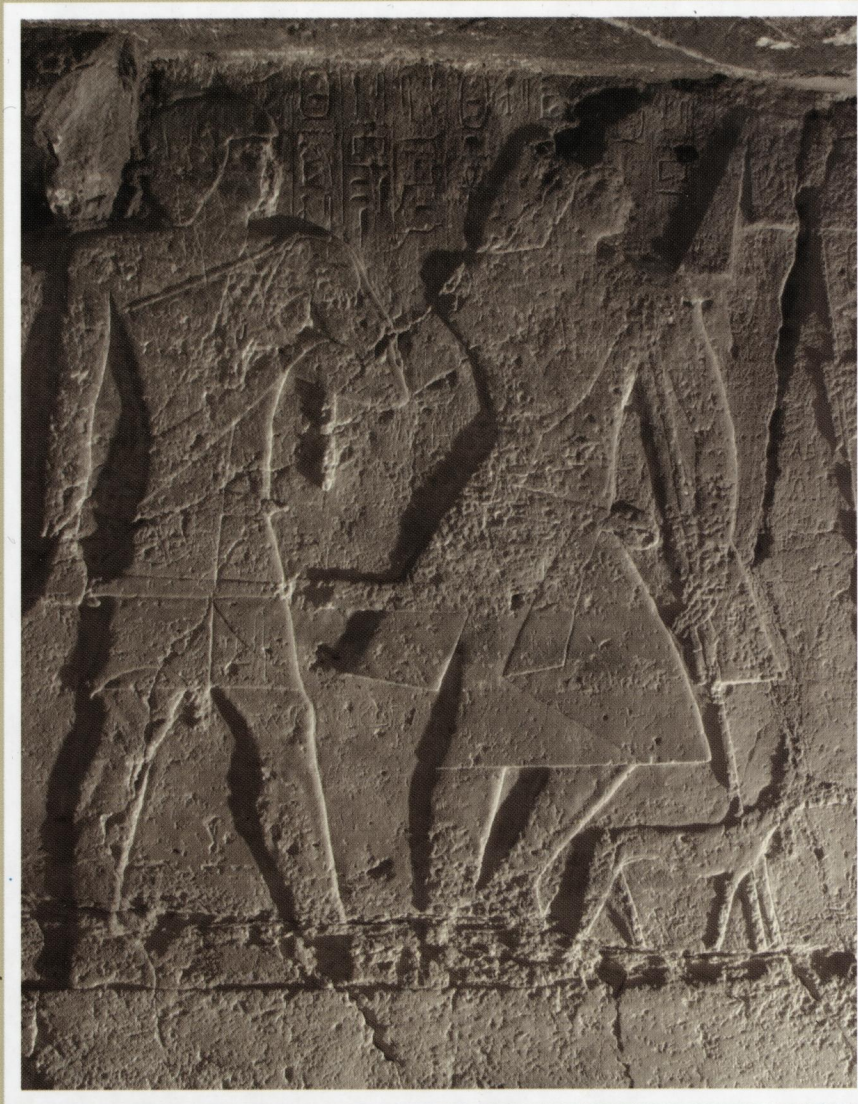


RUSSIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION IN GIZA

GIZA  
EASTERN NECROPOLIS  
I  
The Tomb of Khafraankh



Eleonora Kormysheva,  
Svetlana Malykh, Sergey Vetokhov



**RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCE**  
**INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES**



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**THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF**

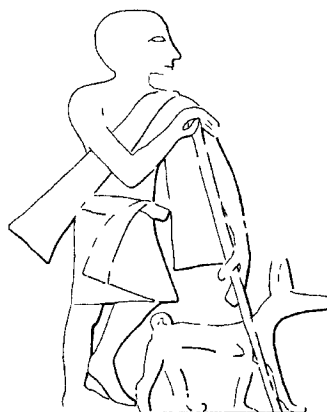
**Eleonora KORMYSHEVA**



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**THE TOMB OF KHAFAANKH  
G 7948**

**Eleonora KORMYSHEVA, Svetlana MALYKH, Sergey VETOKHOV**



**Moscow  
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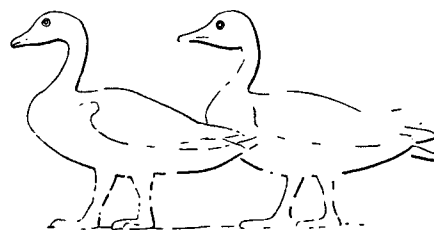
Our warmest thanks to Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities for the assistance and attention to our project. The mission sincerely thanks the Inspectorate at Giza many years helping us in the organization of field-work.

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## PREFACE

This edition represents the publication of a complex of the rock-cut tomb G 7948. The tomb is located in a zone of Eastern necropolis of Giza (*fig. 1*), on extreme east ridge of Giza necropolis to a surrounded wall of village Nezlet el-Samman.

The complex includes the offering room, shafts and the burial chambers, rooms G 7948/1 and G 7948/2, adjoining it (*fig. 2*). The publication also displays ceramic samples of all layers, tools and the casual finds which have been found at cleaning of the complex.

The presented work is the first publication of results of the Russian archaeological expedition in Giza (Institute of Oriental studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences) working at Giza since 1996, according to the license granted by the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt (director of the mission Eleonora E.Kormysheva, field director Svetlana E.Malykh and architect Sergey V.Vetokhov). At present time the mission is financed by Department of historical and philological sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The tomb of Khafraankh (G 7948), the inspector of priests of the Khafra pyramid, who has been buried in the eastern part of the Giza necropolis, in XIX century was visited by the Europeans H.Salt, J.Burton, J.Wilkinson, Nestor L'Hote, Lord Prudhoe, whose manuscripts are now stored in the British Museum library and in National library in Paris.

In some editions this tomb has also the name "Tomb of Numbers". In H.Salt's letters, dated 1822<sup>1</sup>, the numbers found in the Egyptian tombs are mentioned. Taking into consideration that he saw the tomb of Khafraankh, it is possible to assume that it was he who has given it the name "Tomb of Numbers", a second title after given its official name in the system of Giza necropolis; however the direct instructions on it in published documents did not occur.

The manuscripts of J.Burton<sup>2</sup>, stored in the British Library of London, separate sketches represent the scene of two brothers Khafraankh and Iteti on the eastern wall of the tomb, the scenes showing of scribes, the cattle images. The sketch is done by a contour even without passing details of clothes. Also the copy of the inscription from the drum over the entrance, drawing of the southern wall have been made, copies of separate inscriptions, mostly names of the tomb's owner and his sons<sup>3</sup>.

In Oxford, the manuscripts of J.Wilkinson are stored in the Griffith Institute, among them – general drawing of a southern wall<sup>4</sup>. In its manuscripts are the data about a drum over

<sup>1</sup> LETTER FROM HENRY SALT, 1915, p. 138, pl. XVI.

<sup>2</sup> Partly reproduced in BURTON, 1825-1829, pl. XXVII (4).

<sup>3</sup> s. PM III<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 207-208.

<sup>4</sup> The copies of the pictures at the entrance (*fig. 28*), made by Wilkinson, were reproduced in MALEK, 1982, p. 60-61.

the entrance, the same scene, as it is in the manuscripts of J.Burton – Iteti accompanied his brother in the other world, separate episodes of east wall, names of the tomb owner and his sons<sup>5</sup>.

In the manuscripts of Nestor L'Hote (are reproduced by A.Mariette (*fig. 29*)) the sketches of the part of the eastern wall of the tomb, the entrance and the southern wall are available.

Comparison of these documents shows that those who could see the tomb in the XIX century, copied the same scene, or only that its part which is located directly at the entrance in the tomb or separate parts of the southern wall. It means that other part of the tomb has been filled up by sand and it was possible to fix only those parts of the tomb's reliefs on which light from the entrance fell.

In the manuscripts of Lord Prudhoe names of the people buried in the tomb, including Ishepet whose name is cut on the drum of the third false door are mentioned<sup>6</sup>.

In the middle of the XIX century the tomb was visited by the expedition of Lepsius. Its artists Bonomy and Weidenbach have copied the reliefs covering the walls<sup>7</sup>. Lepsius's artists could transfer excellent extraordinary thin specificity of the ancient Egyptian style of art. Great value has records of diaries fixing what was impossible to render by drawings. For this work the notes of one of members of the expedition – Erbkam are important. It has left a hand-written sketch of the site plan with symbolic notions of tombs sticking out of blockages, unfortunately without instructions of geographical orientation, distance between them, without scale, and only an indication to the steps equal approximately 75 was mentioned.

The great interest is reconstruction of the doors of the Khafraankh tomb offered by Borhardt and Lepsius published in the edition<sup>8</sup>. For the given work it has served as a starting point at checking the data and reconstruction of the door at place.

Despite a great value of works of the Lepsius expedition, it is necessary to notice that the copying technique at that time supposed certain corrections and improvements there where the artist considered it necessary. These circumstances force to subject today to total check all old data in what repeatedly it was necessary to be convinced of a course of works of expedition.

Later the tomb was visited by curious travelers – fans to leave the names on walls of great constructions. From these visitors the tomb reliefs and inscriptions have suffered more than from time. Last traces of such barbarous visitors concern the beginning of XX century to what the dates scratched on a ceiling testify. Traces of visiting of these casual visitors are on a ceiling or on lintels of false doors, consequently it is possible to assume that the layer of debris on a floor was great enough, and the person could touch by his hand to a ceiling.

In editions of the end of XIX century it is possible to meet separate fragments of reliefs of the tomb of Khafraankh. So, for example, the figure of Khafraankh and the fan carrier before figures of drovers of cattle (fragments of 5 and 6 registers of east wall) are reproduced with mistakes in F.Cailliaud edition<sup>9</sup>. In G.Ebers edition scenes of cutting sycamore trees (with

<sup>5</sup> PM<sup>2</sup> III, I, p. 207-208.

<sup>6</sup> PM<sup>2</sup> III, I, p. 208.

<sup>7</sup> LD II, Bl. 8-11. LD ERGANZUNGSBAND, Bl. 28a-c. LD TEXTBAND I, s. 91-94. Partly published in FREIER, GRUENERT, FREITAG, 1984, s. 29-31.

<sup>8</sup> LD, TEXTBAND I, s. 92

<sup>9</sup> CAILLIAUD, 1823, II, pl. LXXIII, 2.

correct identification of a scene, to the contrary, for example, to Smith's edition<sup>10</sup>, where the scene is wrongly named by cutting of ears) and the fishing scene are reproduced<sup>11</sup>.

The information about the tomb of Khafraankh is available in A.Mariette edition<sup>12</sup>. However, all the data are limited there by a mention of six false doors, names of Herimeru and his wife Ishepet, and also the title – "mistress of sycamore" and the names of Khafraankh's sons which are given out of the context. The copies of three drawings from manuscripts of Nestor L'Hote reproduced by A.Mariette are of great interest, which does this source accessible for laymen.

The enumeration of the scenes (according to R.Lepsius) was done in Junker publication<sup>13</sup>

In 1938 the tomb was visited by members Reisner mission. The territory where the tomb is located was not included into Reisner concession. Nevertheless members of the mission have visited it and, as the evidence of this visiting old photos of the offering room are stored in archive of Reisner in Boston. The subsequent photos were kindly given me by the keeper of archive Peter Der Manuelian and the Head of the Department of Egypt and Nubia, Rita Fried. The photos testify that a part of the offering room was filled by a big layer of debris, and reliefs had the same damages, as it is today.

In Reisner publication<sup>14</sup>, devoted to the necropolis of Giza, the tomb of Khafraankh is mentioned in several lines, its size is given and presence of reliefs is mentioned. Apparently Reisner personally did not visit the tomb; otherwise it hardly would be limited to a mention only one funerary shaft<sup>15</sup>.

Working with the archive, it was possible to establish the date of photos – 1938, marked on the back. In unpublished diaries of G.A.Reisner on corresponding pages dated by the same month and year, there was no record about the tomb of Khafraankh. Obviously, Reisner hasn't left corresponding records in the diary as the tomb of Khafraankh, because it wasn't included into concession of the Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

In editions of the first half of XX century, as well as earlier, there were only separate fragments of reliefs of this tomb. So, for example, in J.Capart edition<sup>16</sup> photos of three scribes, in Smith's edition – figures of children at the entrance to the tomb are reproduced<sup>17</sup>.

Summarizing stated above it is necessary to repeat after Harpur: "the given tomb representing a great interest for Egyptologists, never was a subject of special research"<sup>18</sup>.

By the time of the beginning of works the tomb of Khafraankh, noted on a sketch of Porter and Moss as G 7948<sup>19</sup>, has been almost completely filled up by sand (*pl. I*), the entrance into the tomb has been filled up by sand and a stone. Most likely here on slope sand from previous excavations in the East necropolis was accumulated. Annual *hamasins* have increased a sand layer. Only to enter inside the tomb some weeks of work were required. In the right top

<sup>10</sup> SMITH, 1949, p. 313, fig. 175.

<sup>11</sup> EBERS, 1879 S. 156.

<sup>12</sup> MARIETTE, 1881-884, p. 540, 567, 568-570.

<sup>13</sup> JUNKER, GIZA III, 47.

<sup>14</sup> REISNER, 1942, p. 238, 314.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 238.

<sup>16</sup> CAPART, 1930, p. 208, fig. 201.

<sup>17</sup> SMITH, 1949, p. 189.

<sup>18</sup> HARPUR, 1981, p. 24.

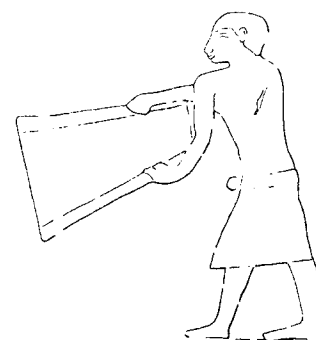
<sup>19</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, I, pl. XVIII.

of the tomb's corner acting from a sandy hill gaped the aperture – a robbery trace. Through the manhole which has remained after a touch in a ceiling of the tomb sand has got to the offering room, having filled up it from a floor to a ceiling.

Five field seasons the mission spent, being engaged basically only in copying of reliefs and inscriptions of the Khafraankh offering room, composing the plan and sections of the chapel, three shafts and the funerary chambers belonging to this tomb, and also the premises designated as G 7948/1 and G 7948/2, consequently with all rooms, shafts and funerary chamber.

The publication of all complex belonged to Khafraankh is a result of huge work of many members of the mission, each of them has brought the contribution to the creation of the given volume. Parts of this monograph, presented to the publication, are prepared by Eleonora E.Kormysheva, Svetlana E.Malykh and Sergey V.Vetokhov. Photos, plans of the tomb, drawings and copies of the reliefs are executed by S.V.Vetokhov, drawings of pottery by S.E.Malykh, drawings of the finds by Irina V.Rukavishnikova and Maxim A.Lebedev (M.A.Lebedev also contributed the chapter 4. Finds). Excurses I and II “On the titles of Herenka, priestess of Hathor and Neith in the Old kingdom” and “Combed Ware Jars in the Old Kingdom Private Tombs” are written by Olga V.Tomashevich, “Human remains” by Alexandra P.Buzhilova, Maria V.Dobrovolskaya, Maria B.Mednikova.





## I.

## ARCHITECTURE

The tomb G 7948 belonging to Khafraankh and his family presents a type of rock tomb, which was cut in rocky limestone mounds along ridge extending north-east of the Khafra pyramid at Giza (*fig. 1*). It represents the single-roomed L-shaped chapel with the entrance from the eastern wall, located in its northern extremity. The eastern, southern, and northern walls as well as the southern part of the western wall have been entirely covered by the reliefs occupying 2/3 heights of the chapel. From below there was a free space on height of 154 cm. The western wall having in its southern part a niche with a statue, represented so-called "Palace facade" with three pairs of "false doors", smoothly passing one into another. In a floor at the western wall three shafts conducting in burial chambers were cut. In the first field season in 1996 the room adjoining from the northern part of Khafraankh chapel was cleaned. There was the new tomb here cut later into a rock that has been done due to destruction of the northern wall of the original chapel. It has the small room G 7948/1 (*fig. 2.7*), and the slope for a sarcophagus (*fig. 2.8*), led to the burial chamber (*fig. 2.14*). Another room G 7948/2 was cut higher than floor level of the room G 7948/1 (*fig. 4*). Tomb G 7948/2 in turn has the room and the shaft (*fig. 2.9*) located in the north-western corner of this tomb which conducts into the burial chamber (*fig. 2.15*).

The Khafraankh chapel represents a kind of rock-cut chapel with reliefs in only one room comparable with L-shaped offering room (*fig. 2, 17-22*). Well decorated rock-cut tombs with reliefs in only one room are attested in Dynasties IV and V (the Khafraankh tomb also), they show a considerable expansion of subject matter. The single-roomed rock-cut chapels of Dynasties IV and V, rectangular in shape, could easily be decorated according to the principles established for L-shaped chapels, that is why Y.Harpur has placed the Khafraankh chapel among L-shaped chapels and related forms. They show a more diverse range of subjects than L-shaped chapels, but their patterns of orientation are rather similar<sup>20</sup>.

Now in the tomb are visible not less than three stages of building (*fig. 23*). The first stage of building was a construction of offering room and shafts in G 7948. The second stage was marked by the destruction of the northern wall of the offering room in the Khafraankh tomb

<sup>20</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 104, 106, no. 69.

accompanied by cutting the pass (*fig. 2.7*) and slope (*fig. 2.8*) to the burial chamber (*fig. 2.14*). The third stage has been connected with the further cutting of a rock in northern direction; therefore the floor of the tomb G 7948/2 has appeared at higher level than the floor level of G 7948 and G 7948/1. The unique possible orientation of the shaft (*fig. 2.9*) and the burial chamber (*fig. 2.15*) in these conditions was the direction west-east.

## 1. OFFERING ROOM OF THE TOMB G 7948

The size of the offering room is 7.13 x 3.01 m (*fig. 2, 24*). The high of the ceiling increases towards the southern wall. Its height near the destroyed northern wall is 2.5 m, near the southern wall is 2.96 m. The offering room is about 21.5 sq.m. Strict vertical position is not observed at all the walls. The difference on a plumb of a contour of the ceiling and floor reaches to 7 cm. Orientation of the tomb is the north-west – south-east. The level of the floor of the offering room goes down now in the southern direction on 3 cm (control survey point 31.80 m).

In the tomb G 7948 there were three shafts and burial chambers (*fig. 4*), where Khafraankh, his wife Herenka and their relatives Ishepet and probably Herimeru were buried. The chambers of the wife and relatives of Khafraankh are oriented on the line east – west, and the chamber of the tomb's owner is oriented on the axis north – south. Thus it is necessary to notice that the Khafraankh chamber compass orientation is much more exact, than orientations of other burial chambers of this tomb.

### 1.1. ENTRANCE

The entrance in the tomb (*fig. 2.6*) had a traditional form for that period. The pass on the floor raises in the direction to the chapel on 23 cm, behind it is a step in height nearby 10 cm, which falls to the level of the chapel floor. The primary height of an aperture under the drum was about 1.85 m, height of the door was about 2.15 m, and width of the doorway was 0.98 m. The drum, which traditionally was placed over the entrance, is absent now<sup>21</sup>. The niches in the ancient time testify to its presence on each side of the entrance, were grooves for its fixing.

Good preservation of the corresponding niches (*fig. 11, pl. II*), carved in the rock, and allows reconstructing precisely the size and disposition of the drum over the entrance. The sizes of the drum should be nearby 120 x 38 cm in its plan and 32 cm on height. During late alterations over the entrance to the tomb stone jamb from the inside appeared which served for the upper fixing of a door. Probably, the reason of such "restoration" was connected with a destruction of a place of initial fastening of doors.

The jamb has been inserted rather roughly, with damage of reliefs on the adjoined walls that is the proof they belong to late alterations in the tomb. Now in the offering room (entrance, south side) the small fragment of the stone jamb (*fig. 11a, pl. III*) has remained. On it the trace from a through aperture (*fig. 11b*), diameter 9 cm, playing a role of a socket for pivot (*fig. 14e*) of door leafs is visible. The stone beam had from below wooden inserts. The rectangular trace from such insert is visible on plaster, remained on the rests of a stone beam.

<sup>21</sup> The drum is in the Berlin Museum.

Wooden inserts in the bottom of the beam had apertures in which the top pins of wooden doors were fixed.

Just behind the drum the folding wooden door was settled down. Well remained two flat pits, disposed symmetrically, testify to it (21 cm), length about 120 cm (*fig. 12, pl. IV*), which are seen now on the floor near the entrance. The pits served for the putting and fastening the lower door pivots. In each of pits the rests of a plaster which fixed stone thrust bearing under the axes of doors have remained. One of the pits (southern side) is closed by a limestone insert (*fig. 12c*); on another (northern side) the insert is lost. At the entrance thickness the traces of late changes of a construction of the door are visible. From each side axial slots for the horizontal planks of steffness fastening from the interior of door leafs and providing their durability are cut through roughly. Axial slots are cut through very roughly over the reliefs on the walls of the Khafraankh tomb (*fig. 11, pl. II*).

## 1.2. DOOR TO THE TOMB OF KHAFAANKH<sup>22</sup>

Fabricated from the whole piece of wood doors to the ancient Egyptian tombs were preserved very rare. Even being strengthened on its inner side with the help of battens in order to make them more solid, to prevent warping and to continue its "life-time", few of them have been preserved<sup>23</sup>. The construction of a door for the tomb chapel, which separated the entrance from the very chapel, was conditioned by the necessity of performing rites when priests had to enter inside the chapel, addressing to statues or other representations of the dead with the subsequent invocations. In the rest of time doors protected the tomb entrance from strangers.

The attempt to reconstruct the door, based on the Lepsius drawings, was undertaken by Borchardt<sup>24</sup>. However, to our opinion, this reconstruction is not precise; it does not correspond well to the preserved remains, which were studied by the Russian Archaeological Mission. Moreover the Borchardt's drawing leaves several questions unsolved; in particular it concerns the mode of putting and fixing a door.

The reconstruction of the door to the chapel of Khafraankh, suggested here, is based on the analogues examples, in particular with the door of Kaemhesit in Saqqara from Dynasty V<sup>25</sup>. For finding-out of details of fixing of doors, a considerable quantity of tombs of this period has been studied at place.

Most probably the original door, constructed for the Khafraankh tomb, disposed straight behind the drum, was two-winged, wooden and was fabricated from the whole piece of wood (*fig. 13, 14*). Calculations permit to suppose that the original high of the door (not calculating pivots) was around 200 cm. Two pits in the floor for the fastening of every wing, symmetrically disposed, spoken above, prove the idea on the two-winged door.

The doors had the top and bottom pivots (*fig 14e, f*). The lower pivot (on the floor) glided on the sloping and after taking the vertical position was installed into subsequent formed pit on the floor. Upper pivot of the door entered into the opening of the door's beam. After

<sup>22</sup> The original door is absent, the architectural reconstruction is proposed by S.Vetokhov.

<sup>23</sup> The description of the preserved doors see: CLARKE, ENGELBACH, 1930, p. 160-165.

<sup>24</sup> See LD I, TEXT, S. 91, 92.

<sup>25</sup> CLARKE, ENGELBACH, 1930, p. 160-161, fig. 185-186.

putting into the sloping (*fig. 15, 16*) they were closed by limestone insertions. Under the pivots of doors were substituted small stone thrust bearings executed of hard stones. Similar thrust bearings from diorite or granite have remained in many tombs of Giza and Saqqara.

It is possible to assume that originally the beam over the door, in which pivots were inserted, has been executed in a uniform monolith with the tomb. In its wooden inserts pivots of doors have been made with apertures for fixing of upper part.

### 1.3. FUNERARY SHAFTS AND CHAMBERS

The Khafraankh shaft (*fig. 3.3, pl. XIa*) is cut out on distance of 1.85 m from the southern wall (*fig. 24*). Its mouth considerably differs by its form from the others mouths of the shafts in this tomb. Its size is 1.12 x 1.14 m. The deepening around the shaft (*fig. 10*) is wider than the sizes of the shaft's mouth. Its size is 1.60 x 1.12 m. The deepening had four ledges, traces of which are visible on all parties of the shaft. They represent deepenings in the size approximately 9 cm. Covers are unusual for tombs of this kind, accordingly a question on, whether deepening and ledges belonged to cover of the initial shaft, which has been cut out for burial Khafraankh, or it has been made later when the secondary burial place has been made remains opened. In turn, of course, it is less probable that the shaft mouth has been so changed at repeated burial.

Four hemispherical apertures (0.15–0.25 m of depth) have been cut out around the shaft (*fig. 10*). Most likely they have been intended for installation of stands on which placed small bowls for burning incense in purification rite. The similar apertures and limestone stands have been found on the Western plateau of Giza, in the mastaba of Perniankh<sup>26</sup> (G1700, Dynasty V – early Dynasty VI); and in Saqqara in the mastaba of Irukaptah (Dynasty V), stored in the Museum of Berlin<sup>27</sup>.

The Khafraankh shaft is deepest of all belonging to the tomb (*fig. 4*). Its depth is 11.05 m. Its cutting is not vertical and on distance about 5 meters the orientation of the shaft is displaced to the south. Most likely it is connected with an attempt to level the shaft bottom regarding parts of the world. Since the depth of 9.07 m the narrow corridor led to the south begins, its height 1.3 m and width 1.25 m. It directs into the funerary chamber. The entrance to the chamber has been put by limestone blocks, a part of which (2 layers) has been found and taken away. A number of stones have been inscribed by red signs.

The burial chamber of Khafraankh (*fig. 3.11, pl. XIV, XV*) is of big sizes (*fig. 8*): the western wall is 3.08 m, the southern wall – 2.70 m, the eastern wall – 2.52 m, and northern wall – 3.12 m. It is located – to the south from the shaft. The chamber height – on the southwest corner is 1.76 m; on southeast – 1.72 m; on northeast – 1.72 m; on northwest – 1.62 m. The chamber floor at burial has been filled up by small stones and filled in by plaster with crocks of beaten pottery, and from above is was put by two layers of stone blocks (the general height of layers – 0.60 m). The Khafraankh burial chamber, according to the classification of G.A.Reisner, could be rendered to the type 4 with the burial chamber in the south regarding the shaft. Roof level of the chamber is at roof-level of the passage, with low step from floor of

<sup>26</sup> HAWASS, 1991, p. 157, pl. 12. HAWASS, SENUSSI, 2008, p. 91, photos 29-30.

<sup>27</sup> See the Museum composition in ÄGYPTISCHE MUSEUM, 1991, S. 20-21 (12).

the passage to the floor of the chamber<sup>28</sup>. The body of the dead, as well as in all other burial chambers of this tomb, settled down on a line the north-south. The dead man lay with a head to the north. The orientation of the Khafraankh burial chamber corresponds to similar burial places of the Old Kingdom in Giza<sup>29</sup>, this size of shaft appears only at Dynasty V<sup>30</sup>.

The blocks in the eastern part of the burial chamber have remained untouched (*pl. XVI*); the western part has been disturbed. After clearing became obvious that here – in the western part – there was a rectangular coffin recess. Its sizes: 2.19 m on the western side; 1.10 m on the northern side; 1.12 m on the southern and 2.14 m on the eastern side. The coffin recess is sunk in the rock on distance 0.26 m from the southern wall of the chamber and on distance of 0.35 m from the northern wall. Its maximum depth is 0.32 m. This coffin recess belongs to the open type<sup>31</sup>. More all it is similar to the coffin recess from the tomb G 5180 B.

After removal of the stone blocks the fragments of the skeleton, pottery and the rests of painted wood with traces of stucco and paint were found (*fig. 9*), which allow to assume that Khafraankh has been buried in a wooden sarcophagus.

Specific feature of the coffin recess for sarcophagus of Khafraankh are six pits of squared shape cut out on three from each long side (*fig. 8*). Similar construction is attested in the Old Kingdom tombs from Giza. So for example, coffins and coffin recesses of the Old Kingdom had a squared shape<sup>32</sup>, however the photo of an anonymous sarcophagus from the collection of the Turin museum presented it standing on two beams<sup>33</sup>, gives the chance to assume that the coffin recess could be constructed with pits for coffin. The coffin seems to be rectangular with three cross-section beams at the bottom, coming out exactly on size of deepenings along the edges laying down. As a similar example it is possible to refer also to the relief from the tomb of Fetekta in Saqqara (middle of Dynasty V) where the funerary procession bearing similar sarcophagi is represented<sup>34</sup>. However, there are four cross-section beams. Similar shape of sarcophagi, where number of cross-section beams is not less than four, are attested from the First Intermediate period and the Middle kingdom<sup>35</sup>.

Thus, the Khafraankh coffin should not touch the bases of the burial chamber. This supposition is proved by presence of pure river sand on the burial of Khafraankh on the bottom of the recess. It makes an impression that sand was put with definite purposes in “*tabut*”. The last undoubtedly has religious value.

The eastern part of the burial chamber served as a type of “offering bench” (*fig. 9*). On the rock floor there was the layer of 0.10 m of the thickness, consisting of white plaster mixed with small fragments of pottery.

Two layers of heavy stone blocks which have been taken away during the last field season, hardly belong to initial burial. Such layers, as far as it is known, have not been noted till now in the Old Kingdom tombs. The burial chamber of Khafraankh has been reused: on the

<sup>28</sup> REISNER, 1942, p. 87, 89, fig. 22, G2110 A.

<sup>29</sup> REISNER, 1942, p. 162.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 162-163.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, DONADONI, ROVERY, 1969, fig. 17, tav. VIII-XV.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 171, pl. XIV. Something similar is attested in the Middle Kingdom (Dynasty XII), see: LAPP, 1993, Tf. 13, 14.

<sup>34</sup> Cit. on LD II, S. 96, Ostseite.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, sarcophagi from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: № 20.1826 from Deir el-Bersha, the tomb of Djhutinakht, Dynasty XI; № 25.1512-13 from Sheikh Faraga, Dynasty IX.



disturbed stones during the field season of 1997 the rests of a skeleton have been found. Most likely for the secondary burial the rests a mummy (or a skeleton) have been reliably closed by two massive stone layers.

On the northern wall of the burial chamber of Khafraankh where the entrance has been cut out, the line made with red ochre on distance of 0.15 m from the entrance existing nowadays has remained. Probably it was some kind of mark for prospective expansion of pass to the chamber. On the floor near the western wall of the burial chamber are two obvious rectangular pits (*fig. 8*) in the size 0.22 x 0.17 m from the southern side and 0.37 x 0.17 m from the northern side. The pits, found on the ceiling of the burial chamber are precisely over pits on the floor. It means that pits could intend for strengthening of wooden columns and fixing of ropes which supported a sarcophagus at its transportation and its turn from the entrance to the burial chamber up to the burial place.

The entrance has been blocked by the stones, two layers of them we decided to leave *in situ*. On five stones, taken away, hieratic signs put by red ochre have remained; four of them have remained rather accurately: these are signs *šn*, *nh* and *mr* (*fig. 27*). As a rule, similar marks of the stones used in various designs, could contain notions on brigades of the workers occupied on a construction<sup>36</sup>. Most likely there were special marks on stones in order to point on which division of a building the given block was destined.

From the burial chamber of Khafraankh the remains of two skeletons have been taken. It is possible to speak about secondary burial already in the ancient time. The primary burial has been put by stones on all the surface of the burial chamber. As a result of robbery attempt, most likely already in the ancient time, the part of stones over the burial of Khafraankh has been disturbed.

The burial shaft of Herenka (*fig. 3.4*), Khafraankh's wife, reaches depths of 3.58 m (*fig. 6, pl. XVII*). The size of its mouth is 1.02 x 0.97 x 1.05 x 1.03 m. Between the western side of the shaft mouth and the false door near which it is located, the small pool in the size 0.28 x 0.18 m cut out. It most likely has been intended for ritual of purification by water.

At the bottom of the Herenka shaft is the deepening in the size of 0.30 x 0.36 m, below level of the floor passing in the corridor of the burial chamber is revealed. It testifies that according to initial calculations, it was supposed to cut the shaft more deeply, however, for any reasons carvers have stopped at this level. Such could occur in case Herenka's death, and it was necessary to finish urgently her burial chamber, or firm breed of stone in this layer created problems for shaft deepening. Anyhow, the burial chamber for Herenka has appeared at much higher level, than the burial chamber of Khafraankh. The entrance aperture in it has the size of 1.45 m in height and 1.06 m at width, and its length makes about 0.8 m (*fig. 6*).

All it (unlike the burial chamber of Khafraankh) is located behind the western wall. The chamber (*fig. 6*) has been oriented on the line east-west (in relation to the shaft), and the burial place is located on the line north-south. This type of burial corresponds on classification of G.A.Reisner to type 4a (3)<sup>37</sup>.

The sizes of the burial chamber of Herenka: the western wall is 2.9 m, southern wall – 2.2 m, northern wall – 3.2 m. The eastern wall which begins at once from the pass corner has length of 1.02 m. Further the wall sharply turns on the west on 0.70 m and again on the south on 0.58 m. Such form testifies that in the course of the construction carvers have approached

<sup>36</sup> The mission thanks Vasil Dobrev, who kindly helped us in the investigations of these marks.

<sup>37</sup> REISNER, 1942, p. 94, fig. 41.

too close to the northern corner of Khafraankh's shaft. For this reason works in this direction have been compelled to suspend and to turn sharply to the south. On this place is an aperture in the size 0.41 x 0.57 m which was formed because of the general wall, which has become too thin. All it proves once again that initial calculations for the shaft and burial chamber of Herenka considerably dispersed from what should be carried out in practice owing to those or other reasons, architectural problems should be corrected and counted already in the course of hasty coming to the end works.

The place for the funerary equipment for Herenka in the form of a "long bench" is settled down not on east, but on all length of the western wall of the chamber. Its sizes: the height is 0.19 m; remained part at width makes 0.37 m. In the center of the western wall of the burial chamber there is an aperture in the size 1.20 x 1.02 m, located on the distance accordingly 0.91 m and 1.13 m from the each corner. Filled by debris the aperture undoubtedly testifies that to the west of this wall there is other burial chamber and that the very aperture was formed or as a result of penetration of robbers, or during natural destructions of the wall separating funerary constructions.

The third shaft (*fig. 3.5*) belonging to Ishepet (depth of 3.67 m) has a mouth in the size of 0.98 x 0.98 x 0.94 x 0.96 m. The burial chamber (*fig. 5, pl. XVIII*) is located regarding the shaft also as the burial chamber of Herenka – on an axis the east-west. Its sizes: the western wall is 2.44 m, eastern – 2.20 m, northern – 1.75 m, southern – 1.69 m. The height on the eastern corner is 1.29 m, on the western corner is 1.31 m. On both sides of the shaft walls are well preserved four small steps which have been cut out in a rock for working inside and transportation of coffin. The distance between them is approximately 0.47–0.63 m. An aperture of a squared shape accurately cut out connects the burial chamber of Ishepet from its western side to the burial chamber of the tomb G 7948/1 (about its appointment see lower). The burial chamber of Ishepet corresponds well to the type 4a (1) by the classification of G.A.Reisner<sup>38</sup>.

The second lintel and the drum (both destroyed) of the false door do not allow to make a conclusion on quantity of burial places in the given burial. On the stele-panel over the false door Herimeru and Ishepet are named.

In the wall between the false doors of Herenka, Khafraankh's wife, and Herimeru and Ishepet, is a breach conducting in a narrow rectangular room (*fig. 2.2*) in the size of 2.70 m (eastern wall), 2.8 m (western wall) and 1.10 m of width. Its height is 2.02 m. In the northern part of the ceiling is an aperture in the size 0.76 x 0.85 m which could be a part of the shaft leaving upwards. On the walls of the vertical space are steps – on the western side four steps have remained, on the eastern side owing to a break in the wall only one is visible. Investigation of an exit from this room has appeared impossible – it is filled up by large stones.

The destination of this narrow room is not clear. Judging by its arrangement, a burial chamber of other tomb located over the tomb of Khafraankh could be here. In this case, as demonstrate the calculations made by J.Dorner according to his topographical measurements, a corresponding chapel has to search at height of 4.5 m from the shaft's aperture. However, the sizes of the room are unusual to the burial chamber: it is too extended at length at small width.

<sup>38</sup> REISNER, 1942, p. 94, fig.39 (a 1).

#### 1.4. THE TOMBS G 7948/1 AND G 7948/2

As it was mentioned above, the chapel of the tomb G 7948/1 (or the certain space which has been cut through on the distance of 1.18 m to the north from the entrance to the tomb of Khafraankh) has arisen owing to barbarous destruction of the northern wall of the offering room of the Khafraankh's tomb (*fig. 5*). The form of execution of a line on the ceiling shows a clear boundary of two building horizons. So, the ceiling of the Khafraankh chapel is ground and looks a smooth surface while the ceiling of the rooms G 7948/1 and G 7948/2 has accurate traces of a cutter of a master. The same traces of a cutter are noticed and over a doorway that testify on new cutting for a new door lintels. Both were done within one of constructive period (*pl. XII, XIII*).

The tomb G 7948/1 (*fig. 2*) practically consists of the pass which conducts to inclined slope (*fig. 2.8, pl. XIb*). Its length on the northern side is 3.80 m, on the southern side 2.48 m. Width of the ramp is 1.31 m, length of an inclined part of the slope is 2.44 m. Further the ramp vertically breaks (in this place its width decreases to 1.26 m) for depth is 1.12 m – up to the level of the pass to the burial chamber. This construction and the sizes of pass to the burial chamber (2.83 x 1.26 m) do not leave doubt that the ramp has been constructed for the descent of a stone sarcophagus.

Two apertures on the eastern wall of the chapel (*fig. 17, pl. XIIc*) have been intended for fixing the rope supporting a sarcophagus. The first of them is at once at the entrance. Its cutting down has led additional destruction of the northern wall of the Khafraankh chapel. For cutting of the second aperture at the upper northern part of the eastern wall in the tomb G 7948/1 the deepening in height of 1 m has been cut, in the width 1.05 m and depth of 0.26 m. The aperture was cut down and smoothed with a hardly traced deepening for the thrown rope. One more attempt to throw a rope for the strong fixing of a sarcophagus has been undertaken on the western wall of the room G 7948/1. However, the calculation, most likely, has appeared incorrect, and the aperture has started to cut down from both sides too close to wall edge. A threat of a full break of the wall in case of further cutting became obvious, and carvers have been compelled to stop.

A sarcophagus lowered, fixing it and holding with a rope on two fixed points on the eastern wall. The slope has ledges, adapted for sarcophagus advancement on the limited space of a rock, and has been intended for two time temporary fixings of the sarcophagus at the slope before it will be put into the burial chamber. Smoothly falling downwards, it was fixed on last ledge, then it slid downwards into the burial chamber, the entrance to which has been cut out on the minimum possible depth regarding surface.

Owing to various level of the floor, the depth of the slope now is on its northern side – 3.23 m, accordingly on the southern side – 2.83 m. The size of the pass to the burial chamber is 1.37 x 1.66 m. At the entrance in the burial chamber is the step, its height is 0.32 m.

The burial chamber (*fig. 3.14*) of a squared shape has the following sizes (*fig. 7*): the northern wall – 2.74 m; the western wall – 3.78 m; the eastern wall – 3.18 m; the southern wall – 2.68 m. The height of the ceiling fluctuates from 2.10 to 2.24 m.

In the eastern wall of the new burial chamber adjoining (or actually being) the western wall of the burial chamber of Ishepet (*fig. 7, pl. XVIII*), is the aperture accurately cut out in the size 0.98 x 0.96 m. Most likely, up the time of the construction of this burial chamber the apartment of Ishepet has been already plundered. Probably, having closed the burial chamber

in the tomb G 7948/1, workers went out through the aperture previously cut down in the burial chamber of Ishepet, and further – on a surface through a well conducting there.

The level of the floor in the chapel is different, that testifies on two various building periods (*fig. 23*). The thin cross-section line on the ceiling along a vertical plumb precisely corresponds to the slope from the northern side, which is another evidence of two building horizons.

Further (and the last) building stage is connected with a construction of the tomb G 7948/2 which is fixed at the level 32.25 m from the control survey point, or on 0.45 m above the floor of the Khafraankh's chapel.

In the northwest part of the chapel of the tomb G 7948/2 the burial shaft (*fig. 3.9*) has been cut (*fig. 7, pl. XIIIc*). The sizes of its mouth is 1.06 m (western side), 1.07 x 1.07 m (southern and northern sides), 1.10 m (eastern side), its depth is 2.44 m. Originally the shaft obviously had a border intending for fastening the cover, approximately 0.27 m of width. Its traces are visible distinctly enough. The burial chamber (no. 15) in which this shaft conducts, is focused on the line the north-south, but located to the east regarding its shaft on the axis the west-east. Such orientation of burial chambers is atypical for the necropolis of Giza and seems not to appear before the end of the Old Kingdom.

The entrance to the burial chamber is in height 1.04 m and 1.13 m at width. Its sizes: the length of the western wall is 1.93 m, northern wall – 1.07 m, eastern wall – 2.01 m, southern wall – 1.01 m. The height of the ceiling fluctuates from 0.76 m to 1.01 m. The door passage has height on the northern side 1.07 m, on the southern side 0.96 m; its width is 1.03 m.

The floor of the chapel has a number of ledges that testifies to the rough work of the carver made it in haste. The northern wall has the incomplete rough semicircular form with traces of works on the tomb cutting down. In the eastern part of the room at process of cutting the part of a rock has been left. This part seems to have a cubic-shaped pedestal. Presumably this unfinished part of the tomb was connected with an unexpected stop of constructive work in the tomb related with necessity of an urgent burial or shortage of means for continuation of works. On the flat surface of a pedestal accurately drilled aperture has remained which appointment is not clear.





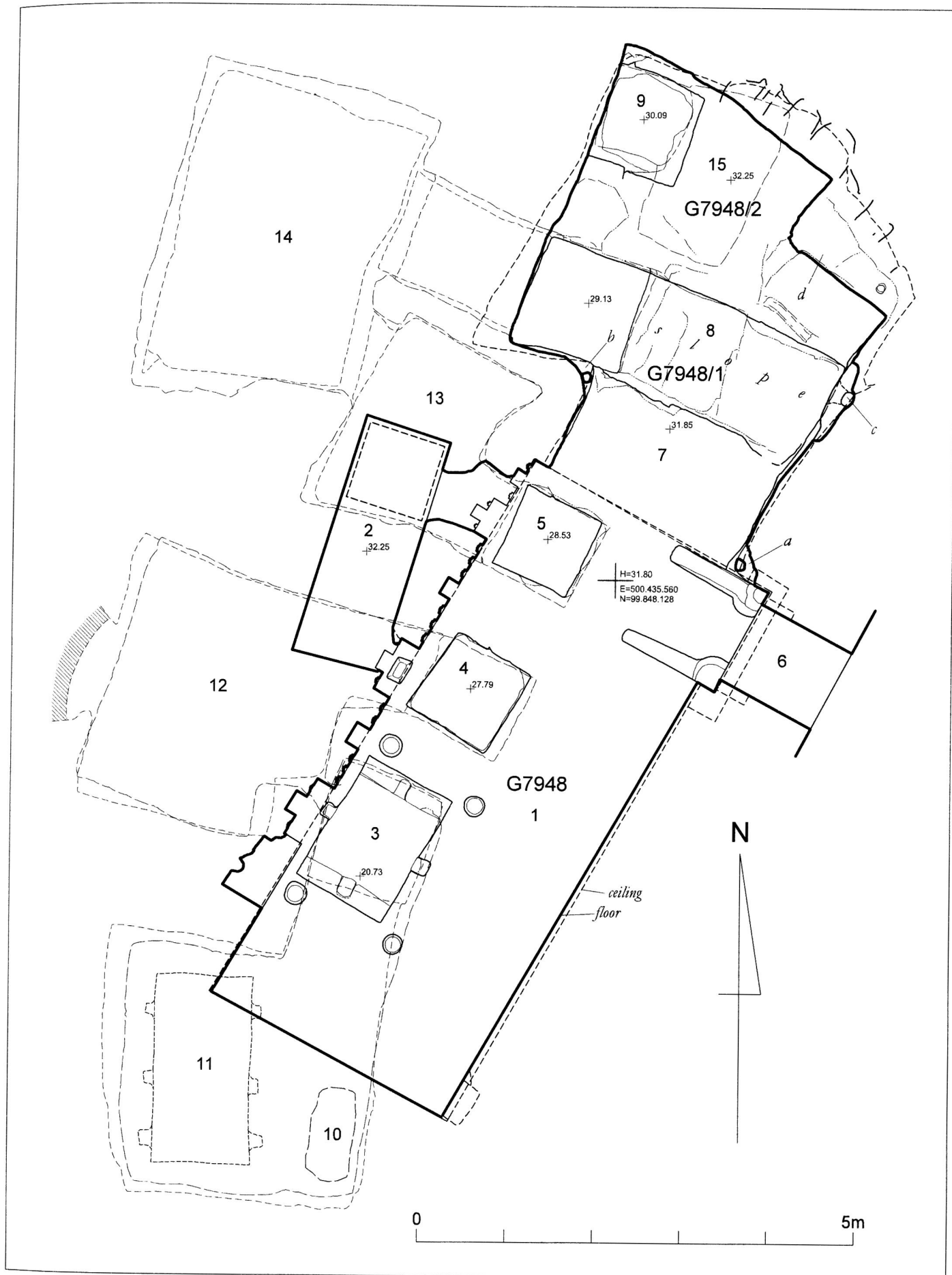


Fig. 2. Plan of Khafraankh tomb

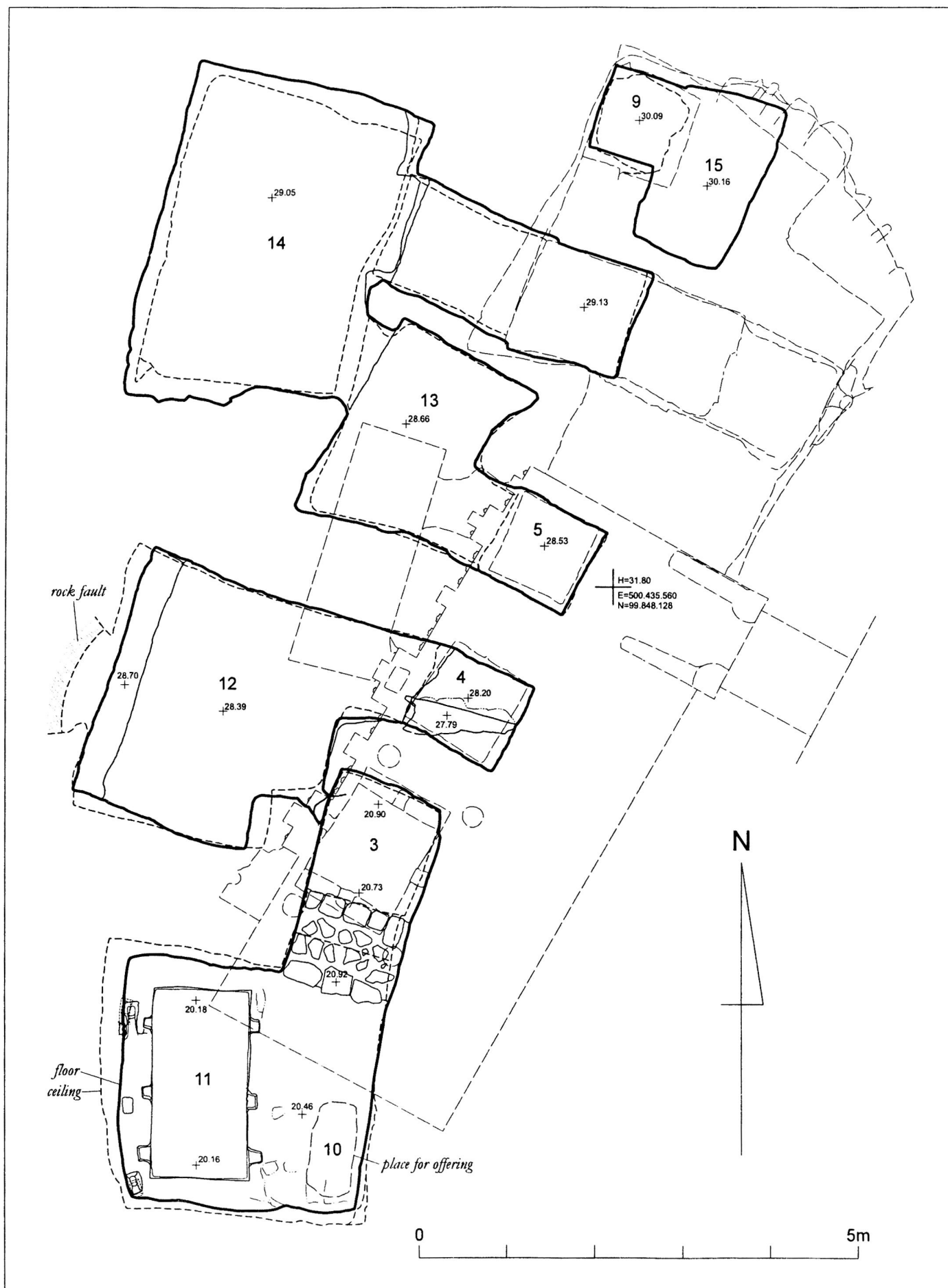


Fig. 3. Underground plan of Khafraankh tomb

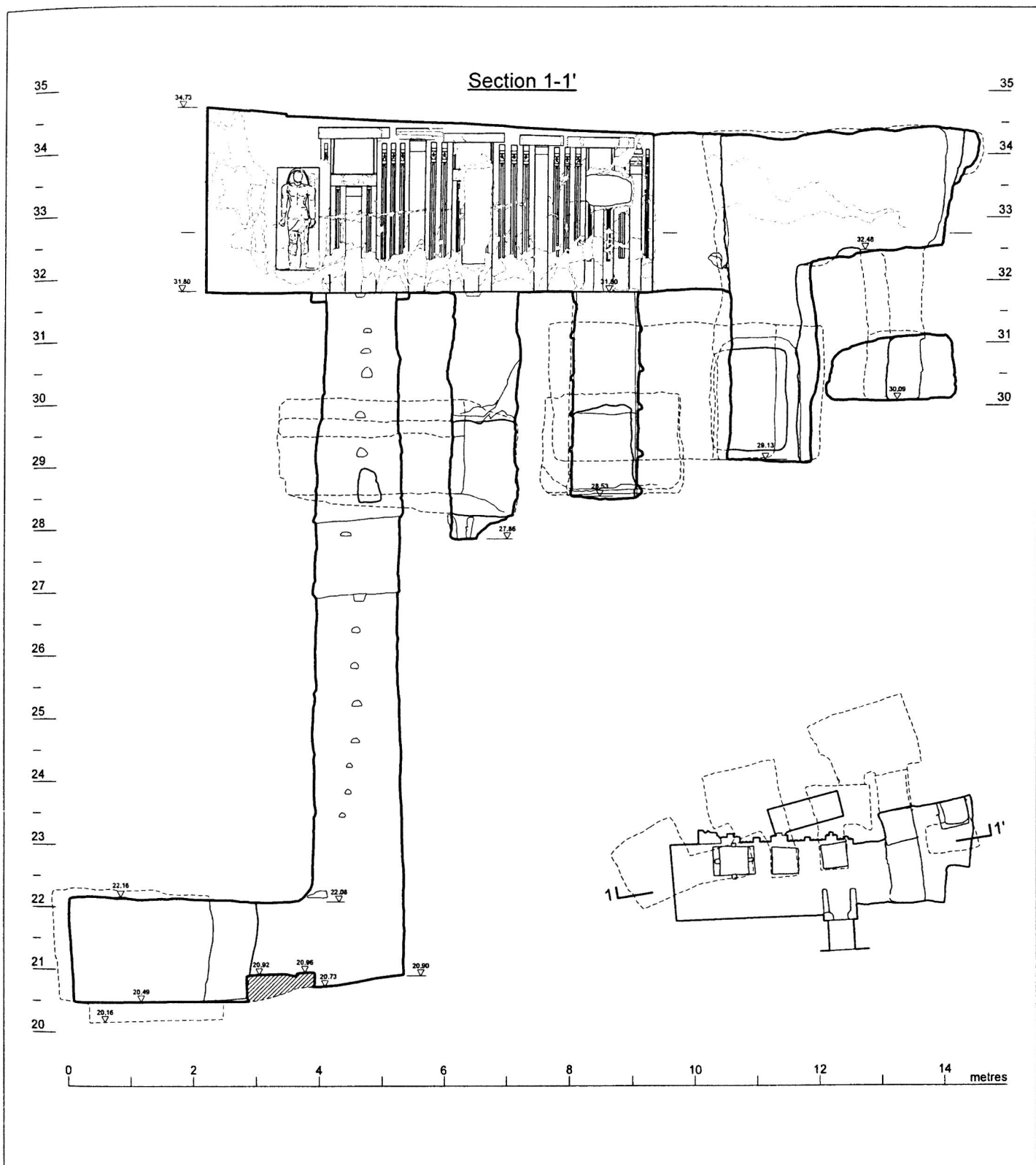


Fig. 4. Tomb of Khafraankh. Section 1-1'

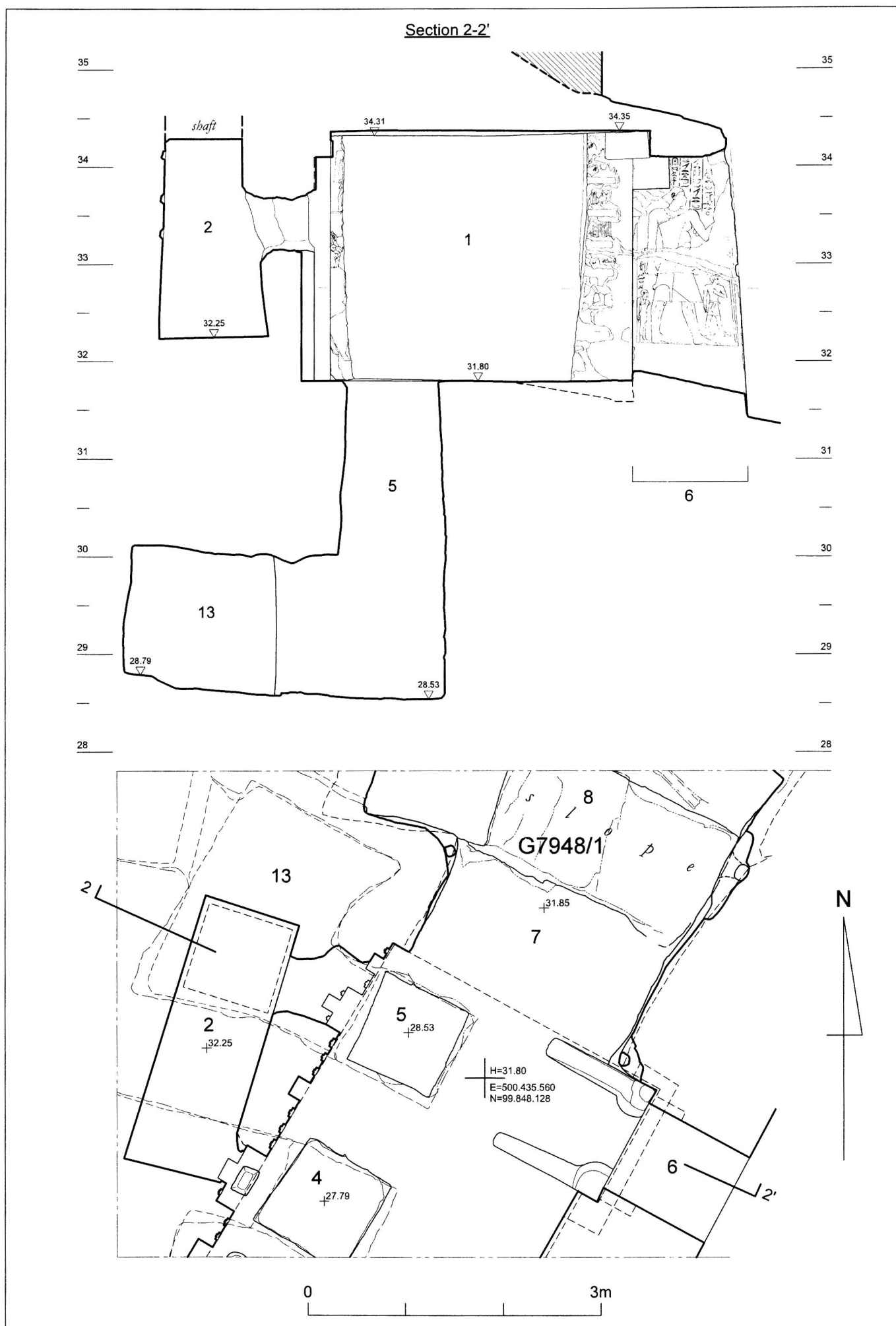


Fig. 5. Tomb of Khafraankh. Section 2-2'

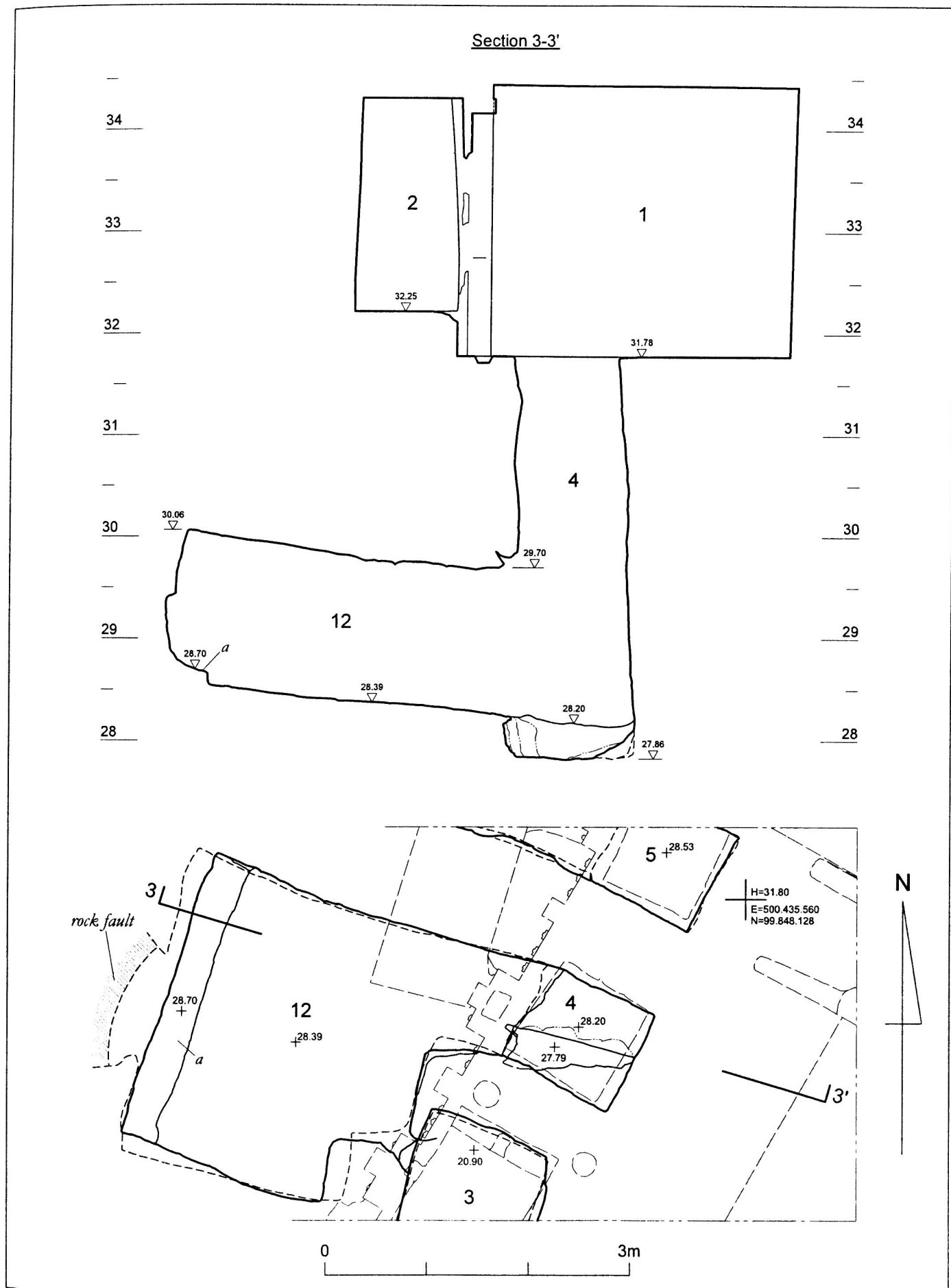


Fig. 6. Tomb of Khafraankh. Section 3-3'

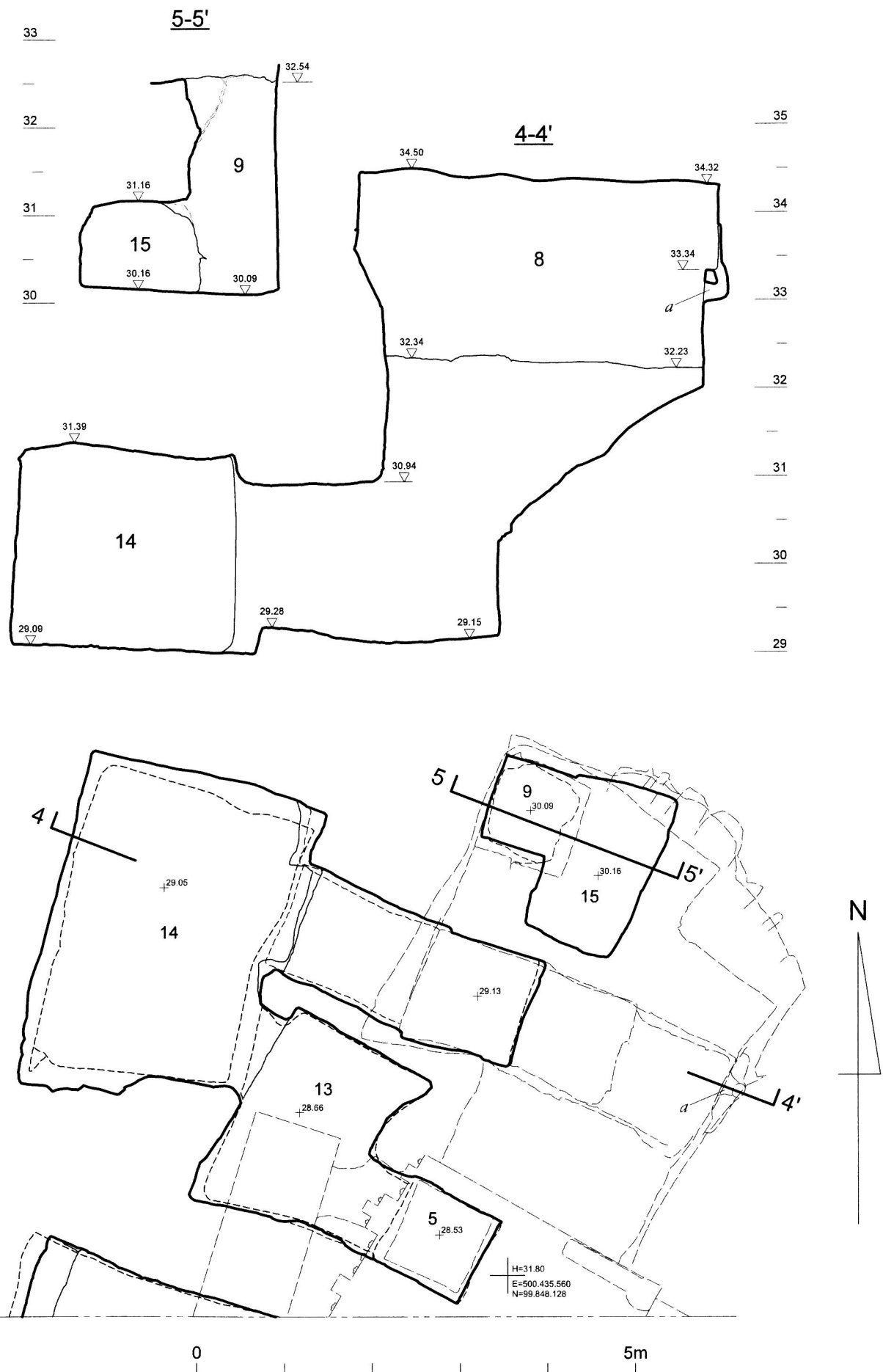


Fig. 7. Tomb of Khafraankh. Sections 4-4' and 5-5'



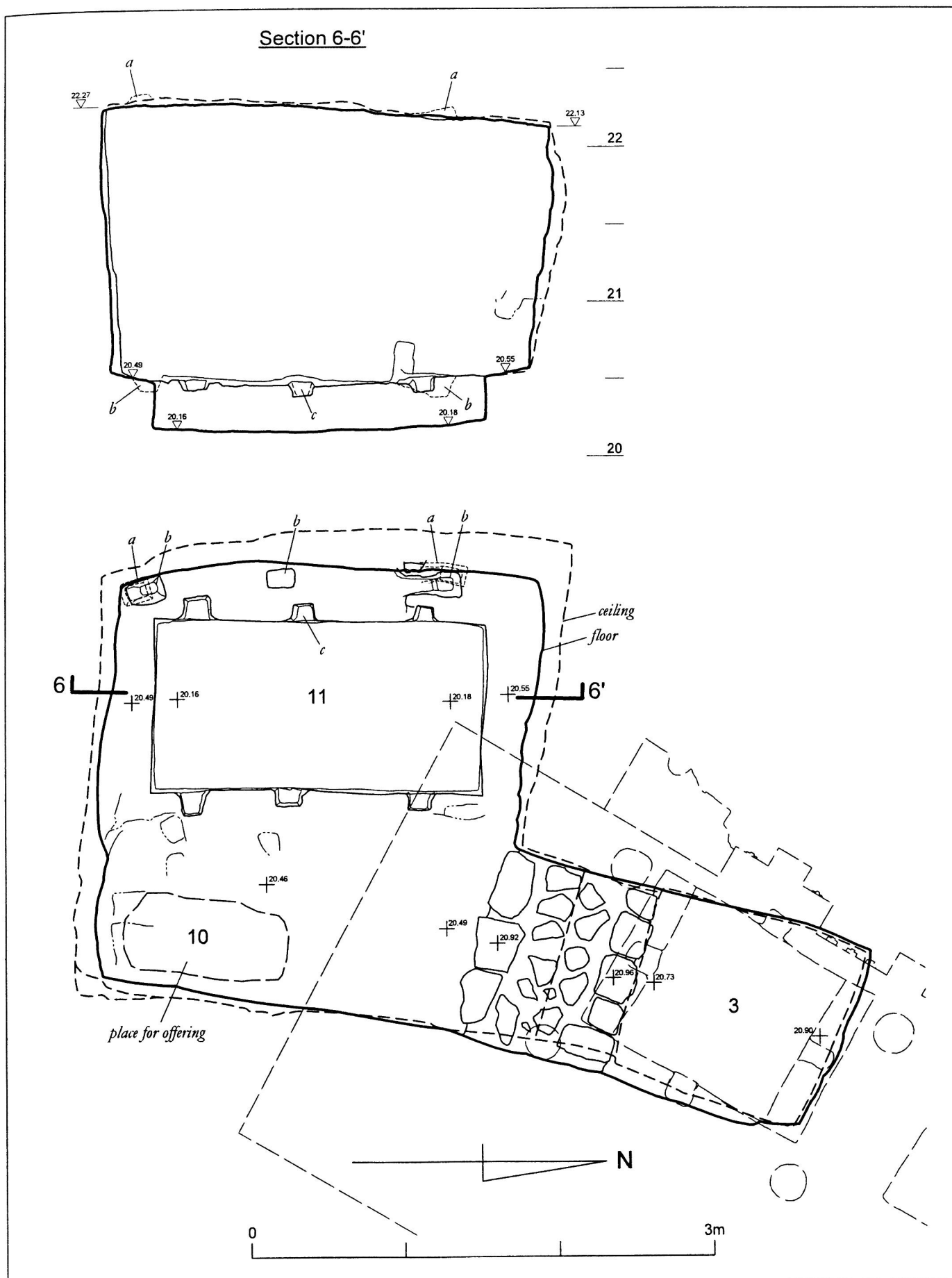


Fig. 8. Plan and section of Khafraankh burial chamber

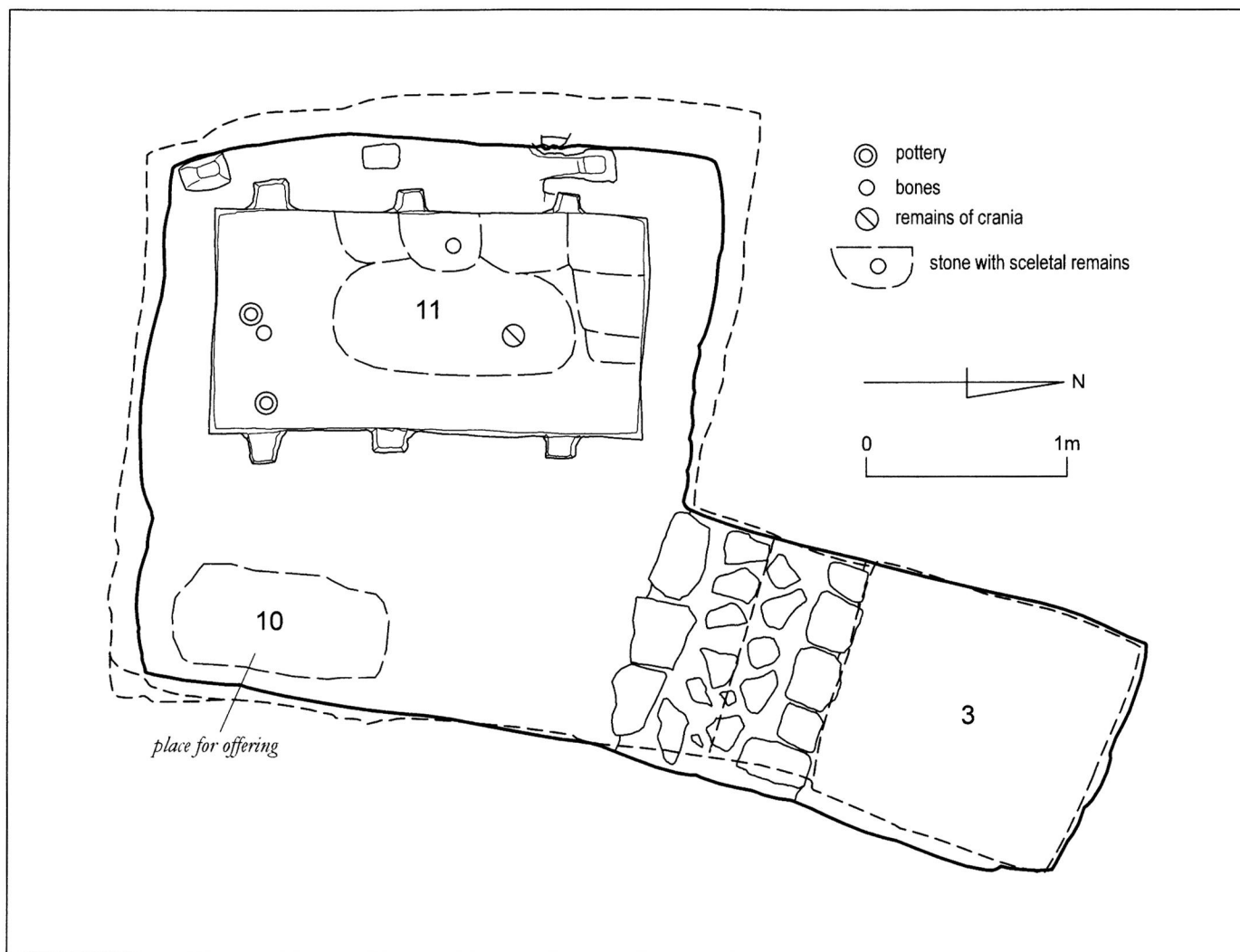


Fig. 9. Schematic plan of finds in the burial chamber of Khafraankh

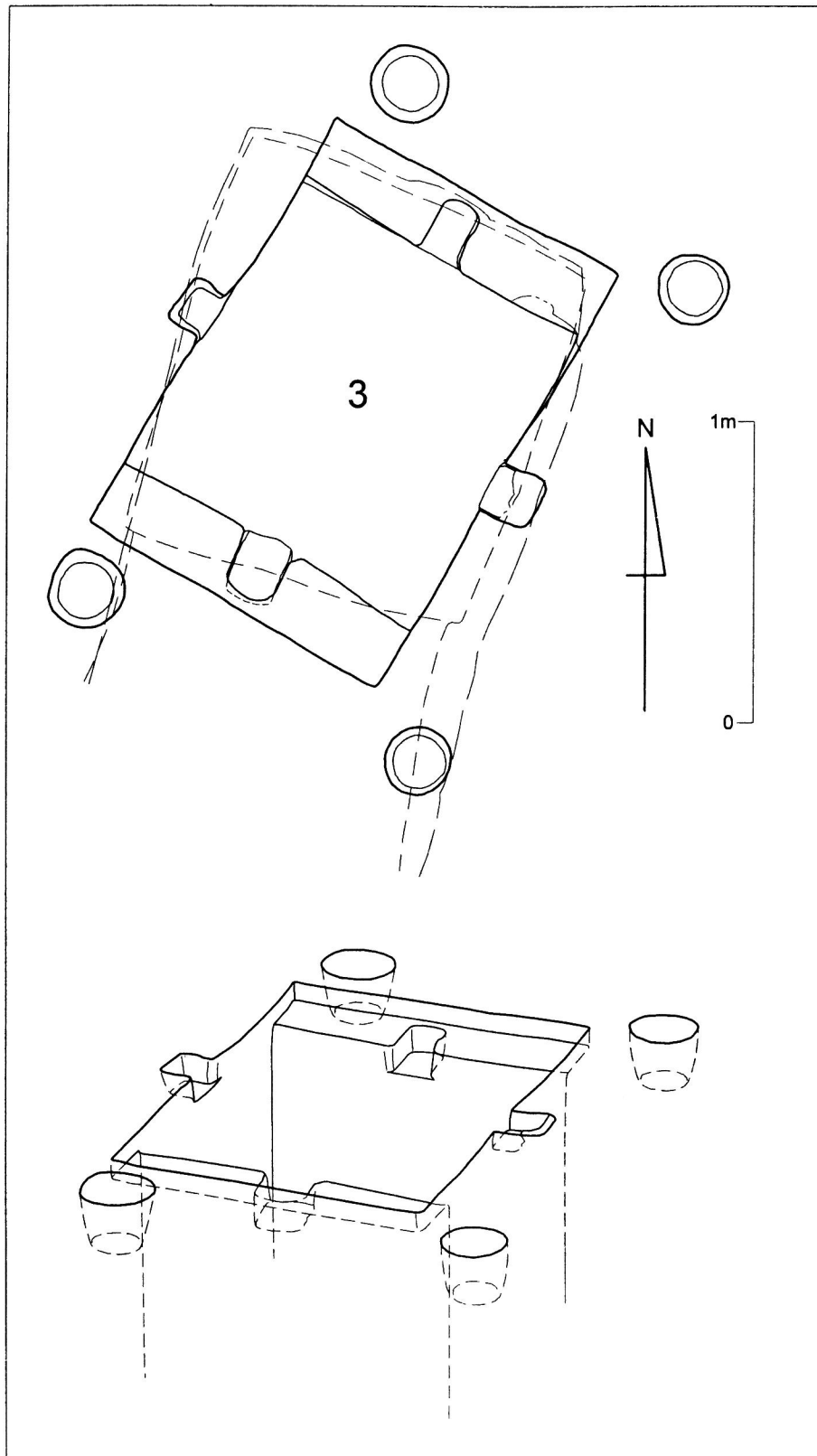


Fig. 10. Shaft of Khafraankh

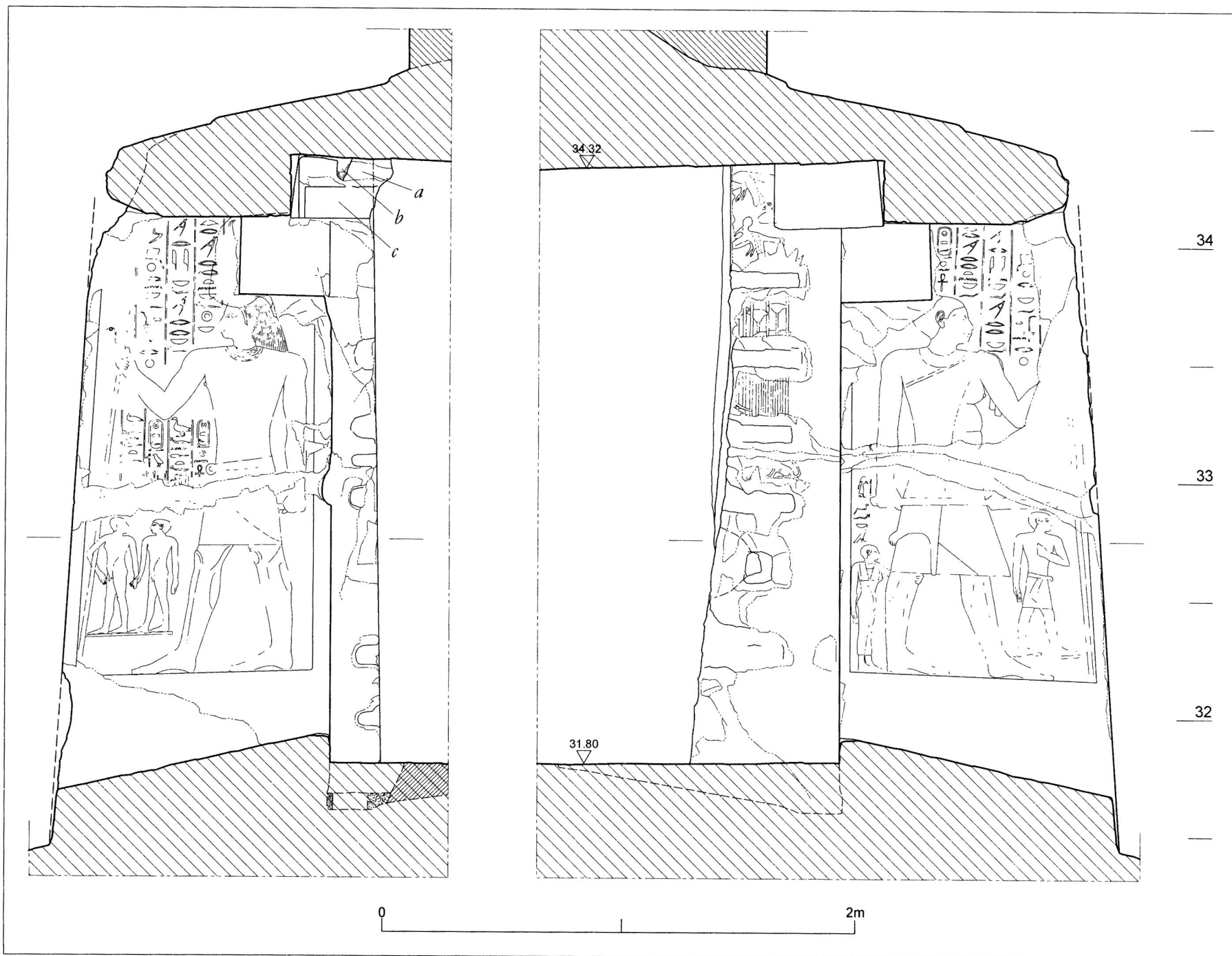


Fig. 11. Entrance of Khafraankh tomb

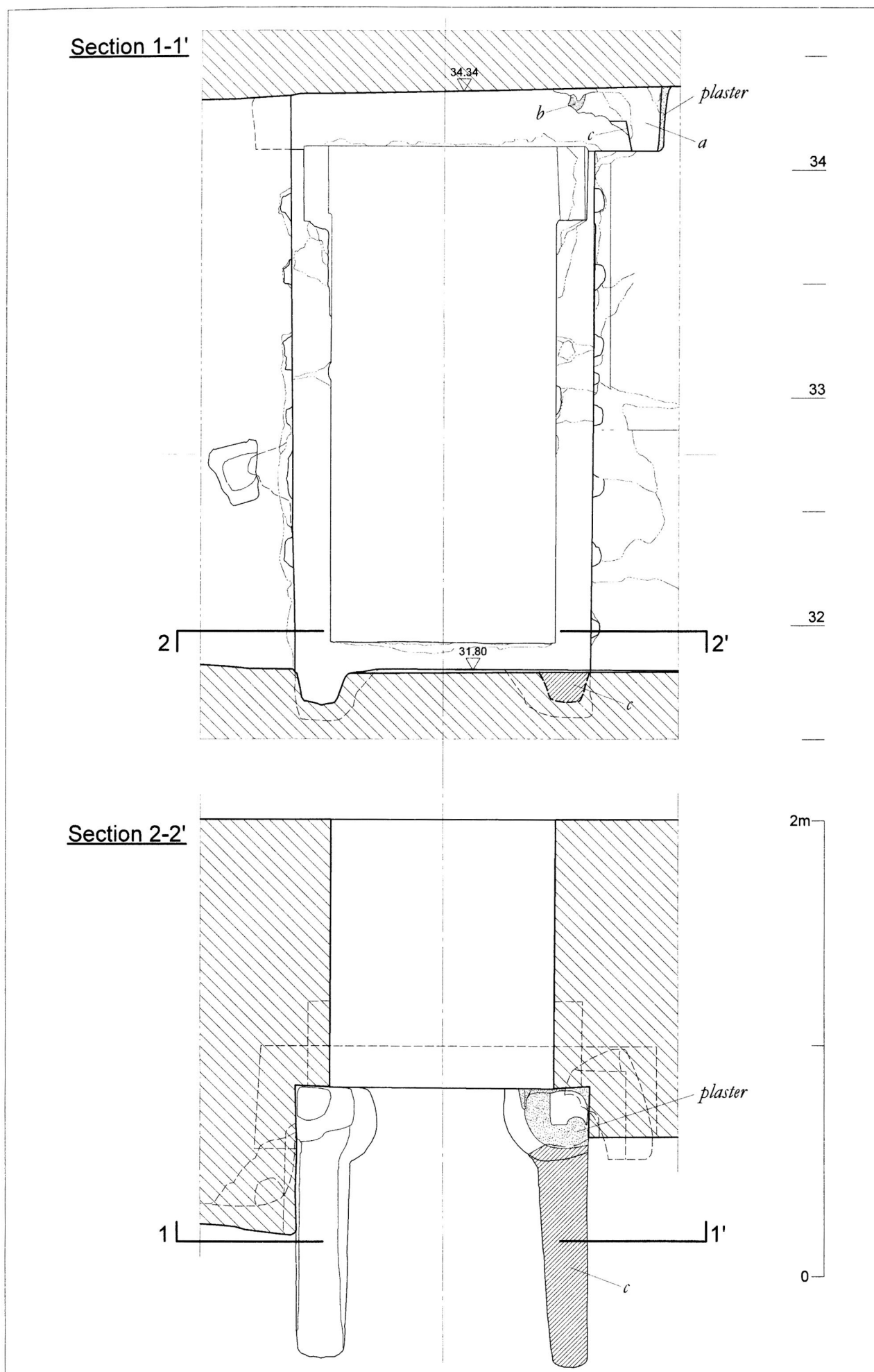


Fig. 12. Entrance of Khafraankh tomb. Section and plan

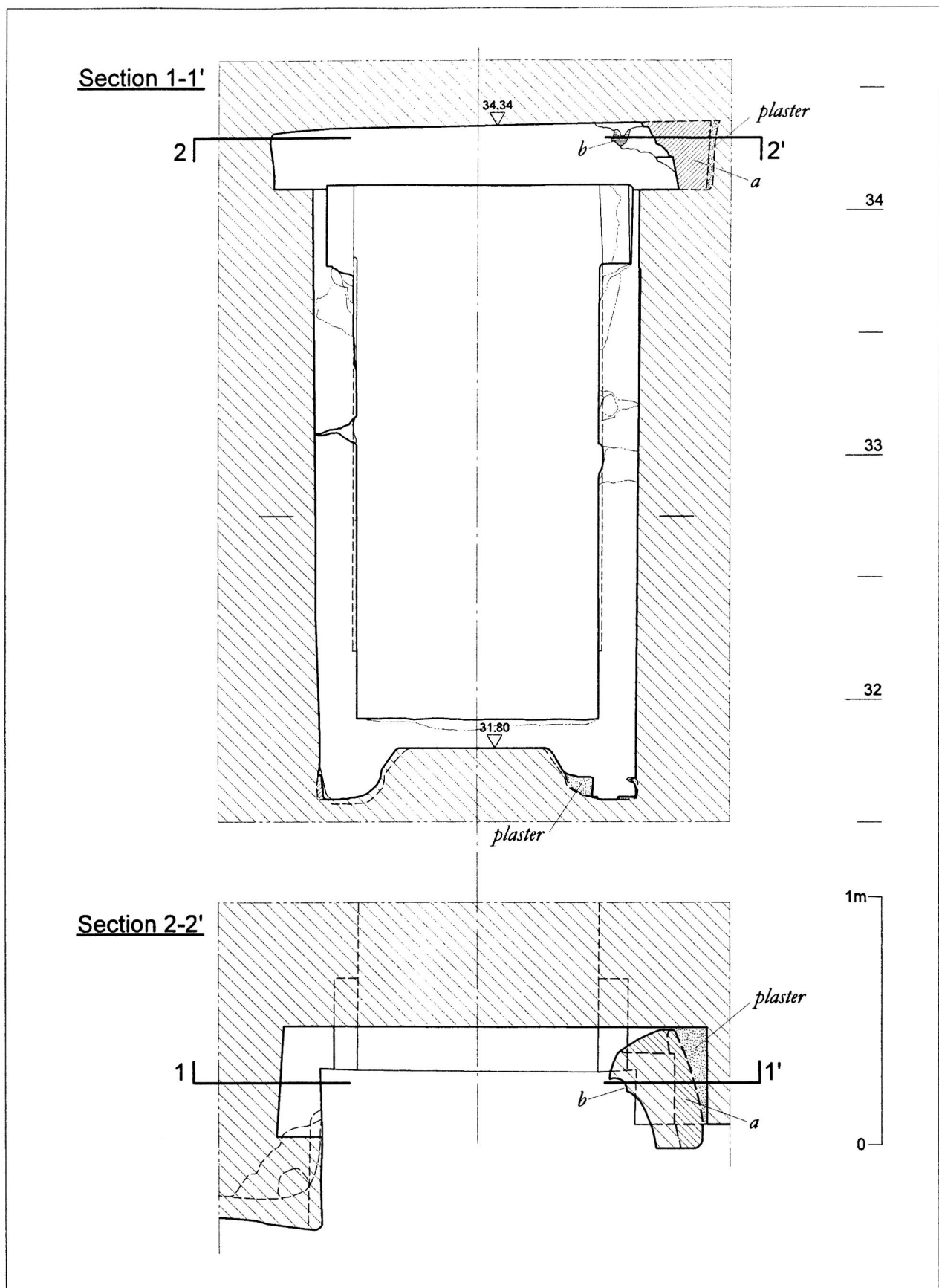
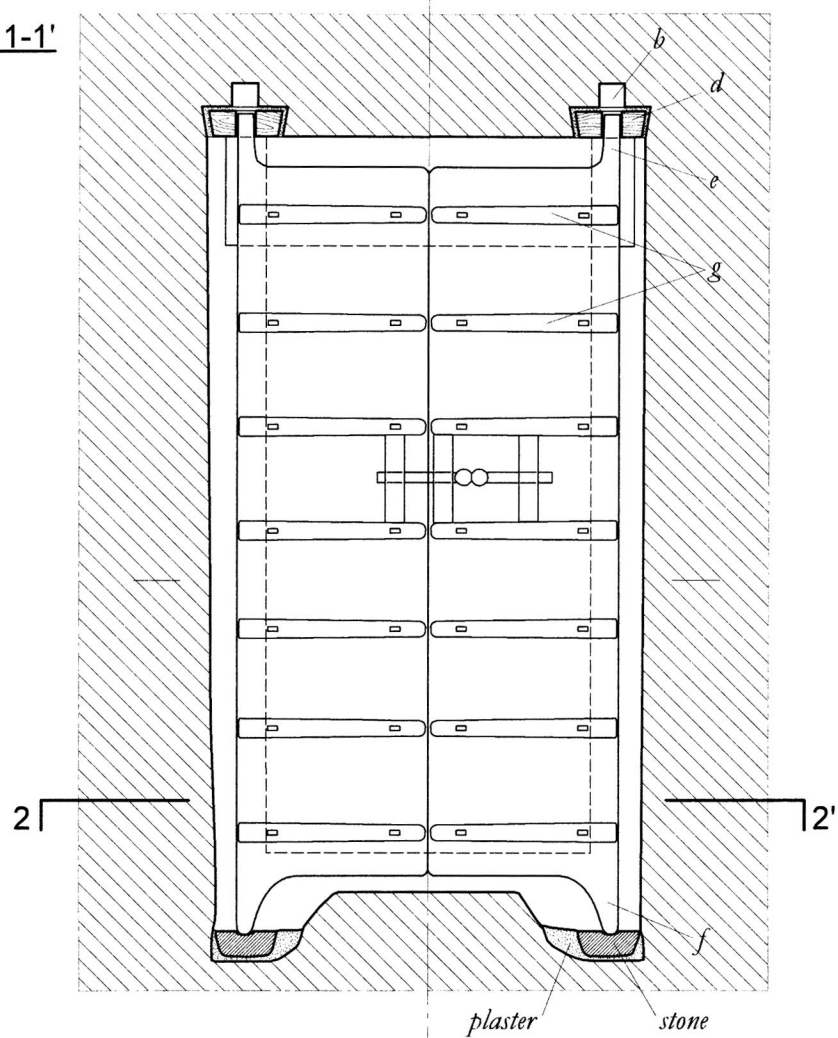


Fig. 13. Entrance of Khafraankh tomb. Section and plan

Section 1-1'



Section 2-2'

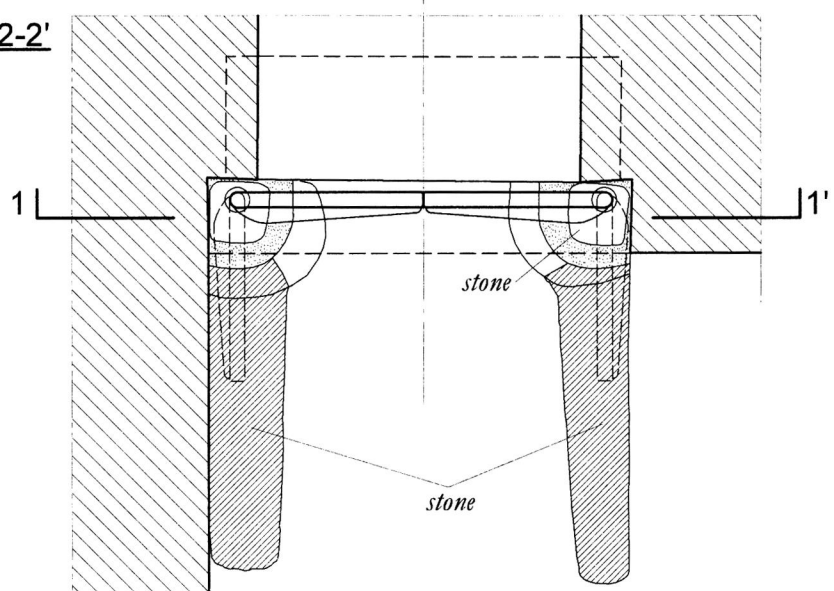


Fig. 14. Reconstruction of the doors. Section and plan

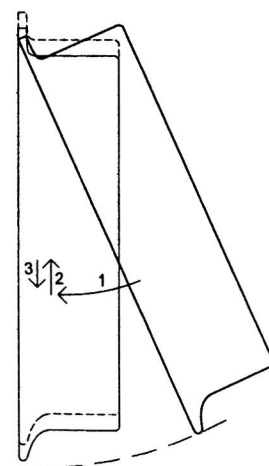
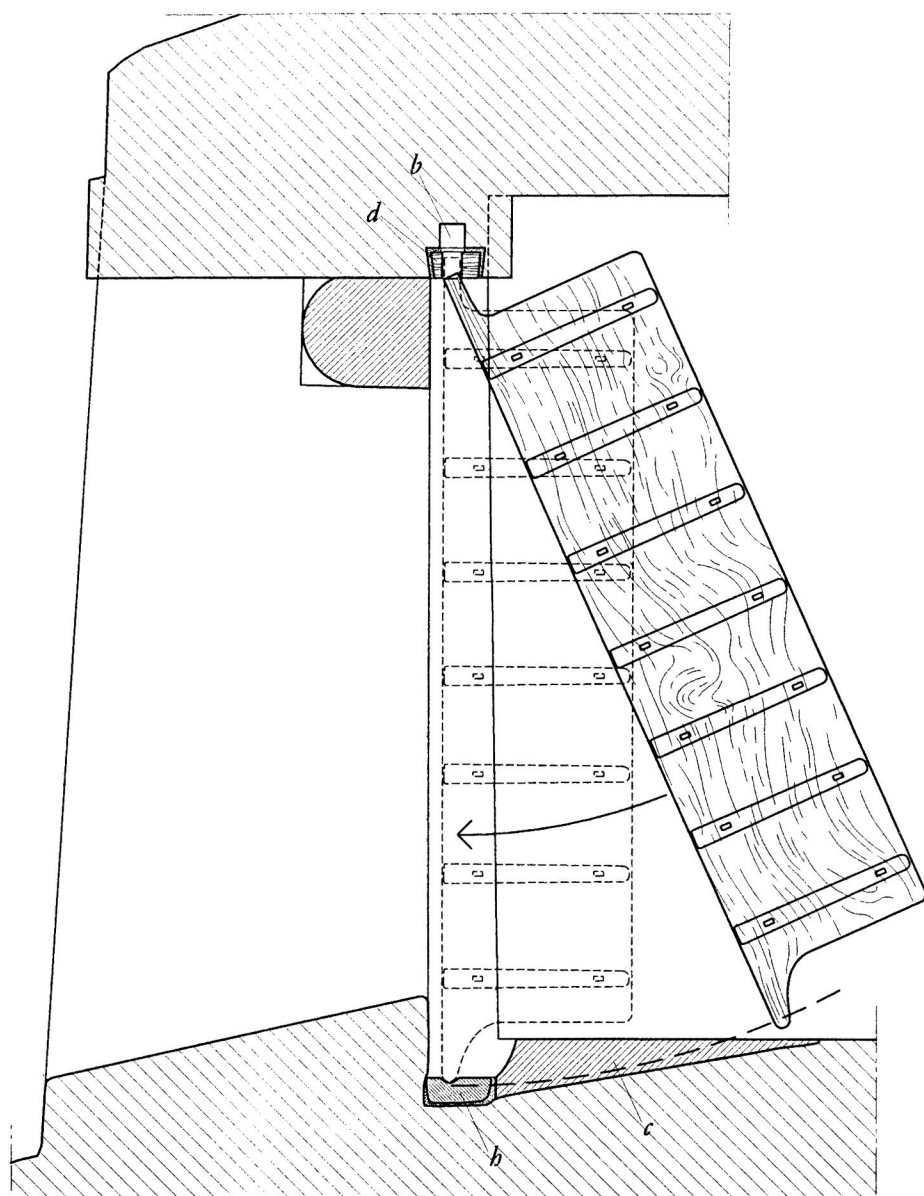


