

## 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).<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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).<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> The original height, however, was probably in excess of 6.0 m.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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).<sup>8</sup> 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'zty<sup>1</sup> zsb [t'zty imy-r3] 'kst<sup>1</sup> 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

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

<sup>2</sup> 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* 3<sup>2</sup>. 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.

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

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *GN* 1, p. 264.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *GN* 1, p. 264.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. above, p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to Cynthia Sheikoleslami for this detailed description.



*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).<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> The perch and *bolti* are two of the biggest fish in the Nile and are as a rule depicted in this context.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> The other fish in the water include a species of catfish which habitually swims wrong side up (*Synodontis batensoda*)<sup>31</sup> and possibly a *Barbus bynni*.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup>

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] [...]"<sup>35</sup> 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,<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup>

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 'Ankh<sup>1</sup>-em- [...]" (fig. 131a).<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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).<sup>40</sup> In his front hand he grasps two herons as decoys.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> His jewelry evidently consisted of a beaded collar and bracelets (traces remain of one on his

<sup>27</sup> See LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. 17.

<sup>28</sup> 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.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> 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-akhiti*, p. 67; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 733; Schafer, *Principles*, p. 243.

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

<sup>32</sup> 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*.

<sup>33</sup> On the hand net, see below, p. 135 and n. 31.

<sup>34</sup> 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*.

<sup>35</sup> 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-akhiti*, fig. 34; *Seven Chapels*, pl. 6; *Two Craftsman*, pls. 6, 12; *Nianchnum*, fig. 5; Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pl. 7.

<sup>36</sup> Below, p. 155.

<sup>37</sup> 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.

<sup>38</sup> 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.

<sup>39</sup> See above, p. 26 and n. 57.

<sup>40</sup> 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."

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

<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> The papyrus skiff in which Inti once stood is destroyed for the most part, but its preserved stern curves gracefully upwards.<sup>44</sup>

From the label beneath his front elbow, which reads *hmt.f mr[t].f r[ht] nswt Tjfi*, “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.”<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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.”<sup>47</sup> 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, Izezibaf.” The former individual is known from an inscription elsewhere

in the tomb to have been a son of Inti’s.<sup>48</sup> Below are the *r3sb z3s1 [shd] hmw-k3 Hm-shty*, “‘dignitary and scribe’, [inspector] of funerary priests, Hemakhti,” who appears both in G 2370 and G 2378,<sup>49</sup> 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 Izezibaf, 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*),<sup>50</sup> a puffer fish (*Tetraodon fahaka*),<sup>51</sup> two mullets (*Mugil sp.*),<sup>52</sup> a moon fish (*Citharinus sp.*),<sup>53</sup> another mullet(?), and a catfish (*Synodontis schall*).<sup>54</sup> The weed reaching above the water under the stern of Inti’s boat may be *Polygonum senegalense Meisn.*<sup>55</sup>

On the extreme left of the scene, two harpooners on a smaller scale attacked a hippopotamus in the water beneath their skiff (pl. 17b).<sup>56</sup> 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*)<sup>57</sup> 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*)<sup>58</sup> 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,<sup>59</sup> while that on the right in the preserved section of the thicket is a species of egret (*Egretta sp.*).<sup>60</sup> 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*).<sup>61</sup> On a nest below was a hoopoe, now destroyed.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>43</sup> 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* 3<sup>2</sup>, 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.

<sup>44</sup> On papyrus skiffs, see further below, p. 50, n. 199.

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

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

<sup>47</sup> For *wot*, “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.

<sup>48</sup> See below, p. 78.

<sup>49</sup> See below, pp. 86 (19), 159 (3).

<sup>50</sup> Brewer–Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, p. 71.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 67–68.

<sup>55</sup> 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.

<sup>56</sup> 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.

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

<sup>58</sup> See Störk, *LÄ* 2 (1976), cols. 598–99.

<sup>59</sup> See Houlihan, *Birds of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16–18.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62–65.

<sup>62</sup> *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,<sup>63</sup> since the earliest firm evidence for this distinctive costume seems not to antedate the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> 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.<sup>66</sup>


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-ε txyty zsb txyt imy-r3*] *kst nbt nt nswt*, (2) [*imy-r3 zšw ε nswt hry sšs wdt-mdw nbt nt*] *nswt imy-r3 pr-ḥsw*, (3) [... *mdh*] *qd [nswt] m prwy*, (4) *Sndm-ib rn.f[ε]*, (5) *Inti rn.f[ḥfr]*, (1) “[The hereditary prince and count, chief justice and vizier, overseer] of all works of the king,<sup>67</sup> (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),<sup>68</sup> (4) Senedjemib (is) his [great] name, (5) Inti (is) his [good] name.”<sup>69</sup>

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.<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> 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) txyty zsb [txyt ms<sup>c</sup>]*, (2) [*Sndm-ib ...*] *w n šps.f hr nswt r šps.f nb n<sup>r</sup> wr<sup>r</sup>[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-ε*] *ms<sup>c</sup> imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt S[ndm-ib]*, “(1) [The Majesty of my lord had withdrawn for me] every secret [requirement]<sup>72</sup> which I had requested for my father,<sup>73</sup> 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 ...]<sup>74</sup> I being trusted<sup>75</sup> by the Majesty of

<sup>70</sup> 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.

<sup>71</sup> See p. 27 above.

<sup>72</sup> 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'ty im-ε S'nhw-Pth*, “What his Majesty had his son, the sole friend and *im-ε*-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.

<sup>73</sup> Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 676.

<sup>74</sup> 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 *wr<sup>r</sup>[r.f hr nswt r wr.f nb]* is indeed to be restored, it is likely that *wrr.f* 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 *wrr.f* would terminate at the same level. On the other hand, *txyt* at the bottom of the first line does not line up with *wrr.f* and *dd.b[r hm.f]*, and this may militate against the proposed restoration. Theoretically, it would be possible to restore *ms<sup>c</sup>* after *txyt*, but the title sequence *txyty zsb txyt ms<sup>c</sup>* is nowhere else attested for Inti, even though the latter is *hsty-ε ms<sup>c</sup>* on his sarcophagus (see below, pp. 81, 84). Still, *ms<sup>c</sup>* 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 *txyty zsb txyt* in Inti's known title sequences, including *smr w'ty*, would fit the restricted space at the bottom of line 1. It may be noted that *ms<sup>c</sup>* similarly follows on *txyty zsb txyt* at the bottom of a text column in James, *Khentika*, pl. 5. For additional examples of *ms<sup>c</sup>* (and *ms<sup>c</sup> ms<sup>c</sup>*) as space fillers, see now Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 77, 78.

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

<sup>64</sup> 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.

<sup>65</sup> 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'abor*, 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.

<sup>66</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 131–34.

<sup>67</sup> For the sequence *iry-p't hsty-ε txyty zsb txyt imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt*, see above p. 37.

<sup>68</sup> For the title adjunct *m pr.wy*, see below, p. 84.

<sup>69</sup> For the restorations in the last line, see above, p. 24, n. 24.

my lord (with the result) that I was heard<sup>76</sup> in regard to every matter. There[upon His Majesty] said [...],<sup>77</sup> (4) [... the] <sup>r</sup>true<sup>178</sup> [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.<sup>79</sup> 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.<sup>80</sup>

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 zf(i) [n]t(y)[-hmc] nb*, “Row <sup>r</sup>slowly,<sup>81</sup> [c]om[rade], [(it is) winding].”<sup>82</sup> 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.<sup>83</sup>

## 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.<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup> 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.<sup>86</sup> 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

<sup>75</sup> 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.

<sup>76</sup> *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.

<sup>77</sup> 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].”

<sup>78</sup> 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.

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

<sup>80</sup> 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.

<sup>81</sup> Assuming *zf(i)* to be an adverb derived from the verbal stem *zfs/sfi > wzff(i)/wsff(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).

<sup>82</sup> 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.

<sup>83</sup> See below, p. 45.

<sup>84</sup> 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-heit 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.

<sup>85</sup> Clark–Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, pp. 163–64.

<sup>86</sup> 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.<sup>87</sup> 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).<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> An unusual, though not unparalleled, feature is the belt that encircles the leopard skin at the waist in Lepsius's drawing.<sup>90</sup>

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 šnwy*, (4) *imy-r3 prwy-hd*, (1) “[A boon that the king gives ... of invocation offer]ings belonging to<sup>91</sup> (2) the [...] in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt),<sup>92</sup> (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.<sup>93</sup> 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 (?),<sup>94</sup> (2) [...] which is done<sup>95</sup> for a great official, (3) [...] one honor]ed by every god, one for whom his son shall do the like.”<sup>96</sup> 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).<sup>97</sup> 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.<sup>98</sup> 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.”<sup>99</sup>

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.”<sup>100</sup> 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

<sup>87</sup> Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pp. 1–2, fig. 1.

<sup>88</sup> LD 2, pl. 78 [b, left].

<sup>89</sup> For reversed hands in Old Kingdom reliefs, see especially HESP, pp. 274–79.

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

<sup>91</sup> 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.

<sup>92</sup> 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 wrbt* has the requisite house determinative. This is not a title recorded for Inti elsewhere in his tomb, although Khnumenti is *imy-r3 wrbt* in G 2374 (below, p. 129 [4]).

<sup>93</sup> See Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 319.

<sup>94</sup> *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.

<sup>95</sup> Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 562.

<sup>96</sup> 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.

<sup>97</sup> LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xix [right].

<sup>98</sup> See Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp. 54–56.

<sup>99</sup> 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.

<sup>100</sup> 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).<sup>101</sup> 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.<sup>102</sup> Over his head was the legend *wꜥꜥ dt*, "plucking papyrus."<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup> 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.<sup>105</sup> 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: *sꜥ dt*, "hauling papyrus."<sup>106</sup> 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[mꜥ]*, "b[ind]ing papy[rus boats]."<sup>107</sup> 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.<sup>108</sup> 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.<sup>109</sup> 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.<sup>110</sup>

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,<sup>111</sup> agricultural workers,<sup>112</sup> marsh dwellers, including fisherman and fowlers,<sup>113</sup> and hunters.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>108</sup> 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.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 154–55.

<sup>110</sup> 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.

<sup>111</sup> E.g., *Ti* 3, pl. 174.

<sup>101</sup> *LD*, *Ergänz.*, pl. xx.

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

<sup>103</sup> 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).

<sup>104</sup> 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.

<sup>105</sup> See e.g., Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 450–52.

<sup>106</sup> Montet, *Scènes*, p. 74.

<sup>107</sup> *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.<sup>115</sup> 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).<sup>116</sup> 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.<sup>117</sup>

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),<sup>118</sup> and the belt-sash may also be worn with a folded kilt with overlap (fig. 75i).<sup>119</sup>

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.<sup>120</sup>

*Third Register.* This register was made twice the height of the other registers in order to accommodate the raised sails of the ships.<sup>121</sup> Three blunt-ended craft sail upriver with the prevailing north wind. All three ships are on the starboard tack with bellying sails.<sup>122</sup> 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.<sup>123</sup> The deckhouses evidently consisted of matwork awnings over a wooden frame.<sup>124</sup> 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.<sup>125</sup>

On the second ship the mast is lashed to a heavy pole or knee whose lower part is obscured by a bulwark.<sup>126</sup> 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.<sup>127</sup> 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.<sup>128</sup> 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 tp-nfr pw*, (3) [*in i*]*w.k rs.ti r hr*, “(1) [Come about to star]board<sup>129</sup> (2) in [front] of you!<sup>130</sup> It is the right moment!<sup>131</sup> (3) [Are] you paying attention to the braces?”<sup>132</sup> 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,<sup>133</sup> [the fairway is] in front of ‘you’!<sup>134</sup> Above the man at the braces in this boat are two columns of text: (1) [*šz*]*p ts-w nb [...] nbw*. (2) *Yw ts-w nfr hr sz.k*, (1) “[Sei]ze<sup>135</sup> every wind [...] every [...]”. (2) The wind is favorable behind you.”<sup>136</sup> 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. Szsz. n nfr*, (1) “Turn to<sup>137</sup> starboard

<sup>112</sup> 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.

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

<sup>114</sup> E.g., Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 63; *Nianchchnum*, fig. 13.

<sup>115</sup> 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; *Nianchchnum*, figs. 4, 8, 13, 17, 24.

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

<sup>117</sup> 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; *Nianchchnum*, figs. 12–13, 17, 24; also brewers and bakers: Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, figs. 29, 32 (= CG 1534); *Ti* 1, pl. 66.

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

<sup>119</sup> 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.

<sup>120</sup> Below, p. 120.

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

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p. 109.

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

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

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

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 47.

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

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

<sup>129</sup> 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.

<sup>130</sup> Lepsius thought he saw a loaf *t* immediately before the basket *k*.

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

<sup>132</sup> 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.

<sup>133</sup> 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).

<sup>134</sup> 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.

<sup>135</sup> 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.

<sup>136</sup> Erman, *Reden*, p. 55; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 803.

<sup>137</sup> 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!"<sup>138</sup>

*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.<sup>139</sup> 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.<sup>140</sup> 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.<sup>141</sup> The oars have long, pointed blades and would have been fastened to the gunwale with slings and securing lines.<sup>142</sup> 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.<sup>143</sup> 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.<sup>144</sup> In the middle of the forward annex of the deckhouse of the first ship a papyrus bud capital supports the roof.<sup>145</sup> Above the boat a line of hieroglyphs (pl. 24b) informs us that its occupants constitute part of the retinue of the vizier:  $[n]t m h d d p t n[t]t h r y w d p w$ , "[Tra]veling<sup>146</sup> downstream of a ship carrying cup-bearers."<sup>147</sup>

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

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

<sup>140</sup> See above, p. 38 and n. 24.

<sup>141</sup> 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.

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

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

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

<sup>145</sup> 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).

<sup>146</sup> For the verb  $n t$ , "travel by boat," see *Wb.* 2, p. 206, 7, 9; Jones, *Nautical Titles and Terms*, p. 216 (40). For  $n t m h d$ , see e.g., Gardiner, *EG*, § 322. The  $n$  of  $n t$  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).

<sup>147</sup> For  $w d p w$ , 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.<sup>148</sup>

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:  $s q d w t m h d d p t n t t h r y h r m t y w$ , "The rowing downstream<sup>149</sup> of a ship carrying treasurers."<sup>150</sup>

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:  $[?] r n f r w s w t . s$ , "[Ma]ke good its ways!" A longer line of text above the boat appears to read:  $s q d w t n f r r s w s r i h w t t y t y z s b [t y S n d m - i b]$ , "A good rowing in order to outstrip(?) the (ship containing) the cattle<sup>151</sup> of the chief justice [and vizier Senedjemib]."

### South Wall

Of five registers copied by Lepsius (fig. 40),<sup>152</sup> 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,<sup>153</sup> 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.<sup>154</sup> 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-

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

<sup>149</sup> As James Allen observes,  $s q d w t$  is a verbal noun, not the infinitive ( $s q d t$ ); 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,  $s q d w t$ , 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.

<sup>150</sup> Henry Fischer has argued persuasively in *Varia Nova*, pp. 50–52, that the reading of both  $\text{𓏏}$  and  $\text{𓏏}$  is  $h r m$ .

<sup>151</sup> None of the meanings for  $s w s$  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.  $s w s$  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.

<sup>152</sup> *LD* 2, pl. 78 [b, right].

<sup>153</sup> Goedicke, *JEA* 45 (1959), p. 9.

dence to carry it.<sup>155</sup> 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.<sup>156</sup> 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.<sup>157</sup> As is customary in such scenes, the vizier probably held a short stick or baton before him in his destroyed right hand.<sup>158</sup> 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.<sup>159</sup> The foremost man carried over one shoulder a tall case with a floppy top.<sup>160</sup> 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-<sup>r</sup> Sšst*, "dignitary and overseer of scribes, Nefer-seshem-<sup>r</sup>seshat."<sup>161</sup> 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-<sup>r</sup>seshat,<sup>161</sup> who wore the long kilt favored for the representation of older men,<sup>161</sup> 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.<sup>162</sup> 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.<sup>163</sup> 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.<sup>164</sup> 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.<sup>165</sup> 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.<sup>166</sup>

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.<sup>167</sup> 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!"<sup>168</sup> Inti's dogs, with erect, pointed ears, narrow flank, and relatively short curled tail, resemble the Sudanese Basenji.<sup>169</sup>

*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.<sup>170</sup> Although they sometimes taper toward the bottom and in at least one instance are capped, the sticks are

<sup>154</sup> 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.

