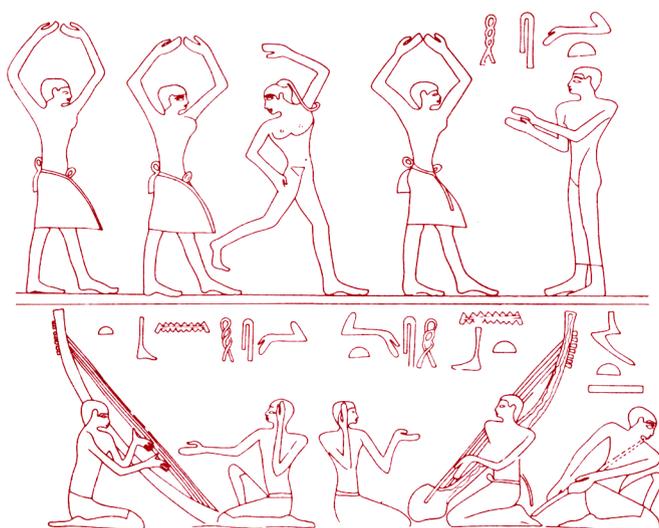


TOMBS AT GIZA

Volume I

Kaiemankh (G4561) and Seshemnefer I (G4940)



Naguib Kanawati

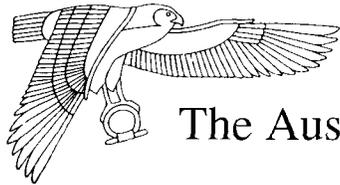
Preface by
Zahi Hawass

With contributions by
A. McFarlane, S. Shafik, E. Thompson, N. Victor

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The Australian Centre for Egyptology

Report 16

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Preface by
Zahi Hawass

With contributions by
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PREFACE

The Giza plateau is one of the most integrated sites of Egypt because it was systematically planned by three prominent Fourth Dynasty rulers and used by their officials and their decedents to the end of the Old Kingdom. Giza is the most important archaeological site for the study of Old Kingdom architecture, wall reliefs and administrative titles. The Great Pyramid of King Khufu formed the nucleus of the Giza necropolis which grew to include the pyramids of Khafre, Menkaure, subsidiary pyramids and the tombs of officials and nobles.

Six fields of mastabas are built around and near the pyramids:

- I The Western Field: Tombs of officials and personnel who maintained the royal cults
- II The Eastern Field: Tombs of Khufu's children and nobles
- III The GIS Cemetery: Located south of the pyramid of Khufu
- IV The Quarry of Khufu and Khafre: Located south of the causeway of Khafre
- V The Menkaure Quarry: Located south of the causeway of Menkaure
- VI The Workmen's Cemetery: Located south-east of the Sphinx and Heit El-Ghorab ('The wall of the Crow')

Many scholars excavated in the Western Cemetery, including Mariette who published his work in 1889, Junker who published his discoveries in 12 volumes between 1929 and 1955, Curto who published the work of the Italians in 1903 and Fisher who published the Minor Cemetery at Giza in 1932. Reisner produced only two volumes, in 1931 and 1943, on his work at Giza. The tombs that he discovered are well photographed and recorded, and the documentation is held in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. However, only a few scholars, such as Simpson, Badawy, Weeks and Roth, have published tomb reports based on this material. There are two other important excavations at Giza that have not yet been fully published, those undertaken by Steindorf for the University of Leipzig and Pelizaeus from 1903-1907 and by Abu-Bakr from 1949-1953.

It is important to draw attention to the fact that we found a large group of tombs under the debris left by Junker and Reisner immediately west of the tomb of Seneb and south of the tomb of Nesutnefer. We are re-excavating and restoring the tombs in the western field, numbering each according to Porter and Moss. This is one of the most important conservation projects ever done on any site, and a result of the Site Management Program that we started to implement at Giza in 1987.

The Eastern Field incorporates Cemetery G7000 excavated by Reisner and a secondary cemetery including Old Kingdom tombs cut in the rock. In addition there are a large number of rock-cut tombs in the eastern cliff, seven of which were excavated between 1932-1934 and published in 1935 by Fakhry on behalf of the Egyptian Antiquities Service. GIS Cemetery, located just outside the rubble enclosure wall to the south of the Great Pyramid, was excavated by Reisner and the tombs south of the causeway of Khafre by Hassan. The tombs in Menkaure's Cemetery, excavated by Reisner, have been completely covered by sand and we have begun a major and important undertaking to re-excavate this cemetery.

The monuments of ancient Egypt are facing many problems, such as the rising water table, mass tourism and the encroachment of human habitation on archaeological sites. Therefore, I propose that we should stop all further excavations, from Giza in the north to Abu Simbel in the south, and concentrate on conservation, mapping and publishing the known tombs in this area. On the other hand, extensive excavation should proceed in the Delta, endangered by the rising water table and the expansion of agriculture, and also be encouraged in the desert because of the deterioration in this area.

Today's scholars have the use of computers, an important tool in archaeological fieldwork which has enhanced the techniques of recording and documentation of tombs and temples. Computers have become an essential component of site management strategy and publication, particularly valuable at sites containing thousands of inscribed fragments. In recent years new evidence has dramatically enhanced our understanding of dating techniques, but for such criteria to be applied to any tomb a detailed record is required, including line drawings and colour photographs.

With the enormous amount of Reisner's material now in the possession of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, I hope that its publication efforts will be increased and that the Museum will encourage scholars to actively participate in producing further reports. We would request all museums and universities holding relevant unpublished materials to make these records available to scholars.

An important element of our Site Management Program is to invite scholars to publish the unpublished tombs or to republish tombs that were inadequately recorded in the last century. In that respect, I this year invited Dr. Naguib Kanawati of Macquarie University, one of the few scholars who publishes regularly in an efficient way and who has dedicated his life to such activity, to work at Giza and republish a number of tombs.

It gives me great pleasure to write this preface to the result of his work in the first season. The first tomb in this publication is that of Kaiemankh (G4561), the Superintendent of the Treasury and Superintendent of Priests, discovered by Junker. Following the expedition's recording of the tomb, some conservation of the wall decoration was undertaken, electricity cable and a new door were installed, and the three openings located in the façade were secured. The second tomb, first published by Lepsius, is that of Seshemnefer I (G4940). His titles include Royal Chamberlain, Priest of Heket, Judge and Administrator. Dr. Kanawati made a preliminary study of some other tombs which the expedition hopes to publish in the next season.

I am very happy to see the reports of these tombs made available to scholars and students of Egyptology. I am glad that my dream has come true and hope in the future to see many more volumes in print of the unpublished or inadequately published tombs at Giza as well as at other archaeological sites.

Zahi Hawass
Giza, July 2001

INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Detailed and accurate recordings of tomb scenes and inscriptions are without doubt of utmost importance for the purpose of Egyptological research. Such records have traditionally been in photographs and line drawings. Photographs may be sufficient when the wall decoration is adequately preserved, and when the room space and shape are such that they permit general views as well as details to be produced with no distortion. When these conditions are not present, as is frequently the case, line drawings become essential. They have the advantage of illustrating the scenes of an entire wall and at the same time showing all the details. For these reasons line drawings are usually the source most relied upon in research, so much so that some excavation reports find it necessary to include only a limited number of photographs to demonstrate the type of relief or painting and the condition of the walls.

The work of some earlier scholars is generally considered as more trustworthy than that of others and, in that respect, Junker may be placed at the head of his generation. For example, his record of the reasonably well-preserved tomb of Kaiemankh, occupying an entire volume (vol. IV, 1940) of his monumental work *Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Gîza*, 12 volumes (Vienna, 1929-55) has been a standard source for research. However, whether due to Junker himself, his draughtsman or inadequate lighting, when examined against the original his record shows inconsistencies and inaccuracies. The initial instance which attracted my attention to a deviation from the original was in the first scene one encounters on entering the tomb chapel. Despite their reasonable clarity, there are obvious errors in the published drawing of the birds above the papyrus marsh in the spear fishing scene. With the growing interest in research in iconography, palaeography, flora, fauna and various aspects of daily life depicted in tombs, a new detailed record of the tomb seemed necessary. The present publication is not designed as a response to Junker's, nor is it my intention to point out every error in it. However, the reader is assured that a systematic comparison with Junker's records was followed in producing our drawings. Junker's publication has been valuable in recording the burial chamber since the scenes on the north wall have deteriorated badly, and we are fortunate to be able to rely on his clear photograph of this particular wall. As paint is quite well-preserved on most walls in the burial chamber, coloured photos are presented in this volume as against the water-coloured drawings of Junker.

The second tomb in this volume is that of Seshemnefer I, known only from Lepsius (*Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* II [Berlin, 1849-59], 27-29) and in need of a modern record. Lepsius' plates proved to be reliable and the scenes and inscriptions have not deteriorated over time. With the limited time available, the expedition was unable to reclear the shaft and serdab to include with our drawings and study of the architectural features. Rather than delay publication, and with apologies to the reader for any inconvenience, this task will be undertaken in the next season and be incorporated in the second volume of this series.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the efforts and dedication of the team which participated in this project. Mr. Sameh Shafik (Sohag), with assistance from Ms. Sophie Winlaw (Macquarie University), were mainly responsible for the epigraphic record, with the final version inked for publication by Mr. Shafik. Mr. Naguib Victor (Sydney), assisted by Mrs. Kim McCorquodale (Macquarie University),

took charge of recording the architectural features, and the drawings of plans and sections were produced by Mr. Victor. Dr. Ann McFarlane (Macquarie University), studied the colours and the architectural details of the two tombs and is responsible for writing the sections on colour conventions and architectural features. In the preparation of the volume for publication the final artwork was produced by Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, assisted by Mrs. Joan Pollett (both Macquarie University); Mrs. Pollett typed the manuscript which was edited by Dr. Ann McFarlane.

In its typical supportive manner, the Supreme Council of Antiquities has been very helpful, and in that respect I would like to present my sincere thanks to the Chairman, Professor Dr. Gaballa A. Gaballa and the staff of the Supreme Council of Antiquities. Special thanks are due to the personnel at Giza and in particular the Director, Mr. Ahmed el-Haggar, Mrs. Amaal Samuel, Mr. Mahmoud Afifi and our accompanying inspector Mr. Essam Bibers who spared no effort to facilitate our task. Above all, I would like to express my most sincere appreciation to Dr. Zahi Hawass, Head of Central Administration of Antiquities for Cairo and Giza, for his continued help and support and for his invitation to work at Giza, thus giving us the honour and privilege to work at this most important site.

Naguib Kanawati

ABBREVIATIONS

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THE TOMB OF KAIEMANKH G4561

I THE TOMB OWNER, HIS FAMILY AND DEPENDENTS

Tomb Owner

NAME

K3(.j)-m-^εnh¹ 'Kaiemankh'. The name is sometimes written as , elsewhere as  and on the south wall of the burial chamber as .

TITLES

- 1- *w^εb nswt* 'w^εb-priest of the king'.
- 2- *rh nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.²
- 3- *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. The title appears only in the burial chamber.
- 4- *hrj-sšt3* 'privy to the secrets'.
- 5- *hrj-sšt3 (n) sd3wt (nt) nswt* 'privy to the secrets of the sealed documents of the king'.³
- 6- *shd jrj(w)-jht (nt) pr-hd* 'superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury'.⁴ In the burial chamber the title is written simply *shd jrj(w)-jht*.
- 7- *shd pr-hd* 'superintendent of the treasury'.⁵
- 8- *shd hm(w)-ntr* 'superintendent of priests'.
- 9- *zš pr-hd* 'scribe of the treasury'.

Wife of Kaiemankh

NAME

Tntt-hr 'Tjentether'. Junker read the name as *Tzt*,⁶ but the signs, although erased, suggest the reading *Tntt*, and the sign for *hr* is fairly certain. *Tntt* is a rather frequent name,⁷ representing sacred cattle, but unattested in combination with *hr*.

TITLES

- 1- *rh(t) nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.

¹ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 339:17.

² Brunner, *SAK* 1 [1974], 58ff.; Fischer, *Varia*, 8 n.15.

³ Junker, *Giza* 4, 5; vol. 7, 130.

⁴ For the reading see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 14ff.

⁵ For the responsibilities of the office see Strudwick, *Administration*, 296ff.

⁶ *Giza* 4, 6.

⁷ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 392:12.

- 2- *ḥm(t)-ntr Nt wpt wswt* 'priestess of Neith, opener of the ways'. Neith is occasionally described as 'opener of the ways',⁸ and accordingly Junker reasonably concludes that the writing of the second *ḥm(t)-ntr Nt ḥm(t)-ntr wpt wswt*, on the upper lintel of the wife's false door, is an error.⁹ The title is correctly written on the left jamb of the same false door.
- 3- *ḥm(t)-ntr Hwt-ḥr nbt nht m swt.s nbt* 'priestess of Hathor, lady of the sycamore, in all her places'.¹⁰

Some of the inscriptions belonging to the wife, and particularly her name, appear to have been deliberately erased. Her figure on the left jamb of the false door has also been partly damaged, but probably not deliberately as her figures on the lintel and next to her husband on the same wall are well preserved. The persistent erasure of her name might suggest that she fell out of favour or was divorced.

Eldest son of Kaiemankh

NAME

*Hwj-wj-wr*¹¹ 'Khewiwiwer'. He appears in front of his father in the spear fishing scene on the north wall of the chapel and in front of the seated couple on the west wall of the corridor. In both cases he is designated as *z3.f smsw* 'his eldest son'.

TITLE

zš pr-ḥd 'scribe of the treasury'.

Other children of Kaiemankh

Three female rhythmic clappers in the bottom register of the west wall of the corridor are described as *msw.f* 'his children'. The name of the one in the middle is either *Shf* 'Sehef' or *Sndm-jwf* 'Sendjemiwef', but neither is attested elsewhere. No names are preserved for the other two girls, but Junker recorded the sign *ḥ*, written in red paint only, in front of the first girl.¹²

Unnamed dependents of Kaiemankh

- 1- *wt* 'embalmer'. East wall of burial chamber.
- 2- *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. East and south walls of burial chamber.
- 3- *ḥrj-ḥbt* 'lector priest'. South wall of chapel recess and east wall of burial chamber
- 4- *zš pr-ḥd* 'scribe of the treasury'. West wall of chapel corridor.

⁸ For example Junker, *Gîza* 3, 206-207; vol. 4, 7; vol. 8, 72; Kanawati et al., *Saqqara* 1, pl. 36.

⁹ *Gîza* 4, 7.

¹⁰ For a study of the priesthood of Hathor see Gillam, *JARCE* 32 [1995], 219ff.

¹¹ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 266:4.

¹² *Gîza* 4, 8.

II DATING OF KAIEMANKH AND SIGNIFICANCE OF HIS DECORATION PROGRAM

Junker studied some of the architectural and artistic features of this tomb and concluded that it belonged to Dynasty 6,¹³ a dating which presumably influenced that of many later scholars,¹⁴ although some preferred a date in Dynasty 5.¹⁵ Der Manuelian does not give a date to *K3(.j)-m-εnh*, but he states that his is one of the earliest burial chambers decorated with paintings.¹⁶ The date of this tomb is of special importance mainly because of the unusual decoration of its burial chamber, as if it were an extension of the chapel, containing scenes of daily life. A precise date of this tomb can settle the problem of whether the inclusion of such scenes in its burial chamber was experimental and did not last, or whether it was the culmination of wall decoration of burial chambers, that is, one of the last attested examples.

Architecturally, the tomb of *K3(.j)-m-εnh* was built in the space between the two Fourth Dynasty mastabas G4560 and G4660. It is true that *K3(.j)-m-εnh* blocked the north-south passage between the two mastabas, but these were core mastabas with no apparent chapels. Such a blockage could have theoretically taken place at any time after the Fourth Dynasty. It is important to notice that in the near vicinity the east-west passage between the same mastaba, G4660, and that of G4650 was also blocked by the tomb of *K3j*,¹⁷ and the north-south passage between G4460 and G4560 was nearly blocked by the tomb of *K3(.j)-pw-Pth*, leaving a narrow passage leading to his own chapel,¹⁸ and the same applies to the mastaba of *Nfr* between G4760 and G4860,¹⁹ and that of *Qdffj* between G4760 and G4770.²⁰ This group of tombs shows similar architectural and artistic features, none of which suggests a date after the Fifth Dynasty, although Junker prefers a date for *Nfr*, for example, in the first half of Dynasty 6 rather than at the end of Dynasty 5.²¹

K3(.j)-m-εnh's chapel is of Reisner's type 5d, a corridor chapel with an alcove opening westwards in the northern end of the west wall. This type, which is a development of the L-shaped chapels, appeared, according to Reisner, after the reign of Neferirkare,²² and to my knowledge did not continue in Dynasty 6.²³

The two false doors of *K3(.j)-m-εnh* and his wife are of the type without the cavetto cornice and torus moulding, features which appeared early in Dynasty 5 and

¹³ Ibid, 1-4.

¹⁴ For example Baer, *Rank and Title*, 141 [520]; Strudwick, *Administration*, 154; Harpur, *Decoration*, 7 n.7; Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, 119-20.

¹⁵ For example, Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 155 [336]; Sourdiv, *La Main*, 139 [028].

¹⁶ In *Egyptian Art*, 146.

¹⁷ Junker, *Giza 3*, 123ff.

¹⁸ Ibid 6, 219ff.

¹⁹ Ibid, 26ff.

²⁰ Ibid, 80ff.

²¹ Ibid, 26-29.

²² *Giza Necropolis*, 256-60, 312-13.

²³ Harpur lists some examples and none excludes a date in Dynasty 5 (*Decoration*, 319 [5.9]).

became popular by the reign of Niuserre.²⁴ Even allowing for a lapse of time for the new type to be commonly adopted by all classes of officials, this seems to have occurred by the reign of Unis. Furthermore, the Teti cemetery, which has recently been thoroughly investigated, did not produce a single example of the old type. It was by then totally out of fashion. False doors with two pairs of jambs, in which the figures of the owner on the outer jambs are larger than those on the inner jambs, are characteristic of Dynasties 4 and 5²⁵ and totally unattested in Dynasty 6.

The representation of the owner wearing a leopard skin on top of the short kilt while seated at the offering table appears particularly in tombs showing the cartouches of Fifth Dynasty kings. It also appears in a small number of mastabas with names of kings of Dynasty 4 and less so with those of Dynasty 6.²⁶ Such a representation is found on *K3(j)-m-ḥ*'s false door panel, and again on the south wall of the recess. A number of chairs are depicted in the wall scenes, all with bull's legs. The last king's name inscribed in a tomb showing this type of legs is, according to Cherpion, Isesi. When a later name appears infrequently, it is in a provincial tomb, or one decorated by a trainee artist.²⁷ The chairs in *K3(j)-m-ḥ*'s tomb do not have a back, but show a cushion projecting behind the seated figure. This type appears in tombs with names of Fifth Dynasty kings, up to and including Isesi. Only one example with the name of Unis is attested and shows differences in details.²⁸ The chair with high back and sides, represented twice on the west wall of the corridor and once in the burial chamber, appears in tombs showing the names of Sahure to Isesi, with names before Sahure rare and after Isesi exceptional.²⁹ One of the chairs on the west wall of the corridor has papyrus umbels at both front and back of its horizontal seat, a feature which appears only in tombs showing the names of either Niuserre or Isesi.³⁰ The height of the half-loaves of bread on the offering tables on both the false door panel and the south wall of the recess is similar to that found in tombs with royal cartouches of up to and including Niuserre.³¹ The long necklace with an amulet worn by the tomb owner on the west thickness of the entrance doorway is found particularly in Fifth Dynasty tombs and is extremely rare in Dynasty 6.³²

The representation of the tomb owner spear fishing and fowling is not common at Giza, perhaps because these themes appeared in Dynasty 5 when most of the tombs of important officials were built elsewhere. However, such activities are depicted in the tomb of *Nj-mḥt-Rḥ*, dated by Roth to the reigns of Isesi or Unis, with a preference to the latter,³³ and that of *Jj-nfrt*, dated by Schürmann to around the middle of Dynasty 5.³⁴ The three tombs share many common features. The

²⁴ Vandier, *Manuel* 2, 401ff.; Wiebach, *Scheintür*, 133ff.

²⁵ Strudwick, *Administration*, 15-16.

²⁶ Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 63.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 34.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 31-32.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 47(b).

³² *Ibid.*, 60-62.

³³ *Palace Attendants*, 129-30, pl. 185.

³⁴ *Ii-nefret*, 13-14, 53, 70-71. See also Baer, *Rank and Title*, 55 [24]; Smith, *HESPOK*, 199. The date to late Dynasty 6 by Harpur (*Decoration*, 265 [17]) is unjustified.

chapels of *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ* and *Nj-m3ḥt-Rḥ*³⁵ (*Jj-nfṛt* being uncertain) are formed of a corridor with an alcove opening west in its northern end, and with a spear fishing scene on the north wall. Harpur has observed that such a scene is not attested in L-shaped chapels.³⁶ This was probably because the introduction of this theme in private tombs coincided with the L-shaped chapels becoming unfashionable. The chapels of *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ* and *Nj-m3ḥt-Rḥ*, with a corridor and an alcove, represent a development of the L-shaped chapel,³⁷ and the spear fishing scenes in them should be considered among the earliest in tombs of relatively modest officials. A feature common to the marshland activities in *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ*'s and a limited number of other tombs, like that of *Jj-nfṛt*³⁸ and *Tjj*,³⁹ the latter dated to Niuserre-Isesi,⁴⁰ is the representation of a group of oxen coming out of the marshes, walking and not swimming as usually shown. Fording by swimming, but associated with the spear fishing scene, is found in the tomb of *Nj-m3ḥt-Rḥ*.⁴¹ It is possible that the artists who decorated this group of tombs were influenced by the scenes in the tomb of *Tjj*.

It would be wrong, however, to think that artistic influence can only pass from the magnificent tombs to the more modest ones. A young, unknown artist is perhaps more likely to be creative than a master artist bound by years of traditions. In that respect the theme of *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ* playing a game of Senet was not necessarily inspired by that of *Mrrw-k3.j*⁴² as suggested by Harpur.⁴³ Such an assumption would certainly force us to date *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ* to Dynasty 6. Yet the earliest examples of the game is dated to the reign of Menkauhor or Isesi,⁴⁴ and another Fifth Dynasty example of the same theme is now known from the tomb of *Nj-m3ḥt-Rḥ* at Giza.⁴⁵ This same scene, like that of *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ*, appears to depict also the Mehet 'snake' game,⁴⁶ the first attested example of which is, according to Harpur, depicted in the tomb of *Rḥ-šps*.⁴⁷ This official became a vizier under Isesi, but the title is only found on a letter sent to him by that king,⁴⁸ and it remains likely that the tomb was decorated at the beginning of the reign. Other similarities between the scenes of *Rḥ-šps* and *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ* exist in the chair with high back and sides, the association of the tomb owner in the marshlands and the group of oxen walking out of the water, the presence of a Senet game, although here played by minor figures,

³⁵ Roth, *Palace Attendants*, 127, fig. 73.

³⁶ *Decoration*, 72.

³⁷ Harpur noticed similar characteristics between the decoration of *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ*'s chapel and the L-shaped ones (ibid, 86).

³⁸ Schürmann, *li-nefret*, 70-71.

³⁹ Épron - Wild, *Ti*, pls. 114-119.

⁴⁰ See Strudwick, *Administration*, 158-59; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 228; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 295 [564]; Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 155 [370]; Harpur, *Decoration*, 277 [543].

⁴¹ Roth, *Palace Attendants*, pl. 185.

⁴² Duell, *Mereruka 2*, pls. 171-72.

⁴³ *Decoration*, 111.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Roth, *Palace Attendants*, pl. 187.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 131, pl. 187.

⁴⁷ *Decoration*, 111.

⁴⁸ Strudwick, *Administration*, 116-17.

the emphasis on music and entertainment and the type of sails of the represented boats.⁴⁹

The depiction of the bed in the bed making scene on the west wall of the corridor, with bull's legs and with no attendant kneeling on its top, is characteristic of Dynasty 5. By the very beginning of Dynasty 6, beds are shown with lion's legs and a kneeling attendant(s).⁵⁰ The slow dances, as shown in the chapel and the burial chamber are, according to Vandier, characteristic of the period before the Sixth Dynasty.⁵¹ The boats depicted in the burial chamber, with tall trapezoidal shape sails, slightly narrower at the bottom and with the lower yard resting on the deck behind the mast, are typical of Fifth Dynasty boats,⁵² and the papyriform wooden boat with a sail is not attested after the beginning of Dynasty 6.⁵³ The *Zšš wšd* scene, represented in the burial chamber of *K3(.j)-m-ᵉnh* is usually found in tombs dating before Dynasty 6.⁵⁴ In the cemetery of the founder of the Sixth Dynasty, Teti, where some of the largest, well decorated and preserved tombs are found, and despite the variety and richness of the wall scenes in these tombs, not a single example of the *Zšš wšd* theme is attested.

The architectural and artistic features of *K3(.j)-m-ᵉnh*'s tomb are very consistent, and a careful analysis of the evidence totally excludes the possibility of dating the tomb to the Sixth Dynasty, let alone to the latter part of this dynasty. If there is artistic influence on this tomb, the strongest seems to have come from tombs dating from the reigns of Niuserre and Isesi. We should bear in mind that influence, particularly within the cemeteries of the capital, does not have to indicate a much later time. Officials and artists were equally likely to be influenced by a great contemporary tomb.

Suggested date: Late Dynasty 5, most likely the reign of Djedkare/Isesi.

In earlier studies I have suggested that *K3(.j)-m-ᵉnh* was one of the earliest officials to decorate his burial chamber, where he represented scenes of daily life as if it were part of the chapel. Slightly later, *K3(.j)-ḥr-Pth* depicted in his burial chamber only his figure at an offering table and facing a long offering list. By the time of Teti, *ᵉnh-m-ᵉ-Hr* showed in his burial chamber an empty seat, without his own figure. For the rest of the Old Kingdom, burial chambers contained only scenes of items of food and drink, but no living creatures, humans or animals.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler II*, 60-64.

⁵⁰ McFarlane, *Unis Cemetery* 1, 29. For examples see Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 52-53; Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pls. 92-93.

⁵¹ *Manuel* 4, 416.

⁵² See McFarlane, *Unis Cemetery* 1, 49.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 54.

⁵⁴ Examples have been collected by Harpur (*GM* 38 [1980], 53ff.), but the dates of some later tombs need to be reconsidered (see Kanawati - McFarlane, *Akhmim*, 65). See for example the tombs of *ḥzn* (Simpson, *Western Cemetery* 1, figs. 27-36) and *Snb* (Junker, *Giza* 5, 3-124; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 89).

⁵⁵ Kanawati, *SAK* 9 [1981], 225; *idem*, *The Tomb*, 137.

Bolshakov argues that "this picture is quite unnatural: instead of a logical line of development, Kanawati proposes an instant appearance of the new concept of decoration in *K3(.j)-m-εnh* and its gradual dying down in the later tombs. On the contrary, old but still reliable Junker's chronology regarding *K3(.j)-m-εnh* not as a starting point, but as the result of development of the burial chambers' decoration, does not engender any problems".⁵⁶ Accordingly Bolshakov sets the stages of development as follows:

- " 1. prohibition of any representations - from Dyn. III till the end of Dyn. V;
2. representations of inanimate objects - starting from the reign of *Wnjs*;
3. << depersonalized >> table scene in *εnh(.j)-m-ε-Hr(w)* - reign of *Ttj*; the miniaturised table scene in *Hnn.t* belongs to the same stage typologically if not chronologically;
4. pictures of the tomb owner at table in *K3(.j)-hr-Pth* and of the servants in *Rε(w)-wr(w)* III - early to middle (?) Dyn. VI;
5. inverted reproduction of the chapel decoration in *K3(.j)-m-εnh* - late (?) Dyn. VI."⁵⁷

To Bolshakov, "The way paved by *K3(.j)-m-εnh* allowed the deceased not only a reliable food supply, but also the creation in his burial chamber of a whole world analogous to the world of the chapel. This idea was no doubt so attractive that it could become predominant, but general impoverishment of tombs in the second half of Dyn. VI did not allow to create such elaborate decorations; therefore in the burial chambers of Saqqara South, traditional representations of food, garments, funerary equipment, etc. were arranged".⁵⁸

Bolshakov's opinion on the development of burial chamber decoration in the Old Kingdom was quoted at length because of its direct relevance to our understanding not only of the decoration of *K3(.j)-m-εnh*'s tomb, but of the significance of wall decoration in general, and of the burial chamber in particular, during the Old Kingdom. To suggest that the Egyptian wanted to create in his burial chamber "a whole world analogous to the world of the chapel" based on one, or perhaps two,⁵⁹ examples of such decorated burial chambers is hazardous, and particularly when no discussion of their dating was presented except that "old but still reliable Junker's chronology" is correct. Realising that in order for *K3(.j)-m-εnh* to fit into his scheme it had to be very late in the Old Kingdom, Bolshakov was forced to place the tomb in late (?) Dynasty 6. A thorough examination of the evidence from this tomb, according to modern research in dating techniques, shows that this date is not only unlikely, it is impossible. As Cherpion has once suggested, originality is frequently a criterion for an earlier date, as it corresponds to a period of research, of creative imagination which precedes standardisation.⁶⁰

The idea of representing the world of the living in the burial chamber does not seem to be, as Bolshakov argues, "no doubt so attractive" to the ancient Egyptian. In fact the evidence suggests that this was perhaps found distasteful and contradictory with reality and was accordingly quickly abandoned. The argument that the idea did not become predominant due to the general impoverishment of

⁵⁶ *Man and his Double*, 120 n.14.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 119.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 120.

⁵⁹ See the tomb of *Rε-wr* (Hassan, *Giza* 5, 296-97).

⁶⁰ *BIFAO* 84 [1984], 48.

tombs in the second half of the Sixth Dynasty, is simply unconvincing. Decoration in the second half of Dynasty 6 became more focused on the burial chambers, with less attention given to the chapels, as demonstrated in the work of Jéquier in the cemetery of Pepy II.⁶¹ Some of these burial chambers show fine decoration, yet none depicts a living being, human or animal. Moreover, there was a tendency, as is well known, to mutilate hieroglyphic signs representing any creatures that could inflict harm on the deceased. This trend and that proposed by Bolshakov are totally contradictory, and if the latter were correct, we would expect to find more examples of burial chambers decorated with scenes of daily activities as the Sixth Dynasty progressed. This is not the case, neither in the Old Kingdom, nor in any other period of Egyptian history. It is true that agricultural scenes are depicted in burial chambers of the Ramesside Period, but these represent the tomb owner in the Field of Reeds, which is completely different from the concept of earthly fields with farmhands employed in them. Furthermore, at no period did sailing ships, herdsmen helping animals giving birth, or music and dancing form part of the repertoire of scenes in burial chambers.

K3(.j)-m-ꜥnh's burial chamber was most probably one of the earliest to be decorated, perhaps contemporary with that of *Rꜥ-wr* (III).⁶² There is little evidence for dating the last tomb, but the name of the owner, although found in later periods, is more common during Dynasty 5, and the same date may be suggested by the phonetic writing of the word *mšꜥ* 'army',⁶³ the external chapel with four pillars and most importantly the type of false door with no cavetto cornice and torus moulding.⁶⁴ Whether these two officials were actually the first two individuals to decorate their burial chambers is uncertain. Further excavations at Isesi's cemetery or of tombs of his high officials buried elsewhere might produce other major tombs which influenced the abovementioned two. *K3(.j)-ḥr-Pth* was presumably slightly later than *K3(.j)-m-ꜥnh*. The frieze around his seated figure at an offering table in the burial chamber is a mixture of two types, the top is the typical Fifth Dynasty type, while the two sides used the banded frieze, common in Dynasty 6. The chair curiously has neither bull's nor lion's legs, and the cushioned back is very low.⁶⁵ It may represent a transitional period between the chair with bull's legs and a cushion and that with lion's legs and a cushioned back. *K3(.j)-ḥr-Pth* held an office in the pyramid of Isesi⁶⁶ and he may be dated to this reign or immediately following.

From the reign of Unis to the end of the Old Kingdom, if scenes were painted in burial chambers these depicted only food and drink, no living creatures. When *ꜥnh-m-ꜥ-Ḥr* decorated his burial chamber under Teti, he depicted an empty seat in front of the offering table; thus not even his own figure is shown in the burial chamber.⁶⁷ The offering table scene in which the lady *Ḥnnt* is depicted in her burial chamber at

⁶¹ See Jéquier, *Particuliers*, passim; idem, *Monument funéraire*, passim.

⁶² Hassan, *Gîza* 5, 296-97.

⁶³ Note the early writing of the title *jmj-r mšꜥ* (Junker, *Gîza* 2, 132; vol. 6, 240; Hassan, *Gîza* 10, 61 and examples listed there). However, the same writing is also attested occasionally in later periods, for example, Firth - Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 1, 190.

⁶⁴ Hassan, *Gîza* 5, figs. 154-55, pl. 58a.

⁶⁵ Junker, *Gîza* 8, fig. 56, pl. 21.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 111.

⁶⁷ Kanawati - Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 28, fig. 68.

Sheikh Said is the only provincial representation of a tomb owner in a burial chamber.⁶⁸ The tomb offers little evidence for a precise date, but its imposing position and the type of chair on which *Hnnt* sits do not suggest a late date. If it were almost contemporary with *ḥnh-m-ḥr*, as suggested by Bolshakov,⁶⁹ this would be understandable, since provincial art frequently lags behind that of the capital.

III ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Pls. 3, 4a, 25-26

The mastaba of *K3(.j)-m-ḥnh* is built between two anonymous pre-existing mastabas⁷⁰ and has utilised their sloping dry laid walls of massive, roughly-shaped local limestone to act as its east and west walls. The walls forming *K3(.j)-m-ḥnh*'s north and south façades are set back from the north and south perimeter walls of the adjoining mastabas and constructed of a similar type of local limestone. The mastaba measures 9.70m. N-S x 7.05 E-W, and the top course of the north and south walls projects .55m. above the roofing slabs of the chapel to form a parapet, producing façades 3.30m. high. The other six courses of these two walls are constructed of roughly-dressed stones, each .45-.50m. high, mortared and the joins plastered. Across the full width of the top course of both façades the blocks are smoothed and inscribed with a single line of large-scale incised text. Constructed in the third course from the top in the eastern part of the north entrance façade are three small rectangular openings into the chapel itself.

K3(.j)-m-ḥnh's tomb consists of a single-roomed chapel which occupies the eastern part of the mastaba and one burial chamber cut into the floor of the chapel. The entrance doorway at the east end of the north façade is surmounted by a lintel 2.10m. wide x .58m. high, smoothed and decorated in incised relief. Above this is a small projecting lintel 2.20m. wide x .12m. high. There is no entrance recess and the door jambs, .35m. wide x 2.10m. high, are smoothed. Reached by a step up with a present height of .20m., the doorway measures .60m. wide x .55m. thick x 1.60m. high to a round half-drum .30m. thick which links with the north wall of the chapel. The doorway thicknesses are smoothed, plastered and decorated in relief.

