

**The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the
Tomb of 'Ankhn'ahor at Saqqara**

by
Alexander Badawy

University of California Press

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PREFACE

This report covers the second season of fieldwork in Egyptology carried out by two students from the Art Department, University of California, Los Angeles, acting as assistant research archaeologists under my supervision. The aim of the project, sponsored by the Egyptian Service of Antiquities, was investigation of the mastabas of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and of 'Ankhn'ahor at Saqqara. The research, carried out in the autumn (October-December) of 1974, included the survey of superstructures and the tracing, photographing, and description of wall scenes. Both monuments had been published incompletely before. The publication on Nyhetep-Ptah's mastaba by Lepsius proved useful, as the scenes have deteriorated since that time. Capart's publication on the mastaba of 'Ankhn'ahor consisted only of photographs and a cursory description.

The project was made possible by Professor Bernard Kester, chairman of the Art Department, and Professor Otto-Karl Werckmeister, vice-chairman in charge of art history, who allowed grants from the Dickson Fund for the two students. I was the beneficiary of grants from the Research Committee of the Academic Senate, UCLA, and from the American Philological Society, Philadelphia.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the generous help of Egyptian authorities from the Ministry of Culture: Dr. Gamal Mokhtar, deputy minister, and Dr. Henri Riad, director of the Service

of Antiquities, who made possible the concession for investigation. Thanks are owing to the representatives of the service, Mrs. Nagla Hassan, inspectress at Giza, and Mr. Sami Farag, chief inspector at Saqqara.

The rubbings were made by Mrs. Jeanne LaBarbera, assistant research archaeologist for the second season. All drawings of 'Ankhn'ahor were inked by myself, and I also corrected those made for Nyhetep-Ptah. I delivered speeches on the tombs at the Art Department on 3 May 1975 and at the Institut d'Égypte on 2 November 1975. Two articles were published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1976 and 1977.

My sincere appreciation goes to Miss Nancy Thomas for the countless hours she devoted for correcting, assembling, and mounting the photographs, using black-and-white negatives and color transparencies. For the second time Miss Thomas has made a significant contribution to the success of the fieldwork and its publication.

To James Kubeck, of the University of California Press, are due my best thanks for his help toward publishing this work and for contributing with his artistic and technical competence to the success of its production. I am grateful to Mrs. Grace Stimson who so accurately and expeditiously edited the complicated manuscript.

Alexander Badawy

ABBREVIATIONS

- Capart, *Rue*
J. Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah*. (Brussels, 1907).
- Edel, *Phraseologie*
E. Edel, *Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der Ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches*. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo, (vol. 13. Berlin, 1944).
- Firth and Gunn, *TPC*
C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*. 2 vols. (Cairo, 1926).
- Helck, *Beamtentitel*
W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentitel des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches*. (Glückstadt, 1954).
- Junker, *Giza I-XII*
H. Junker, *Bericht über die Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza*. (Vienna, 1929-1955).
- Lepsius, *Denkmäler*
R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. 12 vols. plates; 5 vols. text. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1849-1913).
- Montet, *Scènes*
P. Montet, *Les Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*. (Strasbourg, 1925).
- Porter-Moss, *TB*
B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. 7 vols. (Oxford, 1927-1951).
- Vandier, *Manuel*
J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*. Vols. IV, V. Paris, 1964, 1969.
- Wb.
A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-1931).
- Wreszinski, *Atlas*
W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. Vol. III. (Leipzig, 1936).

INTRODUCTION

To the ancient Egyptian the afterlife was as important as life on earth. Modeled on an idealized earthly life, with bountiful harvests, plenty of food, and varied entertainment, either out-of-doors (hunting and fishing) or indoors (dance, music, games), it was an alluring prospect which could be enjoyed by everyone whose body could be preserved from deterioration and for whom a funerary cult with an offering ritual could be provided. The huge cemeteries that appeared from the first dynasty at Saqqara and Abydos and from the fourth dynasty at Giza grouped the tombs of prominent officials around those of the kings whom they had served during their mortal lives. In the two cemeteries at the capital, Memphis, and at Saqqara and Giza tombs had a rectangular mastaba superstructure enclosing a chapel and an underground burial apartment. The superstructures were built along north-south streets crossing secondary east-west streets into a grid pattern characteristic of a preplanned town.

The two tombs here investigated belong to two officials from the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty (2423-2263 B.C.). Although differing in size and style, they derive their wall scenes of daily life from the same repertoire. The custom of representing topics from daily life arose in the third dynasty and evolved gradually from essential themes, such as the repast and the bringing up and presentation of offerings, to activities connected with food provisioning, such as agricultural pursuits, hunting, and fishing. In the Fifth and Sixth dynasties the repertoire was enlarged to include scenes of entertainment and of the funeral. All these wall scenes were supposed to provide by magic a substitute for the provisioning of food offerings, should the ritual not be performed by the clergy endowed for that purpose.

The chapel where the offering ritual was per-

formed came gradually to assume extensive proportions in the southeast part of the mastaba superstructure. In the Sixth Dynasty a tomb chapel consisted of several rooms arranged after the plan of a house, including even a pillared hall or a court bordered with a pillared portico, as at 'Ankhm'ahor. The owner of the tomb rested in his underground burial chamber, but he appeared in the relief representations at the entrance, greeting visitors and asking passersby for the favor of an offering or a prayer. Sometimes he even addressed the specialists responsible for his welfare, such as the lector priests who were to "spiritualize" him, that is, let him become a spirit, and the craftsmen who carefully let down the lid of the sarcophagus. Both these addresses are inscribed at 'Ankhm'ahor. On the walls inside the chapel the owner is shown watching the activities of his men, receiving the products brought for him, and enjoying the entertainments performed.

Although the style of the scenes was formal and sober in the Fourth Dynasty, becoming more elaborate, with more refined relief, in the Fifth Dynasty, it assumed a rather bold projection in the Sixth Dynasty. This characteristic does not mar the remarkable quality of the low relief at 'Ankhm'ahor, which shows a fluid, original design carried out with subtle technique. The architect 'Ankhm'ahor must have been a genius in his own right, for he controlled the work of his sculptor, substituting some elements in lieu of others he did not like, and probably also had a hand in the representation of medical themes.

The contrast between the stark simplicity of Nyhetep-Ptah and the subtle elaboration of 'Ankhm'ahor gives a good picture of art in the two main cemeteries at Memphis during the Sixth Dynasty.

MASTABA OF NYHETEP-PTAH AT GIZA

The tomb was recorded by R. Lepsius, who gave it the number LG 25, drew a sketch plan, and described its wall scenes.¹ The work of Lepsius takes on unusual importance because several parts of the wall scenes have been destroyed since his time and others have become so weathered that they have lost all their inscriptions.

The tomb is located at the northernmost edge of the cemetery between the pyramids of Khufu and Kha'fre' at Giza. Its mastaba superstructure is oriented north-south and contains, at its southeastern corner, a chapel flush with the eastern facade. The superstructure measures 10.6 by 9.4 meters (fig. 1). It is built of a core within walls of local nummulitic stone laid in regular isodomic courses about 0.35 meter in height. Only the edges along the doorway are pointed with the gouge; the bossed faces of the blocks are roughly hammered.

The faces of the superstructure are slightly battered (pl. 1). The doorway (0.77 × 2.00 × 0.54 m. deep) opens in the center of a recess (1.24 m. broad × 0.42 m. deep at ground level). The top part of the doorway, now destroyed, must have had a heavy lintel and drum.

Within the superstructure, west of the chapel and just behind the false-door, is a long room oriented north-south (3.0 × 1.1 m.) which must have been the serdab or statue room. Beyond the northwest corner of the chapel is the vertical shaft (1.30 × 1.34 m.) lined with masonry.

THE CHAPEL

The threshold of the doorway is a large block of rectangular outline (0.34 × 0.36, 0.13 m. deep) with rounded northwest corner still in situ in the southeast part of the doorway, inside the chapel (pl. 2). A conical depression slanting to a lower smaller diameter is cut for the socket in the block and is bordered at the top with a ledge 0.07 meter broad. Since the recess of the door-

way is only 0.60 meter deep, the wooden door leaf (ca. 1.14 m. wide), when turned open, would have projected inside the room, beyond the east wall. The sill consists of a block lined on its west side with three thin slabs set on edge.

The chapel (3.89-4.00 × 2.70-3.18 m.) is oriented north-south on a rectangular plan that is slightly irregular because of the askew direction of the west wall toward the northwest. Two monolithic pillars of nummulitic stone² (0.51 E-W × 0.48 m. N-S for the north one; 0.51 E-W tapering to 0.465 × 0.51 N-S tapering to 0.44 m. for the south one) stand 0.80 meter apart in the middle of the chapel. Each pillar is erected on a base about 0.60 × 0.56 and 0.18 meter high. A double-faceted false-door (1.57 m. wide) carved of a monolithic block of nummulitic stone stands in the west wall, south of the central east-west axis. The doorway is also slightly offset north, so that the northern part of the east wall is shorter (1.12 m.) than its southern part (1.50 m.). On the floor, in front of the false-door, is a thick offering slab (1.39 × 0.51; 0.14 m.) made of two blocks (1.24 × 0.15 m.) reaching the level of the ledge running at the bottom of the false-door. A table consisting of a slab (1.590 × 0.505; 0.145 m.) set on two upright blocks with battered east side stands in the northwest corner of the chapel. A later addition to the equipment, it abuts against the carved north and west walls, partly obstructing the lower part of a register of scenes in low relief. The edge of the slab is carved along its two free sides (east, south) with a torus and a cavetto cornice. The top of the slab is about 0.66 meter above the floor.

From the northeast corner of the chapel a passageway (ca. 1.14 m. wide), now blocked, runs northward to end at the north wall of the superstructure. It was probably a corridor chapel of a type known since the Third Dynasty (Hesire' at Saqqara).

The east and south walls of the chapel are largely destroyed, with only the lowest course remaining. The north and west walls, where two registers of scenes in low relief reach a point just below the top level of the false-door, are better preserved. Some of the carving was never finished, as on the west faces of both pillars, though blots of color appear on the face of the figure of Nyhetep-Ptah on the false-door.

False-Door

The false-door, of squat proportions, consists of two double-faceted doorposts, one on each side of a narrow central recess (now fissured vertically) representing the opening (pl. 3). There is no indication of the door leaves, as in more elaborate false-doors. Above the flat drum are the lintel and the tablet, both completely weathered. There should have been an upper lintel surmounted by the torus and the cavetto cornice. The torus molding runs along the outer edge of the false-door. According to its composition and inscriptions, the false-door belongs to the type common in the Sixth Dynasty at Giza (Sekhem'ankh-Ptah, Seshemnefer IV)³ and Saqqara (Neferseshem-Ptah).⁴

Outside the torus is a vertical band (0.14 m. north, 0.65 m. south) carved with figures at superimposed levels. Each of the four facets represents in its lower half Nyhetep-Ptah (0.91 m. tall) striding and looking toward the central recess. He wears a short skirt puffing into a triangle above the knee. A long wig colored black and a broad collar complete his simple attire. He holds in one hand a staff as tall as his figure and in the other hand a folded kerchief. The face and the neck were painted red, and the eye is black on white.

Above each figure are three columns of inscriptions giving titles and excerpts of funerary formulas, starting with the offering formula (fig. 2).

North doorjamb, inner facet. (1) *htp di nswt htp di 'Inpw iri n.f dbht htp* (2) . . . *iri(w) n.f. hft ss pf n hm(t) hry-hb(t)* (3) . . . *im3h(w) hr nswt im3h(w) hr ntr '3* "(1) A boon that the king gives, a boon that Anubis gives, that there be done for him a full menu of offering (2) . . . done to him according to this writing of the craft of the lector priest (3) . . . venerated

before the king, venerated before the Great God."

North doorjamb, outer facet (fig. 3a). (1) . . . *m hr(t)-ntr m im3h(w)* (2) . . . *tw dt 3h w'b spss hr ntr '3* (3) . . . *imyr 'h3w smr pri hrp 'h imy-ib n nb.f r'-nb* "(1) . . . in the necropolis as venerated before Osiris (2) . . . eternity, a spirit pure and excellent [lit., august] before the Great God (3) . . . overseer of the weapons, friend of the house, director of the palace, the one who is in the heart of his lord, every day."

The rather rare title, "overseer of the weapons," was held also by Imisetkai⁵ at Giza. As Junker remarks, the title "friend of the house" was held by officials who were in the personal service of the king.⁶ The other title, "one who is in the heart of his lord," corroborates this opinion. These two titles were also held by Imisetkai, who was "director of the palace."⁷

The horizontal inscription: *imyr hntyw-s pr-3 Nyhtp-Pth im3h im3h hr ntr '3 Nyhtp-Pth* "Overseer of the land tenants of Pharaoh, Nyhetep-Ptah, venerated; venerated before the Great God, Nyhetep-Ptah."

South doorjamb, inner facet. (1) *htp di nswt htp di 'Inpw hnty t3dsr tpi dw.f* (2) . . . *i3w wrt nfrt hr ntr '3* (3) . . . *imyr hntyw-s pr-3 hry-sst3* "(1) A boon that the king gives, a boon that Anubis gives, he who is at the front of the sacred land, at the top of his hill (2) . . . age, great and good before the Great God (3) . . . overseer of the land tenants of Pharaoh, the privy to the secret."

The "overseer of the land tenants of Pharaoh" or "of the court" had to control the income from the land tenants and supervise its transfer to the appointed delivery places.⁸ Toward the end of the Old Kingdom this official also had to provide the court. Renowned officials holding this title were Qar, Wni, Mereruka, and 'Ankhm'ahor. Some cumulated other outstanding titles, but many held titles of lesser importance.

South doorjamb, inner facet. (1) *htp di nswt im3hw hr iri.sn m htp m htp* (2) . . . *im3hw hr ity stp.n.f-s3 ir.f* (3) . . . *m t.pt hri sst3 n nswt m swt.f nb(wt)* "(1) Venerated . . . in peace [in] peace (2) . . . venerated before the sovereign, [that] he protect him (3) . . . privy to the secret of the king in all his places."

The first part of the extant inscription is not clear. "In peace [in] peace" is a duplicated wish found in the Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor; it is made by the serpent-genius to the sailor for a goodly return to Egypt. "Venerated before the sovereign" is certainly connected with the following *stp.n.f-3*, which would express the result of the state of veneration, a simultaneous action defined by the *sdm.n.f* form.⁹ Junker thought that the title "privy to the secret of the king in all his places" was in concomitance with the other titles held by an official. Thus, for Ny'ankhre' the physician, it meant that he knew all the secrets of the constitution of the royal patron and would accompany him constantly. For Seshemnefer, as "overseer of the harem of the king," it meant that he knew all the secrets of the royal harem.¹⁰

The horizontal inscription: *imyr hntyw-š pr-'3 Nyhtp-Pth im3h imyr 2 mr pr-'3 hrp 'h Nyhtp-Pth* "Overseer of the land tenants of Pharaoh, Nyhetep-Ptah, venerated; overseer of the two weaving workshops of Pharaoh, director of the palace, Nyhetep-Ptah." The title "overseer of the two weaving workshops of Pharaoh" was also held by Imisetkai.¹¹

Wall Scenes

Above the south doorjamb of the entrance doorway — the only one extant — Nyhetep-Ptah appears as a figure 1 meter tall, striding toward the outside (fig. 4). He wears a short, boldly puffing kilt, a long wig, a short beard, and a broad collar. He holds in his right hand a long staff reaching up to the level of his nose and in his left hand a folded kerchief. Above him is a partly weathered inscription in vertical columns in raised relief, like the figure itself: . . . *r'-nb* . . . *im3h hr ntr '3 Nyhtp-Pth* ". . . every day, venerated before the Great God, Nyhetep-Ptah." The title ending with "every day" could have been "in the heart of his lord, every day," as on the false-door (north doorjamb, outer facet).