<sup>155</sup> *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.

<sup>156</sup> 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 Borchartdt, *Denkm.* 1, pl. 50 (= CG 1536) and *Meir* 5, pl. 31.

<sup>157</sup> See Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, pp. 255–58.

<sup>158</sup> 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.

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

<sup>160</sup> 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.

<sup>161</sup> See above, p. 26 and n. 57.

<sup>162</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 341–42.

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

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

<sup>165</sup> See below, p. 120.

<sup>166</sup> 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.

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

<sup>168</sup> 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*.

<sup>169</sup> 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.

<sup>170</sup> 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.<sup>171</sup> 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.<sup>172</sup> 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.<sup>173</sup> 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 t3yty zsb t3ty Sndm-ib*, "escorting<sup>1</sup> a statue of the chief justice and vizier Senedjemib."<sup>174</sup> 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.<sup>175</sup>

*Fifth Register.* Three groups of butchers and their assistants appear with an equal number of sacrificial animals thrown on the ground.<sup>176</sup> 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.<sup>177</sup> 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.<sup>178</sup> 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.<sup>179</sup> 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.<sup>180</sup> 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.<sup>181</sup> 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

<sup>171</sup> 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]).

<sup>172</sup> 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, *Dabchour* 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.

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

<sup>174</sup> 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  $\text{𓆎}$  mistakenly for  $\text{𓆏}$  in the first occurrence of the vizier's name at right and once again for  $\text{𓆎}$  in *šms twt*. In the second occurrence of the personal name,  $\text{𓆏}$  is likewise in error for  $\text{𓆎}$ .

<sup>175</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>178</sup> See p. 44 above.

<sup>179</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 157.

<sup>180</sup> 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.

<sup>181</sup> See above, p. 45.

towards the person who is addressed.<sup>182</sup> 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!”<sup>183</sup> 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!”<sup>184</sup> *In rk nht nty-hn*, “Pull hard, comrade!”<sup>185</sup> 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).”<sup>186</sup> The butcher in the right-hand group appears to have said: *ndr sfz.fr<n> m<sup>s</sup> h<sup>d</sup>*,<sup>1</sup> “Hold on so that it (the knife) may slaughter the you<ng> or<sup>r</sup>yx!”<sup>187</sup> His assistant in all likelihood replied: *ir[y.i] [nty-]hn*, “[I shall] do (it), [com]rade!”<sup>188</sup>

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.<sup>189</sup> 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.<sup>190</sup> 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.<sup>191</sup> 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).<sup>192</sup> 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.<sup>193</sup> This type of scene is relatively rare in the Old Kingdom, and the parallels are all close in time.<sup>194</sup>

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) *M<sup>3</sup> phuw ht nb(t) nfr(t) m kst sht*, (2) *iry-p<sup>r</sup>t hsty-<sup>r</sup> t<sup>r</sup>tyt<sup>r</sup> zsb t<sup>r</sup>ty*, (3) *imy-r<sup>3</sup> kst nbt nt nswt hrp zšw [nbw]*, (4) *s[mr w<sup>r</sup>ty] hry-hbt imy-r<sup>3</sup> hkr nswt*, (5) *r<sup>r</sup>mdh qd nswt<sup>r</sup> m prwy imy-r<sup>3</sup> prwy-h<sup>d</sup>*, (6) *imy-r<sup>3</sup> zšw r nswt imy-r<sup>3</sup> hwt-wrt 6*, (1) “Viewing<sup>195</sup> 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 builder<sup>1</sup> in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt),<sup>196</sup> 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.<sup>197</sup> 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 *z3.f n 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 *z3.f n 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

<sup>182</sup> See above, p. 41, n. 70.

<sup>183</sup> 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.”

<sup>184</sup> 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.”

<sup>185</sup> Erman, *Reden*, p. 12.

<sup>186</sup> 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.

<sup>187</sup> 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<sup>d</sup>*-mace.

<sup>188</sup> Lepsius’s draftsman apparently reversed the direction of the eye in *iri*.

<sup>189</sup> For statue transport, cf. Klebs, *Reliefs* 1, p. 42; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 385–88; Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pp. 60–67.

<sup>190</sup> 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.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., pp. 72–73, 179, cat. nos. 138–40; see also below, p. 122.

<sup>192</sup> *LD* 2, pl. 77.

<sup>193</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 12.

<sup>194</sup> See above, p. 25 and n. 53.

<sup>195</sup> *M<sup>3</sup>* 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.

<sup>196</sup> 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).

<sup>197</sup> 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,<sup>198</sup> Fetek-[ti].”<sup>198</sup> 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.<sup>199</sup> 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.<sup>200</sup>

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*)<sup>201</sup> 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.<sup>202</sup> 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.<sup>203</sup>

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.<sup>204</sup> 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.<sup>205</sup> 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.<sup>206</sup>

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 herdsman. An overseer at the left end of the register facing right reclined against a wicker backrest.<sup>207</sup> Above his head a short, horizontal line of text contained his title and name: *'hrp' 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,<sup>208</sup> 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.<sup>209</sup> To the right was a group consisting of two more herdsman 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

<sup>198</sup> 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.

<sup>199</sup> See Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 226–28.

<sup>200</sup> 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.

<sup>201</sup> See Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 93–96, 120, 154, 182.

<sup>202</sup> 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.

<sup>203</sup> For the distinction between papyrus skiff and papyrus raft, see Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 221–30.

<sup>204</sup> 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).

<sup>205</sup> Hassan, *Giza* 5, fig. 123.

<sup>206</sup> *LD, Text* 1, p. 57, Lepsius Zeichnung Inv.-Nr. 348 [top].

<sup>207</sup> 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.

<sup>208</sup> *Teti Cem.* 1, p. 10; 2, pl. 52; Hassan, *Giza* 6<sup>3</sup>, 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<sup>r</sup>fn<sup>1</sup>*, “baking (dough).”<sup>210</sup> 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<sup>r</sup>*] *h<sup>s</sup>dw*, “[kneading] (dough for) *h<sup>s</sup>d*-loaves.”<sup>211</sup> 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.<sup>212</sup> Over the cow appeared the caption *n<sup>h</sup>p*, “mating,”<sup>213</sup> 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.

<sup>209</sup> 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.

<sup>210</sup> 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<sup>r</sup>fn*, “(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<sup>r</sup>fn > q<sup>r</sup>fn*, 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.

<sup>211</sup> *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<sup>s</sup>d* 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<sup>s</sup>d*-bread or a pair of sandals from any traveler they encountered (*Urk.* 1, p. 102, 13). Edel remarks that *h<sup>s</sup>d*-bread must have been an easily transportable item of food, probably a type of flat bread. *H<sup>s</sup>dw* 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<sup>r</sup>* (*sqr*) *h<sup>s</sup>dw*, see now also Verhoven, *Grillen, Kochen, Backen*, pp. 162, 166ff.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. the determinative of *mtwn*, “arena,” in Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 19.

<sup>213</sup> *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.<sup>214</sup> 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,<sup>215</sup> 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: *s<sup>n</sup> dt q<sup>n</sup>w*, “twining papyrus mats.”<sup>216</sup> 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.<sup>217</sup> 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(?).<sup>218</sup> 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.<sup>219</sup> The caption between the two men, reading right to left, is: *w<sup>h</sup>3 q<sup>n</sup>*, “cleaning a mat.”<sup>220</sup>

The frieze of objects in the subregister above was once again badly damaged. A *hezet*-jar, that is, a shouldered jar with concave lower part and flaring foot,<sup>221</sup> 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

<sup>214</sup> Compare e.g., Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 5 (= Kanawati, *Deshasha*, pl. 33) and Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, Pt. 1, fig. 30.

<sup>215</sup> Crowfoot in *A History of Technology* 1, pp. 415–24; idem, in *Ancient Egypt* (1933), pp. 93–99; Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 136–37.

<sup>216</sup> 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.

<sup>217</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 478.

<sup>218</sup> 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.

<sup>219</sup> 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.

<sup>220</sup> *w<sup>h</sup>3 q<sup>n</sup>*: see the references at the head of the preceding note. As to the range of meanings of the verb *w<sup>h</sup>3*, see *Wb.* 1, p. 354, 9; Junker, *Giza* 4, p. 40, fig. 10; *FCD*, p. 67; *Nianchchnum*, p. 177.

<sup>221</sup> 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."<sup>222</sup> 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.<sup>223</sup> 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 [...]."<sup>224</sup>

### 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).<sup>225</sup> By 1912, only two registers and part of a third remained (pl. 27b; fig. 45).<sup>226</sup>

*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.<sup>227</sup> 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,"<sup>228</sup> 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.<sup>229</sup> 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.<sup>230</sup> 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.<sup>231</sup> 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.<sup>232</sup>

*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."<sup>233</sup> 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)."<sup>234</sup> 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."<sup>235</sup>

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.'"<sup>236</sup> The man on the

<sup>222</sup> On this idiom in dairy scenes, see Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 107–108, and Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, p. 8 with n. 31.

<sup>223</sup> 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.

<sup>224</sup> 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 *z3* had been used exceptionally as an ideogram without accompanying phonograms to write *ttt*, "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.

<sup>225</sup> *LD, Ergänzt.*, pl. xix [left].

<sup>226</sup> The photograph of the remaining registers reproduced here as pl. 27b was earlier published in Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pl. 28.

<sup>227</sup> 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.

<sup>228</sup> Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 45.

<sup>229</sup> Compare e.g., *Meir* 5, pl. 18; *Ti* 3, pl. 155; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pl. 26.

<sup>230</sup> Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 41.

<sup>231</sup> Compare, e.g., Davies, *Gebr.* 1, pls. 12–16; *Nianchnum*, pls. 62–64.

<sup>232</sup> See Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pp. 45–47.

<sup>233</sup> 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.

<sup>234</sup> *Wb.* 2, p. 108, 2; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 184, 189; Frandsen, in *AcOr* 40 (1979), p. 294; *ALex* 3 (1979), p. 124.

<sup>235</sup> Montet, *Scènes*, p. 299.

<sup>236</sup> 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[<sup>c</sup>] s[<sup>t</sup> in] fnh*, “poli[shing] a b[ed by] a carpenter.”<sup>237</sup> Polishing or sanding in ancient Egypt was done with pieces of fine-grained sandstone.<sup>238</sup> The next figure to the right brought another board. The legend over his head is again unintelligible, except for the first word: *mrt*, “board.”<sup>239</sup>

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.<sup>240</sup> 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.<sup>241</sup> 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.<sup>242</sup> The abbreviated-shoulder pose here as elsewhere allowed for the representation of arm movement in front of the body.<sup>243</sup> 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.<sup>244</sup> 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.”<sup>245</sup> 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.<sup>246</sup> Since it is raised off the ground, the log presumably rested on chocks or forked rests,<sup>247</sup> 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.<sup>248</sup>

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.<sup>249</sup> 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.<sup>250</sup>

<sup>237</sup> *Sm<sup>c</sup>*: Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 290, 306. Lepsius shows the first letter of *sm<sup>c</sup>* 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.

<sup>238</sup> 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!”

<sup>239</sup> 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’ahu-re<sup>c</sup> 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].

<sup>240</sup> For illustrations of the Egyptian “vice,” see Sliwa, *Woodworking*, fig. 13.

<sup>241</sup> *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.

<sup>242</sup> 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.

<sup>243</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 146.

<sup>244</sup> 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.

<sup>245</sup> *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.

<sup>246</sup> Sliwa, *Woodworking*, pp. 46–47.

<sup>247</sup> 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.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 120, cat. no. 18.

<sup>249</sup> 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).

<sup>250</sup> 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-drill<sup>251</sup> before his face identifies the craftsman as a *hm(ty)*, “stone-worker.”<sup>252</sup>

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: *wb3<sup>1</sup> qrh[t] nt m<sup>1</sup>ntt in imy-[r3] hm(tyw)*, “‘boring’ out<sup>253</sup> a vess[el]<sup>254</sup> of r<sup>1</sup>dio<sup>1</sup>rite<sup>255</sup> 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.<sup>256</sup> On the other hand, it is interesting and possibly significant that the word *wb3*, “to bore out,” is written with a different sign  $\text{𓄏}$ , one that Gardiner designates a “drill for small objects,”<sup>257</sup> 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,<sup>258</sup> 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.<sup>259</sup> 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),”<sup>260</sup> the seated craftsman may in the final analysis have been shown using a tubular drill.<sup>261</sup>

*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.<sup>262</sup> 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.<sup>263</sup> The mallet wielded by the sculptors, like that used by one of the carpenters in the third register above, is slender and elongated.<sup>264</sup> 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.<sup>265</sup> The use of mallet and chisel suggests that the statue represents a wooden original.<sup>266</sup> The legend above the statue reads *[s]rd twt*, “[ca]rving the statue.”<sup>267</sup> The sculptor behind the statue bears the title *imy-r3 qstyw (gnwtw?)*, “overseer of sculptors.”<sup>268</sup> 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.<sup>269</sup> 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.<sup>270</sup> 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.<sup>271</sup> 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.<sup>272</sup>

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

<sup>251</sup> Lepsius interpreted the initial sign as the shaft-drill  $\text{𓄏}$  (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.

<sup>252</sup> 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.

<sup>253</sup> *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).

<sup>254</sup> *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.

<sup>255</sup> *Mnt*: Harris, *Minerals*, pp. 87–88.

<sup>256</sup> *Mereruka* 1, pls. 29–30; *Meir* 5, pl. 17; Badawy, *Nyhetep-ptah and ‘Ankhem’ahor*, pl. 33.

<sup>257</sup> *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.

<sup>258</sup> See Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 423–26; Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, pp. 265–66.

<sup>259</sup> Davies, *Gabr.* 1, pl. 13 (likewise captioned *wb3*).

<sup>260</sup> *Hmi*: *Wb.* 3, p. 82, 7–14.

<sup>261</sup> 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.

<sup>262</sup> Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pp. 3–4.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120 and n. 648.

<sup>264</sup> For an actual Old Kingdom example of a mallet from Deshasha, see Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, fig. 6.19.

<sup>265</sup> 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.

<sup>266</sup> Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pp. 50–51.

<sup>267</sup> *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.

<sup>268</sup> On the vexed question of the reading of the paired signs  $\text{𓄏}$ , 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.

<sup>269</sup> See above, p. 54.

<sup>270</sup> Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 121, cat. no. 20.

<sup>271</sup> *GN* 1, p. 264.

<sup>272</sup> *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.<sup>273</sup>

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.<sup>274</sup> 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).<sup>275</sup> They were still intact when Mariette sketched them in 1850.<sup>276</sup> 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.<sup>277</sup> 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.<sup>278</sup> In each instance, the hem of the dress slanted from front to back.<sup>279</sup>

*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).<sup>280</sup> 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.<sup>281</sup>

1. Woman carrying basket(?) on head and bird in hanging right hand: [*hwt* ...]: *mr* ' *ntrw*' [...], "The estate of [...] (named) the 'gods' love [...]."<sup>282</sup>
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: s'nḥ* [...], "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."

<sup>280</sup> For the attitudes adopted by personified estates and the offerings transported by them, see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 131–35.

<sup>281</sup> With a few exceptions, the reading of the estate names here follows closely Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, pp. 293–95.

<sup>282</sup> 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.

<sup>273</sup> See above, pp. 5–6.

<sup>274</sup> See above, pp. 8–9.

<sup>275</sup> LD 2, pl. 76a–b.

<sup>276</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 510–12.

<sup>277</sup> On Old Kingdom mortuary estates, see the in-depth study by Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*.

<sup>278</sup> 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.

<sup>279</sup> 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 cord<sup>283</sup> in hanging left hand: *shr-nw*,<sup>1</sup> “The heron flies up(?)”.<sup>284</sup>
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.”<sup>285</sup>
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

<sup>283</sup> Cf. *Ti 1*, pl. 126; *Seven Chapels*, pl. 15; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 32; Ziegler, *Akhetep*, p. 118; Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 32.

<sup>284</sup> 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.

<sup>285</sup> 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).<sup>286</sup> 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.<sup>287</sup> 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.<sup>288</sup>

*First Register.* Above the door two herdsmen seated on the ground each faced left towards a recumbent ox.<sup>289</sup> 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.<sup>290</sup> 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.<sup>291</sup> 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.<sup>292</sup> The herdsman at

<sup>286</sup> *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xxiii [c].

