

VI

THE MUD SEAL-IMPRESSIONS

IN the preceding text, mention has been made a number of times of the fact that articles of the equipment of Queen Hetep-heres I were sealed with the name of Cheops for deposit in her original tomb. In G 7000 X, a few inscribed mud fragments (No. 1706) were found in the debris at the very bottom of the pit (Pl. 43 c). All the other fragments of sealings were in the decayed wooden boxes containing the broken equipment and the litter swept up from the floor of the plundered chamber and redeposited in the new tomb. All bore variously preserved impressions of the same seal bearing the name of Cheops. None bore the name of Sneferu, and no sealed equipment was prepared before the death of the queen in spite of the fact that her household furniture was made for her partly by Sneferu and partly by Cheops. All the evidence proves that the queen died in the reign of her son Cheops, and the sealed equipment deposited in her tomb bore the mark of the mortuary establishment of her son. No sealings were found in connection with the food offerings placed in the niche part way down the shaft. Only one mud sealing was found in its original position. This was in the middle of the lid of the alabaster canopic chest and traces of string showed that it covered the knot in this string which had passed around the chest in two directions. Although the seal was covered by a little perforated pottery lid (No. 34-4-42; Fig. 78), the mud had badly disintegrated and no impression was preserved on the sealing (Pl. 44).

The most complete fragments of the impressions, which belonged to about ten sealings, are illustrated in Fig. 47, where a reconstruction of the inscription as far as preserved is included in the upper left corner. All the impressions were made on box seals, except one (No. 1172:26) which was on a fragment of a jar sealing. The complete box sealing was a domed piece of mud over which the cylinder seal had been rolled, sometimes a number of times. The base shows a flat surface with traces of the imprint of wood graining where it had rested on the lid of a wooden box and also the marks of the crossed string which had passed around the box in two directions to tie the lid fast.

The inscription was of the usual six-line type with three lines repeating the Horus name (*Hr Mddw*) of Cheops facing to the left and the intervening lines bearing titles of the sealer, with the signs facing to the right. Two of the lines still remain incomplete after a long study of all the fragments. There seems to be nothing quite comparable to assist in the reading of them. We shall find the same difficulty in attempting to deal with the inscriptions on the much less well-preserved seal impressions from the Giza mastabas. The number of seal impressions which have been published in drawings or photographs is still very limited, and although a number of Old Kingdom cylinder seals are known in museum collections, no extensive study has as yet been devoted to them. The very important contribution to the interpretation of this difficult material which Professor Junker has made in translating the inscriptions on several impressions found in his excavations at Giza (*Giza*, VII, 1944, pp. 231-240) indicates what may yet be done with material which is at present insufficiently known.

In the Hetep-heres inscription the three lines of titles mention the *wc̄bt*, which evidently means the mortuary service of Cheops, that is, a workshop which had as its chief function the embalming of the body. In the inscription on the façade of the rock-cut tomb of Queen Meresankh III (G 7530-7540) we have a clear statement of the date of the death of the queen when 'her *k̄* was at rest and she proceeded

to the *wrbt*, balanced on the other side of the entrance to the tomb by a statement of the date on which the queen proceeded to her beautiful tomb.¹ The building of the *wrbt* is schematically rendered and labelled in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Qa'ar at Giza, where it is shown as a separate entity from another structure concerned with the funeral, the *ibw*,² which has been mentioned in Chapter II in connection with the fragments of a canopy found in the Hetep-heres pit. The place of embalming is represented in other funeral scenes of Dynasty VI, being especially well preserved at Meir where the name is again given.³

The inscription on the Hetep-heres seal seems to indicate various aspects of the services of the *wrbt*, although it must be confessed that these are far from clear, especially since two of the lines are incomplete. The first line on the right is probably to be interpreted: 'Sealer of gold of the Embalming House of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt'. This may mean the one who holds the gold seal of Cheops rather than the official who seals the gold objects, but it could be argued that the mortuary establishment, in addition to being the place of embalming, also contained storerooms for the equipment as well as workshops for making the equipment. In this case the gold objects would be in need of particular care in sealing them away from theft. On the whole, one is inclined to believe that Cheops's official bore a gold seal, of which we have here an actual series of impressions, and that this served to stamp all storage rooms and objects in connection with the king's mortuary establishment.

The second line is broken but may consist of something like: '[The Keeper] of the gates of the Embalming House', while the third broken line may read: 'He who is versed in the secrets of the Embalming House.' The shape of the bird above the word *ššt* ('secrets') is uncertain in the several places where it occurs. If it were *wr*, one might read: 'Great One of the secrets of the Embalming House', but this seems doubtful and something is missing above the bird. If the bird is the last letter of the word *ššt*, it should not be written above it. On the whole, though, the familiar title *hry ššt* seems the most plausible until further evidence is forthcoming. The word *wrbt* appears once again on a sealing of King Isesy, the next to last king of Dynasty V, which was found in the Mycerinus Pyramid Temple (Fig. 56). Here it is apparently combined with the 'Gold' name of Isesy, *Nb-Hr-dd*. In this case the breaks preclude certainty but there is a possibility that we have here a title similar to that on the Hetep-heres seals: '[Sealer] of the Embalming House of *Nb-Hr-dd*'.