West wall. South of the false-door a fragmentary scene represents Nyhetep-Ptah beneath a portable sunshade or umbrella (fig. 5). Only the head, which looks toward the false-door, part of the shoulders, and the left arm are extant. The sunshade¹² consists of a mat or a cloth hanging

at the rear and stretched over two crossing bars lashed to the top of a slant pole (pl. 4). Nyhetep-Ptah, bareheaded, is probably inspecting his property on a hot day. Behind him are the fragmentary inscription *imyr* "overseer" and a small figure carrying a flail in the left hand and proffering a throw stick with the right hand. The sunshade protected the master seated in his carrying chair during a tour of inspection. It was held up at a slant in both arms of a sunshade-bearer, and there could be as many as four, two in front and two at the rear (Djaw), or even five bearers (Ipi). Umbrellas were also used even when the carrying chair had a canopy built over it.

On the part (1.60 m. long) of the west wall north of the false-door Nyhetep-Ptah strides away from the false-door (fig. 6). Only the legs, the left arm holding the scepter, and the lower edge of his triangular skirt are shown. The heroic-sized figure of Nyhetep-Ptah encompasses two registers and stands above a third one below them. Holding fast to the staff is the figure (0.39 m. tall) of a boy, probably one of his sons. The young personage wears the sidelock of youth hanging down on his right shoulder (pl. 5).

In the top register are four men proceeding south toward Nyhetep-Ptah. Only their legs and torsos are extant. The third one seems to be carrying a huge jar. In the register (0.40 m. tall) below are three offering-bearers bringing a bird, a bouquet of lotus, another bird (second personage), and two more fowls (third). In the bottom register, running below the other two and the figure of Nyhetep-Ptah, a procession of seven men walks toward the false-door, bringing two folded linen pieces (second), the foreleg of an ox (third, fourth), two fowls (fifth), a gazelle carried in both arms (sixth), and two fowls (seventh). Each man in the procession wears a short, graded wig and a triangular skirt.

Behind Nyhetep-Ptah and close to the false-door stands the small figure (0.37 m. tall) of a man wearing a short skirt, holding his right arm across his breast with the hand slung over his left shoulder in a gesture of respect. In his left hand he holds some item, perhaps belonging to his master's equipment.

North wall (fig. 7). Only the lower part of the

top register is extant. It shows the legs of Nyhetep-Ptah, who is seated on a chair in front of an offering stand. Behind the chair squats a female figure who holds her left arm crossed over her chest and her right arm on her lap (pl. 6). In front of Nyhetep-Ptah is a small figure proffering a broad vessel in each hand. The accompanying inscription identifies him: "His eldest son, Kaem-Tjenent" (cf. south face of north pillar), a *hnty-š pr-ʿ3* "tenant of Pharaoh."

A scene depicting the slaughter of an ox,¹³ is carved on the lower register (1.91 × 0.40 m.). To the right two men are binding an ox held by its horns. The animal turns its head back in fright, looking toward the man at the rear who pulls on a cord looped around its left foreleg and puts pressure with his left leg on the hind leg of the beast. This lively scene represents the preliminary episode of overpowering the ox.

To the left is the slaughter scene proper. The ox, now turned over on its back, falls victim to the butchers. Its foreleg is held back vertically by a man while the butcher pushes it with his left hand and cuts with a sharp knife. The butcher wears the typical garb and carries a whetstone in his belt. A similar garb is worn by a second butcher who stands behind him and sharpens a knife on a whetstone. The lively episode is supervised by a man standing at the left end who keeps his arms along his sides.

This description, rather sketchy, of the north wall is happily complemented by Lepsius (pl. 7).¹⁴ All the inscriptions and the figure of a daughter squatting beneath the chair of Nyhetep-Ptah were only painted, which accounts for their disappearance. The edge ornament was painted with rectangles of red, blue, yellow, and green, separated by a narrow white band. The offering stand was blue and the bread slices above it were alternatively yellow and red. The female figure squatting behind the chair is that of *H'mrrnbtj* "Kha'merernebtj," the wife of Nyhetep-Ptah. Above are remains of inscriptions: *nht* "sycamore" and *mrwt* "love." The girl beneath the chair is *s3t.f n ht.f mrit.f Hnwtsn* "his real daughter, his beloved, Henutsen."

On the right side of the offering stand the offering ritual is performed by the five personages described, now identified from Lepsius. Close to the stand the kneeling figure presenting

two vases is *s3.f hnty-s pr-ʿ3 K3m-Tnn* "his son, land tenant of Pharaoh, Kaem-Tjenen[t]." Behind him stands *hry-hb(t)* "lector priest," who holds open a papyrus, for he is *nīs dbht htp* "evoking the funerary repast."¹⁵ The rite of summoning the items of the meal of the deceased was first performed by the *hry-wdb* "master of largess," but later, toward the end of the Old Kingdom, by the lector priest.¹⁶ Behind the priest stands a second lector priest holding a papyrus and performing the rite of *s3ht r 3h.f* "spiritualize so that he be a spirit."¹⁷ The purpose of the rite was to transform the deceased's soul into a glorified or blessed one, corresponding to the state of "justified" *m3'-hrw*. Two officials follow, the last one holding the title of "seal-bearer."

The bottom register also had painted inscriptions belonging to the cycle of slaughtering the ox. From the right, above the overpowering of the ox, is *wrt iri tw wrt r iw3 pw iw.f.f nswr wrt* "Strong! Makest thou strong against this bull; his flesh is inflamed!"¹⁸ The adjective *nswr* "inflamed with wounds" is perhaps intended to describe the result of the handling of the reluctant, angry ox by the two men at either end and by the third man kneeling to lift up the animal's front left leg.

In the mid register, above the upturned ox, are three other men engaged in a dialogue. The butcher, ready to cut the foreleg held upright by his assistant, gives an order: *iti r.k wrt* "Take forcibly to thee, very much!" The assistant answers submissively: *iry r hsi.k* "I am doing to thy satisfaction!" At the right end of the group another butcher sharpens his knife on a whetstone: *pdi ds* "to sharpen the knife." The last group to the left also consists of three men; the one at the right end, duplicating the figure of the butcher sharpening his knife, is defined by the same inscription. In the middle a butcher ready to cut the foreleg orders: *nqrw nw sb3ti* "Hold this fast, pupil!" The pupil or apprentice, defined by the caption behind his head, answers: *iry (.i)* "I am doing!" At the left end of the register the supervisor also has a word to say: *dī hpi nn* "Cause that these move past!"

South wall. The south wall no longer exists. The following description is based entirely on Lepsius (pl. 8).¹⁹ Nyhetep-Ptah, seated on a chair to the right, and his wife, Kha'merernebtj,

squatting near his legs, watch activities in the fields, displayed in three superimposed registers. Behind the chair is a man in a striding posture, perhaps a son of Nyhetep-Ptah. Only the legs and the lower part of the chair are extant. The wife's left arm is passed around her husband's leg in an affectionate embrace. She has adorned her hair with three lotus flowers which form a colorful and fragrant natural diadem. In front of her stands a small daughter *s3t* named *Hp* Hep.

In the upper register five men hurry away from Nyhetep-Ptah, seemingly running behind a pack of donkeys marched by two other men. In the mid register, level with the wife and the daughter, is a scene showing the threshing of sheaves. Five oxen are marched by a man raising a stick high up with both arms: *is h3 iw3w tnm.sn m iit.k* "Pass, O oxen! They turn aside [?] while thou walkest!" The interpretation *tnm* is suggested for the two signs *t*²⁰ To the left is a pack of three donkeys controlled by two boys with upraised batons. One of the animals turns its head, with its grinning mouth, back in a gesture typical for that topical detail. The brief dialogue is also known elsewhere: *m3 h3k im.sn m3.k* "See! Back with them! Look!"²¹ The other man says: *dhn i3(t)* "Bow the back!"

The bottom register depicts on the right a procession of five women personifying the estates of Nyhetep-Ptah; on the left are four men working with pitchforks and two women winnowing. The five women on the right proceed with their gifts toward the west, where stands the false-door with its place of offering. Of the names of the estates, the second one is compounded with Isesi: *Issi nbtj(t)* . . . 'nh. The three others start with Nyhetep-Ptah and read: *Hbnnwt*, Hebenenwt,²² a name for a village and also a type of bread; 't; and . . . *k3*.

Of the men working on the grain two opposite each other hold their pitchforks at a slant in a pyramidal composition: *i'b* "Heap up grain with a pitchfork." The two women winnowing wear the typical headcloth. The one who scoops and throws up grain with her two scooping shovels is proud of her activity: *s3i.n(i) it pw* "I have sifted this barley!" Her colleague uses a sieve which she shakes with both hands: *mfht bdt in diwt* "To sift²³ emmer by the gang of five."

At the east end of the south wall is a procession of four personages²⁴ striding toward the west. The foremost one has his arms hanging along his sides. He is *imyr K3-m-nh* "the overseer, Kaem'ankh," the younger son of Nyhetep-Ptah. Behind him comes a personage holding a roll under his right arm: *d3d3t ss Ii* . . . "Scribe of the council, Ii" The third personage holds his right arm across his chest with his hand on his left shoulder, his left arm hanging along his side: *h3i pr-dt T* . . . *i* "measurer of the *per-djet* [= funerary estate], Tj . . . i" The last personage holds both arms crossed over his chest, the left one reaching his right shoulder. One caption seems to encompass the activities of the group: *ipt ht m niwwt* "census of things in the villages." The vertical column of hieroglyphs is unclear: . . . *hr .n.sn* . . . " . . . of the granary. . . ."

Two loose blocks adjust to form the original larger fragment of a badly weathered wall scene (fig. 8). On the upper part only the legs are extant, showing that Nyhetep-Ptah stood and was preceded by a son. Below are four figures directed toward the left. Each wears a triangular kilt and holds both arms along his sides. Each figure is topped by the same inscription: *hnty-s pr-3dt.f* "land tenant of Pharaoh, of his funerary estate." Unhappily none of the names of the estates is legible.

Pillars

The inscriptions as well as the figures are directed from the west to the east on the north and south faces, and toward the axis of the room on the east face.

North pillar. Each of the three faces of the pillar shows in raised relief at the bottom a small figure (0.53 m. tall) of Nyhetep-Ptah striding. On the east face he is confronted by a smaller figure (0.35 m. tall) of his son, Kaem'ankh, presenting a censer; on the south face, by the eldest son, Kaem-Tjenent, censuring; and on the north face he is accompanied by his wife, Kha'merernebty, who is as tall as he is. On the unfinished west face Nyhetep-Ptah is a large-sized figure standing alone. Nyhetep-Ptah always wears a long striated wig, a short striated skirt, and a broad collar. He holds a staff as tall as himself and a scepter.

Above each scene on the east, south, and north faces an inscription runs in four columns. A horizontal line of titles separates the inscription from the figures below.

East face (fig. 9). (1) [h_{tp} d_i nswt ĩpw hnti sh ntr Ws] ĩr nb hr(t)-ntr 3h 'pr šps m smyt (2) . . . m nb ĩm3h hr ntr ĩw ĩr_i.n.f m3't nfrt (3) . . . mrr.s m nfrt nht (4) . . . smyt ĩmntt nb htp m šht nfrt dt "(1) [A boon that the king gives to Anubis, foremost of the divine booth, Osiris,] lord of the necropolis, a spirit, equipped, august in the necropolis (2) . . . as lord of veneration before God. He did the right, very much (3) . . . she usually loves as good every day fearing much . . . (4) . . . necropolis of the west, lord of offering in the beautiful fields of eternity." The beginning should be restored as the offering formula in the name of the king, Anubis, and Osiris (pl. 9), occurring also at Setikai, where the first column ends with . . . smyt nfrt ĩmntit.²⁵

The horizontal inscription: s3b pr-'3 'd-mr Nyh_{tp}-Pth "judge of Pharaoh, border official, Nyhetep-Ptah." Above the son proffering the censer: ĩmyr K3m'nh mrr nb.f "overseer, Kaem-'ankh, beloved of his lord." In front of the son: ĩm3h hr nb.f "venerated before his lord."

South face (fig. 10). (1) . . . pf n hmt hry-hbt s3h r 3h.f ĩr_i n.f dbht htp (2) . . . hrt-ntr krs m is pn n ĩ3w nfrwt m ĩm3h (3) . . . ĩm3h hr ntr '3 ĩnk ĩm3h hr ity nb stp.n.f-s3 r.f (4) . . . hrp 'h hry sst3 n nswt m swt.f nb(wt) ĩmy-ib nb.f mrr n nb.f "(1) . . . this [writing] of the craft of the lector priest, to spiritualize that he be a spirit, to do for him the funerary offering (2) . . . necropolis, buried in this tomb, after a beautiful old age as venerated (3) . . . venerated before the Great God. I am venerated before the sovereign, the lord who protected him (4) . . . director of the palace, privy to the secret of the king in all his places, the one in the heart of his lord, beloved of his lord."

The beginning (pl. 10) can be restored by analogy with the usual sentence, "according to this [secret] writing of the craft of the lector priest," as at 'Ankhm'ahor.²⁶ The rite s3h r 3h.f "to spiritualize so that he be a spirit" is performed by the second lector priest represented in front of Nyhetep-Ptah on the north wall (see n. 17). The title "director of the palace" occurs twice on the false-door (see n. 7). The close connection of Nyhetep-Ptah with the person of

Pharaoh, implied in his title "privy to the secret of the king in all his places" and already alluded to (see n. 10), is corroborated by the two titles that follow.

The horizontal inscription: ĩmyr hnty(w)-š pr-'3 Nyh_{tp}-Pth "overseer of the land tenants of Pharaoh, Nyhetep-Ptah." Above the son censuring: s3.f wr hnty-š pr-'3 K3m-Tnnt "his eldest son, land tenant of Pharaoh, Kaem-Tjenent."

North face (fig. 11). (1) . . . n ht nb(t) 3h(t) šps(t) m wnw_t hry-hbt n ĩm3h(w) hr ntr '3 (2) . . . [ĩmyr] [hn]tyw-š (pr-'3) 'nswt ĩmyr 'h3w ĩmy-ib nb.f hry-sst3 n nb.f (3) . . . [ĩmyr] swt šps(wt) nt pr-'3 ĩm3h(w) hr nswt ĩrr hš(s) nt nb.f r'-nb (4) . . . ĩm3h(y)t.f rht-nswt hm(t)-ntr Hth_r m swt.s nb(wt) ĩm3h(y)t hr Pni "(1) . . . of everything useful august in the service of the lector priest for a venerated one before the Great God (2) . . . [overseer] of the land tenants of [Pharaoh], one who belongs to the archives of the king, overseer of the weapons, who is in the heart of his lord, privy to the secret of his lord (3) . . . [over]seer of the august places of Pharaoh, venerated before the king, usually doing what is [usually] praised by his lord, every day (4) . . . his venerated one, one whom the king knows, priestess of Hathor in all her places, venerated before Peni" (pl. 11).