<sup>287</sup> *GN 1*, pp. 349–50; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 126–47; Vandier, *Manuel 5*, pp. 13–52.

<sup>288</sup> *Meir 5*, p. 41, pl. 32.

<sup>289</sup> 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.

<sup>290</sup> On the force feeding of animals, see Vandier, *Manuel 5*, pp. 80–83; Moens–Wetterstrom, *JNES 47* (1988), pp. 168–71.

<sup>291</sup> 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).

<sup>292</sup> 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.<sup>293</sup> Two attendants at the right forced one of the headmen to prostrate himself.<sup>294</sup> 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.<sup>295</sup> 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.<sup>296</sup> 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.<sup>297</sup>

*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.<sup>298</sup> The fourth man carried a calf across his shoulders. The last bearer had a hedgehog in a wicker cage<sup>299</sup> 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.<sup>300</sup> 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.<sup>301</sup> 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,<sup>302</sup> 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.<sup>303</sup>

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) *wwnw*, "European coot" (*Fulica atra*)(?); (5) *bds*-bird, an unidentified goose or duck; (6) unidentified species, name lost; (7) *mnwt*, "Turtle dove" (*Streptopelia turtur*).<sup>304</sup>

*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,"<sup>305</sup> and above its back was written *rn iw3*, "young stable ox."<sup>306</sup> 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.<sup>307</sup>

As previously mentioned, Reisner's clearance of Room III revealed that the bottom of this register was preserved along the entire

<sup>293</sup> See Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 145, 147–48; Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 91–98; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 169–70.

<sup>294</sup> See Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* 2 (1976), col. 578(e).

<sup>295</sup> Cf. Vandier, *Manuel* 4, fig. 153 [17]. Similar gestures are discussed by Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), pp. 100–108.

<sup>296</sup> Cf. *Ti* 1, pl. 67, and see above, p. 47 and n. 160. See now too Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 229.

<sup>297</sup> For examples of the captions accompanying such scenes, see Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 145, 147–48.

<sup>298</sup> 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.

<sup>299</sup> See Droste zu Hülshoff, *Der Igel*, pp. 81–90, and especially p. 86, no. 35, and fig. 11.

<sup>300</sup> The animals depicted in the presentation scenes of Old Kingdom date are discussed by Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 2–56.

<sup>301</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 398–410.

<sup>302</sup> For a list of occurrences, see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 399–400. Junker, *Giza* 4, pl. 7, provides an exception to the rule.

<sup>303</sup> 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.

<sup>304</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 402–404; Behrens, *LÄ* 2 (1976), cols. 503–504.

<sup>305</sup> *Wb.* 2, p. 373, 2–5; Junker, *Giza*, p. 86; *Nianchnum*, p. 102.

<sup>306</sup> 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.

<sup>307</sup> 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.<sup>308</sup> Traces suggest the herdsman wore a long belt-sash with pendant ends hanging down in front.<sup>309</sup> 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.<sup>310</sup> 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.<sup>311</sup> 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."<sup>312</sup> 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.<sup>313</sup> 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).<sup>314</sup> 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.<sup>315</sup> 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.<sup>316</sup>

### 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.<sup>317</sup> 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.<sup>318</sup> 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]."<sup>319</sup> 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."<sup>320</sup> 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,<sup>321</sup> but here the base of the harp is shown in profile.<sup>322</sup> 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]."<sup>323</sup>

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.<sup>324</sup> A common scene type in Old Kingdom chapels depicts a banquet with the tomb owner seated before food and entertained by dancers and musicians.<sup>325</sup> 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.<sup>326</sup> Harpur has noted that the variant with the matwork pavilion is more common at Giza than Saqqara,<sup>327</sup> and it is possible that such a scene appeared on this wall.

<sup>308</sup> 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.

<sup>309</sup> See below, p. 120 and fig. 94a–e.

<sup>310</sup> 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 (*hnp 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. Saïd*, 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.

<sup>311</sup> 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.

<sup>312</sup> 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.

<sup>313</sup> 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.

<sup>314</sup> See above, p. 46–47 and n. 154, for discussions of carrying chair scenes.

<sup>315</sup> 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.

<sup>316</sup> See below, p. 121.

<sup>317</sup> See above, p. 52 and n. 227.

<sup>318</sup> 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.

<sup>319</sup> Montet, *Scènes*, p. 358; see as well LD 2, pl. 61a; *Gebr.* 1, pl. 8; Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 9.

<sup>320</sup> Montet, *Scènes*, p. 361.

<sup>321</sup> 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.

<sup>322</sup> For a summary discussion of the harp in the Old Kingdom with references to earlier literature, see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 305 (3).

<sup>323</sup> See below, p. 150 and nn. 214, 216.

<sup>324</sup> See above, p. 6.

<sup>325</sup> Harpur, *JEA* 71 (1985), p. 36.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>327</sup> *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).<sup>328</sup> 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.<sup>329</sup> Insofar as they can be comprehended, the signs appear to read: (1) [...] *imy-[r3] pr-ḥsw*, (2) [...], (3) [... *imy-r3 k3] t nbt<sup>r</sup> nt nswt<sup>r</sup>*, *imy-r3 ḥwt-wrt 6*,<sup>1</sup> (4) [...], *imy-r3 sḏmt nbt<sup>r</sup>*,<sup>1</sup> (5) [...] *S<sup>r</sup>ndm<sup>r</sup>-ib*, (1) “[...], over[seer] of the armory, (2) [...], (3) [... overseer of] all the [wo]rks [of the king],<sup>1</sup> overseer of [the six great (law) courts],<sup>1</sup> (4) [...], overseer of [all that is judged],<sup>1</sup> (5) Se<sup>r</sup>nedjem<sup>r</sup>-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.<sup>330</sup>

### West Wall

The northern third of this wall was copied by Lepsius (fig. 52b),<sup>331</sup> but nearly all the blocks seen by him were subsequently carried off by stone-robbers.<sup>332</sup> 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.<sup>333</sup> 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.<sup>334</sup> 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 ḥt nb(t) nfr(t) m k3t sḥt*], “[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<sup>r</sup>t ḥsty-<sup>r</sup> 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 *ḥrp zšw*, “controller of scribes.”<sup>335</sup> The fourth column ends with what are presumably the terminal paired house-signs of *mdḥ qd nswt m prw3y*, “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 *ḥry s3t3 wḏt-mdw nt nswt*, “master of secrets of the commands of the king.”<sup>336</sup> The tall, narrow signs at the bottom of the last column may represent *ntr 3*, in which case *im3ḥw ḥr 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.<sup>337</sup> Dragnets were sometimes worked from boats but here it seems that the fishermen stood on the river bank.<sup>338</sup> 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.<sup>339</sup> 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.<sup>340</sup> 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.<sup>341</sup> 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

<sup>335</sup> See below, pp. 77, 83, 84, for the fuller form of the title, *ḥrp zšw nbw*.

<sup>336</sup> See below, pp. 83 (16), 129 (17), 158 (15).

<sup>337</sup> 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.

<sup>338</sup> Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 260–61.

<sup>339</sup> See Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 146.

<sup>340</sup> Compare the stance of the first figure in the left-hand crew in *Idout*, pl. 5D.

<sup>341</sup> See the third figure in the left-hand crew in *Mereruka* 1, pls. 42–43.

<sup>328</sup> Lieder squeeze 1.13.

<sup>329</sup> Cf. the remarks of Málek, *GM* 13 (1974), pp. 21–24.

<sup>330</sup> See below, p. 69.

<sup>331</sup> *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xxii.

<sup>332</sup> See above, p. 8–9.

<sup>333</sup> MFA 13.4361: Simpson, *Face of Egypt*, cat. no. 4.

<sup>334</sup> 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.<sup>342</sup> The sinkers or weights here provide little detail; actual examples are made of stone, notched at the middle for cross lashings.<sup>343</sup>

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.<sup>344</sup> 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).<sup>345</sup> 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.<sup>346</sup> 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.<sup>347</sup>

Scenes of cutting grain and pulling up flax<sup>348</sup> 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.<sup>349</sup> The standing harvester at the left may have been removing a weed or straggly stalk from his bundle of flax.<sup>350</sup> 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.<sup>351</sup> 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.<sup>352</sup> 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.<sup>353</sup>

*Second Register.* The right part of this register as copied by Lepsius preserves the beginning of the traditional agricultural cycle.<sup>354</sup> Only rarely is the entire composition, which commences with the sowing of seed and concludes with the storage of grain in granaries, shown.<sup>355</sup> 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.<sup>356</sup> 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.<sup>357</sup> They were probably of the long-legged breed with horizontal horns,<sup>358</sup> 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.<sup>359</sup> A pair of oxen, a driver, and a ploughman followed,

<sup>342</sup> Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 258–60.

<sup>343</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 259, pl. 22; Brewer–Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, p. 44, fig. 2.39.

<sup>344</sup> Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, p. 258; cf. Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 572.

<sup>345</sup> See below, pp. 145–46. Less frequently a greater number of haulers is depicted, as for example in *Mereruka* 1, pls. 42–43 [18].

<sup>346</sup> See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 146–47.

<sup>347</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 59.

<sup>348</sup> 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.

<sup>349</sup> 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.

<sup>350</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 262.

<sup>351</sup> For gestures of address, see Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), p. 61, and for the present gesture, see *ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>352</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 170.

<sup>353</sup> See above, pp. 44–45, fig. 75b and f.

<sup>354</sup> 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.

<sup>355</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 2.

<sup>356</sup> The role of the coaxer-sower is discussed by Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 18, and Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 160.

<sup>357</sup> See Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 162.

<sup>358</sup> See below, p. 145 and n. 133.

<sup>359</sup> 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.<sup>360</sup> 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.<sup>361</sup> 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.<sup>362</sup>

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.<sup>363</sup> The sickles are short-handled with a body fairly wide near the handle but tapering to a point.<sup>364</sup> 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.<sup>365</sup> 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.<sup>366</sup> 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.<sup>367</sup> 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.<sup>368</sup> 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?"<sup>369</sup> From the direction of the signs, it seems that this represented the speech of the reaper at the right.<sup>370</sup> 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.<sup>371</sup> Over his head was a damaged hieroglyphic legend, the beginning traces of which appear to suit *s[ʔ]h*, "reaping."<sup>372</sup> 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.<sup>373</sup> 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.

<sup>367</sup> *Wb.* 1, p. 178, 9; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 256, 414; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 78.

<sup>368</sup> 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* 1<sup>2</sup>, 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.

<sup>369</sup> 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 (*Nianchchnum*, 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."

<sup>370</sup> 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.

<sup>371</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 164.

<sup>372</sup> *Wb.* 1, p. 19, 15–16; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 181, 182, 201, 205.

<sup>373</sup> For the inclusion of quail in the harvest scene, see *HESP*, p. 97; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 215–16, 219, 262 [53], 396–76 [48].

<sup>360</sup> For the ancient Egyptian plow, see Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 29–38.

<sup>361</sup> 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.

<sup>362</sup> 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.

<sup>363</sup> See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 164–65.

<sup>364</sup> 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.

<sup>365</sup> See above, p. 45, and fig. 75g.

<sup>366</sup> 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.<sup>374</sup> 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.<sup>375</sup> 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.<sup>376</sup> 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.<sup>377</sup> 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.<sup>378</sup> 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."<sup>379</sup> The caption behind the head of the second field hand read: *mr mshw*, "tying up sheaves."<sup>380</sup>

The three field hands in the middle group also filled a large rope-net sack with sheaves.<sup>381</sup> The composition of this group is closely paralleled in the Louvre mastaba of Inti's older contemporary Akhethotep, albeit in a mirror image.<sup>382</sup> 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."<sup>383</sup> 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."<sup>384</sup>

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!"<sup>385</sup> Tie the sack!"<sup>386</sup> 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.<sup>387</sup>

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

<sup>374</sup> See below, p. 150 and nn. 214, 216.

<sup>375</sup> See *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, 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).

<sup>376</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 134–43.

<sup>377</sup> 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.

<sup>378</sup> Junker, *Zu einigen Reden*, pp. 36–38; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 119–20.

<sup>379</sup> 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.

<sup>380</sup> Junker, *Zu einigen Reden*, pp. 36–38.

<sup>381</sup> For a detailed representation of a rope-net basket like this, see Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 240 = Wild, *Ti* 3, pl. 94.

<sup>382</sup> 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.

<sup>383</sup> Junker, *Zu einigen Reden*, pp. 37–38.

<sup>384</sup> See above, p. 49 and n. 184.

<sup>385</sup> For the construction *mk* followed by dependent pronoun and circumstantial *sdm.f*, see Edell, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 170c; Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, § 41.

<sup>386</sup> 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.

<sup>387</sup> 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,<sup>388</sup> whereas he wears the very short, round-edged kilt with belt-sash tied at the front.<sup>389</sup> 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<sup>c</sup> sw*, “Driving back(?) (the donkeys)<sup>390</sup> b[y] the labor[er]s<sup>391</sup> of the estate, they having been brought away from conducting it (viz. the grain).”<sup>392</sup>

*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.<sup>393</sup>

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.f<sup>1</sup>*, “Steady ‘its’ pannier<sup>1</sup>(?)”<sup>394</sup> 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!”<sup>395</sup> 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<sup>r</sup> d(y).f<sup>1</sup> iw hi.k(?)*, “Do not let ‘him kick!’<sup>396</sup> [...]”<sup>397</sup> 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!”<sup>398</sup> 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.<sup>399</sup> The caption before him reads: *ptb it hr zp*, “throwing grain<sup>400</sup> on the threshing floor.”<sup>401</sup> 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.<sup>402</sup>

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

<sup>388</sup> 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.

<sup>389</sup> See above, p. 45 and fig. 75d.

<sup>390</sup> *Šbr*: Montet, *Scènes*, p. 208; *Sh. Saïd*, p. 22; cf. *Wb.* 3, p. 10, 14–16.

<sup>391</sup> *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.

<sup>392</sup> 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!”

<sup>393</sup> See p. 5 above.

<sup>394</sup> 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.

<sup>395</sup> 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.

<sup>396</sup> 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.

<sup>397</sup> 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.

<sup>398</sup> 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.

<sup>399</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 166.

<sup>400</sup> For *ptb hr*, “throw something on the ground,” see *Wb.* 1, p. 565, 17.

<sup>401</sup> 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.

<sup>402</sup> 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.<sup>403</sup>

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.<sup>404</sup> 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.<sup>405</sup> 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)!"<sup>406</sup> 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!"<sup>407</sup> 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.<sup>408</sup> 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."<sup>409</sup> 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.<sup>410</sup> The legend over the head of the woman on the right is: *sh it*, "broom-winnowing of barley."<sup>411</sup> 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.<sup>412</sup> Over her upraised arms traces of the component signs of *hsbs*, "scoop-winnowing," can also be made out in pl. 32.<sup>413</sup>

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.<sup>414</sup> In front of the field hand's face and over the stack is a short caption: *ns it*, "separating the barley."<sup>415</sup>

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.<sup>416</sup> 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.<sup>417</sup> The assumption is often made that these represent offerings to the snake goddess and patroness of the harvest, Renenutet, at the completion

<sup>407</sup> 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.

<sup>408</sup> Vandier, *Manuel 6*, p. 176.

<sup>409</sup> Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 222–23. For a drawing of such a sieve in plan, see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 225, fig. 33.

<sup>410</sup> 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.

<sup>411</sup> See Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 221–23; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, p. 16.

<sup>412</sup> 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.

<sup>413</sup> *hsbs*: Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 222–23.

<sup>414</sup> 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.

<sup>403</sup> *Mereruka 2*, pl. 170.

<sup>404</sup> For the activities of piling sheaves, threshing, and winnowing, see Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 166–69.

<sup>405</sup> See *HESP*, pp. 335–36.

<sup>406</sup> See Gunn, *Studies*, p. 4; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 866, pace Montet, *Scènes*, p. 220; Vandier, *Manuel 6*, p. 175.

of the harvest cycle,<sup>418</sup> despite the fact that the goddess herself is never depicted, whereas she is in New Kingdom scenes of the harvest.<sup>419</sup> 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.<sup>420</sup>

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")!<sup>421</sup> Similarly inflated measurements occur above or beside grain piles in a small number of other cases.<sup>422</sup>

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.<sup>423</sup> His right arm is outstretched and he is about to lift the cover to release the purifying and revivifying incense smoke.<sup>424</sup> 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,”<sup>425</sup> 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).<sup>426</sup> 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*.<sup>427</sup> 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.<sup>428</sup> 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.<sup>429</sup> 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*<sup>1</sup> “the dignitary, elder of the porch, and funerary priest, TjezenṚptah<sup>1</sup>.”<sup>430</sup>

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.