In view of the important bearing which the sealings of Hetep-heres have for the study of Old Kingdom cylinder seals, it has been thought useful to include here the other inscribed seal impressions recovered by the Harvard-Boston Expedition at Giza. A list of the legible sealings is given below in the order of the kings whose names occur on them. In all but a few cases it has been possible to examine them again and to make new drawings (Figs. 48-57). Occasionally it has been necessary to fall back on the original hand copies made in the Expedition object-registers. It is impossible to determine whether some of the small fragments were from box or jar sealings, but it will be seen that a great many of the examples were box sealings. As is more or less to be expected, no letter seals were found in the burial chambers, although Junker found one with the imprint of papyrus on its back in the surface debris of the Western Cemetery (inscribed with name of Ne-user-ra; *Giza*, VII, p. 239, fig. 98). In most cases the impressions are faint and frequently superimposed upon one another. Wherever possible, a drawing of the inscription has been placed beside the fragmentary traces of the different impressions. In no case has it been possible to restore completely the original inscription. The interpretation of the titles must remain tentative. Sometimes they are almost completely illegible.

¹ G. A. Reisner, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 25 (1927), p. 14; H. Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur Ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs*, II (*Beiträge, &c.*, 5, 1950), 96-97; E. Lüddeckens, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts, Kairo*, 11 (1943), 2-5.

² Smith, *A History . . .* fig. 84 a.

³ B. Grdseloff, *Das Ägyptische Reinigungszelt* (Cairo, 1941),

p. 14; H. Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur Ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs*, II (*Beiträge, &c.*, 5, 1950), 96-97; E. Lüddeckens, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts, Kairo*, 11 (1943), 2-5.

G 2130 A: Cheops; jar sealing, 32-12-6, with impression of rim of jar. In Fig. 48 it is possible to give a somewhat better facsimile than was first presented in *Vol. I*, fig. 249 a, but without being able to suggest the meaning of the signs outside the Horus frame. Only the *w* of the Horus name of Cheops, *Hr-mḏdw*, is preserved. The tomb is one of the early mastabas. All its features, including the very fine low reliefs in the chapel, point to a Dynasty IV date. The Horus name of Cheops is the only one ending in *w* in Dynasty IV. The rather complicated paneling of the base of the Horus frame seems to be characteristic of the earlier seals, resembling the Hetep-heres example rather than the later, more simple form. The owner of the tomb was a prince named Khent-ka.

G 4430 A: Chephren; one nearly complete jar sealing and fragments of perhaps two other jar sealings with several impressions of the same cylinder; also a small fragment of a jar sealing with an impression from a different seal; all numbered 13-12-4 (see Fig. 49). The back of the large fragment shows the imprint of cloth that was tied over the mouth of the jar before the mud was applied. The first cylinder had a six-line inscription with three frames containing the Horus name of Chephren, *Wsr-ib*, facing left. Under these frames are figures of the king. Three lines of titles, facing right, are placed in the intervening spaces between the frames. They are not of a funerary character but the titles of a great official as in the case of a silver cylinder seal of a courtier of Chephren from the Mycerinus Valley Temple (MFA No. 11.962; Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 234, pl. A). The first column on the right reads: '. . . King's descendant, honored before . . .'; the second: 'Overseer of all the Works of the Eastern [? Districts]'; while the third has: 'He who is versed in all the secrets of the Eastern Desert (and) . . .'. The third line seems to end with two falcons followed by two land-signs, although one would like to see here 'Western Desert' to balance the 'Eastern Desert'.

The second seal has the cartouche of Chephren alternating with his Horus name, while the titles seem again to belong to a man who was in charge of the administration of the country. It has been possible to see a little more on this, as well as the other impressions, than was recorded in *Vol. I*, p. 487, fig. 295 and pl. 62 d.

The name of the owner of the tomb was not recovered. The mastaba is one of the early tombs in Cemetery G 4000.

G 1457 A: Mycerinus; part of a jar seal and a small fragment of a box (?) seal; 34-12-28. These were found with several uninscribed jar sealings, 34-12-11-14 (see Fig. 50). The smaller of the two fragments is made of fine hard clay and bears what seems to be a string mark (or fiber marks) on its back, but it is too small to be certain that it is a box seal. The marks might indicate the tying of cloth over the mouth of a jar. It bears part of the Horus name of Mycerinus, Kay-[khet], and the figure of Anubis over his shrine. It therefore belongs to the type of seal used by an official of the mortuary service, which would seem to swing the balance in favor of this being a box seal used on a canopic chest. There was a canopic pit in the chamber intended to take some sort of receptacle for the canopic packages. No stone canopic jars were recovered, but there were fragments of wood which might have formed part of a canopic chest, since they did not belong to the wooden coffin.

The fragment of the jar sealing bears part of the cartouche of Mycerinus and his name, Kay-khet, set in a Horus frame.

The owner of the tomb, Nefert-nesut, was Overseer of the Pyramid town of Akhet-Khufu. He was also Overseer of the Mortuary Establishment (*wrbt*) of the King (a title not included in the list given on p. 210 of *Vol. I*).

The tomb is one of three large mastabas (G 1457, 1407, and Junker's tomb of *Hsf* II) which are placed at an angle to the old nucleus cemetery 1200 (cf. Map of Western Cemetery in *Vol. I*). In spite of

Junker's doubts (*Giza*, IX, 1950, pp. 248 ff.), it seems most probable that the large tombs G 1457 and G 1407 form part of the earliest addition to Cemetery 1200 and are to be dated to the reign of Mycerinus. In the brick chapel of G 1457, the upper part of the false-door and the drum of the entrance are of stone carved with relief in early style (Reisner, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 33, 1935, pp. 69-77).

G 5190 A (old number G 2300): Mycerinus; one box sealing of fine mud with marks of knot and string on base; 12-10-21 (see Fig. 50). Several impressions of same cylinder seal. The inscription is in the usual six lines, with three frames containing the Horus name of Mycerinus, Kay-khet. These face to the left. There are three lines of partially preserved inscription with the signs facing to right, giving titles. The first line on the right seems to contain the title discussed by Junker in *Giza*, VII, 1944, p. 233, where it occurs on a sealing of Sahura and which he reads: 'The Lector Priest, He who reads the secret words of the sacred writing.' In our sealing there seems to be an *ś* instead of the papyrus roll and no space for the *n* or the falcon on the standard in the phrase 'of the sacred writing'. There seems no choice but to record what can be seen in spite of the bad condition of the impression, leaving doubtful the end of the title.

In the second line, nothing is preserved except: 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt Men-[kaw]-ra. . .'. The third line has only the sign for 'scribe' followed by a papyrus roll. These traces are sufficient to show that the inscription does not duplicate the Junker seal impression (from the tomb of Zaty, G 5370).

G 5190 is the northernmost core of the third and easternmost line of the Echelon Cemetery. Reisner believed these cores were all built in the reign of Mycerinus (*Vol. I*, pp. 81-82). There is no reason why the owner of G 5190 should not have been buried in this reign.

Mycerinus Pyramid Temple: Mycerinus; one badly preserved seal of unidentified type; 07-1-83 (see Fig. 56). Impression of king's name in cartouche (Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 19).

G 5080 B (old number G 2200): Shepseskaf; one inscribed jar seal, 33-2-223, and one box seal with figures of bound prisoners, 33-2-151 (see Figs. 50, 51). There is little to be said about the badly preserved jar seal except that it contains several impressions of the frame with the Horus name of Shepseskaf, Shepsesy-khet. The box seal has, above, a standing figure of a jackal and, below, two or three lines of headless, bound prisoners. A comparable sealing is illustrated with this on Fig. 51. Unfortunately, its finding place at Giza is no longer known.

G 5080 was the tomb of a man named Seshem-nofer, a member of a well-known family at Giza. The core of the mastaba was built in the first, or westernmost, row of the Echelon Cemetery. The fine granite head of this man in Boston supports the other evidence that this tomb was completed at the end of Dynasty IV (Smith, *A History* . . . pp. 52 ff.).

G 4631 B: Weserkaf; one box seal, complete with impression of knot and string; 14-1-34 (see Fig. 53). Long study of the superimposed impressions here suggests that there was an unusual arrangement of eight lines of inscription as shown at the bottom of Fig. 53. There were four frames with the Horus name of Weserkaf, Ir-ma'at, facing left, and four columns of titles facing right. Underneath were two horizontal lines of inscription, the upper with the signs facing left and the lower with the signs facing right. Very little remains of these, but the lower line may contain the name of Weserkaf's Pyramid: [Wrb-]i*śwt*. The scanty traces of the vertical lines of titles all seem to be concerned with the cult of Anubis and, therefore, the mortuary service. There are unmistakable parts of a rare title in the second line, which also may appear in the first line. This is 'Priest of Horus and Anubis, Foremost of the House of the Š*mśwt*'. This has been discussed by Kees in von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum*, III (1928), pp. 26-27. The title occurs at Saqqara in Mariette, *Mastabas*, D 38, 47, and 49, and in Steindorff, *Das Grab*

des Ti, von Siegelin Expedition, vol. II (1913), pl. 27. The closest parallel to the sign in column two of our seal is in a Sixth Dynasty tomb (Jéquier, *Annales du Service*, 26, 1926, p. 54).

In the second line of the inscription is preserved: '. . . šmšwt hm ntr'. In the third line it is difficult to suggest the meaning of what remains. In line 4 there appears to be: '. . . Hr Inpw tp đw-f . . .'. It is possible that line 1 reads: '. . . [Inpw tp đw]-f hnt pr [šmšwt]'.

It is impossible to be certain, in view of the poor state of the surface of the mud, but it may be that the epithets of Anubis, 'He who is upon his mountain' and 'Foremost of the House of the šmšwt' might be alternated in the titles of a man who was priest of Horus and Anubis. One can only be certain that a part of the rare epithet appears in the second line and that Anubis is given his ordinary epithet once.

G 4631 is a mastaba built against the early core G 4630. Its mud brick facing forms a corridor continuing north from the chapel of G 4630 and seems to have been built at the same time that a man named Ankh-ir-s erected a stela for his father Meduw-nefer in the chapel of G 4630 and had himself represented on the stela of a lady named Nen-sezer-ka in the corridor of G 4631 (*Vol. I*, pp. 491-495, pl. 61 f.). Ankh-ir-s, who seems to have been responsible for the burial of these members of his family, bears the titles of Lector Priest and Priest of Anubis. It would seem likely that he was also the bearer of the seal of which the impression was found in G 4631 B.

G 4520 A: Weserkaf; one box sealing, impressed with a cylinder seal bearing the Horus name of Weserkaf, Ir-ma'at; 14-4-20 (see Fig. 54). The mastaba was one of the later cores in the nucleus cemetery 4000. It belonged to a man named Khufu-ankh, who claims on his stela that it was prepared in the presence of the king, therefore, presumably Weserkaf. The burial was intact (*Vol. I*, pp. 503 ff.).

