Sixth Register. This register has further deteriorated since Lepsius’s day. Three men struggle with a second oryx. The first man on the right facing left holds the animal’s snout and, as may be seen from Lepsius’s copy, also held onto its horns. The next man leans forward to the right and probably placed both his hands on the animal’s neck to urge it in the right direction. The last man at the left leans backwards and most likely was shown pulling on a rope attached to one of the animal’s rear legs with his right hand, although the rope itself appears never to have been carved. Only a few traces remain of the caption written over the animal’s back: *int rn ms-hd*, “Bringing a young oryx.” Although only the head of the figure on the right was preserved, all the men probably had their own close-cropped natural hair and wore the belt-sash with loose ends hanging down in front.

West Wall

The west wall was the only one in Mehi’s tomb which appears to have been preserved to essentially its full height in 1842–43. Lepsius copied six registers, four dedicated to agricultural activities and two others occupied by offering bearers and butchers (fig. 112).⁶⁵ The sequence of events in the first four registers appears to be from top to bottom, the reaping of grain being shown in the first register, the loading of donkeys with sheaves in the second register, the return of the donkeys in the third register, and the threshing and winnowing of the grain in the fourth register. The agricultural activities represented on this wall were continued from the adjacent north wall, where scenes of land preparation and the flax harvest were shown. At present the first register and the top of the second register are missing and, while the blocks bearing the top of the second register and the left side of the second through fourth registers are still in place, their surfaces have almost entirely spalled away (pl. 114a–b; fig. 113).

Behind this wall is a rectangular serdab which communicates with Room II by a slot opening in the fourth and fifth registers at about the middle of the wall.⁶⁶ The measurements of the serdab are 3.4 x 1.45 m, and it has an area of 4.93 sq. m and a depth of 2.50 m. At a date subsequent to its construction, the serdab was divided in two by a rubble wall, the slot filled with plaster, and an intrusive pit

⁵⁷ Note that the 3rd. per. sing. masc. suffix precedes *mry* instead of following it, as it does for instance in pl. 115, fig. 114 below. Here as elsewhere Lepsius’s draftsman has misinterpreted the two component signs for *qd* in the title *mdh qd nswt m prwy as htp* *h*; see above, p. 78, n. 575.

⁵⁸ See Houlihan, *Birds*, p. 83.

⁵⁹ For the different species of cranes, see Vandier, *Manuel 5*, pp. 402–28.

⁶⁰ Boessneck, *Haustiere*, pp. 33–35; idem, in *Fs. Josef Schreiber*, pp. 192–206, esp. pp. 194–98; Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 54–56, 140, 150.

⁶¹ Boessneck, *Haustiere*, pp. 33–35; idem, in *Fs. Josef Schreiber*, pp. 192–206, esp. pp. 194, 199; Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 56–57, 140, 150.

⁶² Vandier, *Manuel 5*, pp. 402–404.

⁶³ Erman, *Reden*, p. 33 (our reference); *FCD*, p. 74.

⁶⁴ For a similar reversal of orientation, see Fischer, *Reversals*, p. 73, fig. 75.

⁶⁵ *LD 2*, pl. 73 [left].

⁶⁶ See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 146.

(G 2378 B) constructed in its southern half.⁶⁷ The plaster filled slot is visible as an irregular blank outline in pl. 114a, b and figs. 112 and 113.

First Register. This register is now lost, but it may be seen in Lepsius's drawing that two groups of three reapers are separated by a seventh man who stands erect. The field of grain is represented by a low rectangle without interior detail. The reapers bend forward to the right and grasp a sheaf of grain in their left hands. The sickles with which they cut the grain are held curve upwards in their other hands.⁶⁸ The man in the middle holds his hands out before him in such a fashion as to suggest that he was occupied in removing a weed or straggly stalk from a bundle of grain.⁶⁹ The two badly damaged figures on the edge of the field to the far left possibly represent a flute player and an overseer.⁷⁰

In Lepsius's drawing the standing reaper wears a very short round-edged kilt, whereas the other reapers appear to be naked except for a belt with a pendant element at the back. It is, in fact, possible that all the reapers originally wore the very short, round-edged kilt with belt-sash, a costume that is frequently adopted by field hands, here, as often, shown with the belt-sash tied behind,⁷¹ and that Lepsius's draftsman has in the first case mistakenly omitted the tucked up flap and in the second case the curved edge of the kilt. He was evidently unaware of the nature of the garment, for he consistently shows the round-edged kilt without pendant loose ends both here and in the registers of agricultural workers below, whereas traces visible both then and now suggest that many of the workers were probably dressed in the round-edged kilt with the loose ends of the sash either tied up behind or hanging down in front. Although a simple belt-sash with pendant ends tied in front or back is sometimes worn by field workers,⁷² the round-edged kilt is almost invariably worn with a belt-sash.

Second Register. A file of four donkeys loaded with panniers of grain was driven to the right by drovers and the young boys who served as their assistants.⁷³ The better part of the figures of the first two donkeys visible in Lepsius's plate, along with the drovers and their assistants, still survive, as do the forepart of the third donkey and the figure of an assistant. The taller figures of the drovers have lost their heads, however, whereas a number of the (younger and shorter) boys walking alongside the donkeys have kept theirs. The first donkey walks to the right, while the young boy marching alongside probably steadied the large, ovoid sack on its back with his raised left hand, which is now destroyed. His right arm is held at waist height, but the hand is likewise destroyed and was so in Lepsius's day. The arms of the drover walking behind the donkey are both raised above his shoulders and the forearms are lost in the damaged area at the top of the register. This was already the case in 1842–43, and his activity, as a result, is obscured. It is possible that he raised

his right hand to his mouth to shout instructions to the boy, while simultaneously brandishing a stick above his head in his other hand with which he urged the donkey forward.⁷⁴ The next donkey is evidently in trouble, the sacks on its back perhaps having shifted. The drover at its front has turned back and holds the donkey's head between both his arms, a detail which is clearer in Lepsius's plate. His companion at the rear of the donkey helps to immobilize it by pulling on its tail, while with his other hand, as may also be seen in the earlier drawing, he probably held onto the mat blanket on the animal's back. Just such a blanket is visible on a donkey in the register below. The young boy beside the animal stoops to the left, presumably to adjust the girth or strap that encircled its body and fastened the sacks on its back.⁷⁵ Between the drover holding onto the donkey's tail and the next animal is an incomplete caption: [...] *imy s*, "[...] that which is in the rear(?)." ⁷⁶ It perhaps represents the speech of the young boy beside the third donkey. This animal and its drovers proceeded to the right without apparent incident. From Lepsius's drawing, it seems that the young boy at its side steadied the load with his missing left hand. It is not clear what he might have been doing with his other hand, since his right arm below the elbow was also missing. The position seems awkward but occurs elsewhere.⁷⁷ The drover behind this donkey, in the portion of the register that is now destroyed, had his left hand raised, perhaps to steady the load on the animal's back. He appears to have had a stick tucked under his right arm and grasped the donkey's tail with his right hand. Behind him were traces of a caption. The last donkey stumbled under the weight of its load. In Lepsius's drawing its head nearly touches the ground and its front knees buckle from the weight of the burden. The young boy beside it lunged forward to grab the sacks with his left hand, as did the drover behind, who also pulled on the donkey's tail with his other hand. His raised left hand may once have held a stick.

Third Register. On the right side of the register sheaves of grain were stacked up on the edge of the field. Lepsius drew two stacks, the left-hand stack higher than the other. It is possible that he was correct in this but, if so, the plaster in which the right-hand stack was apparently carved has fallen away, leaving only an indefinite outline. The posture adopted by the two men at the left makes their activity perfectly clear: the pair kneel on either side of a large sack filled with sheaves of grain and pull on the ropes that pass through loops at its top in order to close it.⁷⁸ The ropes themselves though were never carved. The grain protrudes from the top of the sack, but the individual sheaves are not delineated.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 3.

⁶⁸ See above, p. 61.

⁶⁹ See p. 60 above.

⁷⁰ Cf. p. 42 above.

⁷¹ See above, p. 45.

⁷² See above, p. 44 and fig. 75d–f.

⁷³ The gestures of the donkey drovers are studied at length by Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 143–53.

⁷⁴ Cf. Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 147 (11).

⁷⁵ The straps are rarely indicated, but see e.g., Quibell, *Excav. Saq. (1907–1908)*, pl. 62 [2]; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, figs. 50, 52; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, fig. 57; van de Walle, *Nefertitenef*, pl. 12.

⁷⁶ Or "he who is in the rear;" see Gardiner, *EG*, §§ 79–80; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 347, 1. If a verbal form or phrase preceded *imy-s*, it is lost in the damaged area above or in the space between the blocks; see e.g., *di m-s imy-wrt* in the tomb of Werirentah (*HTES* 1², pl. 29 [2]). *Im s*, "Take hold of the rear (of the donkey)!", would fit the context, but the imperative *im* does not seem to be written with the crossed planks [Z 11]; see e.g., Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 611; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 173–74.

⁷⁷ See e.g., Junker, *Giza* 6, pls. 17, 45.

⁷⁸ See above, p. 62.

The middle of the register is occupied by a herd of donkeys returning from the threshing floor, where they had been relieved of their sacks of grain. Five donkeys wait to be reloaded. The complete figure of the donkey in front wears a blanket on its back. One of the animals lowers its head to browse, while another turns around and brays at the drovers who approached from the left, but whose figures are now missing. Over the backs of the donkeys is a short label reading from right to left which probably represents the speech of the first man and seemingly reads: *hryw wn*, “(Get) control, hurry!”⁷⁹

Four of the five drovers were drawn as a partially overlapping group. Their attitude was nearly identical with legs wide apart in a running attitude, arms bent at the elbow and swinging back and forth in keeping with their gait. Drovers usually carry sticks, but if they did so here, Lepsius’s artist has omitted them and shows their left hands open.⁸⁰ He has omitted as well the right hands of all but the last drover, whose right hand is likewise shown open. Since he is set apart from the rest of the drovers, the man who ran in front was probably an overseer. He carried a long stick in his right hand.

Fourth Register. The threshing and winnowing floors are represented on either side of a large stack of grain. Four donkeys and two field hands were shown on a low rectangle which represented the threshing floor. The figures of donkeys and field hands are damaged and were so in 1842–43. The bottom of the register with the base line is lost in the space between blocks and only the upper line of the threshing floor is preserved. Although the field hands are shown ankle-deep in the grain on the threshing floor, the donkeys appear to stand on top of the sheaves. Three of the donkeys face right, and the foremost lowers his head to nibble at the grain. A fourth animal faces in the opposite direction. Field hands in threshing scenes generally brandish sticks to keep the animals moving, and it is possible that the smaller figure on the right of the threshing floor leaning forward to the left with both arms in front of him held together and loosely bent at the elbow wielded a stick held in both hands, even though Lepsius’s artist has again shown the hands open.⁸¹ The field hand on the other side of the threshing floor holds out what may be a stalk of grain with his right hand to the donkey facing left, perhaps to entice it to move in the desired direction. He raises his other hand to his mouth as though shouting to attract his comrade’s attention.⁸² The top of the serdab slot intrudes between this field hand and the grain stack on the other side of which the winnowing process takes place.

Although his head is at present destroyed together with his front arm and shoulder, it is clear from Lepsius’s copy that the field hand to the left of the grain stack faced right. He makes use of a pitchfork which he held high up on the shaft with his left hand and lower down with his right hand, close to the curved prongs. With the pitchfork he evidently transferred the grain from the stack to the winnowing floor.⁸³ The winnower at the left stands with the upper part of the

body bent over to the left and appears to hold the stub of two objects. The stubs may have belonged to a winnowing broom held in one hand and a pair of winnowing fans grasped in the other.⁸⁴ The task of separating the wheat from the chaff was generally entrusted to women.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the piece of clothing projecting behind the waist may be an indication that this figure wore the short, round-edged kilt with front flap tucked up that has already been discussed.⁸⁶ Only occasionally do women wear this distinctly masculine garment.⁸⁷ Alternately it might represent the belt-sash tied at the back of the plain, tight-fitting kilt occasionally worn by female workers, even though the bottom hem expected in such a garment is not visible here.⁸⁸

As previously mentioned, the left side of the register has suffered further deterioration since Lepsius copied the wall, and the figures of the two winnowers at the left end of the register no longer exist. Lepsius shows these figures with their own short hair, dressed in the plain, short kilts worn by male and female field hands alike.⁸⁹ In his copy, however, the left-hand figure has what looks to be a pigtail at the back of the head, and it may be that this represents the ends of a cloth tied around the head to protect the hair from airborne chaff.⁹⁰ Since men usually make do without a head covering of any kind, if correctly copied, this detail might indicate that this figure at least was that of a woman. The right-hand figure stood and faced right. From the position of the arms, which are brought together in front and sharply bent at the elbow, it is possible that the figure was passing grain and chaff through a sieve. The rectangular outline in front of the figure, extending from hands to ground, would then represent the sifted grains falling to the ground.⁹¹ The left-hand figure stoops over to the left. The position of the arms, which are extended horizontally in front at the height of the shoulders with the forearms bent obliquely, suggests that this figure threw wheat and chaff into the air with two pairs of winnowing fans held in the hands.

Fifth Register. A totally different subject is represented in this and the succeeding register: the slaughter of animals for the funerary meal and the opening phases of the ritual directed to the statues in the serdab. On the right side of the register, three figures face the serdab slot. The first individual holds up a goose by the neck and wings. The artist appears to have experienced some difficulty with this portrayal. In his near or left hand, the figure holds the bird by the neck just below the head, while he grasps the bird’s wings with his far hand (actually a left hand seen from the back on an arm attached to the right shoulder). Properly speaking the wings should pass behind the figure, but instead the wing tips overlap his kilt. As a result the figure’s arms appear to cross in front of his body. Before his face is the label: *z3b smsw hst*, “the dignitary and elder of the

⁷⁹ Cf. Erman, *Reden*, p. 25, who had only Lepsius’s copy, erroneous in this connection, before him.

⁸⁰ Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 136. In Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, fig. 7, pl. D, the running drovers carry sticks in both hands.

⁸¹ See above, p. 64.

⁸² Cf. Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), figs. 3 and 48.

⁸³ See above, p. 64.

⁸⁴ See e.g., Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 47; *Ti* 3, pl. 155.

⁸⁵ Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 176.

⁸⁶ See above, p. 45.

⁸⁷ See, e.g., *Ti* 3, pl. 155; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D.

⁸⁸ See above, p. 68 and n. 473.

⁸⁹ Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 203a; see e.g., *ibid.*, figs. 49, 52 a, 62, 65.

⁹⁰ See above, p. 64.

⁹¹ See above, p. 64.

porch.” Unless it once occupied the destroyed space below the bird’s tail or that over his own head, his name was omitted.

The next man holds up two pieces of cloth. Before his face and figure are inscribed a title and name: *zsb* [...] *Hnm(Bz?)-šps*, “the dignitary and [...], Khnum(Ba?)-shepses.” *Zsb* does not usually occur alone in the Old Kingdom, being regularly paired with another, functional title as an indication of rank.⁹² This is true, for example, in the titulary of the previous individual, *zsb smsw hst*. Although no traces of signs are visible after *zsb* in the present case, the wall is worn here, and there is definitely space for a short title to have followed.⁹³

The last man holds a goose before him in both arms. Though there is definitely room for a title and name in front of his figure, no such caption survives.

The heads of all three individuals were close-cropped and wigless. Lepsius indicates they all wore a folded kilt with overlap, but this is no longer evident in the case of the second and third individuals. A curious feature is the concave overlap of the kilt worn by the first man.⁹⁴

On the left of the serdab slot a thurifer, who faces right towards the slot, elevates a double-bell censer before him with his left hand. With his other hand he lifts the cover to release the incense smoke. He wears his own close-cropped hair and is dressed in a plain, tight-fitting kilt. Following closely on his heels is an attendant leading four sacrificial oxen. The latter carries a bundle of fodder over his left shoulder and held a rope in his hanging rear hand which was tied round the jaw of the lead ox. His figure is badly damaged but, according to Lepsius, he was dressed like his companion. Between the two figures, Lepsius saw a third, smaller figure, the head of which alone is visible today. The rear ox at the end of the line covers almost completely those behind, and only the heads and legs of the other oxen projected in front of the complete animal. As is usual, when two or more animals are shown, there is an insufficient number of legs for all the animals depicted.⁹⁵ The enigmatic caption in two short horizontal lines which is to be seen above the backs of the animals in Lepsius’s plate is now lost.

Sixth Register. Three animals are butchered. The details of the scene at the right are especially difficult to make out because of the poor state of preservation of this area of the wall. A bound animal, possibly an oryx because of the long, curved horn(s) shown in profile, lies on the ground with its head to the left, while a butcher leans over it to the right. From parallels in other tombs it seems that he held a knife in his right hand with which he is about to remove its heart.⁹⁶ He simultaneously turns his head round and looks slightly upwards at the assistant behind him.⁹⁷ This latter individual stands facing right and grasps the foreleg he carries over his left shoulder with both

hands. A damaged caption before his face appears to read *stp*, perhaps for *stp[š]*, “choice cut,”⁹⁸ although Lepsius’s draftsman thought he saw walking legs after the word rather than the *stp*-adze. The lower part of another butcher at the right is hidden behind the body of the oryx(?). The latter individual faces left towards the preceding figures. Both hands are raised before him, and he holds a knife in his right hand, while his other hand is open and empty. The speech inscribed in the area before his face is only partially preserved today. As copied by Lepsius it reads: *wn tw*, “Hurry up!”⁹⁹ At the far right, standing beside the rump of the animal, is another assistant who faces left and holds a foreleg over his right shoulder with his right hand. In his left hand hanging behind, he holds what was probably intended for a slab of ribs on a cord. His name is *Hufw-^rnh¹*.

In the second scene two butchers carve up the carcass of another animal thrown on the ground, this time with its head to the right. The butcher on the right leans over the carcass to the left. With his right hand he thrusts a knife into the animal’s body, while holding its head steady with his left hand. The second butcher at the left facing right places his left foot on the animal’s bound legs and sharpens his knife with a whetstone. The whetstone in parallel scenes is usually attached to the belt by a cord but no cord is visible here.¹⁰⁰ The speech of the second butcher began in front of his face and continued behind his head; it was still largely intact in 1842–43: *wn tw nty-hm^r iri*, “Hurry up comrade, do (it)!”¹⁰¹

Three figures and a bound ox make up the third scene at the left. The head of the ox is once again to the right. The assistant on the right places his right foot on the head of the ox and holds onto its horns to prevent the head from moving. The butcher behind the body of the ox faces the man at its head, and once again appears to be sharpening his knife. The assistant on the left places one foot on the bound legs of the animal and leans far back to the left, as if he were pulling hard on a rope tied around the legs, though the rope itself was never carved. He says: *Ir rk di hpr wn*, “Do (it), make it happen, hurry.”¹⁰²

North Wall

At the left end of the north wall Lepsius copied a scene that showed Mehi, his wife, and their children standing and viewing the marsh and agricultural pursuits depicted in four registers and part of a fifth before them (fig. 114).¹⁰³ At present the figures of Mehi and his family, part of the bottom register, and the left ends of the two registers above are all that remains (pls. 115–17a; fig. 115).

Mehi wore a short wig, chin beard, beaded collar, leopard skin, bracelet on one wrist, and short kilt with flaring front. He carried a long walking stick in his left hand in front and a scepter in his

⁹² See *PM* 3², pp. 921–22 [270–92] (translated “judge”).

⁹³ See below, p. 160 (5).

⁹⁴ Cf. above, p. 74.

⁹⁵ See e.g., *HESP*, p. 336.

⁹⁶ See e.g., Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, p. 6.

⁹⁷ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 46, notes that the head turn is a common feature of figure portrayal, but one which is only applied to deeply bending or leaning figures in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty, especially during the reigns of Izezi and Unis. As regards butchery scenes she cites our example and another in *Idout*, pl. 20.

⁹⁸ *Wb.* 4, p. 239, 10–11.

⁹⁹ Erman, *Reden*, pp. 9, 15; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 286.

¹⁰⁰ See above, p. 66.

¹⁰¹ Lepsius also saw the reed leaf after *ir*. Examples of the imperative singular in Old Egyptian generally show no ending (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 597). Nonetheless, Allen (*Inflection of the Verb*, § 598), notes that final-weak verbs show examples with and without the final weak radical, although the former are rare in the singular. He gives no example of an imperative singular for *iri*, but the present context perhaps provides one such.

¹⁰² Erman, *Reden*, p. 16; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 173; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 622.

¹⁰³ *LD* 2, pl. 73 [right]; *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xiv.

hanging right hand. His short wig was covered with rows of overlapping locks of which traces still exist today. Worn over the wig was a flower-knot diadem with a long streamer which hung down over his shoulders. The streamer is still to be seen. According to Lepsius, the circlet of the diadem exhibited a scale pattern between horizontal borders, which perhaps represented cloisonné-work.¹⁰⁴ The leopard skin was tied at the shoulder in an elaborate knot and belted at the waist.¹⁰⁵ Details of the knot are visible in a photograph taken in 1930 (pl. 115). The leopard's tail depends from the front edge of the skin. According to Lepsius's drawing only one paw, which hung down below the hemline of the kilt between the legs in the position customarily reserved for the tail, was shown. Two claws visible today at the bottom edge of Mehi's kilt do seem to verify the location of the paw. The positions of the paws and tail show considerable variation in Old Kingdom reliefs,¹⁰⁶ and the current arrangement with the tail at the front of the vestment does find parallels.¹⁰⁷

It may be assumed that several columns containing titles and epithets were originally inscribed over Mehi's head, like those above his wife's head, but these were lost even in Lepsius's day. Only vestiges of the last signs of the identifying caption that Lepsius saw in front of Mehi's face, and which read *Mhi m.f nfr*, "Mehi, his good name," remain at present.

Standing in front of Mehi was the small figure of a son who held on to his father's walking stick, his other hand hanging open, his head turned back towards his parents and siblings. He was wigless and wore a beaded collar and short kilt with flaring front panel. His figure is now badly damaged and none of these details evident. Conversely, the inscription over his head is still largely intact. He is: (1) *z3.f smsw mry.f*, (2) *hry-tp nswt m prwy*, (3) [*mdh q*] *d nswt* (4) *Sndm-[ib]*, (1) "His eldest son whom he loves, (2) the royal chamberlain in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt), (3) and royal [master build]er, (4) Senedjem[ib]."

Behind Mehi is the figure of his wife, Khentkaus, who stood with legs together, her left hand open on her breast, and the other hand hanging down. Her garment was the usual long, form-fitting dress extending from just above the ankles to just below the breasts, and held up by tapering shoulder straps. It is clear from Lepsius's drawing that her costume also comprised a long wig with lappet falling over the near shoulder, a diadem, a beaded collar, bracelets on one arm, and anklets. The design on the diadem consisted of vertically incised lines between horizontal borders. The pattern suggests a circlet of metal with inlays of colored stone.¹⁰⁸ Lepsius thought he saw two sedge-like rosettes at the front of the diadem, and two papyrus flowers at the back. This has led to the conjecture that the two types of flowers in Khentkaus's diadem constituted the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt. As attractive as this idea may be,

it can be seen from fig. 115 that the rosettes are in fact papyrus flowers, the paired flowers corresponding to the double papyrus-flower knot on each side of an actual diadem. The artist here has chosen a less conventional way of rendering the paired flowers than is the case with Mehi's diadem.¹⁰⁹

It may therefore be legitimately questioned whether Lepsius's renderings of Khentkaus's other items of personal adornment are accurate in every detail. According to his drawing, the inner row of her beaded collar consisted of drop-shaped beads(?) and the outer row of circular elements. The pattern is quite out of the ordinary and the individual elements not easy to identify. Although the small rectangles in Khentkaus's bracelet and anklets in all likelihood represent spacers, it is difficult to satisfactorily resolve the horizontal lines into their original constituent elements.¹¹⁰

The inscription in three short columns over the wife's head terminated before her face with her name and titles: (1) [*z3t nswt n h*] *t.f* (2) *hmt-ntr Hthr nb(t) n[h]* (3) *imshw[t] hr ntr* (4) *hmt.f mrt.f* (5) *Hnt-k3w.s*, (1) "[the king's daughter of] his [bo]dy, (2) the priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sy[camore],¹¹¹ (3) one honore[d] by the god, (4) his wife whom he loves, (5) Khentkaus." At present only traces of lines 4 to 5 remain.

Between Mehi and Khentkaus stands another small figure, in this case that of a naked child with the sidelock of youth. The sidelock has largely disappeared, but the oval amulet pierced by a thorn-like object and suspended on a cord, which Lepsius drew not quite correctly, is still visible.¹¹² In his left hand the boy holds a hoopoe and in the right hand another bird of indeterminate species. Young children are frequently depicted in the Old Kingdom holding a pet bird by the wing. The hoopoe was a favorite both on account of its gaily colored plumage and because it will become very tame in captivity.¹¹³ Keimer thought there was a symbolic reason for the popularity of the hoopoe in such scenes as well, namely, the affection that these birds entertain for their young and the ability of the young to recognize their parents.¹¹⁴ Less often children standing beside their parents carry a different kind of bird, such as a lapwing,¹¹⁵ golden oriole (*Oriolus oriolus*),¹¹⁶ dove¹¹⁷ or duck.¹¹⁸ The first word of the label above the head of the small figure is now missing: [*z3*].*f Mhi*, "his [son] Mehi."

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, and above, p. 133 and n. 8.

¹¹⁰ Contrast the jewelry worn by the wife in *Mereruka* 1, pls. 23, 41; 2, pl. 172.

¹¹¹ On this very common title assigned to women of good class, see Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, pp. 53, 56–58, 59–60, 71, 74, and on Hathoric titles in general, see Galvin, *JEA* 70 (1984), pp. 42–49; Gillam, *JARCE* 32 (1995), pp. 211–37.

¹¹² For this and other Old Kingdom amulets, see Murray, *Ancient Egypt* 4 (1917), pp. 48–56.

¹¹³ Houlihan, *Birds*, p. 120. For children holding a hoopoe, see e.g., Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pls. 4, 6; Paget-Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 31; Quibell, *Excav. Saq. (1907–1908)*, pl. 63; *Beschr.* 1, pl. 14; *Mereruka* 1, pls. 46, 48; Dunham–Simpson, *Meryankh III*, fig. 7; *Nianchnum*, pls. 5, 51; figs. 6, 21; Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 7; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pls. 33, 38.

¹¹⁴ Keimer, *BIFAO* 30 (1930), pp. 305–31.

¹¹⁵ E.g., *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 3; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pls. 33, 38; Houlihan, *Birds*, p. 94 and n. 512.

¹¹⁶ E.g., Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pl. 13, fig. 160; Kaplony, *Methethi*, nos. 5, 6; for the species, see Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 112, 120, 129–31, 166.

¹¹⁷ E.g., CG 1414; *Ti* 1, pls. 60, 63.

¹¹⁸ E.g., Boeser, *Beschr.* 1, pl. 14; CG 1414; *Mereruka* 1, pl. 23; 2, pl. 177; Kaplony, *Methethi*, no. 1; Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 21.

¹⁰⁴ See Kern, *AcOr* 24, nos. 3–4 (1959), p. 174. Aldred (*Jewels*, pp. 113–14) cites a number of Old Kingdom examples of cloisonné.

¹⁰⁵ See above, p. 43 and n. 90.

¹⁰⁶ See e.g., *LD* 2, pls. 11, 21, 32, 33; Junker, *Giza* 2, figs. 18, 19; 4, fig. 10; 5, fig. 44; 6, fig. 40; *Mereruka* 2, pl. 183; Hassan, *Giza* 1, fig. 25; Dunham–Simpson, *Meryankh III*, fig. 7; El-Fikey, *Rē-wer*, pl. 10; *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pls. 7, 27; Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, pl. B.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *LD* 2, pls. 3, 8, 11, 18, 27; Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 27; 5, fig. 44.

¹⁰⁸ See Kern, *AcOr* 24, nos. 3–4 (1959), p. 174.

Behind Khentkaus is a small standing female figure dressed like her mother in a lappet wig and tight-fitting dress. She holds on to Khentkaus's leg with her left hand and her other hand hangs free. Over her head are the words *zst.s Hnt-kw.s*, "her daughter Khentkaus."

Presumably there were six registers of scenes depicted before Mehi originally, as on the west wall of Room II.

First Register. Destroyed.

Second Register. At the left end of the second register Lepsius saw traces that probably formed part of a vineyard scene.¹¹⁹ The characteristic posture of the first preserved figure at the left in all likelihood identifies him as one of the four men who twist the poles attached to the ends of a sack filled with the pulp and skin of crushed grapes in opposite directions in order to squeeze out the remaining juice. To the right were additional traces which probably represent the treading vat and part of its pole framework along with the legs of two workers who trod on the grapes in the vat.

Reisner thought that a loose block found in G 2378 (pl. 117b; fig. 115) may well have belonged to the present scene.¹²⁰ If the back of the loose block (which has not been located by us) was broken off at an angle, it could well have fitted onto one of the two blocks to the right of the fragmentary scene in Lepsius's plate which had clearly lost their carved surfaces and may have been broken off in a corresponding manner. At the broken left edge of the loose block is the damaged figure of a man walking to the left and carrying a filled basket. The lower part of his figure is lost, but it is clear that he was wigless, wore a plain, tight-fitting kilt, and carried some object (a waterskin?) on a cord over his right elbow. Behind him is the upper part of the figure of a worker kneeling at the foot of a trellis with both arms bent at the elbow and held parallel before him, as he picks grapes. The largely destroyed caption above the head of the man with the basket is perhaps to be restored [*ir*]p, "[wi]ne."¹²¹ The label over the other man apparently read [*w*]ʿ *h3*ʿ *h3*ʿ [*rr*]t, "picking grapes."¹²²

Third Register. The entire register appears to have been devoted to a scene of trapping water-fowl.¹²³ At the left facing right was an overseer leaning on his staff. One hand was cupped over its top and the other extended along the shaft. His forward leg was bent, the heel raised, and the weight of his body distributed between the toes of his forward foot and the flat back foot.¹²⁴ A fowler approaching from the right brought a bird from the catch for his inspection. It is clear that the fowler grasped the bird by the neck with his left hand, but his other hand and arm were destroyed. The overseer evidently wore a short kilt with overlap and a belt-sash tied behind. Due to the location of the bird's wings, it is not certain whether the fowler wore the same garment or instead the round-edged kilt with the belt-sash tied behind, as appears to be the case with the four haulers behind him. The haulers leant forward to the right with arms outstretched before

them, as if preparing to pull on the cable whose other end would have been attached to the clapnet further to the right. Their knees were bent and they were balanced on the balls of their feet. In front of the haulers and facing them was a standing figure, his right arm raised to the height of his shoulders and his other arm hanging down behind. Both hands were destroyed, but he was probably the signalman who indicated with a hand signal when the net was full of birds. He was presumably dressed like the haulers, but only the sash around his waist survives. All the fowlers, like the workers, offering bearers, and officials in the other registers on this wall wore their own short-cut hair.

The area between the signalman and the net was destroyed, but it probably contained a stylized clump of foliage on the margin of the pool behind which the signalman crouched until standing up to deliver his signal.¹²⁵ The startled birds in the hexagonal clapnet made a futile effort to escape. On the right, one of the two stakes that fastened the clapnet to the ground was visible.

To the right of the clapnet, fowlers were shown crating birds. A yoke bearer on the left runs away from the trap carrying what were undoubtedly wickerwork bird cages hanging from his yoke.¹²⁶ He probably held on to both ropes just above the cages to keep the yoke steady, but Lepsius's artist placed his figure so close to the man ahead that no room remained for his left forearm and hand or the cage hanging from the front of the yoke. A curved line suggests he wore the very short, round-edged kilt. The next fowler also proceeds to the right and holds two braces of birds. One of the birds in his forward hand beats its wings and tries to fly away. The last fowler, part of whose figure was destroyed, bent over to the left and added two more birds to the four already inside a wickerwork cage placed on the ground. Except for their heads and legs, the two birds behind are hidden by the two birds in front. One of the birds lowers his head as if to feed. The frets of the cage are not visible, but this is not surprising, since they were generally added in paint and are only sporadically preserved.¹²⁷

Fourth Register. This register contained the beginning of the agricultural sequence that was continued on the west wall of the room. Episodes of land preparation occupied the right half of the register. The upper part of the first figure at the right was lost, but he was probably a sower who scattered handfuls of seed to be covered by the plow and trodden into the soil by the hooves of the flock of sheep that would have followed.¹²⁸ The ploughman bent over to the right and grasped both handles of the plow. His left foot was flat and his rear heel raised as he pushed the plough-head through the soil behind the team of oxen pulling the plough to the right.¹²⁹ Over the oxen was probably written: *sk3 m [hb]*, "Cultivating with [a plough]."¹³⁰ All that remained of the figure behind the ploughman was a front leg overlapping the latter's rear leg. It is possible that this

¹¹⁹ Cf. pp. 66–67 above.

¹²⁰ See *Photographic Register B*, p. 177 [B 8547].

¹²¹ Cf. *LD 2*, pl. 61a.

¹²² See *Wb.* 1, p. 346, 9; Paget-Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 33.

¹²³ For literature on bird trapping, see above, p. 124, n. 97.

¹²⁴ On this "supporting leg and free leg posture," see above, p. 52, n. 223.

¹²⁵ See above, p. 124.

¹²⁶ On yoke bearers in Old Kingdom relief, see *HESP*, p. 362; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 147–48, and pp. 15, 57 above.

¹²⁷ E.g., *Meir 5*, pl. 36; Hassan, *Saqqara 1*, fig. 27; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 9; Verner, *Ptahshepses 1*, pl. 29.

¹²⁸ See above, p. 60.

¹²⁹ Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 161.

figure represented the beater who regularly appears in such scenes goading the oxen forward with a stick held above his head or before him.¹³¹ He is usually stationed directly behind or alongside the animals but occasionally appears further back close to the ploughman.¹³² The flock of sheep were destroyed except for the horizontal horns of one hairy long-legged sheep or ram (*Ovis longipes palaeoegyptiacus*).¹³³ The figures of the two drovers who whipped the flock forward were preserved in part. The men ran to the right (note the raised heel of the man behind) and held whips aloft in a striking position. Over the backs of the missing flock traces of the legend [skꜣ m] ꜣzꜣtꜣ, “[Cultivating with] a herd of sheep,” were still to be seen.¹³⁴

The remainder of the register was devoted to the flax harvest (pl. 116).¹³⁵ Although any other indication of the field is lacking, the three field hands on the left were depicted in the act of pulling up the flax.¹³⁶ The lower parts of these three figures and of the man behind them are preserved today. The first two workers bent over to the left. The first man evidently grasped bunches of flax in both hands; his companion also seems to have had both hands in front of him and was probably similarly occupied. The posture of the third man was more erect and, if Lepsius has drawn the position of his arms and hands correctly, he probably inspected a bunch of stems for weeds or scraggly stems, one of which he seems to be in the process of removing.¹³⁷ As can be seen from fig. 115, Lepsius’s artist was not correct in extending the bottom of the stems as far as his foot. The next figure was that of a fieldhand who walked to the right. From the position of his rear arm which was raised behind him and bent at the elbow with the palm open, it is likely that he carried a flax bundle to the worker at the edge of the field. The latter bent over to the left and knelt on a bundle of flax stems to hold them in place as he bound them together. Over his head was written: ꜣwi mbꜣ, “pulling up flax,”¹³⁸ a caption which better describes the activities of the three field hands at the far left than his own.¹³⁹ The next man faced right with both arms raised in front of him and, like the third field hand, probably held a sheaf of flax in his right hand from which he removed a weed or useless stalk. Lepsius’s draftsman, however, neglected to draw in the sheaf. Since it reads dmꜣ mbꜣ[ꜣ], “binding flax,” the caption before his face probably belonged to the next field hand to the right, who sat on the ground with his knees drawn up to his chest. Two spare loops of twine were set before the latter who

assumed a normal position for field hands engaged in binding the flax into sheaves.¹⁴⁰ The displacement of the caption in this instance is perhaps to be explained by the intrusion of the lash of the whip held by the drover at the right into the area immediately above the head of the seated man.

Insofar as it is possible to tell from Lepsius’s drawing and the present state of the wall, the field hands wore either the short kilt with overlap and a belt-sash tied at the back or the very short, round-edged kilt with the belt-sash tied at the back. In fact, a single line at the bottom of the short kilt suffices to distinguish the former from the latter.

Fifth Register. At the left end of the register two crews of fisherman hauled on the drag ropes of a large seine net.¹⁴¹ Only the left-hand crew still survives. It consists of five haulers, whereas that on the right originally had six haulers. The hauler at the left in the surviving group faces away from his fellows and is charged with raising the end of the net. He bends over to the left, his arms hanging down in front, and grasps the rope with both hands. He places his right foot against the end of the net, while balancing on his left foot. The next three fisherman haul the net towards the right. The arms of the last man are spread wide apart on the drag rope which he grasps with both hands as he leans to the right and balances on the balls of his feet, as if to apply all his weight to the rope. There is some overlap in the case of the next two figures who proceed with broad strides to the right. Their arms hang down on either side of their bodies, as they grasp the rope. The man on the right turns his head back to look at the haulers behind him, while the man at the end of the rope faces his comrades. He stands with the upper part of his body bent forward and, with both arms held before him, lifts up the coiled rope-end.

According to Lepsius, the first hauler in the right-hand crew bent forward and downward to the right, simultaneously bending his forward knee so that the thigh was nearly horizontal and the foot flat, while the other leg was flung back to the rear to brace himself, the knee approaching the ground.¹⁴² He hauled on the rope with both hands close together in front of him. The next four haulers strode to the left and grasped the rope with their arms extended on either side of their bodies. Three of the men walked together in a compact group with their figures overlapping, while the hauler in front was separated from them by a narrow space. The hauler at the rear of this group appears to have used a shoulder sling attached to the drag rope. The next two haulers looked backwards, as did the man who proceeded them. The man at the end of the rope had his back to his fellows. He squatted to the right and gathered up the rope with both hands close together in front of him. An overseer, the better part of whose figure is still to be seen, stood between the two crews. He faced right and held an object, which from parallels was probably a catfish (*Synodontis batensoda*), in his extended left hand. In better preserved scenes the overseer seizes the venomous bony spine of the ventral fin in order to remove it.¹⁴³

¹³⁰ *Skz. Wb.* 4, pp. 315–16, translates “pflügen, den Acker bestellen.” *FCD*, p. 251, has “cultivate,” or more precisely “plough.” Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 185–88, who investigated the term at some length and noted that both hoes, ploughs, and herds of sheep (or asses) were utilized to cover over the broadcast seed, believed the precise meaning to be “recouvrir,” “to cover over” (the seed, the sown fields).

¹³¹ Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 21.

¹³² See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 161–62, and figs. 123, 125–28, 132–35, 136. For the postures adopted by the beater, see also, *ibid.*, fig. 136.

¹³³ Paton, *Animals*, p. 8; Scharff, *MDAIK* 1 (1930), p. 132; *AEO* 2, p. 152*; Gaillard, *RecTrav* 24 (1902), pp. 44–76; Keimer, *ASAE* 38 (1938), pp. 297–31; Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 12; 6, p. 58; Störk, *LÄ* 5 (1983), pp. 522–24. See also *Domestic Plants and Animals*, pp. 90–93.

¹³⁴ For *zꜣtꜣ*, “flock of sheep,” see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 185 and n. 2. In Lepsius’s copy the first letter of *zꜣtꜣ* resembles the heaven-sign (N 1).

¹³⁵ See above, p. 60, n. 348, for bibliography.

¹³⁶ For the postures of the flax harvesters, see Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 165.

¹³⁷ See Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 64–69 and fig. 41.

¹³⁸ See Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 81–82, 197.

¹³⁹ For an example of the incorrect displacement of a legend in a different context, see *Meir* 4, p. 35, pl. 13.

¹⁴⁰ See Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 69–73 and fig. 44.

¹⁴¹ See above, p. 59, n. 337.

¹⁴² Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 574 (5).

According to Lepsius, most of the haulers wore the very short kilt with rounded edge and a belt-sash. Certain among them appear to have tied the belt-sash up behind. The man at the end of the right-hand cable, according to Lepsius, was dressed instead in a folded kilt with overlap; so too may have been the man with the shoulder sling. Given the state of the wall, it is not possible in every instance to check the details of the clothing. Nevertheless, the photograph (pl. 116) seems to show, in the case of the overseer, that the loose ends of the belt-sash hung down in front.

The seine net in the water beneath the haulers was a long strip with parallel top and bottom and pointed ends to which were affixed the drag ropes. The right end of the net was already destroyed in Lepsius's day. A series of semi-circular objects along the upper line of the net may represent the floats, in spite of the fact that Old Kingdom floats were generally conical or pyramidal in shape.¹⁴⁴

The net was filled with fish. Even though the details are not always clear from Lepsius's drawing, three *boliti*-fish, at least one catfish, a mullet, a puffer fish, and a moonfish are probably to be made out.

The right half of the register was occupied by boatmen returning from a day in the marshes.¹⁴⁵ All this is lost at present. In Lepsius's drawing the first papyrus craft at the left is largely destroyed, as is the prow of the second boat. The lashings passed around all three boats at regular intervals are plainly visible, and it is possible the upper edges of the body of the second and third boats were reinforced with rope or wood as well.¹⁴⁶ The man at the stern of the second boat sits back on his heels and guides it with his paddle. Lying in the hull of the craft is an animal, possibly an oryx given the preserved outline of its horns. The last craft is a small papyrus raft whose front end is clear of the water.¹⁴⁷ It is occupied by one passenger and propelled by a man with a paddle, who again sits with his legs folded beneath him. The passenger stoops over to the left until his upper body is nearly parallel to the water. His hands appear to hang empty before him, but it is possible that he bent over to pick up a handnet filled with fish, which had been inadvertently omitted by Lepsius's draftsman.¹⁴⁸ According to the latter, the fisherman wore only a belt-sash. Traces in the water beneath the boat suggest lotus flowers as well as fish.

Sixth Register. A procession of fifteen men approached the figures of Mehi and his family. Of the first seven figures only traces remain today. Nonetheless, Lepsius's drawing clearly indicates that the procession was headed by four officials. The first individual, who stood with his hands at his sides, we have already encountered, as we will again.¹⁴⁹ According to the short column of inscription before him, he was the *zsb zš Hm-šhty*, "dignitary and scribe, Hemakhti." He was wigless and dressed in a calf-length kilt reflective of his age and station.¹⁵⁰ By contrast, the next three individuals wore short kilts

with flaring front panels. The names and titles of the first two of these officials did not survive, but the foremost was evidently a scribe as well, for he appears to have carried a rolled papyrus in his hanging right hand. His other hand rested open at the level of his chest. The position of the hands was reversed in the case of the next official, with his right hand placed open on his chest in a gesture of respect and his left hand hanging at his side.¹⁵¹ The last of the four officials also carried a papyrus roll with his right hand before him and a scribe's palette under his left arm.¹⁵² The short label in front of him identifies him as the *hry-tp šnwt Sndm-ib*, "granary attendant, Senedjemib."

The next eleven men were offering bearers. The first man held two birds by the wings and papyrus stalks(?) over one shoulder. Behind his head *hm-kz*, "funerary priest," was written, but the title may actually have belonged to the next bearer to the right. The latter individual ran with a yoke from which were suspended two cages, the contents of which were no longer visible.¹⁵³ He had his right arm draped over the crossbar to hold it steady and held the other end of the yoke with his left hand from below.¹⁵⁴ In his right hand he held a jar(?) on a cord as well. Behind his head was another short label, *hm-kz Qr*, "the funerary priest Qer," which may likewise have belonged to the succeeding figure, who held up a brace of birds by the wings. The figures of the last eight offering bearers survive to a varying extent. The fourth brought papyrus stalks(?) and led a small animal; the fifth carried a goose in both arms and papyrus stalks over the elbow; the sixth holds some sort of vegetable and led a calf; the seventh evidently carried a young animal in both arms in front; the eighth held lotus flowers(?) and carried ribs(?) on a cord, while leading a small oryx; the ninth bears a large animal of indeterminate species across his shoulders; the tenth held a brace of birds by the wings and another bird in his hanging hand; and the eleventh carried a goose in both arms before him. Even though shown on the same small scale as the other animals, the oryx from its horns appears to be a mature animal. Murray opined that the Egyptians had domesticated a special breed of dwarf animals, but this is most unlikely, the smallness of the animals perhaps being due, as she had previously remarked, to a convention of art that made them slightly smaller in comparison with the human figures in order to make the latter appear more important.¹⁵⁵ Generally, animals are led by a rope, but the ropes appear never to have been carved in the present instance.

Crudely scratched into the stone before the eighth bearer are two signs which might be construed to read *imy-rz*, "overseer," followed by a trace of a vertical sign. Alternately, if the first sign were a sparrow rather than an owl, the group might be read as a personal name, *Wri*.¹⁵⁶ The stance of the bird seems too erect for a sparrow, however.

According to Lepsius, most of the offering bearers were dressed in short, plain kilts. Still an overlap was or is visible on the kilts of the

¹⁴³ Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 588, n. 4, citing Daumas, *BIFAO* 62 (1964), pp. 78–80. Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 147, alternately suggests that the overseer is indicating the freshness of the fish by raising a fin.

¹⁴⁴ See Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 259–60.

¹⁴⁵ See above, p. 124 and n. 106.

¹⁴⁶ See Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 226, 229.

¹⁴⁷ For the distinction between papyrus skiffs and rafts; see *ibid.*, pp. 226–28.

¹⁴⁸ See above, pp. 135–36.

¹⁴⁹ See above, p. 136; below, p. 150.

¹⁵⁰ See p. 54 above.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), p. 104, fig. 36.

¹⁵² See Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 197 (A), 199 (A), fig. 83 (1–5, 7, 9–11, 23, 36).

¹⁵³ See above, p. 144, n. 126.

¹⁵⁴ See Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 148.

¹⁵⁵ Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, p. 13.

¹⁵⁶ For the masculine personal name *Wri*, see *PN* 1, pp. 82, 20.

third, sixth, eighth, and ninth figures, and it is possible that others of the kilts originally had an overlap. The costume of the man with the yoke, a very short, round-edged kilt may have distinguished him as a laborer from the other offering bearers.¹⁵⁷

East Wall

Three registers of craft scenes seen by Lepsius on the east wall are now entirely lost.¹⁵⁸ Since presumably there were originally six registers of relief scenes on this wall, the topmost register seen by Lepsius was actually the fourth.

First Register. Destroyed.

Second Register. Destroyed.

Third Register. Destroyed.

Fourth Register. The sculptor's workshop in the badly damaged fourth register is known only from the sketch in the text volume of the *Denkmäler* (fig. 116a). On the right side of the register, a sculptor facing right works on a standing statue of Mehi depicted in profile and dressed in a short kilt.¹⁵⁹ The statue is slightly over lifesize, and the sculptor leans backwards and looks upwards, distributing the weight of his body between his right foot which is flat on the ground and the toes of his raised left foot. The head and arms of the statue were evidently not preserved when Lepsius copied the wall nor were the tools used by the sculptor, which were presumably a mallet and chisel. Like a second standing statue further to the left, this one apparently lacks a base. The second statue is life-size and is also depicted in profile with the near arm held at the side.¹⁶⁰ It faces right and was dressed in a short wig and short kilt. A sculptor at the left facing right probably worked with mallet and chisel on the statue's back, but his tools were again destroyed. The next two groups perhaps each represent a sculptor on the right working on a statue at the left. Towards the center of the register, however, Lepsius's artist drew what looks like a low mound. The second of the two groups just referred to is set on this "mound," as is the rear foot of the statue in the first group. Behind the second group another figure stands on the "mound" facing right, and to its left a figure facing to the right steps up onto it with his left foot. The "mound" is difficult to account for, and the only explanation that comes readily to mind is that the two figures facing right on the "mound" represent statues on bases, and that Lepsius's artist erroneously saw and drew the top line of the statue bases as one continuous, uneven line. The man stepping up on the "mound" would, in other words, have been stepping up on the rear of a statue base to work on the back of the statue before him. Still, this does not account for the diagonal element in front of him. Finally, it is possible that the group at the extreme left, consisting of a figure leaning slightly forward to the right and a rectangle outlined by two sets of parallel lines, represents a sculptor or painter working on a statue shrine.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ See above p. 45 and n. 115.

¹⁵⁸ *LD*, *Text* 1, fig. on p. 52 [lower]; *LD* 2, p. 74a.

¹⁵⁹ See Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 122, cat. no. 22.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 121, cat. no. 21.

Fifth Register. The operations in a metallurgical workshop were the subject of this register (fig. 116b).¹⁶² On the left the crude metal is weighed in a pair of scales prior to being issued to the metalworkers for processing. Two officials supervise the weighing. The first stands on the left side of the scales and bends over to the right to examine them. Although the balance arm was horizontal, one of the pans appears to be lower than the other. Captions to similar scenes make it clear that it was the pan which held the stone weights that, as a matter of custom, was shown as heavier than the pan that held the metal.¹⁶³ The speech of the first man in the space over his head draws attention to this circumstance: *m3 rk*, "Look here!" On the opposite side of the scales the *imy-r3* [...] *Ffi*, "the overseer of the [...] Fefi," sits on the ground with both legs drawn up before him, his right arm raised with the palm of the hand held open before his face, and with his other hand resting on a finished article at his feet, perhaps waiting to be weighed in its turn. His speech is largely destroyed.¹⁶⁴

In the tomb of Mereruka, it is an *imy-r3 pr*, "overseer of the house" or "steward" who supervises the weighing out,¹⁶⁵ but in the tomb of the vizier Mehu at Saqqara, it is an *imy-r3 bdtiw n pr-dt*, "overseer of the metal workers of the estate," who oversees the process.¹⁶⁶ Similarly, an *imy-r3 bdtiw*, "overseer of metalworkers," holds a hand scale in the tomb of Ankhmahor.¹⁶⁷ Either *pr* or *bdtiw* would fit the lacuna in Fefi's title.

The example in G 2378 is one of the earliest representations of an equal-arm balance on a stand, and it is all the more unfortunate that it is only known from Lepsius's copy.¹⁶⁸ Most Old Kingdom scenes of weighing involve a hand-held scales, but the balance-beam in the present case is suspended from the top of a stand. Of the stand-balances known from Old Kingdom relief scenes, Lepsius copied three; these include the present example (fig. 117a) and two others from the tombs of Rashepses at Saqqara (fig. 117b)¹⁶⁹ and Iy-mery at Giza.¹⁷⁰ The last is now available in a modern facsimile (figs. 117c).¹⁷¹ Four other examples derive from the Unis causeway at Saqqara (fig. 117d),¹⁷² from the tomb of the vizier Mehu at the same site

¹⁶¹ A suggestion already made by Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchechnum*, p. 135, n. 786. Selected parallels are *LD* 2, pl. 13 = Hassan, *Giza* 4, fig. 81 (statue shrine with cavetto cornice); Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 13 = Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasheh*, fig. 28 (*hn*-shrine); *Nianchechnum*, pl. 64 (*hn*-shrine). Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, p. 72, is of the opinion that the *hn* was a shrine or cabin for the transport of statues by ship.

¹⁶² For scenes of metal-working, see e.g., Klebs, *AR*, pp. 84–86; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 275–88; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 18–42.

¹⁶³ Altenmüller, *GM* 89 (1986), p. 10.

¹⁶⁴ Altenmüller, *ibid.*, p. 9, translates the speech as follows: "[Ich] bin schon dabei (*w3*), [das Werkstück abzuliefern ö.a.]." On the verb *w3*, "tend to, be engaged in," see *Wb.* 1, p. 244, 7–8; *ALex* 1 (1977), p. 77; 2 (1978), p. 84; 3 (1979), p. 58. James Allen, however, who observes that *w3*, "tend to," is usually in the old perfective, thinks this could be part of any verb or noun beginning with the lasso, for example, *w3*[*h*], "set" (*Wb.* 1, 253ff.). As for the gesture, Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), p. 63, fig. 2, is perhaps to be compared.

¹⁶⁵ *Mereruka* 1, pls. 29–30.

¹⁶⁶ Altenmüller, *GM* 89 (1986), p. 12, Dok. 4; *idem*, *Mehu*, pl. 42.

¹⁶⁷ Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, fig. 32. For the reading *bd/bd.t* of the crucible hieroglyph, see Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 36–40.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Ducros, *ASAE* 9 (1908), p. 33.

¹⁶⁹ *LD* 2, pl. 64a.

¹⁷⁰ *LD* 2, pl. 49a.

¹⁷¹ Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 30.

¹⁷² Hassan, *ASAE* 38 (1938), pl. 96.

(fig. 117e),¹⁷³ and from the tombs of Ibi (fig. 117f) and Hemre Izi (fig. 117g) at Deir el-Gebrawi.¹⁷⁴ The examples from the Unis Causeway and the tomb of Ibi are the most complete and detailed renderings. Both consist of a tall upright post set on a low base, the post being held immobile by two wooden braces attached both to it and the base.¹⁷⁵ In the scene from the Unis Causeway, the cross beam of the balance is fixed at right angles to a vertical board. The resulting balance is identical to the hand-held scales in the tombs of Ka-em-rehu, Ankhmahor, and Mereruka.¹⁷⁶ In the Unis Causeway, the balance is suspended by means of a cord from a small hook fixed in a short piece of wood projecting from the top of the stand. The plummet is hung against the vertical board. From each end of the cross beam a cord hangs which terminates in a hook from which the hemispherical scale pans are suspended. The parallelism of the plummet to the vertical board indicated whether or not the weights placed in the opposite pans were equal. Ibi's balance is similar except that the vertical board is attached to the stand by what appears to be an L-shaped piece of metal, and the hook by which the bag-shaped pans are suspended is more prominent.¹⁷⁷ Mehu's balance is damaged, but it is clear that, as in both the Unis and Ibi representations, the plumb-line and bob are an integral part of the balance.¹⁷⁸ This opens up the possibility that Lepsius's draftsman erred in his depiction of the scale-balance in G 2378 and mistook the vertical board and the plummet fastened against it for a second upright.

Behind Fefi appeared seven smelters. The six smelters to the right with blowpipes to their mouths knelt around a crucible. Although they are shown three to each side of the crucible, in reality they would have been evenly spaced in a circle around it. The crucible itself and the charcoal fire beneath it were destroyed by the time Lepsius drew the scene.¹⁷⁹ The actual blowpipes probably consisted of hollow reeds, the ends of which were provided with clay tips to prevent ignition. By blowing through the reeds, the smelters forced the fire to a sufficiently intense temperature to melt the ingots of crude metal placed within the crucible. The long, two-part caption over their heads can be restored with some certainty thanks to parallels in other tombs. The legend over the three men at the left

probably read from right to left: *nb[*t bis*] wd r tbt.f n ds ms [p]w*, "Smelt[ing metal]. Put (it) at its base (lit. "sole [of foot]") for [th]is new *ds-jar*!"¹⁸⁰ The second phrase probably constituted an admonition by one of the smelters to another to direct a strong blast of air on the charcoal fire at the base of the crucible in order to maintain the requisite temperature. The text over the heads of the men at the right exhorted them to: [*wn*] *tw wrt r hr [nfr iphr nfr] m bd*, "[Hurry up] to the '[beautiful] appearance' [which circulates satisfactorily] in the crucible," that is, until the moment when the ore melts and takes on the brilliant color of the pure metal.¹⁸¹

To the left of the metalworkers, a lone smelter sat on the ground with both legs drawn up before him. He had one end of a blowpipe in his mouth and appears to have held its other end in his hand. In other metallurgical scenes where the figure of an isolated smelter occurs, the latter seems to be heating a small amount of gold in a pottery vessel.¹⁸² There is no indication of such a vessel here, and it is possible that the smelter was instead clearing a blockage in the reed or perhaps attaching a new clay tip to it.

On the other side of the circle of metalworkers an overseer stood in a relaxed position with both feet flat on the ground leaning on his walking stick with his left hand placed on its top and his right hand further down along its shaft. It is possible that the text over the right-hand group of smelters represented his speech, since the signs terminated just in front of his face and seem to proceed from his mouth.¹⁸³

Sixth Register. In each of two narrow sub-registers at the left, separated by a vertical line from the rest of the register, a pair of dwarfs assembled beaded collars. In the Old Kingdom dwarfs served as clothiers, musicians, dancers, and keepers of pet animals,¹⁸⁴ but they are also commonly represented in scenes of jewelry making.¹⁸⁵ Even though Lepsius's artist has only drawn their outline, the dwarfs probably sat on splay-leg stools.¹⁸⁶ The stools in the lower scene were quite a bit higher than those in the upper. Each pair of dwarfs held up between them a piece of jewelry, most likely beaded collars, which they were probably in the process of stringing. The middle parts of the collars rested upon low, rectangular tables provided with struts. Above the collar in the upper sub-register, two other pieces of jewelry, from their shape either chokers, bracelets or stolas, were to be seen,

¹⁷³ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 42.

¹⁷⁴ *Gebr.* 1, pl. 13; 2, pl. 19.

¹⁷⁵ Ducros, *ASAE* 9 (1908), p. 33, thought it likely that there were four such brackets or braces forming a criss-cross base. This would certainly keep the base steadier, but it is impossible to confirm because of the nature of Egyptian drawing conventions. In the tomb of Ibi, the base itself is not separately distinguished. In the tomb of Hemre Izi, the upright and brackets are fastened together with ropes.

¹⁷⁶ Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, fig. 42, pl. 9; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, fig. 32, pls. 35–36; Mereruka 1, pls. 29–30. A simpler hand-scale is used to weigh metal vessels in *LD* 2, pl. 13; Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 13 = Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, fig. 28. Presumably this sort of hand scale had a cord that passed through a drilled central hole as a handle and two other cords that passed through holes drilled vertically at either end of the beam and terminated in hooks from which objects and weights might be hung. For a more developed example of the type, see *Egypt's Golden Age*, cat. no. 31.

¹⁷⁷ In the depictions of hand-held scales in the tombs of Ankhmahor and Mereruka the hook assumes the form of a human arm and fist. The same is true of Mehu's stand balance.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Ducros, *ASAE* 9 (1908), p. 36.

¹⁷⁹ On Egyptian metallurgy in general, including smelting techniques, see Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 228–34; Forbes, in *A History of Technology* 1, pp. 572–99; Weinstein, *JARCE* 11 (1974), pp. 22–25; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 29–36; Scheel, *SAK* 12 (1985), pp. 117–77; 13 (1986), pp. 181–205; 14 (1987), pp. 247–64; idem, *Egyptian Metalworking*, pp. 7–33.

¹⁸⁰ See Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 31–32.

¹⁸¹ See Erman, *Reden und Rufe*, p. 40; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 282; Balcz, *MDAIK* 3 (1932), p. 86; Curto, *MDAIK* 18 (1962), p. 62; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 18, 32. At the beginning of the sentence, Lepsius's draftsman has mistakenly copied *r* instead of *wn*.

¹⁸² Hassan, *ASAE* 38 (1938), pl. 96; *Nianchechum*, pl. 63.

¹⁸³ See above, p. 41, n. 70.

¹⁸⁴ Dawson, *JEA* 24 (1938), p. 187; Silverman, *Serapis* 1 (1969), pp. 56–57; Fischer, *ZÄS* 105 (1978), pp. 47–52; Seyfried, *LÄ* 6 (1986), cols. 1432–35; El-Aguizy, *ASAE* 71 (1987), pp. 53–60; Dasen, *Medical History* 32 (1988), pp. 253–76, and especially, pp. 260–68; Thompson, *BACE* 2 (1991), pp. 91–98; Dasen, *Dwarfs*, pp. 109–133.

¹⁸⁵ The manufacture of jewelry is represented in the following: Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 13 = Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, fig. 28; Paget–Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 35; *Sh. Said*, pl. 4; *Gebr.* 1, pl. 13; 2, pl. 19; *Rue de tomb.*, pl. 33; Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, figs. 38–39; Hassan, *Giza* 2: fig. 219; 4: fig. 81; Mereruka 1, pls. 29–30; Meir 5, pls. 16–17; *Ti* 3, pl. 174; *Nianchechum*, pl. 64; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, fig. 32; Lauer, *Saqqara*, pl. 68; Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 50. For discussions, see e.g., Klebs, *AR*, pp. 85–86; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 275–88. An examination of the occurrences shows that normal-sized men are also on occasion shown stringing beads.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *Gebr.* 1, pl. 14; *Ti* 3, pl. 173, and see Baker, *Furniture*, p. 56; Fischer, *LÄ* 4 (1980), col. 184.

while in the space behind the left-hand dwarf two beaded collars were set out. The activities represented on a wall are usually arranged so that the end of a register coincides with a change of subject,¹⁸⁷ and the dwarfs ordinarily would have been depicted side by side in the same register. Here, presumably for reasons of space, the draftsman chose to place the scene in two superimposed sub-registers rather than omit it entirely. It is possible that the sub-registers are related thematically to the register above, the gold smelted there perhaps serving as a component element in the collars assembled below, even though the intermittent processes of casting and beating the metal were not shown.¹⁸⁸

The remainder of this register was taken up by a scene of the preparation and filling of beer jars. At the left two men sat on the ground facing right with their legs drawn up before them. The first man held a jar with his left hand and thrust his other hand into the jar. Over his head was written: *wd s[ī]n*, “applying clay.”¹⁸⁹ It seems likely that he was doing just that, lining the interior of the jar with a fine clay in order to render it less porous.¹⁹⁰ His companion to the right had both arms held up before him and was evidently working something between his hands, possibly clay taken from the circular mass at his feet. Once again the legend provides a clue to his activity: *šyt idš*, “kneading clay.”¹⁹¹ The clay was probably intended for the cone-shaped stoppers of the big beer jars that were lined up in two parallel rows before him. Most of these were already sealed. Opposite, however, a man bent over the jars to the left with both arms hanging down in front of him. Damage has obscured what he held but, if the legend above originally read *mḥ ḥ^r nq¹ t*, “the filling up of b^r ee^r,”¹⁹² as seems likely, he probably decanted beer from a small jar into an as yet unsealed beer jar before him. Behind him a damaged figure facing left adopted a similar pose. On the basis of a parallel representation in a tomb at Meir, it is possible that he was supplying the jars with their cone-shaped stoppers, although the presumed jar at his feet was also destroyed.¹⁹³ Of the caption over his head traces alone remained.

Further to the right two more individuals bent face to face over their tasks. On account of the longer hair and the cloth band around the head, the kneeling figure on the left was probably that of a

woman. She sat on her heels, leant forward to the right, and had both arms extended before her. Her hands and the surrounding area were destroyed and the task she was engaged in is therefore not readily apparent. The last figure on the right sat facing left with knees drawn up, hands likewise held out in front, and grasped an ill-defined object. It is likely that the legend over the latter figure is to be restored *s[ī] d(w)^r d^w*, “sifting flour.”¹⁹⁴ In the event, the figure would have been holding a sieve from which sifted flour fell. Since a group composed of face-to-face figures of two women grinding and sifting is a stock motif in scenes of baking and brewing, the figure on the left in all probability would then have been grinding grain on a quern.¹⁹⁵ If this was indeed the case, the unintelligible legend above the head of the woman on the left should probably be emended to read: *nd[t]*, “grinding.”¹⁹⁶

South Wall, East of Entrance

The south wall to the east of the entrance to Room II was occupied by a developed presentation scene in which Mehi, accompanied by his wife, surveys the bringing in of cattle and the rendering of accounts, while the couple are entertained by dancers, singers, and musicians. In 1842–43 the three lowest registers on the wall were still essentially complete (fig. 118b).¹⁹⁷ The two registers above were badly damaged, however, and Lepsius provides only a sketch of these (fig. 118a).¹⁹⁸ At present only the bottom two registers are still largely intact, while the upper part of Mehi’s figure is lost (pl. 118, 119a–b; fig. 119).

At the left end of the wall, Mehi sat in an armchair facing right toward the entrance. The armchair had plain side panels, the side rails terminated in papyrus flowers, and the bull’s legs rested on frustrum-shaped supports.¹⁹⁹ Mehi’s costume consisted of a shoulder-length wig which covered his ears, a chin beard, a beaded collar, and a short kilt whose flaring front panel projected stiffly upwards. His right arm was draped over the arm of the chair and his left hand outstretched to receive the document of accounts presented by the official before him.²⁰⁰ The legend to the scene was presumably contained in the first of several short columns of hieroglyphs which once filled the space above his head, but was lost along with any titles and epithets that followed. All that remained were two lines of hieroglyphs over the top of his head: (1) *ḥsty-^c ms^c Sndm-ib*, (2) *rn.f nfr Mḥi*, (1) “the true count Senedjemib, (2) whose good name is Mehi.”

Mehi’s wife sits at his feet with both legs tucked under her. As may be seen from Lepsius’s drawing, she wore the usual form-fitting garment with tapering shoulder straps, a short wig, a diadem with streamer, and a beaded collar. One hand rests open on her chest, while the other grasped Mehi’s forward leg. Over her head is

¹⁸⁷ See Schäfer, *Principles*, p. 165.

¹⁸⁸ For these processes, see especially Scheel, *Egyptian Metalworking*, pp. 27–32.

¹⁸⁹ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 251; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 295–96; Helck, *Bier*, p. 36; Harris, *Materials*, p. 203.

¹⁹⁰ See Montet, *Scènes*, p. 251; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 295–96; Helck, *Bier*, p. 36; Schürmann, *Li-nefert*, p. 43, fig. 17 a–b. *Sin* is the fine grey clay utilized for small vessels, magical bricks, and figurines, but especially for door and box sealings; see *Wb.* 4, p. 37, 11–38, 2; Anthes, *Hatnub*, p. 82; Harris, *Materials*, p. 204–206.

¹⁹¹ Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 254–55, cites our reference and a Middle Kingdom parallel (*Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 7), which shows the preliminaries to pot making. Two men knead clay with their feet and a third does the same with his hands. The pair of men is captioned *ḥwt šyt*, “kneading alluvial clay,” and the individual figure *ḥwt idš*, “kneading (marl?) clay.” On the other hand, Harris, *Materials*, p. 209, feels that *idš* is not a material at all but must refer to “body fabric,” “constituents,” “texture” or the like. He suggests that *wd sin* and *šyt idš* together may refer to the application of the slip and the smoothing of the fabric. On the Beni Hasan legends, see also *ibid.*, p. 235, and Do. Arnold, *MDAIK* 32 (1976), p. 4, who translates the same legends respectively “to strike the mud” and “to strike the wedging mass;” cf. Arnold and Bourriau, eds., *Introduction to Pottery*, p. 13.

¹⁹² Montet, *Scènes*, p. 251; for parallels to *mḥ ḥnqt*, see e.g., Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, p. 35, fig. 32; Hassan, *Giza*, fig. 219; *Nianchchnum*, p. 71, pl. 23.

¹⁹³ *Meir* 5, pl. 44.

¹⁹⁴ See above, p. 68 and n. 476.

¹⁹⁵ See e.g., Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, fig. 33; *Ti* 1, pls. 66–67; Hassan, *Giza* 2, fig. 219; and p. 68, figs. 56, 57, pl. 33a, b of the present volume.

¹⁹⁶ See above, p. 68 and n. 475.

¹⁹⁷ *LD* 2, pl. 74c.

¹⁹⁸ *LD* 2, *Text*, p. 357 [top].

¹⁹⁹ On Old Kingdom armchairs, Baker, *Furniture*, pp. 41–43, 49–50, and *GN* 2, pp. 28–32, figs. 31–32, pls. 15–24, should be consulted. For the frustrum-shaped supports, see above, p. 71 and n. 504.

²⁰⁰ On document presenters, see above, p. 121 and n. 74.

inscribed: *zst nswt n(t) h(t).f h m < t > . f Hnt-kw.s*, “the king’s daughter of his bo(dy), his wi<fe>, Khentkaus.”²⁰¹

First Register. Destroyed.

Second Register. The contents of this register and the next are known only from Lepsius’s sketch (fig. 118a). Vestiges of four figures remained at the right end of this register. Although the upper parts of the first two figures on the left were destroyed, both clearly knelt on one knee with buttocks resting on their heels. The last two figures, on the other hand, sat back with both legs tucked under them, a position generally assumed by women.²⁰² They had their right hands closed on their chests and their left hands resting palm open in their laps. Due to the extensive damage to the register the role played by these four figures is unclear.

Third Register. Lepsius copied seven incomplete standing figures, all facing left. Of the captions which once presumably appeared before each of the first five figures, only a single sign survived. Given the context, it probably represented the draftsman determinative of the verb *ib*, “dancing,”²⁰³ and, in point of fact, the front foot of each figure is poised on the toe in a dance step.²⁰⁴ Before the last of the standing figures at the right *hst*, “singing,” was written.²⁰⁵ The penultimate figure lacked a caption, but *hst* appeared once again in the broad lacuna between this figure and the last of the dancers, where it probably indicated the presence of a third singer whose figure was destroyed. In all likelihood *hst* was originally written before each of the three figures of the singers, just as *ib* was before those of the dancers. As Montet very well observed, the arm which determines the word *hst* shows that the hands were the principal instrument of the singer, while the noise produced by rhythmically clapping the hands was more important than the sound produced by the voice.²⁰⁶ The arms of the singers are destroyed, but presumably they did indeed mark the rhythm by clapping their hands.²⁰⁷

The upper part of the dancer’s bodies are missing, but it may be assumed that they held their arms over their heads in a circular movement, the upturned palms almost meeting.²⁰⁸ In the scenes of singing and dancing found in many Old Kingdom tombs, bare-breasted women with arms upraised, dressed in short skirts are accompanied by fully clothed women who clap their hands and sing in accompaniment.²⁰⁹ As may be seen in Lepsius’s drawing four at least of the five dancers appear to have been dressed in short skirts. But Lepsius shows the singing women in short skirts as well, a much rarer feature.²¹⁰

Fourth Register. Seven musicians and singers sat on the ground in the ordinary male posture with one knee raised and the buttock resting on the heel of the other foot.²¹¹ The musician closest to Mehi leant slightly forward with the fingers of both hands splayed on the strings of a vertical harp. Here, as in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti, the entire instrument is drawn in profile.²¹² Over the head of the harper and before his face *hst sqr*, “singing and plucking (the strings),” was inscribed.²¹³ The figures of the next three individuals to the right are partially preserved today. The first man apparently rested both hands on his raised knee. The legend above his head, already damaged in Lepsius’s drawing and now destroyed, tells us that he was *hst*, “sing’ing.” The next two men were flutists. The first holds his flute at an angle across his body. His instrument is a long side-blown or transverse flute.²¹⁴ Both hands are placed at the lower extremity of the flute, presumably to finger the holes located there. To the left of his head was the word *zbs*, “playing (the flute).”²¹⁵ Thereafter there was probably room for the word for transverse flute, and the original caption may thus have read: *zbs [m]t*, “playing the transverse flute.”²¹⁶ The placement of the *t* suggests that the initial signs of the word preceded it above, while the determinative followed it below. The companion of the flutist to the right played a shorter end-blown instrument which he held nearly parallel to the ground, while fingering its holes. The caption above his head was intact in 1842–43 and read: *zbs mmt*, “playing the double clarinet.”²¹⁷ His instrument probably consisted of two symmetrical tubes tied together and pierced with holes at regular intervals.²¹⁸ To the right of these two musicians was a second harper who again leant forward slightly as he plucked the strings of his harp. The caption before his face likewise reflected his activity: *sqr*, “plucking (the strings).” The next man to the right was probably another singer. He extended both hands before him, but his specific role is obscured by damage to the label above: *rdi [... h]t*, “giving [... sing]ing.”²¹⁹ The last man, who was also a singer, placed one hand open on his chest, while the other rested in his lap. Over his head was written: *hst*, “singing.”

Fifth Register. This and the bottom register contain the principal theme of this wall: the rendering of accounts, in the course of which the village headmen are interrogated and the cattle in their charge inspected.²²⁰ At the left the *zsb imy-r zsw Hm-ibty*, “dignitary and overseer of scribes, Hemakhti,” held out a papyrus scroll for inspection. Today his head and titulary are lost. Like the officials and village headmen who follow, Hemakhti was wigless, but unlike these

²⁰¹ A Lieder squeeze (2.1) exists of the head of the wife and the text above; see PM 3², p. 88.

²⁰² See HESP, p. 295.

²⁰³ *Wb.* 1, p. 62, 8–9; cf. *ibid.*, p. 62, 14–17; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 365–66; Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, p. 20.

²⁰⁴ Lexová, *Anc. Eg. Dances*, p. 46; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 394 and nn. 3, 4.

²⁰⁵ *Wb.* 3, p. 164, 11–21; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 357–60, 363.

²⁰⁶ Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 359–60.

²⁰⁷ Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 392.

²⁰⁸ See Lexová, *Anc. Eg. Dances*, p. 52; Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, pp. 20–22, 23–24, 25; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 398; Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* 6 (1985), pp. 218–19.

²⁰⁹ Nord, in *Dunham Studies*, p. 137. For an in-depth treatment of these scenes, see Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz*, pp. 13–36, 83–86, and for a list of occurrences at the Memphite cemeteries, see PM 3², pp. 357 (12 b), 905 (12 b), 906 (13 d).

²¹⁰ Cf. Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 12; Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 29.

²¹¹ Compare the posture of the harper statuette published by Reisner, *JEA* 6 (1920), pp. 117–18, pls. 14–15, and for other postures, see Breasted, *Servant Statues*, pls. 80b; 81a–b.

²¹² See above, p. 58.

²¹³ *Wb.* 3, p. 433, 3–6; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 360–61, 364.

²¹⁴ Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 365; Ziegler, *Instruments de musique*, pp. 83–84.

²¹⁵ Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 362–64.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*; Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, pp. 17–18.

²¹⁷ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 363; Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, pp. 17–18.

²¹⁸ Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 365; Ziegler, *Instruments de musique*, p. 86. As Ziegler points out, relief CG 1533, which also gives the name of the instrument, clearly shows two short reeds bound together by cords at the ends. In *Nianchnum*, fig. 25, the *mmt* is longer, having the same length as the transverse flute which is also played, and is held at an angle like the latter.

²¹⁹ For pantomimic gesticulation in music directing, or chironomy, see above, p. 58 and n. 318.

individuals, he is dressed in a calf-length kilt indicative of his age and station. The figure of the official to the right was already damaged in 1842–43, and his function is not apparent, though it is clear from Lepsius's plate that his left hand was raised to the level of his chest. The third official, who holds a stick in his right hand, takes the lead headman by the scruff of the neck and roughly ushers him into Mehi's presence. The headman bows low to the ground and clasps his hands together in supplication. The next two village headmen are escorted by an official who walks between them. Their bodies are bent forward parallel to the ground, or nearly so, and the official keeps them in this uncomfortable posture by the pressure of his right hand placed on the top of the head of the man preceding and of his left hand on the neck of the headman behind. In both cases their arms hang down in front of them, while the headman behind steadies himself with one hand placed on the ground. Over the backs of the first and second headmen was a short text, now damaged, that read from left to right: *ip ḥqꜣw*, "examining the village headmen."²²¹ Two other officials bring up the rear of the procession, the first a scribe who makes notations with a reed pen held in his left hand²²² on a writing board held up before him on the palm of his open right hand.²²³ The left arm of the last official is now destroyed, but photographs taken in 1931 (pl. 118, 119b) indicate that Lepsius's draftsman was correct in showing him with a scribal palette or possibly a roll of papyrus tucked under this arm.²²⁴ As may still be seen, his right hand hung open at his side. Except for Hemakhti, the officials in this register all wear short kilts with flaring front panels, whereas the first village headman appears to wear a plain, tight-fitting kilt. Although only belts and waist ties are preserved in the case of the other two headmen, it may be presumed that they too were similarly garbed.

Sixth Register. At the left end of the register, the *smsw pr Pth-šps*, "elder of the house, Ptahshepses," bows to Mehi and Khentkaus. Lepsius actually has *Pth-ḥtp*, but the *šps*-sign, though damaged, seems clear enough.²²⁵ Close behind him walks a herdsman who leads a bull by a rope held in his left hand. With his right hand closed on his chest in a gesture of respect, he likewise bows to the couple. Lepsius's drawing shows him with a bundle of fodder(?) in his right hand, but the draftsman may have been misled by the stony inclusion before

the man's face.²²⁶ The bull is a prize animal and, judging from traces and parallel representations, wore a large bivalve shell on a rope collar around his neck.²²⁷ The ropes attached to its lower jaw and collar are largely lost in the spaces between the masonry joints. Further to the right another herdsman places his right hand on the back of the first bull prompting it to move forward, and leads a second bull on a rope (destroyed) with his left hand. The second bull is also fattened and had a rope collar, but this time the individual strands of rope are indicated.²²⁸ As in the case of the first bull, the leading rein and rope attached to the animal's jaw were lost when the plaster fell out of the bedding joints. Lepsius shows a non-descript object hanging from the collar, and this bull too may have been adorned with a shell. The last animal followed without an attendant. It is largely destroyed today, but from Lepsius's drawing it looks as though it may have worn a collar that resembled the so-called Isis-knot.²²⁹ All three animals seem to belong to the same short-legged species, since above the back of each is written *rn iwꜣ*, "young stable ox,"²³⁰ but the last individual unlike the other two was hornless and apparently polled.

ROOM III

This east–west offering room is entered from the south, from Room II, by means of a doorway at the east end of the south wall. An elaborate false door occupies the west end of the room, while the long side walls, as is customary in long east–west offering rooms from the end of Dynasty 5, originally bore virtually identical table scenes. The room measures 2.25 x 6.75 meters, and has an area of 15.18 square meters. The proportion of the length of the room to the width is 1/0.33.

Door Thicknesses

Lepsius saw and recorded two registers of female figures personifying agricultural estates on each of the door thicknesses leading to the offering room. Although he published only one drawing, that of the estates on the left thickness (fig. 120a),²³¹ thanks to Dr. Walter-Friedrich Reineke of the Berlin Academy of Science, it has proven possible to include here Lepsius's original drawing of the other thickness, which is now completely destroyed (fig. 123).²³² In addition to the drawings, Lepsius's hand copies of the estate names on both walls were included in the text volumes of the *Denkmäler* published after his death (fig. 121).²³³

In 1842–43 the figures of five estates were visible in each of the two preserved registers of the left thickness (fig. 120a). Lepsius shows a blank area before the first figure in the upper register, however, and

²²⁰ See Erman, *Reden*, pp. 51–52; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 147–49; Guglielmi, *Reden*, pp. 120–25; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 169–70. For occurrences, see *PM* 3², p. 356 (6), 904 (6). A particular aspect of the developed scenes of rendering accounts—the flogging at the whipping post—is discussed recently by Beaux, *BIFAO* 91 (1992), pp. 33–53.

²²¹ For *ip*, "examine," used of persons, see *Wb.* 1, p. 66, 5; *FCD*, p. 16.

²²² The fact that this individual writes with his left hand is probably to be explained by the difficulties the Egyptian artist customarily encountered when drawing a figure facing left, especially when there was a traditional reason for an object held by that figure being borne in a certain hand; see *HESP*, p. 274ff.

²²³ Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 199, remarks that examples of this posture are not very numerous. Vandier is of the opinion that the scribe writes on a sheet of papyrus. Writing boards are well attested, however (see e.g., Brovarski, *ASAE* 71 [1987], pp. 50–51), and it is not easy to imagine how anyone could have written on a piece of papyrus resting on the arm and hand. On this question, see further, Manuélian, in *Simpson Studies* 2, pp. 568–77.

²²⁴ See Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 197 (A).

²²⁵ For *Pth-šps*, see *PN* 1, p. 326, 19 (*šps-Pth*). In the present instance, the postcomplement *s* (or *ss*) was either never written or was subsequently destroyed. The postcomplement is occasionally omitted in the spelling of *šps*; see e.g., *ibid.*, p. 326, n. 1, and Fischer, *JARCE* 4 (1965), p. 53.

²²⁶ On the motif of the herdsman with a bundle of fodder, see above, p. 58 and n. 313.

²²⁷ See e.g., Davies, *Ptahhetep* 1, pls. 16, 21, 27, 31 (3); Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, figs. 8, 15, 35, 35bis; *Ti* 3, pls. 167–69; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 4.

²²⁸ For this type of rope collar, see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 24 (5).

²²⁹ Pace Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 21, fig. 18, 3. On the origin and development of the "Isis-knot," see Fischer, *MMJ* 5 (1972), pp. 11–15. For two Early Dynastic gold amulets of an oryx and a bull with an ornament round their necks in the form of an "Isis knot," see Wilkinson, *Jewellery*, pp. 15–16, figs. 6, 7.

²³⁰ See above, p. 57 and n. 306.

²³¹ *LD* 2, pl. 74d.

²³² Lepsius *Z.* 360.

²³³ *LD*, *Text* 1, p. 53. Mariette (*Mastabas*, pp. 503–504) sketched the two thicknesses and gives the damaged names of four estates from the left (west) thickness and three from the right (east).

Jacquet-Gordon thinks there may have been room for another figure at the head of the procession.²³⁴ Since there were traces of a figure and of an estate name in a lacuna of similar size at the head of the lower register in Lepsius's plate, it seems likely that there were originally six estates in each register, as on the corresponding right-hand thickness. If the same scheme of decoration evident on the door thicknesses in G 2370 and 2374 was followed here, both thicknesses probably bore three registers when intact.²³⁵

If Mariette's sketch of the left thickness is to be trusted, by 1850 the figures of the first three estates in the upper register and of the first estate and part of the second estate in the lower register had already spalled away (fig. 122a).²³⁶ As far as the right thickness is concerned, the four estates and parts of two others seen by Lepsius in the lower register had likewise disappeared (fig. 122b).²³⁷ By 1931 the last four estates in the lower register on the left hand thickness (pl. 120) were all that survived of a presumed thirty-six estates originally depicted on the two thicknesses. These four estates are still extant today (fig. 120b). As Mariette remarks, the difference in preservation between the different courses of stone on either side of this one passage-way arises from the varying quality of the different stones which had been employed, but the later deterioration was undoubtedly abetted by exposure to the elements.²³⁸

As may be seen from Lepsius's drawings and the figures of the four remaining estates, each estate was originally dressed in a tight-fitting dress and a lappet wig. As in G 2370, G 2374, and a number of contemporary tombs, the hems of the dresses were oblique.²³⁹ There was little variation in the attitudes of the figures. Each woman evidently raised her forward hand to steady the conical basket filled with produce that she carried on her head, while the rear hand hanging behind held another offering.²⁴⁰ The nummulithic limestone is very intractable here, and presumably the details of the figures and the offerings were added in the coating of plaster that was customarily applied to reliefs carved in such stone.²⁴¹ This procedure would certainly explain the unfinished appearance of the reliefs and the fact that Lepsius's copy is not precise in every detail. The partially preserved contents of the four remaining baskets on the heads of the women at the bottom of the left thickness, for example, do not seem to correspond item by item to those sketched by him. Nonetheless, it is clear from Lepsius's copy that the first woman in the upper register on the right (east) thickness carried in her hanging left hand a bird, while the fourth and sixth women probably held a milk jar.

Left (west) thickness (pl. 120; figs. 120a–b, 121a, 122a). Beginning with the first figure on the right of the uppermost preserved register in Lepsius's drawing and ending with the last figure in the register below, the names of the estates are as follows:²⁴²

1. Destroyed.
2. Traces of a cartouche.
3. *Hr*-[*n*] *rw*[...](?) , “[...](?)”²⁴³
4. *Hr*-[*f**w*] [...], “The splendor of [...] appears in glory.”
5. *Š*[...], “[...]”
6. *Mr Hq* *nh* *Izzi*, “Heqa desires that Izezi live.”
7. [...] *Izzi*, “[...] Izezi.”
8. *Mr Šst* *I-kw-hr*, “Seshat loves Ikauhor.”²⁴⁴
9. *Wsh*-[*I-ki*] *w*-[*Hr*] , “[Ika]u[hor](?) flourishes.”²⁴⁵
10. *Šw*(?)-*Kiki*, “The plantations(?) of Kakai.”²⁴⁶
11. *Wš-bšw-Kiki*, “The power of Kakai is strong.”²⁴⁷
12. [...] *w*[*Š*] *Šh*¹ *w-r*, “[...] of ‘Sah’ure.”

Right (east) thickness (figs. 121b, 123). The cartouches and estate enclosures on this wall appear to have been left blank.

1. *Hwt* [...]: *mr Pth* *nh* [...], “The estate of [...] (named) Prah desires that [...] live.”
2. *Hwt* [...]: [...], “The estate of [...] (named) [...]”²⁴⁸
3. *Mr R* *nh* [...], “Re desires that [...] live.”
4. [...] *wt* [...], “[...]”
5. [...] *nh* [...], “[...] live [...]”
6. A cartouche alone survives.
7. Destroyed.
8. Destroyed.
9. A cartouche alone survives.
10. [...] *R* [...], “[...] Re [...]”
11. [...] *r* [...], “[...]”
12. A cartouche alone survives.

The estate names on the left jamb were compounded with the names of the Fifth Dynasty kings Sahure, Neferirkare, Menkauhor, and Izezi. There is no mention of an estate bearing the name of Unis, the sovereign whom Mehi served as vizier, but possibly this king's name appeared in one of the blank cartouches or as a component in

²³⁴ *Domaines*, p. 298 (1).

²³⁵ See above, pp. 43–44, 122–23.

²³⁶ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 504.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 503.

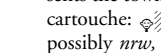
²³⁸ See above, p. 9.




²³⁹ See above, p. 55 and n. 279.

²⁴⁰ A possible exception is the last figure in the lower register of the left thickness. Lepsius shows her with right hand raised, but the traces visible today are contradictory in this regard.

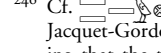
²⁴¹ See above, p. 20.

²⁴² See Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, pp. 298–300.

²⁴³ As opposed to the published drawing which shows a circular sign after an empty cartouche followed by a long lacuna, a bull, and a circle which presumably represents the town-sign, Lepsius's hand copy gives the following signs after an empty cartouche: . [*M*] *rw* is perhaps “herdsman” (*Wb.* 2, p. 279, 1–5) or possibly *nru*, “fear, dread” (*Wb.* 2, pp. 277, 11–278, 11) with transposed determinative.

²⁴⁴ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 299, remarks that the sign  is probably to be corrected to  or .

²⁴⁵ The quail chick at the bottom of the cartouche does appear to be visible at the upper right hand edge of the door thickness in the photograph.

²⁴⁶ Cf.  in the tomb of Seshemnofer III; Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 209, 243, pl. 4. Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 272 (23), reads *grgw*, “foundations.” Although noting that the three signs in Seshemnofer III resemble the *grg*-ideogram, Junker thinks the absence of a terminal *t* favors rather the reading *nru*, “Die Kanäle? (Teiche?).” “The canals” seems a peculiar designation for an agricultural foundation, and Junker's alternative translation, “Teiche,” seems more to the point. In that case, the toponym in question might better be taken to be a plural of *š*, “garden, plantation,” on which word, see above, p. 97 (b). Lepsius misread the quail chick of the plural ending, which is unusually large here (as likewise in the final toponym), as the monogram of the three jabirus. What at first glance appears to be traces of the letter *n* in the space under the quail chick is probably instead the wing tips of a bird held by the first surviving estate.

²⁴⁷ Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 299, n. 2, believed that she saw *wsh* here, but our copy favors Lepsius's original reading.

²⁴⁸ The name of the estate terminates in the figure of a bird which Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 300 (14), reads as *mnt*, “swallow.”

one of the incomplete estate names. At least one of the estate names, *Wšš-bšw-Kški*, and possibly another, if *Wšš-I-kšw-Hr* is indeed to be restored, recurs in the tomb of Mehi's father, Inti.²⁴⁹

South Wall

Both lateral walls in Room III have suffered severely from weathering and the action of salts and there are large areas, especially towards the east end of these walls, where the wall surface has entirely flaked away, leaving substantial gaps in the decoration. This was already so in 1842–43, and it was presumably for this reason that Lepsius only drew the western sections of both walls.²⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the walls were then in considerably better condition than now, even though the top registers on both walls had previously been removed.²⁵¹ Since the upper courses are gone, the original number of registers on the eastern and middle sections of the walls is not entirely certain. Still, the extra register of offering bearers seen beneath the feet of the deceased in the corresponding position in G 2370²⁵² is absent here, and this may be an indication that the walls were divided into five rather than six registers.

At the west end of the wall nearest the false door a large figure of Mehi seated before an offering table faced left towards the entrance of the room and the registers of offering bearers, priests, and food offerings before him (figs. 145, 125).²⁵³ His right hand reached forward towards the twenty tall half-loaves of bread set out on the offering table. Between his legs and the pedestal of the table was inscribed a short, ideographic offering list: *ḥš šns ḥš pzn ḥš ḥnqt ḥš 3pd ḥš ššr ḥš [mnḥt ...]*, "A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand cakes, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster jars of unguents, a thousand [pieces of cloth ...]." The end of the list was destroyed, but when complete it probably mirrored in form the better preserved ideographic list on the opposite, north wall (fig. 128).²⁵⁴ Both the pedestal of the table and the ideographic list are now lost. Mehi's chair was evidently lion-legged and the side-rails ended in a papyrus flower ornament. A cushion followed the vertical drop of the chair back. Lepsius's artist drew the element under the lion's feet at the front of the chair as though it were the customary drum tapering towards the base, but the corresponding element under the rear feet was drawn as if it were a frustrum-shaped furniture support narrower at the top than the bottom, whereas on the opposite wall both elements are wider at the bottom. In the tomb of Inti the two elements were carefully distinguished (pl. 40; fig. 61).²⁵⁵

Mehi was dressed in a shoulder-length wig, chin beard, broad collar, and folded kilt with (properly reversed) overlap. The individual rows of the broad collar were still visible in Lepsius's day. All that survives of Mehi's figure at present is his extended right arm

and hand, the line of his chest, the tips of the fingers of his left hand, and part of the outline of his legs.

Over Mehi's head were five columns of titles and epithets which terminated with his name in a single horizontal line below. At present only traces of the texts survive, but this portion of the wall was in a better state of preservation in Lepsius's day and, with the aid of what appears to be a parallel inscription on the opposite wall, the titulary can be restored to a certain extent: (1) [... *imy-rš kst nb(t) nṯ nswt*, (2) [...] *ir [ḥzzt Izz]i*, (3) [...] *iwn knmt, imy-rš ḥkr nswt nb*, (4) [... *imy-ib n nswt m st.f nbt*, (5) [... *imšḥw ḥr nṯr-ḥ*, (6) *iry-pṣ ḥty-ḥ mšḥ Sndm-ib*, "(1) [... overseer of all works of] the king, (2) [...] who does [what Izez]i [favors], (3) [...], pillar of the *knmt*-folk, overseer of all royal regalia, (4) [... favorite of the king wh]erever he is, (5) [... one honored] by the great god, (6) the hereditary prince and true count, Senedjemib."

Before Mehi's face two rows of low rectangular service tables and jar racks were represented. The racks were wider than the tables and had their tops pierced to hold the vessels which rested on a shelf below.²⁵⁶ The tables by contrast were equipped with horizontal struts. The tops of the vessels in the upper row were already lost in 1842–43. By analogy with the north wall, a nested ewer and basin probably rested on the right end of the upper right-hand rack, although only traces of the basin remained. Set into the rack alongside of it were a group of four tall splay-footed vessels, perhaps *hez*-jars. Three tall storage jars, possibly similar to those on the table at the bottom right, were set on the table at the upper left. On the table at the lower right a tall storage jar with basket-work flaps probably stood between two tall stoppered, spouted jars; the forms of the jars are better seen on the north wall. Set in the rack at the lower left was a round-bottomed bowl with a recurved rim and a (basketwork) lid on a stand between two pairs of *hez*-jars.²⁵⁷ The blocks with the representations of the racks and tables (and figures of the priests to the left) were removed subsequent to Lepsius's visit.

A compartment offering list would undoubtedly have extended above and beyond the service tables on both long walls, but no vestiges of such remain in place. They probably had a wide as opposed to a tall format, occupying two registers in height, the remainder of which may have been taken up with food and drink offerings.²⁵⁸

In the two lowest registers on both the north and south walls, piles of food and drink offerings separated the offering table from the approaching bearers. The offerings piled at the foot of Mehi's table in the lowermost register on the south wall were largely destroyed by 1842–43, and today only those to the left in the upper preserved register survive.

First Register. Destroyed.

Second Register. Destroyed.

Third Register. Lepsius saw the lower parts of a kneeling and two standing figures on the far side of the tables and racks in this register.

²⁴⁹ See above, p. 70, and Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 23.

²⁵⁰ *LD, Text 1*, p. 54.

²⁵¹ See above, p. 9.

²⁵² See above, p. 17.

²⁵³ *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xv. Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 504, provides a not wholly accurate sketch of the outlines of the different blocks which make up the western half of the south wall of the room.

²⁵⁴ See below, p. 156.

²⁵⁵ See above, p. 71, n. 504.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Radwan, *Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße*, pls. C, 30 (153B), 32 (160).

²⁵⁷ See above, p. 68 and n. 469.

²⁵⁸ See above, pp. 71–73, 125.

On the north wall opposite, a kneeling man and the individual behind him perform the opening rites of the funerary ritual, and this was presumably also the case here. The third figure was in all probability that of an offering bearer, as on the opposite wall. All three figures are now lost.

Fourth Register. The figure of the foremost offering bearer to the left of the pile of food offerings in this register was also copied by Lepsius. The head of the figure is now largely destroyed, but Lepsius shows him as wigless, and it can still be seen that he wears a folded kilt with waist tie and overlap. The offerings he held aloft on two trays are mostly destroyed, but the wickerwork frail he carried on a cord over the elbow of his left arm survives. After a gap of 1.55 m, there is another decorated block with traces of five more bearers of offerings in short, belted kilts whose figures were not drawn by Lepsius (fig. 125, inset).

Fifth Register. Two damaged figures are shown in the lowest register of the wall in Lepsius's plate. The figure of the first man has deteriorated further but is still visible. From his attitude it is clear that he once presented a goose with the hand of his straight outstretched left arm holding the neck and the right hand the wings.²⁵⁹ A few traces which probably represent the bird's neck and tail survive. There are also vestiges remaining of another individual in front of this man who, by analogy with the corresponding figure on the north wall, probably again offered up a goose. All that remains of the inscription that once occupied the space before him are traces of the letter *n*. The vertical lines further to the right, again by analogy with the flanking scene, probably belong to a tall loaf of bread. Lepsius has drawn the corresponding loaf on the north wall with vertical sides, but traces that survive today show that the loaves on both walls probably flared towards the bottom. Behind the two men who once offered up geese, traces of three offering bearers are visible. The first man held offerings aloft on trays with both hands and has onions draped over his left elbow. From the position of his arms, the second figure probably held a young animal or a bird in both arms in front; he has in addition a wickerwork frail on a cord over his right arm. The third bearer appears to have held offerings aloft on a tray with his left hand and a stalk of papyrus(?) with his right hand over his shoulder.

Insofar as it is possible to tell, all of the offering bearers in this register wore short, belted kilts. The kilt of the first damaged figure in Lepsius's plate had an overlap, and the rest of the kilts here may have had overlaps as well.

West Wall

When Lepsius saw it, the false door which occupies the west wall of the chapel was well preserved except for the flat surface over the cavetto cornice (fig. 126).²⁶⁰ Mariette provides a sketch of the false door and the table scene on its panel together with hand copies of the

texts on the jambs.²⁶¹ By 1850, when Mariette sketched the false door, the cavetto cornice was largely destroyed and the text on the architrave illegible. By 1913 the texts and representations on the upper part of the door had further deteriorated (pl. 121). At present the texts on the panel, the lower lintel, and the drum roll are all illegible, as are the figure of Mehi and the other representations on the panel. The tops of the text columns on the outer and middle jambs are likewise obliterated (fig. 127).

From Lepsius's drawing it is clear that the false door comprised an architrave, a panel, a lintel, three pairs of jambs, and a central niche surmounted by a drum roll, the whole framed by a torus moulding with the traditional lashings and cross lashings and crowned by a cavetto cornice. The preserved height of the door in 1842–43 was 2.51 m. The jambs of the door are stepped back on three separate planes, and the surviving texts and representations are all carefully executed in sunk relief. At the time of the Prussian Expedition, there were extensive vestiges of paint visible on the door and the adjacent areas.²⁶²

At the foot of the false door was an offering stone extending across the width of the room and likewise surmounted by a torus-and-cavetto cornice. Against the north wall, adjacent to the false door, stands a plain, limestone offering bench measuring 2.12 x 0.47 m. This bench appears in both Lepsius's plan and section of G 2378 (fig. 95c), as well as in Reisner's detailed plan of the Senedjemib Complex (fig. 3).²⁶³

The architrave bore a single line of text between framing lines that reads from right to left as follows: *Htp-dī-nswt htp-dī Inpw hnty zḥ-ntr qrs.t¹(i).fm zmt hrt-ntr imntt hsty-^c ms^c Sndm-ib*, "An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis, Who-presides-over-the-God's-Booth, gives that he 'be' buried in the desert of the western necropolis, (namely) the true count, Senedjemib."²⁶⁴

According to Lepsius's drawing Mehi sat on the left side of the panel on a low-backed chair whose animal legs rested on frustrum-shaped supports and whose side-rails terminated in papyrus-flower ornaments. He wore a shoulder-length wig and short, plain kilt and extended his right hand to the conventional loaves of bread on the pedestal table before him; the other hand was closed on his chest. Above the offering table and extending over Mehi's head in five short columns appeared the following text: (1) *Dḥht-htp nb(t) ḥprt n*, (2) *iry-p^t hsty-^c ms^c smr w^ty*, (3) *tyty zḥ ḥty imy-r³ kst nb(t) nt nswt*, (4) *imy-r³ zšw^c nswt imy-r³ ḥkr nswt*, (5) *imšḥw Sndm-ib*, (1) "All requisite offerings for (2) the hereditary prince and true count, the sole friend, (3) chief justice and vizier, overseer of all works of the king, (4) overseer of scribes of royal records, overseer of royal regalia, (5) the honored Senedjemib." Over the bread on the offering table stood a short ideographic list: *ḥḥ šns pzn ḥnqt ḥḥ ḥpd kḥ [...]* *ḥḥ šsr ḥḥ mnḥt*, "a thousand loaves of bread, cakes, and jars of beer, a thousand fowl, oxen, and [...], a thousand alabaster jars of unguents, a thousand pieces of

²⁶¹ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 500–502.

²⁶² See above, pp. 21–22.

²⁶³ See above, p. 19.

²⁶⁴ Lepsius's draftsman was presumably mistaken in placing an *r* after the sarcophagus determinative of *qrs* instead of *t*. The hill-country determinative beneath the necropolis monogram apparently does double duty in the case of this word and of *zmt*.

²⁵⁹ See above, p. 17.

²⁶⁰ *LD* 2, pl. 75. According to *PM* 3², p. 89, the text on the right jamb appears in Wilkinson MSS.xiii.84 [upper]. There are also squeezes in Oxford of the inner and outer right jambs by the Lieders, nos. 2.2, 2.3.

cloth.” To the right of the table leg a ewer and basin were set on a small rectangular table with horizontal strut, while the right side of the panel was occupied by offerings arrayed in three short registers. In the top register were depicted two tall, sealed beer jars on ringstands, a triangular loaf, a covered bowl(?) on a ringstand, and perhaps a circular bread and a bunch of grapes. The middle register contained an arrangement of three tall, triangular loaves of bread, a plucked fowl, and an ovoid object (a melon?) in a shallow basket.²⁶⁵ In the bottom register were another tall, sealed beer jar on a ringstand, two filled bowls and a triangular loaf set on a low pedestal table, a tall, flaring bread loaf set on its side, and a collared jar decked with three lotus blossoms on a ringstand.²⁶⁶

The lower lintel spanning the central niche bore two lines of inscription reading from right to left: (1) *Htp-di-nswt Wsir nb Ddw pr n.fhryw m wpt-rnpt Dhwt tp-rnpt W3g hb Zkr hb wr rkh 3bd smndt nb hb nb r nb*, (2) *hry-tp nswt mdh qd nswt m prwy imshw hr ntr-3 Sndm-ib*, (1) “An offering which the king gives Osiris, Lord of Busiris, that offerings be invoked for him on the Opening-of-the-year festival, the festival of Thoth, the New Year’s Day festival, the *W3g*-festival, the festival of Sokar, the Great Festival, the festival of the Burning, every monthly and half-monthly festival and every festival of every day (2) (namely) the royal chamberlain, the royal master builder in both houses, the one honored by the great god, Senedjemib.”²⁶⁷

The drum roll at the top of the central niche was inscribed as follows: *imy-r3 kst nb(t) nt nswt Sndm-ib*, “the overseer of all works of the king, Senedjemib.” Once again the signs faced to the right.

The inscriptions on the corresponding pairs of jambs were arranged in a symmetrical and nearly identical fashion. At the bottom of each jamb a small figure of Mehi functions as a determinative for the names which terminate the columns of text above. The figures are dressed in shoulder-length wigs and short kilts with flaring fronts and hold a walking stick at a diagonal in front and a scepter in the hand hanging behind. One figure at least, that at the bottom of the middle left jamb, possessed a chin beard as well. The hieroglyphs and the figures on both sides of the central axis of the false door face the central niche.

The outer left jamb read: *iry-p^t 3yty 33b 3ty imshw hr Wnis ir hzzt Izzt r nb Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr*, “the hereditary prince, chief justice and vizier, one honored by Unis, who did what Izezi favored every day, Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.” On the corresponding outer right jamb the following text appeared: *iry-p^t 3yty 33b 3ty imshw hr Izzt sh3.n nswt bity Wnis hr.s Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr*, “the hereditary prince, chief justice and vizier, one honored by Izezi, whom the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Unis, remembered on account of it, Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.” The text on the middle left jamb was as follows: *h3ty-^c m3^c imy-r3 kst nb(t) nt nswt*

imy-r3 z3w ^c nswt imshw hr Izzt Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr, “the true count, overseer of all works of the king, overseer of scribes of royal records, one honored by Izezi, Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.” The middle right jamb bore the following text: *h3ty-^c m3^c imy-r3 kst nb(t) nt nswt imy-r3 z3w ^c nswt imshw hr Wnis Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr*, “the true count, overseer of all works of the king, overseer of scribes of royal records, one honored by Unis, Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.” On the left inner jamb the following appears: *imy-r3 snwty imy-r3 prwy-^ch3w imy-r3 hkr nswt nb Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr*, “the overseer of the two granaries, overseer of the two armories, and overseer of all royal regalia, Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.” Finally, on the right inner jamb is inscribed: *imy-r3 w^bty imy-r3 prwy-nwb imy-r3 ^rsr^r nswt imy-ib n nswt Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr*, “the overseer of the two workshops, overseer of the two gold houses, overseer of royal ‘linen,’ intimate of the king, Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.”²⁶⁸

North Wall

The north wall presented what was essentially a mirror image of the south wall (pls. 122–24b; figs. 128–29). The western half of the wall with the figure of Mehi at table and three registers of priests and offering bearers are shown in Lepsius’s drawing, while Mariette provides a sketch of the western end of the wall.²⁶⁹ At the end of the last century several blocks with the figure of Mehi and part of the offerings, tables, and racks before him were removed from this wall. These blocks now form part of the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, where they bear the accession number 31705 (pl. 122).²⁷⁰ The blocks in Chicago have been incorporated into our fig. 129.

Mehi wears a shoulder-length wig, chin beard, broad collar, and folded kilt with belt and overlap. As on the opposite wall, the rows of beads on the broad collar were visible in Lepsius’s day. In this instance at least, they must have been painted, for no trace of them remains on the blocks in Chicago. Mehi sits with his left hand closed on his breast and has his open right hand extended to the offering table with conventionalized loaves of bread before him. The chair is essentially identical to that on the south wall, but the details of the legs are better preserved here, including the toes and dewclaw. A notable feature, not evident in Lepsius’s plate, is that the front legs of the chair are shown with the far leg overlapped by the near leg.²⁷¹

Insofar as it is preserved, the inscription, in five columns and a horizontal line over Mehi’s head, appears to duplicate the corresponding text on the south wall. The tops of the columns are again lost, but what remains can probably be restored as follows: (1) [... *imy-r3 kst*] *nb(t) nt nswt*, (2) [... *ir hzzt*] *t Izzt*, (3) [... *iwn kn*]^r *mt^r*, *imy-r3 hkr nswt nb*, (4) [... *imy-ib n nswt*] *m st.f nbt*, (5) [... *imshw*] *hr ntr-3*, (6) *iry-p^t h^cty-^c m3^c Sndm-ib*, (1) “[... overseer] of all [works] of the king, (2) [... who did what] Izezi [favored], (3) [...

²⁶⁵ See *HESP*, p. 330, fig. 206; Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 22, color plate 2a, pl. 10; *Food: The Gift of Osiris* 2, pp. 717–18.

²⁶⁶ Mariette’s sketch of the scene on the panel is faulty in a number of respects. To begin with he shows a damaged standing figure in a calf-length skirt with a walking stick held at a diagonal before him instead of the piled up offerings drawn by Lepsius, while the low pedestal table with basin and ewer to the right of the offering table in Lepsius’s plate appears as a small coffin-shaped box in Mariette’s sketch.

²⁶⁷ For an important new investigation of Egyptian feasts, see Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists*.

²⁶⁸ In the third title on this jamb, Lepsius’s draftsman saw a bag of linen. No traces of the ties at the corners of the sign are visible at present.

²⁶⁹ *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xvi; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 503. According to *PM* 3², p. 89, the representation of Mehi also appears in Wilkinson MSS.xiii.83. The text above Mehi’s head was copied by the Lieders (squeeze no. 2.4).

²⁷⁰ See above, p. 8.

pillar of the *kn*^r*mt*¹-folk, overseer of all royal regalia, (4) [... intimate of the king] wherever he is, (5) [... one honored] by the great god, (6) the hereditary prince and true count, Senedjemib.”

In contrast to the twenty half-loaves seen by Lepsius on the offering table on the south wall, only sixteen half-loaves of bread were originally set on the offering table here. Half are lost today, and the others are missing their bases and tips; only the half-loaf at the extreme right still retains almost its entire outline. The offering table too is destroyed except for traces of the bottom line of its circular plate. Above the table were set the same low rectangular service tables and jar racks that appeared on the south wall. These were largely destroyed in the process of extracting the blocks from the wall, but the near side of the rack and the table at the left are still preserved on the edge of the large block with Mehi's head and titles. Part of the ewer and basin that sat on top of the rack at the upper left also survives. By analogy with the south wall, four tall splay-footed vessels were probably set into the rack alongside of it. The vessels on the table at the upper right were already destroyed in 1842–43, but they were probably three tall storage jars as on the south wall. Two of the three vessels that rested on the table at the bottom left survive on the block in the Field Museum. They show that Lepsius's artist has gotten the basic shape of the vessels right but erred in the details. The first vessel at the left is a tall, spouted jar with a stopper. In Lepsius's plate it is actually one of a pair of identical vessels with a vessel of different shape between. From the Chicago block it seems that the middle vessel is a tall storage jar with (basketwork) flaps and a stopper.²⁷² The destroyed jar rack at the lower right apparently held a covered round-bottomed bowl with a recurved rim set on a ring-stand flanked by two pairs of *hezēt*-jars, an arrangement also evident on the opposite wall.

On the far side of the offering table, food and drink offerings of all kinds are piled up. In the bottom register they include an arrangement of two tall loaves of bread flaring slightly at the bottom, alternating with a sealed beer jar and a storage jar with rilled neck and basket-work flaps (both on jar stands), a covered bowl, a foreleg of beef, a calf's head, two ducks, and a deep boat-shaped basket probably filled with ribs of beef and fruit.²⁷³ Between this heap of offerings and the support of Mehi's table was an ideographic offering list, now largely destroyed: *h3 t h3 pzn h3 hnqt h3 [k3] h3 3pd h3 s3r h3 [mnht] h3 ht nbt nfrt r3 nb*, “a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand cakes, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand [oxen], a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster jars of unguents, a thousand [pieces of cloth], and

a thousand of everything good every day.” The offerings continue into the register above.

In three partially preserved registers on the far side of the piled up food and drink, files of bearers bring additional offerings, while priests perform rites on a level with Mehi's head.

First Register. Destroyed.

Second Register. Destroyed.

Third Register. The pair of figures at the head of the register perform the initial episodes of the funerary ritual.²⁷⁴ The first priest kneels, placing both hands palm down before him on a mound of sand(?).²⁷⁵ The man standing behind pours a stream of water from a tall, spouted *hezēt*-jar over the head of the first man and onto his hands. Both officiants have their hair close-cropped and wear short kilts. The kilt of the standing man shows an overlap as apparently once did the kilts of the offering bearers who follow. Above the heads of the priests are vestiges of a caption: [*i*]w nm n k3.[k], “This [i]s for [your] *ka*.” The first of the offering bearers carried a foreleg of beef across his shoulders with both hands; he has a bunch of onions(?) over one elbow and a splayed basket with loop handles hanging from the other. The second bearer held with both hands a large, rectangular object, now destroyed, possibly a box or cage, across his shoulders and carries lotus flowers and a wickerwork frail on a cord over his elbows. The offering the third man apparently held aloft on a tray is destroyed, as is the offering he once held in his left hand, but traces remain of the ovoid milk-jar(?) he carried by a cord over his right elbow. The fourth man has another splayed basket with loop handles over one elbow and a wickerwork frail dangling from a cord over the other. The figure of the fifth offering bearer is largely destroyed, and the offering he held aloft has disappeared along with the object he carried over his other shoulder, except for one end that juts out in front of his body.

As previously mentioned, towards the east ends of both lateral walls in Room III, there are large areas where the surface of the wall has flaked away, leaving gaps in the decoration. The remainder of this register has, in fact, been destroyed except for a block with traces of decoration at a distance of about 34 cm from the northeast corner of the room. This block has been mounted at the appropriate height in fig. 129, but the outlines of the intervening (modern) blocks are omitted. All that can be made out are the legs of one figure and behind this the legs and lower torso of a second, both facing left and presumably representing the tail end of the file of offering bearers.

Fourth Register. The surface of the block immediately to the right of the food offerings heaped up before the offering table in this register had flaked away by Lepsius's day. Beyond the gap traces of six men walking in procession who bring offerings to add to the pile are visible. There is space in the lacuna for one more offering bearer at the head of the procession. Lepsius drew only the first three of the six

²⁷¹ See Schäfer, *Principles*, pp. 183–84, fig. 180; *HESP*, pp. 336–37. The earliest example of the overlapping of the legs known to William Stevenson Smith was one in the tomb of Ptahhetep II (= Paget–Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pls. 34–35, 38–39), which probably also dates to the reign of Unis (Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 274). Smith cited other, later examples from the tombs of Nefer-seshem-ptah at Saqqara (*Rue de tomb.*, pl. 101; cf. pl. 20) and Idu at Giza (G 7102: Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 2, figs. 39 [rear legs], 41 [rear legs]). Subsequently, other examples of this feature have appeared in print in *Ti* 1, pl. 17; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pls. 9, 10, 16, 22, 49 (rear and front legs). The last tomb was probably decorated in the period between Neuserre and early Izezi (Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 272; above, p. 12), which would make the occurrences there the earliest examples. As an afterthought, it might be noted that the legs of the bed upon which Mereruka and his wife sit are also drawn in this manner (*Mereruka* 1, pls. 94–95).

²⁷² On the curious flaps at the shoulders of jars, see above p. 71 and n. 516.

²⁷³ On boat-shaped baskets, see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 13 and fig. 4; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 137–38; Posener-Krieger, in *Fs. Berliner Museums*, pp. 208–209 and fig. 1.

²⁷⁴ The mortuary rites performed before the deceased are more fully represented in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti and are discussed above, pp. 73–74.

²⁷⁵ See above, p. 73 and n. 526.

surviving offering bearers, but the offerings carried by these three men are better preserved in his drawing. The upper part of the body of the first surviving offering bearer is now entirely destroyed. According to Lepsius he held a small, ill-defined object against his chest with his left hand. The second man carried aloft a tray bearing an oblong-shaped offering with rounded ends (a loaf of bread?) and, on his other hand, a flat-bottomed bowl with recurved rim(?) and curved spout, while a papyrus stalk was draped over his right arm. Only the papyrus stalk is clearly visible today. The third man held two trays of nondescript offerings aloft (destroyed) and onions(?) over his right elbow. The fourth man probably had both arms raised and may have carried an animal across his shoulders. Two wicker-work frails are suspended horizontally on a single cord from his right elbow, while the “V” shaped element overlapping the back of his figure may represent a damaged object hanging from his other elbow. The next two figures are largely destroyed, but the fifth bearer may also have held offerings aloft with his right hand.

Fifth Register. Lepsius shows the two foremost figures in this register with straight, outstretched arms. Presumably, as on the south wall, they strangled birds. Scanty traces of the bird in the hands of the first man remain today, but the second man and the bird he held are now largely destroyed. Over the heads of the figures *iw nn n ks.[k]*, “this is for [your] *ka*,” was written.²⁷⁶ The first figure was identified as *z.f smsw [mry].f*, “his eldest son whom he loved,” and, even though the name is lost, Mehi’s eldest son, Senedjemib, was probably represented here.²⁷⁷ Behind the foremost figures are faint traces of other offering bearers, the first of whom carried lotuses over his right arm.

East Wall

Lepsius apparently saw traces of an offering procession on this wall, but evidently made no attempt to copy it.²⁷⁸ In the bottom register of the wall an isolated block some 65 cm wide and 34 cm distant from the northeast corner of the room preserves traces of three more offering bearers (fig. 129, inset). Except for his front heel and part of his rear leg the first figure is destroyed, but he evidently held a bird by the neck with his hanging left hand. The second man carries a tray of offerings on his shoulder and probably held an offering with his left hand over the other shoulder. The last man again balanced a tray of offerings on his right shoulder, but the position of his other arm is uncertain.

ASSOCIATED SHAFTS AND BURIAL CHAMBERS

Two shafts were associated with mastaba G 2378: Shaft A, descending under the east wall of the mastaba, and Shaft B, an intrusive pit constructed in the southern half of the serdab of the mastaba at a date subsequent to its original construction.

²⁷⁶ Lepsius’s artist almost certainly erred in seeing a loaf *t* instead of the 2nd pers. m. sing. pronoun after the *ks*-arms.

²⁷⁷ See above, p. 143.

²⁷⁸ LD, Text 1, p. 54.

G 2378 A

Senedjemib Mehi was probably buried in G 2378 A, a sloping passage tomb of type 9 a that descends to the west under the east wall of his mastaba, at a distance of about 11 m from its southeast corner (pl. 125a; fig. 130a).²⁷⁹ A built passage was constructed in a rock-cut passage and roofed with slabs. The empty space above the roof and on either side of the built passage was then packed with rubble and mud. Later, when mastaba G 2385 was built, the mouth of the sloping passage was hidden under the floor of its northernmost room (Room g–h) (figs. 2, 3, 9).²⁸⁰

The passage itself was blocked with plug-stones.²⁸¹ The opening of the passage in the rock floor measures 5.0 x 2.1 m, and the rock face on the east is about 3.20 m high. The horizontal length of the rock-cut passage is 7.0 meters; the angle of descent 27° 52'. The sloping length of the floor is 15.0 m and of the roof 8.25 m. A section vertical to the slope measured in width 2.1 m (east) and 1.9 m (west) and in height 1.9 m (east) and 1.9 m (west). The built passage is of the same length and inclination as the rock-cut passage, but the other measurements were never recorded. The passage enters the burial chamber from the east at the north end of the east wall practically at floor level. The chamber itself measures 6.85 x 3.3 m with a height of 2.4 m. The area is 22.6 sq. m. and the capacity 54.24 cu. m.

In the southwest corner of the chamber sits a plain red granite sarcophagus whose outside measurements are 3.4 x 1.45 m and whose height is 1.35 m (pl. 125b). The inside measurements are 2.35 x 0.8 m and the depth 0.65 m. Like Inti’s sarcophagus, Mehi’s had a heavy, thick lid of ill-defined form with a slightly curving top, and thus belonged to Reisner’s type (g).²⁸² Unlike his father’s sarcophagus, Mehi’s was uninscribed. It had a maximum thickness of 0.75 m and at the edges was 0.6 m thick. Tomb Card G 2378 A provides a few more details about the sarcophagus: it was partly polished on the sides; four drill holes were visible on each interior side (see pl. 126a; fig. 130a); and the roughly elliptical cover was fastened with lime plaster. The tomb card also provides the information that a square recess, 82 cm square and 53 cm deep, was cut in the floor of the chamber in the middle of the south wall adjacent to the northwest corner of the sarcophagus. This recess is visible in the plan and in section C–D.²⁸³ The tomb card speculates that it was a receptacle for objects but, considering that the recess is close to the southeast corner of the burial chamber, which was the usual position for a canopic pit, it is possible that it was intended for this purpose.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁹ See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” pp. 146–47.

²⁸⁰ In the plunderers shaft at the entrance to the sloping burial shaft, among a mass of loose stones beneath the floor of Room g–h, Reisner found two wooden statues, the larger of which is a work of outstanding quality; see e.g., HESP, pl. 23. Reisner (BMFA II, no. 66 [November, 1913], p. 62) thought the statues belonged to the owner of G 2385, whose name was not preserved, while Smith assigned both statues to Senedjemib Mehi (HESP, p. 58). Considering that the serdab of Mehi is on the far side of his mastaba from the entrance to sloping passage tomb G 2385, it seems more likely to the present writer that Reisner was correct and that the two statues belonged to the anonymous owner of G 2385, especially given the presence of the two north–south serdabs in the thickness of the eastern retaining wall of G 2385. The statues will therefore be included in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Part 2.

²⁸¹ For what follows see Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 145.

²⁸² See p. 81 above.

²⁸³ If Reisner’s figure for the depth of the sarcophagus, for example, is correct, the recess as shown in section C–D looks less than 53 cm in depth.

In the northwest corner of the chamber was a block of rubble measuring 0.8 x 1.3 m. Built against the northern end of the sarcophagus at a distance of 0.85 m south of this rubble block was a second block of rubble measuring 1.9 x 1.4 m. These rubble blocks of roughly the same height as the sarcophagus had probably supported the granite lid before the burial.

The plunderers had dug their way through the mud and rubble packing above the built passage and thrown the granite lid off to the east. The plundering of the chamber was thorough, and Reisner found only a few ox-bones (pl. 126b), some alabaster model vessels, a copper fragment from a vessel or model vessel, and a few small potsherds, along with five small wooden figures of kneeling prisoners with their arms bound at the elbows behind their backs.

Smith speculated that the five prisoner figures (pl. 126d, e; fig. 130b) imitated the custom of placing large, stone figures of captives in the temple of the king, such as are known from the examples of Niuserre and Pepy II.²⁸⁵ The figures were in bad condition and one was missing its head. Of the four preserved figures, three wear short wigs and the other has a sort of lappet wig.²⁸⁶

G 2378 B

At a date subsequent to its construction, the serdab behind the west wall of Room II was divided in two by a rubble wall, the slot filled with plaster, and an intrusive pit, B, constructed in its southern half. Shaft G 2378 B was of Reisner's type 7 x. It measured 1.4 x 1.4 m, and was lined with rubble to a depth of 3.10 m. It ended ca. 1 m above the rock. The shaft was unfinished, and there was no burial chamber. Reisner found it open and empty.²⁸⁷

REGISTER OF OBJECTS—G 2378

For stone vessel types, see Reisner-Smith, *GN* 2, pp. 90–102.

G 2378, in sand on top

12–12–41 Plummet(?), dried mud, l. 7.8 cm (pl. 126c; fig. 130b). MFA 13.3457; Exp. Ph. A 4992 1/8

G 2378 A, in chamber

12–12–209 Five figures of prisoners, kneeling hands tied behind back; one has the head broken off, bad condition, wood, h. ca. 10 cm. (pl. 126d–e; fig. 130b). MFA 13.3458–9; Cairo JE 44614, 44615, 44616. Exp. Ph. B 1922, C 4475

12–12–210 Rough saucer, alab., diam. 6.6 cm, type OK IXa. Not illustrated

12–12–211 Frg. from a model vessel, copper, l. 3.1 cm. Not illustrated

12–12–212 Two rough saucers and half of a third, alab., diam. 6.8 cm. Not illustrated

12–12–213 Model jar with spout, incomplete, alab., h. 3.4 cm, type OK XVIa (fig. 130b). Not photographed

²⁸⁴ On canopic pits, see *GN* 1, pp. 155–62. Reisner does not include this recess in his list.

²⁸⁵ *HESP*, p. 58. Subsequently, large prisoner statues have also been found in the pyramid complexes of Izezi (*PM* 3², p. 424), Unis (*ibid.*, p. 421), Teti (*ibid.*, p. 394), and Pepy I (*ibid.*, p. 422). The smaller wooden figures of foreign captives discovered in the pyramid temple of Neferefre appear to have originally adorned a piece of sacred furniture; see Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, pp. 146–47, figs. on pp. 148, 149.

²⁸⁶ *HESP*, p. 58, pl. 23 e–f.

²⁸⁷ “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 146; see above, pp. 3, 35.

12–12–214 Model jar, bottom broken off, alab., h. 7 cm. (fig. 130b). Not photographed

35–7–20 Ox bones. No data. (pl. 126b)

TITLES OF SENEDJEMIB MEHI

As is the case with his father and his brother Khnumenti, the honorific and religious content of Mehi's titulary is limited.

| | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>iw n knmt</i> | “pillar of the <i>knmt</i> -folk” |
| 2. <i>imy-ib n nswt</i> | “favorite of the king” |
| 3. <i>imy-ib n nswt m st.f nb(t)</i> | “favorite of the king wherever he is” |
| 4. <i>imy-r3 w^cbtj</i> | “overseer of the two workshops” |
| 5. <i>imy-r3 prwy-^chw</i> | “overseer of the two armories” |
| 6. <i>imy-r3 prwy-nwb</i> | “overseer of the two houses of gold” |
| 7. <i>imy-r3 hkr nswt (nb)</i> | “overseer of (all) royal regalia” |
| 8. <i>imy-r3 zšw ^c nswt</i> | “overseer of scribes of royal records” |
| 9. <i>imy-r3 ^r sš^r nswt</i> | “overseer of royal ^r linen ¹ ” |
| 10. <i>imy-r3 šnwty</i> | “overseer of the two granaries” |
| 11. <i>imy-r3 kst nb(t) nt nswt</i> | “overseer of all works of the king” |
| 12. <i>iry-p^ct</i> | “hereditary prince” |
| 13. <i>mdh qd nswt m prwy</i> | “royal master builder in both houses (viz. Upper and Lower Egypt)” |
| 14. <i>hsty-^c m3^c</i> | “true count” |
| 15. <i>hry-sšb n wd^t-mdw nb(t) nt nswt</i> | “master of secrets of all commands of the king” |
| 16. <i>hry-tp nswt</i> | “royal chamberlain” |
| 17. <i>smr w^cty</i> | “sole friend” |
| 18. <i>t3ty z3b t3ty</i> | “chief justice and vizier” |

No. 4. There were two *w^cbt*, or “workshops,” in the Old Kingdom, one the workshop of the embalmers and the other that of the artisans who fashioned mobilier for the dead, including funerary equipment of all kinds, statues, and stone architectural elements, such as false doors.²⁸⁸ The title *imy-r3 w^cbtj* is a regular component in vizier's titularies from the reign of Unis.²⁸⁹ Mehi may, in fact, be the earliest vizierial holder of the title. The presumably lower ranking *imy-r3 w^cbt*, “overseer of a workshop,” occurs less often in vizier's titularies.²⁹⁰ One of the viziers who have the lower-ranking title is *imy-r3 w^cbtj* as well.²⁹¹ Neither title was the sole preserve of the viziers. The higher-ranking title was held by three treasury overseers and a

²⁸⁸ Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), p. 202; Brovanski, *Orientalia* 46 (1977), pp. 114–15.

²⁸⁹ Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 56 (3), 68 (22), 96 (62), 99 (67), 100 (68), 101 (69), 109 (82), 112 (88), 112 (89), 130 (117), 154 (151), 160 (160).

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 68 (22), 87 (49), 89 (51), 89 (52), 134 (123).

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68 (22).

master metalworker who, like the treasury officials, was also *imy-r3 prwy nwb*, “overseer of the two houses of gold,” and a high priest of Ptah (*wr hꜣp hmwt*, “greatest of the directors of craftsmen”²⁹²) who was not.²⁹³ Three high priests of Ptah bore the lower-ranking title, as did a master metalworker and two overseers of craftsmen,²⁹⁴ while an *imy-r3 wꜣbt nswt* is also *imy-r3 prw-inꜣt*, “overseer of the houses of the weavers.”²⁹⁵ From the reign of Unis at least, it may be that the vizier was in overall charge of the two workshops, while the non-viziers who were *imy-r3 wꜣbtj* or *imy-r3 wꜣbt* were responsible for their daily operation and production.

Strudwick notes that title No. 6 is more commonly found with *imy-r3 prwy-hꜣd* than *imy-r3 pr-hꜣd*.²⁹⁶ Of the eighteen examples known to him, only four are not found in this combination. Two of these are probably associated with this title by virtue of their bearers being metal-workers.²⁹⁷ Of the two other individuals, the titulary of the overseer of Upper Egypt Ni-kau-Izezi is not yet completely published, so theoretically it is possible that he was also *imy-r3 prwy-hꜣd*.²⁹⁸ The second exception is Senedjemib Mehi. In this connection, Strudwick observes that Mehi is one of the few viziers to hold the title *imy-r3 šnwty* but not *imy-r3 prwy-hꜣd*, and he wonders if the latter title did not appear in the damaged portions of the tomb.²⁹⁹ It would be surprising, however, for so important a title to be omitted from the title strings on Mehi’s false door, if he indeed possessed it. Then too, conversely, Inti is *imy-r3 prwy-hꜣd* (and *imy-r3 šnwty*) but not *imy-r3 prwy-nwb*, while Khnumenti has all three titles. In all likelihood, there are principles at work here governing the inclusion or exclusion of titles that are not readily comprehensible to us.

No. 9. Mehi appears to be the only vizier to have held this treasury-related title.³⁰⁰

No. 14. Mehi consistently adds the adjective *mꜣꜣ*, “true, real” to his rank title of *hꜣty-ꜣ*. Whereas some scholars think that the use of the *mꜣꜣ* after a title means that the holder actually exercised the office concerned, others claim that the use of the word denotes exactly the opposite, the adjective suggesting rather that the title was merely honorific.³⁰¹ James thinks it wrong to claim that *mꜣꜣ* indicates an active as against a passive holding of a title since, if it were true that it indicates a real exercise of office, it is surprising it is not found used more often.³⁰² He notes further that in the case of primarily honorific titles, such as *smr wꜣty* and *imꜣhw*, *mꜣꜣ* can hardly signify a difference between real and honorific. Fischer observes that the word *mꜣꜣ*

is added to the title “overseer of Upper Egypt” by Uni the Elder, who certainly controlled all the Upper Egyptian nomes, while Pepyankh Hery-ib of Meir, who controlled the Middle Nomes, appends *n bw mꜣꜣ* (“rightly, rightfully, truthfully”) to the same title.³⁰³ Additions such as *mꜣꜣ* and *n bw mꜣꜣ* have also been taken as indications of the declining value of the titles to which they are appended.³⁰⁴ Baer has noted, however, that these and certain other additions do not produce the slightest change in the rank of the titles to which they are added.³⁰⁵ Perhaps, as James suggests, *mꜣꜣ* was used as a form of elegant variation.³⁰⁶

DEPENDENTS OF SENEDJEMIB MEHI

1. *Pth-šps* (*Šps-Pth*) (*PN* I, p. 326, 19; 2, p. 429, 14).³⁰⁷ Even though this name was a popular one in the Old Kingdom, it is not possible to further identify our individual who, with the title *smsw pr*, “elder of the house,” leads a file of herdsmen and oxen into the presence of Mehi and his wife on the south wall of the anteroom, east of the entrance.

2. *Ffi* (*PN* I, p. 142, 8; 2, p. 359). Depicted overseeing the weighing of metal on the east wall of the anteroom, his title began with *imy-r3*. The weighing out of metal is usually supervised by an *imy-r3 pr*, “overseer of the house,” or *imy-r3 bꜣtyw*, “overseer of metal-workers.”³⁰⁸

Although a *Ffi* with the title *imy-r3 pr* is known from the tomb of the king’s son of his body and general Djaty (G 7810), this individual clearly antedates our period.³⁰⁹

3. *Hm-šty* also appears in the tomb of Inti with the titles *zꜣb zꜣ šꜣd hmw-ks*.³¹⁰ On the north wall of the anteroom in G 2378, he has the title *zꜣb zꜣ*, but in the presentation scene on the south wall of the same room, east of the entrance, he is *zꜣb imy-r3 zꜣw*, “magistrate and overseer of scribes.” *Zꜣb* is probably likewise to be restored before the title *imy-r3 zꜣw* in the fowling scene on the rear of the portico to the east of the entrance. If anything, Hemakhti occupies a more prominent role in G 2378 than in G 2370. In the portico of G 2378, as in that of G 2370, he is one of four senior officials who attend Mehi on an outing in the marshes, but on the north wall of the anteroom he heads a file of officials and offering bearers who approach Mehi and his family, while in the presentation scene on the south wall of the same room, he hands Mehi a papyrus scroll that presumably contained lists of the stock raised on his estates.

The name is a relatively common one,³¹¹ but none of the bearers of the name has a very good claim to be identified with the official portrayed in Inti and Mehi’s chapels, though one among them, a *zꜣb zꜣ* represented in tomb of Akhetetep at Saqqara occupies the right

²⁹² See Fischer, *Varia*, p. 67.

²⁹³ Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 121 [422]; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 78 (35), 103 (73), 98 (66); Goyon, *Kēmi* 15 (1969), pl. 2.

²⁹⁴ *PM* 3², pp. 54 [G 1032], 138 [G 4811–12], 452 [No. 14], 460 [No. 38, north chapel], 464 [No. 48], 464 [No. 50].

²⁹⁵ CG 1447. For the reading of the title, see Fischer, *Varia*, p. 72 (24). Another *imy-r3 wꜣbt nswt* (*PM* 3², p. 64 [G 1457]) has no titles whatsoever that connect him with craftsmen.

²⁹⁶ *Administration*, p. 284.

²⁹⁷ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 29; Goyon, *Kēmi* 15 (1959), pl. 5 (8).

²⁹⁸ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 105 (76).

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

³⁰⁰ Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 290, states that Khentika Ikhekhi has the title *imy-r3 šꜣr*. In fact, the title belongs to an individual with the same name and by-name as the vizier, but who probably belonged to a later generation of the vizier’s funerary personnel; see James, *Khentika*, pl. 13 [79], and Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 6.

³⁰¹ E.g., Gunn, in *Tei Cem.* 1, p. 109, n. 3; Nims, *JAOs* 56 (1938), p. 647, n. 45.

³⁰² James, *Khentika*, pp. 10 (37), 12–13.

³⁰³ Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 96–97, nn. 437–38.

³⁰⁴ E.g., Kees, *Prov. Verw.*, p. 91, n. 2.

³⁰⁵ *Rank and Title*, p. 163.

³⁰⁶ James, *Khentika*, p. 13; but see also p. 41, n. 74 above.

³⁰⁷ Additional citations: Murray, *Index*, pl. 6.

³⁰⁸ See above, p. 147.

³⁰⁹ REM photograph 8/77. For the date, see Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 164 (165); Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 271.

³¹⁰ See above, p. 86 (19).

³¹¹ *PN* I, p. 239, 17; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 322; Quibell, *Excav. Saq.* (1907–1908), p. 25 [911]; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pls. 49, 53, 69, 95, 150; Abder-Raziq, in *Mélanges Mokhtar*, p. 226, fig. 5.

time frame and could conceivably be our official before his promotion to *zsb imy-r3 zšw* early in the reign of Unis.³¹²

4. *Hwfw-ḥb(.w)* (*ḥb-Hwfw?*) (*PN I*, p. 268, 5, “Cheops lebt”).³¹³ Without title, this individual appears as a butcher’s assistant on the west wall of the anteroom.

5. *Hnm (B?)-šps (šps-Hnm [B?])* (*PN I*, pp. 429, 14; 326, 18; 2, p. 390). The second of three officials who make offering at the serdab slot in the west wall of the anteroom, he holds up two pieces of cloth. The title *zsb*, “dignitary,” in front of his face may have been followed by another short title, such as *ḏ-mr*, “district administrator,” or a scribal title such as *imy-r3 zšw*, *šḏ zšw*, or simply *zš*, all of which are regularly paired with *zsb*.³¹⁴ A judiciary title like *iry Nhn* would also be a possibility.³¹⁵

The sign of the hairy long-legged ram with horizontal horns employed by itself can signify either *b3*, “ram(-god),” or *Hnmw*, “Khnum.” When unaccompanied by phonetic signs, as in the present instance, this can lead to confusion.³¹⁶

6. *Sndm-ib* (*PN I*, p. 316, 21; 2, p. 388). The fourth figure in the procession of officials on the north wall of the anteroom, he bears the title *hry-tp šnwt*, “subordinate of the granary.”³¹⁷ From the papyrus scroll in his hand and writing palette under his arm, he appears also to have been a scribe. The owner of a fragment of a false door from Saqqara is the *hry-tp šnwt*, and *imy-r3 zšw šnwt*, *Sndm[...]*.³¹⁸ If the last preserved sign of the name was originally followed by a heart-sign, he could be the same individual. Except for *hry-tp nswt*, “royal chamberlain,” *hry-tp* is rare as an element in titles.³¹⁹

7. *Qr* (*PN I*, p. 335, 21). One of a file of offering bearers on the north wall of the anteroom, he is identified as a *hm-k3*. Ranke gives *Qr* as a variant of *Qri* (*PN I*, p. 335, 30), but whereas the latter name is attested in the Old Kingdom, Ranke provides only a Middle Kingdom reference for the former. He also saw a connection between both these names and *Qir* (see above, p. 87 [21]), which was presumably based on the sporadic occurrence of the sack or purse in all three names. Any determinative that the name *Qr* in G 2378 may have possessed was lost by 1842–43, however.

8. Name lost. One of three attendants depicted behind Mehi in the spear fishing scene at the rear of the portico, he bore the title *zš ḥft-ḥr nswt* *ḥft-ḥr*.

9. Name lost. This anonymous *zsb smsw h3yt* strangles a goose on the right of the serdab slot in the west wall of the anteroom.

³¹² Davies, *Ptahhetep 2*, pls. 24, 27.

³¹³ Additional citations: Murray, *Index*, pl. 11; *PM 3²*, pp. 129, 203, 216.

³¹⁴ Above, p. 142, n. 92.

³¹⁵ *PM 3²*, p. 934 (278).

³¹⁶ See Gardiner, *EG*, p. 459 [E 10]; Brovarski, *ASAE 71* (1987), p. 47.

³¹⁷ For this title, see *Teti Cem. 1*, p. 165; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 64 and n. 4. For other occurrences, see Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 34; Davies, *Ptahhetep 2*, pl. 20; *ÁIB 1*, p. 53; *Rue de tomb. 2*, pl. 137; *Teti Cem. 2*, pl. 63 [5]; *ArchAbousir 2*, pp. 388, 598; *PM 3²*, p. 696 (Cleveland 64.91).

³¹⁸ Martin, *Hetepka*, p. 25 (33), pl. 24.

³¹⁹ See *PM 3²*, pp. 930 (732, 743–44).

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¹*Izw*: 75, 87
¹*Iz.n-Pth*: 65, 87
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IV. TITLES AND EPITHETS

Even if no transliteration is provided above in the text, all titles and epithets are given below in transliteration.

iwn knmt, “pillar of the *knmt*-folk,” 126, 129, 153, 155, 158
im-5, “gracious of arm(?),” 34, 41
imšhw, “honored (one),” 154, 159
imšhw, “honored,” “esteemed,” (during one’s lifetime), 30
imšhw hr Inpw, “one honored by Anubis,” 115
imšhw hr Inpw <tp-dw>.f, “one honored by Anubis, <Who-is-upon->His-
 <Mountain>,” 123
imšhw hr Inpw tp-dw.f nb ʿ-ḏsr imy-wt, “one honored by Anubis, Who-is-
 upon-His-Mountain, Lord of the Sacred Land, Who-is-in-Ut,”
 126
imšhw hr Izezi, “one honored by Izezi,” 30, 155
imšhw hr Wnis, “honored by Unis,” 155
[imšh]w hr Wsir, “[one honor]ed by Osiris,” 126
imšhw hr Ptʿh, “one honored by Ptʿah,” 123
imšhw hr Ptʿh ʿsy-ḏnb.f, “one honored by Ptʿah, Who-is-south-of-His-
 Wall,” 126
imšhw hr nb.f, “one honored by his lord,” 78
imšhw hr nswt, “one honored by the king,” 71, 126
imšh[w hr] nswt-bity Wnis, “one honor[ed by] the King of Upper and Lower
 Egypt, Unis,” 29,
imšhw hr ntr ʿ, “one honored by the great god,” 33, 43, 59, 115, 123, 125, 153, 155
imšhw hr ntr ʿ nb imnt, “one honored by the great god, lord of the west,”
 125–26
imšhw hr ntr nb, “one honored by every god,” 43,
imšhw[ʿ] hr ntr, “[she] who is honored by god,” 143
imy-ib (n) nswt, “favorite of the king,” 120, 129, 155, 156
imy-ib n nswt m st.fnb(t), “favorite of the king wherever he is,” 133, 138, 155, 158
imy-ib nswt m kt.fnbt, “favorite of the king in every work of his,” 125–26, 129
imy-irty, “ship’s captain,” 38
imy-r3 [...], “overseer,” 146
imy-r3 iw, “overseer of the island,” 58
imy-r3 Iwʿ, “overseer of the Letopolite nome,” 25
imy-r3 Inb-ḥd, “overseer of the Memphite nome,” 25
imy-r3 irw šn, “overseer of hairdressers,” 83
imy-r3 izawy ḥkr-nswt, “overseer of the two chambers of the royal regalia,”
 23, 83, 90
imy-r3 wʿbt, “overseer of a workshop,” 43, 158
imy-r3 wʿbt nswt, “overseer of a royal workshop,” 159
imy-r3 wʿbty, “overseer of the two workshops,” 34, 43, 126, 129, 155, 158
imy-r3 wpt Mn-nfr-Ppy, “overseer of commissions of the pyramid ‘Pepy is
 established and beautiful,’” 33
imy-r3 wpt ḥtpt-ntr m T3-mḥw Šmʿw Dr, “overseer of the apportionment of
 divine offerings from Lower and Upper Egypt of Memphis,” 103
imy-r3 bdyw, “overseer of metalworkers,” 147, 159
imy-r3 bdyw n pr-dt, “overseer of metalworkers of the estate,” 147
imy-r3 pr, “steward,” 83, 147, 159
imy-r3 pr-inʿt, “overseer of the house of the weavers,” 159
imy-r3 pr-ḥ3w, “overseer of the armory,” 24, 41, 59, 71, 76, 83, 90
imy-r3 pr-ḥd, “overseer of the treasury,” 159
imy-r3 prw msw-nswt, “overseer of the houses of the king’s children,” 24, 83,
 90, 91
imy-r3 prwy-ḥ3w, “overseer of the two armories,” 83, 155, 158

imy-r3 prwy nub, “overseer of the two houses of gold,” 126, 129, 155, 158, 159
imy-r3 prwy-ḥd, “overseer of the two treasuries,” 23, 43, 49, 76, 83, 90, 101,
 102, 125–26, 129, 158
imy-r3 mr, “overseer of the canal,” 58
imy-r3 mšʿ, “overseer of troops,” “general,” 108, 109, 159
imy-r3 mdw, “overseer of ten (men),” 38
imy-r3 mdt, “overseer of the stall,” 58
imy-r3 niwt, “overseer of the (pyramid) city,” 34
imy-r3 niwwt mswt nt Izezi-nfr, “overseer of the new towns of the pyramid
 ‘Izezi is beautiful,’” 25
imy-r3 nbt mrt Hḥr, “overseer of the *mrt*-chapel of the *nbt*-shrine of Hathor,” 93
imy-r3 ḥwt wrt, “overseer of a (law) court,” 84
imy-r3 ḥwt-wrt 6, “overseer of the six great (law) courts,” 23, 59, 76, 83, 90,
 123, 125, 129
imy-r3 ḥmw-ntr, “overseer of priests,” 39
imy-r3 ḥmw-ks, “overseer of funerary priests,” 39, 83
imy-r3 ḥm(tyw), “overseer of craftsmen,” 54, 159
imy-r3 ḥkr nswt, “overseer of royal regalia,” 83, 101, 102, 154, 158
imy-r3 ḥkr nswt m prwy, “overseer of royal regalia in both houses (Lower and
 Upper Egypt),” 84
imy-r3 ḥkr nswt nb, “overseer of all royal regalia,” 84, 153, 155, 158
imy-r3 zšw, “overseer of scribes,” 25, 39, 47, 74, 75, 85, 86, 150, 159, 160
imy-r3 ʿzšw ʿḥ[wt], “overseer of ‘scribes’ of fie[lds],” 75
imy-r3 zšw ḥwt m prwy Mḥw Šmʿw, “overseer of scribes of fields in both
 houses of Lower and Upper Egypt,” 84
imy-r3 zšw ʿ (n) nswt, “overseer of scribes of royal records,” 23, 34, 37, 41, 76,
 78, 83, 84, 90, 92, 94, 97, 123, 125–26, 129, 154, 155, 158
imy-r3 zšw ʿ nswt n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt, “overseer of scribes of royal records
 of all commands of the king,” 84
imy-r3 zšw šnwty, “overseer of scribes of the two granaries,” 160
imy-r3 n swt nb(t) n wnwnt nbt nt ḥnw, “overseer of every department and of
 every time-service of the residence,” 84
imy-r3 swt nb(t) nt ḥnw, “overseer of every department of the residence,” 83, 90
imy-r3 sb, “overseer of navigation,” 38
imy-r3 srw, “overseer of officials,” 108, 109
imy-r3 šr nswt, “overseer of royal linen,” 155, 159
imy-r3 šdmt nbt, “overseer of all that is judged,” 59, 71, 83, 84
imy-r3 Šmʿw, “overseer of Upper Egypt,” 84, 159
imy-r3 šnʿ(ty), “overseer of stores(?),” 104
imy-r3 šnwty, “overseer of the two granaries,” 23, 43, 76, 83, 90, 101, 102, 125–
 26, 129, 155, 158, 159
imy-r3 qstyw (gwtyw?), “overseer of sculptors,” 54
imy-r3 qdw, “overseer of builders,” 32
imy-r3 kt, “overseer of works,” 24, 83
imy-r3 kt, as abbreviation for *imy-r3 kt nbt nt nswt*, 32, 33, 39, 97
imy-r3 kt nbt, as abbreviation for *imy-r3 kt nbt nt nswt*, 120, 129
imy-r3 kt nbt nt nswt, “overseer of all works of the king,” 23, 29, 33, 34, 37,
 40, 41, 42, 49, 50, 59, 76, 78, 83, 84, 90, 92, 94, 95, 97, 100, 101,
 102, 115, 120, 123, 125, 129, 133, 153, 154, 155, 156
imy-r3 kt nt nswt, as abbreviation for *imy-r3 kt nbt nt nswt*, 97
imy-r3 tzt, “overseer of herds,” 58
imy-ḥt ḥmw-ks, “supervisor of funerary priests,” 73, 74, 75, 85, 86, 87
imy-ḥt ḥn izt, “supervisor of those who are within the *izt*-chamber,” 95
iry, “keeper,” 92
iry-pʿt, “hereditary prince,” 27, 37, 41, 49, 59, 71, 76, 83, 90, 94, 101, 102, 115,
 123, 125, 129, 133, 153, 154, 155, 158
iry-mdst ʿ nswt pr-ʿ, “book-keeper of the royal records (of the palace),” 106
iry nfr-ḥst, “keeper of the diadem,” 90, 92
iry nfr-ḥst m st nt nswt, “keeper of the diadem in the place of the king,” 95
iry Nḥn, “keeper of Nekhen,” 160
iry-rdw n stp-zs, “attendant of the court council,” 95
iry-ḥt nswt, “custodian of the king’s property,” 24,
iry-ḥt nswt, “custodian of the king’s property,” 24
ir ḥzzt Izezi, “who does what Izezi favors,” 153
ir ḥzzt Izezi rʿ nb, “who does what Izezi favors every day,” 155
ḥr wš, “ship-master,” 108
ḥb dt, “living forever,” 127, 129
ḥd-mr, “district administrator,” 160
wr ḥrp ḥmw, “greatest of the directors of craftsmen,” 159
wḥmw, “transmitter of commands,” 117

- wty*, “embalmer,” 118
m prwy, “in both houses,” “in both administrations,” title adjunct, 41, 43, 76, 77, 84
m prwy Mhw Smw, “in both houses of Lower and Upper Egypt,” 84
ms, “true,” “real,” title adjunct, 84, 159
mniw, “herdsman,” 38, 50, 134, 135
mry nb.f, “beloved of his lord,” 43, 75
mry nb.f m twy.f, “beloved of his lord in his two lands,” 43, 120, 125–26, 129
nty n z3, “superintendent of a phyle (of workmen),” 32
mdw rhyt, “staff of the people,” 126, 129
mdh, “master,” as older version of *imy-r3*; used of builders, carpenters, priests, scribes, and sculptors, 84
mdh nswt, “royal master,” abbreviation for *mdh qd nswt*, 32
mdh qd nswt, “royal master builder,” 30, 32, 143
mdh qd nswt m prwy, “royal master builder in both houses (Lower and Upper Egypt),” 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 41, 49, 59, 76, 77, 78, 83, 84, 101, 102, 115, 116, 120, 123, 125, 126, 127, 129, 138, 139, 155, 158
n bw ms, “true,” “actual,” title adjunct, 159
n(y)-mrwt, “possessor of love,” title adjunct, 71
nswt bity, “King of Upper and Lower Egypt,” 127
ndt, “female miller,” 68
rb(t) nswt, “king’s acquaintance,” 24, 32, 40, 79
hsty-, “count,” 27, 34, 37, 41, 49, 59, 71, 76, 83, 84, 90, 101, 102, 115, 123, 125, 129
hsty-^c ms, “true count,” 27, 42, 43, 83, 84, 133, 134, 137, 138, 149, 153, 154, 158, 159
hm-ntr mrt Mryr^c nt r3-š, “priest of the *mrt*-chapel of Meryre of the *r3-š*,” 93
hm-ntr Hr hnty izt w³bt, “priest of Horus (the king?) who presides over the pure *izt*-chamber,” 95
hm-ntr Hwfw, “priest of Khufu,” 24
hmt-ntr Hthr, “priestess of Hathor,” 85
hmt-ntr Hthr m mrt nt dsdw Ppy, “priestess of Hathor in the *mrt*-chapel of the throne room of Pepy,” 93
hmt-ntr Hthr nbt n[ht], “priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sy[camore],” 143
hm-k3, “funerary priest,” 65, 74, 75, 85, 86, 87, 119, 130, 146, 160
hm<t>.f, “his wife,” 149
hmt.f mrt.f, “his wife whom he loves,” 39, 40, 79, 143
hm(ty), “stone-worker,” “craftsman,” 54
hry-sšs (n) wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt, “master of secrets of all commands of the king,” 37, 41, 59, 71, 76, 83, 84, 120, 125–26, 129, 133, 158
hry-sšs n izt ʔt, “master of secrets of the great chamber,” 95
hry-sšs n pr-dwst, “master of secrets of the house of the morning,” 83, 92
hry-sšs n nswt, “master of the king’s secrets,” 126, 129
hry-sšs n nswt m swt nb(t) nt hnw rwty, “master of the king’s secrets in all the departments of the interior and exterior,” 84
hry-sšs n nswt m swt nb(t) nt hnw rwty, “master of the king’s secrets in all the departments of the interior and exterior,” 84
hqs, “village headman,” 58
hqs hwt, “estate manager,” 58
hry-tp, “overlord,” “superior,” “chief,” 91
hry-tp Nhb, “overlord of Nekheb,” 90, 91, 92
hry-tp šsr, “overlord of linen,” 91
hry-tp dšt, “overlord of the wardrobe,” 91
hnty-š-officials: 83, 91
hrp ʔh, “controller of the palace,” 139
hrp mniw, “controller of herdsman,” 58
hrp iz, “controller of a (boat) crew,” 117
hrp zh, “controller of the kitchen,” 85
hrp zšw, “controller of scribes,” 59, 83
hrp zšw nbw, “controller of all scribes,” 49, 59, 77, 83, 84
hrp zšw r3-iʔh, “controller of scribes of [...],” 25
hrp (šhd?) srw(?): 50, 86
hrp stiw nwb, “controller of necklace-stringers,” 73, 86
hrp šndt nbt, “controller of every kilt,” 34
hmtty-ntr, “seal-bearer of the god,” 108, 109
hry-hbt, “lector priest, 26, 31, 32, 33, 37, 40, 49, 76, 77, 78, 79, 83, 85, 118
hry-hbt hry-tp, “chief lector priest,” 34, 91, 99
hry-hbt smsw, “senior lector priest,” 32, 33, 34
hry-tp nswt, “royal chamberlain,” 30, 32, 81, 83, 84, 101, 102, 120, 125, 126, 129, 138, 139, 155, 158, 160
hry-tp nswt m prwy, “royal chamberlain in both houses (Lower and Upper Egypt),” 30, 143
hry-tp šnwt, “granary attendant,” 146, 160
z3.f, “his son,” 27, 78, 143
z3.f mr.f, “his son whom he loves,” 27
z3.f n ht.f, “his bodily son,” 24, 49, 50, 77, 78
z3.f smsw mry.f, “his eldest son whom he loves,” 139, 143, 157
z3 nswt, “king’s son,” 12, 99
z3 nswt n ht.f, “king’s son of his body,” 159
z3 R^c, “son of Re,” 125, 127, 129; in cartouche before personal name, 130
z3.s smsw, “her eldest son,” 86
z3t nswt n ht.f, “king’s daughter of his body,” 30, 143
z3t nswt smsw n ht.f, “king’s eldest daughter of his body,” 30
z3t.s, “her daughter,” 144
z3b, “dignitary,” rank title, 31, 40, 47, 65, 74, 75, 86, 87, 141, 142, 146, 150, 159, 160
zš, “scribe,” “painter,” 40, 75, 86, 87, 146, 160
zš^c nswt (n) hft-hr, “personal scribe of royal records,” 24, 25, 49, 50, 66, 87, 130, 135, 160
zš pr mdst-ntr, “scribe of the house of the god’s book,” 32, 75, 85, 87
zš pr mdst-ntr pr-ʔ, “scribe of the house of the god’s book of the palace,” 85, 130
zš n izt šst[i], “scribe of the secret *izt*-chamber,” 95
zš n z3, “scribe of a phyle,” 87
zš n z3 n hmw-k3, “scribe of a phyle of funerary priests,” 87
zš šsr nswt, “scribe of royal linen,” 95
zš šnwt, “scribe of the granary,” 68
zš qdwt, “outline draftsman,” 85
sm, “sem-priest,” 34
smr w³ty, “sole friend,” 32, 33, 41, 49, 71, 76, 83, 101, 102, 123, 125, 126, 129, 154, 158, 159
smsw izt, “elder of the *izt*-chamber,” 95
smsw pr, “elder of the house,” 150, 159
smsw hsty, “elder of the porch,” 65, 87, 141, 142
sn.f, “his brother,” 28
sn-dt.f, “brother of his estate,” 75, 87
sn.f mr.f, “his brother whom he loves,” 33
šhd, “inspector,” intermediate rank between *imy-r3* and *imy-ht*, 88
šhd irw šn pr-ʔ, “inspector of the hairdressers of the palace,” 90, 92, 98
šhd izt, “inspector of the gang,” 58
šhd w3, “ship’s lieutenant,” 38
šhd n qdw, “inspector of builders,” 32
šhd hmw-ntr, “inspector of priests,” highest grade in priestly hierarchy at Old Kingdom pyramid temples, 129
šhd hmw-ntr mrt, “inspector of priests of the *mrt*-chapel,” 92
šhd hmw-ntr Hthr z3 wr mrt Šhwr^c, “inspector of priests of Hathor of the “Great” phyle of the *mrt*-chapel of Sahure,” 92
šhd hmw-ntr Dd-sw-ʔz-R^c-Tt, “inspector of priests of the pyramid ‘Enduring are the places of the Son of Re Teti,’” 30, 125, 129
šhd hmw-k3, “inspector of funerary priests,” 26, 28, 40, 74, 75, 78, 86, 159
šhd zšw, “inspector of scribes,” 160
šb.n nswt bity Wnis hr.s, “(one honored by Izezi,) whom the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Unis, remembered on account of it,” 155
st, “stringer” (of beads, etc.), 86
qdw n ʔst, “common builder,” 32
k3mw, “gardener,” 97
dt.f, “his estate person,” 87
tyty z3b t³ty, “chief justice and vizier” (lit. “he-of-the-curtain/screen, dignitary, and vizier”): 27, 28, 29, 34, 37, 41, 46, 48, 49, 50, 59, 71, 76, 77, 78, 81, 83, 90, 92, 94, 100, 115, 125, 129, 154, 155, 158

V. EGYPTIAN WORDS PHRASES, AND DIVINE NAMES

This index is not all inclusive. Certain common words are omitted. In addition, the individual entries in the various offering lists are not included here.

rw, "case," 47
w, "length," 97, 99, 100
w, "present," "gift," "liberality," "largesse," 30, 40
pdw, "birds," 97
ht, "mud," "alluvial clay(?)," 149
h, "be beneficial," "be useful," "be profitable," 102, 106
h, "broom-winnow" (grain), 64
s, "hurry," 63
sh, "reap," 61
itt, "bed," 52, 53
iswt hrt-ntr, "offices of the necropolis," 34
is [rr]t, "grapes," 144
igt, element in estate name, 70
idt, "net," "bead-net dress," "rope-net sack," 62
iw nn n k.k, "This is for your ka," 64, 156, 157
uw, "stable ox," 57, 124, 151
wf, "flesh," 90
ib, "dance," 150
ibw n w'b, "booth of purification," 42
ip, "examine" (persons), 151
im, "therein," 107
im, imper. "take hold!," 140
imshw, "honored," "esteemed," during one's lifetime: 30
imy-wrt, "starboard," 45; "right" (of person), 117
imnt, "the west," 45
in, non-encl. part., "if," 92, 93; "it is," 102
i[n], parenthetic, "says," 38, 134, 135
in iw, compound interrogative, 45, 93
ini, "bring," 52, 102, 105, 139; "pull," 49
ini m, "bring (away) from" (an activity), 63
ini m, "bring from" (a place), 61
in hr imy-wrt, "come about to starboard," 45
Inpw, "Anubis," 115
Inpw <tp-dw>.f, "Anubis, <Who-is-Upon>-His-<Mountain>," 123
Inpw tp-dw.f nb ts-dsr imy-wt, "Anubis, Who-is-upon-His-Mountain, Lord of the Sacred Land, Who-is-in-Ut," 126
Inpw hnty zh-ntr, "Who-presides-over-the-God's Booth," 154
Inpw hnty zh-ntr imy-wt nb ts-dsr, "Anubis, Who-presides-over-the-God's Booth, Who-is-in-Ut, Lord of the Sacred Land," 76
[... in]r-hd, "limestone," 98
ink wr n [nsw], "I was a magnate of the [king]," 41
ink pw, "It is I!," 61
ir nfr wswt, "make good the ways," 46
iri, "do," 40, 49; "steady" (pannier), 63
ir, imper. sing. of *iri*, "Do!," 142
iri r, "act with a view to," etc., 49
iry(.i) r hzt.k, "I will act with a view to what you will praise," etc., 49, 62
iri s, "layout a garden," 94, 95, 97, 98
ir h.k im.sn, "Get back among them!" 63, 64

ir hr imy-wrt, "make to starboard," 45
ir ts-wr, "make to port," 45
[Ir.n.(i) n.fnw] m swt Wn, "[It was] out of the largesse of Unis [that I did this for him]," 30
irrw n.f. zsf mitt, "one for whom his son shall do the like," 27, 43
irrw n s'ch 3, "what is done for a great official," 43
irp, "wine," 67, 144
irtt, "milk," 52
Ihy, child of Hathor and Horus, 92
ihw, "cattle," 38, 46, 135, 137
ibr, "now," 30
izi, "go," 47
iz, "tomb," 29, 48, 100
iz dt, "tomb of the estate," 108
izt, "council chamber," 94, 95
izt, "crew" (of workmen), 102, 103
izn, "thread," "string," "cord," 91
izn n bh, "necklace," 90, 91
is, subordinating part., 93, 106
ist, "six," 102
it, "barley," 62, 64
it, "father," 102, 105
ith, "tow" (statues), 121
ids, "fabric," "wedging mass," "(marl?) clay," 149
idr, "herd" (of cattle), "flock" (of birds), 104
idr, "withhold," *m*, "from; keep away," 105
idr, "tie together," "bandage," "suture," etc., 104
idr, "allotment," "distribution," "share," etc. 102, 105
idr, "bandage," "stitch," "suture," etc., 104
idr, "belt-knot," 104
idr(w), "dépendances," "domains," "property," etc., 104
idryt, "punishment," "repression," "suppression," 105
is, "portion," 81
is, "cup," "bowl," 98
is, "warrant," "writ," 101, 106
it, "chamber," 109
is, "lid" (of sarcophagus), 108
is n, "chief of," 105
ib, "scepter," 100
ms, "throw a boomerang," 40
nt, "adze," 52
n(w)t hrt, "fingernails," 91
n(w)t hrt, "toenails," 91
ndw, "unguent," 90
rt, "roll" (of papyrus or leather), 106
rf, "combine," "enclose," 104
h, "keep," 97, 98
h (n) hb-sd, "keep of the jubilee festival," 99
h, "fight" (wind), 117
h hr, "attend to," "wait (upon)," "oversee," 90, 91, 107
wsi, "tend to," "be engaged in," 147
wsr, "tie" (sack), 62
wsh, "prepare" (a channel), 38, 135, 137; "push," "press down," etc., 67, 147
wss, "be honored," 102
wsd, "green stone," "malachite," 91
wsd mh, "Lower Egyptian malachite," from Sinai, 91
wsd Sm'w, "Upper Egyptian malachite," 90, 91
w'bt, "workshop," 158
w'bt nt 'hsw, "wabet of attending," "embalming workshop," 29, 102, 107, 108
wbs, "bore out" (a stone vessel with a tubular drill), 54
wbs, "pile up," 123-24
wpt, "divide," "apportion" (fields or goods), 102, 103
wpt, "apportionment," 102
wni, "hurry," 141, 142, 148
wmw, "time-service," "duty," 84, 102, 103, 105
wmw, "European coot," 57
wri, "be great, important," 41
wrt, adv. "very," 148
wr, "elder," 43, 94, 97, 101; "magnate," 41
wrh, "anoint," 90

- wḥs*, “pluck” (papyrus), 44; “pick” (grapes), 144
wḥmw, “again,” 117
wḥs, “clean” (mats, etc.), 51
wzḥ(s)/wzḥ(ḥ), “resting, idle, fallow,” 42
wḥi, “saw,” 53
Wsr, “Osiris,” 126
Wsr nb Ddw, “Osiris, Lord of Busiris,” 76, 155
wšb, “breadth,” 99
wšbt, “cargo-boat,” “barge,” 100
wšbt, “broad court,” “broad hall,” 99
wsr, “oar,” 38
wdi/di, “place,” “put,” 52, 148; “strike,” 63; “apply” (clay), 149
wdi hr gs, “put (s)one on (his) side,” 95
wdn ḥt, “present offerings,” 73
wdpw, “butler,” “cup-bearer,” 46
wḏ, “command,” “decree,” 94, 96, 108
wḏ nswt, “royal decree,” 92, 97
wḏs-ib.k, “May it please you,” 139
bs, “ram(-god),” 160
Bstt, “Bastet,” 70
bšs, “metal,” 148
bnt, “harp,” 58
bḥz, “calf,” “kid,” “lamb,” etc., 52
bš(s), variety of barley(?), 68
bd, “crucible,” 148
bd, “bread mould,” 68
bd, unidentified goose or duck, 57
pr-ʿ(?), “house of the cup,” 98
pr-bš(?), “house of the *bš*,” 98
pr-mdst, “library,” “archive,” 85
pr-dt, “estate,” 62, 97, 103
phww, “hinterlands,” 49, 123, 134, 137
phḥt, type of duck, 57
phr, “circulate” (of molten metal), 148
Pth, “Ptah,” 122, 123, 152
Pth rsy-inb.f, “Ptah, South-of-His-Wall,” 126
ptḥ hr, “throw (something) on (the ground),” 63
fi bw, “raise sail,” 117
frh, “carpenter,” 52, 53
m, “in,” “in (the necropolis of),” “alongside” (lake or canal, etc.), 102, 108
m, neg. imper. “do not!,” 63
m-hr, “in the sight of,” 107
m-hmt, prep., “in the absence of,” 94, 95
m ḥnti(t) m ḥdi(t), “in faring southward and in faring northward,” 109
m ḥrt-brw (rʿ nb), “in the course of the day (every day),” 108, 110
m šm(t) ii(t), lit. “in going and coming,” “in transit,” 108, 109
m grḥ mr brw, “by night and by day,” 94, 96
m tpt-wy, “in front of,” 45
mst, “measuring rod” 32
mst, “transverse flute,” 58, 150
mš, “view,” 49, 59; “inspect” (a project), 94; “see to” (a job), 96
mš rk, “Look here!,” 147
mšʿ, “true,” “real,” as space filler, 41
mšʿ mšʿ, “very true,” as space filler, 41
mšʿ, “conduct,” “lead,” “guide,” etc., 63
mš-ḥd, “oryx,” 49, 139
mšḥ, “mark rhythm” (with clappers), 67
mšḥ, “sheaf” (of grain), 62
m(i), imper. “Behold!,” 117
m(y), encl. part. “pray,” 47, 63
mʿwh, “kind of paddle(?),” “steering oar(?),” 38
mw, “water,” 53
mw mšʿ, “fairway,” 45
mfb, “sieve” (grain), 64
mnt, “double clarinet,” 150
mnt, “thigh,” “haunch,” “upper hind leg,” 49
mnwt, “Turtle dove,” 57
mntt, “diorite,” 54
mnḥ, “mortise,” 52, 54
mnz, *mnz*-vessel, 56
mrt, “laborers,” 63, 103
mr, “tie” (grain sheaf), 62
mrʿ wy, “two channels,” 117
mrt, “board,” 52, 53
mrt, “chapel” (of Hathor), 92
mrn>min, “today,” 90, 91
mḥ, “cubit” (linear measure), 65, 97, 99
mḥ, “cubit” (land measurement), 65
mḥi, “fill,” 62, 149
mḥ(y)t, “fish,” 39
mḥʿ, “flax,” 145
mḥw, “barley of Lower Egypt,” “6-row barley,” 68
mḥn, type of game, 124
mzḥ, “crocodile,” 38, 135
msw, “children,” 107
mzḥ, “crocodile,” 134, 137
mšʿ, “troops,” 108, 109
mk, “look,” “see,” 49, 62
mk sn iw.sn, “Look, they are coming!,” 62
mt, “the dead,” “dead man,” 38, 135, 137
mt, “dead woman,” 38
mt mt nb, “every dead man and every dead woman,” 38
mtwn, “arena,” 51
mdwi, “speak,” “claim,” 102, 105
mdst, “papyrus roll,” “book,” “letter,” etc., 85
mdswt, “dispatches,” 108, 110
md, “(special) corvée,” 105
n, defective writing for *in*, “by, through,” 109
n(y), adv. “therefor,” “for (him, it, etc.), 102, 106
n-ntt, “because,” 96, 102, 106
niw, “cup,” 98
niwwt, “villages,” 102, 106, 137
nʿi, “travel by boat,” 46
nʿi m ḥd, “travel downstream,” 46
nu/mwt, “(Grey) heron,” 56
nb, “lord,” 49
nbi, “smelt” (metal), 148
nfr, “favorable” (of wind), 45
nfr-br, “fair of face,” epithet of Ptah, 86
nfrw, “(ground) level,” “base,” “zero line,” 92, 93
nḥt, “sycamore-shrine” (of Hathor), 92
nḥp, “mate,” 51
nḥbt, “lotus bud,” “lotus flower,” 99
nḥs, “wind,” 42
Nḥb(y), god, “Nekheb,” 32
Nḥbt (“Fruitfulness”), goddess: 32
Nḥbt (“She of El Kab”), goddess: 32
nḥbw, “lamp,” “nocturnal illumination,” 32
nḥt, “hard,” “energetically,” 49
nšt, “separate,” “divide,” “comb” (hair), 64
nšy šny, “Hair Comber” (Book of the Dead), 64
ng, “wild bull,” 57
nt(y)-ḥnʿ, “comrade,” 38, 42, 49, 134, 142
ntf, “water” (vegetables), 97
ntʿ 3, the “great god,” 33, 43, 59, 115, 123, 125
ntʿ-3 nb imnt, the “great god, Lord of the West,” 125–26
nd, “grind” (grain), 68
ndi, “appoint,” 49
ndt-hr, “gift,” 57
ndr, “fashion” (with an axe), 52, 53
ndri, “grip,” “hold on to,” 49
r, “by” (in measurements), 100
r-ntt, “inasmuch as,” “seeing that,” 96
r-gs, “beside,” 95
r mnḥt, “thoroughly,” 49
r ḥt nb, “more than anything,” 49
r-dr.f, “to its end,” entire, “complete,” etc., 103
r zp, “at once,” 62
r-š, uncertain entity, 93
Rʿ, “Re,” 94, 152

- rm*, “people,” 103
m, “young,” (of animals) 49, 57, 124, 139, 151
m ʕ, “great name,” 39, 41, 43, 134, 137, 138
m nfr, “good name,” 39, 41, 43, 91, 102, 134, 135, 137, 138, 149, 155
rnpt-zp, “regnal year,” 101
rr, encl. part., 93
rsi r, “pay attention to,” 45
rs-tp, “vigilance,” 94, 96
rk, particle, 47, 49, 61, 67
rdi hr gs, “lay low,” fell (an enemy), “discomfit,” 94, 95
hry, “happy one,” 47
h, non-encl. particle, 92, 94
h.k m.k, “Hey you, watch (what you are doing)!” 63, 64
hdt, “basket,” “measure” (see *ALex* 2 [1978], p. 240), 66
h-w nb hr nfrw.f, “every ship is on an even keel,” 92, 93
hwt-ʕt, “royal estates,” 83
hwt nub, “house of gold,” i.e. “sculptor’s workshop,” 98
hwt-k, “agricultural estate,” “tomb,” “(royal) ka-chapel,” 102, 106
hwt, “pull up” (flax), 145
hb-sd, “sed-festival,” “jubilee festival,” 97, 99, 100
hpt, “kind of oar,” 38
hmt.f mrt.f, “his wife whom he loves,” 39, 40
hm, encl. part., “assuredly,” 92, 93, 94, 97
hmu, “steering oar,” 38
hmt, “craft,” 42
hmwt, coll. “craftsmen,” 103
hm(ty), “stone-worker,” “craftsman,” 54
hn, “shrine,” for transport of statues by boat,” 147
hmk m ʕnb, “by your life,” etc., 49
hmt, “bed,” “cradle” (of lashings and bars?), 108, 109
Hr, “Horus,” 70
Hr Trty, “Horus of Tjerty,” 122
hr nfr, “beautiful appearance” (of molten metal), 148
hr-w(y), “immediately,” 92, 93
hr-gs, “beside,” 95
hry-tp, “over,” “upon,” “on behalf of,” 107
hry-tp, “head,” “chief,” 107
hr, “braces,” 45, 117
hr, “prepare,” “make ready,” 107
hzt, type of jar, 151, 153, 156
hzi, “favor,” “reward,” 108
hst, “sing,” 150
hst n bnt, “singing to the harp,” 58
Hq, “Heqa,” 152
htp, “rest” (of sarcophagus) *m*, “in,” (its place),” 108, 110
htpt, “offering,” 65
hzp, “bed” (of vegetables), 97
hʕh, “scoop-winnow” (grain), 64
hʕw, “oval/round flat bread,” 51
h.k(?), meaning unknown, 63
hwi, “prevent,” 63
hps, “foreleg,” 66
hft, “enemy,” “opponent,” 94, 95
hmt, “three,” 117; “companion,” “right hand man,” 32
hmr, “grasp” (oar), 38
hmt, “butt,” “grip” (of oar), 38
hmt.nw, lit. “the third,” “upper yardarm(?),” 117
hrp, “govern,” “control,” “act as director,” etc., 97, 100; “(get) control,” 141
hsf, “bar,” “repulse,” 38, 135, 137
htmty, “treasurer,” 46
hmi, “row,” 38, 42; “convey by water,” 108
hnu, “Residence,” 108
Hnmw, “Khnum,” 122, 160
hr, “which is under,” “possessing,” 106
hr-hst, “in front of,” 45
hry, “under,” “carrying” (persons), 46
Hrty, “Kherty,” 122
hkr, “regalia,” 83
zt, “pintail duck,” 57
z, “hobble,” 52
zb(s), “play” (a reed instrument), 58, 73, 150
zp(t), “threshing floor,” 63, 124
zfb, “go slowly,” 41, 134
zfi(s), “slowly,” 41,
zfi/sfb, “be slack, sluggish,” etc., 42
znbt, “spouted jar,” 73
zh, “booth,” “kitchen,” 85
ʕht, “herd of sheep,” 145
zs, “write,” “draw,” “paint,” 92
zs, “decoration” (representational and inscriptional), 92
zš m zš qdt, “draw in outline,” “draw in a preliminary sketch,” 43, 102, 107
zš qdt, “draft,” “sketch,” 43
zšp, “polisher,” 52
zšš wsd, “rattle papyrus,” 14
st, “place,” “position,” 108, 110
st-ʕ, “registry office(?),” 90, 91
st-ʕ, “activity(?),” 91
ss, “behind,” 45
sh in hry-hbt, “spiritualizing by the lector priest,” 74
st, “barge,” “cargo-vessel,” 38, 102
st ʕ phr Izzt m.f, “The barge who name is ‘Izezi is great of strength,’” 38
st ʕ n hnu, “great cargo-vessel of the Residence,” 108, 109
sis (st?), “sift” (flour), 68, 149
sin, “slip,” “mud,” “(fine gray) clay,” 149
swt nbt nt hnu, “every department of the Residence,” 84
sws, “outstrip(?),” 46
sws, “honor,” “pay honor to,” 101, 102
swd ib, “inform,” 93
spt, “bind” (papyrus boats),” 44
spr, “arrive,” 108, 110
sft, “slaughter,” 49
smʕr, “cleanse” (of house, nails, skin), 90, 91
smh, “papyrus boat,” 44
snʕ, “polish,” 53
sntw, “ground plan,” 97
snt, “incense,” 64, 73
sndm ib, lit. “sweeten the heart;” “gladden,” “please,” gratify,” 24, 93;
“inform(?),” 92, 93, 94
stf, “warmth,” “heat,” “passion,” etc., 61
stf, “warm,” “be warm,” 61
stf-ib, “zealous,” 61
srh, “announce,” “make known,” 94, 96
srd, “carve” (statue), “form,” “shape,” 54
sh, “drive back,” (of donkeys), 63
shwi, “assemble,” 63
shr, “to make distant,” “remove,” “engrave,” 102, 107
shd, “make white,” “illumine,” etc., 88
sh, “knead” (clay), 149
sh, “fields,” “countryside,” 61, 137
sh, “remember,” 30
ʕht, “broad court,” 97, 98, 99
sh(w), “breadth,” 97, 99, 100
shw, “broad hall,” “broad court,” 99
shp, “bring” (statues), 48, 121
shpt stpt, “bringing choice viands,” 17, 18, 77, 127
šš, “fare?,” “land?,” 45–46
Sšst, “Seshat,” 56, 122, 123, 152
šn, “twine” (mats), 51
šr, “draw” (milk), 52
šr, “thing,” “action,” “matter,” etc., 102, 106
sqi>sqr, “knead” (dough), 51
sqfn>qfn, “bake,” 51
sqr, “pluck” (the strings of a harp), 150
sqr m bnt, “playing on the harp,” 58
sqdi, “travel by boat,” 46
sqdi m hd, “travel downstream,” 46
sqdw, “traveling” (verbal noun), 43, 46
skst, encl. part., 91
sk, “cover over” (seed), “cultivate,” 145
sk m [hb], “cultivate with [a plough],” 144

- [*sk m*] *r zht*, “[cultivate with] a herd of sheep,” 145
sti, “spear” (fish); “throw” (fruit in basket), 39, 66
sti, “fasten together,” “string” (beads, etc.), 86
stp, “cut off,” 66
stp-zs, “court council,” 94, 95, 97, 101
stp(t), “choice cut,” 142
stb, “haul” (papyrus), 44; “drag” (statues), 121
sdst nt r, “documentary seal,” 102, 107
š, “canal,” “channel” (of water), 38, 135; “basin,” or “pool” (of water), 97; “offering basin,” 97; “lake,” 97; “garden,” “plantation of trees,” 97; “household garden(?),” 97; “market garden,” “plantation,” 97; “plot” (of land), 97, 98; Areal, “Anlage,” 98; “Königsbezirk,” 98; “Gebiet,” 98; “precinct,” 97, 98; “grounds,” 98
š n pr-3, “palace grounds,” “palace precinct,” 38
šsd š, “dig (or “excavate”) a pool,” 98
šr, “sand,” 53
šm, “barley of Upper Egypt,” “4-row barley,” 68
šms, “escort” (statues), 48, 121
šrt/šnt, “unit of value,” “money,” 104
šndt, “acacia,” 100
šzp šw nb, “Seize every wind!,” 45
škr, “pannier,” 63
škr, “ornament,” 63
šdi, “take out,” “withdraw,” (from a storeroom, box, etc.), 41
šdi zš, “reading the document aloud,” 74
š, “stroke-oar(?),” 38
qs, “bind,” 66
qn, “mat,” 51
qr(r), “heat,” 68
qrht, generic word for “vessel” of any type or material, 54
qrsw, “sarcophagus,” 108, 109
qsty (gnwt?), “sculptor,” 43, 102, 107
qdi, “go round,” 43; “draft” (decoration, inscription), 92
ks, “spirit,” 64, 156, 157
ksp sntr, “burning incense,” 64, 73
ksp m ts(y)t, “adjust(?) rigging,” 117
kst šht, “work of the fields,” 49, 59, 123, 134, 137
kst qsty (gnwt?), “work of the sculptor,” 43
ghs, “gazelle,” 57
šyt, “tackle,” “rigging(?)” “sail and mast(?)” 117
š-wr, “port,” 45
twt, “statue,” 48, 53, 54
twt, “be pleased,” 92, 93
tp nfr, “right moment,” 45
tp-r3, “utterance,” 107
tpt-r3, “utterance,” 107
tp-rd, “instructions,” “regulations,” “duty,” etc., 107
tpt-rd, “instructions,” “regulations,” “stipulations,” etc., 102, 107
šy/šw, “male,” “man,” 61
šw, “sail,” 117
šw, “wind,” 45, 117
šwy, “two winds,” technical sailing term(?), 117
tbt, “sole” (of foot), “base” (of jar), 148
tn, “where?,” 61
tnnt, “*tnnt*-shrine,” 86
trf, “dance,” 61
tzt, “gang” (of workmen), 103
tzi hr gs, “raise (s’one) from (his) side,” 95
ttt, “binding cord,” “catching cord,” 52
dsr srf, “he who suppresses (his) passions,” 61
dy, imperative of *wdi/di*, 53
dw, verbal noun of *wdi/di*, 52
dbw, “figs,” 48, 66
dwdw, “flour,” 68, 149
dbh, “beg,” “request,” 41, 108
dbhw, “requirement,” 41
dbhw n hmt hry-hbt, “requirements of the craft of the lector priest,” 42
dbht-htp nb(t) prt, “all requisite offerings,” 154
dpt, “ship,” 46
Dpyw, “people of *Dp*,” 107
dprw, “steering-oar(?),” 38
dm, “sharpen,” 52
dm, “bind” (sheaf of flax), 145
dr, “expel,” “repress,” 105
ds, type of jar, 148
ds, “knife,” 66
ds, “ferry over,” 108
di, “give,” “blow” (of wind), 117
di hpr, “Make it happen!,” 142
db{w}f, “his two fingers,” i.e., thumb and index finger, 92
dr, alternative for *r-dr.f*, “to its end,” entire,” “complete,” etc., 103
dr-š, “originally,” “long ago,” 105
dr-bh, “formerly,” “previously,” 102, 105
dr-ntt, “since,” 94, 96
dt, “estate,” 97, 98
dt, “papyrus,” 44, 51, 97
dd, “mention” (s’one), “ 94, 96

VI. PLACE NAMES

šht-Hwfw, “(the pyramid) ‘Horizon of Khufu,’” 108
Isbt: mr Hnm ḥb Tti, “Khnum desires that Teti live, the Eastern nome,” 122
Iw: Nfr ḥw Wnis, “Beautiful of appearances is Unis, the Letopolite nome,” 123
Iw: Štp Pth Wnis, “Pth satisfies Unis, the Letopolite nome,” 123
Iw: Qbht Tti, “The coolness(?) of Teti, the Letopolite nome,” 122
Imnt: mr Sst ḥb Tti, “Seshat desires that Teti live, the Western nome,” 122
Inb, “the Wall,” “Memphis,” 103
Inbw, “the Walls,” “Memphis,” 103
Inbw-ḥd, “the White Walls,” “Memphis,” 103
Inpw: S<ḥ> Sst Wnis, “Seshat makes Unis [live], the Jackal nome,” 122
W^c m ḥww, gs imnt: mn ḏfi Tti, “The nourishment of Teti abides, the Harpoon nome, western half,” 122
Wšh Ikw-Hr, “Ikauhor is abundant,” 70, 152, 153
Wš-bšw-Kskš, “Strong of power is Kakai,” 70, 152, 153
Wnw: mr Sst ḥb Wnis, “Seshat desires that Unis lives, the Hare nome,” 123
Wnw: Sḥb Pth Tti, “Ptah causes Teti to live, the Hare nome,” 122
Wr-Hfr, “(the pyramid) ‘Khafre is Great,’” 108
mnzš Dd-kš-r, “The *mnzš*-vessel of Djedkare,” 56
Mr [...] *Ikšw-Hr*, “[...] loves Ikauhor,” 70
Mr ḥb Izzš, “Izezi is one who loves life,” 70
mr [...] *ḥb Izzš*, “[...] desires that Isezi live,” 55
mr ntrw + king’s name, “the gods love King [...],” 55
mr R^c ḥb [...], “Re desires that [...] live,” 152
Mr Ḥqḥ ḥb Izzš, “Heqa desires that Izezi live,” 152
Mr Sst I-kšw-ḥr, “Seshat loves Ikauhor,” 152
mtn Ini, “The track of Ini,” 55
Ny-ws-Izzš, “Dominion belongs to Izezi,” 70
N^{crt} ḥntt: mr Sst ḥb Tti, “Seshat desires that Teti live, the Heracleopolitan nome,” 122
N^{crt} ḥntt: Ḥnty bš Wnis, “Eminent of *bš* is Unis, the Heracleopolitan nome,” 123
Nfr-Izzš, “(the pyramid) ‘Izezi is beautiful,’” 29, 102
nfr nḥrw Izzš, “Perfect of emulation is Izezi,” 55
nfr ḥb [...], “The catch (of fish) of [...] is rich,” 55
nfr [ḥ]w [...], “Perfect of [appear]ances is [...],” 56
Nt: mr Hr Trty ḥb Tti, “Horus of Tjerty desires that Teti live, the Saite nome,” 122
Rš-w, “Tura,” 108, 109
Ḥst mḥyt: štp Pth Tti, “Ptah satisfies Teti, the Mendesian nome,” 122

ḥwt Izzš: irt wḏt Izzš, “The estate of Izezi (named) work of the command of Izezi,” 70
ḥwt Izzš: mr Bstt ḥb Izzš, “The estate of Izezi (named) Bastet wishes that Izezi lives,” 70
ḥwt Izzš: nfr ḥzw Izzš, “The estate of Isezi (named) perfect of favors is Isezi,” 56
ḥwt Izzš: srwd Hr Izzš, “The estate of Izezi (named) Horus perpetuates Izezi,” 70
ḥwt Ikšw-Hr: [...] *Bstt*, “The estate of Ikauhor (named) Ikauhor is [...] of Bastet,” 70
ḥwt Ikšw-Hr: sḥb [...], “The estate of Ikauhor (named) [...] makes Ikauhor live,” 55
Ḥwt-nwb, “Hatnub,” 98
ḥwt Kskš: igt Kskš, “The estate of Kakai (named) the *igt* of Kakai,” 70
ḥwt-kš Sndm-ib, “the estate of the ka of Senedjemib,” 56
ḥwt [...]: mr Pth ḥb [...], “The estate of [...] (named) Ptah desires that [...] live,” 152
[ḥwt ...]: mr^c ntrw^c [...], “The estate of [...] (named) the ‘gods’ love [...],” 55
ḥwt [...]: [...], “The estate of [...] (named) [...],” 152
Hr-[n]rw(?), “[...](?),” 152
Ḥtpwt-Ini, “Offerings of Ini,” 70
Ḥtpwt Izzš, “The offerings of Izezi,” 70
Ḥ^c-bš-Sḥw^c, “The ba of Sahure shines forth,” 29
Ḥ^c-fsw [...], “Manifest of splendor is [...],” 152
Ḥnt^c ḥb^c: mr Hrty ḥb Tti, “Kherty desires that Teti live, the ‘Front of the East’ nome,” 122
Ḥnty kš Izzš, “The ka of Isezi is foremost,” 56
sḥb Sst Izzš, “Seshat makes Isezi live,” 56
srwd [...], “[...] is one who perpetuates,” 70
Ḥ^cSbr-nw^c, “The heron flies up!(?),” 56
Š kbḥw Sḥw-r^c, “Libation basin of Sahure,” 70
Š [...], “[...]”, 152
Šw, “The plantations,” 152
Šw(?) Kskš, “The plantations(?) of Kakai,” 152
Šm^cw, “Upper Egypt,” 134
Grgw, “The Foundations,” 152
Tš-mḥw, “Lower Egypt,” 133, 134
Dr, “the Wall,” “Memphis,” 102, 103
Ddw, “Busiris,” 76, 155
[...] Ini, “Ini [...],” 55
[...] Izzš, “[...] Izezi,” 70
[...] Izzš, “[...] Izezi,” 152
[...] ḥb [...], “[...] live [...],” 152
[...] ḥb Izzš [...], “[...] life [...] Isezi,” 56
[...] Wsr-kš.f, “[...] Userkaf,” 70
[...] wt [...], “[...]”, 152
[...] w[ḥ] Ḥ^cSḥ^cw-r^c, “[...] of Sahure,” 152
[...] -bw [...], “[...] of power is [...],” 70
[...] ḥ [...], “[...]”, 152
[...] R^c [...], “[...] Re [...],” 152
[...] Sḥw-r^c, “[...] Sahure,” 70
[...] kš [...], “[...] of ka [...],” 55

PLATES



1a. View of the Western Cemetery with the tombs of the Senedjemib Complex in the present volume highlighted, looking northwest from the top of the pyramid of Khufu. 16 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.130.23



1b. General view of Western Field from the pyramid of Khafre, looking north, prior to excavation of the Senedjemib Complex. 1906. Exp. Ph. A 6355 (A 13024)



2a. Western Field seen from the Great Pyramid, looking west, with the Senedjemib Complex at bottom right. 17 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 718



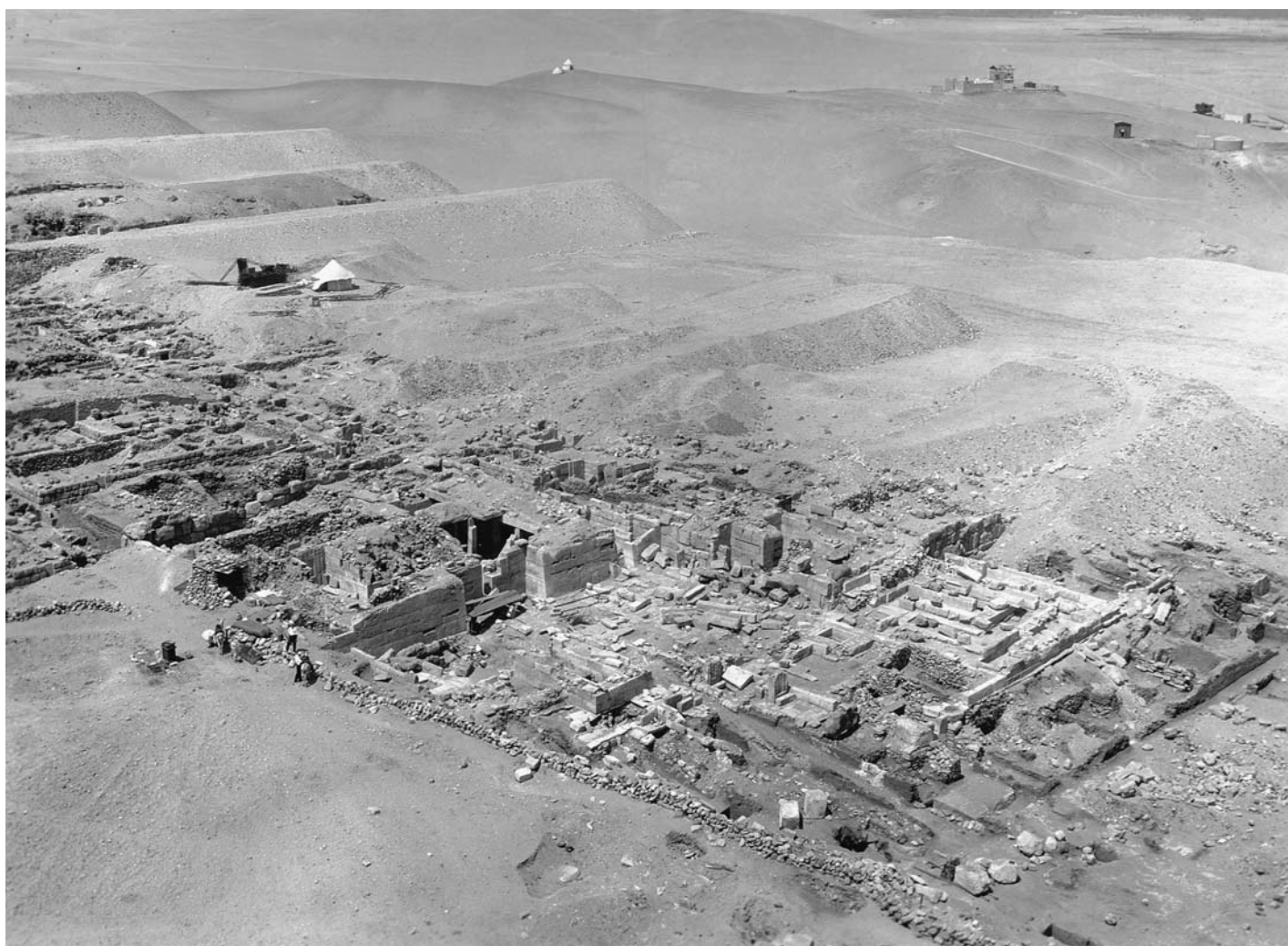
2b. Senedjemib Complex from the top of northwest corner of Great Pyramid, looking northwest. 6 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1325



3a. Senedjemib Complex from the top of northwest corner of Great Pyramid, looking northwest. 11 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 810



3b. Senedjemib Complex from the top of northwest corner of Great Pyramid, looking northwest. 21 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 818



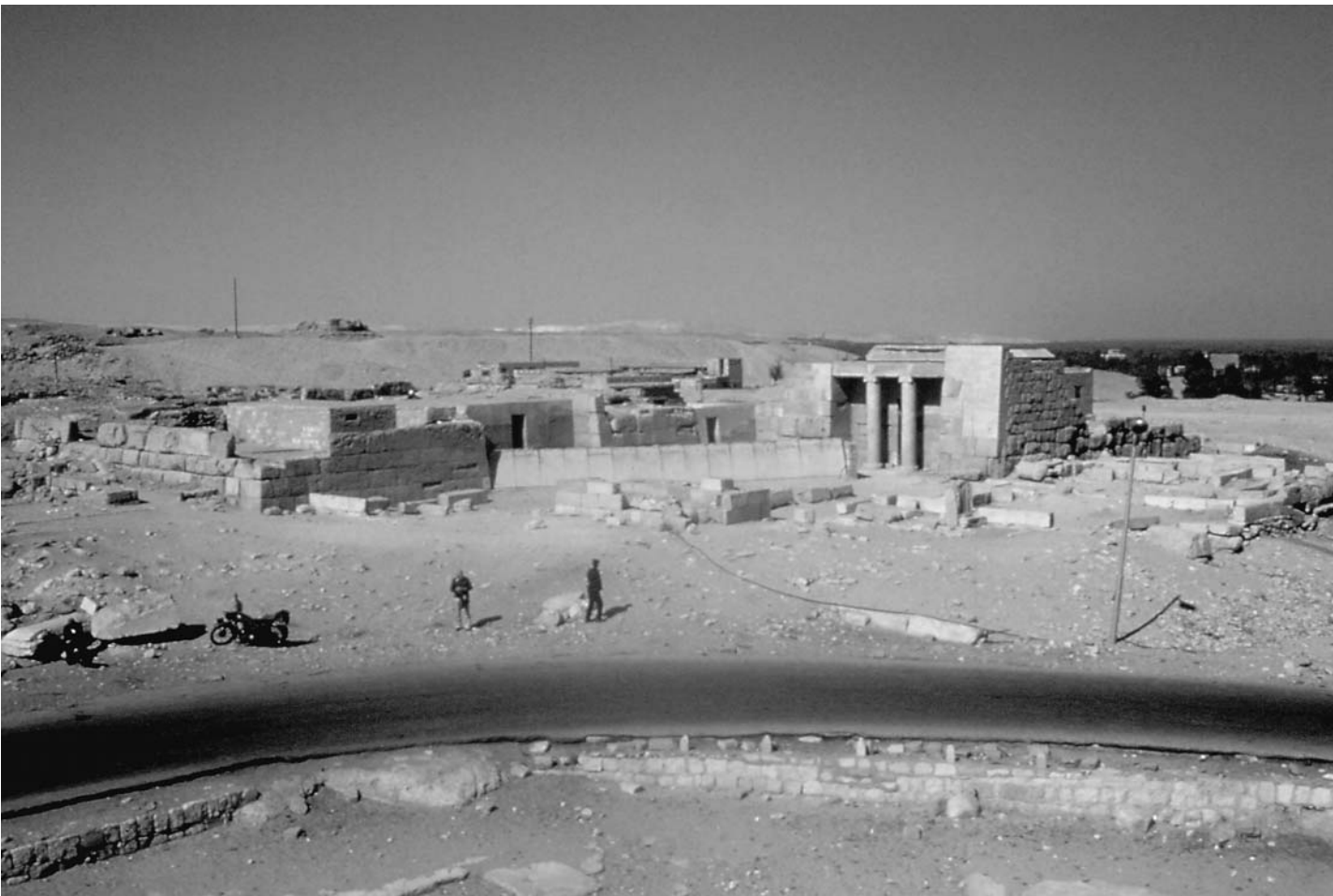
4a. Senedjemib Complex from the top of northwest corner of Great Pyramid, looking northwest. 10 September 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 1071



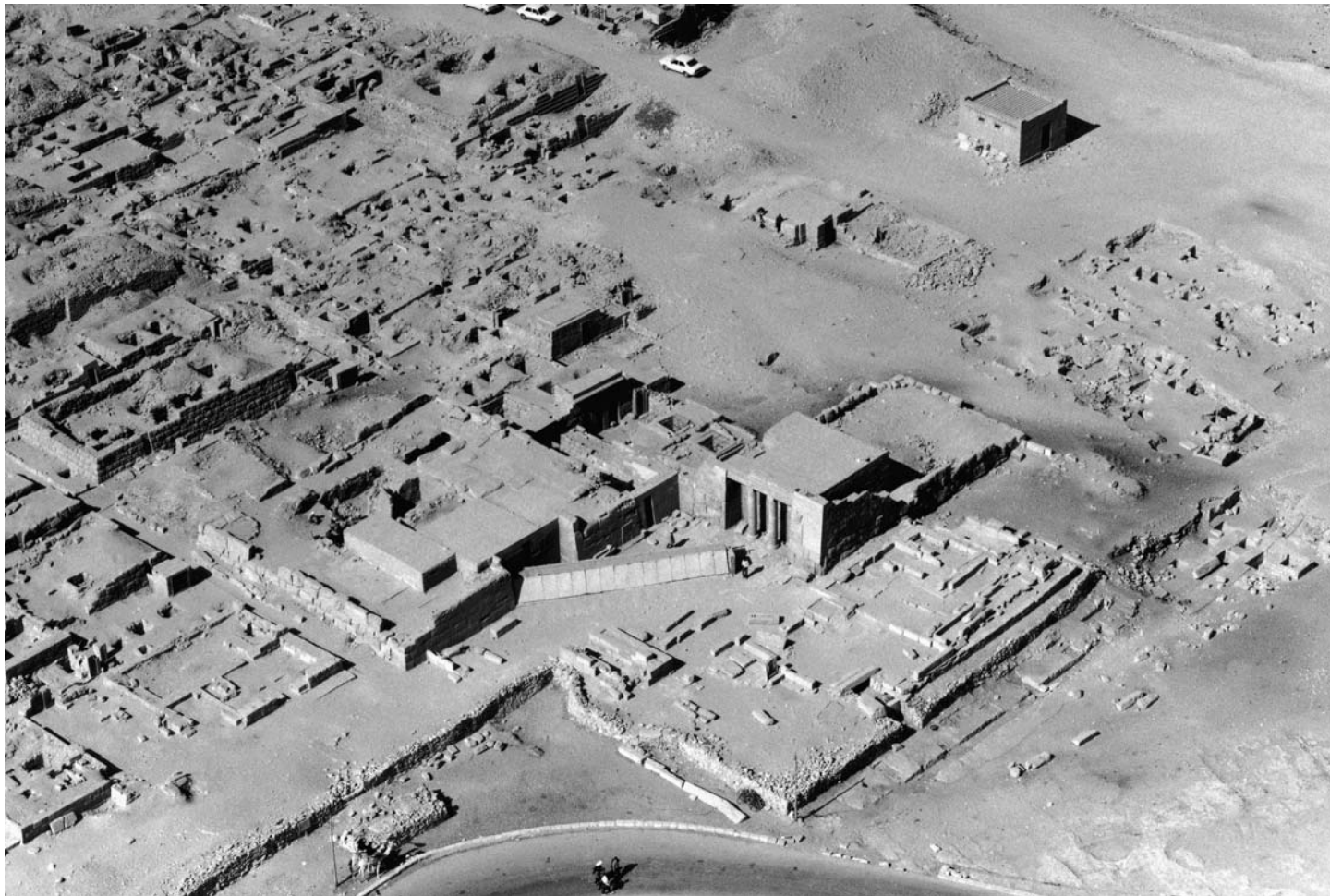
4b. Senedjemib Complex from the top of northwest corner of Great Pyramid, looking northwest. 10 November 1914. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 2370



5a. Middle and northern parts of Western Field, 1932, with the Senedjemib Complex at bottom right. 25 June 1932. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6973



5b. Senedjemib Complex from the northwest corner of Great Pyramid, looking northwest towards the mastabas (from left to right) of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Khnumenti (G 2374), and Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378). May 1981. Lynn Holden



6a. Senedjemib Complex from the top of northwest corner of Great Pyramid, looking northwest. 16 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.131.16



6b. G 2381-82, Roman Period inclined roadway, sloping ramp of Senedjemib Complex, and G 2370 B. 20 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1601



7a. Senedjemib Complex from east front, looking west. 13 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1339



7b. Eastern side of Senedjemib Complex, looking north-northwest from tower, with G 2381 A/c and drainage channel of Great Pyramid in middle ground. 18 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 813



8a. Eastern side of Senedjemib Complex, looking north, G 2381 A and drainage channel in foreground. 21 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1602



8b. Debris filling court of Senedjemib Complex and Roman pavement looking west. 4 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 792



9a. Court of Senedjemib Complex, looking northwest from tower. 12 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 850



9b. Court of Senedjemib Complex, looking northwest from tower. 12 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 811



10a. Court of Senedjemib Complex, looking north from tower. 12 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 847



10b. G 2384, looking west, with stone basin and staple stone in court beyond. 7 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1334



11a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), southern part, during course of excavations, looking west from tower. 13 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 712



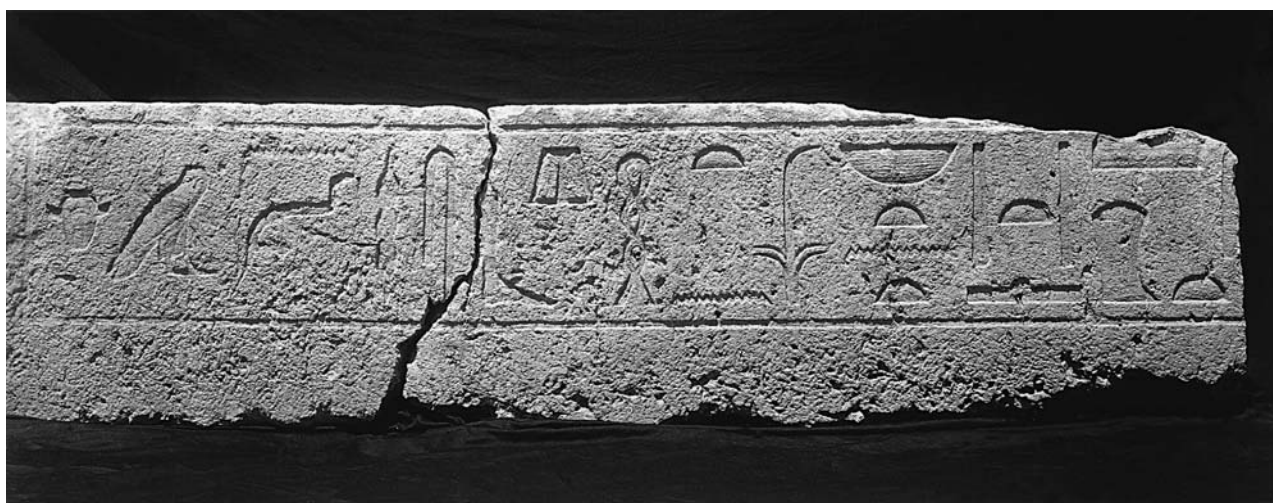
11b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Rooms II-III, during course of excavations, looking east. 13 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1278



12a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Rooms II-IV, during course of excavations, looking south. 9 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3026



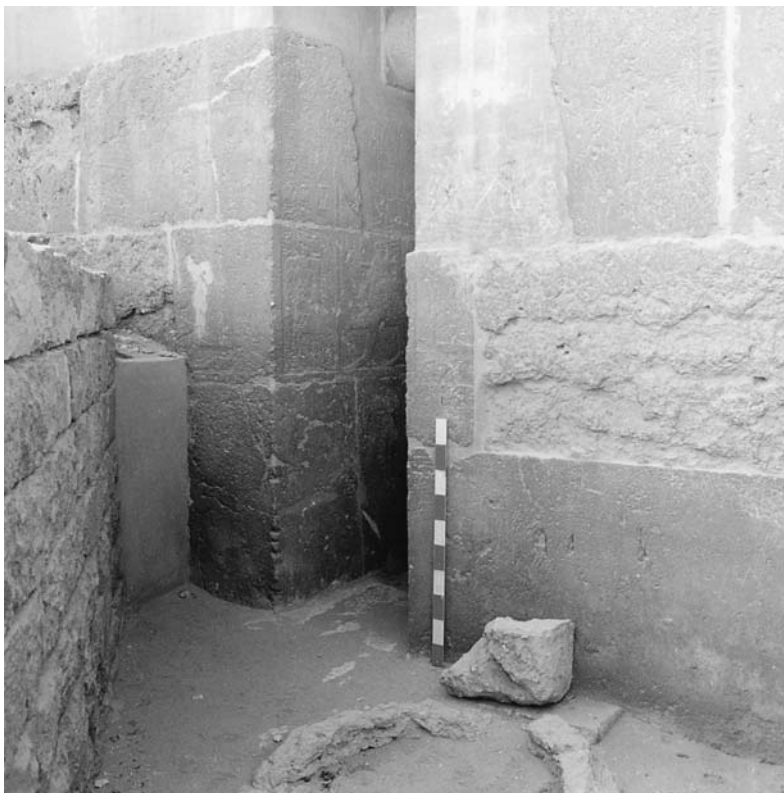
12b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, during course of excavations, looking west. 9 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3025



12c. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), inscribed architrave block found lying in court. 2 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5808



12d. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), inscribed architrave block found lying in court. 2 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7170



13a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, looking southwest, with emplacement for northern column and Sound and Light Installation at left. 21 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.109.37



13b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), displaced column bases from portico lying in front of G 2374. 10 December 1993. Edward Brovanski



13c. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, south wall. 21 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.11.05



14. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, south wall, lower part. 6 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6346



15a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), general view of portico, looking west. 10 May 1997. Supreme Council of Antiquities



15b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, west wall, south of entrance. 21 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.110.04



15c. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, west wall, south of entrance, northern part. 22 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6307



16. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, west wall, north of entrance, northern part. 4 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5817



17a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, west wall, north of entrance, detail of middle part. 29 November 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6057



17b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, west wall, north of entrance, detail of southern part. 28 November 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7527



18. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, north wall. 3 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5815



19a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, left (south) entrance thickness. 8 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6339



19b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, left (south) entrance thickness. 8 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6341



20a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, left (south) entrance thickness, upper part. 8 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6340



20b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, right (north) entrance thickness. 23 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6308



21a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, niche in north wall, looking northeast. 24 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.114.28



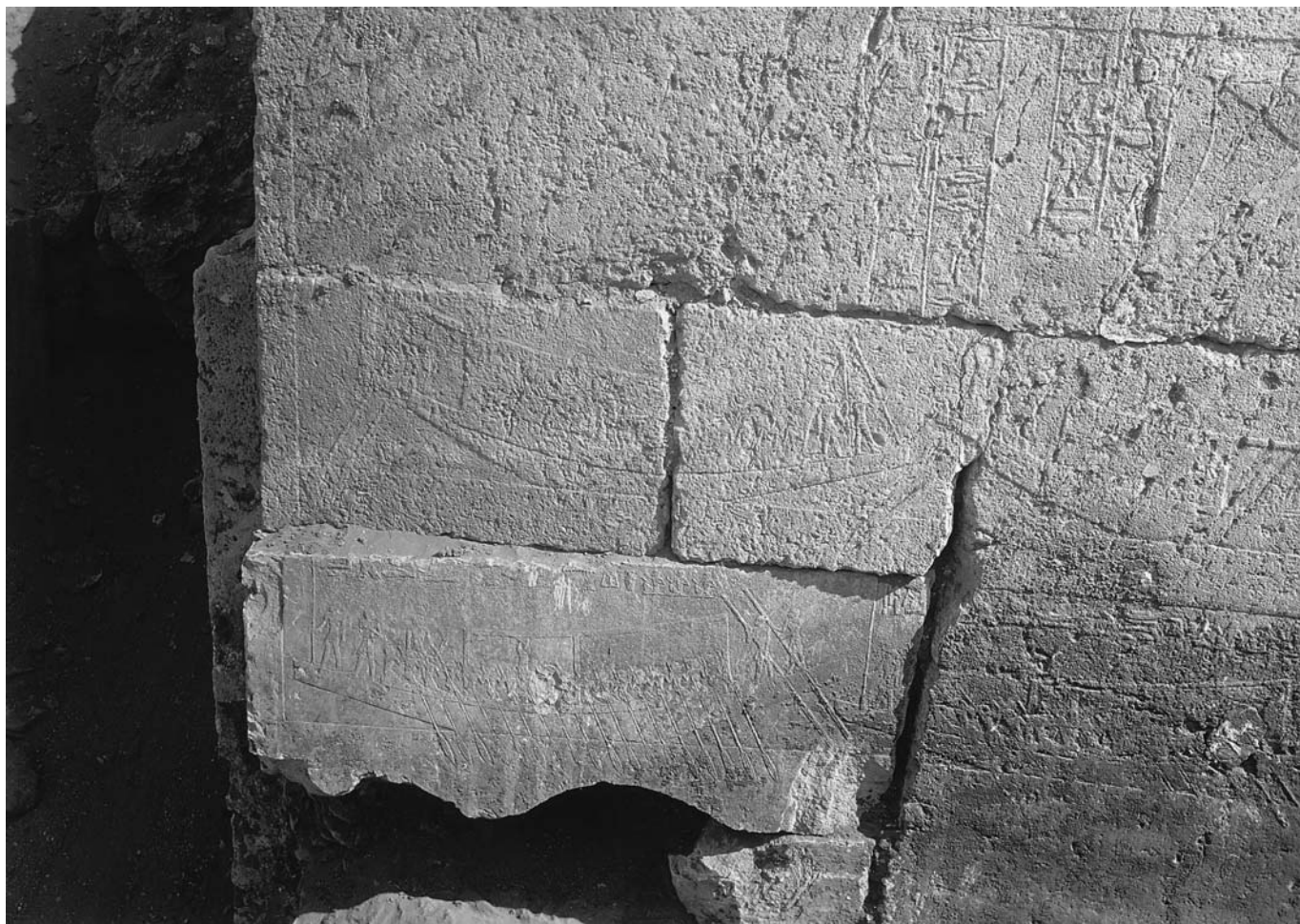
21b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, hole in north end of west wall, south of entrance, looking northeast. 24 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.114.29



22. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, east wall, northern end. 25 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6025



23. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, east wall, southern end. 25 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6426



24a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, east wall, northern end, detail. 13 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1277



24b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, east wall, north end, detail. 31 July 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5786



25a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, south wall. 9 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6371



25b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, west wall. 24 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6330



26a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, west wall, south end. 15 October 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7498



26b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, west wall, south of middle. 18 October 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7499



26c. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, west wall, north of middle. 19 October 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7516



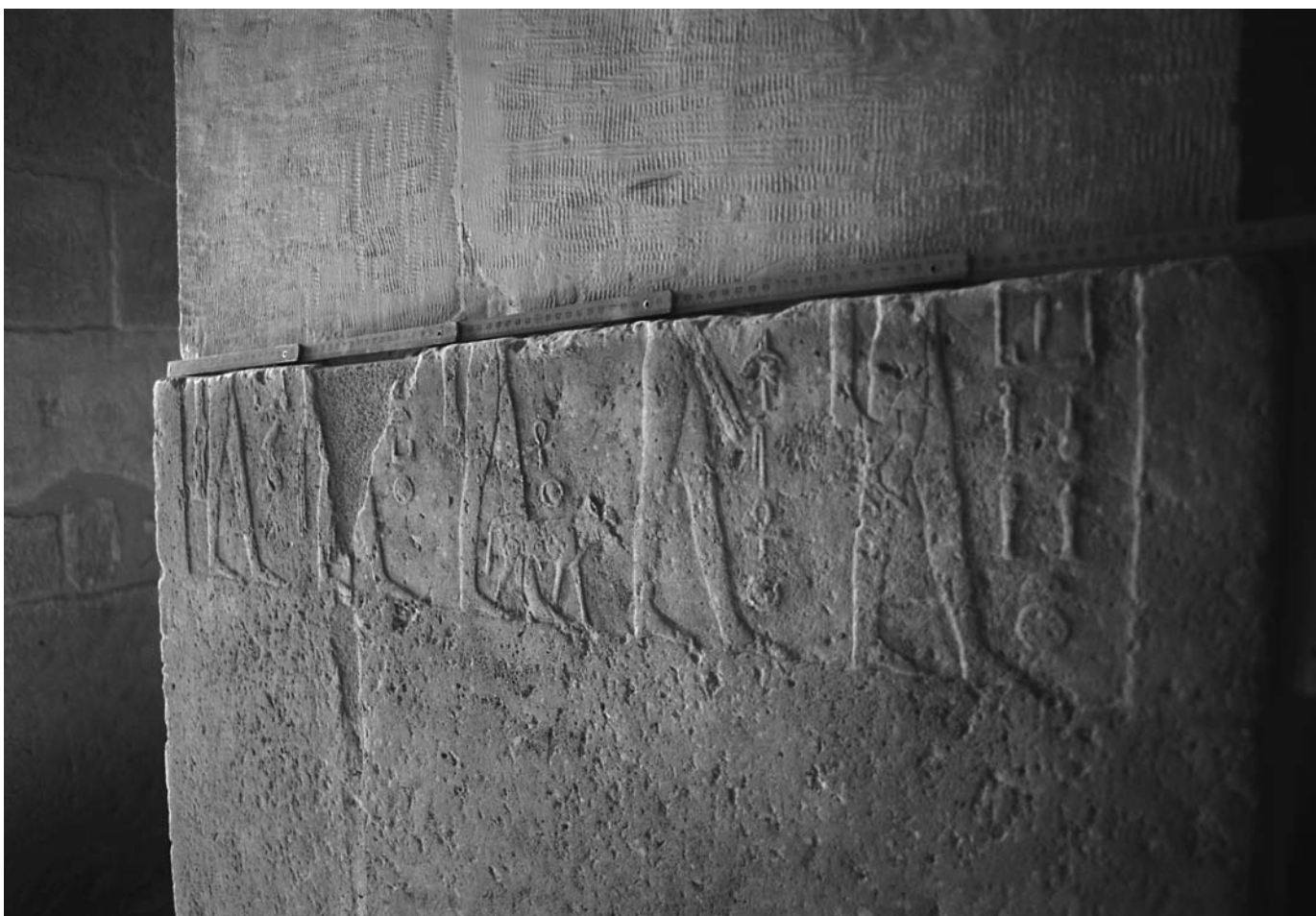
27a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, west wall, north end. 19 October 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7517



27b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, north wall. 5 September 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6003



28a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, north wall, detail of text. 24 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.114.24



28b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, left (south) thickness. 14 May 1998. Peter Jánosi

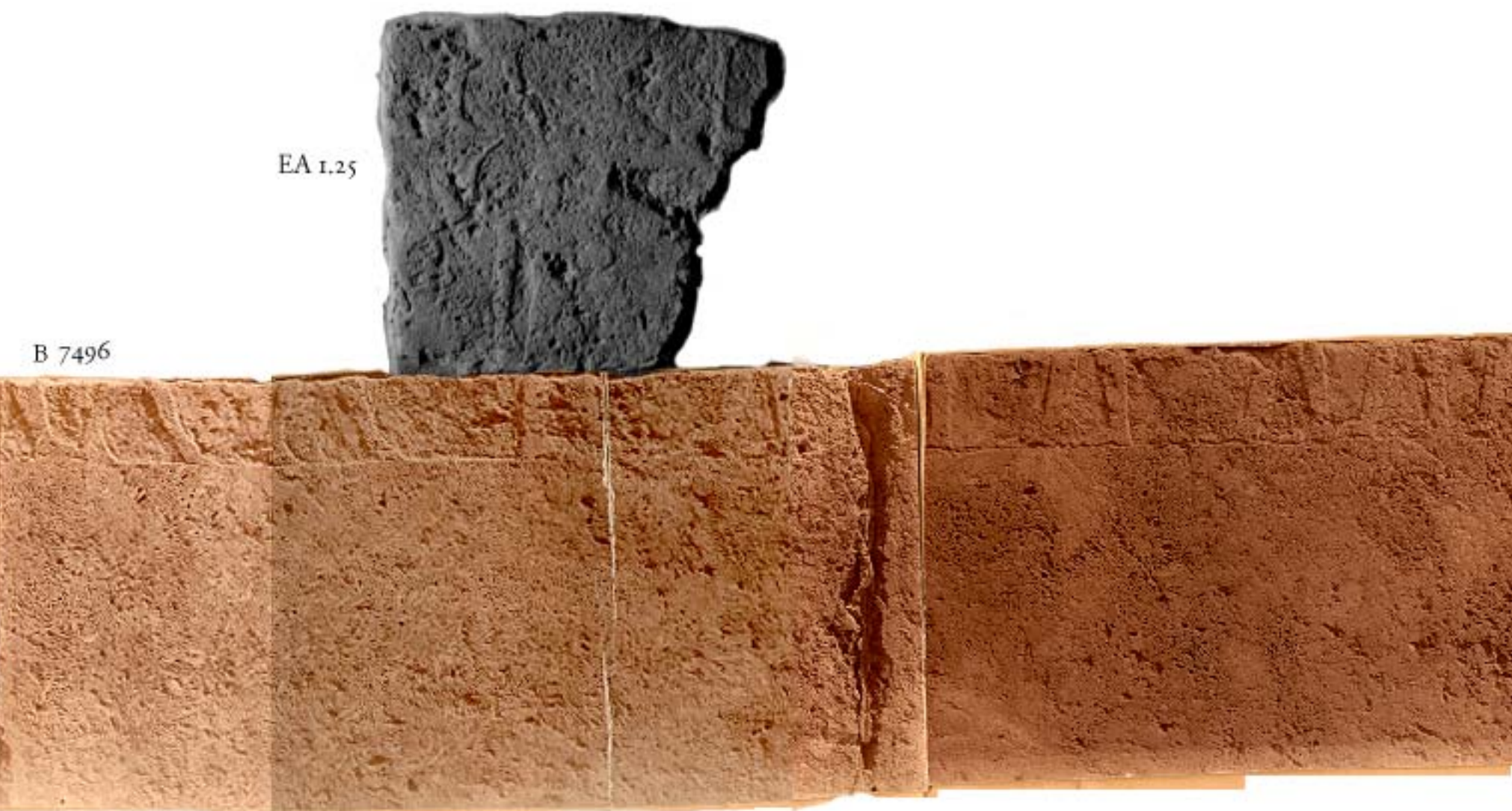


29. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), entrance to Room III, right (north) thickness. 1 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5787

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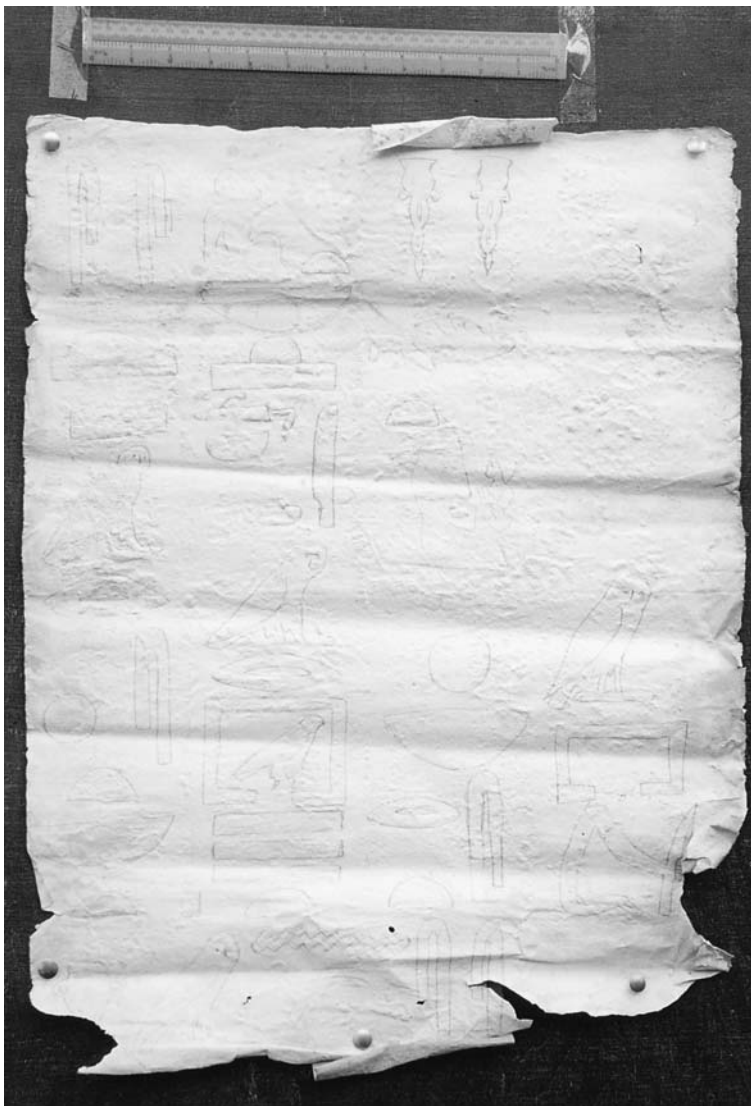
EA 1.25

B 7496

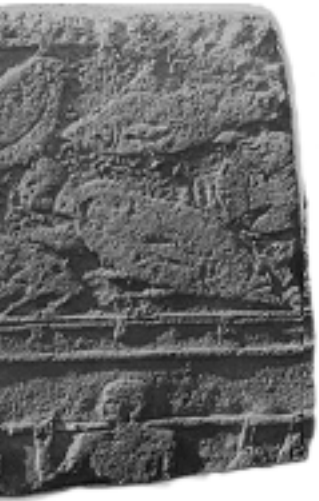




31a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, south wall. 30 March 1995. Ed Angelo EA 1.18.



31b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, titles assigned to south wall. Spring, 1850. Rev. Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, Squeeze No. 1.13. Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



B 7525

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A 6022



C 12863



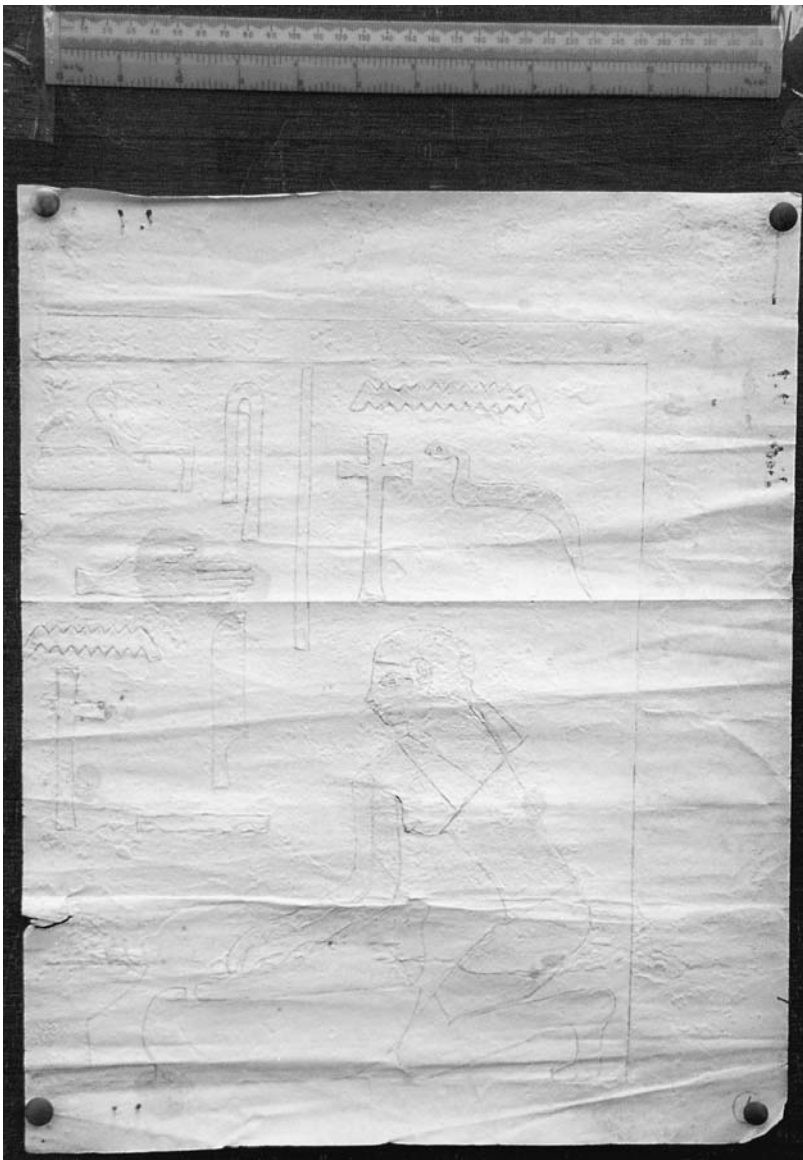
A 6002

COLOR SLIDE

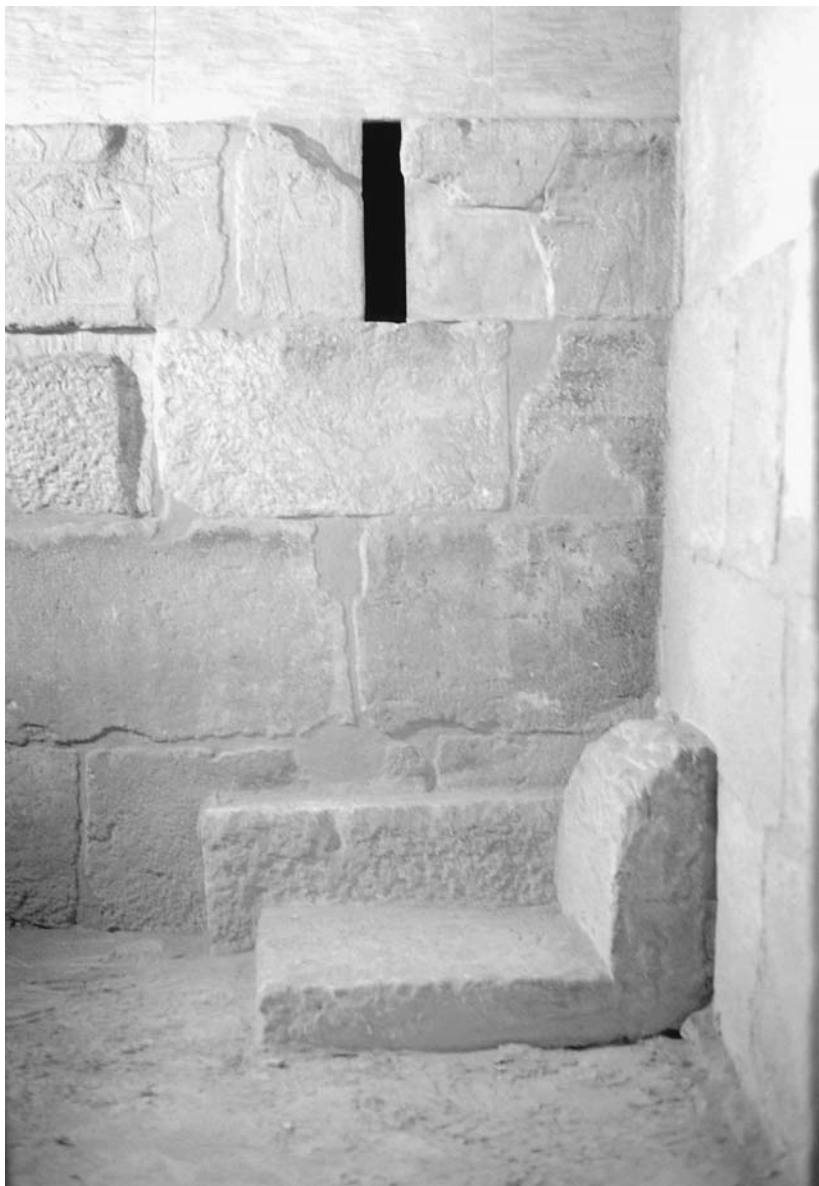
B 7500



33a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, north wall. 24 October 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. v 7510



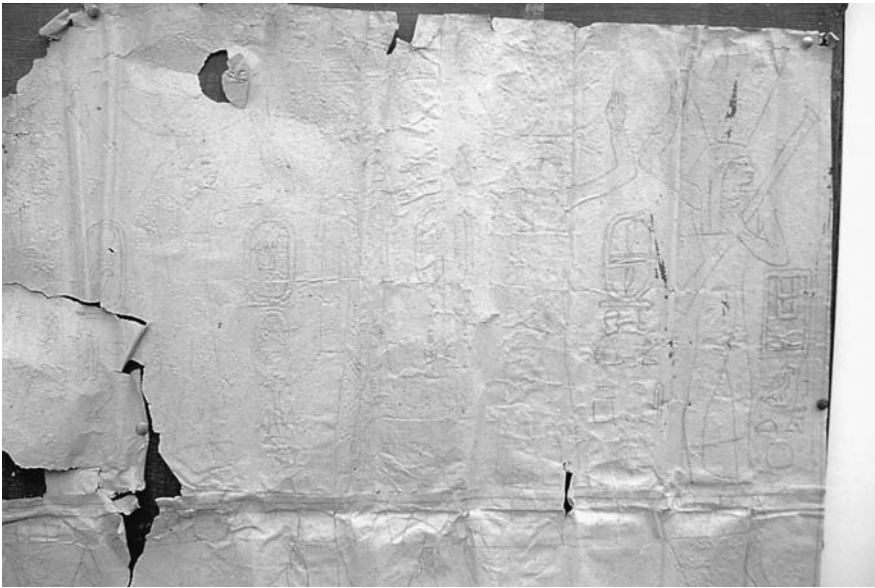
33b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, north wall. Spring, 1850. Rev. Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, Squeeze No. 1.1. Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



34a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, cult installation in north-west corner. 30 March 1995. Ed Angelo EA 1.27



34b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, left (east) entrance thickness. 8 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6338



35a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, left (east) entrance thickness, upper register. Spring, 1850. Rev. Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, Squeeze No. 1.2 [upper]. Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



35b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, left (east) entrance thickness, lower register. Spring, 1850. Rev. Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, Squeeze No. 1.2 [lower]. Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



35c. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, right (west) entrance thickness. 22 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7752



36a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, right (west) entrance thickness, upper register. Spring, 1850. Rev. Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, Squeeze No. 1.3 [upper]. Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



36b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, right (west) entrance thickness, lower register. Spring, 1850. Rev. Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, Squeeze No. 1.3 [lower]. Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



36c. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, east wall, left end. 22 November 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7513



37a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, east wall, middle. 20 November 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. v 7511



37b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, east wall, right end. 24 November 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. v 7512

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38. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, photographic montage of south wall (see list of plates)



39. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, south wall, western end. 7 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6342



40. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, south wall, western end, detail. 7 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6344



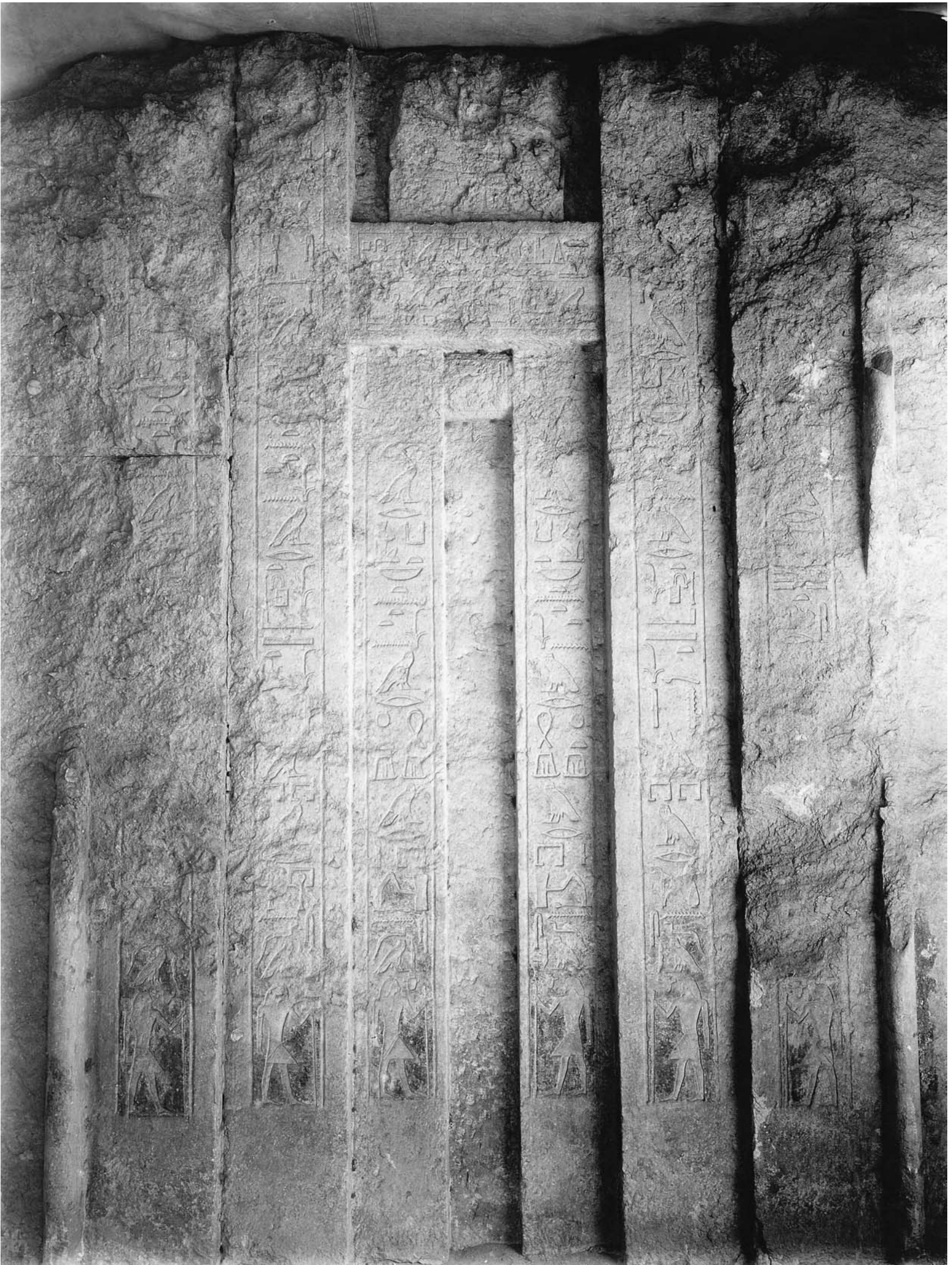
41. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, south wall, western end. 7 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6343



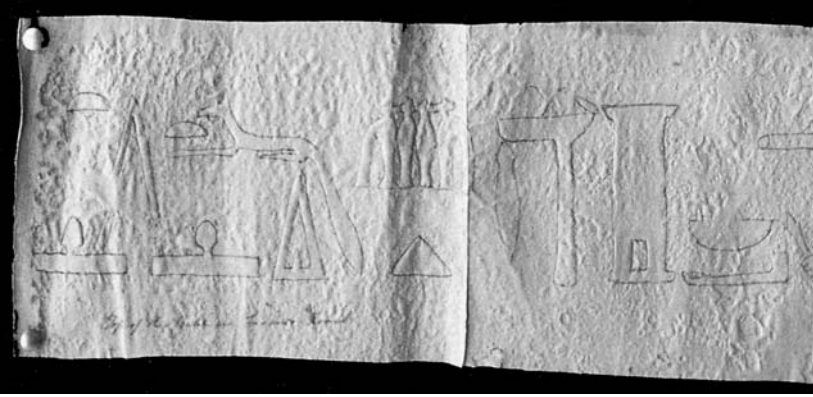
42. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, southwest corner. 7 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6345



43. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, false door. 10 September 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 1073



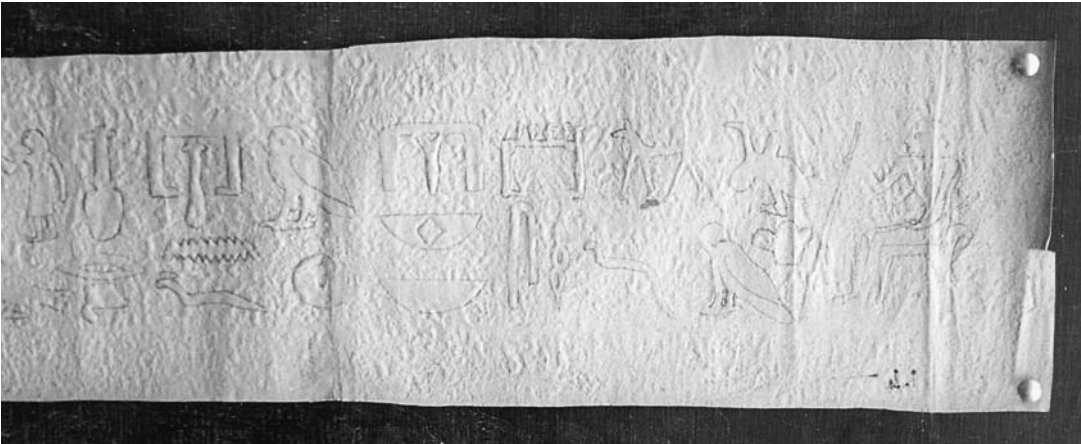
44. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, false door. 4 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5821



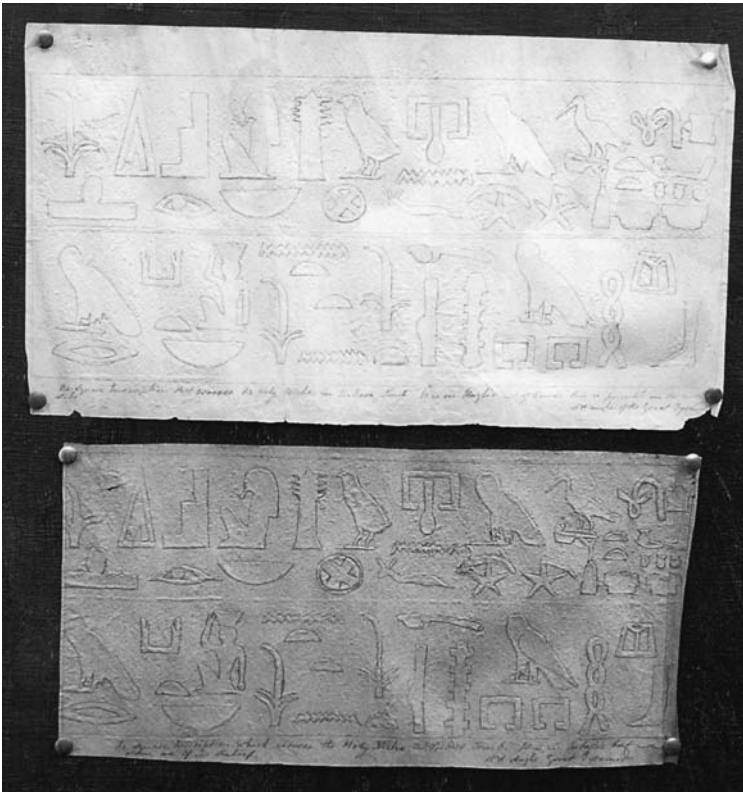
45a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, false door, architrave. Spring, 1850. Rev. Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, Squeeze No. 1.6. Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



45b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, false door, architrave. Spring, 1850. Rev. Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, Squeeze No. 1.6. Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



45c. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, false door, architrave. Spring, 1850. Rev. Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, Squeeze No. 1.4. Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



45d. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, false door, lintel. Spring, 1850. Rev. Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, Squeeze No. 1.9 [upper]–10 [lower]. Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



45e. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, false door, panel. Spring, 1850. Rev. Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder, Squeeze No. 1.7. Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



46a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, north and west walls, looking northwest. 7 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5818



46b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, north wall, western end, detail. 1 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5789



46c. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, relief assigned to north wall. 16 December 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 13643



46d. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, relief assigned to north wall. 13 December 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 7325 2/1



47. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, north wall, middle. 7 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5819



48. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, north wall, eastern end. 7 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5820



49a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, north wall, east of doorway, western half. 16 October 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7503



49b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, north wall, east of doorway, eastern half. 15 October 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7502



50a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, cult installation in northeast corner. 30 March 1995. Ed Angelo EA 1.7



50b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, cult installation in northeast corner, detail. 30 March 1995. Ed Angelo EA 1.3.



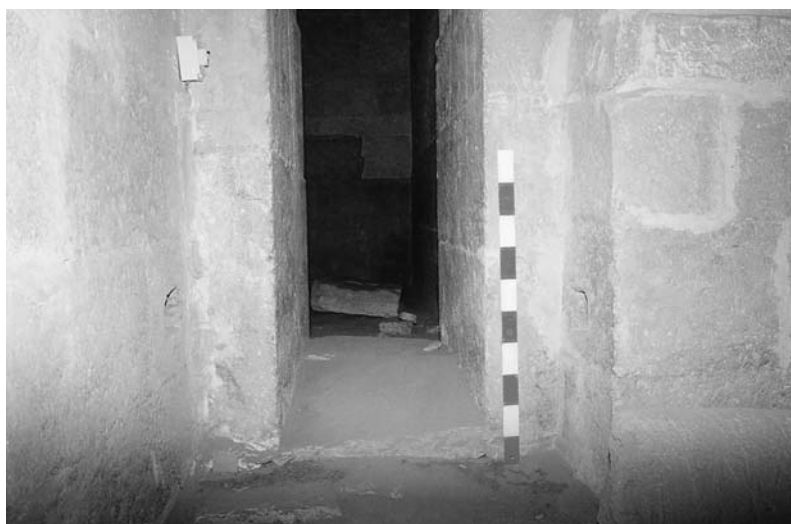
51a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room V, pillared hall, looking west–northwest. 13 November 1912. HU–BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1279



51b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room V, right (east) entrance thickness. 23 February 1931. HU–BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6309



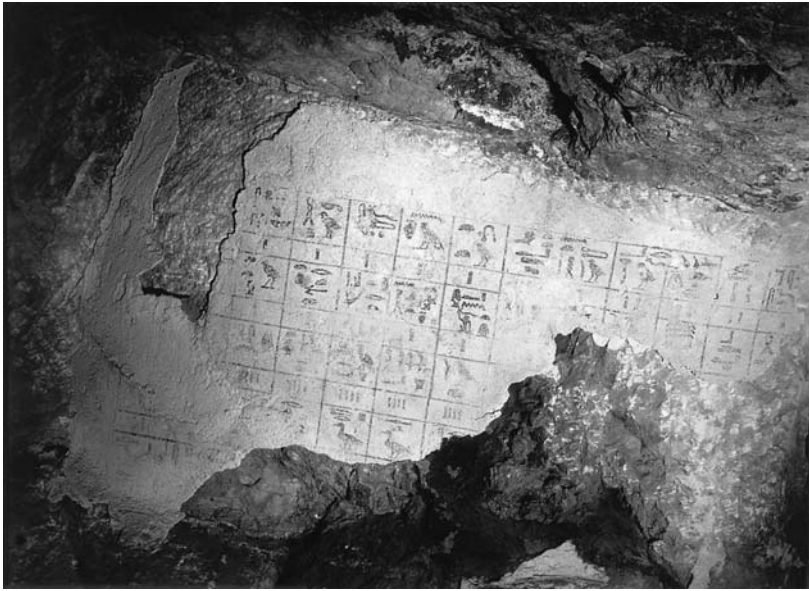
52a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room V, left (west) entrance thickness. 22 February 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6310



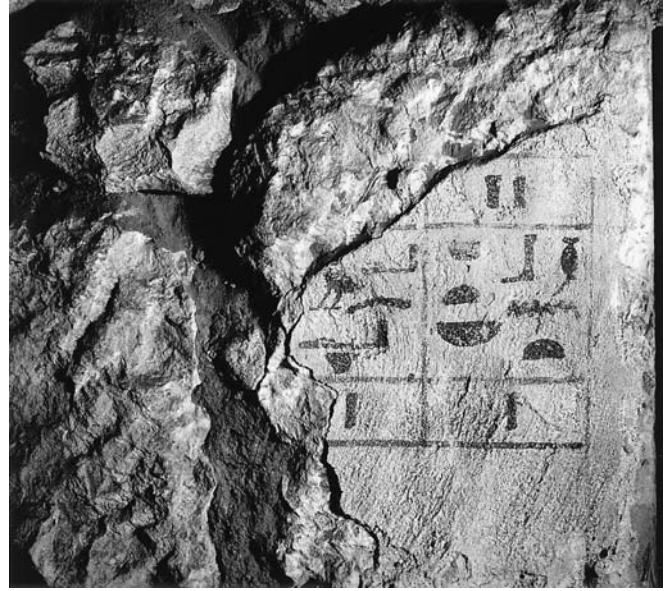
52b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room V, looking south to Room II, niches in walls. 24 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.114.30



52c. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room V, niche in east wall, looking southeast. 24 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.114.31



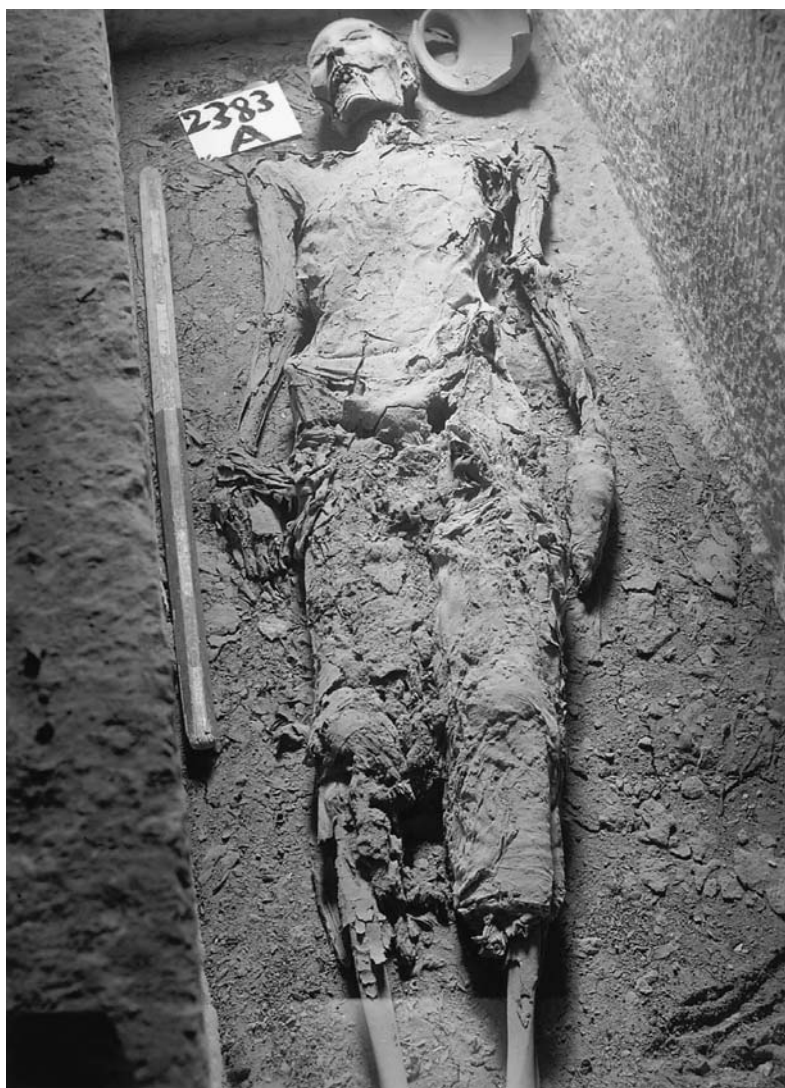
53a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), burial chamber G 2370 B, painted offering list on plaster on east wall, north of entrance, looking east. 4 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3279



53b. G 2370 B, painted offering list on plaster on east wall, north of entrance, looking east. 3 July 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 13492



53c. G 2370 B, inscribed sarcophagus (see frontispiece F). 6 July 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 7281



54a. G 2370 B, body of Senedjemib Inti in sarcophagus. 4 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3278



54c. G 2370 B, inscription on east side of sarcophagus. 4 July 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. C 3274



54d. G 2370 B, inscription on east side of sarcophagus. 4 July 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3275



54b. G 2370 B, interior of sarcophagus, inscription in northeastern corner. 4 July 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3277



54e. G 2370 B, inscription on east side of sarcophagus. 4 July 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3276



55. G 2370 B, body of Senedjemib Inti in sarcophagus. 6 July 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 7282



56a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), dealer's cache found near doorway inside Room II. 13 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 716



56b. Model neckless, copper shoulder jar from G 2370, Serdab I, 12-II-20. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 997 1/1



56c. Diorite bowl from shaft G 2370 A, 12-II-32. May-June 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 4466



56d. Fragments of copper knives, etc. from shaft G 2370 A, 12-II-30. June 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 992 2/8



56e. Model alabaster cylinder jar from shaft G 2370 A, 12-II-28. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 997 1/2



56f. Model BrW bowl from shaft G 2370 A, 12-II-29. June 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 997 1/3



57a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), two-handled Syrian jar from burial chamber G 2370 B, 35-7-41. 23 December 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 13649



57b. Decorated fragment of two-handled Syrian jar from burial chamber G 2370 B, 35-7-41. 11 December 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 13640



57c. Nine examples of ovoid jars from burial chamber G 2370 B, 35-7-23. 28 July 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 8591



57d. Row 1/1-9: samples of model alabaster offering saucers from surface debris in front of G 2370 B, 12-12-98. Row 2/1-5: dummy offering jars, 12-12-90/94. Row 2/6: limestone core, 12-12-96. Row 2/8: alabaster core, 12-12-95. Row 2/11: circular jar lid, 12-12-89. 26 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1684



58. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, north of portico, Inscription A 1 with top of A 2 at bottom. 3 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5810



59. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, north of portico, top of Inscription A 1. 3 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5812. Inset: inscribed stone from court, joining top of inscription. 19 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1669 [right]



60. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, north of portico, bottom of Inscription A 1 with top of A 2. 8 September 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 1066



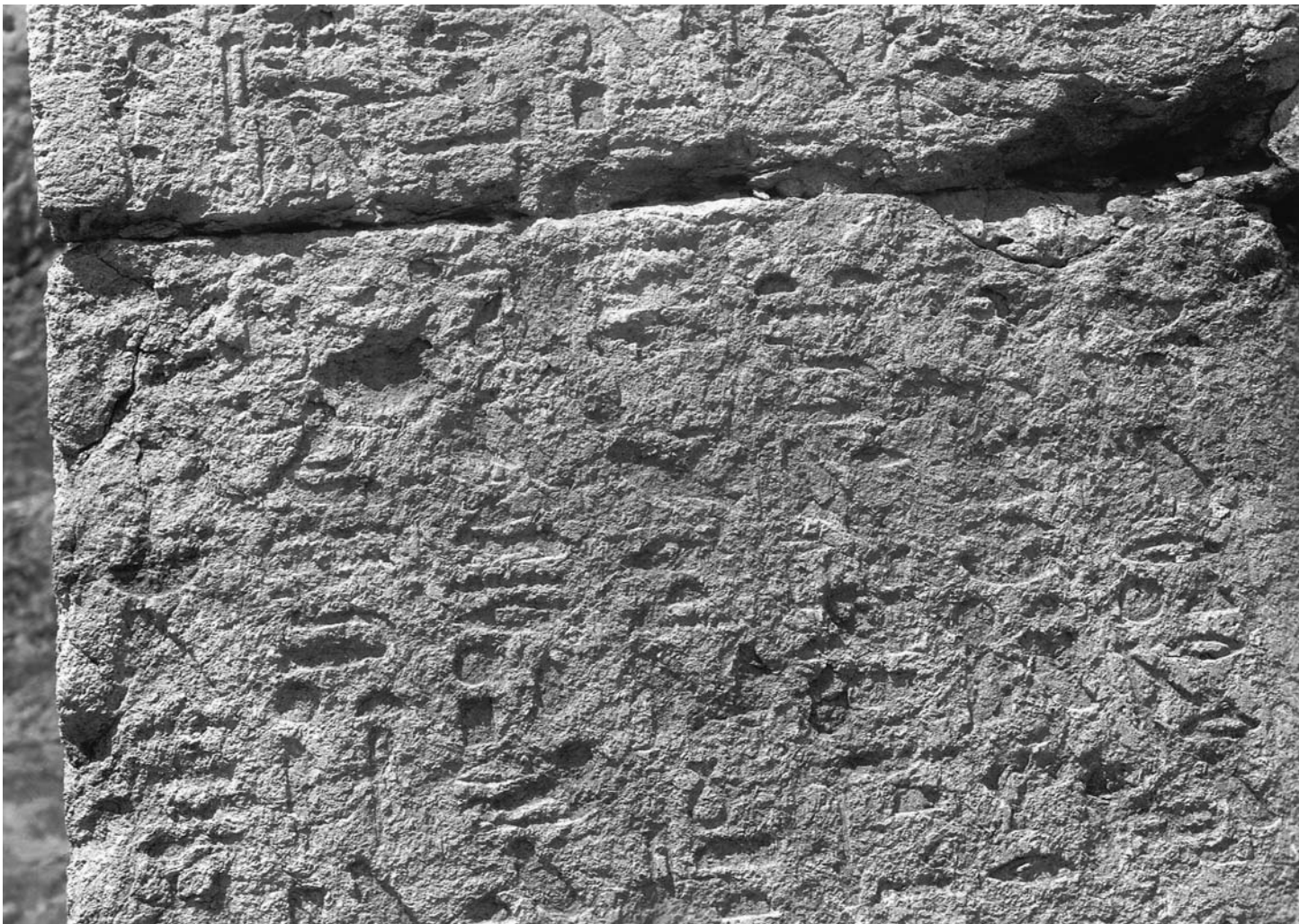
61. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, north of portico, Inscription A 2 with end of Inscription A 1 at top. 3 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5811



62. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, north of portico, Inscription A 2. 3 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5814



63a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, north of portico, Inscription A 2, top. 9 September 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 1059



63b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, north of portico, Inscription A 2, bottom. 9 September 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 1058



64a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, north wall, at right Inscription B 1, top. 1 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. v 7162. Inset: Senedjemib Complex, inscribed stone from court, joining the top of the inscription. 19 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. v 1668 [bottom right]



64b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, north wall, Inscription B 1, bottom. 1 September 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 1055



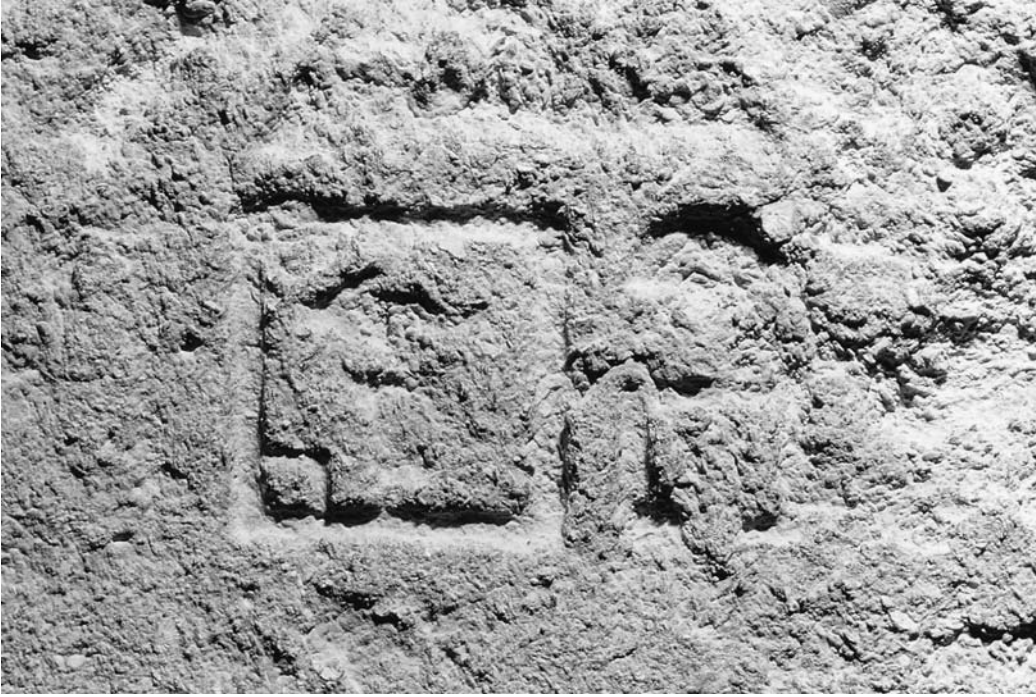
65. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, north wall, Inscription B 2 with B 1 at top. 4 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5816



66a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, north wall, Inscription B 1, bottom, and B 2, top. 1 September 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 1056



66b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, north wall, Inscription B 2, bottom, with modern lines in ink. 26 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6329



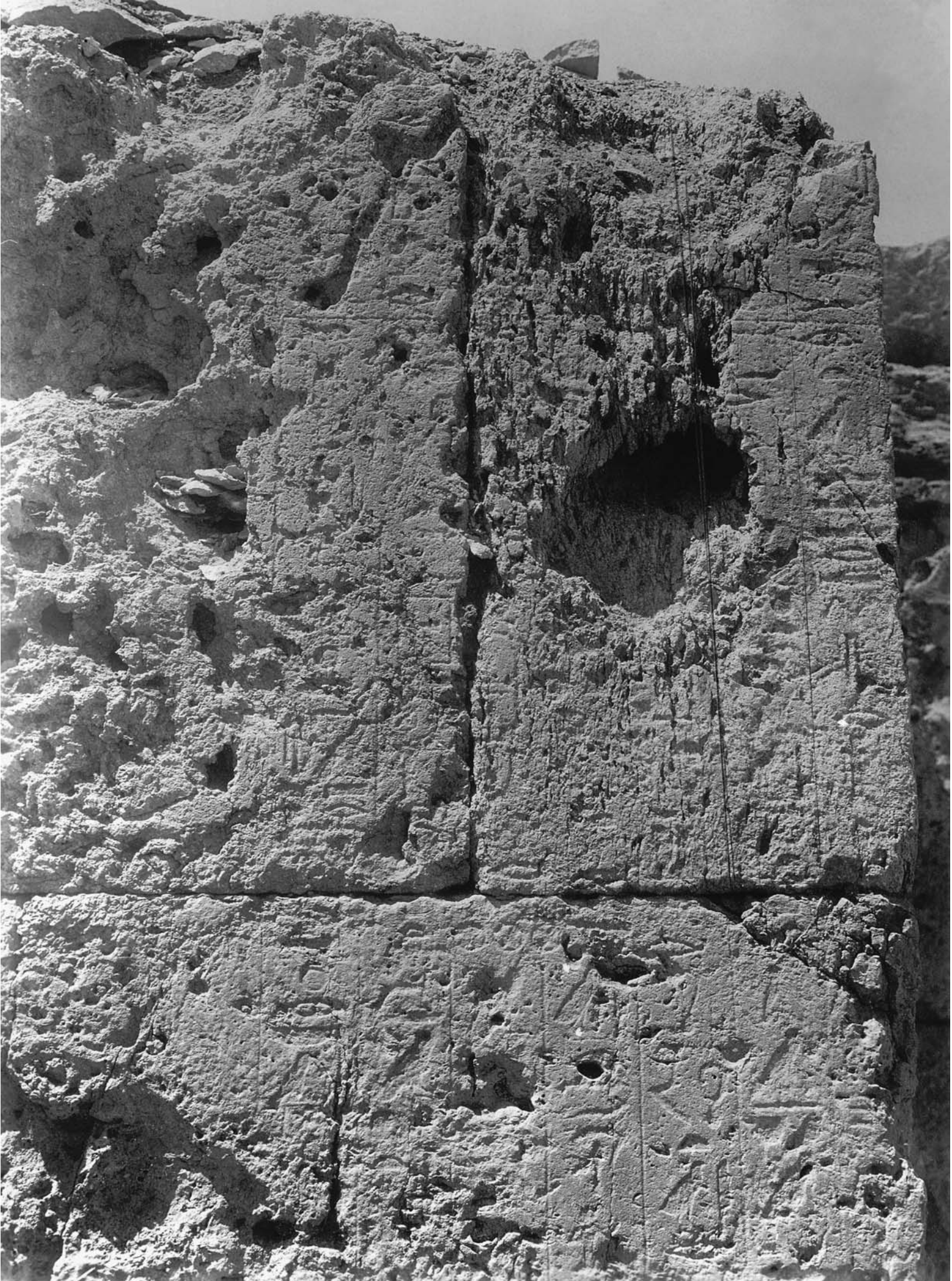
67a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, north wall, Inscription B 2, detail. 21 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.109.30



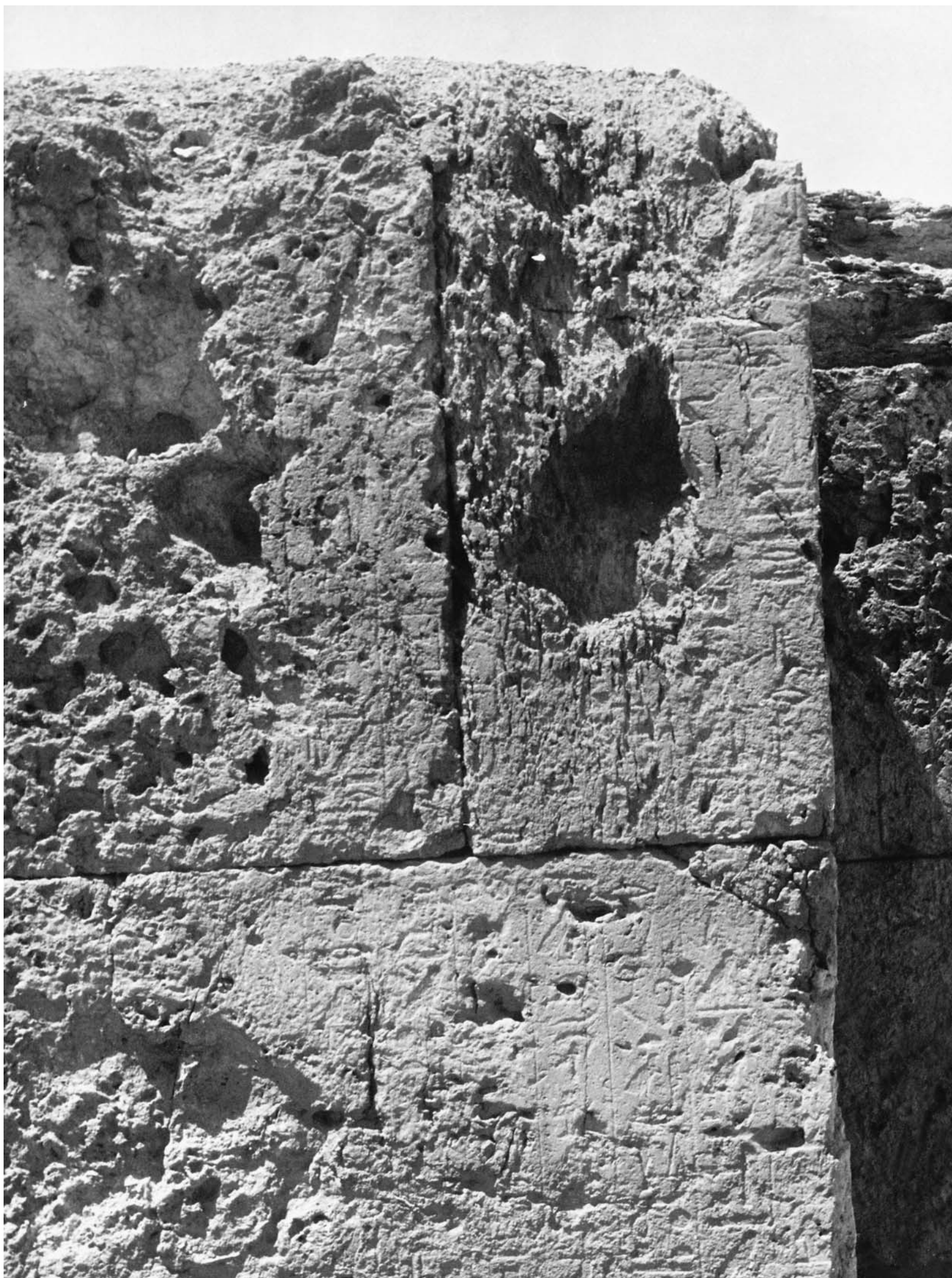
67b. Senedjemib Complex, inscribed stone from court, assigned to top of Inscription C. 19 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. v 1668 [left]



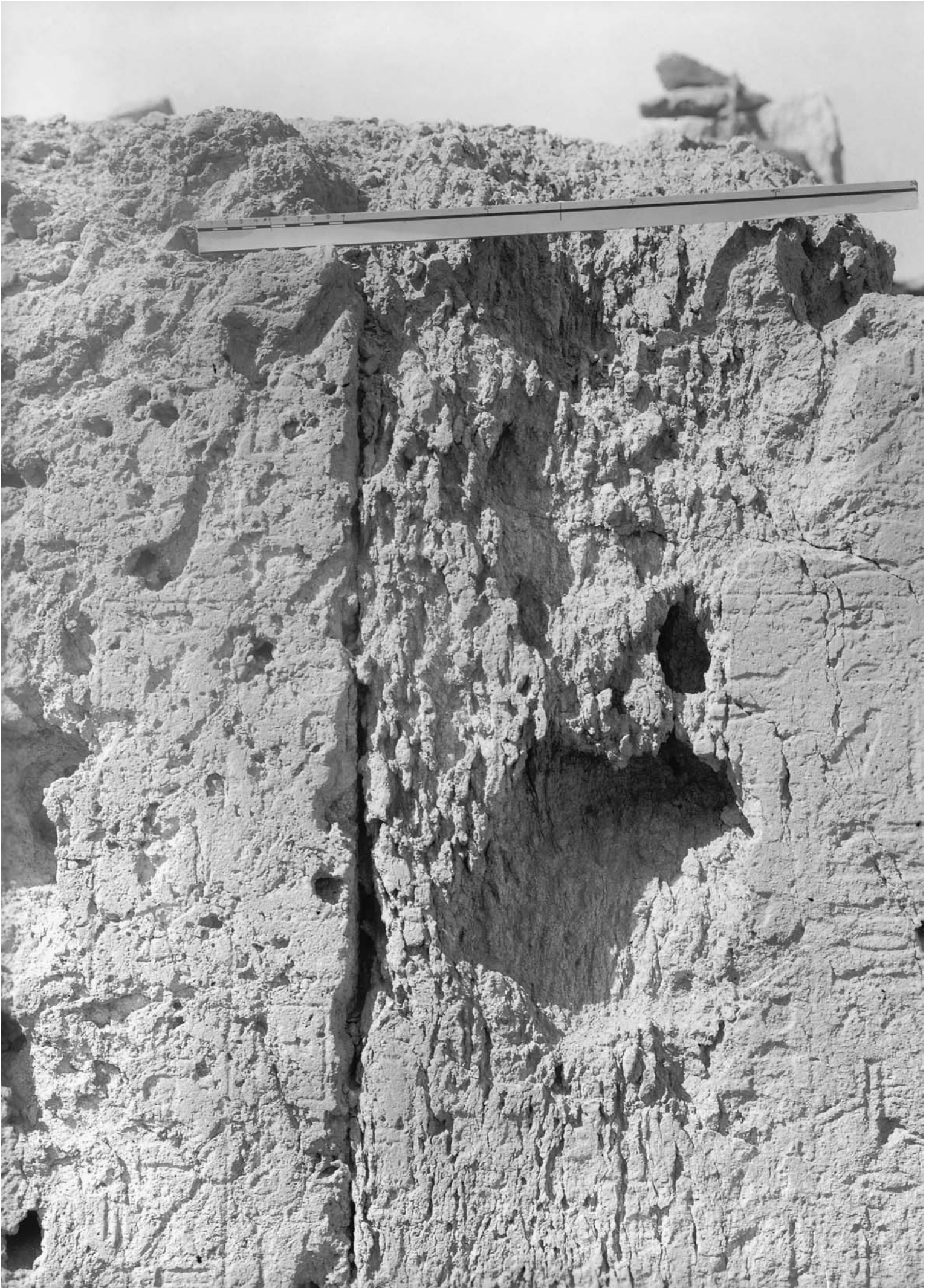
68. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, south of portico, Inscription C. 22 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6306



69. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, south of portico, Inscription C, upper part and middle. 26 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6325



70. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, south of portico, Inscription C, upper part and middle. ADOX. Dr. C. Schleussner Fotowerke GmbH, Frankfurt am Main



71. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, south of portico, Inscription C, upper part. 23 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6304



72. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, south of portico, Inscription C, middle and lower part. 1 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5784



73. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, south of portico, Inscription C, middle part. 23 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6303



74a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade, south of portico, Inscription C, lower part. 26 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6326



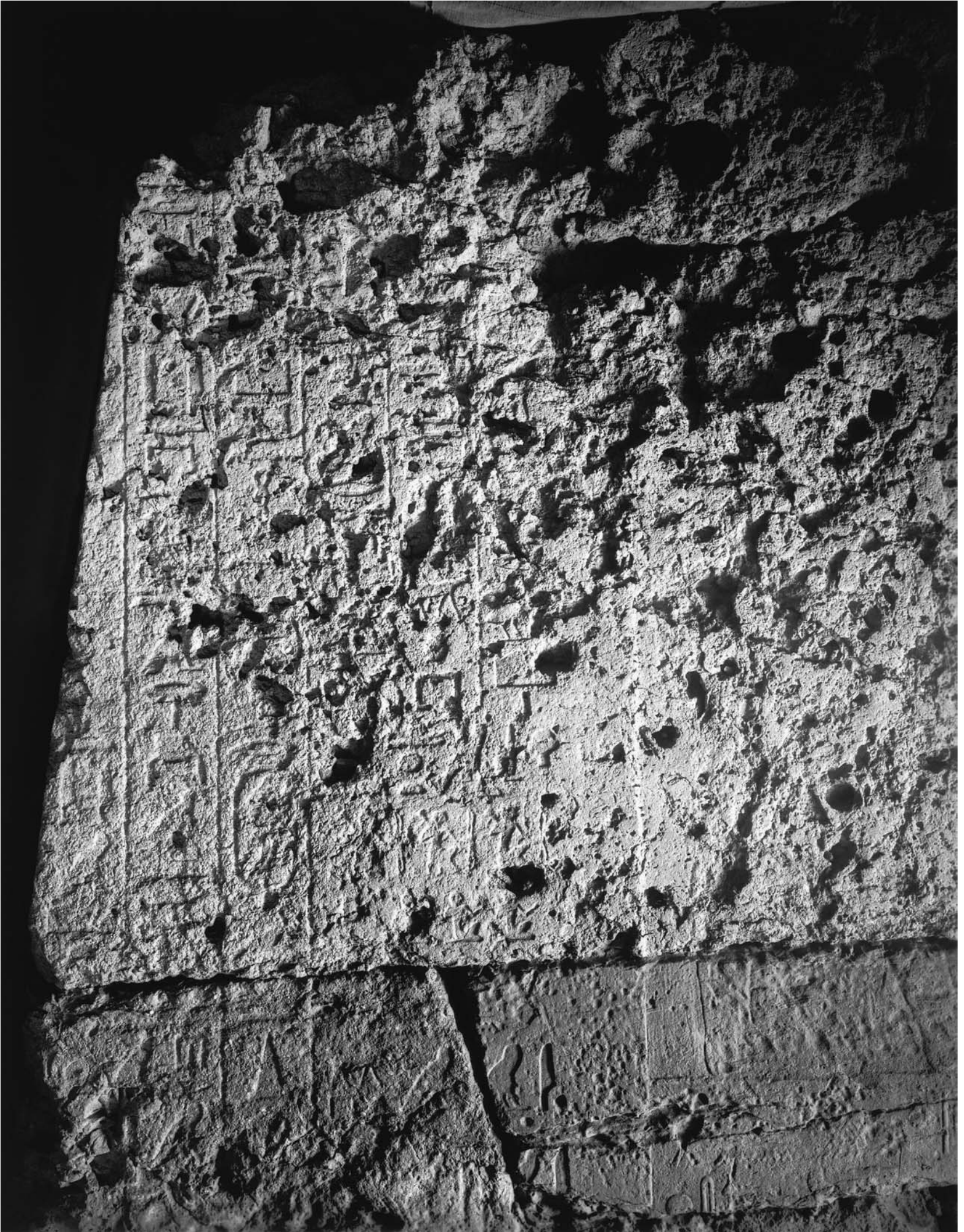
74b. Senedjemib Complex, inscribed stone from court, assigned to top of Inscription C. 19 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1670 (left)



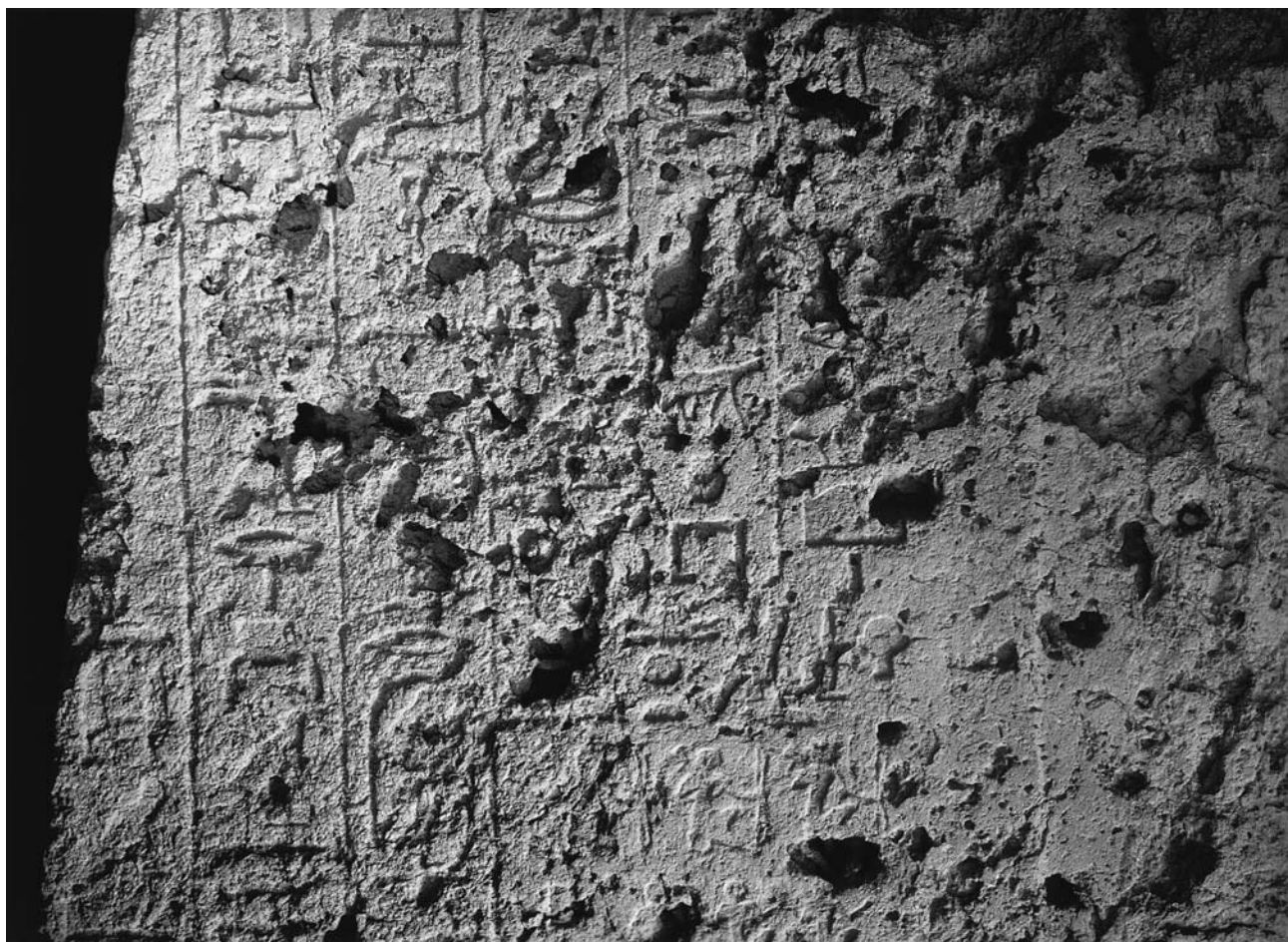
75. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, south wall, Inscription D. 21 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.109.34



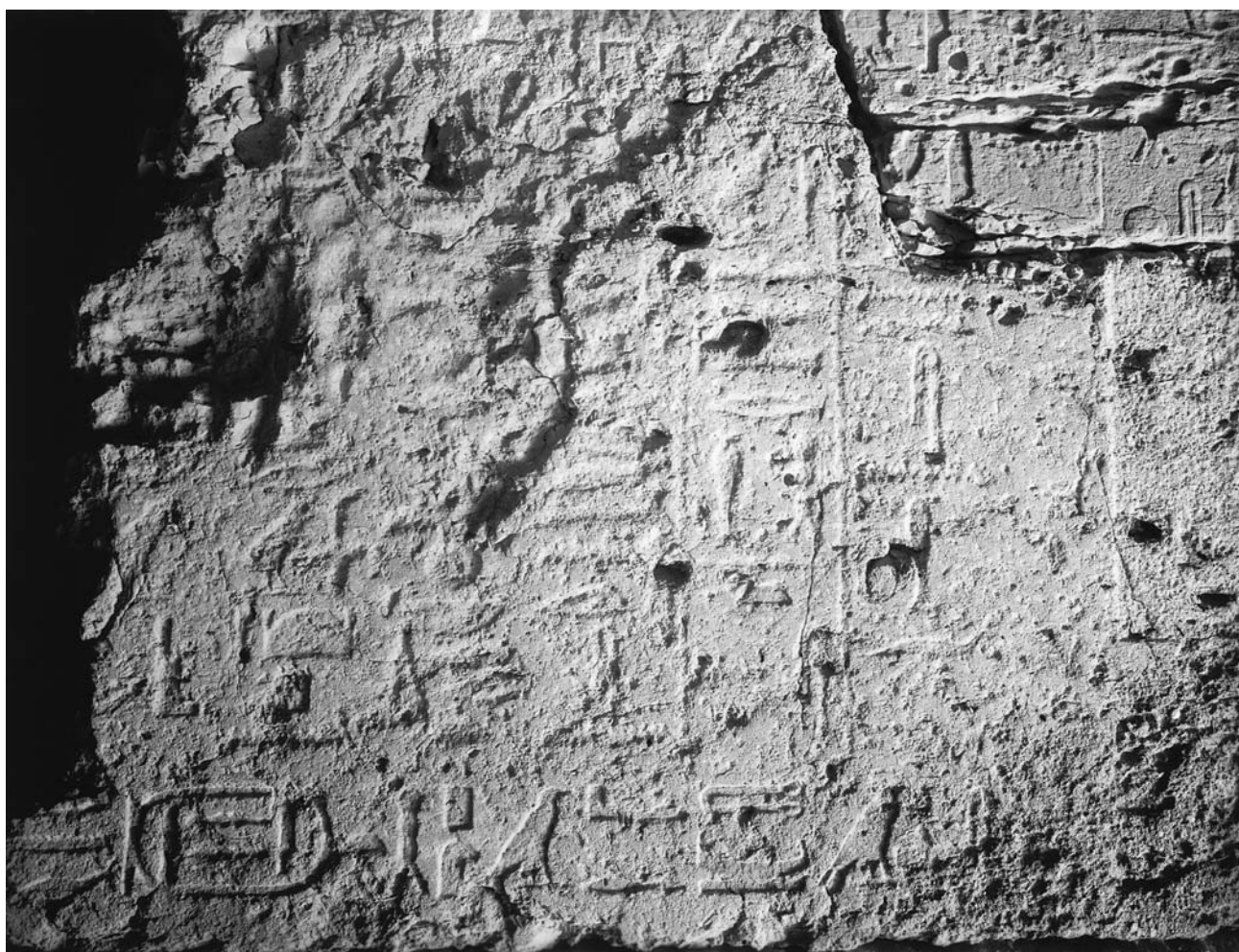
76. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, south wall, Inscription D. 2 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6321



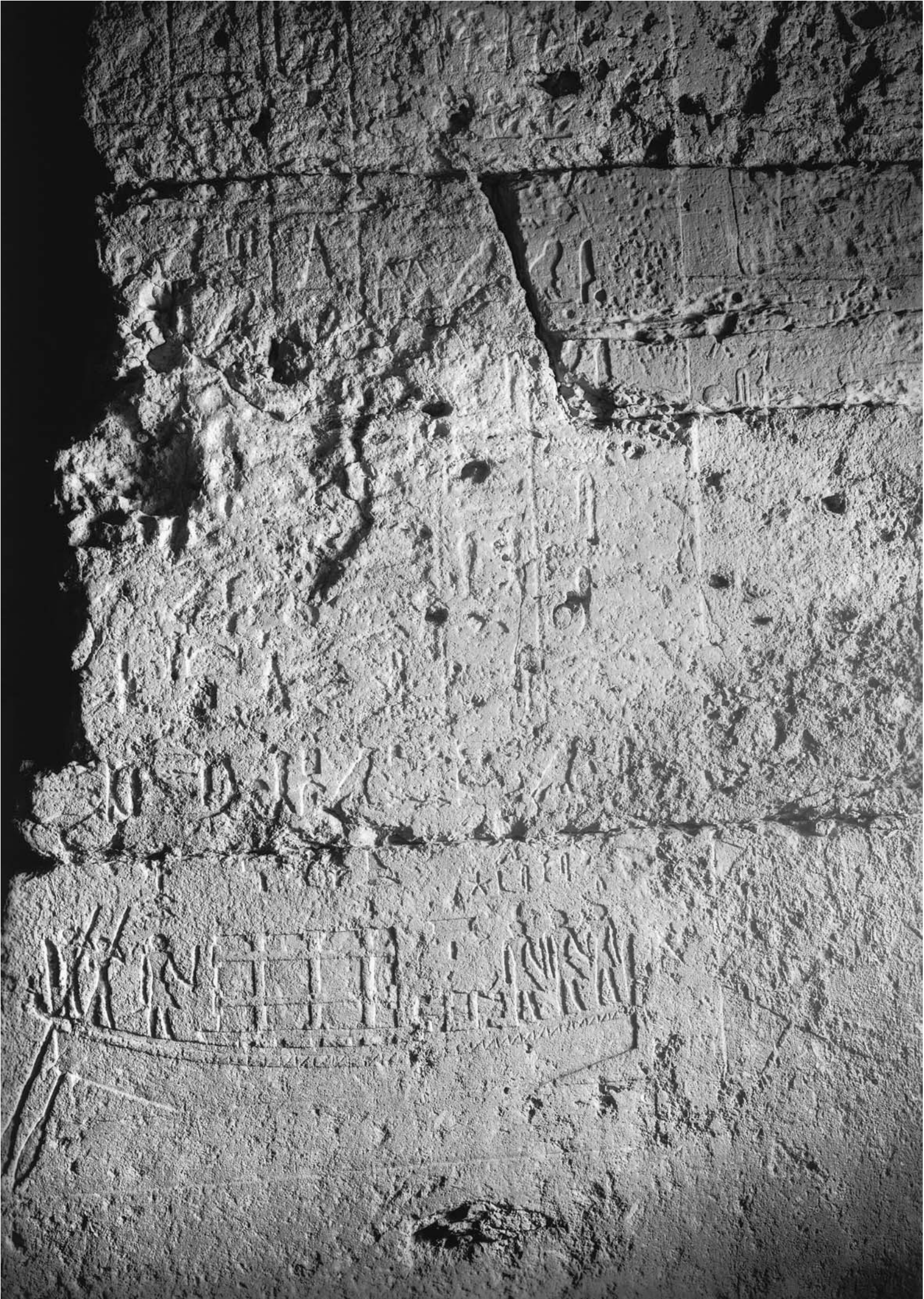
77. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, south wall, Inscription D, upper part. 2 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6320



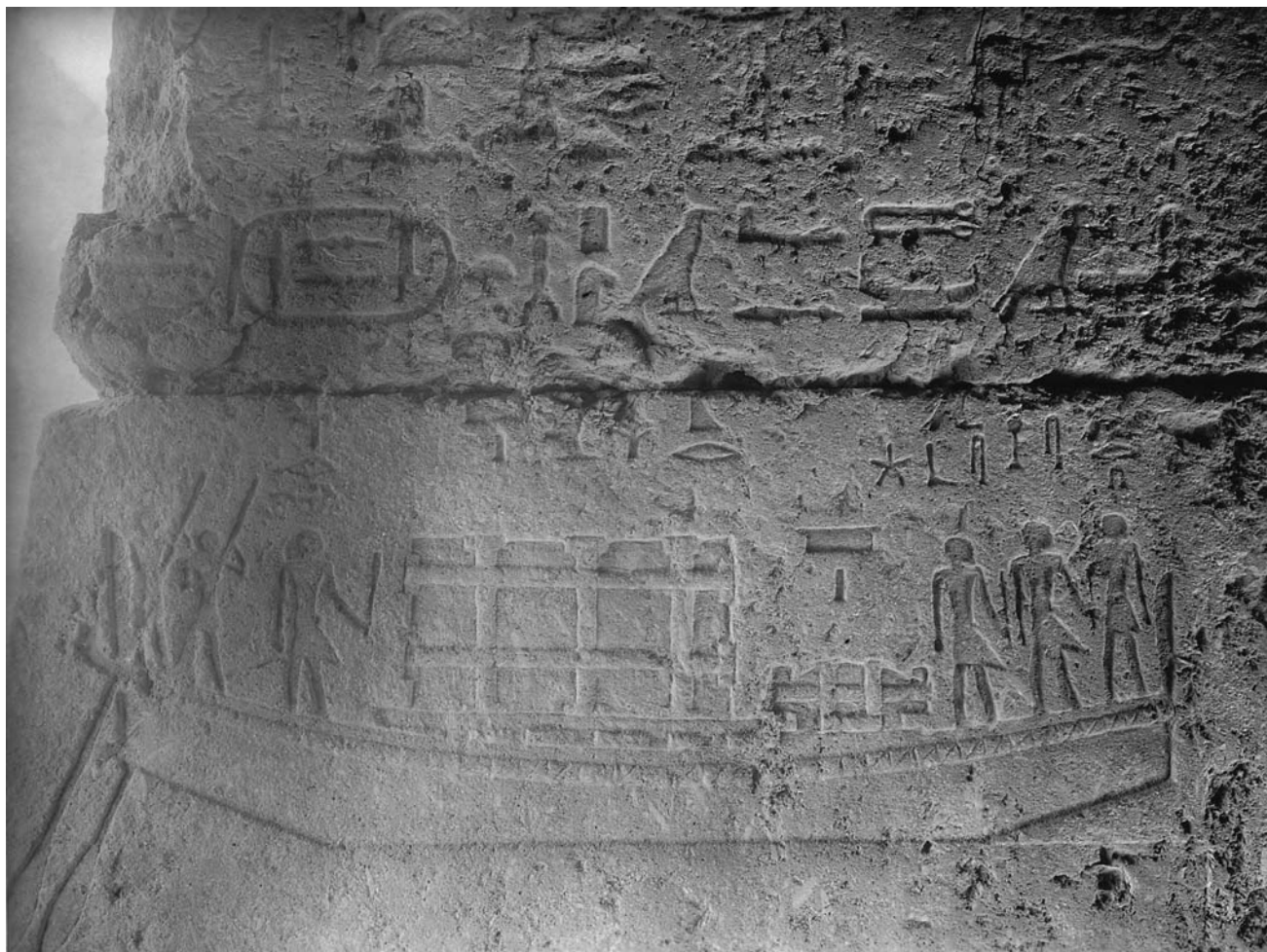
78a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, south wall, Inscription D, middle part. 3 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6316



78b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, south wall, Inscription D, lower part. 3 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6318



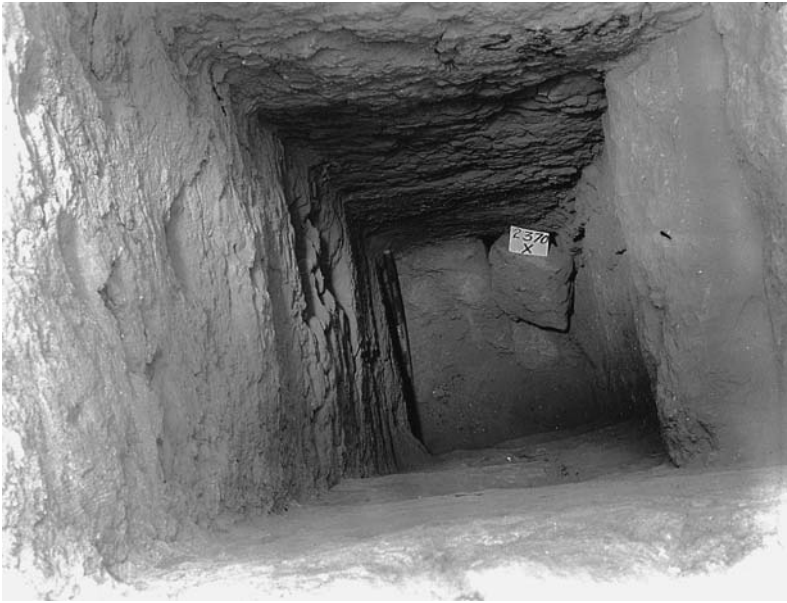
79. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, south wall, Inscription D, lower part, with vignette of barge. 2 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6322



80a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), portico, south wall, Inscription D, bottom, with vignette of barge. 1 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6324



80b. G 2374-75 and 2412-14 in foreground, with G 2370-73 and 2360-66 in background, looking south. 21 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 865



81a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), shaft G 2370 x. 25 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3214



81b. Burial G 2370 x. 27 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3231



81c. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), southwest corner of G 2370, looking north from photographic tower, with front wall of G 2371-72 at left, rear wall of G 2373 at right, and shafts G 2370 A and G 2373 A in middle foreground. 13 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 713



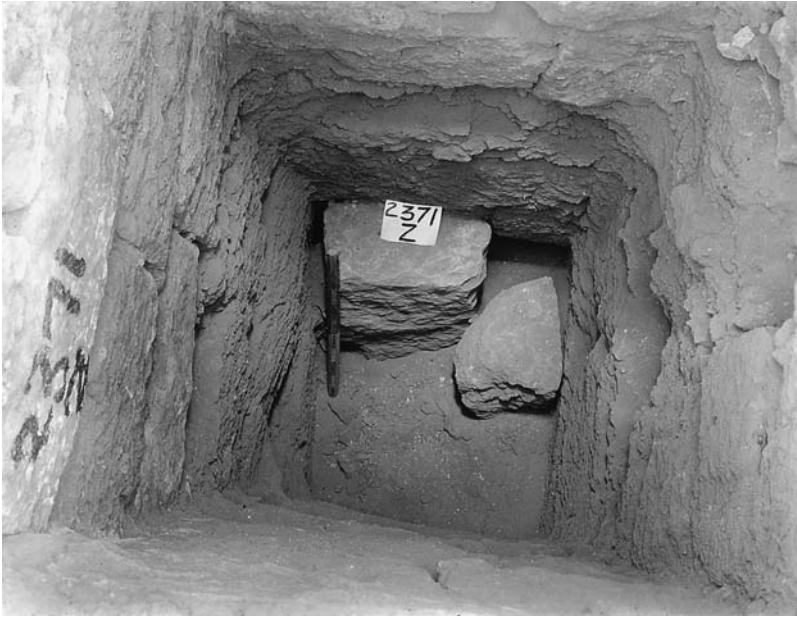
82a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), southwest corner of G 2370, looking north from photographic tower, with front wall of G 2371-72 at left, rear wall of G 2373 at right, and shafts G 2370 A and G 2373 A in middle foreground. 16 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 717



82b. G 2371, second compartment from north, looking west. 14 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3067



82c. G 2371, second compartment from north, looking south to third compartment and burial chamber B. 14 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3068



83a. G 2371 Z, pit. 25 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3215



83b. G 2371 Z, burial. 27 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3232



83c. G 2371 U, pit. 11 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3126



83d. G 2370 serdab, and G 2372-73 beyond, looking south. 13 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3064



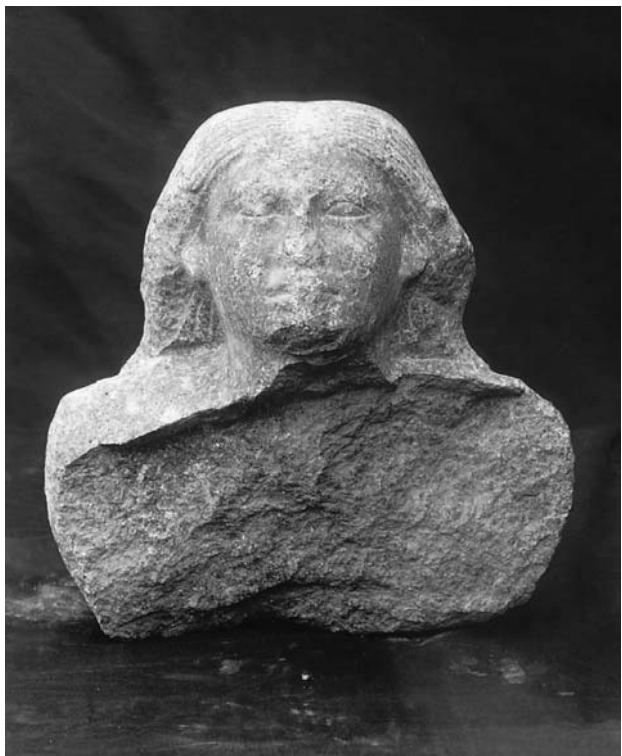
83e. G 2370 filling and G 2372-73 underneath, with broken statue in debris, looking north. 13 November 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3052



83f. Vessel from a servant statuette, from outside north wall of G 2371, 12-11-34. June 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 994 1/1



83g. Alabaster core from upper debris of G 2371, 12-11-35. June 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 997 2/1



84a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), broken black granite statue from debris between G 2372 and 2373. 26 February 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3377



84b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), broken black granite statue from debris between G 2372 and 2373. 26 February 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3378



84c. Khnumenti (G 2374), facade, north of entrance. 26 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5804. Inset: relief fragment from north facade. 5 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1331



85a. Khnumenti (G 2374), inscribed architrave fragment. 26 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1608



85b. Khnumenti (G 2374), facade, south of entrance. 30 March 1995. Edward Angelo, EA 1/22



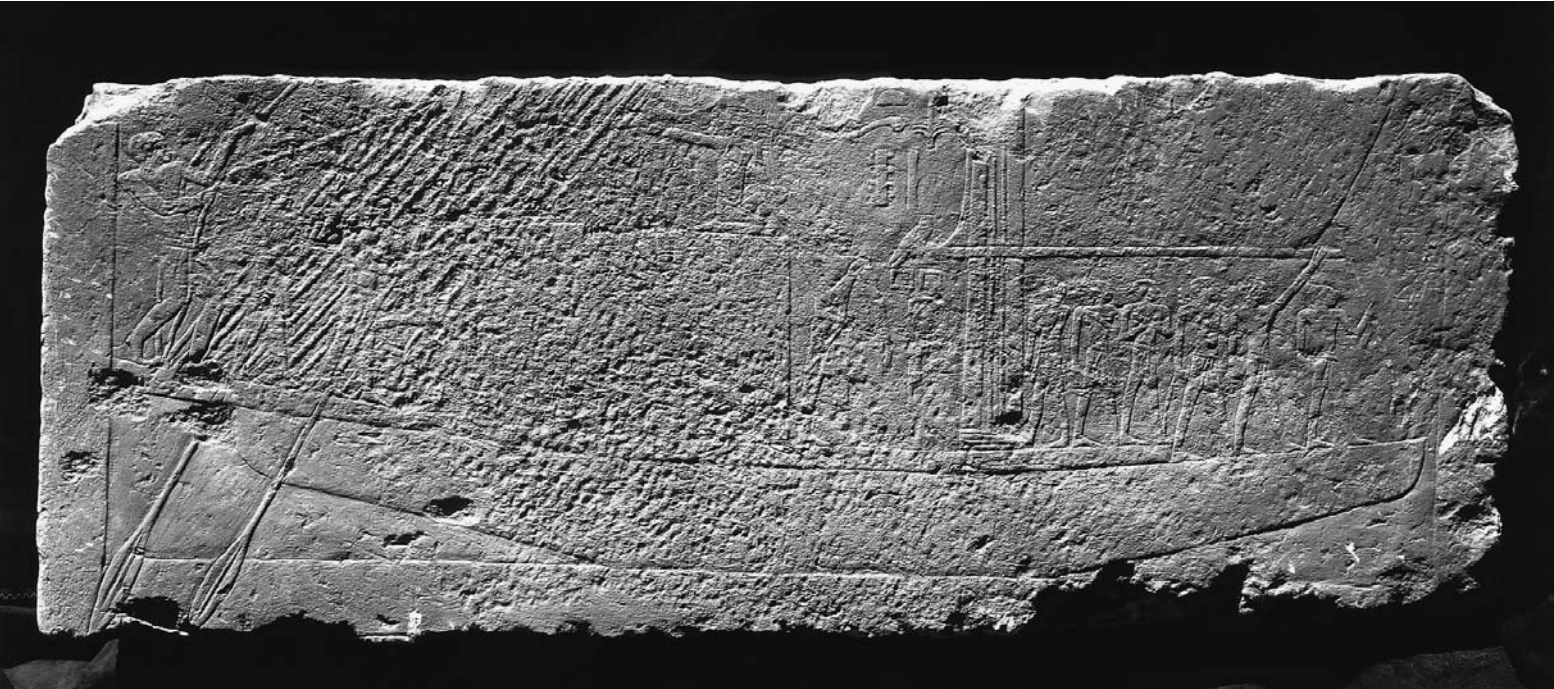
86a. Khnumenti (G 2374), outer left (south) entrance thickness. 30 March 1995. Edward Angelo, EA 2/20



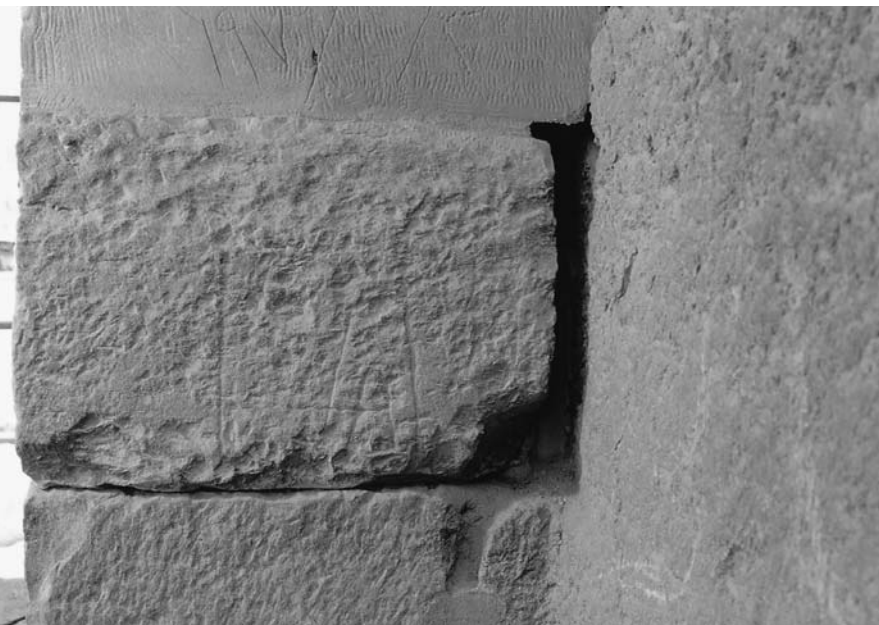
86b. Khnumenti (G 2374), outer right (north) entrance thickness. 30 March 1995. Edward Angelo, EA 2/17



87a. Khnumenti (G 2374), inscribed block from court of Senedjemib Complex assigned to inner right (north) entrance thickness. 24 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6021 [left]



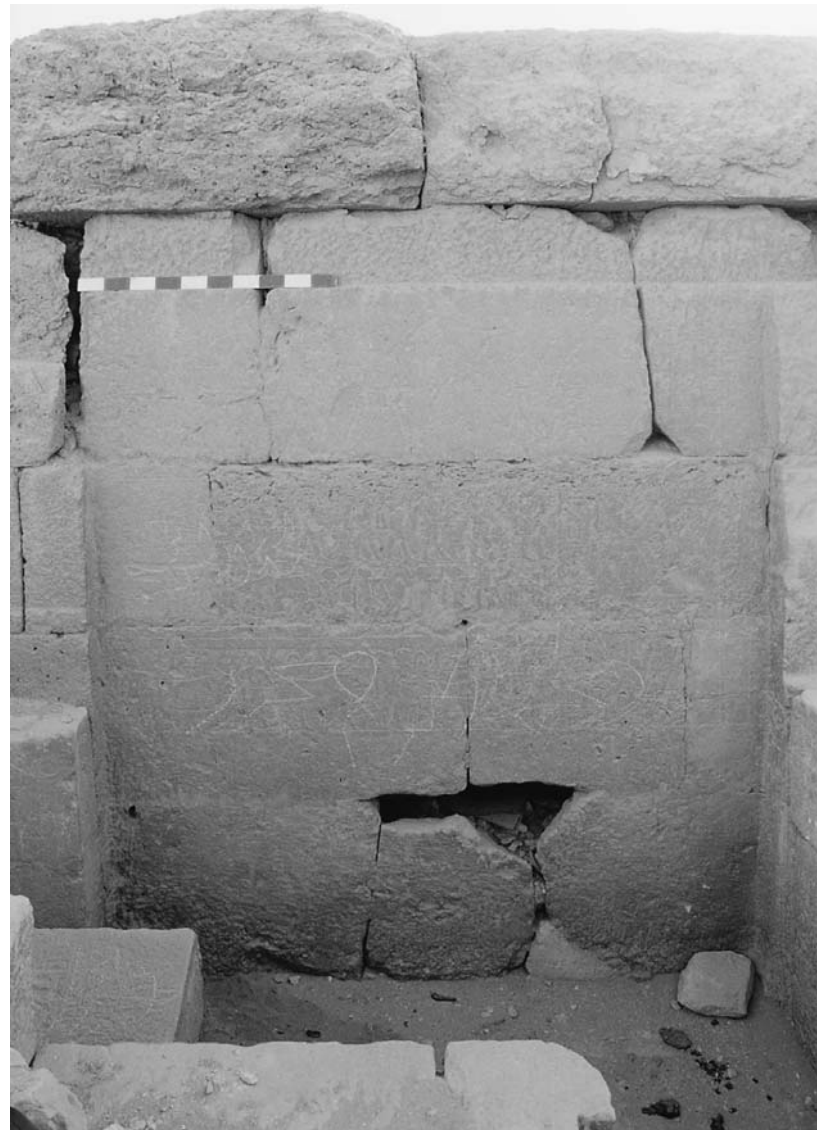
87b. Khnumenti (G 2374), relief block from inner right (north) entrance thickness. 5 September 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6004



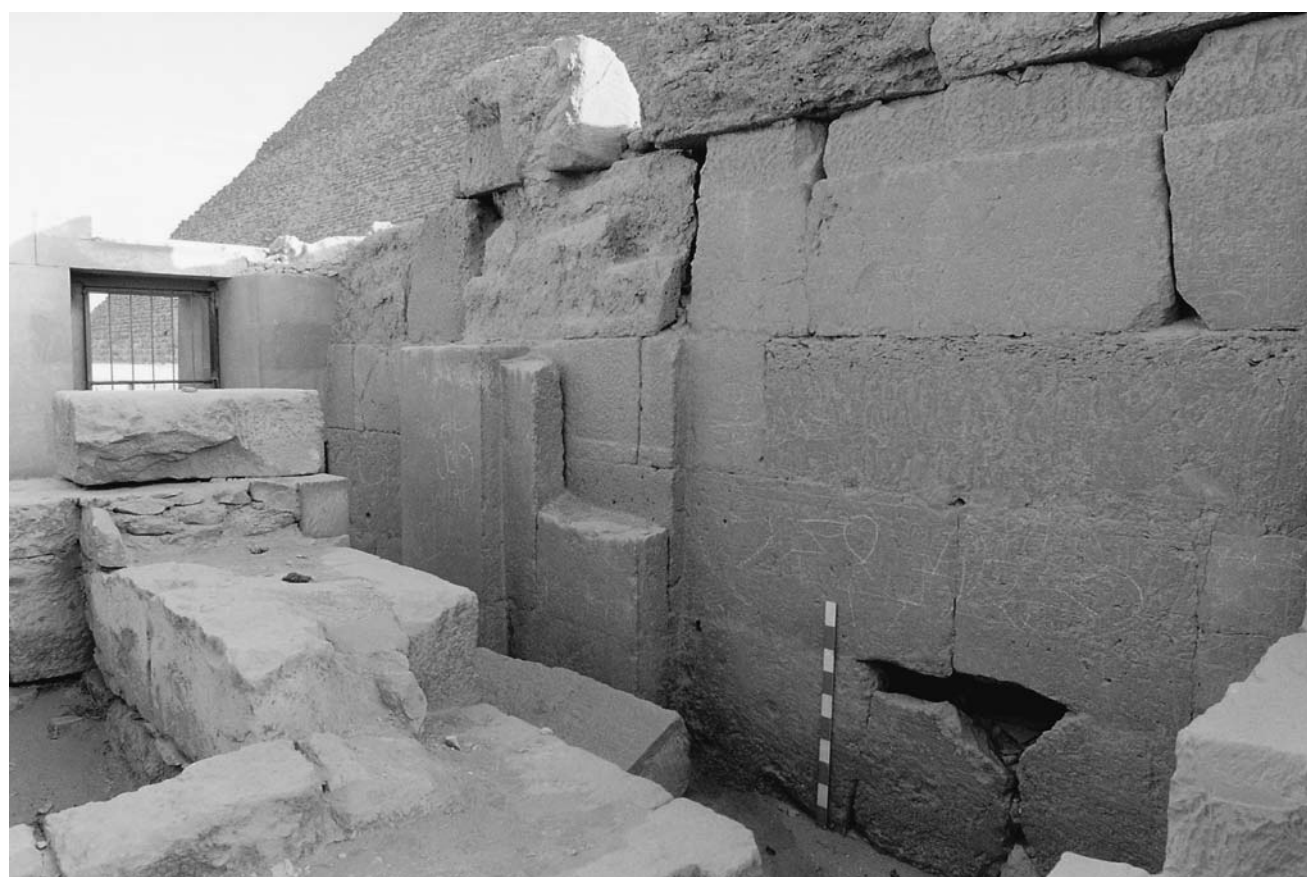
87c. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, east wall, south of entrance. 30 March 1995. Edward Angelo EA 1/32



88a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, south wall with displaced corner block, looking south. 21 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.110.09



88b. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room II, south wall and ceiling groove, looking south. 21 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.110.10



88c. Khnumenti (G 2374), Rooms I–II, general view, looking southeast. 21 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.110.11



89a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Rooms I-II, detail of south wall, looking south. 21 November 1993. Peter Der Manuelian 93.110.08



89b. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, west wall, south of doorway. 30 March 1995. Edward Angelo, EA 2/3



89c. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, west wall, north of doorway, detail. 30 March 1995. Edward Angelo, EA 2/6



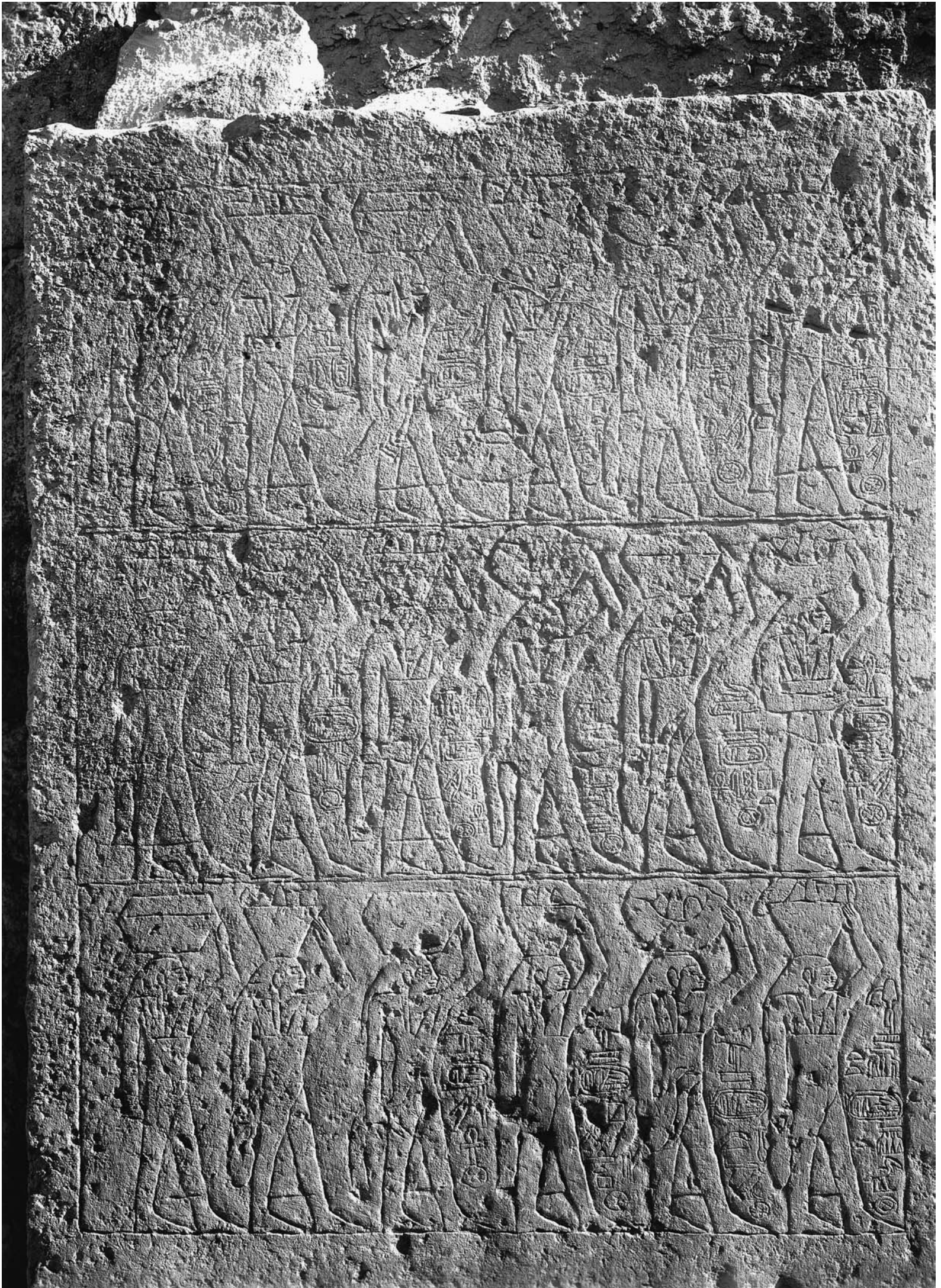
90a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, north and east walls. 1989. David P. Silverman.



90b. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, north wall. 23 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6023



91. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, east wall, photographic montage (see list of plates)



92. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room II, left door thickness. 31 July 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5790



93a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room II, west wall. 23 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7751



93b. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room II, north wall. 30 March 1995. Edward Angelo, EA 2/14



94a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room III, overview, looking north. 13 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1646



94b. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room III, relief assigned to north wall. 14 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6377



95. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room III, false door. 10 September 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 1072



96a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room III, reliefs assigned to south [upper] and north [lower] walls. 3 September 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6024



96b. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room III, relief assigned to east wall. 4 September 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7484



97a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room III, relief built into rubble fill of west wall. PSD E 13603, MFA 13.3101



97b. Sloping passage tomb G 2385 A and adjacent pits, looking west from photographic tower. 11 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 808



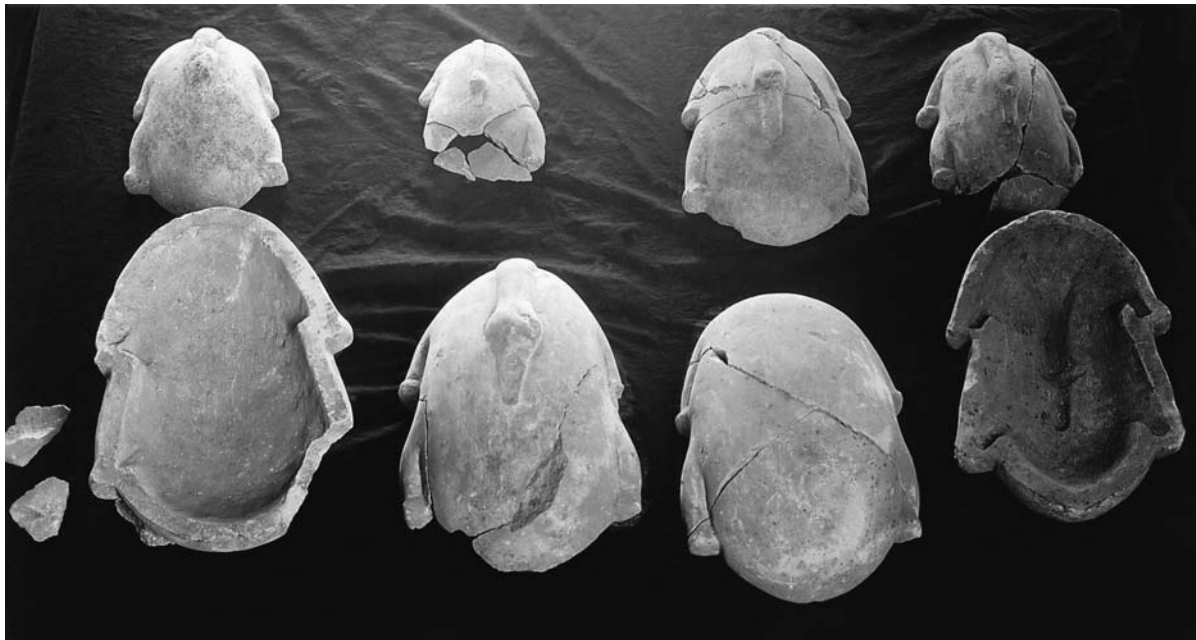
98a. Entrance to G 2385 A, looking west, with G 2387 A at right. 11 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1337



98b. Burial chamber G 2385 A, roofing slabs of shaft to lower burial chamber, looking west. 6 July 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 7283



99a. Limestone offering cases from
G 2385 A. 22 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp.
Ph. B 1673



99b. Limestone offering cases from
G 2385 A. 22 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp.
Ph. B 1674



99c. Limestone offering cases from
G 2385 A. 22 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp.
Ph. B 1675



100a. Limestone offering cases from
G 2385 A. 23 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp.
Ph. B 1676



100b. Limestone offering cases from
G 2385 A. 23 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp.
Ph. B 1677



100c. Limestone offering cases from
G 2385 A. 24 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp.
Ph. B 1678



101a. Limestone offering cases from G 2385 A. 25 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1679



101b. Diorite bowl with cartouche of Teti from G 2385 A, 12-12-209 = MFA 13.3141. May-June 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. C 4465



101c. Fragmentary headrest from G 2374, 12-11-33. June 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 997 1/4



101d. Forearm of a wooden statuette from G 2385 A, 12-12-206. June 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 992 3/3



101e. Wig fragment from G 2385 A, 12-12-85. June, 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 992 2/1



101f. Wooden finger with plaster on end from debris in G 2385 A, 12-12-105. June, 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 992 3/2



101h. Cylinder beads from debris of G 2385 A, 12-12-111. June, 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 991 1/9



101i. Alabaster cores(?) and model block headrest from G 2385 A (headrest from debris), 12-12-86, 12-12-87, and 12-12-97. 26 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/7, 2/9, and 2/10



101g. Dummy alabaster shoulder jar, 12-12-107 (left), and rough offering saucer, 12-12-108 (right), from debris in G 2385 A. June, 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 996 1/2 (left) and 3/2 (right)



102a. Overview of G 2376–2378, looking south–southeast. 21 December 1912. HU–BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1603



102b. Burial chamber G 2377 A, burial. 11 December 1913. HU–BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3345



102c. Model vessels from burial chamber G 2377 A, 13–1–516/521. 16 January 1913. HU–BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3351



103a. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), reconstructed facade with light boxes of Sound and Light at left, looking northwest. December 1993. Edward Brovarski



103b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), from photographic tower on G 2370, looking northeast. 12 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 848



104a. Senedjemib Complex, offering room of G 2375 (left), north wall of G 2374 and shaft G 2376 A (right). 13 January 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1647



104b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), older walls under filling, looking south. 27 December 1991. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1609



105a. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), inscribed architrave block. 2 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5806



105b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), inscribed architrave block. 3 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5807



105c. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), inscribed architrave block. 2 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5805



106. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, west wall. 23 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5868



107. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, west wall, lower part. 23 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5869



108a. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, north wall, west of entrance. 11 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6368



108b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, north wall, east of entrance, detail. 11 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 7756



109. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, north wall, east of entrance. 14 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6378 (lower section); inset: A 6379 (upper section, loose block)



110. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, east wall. 9 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6369



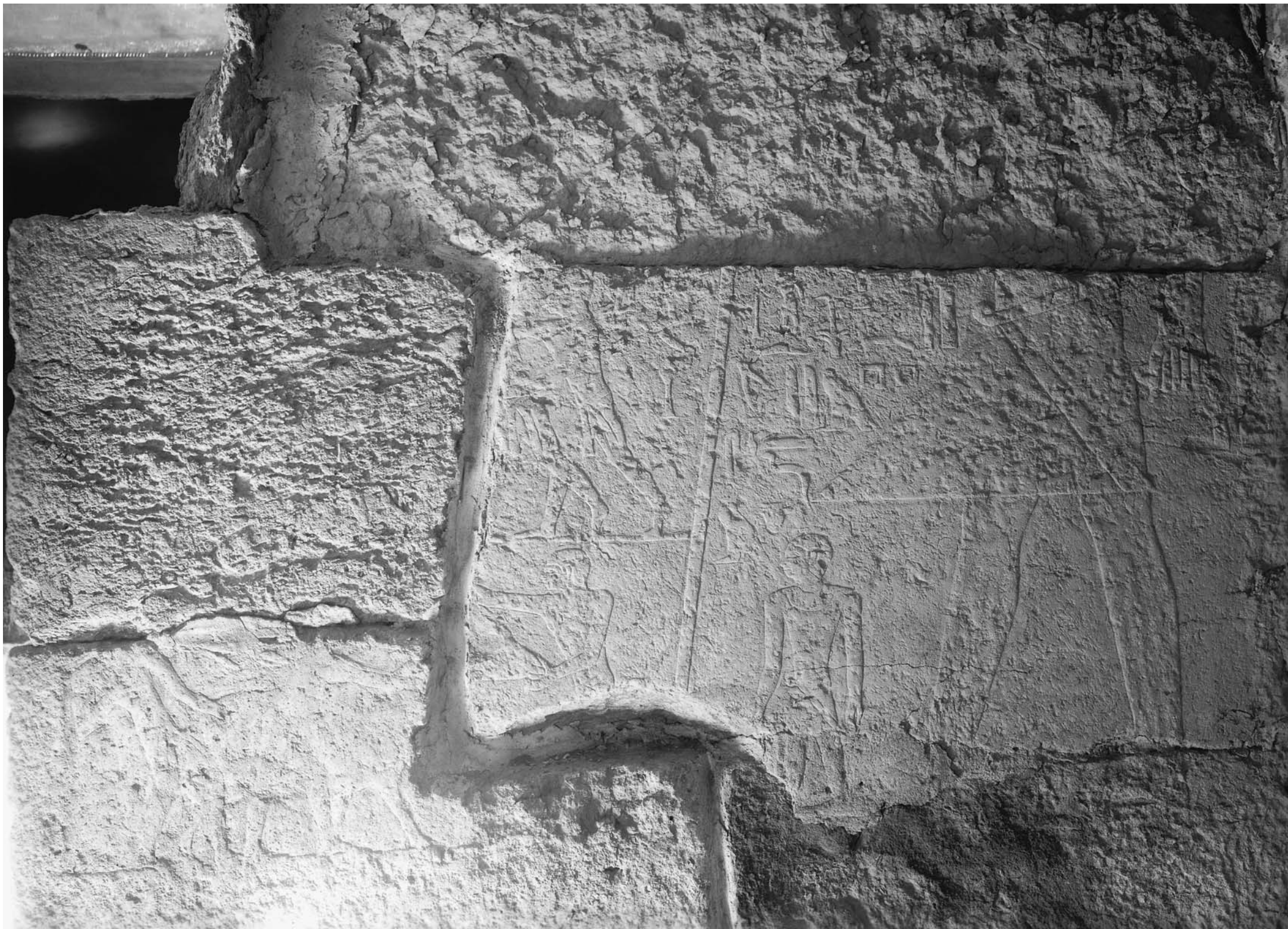
III. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, east wall with restored block at upper right. 24 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6332



112a. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, left (west) entrance thickness. 29 November 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6056



112b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, right (east) entrance thickness. 9 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6370



113. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, south wall, west of entrance. 24 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6333



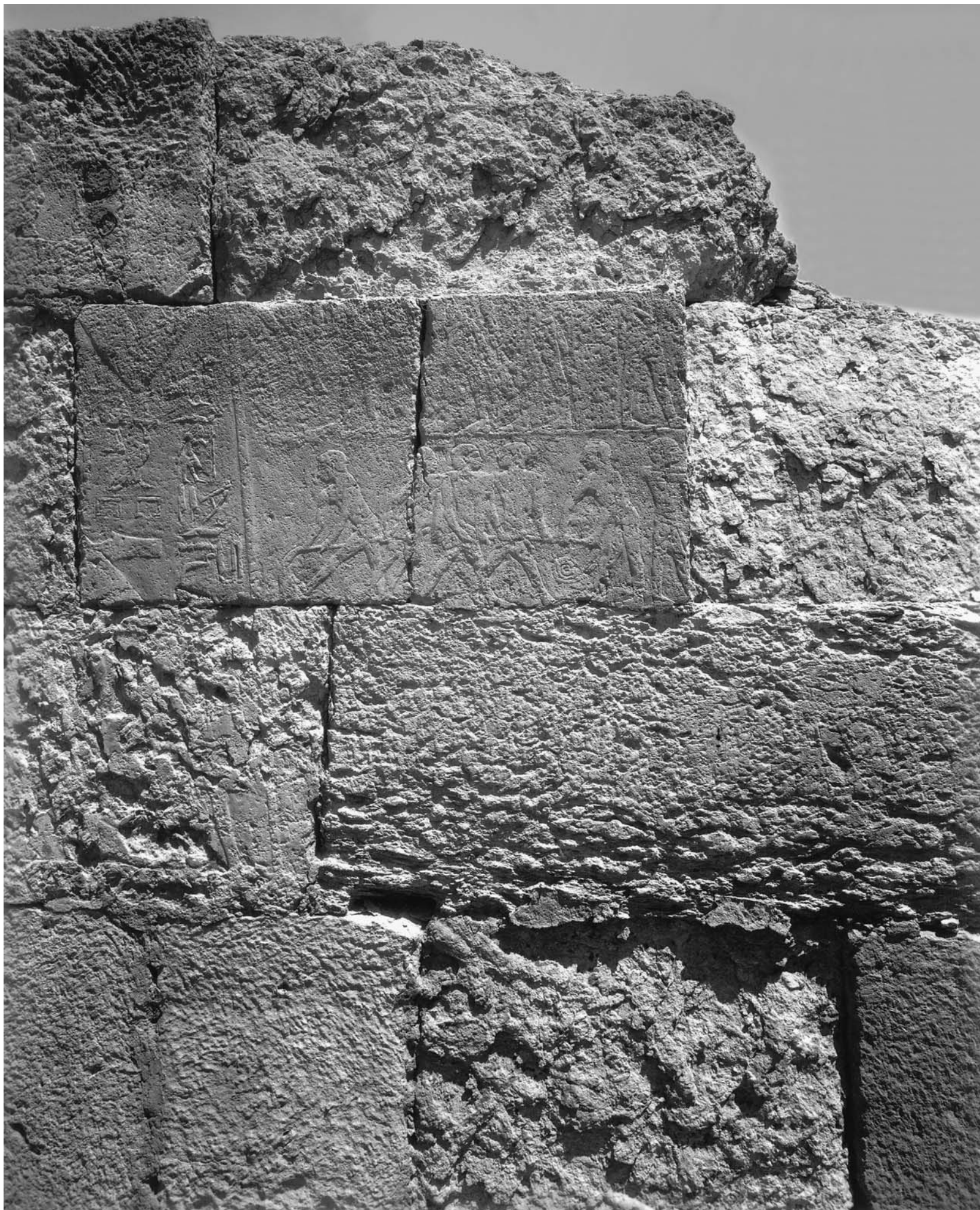
114a. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, west wall, upper section. 14 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6380



114b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, west wall, lower section. 13 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6365



115. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, north wall, western section. 4 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5803



116. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, north wall, middle section. 4 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5802



117a. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, north wall, eastern section. 4 August 1930. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 5801 (= PSD E 13475)



117b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, loose block assigned to north wall. 23 November 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 8547



117c. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, inner west entrance thickness for battens on back of wooden door. February 1999. Bradford M. Endicott E 26-23



118. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, south wall, east of entrance. 12 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6362



119a. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, south wall, east of entrance, eastern section. 13 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6361



119b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, south wall, east of entrance, western section. 12 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6364



120. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room III, left (west) entrance thickness. 24 February 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6331



121. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room III, west wall, false door. 13 September 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 1077



122. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room III, north wall, western section. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, acc. no. 31705. Field Museum negative no. 68394



123. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room III, north wall, eastern section. 8 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6337



124a. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room III, north wall, eastern section, detail. 11 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6367



124b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room III, north wall, eastern section, detail. 11 March 1931. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6366



125a. Senedjemib Mehi, entrance to sloping passage tomb G 2378 A, looking west-southwest. 20 December 1912. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. c 3197



125b. Senedjemib Mehi, burial chamber G 2378 A, looking south. 8 July 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 7284



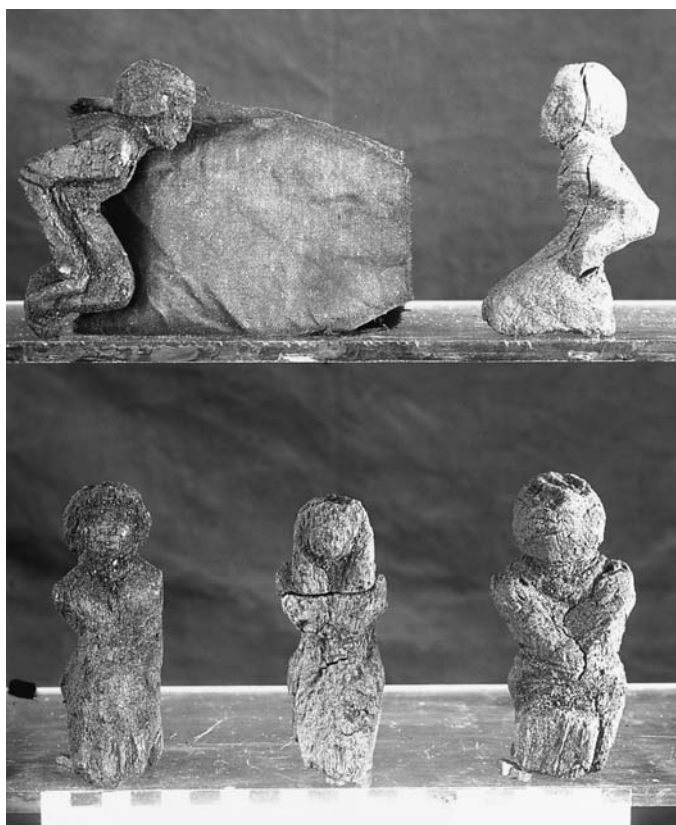
126a. Senedjemib Mehi, burial chamber G 2378 A, inside of sarcophagus. 8 July 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 7285



126b. Senedjemib Mehi, burial chamber G 2378 A, bones of offerings in northeast corner, looking west. 8 July 1935. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. C 13493



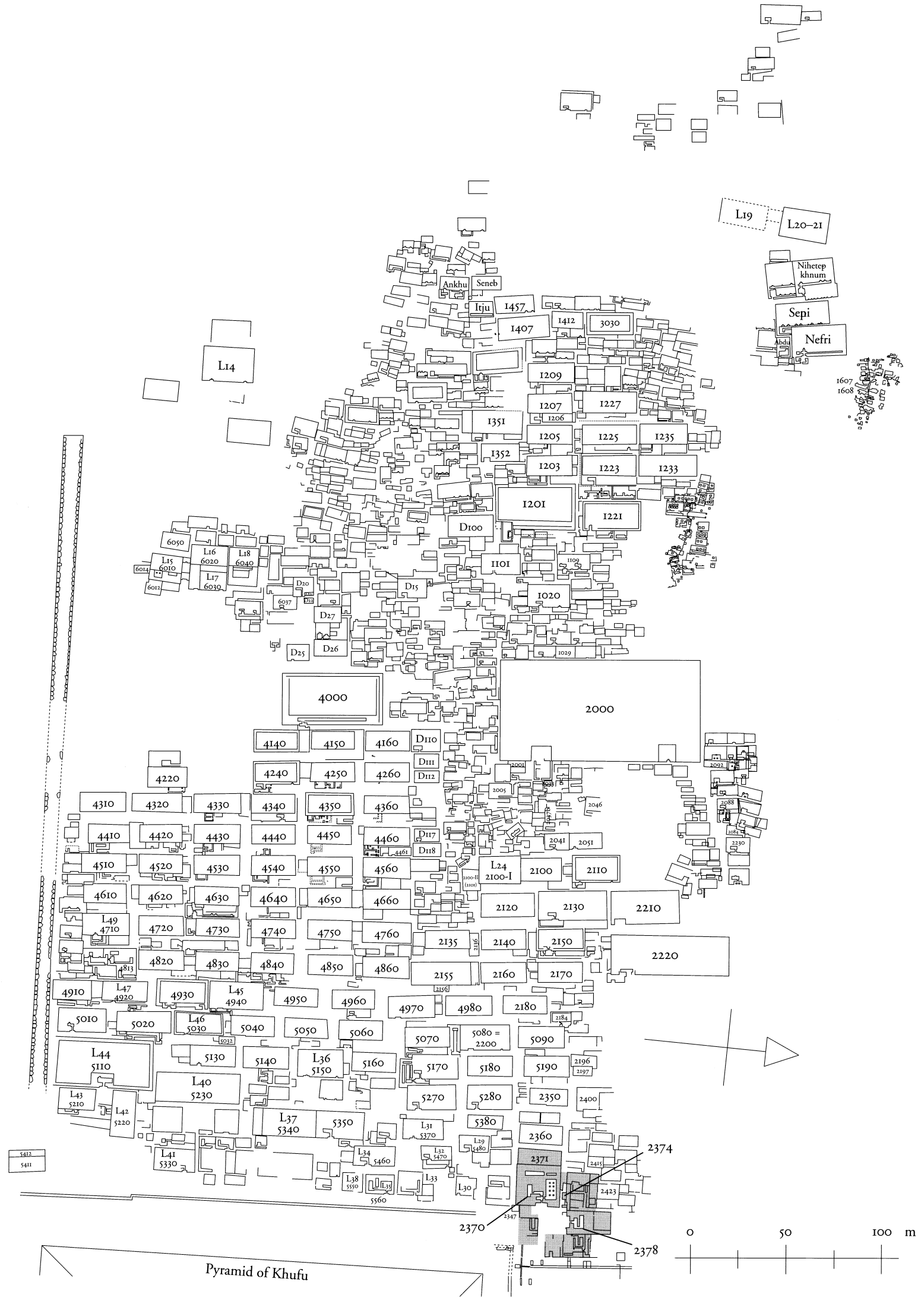
126c. Mud plummet from G 2378, 12-12-41. June, 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 992 1/8



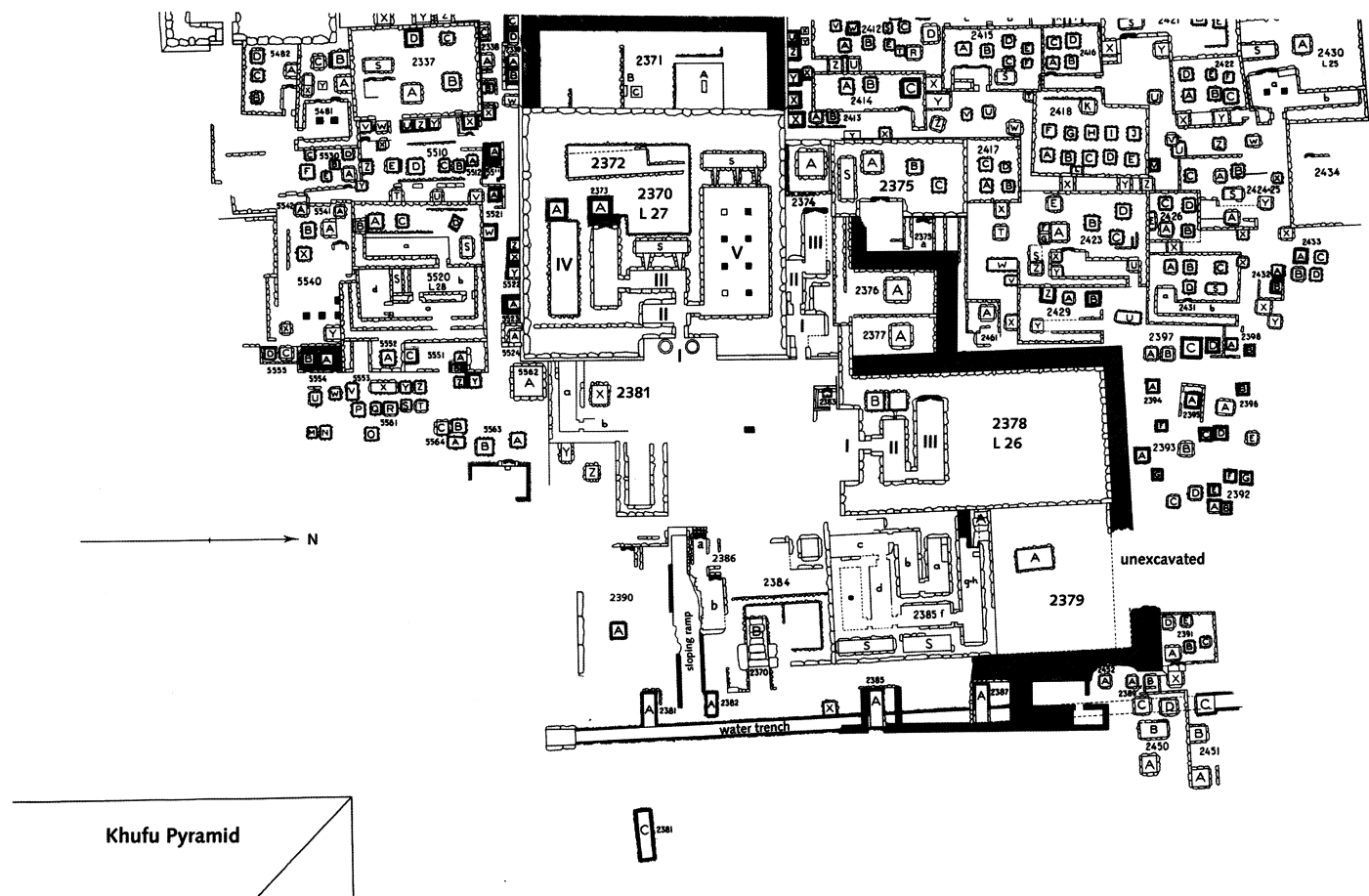
126d. Senedjemib Mehi, burial chamber G 2378 A, wooden prisoner figures. May-June 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. B 1922



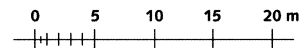
126e. Senedjemib Mehi, burial chamber G 2378 A, wooden prisoner figures. May-June 1913. HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. C 4475

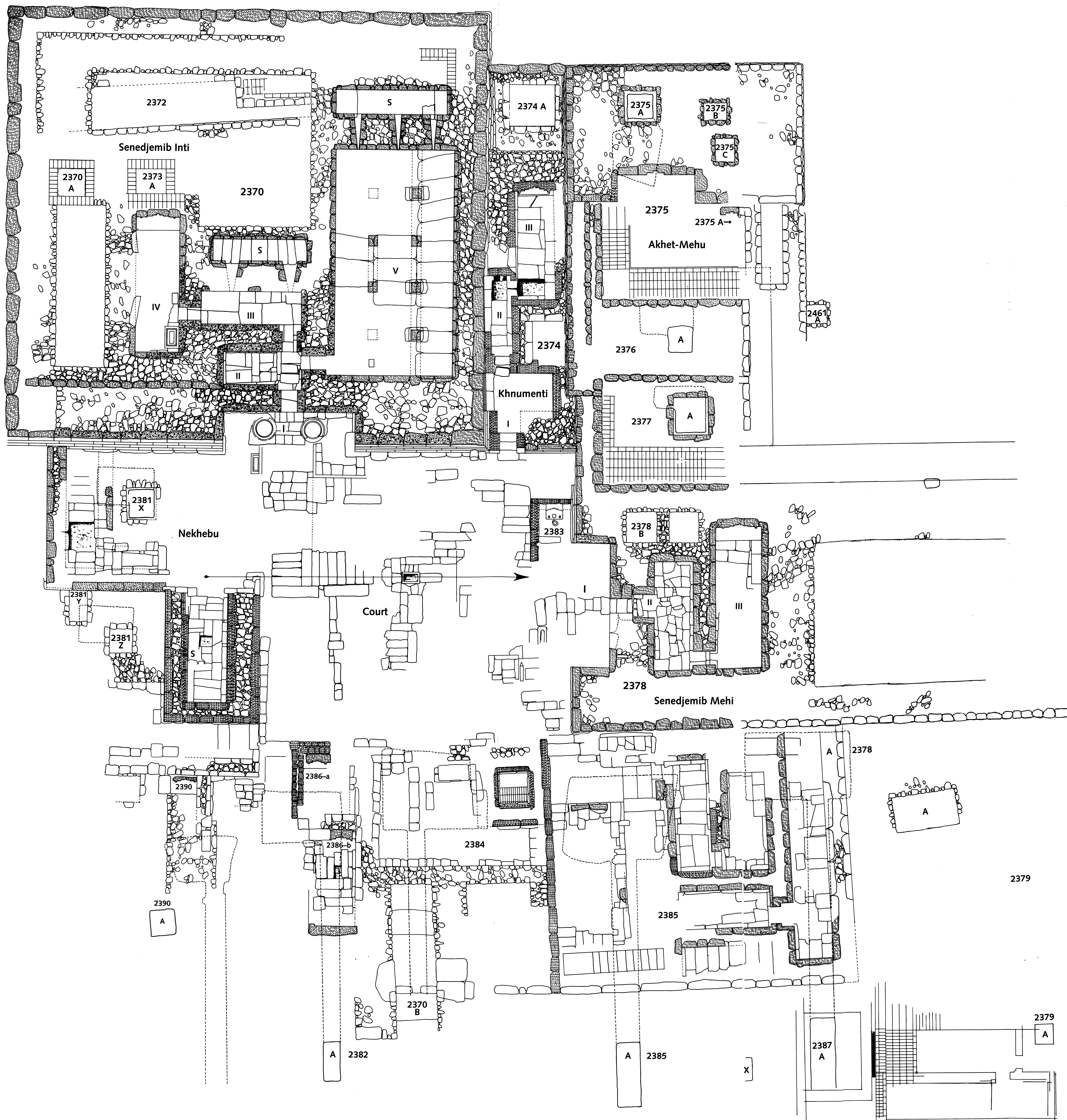


1. Plan of the Western Cemetery at Giza showing the Senedjemib Complex. Surveyed, drawn and traced by A. Floroff and N. Melnikoff, redrawn by Peter Der Manuelian

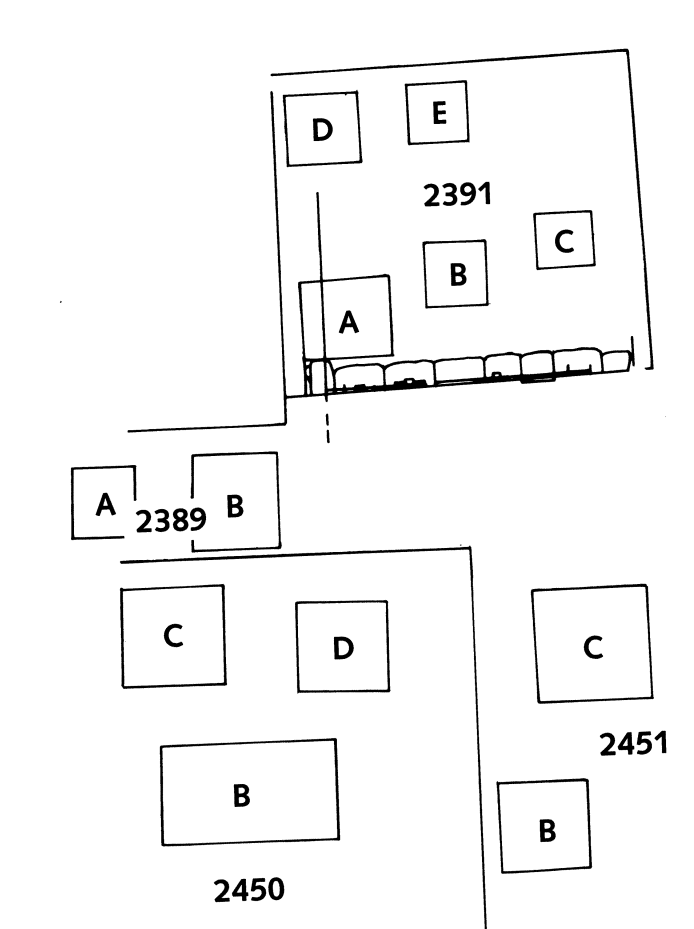
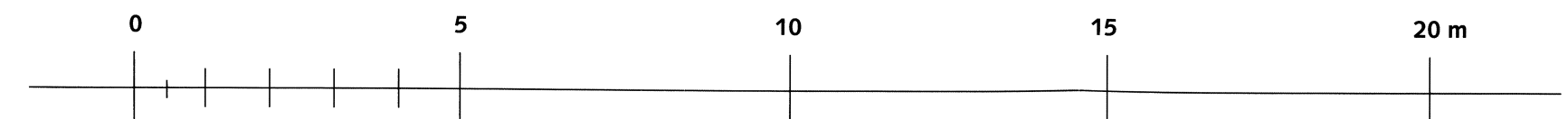


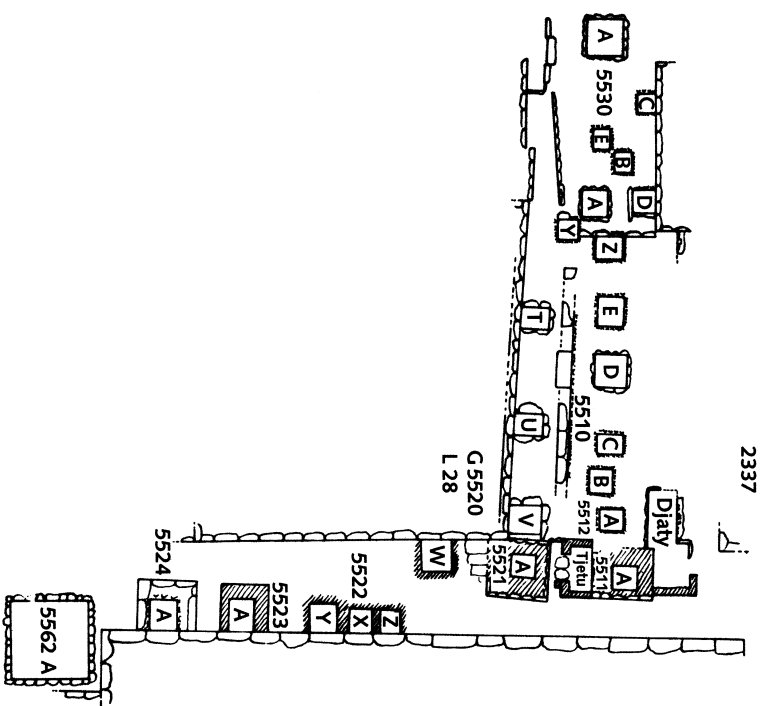
2. Plan of the Senedjemib Complex, detail from Plan of the Cemetery en Echelon, north part.
 Surveyed and drawn by A. Floroff; traced by N. Melnikoff





3. Detailed plan of the Senedjemib Complex. Surveyed and drawn by A. Floroff; traced by N. Melnikoff. Redrawn by Chris Dewara

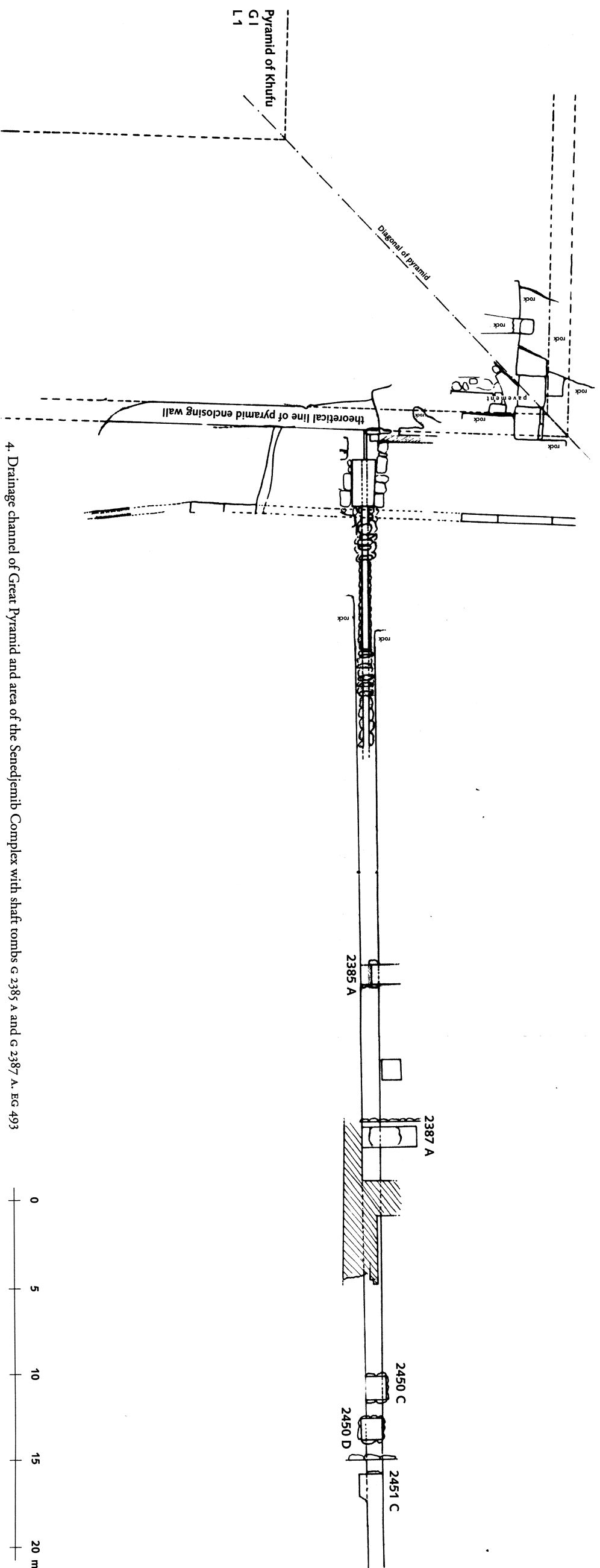




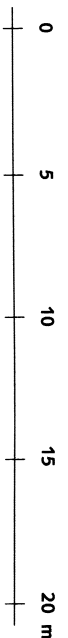
2337

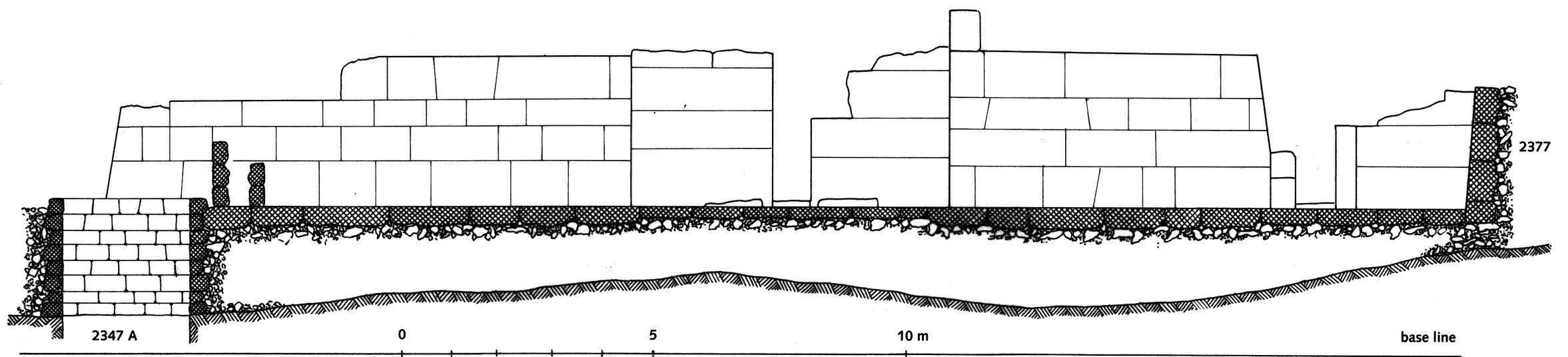
S e n e d j e m i b

C o m p l e x

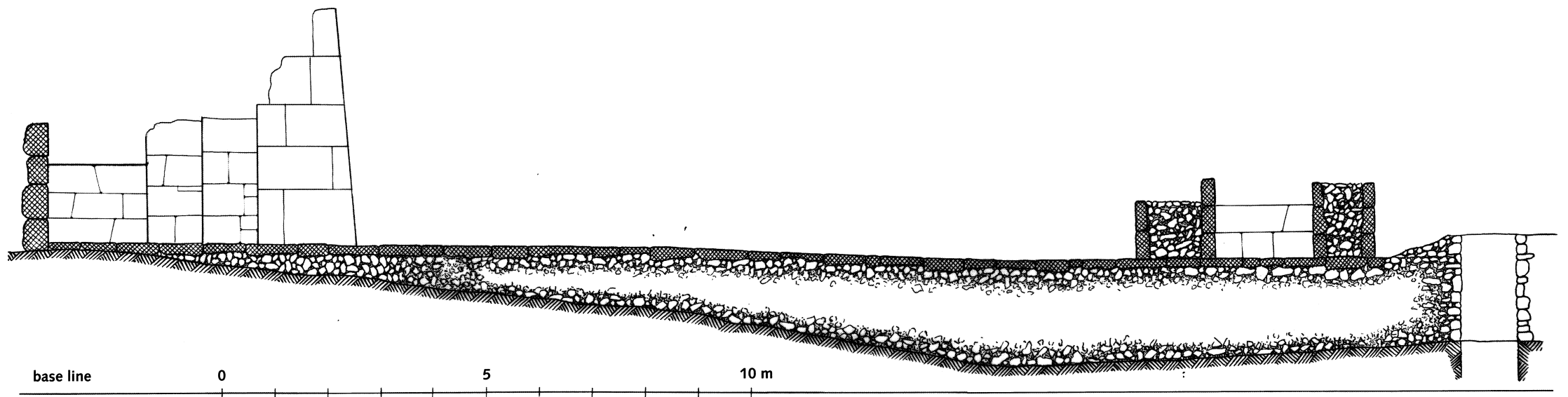


4. Drainage channel of Great Pyramid and area of the Senedjemib Complex with shaft tombs G 2385 A and G 2387 A. EG 493

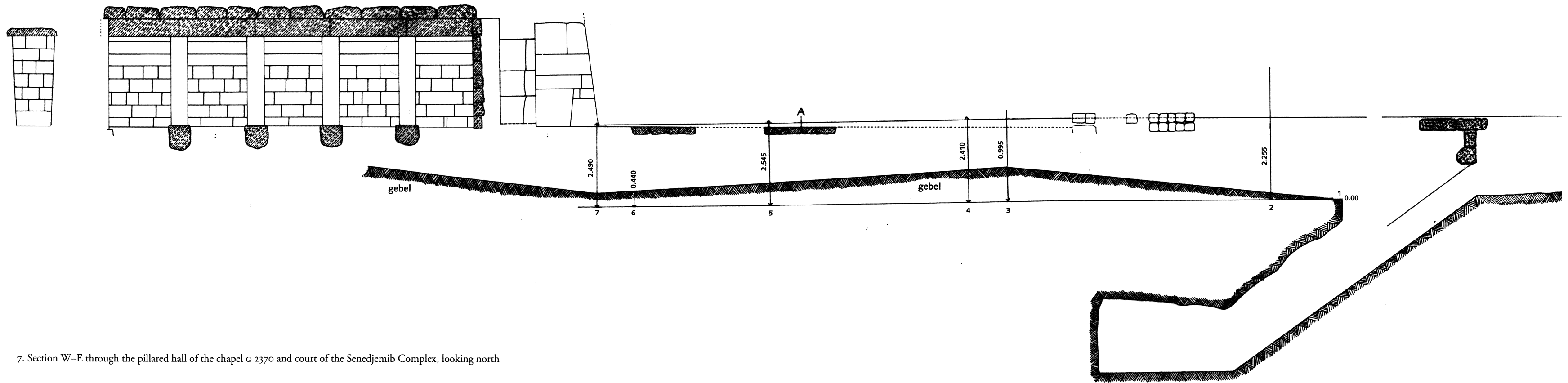




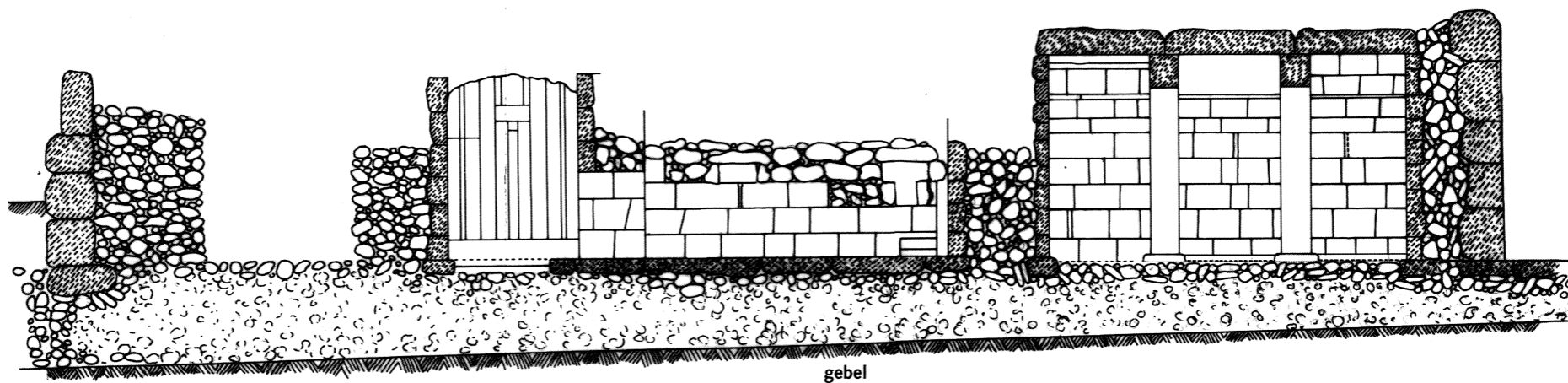
5. Section S-N through the court of G 2370, looking west towards G 2370 and G 2374



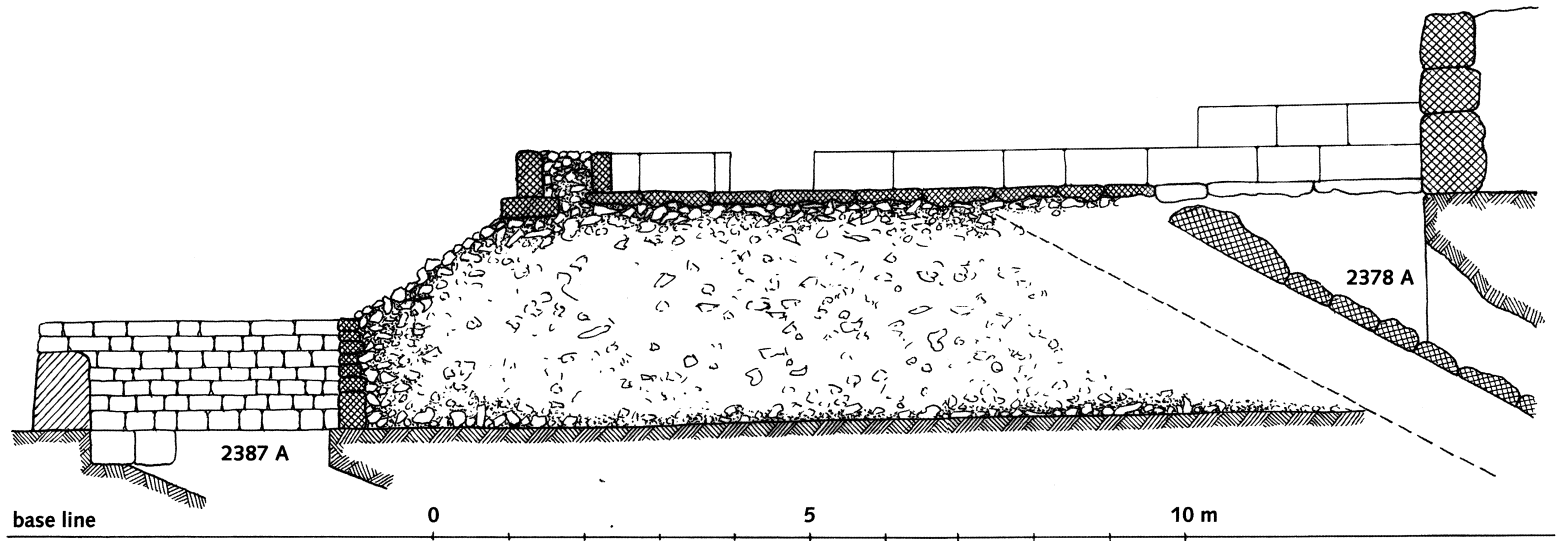
6. Section N-S through the doorway of the chapel G 2378 and court of G 2370, looking east



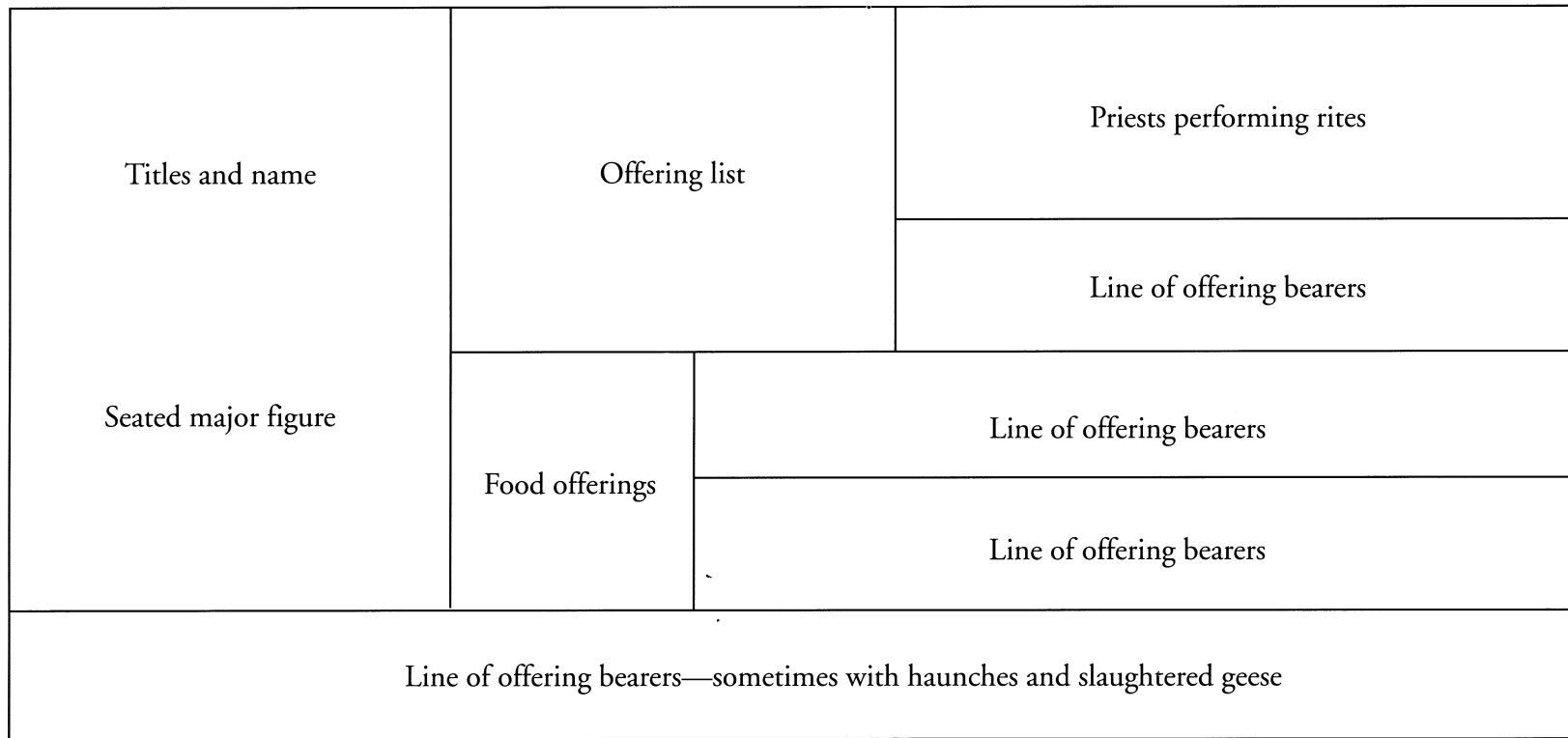
7. Section W-E through the pillared hall of the chapel G 2370 and court of the Senedjemib Complex, looking north



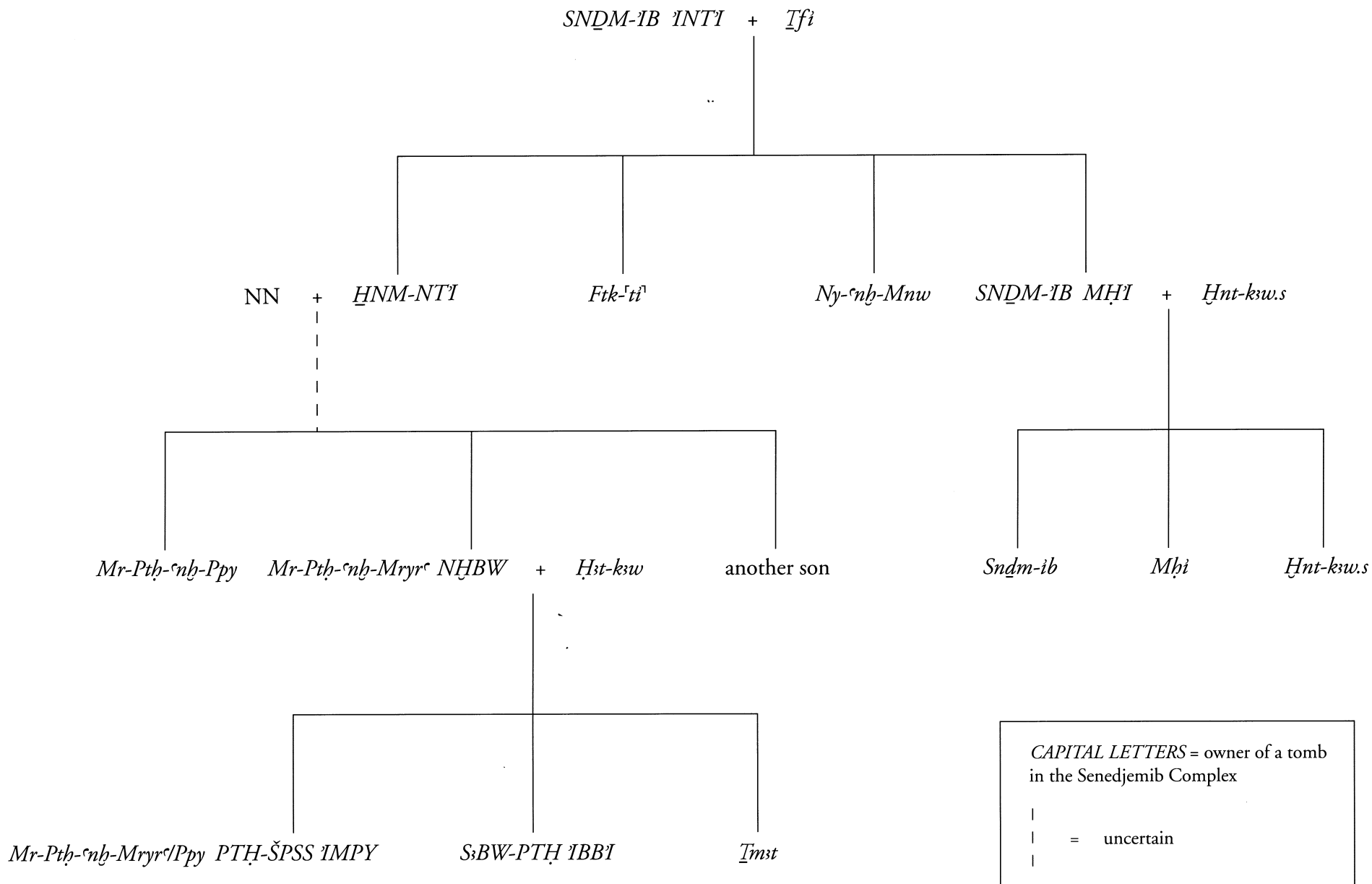
8. Section S-N through offering room, vestibule, and pillared hall of the chapel G 2370, looking west



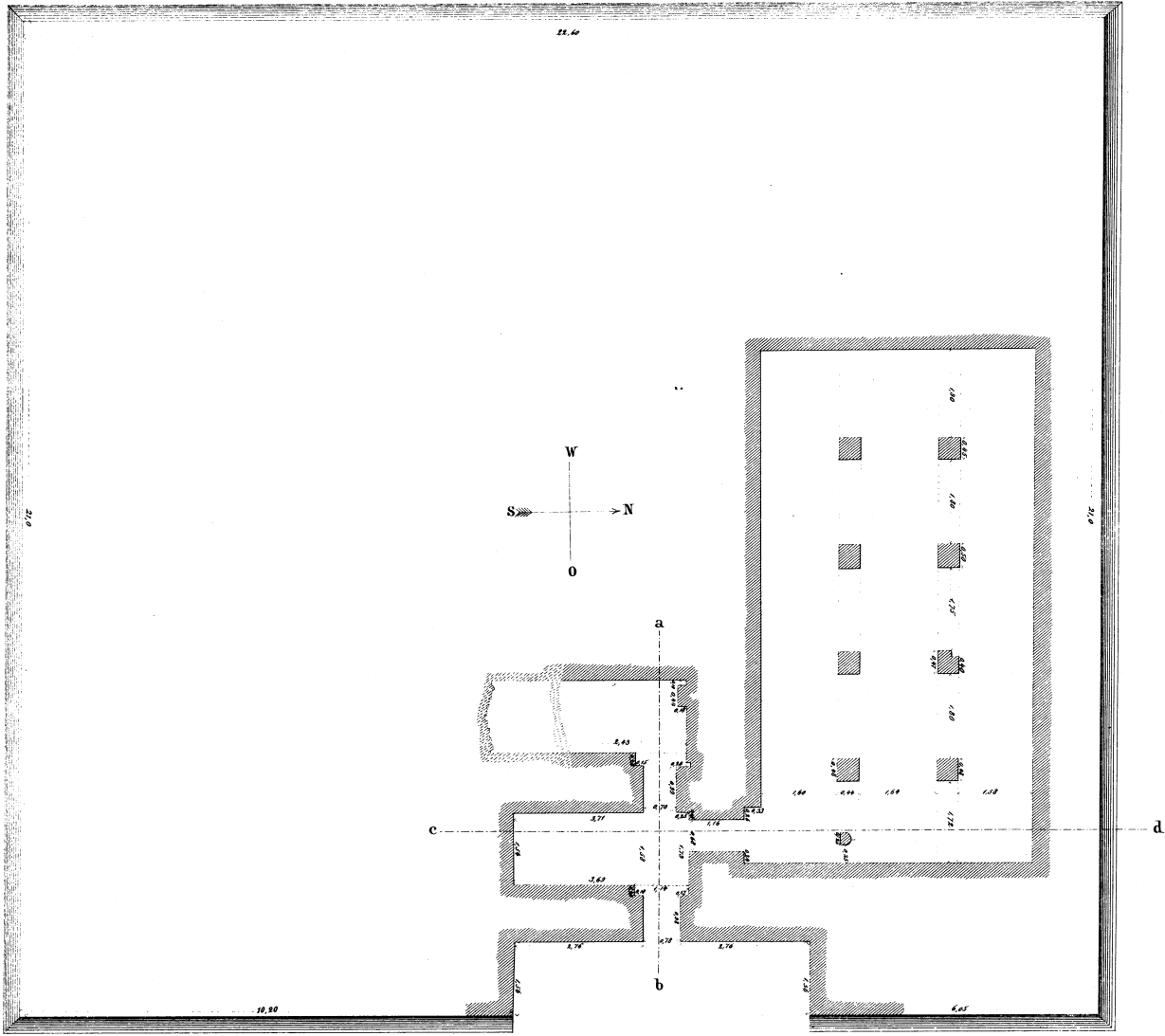
9. Section of mastaba G 2385 E-W, looking south



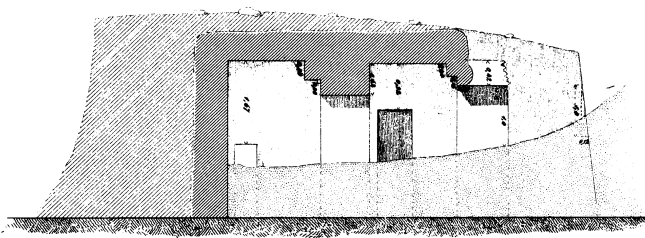
10. Schematic diagram of north wall of an east–west offering room after Harpur, *Decoration*, fig. 31



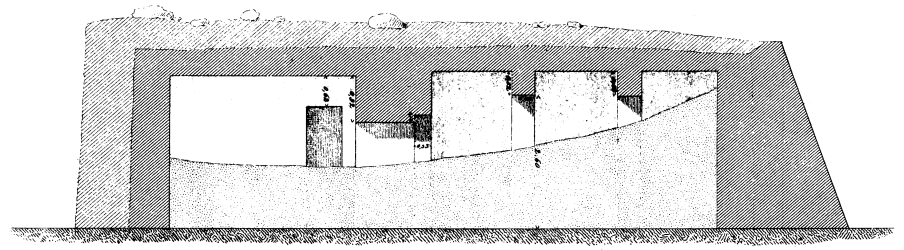
11. Genealogical table of the Senedjemib family



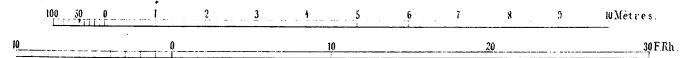
Grundriss.

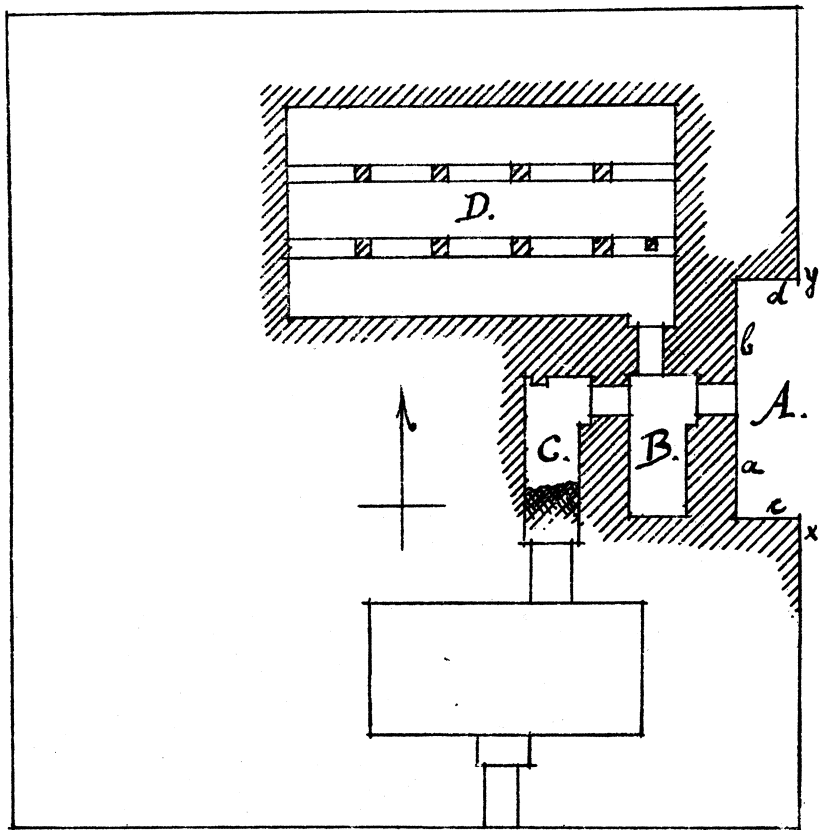


Durchschnitt nach ab.

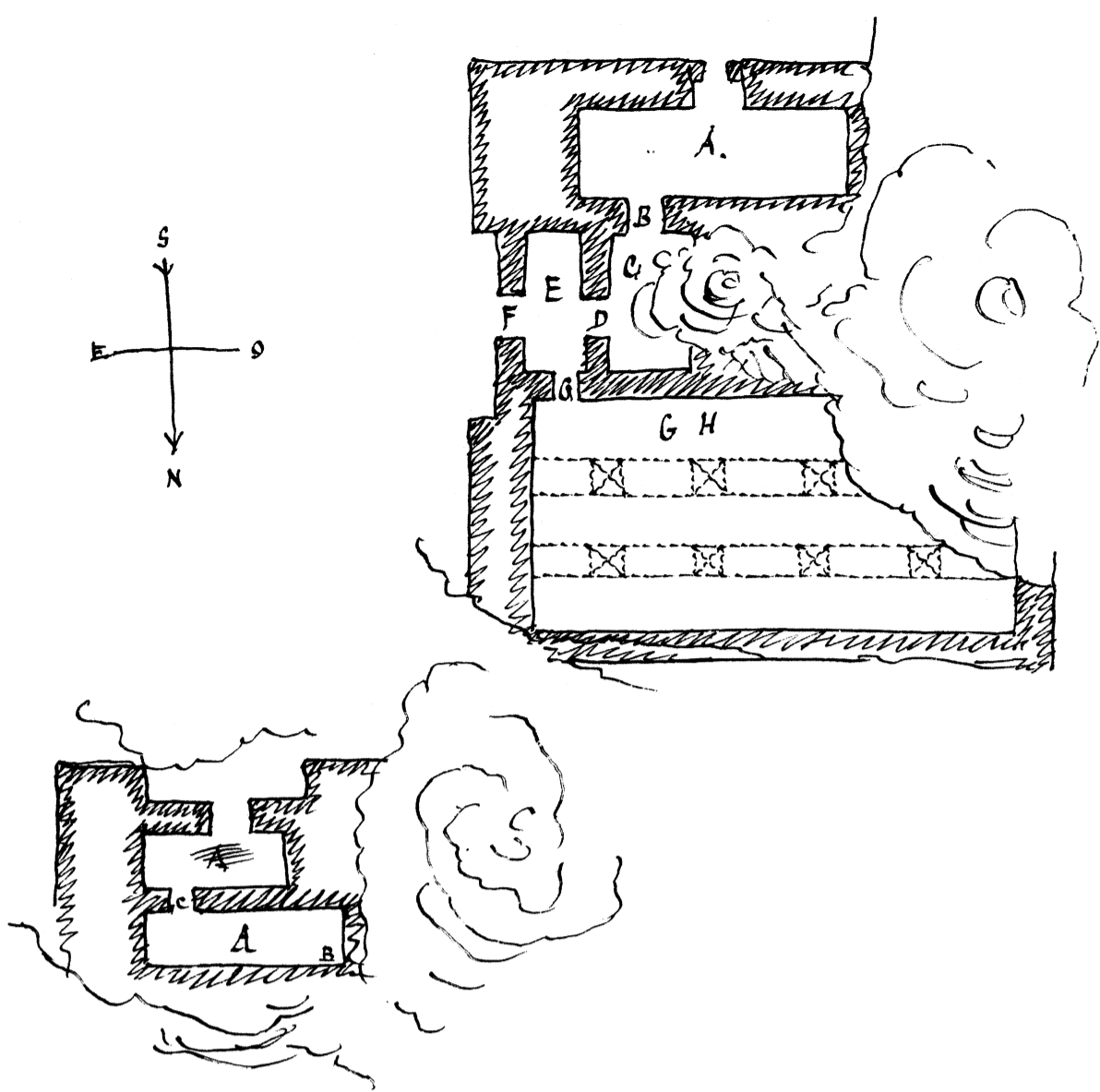


Durchschnitt nach cd.

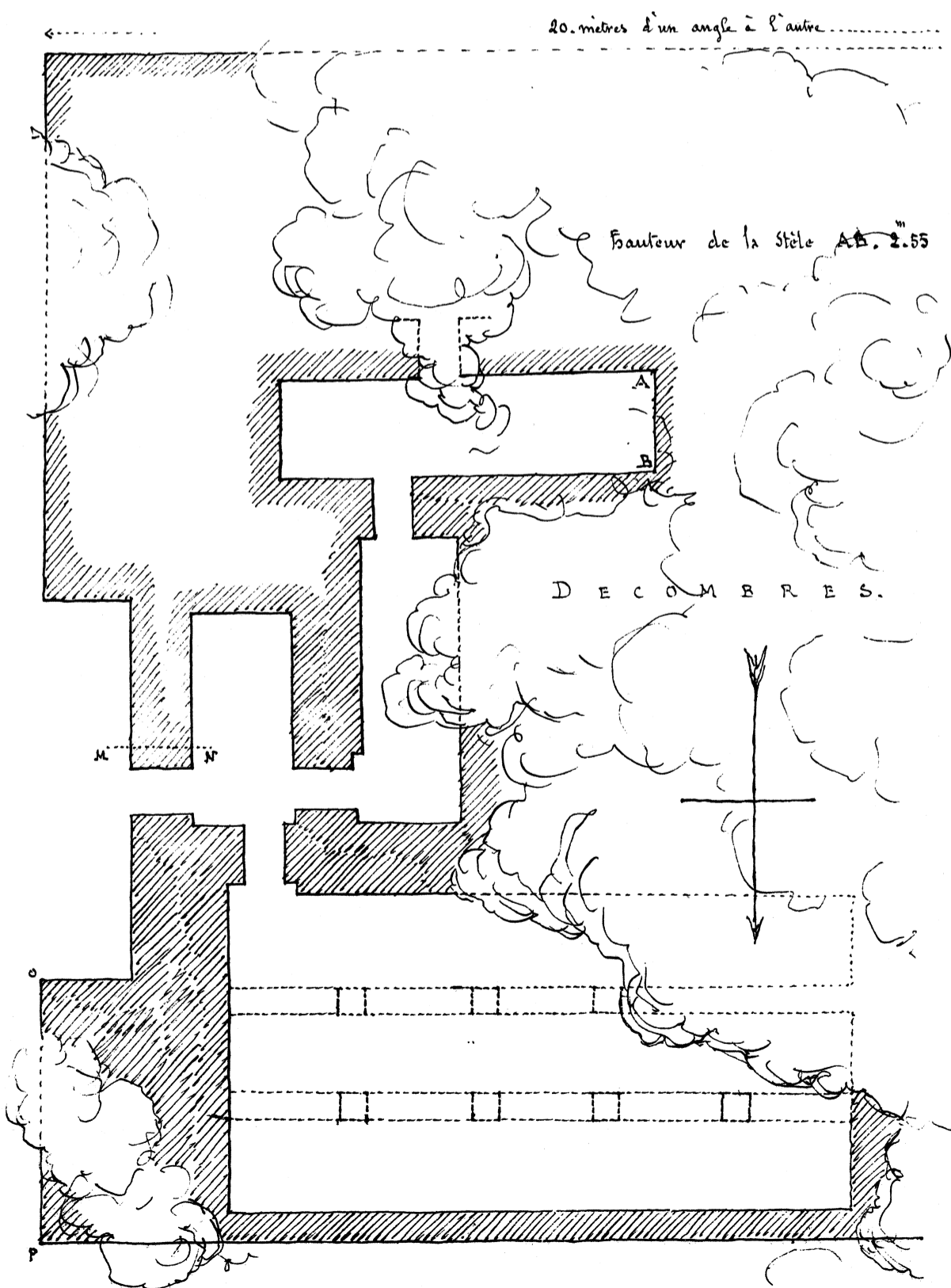




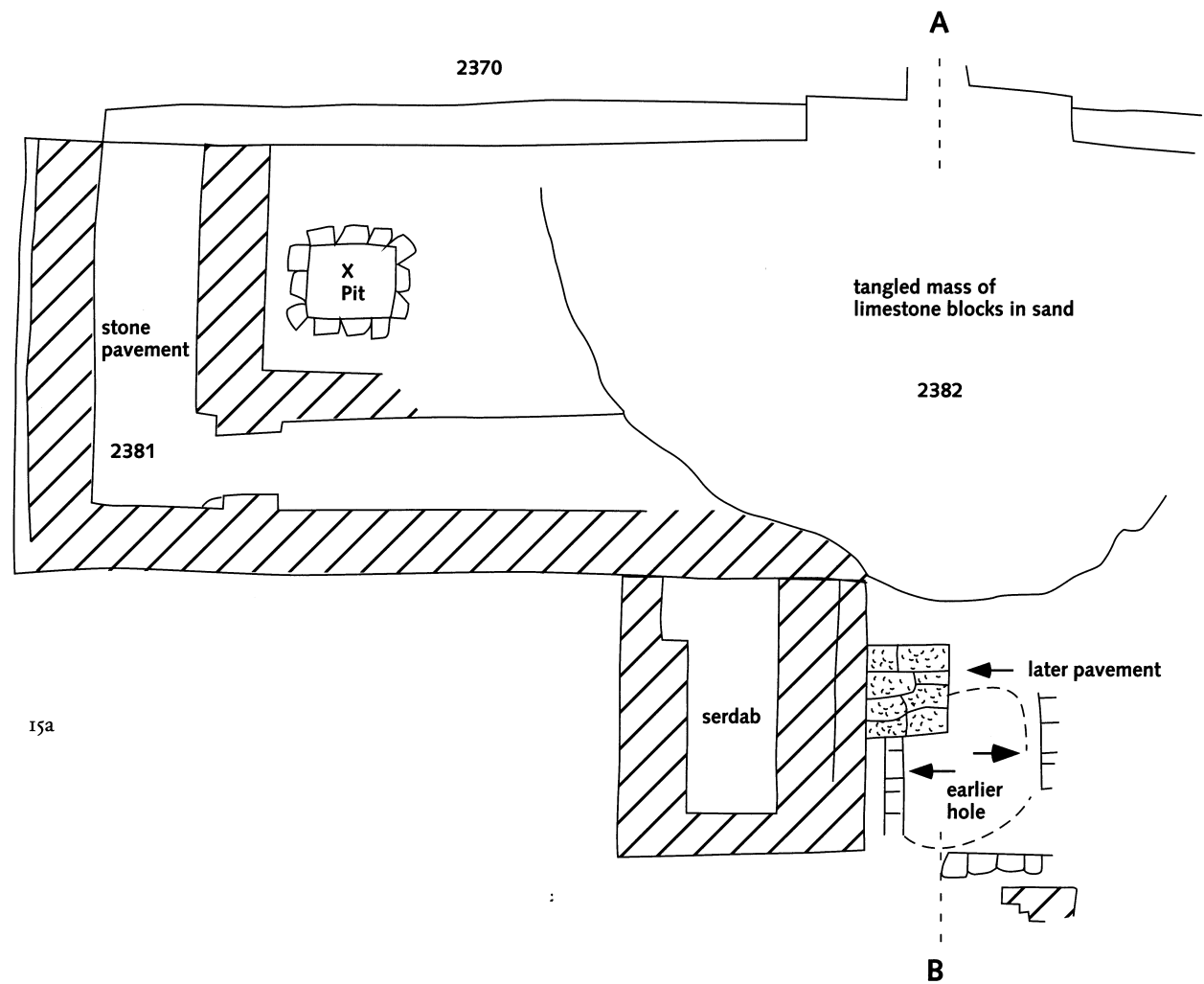
13. Plan of G 2370; *LD, Text 1*, p. 55



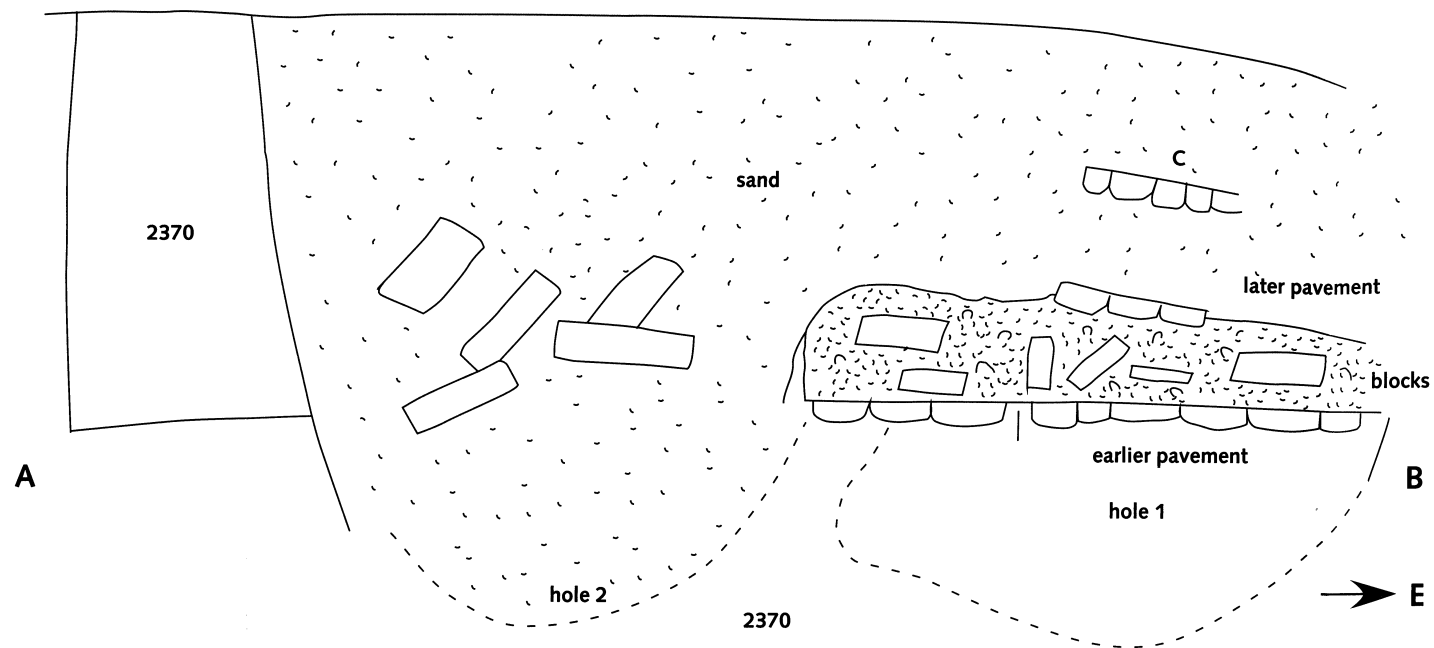
14a. Sketch of G 2370 and G 2378; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 499



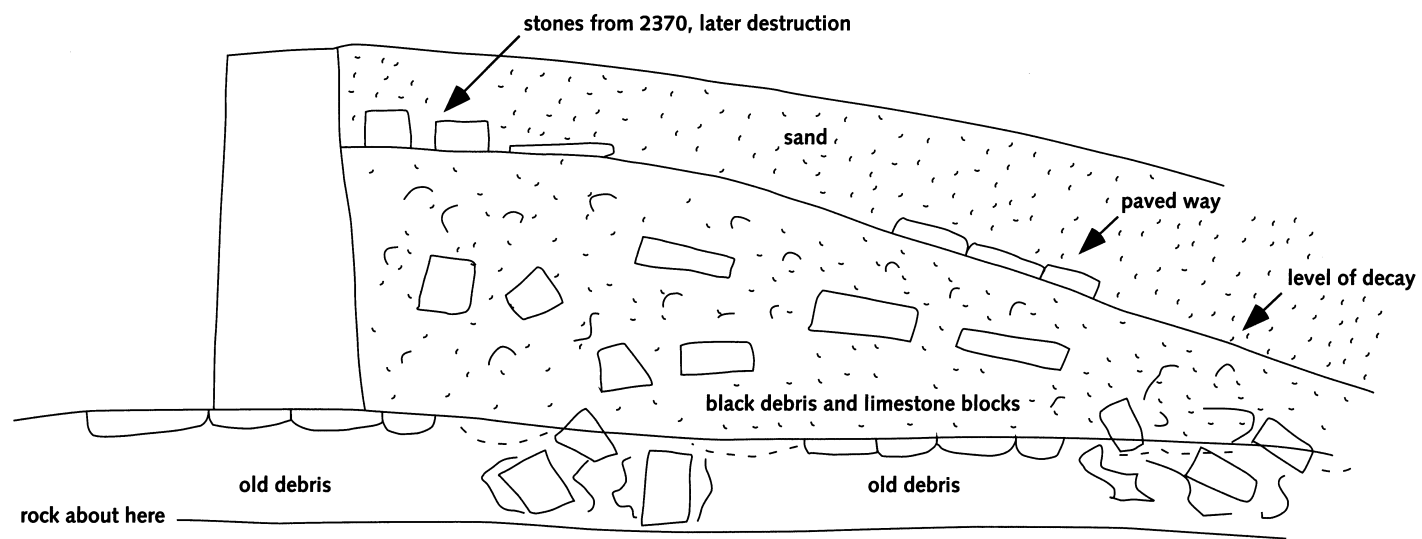
14b. Plan of G 2370; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 497



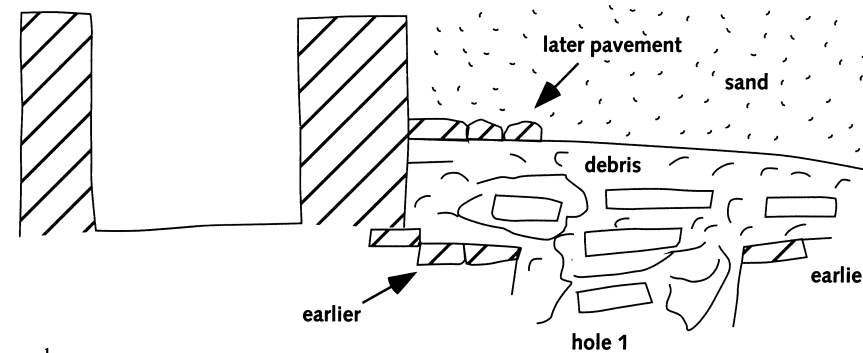
15a



15b

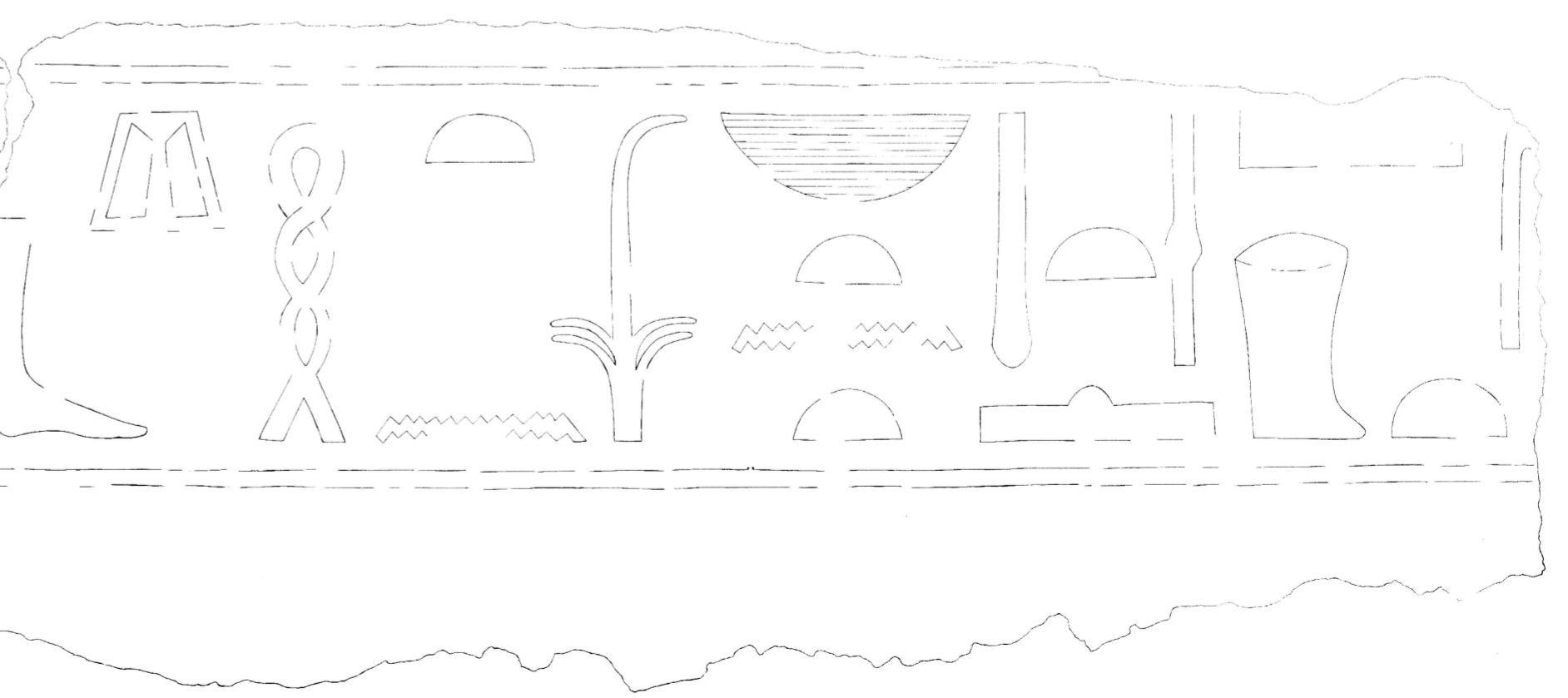
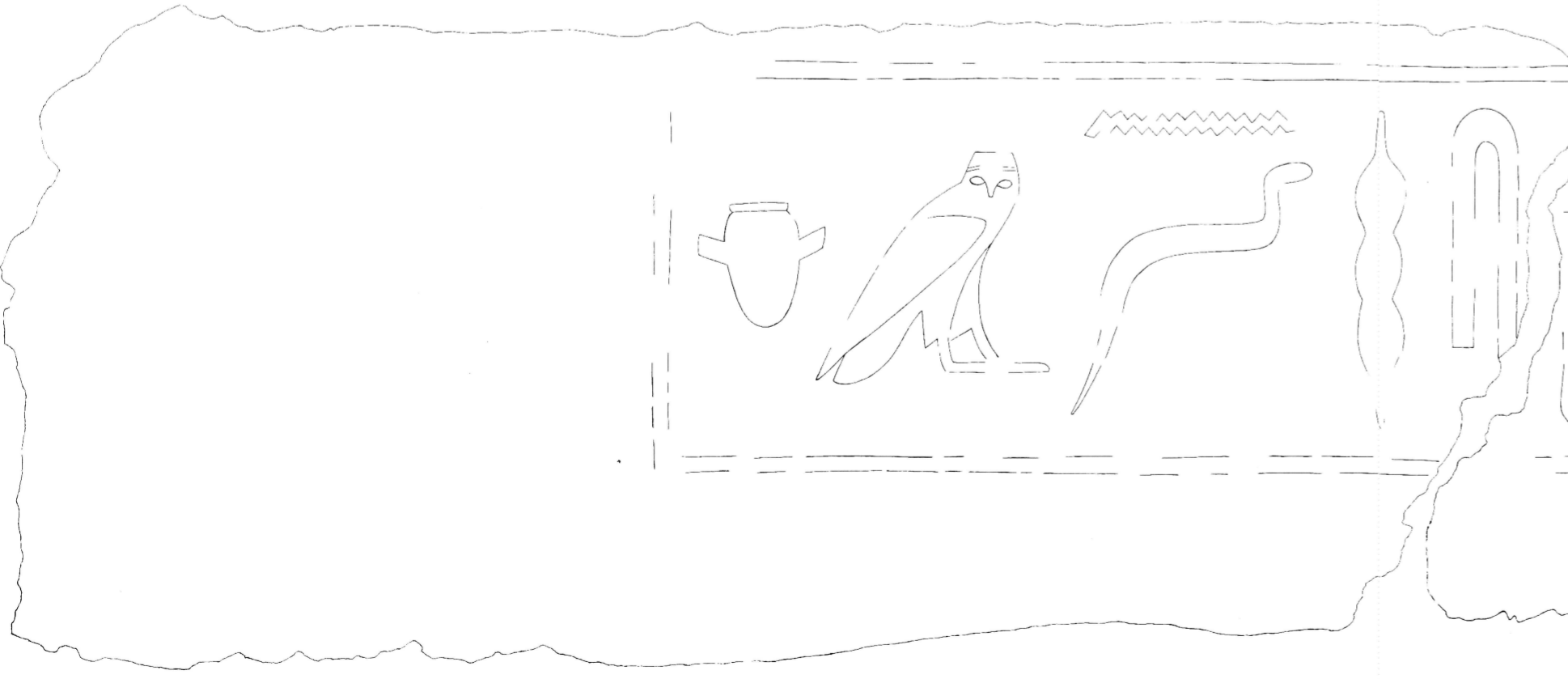
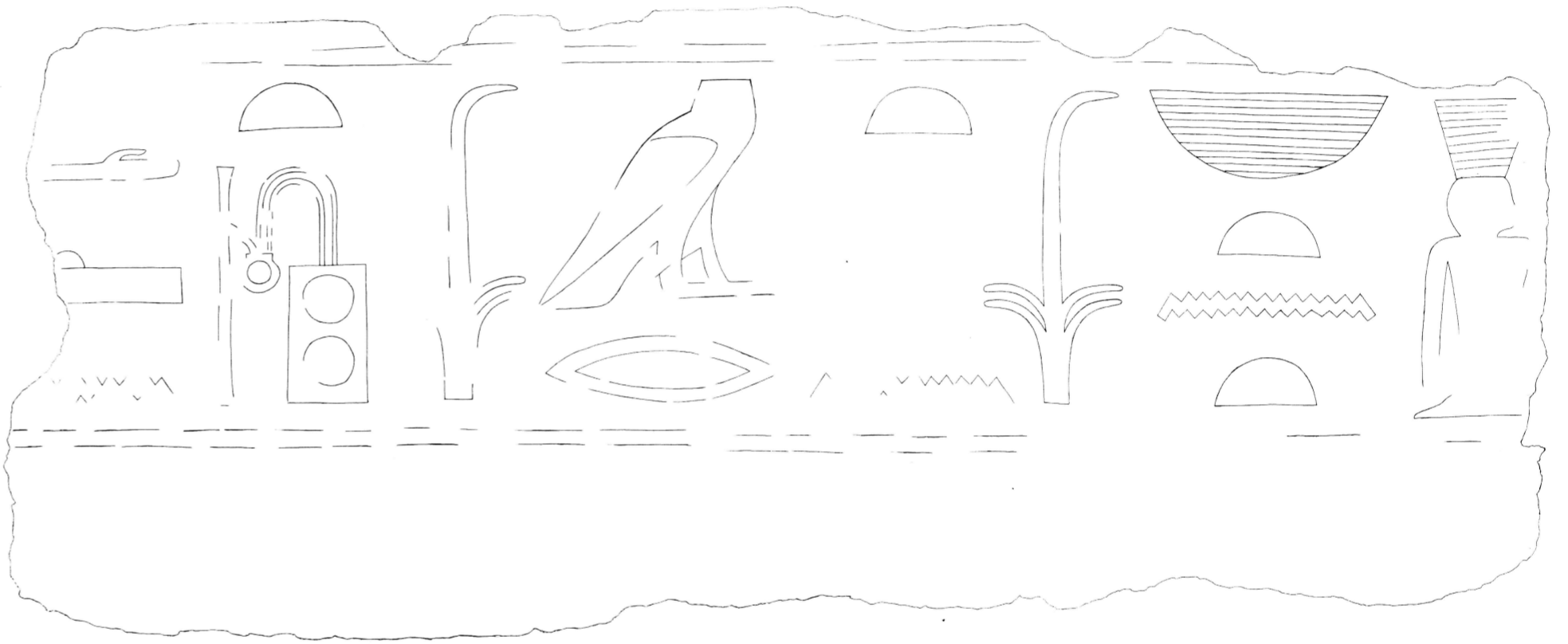
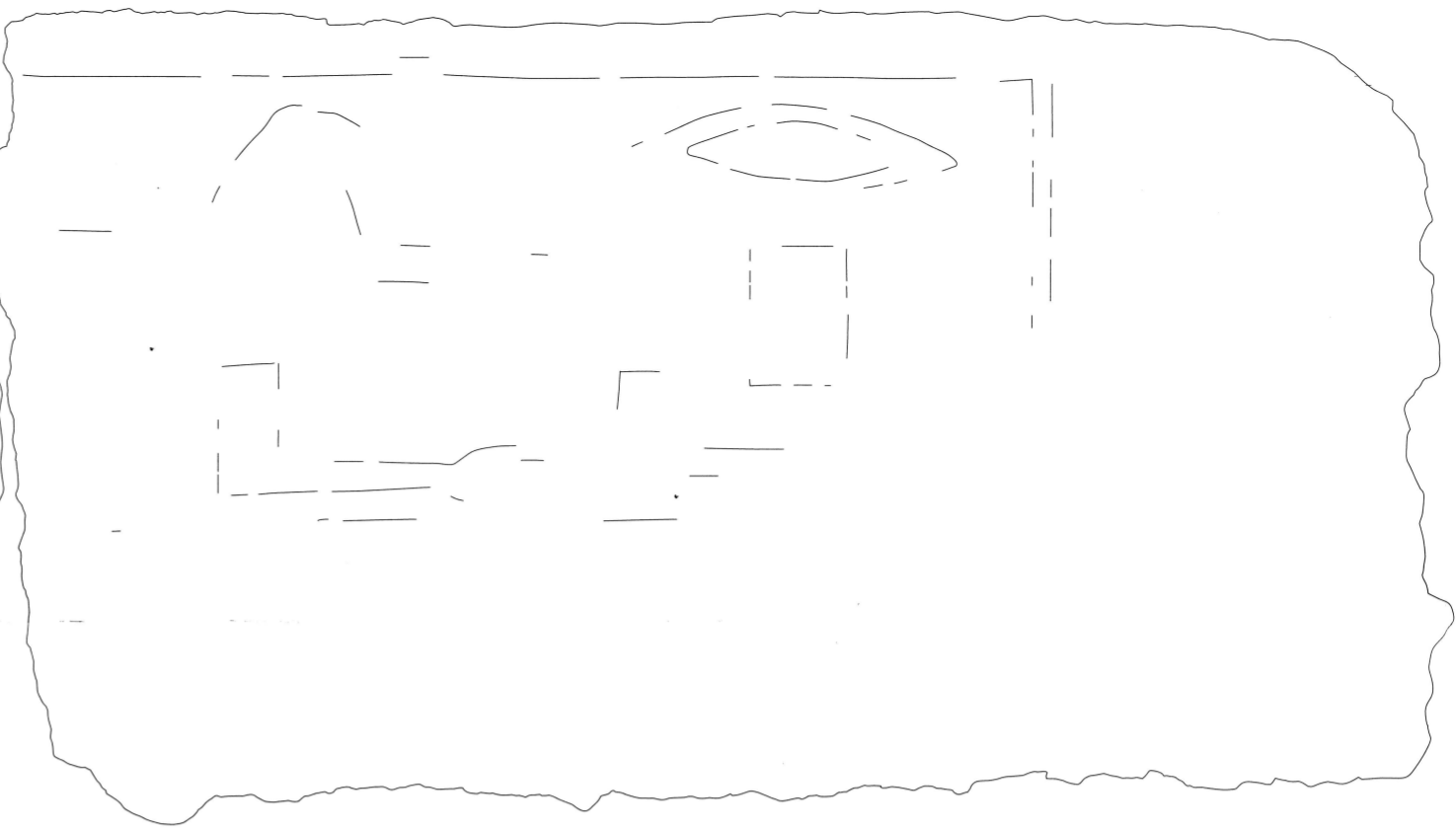
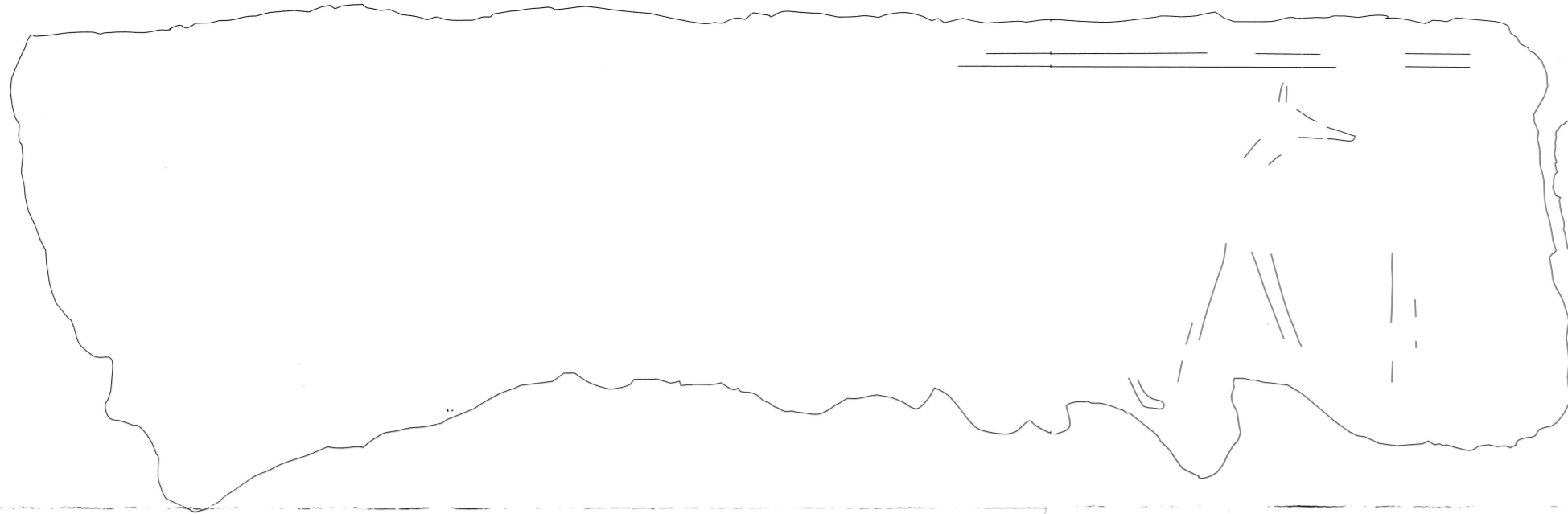


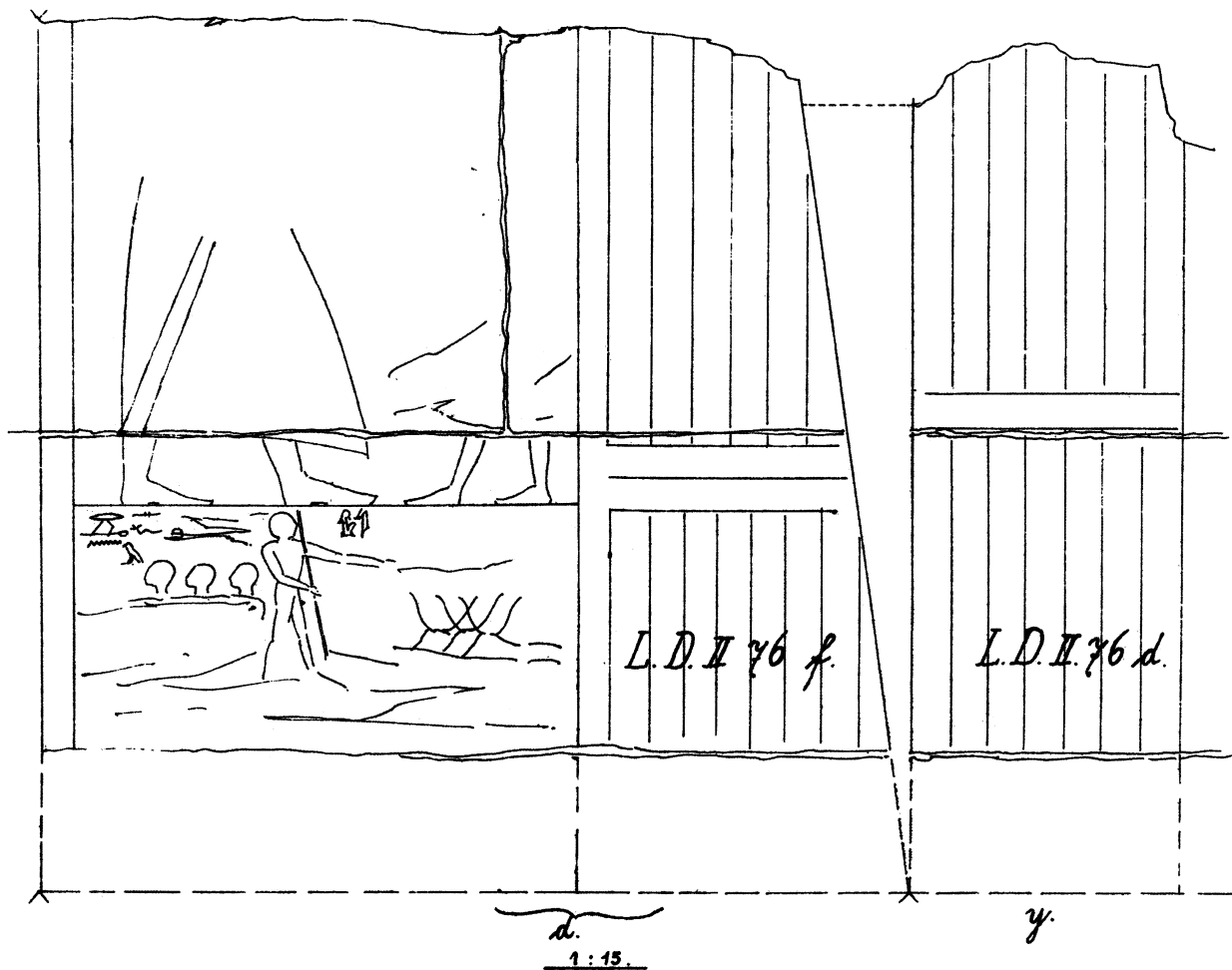
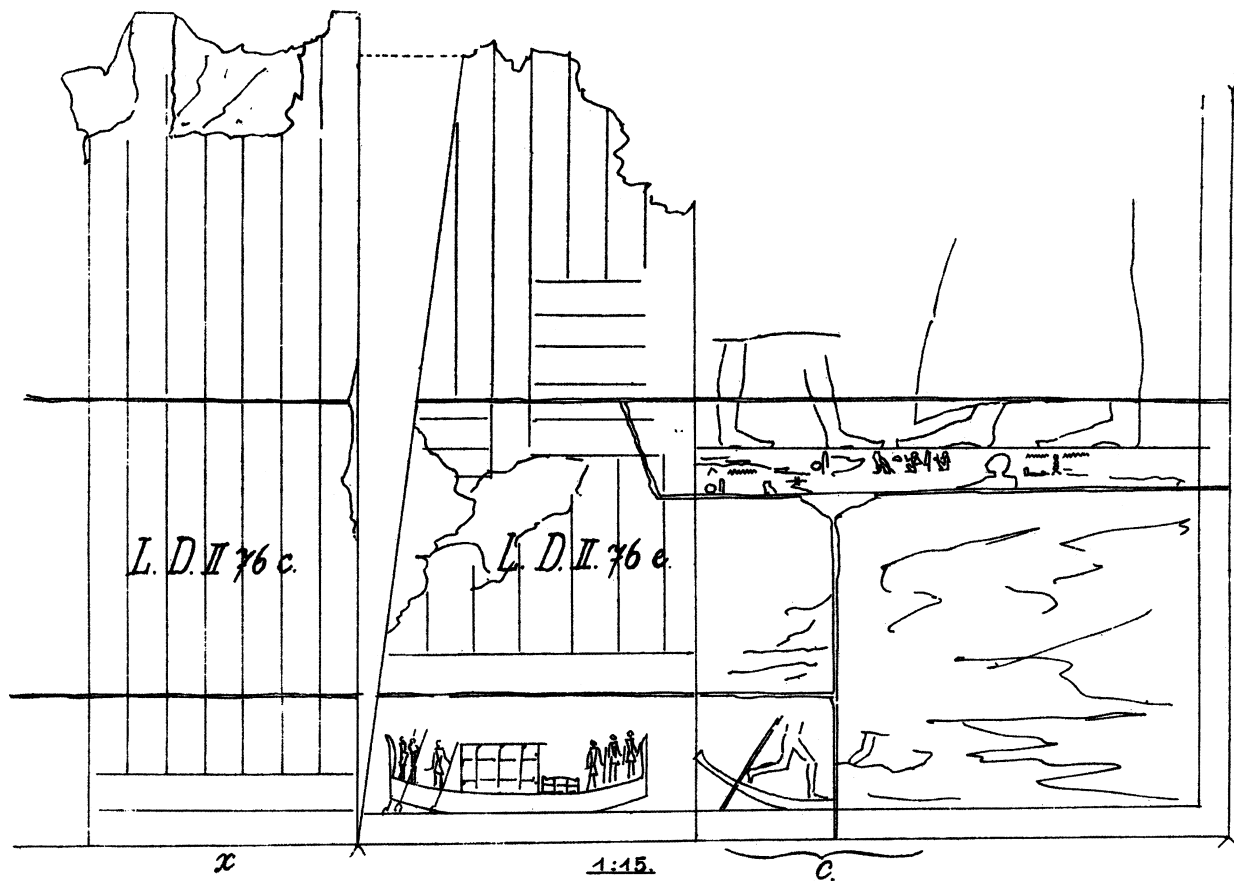
15c



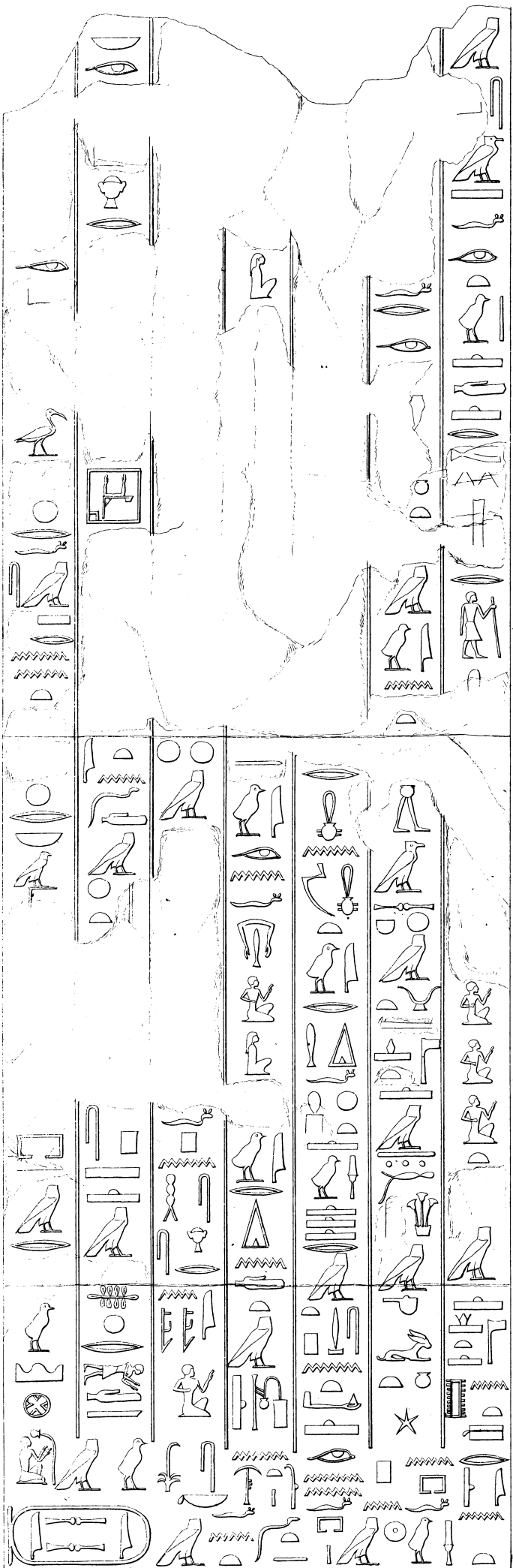
15d

15a-d. Plan and sections of Roman Period inclined roadway and Holes 1 and 2 in court of Senedjemib Complex. Redrawn from rough sketches in the *Giza Diary*, November 30 and December 2, 1912 (pp. 46, 47, 49)



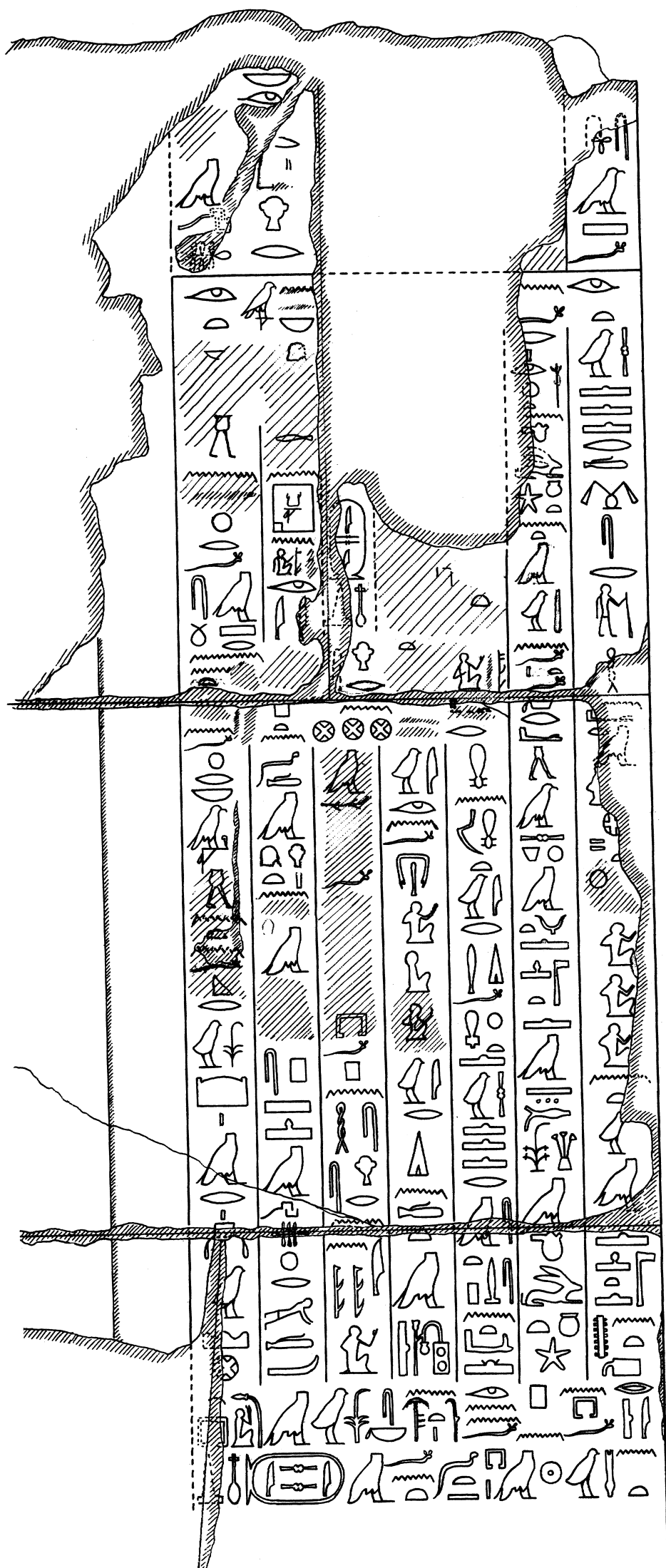


17. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), layout of decoration on walls of portico and facade; *LD, Text, I, p. 56*

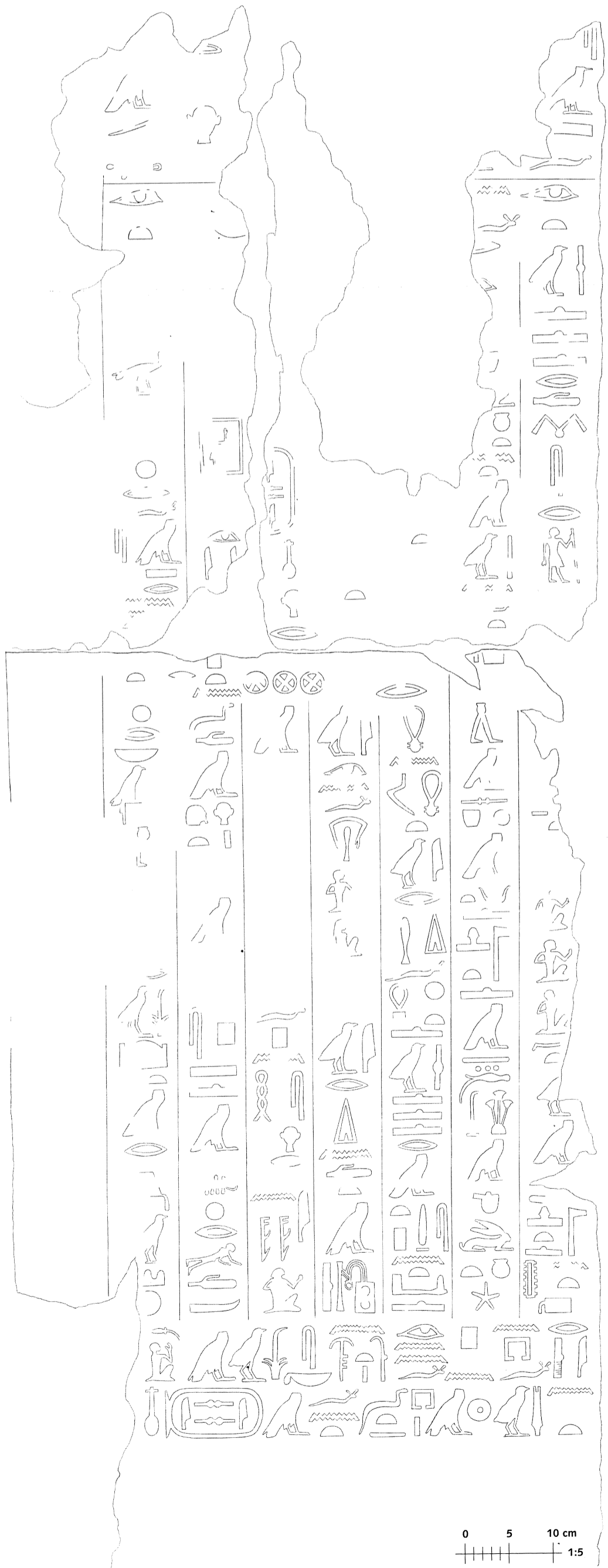


1 Fuss Rhni

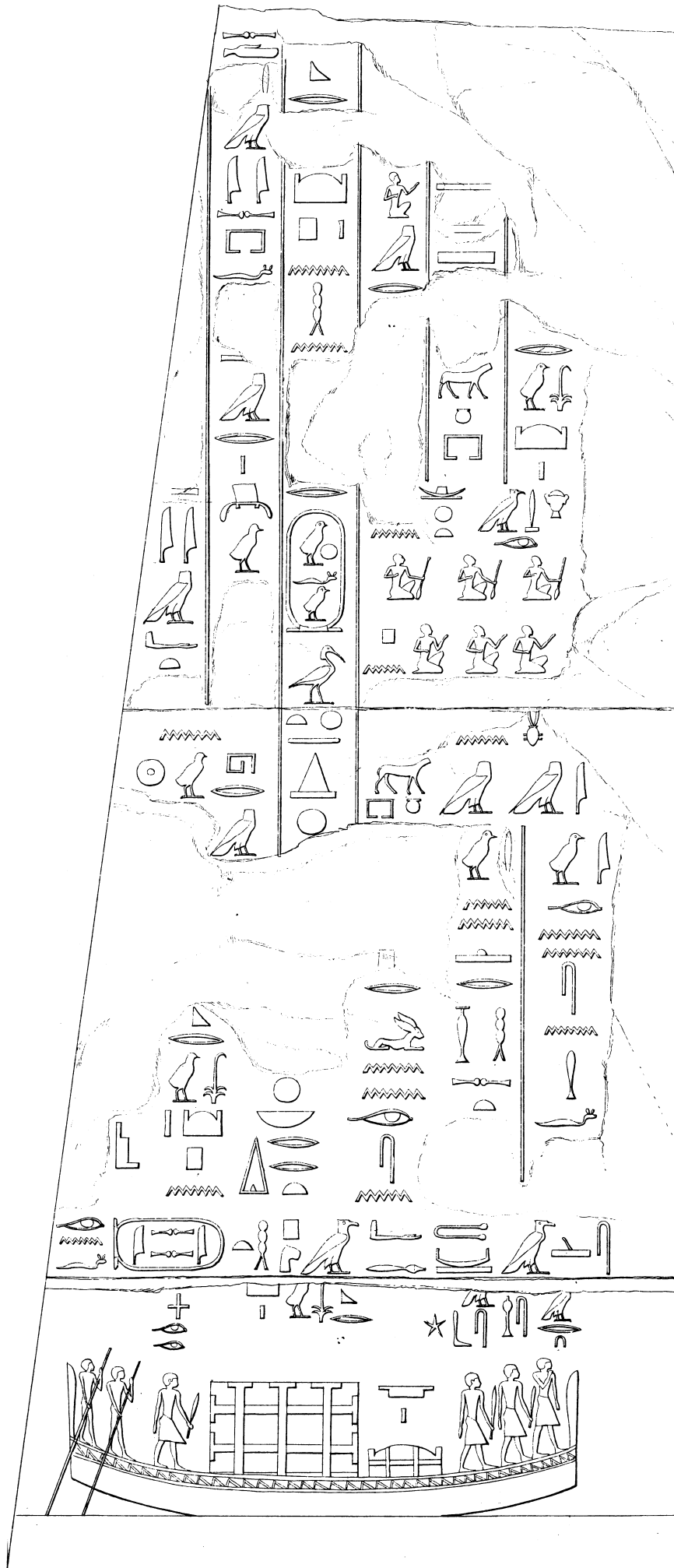
18. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade south of portico, Inscription C; LD 2, pl. 76c

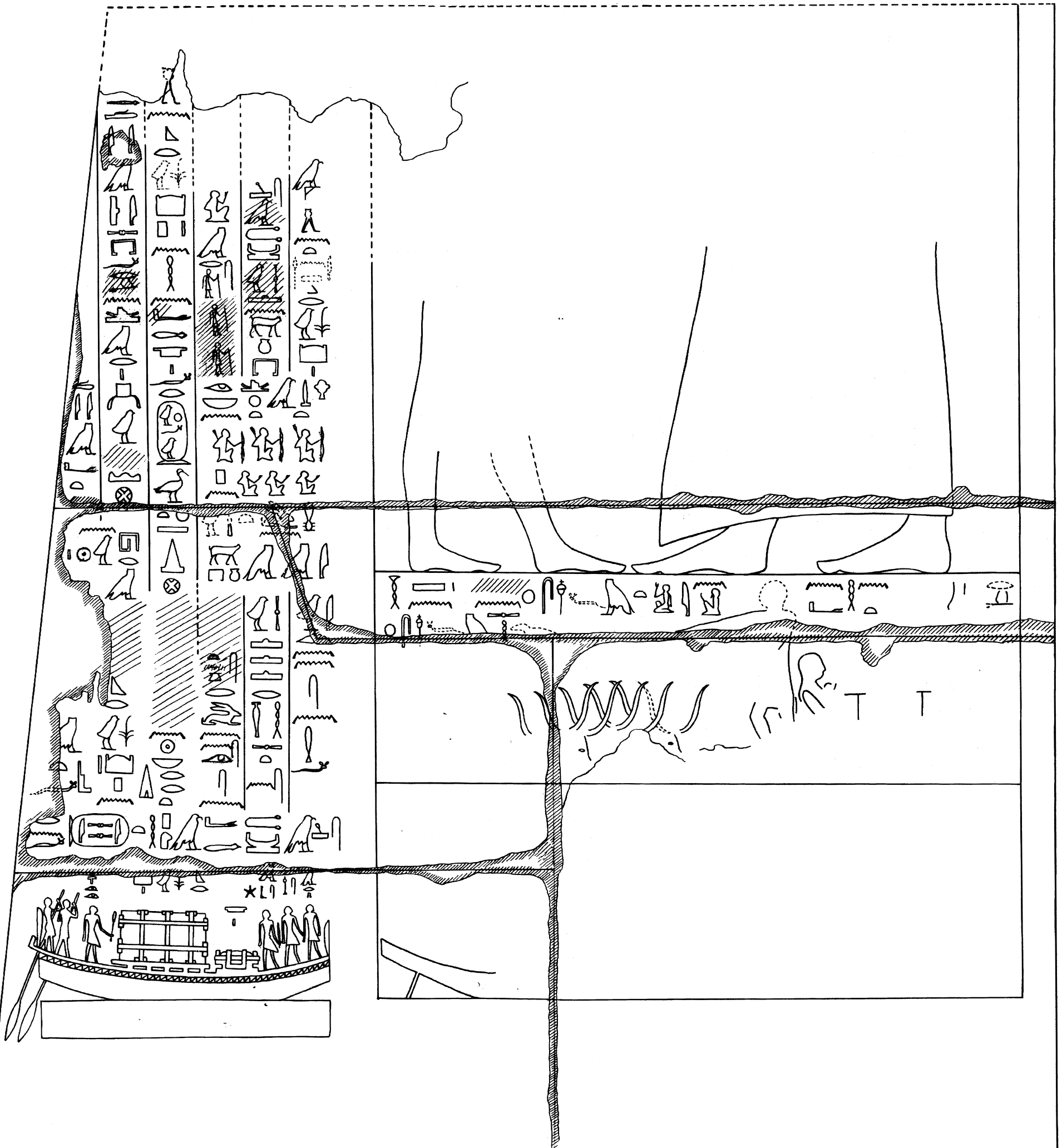


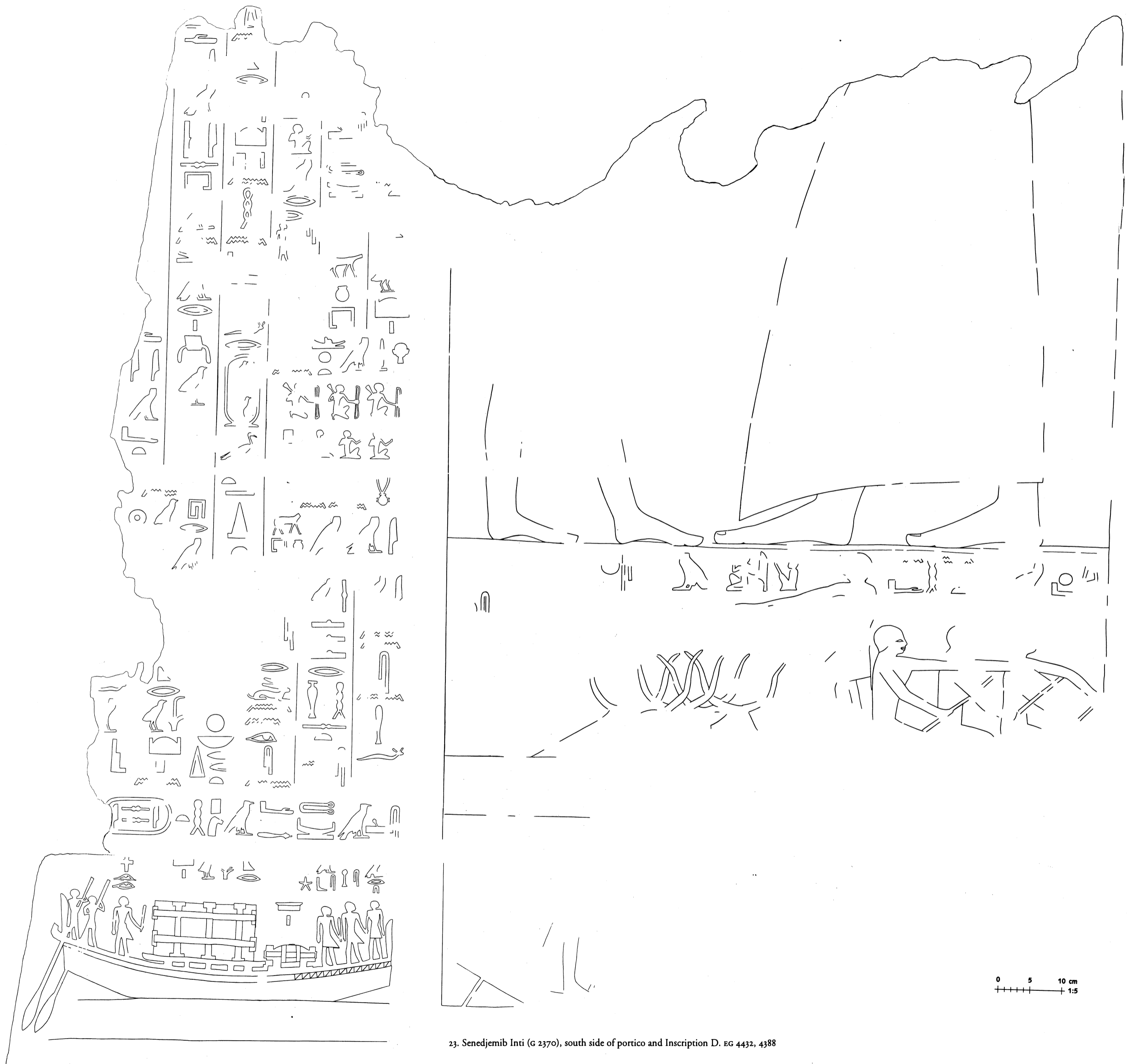
19. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade south of portico, Inscription C, after Reisner



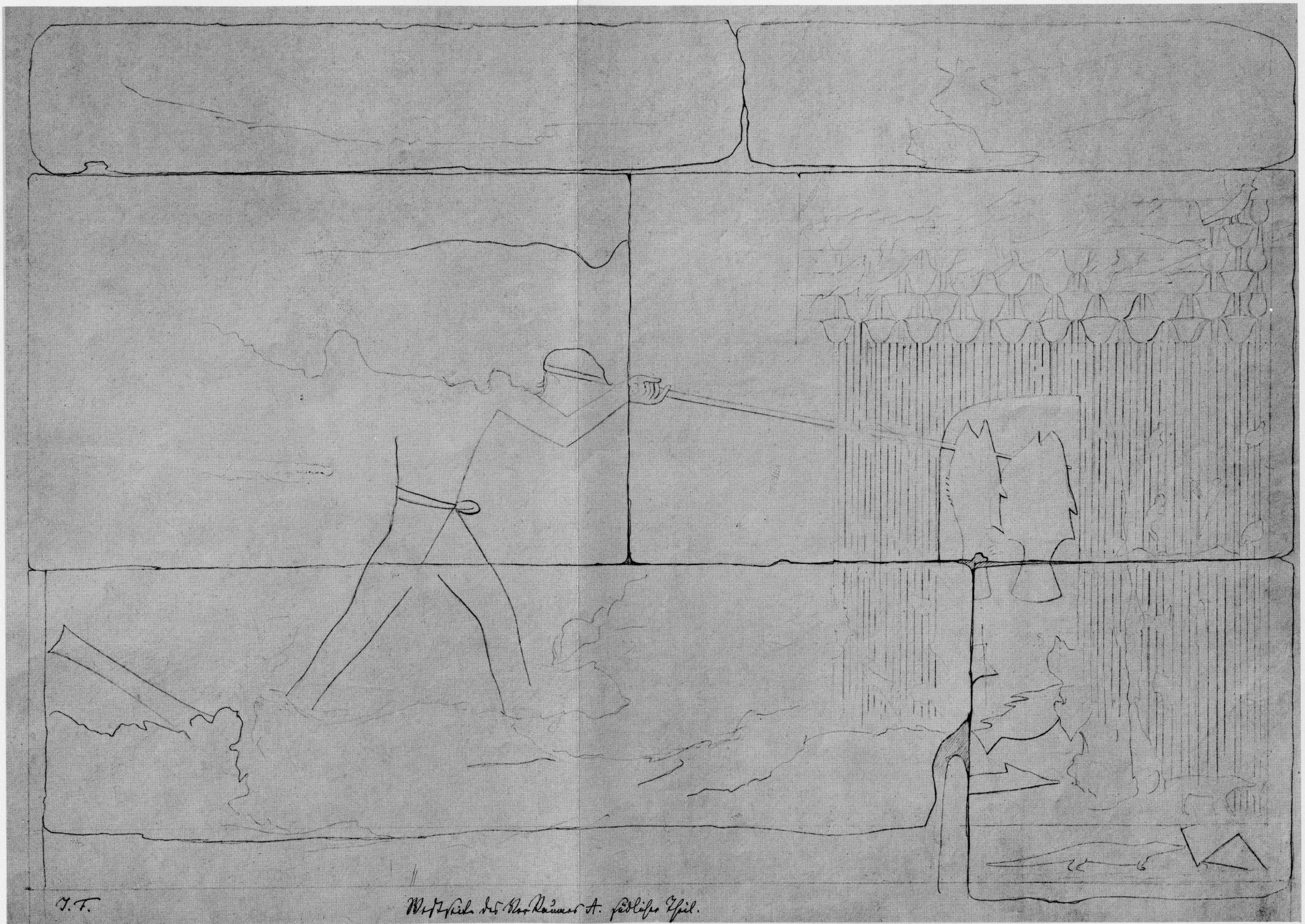
20. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade south of portico, Inscription C. EG 4429, 4435; top, inscribed stone from court of Senedjemib Complex assigned to top of Inscription C; after HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. v 1668 [left]



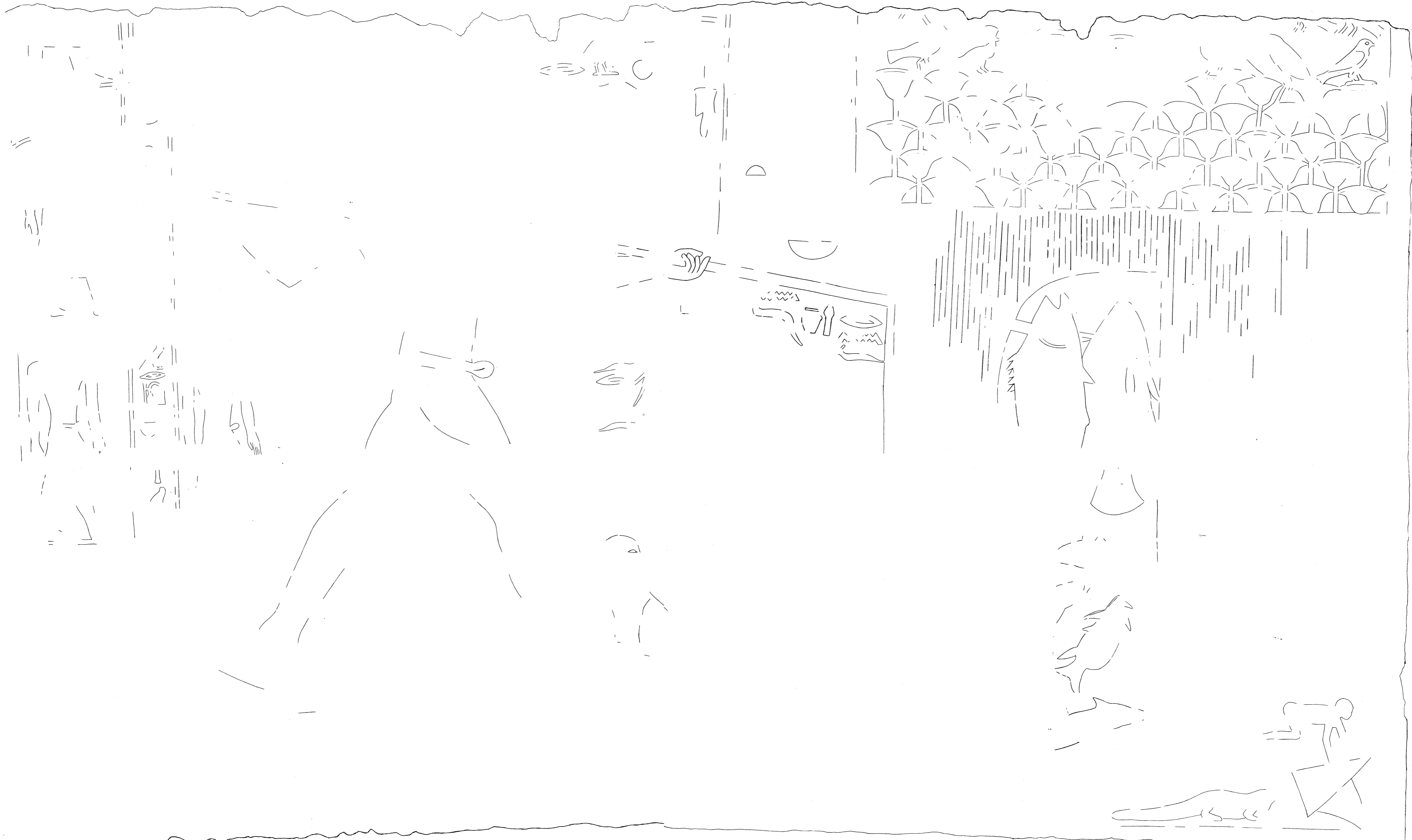




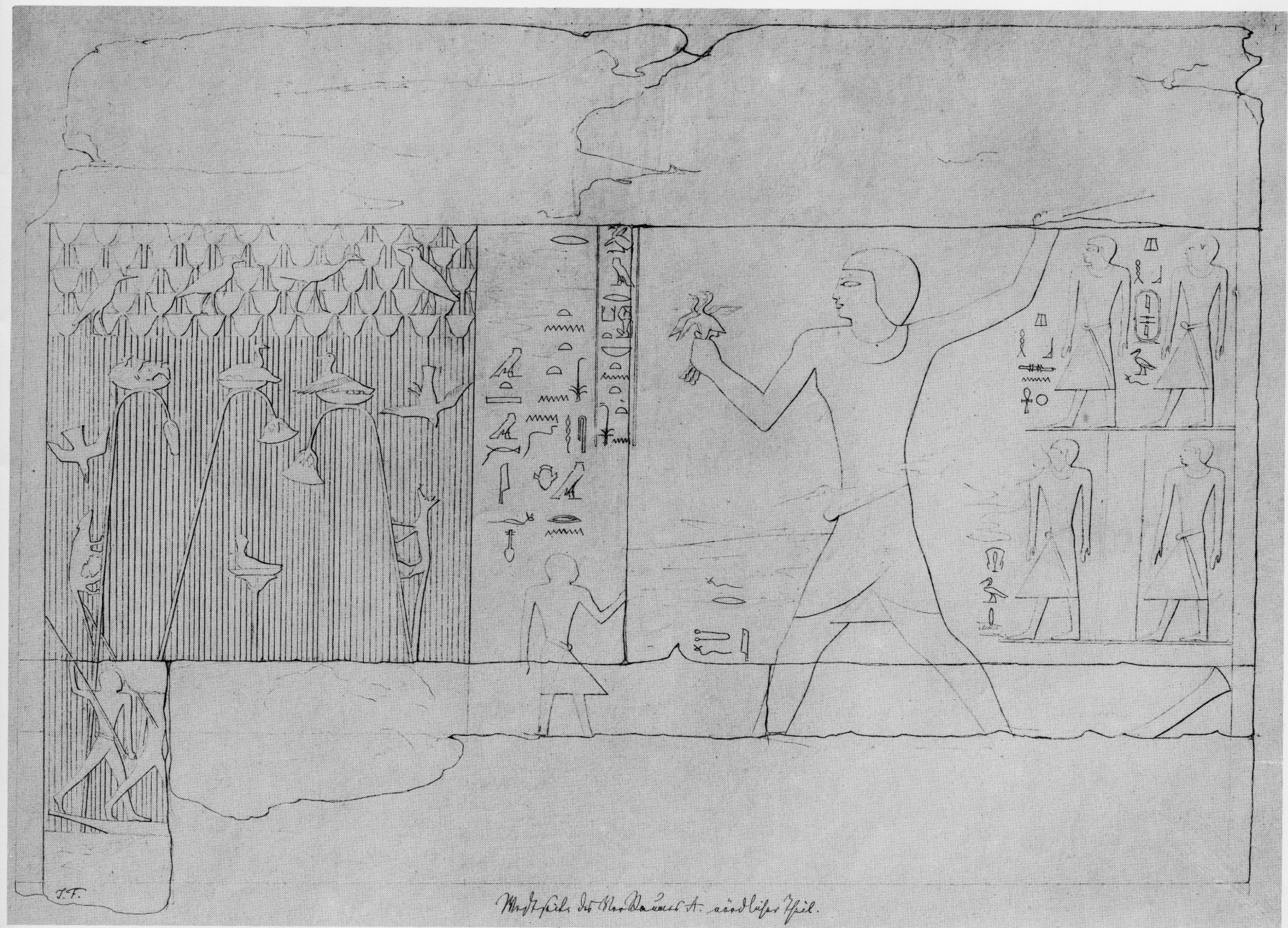
23. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), south side of portico and Inscription D. EG 4432, 4388



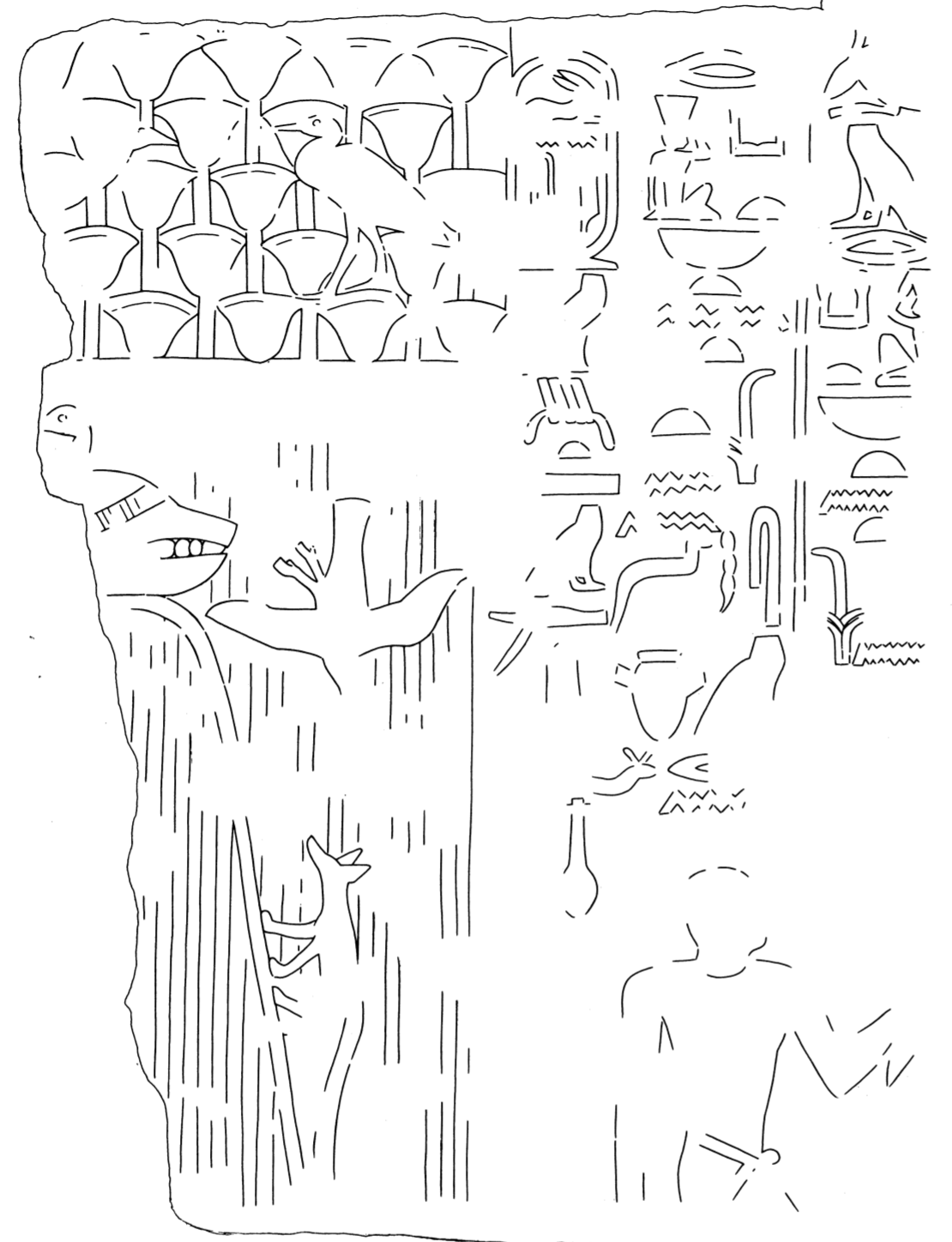
24. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), rear wall of portico, south of entrance; LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xvii



25. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), rear wall of portico, south of entrance. EG 4482-85

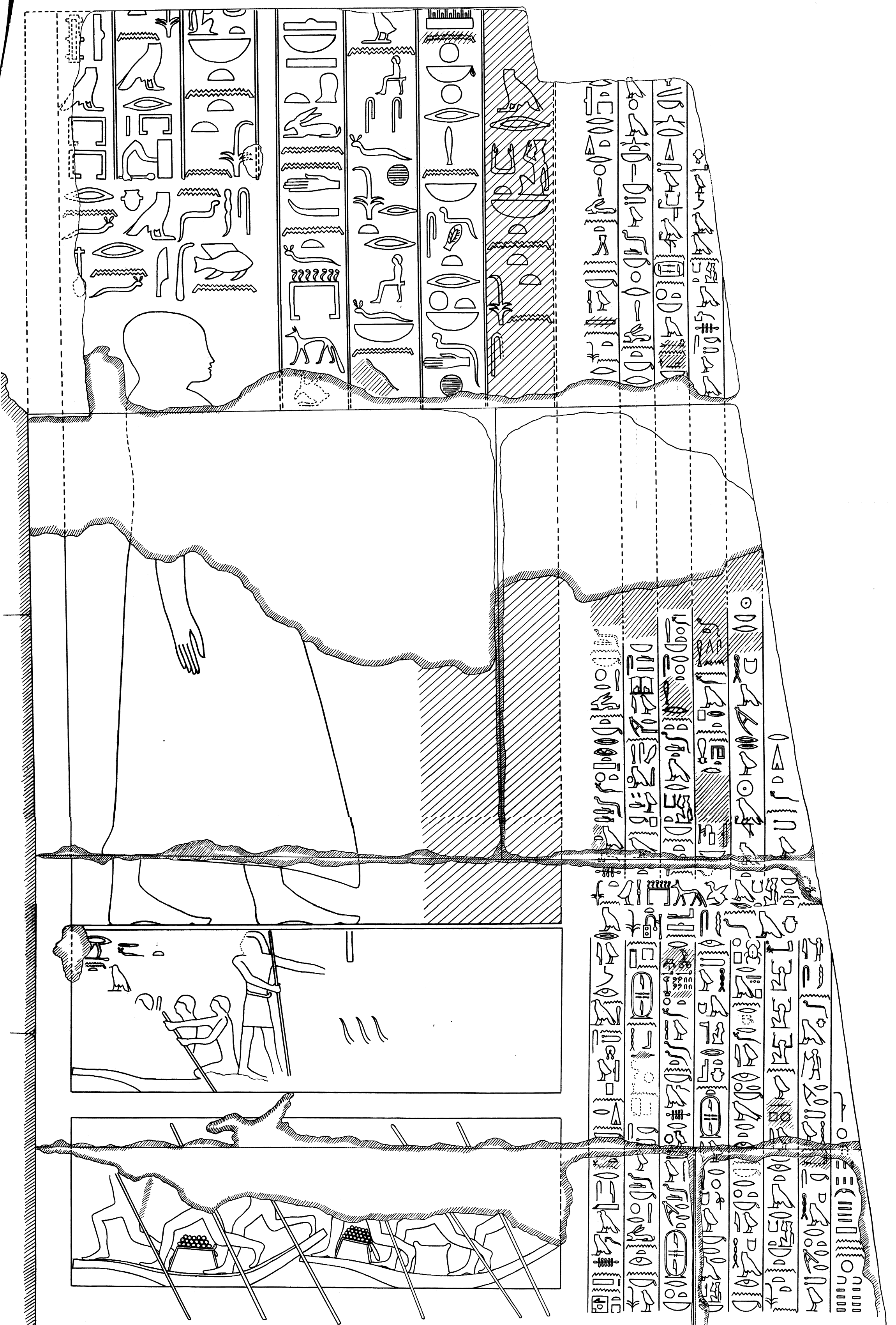


26. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), rear wall of portico, north of entrance; LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xviii