The doorway opens directly into a N-S corridor with a large alcove at the north end of the west wall forming the offering area.⁷¹ The chapel walls are constructed on top of large stone blocks laid on a foundation of small stones and sand which covers and levels the base rock. The stone blocks, .45m. thick, form the paving of the chapel which is also roofed by stone slabs, .45m. square laid E-W. The masonry walls are dressed and roughly smoothed, the only surfaces coated with a hard and grainy pinkish-gypsum plaster being those receiving painted relief decoration.

⁶⁸ Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, 3, 30-31, pls. 25-26.

⁶⁹ *Man and his Double*, 119.

⁷⁰ Junker, *Giza 4*, fig. 1. Both are Reisner's core mastaba type IVi (*Giza Necropolis*, 107, 458).

⁷¹ Reisner type 5d (*ibid*, 256-60, 312-13).

The alcove extension to the west just inside the entrance is 2.10m. N-S x 1.95m. E-W x 2.35m. high. High in the north wall, the sills on the same level as the bottom of the architrave spanning the entry, are the three rectangular light openings constructed as part of the façade. The easternmost is .45m. wide, that in the centre is .33m. wide, the westernmost is .35m. wide and all are .25m. high. The three walls of the offering alcove are decorated, the west wall occupied by the false door of *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ*. Of the earlier type lacking a cavetto cornice, it has a projecting lintel and two pairs of jambs, with large standing figures on the the outer jambs.⁷² The upper lintel is 2.10m. wide x .40m. high, the outer jambs .70m. wide x 1.90m. high, the central panel, .55m. wide x .48m. high with side apertures .07m. wide, the lower lintel .70m. wide x .19m. high, the inner jambs .25m. wide x 1.22m. high, the central niche .15m. wide x 1.07m. high to a drum .15m. thick.

The corridor measures 8.10m. N-S x 1.30m. E-W with a height of 2.35m. At the north end of the west wall is an opening 2.10m. wide which leads to the alcove holding the tomb owner's false door. The opening is spanned by an architrave .40m. high which extends southward for a total length of 4.35m. The only decoration in the corridor is on the architrave and the central part of the west wall which includes the poorly preserved false door of *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ*'s wife. While similar to that of the tomb owner, the internal architectural features of this false door are not well defined. The door measures overall 1.30m. wide x 1.55m. high and has an upper lintel 1.30m. wide x .35m. high.

IV BURIAL APARTMENT

Pl. 26

The single shaft of this mastaba, leading to the burial chamber of *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ*, is cut into the floor of the chapel near the entrance, the mouth lying partly in the corridor and partly in the offering alcove.

The mouth, 1.30m. square, is cut vertically to a total depth of 5.10m. from the floor of the chapel. Across the width of the north wall at the top of the shaft, laid E-W and resting on several smaller levelling blocks, is a large stone beam .45m. square. Reducing the mouth sufficiently to prohibit the entry of the sarcophagus, this provides further evidence that the burial chamber was cut and the sarcophagus lowered prior to the construction of the chapel. The shaft is cleanly cut through quite good rock for 4.40m. Footholds are found in the north and south walls and chisel marks are clearly visible on all surfaces.

At the floor of the shaft is an opening cut into the west wall to create a doorway 1.20m. wide with a small jamb of .10m. on the south side. One of the original blocking stones was found at the bottom of the shaft and measures 1.32m. (av.) x .60m. x .30m. thick. The doorway is .55m. thick and has a ceiling sloping from a height of 1.70m. to 1.45m. A step down of .10m. gives access to the burial chamber which lies beneath the offering alcove.

⁷² Type II.2 (Rusch, ZÄS 58 [1963], pl. A). See also Vandier, *Manuel* 2, 397, fig. 273.

The burial chamber is irregular in shape, measuring 3.35m. on the east wall, 2.60m. on the south wall, 3.90m. on the west wall and 3.50m. on the north wall. The height at the entrance is 1.55m. and the slightly uneven ceiling slopes very slightly down towards the west and south walls. The floor is not completely smooth, but at the bottom of the east wall remains of a thick and hard white gypsum suggest that the floor was plastered. A ledge of rock .30m. wide x .70m. high was left against the southern half of the west wall and plastered. All four walls of the burial chamber were coated with plaster and decorated in paint.

A sarcophagus of local limestone is *in situ*. The chest measures 2.10m. long x .90m. wide x .75m. high, with internal measurements of .50m. wide x 1.70m. long x .50m. deep. The curved lid is .90m. wide x 2.10m. long x .25m. thick at the centre. The chest was smoothed at the top of the east side, but not plastered, to receive painted inscriptions. A small portion of the NE corner of the lid is broken. Between the sarcophagus and the west wall are two small E-W walls .45m. wide x .75m. high, the height of the chest, constructed of stone blocks laid on a rubble foundation. The northern wall is 1.00m. long with two courses of large stones, and the shorter, southern wall, averaging .35m. in length, is formed of a single piece of stone which connects with the ledge left in the native rock. Both walls are plastered. These walls and the ledge of rock along the southern half of the west wall probably acted as a support for the sarcophagus lid which in other burial chambers is frequently supplied by a niche cut into the west wall. The fact that the walls are plastered internally might indicate an additional use for the compartment created by these walls, perhaps to hold canopic jars or other funerary furnishings.

V SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS

Parapets

Pls. 3, 4a, 28a-b

The north and south external walls are raised above the roof level, forming what appears to be a parapet, with one line of text inscribed on the top course of stone of each wall.

NORTH PARAPET

rh nswt shd jrj(w)-jht pr-hd K3(j)-m-^cnh shd hm(w)-ntr shd jrj(w)-jht pr-hd hrj-sst3 n sd3wt nswt K3(j)-m-^cnh 'the acquaintance of the king, the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, Kaiemankh, the superintendent of priests, the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, he who is privy to the secrets of the sealed documents of the king, Kaiemankh'. A standing figure holding a staff in one hand and a folded cloth⁷³ in the other is depicted at the end of the line.

⁷³ This detail, on both north and south parapets, is missing in Junker's record (*Giza* 4, fig. 2).

SOUTH PARAPET

The inscription here starts at the centre and proceeds to both ends. To the left it reads: *rh nswt shd pr-hd jmhꜣw hr jmnt K3(.j)-m-ꜥnh* 'the acquaintance of the king, the superintendent of the treasury, the honoured one before the west, Kaiemankh'. To the right it reads: *rh nswt shd pr-hd jmhꜣw K3(.j)-m-ꜥnh* 'the acquaintance of the king, the superintendent of the treasury, the honoured one, Kaiemankh'. The line ends in a standing figure holding the staff and a folded cloth.

Entrance

ARCHITRAVE

Pls. 4b, 28c

The architrave is inscribed with three horizontal (1-3) and one vertical (4) lines of text which read: (1) *htp dj nswt htp Jnpw⁷⁴ hntj zh-nꜥr qrs.tj.f m hrt-nꜥr zmjt jmntjt jsw nfr wrt hr nꜥr ʿs shd jrj(w)-jht pr-hd* (2) *(htp dj nswt htp Jnpw) hntj tꜣ dsr⁷⁵ prt-hrw n.f wpt rnpt Dhwtjt tpj rnpt Wꜣg m hb nb hrw nb rh nswt* (3) *htp dj Wsjr hntj Ddw⁷⁶ hp.f hr wꜣwt nfr(w)t hꜣhp⁷⁷ jmhꜣw hr.s(n)⁷⁸* (4) *K3(.j)-m-ꜥnh* '(1) An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis, foremost of the divine booth (gives), that he be buried in the necropolis of the western desert, at a very good old age before the great god; the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury. (2) An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis, foremost of the divine booth (gives). May an invocation offering come forth for him (at) the opening of the year feast, the Thot feast, the first of the year feast, the Wag-feast, at every feast and every day; the acquaintance of the king. (3) An offering which Osiris, foremost of Busiris (gives), that he may travel upon the beautiful roads, upon which the honoured ones travel; Kaiemankh'. The name *K3(.j)-m-ꜥnh* was possibly meant to follow each of the three lines of inscription. To the left of the architrave is a seated figure of the tomb owner wearing a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a collar, a short kilt and a full leopard skin. He holds a folded cloth and sits on a chair with a low back and bull's legs.

EAST THICKNESS

Pls. 4c, 27a

The tomb owner is shown standing and facing out. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a collar, a sash and a projecting kilt. He holds the staff in one hand and a folded cloth in the other. Three vertical (1-3) and one horizontal (4) lines describe him as (1) *rh nswt shd jrj(w)-jht pr-hd* (2) *hrj-sꜣtꜣ n sdꜣwt nt nswt*

⁷⁴ *htp dj nswt htp Jnpw* is written vertically and applies to both lines 1 and 2. For a detailed study of the formula see Lapp, *Opferformel*, passim.

⁷⁵ Anubis is more commonly described as *nb tꜣ dsr*.

⁷⁶ Osiris is usually described as *nb Ddw*. It is also noticed that the *ꜣ* in *Ddw* is presumably an error.

⁷⁷ *hꜣhp* is commonly written as *hpꜣt*. While *hꜣhp* might represent an unusual imperfective form of the verb *hꜣp*, the *t* required for the relative form after *wꜣwt nfrwt*, is missing.

⁷⁸ The *n* of *sn* is missing.

(3) *w^cb nswt šḥd ḥm(w)-nṯr* (4) *K3(.j)-m-^cnḥ* '(1) the acquaintance of the king, the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, (2) he who is privy to the secrets of the sealed documents of the king, (3) the *w^cb*-priest of the king, the superintendent of priests, (4) Kaiemankh'.

WEST THICKNESS

Pl. 27b

Facing outwards, *K3(.j)-m-^cnḥ* wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a collar, a long necklace with an amulet,⁷⁹ a short projecting kilt and a full leopard skin.⁸⁰ Like his figure on the opposite thickness, *K3(.j)-m-^cnḥ* holds the staff and a folded cloth and the caption identifying him is identical on both thicknesses.

Chapel

The chapel is formed of a long north-south corridor with a large recess at its northern end, resulting in what appears as an L-shaped offering chamber. The three walls of the recess and most of the west wall of the corridor were decorated in raised, coloured relief.

Recess

SOUTH WALL

Pls. 5, 29

This wall is occupied by an offering table scene. The tomb owner sits on a chair with bull's legs and a cushion projecting behind him. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a collar and a leopard skin,⁸¹ and holds a folded cloth in his left hand, while extending the right to a table laden with twenty half-loaves of bread. The inscription above him identifies him as *rḥ nswt šḥd pr-ḥd ḥrj-sšṯ* 'the acquaintance of the king, the superintendent of the treasury, he who is privy to the secrets', with his name *K3(.j)-m-^cnḥ* 'Kaiemankh' written both before his face and behind his head. Above the table is a heap of offerings including cuts of meat, a goose, fruit and vegetables, loaves of bread and some containers of food and drink. Beneath the table, to the right is written: *šs ḥ3 mnḥt ḥ3 r ḥ3 t ḥ3 [zt ḥ3 s ḥ3] mn[wt ḥ3 rn k3 ḥ3] ḥt nbt nfrt hrw [nb]⁸²* 'alabaster, one thousand; clothes, one thousand; *r*-goose, one thousand; *t*-goose, one thousand; *zt*-goose, one thousand; pigeon, one thousand; young ox, one thousand; all fine things, every day'.

At the opposite side, beneath the table the inscription *shpt stpt* 'bringing the choice food' describes the activities depicted in four registers in front of *K3(.j)-m-^cnḥ*. The bottom register shows butchery scenes. Two pairs of men, are each

⁷⁹ For this detail see Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, 60-62.

⁸⁰ The details of the collar and the attachment of the leopard skin on the owner's shoulder are incomplete in Junker's drawing and the necklace and amulet are missing (*Giza* 4, fig. 5).

⁸¹ There is no evidence of bracelets and the hair style as shown by Junker is incorrect (*ibid.*, fig. 7).

⁸² The items written in [] are no longer visible, but were recorded by Junker (*ibid.*).

engaged in the cutting of the foreleg of an animal, an ox to the right and a scimitar-horned oryx⁸³ to the left. Three additional men are represented; the one at the extreme left carries a bowl perhaps of blood, the one in the centre is sharpening his knife on the whetstone, while the man to the extreme right carries a severed foreleg of an animal on his shoulders and turns his face backward, towards the tomb owner. Five offering bearers are depicted in the second register. The first man wrings the neck of a goose, while the other four carry various items of food and drink. The third register shows six men performing a ceremony. From right a man holding a broom and turning his back to the tomb owner is described as *jnt rd* 'bringing the broom' or 'removing the footprint'.⁸⁴ Facing him, two priests kneel with bowls in front of them, and behind them a standing man pours water into the second bowl. The label reads: *qbh* 'present libations'. They are followed by a kneeling man, with both hands on the ground and the label *phwj jht* 'end of offerings'.⁸⁵ The last man stands holding a censer and above him is written *sntr* 'censing'. The top register shows two men, the first of whom wears a shoulder-length wig and a beard⁸⁶ and reads from a document. The inscription in front of him reads: *jn hrj-hbt*, usually [*sh*] *jn hrj-hbt* '[glorification] by the lector priest'. Behind him a man facing the opposite direction carries a sack and is about to leave.

Above the offering table scene is an offering list consisting of ninety-four entries. It is arranged in five registers, the upper three containing nineteen items each, the fourth register contains twenty-three items and the fifth register sixteen items. Each entry is written in a compartment and consists of the name of the item and the number required.⁸⁷ On two occasions three items were crammed in the space of two compartments.

Register I:

1. *zst* 'libation' (one)
2. *sntr sdt* 'lighted incense' (one)
3. *stj-hb* 'stj-hb-oil' (two)
4. *hknw* 'hknw-oil' (one)
5. *sft* 'sft-oil' (one)
6. *nhnm twswt* 'nhnm-oil' (one), 'twswt-oil' (one)⁸⁸
7. [*hstt*] *š* 'best cedar oil' (one)
8. [*hstt*] *thnw* 'best Libyan oil' (one)
9. [*wšdw*] *rf* 'a bag of green paint' (one)
10. *msdt*⁸⁹ *rf*⁹⁰ 'a bag of black paint' (one)⁹¹
11. *wnhw* 'cloth strips' (two)

⁸³ Houlihan, *Animal World*, 45-48.

⁸⁴ Altenmüller, *JEA* 57 [1971], 146-53.

⁸⁵ Junker, *Giza* 4, 24.

⁸⁶ No trace of the expected sash, drawn by Junker, *ibid*, fig. 7.

⁸⁷ For the identification of the following items see Barta, *Opferliste*, 47ff., 83ff.

⁸⁸ This compartment includes the names of two oils, each with a separate jar determinative and the sign for quantity.

⁸⁹ *msdt* is the Old Kingdom spelling of *msdmt* (James, *Khentika*, 63).

⁹⁰ *rf* is written once for both items 9 and 10.

⁹¹ Only one bag and one stroke are written, but almost certainly they are meant to be one for each paint.

12. *sntr sdt* 'lighted incense' (one)
13. *qbhw tswj* 'libation water and two balls of natron'
14. *hst* 'offering table'
15. *htp nswt* 'royal offerings'
16. [*htp*] *nswt [jmj] wsh̄t* 'royal offerings which are in the *wsh̄t*-hall'
17. [*hms*] 'sit down' (one)⁹²
18. [*jw-r*]⁹³ *šns* 'breakfast/repast *šns*-bread' (one)
19. [*jw-r*] *dwjw* 'breakfast/repast jug' [one]

Register II:

20. *t-wt* 'wt-bread' (one)
21. *t-rth* 'rth-bread' (one)
22. *nmst dsrt* 'a jug of *dsrt*-beverage' [one]
23. *hnms* 'hnms-beer' (one)
24. *fjt*⁹⁴ *šns* 'a serving of *šns*-bread' (one)
25. *fjt* 'serving bowl' (one)
26. *šbw*⁹⁵ *šns* 'main meal *šns*-bread' (one)
27. *šbw dwjw* 'main meal jug' (one)
28. *swt* 'piece of meat' (one)
29. *mw* 'bowl of water' (one)
30. *bd* 'natron' (one)
31. *jw-r*⁹⁶ *šns* 'breakfast/repast *šns*-bread' (one)
32. *jw-r dwjw* 'breakfast/repast jug' (one)
33. *t-wt* 'wt-bread' (one)
34. *t-rth* 'rth-bread' (one)
35. *ht(3)* 'ht3-bread' (one)
36. *nhrw* 'nhrw-bread' [?]
37. *dptw* 'dptw-bread' (four)
38. *pznw* 'pznw-bread' (four)

Register III:

39. *šns* 'šns-bread' (four)
40. *t-jmj-t3* 'jmj-t3-bread' (four)
41. *hnfw* 'hnfw-bread' (four)
42. *hbnnwt* 'hbnnwt-bread' (four)
43. *qmhw qm3* 'qmhw qm3-bread' (four)
44. *jd3t h3k* 'jd3t h3k-bread' (four)
45. *p3t* 'p3t-bread' (four)
46. *t-3šr* '3šr-bread' (four)
47. *hdw* 'onions' (four)
48. *hpš* 'foreleg' (one)
49. *jw* 'thigh' (one?)
50. *zhn* 'kidney' (one)

⁹² A kind of food. This item is now erased, but recorded by Junker (*Giza* 4, 25).

⁹³ *jw-r* was probably written once for both items 18 and 19, but is now missing (see *ibid.*).

⁹⁴ *fjt* is written only once for both items 24 and 25.

⁹⁵ *šbw* is written once for items 26 and 27.

⁹⁶ *jw-r* is written once for both 31 and 32.

51. *swt* 'piece of meat' (one)
52. *spr* 'rib' (four)
53. *šrt* 'roasted piece of meat' (four)
54. *mjzt* 'liver' (one)
55. *nnšm* 'spleen' (one)
56. *h** 'piece of meat' (one)
57. *jwf hst* 'fillet'⁹⁷ (one)

Register IV:

58. *sr* 'sr-goose' (one)
59. *trp*⁹⁸ 'trp-goose' (one)
60. *zt* 'zt-duck' (one)
61. *s* 's-goose' (one)
62. *mnwt* 'pigeon' (one)⁹⁹
63. *t-zjf* 'zjf-bread' (two)
64. *št* 'št-bread' (two)
65. *n(p)st* 'npst-bread' (two)
66. *mzt* 'mzt-bread' (two)
67. *dsrt* 'dsrt-beverage' (two)
68. *dsrt jtt* 'milky'¹⁰⁰ beverage' (two)
69. *hnqt*¹⁰¹ *hnms* 'hnms-beer' (two)
70. *hnqt* 'beer' (two)
71. *shpt* 'shpt-beverage' (two)
72. *ph(3)* 'ph3-beverage' (two)
73. *dwjw šsr* 'jug of šsr-beverage' (two)
74. *d3b* 'figs' (two)
75. *jrp*¹⁰² 'wine' (two)
76. *jrp* *ʿ(b)šw* 'ʿbšw-wine' (two)
77. *jrp jm(tj)* 'jmtj-wine' (two)
78. *snw* 'snw-wine' (two)
79. *h3mw* 'h3mw-wine' (two)
80. *hbnnt* 'hbnnt-bread' (two)

Register V:

81. *hnfw* 'hnfw-bread' (two)
82. *jšd* 'jšd-fruit' (two)
83. *sh̄t h̄dt* 'white sh̄t-fruit' (two)
84. *sh̄t wšdt* 'green sh̄t-fruit' (two)
85. *zt* (ʿ) *gt* 'special preparation of wheat' (two)

⁹⁷ This item is usually translated as 'brisket', but according to Montet it is the fillet (*Vie Privée*, 170ff.), which may also be deduced from the butchery scene in the tomb of ʿnh-m-ʿ-Ḥr (Kanawati - Hassan, *Teti Cemetery 2*, pl. 49).

⁹⁸ *trp* is written as *tpr*.

⁹⁹ The three items 62, 63 and 64 are crammed inside a large compartment, the size of two single ones, and with no dividing lines between the items.

¹⁰⁰ Davies et al., *Saqqāra Tombs 1*, 18, No. 66.

¹⁰¹ *hnqt* is written only once for items 69 and 70.

¹⁰² *jrp* is written once for the three items 75-77.

86. *jt ʿgt* 'special preparation of barley' (two)
87. *b3bt* 'b3bt-fruit' (two)
88. *nbs* 'nbs-fruit' (two)
89. *t-nbs* 'nbs-bread' (two)
90. [*whʿ*] 'carob beans' (two)
91. *ht nbt bnrt* 'every sweet thing' (two?)
92. *rnpt nbt* 'all the year-offerings'
93. *hnkt* 'hnkt-offerings'
94. *gswj* 'two half-loaves'¹⁰³
95. *hst wdhw* 'the best of the offering table'
96. *stpt* 'the choice food'

WEST WALL

Pls. 6, 30

This wall is fully occupied by a false door, the decoration of which is weathered.

Upper Lintel: This is inscribed with three horizontal (1-3) and one vertical (4) lines of hieroglyphs which read: (1) *htp dj nswt htp Jnpw*¹⁰⁴ *hntj zh-ntr qrs.tj.f m hrt-ntr m*¹⁰⁵ *zmjt jmntjt j3w nfr*¹⁰⁶ *wrt hr ntr 3 shd jrj(w)-jht pr-hd* (2) (*htp dj nswt htp Jnpw*) *prt-hrw n.f wpt rnpt Dhwtjt tpj rnpt W3g Zkr hb wr hb nb hrw nb* (3) *shd jrj(w)-jht pr-hd hrj-sst3 sd3wt nswt shd hm(w)-ntr rh nswt jm3hw mrr nb.f* (4) *K3(.j)-m-ʿnh* '(1) An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis, foremost of the divine booth (gives), that he be buried in the necropolis in the western desert, at a very good old age before the great god; the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury. (2) (An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis gives). May an invocation offering come forth for him (at) the opening of the year feast, the Thot feast, the first of the year feast, the Wag-feast, the Sokar feast, the great feast, every feast and every day; (3) the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, he who is privy to the secrets of the sealed documents of the king, the superintendent of priests, the acquaintance of the king, the honoured one, the beloved of his lord, (4) Kaiemankh'. The tomb owner is represented to the left seated on a chair with bull's legs and wearing a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a collar, bracelets, a kilt and a leopard skin.

Central Panel: The panel is occupied by an offering table scene.¹⁰⁷ Wearing a shoulder-length wig, a beard and a leopard skin, the tomb owner sits on a chair with bull's legs and a cushion and extends his right hand towards an offering table on which are fifteen half-loaves of bread. The inscription identifying him reads: [*j]m3[hw]* *hr ntr 3 K3(.j)-m-ʿnh* 'the honoured one before the great god,

¹⁰³ Items 94-96 are written in one compartment, the size of two single ones.

¹⁰⁴ The inscriptions on this lintel are to a large extent similar to those on the entrance architrave, and there the line between *htp dj nswt* and *htp Jnpw* does not exist, suggesting that they represent one formula to start both lines 1 and 2.

¹⁰⁵ This *m* is missing on the entrance architrave.

¹⁰⁶ The signs for *j3w* and *nfr* are reversed, compare with those on the entrance architrave.

¹⁰⁷ The tomb owner's wig and dress and the details of the table and the food above it show many errors in Junker's record (*Giza 4*, fig. 6).

Kaiemankh'. Above the table is a heap of food items, including geese and loaves of bread. The significance of the object(s) on the opposite side of the table is not clear. Beneath the table is written: *r ḥꜣ ... ḥꜣ zt ḥꜣ s ḥꜣ mnwt ḥꜣ šs ḥꜣ mnḥt ḥꜣ kꜣ ḥꜣ* 'r-goose, one thousand; ...-goose, one thousand; zt-goose, one thousand; s-goose, one thousand; pigeon, one thousand; alabaster, one thousand; clothes, one thousand; oxen, one thousand'.

Lower Lintel: It is inscribed with two horizontal (1-2) and one vertical (3) lines of text which read: (1) *šḥḏ jrj(w)-jḥt pr-ḥḏ ḥrj-sšꜣtꜣ sḏꜣwt nswt mrr nb.f* (2) *wꜥb nswt ḥrj-sšꜣtꜣ jmꜣḥw ḥr nṯr ʿꜣ* (3) *Kꜣ(.j)-m-ʿnḥ* '(1) the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, he who is privy to the secrets of the sealed documents of the king, the beloved of his lord, (2) the *wꜥb*-priest of the king, he who is privy to the secrets, the honoured one before the great god, (3) Kaiemankh'.

Drum: *Kꜣ(.j)-m-ʿnḥ* 'Kaiemankh'.

Outer Jambs: Each of these jambs is dominated by a large figure of the tomb owner. In both cases he holds the staff in one hand and a folded cloth in the other and wears a collar and a projecting kilt. However the left figure wears a short wig, while the right one wears a beard, shoulder-length wig and a leopard skin. The inscriptions above the two figures are identical and written in seven vertical (1-7) and two horizontal (8-9) lines as follows: (1) *zš pr-ḥḏ* (2) *šḥḏ jrj(w)-jḥt pr-ḥḏ* (3) *wꜥb nswt* (4) *ḥrj-sšꜣtꜣ* (5) *ḥrj-sšꜣtꜣ¹⁰⁸ sḏꜣwt nswt* (6) *jmꜣḥw* (7) *Kꜣ(.j)-m-ʿnḥ* (8) *mrr nb.f* (9) *Kꜣ(.j)-m-ʿnḥ* '(1) the scribe of the treasury, (2) the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, (3) the *wꜥb*-priest of the king, (4) he who is privy to the secrets, (5) he who is privy to the secrets of the sealed documents of the king, (6) the honoured one, (7) Kaiemankh, (8) the beloved of his lord, (9) Kaiemankh'.

Inner Jambs: The two jambs have identical figures and inscriptions. The tomb owner stands with both arms by his sides and wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a collar and a projecting kilt. He is identified as (1) *šḥḏ jrj(w) jḥt pr-ḥḏ [Kꜣ(.j)-m-ʿnḥ* (2) *ḥrj-sšꜣtꜣ sḏꜣwt nswt* (3) *šḥḏ ḥm(w)-nṯr Kꜣ(.j)-m-ʿnḥ* '(1) the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, Kaiemankh, (2) he who is privy to the secrets of the sealed documents of the king, (3) the superintendent of priests, Kaiemankh'.

NORTH WALL

Pls. 7-8, 31

This wall is occupied by a spear fishing scene, which shows many alterations in the original drawing and cutting of the reliefs, which are shown in dotted lines. In addition to missing details, Junker's drawing contains a number of inaccuracies, particularly in the details of the fish, the son's hair and above all in the rendering of the different birds above the papyrus thicket.

¹⁰⁸ Because of lack of space available in this line the signs  of *sšꜣtꜣ* were omitted.

The tomb owner is represented on a papyrus boat holding a spear with which he has caught two fish. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a collar and a sporting tunic. The boat is fitted with a deck, for better footing and distribution of weight on the vessel, which was presumably made of wood although no wood grain is shown.¹⁰⁹ Above the man, interrupted by three light apertures, is an inscription identifying him and arranged into one horizontal (1) and nine vertical (2-10) lines, which read: (1) *rḥ nswt šḥd jrj(w)-jḥt pr-ḥd ḥrj-sšṯ n sḏwt nswt K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ* (2) *šḥd jrj(w)-jḥt n(t) pr-ḥd* (3) *šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr w^cb nswt mrr nb.f* (4) *rḥ nswt K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ* (5) *šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr* (6) *ḥrj-sšṯ* (7) *ḥrj-sšṯ sḏwt nswt* (8) *jṃšḥw* (9) *mrr nb.f* (10) *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ* '(1) the acquaintance of the king, the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, he who is privy to the secrets of the sealed documents of the king, Kaiemankh, (2) the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, (3) the superintendent of priests, the *w^cb*-priest of the king, the beloved of his lord, (4) the acquaintance of the king, Kaiemankh, (5) the superintendent of priests, (6) he who is privy to the secrets, (7) he who is privy to the secrets of the sealed documents of the king, (8) the honoured one, (9) the beloved of his lord, (10) Kaiemankh'. A horizontal inscription in front of the owner describes the action as *stjt mḥjt*¹¹⁰ *m pḥww* 'spearing a catch of fish in the marshlands/canals'.

Accompanying *K3(.j)-m-ḥnḥ* on the trip is his eldest son, who is shown as a child with the side lock, holding a spear in one hand and a Hoopoe bird in the other. He is identified as *z3.f smsw zš pr-ḥd Ḥwj-wj-wr* 'his eldest son, the scribe of the treasury, Khewiwiwer'. Behind the tomb owner, in two superposed registers, stand four unnamed retainers, three in the lower register and one in the upper. The first man in the lower register carries a *Mormyrus* and a *Tilapia*, the second a *Mugil* and the third a *Clarias anguillaris* and a goose. The man in the upper register carries with one hand a linen bag over his shoulder and the other hand a container and possibly a whisk. In front of him and above him are sacks containing the requirements of the trip. Behind the tomb owner, on the stern of the boat, are also a bag of fruit and some flowers or vegetables. Beneath the stern of the boat are the water weeds, *Potamogeton lucens*, and in the water a hippopotamus is shown, but apart from the fish in the mound of water no other aquatic creatures are depicted.

The fishing takes place in a papyrus thicket depicted in front of the boat, with the traditional mound of water in its midst. The papyrus plant, the birds and fish are executed in relief, but their internal details as well as the water lines, which were rendered in painting, have deteriorated since Junker's record was made. As usual, the largest fish are those caught at the end of the spear, the traditional *Tilapia* and *Lates niloticus*.¹¹¹ Below them in descending order in pairs are: (left) *Mugil*,

¹⁰⁹ See for example, de Morgan, *Catalogue* 1, 146; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 3; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 4, fig. 12; vol. 5, fig. 7; vol. 6, fig. 3; Kanawati - Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pl. 76. Occasionally the tomb owner stands directly on the papyrus body of the boat, as in de Morgan, *Catalogue* 1, 159; Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 5; Varille, *Ni-ankh-Pepi*, pl. 9; Vandier, *Mo^calla*, pl. 40; Peck, *Naga ed-Dêr*, pl. 15; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 2, fig. 18; vol. 9, fig. 15; El-Khouli - Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 38.

¹¹⁰ The determinative for *mḥjt* includes three fish: *Mugil*, *Labeo niloticus* and a second *Mugil*. For the identification of various species of fish see Gamer-Wallert, *Fische*, 140, pls. 1-6; Brewer - Friedman, *Fish and Fishing* 48ff.

¹¹¹ Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 725, 730; Gamer-Wallert, *Fische*, 129, pls. 5-6.

probably *Synodontis batensoda*, *Tetrodon fahaqa* and *Synodontis schall*; (right) *Petrocephalus*, *Malopterurus electricus*(?) and *Mormyrus*.¹¹² Depicted at the bottom right is a group of four oxen shown walking out of the marshlands. This theme is much rarer¹¹³ than that of cattle crossing deep water, accompanied by herdsmen in boats.¹¹⁴ In the tomb of *Hʒj* at Saqqara where the two themes are represented side by side, the former is said to be the 'bringing of the milking cows out to go on land after being in the marshes'.¹¹⁵

The top of the thicket is represented as three rows of open umbels, above which the birds are hovering or resting. The birds may be identified as follows, although it should be borne in mind that this identification is tentative being based on shape only with no colours preserved for details:¹¹⁶ 1) Kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis*), 2) Hoopoe (*Upupa epops*), 3) Golden Oriole (*Oriolus oriolus*), 4) goose, 5) Glossy Ibis (*Plegadis falcinellus*), 6) Hoopoe, 7) Glossy Ibis, 8) butterfly, 9) Pied Kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis*), 10) Hoopoe, 11) butterfly, 12) Turtle Dove (*Streptopelia turtur*), 13) Spoonbill (*Platalea leucorodia*), 14) Bittern (*Botaurus stellaris*), 15) Kingfisher, 16) Turtle Dove, 17) Spoonbill, 18) Glossy Ibis, 19) duckling, 20) Pied Kingfisher, 21) Kingfisher, 22) goose, 23) Sandpiper (*Tringa sp.*) (?), 24) Pied Kingfisher, 25) Purple Gallinule (*Porphyrio porphyrio*) (?), 26) Golden Oriole (?), 27) duckling, 28) Kingfisher, 29) butterfly.

Corridor

Pls. 9-10, 32-33

Most of the west wall of the corridor is decorated in relief. The southern part of the same wall as well as the other walls of the corridor were not well finished and left undecorated. The architrave above the opening of the recess shows repeated figures of the tomb owner, each wearing a projecting kilt and accompanied by an inscription. 1) He wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a collar and holds a staff and a folded cloth. The accompanying inscription reads: *rh nswt K3(.j)-m-ʕnh* 'the acquaintance of the king, Kaiemankh'. 2) Described as *wʕb nswt K3(.j)-m-ʕnh* 'the *wʕb*-priest of the king, Kaiemankh', he wears a short wig, a beard, a collar and a leopard skin and holds a sceptre. 3) The representation is similar to that in (1), but with short hair and no beard. The inscription reads: *shd pr-hd K3(.j)-m-ʕnh* 'the superintendent of the treasury, Kaiemankh'. 4) Wearing a shoulder-length wig, a beard and a sash, he has both arms by his sides. The label reads: *shd hm(w)-ntr K3(.j)-m-ʕnh* 'the superintendent of priests, Kaiemankh'. 5) Described as *jmʒhw K3(.j)-m-ʕnh* 'the honoured one, Kaiemankh', he wears a short wig, a beard, a collar, a sash and a leopard skin and holds a staff and a folded cloth. 6) Represented as in (4), but with no sash, he is designated *zš pr-hd K3(.j)-m-ʕnh* 'the scribe of the treasury, Kaiemankh'. 7) Depicted as in (3) he is described as

¹¹² For these species see *ibid*, 140, pls. 1-6.

¹¹³ See for example Épron - Wild, *Ti*, pls. 80, 114, 117, 119; Schürmann, *Ii-nefret*, 70, fig. 21; Davies, *Ptahhetep 2*, pl. 14; Ziegler, *Akhetetep*, 132-34.

¹¹⁴ The most developed scene of cattle crossing is found in the tomb of *ʕnh-m-ʕHr* (Kanawati - Hassan, *Teti Cemetery 2*, pl. 37a). For the association of this theme with that of spear fishing, see Roth, *Palace Attendants*, pl. 185.

¹¹⁵ Kanawati - Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery 5*, 32, pl. 55.

¹¹⁶ See Houlihan, *Birds*, *passim*; *idem*, *GM 155* [1996], 19ff.

hrj-sšt *K3(.j)-m-ꜥnh* 'he who is privy to the secrets, Kaiemankh'. 8) Shown as in (2), but with no beard, he is described as *mrr nb.f K3(.j)-m-ꜥnh* 'the beloved of his lord, Kaiemankh'. 9) Represented as in (1), he is labelled *šḥd jrj(w)-jḥt pr-ḥd K3(.j)-m-ꜥnh* 'the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, Kaiemankh'.