<sup>415</sup> *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).

<sup>416</sup> 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.

<sup>417</sup> 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).

<sup>418</sup> Klebs, *AR*, p. 52; Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, pp. 24–25; Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 204.

<sup>419</sup> *PM* 1, p. 488 (Termuthis).

<sup>420</sup> 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.

<sup>421</sup> Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, p. 10, observes that the ancient Egyptian cubit measured 52.5 cm.

<sup>422</sup> *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.

<sup>423</sup> 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.

<sup>424</sup> 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.

<sup>425</sup> *Wb.* 5, p. 103, 9–10.

<sup>426</sup> 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.

<sup>427</sup> 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*<sup>1</sup> opposite) or the sign of the girdle-knot (*z*).

<sup>428</sup> 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.

<sup>429</sup> See below, pp. 141–42.

<sup>430</sup> 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 hꜣft-hꜣr, Sndm*, “personal scribe of royal records, Senedjem” was added.<sup>431</sup> The title was carved right over the sign of the censer (*kꜣp*)<sup>432</sup> 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.<sup>433</sup> 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.”<sup>434</sup> 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.<sup>435</sup> 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.”<sup>436</sup>

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.”<sup>437</sup> 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.<sup>438</sup>

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.<sup>439</sup> The cult installation in the northwest corner of the room has already been described in some detail.<sup>440</sup>

#### 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).<sup>441</sup> 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,<sup>442</sup> 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.<sup>443</sup> 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,<sup>444</sup> 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

<sup>437</sup> *Stp. Wb.* 4, p. 336, 3–6; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 166.

<sup>438</sup> See above, p. 48.

<sup>439</sup> Obj. Reg. 12–11–26; see *HESP*, p. 84 (2).

<sup>440</sup> See p. 19.

<sup>441</sup> *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xxi.

<sup>442</sup> Lucas, *Materials*, p. 18.

<sup>443</sup> *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 86 (12).

<sup>444</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, p. III. To the citations in *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, 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.

<sup>431</sup> 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 *hꜣft-hꜣr*.

<sup>432</sup> For the censer sign, see Gardiner, *EG*, p. 501 [R 5]; Brunner, *NAWG* 1965, no. 3, pp. 79–96; Fischer, *Calligraphy*, p. 57.

<sup>433</sup> 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.

<sup>434</sup> Erman, *Reden*, p. 13; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 157, 302.

<sup>435</sup> See above, p. 48 and n. 180.

<sup>436</sup> *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.<sup>445</sup> 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.<sup>446</sup> 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.<sup>447</sup> 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 pressing<sup>448</sup> 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.<sup>449</sup> 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.<sup>450</sup> 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.<sup>451</sup> It should be noted though that the mastaba of Mereruka provides one definite example of the omission of grape picking from vintage episodes.<sup>452</sup>

*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.<sup>453</sup> 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.<sup>454</sup> 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.<sup>455</sup> In similar vignettes in the tombs of Mereruka and Neferherentpakh at Saqqara, a caption over the musicians reads: *msh*, “marking the rhythm.”<sup>456</sup> Sometimes the treaders wear a special kilt with a downward triangular extension,<sup>457</sup> 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!”<sup>458</sup> 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.<sup>459</sup> 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.<sup>460</sup> The last man on the right may have been similarly engaged or may have been sealing the wine jars.<sup>461</sup> 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.<sup>462</sup> 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.<sup>463</sup> They adopted the ordi-

<sup>445</sup> See especially *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, p. 32, no. 295 (Berlin 3/65).

<sup>446</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 111.

<sup>447</sup> *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, 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.

<sup>448</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66 and n. 20.

<sup>450</sup> E.g., *LD* 2, pls. 53b, 111; Hassan, *Saqqara* 1, p. 31, fig. 14; Lauer, *Saqqara*, pl. 139.

<sup>451</sup> Compare the detail from the grape picking scene in the tomb of Neferherentpakh published in Lauer, *Saqqara*, pl. 139.

<sup>452</sup> *Mereruka* 2, pls. 113–14, 116.

<sup>453</sup> Lucas, *Materials*, p. 17.

<sup>454</sup> See Lerstrup, *GM* 129 (1992), p. 68, and below, p. 120 and n. 60.

<sup>455</sup> 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.

<sup>456</sup> *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.

<sup>457</sup> E.g., Paget-Pirie, *Prabhetep*, pl. 33; *Ti* 3, pl. 171; *Nefer and Ka-hay*, p. 24, pl. 9; *Nianchnum*, fig. 16.

<sup>458</sup> *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.

<sup>459</sup> 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.

<sup>460</sup> Lucas, *Materials*, p. 17.

<sup>461</sup> Cf. *LD* 2, pls. 13, 96; *Nianchnum*, pl. 39.

<sup>462</sup> Lucas, *Materials*, p. 13. For scenes of baking and brewing, see *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, 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).

<sup>463</sup> 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.”<sup>464</sup> 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.”<sup>465</sup> Over the upper row of storehouses the designation *bš(š)*, an as yet unidentified grain used in the fabrication of beer, perhaps a variety of barley, alone survived.<sup>466</sup>

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 stoppers<sup>467</sup> and imprinted with a cylinder seal.<sup>468</sup> 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-table<sup>469</sup> with a (basketwork) cover; a tall, neckless shoulder jar on a stand; a straight-sided vase with a scalloped rim;<sup>470</sup> 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.<sup>471</sup>

*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.<sup>472</sup> 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).<sup>473</sup> The head-kerchief over her hair, tightly gathered at the nape of the neck, was of the sort sometimes worn by agricultural laborers.<sup>474</sup> 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.”<sup>475</sup>

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 dwḏw<sup>1</sup> in ndt*, “sifting<sup>476</sup> flour<sup>477</sup> by the female miller.”<sup>478</sup> 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.<sup>479</sup> 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: *qr<sup>1</sup> bds<sup>1</sup>*, “heating the bread moulds.”<sup>480</sup> 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.<sup>481</sup> 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.<sup>482</sup> 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

<sup>464</sup> For this title, see *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 932 [757].

<sup>465</sup> *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).

<sup>466</sup> *Bš(š)*: 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.

<sup>467</sup> For the different types of clay stoppers, see Emery, *Archaic Period*, pp. 210–11.

<sup>468</sup> Compare the sequence of operations in *Ti* 1, pl. 66.

<sup>469</sup> See Balcz, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), pp. 25–26 and fig. 36; *GN* 2, p. 87, fig. 76, pl. 49d, e.

<sup>470</sup> Balcz, *MDAIK* 3 (1932), pp. 106–107 and fig. 21.

<sup>471</sup> 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.

<sup>472</sup> 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.

<sup>473</sup> 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.

<sup>474</sup> See p. 64 above.

<sup>475</sup> *Wb.* 2, p. 369, 11–12; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 234–35.

<sup>476</sup> *Sš dwḏw*: 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*.

<sup>477</sup> *Dwḏw*: *Wb.* 5, p. 502, 8–10; Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa*, II/1/2, pp. 25–27; *ALex* I (1977), p. 441.

<sup>478</sup> *Ndt*: *Wb.* 2, p. 370, 14; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 234, 237, 238.

<sup>479</sup> See the references in p. 149, n. 195 below.

<sup>480</sup> For the emendation, see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 237 (5).

<sup>481</sup> 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.

<sup>482</sup> 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,<sup>483</sup> 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.<sup>484</sup> 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.<sup>485</sup> 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.<sup>486</sup>

## 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.<sup>487</sup> 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 unincised 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.<sup>488</sup> 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).<sup>489</sup>

## 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.<sup>490</sup> Jacquet-Gordon utilized these and her own personal copies of the few signs remaining in her study of funerary estates in the Old Kingdom.<sup>491</sup> 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.<sup>492</sup>

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.<sup>493</sup> 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.<sup>494</sup> 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.<sup>495</sup>

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-

<sup>483</sup> See e.g., Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 176.

<sup>484</sup> Compare the posture of the women mixing dough in Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, figs. 34–35, pl. 9; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, fig. 54;

<sup>485</sup> 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.

<sup>486</sup> Cf. *Ti* 1, pl. 66, and especially Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 97.

<sup>487</sup> *GN* 1, p. 264.

<sup>488</sup> See above, p. 19.

<sup>489</sup> See above, p. 19.

<sup>490</sup> *Mastabas*, pp. 507–509, 513–15.

<sup>491</sup> Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, pp. 293, 296–97 [38G5], nos. 17–36, cf. figs. 82, 83 (c, d).

<sup>492</sup> Málek, *GM* 13 (1974), pp. 21–24.

<sup>493</sup> 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.

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 513 and 514.

<sup>495</sup> *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.”<sup>496</sup>

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.”<sup>497</sup>

4. Woman carrying a crescent-shaped basket on a pad on her head: *wsḥ Ikw-Hr*, “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 Ikw-Hr: [...] Bstt*, “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 [...] Ikw-Hr*, “[...] loves Ikauhor.”

8. Woman carrying a conical basket on her head and holding a bird by the wings against her body: [...] *bsw- [...]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 Bstt ḥb 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.”

<sup>496</sup> 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).

<sup>497</sup> 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 Hr 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 ḥb 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.<sup>498</sup> 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.<sup>499</sup> 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.<sup>500</sup>

*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

<sup>498</sup> Schäfer, *Principles*, pp. 226–27.

<sup>499</sup> See above, p. 6.

<sup>500</sup> See above, p. 18.

lap, holds a folded cloth which probably served as a napkin.<sup>501</sup> 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.<sup>502</sup> 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).<sup>503</sup> 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.<sup>504</sup> 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.<sup>505</sup>

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* <sup>r</sup>*ss*<sup>1</sup>[*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],<sup>506</sup> chief justice and vizier, [sole] friend [...], (2) [...] of the kin[g], overseer of [...] of [..., mas]ter of <sup>r</sup>se<sup>1</sup>[crets] (3) [...] overseer of [...], (4) [...], overseer of the ar[mory],<sup>507</sup> (5) [master of secrets of] the commands o[f the kin]g,<sup>508</sup> (6) [...] overseer of [all] that is judged,<sup>509</sup> (7) [one honored by the king, possessor of lov[e].”<sup>510</sup> 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.<sup>511</sup> 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.<sup>512</sup> 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,<sup>513</sup> 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.”<sup>514</sup>

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.<sup>515</sup> 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.<sup>516</sup> 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.<sup>517</sup> 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,<sup>518</sup> including one on the east wall of Inti's own burial chamber.<sup>519</sup> 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.<sup>520</sup> 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

<sup>501</sup> See Fischer, *MMJ* 10 (1975), pp. 9–21.

<sup>502</sup> *HESP*, p. 280.

<sup>503</sup> For this type of wig, see above, p. 39 and n. 42.

<sup>504</sup> 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.

<sup>505</sup> 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.

<sup>506</sup> For the restoration, see above, pp. 37, 49.

<sup>507</sup> 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.

<sup>508</sup> See above, p. 37, pl. 12c, and fig. 16, and below, p. 84 (16).

<sup>509</sup> See below, p. 84 (9).

<sup>510</sup> For the title adjunct *n(y)-mrwt*, see Gunn, in *Teti Cem.*, 1, p. 101 (XX); Fischer, *ZÄS* 105 (1978), p. 49.

<sup>511</sup> See e.g., Hassan, *Giza* 5, pp. 168–69; Brovanski, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 18 (1983), p. 5; Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, pp. 50–51.

<sup>512</sup> On the origin and development of the conventionalized loaves of bread, see recently *ibid.*, pp. 42–49.

<sup>513</sup> Fischer, *Reversals*, pp. 63–64.

<sup>514</sup> For *ht bnrt*, see Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 227d.

<sup>515</sup> See above, p. 68 and nn. 469–71.

<sup>516</sup> On the basketwork flaps, see *Teti Cem.* 1, p. 163; Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, p. 21; Williams, *Decoration of Per-neb*, p. 52.

<sup>517</sup> 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.

<sup>518</sup> 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.

<sup>519</sup> See below, pp. 80–81; pl. 53, fig. 71.

<sup>520</sup> Cf. Hassan, *Giza*, 6<sup>2</sup>, 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.<sup>521</sup> 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.<sup>522</sup> 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* *sd̄t*, 1] “[Incense (on) the fire, one]”
- (3) [*stt*-*hb*, 1] “[Festival ointment, one jar]”
- (4) [*ḫknw*, 1] “[*ḫknw*-oil, one jar]”
- (5) [*sf̄t*, 1] “[*sf̄t*-ointment, one jar]”
- (6) [*ny-ḫnm*, 1] “[*ny-ḫnm*-oil, one jar]”
- (7) [*twzwt*, 1] “[*twzwt*-ointment, one jar]”
- (8) [*ḫstt nt* ʕ, 1] “[Best cedar oil, one jar]”<sup>a</sup>
- (9) [*ḫstt 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) [*wnhwy*, 2] “[Cloth, two pieces]”
- (13) [*qbh* *ḫwy*, 2] “[Libation and two pellets of natron]”
- (14) [*sntr* *sd̄t*, 1] “[Incense (on) the fire, one]”
- (15) [*ḫst*, 1] “[Offering table, one]”
- (16) [*ḫtp-nswt*, 2] “[Offering of the king, two]”
- (17) [*ḫtp-wsh̄t*, 2] “[Offering of the broad court, two]”
- (18) [*ḫms*, 1] “[Sit down!, one]”
- (19) [*šns d̄wiw ʕbw-r̄3*, 1] “[Repast:<sup>b</sup> a *šns*-loaf and jug,<sup>c</sup> one each]”
- (20) [*t-wt*, 1] “[Barley bread(?),<sup>d</sup> one]”
- (21) <sup>r</sup> *t rth̄*<sup>1</sup>, [1] <sup>r</sup> “Baked bread,<sup>1</sup> [one]”
- (22) *nmst d̄srt*, 1 “Jug of strong ale(?),<sup>e</sup> one”
- (23) *nmst ḫnqt*, 1 “Jug of beer, one”

## Row B:

- (24) [*ḫst* *šns* ʕ, 1] “[Serving of *šns*-bread, one portion]”
- (25) [*šns d̄wiw 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 d̄wiw* [ʕbw-r̄3], 2 “[Repast:] a *šns*-loaf and a jug, one each”

- (30) [*t wt*], 1 “[Barley bread (?), one]”
- (31) *t rth̄*, 1 “Baked bread, one”
- (32) *ḫ[ḫ]*, 1 “*ḫ[ḫ]*-bread, one”
- (33) [*nhrwy*, 2] “[*nhr*-bread, two]”
- (34) *dp[t]*, <sup>r</sup> 4<sup>1</sup> “*dp[t]*-bread, <sup>r</sup>four”
- (35) *pz[n]*, 4 “*pz[n]*-bread, [four]”
- (36) *šn[s]*, 4 “*šn[s]*-bread, [four]”
- (37) *t imy* [ʕ, 4] “Bread which is (baked) in [the earth, four]”
- (38) [*ḫnfw*, 4] “[*ḫnfw*-bread, four]”
- (39) *ḫbnn[wt]*-bread, <sup>r</sup> 4<sup>1</sup> “*ḫbnn[wt]*-bread, <sup>r</sup>four”
- (40) [*q*] *mḫw* [*qms*, 4] “*q**mḫw*-bread (in) [an hexagonal mould,<sup>f</sup> four]”
- (41) *ids[t ḫs.]k*, [4] “*ids[t]*-bread. (Place it) behind you!,<sup>g</sup> four”
- (42) [*pwt*, 4] “[*pwt*-bread, four]”
- (43) [*t šsr*, 4] “[Toasted bread, four]”
- (44) *ḫdw*, 4 “Onions, four”
- (45) *ḫps*, 1 “Foreleg, one”
- (46) *iw*<sup>r</sup>, 1 “Thigh, one”

## Row C:

- (47) [*zḫn*, 1] “[Kidney, one]”
- (48) [*swt*, 1] [*swt*-cut of meat, one]”
- (49) [*spr*, 4] “[Ribs, four]”
- (50) [*šrt*, 1] “[Roast, one]”
- (51) [*mizt*, 1] “[Liver, one]”
- (52) [*nmšm*, 1] “[Spleen(?), one]”
- (53) [*ḫ*<sup>r</sup>, 1] “[Flesh, one]”
- (54) [*iwf n ḫst*, 1] “[Breast meat, one]”
- (55) [*r̄3*, 1] “[Greylag goose, one]”<sup>h</sup>
- (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) [*šḫt*, <sup>r</sup> 2<sup>1</sup>] “[*šḫt*-bread, <sup>r</sup>two]”
- (62) [*npst*, 2] “[*npst*-bread, two]”
- (63) [*m*] *zwt*, [2] “[*m*] *zwt*-bread, [two]”
- (64) [*dsrt*, 2] “[Ale, two]”
- (65) [*istt d̄srt*, 2] “[Milky ale (?),<sup>i</sup> 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) *d̄wiw* [*šsr*, 2] “Jugs of [*šsr*]-drink, two”
- (71) *d[šb]*, 2 “Fi[g wine, two]”

## Row D:

- (72) [*irp*, 2] “[Wine, two]”
- (73) [*irp ʕbšwy*, 2] “[*ʕbš*-jars<sup>j</sup> 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) [*išd*, 2] “[Hegelig-fruit, two]”<sup>k</sup>

<sup>521</sup> See Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 69.