G 4410 A: Weserkaf; two fragments of a box sealing with string marks attached; 15-12-49 (see Fig. 54). The only portion legible contained the Horus name of Weserkaf, Ir-ma'at, written in a horizontal frame, as in the case of the name of a building or property.

The mastaba is one of the later structures in the nucleus cemetery 4000. The name of the owner was not recovered (*Vol. I*, p. 514). The statuettes found walled up in a corner of the offering room seem to have belonged to funerary priests or descendants of the owner. One of them bore a name compounded with that of the Fifth Dynasty king, Isy. The chief *serdab* of the tomb was empty.

G 7663 A: Sahura; one fragmentary box seal; 29-4-336 (Fig. 55). Several superimposed impressions make the inscription very difficult to interpret, but there are clear traces of the Horus name of Sahura, Neb-khaw, and his 'Gold' name, *Hrwy-nb*. The two crowns in the middle of the line of titles suggest the similar occurrence on the Chephren silver cylinder seal (*Mycerinus*, pl. A).

The tomb was subsidiary to the large mastaba of Ka-m-sekhem (G 7660 or Lepsius 59) in the Eastern Field. The mastaba was destroyed and the name of the owner not recovered. There is no reason why it could not have belonged to the time of Sahura.

G 4715 B: Sahura (?) and Ne-user-ra; one sealing from the lid of a cylinder jar with several superimposed impressions which were recorded with some doubt in the Expedition record as containing the names of two kings; 15-12-19. In Fig. 54, the signs which constitute the Horus and cartouche names of Sahura are doubtful and cannot be checked. The name of Ne-user-ra is placed in a horizontal rectangle, as in the case of the name of Weserkaf from G 4410 A. The word *šb:tw* resembles the word interpreted 'gates' on the Hetep-heres seal, as well as that rendered by Junker 'zögling' (*šb:yt*). It is only certain that the name of Ne-user-ra appears on this sealing.

The mastaba is incorporated within the chapel of the small tomb of the Princess Nefer-hetep-s (G 4714), who has been presumed to be related to the Queen Ny-ma'at-hap of G 4712. The identifica-

tion of these ladies buried in minor tombs along the southern edge of the Western Cemetery has not been solved. They may well have lived in the reign of Ne-user-ra, however, being somehow connected with the Fourth Dynasty royal family buried at Giza. The name of the person buried in the pit G 4715 B has not survived.

G 7112 A: Ne-user-ra; one box sealing with marks of knot and string; 25-1-963 (see Fig. 52). The arrangement of the inscriptions on this seal resembles that on the seal impressions from G 4631 B. In this case there were probably only six vertical lines and two horizontal lines below. The surface is badly preserved, and it is not possible to suggest the correct placing of all the signs that occur in the different rollings from the same cylinder. The Horus name of Ne-user-ra, Iset-ib-tawy, is clear. The title on the left appears to read: 'He who sees Anubis, He who is versed in the secrets. . . .' Below, there is certainly the title: 'Priest of Anubis who is upon his shrine'.

Again we apparently have titles related to the mortuary establishment and therefore probably the seal of a wooden canopic chest. In fact, it is more than a probability in this case since the box sealing was found in the debris of a wooden chest.

The pit G 7112 A lies in the street east of the mastaba of the Crown Prince Ka-wab, a little north of the chapel of his wife, Hetep-heres (G 7110). No superstructure of the tomb has survived nor was the name of the owner recovered.

G 7249 A: Ne-user-ra; one box sealing found with canopic jars on the lid of the coffin and probably from a canopic chest; 27-2-247 a (see Fig. 54). Only the frame with the Horus name of Ne-user-ra, Iset-ib-[tawy] is clear. The tomb is a small subsidiary mastaba in the area south of G 7240.

G 4721 A: Isesy (?); one badly impressed box sealing; 14-2-16 (see Fig. 57). The Horus name might be read Nefer-[khaw] instead of Zed-[khaw]. The titles cannot be read except for that of 'Lector Priest'. The mastaba was attached to the southern end of G 4730. The owner's name was not recovered.

G 4733 E: Isesy; one box sealing with string marks on base and several impressions of the same seal; 14-2-17 (see Fig. 57). There is evidently a wide spacing between two frames with the Horus name Zed-khaw. There is a horizontal inscription across the base with the king's cartouche name [Zed]-ka-[ra]. Although the inscription is fairly well preserved, it is only possible to suggest that the titles of the owner are concerned with the service of Anubis. That they are connected with the mortuary service is clear since the sealing came from the debris of a chest which had contained four canopic jars.

The tomb is fairly large, occupying the street between G 4730 and G 4830. The name of the owner was not recovered. One Isesy sealing (07-1-82) comes from the Mycerinus Temple (Fig. 56).

Mycerinus Pyramid Temple: Tety (?). In *Mycerinus*, p. 19, Dr. Reisner suggested that these two fragments contained the Horus name of Tety, Sehetep-[tawy]. There appear to have been two Horus hawks standing facing each other on top of a wide frame. See Fig. 56.

G 2375 A: Menera or Pepy II; one partially preserved box sealing; 13-1-529 (see Fig. 57). The Horus name is only partially preserved. Reisner restored it as that of Isesy (*Dd-hꜣw*) or possibly Nefer-f-ra (*Nfr-hꜣw*). However, the first sign must have been written on the left and not above the other two, and this is more usual in writing the name of Menera (*ꜣnh-hꜣw*) or Pepy II (*Ntr-hꜣw*).

The title 'Assistant Embalmer' (*šhd wt*) is given three times. Apparently the horizontal inscription reads: 'The Assistant Embalmer, He who is versed in the secrets of Anubis. . . .'

The owner of the mastaba is named Akhet-mehu. The tomb is on an independent site north of that of Senezem-ib Yenty (G 2370), the Vizier of Isesy. When the tomb of Khnumenty (G 2374) was added between those of Yenty (G 2370) and his son, Mehy (G 2378), the construction included the southern end of G 2375. Mehy succeeded his father in the vizierate under Unas. Khnumenty, who was probably

a second son of Yenty, possessed estates compounded with the names of Unas and Tety. He was also buried with a stone bowl inscribed with the name of Tety (see Pl. 45 c; Fig. 147) if we are correct in assigning the chamber G 2385 A to him. It is therefore probable that the tomb of Akhet-mehu (G 2375) was not as early as Reisner thought and that he was buried either in the short reign of Mernera or early in the reign of Pepy II. The sealing would seem to bear the name of one of those two kings.

G 2381 A: Pepy II; one domed jar sealing still in place on the two-handled vase shown in Pl. 52 g; 12-12-571. The surface was badly preserved, and only the two names of the king are clear in the four-line inscription: 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Pepy' and his Horus name, Neter-khaw. The owner of the tomb is a well-known official of Pepy II who appears in the reliefs of that king's funerary temple as well as in an inscription at the Hamamat stone quarries. This man Impy, like his father, Nekhebu, was also called Mer-Ptah-ankh-mery-ra. See Fig. 54.

Street 7300, between G 7340 and G 7440; one sealing was found in the debris which bore no name of a king. Although it did not have the imprint of papyrus, the peculiar method of fastening it to the strings, its small size and shape, and the fact that it seems to have been dropped in the street suggest that it may have been a letter or document seal; 27-3-500 (see Fig. 54). The drawing is taken from the Expedition object-register, and it has not been possible to check this with the original. The *r* under the name of Hathor should probably be corrected to *d* to read: *dwt* *Ht-hr*, a title recorded in P. Newberry, *Scarabs* (1908), pl. V, 6. If this is a female worshipper of Hathor, then a *t* has been omitted in *s*[*t*] *nšwt n[t] ht-f*, if the title is to be read 'Princess, Worshipper of Hathor'. Whether the figure on the right represents Hathor or the owner is uncertain. One could perhaps restore a name: 'Prince Duwa-[n]-Hathor', but this seems doubtful, especially since we have found no personal names on any of the sealings listed here, save those of the king.

It will be observed in the above list of sealings from Giza that, as in the case of the alabaster chest of Hetep-heres, there is evidence that the box sealings were frequently used to secure canopic chests. These canopic boxes, in the mastabas, were made of wood and have almost entirely disappeared through decay. However, in the Fifth Dynasty plundered chamber of G 4733 E there were four limestone canopic jars, remains of a wooden chest and a box sealing, lying together in such a position that one can assume that the jars had fallen out of the chest which was secured with strings and a mud seal (Expedition Photograph No. C 5634 and diary note, February 27, 1914). The intact chamber of G 7249 A had been invaded by rain water, but on the lid of the coffin pit were four canopic jars and among them a box sealing. Reisner concluded that the jars had similarly been placed in a wooden chest. Also in the intact burial chamber, G 7112 A, a decayed wooden box was accompanied by a box sealing. This box certainly had held no objects of pottery, stone, or metal and presumably contained canopic packages wrapped in linen (as in the Hetep-heres tomb). The mere fact that box sealings were found singly in the burial chambers of several mastabas supports the conclusion that they were mainly used for sealing the canopic chest or a similar receptacle. Although they were certainly used for sealing boxes containing other equipment in the Hetep-heres tomb, it should be noted that in the intact Sixth Dynasty tomb of Impy (G 2381 A) two wooden boxes, one containing pottery and the other copper models, had not been sealed. The only seals in the tomb of Impy were on the pottery jars, and one of these bore a seal impression of Pepy II, whom Impy served as an official, as we know from other evidence.

It has been suggested that the sealings found in a burial chamber might have been affixed to gifts presented by the king named on the sealing and then kept for years before being used as part of the burial equipment of the man concerned. It is possible that a stone jar or a bowl inscribed with a king's name

might have been kept many years before being deposited in a tomb. It is also conceivable that jars of wine or oil, securely stoppered, also might have been retained for a long time. It is extremely unlikely that a box fastened with a light cord could have been secured by a sealing for any considerable length of time. It is obvious that a canopic chest could not have been thus sealed until after the death of the owner, when in the course of preparing the body for the tomb the inner organs were removed and placed in canopic packages or jars. Dr. Reisner has argued that most of the sealings with kings' names found at Giza were used for such canopic boxes and that they indicate that the person in question was buried in the reign of the king named.

In recent years Professor Junker has objected that the name of the king on these sealings does not necessarily date the objects which they sealed or the tomb in which they were placed to that king's reign. The dating value of the king's name would rather depend upon the nature of the titles of the bearer of the seal. Junker argues that although certain seals, such as that of the official of Chephren illustrated in Reisner's *Mycerinus*, pl. A, are inscribed with titles held during the lifetime of the king named, others contain titles which indicate that the official was administering the funerary endowment of a king who may have long been dead. He believes that titles connected with Anubis indicate such service in the Giza Necropolis.⁴ Therefore, a sealing which contains mention of the god Anubis would be indication that the tomb in which it was found is later than the king named on the seal rather than of his reign.