Fig. 15. Reconstruction of doors installation



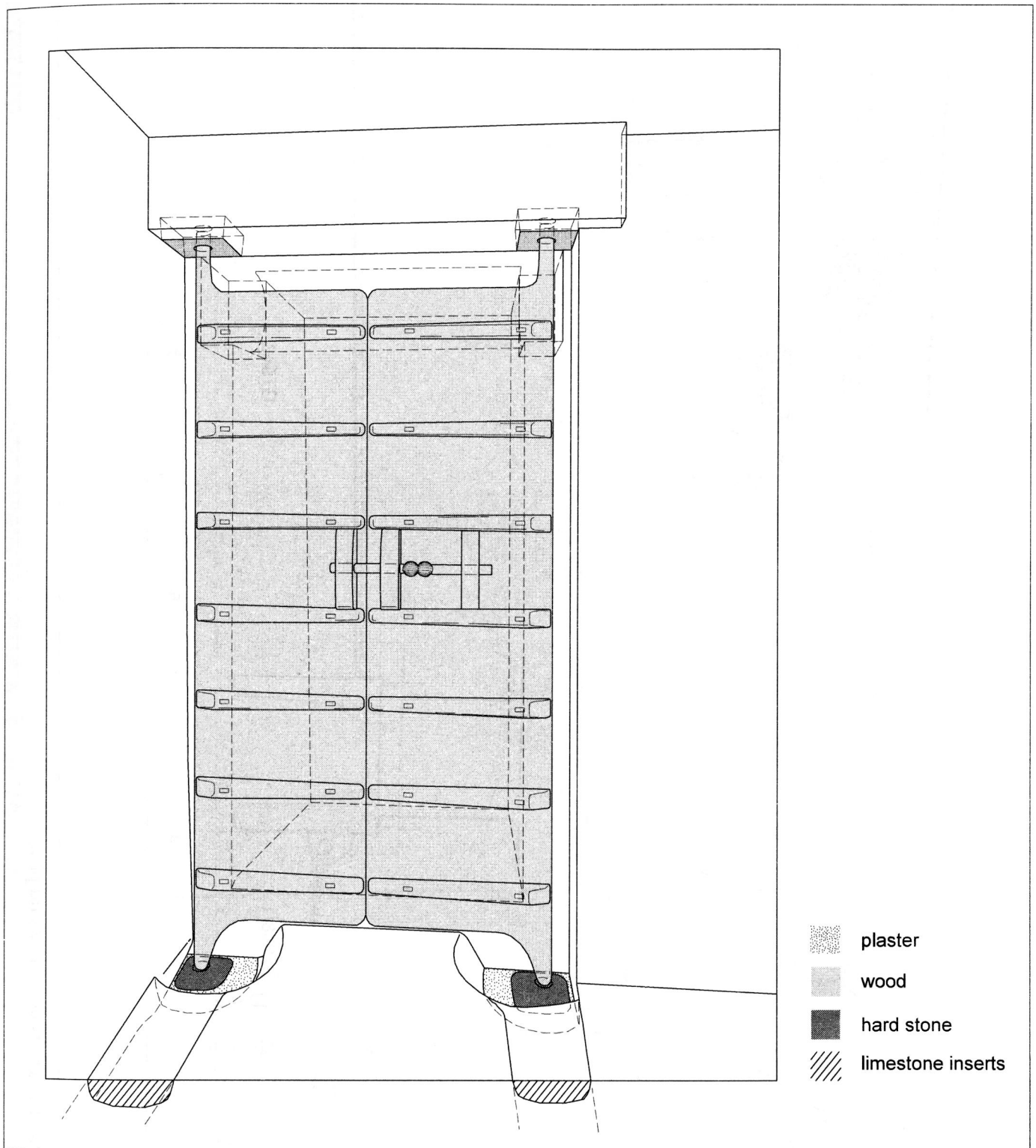


Fig. 16. Reconstruction of the tomb entrance

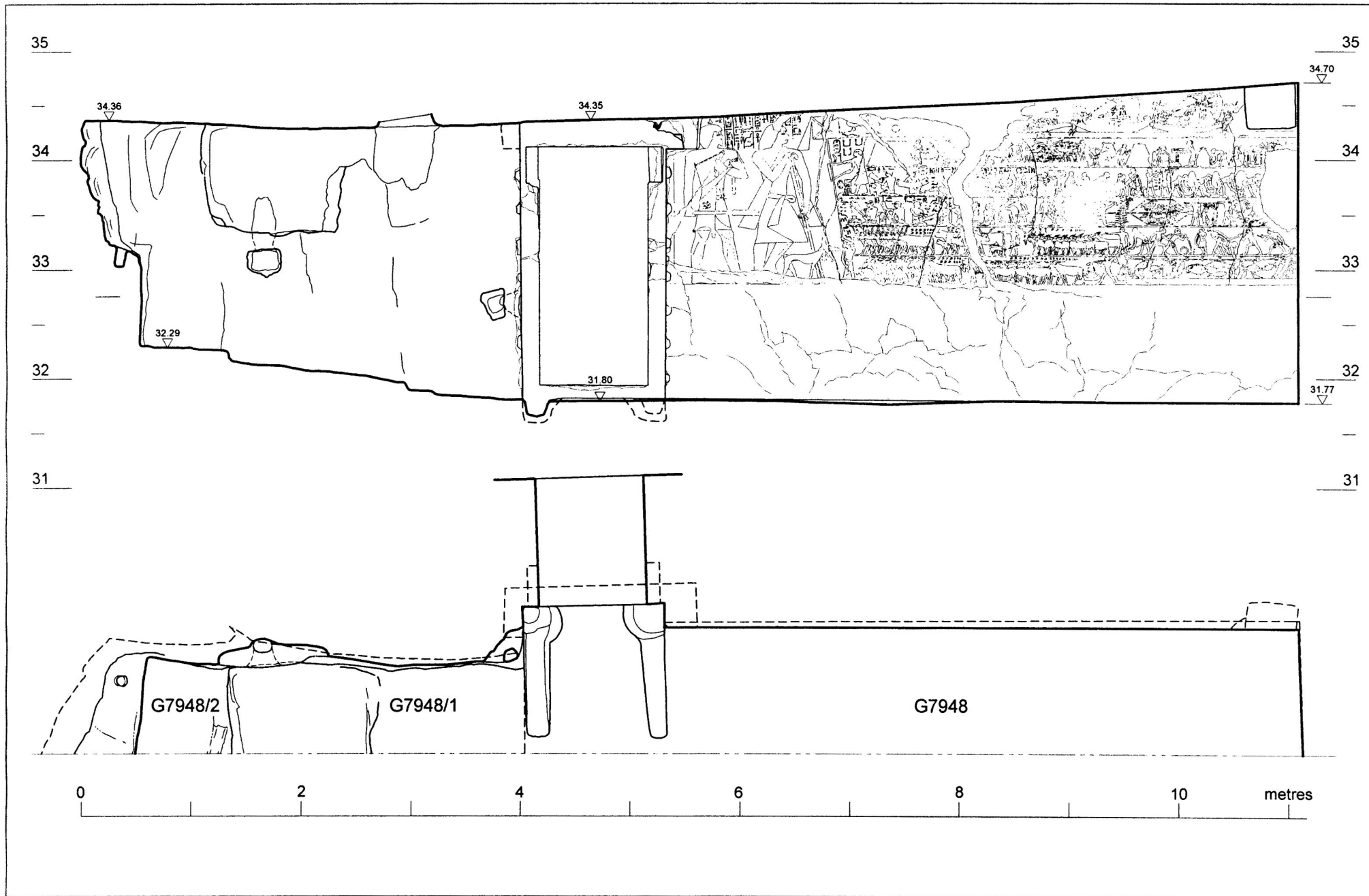


Fig. 17. Tomb of Khafraankh. Eastern wall, section and plan

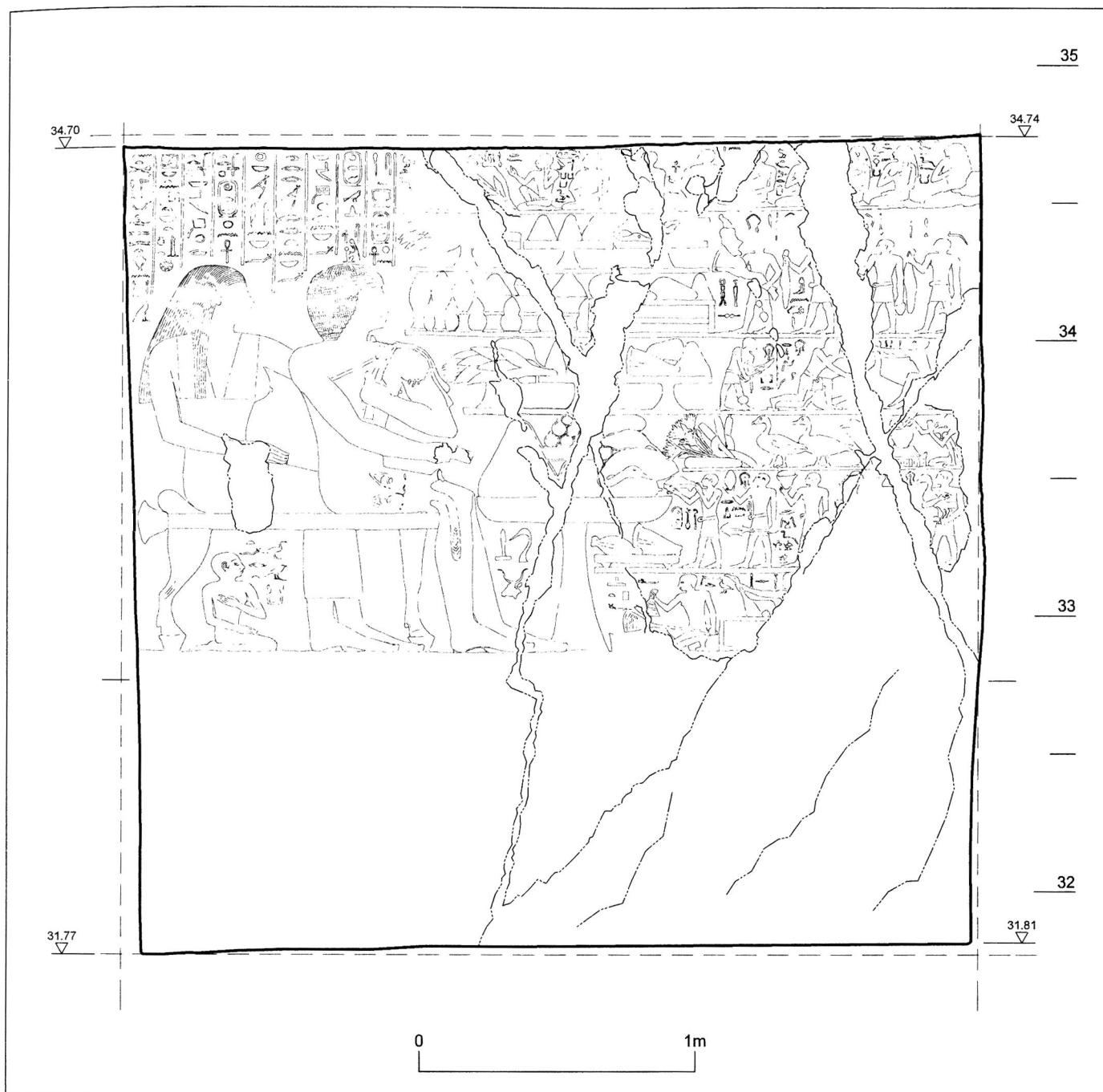


Fig. 18. Tomb of Khafraankh. Southern wall

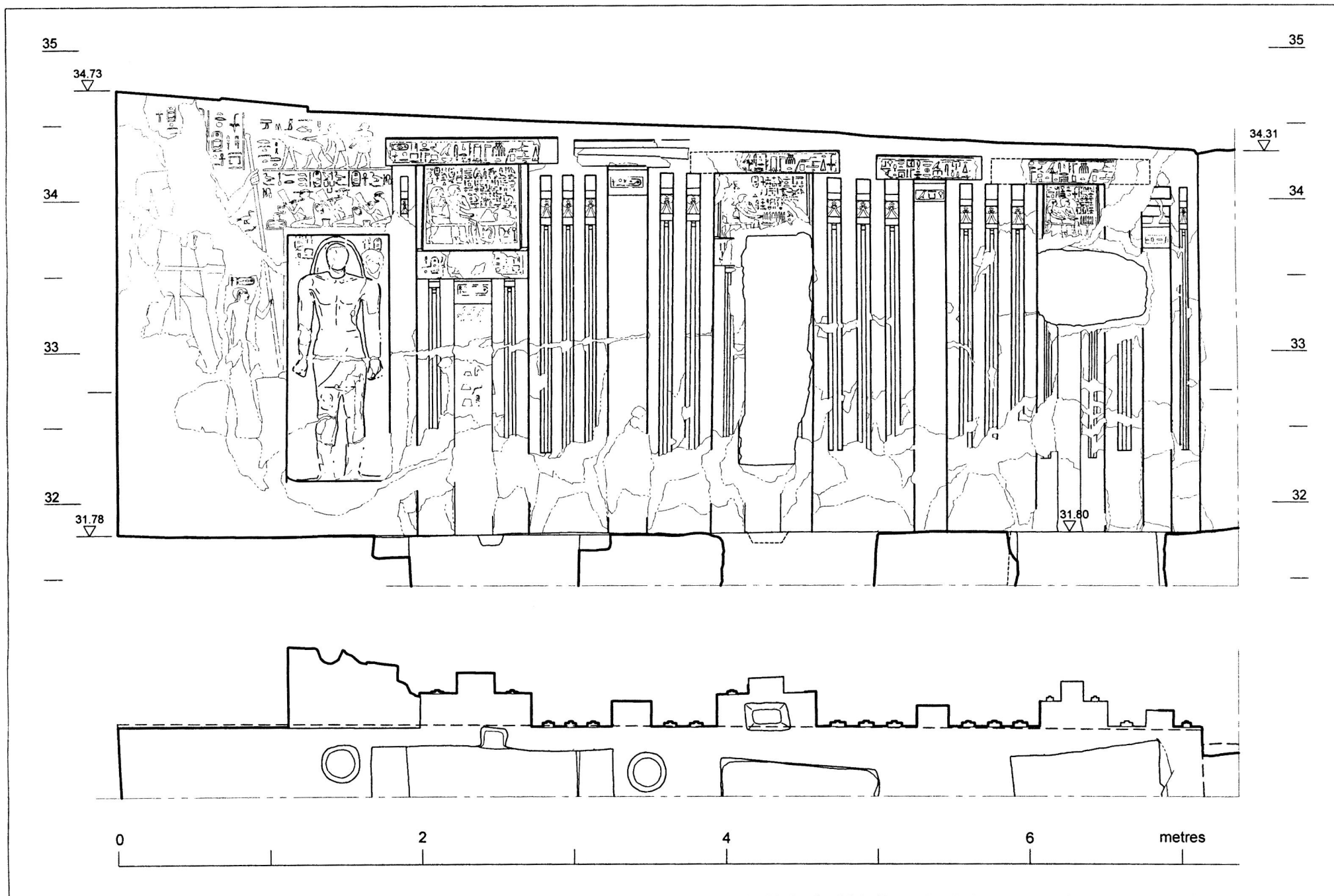


Fig. 19. Tomb of Khafraankh. Western wall, section and plan

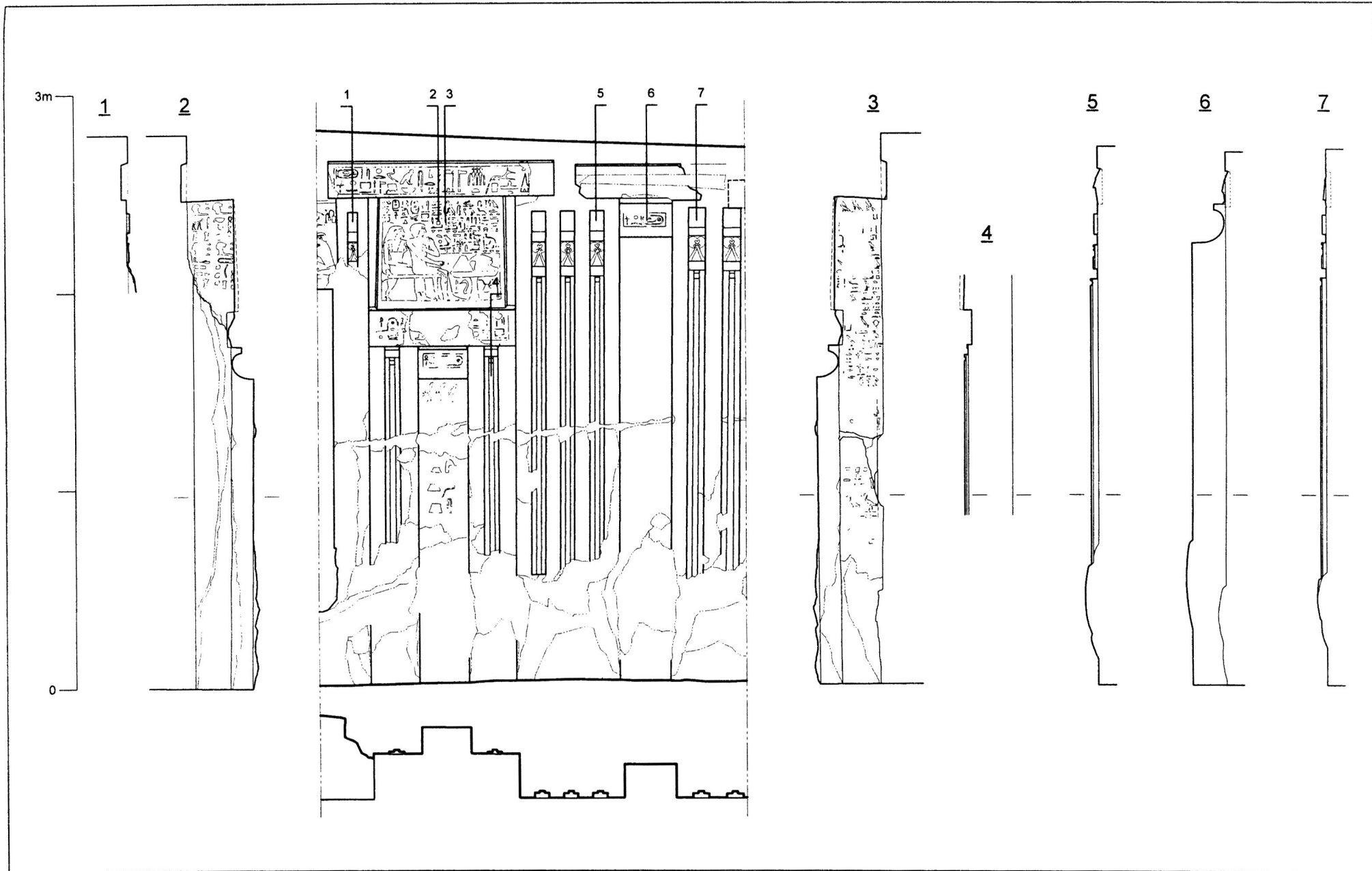


Fig. 20. Tomb of Khafraankh. Western wall, left part, sections and plan

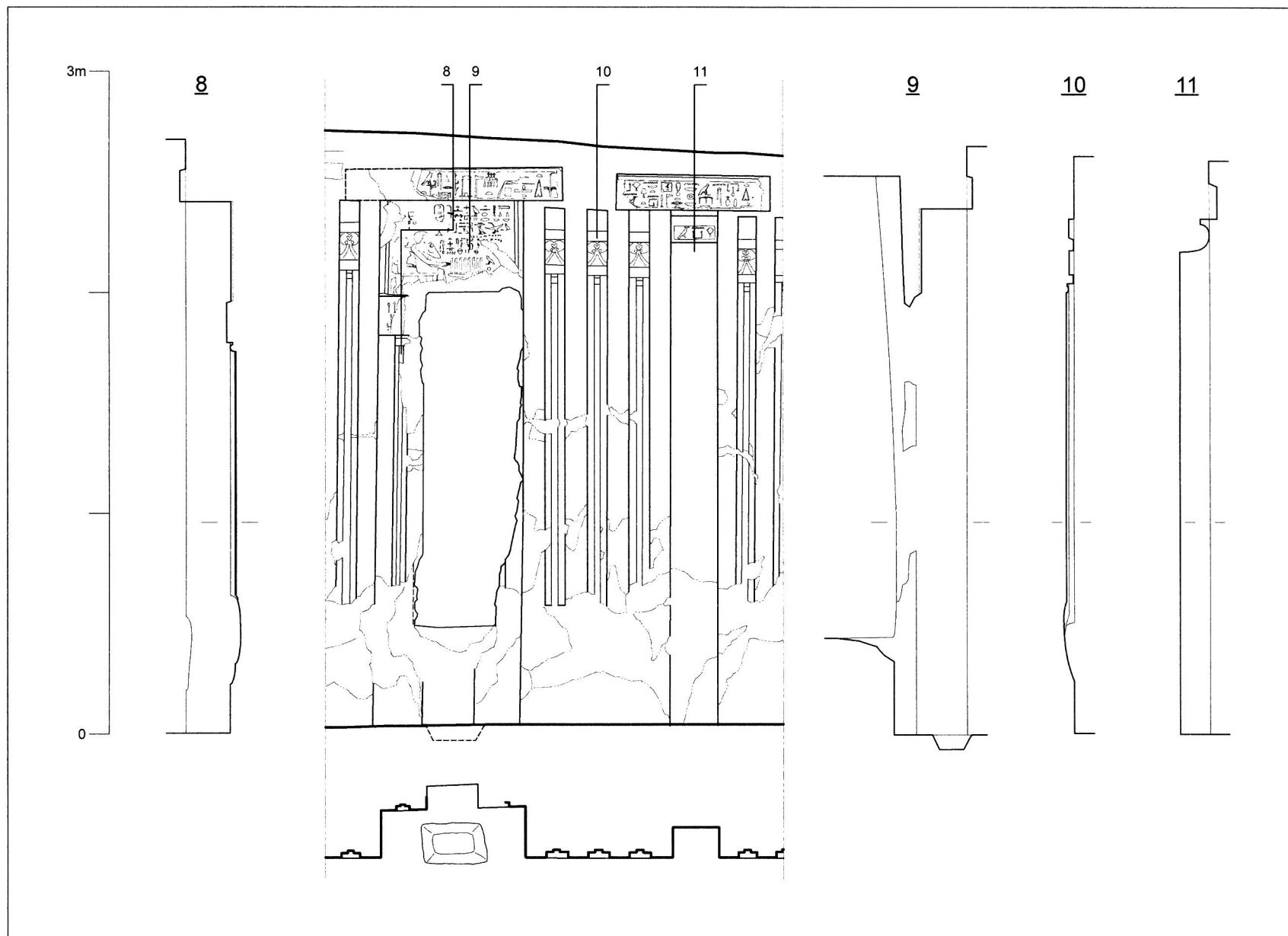


Fig. 21. Tomb of Khafraankh. Western wall, central part, sections and plan

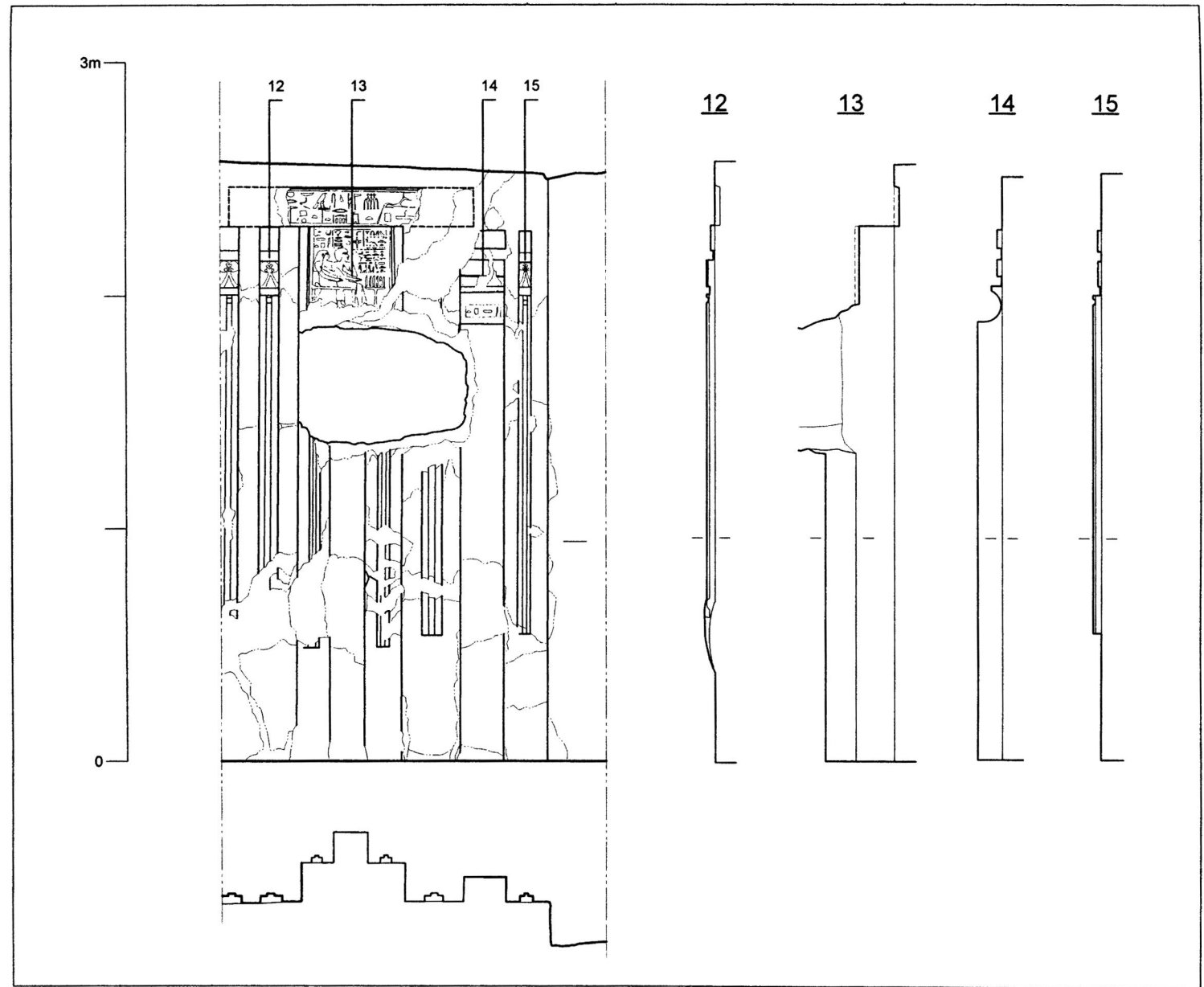


Fig. 22. Tomb of Khafraankh. Western wall, right part, sections and plan

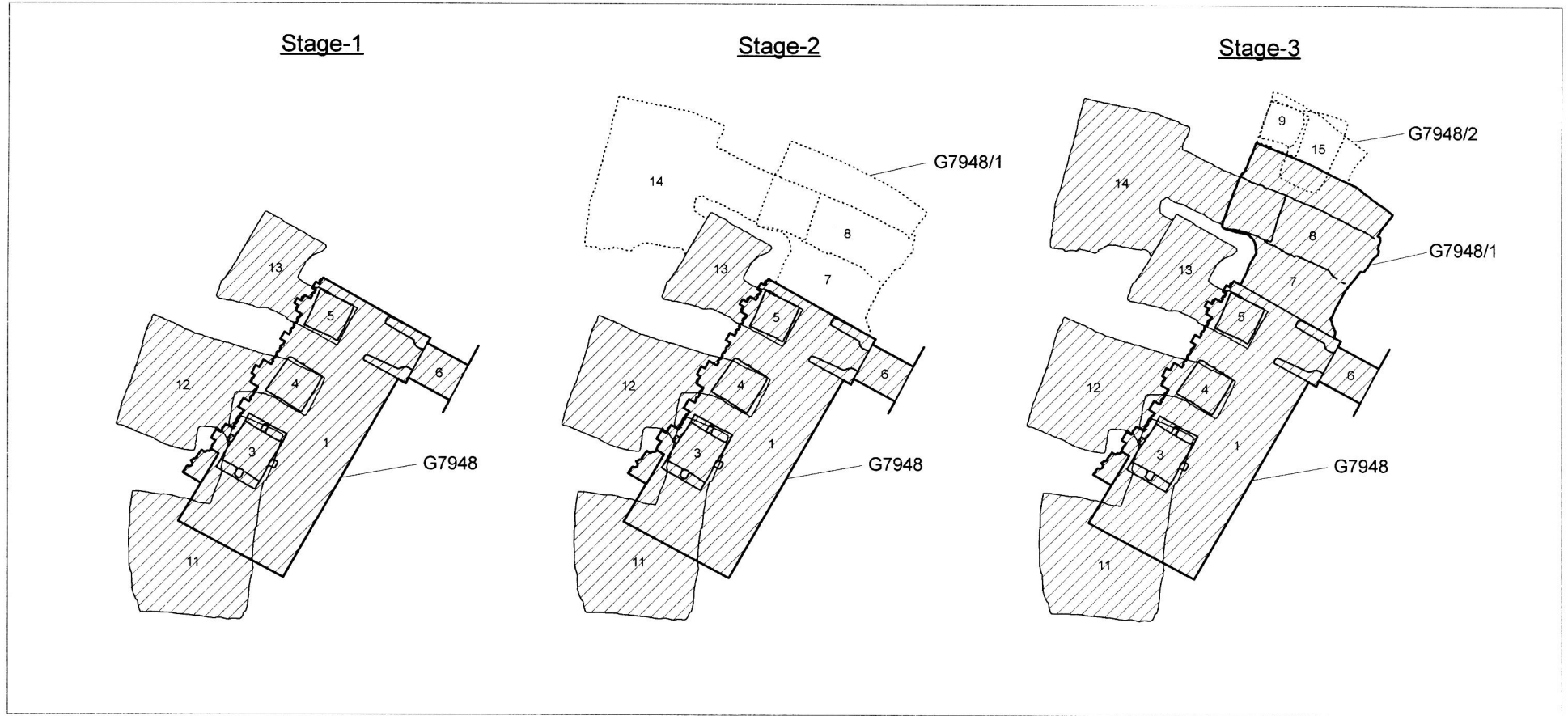


Fig. 23. Stages of the construction and extension of Khafraankh tomb



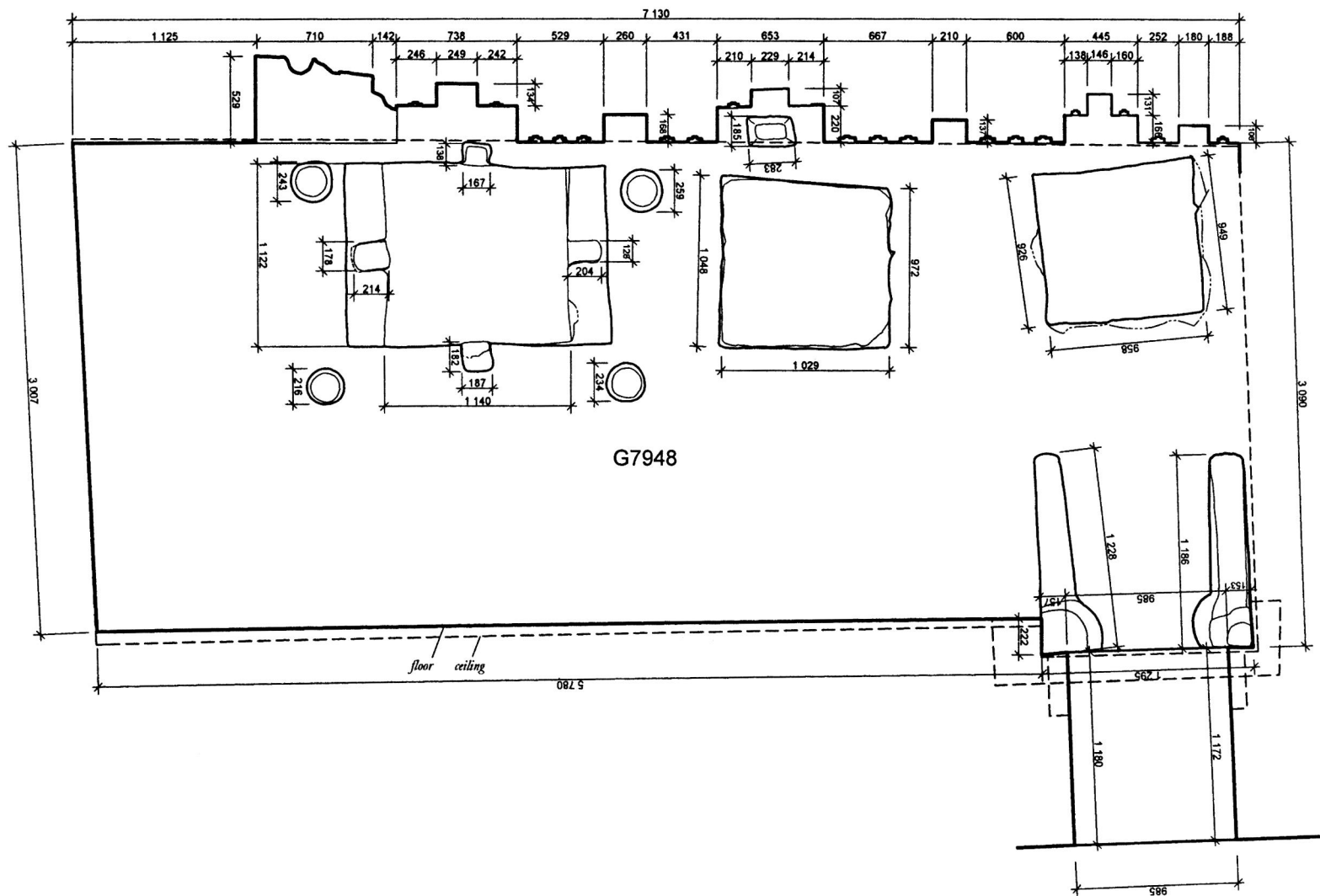


Fig. 24. Measurements of Khafraankh chapel

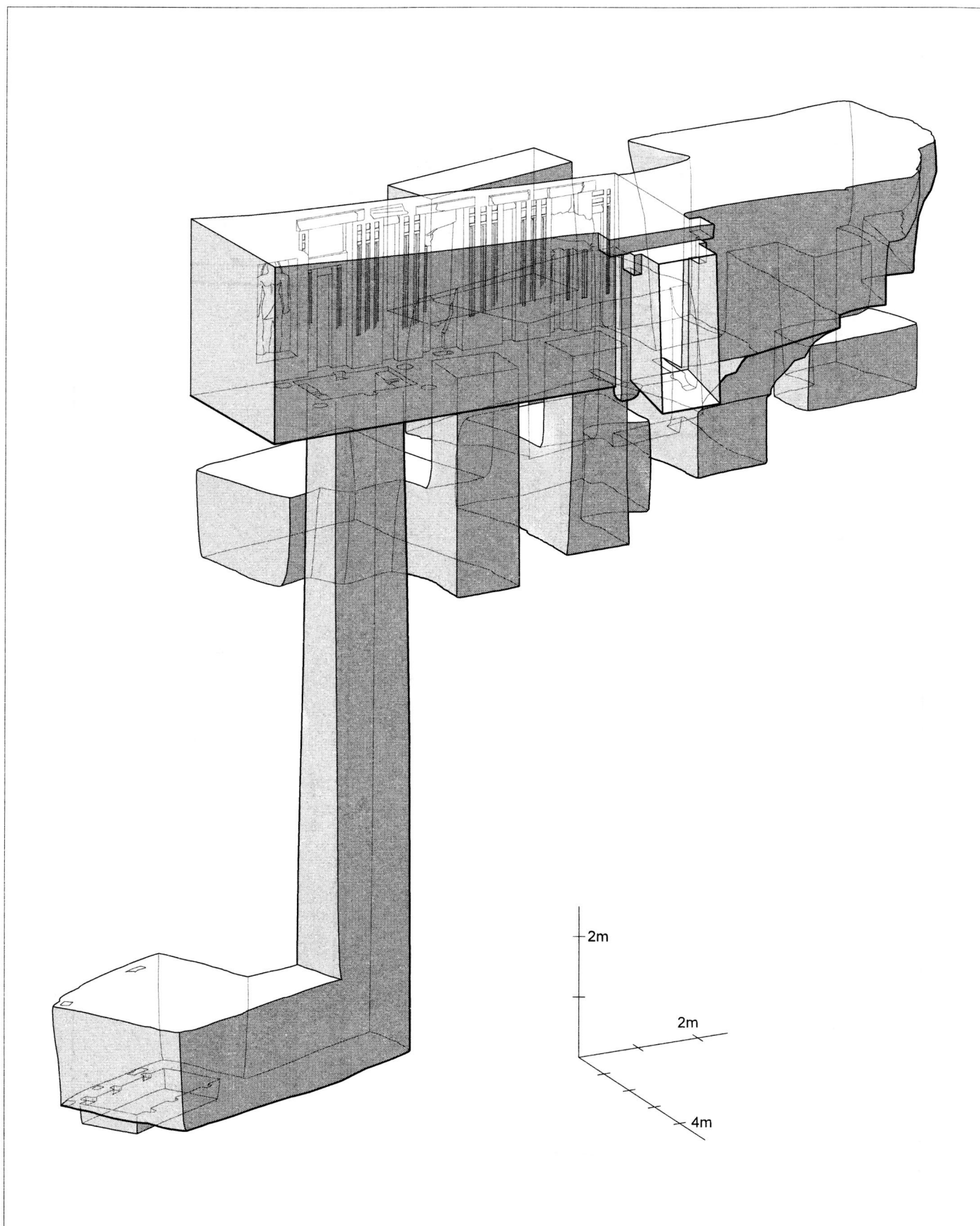


Fig. 25. Axonometry of Khafraankh tomb. South-eastern view

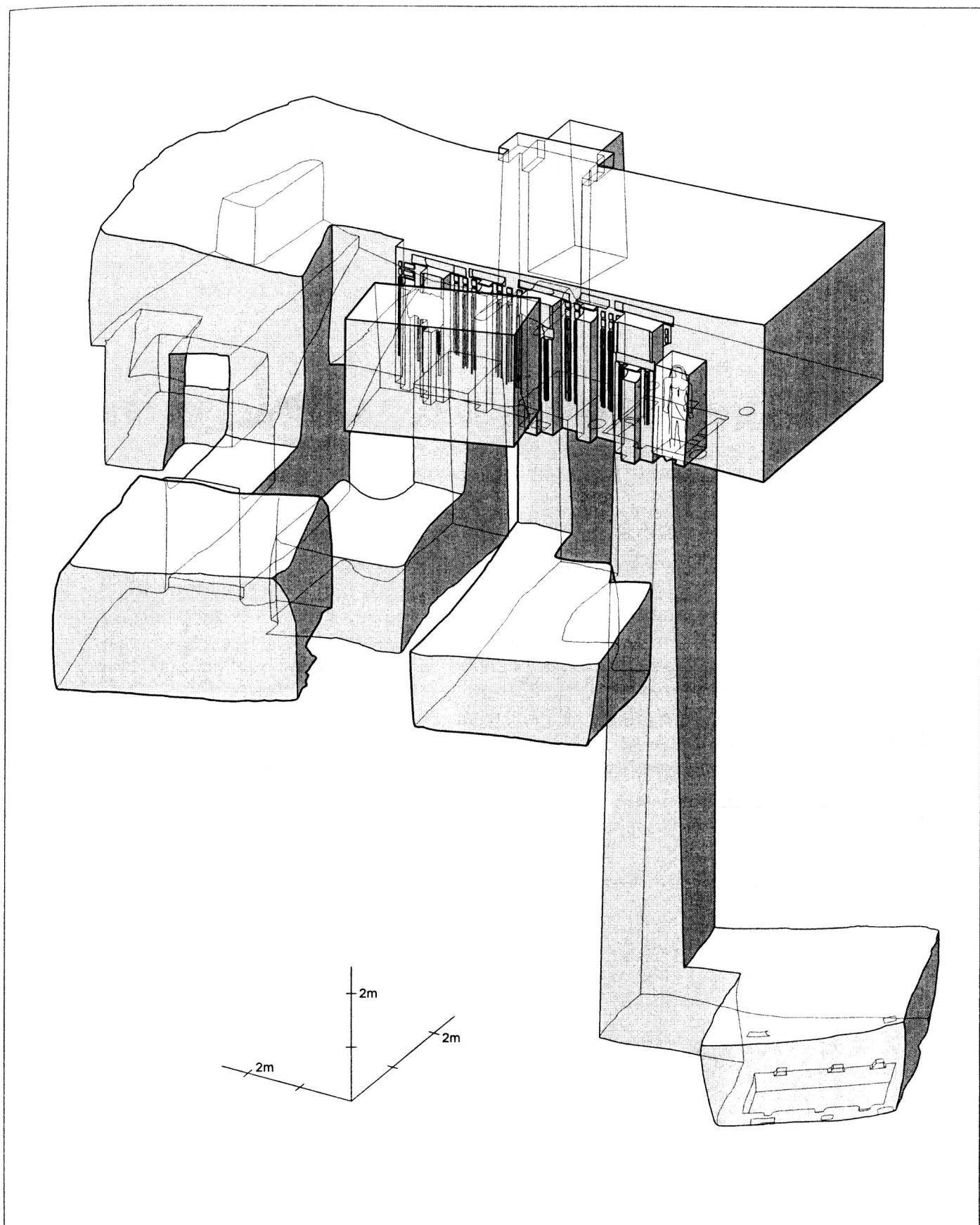


Fig. 26. Axonometry of Khafraankh tomb. South-western view

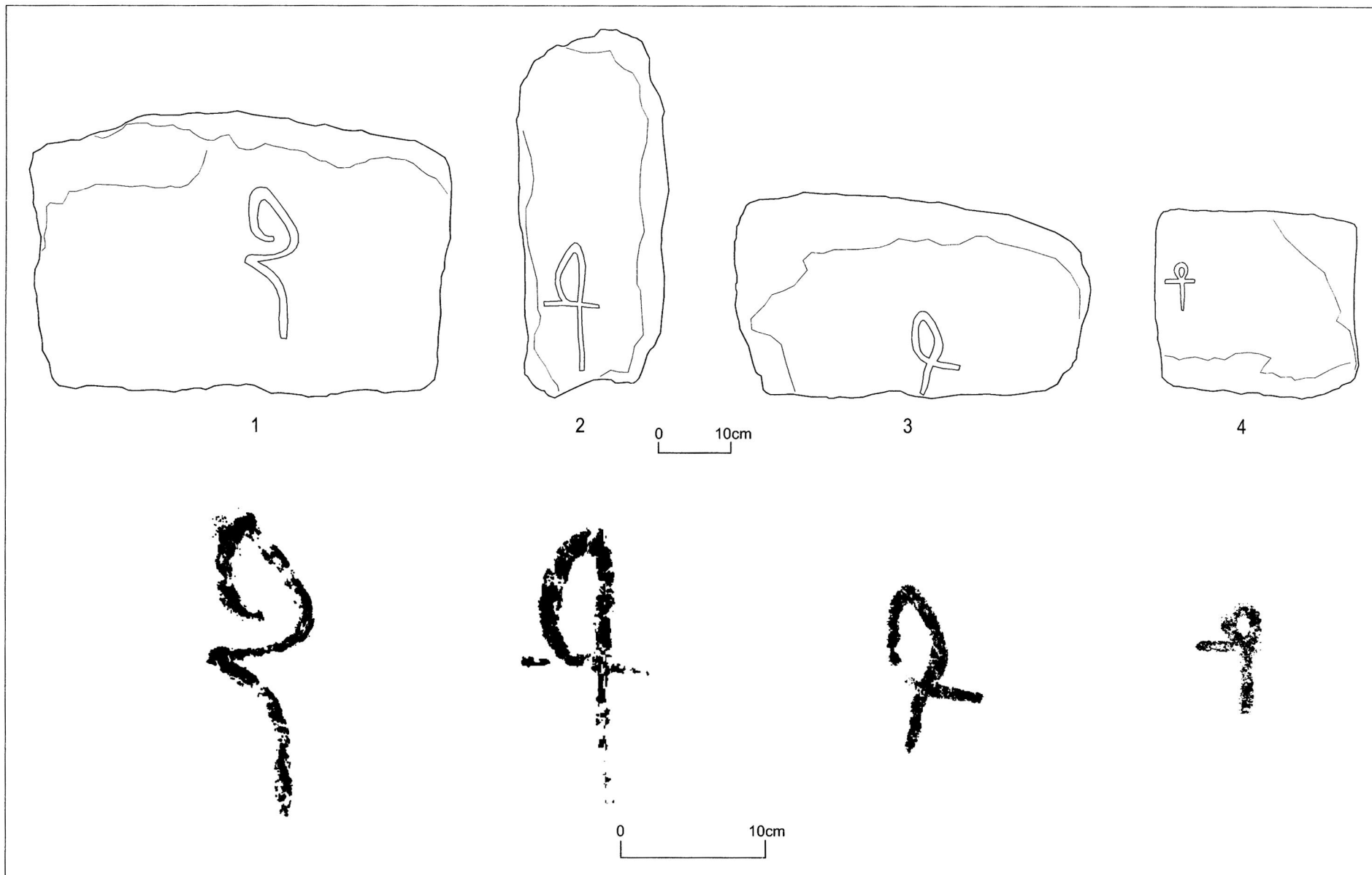


Fig. 27. Tomb of Khafraankh. Stones



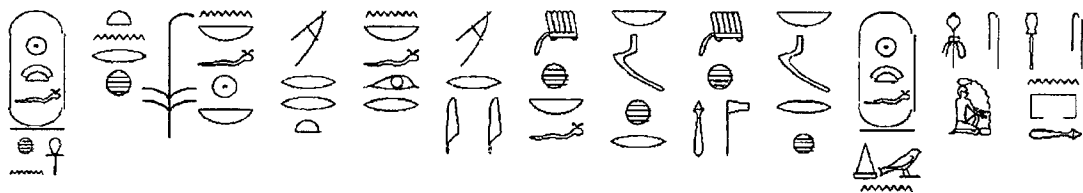
## II.

### RELIEFS AND TEXTS OF THE KHAFRAANKH CHAPEL

#### 1. ENTRANCE

The doorway in the tomb of Khafraankh is decorated on both entrance thicknesses. It reaches 2.20 m of height and about 1 m of width. The drum over the door with the inscription containing the titles and name of the tomb owner has been accurately cut, as the remained traces testify, and was taken away by R.Lepsius to Berlin<sup>39</sup>. Now it is stored in the store room no.7 of Berlin Bode-museums (Inv. no.1150). Its sizes: the length is 1.19 m, width at the left is 0.34 m, on the right – 0.35 m, and height is 0.31 m. The size of the doorway in the tomb of Khafraankh makes 2.21 m in height and 0.99–1 m at the width. In the Archive of the *Wörterbuch* in Berlin are kept stamps of inscriptions (36, sheet 1-3). The inscription of the drum in length of 0.90 m is executed by the short vertical columns of signs turned to the right<sup>40</sup>.

The inscription on the drum:



<sup>39</sup> The drum has been studied by O.V.Tomashevich during her scientific mission to Heidelberg thanks to the grant of Alexander Humboldt's Fund. For the kind permission to study the drum at the place the authors express gratitude to the director of the Egyptian Museum D.Wildung. We express also profound gratitude for possibility to work with these unique materials to employees of *Wörterbuch* Archive in Berlin E.Freier and S.Gruenert, the authors of the book about R.Lepsius expedition: FREIER, GRUENERT, FREITAG, 1984.

<sup>40</sup> LD II, Bl. 8. BURTON, 1825–1829, pl. XXVII, no.4. The inscription was incorrectly reproduced in: ROEDER, 1901, S. 27.

*smr n pr ʕ3 šḥd wʕb(w) n Wr <Hʕj.f-Rʕ><sup>41</sup> nb im3ḥw ḥr ntr ʕ3 nb im3ḥw ḥr  
nb.f mrrj<sup>42</sup> nb.f ir mrrwt nb.f rʕ nb rḥ nswt <Hʕj.f-Rʕ> ʕnh*

*The friend (=semer) of the Great house, the supervisor of wab-priests of the Pyramid "Great-is-Khafa"<sup>43</sup>, lord of reverence with great god, lord of reverence with his lord, whom his lord loves, creating that his lord likes every day, Royal acquaintance Khafraankh.*

In the inscription arrangement the tendency of the adaptation of the text to the space of the drum is obviously traced, also the ex-articulation of significant elements of the inscription as it is visible on a sign *nswt*, stretched on all vertical surface of the drum. The basic tendency of the arrangement of the inscription is vertical arrangement of words, that only in certain cases corresponds with word combinations displayed horizontally, which is explained by esthetic reasons of the arrangement of the inscription. From the point of view of rendering of the tomb owner titles, the plan of the composition provided an idea to place the functional titles of Khafraankh – *smr n pr ʕ3, šḥd wʕb(w) n Wr <Hʕj.f-Rʕ>* in the center of the composition of the drum, while the honorable titles were placed symmetrically regarding the figure on the entrance thicknesses.

The rare feature fixed in this inscription and in the inscription on the eastern wall of the tomb is writing of the Khafraankh title *smr n pr-ʕ3* ("the friend of the Great house") using the indirect genitive. This title is attested in this tomb ten times (once over the image of Iteti); from them four times – in the writing through "direct genitive" (all – on the western wall: in the niche near the Khafraankh's statue and on the architraves of the false doors); five times it is written in the abnormal form *smr n pr-ʕ3*, i.e. through "indirect genitive". The writing of the title with indirect genitive is attested as well in the tomb of Iteti<sup>44</sup>, the brother of Khafraankh.

Y.Harpur notes that this mode of writing is very rare and besides these two tombs does' not attested among the Old Kingdom inscriptions<sup>45</sup>. However there is one more case of this writing, and regarding persons, holding the same position, as Khafraankh and Iteti. So, for example, the rank of Rudzka is written, who held the same post, as Khafraankh. The inscription is located on the drum of the entrance door into the tomb, and was arrived in the British Museum in 1897. Unfortunately, the find place of the monument remains is unknown. On the drum he is named *smr n pr-ʕ3, šḥd wʕb(w) Wr-Hʕj.f-Rʕ<sup>46</sup>*.

Analysis of the direction of writing and word combinations on the drum demonstrates the vertical as well as the horizontal positions. Vertically-divided inscriptions were carved on

<sup>41</sup> The hieroglyphs are located with the shift of the name of Khafa, which have been taken out in the vertical column while the pyramid designation, is placed horizontally so that hieroglyphs appear consistently under each column of the inscription on the drum. Thereof the concordant *n* it appears torn off from the word *nb*, which it belongs (see, for example, other inscriptions pass jambs where *nb* is written with prosthetic *n*).

<sup>42</sup> On this honorable title and its variants s. in particular JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 17-18.

<sup>43</sup> M.Baud with the reference to other researches notes that the priests title *hm ntr* in the combination with the Pyramid name is not attested earlier than the middle of the Dynasty V (BAUD, 1999, p. 100). Evidently the same is available for the Khafraankh title *šḥd wʕb Wr-<Hʕj.f-Rʕ>*.

<sup>44</sup> The tomb G7391, published by CURTO, 1963, p. 34-46; BADAWY, 1976, fig. 6. – The drum of the entrance doorway – *rḥ nswt smr n pr ʕ3*. According to the Badawy's transliteration: *rḥ nswt smr n pr ʕ3 imy r3 pr ʕ3 Ittj* (BADAWY, 1976, p. 4); in the scenes of the presentation of offering to Iteti by his three sons this word-combination is also written as *smr n pr ʕ3* (Ibid., fig. 10). HARPUR, 1981, p. 24-26.

<sup>45</sup> HARPUR 1981, 26.

<sup>46</sup> JAMES, 1961, I, pl 20, no. 23 (British Museum, no.1268).

some IV and early Dynasty V entrance drums, but on lintels, horizontal lines become more and more predominant. In order to save space, the cartouche is sometimes written vertically while the rest of the text is horizontal<sup>47</sup>.

The basilformed name of the owner of the tomb G 7948 is composed of the name of the king and the component *nh* with the meaning “live”, “living”, that for the Old Kingdom is attested with names of gods (in this case god is revived Khafra) and could belong both to royal persons, and simple people<sup>48</sup>.

The title *rh nswt* – “royal acquaintance” was proposed to read *irj iht njswt* – “property custodian of the king”<sup>49</sup>. From Dynasty IV a considerable quantity of people out of royal family has been involved in the state administration, positions which were occupied by direct and indirect king’s relatives. At Dynasty V this title was related with the execution of ritual ceremonies<sup>50</sup>. This conclusion is well correlated with the basic functional title of Khafraankh – *shd w<sup>c</sup>b (w) n Wr-H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>*, “the inspector of *wab*-priests of the Pyramid “Great-is-Khafra”, and displays, thus, one of arguments in favor of dating of the tomb in Dynasty V.

The title of the inspector of *w<sup>c</sup>b (w)*-priests specifies the concrete duties of Khafraankh – the organization of their services in the funeral temple at the Khafra pyramid<sup>51</sup>, the second-large pyramid of ancient Egypt and accordingly – one of the largest funeral temples of Egypt of the Old Kingdom. *Wab*-priests served in *hwt ntr* of the royal pyramid, they also could execute the functions at the moment of death<sup>52</sup>. The great number of the officials carrying these titles, is known from the time of the Dynasties V and VI<sup>53</sup>.

The word combinations *nb im3hw hr ntr 3*, *nb im3hw hr nb.f* – *the lord of reverence with the great god, the lord of reverence with his lord* (similar phrases are on the northern and southern entrance thicknesses) relate to that category of the inscriptions, which express the notion of respect, where both god and the king are mentioned in parallel and where the king is meant as

<sup>47</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 48, 49.

<sup>48</sup> JUNKER, 1954, S. 170, 190-191.

<sup>49</sup> The arguments in favor and objections were noted by FISCHER, 1959, 237, n.12.

<sup>50</sup> JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 39-41, especially S. 40, where he discussed this title as *irj h.t nswt* and *rh nswt*. This title is mentioned in the *Wörterbuch* as *rh nswt* with the reference to the reading *irj h.t nswt* or *irj h nswt* (WB II, S. 446. Hannig, 2003, S. 163-164:3046 – *irt-jht-nsw* – “*Sachverwalter*”, “*Verwalter des Königsvermögens*”). On this meaning s. BARTA W., 1999; BAUD 1999, p. 108 – *chargé des affaires du roi*. According to W.Barta, during the Dynasty IV the title *irj jht nswt* transfigured into a simple functional title denoted the people employed at the royal court. During the Dynasty IV and at the beginning of the Dynasty V the title denoted the mere character of duties of the people associated with the private affairs of the king (S. 83-84) and in the Dynasties V and VI referred to officials who were employed at the funerary temples in analogous service as originally at the royal court, however, for the soul (or living image) of the king in his mortuary temple (S. 88). In the last editions this word (and word-combination) is placed in the alphabetic order of its original meaning s. JONES, 2000, I, p. 327(1206). The title *rh nswt*, originally designated direct and also indirect kings’ relatives gradually has ceased to relate only those who has been connected by family bonds with the king (JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 40; JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 18). From the functional point of view H.Pirenne fairly sees two categories of this title bearers – kings’ descendants and participants of the royal cult (the title given by the king), assimilating them with the first category (cit. after BAUD, 1999, p. 107, note 8).

<sup>51</sup> s. HELCK, 1954, S. 129 – “*Auch bei diesem Titel scheint man bei Königen der 4. Dynastie den Pyramidennamen nicht dazu gesetzt zu haben, während das beim Titel shd w<sup>c</sup>b der Fall war*”.

<sup>52</sup> According to M.Baud the title *w<sup>c</sup>b* a priori belonged to the royal category. – BAUD, 1999, p. 221.

<sup>53</sup> JONES, 1988, p. 918-920, no.3376-3379.

an embodiment of the god-falcon<sup>54</sup>. The epithet *im3hw hr ntr ʿ3* – *the honored with the great god* is met in Dynasties V and VI, consequent examples were attested in the tombs of Khentika, Hetepnyptah (or Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza), Ankhmahor at Saqqara, Senedjemib, Khnumeni, Kaemnefer, on the stela of Weser, in the tomb of Irukaptah<sup>55</sup>. In the notion *im3hw* the need for continued association with the king and other inhabitants of the afterlife are expressed<sup>56</sup>.

Accordingly it is possible to assume that they reflected a condition of ideas, characteristic for the period, since the Dynasty V when the phenomena of the desacralisation of the king were appreciable, and ordinary dead has been approached to the possibility of reception of eternal life.

The use of these word-combinations in a private tomb is an evidence of the ideas on direct connection of dead with the god, but not just through the king. Accordingly it is possible to assume that they reflected a condition of ideas, characteristic for the period, since Dynasty V when the phenomena of the desacralisation of the king were appreciable, and ordinary dead (not a king) has been approached to the possibility of reception of eternal life through unification with the god.

The name of Khafraankh, including the name of the king as a component, testifies that, either he was the descendant of blood relatives of Khafra, or that is more probable, this name was connected with his priestly post in the funeral temple of Khafra. The similar situation is attested in the tomb of Seneb (Dynasty V), prosopography in which gives names of Snofru, Khufu and Sahura<sup>57</sup>.

From the point of view of administrative hierarchy the title of Khafraankh was considered as the highest in the funeral temple and the second one in the system of the organization of the funeral cult of the king. The title *shd wʿb* is connected with Pyramids in Dynasty V belonged to the people who were supervisors of settlements at pyramids<sup>58</sup>.

Two figures of the tomb owner are pictures on the entrance thicknesses on all the passage at height 0.48–0.28 m from the floor in a raising arrangement from the entrance to the floor in relation to the offering room.

<sup>54</sup> On this subject s. JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 55. This title was interpreted by O. Berlev as a possessor of the spinal chord or provided with the spinal chord (HODJASH, BERLEV, 1982, p. 25, comment e; cf. Possessor of spine/marrow – BERLEV, KHODJASH, 2004, p. 42, 43, B, k). On this title s. also. BARTA W., 1963, S. 303; HELCK, 1956; GOEDICKE, 1970, S. 38; ROMANOVA, 2004, p. 101-110. The word-combination *im3hw hr ntr ʿ3* s. JUNKER, GIZA VI, S. 41, Abb. 8; S. 59, Abb. 14 (tomb of Nefer). On the *ntr ʿ3* and *ntr nfr* s. BERLEV, 1972, p. 12, no.2. According to him this epithet means a deceased men ability to see and to take offerings. On this subject s., for example, JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 54-57; FISCHER, 2002, S. 21 (160). As J. Allen notes, in the Pyramid Texts the term can refer to either god, “the great god” is usually one of the deities with whom the deceased interacts, but in some cases he is also the deceased king himself. The view of an afterlife dependent on “the great god” remained central (ALLEN, 2006, p. 11). JONES, 2000, p. 30, no.142, with the reference to special literature; KLOTH, 2002, S. 72-73. WINDUS-STAGINSKY, 2006, S. 89, 198-199, 219.

<sup>55</sup> BADAWY, 1978, fig. 2, inner facet (right); 4 (south doorjamb of entrance doorway); Ankhmahor – 20 (north thickness of entrance door), 21 (south thickness of entrance door), 37. ALTENMÜLLER, 1981, S. 47, Abb.9, Sz 12.1; 12.3; S. 53, T.11, dating the tomb in the end of Dynasty V. KLOTH, 2002, 26 (dating the tomb of *Htp-n=j Pth* in the beginning of Dynasty VI). BROVARSKI, 2000, p. 43, 153, 155. SIMPSON, 1980, G2353, Stela of Weser, fig. 52, Dynasty VI (p.37). SIMPSON, 1992, p. 14-15 (dating the tomb in the end of Dynasty V – beginning of Dynasty VI). MCFARLANE, 2000, p.14-15 (dating in the end of Dynasty V). HODJASH, BERLEV, 1982, p. 37, On the title *ntr ʿ3* out of Pyramid Texts s. WINDUS-STAGINSKY, 2006, 106-109.

<sup>56</sup> ALLEN, 2006, p. 17.

<sup>57</sup> JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 6-7.

<sup>58</sup> s. HELCK, 1986, S. 1086. – *wʿb* – “die dienenden Bruder”.



## 1.1. NORTHERN ENTRANCE THICKNESS

The size of the decorated surface is 1.95 x 1.15 m. The left top corner of the relief is missed, after the drum over an input has been cut by members of expedition of C.R.Lepsius. On the northern side of the entrance thickness the tomb owner is represented as a corpulent figure (*fig. 30*). On the southern entrance thickness he is shown as a young broad-shouldered man (*fig. 31*).

The mode of rendering of the major and minor human figures is relatively fixed according to the main principles of the compositions of the reliefs in the Egyptian art. Human figures can be divided into two main categories: the deceased (major figure) and minor figures in the registers. The family members – his wife, shown as major figure, and children always smaller than their father were depicted in postures identical to those used for the representation of the tomb owner. They are convenient but by no means clear-cut divisions<sup>59</sup>.

Both figures are focused in the direction to the exit, in the pose of as though expecting arrival of priests and fulfillment the funeral services. As the tomb entrance decoration the corpulent figure occur in the rock-cut tomb of Khafraankh. Here, the figure contrasts with a youthful one on the opposite thickness. Including Khafraankh, there are only six examples in Giza, two showing contrasting mature and youthful figures.

At Saqqara (mastabas near Teti pyramid) the corpulent figures are attested and none showing contrasting figures. From all known types of man's figures, the corpulent figure most of all differs from traditional types. Nevertheless, both images supplement each other, aspiring to demonstrate a desirable parity namely the young and strong man – the main ideal, and at the same time skilled in the business, whose corpulent body reflects his successful carrier. The image stylistics stressed in such a way semantics of a person image occupying a high social position. In province the only chapels which continue the tradition are at Meir and Deir el-Gabrawi<sup>60</sup>. On the thickness standing representations were developed from the seated form. At Giza this change takes place in V.6-7, they are much more common until V.6 at Giza<sup>61</sup>.

In the beginning figures were represented in short kilt, and only later – in a long kilt as it is attested in the tomb of Kawab and his daughter Mersyankh III. From Saqqara tombs the image of a corpulent figure of the tomb owner as though exiting from the tomb, is attested in the tomb of Mehu (Dynasty VI)<sup>62</sup>.

According to H.Fischer, stout figures with pendulous breast are dated in the early Dynasty V<sup>63</sup>. Y.Harpur notes that representations of men with pendulous breast always characteristic of corpulent figure date to about V.9 – Dynasty VI, whereas earlier, their plumpness is defined by firmer lines. In V.8, he abbreviated shoulder, long used in the depiction of minor figures, was applied to corpulent major figures as well, and remained as part of their portrayal from that time onwards<sup>64</sup>. In the image of a corpulent figure of Khafraankh the shoulder is shown completely that, most likely, testifies to image stylistics at earlier stage.

<sup>59</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 125.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 54, fig. 25-26; 131. Both corpulent figures s. Ankhmahor – BADAWEY, 1978, fig. 20, 21. FISCHER, 1959, p. 245-247. Corpulent figure of Nisutptah. – JUNKER, GIZA VIII, S. 171-172. See also: SIMPSON, 1976, fig. 34, G 7102.

<sup>61</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 57-58.

<sup>62</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 89-90, Taf. 4a, 5a.

<sup>63</sup> FISCHER, 1959, p. 244-246, fig. 9, 10.

<sup>64</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 131.

At the analysis of these images the problem of understanding their semantics arises. Regarding this problem an exclusive interest present, in our opinion, four statues of the artisan Inty-shedu, found in Giza in the "Cemetery of Pyramid Builders" dated to the end of the Dynasty IV<sup>65</sup>. Character of the figures demonstrates that the aim of this composition was a picturing the person in different age, otherwise, it was a composition the earth-life passed. Thereof, the assumption is admissible that the image of the tomb owner as the young and old man is deeply symbolical and reflects semantic accent or "title" of the iconographic concept of the offering chapel – life and career of the tomb owner. Judging by that, images of the person of different age have not forced out images only the young tomb owner at the entrance to the tomb, it is possible to speak about young image as a kind of an ideal one in the afterlife world. Anyway A.Bolshakov suggestions on existence a mode on images and its statement about absence of concept of age<sup>66</sup> is unconvinced. These images transfer conceptual representations of the tomb owner after his death – new life or a certain image of young person as a symbol of eternal life.

Khafraankh is shown faced to the entrance. Two big cracks and a break cross the figure in two directions: across and on a diagonal from the top of the east corner of the relief to the right hand up to the wrist. Originally the figures undoubtedly had the necklace, from which only contours now have remained, that does not allow determining its typology<sup>67</sup>. His clothes consist of the kilt, in the length up to a knee (the image of an outset of the belt is damaged), and a panther skin which is thrown through his left shoulder and fixed on it by two outset, which ends in the form of forepaws of a panther, hang down behind the left forearm<sup>68</sup>. On the kilt a tail and a paw of a panther are well visible. The paw of a panther also hangs down from under the left hand of Khafraankh.

The clothes in the form of a panther skin are well-known in private tomb images and are attested already in Naqada period and from the Dynasty I<sup>69</sup>. It fitted a body so that both hands remained free. On the shoulders there were two fastenings fixed on the left shoulder. At the Dynasty IV there are images of paws and a tail of an animal<sup>70</sup> that is well visible on the image of the corpulent figure of Khafraankh<sup>71</sup>. An important role, according to E.Staehelin's remark, the panther skin played among standing figures in the Dynasty V when it was usually put on a simple kilt. As an example the author refers to the image of the corpulent figure of Khafraankh<sup>72</sup>.

The pose of the figure of Khafraankh is typical for the standing figures. Feet are shown in a profile. As it possible to judge by the image rests, Khafraankh holds the staff *mdw* in the left hand from which only bottom fragment has remained, the image of a part of a wrist and a brush of the left hand is also absent. The right hand is lowered; Khafraankh holds the scepter

<sup>65</sup> HAWASS, 2001, p. 12.

<sup>66</sup> BOLSHAKOV, 2001, p. 165-167.

<sup>67</sup> On the types of necklaces in the Old Kingdom s. BROVARSKI, 1997.

<sup>68</sup> The top edge of the skin stretched from the right armpit to the left shoulder turned on outside, it isn't represented on the Lepsius copy.

<sup>69</sup> WILLIAMS, 1997, especially p. 496. – The leopard-skin wearer has a function that is connected with king's ritualized combat and execution, a function that seems to continue as late as the Dynasty III.

<sup>70</sup> STAHELIN, 1966, S. 36-37, 75-77; long panther skin to the contrary, was typical for the Dynasty IV up to Djedefra, later it was not attested (s. CHERPION, 1984, p. 36-37).

<sup>71</sup> Analogues to the corpulent figure one can see also in the Dynasty VI, see, for example, the tomb of Mehu (ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 89-90, Taf. 4a, 5a)

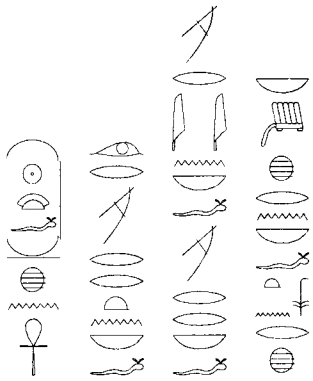
<sup>72</sup> STAHELIN, 1966, S. 204-205.

*shm* in it, represented before a figure which mace is partially destroyed now<sup>73</sup>. As a rule, in the Old Kingdom tombs the scepter *shm* is held by the tomb owner, his father, the son or the brother of his endowment (*Stiftungsbrüder*)<sup>74</sup>.

The left hand of Khafraankh is bent in an elbow. The hand has not remained, but the rests of the staff which are visible on the extreme eastern part of the image, reliably testify to a pose of the figure and allow identifying the scepter *mdw*.

On the Khafraankh neck is a wide necklace, he is wigless. Weak lines mark muscles of feet; the knee is covered by a kilt. The size of a head makes 1/8 images of all figure. The rests of the well visible line below testify that the figure settled down in the register, on the distance from pass equal to 1 elbow (the absolute sizes 0.53 m).

Above the Khafraankh head are hieroglyphs with his name and titles:<sup>75</sup>



*nb im3h(w) hr nb.f rh nswt*  
*mrjj nb.f mrrwt nb.f*  
*ir mrrwt nb.f*  
*<Hj.f-R> nh*

(1)[...](2) *lord of reverence with his lord, royal acquaintance*, (3) *whom his lord loves, who is beloved by his lord*,<sup>76</sup> (4) *creating that his lord likes, Khafraankh*.

The first column of hieroglyphs located on the extreme eastern part of the entrance thickness, now is completely lost. On analogy to the southern entrance thickness the cartouche with the name of Khafraankh here should be cut.

<sup>73</sup> In Lepsius publication (LD II, Bl. 8) the hieroglyphs *rh nswt Hsn* are above the scepter, consequently it has to be read: "royal acquaintance Hesen". On dating criteria related to the scepter *shm* s. CHERPION, 1984, p. 38; CHERPION, 1989, p. 65-66, 91, 189, criteria 41 – scepter without papyrus bud – is dated in the middle of the Dynasty V, the last example comes from Niuserra.

<sup>74</sup> STAEHELIN, 1966, S. 158.

<sup>75</sup> Most probably that in front of the figure was Khafraankh name, now completely lost.

<sup>76</sup> JUNKER, GIZA I, S. 241 (11) – „von seinem Herrn geliebt und ihn wieder liebend, ebenda“. Cf. JUNKER, GIZA I, S. 146, Abb. 23 a. So, for example, the text of columns 3 – 5 is identical to the similar titles in the tomb of Seneb in Giza (JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 17).

In the word *im3h(w)* – “revered”, the final *w* is absent, that is sooner a rule, than an exception for the Old Kingdom. In this case the respect expression is used only in connection with the lord, under which assumed the king was assumed.

In this fragment, and also in the text on the southern entrance thickness the word *nb* is written with initial *n*, that presents a rare feature of paleography of the sign having initial consonant before a two-concordant morpheme. It is attested only in the inscriptions on the both entrance thickness to the tomb.

Combination of active and passive forms of a participle from the verb *mrj*<sup>77</sup> (geminated and non-geminated forms) represents the usual word combinations for honorable titles of notable persons. According to H.Junker remark, the used forms of participles render distinctions between the past and the present (*Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*)<sup>78</sup>. It is necessary to stress his remark, that the frequent use of such honorable titles is characteristic for the later time when officials are not sufficiently able to repeat assurances of love to them the king<sup>79</sup>.

Full phonetic complements after *nh* in the basil formed name is one of features of a tracing of the name of the owner in this tomb which is attested also in the inscriptions on the eastern and western walls.

Regarding the tomb of Khafraankh it is necessary to notice that we have here no one picture of the reduced shoulder of a corpulent figure. Accordingly to this criterion it is possible to correlate stylistic features of the image with more exact parameters, characterizing features of the tomb within Dynasty V. In favor of it Y.Harpur note that initially, corpulent figures are mostly found on entrance thickness<sup>80</sup>, evidences. This is the case with Khafraankh tomb. One of the nearest examples is the mastaba of Khufu-khaf II (G 7150), eastern and western faces of the pillar. The earliest possible date is the reign of Niuserra<sup>81</sup>. In Dynasty VI they are often shown on the jambs of false doors<sup>82</sup>.

In front of the figure of Khafraankh (size 1.62 m) the small figure of the man (*pl. XXb*) turned faced to the entrance is located. Its size is 60.5 cm. The right hand of this person is lowered downwards, the palm is turned out. The left hand is bent and pressed to a breast (in a humility and respect posture). He is dressed in the kilt fixed on a belt. The figure is placed on the register<sup>83</sup>. Over his head were hieroglyphs which are completely lost now. According to Lepsius publication, the title and, probably, the name of the official here have been traced:



*rh nswt Hsn*

<sup>77</sup> In this case “whom his lord loves, examples s. JONES, 2000, p. 438-439, no.1623.

<sup>78</sup> JUNKER, GIZA I, S. 146, Abb. 23; on *mrjj nb.f* and *mrrw nb.f* see also S. 149 (12,13). The reference to Hemiuu JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 17, Anm. 1. On the word-combination *mr(t).f* as a mean of strengthening (*le renforcement*) the filiation s. BAUD, 1999, p. 160-162.

<sup>79</sup> JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 17-18 – *Trotzdem ist nicht zu verkennen, daß die Verwendung erst in späterer Zeit so häufig wird und die Beamten sich nicht genug tun können, die Versicherung ihrer Beliebtheit beim König zu wiederholen.*

<sup>80</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 131.

<sup>81</sup> SIMPSON, 1978, p. 21, 24, fig. 46.

<sup>82</sup> FISCHER, 1977, 1, p. 166-167, note 51. Examples include a woman figure, as a tomb' owner pictured as a girl as an old woman. HARPUR, 1987, p. 131.

<sup>83</sup> The same disposition of minor figures regarding the tomb owner s. in the tomb of Kaihent. – EL-KHOULI, KANAWATI, 1990, pl. 60.

Quite probably, this person could be responsible for the organization and realization of the funeral cult. Now from the inscription practically has remained nothing, except weak traces of the name. If to follow the variant of Lepsius reading, the phrase can be read “the royal acquaintance Hesén”. As the proper name this word often enough meets in the Old Kingdom<sup>84</sup>. With spelling *hsj* it is testified in the tomb of Seneb in Giza, dated approximately in same time, as Khafraankh<sup>85</sup>. Value of *n*-sign remains are not clear, because of destructions, it is impossible to check up the initial tracing also.

According to the tradition of picturing the major and minor figures at the entrance in the tomb, this person should belong to the family of Khafraankh. Its affinity to this family proves to be true regarding arrangement of the small figure in the entrance decorative composition, as though they meet a ritual procession. As it is known in majority of similar cases, the tomb owner (sometimes also his wife) have been shown as though coming out of the tomb. Their accompanying persons could be figures of the smaller size – children, servants, priests<sup>86</sup>. All of them, as a rule, are turned faced to the main figure (the tomb owner).

Behind and at another foot of Khafraankh is his daughter Djedefka (the size of the figure is 54 cm), with the left hand embracing her father for a knee (*pl. XXa*). Over her head the hieroglyphs are designating her name and family position.

On her head – short hairstyle, she is dressed in the long dress with wide shoulder straps, on her neck – wide necklace. The right hand is lowered downwards, the palm is turned out.



z3[.t .f] wr Dd.fk3

*His eldest daughter Djedefka.*

The type of clothes of Djedefka appears on the tombs reliefs of Dynasty V<sup>87</sup>. The figure of the daughter – is less in size, than the human figure in front of Khafraankh. It occupies 1/3 from the size of his image.

<sup>84</sup> FISCHER, 1996, p.67. RANKE, PN I, S. 254:23.

<sup>85</sup> s. also JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 21. – “*Der Gelobte, Matrose im š3b.t-Boof*”.

<sup>86</sup> STAEHELIN, 1966, S. 201-202.

<sup>87</sup> CHERPION, 1989, p. 69.

## 1.2. SOUTHERN ENTRANCE THICKNESS

The size of the decorated space is 1.95 x 1.02 m. At the top of the western part of the relief is the rectangular deepening from the cutting of the drum, which has destroyed the Khafraankh head. Here Khafraankh is represented in the full growth (1.61 m) as a young man (*fig. 31*). Its figure is turned to the entrance, he is shown standing on a full feet with the right foot pushed forward. In the left hand lowered along the body he holds the scepter *shm*, located apparently behind the figure. Partially the scepter is destroyed, to check up its disposition is not possible. In the right bent hand he holds the staff *mdw*, its basis and top are lost<sup>88</sup>.

On the head of Khafraankh is a long wig, which reaches his shoulders, going down vertical locks with small ledges on the face and neck both closing ears and forehead. Khafraankh is dressed in the short kilt with an outset in front. The outset type – wide knot with the bent, which end lying below, appears, according to E. Staehelin's, in Dynasty IV in clothes of the tomb owner and members of his family. It remains in Dynasty V in clothes of officials and priests. From the second half of Dynasty V this type of an outset is forced out by other kinds of kilts<sup>89</sup>.

On the neck is the wide necklace in six rows. Small images of two nude boys (*pl. XIXa*), who have joined hands, turned to each other by their faces, are placed by the feet of Khafraankh. Their figures make 1/3 part on the size of the main figure of the tomb owner. They embrace each other, and thus one of them appears faced to the entrance, another one, who holds with one hand the scepter of the father, appears by his back to the entrance. The image of the first one from the entrance – as the inscription testifies, is the elder son. The size of the figure is 49.5cm, the second one – 48 cm, i.e. on 1.5 cm higher than the second one. Possibly, in such a way the imager aspired to show higher position of the elder son in the family hierarchy. Just the same size has the figure of the daughter on the northern entrance thickness. Both boys are bare headed and nude.

Long wigs of the major figures which differ on an arrangement of locks, accordingly to the open and closed ears, vertically or horizontally located locks, do not allow determining the date reliably<sup>90</sup>. Details of the staffs because of its destruction also are not established.

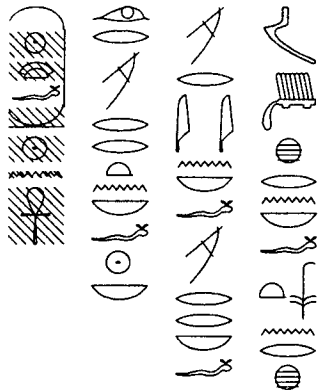
In the top part of the relief before and over the head of Khafraankh five columns of the hieroglyphs divided by vertical lines are cut. In the first column the traces of the cartouche are slightly visible, the inscription is strongly destroyed. In the Lepsius publication the pyramid sign has reproduced after the name of Khafra. Measurement of the space regarding the size of the fragment of the cartouche allows assuming an initial presence here the hieroglyphs from the name of the pyramid. Consequently there was the name of the Khafra pyramid, which correlates thus with the titles of Khafraankh, engraved lower. Three columns of the hieroglyphs containing Khafraankh titles are placed over his right hand. The fifth column of an inscription is practically lost because of the cutting of the drum. From it there was only a top corner of the cartouche on which it is possible to reconstruct the name of Khafraankh.

<sup>88</sup> In the Lepsius publication the staff is rendered with the straight line.

<sup>89</sup> STAHELIN, 1966, S. 7.

<sup>90</sup> CHERPION, 1989, p. 57, criteria 31.

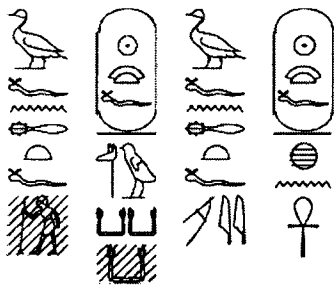
The text runs:



*im3h(w) hr nb.f rh nswt*  
*mrjj nb.f mrrw nb.f*  
*ir mrrwt nb.f r<sup>c</sup> nb*  
*<H<sup>c</sup>(j).f-R<sup>c</sup>> n<sup>c</sup>h*

*Revered with his lord, the royal acquaintance, whom his lord loves, who is beloved by his lord, creating that his lord likes every day, Khafraankh.*

Under the right hand of Khafraankh and over the head of his sons is the inscription (pl. XIXb):



*z3.f n ht.f [wr]<sup>91</sup>*  
*<H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>> wsr k3[w]<sup>92</sup>*  
*z3.f n ht.f mrj*  
*<H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>> n<sup>c</sup>h*

*His [elder] son from his body <Khafra> Userkau, his son from his body, whom he loves, Khafraankh.*

<sup>91</sup> It is the oldest example of the use of this word combination (probably borrowed from royal terminology) by officials (BAUD, 1999, p. 159-160, 188). Concerning the given word combinations see also WEEKS, 1994, p. 17.

<sup>92</sup> In this case shift of signs in which result the first consonant *w* appears in a postposition is observed. In other cases of writing this name in the tomb of Khafraankh *w* is written in a preposition.

Generally speaking it is necessary to notice that the standing figures of Khafraankh, disposed on the entrance thicknesses leaning one hand on the staff, with other hand lowered or holding symbols of his high social status are typical for the Old Kingdom tombs. Major figures on the entrance thickness, keeping their transitional position between the door and chapel, always face outwards from the offering room towards the viewer, waiting for them to arrive<sup>93</sup>. Consequently from the point of view of the whole composition of the entrance (the image and the text) it is possible to conclude the following:

1. Character and the content of the inscriptions over the heads of the major figures testify to symmetry and repeatability of honorable titles of the owner of the tomb.
2. Proceeding from the thus established symmetry and in view of supposed existence of Khafra pyramid name in the extreme column on the northern part of the entrance thickness, it is possible to assume its presence and on the southern thickness.
3. Spoken above demonstrates that the main aim of the iconographic program of the entrance was to stress the position of the tomb owner in the ancient Egyptian administration, the respect of the owner of the tomb to his lord (= a king), whom he served at the terrestrial life.

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<sup>93</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 53. Simpson, 1976, p. 21, fig. 34.



## 2. EASTERN WALL

The size of the wall: length is 5.80 m; height on the northern corner is 2.57 m; on the southern jamb is 2.92 m. The size of the decorated surface is 5.72 x 1.82 m. The eastern wall of the tomb of Khafraankh contains a considerable quantity of the scenes displayed agricultural works as well as other plots (*fig. 32, 33, pl. V*).

In most cases, the choice of the decor of the eastern wall reflected one of the basic ideas of the funerary cult: contrast of the east and the west – the east symbolizing this world, its daily activities, and the acquisition of food; the west symbolizing the next world, death, burial, and feeding. In single-roomed chapels eastern wall was the most logical position for outdoor scenes, since it was the surface nearest the exterior and furthest from the false door. However presentation scenes were not confined to the east alone, they were planned out on the eastern or western walls<sup>94</sup>, that it is in case in the Khafraankh tomb.

The composition of the wall decoration was aimed to draw attention to the major figures of the tomb owner and his brother of his endowment<sup>95</sup> – Iteti. The figures are looking to the south that is characteristic for similar images. The figures appear in the center of all composition and other actions are directed to them.

Other feature of the composition is the arrangement of two minor figures, which in turn fix attention on the tomb owner. They are a kind of markers of the general subject of the wall, represented as smaller figures not on registers, but occupying the space from 1.5 to 2 registers. Among them is a sunshade bearer, which staff actually is a border of two conceptually significant scenes and as well as the document presenter.

One of key figures of the composition is a document presenter Khafrauserkau, one of the Khafraankh sons. He is pictured in a traditional pose, making a report before the tomb owner. The general composition of scenes thus is displayed so, that the basic semantic composition of all eastern wall – scenes of agricultural works are developed on the several registers which appear behind these two figures. All of them, however, are directed to the major figures of the tomb owner and his brother. The basic line of the bottom register is spent horizontally at height 1.08–1.15 m from the floor level. There are 6 registers totally.

### 2.1. MAJOR FIGURES

On the northern part of the eastern wall Khafraankh and his brother of his endowment Iteti are represented (*fig. 34, pl. Va, XXI*). The figures are oriented towards the inner part of the tomb as it is in case with majority L-shaped chapels of the Old Kingdom. Principles of the composition are canonic. Their faces are shown in a profile, shoulders are developed en face, feet in a profile on a full foot (Iteti) or the bent leg and his foot raised on to his toes (Khafraankh). The sizes of both figures are 1.45 m. The size of the head makes 1/8 from the whole figure height. Both observe the agricultural works and delivery of offering. Over their

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<sup>94</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 66.

<sup>95</sup> The English term is taken from HARPUR, 1981, p. 28-31, where she gives references to the literature in which it is also discussed under another terms – “companion of the tomb” (Junker) and “co-property holder” (Grdseloff). The mastaba of Iteti in the Eastern necropolis of Giza was published by CURTO, 1963 and BADAWEY, 1976.

heads and between figures are columns of hieroglyphs with names and titles of Khafraankh (ahead and behind him) and Iteti (ahead). Khafraankh is pictured leaning on the staff *mdw* with the palm of the right hand owing to what it is impossible to judge the form of the staff top.

This posture – lifted free leg in front of standing foot according to Y.Harpur is one of the three variants of the portraying of the standing figures leaned on a staff. In all some of the figures hold an object between the hands curved round the staff – a perspiration handkerchief. Supporting leg and free leg posture was primarily a minor figure variant in Dynasty V, rarely used for the representations of the tomb owner its wider use for major figure is in Dynasty VI<sup>96</sup>. The Khafraankh posture is similar to Y.Harpur classification – posture ‘a’ – the man leans on his staff with his further leg bent and his foot rose on to its toes, while the other foot is flat on the ground. Khafraankh’s forward arm is loosely curved round the staff and his other arm crosses his chest, with the hand resting against the knob of the staff.

The problem of dating is debatable. The supporting leg and free leg posture appeared perhaps in Dynasty III or the early Dynasty IV. It was given to a major figure in the tomb of Neferu at Meidum, and slightly later to an overseer in the mastaba of Kawab<sup>97</sup>. H.Schäfer considers such pose of the tomb owner as a variant of the image of minor figures in Dynasty V. In the same way V.Vasilevich dates these images referring to the tomb of Khafraankh<sup>98</sup>. Rather similar composition is marked on the northern wall of the tomb of the king’s son Kaninisut in Giza, dated by H.Junker in the beginning of Dynasty V. The wig, scepter, skin of a panther of Kaninisut<sup>99</sup> are identical to Khafraankh image, except for a position of feet. Kaninisut is standing on a flat feet. The form of a belt-sash of Kaninisut is identical to the Iteti sash.

In the left hand between fingers of the palm, supporting the staff, the ends of the combined fabric are visible which was considered as a symbol of nobles<sup>100</sup> (*pl. XXIIb*). The perspiration handkerchief is clamped between middle and ring fingers of the left hand. This attribute is often met at high officials of the Old Kingdom, and it is frequent when the official holds a staff. Practically always it is man’s attribute. A unique exception is the figure of the woman in Giza<sup>101</sup>.

The long wig closes ears and ledges go down on shoulders. Traces of picturing separate locks have not attested. Khafraankh is dressed in the kilt, covering knees. The edge of the kilt floors is unbent<sup>102</sup>. Under the bent a hollow passes the belt and fastened in front in the big knot. The rectangular long piece of the combined fabric, will throw through the left shoulder and reaches from both parties of hips of a figure. Such kind of fabric A.Fehlig considered as a part of “*st* shoulder loop (*Schleife*). With the reference to W.Westendorf, he supposes the

<sup>96</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p.127-128, with the reference to JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 41; JUNKER, GIZA VI, S. 129; and STAEHELIN, 1966, S. 194-195.

<sup>97</sup> SIMPSON, 1978, fig. 178, pl. VII. HARPUR, 1987, p. 128.

<sup>98</sup> s. VASILJEVIC, 1998, S. 343-344.

<sup>99</sup> JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 152-153, Abb. 19. JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 166-167, Abb. 27, 28. JUNKER, GIZA VI, S. 127, Abb.40, (Kahif – the same posture of feet).

<sup>100</sup> JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 41 (Seneb). STAEHELIN, 1966, S. 194-195. HARPUR, 1987, p. 127-128. The same dress and fabric s. also MACKAY, 1928, pl. XXI.

<sup>101</sup> STAEHELIN, 1966, S. 162-163.

<sup>102</sup> The same kilt is put on the dwarf Seneb (Dynasty V). – JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 43, Abb. 7.

relation between *ḥnh wd3 snb* and *snb-Schleife* basing on the identification with the last hieroglyph of this expression<sup>103</sup>

E.Staehelin notices that the kilt type in which Khafraankh is dressed, was characteristic for Dynasty V, and if in the beginning of Dynasty V they were infrequent (and probably only became fashionable) from the middle of Dynasty V they were an exclusive accessory of high-ranking officials of the royal administration<sup>104</sup>. Stylistically the closest parallel to the Khafraankh image is the figure of Nisutnefer who is shown in the same pose and in the same type of the kilt<sup>105</sup>. Muscles of Khafraankh feet are drawn by weak lines; small traces of red-brown paint (ochre) have remained on both shins.

Near Khafraankh feet is the dog with short snout and neck with high sticking out ears (*pl. XXIVa*). This breed of dogs – *tsm* is typical for the hunting scenes in the Old Kingdom tombs. It is a slender prick-eared and curled tailed with unusually long and slender neck and head, on its neck is a specific type of collar with a big loop under the neck. The attribute of the collar defines it as domesticated<sup>106</sup>. These slender long-legged dogs have been tamed by Egyptians still, probably, the Neolithic epoch. They were used at persecution of animals on shelter hunting. A vivid example to the image is in the tomb of Kagemni in Saqqara (Dynasty VI). A dog that is waiting to be released and specified to the extraction is conducted by a dwarf<sup>107</sup>. Hunting scenes, where hounds are shown in their action, are attested in the tomb of Ptahhotep in Saqqara<sup>108</sup>. The position of the dog (the tomb owner standing and his dog in front) are created as a motif unit and illustrates the idea of the dog as a direct attribute of his master, the protector of his interests<sup>109</sup>.

Behind Khafraankh his brother Iteti is depicted in the same scale, as the tomb owner (*pl. XXIa*). On the shin of the foot exposed forward are traces of red ochre. In the right hand of Iteti is the scepter *shm*, located before his figure. The left hand is bent and holds a piece of the combined fabric which other end goes down from the left shoulder. On Iteti is a short wig closing ears, a bang considerably acts a forehead. The small beard is visible. With the same iconographical features Iteti is represented in his mastaba. The same iconographical criteria are observed on the figure rests in the northern niche of the western wall of the cult chapel that allows to identify this figure as Iteti. On typology of N.Cherpion<sup>110</sup>, its wig meets in the second half of Dynasty V more often.

On Iteti is a short kilt with a sharp belt-sash (s. above), characteristic already for the early periods and a skin of the panther, which head is represented more low its belts and a paw. According to E.Staehelin investigating the picturing of a panther head on clothes appears in Dynasty V<sup>111</sup>. As a rule, the panther head appears in the field of a bell. However, by the end of

<sup>103</sup> FEHLIG, 1986, S. 73. S. 68, 73. Moreover as he writes, the symbolic meaning of this loop, put on with panther skin, was connected with the symbol of Isis blood.

<sup>104</sup> STAEHELIN, 1966, S. 8, 193-195, 266.

<sup>105</sup> JUNKER, GIZA III, Abb.29, Taf. 10.

<sup>106</sup> Schulz, 2006, p. 317, 323.

<sup>107</sup> See, for example, SAVELIEVA, 1971, p. 68-69, with the references to the private tomb scenes. SCHÄFER, 1936, Tf. 9. KEIMER, 1955, p. 10-12, fig.4, 4bis.

<sup>108</sup> DAVIES, 1900, pl. XXII.

<sup>109</sup> SCHULZ, 2006, p. 318, 320, 324.

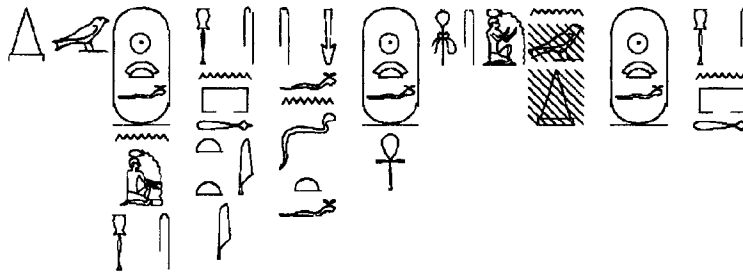
<sup>110</sup> CHERPION, 1989, p. 55-56, fig. 43.

<sup>111</sup> The panther head had a special magic meaning having been associated with fertility and life. The panther skin considered as giving life and winning death. – HORNUNG, STAEHELIN, 1976, S. 130.

Dynasty V the tendency of displacement of a head of an animal downwards is attested<sup>112</sup>. This mode is characteristic for the clothes of Iteti in this scene, and also for clothes of Khafraankh, sitting before the offering table on the southern wall (see lower). A panther tail goes through the left hand and down to a belt. Paws with sticking out claws lie on the left shoulder; other claws hang down downwards on the right shin. The sharp line passes by the top part of a breast, leaving its opened. As a rule, the skin does not cover all the body, reaching only a hip where paws of an animal are visible. Muscles of feet and a line of knees are executed by weak lines. The belt-sash is fixed from above.

The fact that in this composition Iteti is represented in a panther skin and Khafraankh in cotton clothes pursued, probably, an aim to show Iteti function responsible on the organization of the endowment for Khafraankh, together with his succession position inheriting Khafraankh post during his terrestrial life, and also his responsibility for the funerary cult of Khafraankh. On the contrary, cotton clothes of the tomb owner underline its accessory to other world.

Inscription over the head of the brothers and between them:



smr n pr ʕ  
 shd wʕb(w) n Wr <Hʕj.f-Rʕ>  
 sn.f n d.t.f  
 smr n pr ʕ Ittj  
 shd wʕb(w) n Wr <Hʕj.f-Rʕ>

*The friend of the Great house, the inspector of wab-priests of the Pyramid "Great-is-Khafa", Khafraankh, his brother of his endowment, the friend of the Great house, Iteti, the inspector of wab-priests of the Pyramid "Great-is-Khafa".*

The title "the chief of wab-priests of the pyramid Great-is-Khafa" meets in the Khafraankh tomb many times (once over the image of Iteti). From them three times (one – it is exact, also two presumably) it is written through "direct genitive" (all – on the western wall: in the niche near the statue, on the lintel of the southern part of the false door and possibly on the stela-panel of the second false door). Four times this title is written through "indirect genitive" – shd wʕb(w) n Wr-Hʕj.f-Rʕ.

The rank and the post not always necessarily are presented simultaneously at one inscription. On the architraves of the first and second false doors of the western wall Khafraankh is named only as "the friend of the Great house" (both times through "direct

<sup>112</sup> STAEHELIN, 1966, S.42. For example the figure of Kaninisut, whose kilt, scepter and faster are identical to that of Iteti, however the panther head is above his waist. Suggested dating is the Dynasties IV–V (HÖLZL, 2005, S. 25, 40).

genitive”), on the stela-panel of the false door of Herenka (see lower) it is called only “the inspector of *wab*-priests”. However, anywhere there is no combination of “direct genitive” with “indirect one”: if the rank is written through “indirect genitive” also the post will be written in the same way.

Iteti, accompanying Khafraankh on the northern part of the eastern wall of the chapel, is called *sn.f n dt.f*. Also as well as Khafraankh he has the title *shd w bw n Wr- H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>* – “the chief of *wab*-priests of the pyramid “Great-is-Khafa”<sup>113</sup>.

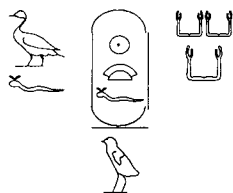
The title of Iteti *sn.f n dt.f*<sup>114</sup> and his image on a relief as accompanying in final journey Khafraankh specifies that after Khafraankh death Iteti was alive. In this case the idea of Ju.Perepelkin that it was the real blood brother<sup>115</sup>, as well as H.Goedike’s assumption<sup>116</sup> that the person carrying this title (*Stiftungsbruder*) was engaged in maintenance of the tomb of the dead. The form of writing *dt* with the sign on a snake, bread and an accompanying suffix pronoun (*s3.k ... n dt.k*) met in the Unis pyramid is identical to this word combination writing in the tomb of Khafraankh<sup>117</sup> that gives thus one of criteria in favor of dating of the tomb of Khafraankh in Dynasty V.

In accompanying inscriptions there is no phrase: “looking at” which is met in several Old Kingdom tombs, however the pose of the tomb owner and the pictures developed before him on six registers, speaks in favor that this scene has to be understood in such a way.

## 2.2. THE DOCUMENT PRESENTER AND THE SUNSHADE BEARER

Two minor figures turned to Khafraankh are significant figures for the iconographical program of the eastern wall. Here is the sunshade bearer occupying height of one and half of the register, and the document presenter, occupying third register and partly the second one (*pl. XXIIa, XXIVb*).

The figure of the document presenter is 41.5 cm together with hieroglyphs designating his name and also occupies more than one and half registers. His name is written over the head and over his hands stretched forward with a roll.



*z3.f <H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>> wsr k3.w*

*His son Khafrauserkau*<sup>118</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> BADAWY, 1976, p. 4, 8, 11, fig.10. On the reading see also DRENKHAHN, 1978, p. 88.

<sup>114</sup> The problem of meaning *sn.f n dt.f* was discussed by PEREPELKIN, 1966; earlier in JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 194-195 (*sn.f dt*); JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 6-7 (*Stiftungsbruder*); GRDSELOFF, 1943; GOEDICKE, 1970; HELCK, 1975. Regarding this title and especially in case with Iteti the problem was discussed in HARPUR, 1981, p. 28-31.

<sup>115</sup> PEREPELKIN, 1966, p. 17-38 (all cases). To Iteti and Khafraankh as brothers points DRENKHAHN, 1978, p. 87. HARPUR, 1981, p. 28 – notes on the probability of the identification them as brothers.

<sup>116</sup> GOEDICKE, 1970, p. 123, 127-129.

<sup>117</sup> PEREPELKIN, 1966, p. 17.

<sup>118</sup> RANKE, PN I, S. 86:14 – *wsr-k3w H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>*. In this work the logic of the reading basiliform names is followed when the king’s name written at the first place is read also the first.

The posture of his figure stresses his predominating position regarding other scribes and the importance operating of all funerary estate. In principle the document presentation scene can appear anywhere in the tomb, where a large scale figure of the deceased is to be found<sup>119</sup>. He is dressed in a kilt below knees with round belt-sash in front. Most likely he is that Khafraserkau, the son of Khafraankh, who is represented as a child on the southern entrance thickness of the tomb. Here, on the eastern wall, he is portraying turned faced to Khafraankh, developing before him the big roll of the papyrus.

At his feet – the unrolled papyrus with attached to it shell-formed ink-pot. It could be one of the accessories of the scribe – blank leaves of the papyrus which were in case of need transferred to the scribe together with writing-materials – action, the account to which the document presenter also conducted<sup>120</sup>, or probably, here is all the documentation, which he is intending to read in front of the tomb owner.

Shell-formed ink-pots are started to be attested in the tombs with names of the kings of the Dynasty IV, the latest examples is Niuserra. The exception is attested in the tomb of Rashepses in Saqqara with the name of Isesi<sup>121</sup>. The functions of the document presenter included presentation to the tomb owner the data, concerning conditions of his estates. The majority of such images are attested in the second half of Dynasty V, the same period as the Khafraankh tomb is dated on our view.

The functions of the document presenter were an exclusive prerogative of men, even if the woman was the mistress of the tomb<sup>122</sup>. In the system of the Egyptian administration of the Old Kingdom there were special officials responsible for the documentation, its registration and representation to the tomb owner. The attested titles were “*irj-mḏḏt* – the document keeper”, “*shḏ sš ʿ nswt, (sš) ʿprw, imy-r ḥm(w)-kḏ* – inspector of royal documents scribes, (scribe) of work-crews, overseer of funerary priests”<sup>123</sup>, which were frequently (but not always) can be occupied by one of sons of the dead (as it is in our case).

Combination of the document presenter titles and funerary priest titles was logical from the point of view of the ancient Egyptian mentality. It has been directly connected with the ideas on the other world, where the list of economic production for the maintenance of the funerary cult was delivered. It has been fabricated for the presentation to the tomb owner, according to his possibilities and requirements.

