

**The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem<sup>c</sup>ankh-Ptah,  
and Kaemnofert at Giza**

*by*  
*Alexander Badawy*

University of California Press

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## PREFACE

The present report is the result of the first season of fieldwork in Egyptology carried out by two graduate students from the Department of Art, University of California, Los Angeles, under my supervision, with the assistance of draftsmen and a photographer. The project aimed at recording data about unpublished tombs from Khufu's cemetery with a view to prepare their definitive publication. Another aspect of the project was to give the students the opportunity of dealing with major architectural monuments in Egypt.

The season lasted from September 25 to December 30, 1973, and work proceeded on the tombs of Iteti and Kaemnofert, for which funds were granted first, with the addition of the tomb of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah, for which funds were granted in November.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the generous comprehension of the Egyptian authorities: Dr. Gamal Mokhtar, deputy minister and head of the Permanent Committee on Antiquities; Dr. Zaky Iskander; Dr. Mamdouh Hamdy, director of the Service of Antiquities; and Dr. Henri Riad, director of the Egyptian Museum, who smoothed the way and arranged to provide the assistance of draftsmen and a photographer from the Service of Antiquities.

My sincere appreciation goes to Miss Nancy Thomas, one of the two members of the expedition, who dedicated considerable time and technical ability in correcting, enlarging, and assembling the photographs. Photographs from the work of the early Italian Expedition on Iteti were very generously given for publication by Professor Dr. Silvio Curto, Soprintendente per le Antichità Egizie, Torino. May he find here my renewed thanks.

Last, I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Bernard Kester, chairman of the Department of Art, UCLA, and Professor Dr. Otto-Karl Werckmeister, vice-chairman for the History of Art Area, UCLA, who approved of the project as an enlargement of my discipline in the history of Egyptian Art and allocated two grants from the Dickson Fund for the two students. Most of the expenses and my own transportation were defrayed by a grant from the Academic Senate Research Committee at UCLA. Technical and aesthetic problems relating to this monograph were solved by James Kubeck, of the University of California Press. The arduous chore of editing was done with much clarity and expediency by Grace Stimson. To both are due my thanks.

Alexander Badawy

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Helck, *Beamtentiteln*

W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches* Glückstadt, 1954.

Junker, *Giza I-XII*

H. Junker, *Bericht, Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza*. Wien, 1929-1955.

Lepsius, *Denkmäler*

R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten and Äthiopien*. 12 vols. plates; 5 vols. text. Berlin-Leipzig, 1849-1913.

Montet, *Scènes*

P. Montet, *Les Scènes de la vie privée dans*

*les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*. Strasbourg, 1925.

Pirenne, *Institutions*

J. Pirenne, *Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Egypte*. 3 vols. Brussels, 1932-1935.

Porter-Moss, *TB*

B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. 7 vols. Oxford, 1927-1951.

*Wb.*

A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch des ägyptischen Sprache*. 5 vols. Leipzig, 1926-1931.

# MASTABA OF ITETI

The tomb is located in the south part of Khufu's eastern cemetery, about 213 meters southeast of the southeastern corner of the pyramid, slightly north of the prolonged northwest-southeast diagonal (fig. 1).

## THE INITIAL TOMB

The main body of the superstructure is a rectangular massif of fill within retaining walls of local yellow-drab nummulitic limestone, measuring 11.4 by 7 meters, oriented slightly east of the north-south direction. The walls are of regular courses of quadrangular blocks (0.38-0.45 m. in height; 0.5-1.0 m. in length), with only a few of the joints slanting from the vertical. Courses are stepped, forming ledges 5 centimeters wide. Four square shafts open in one north-south row in the western half of the massif. According to Reisner's specifications this mastaba, G 7391, is of the type VIII c (1).<sup>1</sup> The terrain along the eastern facade slopes southward so that the top bed of the three preserved courses at the northeast corner corresponds to the level of the extant upper bed, level with the lintel of the doorway at the southeast end. In the eastern facade a recess at some height aboveground indicates the bottom of a niche.

As a matter of fact, in 1903 the Italian Expedition led by Schiaparelli<sup>2</sup> found a large monolithic false-door in situ 3 meters from the south end of the eastern facade, its bottom at the level of the drum of the entrance doorway to the later chapel. The false-door was set in the wall, on the fourth course aboveground (pl. 1). Its location is still indicated by the above-mentioned recess (= niche 0.47 m.) carved in this course. The wall on both sides of the bottom of the false-door was dressed into a smooth vertical surface and painted with a register showing fowl, geese, ducks, and cranes marching from both sides toward the center.<sup>3</sup> This painting recalls the procession of fowl from

Atet at Meydum, but its rough approximation of the elaborate feathering is poorly preserved.<sup>4</sup>

Against the eastern facade, now bare, was a lining of mud brick articulated with recesses of the same width consisting of two vertical facets flanking a deeper one (pl. 2). In addition to the main false-door there was a secondary broad recess to the north. This archaizing facade was finished in paint showing above a red dado delimited at the bottom by two lines in black and at the top by one black line, the two bluish panels of the fowl (1.06 x 0.43 and 0.72 x 0.43 m.), and within the recesses polychrome geometric patterns on a diagonal and lozenge mesh of red lines on yellow ground (fig. 2). The designs are related to those appearing in the Third Dynasty or even in the First Dynasty, based on a scheme of two superimposed grids, square and diagonal, lozenge and pyramidal patterns. More abstract is the assemblage of pointed triangles in white, yellow, red, and black. It is safe to assume that an imitation of timber, wavy red lineaments on yellow ground, cover the buttresses. Only a few other instances of recessed paneling, but carved of stone, are known: for the Fourth Dynasty,<sup>5</sup> the entrance doorway recess to the chapel of Djedkhefufu with palace facade;<sup>6</sup> a simple recess paneling on the south side of the quadrangular block on which the stone structures of Queen Hetepheres stand; and, later on, the facade of the lining in the mastaba of Seshemnefer III and a palace facade on the inside of its statue room.

A passageway about 0.7 meter wide ran between the eastern facade and a structure in mud brick, consisting of a chapel located in front of the false-door and accessible by a winding entrance from the east (fig. 3). Smaller rooms extended in a row to the north. The mural painting on the structure was never finished.<sup>7</sup> Forestructures in brick were built east of mastabas as magazines (Djedekhefufu, Ptahhetep, Seneb, Seshathetep).<sup>8</sup> In the mastaba of

Iteti the brick forestructure seems to have served as an entrance to the corridor chapel, as in the mastaba of Hesire' at Saqqara. Similar brick structures in front of the false-door existed in the mastaba of Itet and others in the western cemetery at Giza.<sup>9</sup> At that stage the mastaba consisted of a massif into which descended one or two shafts leading to a burial chamber extending south below the false-door, and a corridor chapel curiously reminiscent of that of Hesire' at Saqqara.

The false-door<sup>10</sup> is an important monument, eroded above the level of the drum (1.89 x 0.93 m.) and made of a monolithic slab of soft yellow limestone of Giza (pl. 3). Its design, of the compound type, shows doorjambs with double facets flanking the central recess, topped by a square aperture opening just beneath the drum. This aperture, visible in the photographs showing the false-door when still in situ, is similar to that in the false-door standing at the southwest corner of the chapel, fronting the serdab. Such an aperture existed in the false-door of Kai,<sup>11</sup> set in the brick lining of the eastern facade, and in the recessed paneling forming the inner facade of the row of serdabs in Seshemnefer II.<sup>12</sup> The serdab of Ni'ankhre' at Giza<sup>13</sup> had a window behind the false-door, opening either into it or above it — a fact unascertainable because the upper part of the false-door has been destroyed.

The relatively well-preserved relief on the four facets represents figures in superimposed panels. The composition is symmetrical. On the outer facets are figures of four "priests of the ka," each carrying an animal, a fifth priest carrying a funerary offering, and a seal-bearer. On each of the two narrow inner facets there were at least four small personages, three of them still visible. They are relatives and dependents who appear also in the scene of the banquet on the north wall of the later chapel. The name of Iteti is no longer extant, but it must have been inscribed on the now destroyed drum and lintel. There is no doubt, however, that the false-door belonged to Iteti, for both his brother Kha'fre'-ankh and his sister Rwdj appear here, as in the later chapel (north wall).

On the inner right facet, from the bottom:

1. *Hr-mrw* holding a long staff in the axis of his figure, in an archaizing gesture reminiscent of the statue of Sepa (Third Dynasty, Louvre) and the

relief of the chief sculptor Sedawg (late Sixth Dynasty),<sup>14</sup> and Seshemnefer IV.<sup>15</sup> Doubt exists about the staff, since the object does not reach the ground. A thin linen strip carried vertically above ground level by a personage sometimes appears at the bottom of a false-door, though not in the axis of the figure.<sup>16</sup>

2. *rh nswt Smgw* "One whom the king knows, Semegw."
3. *rh nswt shd w'b(w) H.f-R'·nh sn.f* "One whom the king knows, inspector of the priests, Kha'fre'-ankh, his brother."

On the inner left facet, from the bottom:

1. *In k3.f* similar to the opposite man holding a staff.
2. Lady (inscription defaced).
3. *rh nswt Rwd snt.f* "One whom the king knows, Rwdj, his sister."

On the outer right facet, from the bottom:

1. *hm-k3 S3n itit ghs* "Funerary priest San carrying an antelope."
2. *hm-k3 Spn itit htt* "Funerary priest Sepen carrying a hyena."
3. *hm-k3 Nfr itit bhs* "Funerary priest Nefer carrying a calf."

On the outer left facet, from the bottom:

1. *hm-k3 N(i)·nh-k3(i) itit hrt* "Funerary priest Ni'ankhkai carrying writing materials." The bound-up package is perhaps a leather container with crossing straps like those used by scribes for their papyri.<sup>17</sup> But *hrt* occurs as "food offering."<sup>18</sup>
2. *sd3wtj hw itit htmt* "Seal-bearer Akhw carrying the sealed things," contained in a box-like package on his shoulder.
3. *hm-k3 It --- itit ---* "Funerary priest It --- carrying ---." The picture shows a fowl, perhaps a crane.

The animals carried in the arms are certainly young ones preferred for their juicy meat, as often specified in legends above cattle *rn*. Antelopes and gazelles were favorites, but also hyenas,<sup>19</sup> though perhaps to a lesser extent. A peasant carrying a young hyena strides to the southern false-door of Seshathetep, another among the offering-bearers of Debehny. Elsewhere at Nefer (Khentkawes) hyenas are marched behind packs of oryxes (antelopes) or are led behind oxen at Heti. The fact that the hyena always appears last might indicate the least preference.

This type of false-door with superimposed

## MASTABA OF ITETI

panels containing figures on the facets is best represented in the vicinity of the same southeast area of the cemetery of Khufu by the two false-doors of Kai,<sup>20</sup> the false-door of Whemnofert, that of Neferka, and that of Medunofert. Only the principal false-door of Kai has a horizontal slot below the drum. The personages represented are mother and sons of Kai (secondary false-door) and relatives and retainers, with precedence marked by higher levels for the relatives, on one facet (principal false-door of Kai, Fifth Dynasty) or on two facets (Whemnofert under the reign of Khufu; Neferka in the mid-Fourth Dynasty). Only the retainers bring offerings of small size, such as incense, libation vessel, and loaf (by funerary priests), while other attendants carry on their heads more bulky ones such as baskets of victuals. Only two quadrupeds are carried in the arms by attendants of Neferka. It seems significant, therefore, that three funerary priests of Iteti each carry a quadruped, a feature repeated on the outside facet of the south door-jamb of the chapel.

### ENLARGEMENT OF THE INITIAL TOMB

The superstructure was extended south with the same width for about 4.5 meters to accommodate a rectangular chapel (1.60 x 3.50 m.) north-south, containing a simple false-door at the south end of its inner west wall. An aperture below the drum communicated with the serdab (ca. 0.70 x 0.90 m.) built in the fill behind (fig. 4). A seated statue of Iteti was found above that spot by the Italian Expedition.<sup>21</sup> In the clearing made in the fill behind the serdab I reached the bedrock without finding any trace of structure or shaft. The walls of the chapel and those retaining the fill west of it are of regular courses, similar to those of the initial superstructure (pl. 4). The external faces are stepped with ledges 5 centimeters deep, except for the vertical surface against which abuts the serdab. Two doorjambs of the entrance doorway in the eastern facade protrude from the alignment, each having a facet. Both facets on either side of the doorway are carved with three superimposed scenes. The false-door stands in a recess interrupting the sequence of scenes that cover the four inner walls. Contrasting with the regularity

of beds and joints on the outer walls, the walls inside the chapel show slanting beds, with blocks of disparate sizes forming interlocking joints (fig. 5). Masonry beds in the northern wall are markedly slanting down to the east. The entrance was closed with one door leaf hinged in the northeast corner of the room. Holes in both lintel and threshold mark the location of the hinges. The ceiling was recently restored at a height of 2.58 meters, partly with three ancient blocks of remarkable depth, smooth on the lower face but left in the rough outside. There is no evidence as to the original level of the ceiling, but the uppermost inscriptions on the walls are complete and there is no indication of any *kheker* frieze or zigzag band above. The absence of the frieze agrees well with the absence of a torus band along the corners delimiting the vertical ends of the scenes.

There is no way to determine whether a fill was added on top of the chapel to the level of the roof of the initial superstructure, though the outer rough shapes of the ceiling blocks and early photographs by the Italian Expedition (see pl. 1) would support such an assumption. The complete superstructure would then have assumed a rectangular form with evenly stepped walls. An approximate estimate of the height of the superstructure could be made on the basis of the height of the external false-door which, when complete with its tablet and lintel, must have measured more than 2.60 meters. Allowing a height of 1.50 meters for the four courses below the false-door, the level of the top of the stela would have reached 4.10 meters. With one more meter above for the thickness of a fill, we calculate a total height of 5.10 meters, nearly half the length of the initial superstructure.

The order in which the shafts were cut cannot be determined. The southernmost one stands out as the deepest (ca. 9 m.), connected at its bottom beyond a raised threshold, originally blocked with rubble, with a square burial chamber (ca. 2.4 m.) having a deep excavation in the floor for a sarcophagus along its west wall and a Canopic box on the east side.<sup>22</sup> This shaft may have been the initial one, for it opens behind the external false-door. The second to be cut may have been the one opening behind the large northern recess on the facade. Of the same type as the previous shaft but shallower (ca. 4.4 m. deep), it leads to a square burial chamber (ca.



2 m.). The two other shafts were cut later and are less important.

### Entrance Doorway of the Southern Chapel (pl. 5)

The doorway, relatively well preserved to the level of the drum, opens just south of the initial mastaba in the northeast corner of the chapel. The front of each doorpost is battered and has two facets, 22 centimeters wide for the outer one and 24 for the inner one, which recedes 11 centimeters to the west. The doorposts protrude from the alignment of the eastern facade. The drum is inscribed with titles (fig. 6): *rh nswt shd pr'3 imir3 pr'3 Itti* "One whom the king knows, inspector at the court, overseer at the court, Iteti." The "inspector at the court" could perhaps have had the chore of inspecting land tenants.<sup>23</sup> A plain socle (1.08 m.) runs at the bottom of the doorposts and turns in at the doorjambs. Above, on each facet, are three superimposed panels in raised relief, each containing a figure of an offering-bearer directed toward the door. Whereas each inner facet shows the three sons of Iteti, the outer facets represent other personages, thus marking a decrease in kinship and intimacy toward the exterior, as would have characterized a procession filing into the chapel.

On the outer north facet (fig. 7), from the bottom (pl. 6):

1. *hm k3* "Funerary priest."
2. *Hr-mrw* who also appeared at the bottom of the external false-door, holds a heart-shaped vase with two lugs probably containing unguent or oil.
3. *Ip3w* carries a quadruped. The names *Ipj* and *Ipw* are known, but not *Ipaw*, perhaps *Ip-the-interpreter*.<sup>24</sup>

On the outer south facet (fig. 8), from the bottom:

1. *hm-k3 'nh(i) m k3(i)* "Funerary priest 'Ankhiem-kai" carries a quadruped. The name could be interpreted as "My life is in the possession of my ka."<sup>25</sup>
2. *N(i)'nh k3(i)* "Ni'ankhkai" carrying a hyena, as does Sepen on the external false-door. The name is translated by Ranke<sup>26</sup> as "Endued with life is my ka." The uppermost panel is defaced.

On the inner north facet (fig. 9), from the bottom:

1. *S3.f wr Itti* "His eldest son Iteti" carrying on his breast a hare which he holds by the ears. The custom of giving the name of the father to the eldest son is well attested in the Old Kingdom. That the son appears here, on the opposite post and on the north doorjamb in the lowest panel, indicates perhaps a gradation in importance from the bottom to the top. Hares are seldom brought as offering; it is exceptional in a mastaba from the Fifth Dynasty at Giza.<sup>27</sup>
2. *s3.f Wr-k3 w-H'.f-R'* "His son Wrkaw-Kha'fre'" carries a fowl, probably a goose. The name means "Great of kas in Kha'fre'."<sup>28</sup>
3. *s3.f W3š-k3-H'.f-R'* "His son Washka-Kha'fre'" carries a fowl. The name is interpreted as "Powerful is the ka of Kha'fre'"<sup>29</sup> or "Powerful of ka is Kha'fre'."<sup>30</sup>

On the inner south facet, from the bottom:

1. *s3.f Itti* "His son Iteti" carrying a goose.
2. *s3.f W3š-k3-H'.f-R'* "His son Washka-Kha'fre'" carrying a goose.
3. Defaced.

The scenes on the two doorjambs form a sequence with those on the inner facets of posts, for there are three superimposed panels of the same height, each containing a figure of a son kneeling and performing a rite. On the north jamb Iteti, seated on a chair with calf's legs, holds in his left hand his staff of authority and looks east to receive the three offerings. He wears a long wig, a broad collar, and a short kilt, and he is barefoot (pl. 7). His right hand lies outstretched on his right knee. The gesture of holding the staff while seated appears for persons not fronted with an offering table (Sesha-thetep). In front of his face is inscribed his name, and again in front of his legs *rh nswt Itti* "One whom the king knows Iteti."

Titles are arrayed in three columns above the panels of the sons, to the right of the drum (fig. 10): *shd n pr'3 Itti w'b (Wr-H'.f-R') rh nswt* "Inspector at the court, Iteti, priest of 'Great-is-Kha'fre',' one whom the king knows." The name of the pyramid "Great-is-Kha'fre'" of which Iteti is priest is restored on the evidence of the title inscribed on the left side of the seat on his statue found by the Italian Expedition and now in the Museo Egizio in Turin. The form of the title *shd n pr'3*, with the genitival *n*, is exceptional.<sup>31</sup>

In the upper panel, in front of Iteti, a libation of water is made: *rdit mw s3.f Wr-k3 w-H'.f-R'*

“Giving water, his son Wrkaw-Kha‘fre’.” The son pours water from a vase *hes* into a broad-mouthed basin placed on the ground. Purification with water to which natron was added was performed in front of the false-door by the funerary priest. At Kha‘f-Khufu the scene is similar to that at Heti, and the inscription is identical. In reality the first rite in the sequence was “water pouring.”<sup>32</sup> The daily rite of a water libation was so essential to the deceased that he asked for it sometimes in a special offering formula: “May the king be favorable and give, that it be poured for him water daily in the necropolis, for Nekhefetikai.”<sup>33</sup>

In the mid panel the son Washka-Kha‘fre’ presents two conical loaves. The offering of bread halves *gsw* appears for the first time with Debehen in the offering list (no. 91), though mentioned sporadically in earlier tomb tablets.<sup>34</sup> The rite of placing bread on the round offering table was the earliest known and was maintained later.

In the lower panel the eldest son Iteti *s3.f wr Itti* kneeling presents two ovaloid vessels similar to those proffered by the priest kneeling in front of the offering of Sekhemka.<sup>35</sup> This rite is identified as *hmk* “Drink offering” but also as a more generic “offering” including food, especially roasted goose and ox meat.<sup>36</sup>

Kneeling on both knees to present an offering with both hands is a posture appearing in wall scenes of the late Old Kingdom<sup>37</sup> as a substitute for the earlier posture assumed by the funerary priest kneeling on one knee. The three sons of Iteti thus perform the three rites essential to transfer the offerings from the offering table by funerary priests. Sekhemka’s table has a priest kneeling with two water vases, followed by a second priest presenting a conical loaf and a jug of beer and by a *hry-wdb* “Master of largess” reciting the various items in the offering.<sup>38</sup>

The south jamb is utterly eroded, but the scene as described by the Italian Expedition in 1903<sup>39</sup> showed Iteti and his wife seated on the same chair. He wears a long wig, beard, collar, and *shendjwr*-kilt. His right hand holds a long staff while his left is on his knee. The wife wears a graded wig and a skirt held by suspenders. Her right hand is on her husband’s shoulder and her left, on her knee. Titles inscribed in front of the couple read: *imyr k3t nt nswt w‘b Itti* “Overseer of works of the king, *wa‘b*-priest, Iteti.”

The *wa‘b*-priest could perform at the court or, more probably, at the tomb.<sup>40</sup> In relation to the wife: *rht nswt Snt‘nh* “One whom the king knows, Senet‘ankh.” The name is listed by Ranke.<sup>41</sup>

The treatment of Iteti’s doorway is most unusual owing to its numerous scenes. Only the false-doors of Iteti, Kai,<sup>42</sup> and Whemnofert<sup>43</sup> from the same district at Giza east show double facets carved with superimposed panels representing relatives and retainers bringing offerings. Simpler entrances in other tomb chapels are carved on the facade only with a representation of the owner standing, leaning on his staff and embraced by his wife (Kai).<sup>44</sup> At Nefer<sup>45</sup> only an architrave or a drum is carved. On the doorjamb the owner appears seated alone and with his wife (Kai),<sup>46</sup> or alone receiving an offering and the list of offerings (Nefer).<sup>47</sup>

More elaborate entrances, such as that of Inpwhetep<sup>48</sup> from the Fifth Dynasty, show on either side a representation of the owner and his wife, above two registers, each with three sons and four daughters, or three embalmers bringing fowl and four women. On the doorjamb the couple appears again above two registers of offering-bearers and cattle. Seemingly these scenes were already borrowing from the repertoire of the chapel proper, as is also true of Iteti’s doorway, where all the scenes represent on the inner facets of the posts the three sons bringing offerings, and again on the northern doorjamb performing a phase of the offering ritual, as would a funerary priest. As a matter of fact the three sons appear on the west wall in a procession with funerary priests. The obvious importance assumed by the three sons who do not appear on the external false-door may indicate that the chapel was built as their foundation in honor of Iteti after his death, in compensation for their not being represented on the false-door, probably erected during their early years or even before they were born.

### Wall Scenes of the Chapel

*North wall (pl. 8).* On this wall is the only composition where Iteti faces the doorway. The wall is relatively well preserved, even showing numerous traces of paint. It is subdivided into three registers, each of the two lower ones 0.4 meter high and the upper one 0.8 meter high. It

is in the upper register, at the western end, that Iteti appears seated on a chair with calf's legs, but without the lower conical bases common in most of the later chair legs (fig. 11). The horizontal traverse of the seat ends at the back in a lotus and carries a cushion. Iteti wears a long wig, a broad collar, and a well-fitted dress, probably the ceremonial panther's skin whose round-end girdle hangs beneath the seat, a dress accurately represented in the well-preserved painted relief scene of Kahif at Giza.<sup>49</sup> Iteti's left arm is crossed on his chest, and he holds in his hand a flabellum flung over his left shoulder. He stretches his open right hand toward an offering stand carrying a platter level with the seat piled up with three large loaves, conical, oval, and quadrangular. Beyond and above the stand are arrayed, in four superimposed rows, appetizing victuals: meat on low-footed trays (bottom row), oblong elliptical and broad-mouthed vessels, two baskets of fruit on a tray, and other items above and below low stands.<sup>50</sup> The representation of three loaves on the main offering platter, instead of the common conventional layer of bread slices, is rather unusual.<sup>51</sup> An attempt to analyze the food items shows that they are neither a monotonous array of superimposed rows of identical items, as for Nswtnefer,<sup>52</sup> nor an exuberant piling up of victuals as in scenes dating to the late Sixth Dynasty;<sup>53</sup> balance is maintained with isolated instances of symmetry, as in the two fruit baskets flanking an oval loaf of bread.

In front of Iteti's legs, just beneath the food platter, is a small figure squatting on its own ground line higher than the level of Iteti's ankle. Like Iteti, this figure looks toward the doorway, but beneath it, on the other side of the offering tray, are two smaller figures (0.14 m. tall) turned toward Iteti,<sup>54</sup> to whom they present with both hands an offering.

In the register at mid height (0.405 m. tall), three personages seated on chairs look toward six small figures squatting near the doorway. The personage at the western end is a lady clad in a fitted yellow robe reaching to her ankles. She wears a long wig and holds her left arm across her bust, extending her open right hand and arm adorned with a bracelet to a platter carrying a conical loaf and a shank. Her chair, like those of the two male personages, has calf's legs. According to the inscription fronting her

she is *rhṯ nswt Ḳpt* "One whom the king knows, Ipet." The two male personages are identical; each is seated on a chair with calf's legs, wearing a tightly fitting yellow dress hung on the left shoulder and perhaps a panther's skin with a round-end girdle like Iteti's, holding in the left hand a flail flung over the left shoulder and extending the open right hand to a platter with three loaves. Each figure is in fact a half-scale reduction of that of Iteti, except for the round wig worn down over the back of the neck. The personage in the middle is *rh nswt Nfr* "One whom the king knows, Nefer," probably the same as the funerary priest of that name appearing on the external false-door. The front sitter is *shḏ w'b(w) Wr (H'.f-R') 'nh (H'.f-R')* "Inspector of priests of (the pyramid) (Wr-Kha'fre'), 'Ankh-(Kha'fre'),"<sup>55</sup> probably identical with the personage of that name on the false-door. The cartouches, however, lack names, and the artist who painted them in red seems to have been uncertain whether to place them horizontally or vertically.

At the eastern end two superimposed registers (the upper one 0.18 m. tall; the lower one 0.22 m.) show each three retainers squatting and looking toward Iteti, each holding his left hand around a tall elliptical vessel set on the ground. In the upper row, starting from the front, are: *Ḳjḏf* (3) Idjefa,<sup>56</sup> *Hrmrw* Hermerw, *Ḳnk3.f* Inkaf,<sup>57</sup> and below: *S(mgw)* Semegw, *Rwd* Rwdj. Three of these names appear also on the external false-door.

At the bottom of the composition, a register of the same height as the middle one shows a procession of eight offering-bearers walking east toward the doorway. This direction is contrary to the normal one toward the owner observed in this tomb (west wall) and in other ones (Nswtnefer,<sup>58</sup> Seshemnefer III). The offering-bearers carry with both hands or on the shoulder various items identified for the five last ones by an inscription in raised relief in front of each bearer. The items appear in the order of a regular menu and compare with those in the list of foods.<sup>59</sup> The front one holds in his left hand an ellipsoid vase of beer; the second servant follows with two conical loaves on a tray; the third one carries a trussed fowl impaled on a stick held vertically in the left hand. Then follow meat *shn*<sup>60</sup> on a tray, two wide-mouthed vessels full of cakes *np3t*,<sup>61</sup> two wine *irp*<sup>62</sup> jars, a basket

of figs *d3b*,<sup>63</sup> carried on the shoulder, and two bundles of *nbs*<sup>64</sup> ziziphus, modern *nabq* figs, also on the shoulder. All items are borne ceremonially in both hands extended in front of the head, except for the first bearer who holds his jar behind him and the two last ones who secure their huge load with both arms flung back in a forceful gesture. The four figures to the front are evenly spaced, but the last four are crowded into little more than enough space for three, so that the last three nearly touch one another. All figures, however, are independent, except for a slight overlap between the fourth and the fifth. Whether the crowding is a failure of the artist to distribute the eight figures evenly along the register, or rather his design to space the figures according to their arm gestures, is open to interpretation.

The second suggestion conforms more closely to the ability of the artist in dealing with space in the whole composition of this wall, seemingly constructed on a modular system: four units for the width at the base, two and a half units for the height of the dado, one unit for each of the two registers above, and two units for the uppermost one (fig. 12). Such a scheme, consisting of a square 8 x 8 on which an 8:5 triangle is built, appears at a very early period in the harmonic design of monuments.<sup>65</sup>

The theme of the scene, apparently unique, should be interpreted as representing the ritual repast of Iteti in the top part and a funerary banquet in the necropolis attended by relatives and retainers in the middle scene. No one, not even a wife or a daughter, could partake of a ritual repast.<sup>66</sup> In the absence of any inscription or priest proving the ritualistic character of the repast, we may assume that the scene represents the provisioning of the offering tables of Iteti and three of his deceased relatives, all seated in ceremonial attire on chairs facing east. The other personages squatting on the floor and looking west are all identified by name, some mentioned on the external false-door. They present their own offerings while the anonymous offering-bearers ensure a constant provisioning. An assembly of the sons and relatives appears also at a repast of Kahif, each with a small platter on a stand as proof that they were intended to partake of the meal.<sup>67</sup>

*West wall (pl. 9).* This wall is probably the most important one, for it comprises at its south

end the false-door that forms the focus of the composition for both this wall and the adjacent south one, linked with the east one. At the farthest end north Iteti stands facing the false-door, south. He holds the long staff in his right hand and his left arm hangs in the embrace of his smaller-sized wife (1.17 m. tall) (fig. 13). Iteti (1.29 m. tall) wears a round staged wig leaving his ear free, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar, and a dress reaching down to his knees, and he holds the scepter *sekhem* and a kerchief *seneb* in his left fist (cf. Kai,<sup>68</sup> Kaninswt). His wife has a long wig and a tight-fitting gown reaching down to the ankles. Her right arm is passed around the left arm of Iteti and reaches her left hand held, like the right one, stiffly open. This very rare gesture of affection expresses less intimacy than the wife's arm around the shoulder of the husband if both are of the same stature (cf. Nswtnefer, Kai)<sup>69</sup> or are seated together.

Above the couple are their titles and names (in four columns for Iteti): *imyr k3t nswt nb im3h hr nb.f Itti* "Overseer of the works of the king, lord of veneration before his lord, Iteti," and (in two columns for his wife) *nb im3h hr nswt Sn(t)'nh* "Lady of veneration before the king, Senet'ankh."<sup>70</sup> Behind the wife is her daughter holding to her mother's gown: *s3t.f 3wt-ib* "His daughter, Awtib." The poetic name "Heart's subsistence" is typical for the Old Kingdom.<sup>71</sup> In front of Iteti and holding fast to his staff is a small boy, naked, raising his left index finger to his mouth in the conventional gesture: *s3 (n) ht(.f) Itti* "His own son, Iteti," probably Iteti's eldest son when still very young. The rare epithet "own" imitates that used for real sons of kings to differentiate them from relatives using the honorific title "royal son" since the mid-Fourth Dynasty.<sup>72</sup>

Facing the couple are smaller figures in four superimposed registers, busy preparing and bringing offerings. The lowest much-defaced register shows the slaughter of an ox. Only one butcher appears, holding a long whetstone in his right hand and whetting on it *npdt*<sup>73</sup> "to sharpen" a knife he holds in his left hand. The butcher holds both arms, with the respective knife and whetstone, in the same way as that at Kaninswt (Giza), very different from the attitude of the butchers sharpening their knives at Ti. In the two mid registers (each 0.40 m. tall) are personages proceeding in two rows of five each toward

the couple. The processing is led by *s3.f Wr-k3w-H'.f-R'* "His son Wrkaw-Kha'fre'" who presents incense, turning up the lid about the rim of the censer, a rare gesture represented at Kaiswdja or Setikai (Giza)<sup>74</sup> and Wsernetjer (Saqqara).<sup>75</sup> The usual method of presenting the same double bell-shaped censer is to hold the bottom with one hand and lift the lid straight up or slightly slanting, or even maintain it in place, with the other hand (fig. 14). Then follow funerary priests Ipaw carrying two linen pieces, Nefer with a vase, probably for ablutions,<sup>76</sup> and Ni'ankhkai (*Ni*)*nḥk3(i)* carrying a crane.<sup>77</sup> The identification is tentative, owing to the defacement, but the shape of the bird's feet and the manner in which they are held by the priest are comparable to the scene of the funerary priest Itjef at Kaninswt<sup>78</sup> (fig. 13). The procession closes, according to the Italian Expedition, with *s3 n ḥt.f W3ṣ-k3-H'.f-R'* "His real son, Washka-Kha'fre'." The rites represented belong to the sequence performed in front of the offering table and follow the same order. The third register is mostly destroyed, but the feet of cattle being marched toward Iteti can be traced.