The upper part of the central section of the wall, at the same level of the abovementioned architrave, shows men preparing furniture. To the right are two men handling an armchair with a high back and sides and bull's legs. Its seat shows a papyrus umbel at the front and back. The men are said to be *wḥs st* 'fixing(?) the chair'.¹¹⁷ Further left are three men making a bed, also with bull's legs and papyrus umbels at the front and back. The accompanying inscriptions read: *wḏt štw* 'laying out the bed'. The bed is placed under a canopy with three (i.e., six) supports¹¹⁸ terminating at the top in what resembles lotus-buds. A headrest is placed on the bed at the head side. Behind the canopy are two men, the first holding a fly-whisk in one hand and a piece of cloth in the other. Both items were needed by the tomb owner and are depicted in his hands. The second man carries a liquid container and a linen bag, the latter presumably required for the bed-making.

The wall below this is occupied by a representation of the tomb owner and his wife facing scenes of scribes and entertainment. The couple sit on an armchair with bull's legs and high back and sides.¹¹⁹ He has short hair, wears a collar, bracelets and a starched triangular kilt and holds a fly-whisk with the handle in the form of a hand,¹²⁰ while playing a game of Senet (see below). The chair is placed under a type of shrine on the cornice of which is a line of text which reads: *rh nswt šḥd jrj(w)-jḥt pr-ḥd K3(.j)-m-ꜥnh ḥmt.f ... [Tn]tt-ḥr* 'the acquaintance of the king, the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, Kaiemankh. His wife ... [Tjen]tether'. The scene in front of the couple is divided into four registers.

The bottom register is reserved for dancing. Three girls with short hair, collars and tight dresses are clapping and are described as *ḥst jn msw.f* 'making rhythm¹²¹ by his children'. The girl in the middle is named *Šḥf* or *Sndm-jwf* 'Sehef, or Sendjemiwef'. The other four girls in the register, with the label *jbš* 'dancing', wear short skirts and are performing a slow movement with one foot slightly raised from the ground and both arms above the head.¹²² The second register depicts two board games, the Senet and the Mehen. Like the examples in the tombs of *Nj-mꜥt-Rꜥ*¹²³ and *Mrrw-k3(.j)*¹²⁴, the Senet game in the tomb of *K3(.j)-m-ꜥnh* is played by

¹¹⁷ For the different meanings of *wḥs* see Junker, *Giza* 4, 40.

¹¹⁸ A similar number of supports is possibly found in the tomb of *Nj-mꜥt-Rꜥ* (Roth, *Palace Attendants*, fig. 187). See also McFarlane, *Unis Cemetery* 1, 27 n.86.

¹¹⁹ Nothing remains of the painted decoration on the side of the chair in the repeated form  as recorded by Junker (*Giza* 4, 35, fig. 9).

¹²⁰ For a study of this shape see Sourdivé, *La Main*, 144ff.

¹²¹ Ziegler, *Akhetetep*, 162.

¹²² See Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 14ff. For general description of various dances see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 391ff.

¹²³ Roth, *Palace Attendants*, fig. 187.

¹²⁴ Duell, *Mereruka* 2, pls. 171-72.

jmšḥwt (4) *rḥ(t) nswt Tntt-ḥr* '(1) the acquaintance of the king, the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, Kaiemankh. His wife, his beloved, (2) the honoured one, the priestess of Hathor, lady of the sycamore, in all her places, (3) the acquaintance of the king, the priestess of Neith, opener of the ways, the honoured one, (4) the acquaintance of the king, Tjentether'. The owner of the false door is depicted to the left, seated on a chair with bull's legs and a cushion. She wears a long wig, a collar and a long, tight dress and places one hand on the chest and the other on the lap.

Central Panel: Five vertical lines were inscribed and erased: (1) *ḥtp dj nswt ḥtp Jnpw prt-ḥrw n.s m jz* (2) ... *mrt ḥzt rmt* (3) *rḥ(t) nswt ḥm(t)-nṯr Nt Hwt-ḥr Tntt[-ḥr]* (4) ... *mrt Hwt-ḥr m jst nb(t)* (5) ... *s ... jmšḥwt Tn[tt-ḥr]* '(1) An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis (gives). May an invocation offering come forth for her in the tomb, (2) ... beloved and praised [by] the people, (3) the acquaintance of the king, the priestess of Neith and Hathor, Tjentether, (4) ... beloved of Hathor in every place, (5) ..., the honoured one, Tjen[tether]'

Outer Jambs: The left jamb shows a large figure of the wife, originally holding a lotus flower to her nose, but this was modified to placing her hand on her chest. She is dressed in a long wig, a collar and a long, tight dress with two shoulder straps, and is accompanied by two young female figures,¹³⁴ possibly daughters. Four lines of hieroglyphs above her identify her as (1) *ḥmt.f mrjtt.f Tntt-ḥr* (2) *rḥ(t) nswt ḥm(t)-nṯr Hwt-ḥr* (3) *ḥm(t)-nṯr Nt wpt wṣwt* (4) *jmšḥwt Tntt-ḥr* '(1) his wife, his beloved, Tjentether, (2) the acquaintance of the king, the priestess of Hathor, (3) the priestess of Neith, opener of the ways, (4) the honoured one, Tjentether'.

The right jamb depicts the tomb owner, wearing a short wig, a beard, a collar and a leopard skin and holding a cloth. He is accompanied by a male child, possibly his son. Four lines of text above describe him as (1) *rḥ nswt šḥd jrj(w)-jḥt pr-ḥd* (2) *šḥd ḥm(w)-nṯr*¹³⁵ *ḥrj-sšt* (3) *jmšḥw ḥr nb.f* (4) *mrr nb.f K3(.j)-m-ṯnḥ* '(1) the acquaintance of the king, the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury (2) the superintendent of priests, he who is privy to the secrets, (3) the honoured one before his lord, (4) the beloved of his lord, Kaiemankh'.

Inner Jambs: Each jamb contains one line of text. The inscription on the left jamb, for the wife, reads: *rḥ(t) nswt ḥm(t)-nṯr Hwt-ḥr jmšḥwt Tntt-ḥr* 'the acquaintance of the king, the priestess of Hathor, the honoured one, Tjentether'. The inscription on the opposite jamb, for the tomb owner, reads: *[šḥd] jrj(w)-jḥt pr-ḥd mr[r] nb.f K3(.j)-m-ṯnḥ* 'the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, the beloved of his lord, Kaiemankh'.

¹³⁴ Only one appears in Junker's record (*Giza* 4, fig. 11).

¹³⁵ Notice the reverse order of *šḥd* and *ḥm-nṯr*.

Burial Chamber*EAST WALL*

North of Entrance

Pls. 12a, 34a

This narrow wall is divided into three registers. The bottom register depicts a female offering bearer supporting on her head a basket containing jars and other food items and is preceded by an ox with a cover on its back. Above it is written: *jnt hrj-dꜛꜥ* 'bringing *hrj-dꜛꜥ*-cattle'.¹³⁶ Each of the middle and top registers is occupied by a male servant carrying a basket of food and drink on his head and leading on ropes two animals, one of which is placed on a sub-register. The animals in the middle registers are an ox and an oryx, the latter being identified as *rn mꜛ-hꜛ* 'young oryx'. The animals in the top register are both calves and the inscription above them reads: *jnt ndt-hr jn hm-kꜛ* 'bringing gifts by the ka-servant'.

South of Entrance

Pls. 12b, 34b

The wall is occupied by an offering list, offering bearers and offering ceremonies. The list is almost identical to that on the south wall of the chapel recess. For individual items see above. On top of the list is a horizontal inscription written in large signs: *htp dj nswt htp Jnpw nb tꜛ dsr prt-hrw n.f m dpht htpt ꜥprt [n shꜛ jrj(w)-jht]*¹³⁷ *pr-hꜛ Kꜛ(.j)-m-ꜥnhꜛ* 'An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis, lord of the sacred land (gives). May an invocation offering come forth for him as requirements of offerings and equipment for the superintendent of custodians of property of the treasury, Kaiemankh'. To the left of the offering list, in four superposed registers, are four offering bearers, all wearing projecting kilts. Each holds an object in each hand as follows, from bottom: a jar on a rope and a rolled cloth; a piece of cloth and a pot; a jar on a rope and a ewer in a basin; a goose and a loaf of bread on a tray.

Below the offering list is the offering ceremony, also depicted near the list on the south wall of the chapel recess. Each person represented is accompanied by a caption. The first man kneels and holds a container in each hand and is said to be *prt-hrw n Kꜛ(.j)-m-ꜥnhꜛ* 'giving invocation offerings for Kaiemankh'. The second man is about to pour water from a spouted jar into a container and is described as *rdj(t) qbhw n Kꜛ(.j)-m-ꜥnhꜛ* 'giving cool water for Kaiemankh'. The third man presumably holds a censer and is labelled as *snꜥr n Kꜛ(.j)-m-ꜥnhꜛ* 'censing for Kaiemankh'. The right section of this register is completely effaced, but Junker recorded the inscription *shꜛt stꜛt*¹³⁸ 'bringing the choice food', suggesting the presence of offering bearers. To the right of the offering list are four registers, the top one showing two large jars in stands, over which is inscribed the name of

¹³⁶ Junker, *Giza* 4, 96.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 16.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 90, pl. 16.

K3(.j)-m-εnh. The second register, the best preserved, depicts two men, the first of whom reads from a papyrus scroll and is described as *sšj jn hrj-ḥbt n K3(.j)-m-εnh* 'glorification by the lector priest for Kaiemankh'. Behind him is a kneeling man who raises his empty hand. The caption above him reads: *wd[n] ḥt jn [w]t* 'gesturing of offering by the embalmer'.¹³⁹ The middle register is occupied by three kneeling figures, with the caption above them reading: *hnkt j(n) w(t) n K3(.j)[-m-εnh]* 'offerings by the embalmer for Kaiemankh'.¹⁴⁰ The bottom register, now badly effaced, showed two men, the first of whom raises his hand and is said to be *w[dn] ḥt jn K3(.j)-m-εnh*¹⁴¹ 'gesturing an offering by Kaiemankh'. One wonders if this was an error by the scribe, as the gesturing is expected to be done by a priest for *K3(.j)-m-εnh*.

SOUTH WALL

Pls. 1, 13a, 35

The east side of the south wall was considered as a continuation of the east wall and the inscription at the top of the former follows on from that of the latter: ... *hrw nb n [šḥd] jrj(w)-jḥt sšwt nswt K3(.j)-m-εnh* '... every day for the superintendent of custodians of property of the sealed documents of the king, Kaiemankh'. *K3(.j)-m-εnh*'s title as written on the south wall is clearly a combination of two of his titles and presumably an error, which the scribe corrected in black paint at the top right corner of the east wall, leaving the text on the south wall unchanged. At the top right of this section of the wall is a man, described as *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant', who raises an empty hand and is said to be *wdn [ḥ]t* 'gesturing of offering'. The remainder of this part of the wall is occupied by five registers, four devoted to offerings of food and drink, mainly loaves of bread, fruit and vegetables, cuts of meat, a goose and many jars of different shapes. The bottom register depicts three groups of butchers engaged in severing the forelegs of bound animals.

The west side of the wall is divided into four registers. The bottom register is occupied by seated musicians. To the right are two men playing wind instruments, one instrument being longer than the other. Between them is a man with his hand perhaps placed on his ear, although this is not visible now presumably because of the similarity of the colour of the hand and the body. The caption above them reads: *zb3 m mst* 'playing on the oboe'. In the middle of the register is a man playing the harp, with the label: *bnt* 'harp'. Facing him is a singer with his hand on his ear, and the designation *ḥst* 'singing'. To the left is a group of two men, also a singer and a harp player and with similar captions to those in the centre of the

¹³⁹ Junker (ibid, 91) reads it as *wd.t jḥ.t* 'bringing down the offerings', but *wdn ḥt* is more likely and is rather common, even if the *ε* is missing in this case. *wdn ḥt* is usually taken to mean offerings, or dedicating offerings (e.g. Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 174; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, 5). As the priest does not carry anything in his hand, this is likely to be simply a gesture that accompanies the recitation by mouth (see also Lloyd et al., *Saqqâra Tombs 2*, 38 n.3).

¹⁴⁰ See Junker, *Giza 4*, 91, pl. 16.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

register. The sound boxes of the two harps are of different shapes and sizes,¹⁴² although this might be the result of viewing them from different angles.¹⁴³

The second register is reserved for dancing. As in the case on the west wall of the chapel corridor, three girls in long dresses are clapping to produce the rhythm, and four girls are dancing, three of whom wear short skirts and perform the same slow movement depicted in the chapel. One dancer performs a more agile step and appears to be an adolescent, shown naked, but with formed breasts, and the side lock of hair.¹⁴⁴ The caption above reads: *hst n jbs j[n] hnr* 'rhythmic clapping for the dancing by the troupe'.¹⁴⁵ To the left of the dancers is a tall sack, presumably containing some necessary clothes.

The third register from the bottom contains seven jars, most probably representing the seven traditional oils even though no names of oils were written. To the right are two superimposed chests, but probably they are meant to be next to each other. They are made of wood with the woodgrain clearly painted. No inscriptions identify the contents of these chests, but they are usually used for the storage of linen, clothes and other 'secret' objects.¹⁴⁶ The top register shows some furniture. To the right is a servant making a bed with bull's legs, under which is a headrest. Next to the bed is a chair with high back and sides, followed by a tall sack to hold linen. To the left is another type of bed, shorter and slanting, perhaps for resting and not sleeping. Above this are a headrest and a fly whisk.

In the corner between the south and west walls, above a shelf left in the rock of this area are three registers. In the lower register are a folded mat and two jars, one of which is placed in a basket. The shape of the jar stoppers, presumably made of a bunch of vegetable stems, is usually associated with milk containers.¹⁴⁷ The upper two registers depict bread making. The middle register shows an elderly, balding man mixing the dough, which is formed into round bread loaves by the young man in the top register.

WEST WALL

Pls. 2a-b, 13b, 14, 15a, 36

The southern part of the wall is decorated only on its upper section, above a ledge left in the rock at the level of the sarcophagus lid. Two registers are painted, the lower register being reserved for agricultural activities and the upper one for animal husbandry. To the right of the lower register, a farmhand, under the supervision of presumably an overseer and a scribe, is measuring the grain which is flowing from the base of a silo. The structure is painted black, suggesting that it was, as usual, built of mud. But the shape of this structure and the green ornamentation of its top corners resemble the heaps of grain or sheaves commonly depicted in harvest

¹⁴² See Hickmann, *Instruments de musique*, pls. 103ff.

¹⁴³ Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 365.

¹⁴⁴ For a similar representation see the tomb of *K3-dw3* (Hassan, *Giza* 6:3, fig. 83).

¹⁴⁵ For the term *hnr* see Nord, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt*, 137ff.

¹⁴⁶ See for example the chests in the burial chamber of *snh-m-ε-Hr* (Kanawati - Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, 61, pl. 27).

¹⁴⁷ The same type of stoppers is still used by Egyptian farmers today.

scenes.¹⁴⁸ Silos, on the other hand, have a different shape, with straight vertical sides and rounded tops. The two types of structures appear frequently together in the same tomb.¹⁴⁹ In the middle of the register is a ploughing scene. A team of two long-horned bulls are pulling the plough, with one farmhand directing the plough and pushing it into the ground and another, behind him, raising his stick to discipline the animals and encourage them to proceed. To the left of the register are three men engaged in harvesting activities. The first two are bending forward, each holding a sheaf of stems in one hand and a sickle in the other. While these were certainly reaping a field of grain, the man behind them does not hold a sickle and is shown pulling some stems. Although depicted in close proximity to the others, he appears to be harvesting flax.

The top register depicts the care of animals. From right is an ox resting on the ground and labelled *ngꜣw* 'long-horned bull'. This is followed by a cow and a bull sniffing her from behind. In the centre of the register is a cow with her back legs tied together and a farmhand milking her and collecting the milk in a container. The presence of a calf near the mother no doubt helps the milking process. Above the cow is written *s... ḥmt*, and Junker suggests that *s* is for *sꜣr*, thus translating the inscription as 'milking the cow'.¹⁵⁰ Beside them and facing the opposite direction is a cow giving birth to a calf, helped by a farmhand. The cow is shown in pain, with her tail raised, back curved and the tongue protruding. A herdsman stands in front of her, leaning on his staff and gently comforting the animal. The inscription above reads: *mst ḥmt* 'delivering the cow'. To the left is a cow and her calf. The cow is shown with a deformed horn, and is labelled *ḥmt* 'cow'. Deformed horns, although uncommon, are a natural phenomenon which manifests itself in different forms. Three levels of deformity may be distinguished in Egyptian scenes: a) one of the horns grows in a rather horizontal level while the second grows upwards as usual,¹⁵¹ b) the deformed horn bends downward with its end remaining at a distance from the animal's head, as in the present example¹⁵² and c) the deformed horn curves downward and inward with its tip touching the animal's head.¹⁵³ In extreme cases the growth of the horn can result in piercing the animal's skull and causing its death.

The right section of the wall, which can be fully seen from the entrance of the chamber with no part hidden behind the sarcophagus, is decorated from ceiling to near floor level, with a narrow black dado covering the bottom part below the scenes. This section of the wall is largely occupied by granaries and storerooms. However in its top left corner is depicted a miniature scene of *zšš wꜣd* 'Pulling the papyrus', representing a pleasure trip which may well have some religious connection as a rite dedicated to Hathor.¹⁵⁴ *Kꜣ(.j)-m-ꜣnh* is shown in a papyrus

¹⁴⁸ See for example Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-Ptah*, pl. D; idem, *Kayemnofret*, pl. F; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pls. 24, 25.

¹⁴⁹ Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, pl. F; Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 43.

¹⁵⁰ *Gîza* 4, 81.

¹⁵¹ For example, Épron - Wild, *Ti*, pls. 167-68; Roth, *Palace Attendants*, pl. 155.

¹⁵² See Moussa - Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, fig. 17; the tomb of *Jnw-Mnw* (recently discovered by the Australian Centre for Egyptology in the Teti cemetery at Saqqara).

¹⁵³ Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 22; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 70; Hassan, *Gîza* 6:3, fig. 38; Davies, *Ptahhetep* 1, pls. 3, 21; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 20.

¹⁵⁴ Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 738ff.; Harpur, *GM* 38 [1980], 53ff.

boat against a complete background of papyrus stems and umbels, which are exactly twice his own height. With one hand the tomb owner is pulling one stem with its umbel, while in the other hand he holds horizontally two plants already pulled out. The boat is manoeuvred through the thicket by a smaller figure using a long pole.

In addition to three butterflies hovering above the plants, birds are represented. Four birds in the top row may be identified as follows:¹⁵⁵ (from right) a Sacred Ibis (*Threskiornis aethiopicus*), a Kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis*), possibly a Pied Kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis*) and probably an Egyptian Goose (*Alopochen aegyptiacus*). Two birds are flying below the abovementioned row, (right) a Sandpiper (*Tringa sp.*) and perhaps a Kingfisher or a Sandpiper. Resting on the papyrus umbels are six birds, as follows: (from right) a Pied Kingfisher, a Glossy Ibis (*Plegadis falcinellus*), a Bittern (*Botaurus stellaris*), an Egret (*Egretta*), probably a Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax sp.*) and a Sacred Ibis.

The remaining part of the wall is occupied by three registers representing storage rooms of different types.¹⁵⁶ All the buildings are painted black, indicating that they were mud brick constructions, with red wooden doors. The top register contains three rooms, the first to the right mostly filled with clothing materials. Four types of materials are listed, each represented by three lines, the first giving the name/type of the material, the second its dimensions and the third its quantity:¹⁵⁷

- 1) *jd mj* 'red linen': (from right) 100 (presumably cubits) x *ḥ3* 'one thousand pieces'; 90 (rather than 9) x 1000; 80 x 1000; 70 x 1000; 60 x 1000; 50 x 1000; 40¹⁵⁸ x 1000; 30 x 1000.
 - 2) *sšr* 'royal linen': the same dimensions and quantities as above.
 - 3) *šm^c nfr* 'good Upper Egyptian cloth': the same dimensions and quantities as above.
 - 4) *ḥ3* 'fine cloth': the same dimensions and quantities as above.
- The last two lines give the name of *ḥd* 'oil',¹⁵⁹ and the quantity 23,600 *ḏwjt* 'jug'.

The second room in the top register contains oils, furniture, objects and tools. Each item is written in a compartment with another compartment below it giving the quantities as follows:

- 1) *snṯr* 'incense', 3,000; *stj-ḥb* '*stj-ḥb*-oil', 5,000; *ḥknw* '*ḥnkw*-oil', 2,000; *nḥnm* '*nḥnm*-oil', 1,000.
- 2) *tw3wt* '*tw3wt*-oil', 3,000; *ḥstt* ḥ3 'best cedar oil', 5,000; *ḥstt ḥnww* 'best Libyan oil', 90,000; *sft* '*sft*-oil', 1,000.
- 3) *ḥtt* 'bed', 2,000; *st ḥmsj* 'sitting chair', 3,000; *gs3t* 'slanting bed', 2,000; *ḥ3-ḥt* 'wooden chest', 30,000; *ḏsr* 'box', 20,000; *wrs* 'headrest', 1,000.
- 4) *hn* 'chest', 2,000,000; *ḥrjt-ḥ* 'writing box', 2,090; *tm3* 'case', 3,090; *mḥtm* 'chest', 3,000; *šnm* 'a piece of furniture?'.
These are followed by one line that reads: *šwtj n jḥj nmst* 'a washing basin and *nmst* jug', 2,000.

¹⁵⁵ For the identification of birds see Houlihan, *Birds*, passim; idem, *GM* 155 [1996], 19ff.

¹⁵⁶ For details see Junker, *Giza* 4, 67ff.

¹⁵⁷ For similar examples see Klebs, *Reliefs*, fig. 5; Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 187-89.

¹⁵⁸ Notice the writing of 40 and 30 as  and .

¹⁵⁹ Junker, *Giza* 4, 69-70.

To the right of the door is a list of tools as follows:

- 1) *ʕnt* 'adze', 1,000; *mnḥ* 'chisel', 1,000; *dʒmt* 'chisel', 1,000; *tfʒ* 'saw', 1,000.
 - 2) *mjbt* 'axe', 1,000; *zʒt* 'chisel', 1,000; *gʒwʒ* 'chisel', 1,000; *bḏt* 'a tool ?', 1,000; *ʒr* 'a mineral ?', 1,000.
- n šḥḏ pr-ḥḏ Kʒ(j)-m-ʕnḥ* 'for the superintendent of the treasury, Kaiemankh'.

The third room contains objects related to shipping. The first line reads: *whrt ḥr ḥʕww* 'the wharf and the ships'. The following lines give the type of ships and their numbers as follows:

- 1) *skt* 'skt-ship', 1,000; *bz* 'bz-ship', 2,000; *šʒt* 'flat-boat', 2,000; *ḥmntj* 'eight-ribbed-boat', 2,000,000; *mḏtj* 'ten-ribbed-boat', 2,030,000.
- 2) *wʒr* 'oar', 1,031,000; *ḥmw* 'steering oars', 6,200; *smʕ* 'pole', 1,030,400; *ḥrp* 'hull ?', 2,000; *mḏʒbt* 'boat bailer', 2,000,000.

The final line reads: *wʒs* 'rope', 1,000,400.

To the right of the door are sketchy representations of three craftsmen working with wood and labelled *ḥmwʒ nt Kʒ(j)-m-ʕnḥ* 'craftsmen of Kaiemankh'.

No inscriptions accompany the four storerooms in the middle register, and only a few signs remain on three of the ten storeooms in the bottom register. The first to the right contains *wʕḥ* 'carob beans', the second *[dʒ][b]* 'figs' and the third *[nbs]* 'fruit'.¹⁶⁰

NORTH WALL

Pls. 2c, 15b, 16, 37a

This wall has drastically deteriorated since it was recorded by Junker, with the scenes and inscriptions in the centre of the wall being the worst affected. A photograph of the wall in its original condition is included, and the description offered below is based on it¹⁶¹ as well as on our recent facsimile drawing of the surviving parts.

Three sailing travelling boats and two cargo boats are depicted in the top register which is almost the same height as the lower registers put together.¹⁶² All the boats are made of wood, although the third from the front is papyriform with its prow and stern shaped as papyrus bundles. The boats are of the type with a flat bottom, a tall bi-pod mast, and a trapezoidal sail stretching from the upper yard at the top of the mast to the lower yard on the deck. The sail is manoeuvred by a crewman in the stern holding the two braces attached to the ends of the upper yard. Each of the first two boats has a cabin enclosed by plaited matting and a sheltered area formed of a roof supported by posts. The third boat has only a shelter but no cabin. The tomb owner is represented in each of the three travelling boats, standing and leaning on his staff in the first two and seated with the staff in his hand in the third. The crew of each boat is formed of: a) two men in the prow, a lookout and a pilot holding a pole to sound the depth of the river; b) two or three men shown behind

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 67.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, pls. 3-7.

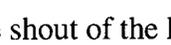
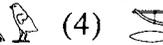
¹⁶² For a study of these boats and reading of the accompanying inscriptions see *ibid*, 51ff. See also Landström, *Ships*, figs. 119-21; Vandier, *Manuel* 5, 796ff.; Montet, *Vie privée*, 346ff.; McFarlane, *Unis Cemetery* 1, 48ff.

the sail and probably responsible for adjusting the lower yard; c) eight rowers (or pairs of rowers) in the first boat, seven in the second and none in the third; all are at rest since the wind was sufficient to fill the sail; d) two helmsmen in the stern, each holding a long steering oar; e) a man behind the helmsmen manoeuvring the sail; f) a man seated on top of the cabin of the second boat who seems to be giving instructions or, because of his height, acting as a lookout. A scribe stands in front of the seated tomb owner in the third boat, presenting him with rolled documents.

As this scene is painted on the north wall, it was not possible to depict the boats actually facing north and south, as is the case with similar scenes represented for example on the east and west walls.¹⁶³ However, the sailing boats are probably travelling south using the north wind, while the two cargo boats, facing in the opposite direction and with their masts resting on two posts, head north with the current. Each of these boats is manned by four, or six, individuals: a) a pilot in the prow; b) two rowers (or pairs of rowers); c) a helmsman in the stern. On top of the cabin of each boat is shown a man tending an ox. No other cargo is depicted.

The cargo boats are accompanied on land by two men leading on ropes two oxen of the same hornless and black-spotted type shown in the boats. The men and animals are shown in motion, and it is interesting that the sub-register representing the land on which they travel visibly slopes from right to left. As the artist had drawn all other straight, horizontal lines very accurately, it seems unlikely that the slope in this rather short line was by mistake. Perhaps this was to physically show the travelling from Upper to Lower Egypt, in the same way as the boats beneath are using the water current caused by the same phenomenon.

A single vertical line of inscription above the lookout in the first sailing boat reads:¹⁶⁴  *rjs r hr mr jmnt mj-nw 3 tp nfr pw* 'Watch the steering rope; the canal of the west; thus all goes well'. This appears as a shout by the lookout to the last man in the stern, who is handling the sail by the two ropes attached to the upper yard. The inscription above the tomb owner's figure amidship identifies him as  *shd jrj(w)-jht hm-k3 K3(.j)-m-nh* 'the superintendent of custodians of property, the ka-servant, Kaiemankh'. On a sub-register high above the stern of the boat is a man leading a spotted calf by a rope tied to its foreleg.

The shout of the lookout of the second boat reads: (1)  (2)  (3)  (4) 
 (1) *rjs r hr sbstj-mw* (2) *m3c r.k j(w).k m nj-hnw* (3) *tsw mrj pw jw.f h3 whmw* (4) *mr jmnt wrt jrj hr jmj-wrt wst nfrt* '(1) Watch the steering rope, Oh, master of the water, (2) adjust, you belong to the stream, (3) it is the desired wind, it is behind the captain, (4) the great canal of the west, turn to the west, the beautiful way'. The inscription above the tomb owner is identical to that in the first boat. The inscription above the stern of the second boat reads:

(1)  (2)  (3)  (4) 

¹⁶³ For example, Épron - Wild, *Ti* 1, pls. 47-49; Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, 138-43; Kanawati - Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pl. 56; McFarlane, *Unis Cemetery* 1, pl. 48.

¹⁶⁴ The inscriptions given here are based on Junker's copy (*Giza* 4, 57-63, pls. 3-7).

on the grindstone. To the left, facing the opposite direction, a similarly dressed kneeling woman is baking bread in bread moulds and protecting her face from the heat with her hand.

SARCOPHAGUS

Pls. 17, 37b

The only inscription on the sarcophagus is on the exterior east side of the chest. One line of hieroglyphs written in black paint reads: *htp dj [nswt] htp Jnpw hntj zh-ntr qrs.tj.f m jz.f m jmshw nb jmsh hr ntr s3 m jmshw ...t hp.f hr wswt nfr(w)t rh nswt K3(j)-m-^cnh* 'An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis, foremost of the divine booth (gives), that he be buried in his tomb as an honoured one, possessor of veneration before the great god, as an honoured one ..., that he may travel upon the beautiful roads, the acquaintance of the king, Kaiemankh'.

VI COLOUR CONVENTIONS

No colour is preserved on the relief of the façades or entrance decoration and very little remains on the relief of the chapel walls which were coated with a hard and coarse gypsum plaster and painted. All walls of the rock-cut burial chamber are plastered and decorated in paint.¹⁶⁸

CHAPEL

Banded frieze: Square blocks of green and red edged in green

Vertical dividers: Green (N)

Male flesh: Red, mostly pale and faded

Hair: Black, over pale red or yellow wash

Kilt: White with red outline

Alcove, west wall

False door: Red on drum, central niche and sides of jambs

Alcove, north wall

Water: Blue

Papyrus: Green traces on stems, red umbel, green flower

Papyrus boat: Green traces, deck outline red

Water weeds (*Potamogeton lucens*): Red stems, green leaves

Contents, basket in boat: Dark red fruit?; dark red stems (flower?); green vegetable?

Spear: Red

Hippopotamus: Red

Cattle: Red trace on ear

¹⁶⁸ Burial chambers decorated with scenes of daily life are not common; see above under III for examples and discussion.

Birds: Little colour preserved other than red on legs and beaks; one head retains traces of blue

Chest: Orange-red

Container on rope: Dark red

Corridor

Furniture: Traces of pale yellow on bed, headrest and carrying chair

Harp: Traces of yellow

BURIAL CHAMBER

The walls are all coated with gypsum plaster and decorated, the polychrome scenes painted on a dark grey ground. There are indications that the floor was covered with white gypsum. The ceiling is not painted in black and red to resemble granite as is often the case, but has some red lines, about .02m. wide and quite long but randomly spaced, and a few in black.

The painted wall decoration has suffered greatly since the tomb's discovery by Junker. Most scenes are badly faded and some have almost disappeared. In many instances the lines of the original draft in red can be seen beneath the final outline in black or red. The original red outlines of the papyrus marsh were completely overlaid with green and then the figures as well as the scene painted on top of the green ground. Above the marsh scene, a pinky colour on bodies and wings of the birds can be discerned under the grey ground on which the final paint was applied. The original red draft of the animal husbandry scene shows corrections in yellow. Three of the musicians on the south wall are roughly drafted with no details. Many scenes show evidence of corrections and adjustments.

Background: Dark blue-grey

Dado: Black

Register lines: Black

Offering lists: Compartment divisions black

Male flesh: Red, usually faded; orange-red (E wall south, S wall - bedmaking scene and ka-priest)

Female flesh: Yellow

Hair, eye, brow: Black

Kilts: White, red outline

Dresses: White, red outline; two painted same yellow as female flesh (S wall)

East wall north

Baskets: Yellow with red detail and outline

T-loaves: Red with black tops

Round loaves: Yellow with black detail, red outline

Jars: Red

Ropes: Black

Calves, from top:

- 1) White with black spots, eye and ear details; underbelly pale red; red outline
- 2) Red; black eye
- 3) White with black ear detail; pale red belly and tail; red outline; black hooves
- 4) Black, red outline; yellow hooves and back cover
- 5) Pale red; eye black; pale yellow back cover

East wall south

Tray: Red
 Loaf: Yellow
 Bird: Blue traces on wings; red outline
 Ewer and basin: Yellow, red outline
 Jars on rope: Black
 Jar carried: Red
 Cloths carried: White, red outline
 Cups held: White, red outline (bottom left); blue (register 2 right)
 Pouring jar and basin: Yellow, red outline
 Stands for tall jars: Red

South wall

Piled offerings

Tall containers: Red traces
 T-loaves: Yellow, red outline (Reg. 2, 3); yellow with orange-red tops, red outline (Reg. 4)
 Rectangular loaf: White with red detail and outline (Reg. 2)
 Tall conical loaves: White with orange-yellow tops, red outline
 Horizontal conical loaves: Yellow with white triangle, red outline (Reg. 3, 4)
 Six-sided loaves: White, yellow top and bottom with red line detail, red outlines
 Stone containers: Blue traces on body, yellow top, red outline (Reg. 2); white body with blue and black detail, black outline; top yellow, red outline (Reg. 3); red jar stands
 Meat: Red; white bone
 Woven stands: White; red line detail
 Fowl: Yellow, red outline (Reg. 2); yellow body, red outline; head with black detail and outline (Reg. 4)
 Tall trays and stands: Red
 Small containers: Red (Reg. 2, 3)
 Vegetable?: Yellow, red outline
 Pomegranates: Yellow, red outline
 Onions: Bulbs red outline; stems black outline (Reg. 2)
 Tall jars : Red body, black top; red stands (Reg. 3)
 Spouted jar: Red top; red stand (Reg. 3)
 Tall stone jars and stands: White, black detail and outline (Reg. 3)
 Folded cloth in hand: White, red outline

Butchery

Knives: Black
 Animals: Red blotches on bellies, red outline; black horns

Furnishings

Flail: Arm yellow, red outline; flail pale blue with red top and outline
 Bed: Yellow, black outline over red; white leg base, red outline, yellow mattress, red outline (left); yellow with black detail, black outline over red; white leg base, red outline, white mattress, red outline (right)
 Headrest: Yellow, red outline (left); yellow with black detail and black outline over red (right)
 Tall sack for linen: Lower part traces red, upper part pale red between two blue bands; yellow top
 Chair: Yellow, red outline overpainted black in some parts

Footstool: Orange-red, black outline on top

Oil jars: White with green detail and red wavy lines; black tops with spot of blue on two

Chests: Yellow with black wood grain detail and outline, on pale red base (upper); white legs, red outline (lower)

Dancing and Music

Tall sack for linen: Pale red with white top, red outline

Breast and pubic hair details: Red

Harps: Yellow body with black details; frets alternately yellow and black; red strings

Flute: Red

West wall

Circular loaves: Yellow, red outline

Jar and bowl: Red

Tall jar: Red; red rope

Mat?: Yellow, red outline

Basket: Yellow, red outline; bound in black rope; contents pale red with red outline and rope

Animal husbandry

Herdsman's kilt: White with yellow details and outline

Cattle (from left):

- 1) White with black eye, ear and spots on back, red outline
- 2) White with red markings and spots, legs, tail and outline; black eye details; yellow horns, red outline
- 3) White with black markings and spots, eye, tail; yellow on underbelly and upper legs; yellow horns and hooves; black outline. Calf being delivered dark yellow draft
- 4) White with black spots, eye; yellow horns; outlines all red; black leg ropes
- 5) White with black spots and tail; outlines black except for head and ear in red
- 6) All red, including tails and hooves; yellow horns, black outline
- 7) All black, including horns and hooves. Dark yellow draft visible under black
- 8) White with black spots, eye, tail; yellow horns and hooves; all outlines red

Agriculture

Grain: Yellow with faint red detail and outline

Sickles: Red

Plough: Red

Oxen:

- 1) All black, red draft visible
- 2) White with black spots, eye, horns, both black and red outlines visible

Papyrus scroll: White with red outline

Grain and grain measure: Yellow with red outline

Granary: Black (red draft visible); green top, red outline

Zšš wꜣd

Papyrus: Green stems, red umbels, yellow flowers, all black outline

Papyrus boat: Yellow with black detail and outline

Birds:

- 1) White head and breast; black wing, tail, beak and legs

- 2) White with orange-red on breast; black feather details, beak, legs and outline
- 3) Yellow; orange-red legs; black beak, eye and outline
- 4) White with black feather details; orange-red legs and beak; black outline
- 5) White with black outline; orange-red legs
- 6) All black
- 7) Only pinky-red draft shows under grey ground, black outline
- 8) Green traces on wings, orange-red traces on body; black feather details, eye and legs; orange-red beak; black outline
- 9) Yellow body; white wings; black beak, legs, outline
- 10) Orange-red breast; green wings; black wing and tail feathers, beak, legs and outline
- 11) Yellow with black tail feathers and outline; orange-red eye with black detail; orange-red beak and legs
- 12) Pinky-red draft shows on body and wing under grey ground; black tail and feather detail, beak, legs and outline

Butterflies: Fine black outline over red draft, no colour

Granaries

Reg. 1: Dark red door frames and details

Reg. 2: Black with dark red door frame and details; doors between white with orange-red outline

Reg. 3: Black with dark red door frame, tops and outline.