However, the use of titles connected with Anubis on sealings which we have seen were very probably used on canopic chests suggests that the seals themselves are more likely to have been employed in the mortuary service of a king who was preparing the equipment for his own tomb, rather than in the administration of the funerary endowment of the dead king's pyramid. It is necessary also to take into consideration other evidence which has been listed above for the dating of certain of the tombs in which inscribed sealings were found. It should be observed that Reisner's interpretation of the growth of the Giza Cemetery differs from that of Junker, particularly in regard to three of the mastabas in which seal impressions were found, G 1457, G 5080, and G 5190 (as well as the tombs of the other members of the Seshem-nofer family). No conflict arises in the appearance of the names of Mycerinus and Shepseskaf on the mud sealings from these tombs, as it does in the case of Junker, who prefers to date these tombs and related mastabas considerably later in Dynasty V. As one runs over the list of sealings found by the Harvard-Boston Expedition and those published by Junker, the impression grows that the kings' names follow in succession the growth of the cemetery as deduced by Reisner from the accumulated mass of evidence. The names of Fourth Dynasty kings appear in the mastabas on primary sites which, by their construction, decoration, and arrangements for burial, should have been the first completed, while the order progresses out across the field as additions were made to the nucleus cemeteries.

In one specific case at Giza, in addition to the Hetep-heres example, we can be quite certain that the king's name on the seal is contemporary with the burial of the man concerned. We know Impy as an official of Pepy II. He appears with his father, Nekhebu, in a record cut in the rock at the Hamamat quarries (where they are both called Mer-Ptah-ankh-mery-ra).⁵ Impy is also shown among the courtiers of Pepy II in his pyramid temple.⁶ It seems perfectly natural, then, to find a sealing with the name of Pepy II on a jar in the intact burial chamber of Impy (G 2381 A).

In the chapel of Khufu-ankh (G 4520) the inscription on his stela states that it was prepared for him

⁴ H. Junker, *Giza*, III (1938), 226; V (1941), 4; VII (1944), 231-40; IX (1950), 249.

⁵ K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, I (1933), 93.

⁶ G. Jéquier, *Fouilles à Saqqarah, Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II*, II, pl. 46.

in the presence of the king. The unusual wording of this statement is similarly expressed on a stela of Ny-ankh-sekhemet (Cairo No. 1482) of the time of Sahura.⁷ These two records of royal favor to an official who was not a prince are in keeping with the spirit of the early part of Dynasty V. When, therefore, Khufu-ankh's burial is accompanied by a box sealing (probably from a canopic chest) bearing the name of Sahura's predecessor, Weserkaf, it seems very probable that this first king of Dynasty V presented Khufu-ankh with his burial equipment as well as his limestone false-door.

There are certainly examples of seals or seal impressions which must have been used at a later date than the reign of the king named on them. Junker has called attention to a sealing of Isesy which was found by Firth in a burial which must belong to the end of Dynasty VI.⁸ There is a cylinder seal in the Brooklyn Museum (No. 44.123.30) which bears the Horus names of Neferirkara (*Wsr-hrw*) and Ne-user-ra (*Ist-ib-twy*, once alone in frame and twice combined with *N-Wsr-r*) as well as the cartouche of the latter king. The official who carried this seal served as priest of Ra in the Sun Temple of Weserkaf. He also bore scribal titles and apparently carried out his duties in the reign of Ne-user-ra. His connection with Neferirkara is obscure. Perhaps this inscription would be easier to understand if we could examine the sealings mentioned by Borchardt which were found outside the enclosing wall of the Sun Temple of Weserkaf.⁹ There were apparently large numbers of these, almost all of which had titles of the priests of this monument. They belonged to officials in the service of dead and living rulers, nearly all the kings from Sneferu to Ne-user-ra being mentioned.

We have seen that in G 4715 B there was found a sealing from the lid of a cylinder jar (Fig. 54) which seemed to bear the Horus and cartouche names of Sahura, as well as an imprint with the name of Ne-user-ra. The names of Sahura were marked as doubtful in the 1915 object-register. The impression was not clear and the material very fragmentary. Since this was a sealing on a piece of tomb equipment, it would fall into a different category from those used in the service of the Weserkaf Sun Temple. It would seem highly dangerous to attempt to draw any conclusion on the basis of the doubtful evidence.

In the present state of our knowledge it is rash to assume that the seal of an official serving the funerary endowment of a pyramid temple of a dead king would be used for the burial of a private person. None of the impressions so far discovered in burial chambers state a connection with the priesthood of a pyramid temple. That they frequently suggest a connection with the mortuary service of a king is to be expected. Such a service would be established in the king's lifetime from the moment at which he began preparations for his tomb. It is very likely that the burial services of favored members of the court would be undertaken by this royal establishment which probably not only controlled the embalming of the body but the preparation of equipment in the royal workshops. It would seem that the imprint of a seal of the king's official is evidence of such a practice. The funerary services of the pyramid temple also must frequently have been established in the ruler's lifetime, perhaps depending upon the time when the building was completed. These services would seem to have fallen under a more restricted authority, since after the king's death, the mortuary workshops in operation in the preceding reign would soon turn to the preparation of the new ruler's equipment. New seals would presumably be made at this time.