*The false-door.* The false-door, in a recess at the south end of the west wall, is of the double-faceted type. The upper part of the lintel is missing but the inner facet still stands 1.85 meters above the floor, 0.12 x 0.54 meter, projecting 3 centimeters from the inner doorjamb (pl. 10). It bears, in incised hieroglyphs, titles of Iteti: *shd n pr'3 rht nswt Itti* "Inspector at the court, one whom the king knows, Iteti." The drum, 0.12 meter high, is also incised (fig. 15): *shd Itti* "Inspector Iteti." It spans the central recess (0.2 m. wide, 0.15 m. deep) imitating the door. At the back a square slot window (1.17-1.32 m. above the floor, running horizontally 0.5 m. deep) opens onto the serdab of the chapel. This type of false-door, with an axial window opening onto the serdab, has been described above.

*South wall (pl. 11).* The upper courses of this wall are missing. At the east end Iteti appears seated (more than 0.9 m. tall), facing the false-door. The chair is of the usual type with calf's legs. He wears a round staged wig and a short kilt, holds a flabellum in his left hand, and extends his right hand to an offering platter on its stand. Above, a much-eroded inscription in vertical columns of sunken hieroglyphs lists the

offerings (fig. 16). This arrangement follows the rule of representing the offering table and above it its list on the south wall, close to the place of offering.

The hieroglyphs, which for some unknown reason are incised, are so defaced that their interpretation can be only tentative. Such an interpretation is based upon identifying the items of offering by comparison with those in the great list<sup>79</sup> to which the numbers refer. The words are written in two rows in columns.

From the left:

- 85 (*n*)*bs* or (*tn*)*bs* fruit or fruit cake
- 39 *ḥbnnwt* type of bread
- 42 *p3wt* offering cake
- 15 *ḥ3.t* offering table
- 18 *ḥmsj(igr)* "sit down," invitation to meal
- 25 *šbw* eating
- 78 *ḥnfw* type of cake
- 63 *msw.t* dish prepared with wheat
- 40 *kmḥw* type of bread
- 72 *irtt* milk (erroneous for *irp wine?*)
- 43 *t3-3ṣr* type of bread
- 85 *nbs(?) nabq* fruit

*East wall (pl. 12).* Several courses in the south part of this wall are missing, but the remaining area north above the doorway reaches to the ceiling. Most of the scenes are done in paint only, a proof that this was the final hurried step in the process of finishing the chapel.

In the south part five female offering-bearers proceed southward in a bottom register (ca. 0.53 m. tall) (fig. 17). This procession is obviously in connection with the representation of the offering table on the south wall and with the false-door farther on at the southeast corner of the chapel. A similar arrangement linking two walls is found at Kanofer and Seshemnefer I, and Kaemnofert (Lepsius 63; see below) at Giza. The offering-bearers are of the type personifying estates and could be interpreted as such, though no inscription is available because the scene was not finished. The women wear long straight gowns reaching down to the ankle. They carry baskets steadied upon the head with the left hand and a fowl or a basket in the right hand (second and third bearers), or a bundle of stems across the shoulder. One of them holds in her right hand an interesting wickerwork basket in the shape of a fish with flaring-out ends.<sup>80</sup> Elsewhere, this basket is sometimes one of a pair

hung vertically or is held hanging in one hand or across the chest.<sup>81</sup> If these women are personifications of the estates and villages providing food they are of a less formal style than earlier personifications.<sup>82</sup> The figures, though unfinished and not modeled, had the fleshy parts daubed with red, the conventional color for men. Despite this inchoate state, or rather because of it, the female shapes, only profiled, show wide variety, especially in the buttocks and the breasts. The voluminous left breast is prevented from sagging by the gesture of the upraised left arm so that the resulting outline shows this connection, especially in the second and fourth figures.

Behind the procession of offering-bearers, close to the doorway, is a register half the height of the procession one (0.27 m. tall) which represents in paint two men bending in a violent movement. The fragment can be identified as depicting the moment in a fishing scene when fishermen pull a huge net out of the water.<sup>83</sup> As the two fishermen form part of one gang busy at the left end of the net, we assume that the second gang drawing out the right end would have stood in the space left blank, just behind the offering-bearers. The effort is expressed by violent movement as at Kahif and at Meir, in contrast with the sluggish style at Seshemnefer IV.

Above the fishing scene are staged, at three levels (registers?), three boats along the south edge of the doorway. This location conforms to the rule whereby boats are represented at the north end of the eastern wall (Imeri, Senedjemib Intj, Wrkhw) or even above the doorway (Kaninswt, Seshemnefer I, Nswtnefer, Meryeb). The best preserved of the boats seems to be of the wooden type with straight prow and stern cut vertically, comparable to one of the boats of Nswtnefer.<sup>84</sup> Eight oars hang diagonally in a rhythmic pattern, and two large rudders are held at a wide angle by two rudder men standing at the stern, as at Nswtnefer (three at Kaninswt). One man seated at the feet of the rudder men could be the pilot, appearing usually on the roof of the cabin looking back and gesturing. A larger figure of Iteti stands in the middle. There are three oarsmen, and at the prow is a standing man.

Along the lintel of the doorway is a frieze of two pairs of hippopotami, nose to nose, at the

foot of papyrus stems crowned with open umbels placed at various levels. The second hippopotamus from the north stands against a thicket of four papyrus stems whose umbels are arranged along a curve forming a graceful ornamental bouquet. Ornamental also is the symmetrical composition of the two pairs of hippopotami, contrasting with the more naturalistic representation of a family of four adults and a small one sitting or wading in the water on the north wall at Seshemnefer IV.<sup>85</sup>

The marsh scene is in low relief, unfortunately much defaced, especially above the uppermost papyri where there is a clapnet whose cord extends to the north corner of the wall. Two birds flutter desperately with outstretched wings battering against the upper mesh of the net.<sup>86</sup>

The location of the marsh scenes and the boats agrees with the constant rule of composition for east walls of chapels, reflecting the chapel's orientation toward the valley and, for its north end, toward the Delta marshes. Elsewhere agricultural scenes appear in the lower and mid areas of the east wall, as at Sekhem-'ankh-Ptah and Kaemnofert (see below).

*Style and technique of wall scenes.* At several points the carving process was not finished, even in the most complete north wall, but especially on the east wall. This inchoate state accounts for a relatively incomplete appraisal of the style.

In the design the false-door forms a focus toward which Iteti is directed on both west and south walls, while his attendants proceed from it – an arrangement contrary to the usual one where the deceased in heroic size stands close to the false-door as if issuing forth from it. The composition shows no crowding, except at the rear end of the procession of offering-bearers on the north wall. Symmetry appears sporadically in the arrangement of items of offering (north wall) or of the papyrus bouquet in the thickets (east wall), but also as a device of ornamental composition in the pairs of hippopotami on the lintel. The last design is a topical item found also in the arrangement of cows in a farmyard on the lintel at Kaemnofert (see below).

The repertoire comprises some scenes of everyday life, such as boats, fishing, and hunting, which preclude a date in the early or mid-Fourth Dynasty. Only one cycle is fully represented, that of the watching by the deceased of food provisioning (west wall). In addition are the

exceptional funerary repast and banquet scenes combined on the north wall. The well-proportioned, stocky-limbed but smooth-lined figures already foreshadow the trend toward slenderness, characterizing art during the latter part of the Old Kingdom. Moreover, none of the offering-bearers is overloaded with excessive burdens in the hands or even across the elbows as at Tjeti.<sup>87</sup> There is no upper frieze or torus band along the corners of the chapel, as in the late Fifth Dynasty. The scene of the deceased seated at the offering table with the offering list above is typical for the early Fifth Dynasty.<sup>88</sup>

Registers are fairly uniform in height, separated by ground lines (1.2 cm. broad). In some instances the head of a figure touches the upper line of the register, causing it to depart from the rectilinear alignment, or even boldly overlaps it (north wall).

The well-finished figures of the doorway and the west wall are modeled to the edge, while some musculature is well indicated, especially for the legs. In general, however, facial features were awarded more careful modeling than the body. Such features of those of Iteti's sons represented on the doorway verge on realism, agreeing to some extent with the curving profile of the wife's figure on the west wall. As noted earlier, figures left without modeling, such as the female offering-bearers on the east wall, show a remarkable sense for naturalistic form interpreted as simple profile.

Flat profiling is used mostly on a roughly pared-down ground. This unfinished state is perhaps partly responsible for W. S. Smith's impression of a poor style.<sup>89</sup> Red ocher applied to the fleshy parts of the unfinished figures, either male or female, and sometimes used for painted elements of the design or inscriptions (north wall) on the uncarved background, marks a hurried process. Traces of other colors, green in the hieroglyphs and yellow in the dresses, are found. Inscriptions are in raised relief, except for the list of offerings in sunk hieroglyphs on the badly eroded south wall and proper names in red paint on the mid register of the north wall. The drawing of these names was left unfinished and shows modifications, in red only, introduced by the original draftsman rather than corrections which are usually done in black.<sup>90</sup>

If any chronological criterion can be attributed to the onomastica<sup>91</sup> of the names of two of Iteti's sons based on the adulation of Kha'fre', or rather of his ka, and on the name of his brother Ankh-Kha'fre', a date in the late Fourth or early Fifth Dynasty would agree well with archaeological and stylistic features of both tomb chapel and statue.<sup>92</sup>

### *The Statue of Iteti*

Found by the Italian Expedition above the fill of the serdab, the statue is now in the Museo Egizio in Turin (col. no. suppl. 1876). It has been described by W. S. Smith<sup>93</sup> and, more than once, at length by S. Curto.<sup>94</sup> Only parts remain: the head damaged about the eyes, gouged out to steal their valuable materials; arms, lap, and legs; and the cubical seat. Carved of a soft yellow limestone quarried at Giza, also used for the external false-door, the statue could hardly withstand erosion and even less wanton destruction. According to Curto, the use of this soft limestone is not exemplified elsewhere.

The seated figure must have measured about 1.15 meters and was stuccoed and painted. On the head is a short graded wig beneath which appears on the brow and cheeks a fine band of natural hair and locks. The ears and the back of the neck are completely hidden. The face, treated in broad planes, is wide, with high cheekbones and well-defined mouth and chin, both broad. A well-groomed slight mustache closely follows the upper lip, and there is an indication of subtle modeling at the base of the nose and the corners of the mouth. To judge by the traces left, the eyes were large and slanted toward the nose (pl. 13).

The neck is exceptionally short so that the chin is at a lower level than the shoulders. The right hand is clenched, thumb up, resting vertically on the right leg and holding a round-topped stump, the conventional *pars pro toto* of the handle of a scepter. The left hand with well-defined nails, palm down, lies open on the left knee touching the lower hem of the short kilt, a gesture characteristic for private statuary at Giza since Khufu.<sup>95</sup> The legs slant forward slightly in a relaxed posture.<sup>96</sup> Knee and musculature are softly indicated in longitudinal planes.

## MASTABA OF ITETI

The cubical seat imitates in bold relief on both sides the horizontal traverse and the two legs, animal-shaped, of a wooden chair. The feet are missing and the legs could well have been calf's legs, to judge by the chairs represented on the walls. This exceptional imitation of wooden legs in the seat of a private statue after the Archaic Period could be an influence from Kha'fre' statuary.<sup>97</sup> Most interesting are the inscriptions in sunken hieroglyphs on the horizontal traverses. On the left is (*sd<sub>3</sub>wtj ntr(?) dpt '3(t) shd w'bw Wr-H'.f-R' Itti* "(Treasurer of the god) in the Great Boat, inspector of wà'b-priests of 'Great-is-Kha'fre', Iteti." Whether the name of the state boat was "Great" is debatable, for names of such boats are written before the determinative, as for Meryeb who was treasurer of the god in four state boats.<sup>99</sup> Worthy of mention also is the "treasurer of the God in the Two Great Boats."<sup>100</sup> On the right is . . . (*iri mr)rt nb.f r' nb Itti* ". . . (the one doing what) his lord likes every day, Iteti." This eulogy was usually attributed to civic officials as acknowledgment from the king of their loyal service.

Stylistically the statue is related to the vigorous creations of the early Fourth Dynasty, such as Ra'hotep of Meydum, but also through the subtle refinement of the face to those of the Fifth Dynasty, such as Kai (Louvre) and Ra'nof-fer (C.M.). "The impression produced by the battered fragments is that we have here the work of a master,"<sup>101</sup> perhaps "a gift from the royal workshop."

### ONOMASTICA

All the proper names are hereafter listed in the order of kinship and connection:

Iteti,<sup>102</sup> father and eldest son.  
 Senet'ankh<sup>103</sup> "Living sister," wife.  
 Washka-Kha'fre'<sup>104</sup> "Powerful is the ka of Kha'fre'" or "Powerful of ka is Kha'fre',"<sup>105</sup> son.  
 Wrkaw-Kha'fre'<sup>106</sup> "Great in kas is Kha'fre'," son.

Proper names compounded with ka glorify a quality of Re', more rarely of Ptah, and exceptionally of Khufu Irw-ka-Khufu. The godly as-

pect of Kha'fre' extolled in his name and in his statue protected by the hawk could perhaps account for these two names. Or do the ka and kaw refer to the deceased pharaoh? In either event, the bestowing of such names on two of his sons proves Iteti's extreme adulation of Kha'fre'.

Awtib<sup>107</sup> "Subsistence of the heart," daughter.  
 'Ankh-Kha'fre' or Kha'fre'-'ankh<sup>108</sup> "May he live, Kha'fre'." or "Alive is Kha'fre'," brother.

The brother was also given a name proving his parents' adulation for Kha'fre' during his lifetime. This name contrasts with the names given to Iteti's sons formed with ka and kaw, perhaps an indication that the king was already dead.

Rwdj<sup>109</sup> "Strong," sister.

Nefer<sup>110</sup> "Good."

'Ankhiemkai<sup>111</sup> "My life is in the hand of my ka."

Ni'ankhkai<sup>112</sup> "Possessor of life is my ka."

San.<sup>113</sup>

Sepen.<sup>114</sup>

Semegw.<sup>115</sup>

'Akhw.

Hermerw.<sup>116</sup>

Inkaf.<sup>117</sup>

Idjefa<sup>118</sup> "Food comes," "Something edible has come."

Ipaw.<sup>119</sup>

Ipet.

### TITLES

#### ITETI:

Honorific: *rh nswt* "One whom the king knows."<sup>120</sup>

Palace: *shd n pr-3* "Inspector at the court."<sup>121</sup>

*imyr pr-3* "Overseer at the court."<sup>122</sup>

*imyr k3t nt nswt* "Overseer of the works of the king."

Government: (*sd3wtj ntr dpt '3* "(Treasurer of the god in) the Great Boat."<sup>123</sup>

Religious: *w'b* "Priest."

*w'b (Wr-H'.f-R')* "Priest of 'Great-is-Kha'fre' (pyramid)."

*shd w'b(w) Wr-H'.f-R'* "Inspector of the priests of 'Great-is-Kha'fre' (pyramid)."<sup>124</sup>

#### SENET'ANKH, wife:

Honorific: *rh nswt* "One whom the king knows."



## MASTABA OF ITETI

### ITETI, son:

Religious: *imyr hm(w)-k3* "Overseer of funerary priests."

### 'ANKH-KHA'FRE', brother:

Honorific: *rh nswt* "One whom the king knows."

Religious: *shd w'b(w) Wr-H'.f-R* "Overseer of priests of 'Great-is-Kha'fre' (Pyramid)."

### RWDJ:

Honorific: *rh nswt* "One whom the king knows."

### IPET:

Honorific: *rht nswt* "One whom the king knows."

### 'AKHW:

Palace: *sd3wty* "Treasurer."<sup>125</sup>

### NEFER:

Honorific: *rh nswt* "One whom the king knows."

Religious: *hm-k3* "Funerary priest."<sup>126</sup>

### SEMEGW:

Honorific: *rh nswt* "One whom the king knows."

Religious: *hm-k3* "Funerary priest."

### 'ANKHIEMKAI:

Religious: *hm-k3* "Funerary priest."

### NI'ANKHKAI:

Religious: *hm-k3* "Funerary priest."

### SAN:

Religious: *hm-k3* "Funerary priest."

### SEPEN:

Religious: *hm-k3* "Funerary priest."

## NOTES

1. G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, I (Cambridge, 1942), 312. Reisner's mention of "2 niched" chapel is erroneous.
2. S. Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani a El-Ghiza* (Roma, 1963), pp. 34-46, figs. 4-9, 40-47, pls. IV-XI.
3. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII.
4. W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Boston, 1946), p. 267.
5. Reisner, *op. cit.*, I, 380 ff.
6. Junker, *Giza X*, p. 52, fig. 23, p. 62; *Giza III*, fig. 33.
7. Curto, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
8. Junker, *Giza X*, fig. 20, p. 49; *Giza XI*, fig. 49, p. 99; *Giza V*, fig. 2; *Giza II*, fig. 23.
9. Junker, *Giza I*, figs. 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 49; *Giza X*, fig. 7, p. 14.
10. Now in Museo Egizio, Turin, no. suppl. 1843: Curto, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41, fig. 7, pl. VII.
11. Curto, *op. cit.*, fig. 10, pl. XII. The location of Kai's mastaba is unknown. Curto (p. 40) thinks the apertures are breaks.
12. For Seshemnefer II, see Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 34. The slot from the serdab opened beneath the drum. For mastabas 4360/4418, see Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 246, fig. 112.
13. Junker, *Giza XI*, pp. 85-86.
14. Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 115.
15. Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 71.
16. Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 18 (Kaninswt).
17. Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 30, pl. VI, no. 7.
18. Junker, *Giza VI*, p. 14.
19. Junker, *Giza XI*, p. 237. Hyenas marched at Khentkawes (Junker, *Giza VII*, fig. 31). Antelopes, gazelles, and a calf were carried in the arms at Kai (Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 18).
20. Curto, *op. cit.*, figs. 12, 13, 20, 22, 32, pls. XII, XVII, XXV.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
22. *Ibid.*, fig. 5.
23. See Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 130, for Senefer.
24. Curto, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
25. H. Ranke, *Die Agyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt, 1935), 64, no. 4.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 172, no. 7.
27. Junker, *Giza III*, p. 49.
28. Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 417, no. 28.
29. *Ibid.*, no. 16.
30. Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 96.
31. Curto, *op. cit.*, p. 37, quoting a parallel from Junker, *Giza VII*, p. 130.
32. Junker, *Giza III*, pp. 104-108.
33. Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 126.
34. Junker, *Giza III*, pp. 113-114.
35. Junker, *Giza XI*, p. 23, figs. 13-14.
36. Junker, *Giza III*, pp. 108-109.
37. See Junker, *Giza IX*, p. 64, fig. 26, for Nikawkhenemw.
38. Junker, *Giza XI*, pp. 22-23, fig. 14.
39. Curto, *op. cit.*, p. 37, fig. 6.
40. See Junker, *Giza X*, p. 146, for Ijmeri; *Giza IX*, p. 73, for Merwka; p. 108, for Sedaw; p. 156, for Inpwhetep; p. 184, for Shetwi.
41. Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 311, no. 14.
42. Curto, *op. cit.*, fig. 12.
43. *Ibid.*, fig. 20.
44. Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 14.
45. Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 4.
46. Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 15.
47. Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 5.
48. Junker, *Giza IX*, figs. 73-75.
49. Junker, *Giza VI*, p. 114, fig. 34, col. pl. IX.
50. Cf. 4 rows at Kahif (Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 35, col. pl. IX).
51. Cf. Nefer (Junker, *Giza VI*, figs. 9, 11).
52. Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 30.
53. Junker, *Giza VI*, pp. 54-56.
54. Curto (*op. cit.*, p. 38) suggests that the figure near Iteti is his son and that the two others are retainers.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39. If Curto's restoration is correct, the per-

# MASTABA OF ITETI

- sonage would have the same name as a son of Kha'fre', also inspector of the priests of the pyramid. See Pirenne, *Institutions*, I, 338, and the bibliography in n. 1.
56. Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 11, no. 4.
  57. *Ibid.*, p. 36, no. 1.
  58. Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 27, pls. IV, XI.
  59. Junker, *Giza* II, p. 76.
  60. Corresponds to no. 47 of the list for Kaninswt, Seshemnefer, Debehen (Junker, *Giza* II, pp. 89, 90).
  61. No. 62 of the list for Kha'f-Khufu, Seshemnefer, Debehen, Wnis (*ibid.*, p. 92).
  62. No. 72 of the list for Kha'f-Khufu, Debehen, Wnis, and no. 73 for Seshemnefer (*ibid.*, p. 93).
  63. No. 71 of the list for Kaninswt, Seshemnefer, Kha'f-Khufu, Debehen, Wnis (*ibid.*, pp. 92-93).
  64. No. 85 of the list for Seshemnefer, Kha'f-Khufu, Debehen, Wnis (*ibid.*, pp. 94-95).
  65. Alexander Badawy, *Ancient Egyptian Architectural Design: A Study of the Harmonic System*, University of California Near Eastern Studies, no. 4 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965), fig. 2, no. 7.
  66. Junker, *Giza* X, p. 128.
  67. Junker, *Giza* VI, pp. 121-124, fig. 38.
  68. Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 16; *Giza* II, fig. 19.
  69. Junker, *Giza* III, figs. 16, 28.
  70. Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 311, no. 14; also for a woman of the Middle Kingdom.
  71. *Ibid.*, p. 1, no. 11, referring to Junker's mastaba 458, 2143/44; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 24.
  72. Junker, *Giza* II, p. 33.
  73. Cf. *ibid.*, fig. 20 (Kaninswt). For Ti, see Montet, *Scènes*, pl. XIV.
  74. Junker, *Giza* VII, figs. 69, 88.
  75. M. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I (London, 1905), pl. XXI.
  76. Cf. Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 10, no. 3.
  77. Curto, *op. cit.*, fig. 8, mentions "ostrich."
  78. Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 18.
  79. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-96; *Giza* III, pp. 99-102.
  80. Cf. Tjeti (Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 97c). Hung vertically at Sekhemka (*ibid.*, fig. 14).
  81. Cf. Kaninswt (Junker, *Giza* II, figs. 18, 20).
  82. Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 198.
  83. Cf. Kahif (Junker, *Giza* VI, pp. 132-134, fig. 42); A. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, IV London, 1924, pl. 8.
  84. Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 29, top. Cf. Kaninswt (Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 22).
  85. Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 170, fig. 67.
  86. Cf. Nefer (Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 17); Seshemnefer IV (Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 91).
  87. Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 96.
  88. Junker, *Giza* III, p. 16.
  89. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 56: "The reliefs are of unusually clumsy quality and have been left unfinished."
  90. Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 246) considered the use of the same red paint for "corrections" as exceptional.
  91. About the uncertainty of dating from royal names, see Junker, *Giza* III, pp. 16 ff.
  92. Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 190) dated the chapel "probably of late Dyn. V," but, more vaguely (p. 56), "The exact date in Dyn. V cannot be determined."
  93. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
  94. Curto, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-45, pls. IX-XI. See also S. Curto, "Gli scavi italiani a el-Giza del 1903. I. La statua di Atota," *Aegyptus*, XXVIII (1948), 199 ff.
  95. Bafba (Junker, *Giza* VII, p. 107).
  96. Kedefy (Junker, *Giza* VI, p. 91).
  97. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
  98. So restored (Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani a El-Ghiza*, p. 44).
  99. Junker, *Giza* II, pp. 132-133.
  100. H. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1968), p. 194.
  101. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.
  102. Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 52, no. 16.
  103. *Ibid.*, p. 311, no. 14.
  104. *Ibid.*, p. 417, no. 16. For remarks on proper names compounded with ka, see Junker, *Giza* IX, pp. 105-106; for Washkai, see *ibid.*, p. 96.
  105. Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani*, p. 36.
  106. Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 417, no. 28. Cf. Wrkaw-Ptah (Junker, *Giza* I, p. 223; II, p. 121; VI, p. 202); Kha'kawre', Wrkaw-Ptah (Junker, *Giza* VI, p. 179). For Wrkaw-Kha'fre', name of an estate of Kha'fre', see S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, Vol. VI, 1932-1933 (Cairo, 1943), p. 136.
  107. Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 1, no. 11; Junker, *Giza* II, p. 193.
  108. Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 265, no. 15.
  109. *Ibid.*, p. 221, no. 12; men or women, attested at Giza (Junker, *Giza* III, pp. 47, 52, 56, 59, 62, 229).
  110. Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 194, no. 1, common in the Old Kingdom.
  111. *Ibid.*, p. 64, no. 4; Junker, *Giza* II, p. 194.
  112. Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 172, no. 7.
  113. *Ibid.*, p. 295, no. 17.
  114. *Ibid.*, p. 296, no. 2.
  115. *Ibid.*, p. 308, no. 2.
  116. *Ibid.*, p. 252, no. 4.
  117. *Ibid.*, p. 36, no. 1.
  118. *Ibid.*, p. 11, no. 4.
  119. *Ibid.*, p. 22, no. 15: Ip.
  120. For a discussion of the various interpretations of the title, see Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, pp. 26-28.
  121. Attested since the Fourth Dynasty; see Pirenne, *Institutions*, I, 329, for Persen at Saqqara.
  122. Attested since the Fifth Dynasty; see Pirenne, *Institutions*, II, 60, for Nefersefer at Saqqara.
  123. Appears only as fragmentary . . . *dpt* '3 on the left horizontal member of the chair in the statue of Iteti. In this form, it is surmised by S. Curto, the title denotes a date in the Fourth Dynasty. The form "Treasurer of the god in the Two Great Boats" would belong to the Fifth Dynasty: Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, pp. 95, 98-99. Or could it read *shd dpt* '3 "Inspector of the Great Boat"? A title of Imhetep (Junker, *Giza* VI, p. 240).
  124. Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, p. 129.
  125. Junker, *Giza* II, pp. 32, 113; *Giza* VII, pp. 90, 238; *Giza* XI, p. 147. Title attested since the First Dynasty (Pirenne, *Institutions*, I, 121, 386).
  126. For funerary priests in the western cemetery at Giza, see Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 172. For their judiciary status, see Pirenne, *Institutions*, II, 324 ff.

## Figures for Iteti

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## Plates for Iteti

- |                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                   |
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|                                                                                                                                               | 12. <i>East wall.</i>                                                                             |
|                                                                                                                                               | 13. <i>Statue of Iteti; head restored.</i>                                                        |

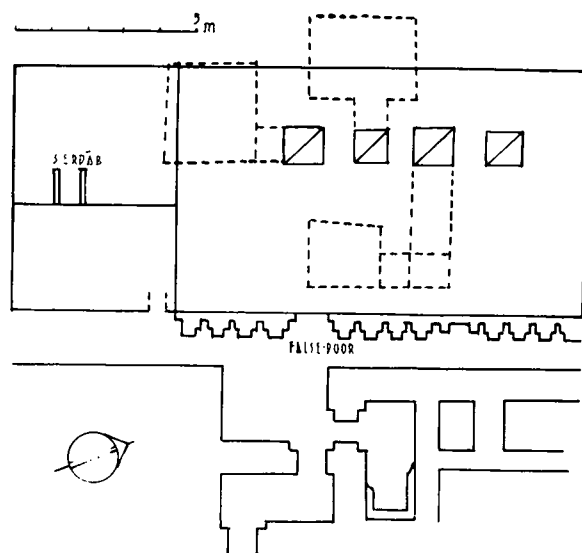
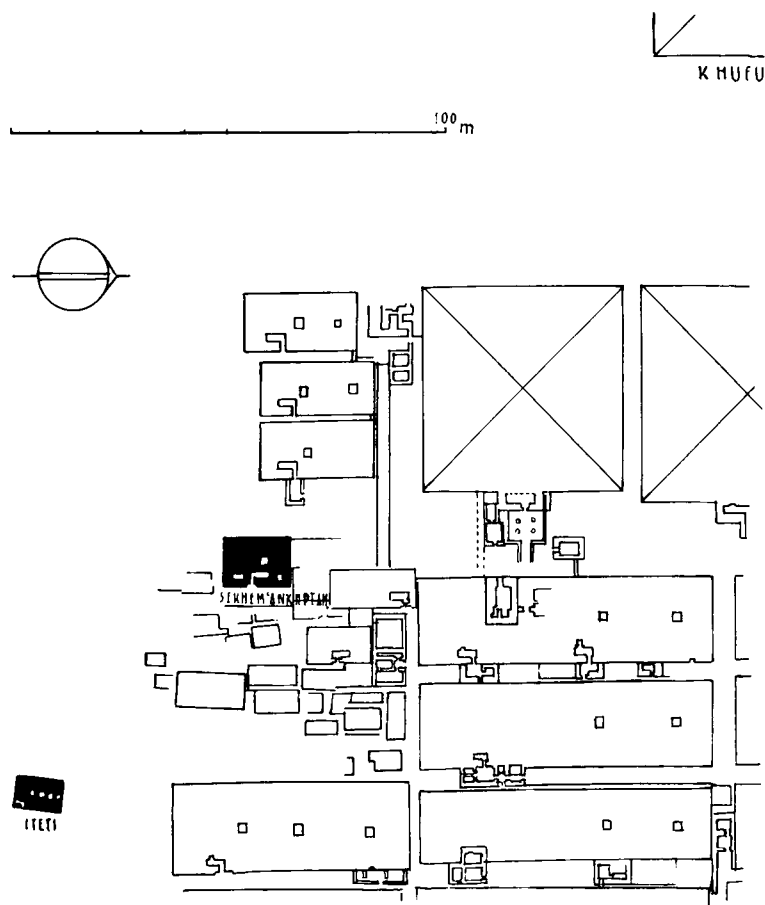
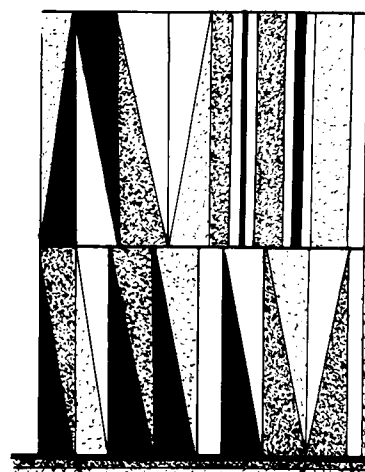
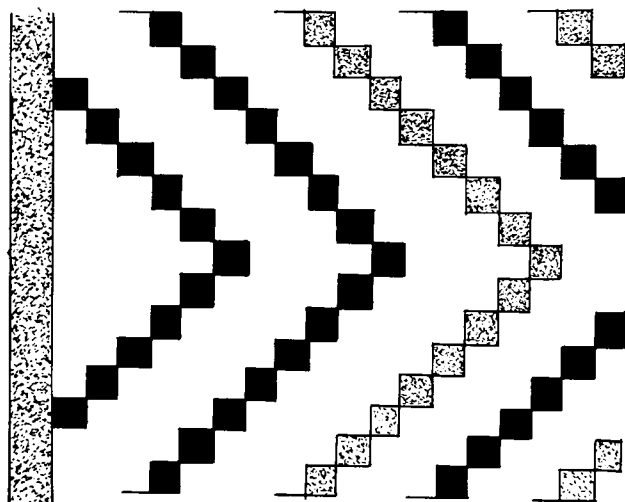


Fig. 1. Left: Situation map.

Fig. 2. Below: Four typical patterns of mural painting on brick lining (1903).

Fig. 3. Above: Sketch plan of mastaba and brick structures (1903).



BLACK  
BLUE  
RED  
YELLOW

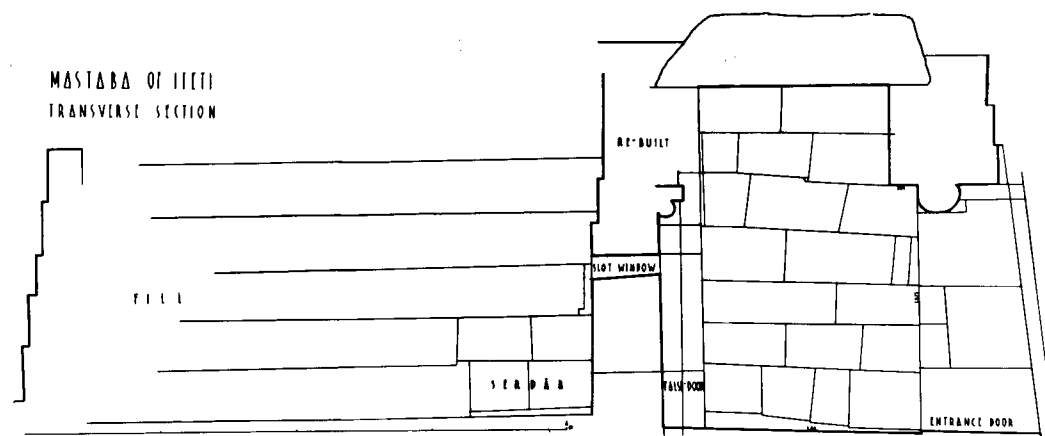


Fig. 4. Transverse cross-section.