North wall

Cooking

Knife: Black

Low tables: Red

Open-mouth pots: Dark red

Loaves: Dark red

Tall jars: Dark red body, black top

Cattle:

1) White with black spots and eye, red outline

2) White with red spots, tail; black eye, outline

Muzzle and ropes: Black

Shipping (from left)

Water: Blue

Cargo ships: Red hull, oars and mast supports; black mast; yellow cabins with red detail and outline

Cattle on boats: Traces of black

Sailing boats: Yellow hull with red outline; yellow top yard and boom, red detail and outline; red oars; black mast, stays and steering ropes; white sail, red outline

Birds:

1) Pale yellow body with red outline, red beak and legs (upper left)

2) Yellow body with red outline, red beak and legs, black tail details and outline (lower left)

3) Little colour on six large birds: dark red tail feathers; red beak, eye and legs

Rectangular loaf: White with yellow detail, red outline

Six-sided loaves: White; yellow top and bottom with red details; red outlines

Jars: Traces of red on body, black top

Hieroglyphs

The signs given below follow Gardiner's sign list, with a few from *Hieroglyphica* designated in bold type and one unclassified.

*CHAPEL***Red**

D21  D58  W12  unclassified 

Blue

N37  O1  Q1  S34  U30 
 U36  X1 

Green

M23  U1  V30  X1  Aa1 

BURIAL CHAMBER

Traces of polychrome inscriptions are limited to the the scenes north of the entrance on the east wall, the horizontal inscriptions above the offering list on the south end of the east wall and above the piled offerings on the east end of the south wall, in the scene of music and dancing on the south wall and the names of birds on the north wall. A red line is visible across all *n* signs. The signs and compartments of the offering list on the east wall are black on a white ground; inscriptions accompanying the figures beside and below the offering list are all drafted in red, some overpainted in black. Groups of signs in the scene of animal husbandry at the south end of the west wall are drafted only, in either black or dark yellow. All signs and compartment divisions of the contents of the storage rooms on the west wall are in black paint, while the inscriptions below them are in red. The vertical inscriptions in the shipping scene on the north wall are all drafted in black paint, with a few roughly sketched internal details. Both the name of *K3(.j)-m-ṣnh* added to the inscriptions accompanying the birds in the register below and two inscriptions visible in the cooking scene at the west end of the north wall are also roughly drafted in black.

Polychrome

D2  Yellow face with red detail and outline; black hair, eyes, neck
 D31  Red arms; black club
 D45  Red arms; yellow sceptre, red outline

- G17  1) Yellow with red details and outline (E wall)
 2) White breast with black detail; yellow wing, tail, and leg feathers with black detail; forehead yellow with red feather detail; black eye and beak outline; red legs; all outlines red (S wall)
- I9  Yellow body, black ears, red outline
- R4  White mat, black details and outline; white top, red outline
- T3  White with red detail and outline
- W22  Red base, black top
- W25  Red legs; white pot, red outline;
- X4A  Yellow with black details, red outline
- X8  White with blue triangle, black outline

Red

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|-----|---|-----|---|------|---|
| D21 |  | D28 |  | D45 |  | D46 |  | D50 |  |
| D58 |  | O34 |  | S29 |  | W12 |  | Aa27 |  |

Yellow

- D207  V28 

Blue

- N17  S34 

Black

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|------|---|-----|---|----|---|-----|---|
| E15 |  | N35 |  | N36 |  | O1 |  | U31 |  |
| X1 |  | Aa11 |  | | | | | | |

THE TOMB OF SESHEMNEFER (I) G 4940

I THE TOMB OWNER, HIS FAMILY AND DEPENDENTS

Tomb Owner

NAME

*Sšm-nfr*¹⁶⁹ 'Seshemnefer'. The tomb owner is referred to as *Sšm-nfr* I being the first of members of the same family bearing this name.¹⁷⁰ While such an identification is possible, the designation of 'I' is only tentative pending the recording and analysis of the data from the tombs of the other members of the family.

TITLES

- 1- *jmj-r zš(w) hr(jwt)-^c nswt* 'overseer of scribes of the portfolios of the king'.¹⁷¹
- 2- *jmj-r stj đfšw* 'overseer of the two places of provisions'.¹⁷²
- 3- *jmj-r kst nswt* 'overseer of works of the king'.¹⁷³
- 4- *wr mdw Šm^cw* 'greatest of the tens of Upper Egypt'.¹⁷⁴
- 5- *rh nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.¹⁷⁵
- 6- *hm-ntr Jnpw ...* 'priest of Anubis ...'.
- 7- *hm-ntr Hr qm^c* 'priest of Horus strong of arm'.¹⁷⁶
- 8- *hm-ntr Hqt* 'priest of Heket'.
- 9- *hrj-wdb m hwt-^cnh* 'chief of distribution in the mansion of life'.¹⁷⁷
- 10- *hrj-sšt³* 'privy to the secrets'.
- 11- *hrp ^ch* 'director of the palace'.¹⁷⁸
- 12- *ht H³* 'attendant of Ha'.¹⁷⁹
- 13- *hrj-tp nswt (-hwt-Hr-hpr)* 'royal chamberlain (of the mansion of Djedefre).¹⁸⁰

¹⁶⁹ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 320:17.

¹⁷⁰ See Junker, *Giza* 3, 9ff.

¹⁷¹ Fischer, *Varia*, 32, 120, fig. 8. For the importance of the title see Strudwick, *Administration*, 230.

¹⁷² Fischer, *Varia*, 32, 120, fig. 8.

¹⁷³ For a study of the office see Strudwick, *Administration*, 217ff.

¹⁷⁴ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 218.

¹⁷⁵ Brunner, *SAK* 1 [1974], 58ff.

¹⁷⁶ Simpson, *Kawab*, 12.

¹⁷⁷ For this office see Junker, *Giza* 2, 65; vol. 11, 83; Gardiner, *JEA* 23 [1937], 83ff.; Simpson, *Kawab*, 13.

¹⁷⁸ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 32, 85; Fischer, *JARCE* 1 [1962], 12-13.

¹⁷⁹ Junker, *Giza* 3, 9.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

- 14- *z3b ʿd-mr* 'judge and administrator'.
 15- *smr* 'companion'.

Wife of Seshemnefer

NAME

*Jmn-df3.s*¹⁸¹ 'Imendjefaes'.

She is represented with her husband once on the north wall and twice on the west wall. In one instance on the latter wall she is described as *hmt.f* 'his wife'.

TITLE

rh(t) nswt 'acquaintance of the king'.

Daughters of Seshemnefer

NAMES

- 1- *Wrt-k3*¹⁸² 'Weretka'.
- 2- *Nfr-Hwt-hr*¹⁸³ 'Neferhathor'.
- 3- *Nfrt-h3-Hwfw*¹⁸⁴ 'Neferthakhufu'.
- 4- *Sbk-rmt.s*¹⁸⁵ 'Sobekremetes'.

All four girls stand in front of *Sšm-nfr* and his wife on the west wall, described as *msw.f* 'his children'. A daughter standing behind the mother and clasping to her leg is also named *Nfr-Hwt-hr* 'Neferhathor'. It is uncertain, however, whether she is the same as No. 2 above. The inscription above her name is partly damaged, and the ...s may refer to [*z3t*].s 'her daughter'.

Sons of Seshemnefer

- 1- *3b*¹⁸⁶ 'Ab'.
- 2- *Pḥn-Pth*¹⁸⁷ 'Pehenptah'.
- 3- *Rʿ-wr*¹⁸⁸ 'Rewer'.
- 4- *Hwfw-ʿnh(w)*¹⁸⁹ 'Khufuankhu'.
- 5- *Sšm-nfr-šrj*¹⁹⁰ 'Seshemnefer the younger'.

181 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 150:27.

182 Ibid, 82:19.

183 Ibid, 198:22.

184 Ibid, 268:7.

185 Ibid, 304:21.

186 Ibid, 1:15.

187 Ibid, 136:1.

188 Ibid, 217:12.

189 Ibid, 268:5.

190 Ibid, 320:18.

Nos. 1, 2 and 5 are depicted facing their parents on the west wall and are designated *msw.f n(w) ht.f* 'his children of his body'. No. 3 is represented holding to his father's staff on the same wall, described as *z3.f n ht.f R-wr* 'his son of his body, Rewer', while No. 4 appears on the north wall, also holding to his father's staff and designated *z3.f n ht.f Hwfw-ḥ(w)* 'his son of his body, Khufuankhu'.

Dependents of Seshemnefer

- 1- *Jj-nfrt*¹⁹¹ 'Iynerfert'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. East wall and probably the north thickness of southern false door recess.
- 2- *Jw.f*¹⁹² 'Iuef'. Right jamb of southern false door.
- 3- *Jff*¹⁹³ 'Ifi'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. East wall.
- 4- *Jmw*¹⁹⁴ 'Imu'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. East and north walls.
- 5- *Jzj*¹⁹⁵ 'Isi'. East wall.
- 6- *Jzw*¹⁹⁶ 'Isu'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. East wall.
- 7- *Jšj*¹⁹⁷ 'Ishi'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. East wall and right jamb of southern false door.
- 8- *Wnj*¹⁹⁸ 'Weni'. East wall.
- 9- *Wnn-nfr(w)*¹⁹⁹ 'Wenenneferu'. East wall.
- 10- *Wnn-nfr(w)* 'Wenenneferu'. East wall. Behind the last and therefore a different individual despite the identical name.
- 11- *Bw-nfr*²⁰⁰ 'Bunefert'. *jmj-r pr* 'overseer of the house'. East wall.
- 12- *Pr(.j)-nb*²⁰¹ 'Perineb'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. East and south walls.
- 13- *Pth-wr*²⁰² 'Ptahwer'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. South thickness of southern false door.
- 14- *Mdwjj*²⁰³ 'Medwy'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. West wall.
- 15- *Nb-jb*²⁰⁴ 'Nebib'. *shd* 'superintendent'. The title is most probably related to supervision of a ship.²⁰⁵ East wall.
- 16- *Nb(.j)-njj*²⁰⁶ 'Nebiny'. *hrp* 'captain'.²⁰⁷ East wall.
- 17- *R-ḥtp(w)*²⁰⁸ 'Rehetepu'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. Left jamb of southern false door.

191 Ibid, 10:7.

192 Ibid, 14:26.

193 Ibid, 24:22.

194 Ibid, 26:4.

195 Ibid, 45:15.

196 Ibid, 45:19.

197 Ibid, 47:3.

198 Ibid, 79:9.

199 Ibid, 79:19.

200 Ibid, 94:6.

201 Ibid, 133:26.

202 Ibid, 139:6.

203 This is the only example listed in *ibid*, 167:32, but wrongly given as *Mddwjj* after Lepsius, *Denkmäler II*, 27.

204 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 183:9.

205 For other examples see Junker, *Giza* 5, 186; vol. 6, 240, although the ship determinative is missing in our case.

206 The name is unattested elsewhere.

207 Junker, *Giza* 3, 176, 226; vol. 4, 62ff.

208 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 219:15.

- 18- *Rsj*²⁰⁹ 'Resi'. East wall.
 19- *Hntj*-... 'Khenti...'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North thickness of southern false door recess.
 20- *Ttj*²¹⁰ 'Teti'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. East wall.
 21- Name lost. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. South thickness of southern false door.

II DATING OF SESTEMNEFER

This converted core in the westernmost row of the cemetery en échelon has an L-shaped chapel with two false doors. Reisner places it with a group which he dates from Menkaure to Neferirkare. But he dates *Sšm-nfr* II (G5080), by a sealing of Shepseskaf found in the tomb, to the reign of this king.²¹¹ Junker, who studied the *Sšm-nfr* family, prefers a date early in Dynasty 5 for *Sšm-nfr* I (G4940),²¹² and most scholars agree with the latter date.²¹³

The only royal names mentioned in the chapel are those of Khufu and Djedefre, yet the decoration of the chapel hints at a later date. While the chairs with bull's legs and cushions with no back, and the pedestals under the legs are all characteristics of roughly the period from the middle of Dynasty 4 to the middle of Dynasty 5,²¹⁴ the chair with back and cushion, on which the wife sits in the scene above the northern false door, was rare before the reign of Isesi and common afterwards.²¹⁵ This type of chair appears, however, once in the tomb, while the earlier type with cushion but no back is attested three times in the surviving decoration. The form and height of the loaves of bread on the offering table above the northern false door are found in Dynasty 5 tombs, and rarely in earlier or later ones.²¹⁶ Strudwick divides the Giza chapels with two false doors in the west wall into three stages according to the position of the tomb owner's figure between the two false doors. In the first stage he appears standing and facing left, in the second, as in the case of *Sšm-nfr*, he stands facing right and in the third he sits facing right. According to this development he dates our tomb owner to the early Fifth Dynasty.²¹⁷

Sšm-nfr depicts one funerary estate named after himself, *grgt Sšm-nfr*, and immediately behind it one named after *Jj-mrjj*, *Jnt Jj-mrjj*. The identification of *Jj-mrjj* is of particular importance for the dating of *Sšm-nfr*. Funerary estates formed with the name of *Jj-mrjj* are found in the chapels of *Wnšt* (G4840), a Fourth Dynasty princess whose tomb is next to that of *Sšm-nfr* and whose son is called

209 Ibid, 226:29.

210 Ibid, 384:4.

211 *Giza Necropolis*, 214-15.

212 *Giza* 3, 8-14.

213 For example Baer, *Rank and Title*, 131 [476]; Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines funéraires*, 239; Strudwick, *Administration*, 138-39 [129]; Harpur, *Decoration*, 270 [232].

214 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 25ff.

215 Ibid, 30.

216 Ibid, 47.

217 *Administration*, 43ff., 138-39.

Jj-mrjj,²¹⁸ of *Sšm-nfr* (II)²¹⁹ and of *Jj-mrjj* of G6020,²²⁰ a mastaba slightly over 200 metres to the west of that of *Sšm-nfr* (I). It is of course possible that estates bearing the name of *Jj-mrjj* in the tombs of *Sšm-nfr* I, *Sšm-nfr* II and *Jj-mrjj* (G6020) were all named after *Jj-mrjj* son of princess *Wnšt* of G4840, and this is the only possibility in the case of *Wnšt* and very probably in that *Sšm-nfr* II, as both represent an estate named *grgt Jj-mrjj*. On the other hand, while earlier estates appeared again in later tombs, new estates were surely being created; *Jj-mrjj* (G6020) depicted three estates bearing his name, *hbnnt Jj-mrjj*, *ꜥgt Jj-mrjj* and *ꜥrrt Jj-mrjj*, and one bearing his father's name, *grgt Špsskꜥf-ꜥnh*.²²¹ The architecture and the reliefs in *Jj-mrjj*'s tomb show that he was prosperous. According to Week's study, he was born in the reign of Sahure and completed the decoration of his tomb in the middle of Niuserre's reign, although he probably died under Menkauhor.²²² Despite his wealth and good reliefs, his offering list, offering table and chairs do not suggest a later date than that of *Sšm-nfr* I.

Suggested date: Dynasty 5, probably Sahure-Niuserre.

III ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Pls. 18, 38-39

The large mastaba of *Sšm-nfr* is free-standing, the walls constructed of massive blocks of local nummilitic limestone 1.00m. thick. According to Reisner's typology, it was converted from core type IIa to VIIa, and the chapel belongs to type 4a with a two-niched chapel and a subsidiary external niche at the north end of the façade.²²³ Built directly on bed rock, the precisely cut stones are largely dry-laid with plaster remains found in some joins. The finishing of the sloping perimeter walls was not completed, with dressed stones found at the west end of the south wall, the south end of the west wall, the east end of the north wall and a good portion of the east wall which forms the façade. At the north end of the façade a narrow niche constructed .60m. above ground level is .35m. wide x .30m. deep x 2.60m. high to a drum .15m. thick above which is a projecting lintel 2.20m. wide x .20m. high. There is no sign of any inscriptions.

The entrance to the tomb at the south end of the façade is defined by a recess which has the same slope as the façade. North of the entrance most of the stones of the façade are dressed but south of the entrance the blocks remain rough, only one showing the beginning of cutting to smooth the wall. The entrance recess, 3.25m. wide x .65m. deep, is fully dressed and smoothed. Originally a long stone beam, 3.65m. wide x .27m. high x .50m. thick, was fitted into the façade to span the

218 Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines funéraires*, 212.

219 Ibid, 244.

220 Ibid, 277; Weeks, *Cemetery 6000*, fig. 32.

221 Ibid.

222 Ibid, 5.

223 *Giza Necropolis*, 214-15, fig. 124. The masonry of the casing is type w (ibid, 181, fig. 88).

entire width of the recess and form a ceiling 2.95m. high. The emplacement still visible.

The doorway measures .80m. wide x 1.05m. thick at the floor and .60m. thick at the top x 2.05m. high to a round drum .35m. thick. Above the doorway a lintel .27m. high projects only .05m. The drum of the doorway links with the ceiling of an internal recess which is 1.10m. wide x .23m. deep x 2.30m. high. The doorway opens at the northern end of the chapel which is 3.75m. N-S x 1.20m. E-W x 3.20m. high. The floor is paved with stone and one of the large slabs forming the ceiling remains *in situ*.

The chapel is decorated in painted relief, with two recessed false doors built into the west wall. Both are of the same early type with a single pair of jambs and a slightly projecting lintel which extends beyond the jambs, the intention of the last feature to establish a link between the false doors and the surrounding wall decoration.²²⁴ The northern door, in a recess .15m. deep, is .52m. wide x 2.20m. high to a projecting lintel 1.00m. wide x .20m. high. The panel measures .50m. wide x .45m. high, the lower lintel .50m. wide x .15m. high, the jambs are .17m. wide x 1.60m. high and the central niche is .18m. wide x .13m. deep x 1.50m. high to a drum .10m. thick. The southern false door, set in a recess .25m. deep, is .80m. wide x 2.20m. high to a projecting lintel 1.36m. wide x .20m. high. The central panel is .80m. wide x .45m. high, the lower lintel .80m. wide x .15m. high, the jambs .30m. wide x 1.60m. high and the central niche .20m. wide .13m. deep x 1.43m. high to a drum .17m. thick.

A serdab in the core to the west of the chapel with a viewing slot in the central niche of the southern false door, shown on Reisner's plan,²²⁵ was not recleared. No details can be provided other than approximate measurements of 1.15m. N-S x 1.40m. E-W.

The core of the mastaba holds two shafts, one Reisner's type 3bf and the other type 3ar,²²⁶ which were not recleared. Each has a mouth 2.10m. square and is lined to base rock with nine courses of masonry blocks.

IV SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS

The decoration of the chapel was executed in raised relief, which was also coloured, although most of the paint has now disappeared. There is strong evidence that work was progressing simultaneously in different parts of the tomb when it came to a sudden interruption. The external stonework of the mastaba, including the façade, is smoothly dressed in some sections and very rough in others, and the reliefs vary from finished and coloured to partly cut, on the north entrance thickness, and some left in painted outlines, on the east wall above the

²²⁴ Rusch type II.1 (ZÄS 58 [1963], pl. A). See Vandier, *Manuel* 2, 396-97.

²²⁵ *Giza Necropolis*, fig. 124.

²²⁶ *Ibid*, 215.

doorway. The façade is totally uninscribed, but the architrave above the entrance is missing, although the depressions where it should fit on both sides are present.

North Entrance Thickness

Pls. 19a, 40

Two registers of scenes are present, both unfinished, and clearly the work progressed from bottom upwards. This is also supported by the fact that the unfinished part on the east wall of the chapel is in the top register. The lower register on the entrance thickness shows four butchers engaged in the slaughtering of a bound ox. Two men are pulling the raised foreleg of the animal, while a third man is using his knife to cut it. The fourth man, standing to the right, is sharpening his knife on a whetstone. The upper register depicts two men bringing an animal, perhaps an oryx or the like, into the tomb.

The opposite thickness is undecorated.

Chapel

EAST WALL

Pls. 19b, 20, 21a, 41, 43-45, 46a

A large and almost square area in the upper right section of the wall is reserved for an offering list; the rest of the wall is divided into four registers of unequal heights.

The top register is reserved for travelling boats made of wood. Two large boats under sail, being on the east wall, are clearly sailing south.²²⁷ They have tall bi-pod masts and trapezoidal sails which narrow at the bottom, with the upper yard at the top of the mast and the lower one on the deck. A small shelter appears on the first boat, built of posts and perhaps woven matting, although the details of this are either not preserved or were never painted. The prow of this first boat has the shape of an animal head, usually described as a hedgehog, although other identifications have been suggested.²²⁸

The crew of the first boat consists of a pilot in the prow, a man manipulating the sail and another kneeling and probably adjusting the lower yard, the tomb owner standing and leaning on his staff, three (or three pairs) of rowers at rest because of the wind, three helmsmen in the stern, each holding a steering oar and finally a man manoeuvring the sail. The inscription above the prow, perhaps a shout by the pilot who brings his hand close to his mouth, reads: *mr jmnt* 'the canal of the west'.²²⁹ The tomb owner is identified as *hrj-tp nswt Sšm-nfr* 'the royal chamberlain, Seshemnefer', while the last man on the stern is described as *hrp Nb(.j)-nj* 'the

²²⁷ For studies of these boats see Junker, *Gîza* 4, 51ff.; Landström, *Ships*, figs. 119-21; Vandier, *Manuel* 5, 796ff.; Montet, *Vie privée*, 346ff.; McFarlane, *Unis Cemetery* 1, 48ff.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 51 n.224.

²²⁹ Junker, *Gîza* 4, 57-58.

captain, Nebiny'. On a sub-register above the stern two men are shown running, presumably following the boat ashore.

The second boat is partly executed in relief and partly in painted outline which is mostly effaced. The boat is manned by a pilot, two men manipulating the sail and one adjusting the lower yard. The tomb owner is seated on a chair and holds a staff. The label above him is identical to that in the first boat. Above the prow of the second boat is written: *m zhsw hr.f* 'do not be confused about it'. This appears to be a shout by the man who is labelled: *shd Nb-jb* 'the superintendent, Nebib'. Behind this boat is a small one operated by three rowers (or pairs of rowers) and a helmsman.

The second register depicts seven men wearing kilts reaching below the knees. Six of them have one hand by the side and the other placed on the chest; one, the first, has both hands by his sides; another, the sixth, carries a goose in each hand. The label above them reads: *hrj-tp [nswt] Sšm-nfr sn(w)-dt* 'the royal chamberlain, Seshemnefer, the brothers of (his) estate'.²³⁰ The first six individuals are designated as follows: 1) *jmj-r pr Bw-nfr* 'the overseer of the house, Bunefer', 2) *Wnj* 'Weni', 3) *Wnn-nfr(w)* 'Wenenneferu', 4) *Wnn-nfr(w)* 'Wenenneferu', 5) *Jzj* 'Isi', 6) *Rsj* 'Resi'. The last man is unnamed.

The third register is occupied by offering bearers. Little remains of the first three figures at the right, but the other eight are reasonably well preserved. With the exception of No. 5 whose caption is completely lost and No. 6 whose title is missing, all the men are described as *hm-k3* 'ka-servant' and named as follows: 1) *Jj-nfrt* 'Iyefert', 2) *Pr(.j)-nb* 'Perineb', 3) *Jzw* 'Isu', 4) *Jšj* 'Ishi', 5) ..., 6) *Jmw* 'Imu', 7) *Ttj* 'Teti', 8) *Jff* 'Ifi'. The men, in the same order, are carrying the following items: a goose on a spit, a piece of meat on a tray, a foreleg, two jars, two geese, a young gazelle, a young calf and a young goat.

The fourth register is occupied by representation of funerary estates. Ten individuals are shown, four women, followed by six others, alternating between men and women. All ten carry baskets on their heads containing jars of drink and/or loaves of bread. While the baskets are supported by the left hand, the right hand is kept by the side, the men's hands being clenched. Only one man, No. 9, carries a goose in this hand. The estates they represent are named as follows:²³¹ 1) *grgt Jwf-rw* 'the foundation of Iuefru', 2) *grgt Sšm-nfr* 'the foundation of Seshemnefer', 3) *Jnt Jj-mrjj* 'the foundation *Jnt* of Iymery', 4) *grgt Jwf-rw* 'the foundation of Iuefru', 5) *Ddnw* 'Dednu', 6) *Wrt-k3* 'Weretka', 7) *J'rw* 'the *rw*-trees', 8) *hđrt* 'the *hđrt*-animal', 9) *Šps Hwf* 'Khufu is noble', 10) *šht* 'the field'. It appears that one of these estates was named after *Sšm-nfr* himself (No. 2) and another after one of his daughters, *Wrt-k3* (No. 6).²³²

The offering list in the top, right section of the east wall is positioned opposite the face of the tomb owner's seated figure on the south wall. The list is divided into

²³⁰ Similar inscriptions refer to either *sn dt* or *sn n pr-dt*. See Junker, *Giza* 2, 194; vol. 3, 6-7; vol. 9, 73; vol. 11, 134.

²³¹ These estates have been studied by Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines funéraires*, 239-40.

²³² See also *ibid*, 240.

two parts. The right and larger part is divided into eight registers containing different items and in most cases the number required of each as follows:²³³

Register I:

1. *sntr* 'incense'
2. *tswj* 'two balls of natron'
3. *hst* 'offering table'
4. *mw jmj hst* 'water for libation'
5. *htpt nswt* 'royal offerings' (two)
6. *htpt nswt wshst* 'royal offerings of the *wshst*-hall' (two)
7. *sw-r šns dwjw* 'repast *šns*-bread and jug'

Register II:

8. *t-wt* 'wt-bread' (one)
9. *t-rth*²³⁴ 'rth-bread' (one)
10. *dsrt nmst* 'a jug of *dsrt*-beverage' (one)
11. *jtst nmst* 'a jug of *jtst*-beverage' (one)
12. *š(n)s*²³⁵ '*šns*-bread' (one)
13. *ε n fš(jt)* 'bowl for serving'
14. *n šbw* 'for main meal'²³⁶ (one)
15. *swt* 'piece of meat' (one)
16. *qbhw ε* 'libation bowl' (two)

Register III:

17. *bd ε* 'bowl of natron' (two)
18. *sw-r šns dwjw* 'repast *šns*-bread and jug' (one)
19. *t-wt* 'wt-bread' (one)
20. *t-rth* 'rth-bread' (one)
21. *ht(š)* 'htš-bread' (two)
22. *nhrw* 'nhrw-bread' (two)
23. *dptjw*²³⁷ 'dptw-bread' (four)
24. *š(n)s*²³⁸ *εw* 'bowls of *šns*-bread' (four)
25. *t-jmj-tš* 'jmj-tš-bread' (four)
26. *hnfw ε* 'bowl of *hnfw*-bread' (four)
27. *h(b)nnw(t) ε* 'bowl of *hbnnwt*-bread'²³⁹ (four)

Register IV:

28. *qmhw qmš* 'qmhw qmš-bread' (four)

²³³ For the identification of these items see Barta, *Opferliste*, passim.

²³⁴ *rth* is written as *rth*.

²³⁵ *šns* is wrongly written as *šš* 'alabaster', but the determinative and the order of the item in the list suggest *šns*-bread.

²³⁶ It appears that items 13 and 14 complement each other.

²³⁷ Usually written as *dptw*.

²³⁸ Written again *šš* as in No. 12.

²³⁹ Written as *hnnw*.

29. *jdšt* 'jdšt-bread' (four)
30. *pšt* 'pat-bread' (four)
31. *t-ššr* 'ššr-bread'
32. *hđw* 'bowl of onions' (four)
33. *hpsš* 'foreleg' (one)
34. *ju* 'thigh' (one)
35. *zħn* 'kidney' (one)
36. *swt* 'piece of meat' (one)
37. *mjzt* 'liver' (one)
38. *nnšm* 'spleen' (one)
39. *ħ juw n ħst* 'piece of meat and fillet'²⁴⁰ (one)

Register V:

40. *r* 'r-goose' (one)
41. *trp* 'trp-goose' (one)
42. *sr* 'sr-goose' (one)
43. *mnwt* 'pigeon' (one)
44. *t-zjf* 'zjf-bread'
45. *šwt* 'šwt-bread'
46. *mzwt* 'bowl of *mzwt*-bread' (two)

Register VI:

47. *npwt* 'bowl of *npwt*-bread' (two)
48. *dsrt* 'bowl of *dsrt*-beverage' (two)
49. *dsrt jtt* 'bowl of milky²⁴¹ beverage' (one)
50. *ħnqt* 'bowl of beer'
51. *ħnqt ħnms* 'bowl of *ħnms*-beer' (two)
52. *s(h)pt* 'bowl of *shpt*-beverage' (two)

Register VII:

53. *phz* 'bowl of *phz*-beverage' (two)
54. *đwjw sšrw* 'jug of *sšr*-beverage' (two)
55. *dsb* 'bowl of figs' (two)
56. *jrp* 'bš' 'bš-wine' (two)
57. *jrp*²⁴² 'bowl of wine' (two)
58. *jrp* 'bowl of wine' (two)
59. *jrp* 'bowl of wine' (two)
60. *jrp* 'bowl of wine' (two)
61. *ħnfw* 'bowl of *ħnfw*-bread' (two)
62. *ħ(b)nnwt*²⁴³ 'bowl of *ħbnnwt*-bread' (two)

²⁴⁰ These are usually listed as two items, but it is possible that they were combined here as *ħ juw n ħst* 'a piece of fillet'.

²⁴¹ Davies et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* 1, 18, No. 66.

²⁴² *jrp* is written once above items 57-60. These were certainly different types of wine, although the names were not added.

²⁴³ The *b* in *ħbnnwt* is missing as in item No. 27.

Register VIII:

63. *jšd* ε 'bowl of *jšd*-fruit' (two)
 64. *sh(t)*²⁴⁴ *hd(t)* ε 'bowl of white *sh*t-fruit' (two)
 65. *sh(t)* *wšd(t)* ε 'bowl of green *sh*t-fruit' (two)
 66. *zt* ε*wg(t)*²⁴⁵ ε 'bowl of special preparation of wheat' (two)
 67. *jt* ε*wg(t)* ε 'bowl of special preparation of barley' (two)
 68. *bšbt* ε 'bowl of *bšbt*-fruit' (two)
 69. *nbs* ε 'bowl of *nbs*-fruit' (two)
 70. *t-nbs* ε 'bowl of *nbs*-bread' (two)
 71. *wḥ*ε ε 'bowl of carob beans' (two)
 72. *ḥt nb(t) bnrt* 'every sweet thing'
 73. *rnpt nbt* 'all the year-offerings'
 74. *ḥnkt* 'ḥnkt-offerings'

To the left of the list, from top, are four rows of what appears to be storage rooms of clothing materials.²⁴⁶ Each row shows five compartments, under each of which is the number *ḥš* 'one thousand', representing the quantity stored. The names above the two top rows are damaged.²⁴⁷ The third row is labelled *šmε nfr* 'good Upper Egyptian cloth' and the fourth ε 'fine cloth'. These are followed by a row labelled as *ḥt* 'wood', and includes five objects: *ḥš-ḥt* 'wooden chest', *ḏsrwt* 'box', *wṯz* 'carrying chair', *ḥrt-ε* 'writing box', *mḏ-ḥt* 'a piece of furniture?'. Next are two identical rows, labelled *ḥz* 'metal vessels'. Each row comprises five objects: *št* 'basin', *bd* 'natron bowl', *wḥt* 'cooking vessel', *nmst* 'jug', ε*ḥ* 'brazier'. The last row is labelled *mntt* 'bowls' and, like the other rows contains five objects, each with the figure *ḥš* 'one thousand' underneath it. The objects are: *jε* 'washing bowl', *ddwt* 'dish', ε*n* 'vessel', *hnw* 'measuring vessel', *ḫt* 'vessel'.

SOUTH WALL

Pls. 21b, 50

The tomb owner is represented in a large size, seated on a chair with bull's legs and no back, but a cushion projecting behind his figure.²⁴⁸ He holds the staff in his right hand and rests the left on his lap. Above him are five vertical lines of hieroglyphs, each giving one or two titles and ending with the name *Sšm-nfr* 'Seshemnefer'. The titles are: (1) *ḥrj-tp nswt ḥwt-Ḥr-ḥpr* (2) *ḥt Ḥš smr* (3) *ḥm-nṯr Ḥqt* (4) *ḥm-nṯr Jnpw ḥrp εḥ* (5) *ḥm-nṯr Ḥr qmε-ε* '(1) the royal chamberlain of the mansion of Djedefre, (2) the attendant of Ha, the companion, (3) the priest of Heket, (4) the priest of Anubis, the director of the palace, (5) the priest of Horus strong of arm'. Two men are depicted behind *Sšm-nfr* in superposed registers. The man in the lower register holds a rolled cloth in each hand and is identified as *ḥm-kε Jmw* 'the ka-servant, Imu'. Only parts of the legs of the man in the upper

²⁴⁴ *sh*t is written once for items 64 and 65.

²⁴⁵ ε*wg(t)* is written once for items 66 and 67.

²⁴⁶ See the west wall of *K3(.j)-m-εnh*'s burial chamber, and Klebs, *Reliefs*, fig. 5; Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, 187-89.

²⁴⁷ For comparison with similar scenes, see Klebs, *Reliefs*, fig. 5; Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 111, 158, 175, 188.

²⁴⁸ See Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 26ff.

register are preserved. He is described as *hm-k3 Pr(.j)-nb* 'the ka-servant, Perineb'.

WEST WALL

Pls. 22-23, 46b, 47-49

The wall is dominated by a family scene of *Sšm-nfr*, his wife and children, with a false door on either side. Wearing a shoulder-length wig covering his ears, a short kilt and a leopard skin, the tomb owner is shown in a large size holding the staff and sceptre. Twelve lines above him give his titles and epithets, each ending in his name, *Sšm-nfr* 'Seshemnefer'. The titles are: (1) *hrj-tp nswt hwt-Hr-hpr* (2) *ht H3* (3) *hm-ntr Hqt* (4) *hm-ntr Hr qm3-ε* (5) *z3b εd-mr wr mdw Šmεw* (6) *hrj-sšt3* (7) *jmj-r k3t nswt* (8) *jmj-r zš(w) hr(jwt)-ε nswt* (9) *hrj-wdb m hwt-εnh* (10) *jmj-r stj d3w* (11) *mrjj nb.f* (12) *mrr nb.f* '(1) the royal chamberlain of the mansion of Djedefre, (2) the attendant of Ha, (3) the priest of Heket, (4) the priest of Horus strong of arm, (5) the judge and administrator, the greatest of the tens of Upper Egypt, (6) he who is privy to the secrets, (7) the overseer of works of the king, (8) the overseer of scribes of the portfolios of the king, (9) the chief of distribution in the mansion of life, (10) the overseer of the two places of provisions, (11) the beloved of his lord, (12) the always beloved of his lord'.

The wife wears a long, tight dress and wraps her left arm around her husband's right arm, while holding a lotus flower in her right hand. The upper part of her figure is missing, but she probably stood to just below her husband's shoulders. The inscription identifying her reads: *hmt.f rh(t) nswt Jmn-d3.s* 'his wife, the acquaintance of the king, Imendjefaes'.

Before the tomb owner, in two superposed registers are his children. Four daughters are represented in the upper register, described as *msw.f* 'his children'. They are named as follows: 1) *Nfrt-h3-Hwfw* 'Nefethakhufu', 2) *Wrt-k3* 'Weretka', 3) *Sbk-rmt.s* 'Sobekremetes', 4) *Nfr-Hwt-hr* 'Neferhathor'. Three sons are shown in the lower register, designated as *msw.f n(w) ht.f* 'his children of his body' and named as follows: 1) *Sšm-nfr šrj* 'Seshemnefer the younger', 2) *Pħn-Pth* 'Pehenptah', 3) *3b* 'Ab'. A fourth son holds to his father's staff, turns his face towards him and touches his leg. He is described as *z3.f n ht.f Rε-wr* 'his son of his body, Rewer'. A daughter is depicted standing behind the wife and clasping her leg. The inscription above her reads: *...s Nfr-Hwt-hr* 'her daughter(?) Neferhathor'. It is uncertain whether she is the same as the similarly named daughter shown in front of *Sšm-nfr*. All sons are shown of equal size and naked, except for a collar. All the girls wear long, tight dresses with two shoulder straps and, with the exception of *Nfrt-h3-Hwfw* who wears a long wig, have short hair or wigs. Both *Nfrt-h3-Hwfw* and *Nfr-Hwt-hr*, the latter depicted behind her mother wearing a choker, are shown of equal size with the sons; the other daughters are somewhat smaller.

The west wall contains two false doors, a type of chapel decoration which was characteristic of late Dynasty 4 - late Dynasty 5.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Strudwick, *Administration*, 43ff. For some examples see Junker, *Giza* 3, figs. 16, 27.

Northern False Door

Above the false door is a representation of the tomb owner and his wife seated opposite each other at an offering table laden with twelve half-loaves of bread. They both extend the right hand to the offering table, while placing the left on the lap. He is identified as *hrj-tp nswt z3b ʿd-mr Sšm-nfr* 'the royal chamberlain, the judge and administrator, Seshemnefer', while she is designated as *rh(t) nswt Jmn-df3.s* 'the acquaintance of the king, Imendjefaes'. The chairs they use are of the type with bull's legs, but his has a cushion with no back, while hers has a low back and cushion. Above the table is a list of items required: ewer and basin, *ht* ... '... things', libation, *sntr* 'incense', *w3dw* 'green paint', *msdt* 'black paint', *bd*²⁵⁰ 'natron', *h3tt* 'best oils',²⁵¹ *nbs* 'nbs-fruit', *t-nbs* 'nbs-bread', *hdt sht*²⁵² 'white sht-fruit', *w3dt sht* 'green sht-fruit'. Beneath the table is written *t h3 hnqt h3 mnht h3 šs h3* 'bread, one thousand, beer, one thousand, clothes, one thousand, alabaster, one thousand'.

Upper Lintel: One partly preserved line of text reads: [*htp dj*] *nswt ... [jmnšhw] h[r] ntr ʿ3 hrj-tp nswt Sšm-nfr* 'An offering which the king gives ..., the honoured one before the great god, the royal chamberlain, Seshemnefer'.

Panel: The only preserved decoration is a part of the wife's figure, wearing a long wig and seated on a chair with a cushion and no back. She is identified as *rh(t) nswt [J]mn-[df3].s* 'the acquaintance of the king, Imendjefaes'.

The rest of the false door is damaged. The narrow section of the west wall between the false door and the north wall retain four female offering bearers in four superposed registers. The top figure is shown with distorted shoulders, carrying an object in both hands, the second is a female dwarf carrying a rectangular box on her head, the third carries two pieces of cloth, while the last carries a sack for linen. Three wear a long tight dress, choker, collar, bracelets and anklets; the dwarf wears only a choker and collar.

Southern False Door

Upper Lintel: One line of text reads: [*htp dj*] *nswt Jnpw [hn]tj [zh]-ntr prt-hrw [n.]f m hb nb m rnpt nb(t) n hrj-tp nswt Sšm-nfr* 'An offering which the king gives and Anubis, foremost of the divine booth (gives). May an invocation offering come forth for him at every feast and every year, to the royal chamberlain, Seshemnefer'.

Panel: No decoration is preserved.

Lower Lintel: *htp dj nswt Jnpw hntj zh-ntr ...* 'An offering which the king gives and Anubis, foremost of the divine booth (gives) ...'.

250 This item is usually written as *bd*, the *h* may be an error for *h*.

251 The two determinatives after *h3tt* may refer to the traditional ʿš 'cedar oil' and *thnw* 'Libyan oil'.

252 *sht* is written once for this item and the following one.

Jambs: The upper part of each jamb is divided into two registers, the upper one being taller than the lower one. In the upper registers, the figure on the right jamb, named *Jw.f* 'Iuef', carries pieces of cloth, while that on the left jamb is presumably censuring. In the lower registers, the figure on the right jamb, labelled *hm-k3 Jšj* 'the ka-servant, Ishi', carries a container with both hands, while the man on the left jamb, identified as *hm-k3 R^c-htp(w)* 'the ka-servant, Rehetepu', carries a ewer and basin.

The thicknesses of the false door recess are also decorated with superposed registers showing offering bearers. The north thickness depicts in the bottom register a man carrying a tray who is labelled *hm-k3 Jj-nfrt* 'the ka-servant, Iynefert'. Above is a man carrying a ewer and basin and described as *hm-k3 Hntj...* 'the ka-servant, Khenti...'. The upper register retains only the feet of a man.

The man in the bottom register of the south thickness, like that on the opposite thickness, carries a tray with both hands and is described as *hm-k3 Pth-wr* 'the ka-servant, Ptahwer'. The man in the register above is only partly preserved, and of his designation only the title *hm-k3 ...* 'ka-servant ...' has survived.

The area of the west wall between the southern false door and the south wall was also decorated with offering bearers arranged in superposed registers, but only the one in the bottom register is well preserved. He carries a sack of linen and is identified as *hm-k3 Mdwwj* 'the ka-servant, Medwy'.

NORTH WALL

Pls. 24, 51

Holding the staff and sceptre, the tomb owner is shown with his wife in large size. He wears a short wig, a collar and a short kilt, and she wears a long wig, a long, tight dress with shoulder straps, anklets and bracelets and places her left hand over his left shoulder. Four vertical lines of text (1-4) above his figure list his titles, while his name is written before his face (5). The inscription reads: (1) *hrj-tp nswt ht H3* (2) *hm-ntr Hqt* (3) *z3b ^cd-mr wr mdw Šm^cw rh nswt* (4) *jmj-r zš(w) hr(jwt)-^c nswt* (5) *Sšm-nfr* '(1) the royal chamberlain, the attendant of Ha, (2) the priest of Heket, (3) the judge and administrator, the acquaintance of the king, (4) the overseer of scribes of the portfolios of the king, (5) Seshemnefer'. One line above the wife identifies her, but only *...f3.s* '[Imendje]faes' is now preserved. A small naked child faces the couple, his left hand grasping *Sšm-nfr*'s staff. He is described as *z3.f n ht.f Hwfw ^cnh(w)* 'his son of his body, Khufuankhu'.

V COLOUR CONVENTIONS

Decorated in good quality relief no paint remains on the entrance jambs, and very few traces of colour are preserved in the wall decoration of the chapel of *Sšm-nfr*.

Vertical dividers: Green

Lintel frame, north false door: Green

Male flesh: Pale red (north and east walls); orange-red (west wall)

West wall

Hair: Black (female offering bearers)

Kilts: White

Dresses: White, dark-red outline

Jewellery

Women (including dwarf): Green collars, chokers, bracelets, anklets

Men: Blue traces

Sack for linen: Green bands, red outline with G bands

Object?: Green (held by woman, top register north end west wall)

East wall

Basket: Green (female estates)

Oars: Red

Small Boat: Red traces

Hedgehog boat: Pale blue animal face and stern element

Hieroglyphs

All signs listed below are according to Gardiner's sign list.

Polychrome

D8  Red arms; black club

Red

D36  G38  S29  S34 

Green

M17  M23  M28  M34  Q3  R8 

V10  V30 

Blue (traces only)

G36  U23 

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PLATES

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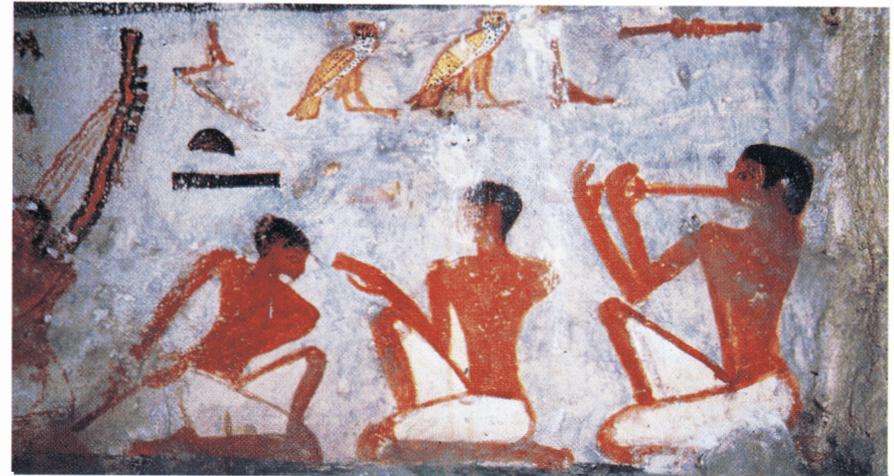
(a) South wall



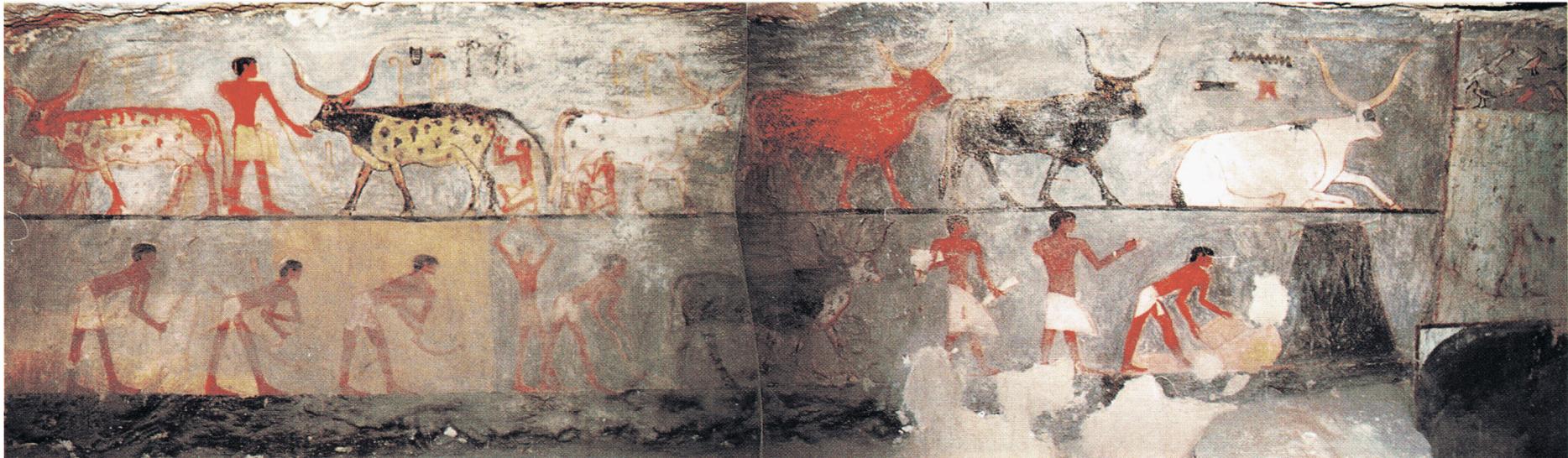
(b) South wall, detail



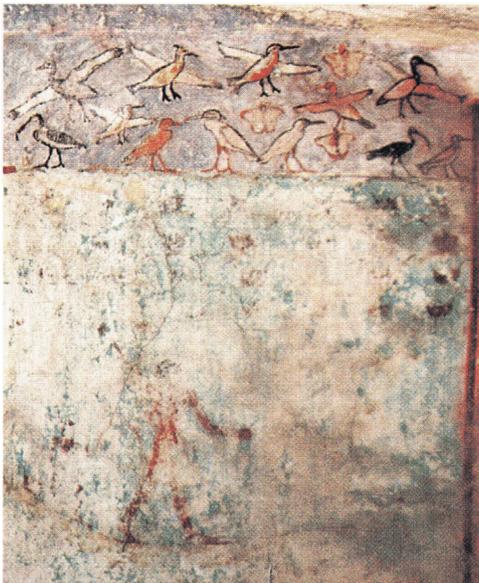
(c) South wall, detail



(d) South wall, detail



(a) West wall



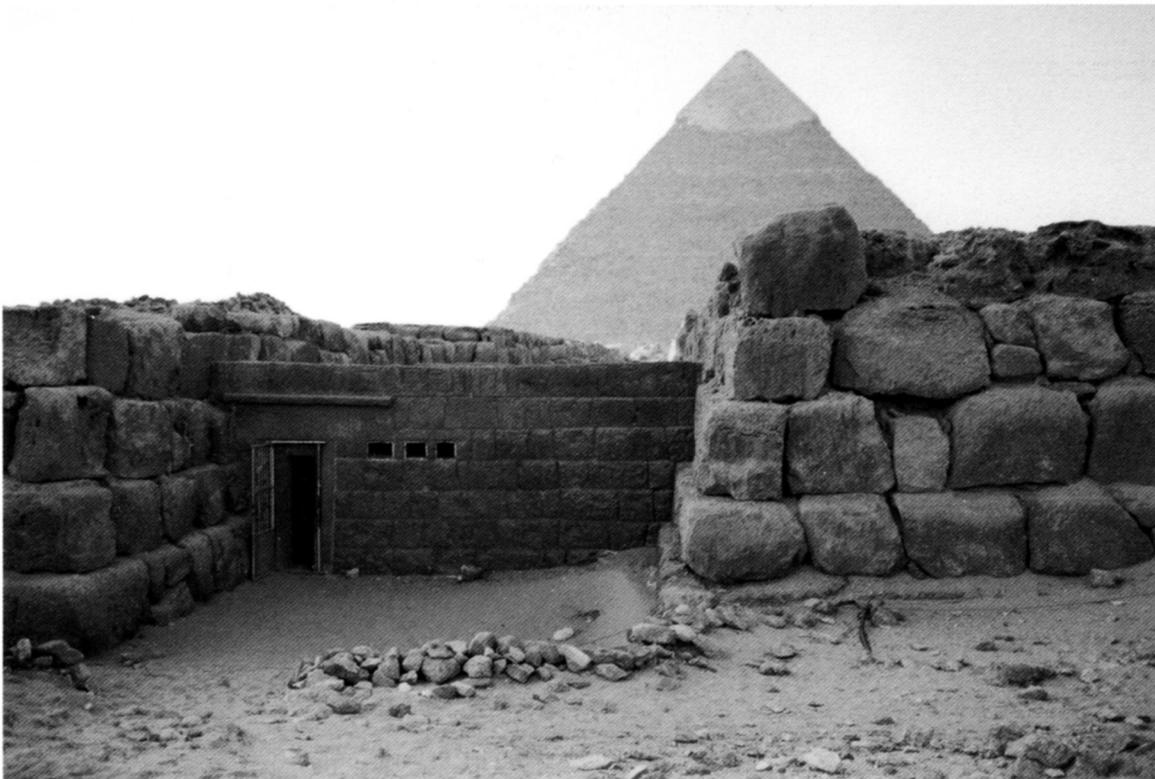
(b) West wall, detail



(c) North wall, west



(a) Looking east



(b) Looking south



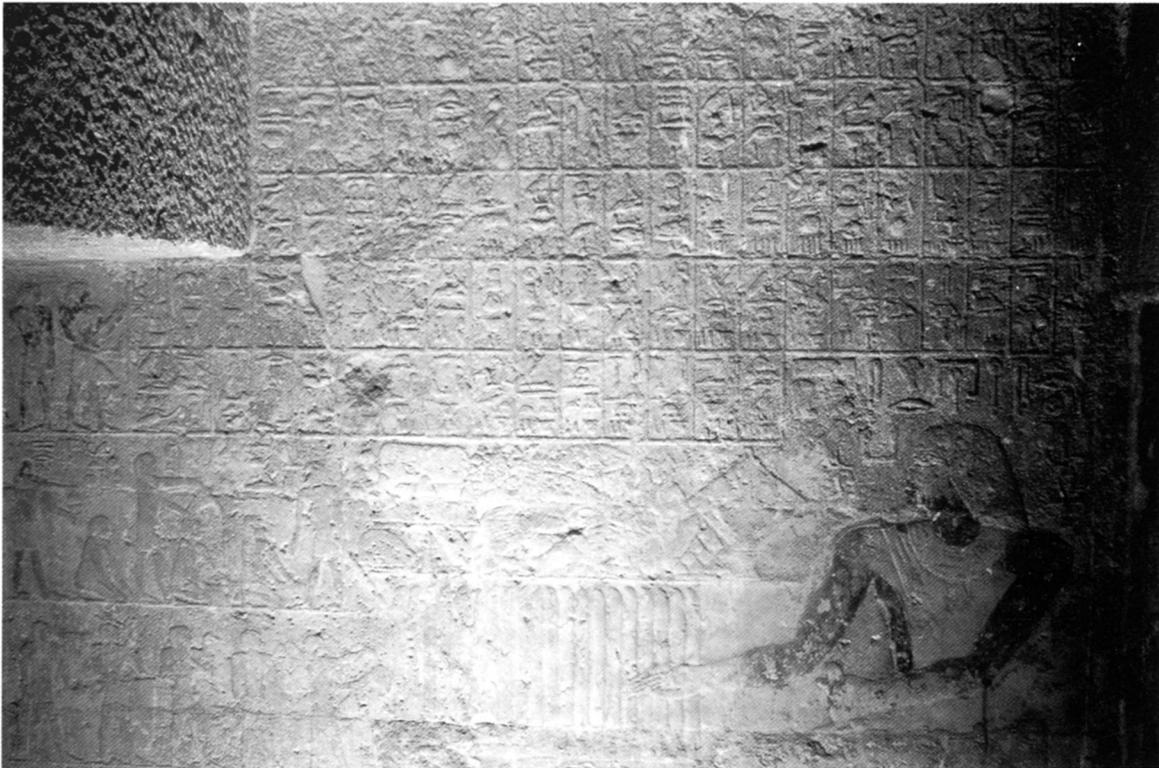
(a) South façade



(b) Entrance architrave



(c) Entrance, east thickness



Pl. 5. Kaiemankh, chapel, recess, south wall, upper and lower sections



(a) Upper section



(b) Right jamb

Pl. 6. Kaiemankh, chapel, recess, west wall, false door



(a) North wall



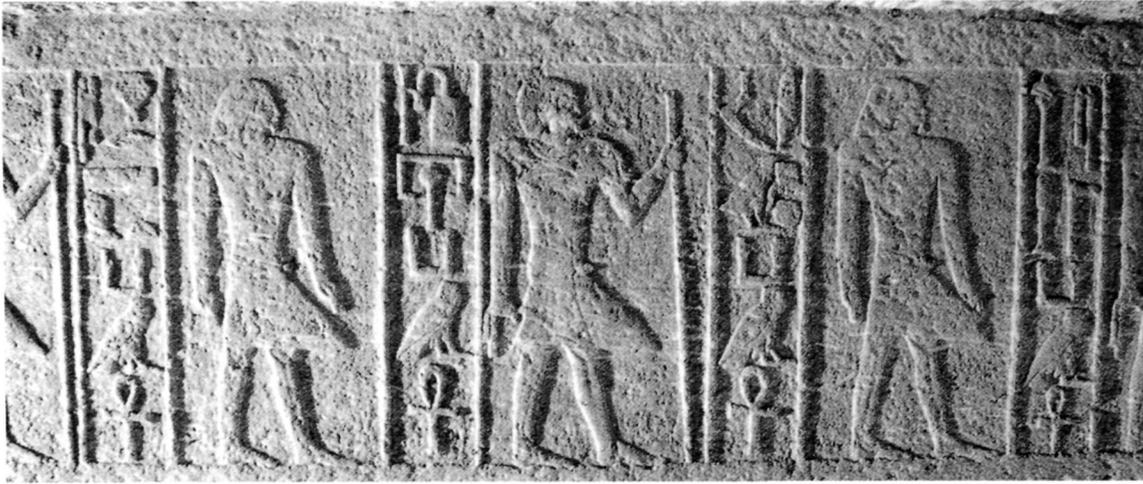
(b) North wall, detail



(a) North wall, detail



(b) North wall, detail



(a) West wall, detail



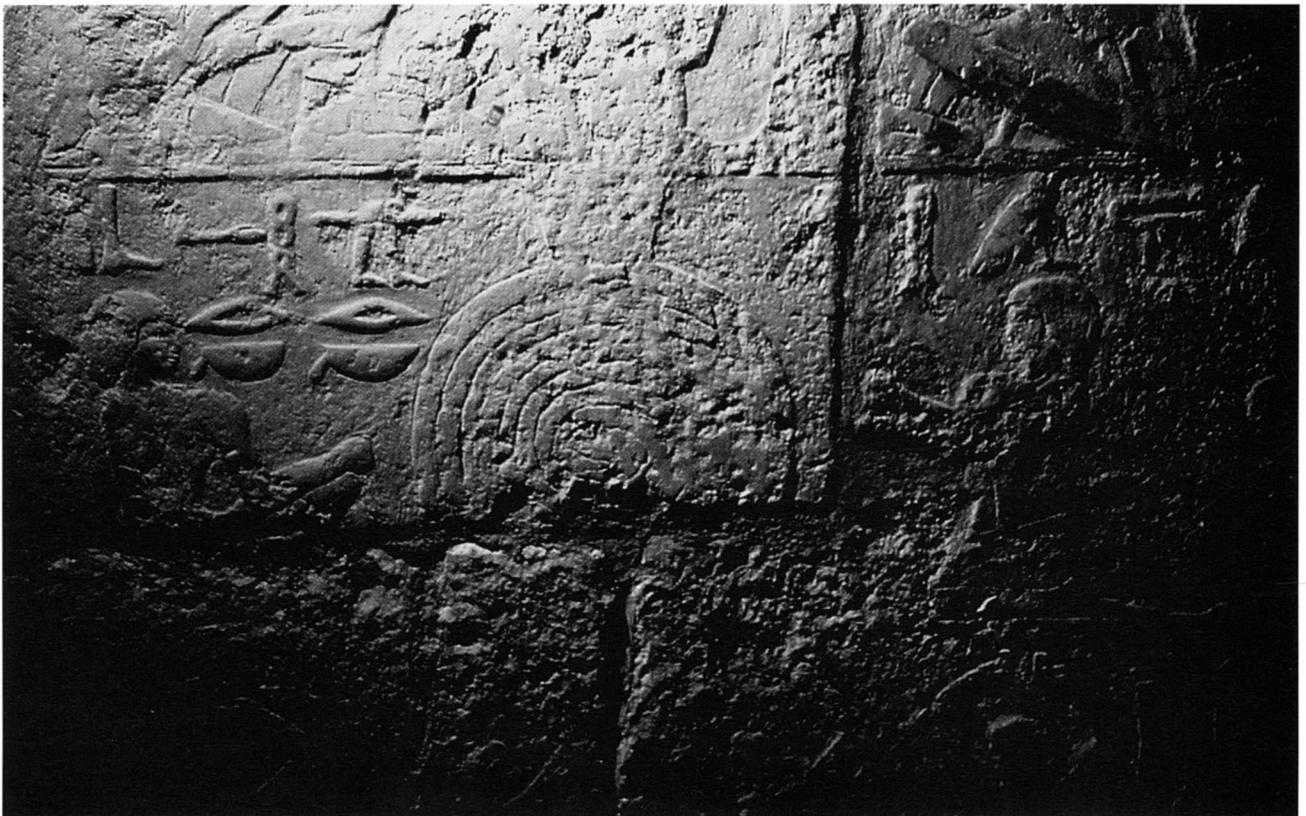
(b) West wall, detail



(c) West wall, detail



(a) West wall, detail



(b) West wall detail



(a) Wife's false door, detail



(b) Wife's false door, detail



(c) Wife's false door, detail



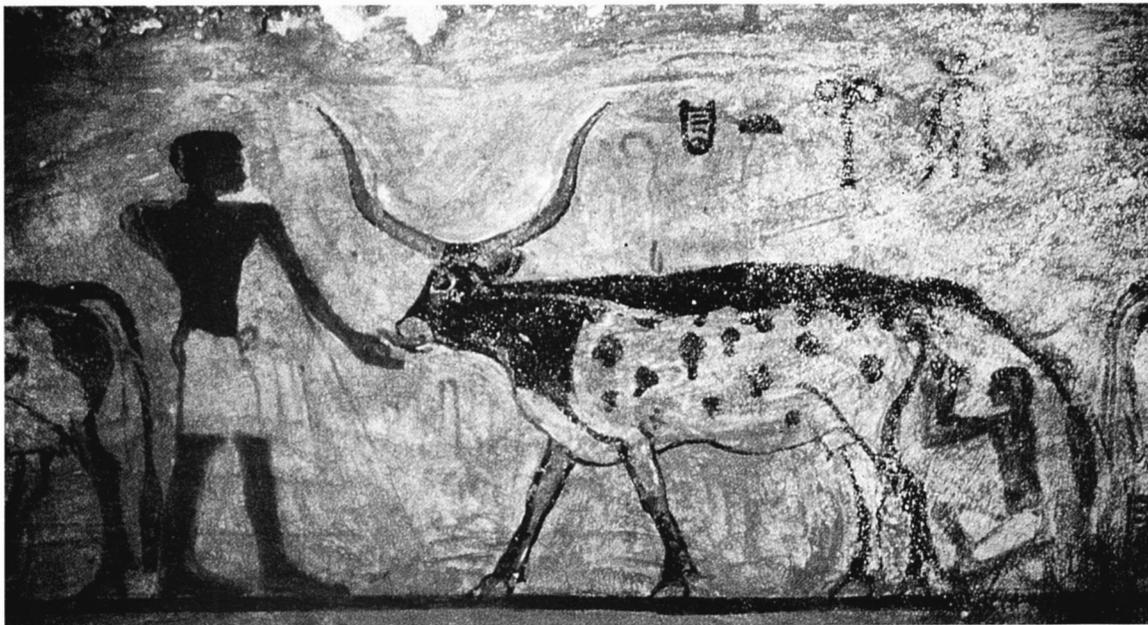
(a) East wall, north



(b) East wall, south



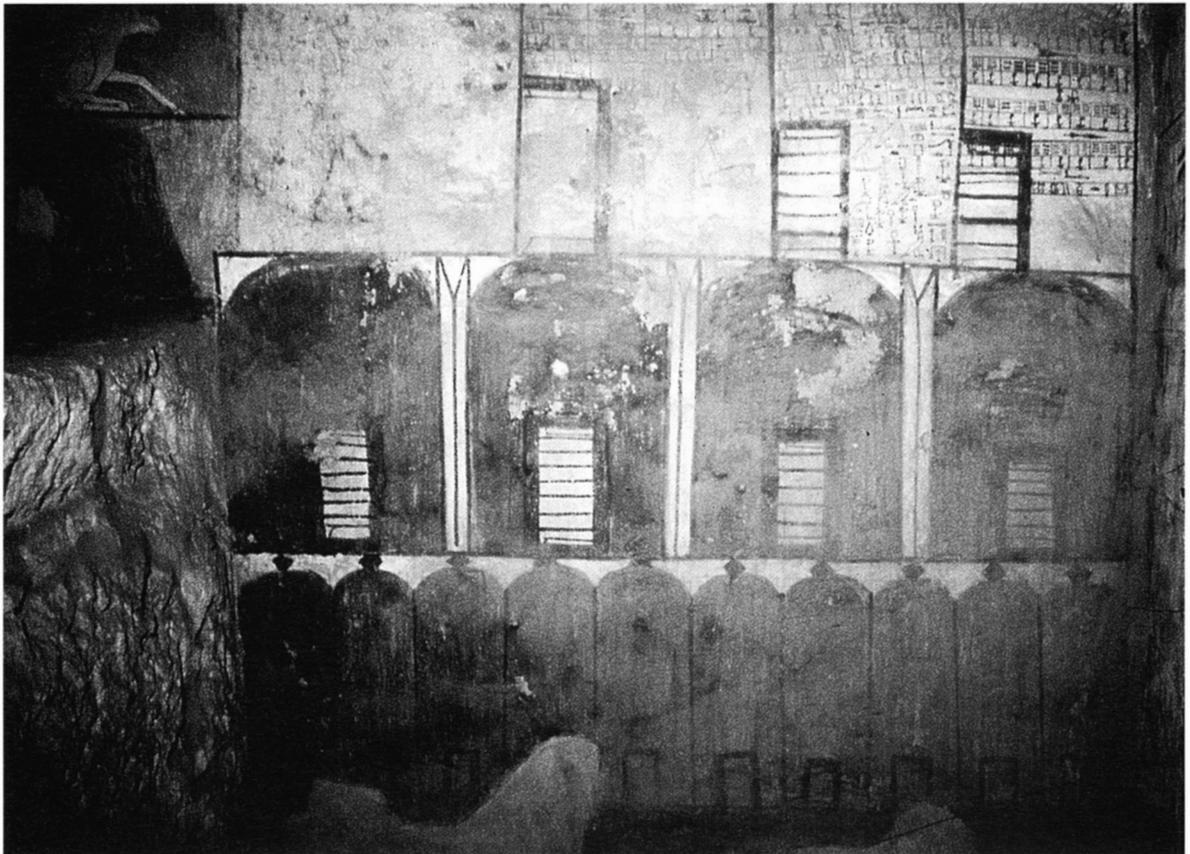
(a) South wall, east



(b) West wall, detail



(a) West wall, detail



(b) West wall, north section

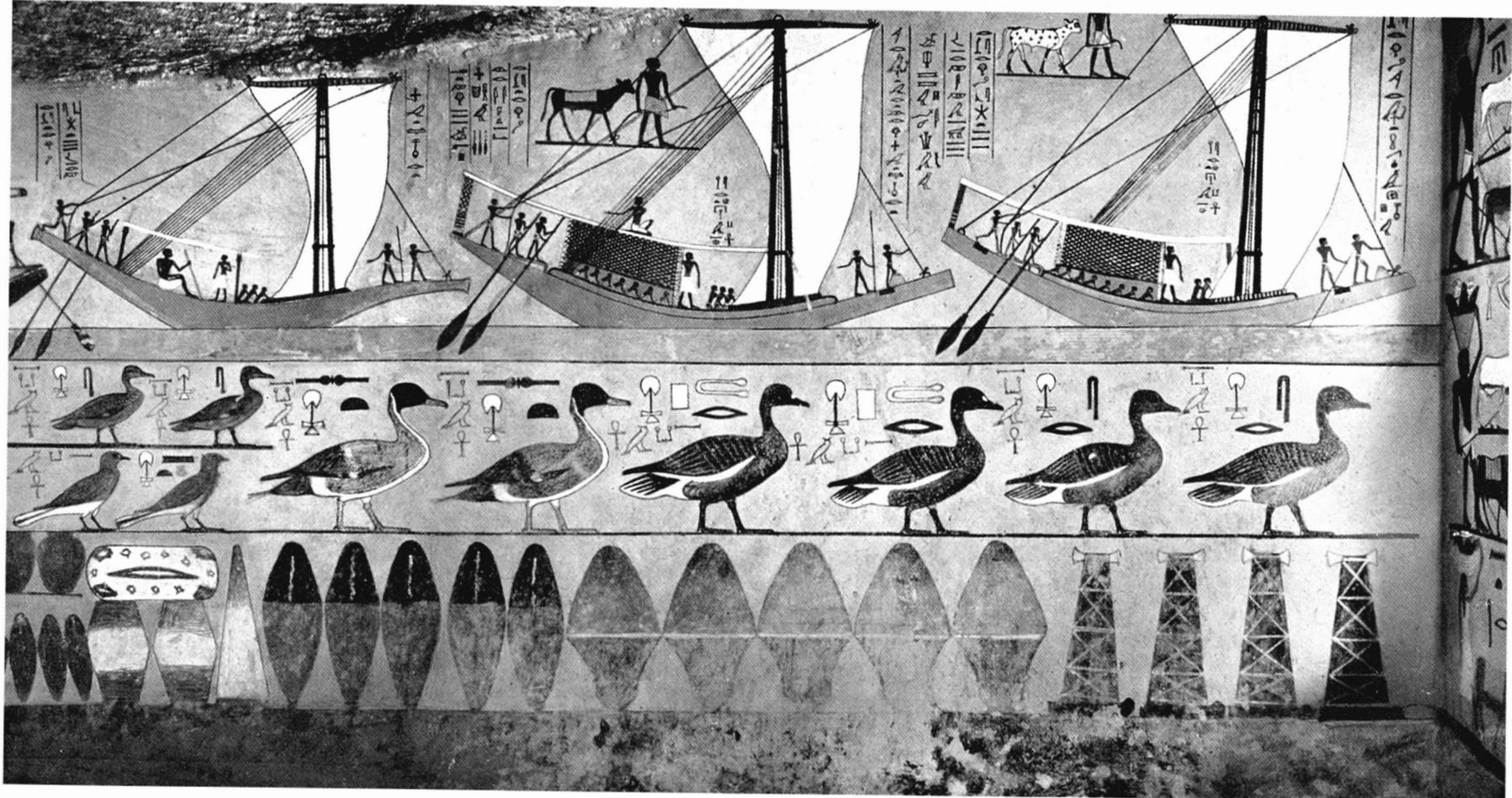


(a) West wall, detail



(b) North wall, west section

Pl. 16. Kaiemankh, burial chamber



North wall (after Junker, *Giza 4*, pl. 7)