Some light is cast upon the workings of the royal mortuary service by a passage in the inscriptions on the façade of the Dynasty V Giza tomb of Senezem-ib Yenty, where his son, Mehy, describes how a limestone sarcophagus was prepared for the father. As translated by John A. Wilson ('Funeral Services

⁷ J. Wilson, 'The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 6 (1947), 241-242. For Khufu-ankh, cf. *Vol. I*, pl. 65 b.

⁸ H. Junker, *Giza*, VII, p. 239.

⁹ L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa'hu-re'*, I, p. 149.

of the Egyptian Old Kingdom,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 3, 1944, p. 202), the inscription ends: 'while he was in the mortuary workshop of a period of time in the house of his estate which is in (the necropolis) Beautiful-is-Isesi.'¹⁰ Wilson suggests in a footnote that part of the statement should be emended to: 'which is the period of time in the house.' The *pr-dt* or 'House of his estate' might be thought of as a foundation established for Yenty by the king's favor in the royal mortuary workshop (*wrbt*) in the town which had grown up at the desert's edge for the construction of the pyramid of Isesy. This pyramid has recently been identified as being a little south of Saqqara. The embalmment of Yenty would then have taken place there and his body brought to Giza for burial.

It is possible that there is an indication here that the mortuary establishment of Isesy continued for some time into the next reign until it had completed the services for such men as the Vizier Yenty. The son, Mehy, who was in charge of Yenty's burial arrangements and decorated at least part of his father's tomb, if he did not do more, evidently succeeded to the Vizierate under Unas. All mention of Isesy in Yenty's tomb is to favors shown in the past, and it looks as though the king had died before the death of Yenty. The freight boat on which Mehy brought his father's coffin has a name compounded with that of Isesy, but this can have been a vessel long in the service of the 'Overseer of the King's Works', still used by Mehy at the beginning of the next reign. It has long seemed to me likely that this family which took charge of royal building operations in Dynasties V and VI (two members were also viziers at the end of Dynasty V) were responsible for the execution of the Pyramid Texts which first appear in the underground chambers of Unas. The walls of Yenty's burial chamber (G 2370 B) are inscribed with offering lists. At present this is the earliest known use of such decoration in a burial chamber and may well reflect the custom initiated by Unas. It would then suggest that Yenty was buried early in the reign of Unas when this idea may have first been conceived.

Therefore, it would appear that the occurrence of a king's name on a seal should mean that it was not placed in a tomb more than a comparatively short time after the ruler's death and usually during his own reign. While one should keep in mind Junker's warning against trusting too implicitly in the evidence for dating purposes of such sealings, it would seem that those which bear titles in connection with a mortuary service may be as useful in this regard as those which indicate an official's position at court.

Since this discussion has been prompted by the titles concerned with the mortuary workshop (*wrbt*) of Cheops on the impressions of the king's seal found in the tomb of Queen Hetep-heres I, it might be well in concluding to try to imagine the conditions in an Old Kingdom pyramid city suggested by the bits of evidence given in the preceding pages. There would appear to have been a necropolis workshop which lay on the lower desert ground at the edge of the valley and formed part of the pyramid town which had grown up to house the men overseeing the work of building the pyramid. Probably such a town is represented by part of the area excavated by the Egyptian University northeast of the Mycerinus Valley Temple at Giza. The workmen themselves seem to have been housed at Giza in barracks west of the Second and Third Pyramids. In the pyramid town lived also the funerary priests, some of whom surely were appointed during the lifetime of the king. Undoubtedly, great personages, who held the title of funerary priest amongst a score of other offices, did not feel obliged to take up more than a brief residence at certain periods in the pyramid town, but lived in their palaces elsewhere.

If a king's successor decided to build his tomb at a new site, the funerary priests would probably have remained the only inhabitants of the town after the staff of the royal workshop moved to the new cemetery. With the gradual decrease in the centralization of the royal power at the end of the Fourth Dynasty,

¹⁰ K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, I (1933), 64.

mortuary workshops for private people may have continued under less direct royal control at a cemetery such as Giza, which continued in use throughout the Old Kingdom after the court began to use other sites. In the case of the Vizier Yenty, we have seen that his embalmment took place in the royal workshop in connection with the pyramid of Isesy and not at Giza, but lesser people must have made use of mortuary services nearer to their graves. It might be remarked that Yenty's example suggests that the *wrbt* was near the cemetery rather than in some quarter of the capital, Memphis. The information available at present makes it impossible to determine what part of the equipment for the burial chamber or of the statues for temples and tombs was prepared in the pyramid town in the mortuary workshops, rather than in the craftsmen's quarter in Memphis. One suspects that a great deal of the work was undertaken in the neighborhood of the cemetery, although the inscriptions of Khufu-ankh (G 4520) and Ny-ankh-sekhemet (Mariette, *Mastabas*, D 12), mentioned above, indicate that stelae were carved in the palace under the direct supervision of the king.