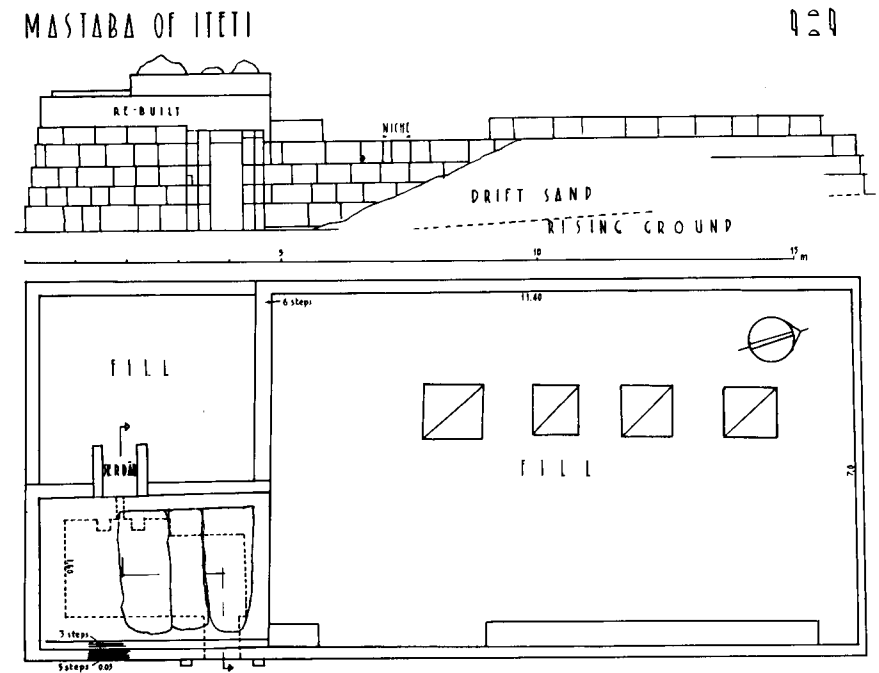


Fig. 5. Plan and elevation of the enlarged tomb.

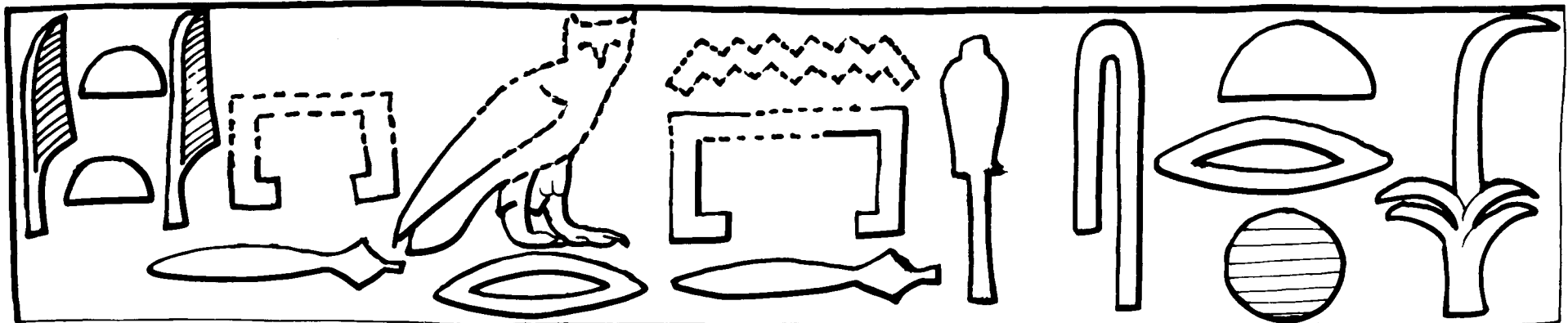


Fig. 6. Drum of entrance doorway.

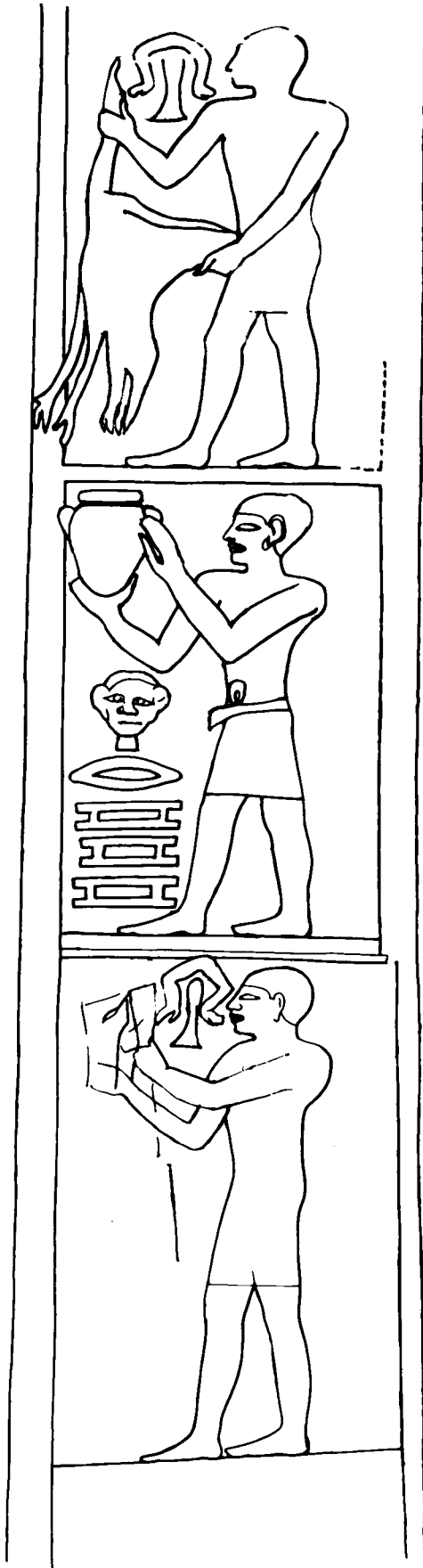


Fig. 7. Outer north facet of doorway.

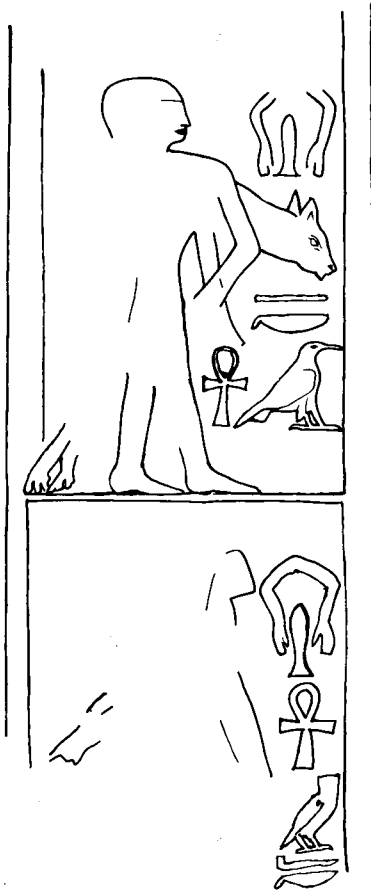


Fig. 8. Outer south facet of doorway.

(Figs. 11 and 13 foldouts)

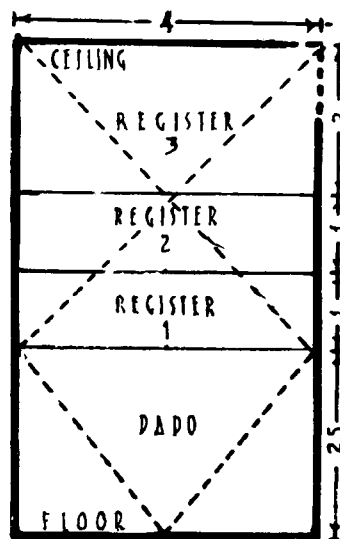


Fig. 12. Modular scheme of composition of north wall.



Fig. 9. Inner north facet of doorway.



Fig. 10. Scene of presentation of offering to Iteti by his three sons (north doorjamb).

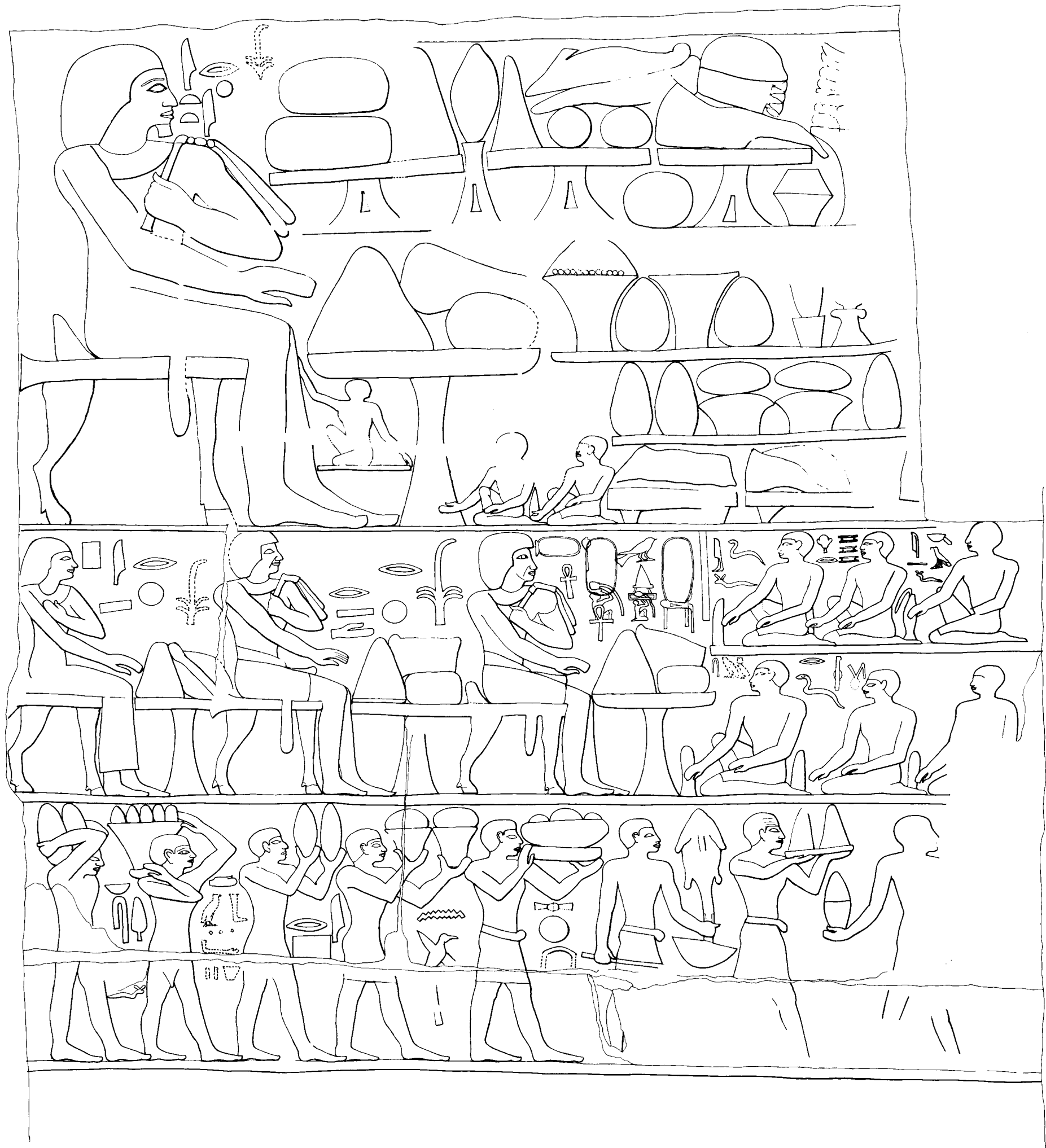


Fig. 11. North wall: funerary banquet and offering-bearers.



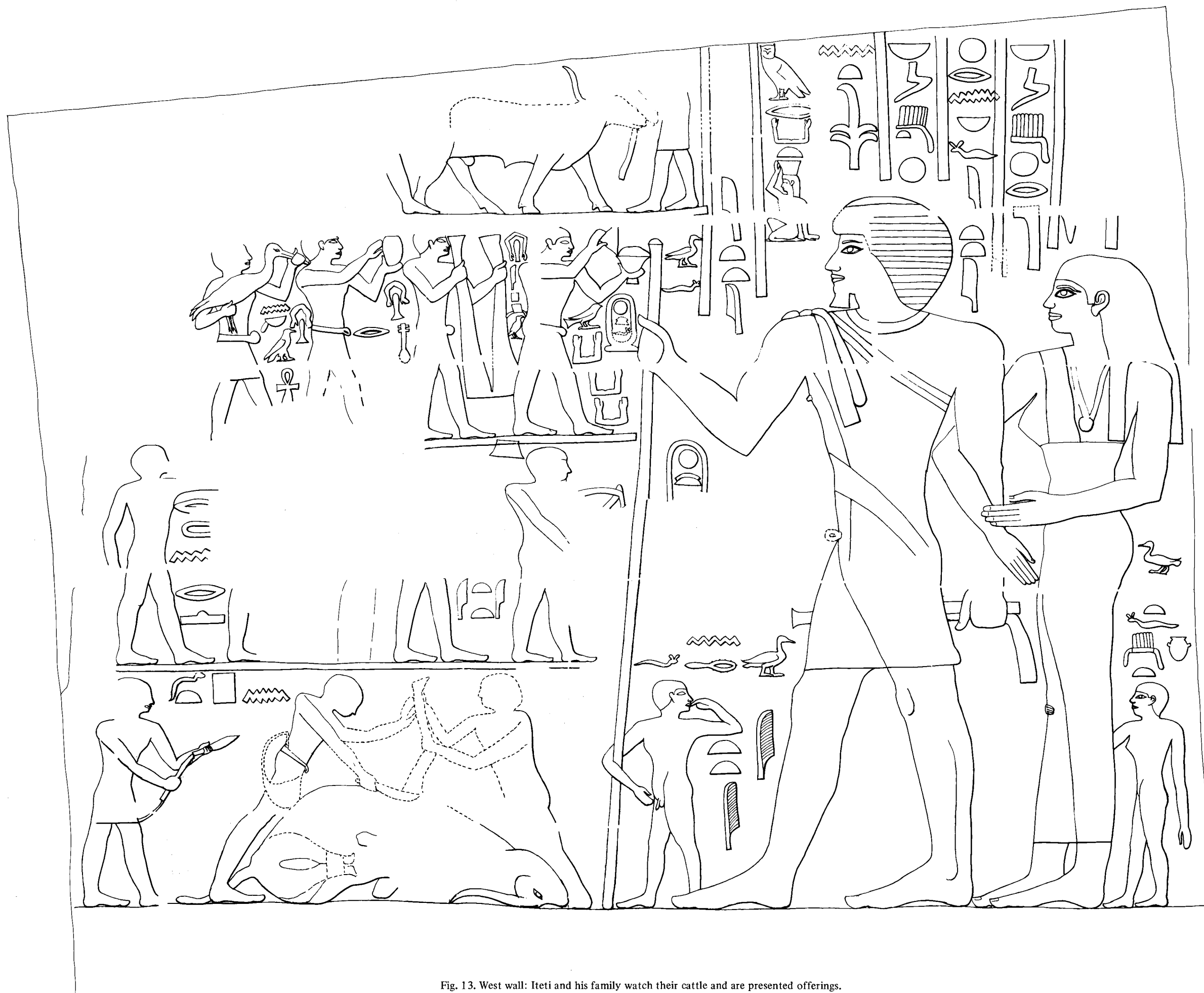


Fig. 13. West wall: Iteti and his family watch their cattle and are presented offerings.

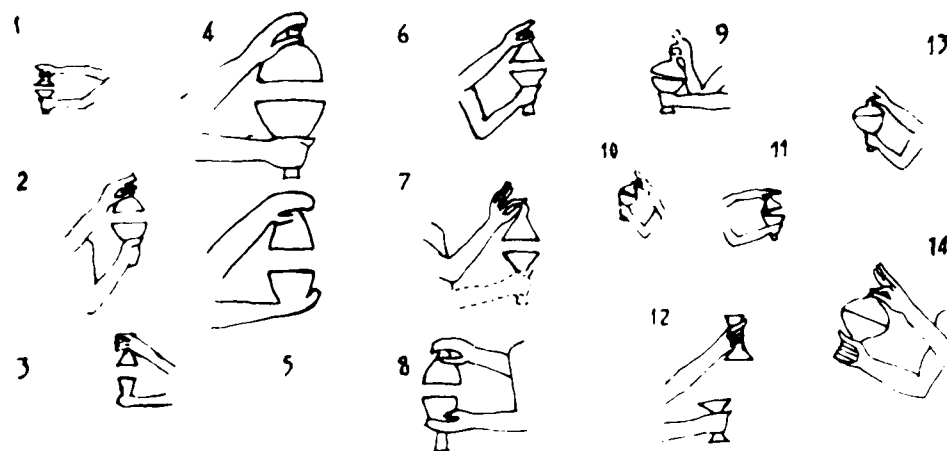


Fig. 14. Four ways of presenting the censer, after wall scenes in chapels at Giza: 1. Ra'wer II. 2. Nefer. 3. Niswkedw II. 4. Kaninswt II. 5. Imisetekai 6. Khnemwhetep. 7. S 127/129. 8. Sekhemka. 9. Stikai. 10. Kaiswdja. 11. Inpwhetep. 12. Nikawkhenemw. 13. Wri. 14. Khufuseneb.

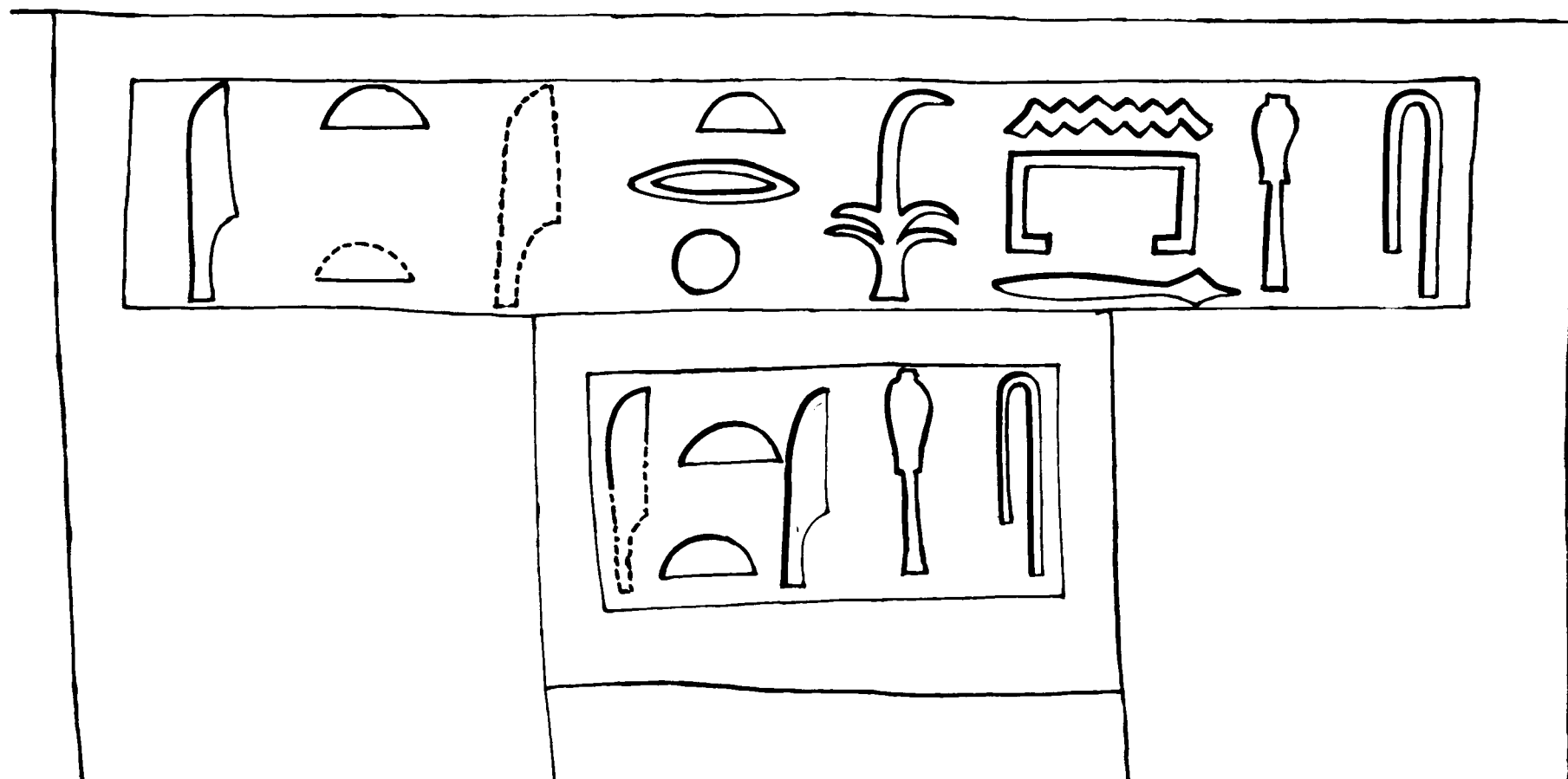


Fig. 15. Inner false-door: lintel and drum.

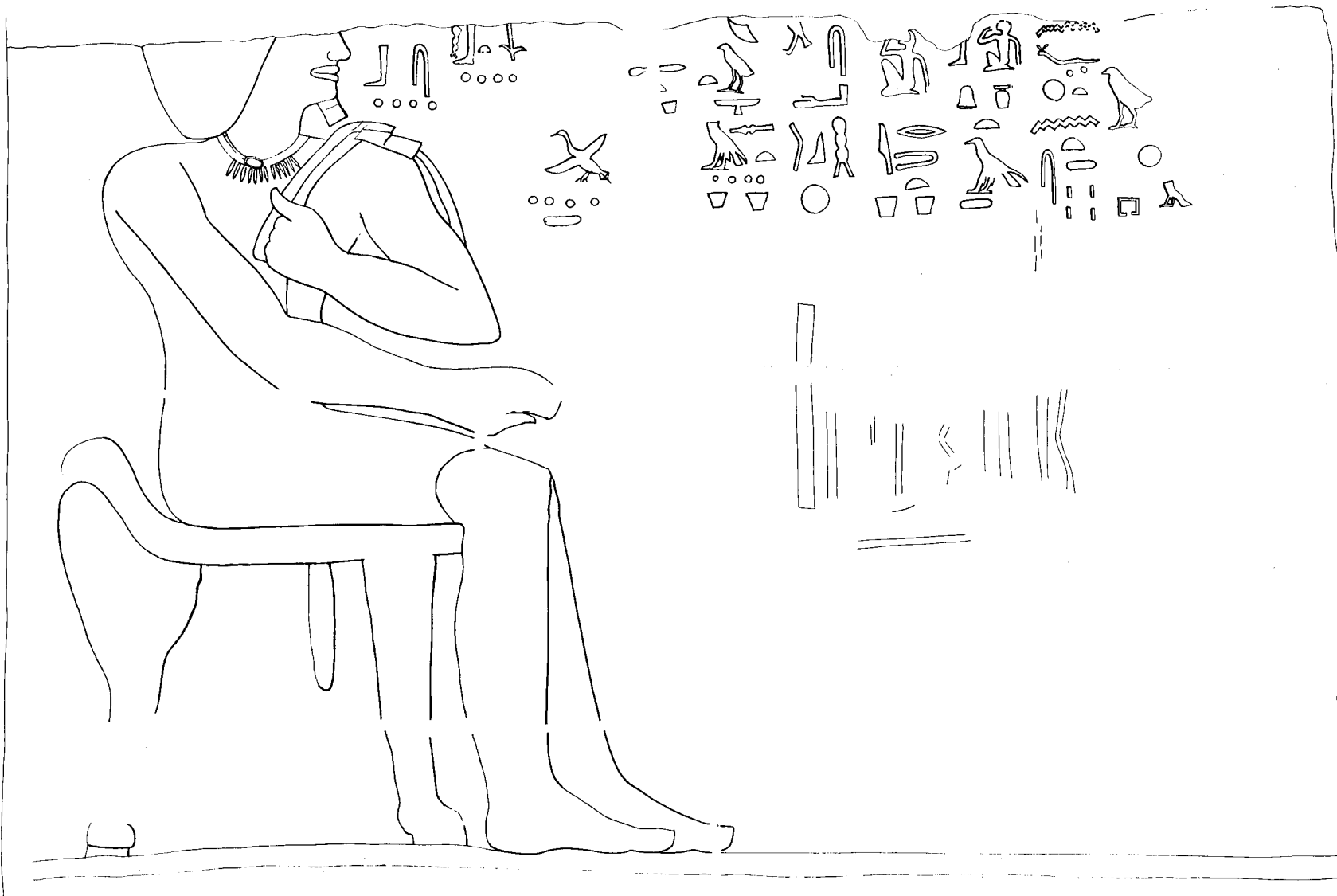


Fig. 16. South wall: Iteti at the offering table, and its list of offerings.

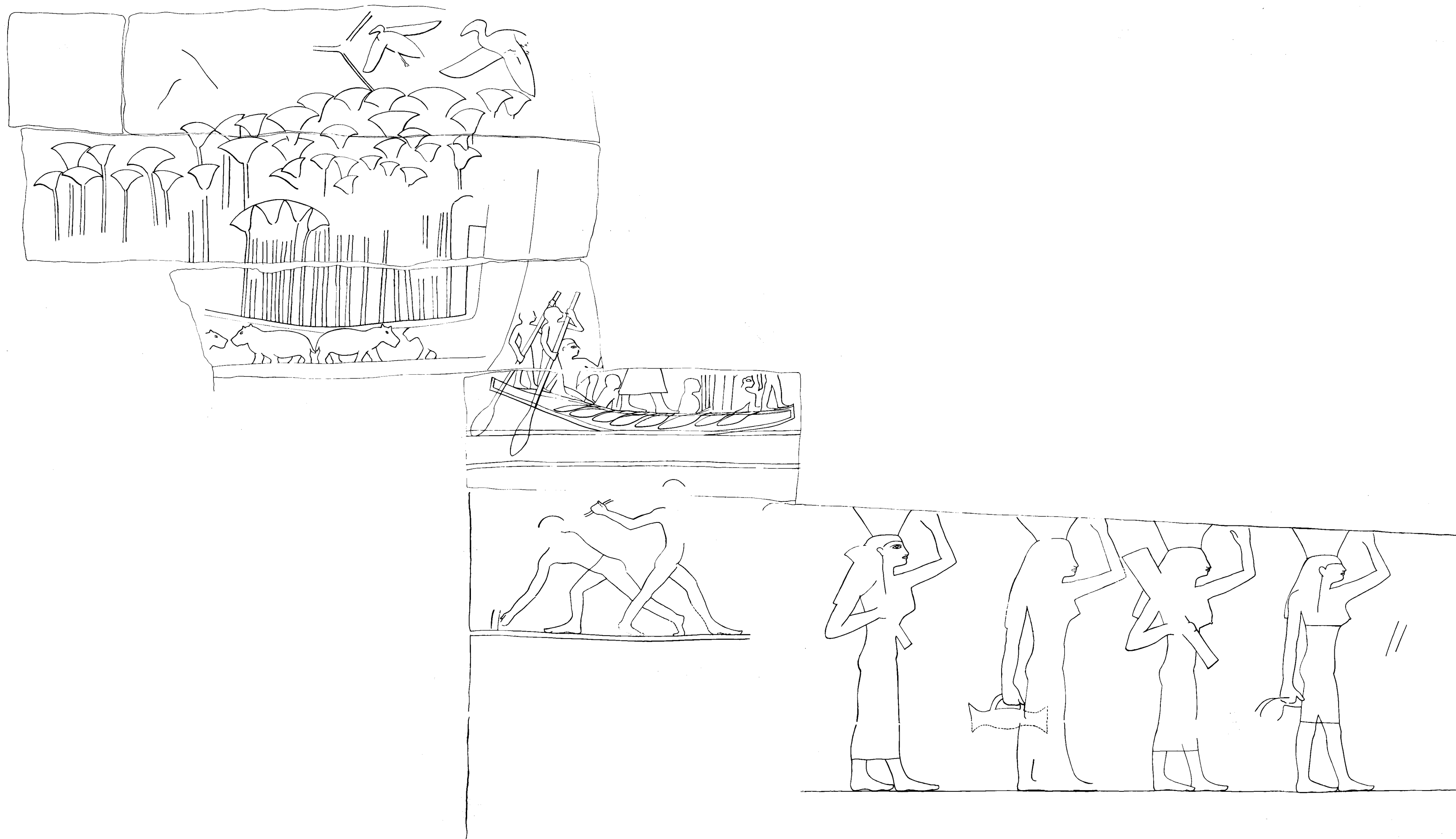
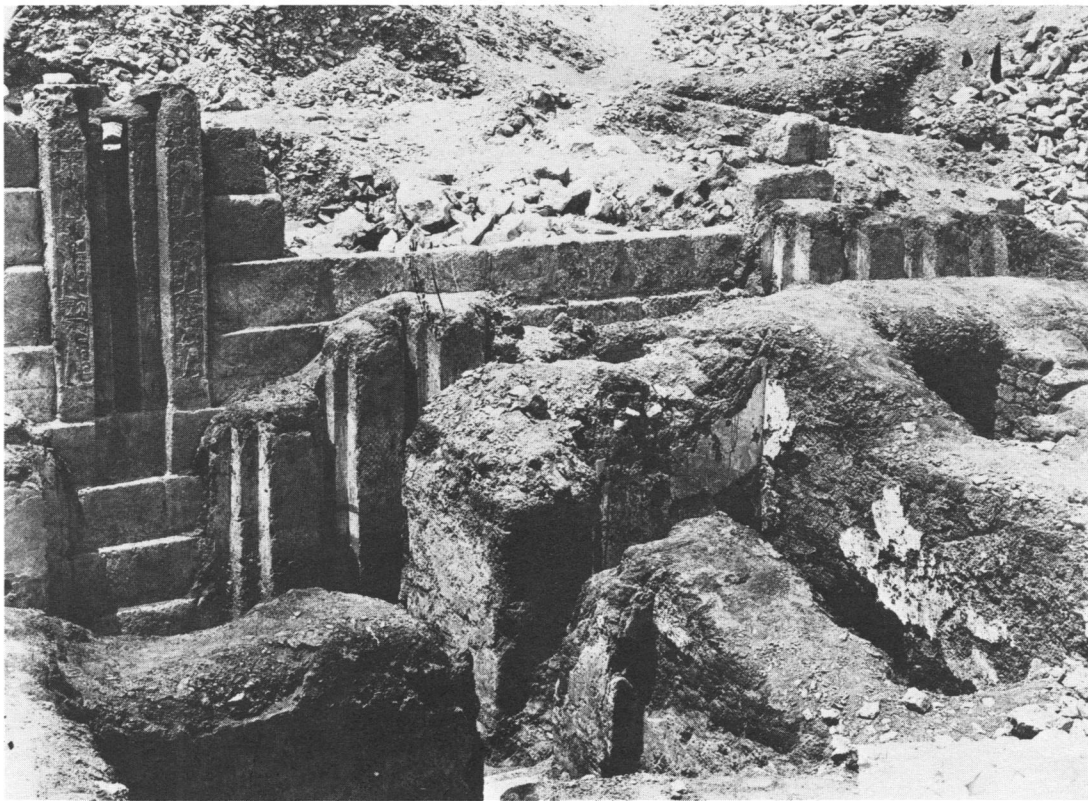


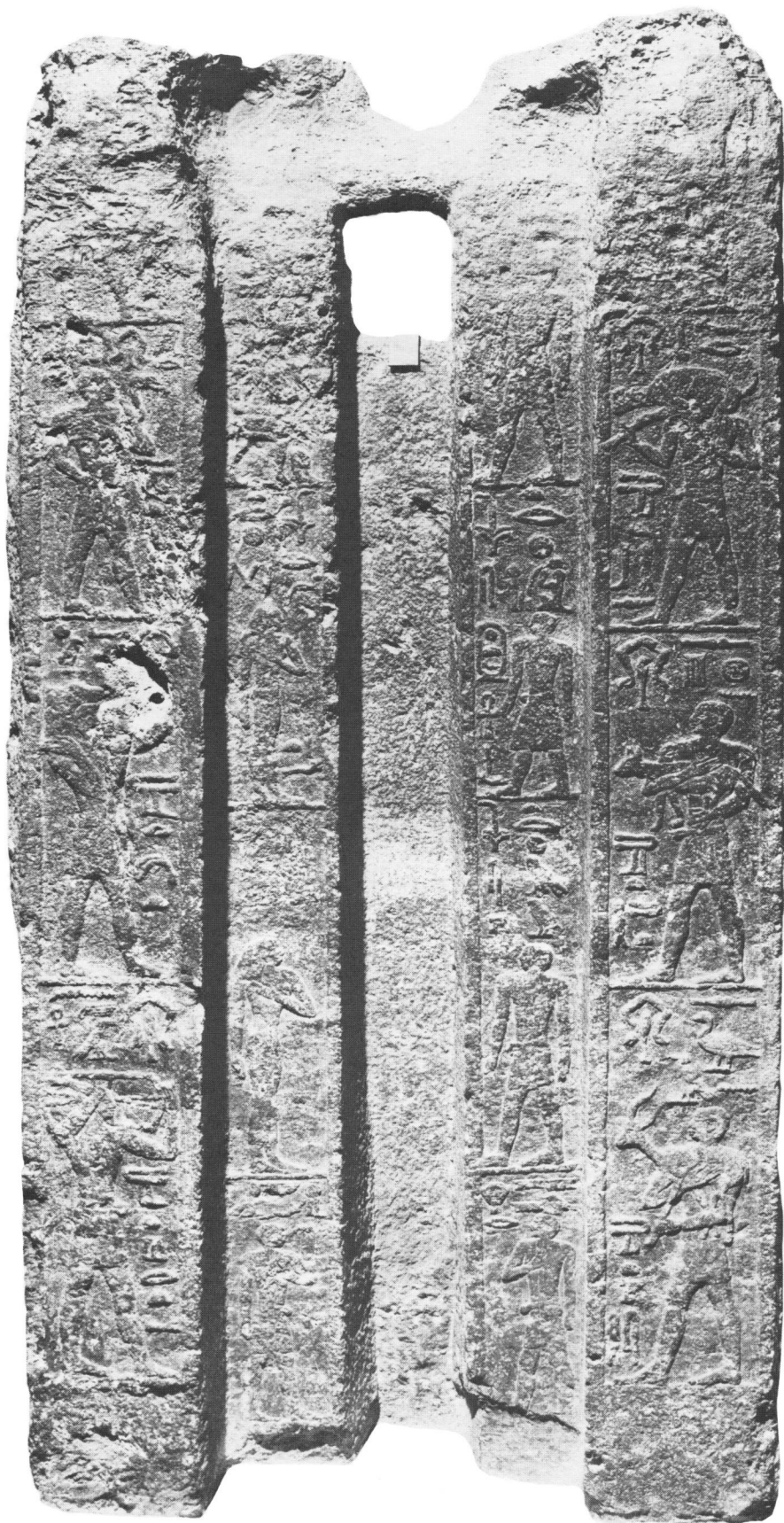
Fig. 17. East wall: Unfinished scenes of estates personifications bringing offering; boats and hunting in papyrus thickets.