"One who belongs to the archives," or perhaps "records," is abbreviated from ny 'nswt.²⁷ The title "overseer of the august places of Pharaoh" is known in the Memphite region, at Giza,²⁸ and at Saqqara,²⁹ it is also known at Dendera.³⁰ The title "venerated before the king" occurs elsewhere at Giza.³¹ The last column gives the titles of the wife Kha'mernernebt, a priestess of Hathor in all her places (= Heliopolis and Dendera), venerated before Peni, who must be her husband — the beautiful name for Nyhetep-Ptah. A carrier of jars had that name in the tomb of Seneb.³²

The horizontal inscription: Nyh_{tp}-Pth "Nyhetep-Ptah; H'mrr-Nbty "Kha'mernernebt." There were queens named Kha'mernernebt.³³

West face (fig. 12, pl. 12). Carving here was only started.

South pillar. The scenes on the south pillar are similar to those on the north pillar, showing Nyhetep-Ptah striding, holding the staff and the scepter. He is faced by a smaller figure of Irenre' who presents him with a fowl (east face) and by

another who brings two pieces of folded linen (north face). Nyhetep-Ptah stands alone on the unfinished west face.

East face (fig. 13). (1) . . . *hry-hbt iw(ti).f(y) r is pn n dt r iri ht.f* (2) . . . *hry-hbt iri n 'pr hft . . . iw iri.n ht nb(t) 3h(t) šps(t)* (3) . . . *n prt-hrw nb 'nh hr rdwy mi irt(w) n s3h . . . wrt* (4) . . . *it(i) hn' mwt(i). m im3h(w) hr hm n nb(i)* "(1) . . . lector priest com(ing) to this tomb of eternity to do his things (2) . . . lector priest doing the preparation according to . . . he will do everything useful, august (3) . . . of invocation offerings lord of life upon both feet, as is done for a dignitary . . . much (4) . . . (my) father and (my) mother as venerated before the majesty of (my) lord." The whole second column is copied after Lepsius. The inscription deals with the wish that the lector priest should adequately perform his service concerning the invocation offerings (pl. 13). The last column probably mentions Nyhetep-Ptah's affection for his parents.

The horizontal inscription: *imyr hntyw-š pr-Nyhtp-Pth* "overseer of the land tenants of Pharaoh, Nyhetep-Ptah." Above the figure presenting a fowl: *imyr-hm(w)-k3 hrp wh' imy wrt Ir-n-R'* "overseer of the funerary priests, director of the fowls of starboard, Irenre'."

North face (fig. 14). (1) . . . *ht nb(t) 3h(t) šps(t) m(i) irrt n im3hw n nswt* (2) . . . *htp di Inpw tpy dw.f nb hr(t)-ntr prt-hrw n.f r'-nb dt* (3) . . . [*imyr*] *hntyw-š (pr-3) 'nswt imyr 'h3w im3h(w) hr nswt* (4) . . . *imyr swt šps(w)t nt pr-3 hrp 'h hry s3t3 n nb.f* "(1) . . . everything useful august like what is done for a venerated of the king (2) . . . a boon that Anubis gives, the one upon his hill, lord of the necropolis, as invocation offerings for him every day eternally (3) . . . [overseer] of the land tenants of (Pharaoh), one belonging to the archives (or records) of Pharaoh, overseer of the weapons, venerated before the king (4) . . . overseer of the august places of Pharaoh,³⁴ administrator of the palace, privy to the secret of his lord." The inscription (pl. 14) is related to that on the north face of the north pillar.

The horizontal inscription: *imyr 2 mr pr-3 Nyhtp-Pth* "overseer of the two weaving workshops of Pharaoh, Nyhetep-Ptah." Appropriately the last title is followed by a man bringing an offering of linen: *shpt wnh shd hm(w)-k3*

"Bringing up a roll of cloth. Inspector of the funerary priest(s)."

West face (fig. 15, pl. 15). Here, as on the west face of the north pillar, the carving was only started.

THE STYLE

When Lepsius recorded the chapel it was not so deteriorated as it is today. The whole south wall has since disappeared, and other parts have suffered further weathering, with the result that the painted inscriptions and the figure of the daughter Henutsen (north wall) are completely bleached. Some of Lepsius's remarks are worth quoting,³⁵ for hieroglyphs carved in the plaster covering the stone have flaked out. In general, Lepsius evaluated the style as "still good"; though hieroglyphs modeled in plaster were too small and often were shapeless, those carved in stone were satisfactory.

To judge by the present remains of scenes on pillars and walls the prevailing style is formal. There is, however, lively composition in the overturning and slaying of the ox (north wall), as there probably was for the agricultural cycle (south wall). Even in the formal procession of offering-bearers (west wall) the artist attempted, despite the coarse grain of the nummulitic stone, to give each face personalized features characterized by boorish, unkempt traits (pls. 16, 17). This attempt was certainly deliberately made, for Nyhetep-Ptah's face, in contrast with these other faces, shows refined features in the several relatively well-preserved portraits of him (pl. 18), some of them painted in red, black, and white. The slightly stocky proportions of the figures do not detract from their overall quality.

Because the stone is badly weathered, it is impossible to evaluate the carving technique, though it seems to have been bold.

ONOMASTICA

Nyhetep-Ptah: read Hetep-ny-Ptah by Ranke,³⁶ followed by Porter-Moss,³⁷ "Ptah is favorable to me." Peni³⁸ was the "beautiful name" (cf. north pillar, north face), though not so specified. Kha'merernebt: the wife, *H(i)-mrr(w)-nbt* "He whom the Two Ladies love." Ranke³⁹ tentatively identified the "Two Ladies" with the king, but the identification is not accepted by

Fischer,⁴⁰ who interprets the phrase as an epithet of the king.

Kaem-Tjenent: eldest son, *K₃(i)-m-Tnnt*⁴¹ “(My)ka is as Tjenent (?)” Tjenent was known from the Eighteenth Dynasty as the goddess of Hermonthis,⁴² or since the Middle Kingdom as a Memphite sanctuary,⁴³ in which case the name would mean “(My)ka is in Tjenent.”

Kaem'ankh: younger son, *K₃(i)-m-nh* “(My)ka is in life.”

Henutsen: real daughter (north wall) *Hnwt-sn* “their Lady Ruler.”⁴⁴

Hep:⁴⁵ daughter (south wall). There is a verb *hp* “to hurry, run.”

Irenre':⁴⁶ retainer (south pillar, east face) *ir-n-R* “Engendered by Re’.”

Tji . . .: measurer of the *per-djet* (south wall); perhaps Tji?

li . . .: scribe of the council.

The family of Nyhetep-Ptah seems therefore to consist of his wife, two boys, and two girls. It is interesting to note that the names of the two boys start with *K* and those of the two girls with *H*.

TITLES

NYHETEP-PTAH:

Honorific: *im₃h* “Venerated.”

im₃h n nswt, im₃h hr nswt “Venerated before the king.”

im₃h hr nb.f “Venerated before his lord.”

im₃h hr hm n nb.i “Venerated before the majesty of my lord.”

im₃h hr ity “Venerated before the sovereign.”

im₃h hr ntr '3 “Venerated before the Great God.”

nb im₃h hr ntr “Lord of veneration before the god.”

smr pr “Friend of the house.”

mrr n nb.f “Beloved of his lord.”

imy ib (n) nb.f “One who is in the heart (of) his lord.”

imy ib n nb.fr-nb “One who is in the heart of his lord every day.”

Palace: *imyr hntyw-š pr-'3* “Overseer of the land tenants of Pharaoh.”

imyr 2 mr pr-'3 “Overseer of the two weaving houses of Pharaoh.”

imyr swt špswt nt pr-'3 “Overseer of the noble places of Pharaoh.”

'nswt(=ny 'nswt) “One belonging to the archives of the king.”

hry sšt₃ “Privy to the secret.”

hry sšt₃ n nswt “Privy to the secret of the king.”

hry sšt₃ n nb.f “Privy to the secret of his lord.”

hrp 'h “Administrator of the palace.”

s₃b 'd-mr pr-'3 “Judge and border official of Pharaoh.”

Government: *imyr 'h₃w* “Overseer of the weapons.”

KHA'MERERNEBTY, wife:

Honorific: *rht nswt* “One whom the king knows.”

im₃h(y)t hr Pni “Venerated before Peni.”

im₃hyt.f “Venerated before him.”

Religious: *hmt-ntr Hthr m swt.e nb(wt)* “Priestess of Hathor in all her places.”

KAEM-TJENENT, eldest son:

Palace: *hnty-š pr-'3* “Land tenant of Pharaoh.”

KAEM'ANKH, son:

imyr “Overseer.”

Honorific: *mrr nb.f* “Beloved of his lord.”

HENUTSEN, daughter:

s₃t n(t) ht.f “Real daughter” (lit., daughter of his belly).

mrit.f “His beloved.”

HEP, daughter:

s₃t

IRENRE':

Government: *hrp wh' imy-wrt* “Director of fowlers of starboard.”

Religious: *šhd hm(w)-k₃* “Inspector of funerary priests.”

Retainers with incomplete names or without names:

Government: *sš d₃d₃t* “Scribe of the council.”

hnty-š pr-'3 dt.f “Land tenant of Pharaoh, of his estate.”

s₃d₃wty “Seal-bearer.”

h₃i pr-dt “Measurer of the estate.”

diwt “Gang of five (winnowers).”

sb₃ty “Pupil, apprentice.”

Religious: *hry-hbt* “Lector priest.”

NOTES

1. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, pls. 71, 72; text, vol. I, pp. 49-50; Porter-Moss, *TB*, III, 33, 34 (plan).
2. Cf. pillars in pillared portico of Nisedjerkai: 50 × 50 × 250 cm. (Junker, *Giza* II, p. 103).
3. Junker, *Giza* XI, pp. 214 ff., fig. 83.
4. Capart, *Rue*, p. 70, pls. XCIV-XCVI.
5. Junker, *Giza* VI, p. 211.
6. *Ibid.*, *Giza* VII (*Ptah wfn*); *Itii*: VI, 231; *Ni'ankhre'*: XI, 85.
7. "Director of the palace": Meriib (Junker, *Giza* II, p. 132); Seshathetepi (II, 187); Seshemnefer I (III, 9); Kaemib (III, 177); Kaiemibi (VII, 151); Kaiswdja (VII, 161). Junker suggests that this very ancient title could be identical with that of *imyr-h* (*Giza* VII, p. 151).
8. Junker, *Giza* VI, pp. 17 ff.
9. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1927), #414.5, for *stp-s* (*Wb.*, IV, 340).
10. Junker, *Giza* XI, pp. 82 ff., 126 ff.
11. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 211.
12. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 337-339, figs. 168, 171; Junker, *Giza* XI, pp. 252, 255.
13. Cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 71.
14. *Ibid.*; text, vol. I, p. 49.
15. Junker, *Giza* III, pp. 62, 63, 69, 70.
16. For the rite *dbht-htp* see *ibid.*, II, p. 76. Junker thought this rite was originally performed by the *hry-wdb* "master of largess," and later by the lector priest.
17. Junker, *Giza* III, p. 110.
18. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 162.
19. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 71a, a bis.
20. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 217, translates: "Hi, hi, hi, hi, les boeufs, ils . . . pendant que tu marche."
21. Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 195.
22. *Wb.*, III, 63.
23. *Ibid.*, II, 55.
24. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 71 a bis.
25. Junker, *Giza* VII, p. 204.
26. *Wb.*, I, 202, 16.
27. Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 169; VI, p. 209.
28. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 215.
29. Firth and Gunn, *TPC* I, 133, 152 (Mereruka and Tjetjw).
30. H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1968), pp. 100-101, 113.
31. Junker, *Giza* II, pp. 54, 55; VIII, pp. 70, 80, 133.
32. *Ibid.*, V, p. 20.
33. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 209.
34. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 199, quoting S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, IV (Cairo, 1943), 159 (Debehen); Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 100-101, 113.
35. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, text, vol. I, p. 49.
36. H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt, 1935), 258, no. 14.
37. Porter-Moss, *TB*, III, 33.
38. Ranke, *Ägyptischen Personennamen*, pp. 258, 132, no. 21.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 264, no. 10.
40. H. G. Fischer, "Nbty in Old Kingdom Titles and Names," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 60 (1974), 98.
41. Ranke, *Ägyptischen Personennamen*, p. 340, no. 1.
42. *Wb.*, V, 381.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 382.
44. Not mentioned by Ranke, *Ägyptischen Personennamen*, p. 244, no. 1, though he quotes other occurrences of the name.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 237, no. 1.
46. Not mentioned by *ibid.*, p. 39, no. 26; Ranke quotes the name from the mastaba of Ptahshepses. For the interpretation, cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, #361.

Figures for Nyhetep-Ptah

(All wall scenes are reduced 1:5, except fig. 14.)

- | | | | |
|-------|---|-----|--|
| 1. | <i>Plan and sections of the mastaba super-structure of Nyhetep-Ptah.</i> | 8. | <i>Loose blocks with representations of officials.</i> |
| 2. | <i>False-door: the two inner facets.</i> | 9. | <i>North pillar: east face.</i> |
| 3a-b. | <i>False-door: the two outer facets.</i> | 10. | <i>North pillar: south face.</i> |
| 4. | <i>South doorjamb of entrance doorway.</i> | 11. | <i>North pillar: north face.</i> |
| 5. | <i>Nyhetep-Ptah in shade of an umbrella (west wall, south end).</i> | 12. | <i>North pillar: west face.</i> |
| 6. | <i>Nyhetep-Ptah watching the bringing up of offerings (west wall, north end).</i> | 13. | <i>South pillar: east face.</i> |
| 7. | <i>Slaughtering the sacrificial ox (north wall).</i> | 14. | <i>South pillar: north face.</i> |
| | | 15. | <i>South pillar: west face.</i> |

Plates for Nyhetep-Ptah

- | | | | |
|----|--|-----|--|
| 1. | <i>Eastern facade.</i> | 9. | <i>North pillar: east face.</i> |
| 2. | <i>Doorway looking from the inside south-east. In the background, Khufu's pyramid.</i> | 10. | <i>North pillar: south face.</i> |
| 3. | <i>False-door.</i> | 11. | <i>North pillar: north face.</i> |
| 4. | <i>Nyhetep-Ptah in shade of an umbrella (west wall, south end).</i> | 12. | <i>North pillar: west face.</i> |
| 5. | <i>Nyhetep-Ptah watches the bringing up of offerings (west wall, north end).</i> | 13. | <i>South pillar: east face.</i> |
| 6. | <i>Butchers at slaughter of oxen (north wall).</i> | 14. | <i>South pillar: north face.</i> |
| 7. | <i>North wall as copied by Lepsius.</i> | 15. | <i>South pillar: west face.</i> |
| 8. | <i>South wall as copied by Lepsius.</i> | 16. | <i>Head of offering-bearer (west wall, north end).</i> |
| | | 17. | <i>Head of offering bearer (west wall, north end).</i> |
| | | 18. | <i>Portrait of Nyhetep-Ptah.</i> |

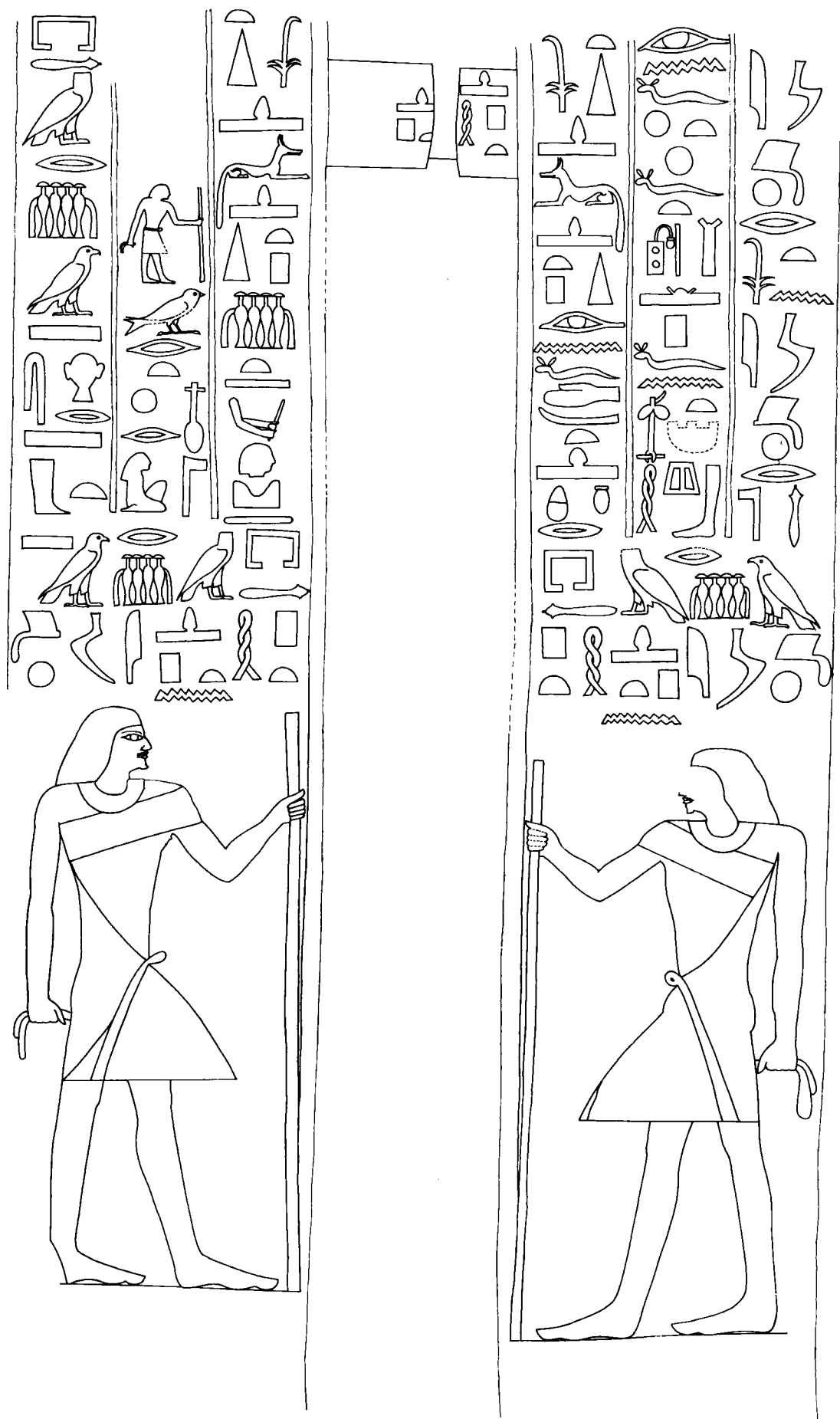


Fig. 2. False-door: the two .. ts.



Fig 3a-b. False-door: the two outer facets.

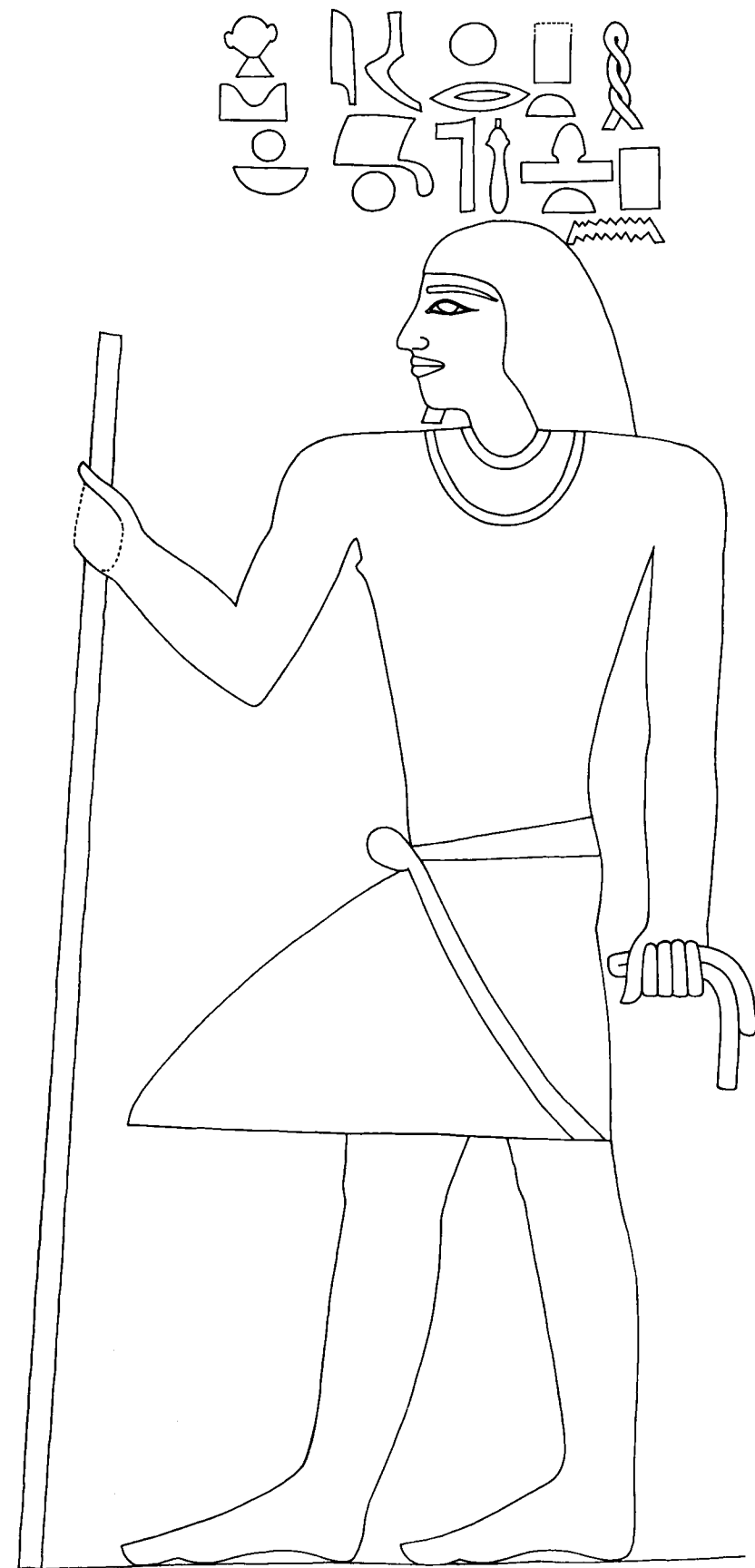


Fig. 4. South doorjamb of entrance doorway.

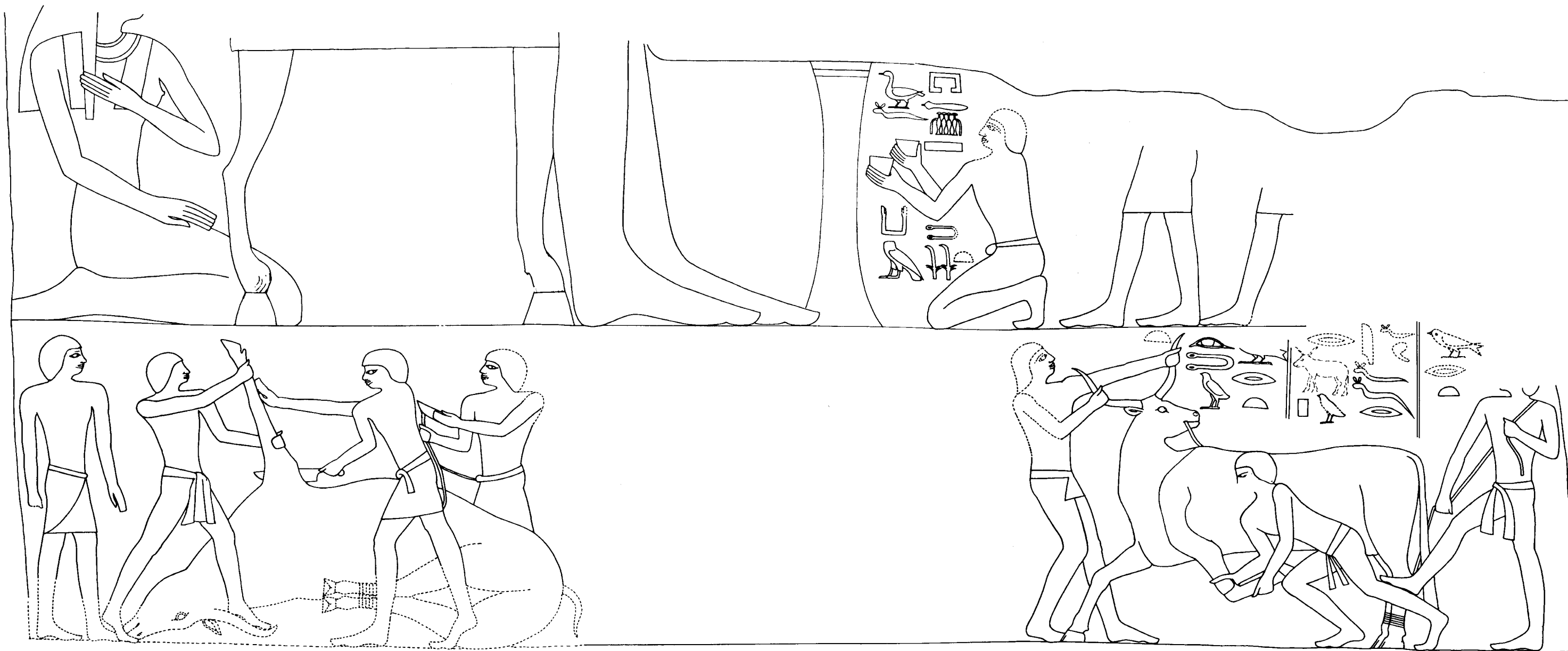


Fig. 7. Slaughtering the sacrificial ox (north wall).

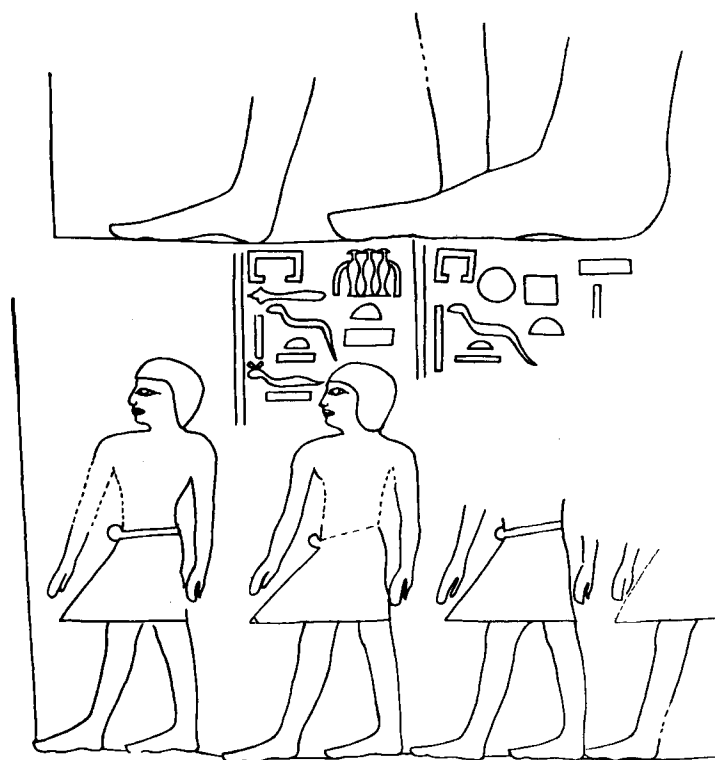


Fig. 8. Loose blocks with representations of officials.

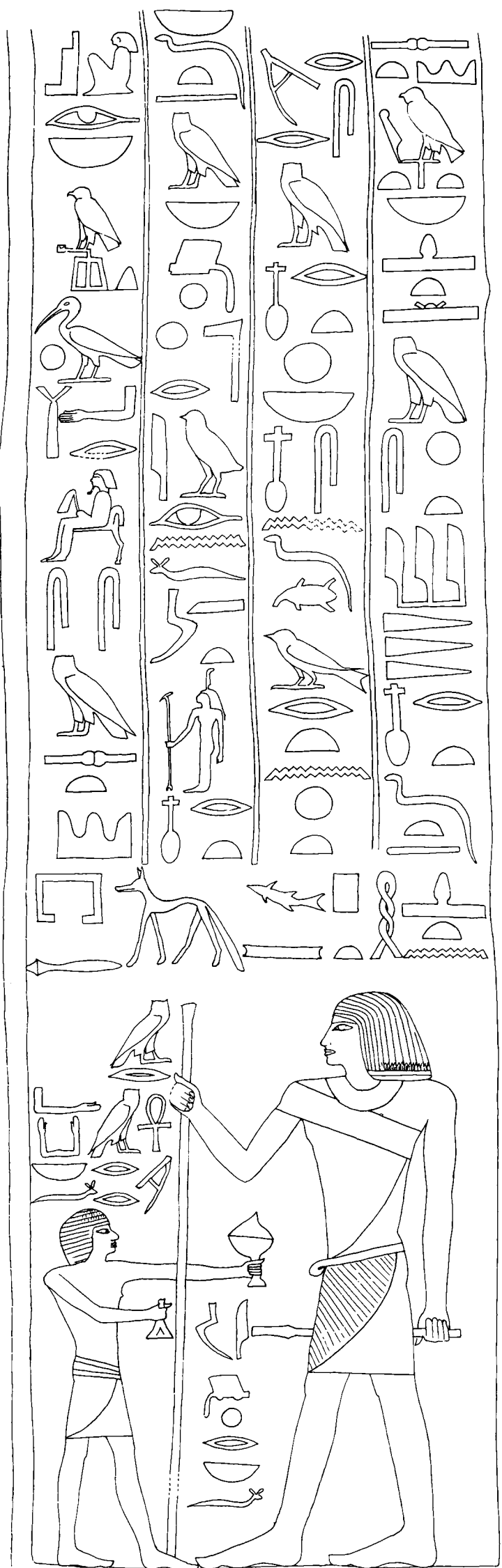


Fig. 9. North pillar: east face.

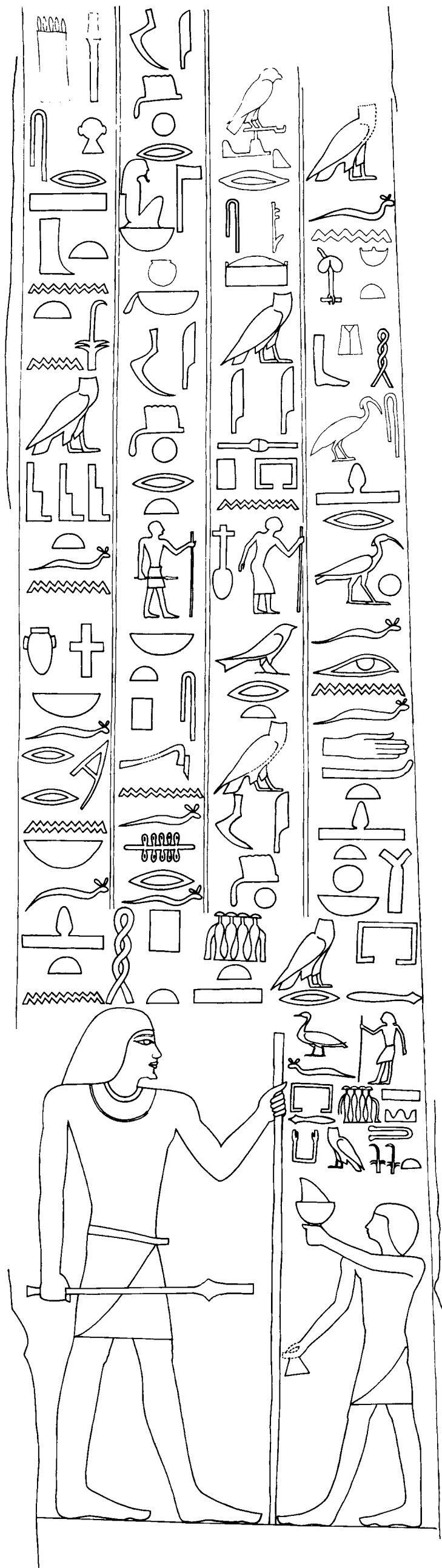


Fig. 10. North pillar: south face.

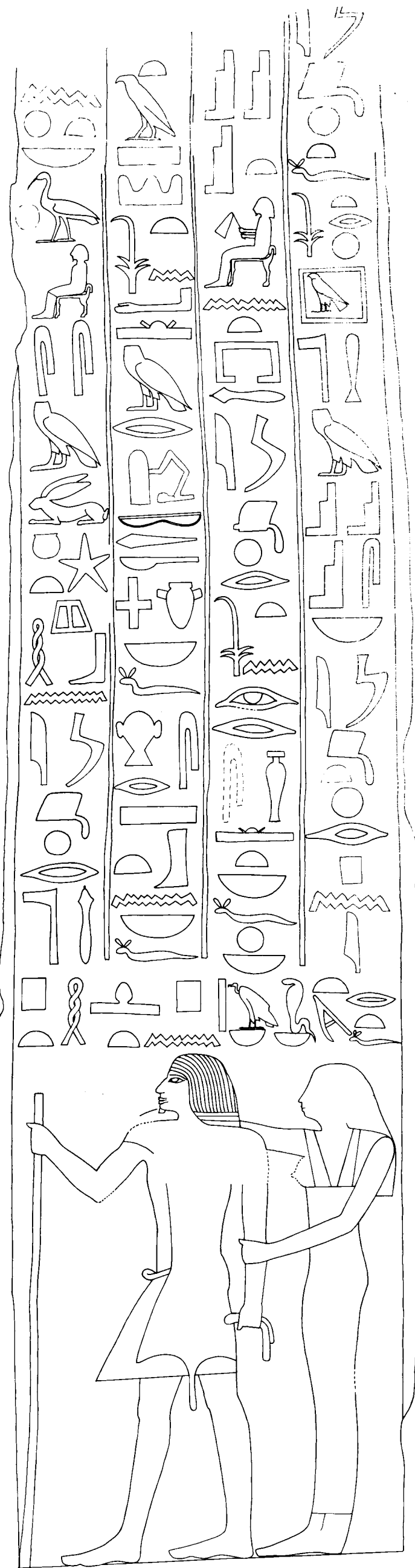


Fig. 11. North pillar: north face.



Fig. 5. Nyhetep-Ptah in shade of an umbrella (west wall, south end).

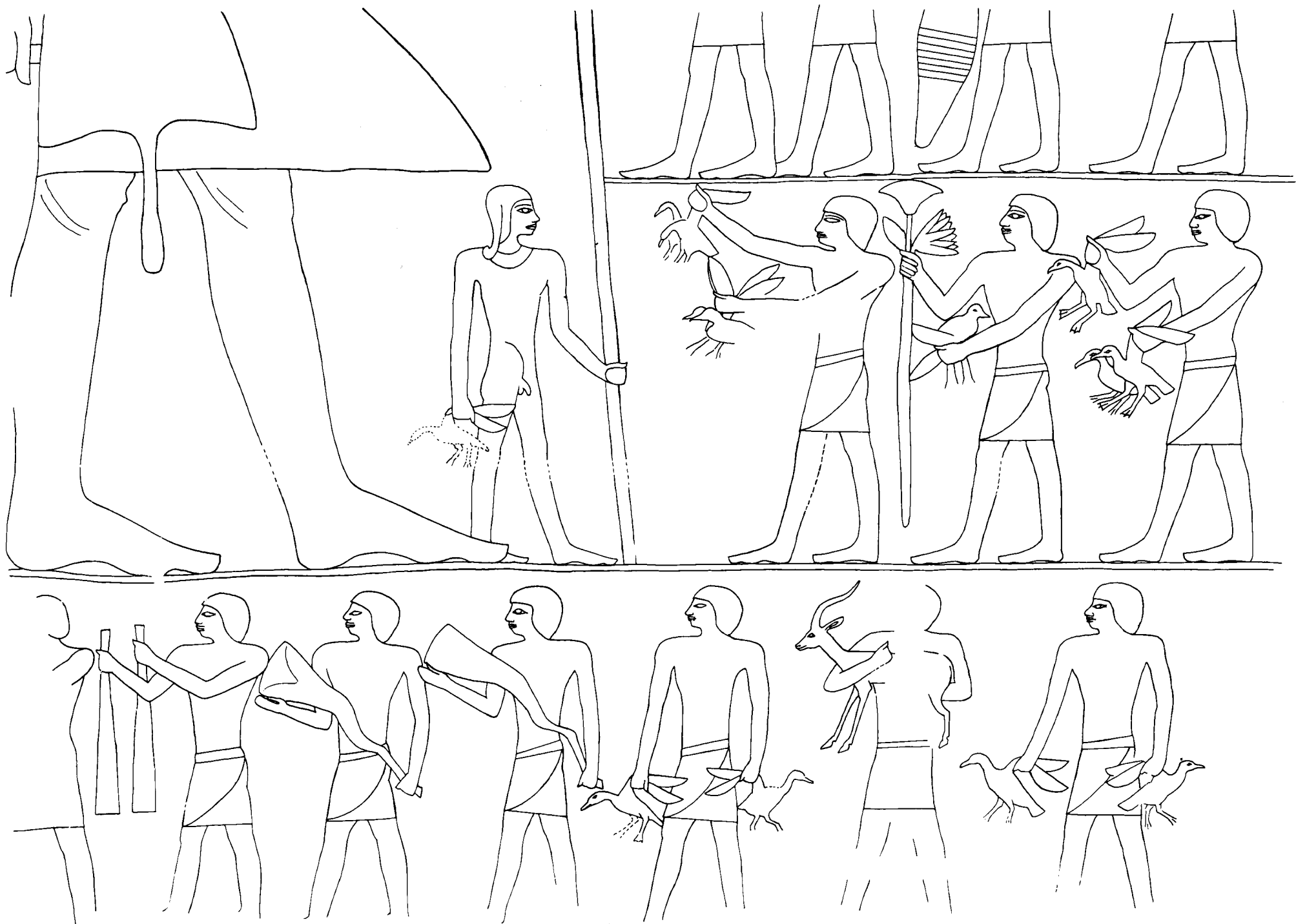


Fig. 6. Nyhetep-Ptah watching the bringing up of offerings (west wall, north end).

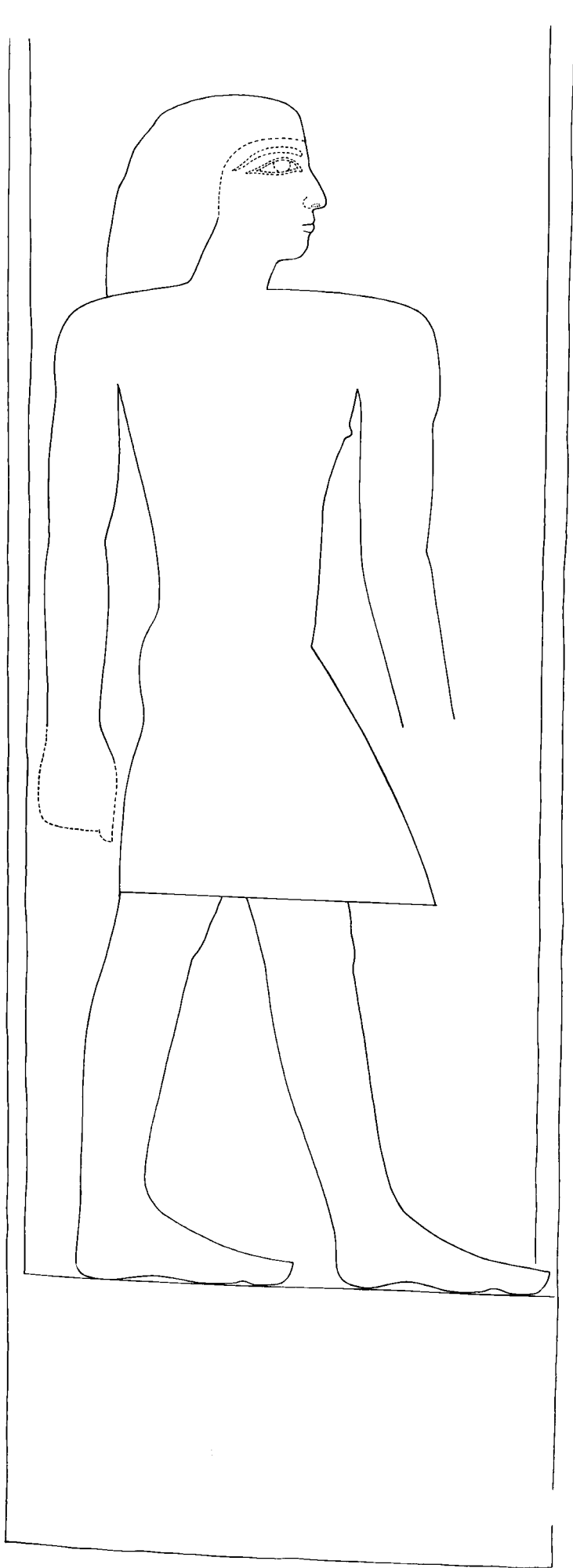


Fig. 12. North pillar: west face.



Fig. 13. South pillar: east face.

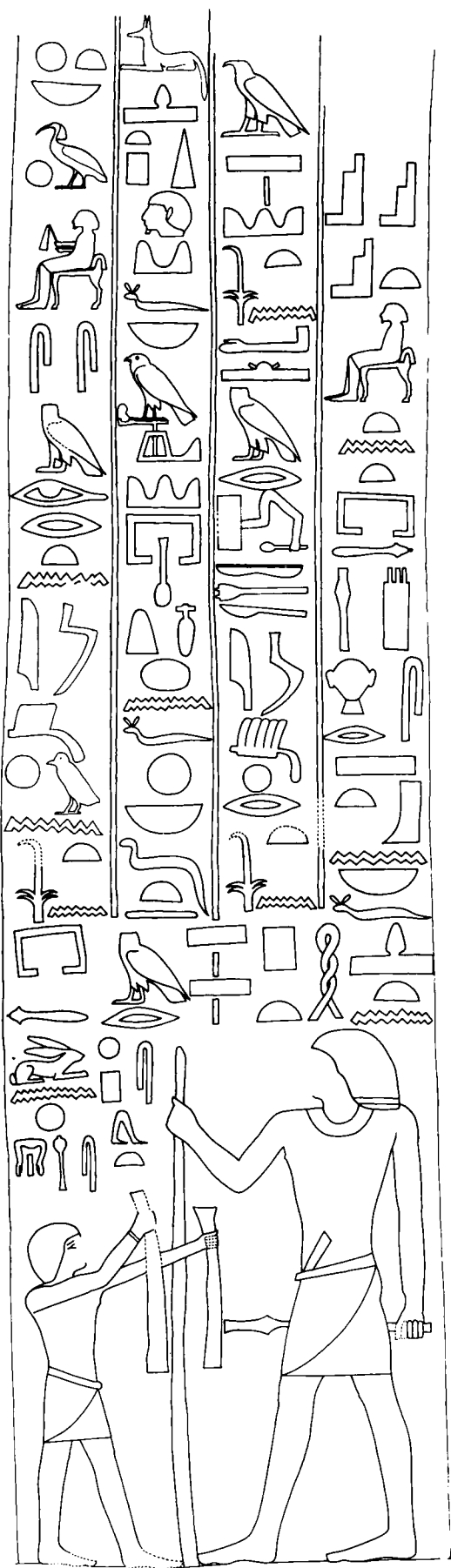


Fig. 14. South pillar: north face.

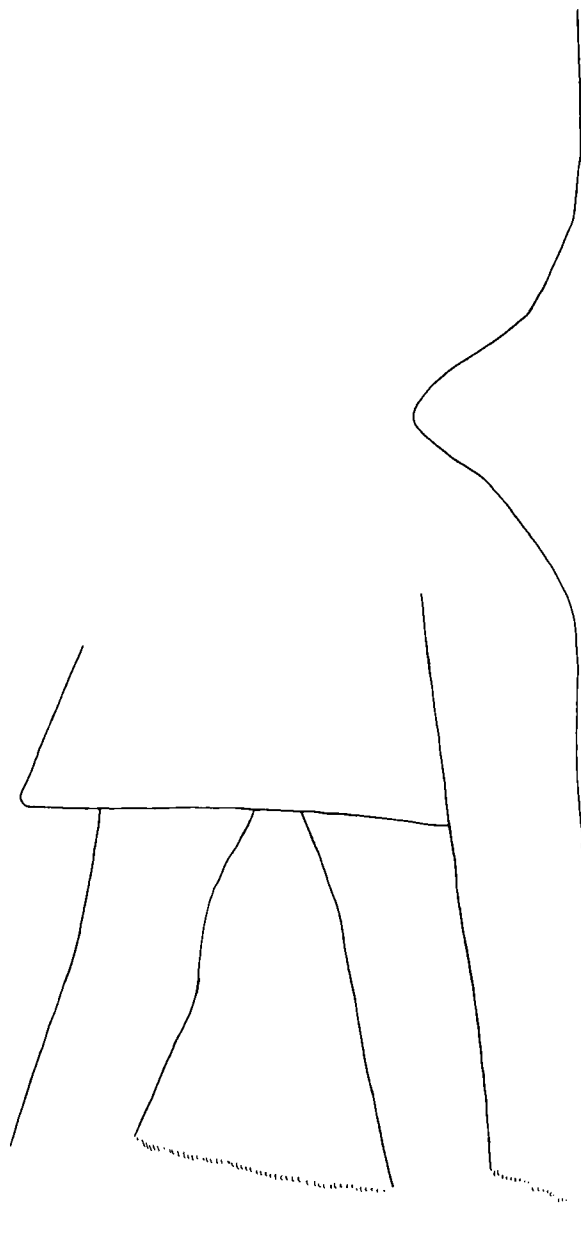


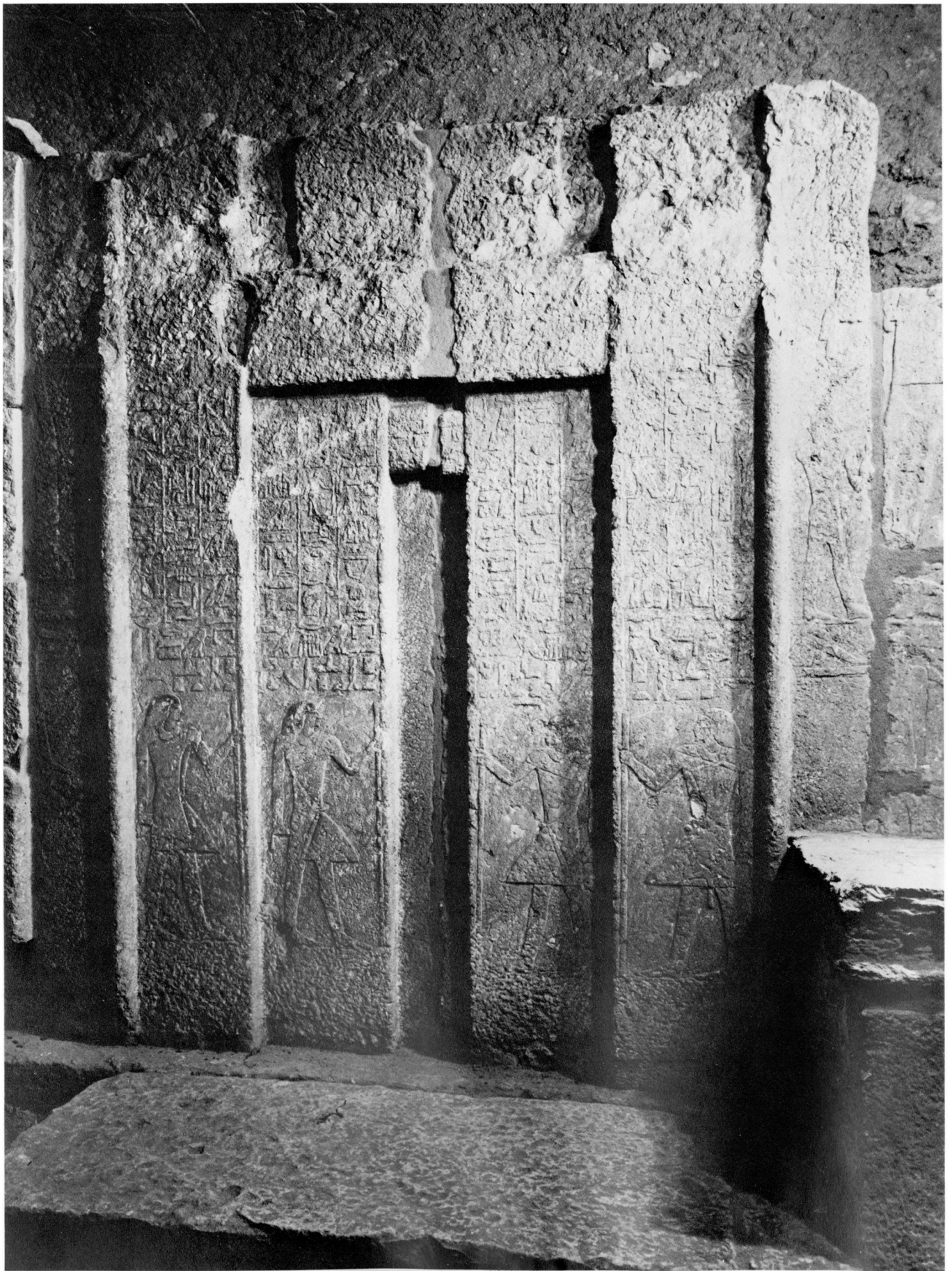
Fig. 15. South pillar: west face.



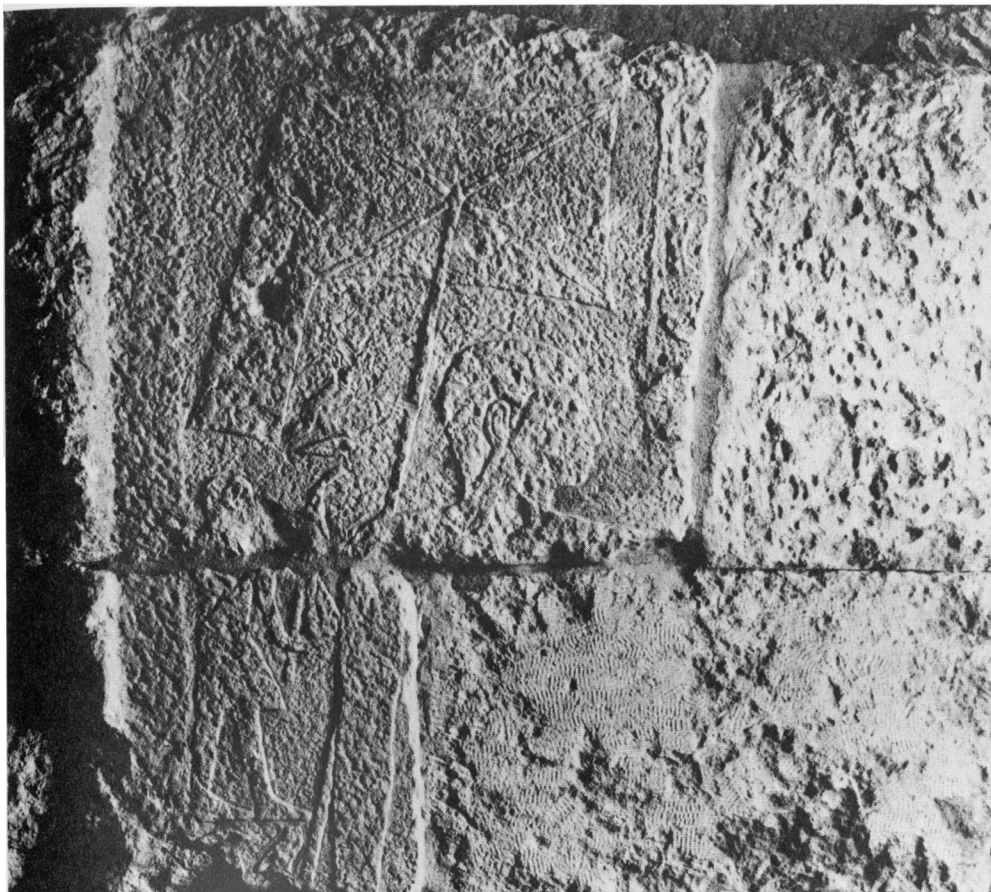
Pl. 1. Eastern facade.



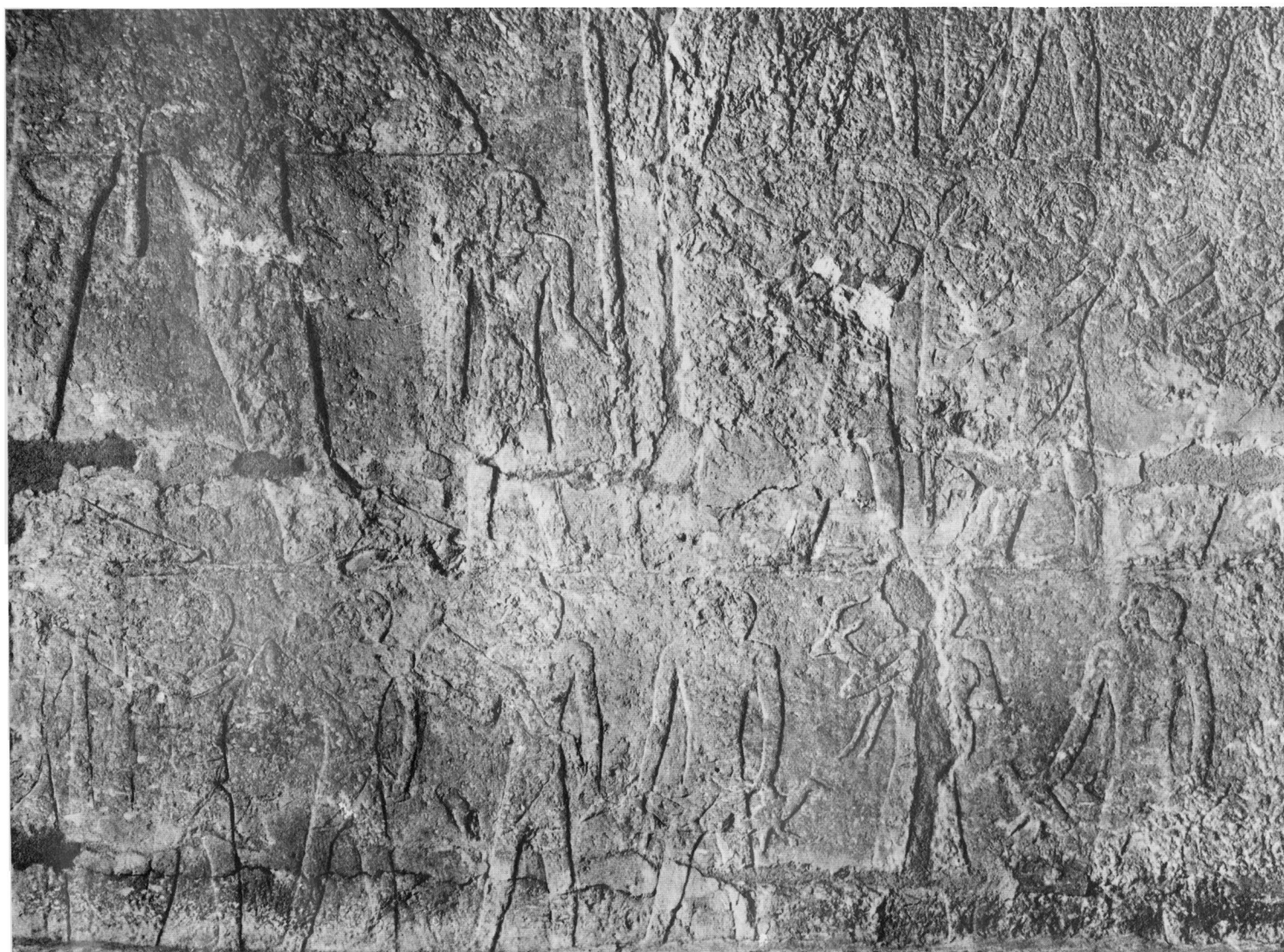
Pl. 2. Doorway looking from the inside southeast. In the background, Khufu's pyramid.



Pl. 3. False-door.



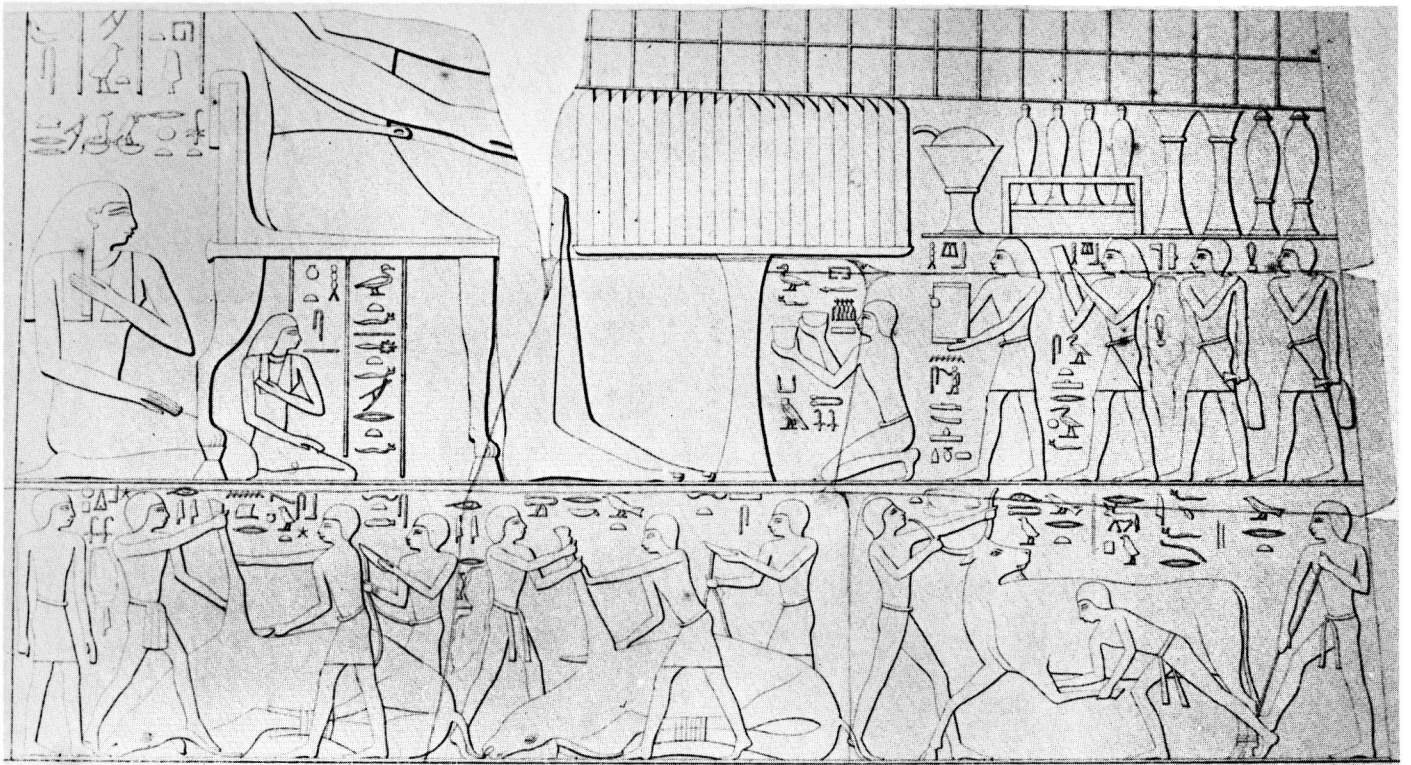
Pl. 4. Nyhetep-Ptah in shade of an umbrella
(west wall, south end).



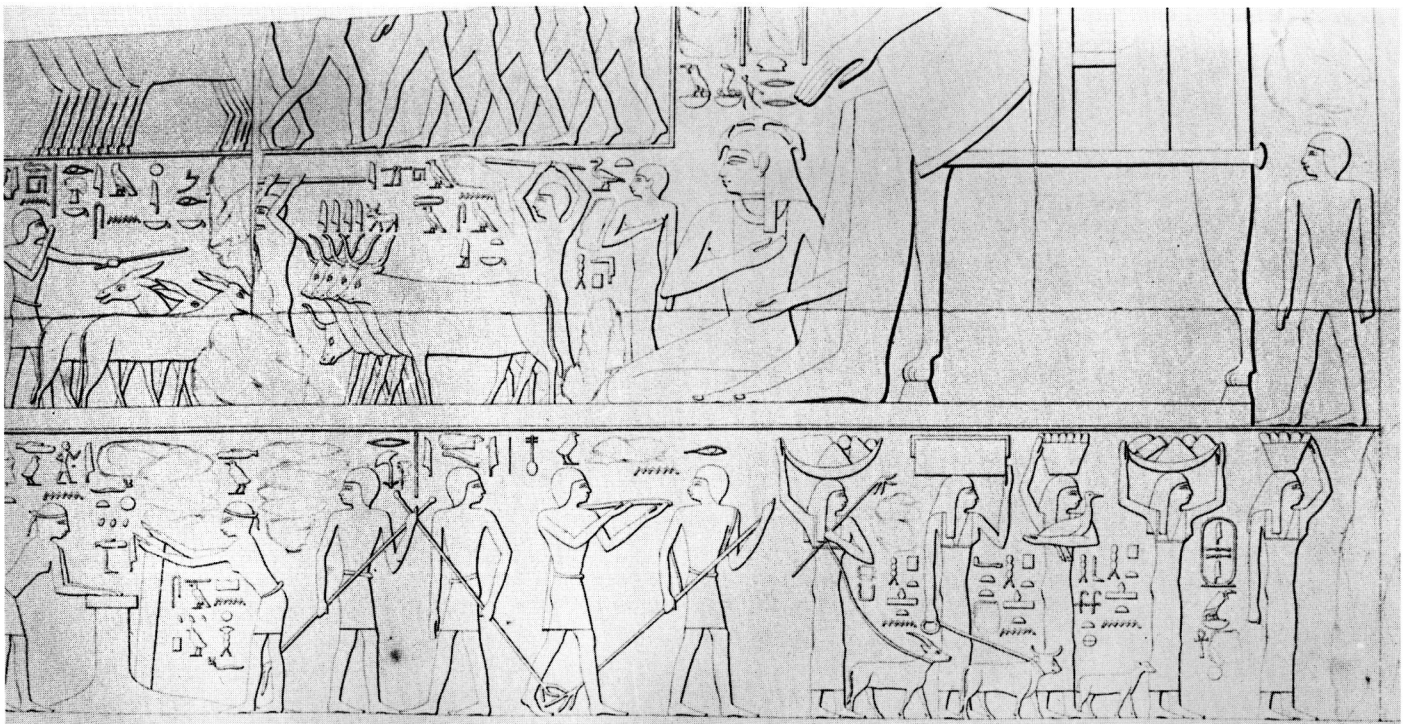
Pl. 5. Nyhetep-Ptah watches the bringing up of offerings
wall, north end).



Pl. 6. Butchers at slaughter of oxen (north wall).



Pl. 7. North wall as copied by Lepsius.



Pl. 8. South wall as copied by Lepsius.



Pl. 9. North pillar: east face.



Pl. 10. North pillar: south face.



Pl. 11. North pillar: north face.



Pl. 12. North pillar: west face.



Pl. 13. South pillar: east face.



Pl. 14. South pillar: north face.



Pl. 15. South pillar: west face.



Pl. 16. Head of offering-bearer (west wall, north end).



Pl. 17. Head of offering bearer (west wall, north end).



Pl. 18. Portrait of Nyhetep-Ptah.

MASTABA OF 'ANKHM'AHOR AT SAQQARA

This tomb is one of a group discovered by V. Loret in 1897,¹ to the north of the pyramid of Teti at Saqqara (fig. 16). The superstructures of the mastaba type are contiguous, having their eastern entrance facades aligned along a street running north-south, its western side bounded by mastabas. In 1907 J. Capart published three of these tombs in photographs only, devoting the larger part to 'Ankhem'ahor.²

The tomb of 'Ankhem'ahor consists of a stone superstructure (25.80 E-W × 18.50 m.) oriented slightly west of N-S (fig. 17). A large shaft (2.75 m. square), lined with carefully constructed brickwork, descends (ca. 23 m.) in the southwestern part. A doorway in sandstone (0.74 m. wide) opens into a recess slightly north of the middle of the eastern facade. In the street small shafts were sunk for burials of later relatives. A tomb from the Eighteenth Dynasty rises in the street, just south of the doorway, and to have access to 'Ankhem'ahor one has to descend by a few steps from this later superstructure.

More than half the area of the superstructure of 'Ankhem'ahor's tomb is divided into six rooms, connected south of the front room (room I) with the large pillared chapel of the eldest son, Ishefi. From the entrance doorway one has access to a broad, shallow vestibule (N-S: 4.06-4.28 × 2.12 m.), connected at the north end to a pillared portico and court, at the south end to Ishefi's chapel (now blocked up), and by a doorway at the small end of the west wall to a western room. This room II, slightly smaller than the vestibule, is also shallow and broad, directed N-S (3.83 × 1.85 m.). The walls in rooms I and II rise only to eye level, preserving one or two registers of scenes above a dado (ca. 0.98 m. tall) painted black in imitation of a lining of basalt, topped by a gamboge yellow band (7-8 cm. broad) and an upper red one (9 cm. broad). Horizontal black lines delimit the bands. The height of the dado varies from one

room to another, especially along the thicknesses of doorjambs (II-III: 0.81 m.) where it decreases to allow for a taller vertical wall scene.

A doorway at the north end of the west wall of room II opens into a squarish room III (2.76 × 2.4 m.), connected by a doorway at the south end of the west wall to a magazine (room V) (3.25 × 2.41 m.) and by another doorway at the east end of the south wall to a large hall (room IV) (2.72 × 5.94 m.) directed east-west. In both rooms III and IV the wall scenes, in three registers, are preserved to a higher level than in rooms I and II. The western half of room IV has, however, been destroyed. A table or bench, built in against the north wall for displaying offerings and topped by a much eroded cavetto cornice, still shows in part. A similar arrangement occurs at Neferseshem-Ptah, adjacent to 'Ankhem'ahor on the north, and at Kagemni, where a false-door occupies the whole west wall. Loret must have found some remnants of such a false-door, for he indicated it on his plan; it was probably fronted, as at Kagemni, by an offering slab. The name of such a table or bench for displaying offerings is given in the stela of Neferseshem-Ptah (line 24)³ as "table of offerings of his estate."

All the doorways are 0.75 meter wide, and each one opens into a recess in the wall of the next chamber (0.15-0.18 m. wider on either side flange, and 0.20 to 0.25 m. deep). Doorways are located in the corners of the rooms in such a way that the door leaf would turn to the right (II-III) or to the left (I-II, III-IV, III-V). The doorway to the magazine (room V) is narrower than the others, measuring only 0.70 m. The door leaf opening from the vestibule of room I to the pillared portico of room VI turned left within the lobby and could be locked by a bolt sliding into a huge round hole (7 cm. diameter, 12 cm. deep, 0.86 m. above floor) carved into the eastern doorjamb. A similar hole for a sliding

bolt is cut into the north wall behind the entrance (0.63 m. above floor).

The portico and court VI, by far the largest room in the superstructure (11.85 m. E-W portico; 12.55 m. E-W court; 4.4 m. total width), contain five squarish pillars in a row east-west (pl. 19). The pillars stand (2.32 m. tall) on bases protruding about 15.5 centimeters on each side. The height of the ceiling must have been close to that at Khentika (2.48 m.).⁴ The pillars vary in cross section as a result of paring down the faces to carve in the sunken inscriptions (from the east: 57 × 40, 49 × 50, 41 × 51.5, 47 × 50, 52 × 44 cm.). The interspaces also vary from 1.55 to 1.85 meters, the widest occurring between the second and third pillars from the east, probably to provide more space for the funeral procession. At the east end are two antas in line with the easternmost pillar. They protrude from the north and south walls to form an alcove (3.87 × 2.07 m.) narrower than the portico and its court together.

In the northwest corner of the court a staircase (0.88 wide, with treads 0.25 m.) rises westward to the terrace of the superstructure. A similar staircase exists in the southwest corner of the pillared hall of Neferseshemre', adjacent to 'Ankhn'ahor on the south. It was via these staircases that the funeral processions ascended to the terrace, where rites were performed before the mummies were lowered down the shafts.

The feature of the internal staircase rising from the court or the pillared hall,⁵ common to both 'Ankhn'ahor and Neferseshemre', is adapted from the stairway that rose along one side of the court of a rural house to the upper story, as represented in the mud models dating to the end of the Old Kingdom.⁶ As a matter of fact, the row of pillars determines two aisles of unequal width, the southern one being the narrower. The relief along the south wall and in the alcove is of the raised type, while that on a fragmentary flange of the north anta of the alcove is sunken, like the reliefs on the pillars. This variation provides the criterion proving that the northern aisle was open to the sky, whereas the southern one and the alcove were roofed over. The row of pillars therefore formed the facade of a portico along the south side of a court, in the same way as did the typical portico

of a house, such as the mansion type at Lahun.⁷ This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that the area north of the portico is broader than the portico proper. The heavy bolt that secured the door leaf turning from the portico into the vestibule (doorway I-VI) proves that it was meant to be as secure as the door leaf of the entrance from the street.

The plan of the chapel parallels that of a typical house, with two shallow front rooms (I and II) for the reception apartments, a square central living room (III) connected to a lateral magazine (V), and a rearmost room (IV) serving as a lobby for the residential apartments. The false-door at the back of this lobby allowed the soul of 'Ankhn'ahor to have access to and from the burial chamber, which paralleled the bedroom of a house. All doorways connecting the rooms in butt-and-ben arrangement are offset, as were those in a house, to ensure privacy. It is significant that the extensive scenes representing the funeral were carved on the left of the doorway from the vestibule, along the route the procession followed to the staircase. At Mereruka the funeral is also depicted in the pillared hall, close to the shaft.

So close an imitation of a typical house is unique, for the other chapels of the group north of the Teti pyramid show variations, though featuring the hall with one row of pillars, as in the tomb of Khentika,⁸ or with two rows, as in that of Neferseshemre. There is no indication that the two rows of pillars were intended to form a portico, since the aisles are equal and the scenes, where extant, are carved in raised relief. Pillared halls occur also at Mereruka. It seems justifiable, therefore, to consider 'Ankhn'ahor's portico as unique, echoing the peristyle portico in the chapel of Tji (Fifth Dynasty, Saqqara).

Facade

The entrance recess of the eastern facade is designed symmetrically on both sides of the doorway. The doorway proper is formed by sandstone doorjambs, slightly protruding from the alignment of the facade, while the flanking areas of the wall are of white limestone. The wall is poorly preserved below what must have been the level of the lintel, but its lower part is in better condition. Both door and wall are carved with inscriptions arranged in columns

above figures of 'Ankhm'ahor. All carvings are in sunk relief and extend down to about 0.3 meter from the ground. An idea as to the probable composition of the scenes on the lintel may be derived from the lintels at Kagemni⁹ and Khentika. On the latter lintel¹⁰ two figures of Khentika seated back to back, each holding a staff and a scepter, are fronted by two symmetrically opposed inscriptions giving titles. The figure to the north has natural hair, whereas that to the south wears a long wig.

Doorway. On the two doorjambs 'Ankhm'ahor is represented in an identical striding attitude (0.99 m. tall), looking toward the doorway. He wears a long wig to the shoulders, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar, and a short puffing kilt. Both arms hang by his sides. The idealized features are marked by a sensitive pointed nose and well-designed lips.

Six columns of hieroglyphs (ca. 8.5 cm. broad) separated by strips (2 cm.) cover the area above the figures (pl. 20). The column that runs along the edge of the doorway stretches down to the level of the hand, while the other five stop at the uppermost of two horizontal lines running just above 'Ankhm'ahor's head. All inscriptions give titles, which differ slightly on the two jambs.

North doorjamb (fig. 18). (1) . . . *shd hm(w)-ntr imyr k3t nb(t) nt nswt 'nh-m'-Hr rn.f nfr Ssi* (2) . . . *hnty-š hry-tp nswt* (3) . . . *sšt imyr sšwy m3'* (4) . . . *nb imy-ib* (5) . . . *t n . . . t nbt* (6) . . . *htpw nb* "(1) . . . Inspector of the prophets of the pyramid . . . overseer of all works of the king 'Ankhm'ahor, his beautiful name, Sesi (2) . . . land tenant of the pyramid, royal chamberlain (3) . . . the secret, real overseer of the two fowl ponds (4) . . . everyone who is in the heart (5) . . . every . . . (6) . . . all."

The name of the pyramid, as suggested by the hieroglyph for the seat, is *dd-sw-t-Tti* "One steadfast of places is Teti." Another prophet of Teti was Khentika.¹¹ The term *rn nfr* means "beautiful name" rather than "good name." The rare title *imyr sšwy* "overseer of the two fowl ponds [or courts]" is dealt with by Junker.¹² The title "land tenant of the pyramid" was borne by Ptahiweni at Giza, who was land tenant of the pyramid Mennefer-Pepi.¹³

The horizontal inscription: *im3hw hr Inpw tpi-dw.f hry-tp nswt mdw rhyt Ssi* "Venerated

before Anubis, who is upon his hill, royal chamberlain, speaker [or staff]¹⁴ of the people, Sesi." The title *mdw rhyt* is usually interpreted as "staff of the people," probably on the analogy of "staff of old age" for the eldest son. "Speaker, speech" of the people should, however, be considered.

South doorjamb (fig. 19). (1) . . . *swt . . . hm(w)-ntr imyr k3t nb(t) nt nswt 'nh-m'-Hr* (2) . . . *(n)swt hnty-š hry-tp nswt* (3) . . . *imyr sšwy* (4) *hry /sš/t3 r swdt-mdwt nbt st nt nswt* (5) . . . *m m t . . . w nn t nb* (6) . . . *m . . . t*. "(1) . . . [Inspector of] prophets of the pyramid . . . , overseer of all works of the king, 'Ankhm'ahor (2) . . . land tenant, chamberlain of the king (3) . . . overseer of the two fowl ponds (4) . . . [secr]et, privy to all the secret orders of the king."

The horizontal inscription: (1) *im3hw hr Inpw tpi-dw.f* (2) *hry-tp nswt mdw rhyt Ssi* (1) "Venerated before Anubis, who is upon his hill, (2) royal chamberlain, speaker of the people, Sesi."

On the two door thicknesses 'Ankhm'ahor is represented (0.99 m. tall) as striding from the interior of the chapel (pl. 21). In contrast with the other figures appearing on the facade, these two are naturalistic, with the shoulder closest to the spectator shown in side view and the torso shown with pendulous breasts and three creases of fat (pl. 22).¹⁵ The head has no wig; the features are as refined as those of the more formal figures. 'Ankhm'ahor holds a long staff in one hand, with the other hand stretched out on the fold of his long puffing skirt which reaches down to the calf of his leg. At Neferseshem-Ptah, Khentika, Kagemni, and Mereruka similar naturalistic representations of the deceased are found on the thicknesses of the doorway.¹⁶ What we interpret as a naturalistic representation is held by James, with little justification, to be that of the owner "in old age, in retirement from office," contrasting with the formal representations of "a man in his prime." Capart notes the stylistic similarities among the figures on Neferseshem-Ptah's door thicknesses, those at Giza, and those on pillars of Neferseshemre'.

Above 'Ankhm'ahor are four columns of hieroglyphs extending down to one (south thickness) or two (north thickness) horizontal lines running just above the head. On the north thick-

ness (fig. 20) is *shmh-ib* "recreation . . .,"¹⁷ perhaps "two fowl ponds of recreation." Titles on the south thickness (fig. 21) are (1) . . . *imyr / k3t nb / t nt nswt hry-tp nswt imyr ht wrt* . . . (4) *im3hw hr ntr* '3 "(1) . . . overseer of [all works] of the king, royal chamberlain, overseer of the great mansion"¹⁸ (4) venerated before the Great God." The horizontal inscription on north thickness: (1) *im3hw hr ntr* '3 (2) *'nh-m'-Hr rn.f Ssi* "(1) Venerated before the Great God (2) 'Ankhm'ahor, of beautiful name Sesi." The horizontal inscription on south thickness: *'nh-m'-Hr rn.f nfr Ssi* "'Ankhm'ahor, of beautiful name Sesi."

On either side of the doorway 'Ankhm'ahor appears seated on a low-backed chair with lion's legs placed on a conical socle. The formal figure in composite projection (0.81 m. tall) looks toward the doorway. One hand is raised in a gesture of speech or greeting. The two figures are not identical. Eight columns of hieroglyphs stretch above each figure, with the first south column and the two first north columns descending to the level of the feet.

North area of facade recess (fig. 22, pl. 23). 'Ankhm'ahor wears a long wig reaching to the shoulders, a broad collar, and wide bracelets. He holds the *kherp*-scepter in his left hand. The inscription reads: (1) . . . *[imyr k3t] nbt nt nswt m t3 r dr.f 'nh-m'-Hr rn.f nfr Ssi dd.f* (2) *[i hry-hbt / iwt(i).f(i) r is pn r irt ht 3ht hft ss pf st3 n hmt hry-hbt* (3) . . . *sw rn.f sd(i) n.i s3hw 'pr* (4) . . . *r sd(w) n s3hw* (5) . . . (3) *bw mnh n rh.tn* (6) . . . (n) *sp dd(i) ht nb(t) dw(t) n nswt* (7) (n) *shmh-iri.f r rmt nb n mrit(i) wnn im3hw hr ntr iw igr sd(i) n(i)* (8) . . . *mri(i) nfr rn(i) hr ntr hr rmtw* "(1) [Overseer of] all [the works] of the king in the entire land, 'Ankhm'ahor, of beautiful name Sesi. He says: (2) '[O lector priest] who will come to this tomb to do a useful thing according to that secret book of the craft of the lector priest (3) . . . his name, recite for [me] the text of spiritualization'¹⁹ (4) . . . as it is recited for a spiritualized one (5) . . . as well as you can'²⁰ (6) . . . never did [I] say anything evil to the king [or to a powerful person against any man, for I wished that I be venerated before]²¹ the god. Then, indeed, recite for [me] (8) . . . for [I] want [my] name to be good before God and before people.'"²²

No trace of the spiritualization rite is extant

in the wall scenes, though it was probably mentioned several times, as in Kagemni's tomb.

South area of facade recess (fig. 23, pl. 24). 'Ankhm'ahor sits, bareheaded, wearing a broad collar of six strings and wide bracelets of thirteen strings held apart by four spacers. A starched skirt puffs out stiffly above his lap. The wavy hair is patterned in bands running parallel, but alternatively slanting as in a chevron design (pl. 25). In his left hand he holds a long staff. Both legs show a slight offset.

The inscription reads: (1) *[imyr k3t] nb(t) nt nswt m t3 r dr.f hry-tp nswt imyr ht wrt mdhw nswt ss 'nh-m'-Hr rn.f nfr Ssi* (2) *dd.f* (3) *[nfr n tn n] imyw ht wd n tn tpyw-' ir ht nb(t) irit.tn r is(i) pn (n) hrt-ntr* (4) *wnn iriw mitt ir ist.tn ink hry-hbt ikr rh md3t (n) sp st3 hk3 nb ir(i) ikr* (5) *[ir rmt] nb 'k.ti.sn r is pn m 'bw.sn wnm.sn bwwt* (6) *(bwti)t(i) n 3ht ikr n w'b.sn n(i) mi w'b.sn n 3ht ikr irr hsst nb.f* (7) *iw(i) r itit.f mi 3pd wdi(i).w snd(i) im.f r m33 3hwt tpyw t3 snd.sn n 3ht ikr* (8) *[iw r wd' mdw] hn'.f m d(3)d3t tf spst nt ntr-'3 ir swt nb 'k.ti.f* (9) *[r is pn] w'b htp hr.f iw(i) r wnn m h3y.f m hrt-ntr m d(3)d3t nt ntr-'3* "(1) [Overseer of all the works] of the king in the entire land, royal chamberlain, overseer of the great mansion, royal carpenter [or hewer], scribe, 'Ankhm'ahor, of beautiful name, Sesi. (2) He says: (3) '[May it be good to you],²³ O descendants! May it be prosperous to you, O ancestors! As to anything you might do against this my tomb of the necropolis (4) it will be done'²⁴ the same against your property, [for] I am an excellent lector priest knowing the book;²⁵ never was any efficient magic hidden from me. (5) [As to] all [people] who will enter into this tomb in a state of impurity, having eaten abomination (6) which [is abominable] to an excellent spirit,²⁶ having not purified themselves for [me] as they should purify for an excellent spirit, who usually did²⁷ what his lord usually praised, (7) I will seize him forcefully [or snatch]²⁸ as a bird [after] the fear of me is cast in him, so that the spirits [and] those upon earth see [and] fear an excellent spirit. (8) [There will be passed]²⁹ judgment with him in this august council of the Great God. As to every person who will enter (9) [into this tomb]³⁰ being pure, and offer upon it, I will be his backer in the necropolis, in the council of the Great God.' "

Of the titles only “royal carpenter” and “scribe” have not been met before. “Carpenter” is better interpreted as “hewer” since the Egyptian word means hewing in wood or stone. The connection of *mdḥw* with *sš* is that of contiguity, not clear as to any possible relation.³¹ Junker translated *mdḥw sšw nswt* “overseer of the scribes of the king.”³² It was remarked by Junker³³ that the appeal to the living and passerby was inscribed on the facade because the chapel was normally closed by a wooden door.

The evolution of the appeal to the living³⁴ forms a remarkable chapter in the history of funerary inscriptions on private tombs. In the mid-Fifth Dynasty the passerby is asked to worship for the benefit of the deceased, but soon thereafter is added a request to visitors to purify themselves before entering the tomb so as to “protect” it. This addition is then paralleled by a prohibitive spell and, finally, by threats. The figure of style of twisting the neck of a trespasser was inspired by rural life, when fowlers twisted the neck of a bird before cutting off its head.³⁵

'Ankhn'ahor marks an interesting stage in the evolution: the appeal to the passerby is coupled with another addressed to the specialists in charge of the sarcophagus, the “80 men, embalmers, administrators of the necropolis, officers who will descend to this place.”³⁶ This prelude was carved on the east side of the lid of the sarcophagus, and the inscription proper proceeded with a prayer to place the cover “upon its mother” (= sarcophagus) as firmly as possible. A similar inscription occurs on the sarcophagus lid of Khentika. When 'Ankhn'ahor threatened to have a judgment passed in the council of the Great God he probably meant a judiciary cause in the netherworld (Edel)³⁷ rather than before the tribunal of the king (Kees).

Room I

In 'Ankhn'ahor's tomb, as in tombs at Giza, scenes from the agricultural cycle and the hunt in the marshes appear in the front room facing the valley. On the east wall are two registers portraying the harvest above a pack of cattle fording a stream. Opposite, on the west wall, is a scene of hunting the hippopotamus. A proces-

sion of female offering-bearers personifying the estates of 'Ankhn'ahor appears on the south wall, without connection to any funerary repast, as seems to have been characteristic toward the mid-Fifth Dynasty at Giza.³⁸ Market scenes are recorded on the north wall and on both jambs of the doorway between rooms I and II. On the jambs of the doorway from room I to room VI, on the way of the funeral procession, are remarkable depictions of circumcision and surgery.

Room I, east wall (fig. 24, pl. 26). This wall, the longest, is the best preserved except for a short break at its north end. The upper register depicts the final phases of the harvest (0.265 m. tall). From the south, the scenes record stacking bundles of grain into a conical silo, threshing, stacking grain into two conical mows, winnowing by throwing the grain up in the air, and winnowing by using sieves.

The initial episode of throwing the sheaves over the upper edge of a silo³⁹ was, curiously, cut in half, even to the extent of showing only half of the conical silo and only one peasant at work instead of two. This solution to the problem posed by the lack of space at the end of the register was devised by the artist, who obviously had enlarged his design from a model of smaller scale, probably on papyrus. It also shows that he started to draw his composition from the left end and proceeded in piecemeal fashion without having made a preliminary large-scale draft. The lonely peasant busy at the silo, like all the other farmhands in this scene, wears a girdle with loose flap streamers. He assumes the typical attitude for throwing the grain upward, his torso slightly flung back and his head up, ready to send the sheaf he holds over the edge of the silo. Just behind him on the ground are more sheaves in a neat pile.

The next scene is the threshing episode on the floor, which is indicated by a low rectangle. Seven donkeys, shown as if proceeding to the right in front of the floor, are confined within the boundaries at either end by a peasant raising a heavy stick high in the air. As usual, the two peasants proceed in the same direction as the pack, though the one to the front turns his head back to keep an eye on the animals (cf. Ptahhetep),⁴⁰ as in other places where he strides against the direction (Tji,⁴¹ Mereruka,⁴² Kahif,⁴³ Werirni⁴⁴). Topical details enliven the

scene, such as the lead donkey picking up grain from the floor (also at Kahif, Ptahhetep, Tji, Mereruka), and another abruptly turning its head, all teeth showing, and lifting up its right foreleg to kick the rearmost peasant (pl. 27). Donkeys get unruly when they are obliged to wheel on the threshing floor (cf. Kahif), but nowhere in so aggressive a way as here. The reaction of the peasants comes quickly, and one of them showers blows on the unfortunate creature: *swn(i) tw phr im* "I will persuade thee to go about therein!"⁴⁵ The other peasant, alerted, advises: *h3 im.sn nt(y) hn'(i)* "Descend with them, comrade!"⁴⁶ It is remarkable that the idiomatic vocative *nty hn'.i* (lit., "the one(s) who is with me") is used to this day in the colloquial Arabic of Egypt, *yalli ma'aya*. An isolated peasant behind the threshing floor, probably tired, has turned his miniskirt back on his loins, uncovering his member. He bends forward above a broad vessel on a stand, seemingly sniffing the heartening culinary smell that seeps out from beneath the lid, which has a looped handle. The food in the vessel, plus a tall triangular loaf, is half the food provisions for the day; the other half is contained in an identical vessel on the other side of the mow. This interpretation, suggested by Vandier, seems more plausible than the idea that the food is an offering for the harvest goddess Renenutet (Wreszinski).

To the left of the threshing scene are two peasants; one, portly and aged, is throwing grain up into a mow. The attitudes of the workers and the flower decoration at the upper edge of the mow are typical (cf. Tji, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah). At both Tji and Mereruka⁴⁷ two peasants adorn the half-grown mow with bouquets of flowers and leaves. Kneeling on the ground in front of the mow is a third man who sweeps up the grain scattered around the mow while holding his fork ready to pursue his work. A tall round-topped heap of grain reaching eye level is nearby, and a peasant adds to it with his pitchfork, taking grain from a flat mass just winnowed by a woman. He is so swift that he urges the woman, *wni.t n.s snt(i)* "Hurry up⁴⁸ with it, (my) sister!" And she answers submissively, *iry(i) r hsit.k* "(I) am doing to thy satisfaction!" She is indeed working hard, bending forward in the dusty air to scoop grain with her two winnowing

shovels. Winnowing by flinging grain up in the air is a rather primitive method, but efficient enough to let the breeze carry away chaff and dust. A more careful procedure — passing the grain through a sieve — is followed by a woman at the left end of the register, while another uses two grain shovels: *h3h3* "to winnow,"⁴⁹ and *ph3* "pekha-grain." These two women bend forward symmetrically above a mass of grain, the one holding up her scooping shovels, one in each hand, the other carrying in both hands a sieve kept horizontal and close to the ground: *mfht* "to sieve."⁵⁰ This is the final phase of winnowing, where clean grain is separated from all impurities. The women are dressed in long robes reaching below the knee, and their hair is protected from the dense dust by headcloths bound at the back with a band or a streamer. A fragmentary figure along the break to the left represents a man wearing a skirt falling to the knee and bound by a long streamer hanging behind. The groups of men working at the mow and of the women winnowing are so arranged as to offer a symmetrical or balanced composition, with two figures bending forward on either side of the central mow or heap of grain. There is also a coordination of the pitchforks, which are held parallel or opposed at an identical slant.

This register is the lowest of a series depicting the agricultural cycle, whose earlier phases must have formed the subject of the two registers above. Only traces of feet are visible in the thin stripe above the ground line, but comparison with Kahif, Tji, and Mereruka confirms this surmise. The scene of the harvest forms one of the essentials of the early repertoire, its composition varying according to the architectural setting on the walls of the chapel. In 'Ankhn'ahor's chapel the normal sequence of the process is reversed: stacking sheaves, threshing, stacking grain, and winnowing. This sequence runs from the right to the left of the register (i.e., from south to north). There is no possibility, because of lack of space, that 'Ankhn'ahor was represented at the left end. At that end the figure would have faced inward, which is also impossible. Nor is the process toward the interior of the chapel, as normal for all scenes. We can only infer that the artist followed a model in which the owner of the mastaba stood at one end, looking toward the interior, as at Mereruka (room 13, east

wall). The sequence would have ended with the latest phase closest to the owner, who stands watching.

As at Tji,⁵¹ a portrayal of cattle fording water runs below the agricultural scenes. Elsewhere fording stands next to hunting in the marshes (Mereruka A 1, south), or plucking the papyrus (Ptahhetep, south), or mariners at a mock flight (Akhethetep, east wall). The fording scene at 'Ankhn'ahor is among the most developed, if not the largest, of the type (0.245 m. tall). In comparison with the few cattle in both scenes at Tji (9 cows and 4 oxen; 2 cows and 6 oxen) and in the scenes at Akhethetep (3 cows and 5 oxen), Mereruka (2 cows and 6 oxen), and Kagemni (2 cows and 7 oxen), the huge pack at 'Ankhn'ahor, numbering no less than 32 head, is certainly outstanding. The horns are in the shape of a lyre, but two of the animals are hornless, probably to be identified as cows. The herd that returns from its pastures in the delta fords shallow water, either wading or occasionally, as here, swimming, being lured on by a young calf. In shallow water the calf is carried in front by an elderly herdsman (Tji, Akhethetep); in deep streams where the cattle swim the calf is tied behind the head boat (Kaemnofert at Giza, Mereruka, Kagemni).⁵² Here the beasts are preceded and followed by a boat sailed by herdsmen and mariners in a nearby symmetrical composition. In each boat two shepherds, squatting on one leg, face the cattle; each shepherd holds his right arm horizontally, with the forefinger stretched. In addition, each of the two herdsmen in the boat to the rear holds a baton in his left hand. The gesture accompanies the magical spell uttered against the crocodile showing tamely beneath each boat. The inscription⁵³ is the longest of the type: *i nrw pw 'nh hr.k r šy pw nt(y) hr mw tm iw nw n šy pw i(w).f m šp tp 'nh hr.k r.f wrt* "O this shepherd! Live thy face against that aquatic [=crocodile] that is on the water! So that these ones do not go to that aquatic, he being as a blind-of-head. Live thy face against him very much!" The crocodile is not mentioned by name, and he is supposed to be blinded. Montet remarks that the word "aquatic" alluding to the crocodile was determined with the hieroglyph of a rush. The wish "live thy face"⁵⁴ implies caution and daring. The calf is kept close to the front boat by a rope

wound around his neck and held taut by the two shepherds. Above is the inscription *w3h in hrp nrw* "set down by the chief herdsman," which explains the result of the magical gesture and spell to lay down the crocodile. The caption in front of the rear boat gives the title for the whole scene: *hsf msh* "repelling the crocodile."

The unique multitudinous representation aims at emphasizing the power and wealth of 'Ankhn'ahor. The rather monotonous iteration of the heads of the cattle in a row tends to acquire an ornamental quality, perhaps not aimed at by the designer. The only disruptions are the occurrence of a hornless head toward the middle of the pack and the feeling expressed by the two animals to the fore. The first one holds out her tongue to lick that of the calf. Here this topical gesture is emphasized, for nowhere else does the front cow reach for the tongue of her calf; she just licks its body or tries to reach it. In contrast with this effusion the gestures of the herdsmen are stiff, and they seem formalized in comparison with the lively naturalism in the tomb at Tji. The cattle scene at 'