

- (13) Peher-nefer: single niche; on each side.
- (14) Akhet-a'a: single niche; on each side; inscriptions only reported, but reconstructed as above.
- (15) Prince Khent-ka (?), G 2130: single niche in L-shaped chapel; standing figure.
- (16) Merytyetes, G 7650: on minor north niche, on each side, woman standing facing in, clad in ordinary tunic; on south niche, as reconstructed from lost stela of Mariette; woman standing facing in clad in tunic with peaked shoulder.
- (17) Kanofer, G 2150: two niches; on each side.
- (18) Mer-ib, G 2100-annex: two niches; on each side.

In a few cases a man is represented with staff, but with handkerchief or a roll of papyrus in the other hand. Two of the examples are from the subsidiary *ka*-door in the face of the mastaba.

- (19) Min-khaf, G 7430 + 7440: on southern subsidiary niche; on each side, man standing with staff and papyrus roll, facing in; on south, larger figure with full wig and sash; on north, smaller figure without wig or sash.
  - (20) G 7350: northern subsidiary niche; on each side, man standing with staff and handkerchief facing in.
  - (21) Rawer, G 5470, LG 32: single niche in middle of west wall; on each side, man standing facing in with staff and handkerchief.
- (c) With servants of the *ka*:
- (22) Seshem-nofer, G 4940: south *ka*-door; on each side, two men, one above the other, standing facing in, (a) with bell censer, (b) with ewer and basin, *hm-k* Rahotep, (c) with two strips of linen (named *Iwf* . . .), (d) with cylinder jar, *hm-k* Yeshy; north *ka*-door undecorated; continued on sides of outer recess and on wall south of niche.
  - (23) Kaninesuwt, G 2155: south *ka*-door; on each side two men, one above the other, standing facing in: (a) *Imy r* *ššr Pri-ndw*, with cylinder jar, (b) with cylinder jar, (c) with folded linen, (d) man with bag over shoulder; continued on wall south of niche, (a) a scribe '*šš pr md*t. Wehemka', (b) holding two strips of linen, 'Yeduw-nefer-hetep'.
  - (24) Kaninesuwt, G 2155: north *ka*-door; on each side one man standing facing in, holding *kbh* jar; 'Pennuw' and '*Ib-ka-ptah*'; continued on adjacent wall north of niche, *hm-k* 'Im-sekher' with ewer and basin.
  - (25) Thenty, G 4920: south *ka*-door; on south two men one above the other standing facing in: (a) with ewer and basin, (b) with bell censer; north side obliterated; continued on wall south of niche, (a) large figure, '*šndt, rh nšwt, yasen*', (b) smaller figure with goose, (c) as (b).
- (d) With tall bowl-stand:
- (26) Hordedef, G 7220: on both sides, one tall stand with basin.
  - (27) Khufuw-khaf, G 7140: on each side, one tall stand and basin.
  - (28) Meresankh II, G 7420: on each side, one tall stand and basin.

The examples given above are all from cased niches, cruciform chapels, and L-shaped chapels. At Giza in the rock-cut chapels the panels of the *ka*-door are either blank or obliterated. In the shallow false doors of Dyns. V and VI the first pair of side panels which represent the back of the outer niche had long vertical inscriptions in two or three lines with a small standing figure at the bottom of each.

All the figures on the back panels of the outer niche stand facing in. Of the eight examples of family

group, four from Medum show family groups of five or more persons, while those at Giza show only man and wife, or in one case man, wife, and one child. The Giza examples are certainly one or more generations later than the Medum examples.

The examples with man or woman standing facing in are from thirteen tombs, Nos. 9 to 21. The first six are from one cased niche, and five cruciform chapels. The other seven are from Giza, but carry on the traditional designs of the first six, modified in the latest mastabas by the substitution of a handkerchief for the wand, in the near hand.

The representations of servants of the *ka* bringing the funerary meal or other offerings occur in only three tombs, all of which are dated to the end of Dyn. IV or the early part of Dyn. V (Seshem-nofer (G 4940), Kaninesuwt, and Thenty). The three examples with a tall bowl-stand on each side are, on the other hand, all of the latter part of the reign of Cheops. A few examples may also be mentioned in which the back of the outer niche is decorated with a palace-façade doorway (see Min-dedef).

#### (8) *Ka-door, Outer Recess, Sides (Thickness)*

In the cased niches and the cruciform chapels of the early crude-brick mastabas, the sides of the outer niche (at the back of which was set the *ka*-door) were always decorated. In the very deep recesses of Neferma'at and Atet the sides of the outer niche presented an area equal to that of a wall space, and were decorated with wall scenes of known types. In the other cruciform chapels the outer niche is not so deep, and the representations are generally standing figures of the owner with a few other pictures such as compartment list, and estates bearing offerings:

##### (a) With wall scenes, or compartment list:

- (1) Neferma'at, Medum 16: sides of deep outer recess; on south, N. standing with staff and wand, with wife squatting behind him, facing out; 'viewing the [*htmt*] of the funerary endowment', list of offerings and estates bearing offerings; on north, a carrying-chair scene, with N. in chair facing out.
- (2) Atet, Medum 16: on sides of deep recess; on south, N. standing with staff and wand facing out, viewing boat-building in two registers, and wine-pressing scene in third (representation partially destroyed); on north, N. standing facing out holding hand of wife or daughter with his right hand, and with his left a staff, and the leashes of two dogs engaged in a hunting scene before him; on the north under the hunting scene a register of men bringing in wild animals, labelled 'bringing the *ndt hr* of the funerary endowment'.
- (3) Rahotep, Medum 6: on sides of outer recess; two old compartment lists on each side, separated by horizontal lines, 'the *htmt* of the funerary endowment'.
- (4) Nofret, Medum 6: sides of outer recess; on each side, above, an old compartment list, and below, two registers of male and female estates (3+4) bearing in offerings, total 14 estates.

##### (b) With man standing facing out:

- (5) Methen: on each side of outer recess; man standing with staff and wand facing out; titles and name above.
- (6) Peher-nefer: on each side of outer niche, man standing with staff and wand facing out; titles and name.
- (7) Akhet-hetep: on two sides of outer recess, titles and name, to be reconstructed as Methen.
- (8) Akhet-a'a: on each side, man standing with staff and wand facing out; titles and name.

- (c) With estates bearing offerings:
- (9) Nofret: see No. 4 above.
  - (10) Iy-nefer: on both niches on each side, a vertical row of male and female estates bearing in offerings; one register of two figures (male and female) is preserved; originally three or four registers.
  - (11) F S 3078: on each side of outer recess, one estate bearing offerings is preserved; probably vertical row of three or four estates, all facing in.
  - (12) Min-dedef, G 7760: outer recess on each side, vertical row of four estates bearing in offerings; three completely legible names are compounded with Cheops.
  - (13) Prince Khent-ka (?), G 2130: on north side of outer recess is visible the lower part of one female estate facing in; I reconstruct a vertical row of four estates on each side.
- (d) With men bringing funerary meal:
- (14) Prince Hordedef, G 7220: on south side of outer recess, two standing figures facing in; the upper is labelled *mrht* and *hm-k*, and the second carrying some object is labelled *šms* . . . ; I reconstruct vertical row of four figures on each side; the procession is continued by vertical row of four or five figures on the adjacent wall south of the niche, where the two lowest figures bearing geese are visible, of which the lowest is labelled *itt špdw*.
  - (15) Khufuw-khaf, G 7140: on each side, vertical row of five men bringing the utensils and materials of the funerary meal; on the adjacent narrow space south of the niche is a vertical row of four estates bearing offerings.
  - (16) Ka-m-sekhem, G 7660: badly preserved; there appears to be a vertical row of four figures on each side facing in; either estates bearing offerings or men bringing funerary meal.
  - (17) Seshem-nofer, G 4940: on sides of outer recess, in continuation of procession on back of outer recess, vertical row of at least three men facing in, *hmw-k* bearing utensils and materials of the funerary meal; the procession is continued on the wall south of niche.
- (e) With tall stands and vessels:
- (18) Mer-ib, G 2100-I ann.: on both *ka*-doors; on each side, vertical row of five tall stands with basins, all painted red.
  - (19) Seshat-hetep, G 5150: on both *ka*-doors; on each side vertical row of four tall stands bearing vessels; on south niche, two basins, a jar, and a table; on north niche, two basins and two jars.
  - (20) Nesuwt-nofer, G 4970: on both niches; on each side face of outer recess (?) vertical row of five tall stands bearing vessels, basin, *kḫ* jar, basin, *kḫ* jar, basin.
  - (21) Thenty, G 4920: south niche, south side only preserved; intervening in procession of *hmw-k* bringing in the funerary meal, which is represented on the back of the outer recess and on the wall south of the niche, the side of the outer recess has two registers, a son standing with arms hanging, facing in, and, below him, a basin on a tall stand; the north side was probably similar.
  - (22) Yeduw, G 7102: false-door stela in middle of west wall; set in recess in west wall; on each side of the recess are seven registers each with three ointment jars; jars not identical on both sides; labels same on both sides, *štḫ ḥb*, *ḥknw*, *šft*, *nḥnm*, *twwt*, *ḥst-t nt ḥš*, *ḥst-t nt ḥnw*.

The decoration of the sides of the outer niche in the early tombs, cased niches, and cruciform

chapels was, as the above list shows, carried out in all tombs, with an elaboration commensurate with the space available. For the more narrow spaces of the square compound niches the standing figure facing out was the usual representation, but in two cases (Iy-nefer and F S 3078) estates in a single vertical row are pictured, facing in. At Giza the standing figure of the man facing out never appears, and there is only one case of a vertical row of estates facing in (Min-dedef). Closely allied to the vertical line of estates bearing offerings is the vertical line of servants of the *ka* bringing in the utensils and materials of the funerary meal, in the tombs of Hordedef, Khufuw-khaf, Ka-m-sekhem, and Seshem-nofer (G 4940). The chapels from the end of Dyn. IV at Giza introduce a new representation, a vertical row of tall stands bearing vessels, which is used on other panels of the offering-niche occasionally during Dyn. IV.

(9) *West Wall, North and South End: Spaces subsidiary to the Offering-niche*

In a few of the cases described above the representations on the panels of the niche were continued on the wall adjacent to the niche. The wall concerned is of course the west wall, and the spaces used for scenes adjunctive to the niche scenes are usually the narrow strip south of the niche in the one-niched chapel, and in the two-niched chapel south of the south niche and north of the north niche. Even when the representations on the panels of the niche are figures of the owner standing, the adjacent north or south end of the west wall may bear a vertical row of servants of the *ka*, bearing offerings, or estates, or personal attendants:

- (1) Hordedef, G 7220: wall south of niche; vertical row of four figures facing in, men bringing funerary meal; subsidiary to sides of outer recess, men bringing the funerary meal.
- (2) Khufuw-khaf, G 7140: south of single niche; vertical row of four estates facing in; subsidiary to men bringing funerary meal on sides of outer recess.
- (3) Queen Merytyetes, G 7650: north of northern niche; three registers of two figures each facing in, perhaps bringing funerary meal; subsidiary to standing figure on back of outer recess.
- (4) Min-dedef, G 7760: south of niche, two or more registers of three estates each, facing in; subsidiary to estates on side of outer recess.
- (5) 'Prince' Zaty, G 7810: on wall south of niche, three registers of three *hmnw-k* each facing to south and bringing the funerary meal; not subsidiary to niche, but to table scene on south wall.
- (6) Seshem-nofer, G 4940: wall south of south niche; vertical row of two men, originally four or five, bearing offerings; in continuation of men bringing the funerary meal on back panels and sides of outer recess.
- (7) Seshem-nofer, G 4940: wall north of north niche; vertical row of four female attendants, standing facing out to north, bearing personal effects; subsidiary to family group on north wall.
- (8) Kanofer, G 2150: wall south of southern niche; two registers of two figures each, facing in, men carrying haunch of beef, &c., and two women, carrying boxes, &c.; continuation of chief scene between the two niches.
- (9) Seshem-nofer, G 5080: wall south of south niche; mother standing, facing in; on wall north of north niche, vertical row of four or five sons, standing facing in; both these representations are subsidiary to chief scene between two niches, which shows a family group in table scene.
- (10) Mer-ib, G 2100-Iann.: wall south of south niche; three registers, of which the topmost contained a chief scene (M. seated, facing in, 'viewing the document(?) of the house of the weaving women' with three scribes facing him); reg. 2 shows three men bringing in funerary meal; reg. 3 is a slaughter scene; on *ka*-door panels, standing figure of M.; it is not clear whether the two lower registers belong to the chief scene above or to the presentation scene between the two niches.

- (11) Mer-ib, G 2100-I ann.: wall north of north niche; vertical row of four men standing facing in, bringing the funerary meal; on panels of niche, standing figure of M.; the figures on the north may be considered as subsidiary to the presentation scene between the two niches.
- (12) Seshat-hetep, G 5150: on wall south of southern niche three or more registers of servants of the *ka* facing in, and on adjacent edge of the west wall north of the south niche, four figures facing in to left; bringing the funerary meal, including a man carrying a young hyena; presentation scene between the two niches; tall bowl-stands on side of outer recess.
- (13) Seshat-hetep, G 5150: wall north of northern niche; vertical row of three or more servants bearing *kbh* jar and bag, basket of offerings, and haunch of beef with heart-shaped jar, bag, and sandals, the lowest figure labelled *nhšy*.
- (14) Nesuwt-nofer, G 4970: wall south of south niche; vertical row of four *hmw-k* facing in, bringing in the funerary meal, *kbh* vase, bell censer, table of cakes, and haunch of beef; subsidiary to standing figures on back of outer recess.
- (15) Nesuwt-nofer, G 4970: wall north of north niche; vertical row of four servants bearing personal effects, standing facing in; two men labelled *nhšy* and two dwarfs.
- (16) Kaninesuwt, G 2155: wall south of south niche; above, a scribe, and below, a man holding out two strips of cloth, both facing in; probably continuation of servants on back of outer recess.
- (17) Kaninesuwt, G 2155: space north of north niche; above, figure of wife standing facing out to right, and obviously belonging to scene on north wall; below her, a *hm-k* with ewer and basin facing in, and belonging to the two figures on the back of the outer recess.
- (18) Thenty, G 4920: wall south of south niche; above, a larger figure, an official of the *šndt* (label partly obliterated); below, two men standing also facing in, each with a live bird; probably the continuation of the men represented on the back of the outer recess (servants of the *ka*).
- (19) Thenty, G 4920: wall north of north niche (dummy niche); two registers, priests facing in to left; above, *hry wdb* in usual attitude except that the hanging hand is open; *wd iht*; below, a *wt* kneeling with both hands closed, *šmnt šh n wt*.
- (20) Rawer, G 5470 = LG 32: on west wall on each side of single niche, a vertical inscription, offering formula, with small figures of Rawer at bottom facing in.
- (21) Ka-seza, G 5240 = LG 37: wall north of south niche; three registers of two men each, facing in to left, bringing in the funerary meal; behind them, palace-façade panel.
- (22) Ka-seza, G 5240 = LG 37: wall north of north niche; three registers of two men each, facing in, bringing in the funerary meal.

The scenes on the end faces of the west wall are in three cases subsidiary, wholly or partly, to scenes on the adjacent walls. In No. 5, the chapel of 'Prince' Zaty, the south end wall bears figures of men facing to left bringing the funerary meal, and obviously subsidiary to the table scene on the south wall. In No. 7, Seshem-nofer (G 4940), on the north end a vertical row of female attendants bearing personal effects is subsidiary to the family group on the north wall, and in particular to the figure on the left, the wife. In No. 17, Kaninesuwt, on north end, the larger upper figure of the wife standing facing to right is subsidiary to the scene on the north wall, while the small lower figure of a *hm-k* with ewer and basin faces in to left and is subsidiary to the north niche.

In two cases the end scenes are subsidiary to the chief scene between the two niches. In No. 8 (Kanofer) the men bringing the funerary meal in the chief scene are continued south of the niche. In

No. 9 (Seshem-nofer, G 5080) the family group in a table scene between the two niches is continued by the mother at south end, and four sons at north end of west wall.

In No. 10, Mer-ib, south of south niche, a wider space is occupied by a small independent scene of M. seated viewing the document (?) of the house of the weaving women, with three scribes in front of him. Below this scene are two registers, three men bringing in the funerary meal, and a slaughter scene.

In the other sixteen examples the scenes on the end spaces are subsidiary to the adjacent niche. In the majority of cases the representation is that of *hmw-k3* bringing in the utensils and materials of the funerary meal. In some cases, difficult to distinguish from the bringing of the funerary meal, only one or two *hmw-k3* are represented, bearing ewer and basin or similar:

(a) *Hmw-k3* bringing the funerary meal:

- (1) Subsidiary to men bringing the funerary meal on the panels of the outer recess: Nos. 1 (Hordedef), 6 (Seshem-nofer), 16 (Kaninesuwt), 17 (Kaninesuwt), and 18 (Thenty); total, five examples.
- (2) Subsidiary to standing figures on back panels of outer recess: Nos. 3 (Merytyetes), 11 (Mer-ib), 12 (Seshat-hetep), 13 (Seshat-hetep), 14 (Nesuwt-nofer).
- (3) Subsidiary to uninscribed niche: Nos. 21 and 22 (Ka-seza).

(b) Estates bearing offerings:

- (1) Subsidiary to men bringing funerary meal on sides of outer recess: No. 4 (Min-dedef).
- (2) Subsidiary to estates on sides of outer recess: No. 2 (Khufuw-khaf).

(c) Attendants bearing personal effects (grave furniture?): No. 15 (Nesuwt-nofer).

(d) With priests: (1) subsidiary to dummy niche on north, *hry wdb* making offerings (*wd iht*) and *wt* performing the *snmt sh*: No. 19 (Thenty).

(e) With offering formula and small standing figure, on each side of a middle niche: No. 20 (Rawer).

The end spaces were obviously filled out arbitrarily by the decorator of the chapel according to the space left by the masons in constructing the west wall. In three cases it was used to amplify scenes on the adjacent north and south walls, and in two cases to amplify the chief scene between the two niches. In one case an independent scene was composed with a unique label, viewing the work of the weavers. In all the other sixteen cases the scenes on the end spaces are clearly subsidiary to the niche itself. In twelve cases the representations are of servants of the *ka* bringing personal effects (funerary equipment), and in two cases estates bearing offerings. All these are natural adjuncts to the *ka*-door. In No. 20 (Rawer) the inscription with small figure is in line with the developments of the shallow false door of Dyn. VI.

### 3. THE DECORATION OF THE EARLY ROCK-CUT CHAPELS

The early rock-cut chapels of type RC (i) beginning in the reign of Mycerinus and extending into Dyn. V (early part) are contemporaneous with the later chapels of types (3) and (4). As has been pointed out, the earliest of these chapels represent a combination of the decorations of the interior and exterior stone chapels of the children of Cheops, and take the form they present by reason of their excavation in the rock. As a result the offering-room lettered b by me takes an entirely different form from that of the L-shaped chapels. The only wall in this offering-room which can be compared to the walls of the L-shaped chapel is the west wall with its one or two offering-niches (*ka*-doors). In general this wall presents two niches. Unfortunately this wall is preserved only in the tomb of Nekauwra, where it bears a table scene.

## a. The Decoration of the West Wall of the Offering-room

West wall of offering-room:

- (1) LG 87: Prince Nekauwra: table scene between two niches; on west wall of offering-room (b): prince seated facing to right at table of bread in obscure attitude; over him vertical lines giving offering-formula and titles and name; over the table a late compartment list; to right of table under the compartment list, a horizontal line of offerings, and two registers, (1) four men bringing the funerary meal 'for the king's son Nekauwra', and (2) two slaughter scenes.

In the tomb of Debehen the space between the two niches is occupied by palace-façade panelling with vertical inscriptions. In the tomb of Prince Nebemakhet (LG 86) the space between the two double niches is again taken by a palace-façade panelling, while on the outer sides of the niches (south of south niche and north of north niche) offering-bearers appear, subsidiary to the niches. In the inner offering-room of Queen Meresankh III, the single niche is flanked on each side by a pair of statues (Meresankh and her mother, Hetep-heres), and on each side of this central group is a palace-façade panelling. In the later rock-cut chapels of Dyns. V and VI the table scene appears again on the west wall of the offering-room (see Yasen, Ankh-ma-ra, and Yeduw).

## b. The Scenes on Other Walls of the Rock-cut Chapels

The position of the various types of scenes on the other walls of rock-cut chapels does not appear to bear any relation to the arrangement in the L-shaped chapels. In addition, a number of new scenes are introduced which are not represented in the L-shaped offering-rooms of the mastaba. Therefore I group the scenes in the rock-cut chapels under the types of scenes.

(1) *Table Scene*

- (1) G 7530: Queen Meresankh III: room (b), south wall; facing to left (out): late compartment list: on left, two registers, (1) ideographic list, *wṯ* and another priest, (2) three *ḥm-kꜣ* priests bringing food-offering; under whole scene, a judgement scene presided over by the chief *ḥm-kꜣ*, Khemten.

It seems clear that the table scene was not frequent in the early rock-cut chapels. In the later rock-cut chapels it is also infrequent except on the west wall (see, however, Khafra-ankh (LG 75), south wall, and Qar (G 7101), four scenes).

(2) *The Offering Scene in the Rock-cut Chapels*

The offering scene in the L-shaped chapels is a comparatively small scene on one of the end walls. In the rock-cut tombs this scene is greatly enlarged and varied by the introduction of subsidiary elements. In a certain number of scenes the offering scene is combined with the great pavilion containing the picture list of offerings. I give first the enlarged offering scene and afterwards the pavilion scenes:

(a) *Large offering scenes.*

- (1) LG 90: Debehen: room (a), north wall (screen wall); man seated facing right with fly-whisk in left hand and right extended palm down; in front of figure, picture list in three registers: reg. 4, singers and musicians; reg. 5, dancing girls.
- (2) MQ 1: Prince Khuwnera: room (a), south wall; Queen Kha-merer-nebty II seated facing right, holding lotus in right hand and the wrist of her son with her left in front of her; Khuwnera as naked boy, standing facing right with right hand in mother's lap and hoopoe in his left hand; behind the queen, three female attendants; in front of chief figures (on the right), five registers;

- regs. 1-4, picture lists interspersed with small groups of men preparing food; reg. 5, singers and musicians; under whole scene, reg. 6, unfinished, dancing girls.
- (3) G 7530: Queen Meresankh III; room (a), south wall, upper half: queen seated facing to left (out), holding lotus to nose in left hand and another lotus in right hand; in front of her, squatting girl and dog; picture list in five registers; to left of picture list, three registers; reg. 1, thirteen men facing to right, standing, priests or household officials; reg. 2, ten men bringing food-offerings; reg. 3, three men carrying birds and haunches of meat, slaughter scene, and two men (one bringing oryx and one bearing gazelle).
- (4) G 7530: Queen Meresankh III: room (b), north wall; queen seated facing to right (out), holding lotus flower in right hand and another (?) in extended left; in front of her, on right, two registers and below the whole, two more, regs. 1 and 2; mixed figures, man kneeling holding out two *nw*-pots, men bringing food-offerings (alive or dressed), musicians, singers, and dancers; reg. 3, men (over five) bearing food, followed by scene showing basket of cakes, man filling basket with cakes, man and woman lifting a basket of cakes; then finally three sub-registers of a picture list (cakes, cakes in basins, and wine-jars); reg. 4, wine-cellar scene and five small baking scenes.
- (5) LG 86: Prince Nebemakhet: offering-room (b), east wall, north of entrance; chief figure or figures and most of the registers obliterated, parts of the lowest three registers are preserved near the doorway; reg.  $x+1$ , picture list; reg.  $x+2$ , two slaughter scenes; reg.  $x+3$ , dancing girls.
- (b) *The pavilion scene.*
- (1) LG 87: Prince Nekauwra: room (a), south wall; west of eastern entrance; man seated in arm-chair facing to left (out), with left arm hanging over arm of chair and right holding lotus; he sits on one side of a great pavilion supported by four poles (lotus columns); in front of him and under the pavilion are six registers divided into two columns by the third pole of the pavilion; all registers except the left half of reg. 6 contain a picture list of offerings (circular and rectangular tables with cakes, meat, fruit, and vegetables, baskets, platters, jars on stands, ewer and basin, &c.); from roof of pavilion hang meat pieces; in the left half of reg. 6, singer and harpist, singer and flute-players.
- (2) LG 89: Prince Sekhemkara: room (a), east wall; man and mother seated on one chair, facing out to right (details obliterated); in front of them, pavilion with roof supported by five lotus columns, with row of meat pieces hanging from roof; below, three registers; regs. 1 and 2, picture list of offerings (circular and rectangular tables, stands, and baskets as in Nekauwra); reg. 3, three men standing facing to left, three circular tables of offerings, and three large wine-jars; reg. 4, under whole scene, partially preserved, dancers and musicians on left.

These offering scenes are connected with each other and with the offering scenes in the L-shaped chapels by the elaborate picture list of offerings. In the three L-shaped chapels, Mer-ib, Seshat-hetep, and Nesuwt-nofer, the scene shows scribes reading or writing the list of offerings. In the rock-cut tombs the plain offering scene is greatly expanded. Little cooking scenes are introduced, and musicians and dancers. The musical and dancing scenes appear for the first time in these scenes and become one of the marked features of the offering scenes of Dyn. V.

One of the notable features is the combination of the picture list of offerings with the great pavilion. The pavilion scene occurs from early times in two forms, both undoubtedly represented by the word *sh*. In the tomb of Hesy-ra (Dyn. III) on the east wall of the chapel is painted a great pavilion containing



pictures of funerary equipment (*htmt*) with a seated figure of the owner facing the pavilion (?). In the tomb of Methen, Methen is shown on the south wall, seated under a kiosk, while the offering ceremonies are carried out before him (washing the hands, &c.). At Giza, in the reign of Mycerinus and a little later, both the kiosk and the pavilion appear, the great pavilion in the great rock-cut tombs, and the kiosk scene in the L-shaped chapels. In Dyn. V both forms of the scene continued to appear in the late mastaba chapels and in rock-cut tombs. In one very important rock-cut chapel of Dyn. V, the tomb of Yaseu (G 2196), the owner is seated in a kiosk (not in a pavilion) viewing a great picture list with typical small scenes of cooking, dancing musicians, and funerary priests. The great pavilion occurs in the large mastaba chapel of Iy-mery (G 6020). One of the characteristics of the *sh* scene of both types is that the owner is seated in an arm-chair, usually holding a fly-whisk and often receiving a lotus.

### (3) *The Presentation Scene*

The presentation scene appears in the rock-cut chapels as follows:

- (1) LG 87: Prince Nekauwra: room (b), north wall; man and wife standing facing in to left; viewing the [*prt hrw*] brought by the estates of the funerary endowment; in front of chief figures, five registers facing to right; reg. 1, scribes; reg. 2, scribes and herdsmen bringing in animals (cow, ass, &c.); reg. 3, scribes, seven male and female estates, a bull, *ndt hr*; reg. 4, seven male and female estates, of which the seventh leads a hyena (bringing hyena, *ndt hr*); reg. 5, scribes, man bringing in a bull, and the rest obliterated or uninscribed.
- (2) LG 89: Prince Sekhemkara; room (a), east wall; man and wife seated on one arm-chair, facing out to right; in front, a vertical line, 'viewing the offerings of the headmen and herdsmen, . . . and the fishermen, which were brought from the estates of the funerary endowment', titles and name; to the right, the upper three registers are preserved; reg. 1, four sons squatting facing to left, then eighteen estates (all Chephren compounds); reg. 2, bird-trap scene; from left, five men bringing birds, men handling boxes of birds, man bringing papyrus, man pulling papyrus, men taking birds out of a sprung trap, and men springing a trap: rest obliterated; reg. 3, badly obliterated, men taking fish from net; the remaining registers are nearly completely obliterated.
- (3) G 7530: Queen Meresankh III: room (a), east wall north of entrance; no chief figure in the usual scene, but included in the scene is a picture of Hetep-heres II and Meresankh III pulling papyrus in a swamp and at the end to the left of this Ka-wab standing facing away to left; on right four registers; reg. 1, thirteen estates, male and female, facing to left; reg. 2, bird-netting scene with two sub-registers (on right mat-making, and men putting birds in box and other men plucking birds); reg. 3 extends under large scene of the two queens, men bringing birds and cattle to left; reg. 4, under reg. 3, two scenes of boatmen fighting ('coming forth from the swamp with lotus flowers by the Deltamen (?)'), sowing scene ('tilling with sheep'; 'sowing the seed').
- (4) LG 86: Prince Nebemakhet: outer room, south wall; Nebemakhet and his sister Shepseskauw, standing, facing to right; vertical line, beginning 'viewing . . .'; to right, traces of five registers facing to left; reg. 1, three scribes squatting facing to left (of which second and third are writing), bird-netting scene; reg. 2, partly obliterated, sowing and ploughing; reg. 3, bird-netting scene; reg. 4, nearly gone but two boats, being rowed; reg. 5, obliterated, but the word *rn iw3* indicates men bringing cattle and other animals.

These four scenes provide the chief features of the presentation scene of the L-shaped chapels, the scribes preparing the lists and other documents, the rows of estates bearing offerings, and the bringing of animals. But the scenes are extended to contain elements not found on walls of L-shaped chapels, in particular the trapping of birds in the swamp, and even the cultivation of the endowed estates. The extended presentation scene with the addition of swamp scenes and agricultural scenes was continued in the later chapels of Dyns. V and VI. Later the swamp and the bird-netting scene became practically independent scenes. In the cruciform chapels of Medum the bird-netting scene and the agricultural scenes already occur as small independent scenes. Their introduction in the great wall scenes of the rock-cut chapels at Giza does not represent a new invention, but only the inclusion of scenes already known within the registers of large scenes.

(4) *Scenes of Craftsmen at Work and Pictures of Funerary Furniture in the Early Rock-cut Chapels*

In the early rock-cut tombs at Giza the wall scenes include two great scenes (often associated or combined) of craftsmen at work and pictures of funerary furniture. These scenes, although used in the large chapels of Dyns. V and VI, are not among the scenes found on the walls of the interior L-shaped chapels.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the basic idea of both these scenes is represented by processions of figures bearing funerary furniture which occur in the cruciform chapels and in the L-shaped chapels of all periods. In the tomb of Rahotep of Medum, on the east wall, over the entrance doorway, is a boat-building scene. The large scenes in the rock-cut chapels at Giza of craftsmen are here expanded by reason of the great wall area offered for decoration.

The scenes of craftsmen at work show the manufacture of the whole funerary equipment, including boats, statues, sarcophagi, stone vessels, stelae, wooden furniture, and personal ornaments. The scenes giving pictures of the wooden furniture are usually closely associated with the pictures of the craftsmen at work. They show as the main objects the bed and the bed canopy, the carrying-chair, the arm-chair, head-rest, caskets, and similar objects. It is to be noted that this equipment was actually found in the secret tomb of Hetep-heres I (mother of Cheops) and appeared there to be objects taken from her palace, partly made for her by Sneferuw and partly by her son Cheops. It seems clear, therefore, that these pictures of furniture represent the household furniture deposited in the burial-chamber. It is for this reason that I have marked all the representations of men bringing similar objects as the bringing of the funerary furniture. The association of the furniture scene with the craftsmen at work proves, I think, that the latter are shown making the funerary equipment, including all things placed in the tomb.

The scenes of these two kinds in the early rock-cut tombs are as follows:

- (1) G 7530: Queen Meresankh III: room (a), east wall south of entrance, craftsmen at work, no chief figure; five registers; reg. 1, two river-boats proceeding to left, (a) usual river-boat rowed by six men with Meresankh in chief place in carrying-chair, (b) papyrus raft paddled by three men, with Meresankh on throne and smelling lotus flower; reg. 2, two river-boats (prow in form of recurved animal head) with long cabins, rowed by eleven and eight men respectively, proceeding to left (Meresankh invisible in sheeted cabins); reg. 3, the painter Rahay painting a statue, the sculptor Yenkaḥ carving a statue, three men dragging statue in shrine to right (man with censer and another steadying the shrine), three men dragging seated statue (man with censer); reg. 4, two men polishing granite sarcophagus, man working on wooden

<sup>1</sup> A fragment showing a man with an adze from G 4000 Hemyuwen. Something similar is suggested by fragments (Reg. No. 25-12-301) suggests that there may have been a crafts-work or boat-building scene in the chapel of from the chapel of Duwanera (G 5110).

coffin (?), man making a *ka*-door stela, and a man striding to right; reg. 5, shelter on three poles, under which is gold-beater and four men with blow-pipes melting gold, in two sub-registers, (a) men making or covering with gold a low stand and a round-topped chest, (b) making a carrying-chair and some other object, rest obliterated; on the adjoining south wall is a scene picturing the funerary furniture, which is clearly a continuation of the craftsmen scene in regs. 3-5 of the east wall, as follows: south wall, lower scene, on right, bed canopy with bed and head-rest and two servants making the bed; on left of canopy, two sub-registers: sub-register a, arm-chair with woman laying fan on chair, carrying-chair with fan and man laying on it a pole, woman with flap fan and bag, man with long box, two women carrying chest, two women carrying chest on shoulders with monkey under chest, two women each with tray; sub-register b, long box with smaller box on top, chest on legs, tall bag with calf's head, long box with table with fly-whisk, two women carrying shrine, four women each bearing a tray or other object, two women bearing indeterminate object, female dwarf with indeterminate object on head, five women who are nearly obliterated; on the extreme right of this scene, separated by a vertical line, stands the painter Rahay painting a statue.

- (2) LG 86: Prince Nebemakhet: east wall of room (b), south of entrance; man and wife standing facing in to right; man with staff, wand, and sandals; in front of him, monkey and baboon; behind the chief figures pictures of furniture in four or five registers; reg. 1, bed canopy with bed, head-rest, and two servants; reg. 2, three men facing to right bearing bag and fly-whisk, long box and bag, panther garment (?); reg. 3, three men facing to right bearing staff and bag, box, and fan and bag, and a fourth man, a priest, kneeling with right hand closed on breast and left extended; in front of Nebemakhet are five registers of craft scenes; reg. 1, jewellers and pictures of necklaces; reg. 2, men preparing mud for jar-sealings, man sealing a jar, row of jars, man filling a jar; on the right of regs. 1 and 2, a wine- or oil-press scene; reg. 3, men making stone vessels, two statues, wooden bed; reg. 4, men smelting gold and beating gold; reg. 5, men making copper vessels and weighing copper (?) or copper vessels.
- (3) MQ 1: Prince Khuwnera: room (a), east wall, south of entrance; Khuwnera standing with staff and wand facing out to left, 'viewing the construction of the boats, and the execution of the work by . . .'; in front of Khuwnera, the scribe, Ptah-hetep, facing him; behind Khuwnera three attendants (man with box and fly-whisk), man with fan and bag (*hrp sh* Akhy), man holding out garment; in front of chief scene, five registers of craftsmen at work; regs. 1 and 2, men building two boats in each register; reg. 3, making stone vessels, polishing a sarcophagus, making and painting statues; reg. 4, rope-making or similar, gold-beaters and metal-workers, rest illegible; reg. 5, carpenters making beds, chairs, and boxes, other workmen making sandals, wooden objects, engraved seals; rest obliterated.

In the chapel of Nebemakhet, a wine-press or oil-press scene is added to the picture of men sealing jars. The wine-press scene is in other later cases included in the agricultural scenes. It is in fact one of the old scenes represented in the cruciform chapel of Neferma'at of Medum.

Attention is to be called to the fact that each of the above three scenes presents its own individual composition, and that each of the small component scenes even in the same great scene was also composed individually (cf. the four boats in Khuwnera). The first two contain the pictures of the finished funerary equipment or household furniture, while the third scene omits it. The group of wooden furniture is repeated in a rock-cut tomb of Dyn. V, the tomb of Ankh-ma-ra, G 7837 (Eastern Cliff), in room (b), east wall, north of doorway, where without any chief figure a reduced scene shows bed canopy,

bed, head-rest, with three servants, and to the right two sub-registers showing other furniture, partly carried by men. Below this register are two registers, (1) two men playing a board game, and musicians and singers, (2) five men and dwarf leading hound and monkey, bearing chests, &c. The furniture scene appears to have stood (as in Nebemakhet) behind the chief figure or figures viewing swamp scene, presentation of animals and cattle, and a procession of estates. The representation of funerary equipment, including the wooden furniture, continued to appear in chapels of Dyns. V and VI at Giza and Saqqarah, both independently, and as part of other scenes.

The great scene of craftsmen at work manufacturing the whole funerary equipment became a feature of the majority of the great mastaba chapels of Dyns. V and VI, and is to be found at Giza in the tombs of Iy-mery (G 6020), Khufuw-khaf II (G 7150), and Senezem-ib-Mehi (G 2378). At Saqqarah scenes occur in the tombs of Thiy, Mereruwka, Ankh-ma-hor, and Ka-irer. At other sites we have Ptah-shepses at Abusir, the tombs of Ny-ankh-Pepy and Khuwnes at Zawiyet-el-Meyyitin, the tomb of Wer-ir-en at Sheikh Sa'id, at Der-el-Gebrawi the tombs of Iby and Zaw, at Meir the tomb of Pepy-ankh (a 2), at Deshasheh tombs of Yenti and Sheduw. One of the important craftsmen scenes is that in the tomb of Ka-m-remeth, originally from Saqqarah, but now in the Cairo Museum. These scenes present a nearly continuous series running through Dyn. V and into Dyn. VI, and undoubtedly owe their existence to the same type of scenes composed as far as we know for the rock-cut tombs of the family of Chephren at Giza.

#### (5) *Family Group*

The wall scenes of the rock-cut tombs present the usual combinations of the man and his family in the chief figures of the table scene, the offering scene, the presentation scene, and so forth. In addition to the man alone we have man and child, man and wife, man with wife and one or two children. In other cases the children are pictured in the top register of the scene in front.

- (1) LG 89: Prince Sekhemkara: room (a), east wall; presentation scene; man and wife seated on one chair; reg. 1, four sons squatting facing chief figures.

The representation of the children as a register in other scenes becomes more frequent in the rock-cut tombs and the later mastaba chapels. The scene which I designate the family group refers to groups of the family pictured as separate scenes, not as subsidiary to other types of scene. The 'family group' in this sense can be traced from the cruciform chapels through the L-shaped chapels and, in the rock-cut tombs of the family of Chephren, appears twice in very distinct form:

- (1) G 7530: Queen Meresankh III: room (a), west wall, north of entrance to room (b); family group with three large figures facing in to left, Queen Hetep-heres II, her daughter, Queen Meresankh III, and her grandson Prince Nebemakhet; with small figures, small girl kneeling behind Hetep-heres, small naked boy standing in front of Meresankh, named Khent-r-ka, holding lotus with his left hand to his mother and holding hoopoe in right hand; behind Nebemakhet, three naked children in vertical row, boy, girl, boy.
- (2) LG 86: Prince Nebemakhet: room (b), east wall over doorway; the mother Meresankh III on right facing to left; before her, facing to right, Prince Nebemakhet, Princess Shepseset-kaw, and Prince Duwanera.

These two family groups give in the first generation Queen Hetep-heres II, who is known to have been a daughter of Cheops married first to Ka-wab and then to Radedef, in the second generation Queen Meresankh III, married to Chephren, and in the third generation Prince Nebemakhet, Princess Shepseset-kaw, and Prince Duwanera, whom I identify with the owner of G 5110.