Pl. 1. View of the tomb from the south (1903). Courtesy of Professor S. Curto, Soprintendente per le Antichità Egizie, Torino.



Pl. 2. Part of the east facade with its brick lining and false-door. Brick structure in foreground (1903).  
Courtesy of Professor S. Curto.

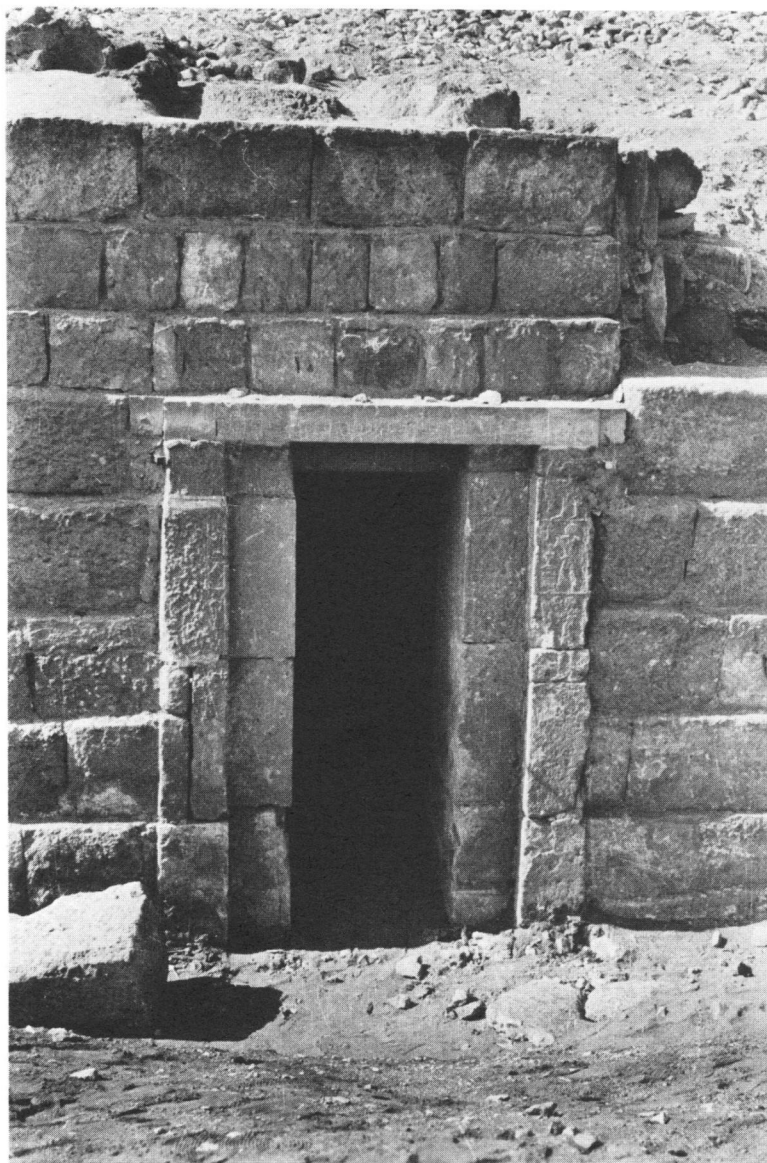


Pl. 3. External false-door. Courtesy of Professor S. Curto.





Pl. 4. Perspective of chapel from top of brick structure, looking southwest.



Pl. 5. Elevation of entrance doorway to chapel.



Pl. 7. North doorjamb carved with a scene of Iteti being presented offering by his three sons.

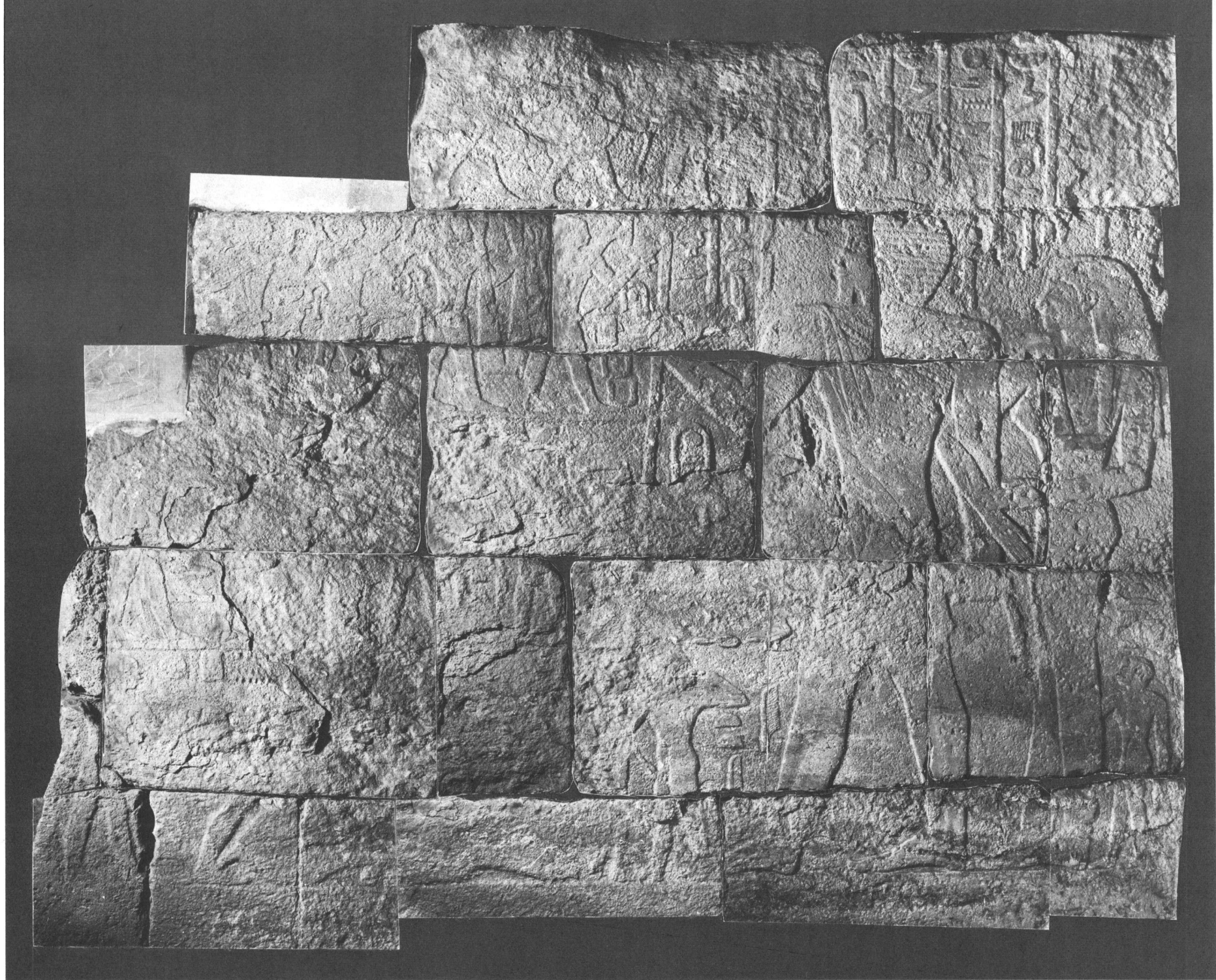
Pl. 6. Detail of outer north facet of doorpost.





Pl. 8. North wall.





Pl. 9. West wall.



Pl. 10. Upper part of inner false-door showing aperture to serdab.



Pl. 11. South wall.





Pl. 12. East wall.



Pl. 13. Statue of Iteti; head restored.

## MASTABA OF SEKHEM 'ANKH-PTAH

Only a small piece of information is contributed by Reisner,<sup>1</sup> who excavated the mastaba and numbered it G 7152: "Ptah-sekhem-ankh: mastaba of type VI a, interior one-niched L-shaped chapel with niche opposite doorway; nummulitic limestone; fully decorated but partly destroyed."

The mastaba stands on level ground southeast of Khufu's pyramid. It is closer to the pyramid than Iteti. The southeast corner of its superstructure stands at 68 meters from the southeast corner of Iteti's chapel and 56 meters from the northwest corner of its superstructure (see fig. 1). Its relatively well-preserved superstructure of large size (16.72 m. west, 16.92 m. east, 11.55 m. north, 11.75 m. south) consists of a core contained within a retaining wall. The wall is of massive nummulitic blocks laid in even courses 0.52-0.73 meter high in the northern part of the facade, but in less regular courses in the southern part. Blocks encroach upon one another, thus assuming L-shaped faces, or are patched at the corner in an obvious attempt at economy of material. The heavily bossed blocks are in a stepped array forming a battered wall. Rising joints are mostly vertical, although well-adjusted slant ones occur (pl. 14).

The entrance in the eastern facade consists of a narrow (0.765 m.) vertical doorway in the middle of a wide recess (2.385 m.). The door opened to the left, 1.11 meters from the back of the recess. On either side of the doorway, within the recess, is a statue slightly larger than life size looking toward the axis. The statues are identical; both represent a seated man wearing the *nemes* headcloth, the right hand open and the left one clenched in a fist, each on a knee (pl. 15). The cubical seat as well as the figure was never smoothed and bears no inscription. The walls of the recess are dressed but show no inscription. There must have been an inscribed drum and lintel above. Two life-size seated statues of Seshemnefer IV flanked the two-columned portico of his chapel at Giza, but they

were set frontally.<sup>2</sup> As noted by Junker, these are the only two instances of life-size statues fronting the entrance of a chapel, and he suggests that the idea derived from the entrance portal of royal mortuary temples, such as the isolated example of Kha'fre'.

The facade now runs five courses tall above the level of the bedrock (fig. 18), but there is enough evidence from a single block at the northern end for the existence of a sixth course. A study of the design of the false-door reveals that an allowance was made for its cornice of at least a sixth course below the ceiling. These factors were ignored in the restoration of the ceiling.

A large shaft of square section descends vertically 15.69 meters from the eroded upper level of the fill behind the north end of the chapel. A second small square shaft with bulging walls exists at the northeast end of the superstructure; it corresponds to the false-door of the royal daughter Bwnefer at the northern end of the eastern facade (see fig. 24).

A court 4.12 meters wide was formed in front of the whole length of the eastern facade. It was bordered on the north by a wall built subsequently of smaller blocks tangent to the alignment of the superstructure. On the east side of the court is a mastaba with several shafts.

The chapel proper is a long narrow chamber (4.52 x 1.43 m.), originally exceeding 3.40 meters in height, as is evident from the actual remains of the west wall, the best preserved of the four. This wall was obviously the most important, for more than half its area consists of a large false-door and, adjacent to it on the north, a slab carved with a large standing figure in raised relief of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah watching the cattle and fowl being marched toward him (pl. 16). Both false-door and slab are monoliths.

The false-door is of the compound type with double-faceted jambs, a door recess topped with a drum, a lintel, and above it a tablet, now utterly defaced and fragmentary (pl. 17). It is

most probable that the torus molding (6 cm. wide) flanking both sides turned horizontally above a second upper lintel. A cavetto cornice must have crowned the monument, which would have been about 4 meters in height.

None of the ceiling blocks is extant. The inner walls of the chapel are lined with fine-grained Tura limestone blocks forming courses similar in height to those of the facade, against a core of local stone.

The floor consisted of large square slabs, one of which remains in situ close to the entrance corridor. A vertical slot, now broken, in the second course above the floor in the south wall of the chapel widened into a flaring-out window opening onto a serdab statue room (1.55-1.52 x 3.28 m.), with both east and west walls bulging inward. The large size of this serdab would have permitted the storage of several statues. The northern slot opens close enough to the false-door to let these statues hear the offering spells pronounced by the funerary priest in order that they might partake of the rite performed in front of the offering table. The offering table has left no trace.

### Wall Scenes of the Chapel

Only three of the walls have scenes in raised relief; the south one is seemingly stripped of its facing.

*West wall.* The best preserved is the west wall inset with the large monolithic false-door (1.53 m. wide) having double-faceted jambs carved with an extensive list of titles in two columns on the outer facets and the offering formula and titles in three columns on the inner ones (pl. 18). The door recess proper has a self-laudatory inscription in two columns of hieroglyphs. At the bottom of each of the five vertical components (two outer facets, two inner facets on either side, and two columns of door recess) the name Sekhem'ankh-Ptah repeats horizontally. The bottom of each of the outer and inner facets shows, the same size at the same level, a relief figure of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah striding toward the center, holding the long staff with tent-pole upper end and a kerchief. He wears a long wig and a short kilt puffing to the

fore into a triangle (pl. 19). He has a short beard and wears a collar, but no sandals. There is much dignity, with seemingly personalized features, in the smiling face in this otherwise formal representation.

The composition of the inscriptions is nearly symmetrical about the door recess, the hieroglyphs turned toward it. In the two outer columns containing exclusively titles, both administrative and honorific, the inner column is duplicated on either side, but the outer column shows slight variants. The three columns of the two facets flanking the recess contain an invocation to Anubis and the lord of the necropolis for the north ones, and to Osiris Khentiamentyw and the lord of the necropolis for the south ones. The requests are duplicated symmetrically: in the three columns on either side, from the axis there are (1) a good burial, (2) striding on the beautiful ways, (3) food offering on all feasts and every day. It is noteworthy that every column of invocation ends at the bottom with one to four titles, probably as a device to connect it with the name Sekhem'ankh-Ptah running below five times as a common denominator.

*The inscriptions on the false-door (fig. 19).* The parts above the drum are so defaced by erosion that hardly one sign can be recognized, though the faint outline of the deceased seated in front of an offering table emerges on the tablet when in favorable lighting. On the drum a few titles precede the name: (*h<sub>3</sub>ty*)' *hry-tp* . . . *Shm'nh Pth* "Count (?), Chamberlain (?), . . . Sekhem'ankh-Ptah."

The central recess has an inscription in two columns giving a brief statement about going down to this tomb after doing right and denying having allowed the strong to appropriate things from the poor. A comparable statement of similar composition is inscribed on the central recess of the false-door of Seshemnefer IV and Ptahhetep<sup>3</sup> (Sixth Dynasty), and others.<sup>4</sup>

1) (*i.n.i m*) *niwt.(i) pr.n.(i) m sp<sub>3</sub>t.(i) h<sub>3</sub>.n.(i) m is pn dd.n.(i) m<sub>3</sub>'t iri.n.(i) m<sub>3</sub>'t mrrt ntr wd'.n.(i) mdw<sup>5</sup> hry-tp nswt* (2) . . . *nh<sub>t</sub> r bw m<sub>3</sub>'<sup>6</sup> n rdi.n.(i) ity.f šps.t nt šw<sub>3</sub> r.f iri.n.(i) is pn r<sup>7</sup> im<sub>3</sub>h n<sup>8</sup> iri.t m<sub>3</sub>'t smr w'ty Shm'nh-Pth*

1) "I have come from my city, I got forth from my nome, I descended into this tomb. I said the right, I did the right beloved of God. I judged. Royal Chamberlain."

2) "... strong one, as behooves, I did not let him take forcefully the valuables of the poor to himself. I made this tomb to [be] venerated one because I did the right. Sole Companion Sekhem'ankh-Ptah."

Inscriptions on both sides of the inner recess are directed toward it. They are headed with the offering formula.

North inner facet: (1) *htp-di-nswt htp-di-  
Inpw hnty sh-ntr krs.t(w).f m hr(t)-ntr i3wt  
nfrwt h3ty- t3yty s3b t3ty mdw-rhyt* (2) ... *hr  
nb hr(t)-ntr hp.f hr w3wt nfrwt hppt im3hw  
hr.sn imy-r ssw md3t nswt* (3) ... *nb Imntt  
pr-hrw n.f m wp rnpt Dhwt tpy-rnpt nb W3g  
r'-nb hry-tp nswt Shm'nh-Pth*

1) "An offering which the king gives, an offering which Anubis gives, foremost of the divine booth, that he may be buried in the necropolis at a good old age, local count, chief judge, vizier, staff of the people."

2) "... under the lord of the necropolis, that he may walk upon the beautiful ways upon which the venerated usually walk, overseer of the scribes of documents of the king."

3) "... Lord of the West that offering may come forth for him at the feast of the Opening of the Year, the feast of Thot, every first of the year, Wag feast, every day, royal chamberlain Sekhem'ankh-Ptah."

South inner facet: (1) ... *Wsir hnty Ddw  
krs.tw.f m hr(t)-ntr i3w nfrwt h3ty- t3yty s3b  
t3ty mdw rhyt* (2) ... *hnty imntyw nb t3 dsr  
hp.f hr w3wt nfrwt hppt im3hw hr.sn imy-r ssw  
md3t nswt* (3) ... *nb hr(t)-ntr pr-hrw n.f m  
Wpt-rnpt Dhwt tpy-rnpt nb W3g r'-nb hry-tp  
nswt Shm'nh-Pth*

1) "... Wsir, foremost of Busiris, that he may be buried in the necropolis at a good old age, local count, chief judge, vizier, staff of the people."

2) "... foremost of the Westerners, lord of the Sacred Land, that he walk on the beautiful ways upon which the venerated usually walk, overseer of the scribes of documents of the king."

3) "... lord of the necropolis, that funerary offerings may go forth for him at the feast of the Opening of the Year, at the feast of Thot, every first of the year, Wag feast, every day, royal chamberlain, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah."

To be remarked is the choice of the deities:

Osiris and the foremost of the Westerners, identified with him at that date.<sup>10</sup>

A parallelism similar to that between the two inner facets is observable between the two outer facets.

North outer facet: (1) ... *i3w nfrwt m nb  
im3h hr ntr-3 r'-nb h3ty- t3yty s3b t3ty  
sd3wty bity r Piw nb hry-tp nswt* (2) ...  
*(m3) -hrw hr.sn wn im3h.f hr Wsir imy-r k3t  
nb(t) n(t) nswt smr w ty Pr-3 ss md3t nswt*

1) "... good old age as lord of veneration before the Great God,<sup>11</sup> every day, local count, chief judge, vizier, chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, mouth of all the people of Pe,<sup>12</sup> royal chamberlain."

2) "... veneration (?) on them, his veneration will exist before Wsir, overseer of all the works of the king, sole companion of Pharaoh, scribe of the documents of the king."

South outer facet: (1) "... *m nb im3h hr  
ntr-3 r'-nb h3ty- t3yty s3b t3ty sd3wty bity r  
Piw nb hry-tp nswt* (2) ... *m n im3h.f hr Wsir  
imy-r k3t nb(t) nt nswt imy-r w'bt hry sst3  
Shm'nh-Pth*

1) "... as lord of veneration under the Great God, every day, local count, chief judge, vizier, chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, mouth of all the people of Pe, royal chamberlain."

2) "... veneration (?) before Wsir, overseer of all the works of the king, overseer of the embalming house, privy to the secret, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah."

The remaining area of the wall north of the false-door, extending to the north corner (pl. 20; fig. 20), is carved with a representation of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah accompanied by his eldest son Seshemnefer watching the marching of their cattle (two upper registers; uppermost destroyed), desert horned quadrupeds (mid register), and fowl (two lower registers). One isolated block of the uppermost missing register has been reinserted (fig. 21).

An aspect of the grand scale and magnificence of art in this tomb chapel is the monolithic slab reaching the whole height of the room above the dado. On it Sekhem'ankh-Ptah appears in heroic size, 0.77 meter wide, close to the false-door from which he seems to proceed northward. Above his head are inscriptions in columns, badly weathered in the upper area. Sekhem'ankh-Ptah is in the striding posture, wearing a long



wig, a short beard, and a boldly projecting triangular kilt. In his right hand hanging by his side is a kerchief, and he holds the long staff of authority in his left. In front of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and reaching the level of his knee-high kilt stands the son holding onto his father's staff with his left hand, a bird in his right. The figure could be a small-scale copy of that of his father. Above him is the inscription: *s3.f smsw s3b imy-r sšw sš md3t nswt hft-hr Ššmnfr* "His eldest son, judge, overseer of scribes, scribe of the documents of the king in his presence, Seshemnefer." Similarly impressive high offices were held by Heneni, but in reverse order: "scribe of the king's documents in his presence, overseer of scribes, judge." This order is assumed by Junker to have denoted successive steps in Heneni's career.<sup>13</sup> An attempt to trace some relationship between this Seshemnefer and the four notables of the same name buried at Giza<sup>14</sup> led nowhere, for our Seshemnefer's titles do not correspond to any of theirs. There is, however, a Seshemnefer "scribe of the king's documents in his presence" at Dahshur.<sup>15</sup>

Above Sekhem'ankh-Ptah are titles, many of them occurring in the same sequence on the false-door. From the north top: (1) . . . *n ht nb nfr r-nb* (2) . . . *hry-tp nswt mdw rhyt t3yty* (3) . . . *n ib nb.f st ib* (4) . . . *sd3wty r Piw nb Shm'nh-Pth* (1) "... everything good every day; (2) ... royal chamberlain, staff of the people, judge; (3) ... of the heart of his lord, favorite; (4) ... chancellor, mouth of all the people of Pe, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah."

From the lower inscriptions: (1) *t3yty s3b t3ty hrp wsht*<sup>16</sup> (2) *sd3wty bity r Piw nb hry-tp nswt* (3) *shtp (?) n ib nb.f n st-ib nb.f* (4) *imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt* (5) *imy-r sšw md3t nswt* (6) *imy-r w'bt Pr-3* (1) "chief judge, vizier, administrator of the palace hall; (2) chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, mouth of all the people of Pe, royal chamberlain; (3) the one satisfying the heart of his lord in the affection of his lord; (4) overseer of all the works of the king; (5) overseer of the scribes of the documents of the king; (6) overseer of the embalming house of the court, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah."

As noted above, nearly all these titles occur on the false-door. One brings an additional specification, "overseer of the embalming house of the court." Two others are less clear: "the one

satisfying [*shtp*] the heart of his lord, of his affection [or wish ? ]," and "the administrator of the palace court [or hall]" discussed at length by Junker. That the latter title occurs here as elsewhere in a context of judiciary titles would corroborate an interpretation in this sense. The *wsekhet* sign, however, seems to show a palace tower along the left side, which could add the specific definition "palace hall, palace court."

In front of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah is a column of hieroglyphs, much defaced at the top: . . . (*m3*)<sub>3</sub> *iw3 'wt h3st 3pdw inw n m niwwt pr-dt* "... seeing cattle, desert fauna, fowl brought by the villages of the provisioning house." The use of such a legend in a vertical column of hieroglyphs as a separating item between the heroic figure of the owner and his animals being marched in several registers toward him is common in the composition of mastaba wall scenes.<sup>17</sup> The three groups of animals form a constant feature (Ra'wer II), though differently arranged. The closest to our composition occurs at Kahif (north wall)<sup>18</sup> with nearly the same inscription introducing, from the top, cattle (two registers), desert fauna (one register), and fowl (one register).

A displaced block toward the north end of the west wall is all that remains of the uppermost area (fig. 21). In its lower register two servants bring to a pile of offerings a fowl with twisted-back neck: *im nn n k3(.k)* "Take this for thy ka," and the second the foreleg of an ox. In the register above appear offerings with two domed-lid vessels on a table, and below large cucumber-type vegetables in a crate. Nearby are other items difficult to interpret, such as vegetables, lettuce, and, on the floor, an ox leg.

In the register below the uppermost one a scribe presents a list of the items introduced: a shepherd leading a fat ox by the leash around its neck, closely followed by a second peasant and a young ox *rn iw3*, and a third in charge of two oxen shown in offset drafting *rn ng3w*.<sup>19</sup> At Kahif the shepherd leads a group of three oxen in a row toward which he turns to strike the forehead of the foremost. The animals are young oxen, but not calves.<sup>20</sup>

In the mid register another scribe also presents his list, his left shoulder turned in by foreshortening. A first peasant draws by the muzzle and horns a massive oryx leukoryx

*m<sub>3</sub>h<sub>d</sub>*. The figure does not show the usual turned-back head and bust, matching the effort of pulling the beast (cf. Kahif, Nefer).<sup>21</sup> He is followed by a second peasant leading an ibex *n<sub>i</sub>3w*, and by another pulling an antelope, also by the horns and the muzzle. The gesture repeats with a fourth peasant who turns back toward a Mendes-antelope *nwdw*. As usual, the attitudes of the animals are all formal. What is unusual, however, is the same formality prevailing in the peasants, who elsewhere show effort expressed through turned-back busts, wide-spread legs, cambered torsos.

Herding the fowl is the chore of a single man given the specific title *nr*, "herdsman,"<sup>22</sup> inscribed above his head. He appears at the front of the register, turning back his head and holding a long staff trailing behind to the feet of the foremost of three cranes. He does not, as is usual with shepherds, hold his right hand over his shoulder. The elegant cranes are shown to be of the same stature as their keeper. Their anatomy is marked by slight differences for each, probably enhanced by paint. They were, in fact, of three varieties: *d<sub>3</sub>t*, '*iw*', *w<sub>d</sub>*'. According to Junker,<sup>23</sup> the crane does not appear in the official food list, though it was a favorite fowl often represented and mentioned first among the types of fowl meat supplied for the offering table. The *d<sub>3</sub>t* seems to designate both red and black varieties of crane, '*iw*' is perhaps the male, and *w<sub>d</sub>*' is the gray bird sporting a white tuft at the back of its head and a black one on its breast.

Taking advantage of the smaller size of other fowl, the artist quite cleverly arranged them in two subsidiary registers superimposed behind the cranes (pl. 21). Nefer's artist had no such initiative, for behind the cranes he showed two geese and two ducks, all the same height by isocephaly.<sup>24</sup> In the bottom row, five geese proceed at the heavy pace characteristic of their species. Slight variations in the anatomy, probably further detailed with brush touches, differentiate the varieties: *r(3)*, *hmt*, *trp*, *r<sub>3</sub> h<sub>d</sub>*, *smn*. Their names appear on the great food list.<sup>25</sup> The *hmt* could be the female of the *r(3)*, for it occurs so with the genitive *n*: *hmt n r(3)*.<sup>26</sup> The last in the row, the *smn*, is particularly graceful, its slender neck curving back prettily above a small body. The upper register, slightly narrow-

er, accommodates ducks and birds of diverse varieties: *hp*, *st*, *sw*, *pht*, *bn*, *sbh*, *w<sub>nwn</sub>*. Some of these appear in the list of offerings. Of them the pintail duck, *st*, is recognizable because of its pointed tail, and the *pht* duck keeps its head withdrawn in its shoulders.<sup>27</sup> The *w<sub>nwn</sub>* is a small bird.<sup>28</sup> *Hep*, *sw*, *ben*, and *sebeh* are listed in the Wörterbuch.<sup>29</sup>

*East wall* (pl. 22). Only one register and the lowest remnants of a second one above, in the north area, are extant, extending from the entrance passage to the north wall. They represent the agricultural cycle being watched by Sekhem'ankh-Ptah, his wife, son, and daughter standing in heroic size at the southern end. The daughter either is naked or is wearing a tight gown, her left arm hanging by her side, her right embracing the right knee of her mother (fig. 22). Above her: (*s<sub>3</sub>t*).*f mrit.f Mritit.s* "His daughter, his beloved, 'The one beloved of her father.' " Only the legs of the wife are to be seen. Her husband (from the waist down) stands in front of her, grasping in his left fist a kerchief, wearing a short kilt, and holding a long staff to which his son clings. In front of the family group was a vertical column with the usual inscription, totally defaced, introducing the activities in the fields. The whole register is much eroded, especially the middle area.

Of the scribe presenting his account only the feet show. There are four scenes from the cycle of agricultural activities represented. They deal with processing and storing the harvest. Logically, the last stage, that of winnowing, appears closest to the family of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah, while beyond are the scenes of building up a mow of straw, threshing, and finally, at the north end, building up a mow of bundles of stalks.

Just behind the scribe are two women slightly bent forward, fronting each other on either side of a low heap of grain. The one closest to the scribe holds a broom and a rectangular object (?). Fronting her, her companion raises both arms and hands holding elongated wooden scoops to fling grain into the air. The rather rare scene of winnowing by this method is shown fully at Kahif.<sup>30</sup> Beneath an utterly destroyed block to the north, two legs fronted by *rwt* move away from Sekhem'ankh-Ptah, while a man comes toward him, holding a baton in his

left hand raising an elongated object. He stands beyond a vertical line that seems to delimit the scene of the building of a mow on the threshing floor. The line is a long horizontal strip running at ground level and rounded at both ends. In fact, a large fork is worked into this area at one end by a man with wide stride expressing violent action. In the background stands a truncated conical mow similar in shape to the one built up from sheafs<sup>31</sup> in the northernmost scene. The moment of harvest storage is enacted by two peasants gathering the straw into a neat pile with their long forks, either in slow formal attitudes as at Kahif,<sup>32</sup> or in violent movement as at Seshemnefer IV<sup>33</sup> and in our chapel.