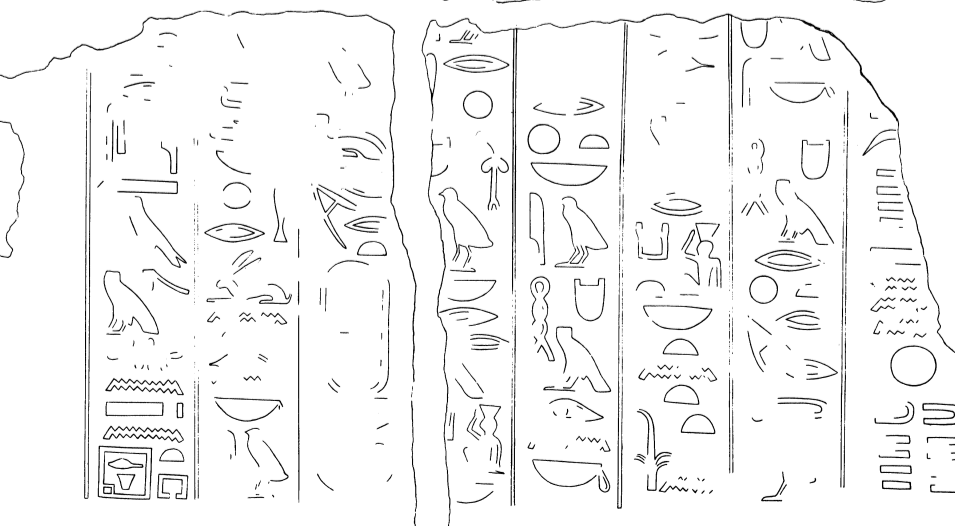
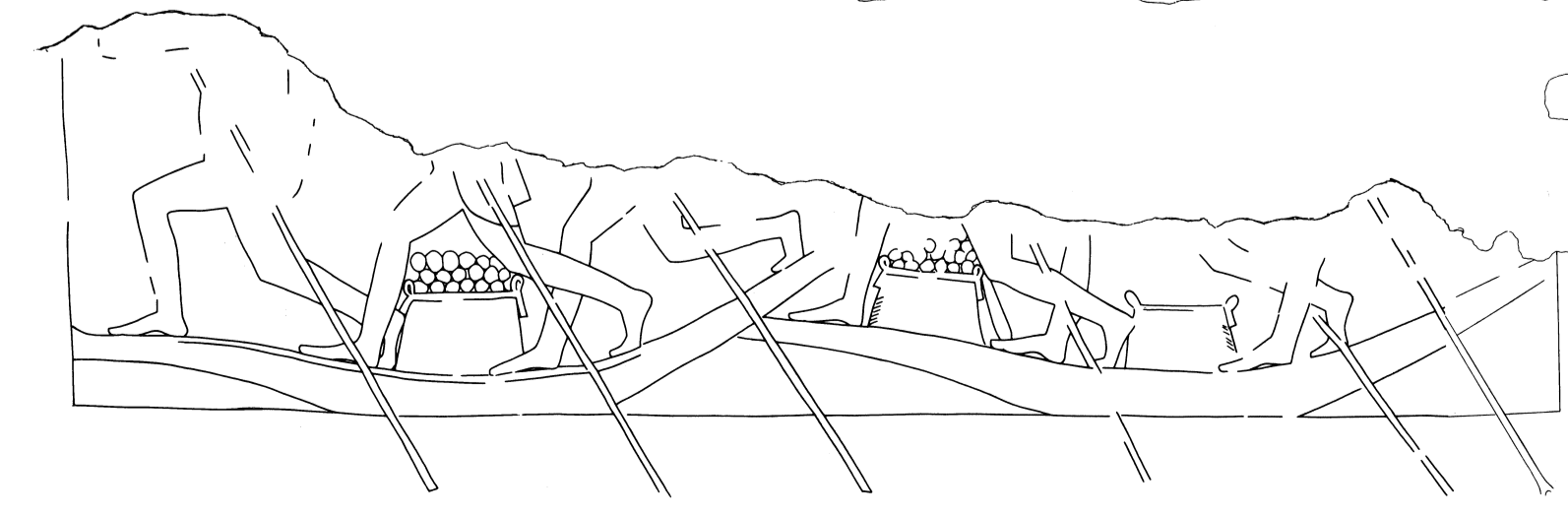
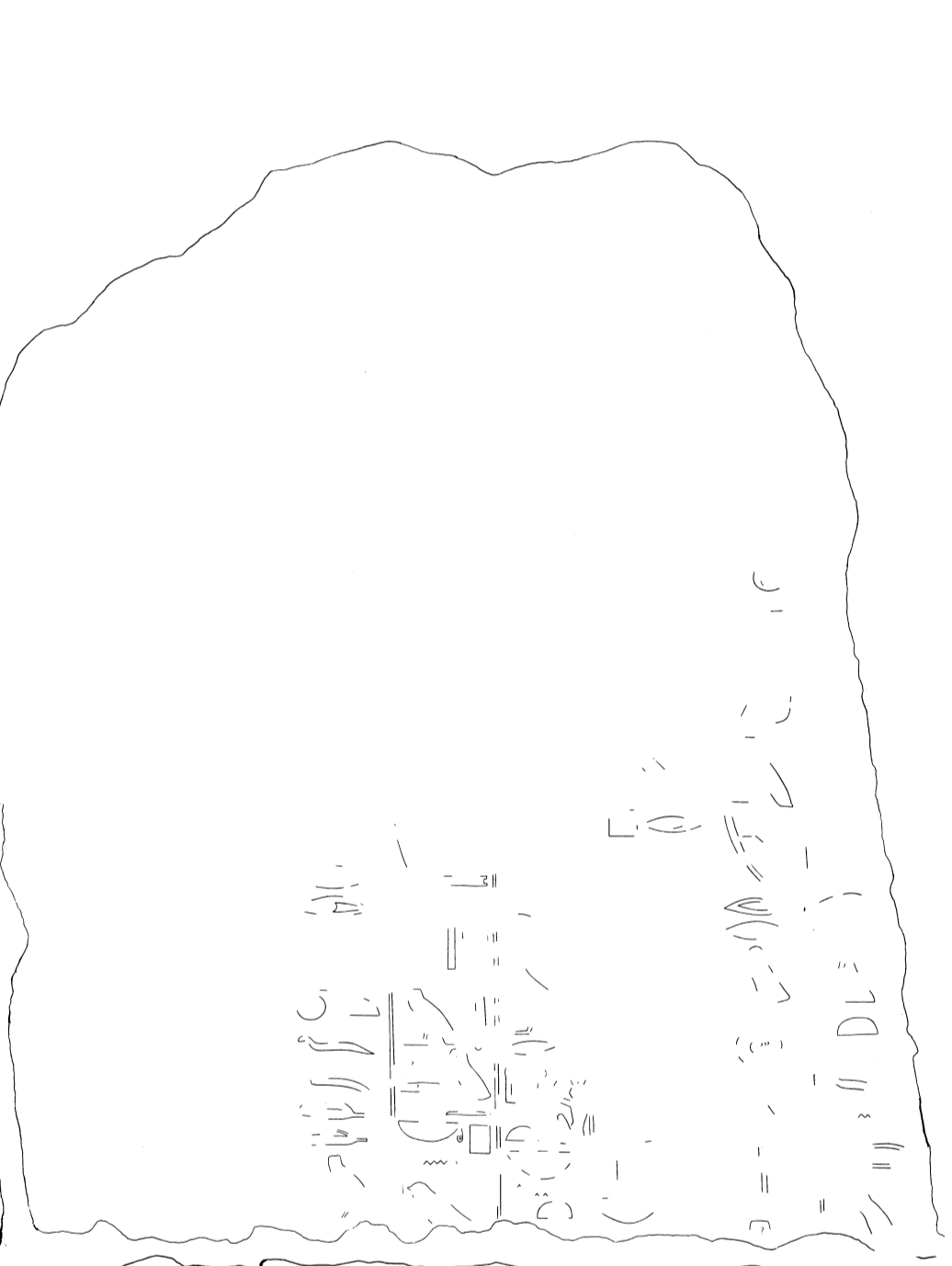
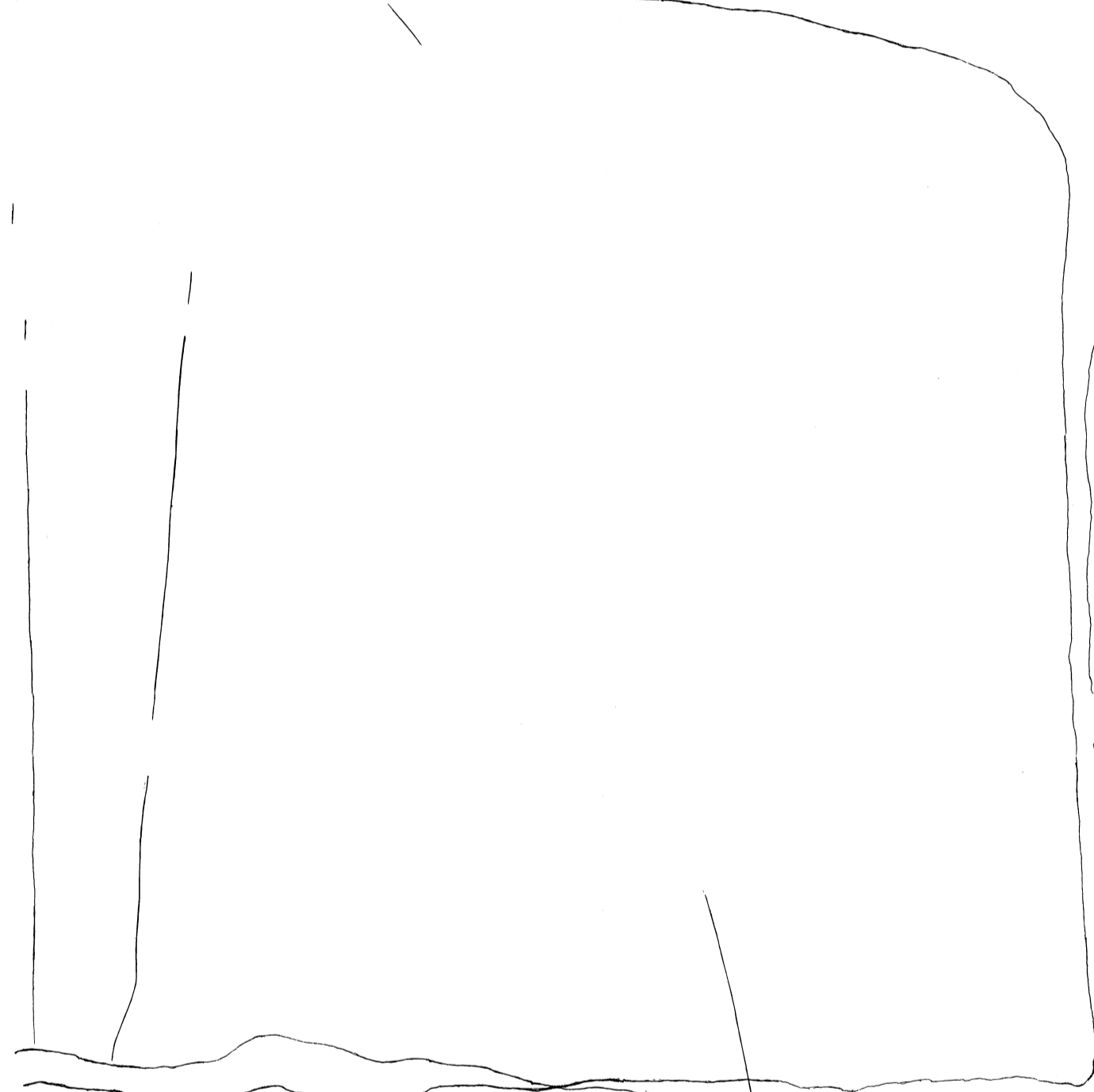
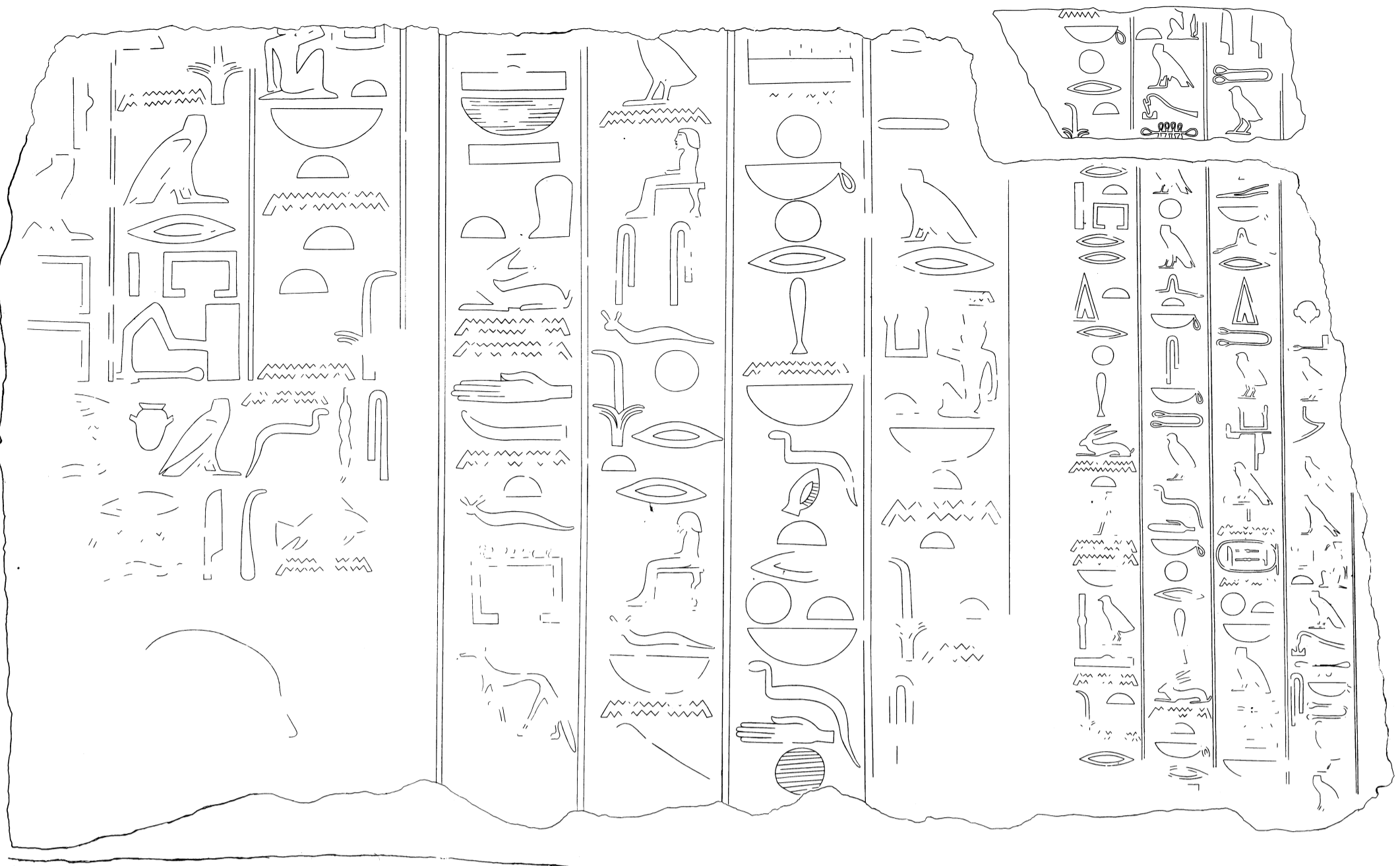




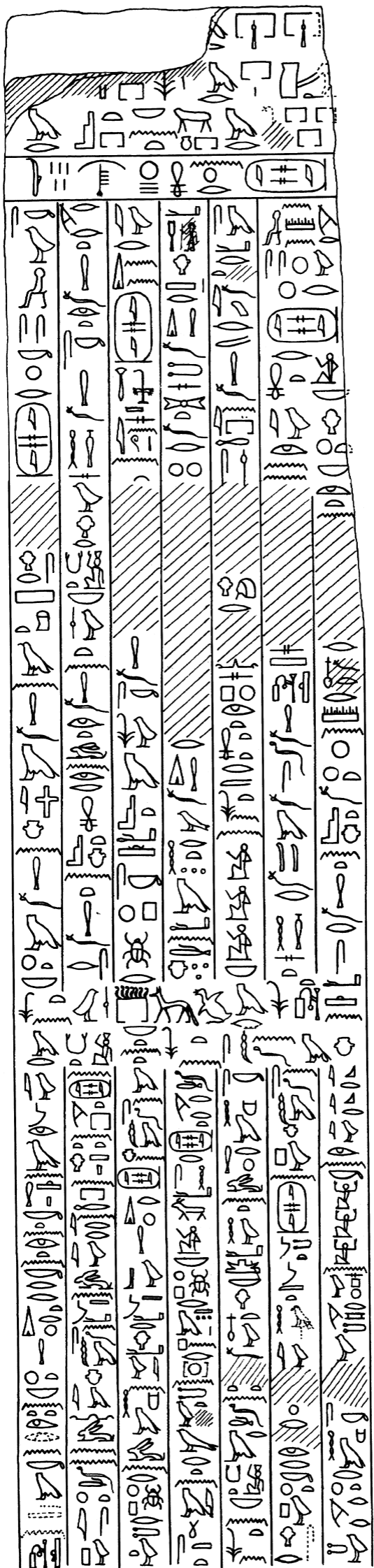
28. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Inscriptions B 1 and 2 on north side of portico; LD 2, pl. 76f



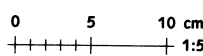
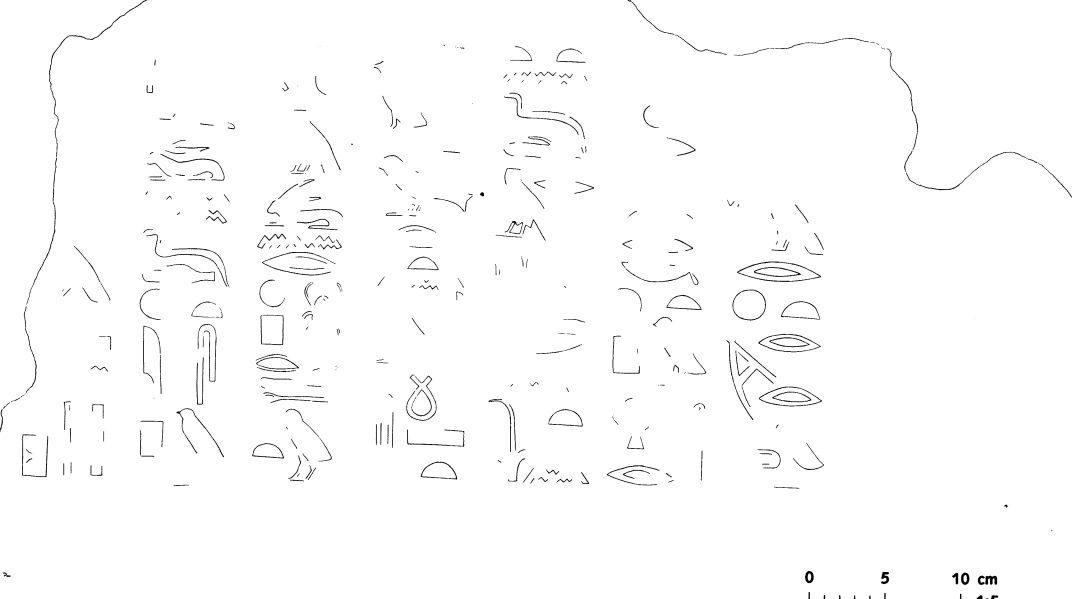
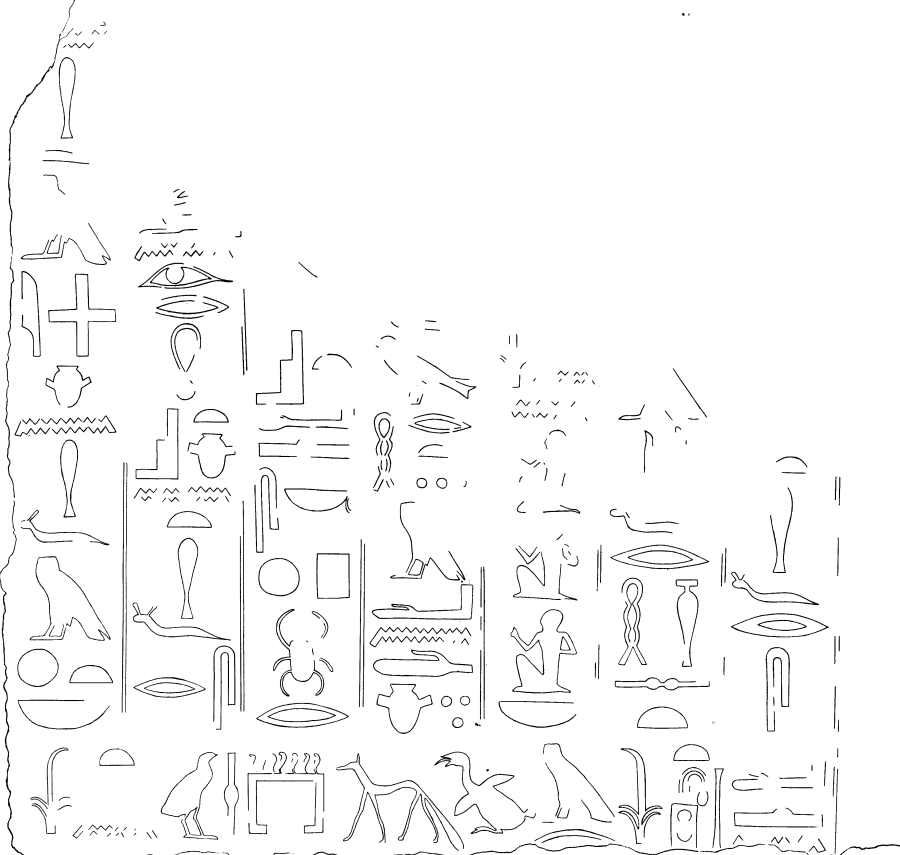
29. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), north side of portico and Inscription B 1 and 2, after Reisner



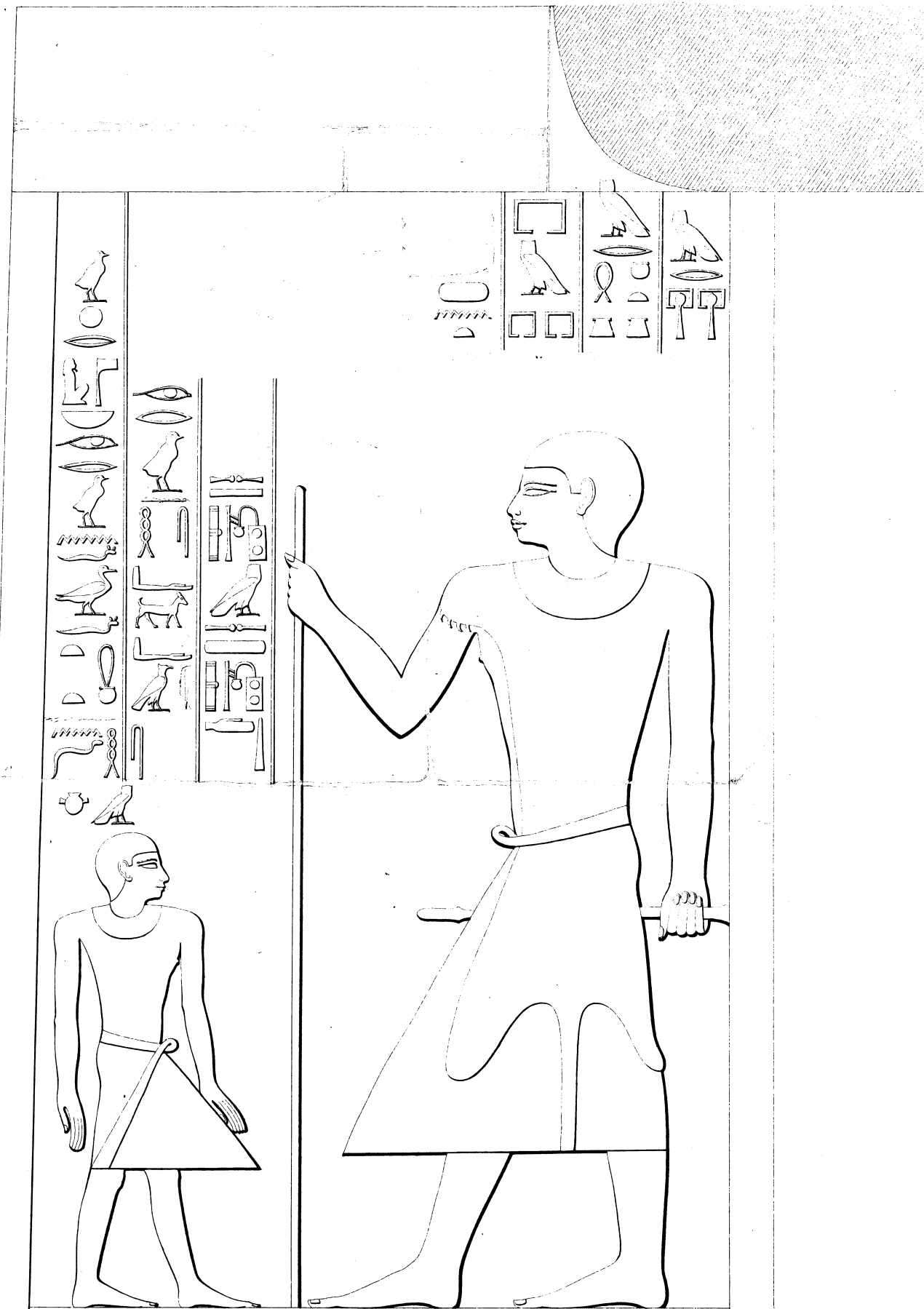
30. Senedjemib Inti (c 2370), north side of portico and Inscription B 1 and 2. EG 4430, 4433 with additions



32. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade north of portico, Inscriptions A 1 and 2, after Reisner

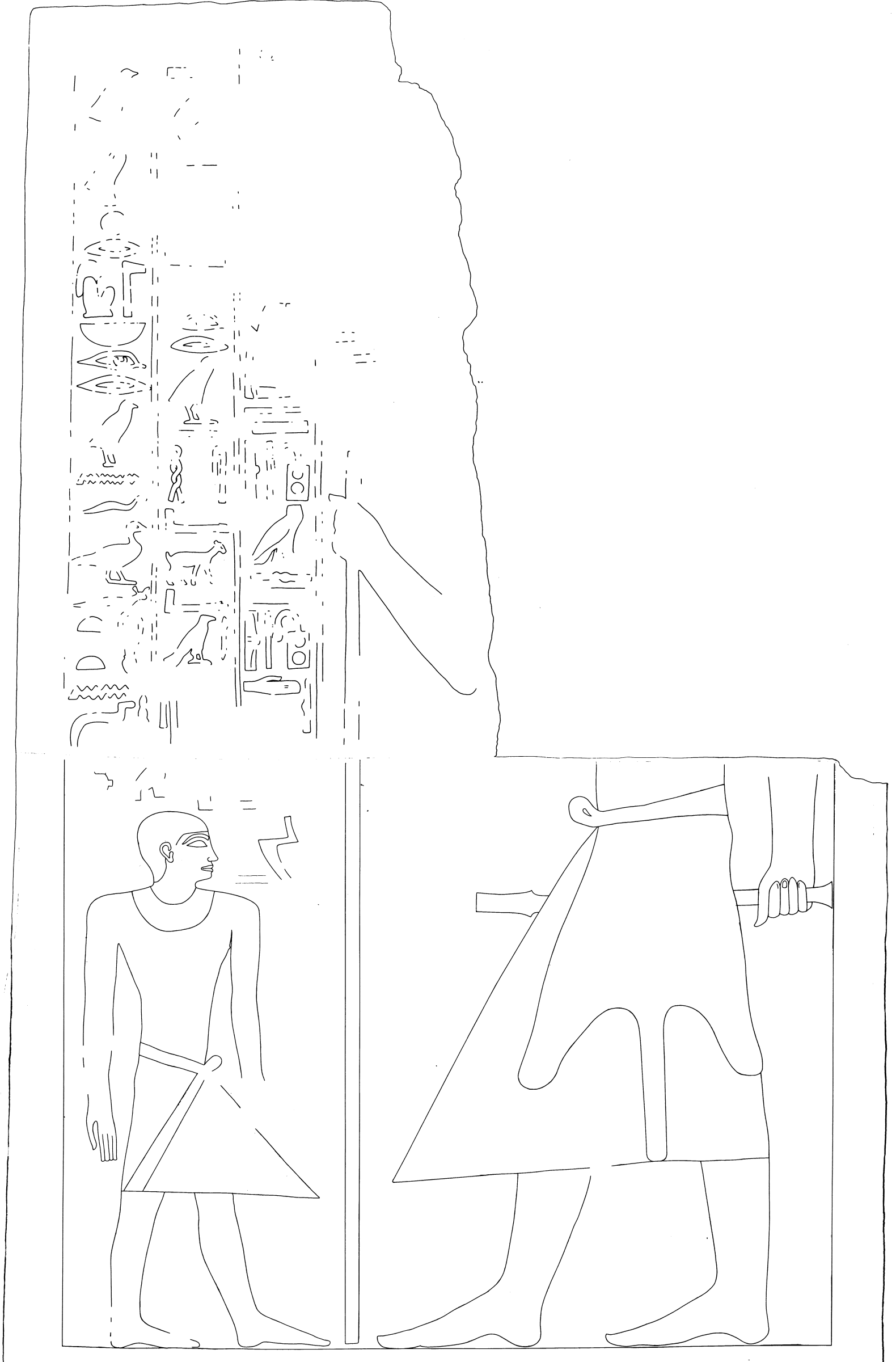


33. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), facade north of portico, Inscriptions A 1 and 2. EG 4428 with additions

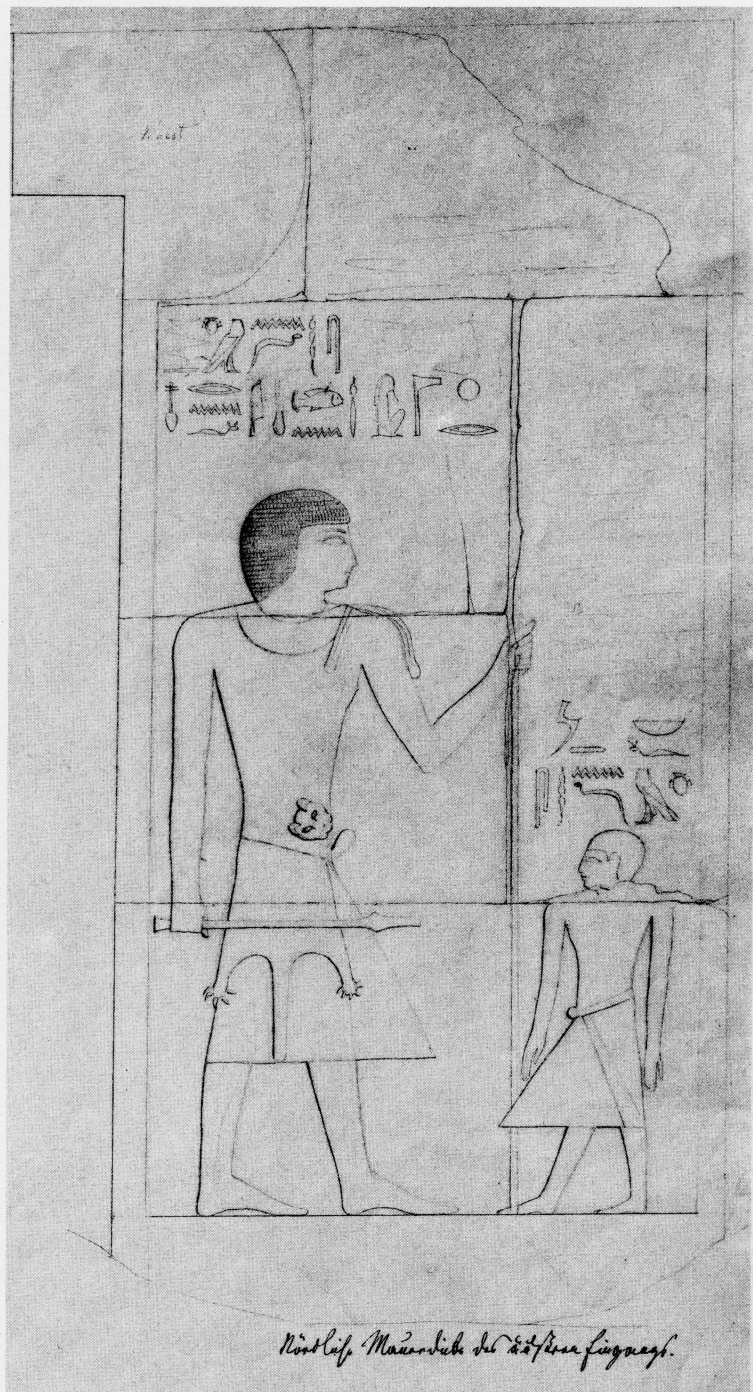


34. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), left (south) entrance thickness; LD 2, pl. 78b [left]

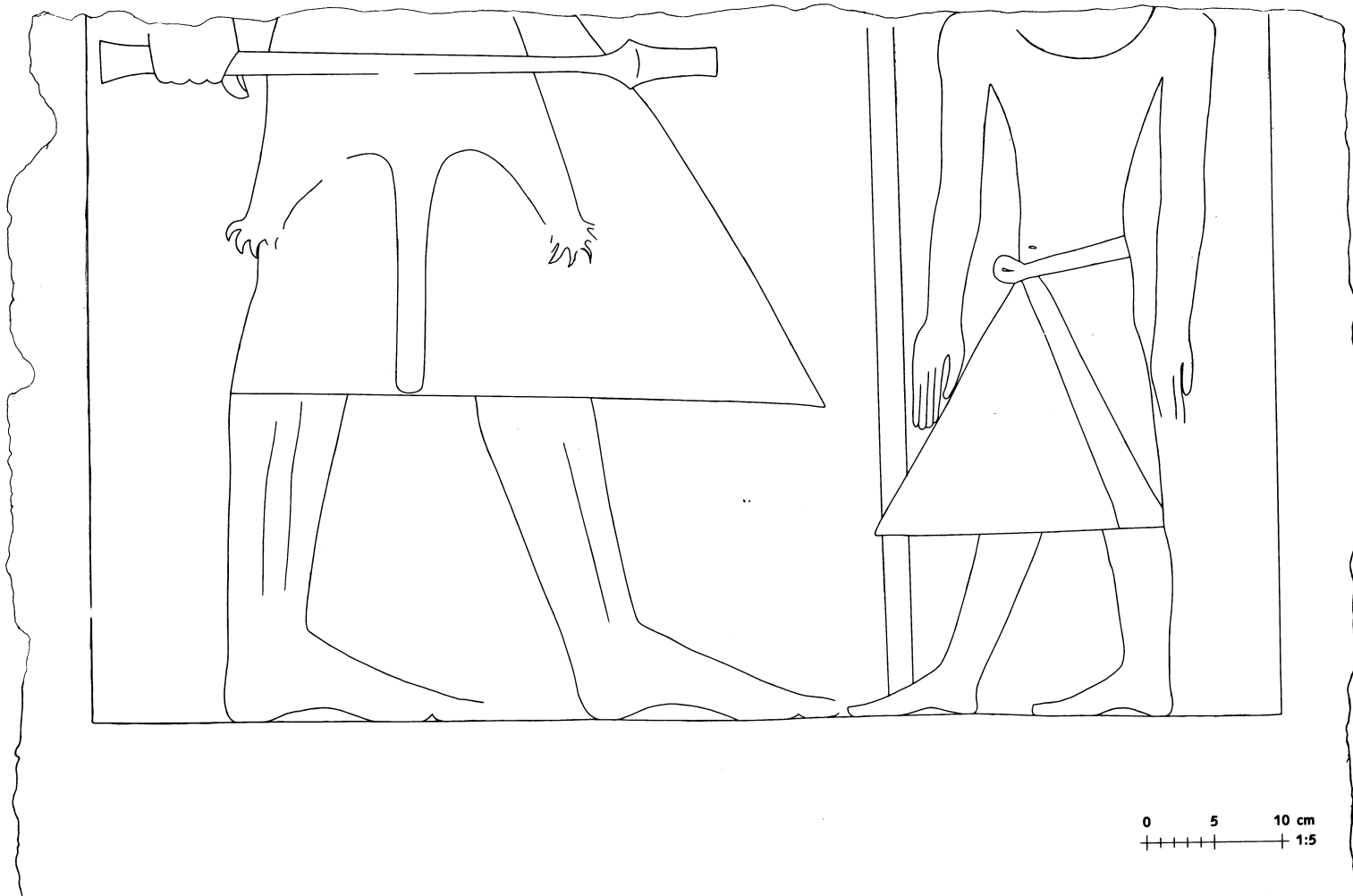
1. Kees, *Ägypten*



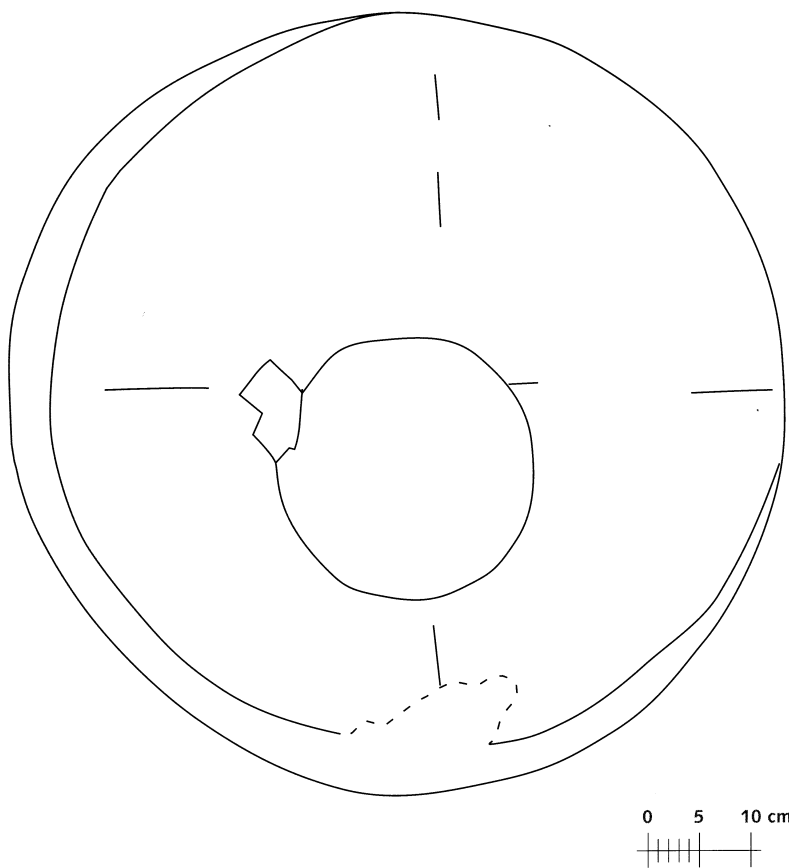
35. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), left (south) entrance thickness. EG 4427



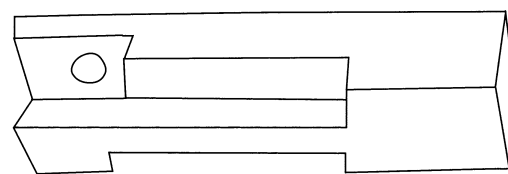
36. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), right (north) entrance thickness; LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xix [right]



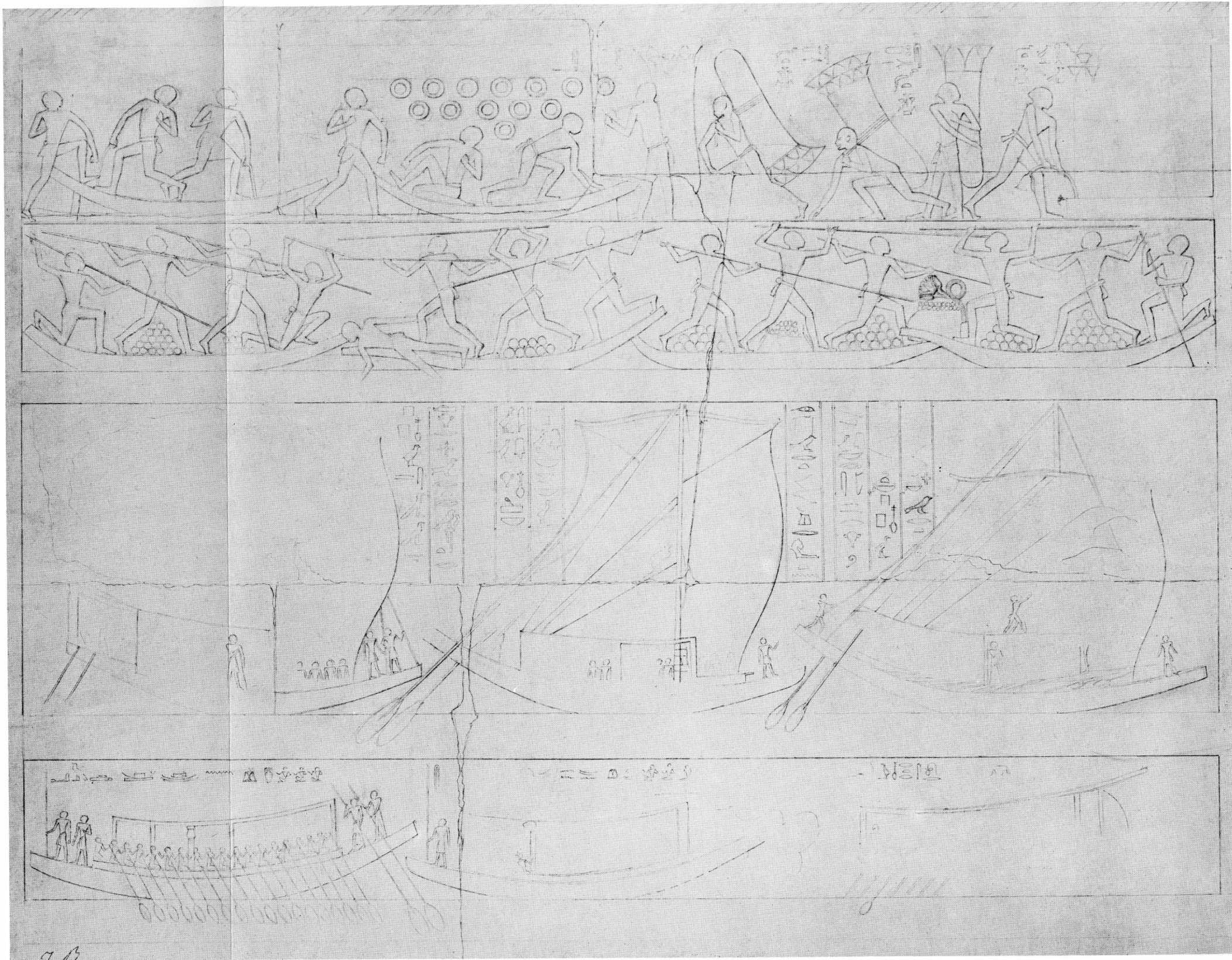
37a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), right (north) entrance thickness. EG 4429

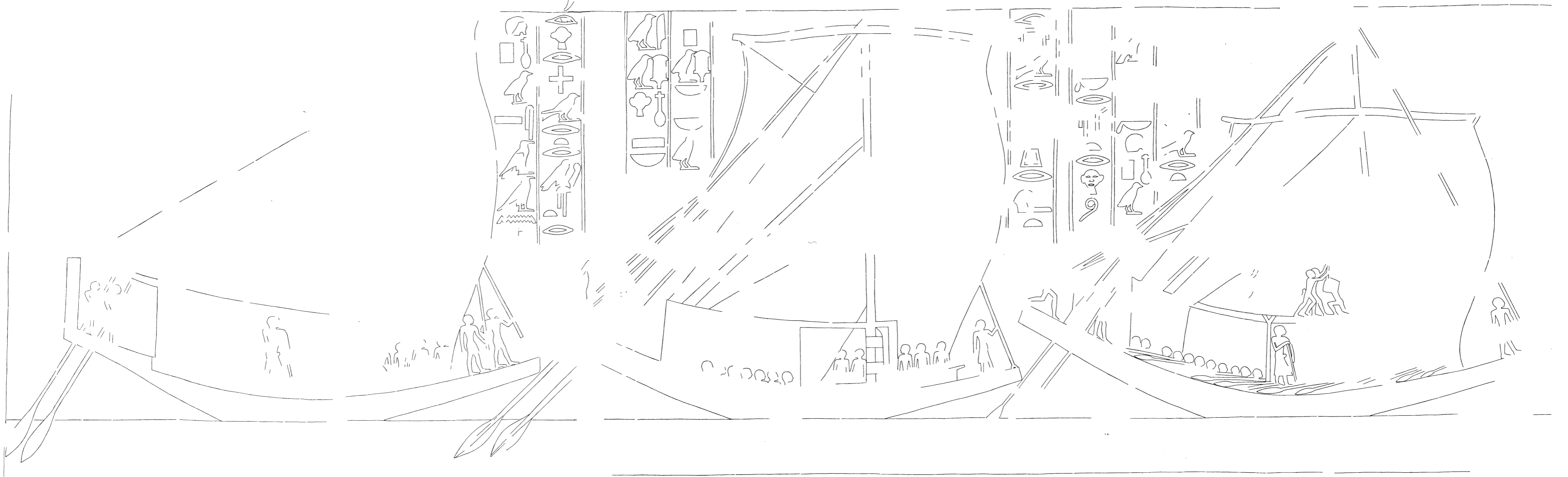
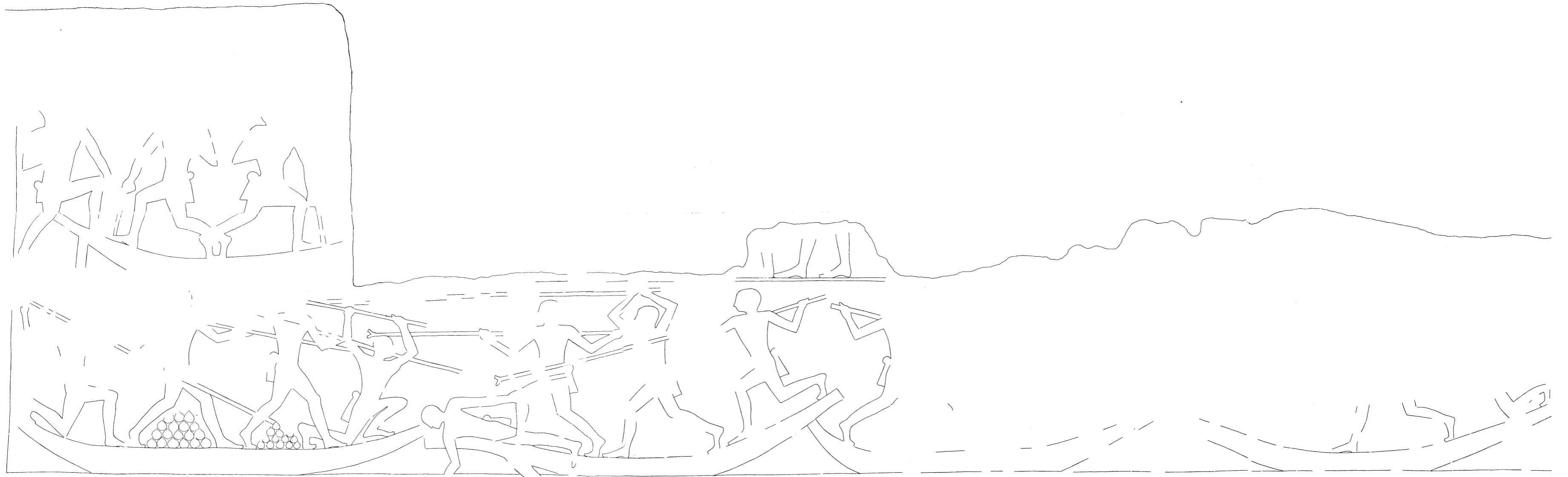


37b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), sketch plan of larger column base from portico

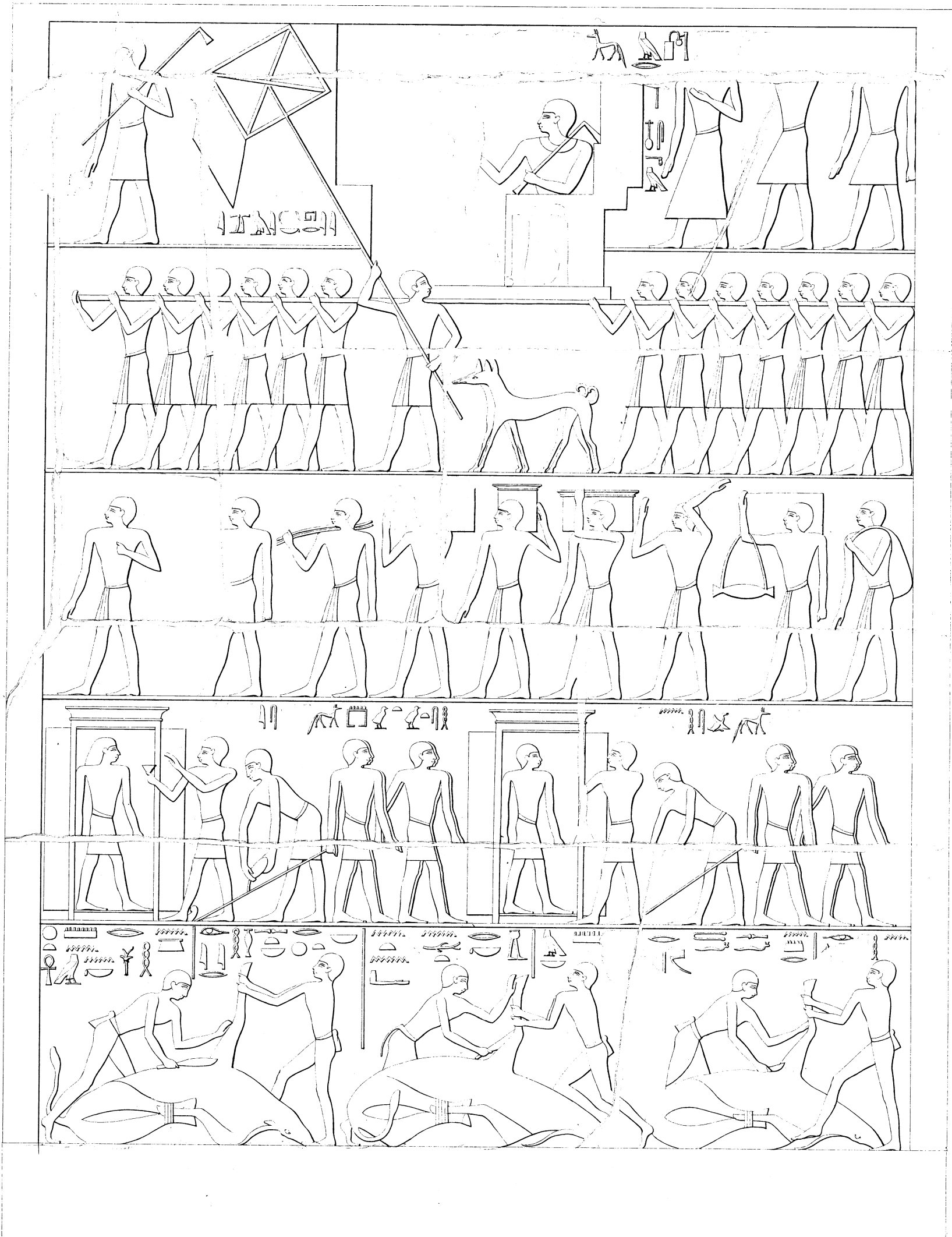


37c. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), schematic drawing of lintel over entrance doorway to chapel, Room II (see pl. 11b)

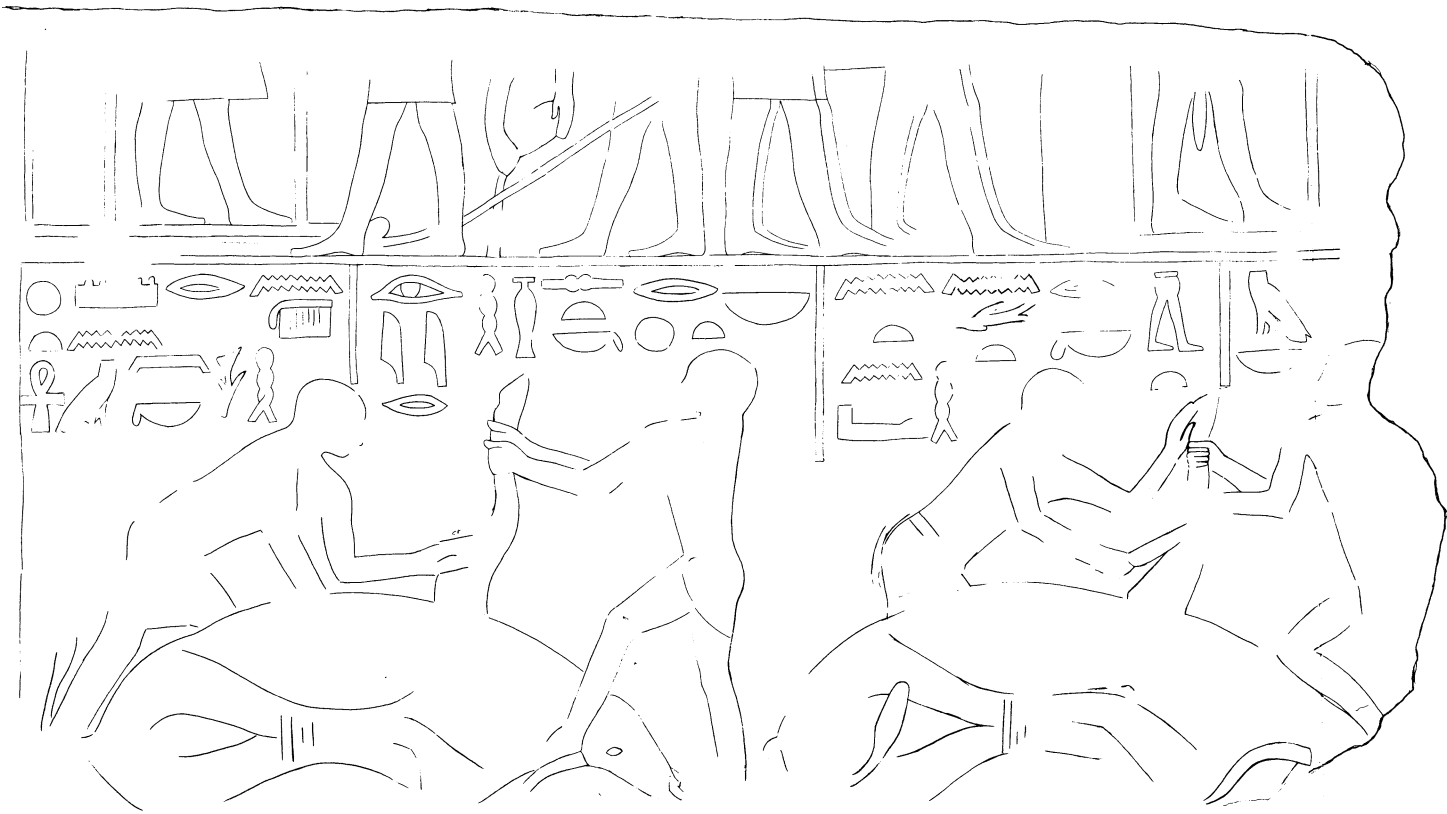




0 5

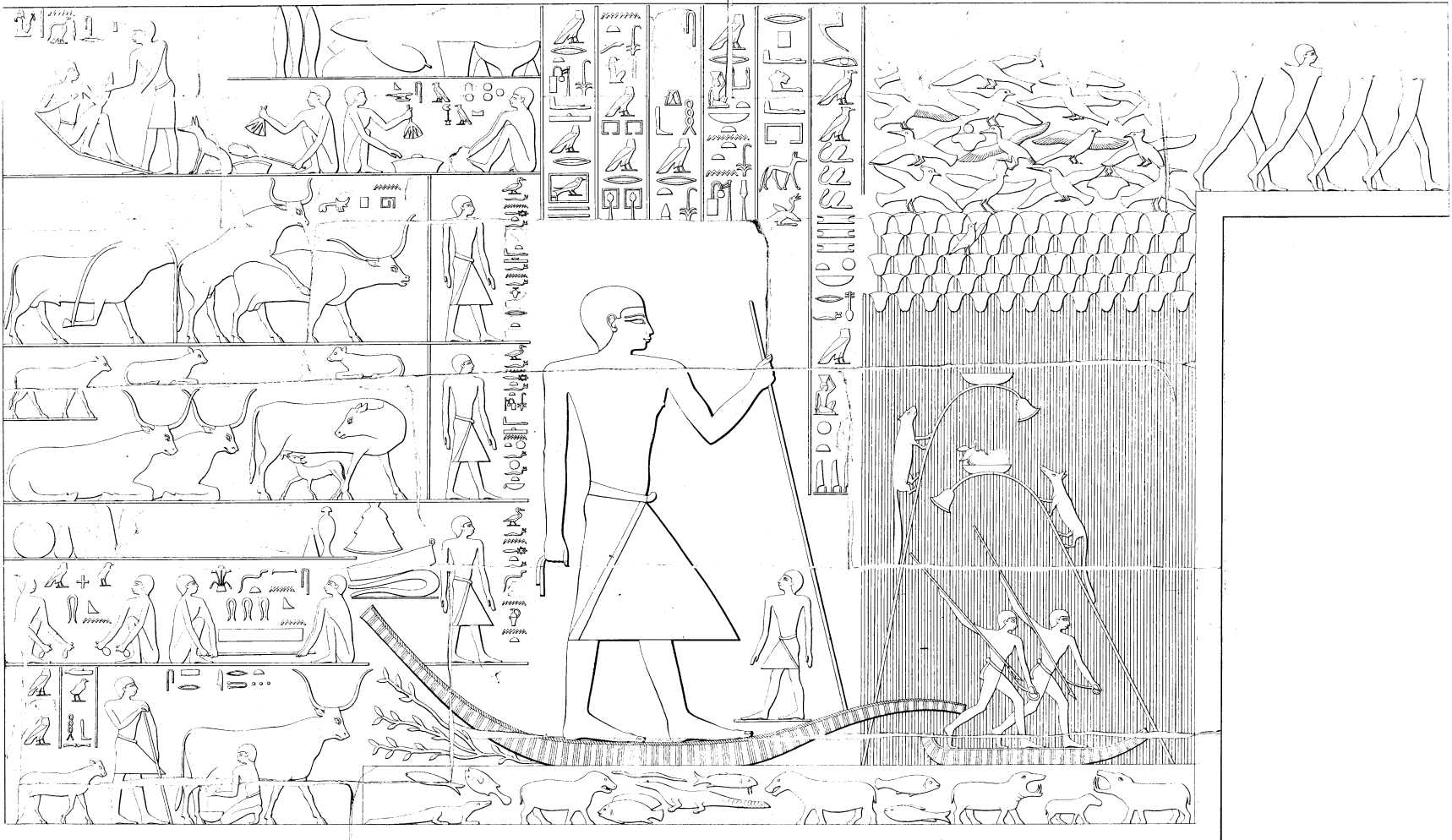


40. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, south wall; LD 2, pl. 78b [right]



41. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, south wall. EG 4466

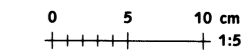
0 5 10 cm
+ + + + + | 1:5

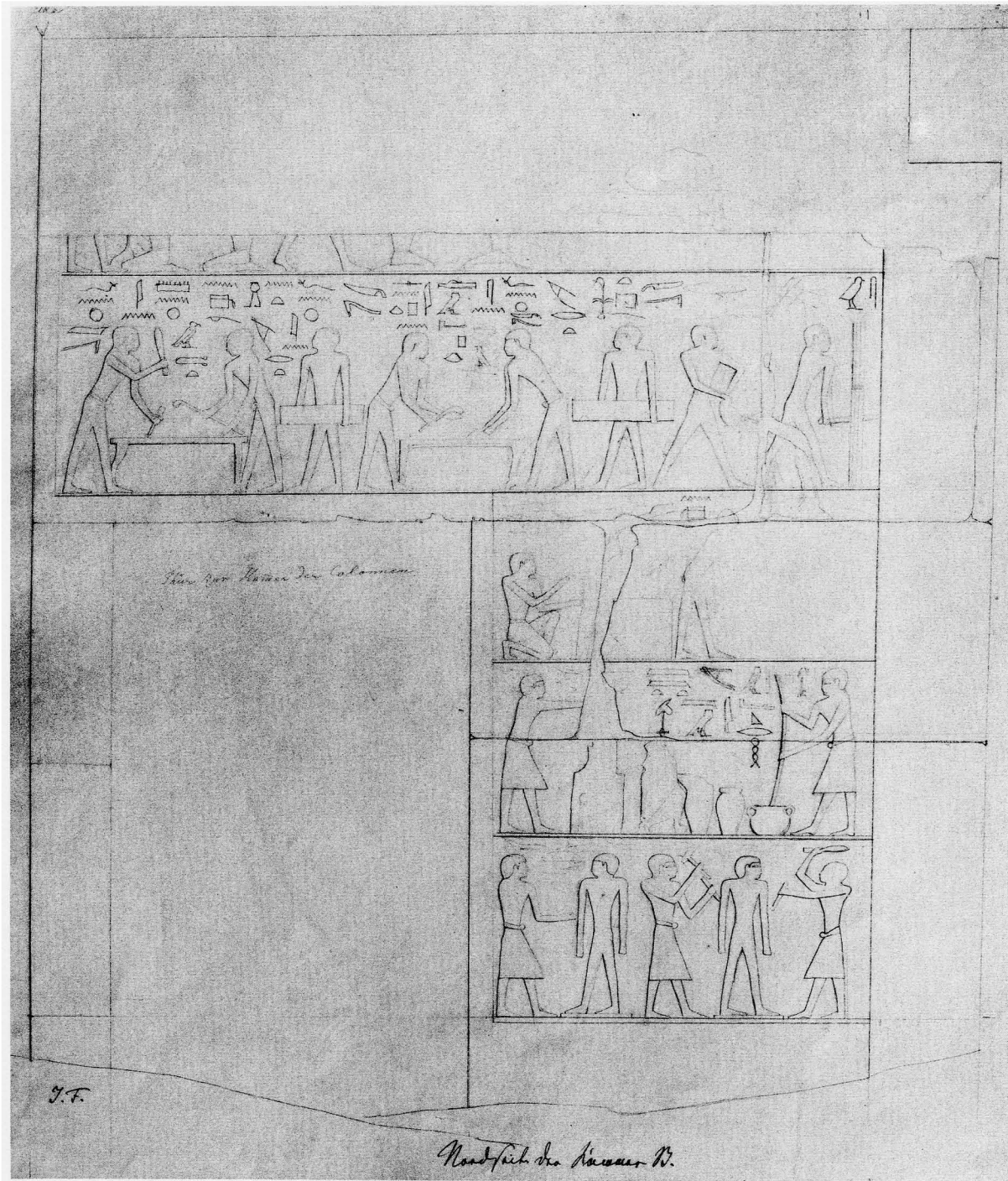


42. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, west wall; LD 2, pl. 77



43. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, west wall. EG 4390

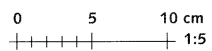


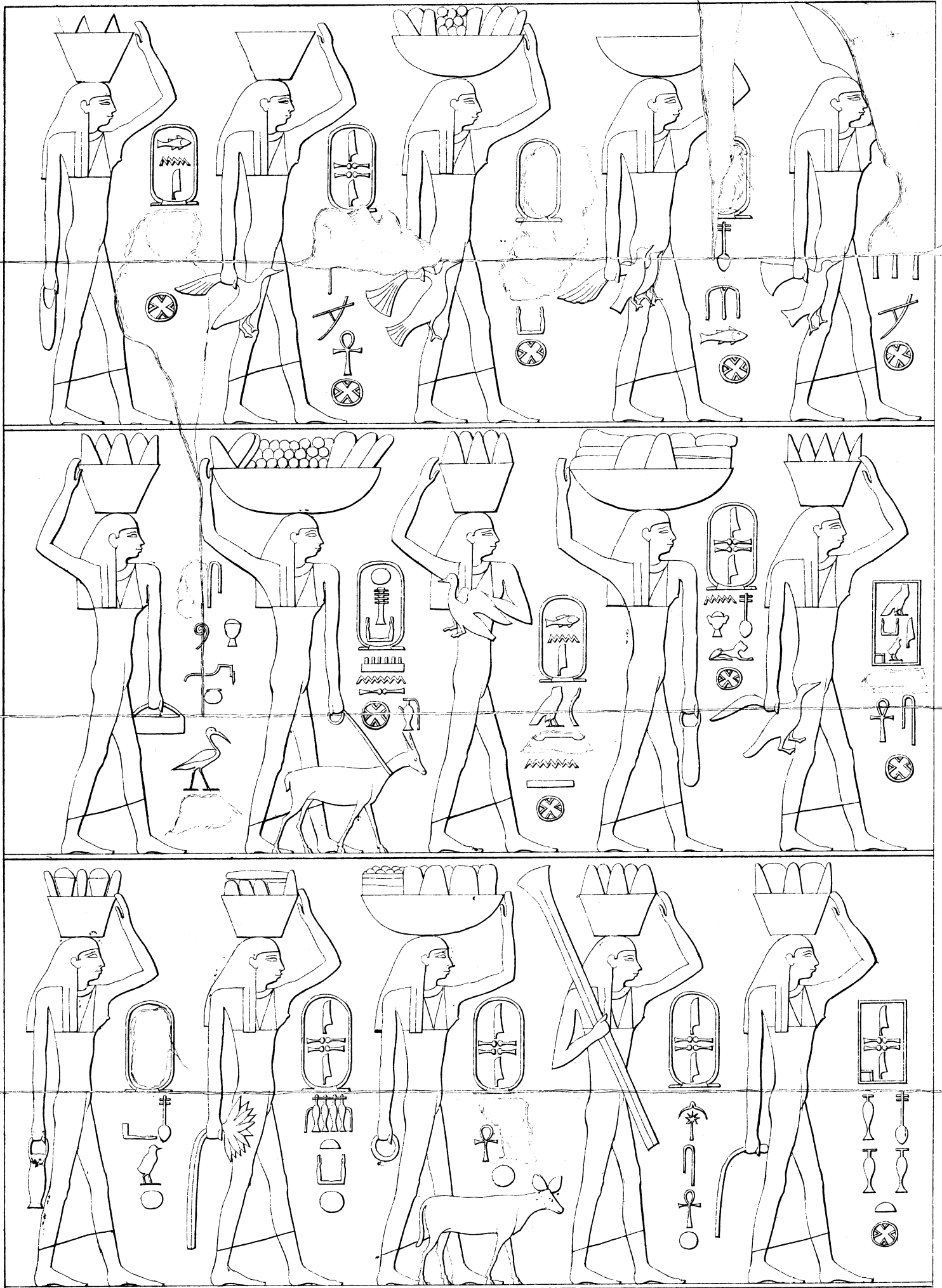


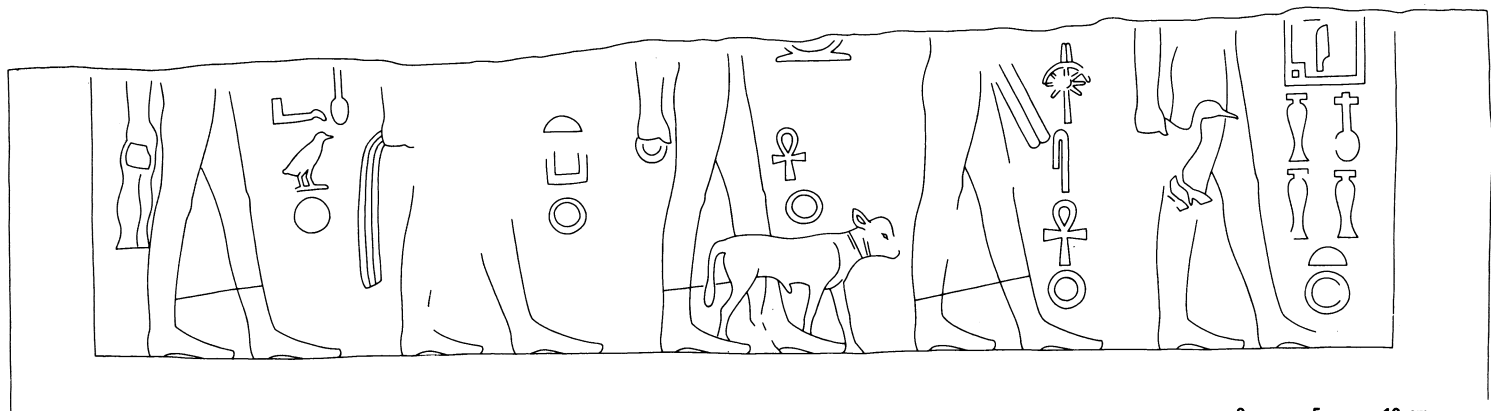
44. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, north wall; LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xix [left]



45. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, north wall. EG 4385

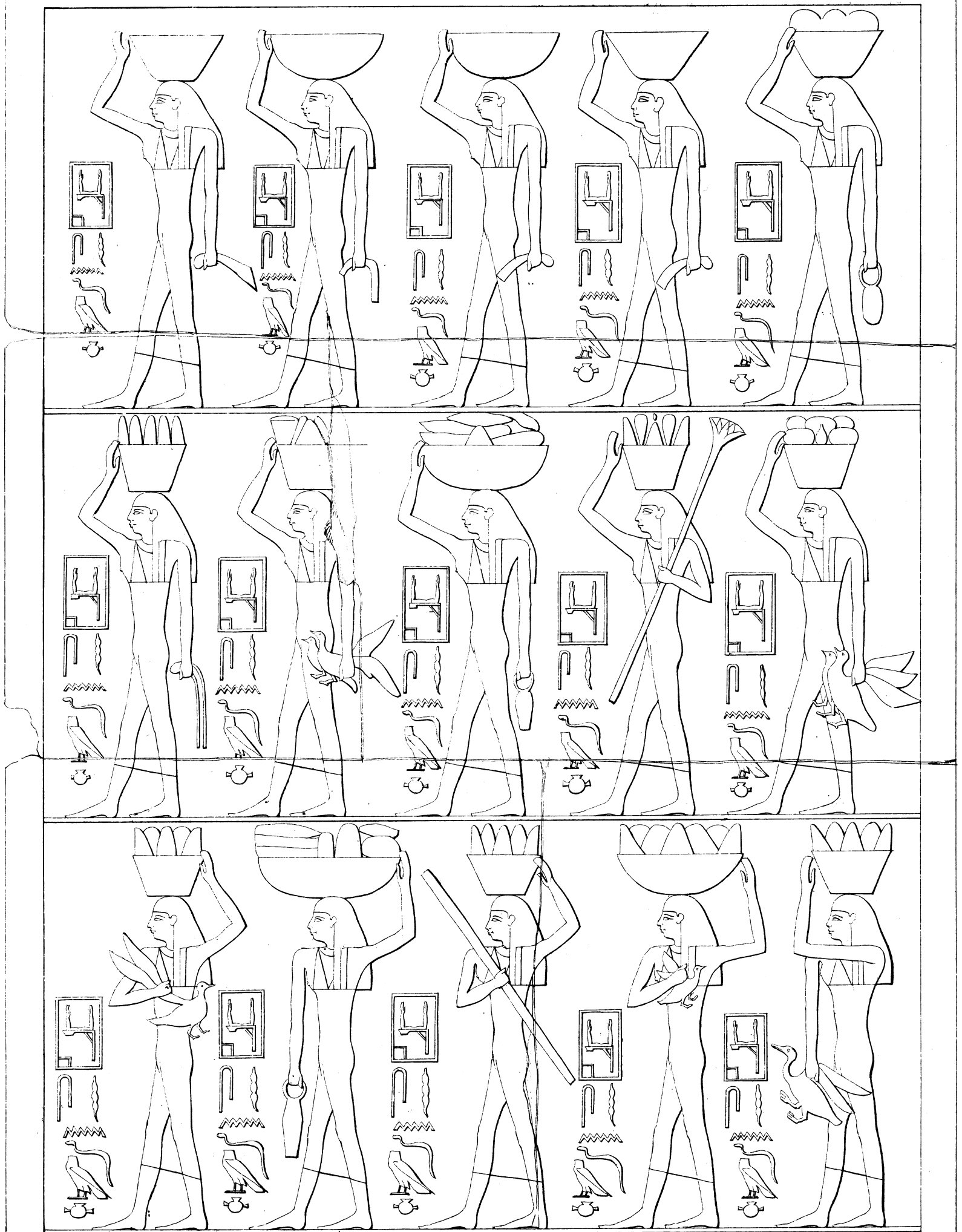




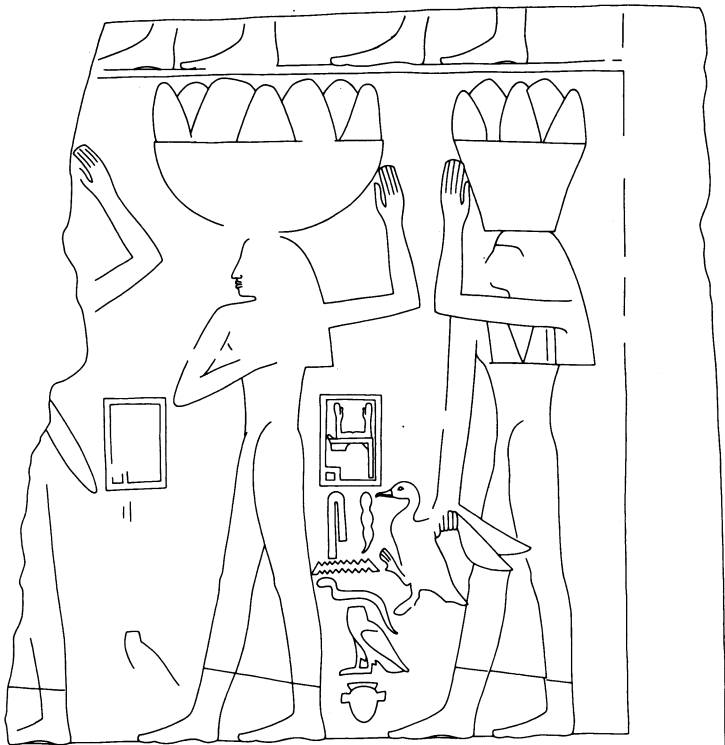


47. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, left (south) entrance thickness. EG 4392

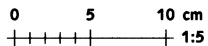
0 5 10 cm
+++++ 1:5

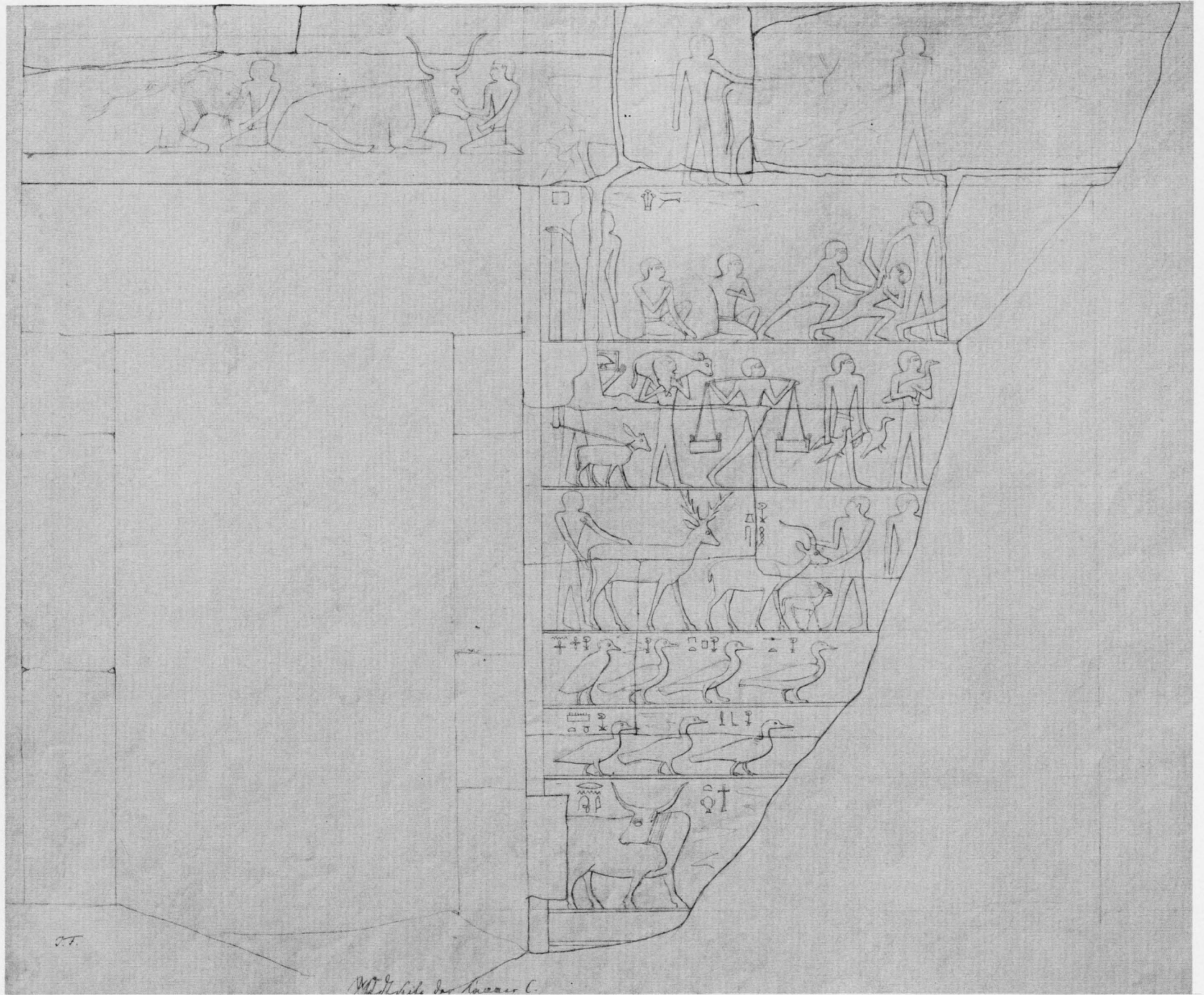


48. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, right (north) entrance thickness; LD 2, pl. 76a

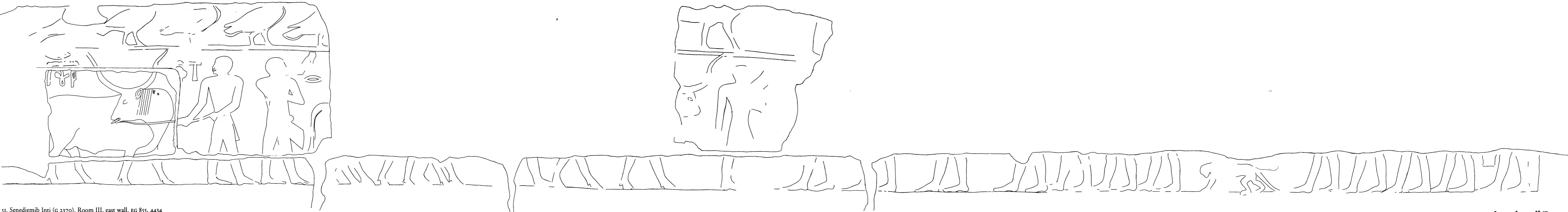


49. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room II, right
(north) entrance thickness. EG 4393

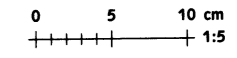




50. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, east wall; LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xxiiic

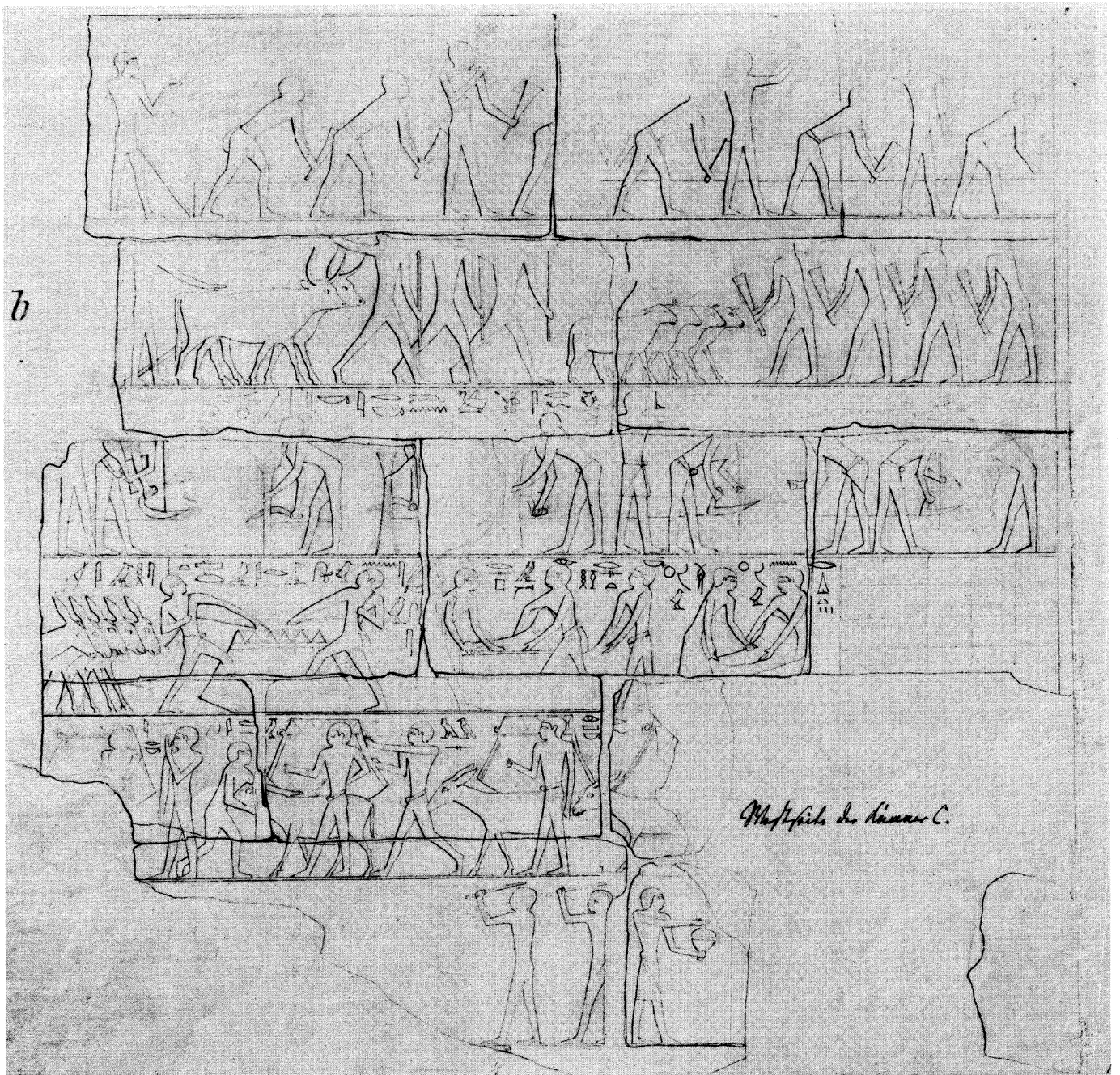
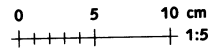


51. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, east wall. EG 855, 4434

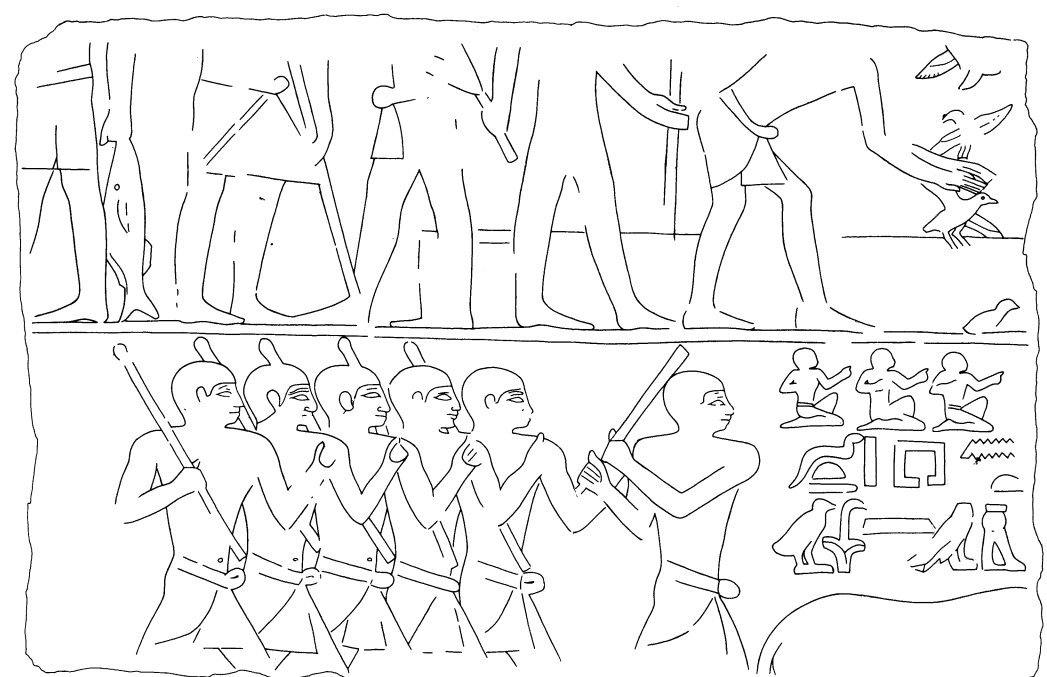


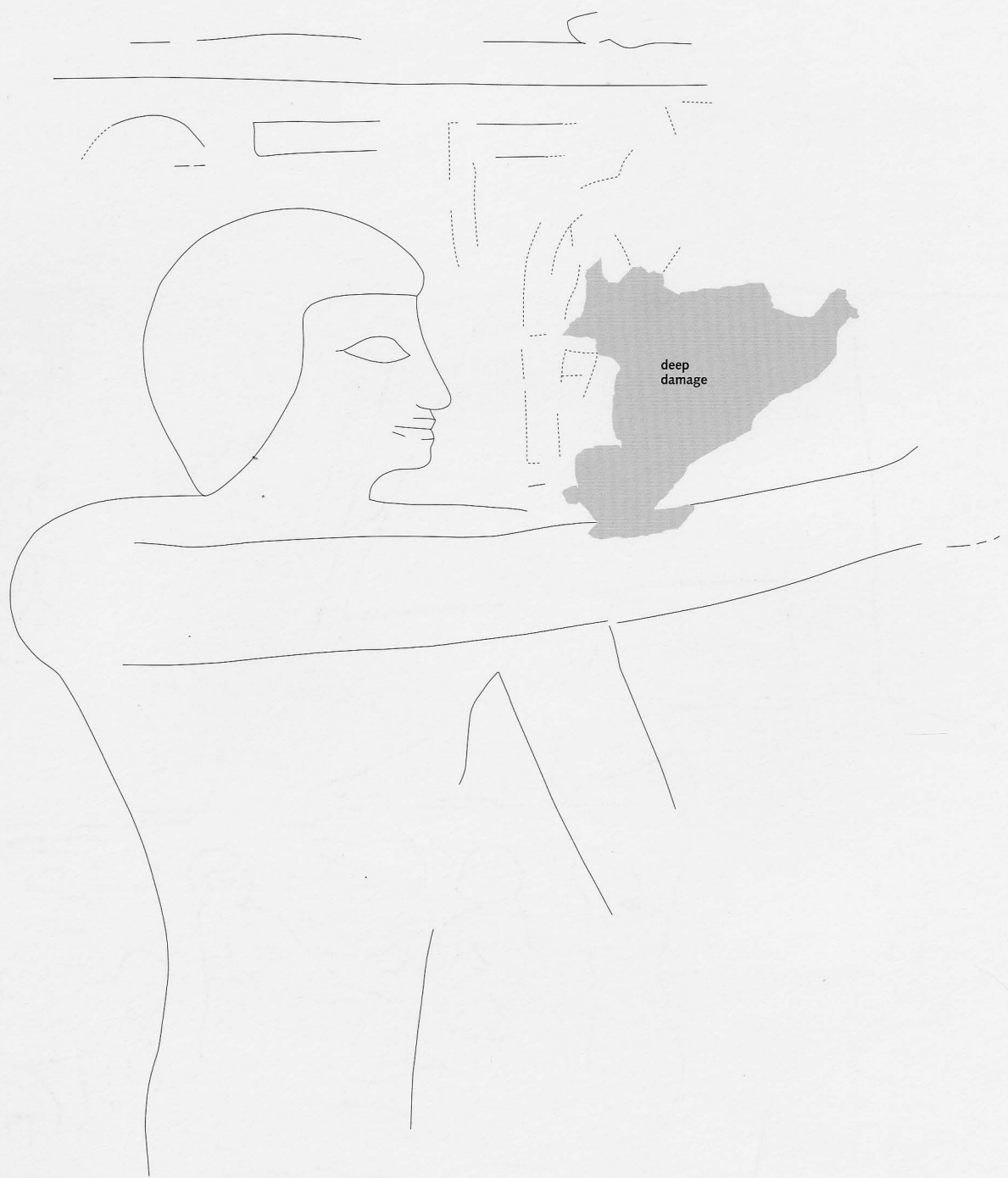


52a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, south wall. EG 4392

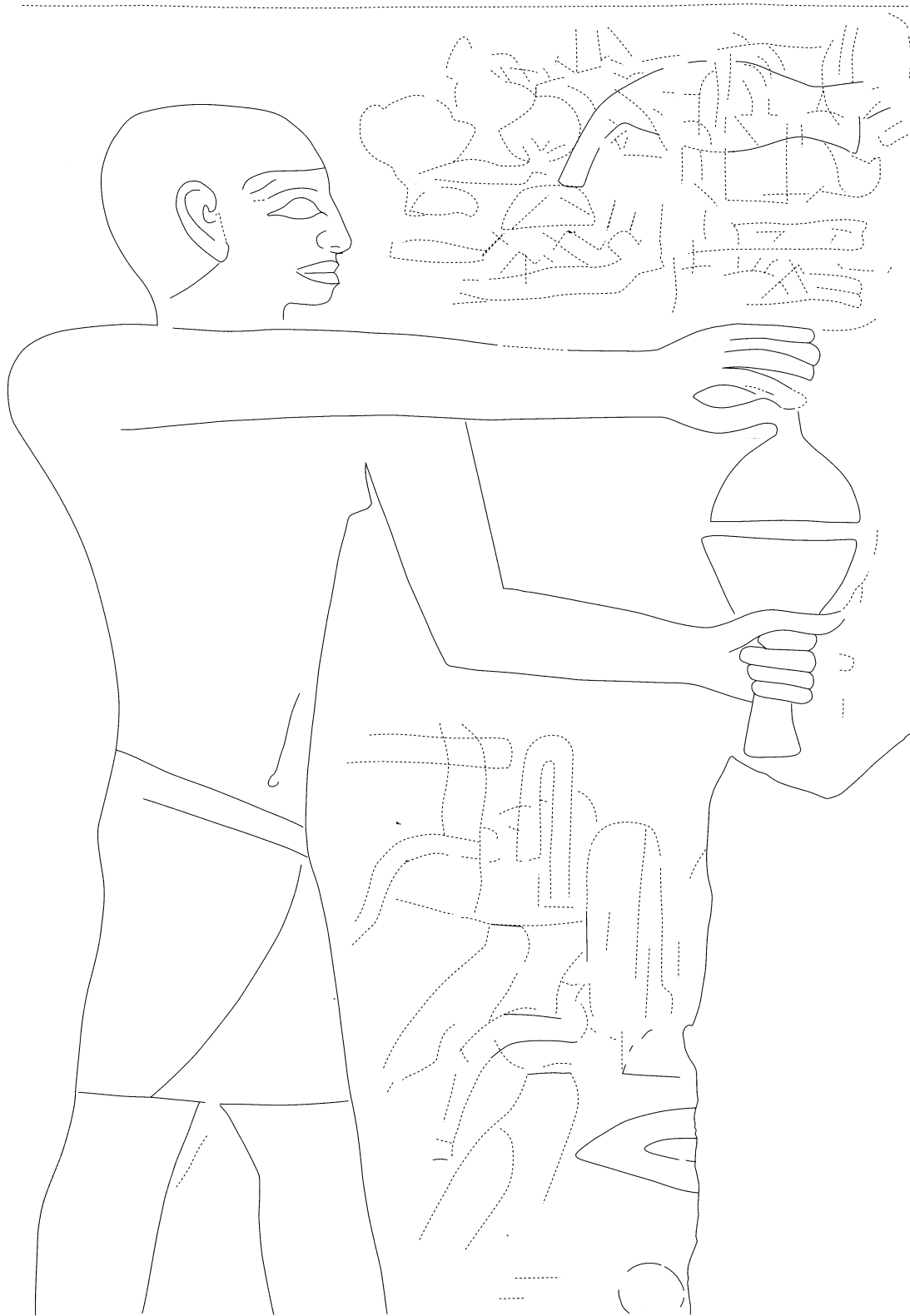


52b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, west wall; LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xxiib

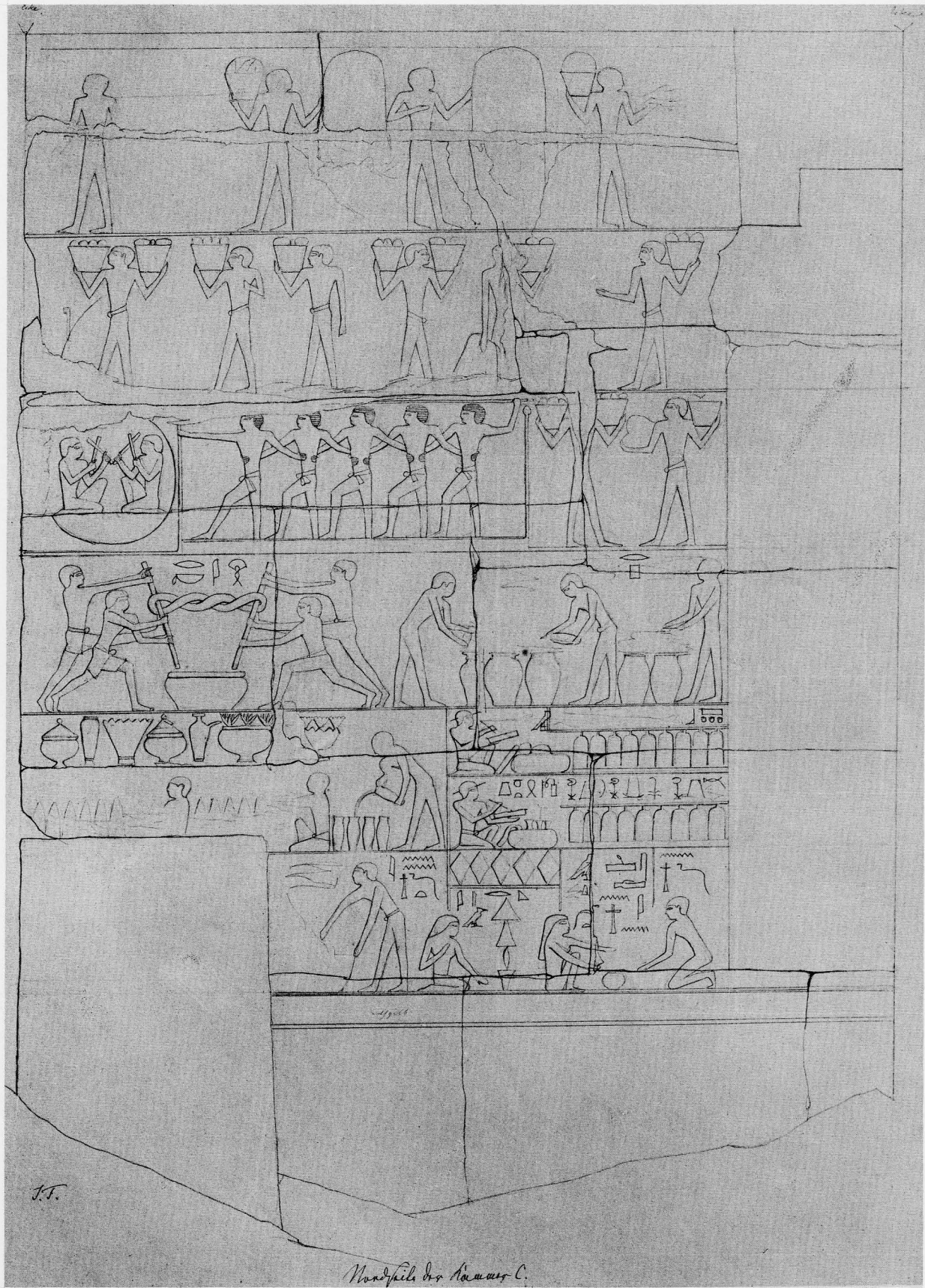




54. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, west wall, detail of thurifer beside southern serdab slot. Drawn by Mark C. Stone



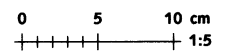
55. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, west wall, detail of thurifer beside northern serdab slot. Drawn by Mark C. Stone

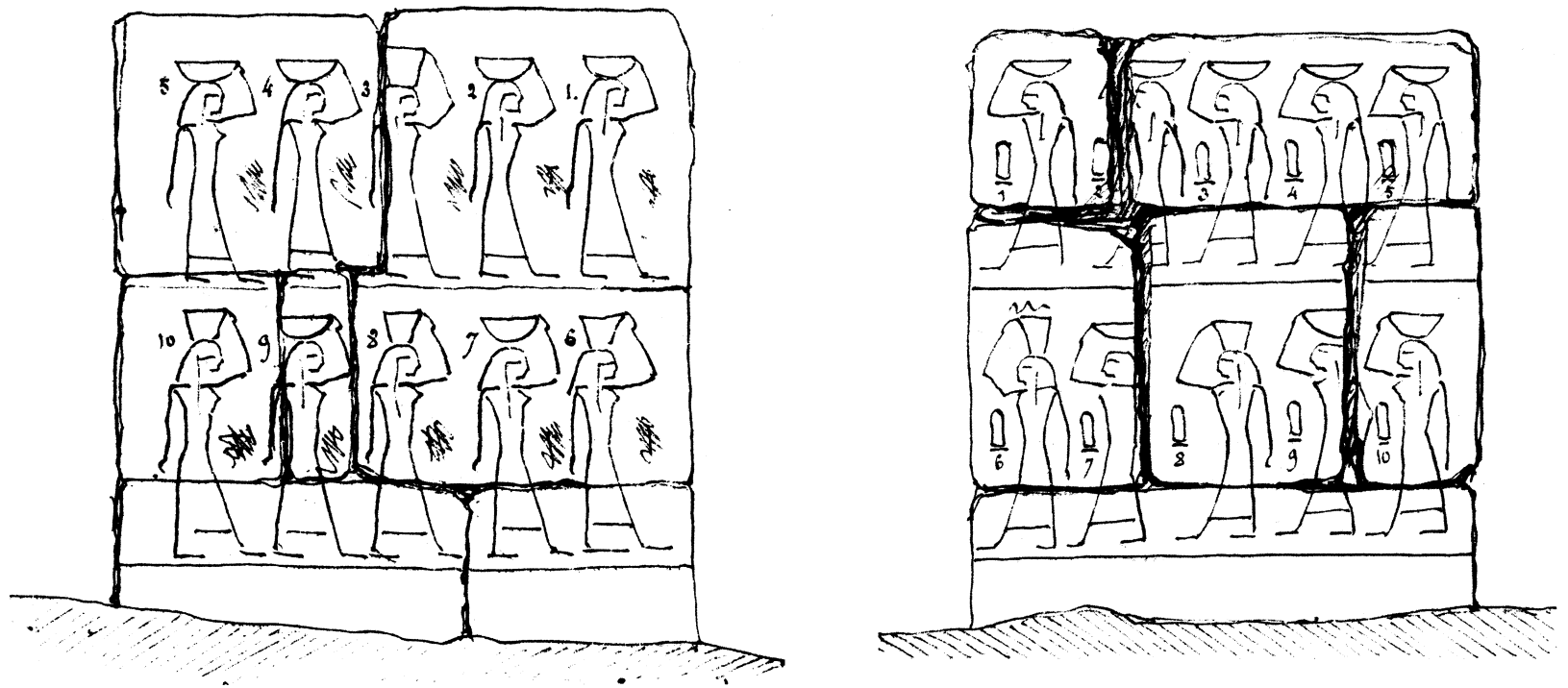


56. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, north wall; LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xxi

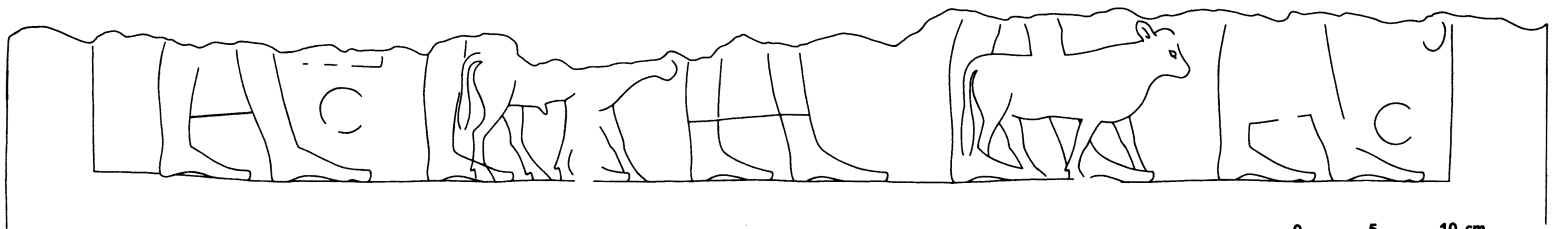


57. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room III, north wall. EG 4391

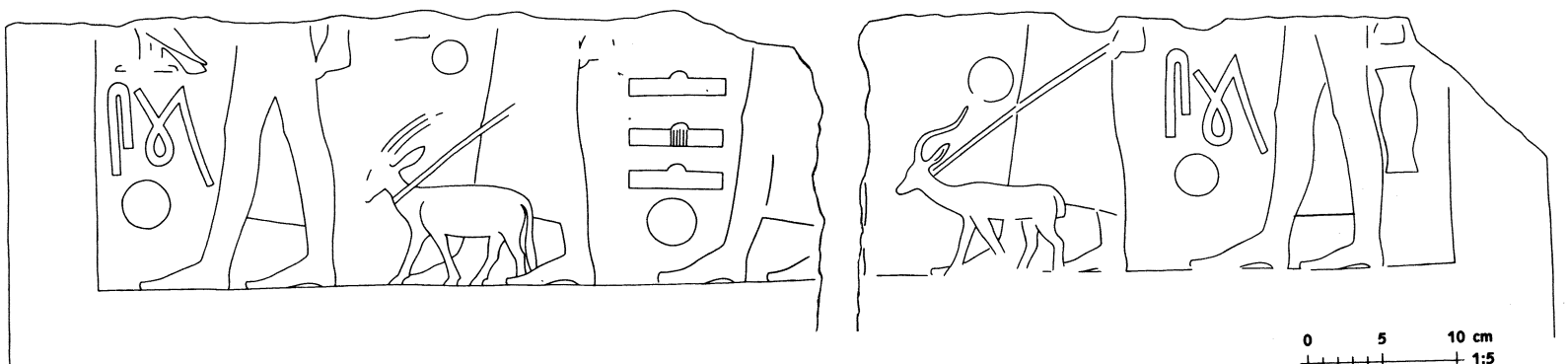
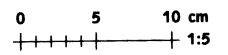




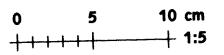
58. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, sketch of entrance thicknesses; Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 509 (incorrectly reversed by Mariette) and 508

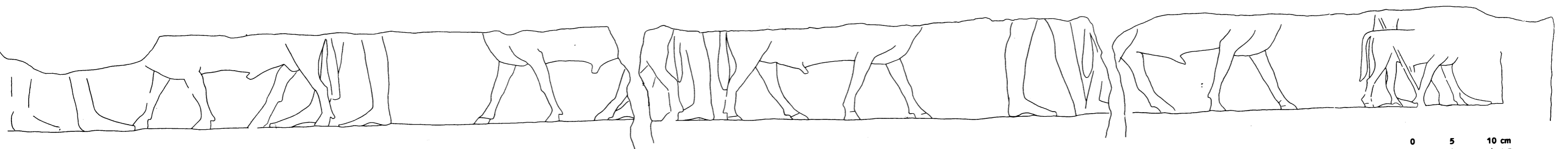


59a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, left (east) entrance thickness. EG 4391



59b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, right (west) entrance thickness. EG 4380



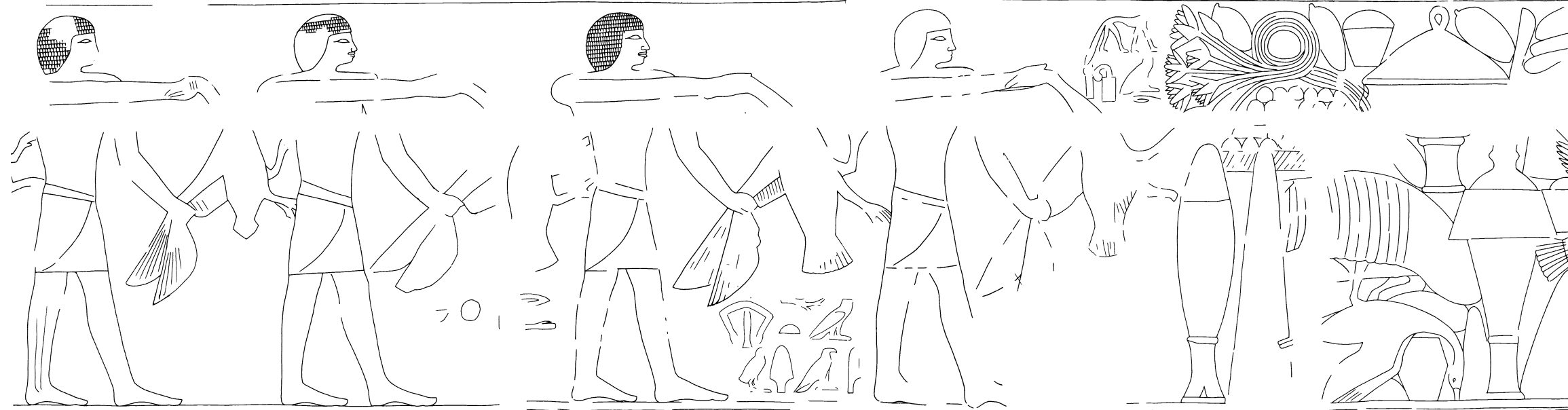
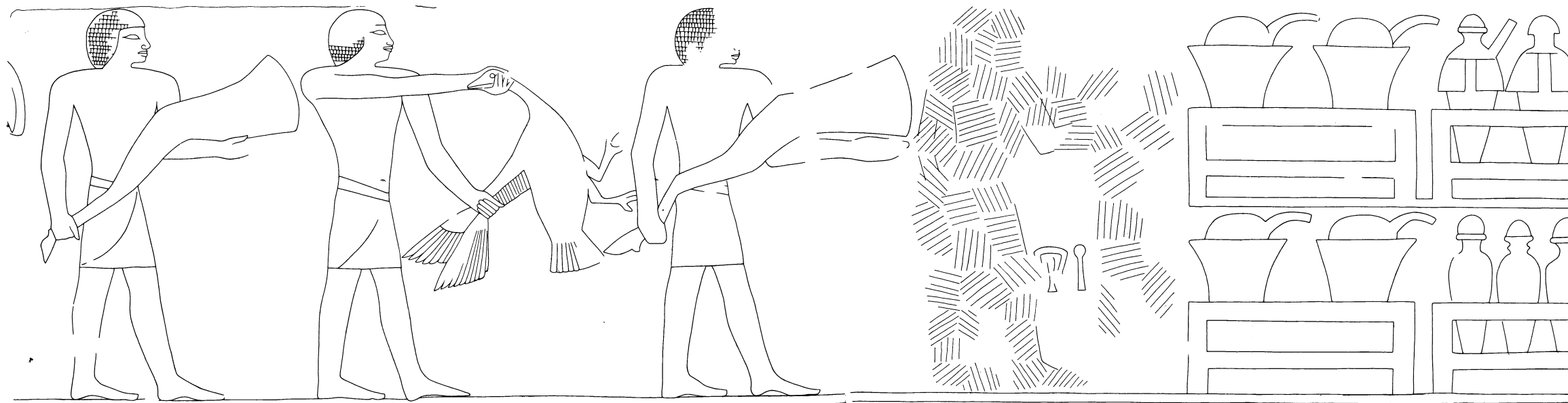
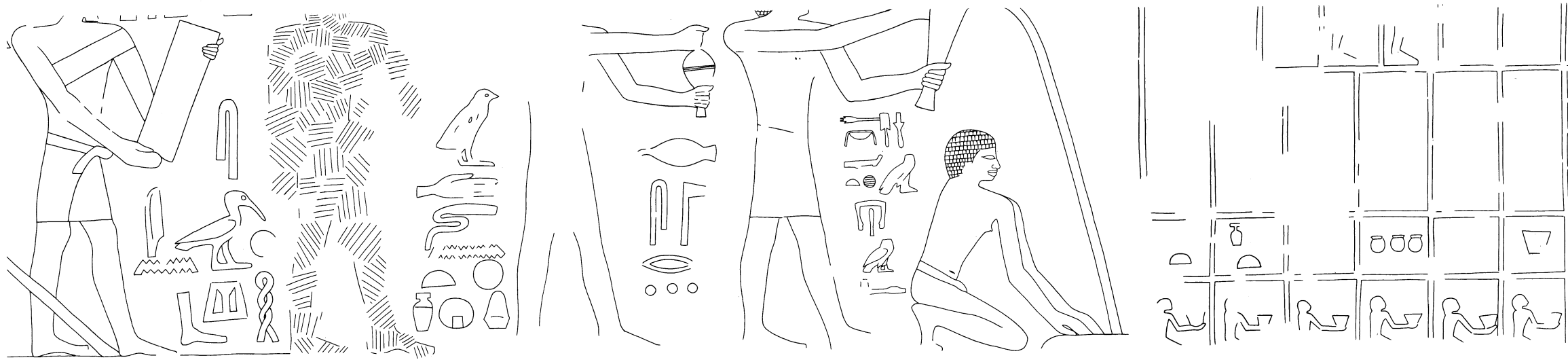


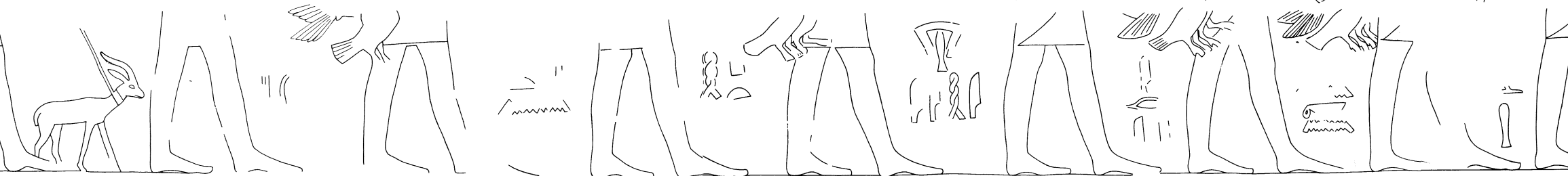
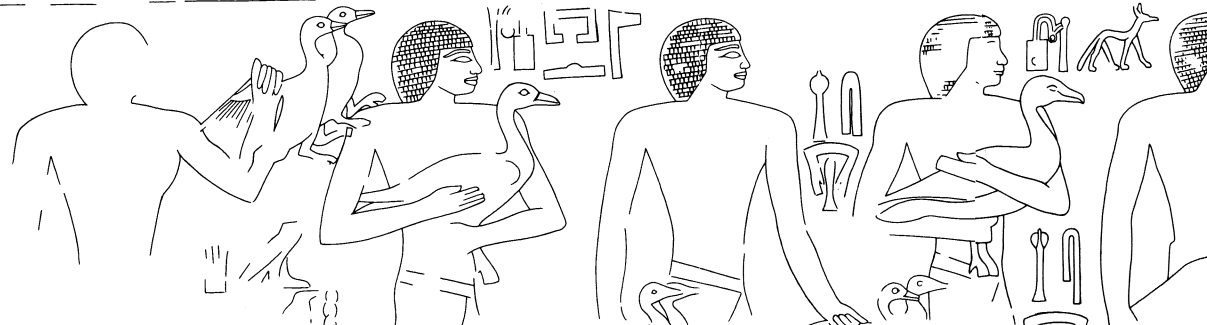
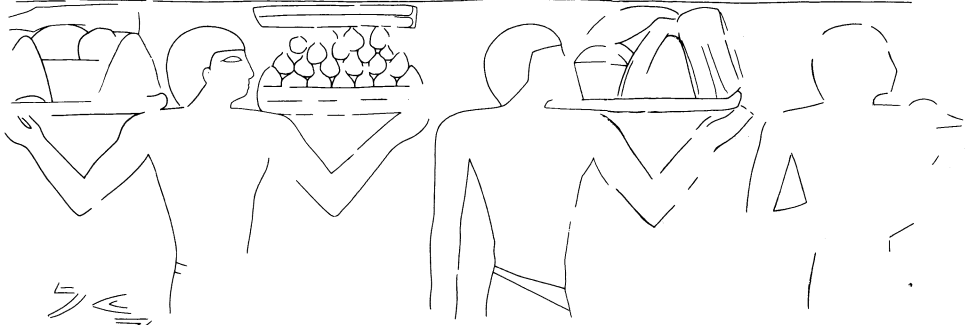
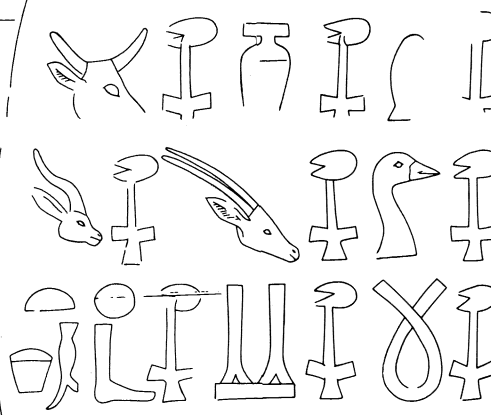
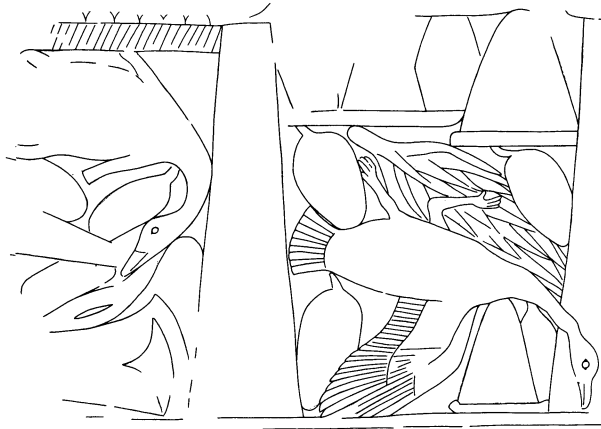
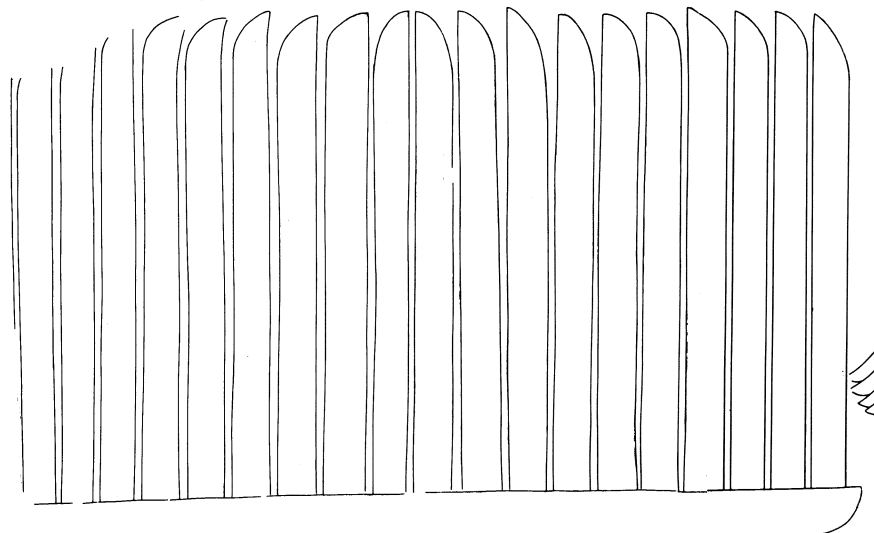
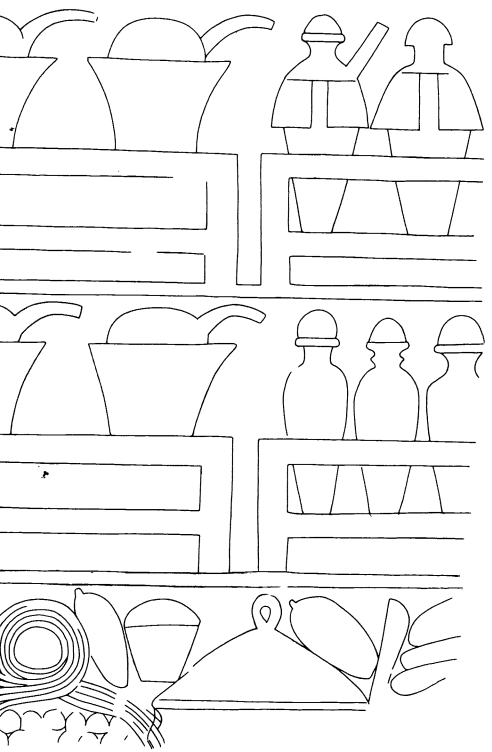
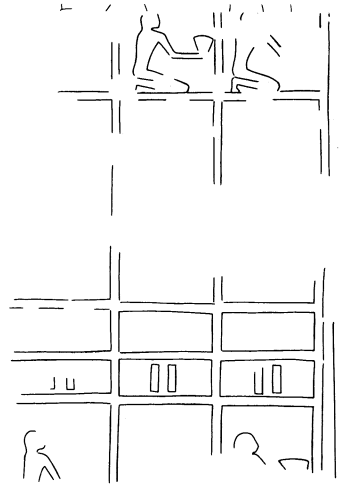
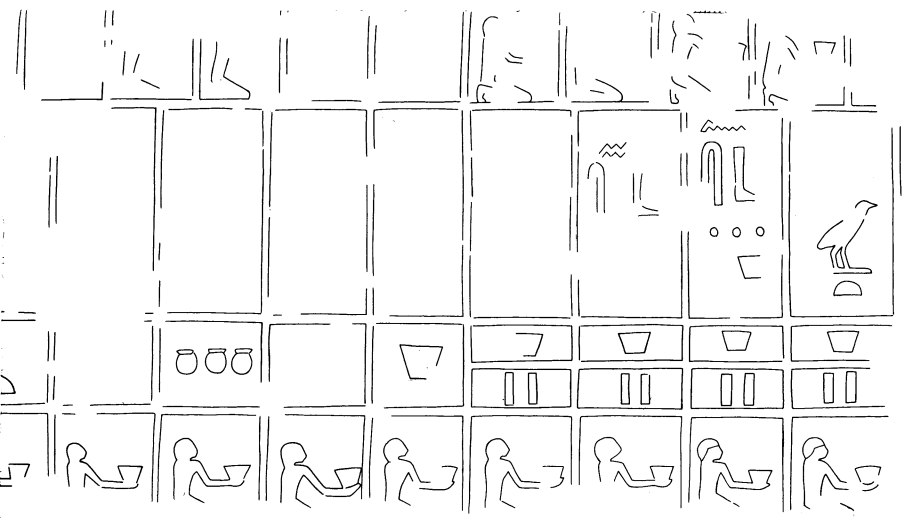
0 5 10 cm
+++++ | 1:5