In the very illuminating studies devoted in recent years to the Old Kingdom funeral,¹¹ sufficient distinction has not always been made between the separate entities of the structures involved in the progress of the body from the house to the grave. It has long been evident that there was a close resemblance between the representation of the *ibw* in the Sixth Dynasty Giza tombs of Qa'ar and Idu and the system of terraces and ramps in front of the Valley Temples of Chephren and Pepy II (and now that of Unas). That the *ibw* was a tent shelter for the ceremony of the ritual purification of the embalmed corpse is very likely. That such a royal tent should have been set up during the funeral on the terrace in front of the Valley Temple seems a reasonable conclusion, but this does not necessarily mean that the Valley Temple itself was a more monumental or permanent simulacrum of such a tent. Far less is it plausible that the actual cleansing of the corpse should have been undertaken either in the Valley Temple or in the Pyramid Temple; certainly not the embalming operations. Junker has pointed out how abhorrent it would have been to Egyptian thought that the unclean corpse should be brought into the precincts of the funerary temple before all purification had been completed.

The *ibw*, the *wrbt*,¹² the tomb, and what was perhaps the owner's house are all shown clearly as separate structures in the representation of Old Kingdom funerals. The *wrbt*, or mortuary workshop, as we have seen, was probably in the pyramid town, perhaps not in too close juxtaposition to the Valley Temple, since it would have been an unclean place. There was also a tent-like structure called the *sh*. In Chapter II it has been suggested that this may have been a shelter for the equipment set up at the time of burial either beside the mastaba or on top of the mastaba. This *sh*, as it appears containing food offerings in the banquet scenes, resembles the form of shelter in the Old Kingdom writing of the 'Divine Booth' (*sh ntr*) but not the little shrine hung with mat work which represents *sh* in the epithet of Anubis, 'Foremost of the Divine Booth'. The officials serving the cult of Anubis in his guise of Embalmer God would have been concerned with the equipment in this tent, as well as the administration of the *wrbt*, and the ceremonies of the *ibw*.

¹¹ B. Grdseloff, *Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt* (Cairo, 1941). E. Drioton in reviewing this fundamental study (*Annales du Service*, 40, 1940, pp. 1007-1014) enlarged on the material, as did Selim Hassan in *Excavations at Giza*, IV, pp. 69-102. With certain objections made by H. Junker in *Giza*, VII, pp. 120-122, the present text will be found to be in agreement. Independent studies were published by J. Wilson, 'Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 3 (1944), pp. 201-218, and E. Lüddeckens, 'Untersuchungen . . . der ägyptischen Totenklagen,' *Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts*, Kairo, 11 (1943), pp. 1 ff. The material has again been

treated with a somewhat different interpretation by Herbert Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs*, II. (*Beiträge*, etc., 5, 1950), pp. 92-98.

¹² As a further piece of evidence in regard to other workshops accompanying that of the embalmer, should be noted a detail of the funeral of Debehen in the reign of Mycerinus (Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, IV, 1943, p. 176, fig. 122) to which Junker has called attention (*Giza*, VII, 122). The dragging of the statues to the tomb is accompanied by an inscription: '[. . . bringing of the statues (?)], which were made for him, from the mortuary workshop (*wrbt*) to the tomb (*is*)'.

The mortuary workshop of Cheops must have been in his pyramid town at Giza. This perhaps lay near the Valley Temple which is at present buried under the modern village at the foot of the cliff east of the Great Pyramid. This town may have straggled out to the south along the base of the cliff. Later it was increased by the establishments of Chephren¹³ and Mycerinus in the area roughly east and southeast of the Sphinx. Perhaps the southern boundary of these towns is the massive stone wall partly visible east of the sharply rising rock escarpment south of the Mycerinus Valley Temple.¹⁴

The body of Queen Hetep-heres I was, then, embalmed in the mortuary workshop of her son at Giza. The funeral would have approached Dahshur by boat, either over the waters of the inundation or by canal, landing at the Valley Temple of the North Stone Pyramid.¹⁵ Whether the Valley Temple had a terrace for a purification tent, and whether this tent could be represented by the fragments of a canopy described in Chapter II, is problematical. The funeral procession must have made use of the causeway, of which traces still exist, leading up to the pyramid enclosure where the queen's tomb probably lay. Dahshur must again have become a very quiet place after the funeral. The artisans, the laborers in the construction gangs, and the men concerned with the mortuary service had already moved to Giza. The services in the temple were probably being administered by relatively minor funerary priests, since the ablest men at court would have been involved with the tremendous activity at Giza. Also, Dahshur lies at a distance of several miles from Memphis. These facts may account in part for the temerity of the thieves who plundered the queen's tomb. The reburial at Giza, which it has been suggested was carried out by Prince Hemiunu, Cheops's Vizier and Overseer of All the King's Works, seems to have been accompanied by little ceremony. In fact, the greatest possible haste and secrecy would have been required. Cheops's Valley Temple may not yet even have been laid out, but the empty alabaster sarcophagus and the queen's furniture and equipment could have been landed at the foot of the causeway up which stone was still being dragged for the Great Pyramid, and carried to the mouth of the recently completed shaft (G 7000 X). One wonders whether Cheops was actually present when the empty coffin was lowered into the pit. Could he have been away on some visit of state or military expedition when the offering to his mother's spirit was placed in the niche part way down the shaft?

¹³ For Chephren's town and the titles connected with it in the tomb of Nefer-nesut (G 4970), see Junker, *Giza*, III (1938), 175-176.

¹⁴ B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, III, *Memphis* (1931), p. 2, key plan of Giza.

¹⁵ This is known only from the vestiges described by Borchardt in connection with the discovery there of the decree of Pepy I concerning the two pyramids of Sneferu. 'Ein Königs-erlaß aus Dahschur,' *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 42 (1905), 1 ff.