Threshing is shown here by having a pack of donkeys herded close by to mill around on the round threshing floor. As usual, one of the two men raises with both hands a baton in a threatening and probably quite pragmatic gesture. One of the most daring donkeys cannot help but pick up some grain from the floor, while another passes his head in a caressing posture on the back of one of his comrades. Animated dialogue is exchanged during the process, as at Kahif: <sup>34</sup> *h3.k* "Aback!" or "Behind thee!" *iri.k im.sn* "Proceed rightly with them!" or "Gather them!"<sup>35</sup>

At the end of the sequence of scenes two farmhands, their torsos violently curved back and their legs wide apart, throw up sheaves to the top of a conical heap: *wbs spt* "Throw up the threshing floor." This activity is similarly depicted at Kahif (east wall),<sup>36</sup> or in more formal, stiffer attitudes after the earlier style at Seshemnefer IV.<sup>37</sup>

The phases represented in this lowermost register belong to the end of the agricultural cycle. It may be presumed that above would have appeared the preceding phases, as on the east wall of the rock tomb chapel of Kaemnofert or at Seshemnefer IV: plowing, sowing, harvesting, binding sheaves, putting them in sacks, leading in the donkeys, burdening them, marching them off, and unloading them.

*North wall (pl. 23).* Only the lowest register (0.38 m. high) and part of the one above are extant. A broad band runs vertically at either end, marking the independent nature of the scenes. They belong to a cycle of farming and tending cattle, exemplified on the eastern lintel

at Kaemnofert, but nowhere else in the western cemetery of Khufu.

At the east end of the lower register (fig. 23) a striding ox is held fast by a shepherd *nr*. The shepherd's right hand is held close to the eye of the animal while his left hand holds the looped end of a rope hanging from the muzzle and from the segment-shaped ornament, itself connected to the rope wound several times round the neck and upper mandible. Behind the horns: *wš3 rn iw[3]* "Fattening the young ox."<sup>38</sup>

In the middle an ox, standing and facing west, drinks from a two-lugged wide bowl placed on the ground. The animal is not tied. Above, on a subsidiary ground line, two calves are recumbent, back to back. At the west end of the register are four more calves striding toward the ox, two on the main ground line and two above. In the upper register, from the east, are scarcely identifiable fragments of a striated bowl placed on the ground in front of a pair of human legs. Quite interesting, though badly defaced, is the scene of milking a cow. The farmhand kneels below the belly of the standing animal and squeezes the udder with both hands. A three-strip stream of milk pours vertically into a broad-mouthed conical vessel. The rear legs of the animal are bound above the knee with five rings of rope. A calf stands facing west, but it turns back its head and pulls its tongue at the scent of fresh milk, in an eager expression of frustrated lust. A short tether rope hangs from its muzzle. The topical incident occurs in similar scenes at Ti,<sup>39</sup> and numerous examples are to be seen at Saqqara, Deir el Gebrawi, and Deshasha. Unlike that at Ti, however, where shrubs suggest an open-air pen or farmyard, the blank background does not record any setting.

*False-door of Bwnefer (fig. 24).* At the northern end of the outer facade, close to the edge, is a false-door surmounted by its tablet (see pl. 14). It is cut into the blocks of the facade and is of small size (tablet: ca. 44.5 x 54 cm.; lintel below tablet: 27 cm. deep; width of false-door same as tablet, with a middle recess of 14 cm.). A princess is seated on a chair with a short back, a cushion, and calf's legs on conical pedestals, in front of an offering platter on a stand. She wears a long wig and a long robe reaching to her ankles and bends her left arm on her breast, while extending her right arm stiffly

to touch the foremost of the eight slices of bread on the platter. Beneath the platter is a vessel with a domed lid. Above the figure: *im3ht hr Inpw s3t nswt nt ht.f Bwnfr* "Venerated before Anubis, real royal daughter, Bwnefer." The name could mean "Goodness" rather than "Something Good." The style of this small monument is coarse when compared with the refined carving of the chapel. The design is stiff and the features of the face show boorish traits. The bottom part is a false-door with one central recess flanked by two facets.

*Style.* Despite destruction or defacement of more than half the wall scenes, enough remains to permit an appraisal of the style. The composition is focused, as usual, on the false-door for the west wall, and on the east wall. At the south end of the west wall stand the owner and his son to watch the marching of his animals, or the whole family stands on the east wall to see the agricultural activities of the owner's people, proceeding southward. While the location of the agricultural pursuits on the east wall is usual, the decision to have the whole family watch them is not. There seems to be an inversion between watching the agricultural cycle and watching the marching of animals, usually attended by the whole family since it was held at the farmstead, which was not so hot and dusty as the open fields (cf. Kaemnofert, below). On the north wall the only scene remaining represents cattle being tended – a theme obviously independent of and free from walking people.

Extant are only the watching of the offerings and goods and part of the agricultural pursuits. There is no way to ascertain the subjects of the repertoire that appeared on the south wall, perhaps offering-bearers in connection with the serdab slot and the false-door.

A broad band bordered each wall along its vertical ends, and certainly turned horizontally at the top, probably surmounted by a *kheker* frieze. The band is uncarved but it could have been painted to imitate a conventionalized torus. It has been remarked that the design of the false-door, when restored with its crowning cavetto cornice, provided a clue to the excessive height of the walls contrasting with the narrowness of the chapel.

Whether the draftsmanship is formal, as in the scenes of watching the animals, or shows instan-

taneous motion and violent movement and attitudes, as in the figures of the peasants throwing their sheaves onto a mow, the carving technique is a shallow refined relief, achieving personalized features not idealized, as in the figures of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah at the bottom of the false-door (see pl. 19) and especially in the face of Princess Bwnefer (see fig. 24). A date toward the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, when the shallow technique of relief characteristic of the Fifth Dynasty was still in use, agrees well with the type of false-door and its inscriptions.

## ONOMASTICA

Sekhem'ankh-Ptah,<sup>40</sup> rather than Ptah-sekhem-ankh as read by Reisner,<sup>41</sup> is preferred on the evidence of such names as Sekhemkare<sup>42</sup> or Sekhem'ankh-Re' also called Sekhemre', or the shorter compounds Sekhem-Ptah and Sekhem-Re'. The name could mean "Powerful (and) alive (is) Ptah." It was that of a chief of the Ten of the South, real commander of the chief gardeners in the Fifth Dynasty at Saqqara.<sup>43</sup>

Bwnefer "Something Good,"<sup>44</sup> or rather "Goodness, Beauty," is the name of a real royal son in the Fourth Dynasty, but also that of a queen, wife of King Shepseskaf,<sup>45</sup> a daughter of Nswtnefer at Giza. In our mastaba Bwnefer has her own burial shaft and stela on which she is called "Real royal daughter." As the name of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah's wife has disappeared in her only representation on the east wall, it is safe to presume that she was Princess Bwnefer. The translation "Goodness," based on the grammatical construction with *bw* to form abstracts, agrees with the widespread custom in Arabic of featuring qualities as proper names.

Seshemnefer.<sup>46</sup> This son of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah appears twice as a small boy holding fast to the staff of his father. As mentioned before, his titles do not correspond to those of any of the Seshemnefer family at Giza (beginning of Fifth to Sixth Dynasty).

Meritites.<sup>47</sup> "The one beloved of her father" is the daughter appearing on the east wall. There is a lady of this name bearing the harem title "Royal Ornament" represented with her boy Khnemw.<sup>48</sup> There was a Meritites, sister of Bwnefer and daughter of Nswtnefer at Giza.<sup>49</sup>

# TITLES

## SEKHEM'ANKH-PTAH

Honorific: *h3ty*- "Count."<sup>50</sup>

*smr w'ty Pr*-'3 "Sole companion of Pharaoh."<sup>51</sup>

*smr w'ty* "Sole companion."

Government: *t3lty s3b t3ty* "Chief judge, vizier."<sup>52</sup>

*mdw rhyt* "Staff of the people" or "Speech of the people."<sup>53</sup>

*r Piw nb* "Mouth of all the people of Pe."<sup>54</sup>

Palace: *sd3wty bity* "Chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt."

*hry-tp nswt* "Royal chamberlain."

*hry sst3* "Privy to the secret."

*imyr ssw md3t nswt* "Overseer of the scribes of the documents of the king."

*ss md3t nswt* "Scribe of the documents of the king."

*imyr k3t nbt nt nswt* "Overseer of all the works of the king."

*imyr w'bt Pr*-'3 "Overseer of the embalming house of Pharaoh" or "Overseer of the embalming house of the court."

*imyr w'bt* Overseer of the embalming house."<sup>55</sup>

## BWNEFER

Nobility: *s3t nswt nt ht.f* "Real royal daughter."<sup>56</sup>

## SESEMNEFER

Government: *s3b* "Judge."

*imyr ssw* "Overseer of the scribes."<sup>57</sup>

Palace: *ss md3t nswt hft-hr* "Scribe of the documents of the king in his presence."<sup>58</sup>

# NOTES

1. G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, I (Cambridge, 1942), 312. There is a brief description in W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Boston, 1946), p. 200, and a mention in Porter-Moss, *TB*.
2. Junker, *Giza* XII, pp. 109-110, pl. I.
3. *Ibid.*, fig. 83; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 81, text vol. 1, p. 79. For Ptahhetep, see Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 267, fig. 108.
4. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1973), 16-17. E. Edel, "Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des alten Reiches," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, vol. 13 (Berlin, 1944), pp. 31 ff.
5. *WB*, I, 405.
6. *Ibid.*, II, 14.
7. For *r* of purpose, futurity, see A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1927), #163.4.
8. *Ibid.*, #164.
9. So Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 17, a title of Sekhemka. "Speaker of the people" or "Speech of the people" should, however, be considered on the analogy of *imyr-r mdt* "Overseer of speech" (H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* [New York, 1968], pp. 141-142). But see also *WB*, II, 178.
10. Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 216.
11. The "Great God" is undefined, perhaps still the "God of the Sky." Later in the Sixth Dynasty, Osiris begins to take his place as protector of the necropolis. Cf. Seshemnefer IV (Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 216).
12. Rare title of a high official in the capital of Lower Egypt, also borne by Kaninswt (Junker, *Giza* II, pp. 159, 160).
13. Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 70, fig. 40.
14. Junker, *Giza* III, pp. 9-10.
15. *Ibid.*, quoting J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, II, 2-21, figs. 3-5.
16. Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 52. For the sign with palace tower, cf. *WB*, I, 366.
17. Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 144, referring to *Giza* III, fig. 8a-b; *Giza* VI, figs. 14, 40, 41.
18. Junker, *Giza* VI, p. 126, fig. 40.
19. Junker, *Giza* III, pp. 99, 145.
20. Junker, *Giza* VI, p. 50.
21. *Ibid.*, figs. 16, 40.
22. Junker, *Giza* III, p. 92; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 69, 102.
23. Junker, *Giza* VI, pp. 63-64, fig. 16; *Giza* II, fig. 33.
24. Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 16.
25. Junker, *Giza* III, pp. 99-102.
26. *WB*, III, 76.
27. Junker, *Giza* VI, p. 64, fig. 16.
28. *WB*, I, 317.
29. *WB*, III, 69; IV, 59, 91.
30. Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 47; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 221-222, pl. XVIII (Ti).
31. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 226.
32. Junker, *Giza* VI, pp. 150 ff., fig. 47.
33. Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 75.
34. Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 46, pp. 147-148. For a different interpretation, see Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 219-220: "Thou who lookest behind thee, out of them!"
35. *WB*, I, 109.
36. Junker, *Giza* VI, pp. 145-146, fig. 46.
37. Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 194, fig. 74a.
38. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 112; *WB*, I, 369.
39. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 108, pl. VIII.
40. H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt, 1935), 319, no. 11. There is a mastaba of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and Niswt-Wsert south of the causeway of Kha'fre'. See S.

# MASTABA OF SEKHEM<sup>4</sup>ANKH-PTAH

- Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, Vol. II, 1930-1931 (Cairo, 1936), pp. 32 ff. He was a priest of Menkawre<sup>5</sup>, inspector of funerary priests.
41. Reisner, *op. cit.*, I, 312.
42. Junker, *Giza* III, pp. 49, 56, 59.
43. Porter-Moss, *TB*, III, 105-106.
44. Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 94, no. 6. See also Junker, *Giza* III, p. 177. For the grammar of compounds with *bw*, see Gardiner, *op. cit.*, #540.
45. Junker, *Giza* III, p. 62; Hassan, *op. cit.*, III (Cairo, 1941), fig. 148.
46. Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 320, no. 17.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 158, no. 18.
48. Leyden Mus. D 125.
49. Junker, *Giza* III, p. 177.
50. "Count" was a court title bestowed upon the vizier and high officials after the Fifth Dynasty to enhance their authority (see Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, pp. 111-113).
51. This title seems to be exceedingly rare, if not unique. 'Ankh-Kha'fre', a son of Kha'fre', was a "Companion of Pharaoh" (Pirenne, *Institutions*, I, 338). Maanefer (Fifth Dynasty) was "Sole companion of the king" (*ibid.*, II, 495). The title "Companion" ranked lowest at the court (Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, p. 11).
52. Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 176.
53. The interpretation suggested in n. 9, above, "Speech of the people," finds backing in Helck's remark (*Beamtentiteln*, p. 74) that its occurrence with jurists points to the possibility that once they were supposed to tell the right. But see Pirenne, *Institutions*, II, 152-153, translating "Prefect of rekhyt." Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 170: "Stab[Leiter] des Volkes."
54. Translated in Pirenne, *Institutions*, II, 154, as "Governor of Pe." It was a title of the vizier in the Fourth Dynasty (Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, p. 23).
55. Pirenne, *Institutions*, II, 549: "Director of the house of wa'b-priests"; III, 621: "Director of the house of purificator priests."
56. Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 174.
57. *Sab imyr sesh* ranks next to *sab adj-mer* (Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, p. 82). The two titles occur together (Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 174).
58. The title with the specific epithet "in his presence" does not occur in Junker's index, nor in Helck. There is a title *sesh khefer her nswt* "Scribe in the presence of the king" borne only once by Pepy-'ankh, nomarch of Cusae under Merenre' and Pepy II (?) (Pirenne, *Institutions*, III, 34, 44, 571, 626).

## Figures for Sekhem'ankh-Ptah

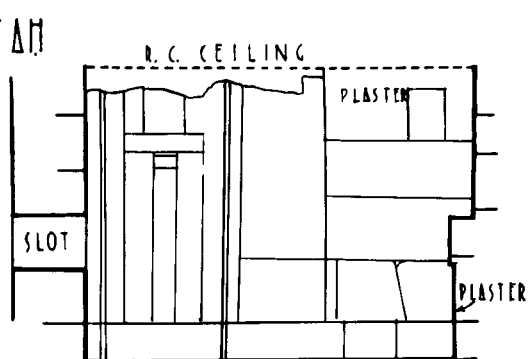
- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
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| <p>18. <i>Plan, elevation, and cross-section of mastaba.</i></p> <p>19. <i>False-door.</i></p> <p>20. <i>West wall: Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and his son watch the marching of cattle and fowl.</i></p> <p>21. <i>Block from the uppermost register of west wall.</i></p> | <p>22. <i>East wall: one register from agricultural cycle shows Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and his family watching harvesting.</i></p> <p>23. <i>North wall: one register and a fragment representing the breeding of oxen and milking a cow.</i></p> <p>24. <i>False-door of Princess Bwnefer.</i></p> |
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## Plates for Sekhem'ankh-Ptah

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
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| <p>14. <i>East facade of the mastaba with its entrance, and Bwnefer's false-door at its north end. In the background is the Kha'fre' pyramid.</i></p> <p>15. <i>Entrance doorway flanked by two statues.</i></p> <p>16. <i>Perspective of the monolithic slab representing Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and his son.</i></p> <p>17. <i>Perspective of the false-door.</i></p> | <p>18. <i>Elevation of the false-door.</i></p> <p>19. <i>Figure of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah at the bottom of the outer north facet of the false-door.</i></p> <p>20. <i>West wall north of the false-door.</i></p> <p>21. <i>Fowl represented in two registers behind cranes (west wall).</i></p> <p>22. <i>East wall.</i></p> <p>23. <i>North wall.</i></p> |
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# MASTABA OF SEKHEMANKHPTAH SECTION

SERDAB



FILL SHAFT

EAST FAÇADE

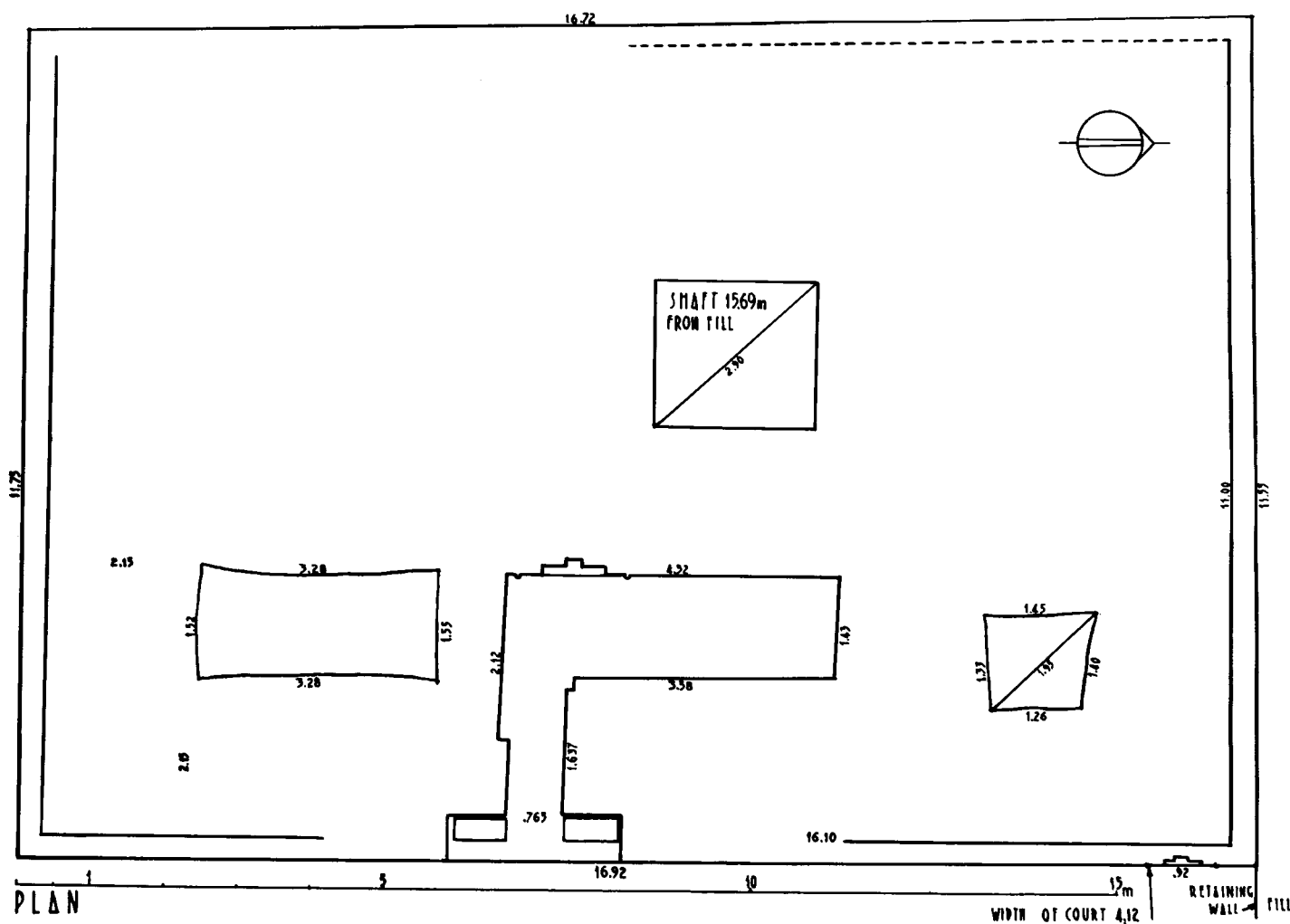
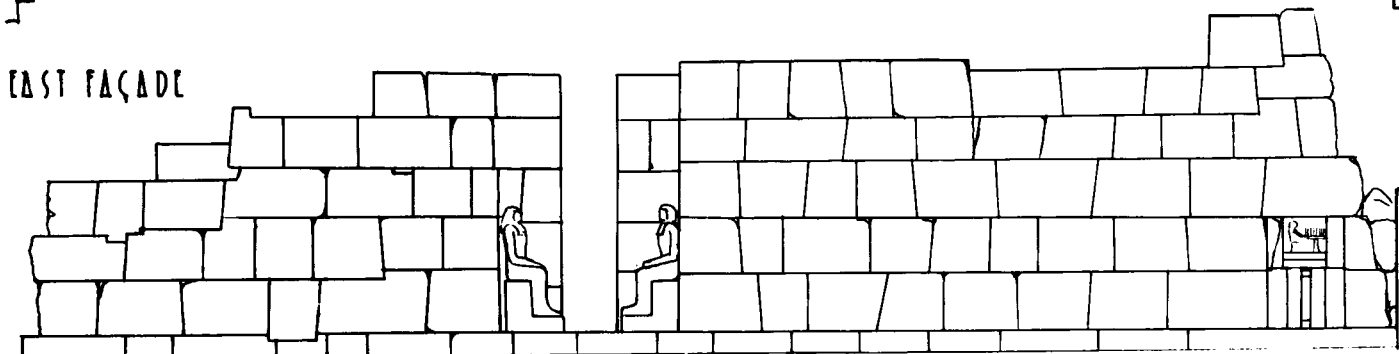


Fig. 18. Plan, elevation, and cross-section of mastaba.



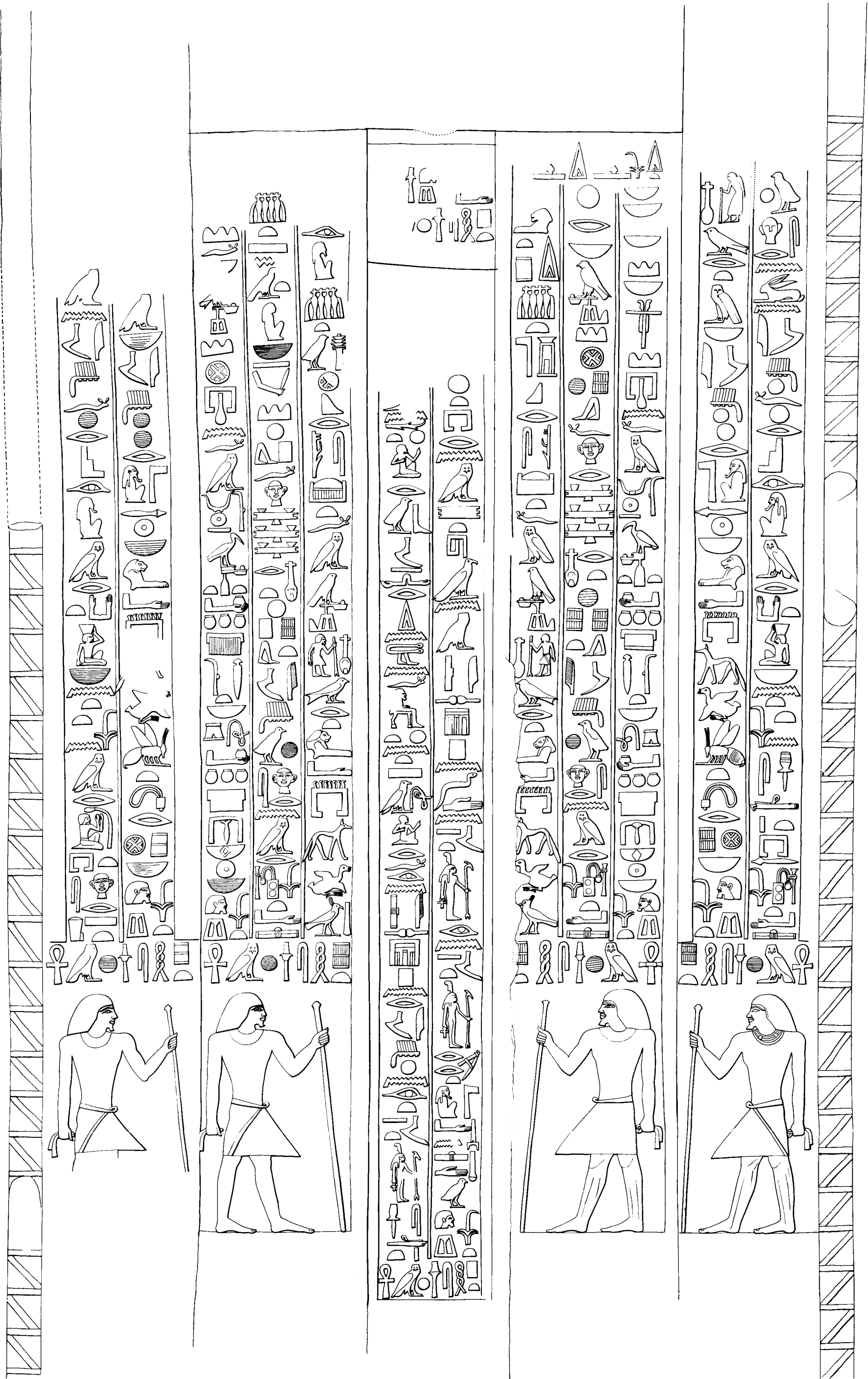


Fig. 19. False-door.

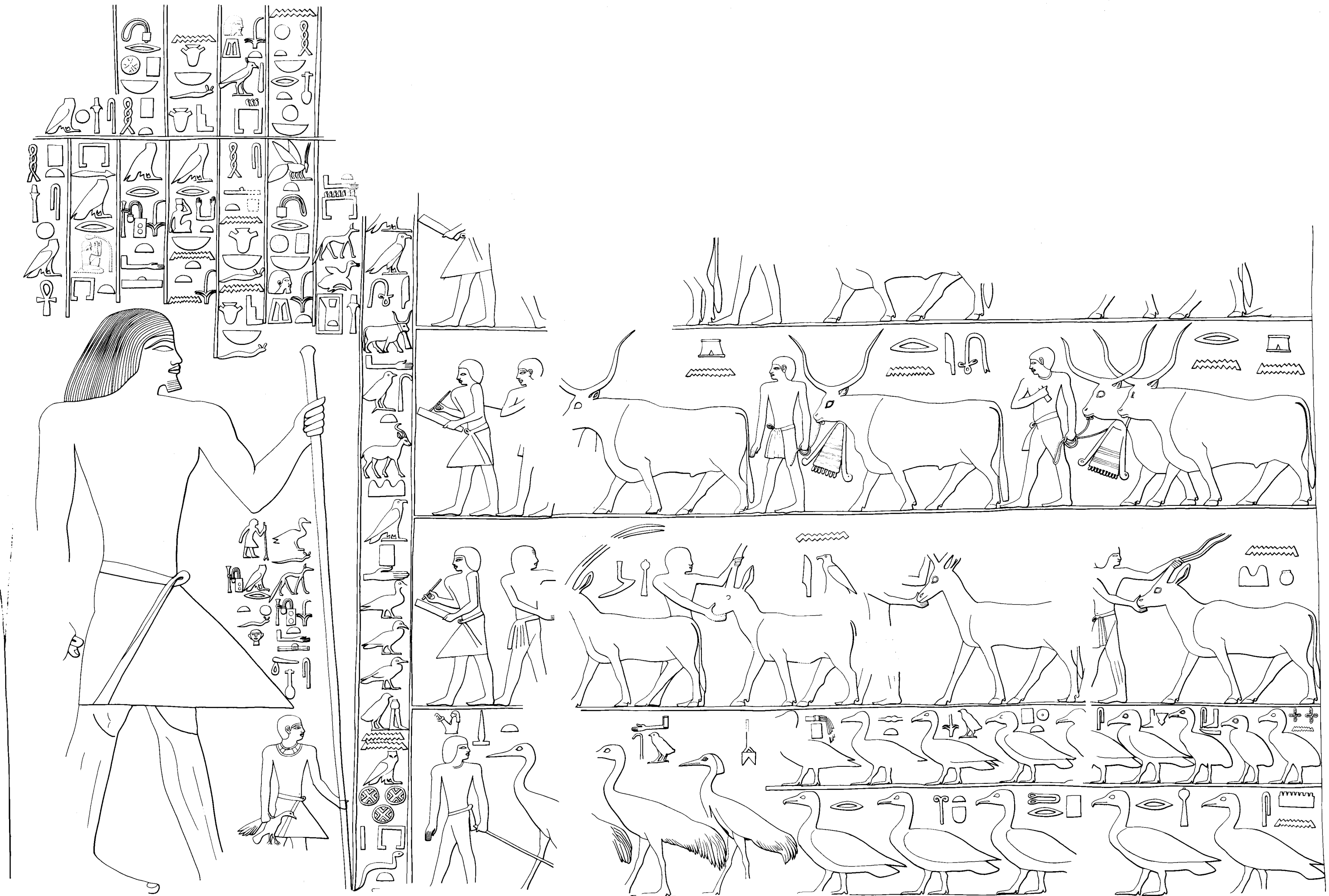


Fig. 20. West wall: Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and his son watch the marching of cattle and fowl.



Fig. 21. Block from the uppermost register of west wall.

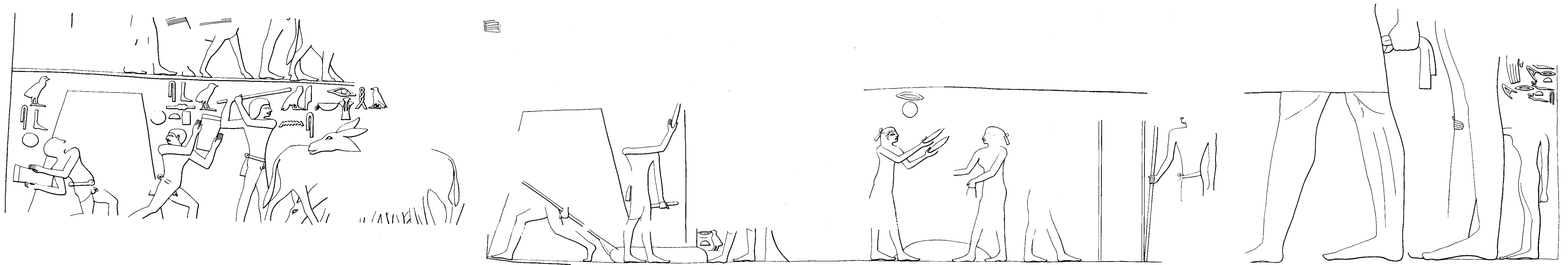


Fig. 22. East wall: one register from agricultural cycle shows Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and his family watching harvesting.