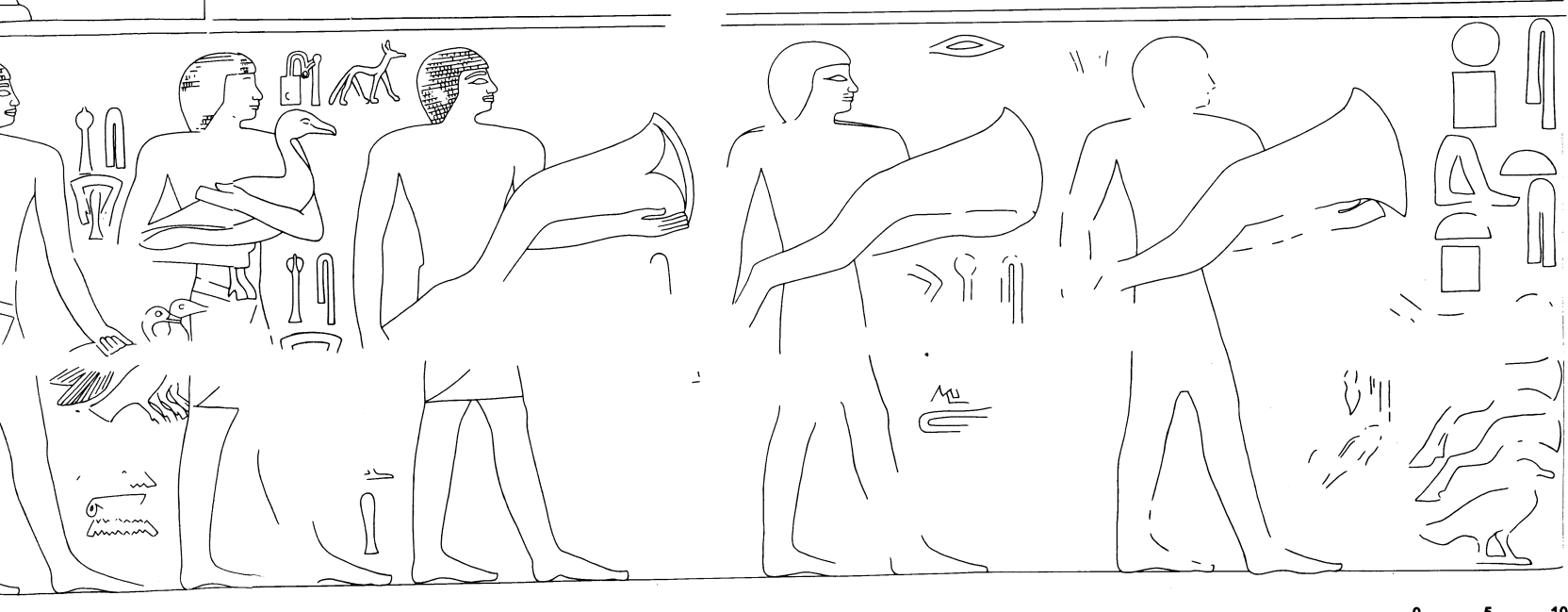
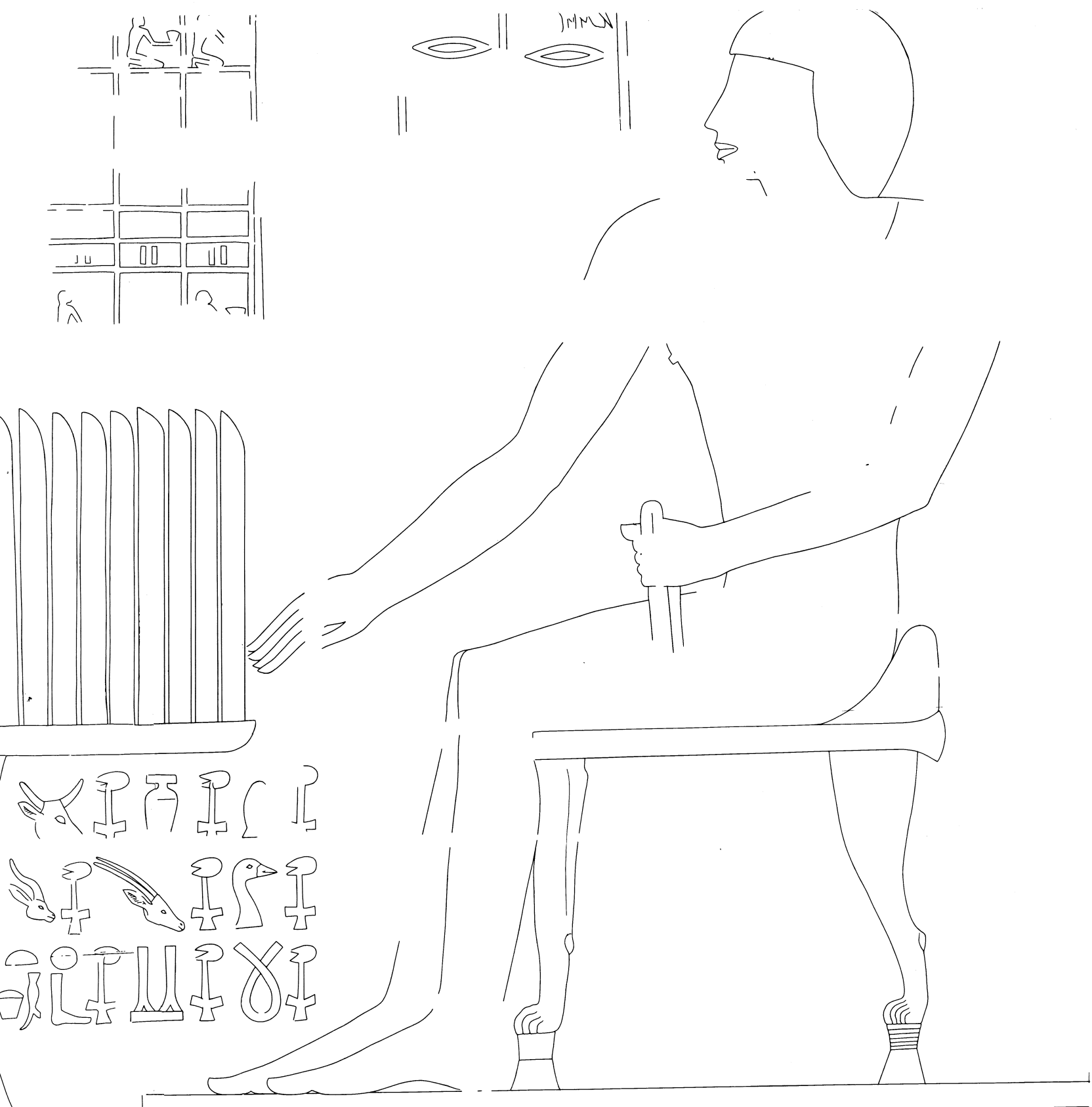
Jemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, east wall. EG 4472



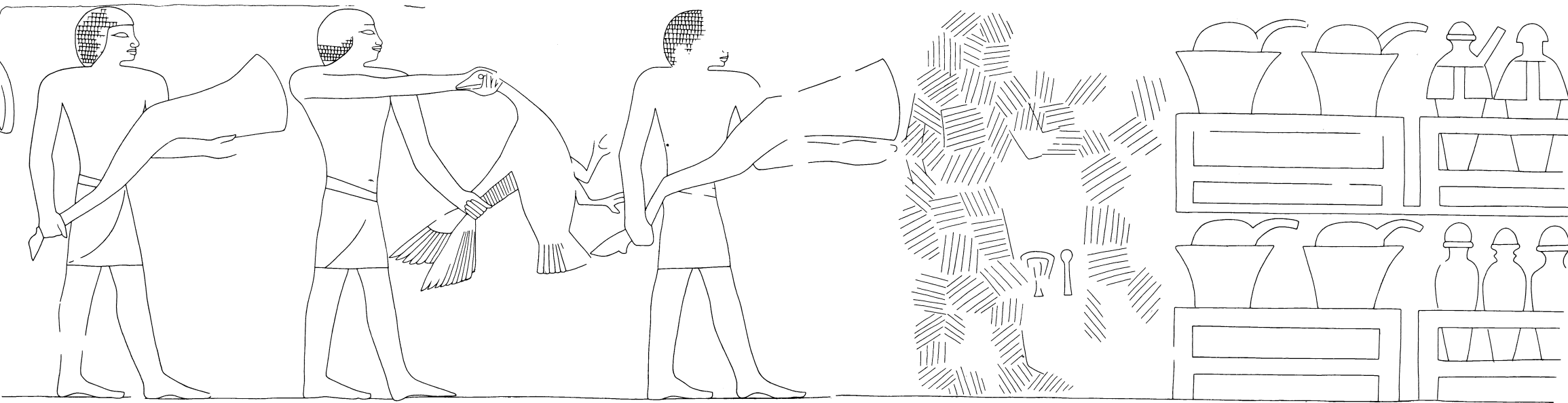
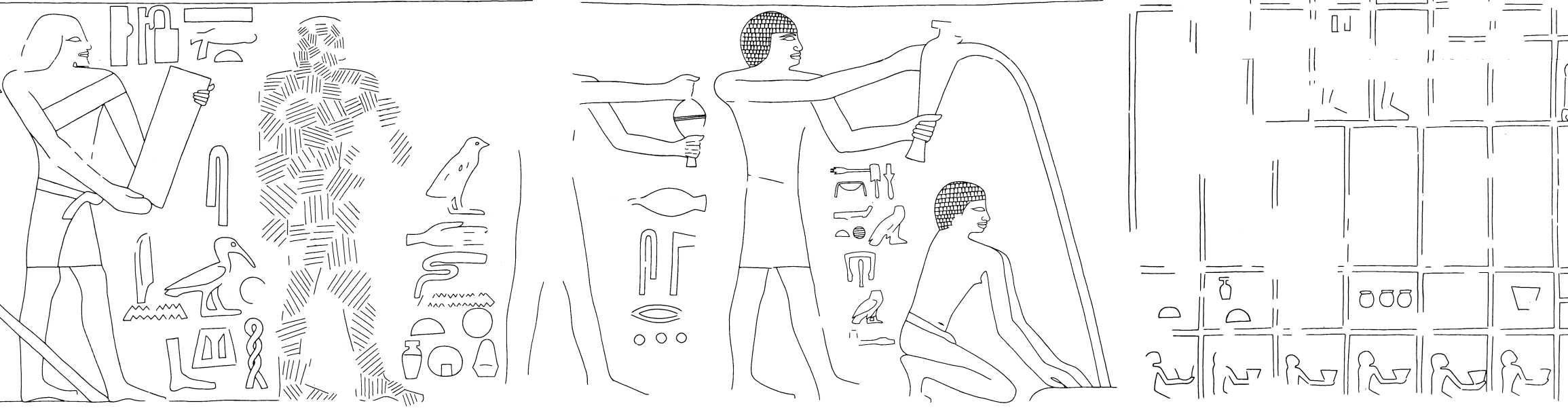
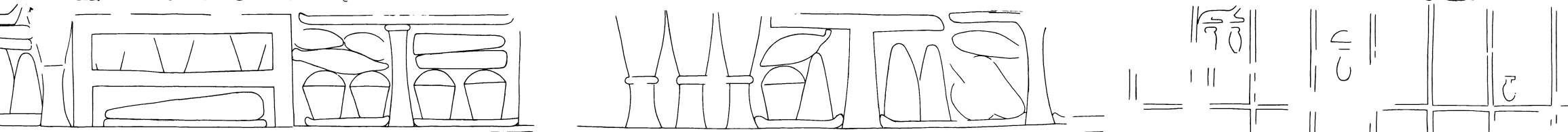
61. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, south wall. EG 4412-4418, 4385, 4521

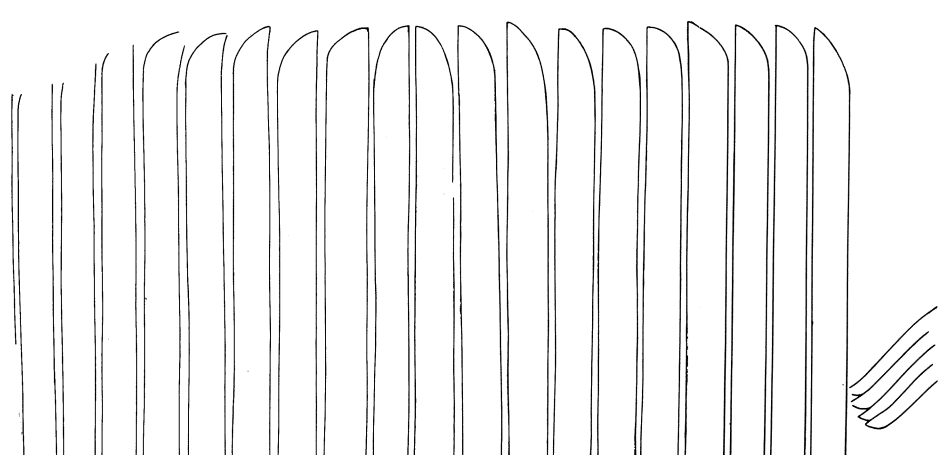
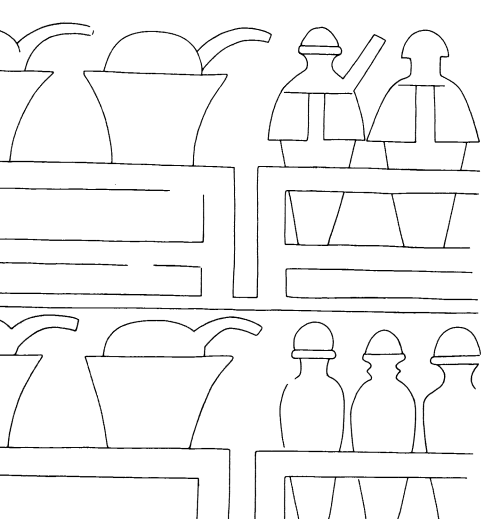
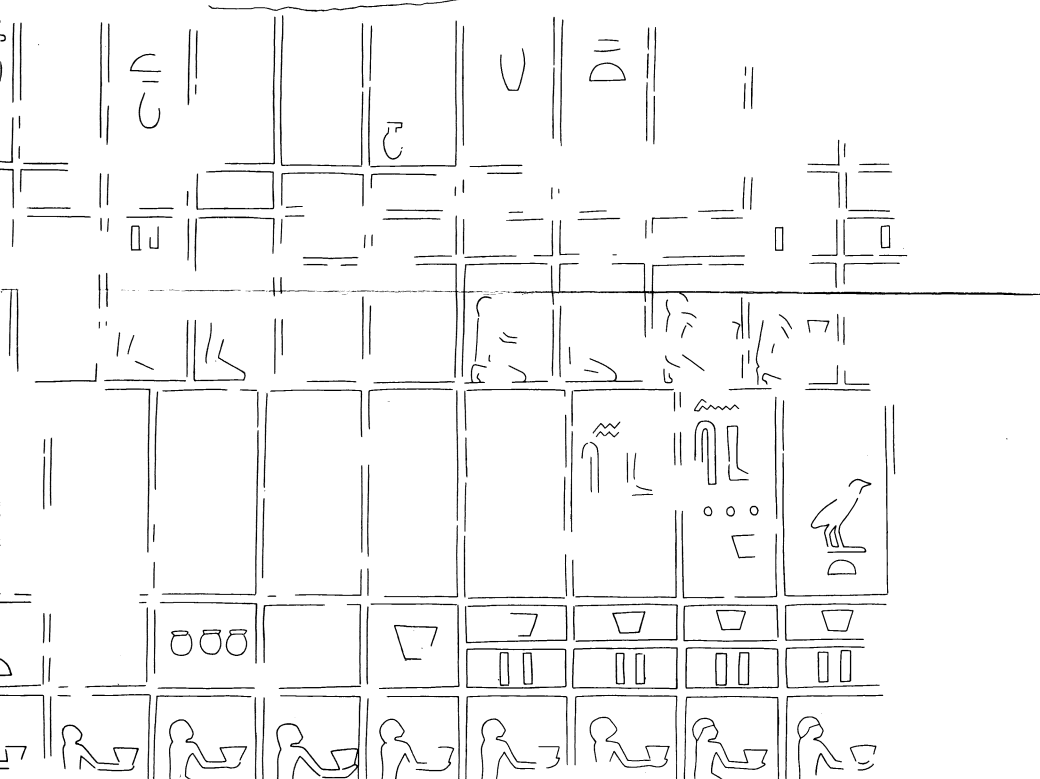
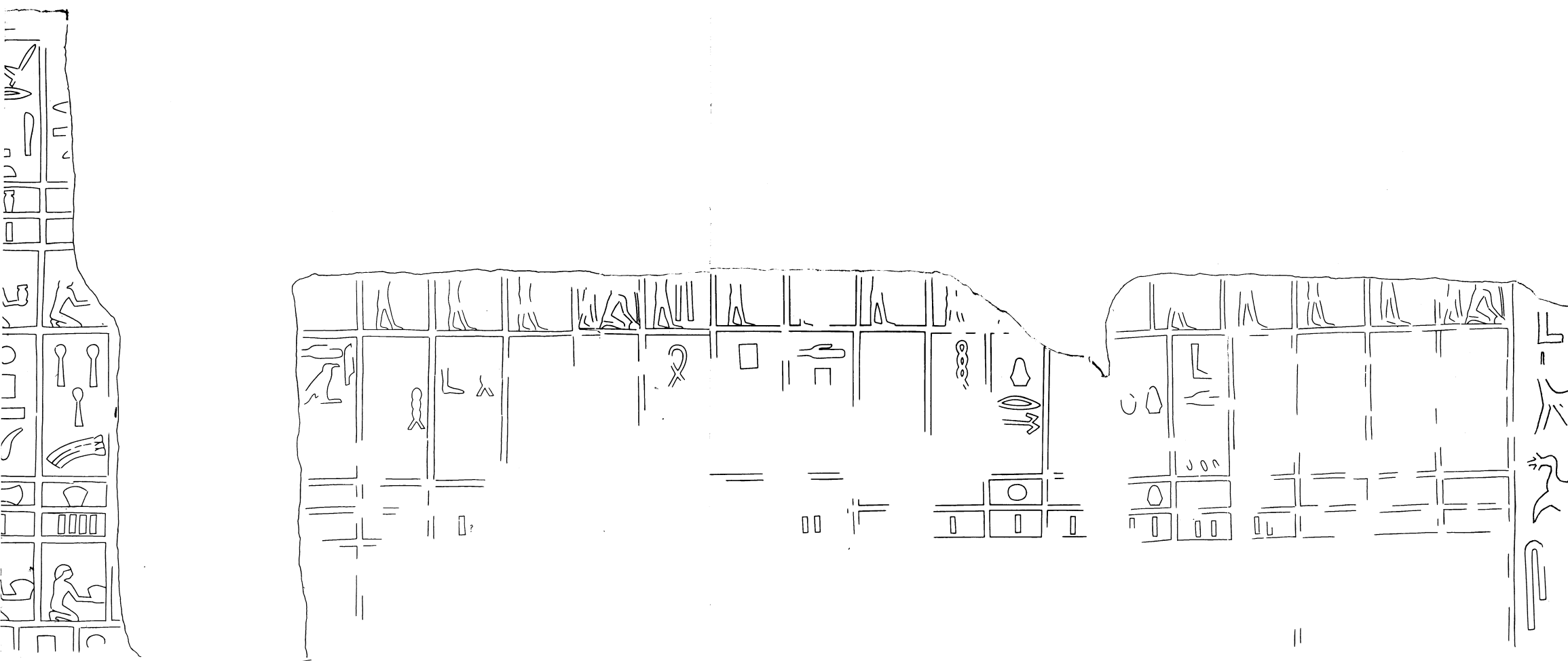


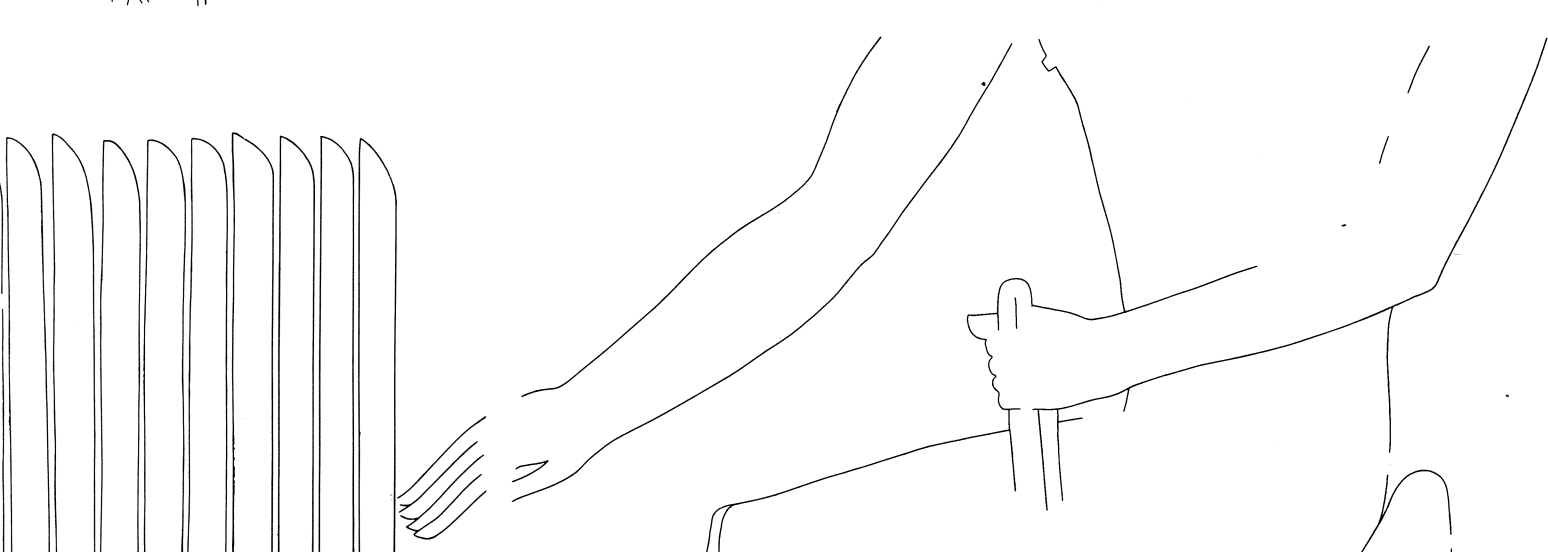
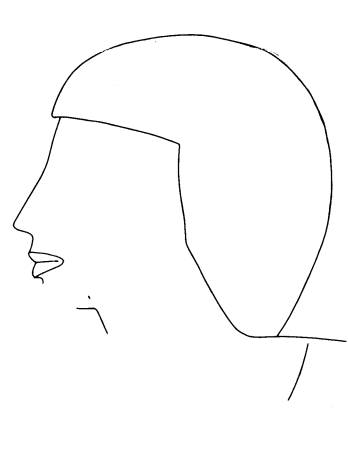
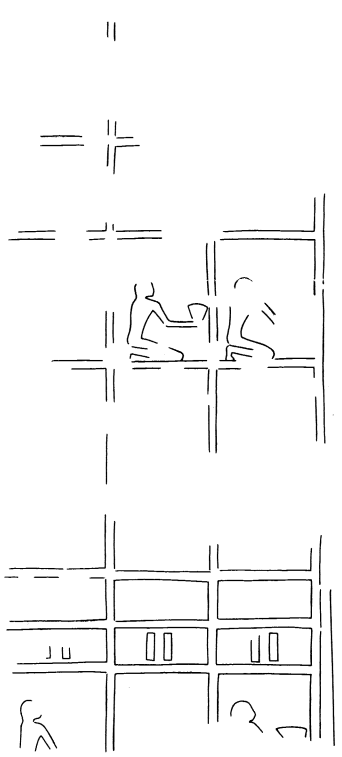
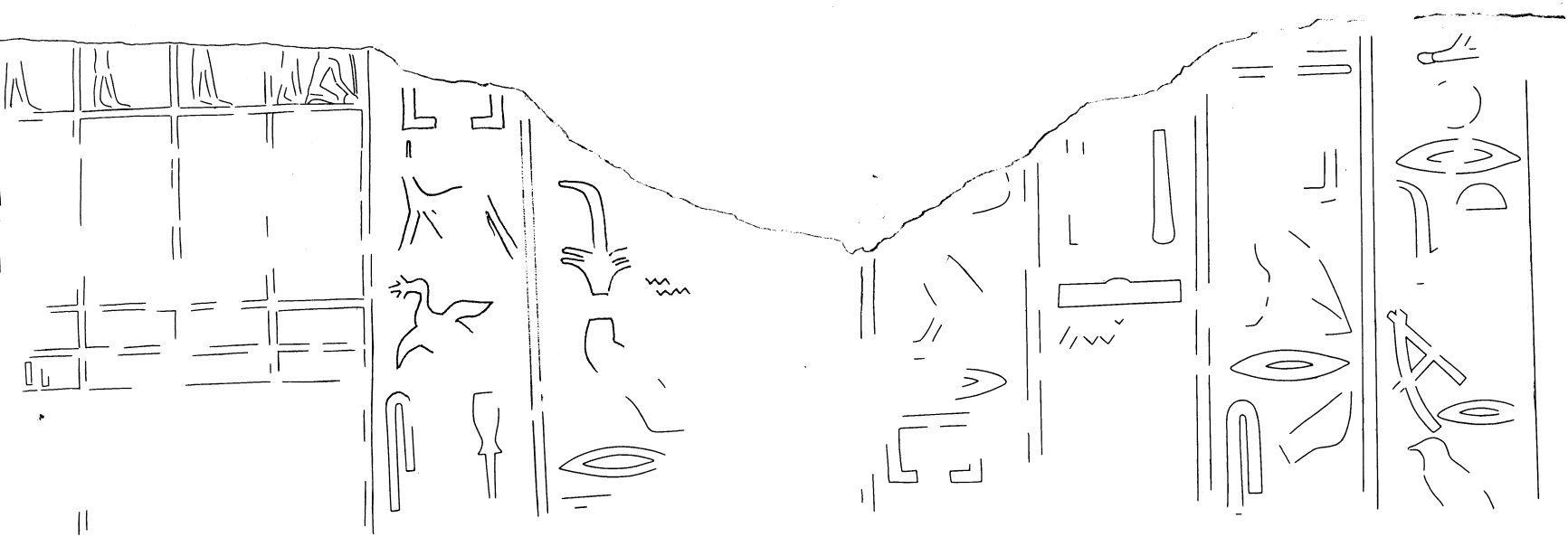


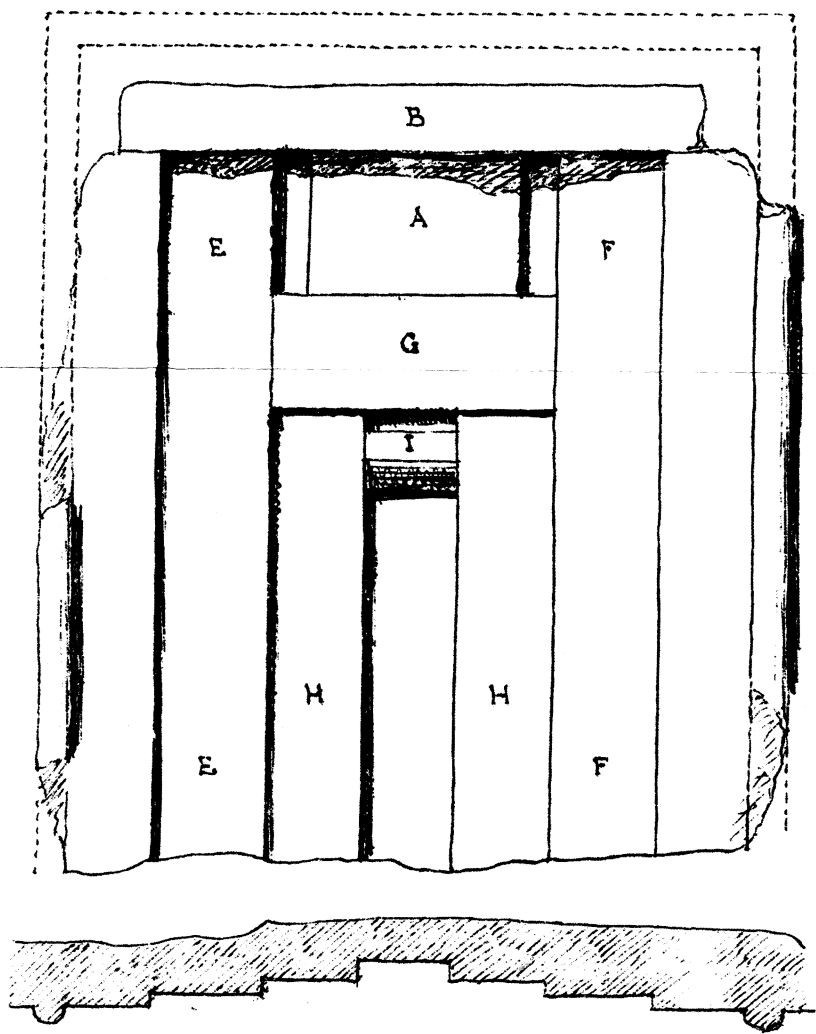


0 5 10 cm
+ 1:5

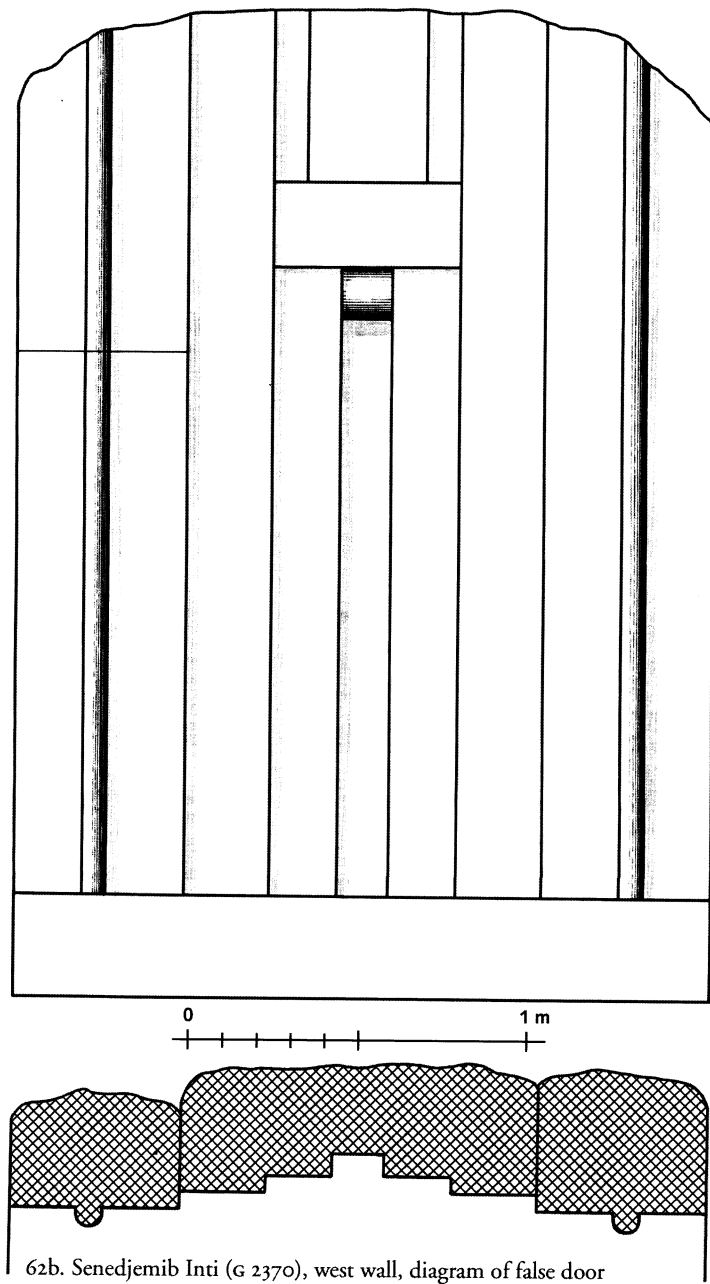




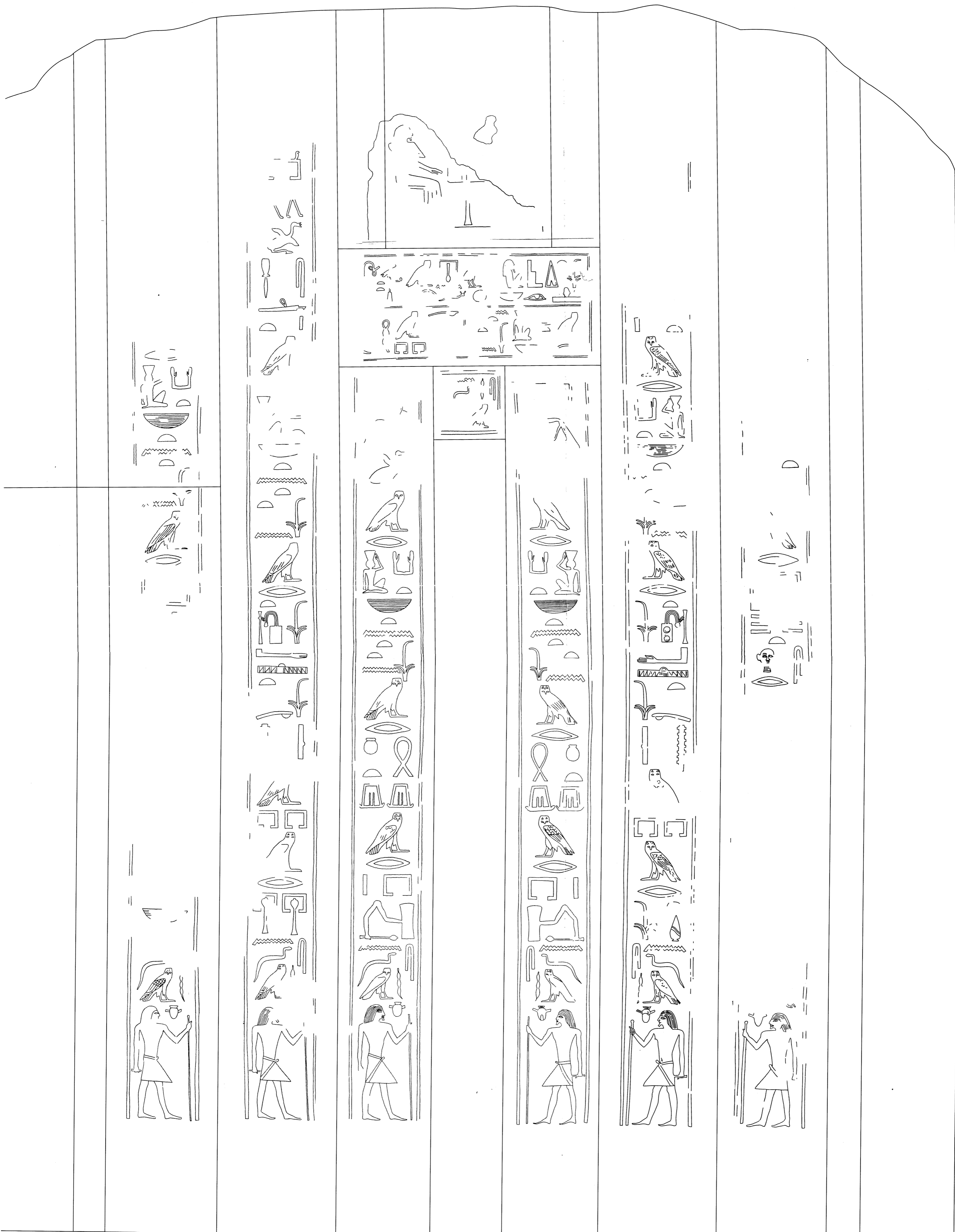


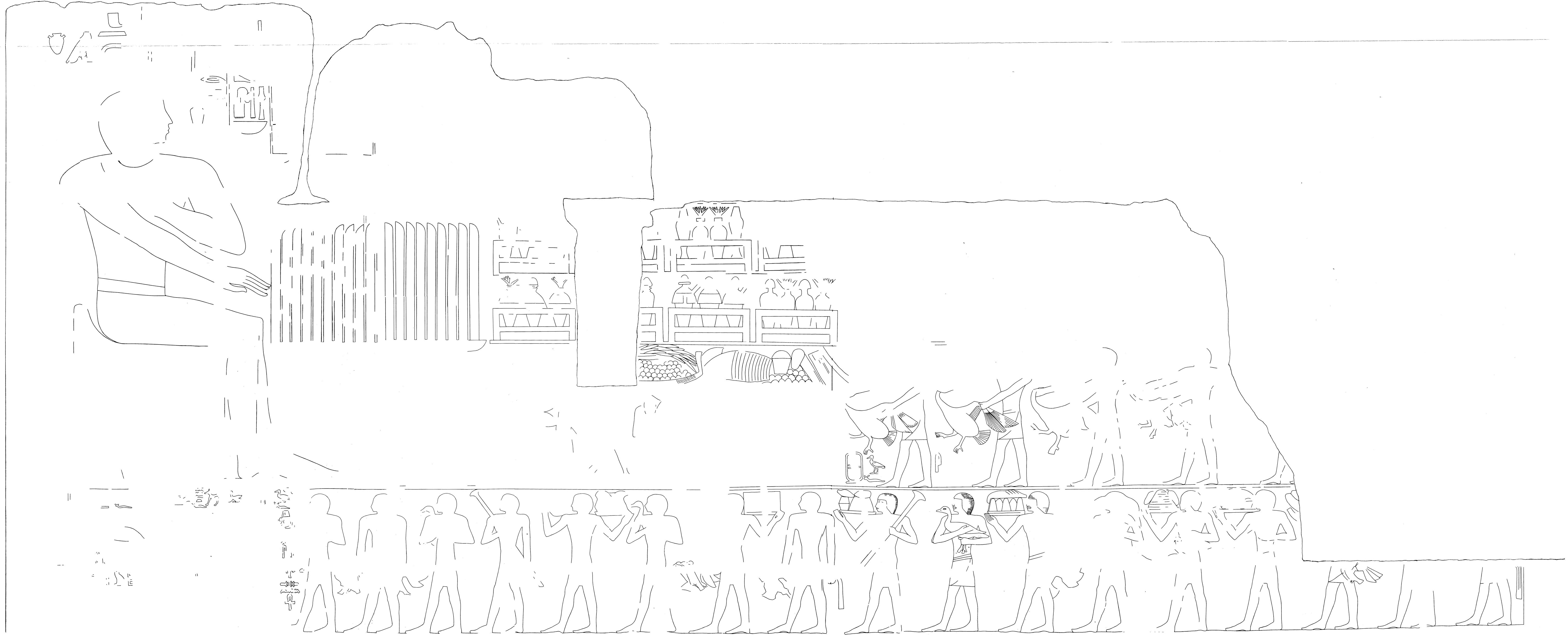


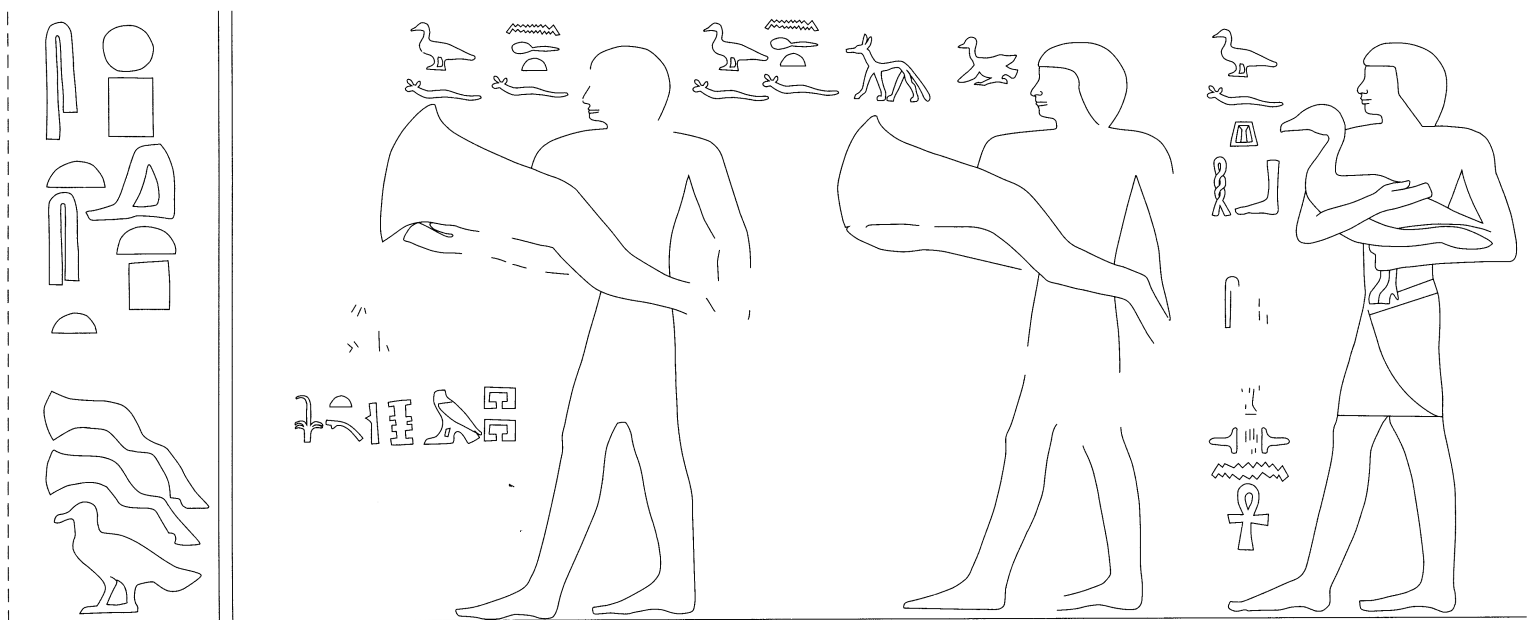
62a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), west wall, sketch of false door; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 505



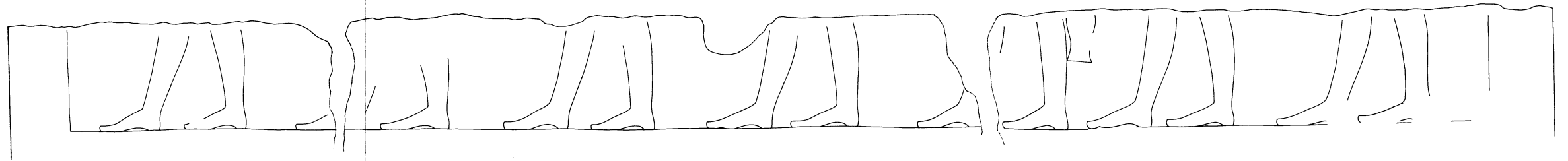
62b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), west wall, diagram of false door







65. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), proposed reconstruction of west end of north wall of Room IV, lowermost register



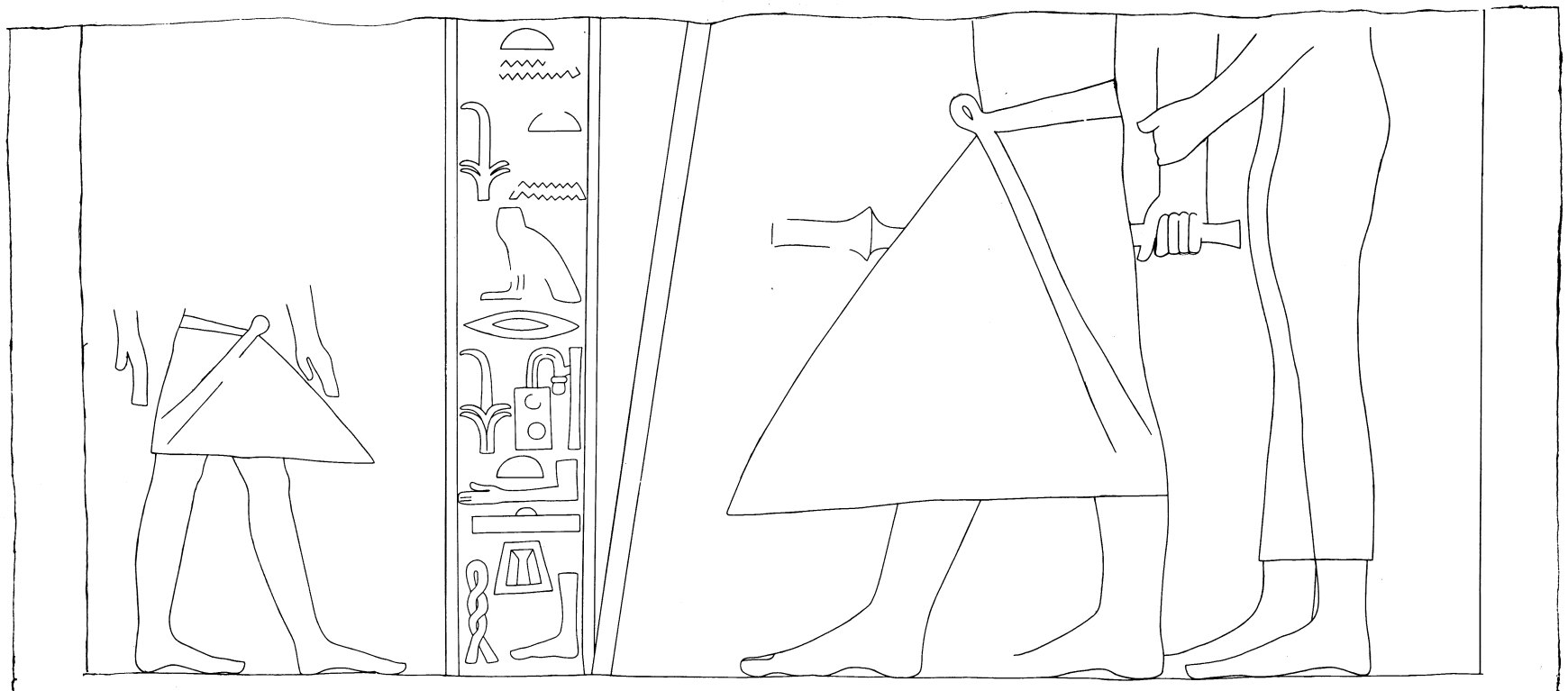
66. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, north wall, east of entrance. EG 4394

0 5 10 cm
+ + + + + 1:5



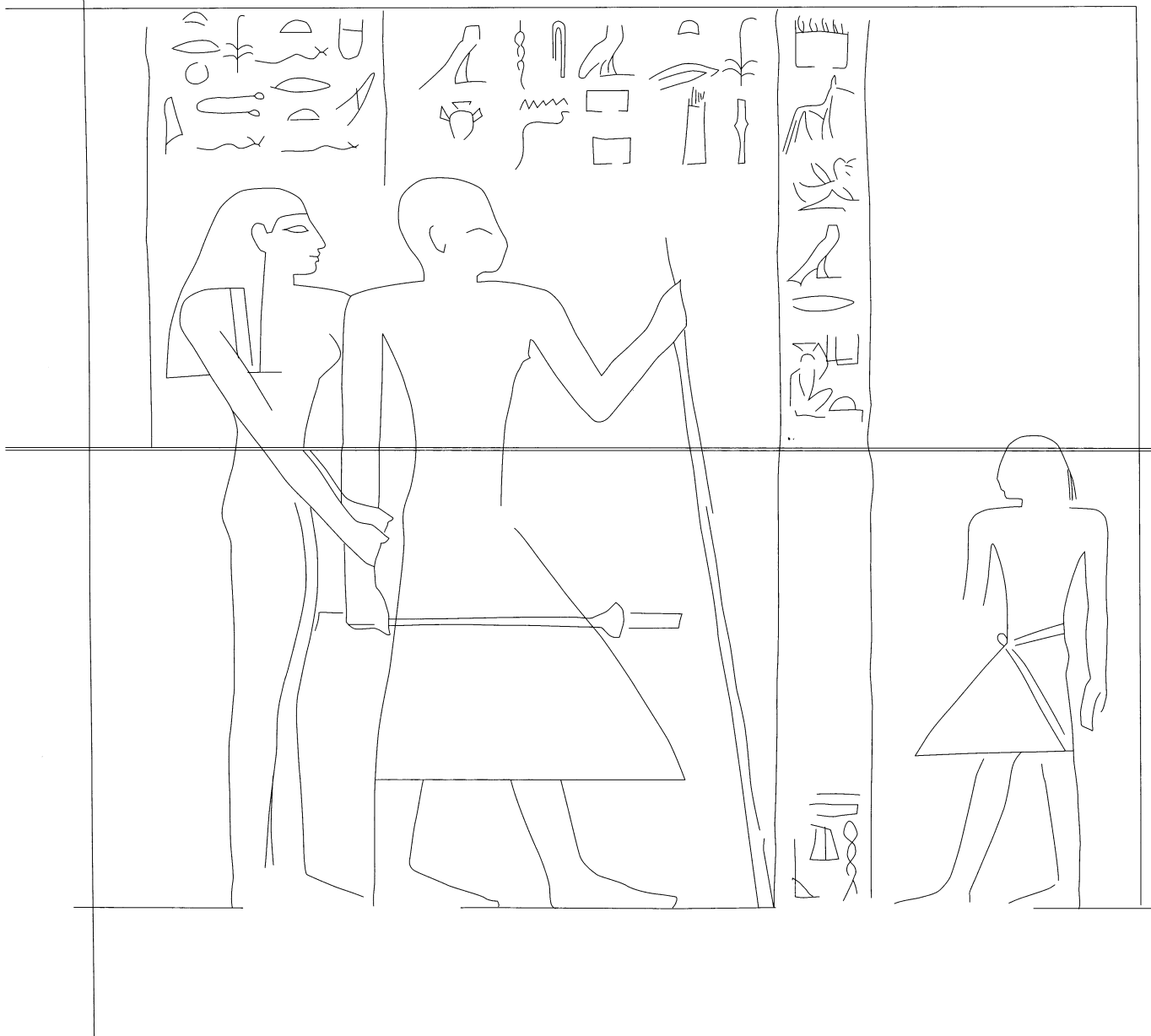
67a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room V, left (west) entrance thickness; LD 2, pl. 78a

1 Fuss Rhni

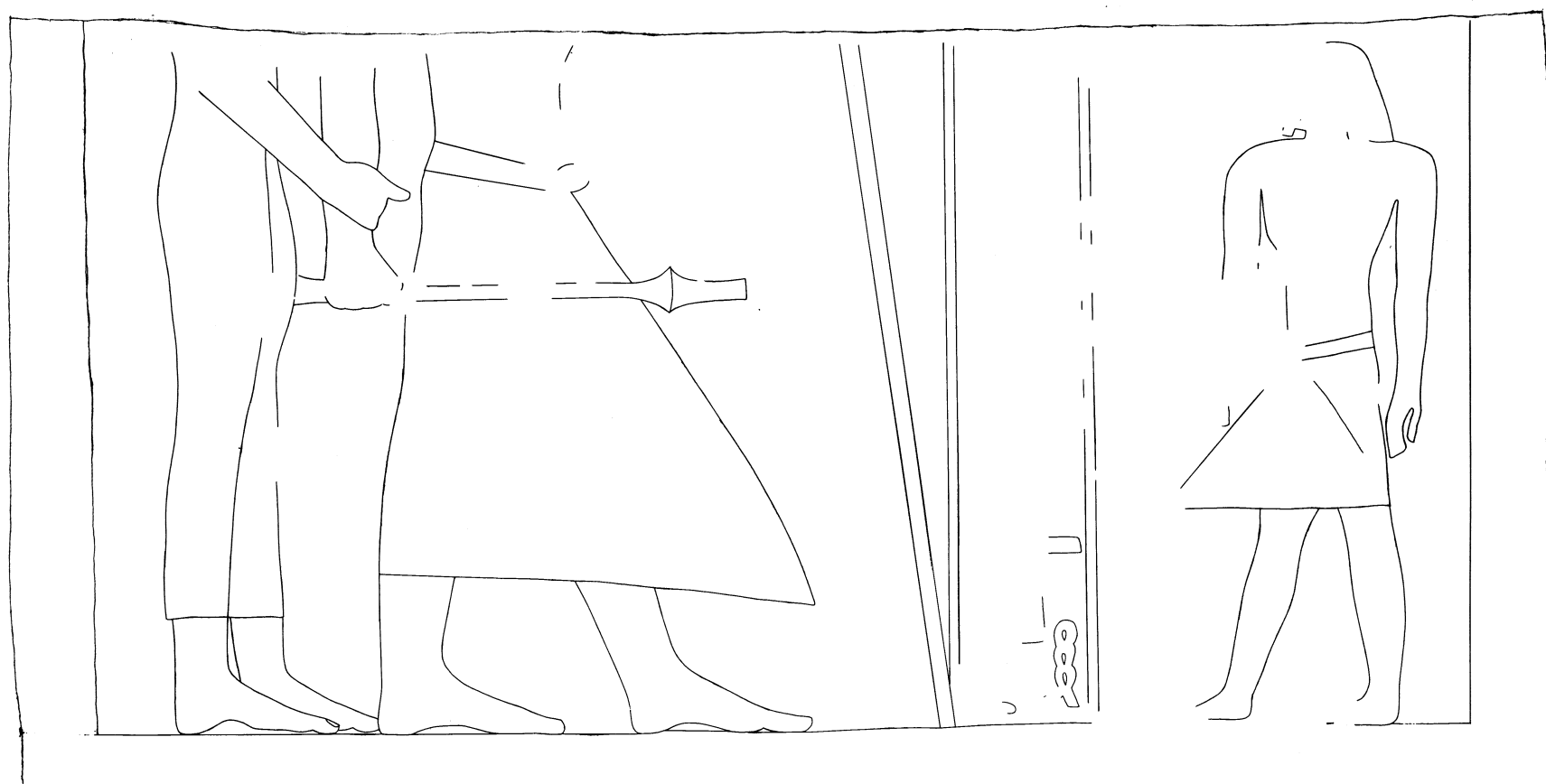


67b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room V, left (west) entrance thickness. EG 4426

0 5 10 cm
+++++ 1:5

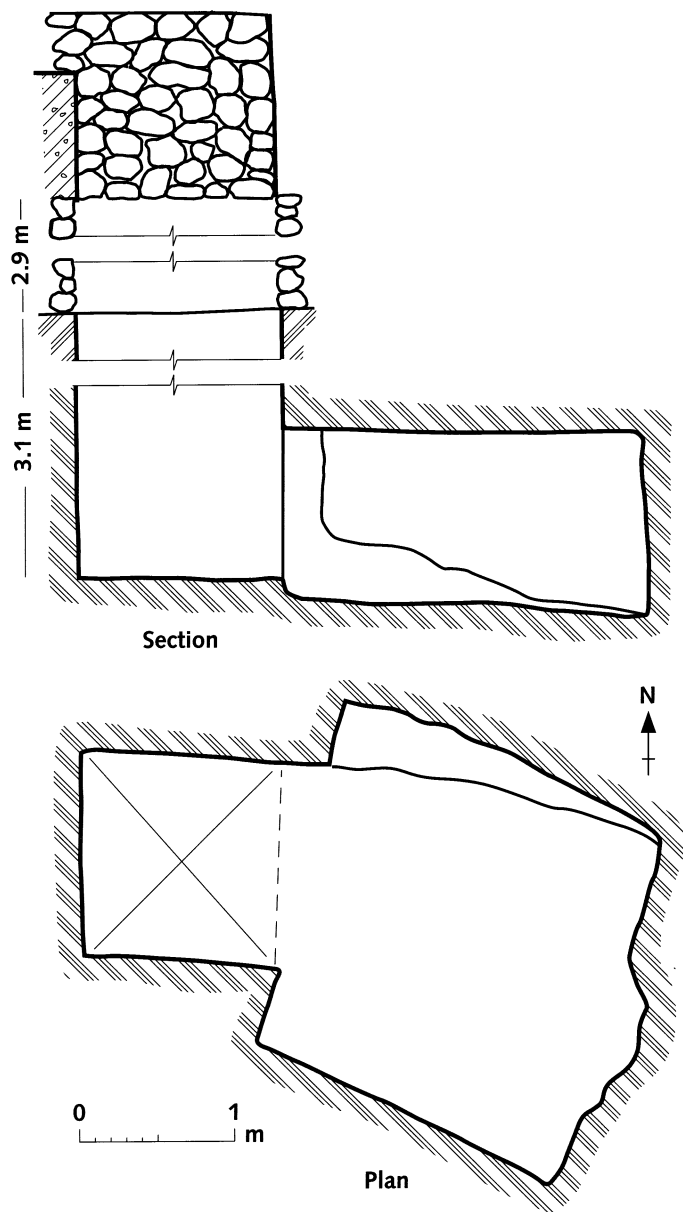


68a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room IV, right (east) entrance thickness. Redrawn from Lepsius Zeichnung Inv.-Nr. 348. Courtesy of the Archiv des Ägyptischen Wörterbuchs, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften

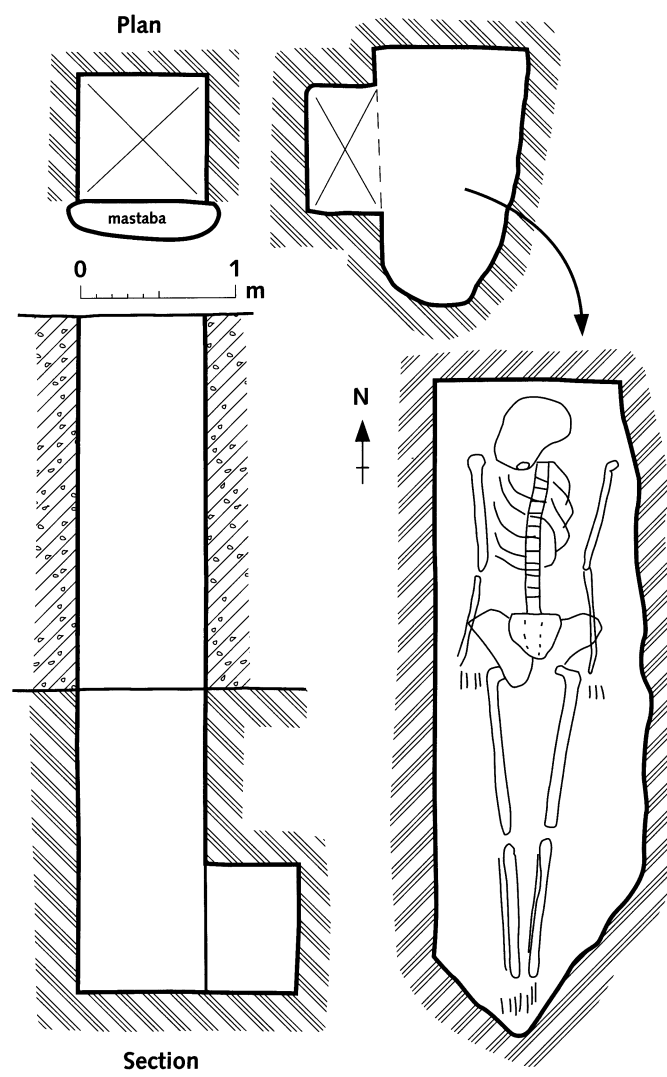


68b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Room V, right (east) entrance thickness. EG 4426

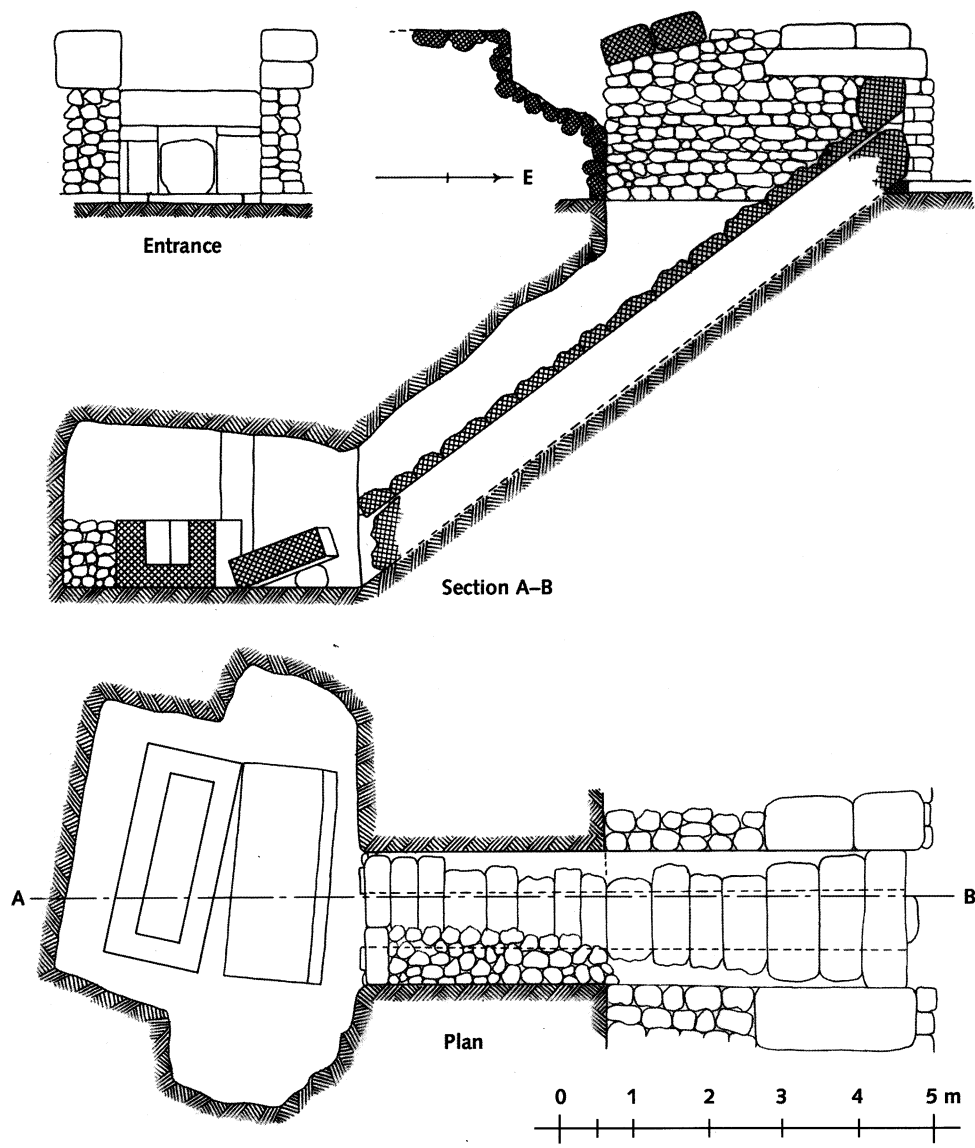
0 5 10 cm
+++++ 1:5



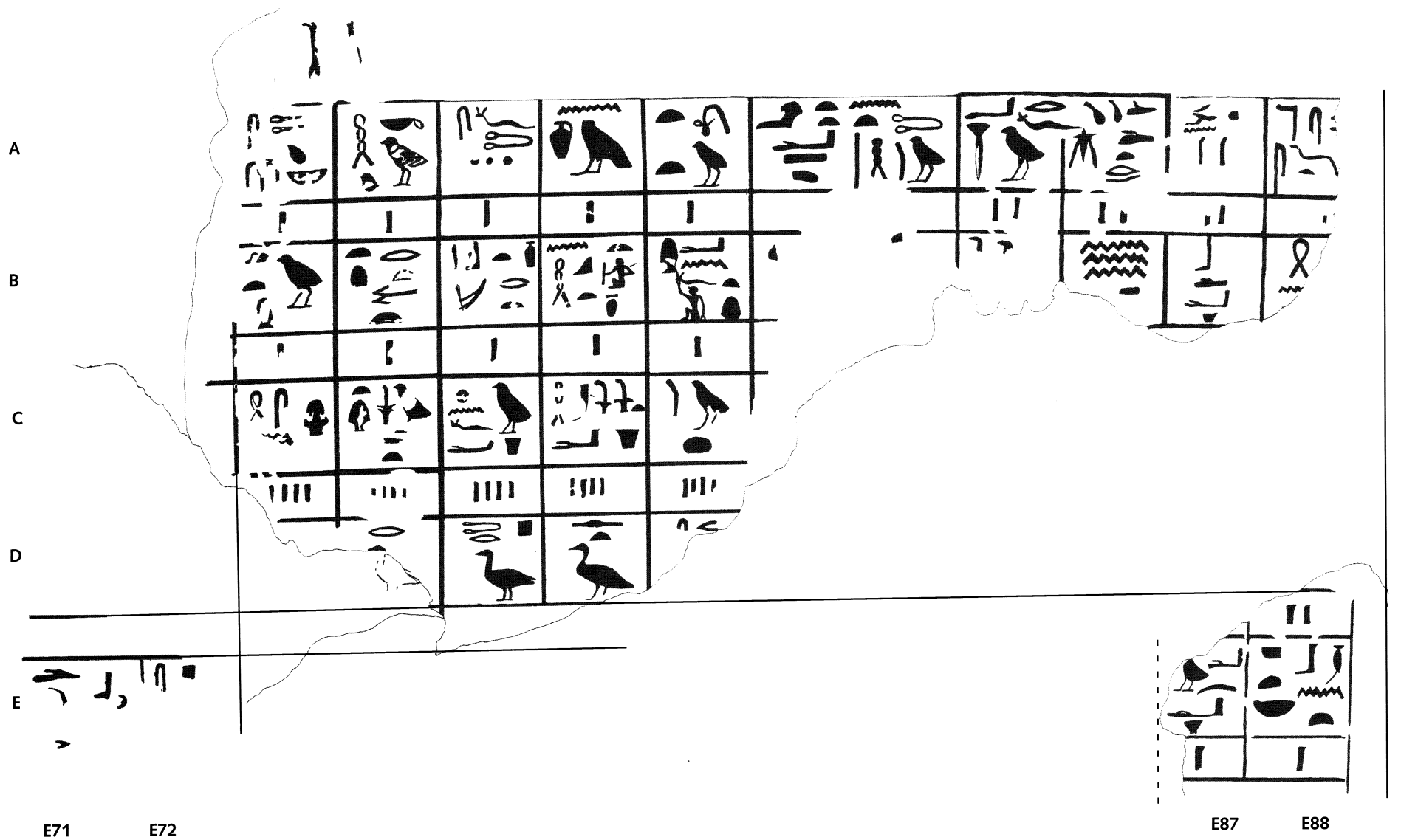
69a. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), plan and section of shaft G 2370 A



69b. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), plan and section of intrusive shaft G 2370 X



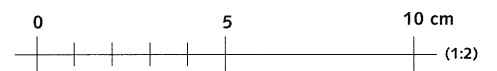
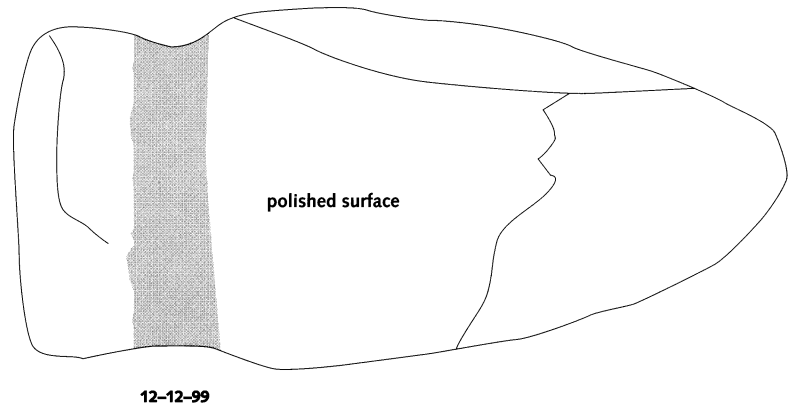
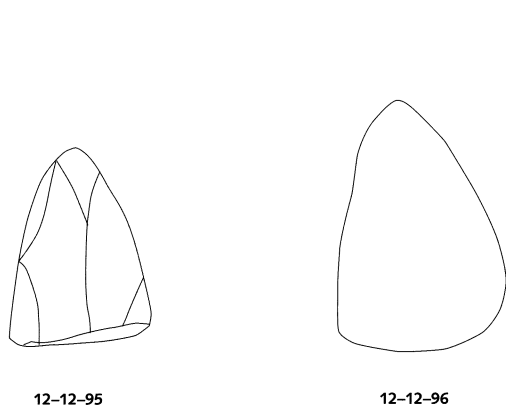
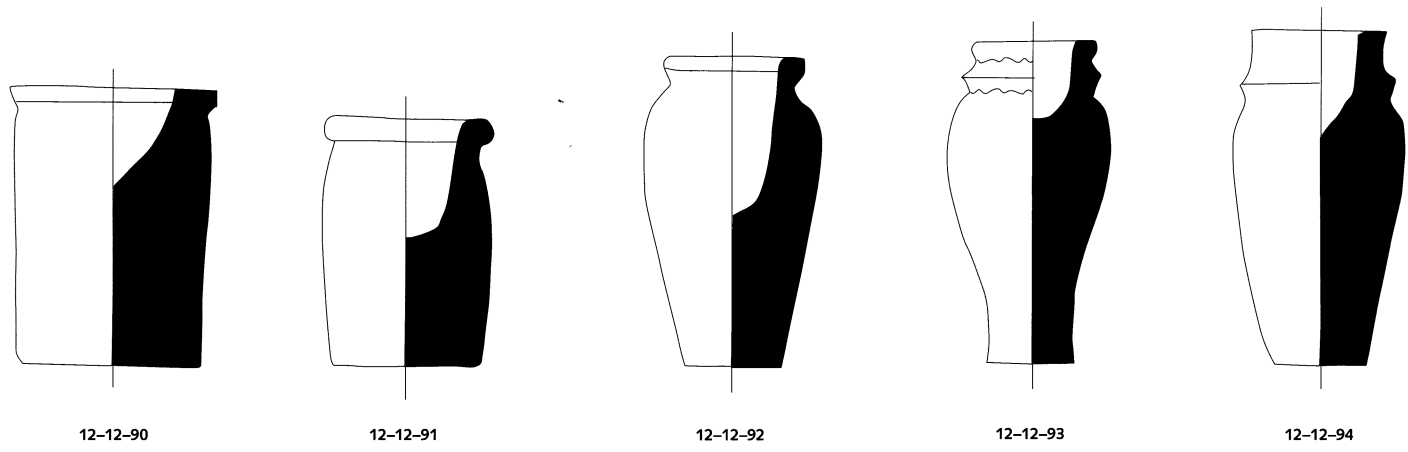
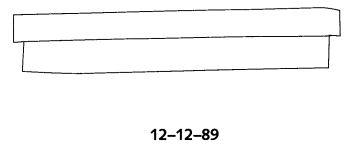
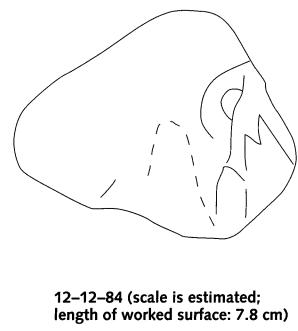
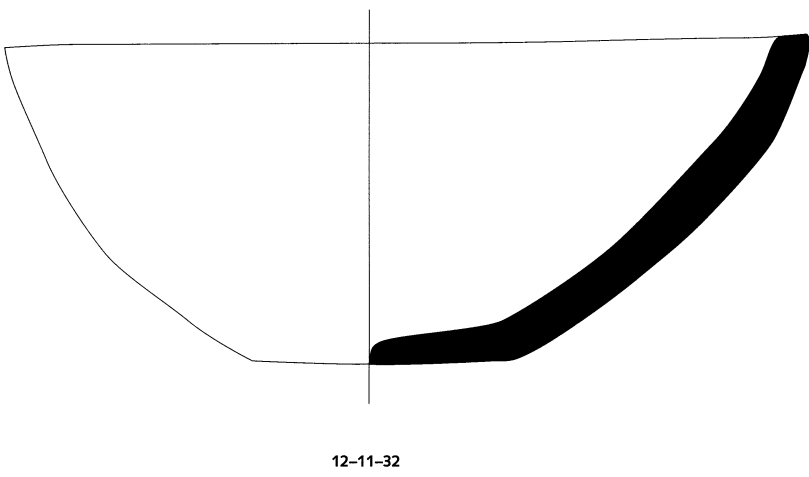
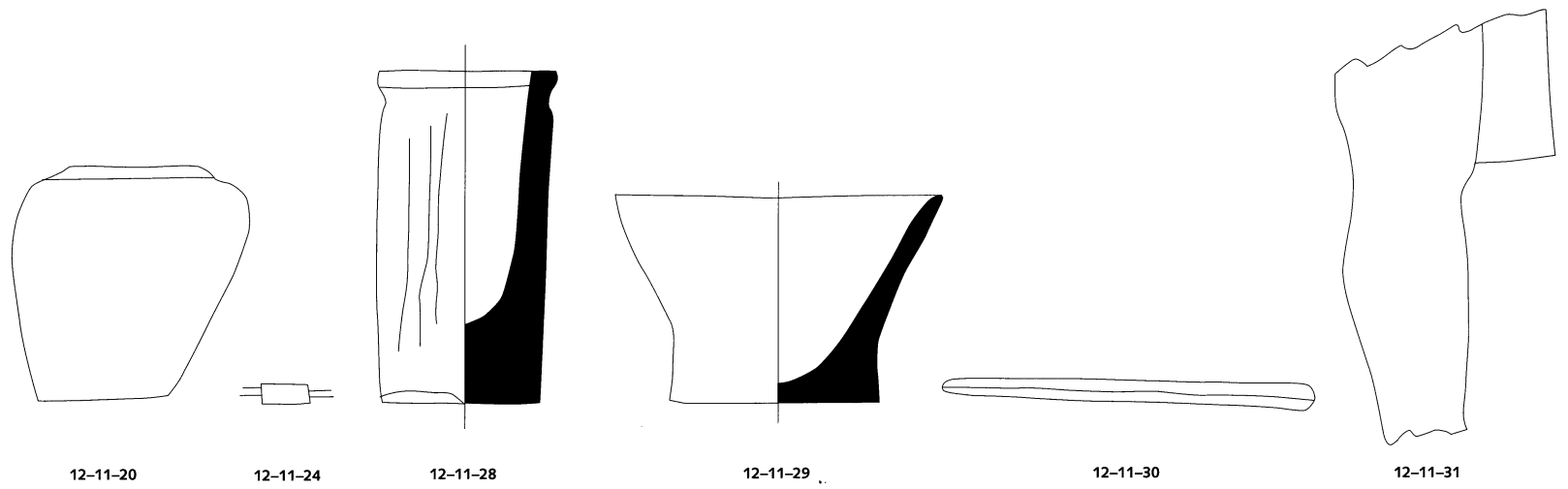
70. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), plan and sections of sloping shaft tomb G 2370 B



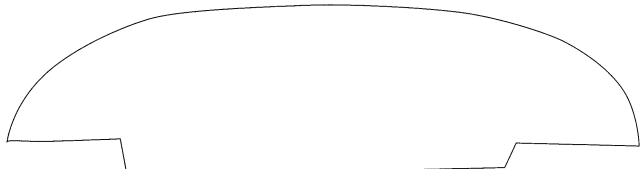
E71 E72

E87 E88

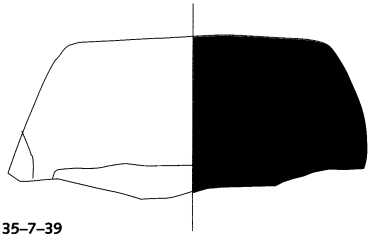
71. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), sloping shaft tomb G 2370 B, offering list on east wall north of entrance. EG 850



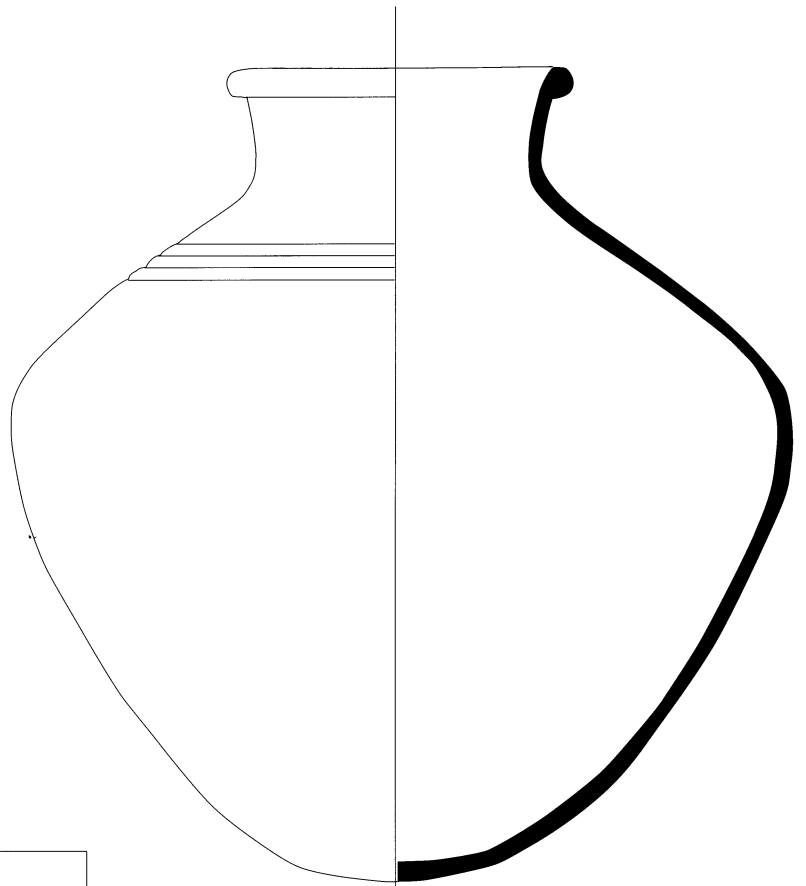
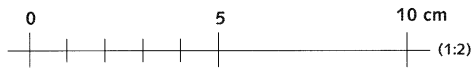
72. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370). Objects from G 2370, 2370 A, and 2370 B



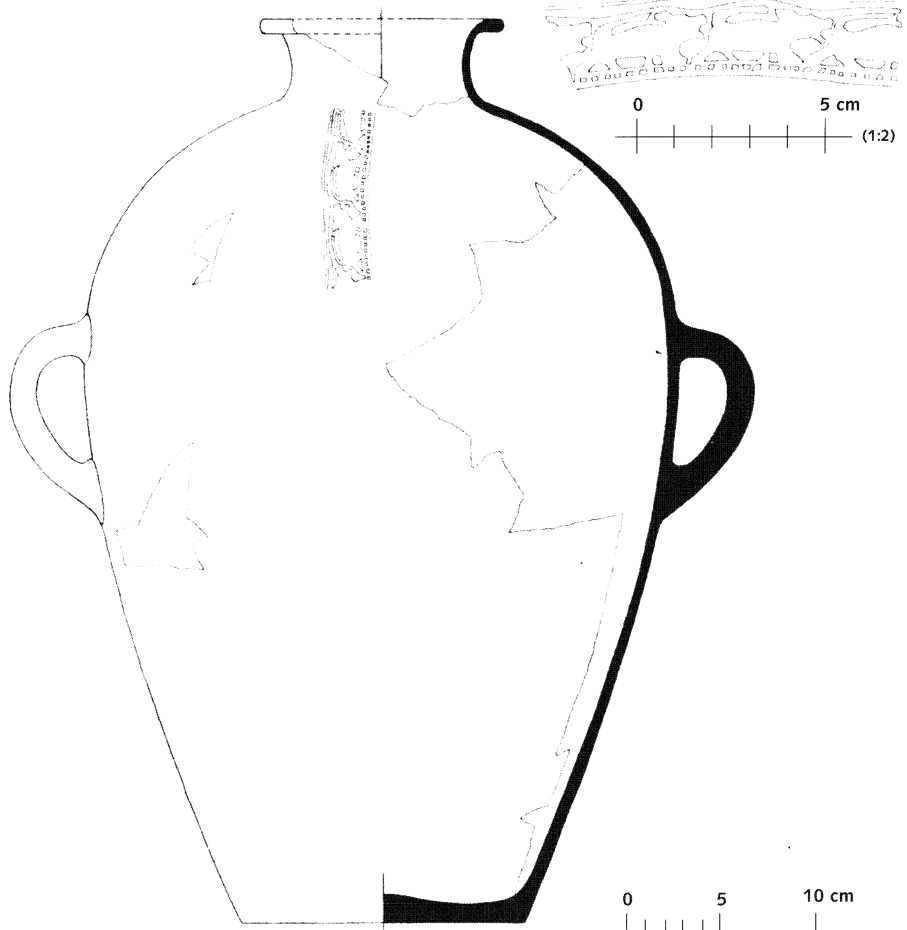
12-12-100



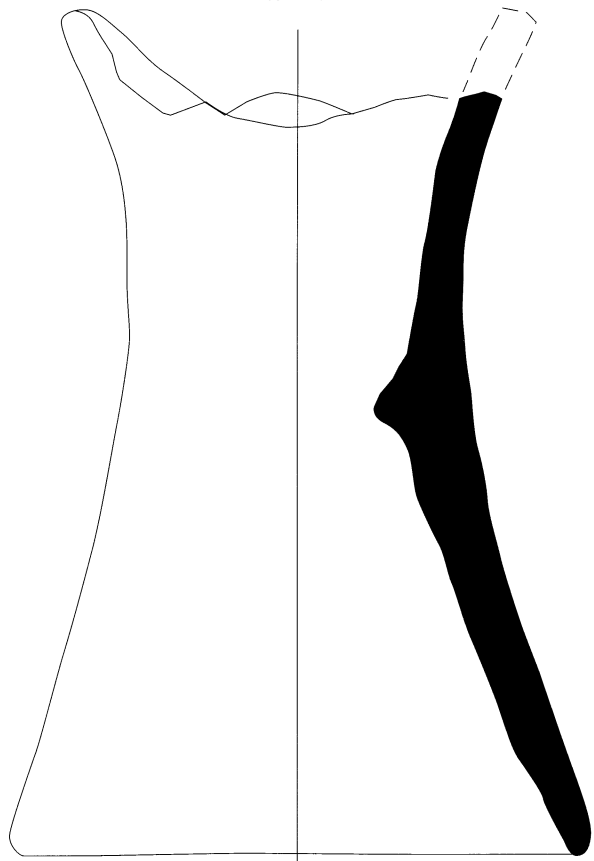
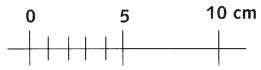
35-7-39



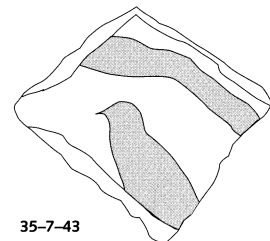
35-7-23



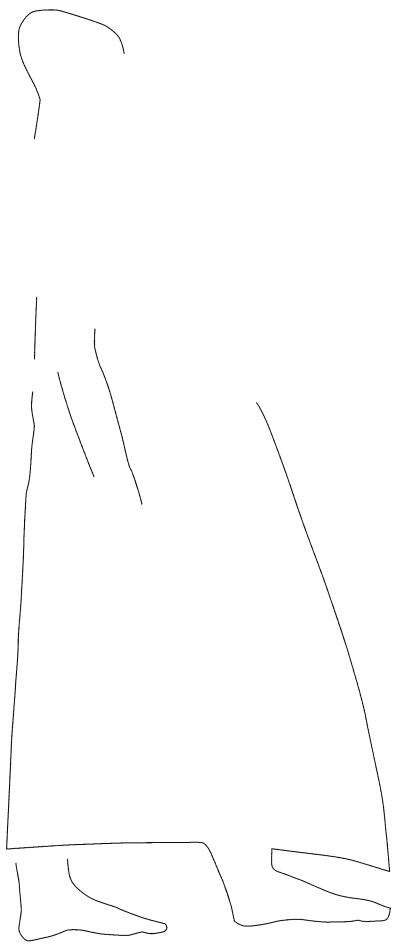
35-7-41



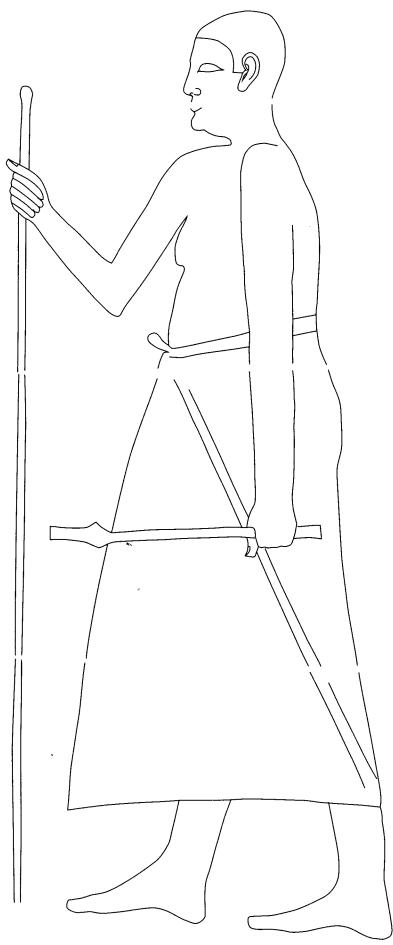
35-7-42



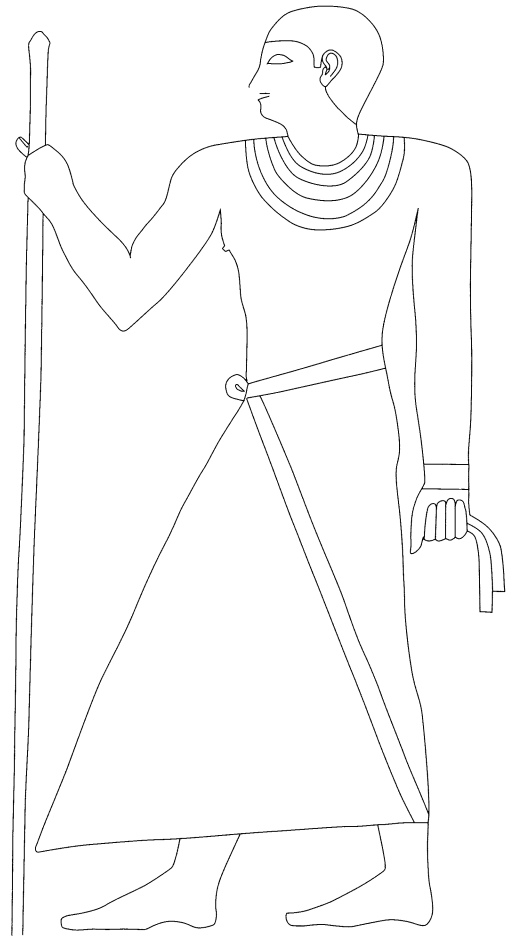
35-7-43



a

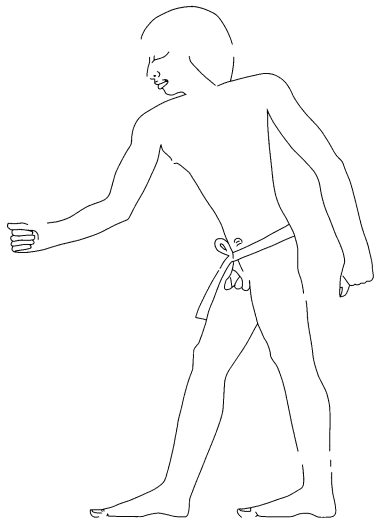


b

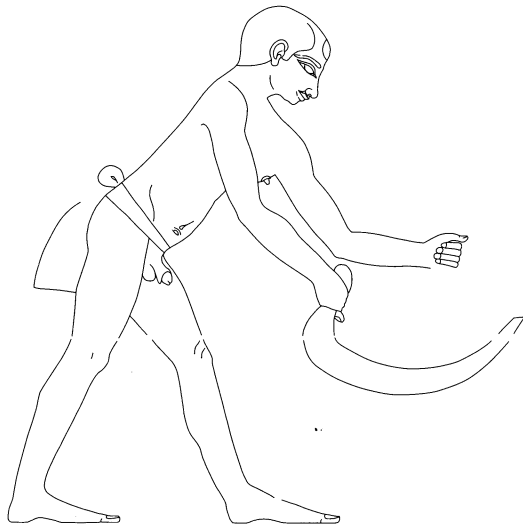


c

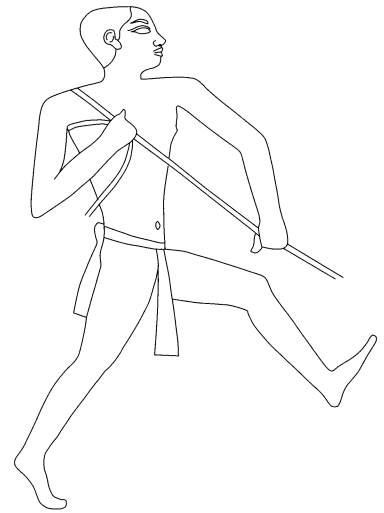
74. Long kilts from Old Kingdom tombs



a



b



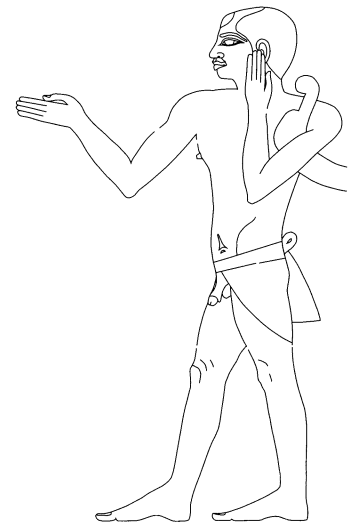
c



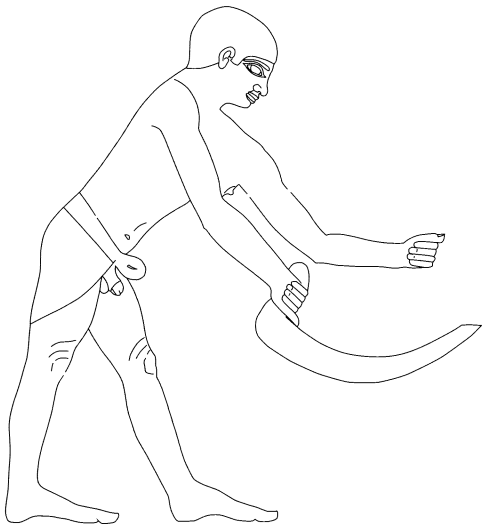
d



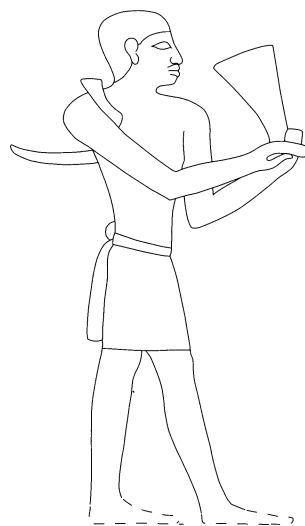
e



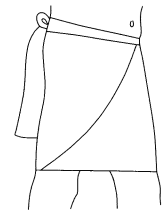
f



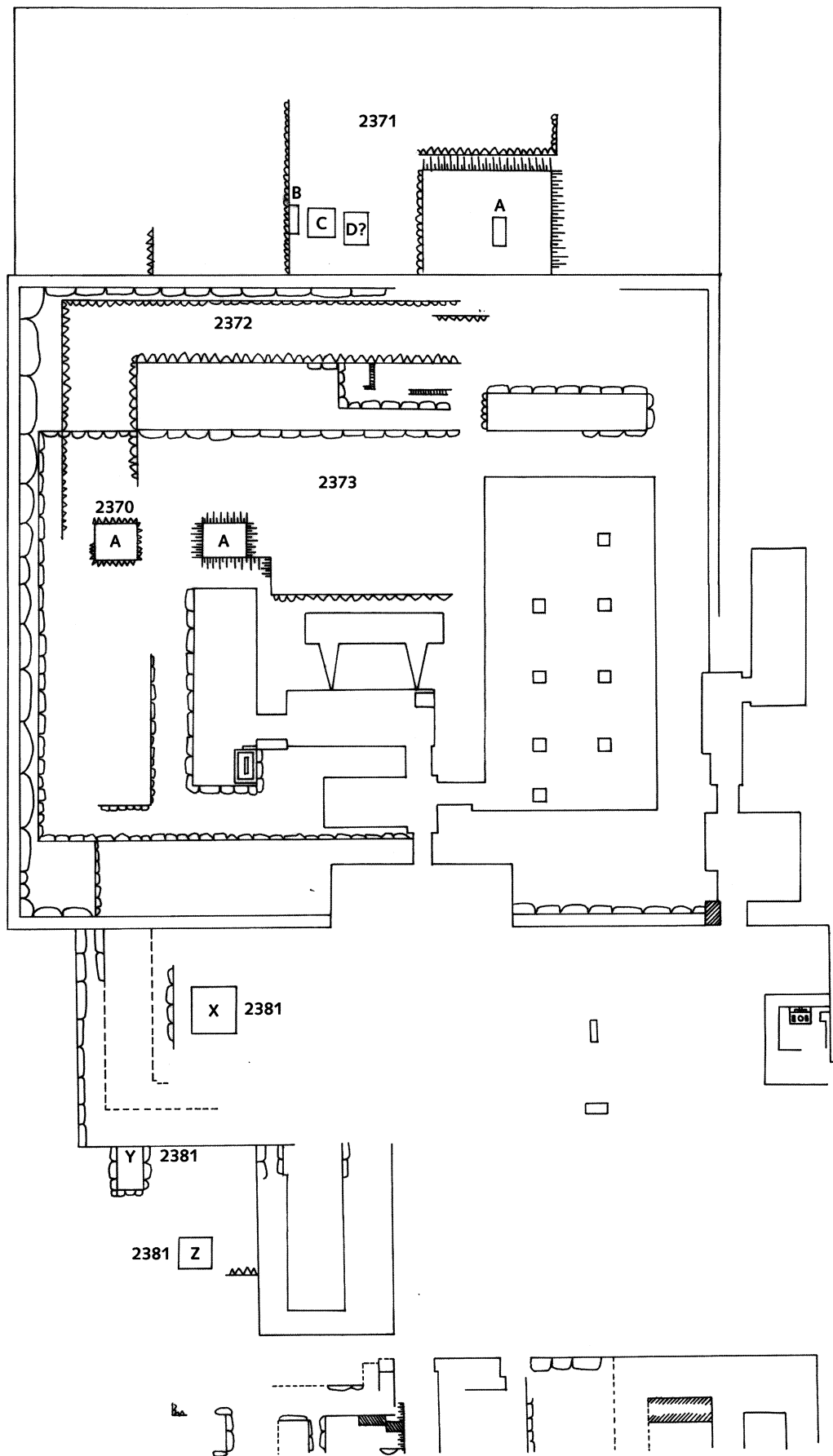
g



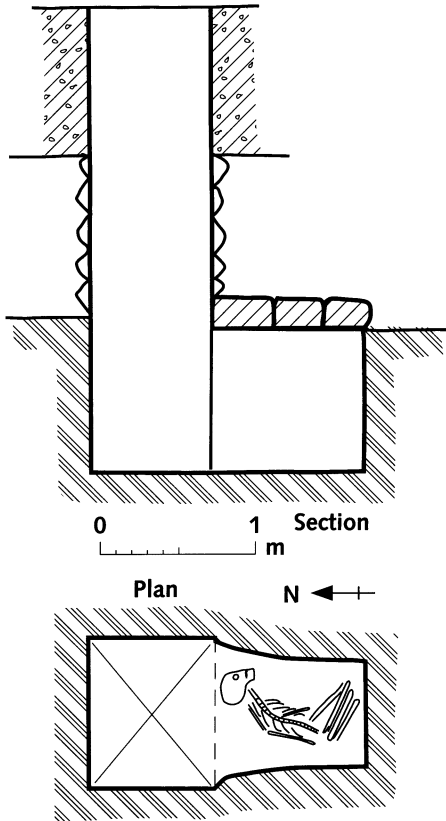
h



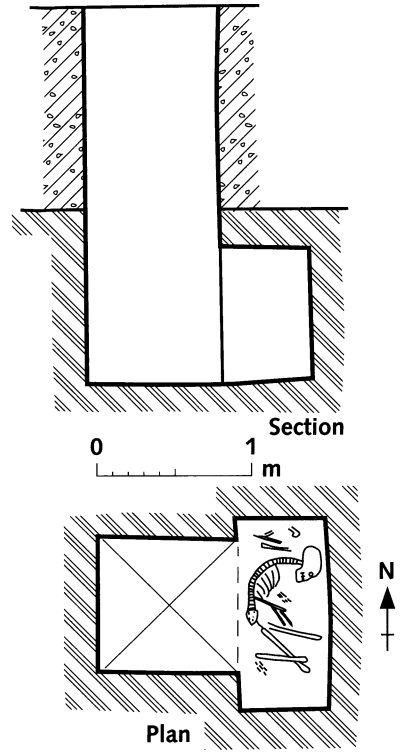
i



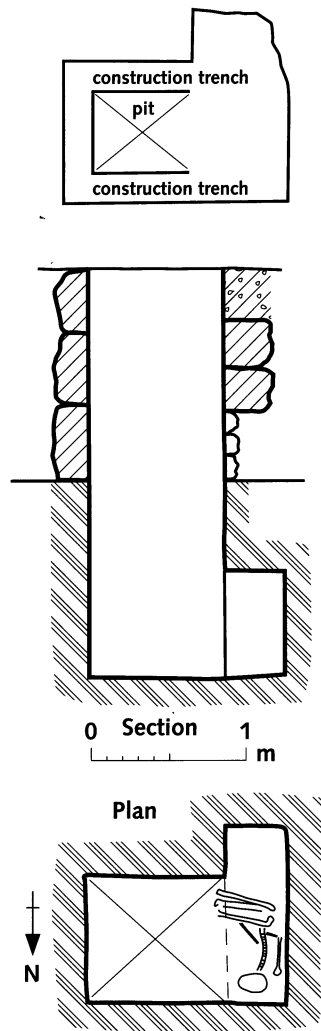
76. Schematic diagram of G 2370, 2371 A-D, 2372, 2373, 2381 X, Y, Z



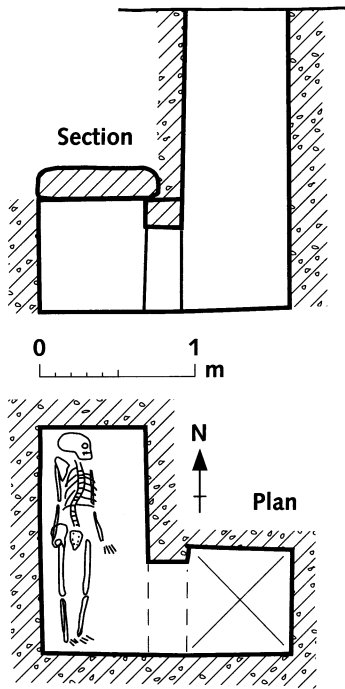
77a. Shaft G 2371 X



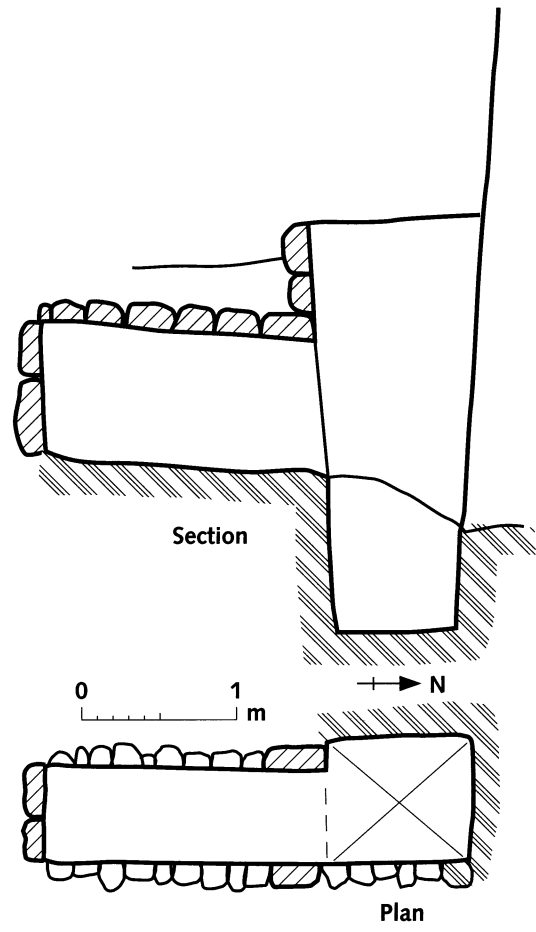
77b. Shaft G 2371 Y



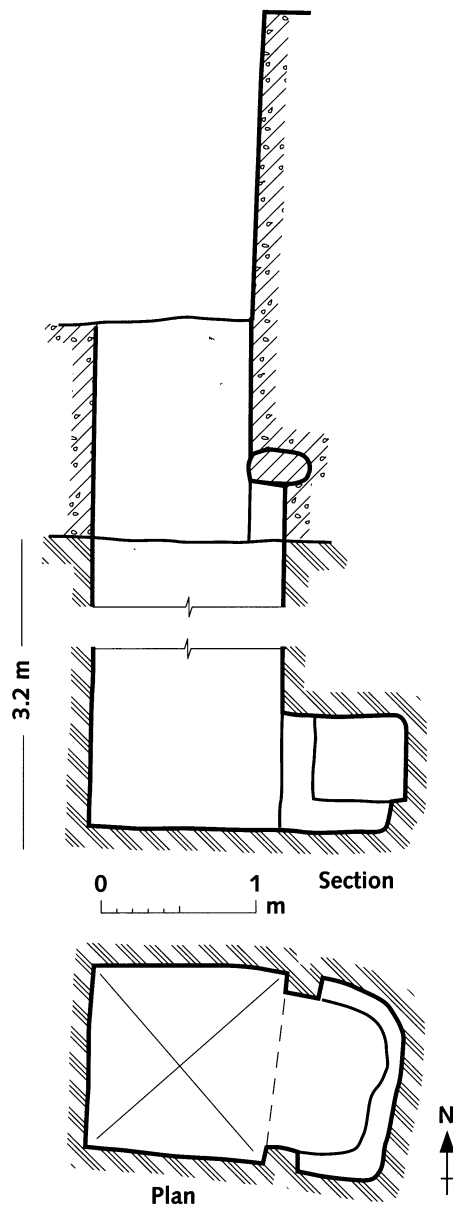
77c. Shaft G 2371 Z



78a. Shaft G 2371 U



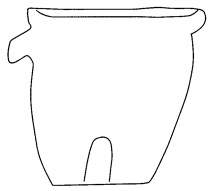
78b. Shaft G 2371 W



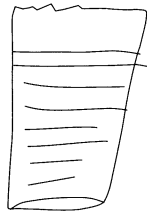
78c. Shaft G 2373 A

G 2371

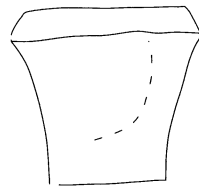
G 2373



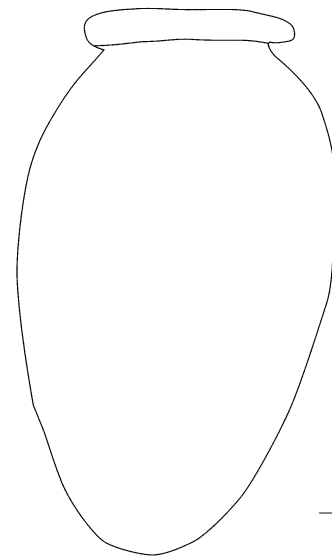
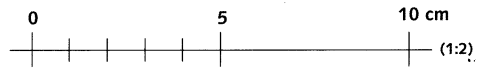
12-11-34



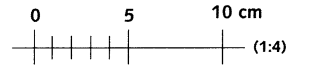
12-11-35



no number; no scale



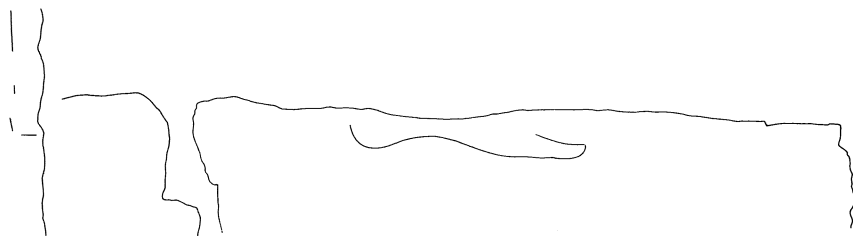
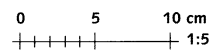
no number



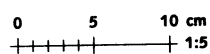
79a. Objects from G 2371, G 2373 (rough sketches after object register and diary)



79b. Khnumenti (G 2374), architrave fragment

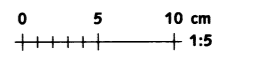


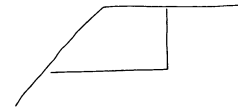
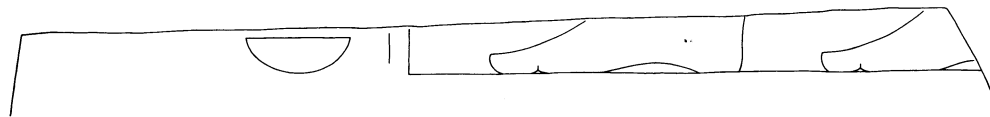
79c. Khnumenti (G 2374), facade south of entrance. EG 470I





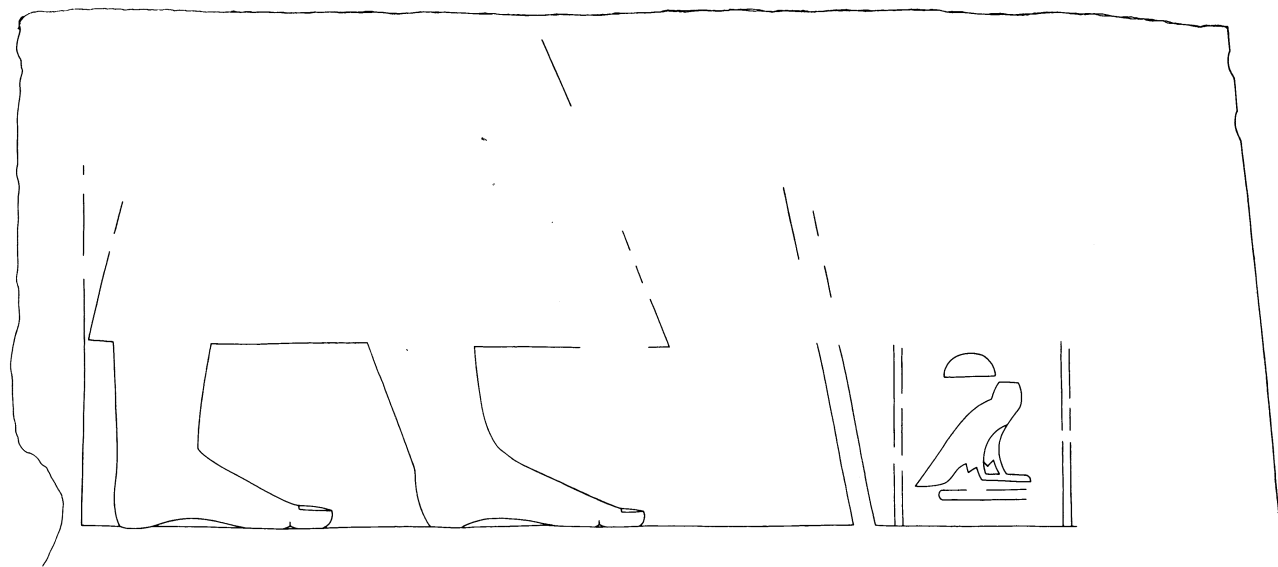
80. Khnumenti (G 2374), facade north of entrance. EG 4366, 4523





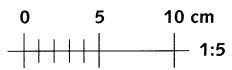
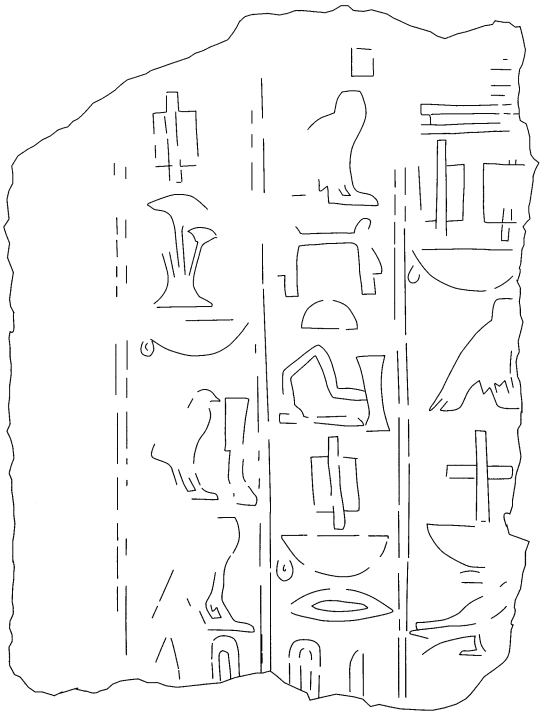
81a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, left (south) entrance thickness. EG 4701