Pl. 17. Kaiemankh, burial chamber

Sarcophagus



(a) Mastaba, general view



(b) External niche



(a) North entrance thickness



(b) Chapel, east wall, upper register



(a) East wall, detail



(b) East wall, detail



(c) East wall, detail



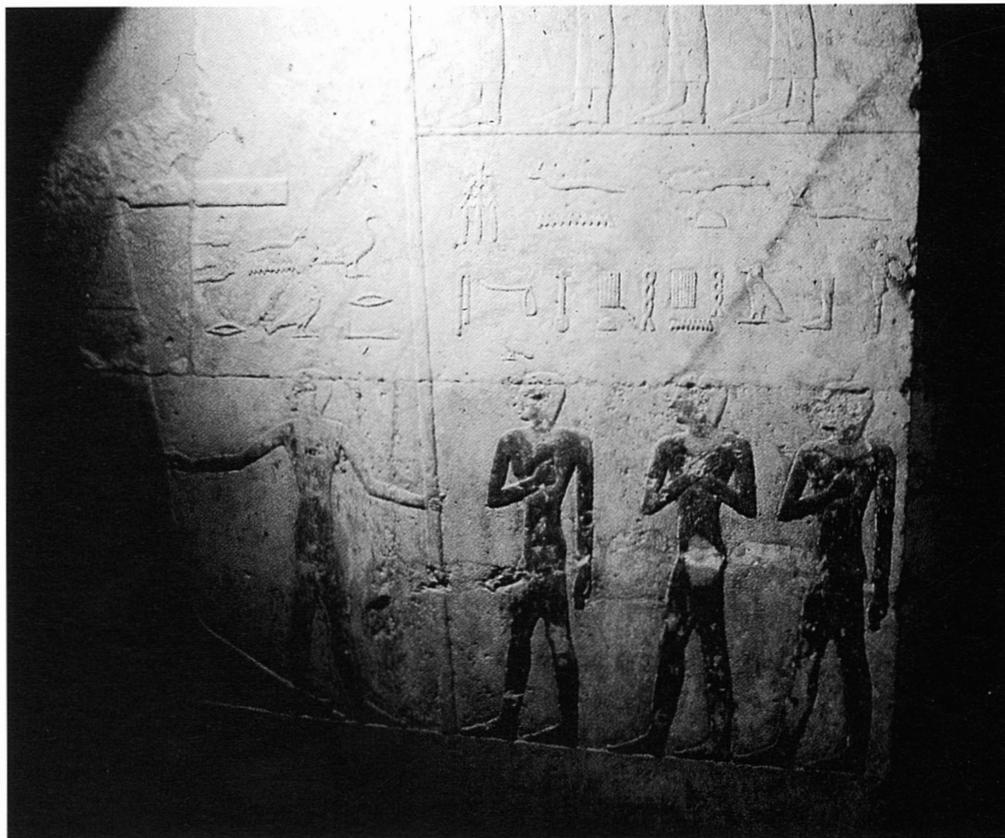
(a) East wall, offering list detail



(b) South wall



(a) West wall, detail



(b) West wall, detail



(a) Above northern false door

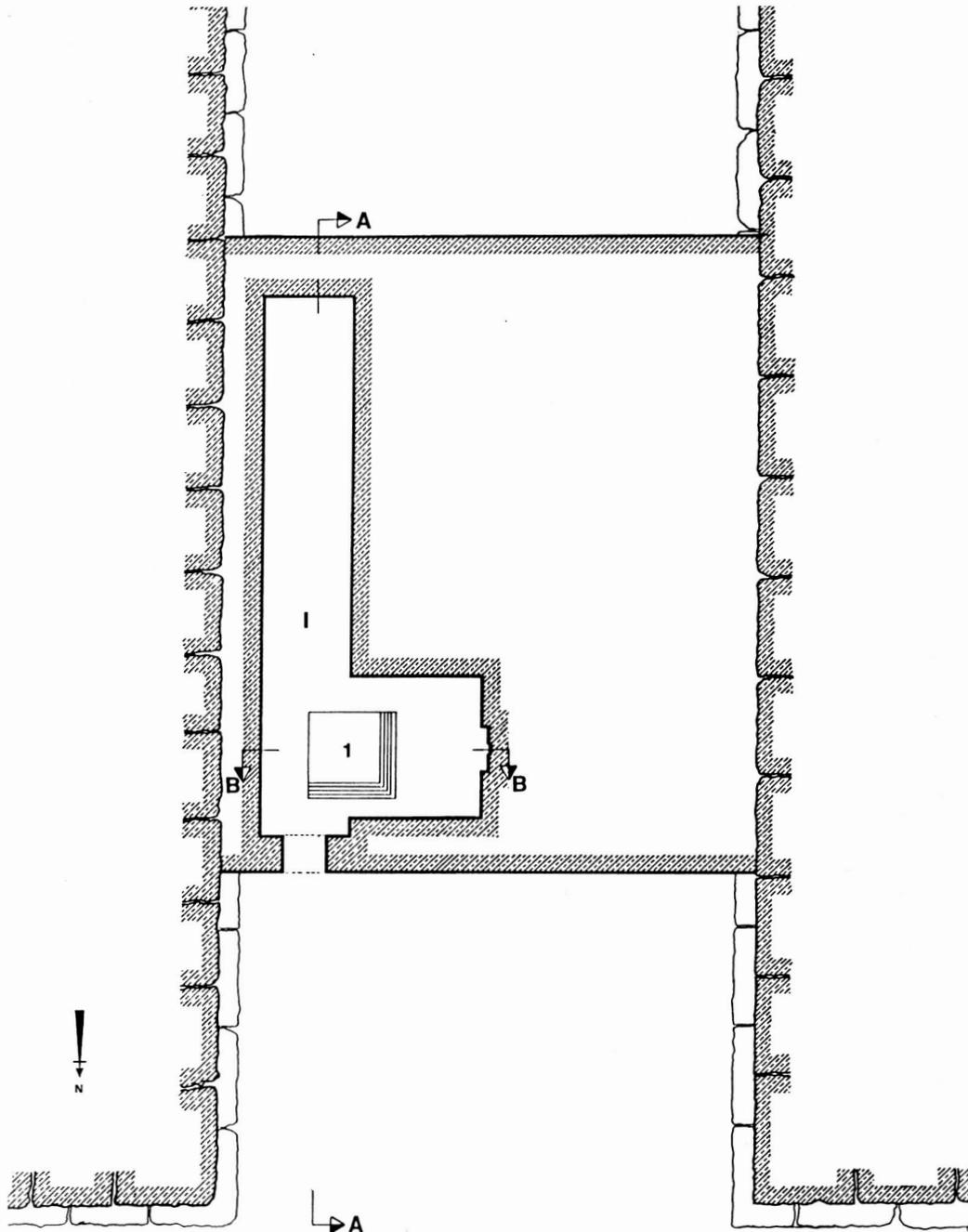


(b) Above southern false door

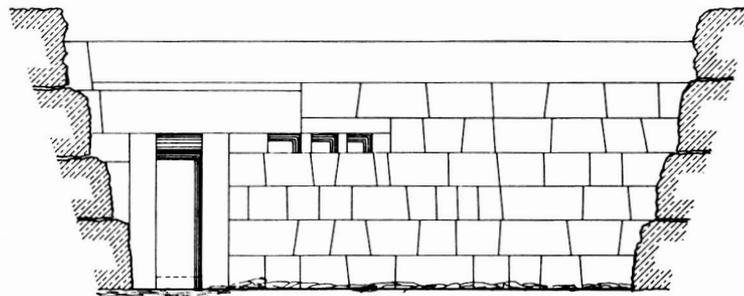


Pl. 24. Seshemnefer, chapel

North wall



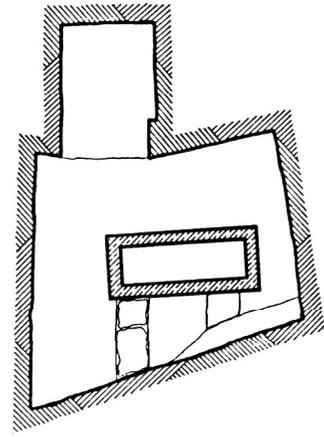
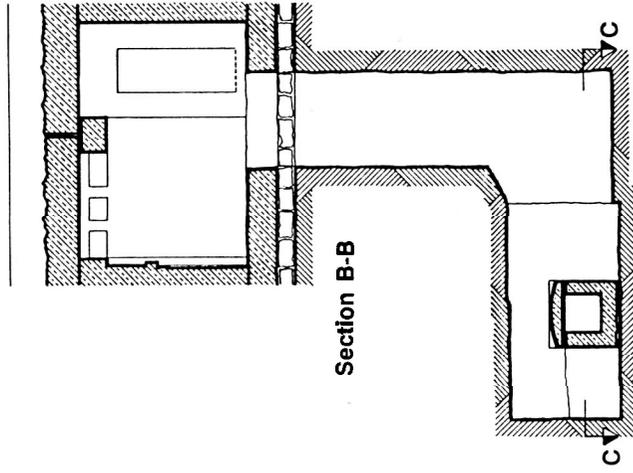
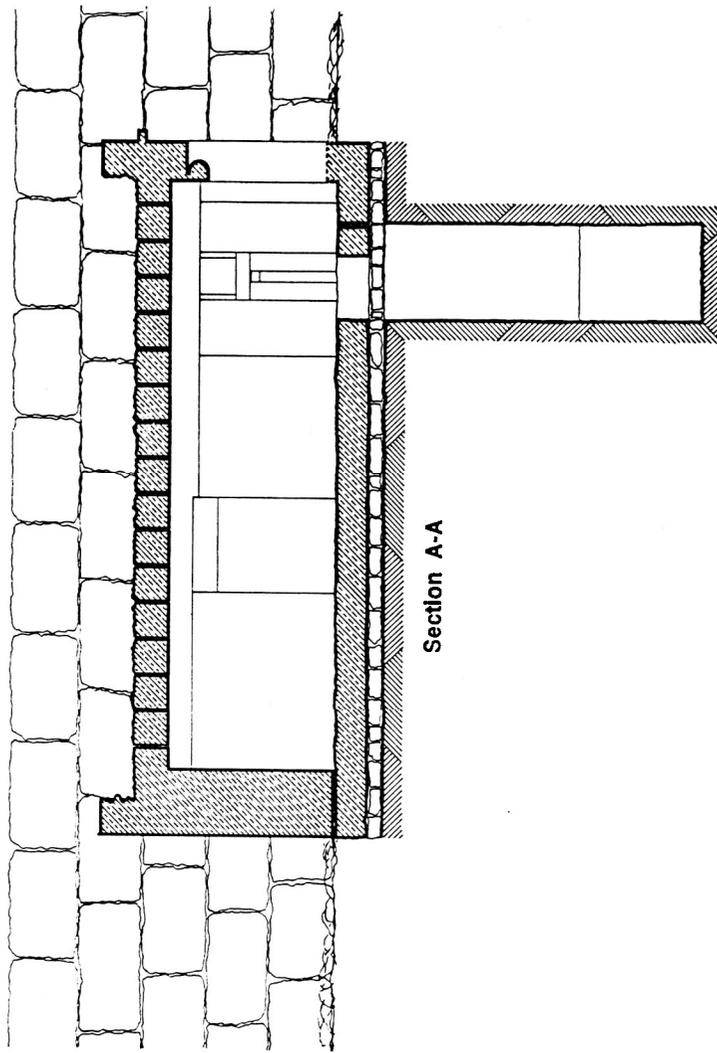
Plan



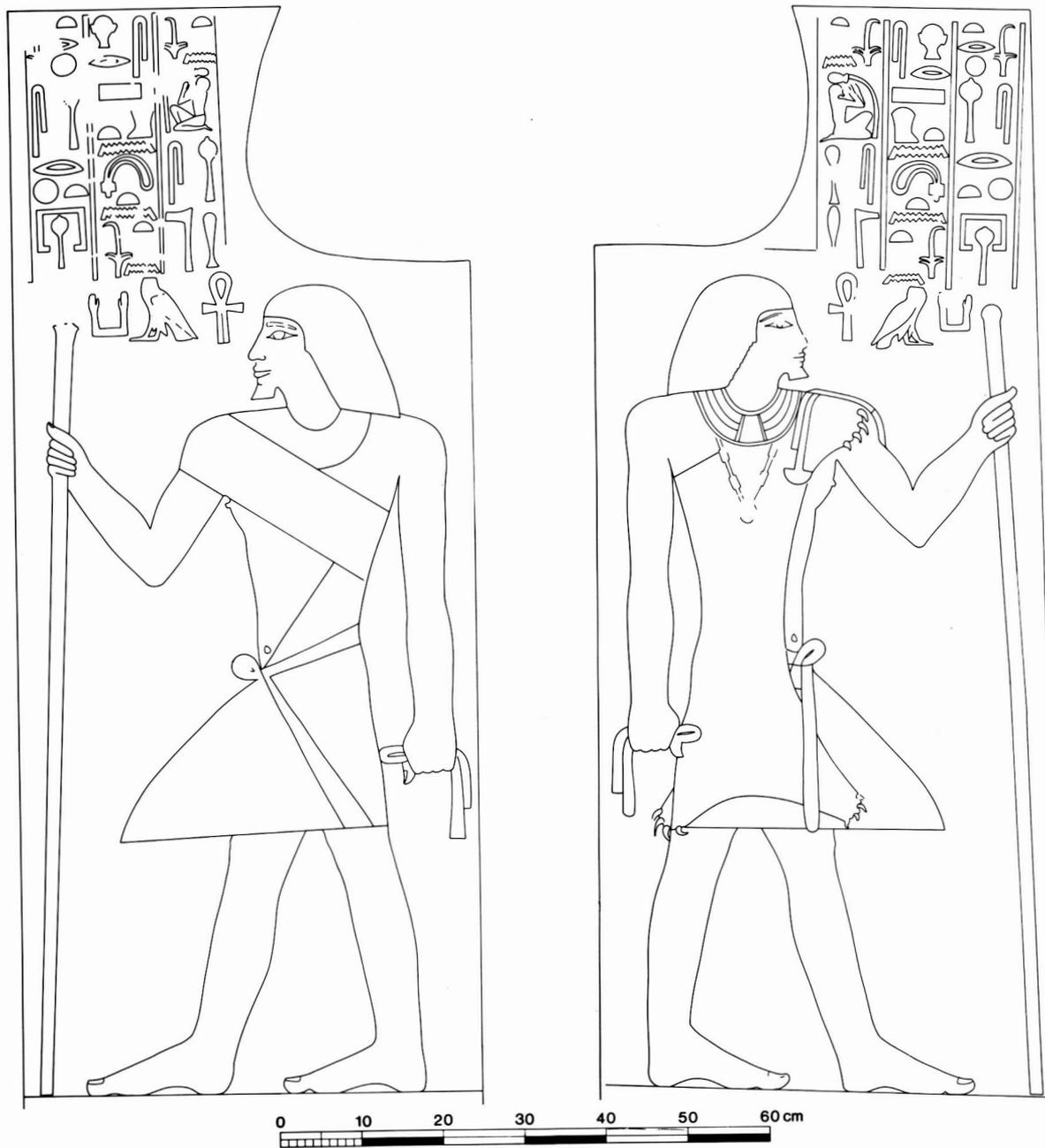
Elevation



Pl. 25. Kaiemankh, architectural plan and elevation

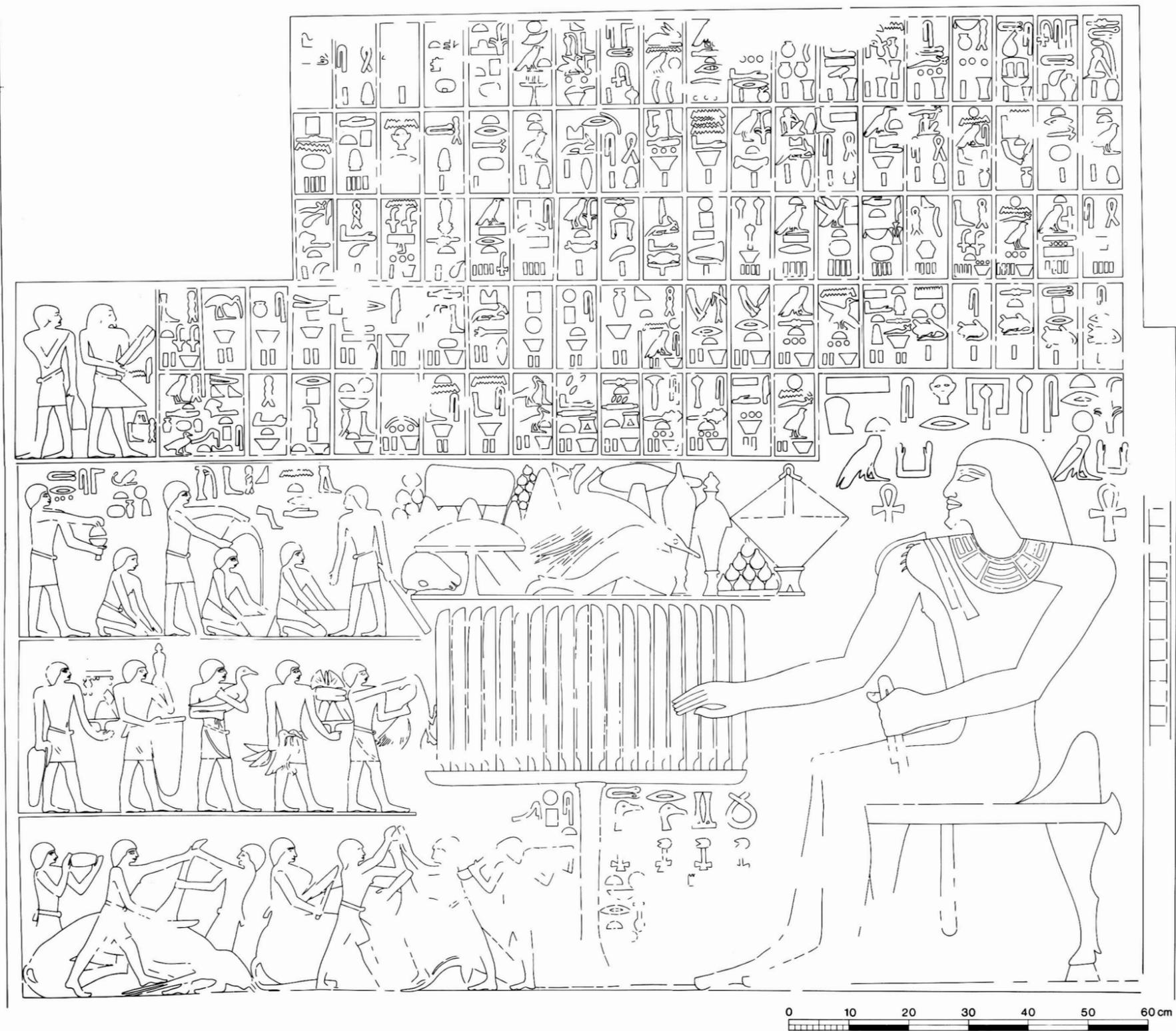


Pl. 26. Kaiemankh

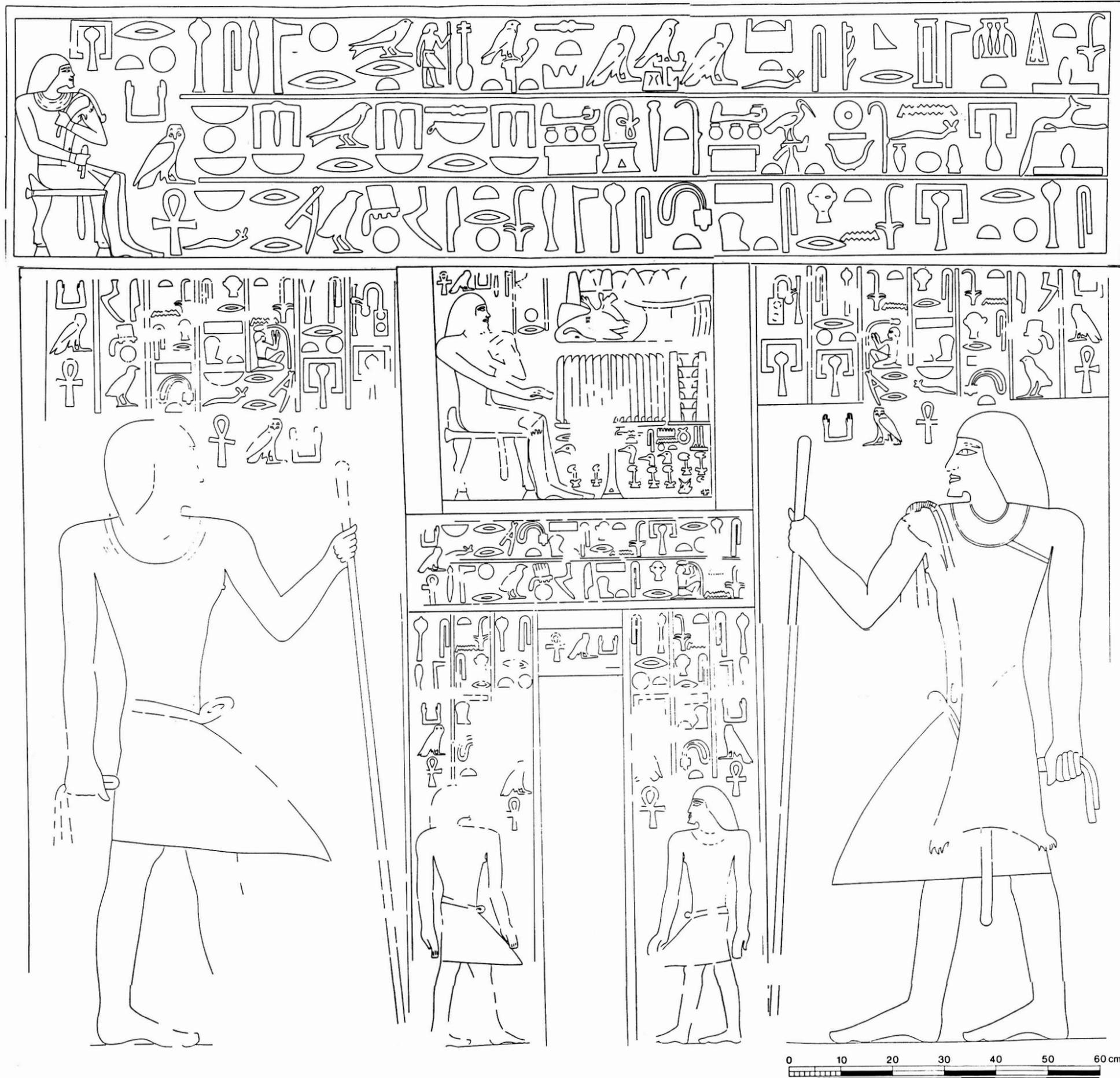


(a) East thickness

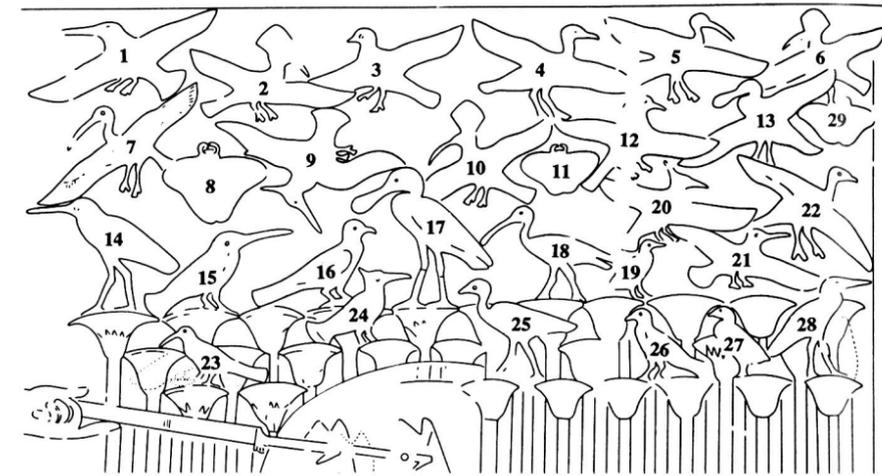
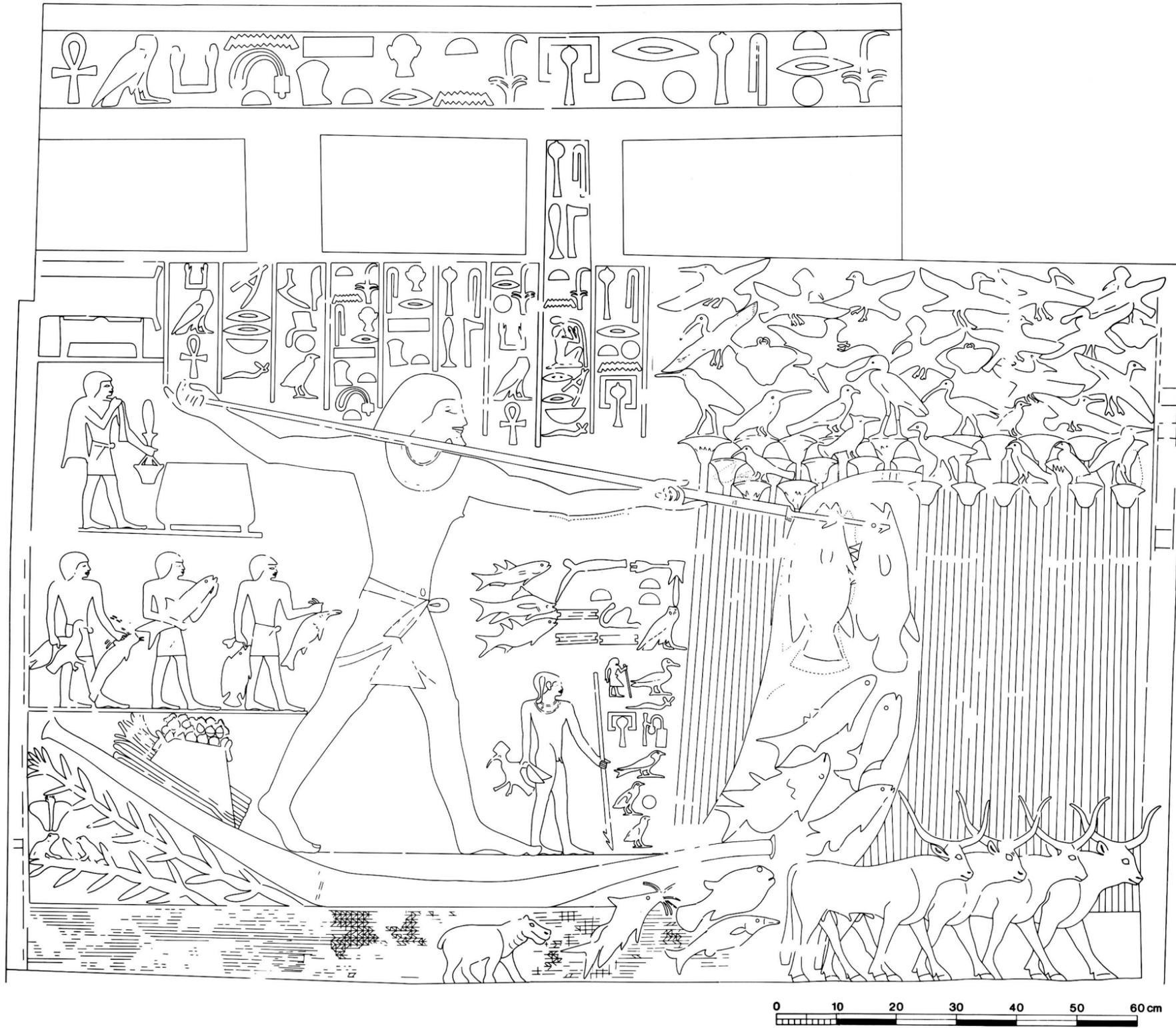
(b) West thickness



Pl. 29. Kaiemankh, chapel, recess, south wall

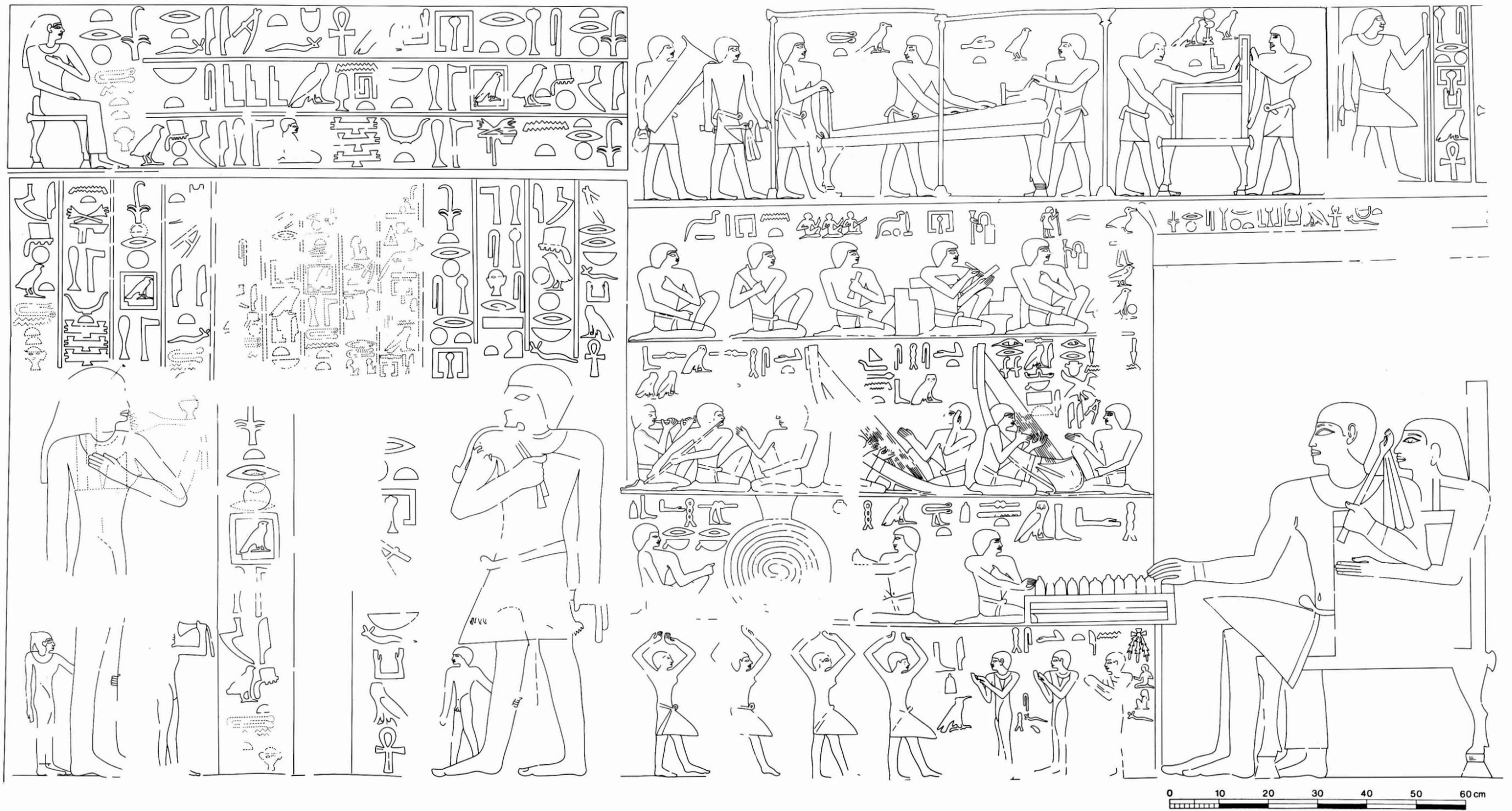


Pl. 30. Kaiemankh, chapel, recess, west wall

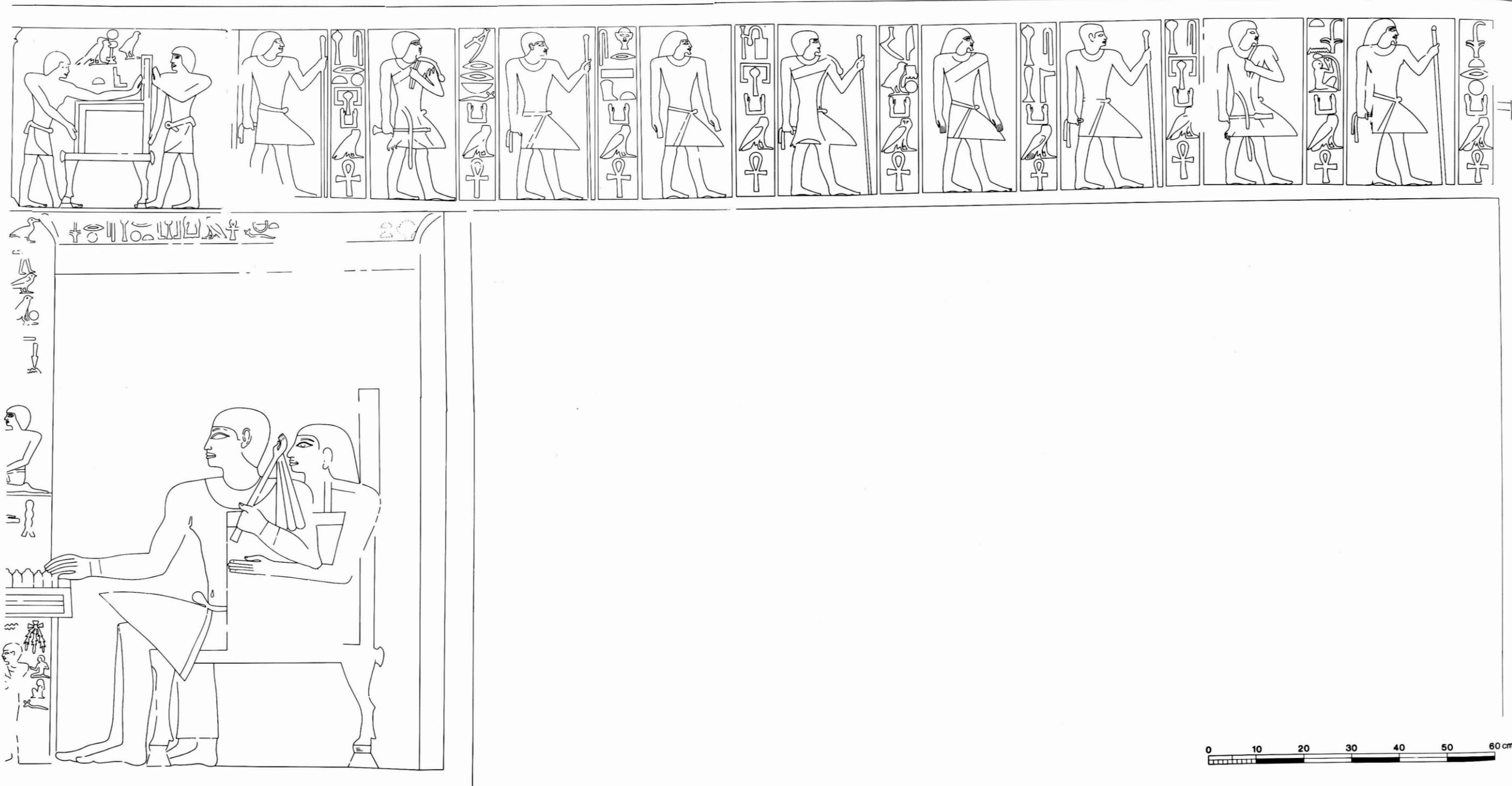


Bird identification (see text page 32)