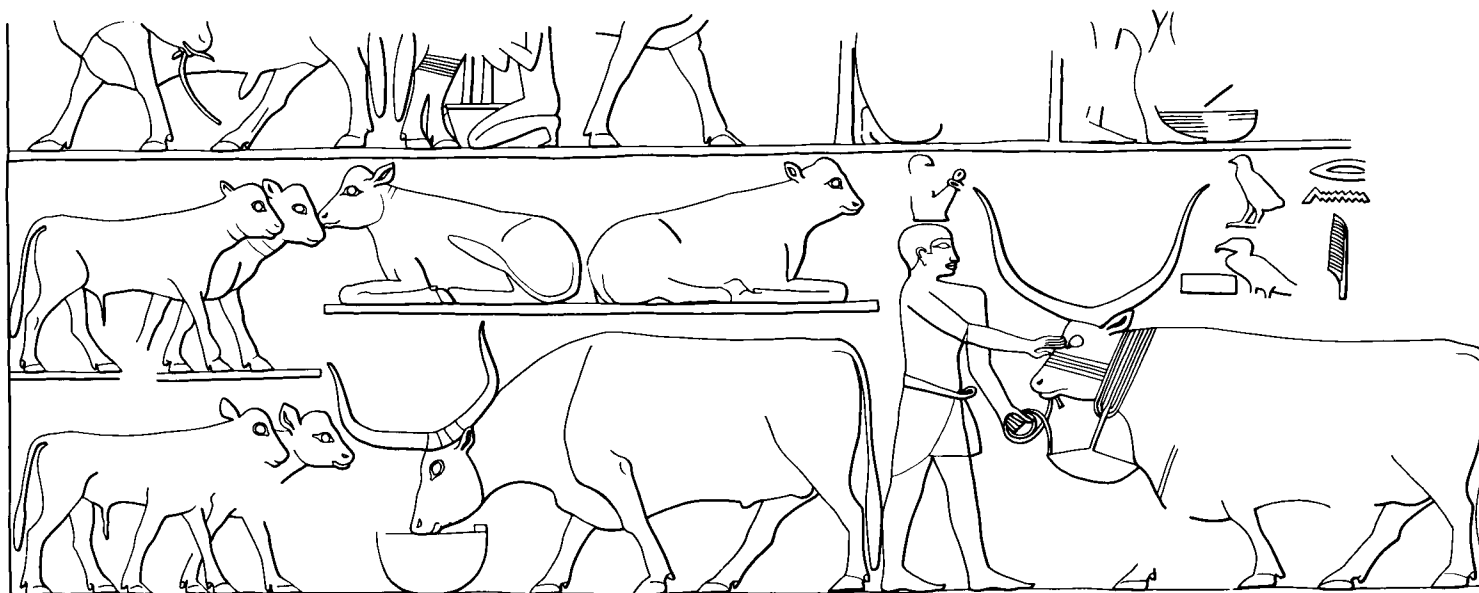
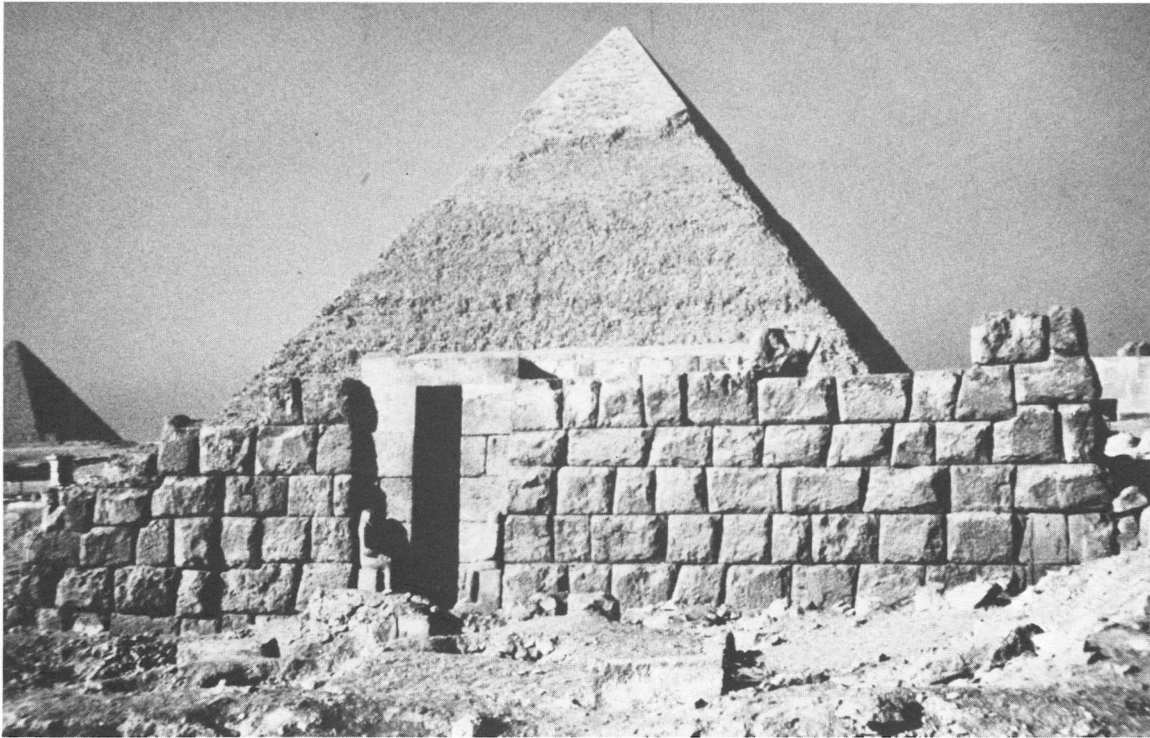


Fig. 23. North wall: one register and a fragment representing the breeding of oxen and milking a cow.



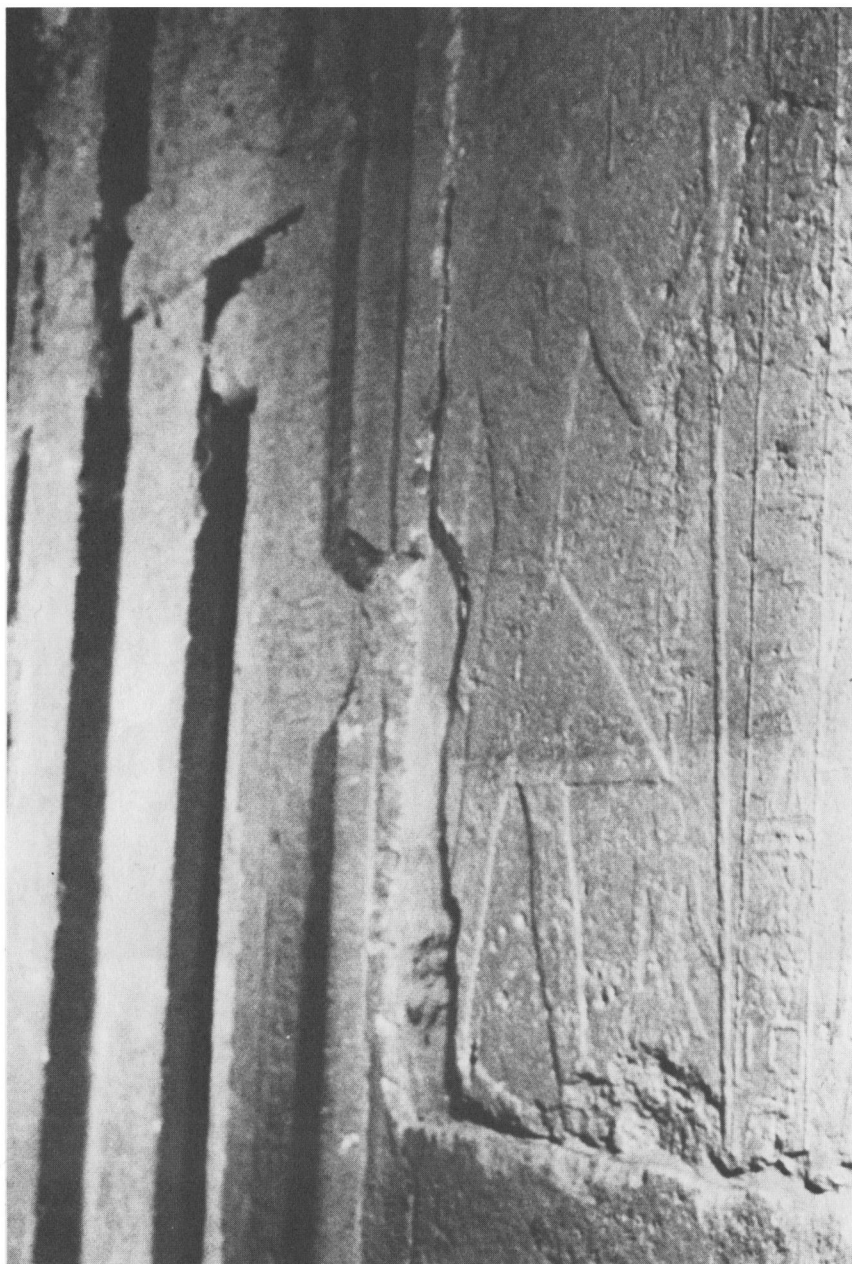


Pl. 14. East facade of the mastaba with its entrance, and Bwnefer's false-door at its north end. In the background is the Kha'fre' pyramid.



Pl. 15. Entrance doorway flanked by two statues.



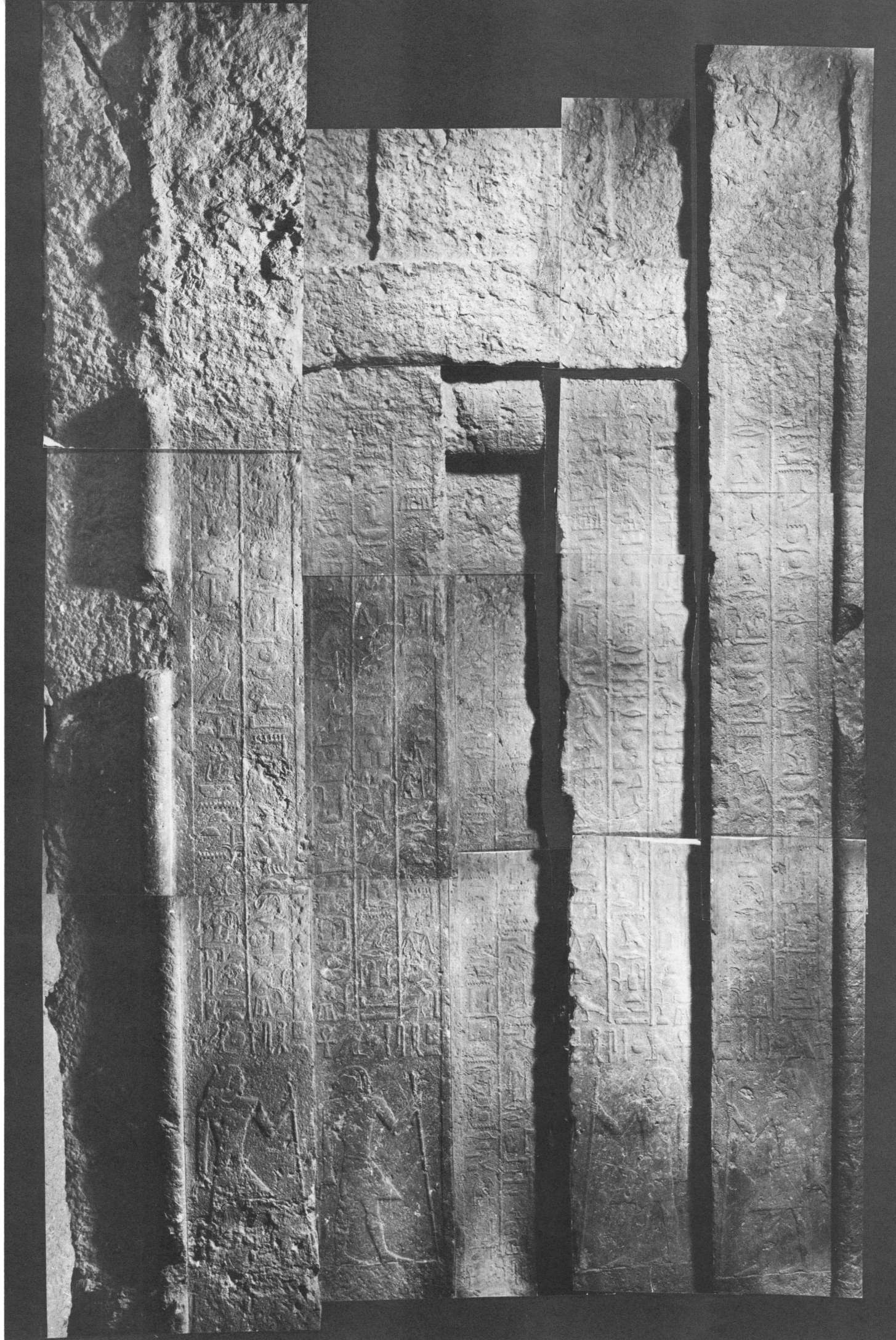


Pl. 16. Perspective of the monolithic slab representing Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and his son.



Pl. 17. Perspective of the false-door.





Pl. 18. Elevation of the false-door.



Pl. 19. Figure of Sekhem'ankh-Ptah at the bottom of the  
outer north facet of the false-door.

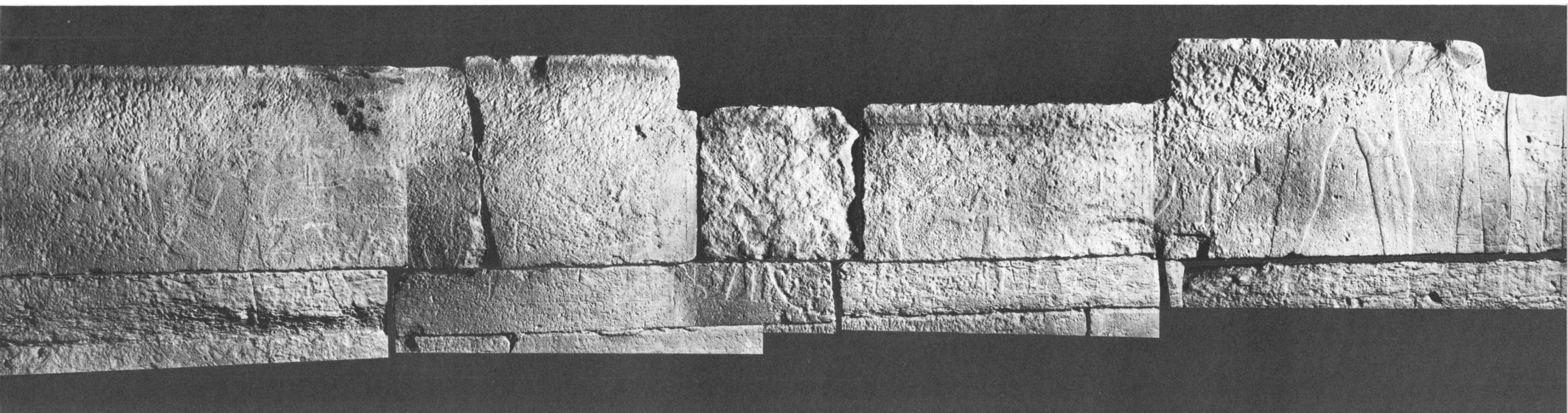




Pl. 20. West wall north of the false-door.



Pl. 21. Fowl represented in two registers behind cranes (west wall).



Pl. 22. East wall.





Pl. 23. North wall.

# ROCK TOMB OF KAEMNOFERT

## PREVIOUS WORK

The tomb was inhabited at the turn of the century. Numbered N. 63 by Lepsius, and now N. 43, it was briefly described in his book, *Denkmäler* (repr. [Osnabrück, 1970], text Vol. I, pp. 87-88; plates Vol. II, 91 *b, c*; suppl. vol., p. xxii, pl. XXXII). It is also mentioned in A. Mariette, *Les Mastaba de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1884-1885), N. 12, p. 542; V. Denon, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute-Egypte*, I (1802), 97 D; J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ed. Birch, II (London, 1878), fig. 464, p. 390; Porter-Moss, *TB*, III (2d ed.; Oxford, 1952), p. 52; and Junker, *Giza III*, p. 48.

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The tomb is hewed out of the cliff just south of the lower end of the causeway of Khufu, about 20 meters distant from and overlooking the modern village of Nazlet el Samman (fig. 25).

It is accessible from a small square forecourt whose rear side is formed by the entrance facade, oriented about 34° west of north, in the shape of two doorposts given the usual batter of a mastaba flanking the doorway (pl. 24). There is left only an unusually thick drum, uninscribed, above the entrance. Everything is cut from the bedrock, and the lower part is badly weathered. On the south doorjamb are still to be seen in raised relief the upper parts of the figures of the deceased and his wife (pl. 25). Above are titles arranged in columns in sunk relief.

Above the man: . . . *rh nswt(im3hw) hr nb.f* "One whom the king knows . . . [venerated] before his lord."

Above the woman: *hmt.f mr'it.f rht nswt im3h . . . hmt ntr Hthr* "His wife, his beloved, one whom the king knows, venerated . . . priestess of Hathor." Both titles are also borne at Giza by Khenit,<sup>1</sup> Membi,<sup>2</sup> and Meshet.<sup>3</sup> At Dendera, after Dynasty Five, only the title "priestess of

Hathor" occurs for women.<sup>4</sup> It is to be noticed that the lady of Kaemnofert's tomb is not known.

The upper hinge of the door turned in a cavity cut at the north end of the lintel. To house the lower hinge, a channel to the lower hole was roughly cut diagonally in the floor. The floor is hardly smooth and could have been paved.

The chapel is a rectangular chamber oriented northwest-southeast, extending south of the entrance and connected to an initial shaft through a western doorway (fig. 26). The shaft is cut in the bedrock and rises up to the surface of the rock above the tomb. Footholds (14 x 9 cm. at 40-cm. intervals) in the north and south walls of the shaft were cut to allow access from the top aperture outside the tomb. A second subsidiary shaft opens from the initial one at the level of the floor of the chamber from a second doorway south of, but slightly narrower than, the first one (pl. 26).

In the north wall of the initial shaft an aperture (0.68 x 0.90 m. in height) opens about 1 meter above the floor of the chamber onto a small northern room not more than a meter in height, rounded at its farther end; it was probably an additional burial space reminiscent of a large loculus (see pl. 26). A queer feature is a niche (0.5 x 0.6 m.) in the shape of a truncated pyramid lying on its side with its wide base on the east wall of the loculus, just beyond the shaft.

There are three other square shafts opening in the floor of the chapel, contiguous in a row along the west wall, probably prepared for burials not much later than the initial ones. Only one of the five shafts, the one close to the pillar, was known to Lepsius.

In the same west wall from which the doorways open to the earlier shafts, at the north end, stands a row of four statues in high relief within a sunken panel about 1.28 meters tall over a plinth 0.58 meter above the floor. The upper

edge of the plinth is slightly offset, forming a continuous socle 8 centimeters high beneath the statues. The southern edge along the doorway shows a jamb (14 cm. wide) level with the face of the upper part of the wall, but offset inward from the socle, forming part of a frame to the statuary group (pl. 27). The upper line of the panel in its northern half rises at a higher slant to accommodate the taller figures of a man embraced by a woman holding her left arm around his shoulder, probably Kaemnofert and his wife. The two other figures of smaller stature stand independently, a boy and a slender girl closer to the mother (pl. 28). The male figures show the typical striding posture with both arms along the sides. The bad erosion of the rock barely allows for the identification of a triangular broad wig and a short kilt. The woman has the same stature as the man; her feet are aligned and her right arm is hanging by her side. The girl has both arms along her sides, as does the boy. Both women wear long fitted gowns reaching to the ankles. Nothing remains of the features.

Of the other areas of the west wall, only the pillar still showed in the time of Lepsius a relief scene of a figure striding to the north and identified at the bottom by the hieroglyphs Kaemnofert. Other parts were never finished, bearing pick markings similar to those on the ceiling (pl. 29). Marks on the ceiling are in sweeping curves of parallel equidistant grooves, four to five at a time. On the walls inclined parallel grooves 2 to 3 centimeters apart were probably the result of pick cutting (pl. 30). Something about the method of cutting the doorways to the two rear shafts can be determined from the tool markings. Both sides of each doorway were cut with the pick so as to form a vertical channel about 12 centimeters wide. The rocky mass between the channels was then knocked off, leaving above the threshold an irregular knoll surrounded on its sides and back by a channel 12 x 12 centimeters (pl. 31). The walls that were left bare are hardly true to the vertical, or rectilinear.

The three other walls are carved with scenes. In the absence of a false-door, which as a rule forms the focus of the composition from which the owner comes and toward which proceed all the activities dealing with food supply, the artist chose the same corner where the false-door

would have been. Kaemnofert appears in heroic size on each of the three walls, at the farthermost end from the doorway, but facing it: standing with his wife in a booth at the west end of the south wall; seated with his wife at the west end of the north wall; and standing alone in a booth at the south end of the east wall. The source of provisioning is obviously the entrance doorway, since all retainers, peasants, and others proceed from it to the interior.

A plain dado runs at the bottom (0.9 m. high east, 0.73 m. south, 0.8 m. north). At the top of the walls, just beneath the ceiling, runs a *kheker* frieze above a band of rectangles — a modification of the torus — turning down along the corners. While the south and north walls bear three registers each, the east wall has four registers south of the entrance, but only three north of it.

*North wall* (pl. 32). The owner and his wife (0.645 m. tall) are seated at the funerary repast in front of an offering stand. He wears a short wig and a short kilt and extends his left hand to the platter upon which food is piled up. The seat has ox legs on conical socles. Further items of food and drink on tables with vessels on stands are arrayed on the far side of the offering stand in three registers (from the top: 0.28 m., 0.24 m., 0.24 m.). At the left bottom are baskets with clothes, cloth sacks, and headrests (fig. 27).

In the bottom register is a row of four girls dancing, holding their arms bent lozenge-wise above their heads, to the clapping of three women dressed in long robes (east end). The inscription above reads *hst* "To chant while clapping the hands."<sup>5</sup> There is a chapter *hs*, and perhaps a musician on the analogy of similar scenes accompanying the performance (west end). Four dancing girls raising their arms in the same lozenge figure are shown performing at Nefer,<sup>6</sup> also accompanied by three women clapping.

Two interesting details accompany the large male figure. Above the head is an inscription: (*i*)*r(y) nfr-h3t* "Keeper of the headdress," as already read by Lepsius, and *K3mnfrt* Kaemnofert. With the right hand cupped the personage delicately takes a huge lotus whose bent stem is proffered with both hands by a small figure, an overseer of funerary priests, standing at mid height in front of him. The presentation of the

lotus is a topical detail occurring elsewhere at Giza.<sup>7</sup> A similar composition represents the couple at the funerary repast, the man Nefer taking a lotus and enjoying a similar type of ballet<sup>8</sup> (south wall, beginning of Sixth Dynasty), or Seshemnefer III alone taking a lotus with a long looped stem from his son and enjoying a ballet (south wall, late Fifth Dynasty),<sup>9</sup> or Kaiswdja alone (north wall).<sup>10</sup> In all three instances the elements of the composition conform strictly to the type illustrated at Kaemnofert (fig. 28). The upper right area represents in several registers food supplies, the lower right with the depiction of the dance, and the lotus as a diagonal link between these and the owner. At Kaninswt II only the episode of the lotus is shown on the south doorjamb.<sup>11</sup> There is no ritual character attached to the presentation of the lotus,<sup>12</sup> a charming gesture of affection usually performed by the eldest son.

*South wall (pl. 33).* The deceased (1.005 m. tall) and his wife stand under a canopy at the west end. He holds in his right hand the tall staff, the lower part of which is grasped by his son Kaemnofert. The father wears a ceremonial wig, a skirt puffing forward above the knee, and a broad collar, and he holds a kerchief in his left hand. The wife extends her right arm behind her husband's torso in a friendly embrace. The couple inspect their property: food supply and livestock brought to them by the retainers depicted in three registers. The cycle of provisioning being watched is defined specifically in the vertical inscription carved in raised relief in front of the staff of Kaemnofert the father (fig. 29): *m<sub>33</sub> sš n ndt-hr nt in pr-hrw* "Watching the list of gifts, which are brought as funerary offerings." This stereotyped title sometimes has the addition, as at Seshemnefer III,<sup>13</sup> "from the villages of the foundation estate [*pr dt*]." (Cf. Sekhem'ankh-Ptah, described above.)

The wife is nowhere named, but an inscription carefully cut in sunk hieroglyphs in front of the boy's face identifies him: *s<sub>3</sub>.frh nswt iri šn' pr-'<sub>3</sub> K<sub>3</sub>mnfrt* "His son, One whom the king knows, hairdresser of Pharaoh, Kaemnofert." As often in the Old Kingdom the eldest son is given the name of his father (cf. Iteti, above, and Kaemnofert father and son in family tomb south of causeway of Kha'fre'). This inscription was obviously added later, perhaps when the son had

reached the status of an adult entrusted with a post at court. Perhaps he was intending also to be buried in the tomb.

In the upper register (0.38 m. tall) *rdi sš* "Handing over the list of offerings" by the chief scribe is shown. He is followed by a second scribe bending to write on his papyrus. Both are dressed with triangular puffing skirts. The third personage, also dressed in the same official garb, must be a third scribe or an archivist holding a roll, though his left arm and hand are raised to his right shoulder, a gesture usually assumed by shepherds and farmers. Behind comes a group of oxen led by a herdsman.

In the mid register (0.38 m. tall) two young oxen *rn ng(3w)* and *rn iw<sub>3</sub>* and a mature one *int iw<sub>3</sub>* "bringing the ox" are marched by a peasant dressed in a skirt with curved apron hanging low in the front; he holds his left hand to his right shoulder. The varieties of oxen are defined by the two different names: *ng(3w)* slim, wild "ox of the meadows"; *iw<sub>3</sub>* lyre-horned ox on tall legs, or hornless fat type.<sup>14</sup>

In the bottom register (0.41 m. tall) three tall elegant cranes *d<sub>3</sub>t* are herded by a shepherd holding a long stick in his right hand, his left arm raised over his chest with the hand on his right shoulder in the attitude typical of that class. The name *d<sub>3</sub>t* defines both red and black species of cranes.<sup>15</sup> The third crane, with a tuft at the back of its head, is perhaps a specimen of the gray variety. Cranes were mentioned in the earliest period (Hemiwnw, Hekenen, Nefer) as an item of food, but they never found a place in the offering list.<sup>16</sup> They appear as an archaizing feature in the late Old Kingdom at Nefer and Ra'wer II.

The typical attitude of the herdsman, often shown of the same stature as or even smaller than the cranes, perhaps expresses submissiveness of lowly people in charge of herd and farm, for even *hk<sub>3</sub>* "director of estate" appears also in this guise at Nswtnefer.<sup>17</sup> Occasionally, however even a scribe or an archivist adopts this attitude (cf. top register, also at Ti).

Behind the cranes comes a servant carrying two fowl crates hanging from both ends of a yoke over his left shoulder. In the boxes are small animals unable to fly or walk. Sometimes there are small horned quadrupeds whose heads emerge above the crate as at Shepseskaf'ankh,<sup>18</sup>



where one animal shows at either end of a basket. In our tomb two animals, apparently horned, are at one end, and only one is at the other end, looking in the opposite direction from the first two. The man always closes the procession of livestock and fowl, with his wide hurrying stride, his feet barely touching ground. The racing pace is explained by the fact that the small birds or animals were brought in a hurry to have their necks wrung in the presence of the master, as represented also at Seshemnefer II and III.<sup>19</sup> The same topical detail of the man hurrying with a pair of boxes slung from a yoke over his shoulder(s) and steadied by one arm flung over the yoke appears in several chapels at Giza (painting FS 3080; G 7560; Debehen; G 5080; G 5170; Imeri; LG 53). As noted by W. S. Smith, this pose is "plainly the result of acute individual observation which had an immediate appeal for those who saw the work."<sup>20</sup>

Compared with other representations of the same cycle,<sup>21</sup> the one at Kaemnofert lacks the horned desert animals such as oryxes and gazelles preceding the cattle. Also omitted are the species of ducks and geese usually following the cranes.

*East wall (pl. 34).* The wall in which the entrance doorway opens is the best preserved and most extensive, still showing patinated colors on the smooth, intact limestone. The doorway cuts the wall into two areas, the southern one much more important than the northern one. The lintel forms a link between the areas; it is carved with an independent scene corresponding to, though not as tall as (0.32 m.), the uppermost register (0.36 m.) of the southern area. This lintel panel shows two recumbent oxen being fed by two farmhands.

The composition of the east wall – much like the corresponding one at Imeri<sup>22</sup> – shows the agricultural cycle, focused on the heroic-sized figure of Kaemnofert standing under a canopy at the south end (fig. 30). Fronting him are four registers. All activities in the three lower registers are directed toward Kaemnofert, but in the top register they are proceeding away, as in the small vertical strip north of the doorway.

The south area of the wall shows a large-scale standing figure of Kaemnofert, reclining on his staff. A *kheker* frieze indicates the top of the small booth sheltering the owner and the three

persons following him, who are shown as superimposed small figures behind him. The uppermost servant carries a fan; the middle one bears a crooked staff; and the lowest one is in charge of the clothes sack. Kaemnofert wears a long wig and a long pointed skirt reaching to the knee. A column of inscription, broken at the top and the bottom, borders the front of the scene: (*m33*) *sk3 smr hrp-ḥ K3(mnfrt)* "(Seeing) the plowing, the companion, administrator of the palace, Ka(emnofert)." The inscription probably started with "Seeing," like the scene similar in both content and location at Nefer.<sup>23</sup> The title "administrator of the palace" seems to be the only one extant with that of "keeper of the head-dress." One of the earliest posts known, that of "administrator of the palace," was directly connected with the pharaoh and could be associated, as with Kaiemibi,<sup>24</sup> with such important titles as "great one of the Ten of the South," "Overseer of the phyle of Upper Egypt," and "Director of expeditions," a title also borne by Kaiswdja,<sup>25</sup> another administrator of the palace. Such a double connection with the palace explains that the son became "hairstylist of Pharaoh." The administrator was always a "companion."

In the uppermost register four donkeys are being marched away from Kaemnofert by a group of four naked men hurrying after the beasts with upraised sticks. The animals as well as the men are offset to indicate a row of animals followed by a row of keepers. Three supervisors, standing, face Kaemnofert at the south end. They introduce to Kaemnofert two groups of activities: one, in the north uppermost register, shows the breeding of desert animals and cattle with performers marching away; the second has episodes from the agricultural cycle in three registers below. The group of supervisors forms, as it were, a juncture between the two sections. The episodes in the agricultural cycle are bringing in the harvest and storing it in a mow (second register), plowing the fields (third register), and sowing the grain (fourth register). One misses, of course, the phases of reaping (which usually appears as the initial scene of the sequence),<sup>26</sup> winnowing,<sup>27</sup> and threshing.<sup>28</sup>

Bringing in the harvest is represented in the second register (0.28 m. tall) from the top: two

donkeys laden with huge sacks are urged forward by their young keepers, accompanied by two boys, also of small stature, steadying the load with upraised arms. They proceed toward a conical mow onto which two farmhands diligently throw bundles under the supervision of an aged farmer leaning on his staff: *wbs spt* "pile up a mow." A graffito above the overseer reads *rrt* (?). This typical scene resembles those at Seshemnefer, Kahif, and Nefer. There is a striking similarity with Seshemnefer IV, though more violent movement is expressed at Kaemnofert by the two men throwing their bundles over the top of the mow. At the south end of the register, near Kaemnofert, a scribe is defined by the graffito *ss Wsrw* (?).

Plowing (second register from top; 0.28 m. tall) is represented in the usual manner:<sup>29</sup> two peasants bending on the handles of two wooden plows drawn by two spans of oxen. A third man, the driver, urges the front span with his hand and pokes the hind part of the oxen with a stick. The plow consists of a share, two handles, and the beam inserted in the lower end of the stilt at the base of the handles. The beam is strengthened by a twisted rope connecting it with the heel. The rope can hardly be seen among the legs of the animals, but it appears clearly in the hieroglyph for the plow. Over each span is *sk<sub>3</sub>* "plowing," and above the plowman bending low on the plow is *sk hb* "weigh down the plow."<sup>30</sup>

Sowing was carried out (fourth register from top; 0.28 m. tall) by having a pack of six long-horned rams mill around under the raised whips of four peasants running forward at a rapid pace. Each raises high his long whip in his right hand and carries a short stick and a ring or a sack in his left hand. A farmer at the front sprinkles the seed from a wickerwork sack hung around his neck, raising his right arm high behind his head. A second farmer follows, walking just in front of the animals toward which he turns his head and presents in his open right hand some grain to lure them forward. The seed is clearly shown, though in red paint only, falling in midair. The usual topical detail of a greedy animal bending to pick up grain adds a picturesque note to this lively scene. The sowing scene is located in the register just below the plowing scene, as at Ti and Sheikh Said. The pack of animals was contoured with a channel at some date after the

visit of Wilkinson, a century ago, in an attempt to dislodge it from the bedrock. A sketch by Wilkinson<sup>31</sup> shows the legend, which was lost in the process of channeling: *sk<sub>3</sub>* "tread in [grain]." As noted by Junker,<sup>32</sup> this episode is seldom represented and differs in detail only, with the depiction of the animals in a more or less formal style. Here, however, is a quite naturalistic crowding enhanced by violent movement — a definite characteristic of our scenes.

We have seen how the artist separated the two groups of activities watched by Kaemnofert, starting behind the three supervisors on the top register with the marching of asses, probably being hurried to their pens, and continuing with the tending of oxen. This scene carved on the lintel is rather rare (cf. Sekhem'ankh-Ptah) and is treated in a near-symmetrical composition. A supervisor leans on his staff at the south end of the lintel, seemingly interested in the pack of asses being marched toward him. Behind him a squatting peasant feeds from his right hand a recumbent ox: *wš(3) iw<sub>3</sub>* "fatten the ox."<sup>33</sup> It is noteworthy that the animal keeps its left foreleg half bent up, as if ready to rise; the same attitude is assumed by the second ox on the north end of the panel. Between the two oxen a man carries on his shoulder a bundle of fodder which he steadies with his right hand. The scene of the recumbent ox being fed by a squatting peasant is duplicated symmetrically, even to the inscription *iw<sub>3</sub>* turned the opposite way.