<sup>522</sup> 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-ankh-nesut).

- (80) [*šht hdt*, 2] “[White 6-row barley<sup>1</sup>, two]”  
 (81) [*šht wšdt*, 2] “[Green 6-row barley, two]”  
 (82) [*ḡt zwt*, 2] “[Parched<sup>m</sup> wheat, two]”  
 (83) [*ḡt it*, 2] “[Parched barley, two]”  
 (84) [*bšbš wt*, 2] “[*bšbš wt*-fruit,<sup>n</sup> two]”  
 (85) *nbs*, 2 “Nabq-fruit,<sup>o</sup> two”  
 (86) *t nbs*, 2 “Cake of nabq-fruit, two”  
 (87) [*w<sup>c</sup> h*, 2] “[Earth al]monds<sup>p</sup>, two”  
 (88) [*h<sup>t</sup> nbt bnrt*, 1] “[Every sweet fruit, one]”  
 (89) [*rnpt nbt*, 1] “[All year-offerings, one]”  
 (90) [*hnkt nbt*, 1] “[All offerings, one]”<sup>q</sup>  
 (91) [*gs<sup>1</sup> w*, 1] “[Half loaves, one]”  
 (92) [*h<sup>t</sup> w dh<sup>1</sup> w*, 1] “[The best of the of]fering tab[le, one]”  
 (93) [*stpt*, 1] “[Choice joints, one]”

#### Comments

- <sup>a</sup> For this entry and the three following, compare the offering list in Inti’s burial chamber, pl. 53, fig. 71.  
<sup>b</sup> 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.  
<sup>c</sup> For the translation “a loaf and jug,” see Fischer, *Varia*, pp. 16–17. The abbreviated writing of (29) most likely occurred here as well.  
<sup>d</sup> Junker, *Giza* 5, p. 94; Fischer, *OMRO* 41 (1960), p. 4, n. 17; idem, *Varia*, p. 17, n. 44.  
<sup>e</sup> Caminos, *L.-Eg. Misc.*, p. 425.  
<sup>f</sup> See Wild, in *BIFAO* 64 (1966), p. 106, with notes 1 and 2.  
<sup>g</sup> Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 49 and n. 7.  
<sup>h</sup> 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.  
<sup>i</sup> James, *Khentika*, p. 64 [2]; Fischer, *Varia*, p. 17.  
<sup>j</sup> 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.  
<sup>k</sup> *Balanites aegyptiaca*: Germer, *Flora*, pp. 99, 148; *Food: The Gift of Osiris* 2, p. 716.  
<sup>l</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2, p. 25 [16].  
<sup>m</sup> *Wb.* 1, p. 235, 5; *FCD*, p. 40; Kaplony, *LÄF*, pp. 266–67; Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2, pp. 124–25.  
<sup>n</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2, pp. 127–28.  
<sup>o</sup> Emery, *Hemaka*, p. 52.  
<sup>p</sup> Edel, *Qubbet el Hawa* II/1/2, p. 22; Germer, *Flora*, pp. 245–46.  
<sup>q</sup> Contemporary offering lists frequently determine *hnkt* with three jars (e.g., *Teti Cem.* 2, pl. 3; Murray, *Sagq. 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.<sup>523</sup>

*Third Register.* On a level with Inti’s head six funerary priests perform ritual acts.<sup>524</sup> 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.<sup>525</sup> 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(?).<sup>526</sup> The second stands behind him and pours a stream of water and natron, a cleansing soda used anciently in place of soap<sup>527</sup> from a tall, spouted *znbt*-jar over the first priest’s head and onto his hands.<sup>528</sup> The caption under the raised arms of the standing man identifies him as the *hrp stiw nwb imy-h<sup>t</sup> hmw-k<sup>3</sup> M<sup>c</sup>[m](?)*, “controller of necklace-stringers and supervisor of funerary priests, *Ma*[m](?)”.<sup>529</sup> 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.<sup>530</sup> 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.”<sup>531</sup> 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.<sup>532</sup>

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.<sup>533</sup> Beneath his arm is inscribed: *wdn ht*, “presenting offerings.”<sup>534</sup> 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.<sup>535</sup> Nevertheless, on occasion the individual performing the rite of *wdn ht* does wear a short wig and lacks the sash.<sup>536</sup> It is impossible here, because of the damage, to tell whether the effaced figure wore a sash, but he appears to have worn

<sup>525</sup> See Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), pp. 213–17; Badawy, *ZÄS* 108 (1981), pp. 85–93.

<sup>526</sup> Cf. Hassan, *Giza* 6<sup>2</sup>, pp. 88–89.

<sup>527</sup> Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119.

<sup>528</sup> 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.

<sup>529</sup> For the first title and name, see below, p. 86 (10).

<sup>530</sup> See e.g., Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), pp. 86–87; Hassan, *Giza* 6<sup>2</sup>, pp. 166–68; *Mereruka* 1, pl. 67; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 107 (4), fig. 30.

<sup>531</sup> See above, p. 65.

<sup>532</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 109, fig. 31; Badawy, *Giza*, p. 8.

<sup>533</sup> 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* 6<sup>2</sup>, p. 97; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 110 (13–14).

<sup>534</sup> *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.

<sup>535</sup> See e.g., Williams, *Decoration of Per-neb*, pl. 9; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 22a, 28, pl. 7a, b.

<sup>536</sup> E.g., Junker, *Giza* 4, pl. 17; Hassan, *Giza* 4, fig. 122, pl. 50 (= LD 2, pl. 35); Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 31, pl. 19.

<sup>523</sup> See above, p. 22.

<sup>524</sup> 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* 6<sup>2</sup>, 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.<sup>537</sup> 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.<sup>538</sup>

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.”<sup>539</sup> A caption just below the papyrus places his recitation in its ritual context: *šbt in hry-hbt*, “spiritualizing by the lector priest.”<sup>540</sup> 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.<sup>541</sup> 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.<sup>542</sup> 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.<sup>543</sup> 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.<sup>544</sup>

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.”<sup>545</sup>

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; [...] *Nb<sup>1</sup>-R6*, “[...], [Neb<sup>1</sup>-re.]”

<sup>537</sup> 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.

<sup>538</sup> Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, p. 16, pl. 12; cf. Hassan, *Saqqara 2*, pl. 40.

<sup>539</sup> *Šdt: Wb.* 4, pp. 563–64, 16.

<sup>540</sup> *Šbt: Wb.* 4, p. 22, 11–23, 10; Junker, *Giza 3*, p. 110; Badawy, *ZÄS* 108 (1981), pp. 90–93.

<sup>541</sup> 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.

<sup>542</sup> 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.

<sup>543</sup> Simpson, *JEA* 74 (1988), pp. 203–204.

<sup>544</sup> See above, p. 6.

<sup>545</sup> *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 basket<sup>546</sup> 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<sup>r</sup>ib<sup>r</sup>*, “[...], Senedjem<sup>r</sup>ib.”<sup>547</sup>

Man presenting an ox's foreleg; *zsb<sup>r</sup> [imy]<sup>r</sup>-r<sup>3</sup> [zšw] šhd hmw-k<sup>3</sup> [n<sup>h</sup>]-m-<sup>2</sup>[nnt]*, “[Dignitary<sup>r</sup> and [over]seer of [scribes], inspector of funerary priests, [Ankh]-em-tje[nent].”<sup>548</sup>

Man presenting an ox's foreleg; *s[hd hmw-k<sup>3</sup> ...]*, “[in]spector of ka-priests, ...].”

Man holding a goose in his arms; *zsb zš šhd [hmw-]k<sup>3</sup> Hm<sup>r</sup>šb<sup>r</sup>[ty]*, “[Dignitary and scribe, inspector of funerary [priests], Hem<sup>r</sup>akh<sup>r</sup>[ti].”

Man carrying two braces of ducks; [...] *šhd hmw-k<sup>3</sup> Nkn*, “[...], inspector of funerary priests, Neken.”

Man holding a goose in his arms; *zš pr mds<sup>t</sup>-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<sup>r</sup>-r<sup>3</sup> [zšw] šh[wt] hm-k<sup>3</sup> Ihy*, “[over]seer of [scribes<sup>r</sup> of fie[lds] and funerary priest, Ihy.”

Man holding a bird in his arms; [...] *N(y)<sup>r</sup>-Pt<sup>h</sup>*, [...] *Ni<sup>r</sup>-pt<sup>h</sup>*.”

Man carrying a tray loaded with assorted offerings and a duck; *[i]<sup>r</sup> m<sup>r</sup>[y-<sup>h</sup>š] hm[w]-k<sup>3</sup> Nfr-[<sup>h</sup>]r-n-[Pt<sup>h</sup>]*, “[Sup]<sup>r</sup>er<sup>r</sup>[visor] of funerary priest[s], Nefer-[he]r-en-pt<sup>h</sup>” (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<sup>r</sup>k<sup>3</sup>*, [...] *Rudj<sup>r</sup>ka*.”

Man carrying a tray with assorted offerings and holding a brace of birds by the wings; *zš pr [mdst-]ntr hm-k<sup>3</sup> K<sup>3</sup>-m-t<sup>3</sup>nnt*, “[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-k<sup>3</sup> Q<sup>3</sup>r*, “[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<sup>r</sup> hm-k<sup>3</sup> Izw*, “[brother of [his<sup>r</sup> estate and funerary priest, Tjezu.”

Man carrying a calf across his shoulders; *h<sup>r</sup>p<sup>r</sup> z<sup>h</sup> Ihy*, “[controller<sup>r</sup> 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.<sup>549</sup> 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

<sup>546</sup> See below, p. 156, no. 273.

<sup>547</sup> 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, *Tabbetep* 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.

<sup>548</sup> See below, p. 86 (7).

<sup>549</sup> 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).<sup>550</sup> 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.<sup>551</sup> 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.<sup>552</sup> 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).<sup>553</sup> 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 tzy Sndm-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’ [...],<sup>554</sup> 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.”<sup>555</sup> Curiously, Mariette, who copied the inscriptions later on in the same year, drew only the initial signs of the offering formula.<sup>556</sup>

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 tzy smr wty imy-r3 zšw nswt imy]-r3 kst nbt nt nswt imy-r3 hwt wrt 6 hry s[šts n wdt-mdt nbt nt nswt mry] nb[f] Sndm-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,<sup>557</sup> beloved of his] lord, ‘Senedjemib.’”<sup>558</sup> The left middle jamb most likely read as follows: *[iry-p<sup>ct</sup>, hsty-ḥ] tzyty zsb tzy smr wty imy-[r3] kst nbt nt nswt imy-r3 zšw nswt mdh qd nswt m prwy imy-r3 prwy-hd, Sndm-[ib]*, “[the hereditary prince and count],<sup>559</sup> 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.”<sup>560</sup> On the shorter, inner jambs the following text appears: *[tzyty zsb tzy] imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt imy-r3 šnwty imy-r3 pr-hsw Sndm-ib*, “the chief justice and vizier,<sup>1</sup> 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:<sup>561</sup> (1) *Htp-di-nswt Wsir nb Ddw pr n.f hrw m šbd smndt Dhwt W3g* (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 W3g-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 *Sndm-[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]ndm-ib*, “[Se]nedjemib” above the head of this figure as well as three *hs* (“thousand”) signs from an ideographic offering list set vertically at the right edge of the panel.<sup>562</sup> 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).<sup>563</sup> 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

<sup>550</sup> Cf. *GN* 1, fig. 215.

<sup>551</sup> 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.

<sup>552</sup> See *GN* 1, pp. 372–79.

<sup>553</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 505.

<sup>554</sup> One penciled over squeeze (pl. 45b) shows *hrt-ntr*, the other (1.4) *imntt*. If the latter reading is correct perhaps *m [zmm]t imntt* is to be restored.

<sup>555</sup> Lieder squeezes 1.4–1.6.

<sup>556</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 505.

<sup>557</sup> See above, pp. 37, 41, 59.

<sup>558</sup> 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).

<sup>559</sup> For the restoration, see p. 49, fig. 42.

<sup>560</sup> A Lieder squeeze (1.11) of this jamb shows the inscription was in approximately the same state of preservation as it is today.

<sup>561</sup> Lieder squeezes 1.8 (not illustrated), 1.9–10; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 506.

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>563</sup> 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.<sup>564</sup> 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).<sup>565</sup>

*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]-bi:f*; “[I]zez[i]baf,” who is also depicted in the portico north of the entrance with the title “lector priest.”<sup>566</sup> 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, [...]”<sup>567</sup>

<sup>564</sup> 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.

<sup>565</sup> Obj. Reg. 35–7–14, 35–9–12; see below, pp. 82, 113.

<sup>566</sup> Above, p. 40.

<sup>567</sup> 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].f<sup>568</sup> [n h].f<sup>568</sup> 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-ks<sup>1</sup> Ny-nh-Mn, “his son, the lector [priest] and r inspector of funerary priests,<sup>1</sup> Ni-ankh-min.” This last individual, Inti’s son Ni-ankh-min, was also represented in the portico north of the entrance.<sup>569</sup>

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.<sup>570</sup> 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.<sup>571</sup> 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.<sup>572</sup>

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.<sup>573</sup>

#### 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).<sup>574</sup> 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 qd<sup>1</sup> 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 builder<sup>1</sup> (3) in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt), (4–5) Senedjemib.”<sup>575</sup> 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.<sup>576</sup> 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

<sup>572</sup> See Obj. Reg. 12–11–20 on p. 82.

<sup>573</sup> Cf. *Plabhetep* 2, p. 4.

<sup>574</sup> See LD 2, pl. 78a; *Text* 1, p. 58.

<sup>575</sup> 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).

<sup>576</sup> Schäfer, *Principles*, pp. 173–77.

<sup>568</sup> For an alternative restoration, see p. 28 above.

<sup>569</sup> See above, p. 40.

<sup>570</sup> Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 130.

<sup>571</sup> 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.<sup>577</sup> 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 *hry-h’b’t*, “[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.<sup>578</sup> 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.<sup>579</sup> 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).<sup>580</sup> 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.<sup>581</sup> 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

<sup>577</sup> See above, p. 43 and n. 93.

<sup>578</sup> Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 131.

<sup>579</sup> *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.

<sup>580</sup> 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).

<sup>581</sup> *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.<sup>582</sup> 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.<sup>583</sup> 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.<sup>584</sup> 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.<sup>585</sup> 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<sup>c</sup>h*, “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)”

<sup>582</sup> “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 133; *GN I*, p. 163.

<sup>583</sup> See p. 22 above.

<sup>584</sup> *Teti Cem. I*, pp. 16–17, fig. 9; 18–19, fig. 12; 21–22, fig. 15; Hassan, *Saqqara 2*, p. 57.

<sup>585</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, pp. 47–50.

- (8) [*bstt nt* ʕ, 1] “Best cedar ointment, [one (jar)]”<sup>a</sup>
- (9) [*bstt nt thnw*, 1] “Best Libyan ointment, [one (jar)]”
- (10) [*rfwy wsdw*, 2] “Bag of green eyepaint, two”<sup>b</sup>
- (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) [*hst*, 1] “[Offering table, one]”
- (16) [*htp-nswt*, 2] “[Offering of the king, two]”
- (17) [*htp-wshst*, 2] “[Offering of the king in the broad court, two]”

##### Row B:

- (18) [*hms*, 1] [Sit down!, one]
- (19) [*šns dwtw 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 dsrt*, 1] “Jug of strong ale(?), one”
- (23) [*nmst nt hnms*, 1] “Jug of *hnms*-beer, one”<sup>c</sup>
- (24) [*ft n šns* ʕ, 1] “Serving of *šns*-bread, one portion”<sup>d</sup>
- (25) [*šns šbw*, 1] “Food: *šns*-loaf, [one]”
- (26) [*dwtw[š]w šbw*, 1] Food: “jug, [one]”<sup>e</sup>
- (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] dwtw ʕbw-r3*, 2] “Repa[st: a *šns*-loaf and 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 swd<sup>1</sup>t*, 4] “*t swd<sup>1</sup>t*-bread, four”<sup>f</sup>
- (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”<sup>g</sup>
- (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) [*hdw*, 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,<sup>1</sup> [two]”  
 (72) [*irp*], [2] “[Wine,<sup>1</sup> [two]”<sup>h</sup>  
 (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, 2<sup>1</sup> “Bowl of earth almonds, ʿtwo”<sup>1</sup>  
 (88) *ht nbt bnrt*, 1 “Every sweet fruit, one”

## Comments

- <sup>a</sup> *Hstt nt* is written across the top of compartments 8 and 9 and applies to both entries.  
<sup>b</sup> 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.  
<sup>c</sup> *Nmst nt* is written across the top of the two columns and once again pertains to both entries.  
<sup>d</sup> —, “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).  
<sup>e</sup> 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:



<sup>f</sup> *Timy n*, “bread which is (baked) in the earth,” would be expected here; see Barta, *Opferliste*, p. 48. Instead, an otherwise unattested *t šwd t* occurs. It is likely that the draftsmen who copied the list onto the walls of the burial chamber mistook a  for a  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  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.

<sup>g</sup> *Qms* alone appears in lieu of *qmbw qms* (see p. 72 [40] above)

<sup>h</sup> 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 precedes 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.<sup>586</sup> 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.<sup>587</sup> Outside on the east facing right (north) was inscribed the following: *ḥšty-ḥmꜣ Inti ḥšty zsb ḥšty 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).<sup>588</sup>

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.<sup>589</sup>

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.<sup>590</sup> 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.<sup>591</sup>

<sup>586</sup> 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.

<sup>587</sup> Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 131.

<sup>588</sup> *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’s Diary*, p. 69.

<sup>589</sup> See the List of Objects, below, p. 83.

<sup>590</sup> 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.

<sup>591</sup> *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.<sup>592</sup> 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 frags. of modern English newspaper, rags and frags. 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 frags. 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 Nhbw*, (2) *mdh qd nswt m prwy imsh ntr 3 Nhbw*, h. 22 cm. Frg. a was found in front of the serdab, frg. b in the

<sup>592</sup> 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.

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 frags., 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 frags. 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-

- 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.<sup>593</sup> 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.<sup>594</sup> Strudwick has examined his role in minute detail, and there is no need to repeat his conclusions here.<sup>595</sup> 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.<sup>596</sup> The titles are listed in alphabetical order.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>imy-r3 izwy<sup>1</sup> hkr<sup>1</sup> 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 prw<sup>1</sup> msu nswt<sup>1</sup></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<sup>c</sup> (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<sup>c</sup>t</i>                          | “hereditary prince”                             |

<sup>593</sup> See *Administration*, p. xiv.

<sup>594</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 306–307.

<sup>595</sup> *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>ḥsty-<sup>c</sup></i>                | “count”   |
| 15. <i>ḥsty-<sup>c</sup> ms<sup>c</sup></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-ḥbt</i>                          | “lector priest”   |
| 19. <i>hry-tp nswt</i>                      | “royal chamberlain”   |
| 20. <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</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.<sup>597</sup> Thus, the *izwy hkr nswt* appear to have formed an independent department, but one very closely linked to the treasury.<sup>598</sup> They were concerned principally with the king’s crowns, vestments, personal adornment, and ointments.<sup>599</sup>

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.<sup>600</sup> Helck saw a link between the treasury, granary, and the *pr-ḥsw*,<sup>601</sup> 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.<sup>602</sup> Although it is true that the administration of the armory was sometimes entrusted to treasury overseers,<sup>603</sup> they seem to have been outnumbered in the aggregate by overseers of works, officials with legal or scribal titles, and even *hnty-š*-officials.<sup>604</sup>

No. 3 was commonly held by individuals concerned with the administration of the royal estates (*hwt-ḥt*),<sup>605</sup> 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.<sup>606</sup> 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)<sup>607</sup> and treasury overseers<sup>608</sup> in the course of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, it

<sup>596</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 308–309, Table 29.

<sup>597</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 281, 285–86, 290.

<sup>598</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 285–86.

<sup>599</sup> 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.

<sup>600</sup> 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.

<sup>601</sup> *Beamtentitel*, p. 65.

<sup>602</sup> *Administration*, p. 284.

<sup>603</sup> E.g., *GN* 1, fig. 421; Smith, *AJA* 46 (1942), figs. 3–4; Ziegler, *Stèles, peintures et reliefs*, p. 208 (= *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 691).

<sup>604</sup> E.g., *LD* 2, pl. 97; Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 214–19, 259; Junker, *Giza* 6, figs. 82–83; *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, 87; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhm’ahor*, figs. 2–3, 10, 14.

<sup>605</sup> E.g., Junker, *Giza* 3, figs. 27–31; Abu Bakr, *Giza*, p. 34, figs. 29; 35, pl. 20 A, B; *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 696 (Cleveland 64.91); Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 20.

<sup>606</sup> 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.<sup>609</sup> Senedjemib Mehi also has this title.<sup>610</sup>

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.<sup>611</sup> 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*).<sup>612</sup>

Title No. 7 is written either with or without a genitival *n*.<sup>613</sup> Both *imy-r3 zšw ʿ nswt* and *imy-r3 zšw ʿ n nswt*, appear on the walls of G 2370.<sup>614</sup> Interestingly, Inti's son Mehi appears to have preferred the first version,<sup>615</sup> whereas his younger brother Khnumenti favored the second.<sup>616</sup>

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.<sup>617</sup> 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."<sup>618</sup> 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.<sup>619</sup> 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."<sup>620</sup>

No. 9. Fischer has demonstrated that Gunn's translation "overseer of all (judicial) hearings"<sup>621</sup> is not tenable and proposes instead the rendering "overseer of all that is judged."<sup>622</sup> The title was held sporadically by viziers after the reign of Izezi, but also by an overseer of Upper Egypt.<sup>623</sup>

No. 13. Helck saw *mdh* as an older version of *imy-r3*.<sup>624</sup> *Mdh*, "master," is commonly used of carpenters, sculptors, and builders.<sup>625</sup>

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),"<sup>626</sup> 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 Šmʿw*, "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.<sup>627</sup>

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*.<sup>628</sup> 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.<sup>629</sup>

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*.<sup>630</sup> It also on occasion formed part of the titulary of granary officials.<sup>631</sup>

No. 19, like no. 15, is only attested on Inti's sarcophagus. Since *hry-tp nswt* was an honorific commonly assigned to viziers,<sup>632</sup> 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."<sup>633</sup> On the other hand, insofar as the

<sup>607</sup> 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*).

<sup>608</sup> E.g., Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 109 (84), 120 (101).

<sup>609</sup> 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.

<sup>610</sup> See below, p. 158, no. 7.

<sup>611</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 202–203, 208.

<sup>612</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>613</sup> Ward, *Or* 51 (1982), pp. 383–84.

<sup>614</sup> See above, pp. 37, 41, 76, 78.

<sup>615</sup> See below, pp. 154, 155.

<sup>616</sup> See below, pp. 123 and 125.

<sup>617</sup> Goelet, *Royal Palace*, pp. 94–99.

<sup>618</sup> Edel, *MIO* 1 (1953), p. 213, pl. 2. On *unwt*, "time service," see below, p. 105, n. k.

<sup>619</sup> 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.

<sup>620</sup> Goyon, *BIFAO* 68 (1969), pp. 147–57; Goelet, *Royal Palace*, p. 99.

<sup>621</sup> *Teti Cem.* 2, p. 105 (11).

<sup>622</sup> *GM* 128 (1992), pp. 69–70.

<sup>623</sup> *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.

<sup>624</sup> Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 75–77. On *mdh*, see also Kees, *WZKM* 54 (1957), p. 92; Junker, *Giza* 1, pp. 149–50.

<sup>625</sup> But also of scribes and priests; see Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 75–76; Fischer, *Varia*, p. 30, n. 9.

<sup>626</sup> See pp. 32 above.

<sup>627</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 115; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 105; Edel, *NAWG* 6 (Spring 1983), pp. 166–67; *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 925 (551). Two other titles, show that "the two houses" were subdivisions of the administration of the palace (*pr-9*); see Fischer, *MMJ* 6 (1972), p. 13, n. 25.

<sup>628</sup> *Administration*, p. 207.

<sup>629</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>630</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>631</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>632</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310, Table 30.

<sup>633</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 310–11.



title implies access to the king's person, it is perfectly appropriate for viziers.<sup>634</sup>

No. 21, literally probably “he-of-the-curtain/screen, dignitary, and vizier,”<sup>635</sup> 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.<sup>636</sup> 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.<sup>637</sup> 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.<sup>638</sup> 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,<sup>639</sup> 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.<sup>640</sup>

## 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,”<sup>641</sup> are visible in the space before his face in pl. 38.

2. *Iry* (PN I, p. 41, 6; II, p. 343).<sup>642</sup> 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.”<sup>642</sup>

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.<sup>643</sup> *Pr-mdst* is “library; archive.”<sup>644</sup> At Edfu the *pr-mdst* is a small room at the back of the entrance to the vestibule.<sup>645</sup>

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.<sup>646</sup> In tomb scenes, individuals entitled *zš* are sometimes shown painting statues.<sup>647</sup> 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.<sup>648</sup> A *zš pr-mdst ntr pr-3* and *zš qdwt* named Seni decorated two tombs at Akhmim.<sup>649</sup> 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.”<sup>650</sup>

3. *Ihy* (PN I, p. 44, 22).<sup>651</sup> He is both a *hm-k3*, “funerary priest,” of Inti and *imy-r3 zšw 3h[wt]*, “overseer of [scribes of] [ds].”<sup>652</sup> 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.”<sup>653</sup> 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.<sup>654</sup> 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.<sup>655</sup> 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*.<sup>656</sup> On a fragmentary architrave, which presumably surmounted its entrance, Khenit, seated at the left, was approached by at least two children.<sup>657</sup> 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.<sup>658</sup>

7. *[nh] m<sup>1</sup>-t[nni]* (PN I, p. 64, 10; 2, p. 346, “Leben [der Lebendige] ist in der *tnn.t*”).<sup>659</sup> The name of the individual, who

<sup>634</sup> For the connotation of the title, see Gunn, *JEA* 27 (1941), p. 145.

<sup>635</sup> Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 16, 56; Spencer, *Temple*, pp. 211–12.

<sup>636</sup> See Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 310, for a list of viziers and the specific entries by name, and *ibid.*, pp. 55–170, for their titularies.

<sup>637</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 311–12.

<sup>638</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 312, 315–16.

<sup>639</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 297.

<sup>640</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 317.

<sup>641</sup> Additional citations: Murray, *Index*, pl. 2.

<sup>642</sup> Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 71; cf. *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 934 [748, 751].

<sup>643</sup> *Wb.* 2, p. 187, 8; *FCD*, p. 89; Caminos, *L.-Eg. Misc.*, p. 33; Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 259 (6).

<sup>644</sup> *Wb.* 2, p. 187, 8.

<sup>645</sup> Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), p. 177.

<sup>646</sup> Wilson, *JNES* 6 (1947), p. 235; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, p. 69.

<sup>647</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69 and scenes X, XIII, and XIV, on pp. 52–53.

<sup>648</sup> *Meir* 5, pls. 18, 19.

<sup>649</sup> Kanawati, *El Hawawish* 1, pl. 8; 2, pl. 18.

<sup>650</sup> O'Connor, in *Simpson Studies* 2, pp. 627–28.

<sup>651</sup> Additional citations: Murray, *Index*, pl. 2.

<sup>652</sup> Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 70; *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 934 [547].

<sup>653</sup> *Wb.* 3, p. 464, 16–17; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 33, 85.

<sup>654</sup> *Meir* 4, pls. 8, 9.

<sup>655</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5, pl. 13.

<sup>656</sup> Junker, *Giza* 7, pp. 241–46.

<sup>657</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 102.


<sup>658</sup> *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, 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  $\xi$  which most likely belongs to *tnmt*. Like the first two officiants, he offers a foreleg of beef to Inti. His title is given as *šhd ḥmw-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-<sup>r</sup>ti* (*PN* I, p. 64, 10). What seem to be the component signs of this name, preceded by even fainter traces that may read *z3b* [...] *hm-k3*, “dignitary [...] and funerary priest,” are visible in pl. 38.<sup>660</sup> 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 *z3b 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.<sup>661</sup>

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,”<sup>662</sup> and *imy-ht ḥm(w)-k3*, “supervisor of funerary priests.” A parallel to the first title appears on a statue base from Saqqara.<sup>663</sup> *Sti nbw* also occurs as an element in a number of other titles.<sup>664</sup>

The name is damaged and only the first two signs are clear. Ranke offers two possibilities. The first, *M<sup>rw</sup>* (*PN* I, p. 146, 22) is the *rn nds* of an offering bearer in the tomb of Akhetetep.<sup>665</sup> The second, *M<sup>m</sup>* (*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 .<sup>666</sup>

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 *šhd*. 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. *N<sup>r</sup>b-R<sup>r</sup>* (*PN* I, p. 186, 1, “der [mein?] Herr ist Re”). Although *Nb-R<sup>r</sup>* occurs as the Horus name of one of the early kings of Dynasty 2,<sup>667</sup> 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] m<sup>r</sup> [y-h] ḥm[w]-k3*, is less certain.

15. *Nfr-sšm-<sup>r</sup>Sšit* (*PN* I, p. 200, 11; 2, p. 370). With the titles *z3b 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.<sup>668</sup> 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. *Z3b* here and elsewhere is probably a rank title.<sup>669</sup>

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 *šhd ḥmw-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 *hrp*<sup>1</sup> or *s[h]d srw*. Both alternatives are otherwise attested.<sup>670</sup> Junker translates the name “Der Süße.”<sup>671</sup>

18. *Rwd-<sup>r</sup>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”).<sup>672</sup> 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 *z3b zš šhd ḥmw-k3*, “dignitary and scribe, inspector of funerary priests,” and traces suggest that the same sequence should be restored in the portico.<sup>673</sup> *Hm-šty* also appears in the tomb of Senedjemib Mehi.

<sup>659</sup> Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 74, translates the name “Life (or *nh.i*, “my life”) is in the *Tnmt*-shrine.”

<sup>660</sup> On the last element in the name, see above, pp. 24–25.

<sup>661</sup> *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 68. The son appears in Exp. Ph. A 5823. On the date of the tomb, see *HESP*, p. 70.

<sup>662</sup> *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* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 919 (93), renders the title as “director of smelters of gold.”

<sup>663</sup> Martin, *Hetepka*, p. 34 (no. 84), pl. 33.

<sup>664</sup> *LD* 2, pl. 60; *Rue de tomb.* 2, pl. 99; *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 754. For *sti*, “stringer,” see *Meir* 5, p. 26, pl. 17; *Nianchmum*, pl. 64.

<sup>665</sup> Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pl. 25

<sup>666</sup> *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 978 [814].

<sup>667</sup> Smith, *Old Kingdom*, pp. 30–31.

<sup>668</sup> See p. 54 above.

<sup>669</sup> 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.

<sup>670</sup> E.g., *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, pp. 308, 310, 458; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhm<sup>c</sup>ahor*, fig. 35.

<sup>671</sup> E.g., Junker, *Giza* 5, p. 21.

<sup>672</sup> Additional citations: Murray, *Index*, pl. 1.

<sup>673</sup> For *z3b zš*, see Junker, *Giza* 7, p. 199; Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 259 (5); *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, 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*.<sup>674</sup> 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,<sup>675</sup> 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.<sup>676</sup> The name is a relatively common one in the Old Kingdom.<sup>677</sup>

22. *K3-m-tntt* (*PN* 1, p. 340, 1, “mein *k3* ist in *tntt*.i?”). The titles *zš pr-[md3t] 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.<sup>678</sup> 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 *z3b 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.<sup>679</sup> 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.<sup>680</sup>

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 *s3m.f* form with perfective meaning “Whom Pth has raised up for her.”<sup>681</sup> A personal name from Giza mastaba G 1038, *Iz-w(i)-Pth*, which Ranke translates “Pth richtet mich auf,” may be compared.<sup>682</sup>

It is possible that *z3b smsw h3yt*, “dignitary and elder of the porch,” appeared in the damaged space before his face and over his

head.<sup>683</sup> 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 *z3b 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]h3d 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 *sh3d 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 *sh3d 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.<sup>684</sup> 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.<sup>685</sup>

The *sh3dw hmw-k3* were actually first in authority in the phyle organization, being superior to the *imyw-ht hmw-k3* and the *zšw n z3w*.<sup>686</sup> 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

<sup>674</sup> See Brovarski, in *L’Égyptologie en 1979*, p. 121. The tomb is scheduled to be published in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2.

<sup>675</sup> *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-M3ti*, the owner of G 2366, for whose tomb, see Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, pp. 32–33, figs. 40, 43, pl. 56 b.

<sup>676</sup> 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.

<sup>677</sup> *PN* 1, p. 333, 9; *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, pp. 371, 958 (674).

<sup>678</sup> In addition to the references provided by Ranke, see Obj. Reg. 32–3–38 (n. t.).

<sup>679</sup> Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 83, n. 31; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 227 and n. 413.

<sup>680</sup> Martin, *Hetepka*, p. 22 (no. 22), pl. 23.

<sup>681</sup> See *PN* 2, p. 26; Fischer, *Kush* 10 (1962), p. 333.

<sup>682</sup> *PN* 1, p. 431, 17.

<sup>683</sup> See above, p. 65.

<sup>684</sup> 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.

<sup>685</sup> Pace Roth, *Phyles*, p. 98 (10).

<sup>686</sup> Roth, *Phyles*, p. 113.

of the funerary priests erected in the vicinity of the Senedjemib Complex.<sup>687</sup>

<sup>687</sup> 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).<sup>1</sup> 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*.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> LD 2, pl. 76c–f.

<sup>2</sup> *Urk.* 1, pp. 59, 1–66, 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Urk.* 1, pp. 179, 8–180, 10. For the tomb of the vizier Rashepses, see above, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Urk.* 1, pp. 128–31.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> 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.* 1<sup>1</sup>, 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<sup>c</sup>t h<sup>c</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup> t<sup>c</sup>tyt<sup>c</sup> zsb t<sup>c</sup>ty imy-r3 zšw <sup>c</sup> n nswt (2) imy-r3 kst nbt nt nswt imy-r3 hwt-wrt 6] (3) imy-r3 šnwt<sup>y</sup> imy-r3 prwy h<sup>d</sup> (4) imy-[r3] izwy<sup>r</sup> hkr<sup>n</sup> nswt imy-r3 pr-<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>sw (5) imy-r3 swt nb(t) nt h<sup>n</sup>w imy-r3 prw<sup>r</sup> msu nswt.<sup>r</sup> (6) Rnpt 5 sbd 4 sw<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>r</sup> m<sup>r</sup>n 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 hz[.fw(i) hr] {kst nb(t) wdt.n hm.firt} wn(i) ir(i) mr st-ib nt hm.fr.s. (9) iw rdi.n n. (i) Izzī izn n [h]<sup>r</sup> h<sup>r</sup> wsd Šm<sup>c</sup>w [...] {hm.f sk sw m} st-<sup>c</sup> sk hpr (10) <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.(i) hr š rdi hm.f iz.t(i).fr h<sup>b</sup>.(i) [...] {rdi hm.f} wrh.t(i). (i) m <sup>c</sup>ndw (11) sm<sup>c</sup>r.t(i) iw.f.(i) r-gs hm.f in sh<sup>d</sup> [irw šn] pr-<sup>c</sup>3 [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<sup>c</sup>{wy}.fr hzt.(i) (14) hr h[<sup>t</sup>] nb(t)<sup>r</sup> {irt.n.(i)} [r šps] {r nfr [r] mnh hft st-ib [n]t hm.fr.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]<sup>a</sup> (3) overseer of the two granaries,<sup>b</sup> overseer of the two treasuries, (4) over[seer] of the two chambers of royal regalia,<sup>c</sup> overseer of the armory, (5) overseer of every department of the Residence, and overseer of the houses of the royal children.<sup>d</sup> (6) Five years, four months, and 'three' days today under Izezi,<sup>e</sup> (7) during which time<sup>f</sup> 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<sup>g</sup> of malachite<sup>h</sup> [...] {His Majesty, while he was} 'in' the registry office,<sup>h</sup> and I happened to be (10) in attendance on<sup>i</sup> the grounds (of the palace).<sup>j</sup> His Majesty had it tied around my neck [...]. {His Majesty had} me anointed with unguent, (11) and had my skin cleansed<sup>k</sup> in the presence of His Majesty by an inspector of the [hairdressers]<sup>l</sup> of the palace, [overlord of Nekheb, and keeper of the diadem].<sup>m</sup> {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]<sup>n</sup> for me, (which His Majesty himself wrote) with his {two} finger{s},<sup>o</sup> in order to praise me (14) for everyth[ing] {which I had done} [estimably],<sup>p</sup> well, and thoroughly, according to the wish [o]f His Majesty concerning it}.

### *Comments*

<sup>a</sup> 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 <sup>c</sup> 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.

<sup>b</sup> 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.

<sup>c</sup> The block in Boston also contains part of the component signs of the title *imy-r3 izwy<sup>r</sup> hkr<sup>n</sup> nswt*, likewise given here in bold type. The left edge of the *hkr*-sign is visible in pl. 59.

<sup>d</sup> 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.

<sup>e</sup> 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).

<sup>f</sup> 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.”

<sup>g</sup> 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.


<sup>h</sup> 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.”

<sup>i</sup> 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.



<sup>j</sup> The meaning of *š* is discussed in note b to Inscription B 2 below.

<sup>k</sup> 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).

<sup>l</sup> 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* 3<sup>2</sup>, pp. 920, 933 [181], and for hairdressers in general, see Speidel, *Friseure*.

<sup>m</sup> 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* 3<sup>2</sup>, pp. 923, 935 [382]; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 218) or *ḥry-tp dšt*, “overlord of the wardrobe” (*PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, 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* 3<sup>2</sup>, 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* 3<sup>2</sup>, 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.

<sup>n</sup> For the restoration, cf. *Urk.* 1, p. 60, n. d.

<sup>o</sup> *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).

<sup>p</sup> 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 r 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'p nb hpr m 'b' pn. {r[b].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<sup>a</sup> 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}<sup>b</sup> the decoration<sup>c</sup> (4) of the Hathor chapel<sup>d</sup> of Izezi which is on the grounds of the palace. Can I have been correctly info{rmed}?<sup>e</sup> Don't let it be said that it is a matter (5) of (just) gratifying Izezi!<sup>f</sup> Let 'My Majesty' know the truth about it immediate{ly}!<sup>g</sup> [And if] it is {yet} to happen,<sup>h</sup> you are (6) one who says what Izezi likes {better than} any official who has (ever) come into being in this 'land.'<sup>i</sup> (7) {Inasmuch as} My Majesty knows that every ship is 'on an even keel,'<sup>j</sup> {I kn[ow] in} what way {y}ou [are one who is] very [valuable] for me.<sup>k</sup> The speaking of the overseer of all works of the king is 'pleasing' to me.<sup>l</sup> (8) It is an informing of Izezi very correctly.<sup>m</sup> If only [you] could co]me<sup>n</sup> to me, [since] you 'do' this (sort of) thing because of 'it' (9) in the best manner.<sup>o</sup> You have performed innumerable deeds, (in such a way) that [My Majesty] should love you, and assuredly you know that I do love you.<sup>p</sup>

### Comments

<sup>a</sup> 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.

<sup>b</sup> 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.

<sup>c</sup> 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.

<sup>d</sup> 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* 3<sup>2</sup>, 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.

<sup>c</sup> 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.

<sup>f</sup> 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).

<sup>g</sup> 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.

<sup>h</sup> A nummulite (now fallen away) in the stone beneath the beetle probably explains the asymmetrical arrangement of *hpr*; see pl. 63b.

<sup>i</sup> 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,

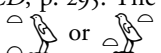
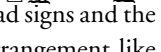

and CT II 265 b) or before a nominal subject in anticipatory emphasis followed by the *sdm.f* form of the verb, with non-interrogative *in* at the head of the whole expression (CT IV 333 e), neither of which happens to be the case here. However, Silverman also provides two examples of *hm* after *in 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.

<sup>j</sup> 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.



<sup>k</sup> 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.

<sup>l</sup> 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*.

<sup>m</sup> Cf. Wente, *Letters*, p. 19. Allen would once again translate *sn̄dm-ib* as “inform.”

<sup>n</sup> Sethe has  but the traces suggest . The non-enclitic particle *ḥr* seemingly occurs only before optatives (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 867). *Ṭwt.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.

<sup>o</sup> 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.

<sup>p</sup> 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 *w̄d 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 ṭty 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) [*w̄d nswt*, (2) *tyty zsb ṭty*, (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 w̄d n nswt r* [ ... *sk tw dd.k*] [*ḥr ḥm.(i) wnt.k*] [*r ir̄t*] [*š*] [*ḥft ddd[ṭ]*] *m* [*stp*]-*z3*. (7) [ ... ] *kst m stp-z3 m ḥmt.k sk tw dd.k ḥr ḥm.(i) wnt.k r* [ ... ] [*ḥb-sd. iw mr.n ḥm.(i) sdm*] [*mdw*]. *k pn wrt.* (8) [*n d*] *y tw ḥr gs.k. n rd̄i tw k; n Izz̄i n ḥt nb(t) m* [*ḥft*]. *k* [ ... *tw ir(y)*] [*n.f ḥm.(i) ḥt nb(t) srḥt ḥm.(i) [ḏ]r-ntt dd.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 w̄dt.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]<sup>a</sup> which you [sent] to the king<sup>b</sup> to the council chamber<sup>c</sup> in order to inform My Majesty that an order of the King was brought to you regarding [ ... and you say]<sup>d</sup> [to My Majesty that you] are going [to lay out]<sup>e</sup> [the grounds]<sup>e</sup> according to what was said in the [court] council<sup>f</sup> (7) [ ... ] the construction work in the court council in your absence,<sup>g</sup> and you say to My Majesty you are going to [ ... ] [the jubilee festival. My Majesty has wished to hear] this [speech]<sup>h</sup> of yours very much (8) [ ... , and I will not] discomfit you.<sup>h</sup> The *ka* of Izezi will not put you in [the hand of] your [opponent] for any reason.<sup>i</sup> [ ... You are one] [for whom My Majesty [will do] anything about which My Majesty learns, [be]cause the [overseer of all works of] [the king is mentioned] (9) immediately, whenever I inspect a project in the court council,<sup>j</sup> while you are [ ... on account of the vigilance which] he [has exerted] [by night and by day]<sup>j</sup> [in order to do everything which My Majesty ordered] (10) [therein] [every day].<sup>k</sup> (11) It is [because] [he] [has given you to me]<sup>k</sup> [that I] [assuredly]<sup>k</sup> [now that] [Re] [loves me].<sup>l</sup>

### Comments

<sup>a</sup> 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.

<sup>b</sup> 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.

<sup>c</sup> 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*<sup>3</sup>, 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*<sup>B</sup>, 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.

<sup>d</sup> For the restoration, see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 1025.

<sup>e</sup> On *iri š*, see Inscription B 2, n. b.

<sup>f</sup> 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).

<sup>g</sup> 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.

<sup>h</sup> *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.”


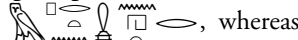
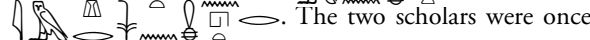
For the -y ending in the 1st pers. sing. of the anomalous verbs in the regular conjugation, see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 473cc; Allen, *IVPT*, § 143ff.

<sup>i</sup> 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.


<sup>j</sup> 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 [*tw*] 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 *w* 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 *m* 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 *sdm.f.* Altogether then, he proposes the following: ... [*tw* *w* *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 m* *kt 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....”

<sup>k</sup> 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 wdt.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.

<sup>l</sup> 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) *wd nswt<sup>1</sup> t3yty zsb t3ty<sup>1</sup> imy-r3 kst nbt nt n[swt]* (2) *imy-r3 zšw r n nswt Sndm-ib [wr]*. (3) *iw m3.n hm.(i) sntw pn {rdi.n.k [in].{t(i).f} r sis m stp-z3 n š n sht<sup>1</sup>* (4) *n h n Izzī n hb-<sup>1</sup>sd<sup>1</sup> sk {tw} dd.k<sup>1</sup> hr hm.(i) wnt ir.n.k {s}w {r}* (5) *z3w<sup>1</sup> mh 1000 {r} [shw] mh<sup>1</sup> 440<sup>1</sup> hft wddt n.k m stp-z3. rh wi {t} w {tr} dd mrrt {Izzi r ht nb}*. (6) *ir.n tw hm ntr r st-ib nt Izzī. iw hm.(i) rh.(i) hmw.<sup>1</sup> k<sup>1</sup> r imy-r3 kst nb(t)* (7) *hpr m t3 pn r [d]r.f. iw.(i) ir.(i) hr.k wrt ir.[t(i)] mr<sup>1</sup>[t] r ht nb(t). iw hm ir.n.k* (8) *hrp<sup>1</sup> hbw nw [zp]. {iw.[k] r irt imy}-r3 kst nt nswt.* (9) *i {S}ndm-ib wr mr{r}.(i) tw hm sk hm rh.t(i) mrr.(i) tw.* (10) *rmpt-zp [1]<sup>6</sup> šbd 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<sup>a</sup> [which you [se]nt] to be considered in the court council for the precinct<sup>b</sup> of the ‘broad court’<sup>c</sup> (4) of the keep<sup>d</sup> of Izezi of the ‘jubilee’ festival.<sup>e</sup> 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,<sup>f</sup> 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!<sup>g</sup> (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.<sup>h</sup> You have indeed acted as (8) ‘director’<sup>i</sup> on innumerable [occasions], and [you] {are (henceforth) to serve as over}seer of all works of the king.<sup>j</sup> (9) O {Se}nedjemib the Elder,<sup>k</sup> I assuredly lo[ve] you,<sup>l</sup> and assuredly it is known that I love you. (10) Year of the [1]<sup>6</sup>th count, 4th month of summer, day 28.<sup>m</sup>

### Comments

<sup>a</sup> According to *Wb.* 4, p. 179, 2–3, *snt*, ‘ground plan,’ is not attested before the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>b</sup> 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<sup>c</sup> m š 3*, ‘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 hzp hr š n pr-dt 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 špdw n dt n pr-dt*, ‘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-hr in š n dt.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*<sup>1</sup> 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.


<sup>c</sup>The 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<sup>W, T</sup>. 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 *hm*, 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 *wsh*, “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 *wsh*-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 *wsh*, 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-sh(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 *sh*, “broad court.” In like manner, *wsh* is sometimes written  or  in the Middle Kingdom and later (Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, pp. 72, 79). Since *wsh* 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 *sh* destroyed, but the restoration seems certain, since the cup appears within the battlemented enclosure determinative. The title is in fact listed in *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, pp. 923, 938 [394] and translated as “overseer of the broad hall.” The earliest instance of a *scriptio plena* for *wsh* 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 *wsh*, “breadth,” and it is possible that *sh* 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 *wsh* is a verb with an initially weak *w* derived from a biliteral simplex *sh*, it is possible that a similar relationship existed between the two substantives *sh* and *wsh*. 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 *sh* or *wsh*. 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 *sh* 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 *zhi/shi* 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.