In the majority of the tombs where there are such scenes, the official representing the ready document, is shown with the roll of the papyrus respectfully inclined before the owner. Only in several cases the hieroglyphs on the papyrus are seen. The title of the scene as the analysis of similar images in tombs of the Old Kingdom demonstrate its definition as *r mḏḏ* – “for inspection”<sup>124</sup>. As a rule, it is the document reflecting a condition of an economy, intended for maintenance the funerary cult of dead, being an analog of corresponding estates with only

<sup>119</sup> DER MANUELIAN, 1996, II, p. 562.

<sup>120</sup> Different forms of papyrus rolls in front of scribes (easy for transportation) are seen for example in JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 152-153, Abb.19 (Kaninisut).

<sup>121</sup> On this scene s. DER MANUELIAN, 1996, p. 578, fig. 9; KORMYSHEVA, 2001; on the dating of shell-formed ink-pots s. CHERPION, 1989, p. 77-78, notes 116, 117. Such ink-pots are tied to the belt of Kaninisut (HÖLZL, 2005, S. 52, Abb. 30), dated in the Dynasties IV–V.

<sup>122</sup> DER MANUELIAN, 1996, p. 562.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 564.

<sup>124</sup> cf. Ibid., p. 578-579.

one difference that the magic of numbers on a relief was capable to increase considerably fertility of soils and a cattle livestock.

From the northern corner of the register the image of a sunshade of the usual squared shape with cross outlets in order to fix a sunshade in front of the Khafraankh face is visible. A composition disproportion – the minor figure of the sunshade bearer, which is settling down practically at the level of Khafraankh's knees, and the support of the sunshade increased in size are used intently to stress the greatness of the tomb owner. Simultaneously, as already it was noticed above, the sunshade support is a significant element of all eastern wall composition, separating the two main figures from the scenes of agricultural works and “journey to the West” which are principal ones in the general iconographical program of this wall, as well as for the whole chapel.

The similar sunshade bearer is represented in other tombs in Giza (second half – the end of the Dynasty V). The sunshade consisted of a piece of cloth stretched over a pair of crossed sticks supported by a pole attached at the point of intersection. A flap hung freely on one side. The border may represent the edge of the cloth rolled inward or a wooden frame around the cross pieces<sup>125</sup>.

From the northern side, practically over the head of the document presenter and just behind the sunshade are the big size hieroglyphs:



z3.f

*His son.*

The figure of the sunshade bearer (height of the figure is 39 cm) is shown on the base line of the relief. He wears the over-knee kilt; with his right hand he holds the staff of a sunshade, the left hand it supports it from above. Over the head of this man are hieroglyphs:



*rwd*

*Rudze*<sup>126</sup>.

The sign V 24 (on Gardiner's system) is cut on the wall only by its right contour that has allowed to suppose a reconstruction of the name of Rudze, which had the officials close on the time to Khafraankh, who served also as inspectors of priests of the pyramid “Great-is-Khafa”<sup>127</sup>. The mistake (or so-called mistake) could arise due to the scribe who has mechanically reproduced hieratic sign (?) on a stone.

<sup>125</sup> BROVARIKI, 2000, p. 47, fig. 40. MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1971, Tf. 19, 23. BADAWY, 1978, fig. 5.

<sup>126</sup> Often met in the Old Kingdom as a proper name with the meaning “Strong”. – RANKE, PN I, S. 221:12.

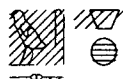
<sup>127</sup> See, for example, JAMES, 1961, I, pl. 20, 1268, 1269.


Other space of the eastern wall revealing its content in the direction to the south wall is divided by basic lines on 6 registers.

### 2.3. REGISTER 1.

The scene “journey to the West” has preserved on the distance 24 cm from the northern side of the wall, and on the distance 47 cm from the southern side<sup>128</sup>. It is quite probable that they initially occupied all register, having been placed behind hieroglyphs in the direction north–south, however, now the whole scene is partly absolutely destroyed. These scenes have entered into repertoire of the iconographic program of the capital necropolis tombs. The disposition of this scene on the top register of the eastern wall is possible to consider typologically similar to its picturing over the entrance to the chapel on the eastern wall, as it is observed in the number of Giza mastabas – Kaninisut, Mer-ib, Seshathotep I, Kaimnofret, Nisutnefer, Seshemnefer<sup>129</sup>.

Behind the hieroglyph of a goose (=son) the small space is destroyed and then in a southern direction the hieroglyphs are traced:



It has probably to be read  *wsh* – a boat, which determinative is the very picture of a boat directed to the south. According to N.Düring, such boats were known in Dynasty VI and existed up to Ptolemaic period as *Frachtschiff per se*<sup>130</sup>, however the possible reconstruction of this inscription demonstrates earlier dating.

Below on the base line is a water strip. From the first ship only contours of a fodder part and a nasal part have remained. The oars lowered in water, and three figures of sitting oarsmen are visible<sup>131</sup>. From the fourth figure of the oarsman there were only traces. The rests of the oars image permit to assume that a boat had five oarsmen. On a nasal part of the boat was a figure of the traffic controller.

The second ship is shown with the raised nose and a stern. Two helmsmen of an oar located on the forage (with ochre traces), and figures of two oarsmen are visible. To the left of the mast is the tense ropes, a part of a sail and the figure of the person regulating a sail are visible. In the center of the ship the biped mast with the sail filled by wind, and also ship tackles are seen. The ships were flat-bottomed with angular bilges and slightly rounded sides, while the round ends are transoms with a rounded transition to the flat bottom<sup>132</sup>.

Other figure at the mast represents the traffic controller, traces of such image are visible and on the previous boat. For understanding of the scene the rests of the human hand leaning on a staff have great value. By analogy to other images on the eastern wall pictured in such pose, it is possible to assume that it is the figure of Khafraankh, directing by movement of his

<sup>128</sup> The size is approximate because of the destruction in the ceiling.

<sup>129</sup> JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 66.

<sup>130</sup> DÜRRING, 1995, S.139. JONES, 1995, p. 36-39.

<sup>131</sup> According to P.Montet usually there were 8 or 10 oarsmen, more 3 people maintained oars. – MONTET, 1925, p. 346.

<sup>132</sup> Detailed description of the similar scene see BROVARSKI, 2000, p. 45-46.



flotilla<sup>133</sup>. Rostrum of the third boat ended with a hedgehog head.<sup>134</sup> Such decoration was typical for the boats in the tomb scenes using for “journey to the West”.<sup>135</sup>

According to N.Cherpion, the most part of cartouches in such images represent in Dynasty IV. The latest images are dated in Niuserra<sup>136</sup>, however there is an exception – the provincial tomb in Meir with a cartouche of Pepi II<sup>137</sup>. The good analogs displays the tomb of Nefer in Saqqara (Dynasty V), where two details are marked, characteristic for such scene in the Khafraankh tomb – the boat with a head of a hedgehog and the figure of the person observing of a course of journey<sup>138</sup>. The head of a hedgehog had a protective value. The hedgehog, as it is known, was not associated in Ancient Egypt with one of known deities, but was the frequent personage on amulets and scaraboides with apotropaistic value<sup>139</sup>, probably, as the protector from disasters.

The figure of the person in the boat is seen as upper towers over a rectangular construction – a cabin. Similar figures are frequent enough in the scenes from the tombs of Giza. The ships of this kind, besides Giza, are well-known of Elephantine, Abydos, and Dahshur in Dynasties V–VI.

Their occurrence is connected with the royal funerary cult, and its significance with those changes, including other world beliefs, which were connected with the role of solar god during the period between Dynasties IV–VI and with mythological representations on the overnight journey of Ra on underground waters<sup>140</sup>.

Travel on a sailing boat means a journey to the place where dead persons were, and the tomb owner is represented there, as a rule, one, without his family, while in other tomb scenes he is shown in the bosom of his relatives. As the inscriptions of Kaninisut evidence, in the funeral ritual, reproduced in the tombs, navigation scenes meant travel from the sacred city of Buto to Heliopolis, to receive offerings. In the number of texts Busiris is mentioned, navigation was connected also with Abydos. In the Akhethetep tomb typologically close to Khafraankh one of the navigation scenes is accompanied by the text, which points to the navigation to the

<sup>133</sup> The figure of the tomb owner is shown in the same posture in El-Hammamia tomb of Kai-khent. – EL-KHOULI, KANAWATI, 1990, p. 35-36, pl.37. In the same tomb there is a picture of a hedgehog on the rostrum (Ibid., p. 40-42, pl. 42, 44). Cf. HÖLZL, 2005, color plate.

<sup>134</sup> Reconstructed by M.A.Chegodav.

<sup>135</sup> JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 66; JUNKER, GIZA V, Abb. 14; JUNKER, 1931, S. 31, Tf. 9; MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1971, Tf. 19. KANAWATI, 2001a, pl. 43.

<sup>136</sup> CHERPION, 1987, p. 78, fig. 72; p. 201, note 119, Critère 58. The Old Kingdom tombs with the scenes of “journey to the West” s. in Giza: JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 69-71; in Saqqara: ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 138-139; KANAWATI, 2002, pl. Ia, 4a, 15, 34, 44, 52, 54; KANAWATI, 2001a, pl. 41, 43, 44, 45; MACKAY ET AL., 1928, pl. XXI; ALTENMÜLLER, 2000, S. 17 (the journey on the boats with hedgehog and without it – “*hat ihr direkts Vorbild in der Fahrt des verstorbenen Königs über den Nacht-und den Taghimmel*”).

<sup>137</sup> BLACKMAN, 1924, pl. XVI. See also: BAUD, 1998, p. 42; One of such scenes is on the false-door (Cairo Museum exposition, 51297), where boats disposed on 6 registers. On the rostrum of one boat is a hedgehog.

<sup>138</sup> MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1971, Tf. 19.

<sup>139</sup> DRÖSTE ZU HÜLSHOFF, 1980, S. 49.

<sup>140</sup> s. JUNKER, 1931, S. 33, Tf. 10; EL-KHOULI, 1990, pl. 42, 44 (Kai-khent, Dynasty V); DÜRING, 1995, S. 158, Abb. 63; MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1971, Tf. 16, 17. JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 156, Abb. 22. JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 167, Abb. 29.

offering fields<sup>141</sup>. Accordingly the inscriptions mention the sacred places of Egypt connected with a cult of ancestors and consequently the reception of blessing and funeral offerings<sup>142</sup>.

Navigation, certainly, was ritual, and, according to ancient Egyptians, was made in the other world, repeating the world terrestrial, or it was connected with souls of dead ancestors. It has been connected with the sacred places for Egyptians. These images, certainly, are treated through two semantic levels. At level of visual perception they demonstrate a real navigation of the tomb owner on sailing and oars boats across the Nile. At symbolical level as it was referred above, it is a trip on the day and night sky on heavenly Nile. These ideas find direct analogy in the Pyramid Texts. Finally it becomes obvious that these scenes go back to the royal cult, and pursue the aim to appear among gods. Bright analog are images from the temple of Sahura in Abusir, finds from the sector of the pyramid of Neit in Saqqara and other finds of boats from pyramid complexes<sup>143</sup>. H.Altenmüller distinguished 14 variants of utterances which could describe similar scenes in royal complexes, latest of them concern texts of king Unis<sup>144</sup>. Direct influence of the style developed in royal necropolises is abundantly clear. The development of art at Giza (on the examples of Dynasty IV), according to L.Flentye, was a result of relationship created by the construction of the pyramid complexes and was influenced by the construction and decoration of the royal pyramid complexes<sup>145</sup>.

As H.Altenmüller believes, in the afternoon the ship floated without a hedgehog, the last one was set up on a rostrum at night. The image of the tomb owner in the ship with a hedgehog and in the day ship has been motivated and corresponded to Egyptians' ideas about a sun<sup>146</sup>. Thus the day trip was made on a sailing vessel, and night on oars, accompanied by a pair escort<sup>147</sup> that completely corresponds to the image on the first register of the eastern wall in the tomb of Khafraankh.

From the last, fourth ship, only the fodder part, the sail and rostrum rests has remained. On the aft two figures of the helmsmen having control over oars, lowered in water are seen. Other part of the image is destroyed, and the extreme southern part of the register is cut. Nevertheless, at the most southern edge on border with cutting surface traces of a sail and a rostrum are visible. The person sitting as a rule with the drawn in knees on an eminence roof (*sšm*) was an important figure also, he regulated movement of ropes of a mast and gave corresponding commands the helmsman and people settle down on the aft<sup>148</sup>.

As a whole it is necessary to notice that according to Y.Harpur, in L-shaped chapels of the Old Kingdom the scene of journey to the West are attested six times and oriented (as in the Khafraankh tomb) on the majority of the eastern wall away from the entrance towards the

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<sup>141</sup> ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 66.

<sup>142</sup> The scene "journey to the West" may include a similar journey to the two sacred cities or perhaps, a journey to the tomb prior to the owner's death. The accompanying texts are not specific enough to differentiate between these alternatives (HARPUR, 1987, p. 65, note 57, with the reference to KANAWATI, 1981, p. 224-225; s. also CHERPION, 1989, p. 79).

<sup>143</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 2004, S. 11-12.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., S. 16.

<sup>145</sup> FLENTYE, 2002, p. 385, 394.

<sup>146</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 2000, II, S. 25-26.

<sup>147</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 2004, S. 11. Boats without hedgehog s. Kaemankh in KANAWATI, 2001a, pl. 16, 37; MCFARLANE, 2000, pl. 47, 48 (16-17 – dating most probable to the Dynasty V, supposed also the First Intermediate Period).

<sup>148</sup> JONES, 1995, p.70, fig. 62. The detailed scene s. in ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 66-68.

southern wall. The idea that dead thus made travel to Abydos, concerned times of Khufu, Djedefra and Khafra, but does not meet later<sup>149</sup>.

Symbolism of scenes of “journey to the West” leaves an impression that the theme goes back to early images of travel on the West of the king<sup>150</sup>. These scenes do not appear in the earlier Memphite chapels; therefore the subject is presumably a Giza innovation. The overt symbolism in the “journey to the West” sets it apart from most other subjects depicted in private tombs, and conveys the impression that the theme possibly derives from early representations of the “journey to the West” of the king himself<sup>151</sup>.

## 2.4. REGISTER 2

The width of the register is 26.7–27 cm. On this as well as on the third register the agricultural scenes are displayed (*pl. XXIIIa*). As J. Allen has noted, scenes of daily life were not just a guarantee of eternal provisions: there were also a means of bringing the world of living, to which the dead no longer had access, into the more limited environment in which he would spend eternity<sup>152</sup>.

Scenes of agriculture consist of a large sequence made up of various phases, in most cases the theme of agriculture is a series of closely connected not necessarily consecutive activities. These range from ploughing of a soil to the storage of grain. No agricultural pursuit is depicted as often as clapnet or dragnet scenes, but at least six activities are relatively well-documented<sup>153</sup>.

After the Nile flood had receded, the work of cultivating the fields was started quickly, the first phase was initiated by sower, who scattered handfuls of seed on to the moist earth<sup>154</sup>. These scenes are absent in the Khafraankh tomb. In grain harvest scenes the bundles were attached to the back of donkeys and taken away from the field to the threshing floor. Probably this episode was originally pictures on the partly destroyed space, which was directly behind hieroglyphs with the name of document presenter Khafrauserkau.

On the register a big rick is pictured as well as the drover driving donkey for feeding. The figure of the drover is seen in front of the donkey. The donkey drover is dressed in a kilt; the belt-sash is visible. The meaning of the episode is the feeding of donkeys before let them out on a current for threshing grains. The following scene demonstrates threshing grains on a current by means of herd of donkeys<sup>155</sup>. The low rectangular fencing, marking a barn, is shown in two-dimensional space, as a strip above the base line of the register. The herd of donkeys is represented turned by heads to the right, except for two, looking in an opposite direction.

<sup>149</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 65, note 57, with the reference to KANAWATI, 1981, p. 224-225; s. also CHERPION, 1989, p. 79-80. H. Junker reproduced the text from the mastaba of Seneb. – JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 64-65). “The channel of west” is mentioned in JUNKER, GIZA IV, S. 57.

<sup>150</sup> s. in particularly GOEDICKE, 1971, S. 86-118.

<sup>151</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 83.

<sup>152</sup> ALLEN, 2006, p. 10.

<sup>153</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 157-158.

<sup>154</sup> Description after HARPUR, 1987, p. 158.

<sup>155</sup> In this case gathering and grain yield processing are intended for cooking to the dead. However it is interesting to notice that the basic agricultural crops – barley and wheat, according to Pyramid Texts, gave Ra to the died king (GUILHOU, 2001, p. 189).

Behind them – the drover (are visible only his head and hands), the standing person bare headed with scattered parties hands, who adjusts and groups animals in the necessary direction. The similar scene is available in the tomb of Akhethetep<sup>156</sup>.

On the threshing floor are donkey, the figure in the middle of the donkey herd seems to be a drover in the center of the threshing floor, the figures left and right must be peoples who help in organization of the process on the outer edge of the floor, helping their companion to keep the animals in motion. The herd, thus, appears protected with two parties. The drovers are shown by as though moving sticks to direct animals on sheaves.

The nearest analogs display the tombs dated in Dynasty V (according to Y.Harpur V.6, Niuserra onwards, and also Senedjemib Inti in Giza<sup>157</sup>) that gives one more argument in favor of dating the tomb of Khafraankh in Dynasty V. The drovers of donkeys could be shown on every thresher edge in a symmetric position. Here the worker in the thresher center is shown. Many artists have omitted the center figure in favor of a man 'at both' ends, perhaps for symmetrical reasons. In real life, however, the center figure was probably masked by the donkeys for much of the time; this omission may be quite close to the truth<sup>158</sup>. This characteristic gesture is shown on the relief of the eastern wall of the Khafraankh chapel.

The drovers at first unloaded donkeys, untied sheaves, and then threw them in temporary stacks. Separate details of the tomb scenes allow to assume using of temporary granaries (covered with clay), especially when it was necessary to transport grain in the field and to create grain fund for next year. Sheaves of these stacks then were scattered on a circle in thresher that they were trampled down by animals until the majority of grain won't be endowed. The similar example is given in the tomb of Neferbaptah (G 6010), where such granaries brought on sledge are shown<sup>159</sup>.

The crop after threshing was located on the temporary storage that at a favorable wind it has got to winnowers for the further processing. After that grain and stalks were collected in a heap and eliminated garbage and a peel. Scoops and a sieve were used with this aim. After them workers cleaned garbage which fell to the ground. In the tomb of Khafraankh warehousing in stacks for elimination of straw, as well as sifting of grain are located as a composition after a threshing scene. Actions of the workers evidence, that they submit ears on a barn, which will be trampled down by donkeys. Near to the stalks there were men with a pitchfork, whose work consisted in warehousing garbage in heaps. On the relief two figures of men with a pitchfork, throwing ears in stacks are visible. Their work consists in collecting of chaff near thresher and their throwing again in a stack in the form of the truncated trapezoid pyramid with plainly cut off top<sup>160</sup>.

Over the second stack or a temporary granary, the space blocked by a stone or a wooden bar is visible. The given actions were necessary for protection of grain against winds. As it was shown by H.Altenmüller, such temporary storehouses made of a canvas, which in the beginning was displayed on the earth and then filled with grain. When the heap of grain

<sup>156</sup> ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 70-74.

<sup>157</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 210. Donkeys in Dynasty V s. Egyptian art in the age of Pyramids, p. 352-353; BROVARSKI, 2000, pl. 53 (Room III, western wall). Power argued that the Old Kingdom representation of donkey appears from mid – to late Dynasty V until mid – to late Dynasty VI. – POWER, 2004, p. 136-137.

<sup>158</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 210-211; KLEBS, 1915, S. 50-51, Abb. 38, Tf. 8.58.

<sup>159</sup> SIEBELS, 2001, p. 95, fig. 10. WEEKS, 1994, p. 11, fig. 11g.

<sup>160</sup> ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 71-74. See also SIMPSON, 1976a, p. 154; ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 121, Taf. 25a.

became sufficient size and got the cone form, a canvas was lifted and tied on the ends<sup>161</sup>. At the end of work on both parties of fastening arose and lotus flowers were put on that means the work is performed<sup>162</sup>.

The next scene is a grain winnowing through a sieve which is carried out by two women. Winnowing was a final stage of the agricultural process before the grain is recorded and stored. In almost every Old Kingdom scene the job is performed by women yet the scenes of Kahif at Giza and Ti at Saqqara include the man in the group. Since winnowing required the use of various implements the women are shown in various postures, largely according to the object they held<sup>163</sup>. The tools which they use for a winnowing – a sieve, a whisk are practically the same which are used today. The grain placed in a sieve was shaken by one of women, pure grains (the figure on the right) fell to the ground, where other woman collected them in small groups by a whisk, checking cleanliness of work (the figure at the left). In the scene of a winnowing of grain the women are shown in kilts with bandages on the head under which hair are collected. One of them winnows grain through a sieve, other rakes a heap, clearing grain of deposits<sup>164</sup>. As usual the group of women – “five crews” completes the final processes of winnowing. More usually they are depicted in group of three or four; an exception is the tomb of Mereruka where two women – winnowers are represented<sup>165</sup>.

Grain was squeezed out by the worker from below out of temporary storehouse to give it to winnowers. It was the last phase of agricultural works before grain will be stored in granaries. The scenes of a grain winnowing have remained in the tomb of Sehemankhptah<sup>166</sup>. In the tomb of Mereruka<sup>167</sup> traces of the grid showing a plastering of sheaves have remained, in the tomb of Kaemankh<sup>168</sup> (Dynasty V) in Giza gray color of the covered stack and green leaves from above is visible.

Figures with a sieve are inclined forward; the shoulder is shown reduced or pushed forward. Figures with scoops also are directed forward, inclined to select grain. As it has demonstrated by Y.Harpur, there is a tendency to place figures with abbreviated shoulders on the left, facing right, because this was the more natural way of rendering the figure type. None of the winnowers has a raised foot. The basic differences are not in posture and dress as much as in placing and numbers of workers depicted in each composition<sup>169</sup>.

Final process of works has been connected with grain warehousing in dome-shaped granaries for storage<sup>170</sup>, from which they could be withdrawn at need. The episode of the issuing of grain from granaries is depicted in the tomb of Nikauisesi<sup>171</sup>.

The following scene (the direction is north-south) shows a stack of the collected crop, the figure of the inclined worker on the right side, dressed in a loincloth (or a kilt). Having

<sup>161</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 1987, S. 24-25.

<sup>162</sup> ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 74, 218, note 301.

<sup>163</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 168. ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 72-74. The same scene is in the tomb of Mehu. – ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 122, Taf. 25b.

<sup>164</sup> JUNKER, GIZA VI, S. 148-149, Abb. 47.

<sup>165</sup> DUELL, 1938, pl. 168.

<sup>166</sup> SIMPSON, 1976a, p. 15-16, fig. 9-10.

<sup>167</sup> DUELL, 1938, pl. 168.

<sup>168</sup> JUNKER, GIZA IV, Taf. 12.

<sup>169</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 168-169.

<sup>170</sup> Storage rooms (or granaries) in the Kaemankh tomb s. KANAWATI, 2001a, pl. 36; JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 49, Abb. 10 = LD II, Bl. 101.

<sup>171</sup> KANAWATI, 2000, p. 37, pl. 48; 53, 66.

bent, it rakes up from below grain in a bag. As R.Siebels assumes<sup>172</sup>, it could be temporary granaries in which stored grain for crops. Similar scenes are available in other Old Kingdom tombs<sup>173</sup>.

The clothes of agricultural workers are known of three types— a kilt with three strips, the short kilt, and opened kilt, which could be tucked in the various ways for freedom of movements. Some figures are represented naked. Most compositions present balding men do not wear wigs. These seem to be introduced into Saqqara tombs dating from V.6 onwards, while at Giza the first example date slightly later, to V.9. The only provincial examples are in the chapel Uirni at el-Sheikh Said, Hunes at Zawyet el-Amwat<sup>174</sup>.

Men in charge are invariably depicted in a short kilt and may be distinguished from the other dress, posture, or position within the scene. Overseers are clearly identified by their distinctive kilt and staff, or looped rope which they often hold in one hand. A few overseers also wear a band of linen draped over the shoulder so that it crosses the body in front and behind, almost as far as the thighs. This is attested in a small number of Memphite scenes, mostly dating in Dynasty V<sup>175</sup>.

Behind this scene the supervisor with a stick in the hand, is depicted sitting on a rick and then there is a small figure of the person. According to Lepsius drawing he holds a stick, consequently, he can be accepted for the assistant to the supervisor, the one who is ready to execute his order. Now the image is strongly grated. By the position of the right elbow it is possible to assume that the hand palm was on a shoulder or on a breast, it is possible to assume a chief of a settlement.

The last scene of the register<sup>176</sup>, was incorrectly identified by Y.Harpur. She assumes that behind Khafraankh in the middle register there is boy carrying sheaves to the sheaf blinder, while to the right of the winnowers there is a possible dish of food, and the stela bearing the image of Renenutet, the snake goddess of the harvest. The stela is unique in the context of the Old Kingdom harvest scenes<sup>177</sup>. The analysis of the scene permits to conclude that the oblong subject lying on the top of the sheaf is most likely the weight fixing a covering on grain. From this stack grain was filled in bags. The scene wrongly treated as stela of Renenutet, represents an episode of a bookmark of ready grain into granaries. The figures bearing bags with ready grain on a head transfer it to other people above for packing on storage. Figures of carriers of grain are before the ladder conducting to the top, where grain was stored. From below apertures are visible through which subsequently took away that quantity of grain which went on for further processing<sup>178</sup>.

On the reliefs of the Old Kingdom tombs usually granaries, which were constructed from mud brick, were represented as a number of high constructions with a vaulted roof. They usually were put down on a platform, probably to avoid flooding. On a cut they make an

<sup>172</sup> SIEBELS, 2001, p. 96-98.

<sup>173</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 120-122, Tf. 25. JUNKER, GIZA VI, S. 146-150, Abb. 46, 47. – *Das Aufwerfen der Miete* – *wbs sp.t* – stack of the collected crop, decorated stack.

<sup>174</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 171-172.

<sup>175</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 170.

<sup>176</sup> It was reconstructed by M.A.Chegodaev and S.V.Vetokhov.

<sup>177</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 211. Renenutet on the stelae with this motif in such a way have to consider as later motif not attested in the Old kingdom tombs.

<sup>178</sup> This reconstructed scene is most similar to the storage scene in the tomb of Akhetmerynesut at Giza. – SIEBELS, 2001, p. 85, 87. Granaries s. also in PIETRIE, 1898, pl. XXIII.

impression of a squared shape. Often above people hands were depicted, there were people standing in the granary, which received bags with grain from the companions as it, for example, is visible in the tomb of Akhetmerynesut in Giza where the head and shoulders of the worker are visible<sup>179</sup>. The image of five granaries on the podium has remained in the tomb of Mehu, apertures for a grain fence are below visible<sup>180</sup>.

The extreme angular of the chapel in the tomb of Khafraankh is destroyed; there are the traces of a human figure, which allow to assume that the third granary and a similar scene of a bookmark of grain here has been represented. The size of the damaged space confirms this assumption.

### 2.5. REGISTER 3

The width of the register is 26.7–27 cm. Behind Khafrauserkau the scribe is in short kilt, in usual pose, characteristic for scribes with the drawn in feet, turned to the left (*pl. XXIIa*). He holds in the left hand a papyrus roll with suspended palette with paints, and in the right hand a small stick. Before it there is a bottle with water for the paints cultivation, placed on leather document case for writing accessories. Document case depicted in the Old Kingdom scenes in most cases are oval in form and fastened with cords. Still, they are so distinctive that there is little question they are identical with the *hr(t)-c* of the furniture list<sup>181</sup>.

Palette with paints in the form of shell were typical for Dynasty IV, last dated tombs belong to the time of Niuserra<sup>182</sup>.

Inscription over his head:



<H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>> n<sup>h</sup> z3.f

*Khafraankh, his son.*

The posture of this scribe permits to suppose, that he prepared a lists of offerings for Khafrauserkau who has read it to the tomb owner. Most likely, there were two brothers – the sons of Khafraankh, who are represented nude, as usually children were pictured, on the southern entrance thickness of the tomb. It means that later both became scribes. In this scene they are shown performing work on preparation and recording of registration sheets regarding funeral offerings. Khafraankh prepares and checks records, and Khafrauserkau read it to the tomb owner.

Back to it sits other scribe in the traditional pose drawn in feet and the developed sheet of the papyrus. Compositionally speaking it marks the beginning of a new scene – calculation

<sup>179</sup> SIEBELS, 2001, p. 85-87. On the chapel Akhetmerynesut S. REISNER, 1942, p. 218 [28]; 314 lower b; 380-381 [I]. SMITH, 1949, p. 347-348, fig. 229.

<sup>180</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 148, Tf. 43a.

<sup>181</sup> BROVANSKI, 1999, p. 39-40, fig. 4.13. The scribes in similar pose were depicted in the tomb of Seneb. – JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 43, Abb. 7, lower row.

<sup>182</sup> CHERPION, 1989: p. 77-78.

and checking quantity of crop and products brought by settlements' chieftains, with the subsequent punishment of guilty persons – a plot which repeats as well in 4th register.

The scribe is shown stretching the papyrus before one of applicants. Behind an ear (the spare stick for the letter), and in front of him on the big support is represented with a small bottle for water, put on a squared shape suitcase, if it was necessary to make additional records or correct errors. The rests of the image of sash are visible; hence, he was dressed in a kilt.

Over his head:



*ss' Išti*

*The scribe Ishti*<sup>183</sup>.

Under the hieroglyph of scribe and in front of his figure a column of hieroglyphs. Signs are strongly erased:



*rdi r3 ?*

Conditional reading – “utterance, which you speak”<sup>184</sup>. Consequently there is a scene of rendering account or to demonstrate (with open papyrus) its results.

All the work of these and others scribes, shown here as well in 4th register is to prepare a material for archive, which is under responsibility of the document presenter and where the data about the collected crop are registered. Calculation of shortages with the subsequent punishment of the guilty is simultaneously made. Accent of the scene is concentrated on the scribe Ishti, who writes down the data and accordingly decides the subsequent destiny of the supplicant.

The supplicant is represented in front of him. From his figure the knee, shoulder, bent right hand and head of the person turned to the left has remained. He sits in the traditional pose of the supplicant, as well as other people sitting at it.

Over his head is the inscription, testifying that here is represented the chief of settlement, as well as in the corresponding fields of the relief concerning other figures, where the sign *hk3* points to this position.

The people located behind him have the same titles. In total in this register five supplicants are represented. Accordingly there is the scene of the account and check of correctness of quantity of the delivered products and quality of works. From the figure of last supplicant there were only traces. The title and a part of the third supplicant figure are lost.

<sup>183</sup> RANKE, PN I, S. 47:8.

<sup>184</sup> HANNIG, 1995, S. 483:20. HANNIG, 2000, S. 1207:5.



Name and title of the first suppliant:



*hk3 Sn...*

*Chieftain Sen....*

From the figure of the second suppliant only traces are remained. The title and a part of the name are lost. Owing to the strong break of the wall in this place it is impossible to reconstruct the image. The rests of hieroglyphs permit to identify it as *hk3* – chieftain, there is a crack after and then hieroglyphs:



*nj* – probably it is a part of his proper name.

The next figure as others is pictured in the groveling pose. Over the head is written:



*hk3 3nj*<sup>185</sup>

*Chieftain Ani.*

Behind is the suppliant:



*hk3 šnj*<sup>186</sup>

*Chieftain Shen.*

All of the names and titles were divided by vertical columns, from which only traces now are visible.

In the majority of the early scenes of rendering accounts the most common figure is the squatting suppliant, depicted in a full or half-kneel. This was certainly to show submission, for in real life the posture must have enabled the suppliant to edge forward without rising when his turn came to confront the scribe<sup>187</sup>. Exactly this pose of a suppliant is picturing in the tomb of Khafraankh.

<sup>185</sup> RANKE, PN I, 2:9.

<sup>186</sup> RANKE, PN I, 328:22.

<sup>187</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 169. S. also JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 76-79, Abb 18.

The supplicants in the rendering of accounts scene in the chapel of Mersyankh III is the earliest<sup>188</sup>. The composition in the Saqqara mastaba of Ti might be used to mark the start of development in the rendering of the supplicant. Groveling figures of this type all date from the reign of Isesi or later and are found in Saqqara tombs as well as at Deir el-Gabrawi, el-Hawawish, and Meir<sup>189</sup>.

The following figure of the person, standing by his back to the Chieftain Shenj, sitting in a groveling pose, is turned on the south. He is some kind of marker of a new scene in the Khafraankh chapel – linkages of sheaves. There is a standing figure of a man in a kilt with an oval sash on a belt with loose ends hung down, leaning on the staff. The left hand it supports the staff, right – lies on the staff top. The inscription is in front of him:



*ss Nfr*<sup>190</sup>.

*Scribe Nefer.*

He is shown looking at a scene of warehousing of sheaves in stacks which is pictured further (a direction the north-south). These activities are not always depicted together. The scene is damaged; therefore the character of the represented actions is restored with certain assumptions. The first person (in the direction the north-south) is strongly inclined forward, he is shown with short hair and in a short kilt. The pose of his hands, testifies that he ties the sheaf brought to it, holding it with his knee, or opposite, unties it for transfer on a current. The corresponding scene of a threshing is located over this scene, in the second register.

The figure of other person which bears a squared shape object on shoulders is visible. It is, undoubtedly, the reaped crop. In modern Egypt sheaves (or the cut off garden greens) are formed by this way. The figure is erased, but feet and the left hand bent in an elbow, supporting cargo placed on his shoulders, are visible.

Thematically this scene is closely connected with the subsequent scene of harvest. It is anticipated by the figure of Khafraankh which size does not exceed the sizes of other figures on the registers.

Further there is strongly destroyed image of two persons who are engaged, most likely, in formation of sheaves or a sheaf of greens. People work in steam. His bare head, the body bent forward with the face turned to the right, are visible. The lower part of his body is strongly destroyed. His workmate from which figure the head and the line of the left shoulder have remained only, is turned to the left. It seems that both fulfilled one (or the same) operation.

Next figure is Khafraankh himself looking at the process of work (*pl. XXIIIa*). None of the earlier compositions illustrates it association between the deceased and field pursuits quite as vividly as Khafraankh, who leans casually on his staff with a large perspiration band slung over his shoulder, and his pet dog stands close beside him. To emphasize his control over the work, the major figure is repeated in miniature next to the grain harvest. He is not only

<sup>188</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p.169.

<sup>189</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 169.

<sup>190</sup> RANKE, PN I, 194:1 – the name is often met in the Old Kingdom.

depicted in the same posture and dress, but he is again accompanied by his curly-tailed dog, rendered exactly as before<sup>191</sup>. Unique difference of this figure on the register from the major figure of Khafraankh in the northern part of the eastern wall is a short wig. In the same wig, however, Khafraankh is shown on the southern wall of the tomb and on the stela-panel of the western wall. The similar example of supervision by the tomb owner of agricultural works is represented in the tomb of Nefermaat in Meidum where the tomb owner and his son are shown<sup>192</sup>. The tomb of Khafraankh, which Y. Harpur dates in Niuserra (a little bit earlier or hardly later) is the earliest brightly illustrating communication the dead with the image of agricultural works carried out for him.

In front of them figures of musicians stride. The first of them clicks fingers, probably even, holds an instrument similar to castanets in his hand. He moves in the direction on the south, he is bare headed or with short natural hair, dressed in a kilt reaching almost to knees with knot from an outset in front.

In front of him is the inscription:



This phrase could render the action of a man, who clicks fingers with the stretched forward bent hands. The inscription is comparable with *hr-n-p<sup>c</sup>t* in its meaning “playing with sistrum”.<sup>193</sup> According to the posture of the musician it is possible to assume playing on musical instrument of a rattle type, consequently the approximate meaning is: “good playing with rattles”.

In front of him the musician is represented playing a flute<sup>194</sup> or a clarinet (*pl. XXVa*). He is wigless, dressed in the same kilt, as well as the first musician. Both accompany the workers cutting trees, giving a step, a rhythm and mood for work. As a rule, during agricultural works musicians were invited, listening to them, sheaves rhythmically cut off trees or ears. Unlike their colleagues playing the same instruments at banquets they must stand in order to be seen<sup>195</sup>. The musicians represented in the tombs of Dynasty V were always professional<sup>196</sup>.

In the image on the relief of the chapel in the Khafraankh tomb the musical instrument more reminds a clarinet. In the size 25–30 cm, closed on one end and placed in horizontal position, the clarinet produced a vibrating sound.

Further to the south – the image of four workers, who have bent down forward, in their hands are crescent hatchets. The scene is damaged, but, judging by the remained rests, hatchets settle down ahead of a tree. Workers are wigless, dressed in short loincloths. The first worker is shown with exaggeratedly increased hump on the right shoulder, unlike other workers shown in

<sup>191</sup> The figure of the tomb owner with a god s. VASILJEVIC, p. 344.

<sup>192</sup> VASILJEVIC, 349.

<sup>193</sup> HANNIG, 1995, S. 545. HANNIG, 2000, S. 1184.

<sup>194</sup> The scene of playing a flute with the subsequent inscription s. in the Akhethetep tomb. – ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 155. In the tomb of Kahif in Giza the musician, as well as in our case, is shown standing in front of agricultural workers (JUNKER, GIZA VI, Abb. 43, between S. 136-137).

<sup>195</sup> MANNICHE, 1991, p. 17.

<sup>196</sup> MONTET, 1925, p. 364.

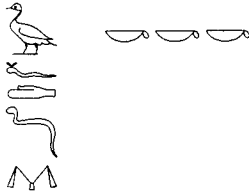
the same usual bent posture. It is possible to assume real naturalistic rendering of physical defect of a worker's body.

This scene represents the process of cutting sycamore trees after gathering fruits. Usually, after collected sycamore fruits, the dried up trees, which wood could be used in the practical purposes, were cut down. Cultivation of sycamore was an exclusive feature in Egypt where sycamore was attested already in the Neolithic settlement el-Omari. Sycamores were abundant in the Memphite and Latopolite nomes. Fruits (the sycamore figs) were often represented in the tomb reliefs<sup>197</sup>. The similar image is available in one of the Saqqara tombs (Gr 16), dated in the Dynasty V and in Zawiet el-Maitin (Dynasty VI)<sup>198</sup>. As well as in the tomb of Khafraankh, the above mentioned scenes are accompanied by two playing musicians behind them the supervisor with a dog looks at work.

## 2.6. REGISTER 4

The register begins with the image of two scribes, turned to Khafraankh. Both of them hold in their hands the papyrus rolls. Before them is a water pot for cultivation of paints. The first, sitting scribe is turned to Khafraankh. He is shown with a stick for writing behind his ear, in his hands – the semi-developed roll of the papyrus on which he writes. The ends of a cord from the papyrus are visible. The scribe is wigless; in front of him is a leather suitcase which has been tied up by a cord on which there is small water-pot<sup>199</sup>.

In front of him is the inscription:



*z3.f Dmḏ k3.w*

*His son Demedzkan*<sup>200</sup>.

The arrangement of elements of the name in front of the face and over his head of the scribe could be explained by its adaptation to narrow space of the register. Spare stick for writing is placed behind his ear, with the right hand he writes, with the left one holds a roll of the papyrus and a palette with paints. In front of him is the leather bag, fastened from above, where usually store clothes<sup>201</sup>. Probably, such bag was used for transportation of papyruses.

<sup>197</sup> BREWER, 1994, p. 52-53. On the role of sycamore fruits s. WEEKS, 2003, p. 306. – For over five thousand years, the sycamore fig tree has been one of the principal trees in Egypt, taking pride of place in the local landscape and having close association with folk religious beliefs.

<sup>198</sup> LD II, 103; II, 61; s. also WOENIG, 1971, S. 288, Abb. 135.

<sup>199</sup> Analogical picture s. ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 41; JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 152, Abb. 19. The suitcase disposed vertically evidently in case when it was not used as a support for other writing accessories.

<sup>200</sup> RANKIE, PN I, S. 400:5.

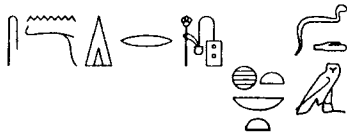
<sup>201</sup> JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 152-154, Abb. 19.

The inscription between two figures and in front of the second one is:



*sš Nfr*  
*Scribe Nefer*<sup>202</sup>.

The next scene represents a rendering account composition. The first episode - the scribe and the supplicant are shown. The first figure shows the sitting scribe (face to the right). In the left hand he holds a papyrus roll from which end hang down cords. The right hand is bent and holds the stick for writing. The part of the leather suitcase used as a table is visible. There is the inscription before it and over his head:



*dd m ht nbt sš Nj -sw -rdj*<sup>203</sup>

*Report on the all things (to?) the scribe Nisuredi (or Redines).*


Faced to his is one more supplicant in the pose of submission. In this case this action is expressed in relation to the scribe; a fate of this person is in hands of the scribe who checks up rendered accounts. The rests of hieroglyphs over the head of this supplicant has to render his name.

As Y.Harpur has noted in the majority of early scenes of rendering account the most common figure is the squatting supplicant, depicted in a full or half-kneel. Erect posture is unusual. All are dated since Menkauhor and further whereas the bent figures are included almost in all scenes, irrespective of their date. Of these, the supplicant in the rendering account scene in the chapel of Mersyankh III is the earliest. A skillful composition in Saqqara chapel of Ti might be used to mark the start of development in the rendering of the supplicant.<sup>204</sup> Similar composition is developed in the register 3 in Khafraankh chapel; here every supplicant is in front of the scribe. Over the head of the first supplicant are rests of hieroglyphs with his name (?). Next figure is a scribe Redines (the rests of hieroglyphs over his head permit to identify him) and after a crack the rests of a papyrus roll where the fastening rope is seen, and also a suitcase for papyrus storage. In front of him is the supplicant with both hands lowered to the earth. The rests of column division over permit to suppose its original presence in every episode.

<sup>202</sup> Name is frequent in the Old Kingdom. – RANKE, PN I, S. 194:1.

<sup>203</sup> Variant of reading given by RANKE, PN I, S. 178:1.

<sup>204</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 169.

A punishment scene follows this scene<sup>205</sup>. The title to this scene  *bh3* – beating (punishment). The person turned to the left, having bent forward, the right hand holds guilty for hair. In the left hand it compresses a stick. All figures is in loincloths, and wigless.

The next scene shows dragnet of marsh birds<sup>206</sup> (pl. XXIII). This employment was considered, as favorite sport of the Egyptian nobility. Two persons pulling a rope from a network are shown in the loincloths underlining that fact that they work in a marsh. The person going on the left has turned a head back to watch movement of the signaler who has hidden in marsh plant. In front, along the right foot, – an outset from a belt; hands it holds a cable, which end goes down on the earth (possibly, its end is curtailed, as usual on similar images, but the relief here is destroyed). The second person is also shown in the pose of a wide step, pulls the same cable. His right hand is visible; the top part of a body is destroyed. There is a lacuna after in which two more figures could be located<sup>207</sup>. The fifth figure is turned to the left. The man stands on one knee, other foot is bent. The bottom edge short belt is visible. The left hand is lifted and holds an alarm stick<sup>208</sup>.

The head, right hand and torso part are destroyed. It could be either a noble, or a person supervising hunting. Having hidden behind plants he observed a clapnet to be filled. A clapnet had the hexagonal form and was placed half-closed. Hunting was spent during seasonal migrations of birds that allowed receiving a considerable quantity of individuals. When in the hexagonal clapnet were enough of birds, the signaler gave a sign and with movement of a cable a clapnet slammed. Fast movements allowed grasping a considerable quantity of live birds into a clapnet. In a clapnet on the Khafraankh relief the caught birds are shown.

*In the bottom:*

1. Four wild geese, heads to the left;
2. Two large geese a head to the right;
3. Any smaller bird turned by a head to the right.

*In the top:*

1. Three wild geese heads to the right;
2. Two geese heads to the right, fighting in the dragnet;
3. Group of five ducks heads to the left.

In the end of the net the closed lock is visible. In these scenes haulers hold two parts of the big dragnet on one of two parties of a pond and the rope end, pulling it on some distance. These people are supervised by the signaler hiding near to a trap. The review of scenes with hexagonal dragnets within the outline of the pond from the reign of Teti to the First Intermediate period shows that the majority of figures are the people pulling a seine, collectors

<sup>205</sup> Analogical scenes s. in the mastaba of Dynasty V. – ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 74-75.

<sup>206</sup> Analogues scenes s. HARPUR, 1987, p. 145-148; ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 79; BLACKMAN, 1924, pl. VIII; MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1977, S. 77-78, Abb. 9, Taf. 22. More details s. MONTET, 1914, including details and terminology from the tombs of Ti, Kagemni, Ankhmahor.

<sup>207</sup> In the tomb of Ptahhotep six men, lying, pull rope, seven men do it sitting. – DAVIES, 1900, pl. XXI.

<sup>208</sup> The same signaler is depicted in the tomb of Nefer in Giza. – JUNKER, GIZA VI, S. 72-73, Abb. 17. Also in the tomb of Mehu in Saqqara. – ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, Tf. 7. In the tomb of Ptahhotep in Saqqara – DAVIES, 1900, pl. XXI.

of a bird, porters. Presence of additional figures is possible: supervisors, collectors of a bird, people crating birds, porters, cooks and the people plucking a bird. Their presence depends in many respects on the size of a composition since they aren't essential to the episode of capture of a bird<sup>209</sup>.

These men were controlled by a signalman hidden near the trap. His function was to judge when the net was full and to indicate to the haulers when to pull it closed. In real life he must have hidden behind or under foliage, but this vegetation is often omitted from the scene or stylized so that it resembles a column topped with reed heads or papyrus umbels. In the earliest scenes at Meidum and Giza the signalman stands with his legs apart holding a cloth over his chest in his outstretched hands and turning his head towards the net or the men as if preparing to give a signal. This posture was found in Memphite scenes from Snofru up to Niuserra, but after the latter period an alternative figure type appears. Both figure types are used from Niuserra onwards, but the earliest form continue to be more common. Signalers are the key figures in scenes, the supervisor often absent. Nevertheless his figure meets since the time of Shepseskaf and further, usually displays aside as though observing occurring with distance<sup>210</sup>.

The figure of the signaler in the Khafraankh tomb may be rendered to the first, earlier type. Figures of haulers are partly damaged that is why it is impossible to correlate them with Y.Harpur's typology. In the image on the relief of the Khafraankh tomb the figure of the signaler is erased, however, the pose, and also the image of a marsh plant allow to identify reliably a figure at the moment of the basic action – signal giving. From three people who pull a rope, one seems to turn back waiting of a signal.

As the subsequent researches have shown, dragnets of this kind appeared in Ancient Egypt already from Dynasty I, they are used till now for catching of birds on lake Manzala<sup>211</sup> that shows surprising effectiveness of its construction and a survival of technical achievements of ancient Egyptians till now. These scenes are in the tomb of Mehu in Saqqara (Dynasty VI), where the signaler and hunters in the various poses, slamming nets with the caught bird are most developed<sup>212</sup>.

Next one is the scene of bringing of fish. Two fishermen bear a pole, having thrown through a shoulder, to which three big fishes hanging down almost to the earth are tied up by ropes. Fishes are so heavy that the stick caves in on shoulders of fishermen. The first fisherman holds a pole on a shoulder with the right hand; with the left one he holds the big fish. The first fisherman is wigless and dressed in short loincloth. The second fisherman, with the same hair and clothes, has thrown the right hand through a pole; the left hand is lowered. On the left shin of the first fisherman, on the right shin of the second fisherman traces of ochre are visible; the same traces are on the first fish.

<sup>209</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 141-144. MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1977, S. 93-96, Tf. 22. CAMINOS, 1956, p. 14-16 (description of the pleasure of fishing and fowling, Dynasty XVIII). ERMAN, 1919, S. 36-39. JUNKER, GIZA VI, S. 71-73 (Nefer, dragnet scene). JUNKER, GIZA XI, S. 233-35. KLEBS, 1915, p. 70-73. VANDIER, 1969, p. 320-60. MOHR, 1943, p. 53-56. MONTET, 1914, p. 145-53. MONTET, 1925, p. 42-66. PECK, 1959, p. 6. PM III, 207 [2]. LD II, Bl. 9.

<sup>210</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p.142-143.

<sup>211</sup> HENEIN, 2001, p. 237-248.

<sup>212</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, Tf. 7. These scenes are analyzed in HENEIN, 2002, p. 259-266; see also PAGET, 1989, pl. XXXII.

After them is the scene of preparation of fish. Extreme southern part of the register is destroyed, but the picture allows to identify it as an emboweling of fish<sup>213</sup>. On the base line two big fishes are visible. Above there are one big fish (a head to the left) and a tail of the second one (its image is destroyed). Under them and further in the corner are fragmentary images of other fishes. All of them are prepared for food.

Below – the traces of two human hands reaching for fish. It is possible to assume that it is the remained part of the scene of selection of fish and for its emboweling<sup>214</sup>. Preparation of fish, its conservation was considered as refined employment. Fish dried up on the sun and, undoubtedly, salted to use for the future<sup>215</sup>. These scenes are very similar (or completely identical); many are dated in the Dynasty V<sup>216</sup>.

Fish was not included into number of obligatory offering to the dead, possibly just because was a refined delicacy. There is, however, an assumption that fish intended not only as a meal for dead, but also for his environment and served as a kind of payment for the maintenance of a funeral manor<sup>217</sup>.

## 2.7. REGISTER 5

The width of the register is 26.7–27 cm.

The first pastoral scene is connected with cattle breeding (*fig. 35a, pl. XXIIb*). The composition begins behind a head of the sunshade bearer. A big herd of bulls is depicted here, moving to the left are represented.

Behind herd an inscription:

9999nnn

9999lllll

*835 bulls.*

Further three still hornless cows are represented. Ahead of them is a calf. Unfortunately the image of the cow with horns that has turned a head, in a pose of full care of the lagged behind calves, is badly distinguishable. Further the big crack after which feet of cows and one cow with big horns, turned a head to a small calf are visible.

Inscription:

99  
nn

*220 cows and calves.*

<sup>213</sup> On these scenes s. VAN ELSBERGEN, 1997, S. 70-71; MACRAMALLAH, 1935, pl. XV C,D; KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 2008, pl. 56; ZIEGLER, 2007, p. 111-113 (fish in the net).

<sup>214</sup> The scene of emboweling of fish cf. also DUELL, 1938, chamber A4, plate 43; PAGET, 1989, pl. XXXII.

<sup>215</sup> VAN ELSBERGEN, 1997, S. 75-82. ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 82-83.

<sup>216</sup> BREWER, FRIEDMAN, 1989, p. 12-13.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., p. 12. S. also VAN ELSBERGEN, 1997, S.80, 165-166.



The following scene shows the shepherd driving herd to Khafraankh. The right hand is extended forward over the croup of a cow. In the left hand lowered along a body, it holds a stick, with which he drives herd, without allowing cows to disperse. It is dressed in a loincloth. As corresponding reliefs testify, the Khafraankh manors contained horned cattle of considerable quantity. Shepherds (*mnjw*), engaged in the cattle maintenance in sheds and its pasture on a pasture, compose an essential part of workers of manor economy.

Further in the southern direction of the eastern wall the herd of goats moving also to the tomb owner is depicted. Ahead – a goat with long horns.

Inscription over the heard:



2235 goats.

Behind them is a shepherd in the same posture with a stick in the left hand, grouping and directing herd to Khafraankh. The right hand is extended forward over a back of last goat.

Further is a part of the fishing scene, occupying two registers (*pl. XXIIIb*). The additional space was necessary to keep uniform height of figures in the composition and to show catching over a water level. The chief and porters not necessarily are present at scenes, but meet often enough. Compositionally this scene takes the small closed space, where in the bottom a strip by the extended rectangle the water space is shown, where the nets with floats and a rope for a fast pulling of fish upward, is thrown. Registers 5th and 6th show an episode of a pulling of a net with the caught fish<sup>218</sup>. Many species of Nile fishes are pictured, the same are seen on a relief of Akhethetep<sup>219</sup> that allows to assume a presence of the initial model of such image. In register 5th in the southern part two groups of three and four fishermen are shown. All of them are almost nude; on them are only the belts typical for fishermen and butchers are seen.

The first one of the right-wing group is turned to the left. He is strongly inclined forward and pulls a rope from a net with both hands. The second fisherman is turned to the right; he is strongly inclined forward, his left foot is bent, with both hands he straightens a seine and pulls the same rope from it. The third fisherman also is turned to the right, both hands are bent; he pulls the same rope (from a net), having thrown through a shoulder, which end goes down on the earth, being turned off in a ring. On the torsos of all three fishermen are ochre traces.

In the center of the composition is the figure of the supervisor. He is standing looking to the left, with the left hand leaning on a staff, slightly having bent forward; his posture is similar to the posture of the tomb owner. He is wigless, with short cut hairs, dressed in a kilt to knees. On his neck and hand are ochre traces. Probably, this is one more image of the tomb owner supervising a condition of his manor or it is the image of the supervisor over fishers<sup>220</sup>. In favor of the first assumption the pose of this person speaks, namely the position of his right foot and leaning on a staff under the right armpit.

In this composition to the right of the supervisor is the group of four fishermen (too nude or with loincloth). The first fisherman is turned to the left, hands are extended behind the

<sup>218</sup> Analogues scene is in the tomb of Mereruka (DUELL, 1938, chamber A6, pl. 55); in the tomb of Akhethetep (ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 82-83); in the tomb of Mehu (ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, Tf. 35b).

<sup>219</sup> ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 83.

<sup>220</sup> On such a supervisor s. MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1977, S. 96, Tf. 36 b; ZIEGLER, 1993, p. 82-83.



scenes the rectangular boxes filled with water in which fish swims are visible, in such a way it was simply transferred animals or live fish.

As a rule, in manors the strict account of available cattle was rendered, the data were written down, checked and only then cattle transferred to the tomb owner. Sheppard were a separate group among agriculturists, herdsman working an estate were chosen by a foreman on the basis of their skill and personal character<sup>222</sup>.

In the last scene the net with fish is shown. This scene is connected with the scene of the previous register. Scenes of fishing in a net the most frequent scenes of this genre usually differ in small details<sup>223</sup>.

Below is a strip designating water. Along the edges of the net are floats, four at the left and four on the right, marking seine volume. The top border of the net is designated by a line of a rope to which a net is adhered (are visible small knots with sticking out tips of the rope).

In the net from left to right<sup>224</sup> (fig. 35b):

1. *Tetrodon fabaga*<sup>225</sup>.

2. Small fish, probably its posterity.

3. *Synodontis shall*. This fish is often depicted in many tombs of the Old Kingdom (Akhethetep, Kagemni, Mereruka, Saankhptah<sup>226</sup>).

4. Small fish, probably posterity of 9th or 6th fish.

5. *Tilapia nilotica*<sup>227</sup> – this fish from the pre-dynastic time was associated with eternal life. Its Egyptian name was equal to the word *w3d* – “green”, “to be young”, which gives a good semantic row. It was among more frequently portraying fishes in Egyptian art as an assortment of Nile landscape. The fish had important symbolical associations connected with fecundity, sexuality and rebirth.

6. *Mugil Capito* – gray mullets were frequently represented in the Old and Middle Kingdom art, having been included in practically every swampland scenes. Egyptian names *hb3*, *hskmt*, *ʿ3dw*, *brj*, *bg3*, *stpw*. The roe of this fish was very delicious and highly appreciated.<sup>228</sup>

7. *Tilapia* (probably *Tilapia galilaea*)<sup>229</sup>

8. *Mormyrus niloticus* – the fish with the extended body and a long fin on a back<sup>230</sup>.

9. *Gnathonemus cyprinoides*(?)<sup>231</sup> – Elephant-snout fish, the Nile fish, which is occasionally met with in various riverside scenes in Egyptian art and most certain examples dating from the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

<sup>222</sup> BREWER, 1994, p. 21.

<sup>223</sup> MONTET, 1925, p. 32-42.

<sup>224</sup> The nearest parallel to the fishing scene in the Khafraankh tomb displays the same scene in the tomb of Ti (second half of Dynasty V). – GAMER-WALLERT, 1970, S. 15, 140-141, Tf. I-VI. Cf. VAN ELSBERGEN, 1997, S. 165-166.

<sup>225</sup> GAMER-WALLERT, 1970, S. 14-15, 42-43: up to 43 cm long, modern names *fabaga*, *aaqa*, *umm arbiya*, *himar al-bahr*, Egyptian name *špt*.

<sup>226</sup> On this fish see CLACKSON, 2002, S. 6-11; GAMER-WALLERT, 1970, S. 12, 32-35: up to 41 cm long, modern names *sal*, *sal baladi*, *zazu*, *qurqar*, *zamar*, Egyptian name *whʿw*.

<sup>227</sup> GAMER-WALLERT, 1970, S. 24-27: *int*-fish; BREWER, FRIEDMAN, 1989, p. 9, 77-79. HOULIHAN, 1996, p. 47 (83).

<sup>228</sup> GAMER-WALLERT, 1970, S. 14, up to 40 cm long, modern name *tubar*; s. also 39-42. HOULIHAN, 1996, p. 45 (79).

<sup>229</sup> GAMER-WALLERT, 1970, S. Tf. V.

<sup>230</sup> GAMER-WALLERT, 1970, S. 6, 29-31, up to 46 cm long. BREWER, FRIEDMAN, 1989, p. 51.

<sup>231</sup> GAMER-WALLERT, 1970, S. 11, up to 30 cm long. HOULIHAN, 1996, p. 45 (81).

10. Small fish.

11. Mugil (as number 6).

12. *Citharinus* (moonfish) – the fish is known at all times on all the Nile flow and its inflows<sup>232</sup>. It was regarded by fishermen as a very desirable catch. The fish was encountered in ancient Egyptian swampland and fishing composition especially during the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

13. Small fish.

14. Fish probably as number 9.

15. *Synodontis batensoda* (traces of yellow colour on its back) – upside-down catfish. Its habit of swimming upside-down was known by Egyptians, who frequently represented it in such a way. The catfish was often included incorporated into various scenes, particularly during the Old and Middle Kingdoms<sup>233</sup>.

16. *Clarias lazera* or *Clarias anguillaris* – Egyptian name *nʿr*. It was depicted during the Old and Middle Kingdoms as part of the catch in seining scenes, and being delivered in processions, which suggests that it was held in fairly high regard as table fare<sup>234</sup>.

According to Y.Harpur, the most detailed dragnet scenes occupy the height of two registers because extra space was needed to maintain the uniform height in the composition and to display the catch. Starting from V.6 abbreviated shoulder posture was attested which allowed for a wider variety of arm positions. Above the waterline there are two groups of haulers facing left and right respectively as they haul inwards on the cable of a net below them, and level with these men are the associated figures of an overseer. During the same period, there was another less common posture which is used for the man standing by the rope ends in the middle of the scene<sup>235</sup>. Both these features are observed in the above discussed scene.

The floats attached to a net with the help of fishermen “disappear” under water. Loads are also attached on each side of the nets as in the earlier image in the tomb of Persen in Giza. In Saqqara in this scene two registers in the tombs of Nefer and Kahai are devoted<sup>236</sup>.

Fish bearers represented on the register 5 of the eastern wall of the Khafraankh chapel are not always presented in such scenes. In certain cases their figures associate with other marsh scenes, such as gutting. The majority of them are represented in one of three base poses, but more all with the wide or reduced shoulders. There is no real development in the rendering of their bodies, but nevertheless there are the variants in a way of the image, in particular in how they hold the fish. In reliefs dating before V.6 there are five different ways of carrying<sup>237</sup>. In the Khafraankh tomb one of them is depicted – fishes are attached by string to a pole carried by two fishermen.

<sup>232</sup> GAMER-WALLERT, 1970, S. 8: up to 60 cm long, modern name *qamar al-laila*. VAN ELSBERGEN, 1997, p. 56. BREWER, FRIEDMAN, 1989, p. 56. HOULIHAN, 1996, p. 44 (77).

<sup>233</sup> GAMER-WALLERT, 1970, S. 12. VAN ELSBERGEN, 1997, p. 68-69. HOULIHAN, 1996, p. 43-44 (75).

<sup>234</sup> GAMER-WALLERT, 1970, S. 9-10: up to 117 cm long, modern name *qarmut*, *zajlul*, *but*. HOULIHAN, 1996, p. 43 (74).

<sup>235</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 145.

<sup>236</sup> MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1971, Tf. 4.

<sup>237</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 147.

### 3. SOUTHERN WALL

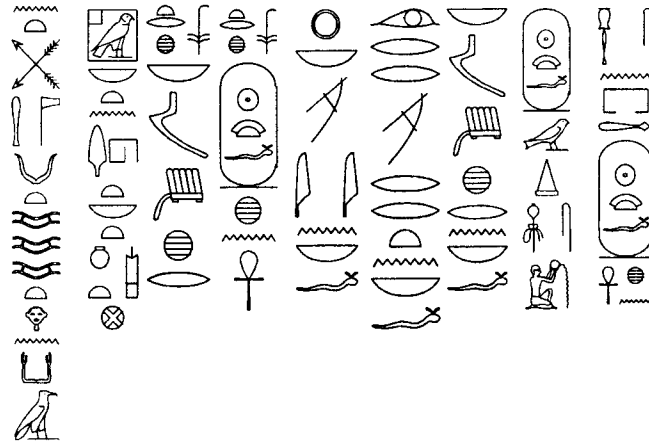
The length of the wall is 3 m. The height on the eastern corner is 2.87 m. The height on the western corner is 2.96 m. On the southern wall the feeding scene is represented. (fig. 36, pl. VT). Its basic value is transferred by one of the main principles for Egyptian arts – the tomb owner and his wife are presented as major figures, practically in human growth while their children and servants in smaller scale.

The center of the composition is divided into 7 registers, the figure of Khafraankh and his wife Herenka is located in the eastern part of the wall. They are looking to the right accepting food offerings prepared for them and observing the process of preparation of meal.

The composition consists of asymmetrically located 7 registers of the different size. Figures of priests *hm(w)-k3* occupy in one case two registers (2nd and 3rd), while the food and the scene of its preparation share on two smaller registers, or they are shown in is disproportionate smaller scale (5th register – the geese, the duck and the scene of food cooking on the brazier located behind them). Compositionally scenes are executed with the big skill – parities of figures, symmetry, and a combination of geometrical figures of different forms – trapezoid tables, vertically putting jars, heaps of vegetables and meat, represent magnificent still life.

#### 3.1. THE TOMB OWNER AND HIS WIFE

Khafraankh and his wife Herenka (pl. XXVIIa), sitting before the offering table, occupy almost all eastern half of the southern wall of the chapel. Both figures look to the right; they are represented young as it is typical for ancient Egyptian image in tombs. Over them at the top of the left corner are 9 columns of hieroglyphs, divided by vertical lines (pl. XXVIIa):



*smr n pr ʕ3 < Hʕj.f-Rʕ > ʕnh*  
*shd wʕb(w) Wr < Hʕj.f-Rʕ >*  
*nb im3(hw) hr nb.f*  
*irr mrrw.t nb.f*  
*rʕ nb mrjj nb.f*  
*rh nswt < Hʕj.f-Rʕ > ʕnh*  
*rh nswt nb im3h(w) hr*

*Hwt-Hr nbt nht nbt Iwnw*  
*Nt hm ntr Nt wpt w3.wt Hrnk3*

*The friend (semer) of the Great House Khafraankh,*  
*Inspector of wab-priests of the Pyramid "Great-is-Khafa"*  
*Lord of reverence with his lord,*  
*Creating that his lord likes every day,*  
*Beloved by his lord,*  
*Royal acquaintance Khafraankh,*  
*Royal acquaintance, mistress (masc.) of reverence with Hathor,<sup>238</sup>*  
*Mistress of sycamore<sup>239</sup>, mistress of Iwnw.t<sup>240</sup>,*  
*Priestess of Neith, opener ways, Herenka<sup>241</sup>.*


In this inscription the word combination *the friend of the Great House* is rendered with indirect genitive case. The word *nb* – “the lord” – is written with initial *n*, as well as on the entrance thickness (both comments see above). In the phrase “*creating that his lord likes*” unlike a similar inscription on the entrance thickness in both cases imperfect geminating forms of participles are used.

The title of Khafraankh – *shd w<sup>c</sup>b(w)* is written with the hieroglyph of a man, looking up and raised his hand towards a vessel with water, and also the braided rope at a support in the sign *shd* is characteristic paleography for this chapel, where it is written almost in equal way.

The title “*royal acquaintance*” possessed also women<sup>242</sup>, it has special feminine end, however, in the case with Herenka the masculine gender form is written.

Interesting paleographic feature is observed in writing of the hieroglyphs of roads with wavy lines in the title of Herenka as the priestess of goddess Neith, opener ways. Such mode of writing is testified at Dynasty III (for example on the stele of Aakhty from Louvre)<sup>243</sup>, later the lines of hieroglyphs become more and more straight, the contours of

<sup>238</sup> The title *hm ntr* is written in last column of hieroglyphs seems to designate the position of Herenka as priestesses of goddess Neith. According to BAUD, 1999, p. 221, referring to JUNKER, GIZA VI, S. 7-8, the title *hm ntr* at simple officials assimilates his holder to king and divine type. As *hm ntr* of Hathor Herenka is entitled only one time on the second half of the west wall (s. below). Here she is named literally *revered with Hathor mistress of sycamore, mistress of Iwnw*, however bearing in mind her title on the western wall it is possible to assume, that her positions *hm ntr* - priestess of Hathor is also implied here (on such titles s. Excurses I).

<sup>239</sup> According to H.Fischer *Iwnw.t* cannot represent a shrine in the Memphite area, since it never has the determinative , as the cult place of “Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore” often has (FISCHER, 1955, p. 52).

<sup>240</sup> This hieroglyphic variant for Dendera is attested by H.Fischer mostly for the Dynasty V (only one example under question from the Dynasty IV, see FISCHER, 1955, p. 52). Priestess of Hathor, mistress of sycamore was a wife of Seshemnefer II. – KANAWATI, 2002, p. 61, pl. 63 – the acquaintance of the king, the priestess of Hathor, mistress of the sycamore, Henutsen (probably, the second half of the reign of Niuserra. – Ibid., p. 53). On the title “Hathor, Mistress of Dendera in all her (cult-) places” s. JONES, 2000, II, p. 543 (2020).

<sup>241</sup> Analogues from the Dynasty V: Djefa, a wife of Kai-khent (Dynasty V from El-Hammamia) was also the priestess of “Hathor in all (her) places, the priestess of Neith” – EL-KHOULI, KANAWATI, 1990, p. 43, pl. 46. Priestess *hm ntr* of Hathor and Neith in the Dynasty V s. Chapel of Nesutnefer, (KANAWATI, 2002, pl. 57). The priestess of Neith Hamerernebtj, the wife of Kapi – ROTH, 2001, p. 101-102, G2091. The wife of Sa-ib, Ibid., p. 109. Dynasty V s. also JONES, 2000, II, p. 543 (2020).

<sup>242</sup> BAUD, 1999, p. 109-112.

<sup>243</sup> ZIEGLER, 1990, p. 96-100.

hieroglyphs completely changes to Dynasty V. This mode of writing is, most likely, an archaism, because of the ancient epithet of the goddess. The same priestess titles had Sentites, the wife of dwarf Seneb, and the wife of Kaemnefer (s. in details Excursus I). These posts were appropriated first of all to ladies of a high origin<sup>244</sup>.

According to H.Fischer, neither Hathor nor any other goddess is known at this period as “Mistress of Heliopolis”, it is only in the New Kingdom, when there is Heliopolitan cult of Hathor. Though there is no clear evidence that any goddess was called “Mistress of Heliopolis” in the Old Kingdom. Hathor, as “Mistress of Heliopolis”, is certainly associated with the “Lord of Heliopolis” – Atum<sup>245</sup>.

The title “Lady of Sycamore” was connected with the aliment of trees with several goddesses, moreover the sycamore fig’s leaves were said to have a turquoise-like greenness, just as Hathor was called “Mistress of Turquoise”. Hathor frequently was given the epithet “Mistress of Sycamore”, a reference that originally may have been specifically to an ancient tree that stood, perhaps in the earliest Egyptian dynasties, at Giza<sup>246</sup>. Egyptian planted sycamore around their homes and palaces attributed to them protection and succor<sup>247</sup>. H.Fischer put a question, whether many priests of Hathor, Mistress of Dendera, who were buried at the Residence, served this goddess at Dendera itself. If so we must suppose, that the priesthood of the local cult there was more closely connected with the central administration. He considers this less likely; however, than the possibility that Hathor of Dendera was worshipped in the Memphite region and that the majority of the priests known from the Memphite cemeteries served her there. However further he continues, “even if we suppose that Hathor of Denderah was worshipped in Memphis, it is still possible that some of her priest and priestess who were buried at the Residence may have served the cult in Denderah itself”<sup>248</sup>.

The cult of goddess Neith has been borrowed from Sais. Her epithet “opener ways”, according to H.Junker, has been connected with her aggressive character, these epithets (*hm(t) ntr Nt wpt(t) w3wt*) “priestess of Neith, opener ways”, are attested in the tombs of Giza, Saqqara, in the inscriptions from Dendera dated in Dynasties V and VI<sup>249</sup> (s. more detailed in Excursus I)<sup>250</sup>.

### 3.2. ICONOGRAPHICAL PECULIARITY OF THE MAJOR FIGURES

The tomb owner at the east part of the southern wall has been represented in a short kilt (corresponding lines have not remained or have been never cut; it is known, however, that during this epoch a panther skin was put on the human body dressed in kilt), the tail of a panther reaches the middle of Khafraankh shin (wool on a tail is visible); on the left shoulder the paw of a panther with claws, near a hip – the muzzle is visible. Fastening of the skin stretched under the right armpit, which was done by means of a special fastener with tapes on the left shoulder with going down on a shoulder and a breast. The fastener type is identical on reliefs of southern and eastern walls (Iteti figure) and is similar to subsequent images from the tombs of the second half of the Old Kingdom. The images of

<sup>244</sup> JUNKER, GIZA IV, S. 6-7. JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 18.

<sup>245</sup> FISCHER, 1955, p. 53, 55. More details on *hm(t) ntr Hwt - hr nbt Twnt* s. JONES, 2000, II, p. 542-543.

<sup>246</sup> WEEKS, 2003, p. 306.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., p. 307.

<sup>248</sup> FISCHER, 1955, p. 58-59.

<sup>249</sup> JUNKER, GIZA IV, S. 7. JONES, 2000, II, p. 529-530 (1974-1976).

<sup>250</sup> Considering this fragment even incorrectly reproduced in the old works, of C.Fisher and W.S.Smith render the tomb of Khafraankh to the early Dynasty V (Fischer 1955, 43 – 44; Smith 1949, p. 55).

the tomb owner in a panther skin before the offering table are among the most ancient, however, according to H.Junker remark, the dress with a head, paws and a tail of a panther is rendered the late ones<sup>251</sup>. On Khafraankh is a roundish, short wig with small locks, with a direct bang, characteristic for the Old Kingdom<sup>252</sup>.

The right shoulder of the tomb owner is open. From the right armpit to the left shoulder is the thin strip<sup>253</sup> (clothes top) which end is not visible because of relief destruction in the given place.

In the left hand of Khafraankh bent in an elbow and pressed to a breast are the outset ends. The place on a relief, where they are shouldered, is damaged. Here are the traces of Herenka fingers embracing Khafraankh. Other two ends of the outset hang down on the left shoulder of Khafraankh (now this place is destroyed). Khafraankh is dressed in a panther skin<sup>254</sup>. Khafraankh is barefooted, muscles of calves and drawing of knees were cut by a weak thin line.

As usual in the offering scenes with meal, the tomb owner stretches the right hand over the offering table. He sits on the same chair with his wife Herenka. The existence of the family members reflects the continuous desire to be inseparable from the family. The family ties remain strong and strong family feelings were clearly demonstrated<sup>255</sup>.

The chair, according to the ancient Egyptian canon is represented on legs, in this case in the form of feet of a hoofed animal and muscles of a foot elaborated by a carver in details. Under images of hoofs are the trapezoid bases narrowed to the bottom and decorated by horizontal lines. On the chair edge behind is a flat pillow lying on it<sup>256</sup>. The chair frame is decorated by a papyrus bud. The form and the decor of the chair on which the dead sits can be one of criteria for dating. This form is attested in the tombs of Dynasties IV and V (up to Niuserra). In the earlier tombs legs represent hoofs of a bull, last king's name, with whom such images are known, is Isesi<sup>257</sup>.

Face features of Herenka, the Khafraankh wife, has remained badly<sup>258</sup>. On her head is a classical tripartite wig with the long hair combed on a hair parting. Bangs are not present, which is sometimes occurred, when own hairs are seen under a wig. One lock is lowered in front on a breast, other hair fall on a back. Their length is identical and reaches the dress upper edge.

On Herenka is the traditional narrow dress fitting tightly feet and reaching almost to ankles. The dress keeps on two long shoulder straps extending to a bottom, under a breast. The left breast is bared, according to the tradition of such images in tombs. She as well as her spouse has no decoration, though it is possible to assume bracelets on ankles.

With her left hand Herenka embraces her husband sitting before her on the chair. On his shoulder at the neck figures of her five fingers have remained<sup>259</sup>. The bent right hand of Herenka lies on her knees with a thumb turned downwards.

<sup>251</sup> JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 37.

<sup>252</sup> Such short and curled wigs with or without round nape, according to N.Cherpion (criterion 28), are attested in the tombs of Dynasty IV and in one later tomb with a king's title (CHERPION, 1989, p. 55, fig. 41-43, §1).

<sup>253</sup> In Lepsius publication this double line is not marked.

<sup>254</sup> In Lepsius publication on Khafraankh is waist is a fold of his kilt, no place and no trace of it in the actual relief.

<sup>255</sup> KANAWAT, 1981, p. 213-214.

<sup>256</sup> In Lepsius publication a pillow is not separated from the bench, however on the relief this line is well visible.

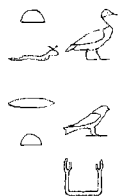
<sup>257</sup> CHERPION, 1989, p. 34, criterion 10.

<sup>258</sup> In Lepsius publication the right ear of the woman is open. At present only upper part and ear lobe are visible.

<sup>259</sup> In the Lepsius publication all her fingers are clearly seen.



Before the chair where Herenka sits, their daughter is sitting, having drawn in feet (fig. 37a, pl. XXVIb). Her figure, as well as her parents is directed to the right. Over her figure is the hieroglyphic inscription:



z3.t.f Wrt-k3

*His daughter Uretka.*

As it is possible to judge on the image, the figure is nude and bare headed. The left hand is bent in an elbow, and the palm is pressed to a breast, the right one lies in a lap with a thumb turned downwards (the same gesture as her mother).

Upper part of the wall is divided into seven non-uniform registers with images of offering and people bringing them, as well as a process of cooking. The exception makes the most top register, where children of Khafraankh are represented. The marker of the composition, concentrating attention on occurring action, is the offering table, occupying on height three bottom registers. Its form and offering located on it are typical for the Dynasty V.

The offering table is faces on the base line of reliefs in front of Khafraankh and Herenka. A table has rather massive table-top disposed on one leg extending to a bottom. Its form and height are criterion for dating of the reliefs. Unlike smaller tables on the top register (like the big dish on a support) this table-top has rounded off to a bottom. Such tables are characteristic for the tomb reliefs of Dynasty V.


On the offering table (from left to right from looking) products are located (pl. XXVIIIa): the big conical bread combined by a hill on a plate, roundish figs-fruits<sup>260</sup>. Further a carcass of the big goose with a head turned aside. Under and over the goose are products in the form of various oval forms – lower one is a little similar to a carcass of a small bird, or, probably, it is any fruit with a shank. Above there is a pumpkin, and under it a fruit with a long shank. Under the table – between Khafraankh's feet and the table leg – three hieroglyphs:



d3.t k3

*Offering birds<sup>261</sup> and bull(s) [1000].*


<sup>260</sup> In Lepsius publication are seen 6, now because of the crack only 5 are visible.

<sup>261</sup> JUNKER, GIZA I, S. 146, Abb. 23 b, 147, d3.t  – „Kranich“. Wb. V, 516, 10-13 – birds for offering, especially 12 – als besondere art des Kranichs. On the stela-panel of Khafraankh (western wall) is the same table and the same hieroglyphs with number 1000.

## 3.3. REGISTER 1

The width of the register is 24 cm. Man and female sitting figures are turned to the left, in a direction to the figures sitting on the chair, all of them sit, having drawn in feet, looking to the tomb owner and his wife. On the remained signs over their heads it is possible to conclude that all of them represent Khafraankh children, from the east side (closer to the main figures) are presented sons, and on western one – daughters.

Directly to the west from the columns of the hieroglyphs related with figures of the tomb owner and his wife, behind the first one, there is the column of the hieroglyphs from

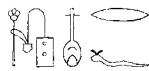
which only the hieroglyphs  z3.f “his son”, which is rendered probably to the one of the Khafraankh sons, in such a case rests of other hieroglyphs allow to assume here *Demed*<sup>262</sup>.

Further is a crack which has been closed up still in the ancient time by plaster. Because of a crack only the top part of the first figure has remained. There is a musician, blows into transverse flute held at an angle across his body. A pose of this flutist – is one of the most widespread on reliefs of the Old Kingdom. Surviving tubes of clarinets are between 25.1 cm and 31 cm long without their mouthpieces, and they have the bore between 1.1 cm and 1.4 cm<sup>263</sup>. The similar image of the clarinetist, sitting behind the flutist, is available, for example, in the tomb of Mehu. In the accompanying inscription it is told about game on a wind-instrument<sup>264</sup>. According to H.Altenmüller, music and dances in the Old Kingdom have been connected with rituals in memory of dead who thereof could move for a short time from the other world to the world real and unite with the family at the offering table<sup>265</sup>.

The second figure presents the sitting person, having drawn his left foot and having exposed forward a knee of the right one. He covers with the left palm one ear, and the right elbow leans against a knee, the right palm is lifted upwards (the big finger and fore finger are closed, forming an oval). Musicians of such type are pictured in the tombs of Senedjemib (as in the tomb of Khafraankh they are displayed on the south wall), in the tombs of Nefer, Kahai, Kaemankh, Iymery<sup>266</sup>.

Term *hst* used in this case designates “singing” and could concern in this case the image of chironomist (musical conductor), whose gesture and a voice defined steps and intervals. Chironomie was used in Coptic musical practice till XII century<sup>267</sup>.

Between it and the first figure hieroglyphs, which are conditionally had to read:



*sš nfr Scribe Nefer.*

<sup>262</sup> The proper name attested in different variants of paleography in the Old Kingdom (RANKE PN I, p. 400:3-7).

<sup>263</sup> MANNICHE, 1991, p. 30. On musicians see also: HICKMANN 1949, 1957.

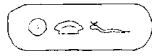
<sup>264</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 158, Taf. 51. Musicians playing on harp and clarinet are depicted in the tomb of Kaemankh. – KANAWATI, 2001a, pl. 32, 35.

<sup>265</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 1978, S. 22-23. *Durch Musik und Tanz soll der verstorbene für einen kurzen Zeitraum aus dem jenseitigen Bereich in das Diesseite zurückgeholt werden, um sich dort entweder mit seiner Familie zu vereinigen oder um sich am Speisetisch vor den dort ausgebreiteten Opfergaben niederzulassen.* See also HAFEMANN, 2005, p. 155, who stresses ritual character of musical scenes.

<sup>266</sup> BROVARSKI, 2000, p. 58, fig. 52a. MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1971, S. 32, pl. 27. WEEKS, 1994, fig. 43. JUNKER, GIZA IV, Abb. 9 (between 36-37).

<sup>267</sup> HICKMANN, 1958, p. 97, 125.

From the third figure remain only the left both right knee and shin parts, and a hand<sup>268</sup>. Between the second and the third figures are hieroglyphs:



<H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>><sup>269</sup> wsr-k3w z3.f  
*Khafrauserkau, his son.*

Further there is a crack<sup>270</sup>, after it – the rests of the fourth figure of the person, before his head is a cartouche.

Behind the back of the person are hieroglyphs:



It is possible to assume that the name [H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>]<sup>271</sup> nh z3.f – “[*Khafra*]-*ankh*, his son” has been written here. If this reconstruction is right, here is another Khafraankh’s son with the same name as the scribe Khafrauserkau with whom they are often represented together (see above).

From the fifth figure only the face shown in a profile, shoulders, and a shin part are preserved. The sixth figure has remained on a half, except for the face. From the represented figure remained: the nape, the left shoulder, the bent hand<sup>272</sup>.

The image of the seventh figure following the crack, probably, belongs to the woman<sup>273</sup>. Before it there is the column of hieroglyphs:



z3.t.f Wrt-k3  
*His daughter Uretka.*

<sup>268</sup> In Lepsius edition there is a man (musicians) playing some instrument.

<sup>269</sup> In Lepsius edition the cartouche is absent.

<sup>270</sup> In Lepsius edition there is a lacuna and the rests from the forth figure.

<sup>271</sup> In Lepsius edition no inscription.

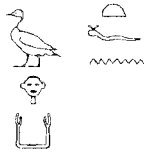
<sup>272</sup> In Lepsius edition an elbow is not marked, but it is rather clear visible now, it seems that the hand of the figure is on the knee.

<sup>273</sup> In Lepsius edition is a human profile which is now practically invisible except a part of a chin.

She is Khafraankh daughter, who is shown as a child sitting under the chair on the southern wall on which sit Khafraankh and his wife. On this register she is depicted with canonic features of adult woman. From the figure the right hand bent in an elbow pressed to a breast (the palm is erased), and a part of feet have remained. The left palm of a hand of the woman is lying in a lap; the right hand is on a breast.

Further there is a lacuna formed by a natural break of the wall. Contours of the eighth figure – one of Khafraankh's daughters, are visible right after the break<sup>274</sup>.

Ninth figure of Khafraankh's daughter is well preserved. In front of her hieroglyphs are designating her family position and name:



z3.t.f *Hrnk3*  
His daughter *Herenka*.

The daughter has the same name, as Khafraankh wife. Considering that fact that one of Khafraankh's sons also carried his name, it is possible to assume that patronymics were descended in the family: one of sons and one of daughters received the names of parents.

Two last (ninth and tenth) figures of daughters in the top register are identical on their posture. They sit; having drawn in feet, on heads – long wigs with one lock ahead and an open ear (its traces are visible only at last figure near eyes).

The head of the tenth figure is strongly erased, only contours of feet, a part of the left hand and the right hand have remained. The inscription, rendered the name of Khafraankh's daughter, is cut down before the figure.



z3.t.f *Ddf-k3*  
His daughter *Djedefka*.

The prosopography demonstrates that here are represented not only those sons and daughters of Khafraankh, as on the entrance thicknesses, eastern and southern walls. There is one more new name appearing only on this register – the name of the daughter – Herenka, who is depicted only here.

<sup>274</sup> In Lepsius edition is a profile and a bell of the eighth figure. Now only back part of the figure and a wig are preserved.


## 3.4. REGISTER 2

The western half of the register with figures of *Ka*-priests (*pl. XXXIa*) occupies a space twice more widely than the first register. On the western part of the wall four human figures are visible, they occupies double space with comparison to subregisters. They are shown moving on to Khafraankh, dressed in short kilts with belts. The right foot of figures is ahead. All of them are bare headed. The inscriptions over their heads speak on them as *hm.w. k3* (*Ka*-priests). The first priest is carrying a bull's foreleg, over it is the hieroglyph *m*, the others, judging by the image contours take fishes.

Before the first figure are three hieroglyphs of the name of the priest:



*hz – Hesi.*

Over and behind the human head are the rests of his title  *hm-k3*<sup>275</sup>.

Under the hand of the second offering-presenter is the hieroglyphic inscription:



*Inj*  
*Iny*<sup>276</sup>.

The drover of the hyena on the western wall has the same name<sup>277</sup>. In the right bent hand he bears the big fish holding it for a tail, the left hand and the head are damaged now by a wall break. Nevertheless, similarly located hieroglyphs under the bull foreleg of the first *Ka* priest testify that their names are written here.

The third and fourth men are shown in a similar posture: they too bear the big fish (?) in the left hand<sup>278</sup>. Over the head of the third figure the hieroglyphs are visible:


  
*hm k3*  
*Ka-priest*

<sup>275</sup> On probable role of *hm k3* as original display of his owner see: BOLSHAKOV, 2001, p. 61, n. 1.

<sup>276</sup> RANKE PN I, S. 33:4.

<sup>277</sup> In the Lepsius edition the figure of this priest is restored, now no his head or his back are visible.

<sup>278</sup> In the Lepsius edition the third man is pictured with fish tail in the palm. Now his right hand from the elbow and his right foot below knee are restored. In his left hand is a small flat bottom jar, now strongly erased.

Over the head of the forth figure are traces of hieroglyphs *hm k3*, behind the head of the forth figure is only one hieroglyph  *dd*, probably a part of the proper name.

Further in the western direction two little tables on the legs almost end-to-end to each other are located. On the average of the little table three high conical breads are visible. On the third little table the rests of the image of a carcass of a goose are visible. In this subregister the oval formed vessels destined most likely for beer are represented. All of them with roll rims stand on the supports (all the vessels are with round bottom)<sup>279</sup>. Three first vessels are rather high and thin – they represent traditional offering jars (so-called beer jars) sealed by mud-stoppers and supported by the ring stands. These vessels and the way of their placing are similar to the corresponding scene from the tomb of Senedjemib Inti<sup>280</sup>. On the reliefs of some Old Kingdom tombs they are named *ds*<sup>281</sup> or *dwjw*<sup>282</sup>. Numerous fragments of real beer jars were found in the shafts and burial chambers of the Khafraankh tomb (s. below). Another three vessels represent conical bread moulds *bd3* for preparing the conical bread *htt*<sup>283</sup>. Conical breads and beer were main components of the funerary meal.

Further in the western direction the long rectangular table is pictured. On this table at the left is a round flat cake(?)<sup>284</sup>, then a product, which is not clear, and on the right side peaked conical bread.

### 3.5. REGISTER 3

The width of the register is 27.7–28.5 cm. Three little offering tables in front of Khafraankh and his wife Herenka are located under the register with the vessels. On the relief are three identical offering tables on short legs adjoining to each other with extending low legs in the middle. Cooked products ready to eat are disposed on them<sup>285</sup>.

From the first one the edge of a table-top and a part of the leg has remained; on it the magnificent greens (salad) is disposed. Salad is pictured with direct vertical leaves which can reach to 1 m in height. Egypt was one of the centers of its cultivation. This plant was often represented in tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms and was associated with the god Min, as a symbol of fertility because of its white juice. Even in modern Egypt belief exists regarding salad and child-bearing communication<sup>286</sup>.

On the second one (from its leg because of a crack the left part has remained only) rests of two conical breads are seen<sup>287</sup>. On the third little table are an onions or garlic(?)<sup>288</sup>, sheaf, a carcass of a bird(?) and conical bread.

In the western sector of the register is a traditional butchery scene (*pl. XXXIb*), in which two persons are engaged, the third image behind them disposed just after the third table is the man with a knife. This man turned to the east (accordingly with his back to Khafraankh and his wife) is occupied by sharpening of a knife. He stands having slightly

<sup>279</sup> In the Lepsius edition supports are not rendered.

<sup>280</sup> BROVARSKI, 2000, p. 71, fig. 61.

<sup>281</sup> MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1977, Tf. 23.

<sup>282</sup> STEINDORFF, 1913., Tf. 84.

<sup>283</sup> MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1977, Tf. 23. STEINDORFF, 1913, Tf. 84.

<sup>284</sup> In the Lepsius edition there is a piece of meal on a bone.

<sup>285</sup> The table of the analogical form is in the Senedjemib Inti tomb. – BROVARSKI, 2000, p. 71, fig. 61.

<sup>286</sup> BREWER, 1989, p. 74-75.

<sup>287</sup> In the Lepsius edition are three conical breads.

<sup>288</sup> Very similar to a product disposed under the big offering table of Khafraankh.

bent; he is dressed in a short kilt with knot in front. The man holds in the right hand the grinding whetstone, in his left hand is a big knife. On the right side above him are hieroglyphs:



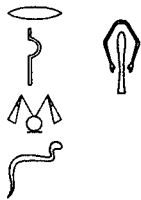
*hm-k3*  
*Ka-priest.*

Under his hands is the name of this man:



*Prj*<sup>289</sup>.


Such arrangement is observed in all the registers of this wall except for the name of butcher (*hm-k3*) *Rwd*, which is explained by composition requirements. His name appears behind the back of his figure. These hieroglyphs are separated by thin vertical line from the previous column of hieroglyphs with a title and a name of the second person. Consequently the inscription is read:



*hm-k3 Rwd*

Priest *hm-k3*, *Rudze*.

It is occupied by cutting of the bull foreleg. His figure is turned to the right. His left knee almost touches the earth, and right one is bent. With his left hand he holds the foreleg of the animal lifted upwards<sup>290</sup>.

Further above are traces of hieroglyphs:  *hm-k3* and the image of the third priest *hm-k3*. His figure is directed to the left. With both hands he holds a foot of an animal, and the right foot attacks a horn lying on a floor level (the image of the thrown back head of a bull is very bad visible). The second foot of this person is not seen. Further till the end of the wall is a crack, the image is lost.

Analogues scenes are depicted in many Old Kingdom tombs<sup>291</sup>. The problem of the symbolism in butchery scenes – a frequent episode of the iconographic program of the

<sup>289</sup> RANKE PN, I, S. 134 (12).

<sup>290</sup> In the Lepsius edition this hand is parallel to the register line, now here is large crack. No knife in the hand of this man.

<sup>291</sup> For example this scene is depicted in Seshat-hetep chapel, east wall (KANAWATI, 2002, pl. 44, 46), in the chapel of Kaemankh (KANAWATI, 2001a, pl. 29). Analogues see: PETRIE, 1892, pl. XI; MACRAMALLAH, 1935, pl. XV, XX.

offering chapels, is discussed in the literature, in particular an appreciation of scenes of cutting of a foot of the bull still alive<sup>292</sup>. The question is reduced to existence of ritual sacrifice of an animal, which is murdered in such a way, and also using in meal of other part of its hulk. The expression of scenes, and also the corresponding inscriptions telling on necessity to hasten, are connected, out of doubt, with complexity of the procedure, demanding necessary skill, physical strength and dexterity of the executors (*sšmw* – butchers), killing a strong live animal. It is undoubtedly ritual murder (*kultische Schlachtung*)<sup>293</sup>.

The question on an estimation of this action was not to adequately usual way of murdering cattle. Existence of the cut off head of a bull as the hieroglyph entering in mythologeme of offerings, evidences that sacrifice of horned cattle for food was made through beheading. In this case, symbolism is evident in bringing of huge foreleg cut off, which hardly is located in hands of a man. It absolutely drops out of other kinds of food – somehow prepared fish, or a goose, with the cut off head, in food of a piece of meat on a bone suitable for eating<sup>294</sup>. Symbolism of these scenes, as it is represented, is obvious also in a similar scene from the tomb of Irukaptah (dated from the Dynasty V to the First Intermediate Period), where two butchers are depicted in the top register, slaughtering an ox.<sup>295</sup> The animal is represented by the spotty.

The research of these scenes by H.Junker, has led to the conclusion about existence of the ritual, connected with special sacrificial way of slaughtering of bulls, which is traced in its development, attaching their special significance in development of repertoire of scenes, in particular in Giza<sup>296</sup>. The analysis of the material allows speaking about representation of this ancient ritual in the tombs of the Old Kingdom, which has already got the mythologized form (cf. Pyramid Texts referred above).

Thereupon it is necessary to notice, that besides bulls, there are also images of the antelope destined for sacrifice in this way. In both cases heart of animals is withdrawn also<sup>297</sup>. Whether strange seems the fact, that both these subjects appear in myths already fixed in the form of the text? And it would be more logical to see the movement of the mythological consciousness having very ancient origin (in comparison with the investigated period), which finally has found in the written form.

<sup>292</sup> H.Junker has concentrated attention that the bull to whom cut off a foot is still live and lashes, and also stressed a necessity of presence of butcher assistants who hold a head of a bull. Accordingly it is a question of a special way of slaughtering of a sacrificial animal (JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 229-231; see also BROVARSKI, 2000, p. 48). H.Junker gives also a typological example of the custom of Southern Ethiopia – cutting of parts of a live bull before the beginning of wedding ceremony. Sacrifice of a bull, undoubtedly, is very ancient ritual which execution in a funeral cult of the king and private persons goes back to one source. In the Pyramid texts a presentation of foreleg is connected with the Osiris cycle. Cit. after ALLEN, 2005: “Osiris-Neith, accept the foreleg of Seth, which Horus has torn off” (318, 209); “Osiris-Unis, here is the one, who stole Horus’ eye – 1 bowl with a foreleg” (128, 88); “the Ennead has decreed that you shall sit down to your great-bread and select a foreleg from the great butcher’s block” (325-326, 243).

<sup>293</sup> See EGGBRECHT, 1973, S. 31ff, 53ff. GRUNERT, 2005, S. 71, 82. Very strange is the absence of the reference on EGGBRECHT, 1973.

<sup>294</sup> GARDINER, 1957, F 44.

<sup>295</sup> McFARLANE 2000: 29-30, pl. 27.

<sup>296</sup> JUNKER, GIZA, III, S. 229-232. EGGBRECHT, 1973, S. 54-55; 166-189.

<sup>297</sup> PEREPELKINE, 1988, p. 175-180.



## 3.6. REGISTER 4

The register occupies the narrowest horizontal space from all six registers. It is composed of three episodes not connected each other: a dish with offerings, live geese and a duck, cooking in a brazier<sup>298</sup>.

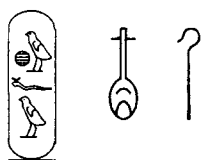
On the dish the bouquet of lotuses (*fig. 37b*, *pl. XXVIIb*) is shown: four flowers and three buds, round knot typical for the Egyptian reliefs from stalks of a cane and three sticks. Stalks combined below, make impression of a so-called support. As a rule, in such cases were used Meidum bowls.

Further two well-fad geese and the duck (*pl. XXXa*), striding in the direction to Khafraankh, are shown<sup>299</sup>. At the west end of the register the man sitting on drawn feet is represented. It is the cooking scene (*pl. XXXb*) and the pose, represented it, is rather characteristic: the right foot of the worker is drawn in<sup>300</sup>. His right hand is directed to the meal probably to mix cooking food. With his left hand he probably inflates the tube (similar is attested in the tomb of Kai-khent)<sup>301</sup>.

## 3.7. REGISTER 5

The width of the register is 36.5–37 cm. Under the big offering table of Khafraankh on the right there is a little table on very short legs (*fig. 37b*). There are: a big piece of meat on a bone, and on the right side – onions sheaf<sup>302</sup>. Further to the west five priests *hm-k3* are depicted. All of them move with offerings to Khafraankh and his wife. They are bare headed, dressed equally in short kilts with knot in front (*pl. XXIXa*).

The first one holds on the bent hands a tray on the low legs, similar to that which stands on the floor, but of smaller size. What is on the tray is impossible to distinguish; evidently here is any prepared dish: fish or a bird, but not fruits. On the tray there were weak traces of coloring by ochre. Before the figure there is a basiliformed name of this man. The cartouche is strongly erased. The hieroglyphs are restored in the following way:



*Hwfw nfr hk3*  
*Wonderful ruler Khufu*<sup>303</sup>.

The name of Khufu was in use up to the end of the Old Kingdom<sup>304</sup>.

<sup>298</sup> The damaged scene was identified by O.Tomashevich and M.Chegodav.

<sup>299</sup> In the Lepsius edition the third bird is also a goose.

<sup>300</sup> This scene is missed in the Lepsius publication. The image was identified by O.Tomashevich and M.Chegodav.

<sup>301</sup> EL-KHOULI, KANAWATI, 1990, p. 44, pl. 48, date – the beginning of the Dynasty V (p. 56).

<sup>302</sup> It is similar to the picture on the 3rd register on the offering table.

<sup>303</sup> The cartouche is strongly damaged.

<sup>304</sup> BAUD, 1998, p. 44, note 82.

In front of the figure of the second offering presenter are hieroglyphs:



*hm-k3* – *ka*-priest.

Under his right hand lower is the name of this man:



*Rdi-ns*

*Redines* (variants of reading s. east wall)

In the right hand of the man lifted upwards is oval vessel – traditional beer jar with sealed rim, used for storage liquids, frequently for beer. In the left, lowered hand the cooked goose, put on a spit through a throat<sup>305</sup>.

The third man bears in the right bent and lifted hand the conical bread mould *bd3* with baked bread, which usually named *htt* (see above). Also traces of coloring by ochre here have remained. The left, lowered hand is damaged, and consequently it is impossible to judge, whether this man still bore any other offering. Under his right hand the column with hieroglyphs is written:



*Dmd*

This proper name is similar to the name of the copyist in 4th register of the eastern wall.

The fourth figure is damaged, but on the rests it is possible to say that the person holds a goose in his hands. With his right hand he keeps a fowls for a beak – similar motive is well-known on reliefs of the Old Kingdom.

Before the fifth man above is the title:



*hm-k3*

Priest *hm-k3*

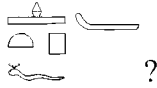
The *Ka*-priest carries the big goose (*pl. XXVIIIb*) thus, he holds it for paws by his left hand, and with the right hand he holds it for a breast. The right foot of this man has not remained<sup>306</sup>.