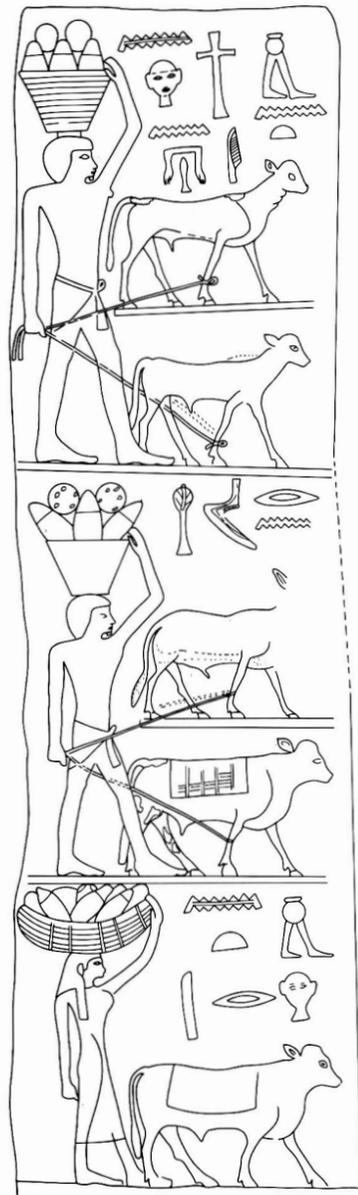
Pl. 31. Kaiemankh, chapel, recess, north wall



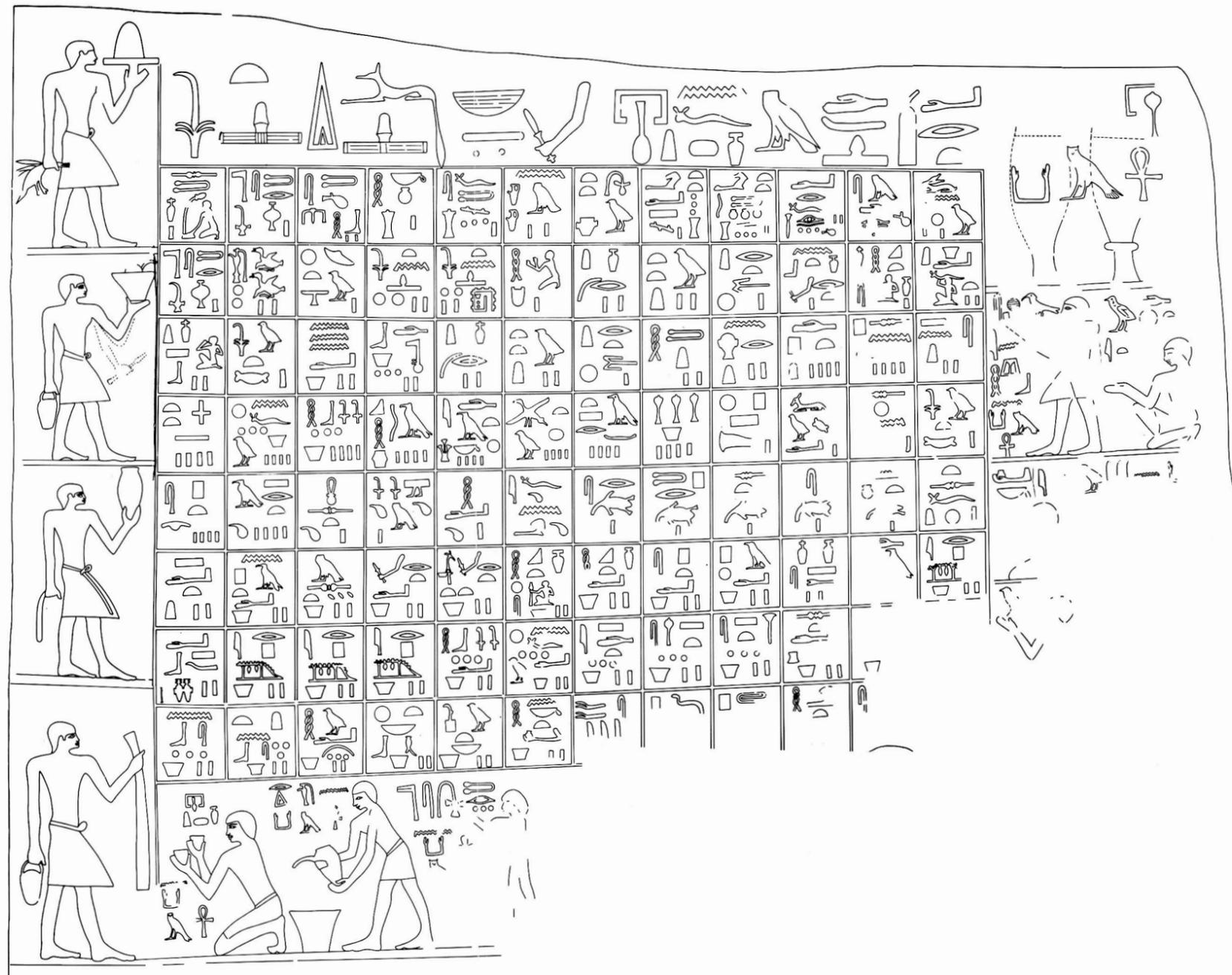
Pl. 32. Kaiemankh, chapel, corridor, west wall, south



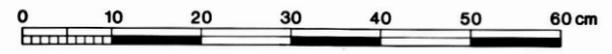
Pl. 33. Kaiemankh, chapel, corridor, west wall, north

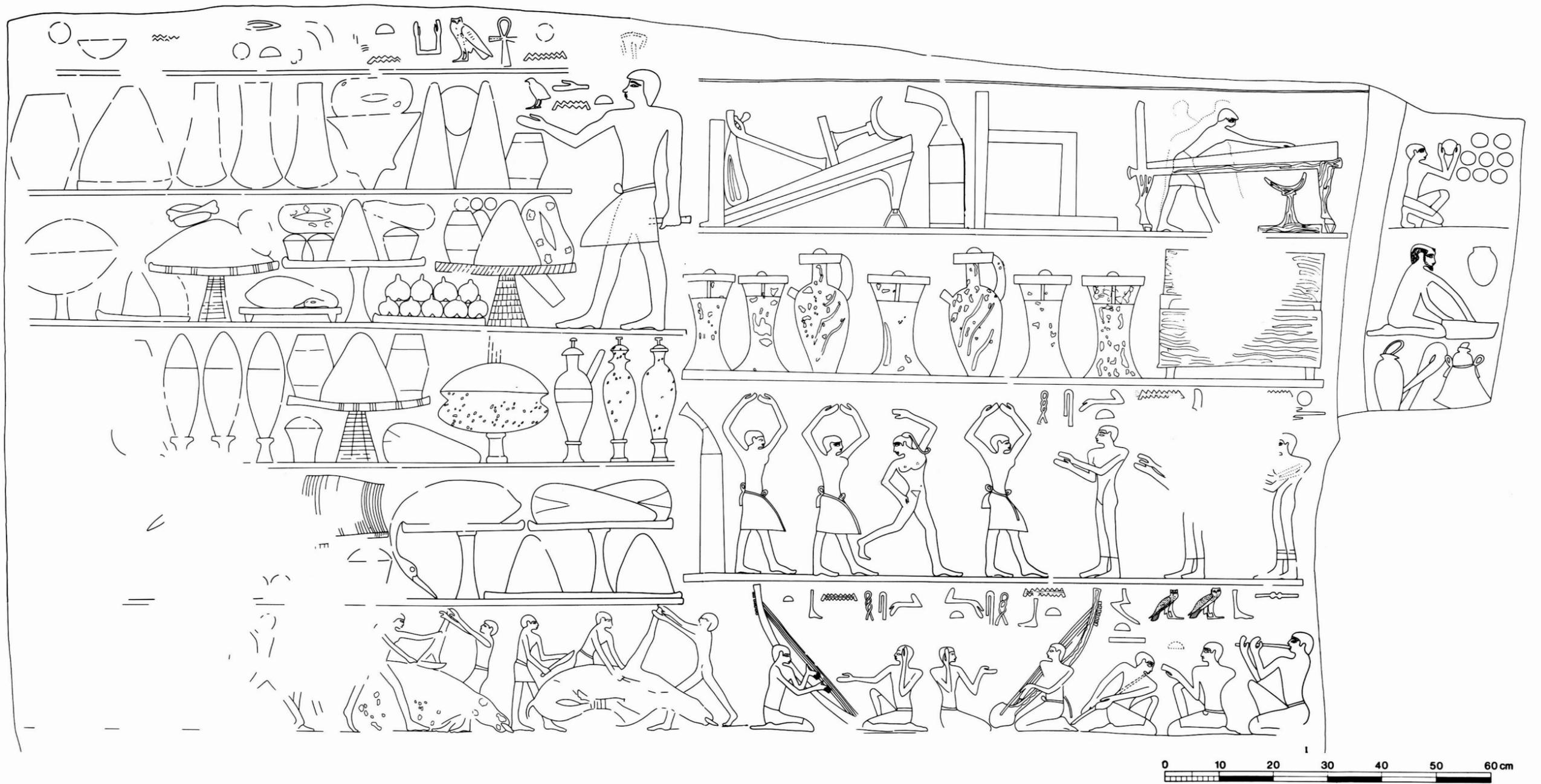


(a) North of entrance

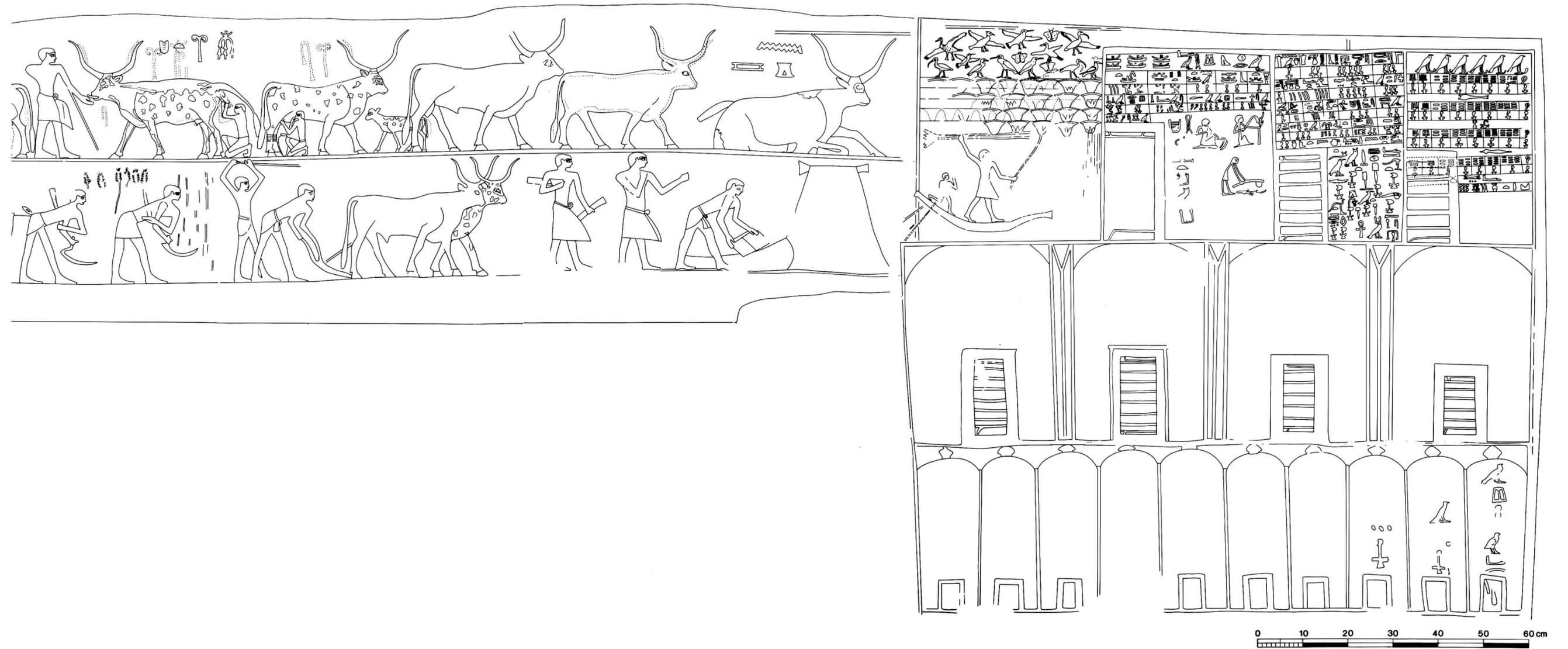


(b) South of entrance

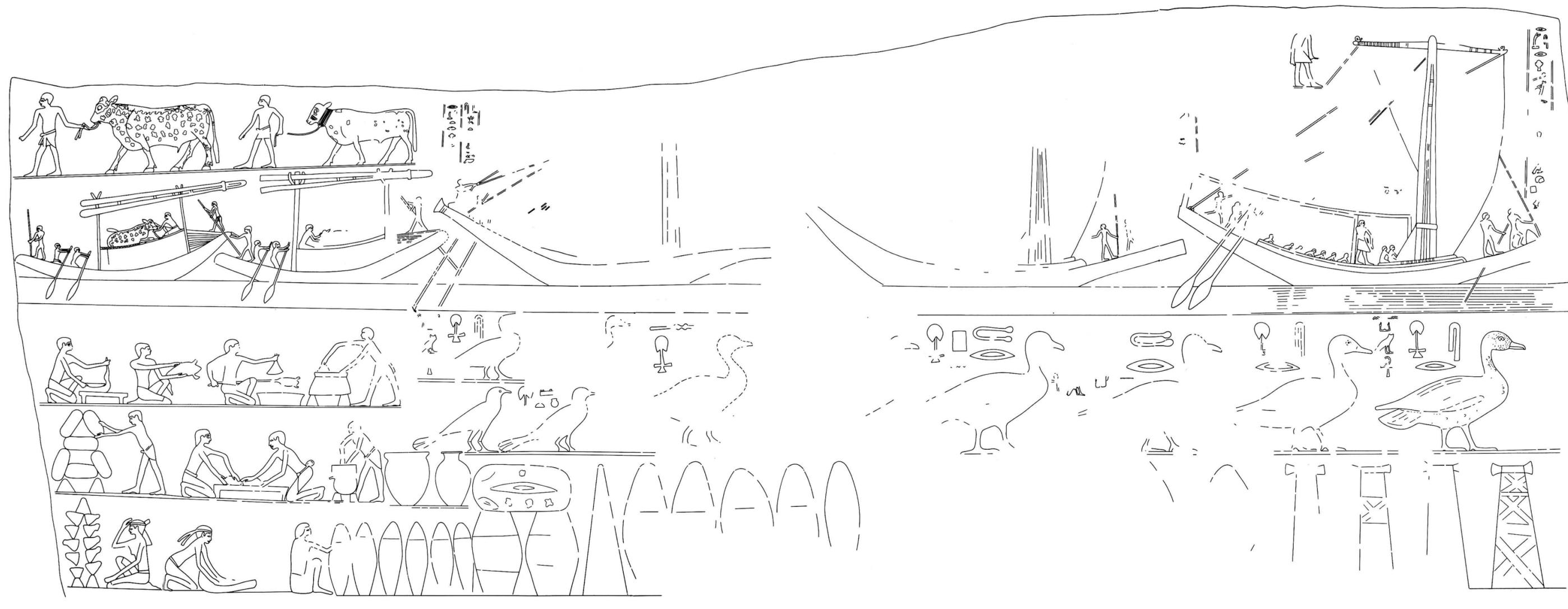




Pl. 35. Kaiemankh, burial chamber, south wall



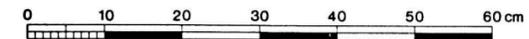
Pl. 36. Kaiemankh, burial chamber, west wall

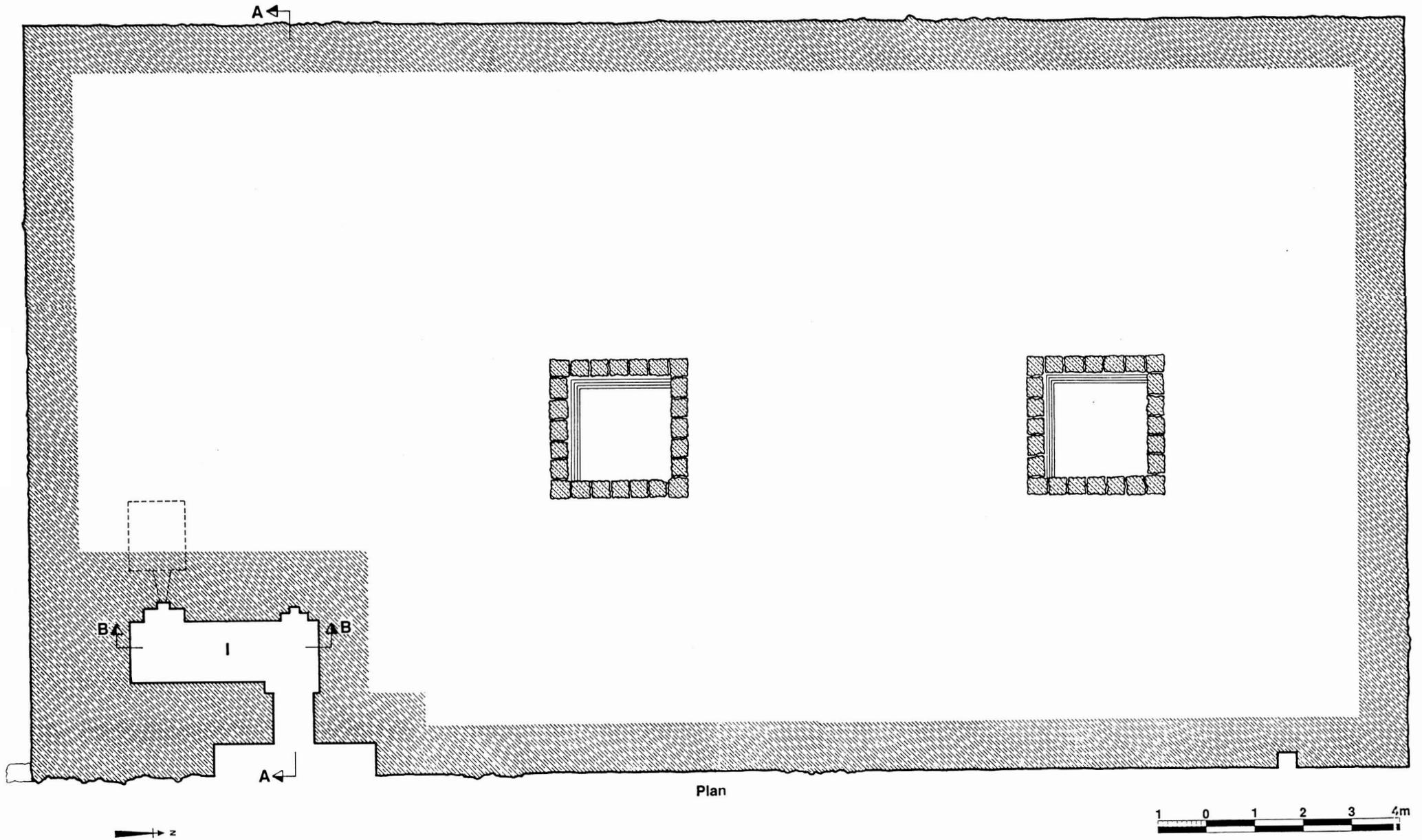


(a) North wall



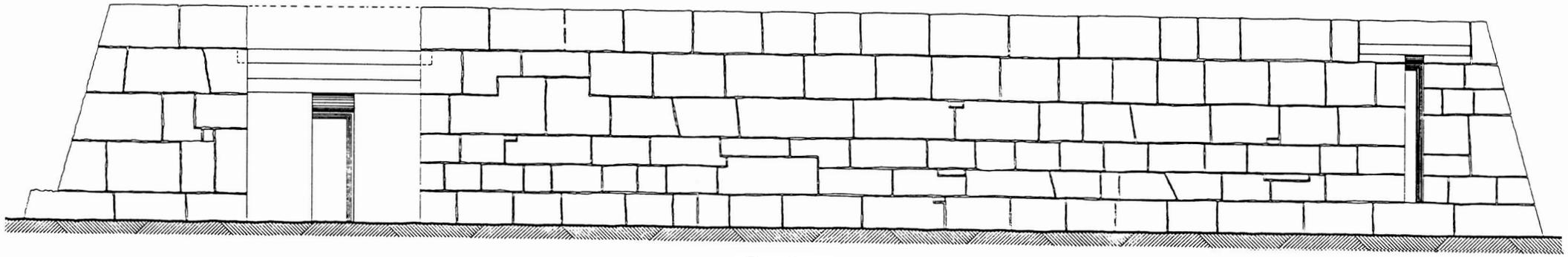
(b) Sarcophagus





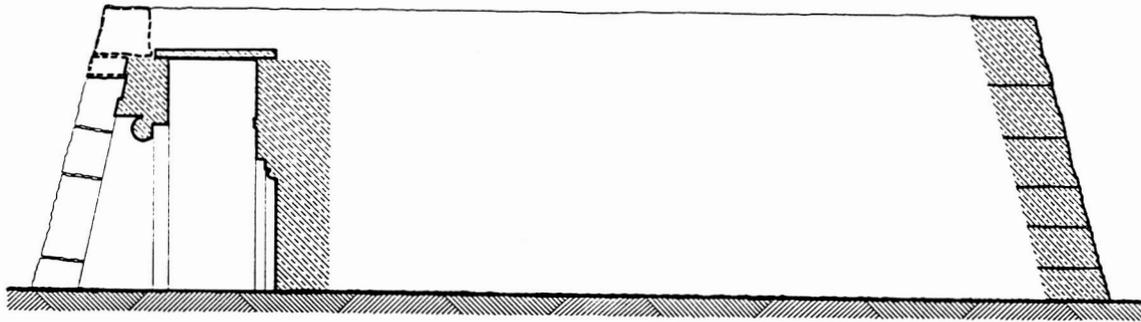
Plan

Mastaba, plan

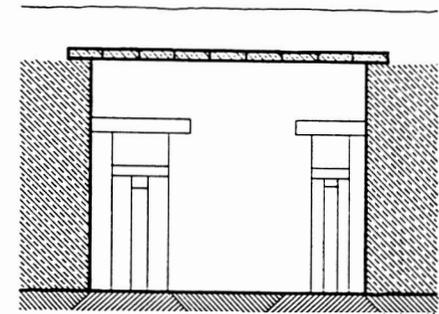


Elevation

Pl. 39. Seshemnefer



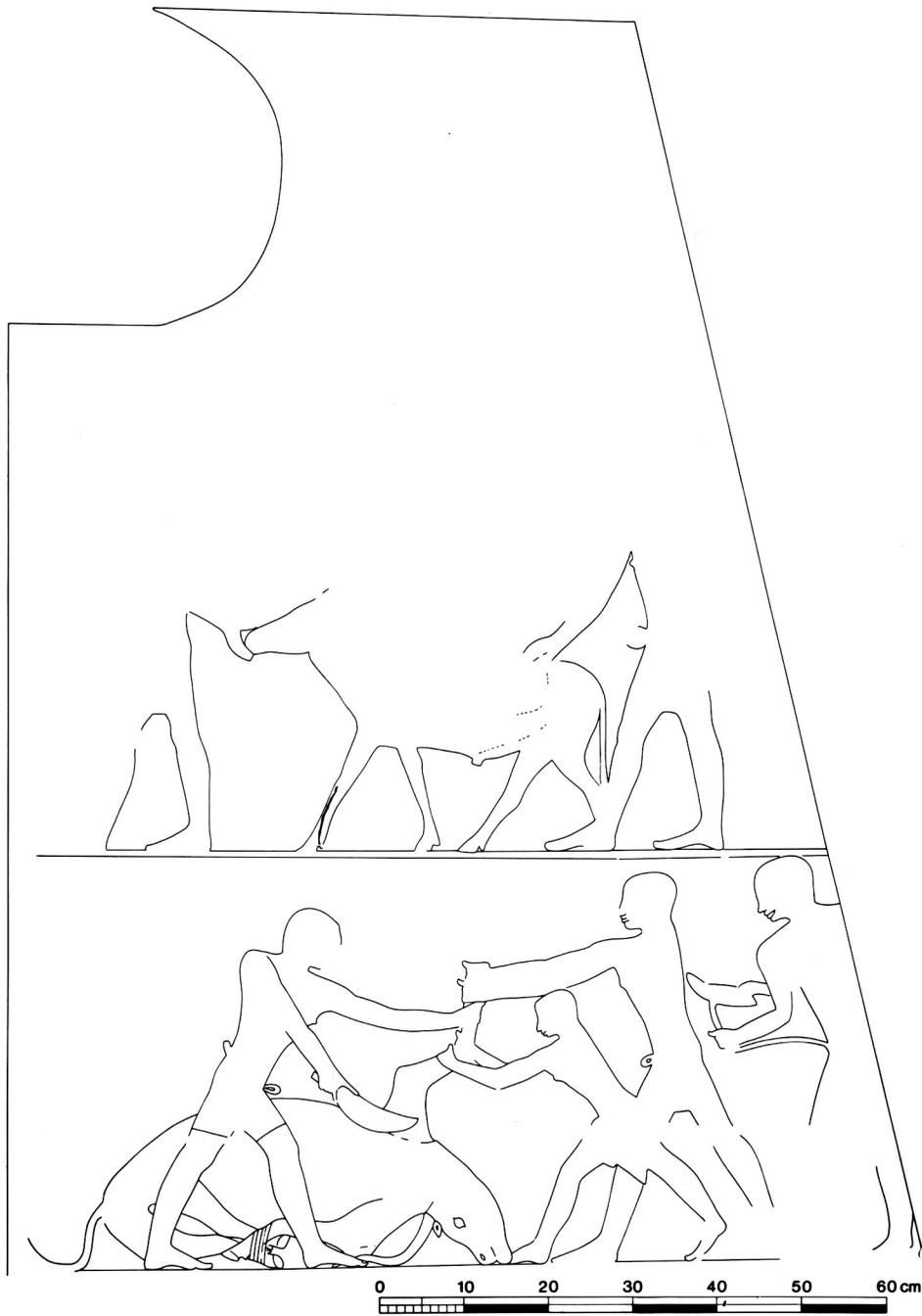
Section A-A



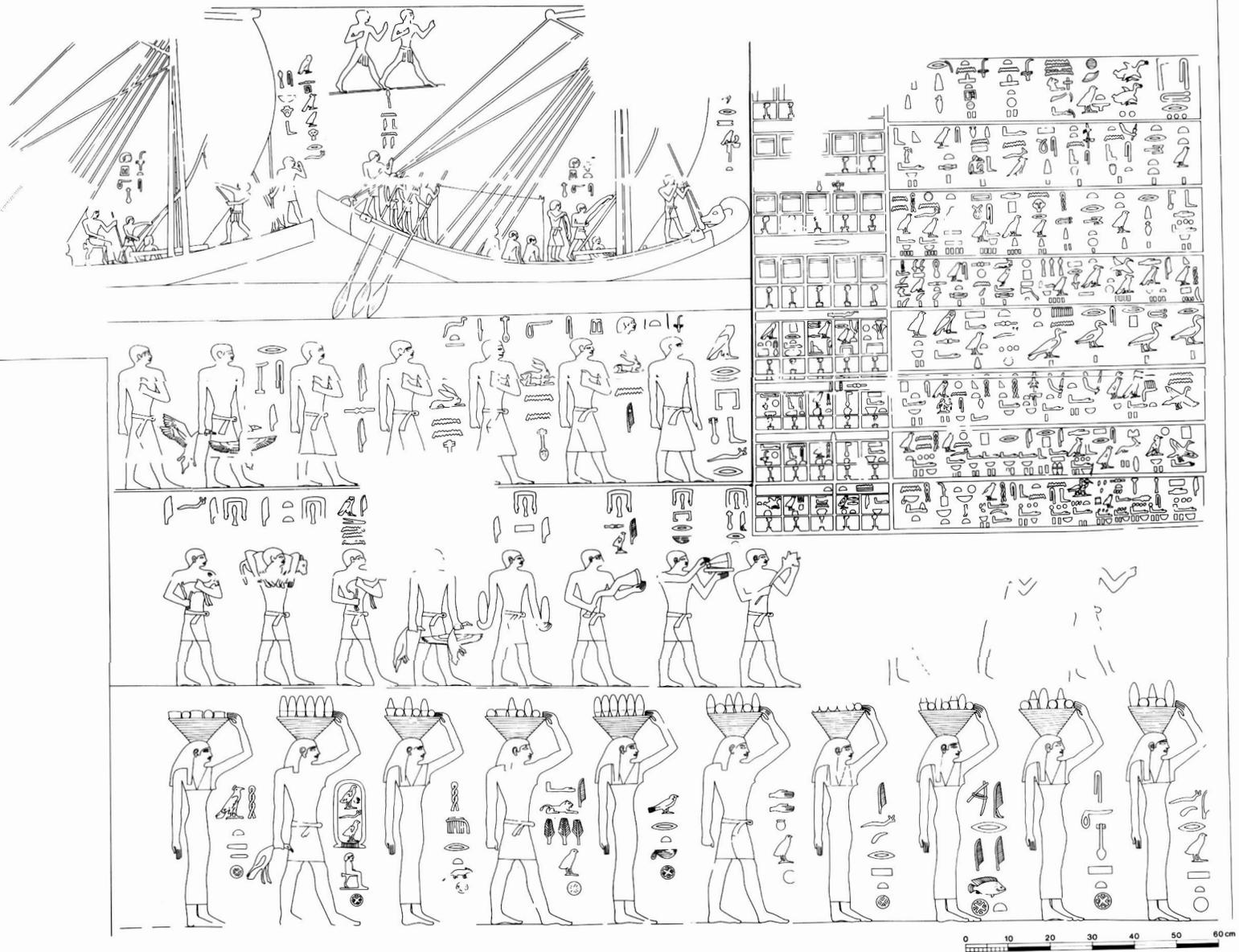
Section B-B



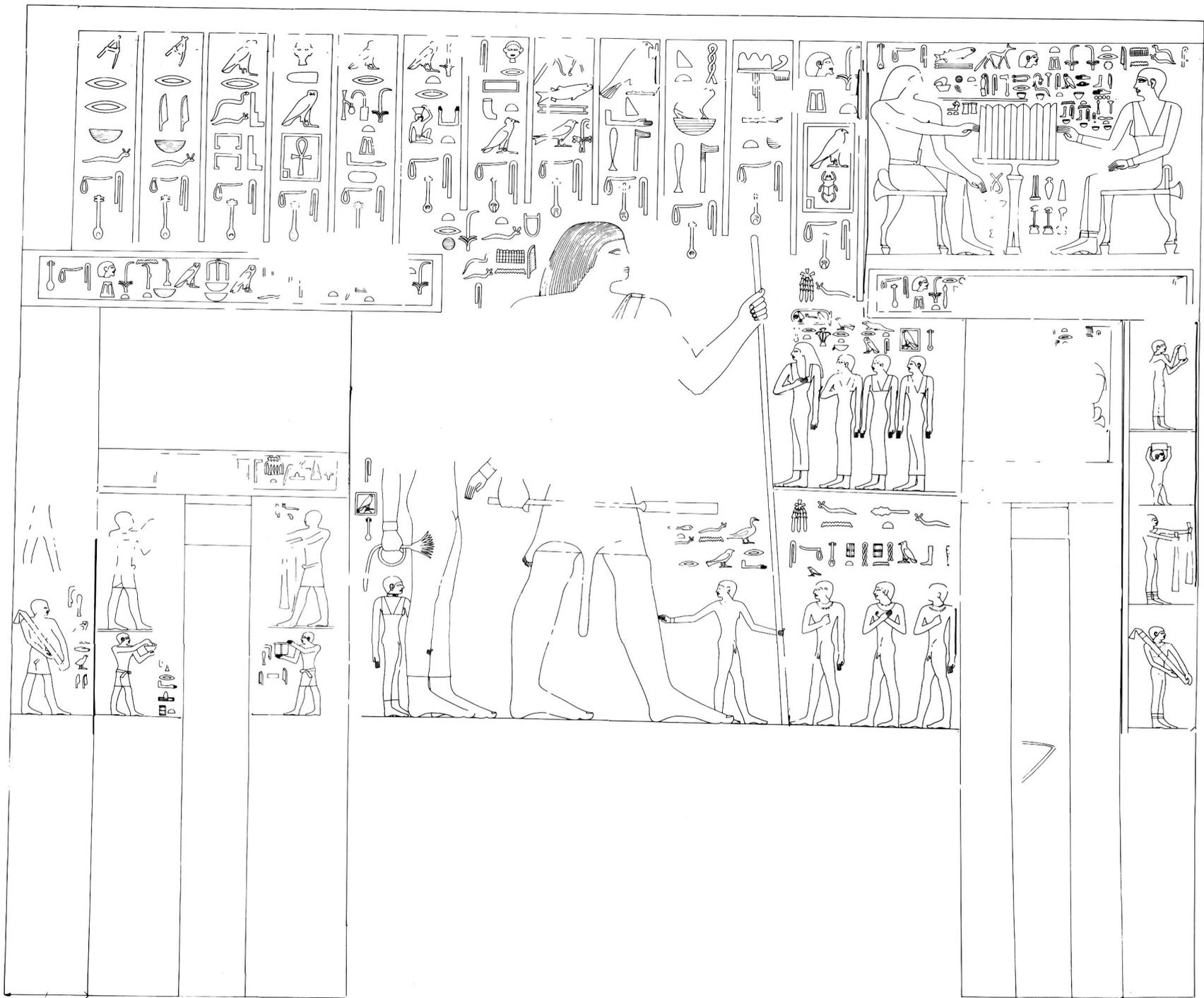
Sections



Pl. 40. Seshemnefer, north entrance thickness

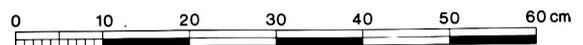
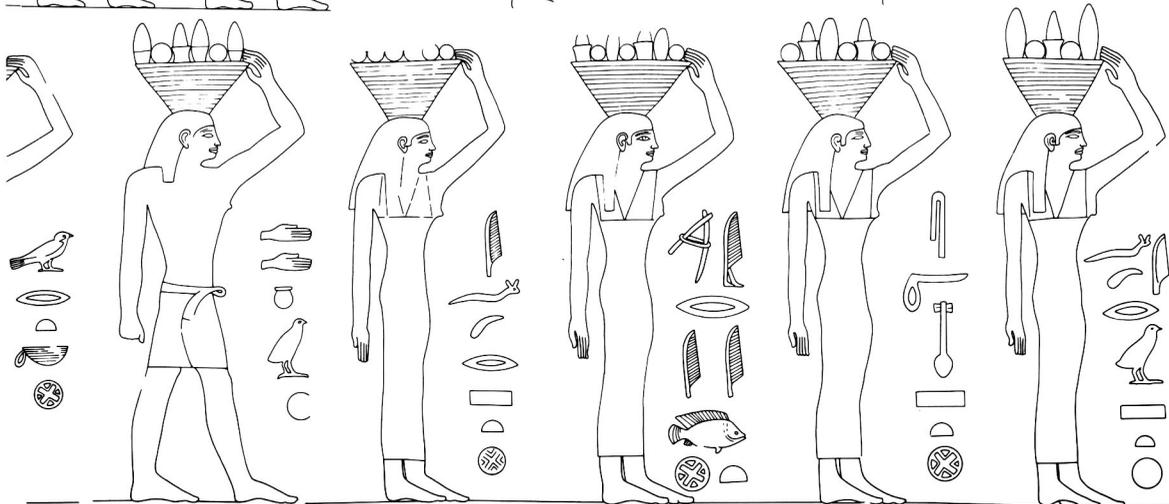
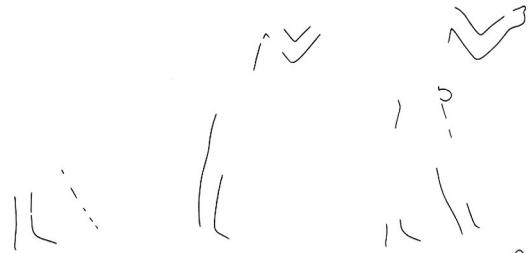
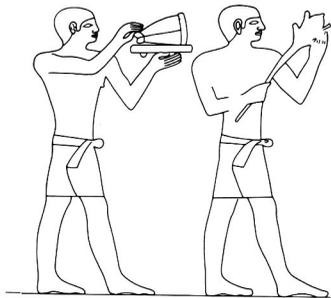
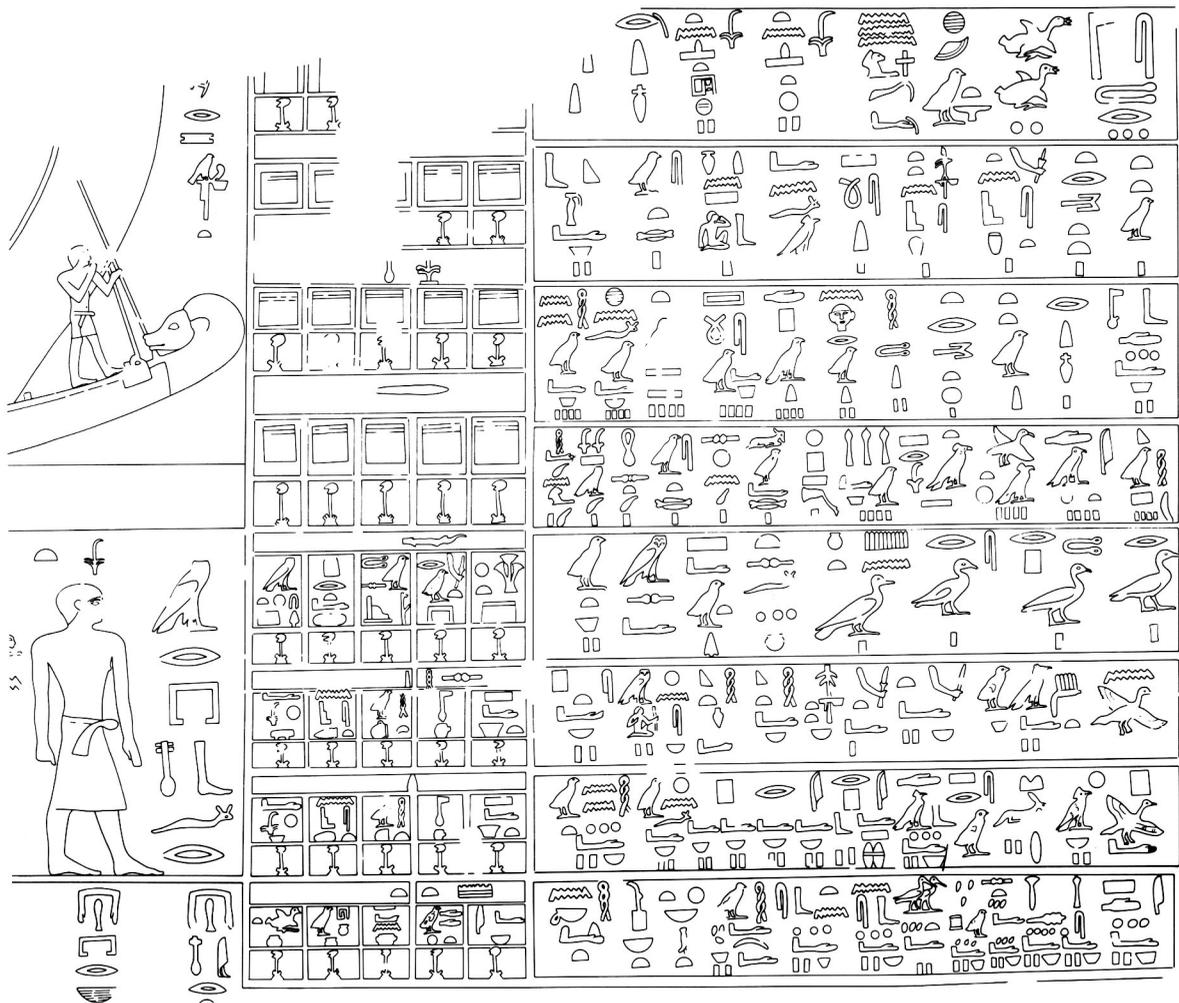


East wall

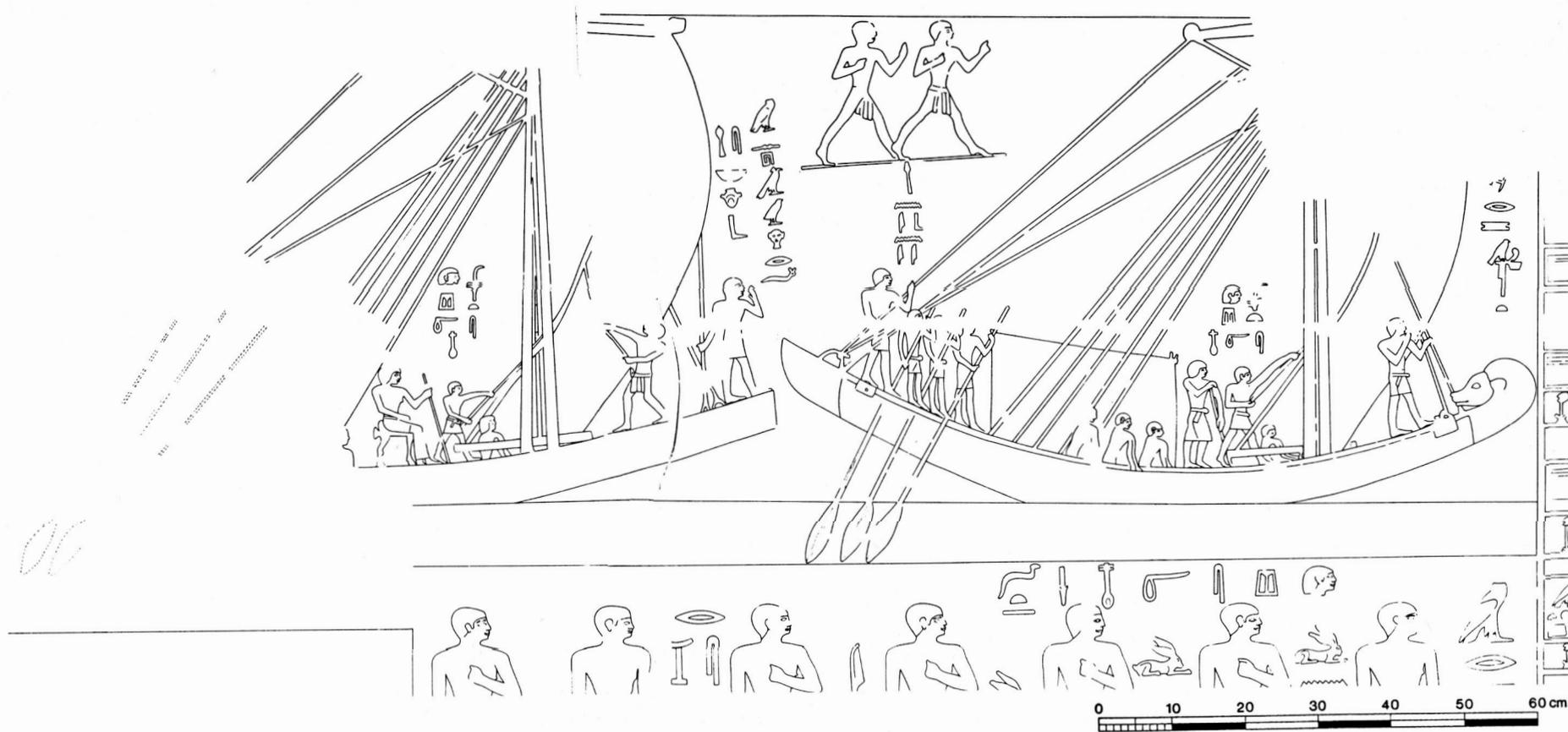


West wall

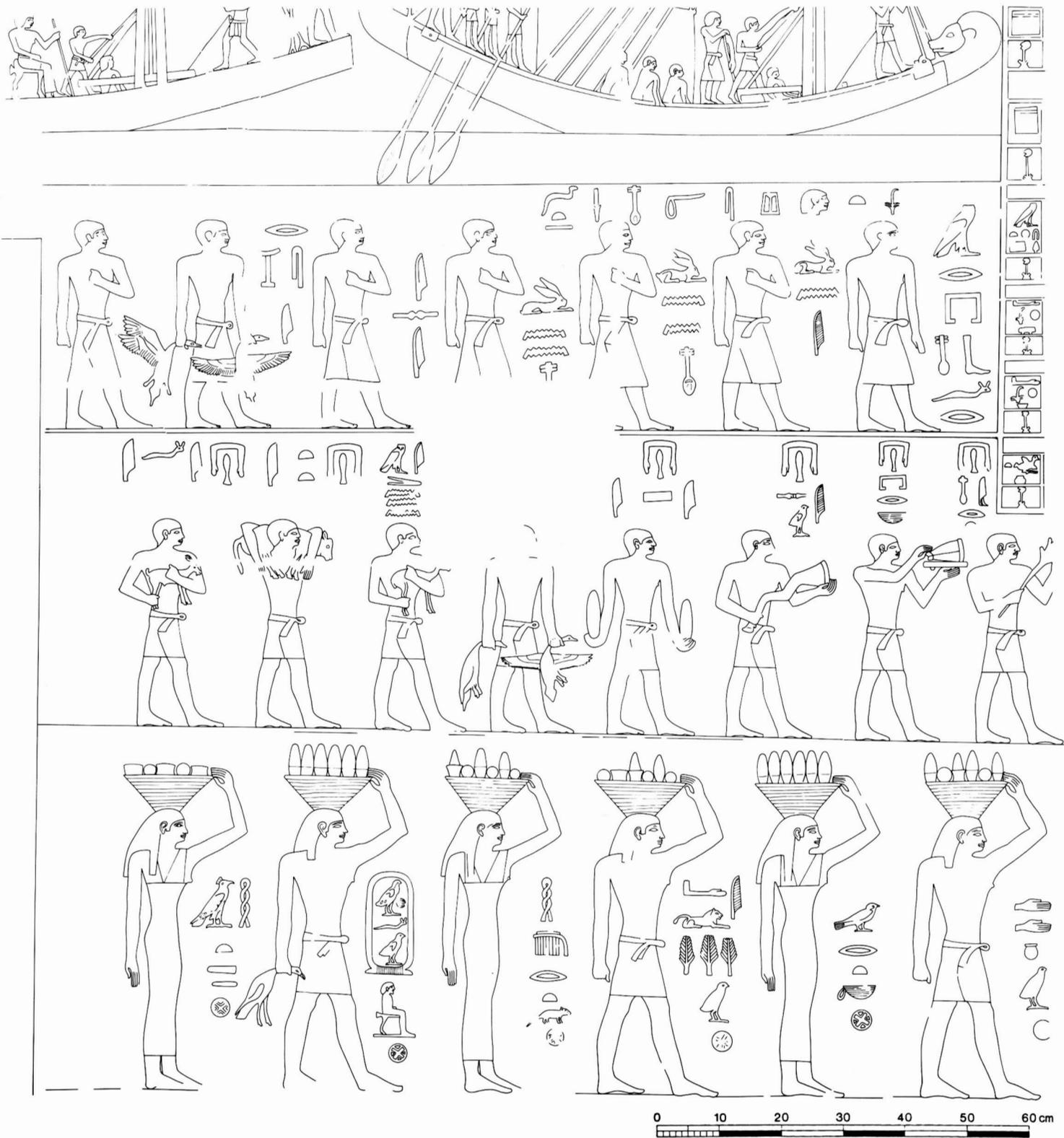
Pl. 42. Seshemnefer, chapel



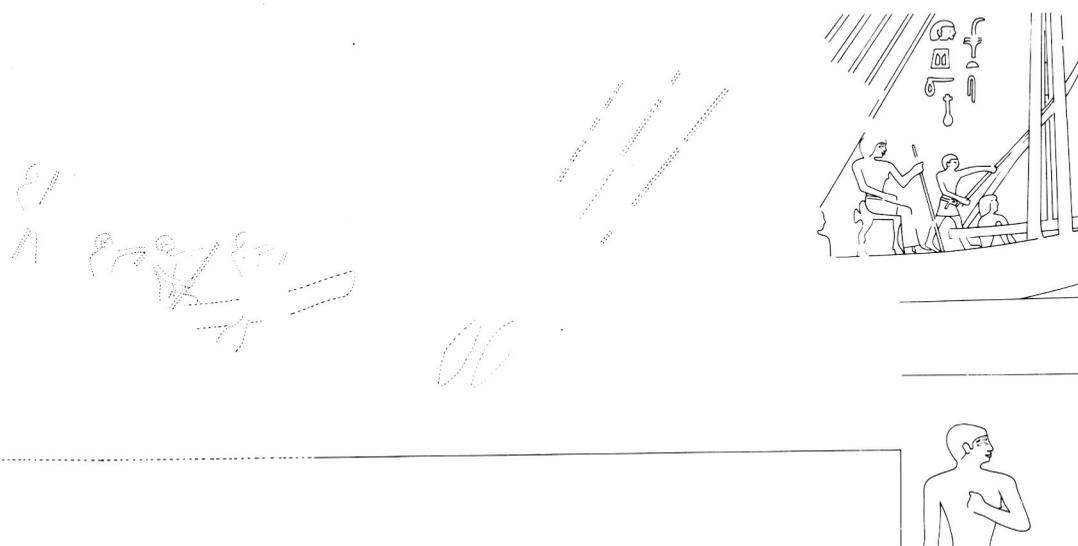
Pl. 43. Seshemnefer, chapel, east wall, detail



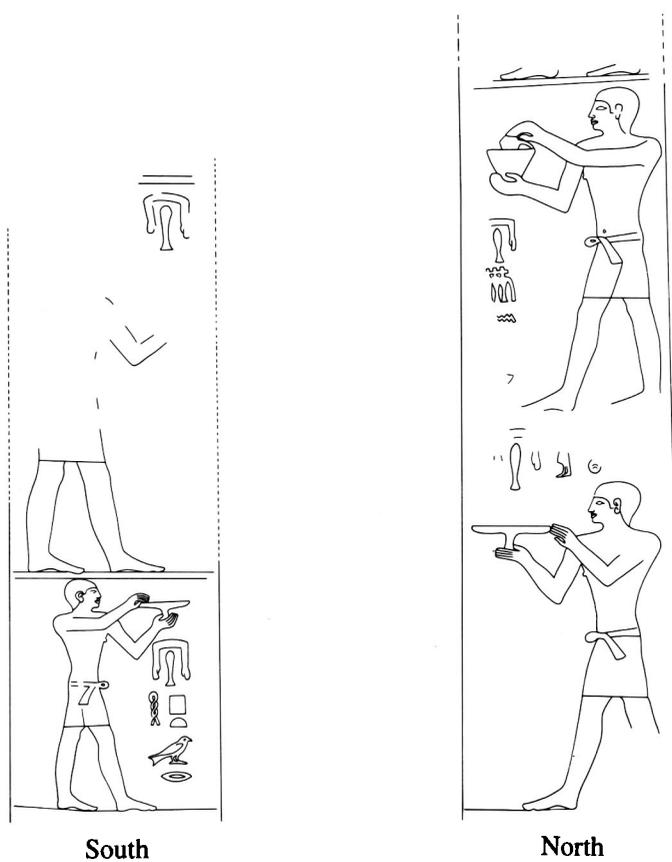
Chapel, east wall, detail



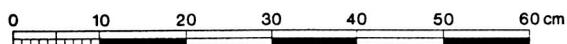
Pl. 45. Seshemnefer, chapel, east wall, detail

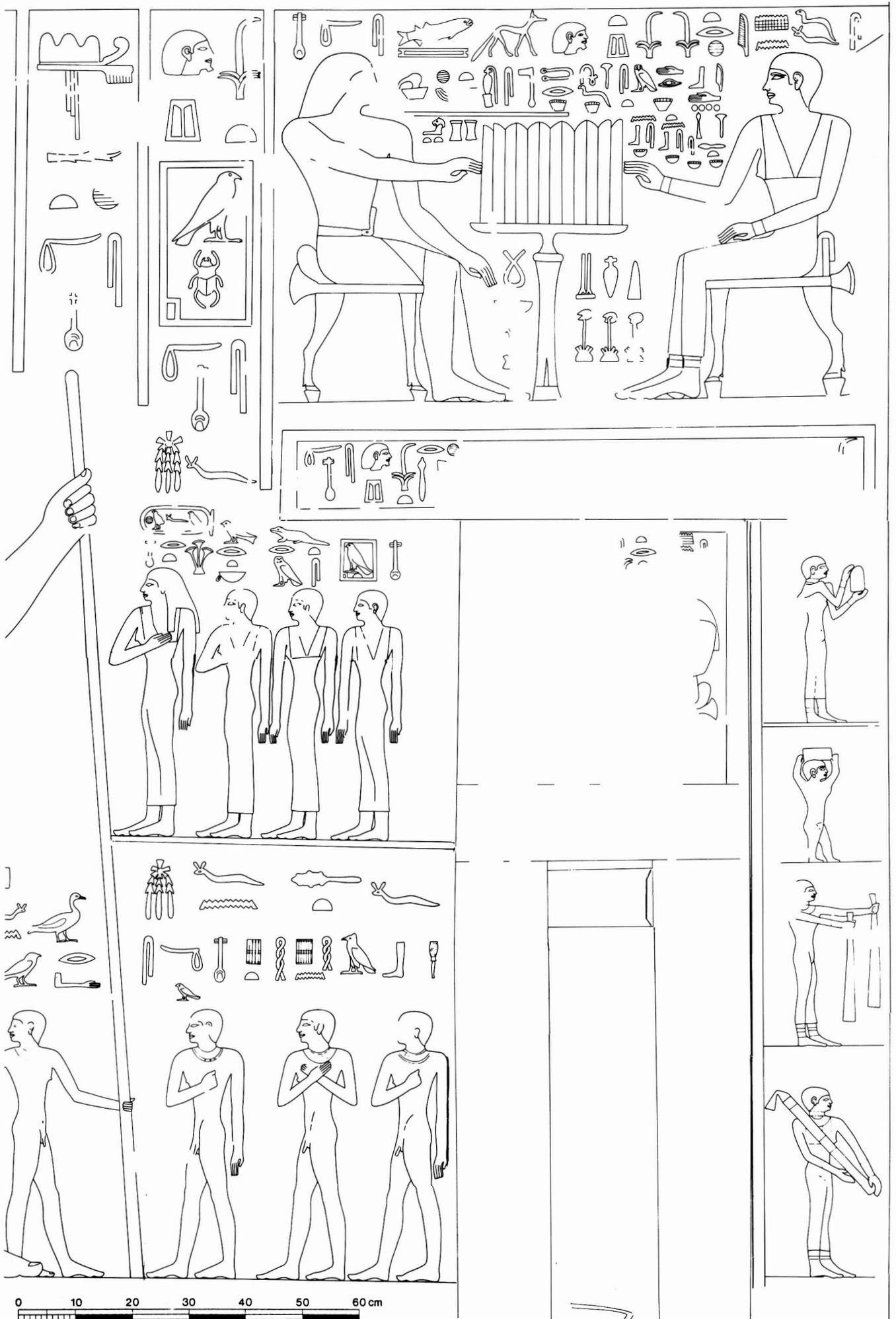


a) East wall, detail

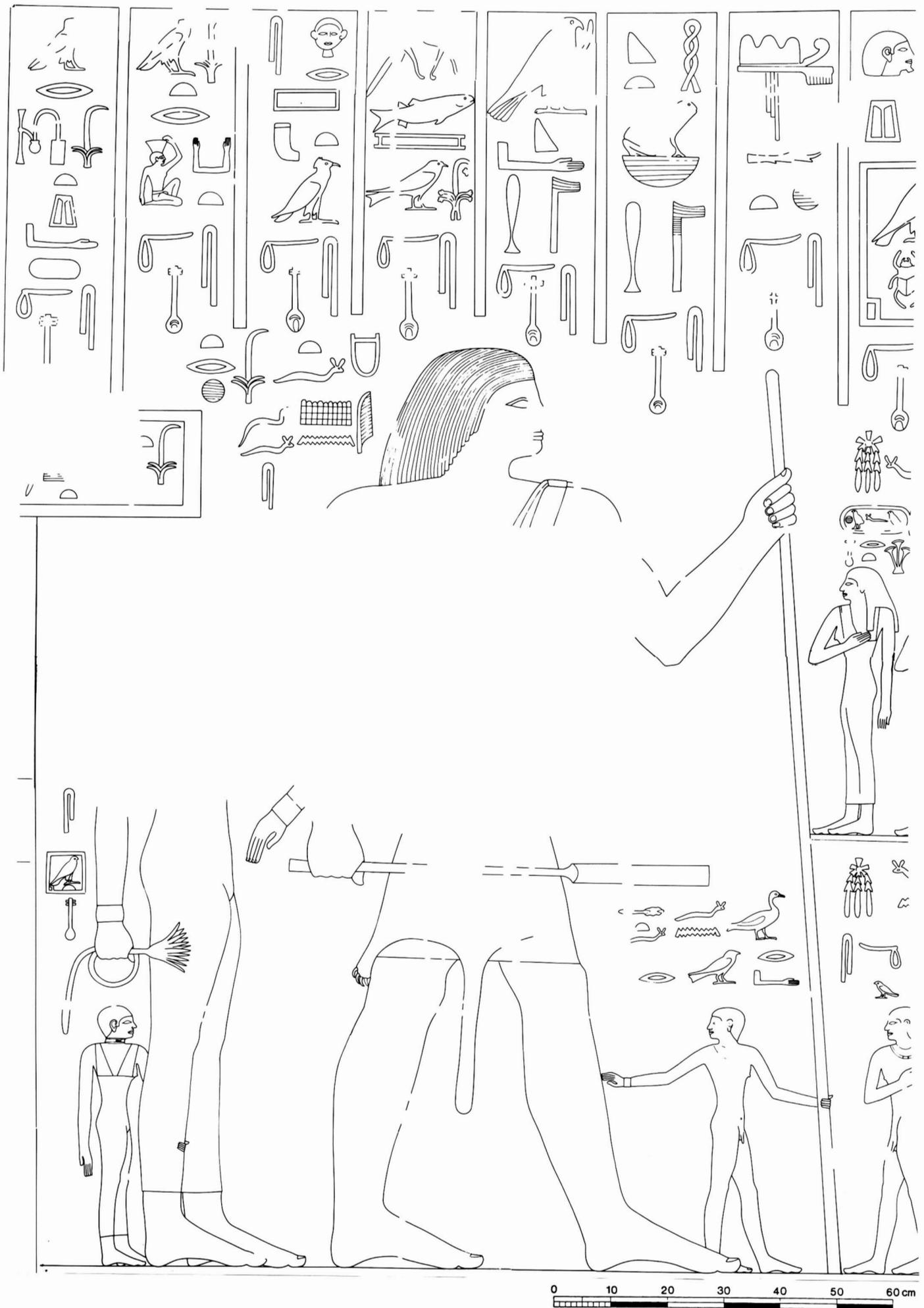


b) West wall, south false door thicknesses





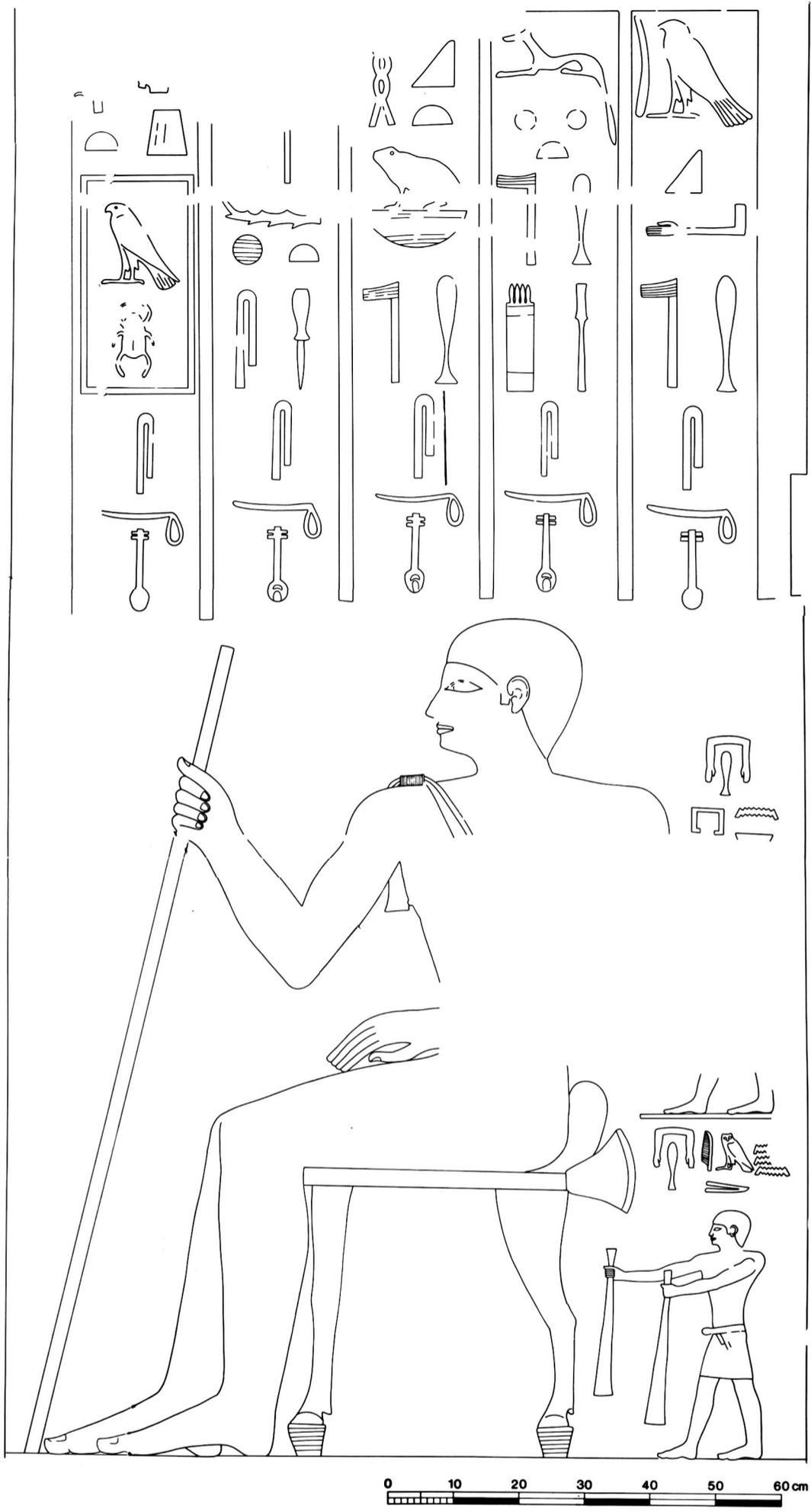
Pl. 47. Seshemnefer, chapel, west wall, detail



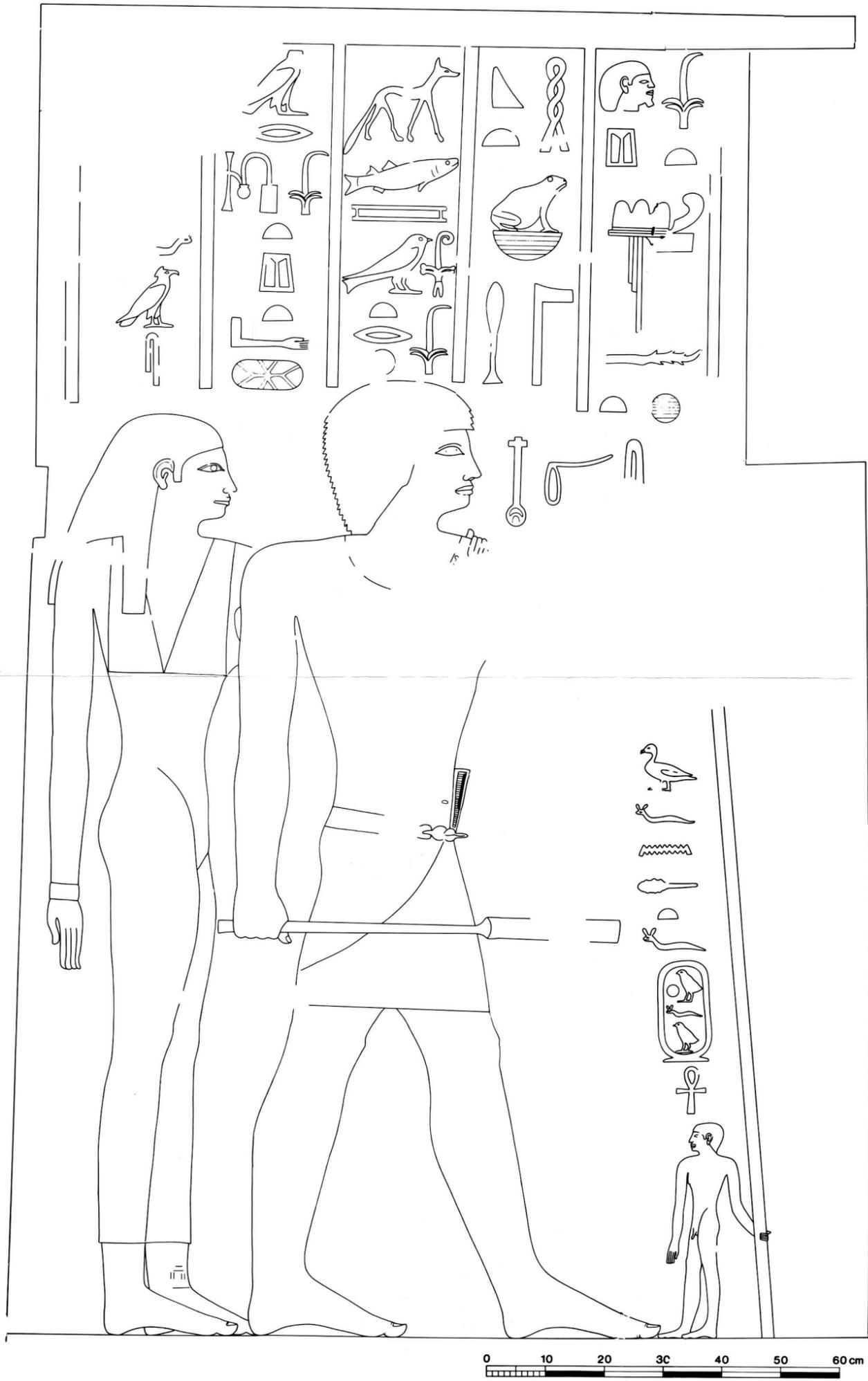
Pl. 48. Seshemnefer, chapel, west wall, detail



Pl. 49. Seshemnefer, chapel, west wall, detail



South wall



North wall