0 5 10 cm
+++++ 1:5

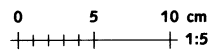
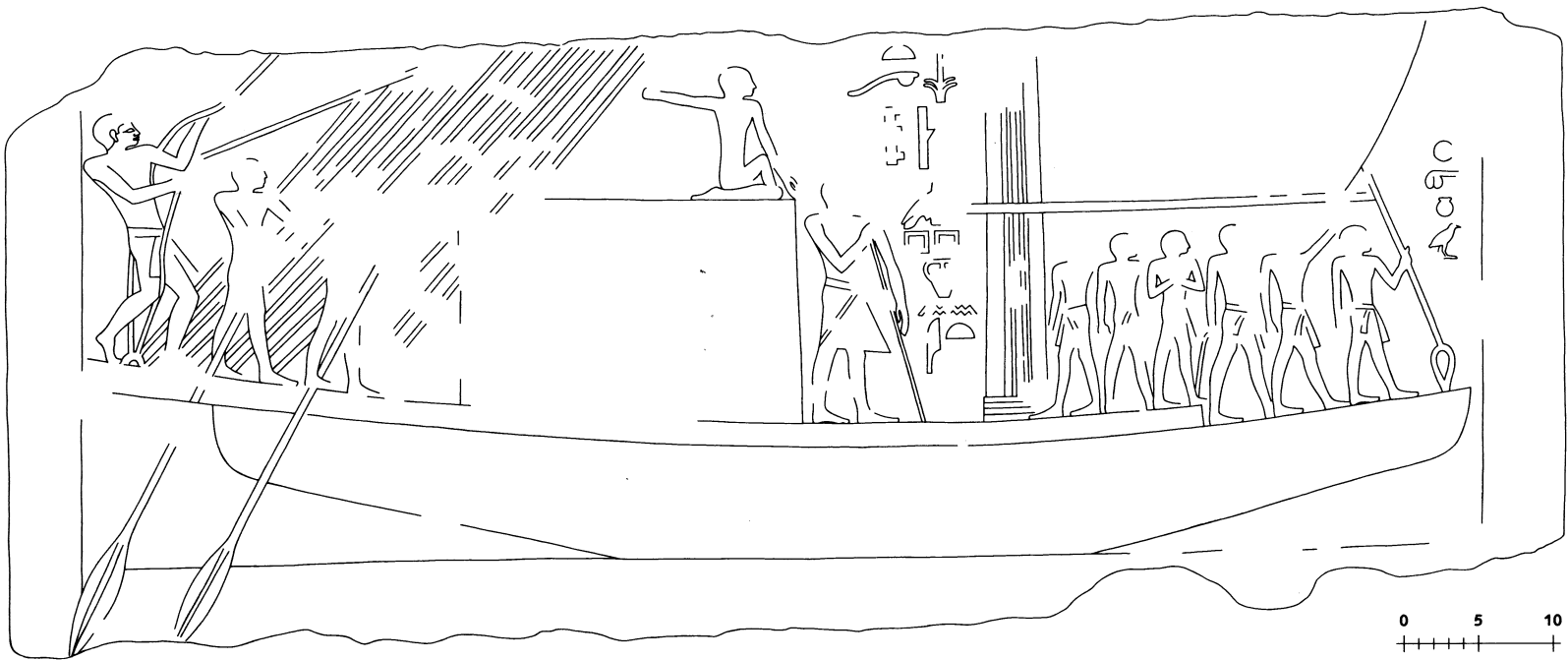


81b. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, right (north) entrance thickness. EG 4368

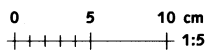
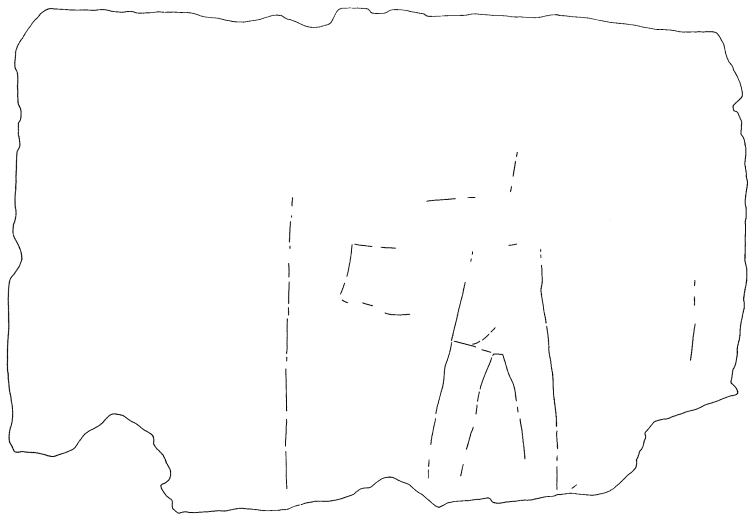
0 5 10 cm
+++++ 1:5



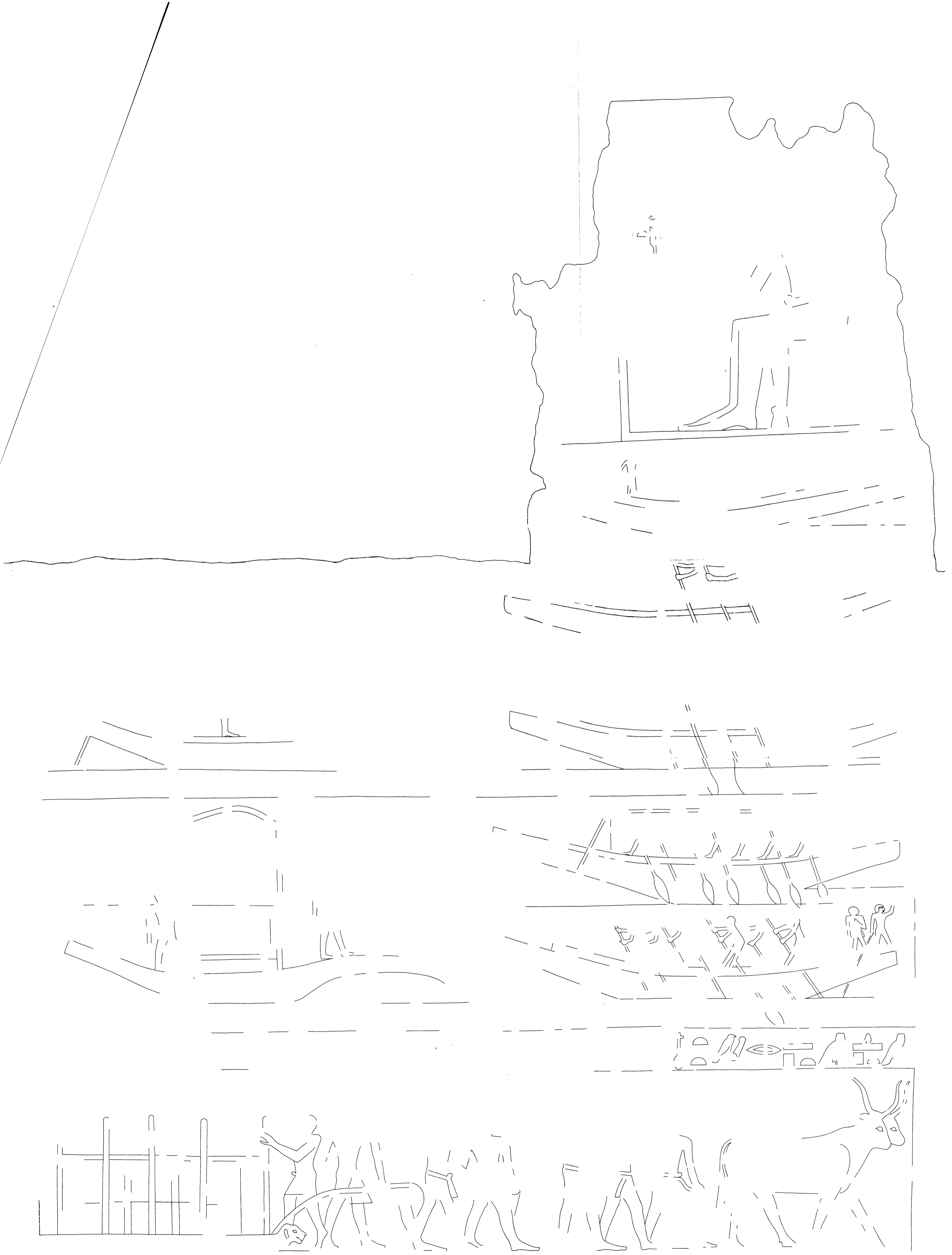
82a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, inscribed block from court of Senedjemib Complex assigned to right (north) inner entrance thickness; after HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. A 6021 [left]



82b. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, inner right (north) entrance thickness. EG 4369

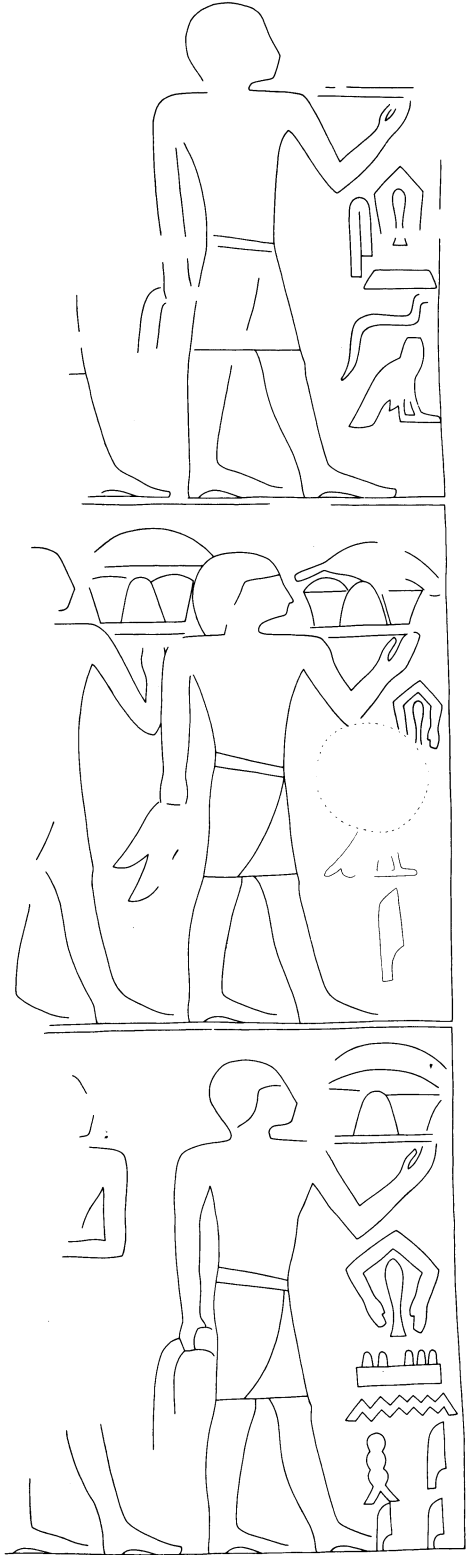


82c. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, relief on east wall, south of entrance. EG 4545

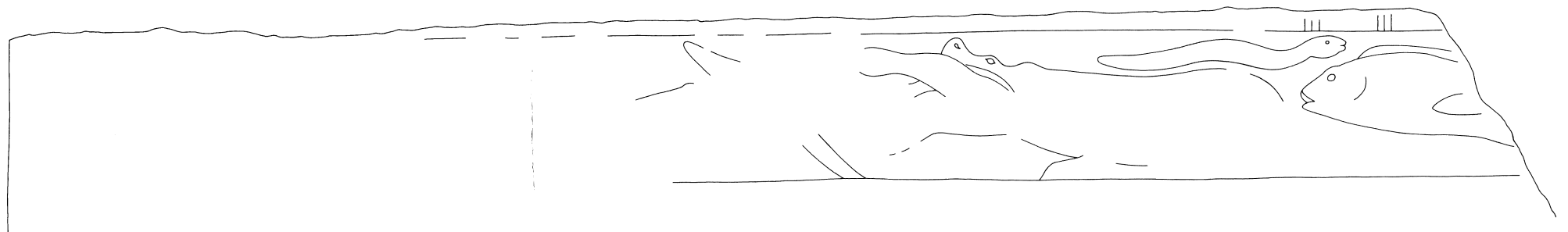
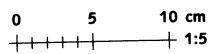


83. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, south wall. EG 4374

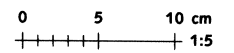
0 5 10 cm
1:5

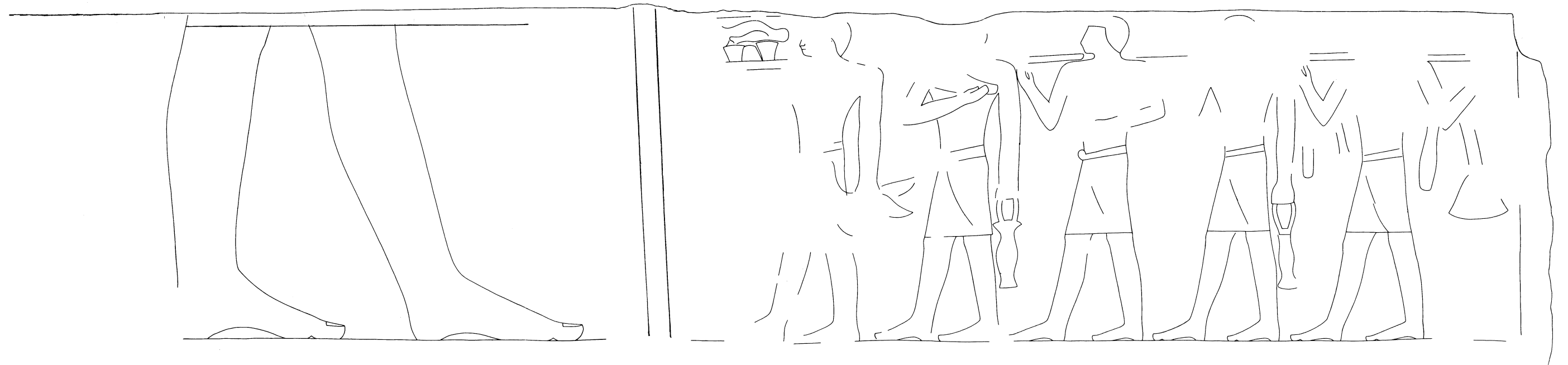


84a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, west wall, south of door. EG 4372, 4546



84b. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, west wall, north of door. EG 4371





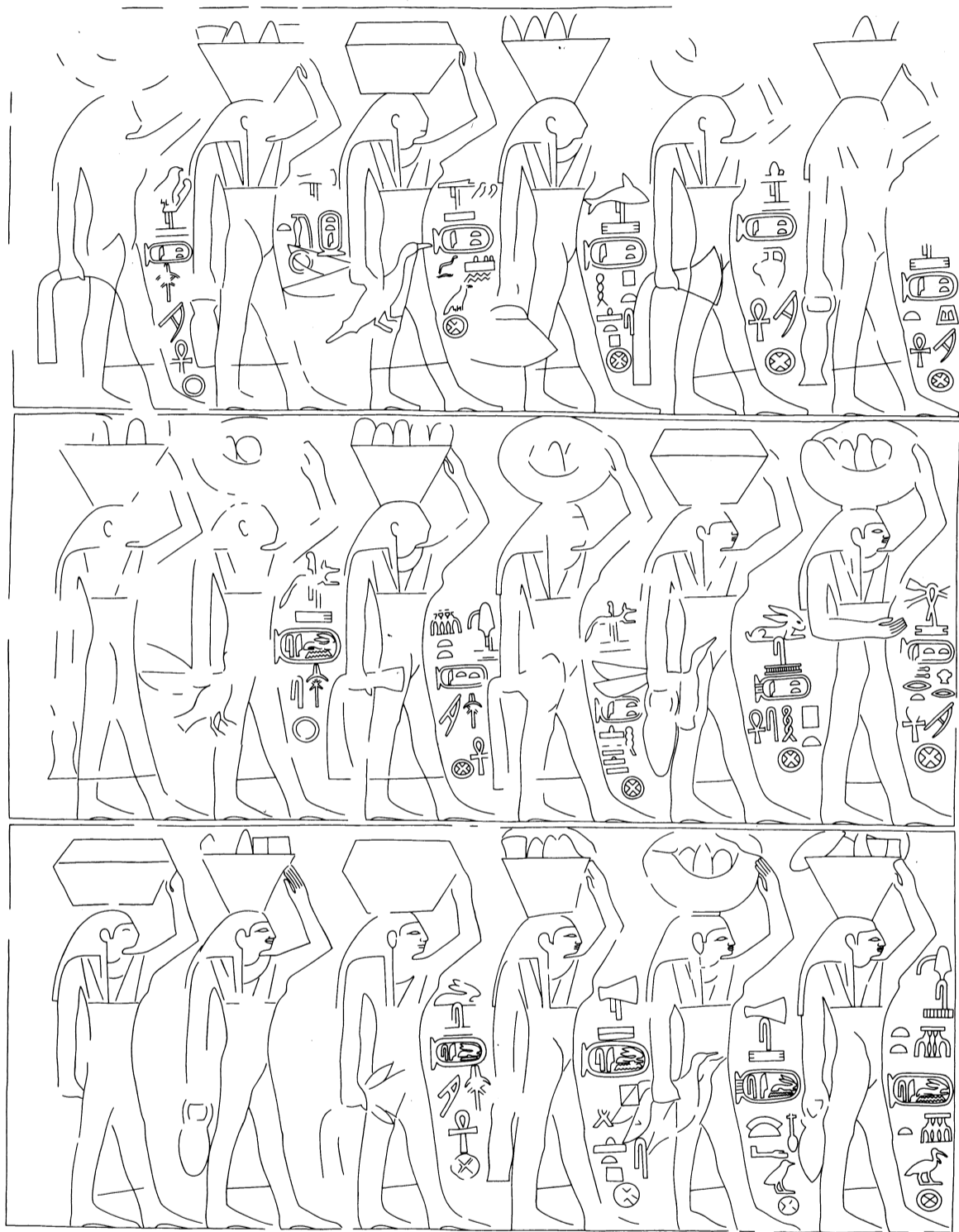
85. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, north wall. EG 4369-4370

0 5 10 cm
+++++ 1:5



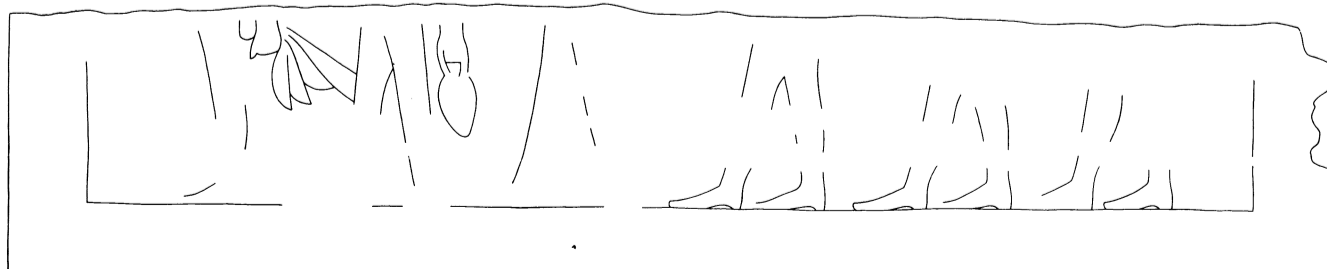
86. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room I, east wall, north of door

0 5 10 cm
+ + + + + 1:5



87a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room II, left (south) entrance thickness. EG 4376.

0 5 10 cm
+++++ 1:5



87b. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room II, right (north) entrance thickness. EG 4365

0 5 10 cm
+++++ 1:5

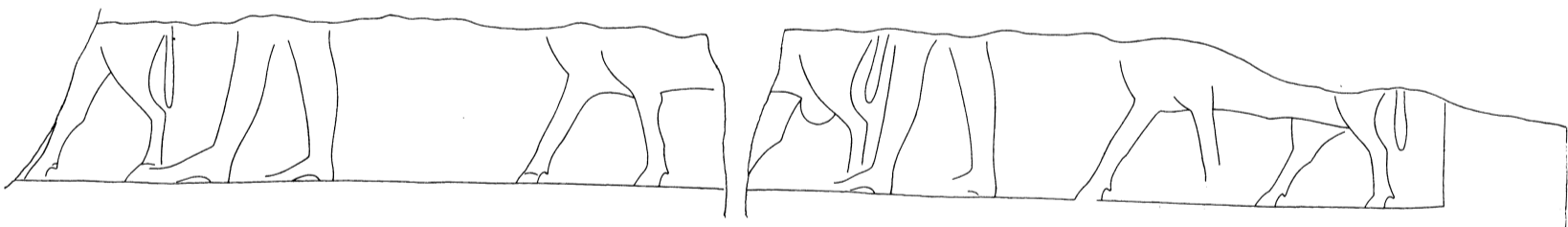


88. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room II, south wall. EG 4378



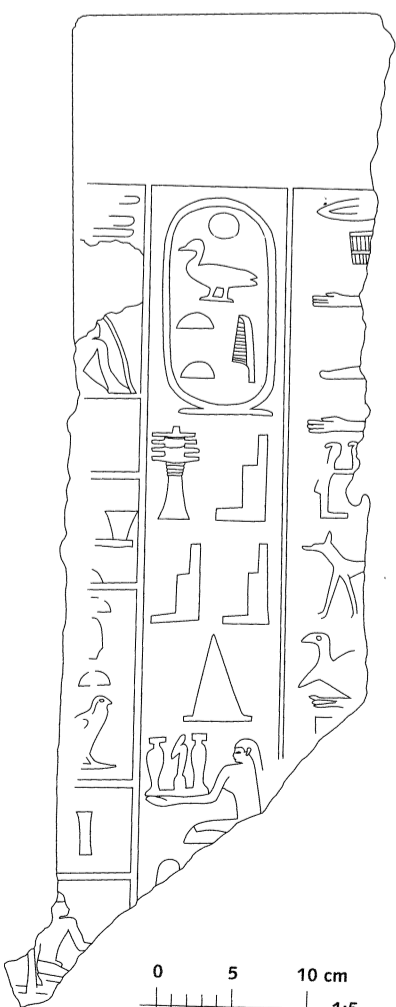
89a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room II, west wall. EG 4371, 4376

0 5 10 cm
+ + + + + 1:5



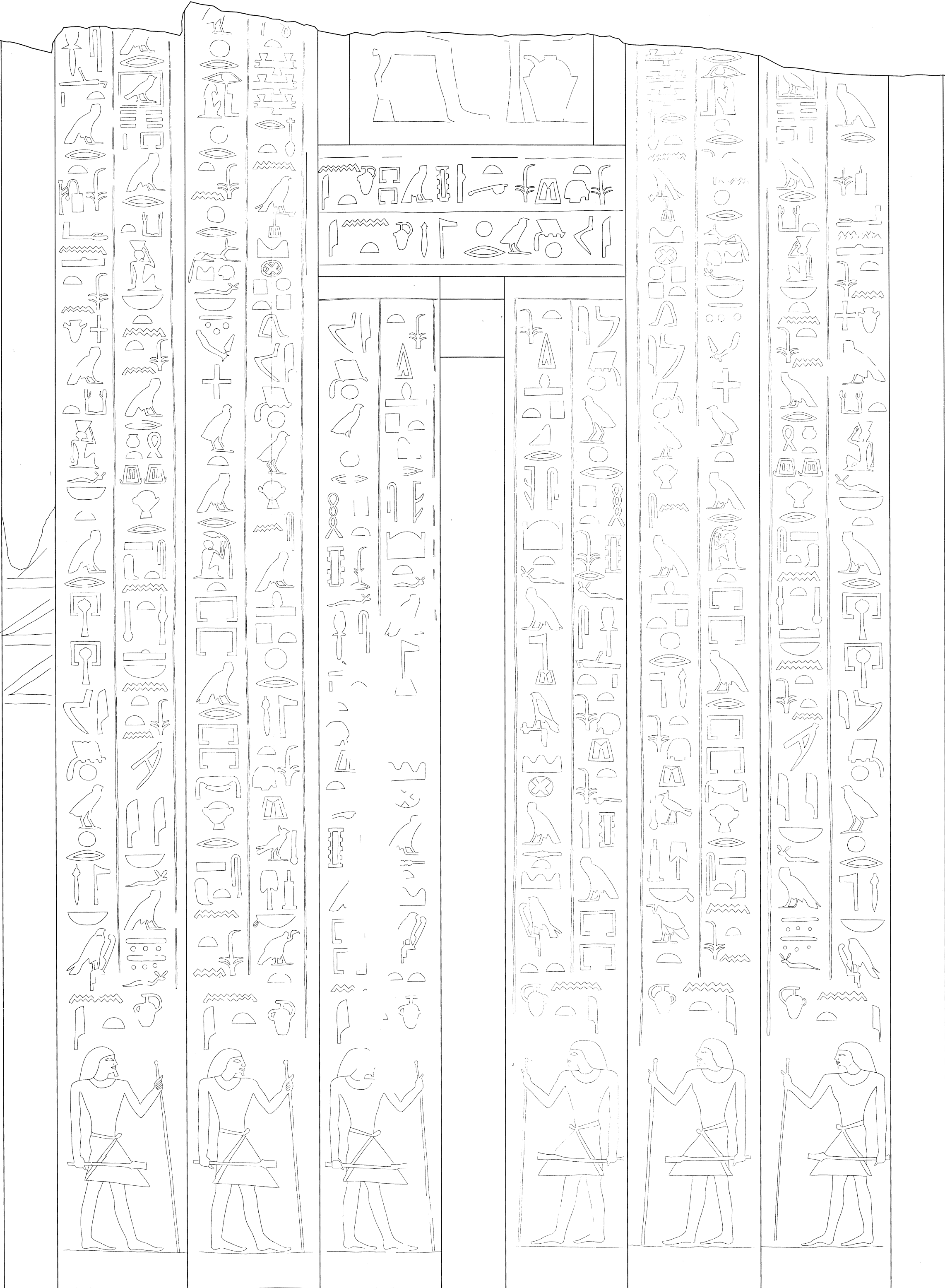
89b. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room II, north wall. EG 4365

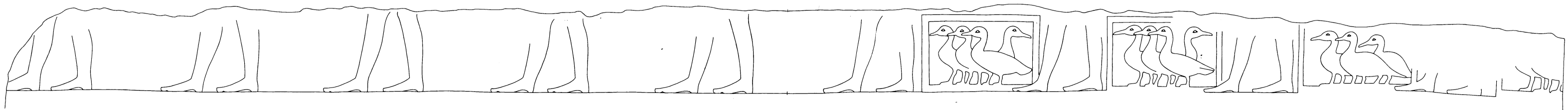
0 5 10 cm
+ + + + + 1:5



0 5 10 cm
+ + + + + 1:5

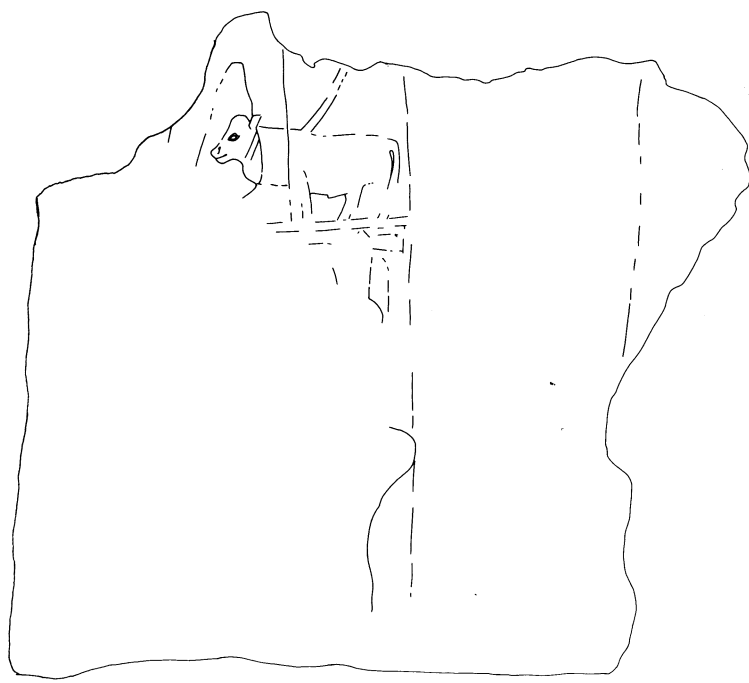
89c. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room III, relief assigned to south wall





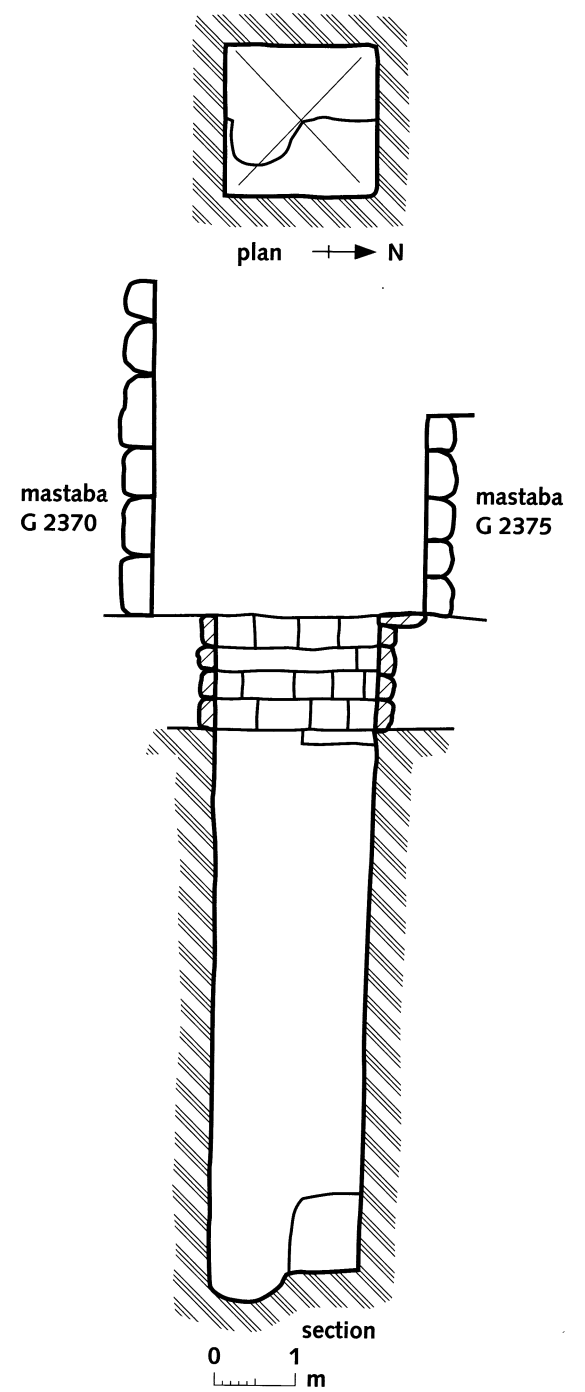
91. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room III, relief assigned to north wall. EG 4379

0 5 10 cm
+++++ 1:5

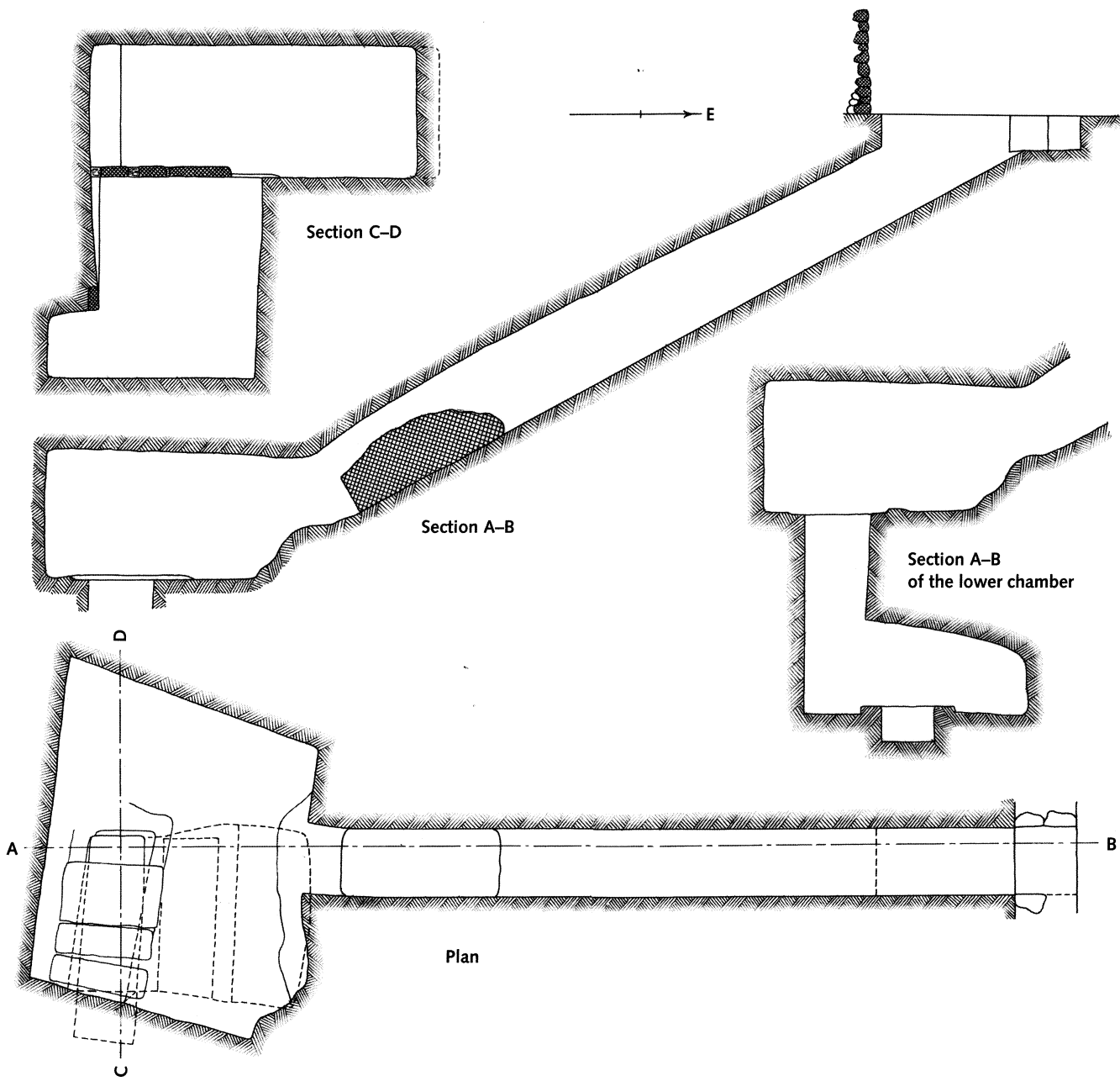


0 5 10 cm
+-----+-----+-----+
1:5

92a. Khnumenti (G 2374), Room III, relief assigned to east wall



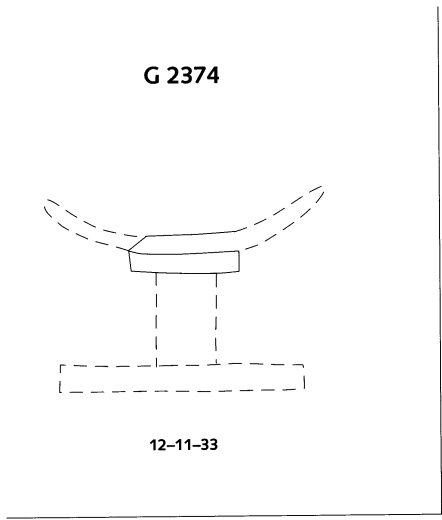
92b. Khnumenti (G 2374), plan and section of G 2374 A



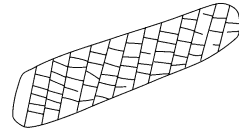
93. Khnumenti (G 2374), plan and sections of G 2385 A

G 2374

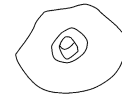
G 2385 A



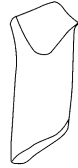
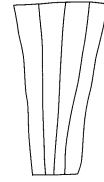
12-11-33



12-12-85



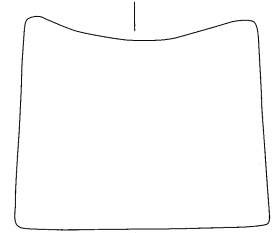
12-12-86



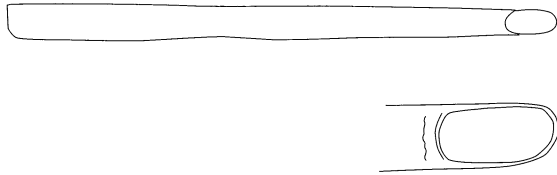
12-12-87



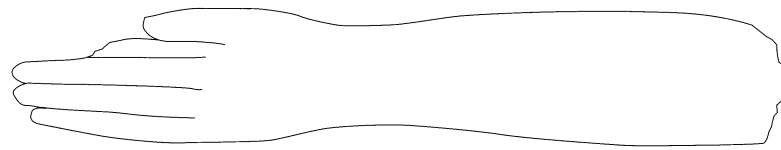
12-12-88



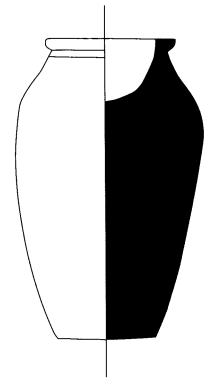
12-12-97



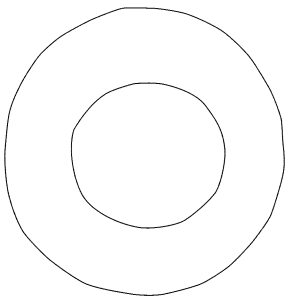
12-12-105



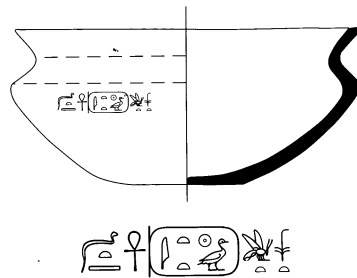
12-12-106



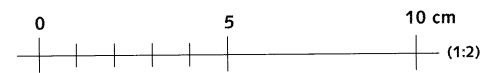
12-12-107



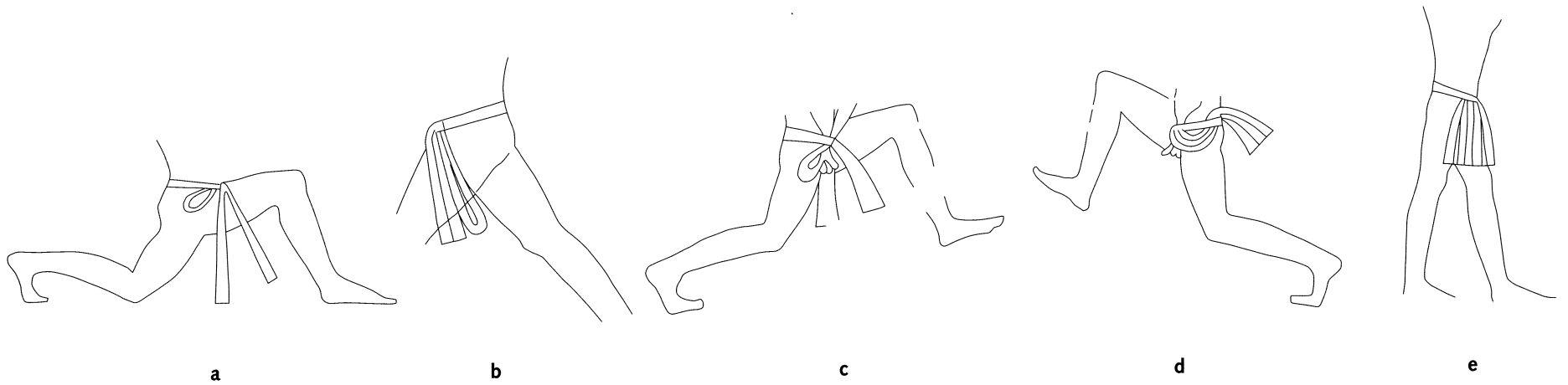
12-12-108



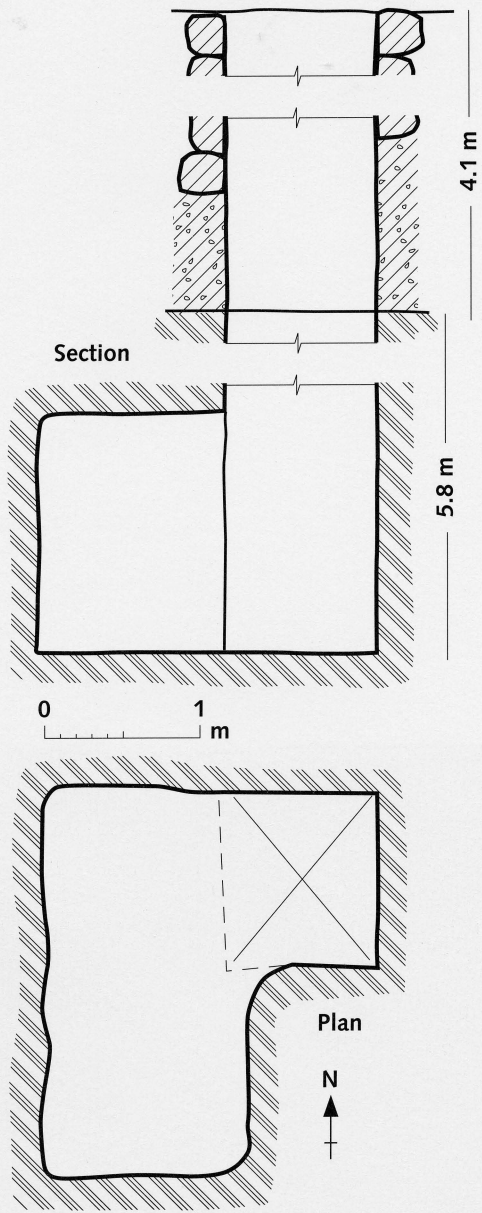
12-12-109



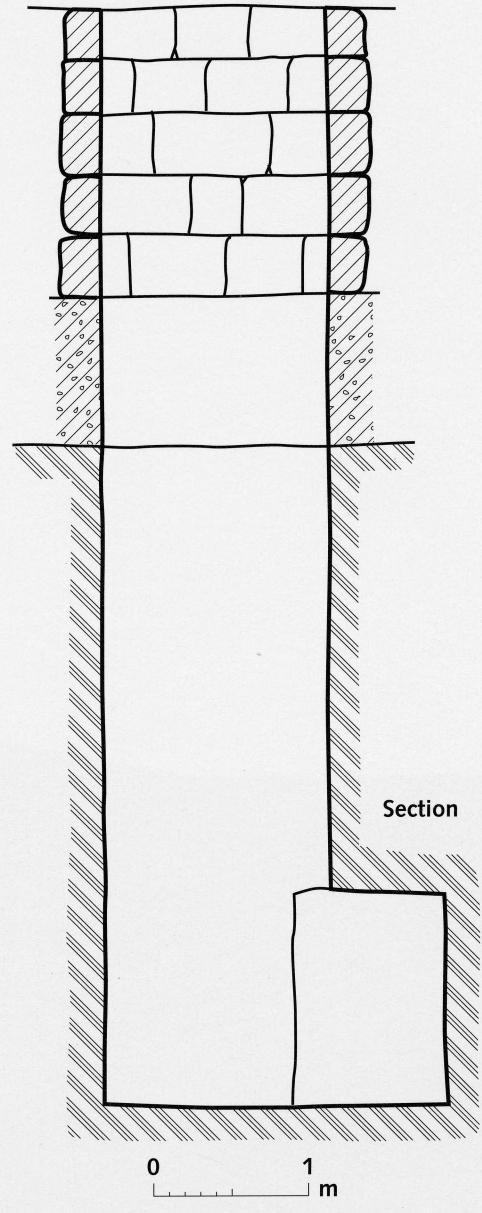
94a. Khnumenti (G 2374), objects from G 2374 and G 2385 A



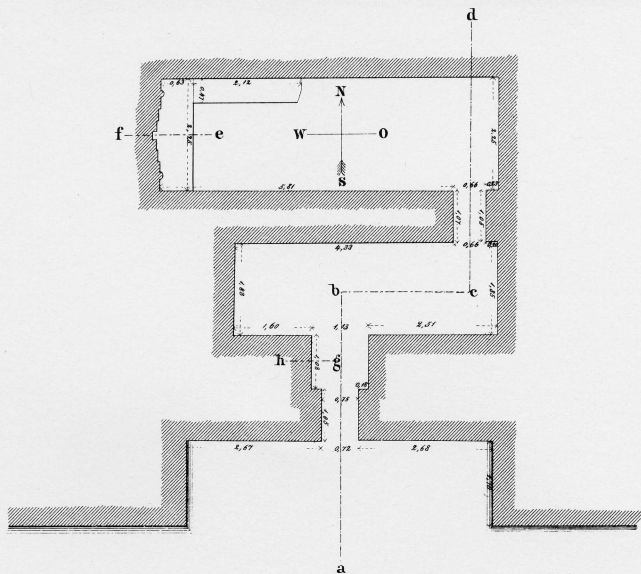
94b. Long belt-sash garments worn by laborers and porters in scenes of daily life



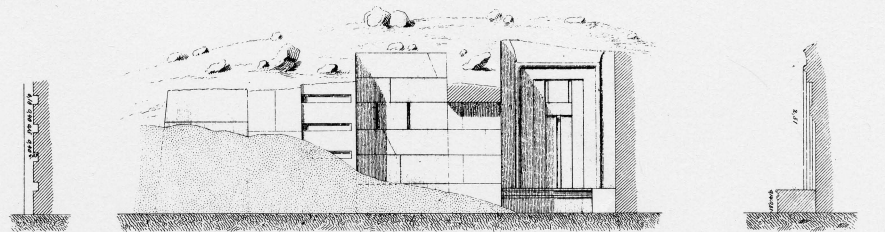
95a. Plan and section of G 2376 A



95b. Plan and section of G 2377 A



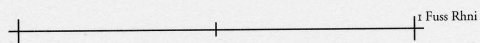
Grundriss.



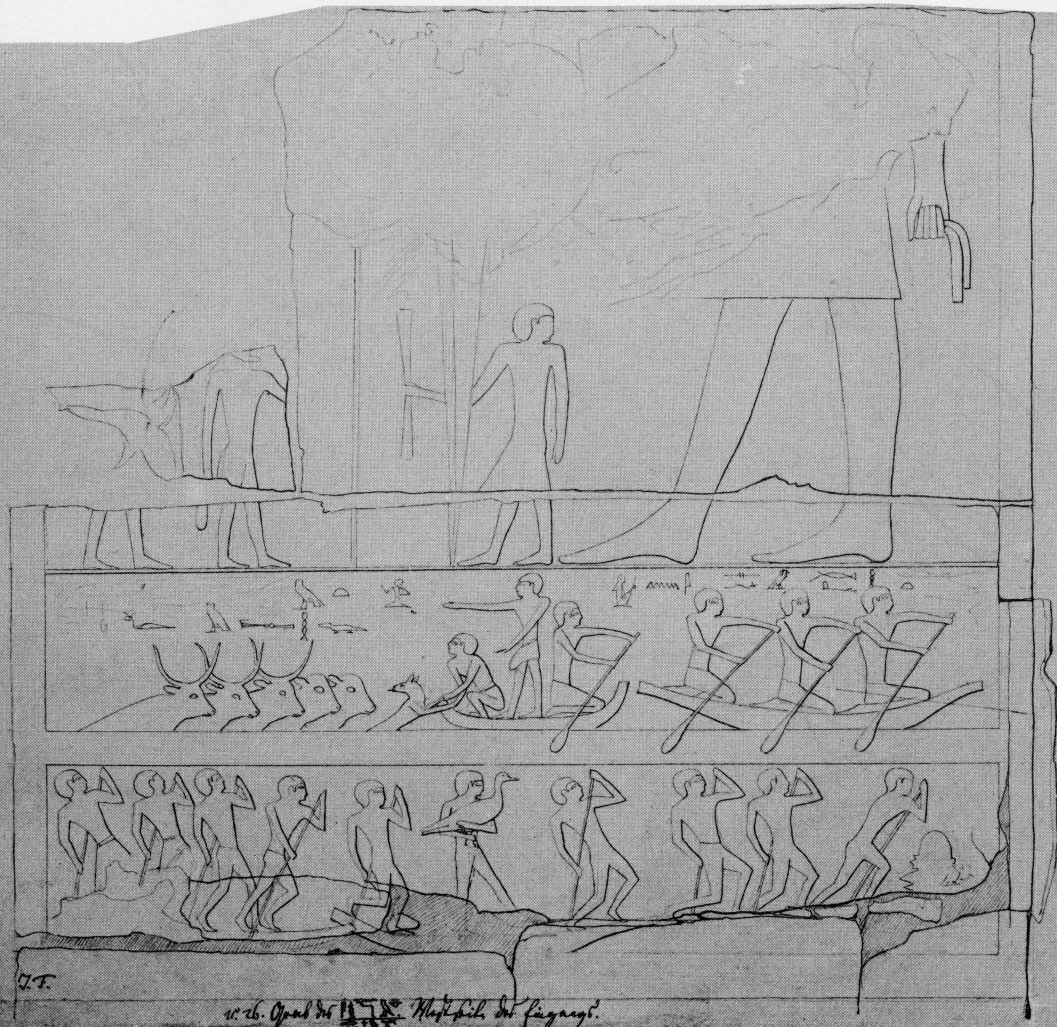
Durchschnitt nach gh.

Durchschnitt nach abed.

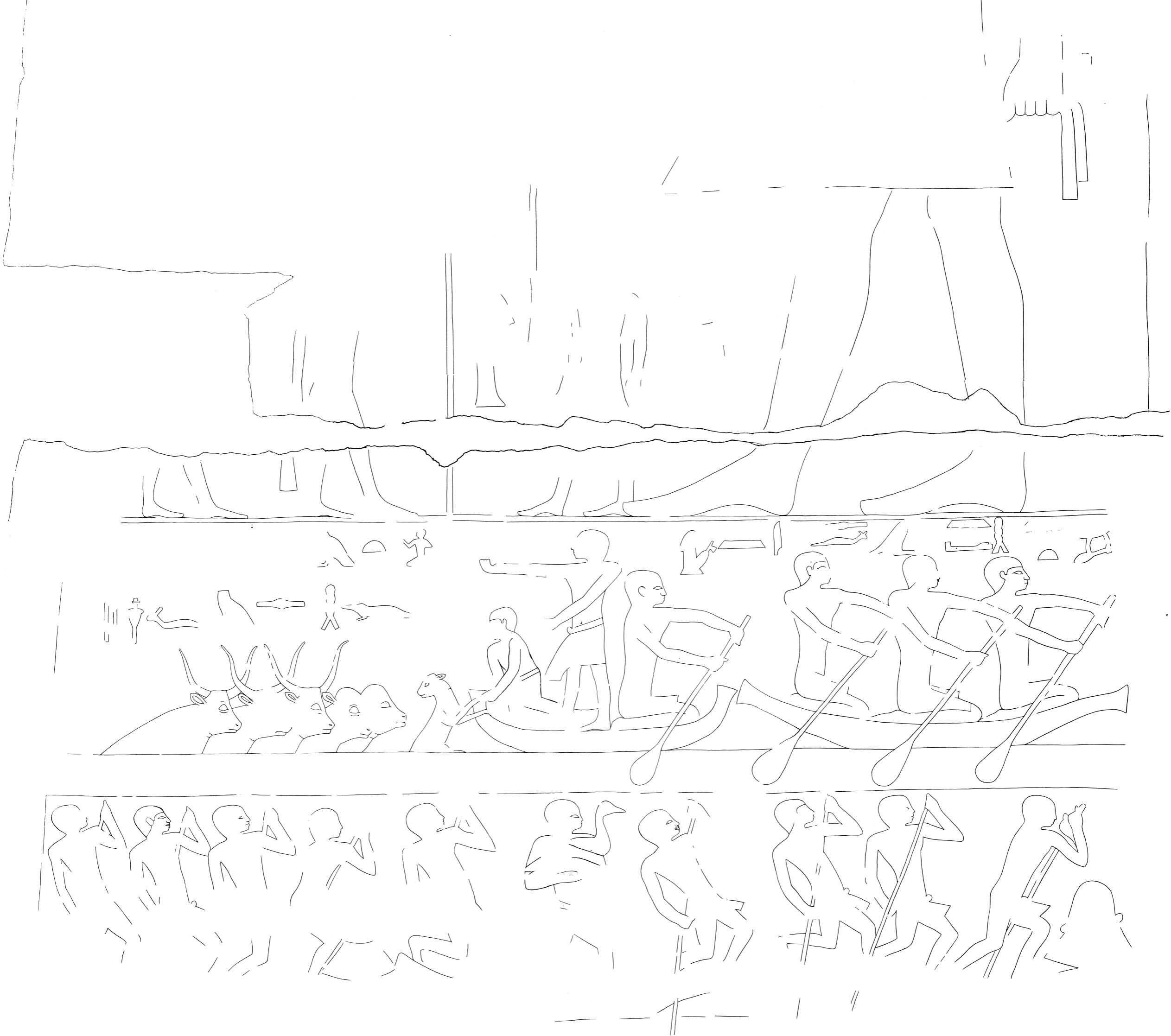
Durchschnitt nach ef.



95c. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), plan and sections; LD 1, pl. 23 [top]

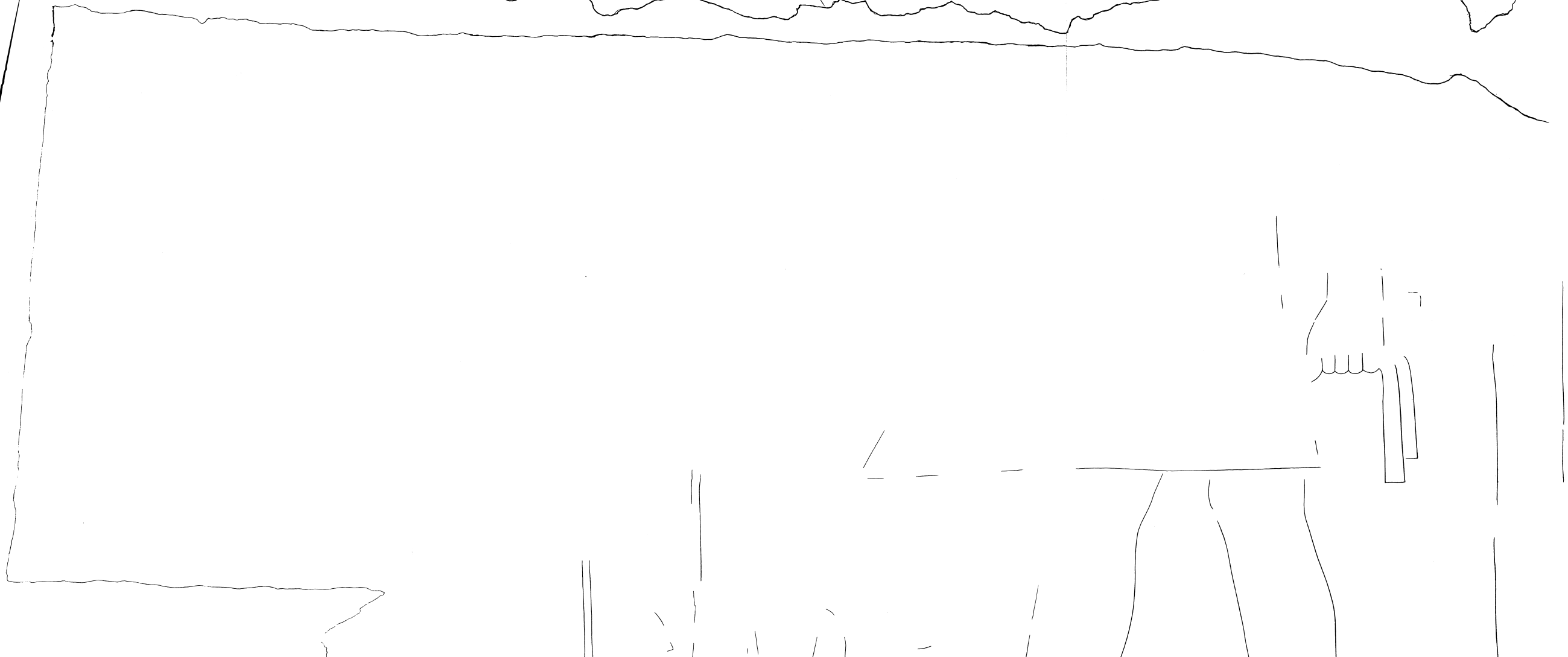
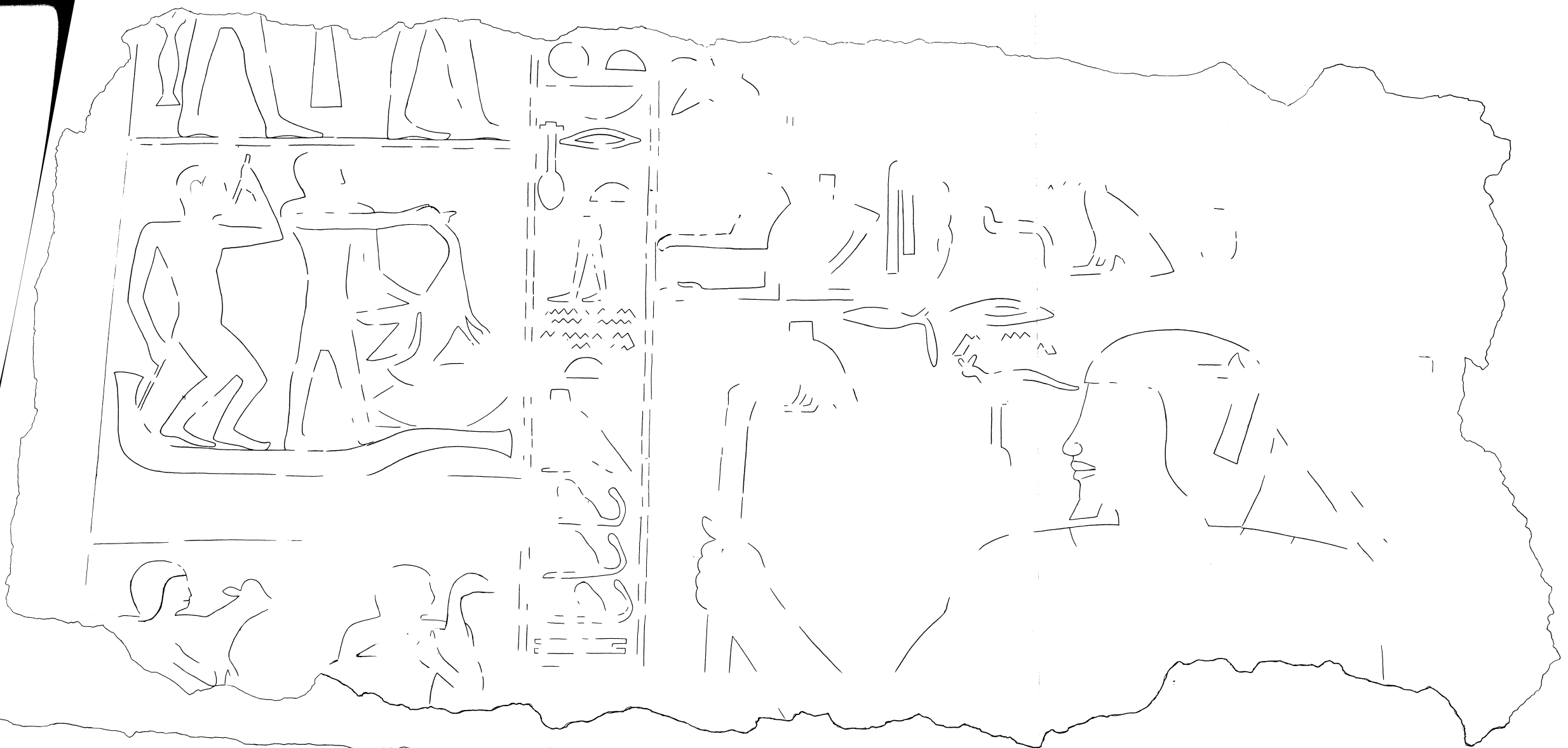


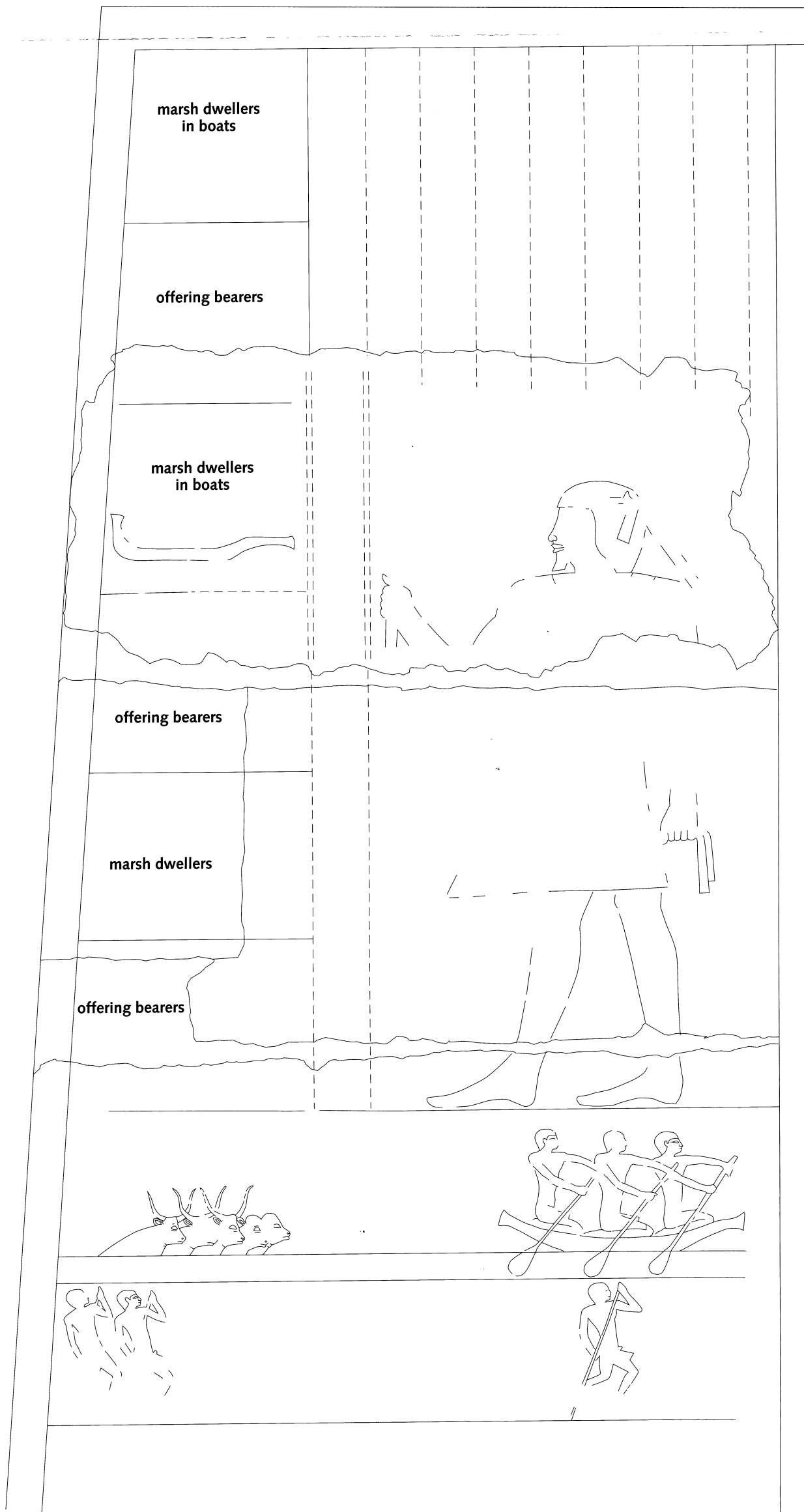
96. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, west wall; LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xii [lower]



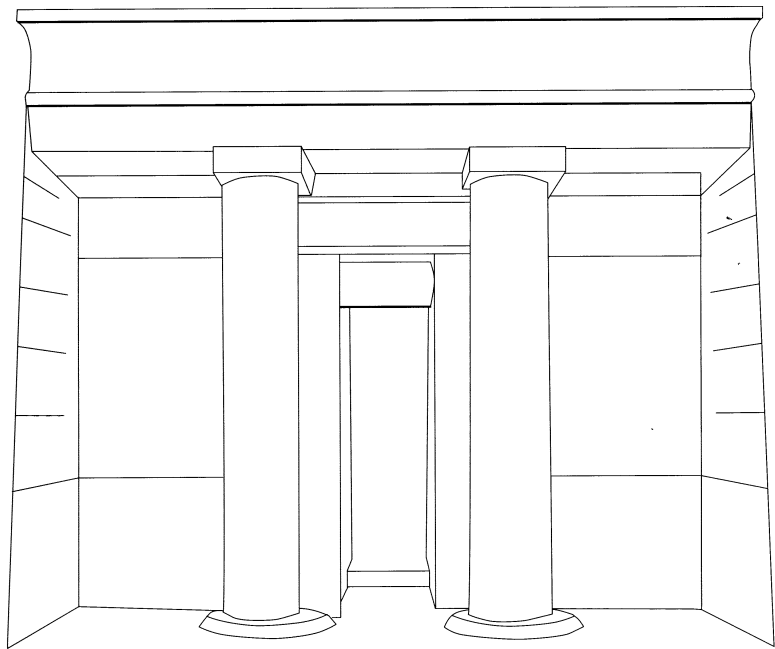
97. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, west wall. EG 4478-4480

0 5 10 cm
+++++ 1:5

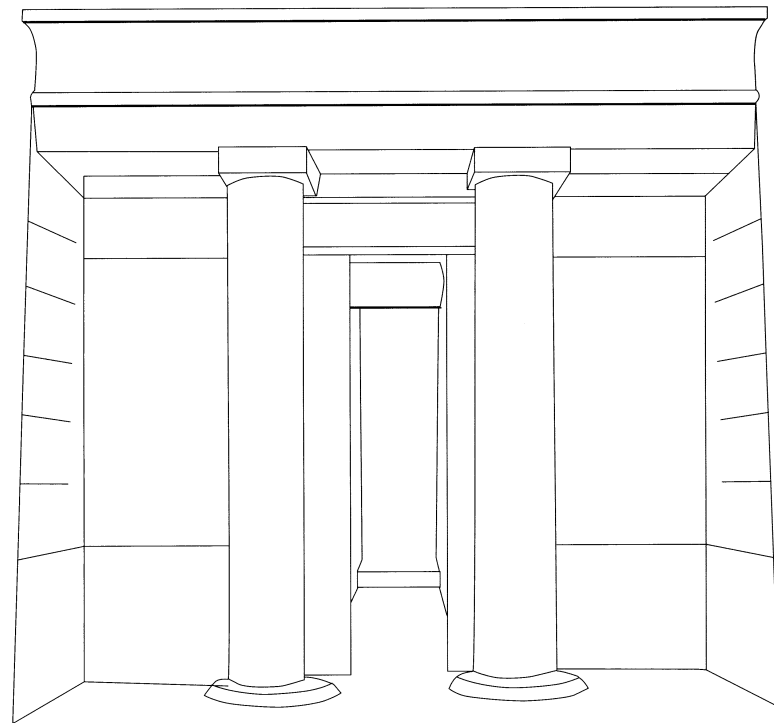




98. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), schematic reconstruction of west wall of portico

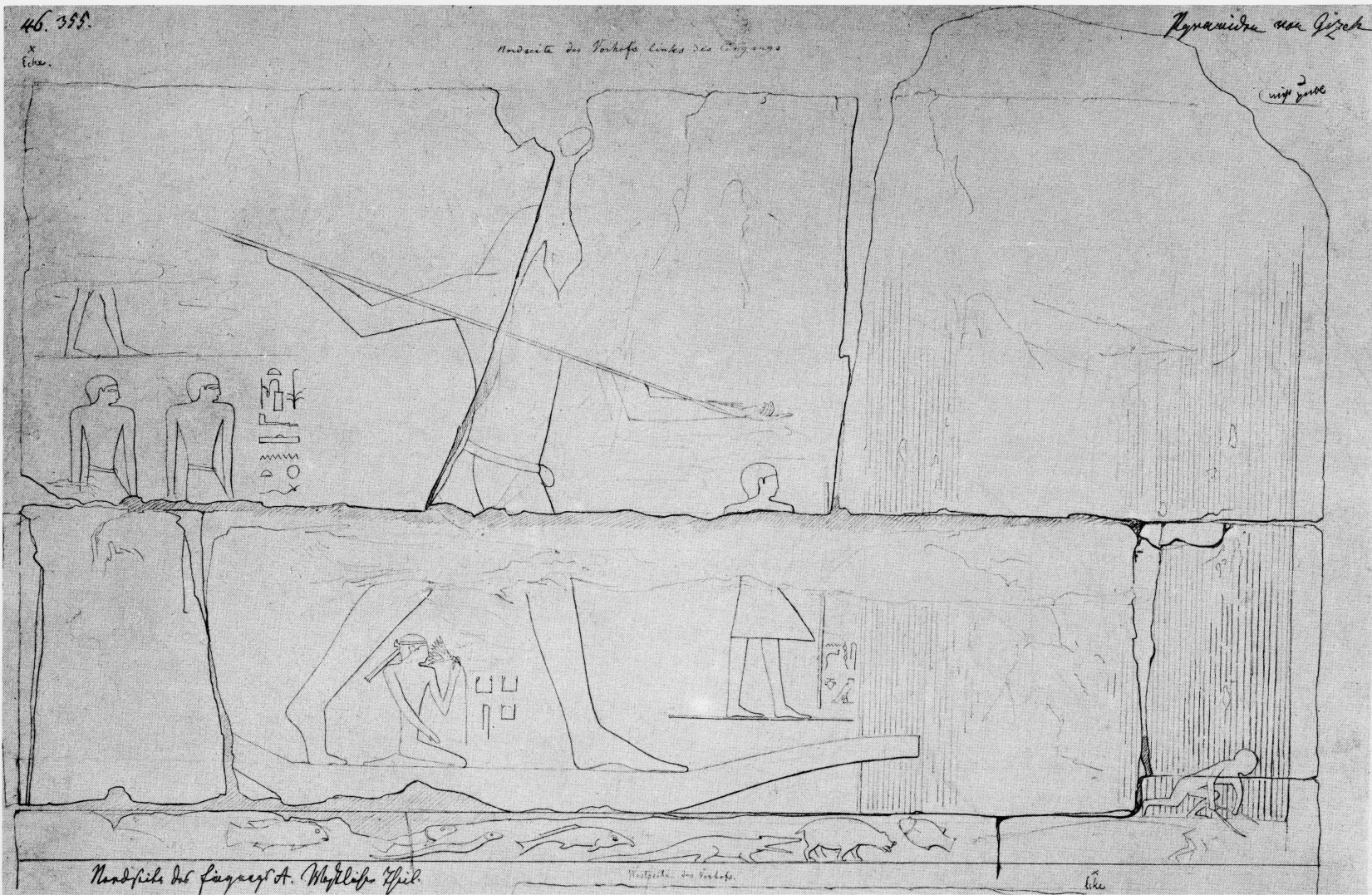


a

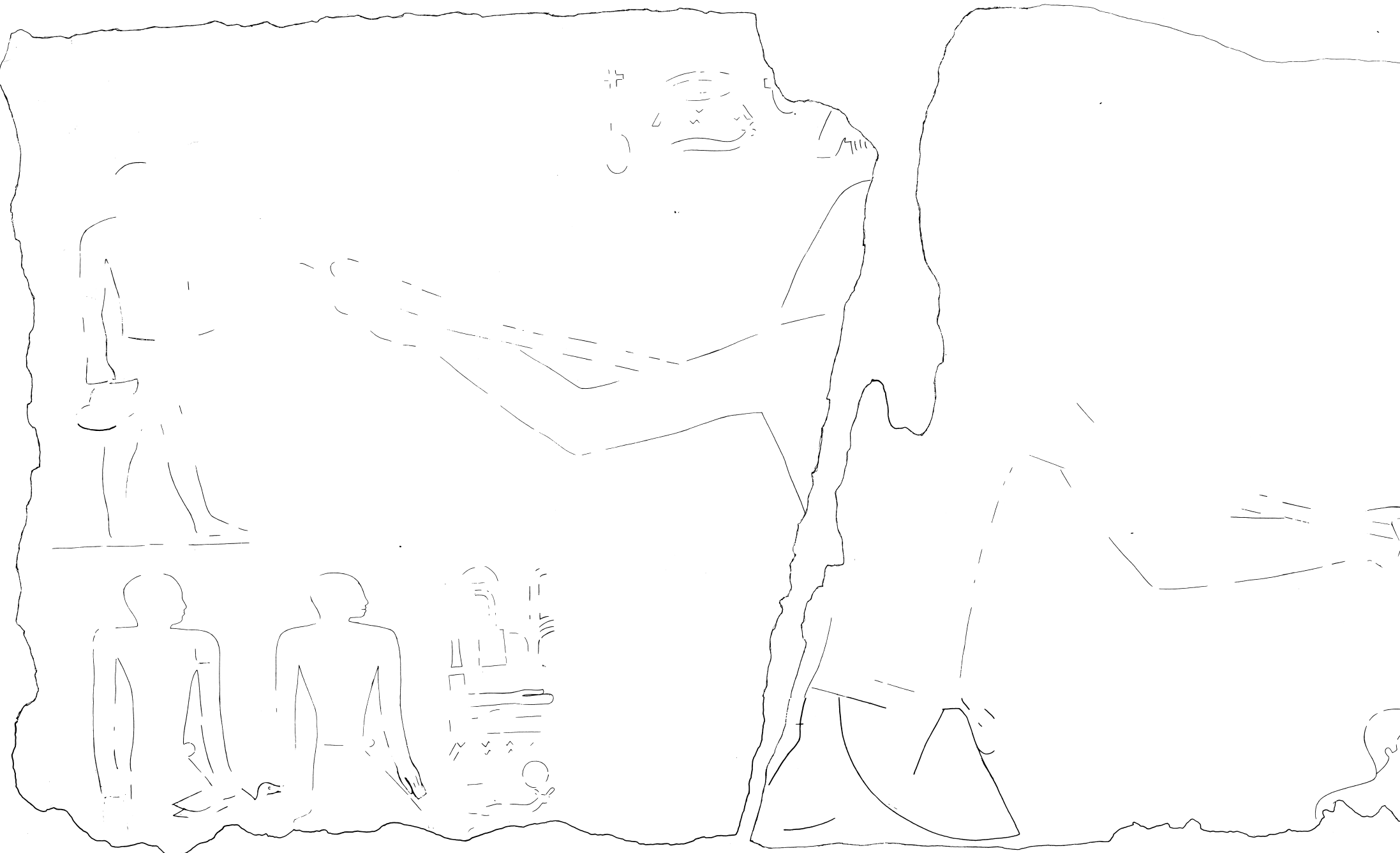


b

99. Reconstructions of front elevations of tombs of Seshemnofer IV (a) and Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378) (b)



100. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, north wall, west of entrance; LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xii [upper]



101. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, north wall, west of entrance. EG 4477, 4481

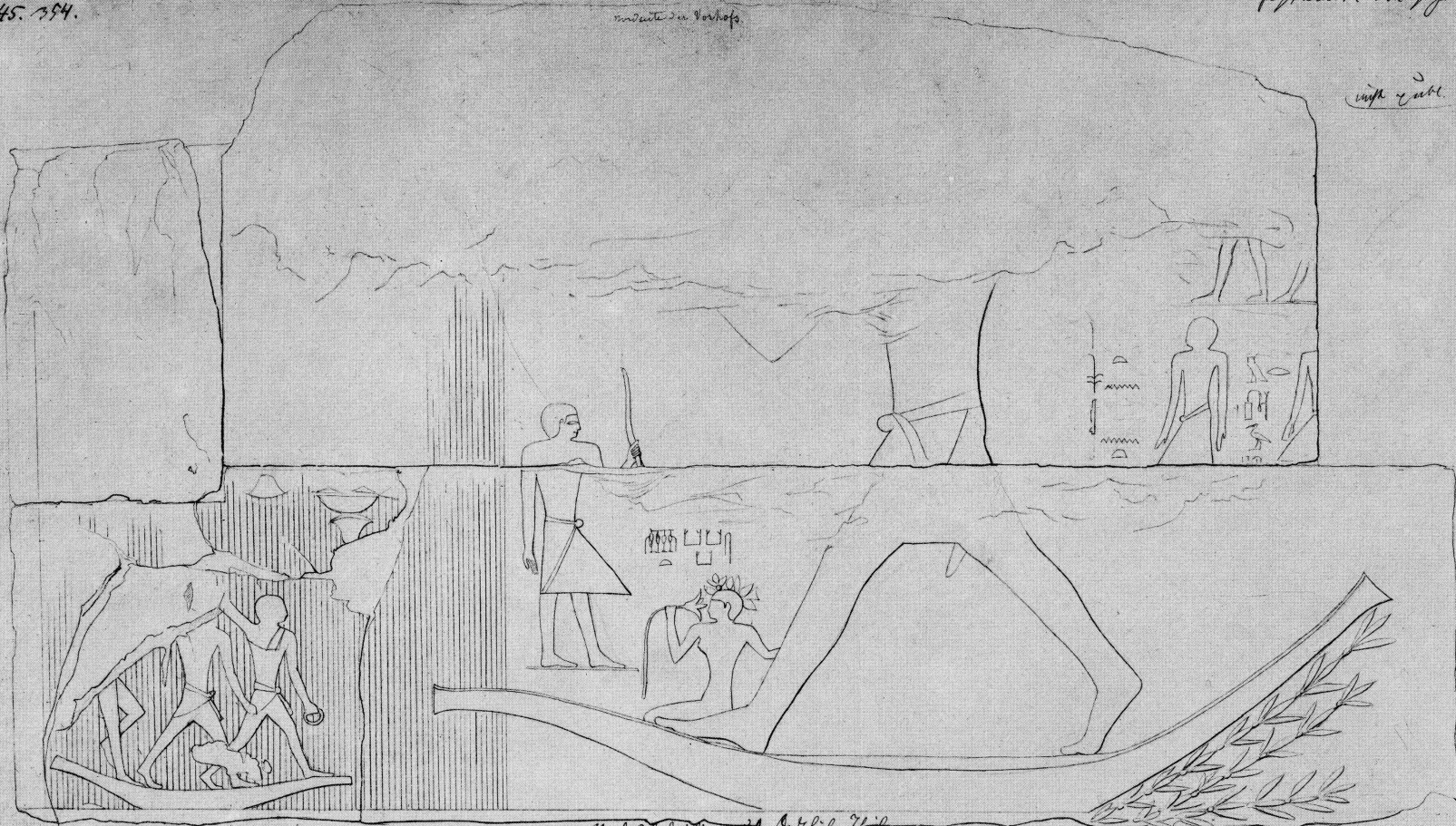


45. 354.

portico im Vorhof

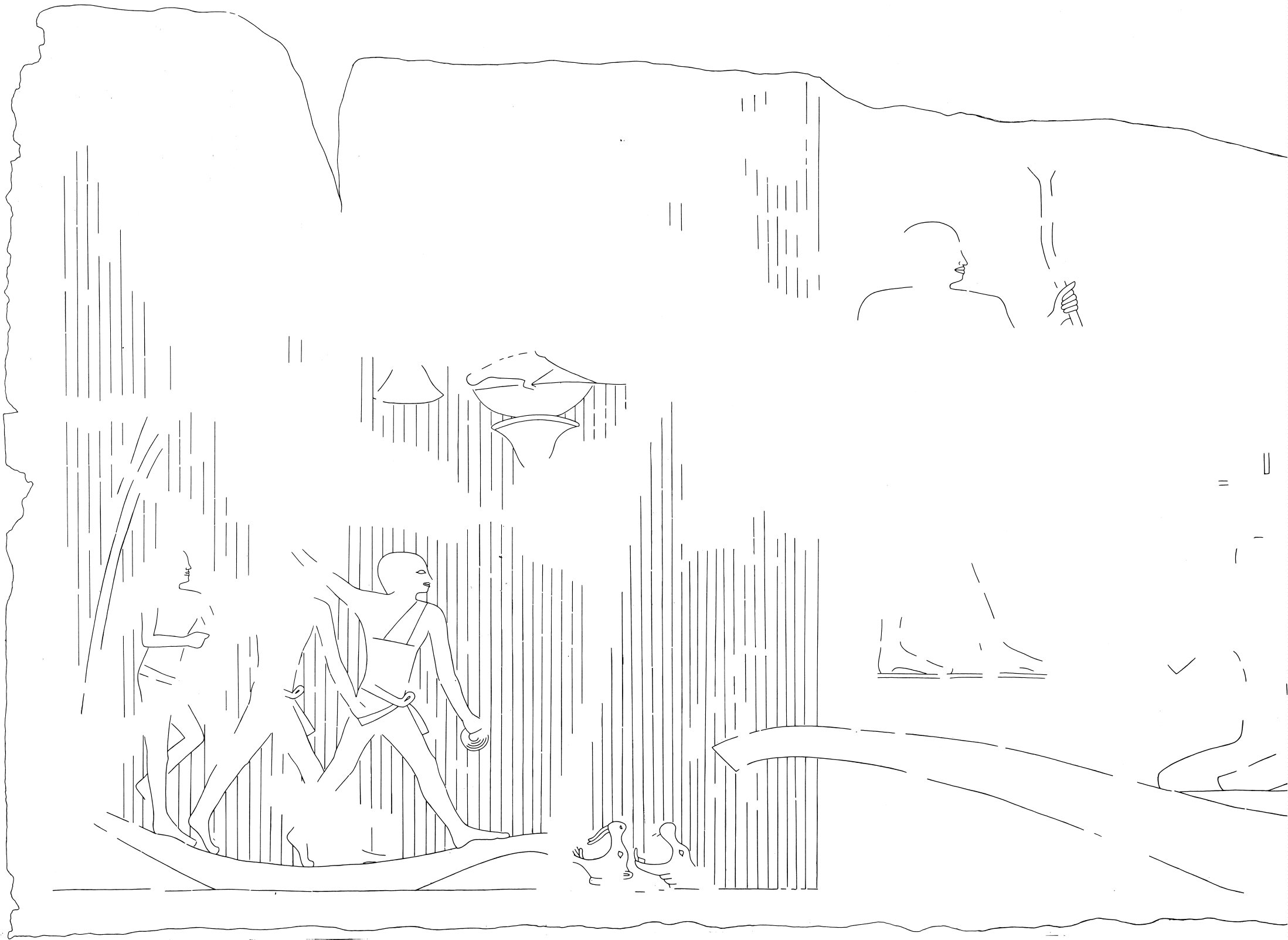
Koppeiden von Gizah

Weg zum

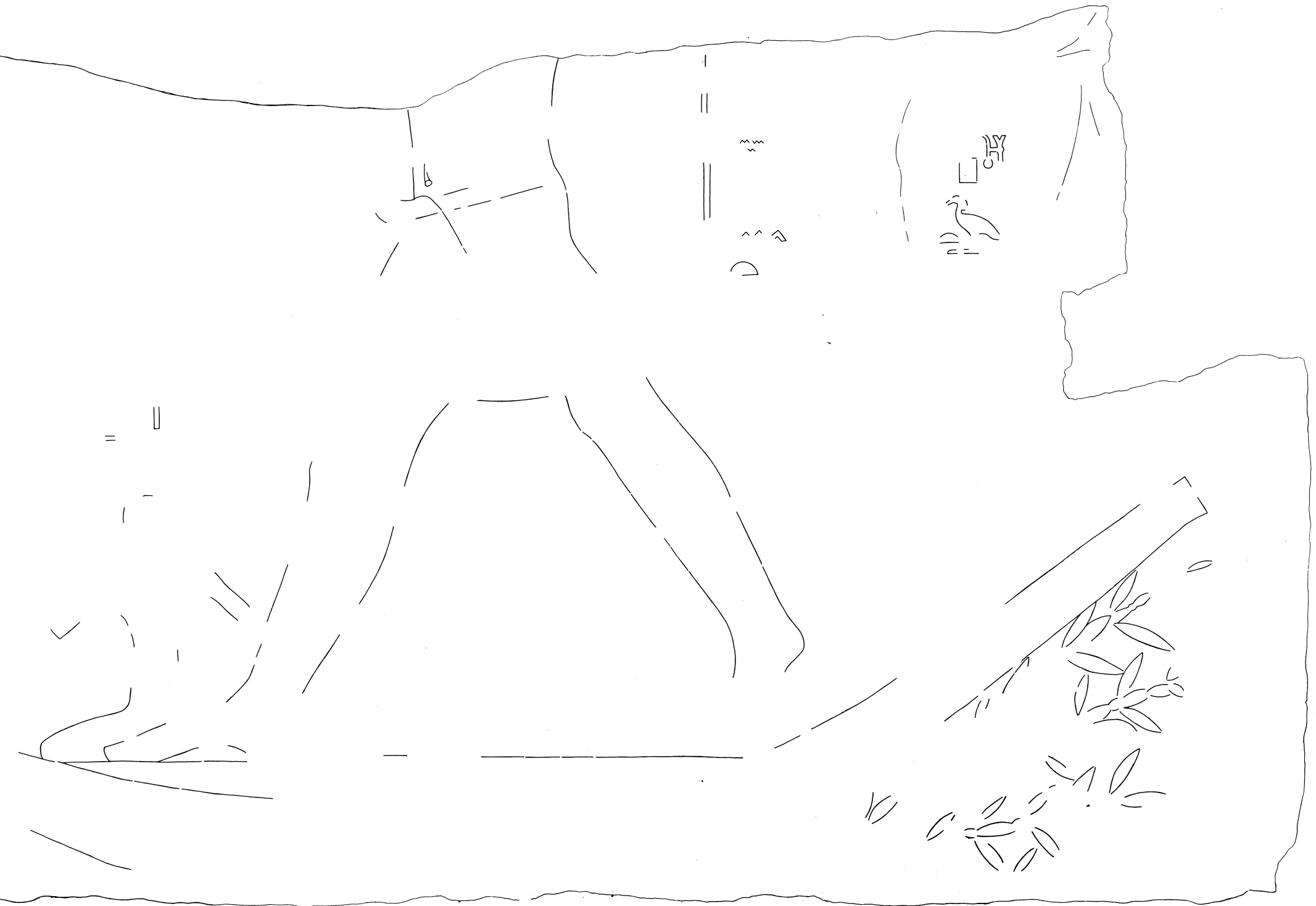


Nord-Py. des Gizaer A. Ostl. Lager Teil.
portico im Vorhof

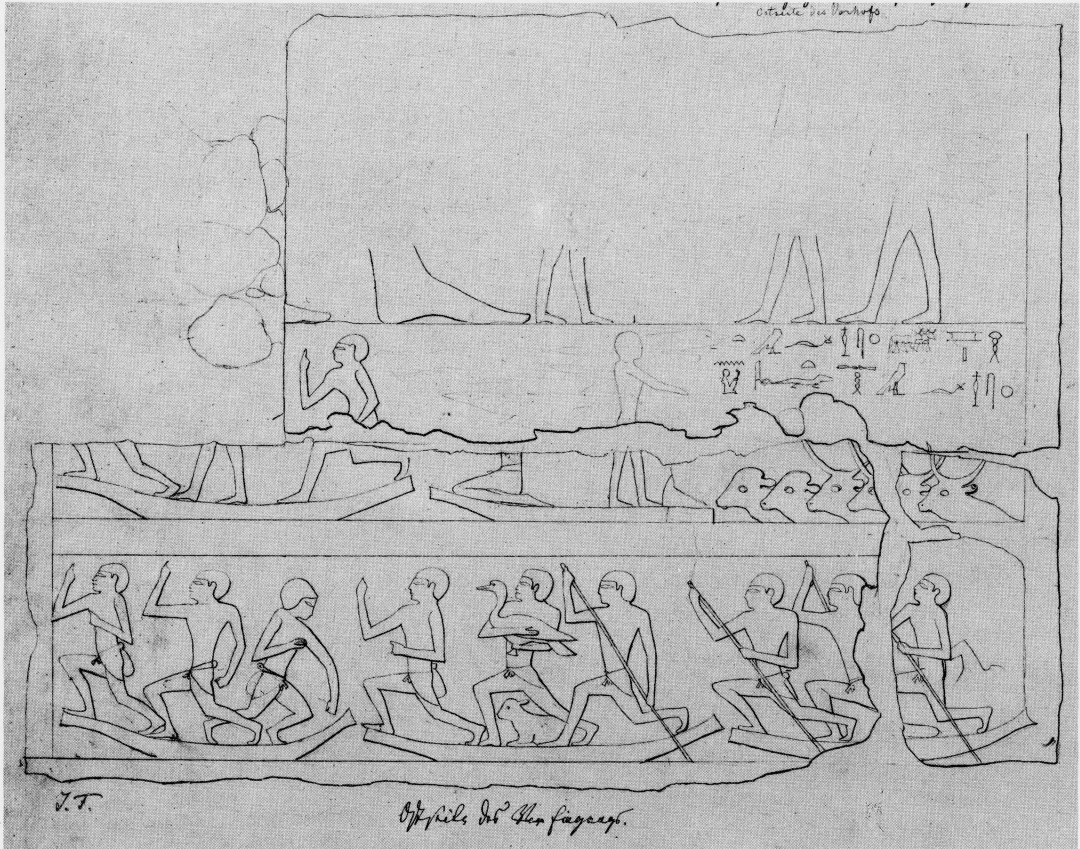
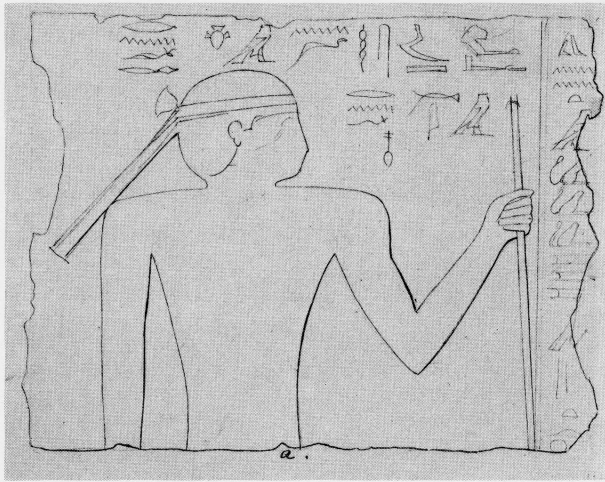
102. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, north wall, east of entrance; LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xi [upper]



103. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), portico, north wall, east of entrance. EG 4444

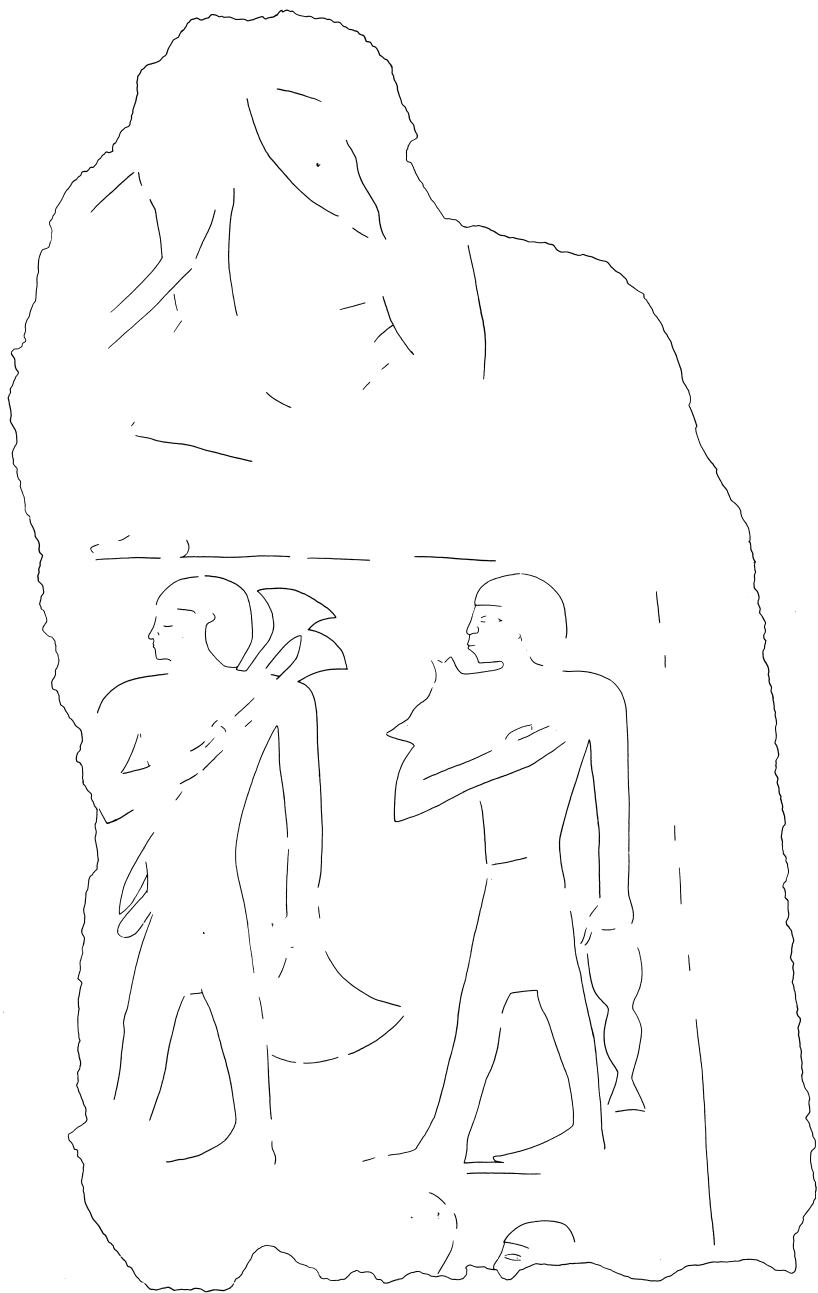


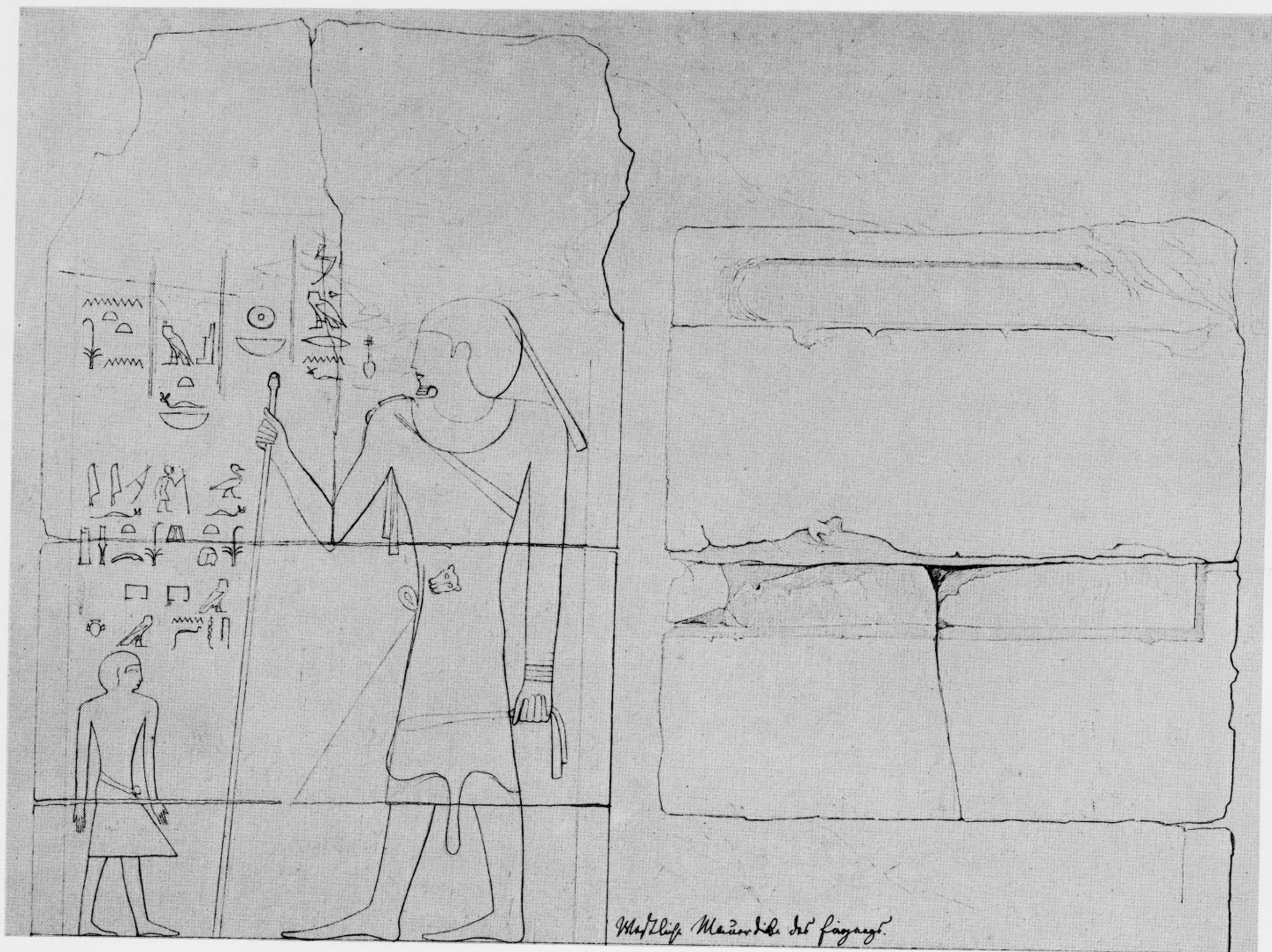
0 5 10 cm
+ + + + + | 1:5











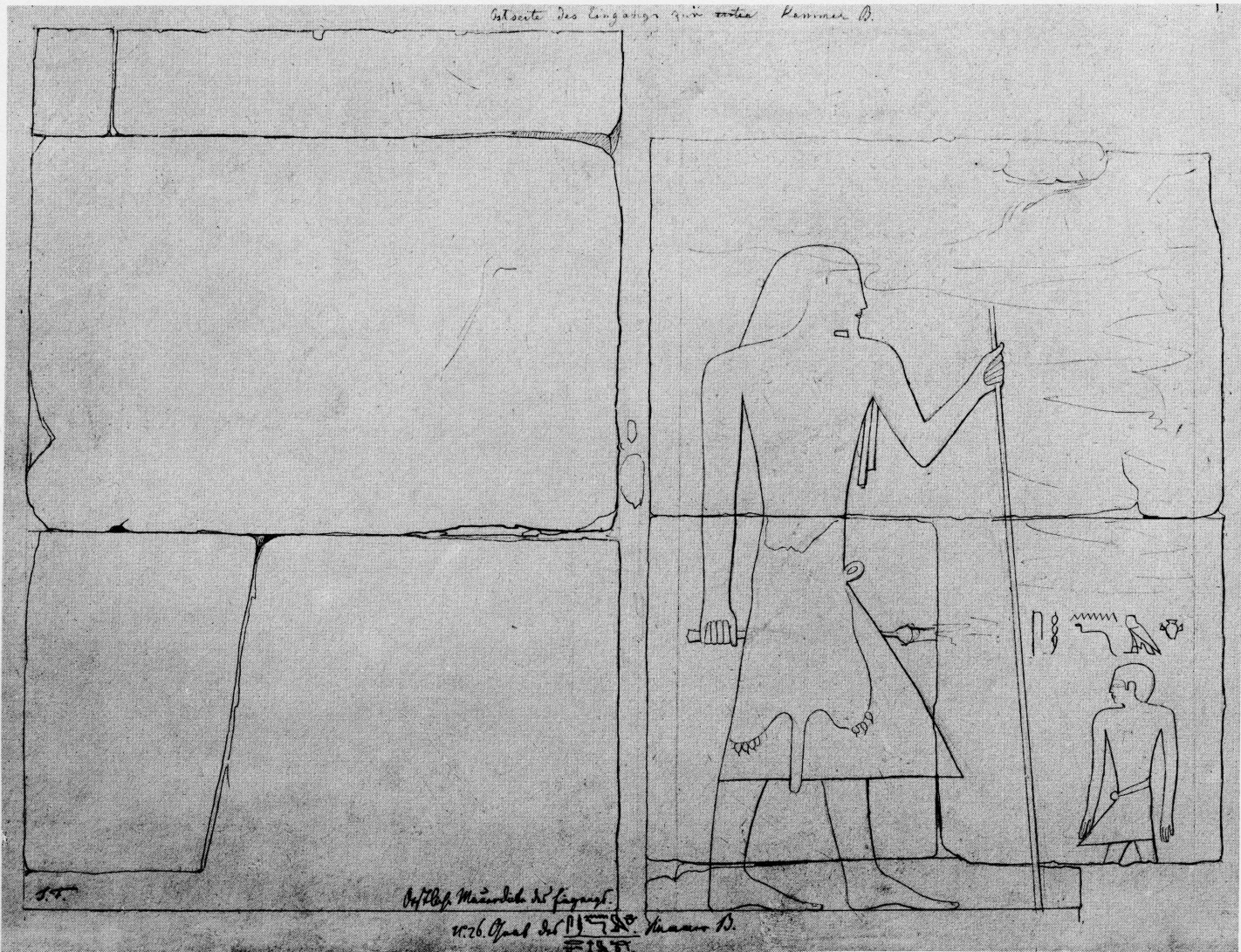
106. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), left (west) outer and inner entrance thicknesses; LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xiii [upper]



107. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), left (west) entrance thickness. EG 4468.

0 5 10 cm
+ + + + + | 1:5

Assozierte des Langsinger qui entee Kammer D.



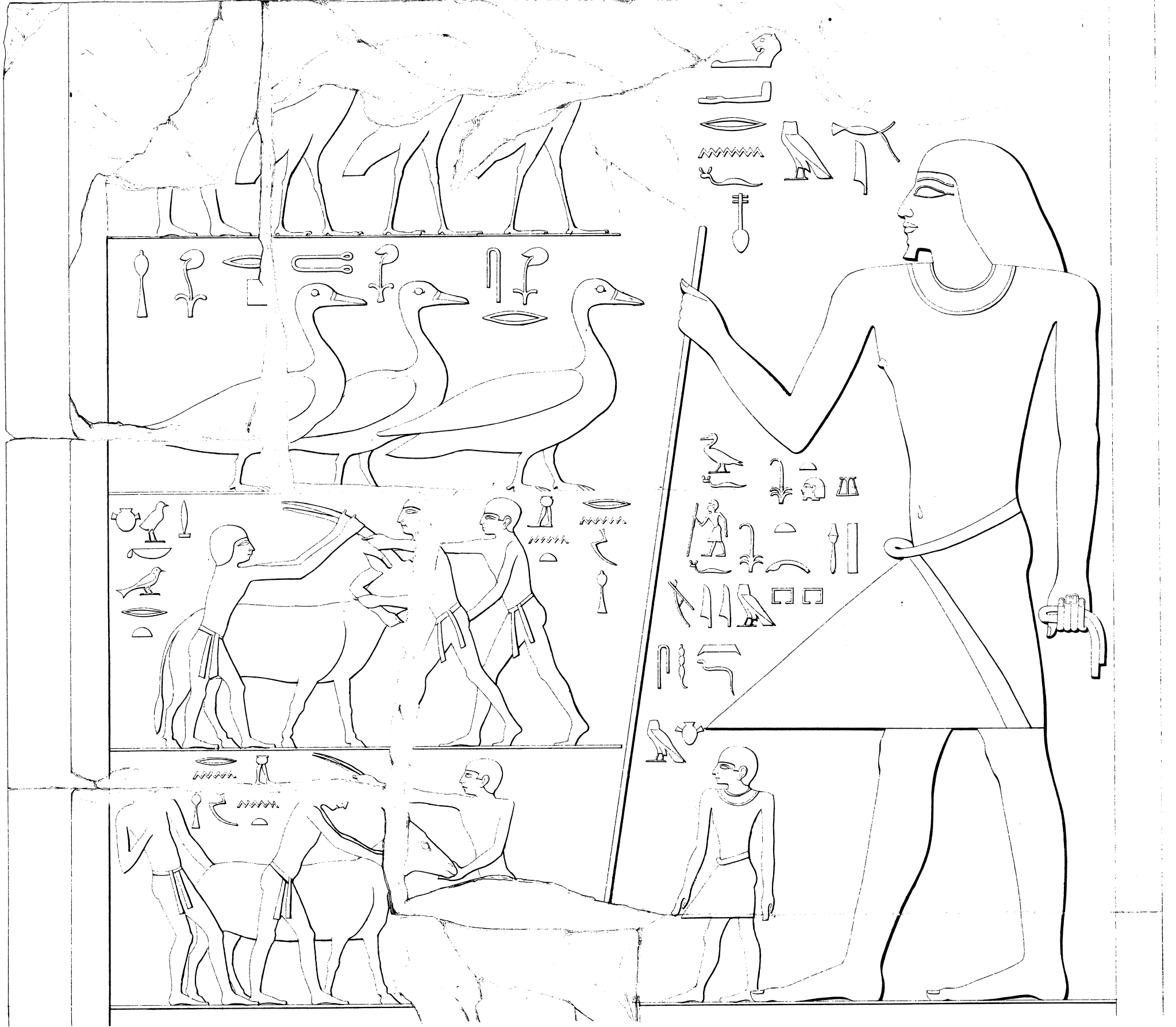
Assozierte des Langsinger qui entee Kammer D.

11.26. April des 1179. Kammer D.
E. A. R.

108. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), right (east) outer and inner entrance thicknesses; LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xiii [lower]



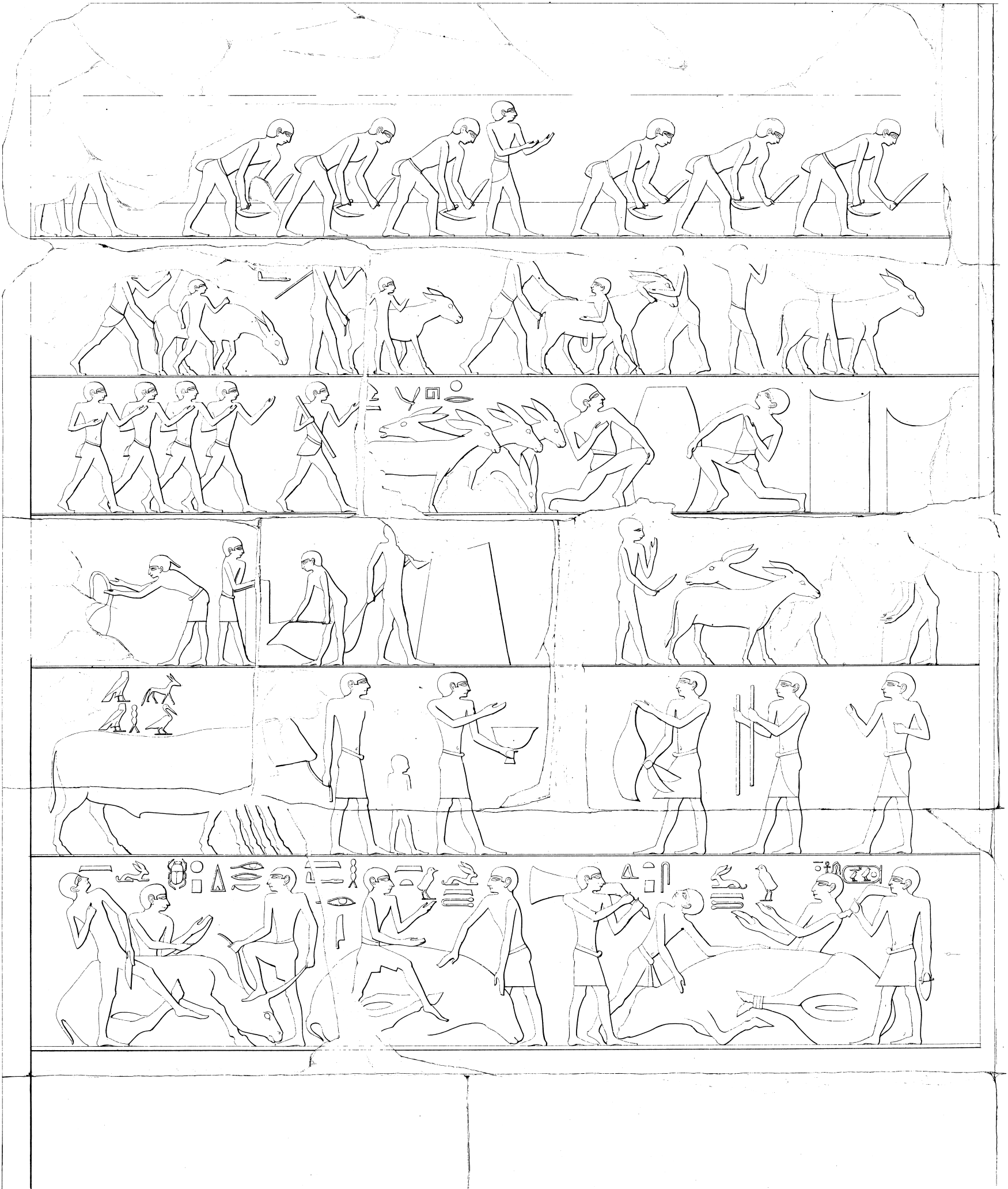
109. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), right (east) entrance thickness. EG 4469



110. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, south wall, west of entrance; LD 2, pl. 74b



III. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, south wall, west of entrance. EG 4476

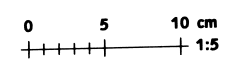


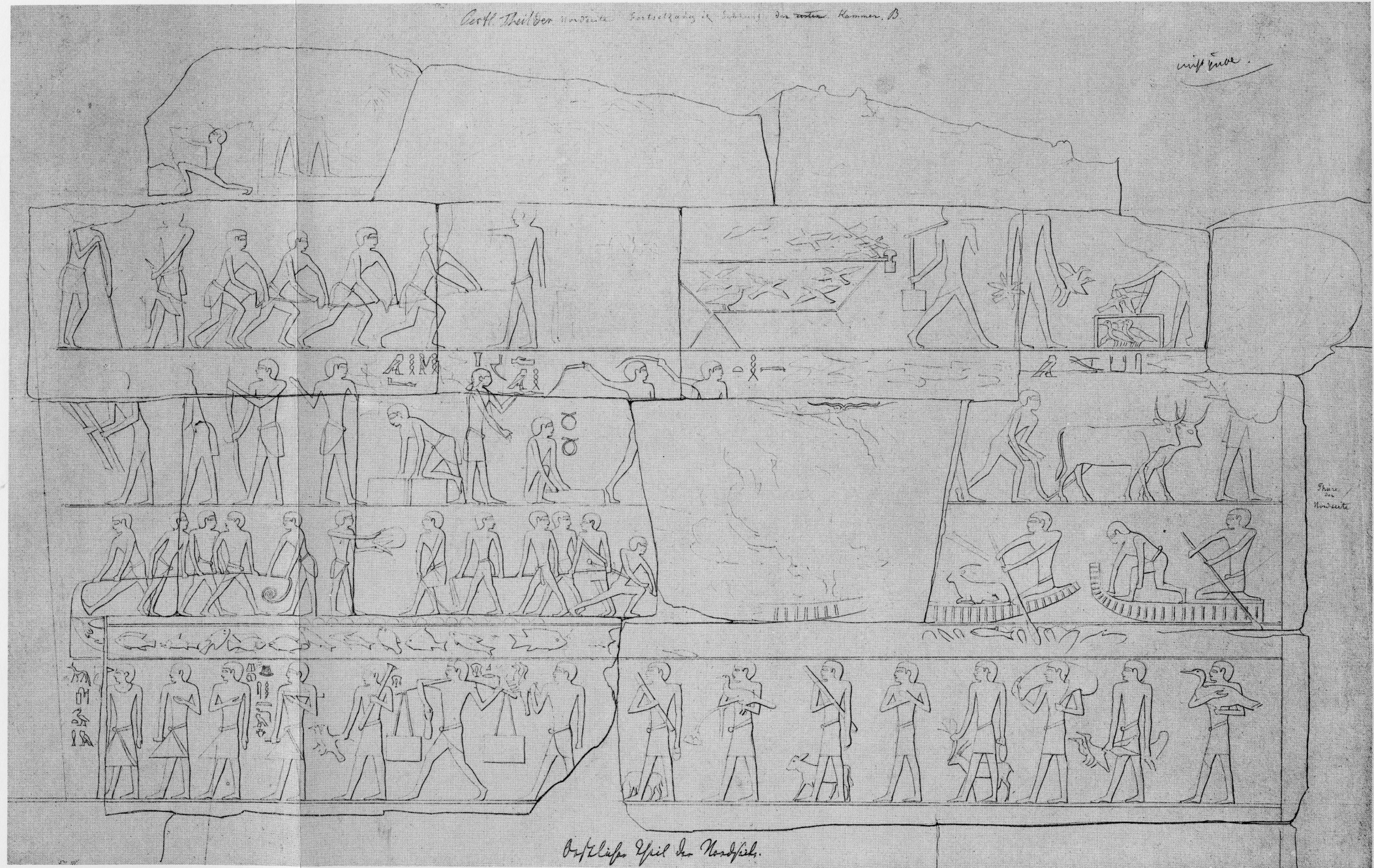
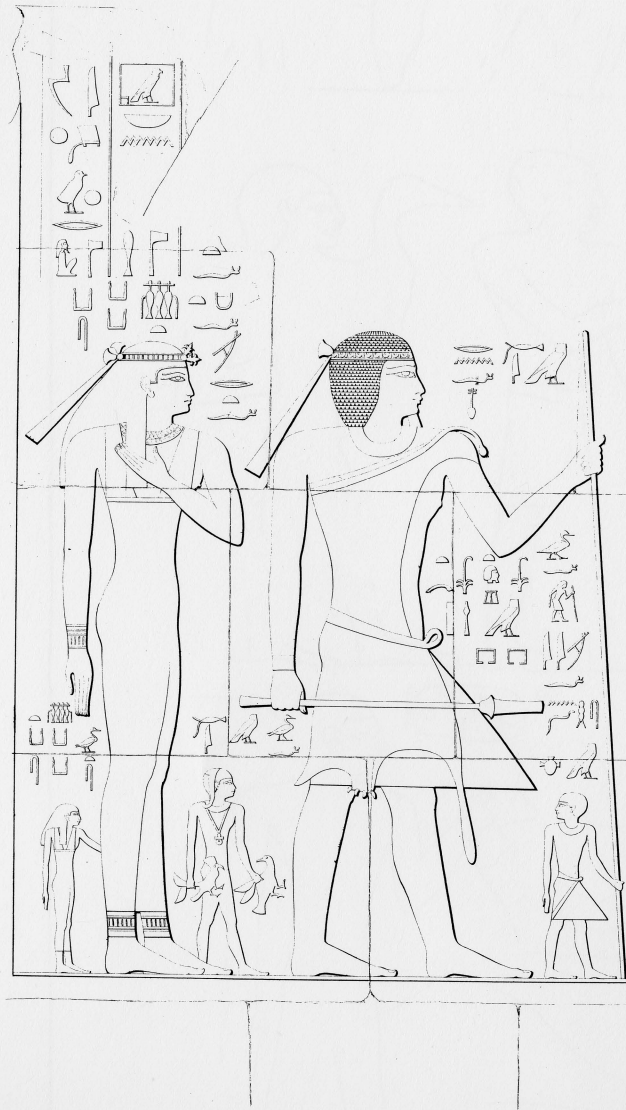
Ges. v. J. Frey.

112. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, west wall; LD 2, pl. 73 [left]



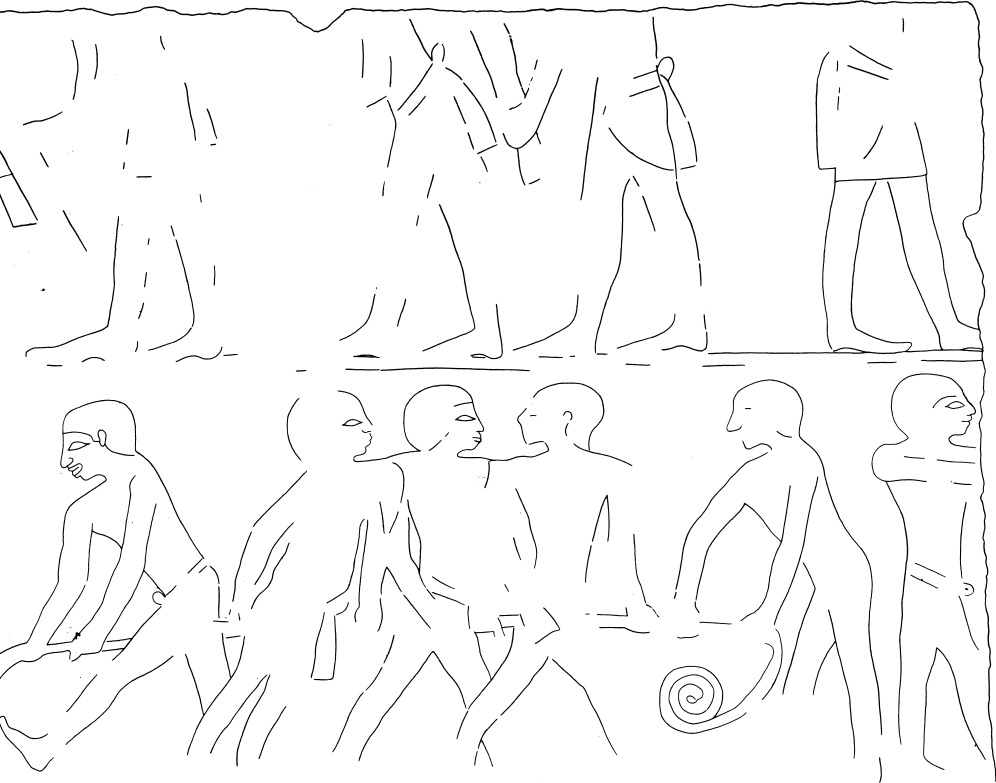
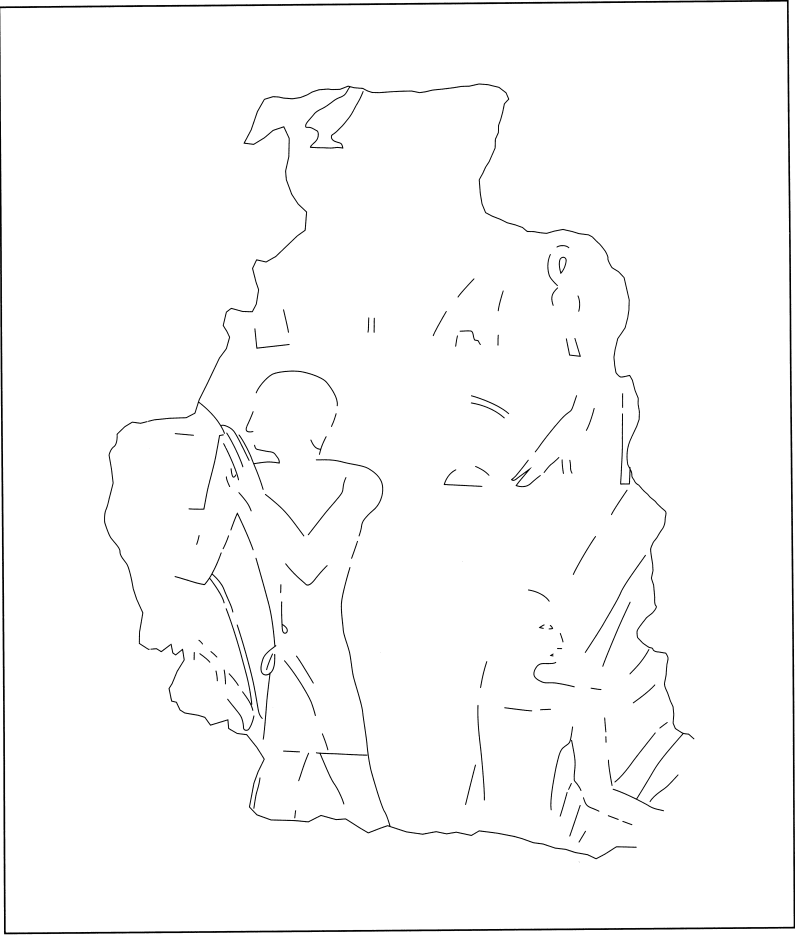
113. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, west wall. EG 4471, 4475

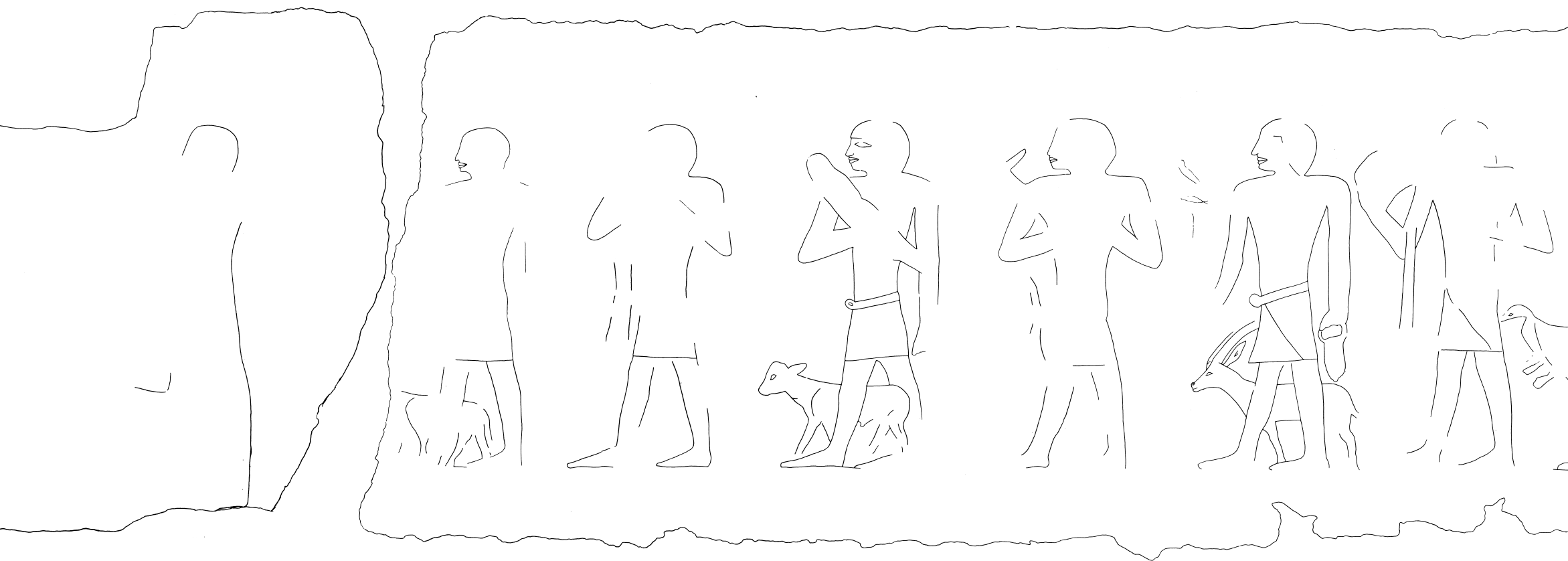


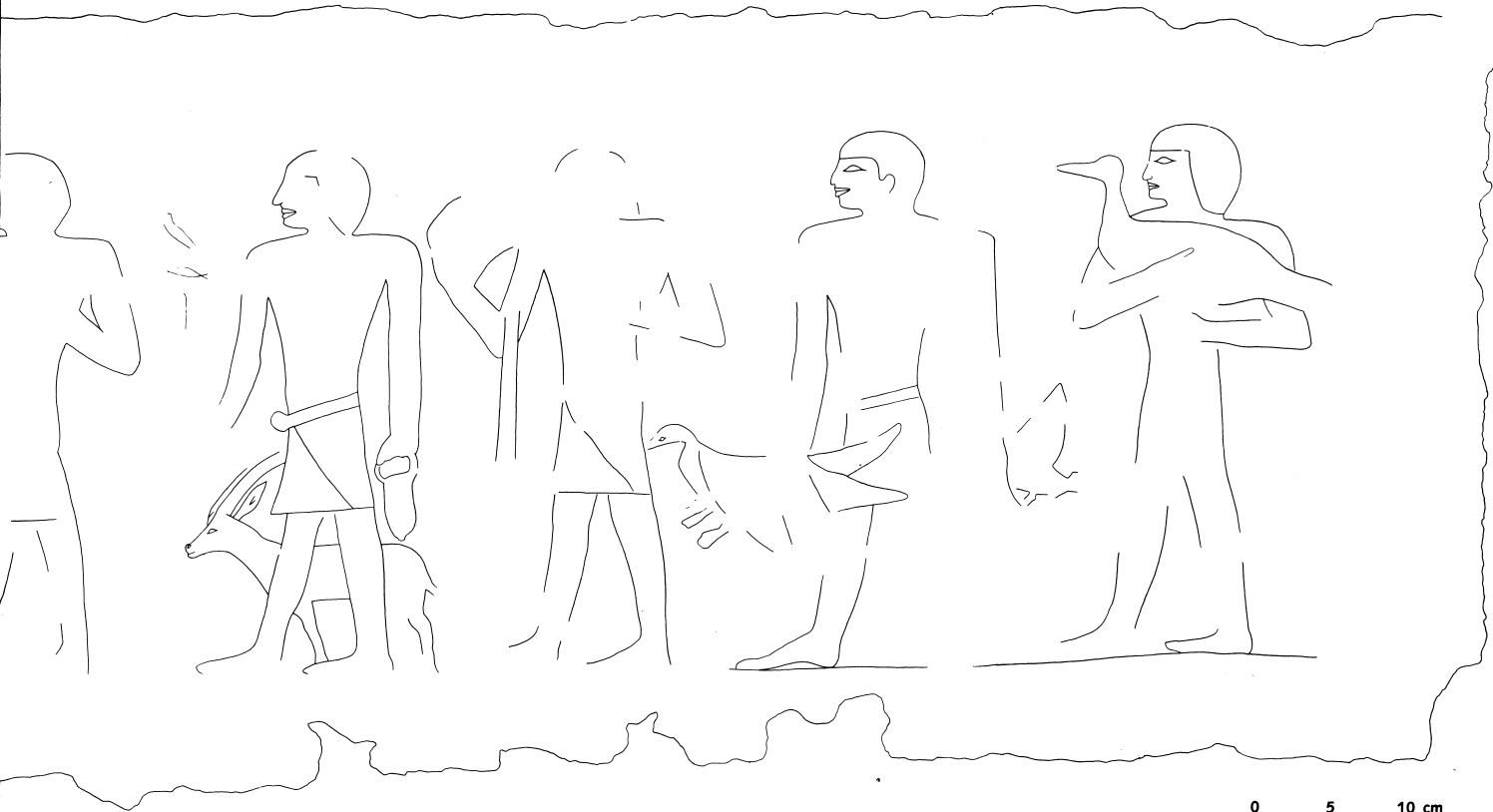




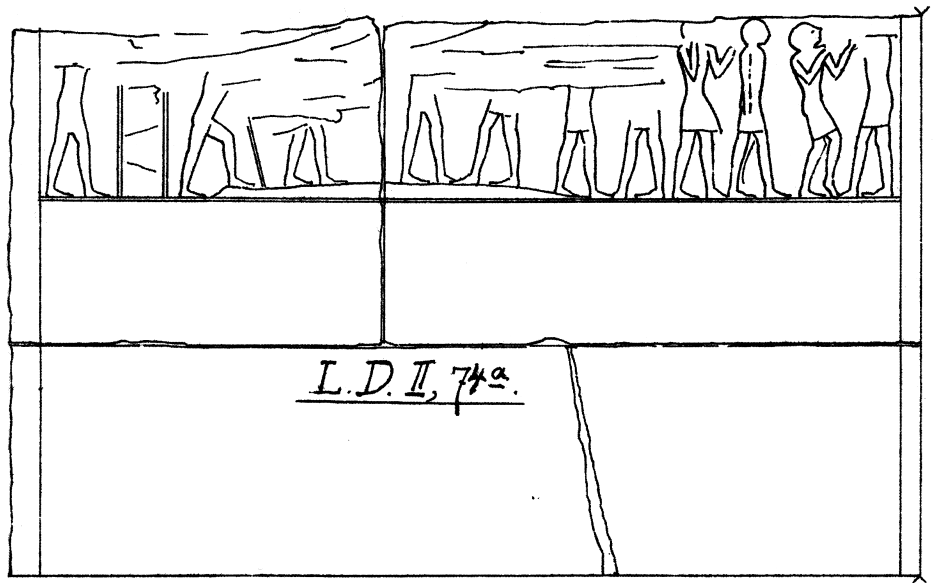
115. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, north wall. EG 4464, 4473-4474 and fragmentary relief with vintners assigned to north wall; after HU-BMFA Exp. Ph. v 8547





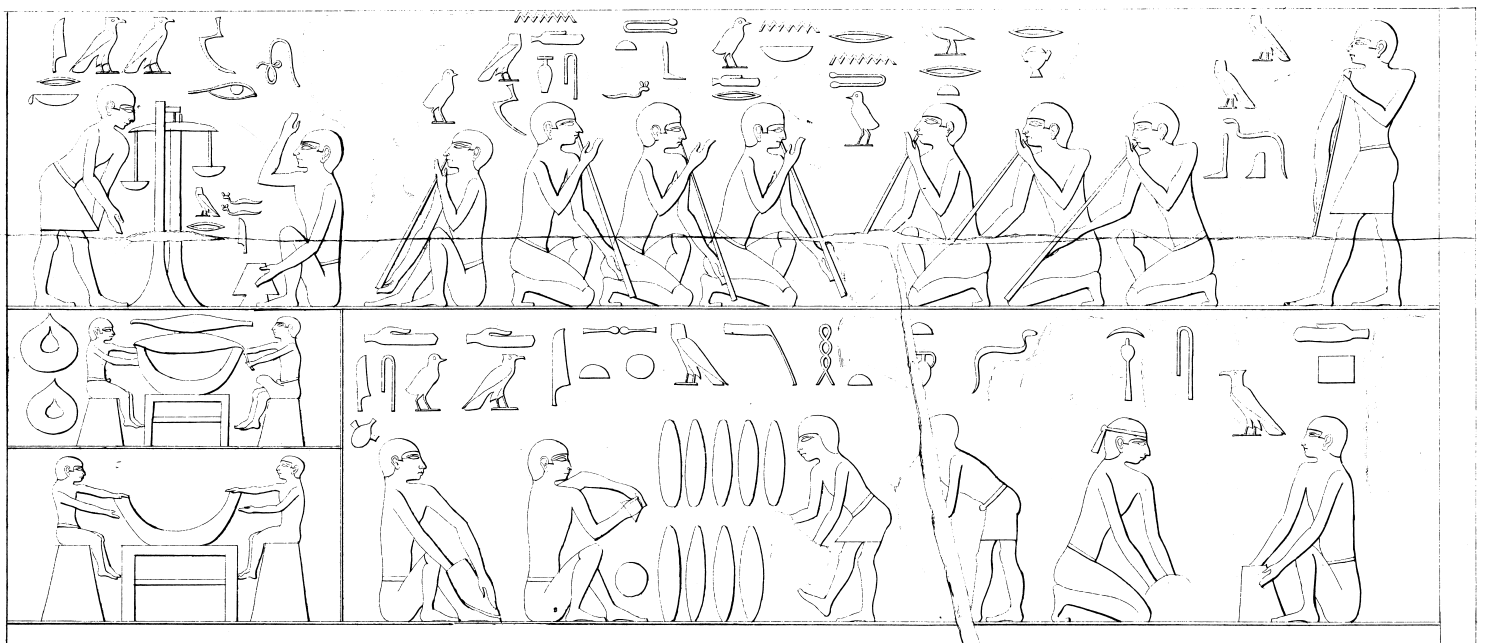


0 5 10 cm
+ + + + + | 1:5



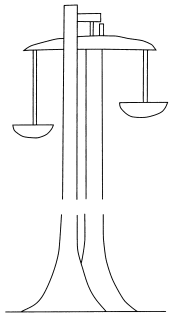
116a. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, east wall; LD 1, *Text*, p. 52 [lower]

1:15.

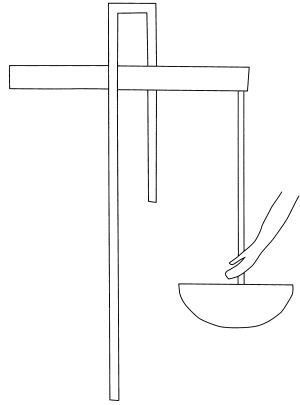


116b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, east wall; LD 2, pl. 74a

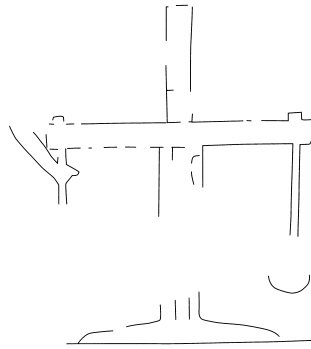
1 Fuss Rhni



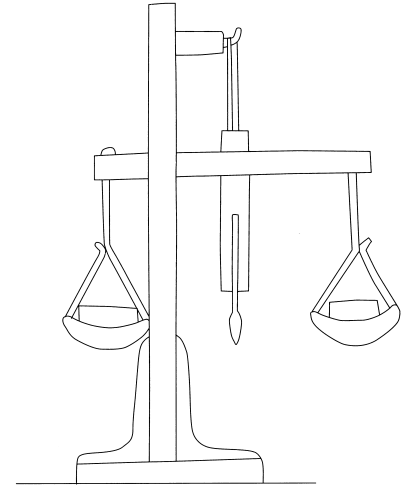
a



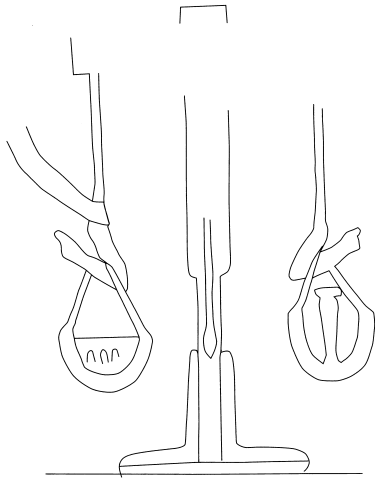
b



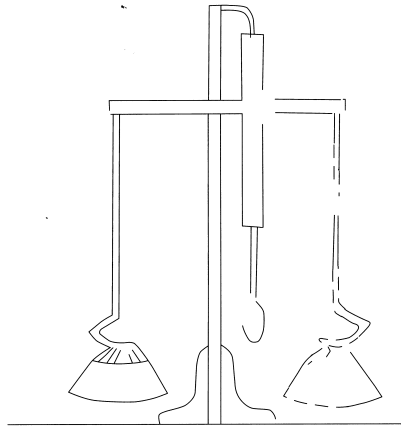
c



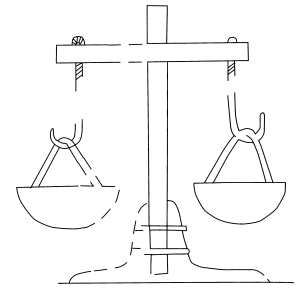
d



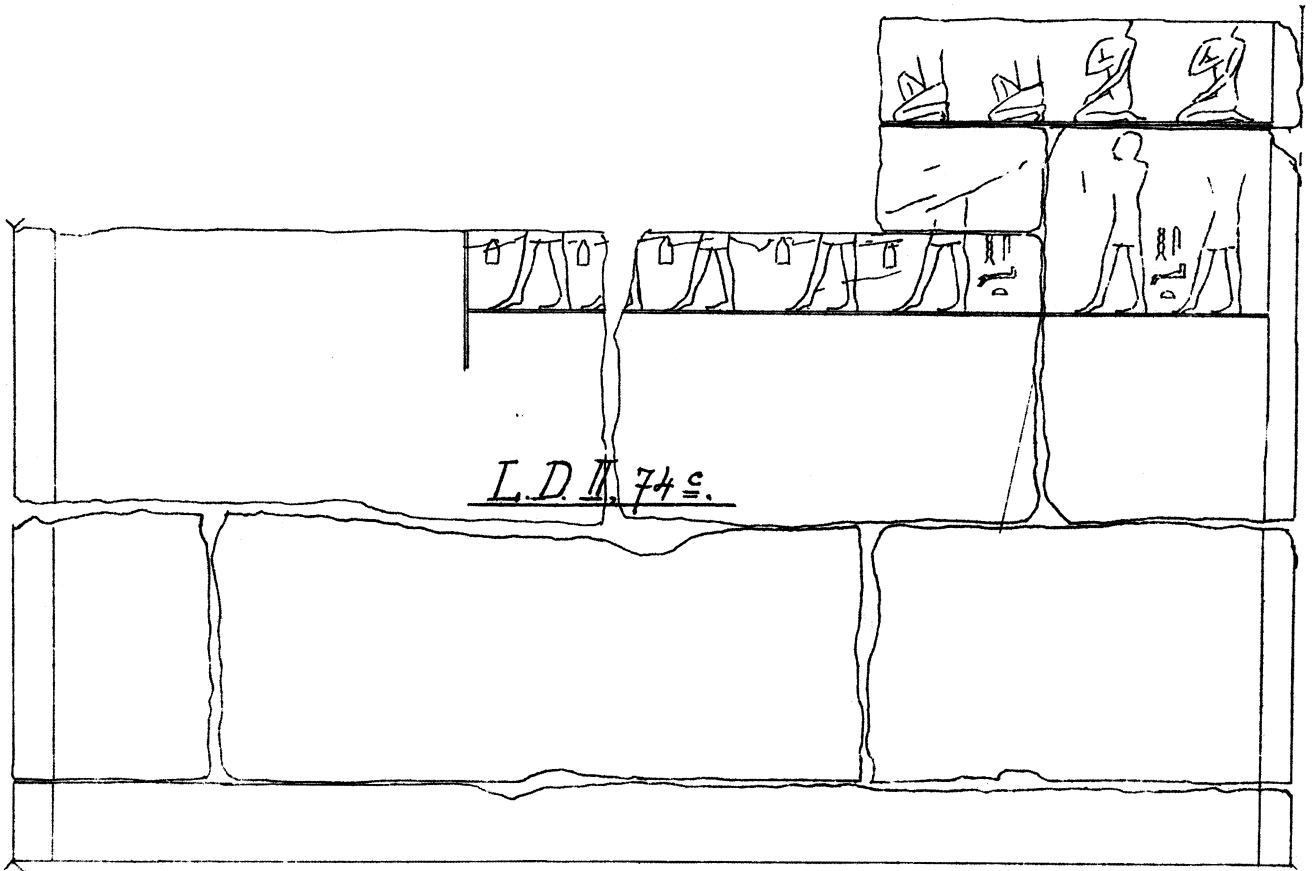
e



f

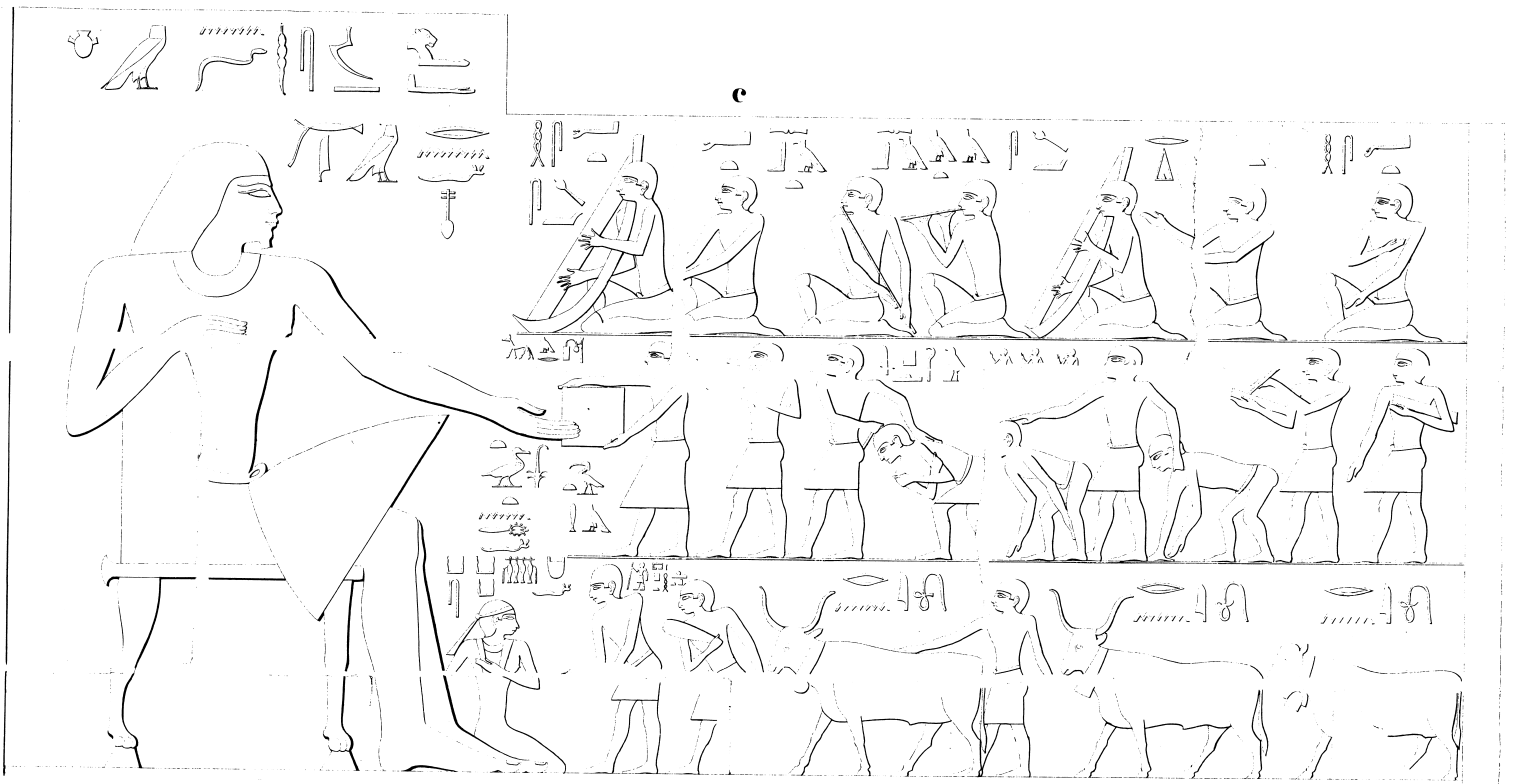


g



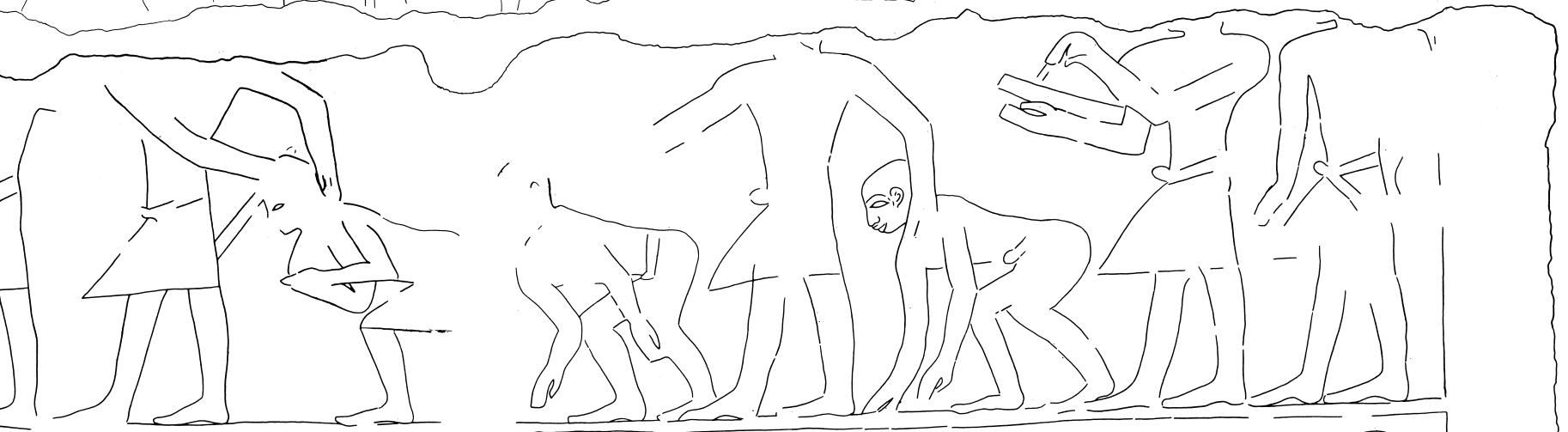
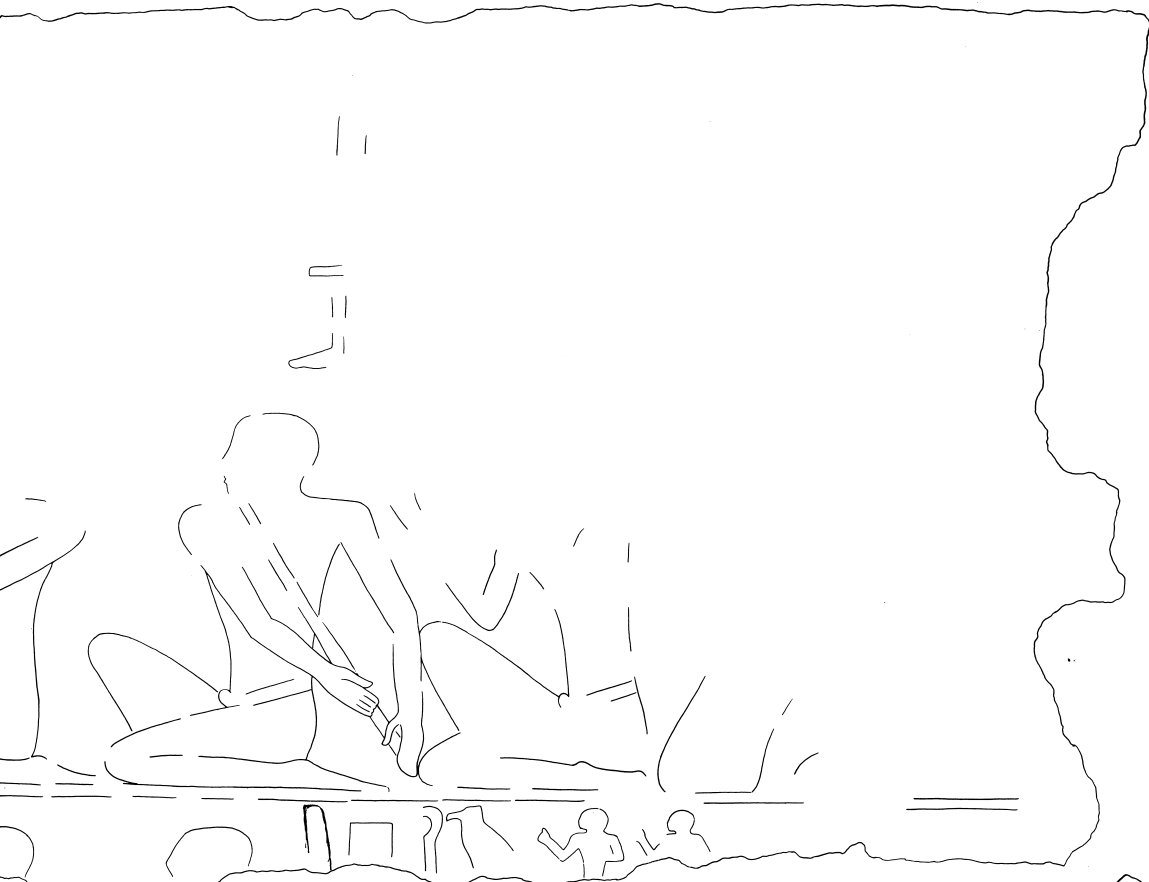
118a. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, south wall, east of door; LD 1, *Text*, p. 52 [upper]

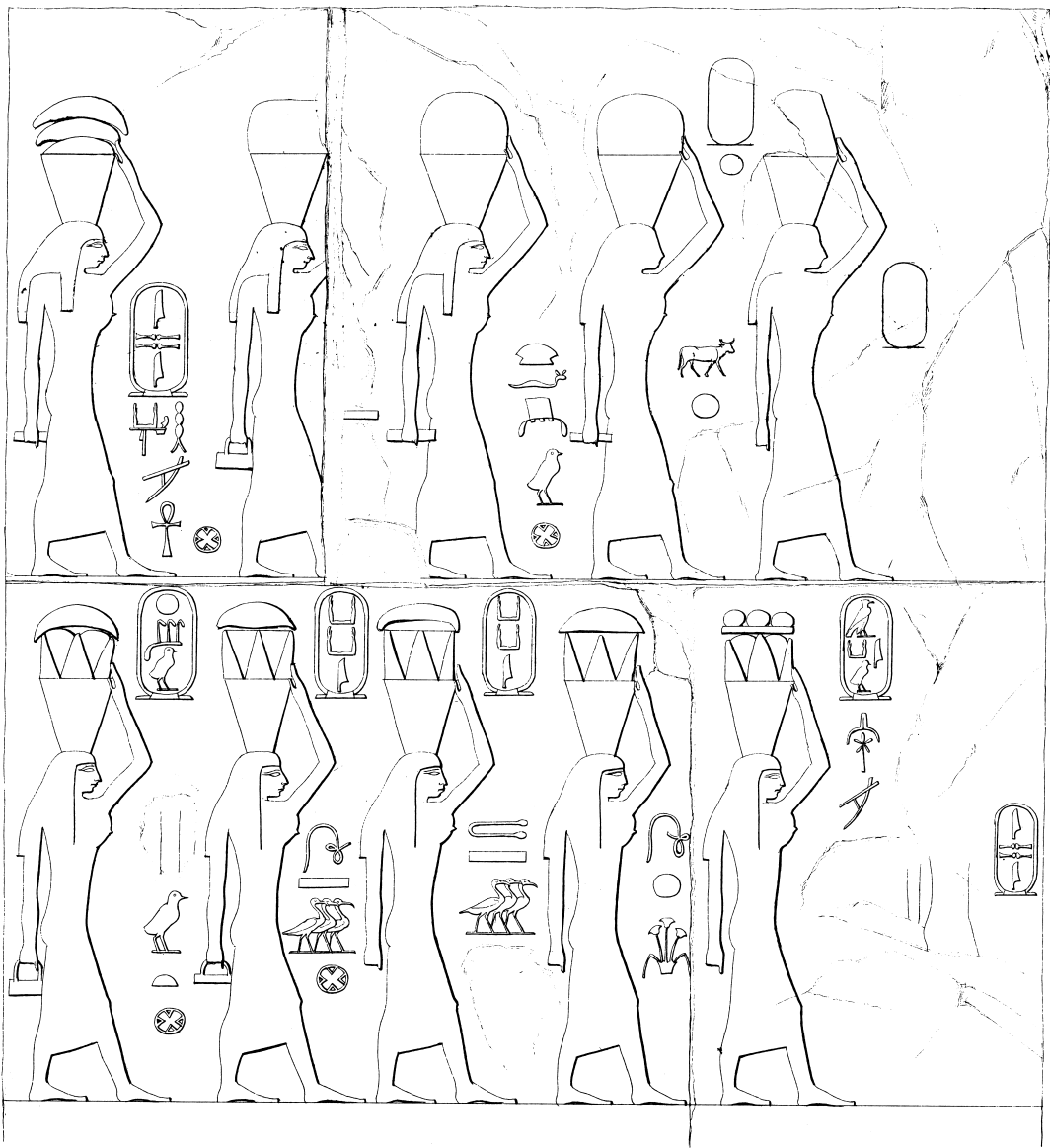
1 : 15.



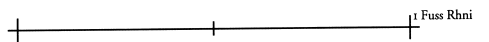
118b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room II, south wall, east of door; LD 2, pl. 74c



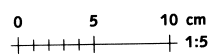


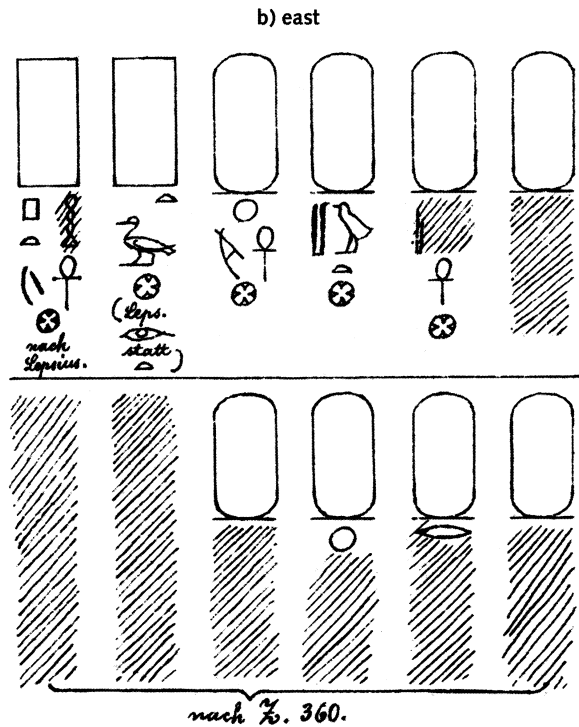
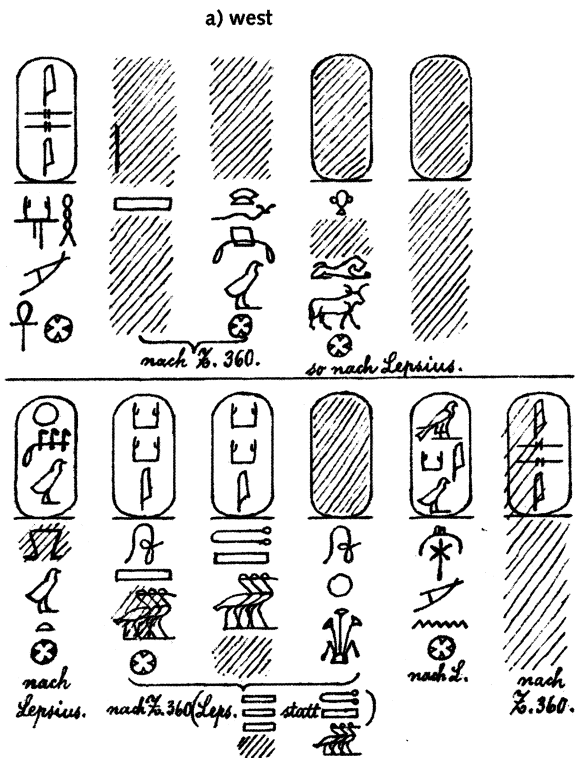


120a. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room III, left (west) entrance thickness; LD 2, pl. 74d

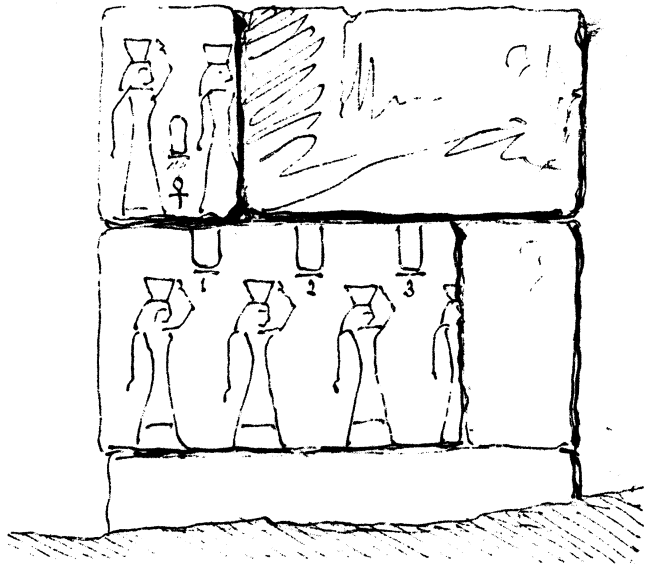


120b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room III, left (west) entrance thickness. EG 4470

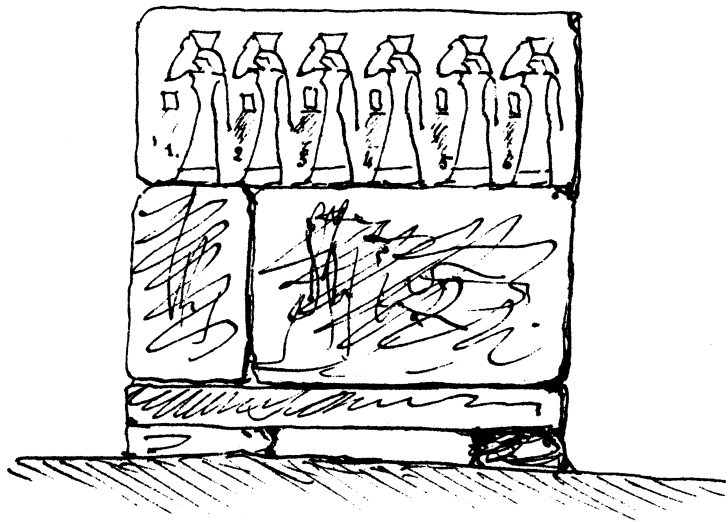




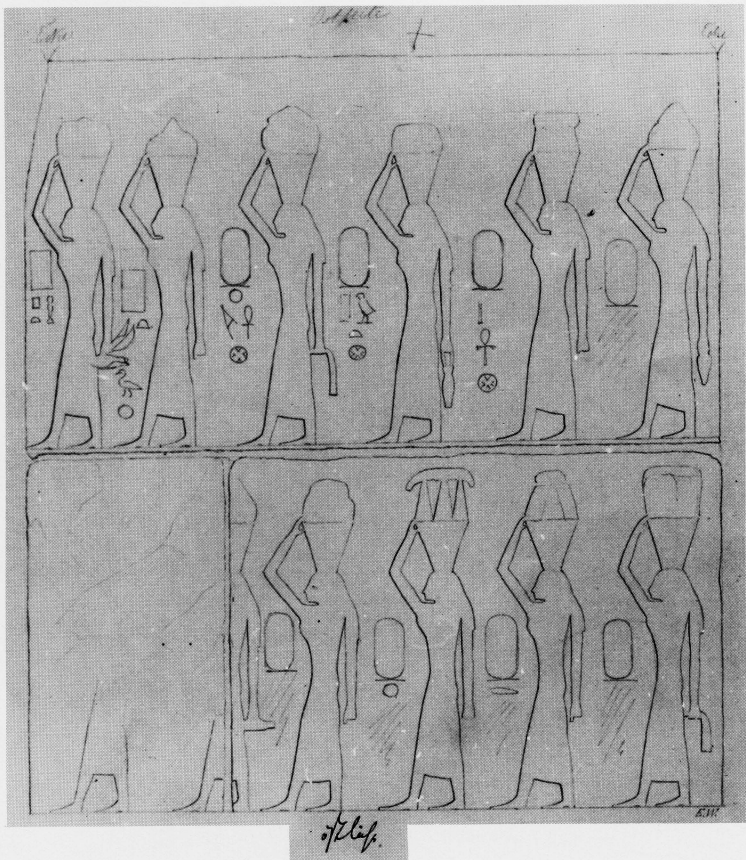
a) west



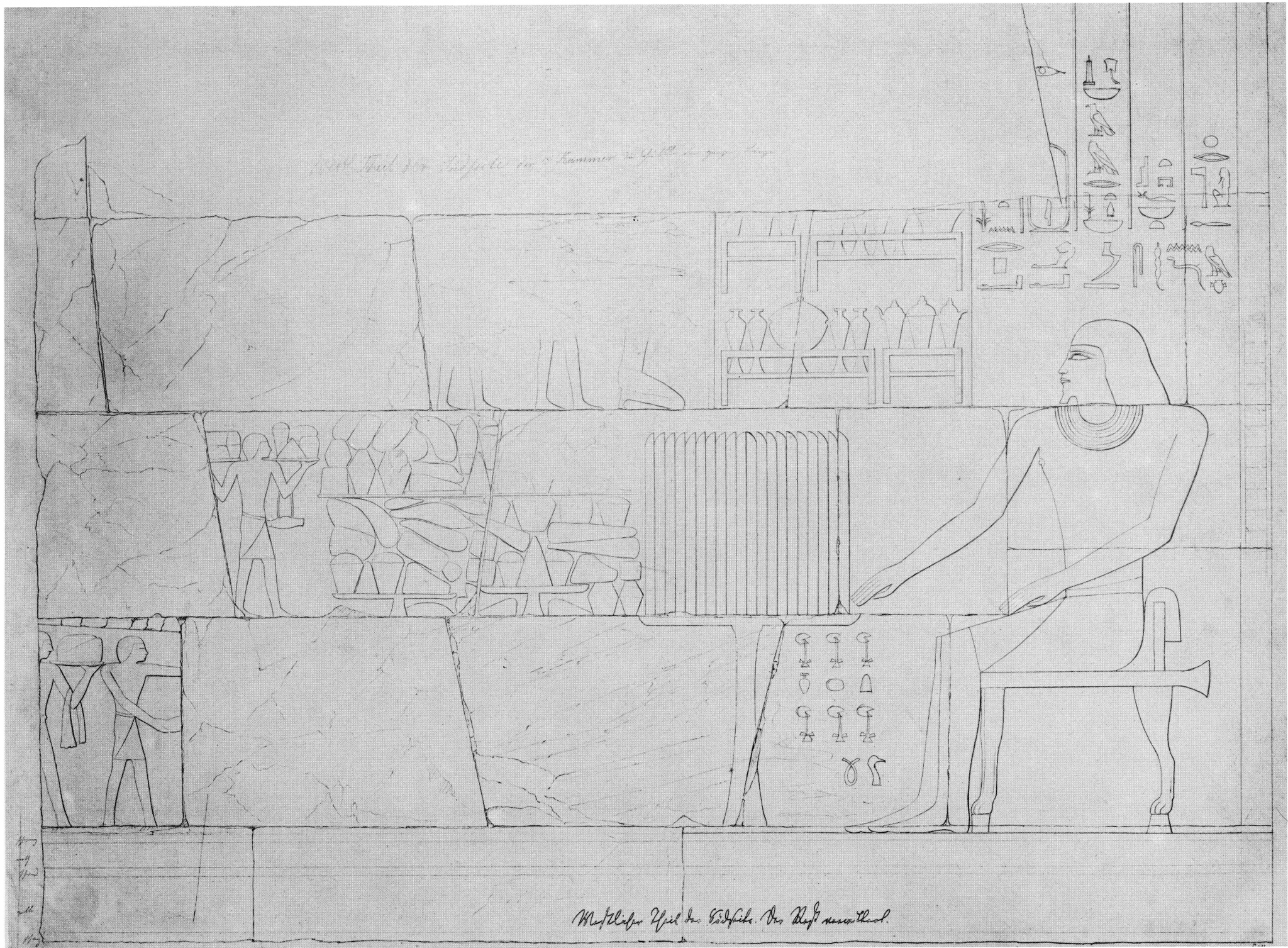
b) east

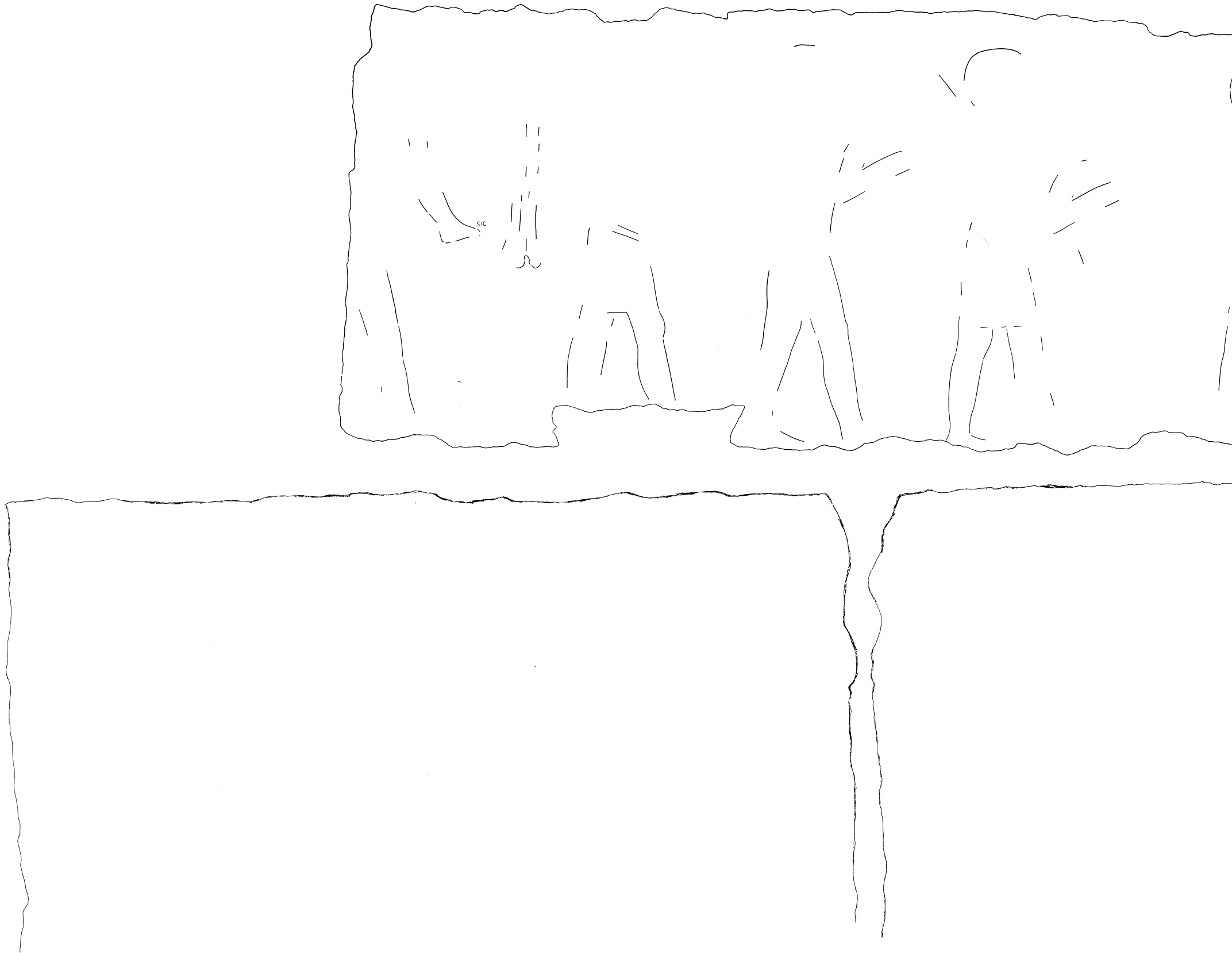


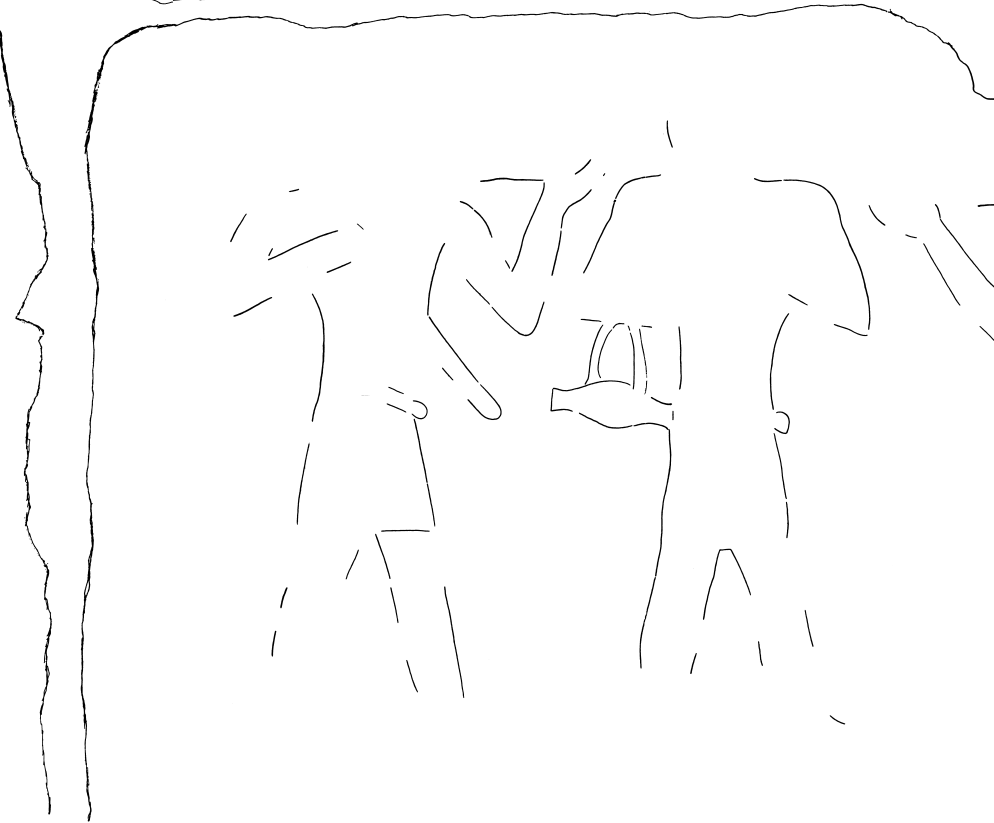
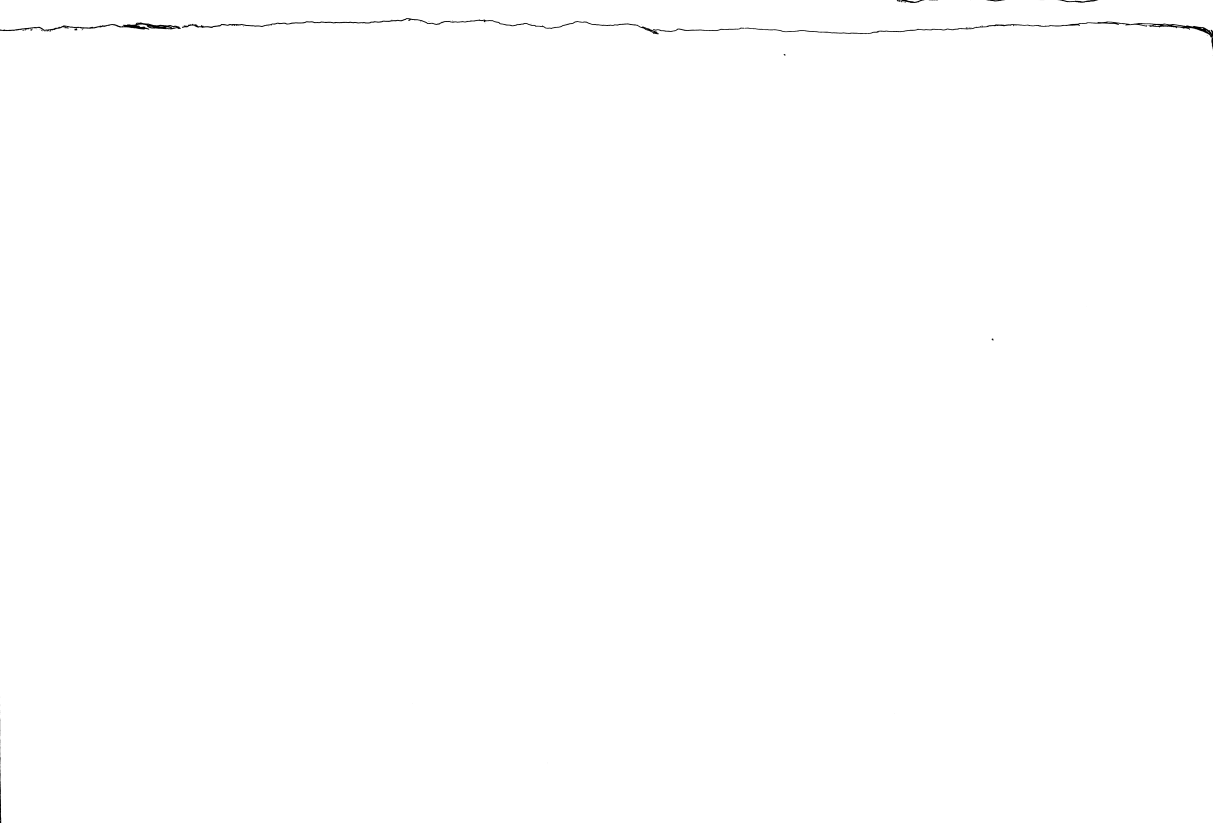
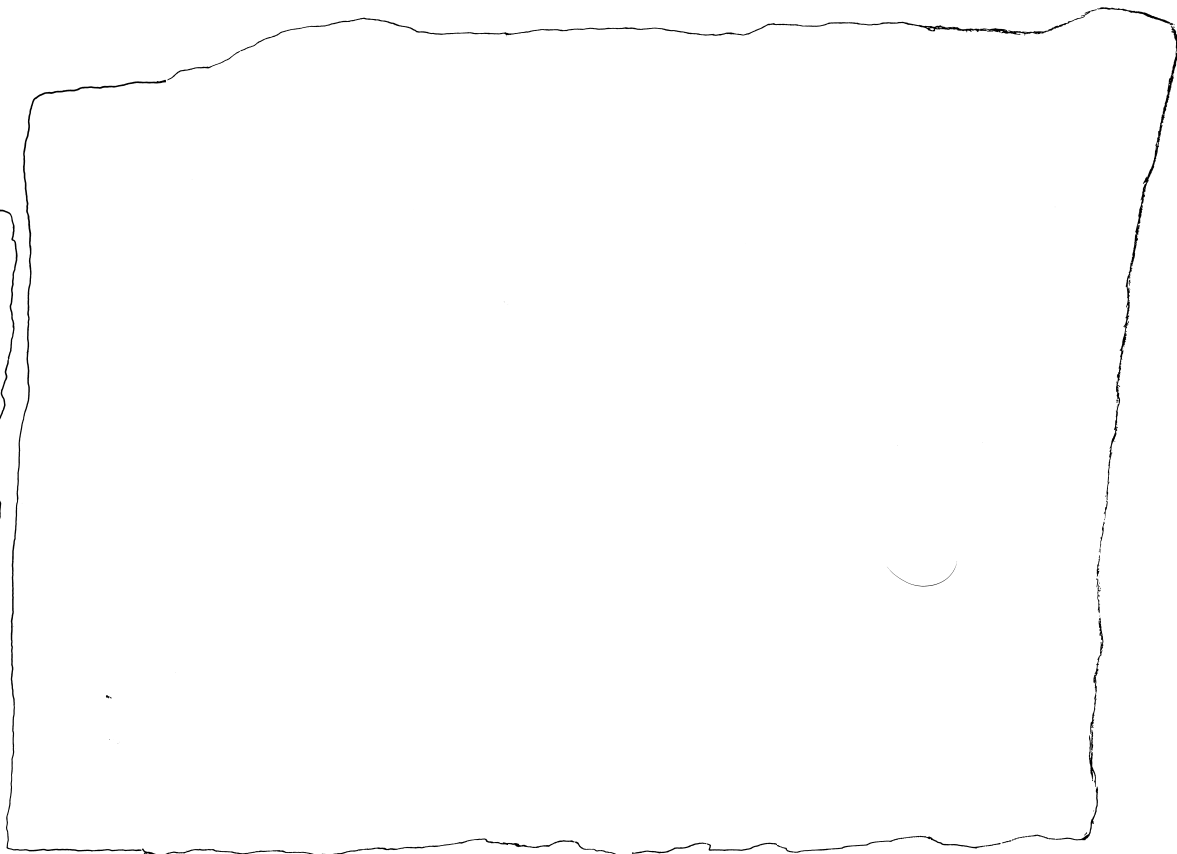
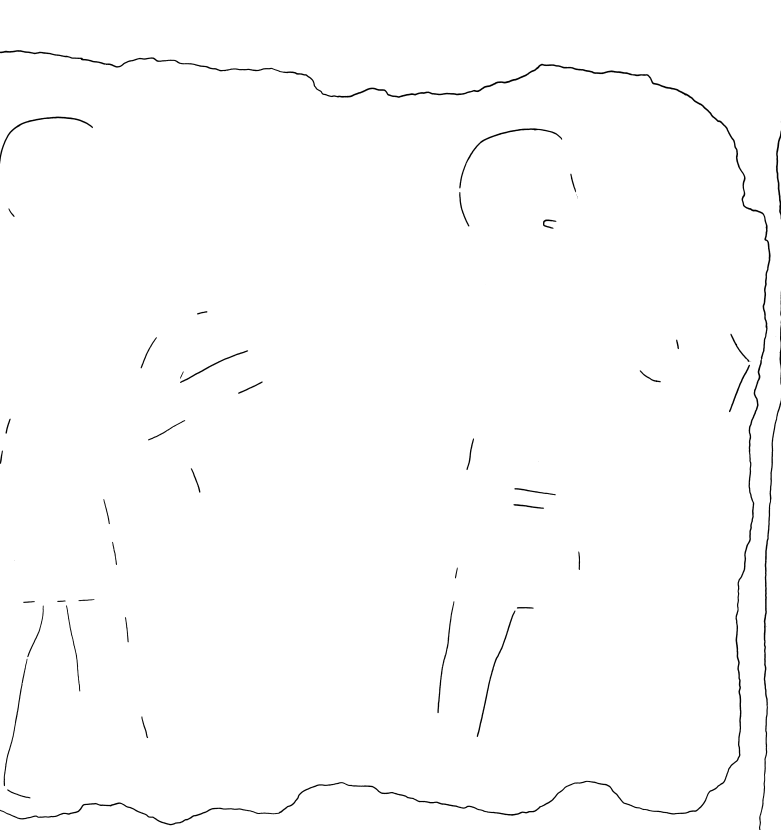
122. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room III, left (west) (a) and right (east) (b) entrance thicknesses; Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 503, 504



123. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room III, right (east) entrance thickness.
 Lepsius Zeichnung Inv.-Nr. 354. Courtesy of the Archiv des Ägyptischen
 Wörterbuchs, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften



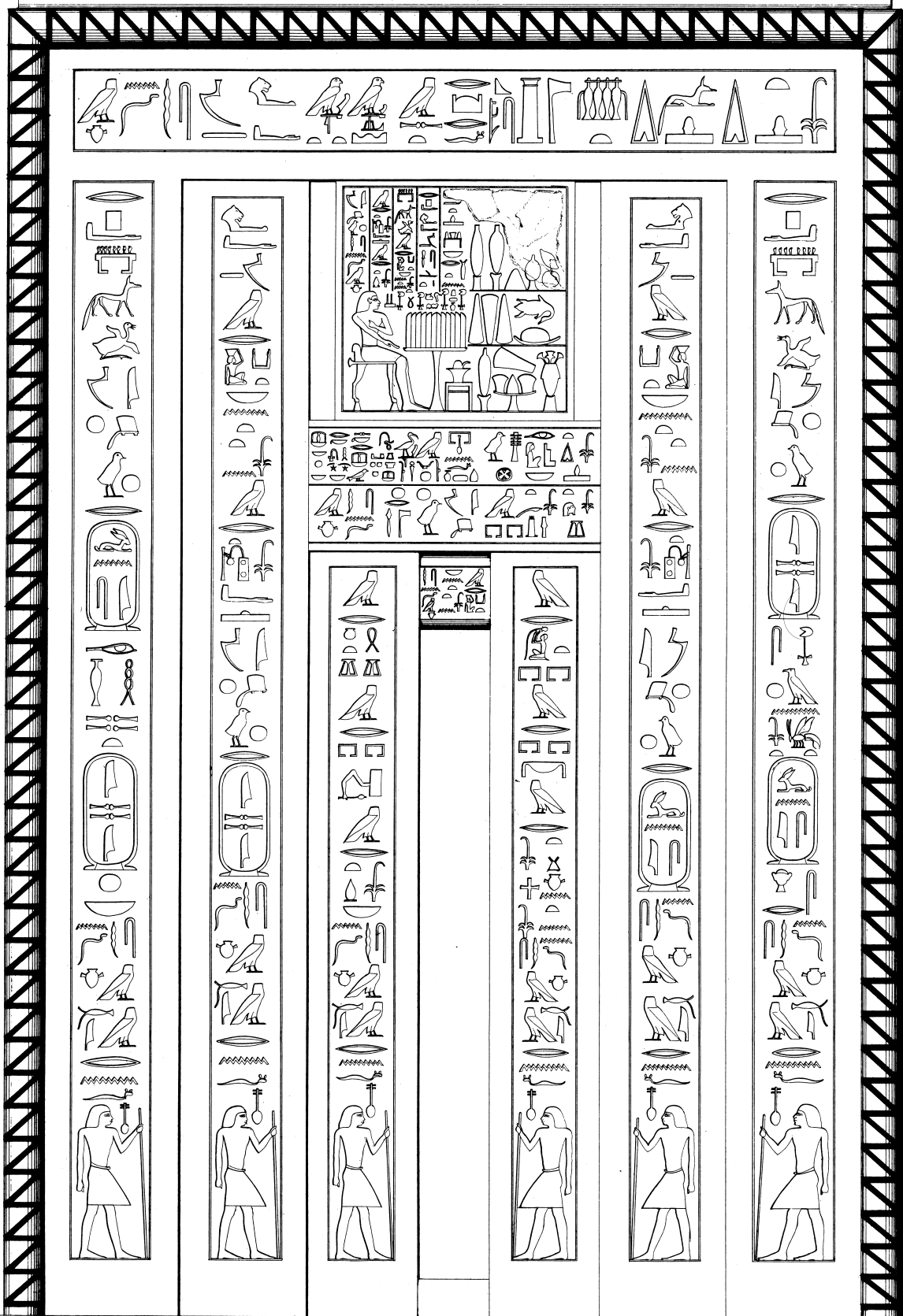




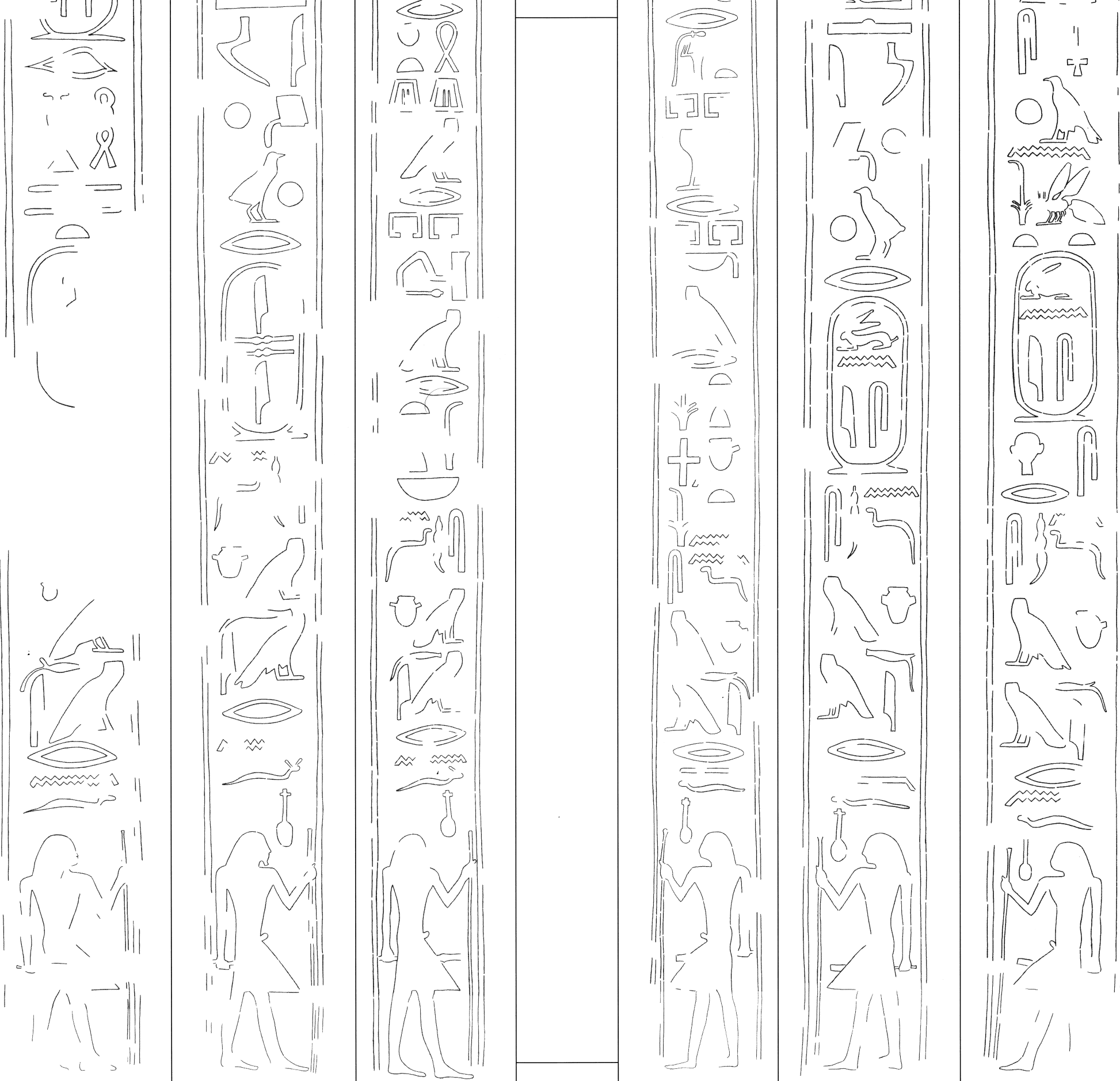




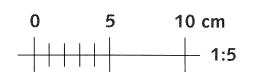




r26. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room III, west wall, false door; LD 2, pl. 75



127. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Room III, west wall, false door. EG 4487-4489 with additions



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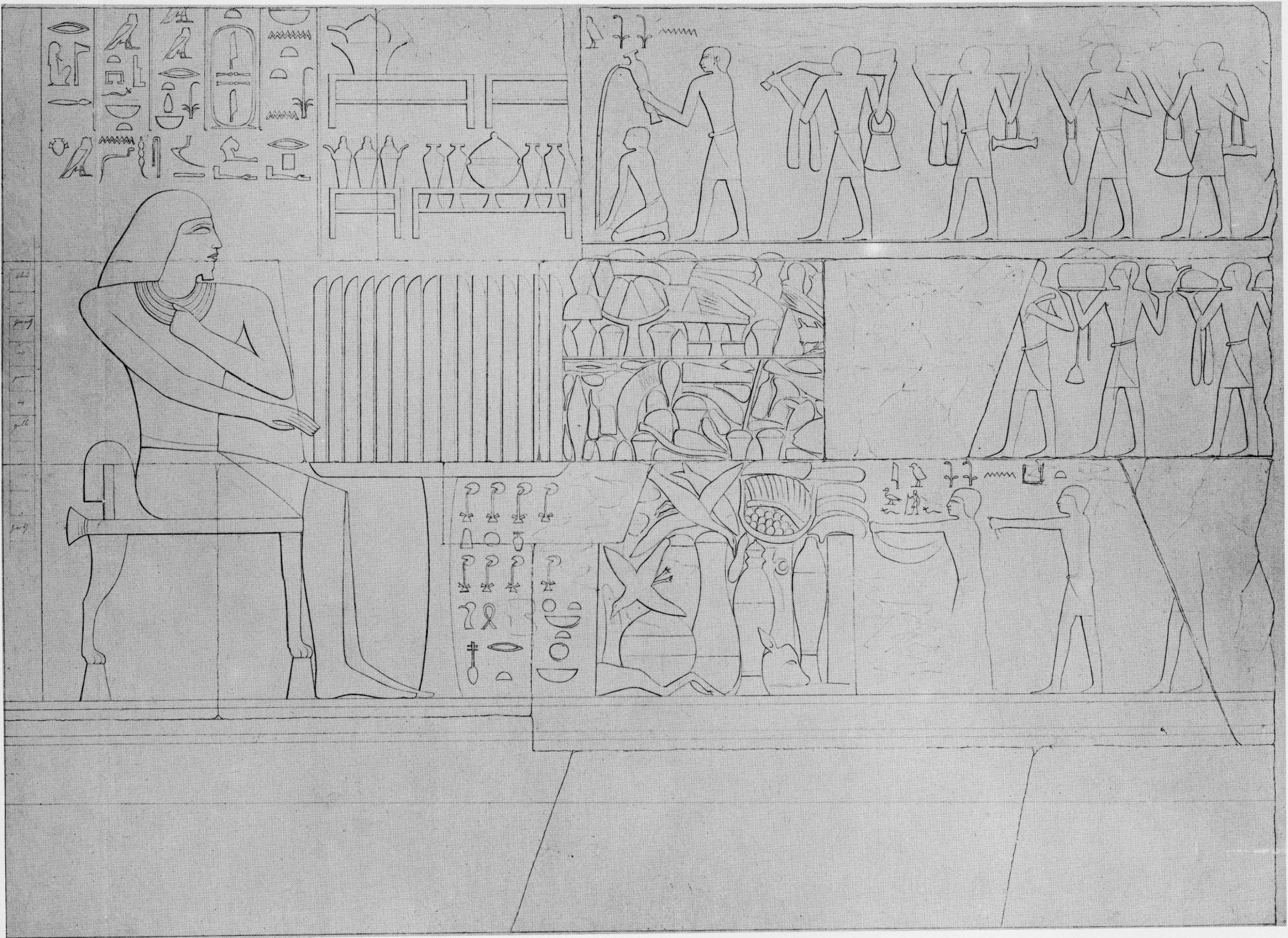
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𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠
𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠

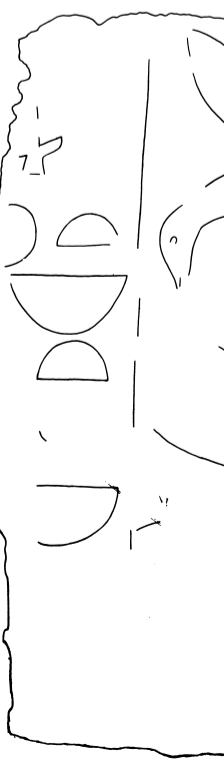
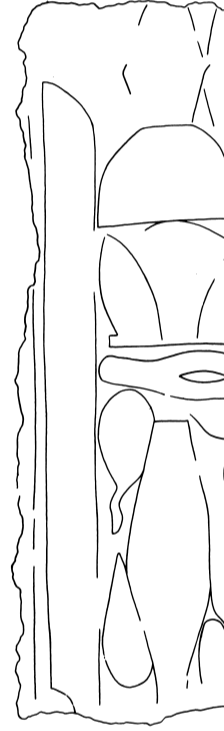
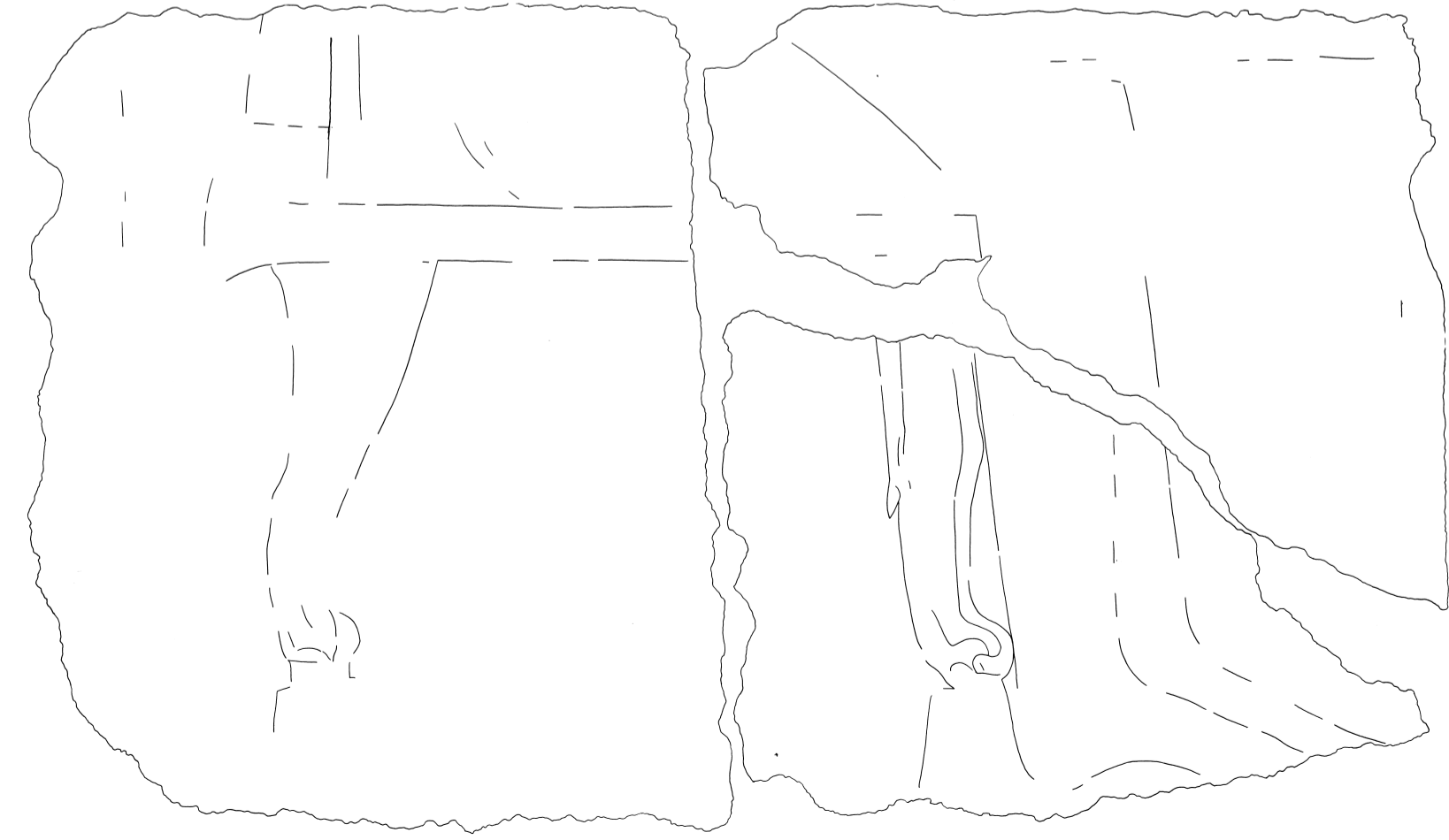
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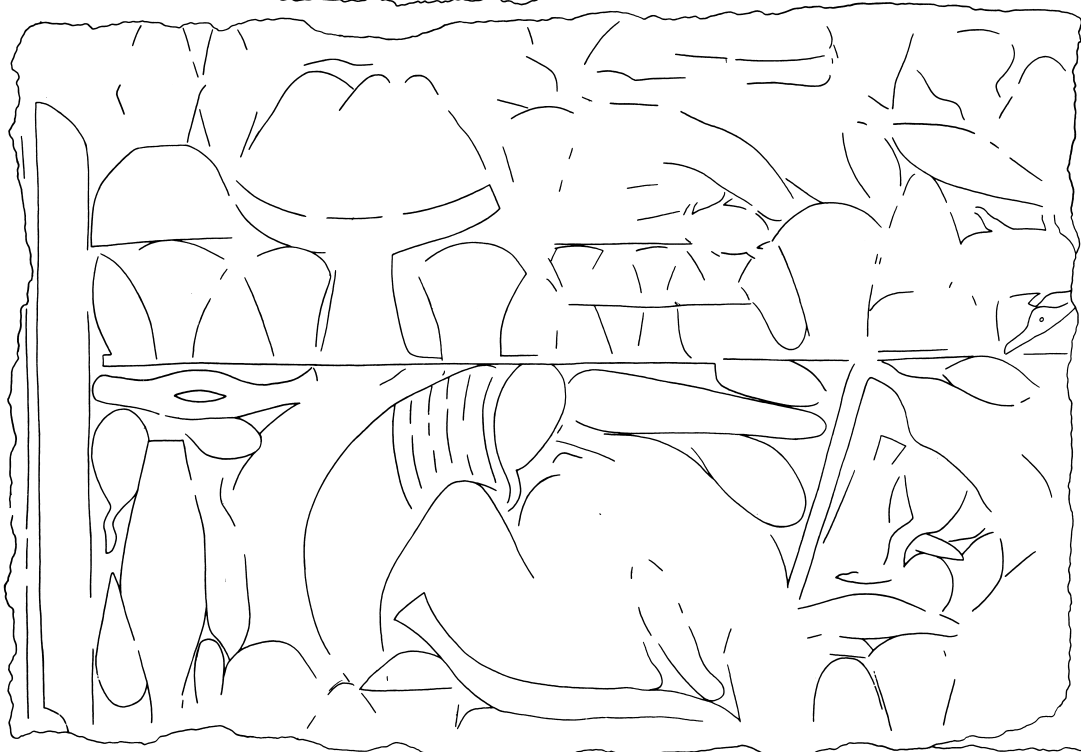
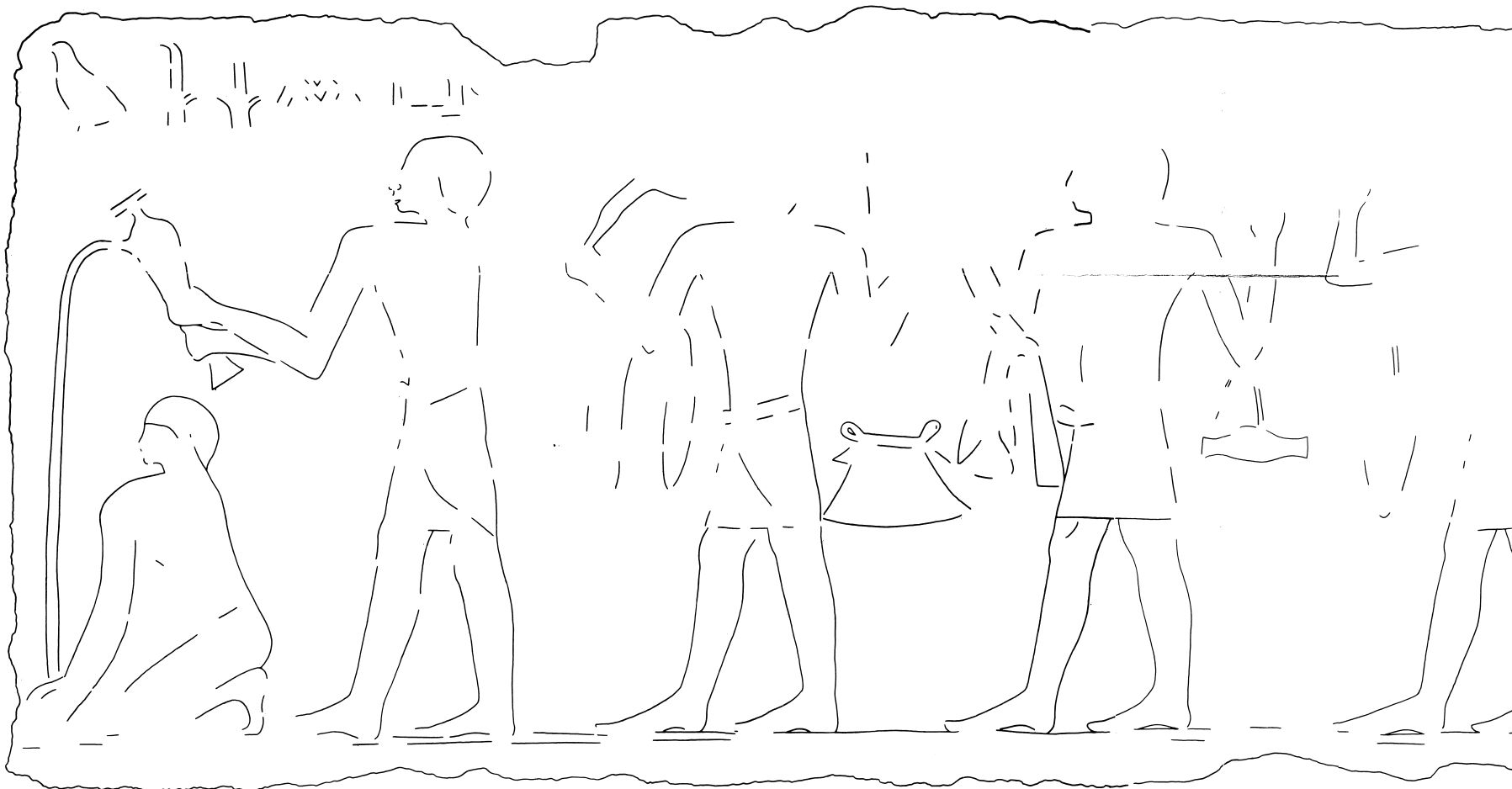
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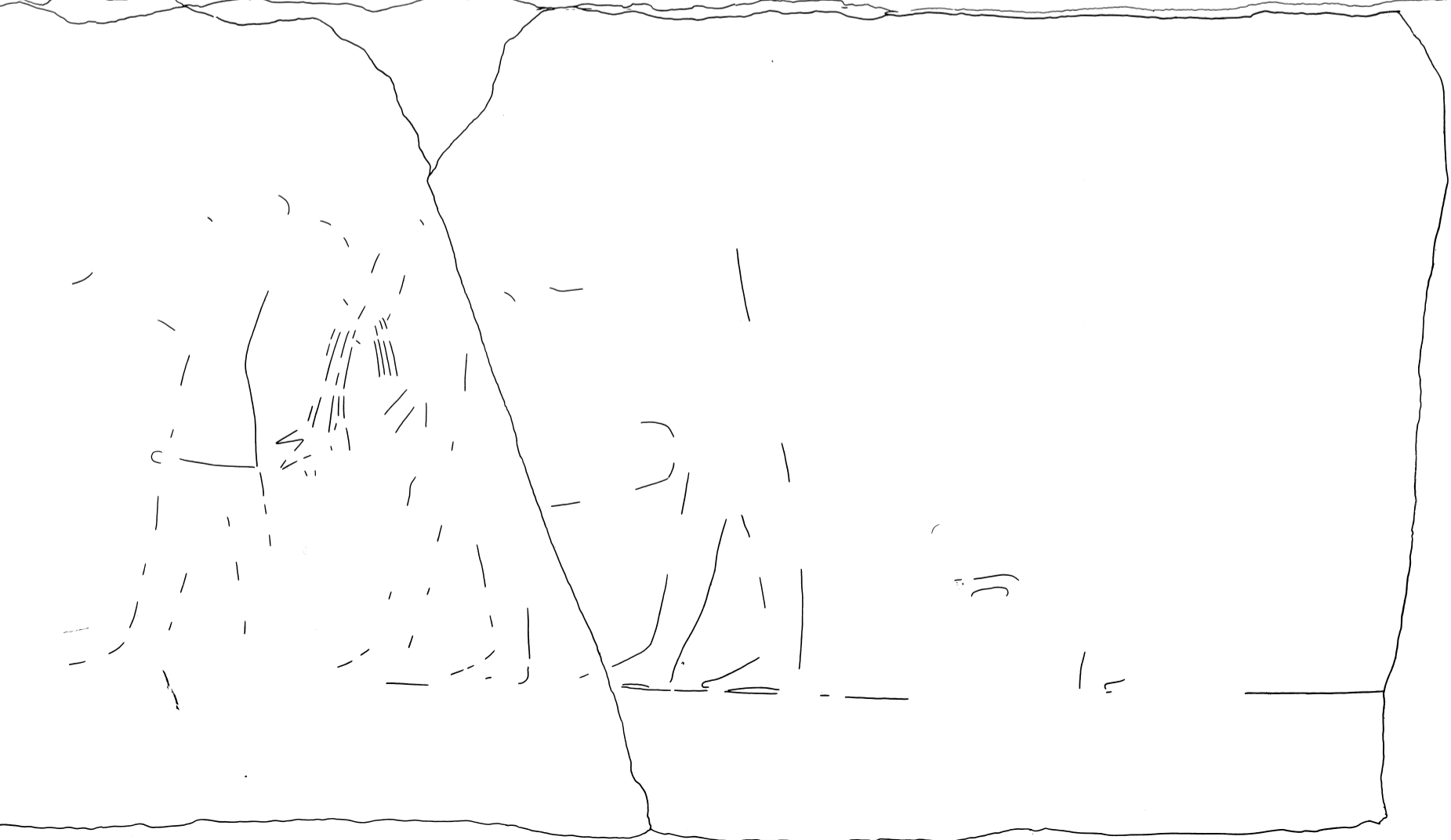
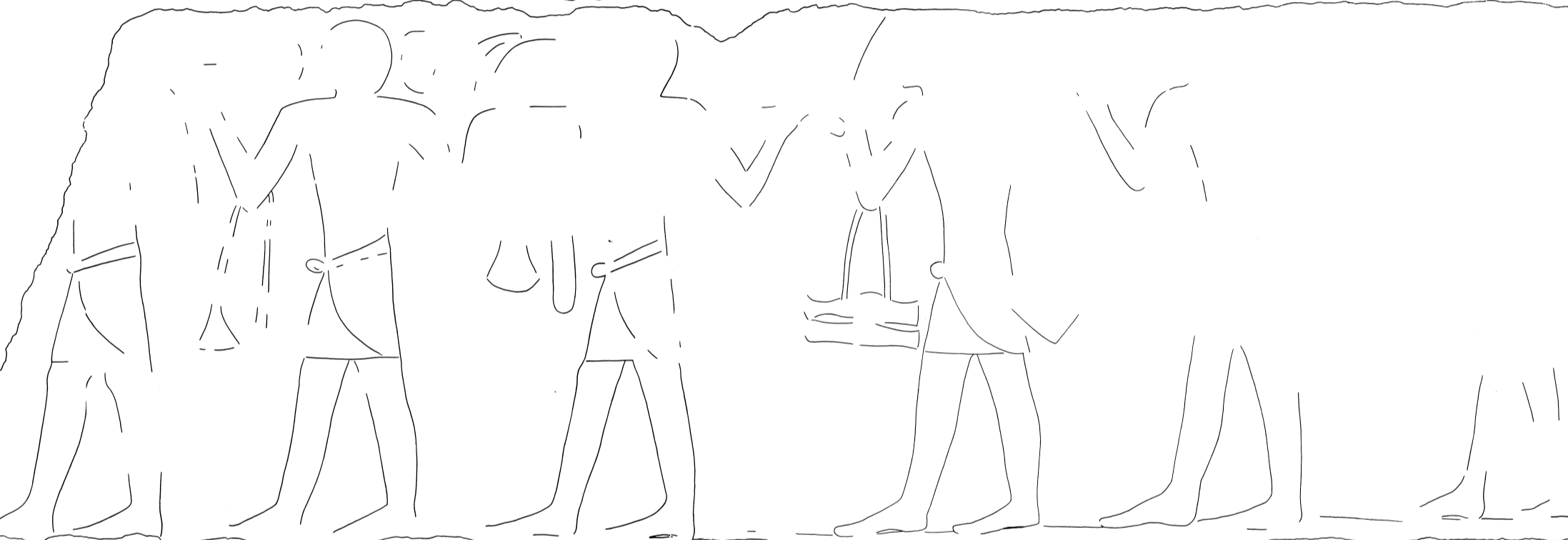
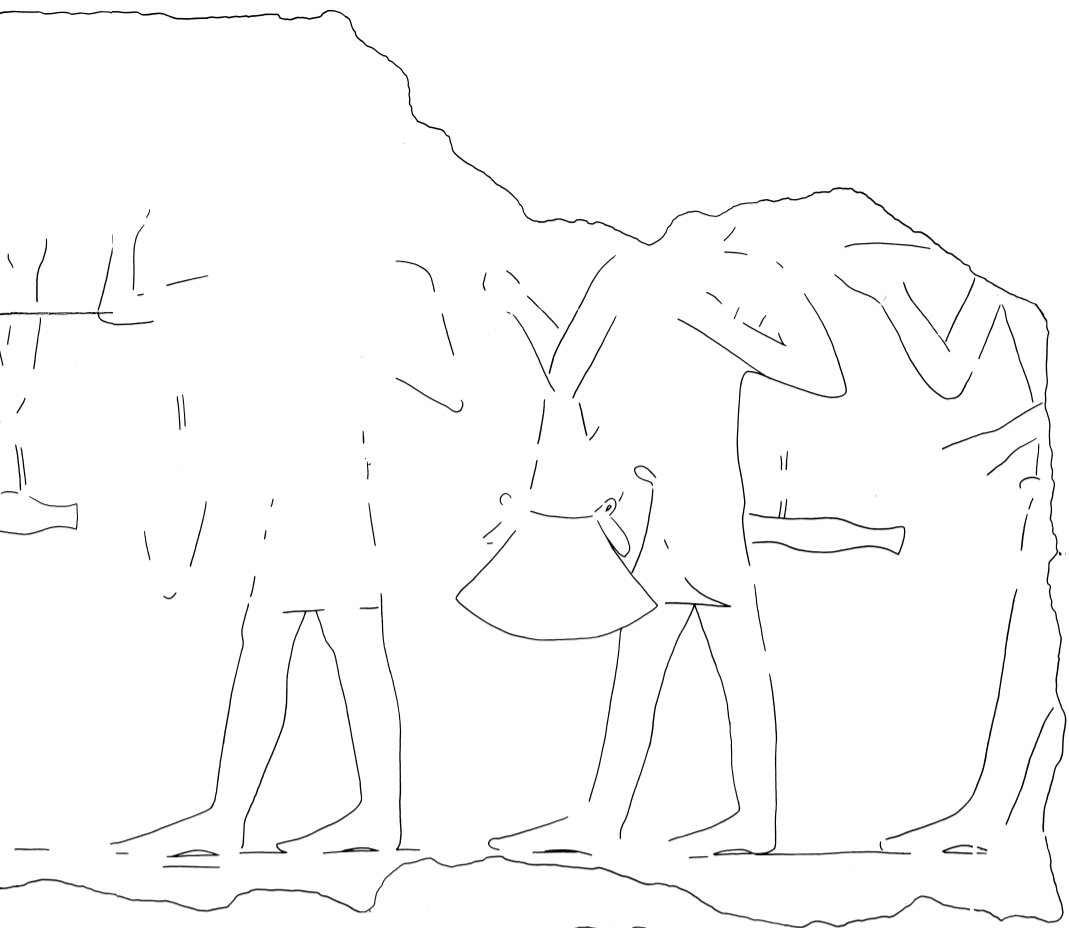
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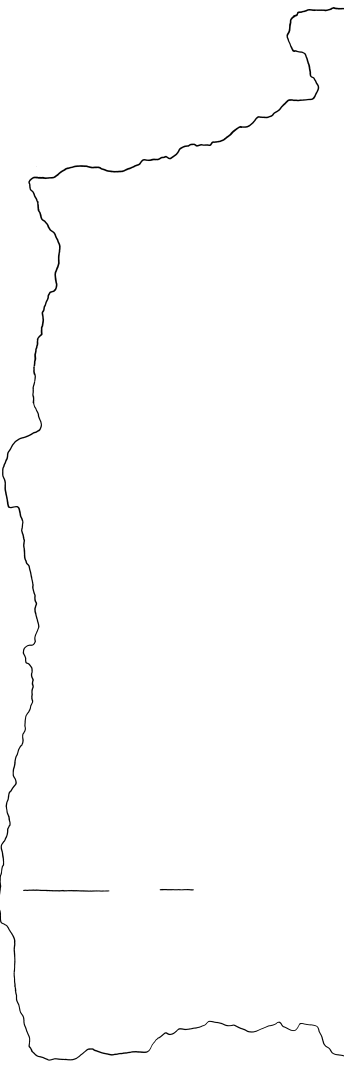
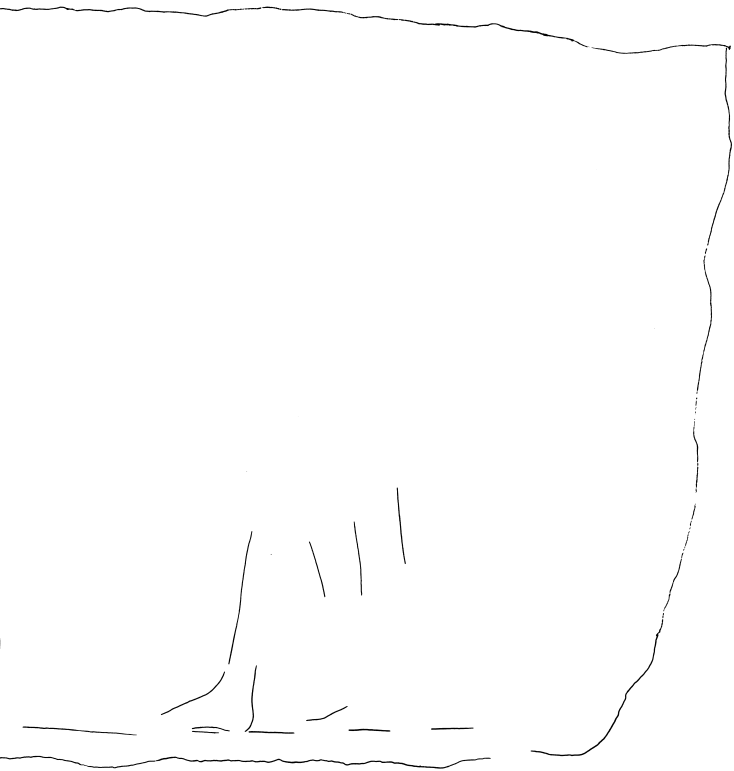
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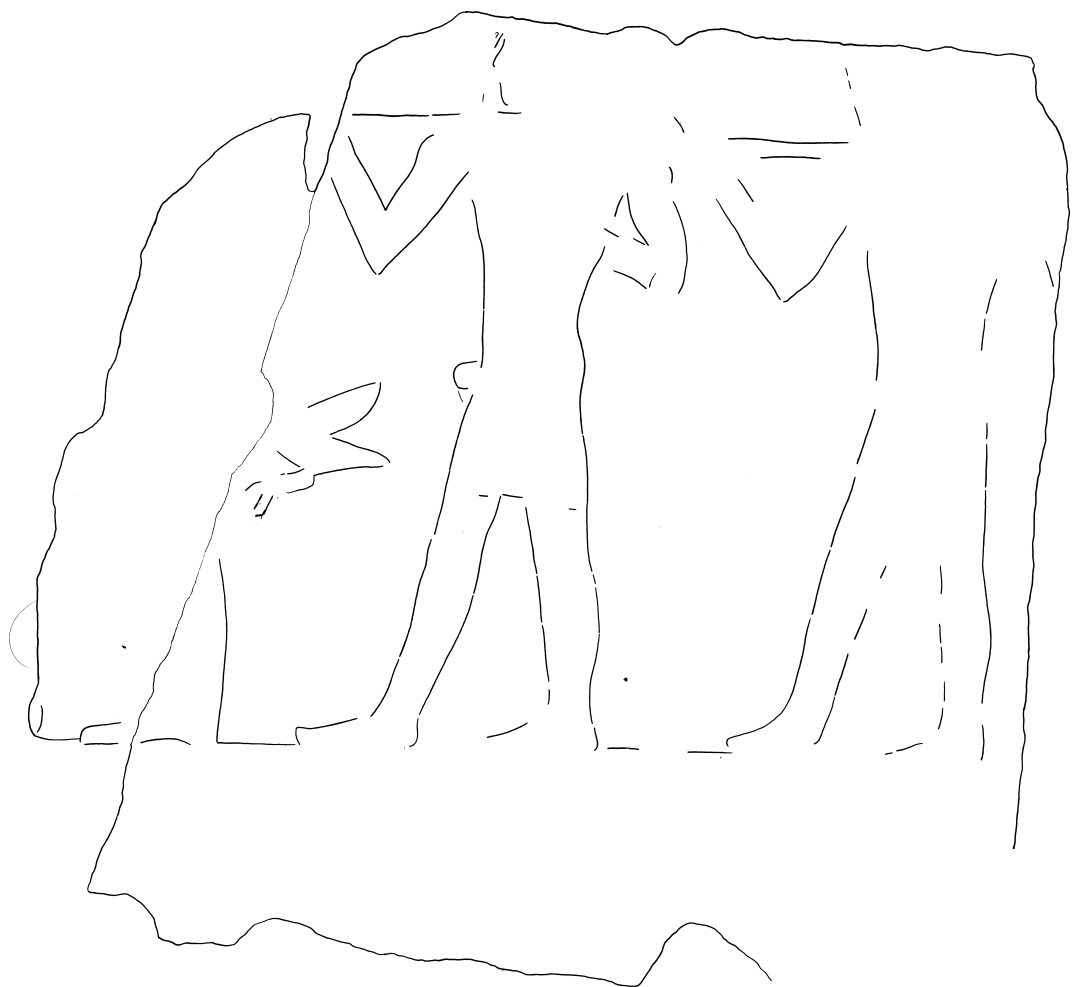
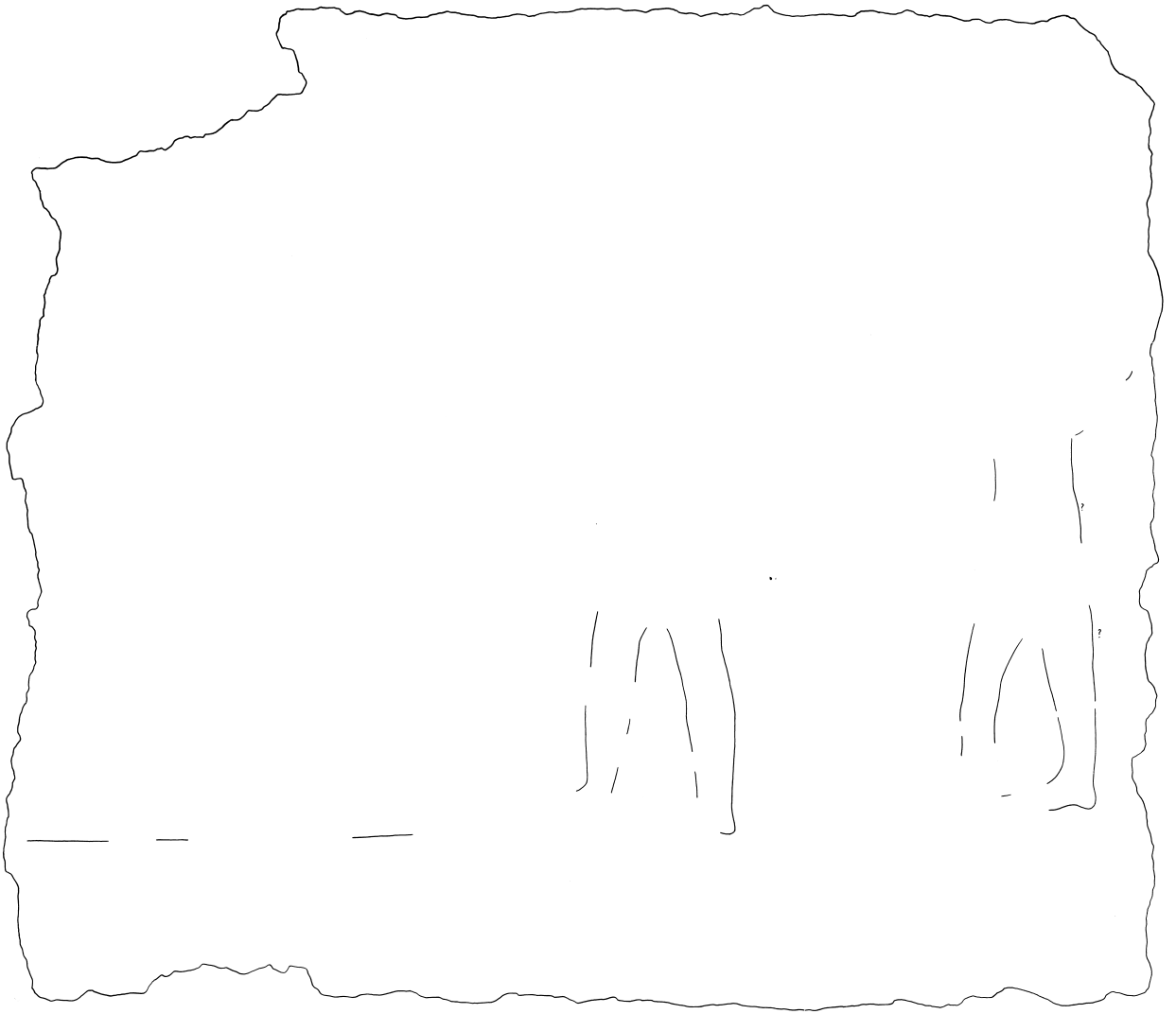


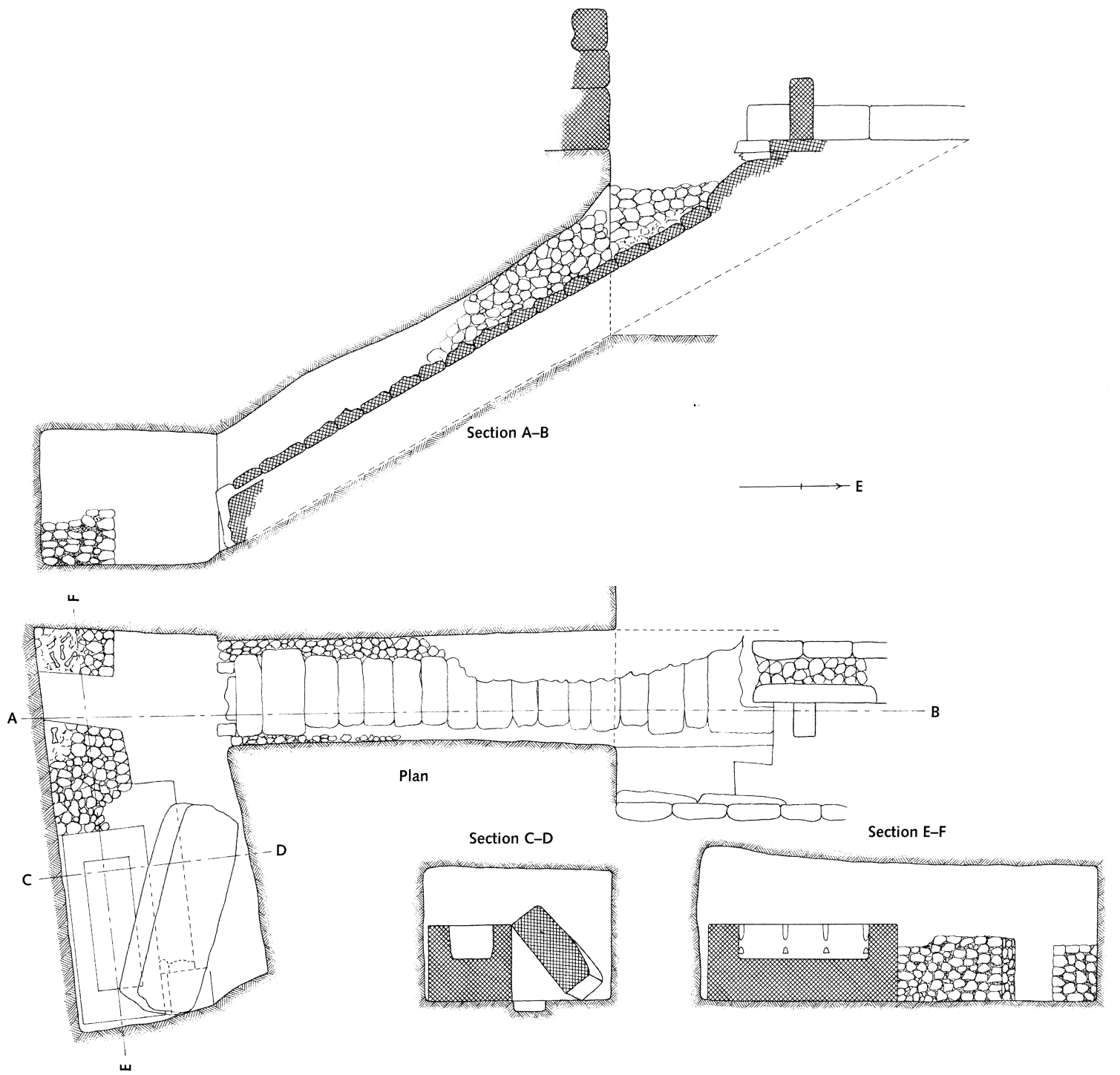




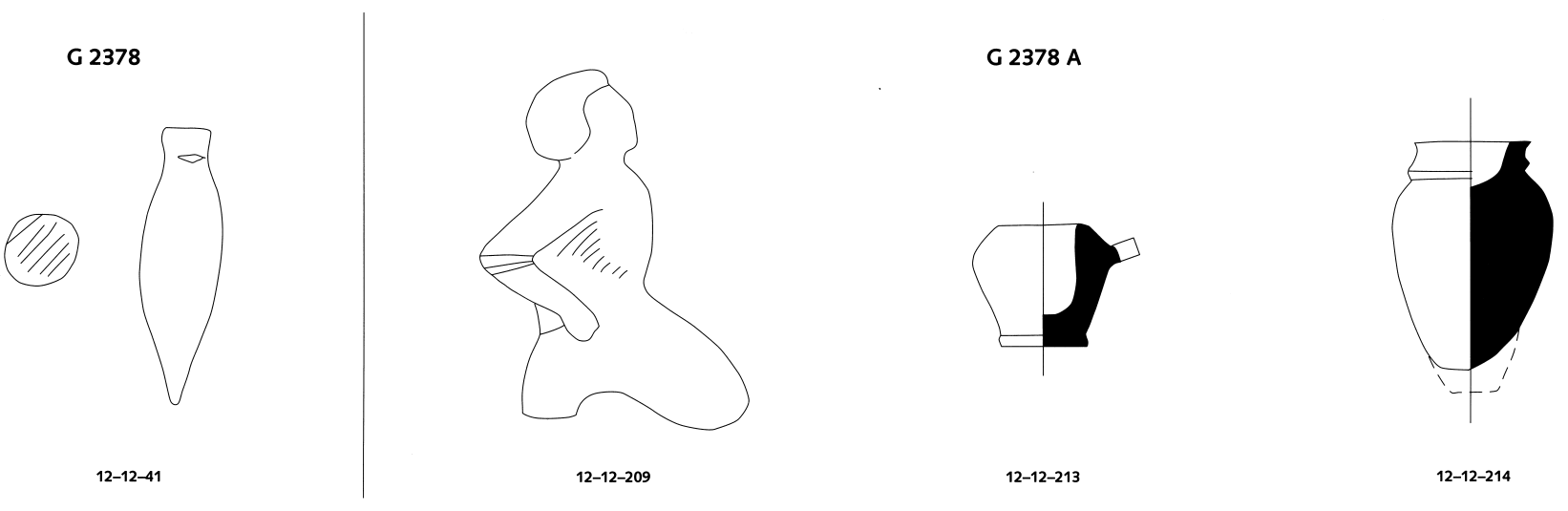


0 5 10 cm
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130a. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), plan and sections of sloping shaft tomb G 2378 A



130b. Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), objects from G 2378 and G 2378 A



131. Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), corrections to figures 25(a) and 61(b, c)