The rather narrow vertical strip of the east wall north of the entrance doorway is divided into three registers. In the top register (0.43 m. tall) two farmhands walking backward lead by the head two reluctant long-horned animals, antelope and ibex, toward the north corner. The animal to the fore is *rn ḥd* "young oryx"; the other is *rn ni<sub>3</sub>* "young ibex." The gesture of the keepers holding the mouth and the horns of the untamed beasts is typical, as has been proved with abundant variants by Junker.<sup>34</sup> As at Kai, the man pulling on the ibex has dug his left foot firmly into the ground while his right leg is raised.

In the mid register (0.35 m. tall) three butchers are busy slaughtering an ox bound and up-turned on the ground. Two others cut the foreleg, which is then carried away by a man who balances it on his left shoulder — an unusual

gesture comparable to that of the man<sup>35</sup> carrying a foreleg on his right shoulder at Kai. These are probably two moments of the same episode: *stp iw3* "cut up the ox," *stpt* "foreleg," and *ssm* "butcher," with graffiti of their proper names Kasenem and 'Ankhes (?). Proper names from the household of Kaninswt are fully inscribed in his chapel.<sup>36</sup>

Since the slaughter of the ox is one of the essential rites for provisioning the deceased, it is represented in the vicinity, or as a component, of the funerary repast scene. Haunches and legs are carried close by to the owner (Meruka).<sup>37</sup> At Ra'wer II<sup>38</sup> the episode is recorded as a sequel to a scene of musicians performing just beneath the feet of the deceased. Obviously our artist has used the same solution to connect the slaughter scene with that of music and dance on the adjacent north wall; it is a clever, rather rare link in the composition between two walls. Elsewhere (Kaninswt)<sup>39</sup> the slaughter of oxen is integrated with the provisioning scenes, behind the marching of oxen and below the offering-bearers.

The connection of the slaughter scene with that of the marching of oxen is proved here also, since the lowest register (0.445 m. tall) represents two oxen. The front one is *rn n iw3* "young ox." The second herdsman, who leans on his stick and walks with a queer stance, leads an ox *iw3*. The animal raises up its head toward that of its keeper, who looks back at it. The raised head of the ox expresses unusual excitement, for its tail is also raised horizontally along its side. There is no doubt that both man and beast are communicating: they are probably talking to each other. For is it not in the charming Tale of Two Brothers that Bata is warned by his faithful cows entering their stable that his elder brother Anup is hiding behind the door, ready to deal him a bad turn? The torso of the herdsman is bent forward and his shoulders slant as a result of turning on his unstable legs to look back. One leg, afflicted with *genu recurvatum*, perhaps also clubfooted, is curving back. The hip on the side of the maimed leg bulges out under the effort. Similar pathetic figures of deformed shepherds also occur at Ptahhetep (Saqqara) and elsewhere. Maspero's explanation<sup>40</sup> of Ptahhetep's attitude as resulting from the violent turning back of the torso is invalidated by the

occurrence of numerous normal figures turning back their torsos, whether drivers of herds or pilots at the prow of Nswtnefer's boat.<sup>41</sup> Wilkinson correctly recognized that pastors who tended the flocks and were responsible for their immediate care were held in disrepute: "Egyptian artists, as if to show the contempt in which these people were held, frequently represented them lame or deformed, dirty and unshaven, and sometimes of a most ludicrous appearance."<sup>42</sup>

*Style.* As noted by W. S. Smith,<sup>43</sup> the repertoire at Kaemnofert bears close resemblances in its selection of scenes to Yasen (G 2196) and, in some individual scenes, such as the driving of sheep, to the same group at Iymery. The style is also similar, "and at first glance one might mistake a section from the presentation of animals on the south wall for a similar part of the west wall of the outer room of Iymery, or the east wall of Yasen."

Statues of the owner occur in the early Fifth Dynasty on the west wall at the place of offering, following, according to Smith, the example set by Queens Hetep-heres II and Mers'ankh III and her daughters at the end of the Fourth Dynasty.<sup>44</sup> Kaemnofert's group of four is similar to a series of three figures in the recess (G 7847, LG 68), to the more usual couple of man and wife (Perseneb LG 78; G 7759), occasionally to two men, or to a series of statues of the owner (Debehen LG 90).

To supplement what has already been said about composition, the artist succeeds in bringing an original solution to problems particular to the chapel, such as focusing the action on the presumed place of the false-door, which was never used. He also shows a keen sense of unity by creating a link between the two areas of the east wall, north and south of the doorway, with the scene on the lintel. Symmetrical composition on the lintel at Iteti is discussed above. Here the connection of the lintel with the southern area is stressed by the attitude of the supervisor watching the pack of donkeys being marched toward him from the south, and with the northern area by the recumbent ox directed, like all the animals here, north toward the north wall, thus establishing a link between east and north walls — a rare instance in the concept of space composition. On the north wall the motif of the presentation of the lotus to Kaemnofert, seated

## ROCK TOMB OF KAEMNOFERT

to the left, forms a diagonal link with the dance scene at the lower right. The concept of the diagonal link in the representation of space will be found again much later and in another realm of the ancient East, at Assurbanipal's palace at Nineveh.

It has been noted that both rapid and violent movements are convincingly rendered for themes sluggishly interpreted elsewhere, such as the farm hands driving desert animals, or the peasants throwing sheaves onto a mow, or the man hurrying with a yoke slung across his shoulder. Refinement in the representation of abnormal motion, like that of the herdsman with a deformed leg turning back to his ox, verges on realism.

All the carving is in raised relief, except for a small area in front of the couple on the south wall, where sunken hieroglyphs are used. The fine grain of the rock, almost crystalline in texture, permitted an excellent finishing of detail and a smooth technique. The technique of carving with well-rounded volumes is rather bold. The slender proportions of the figures denote the refined style of the Fifth Dynasty. Although covered with soot, the relief revealed after cleaning much of the initial coloring, which had acquired a dark patina. Even some details done only in paint could be retrieved. Nowhere is the use of sizing apparent, in strong contrast with the extensive areas in which relief is cut at Imeri and Yassen. A second layer was applied at Imeri and Ptahneferbaw, blurring the outline of the relief.

In a few places on the east wall where paint is still preserved some of the elements are painted only, such as grain being sown (pl. 35), while others are not fully covered with pigment, leaving the final outlines made by the "scribe of contours" in red to show around the edges (pl.

36). Despite the small size of the figures on the east wall (0.28 m. register), slightly larger on the south wall (0.38 and 0.41 m. registers), the nervous draftsmanship and the bold carving can be appreciated.

## ONOMASTICA

Ka[i]emnofert, for both father and son. The name is attested a few times at Giza.<sup>45</sup> According to Junker the word "nofert" cannot be interpreted as abstract "goodness" but should be a designation of God, more specifically Hathor.<sup>46</sup> The name would then mean "My ka is that of Hathor."

Rert<sup>47</sup>

Wserw (?):<sup>48</sup> scribe. Or Wserw 'Aper (?).

'Ankhes (?): butcher.

Kasenem (?): butcher.

## TITLES

### KA[I]EMNOFERT, the father:

Honorific: *rh nswt* "One whom the king knows."

*smr* "Companion."

Palace: *hrp 'h* "Administrator of the palace."

*iry nfr-h3t* "Keeper of the headdress."<sup>49</sup> The one who makes the royal wig or, as stated in their own words, "who adorns the brow of the king." Mostly Fifth and Sixth dynasties.

*hrp iry(w) sn nswt* "Controller of the royal hairdressers." Probably the highest rank of the class.<sup>50</sup>

### KA[I]EMNOFERT, the son:

Honorific: *rh nswt* "One whom the king knows."

Palace: *iry sn pr'3* "Hairdresser of Pharaoh." The simplest rank among hairdresser titles.<sup>51</sup>

### WIFE (anonymous):

Honorific: *rh nswt* "One whom the king knows."

Religious: *hm(.t) ntr Ht-Hr* "Priestess of Hathor."<sup>52</sup>

## NOTES

1. Junker, *Giza* VII, p. 244.
2. Junker, *Giza* IX, p. 216.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
4. H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1968), p. 18.
5. Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 358-360, 362-366.
6. Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 13.
7. Junker, *Giza* X, p. 111 (Khnumnofer).
8. Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 13.
9. Junker, *Giza* III, pl. II.
10. Junker, *Giza* VII, fig. 71.
11. Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 21.
12. Junker, *Giza* VI, p. 56.
13. Junker, *Giza* III, p. 213, pl. III.
14. Junker, *Giza* VI, p. 50.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
16. Junker, *Giza* IX, p. 37; see also *Giza* VI, p. 64.
17. Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 30.
18. *Ibid.*, fig. 8a.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-214, pl. III.
20. W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Boston, 1946), p. 362.
21. Shepseskaf'ankh: Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 8a; Seshemnefer III: *ibid.*, fig. 8b; Ra'wer II: *ibid.*, fig. 48.
22. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
23. Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 15.
24. Junker, *Giza* VII, p. 151.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
26. Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 43 (Kahif); *Giza* XI, fig. 74a (Seshemnefer IV); *Giza* VI, fig. 17 (Nefer).
27. Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 47 (Kahif).
28. *Ibid.*, fig. 46 (Kahif).
29. Compare Nefer: Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 17, pp. 67-68; Kahif: *ibid.*, p. 132, fig. 42.
30. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 190.
31. J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, II (London, 1878), fig. 464, p. 390. See Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 185-186, for the various uses of *seka*.
32. Junker, *Giza* VI, p. 68, fig. 17.
33. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 112; *Wb.*, I, 369.
34. Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 7.
35. *Ibid.*, fig. 18.
36. Junker, *Giza* II, pp. 164 ff.
37. Junker, *Giza* IX, fig. 33.
38. Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 47.
39. Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 20.
40. G. Maspero, *Art in Egypt* (London, 1912), p. 70, fig. 115.
41. Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 29.
42. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, II, 444, fig. 481.
43. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 ff.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 55. A similar family statuary group in high relief occurs, originally plastered and painted, in mastaba E (see S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, Vol. III, 1931-1932 (Cairo, 1941), pl. XX. For man and wife in the mastaba of Sedhetep, and two men in the mastaba of Thesty, see *ibid.*, pls. XXXI, XLIX).
45. Junker, *Giza* X, pp. 18 ff.; H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt, 1935), 339, no. 20. On the analogy of Ka(i)emre': "My ka is Re'"(?). There are Kaemnofert father and son in their family tomb (see Hassan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1930-1931 [Cairo, 1936], p. 111).
46. Junker, *Giza* X, p. 36.
47. Ranke, *op. cit.*, I, 225, no. 1, of Middle Kingdom.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 86, no. 22: Wsri. See Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 154.
49. Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, p. 42; Junker, *Giza* X, p. 111.
50. Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, p. 65.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 172.

## Figures for Kaemnofert

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## Plates for Kaemnofert

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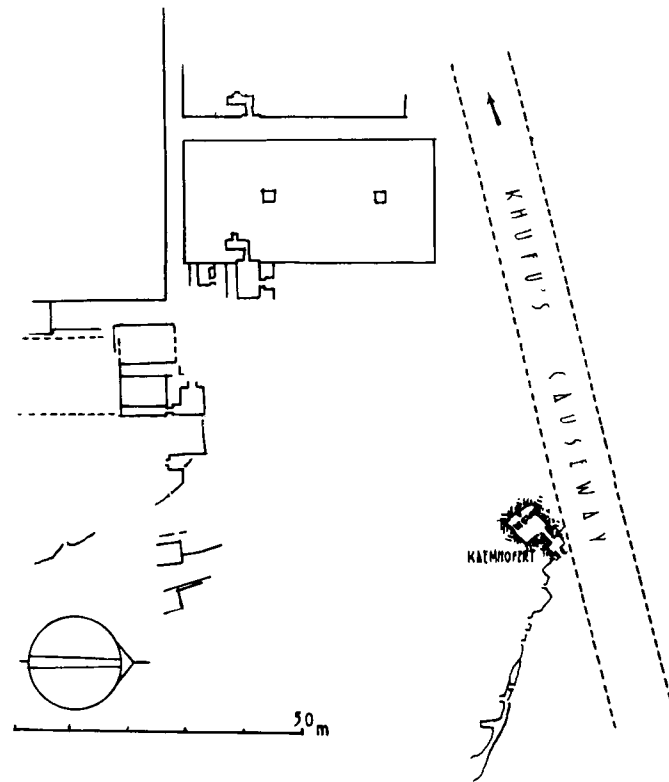


Fig. 25. Situation plan.

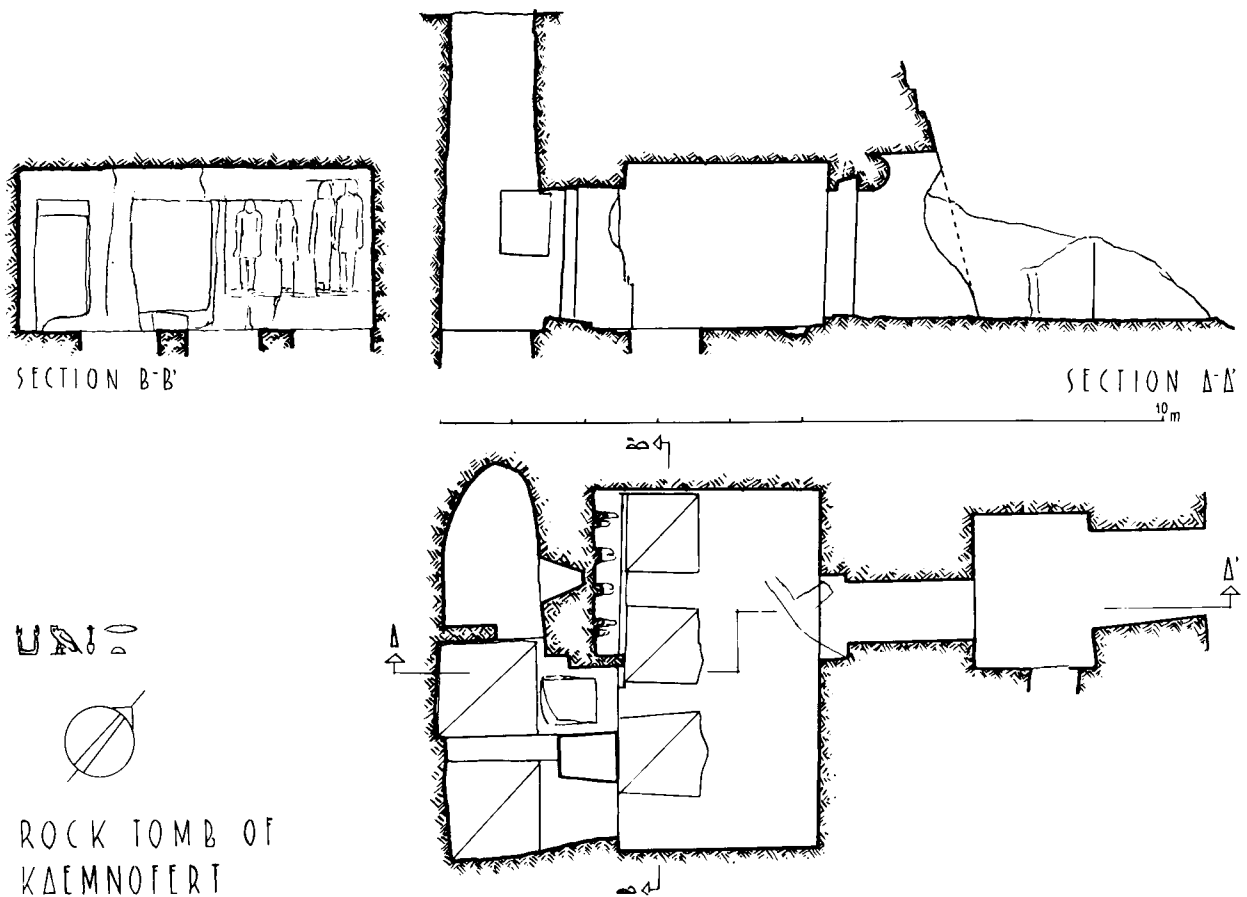


Fig. 26. Plan and cross-section of rock tomb.



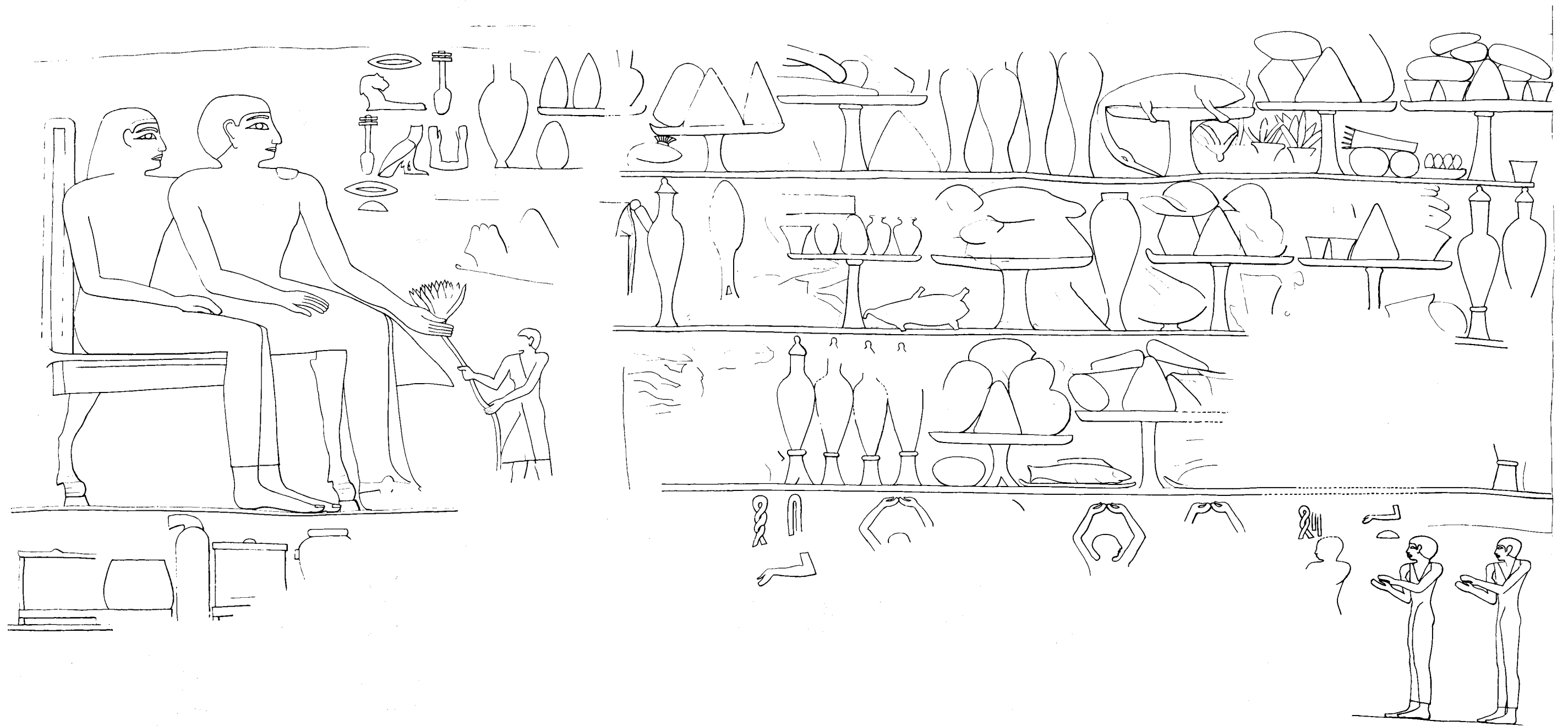


Fig. 27. North wall: Kaemnofert and his wife at presentation of the lotus and dance performance.

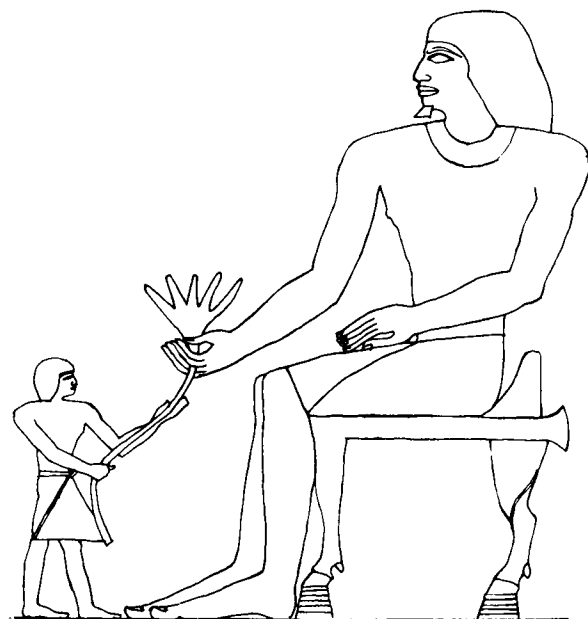
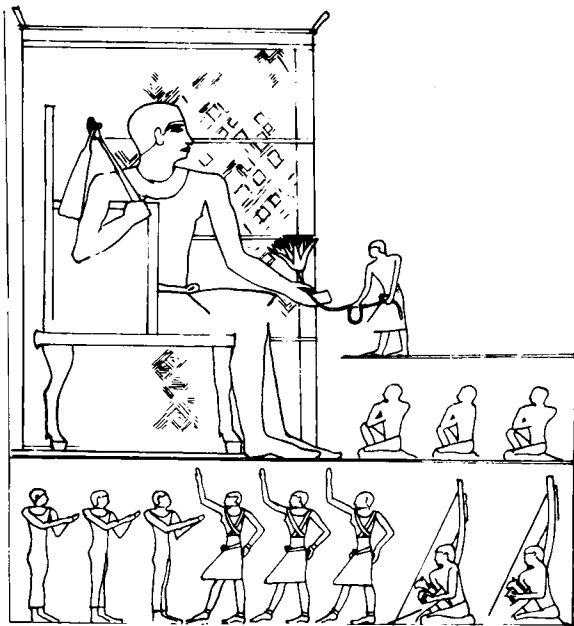
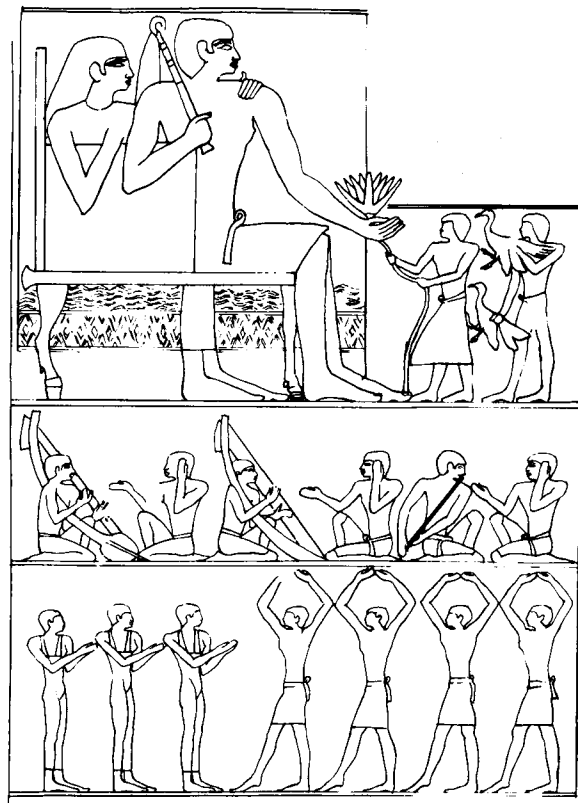


Fig. 28a-c. Presentation of the lotus to the deceased in various tombs at Giza.

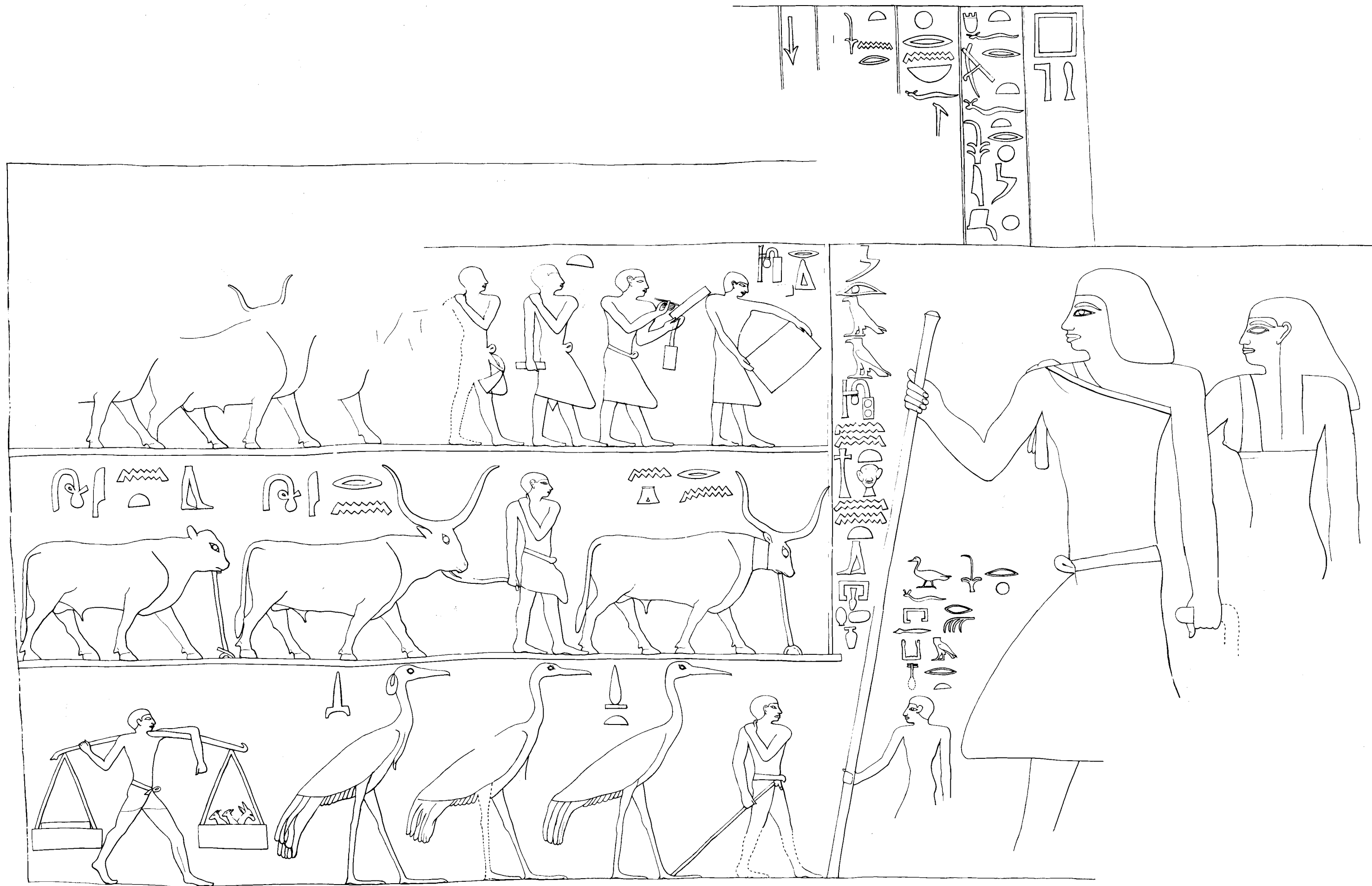


Fig. 29. South wall: scenes from the cycle of provisioning.