<sup>305</sup> Analogical scene see: JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 93, Abb. 24 (Seneb, upper row).

<sup>306</sup> In the Lepsius publication fingers of the priest are pictured.

## 3.8. REGISTER 6

The register has kept only on a half in its eastern side. In this part two human figures turned to Khafraankh and his wife are represented (*fig. 37b*). Before the first figure (*pl. XXIXb*) are hieroglyphs:



*dbh.t htp .f?*<sup>307</sup>  
*Demanded offerings?*

The person is squats, knees rest on a floor. He is preparing meat put on the long spit. In the right hand he holds the fan, for fire blowing. The similar scene of the frying of the goose is in the tomb of Mehu, where the head and the fan for cooking on fire are visible<sup>308</sup>.

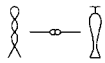
Behind his head are the hieroglyphs:



*šdj 3pdw*  
*Pull out a goose.*

The second man from which image the right hand and face have remained only, holds a goose by the throat; traces of the image of a rectangular box have remained<sup>309</sup>. Now only vertical and horizontal lines remained here – it is probably a bird's cage or a box from which this man takes out a goose, and turns off to it a neck. Further the relief is absolutely destroyed.

Over the hand are hieroglyphs:



*H*z (proper name very frequent in this tomb).

<sup>307</sup> WB. V, S. 440 – *Speisenbedarf*. HÖLZL, 2005. Abb. 17.

<sup>308</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 109, Tf. 16b. WEEKS, 1994, fig. 35.

<sup>309</sup> In the copy of Lepsius the person holds something on the table.

#### 4. WESTERN WALL

The size of the wall: length is 7.12 m; height on the northern corner is 2.51 m; on the southern corner is 2.94 m.

The wall composition (*fig. 38, 39*) in the direction the south-north includes the major figure of the tomb owner, located on the relief in the extreme southern sector of the wall, looking to the north. At his feet the minor figure settles down – “his son Khafraankh”. The next part of the wall displays the niche with the statue and the decorated inner jambs; the maximum depth is 53 cm. The space over the niche is decorated by reliefs. Relief composition and the niche with the statue smoothly pass in ensemble of royal palace facade, the successor of architecture of the early period<sup>310</sup>. This part consists of false doors, corresponded to three shafts, accordingly, Khafraankh, his wife Herenka and their relatives Ishepet (and Hermeru?). Palace facades appear in Dynasty IV to have been members of the royal family. But the examples of Dynasty V and later include some persons of little importance<sup>311</sup>.

The false doors are composed of the three double palace facades with architraves and stelae-panels. Doors are not symmetric and have various numbers of decorative panels on pediment that is caused possibly character of all composition of the western wall of the chapel.

##### 4.1. RELIEF AND STATUE OF KHAFRAANKH

The extreme southern part of the wall (size 1.62 m) is occupied by the major figure of the tomb owner looking to the north towards the niche with the statue, passing in the complex of facades of false doors (*fig. 38, pl. VII*). Rock-cut chapels produced a problem with the serdab, which was impossible to create without building a wall of masonry to block serdab after it was cut. An alternative method, which equally guaranteed the safety of the statues in rock tombs, was preferred from the outset: statues were cut into the native rock, with their backs left attached to the wall<sup>312</sup>.

Khafraankh is depicted in a panther skin thrown over his body (*pl. XXXIIb*). The tail of a panther, a paw, and also a fold from a kilt reaching knees are visible. He holds in the right hand the scepter *shm* before the figure and the scepter *mdw* in the left hand. The scepter *mdw* has round top. Further there is a lacuna the name of Khafraankh before which in the damaged column his titles *shd w'eb* could be cut. At his feet there is a figure of his son Khafraankh, who supports with the left hand the scepter *mdw* in hands of the father. On his head is a youth ringlet (*pl. XXXIIIb*). This detail is characteristic for Dynasty V<sup>313</sup>.

Under the left elbow of Khafraankh are hieroglyphs:



z3.f

His son.

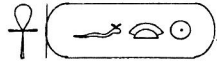
<sup>310</sup> More detailed s. ALTENMÜLLER, 1997, S. 11.

<sup>311</sup> REISNER, 1942, p.383.

<sup>312</sup> KANAWATI, 2001, p. 62.

<sup>313</sup> CHERPION, 1989, p. 64-65.

Below, under the scepter *shm* and over the head of Khafraankh son is written:



<H<sup>c</sup>j.f R<sup>c</sup>> <sup>c</sup>nh


Consequently all the phrase is: “*Khafraankh his son*”<sup>314</sup>.

In front of the Khafraankh figure are hieroglyphs:





*rh* nswt smr n pr <sup>c</sup>3 <H<sup>c</sup>j.f R<sup>c</sup>> <sup>c</sup>nh

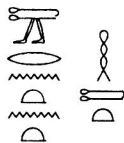
*Royal acquaintance, seer of the Great house Khafraankh.*

Over Khafraankh head is a big lacuna, where the rests of the sign  are visible,



probably *rh* nswt and further hieroglyphs:  . The next field consists of two small registers located in the top of the relief composition, and the statue placed in a niche. Both registers of reliefs settle down over a niche with a statue.

The top register (1, the size is 35.5–42 cm) has the scene of taking a hyena (*fig. 38, pl. XXXIV a*). The hyena is conducted in the direction to Khafraankh, represented on an extreme southern part of the western wall. The hieroglyphs before hyena are:



*iti* rntnt *ht*.t

*Take possession (or seize) young female*<sup>315</sup> *hyena.*

Over the hyena:



*Inj*

*Ini (proper name)*<sup>316</sup>.

<sup>314</sup> The custom of giving the name of the father to the eldest son is well attested in the Old Kingdom. – BADAWY, 1976, p. 4.

<sup>315</sup> Wb. II, 429:7 – female equivalent to notion of sacrificial animal.

<sup>316</sup> RANKE, PN I, S. 33:4.

The same name belonged to the *Ka*-priest bearing fish on the relief of the second register on the southern wall.

The image of the drover is grated and damaged by the waters getting in due course in the tomb. The loincloth has remained; the knot from a belt is visible. Behind it there is the figure of the moving person with a small animal in hands. As R.Schulz noted, the hyena has no collar, and the only way to handle it is grasping the tail<sup>317</sup>.

On ancient Egyptian reliefs the hyena is represented practically during all periods of the history. At least 80 representations recorded spanning the Predynastic Period to the New Kingdom. By far the greatest number of depictions of hyenas occurs in the Old Kingdom; there are at least 52 tombs and one mortuary temple that portray them<sup>318</sup>. Hyenas were caught live and specially fattened for the use in food. A head of a hyena as the symbol of its use in quality item of offering menu is attested in the tomb of Seshathotep<sup>319</sup>.

Scenes of fattened hyenas by force-feeding are known in the tombs of officials of a high rank, as for example, in the tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara or in the tomb of Nefer at Giza<sup>320</sup>. A man carrying a hyena on his hands (or is faster on shoulders) is depicted in the tomb of Iteti, and also in the mastaba of Khafkhufu I<sup>321</sup>.

In the tombs of Mereruka and Kagemni scenes of a force-feeding of hyenas has remained. The animal is overturned on a back, his feet are tied, and the shepherd pushes meal into hyena throat. These animals were often captured alive, fattened by force-feeding, and then offered to eat. As they are difficult to capture, they were clearly considered a rare delicacy, and therefore a befitting offering for deceased<sup>322</sup>. The scenes represented hyenas are frequent in the tombs of Dynasty V of time of Niuserra or Isesi. The quantity of individuals in such herds as shows a material of tombs at Giza, could reach 1000<sup>323</sup>. A find the mud-brick structures in the Western Field at Giza suggests that being confined away from settlement areas they seem to use as cages for hyenas included in funerary ritual. One can think on the attempt of domestication in case with hyenas<sup>324</sup>.

By eating this wild creature, the dead was manifesting his control over the chaotic aspects of nature, and by eating a hyena was absorbing its strength and power. Moreover by hunting this fierce wild beast, the nobles were supporting the pharaoh in his battle to maintain *maat* and to keep chaos at bay<sup>325</sup> that testifies the ritual value of scenes of hyena reduction.

On the second register (the size is 43.5 cm) three scribes on work are represented (*pl. XXXIIIa*). Their figures look at Khafraankh. Each of them hold in hands shell-shaped palette with paints (two deepenings for the most necessary colors – black and red), rolls of the papyrus and a reed stick for the letter. Spare sticks are on their head. In front of each of them there is small bottle with water for paint cultivation. Before the first figure is the small bottle disposed on the leather suitcase-case of the oblong form, winding with a lace. In this case it was used as a support for water-bottle. All three scribes hold with the left

<sup>317</sup> SCHULZ, 2006, p. 324.

<sup>318</sup> IKRAM, 2001, p. 127. PHILLIPS, 2006, p. 250-251.

<sup>319</sup> JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 74, Abb. 9a.

<sup>320</sup> DUFELL, 1938, II, pl. 153. JUNKER, GIZA VI, S. 66, Anm.2, between S. 64-65, Abb. 16. KEIMER, 1955, p. 12-18. SAVELIEVA, 1971, p. 57-58.

<sup>321</sup> BADAWY, 1976, p. 4, fig. 8 (the relief is damaged). SIMPSON, 1978, p. 17, fig. 33, pl. XXII (b).

<sup>322</sup> IKRAM, 2001, p. 130.

<sup>323</sup> JUNKER, GIZA VIII, S. 21.

<sup>324</sup> PHILLIPS, 2006, p. 250, 252.

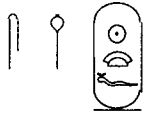
<sup>325</sup> IKRAM, 2001, p. 130, 134.



Conceptually in the iconographic system of the Khafraankh chapel the statue appeared the central figure because it was the visible embodiment of *Ka* of the tomb owner.

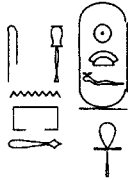
Behind the head of Khafraankh on the wall on either side from his head, his titles are cut, which now are strongly damaged, but enough distinguishable.

On the right side:



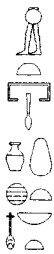
*shd* [*w<sup>c</sup>b*] <*H<sup>c</sup>j.f -R<sup>c</sup>*> [*nh*]  
*Inspector of wab-priests, Khafraankh*

On the left side:



*smr n pr* <sup>c3</sup> <*H<sup>c</sup>j.f -R<sup>c</sup>*> *nh*  
*Friend of the Great House Khafraankh*

The southern jamb of the niche (*fig. 40, pl. XXXII*) is decorated by images of processions of the settlements moving inside (the western wall). The extreme right field of the southern niche is occupied by columns of hieroglyphs which are the principal for all the scene:

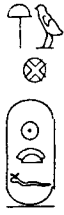


*Int prt hrw t hnkt ht nfrt nbt*  
*Delivering invocation offerings: bread, beer and all good things.*

First two figures in the top register are the men with baskets full of food on the heads, holding a basket with the left hand. The right hand is lowered along the body. Before the first figure of the man hieroglyphs have not remained. Before the second figure are hieroglyphs<sup>333</sup>:

<sup>333</sup> On processions of estates in the tomb of Khafraankh s. JACQUET-GORDON, 1962, p. 257-258; on *niwt* s. 6-15; MORENO, GARCIA, 1999.

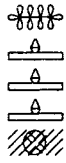




šw <H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>>  
*‘Umbrella from the sun’ Khafra.*

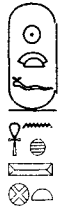
The second man holds an object in the right lowered hand. Inscriptions, as a rule, are settled down before figures. Men are represented in movement and women with close feet, as it is accepted in similar images<sup>334</sup>.

Two women in the same pose are represented lower. Both are in long wigs with locks hanging down downwards. On their head is a basket with food, which each of them holds with the left hand. The right hand is lowered downwards. Before the first figure of the woman and before the third figure of the procession are hieroglyphs:



z3 htpw  
*Protection of the offerings (X)*<sup>335</sup>.

Behind her is the second female figure of estate. In front of her is the inscription:



grg.t <H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>>  
*Estate Khafra*<sup>336</sup>.

On the lower section the female figures of the representative of estates, are pictured bearing on a head a basket with food. Female figures have the characteristic feminine *t*-terminations in the titles of estates. To the middle of Dynasty V processions of estates appear on a false door<sup>337</sup>.

<sup>334</sup> JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 73-74.

<sup>335</sup> According to JACQUET-GORDON, 1962, p. 257, note 5 this phrase means “Une protection des offrandes [est X]” (under X the name of a king is meant).

<sup>336</sup> JACQUET-GORDON, 1962, p. 258. DG I, p. 148.

<sup>337</sup> JACQUET-GORDON, 1962, p. 26.

In front of woman is the inscription:



*grg.t'lt ibšt*  
*Estate Itjibshet*<sup>338</sup>.



Analogies of the estate images in Giza can be found in the tombs of Ankhhaf and Kaemher (Dynasty IV), as well as Seneb (Dynasty V). Last example shows representatives 5 figured, which move to the offering place<sup>339</sup>. In the tomb of Afa (el-Hammamia) the estate figures are disposed above statue<sup>340</sup>. Often they are located on either side of the jamb; however, in our case the image is available only on the one side.

As Y.Harpur noted, these figures are very common in L-shaped chapel. In addition, they are among the most important subsidiary figures in earlier cruciform chapels and niches, some of which may predate the royal estates in the valley temple of Snofru. The earliest estates in private reliefs usually carry small bucket-shaped baskets on their heads, whereas Dynasty V estates carry a variety of containers, including the distinctive banana-shaped basket<sup>341</sup> that is observed in the discussed scene.

To my knowledge, Y.Harpur continue, there are no the Old Kingdom estates dressed similarly, nor are there parallel examples in the First Intermediate Period or the early Middle Kingdom reliefs and painting or servant statuettes. Estate figures in chapels dating between Dynasties IV and VE are sometimes depicted in the upper register, whereas their usual position in later tombs is in the lowest register<sup>342</sup>. The arrangement on the jambs of the niche with a statue of the tomb owner (as it is at Khafraankh), seems to be unique and has no analogues.

This arrangement could be explained by composition principles – delivery of offerings of manors directly to *Ka* of the tomb owner. It is possible to assume that in the iconographical program of the chapel this scene accents a final stage of a semantic field – food delivery to *Ka* of the owner. This process coincides with a movement direction of the funeral procession which came to the end with this action.

Exclusively interesting composition decision is observed on the northern jamb of the niche. Images are strongly damaged, but, despite of it, images of three figures are well visible. Two of them – at the top register are the pair – man and woman, as though they leave the niche one after another. Under them traces of one more human image going out from the niche towards visitors are visible.

The analysis of the first image has allowed to allocate a characteristic detail of a figure of Iteti – a hanging wig. Over it the rests of hieroglyphs,  and also contours of the top part and a stalk of a whisk  of a cane that hardly allows to doubt that there was a name of Iteti here. Position of the right hand lowered downwards and the rests of the

<sup>338</sup> JACQUET-GORDON, 1962, p. 258. DG I, p. 124.

<sup>339</sup> JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 73.

<sup>340</sup> MACKAY ET AL., 1928, pl. XXVII (tomb of Afa). The inscriptions are strongly damaged, it is impossible to determine them as offering presenter or procession of estates.

<sup>341</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 82-83. FAKHRY, 1961, p. 17-58, pl. XII-XV.

<sup>342</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 83.

image of an object, which he holds, allows to assume that it, probably, the scepter *sh̄m* or other object testifying to the high administrative status of the figure.

The composition and character of the scene evidence that here are receivers of offerings most likely, Iteti and his family. Typologically described images of the niche with the statue can be compared to the image on inner jambs of false doors<sup>343</sup>.

This arrangement in the statue niche is rare<sup>344</sup>. Relief figures of men and woman on the northern jamb of the niche look unusual also. They are shown as though coming out from the western wall to the tomb. The jamb is damaged, however, a handkerchief (or a piece of fabric) in the hand of the man in the top number is clearly visible. The fact that the person with the title *sn.f n dt.f* is the receiver of a share from the funeral offerings destined to the tomb owner, does not leave doubts.

The composition of the decor of the niches reflects the iconographical program of the chapel according to which the dead lived behind the western wall, or is more exact behind "palace façade" which geographically not always corresponded to the west side of the tomb<sup>345</sup>. In the tomb of Khafraankh geographical and semantic concepts coincide.

The statue which was in the niche was a figurative image, a visible embodiment of *Ka* of the tomb owner. Figures of offering presenters and the offering receivers are a symbol of the main action of ritual – feedings of dead, and also it is a reminder that he (dead) and his retinue (in this case as we assume, the family of Iteti) will come from the other world into a chapel through the western wall to receive offerings destined for them.

Reading of all niche composition – statues of the tomb owner and the decor of niches illustrate the idea of an entrance and an exit of pictured persons, or a kind of specific communications of the world of living and the world of dead, occurring in this space of the chapel<sup>346</sup>.

The "palace façade" consists of three pairs of false doors (*pl. VIII, IXa*). The composition of two false doors belong to everyone buried in the tomb, with the drum and the stela-panel and accordingly two inscriptions on architrave and lintel. Three shafts correspond to quantity of the people named on drums of the false doors: Khafraankh, Herenka and Ishepet. Three panels correspond to images of Khafraankh and Herenka, and one with figures of Ishepet and Hermeru correspond to the shaft and burial chamber of Ishepet (with or without Hermeru).

The complex of the facade of each false door consists of the architrave, frames in the form of two cannelures which lower part imitates a decor of false doors with a drum, at the top part is decorated by two rectangles. On the lower rectangle – a sheaf of papyrus – the decor of tombs are typical for false doors and sarcophagi, which appear for the first time in Dynasty IV and exists, as a certain decorative symbol of revival up to the end of ancient Egyptian civilization.

Between the architrave and the lintel are the stelae-panels. Niches, in which stelae-panels are placed, have an ancient origin and are connected with symbolical pass to the world of the dead. Tables with offerings to which dead stretch hands, are the image which is closely connected with the ritual action, they visualize representation that the chapel is a cult place, and dead appears on a place where offerings are placed, and the niche receives functions of an offering place<sup>347</sup>.

<sup>343</sup> BOLSHAKOV, 1986, p. 110, with the reference to REISNER, 1942, p. 339-344.

<sup>344</sup> According to L. Bareš such disposition is attested in the rock-cut tombs of Dynasty V in Tehne (el-Minia) (oral communication).

<sup>345</sup> On the geographical meaning "west" and a disposition of the false-doors s. BOLSHAKOV, 2001, p. 39-45.

<sup>346</sup> Cf. BOLSHAKOV, 2001, p. 49.

<sup>347</sup> FITZENREITER, 2006, p. 20-21.



The inscription on the architrave of Khafraankh has a frame from thin lines, which have remained not entirely. The disposition of signs is explained by necessity of the adaptation of the text to narrow space of the architrave.

The hieroglyph of a lying jackal in the formula *htp-di-nswt* meets in all Old Kingdom, while the arrangement signs and rendering *htp* was changed during various periods. The disposition of signs in the formula *htp-di-nswt*, which is attested here, is fixed as one of variants in the Old Kingdom<sup>358</sup>. In writing of the word "burial" the disposition of signs (the sign *ks* faces the sign *s*), in the end of the Old Kingdom changes on the opposite<sup>359</sup>. The graphic variant of a word *krs(t)*, as it is written here, is not included in G.Lapp list<sup>360</sup>.

#### 4.2.1. STELA-PANEL

Under the architrave there is the stela-panel (*fig. 42a, pl. XXXV a*) which is separated from the false door of Khafraankh by the lintel. Its sizes are: 63 x 57 cm, the bottom part is 64 cm. The stela-panel has a border in the size of 2 cm (3 cm below), it is cut out in the technique of a bas-relief on the distance of 5 cm from a cheek of a false door.

On the funeral chair sit Khafraankh and his wife. The type of the image repeats the composition of the major figures on the southern wall. On Khafraankh is another type of a wig with locks hanging on a forehead. In a lap and shins a tail and the paws of a panther are visible, corresponding to his position. Its left hand on a breast supports a fastener from a skin (as well as in the scene on the southern wall); his right hand is stretched to a table with offerings. Such representations of the tomb owner wearing a panther skin while seating at the offering table appear particularly in the tombs having the cartouches of Dynasty V, although it appears in a small number of the mastaba of Dynasty IV<sup>361</sup>. The type of short dress in the form of a panther skin was typical for Dynasties IV and V up to Niuserra<sup>362</sup>.

The wife of Khafraankh – Herenka sits behind him and with her left hand embraces the husband for a shoulder. Her figure is lower, than a figure of her husband. A palm and fingers have remained. Her right hand lies in a lap. Herenka is dressed in a long dress with wide shoulder straps. She wears a long wig with long locks going down below shoulders and open ear. According to N.Cherpion, long wigs often meet with open ears in the monuments containing cartouches of Pepi I, Merenra and Pepi II<sup>363</sup>.

In front of them the offering table stands, with the ideogram *sh*t widely developed on the table as a symbol of that reed fields as a food source<sup>364</sup>. The type of the chair is the same, as on the southern wall. There is a pillow and the chair is decorated by a lotus flower. Legs of the chair in the form of hooved feet are placed directly on a basis, instead of on a small trapezoid support as it takes place on the southern wall. The offering table before them is just the same type, as on the southern wall.

<sup>358</sup> LAPP, 1986, S. 25 (1); MACKAY ET AL., 1928, pl. XX, XXI (tomb of Afa). DUQUESNE, 2005, p.145.

<sup>359</sup> BARTA W., 1968, S. 9.

<sup>360</sup> Paleographical variants s. LAPP, 1986, S. 39.

<sup>361</sup> CHERPION, 1989, p.63, fig.55. KANAWATI, 2001a, p. 16, 18 (dating – the late Dynasty V, most likely Djedkare-Isesi).

<sup>362</sup> STAEHELIN, 1966, p. 80, Taf. IV, Abb. 6. CHERPION, 1989, p. 49-50, critère 22, fig. 34a.

<sup>363</sup> CHERPION, 1989, p.57-58.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid., p. 43. LECLANT in *LA I*, col. 1156-1160.

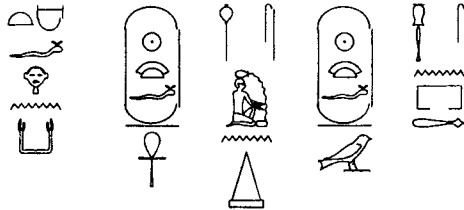
Under the table-top on either side of from a leg of a table the hieroglyphs designating a goose and a bull – 1000 birds and bulls<sup>365</sup>.



*d3.t k3 h3*  
*Offering birds and bull(s) 1000.*

Such writing is well traced in the tombs from the second half of Dynasty IV – first half of Dynasty V, i.e. from Khafra to Niussera<sup>366</sup>.

Over the head of Khafraankh and Herenka are five columns of hieroglyphs with their names and titles.



*smr n pr ʿ3*  
*shd wʿbw<sup>367</sup> n*  
*Wr-<Hʿj.f-Rʿ>*  
*<Hʿj.f-Rʿ> ʿnh*  
*hmt.f Hrnk3*

*Friend (semer) of the Great House*  
*Inspector of wab-priests*  
*of the Pyramid Khafra is great<sup>368</sup>*  
*Khafraankh,*  
*His wife Herenka*

The symbolics of the offering list was anticipated by execution of ritual actions, first of action, mentioned in the lists of offerings, consisted in purification of an offering place by libations. On this stela-panel this rite is named just after hieroglyphs with titles of Khafraankh. The character of this action is reflected in the hieroglyph represented a kneed priest making a libation on a place for offerings. After the ritual of purification the lector-priest has enumerated offerings, which finished (or followed) with the rite of erasing of a foot trace took place<sup>369</sup>. Such command of priests consisting of ten persons, eight from which were lectors, two were assistants as attested in the tomb of Mehu<sup>370</sup>.

<sup>365</sup> Paleography of this sign is the same as in the offering list of the tomb G6010. – WEEKS, 1994, fig. 22.

<sup>366</sup> CHERPION, 1989, p. 50, note 65.

<sup>367</sup> On this category of the officials s. JONES, 2000, II, p. 3376; POSNER-KRIÉGER, 1976, II, p. 660 (translation: “directeur des purificateurs”).

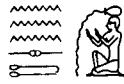
<sup>368</sup> The cartouche with the name of Khafra is in the 4th column, the designation of the pyramid is written in two columns (2nd and 3rd).

<sup>369</sup> On the different minds on this ritual action s. BOLSHAKOV, 2005, 82-83.

<sup>370</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 224-225, Tf. 84.

List of offerings.

First row from above:



*z3t mw* – Libation of water (pouring water on the offering place)<sup>371</sup>.




*kbhw(t3)* – two drops of cool water (libation water, two balls of natron, two drops of cool water)<sup>372</sup>. In this writing there are no designations of drops of the incense rendered in other cases by two small mugs or hieroglyphs of birds.




*wnhw* – roll of cloth<sup>373</sup>.




*msdmt w3dw* – green eyepaint / black eyepaint, two<sup>374</sup>.

<sup>371</sup> LAPP, 1986:, S. 172-173. Cf.: *mw n z3t* – Wasser zum Ausgießen – Dynasty VI (BARTA W., 1963, S. 84(1); ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 222, Abb. 31. Other variant  (BARTA W., 1963, S. 181, Abb. 4). Analogues s.


HASSAN, GIZA VI.2, p. 164-166; WEEKS, 1994, p. 54, 1(1), 2.146 (1), fig. 44 (in the tomb of Iymery (G6020) the sign *mw* is absent, only word *z3t* is written); fig. 22, 1(1), 1.42-1.45 (Neferbaptah, G6010).


JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 100, 154, Abb. 22. –  (K3-nj-njswt II); S.101 (*Sšmnfr* III (1)). KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 47 (Reg. I,1), pl. 64 (*z3t mw*). Here composition of the signs of the word combination differs from that of Khafraankh, namely signs of water rare at the end. The word-composition *mw s3t* s. HASSAN, GIZA VI.2, p. 167, 131-132; according to him this variant is dated in Dynasty V. Tomb of Shedu – PETRIE, 1898, pl. XX. KANAWATI, MCFARLANE, 1993, p.57, Reg. I(1), pl. 54. Disposition of signs is the same as in Khafraankh tomb (the sign of water before *z3t*), the dating – end of Dynasty V – beginning of Dynasty VI (p. 42-44). BARTA W., 1963, S. 47, no.1; S. 56, no.1. LD II, Bl. 35, the tomb of *Dhñj* in Giza. SIMPSON, 1992, p.13 (14), tabl. D. ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, Abb.33, Text A 37.


<sup>372</sup> cf. WEEKS, 1994, fig. 44 (13) (G6020, Iymery). KANAWATI, 2001a, p. 27, Reg. I, 13, pl. 29 (Kaemankh –


libation water and two balls of natron  Dating of the tomb, according to Kanawati – Djedkara-Isesi

(p.15, critical comments to Bolshakov dating s. p.18-20). Purification with two balls of natron *kbhw (ntrj)* *β* 2 – KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p.47, Reg. II,13, pl.64 (writing *kbhw* with consonants *k* and *b*).

BARTA W., 1963, S.48, no.14, *kbhw (ntrj)* *β* 2; also s. SIMPSON, 1992,  13(14), pl. D (dating Dynasty V);

JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 104 – *kbh (bd)* *β*; S. 154, Abb. 22 (K3njnjswt); S.99 (14,27) *Nswtnfr* ; S. 99 (14)

 K3j; S.101 (14), *Sšmnfr* III, S. 101 (14).

<sup>373</sup> Analogues s. WEEKS, 1994, p. 54, 1 (11), 2.146, 11, fig. 44, 11 (the tomb of Iymery, second half of Dynasty V). The same writing as in the tomb of Khafraankh s. also in SIMPSON, 1992, pl. D, p.13 (12); BARTA W., 1963, S. 48, no.12 (*ein Kleiderstoff*); KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 47, Reg. II, 11 – another signs, pl. 64. JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 154, Abb. 22, S. 99 (12) (in the tomb of Niswtnefer there are the same signs, as in the Hesi tomb); S.101 (*Sšmnfr* III (12) – sign ). KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 47, Reg. II, 11, pl. 64.

Second row:



*irp* – wine<sup>375</sup>, two portions



*išd* – *ished*-fruits<sup>376</sup>, two portions.



*t nbs*<sup>377</sup> – cake with *nebes*-fruits.



*sht hdt* – fruits (white), two portions<sup>378</sup>.

*t sjf* – pastry<sup>379</sup>.


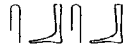
<sup>374</sup> SIMPSON, 1992, p. 13, (10,11), pl. D – small bags as designation of portion, in both cases hieroglyphs of



eyes . . . . BARTA W., 1963, S. 48, no.10, 11; S. 181, Abb. 4, list of Dynasty V. HASSAN, GIZA VI.2, p. 48-49. JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 154, Abb. 22 (*K3njnjswt* II, *msdmt* – signs of eye and a small bag).

<sup>375</sup> The signs of portion are of triangle form, in other cases – more similar to bowls; analogues s. JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 154, Abb. 22 (*K3njnjswt*), determinative in the form of jar. KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 49, Reg. VIII (76, 78-80), determinative of vineyard.


<sup>376</sup> In both cases s. WEEKS, 1994, fig. 22, 5(5) (G6010, Neferbaupth), p. 55(77), fig. 44, 7(6) (G6020, Iymery). KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 49, Reg. IX,83, pl. 64 (determinative of vineyard). JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 154, Abb. 22; S.100 (79), s. Kaj; SIMPSON, 1992, S. 14(79), pl. D – the same writing. Unlike stela-panel of Khafraankh here is no measure designation – Analog s. ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 222, Abb. 31; S. 233, Abb. 33.

<sup>377</sup> The disposition of signs allow to suppose that *s*, disposed in the second row on the level of signs , belongs to the word *nbs*, the subsequent orthography  permit to read it in such a way, cf.



HASSAN, VI.2, pl. XXIV, s. BARTA W., 1963, S. 50, no.86; S. 181, Abb.4 . . . . KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG,



1999, p. 49, Reg. IX (90), pl.64 ; SIMPSON, 1992, p. 14 (85, 86). WEEKS, 1994; p. 55 (84), pl. 44 (G6020, Iymery).

<sup>378</sup> WEEKS, 1994, fig. 22, 6(5), G6010, Neferbaupth. KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 49, Reg. IX, 84, pl. 64. BARTA W., 1963, S. 50, no.80; S. 181, Abb.4, also as *sht w3dt*, s. S. 50, no.81, Abb. 4 on S. 181, type of Dynasty V. JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 99 (86), Nisutnefer; S. 102, *Sšmnfr* III (86); SIMPSON, 1992, pl. 14(80), pl. D. ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 233, Abb. 33, Text A 37.





šrw – pastry<sup>380</sup>.


Third row:




h3wt – offering table<sup>381</sup>.




šns n šbw – a kind of bread for main meal<sup>382</sup>.



<sup>379</sup> In other orthography  this offering is included into the offering list of other officials buried in Giza (s.


Weeks, 1994, p. 55, (58), fig. 44, (2.146) (G6020, Iymery); fig. 22, 4 (4) (G 6010, Neferbaptah, ). S. also KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 48, Reg. VII, (64), pl. 64. Junker, Giza III, S. 154, Abb. 22 (*K3njnjswt*

II), lower part, row 4, 3d from the left - . SIMPSON, 1992, p. 14(60), pl. D ().


<sup>380</sup> JUNKER, GIZA I, 147 (1) – conical form bread . S. also WEEKS, 1994, p. 55 (59), fig. 44 (59) (G6020, Iymery), fig. 22, col. 4 (4) (G6010, Neferbaptah ). Variants of another orthography s. BARTA W., 1963,

S. 49, no.61 , list of Dynasty V, S. 181, Abb. 4 . KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 49, Register


VII, p. 65, pl. 64 , SIMPSON, 1992, p. 14, 61, pl. D. JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 154, Abb 22 (*K3njnjswt* );

S. 99 (61) (*Niswtnfr* ).

<sup>381</sup> Offering table *h3wt* appears in the offering lists only at the end of Dynasty IV. Another writing s. BARTA




W., 1963, S. 48, no.15, S. 181, Abb. 4, list A, Dynasty V; S. 182, type A/B, Dynasty VI – . With the shift

of the signs  at the beginning of the word and  after it, this word is attested in KANAWATI, ABDER-

RAZIG, 1999, p. 47, Reg. II, (14), pl. 64; s. also SIMPSON, 1992, p. 13 (15), pl. D, ; KANAWATI, 2001a, p. 27, 14, pl. 29 – Kaemankh (*h3t*) – late Dynasty V most likely Djedkara-Isesi (p.18). JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 154, Abb 22; S. 99(15), Kaj; S. 101, *Sšmnfr* III (15). ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 233, Abb. 33, 1; 232, Text A 37, 15 (15).



*f3jt* – a serving<sup>383</sup>.


Last two offerings are met in different word combinations, for example in Dynasty VI var.  and  or  *f3jt šns šbw*, Dynasty V<sup>384</sup>. The disposition of the word-combinations on the stela-panel of Khafraankh is most similar to the orthography in the tomb of Hesi.




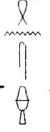
*dsrt* – strong ale, three<sup>385</sup>.


<sup>382</sup> The same word but in other orthography s. KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 47, Reg. III (28), pl. 64 –




*jrjt šbw pw*. SIMPSON, 1992, p. 13. BARTA W., 1963, S. 48, no.25; S. 181, Abb. 4 –  – bread.



KANAWATI, 2001a, p. 27, Reg. II, 26, pl.29 –  – SIMPSON, 1992, p. 13 (36) p. 27, Reg. II, 24, *f3jt šns* – a



serving of *šns*-bread. KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 47, Reg. III (24), pl. 64 –  *šns n f3jt* – bread for serving, one.



<sup>383</sup> KANAWATI, 2001a, p. 27, Reg. II, 24, pl. 29, Kaemankh  WEEKS, 1994, p. 54, 23 with the reference to BARTA W., 1963, S. 48 (24).

<sup>384</sup> BARTA W., 1963, S. 48, 24-25. WEEKS, 1994, p. 54, (23) (Iymery), *f3jt šns* – “what is brought as an offering”. The word combination *šns* [*dwjw*] *šbw* – main meal – KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 47, Reg. III, (24 – *šns n f3jt*, 26 – *šns n šbw*), pl. 64; s. also note on p. 182; WEEKS, 1994, p. 54 (24) – *šns dwjw šbw* – main meal; p. 54 (28) – [*šns*] *dw[jw jʿw-rʿ]* – breakfast.

<sup>385</sup> KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 47, Reg. III (22), pl. 64 – beverage; SIMPSON, 1992 p.13 (22), pl. 

D, –  *dsrt*. ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 232-233, Abb. 33, Text A 37 –  (writing with the initial *d* same

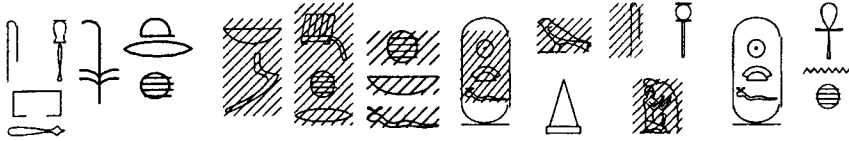
as on the stela-panel of Khafraankh. WEEKS, 1994, fig. 44, p. 54 (21), p. 55 (62) Iymery, – strong ale; fig.22, Neferbaupthah –  in both cases is written without initial . BARTA W., 1963, S.48 (22), S. 181, Abb.4 –

without  (Dynasty V); s. also S. 74 (22) *nmst nt dsrt* – *das dsrt Getränk im nmst-Krug*. JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 154, Abb 22 (upper part, second row); S.99 (64), *Niswtnfr*, without initial .

The analysis of the paleography and structure of offering list testifies that the stela-panel was composed on similar samples of Dynasty V. The same list is attested in other tombs of the Old Kingdom from Giza and Saqqara.

#### 4.2.2. LINTEL AND JAMBS

The inscription on the lintel from the false door has remained badly. The full text is reproduced according to Lepsius edition<sup>386</sup>, by shading those pieces are shown which now not preserved.



*smr pr<sup>c</sup>3 rh nswt [nb im3h(w) hr nb.f<sup>387</sup> [s]hd [w<sup>c</sup>b Wr-<H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R>] <H<sup>c</sup>j.f R> n<sup>h</sup>*

*Friend (semer) of the Great House, royal acquaintance, lord of reverence with his master, inspector of wab-priests of the Pyramid "Great-is-Khafa", Khafraankh.*

The inscription includes all titles of Khafraankh, both honorable, and functional, practically repeating that has been written on the drum at the entrance to the tomb.

Under the lintel was the false door topped with the small characteristic drum on which the name of Khafraankh has been recorded:



*<[H<sup>c</sup>j.f]-R> n<sup>h</sup>  
Khafraankh.*

Two borders with cannelures on the basic decor, smoothly pass in the back closed wall of the niche. On its surface it is possible to distinguish hardly visible traces of three hieroglyphs of falcons on a support (?), more low a head of a goose and another sign (*pl. XXXIVb*). It is possible to assume that this space was inscribed by the list of offerings, which nowadays is mostly lost. Total list of Khafraankh offerings were so great, that covered both jambs of the false door, which now are strongly damaged.

##### 4.2.2.1 SOUTHERN JAMB

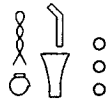
The southern jamb has been chopped off, and the northern one is so strongly erased, that words are often restored conditionally (*fig. 41*). The offerings enumerated here do not mentioned on the stela-panel; consequently it is the additional (or following) list. The requirement for such list has conditioned by lack of place. All the oils, which were necessary for the funeral rituals, supplied with the indication on its highest quality.

<sup>386</sup> LD, II, Bl. 11.

<sup>387</sup> LD, II, Bl. 11. The sign of a circle *nb* is reproduced, it is impossible to check it up.



*h3tt hknw* – the best *hknw*-oil<sup>388</sup>.



*h3tt thnw* – Libyan oil<sup>389</sup>.



*h3tt ibr* – the best *ibr*-oil.



*h3tt nt ʕš* – the best cedar oil, 2 portions<sup>390</sup>.

#### 4.2.2.2. NORTHERN JAMB

The rests of hieroglyphs on all surface of the jamb allow to asserting that it has been completely inscribed by the offering list (*fig. 41*). This criterion namely occurrence of the offering list on the western wall, according to A. Bolshakov, rendered to the time of Niuserra<sup>391</sup>, which corresponds to the presumable dating of Khafraankh tomb.

Nevertheless, in the extreme top part of the niche three figures of a falcon<sup>392</sup> are distinctly enough visible that rightfully has to be estimated as archaic features for this offering room. Such hieroglyphs are characteristic for the tombs of Dynasties II, III, IV and the number of falcons could reach six<sup>393</sup>. Most likely in its original form falcons have been placed on supports and corresponding signs have been written out, however preserved traces of signs do not allow to give a well-founded identification. Most of them are even impossible to identify. The damaged offering list<sup>394</sup>, probably, included the following items:

<sup>388</sup> One of the seven traditional oils, used in the funeral rites from the Dynasty IV up to the Late Period. – ROCHHOLZ, 1996, S. 223-224; s. also KOURA BASMA, 1999.

<sup>389</sup> SIMPSON, 1992, p. 9. BARTA W., 1963, S. 48, 181, Abb. 4, no.9. KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 47, Reg. I, 9. WB. III, S. 28:11.

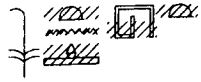
<sup>390</sup> WEEKS, 1994, p. 54 (8), fig.44 (Iymery). KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 47, Reg. I, 8. WB. III, S. 28:10,11. ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, Abb. 33.

<sup>391</sup> BOLSHAKOV, 1986, p. 121.

<sup>392</sup> In the Lepsius edition it was erroneously reproduced as king's signs, s. LD, Text I, 93.

<sup>393</sup> BARTA W., 1963, S. 178-180, Abb. 1-3.

<sup>394</sup> Not all items could be restored. By shading the completely missed signs are shown, other are conditionally restored on comparison with other lists.



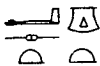
*ḥtp nswt wsḥt* – offerings of the palace.



*ḥ(m)sj* – sit down (to a meal)<sup>395</sup>.



*ḥnfw* – a kind of bread<sup>396</sup>.



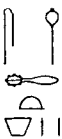
*ꜥgt zt* – a preparation of wheat<sup>397</sup>.



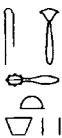
*t3 nḥr* – bread<sup>398</sup>.



*3srt* – bread<sup>399</sup>.



*shṯ ḥḏt* – fruits.




*shṯ w3ḏt* – fruits.

<sup>395</sup> WEEKS, 1994, p. 54 (17), fig. 44 (Iymery).

<sup>396</sup> JUNKER, GIZA I, 147 (3) – *kleine runde oder ovale Semmel, in einem Napf serviert*. BARTA W., 1963, S.48 (38).

<sup>397</sup> JUNKER, GIZA, I, 147 (6). – *besonders zubereitete Getreidekörner in einer Schale*. Analog s. HASSAN, GIZA VI.2,



p. 62, 416 –  WEEKS, 1994, p. 55 (80), fig. 44 (Iymery).

<sup>398</sup> JUNKER, GIZA, I, 147 (2).

<sup>399</sup> BARTA W., 1963, S. 182, Abb. 5, 74, no.43 – *“eine Brotsorte”*.

The architrave of the second part of Khafraankh false door (the second under the account from the south side) has been taken away to England and stored now in the Oriental Museum of Durham University (no.2153). On this architrave, which the photo and drawings are reproduced by J.Malek, the word combination *smr pr* [ʕ] is written with direct genitive<sup>400</sup>. The inscription is reproduced here according to J.Malek's photo.



*Friend (semer) of the Great house, the royal acquaintance, lord of reverence, whom his lord loves, Khafraankh.*

### 4.3. FALSE DOOR OF HERENKA

*A boon which king gives, a boon which Anubis gives, foremost of the divine booth (to receive) the burial<sup>401</sup> in the Necropolis (=West) ...*

<sup>400</sup> MALEK, 1982, p. 58-60, fig. 4.1a.b.

<sup>401</sup> As it is in case with subsequent formula on the false door of Khafraankh the word “burial” starts with the

sign . Disposition of signs finds no analogue in the list of LAPP, 1986, p. 39. Compare *htp dj nswt...krs.tj.fj m zmjt jmntt* – “la formule – mise en place d’un culte.” – BAUD, 1999, p. 293.

#### 4.3.1. STELA-PANEL OF HERENKA

Under the architrave the stela-panel is settled down (fig. 42b, pl. XXXV/b). It has received considerable damages already in the ancient time as a result of a break of this part of the false door, where another room is actually seen. On the stela-panel traces of the ancient plaster serving for restoration of the relief have remained. The stela-panel recedes from the niche on its right edge on 3 cm and from the left edge on 2 cm. Its sizes are 58.5 x 45 cm. On the stela-panel Khafraankh and his wife Herenka are sitting on the chair. Traces of clothes on a lap of Khafraankh in the form of a panther skin are visible. With his left hand he holds outsets from fastening of this skin. The face is erased. The figure of Herenka is much less in the sizes, than the figure Khafraankh. The clothes of Herenka have not remained, it is possible to assume that on it there was the same dress, as on another pictures. The inscription over their heads is damaged. Behind them are hieroglyphs:



*m ht nb – ... [and] of every [good] thing [every day]*<sup>402</sup>.

The space over the heads of Khafraankh and Herenka is damaged. Now only the name of Khafra pyramid is readably.



*Wr-<H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R>*


*The Pyramid "Great-is-Khafra".*

The space between them burst still in the ancient time and just after fixed be plaster, allows to assuming that the titles of Khafraankh here have been traced, and over the head of his wife her name was inscribed. In front of Khafraankh head (a little bit to the right) is seen the name of Khafra pyramid. Consequently it is possible to assume the title of Khafraankh – *shd w<sup>c</sup>b* (?).



*<H<sup>c</sup>j.f[-R<sup>c</sup>]><sup>c</sup> [n]h*

*Khafraankh.*

<sup>402</sup> WEEKS, 1994, 56, fig. 44, (G 6020). Cf. JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 154, Abb 22 – , S. 102, *Sšmnfr* (88).

Probably over the head of his wife her name was written:



*Hrnk3*  
*Herenka.*

First row of the stela-panel of Herenka:



*htp (wj) nswt imy wsht*

*Royal offerings, which are in the wsht hall*<sup>403</sup>.

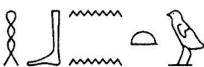


*t sif (?) – pastry.*



*ht(3) – bread, two portions*<sup>404</sup>.

Second row:



*hbnnwt – bread*<sup>405</sup>.



*id3t – bread*<sup>406</sup>, four pieces.

<sup>403</sup> see in KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 47, Reg. II, 16, pl. 64. This word combination s. WEEKS, 1994, p. 54 (15, 16), fig. 44 (2.146).

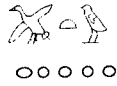
<sup>404</sup> – KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 48, Reg. IV (36), pl. 64; p. 13 (32), pl. D (Kaemnefret). JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 99 (32), *Niswtnfr* – .

<sup>405</sup> Analogue s. WEEKS, 1994, p. 55(38), fig. 44, Iymery (G6020) – ; KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 48, Reg. V, 43, pl. 64 – . JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 154, Abb 22 – ; S.99 (39), *K3j*; S. 102, *S3mnfr* III (39).

<sup>406</sup> Here *h3.k* is absent, s., for example, . On ritual meaning of this expression – this is lying behind you (“*lege es hinter dich*”) – s. BARTA W, 1963, S.49, note 7. WEEKS, 1994, p. 55(40), fig. 44 (Iymery, G 6020) – *id3t h3k* – a kind of bread. KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 48, Reg. V, 45, pl. 64. JUNKER,

GIZA III, S.154, Abb. 22; S. 102, *S3mnfr* III (41) – .

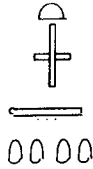




*p3t* – a kind of bread<sup>407</sup>.



*kbhw t3* – libations<sup>408</sup>.



*t imy t3* – bread<sup>409</sup>, four pieces.



*stj h3b* – festival ointment<sup>410</sup>.



*hknw* ? – a sacred oil<sup>411</sup>.

The second part of the false door of Herenka is similar on its composition to that of Khafraankh. On an initial constructive plan of the composition of the false door the inscribed lintel should be under the stela-panel, as well as it is on the false door of Khafraankh. Now of its presence testify rests in southern sector of a break. The existence of the drum with the name of Herenka also can be assumed. However the space of the wall destined for it, at the moment is lost.

<sup>407</sup> Probably a bread *p3t* is mentioned here. Variants of writing s., for example, WEEKS, 1994 - *p3t*, p. 55(41),



G6020) – , Neferbaupth, fig. 22 (G6010). BARTA W., 1963, S.49, no.42, S. 181, Abb. 4 – .

JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 102, *S3mnfr* III (42) – .

<sup>408</sup> See subsequent comment to the stela-panel of Khafraankh.

<sup>409</sup> BARTA W., 1963, S. 48, no.37; S. 181, Abb. 4. WEEKS, 1994, p. 54 (36), fig. 44 (Iymery). SIMPSON, 1992, p. 13 (21). JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 99 (37), *K'j* – ; S. 102 (37), *S3mnfr* III – . HANNIG, 2003, S. 1383: 36212 – “Landbrot”.

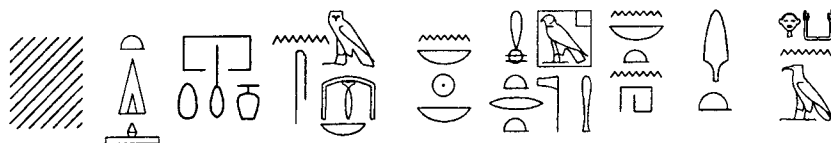


<sup>410</sup> WEEKS, 1994, p. 54(3), fig. 44 (Iymery, G 6020) – . SIMPSON, 1992, p. 13(3), Kaemnefret – KOURA BASMA, 1999, S. 29, 34, 37-38. JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 75 (*stj hb*), 85. ROCHHOLZ, 1996, S. 224.

<sup>411</sup> KOURA BASMA, 1999, S. 34, 38; 173-175. Another variant of restoration – *hnkt nmst* – beer, a jar. – KANAWATI, ABDER-RAZIG, 1999, p. 47, Reg. III, p. 23, pl. 64.



The architrave of the second part of the southern door has the inscription (*pl. XXXVIIb*):

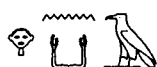


[*htp*] *di* [*nswt*] *pṛt-ḥrw t ḥnkt n s m ḥb nb rꜥ nb mitrt ḥm nṯr Ḥwt-Ḥr nb.t nḥt*  
*Hrnk3*

[*A boon*], which [*king*] gives, invocation offerings of bread, beer, for all feast and for every day for Lady (*mitrt*)<sup>412</sup>, priestess (*ḥm nṯr*) of Hathor, Mistress of sycamore, Herenka.

The phrase for all feast and for every day is attested in other similar texts from Giza necropolis<sup>413</sup>.

Under the architrave, on the second part of the false door of Herenka the drum with her name is placed.



*Hrnk3*

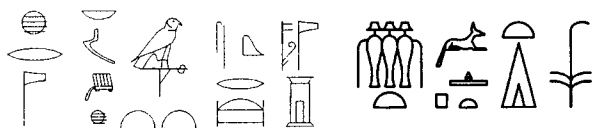
*Herenka.*

The north part of this composition (four narrow façade panels) smoothly passes to the false door of Hermeru and Ishepet.

#### 4.4. FALSE DOOR OF HERMERU AND ISHEPET

The false door with the architrave and the stela-panel corresponds to the shaft in front of this door. The architrave was tried to cut off, its right part suffered more because of the big crack which has touched also the right lower corner of the stela-panel. Under the stela-panel the aperture is punched. The composition includes only one architrave and only one drum which have remained on the second part of this false door (*pl. XXXVIa*).

The inscriptions on the architrave:



*Htp* [*di nswt*] *Inpw ḥntj zh nṯr kṛs(t) imntt nb im3ḥ(w) ḥr nṯr* [*3*]

*A boon which the king gives and Anubis gives, foremost of the divine booth (to receive) the burial in the Necropolis (=West) to the lords of reverence with the [great] god.*

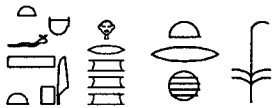
<sup>412</sup> The woman title (*mitrt*) (WB. II, S. 45: 4-6). On this type of *pṛt-ḥrw* formula s. LAPP, 1993, 91ff, 103ff.

<sup>413</sup> In the details s. JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 59-62.

Under the architrave in the niche there is the stela-panel with images of Ishepet (the daughter of Khafraankh) and her husband Hermeru (*fig. 42c, pl. XXXVIb*). The stela-panel is of the square form in the size of 36 x 36 cm. The vertical field in the size 1.5–2 cm is cut only at the left; on the right side the stela-panel directly adjoins the wall. It is executed roughly, the field has rough form, and traces from a cutter are visible.

Hermeru wears, most likely, a short kilt. It is possible to assume that probably he has been dressed in a skin of a panther, as well as those, who are represented on other stelae-panels. Anyway the pose of the figure and position of hands testify to it. The clothes of Ishepet have not remained. The long wig with locks hanging down downwards is accurately visible. Most likely she had a long dress. Type of the chair is the same, that on other stelae-panels. Legs have not remained. Ishepet and Hermeru sit before the offering table. As well as on the images described above, on this stela-panel the man is ahead, his wife is behind. He stretches the right hand to the table, and his left is pressed to the breast.

Over the heads of the figures is the inscription:

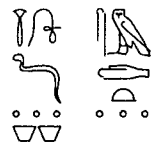


*rh nswt Hmrw hmt.f Ispt*

*Royal acquaintance Hermeru and his wife Ishepet.*

Between the names of Hermeru and Ishepet the vertical line dividing the inscription on sections has remained.

The list of offerings on the stela-panel:



*msdmt w3d* – black and green colour for eyes<sup>414</sup>.

These words are separated from the names of dead by vertical line and from the other items of the list by horizontal line.





*ꜥwg wt (ꜥwg it ?)* – groats<sup>415</sup>.



*t sjf* – pastry<sup>416</sup>.


<sup>414</sup> Analogues s. above (stela –panel of Khafraankh)

<sup>415</sup> JUNKER, GIZA, I, 147 (6). WB. I, S. 235:5. This mode of writing s. KAHL, 2002, Lief. 1, S.75 – *Röstkorn*.

WEEKS, 1994, p. 55 (81), fig. 44 (Iymery),  – “a preparation of barley, or prepared grain”;  p. 14 (83) (Kaemnefret). Cf. JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 100 (82), *Kꜥj*; S. 102, *Sšmnfr* (82, 83).



#### 4.5. FAMILY GENEALOGY (ESSAY OF RECONSTRUCTION)




The problem of filiation of dead buried of this part of the Khafraankh chapel is one of the unsolved problems. Some data can be taken from the tomb of Iteti (G 7391). During the field season of 2000 our mission undertook special researches there.<sup>421</sup> Attention has been concentrated on the northern wall of the chapel of Iteti, brother of his endowment  (*sn.f n dt.f*).




In the top register of the northern wall of the tomb G 7391 Iteti is shown sitting on the chair with the same hoofed legs, as Khafraankh on the southern wall of his tomb. Moreover, before Iteti is the same table and the same offerings as before Khafraankh on the southern wall of his tomb. All testifies to similarity or even identity of the elements of the iconographic program of both tombs, probably, ordered or executed by the same masters, and also existence in both tombs some kind of archaism in separate elements.

Lower Iteti figure on the average register six figures (on three in everyone sub-register), among which (the second one in upper row) is a person by the name of Hermeru<sup>422</sup>. The same person is shown on the external northern part of the door pass with a vessel in the form of heart in his hands<sup>423</sup>.

On our view Ishepet is also pictured there. The hieroglyphs, composed her name in the tomb of Iteti, are damaged. However, *r* and *t* written by red ochre are seen. The hieroglyph *š* is also visible, consequently, here is *ʾšpt* (with transposition of *p* and *š*)<sup>424</sup>.

The disposition of the figures on the middle register allows to assume that figures which number Hermeru is included, are children or relatives of offering receivers among whom Hermeru is shown. Last one among receivers of offerings is the woman, whose

name is transferred in the publication as <sup>425</sup>. At the same time, researches at place evidence in the existence of enough shabby sign, in which is possible to recognize , consequently the name of this woman with the big share of probability is read as Ishepet. There is a question on her relationship with figures of the men represented in front of her. She sits directly behind the man with name  *Ršd*, the last one consequently behind the person with the name Khafraankh.

The name of Khafraankh has been written by red ochre and was corrected three times. In the beginning of the sign  *šhḏ* the cartouche was written, and under it the sign  *nh* has been placed. Then the cartouche has been replaced on *š* and *mr*, and over the sign *nh* was the hieroglyph of the *wḥb*-priest. The cartouche, seems not to be filled, however, there is no doubt that it has been destined for the name of Khafra. As appears from the remained outlines of hieroglyphs, the scribe has confused titles *šmr* and *šhḏ wḥb(w)* that is understandable due to similarity of signs. After the name of pyramid and the title *šhḏ* are written. Accordingly the phrase  *šhḏ wḥb(w) Wr (Hḥj.f-R)* he was “the chief of wab-priests of the Pyramid “Great-is-Khafra” that completely corresponds to the title of Khafraankh and Iteti position as receivers a share of offerings.

<sup>421</sup> It was done by M.A.Chegodayev.


<sup>422</sup> BADAWY, 1976, fig. 14.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid., fig. 7.

<sup>424</sup> CURTO, 1963, p. 39. BADAWY, p. 6. In a phrase *rḥt nšw ʾšpt*, written in green paint, S.Curto and A.Badawy on our mind wrongly read it as *ʾlpt*.

<sup>425</sup> Y.Harpur has paid attention to it. – HARPUR, 1981, p. 30.

The name of the person sitting behind it is written by red and green paint. Red hieroglyphs *hr* and *r* are still visible, green hieroglyphs *św* and *mr* are visible hardly. Research of the rests of hieroglyphs, allows to assume other reading, than it has been given

by A.Badawy<sup>426</sup>, namely  *Hr mrw*. If to follow this conclusion, here are Hermeru and Ishepet sitting behind their relative. The relatives were – Khafraankh (probably Khafraankh the younger, most likely a brother), the son of the owner of the tomb G 7948, and in front of them – one of their sons with the same name<sup>427</sup>. If to assume that Khafraankh the younger executed functions *sn.f n dt.f* regarding Iteti as the last one in former time executed these functions regarding his father, Ishepet and Hermeru should be relatives of Khafraankh young and accordingly of Khafraankh, father.

Consequently, the conclusion follows that one can speak about Hermeru the husband of Ishepet, whose inscription has remained on the drum over the shaft 5. As far as Hermeru is represented on the stela-panel together with Ishepet, it is possible to assume that the last one was the niece of Khafraankh, and Hermeru, having been relative of Iteti, was her husband. From such reading of this fragment follows that *ʿšpt* and *Hr mrw* bore the same relationship to Iteti, who was the brother of Khafraankh<sup>428</sup>. From this explanation the rights and privileges of *Hr mrw* and *ʿšpt* to be buried in the tomb of Khafraankh are justified.

So the family genealogy is looked as follows:

*First generations*, direct branch, contemporaries – Khafraankh and Iteti were brothers of their endowment who were at the same time blood relatives.

*Lateral relationship*. Ishepet and Hermeru were the contemporaries of Iteti who have buried Khafraankh. It is obvious that Hermeru was still alive when have buried Iteti. Consequently, if he was buried in the tomb of Khafraankh, the burial chamber for him and his wife has been in advance prepared. Another possibility, he was depicted on the stela-panel only as the husband of Ishepet, his name was written neither on the false door, nor on the architrave. The name appeared only on the stela-panel.

<sup>426</sup> BADAWY, 1976, pl. 11.

<sup>427</sup> The tradition of giving the father name to his son is well traced on examples Khafraankh and Iteti, the son of the last one by name of Iteti is shown keeping on the scepter of the father (BADAWY, 1976, fig. 13).

<sup>428</sup> HARPUR, 1981, p. 30.

## 5. NORTHERN WALL

Two narrow vertical fragments with the rests of images are everything that has remained from the northern wall of Khafraankh chapel (*fig. 43, pl. X*). The wall has been destroyed still in the ancient time in order to cut the chapel (G 7948/1).

The west fragment of the wall has 0.18 m of width and 2.48 m of height. East fragment is 0.32 m of width and 2.46 m of height. Originally the length of the wall had to be 2.46 m.

On the western fragment contours the standing person in a long wig has remained, a handkerchief is clamped in his right lowered hand (*pl. XXXIX*). The figure is placed on the register. The handkerchief in his hand does not leave doubt that here is the image the tomb owner observing the construction of the ship.

In the bottom register there is the image of a fodder or nasal part of a boat which is born on a shoulder by the bent person. The remained fragments allow to interpret this scene as a scene of ship building. The similar scene is attested in Meidum<sup>428</sup>.

The remained part of a decor of the east fragment of the wall evidences that the marsh scene here has been represented. Two birds, characteristic for such images – a hoopoe with open wings and the characteristic cop on the head have remained (*pl. XXXVIIIa*). Over it is one more bird<sup>429</sup>. The wall fragment is spoiled by the cut apertures for fixing of the door at the construction of the tomb G 7948/1. The remained reliefs show stalks and lotus buds of papyrus and a marsh cat sitting among them (*pl. XXXVIIIc*). The tail which has remained on the extreme western fragment testifies that here has been represented an ichneumon (*Genetta genetta*), clambering on papyrus stalks to a nest with baby birds<sup>430</sup> that was their favorite food (*pl. XXXVIIIb*).

Research of the upper sector of the fragment where birds are shown, has revealed presence of a butterfly. These insects (family *Nymphalidae*) were a component of fauna of Ancient Egypt and a usual theme of so-called marsh scenes, since the Old Kingdom and up to the Late Dynastic Period<sup>431</sup>.

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<sup>428</sup> PETRIE, 1892, p.26, pl. XXIII. – Boat-building scene, tomb Nefermaat, chamber of Atet. On building scene analogy s. LANDSTRÖM, 1974, S. 94-95, no.307.

<sup>429</sup> HOULIHAN, 1996, fig. 3 (7), 5 (30), fig 7 (52).

<sup>430</sup> Analogues are in the tomb of Mereruka, s. HARPUR, 1987, p. 191-194; Ti and others, s. MACRAMALLAH, 1935, pl. VII. HOULIHAN, 1996, p. 40.

<sup>431</sup> HOULIHAN, 1996, p. 25.



## EXCURSUS I.

## ON THE TITLES OF HERENKA, PRIESTESS OF HATHOR AND NEITH IN THE OLD KINGDOM

by Olga V. TOMASHEVICH

For time of the Old Kingdom it is known more than 250 priestesses of Hathor. At the first attempts compose the documentation on priestesses it becomes evident that the title “priestess of Hathor” is typical for the women buried in capital necropolises of the Old Kingdom – Saqqara and especially Giza. Many (practically every fourth) from priestesses of Hathor were simultaneously priestesses of another goddess – Neith (priests of both these cults are simultaneously unknown while priests of Hathor or Neith separately existed)<sup>432</sup>.

It is well known, that exactly Hathor and Neith were the most honored goddesses of the Old Kingdom. It is curious to try to track concrete combinations of these priestess titles and to try to deduce certain laws of their compatibility with each other and with other titles.

Apparently, the first known owner of the priestess’s titles of Hathor and Neith during Pyramid’s epoch is Khunsu (*Hw-n-sw*), the spouse of the king’s son Kanefer buried with him in mastaba no. 28 in Dahshur. She was “priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore and Neith opener of ways, north of the wall” (*wp.t w3w.t, mht.t inb*). J.de Morgan underlined a value of her inscriptions containing genealogy of one of branches of king Snofru’s family<sup>433</sup>. These titles accurately specify capital cults (see more in detail lower). Almost all women mentioned in this excursus besides interesting us, possessed more then two titles: only one lady carrying only title “priestess of Neith” along with a title “priestess of Hathor” is known (while her sister was not only a priestess of both goddesses, but also *rht nswt* – “King’s Acquaintance”; both sisters are buried in Giza)<sup>434</sup>.

Let’s look on different variants of women’s titles, beginning with the most simple examples. Twenty “priestesses of Hathor” are simultaneously “priestesses of Neith” – all occur

<sup>432</sup> Connection of these two titles was attested for a long time, s. for example: BRUGSCH, 1880, p. 111. MALLET, 1888, p. 102-103. MEYER, 1913, I, Abb. 2, § 247. BLACKMAN, 1921, p. 8-30. According to Junker (JG IV, S. 7) they were woman of high stratum of the society. The same conclusion ascertain: ALLAM, 1963, S. 16; BEGELSBACHER-FISCHER, 1981, S. 112 f. Also see: FISCHER H., 1976, p. 69, the dissertation of GALVINE, 1981; EL-SAYED, 1982, p. 39-41; GILLAM, 1995, p. 211.

<sup>433</sup> DE MORGAN, 1903, p. 23.

<sup>434</sup> LD II, Bl. 83.



from Giza – Saqqara, and the majority of them lived during Dynasties IV–V<sup>435</sup>. Eighteen of them also are called *rht nswt* – “King’s Acquaintance” (this title belongs to the majority of priestesses of Hathor and Neith).

Similar with this title “priestess of Hathor in all her Places”, probably, specifies in its higher position of its bearers in temple hierarchy. Thirteen women are known as “priestess of Hathor in all her Places” – five of them were also priestesses of Neith (all of them were from Giza – Saqqara, all lived during the Old Kingdom)<sup>436</sup>. However, in given and similar cases it is necessary to be very careful. The mode of writing in even one tomb can vary considerably, therefore it is not excluded that somewhere a title could be reduced because of a place lack (and “priestess of Hathor in all her Places” turned out simply in “priestess of Hathor”), or the inscription with its full writing simply has not survived (after all it is necessary to consider not only the whole tombs, but also separate blocks from destroyed chapels). S.Allam believed that a title “Priestess of Hathor in all her Places” is a shortened form of the title “Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore in all her Places”<sup>437</sup>. At the same time, it is known that titles “priestess of Hathor” and “Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore” are not equivalent<sup>438</sup>.

There could be even more radical reductions: on the western wall of the chapel of Khafraankh on the false door of Herenka she is named only “Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore”, and on the false door of her spouse “Lady of reverence with great god”. The plausible reason – absence of the place for a writing the full titlature and desire to enumerate more titles. It is difficult to explain, why Herenka titles on her false door so considerably differs from her titles on the southern wall: there is strictly speaking, the unique coincidence – the name of Herenka! After all even her position in the cult of Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore, is designated differently: on the false door she is “priestess” of the goddess, and on a southern wall – “the lord (sic!) of reverence with Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore (and) *Iunet*”!

Besides, in an inscription on her false door the titlature begins with *Mjtr.t*. It seems that last title<sup>439</sup> which can be understood as “*Mjtr.t* and priestess of Hathor (or Neith)”. In Giza three more priestesses with the same title (*Mjtr.t hm-ntr Ht-Hr*) are known. It is remarkable that one of them, *Mjtr.t hm-ntr Ht-Hr*, is mentioned on one lintel together with other lady (their relations are not clear), who carried a similar title, but only with Neith (*Mjtr.t hm-ntr Nt*)<sup>440</sup>.

Similar with titlature of Herenka possessed two women: certain *H3hn-m-nb, rht nswt, Mjtr.t hm-ntr Nt wp.t w3w.t, hm-ntr Hwt-Hr, nbt Nht*<sup>441</sup>. The second one called *nh-k3w-s*<sup>442</sup>. It seems that it is one more aspect of “parallelism” of two goddesses from which the leading role judging by quantity of priestesses was played by Hathor.

The very popular in Giza hypostasis of Hathor – “Mistresses of *Nh.t* (Mistress of the Sycamore)”<sup>443</sup> – according to Goedicke<sup>444</sup>, was connected with a sanctuary which there was.

<sup>435</sup> GALVINE, 1981, p. 51-52.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>437</sup> ALLAM, 1963, S. 20.

<sup>438</sup> Ibid., S. 19-20 (women with both titles are known).

<sup>439</sup> WB. II, S. 45:6. HANNIG, 2003, S. 515:12513. For variants see: JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 141.

<sup>440</sup> FISHER 1924, p. 146, pl. 49.

<sup>441</sup> Ibid., p. 136-138.

<sup>442</sup> HASSAN, GIZA IX, p. 63-65.

<sup>443</sup> BONNET, 1952, S. 279.

<sup>444</sup> GOEDICKE, 1957. Later this idea will be expressed in ALLAM, 1963, S. 3-5.

Priestesses Hathor, Mistresses of the Sycamore also very often are called *rht nswt* "Royal Acquaintance", and from 52 such women – 48 belong to the time of the Old Kingdom and 46 originated from Lower Egypt. For this category of women the cult of Neith also was rather important: from 52 women – 21 was a priestess of the goddess of Sais. All their inscriptions are dated basically in Dynasties IV–V, all occurred from Giza – Saqqara. Nine ones carry the simple title "priestess of Neith" (among them there is "a king's daughter")<sup>445</sup>, five of them – "Neith opener ways"<sup>446</sup>, one – "opener ways, north of the Wall" and four – "Neith north of the Wall"<sup>447</sup>. It seems no certain model of a combination of titles of priestesses of Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore and priestess of Neith existed.

The titlature of *Nfr-htp-s* from Abusir (Dynasty V) is distinguished by length and variety of goddesses: *rht- nswt, hm-ntr Nt mht.t inb, wp.t w3w.t, nfrt-htj-irt-mrt, hm-ntr Nt m swt.s nbt, hm-ntr Ht-Hr nbt Nht, hm-ntr Ht-Hr, hm-ntr Nt, hkr-t-nsw w'tt, hm-ntr Ht-Hr nbt Im33w hm-ntr mrwt* (King's Acquaintance, Priestess of Neith North of the Wall, Opener of the ways, *nfrt-htj-irt-mrt*, Priestess of Neith in all her Places, Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore, Priestess of Hathor, Priestess of Neith, King's only Jewel, Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of *Im33w*, *Mrt*-priestess)<sup>448</sup>. So, it is better to consider all titles separately however similar they did not seem.

In this group of priestesses there is one, whose titles are especially interesting: it is *Dbt*, "Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore, Priestess of Neith, King's Acquaintance, Foremost of Khafra (*htj H'j.f-R*)", who worships Hathor everyday in all her Places"<sup>449</sup>. This titlature is unique, but it is possible to assume after S.Allam the existence of the sanctuary of Hathor and Neith in any unidentified monument of Khafra<sup>450</sup>.

Possibly, "priestesses of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore in all its places" were of higher rank than priestesses of "Hathor, Mistresses of Sycamore" (or this reduction of a title?). Among the last ones there were many priestesses of Neith (7 from 10), "King's Acquaintance" (8 of 10), and almost all of them are buried in necropolis area Giza – Saqqara<sup>451</sup>. There are two curious exceptions. One is "priestess of Neith, Opener of the ways in all her places" – except Giza she is testified in Zawiet el-Maitin<sup>452</sup>. Another "priestess of Neith, Opener of the ways" is buried in Dahshur at Dynasty IV; among her titles one is very mysterious, which H.Fischer suggests to read as *hm-ntr nbt Twnw*<sup>453</sup> (I would like to notice that a little amount of bearers of the titles "priestess of Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore" and "priestess Neith" are known out of the capital region). It is remarkable, that exactly this combination of titles of priestesses (with an addition "in all its places") has been especially extended in Dynasties V–VI<sup>454</sup>. However, the majority of priestesses of both goddesses with these titles lived earlier during Dynasties IV–V.

<sup>445</sup> MARIETTE, 1889, p. 91-92, B 2.

<sup>446</sup> One of them has the title ? *nist*, pointed to her relations with music, which was characteristic for Hathor priestess – FISHER, 1924, p. 55, 163-166.

<sup>447</sup> GALVINE, 1981, p. 56-69.

<sup>448</sup> STEINDORFF, 1913, Tf. 128.

<sup>449</sup> JAMES, 1961, pl. VII. ALLAM, 1963, S. 10-11.

<sup>450</sup> ALLAM, 1963, S. 10-11, 20.

<sup>451</sup> GALVINE, 1981, p. 82.

<sup>452</sup> LD II. Bl. 109.

<sup>453</sup> FISCHER H., 1968, p. 31-33.

<sup>454</sup> GALVINE, 1981, p. 73.

If we calculate separately “priestesses of Hathor in all her Places” (not as a variant of “priestess of Hathor”) 5 women of 13 also will appear as “priestesses of Neith”<sup>455</sup>.

Among the titles of Herenka there is one more, connected with Hathor – the priestess of “Mistress of *Iunet*” (it is mentioned only on a southern wall of a chapel at once after “revered with Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore”). H.Fischer opinion, *Twnt* or *Twntw* is Dendera<sup>456</sup>. This question, he fairly continues, is necessary to consider in the light of what we know about the Sun, Re, Heliopolis and their communication with Hathor. It is enough to remind that Hathor is considered to be a daughter and Eye of Ra<sup>457</sup>. According to K.Sethe, the name “Dendera” (*Twnt*) looks as feminine from “Heliopolis” (*Twntw*)<sup>458</sup>. Popularity of this name can be connected not only with the influence of Heliopolis school of priests, though this factor, probably, was a decisive: quite natural is a desire of provincial priesthood to name their city in honor of the well-known religious center located in immediate proximity from the capital of the country – Memphis (compare *Twntj* – Esna, *Twntw* – Hermontis, *Twntj* – Gebelein). All of them were the centers of the cult of Hathor and could receive their names from “*Twnt*” – a column-fetish of the goddess)<sup>459</sup>.

However in Giza this form of Hathor is mentioned rather seldom (12 times) and exclusively on the monuments of the Old Kingdom<sup>460</sup>. It is known one King’s Acquaintance, “priestess of Hathor, Mistress of *Iunet*” which was also “priestess of Neith”<sup>461</sup>. More close to titles of Herenka are titles of Ifi, belonging to an royal family: *rht nswt, z3t nswt, hkr t nswt, s3t nswt n ht.f, hm-ntr Nt mht.t inb, hm-ntr Ht-Hr m swt nbt, hm-ntr Ht-Hr nbt Nht, Ht-Hr nbt Twnt*. Ifi was married for the high-rank official, and her monuments are dated in the beginning of Dynasty V, found in Giza and el-Hammamia<sup>462</sup>, where her tomb has been built according to Memphis traditions<sup>463</sup>. El-Hammamia is near to Dendera, therefore the cult “Hathor, Mistress of *Iunet*” here is not astonishing. However, titles “Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore”, “Priestess of Hathor in all her Places” and “Priestess of Neith, North of the Wall” are undoubtedly capital by its origin – hence, the family for any reasons has moved in el-Hammamia.

In Dendera the cult of “Hathor, Mistress of *Iunet*” flourished till last time of the Egyptian history and was not associated with the cult of Neith (a title “priestess of Neith” or “revered with Neith” do not meet). It is indicative that any “priestess of Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore” or “revered with Hathor, Mistress of Sycamore” “revered with Hathor”. “Hathor, Mistress of *Iunet* in all its places” is not testified there, hence it is probable that it too exclusively capital title. According to S.Allam, the cult of Mistress of *Iunet* has appeared in Giza during the

<sup>455</sup> GALVINE, 1981, p. 82.

<sup>456</sup> FISCHER H., 1968, p. 30. Dietrich Raue, the author of the dissertation on Heliopolis is sure that in the titles of Hathor priestess under *Iunet* Dendera is meant (oral communication to the author 7.07.2000).

<sup>457</sup> FISCHER H., 1968, p. 35.

<sup>458</sup> SETHE, 1930.

<sup>459</sup> GARDINER, 1957, Sign-List, O28; sign O29 represents «a hall with columns». It is interesting that the epithet of gods *Twnt* is also exist (WB. I, S. 53).

<sup>460</sup> GALVINE, 1981, p. 91.

<sup>461</sup> REISNER, 1942, p. 242. FISCHER H., 1968, p. 24.

<sup>462</sup> MACKAY E. ET AL., 1929, pl. XX-XXIV. FISCHER H., 1968, p. 24-25.

<sup>463</sup> KEES, 1921, S. 17-18, 24, 32.

Old Kingdom due to moving of her priests from Dendera to the capital (there is even a suitable candidacy – somebody Imni, attested in the inscriptions of both religious centers)<sup>464</sup>.

It is not excluded that “Hathor the Mistress of *Iunet*” in the Memphite area should be regarded as separate and independent from Hathor as the Mistress of *Iunet* in Dendera<sup>465</sup>. And the title of “priestess of Neith” appears as one of the main “markers” of the capital origin of her bearer. Four “priestess of Hathor, Mistress of *Iunet*” and two “priestess of Hathor, Mistress of *Iunet* in all its places” were also “priestess of Neith in all its places”. All six occur from Giza – Saqqara and dated in the Old Kingdom<sup>466</sup>.

Fifteen priestesses of Hathor are called also “revered with Hathor”. Any of them does not concern a royal family. But in inscriptions the royal relatives who are not “priests/priestesses of Hathor”, however are known “revered with”. M.Galvine noted: “The most popular type of distinction ... was that of being venerated before the Mistress of Dendera, particularly among the royalty who bestowed lavish grants and offerings on that cult center”<sup>467</sup>. It is interesting that “revered” can be both men, and women (and priests as it was already marked, were almost exclusively women)<sup>468</sup>. There are six ladies who do not have the title “priestess of Hathor, Mistress of *Iunet*”, but they are called “revered with Hathor Mistress of *Iunet* (or *Iunu*)”<sup>469</sup>. Among them is Herenka. Similar to her titles has a lady who, probably, is the namesake of our heroine (her name is damaged but such restoration is quite probably): “revered with Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore, Mistress of *Iunet*, Priestess of Neith *Wpetwawet*”<sup>470</sup>. Since the inscription is in Giza and is dated in Dynasty IV, the question arises, whether there was a mother Herenka who has transferred to her the priestly titles (and Herenka also has a daughter with the same name)? Neith too had her “revered with”<sup>471</sup> and often they were simultaneously priestesses of the goddess. But Herenka is named “priestess Neith, opener of the ways”.

Why in female inscriptions of capital necropolises titles of priestess of Neith and Hathor are connected? S.Schott has put forward the assumption that in this region there was a sanctuary where both goddesses were venerated<sup>472</sup>. While we do not know anything about such sanctuary, or have no information on a veneration of Neith in a temple of Hathor or, on the contrary, no Hathor in “houses of the Mistress of Sais” (for example, in Res-Net and Meh-Net)<sup>473</sup>. Hardly it was accidental that in this sanctuary these two goddesses were venerated.

Probably, relations of the goddesses cults, reflected in titles of their priestesses, may be explained geographically. H.Junker’s opinion that the birthplace of Hathor is the 3rd nome of the Lower Egypt is actual<sup>474</sup>. D.Mallet offered another “geographical interpretation”: in titlature of priestesses of Neith and Hathor the last ones are patronesses of the West and the

<sup>464</sup> ALLAM, 1963, S. 21. FISCHER H., 1968, p. 27, fig. 6, pl. 4.

<sup>465</sup> GALVINE, 1981, p. 94-96, 263.

<sup>466</sup> Ibid., p. 96, 262.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid., p. 248.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid., p. 247-248.

<sup>469</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>470</sup> MARIETTE, 1889, p. 567-571, no.11.

<sup>471</sup> This epithet during the Late Kingdom was especially popular when Sais becomes capital is especially popular; but it is attested also in the Old Kingdom. A difference is that in the ancient time it is almost exclusively female. – EL-SAYED, 1975, p. 90, 132, 138(a), 142, 149.

<sup>472</sup> SCHOTT, 1969, S. 123-138.

<sup>473</sup> SCHOTT, 1967, S. 108.

<sup>474</sup> JUNKER, GIZA IV, S. 80. ALLAM, 1963, S. 22, 90.

East, like the pair Uadjet and Nekhbet for Lower and Upper Egypt<sup>475</sup>. Really, the nome of Neith is in the west of Delta (that is why the goddess was associated with Libyans)<sup>476</sup>, and Hathor is connected with the east, Sinai (as “Mistress” of turquoise extracted there)<sup>477</sup>. Other logical division of functions of goddesses was offered also: Hathor patronizes Upper Egypt, and Neith – Lower Egypt<sup>478</sup>.

Possibilities for the explanation of goddesses’ relations display mythological interpretations: association through the image of cow Mehet-Weret (Neith was identified with it in Pyramid (Pyr 317)<sup>479</sup>, for Hathor it is a habitual image. Sarcophagi Texts also contain the epithets, connecting goddesses with each other. P.Kaplony considers that both were venerated as the goddess-mother<sup>480</sup>. Really, the goddesses, as a rule, are represented as mothers, however in this case it is not their main function (this role especially does not fit to Neith, though already Pyramid Texts name her as the Mother of Sobek<sup>481</sup>).

According to Ju.Perepelkin<sup>482</sup>, Hathor is faster the personal goddess while Neith acts in the pantheon as the state one. Really, the cult of “the Mistress of Sais” plays a special role in royal and consequently state ideology of Dynasties I–II<sup>483</sup>. Hathor appears on the first roles in the Egyptian pantheon later, already during the Old Kingdom (evidently, since Snofru), forcing out the goddess preceding her – Bat<sup>484</sup>.

I believe that in titles of capital priestesses both goddesses first of all are state. They are directly connected with the king – his legitimation, protection and etc., therefore these priestesses have been buried in capital necropolises, where pyramids better than any words demonstrated to the world greatness of kings. Priestesses Hathor and Neith served to the royal cult and belonged to a circle of court ladies. Curious hypothesis has put forward W.Helck: the title “priestess Hathor/Neith” originally served as a designation of the woman who are in a service of the queen or a king’s mother and only then began to designate actually priestesses of goddesses<sup>485</sup>. Really, a title is almost exclusively female<sup>486</sup>, and king’s mother occupied very high position at court, but any other arguments in favor of this assumption are still absent.

The epithets of goddesses point to belonging of priestesses of Hathor and Neith to the elite of ancient Egyptian society. The reference to Memphis give an epithet of Neith “north of the Wall”. It is a question of a sanctuary of the goddess in the ancient capital, where the patron of the city was Ptah “south of the Wall”<sup>487</sup>. With royal and consequently capital character of the cult of Neith, in my opinion, connects the epithet “opener of the ways” – the war-like goddess whose symbol was two crossed arrows, “opened” road to the king, like Upuaut providing

<sup>475</sup> MALLET, 1888, p. 102.

<sup>476</sup> For the details see: TOMASHEVICH, 1989a, p. 178-189.

<sup>477</sup> Not accidentally Sinuhe has a name in her honor – “Son of the Sycamore” – TOMASHEVICH, 2002, p. 32-33, notes 2, 9, 10, 40, 49, 51. About Hathor, Mistress of turquoise, see: TOMASHEVICH, 2006, p. 173-188.

<sup>478</sup> GILLAM, 1995, p. 223.

<sup>479</sup> TOMASHEVICH, 1983a, p. 3-20.

<sup>480</sup> KAPLONY, 1977, I, S. 250, Anm. 440.

<sup>481</sup> PYR. 489, 510. See: TOMASHEVICH, 1983a, p. 9, 15.

<sup>482</sup> Oral communication to the author 1980.

<sup>483</sup> TOMASHEVICH, 1983a, p. 3-20. TOMASHEVICH, 1983b, p. 65-73.

<sup>484</sup> FISCHER H., 1962, p. 7-24.

<sup>485</sup> HELCK, 1954, S. 120.

<sup>486</sup> Exceptional is restored by Fr.von Bissing and H.Kees man’s title: VON BISSING, 1922, S. 47.

<sup>487</sup> About temple of Ptah see: STOLK, 1911, S. 32-33.

safety of the lord of the Two Lands<sup>488</sup>. According to H.Kees, Sais goddess was introduced into Memphite pantheon owing to centralization politics of kings as a female analogy to Upuaut as the patroness of hunting and war<sup>489</sup>.

But, probably, there were estates located to the north from Memphis, providing the cult of Hathor (truth to confirm it on the basis of only one title “priestess Hathor, to the north of a Wall”<sup>490</sup>. I wouldn’t dare, it could be an error of the scribe because of the frequent use together of titles of priestesses of Hathor and Neith, due to this fact Hathor have been casually attributed the epithet of Neith)<sup>491</sup>. In this context is interesting an idea of S.Allam, that the sanctuary “Hathor, Mistress of the Southern Sycamore”, settled down to the south from Giza<sup>492</sup>. If to consider, that the district to the south from Giza in relation to Memphis was “to the north of a Wall”, it can put a question about geographical link binding the goddesses?

It is not possible to find any models of combinations of titles of priestesses of different forms of Hathor and Neith<sup>493</sup> except that all of them are connected by the general area (first of all Giza, to a lesser degree Saqqara) and one period of the Old Kingdom. So, Herenka seems to possess important and typical for capital region in the first half of the Old Kingdom titles of priestesses (important, that the writing of these titles, especially connected with Neith, is rather archaic). However, quite probably, that she has received them thanks to her marriage, but, in view of high enough position of women during the Old Kingdom, more likely she has inherited them from her mother (and namesakes?). Hathor, undoubtedly, was the most popular goddess of the epoch of pyramids to whom many court ladies served, but it is essential to underline that King Khafra with whose cult the family of Khafraankh and Herenka has been connected, was recorded as being beloved of Hathor in his valley temple in Giza<sup>494</sup>. May be S.Allam is right, having assumed sanctuaries of both goddesses at some monument of Khafra on the basis of titles *Dbt*? It is remarkable that the name of “the Mistress of Sais” in titles of priestesses can be written differently: in pre-dynastic variant – a sign on two crossed arrows, as at Herenka (I know such three writings; its variant – arrows on a standard<sup>495</sup>), and in later form – with early dynastic symbol representing, possibly, two connected bows<sup>496</sup>. It is not excluded that this distinction in writing can specify to different sanctuaries of the goddess from which one, possibly, was more ancient.

<sup>488</sup> Kaplony thinks that Neith was opener of river roads between islands and sand-banks – KAPLONY, 1975, S. 150. A.Erman stressed war-like character of Neith: she attacks the enemies in the battle (ERMAN, 1934, S. 33). For the details see: TOMASHEVICH, 1989b, p 190-200.

<sup>489</sup> KEES, 1977, S. 149, 174-175, 297.

<sup>490</sup> The whole titulature of *Nbt-Htp: rht nswt, hm-ntr Ht-hr, hm-ntr Nt wp.t w3w.t, hm-ntr Ht-hr mht inb* (LD II, S. 87).

<sup>491</sup> But GALVINE, 1981, p. 32, 40.

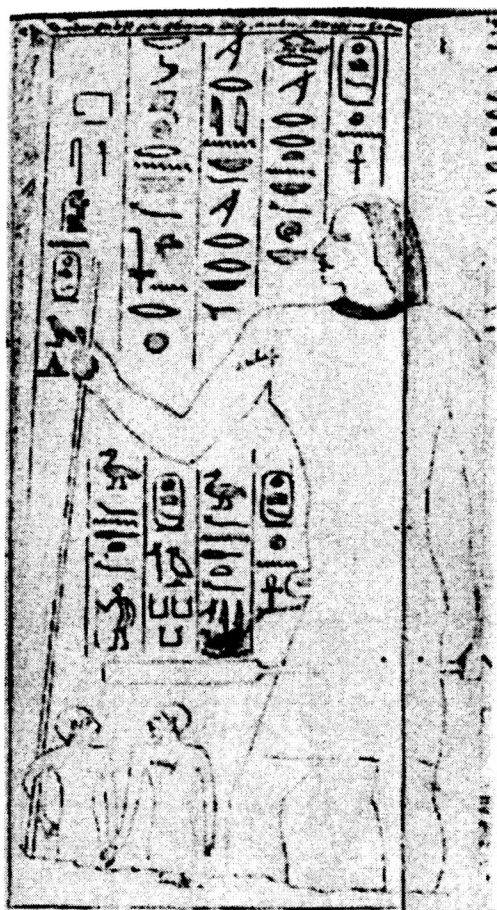
<sup>492</sup> ALLAM, 1963, S. 3-5.

<sup>493</sup> The same conclusion see: GALVINE, 1981, p. 56.

<sup>494</sup> HOISCHER, 1912, S. 58.

<sup>495</sup> GALVINE, 1981, p. 23.

<sup>496</sup> GARDINER, 1957, Sign-List, R-25.



a



b

Fig. 28. Left and right thickness of the doorway in the tomb of Khafraankh (after: Malek, 1982).

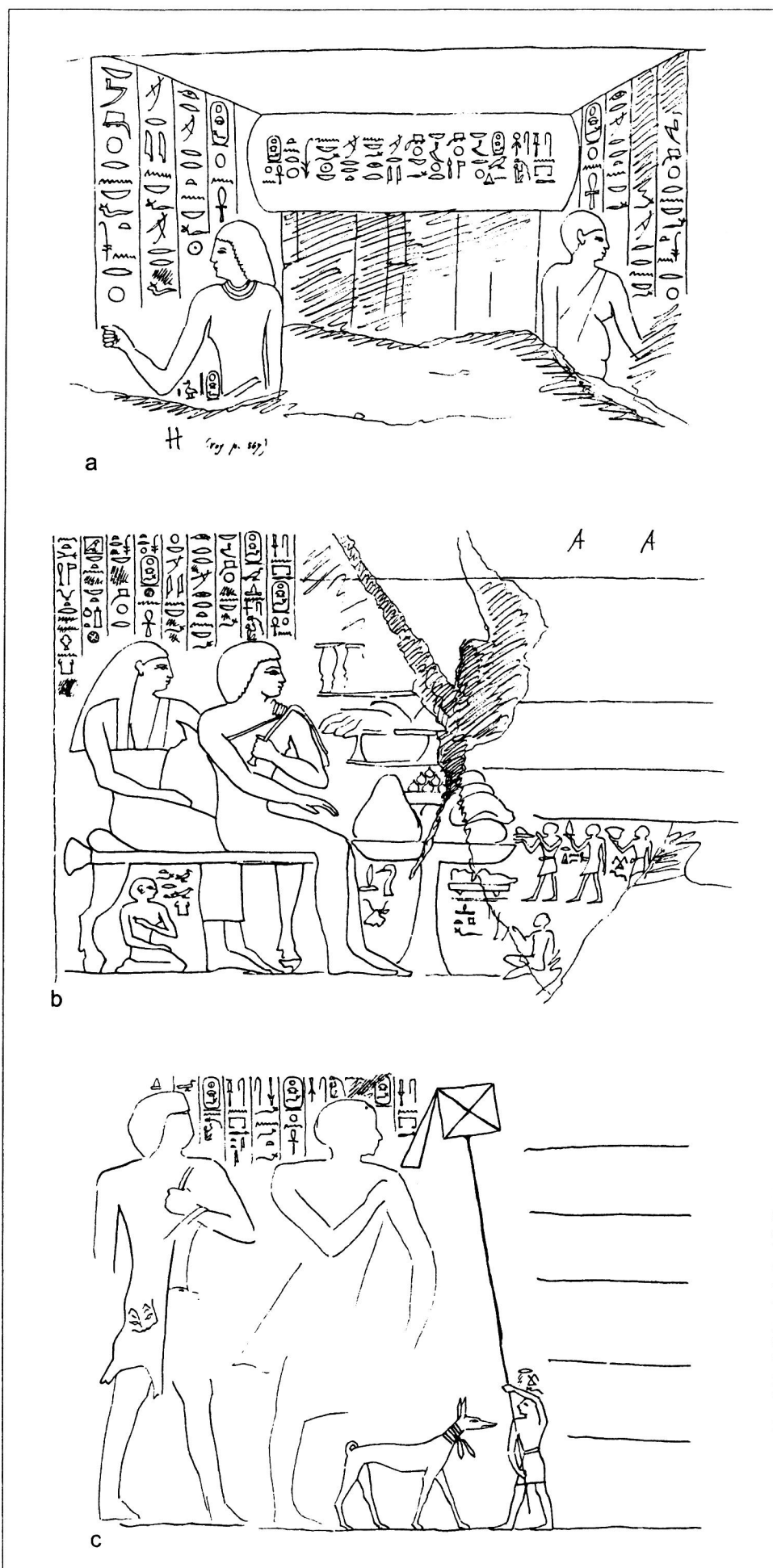


Fig 29. Scetches of the reliefs of the Khafraankh tomb (after Mariette, 1889).



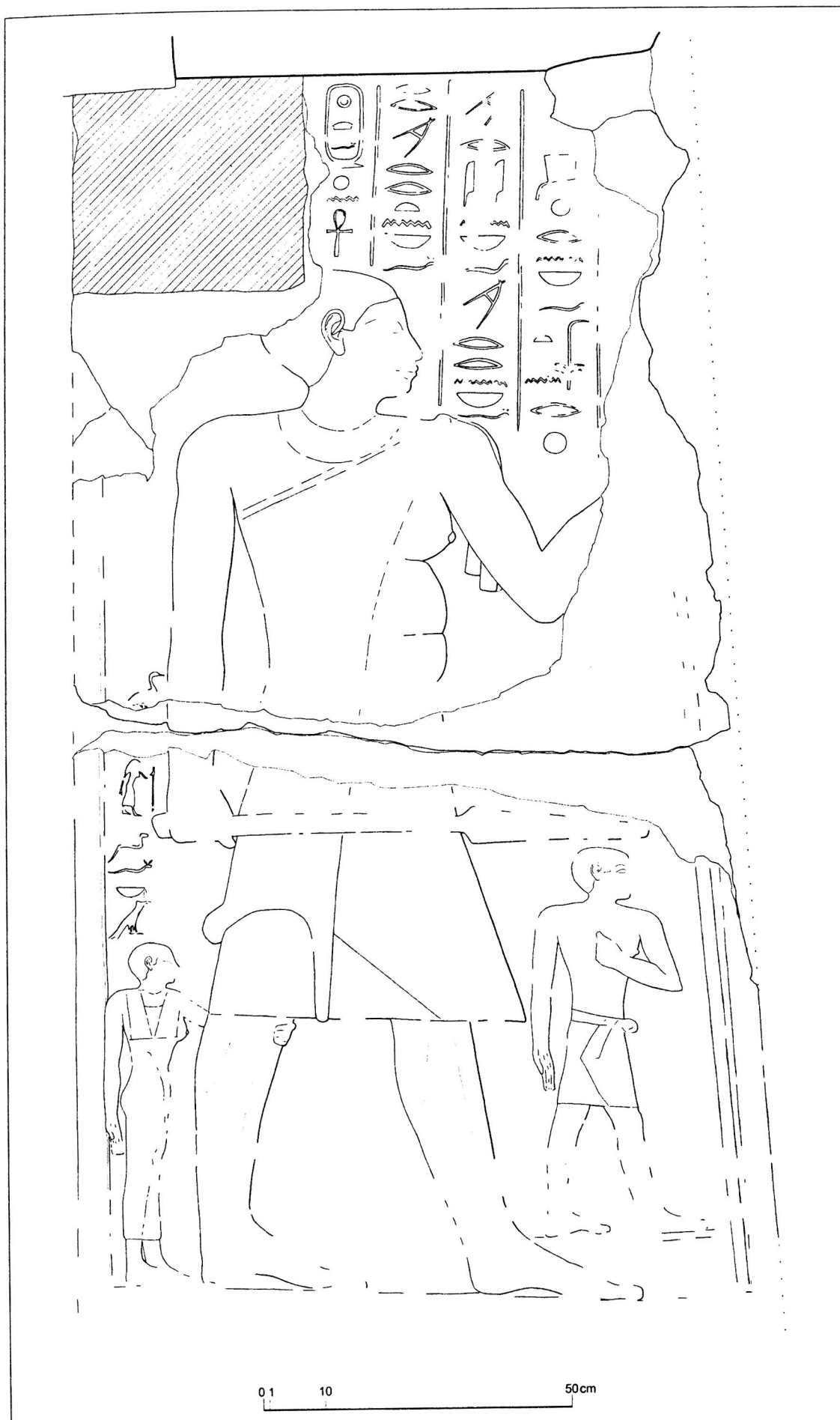


Fig. 30. Tomb of Khafraankh. Reliefs of the doorway, north wall

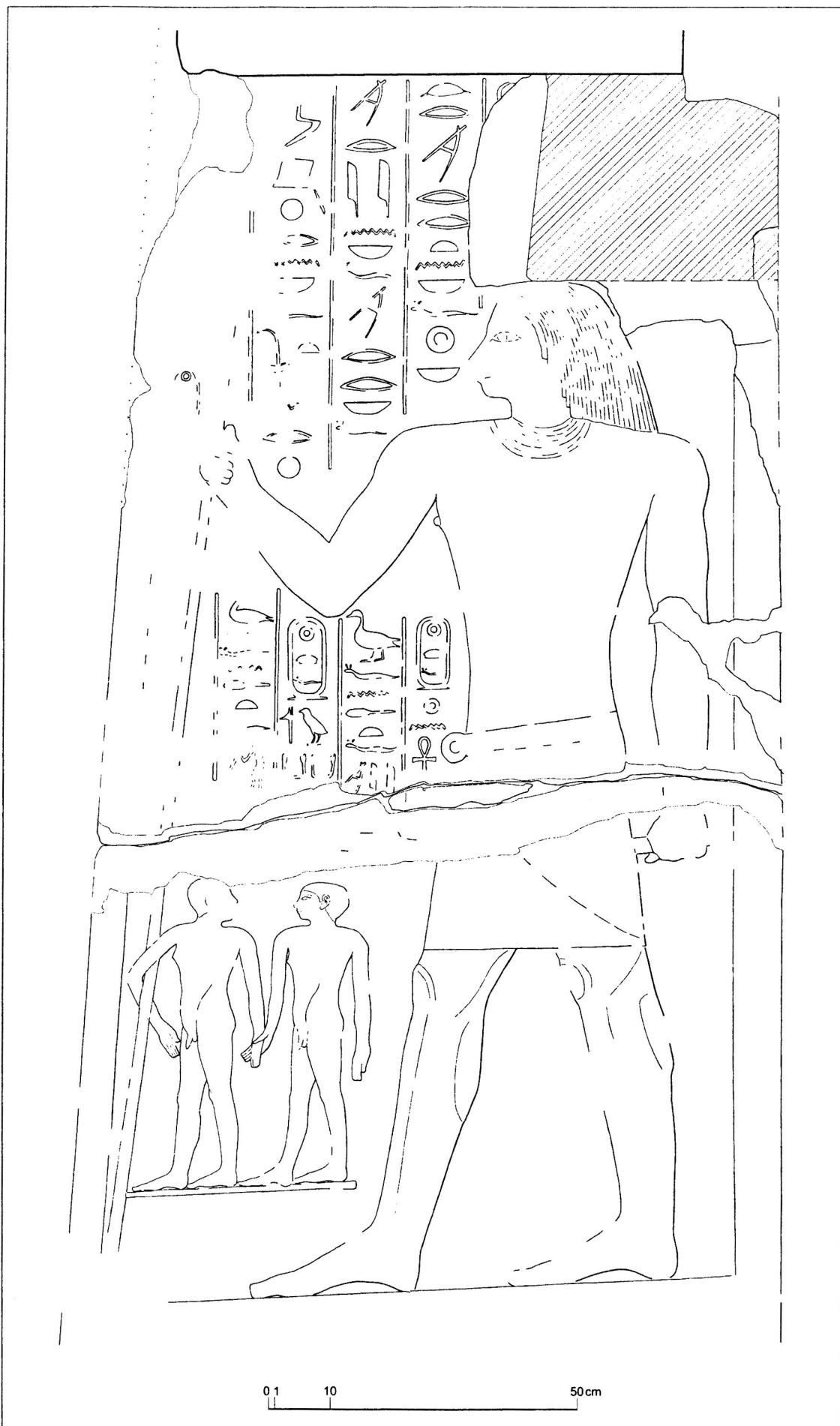


Fig. 31. Tomb of Khafraankh. Reliefs of the doorway, south wall

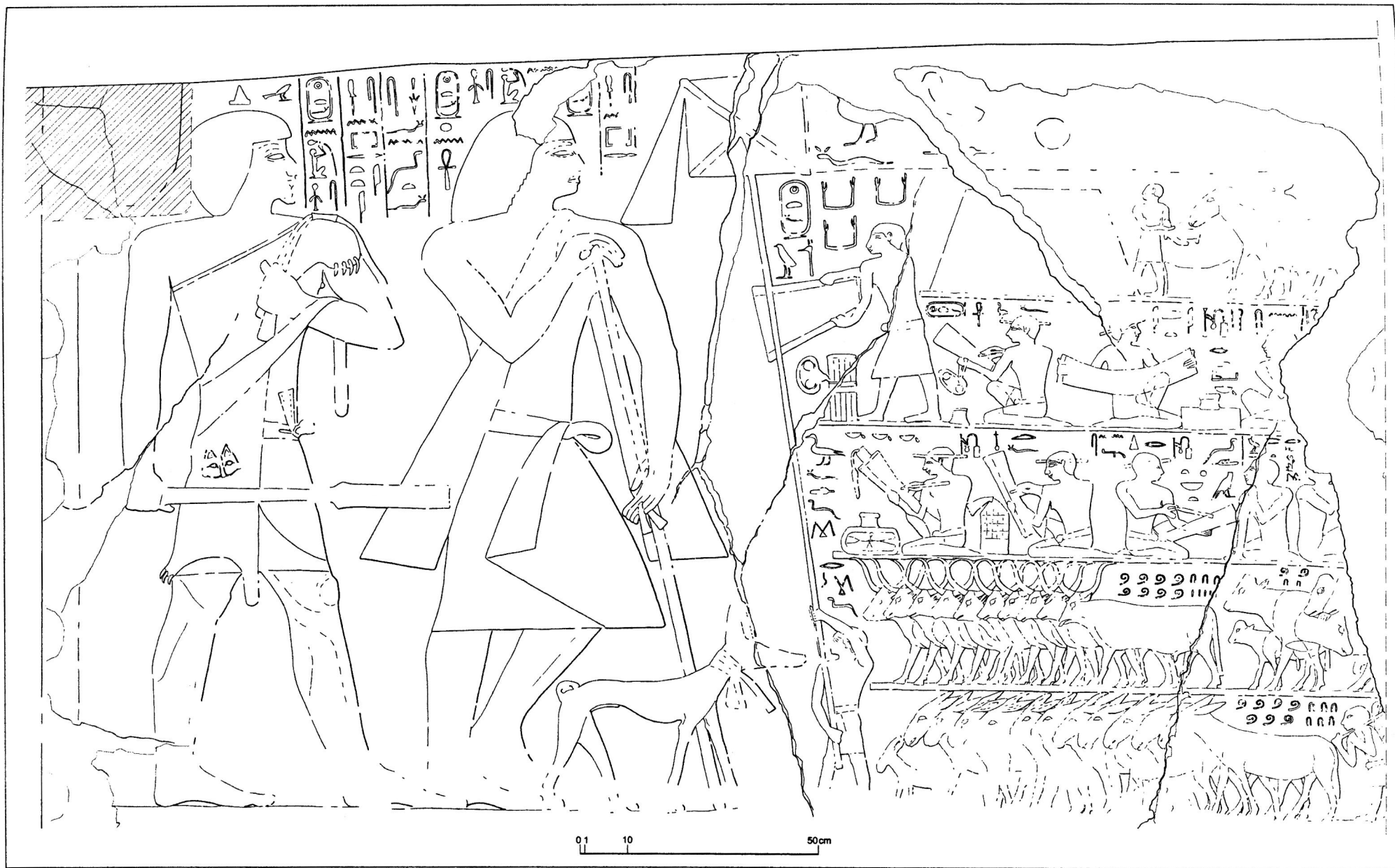


Fig. 32. Tomb of Khafraankh. Reliefs of the Eastern wall, left part

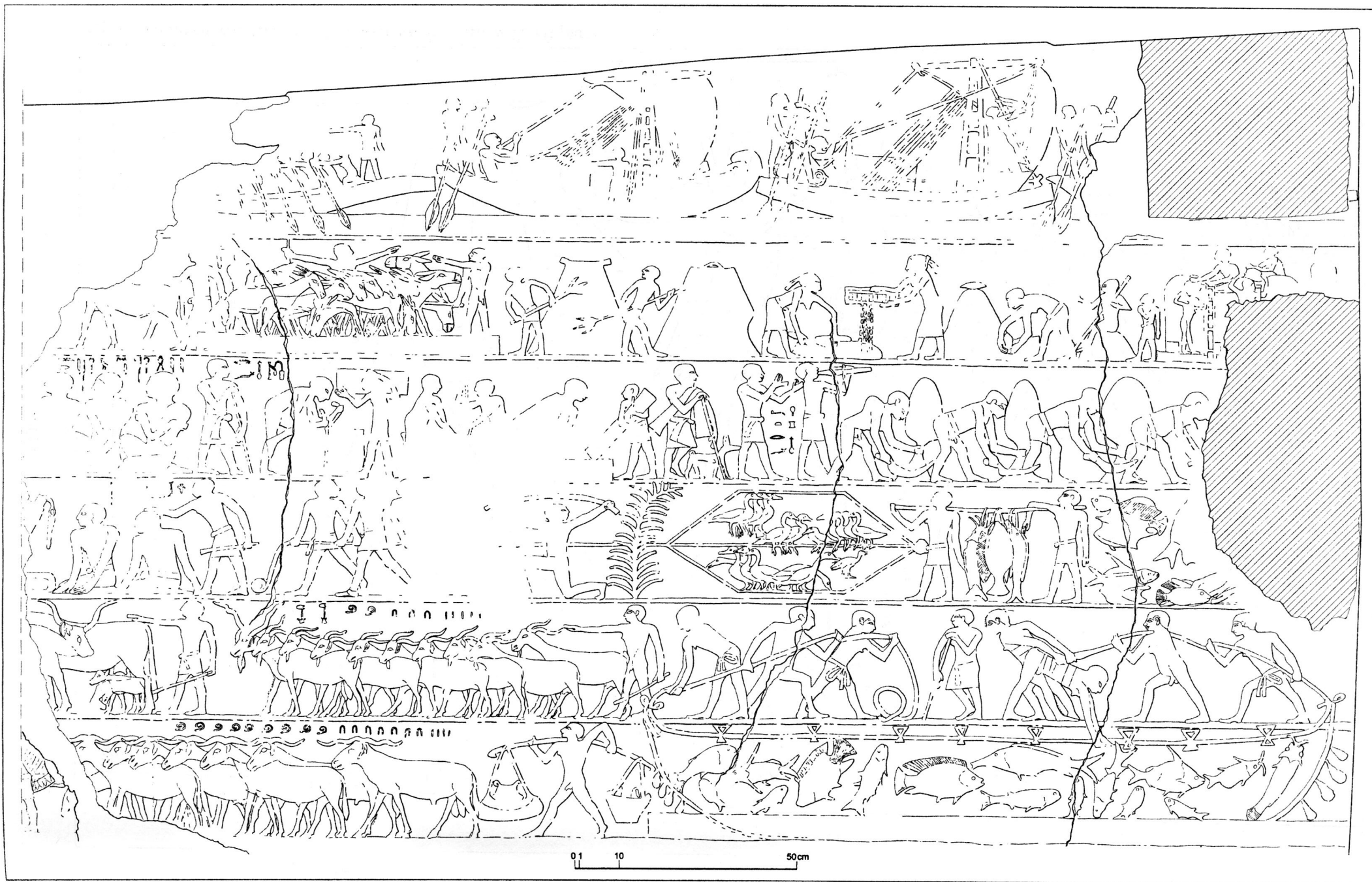


Fig. 33. Tomb of Khafraankh. Reliefs of the Eastern wall, right part

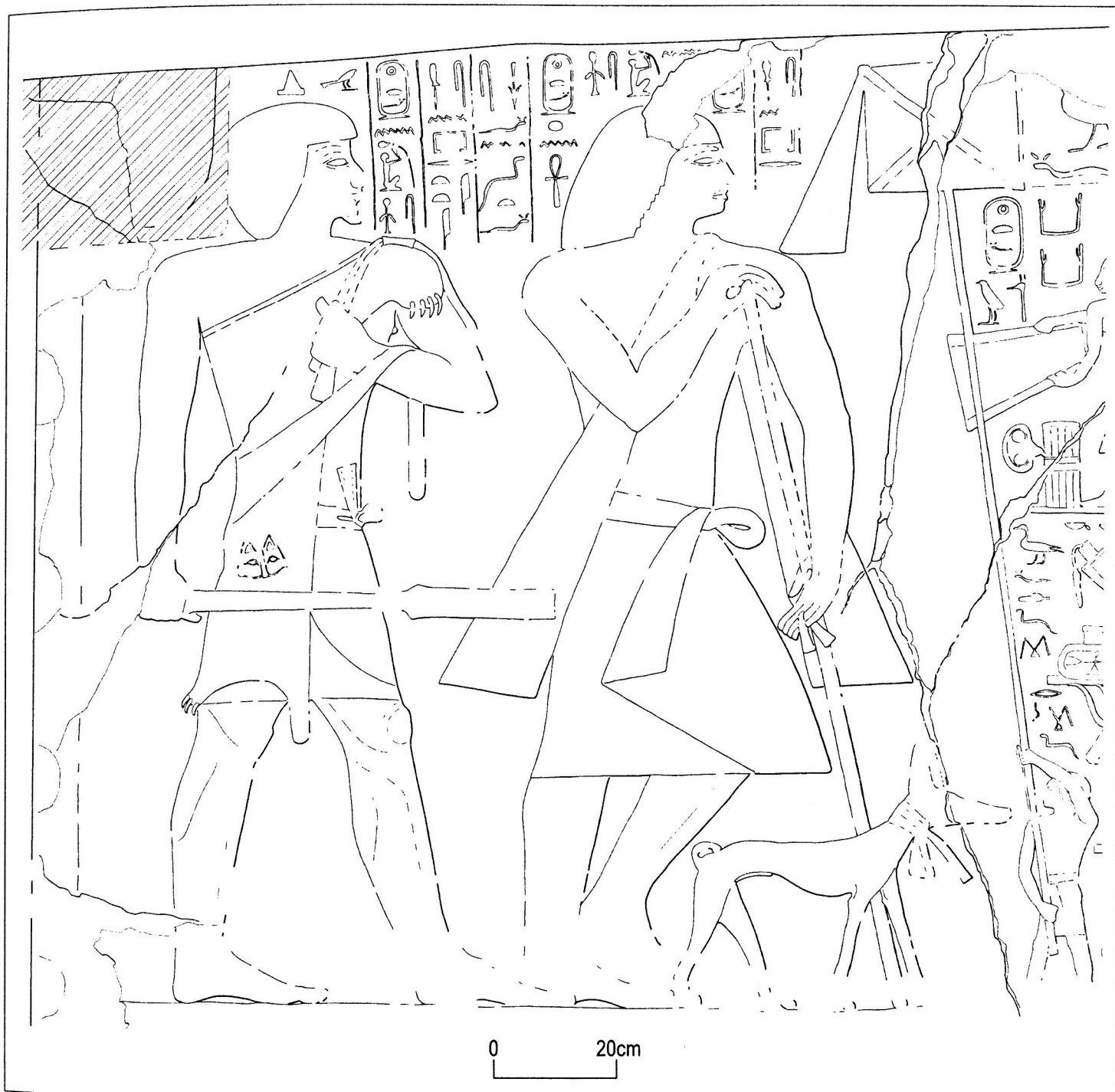
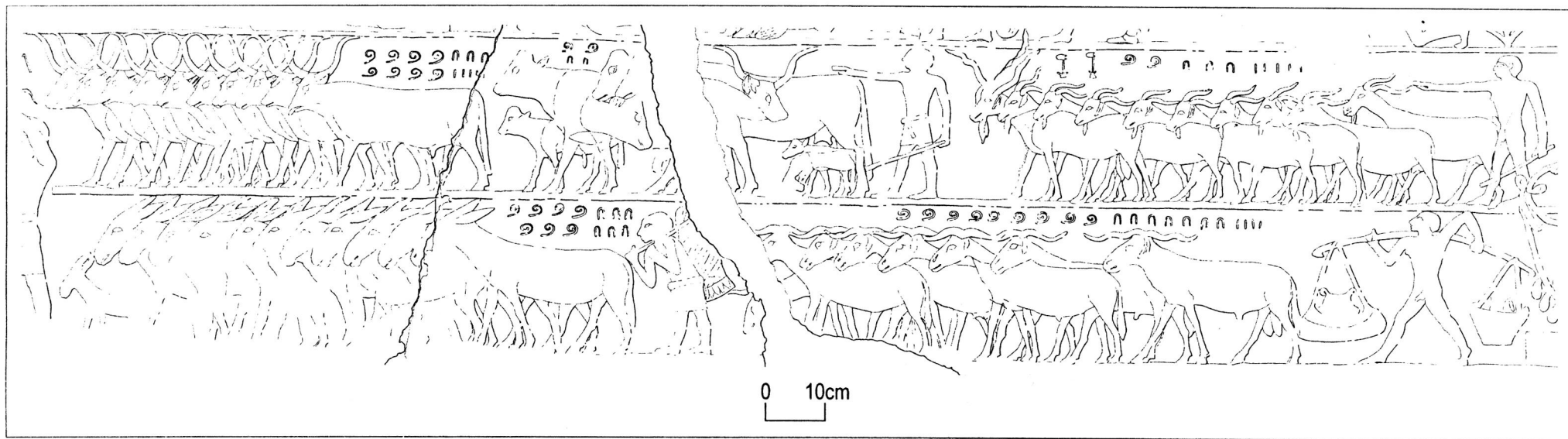
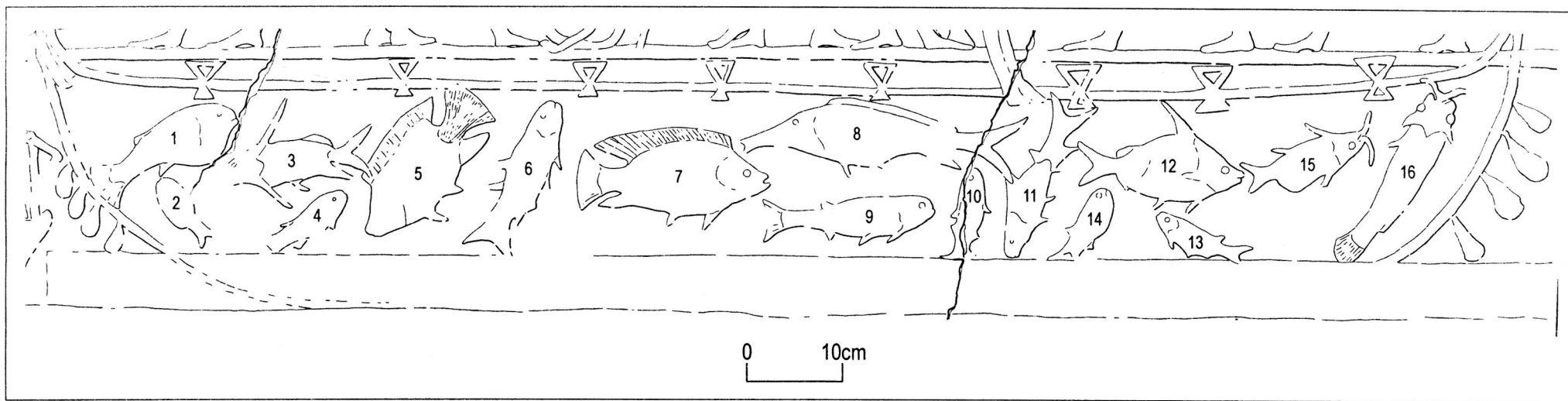


Fig. 34. Tomb of Khafraankh. Details of the reliefs of the Eastern wall



a



b

Fig. 35. Tomb of Khafraankh. Details of the reliefs of the Eastern wall



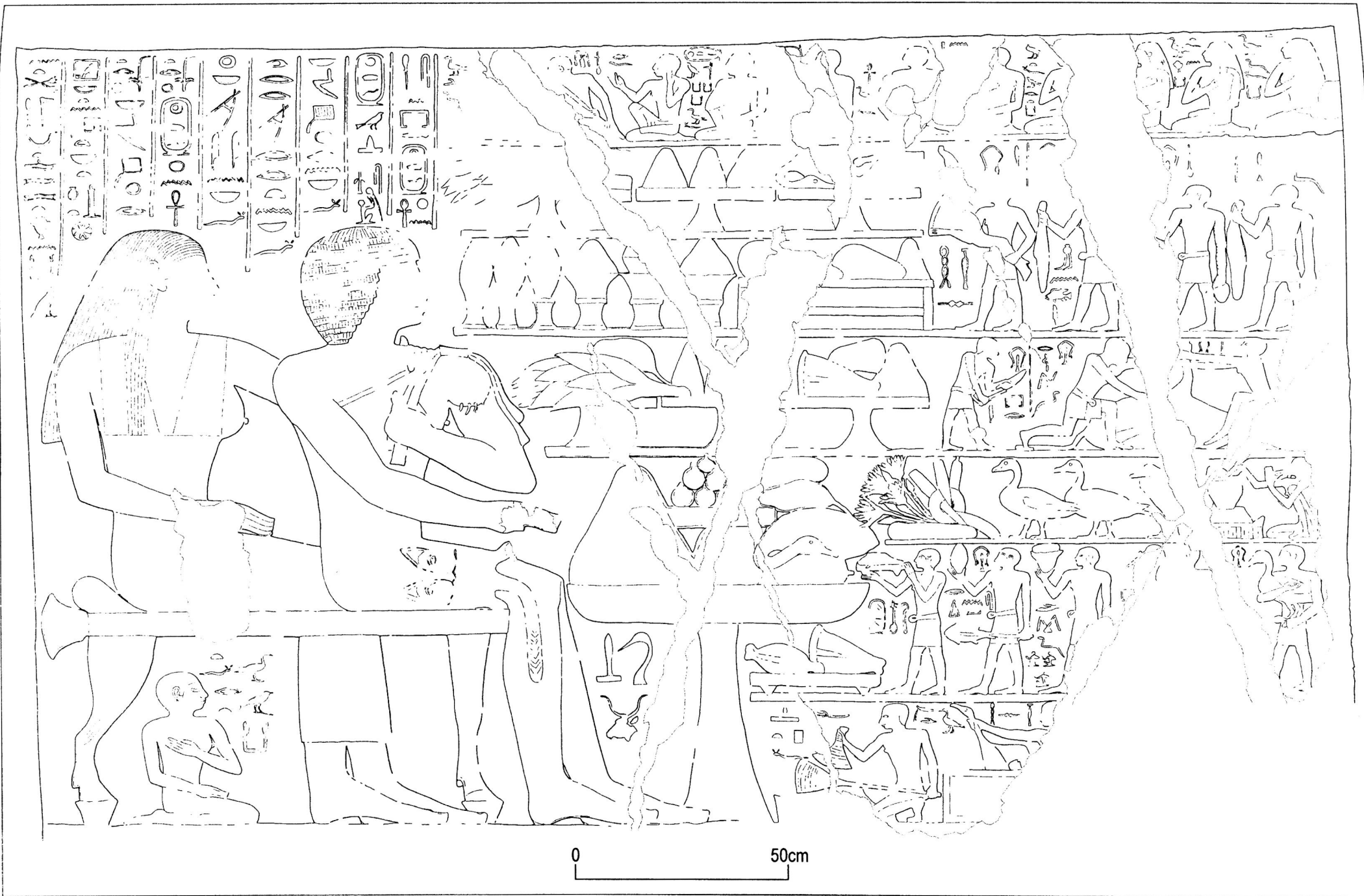
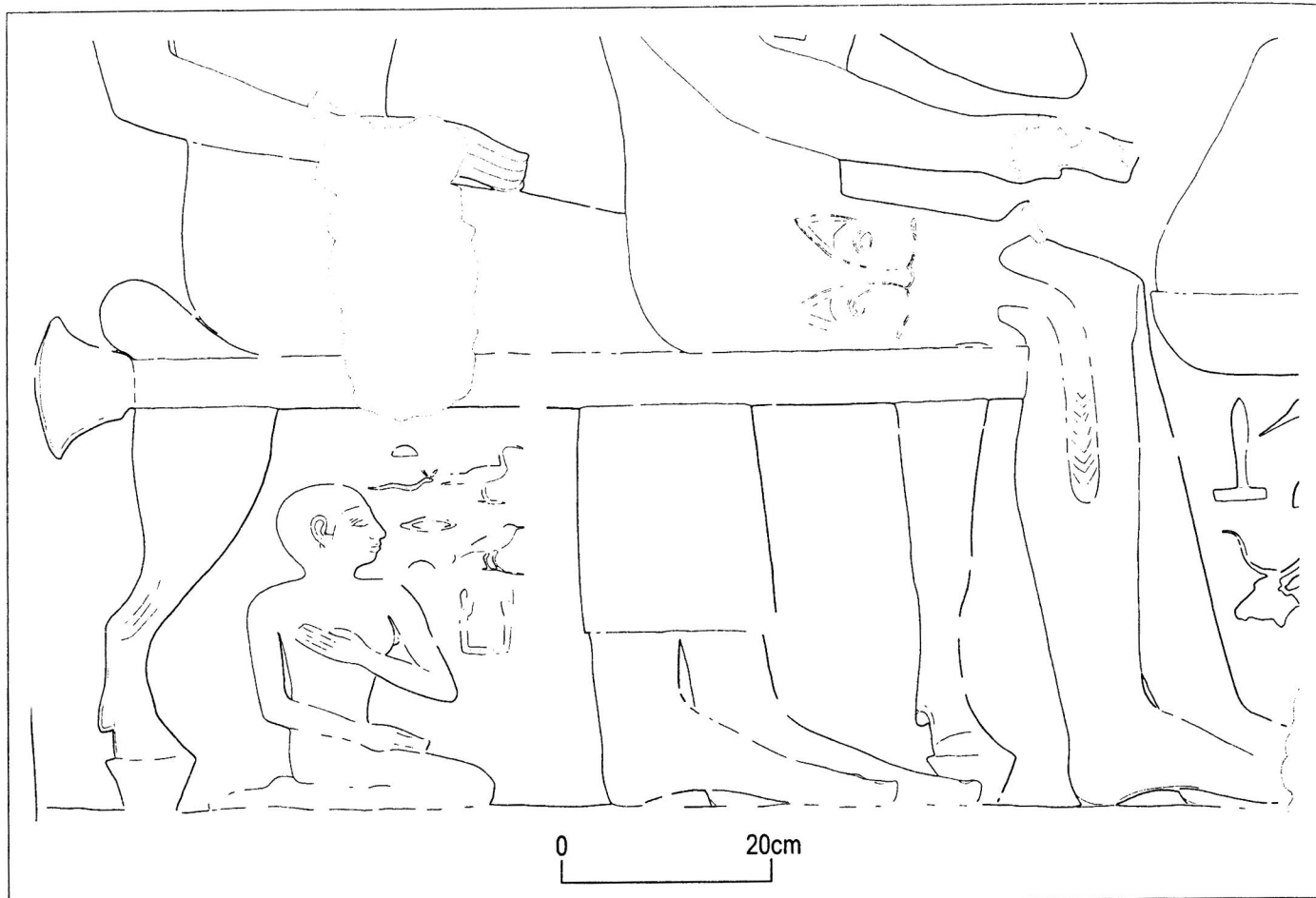
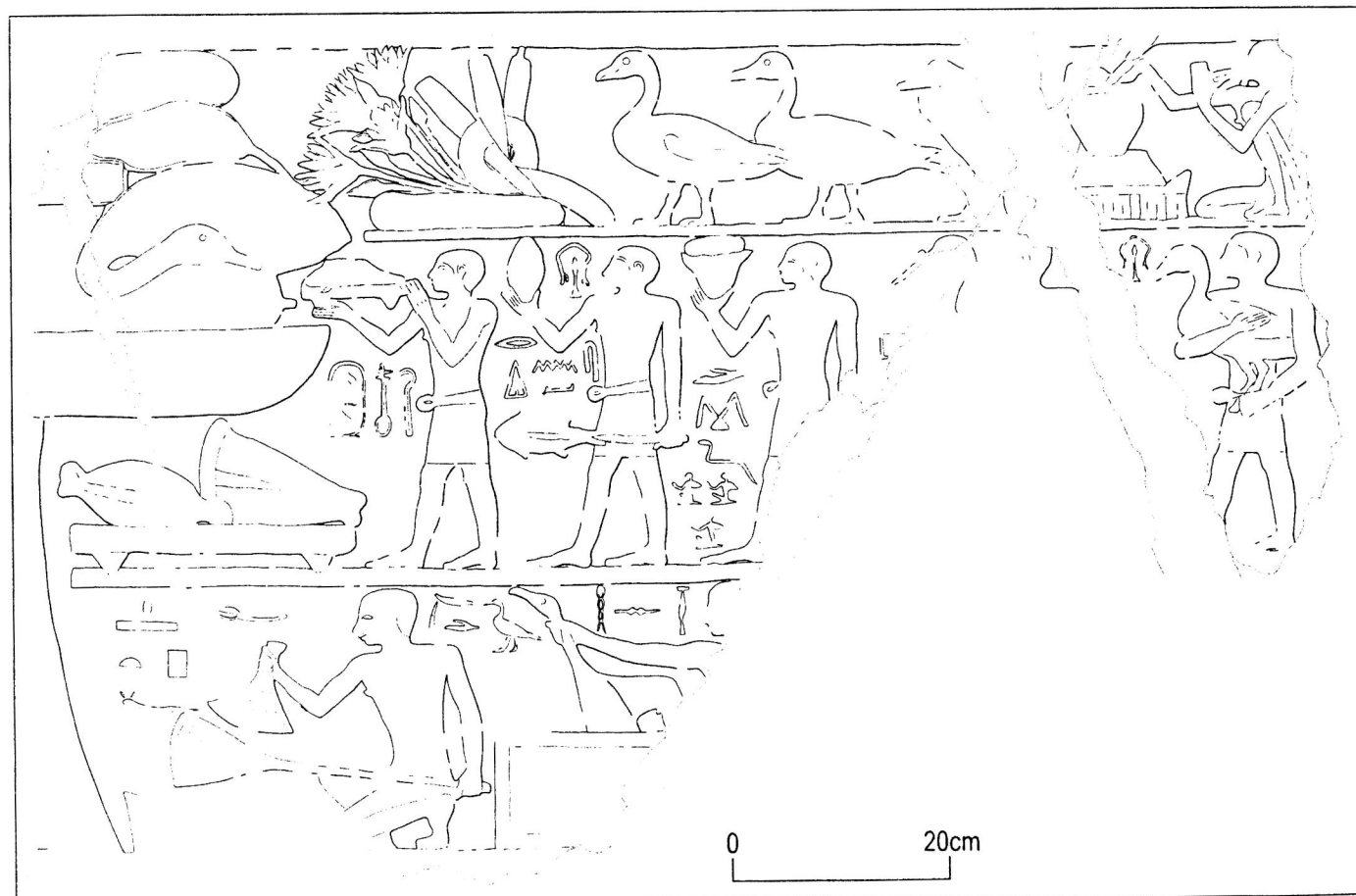


Fig. 36. Tomb of Khafraankh. Reliefs of the Southern wall



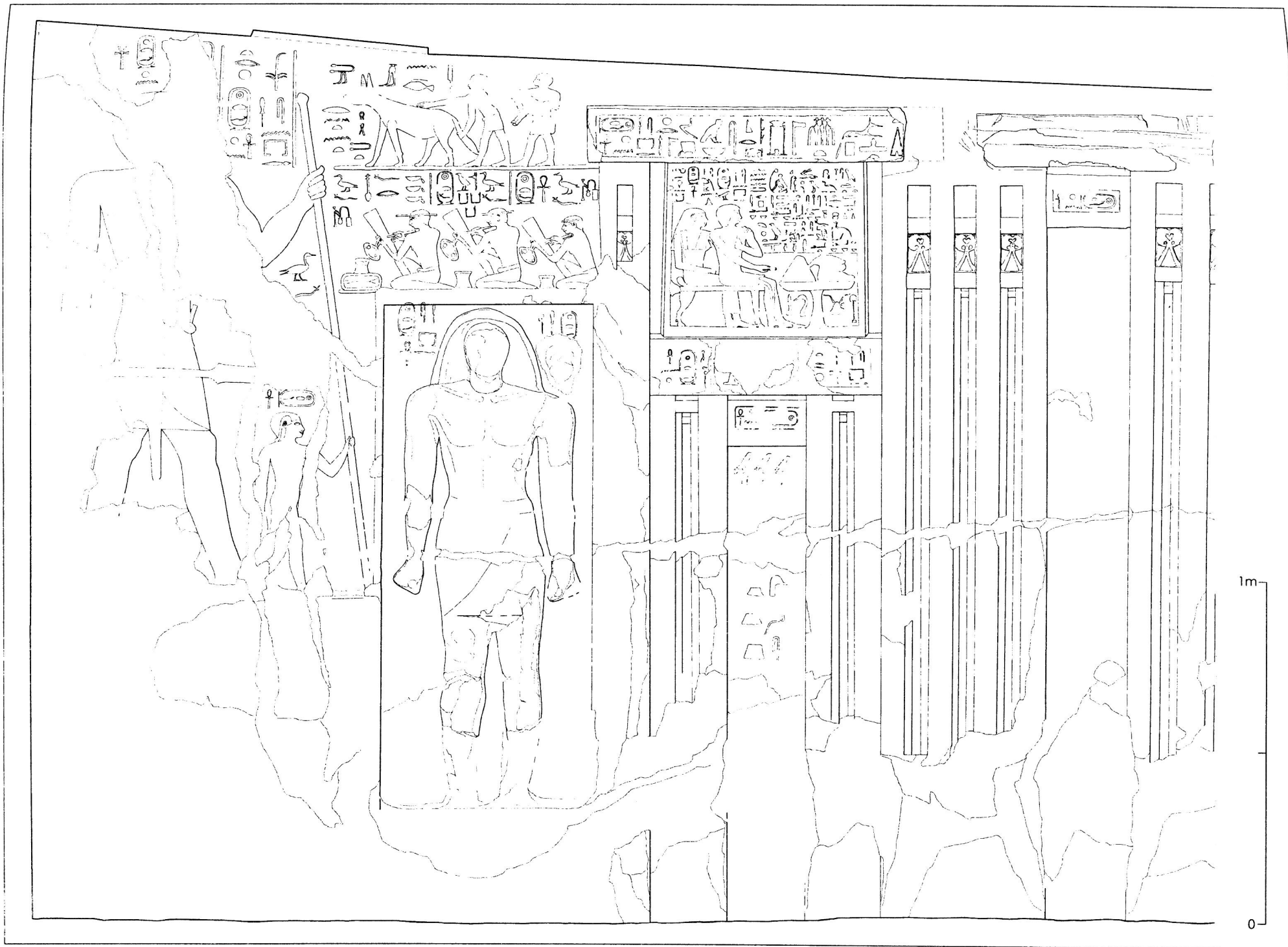
a



b

Fig. 37. Tomb of Khafraankh. Details of the reliefs of the Southern wall





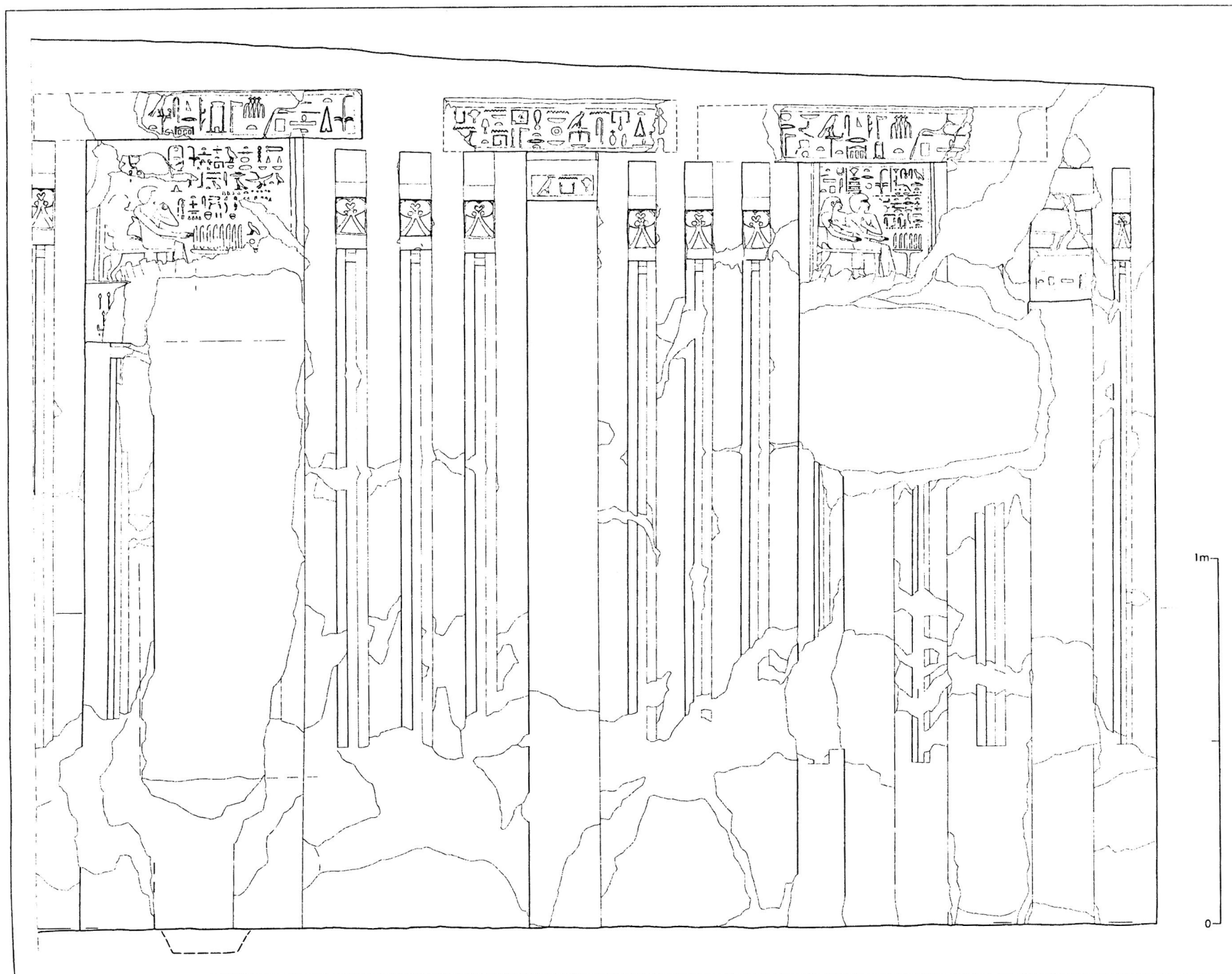


Fig. 39. Tomb of Khafraankh. Reliefs of the Western wall, right part

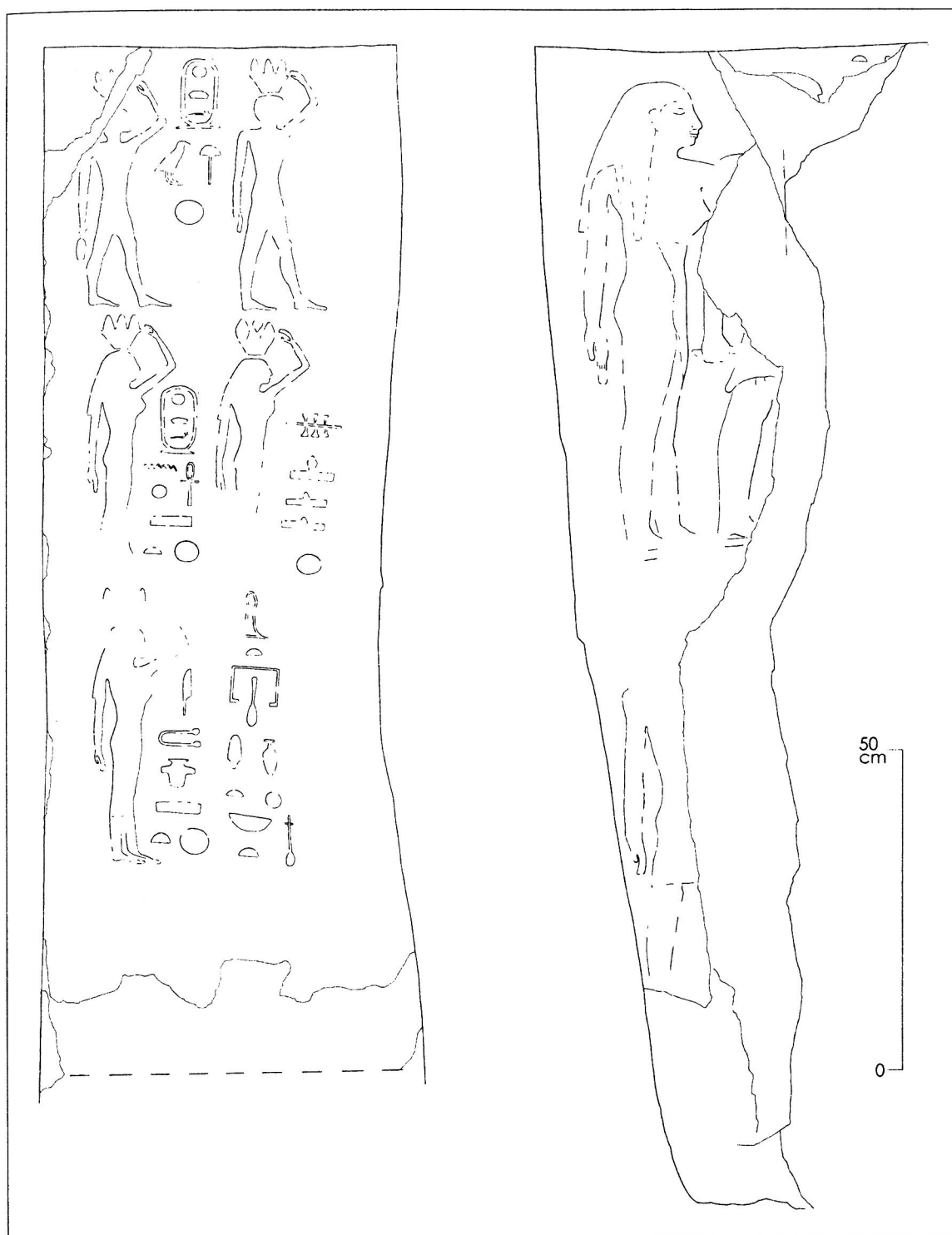


Fig. 40. Tomb of Khafraankh. Reliefs of the northern and southern jambs of the statue niche on the Western wall

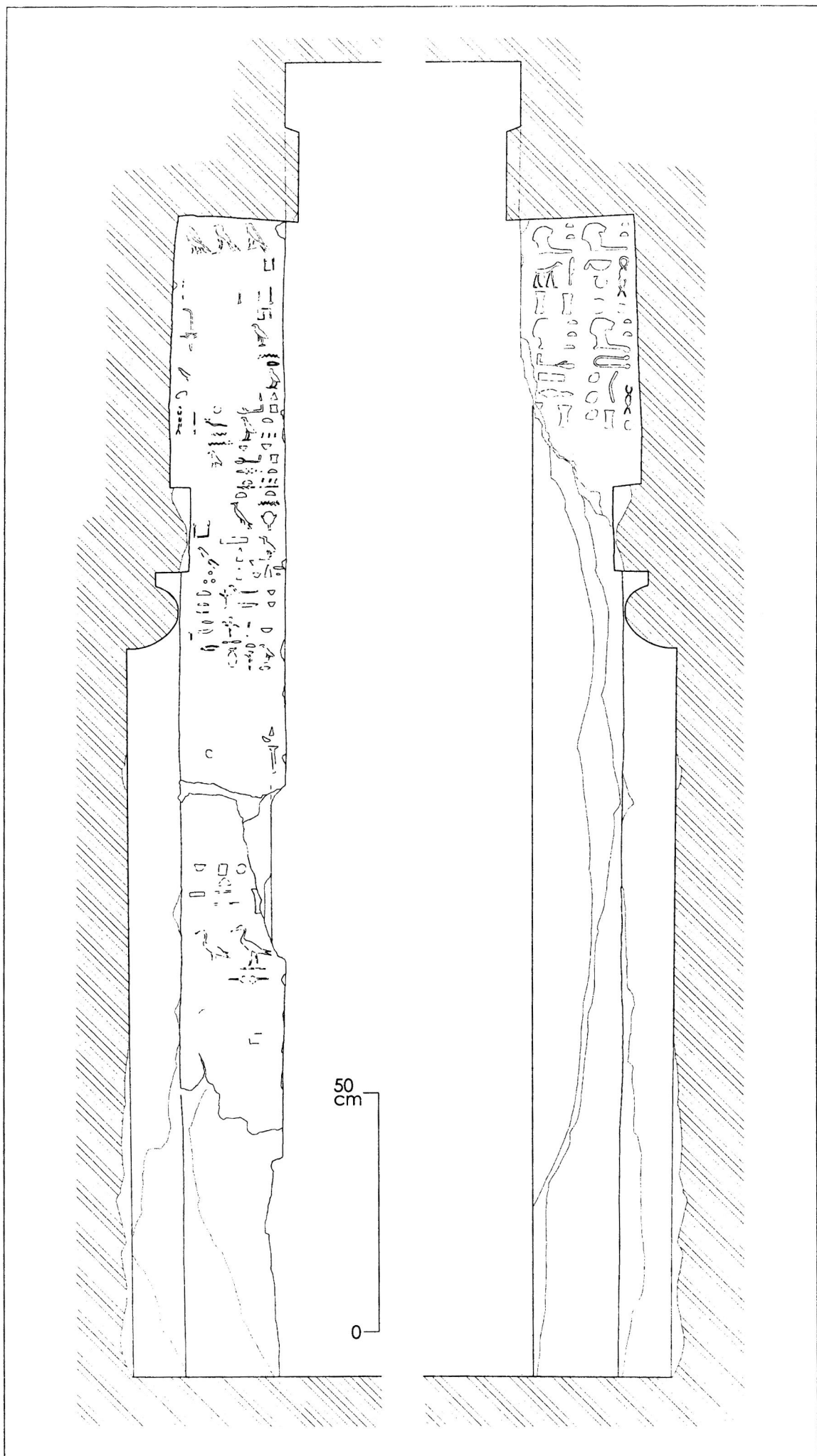
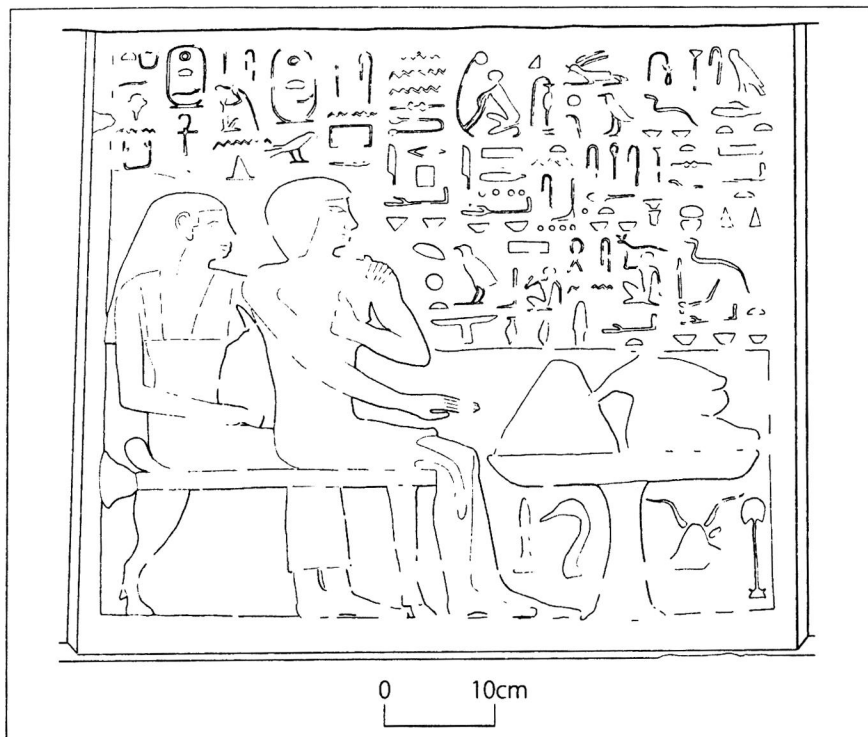
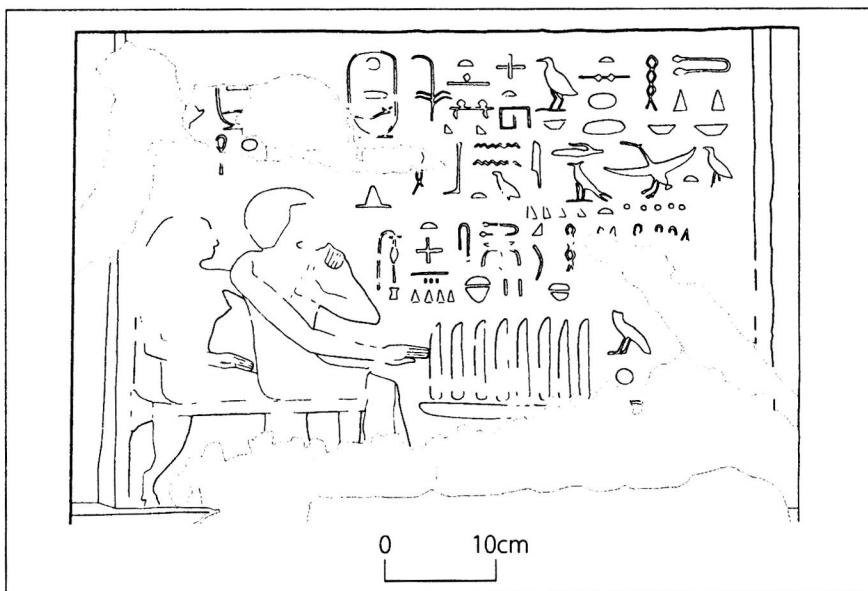


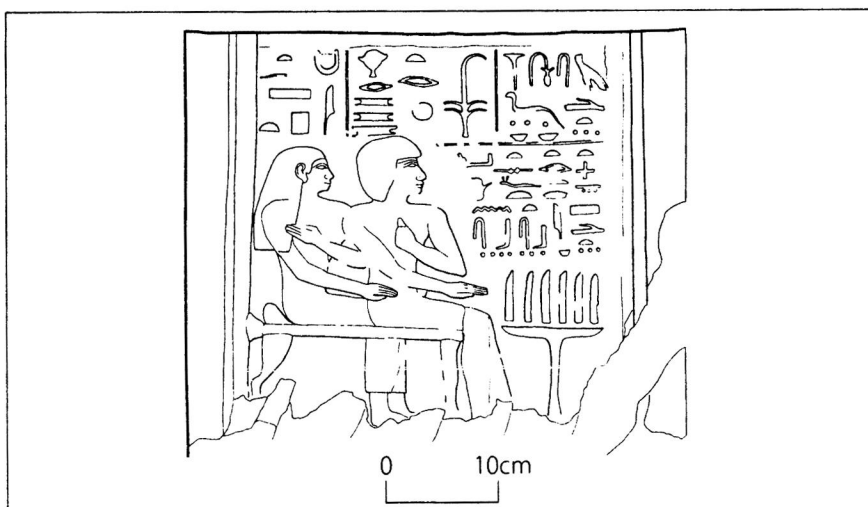
Fig. 41. Tomb of Khafraankh. Reliefs of the jambs of the "false door" on the Western wall



a



b



c

Fig. 42. Tomb of Khafraankh. Reliefs of the plaques on the Western wall

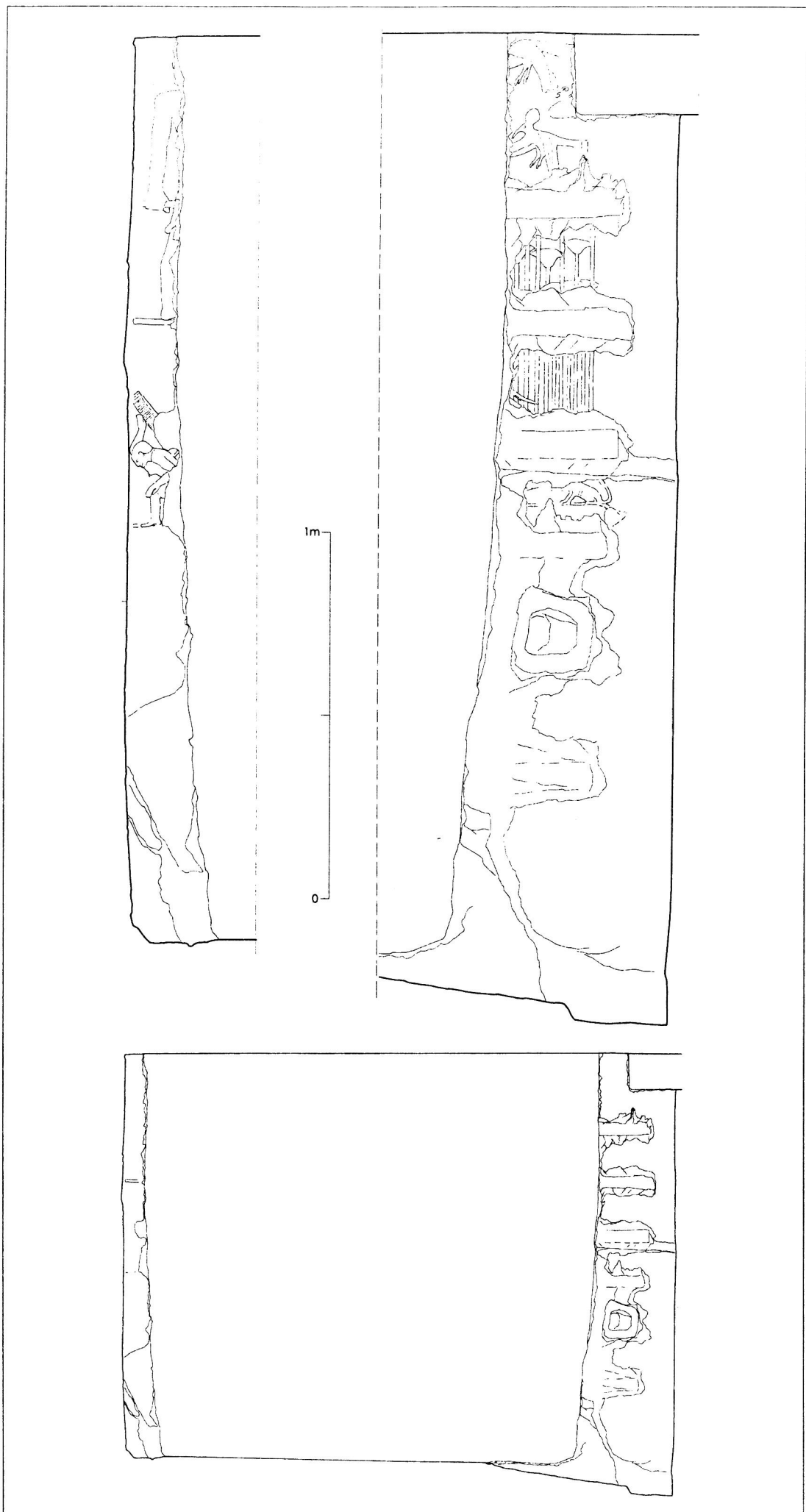
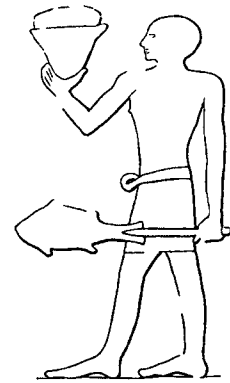


Fig. 43. Tomb of Khafraankh. Reliefs of the Northern wall



### III.

## THE POTTERY

During the re-excavation of the Khafraankh tomb (three shafts and burial chambers, northern rooms cut down later with two separate places of burial) 1644 fragments and 5 whole vessels of various dating were revealed (Old Kingdom, Late Period, Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine and Early Arabic Periods). In the collection 141 diagnostic objects has been selected, which permit to reconstruct several episodes of funeral ritual, executed in this tomb in III millennium B.C., and also its following history up to I millennium A.D.

In the presented catalogue all the pottery was divided by its form and destination according to the international classification standards<sup>497</sup>, the classification of clay fabrics for the pottery from the tomb of Khafraankh was elaborated, considering the archaeological context.

### 1. CATALOGUE

#### THE OLD KINGDOM POTTERY

##### CATEGORY I. CLOSED VESSELS

This category includes the vessels of closed forms; with the diameter of the rim is less than diameter of the body.

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<sup>497</sup> All the works regarding analysis of pottery as well as references to the special literature were held under supervision of SYLVIE MARCHAND, the ceramologist of French Institute of Oriental archaeology (IFAO) in Cairo. The authors express a deep gratitude for her help.

## GROUP I.1. STORAGE JARS WITH ROUND BOTTOM

The jars of this group have round bottom, ovoid or globular body and different shapes of rim. It is considered, they had similar functions – served as storage containers for various products, as liquid (wine, beer, water), and loose (grain, meat or other food)<sup>498</sup>. Such containers were widely used by Egyptians in every day life, often they are found in funerary chambers niches as funerary equipment<sup>499</sup>. According to the morphological and making features it should be dividing on three types: fine jars with ovoid body (so-called “wine jars”), jars with globular body and coarse jars with ovoid body traditionally called by “beer jars”.

There is no unique principle of classification of different types of storage jars. Particularly clear it reflected in the publication of jars with a short neck, distinguished shoulders, globular, oval or elongated body and round-shaped bottom. A number of researches, particularly last times, prefer to title these jars as *Vorratsgefässe*, *storage jar*, *jarre de stockage*<sup>500</sup>.

Several scholars including G.A.Reisner made a differentiation between jars with along and round bodies. The first ones are named “wine jars”, the second ones – “storage jars”<sup>501</sup>. In principle it is not correct, because both by its function are storage jars. Wine jars could contain not only liquids but also grain, flesh and other hard or quick poured products. The same concerns “beer jars”.

Theoretically beer jars must be rendered to storage jars; however no one researcher did it<sup>502</sup>, because this group of pottery on its look and mode of formation is different from the storage jars. For the last a high quality of clay fabric often even marl is typical as well as a high quality of manufacturing. In the most samples a complementary treatment – smoothing, engobe and even polish take place. A.Fakhry suggested distinguishing storage jars not according the form of a body, because of many variations, but by the form of its rim – roll or plain<sup>503</sup>. Totally in the Khafraankh tomb were discovered 4 rims of storage jars, but there were no one between them with the plain rim – all of them have roll profile, the difference between them is in several details.

So, in this case we adhere to the standard division of storage vessels on three types – storage jars with ovoid and globular body, and beer jars.

<sup>498</sup> REISNER, 1931, p. 206. REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 70. CHARVAT, 1981, p. 161. FALTINGS, 1998, S. 204-207. HENDRICKX, FALTINGS, OP DE BEECK, RAUE, MICHELS, 2002, p. 284, 293. RZEUSKA, 2006, p. 392.

<sup>499</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 63-64, fig. 15, 16 (in the tomb G7000X).

<sup>500</sup> FAKHRY, 1961, p. 107. FALTINGS, 1989, S. 150, 153. D.Faltings entitles a classical “wine jar” as “*Vorratsgefässe*”.

<sup>501</sup> REISNER, 1931, p. 210 (types II and III). REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 63, 70, type A-II.

<sup>502</sup> There is only one exclusion in the book of P.Charvat. Publishing pottery from the mastaba Ptahshepses in Abusir he united beer jars and storage jars in one group (for example, H123 (pl. 12) and I458 (pl. 14)), despite of the difference in form and mode of production. However in the description of the process of fabrication of the storage jar Charvat has noticed non-typical, on his opinion, cases of very high quality of the formation of the storage jars from fine clay fabric with engobe and polishing. – CHARVAT, 1981, p. 159, 161.

<sup>503</sup> FAKHRY, 1961, p. 107.



TYPE I.1.1. STORAGE JARS WITH OVOID BODY

**1. Rim of storage jar 97/8/45<sup>504</sup> (fig. 44.1)**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK1  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red engobe outside  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 9.8 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 63, 69, fig. 61 (1421/32), fig. 81 (33-1-37); FALTINGS, 1989, S. 150, Abb. 12c (no.455); MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 277, fig. 7.5; KAISER, AVILA, DREYER, 1999, S. 179, Abb. 36.5.  
Dating: Dynasty IV – early Dynasty V

**3. Rim of storage jar 98/11/4 (fig. 44.3)**

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK1  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 8.3 cm  
Parallels: HAWASS, SENUSSI, 2008, p. 196-197, 223 (no.A10).  
Dating: Dynasty V

**2. Rim of storage jar 98/3/22 (fig. 44.2)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
Clay fabric: OK1  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: white engobe outside  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 11 cm  
Parallels: ROTH, 2001, p. 85, fig. 54; RZEUSKA, 2006, p. 124, 392, pl. 41 (no.136).  
Dating: Dynasties V–VI

**4. Bottom of storage jar 98/3/7 (fig. 44.4)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
Clay fabric: OK1  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Parallels: REISNER, 1942, p. 470, 477, 494, fig. 283 (35-8-14), 287 (13-11-120), fig. 299 (14-1-18); REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 70, fig. 82 (25-12-69); FALTINGS, 1989, S. 150, Abb. 12c (no.421); RZEUSKA, 2006, p. 122, 392, pl. 40 (no.130).  
Dating: Old Kingdom  
Comments: traces of fire outside

TYPE I.1.2. STORAGE JARS WITH GLOBULAR BODY

**1. Rim of storage jar 97/8/36 with potter's mark (fig. 44.5)**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red polished engobe outside  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 15.3 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, 1931, p. 203, 210, fig. 62.2, 63.3; BALLEST, PICON, 1992, p. 167 (no.2843); LABROUSSE, 1996, p. 73, fig. 125b (MP38).  
Dating: Dynasty VI  
Comments: the mark was incised before firing

**2. Wall of storage jar 97/8/43 with mark? (fig. 44.6)**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK5  
Technique: wheel-made?  
Surface treatment: grey-beige smooth outside  
Color: grey-beige  
Parallels: CHARVAT, 1981, p. 181, pl. 33 (AD16, AD17).  
Dating: Old Kingdom  
Comments: the mark (?) was scratched after firing

<sup>504</sup> This is the inventory number of object. It contains campaign year (e.g. 97 for the 1997) + number of find place (about the archaeological context see at the end of the chapter) + successive number.

**3. Wall of storage jar 97/8/49 with mark? (fig. 44.7)**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: OK1

Technique: wheel-made?

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Parallels: CHARVAT, 1981, p. 181, pl. 33 (AD16).

Dating: Old Kingdom

Comments: the mark (?) was scratched after firing

In the tomb of Khafraankh one fragment of the storage jar 97/8/36 was found with the pottery mark in the form of two erased crossed lines – *en creux*, not equal length, displayed in the upper part of the body near a shoulder. Two crossed lines were rather popular motive for pottery mark on jars, which is explained by simplicity of fabrication. Jars with similar marks were found in Abu Roash, Meidum and Dakhla oasis<sup>505</sup>.

The mark was incised before slipping and firing and this method of decoration had been appeared in Egypt at the end of V millennium B.C. In IV millennium B.C. the incised ornament for jars became less popular, it was applied, according to H.Kink only for “marking” jars in IV–III millenniums B.C.<sup>506</sup> Sometimes this method was used in the Middle Kingdom, but more progressive the mass production of jars and its stamping by one press appeared only in Arabic times<sup>507</sup>.

All the marks on pre-dynastic and early dynastic jars might be divided into two groups – made before and after firing. In first case according to H.Kink, “we are dealing with so-called manufacturer’s marks, in second case – with owner marks”<sup>508</sup>. As far as in our case the mark was cut on the jar before firing, it means the “signature” of potter. Very similar cross mark, but disposed under another angle with a small circle at its upper part, was discovered in Abu Roash also on a globular storage jar of the Dynasty VI, but with the plain rim<sup>509</sup>. In our opinion despite of the similarity of marks we have rather bright differences – firstly a circle at the upper part of the cross. In this case we have no proves that both jars from Giza and Abu Roash were fabricated by the same potter or in the same pottery workshop. The matter is that for such mode of marking as cutting, the most convenient figures were figures composed of straight lines, in particular crosses. The same marks might be used by different masters.

The storage jars with ovoid and globular body were made of Nile alluvial clay, the clay fabric was of high quality– OK1 and OK2 (according to “Vienna system” – Nile silt A and Nile silt B1). Sometimes storage jars were fabricated from marl clay fabric (as OK5 for the jar 97/8/43, like Marl A<sup>510</sup> of “Vienna System”). Body of storage jars in the Old Kingdom could be formed by two methods – by hand and with the pottery wheel<sup>511</sup>, a rim was always mended on the pottery wheel (it is clearly seen on the fragment 97/8/36).

<sup>505</sup> MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 282, fig. 10.7 – Dynasty VI. CASTEL, PANTALACCI, 2005, p. 550, 554 (C136, C154) – Dynasty VI to the First Intermediate Period. PETRIE, 1892, p. 35, pl. XXX.32 – Dynasty IV.

<sup>506</sup> KINK, 1976, p. 21.

<sup>507</sup> ARNOLD, 1978, S. 67.

<sup>508</sup> KINK, 1976, p. 19-21

<sup>509</sup> MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 282, fig. 10.7.

<sup>510</sup> BOURRIAU, 1981, p. 70.

<sup>511</sup> CHARVAT, 1981, p. 161.

TYPE I.1.3. BEER JARS

SUBTYPE I.1.3A. BEER JARS WITH COLLAR RIM

**1. Rim of beer jar 98/11/15** (*fig. 45.1*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 13.9 cm  
Parallels: KAISER, AVILA, DREYER, 1999, S. 174, Abb. 34.5.  
Dating: Dynasty IV

**3. Rim of beer jar 98/11/13** (*fig. 45.3*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Rim diam. 12.8 cm  
Parallels: MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 279, fig. 8.22; KAISER, AVILA, DREYER, 1999, S. 174, Abb. 34.5.  
Dating: Dynasty IV

**5. Rim of beer jar 98/3/9** (*fig. 45.5*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 10.8 cm  
Parallels: KAISER, AVILA, DREYER, 1999, S. 174, Abb. 34.5.  
Dating: Dynasty IV

**2. Rim of beer jar 98/11/26** (*fig. 45.2*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 15.3 cm  
Parallels: KAISER, AVILA, DREYER, 1999, S. 174, Abb. 34.5.  
Dating: Dynasty IV

**4. Rim of beer jar 97/8/2** (*fig. 45.4*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 13.9 cm  
Parallels: FISHER, 1924, p. 168-169, fig. 137.2; KROMER, 1991, Taf. 30.3; MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 279, fig. 8.22.  
Dating: Dynasties IV–V

**6. Rim of beer jar 97/8/1** (*fig. 45.6*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Rim diam. 10.5 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 71, fig. 85 (25-12-134); KAISER, AVILA, DREYER, 1999, S. 174, Abb. 34.5.  
Dating: Dynasties IV–V

SUBTYPE I.1.3B. BEER JARS WITH SEMI-COLLAR RIM

**1. Rim of beer jar 97/8/33** (*fig. 45.7*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 14.4 cm  
Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 30.3; EL-KHOULI, 1991, p. 43-44, pl. 43 (no.12a).  
Dating: Dynasties IV–V

**3. Rim of beer jar 98/3/10** (*fig. 45.9*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 14.3 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 71, fig. 85 (25-12-134); HAWASS, SENUSSI, 2008, p. 218, fig. 106.  
Dating: Dynasty V

**5. Rim of beer jar 97/8/4** (*fig. 45.11*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Rim diam. 10.6 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, 1931, p. 203-204, 212, fig. 64.3; KROMER, 1991, Taf. 31.2; WEEKS, 1994, fig. 128 (25-12-45); LECUYOT, 2000, p. 251, fig. 1 (S.P.21);  
Dating: Dynasties V–VI

**7. Rim of beer jar 01/11/1** (*fig. 45.13*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, “offering bench” 10, plaster layer  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 12.2 cm  
Parallels: WEEKS, 1994, fig. 132 (25-11-137).  
Dating: Dynasty V

**2. Rim of beer jar 98/11/20** (*fig. 45.8*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 10.5 cm  
Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 30.3; HAWASS, SENUSSI, 2008, p. 218, fig. 104.  
Dating: Dynasty V

**4. Rim of beer jar 98/11/27** (*fig. 45.10*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 13.9 cm  
Parallels: FALTINGS, 1989, S. 138, Abb. 3 (no.91); BARTA, 1994, p. 131, fig. 2.  
Dating: Dynasty V

**6. Rim of beer jar 97/7/7** (*fig. 45.12*)

Find place: G7948/1, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 14.2 cm  
Parallels: SOUKIASSIAN, BALLEST, 1988, p. 240.3; BARTA, 1994, p. 131, fig. 2.  
Dating: Dynasties V–VI

**8. Rim of beer jar 98/11/2,12** (*fig. 45.14*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 11.3 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, 1931, p. 203-204, 212, fig. 64.1; EL-KHOULI, 1991, p. 43-44, pl. 49 (no.12a).  
Dating: Dynasties IV–V

**9. Rim of beer jar 97/8/6** (*fig. 45.16*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Rim diam. 12.8 cm  
Parallels: BARTA, 1994, p. 131, fig. 2.  
Dating: Dynasty V

**11. Rim of beer jar 97/8/5** (*fig. 45.17*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Rim diam. 10.1 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, 1931, p. 203-204, 212, fig. 64.1; EL-KHOULI, 1991, p. 43-44, pl. 49 (no.12a).  
Dating: Dynasty V

**13. Rim of beer jar 98/11/18** (*fig. 45.19*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 10.8 cm  
Parallels: FALTINGS, 1989, S. 138, Abb. 3 (no.91); EL-KHOULI, 1991, p. 43-44, pl. 49; BARTA, 1994, p. 131, fig. 2.  
Dating: Dynasty V

**15. Rim of beer jar 97/7/4**

Find place: G7948/1, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Rim diam. not measured  
Parallels: BARTA, 1994, p. 131, fig. 2.  
Dating: Dynasty V  
Comments: bad preservation

**10. Rim of beer jar 98/11/29** (*fig. 45.15*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 14.7 cm  
Parallels: WEEKS, 1994, fig. 132 (25-11-137); HAWASS, SENUSSI, 2008, p. 218, fig. 167.  
Dating: Dynasty V

**12. Rim of beer jar 98/11/28** (*fig. 45.18*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 9.7 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, 1931, p. 203-204, 212, fig. 61.1; EL-KHOULI, 1991, p. 43-44, pl. 49 (no.12a).  
Dating: Dynasty V

**14. Rim of beer jar 98/11/19**

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: grey-brown  
Rim diam. 13-14 cm  
Parallels: BARTA, 1994, p. 131, fig. 2.  
Dating: Dynasty V  
Comments: bad preservation

**16. Rim of beer jar 97/8/3**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. not measured  
Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 31.2.  
Dating: Dynasty V  
Comments: bad preservation

SUBTYPE I.1.3C. BEER JARS WITH PLAIN RIM

**1. Complete profile of beer jar 98/3/8a** (*fig. 46.1*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel

Surface treatment: without

Color: brown

Rim diam. 10.3 cm, height 28-29 cm

Parallels: REISNER, 1931, p. 203-204, 212, fig. 64.3; REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 71, fig. 85 (26-3-22); CHARVAT, 1981, p. 159, pl. 12 (H26); BAILLET, 1987, p. 5, fig. 3.10.

Dating: Dynasties V-VI

Comments: the jar was restored from 14 fragments

**2. Rim of beer jar 98/3/8** (*fig. 46.2*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel

Surface treatment: without

Color: brown

Rim diam. 9.4 cm

Parallels: REISNER, 1931, p. 203-204, 212, fig. 64.4; REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 71, fig. 85 (26-3-22); SEIDLMAYER, 1990, S. 387, Abb. 164 (no.38).

Dating: Dynasties V-VI

Comments: traces of white plaster inside

**3. Rim of beer jar 98/4/3** (*fig. 46.3*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris

Clay fabric: OK6

Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel

Surface treatment: without

Color: beige-brown

Rim diam. 9.2 cm

Parallels: REISNER, 1931, p. 216, fig. 64.4; CHARVAT, 1981, p. 159, pl. 12 (H26); KROMER, 1991, Taf. 28.2; WEEKS, 1994, fig. 128 (25-11-111).

Dating: Dynasties V-VI

**4. Rim of beer jar 98/11/3,14,16** (*fig. 46.4*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 12 cm

Parallels: REISNER, 1931, p. 203-204, 212, fig. 64.3; WEEKS, 1994, fig. 128 (25-12-45).

Dating: Dynasty V

**5. Rim of beer jar 97/7/5** (*fig. 46.5*)

Find place: G7948/1, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel

Surface treatment: without

Color: brown

Rim diam. 9.1 cm

Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 31.3.

Dating: Dynasty V

**6. Rim of beer jar 97/8/7** (*fig. 46.6*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel

Surface treatment: without

Color: beige-brown

Rim diam. 12 cm

Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 71, fig. 85 (30-12-14); KROMER, 1991, Taf. 28.3; CASTEL, PANTALACCI, 2005, p. 497, 544, pl. 9.5.1 (C79).

Dating: Dynasties V-VI

**7. Rim of beer jar 97/4/5,6 (fig. 46.7)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel

Surface treatment: without

Color: beige-brown

Rim diam. 10.5 cm

Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p.71, fig. 85 (30-12-14, 26-3-22); KROMER, 1991, Taf. 28.2; WEEKS, 1994, fig. 128 (25-11-111).

Dating: Dynasty V

**9. Rim of beer jar 98/11/17 (fig. 46.9)**

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel

Surface treatment: without

Color: brown

Rim diam. 14.3 cm

Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 28.3; MYSLIWIEC ET ALII, 2004, pl. XCI (no.16); RZEUSKA, 2006, p. 66, 74, pl. 12 (no.13), 16 (no.32).

Dating: Dynasty VI

**8. Rim of beer jar 98/11/30 (fig. 46.8)**

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 10.8 cm

Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 71, fig. 85 (26-3-22); CHARVAT, 1981, p. 159, pl. 12 (H26); KROMER, 1991, Taf. 28.2; WEEKS, 1994, fig. 128 (25-12-45).

Dating: Dynasties V–VI

**10. Rim of beer jar 98/11/21 (fig. 46.10)**

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel

Surface treatment: without

Color: brown

Rim diam. 10.5 cm

Parallels: CHARVAT, 1981, p. 159, pl. 14 (I458); RZEUSKA, 2006, p. 88, pl. 23 (no.60).

Dating: Dynasty VI

**11. Rim of beer jar 98/5/67 (fig. 46.11)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 5 and funerary chamber 13, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with partly correction on the wheel

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 9.9 cm

Parallels: REISNER, 1931, p. 203-204, 212, fig. 64.4; REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 71, fig. 85 (26-3-22); SEIDLMAYER, 1990, S. 387, Abb. 164 (no.38).

Dating: Dynasty VI

TYPE I.1.3. BEER JARS

**1. Bottom of beer jar 97/4/8** (*fig. 47.1*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: red-brown  
Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 28.1; MYŚLIWIEC ET ALII, 2004, pl. XCII (no.26).  
Dating: Old Kingdom  
Comments: plaster coating inside

**3. Bottom of beer jar 97/4/2** (*fig. 47.3*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 29.2; MYŚLIWIEC ET ALII, 2004, pl. XCII (no.26).  
Dating: Old Kingdom

**5. Bottom of beer jar 98/3/6** (*fig. 47.5*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: red-brown  
Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 29.2; ROTH, 2001, p. 65, fig. 21.  
Dating: Old Kingdom  
Comments: traces of white washing outside

**7. Bottom of beer jar 98/11/11** (*fig. 47.7*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 31.2; KAISER, AVILA, DREYER, 1999, S. 177, Abb. 35.2; MYŚLIWIEC ET ALII, 2004, pl. XCII (no.30).  
Dating: Old Kingdom

**2. Bottom of beer jar 98/3/9a** (*fig. 47.2*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 29.4; MYŚLIWIEC ET ALII, 2004, pl. XCII (no.23).  
Dating: Old Kingdom

**4. Bottom of beer jar 98/11/10** (*fig. 47.4*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Parallels: ROTH, 2001, p. 65, fig. 21; MYŚLIWIEC ET ALII, 2004, pl. XCII (no.25).  
Dating: Old Kingdom

**6. Bottom of beer jar 97/7/8** (*fig. 47.6*)

Find place: G7948/1, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 33.1; LECUYOT, 2000, p. 236, fig. 1 (AE.4, S.P.23).  
Dating: Old Kingdom

**8. Bottom of beer jar 98/3/8b** (*fig. 47.8*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: hand-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: red-brown  
Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 30.3.  
Dating: Old Kingdom  
Comments: traces of white washing outside



**9. Bottom of beer jar 98/11/18a**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: red

Parallels: ROTH, 2001, p. 65, fig. 21; MYŚLIWIEC ET ALII, 2004, pl. XCII (no.25).

Dating: Old Kingdom

Beer jars (*beer jug, traditional offering jar, beer bottle, jarre à bière, Gefäß für Bier, Biertöpfe*) – one of the most prevalent type of every day life pottery on settlements and in necropolis not only the Pyramid Zone but on the all territory in Ancient Egypt.

On this subject M. Barta wrote: “Beer jar... is the typical Old Kingdom egg-shaped vessel which served for the production, accommodation and transportation of different commodities, including beer, and which represented one of the most common vessels in ancient Egypt”<sup>512</sup>. As G.A.Reisner and W.S.Smith noted, the traditional offering jars, apparently originally beer jars “were used in the periodic chapel services... however, a few examples of these jars were found in the burial chambers of the Dynasty V mastabas in the Eastern Field”<sup>513</sup>.

Beer jars were used in domestic households for different purposes. In the mastaba of Ti are several pictures connected with using of beer jar – first of all scenes of filtration and pouring of beer into jars of oblong form, called *ḏwjw*<sup>514</sup>. They were also used as storage jars and for transportation of liquid and grain; the necks were sealed up by conic pieces of clay<sup>515</sup>.

In the Khafraankh tomb there were found 42 diagnostic fragments of beer jars, dating by morphological parallels in the interval from the Dynasties IV to VI. Basing on it we have the following schema:

Dynasty IV	Dynasties IV–V	Dynasty V	Dynasties V–VI	Dynasty VI	Old Kingdom
5	3	15	7	3	9

Thus, the fragments of vessels dated in Dynasty V dominate. It corresponds with the dating of the Khafraankh tomb based on the epigraphical and iconographical criteria. It is possible to assume that these vessels originally could be a part of the funeral equipment of Khafraankh and members of his family while a little bit later objects could be brought in the chapel by priests executing the funerary rites for Khafraankh and his family. Presence of the early forms of beer jars, mainly in the mixed filling of the shaft and burial chamber of Khafraankh, on one part, is possible to explain by casual ingress at the subsequent integrity violation of the complex; on other part, it is not necessary to forget that early vessels have been

<sup>512</sup> BARTA M., 1994, p. 127, note 2.

<sup>513</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 70. One beer jar (02/38/99), from the funerary equipment of the shaft 38 in Giza (Dynasties V–VI), was found by Russian Archaeological mission in 2002.

<sup>514</sup> STEINDORFF, 1913, Tf. 84. WB. V, S. 551:6,7 – “*Krug, Topf aus Ton; besonders für Bier*”.

<sup>515</sup> EPRON, WILD, 1953, II, pl. 19. VERNER, 1977, pl. 10.

included in the original funeral equipment of Khafraankh with authentic dating in the time of the Dynasty IV – so-called “Gizeh amphora” 98/11/23 and Meidum bowl 98/3/4.

For the manufacture of beer jars middle-coarse alluvial clay OK3 with great quantity of fine and coarse mineral as well as organic inclusions was used (according to “Vienna System” – type Nile silt C). The sample 98/4/3 was made of analogical alluvial clay, but with adding of small quantity of chamotte (clay fabric OK6). The firing in general was not high quality: in many cases the colour of breaks are not uniform, with black core. Supplementary finishing of external and internal surface – smoothing, slipping or polishing – was not done. Moreover traces of fingers of potters are seen on the walls of these jars.

By its fabrication beer jars are one of the most less quality type. It may be explained by the fact of often use in the everyday life in large quantity not for eating but for storage. In such a case its external surface was not important, or as it was written by G.A.Reisner and W.S.Smith bad quality of fabrication was due to using of beer jar for funerary purposes<sup>516</sup>. However votive pottery fabricated for deceased and practically have not functional destination except symbolic (because of small size) was made much better and from more fine clay fabric.

The beer jars were hand-made, by methods of pinching, hollowing and coiling<sup>517</sup>. The rim and bottom, probably, were made separately, and already then attached to the body that also is noticed also by other researchers<sup>518</sup>. G.A.Reisner, W.S.Smith and C.S.Fisher to the contrary, considered that these jars “were made on the wheel but marked by fingerprints. The lower part is often roughly dressed with a blade”<sup>519</sup>. This idea however contradicts to the epigraphic material (for example, reliefs of the tomb of Ti in Saqqara) and limestone statuettes<sup>520</sup>. This question was studied by M.Barta: beer jars in his mind were fabricated with coiling technique. “...The clay was probably prepared in long, cylindrical strips that were then coiled and manipulated by hand to give shape to the body and base. Subsequently, these two individual parts were joined together. Finally the rim was formed from the upper edge of the body and smoothed either by hand or by means of a device sometimes leaving fine horizontal incisions”<sup>521</sup>.

The beer jars were produced as in a private households (for example, in the pottery workshop of Ti together with wine jars and Meidum bowls<sup>522</sup>) so in the pyramid complexes (in particular, in the pottery workshop of queen Khentkaus II at Abusir together with bread moulds, stands and votive models<sup>523</sup>).

Several beer jars (the rim 98/3/8, the bottom 97/4/8, *fig. 46.2; 47.1*) and also the rim of bowl 97/8/44 (*fig. 50.10*) were found with the rests of white plaster layer inside. Probably, a layer of plaster was used for the lower part of the jar in order to prevent leakage of liquid (for example, beer) through porous walls – this action can be illustrated by many tombs reliefs and servant statues<sup>524</sup>, where to process of pouring of beer on jars precedes covering to their

<sup>516</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 70.

<sup>517</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 16. RZEUSKA, 2006, p. 48, pl. 6.

<sup>518</sup> CHARVAT, 1981, p. 161. BARTA M., 1994, p. 127-128. MYSLIWIŃC ET ALII, 2004, p. 196, 210-211, pl. XC. RZEUSKA, 2006, p. 48, pl. 6.

<sup>519</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 70. FISHER, 1924, p. 168.

<sup>520</sup> BREASTED, 1948, pl. 38b, 44c. STEINDORFF, 1913, Tf. 83, 84.

<sup>521</sup> BARTA M., 1994, p. 127.

<sup>522</sup> EPRON, WILD, 1939, I, pl. 71. STEINDORFF, 1913, Taf. 83, 84.

<sup>523</sup> VERNER, 1992, p. 58.

<sup>524</sup> BREASTED, 1948, pl. 44. FALTINGS, 1998, S. 158-183 (Dok. 5, 9, 10, 15, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 32, 43, 51, 52, 54).

interior. The covering substance is named *sin*<sup>525</sup> – “white clay”<sup>526</sup>. G.A.Reisner, W.S.Smith and C.S.Fisher estimated such finds as an evidence of second use of beer jars – for transportation of plaster and alluvial during tomb construction<sup>527</sup>. However this version seems to be less probable, because of the not big volume of beer jars. Among Egyptian pottery are many forms more suitable by size for these purposes.

T.Rzeuska has assumed that white mortar presence inside the vessels, as well as the cases of white washing of outer surfaces of beer jars and conical bread moulds – all it has sacral meaning and is connected with color symbolism. “White has always been connected with the *sacrum*, notions of sacredness, splendour, purity, especially in the ritual sense... White was used for all places where the two worlds, that of the living and that of the dead, met: false doors, through which the *k3* passed in order to receive offerings from the priests; the cultic vessels standing in front of them and used to perform the rites; finally, the entrances to burial chambers”<sup>528</sup>.

Indeed, in the Khafraankh tomb there are two bottoms of beer jars 98/3/6 and 98/3/8b with traces of white washing outside, which had been made after firing. Probably, in this case it should be regarded as an indication to ritual use of these vessels. However we believe that it is not necessary to mix presence of white washing outside and plaster coating inside. It seems more probable that the layer of a plaster inside the vessels should testify to their initial household function – to be containers for beer.

#### GROUP I.2. JARS WITH FLAT BOTTOM

##### TYPE I.2.1. SMALL JARS

##### **Bottom of small jar 98/3/23 (fig. 48)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK2

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: brown

Base diam. 3.9 cm

Parallels: REISNER, 1931, p. 204, 218-219, fig. 68.7.

Dating: Dynasties V–VI

Small flat-bottomed jars occur in the Old Kingdom necropolises not often. The most likely that they had cosmetic function and served for storage of various oils and ointments.

<sup>525</sup> SCHÜRMANN, 1982, Abb. 17b (Ii-nofret). BROVARSKI, 2000, fig. 116b (Senedjemjeb Mehi).

<sup>526</sup> HANNIG, 2003, S. 1074:26265 (“Mergelton, Wüstenton, Ballas-Ton”).

<sup>527</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 70. FISHER, 1924, p. 168 (group C).

<sup>528</sup> RZEUSKA, 2006, p. 448.

TYPE I.2.2. PALESTINIAN JARS, SO-CALLED "GIZEH AMPHORAE"

**Complete Palestinian jar 98/11/23 with potter's mark and "comb-decoration"** (*fig. 49, pl. XXXXa-c*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3 and funerary chamber 11, debris

Clay fabric: Imp1

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: beige smooth

Color: light-brown

Rim diam. 8.6 cm; body diam. max. 21 cm; base diam. 12.1 cm; height 37.5 cm

Parallels: JUNKER, GIZA I, S. 123, Abb. 14; REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 76, fig. 80, pl. 51c (35-8-11), 53d (34-6-17i), 59b (13-11-106).

Dating: first half of Dynasty IV

Comments: the jar was restored from 52 fragments. The potter's mark was made before firing in the form of a quadrangle with roundish corners. The "comb-decoration" was drawn before firing on wet smoothed surface; it consists from horizontal (on all the body) and vertical (top 2/3 of the body) crossing lines. Vertical lines have been put at first, then horizontal lines, which have crossed out vertical lines. Horizontal lines have not been put partly around handles.

In the tomb of Khafraankh one flat-bottomed vessel with two handles has been found. It has not Egyptian origin, and in the literature this type was named "Palestinian jars" or "Gizeh amphorae". According to the clay fabric, it has been brought to Egypt from Near-Eastern region. The closest parallels are dated in early Dynasty IV, including the vessel 35-8-11 from the mastaba G 5020,<sup>529</sup> similar to ours as by the form, surface treatment and the color of clay. For the details of this type of vessels see Excursus II.

CATEGORY II. OPEN VESSELS

This category includes the vessels of open forms, which diameter of the rim is more or equal to the diameter of the body.

GROUP II.1. BOWLS

Different kinds of bowls were one of the most prevalent types of ancient Egyptian pottery in the Old Kingdom, using in the everyday life for preparing food and eating according to the scenes from the tombs. It could be put into tombs as funerary equipment. This ceramic group was made of clay fabric of different quality, which was depended on their using and even on the pecuniary capacity of a man, who used it. All the bowls from the Khafraankh tomb were divided on two groups according to its functions:

1. table bowls of fine quality, with round or flat bottom, the most often with engobe (including so-called Meidum bowls);
2. kitchen bowls, more coarser than table-ware, with round or flat bottom, with or without engobe. Originally, its forms were used for pouring liquid, filtration of beer, preparing food; therefore some samples had traces of fire.

<sup>529</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 76, fig. 80 (35-8-11, Boston MFA 37.2729). K.Sowada determines the clay fabric of this jar as Combed Metallic Ware (Ware IV), variant 1, from the Byblos region. – SOWADA, 2009, p. 171, 178.

TYPE II.1.1. CARINATED BOWLS, SO-CALLED "MEIDUM BOWLS"

**1. Upper part of Meidum bowl 98/3/4** (*fig. 50.1, pl. XXXXd, e*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK1

Technique: wheel-made with mould-forming

Surface treatment: red polished engobe

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 21.8 cm, rib diam. 22 cm, height 8.3-8.5 cm

Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 81, fig. 110 (33-1-59c); OP DE BEECK, 2004, p. 251, 253, tabl. 3, 4, fig. 4, 5b, p. 254, 256, tabl. 7, 8, p. 257-259, tabl. 9, 10.

Dating: Dynasty IV

**3. Rim of Meidum bowl 98/11/7** (*fig. 50.3*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris

Clay fabric: OK1

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: red polished engobe

Color: brown

Rim diam. 17.9 cm

Parallels: REISNER, 1932, p. 95, fig. 44 (no.936); REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 81, fig. 110 (14-1-6).

Dating: Dynasty IV

Comments: traces of fire outside

**2. Rim of Meidum bowl 98/3/2** (*fig. 50.2*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK1

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: red polished engobe

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 18.3 cm

Parallels: REISNER, 1942, p. 470, fig. 283 (35-8-17).

Dating: Dynasty IV

**4. Rim of Meidum bowl 98/3/1** (*fig. 50.4*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK1

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: red polished engobe

Color: orange

Rim diam. 20.2 cm

Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 81, fig. 110 (15-12-17); BOURRIAU, 1981, p. 18, fig. 6; HOPE, 1987, p. 31, fig. 28; WEEKS, 1994, fig. 132 (25-12-680); MARCHAND, LAISNEY, 2000, p. 266, fig. 7, 8.

Dating: Dynasty V

The carinated bowls with round bottom and rib on its body (clearly marked or even imperceptible), with characteristic red-polished engobe were called "Meidum bowls" on its first place of discovery in Meidum<sup>530</sup>, in the necropolis of the Old Kingdom near the Snofru Pyramid.

Meidum bowls are characteristic not only for necropolises, but for the Old Kingdom sites too. The most of researches date of incipience of Meidum bowls to the Dynasty III and even the Dynasty IV<sup>531</sup>. G.A.Reisner supposed that Meidum bowls appeared in time of Snofru and originated from stone bowls of the same form, widely used in the Dynasty III<sup>532</sup>. The appearance of luxurious Meidum bowls of highest quality in the Dynasty IV might be connected according to M.Barta with "development on the social plane. The alteration to the pottery repertoire was influenced by the increasing number of state administrative officials necessary for the running of the state economy". On his opinion using of fine clay for Meidum bowls, as well as the highest quality of fabrication took place because they were a kind of substitution of stone vessels<sup>533</sup>.

<sup>530</sup> PETRIE, 1892, p. 35.




<sup>531</sup> BOURRIAU, 1981, p. 18.

<sup>532</sup> REISNER, 1931, p. 223.

<sup>533</sup> BARTA M., 1995, p. 18.

There is also one idea on earlier origin of this type of bowls, namely in the Dynasty I. However “the early dynastic examples are coiled up in the traditional manner and finished on a slow wheel”<sup>534</sup>, meanwhile later samples were made on a core<sup>535</sup>. Earlier samples as L.Op de Beeck has noticed are differed by the thickness of the walls and coarser external surface that was connected with the method of shaping. This is why several researchers included the early examples in the group of Meidum bowls<sup>536</sup>.

Stone bowls of analogical form were discovered by W.B.Emery during the excavations of early dynastic necropolis in Saqqara and dated in Dynasties I–II.<sup>537</sup> Meidum bowls might also be originated from metal (copper) forms (so-called “brim bowls”)<sup>538</sup>. It has to be noted that stone and copper bowls, as well as their successors – ceramic bowls – had red surface: stone bowls were fabricated from red granite – *m3t*, based on the inscription in the offering-list of Rahotep<sup>539</sup> (Meidum, Dynasty IV), and new-fabricated copper bowls had red colour according to their nature.

According to various researches Meidum bowls were used for eat and drink<sup>540</sup> (on the reliefs of the Old Kingdom are representations of these bowls with cooked feet of poultry<sup>541</sup>), as well as for the flowers (for example lotus<sup>542</sup>). Bowls were put on small size stands, fragments of which were discovered in the Khafraankh tomb; sometimes they were covered by conical lids as represented in the reliefs in the tomb of Ti<sup>543</sup> (Saqqara, Dynasty V). The vessels like the Meidum bowls are often accompanied by the determinative  *hnw* – “type of pottery, meaning bowls ”<sup>544</sup> or  *swr* – “bowl for drink”<sup>545</sup>.

According to recent researches Meidum bowls are practically disappeared during the First Intermediate Period<sup>546</sup>.

For the Meidum bowls of the all types is characteristic a conical body and round bottom. The form of the rim, neck and shoulders was changed in time. For samples of Dynasty IV a simple recurved rim was typical, slowly narrowing to the neck and after enlarged to shoulders (or “rib”) of bowls. It is remarkable that the diameters of rim and shoulders are approximately equal (like the bowl 98/3/4). In Dynasty V a rim starts to be opened, this process became brightly expressed in Dynasty VI, when a diameter of a rim becomes greater that of shoulders. In Dynasty V a new variant appears – several bowls had a collar rim transiliented into a neck and round shoulders without a rib (like the bowl 98/3/1). This sub-type in Dynasty VI is remarkably opened in its form: if for samples of Dynasty V a diameter of a rim is less than that of shoulders, in Dynasty VI they became equal.

<sup>534</sup> OP DE BEECK, 2000, p. 7.

<sup>535</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 21.

<sup>536</sup> OP DE BEECK, 2000, p. 7. OP DE BEECK, 2004, p. 242-243.

<sup>537</sup> EMERY, 1961, p. 214-218, fig. 125 (classes 87 and 88).

<sup>538</sup> ARNOLD, 1978, S. 123, no.146.

<sup>539</sup> PETRIE, 1892, pl. XIII. BALCZ, 1933, IV.1, S. 23, Abb. 35.

<sup>540</sup> BALLET, 1987, p. 7.

<sup>541</sup> BALCZ, 1933, IV.1, S. 25, Abb. 36f, g – in particular the relief from the funerary temple of Sahura at Abusir.

<sup>542</sup> BOURRIAU, 1981, p. 52-53. BALCZ, 1933, IV.1, S. 27, Abb. 39 – relief from the mastaba of Kagemni at Saqqara.


<sup>543</sup> STEINDORFF, 1913, Tf. 13, 62.

<sup>544</sup> WB. II, S. 493:2, 3.

<sup>545</sup> WB. III, S. 429:1.

<sup>546</sup> BALLET, PICON, 1992, p. 145, 189. BALLET, 1987, p. 2. OP DE BEECK, 2004, p. 243.

These notices were used by L. Op de Beeck, who researched the typology and chronology of Meidum bowls<sup>547</sup>. Using a method of mathematical analysis the author deduced a number of formulas thorough which a form of a bowl might be expressed and to propose a data. The only deficiency of the method is that it can be used for the complete forms but not to fragments. That is why we use it only for our bowl 98/3/4, which have “Vessel’s index” equal to 269.5, that automatically places it to the group E, dominated in Dynasty IV, however existed from Dynasty I to VI<sup>548</sup>. According to the correlation between a high of a rim and general high of a vessel we can render the bowl 98/3/4 to the group D (Index 65), predominated in Dynasty IV and attested only in Giza<sup>549</sup>. In such a way the bowl 98/3/4 is rendered to the classical Giza form of Meidum bowl of Dynasty IV.

Studying Meidum bowls of Dynasties IV–V it is evident that a method of the fabrication of a rim and a body is different. The rim was wheel-made – as the limestone statuette of potter<sup>550</sup> (Giza, middle of Dynasty V) and the relief in Ti mastaba<sup>551</sup> (Saqqara, middle of Dynasty V) testify. On the western wall of the magazine-room of the tomb of Ti is a representation of a man, making a rim of Meidum bowl on the pottery wheel; the subsequent text runs: *kd hnww* – “fabrication<sup>552</sup> the bowls ”. Over a man on the shelves are fabricated vessels: Meidum bowls, jars and bowls with spout, storage jars.

A body of Meidum bowls was moulded on a core. Clay were rolled and put by layers like puff-pastry and put into a round core. Do. Arnold supposed that during fabrication of rims and bodies a specialization of labour took place. After moulding bowls were engobed and polished by pebbles<sup>553</sup>.

In Dynasty VI such bowls were completely fabricated on the pottery wheel<sup>554</sup>. To the “Vienna system” the most of Meidum bowls were made of Nile silt A<sup>555</sup>. There are samples also of marl clay fabric of beige colour – so-called *Meidum ware*<sup>556</sup>. However this bowls were also covered by red engobe and polished. The difference in clay fabric can be seen only on a break. *Meidum ware* is absent in the tomb of Khafraankh – all the bowls were made of fine Nile alluvial clay (OK1). *Meidum ware* was found in the adjacent area as fragments of Meidum bowls and wine jars.

<sup>547</sup> OP DE BEECK, 2000, p. 5-14. OP DE BEECK, 2004, p. 239-280.

<sup>548</sup> OP DE BEECK, 2004, p. 251, 253, tabl. 3, 4, fig. 4, 5b.

<sup>549</sup> OP DE BEECK, 2004, p. 257-259, tabl. 9, 10, fig. 4, 5b.

<sup>550</sup> ARNOLD, 1998, p. 110-111, fig. 96-99. BREASTED, 1948, pl. 45b.

<sup>551</sup> STEINDORFF, 1913, Tf. 84.

<sup>552</sup> WB. V, S. 72:8 (*kd* – “to give a form to a bowl, to work on the pottery wheel”. The term was used since the Old Kingdom).

<sup>553</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 22, 24, fig. 21B.

<sup>554</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 22, 43.

<sup>555</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 43. BARTA M., 1995, p. 18.

<sup>556</sup> MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 276, fig. 7 (nos 1, 2).

## TYPE II.1.2. LEDGE BOWLS

**1. Rim of ledge bowl 97/8/34 (fig. 50.5)**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: OK7

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: red polished engobe

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 24 cm

Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, fig. 121 (14-1-100); MARCIAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 279, fig. 8.20.

Dating: Dynasty IV – early Dynasty V

**2. Rim of ledge bowl 97/8/8 (fig. 50.6)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK2

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: beige-brown

Rim diam. 23-25 cm

Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 24.2.

Dating: Dynasty V

Ledge bowls (*assiette à lèvre interne*, *Gefäße mit Innenabsatz*, *Innenleistenschale*) represent open type of vessels with bent inside brim, so as on the internal side “rib” or “ledge” was formed. Body has conical form. Most of these bowls have a flat bottom; in Giza necropolis samples with round bottom were also discovered<sup>557</sup>. However there were great quantities of bowls with slightly modified rim, which “ledge” less distinguished, body has conical form and round bottom<sup>558</sup>. Functionally “ledge” could serve as a support for cover. It is necessary to notice that ledge bowls could be used as lids; it is marked also by other researchers<sup>559</sup>.

Such ceramic form appears in Dynasty IV and originated from stone flat-bottomed ledge bowls. The earliest examples were discovered by W.B. Emery in Saqqara and dated in Dynasties I–II<sup>560</sup>. Ceramic ledge bowls are attested not only in Giza, but also in other sites of the Old Kingdom, however they were not so widely disseminated as Meidum bowls or bowls with spout. The latest samples of flat-bottomed ledge bowls are dated in Dynasty V<sup>561</sup>, and with less expressed internal “rib” and round bottom – in Dynasty VI<sup>562</sup>.

Ledge bowls were wheel-made from middle-fine alluvial clay with great quantity of vegetal inclusions (according to “Vienna system” – Nile silt B, on our classification – OK2 and OK7 (with chamotte)), often external surface was covered by red, orange, rarer white<sup>563</sup> engobe. From pottery wheel they were cut off by a certain sharp subject, most likely, a knife leaving deep impressions<sup>564</sup>.

<sup>557</sup> LEINER, 2002, p. 34, fig. 10 (G3). REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 82-83, fig. 115.

<sup>558</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 79, fig. 105 (type C-XXVII).

<sup>559</sup> LEINER, 2002, p. 45. HAWASS, SENUSSI, 2008, p. 210.

<sup>560</sup> EMERY, 1961, p. 215, fig. 125 (class 61).

<sup>561</sup> KROMER, 1991, S. 63, Tf. 24.2.

<sup>562</sup> REISNER, 1932, p. 88. REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 79.

<sup>563</sup> MARCIAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 278.

<sup>564</sup> It is well detectable on the bowls which were found by Russian Archaeological Mission in Giza in 2002, 2003 and 2006 – 02/24/20, 03/II/1/3,88, 03/II/1/45, 03/II/1/53, 06/24/1.



TYPE II.1.3. STRAIGHT-WALLED BOWLS

**1. Rim of bowl 97/8/19** (*fig. 50.7*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red polished engobe  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 17.9 cm  
Parallels: none  
Dating: Old Kingdom

**2. Rim of bowl 97/7/1** (*fig. 50.8*)

Find place: G7948/1, debris  
Clay fabric: OK2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Rim diam. 14.3 cm  
Parallels: RICKE, 1969, S. 60 (no.124).  
Dating: Old Kingdom

**3. Rim of bowl 97/8/30** (*fig. 50.9*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Rim diam. 16.3 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, 1942, p. 484, fig. 293 (13-12-32); EL-KHOULI, 1991, p. 43-44, pl. 49.1.  
Dating: Old Kingdom  
Comments: traces of fire outside

**4. Rim of bowl 97/8/44** (*fig. 50.10*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red engobe  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 22 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, 1942, p. 474, 498, fig. 282 (13-11-68), 285 (13-10-45); REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 65, fig. 61 (34-4-67, 34-4-68).  
Dating: Dynasty IV  
Comments: plaster coating inside (thickness 1–1.2 cm). Structure of plaster: base material – limestone powder (gypsum?), inclusions – with large quantity of quartz sand (the size 0.5–2.0 mm), middle quantity of particles of white stone (0.5–2.0 mm), a small quantity of vegetal inclusions. Colour of plaster is white-beige; external surface of plaster is white. Now it is impossible to find whether plaster was attached to the internal surface of bowl before firing or after it

Bowls with plain rim, straight walls and round bottom – is one of the widespread types of pottery. Such form has appeared in Predynastic time (Naqada II)<sup>565</sup> and was used in all periods of ancient Egyptian history. According to Reisner' typology this is a type C-LXI, which "was used as containers of liquids and food"<sup>566</sup>.

The bowls with straight walls and round bottom from the tomb of Khafraankh were made of clay fabric of different quality – finer (OK2) and coarser (OK3). However it is evident that all samples of coarser clay OK3 (similar to Nile silt C of "Vienna system") were covered with engobe and have accurate external surface. So, engobe, in fact, masked defects of clay

<sup>565</sup> DE MORGAN, 1926, p. 121, fig. 149.

<sup>566</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 79, 82, fig. 112.

fabric. It is difficult to determine judging by small fragments of our bowls whether they were wheel-made or they were only corrected with it after hand-made; but the rims of all four bowls have traces of potter's wheel using.

#### TYPE II.1.4. RIB-WALLED BOWLS

##### **Rim of rib-walled bowl 97/8/39** (*fig. 50.11*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: OK5

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: grey-beige smooth

Color: light-grey

Rim diam. 16.8 cm

Parallels: RICKÉ, 1969, S. 58, 80, Taf. XVI (no.105); SEIDLMAYER, 1990, S. 387, Abb. 164.8; BAILLET, PICON, 1992, p. 150 (no.98); MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 282, fig. 10.5; MARCHAND, LAISNEY, 2000, p. 266, fig. 12;

Dating: Dynasty VI

Comments: traces of fire outside

Outstanding characteristics for these bowls are roll rim, transmitting into ribbed walls, conical body with flat bottom. Such a form appeared relatively late – in Dynasty V<sup>567</sup>, and existed up to the First Intermediate Period<sup>568</sup>. It is necessary to note that the form of the bowls was visibly changed within a short period of time: for the bowls of Dynasty V closer type was characteristic with convex walls and body narrows to its rim. Gradually this form opens, a body did not narrow to rim, on the contrary it widens. Clearly it appears on the bowls in Dynasty VI and the First Intermediate Period. The analogical process of changing the form occurs with Meidum bowls.

Singular fragment of rib-walled bowl from the tomb of Khafraankh was made of fine marl clay – the rare clay fabric for ceramic corpus of the tomb. The most of the pottery, found in this archaeological complex, was fabricated from the Nile alluvial clay. On the external surface of the bowl traces of fire are visible, which evidence on everyday using of the vessel.

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<sup>567</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 84, fig. 120 (type D-XXXVIIb). G.A.Reisner assumed the origin of this type from the bowls with a cylindrical spout though rib-walled bowls had no spout. This hypothesis seems to us improbable.

<sup>568</sup> BAILLET, PICON, 1992, p. 150, no.98.

## TYPE II.1.5. LARGE BOWLS

**1. Rim of bowl 98/6/1 (fig. 50.12)**

Find place: G7948/2, shaft 9 and funerary chamber 15, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: red polished engobe

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 19.6 cm, body diam. 23 cm

Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 83, fig. 116 (36-6-42); WEEKS, 1994, fig. 132 (25-12-674); RZEUSKA, 2006, p. 320, 419, pl. 139.

Dating: Dynasties V–VI

**2. Rim of bowl 97/8/17 (fig. 50.13)**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: red engobe

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 32 cm

Parallels: RICKE, 1969, S. 73 (no.227); BALLE, PICON, 1992, p. 143, 149, 150, 189, (nos 1945, 2803); MYŚLIWIEC ET ALII, 2004, pl. XCVIII (no.108); RZEUSKA, 2006, p. 234, 411, pl. 96; HAWASS, SENUSSI, 2008, p. 234.

Dating: Dynasties V–VI

In the Old Kingdom large bowls with roll rim, spout, and flat (rarer round) bottom were popular on all the territory of Egypt<sup>569</sup>.

Large bowls with spout served for spilling liquids, preferably beer. In many reliefs of the Old Kingdom tombs are scenes of brewing, where bowls with a spout has this role. They were used for decanting beer mash, which was filtered through the basket and put up on this bowl. With the help of cylindrical spout at the upper part of the bowl's body, beer was poured into special beer jars<sup>570</sup>.

The earliest flat-bottomed bowls without a spout were discovered in El-Amra, (Naqada I)<sup>571</sup>. In such a way morphologically this is earlier type of open bowls unlike bowls with round bottom. A spout as a constructive element, which was characteristic for stone bowls, probably appeared only at the beginning of Dynastic period, among the pottery it was attested only in Dynasty II<sup>572</sup>. Round-bottomed bowls with analogical upper part were still unknown in Archaic Egypt. Such bowls appeared rather late, according to G.A.Reisner and W.S.Smith "chiefly in Dynasty VI"<sup>573</sup>.

In the tomb of Khafraankh two small fragments of large bowls were discovered. It is impossible to establish, whether there are flat-bottomed or round-bottomed bowls because the analogues of the rim are in both types. Anyhow, its functions are identical. The bowls were wheel-made from middle-coarse clay fabric OK3, which were masked by red engobe.

<sup>569</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 83, fig. 73, 74, 117-119 (type D-XXXVa with flat bottom); p. 83, fig. 72, 116 (type C-LXVI with round bottom).

<sup>570</sup> STEINDORFF, 1913, Tf. 83, 84.

<sup>571</sup> DE MORGAN, 1926, p. 119, fig. 147.

<sup>572</sup> EMERY, 1961, p. 213, fig. 122 (type 41 for ceramic jars); p. 218, fig. 125 (types 79-82 for stone vessels).

<sup>573</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 83.

GROUP II.2. MINIATURE PLATES WITH ROUND BOTTOM

**Complete profile of miniature plate 98/3/21** (*fig. 51*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK1

Technique: hand-made

Surface treatment: beige smooth

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 6.4 cm, height 2 cm

Parallels: KÖHLER, SMYTHIE, 2004, p. 135, 136, pl. 6.20; RZEUSKA, 2006, p. 170, pl. 64 (nos 265-267).

Dating: probably Old Kingdom

The type of miniature plates with plain simple rim and round bottom is considerably uncommon for the Old Kingdom complexes and can be dated to the earlier epoch – the reign of Dynasty I<sup>574</sup>. But some bigger parallels were found in the complexes of Dynasty VI<sup>575</sup>.

The quality of clay fabric (OK1), surface treatment and size of our sample allow concluding that the bowl was used for cosmetic purposes.

GROUP II.3. TUBS

**1. Bottom of tub 97/8/29** (*fig. 52.1*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: OK4

Technique: hand-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Base diam. 14 cm

Parallels: REISNER, 1942, p. 429, fig. 245 (32-12-19).

Dating: Old Kingdom

**2. Wall of tub 97/8/48 with cord-ornament** (*fig. 52.2*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: OK2

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: red engobe

Color: red-brown

Parallels: MARCHAND, 2004, p. 214-216, fig. 8.

Dating: Old Kingdom

**3. Rim of tub 98/3/24**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK4

Technique: hand-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 45-50 cm

Parallels: none

Dating: probably Old Kingdom

Comments: traces of fire outside

**4. Rim of tub 97/7/9**

Find place: G7948/1, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 41 cm

Parallels: none

Dating: Old Kingdom

The large thick-walled flat-bottomed tubs as well as the large bowls were used in bread baking and brewing – for kneading dough, fermentation, filtration and pouring beer. Some

<sup>574</sup> KÖHLER, SMYTHIE, 2004, p. 135, 136, pl. 6.20.

<sup>575</sup> RZEUSKA, 2006, p. 170, pl. 64 (nos 265-267).

tomb reliefs and inscriptions represent the tubs at the moment of using<sup>576</sup>: *sbh šdt* – “kneading dough”.

The flat-bottomed tubs also were found in the shafts and burial chambers of the tombs as funerary equipment<sup>577</sup>, but usually in the complexes of Dynasty IV<sup>578</sup> and rarer – of Dynasty VI<sup>579</sup>. All of them were hand-made from alluvial clay of different quality, often from coarse clay (“mud ware”<sup>580</sup>), like our fragments 98/3/24 and 97/8/29 (clay fabric OK4). Sometimes, the outer surface was covered by red engobe or cord ornament<sup>581</sup> as the fragment 97/8/48.

#### GROUP II.4. BREAD MOULDS

Bread moulds as well as beer jars are the most wide-spread type of everyday life pottery of Ancient Egypt. As it follows from the title such form were used for bakery.

According to morphological signs, two main varieties of bread moulds are distinguished: conical bread moulds and round forms – trays. These varieties have received its title not because its shape but because of the form of baked bread.

##### TYPE II.4.1. CONICAL BREAD MOULDS *bd3*

###### 1. Rim of bread mould 97/8/12 (*fig. 53.1*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with mould-forming

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 21.7 cm

Parallels: JACQUET-GORDON, 1981, p. 12, fig. 2.2, 2.4, 3.6, 3.7; BALLEST, PICON, 1992, p. 172, 191 (no.1732); KAISER, AVILA, DREYER, 1999, S. 183, Abb. 39.8.

Dating: Old Kingdom

###### 2. Rim of bread mould 97/5/4 (*fig. 53.2*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 5 and funerary chamber 13, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with mould-forming

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 23.8 cm

Parallels: RICKE, 1969, S. 77 (no.258); JACQUET-GORDON, 1981, p. 12, fig. 3.2, 3.3; EL-KHOULI, 1991, p. 43-44, pl. 49.13; MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 279, fig. 8.23; KAISER, AVILA, DREYER, 1999, S. 174, Abb. 34.3.

Dating: Old Kingdom

<sup>576</sup> FALTINGS, 1998, S. 92-93, 103 (the tombs of Khentika and Hetepherakhti in Saqqara).

<sup>577</sup> REISNER, 1942, p. 429, fig. 245. REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 65, 85.

<sup>578</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 85. HAWASS, SENUSSI, 2008, p. 205.

<sup>579</sup> MARCHAND, 2004, p. 214.

<sup>580</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 65, 85.

<sup>581</sup> MARCHAND, 2004, p. 214-216, fig. 8. Also, for example, the fragments of tubs with red engobe were found by Russian Archaeological Mission in Giza in 2009 (09/IV/11 and 09/23/2).

**3. Lower part of bread mould 98/3/12 (fig. 53.3)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with mould-forming

Surface treatment: without

Color: brown

Parallels: JACQUET-GORDON, 1981, p. 12, fig. 2.1;

MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 279, fig. 8.23;

KAISER, AVILA, DREYER, 1999, S. 174, Abb. 37.9;

HAWASS, SENUSSI, 2008, p. 237, fig. 191.

Dating: Dynasty IV

**4. Rim of bread mould 97/8/13 (fig. 53.4)**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: OK6

Technique: hand-made with mould-forming

Surface treatment: without

Color: beige-brown

Rim diam. 16 cm

Parallels: JACQUET-GORDON, 1981, p. 12, fig. 2.6; KROMER, 1991, Taf. 27.4.

Dating: Old Kingdom

**5. Rim of bread mould 97/8/14**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: OK3

Technique: hand-made with mould-forming

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 18 cm

Parallels: JACQUET-GORDON, 1981, p. 12, fig. 2-3;

KROMER, 1991, Taf. 27.4.

Dating: Old Kingdom

Comments: bad preservation; traces of fire outside

The wide spread type of conical bread moulds (*Brothbackgefäß, Brotformen, Brotmodel, moule à pain*), had two varieties – with flat or conical bottoms. In the Late Predynastic Period bread moulds with conical bottoms appeared<sup>582</sup>. The earliest flat-bottomed forms occurred in Dynasty I<sup>583</sup>. To the end of the Old Kingdom bread moulds with conical bottoms were slowly changed by flat-bottomed forms, the later continue to be used in course of all history of ancient Egypt, strongly being changed in body.

The conical bread moulds, according to the evidences of the reliefs in the tombs of Ti, Niankhkhnum und Khnumhotep<sup>584</sup> (middle of Dynasty V), were called *bd3* and used in everyday life for baking of conical bread *htt / ht3*.

There are many statuettes illustrated a process of baking<sup>585</sup>. The conical bread moulds with dough were put one on another in 3–6 rows over oven, in front of them a baker (man or woman) was sitting looking at bakery.<sup>586</sup> The conical bread moulds often were covered by lids in order to avoid a bit burnt of bread<sup>587</sup>. According to G.A.Reisner, W.S.Smith and P.Charvat bread moulds which were found in the necropolises were served for baking the bread for

<sup>582</sup> REISNER, 1931, p. 220 (“flower pot”, “bread pot”). JACQUET-GORDON, 1981, p. 12, fig. 1.

<sup>583</sup> JACQUET-GORDON, 1981, p. 12, fig. 3.

<sup>584</sup> STEINDORFF, 1913, Taf. 84. MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1977, S. 67, Taf. 23.

<sup>585</sup> BREASTED, 1948, pl. 28b, 38a, b.

<sup>586</sup> FALTINGS, 1998, S. 89, 94-96, Dok. 9-15.

<sup>587</sup> WILSON, 1988, p. 92-93.

funeral feast, it also used in the funerary cult in tomb chapels. Also there are evidences of their discovering in the funerary chambers as “a part of the original equipment”<sup>588</sup>.

Bread moulds might be fabricated by the same methods as beer jars – pinching, hollowing<sup>589</sup> or coiling (but coils were thicker than for beer jars – from 2.5 up to 3 cm)<sup>590</sup>. But the most probable that bread moulds were produced on a conical core<sup>591</sup>. For the conical bread moulds are characteristic fine and smoothed internal surface, meanwhile it have coarse external surface with many traces of vegetal and mineral inclusions. Do.Arnold and other researches noticed that conical bread moulds might be fabricated by the method of “negative form”<sup>592</sup>: the thick rolled coil of clay was put on conical core, which was pressed from above by conic tube of bigger size. This process is shown in the tombs of Deir el-Bersha (Middle Kingdom)<sup>593</sup>. According to “Vienna system” for bread moulds coarse clay of type Nile silt C was used<sup>594</sup>, according to our classification it is clay fabrics OK3 and OK6 (with chamotte).

Firing of bread moulds was of low-quality, after using the moulds were broken and thrown down<sup>595</sup>, their “life” was short like of beer jars.

#### TYPE II.4.2. BRAZIERs *prt*

##### **Complete profile of brazier 98/3/17 (fig. 53.5)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK4

Technique: hand-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: brown

Rim diam. 18.5 cm, base diam. 19.6 cm, height 2.7 cm

Parallels: RICKE, 1969, S. 76 (no.252); CHARVAT, 1981, p. 166, pl. 25 (H138).

Dating: Old Kingdom

Comments: traces of fire outside

Round bread trays or braziers (*runde Platten*, *Teller*, *terrine*, *pan*, *bread plate*, “*dokka*”) were also wide-spread in Egypt, together with conical bread moulds. In the special literature round bread trays “are so called because they resemble *dokkas*, modern Egyptian vessels on which the dough for *eish shams* (sun bread) is placed”<sup>596</sup>. Evidently this custom originated from the antiquity.

Round or oval braziers were in use already in Archaic Egypt<sup>597</sup>. This type of pottery is one of the most stable in its form, preserved it up to the end of the New Kingdom. According

<sup>588</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 88. CHARVAT, 1981, p. 164. The bread mould 02/38/55 from the funerary equipment found in the shaft 38 by the Russian archaeological mission in Giza.

<sup>589</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 16.

<sup>590</sup> BARTA M., 1994, p. 128.

<sup>591</sup> CHARVAT, 1981, p. 163. BOURRIAU, 1981, p. 17, 65. WILSON, 1988, p. 87.

<sup>592</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 23, fig. 18B. BOURRIAU, NICHOLSON, ROSE, 2000, p. 136.

<sup>593</sup> NEWBERRY, 1895, pl. 25.

<sup>594</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 173, 174. The conical bread mould from El-Kab (Old Kingdom) was taken as example.

<sup>595</sup> BOURRIAU, NICHOLSON, ROSE, 2000, p. 125.

<sup>596</sup> ASTON, 1990, p. 44.

<sup>597</sup> EMERY, 1961, p. 213, fig. 122 (classes 36-38).

to G.A.Reisner bread trays, whose appearance he dated in the Late Predynastic Period, by its function were connected with conical bread moulds and might be used as offerings in the funerary cult<sup>598</sup>. Many researches considered this type only as offering, used in funerary cult<sup>599</sup>, however in our case it is possible to speak about everyday using the tray 98/3/17 for baking, dark traces of fire on the external surface of the fragment evidence about it.

Judging by relief from the tomb of Niankhkhnum und Khnumhotep at Saqqara round bread trays were called *prt* by Egyptians and served for baking the cakes *psn*<sup>600</sup>.

Braziers were hand-made usually from coarse porous clay OK4 with large quantity of organic inclusions. The external surface of vessels was not exposed to additional processing, and in our case (98/3/17) on the surface a considerable quantity of impresses of straw and grain is visible.

### CATEGORY III. NON-CONTAINERS

The special group of pottery is composed by secondary vessels – stands and lids, which in itself were not receptacles, and were used only as addition to other forms of jars, bowls, etc.

#### GROUP III.1. STANDS

##### 1. Rim of stand 97/8/47 (*fig. 54.1*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red engobe  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 12.1 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 88, fig. 130 (36-3-46); FALTINGS, 1989, S. 139, Abb. 4 (no.200); KROMER, 1991, Taf. 36.7; BALLE, PICON, 1992, p. 169 (no.1929).  
Dating: Old Kingdom

##### 3. Rim of stand 97/5/2 (*fig. 54.3*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 5 and funerary chamber 13, debris  
Clay fabric: OK2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: light-brown  
Rim diam. 10 cm  
Parallels: none  
Dating: Old Kingdom  
Comments: traces of fire outside

##### 2. Rim of stand 97/8/18 (*fig. 54.2*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red polished engobe  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 11.8 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, 1942, p. 498, fig. 304c (14-1-16); REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 88, fig. 130 (36-3-46); FALTINGS, 1989, S. 139, Abb. 4 (no.129); KROMER, 1991, Taf. 38.1; MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 279, fig. 8.19.  
Dating: Old Kingdom

##### 4. Rim of stand 98/3/26 (*fig. 54.4*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red engobe outside  
Color: brown  
Min. body diam. 5 cm  
Parallels: KROMER, 1991, Taf. 36.9; MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p.279, fig. 8.19.  
Dating: Old Kingdom

<sup>598</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 88.

<sup>599</sup> CHARVAT, 1981, p. 166, pl. 25 (the form of 98/3/17 is analogical to H138).

<sup>600</sup> MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1977, Taf. 23.



**5. Rim of stand 97/8/16 (fig. 54.5)**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK3  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red engobe  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 17.6 cm  
Parallels: none  
Dating: Old Kingdom

**6. Rim of stand 98/6/4 (fig. 54.6)**

Find place: G7948/2, shaft 9 and funerary chamber 15, debris  
Clay fabric: OK2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red engobe outside  
Color: dark-brown  
Rim diam. 25 cm  
Parallels: RICKE, 1969, S. 76 (no.249).  
Dating: Old Kingdom  
Comments: traces of fire outside

The stands (*support, Standfuss, Ständer*), according to D.A.Aston, belongs to the class of pottery, destined for supporting of round-bottomed jars and bowls, which are unstable by their form<sup>601</sup>. On the Old Kingdom reliefs such objects are shown in its application – for the support of different kinds of bowls, wine and beer jars, storage jars, bowls with spout and other types of vessels<sup>602</sup>.

Stands were one of the wide-spread types of pottery, starting from Dynasty 0 to the Ptolemaic Period, probably even later<sup>603</sup>. For stands of Dynasties IV–VI in Giza the high elongated form (type E-XXII according to G.A.Reisner) were characteristic. Two types of stands are distinguished by its diameter. Small cylindrical ring-shaped stands were used for supporting of bowls and jars with round or conical bottoms; their fragments were found in the Khafraankh tomb. The forms of big size were used only in funerary rites in chapels and temples; sometimes they are discovered in the funerary chambers as funerary equipment<sup>604</sup>. High stands of big size often with red polished engobe and a triangle incision in the lower part of the body were used for supporting of small offering tables, which were fixed in private chapels and king's funerary complexes. One of such samples originates from the Pyramid complex of queen Khentkaus II at Abusir<sup>605</sup> (Dynasty V), another one – from the tomb of Meryhetep in Giza<sup>606</sup> (Dynasty IV).

Small ring-shaped stands, which were used for bowls and jars, are found rare, and their traditional using could be connected with funerary services in chapels. The fragments of such stands were discovered in chapels alternately with fragments of beers jars; sometimes they were used for blocking up the shafts of later mastabas. However in several cases, as for example in the mastaba G4733E on the Western plateau of Giza, several small stands were found in the funerary chamber and belonged to the funerary equipment<sup>607</sup>.

There is one more type of ring-shaped stands with thick walls (in Reisner-Smith' typology the type E-XXIV), which were used together with big jars mainly in Dynasty V and later up to the Roman Period<sup>608</sup>.

<sup>601</sup> ASTON, 1990, p. 45, 47.

<sup>602</sup> STEINDORFF, 1913, Tf. 13, 62. ARNOLD, 1978, S. 123.

<sup>603</sup> REISNER, 1931, p. 219-220.

<sup>604</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 87, fig. 129.

<sup>605</sup> VERNER, 1995, p. 33, pl. 9, fig. 44.

<sup>606</sup> ARNOLD, 1978, S. 123, 124, Abb. 147.

<sup>607</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 88, fig. 130.

<sup>608</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 88.

According to P.Charvat's opinion stands were wheel-made in symmetrical form (otherwise they could not serve as a stable base for jars and bowls). External surface was smoothed by hand (traces of fingers evidence about it), often was covered by red engobe and polished<sup>609</sup>. For the fabrication middle-fine (OK2) or middle-coarse (OK3) clay fabric (on "Vienna system" – Nile silt B и Nile silt C) were used, the last was analogical to clay fabrics of bread moulds and beer jars, however unlike them an external surface mostly was complementary worked up – engobing and polishing.

#### GROUP III.2. LIDS

##### **Rim of lid 98/3/13 (fig. 55)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: OK2

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: brown

Rim diam. 24 cm

Dating: Old Kingdom

Comments: traces of fire outside

Unlike other everyday ceramic forms lids are found in the archaeological complexes infrequently, though on the reliefs of the tombs they are shown as often, as bowls or jars. Along with scenes of everyday life<sup>610</sup> they are presented in offering-scenes, where conical bread moulds, for example, are covered by lids<sup>611</sup>.

Only one small fragment of the lid is found in the tomb of Khafraankh with traces of fire which testify to its household using.

#### CATEGORY IV. VOTIVE POTTERY

In the Old Kingdom necropolises of Pyramid zone (from Meidum to Abu Roash) is widely represented one of the specific types of miniature pottery – votive vessels or in other words votive models. In the tomb of Khafraankh there were discovered three votive jars and seven votive plates.

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<sup>609</sup> CHARVAT, 1981, p. 165. FAKHRY, 1961, p. 128.

<sup>610</sup> CAPART, 1907, II, pl. XXIX (mastaba of Ankhmahor).

<sup>611</sup> SIMPSON, 1980, fig. 32 (mastaba of Iasen).

GROUP IV.1. VOTIVE JARS

**1. Rim of votive jar 97/8/10** (*fig. 56.1*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: OK2

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: beige-brown

Rim diam. 3.6 cm, max. body diam. 5.5 cm

Parallels: JUNKER, GIZA VII, S. 63, Abb. 26;

REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 77, fig. 100 (14-4-15, 29-2-42); MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 280, fig. 9.9.

Dating: Dynasties IV–V

**2. Complete votive jar 97/8/9** (*fig. 56.2*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: OK2

Technique: wheel-made, cut by a string

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 4.7 cm, base diam. 3.4 cm, height 6.7 cm

Parallels: JÉQUIER, 1928, p. 24, fig. 15; RICKE, 1969, S. 56 (no.82); CHARVAT, 1981, p. 130, 147 (1374/2); BARTA, 1995, p. 22, fig. 14 (3E).

Dating: Dynasties V–VI

**3. Lower part of votive jar 98/6/2** (*fig. 56.3*)

Find place: G7948/2, shaft 9 and funerary chamber 15, debris

Clay fabric: OK2

Technique: wheel-made, cut by a string

Surface treatment: without

Color: brown

Base diam. 3.7 cm

Parallels: none

Dating: Dynasties IV–VI

GROUP IV.2. VOTIVE PLATES

**1. Complete votive plate 97/4/4** (*fig. 56.4*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris

Clay fabric: OK2

Technique: wheel-made, cut by a string

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 4.2-4.4 cm, base diam. 2.4-2.7 cm, height 1.2 cm

Parallels: FISHER, 1924, fig. 139.6; JUNKER, GIZA VII, Abb. 7; FALTINGS, 1989, S. 143, Abb. 7 (no.48); EL-KHOULI, 1991, p. 43-45, pl. 50 (15D); KROMER, 1991, Taf. 35.5; WEEKS, 1994, fig. 132 (25-11-142b); MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 280, 281, fig. 9.16.

Dating: Dynasties IV–VI

**2. Complete profile of votive plate 97/4/11** (*fig. 56.5*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris

Clay fabric: OK2

Technique: wheel-made, cut by a string

Surface treatment: without

Color: beige-brown

Rim diam. 4.7 cm, base diam. 2.8 cm, height 1.9 cm

Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 87, fig. 127 (15-12-64, 29-12-314).

Dating: Dynasties V–VI

**3. Complete profile of votive plate 98/6/3** (*fig. 56.6*)

Find place: G7948/2, shaft 9 and funerary chamber 15, debris  
Clay fabric: OK2  
Technique: wheel-made, cut by a string  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Rim diam. 6.3 cm, base diam. 3.7 cm, height 1.4 cm  
Parallels: FALTINGS, 1989, S. 143, Abb. 7 (no.51).  
Dating: Dynasties V–VI

**5. Complete profile of votive plate 97/8/35** (*fig. 56.8*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK2  
Technique: wheel-made, cut by incisive object  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Rim diam. 6.1 cm, base diam. 4.8 cm, height 2.1 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 87, fig. 127 (14-3-50); RICHE, 1969, S. 75 (no.242); FALTINGS, 1989, S. 143, Abb. 7 (no.46); EL-KHOULI, 1991, p. 43-44, pl. 50 (15F, H); BARTA, 1995, p. 22, fig. 2 (6Acc, 6CW-V).  
Dating: Dynasties IV–VI

**4. Bottom of votive plate 97/8/11** (*fig. 56.7*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK2  
Technique: wheel-made, cut by incisive object  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Base diam. 3.7 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 87, fig. 12 (13-12-26); BARTA, 1995, fig. 2 (8CR); MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 273, fig. 6a.9.  
Dating: Dynasties IV–VI

**6. Complete votive plate 97/8/46** (*fig. 56.9*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: OK2  
Technique: wheel-made, cut by a string  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 5.1 cm, base diam. 3.4 cm, height 1.4 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 87, fig. 127 (25-11-85); FALTINGS, 1989, S. 143, Abb. 7 (no.28); WEEKS, 1994, fig. 130 (25-12-150a).  
Dating: Dynasties IV–VI

**7. Complete votive plate 97/7/3** (*fig. 56.10*)

Find place: G7948/1, debris  
Clay fabric: OK2  
Technique: wheel-made, cut by a string  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Rim diam. 5.6 cm, base diam. 3.1 cm, height 1.7 cm  
Parallels: CHARVAT, 1981, p. 43, 145, 146 (D224b); BARTA, 1995, fig. 2 (5CF.CV).  
Dating: Dynasties V–VI

In special literature different terms are used for votive pottery – such as miniature pottery, offering pottery (*Scheinopfergefäße*<sup>612</sup>), models of vessel (*Scheingefäße*<sup>613</sup>), etc. We use the term “votive pottery” as the most convenient for our tasks, and we identify with it small size ceramic vessels without traces of using – soot, resin, etc.

Nominally votive pottery might be divided into two groups according to the morphological features:

<sup>612</sup> FALTINGS, 1989, S. 137, 142.

<sup>613</sup> JUNKER, GIZA I, S. 126.

- closed forms – votive jars (*model jar, miniature vase, miniature votive, Modelkrüge, Scheinopfertöpfe, Votinschalen*);
- open forms – votive plates (*model saucer, model basin, model bowl, coupelle, ouverte, Modellschalen, Scheinopferschälchen, Opferschälchen*).

Votive pottery appeared at the beginning of Dynasty IV in Memphitic necropolises, it had been related, according to M.Barta, with the increasing of administration, consequently a number of people who could construct the tomb with funerary chapel and organize the funerary rites<sup>614</sup>.

H.Junker supposed that votive jars and plates (both from stone or ceramic) according to their shape (‘ – “bowl”<sup>615</sup>) could be related with the term “portion, share, part”<sup>616</sup>, which is often met in the offering lists and was connected with the quantity of product, which was destined for *k3* of the dead.

In the private tombs of the early Dynasty IV votive models were used as funeral equipment<sup>617</sup>, and this side of their use has remained later, possibly, only in rather poor burials (for example, on the “Cemetery of pyramid builders” in Giza<sup>618</sup>).

Manufacturing and using of votive pottery first of all should be connected with royal temple economy at their pyramids in capital area – where huge accumulations of these objects are found<sup>619</sup>. Probably, in the reign of Snofru the models began to be used as equipment for the royal funerary cult, in the reign of Khufu this tradition became accessible for the royal relatives. From the second half of Dynasty IV similar actions have extended on the court nobility, which was not direct relatives of the king, and in Dynasty V on all the persons, capable to construct a chapel and to provide a funerary cult. Archaeological sources testify that models were produced in the pottery workshops of royal mortuary temples<sup>620</sup> and, apparently, were not included into assortment of workshops in economy of high nobility<sup>621</sup> and settlements.

Most likely, that the votive pottery from the tombs of nobility should be connected with the ritual of feeding *k3* in a tomb chapel, with the formula *Htp-di-nswt* in the part of offering beer and bread. A gift in the form of miniature vessels (which, however, had a distinctive shape, similar to the round pot *nw*), are shown in some tombs of Giza<sup>622</sup> and in one tomb in

<sup>614</sup> BARTA M., 1995. p. 18.

<sup>615</sup> WB. I, 158:13-17.

<sup>616</sup> JUNKER, GIZA X, S. 36. WB. I, S. 158:7, 8.

<sup>617</sup> PETRIE, MACKAY, WAINWRIGHT, 1910, p. 12, 26-29, 35, pl. IX, XXV (20-24, 32-34), XXVI (45-52, 68-71). REISNER, 1942, p. 419, 421. REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 65-66, 68, fig. 63, 75.

<sup>618</sup> HAWASS, SENUSI, 2008, p. 34, 71. See also the material of the modest burial on the Western plateau of Giza necropolis. – ROTH, 2001, p. 77, 78, fig. 28.

<sup>619</sup> EL-KHOULI, 1991, p. 13, pl. 50. FAKHRY, 1952, p. 571, 574-576, 593. FAKHRY, 1961, p. 106, 135-139, fig. 23, 24. FALTINGS, 1989, S. 135, 137, 142, Abb. 3a, 7. PETRIE, 1892, p. 19, 35. MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 267, fig. 6a, 6b, 9. REISNER, 1931, p. 13-14, 15, 17-18, 202-204, 228-229. JÉQUIER, 1928, p. 23, 24, fig. 15. RICKE, 1969, S. 49, 56, 75, Abb. XII, XLVIII. BARTA M., 1995, p. 17. VERNER, BARTA, BENESOVSKA, 2006, p. 292-293, pl. XII, XLVIII.

<sup>620</sup> VERNER, 1992, p. 57-58.

<sup>621</sup> The assortment of the pottery workshop of private household is represented in the mastaba of Ti. – STEINDORFF, 1913, Tf. 84.

<sup>622</sup> SIMPSON, 1978, fig. 31 (mastaba of Khufu-khaf I), 49 (Khufu-khaf II). JUNKER, GIZA II, Abb. 15, 16. HÖLZL, 2005, Abb. 17 (Kaninisut). JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 187, Abb. 33 (Seshat-hetep). JUNKER, GIZA III, Abb. 9b (Nisutnefer). WEEKS, 1994, fig. 22 (Neferbauphtah), 44 (Imery). ROTH, 2001, pl. 166 (Kapi). SIMPSON, 1980, fig. 33 (Iasen).

Saqqara<sup>623</sup>. Explicatory inscriptions to these scenes testified about daily character of these offerings. They were made, most likely, by the priests *ḥmw-k3* – both ordinary, and more high rank (for example, *šḥd ḥmw-k3*), sometimes by the embalmers-*wtjw* and *wdpw ḥnt-wr* – “servants of the Great cellar”<sup>624</sup>.

Originally the models could be brought to the tomb chapels and royal temples with food particles<sup>625</sup>, but further became symbols.

The mechanism of use the votive pottery in the funerary rites of the nobility might be reconstructed as follows: priests received the pottery models of vessels in a royal Mortuary temple (which were produced here) probably, as certain “jetton” in exchange for real products – bread and beer (the jars – as a symbol of jars with beer, the plates – as a symbol of a bread). The models were delivered to the tomb chapels and put on the offering tables in front of “false-doors” and after fulfillment of the rituals were thrown out from chapels, gradually forming the ceramic accumulations fixed by the archaeologists near the exits from the chapels and Mortuary temples. Such ritual actions should have daily character though it is possible to assume that funeral priests not always strictly executed their duties.

In fact, the ritual actions with pottery models in the tombs of private persons of the high social status copied the royal funerary ritual (also with votive models), but in smaller scales.

The peak of existing the votive pottery falls at the second half of Dynasty IV and Dynasty V. At the end of Dynasty V and in Dynasty VI the process of reduction of this class of pottery in the funerary rites is observed, the quantity of the model vessels sharply decreases during Dynasty VI. It is connected, apparently, with the changes occurring in the life of Ancient Egyptian society at the end of Dynasty V and Dynasty VI: a degradation of royal authority, simplification of funerary cult<sup>626</sup>. It is possible to consider as a consequence of the same changes the beginning of graphic fixation of the offering ritual in the burial chambers of pyramids – “Pyramid Texts” that also shows insecurity of the kings in the eternal preservation of their funerary cults in the Pyramid temples<sup>627</sup>.

The votive pottery was wheel-made and cut by a string<sup>628</sup> (unequal spirals and typical clay projection on the bottoms evidenced about it). P.Charvat considered that such method of fabrication to be used “so that it might not be deformed by tearing away the still-soft vessel with the fingers”. Basing on the form of bottoms he also assumed that “the wheel was turning to the right and consequently that it was probably propelled by the right hand... it was used for the sake of comfort”<sup>629</sup>. This notice corresponds to our remarks made on the basis of the pottery of the Russian Archaeological Mission in Giza. It is interesting that it contradicts to the images of the potter’s statuette<sup>630</sup>, representing the process of manufacturing of real types of pottery (not models): the potter turn the wheel by left hand, while his right hand makes the rim of the bowl. Using the left hand for the producing the votive models testify about quick manufacturing, when accuracy in the fabrication of vessels was not necessary.

<sup>623</sup> MURRAY, 1905, pl. XXI (mastaba of Wser-neter).

<sup>624</sup> HANNIG, 2003, S. 392:8825 (“*Aufwärter des Grossen Kellers*”).

<sup>625</sup> FALTINGS, 1989, p. 153. MARCHAND, BAUD, 1996, p. 269.

<sup>626</sup> PEREPELKIN, 2000, p. 162.

<sup>627</sup> For the details see: MALYKH, 2010.

<sup>628</sup> BARTA M., 1995, p. 16. ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 54.

<sup>629</sup> CHARVAT, 1981, p. 148-149.

<sup>630</sup> BREASTED, 1948, pl. 45b. In the tomb of Ti the potter turn the wheel by his right hand, he is making the bowl. – STEINDORFF, 1913, Tf. 84.

Homogeneous clay was used for the fabrication of votive pottery<sup>631</sup>. According to “Vienna system” of clay fabrics it was marked as the type Nile silt B2 and rarer Nile silt B1<sup>632</sup>. Clay fabric of the votive pottery of the Khafraankh tomb does not differ practically – it is the type of clay OK2 (like Nile silt B2). The firing was uniform in the most cases. Complementary finishing of external and internal surfaces was not fulfilled. Some differences in the quantity and amount of inclusions in all samples evidences that all of them were fabricated in various pottery batches.

At the same time the cases of discovering of the votive pottery, made from absolutely identical clay and equally fired are also known – it gives evidence on its fabrication in the same batch, and probably made by the same potter. As for example, two groups of votive models from the same batch were discovered by the Russian Archaeological Mission in Giza in 2000 and 2001 on the adjacent area of the tomb of Khafraankh.

From seven votive plates, which have been discovered in the Khafraankh tomb, four samples (97/4/4, 97/8/11, 97/8/35 and 97/8/46) are typical; in special literature they are usually dated in Dynasties IV–VI generally in the time of the archaeological complex where the pottery models had been discovered<sup>633</sup>. However three votive plates 97/7/3, 97/4/11 and 98/6/3 possess accessorial wheel-marks – ribbed walls, which indicate the technical progress in pottery making. Ribbed walls appeared at the moment of changing turning device on simple pottery wheel, acting on principle “socket-and-pivot” in the second part of Dynasty V<sup>634</sup>. It possessed higher speed of turning in comparison with predecessor, and it acted on the aspect of the vessels: they were with spiral traces inside and outside. While rotating speed became higher the spiral lines inside revealed clearer, as well as ribbed walls<sup>635</sup>. According to the author’s investigations<sup>636</sup> objects with these features have to be dated in Dynasties V–VI.

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<sup>631</sup> The chemical analysis of votive pottery from the temple of queen Khentkaus II at Abusir evidences that this type of vessels represented the homogeneous group. – STROUHAL, URBANEC, ČEJKA, ČEJKOVA, 1988, p. 252, 253.

<sup>632</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 55. BARTA M., 1995, p. 15. BARTA M., 2001, p. 185. HAWASS, SENUSSI, 2008, p. 97-100.

<sup>633</sup> See above in the Catalogue.

<sup>634</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 41-46. VERNER, 1995, p. 26-27.

<sup>635</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 51-53.

<sup>636</sup> For the details see: MALYKH, 2010.

## THE LATE POTTERY

### GROUP I. EGYPTIAN AMPHORAE OF LATE NEW KINGDOM – III INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

#### 1. Rim of amphora 97/4/9 (*fig. 57.1*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris

Clay fabric: NLP1

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: brown

Rim diam. 9 cm

Parallels: ASTON, 1990, p. 514-515 (no.2065), 518-519 (no.2081); ASTON, 1996, p. 92, 306, fig. 204a.

Dating: Dynasties XX–XXI

#### 2. Rim of amphora 98/6/8 (*fig. 57.2*)

Find place: G7948/2, shaft 9 and funerary chamber 15, debris

Clay fabric: NLP5

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: dark-grey

Rim diam. 13.3 cm

Parallels: ASTON, 1996, p. 92-93, 310, 317, fig. 208c, 217b; MARCHAND, TALLET, 1999, p. 332, 327, 348, fig. 8d, 37.

Dating: Dynasties XX–XXIII

#### 3. Rim of amphora 97/8/25 (*fig. 57.3*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: NLP3

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Rim diam. 9 cm

Parallels: ASTON, 1990, p. 510-511 (no.2035); ASTON, 1996, p. 92-93, 315, fig. 213d.

Dating: Dynasties XX–XXIII

Comments: traces of fire outside

#### 4. Bottom of amphora 97/8/21 (*fig. 57.4*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: NLP4

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: white engobe

Color: red-brown

Parallels: ASTON, 1996, p. 92, fig. 21.3, 203c.

Dating: XX–XXI Dynasties

#### 5. Wall of amphora 97/8/20 with ornament? (*fig. 57.5*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: NLP4

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: white engobe

Color: red

Parallels: none

Dating: Third Intermediate Period

Comments: the picture in a form of lotus bud (?) was incised after slipping and firing



GROUP II. STORAGE JARS OF III INTERMEDIATE PERIOD – LATE PERIOD  
TYPE II.1. MIDDLE SIZE STORAGE JARS

**1. Rim of jar 98/6/7** (*fig. 57.6*)

Find place: G7948/2, shaft 9 and funerary chamber 15, debris  
Clay fabric: NLP1  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red engobe  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 10.7 cm  
Parallels: MYŚLIWIEC, 2008, part I, p. 426, fig. 534 (no.19).  
Dating: Late Period

**3. Bottom of jar 97/7/2** (*fig. 57.8*)

Find place: G7948/1, debris  
Clay fabric: NLP1  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Parallels: ASTON, 1996, p. 64, 92, fig. 198.  
Dating: Dynasties XX–XXI

**2. Rim of jar 97/4/7** (*fig. 57.7*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris  
Clay fabric: NLP1  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: dark-brown  
Rim diam. 10 cm  
Parallels: ASTON, 1996, p. 49-50, fig. 158.1.  
Dating: Dynasties XXIV–XXVI

**4. Bottom of jar 97/8/22** (*fig. 57.9*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: NLP2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: beige-brown  
Parallels: ASTON, 1996, p. 92, fig. 20, 69.5, 198.  
Dating: Dynasties XX–XXI

TYPE II.2. LARGE SIZE STORAGE JARS

**1. Rim of jar 98/11/8** (*fig. 57.11*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: NLP2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: brown  
Rim diam. 23 cm  
Parallels: ASTON, 1990, p. 560-565 (nos 2284, 2317). ASTON, 1996, p. 43, 65, 92, 302, fig. 116, 200a.  
Dating: Dynasties XXI–XXV

**2. Rim of jar 97/8/27** (*fig. 57.12*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: NLP6  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red wash  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 26 cm  
Parallels: ASTON, 1996, p. 45-47, fig. 130.2, 135 (no.71).  
Dating: Dynasty XXV

GROUP III. LIDS OF LATE NEW KINGDOM – III INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

**1. Rim of lid 98/6/5 (*fig. 57.10*)**

Find place: G7948/2, shaft 9 and funerary chamber  
15, debris  
Clay fabric: NLP1  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: light-brown  
Rim diam. 11 cm  
Parallels: ASTON, 1996, p. 92, 289, fig. 187h.  
Dating: Dynasties XX–XXI  
Comments: traces of fire inside and outside

**2. Rim of lid 99/4/23**

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber  
12, debris  
Clay fabric: NLP2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: grey-brown  
Rim diam. about 12 cm  
Parallels: ASTON, 1996, p. 92, 289, fig. 187h.  
Dating: Dynasties XX–XXI  
Comments: bad preservation

GROUP IV. IMPORT POTTERY OF THE LATE PERIOD

TYPE IV.1. PHOENICIAN AMPHORAE “TORPEDO”

**Upper part and bottom of amphora 98/3/18,19 (*fig. 58.1*)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
Clay fabric: Imp2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: red-brown  
Body diam. max. 25 cm  
Parallels: ASTON, 1996, p. 85, 93, fig. 60.34, 125.2, 152.396, 172.I, 234c, 240.4; LECUYOT, 2000, p. 241, fig. 2.1 – BE.18 (S.P.104)  
Dating: VI century B.C.  
Comments: the upper part of amphora was restored from 27 fragments, the bottom was restored from 11 fragments

TYPE IV.2. AEGEAN AMPHORAE

**Bottom of amphora 98/3/25 (*fig. 58.2*)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
Clay fabric: Imp3  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: white engobe  
Color: beige  
Base diam. 6.3 cm  
Parallels: ZEEST, 1960, p. 133, tabl. VI, type 15; MONAKHOV, 2003, p. 25, 27 (type I-B), tabl. 14.6.  
Dating: second half of VI century B.C.  
Comments: probably, import from Samos

TYPE IV.3. AEGEAN TABLE-WARES

**Bottom of hydria? 97/8/42** (*fig. 58.3*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: Imp4

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without engobe, with a line of black metallic varnish

Color: beige

Base diam. 6 cm

Parallels: CVA 47, S. 25, Abb. 11, Taf. 17 (no. 7387); CVA 48, S. 44, Taf. 35.4 (no. J1218); CVA 52, S. 93, 101, Abb. 27, Taf. 43.2, 43.3; PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS, 2000, p. 318, fig. 171.

Dating: VI–IV centuries B.C.

GROUP V. BOTTLES OF PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

**1. Lower part of bottle 98/11/1** (*fig. 59.1*)

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris

Clay fabric: PRBA1

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: red polished engobe

Color: brown

Base diam. 3.9 cm, max. body diam. 10.5 cm

Parallels: HARLAUT, 2000, p. 156, fig. 8, 9, photo 11a, b; PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS, 2000, p. 326, fig. 307.

Dating: probably, late Ptolemaic Period

**2. Bottom of bottle 98/3/16** (*fig. 59.2*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Clay fabric: PRBA6

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: light-beige

Base diam. 3.7 cm

Parallels: MARCHAND, 1996, p. 182-183, fig. 29.

Dating: Ptolemaic Period

**3. Bottom of bottle 97/8/23** (*fig. 59.3*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: PRBA2

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: brown engobe

Color: red-brown

Base diam. 4.5 cm

Parallels: ÉLAIGNE, 2000, p. 100, fig. 3.2; PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS, 2000, p. 320, fig. 183.

Dating: Ptolemaic Period

GROUP VI. JARS OF PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

**1. Rim of jar 98/6/6** (*fig. 59.4*)

Find place: G7948/2, shaft 9 and funerary chamber 15, debris

Clay fabric: PRBA1

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: beige engobe

Color: brown

Rim diam. 10.1 cm

Parallels: none

Dating: probably, Ptolemaic Period

**2. Bottom of jar 97/8/28** (*fig. 59.5*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: PRBA2

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: red-brown

Base diam. 10 cm

Parallels: ÉLAIGNE, 2000, p. 100, fig. 2.2.

Dating: Ptolemaic Period

### 3. Wall of jar 97/8/31

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
 Clay fabric: PRBA2  
 Technique: wheel-made  
 Surface treatment: white engobe  
 Color: brown  
 Parallels: none  
 Dating: Ptolemaic / Roman Period

## GROUP VII. WATER-JUGS OF ROMAN PERIOD

### 1. Lower part of jug 97/4/8a (*fig. 59.6*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris  
 Clay fabric: PRBA3  
 Technique: wheel-made  
 Surface treatment: white engobe  
 Color: red-brown  
 Base diam. 4.9 cm, max. body diam. 6.9 cm  
 Parallels: PETRIE, 1886, pl. XVII; HASSAN, GIZA IV, p. 17, pl. VII.D; GIZA, REISNER'S ARCHIVE, photo B5720\_NS (25-8-985).  
 Dating: Roman Period

### 3. Handle of jug 97/8/41 (*fig. 59.8*)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
 Clay fabric: PRBA3  
 Technique: wheel-made  
 Surface treatment: white engobe  
 Color: brown  
 Parallels: none  
 Dating: Roman period

### 5. Wall of jug 98/3/27

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
 Clay fabric: PRBA3  
 Technique: wheel-made  
 Surface treatment: white engobe  
 Color: brown  
 Dating: Roman Period

### 7. Wall of jug 98/3/29,30,31 (3 fragments)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
 Clay fabric: PRBA3  
 Technique: wheel-made  
 Surface treatment: white engobe  
 Color: brown  
 Dating: Roman Period

### 2. Lower part of jug 98/3/14 with ornament? (*fig. 59.7*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
 Clay fabric: PRBA3  
 Technique: wheel-made  
 Surface treatment: white engobe  
 Color: brown  
 Base diam. 7.3 cm, max. body diam. 11.8 cm  
 Parallels: PETRIE, 1886, pl. XVII; GIZA, REISNER'S ARCHIVE, photo B5720\_NS (25-8-984, 985).  
 Dating: Roman Period  
 Comments: decoration was scratched after slipping and firing

### 4. Lower part of jug 98/3/15 (*fig. 59.9*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
 Clay fabric: PRBA3  
 Technique: wheel-made  
 Surface treatment: white engobe  
 Color: brown  
 Base diam. 3.8 cm, max. body diam. 11.4 cm  
 Parallels: GIZA, REISNER'S ARCHIVE, photo B5720\_NS (25-2-991).  
 Dating: Roman Period

### 6. Wall of jug 98/3/28a

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
 Clay fabric: PRBA3  
 Technique: wheel-made  
 Surface treatment: white engobe  
 Color: brown  
 Dating: Roman Period

**8. Wall of jug 98/5/63**

Find place: G7948, shaft 5 and funerary chamber 13, debris  
Clay fabric: PRBA3  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: white engobe  
Color: brown  
Dating: Roman Period

**9. Wall of jug 98/6/9**

Find place: G7948/2, shaft 9 and funerary chamber 15, debris  
Clay fabric: PRBA3  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: white engobe  
Color: brown  
Dating: Roman Period

GROUP VIII. EGYPTIAN AMPHORAE (*AE*) OF ROMAN PERIOD

**Lower part of *Amphora AE1/2* 98/3/28 (fig. 60, pl. XXXXf)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
Clay fabric: body – PRBA7; bottom – PRBA8  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: red-brown  
Parallels: MARCHAND, 2007, p. 178, fig. 4; ASTON, 2007, p. 424.  
Dating: I–III centuries A.D.

GROUP IX. BOWLS OF BYZANTINE – EARLY ARABIC PERIODS

**1. Rim of bowl 97/8/15 (fig. 61.1)**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: PRBA2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red engobe  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 17.8 cm  
Parallels: ROUSSET, MARCHAND, 1999, p. 194, fig. 15b; LECUYOT, PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS, 2004, p. 195, fig. 205.  
Dating: VIII–X centuries A.D.

**2. Rim of bowl 97/4/10 (fig. 61.2)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris  
Clay fabric: PRBA2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: without  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. about 12 cm  
Parallels: none  
Dating: V–VI centuries A.D.

**3. Lower part of bowl / incensory 97/8/24 (fig. 61.3)**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Clay fabric: PRBA2  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red polished engobe  
Color: red-brown  
Min. body diam. 2.3 cm  
Parallels: JACQUET-GORDON, 1972, pl. CCXXVIII.11-14; LECUYOT, PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS, 2004, p. 150, fig. 14.  
Dating: Byzantine Period

**4. Rim of bowl 98/11/6 (fig. 61.4)**

Find place: G7948, funerary chamber 11, debris  
Clay fabric: PRBA1  
Technique: wheel-made  
Surface treatment: red engobe  
Color: red-brown  
Rim diam. 20.8 cm  
Parallels: LECUYOT, PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS, 2004, p. 148, 164, pl. 6, fig. 74.  
Dating: VI–IX centuries A.D.

**5. Rim of bowl 98/11/5**

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris  
 Clay fabric: PRBA2  
 Technique: wheel-made  
 Surface treatment: without  
 Color: brown  
 Rim diam. about 19 cm  
 Parallels: none  
 Dating: uncertain  
 Comments: bad preservation

GROUP X. FILTER-JUGS OF BYZANTINE – EARLY ARABIC PERIODS

**Bottom of jug 97/4/1 (fig. 61.5)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris  
 Clay fabric: PRBA5  
 Technique: wheel-made  
 Surface treatment: without  
 Color: light-grey  
 Base diam. 8.8 cm  
 Parallels: JACQUET-GORDON, 1972, p. 70, 77, pl. CCVI, CCVII, CCXXVI.26.  
 Dating: V–X centuries A.D.

GROUP XI. EGYPTIAN AMPHORAE OF BYZANTINE – EARLY ARABIC PERIODS

**Rim of amphorae 97/8/38 (fig. 61.6)**

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
 Clay fabric: PRBA4  
 Technique: wheel-made  
 Surface treatment: without  
 Color: light-brown  
 Rim diam. 8 cm  
 Parallels: GHALY, 1992, p. 168, fig. 16; MARCHAND, DIXNEUF, 2007, p. 316, fig. 21-23.  
 Dating: V–VIII centuries A.D.  
 Comments: Egyptian imitation of *Late Roman Amphorae 1*

GROUP XII. CAULDRONS OF BYZANTINE – EARLY ARABIC PERIODS

**Wall with handle of cauldron 98/3/20**

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris  
 Clay fabric: PRBA2  
 Technique: wheel-made  
 Surface treatment: without  
 Color: brown  
 Parallels: JACQUET-GORDON, 1972, p. 85, pl. CCX, CCXXV; GHALY, 1992, p. 165, fig. 8.  
 Dating: V–IX centuries A.D.

GROUP XIII. IMPORT AMPHORAE OF BYZANTINE – EARLY ARABIC PERIODS

**1. Handle of *Late Roman Amphora 1* 97/8/40**  
(fig. 62.1)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: Imp6

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: beige

Parallels: BAVAY, BOVOT, LAVIGNE, 2000, p. 57-58, fig. 26.

Dating: V–VIII centuries A.D.

Comments: origin, probably, Cyprus

**2. Rim of *Late Roman Amphora 2* 97/8/37**  
(fig. 62.2)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: Imp7

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: beige-brown smooth

Color: light-brown

Rim diam. 16.3 cm

Parallels: MARCHAND, DIXNEUF, 2007, p. 321-322, fig. 41.

Dating: VI century A.D.

Comments: origin, probably, Aegean region (Chios) or Argolida

**3. Wall of *Late Roman Amphora 1* 98/4/1**

Find place: G7948, shaft 4 and funerary chamber 12, debris

Clay fabric: Imp6

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: beige

Dating: V–VIII centuries A.D.

**4. Wall of *Late Roman Amphora 1* 98/5/65**

Find place: G7948, shaft 5 and funerary chamber 13, debris

Clay fabric: Imp6

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: beige

Dating: V–VIII centuries A.D.

**5. Wall with traces of handle of *Late Roman Amphora 4* 97/7/6** (fig. 62.3)

Find place: G7948/1, debris

Clay fabric: Imp8

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: without

Color: beige

Parallels: EMPEREUR, PICON, 1992, p. 149-150, fig. 6; BAVAY, BOVOT, LAVIGNE, 2000, p. 58, fig. 27.

Dating: IV–V centuries A.D.

Comments: origin – Gaza

**6. Rim of amphora 97/8/26** (fig. 62.4)

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris

Clay fabric: Imp5

Technique: wheel-made

Surface treatment: grey-beige engobe

Color: beige-orange

Diam. 11.5-11.8cm

Parallels: none

Dating: probably, Byzantine Period

Comments: type and origin is uncertain

## 2. CLAY FABRICS FOR THE POTTERY OF KHAFAANKH TOMB

### EGYPTIAN CLAY FABRICS OF THE OLD KINGDOM

**OK1.** Alluvial fine hard clay of red, brown, red-brown colour, with small quantity of fine mineral (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, with or without engobe (Meidum bowls, storage jars, plates).

**OK2.** Alluvial middle-fine middle-hard clay of red, brown, red-brown, beige-brown colour, with small quantity of fine and middle size mineral (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, with or without engobe (storage jars, small jars, bowls, tubs, stands, lids, votive models).

**OK3.** Alluvial middle-coarse porous clay of red, brown, beige-brown, red-brown colour, with large quantity of fine and large mineral (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, with or without engobe (beer jars, bowls, conical bread moulds, tubs, stands).

**OK4.** Alluvial coarse porous clay of red, brown, red-brown colour, with large quantity of large mineral (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, without engobe (tubs, braziers).

**OK5.** Marl fine hard clay of beige or grey-beige colour, with small quantity of fine mineral (limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, with wet smooth (storage jars, bowls).

**OK6.** Alluvial middle-coarse porous clay of beige-brown colour, with large quantity of fine and large mineral (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, with small quantity of chamotte, without engobe (beer jars, conical bread moulds).

**OK7.** Alluvial middle-fine middle-hard clay of red-brown colour, with small quantity of fine and middle size mineral (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, with small quantity of chamotte, with red engobe (ledge bowls).

### EGYPTIAN CLAY FABRICS OF THE LATE NEW KINGDOM – LATE PERIOD

**NLP1.** Alluvial middle-fine hard clay of brown or light-brown colour, with small quantity of fine and middle size mineral (quartz sand, mica) and organic inclusions, without engobe (amphorae, storage jars, lids).

**NLP2.** Alluvial middle-fine middle-hard clay of beige-brown colour, with large quantity of fine and middle size mineral (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, without engobe (storage jars, lids).

**NLP3.** Alluvial middle-coarse porous clay of red-brown colour, with small quantity of fine mineral inclusions (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and large quantity of middle size organic inclusions, without engobe (amphorae).

**NLP4.** Alluvial fine hard clay of red-brown colour, with small quantity of fine mineral inclusions (quartz sand, mica), with white engobe (amphorae).

**NLP5.** Marl middle-fine hard clay of dark-grey colour, with small quantity of fine and middle size mineral (quartz sand, white stone) and organic inclusions, without engobe (amphorae).

**NLP6.** Alluvial middle-coarse hard clay of brown or red-brown colour, with large quantity of fine and coarse mineral (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, without engobe (storage jars).



EGYPTIAN CLAY FABRICS OF THE PTOLEMAIC, ROMAN, BYZANTINE AND EARLY ARABIC PERIODS

**PRBA1.** Alluvial fine hard clay of red, brown or red-brown colour, with small quantity of fine mineral (mica) and organic inclusions, with or without engobe (bottles and jars of Ptolemaic Period, bowls of Byzantine Period).

**PRBA2.** Alluvial middle-fine hard clay of brown or red-brown colour, with small quantity of fine and middle size mineral (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, with or without engobe (bottles and jars of Ptolemaic Period, bowls of Byzantine Period, cauldrons of Byzantine and Early Arabic Periods).

**PRBA3.** Alluvial middle-coarse porous clay of brown colour, with large quantity of fine and coarse mineral (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, with white engobe (water-jugs of Roman Period).

**PRBA4.** Alluvial middle-fine middle-hard clay of beige-brown colour, with small quantity of fine and middle size mineral inclusions (quartz sand, limestone, mica), without engobe (Egyptian imitations of *Late Roman Amphorae 1* of Byzantine Period).

**PRBA5.** Marl fine hard clay of light-grey colour, with small quantity of fine mineral inclusions (ferrous oxides), without engobe (filter-jugs of Roman and Byzantine Periods).

**PRBA6.** Marl middle-fine hard clay of beige colour, with large quantity of fine mineral (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, without engobe (vases of Ptolemaic Period).

**PRBA7.** Alluvial fine very hard clay of dark-brown and red-brown colour, with small quantity of fine mineral (mica, white stone) and organic inclusions, without engobe (amphorae *AE1/2* of Roman Period).

**PRBA8.** Alluvial middle-coarse middle-hard clay of red-brown colour, with large quantity of fine and coarse mineral (quartz sand, limestone, mica) and organic inclusions, without engobe (amphorae *AE1/2* of Roman Period).

CLAY FABRICS OF IMPORT ORIGIN

**Imp1.** Marl fine hard clay of light-brown colour, with small quantity of fine mineral (quartz sand, limestone, black stone) and organic inclusions, with beige smooth. Origin – Near Eastern region – Palestine or Byblos (“Gizeh amphorae” of the Old Kingdom).

**Imp2.** Marl fine hard clay of light-brown colour, with small quantity of fine mineral inclusions (quartz sand, limestone), without engobe. Origin – Phoenicia (amphorae of VI century B.C.).

**Imp3.** Marl fine hard clay of beige colour, with small quantity of fine mineral and organic inclusions, with white engobe. Origin – Aegean region, probably, Samos (amphorae of VI century B.C.).

**Imp4.** Marl fine hard clay of beige colour, with small quantity of mineral inclusions (mica), without engobe. Origin – Aegean region (table-wares of VI–IV centuries B.C.).

**Imp5.** Marl fine hard clay of beige-orange colour, with small quantity of fine mineral inclusions (quartz sand, limestone, mica), with grey-beige engobe. Origin is uncertain (amphorae of Byzantine Period).

**Imp6.** Marl middle-coarse hard clay of beige colour, with large quantity of mineral inclusions (brown stone) and small quantity of fine organic inclusions, without engobe. Origin – East Mediterranean region, probably, Cyprus (*Late Roman Amphorae 1* of Byzantine Period).

**Imp7.** Marl middle-fine middle-hard clay of light-brown colour, with large quantity of white stone and small quantity of quartz sand and mica, with beige-brown smooth. Origin – Aegean region or Argolida (*Late Roman Amphorae 2* of Byzantine Period).

**Imp8.** Marl middle-fine hard clay of beige colour, with large quantity of white stone, middle quantity of mica, small quantity of black stone, ferrous oxides and organic inclusions, without engobe. Origin – Gaza (*Late Roman Amphorae 4* of Byzantine Period).

### 3. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The re-excavation of the rock-cut tomb of Khafraankh determined that the tomb has been plundered still in the ancient time, and all the burials were disturbed or completely destroyed. The filling of the chapel, shafts and burial apartments was disturbed and the contents mixed, so that parts of one and the same vessel could have been scattered quite extensively. For example, sherds of so-called «Gizeh amphora» 98/11/23 were found in the shaft 3, but also in the burial chamber 11. The same situation is observed with other restored forms: Meidum bowl 98/3/4, beer jar 98/3/8a, Phoenician amphora “torpedo” 98/3/18,19, Roman water-jug 98/3/14, Roman amphora of type *AE1/2* 98/3/28. The mixed filling of the tomb rooms consists of sand, limestone crumb, fragments of bones and pottery, including the original funerary equipment of Khafraankh.

Thus, for definition of existing time of the pottery the method of dated analogies is used, i.e. dating of the objects is based on dating of the parallels in special publications, but not on the archaeological context.

#### SHAFT 3

Table 1. *Statistic data of pottery from the shaft 3*

Date of the pottery	Quantity	
	examples	%
Dynasties IV–VI	19	65,5
Dynasties XX–XXXI	2	7
Ptolemaic Period	1	3,5
Roman Period	6	20,5
Byzantine – Early Arabic Periods	1	3,5
Total 168 examples, diagnostic –	29	100

In the filling of the shaft 3 (*fig. 3.3*) belonging to Khafraankh, 168 fragments of pottery have been found, 29 from them are diagnostic. The majority (19 samples) relates to the types of the Old Kingdom. The others 10 fragments are dated in the later time of the Egyptian history – from the Late Period to the Arabic times. The ceramics of the Old Kingdom are presented by

morphological types which are traditional for the necropolis: Meidum bowls, ledge bowls, storage jars, beer jars, conical bread moulds *bd3*, braziers *prt*, stands and lids. Four objects are dated in Dynasty IV: Meidum bowls 98/3/2 and 98/3/4<sup>637</sup>, conical bread mould 98/3/12 and beer jar 98/3/9. Two samples – beer jar 98/3/10 and Meidum bowl 98/3/1 relates to Dynasty V, five samples (lid 98/3/13, storage jars 98/3/22 and 98/3/23, beer jars 98/3/8, 98/3/8a) – to Dynasties V–VI. The other 9 fragments are dated only in the Old Kingdom because they have bad preservation or the typology in dynasties is undetermined (for example, stands). Thus, in the filling of the shaft 3 it is not observed the domination of the material of any definite dynasty of the Old Kingdom.

Two amphorae 98/3/25 and 98/3/18,19 are dated in VI century B.C., they are remarkable by non-Egyptian origin – both are imported from the Mediterranean region (probably, Samos island and Phoenicia). Their presence in the shaft, possibly, is to connect with the secondary burial in the burial chamber of Khafraankh, but also partially destroyed. Other 8 objects are dated an interval from Ptolemaic to the early Arabic Periods and represent usual household ware: water-jugs, vases and amphorae.

Consequently, the filling of the shaft 3 testifies the collapse of Khafraankh burial still in ancient time, thus the part of the funeral equipment has been broken and has got to the shaft. Probably, the beer jar 98/3/8a and Meidum bowl 98/3/4 are necessary to refer to the objects accompanying Khafraankh in the eternity.

#### BURIAL CHAMBER 11

Table 2. *Statistic data of pottery from the burial chamber 11*

Date of the pottery	Quantity	
	examples	%
Dynasties IV–VI	21	84
Dynasties XX–XXXI	1	4
Ptolemaic Period	1	4
Roman Period	-	-
Byzantine – Early Arabic Periods	2	8
Total 773 examples, diagnostic –	25	100

Totally from the burial chamber 11 (*fig. 3.11, 9*) belonged to Khafraankh, 773 pottery fragment have been taken, 25 of them (including partially restored vessels 98/11/23 and 98/11/1) are diagnostic. The finding pottery is non-uniform on the dating that testifies to integrity violation of the archaeological complex, i.e. about its disclosure during the subsequent time. However the overwhelming majority of the vessels and their fragments (21 of 25) by their shape and clay fabric can be attributed to the time of the Old Kingdom. A number of objects is dated more precisely.

Six vessels – so-called “Gizeh amphora” 98/11/23, storage jar 98/11/4, Meidum bowl 98/11/7, 3 fragments of beer jars (98/11/13, 98/11/15, 98/11/26) belong to the time of the Dynasty IV. According to H.Junker, G.A.Reisner and W.S.Smith, the shape and ornament of so-called “Gizeh amphora” have analogies, only in the complexes of early Dynasty IV (time of

<sup>637</sup> For dating parallels see the CATALOGUE of the pottery.

Khufu – middle Khafra<sup>638</sup>). The amphora was made of non-Egyptian clay and was imported from Byblos or Palestine.

Fragments of eight beer jars (98/11/2,12, 98/11/3,14,16, 98/11/18, 98/11/19, 98/11/20, 98/11/27, 98/11/28, 98/11/29) are dated in Dynasty V, the fragment 98/11/30 – in Dynasties V–VI, two fragments (98/11/17 and 98/11/21) in Dynasty VI.

In the eastern part of the burial chamber (*fig. 9.10*) the accumulation of small fragments of the pottery mixed with white plaster was revealed, the thickness of this layer was 10 cm. The further analysis has shown that the 82 fragments of walls and one rim 01/11/1 (*fig. 45.13*) belong to two beer jars, which differed on color of clay (red-brown and beige-brown). The form of the rim has parallels with jars of Dynasty V<sup>639</sup>. Possibly, these objects originally accompanied the burial of Khafraankh, were disposed near his sarcophagus on the east side, where they have been found already destroyed by robbers. The dating of the beer jar in Dynasty V is cohering with the date of the tomb of Khafraankh.

Four samples have later dating from Dynasties XXI–XXV (the fragment of large storage jar 98/11/8) in Early Arabic time (the bottle 98/11/1 of Ptolemaic Period and bowls 98/11/5, 98/11/6 of Byzantine – Early Arabic Periods).

Thus, the integrity violation of the archaeological complex in the shaft and burial chamber of Khafraankh has occurred, apparently, not earlier than in the Third Intermediate Period. However subsequently the complex was exposed for plundering several times therefore the late pottery of Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine and early Arabic times has got to the filling of the shaft and chamber.

#### SHAFT 4 AND BURIAL CHAMBER 12

*Table 3. Statistic data of pottery from the shaft 4 and burial chamber 12*

<i>Date of the pottery</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	
	<i>examples</i>	<i>%</i>
Dynasties IV–VI	6	46
Dynasties XX–XXXI	3	23
Ptolemaic Period	-	-
Roman Period	1	8
Byzantine – Early Arabic Periods	3	23
Total 74 examples, diagnostic –	13	100

To sum up 73 fragments of pottery have been found in the shaft 4 and the burial chamber 12 (*fig. 6*) constructed for the burial of Herenka, the wife of Khafraankh, 13 of them are diagnostic. Six fragments are dated in the Old Kingdom, and two beer jars 97/4/3, 97/4/5,6 and votive plate 97/4/11 in Dynasties V–VI. Thus, these objects existed in Dynasty IV (as it is in case in the shaft of Khafraankh), to the contrary in the shaft of Herenka they has not been revealed. This fact may indirectly testify to later dating of this complex.

<sup>638</sup> JUNKER, GIZA I, S. 123, Abb. 14. – Dynasty IV. REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 76, pl. 51c (right), G5020Annex (35-8-11) – Khufu – middle Khafra; fig. 80, pl. 53d, G7330A (34-6-17j) – Khufu – middle Khafra; pl. 59b, G4440.A (13-11-106) – Khufu – middle Khafra.

<sup>639</sup> For example, beer jar 25-11-137 from the tomb G 6050, Dynasty V. – WEEKS, 1994, p. 95-96, fig. 132.

Seven fragments of vessels are dated in the subsequent periods of the Egyptian history. The amphora 97/4/9 and lid 99/4/23 are characteristic for Dynasties XX–XXI, the form of the jar 97/4/7 for Dynasties XXIV–XXVI. Water-jug 97/4/8a belong to the Roman Period; the fragments of the bowl 97/4/10, filter-jug 97/4/1 and import *Late Roman Amphora 1* 98/4/1 – to Byzantine – Early Arabic times.

The material from the filling of the shaft 4 and burial chamber of Herenka also is non-uniform in the dating that speaks about integrity violation of the complex, probably, in the Third Intermediate period.

#### SHAFT 5 AND BURIAL CHAMBER 13

Table 4. *Statistic data of pottery from the shaft 5 and burial chamber 13*

Date of the pottery	Quantity	
	examples	%
Dynasties IV–VI	3	60
Dynasties XX–XXXI	-	-
Ptolemaic Period	-	-
Roman Period	1	20
Byzantine – Early Arabic Periods	1	20
Total 29 examples, diagnostic –	5	100

According to the inscriptions on the western wall of the chapel the shaft 5 and the burial chamber 13 (*fig. 5*) was the burial place of Ishepet (Khafraankh's daughter). In total 29 ceramic fragments (5 diagnostic) have been revealed in the filling of the shaft and chamber. Three of them are dated in the Old Kingdom – conical bread mould 97/5/7, stand 97/5/2 and rim of beer jar 98/5/67, which has the parallels at the pottery from Dynasty VI.

Other two fragments of vessels – water-jug 98/5/63 and import *Late Roman Amphora 1* 98/5/65 existed in Roman and Byzantine times.

Basically, the structure of the material from the shaft 5 and burial chamber 13, most likely, testifies to plunder of burial not earlier than the Roman time.

#### G 7948/1 AND G 7948/2 – LATER PART OF THE TOMB

Totally 605 pottery fragments were revealed in the filling of the later part of the tomb (because of its construction the northern wall of the Khafraankh funerary chapel has been destroyed). They are divided into three conditional complexes in the find places (*fig. 2*) – the pass 7 between the destroyed northern wall and the slope, the slope 8 for a sarcophagus with the burial chamber 14 (G 7984/1), the shaft 9 with the burial chamber 15 (G 7948/2). The ceramic material from the filling of these premises has the same character, as in the originally apartments of the Khafraankh tomb.

## PASS 7: BETWEEN THE DESTROYED NORTHERN WALL AND THE SLOPE 8 (G 7948/1)

Table 5. Statistic data of pottery from the pass 7

Date of the pottery	Quantity	
	examples	%
Dynasties IV–VI	7	78
Dynasties XX–XXXI	1	11
Ptolemaic Period	-	-
Roman Period	-	-
Byzantine Period	1	11
Total 36 examples, diagnostic –	9	100

Between the northern wall and slope for a sarcophagus (*fig. 2.7*) 9 diagnostic ceramic fragments have been found. The pottery belongs to the Old Kingdom (7 samples, including three fragments of the beer jars 97/7/4, 97/7/5, 97/7/7 and votive plate 97/7/3 in Dynasties V–VI), the late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (storage jar 97/7/2), and also the Byzantine time (fragment 97/7/6 of import *Late Roman Amphora 4*) is presented.

## SLOPE 8 AND BURLAL CHAMBER 14 (G 7948/1)

Table 6. Statistic data of pottery from the slope 8 and burial chamber 14

Date of the pottery	Quantity	
	examples	%
Dynasties IV–VI	32	67
Dynasties XX–XXXI	6	13
Ptolemaic Period	3	6
Roman Period	1	2
Byzantine – Early Arabic Periods	6	12
Total 542 examples, diagnostic –	48	100

From the slope for the sarcophagus and burial chamber 14 (*fig. 7*) there were 542 potsherds, from which 48 samples have been selected: 32 from the Old Kingdom, and 16 – from the late New Kingdom – Arabic Period.

A number of the Old Kingdom vessels can be dated in more detailed. The bowl 97/8/44 belongs to Dynasty IV. Ledge bowl 97/8/34, storage jar 97/8/45, beer jars 97/8/1, 97/8/2, 97/8/33 and votive jar 97/8/10 are dated in Dynasties IV–V. Ledge bowl 97/8/8, beer jars 97/8/3, 97/8/5, 97/8/6 belong to Dynasty V, large bowl 97/8/17, beer jars 97/8/4, 97/8/7 and votive jar 97/8/9 – to Dynasties V–VI, and two objects – storage jar 97/8/36 and bowl 97/8/39 have dating in Dynasty VI.

In the slope for a sarcophagus five fragments of amphorae and storage jars of Dynasties XX–XXIII were found. The fragment of a bottom of hydria 97/8/42 with traces of black metallic varnish is remarkable; it is dated in VI–IV centuries B.C. and had been made of non-Egyptian clay – probably, the import ware from Aegean region.

Two vessels – the bottle 97/8/23 and jar 97/8/28 are dated in the Ptolemaic Period, the fragment of jar 97/8/31 – Ptolemaic – Roman times. The handle with white engobe 97/8/41

belongs to the Roman water-jug, potsherds of similar objects have been revealed in the shafts of Khafraankh, Herenka and Ishepet, and also in the shaft 9 in the north-western corner of the tomb.

Six fragments of vessels are dated in Byzantine – early Arabic times. Among them there are two pottery fragments, of rather widespread type – *Late Roman Amphora 1*. One of them 97/8/40 is an import product from East Mediterranean (Cilicia, Antiochus, Cyprus<sup>640</sup>); but the amphora 97/8/38 has been made from local – Egyptian clay. This case is not unique, however is rare for Egypt. Similar imitations of import *Late Roman Amphorae 1* have been attested in Saqqara and Baouit<sup>641</sup>.

One more fragment 97/8/37 belongs to the *Late Roman Amphora 2*, this type was imported from Aegean region (basically from the island Chios) and Argolida (north-eastern area of Peloponnesus) in second half of VI century A.D. According to S.Marchand, the place of such amphorae production on the territory of modern Romania is known also. At present time *Late Roman Amphorae 2* are fixed, except Giza, in Baouit, Gabbari and el-Ashmunein<sup>642</sup>.

#### SHAFT 9 AND BURIAL CHAMBER 15 (G 7948/2)

Table 7. Statistic data of pottery from the shaft 9 and burial chamber 15

Date of the pottery	Quantity	
	examples	%
Dynasties IV–VI	4	45
Dynasties XX–XXXI	3	33
Ptolemaic Period	1	11
Roman Period	1	11
Byzantine – Early Arabic Periods	-	-
Total 27 examples, diagnostic –	9	100

The pottery fragments, which have been found in the shaft 9 and burial chamber 15 in the north-western corner of the tomb G 7948/2 (fig. 7), are not numerous (27 samples, but diagnostic – 9) however heterogeneous in time. Their dating hardly can help for definition of the time of the construction of the northern part of the tomb. The assortment of the ceramic forms corresponds to the material occurring from the other rooms of the complex. Dating of vessels is determined in the Old Kingdom, the Late Period and Ptolemaic – Roman times.

Four of 9 fragments are dated in the Old Kingdom, and two of them – votive plate 98/6/3 and bag-shaped bowl 98/6/1 can be dated more precisely in Dynasties V–VI.

Three fragments (lid 98/6/5, amphora 98/6/8 and storage jar 98/6/7) are dated in Dynasties XX–XXIII. Other two fragments – in Ptolemaic – Roman times: jar 98/6/6 of Ptolemaic Period and water-jug 98/6/9 of Roman Period.

<sup>640</sup> BAVAY, BOVOT, LAVIGNE, 2000, p. 57-58, fig. 26. LECUYOT, 2000, p. 249, fig. 3.4, (C.17, S.P.108).

<sup>641</sup> GHALLY, 1992, p. 168, fig. 16. MARCHAND, DIXNEUF, 2007, p. 316, fig. 23.

<sup>642</sup> MARCHAND, DIXNEUF, 2007, p. 321-322, fig. 41.

## CONCLUSIONS

As to the ceramic material of the Old Kingdom from the Khafraankh tomb is concerned it is impossible to ascertain surely that the broken vessels could be a part of funeral equipment or belong to the funeral cult of Khafraankh and his family. Only about several objects it is possible to declare that they had belonged to the original equipment of the Khafraankh burial – is so-called “Gizeh amphora” 98/11/23, Meidum bowl 98/3/4, beer jars 98/3/8a and 01/11/1. Their fragments were collecting during two archaeological seasons from the filling of the shaft and burial chamber of Khafraankh. If first two objects are dated in Dynasty IV, the form of beer jars is characteristic for Dynasties V–VI. This data better corresponds to the dating of the Khafraankh tomb, which was established on the analysis of epigraphical and architectural criteria. However there is a question – why in the burial the vessels, earlier in time (clearly dated in Dynasty IV) have been placed? Whether we have dealings with a secondary use of funeral equipment from other tomb? Or Khafraankh was accompanied with “family relics”, stored in his family about 100 years? Anyhow, so-called “Gizeh amphorae” sometimes were found hermetically sealed by mud or plaster stoppers and ceramic lids<sup>643</sup>, in our case no traces of such stopper or lid of appropriate size were revealed.

Other pottery of the Old Kingdom from the Khafraankh tomb represents the forms traditionally used as funeral equipment, and also in the offering ritual – feeding of *k3* of a dead – in our case Khafraankh and his relatives. Their cult could be executed since a construction of the Khafraankh tomb, and then still some time, up to Dynasty VI, but not later. In the tomb the fragments of various table and everyday utensils were found (bowls, stands, tubs, bread moulds), jars for storage of various kinds of products (wine, beer, grain and other food), and also clearly symbolical group of miniature ceramic models of vessels – votive pottery. The majority of the forms of household and votive pottery should be dated in Dynasties V–VI; the objects from Dynasty IV are much less.

The domination of the pottery of Dynasties V–VI in the shafts and burial chambers of the tomb can testify to preservation of the funerary cult of Khafraankh and his family till Dynasty VI.

On the ceramic material from the tomb it is not possible to define the time of collapse of the northern wall and rock-cutting of the new room with the shaft 9, the slope for a sarcophagus and two burial chambers 14 and 15.

The period of oblivion and wasteness of the tomb has followed after end of the Old Kingdom up to the late New Kingdom. At least, any fragments of pottery which could be dated in the First Intermediate Period – Middle Kingdom – Second Intermediate Period are not revealed. The earliest and sporadic evidences of human returning in the tomb can be related with Dynasty XX. After that the gradual increasing in number of the late vessels is observed – at first in Dynasties XX–XXV, and then in Dynasty XXVI. The Phoenician amphora “*torpedo*”, which has clear dating in Dynasty XXVI<sup>644</sup> and was situated in the burial chamber of Khafraankh near the body of a secondary burial, probably, testifies that this burial

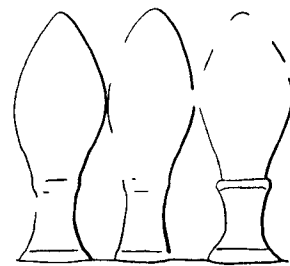
<sup>643</sup> See, for example, BRUNTON, 1948, p. 29, pl. XXXVIII.2. REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 75-76. BARTA M., 2006, p. 60, fig. 10.

<sup>644</sup> G.A.Reisner also noticed that “the burial chambers in the nucleus mastabas of the Eastern Field had been so thoroughly cleared out by thieves and by reuse of some of them in Saite-Roman times”. – REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 68.



has occurred during the Saitic Period. It was, possibly, the funeral equipment of the secondary burial. However, the amphora has been found being broken, that presents additional evidence of integrity violation of the secondary burial too, occurred probably, in Ptolemaic time. The presence of enough considerable quantity of broken household vessels of Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine and Arabic periods together with a thick soot layer on the ceiling of the Khafraankh chapel testifies that the tomb was inhabited by people in Ptolemaic time.

Thus, the ceramic material from the Khafraankh tomb displays the history of existence of the tomb in antiquity as the burial place and object for the funerary cult, and then as dwelling for a local population.



## EXCURSUS II

COMBED WARE JARS  
IN THE OLD KINGDOM PRIVATE TOMBS\*

by Olga V. TOMASHEVICH

The noteworthy ceramic vessel has been found in the rock-cut tomb of Khafraankh (98/11/23, *fig. 49, pl. XXXXa, b*). 52 fragments of this jar were taken from the shaft and burial chamber of Khafraankh during two field seasons 1997–1998, the vessel managed to be restored almost completely (there were no some insignificant fragments). The comb-decorated amphora (height of 37.5 cm) with a flat bottom and two roundish vertical handles, which have been very located hardly above the midpoint of the body is close in the shape to the amphorae, which were found in Giza by the expeditions of G.A.Reisner and H.Junker. These parallels were dated to the first half of Dynasty IV<sup>645</sup>.

The amphora was made of fine marl clay fabric Imp1 and has qualitative firing. The color of the vessel is light-brown with the smallest white and black impregnations on the break.

In the pottery catalogue of G.A.Reisner and W.S.Smith is stressed that that usual colors of such amphorae were from “red brown to gray”, and the colours of the fracture were “brown, dark gray, or reddish” with “characteristic white specks”<sup>646</sup>. The same colors (reddish-brown) of amphorae are specified in the recent works<sup>647</sup>, so, the color of the vessel of Khafraankh is unusual. Apparently, for the amphorae fine marl clay was used that provided high quality of this type of pottery. As the modern analyses demonstrate, these iron rich clays occur from Hatira Formation<sup>648</sup>. Therefore this pottery group has received the name “*Metallic Ware*” (for the first time, probably so have defined the pottery from Megiddo, ringing at blow

\* Sincerely thanks to Nicolay J.Merpert, for his valuable remarks regarding this text. I thank Eleonora E.Kormysheva, Svetlana E.Malykh and Eugenia A.Kokina for the help with the new literature.

<sup>645</sup> For the parallels see: JUNKER, GIZA I, S. 123, Abb. 13, 17; Abb. 14; 8. REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 76, fig. 80, pl. 51c (35-8-11, Boston MFA 37.2729), 53d (34-6-17j), 59b (13-11-106).

<sup>646</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 75.

<sup>647</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 185. SOWADA, 2009, p. 71.

<sup>648</sup> GREENBERG, PORAT, 1996, p. 17.

that is uncharacteristic for the Egyptian pottery). Researchers mark affinity of these vessels to found in upper courses of Euphrates and other regions of the northern Mesopotamia<sup>649</sup>.

The amphora from the Khafraankh tomb was made on a simple potter's wheel to what superficial parallel lines on the internal surface of the vessel testify. The bottom was made accurately on any plane object (the vessel has not been cut off from a wheel by a thread that often practiced in Egypt of the Old Kingdom; it is not excluded that the base formed in a mould). Also in the literature there is the information about the manufacturing of such vessels by the mixed mode: hand-built using coils from the bottom up and then finished on a turning device<sup>650</sup>.

The body of the amphorae is decorated by effective "comb"- ornament: the lower part is simply frequent horizontal lines, and the upper part it is more difficult: across the horizontal lines there are slanting vertical lines, forming a close-meshed pattern. Probably, similar ornament simulates prints of a twiggen basket on wet clay (before the invention of pottery wheel in such techniques the big vessels were produced). On the wet surface of the vessel the parallel lines put by the special tool like a comb with 6–8 teethes<sup>651</sup>. In the special literature this pattern is named "comb" (the term was used by W.M.F.Petrie for the first time and it is already standard: *Combed Ware*<sup>652</sup>). The ancient fabricant has accurately put on the amphora at first vertical, and then horizontal lines which have crossed them. The opinion was expressed that execution of this pattern does not demand special experience from an artisan<sup>653</sup>, but the result, undoubtedly, it turns out effective. L.E.Stager has assumed: combing it could be used for reduction porosity of the fabric<sup>654</sup>; according to other hypothesis, the pattern is intended for "mask the joins between the coils" at forming a vessel<sup>655</sup>. As wrote Ruth Amiran, "this combing seems to be primarily a technique for improving the quality of the ware rather than an ornament"<sup>656</sup>. Most likely, except the esthetic effect artisans pursued the practical purpose: the pattern served as a marker of the product stored in such vessels or instructions of a place of its origin, and it is more probable – simultaneously both that, and another. In Palestine the samples of *Combed Ware* appear in the Early Bronze II Period (EB II). Unfortunately, there are not enough information to follow, whether the pattern variants are connected with certain workshops (parallel lines can be not only direct, but also wavy). The Palestinian amphorae of this kind but without the comb-decoration are known, but in Egypt they are a rarity<sup>657</sup>.

Engobe – a slip providing water resistance of walls – noted by some researchers as characteristic feature of such amphorae, here is absent. However it is observed wet smooth which is a little bit lighter then clay on the potsherd. T.Peet specified that this final stage of forming the vessel is easy to put for engobe<sup>658</sup>. As G.A.Reisner noted, "that in some cases the combed decoration was nearly obliterated by the slip"<sup>659</sup>, but the decoration of the Khafraankh

<sup>649</sup> ANATI, 2007, p. 289.

<sup>650</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 156.

<sup>651</sup> KINK, 1976, p. 19.

<sup>652</sup> ESSE, 1991, p. 109-116.

<sup>653</sup> TUFNELL, 1958, p. 139.

<sup>654</sup> STAGER, 1992, p. 37.

<sup>655</sup> GREENBERG, PORAT, 1996, p. 10.

<sup>656</sup> AMIRAN, 1969, p. 59.

<sup>657</sup> K.Sowada specifies in one such vessel (no. 53 in her catalogue). – SOWADA, 2009, p. 157.

<sup>658</sup> LUCAS, 1958, p. 557.

<sup>659</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 76.

vessel is well visible. According to K.Sowada, these amphorae can be both with cream lime wash or slip on the exterior, and without<sup>660</sup>.

In the middle of the amphora body, on one side there is the pot-mark. It is located on the distance of 9.5 cm from the rim and 25.7 cm from the bottom and was made in the shape of irregular rectangle. The mark height is 2.3 cm, the maximum width – 2.2 cm. The mark was cut before firing by a certain object like a stem or a bone.

Similar amphorae are so typical for archeology of Giza, as well as so-called “reserve heads”, why it would be possible to name “Giza amphorae” (in special literature they were named “Palestinian” but now is more often “Canaanian” or “Canaanite”<sup>661</sup> that isn’t the best variant for III millennium B.C.) . Almost all the vessels, total number more than 60 (any are known only in sherds), were found in the necropolis of the Old Kingdom near the Great Pyramids. One more amphora from the Austrian excavations was found in the Old Kingdom mastaba at Nezlet Batran<sup>662</sup> (near Giza); therefore it should be added to Giza group. Recently these vessels began to find in other Memphis necropolises, and they occur from the tombs of the late Old Kingdom: in Saqqara – one whole amphora<sup>663</sup> and several fragments of two vessels from the Polish excavations<sup>664</sup>; in Abusir – six amphorae and fragments of two vessels<sup>665</sup>. Provincial finds includes only two amphorae: from Matmar<sup>666</sup> and Edfu<sup>667</sup>.

The first find in Giza has been described by G.A.Reisner in 1915<sup>668</sup>. Pointed at its possible Syro-Palestinian origin, G.A.Reisner nevertheless has made a reservation that itself didn’t keep in hands early pottery from this region, therefore can’t confirm its identity to the vessels from Giza. This amphora has been found in the tomb G4630 of the southern part of the Western necropolis. According to a chemical analysis prepared by G.Pollard from the Egyptian Survey of Antiquities, the amphora is un-Egyptian in form and technique and is not made of Nile mud. Let’s notice that a long time – almost till the end of XX century there was a unique analysis of the structure of the clay of similar vessels, therefore its results was insufficiently for a categorical conclusion about their import origin.

G.A.Reisner has specified in similarity of the comb-decoration of Giza amphorae with the ornament of the so-called Abydos jar of Dynasty I from E.Amélineau’s excavations continued by F.Petrie<sup>669</sup>. They connected this jar with Aegean region as it has been found together with painted pottery of the Mediterranean origin. On the basis of the ornament G.A.Reisner has offered for Giza amphorae much more suitable native land – region of Syria or Palestine. Last name was fixed to these amphorae (“Palestinian jars”).

H.Junker has found the similar vessels in Giza and stated fair doubts in their foreign origin<sup>670</sup>. He is indispensably to distinguish two questions: whether the shape of vessels was borrowed or they were imported. H.Junker noted that before recognition the amphorae as

<sup>660</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 157.

<sup>661</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 185, pl. VIIIb: represented a sherd with a combed surface from Lisht North, which was dated in the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>662</sup> KROMER, 1991, S. 67, Taf. 23.1; 38.3, 38.4.

<sup>663</sup> JÉQUIER, 1929, p. 26, fig. 25.

<sup>664</sup> RZEUSKA, 2003, p. 145-147, fig. 3.

<sup>665</sup> BARTA M., 2006, p. 60-61, fig. 10. BARTA M., 2001, p. 184-185, pl. 88b.

<sup>666</sup> BRUNTON, 1948, pl. XXXVII,2. For parallels see: SAGHIEH, 1983, p. 106, pl. XXXIX.

<sup>667</sup> DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, 1950, p. 43.

<sup>668</sup> REISNER, 1915, p. 36, fig. 15.

<sup>669</sup> PETRIE, 1902, p. i, pl. VIII. Compare: WATRIN, 2002, p. 450-463.

<sup>670</sup> JUNKER, GIZA I, S. 119-126, Taf. XLIII.

foreign ones, it is necessary to prove that they were traditional in East Mediterranean. Neither the shape, nor the quality of manufacturing of these vessels do not point, in his opinion, to affinity with imported samples, sooner – on the contrary. Another matter – the decoration, for it H.Junker has found the analogy in the early pottery of Lachish, not noticed by F.Petrie, who working there.

But the interpretation of G.A.Reisner has become more entrenched in the literature though it is impossible to recognize it as the final one. Up to beginning of the XX century, there is no comparative material from the excavations of East Mediterranean or, probably, this material exists, but still waits for the publication.

Besides the chemical analysis of the clay, the major significance for determination of a place of an origin of the vessels can have their contents. G.A.Reisner has fairly accented that “there is no incentive to the import of such wares” to the Nile Valley, where already there was an abundance of good jars for the same purposes<sup>671</sup>. Hence, the vessels could be imported – similarly the Rhodian amphorae – simply as ordinary container with any valuable foreign product. G.A.Reisner supposed that it could be a cedar or olive oil.

The Appendix to “A History of the Giza Necropolis”, composed by W.S.Smith after the death of G.A.Reisner under his manuscript of 1935, became a following important stage of the studying of Giza amphorae. Except a general characteristic of the clay of these vessels, the new information about the use of the similar decoration for the pottery of Byblos, Megiddo, Ras Shamra and Hama was adduced<sup>672</sup>.

However, it is impossible to recognize this similarity absolute: the vessels from Byblos, for example, it is usually considerable less on the size (8-14 cm in height), from Megiddo – it is more (90 cm) than Giza jars (23-43 cm). The amphorae from Lachish and Ras Shamra were without handles (the handles are rare for ancient Egyptian pottery, therefore the vessels with handles are often suspected of a foreign origin). In general, the vessels found in Egypt are more homotypic, than similar to them in East Mediterranean; it was noted by H.Junker<sup>673</sup>.

In the Appendix of Reisner-Smith the catalogue of 48 amphorae founded in Giza is valuable. 15 from them were dated in the reigns of Khufu and Khafra; 18 – Khafra–Neferirkara, 5 – Neferirkara–Unis and, at last, 10 – to Dynasty VI<sup>674</sup>. If dating is true, the vessels with two handles and “comb”-decoration appeared in Egypt in Dynasty IV and occurred to the end of the Old Kingdom, and the largest quantity of vessels arrived in Dynasty IV. W.Helck compiled a table of the chronological distribution of specific imported shapes, but K.Sowada fairly believes that the most could be dated only in broad terms<sup>675</sup>.

The evolution of the vessels shapes in this catalogue is traced badly, but, perhaps, it is possible to note a tendency to heavier contour. Some vessels of Dynasty V were almost cylindrical that could be connected with transportation conditions.

It is important that in the Appendix of Reisner-Smith there are the results of analyses of contents of two amphorae from the tombs G2140A and G2350L, spent by A.Lucas<sup>676</sup>. In the letter, dated in December, 1939, he informs that it could be pitch of Cilician Fir or Aleppo pine (*Abies cilicia*, *Pinus halepensis*). More confidently A.Lucas writes about the contents of one of

<sup>671</sup> REISNER, 1915, p. 34.

<sup>672</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 74-76.

<sup>673</sup> JUNKER, GIZA I, S. 126.

<sup>674</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 75-76.

<sup>675</sup> HELCK, 1971, S. 33; SOWADA, 2009, p. 163.

<sup>676</sup> REISNER, SMITH, 1955, p. 75.

Giza amphorae in his book: "It was, undoubtedly, natural pitch of a coniferous tree, and, probably, pitch 35"<sup>677</sup>. A. Lucas has found substance similar to pitch also at the analysis of the containing of the Palestinian jar from the excavation of S. Hassan on Central Field of Giza (A. Lucas did not manage to make more exact analysis in the absence of laboratory). We will notice that in one of the mastabas (the shaft 294 of Hassan's excavations) very rich female burial contained (the skeleton in the sarcophagus belonged to adult woman): here the gold necklace, diadem and beautiful alabaster headrest has been found. Except the Palestinian jar, there was one more foreign vessel with one small handle at the rim, two amphorae without handles and four Meidum bowls. Nearby the copper lids were found (if to judge on the photo, the lids were too big for the vessels, except the one-handled jar). On the Fig. 173 in the top part of the jar is shown two identical pot-marks (crossed lines), but in the description about them and about features of the pattern it is told nothing<sup>678</sup>. This find denies the opinion that the Palestinian amphorae relied exclusively to men. Or it is the question of an exception made for any royal relative: daughters, wives or mothers of a king?

Contents of amphorae could be the precious oil which smell easily disappears: in the tomb of Dynasties IV–V at Matmar the Palestinian jar was found; it was very carefully sealed with mud over a sherd lid with a layer of leather in between. This vessel came from an intact burial, but one handle and part of the neck are broken, so undoubtedly it was re-used<sup>679</sup>. Probably, this vessel was tried to close better because of broken neck. The interesting remark on appointment of this oil has made M. W. Prausnitz, devoted the article to the Abydos find of F. Petrie and its Middle Eastern analogues<sup>680</sup>. He has paid attention that in Saqqara G. Jéquier has found the amphorae in the tombs of two officials<sup>681</sup> responsible for royal bath, and has assumed that fragrant oil could intend for it.

In 1986 Stephanie Mazzoni has published the article devoted to the amphorae with combed decoration<sup>682</sup>. She dated the occurrence of this ceramic type in the coastal Palestine (for the first time in Amuq) in the Early Bronze II Period (EB II). But in the most cases samples of such pottery are found in fragments on a surface, and it stratigraphical dating gives only relative chronology<sup>683</sup>. S. Mazzoni especially underlines the role of Byblos as trading port through which these vessels went to Egypt. Three pot-marks have been found in Byblos in fragments; they have the form of a head of a ram (see more low); and there this pottery was in the use the most long time. As to the vessels found in Egypt S. Mazzoni has made some important remarks concerning their decoration. For early vessels, in her opinion, the decoration is made usually by horizontal lines, only sometimes crossed by oblique lines. The ornament with perpendicular horizontal and vertical lines she marks only on two vessels: from the tomb G7330A and from Matmar<sup>684</sup>. The complex decoration is typical for later samples (the most figured – the jar from Edfu: the lower part – the decor in a cage, and top – in rhombuses).

<sup>677</sup> LUCAS, 1958, p. 492.

<sup>678</sup> HASSAN, 1936, p. 145-149, fig. 173, pl. XVII.1.

<sup>679</sup> The amphora from Matmar is more oblong form, than from the tomb of Khafraankh. It is stored in the British Museum. – BRUNTON, 1948, pl. XXXVII.2; SOWADA, 2009, p. 165.

<sup>680</sup> PRAUSNITZ, 1954, p. 91-96.

<sup>681</sup> JÉQUIER, 1929, p. 13-15.

<sup>682</sup> MAZZONI, 1986, p. 145-157.