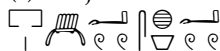
<sup>d</sup> In Bissing–Kees, *Re-Heiligtum* 2, pl. 1 [1 a], Neuserre is depicted inspecting the building of the “keep” or “palace” constructed especially for the jubilee ceremonies (*ʿh hb-sd*); cf. ibid., pl. 3. Here the king would rest and change costume and regalia between the various ritual performances (ibid. 1, pls. 9, 13, 16, 18, 19, 22; 2, pl. 1; cf. Goelet, *Royal Palace*, p. 400). The *ʿh n hb-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-nt*) 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.

<sup>e</sup> Albeit damaged, the constituent signs of *hb-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.

<sup>f</sup> 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.

<sup>g</sup> See Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions*, p. 98, Ex. 15; Doret, *NVS*, p. 103, Ex. 184.

<sup>h</sup> 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.

<sup>i</sup> 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<sup>M</sup>, 1159c<sup>P</sup>, 1204a<sup>M</sup>, 1371c<sup>P</sup>; CG 1433) or the *rmm*-arm with the upper arm bent at an acute angle (PT 1204a<sup>P,N</sup>, 2104<sup>N</sup>), as is the case in the present instance, or sometimes the standard Middle Egyptian form of the sign (PT 1143a<sup>P</sup>, 1159c<sup>N</sup>; *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."

<sup>j</sup> 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."

<sup>k</sup> 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.

<sup>l</sup> Sethe has *i Sndm-ib wr mrr.(i) tw h[n<sup>c</sup>]*. In fact, clear traces reveal the presence of the particle *hm* instead of *h[n<sup>c</sup>]*.

<sup>m</sup> 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<sup>t</sup>-z<sup>p</sup> [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<sup>t</sup>-z<sup>p</sup> 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<sup>t</sup> z<sup>p</sup> 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).<sup>9</sup> 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-<sup>c</sup>*] *ms<sup>c</sup>* in particular being associated with him,<sup>10</sup> 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<sup>c</sup>t hsty-<sup>c</sup>*] *ms<sup>c</sup> imy-r3 kst<sup>3</sup> [nbt nt nswt]* (2) *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty<sup>3</sup> hry<sup>3</sup> tp nsw<sup>3</sup>t [mdh]* *qd nswt<sup>3</sup> [m prwy]* (3) *Sndm-ib<sup>3</sup> [Mh]<sup>3</sup>i d<sup>3</sup>d[.f ir.n nw]* (4) [*n it.(i)*] *tyty z3b t3ty imy-r3 kst nb[t n3]* (5) *n[swt<sup>3</sup> imy-<sup>3</sup>r3] z3w<sup>c</sup> n<sup>3</sup> nswt<sup>3</sup> imy<sup>3</sup>-<sup>3</sup>r3] pr<sup>3</sup>[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*

<sup>9</sup> “Translation of the Doorway Inscriptions of Senedjemib,” p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 84; below, p. 159 (14).

*nb(.i) ir.t(i) (15) wdw r dmd srw [hn<sup>c</sup> i]st [izwt] ntyw m [wpt] htpt-ntr  
nt Dr (16) r ir[t(i) n.f] r idr unwt<sup>3</sup> nty m mdw n.f(i)t.(i) dr-bsh in r<sup>3</sup> sh  
m wpt htpt-ntr m T3-mhw Sm<sup>c</sup>w m idr unwt (17) [...]t [...] (18) [...]t  
[...] (19) [...] Nfr-Izzi hr[...] (20) tp<sup>r</sup>t<sup>r</sup> [...] hwt-ks [tn] iry<sup>r</sup>t<sup>r</sup>.(i) [...] (21)  
[...] sh[n.f] hr.f m sšr [nb] n n[t]t.f (22) [h]r[r] n niwut (i)ptn  
r r<sup>r</sup>ir<sup>r</sup>t<sup>r</sup> n(y)<sup>r</sup> (23) mrm mr mswt. iw rdi hm.f htm wdw r.s m sdst nt<sup>r</sup> r<sup>c</sup>  
(24) iw ir n.f hmw-ks. iw rdi.n.(i) d(i).t(i) m zš (25) m [zš-qd(t) hr iz].f  
pn spr.{sm} in qsty. (26) Dd m hry.(i) tpt-[rd] [i]m mr psš m stp-zs.  
(I)hr dbh.(i) (27) hr nb.(i) in.[t(i)] n.f qrsu m R3-sw (28) r iz.f pn  
ir.n.(i) n.f n rpt I sbd 3 sk sw m w<sup>c</sup>bt (29) nt h<sup>c</sup>w m pr-dt.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].<sup>a</sup> (7) [...] {when} he paid {ho}nor to<sup>b</sup> (8) [...] (9) [...] (10) [...] (11) [...] (12) [...] (13) [...] in the court council. (14) [A warrant] was made for him [thereof].<sup>d</sup> The Majesty of my lord [ordered] the making (15) of decrees to assemble the officials [together with]<sup>e</sup> the [s]ix [crews]<sup>f</sup> who were (engaged) in [apportioning]<sup>g</sup> the god's offerings of Memphis<sup>h</sup> so that (16) there might be made [for him]<sup>i</sup> the 'share' of the time-service,<sup>k</sup> which is one that my father had formerly claimed,<sup>l</sup> once<sup>m</sup> 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]<sup>o</sup> (20) [...] [this] tomb [which I am going to] make<sup>p</sup> [...] (21) [...] [It] was beneficial to him<sup>q</sup> in [every] respect<sup>r</sup> because [he] (22) [had a warrant]<sup>s</sup> for these villages so that 'it might be [done] 'for him'<sup>t</sup> (23) anew this day. His Majesty has had the decrees concerning it(?) sealed with the documentary seal.<sup>u</sup> (24) Funerary priests<sup>v</sup> were appointed for him. I have had them (viz. the decrees) put in writing (25) in [a preliminary sketch on] this [his tomb],<sup>w</sup> and {they} were 'carved'<sup>x</sup> by the sculptor. (26) The stipulations in them were recited in my face according to the apportioning in the court council.<sup>y</sup> Then I begged (27) from my lord that a sarcophagus [be] brought [for him] from Tura (28) to this tomb of his,<sup>z</sup> which I made for him in one year and three months,<sup>aa</sup> while he was in the embalming workshop<sup>bb</sup> (29) in his estate which is in (the necropolis of) the pyramid "Izezi is perfect."<sup>cc</sup>

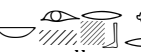

### Comments

<sup>a</sup> 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-p<sup>r</sup>t*, 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).

<sup>b</sup> *Swsš* is otherwise unattested before the Middle Kingdom (*Wb.* 4, pp. 63, 22–65, 5; *FCD*, p. 216). Nevertheless, the verb-stem *wšš* is well known in Old Egyptian (*Wb.* 1, p. 262, 7, 9; Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 74, 10–13). If Lepsius's copy is to be relied upon the preposition *m* preceded *wšš.f* at the bottom of the first preserved column. Otherwise, some phrase such as *iw rdi.n hm.f swš.f* is possibly to be restored; cf. *Urk.* 1, p. 41, 6.

<sup>c</sup> 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.


<sup>d</sup> 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 *wdw* at the head of the first tall column (15). For the restoration proposed here, cf. *Urk.* 1, p. 232, 14.

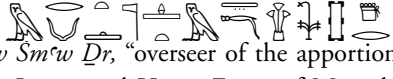
<sup>e</sup> Reisner and Sethe both thought they could see the top loop of the twisted wick-hieroglyph immediately after the courtier determinative of *sr*; and consequently restored *hn<sup>c</sup>*. Traces visible in pl. 69 suggest that what they actually saw was the head of the second of three courtier figures that served as a designation of the plural. If this is indeed the case, then sufficient space existed after the courtiers for *hn<sup>c</sup>*, 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 hn<sup>c</sup>* fits the available space closely.


<sup>f</sup> 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).

<sup>g</sup> 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.


<sup>h</sup> 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*.<sup>1</sup> “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*.

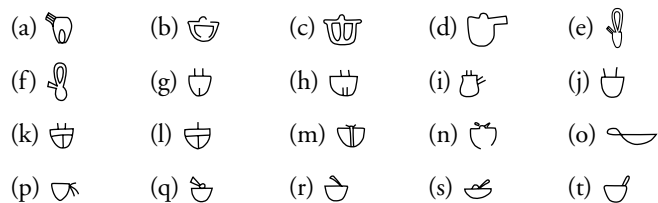
<sup>i</sup> There are a number of serious spacing problems involving the upper part of line (16). To begin with, the *r*-mouth (see note h) and the eye of *ir[t(i) n.f]* at the beginning of the line exhibit a leftward shift. In the space to the right of the eye, Sethe thought he saw a  and Reisner a 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.



<sup>j</sup> 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).<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> 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<sup>M</sup>; (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.

<sup>12</sup> Edel, in *Polotsky Studies*, p. 383.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ward, *Four Homographic Roots*, p. 166.


<sup>14</sup> For Ramesside and later variants, see *AEO* 2, pp. 260\*–62\*.


<sup>15</sup> 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.

<sup>k</sup> 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).

<sup>l</sup> 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.

<sup>m</sup> Allen construes *in* here as a passive *sdm.f* in a temporal clause; see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 567; Allen, *Inflection*, § 498.

<sup>n</sup> Reisner thought he could make out the word *qs[ty]*, “sculptor,” at the bottom of the line. Sethe read the same traces as *kt tn*. The mutilated state of this area of the wall renders hazardous any attempt at a reading.




<sup>o</sup> 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.





<sup>p</sup> 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-ks* 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*<sup>r</sup>*t*.(*i*) 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).



<sup>9</sup> 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.


<sup>r</sup> 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.

<sup>s</sup> 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*<sup>r</sup>*c*<sup>r</sup>, 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),<sup>16</sup> 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 c* 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-c 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).

<sup>t</sup> 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,

<sup>16</sup> *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 c nsut (pr-3)*, “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.

<sup>u</sup> 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  $\text{r}$ , even though the word is written with the forearm with hand holding a rounded loaf  $\text{r}$ , which usually represents phonetic *mi* (Gardiner, *EG*, p. 454 [D 38]; Sethe, *Verbum* 2, § 538).

An  $\text{r}$  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).

<sup>v</sup> 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,  $\text{h}^{\text{m}} \text{w} \text{--} \text{k}^{\text{s}} \text{nb}(\text{w})$  would represent an alternative restoration in the present instance. In his unpublished notes Sethe suggested that either  $\text{m}^{\text{t}}$  or  $\text{m}^{\text{t}}$  originally stood in the space after the surviving determinatives.

<sup>w</sup>  $\text{Z}^{\text{s}} \text{m} \text{z}^{\text{s}} \text{qdt}$ , 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.

<sup>x</sup> 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.

<sup>y</sup> 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.

<sup>z</sup> 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).

<sup>aa</sup> See Wilson, *JNES* 6 (1947), p. 239; Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952), p. 123.

<sup>bb</sup> 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.

<sup>cc</sup> 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 ḥrt-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. 2I (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. II

### Transcription

(1) [*Dbh.k(i) ḥr nb.(i) {in}.t(i) [n.f] ḥqrsw*<sup>1</sup> (2) [*m R3-sw*]. **Rdī ḥm n nb.(i) dš** [*imy-r3 mšc ḥnc imy-r3 srw r int qrsw pn m R3-ḥ m] sṯ [ḥ] {n} ḥnw* (3) [... *imy-r3 mšc*] *imy-r3 srw*<sup>1</sup> (4) *ḥr dšt. {Tr} ḥt {nb} n* (5) *mšc* (6) (*i*)*p*[*n*] (7) *mr {w}n*[*t*].*n* [*wḏ.t(i)*] (8) *im m ḥnw*. (9) [...] *In.t(i) q[sw] pn ḥnc*<sup>1</sup> ḥr *ḥt*-*{f}**w* (10) [...] *dy m iz.*{*f*} [*ḥ*]<sup>1</sup>*n.(i) m R3-sw* (11) *dy m ḥnkt.*<sup>1</sup>[*f*] (12) *n* (13) *hrw* [5] (7?) (14) *m [šm(t) ii(t)].* (15) *ṯw {tr}.n n.sn ḥm.f*(16) *wḏw r ḥzt.sn* (17) [*r ḥt nb*] *s{k g}r wn.sn ir.sn* (18) [*mḏswt m ḥrt-hrw*] *rḥ nb r rdīt rh* (19) [*ḥm.f wnṯ*] *qrsw pn* (20) [*spr.(y) r ḥtp*].{*f*} *m st.*{*f*}

### Translation

(1) [I begged from my lord]<sup>a</sup> that a ‘sarcophagus’ be {brought} [for him]<sup>b</sup> (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]<sup>c</sup> cargo vessel {of} the Residence,<sup>d</sup> (3) [... the overseer of troops] and the overseer of the official’s<sup>e</sup> (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.<sup>f</sup> (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<sup>h</sup> (11) and placed in [its] ‘bed’<sup>i</sup> during (13) [five] (or seven?) days<sup>j</sup> (14) in [transit].<sup>k</sup> (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<sup>l</sup> in order to inform (19) [His Majesty that] this sarcophagus (20) [had arrived so that] {it} [might rest] in {its} place.<sup>m</sup>

### Comments

<sup>a</sup> Restoring [*dbh.k(i) ḥr 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-ḥm 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.”

<sup>b</sup> In contrast to Sethe, Reisner restores *inr ḥd* between *in.t(i)* and *qrsw*.

<sup>c</sup> 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 *sṯ ḥ n ḥnw*.

<sup>d</sup> 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: ***rdī ḥm n nb.(i) dš***, “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 *ḥmty-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.

<sup>c</sup> 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).







<sup>f</sup> 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]* *n* as the relative *sdm.n.f* with [*wd.t(i)*] as its circumstantial complement; cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, §§ 676–77.

<sup>g</sup> 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.

<sup>h</sup> *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.

<sup>i</sup> 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)?

<sup>j</sup> 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).

<sup>k</sup> 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.

<sup>l</sup> 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 *mdswt* similar to (a) below, from PT 491 h, would fill the lacuna at the head of line (x + 17) completely,



(a)





(b)



(c)

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 *mdswt* 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 *mdswt* 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<sup>c</sup> nb*) see the following occurrences, all of which are cited by Fischer, *MMJ* 12 (1977), p. 8, n. 39: Davies, *Platbetep* 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<sup>c</sup> nb*, originally stood in the lacuna here.

<sup>m</sup> Sethe restores *r<sup>1</sup> [h<sup>tp</sup>] 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

**W**E HAVE ALREADY TOUCHED ON the fact that Reisner found older mastaba walls beneath G 2370, the tomb of Senedjemib Inti (figs. 2, 3).<sup>1</sup> 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).<sup>2</sup> 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).<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> Of Reisner's type (II c), it lacked a court and opened directly on a street of tombs.<sup>5</sup> 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).<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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).<sup>8</sup>

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).<sup>9</sup> 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).<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Reisner, "Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> 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*<sup>2</sup>, p. 87. The latter mastaba is to be published in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Pt. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *GN I*, pp. 287–88.

<sup>6</sup> Reisner, "List of Numbers Used in the Senezemib Complex," p. 1; *idem*, "Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," p. 133.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>8</sup> *Giza Diary 1912–1913*, p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> See below, p. 112.

<sup>10</sup> See Reisner, "Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," p. 133.

<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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;

<sup>12</sup> See *GN I*, p. 174 and fig. 82.

<sup>13</sup> “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 133.

<sup>14</sup> 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).<sup>15</sup> 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).<sup>16</sup>

A shaft immediately behind the false door of Room III of G 2370 was ascribed by Reisner to G 2373, and lettered A.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> This is puzzling, as a skeleton in the Hearst Museum at Berkeley is said to be from G 2373 A,<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> The latter in their physiognomy preshadow the new conventional rendering of the face characteristic of the Nekhebu group of the reign of Pepy I,<sup>21</sup> what Edna R. Russman has conveniently labelled a “Second Style” in Old Kingdom art.<sup>22</sup> 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,

<sup>15</sup> See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 134.

<sup>16</sup> *Giza Diary 1912–1913*, p. 39. The height of one of the pots is said to be 30 cm.

<sup>17</sup> 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.

<sup>18</sup> “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 133.

<sup>19</sup> Specimen no. 5166; acc. no. 462.

<sup>20</sup> *HESP*, p. 85. On the statues of Pehenptah, see now Brovarski, *Lipinská Essays*, pp. 261–73.

<sup>21</sup> *HESP*, pp. 84–85.

<sup>22</sup> *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. *GN* 2, 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