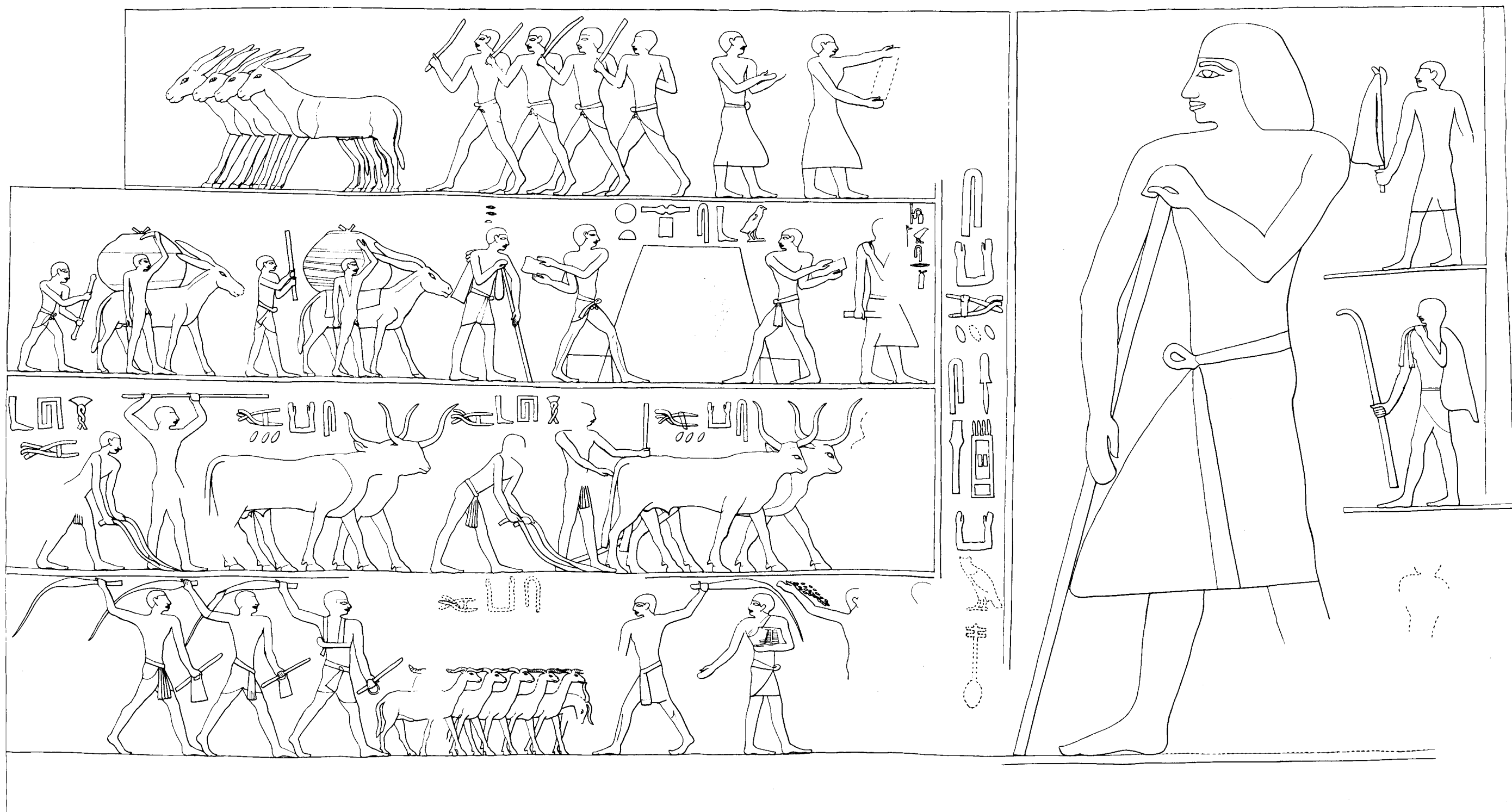
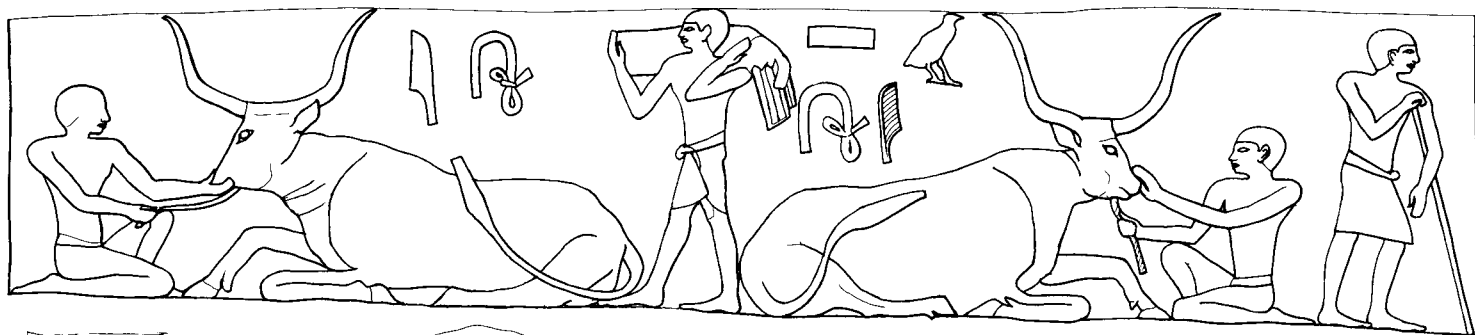
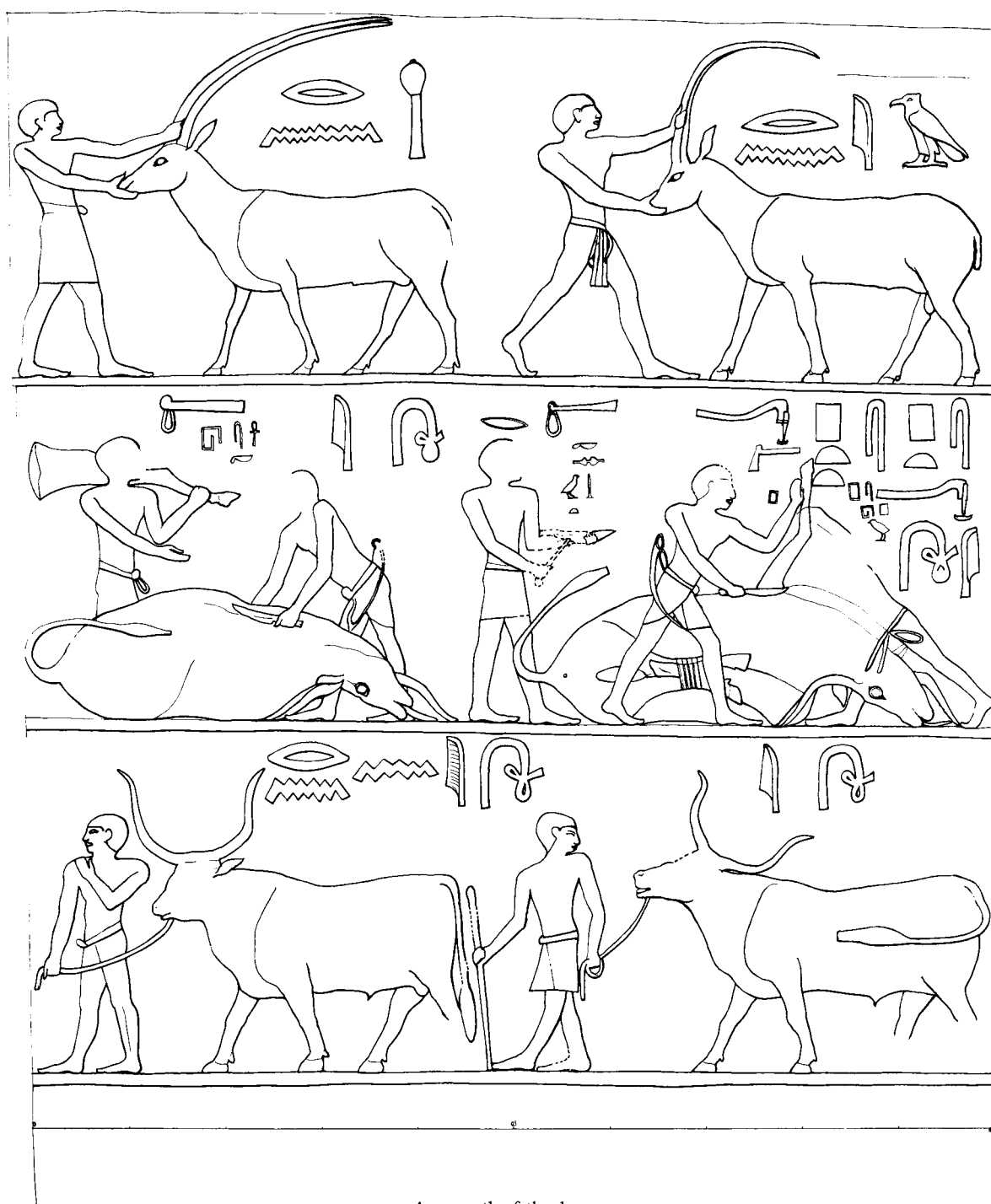


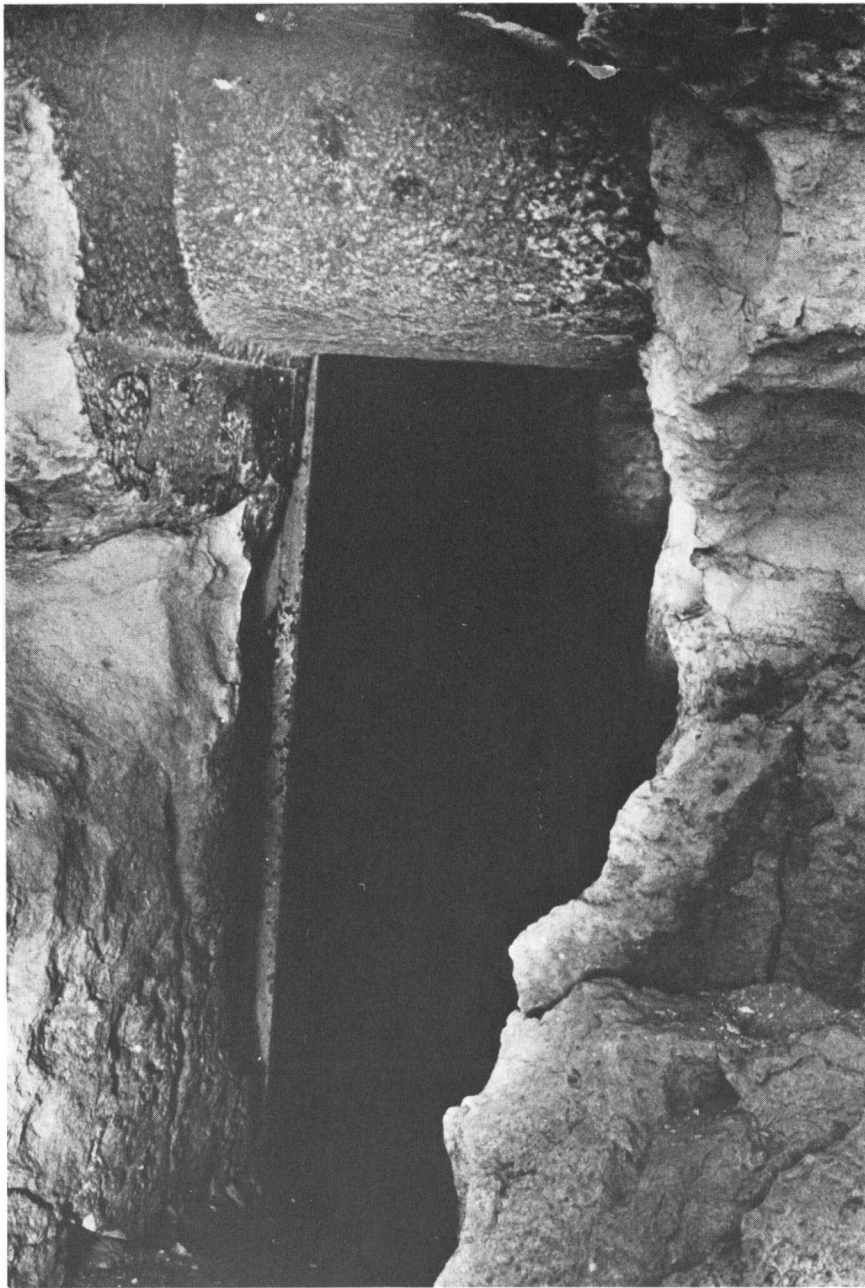
Fig. 30. *a-c*. East wall: scenes from the agricultural cycle. *a*. Area south of the doorway.



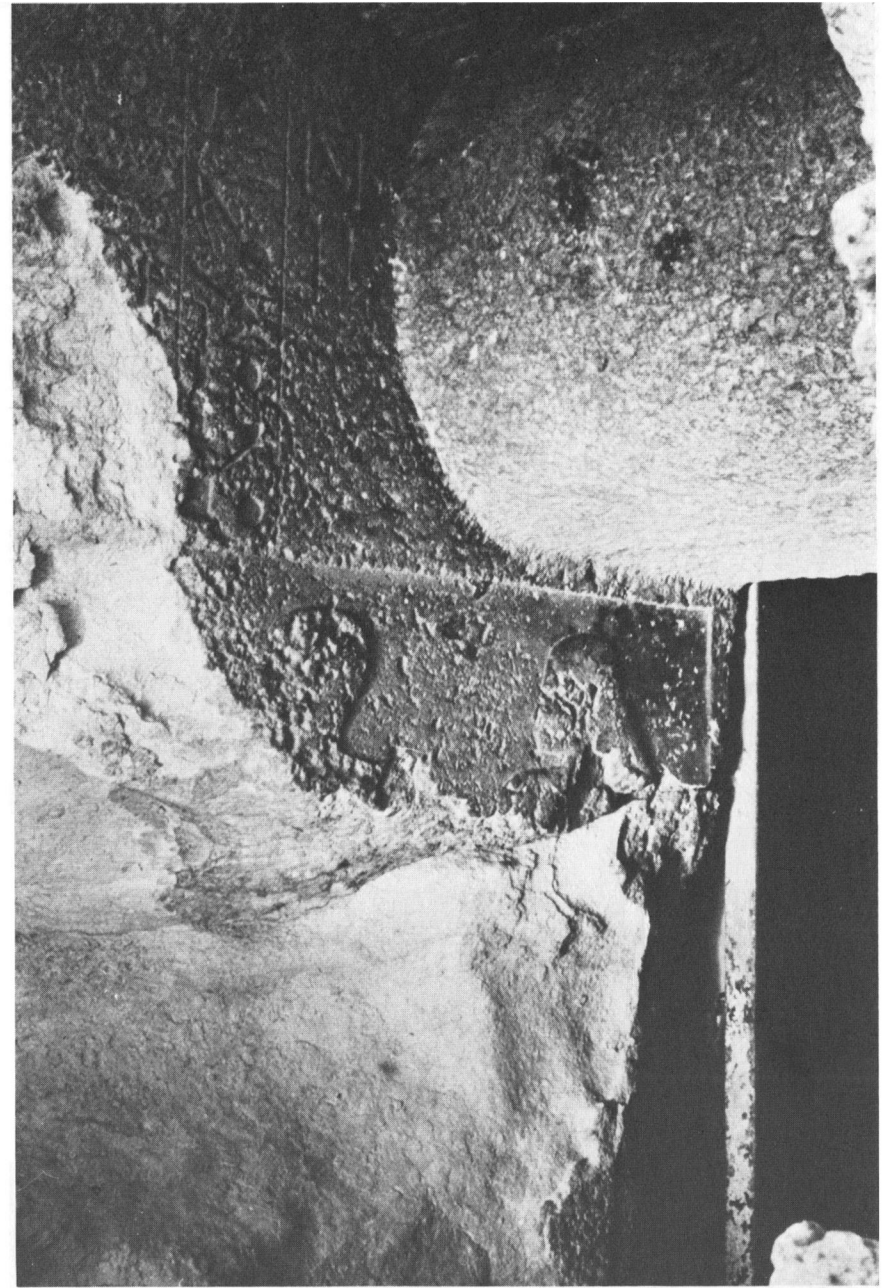
b. Lintel.



c. Area north of the doorway.



Pl. 24. Entrance doorway.

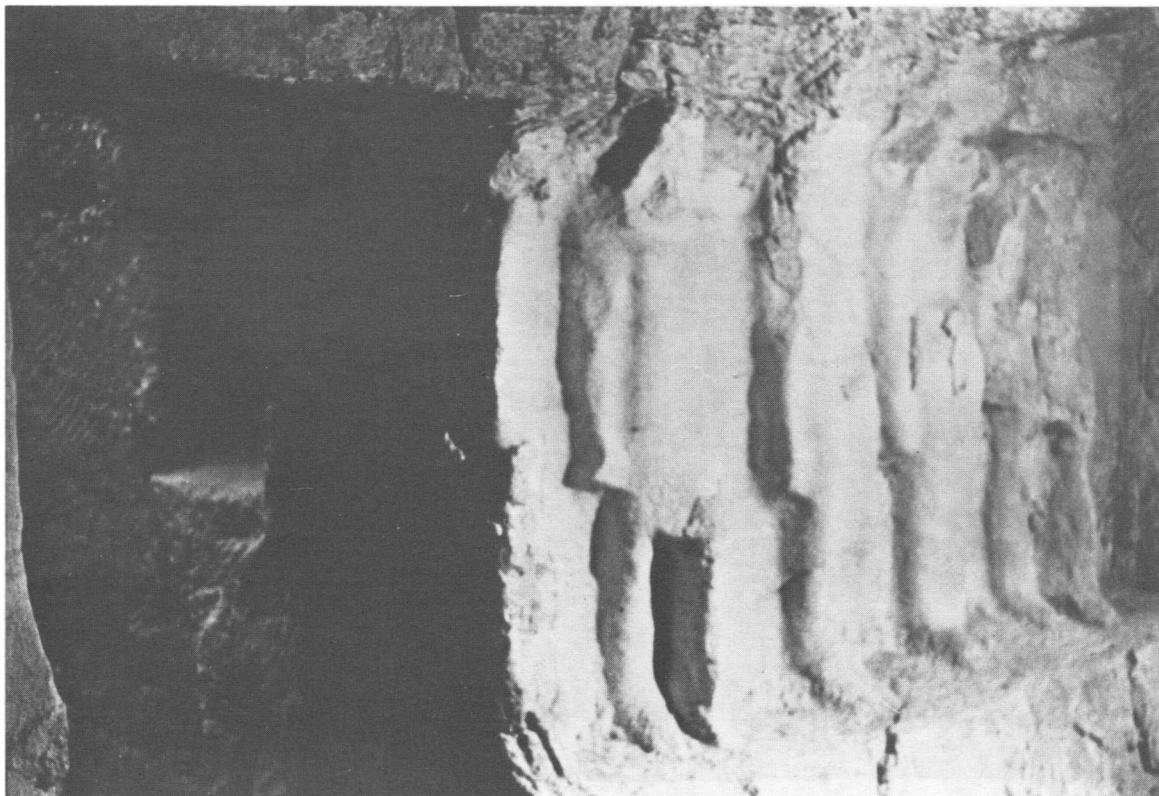


Pl. 25. Detail of upper part of south doorjamb carved with titles and the figures of Kaemnofert and his wife.



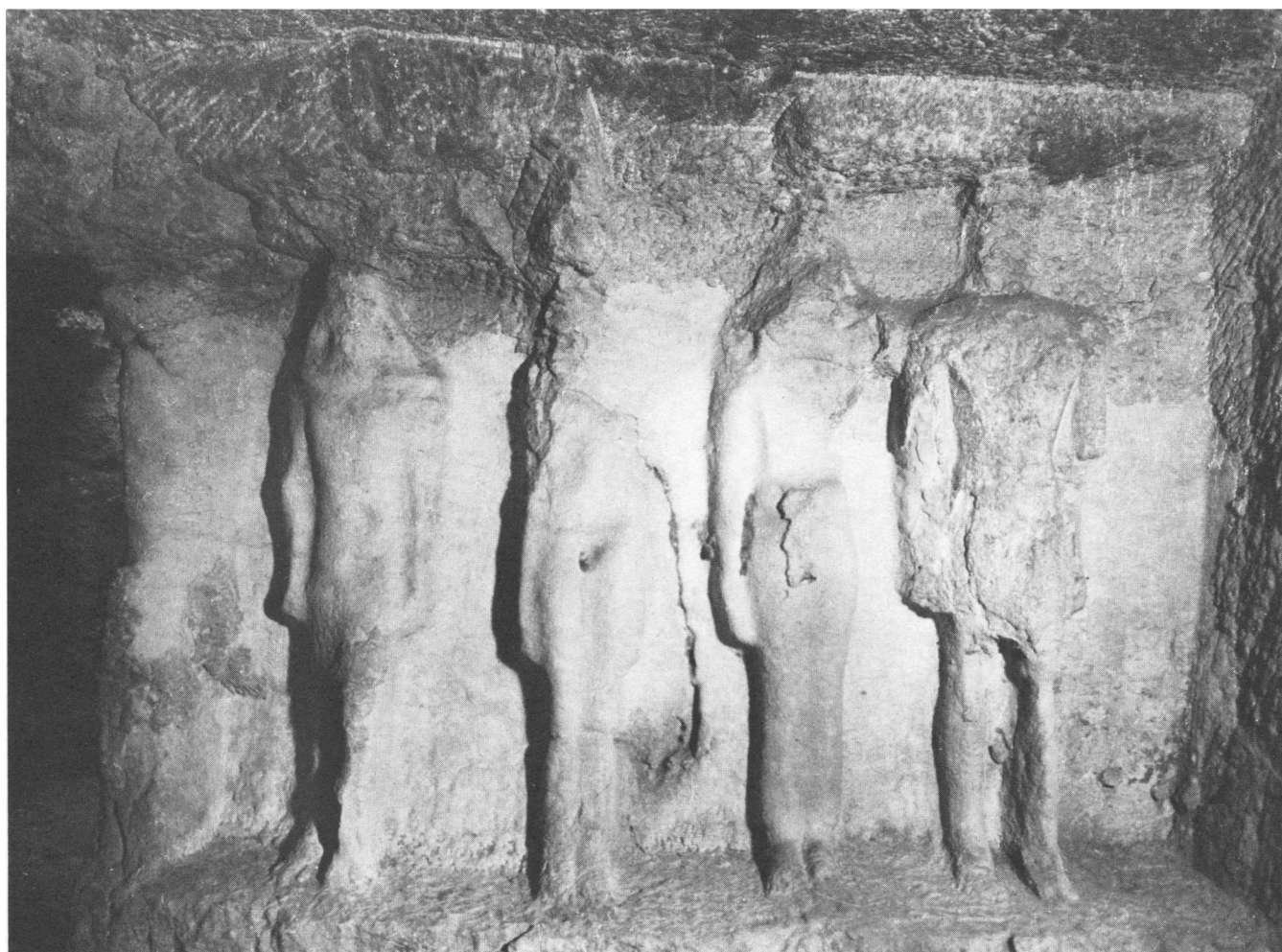


Pl. 26. South part of west wall with the two doorways to the two shafts. In the north wall of the main shaft (right) is the aperture to the loculus.

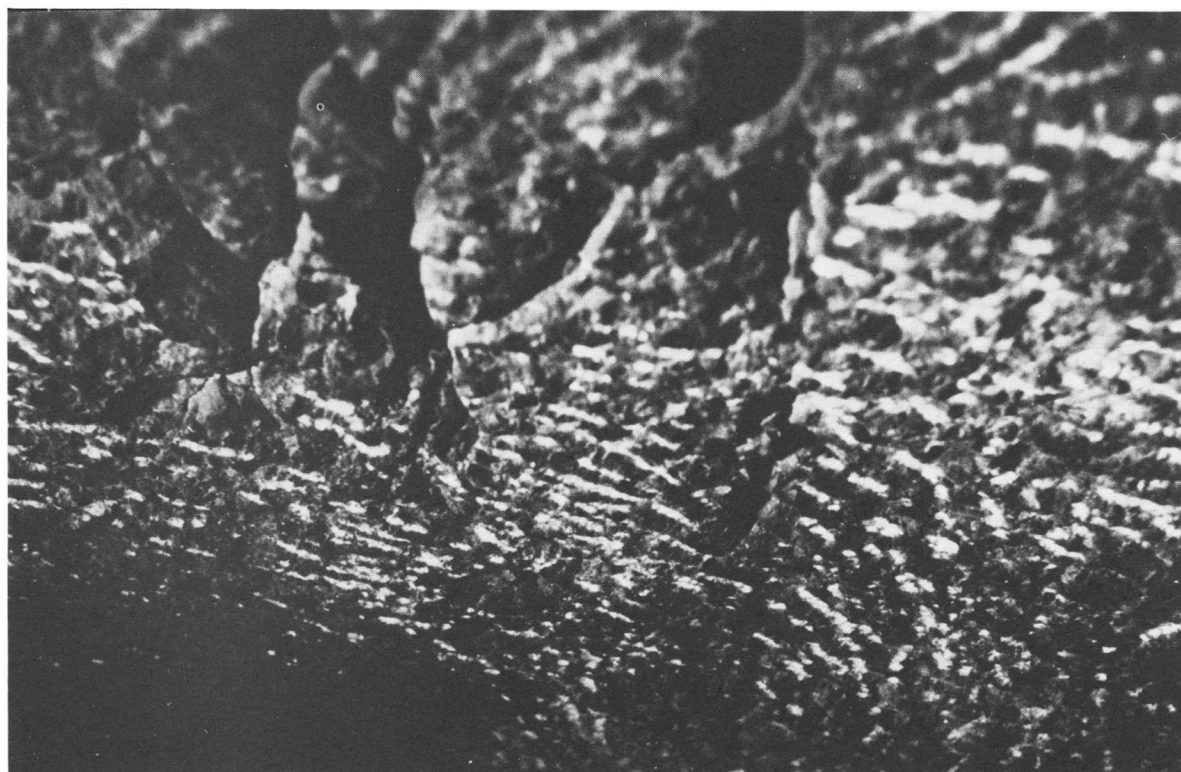


Pl. 27. Perspective of group of four statues in high relief on north part of west wall.

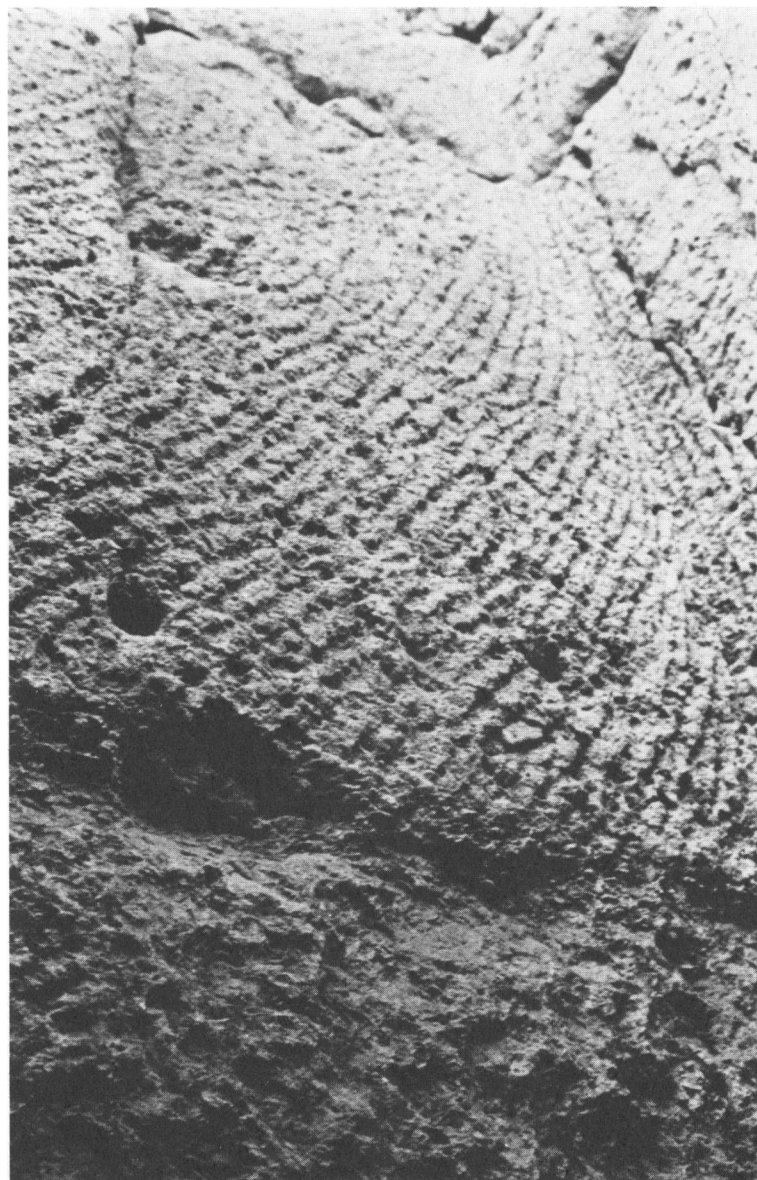




Pl. 28. Elevation of statuary group within its frame.



Pl. 29. Tool marks on ceiling.



Pl. 30. Tool marks on sides of main shaft.

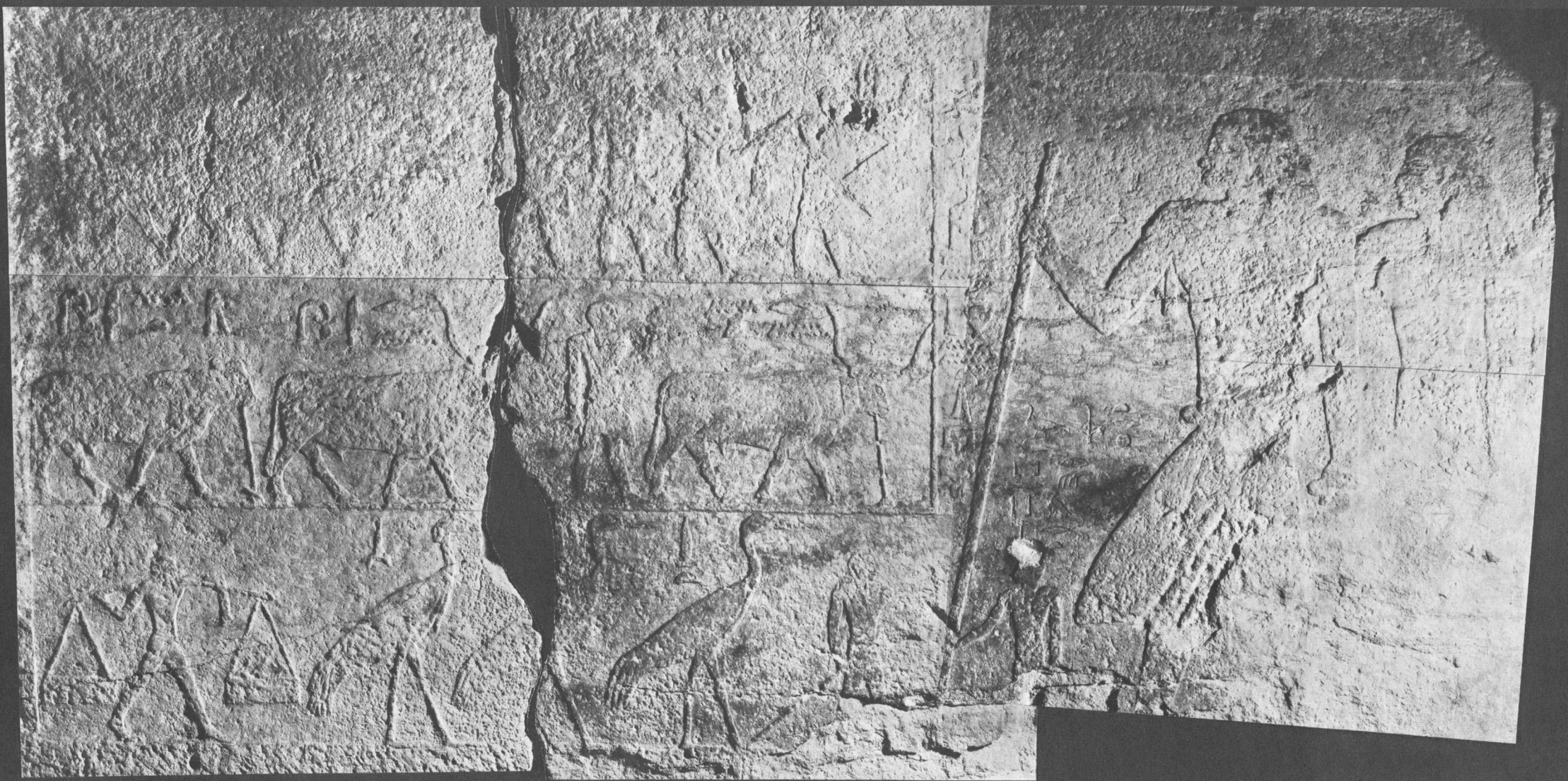


Pl. 31. Threshold of doorway to main shaft, showing the knoll surrounded by its channel.





Pl. 32. North wall.



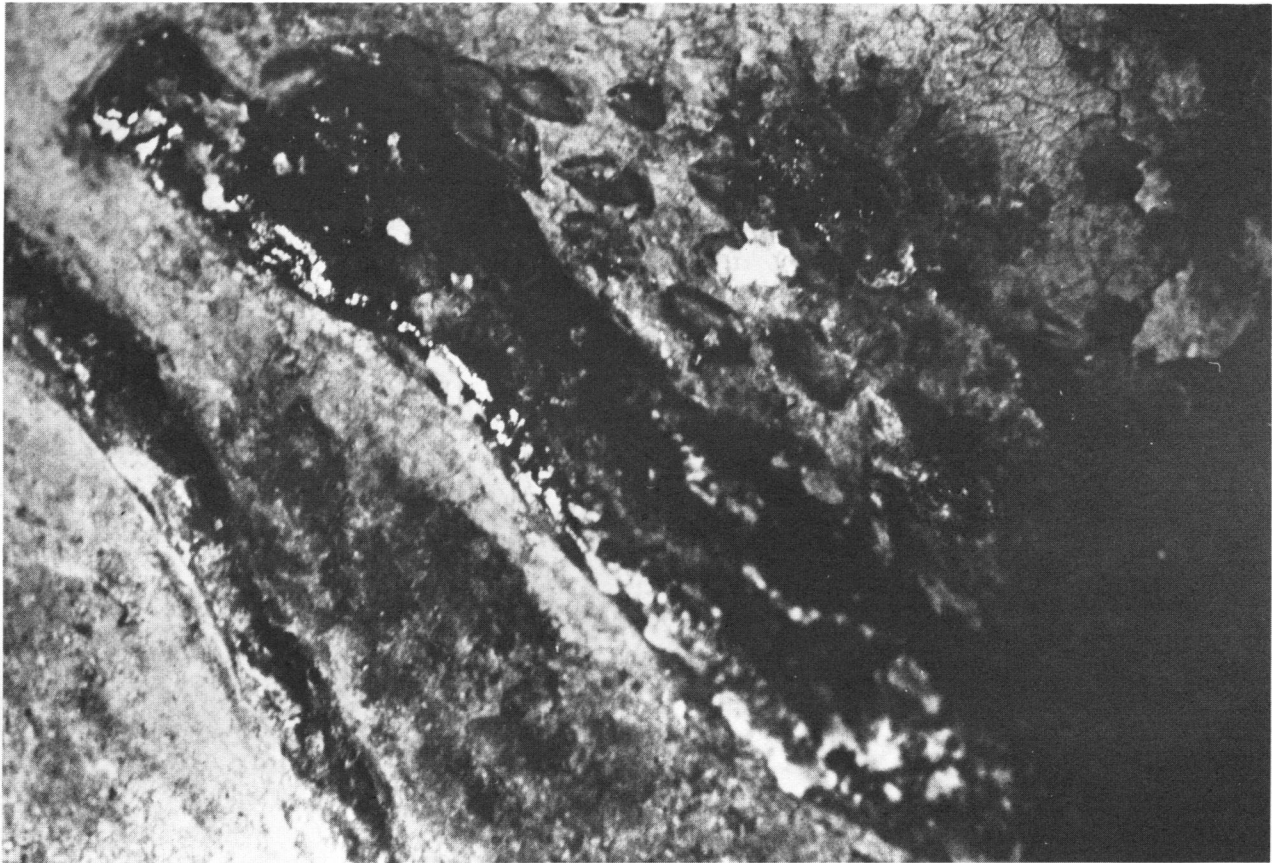
Pl. 33. South wall.





Pl. 34. East wall.





Pl. 35. Detail of the upraised hand of the sower sprinkling seed, indicated in paint only (east wall, fourth register from top).



Pl. 36. Detail of hieroglyphs for "plowing" (*seka*), with red outline of initial drawing (east wall, second register from top).



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