<sup>683</sup> MAZZONI, 1986, p. 147-148.

<sup>684</sup> MAZZONI, 1986, p. 147, fig. 6, 8-11.

To the place of origin of the amphorae can specify cutting pot-marks, similar known on the pottery of Lachish and many other settlements<sup>685</sup>. The marks are made by something like a stick on wet or leather hard clay. They are usually in the upper part of the body, is frequent conspicuously over one of the handles. The pot-mark could designate a master or a workshop where the vessel was made, its contents or its volume, and also the owner. The marks simple enough, the pot-marks in the form of arrowhead were used popularity at masters (such mark was on the amphora from Nezlet Batran<sup>686</sup>; in Giza three vessels with similar marks were found, but the contents analysis hasn't been made<sup>687</sup>, therefore the identification of mark appointment is not clear). To find exact analogue to the pot-mark on the vessel of Khafraankh yet it was not possible, but on character it quite corresponds to publishing samples (close variants – on the pottery from Lachish<sup>688</sup>). Pot-marks occasionally happen on Egyptian beer jars – two vertical lines executed before firing (for example, two jars from the tombs in West Saqqara<sup>689</sup>), but usually Egyptians sealed up a neck of a vessel by cylindrical seals for identification.

On one of the vessels from Giza the seal impress made on even wet clay over the decoration has remained: three hooved animals with long ears and tails (donkeys?), moving to the right. Such impresses have been found on the pottery from Byblos, Hama, Megiddo and Jericho<sup>690</sup>. On the other vessel instead of cutting mark the small clay image of a ram's head is stuck, it is fair, as later has shown NAA-test of clay fabric, connected by S.Mazzoni with Byblos<sup>691</sup>.

The results of the subsequent investigations have been summarized in recent book of K.N.Sowada, which tried to examine sherds from every relevant site personally and composed the catalogue of imported ware including two-handled Combed ware jars, composed the largest quantity of imported ceramics of the Old Kingdom. But very important comparative material remained is inaccessible also to this author: for example, in the National Museum in Beirut none of the Byblos material was available for her study<sup>692</sup>.

So, in Palestine, whence according to many researchers occurs ware with combed ornament, its samples appear during the period EB II (to date more precisely while it is impossible, according to S.Mazzoni<sup>693</sup>) and, probably, already then they get into the Nile Valley in a small amount<sup>694</sup>. During the following period EB III they extend on all coastal Levant; K.Sowada considers that combed ware "is a classic marker for the EB III"<sup>695</sup>.

At Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), the nearest coastal settlement to Egypt after Gaza, the pottery with this ornament appears in the layers of Early Bronze Period (EB) on the jars without handles, however, the dating isn't so reliable<sup>696</sup>. It is important to note the features of

<sup>685</sup> See, for example: TUFNELL, 1958, pl. 18. MACALISTER, 1912, vol. III, pl. CXC. GREENBERG, 2001, p. 189-198. JOFFE, 2001, p. 355-376.

<sup>686</sup> KROMER, 1991, S. 67, Taf. 38.3, 38.4.

<sup>687</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 166.

<sup>688</sup> TUFNELL, 1958, pl. 18, 47-48.

<sup>689</sup> RZEUSKA, 2004, p. 135.

<sup>690</sup> FRANKFORT, 1939, p. 230 ff.

<sup>691</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 166.

<sup>692</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 157, note 97.

<sup>693</sup> MAZZONI, 1986, p. 147-148.

<sup>694</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 155-156.

<sup>695</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 155.

<sup>696</sup> TUFNELL, 1958, p. 165, pl. 14:23, 62:296, 62:274.

the ornament: only the upper part of the vessels is decorated by a slanting cage, while the lower part – only horizontal lines. The other variant: all the body of the globular vessel from Tell Gata is covered by a chess-decoration: only the lower some centimeters and a short neck are left without the ornament<sup>697</sup>. By the way, shorter necks, than in Giza jars, are characteristic for the vessels from Megiddo<sup>698</sup>. Often write about the pottery with this decoration from Gezer<sup>699</sup>.

The work directly with the vessels in different museums has allowed to K.Sowada made some general observations. “Early IV Dynasty vessels are smaller and have a more rounded rim but overall jars get larger during the OK and the folded rim becomes more tooled with a slight overhang, a feature seen in Combed Wares and *pithoi* from the EB III Levant”<sup>700</sup>. At the end of Dynasty V some vessels got tall narrow shape, and at the end of the Old Kingdom they became very tall and wide, much coarser and sometimes without combing. Many amphorae are made of Metallic Ware and its variants, with the ‘Red Ware’ fabric dominating late OK types. By the results of analyses (elemental and petrographic analysis) K.Sowada concludes: the Giza ware group (Ware IV by K.Sowada) is most closely resembled Combed Ware from Byblos<sup>701</sup>, that is coordinated and with earlier publications<sup>702</sup>. According to her classification, the vessel from the tomb of Khafraankh corresponds on inclusions and quality of the clay fabric to the Ware IV, variant 1 (*Combed Metallic Ware*) from the Byblos region, but it differ on the light-brown color and beige smooth (Ware IV.1 is from orange to red, with pale yellow or buff slip or wash on the surface<sup>703</sup>).

No new information about the origin of the jars can be offered on the basis of pot-marks and seals. But not only with Byblos and it neighborhood Egyptians traded. By the results of the NAA-analysis, the jars from southern Canaan (with wines and vegetable oils) appeared in Egypt from the middle Dynasty V onward<sup>704</sup>.

It is important the remark of K.Sowada about one-handled vessels finding in Egypt: “Precise parallels in the Levant for the singular combination of shape, fabric and surface finish ...were very difficult to find; possibly these pots were manufactured especially for export”<sup>705</sup>. It seems that the same history has happened with “Giza amphorae” from Palestine.

On many questions the opinions of researchers continue to disperse: for example, J.B.Hennessy proved that the jars from Byblos and coastal Syria were coated with a lime slip, hence, “Giza amphorae” occur from Byblos<sup>706</sup>. K.Sowada noted, what not all the vessels found in Giza have light “wet smooth” (the jar of Khafraankh is light brown, and wet smooth is beige), and according to D.Esse combed vessels without slip were more widespread as combed ware with slip<sup>707</sup>.

<sup>697</sup> HENNESSY, 1967, pl. LX.1.

<sup>698</sup> LOUD, 1948, pl. 6.5.

<sup>699</sup> MACALISTER, 1912, vol. I, p. 120, 131; vol. II, p. 134, 146-147. For comparing: MAZZONI, 1986, p. 155, note 20.

<sup>700</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 158.

<sup>701</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 172, 178.

<sup>702</sup> SAGHIEH, 1983, p. 106, pl. XXXIX (to this publication K.Sowada doesn't refer).

<sup>703</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 171.

<sup>704</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 181.

<sup>705</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 174, note 114: “G.Dreyer noted the same phenomenon in relation to the wine jars from the tomb U-j”.

<sup>706</sup> HENNESSY, 1967, p. 84.

<sup>707</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 157.



The contents of amphorae in the general opinion are reduced to three variants: olive oil, wine or pitch of coniferous trees with different additives (coniferous resin, admixtures of resins, oils and perfumes). The last were produced in Byblos and was used in mummification<sup>708</sup>, and, probably, it explains the occurrence of foreign vessels in the tombs of Dynasties I–II in Abydos that coincides with the first experiences of embalming<sup>709</sup>. But except offering lists where pitches associate with vessels, in other sources about their contents usually it is not told. It was mentioned above that A.Lucas has found something similar to pitch in three vessels with the comb-decoration<sup>710</sup>. One more analysis of the rest of content in the vessel of Dynasty IV – early Dynasty V has proved the presence of pitch of a coniferous tree, probably, perfumed (there was an assumption that pitch could be used for sealing of vessels or increase of hermetic of their walls<sup>711</sup>; T.I.Rzeuska wrote about the vessel from the mastaba in West Saqqara: white wash outside, resin inside<sup>712</sup>). It is necessary to notice that pitches usually leave black traces on walls of a vessel what aren't present on the amphora of Khafraankh.

But not only components necessary for mummification interested Egyptians in East Mediterranean. Olive oil was a major product in the Jezreel Valley and in Galilee, and in the centers of this manufacture are testified the combed ware storage jars<sup>713</sup>. D.L.Esse noted, that the fragments of combed ware were found near the oil-press at Ras Shamra<sup>714</sup>. At Beth-Yerah, located to the west from Megiddo, decorated barrels used for manufacturing olive oil were found (together with the amphora similar to Giza jars)<sup>715</sup>.

Egyptians imported also wines since the Predynastic Period (in Levant the manufacturing of wine from wild grapes is known already for the Preceramic Neolith<sup>716</sup>). The finds of foreign pottery in the Nile Valley, certainly, supply the information on the trade<sup>717</sup>. Amazes its scope already during the early periods what it is possible to judge, in particular, on the recent finds of German expedition in Abydos: in two unplundered rooms of the tomb of U-j about 200 foreign vessels are found, their general quantity on calculations of Ulrich Hartung reached to 700 jars that made about 4500 liters of wine at average volume of a vessel of 6-7 liters. The sealed vessels are not found: stoppers were scattered or have been destroyed by termites (insects are found in some vessels), there were only small lumps of clay with traces of seal-impressions and cords<sup>718</sup>. These are the evidences of control over a foreign product already from the Egyptian officials – vessels sealed over the stoppers by Nile clay (on some the sign “the person with a stick” has remained). Most likely, such “control point” settled down near the tomb, but is not excluded that for the best safety of the valuable goods it sealed in any port of Delta and in such kind delivered to Abydos. According to U.Hartung, use of exclusively Palestinian vessels testifies that this trade completely was in hands of the East Mediterranean

<sup>708</sup> LUCAS, 1958, p. 489-498.

<sup>709</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 160.

<sup>710</sup> HASSAN, 1936, p. 145-7.

<sup>711</sup> ESSE, HOPKE, 1986, p. 334. HARTUNG, 1998, S. 92. HARTUNG, 2001. See also: HARTUNG, 2002, p. 437-449.

<sup>712</sup> RZEUSKA, 2003, p. 146, fig. 3.

<sup>713</sup> STAGER, 1986, p. 31.

<sup>714</sup> ESSE, 1991, p. 122. SCHAEFFER, 1962, p. 203, fig. 16 – the vessels without handles.

<sup>715</sup> ANATI, 1963, p. 351. SOWADA, 2009, p. 161.

<sup>716</sup> HARTUNG, 1998, S. 96.

<sup>717</sup> VAN DEN BRINK, LEVY, 2002. WOLFF, 2001, p. 59-98, 411-446, 625-638.

<sup>718</sup> HARTUNG, 1998, S. 92.

merchants<sup>719</sup>. However, this note not enough argued: it was not reasonable to deliver this fragile empty vessel in Egypt. Clearly one: the vessels already by their kind marked the import product.

Chemical analyses of rest contents on walls testify, that, undoubtedly, it was wine. It is remarkable that the figs cut and strung on a thread have been found in some vessels, it is probable for sweetening and aromatization<sup>720</sup>. The rests of pitches, according to experts, can speak about attempts of preservation of wine or about desire to raise hermeticity of vessels. Presence of smooth, which helped reduce the porosity of the amphora, the researchers try to connect with such contents: oxygen convert wine to vinegar<sup>721</sup>.

The conclusion about this finds, made by E.Braun and E.C.M. van den Brink, is important for us: "numerous vessels identified as Canaanian (either of Canaanian origin or made by Canaanites in Egypt) are atypical (either of their overall morphology or in specific features) for their supposed place of origin"<sup>722</sup>. So, already in Predynastic Period in East Mediterranean special vessels for products for export were produced. It shouldn't surprise if to remember that trade developed in this region still 10–9 thousand years ago and the walls of Jericho testify to riches of its inhabitants<sup>723</sup>.

Absence of such reliably proved evidences of trade in Egypt for Dynasty III, according to K.Sowada, simply casually. In Dynasty IV, especially in its beginning, the finds most of all, the trade was intensive: the finds of the Egyptian monuments in East Mediterranean speak about it. Then certain recession is observed, though M.Barta it is inclined to speak about unexpected splash of trade in Dynasty VI in connection with last finds at Abusir; K.Sowada fairly notices that decline of trade also relate to problems of supply in the Levant<sup>724</sup>. It seems that trade of Egypt with its old "partner" Byblos proceeded, as two vessels from the tomb of Impy, who served Pepi II<sup>725</sup>, testify.

It is interesting, how these vessels were transported to Egypt if to consider that their height were about 40 cm and more (the highest – 60 cm). K.Sowada speaks about the weight of one empty vessel (5.188 kg) и sealed with plaster stopper (7.27 kg)<sup>726</sup>. These sizes and weight (it is probable, with contents together to 10 kg or a little more in case of pitch) aren't an obstacle for transportation as on water (the sea, the river), and overland (via donkey caravan).

According to Do.Arnold and J.Bourriau, the pottery with a combed surface is presented in the royal necropolises of the Middle Kingdom (Lisht and Dahshur). It is logical that this fabric is common in the late Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period levels at Tell el-Dab'a<sup>727</sup> (unfortunately, the shape of vessels in this edition isn't specified).

In the Second Intermediate Period in Egypt (corresponds to Middle Bronze Period – MB II A-B), at Tell el-Dab'a (ancient Avaris) the other type of pottery named as "Canaanian

<sup>719</sup> HARTUNG, 1998, S. 96. But it is necessary to remind of an abundance of the Egyptian pottery used as container, in Northern Sinai and Southern Palestine soon after epoch U-j. Compare: VAN DEN BRINK, LEVY, 2002.

<sup>720</sup> HARTUNG, 1998, S. 92.

<sup>721</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 157, note 95.

<sup>722</sup> BRAUN, VAN DEN BRINK, 1998, S. 75.

<sup>723</sup> ANATI, 2007, p. 211-219.

<sup>724</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 180.

<sup>725</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 165.

<sup>726</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 162.

<sup>727</sup> ARNOLD, BOURRIAU, 1993, p. 185.

jar” is known<sup>728</sup>. Egyptians have estimated convenience of these amphorae and produced similar during the New Kingdom<sup>729</sup>. These vessels are a little similar by the form on “Palestinian jars”, but they are even closer to classical amphorae: their bottoms usually roundish (but if sometimes flat, they have very small diameter) – to put them on flat surfaces it was not supposed. The volume – about 30 liters – considerably surpasses capacity of the “Palestinian jars” (in 10 times!). As to decor, it is much more modest: some horizontal lines on the upper part of the vessel and a bandelet on the neck midpoint. Similar amphorae served as container for liquids in sea trade of the Mediterranean after the millennia, up to the Islamic Period.

But we will return to the Old Kingdom. After use beautiful and convenient vessels could find the second life in the Nile Valley. The results of analyses have shown that some Palestinian amphorae have been sealed by stoppers from Nile clay. The vessel found in Giza with Nile mud stopper bearing a seal impression of Pepi II is especially interesting; also some such amphorae of Dynasty VI are revealed at Abusir. It seems that they were re-used in Egypt, and such practice is testified for later times<sup>730</sup>.

K.Sowada give the important evidence: in strongly suffered scene of grape gathering and manufacturing of wine from the tomb of Shedub in Deshasa of the early Dynasty VI are represented some types of foreign vessels with two handles and one – with one handle, intended for storage of local wine<sup>731</sup>. However, how much possible to trust similar images? Can forms of vessels were copied from any royal reliefs to decorate with them the tomb walls? The finds of the “Palestinian jars” which have been sealed by Nile clay, prove their secondary use in local winemaking. May be the vessel of Khafrankh dated in the early Dynasty IV has appeared by such way in the tomb of the following Dynasty V?

But it is impossible to exclude and other variant: closed at coast of Levant amphora once again was sealed in Egypt for control and that we accept for a sign of secondary use, is only the certificate of accurate work of ancient Egyptian officialdom.

The interesting information is given by a recent find at Tell Ibrahim Awad: red polished vessel with the decor in “crossed lines”, made on a potter’s wheel, with a flat bottom and a high neck. In the note W.M. van Haarlem specifies that its form is foreign, but manufacturing definitely Egyptian: according to the analysis, it was made of Nile silt clay IA<sup>732</sup>. The find in the tomb of Dynasty VI from West Saqqara is even more remarkable: outwardly the vessel is similar to the import (“brown soft clay containing abundant large, angular grayish rock particles, seemed not to fit in the Egyptian pottery tradition, pointed instead to a Syrian-Palestinian origin from the EB III–IV.”) But petrographic examination of this revealed that it was made of Nile silt. The conclusion of T.I.Rzeuska is fair: “it was a measure to provide the valuable contents to the deceased who could not afford a real import”<sup>733</sup>. In the pyramid complex of Pepi II have been found stone imitations of combed ware<sup>734</sup> (estimate prestige of import vessels! – O.T.). For later period – for example, for the Second Intermediate Period – it is known about manufacturing in the Nile Valley of qualitative vessels of foreign forms by

<sup>728</sup> MCGOVERN, HARBOTTLE, 1997, p. 141-158, fig. 5.1.

<sup>729</sup> HOPE, 1989, p. 87.

<sup>730</sup> KNAPP, 1991, p. 24. SOWADA, 2009, p. 159.

<sup>731</sup> KANAWATI, MCFARLANE, 1993, pl. 53.

<sup>732</sup> VAN HAARLEM, 1996, p. 10, pl. 20.4.

<sup>733</sup> RZEUSKA, 2003, p. 134-136, fig. 2.

<sup>734</sup> SAGHIEH, 1983, p. 106.

newcomers<sup>735</sup>. But for the time of the Old Kingdom and for the area of capital necropolises such variant is improbable.

Other evidences of attempts of local masters are known also to imitate the foreign pottery. Petrography on several late Dynasty VI Combed Ware from Abusir suggests that this practice may have been more widespread than previously thought, particularly in the late Old Kingdom when supply from the Levant may have been constrained. K.Sowada made a conclusion: "The possibility thus remains that some vessels identified as imported may, on further study, turn out to be local copies"<sup>736</sup>. But as a whole it is not enough the finds of the sealed vessels and analyses (as clay fabrics, and contents) As, aspiring to economy, Egyptians could imitate not only foreign vessels (it is probable, because of their valuable contents), but even ordinary beer jars. In the tomb of Meri (Dynasty VI, West Saqqara) was found sealed beer jar with false contents (Nile mud with sherds) imitating funerary offerings<sup>737</sup>.

Thus, for almost 100 years of studying of the "Palestinian amphorae" from Giza with "comb" decoration, the vessels similar to them are found in East Mediterranean, but perfect analogies all the same are not presented ("the jugs themselves have few if any direct parallels from the region"<sup>738</sup>). Anywhere – except the Nile Valley – there is no some an appreciable quantity of such vessels<sup>739</sup>.

It seems that they, as well as earlier one-handled jars, were produced specially for export of valuable products (wine, oil or aromatic pitch) to Egypt, therefore they have the similar form and combed surface, probably marking foreign products which have been especially fallen in love to Egyptian nobility. M.Barta noted that during Dynasty IV such vessels were in the tombs of highest officials of the state; at Dynasty V they almost disappear, and at Dynasty VI they extend in Saqqara – Abusir and appear in the tombs of lower ranking officials maybe associated with the court<sup>740</sup>. The experts already marked the tendency to certain cheapening of pottery placed in a tomb throughout the Old Kingdom<sup>741</sup>. Complexity, however, that amphorae could be used again (as the jar from Matmar) and to a premise in a tomb to circulate in the world of the live. However, in settlements it is not enough the finds of such vessels – they are found only in Elephantine and Giza, and last find can speak simply affinity of the huge necropolis<sup>742</sup>.

<sup>735</sup> BIETAK, 1979, p. 242-244, fig. 6A.

<sup>736</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 156, note 93, 168.

<sup>737</sup> RZEUSKA, 2003, p. 146. RZEUSKA, 2004, p. 136.

<sup>738</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 181.

<sup>739</sup> EHRICH, 1992, vol. 1, Combed Ware: p. 30, fig. 14; p. 31, fig. 15; compare the forms of the foreign vessels found in Egypt with the pottery of Levant – p. 22, fig. 6; p. 23, fig. 7.

<sup>740</sup> BARTA M., 2006, p. 60-61.

<sup>741</sup> BARTA M., 1995, p. 18. MALYKH, 2010, p. 74.

<sup>742</sup> SOWADA, 2009, p. 180.

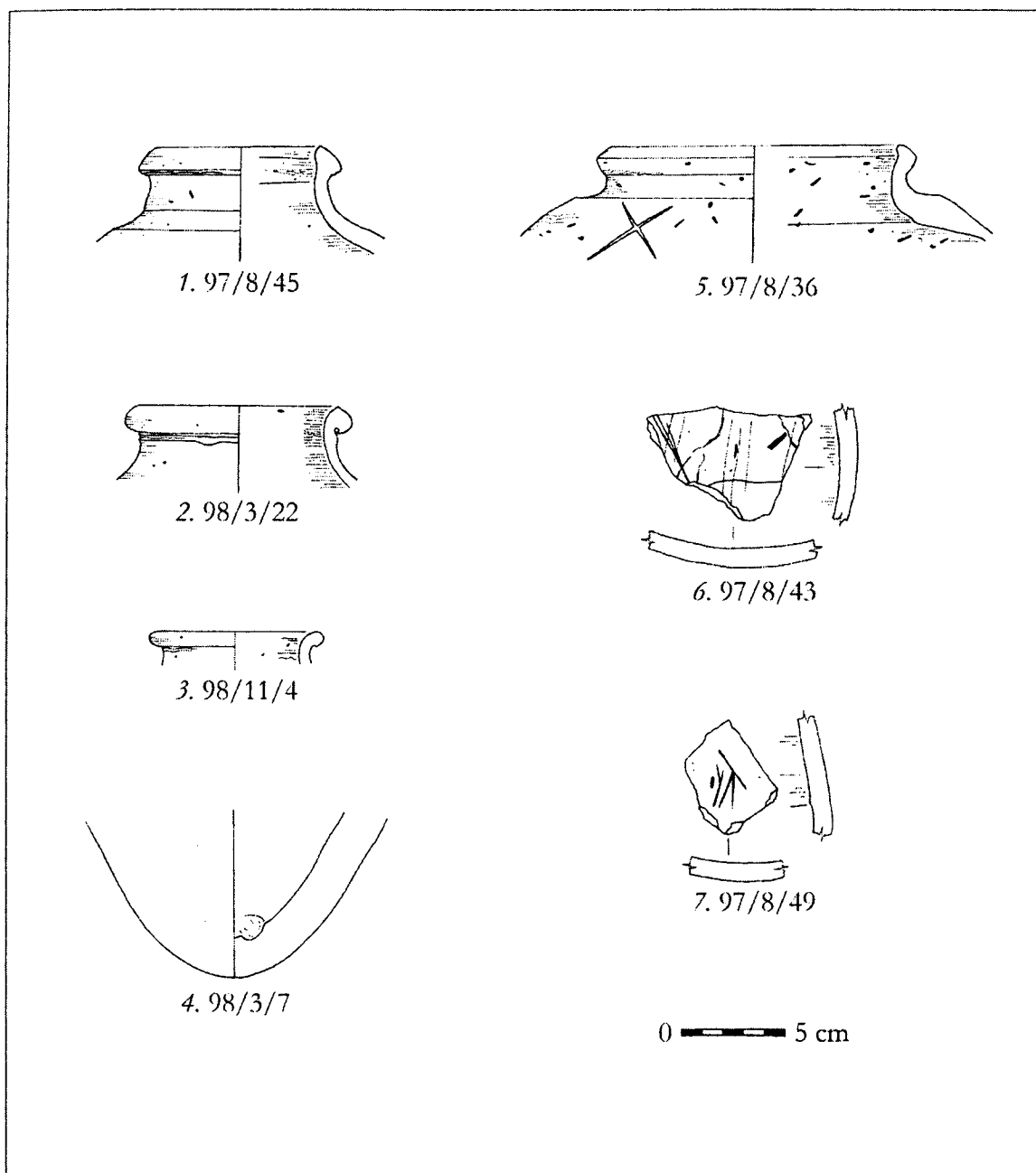


Fig. 44. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Storage jars. Old Kingdom

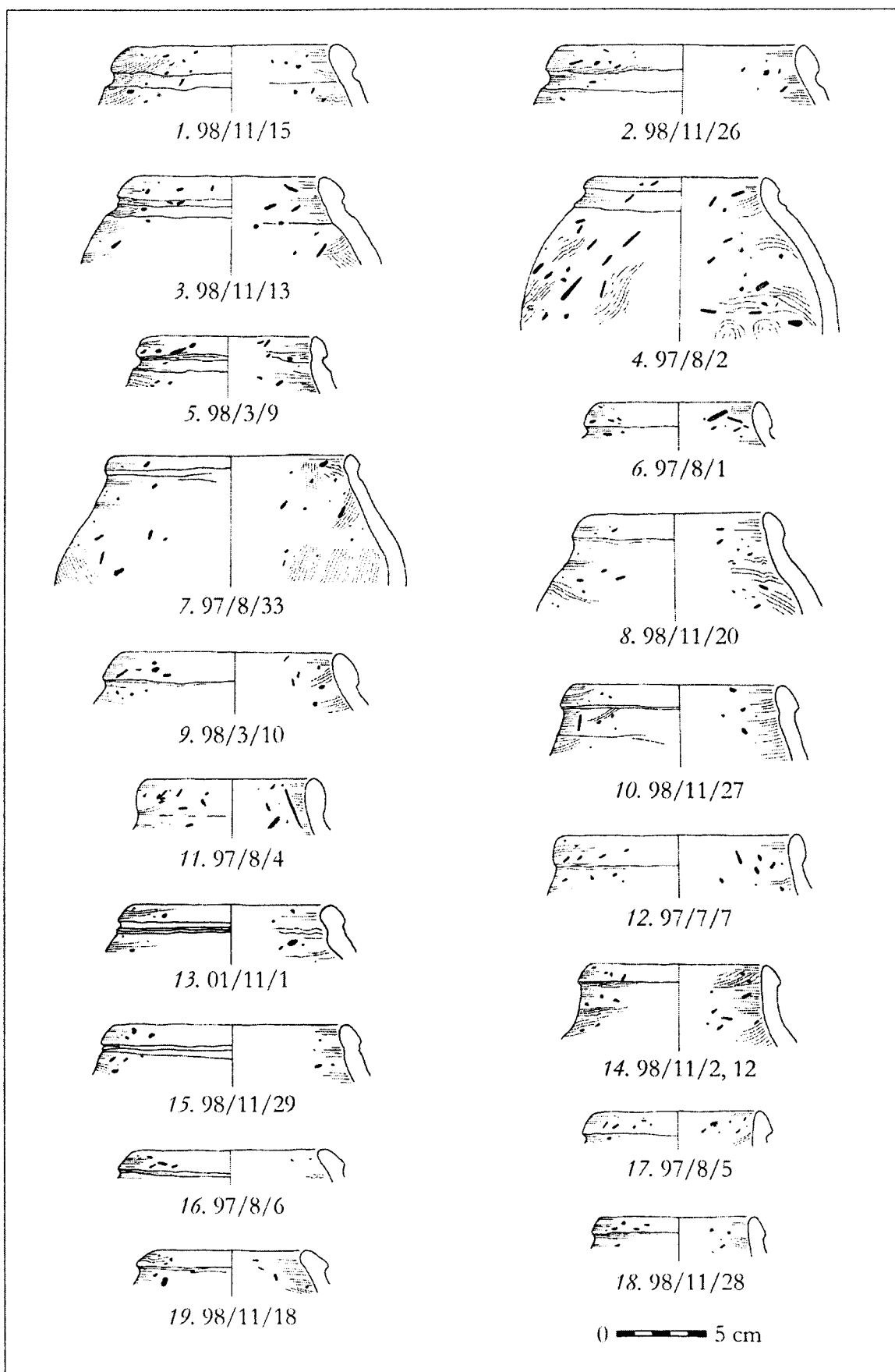


Fig. 45. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Beer jars. Old Kingdom (Dynasties IV–V)

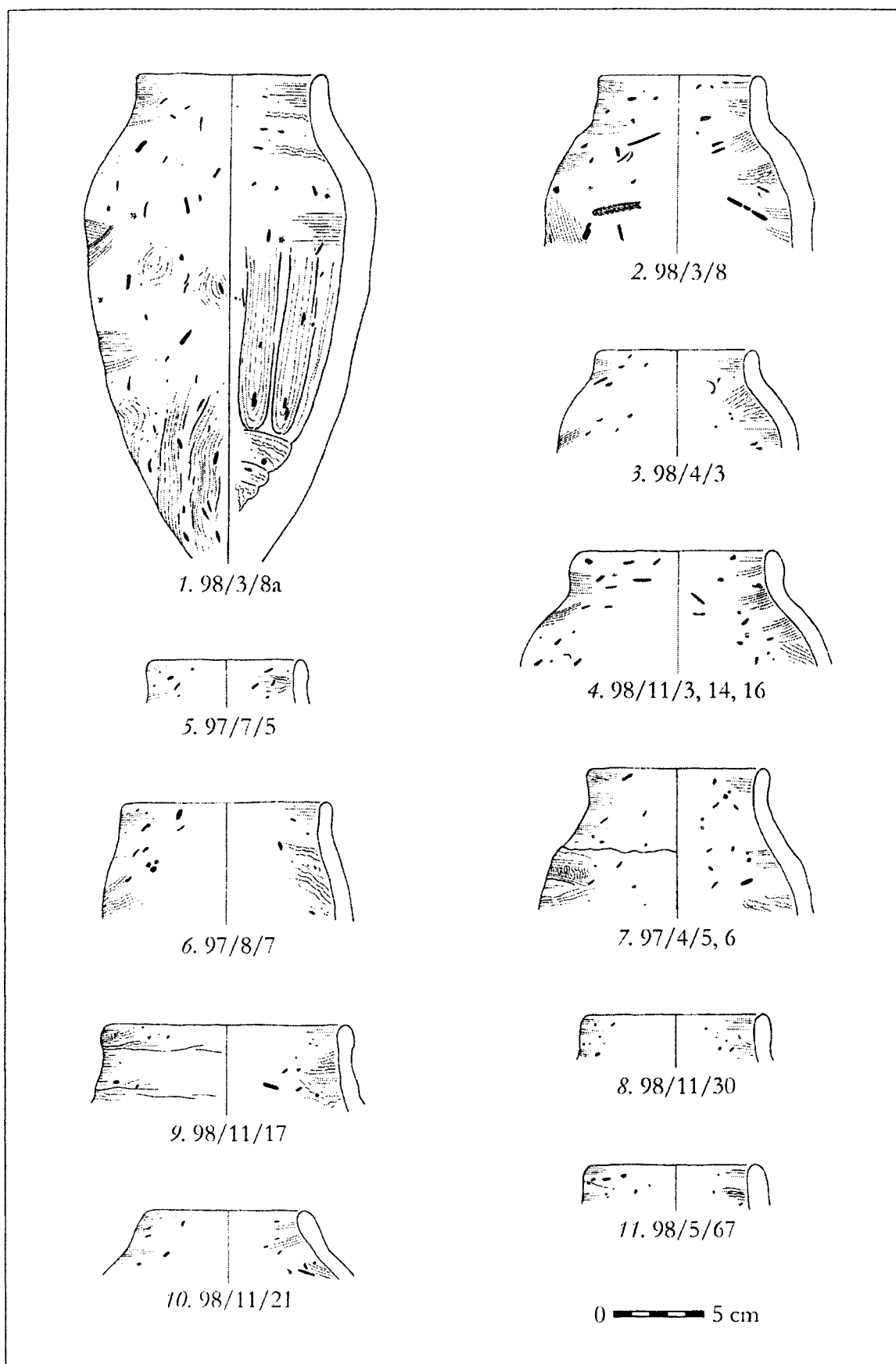


Fig. 46. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Beer jars. Old Kingdom (Dynasties V-VI)

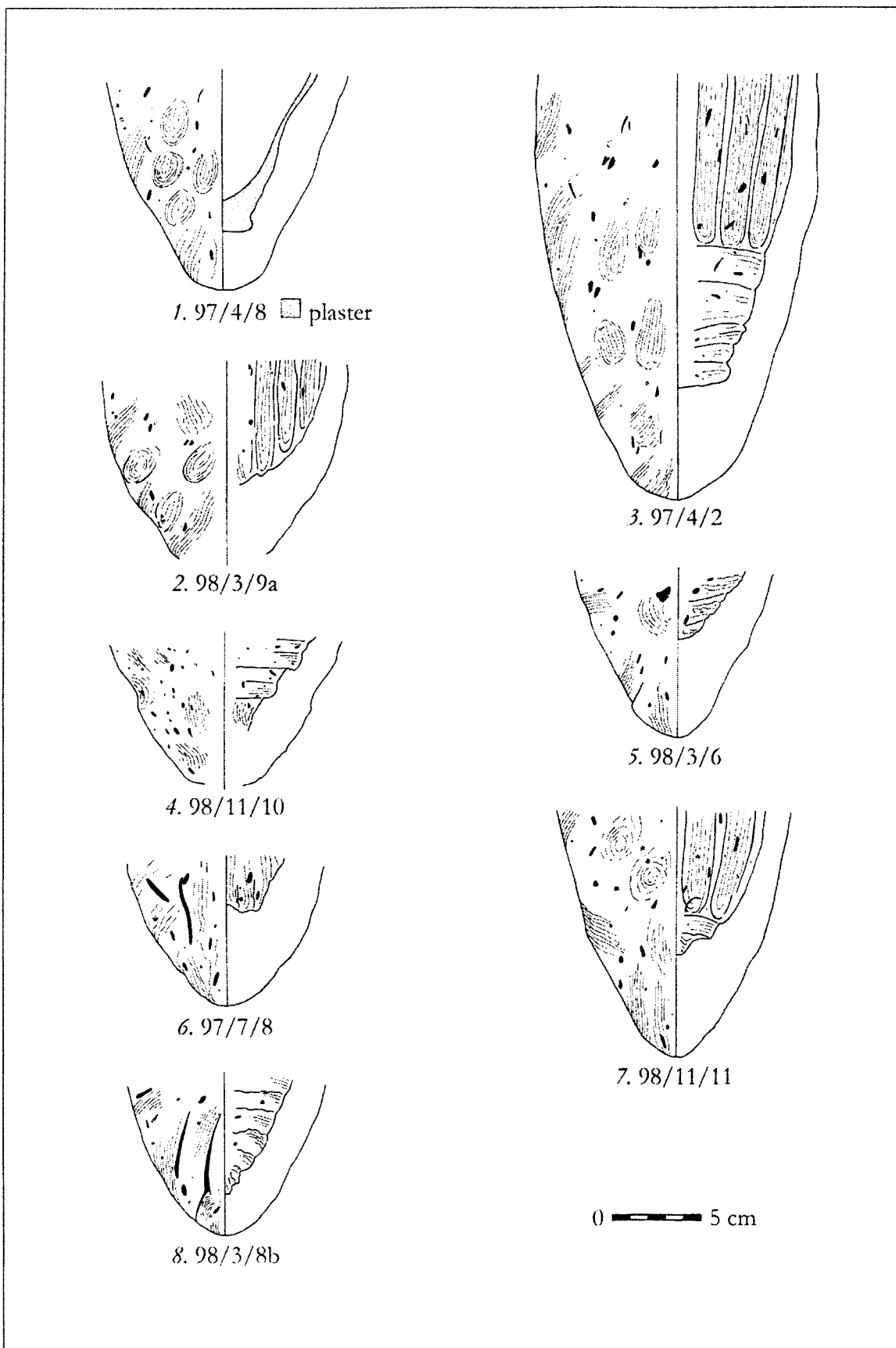


Fig. 47. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Beer jars. Old Kingdom



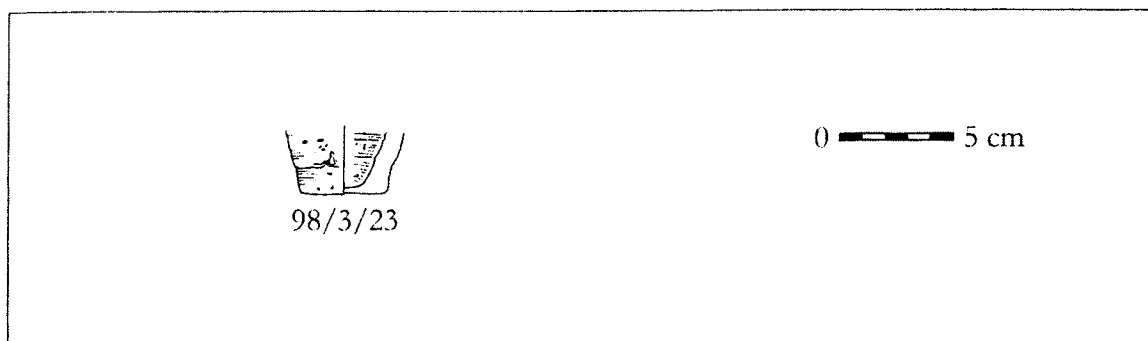


Fig. 48. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Small jar. Old Kingdom

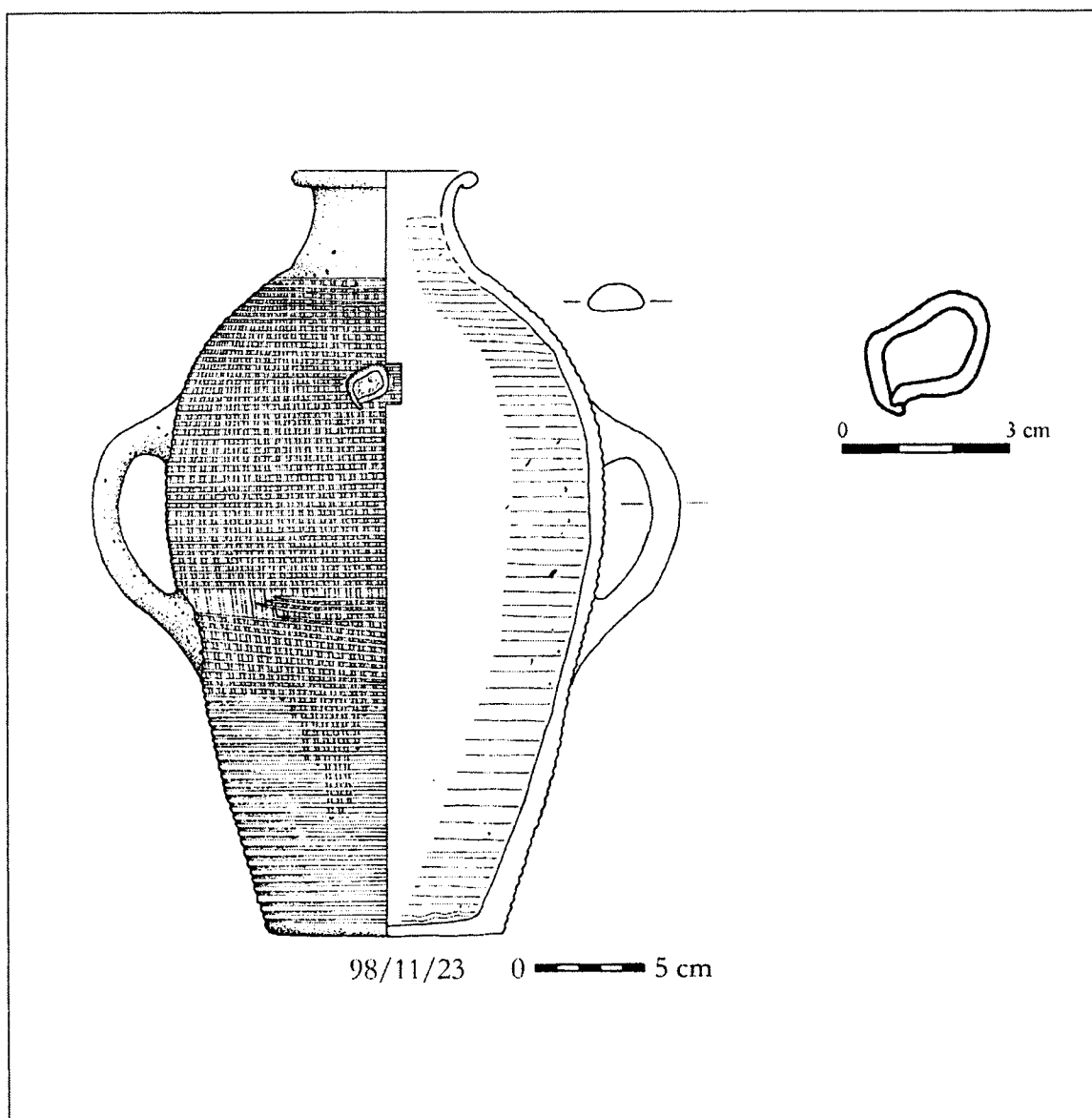


Fig. 49. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Palestinian jar. Old Kingdom (early Dynasty IV)

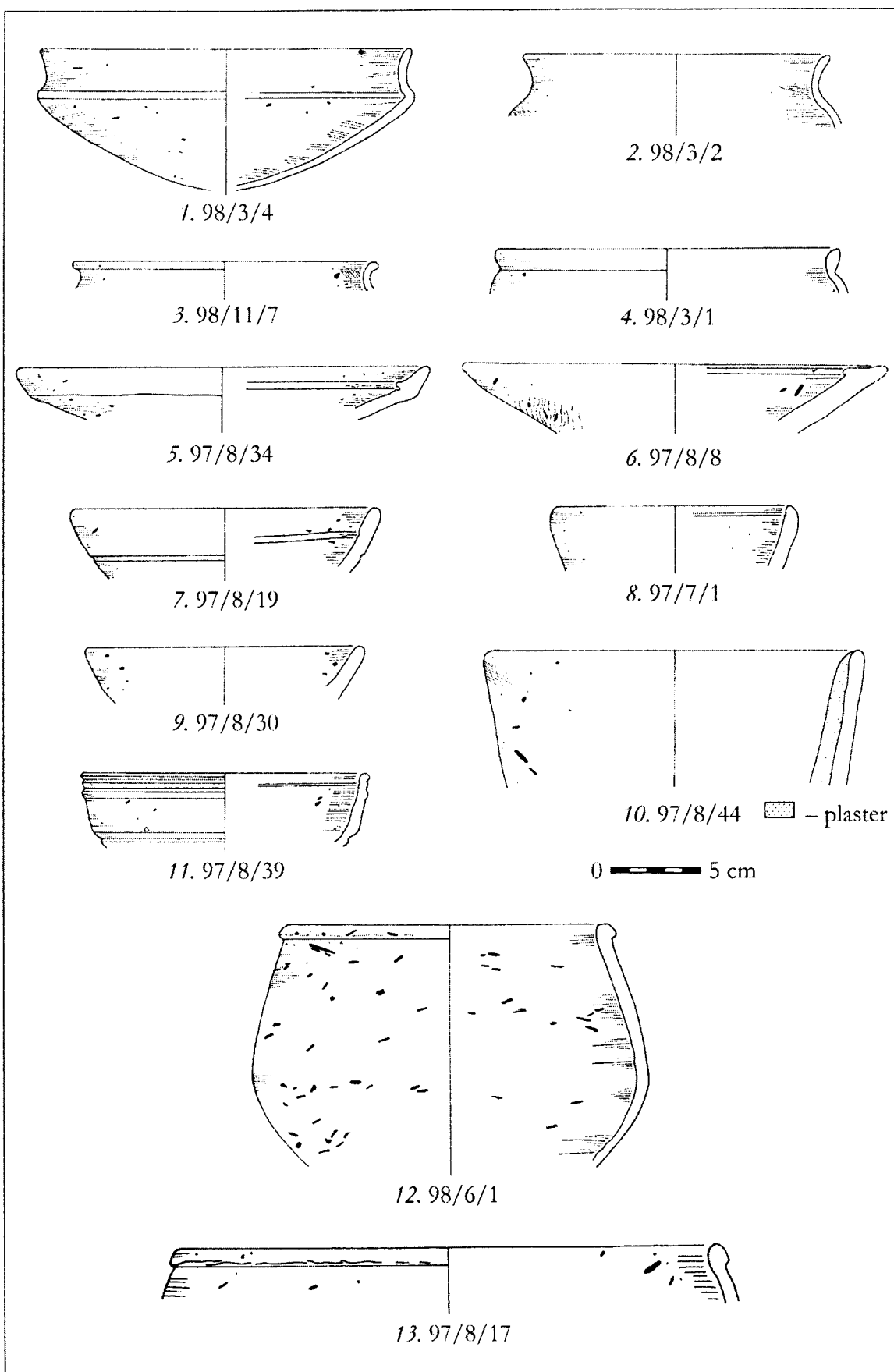


Fig. 50. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Bowls. Old Kingdom

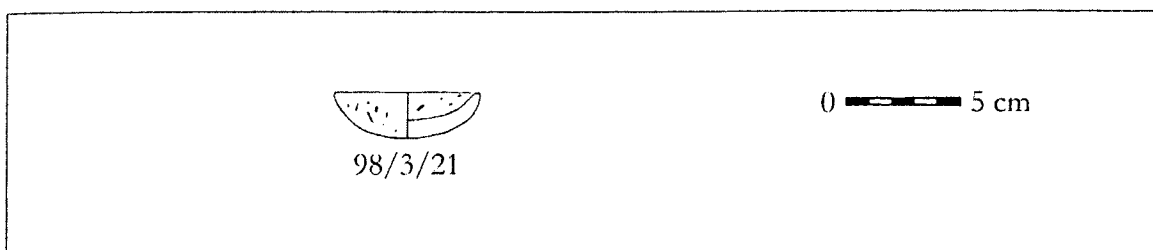


Fig. 51. Pottery of Khafraankh tomb. Miniature plate. Old Kingdom

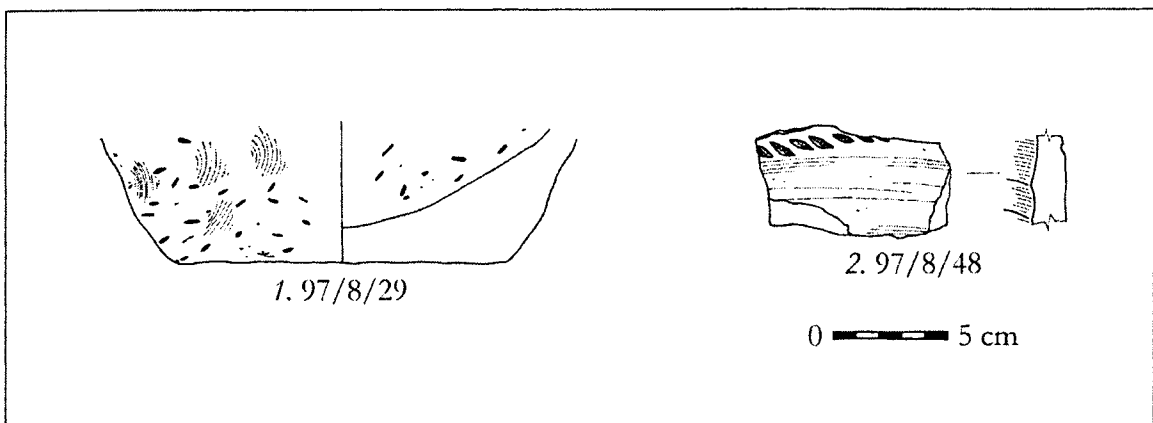


Fig. 52. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Tubs. Old Kingdom

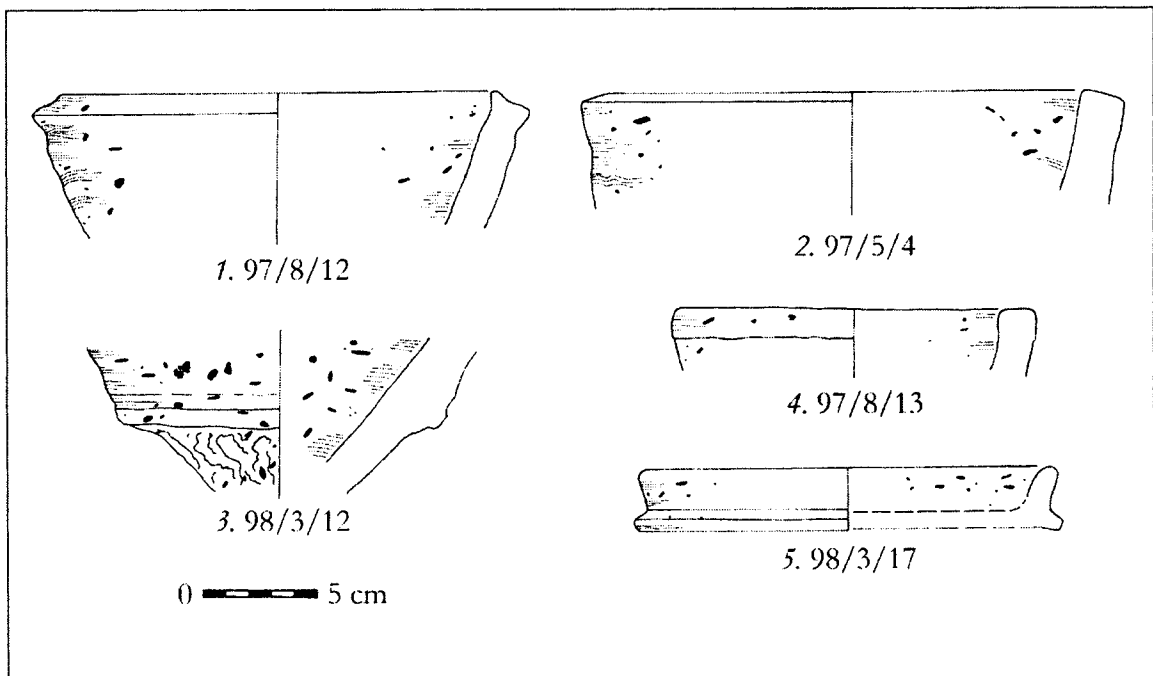


Fig. 53. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Bread moulds and trays. Old Kingdom

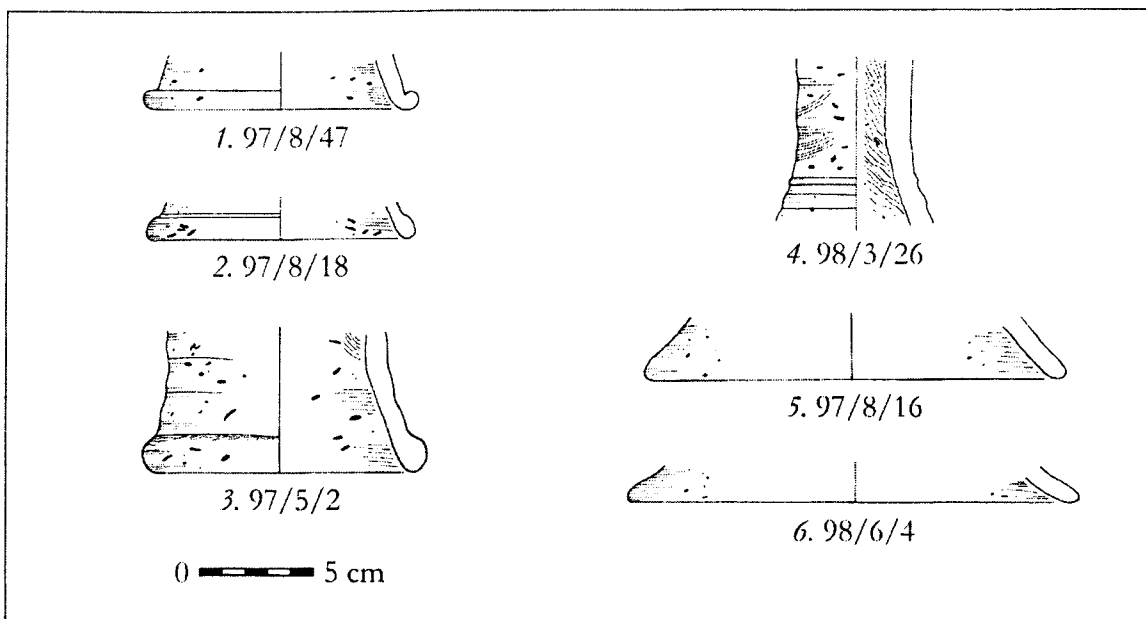


Fig. 54. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Stands. Old Kingdom

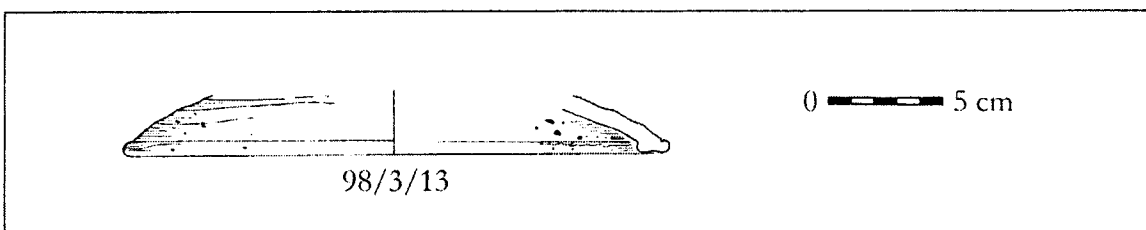


Fig. 55. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Lids. Old Kingdom

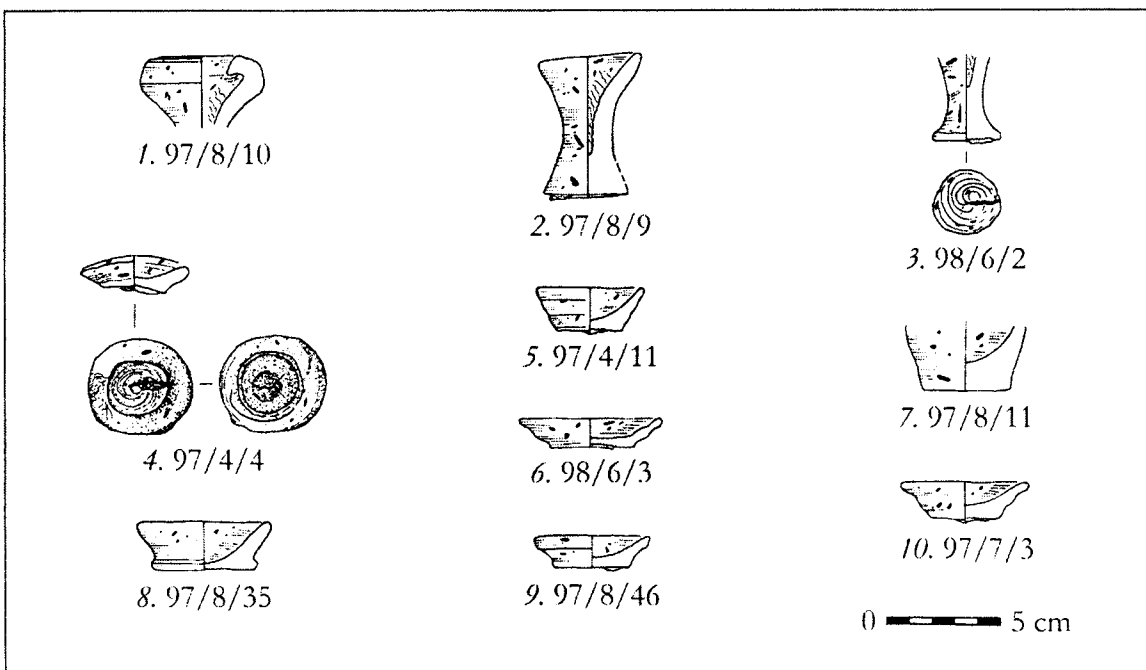


Fig. 56. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Votive models. Old Kingdom

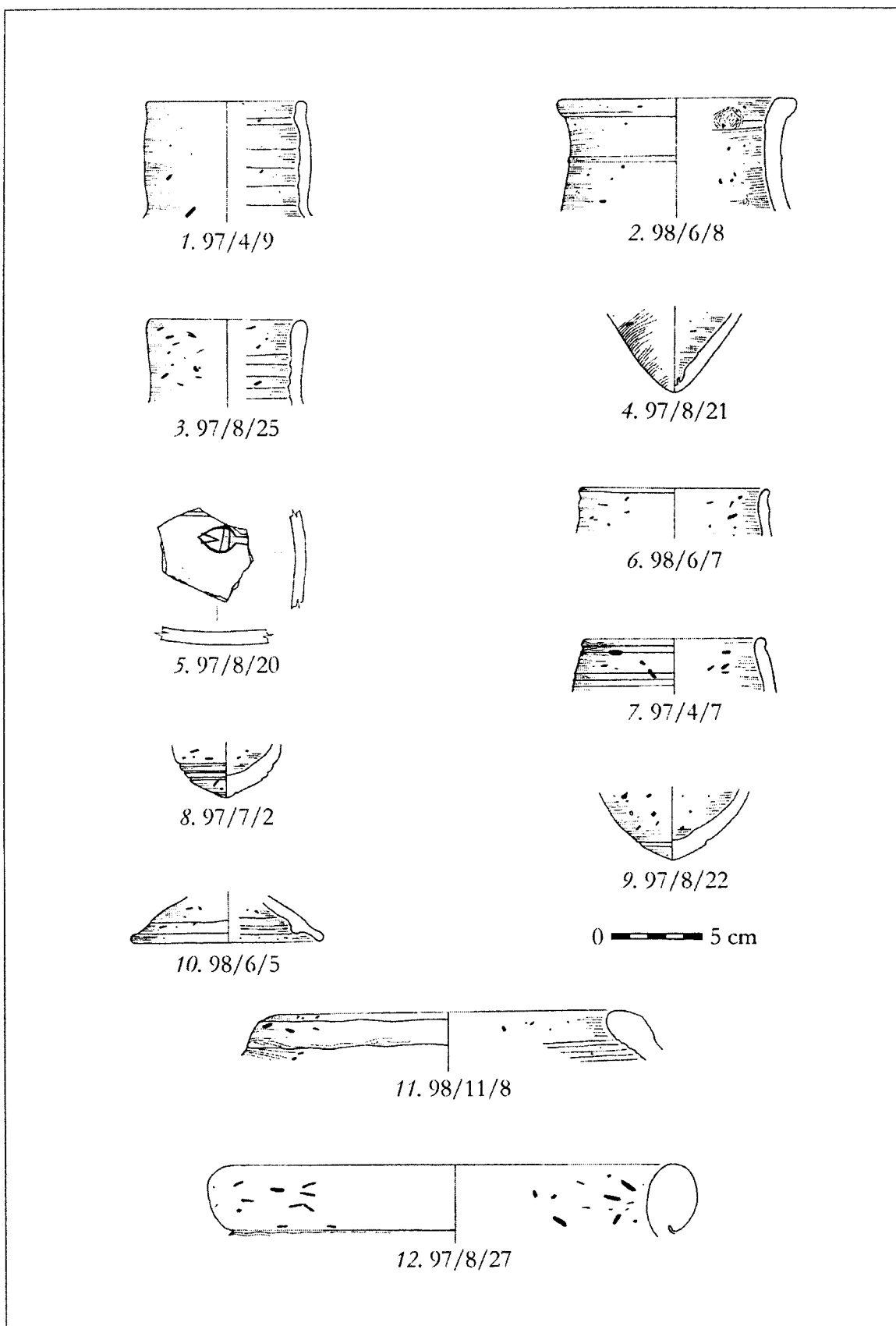


Fig. 57. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. End of New Kingdom – Late Period.  
Egyptian origin

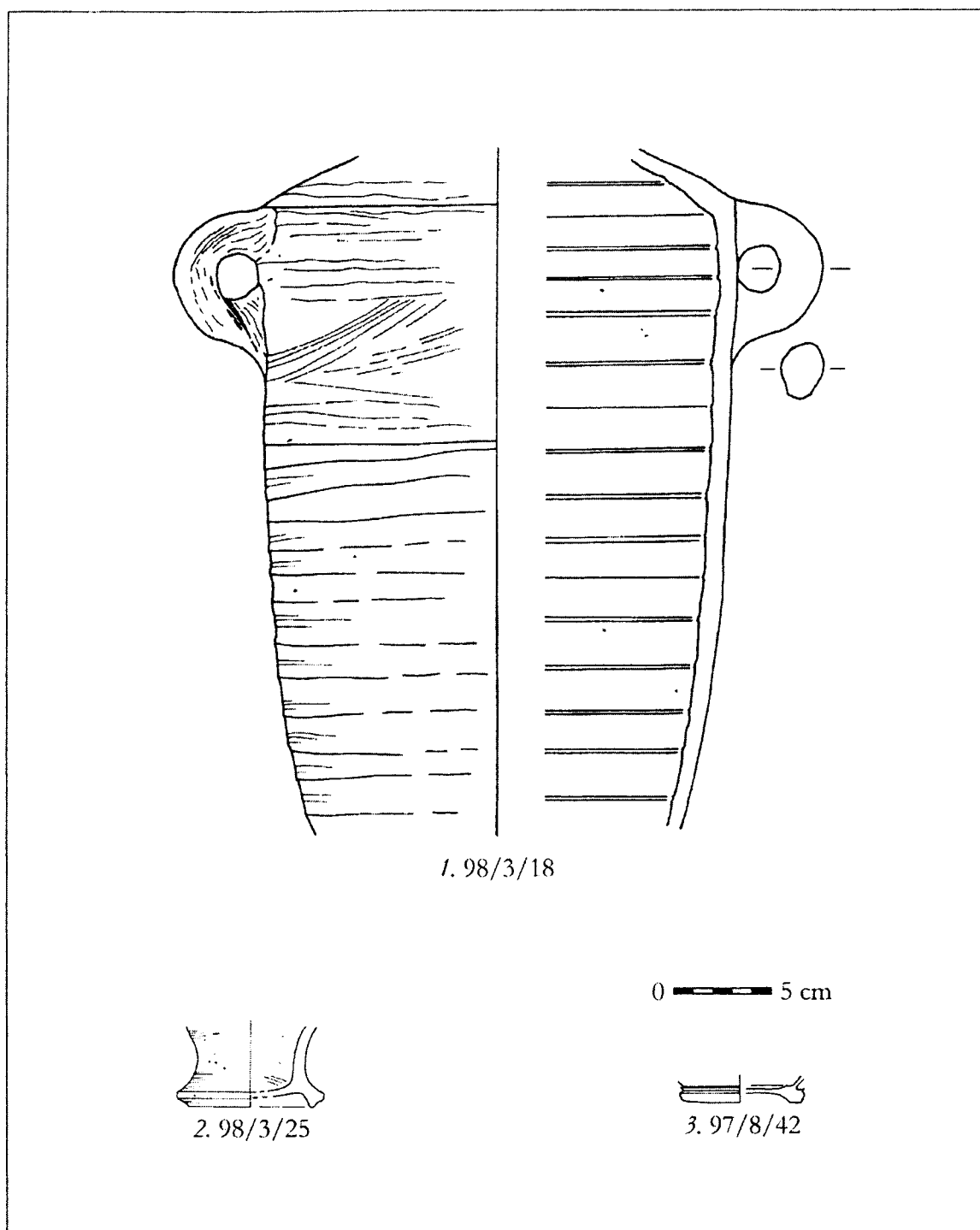


Fig. 58. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Late Period. Import origin

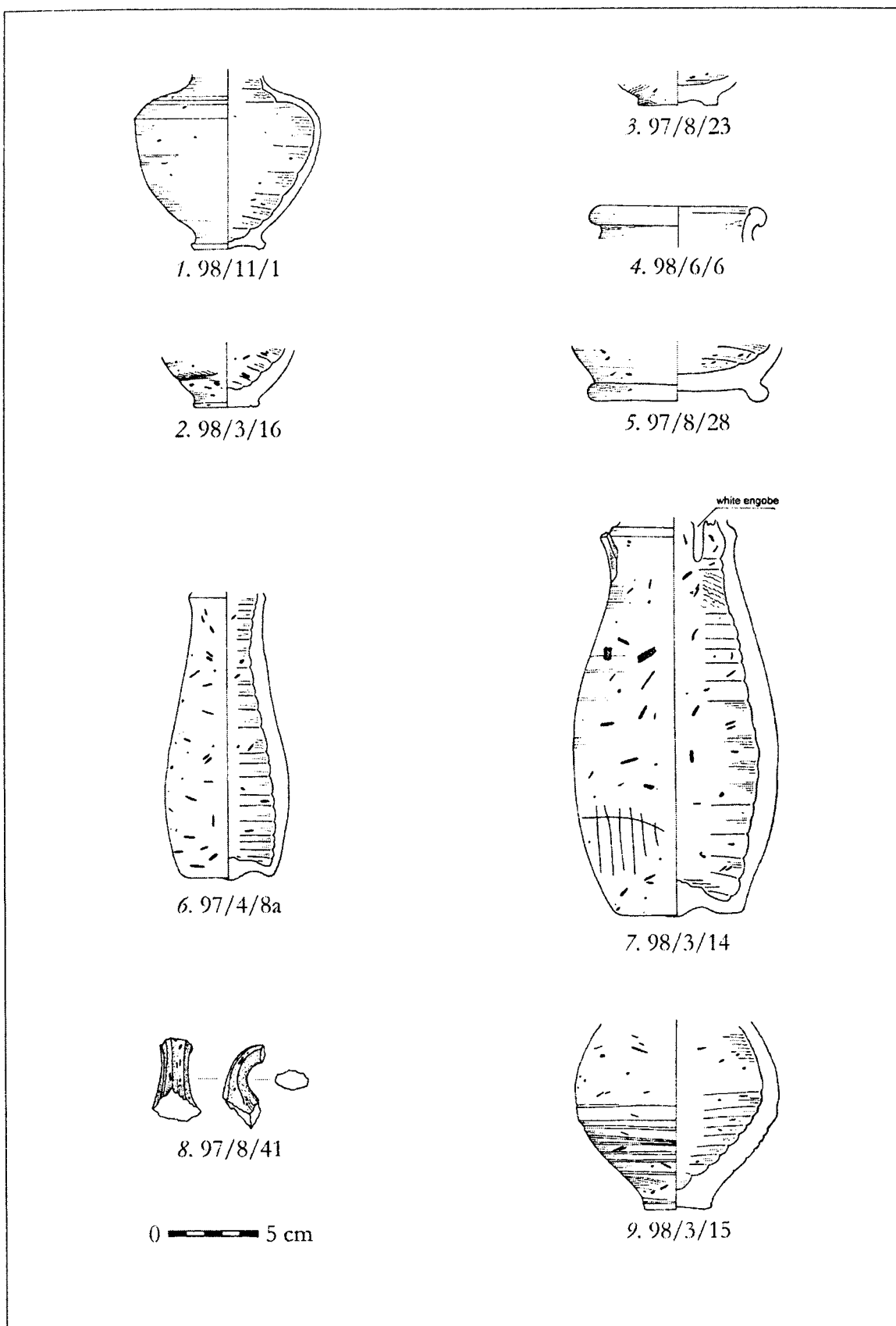


Fig. 59. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Ptolemaic – Roman Periods. Egyptian origin

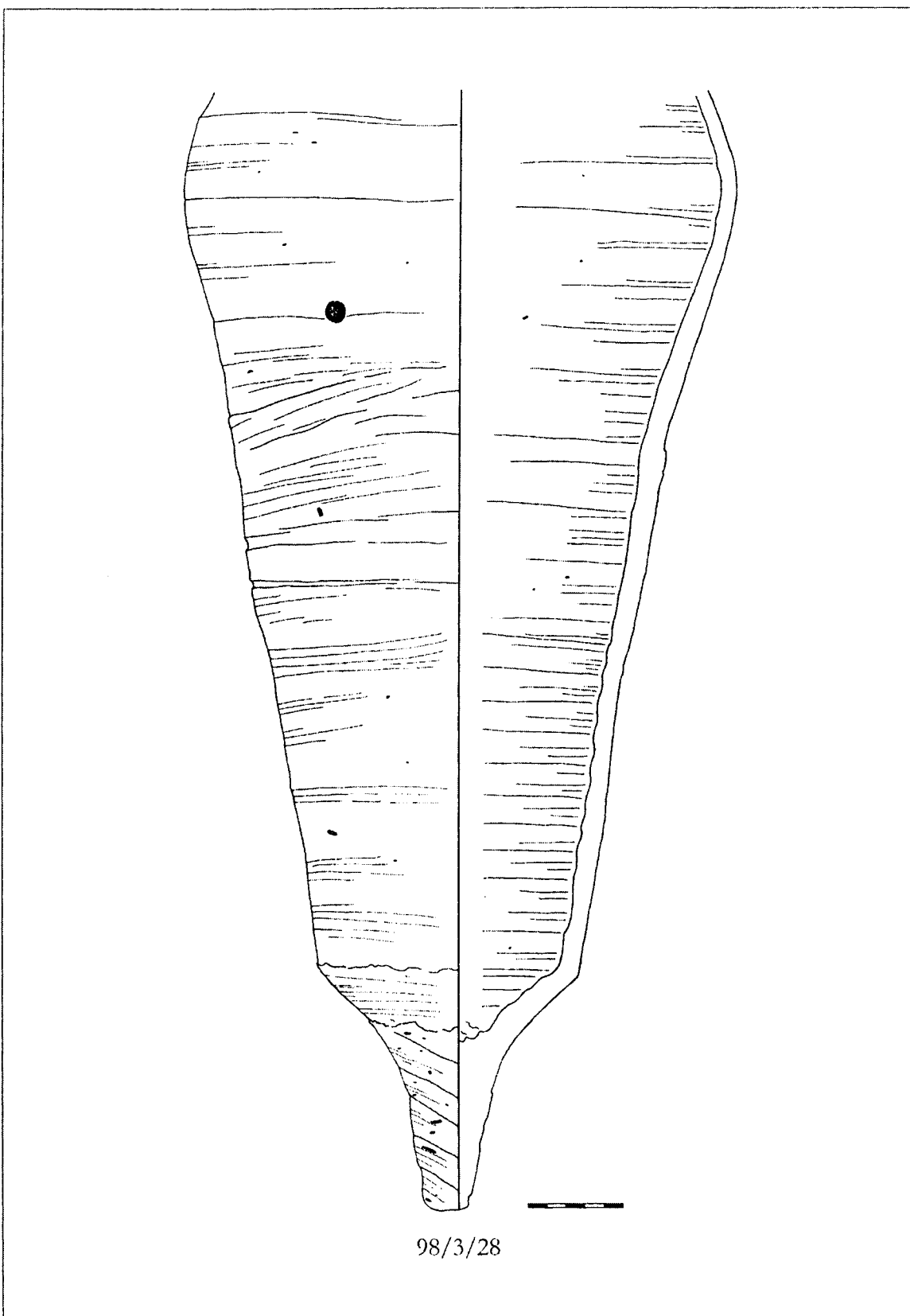


Fig. 60. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Egyptian amphora of Roman Period



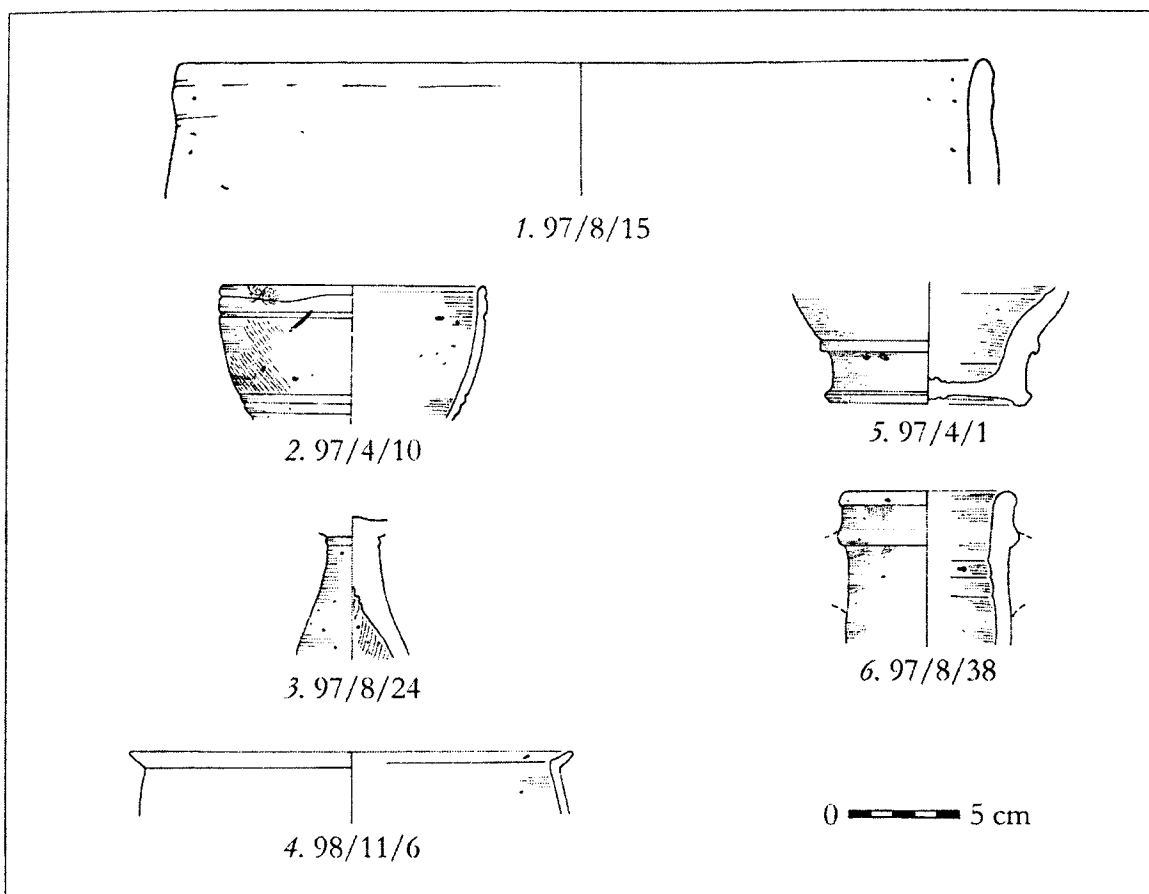


Fig. 61. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Byzantine – Early Arabic Periods. Egyptian origin

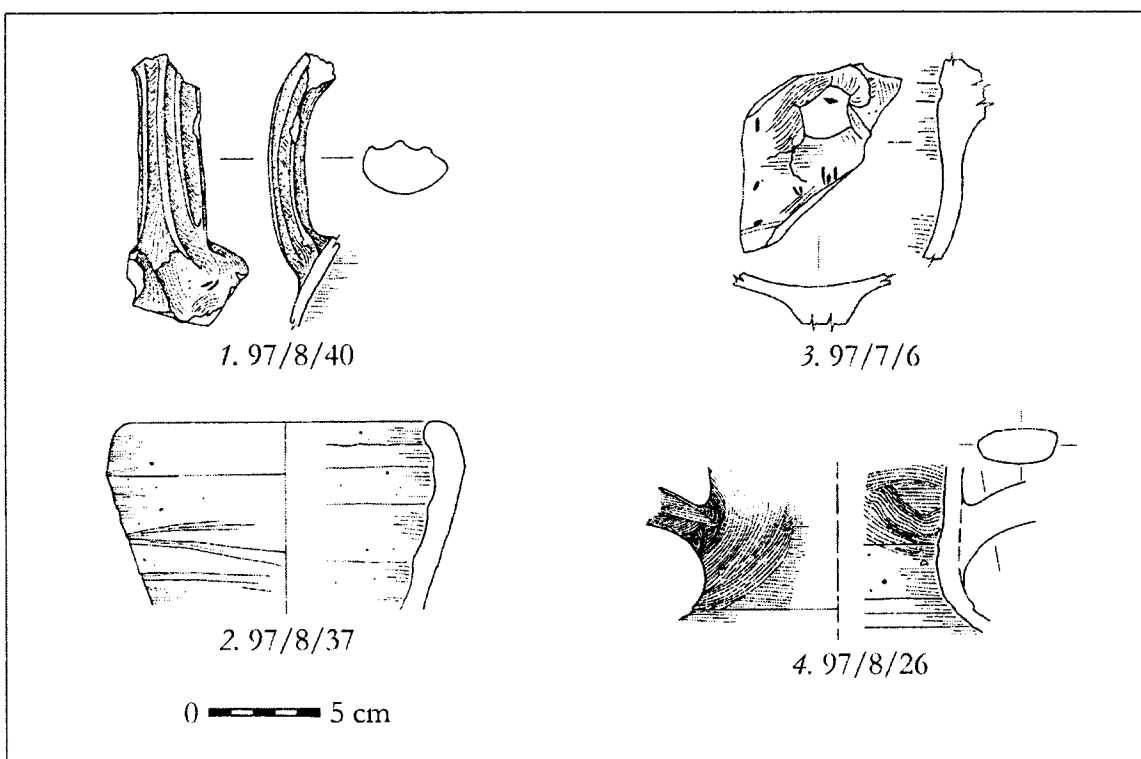
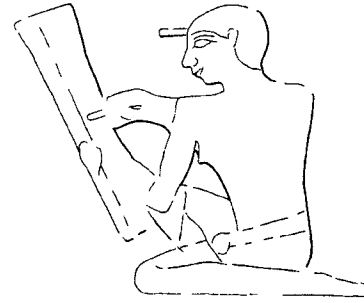


Fig. 62. Pottery of the Khafraankh tomb. Byzantine – Early Arabic Periods. Import origin

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#### IV.

### THE FINDS

#### CATALOGUE

##### CATEGORY I. FAIENCE OBJECTS

##### **Fragment of *ushabti* 98/4/24f (fig. 63.1)**

Find place: G7948, shaft 4, debris

Material: faience

Color: blue

Technique: handmade, glazed

Measurements: length 4.6 cm; width 2–3.2 cm

Parallels: none

Dating: probably, Dynasties XXVI – XXX

Faience *ushabtis* were found in Giza very often, mainly, in the complexes of Dynasty XXVI, but rarer in Dynasties XXVII – XXX<sup>743</sup> or Ptolemaic Period<sup>744</sup>. It is typical funeral equipment of I millennium B.C.

##### CATEGORY II. COPPER OBJECTS

##### **Handle of *situla*? 98/10/13 (fig. 63.2)**

Find place: G7948/1, funerary chamber 11, debris

Material: copper

Measurements: length 10.5 cm; width 4.5 cm; thickness 0.6 cm

Parallels: none

Dating: uncertain

Copper vessels were found in the burial chambers of the tombs of Dynasties V–VI, but usually they had no handles. At the same time in the tomb of Ankhhaf (Giza, Central

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<sup>743</sup> ZIVIE-COCHE, 1991, p. 118, 206, 209, 275-279, 303-304. GIZA, REISNER'S ARCHIVE, photos G10987\_NS, A4826\_NS, B6448\_NS, B6807\_NS.

<sup>744</sup> SIMPSON, 1978, p. 20. GIZA, REISNER'S ARCHIVE, photo C13956\_NS.

necropolis, Dynasty VI) different types of vessels and the handle of the close form were included into the complex of copper objects<sup>745</sup>. Later *situlae* also had similar handles. Fragments of bronze ornamented small *situlae* with the similar handles were found in Saqqara<sup>746</sup>. According to the Lichtheim typology of the *situlae*, the vessels with similar handles are dated to Saitic – Ptolemaic Periods, mainly in Dynasty XXVI<sup>747</sup>.

### CATEGORY III. STONE VESSELS

#### 1. Rim of stand 98/8/23F

Find place: G7948/1, slope 8 and funerary chamber 14, debris  
Material: limestone  
Measurements: diameter of rim  $\approx$  23 cm  
Parallels: none  
Dating: Old Kingdom  
Comments: very coarse manufacturing

#### 2. Workpiece (fig. 64a)

Find place: G7948, chapel, debris  
Material: limestone  
Measurements: height 14.5 cm; diam. max. 22 cm  
Parallels: none  
Dating: Old Kingdom

The fragment 98/8/23F, most likely, belonged to the stand, which could be placed in the chapel of the Khafraankh tomb, around his burial shaft. At least, the diameter of the object coincides with the diameters of the holes located at four corners of the shaft 3. The similar holes and stands of offerings tables from limestone have been found on the Western plateau of Giza, in the mastaba of Perniankh<sup>748</sup> (G 1700, Dynasty V – early Dynasty VI), however it differ much higher quality of manufacturing.

### CATEGORY IV. STONE IMPLEMENTS

#### 1. Chisel 98/11/8F (fig. 63.3)

Find place: G7948/1, funerary chamber 11, debris, near the skeleton  
Material: flint  
Color: brown  
Measurements: length 10.5 cm; width 2.2–2.6 cm; thickness 0.7–0.8 cm  
Parallels: REISNER, 1942, p. 387, 473, fig. 218, 285; JUNKER, GIZA I, S. 129, Abb. 16; RUMMEL, 2007, p. 18.  
Dating: Old Kingdom

#### 2. Hammer 98/4/22F (fig. 63.4)

Find place: G7948, shaft 4, debris  
Material: diorite  
Color: grey-black  
Measurements: length 14.5 cm; max. width 9.5 cm  
Parallels: DUNHAM, SIMPSON, 1974, p. 23, fig. 15a; BROVARSKI, 2000, p. 82, fig. 72.  
Dating: Old Kingdom

<sup>745</sup> HASSAN, GIZA III, p. 143-144, fig. 121, pl. XLIV.

<sup>746</sup> MYŚLIWIEC, 2008, part I, p. 410, fig. 517.

<sup>747</sup> LICHTHEIM, 1947, p. 169-179.

<sup>748</sup> HAWASS, 1991, p. 157, pl. 12. HAWASS, SENUSSI, 2008, p. 91, photos 29-30.

**3. Hammer 98/11A/2F** (*fig. 63.5*)

Find place: G7948/1, shaft 3, debris  
Material: diorite  
Color: grey-black  
Measurements: length 11.6 cm; max. width 9.2 cm; thickness 8.7 cm  
Parallels: JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 170, Abb. 51.  
Dating: Old Kingdom

**5. Polishing stone 98/11A/3F** (*fig. 63.7*)

Find place: G7948/1, shaft 3, debris  
Material: limestone  
Color: beige  
Measurements: length 11.6 cm; max. width 7.3 cm; thickness 5.7 cm  
Parallels: none  
Dating: Old Kingdom

**4. Grindstone 98/11/5F** (*fig. 63.6*)

Find place: G7948/1, shaft 3, debris  
Material: sandstone  
Color: grey  
Measurements: length 11 cm; max. width 6.2 cm; thickness 2–3 cm  
Parallels: none  
Dating: Old Kingdom

**6. Grindstone? 98/11/27** (*fig. 63.8*)

Find place: G7948/1, shaft 3, debris  
Material: quartzite  
Color: yellow-brown  
Measurements: length 10.6 cm; max. width 8.5 cm; thickness 4–5.1 cm  
Parallels: none  
Dating: Old Kingdom  
Comments: traces of copper (green oxides) on the two lateral recesses

Flint chisels and knives were found quite often in the Old Kingdom tombs of Giza Necropolis. They were attested in the tombs of royal relatives and higher nobility of Dynasties IV–VI in the Western<sup>749</sup> and Central fields<sup>750</sup>, however, nevertheless more often in the complexes of Dynasties IV and V<sup>751</sup>, for example, in the mastabas of royal sons Wpemnefret (G 1201), Khentka (G 2130), Snofruseneb (G 4240) and Seshemnefer III (G 5170)<sup>752</sup>, nobles Medunefer (G 4630) and Kanefer (G 4620)<sup>753</sup>. In Giza tombs of Dynasty VI stone tools were occurred rarer, for example, in the mastaba of Neferhi (G 3097) the unique fragment of flint knife was found<sup>754</sup>. The archaeological context of these finds is similar to our 98/114/8F in the most cases – in the mixed fillings of the shafts and burial chambers of the tombs. Most likely, originally such flint tools, along with copper chisels and knives, being a part of funeral equipment were placed near a sarcophagus, but as a result of activity of robbers have got in the debris of shafts and burial chambers.

At investigating of tombs threat tools were found much less often, first of all hammers, made of hard stones – granite, diorite and dolerite. The tomb of Khafraankh is exception to the rules – two objects were occurred from the mixed fillings of its shafts and burial chambers. The hammer 98/4/22F has the most typical form, similar tools, both from granite and diorite have been found in the tomb of Mersyankh III<sup>755</sup> (late Dynasty IV), in the shaft of G 4482<sup>756</sup> and in the mastaba of Senedjemib Inti (Dynasty V). It is remarkable that in the latter case,

<sup>749</sup> JUNKER, GIZA I, S. 129.

<sup>750</sup> HASSAN, GIZA I, p. 117–118, pl. LXXXI.

<sup>751</sup> REISNER, 1942, p. 387, 432, 466, 473, 482, fig. 218, 249b, 282, 285, 291.

<sup>752</sup> JUNKER, GIZA III, S. 215.

<sup>753</sup> REISNER, 1942, p. 492–494, 508, fig. 299, 312.

<sup>754</sup> FISHER, 1924, p. 61, fig. 49.

<sup>755</sup> DUNHAM, SIMPSON, 1974, p. 23, fig. 15a.

<sup>756</sup> JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 170, Abb. 51. JUNKER, GIZA IX, Taf. VI d.

according to the researchers, diorite hammer “apparently made from a statue, judging from polished surface”<sup>757</sup>.

To the group of the tools used at a construction and decorating of tombs, it is possible to relate also grindstones and polishing stones. The last ones, most likely, were used for final treatment of walls and reliefs. Grindstones could serve for sharpening of copper chisels; at least, traces of copper oxides on the tool 98/11/27 permit to think about it. Possibly the tools from the Khafraankh tomb were not a part of funeral equipment and have been thrown by artisans constructing the tomb, as already become unsuitable for use. At least, two hammers 98/4/22F and 98/11A/2F, as well as the polishing stone 98/11A/3F, bear distinct traces of abrasion.

#### CATEGORY V. STONE OBJECTS WITH INSCRIPTIONS

##### 1. Fragment of drum (fig. 64b)

Find place: G7948, chapel, debris

Material: limestone

Technique: low relief

Measurements: height 36.5 cm; width 31.5 cm; decorated area: height 18 cm; width 27 cm

Parallels: HASSAN, GIZA III, p. 185, fig. 147a; p. 196, fig. 159; HASSAN, GIZA VI, p. 5, fig. 3.

Dating: late Dynasty IV – early Dynasty V

The original provenance of the drum is unknown. The beginning of the text on a badly smoothed fragment of the drum: [*m33.t Hr.w Sth*] [...]. The title “She, who beholds Horus and Seth”<sup>758</sup> was reserved in the Old Kingdom exclusively for queens, who were mothers of the king’s children<sup>759</sup>. L.K.Sabbahy notes in her unpublished dissertation, that *m33.t Hr.w Sth* and *mw.t nswt* are rarely attested for the same woman. And when they do, one should probably attribute the examples with *m33.t Hr.w Sth* to the period before the queen’s son became king<sup>760</sup>.

The title *m33.t Hr.w Sth* is attested for a number of queens who were or could have been buried in Giza: *H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbtj* I (Khafra, tomb unknown)<sup>761</sup>, *Htp-hr.s* II (Khafra)<sup>762</sup>, *Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh* III (Khafra)<sup>763</sup>, *H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbtj* II (Menkaura)<sup>764</sup>, *Rh.t-R<sup>c</sup>* (Menkaura)<sup>765</sup>, *Bw-nfr* (Shepseskhafr ?)<sup>766</sup>, *Hknw-<sup>h</sup>d.t* (late Dynasty IV – early Dynasty V, tomb unknown)<sup>767</sup>, *Nj-M3<sup>c</sup>.t-<sup>h</sup>p* (early Dynasty

<sup>757</sup> BROVARSKI, 2000, p. 82, fig. 72.

<sup>758</sup> For further references see: JONES, 2000, p. 421-422, no. 1562.

<sup>759</sup> FAY, 1999, p. 108-109.

<sup>760</sup> SABBABHY, 1982, p. 80, no. 12.

<sup>761</sup> HASSAN, GIZA II, p. 10, fig. 8. JÁNOSI, CALLENDER, 1997, S. 15, Abb. 8, Taf. I. On the tomb of *H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbtj* I see: BAUD, 1998, p. 7-14.

<sup>762</sup> According to the text on the base of the pair statue of Hetepheres II and Mersyankh III (in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: 1927.30.1456).

<sup>763</sup> DUNHAM, SIMPSON, 1974, p. 25.

<sup>764</sup> CALLENDER, 1997, p. 1-22. REISNER, 1934, p. 11, fig. 10.

<sup>765</sup> HASSAN, GIZA VI, p. 1-8.

<sup>766</sup> HASSAN, GIZA III, p. 176-199.

<sup>767</sup> HASSAN, GIZA IV, p. 117, fig. 62.

V)<sup>768</sup>. Whereas the fragment should come from an unidentified tomb in the vicinity of G 7948, dating of the monument to the early Dynasty V may seem more plausible.

**2. Fragment of relief with inscription** (*fig. 64d*)

Find place: G7948, shaft 3, debris

Material: limestone

Technique: sunken relief

Measurements: height 22 cm; width 27.5 cm

Parallels: JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 113, Abb. 7; JUNKER, GIZA IV, S. 19, Abb. 5; JUNKER, GIZA VI, S. 41, Abb. 8.

Dating: Old Kingdom

The fragment bears a well carved hieroglyphic inscription with only one word at the left – *ḳrs.t*. This is clearly a part of a lintel or an architrave which original provenance is unknown.

**3. Fragment of unfinished slab (?)** (*fig. 64e*)

Find place: G7948, chapel, debris

Material: white limestone

Technique: sunken and low relief

Measurements: height 39.5 cm; width 69.5 cm; decorated area: height 29 cm; width 39.5 cm

Parallels: EATON-KRAUSS, 2008, p. 19-22.

Dating: Dynasty V

The monument appears to be a slab or stela-panel with two apertures and the lintel. The drawing is unfinished, that makes it difficult to date the slab. However, the visibility of just the end of the seat cushion, the large papyrus umbel, the hoofed legs of the chair, the position of the tail hanging between the legs, the form of the offering table and combination of sunk and low reliefs suggest Dynasty V as an appropriate date.

Above the uninscribed lintel, the area is approximately one-third complete with the upper right portion of the surface completely untouched. No traces of any painted lines can be confirmed that this object rested unfinished.

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<sup>768</sup> JÁNOSI, 1993, S. 53-64.

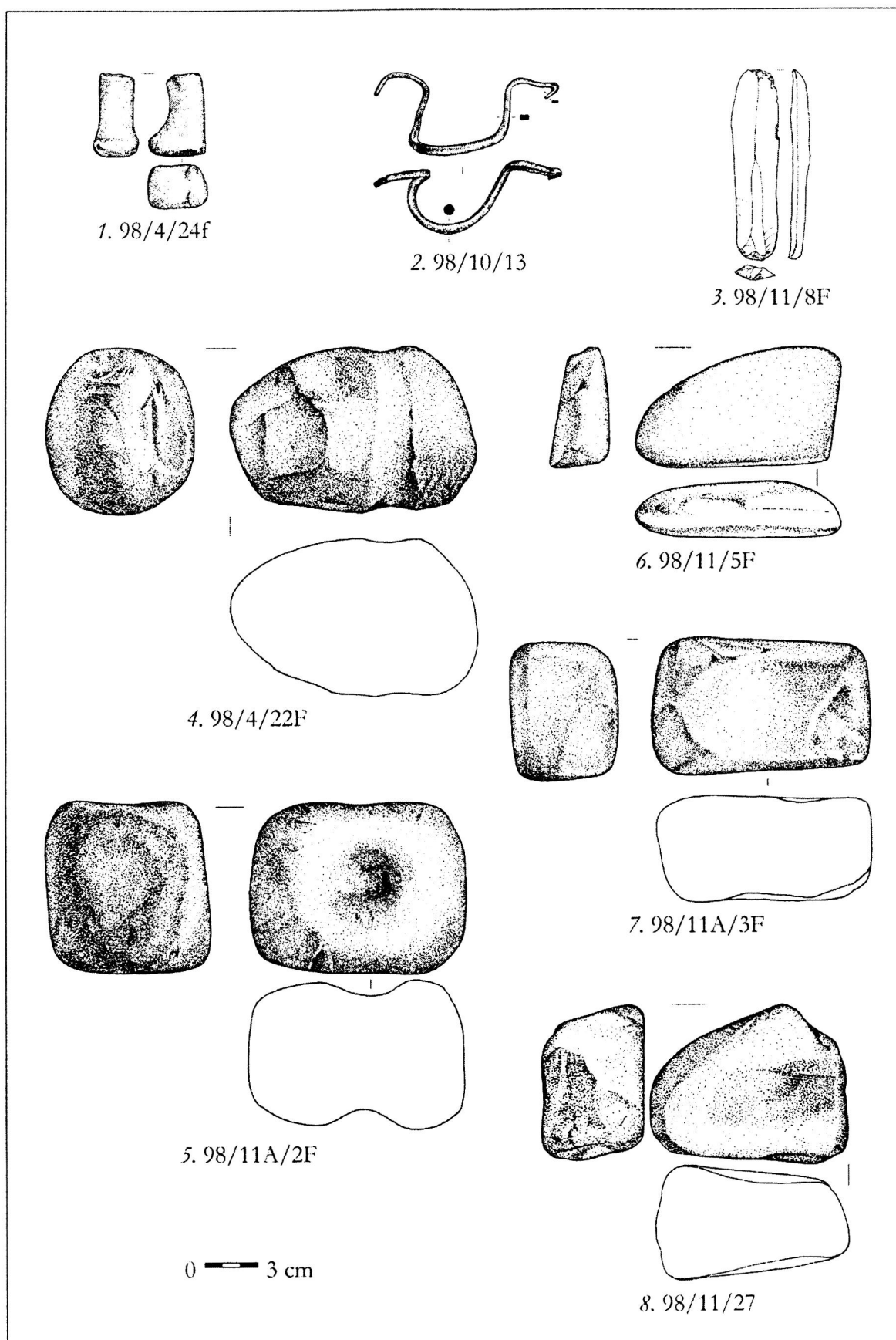


Fig. 63. Finds from the tomb of Khafraankh



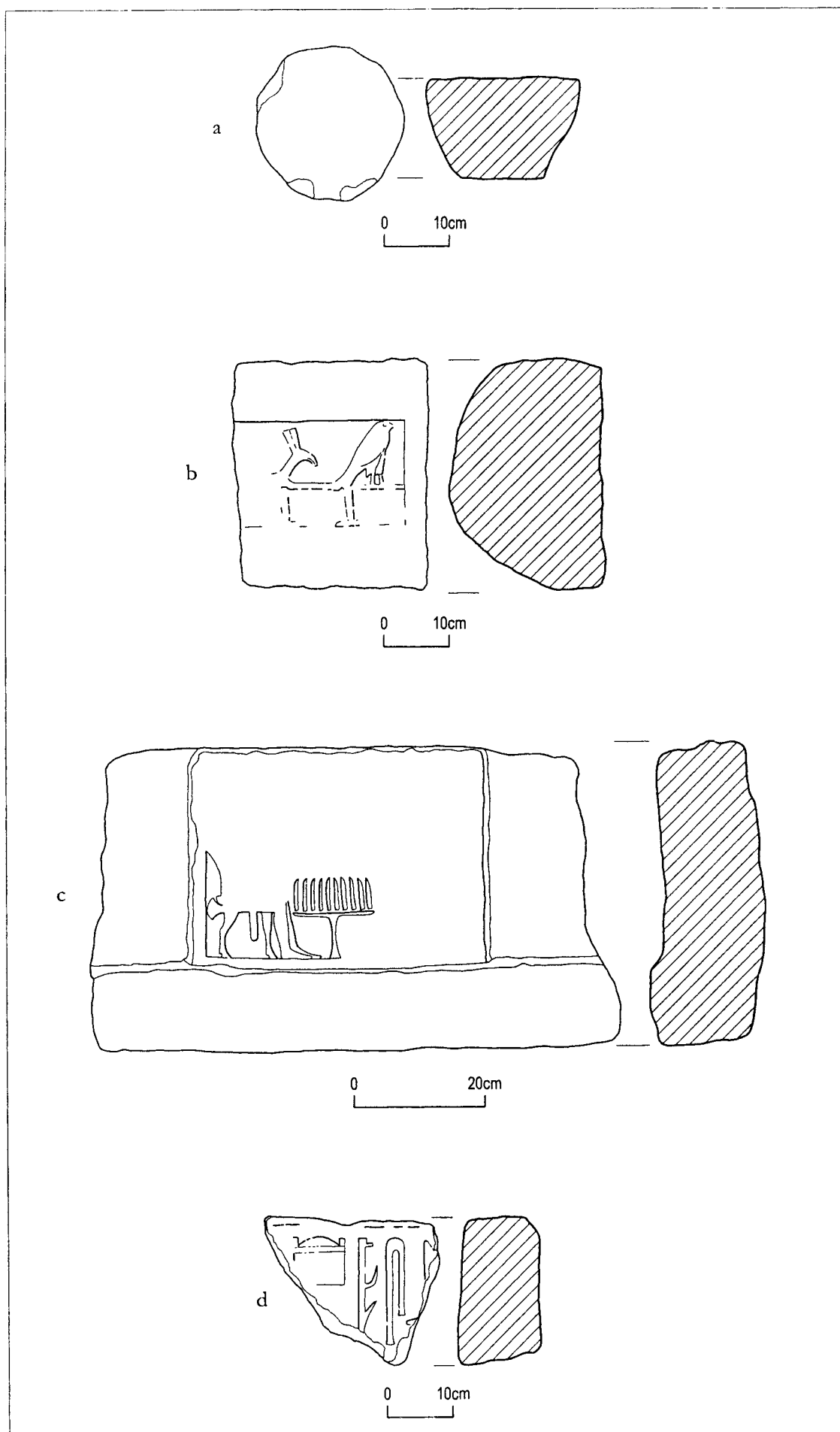
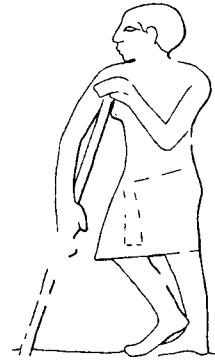


Fig. 64. Finds from Khafraankh tomb.

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V.

## HUMAN REMAINS (AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXPERTISE)

*by Alexandra BUZHILOVA, Maria DOBROVOLSKAYA, Maria MEDNIKOVA*

During the field season 2007 group of physical anthropology from Institute of archaeology of Russian Academy of Sciences have participated excavations of the Russian Archaeological Mission in Giza and provided additional examination of anthropological material from excavations of 1998. Fragmentary remains of individuals from the mixed filling of the shaft 4, burial chamber 11 and slope 8 have been studied.

### METHODS

The determination of skeletal age and sex was done by standard methods including different morphological criteria<sup>769</sup>. Some measurements were used to estimate sex of adults and age of children<sup>770</sup>. Traditional list of measurements was taken on skulls and on long bones<sup>771</sup>. The length measurements of long bones were used to calculate stature by formulae of M.Trotter and G.C.Gleser, and V.V.Bunak<sup>772</sup>. There were investigated general dental status, osteoarthropathies and infections, metabolic disorders and indicators of physical stress<sup>773</sup>. Several traumas and results of injuries were analyzed with methods of forensic anthropology<sup>774</sup>.

Analysis of anomalies and congenital non-metrical traits gave possibility to hypothesize the biological relationships. The results of long-way investigations have to some extent assumed that the chief factor governing the expression of these variants was the genetic make-up of the individual, and hence of the sample. This premise was based on findings in laboratory

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<sup>769</sup> BASS, 1995.

<sup>770</sup> BASS, 1995. UBELAKER, 1978.

<sup>771</sup> ALEXEEV, DEBETC, 1964. ALEXEEV, 1966.

<sup>772</sup> ALEXEEV, 1966.

<sup>773</sup> COHEN, ARMELAGOS, 1984. ORTNER, PUTSCHAR, 1985. BUZHILOVA, 1998a, p. 87-173.

<sup>774</sup> e.g. DOBRYAK, 1960.

mice, and authors showed that minor skeletal variants were under complex multigenic control, while another demonstrated the effects of maternal environment. For population studies, R.J.Berry<sup>775</sup>, provided a large number of variants under the study, was satisfied that, the overall effect was that genetical control predominated. Each cranium, mandible and number of postcranial variants was scored for the presence or absence of 24 non-metrical traits. It is a part of well known non-metrical traits programs<sup>776</sup>. Sacral and vertebral clefts have been included in this analysis because of their pathological interest<sup>777</sup>. The bone relief of long bones in places of muscle attachment makes obvious vigorous physical activity. So kind of data were used for reconstruction an occupational stress of persons<sup>778</sup>. All observations were provided in field conditions without additional methods usually using in laboratorial situation.

## RESULTS

### BURIAL CHAMBER 11 (THE BURIAL OF KHAFRAANKH)

*Preservation of the skeleton.* There were investigated parts of the skull and right part of mandible, few fragments of upper limb bones, like humerus, ulna and radius. There were fixed few phalanges of left manus. Little fragments of lower limb bones were collected. A part of them are recognizing as fragments of femora and tibia.

*Sex and age estimation* was done by morphological and metric analyses of preserved parts of skull and mandible. The human remains are from the male about 35–45 years.

*General comment.* We can't make decision concerning skull proportion because of incomplete fragmental preservation of it (15 pieces). The poor preservation gave possibility to note only few things. Firstly, the Sagittal Suture on the frontal bone is partly closed, which could be used as non-metrical trait. There were fixed the intercalated bones of the Occipital Suture of the skull. In general, bone structure of temporal bossing are thickened. From inner view there were noted Arachnoidal pits along the Sagittal Suture, which could be an additional marker of mature age of the person.

A part of mandible was broken post-mortem. The traces of muscle activity are marked by *tuberositas masseterica*. The preserved molars on the mandible have considerable root exposure, which could be associated with periodontal disease. There are not wear of molars, and they are without any caries. A few measurements of the mandible's fragment have been done. The height of the mandible's arm (Martin's #70) is about 72 mm. This size can be attributed as the large for the males. The height of the mandible's body (Martin's # 69(1)) is 34 mm. This value can be estimated as the large(?), as well as mandible's body thickness -14 mm (Martin's #69(3)).

The poor preservation didn't give possibility to analyze occupational stress markers. However, there were marginal arthropathies of manual phalanxes which sometimes could present the intensive physical activity of the person. But taking into account data of mature age of the person it should be supposed that in this case bony marginal deformations was evidence for age-depended process only.

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<sup>775</sup> BERRY, 1975, p. 519-535.

<sup>776</sup> BERRY, BERRY, 1967, p. 361-379. FINNEGAN, 1974, p. 135-136.

<sup>777</sup> BUZHILOVA, 1998a, p. 87-173.

<sup>778</sup> MEDNIKOVA, 1998, p. 151-169. BUZHILOVA, 1998b, p. 147-150.

## SHAFT 4 AND BURIAL CHAMBER 12

*Preservation of the skeleton.* There were investigated a part of frontal bone and a little fragment of the skull, fragment of right side of mandible, right clavicle, fragment of the left humerus, and parts of both femora, and left tibia.

*Sex and age estimation* was done by morphological and metric analyses of femora and others preserved parts of the skeleton. The skeleton was incomplete, but the condition of the preserved bone gave possibility to stress that human remains are from the young person. The sex determination seemed to be not such unequivocal. From one side the preserved mandible<sup>779</sup> presents well expressed chin protrusion, and this pattern is typical for the males. Moreover, hypertrophy of femoral diaphyses and the width of lower epiphysys of humerus most possibly indicate male sex of the buried person. But morphological patterns which indicate specific morphological and functional status of this individual, as well as fragmentary preservation of skeleton made sex examination not easily. So, the human remains are from person about 25–35 years old, sex of whom is difficult to estimate.

*General comments.* Preserved parts of the skeleton didn't give any reasons to discuss some pathological conditions of the person. We could note only few things. Firstly, on the preserved part of the mandible there was fixed premortem loss of the right lower canine.

After metric and morphological study, we pay attention that medullar channel of the humerus and both femora are a little more narrow which is normal. On the femoral breakage in the intermediate part of diaphysis consequences of extraordinary widening of the compact layer are visible. Lateral wall of this tubular bone is 9 mm, the medial one – 6 mm, the anterior one – 7 mm and the posterior one 6 mm. The transversal diameter in the plane was 22 mm and the sagittal diameter was 25 mm. Thus the determined compactization indices were 68.1 and 52.0 correspondently. We can be sure that narrowing of the bone medullar cavity was present.

*Morphological analysis.* The poor condition of bony material strongly limited the use of osteometric program. The fragments of right clavicle, humerus, both destroyed femurs, and left tibial bone have been measured.

The circumference of right clavicle was 42 mm. On the right humerus only the bycondilar width could be estimated (64 mm, Martin #4). It should be stressed that for the Old Kingdom the mean value of the trait was 50.5 mm with variations 42-54 mm<sup>780</sup>.

The femoral diaphyses were better preserved and consequently measured (table 1).

Table 1. Measurements of the femora of person from the Shaft 4 and burial chamber 12

Trait, Martin No	Right	Left
6. sagittal diameter of midshaft	29	-
7. transversal diameter of midshaft	26	-
9. upper transversal diameter	-	32
10. upper sagittal diameter	-	23
8. circumference of the midshaft	83	85
18. vertical diameter of head	-	44
6:7a. pilaster index	89.66	-
10:9. platymeric index	-	71.88

<sup>779</sup> The moderate value of the mandible's body height (Martin's # 69(1)) – 32 mm.

<sup>780</sup> KACZMAREK, 2008, p. 483.

The remarkable development of femoral diaphyses, their widening should be pointed out. On the left tibia only few measurements were taken (*table 2*). Again, there is widening of the compact layer in upper and central parts clear visible in opposite to the lower part of the bone where the compact layer is thin.

*Table 2. Measurements of the left tibia of person from the Shaft 4 and burial chamber 12*

8. Sagittal diameter of diaphysis	30?
9. Transversal diameter in the midshaft	18?
10b. Minimal circumference of tibial shaft	70

The platycnemic index in the middle of diaphysis was 60.0 that supported impression about saber-shaped form of the foreleg bone.

Summing up, the moderate external bone relief is notable, indicating moderate physical activity and occupational stress for this person.

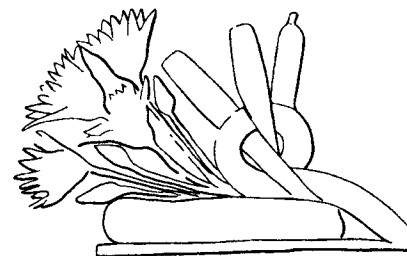
#### SLOPE 8 AND BURIAL CHAMBER 14 (G 7948/1)

*Preservation of the skeleton.* There were investigated only few fragments of the skeleton: a part of ulna, fragments of ribs, two phalanges, two fragments of pelvis, fragments of femur and tibiae.

This is remains from young person, sex of whom is difficult to estimate. The poor condition of the skeleton preservation did not give possibility to analyze the remains by additional methods.

\* \* \*

The analysis of presented human remains permits to ascertain that all of the burials belonged to the adults. The morphological analysis in view of the estimation of family relations on these badly preserved materials is not possible. However, the using of modern methods of molecular genetics in future investigations could promote the decision of this question.



## CONCLUSION

One of the main problems, which is constantly to confront, studying of tombs of the Old Kingdom is dating. Monuments of the Old Kingdom are badly studied, and the problem of dating of the private tombs in Giza remains the basic. However, the existence similar on repertoire and design burials in Giza and other necropolises of the Old Kingdom gives quite real possibilities for the decision of this problem, in light of criteria of the iconographical analysis of the images offered by N.Cherpion, M.Baud, Y.Harpur<sup>781</sup>, and also epigraphical and lexical criteria of the analysis of texts.

Following criteria for the purpose of dating can be allocated and taken into consideration:

1. Iconographical criteria: clothes, decorations and wigs of the represented persons, the form and decor of armchairs on which they sit, features of offering tables and offerings to dead, forms of scepters and staffs of pictured figures.
2. Epigraphical criteria: the form and a way of a writing of phrases and signs.
3. Material – the analysis of samples of pottery.
4. Architectural criteria: orientation of funeral chambers, peculiarities of shafts, structure of a tomb, its chapel and underground chambers.
5. Topographical - a disposition of tombs in Giza necropolis.

### 1. ICONOGRAPHICAL CRITERIA

From iconographical criteria which are enough accurately traced on an available material it is necessary to distinguish a number of peculiarities, allowing to establish time of an existing of this style.

#### 1.1. FURNITURE

1. The armchair form on which the dead sit on the southern and western walls, the decoration in the form of the papyrus, sitting place with a pillow, legs in shape “feet hoofed” (instead of lion’s paws) are attested in the tombs of Dynasties IV–V up to Niuserra<sup>782</sup>.

2. The form of the offering table, represented on stelae-panels of false doors corresponds to that in the tombs of Dynasty V and even at Pepi I<sup>783</sup>.

<sup>781</sup> CHERPION, 1989. BAUD, 1998, p. 31-95. HARPUR, 1987.

<sup>782</sup> CHERPION, 1989, p. 27-29, fig. 3.

<sup>783</sup> CHERPION, p. 46-47, fig.32g.

3. The form of the image and character of offerings on the offering table located directly before the figures of Khafraankh and Herenka on the southern wall are traced from Khafra to Niuserra<sup>784</sup>. According to M.Barta classification, images characteristic for Khafraankh tomb can be dated in second half V dynasties (probably more precisely – time of Niuserra)<sup>785</sup>.

#### 1.2. PECULIARITIES OF THE IMAGE OF THE MAJOR AND MINOR FIGURES

1. According to H.Fischer, stout figures with pendulous breast are dated in the early Dynasty V. Y.Harpur notes that representations of men with pendulous breast always characteristic of corpulent figure date to about V.9 – VI. The bulk of examples of the tomb owner come from Giza, examples are also known from Saqqara, Meir, Deir el-Gabrawi. As a rule, it is the middle of Dynasty V<sup>786</sup>. Just the same figures are on the entrance thickness of the Khafraankh tomb.

2. Posture – leg bent and foot raised on to its toes appears at Dynasties III–IV and are attested in the tombs of Dynasty V<sup>787</sup>.

#### 1.3. CLOTHES, WIGS AND ATTRIBUTES OF FIGURES

1. The type of a female wig corresponds to the images from the Teti to Dynasty VI; man's wigs correspond to a fashion established at Dynasty V, though criteria here are indistinct. Elements of a female dress (in particular, the clothes of Djedefka, the daughter of Khafraankh) correspond to images on Dynasty V<sup>788</sup>.

2. The panther skin played an important role among standing figures in Dynasty V, and standing figures in the Old Kingdom tombs, which are dated in Dynasty V (Niuserra, Menkauhor)<sup>789</sup>.

3. According to E.Staehelin, the panther head on the dress appears only in Dynasty V. To the end of Dynasty V a tendency to place it below a belt is attested<sup>790</sup>.

The type of string – wide knot with the end bend below appeared according to E.Staehelin in Dynasty IV was preserved in the V Dynasty among officials and priests, starting from the second half of Dynasty V, this type was substituted by other types of kilts<sup>791</sup>.

The Khafraankh kilt was typical for Dynasty V, and besides if in the beginning of the Dynasty V they were not often and only had become a mode style but from the middle of Dynasty V they were exclusively typical for high king's administration<sup>792</sup>. Stylistically the figure of Nisutnefer, who is pictured in the same kilt, is nearest to Khafraankh<sup>793</sup>.

<sup>784</sup> CHERPION, 49-50, fig.34a. According to M.Baud occurred later. – BAUD, 1998, p. 82-83.

<sup>785</sup> BARTA M., 1995a, p. 27-28.

<sup>786</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 54, fig. 25-26, p. 131.

<sup>787</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 127. VASILJEVIC, 1998, p. 341-351.

<sup>788</sup> CHERPION, 1989, p. 57-78, 192-194, fig. 47. BAUD, 1999, p. 62-65.

<sup>789</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 57.

<sup>790</sup> STAEHELIN, 1966, S. 42.

<sup>791</sup> STAEHELIN, 1966, S. 7.

<sup>792</sup> STAEHELIN, 1966, S. 8, 193-195, 266.

<sup>793</sup> JUNKER, GIZA III, Abb. 29, Tf. 10.



The ink pots from shells are found in the tombs with the names of the kings of Dynasty IV. The latest time – the king Niuserra, with the exception of the Rashepses tomb in Saqqara with the name Isesi<sup>794</sup>. As a rule they are dated in the middle of Dynasty V<sup>795</sup>.

The type of scepter *mdw* – without papyrus bud – is dated in the middle of Dynasty V; the last example comes from Niuserra<sup>796</sup>.

#### 1.4. NAVIGATION AND AGRICULTURAL SCENES

1. The same disposition of the sailing scene it is attested in many Giza mastabas of Dynasty V – Kaninisut, Mer-ib, Seshathotep, Kaimnofret, Nisutnefer, Seshemnefer<sup>797</sup>. A picture of hedgehog on a boat according to N.Cherpion<sup>798</sup>, rendered to the scenes where the most part of the cartouches are attested in Dynasty IV. The latest comes from Niuserra time, however is one exception – the tomb at Meir with the cartouche of Pepi II<sup>799</sup>. The good analogy gives the tomb of Nefer at Saqqara (Dynasty V), where two details, typical for this scene in the Khafraankh tomb – a boat with the hedgehog head and a man's figure watching the sailing<sup>800</sup>. Ships of such type besides Giza are well known in Elephantine, Abydos and Dahshur in Dynasties V–VI.

2. Donkey in thresher are represented trampling down ears, the analogies are in the tombs of Rawer and Iymery from Dynasty V (the end of Neferirkara), and Senedjemib Inti in Giza<sup>801</sup>. The scenes with donkeys as well as packing and threshing of grain are preserved in the tomb of Sehemankhptah<sup>802</sup>; similar scenes are in the tombs of Mehu<sup>803</sup> and Kahif<sup>804</sup>.

3. Cutting sycamore. Very similar scene is in one of the tomb of Zawiet el-Maitin (tomb 14, Dynasty VI). Analogical picture is in one of the Saqqara tomb (Gr. 16), dated in Dynasty V<sup>805</sup>.

4. Dagnet scene is similar to the picture in Irukaptah tomb (end of Dynasty V)<sup>806</sup>.

5. Fishing scenes. These scenes are rather monotone, many of them are dated in Dynasty V (for example, in the Tomb of Brothers at Saqqara)<sup>807</sup>. Starting from Dynasty V the overseer is often disposed in the middle of the scene on a podium, his face directed to the arc of net, sometimes he is pictured on the one side<sup>808</sup>.

<sup>794</sup> CHERPION, 1989, p. 77-78, notes 116, 117.

<sup>795</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 54, fig. 25-26.

<sup>796</sup> CHERPION, 1989, p. 65-66, 91, 189, criteria 41.

<sup>797</sup> JUNKER, GIZA II, p. 66.

<sup>798</sup> CHERPION, 1987, p. 78, fig. 72; p. 201, note 119, criteria 58.

<sup>799</sup> BLACKMAN, 1924, pl. XIV. See also BAUD, 1998, p. 42. HARPUR, 1987, p. 230-231.

<sup>800</sup> MOUSSA, ALTENMÜLLER, 1971, Tf. 19, 23.

<sup>801</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 208-209. Donkeys in the scenes of Dynasty V s. EGYPTIAN ART, 1999, p. 352-353. BROVARSKI, 2001, fig. 53, Room III, western wall.

<sup>802</sup> SIMPSON, 1976, p. 15-16, fig. 9-10.

<sup>803</sup> ALTENMÜLLER, 1998, S. 120-122, Tf. 25.

<sup>804</sup> JUNKER, GIZA VI, S. 146, 150-152, Abb. 45.

<sup>805</sup> LD II, Bl. 61, 103. WOENIG, 1971, S. 288, Abb. 135.

<sup>806</sup> MCFARLANE, 2000, pl. 16 (dating – p. 19).

<sup>807</sup> BREWER, FRIEDMAN, 1989, p. 12-13.

<sup>808</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 145-148, 6.3.

6. Scenes of taking hyena to the tomb's owner are attested in the tombs of high officials in Dynasty V, Mereruka in Saqqara and Nefer in Giza. Scenes of bringing hyenas are often in the tombs of Niuserra or Isesi time<sup>809</sup>.

7. The earliest representations of estates on the reliefs in private tombs were depicted usually bearing small baskets on heads while in Dynasty V such figures were pictured bearing various things, including distinctive banana-formed basket, as is seen in the tomb of Khafraankh.

## 2. EPIGRAPHICAL CRITERIA

The epigraphical criteria may testify in favor of dating of the tomb of Khafraankh in the second half of Dynasty V. The comparative analysis of the inscription on the drum shows a combination of vertical and horizontal inscriptions. Vertical directions of inscriptions were characteristic for Dynasties IV–V, but horizontally located inscriptions were dominating. On the drum over the entrance has a specific composition – cartouches were written vertically, and other part of the inscription was written horizontally. Such composition according to Y.Harpur is attested in the tombs of Dynasty IV – beginning of Dynasty V. Often for economy of a place cartouches wrote vertically, and other part of the text –horizontally. Such composition of the inscriptions is attested in the tombs of Dynasty IV – the beginning of Dynasty V<sup>810</sup>.

Combination of active and passive forms of the participle from the verb *mrj* (geminating or not geminating forms), the text from the columns 3–5 are completely identical to the analogical titles in the tomb of Seneb in Giza<sup>811</sup>.

Using the expression *for any feast and on every day* on one of stelae-panels demonstrates presence of invocation offerings, which calculated decades feasts and everyday cycle. A number of similar texts were attested by H.Junker in the mastabas up to the middle of Dynasty V<sup>812</sup>.

### 2.1. PALEOGRAPHY

Similar paleography the word *w<sup>c</sup>b*, is attested in the tomb of Irukaptah, dated in Dynasties V–VI<sup>813</sup>.

The form of writing *dt* with the signs of snake, bread and with suffix-pronoun *.k* (*s3.k ... n dt.k*) is attested in Dynasty V, in the pyramid of Unis<sup>814</sup>.

As the analysis of a writing of offerings testifies, similar lists were characteristic for Dynasty V or even in some cases Dynasty VI. Forms of a tracing and structure of offerings testifies that the stela-panel was made on similar samples of Dynasty V.

<sup>809</sup> DUELL, 1938, II, pl. 153. JUNKER, GIZA VI, S. 66, Anm. 2, Abb. 16. ROTH, 1995, p.100, 168, pl. 59b (the tomb of Kapi, G2091).

<sup>810</sup> HARPUR, 1987, p. 48.

<sup>811</sup> JUNKER, GIZA V, S. 17.

<sup>812</sup> JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 59–60.

<sup>813</sup> RACHEWILTZ, 1960, p. 11, 12.

<sup>814</sup> PEREPELKIN, 1966, p. 17.

## 2.2. TITLES

In Dynasty V the title *rh nswt* was connected with the performance of cult's ceremonies<sup>815</sup>. This conclusion correlates well with the basic functional title of Khafraankh, *shd w<sup>c</sup>b(w) Wr-H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>* – “inspector of *wab* priests of the Pyramid “Great-is-Khafa” and provides with additional argument in favor of its dating in Dynasty V.

The title “inspector of the *wab*-priests”<sup>816</sup> – rather big quantity of such officials having these titles are attested in Dynasties V and VI<sup>817</sup>. The title *shd w<sup>c</sup>b(w) Wr-H<sup>c</sup>j.f-R<sup>c</sup>* – was considered a high rank title in Dynasty V. Often using the honorable titles, semantically expressed love to the master was typical for later period, namely for the second part of the Old Kingdom.

Hathor titles – “mistress of sycamore”, “mistress of *Iunu*” are attested in the tombs of Dynasty V. The title *hm ntr* regarding Hathor is met during the period of the first kings of Dynasty V and in the period of Niuserra<sup>818</sup>. Priestesses of Neith, Opener Ways (*hm(t) ntr Nt wpt(t) w3wt*), are attested in Giza, Saqqara, Dendera inscriptions, dated in Dynasties V and VI<sup>819</sup>.

## 3. MATERIAL CRITERIA – ANALYSIS OF POTTERY

The original equipment of the Khafraankh burial probably included so-called “Gizeh amphora”, Meidum bowl and beer jars. If first two objects are dated in Dynasty IV, the form of beer jars is characteristic for Dynasties V–VI; it more corresponds to the dating of the Khafraankh tomb based on epigraphical and architectural criteria. The majority of the Old Kingdom pottery from the Khafraankh tomb represents the forms traditionally destined for everyday use, and also in the ritual – feeding of *Ka* – in this case Khafraankh and its relatives. Their cult could start since the construction of the tomb, and then still certain time, up to Dynasty VI, but not later. The majority of the types of household and votive pottery should be dated in Dynasties V–VI, much less the objects of Dynasty IV.

The majority of the ceramic material is dated in the Old Kingdom (from the Dynasty IV to the Dynasty VI), late New Kingdom, Late period, Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine and early Arabic times. It is the indicator of use of the tomb at first for secondary burials (mainly during the Saitic period), and after for habitation (since the end of I millennium B.C.).

## 4. ARCHITECTURE

The analysis of several architectural features of the Khafraankh tomb may testify in favor of its dating in Dynasty V. According to G.A.Reisner originally the shafts mouths in Giza had the sizes 2 x 2 m. In Dynasty V they start to be narrowed, reaching the sizes 1 x 1 m that just corresponds to the size of the shafts mouths in the tomb of Khafraankh<sup>820</sup>, carefulness of

<sup>815</sup> JUNKER, GIZA II, S. 39-41, especially S. 40.

<sup>816</sup> HELCK, 1954, S. 129.

<sup>817</sup> JONES, 2000, II, p. 919-920, no.3379.

<sup>818</sup> FISCHER, 1955, p. 51, 57.

<sup>819</sup> JONES, 2000, II, 529-530, no.1974-1976.

<sup>820</sup> REISNER, 1942, p. 101-102.

processing the walls is simultaneously decreases. In the end of Dynasty V – the beginning of Dynasty VI the depth of shafts sharply decreases (that we just have on an example of all other shafts)<sup>821</sup>.

Only from the end of Dynasty IV the tombs containing several shafts appeared in Giza. Burial chambers in such tombs are in different places, where it was convenient (in the north, in the south etc.), but the basic burial of the owner, as a rule, settles down to the south from the bottom of the shaft<sup>822</sup>, as it is revealed in the tomb of Khafraankh.

The disposition of rock-cut tombs on the edge of the Eastern necropolis at Giza testifies that to the time of its occurrence the places closer to pyramids have been already occupied. The very occurrence of group of rock-cut tombs, probably, is explained by completion of other territory by mastabas and approaching of border of the necropolis directly to the edge.

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To sum up, it is necessary to stress that the Khafraankh tomb has undoubtedly been constructed not earlier than in the middle of Dynasty V. A quantity of “archaic” details (for example, palcography of the sign of roads, wavy lines in the title of Herenka as priestess of goddess Neith, opener ways are testified in Dynasty III<sup>823</sup> and in Khafraankh tomb have to be considered as archaisms. Variety of the features, which appear only at Niuserra and later in the end of Dynasty V or even in Dynasty VI, on the other hand the using of some elements not after Niuserra give the grounds to assume that the tomb was constructed in Niuserra – Djedkara Isesi time.

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<sup>821</sup> REISNER, 1942, p. 101-102.

<sup>822</sup> REISNER, 1942, p. 87.

<sup>823</sup> ZIEGLER, 1990, p. 96-100.

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### ABBREVIATIONS

- ACE – Australian Centre for Egyptology. Sydney.  
AI – Annales Islamologiques. Le Caire.  
ASAE – Annales du Service des Antiquités de L'Égypte. Le Caire.  
BACE – Bulletin of the Australian Centre of Egyptology  
BASOR – Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research. New Haven, Conn.  
BdE – Bibliothèque d'Étude. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Le Caire.  
BIFAO – Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Le Caire.  
BiOr – Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden  
BMFA – Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin. Boston.  
BSAK – Akten des Vierten internationalen ägyptologen Kongresses, München, 1985. Hamburg, 1988–1989.  
BSEG – Société d'égyptologie Genève. Bulletin.  
CCE – Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne, Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Le Caire.  
CE – Chronique d'Égypte. Bruxelles.  
DG – Gauthier H. *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*. 7 vols. Le Caire, 1925-1931.  
FIFAO – Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Le Caire.  
GM – Göttinger Miszellen. Göttingen.  
JARCE – Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt. Cairo.  
JEA – Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. London.  
JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Chicago.  
LD – Lepsius K.R. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. Abt. I-VI (12 Bd.). Berlin, 1897-1913.  
MDAIK – Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Kairo. Wien – Berlin – Wiesbaden.  
OBO – Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Freiburg (Schweiz) – Göttingen.  
OMRO – Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Leiden.  
PAM – Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean. Reports. Varsovie.  
Pyr. – Sethe K. *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. Bd. I-II. Leipzig, 1960.  
SAK – Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur. Hamburg.  
SAOC – Studies of Ancient Oriental Civilization. Chicago.  
VA – Varia Aegyptia. Krems.  
WB. – Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache. Hrsg. von Erman A., Grapow H. Bd. I-V. Berlin, 1955-1957.  
ZÄS – Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde. Leipzig – Berlin.  
ВДИ – Вестник древней истории. Москва.

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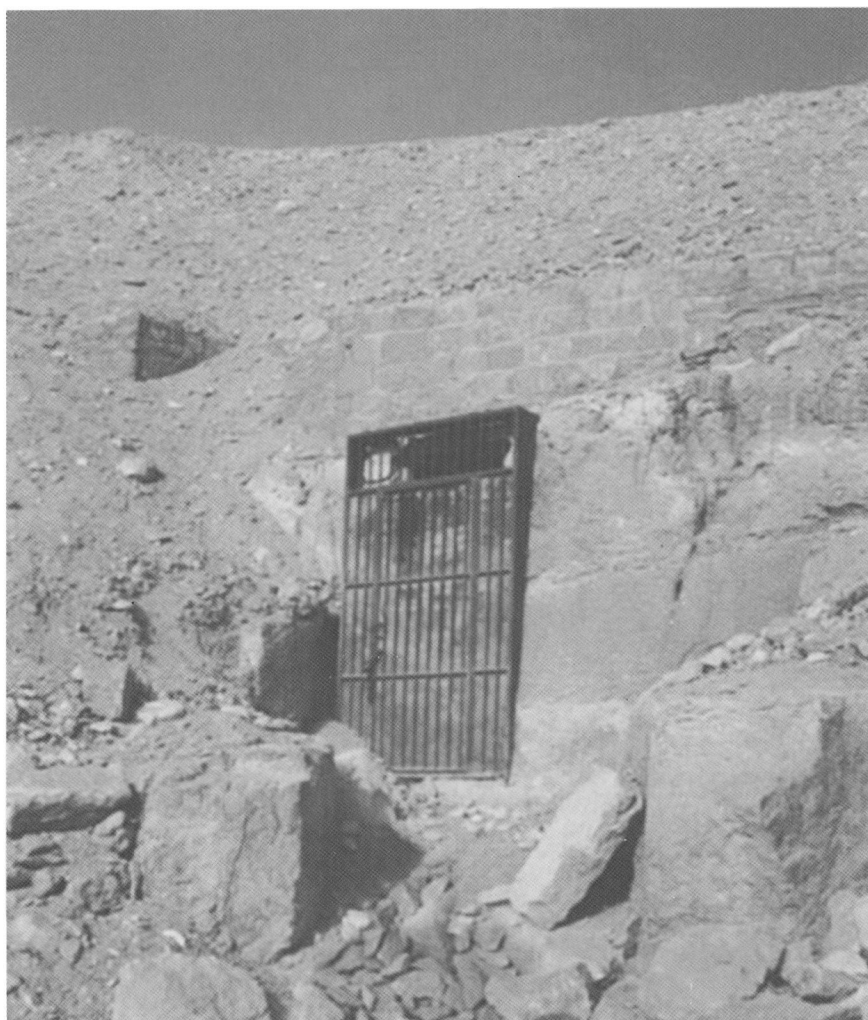
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a. The tomb G 7948 before re-excitation.



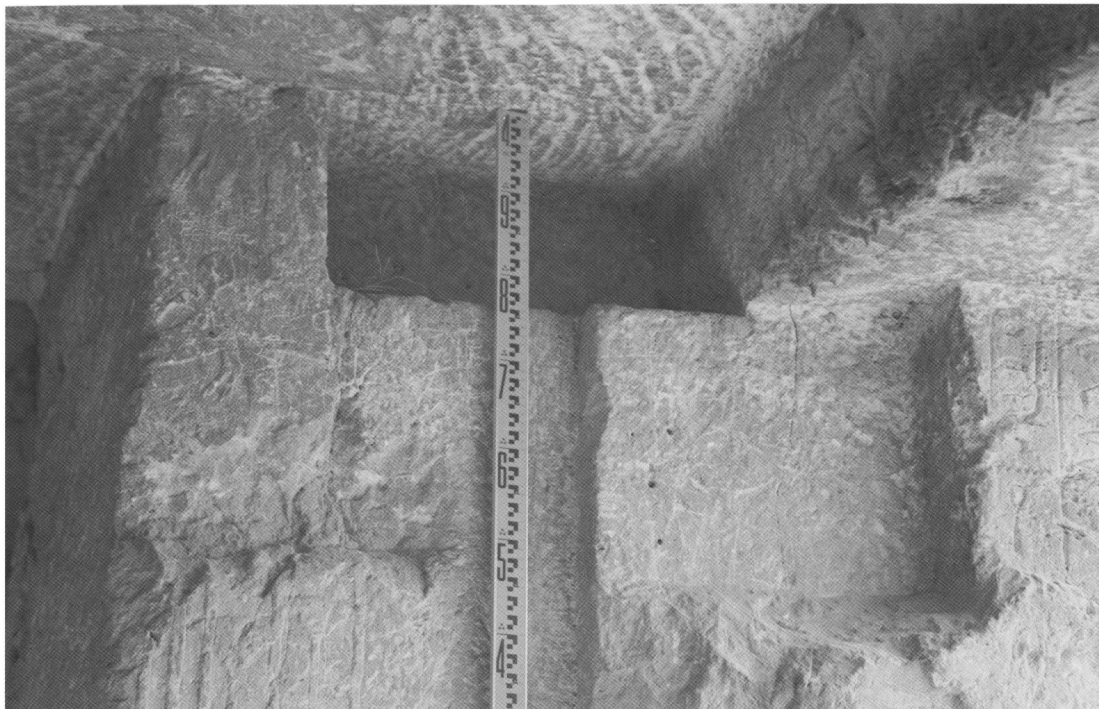
b. The entrance to the tomb G 7948 is open.



a. Entrance. Traces of the fixation of the door (south part).



b. Entrance. Traces of the fixation of the door (north part).

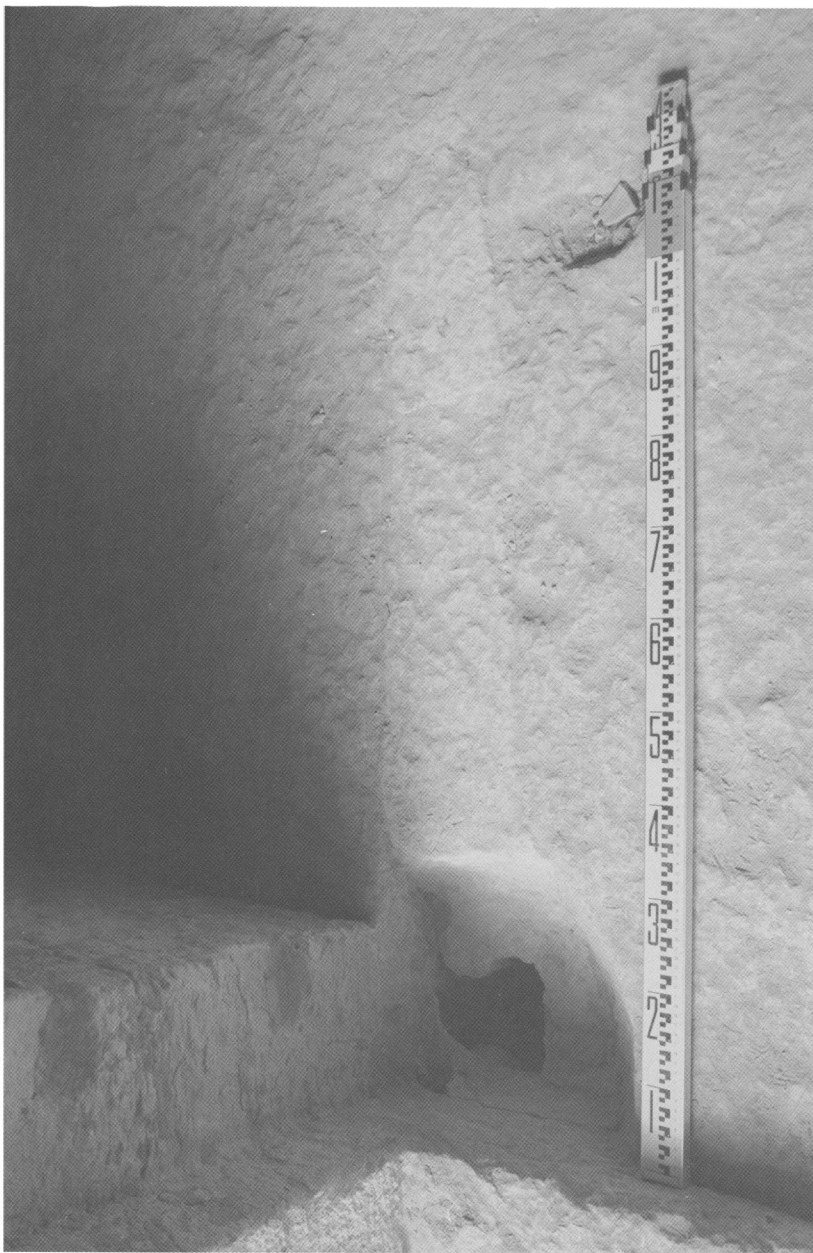


a. Entrance. Place of the drum and lintel (north part).

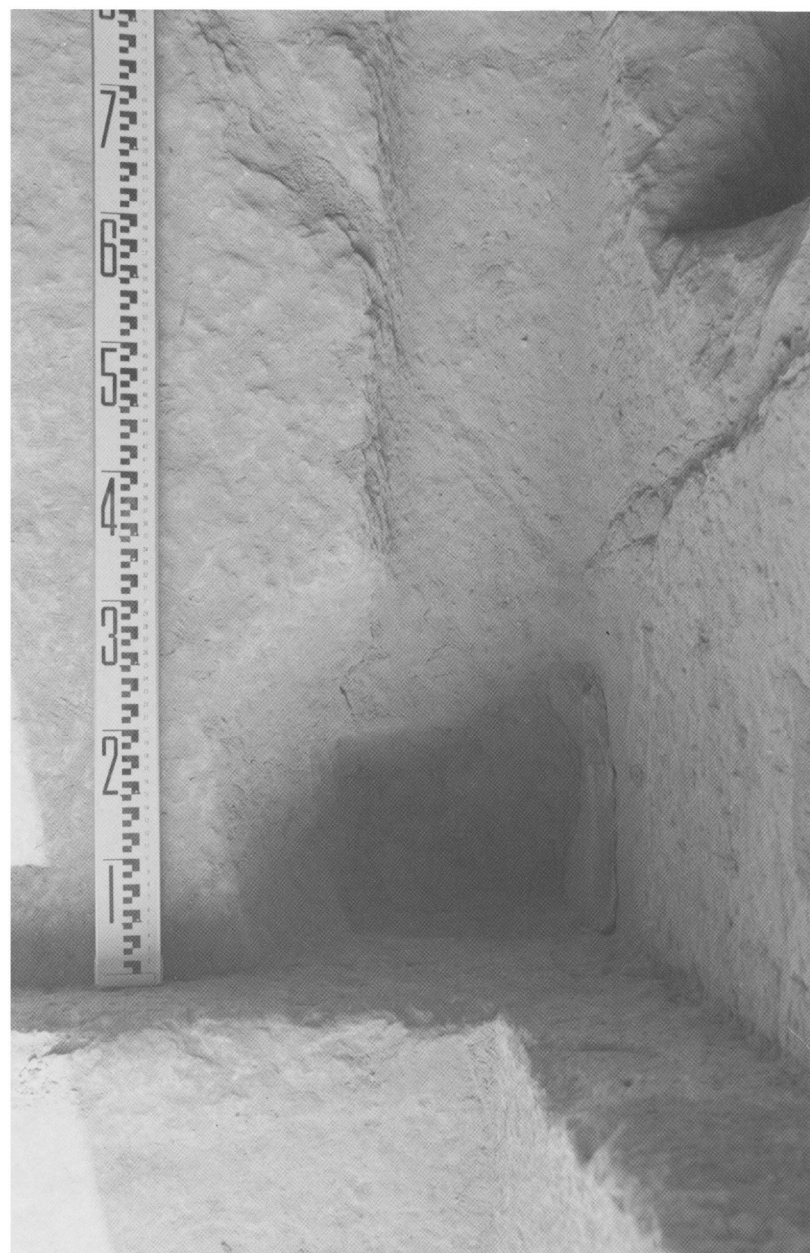


b. Entrance. Place of the drum and lintel (south part).



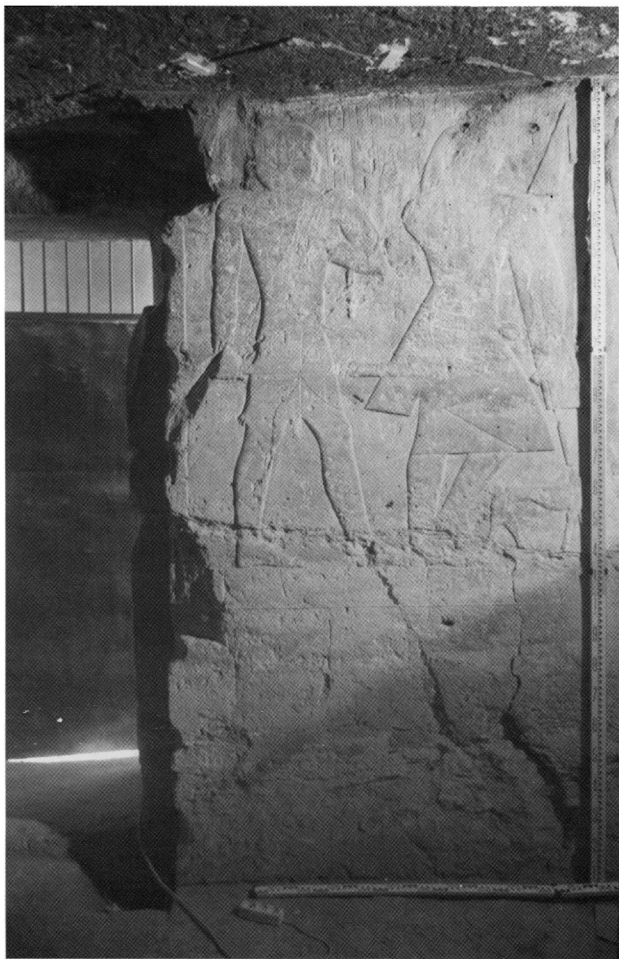


a. Entrance. Recess for the fixation of the door beam (south part).



b. Entrance. Recess for the fixation of the door beam (north part).





a. East wall (north part).



b. East wall (central part).



c. East wall (south part).



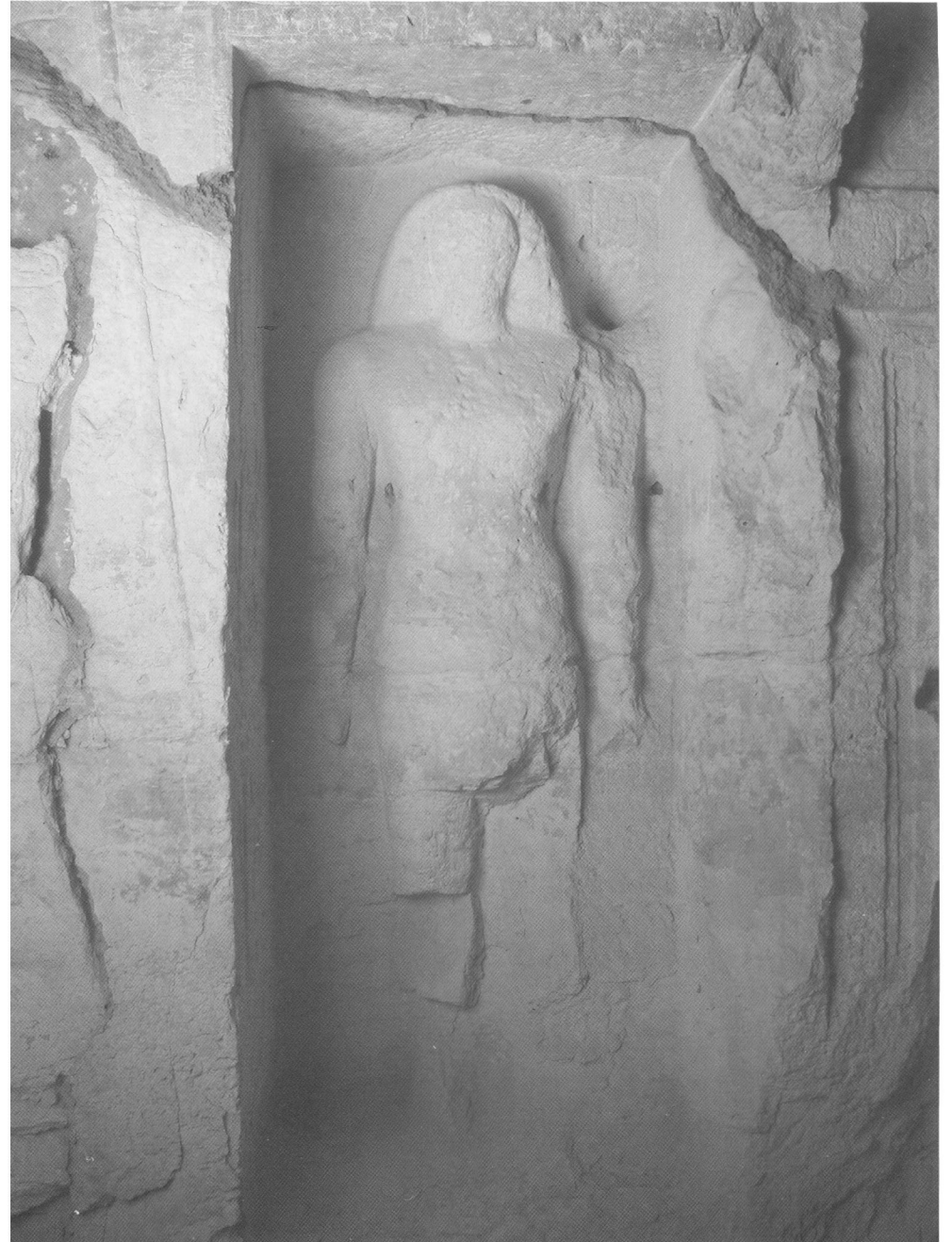
a. South wall.



b. South wall (west part).

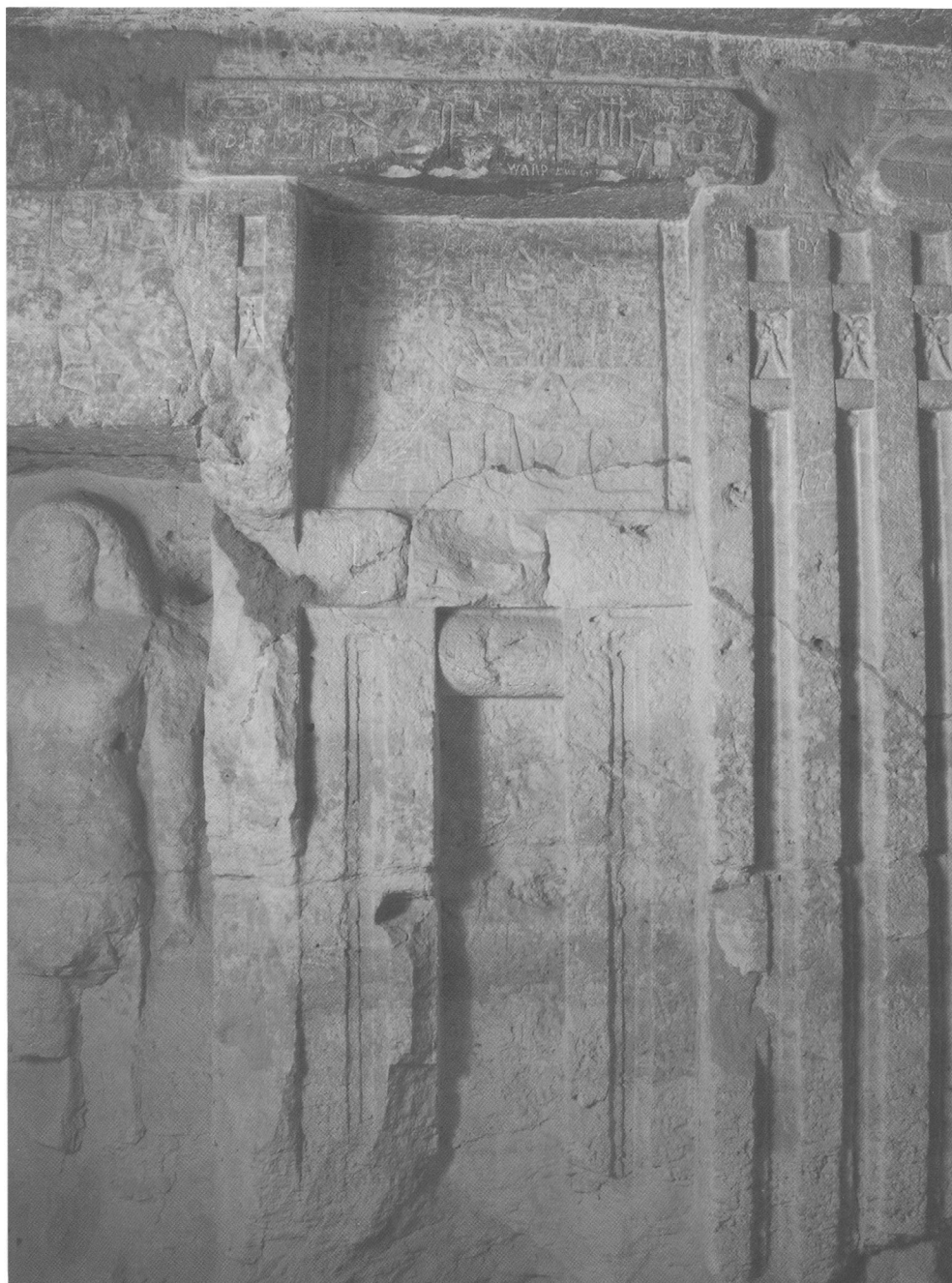


a. Western wall (south part).

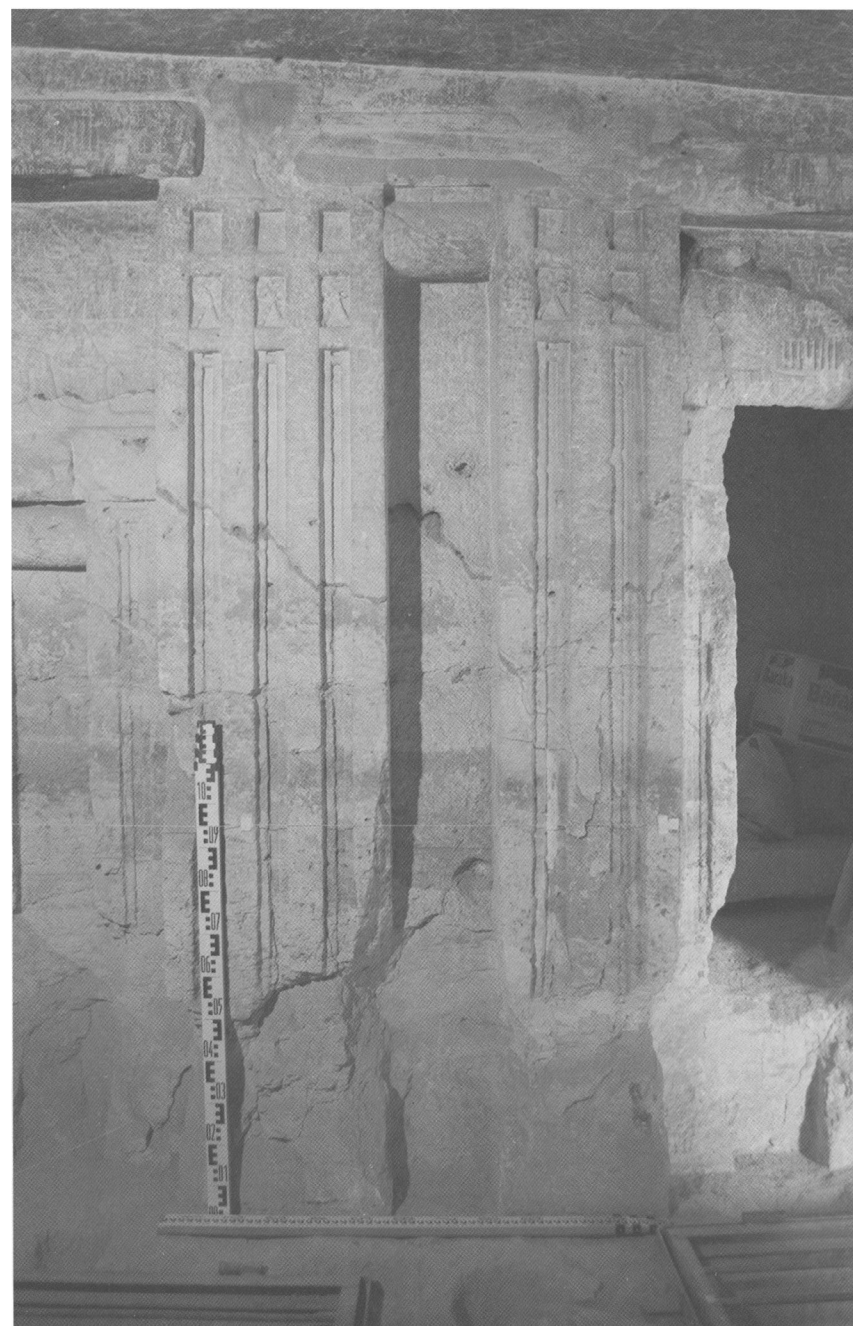


b. Statue of Khafraankh.





a. False door of Khafraankh (first part).



b. Second part of the false door of Khafraankh.



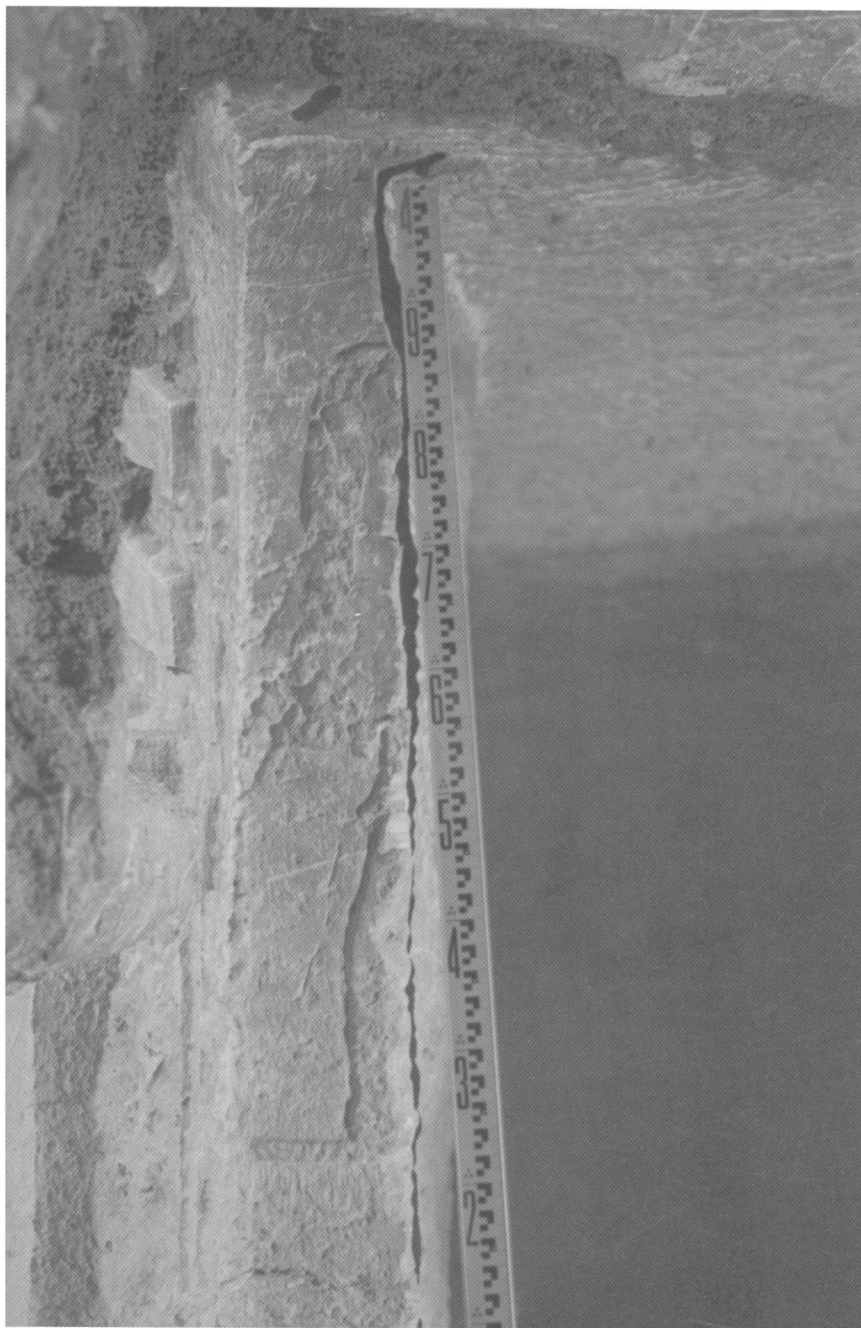
a. West wall (general view).



b. Floor in front of Herenka false door.



c. Small basin in front of Herenka false door.



a. Fragment of the north wall (west side).



b. Fragment of the north wall (east side).





a. Shaft of Khafraankh.



b. Slope to the burial chamber in the tomb G 7948/1.



a. Fragment of the slope in the tomb G 7948/1 and western part of the tomb G 7948/2.

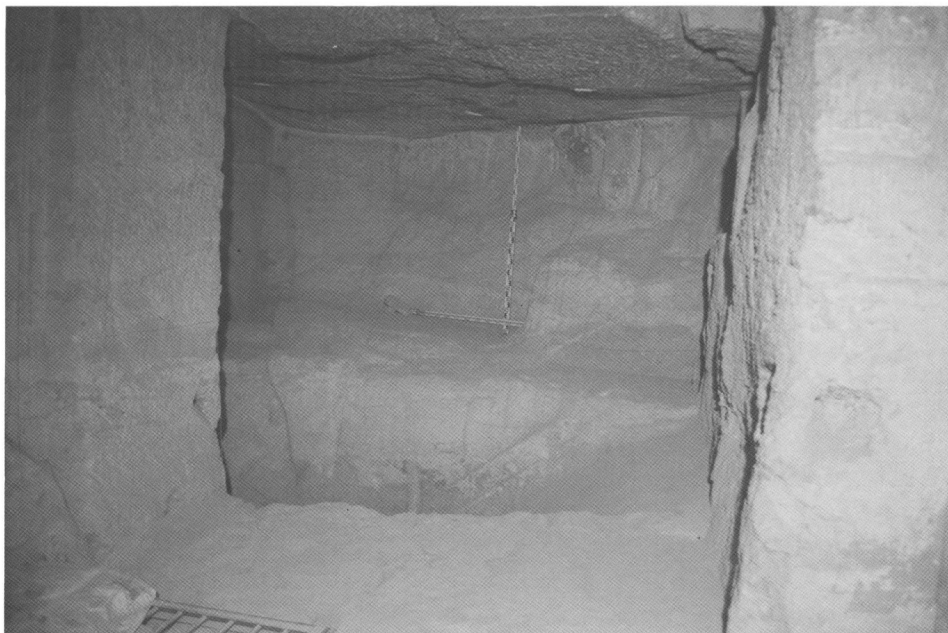


b. Tomb G 7948/2 (east part).



c. Deepening for the temporal fixation of sarcophagus on a rope

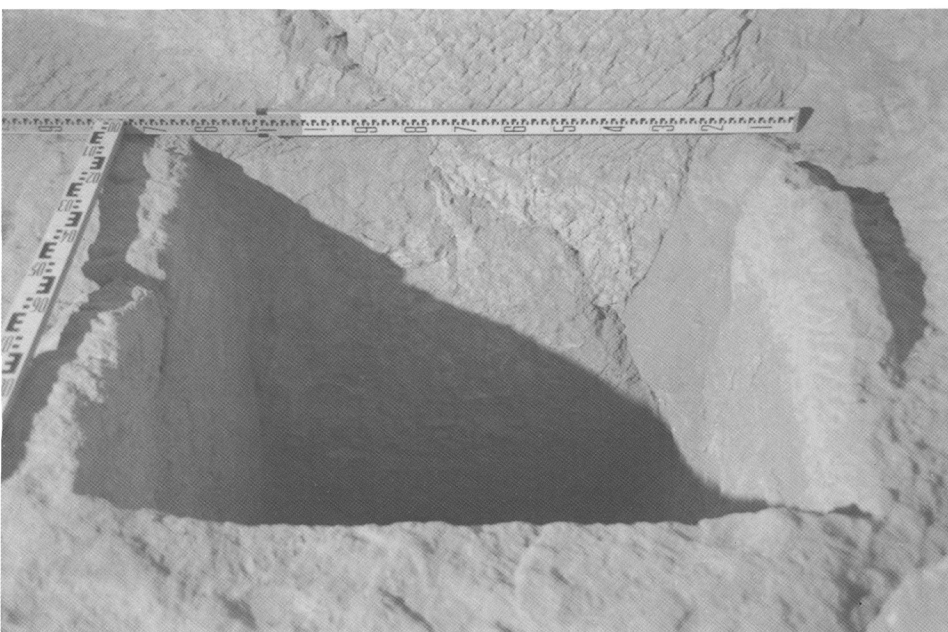




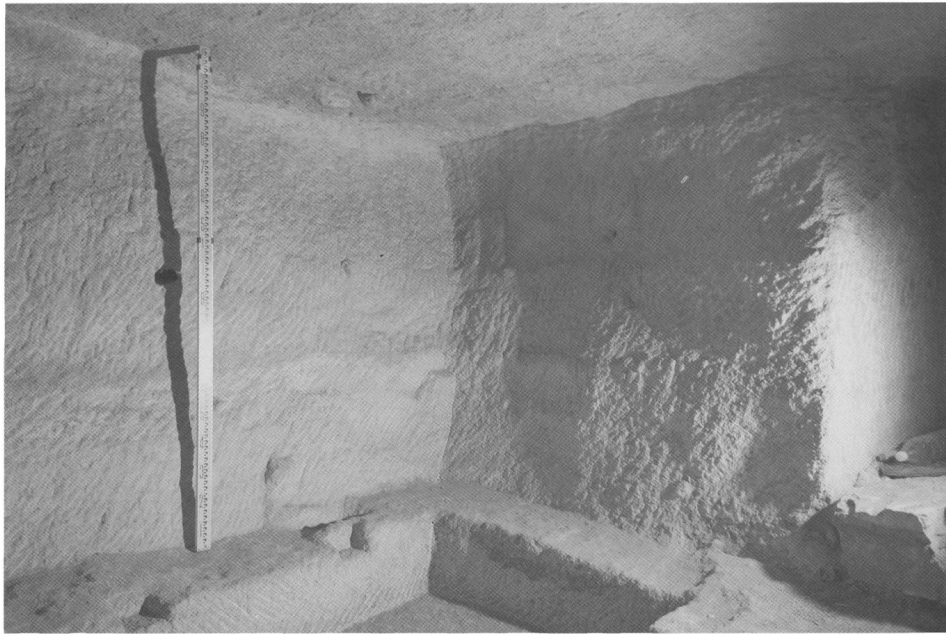
a. General view of the tombs G 7948/1 and G 7948/2 from Khafraankh chapel.



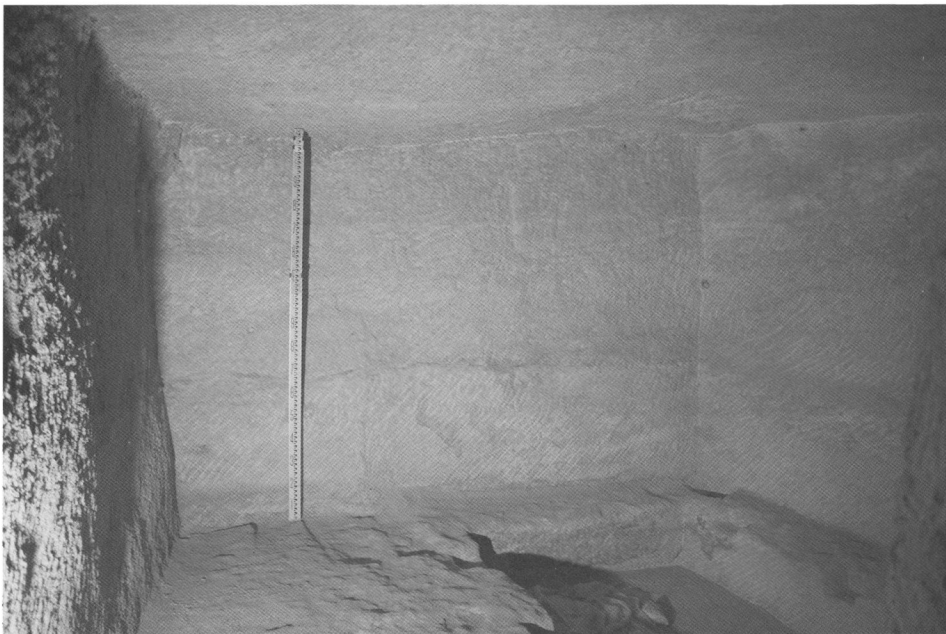
b. Tomb G 7948/2.



c. Shaft in the tomb G 7948/2.



a. Burial chamber of Khafraankh at the entrance. Coffin recess.



b. Burial chamber of Khafraankh, south part.



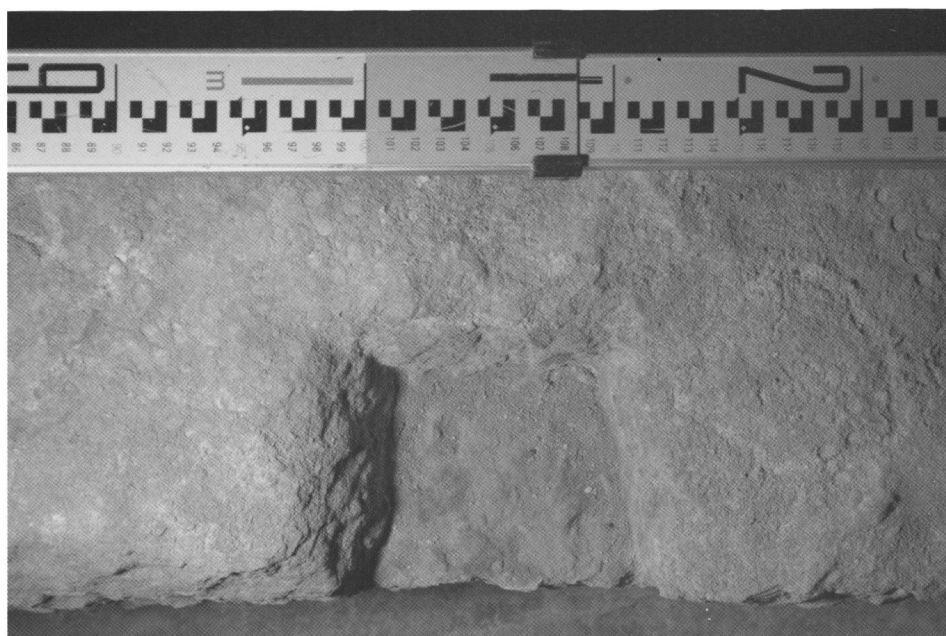
c. Burial chamber of Khafraankh, coffin recess.



a. Rectangular pits on the outer surface of coffin recess.



b. Rectangular pit on the outer surface of coffin recess.



c. Rectangular pit on the outer surface of coffin recess.





a. Shaft of Khafraankh.



b. Stones blocked the burial of Khafraankh.



c. Coffin recess of Khafraankh with the traces of inhumation.



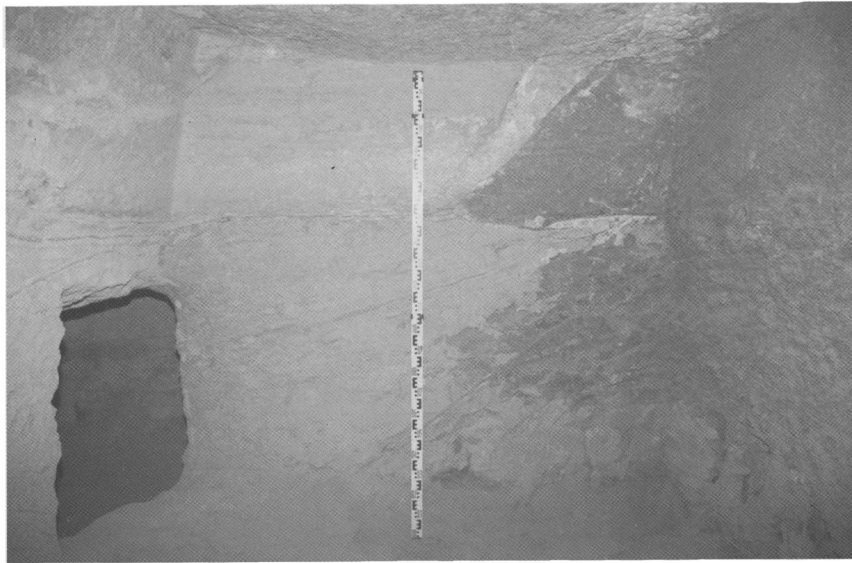
a. Burial chamber of Herenka at the entrance.



b. Passage from the shaft of Herenka to her burial chamber.



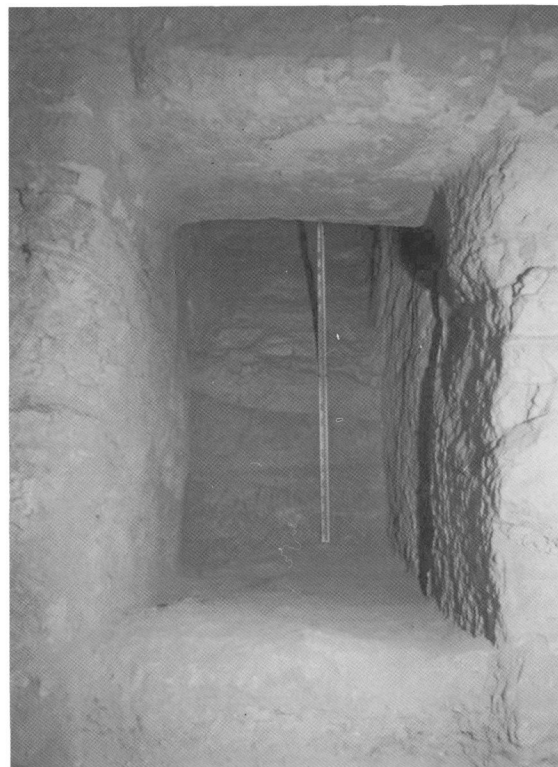
c. Burial chamber of Herenka.



a. Artificial rectangular space from the burial 14 to the burial 13.



b. Passage from the burial chamber 14 to the burial chamber 13.

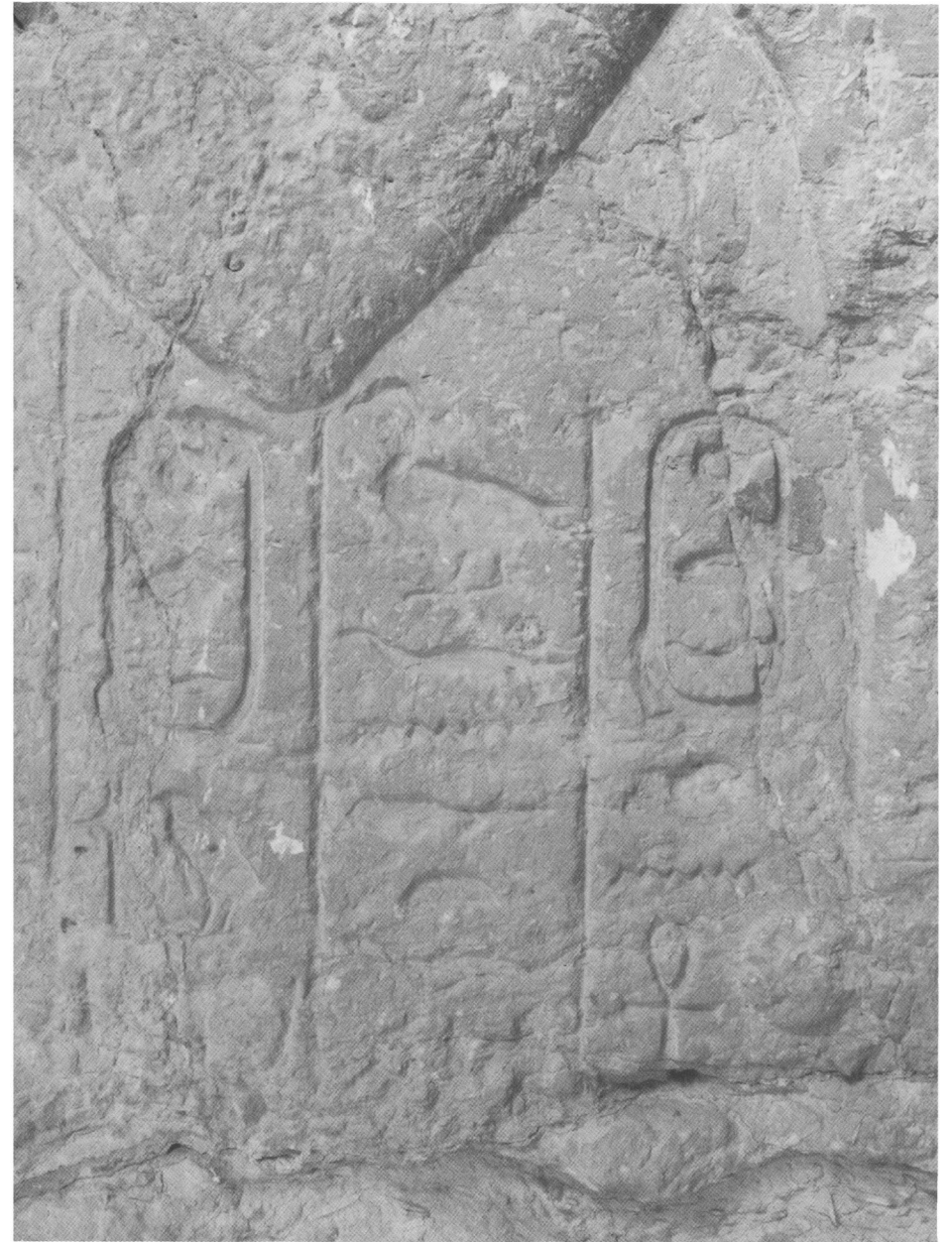


c. Entrance to the burial chamber 13 (view from inside).





a. Khafraankh sons on the entrance (south thickness).



b. Fragment of inscription on the south entrance thickness.

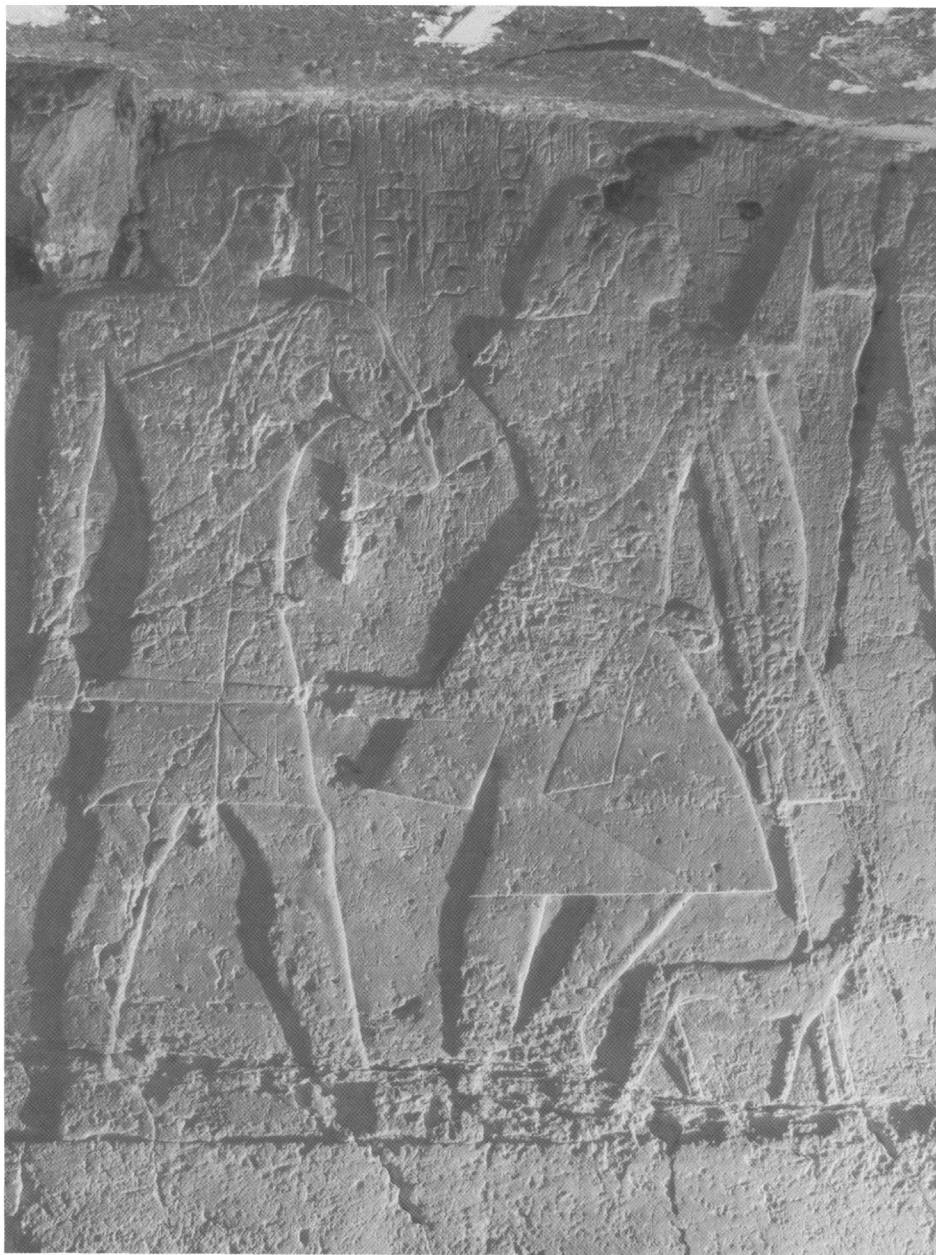


a. Khafraankh daughter on the entrance north thickness (left part).



b. Fragment of the entrance north thickness (right part).





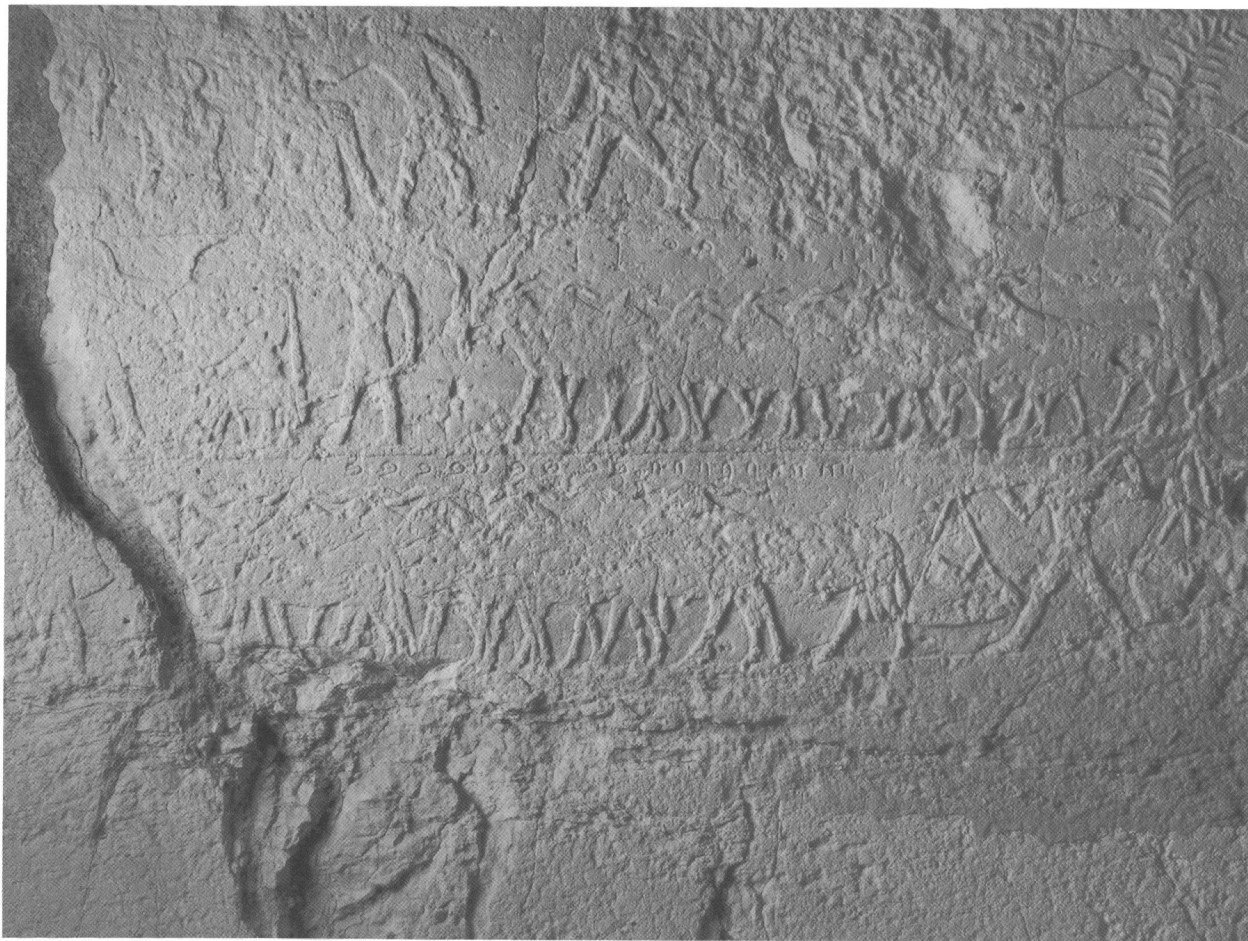
a. Major figures on the east wall (two brothers).



b. Fragment of the Khafraankh figure on the east wall.

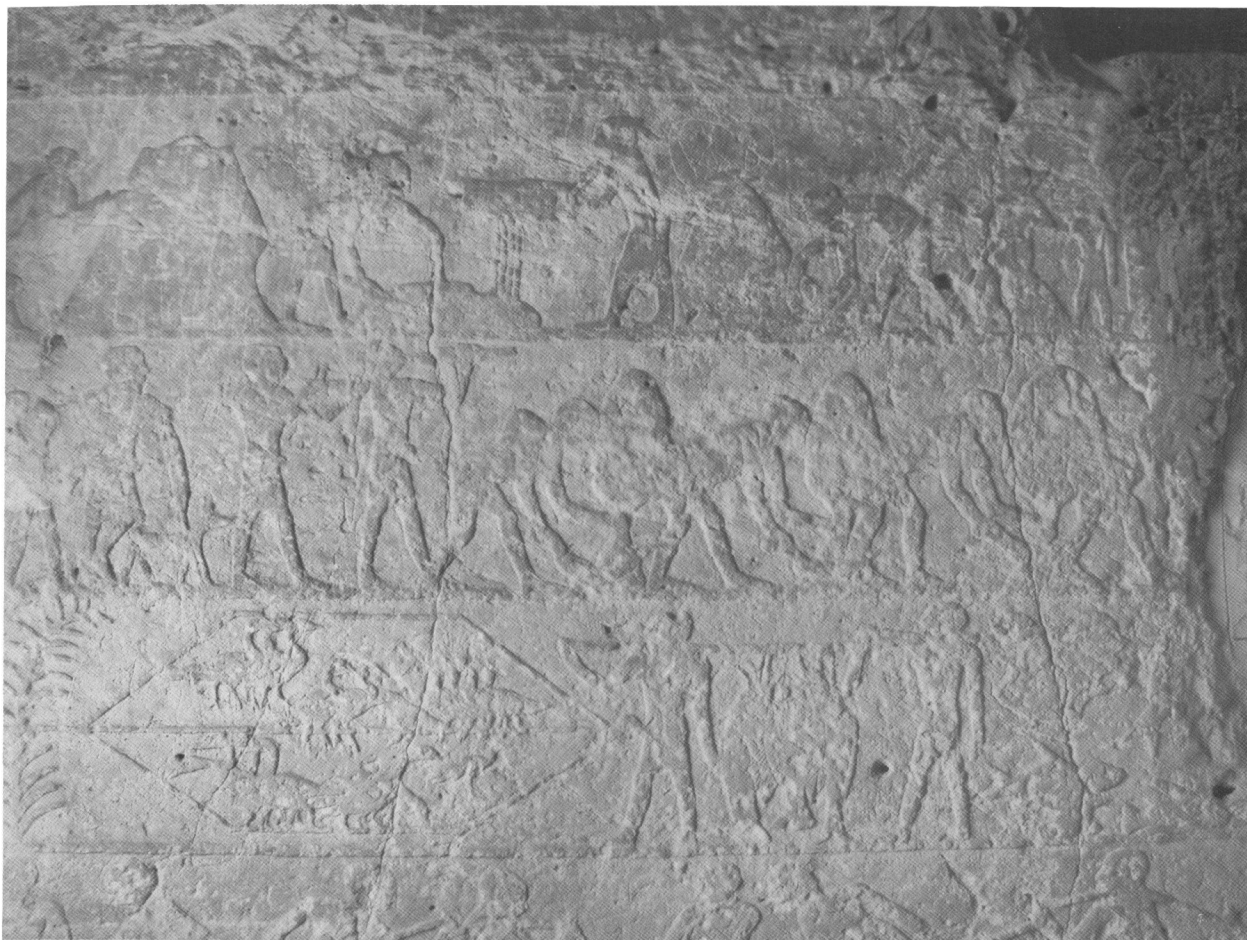


a. Scene of the presentation of documents on the east wall.



b. Herds of cattle moving to Khafraankh (east wall).





a. Agricultural and dragnet scenes (east wall).



b. Dragnet and fishing scene (east wall).



a. Dog with his master (fragment of the east wall).



b. Document presenter (fragment of the east wall).





a. Musicians (fragment of the east wall).



b. Fishers (fragment of fishing scene, east wall).



a. Major figures on the south wall.



b. Khafraankh daughter (south wall).





a. Inscription over the head of the major figures on the south wall.



b. Bouquet of lotus (south wall).



a. Offering table in front of Khafraankh and Herenka (south wall).



b. Priest *Kz* with a goose (south wall).





a. Offering bringers (south wall).



b. Cooking scene (south wall).



a. Geese and duck (fragment of the south wall).



b. Scene of cooking (fragment of the south wall).

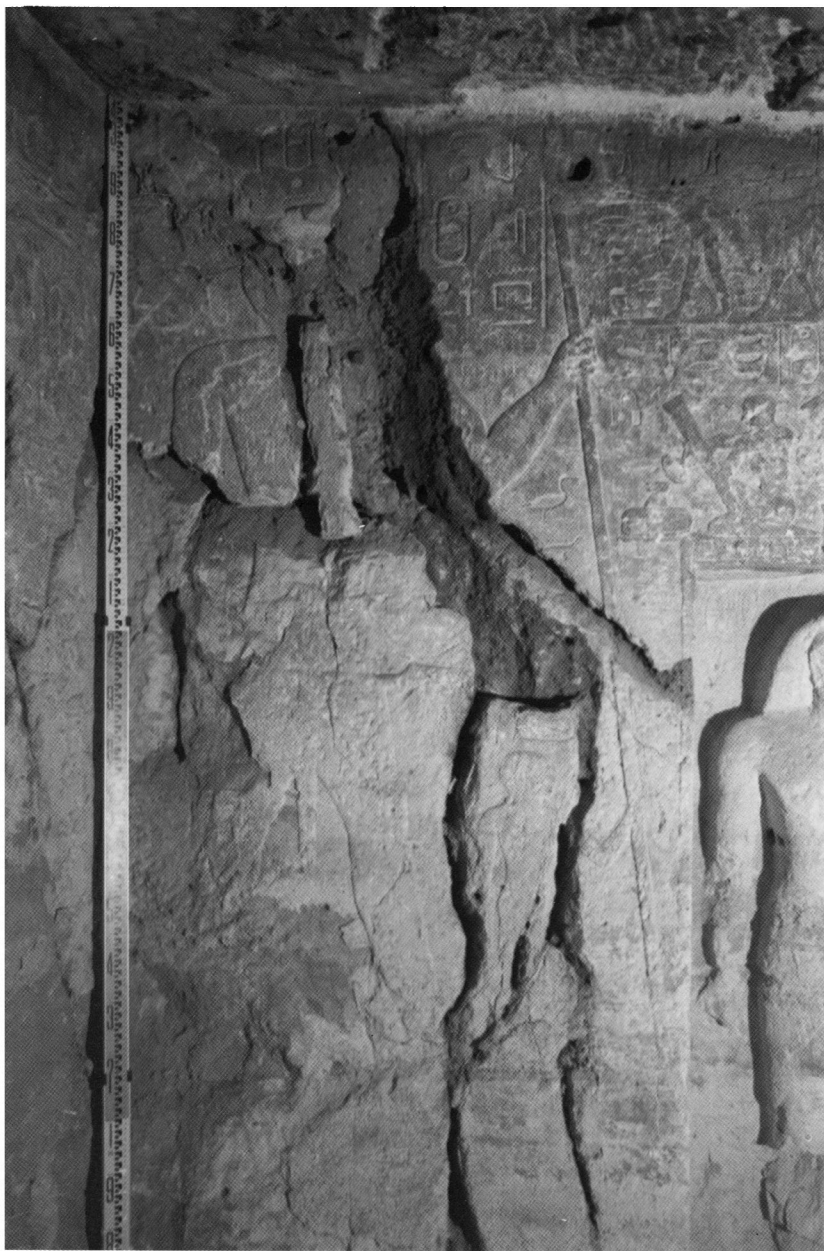




a. Priests *Ka* with offerings (fragment of the south wall).



b. Butchery scene (fragment of the south wall).



a. Extreme southern part of the west wall.



b. South jamb of the niche with statue (west wall).





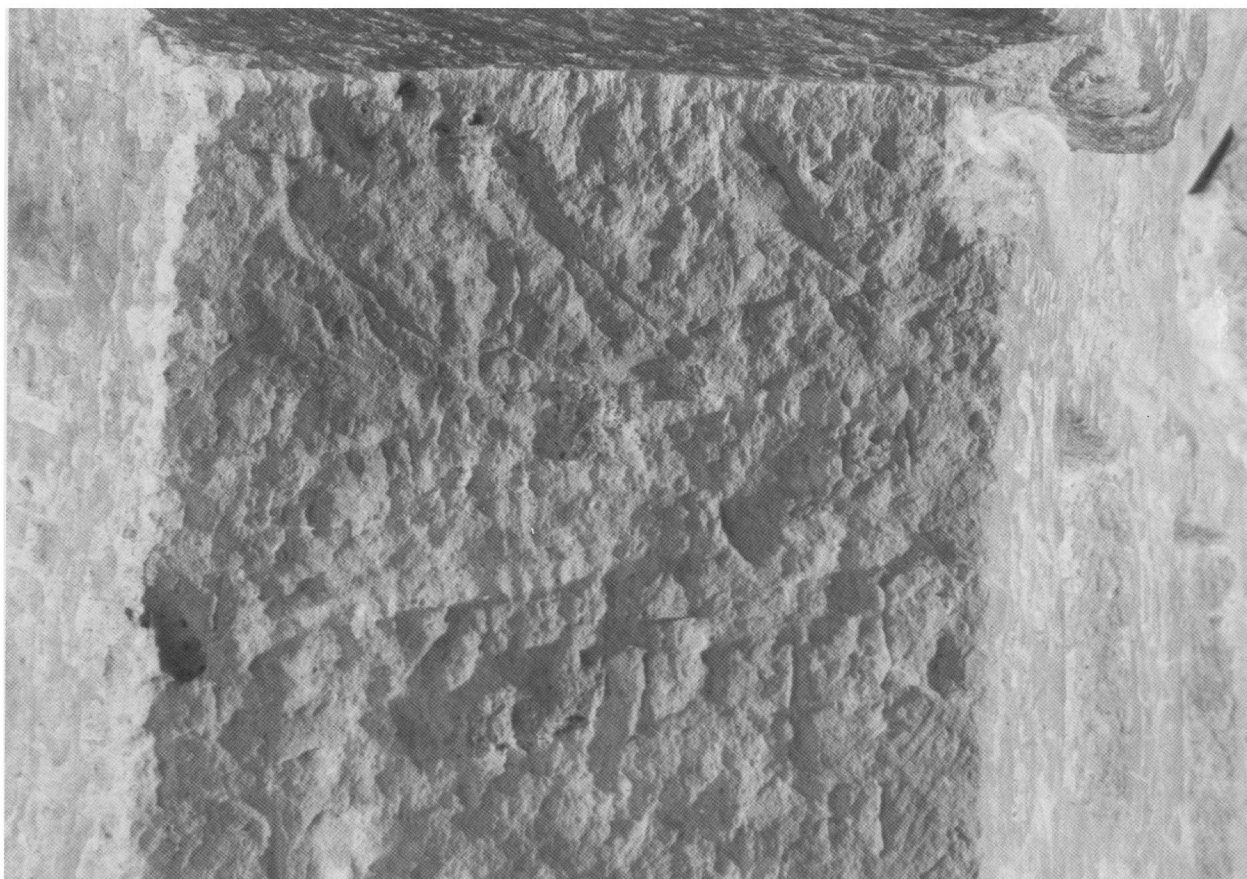
a. Scribes over the niche with statue (west wall).



b. The head of Khafraankh son (west wall).



a. Scene of bringing hyena and scribes (west wall).



b. Hieroglyphs of falcons (fragment from the false door of Khafraankh).

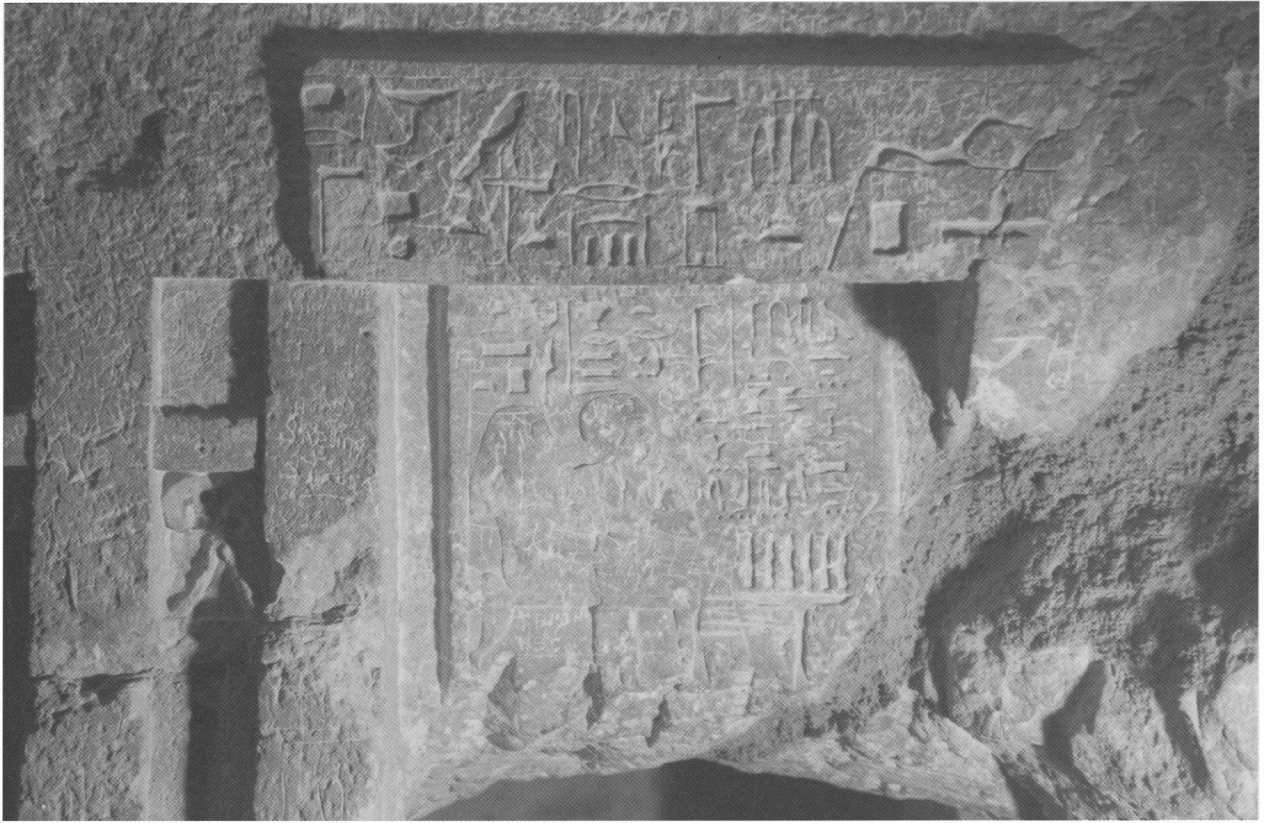




a. Stela-panel of Khafraankh.



b. Stela-panel of Herenka.



a. The architrave of the false door of Herimeru and Ishepet.



b. Stela-panel of Herimeru and Ishepet.





a. Architrave and a drum over the Herenka false door (first part).



b. Architrave and a drum over the Herenka false door (second part).



a. Birds. Fragment of the north wall (east part).



b. Marsh scene. Fragment of the north wall (east part).



c. Fragment of the north wall (east part).



a. Major figure. Fragment of the north wall (west part).



b. Fragment of the scene construction of a boat, north wall, west part.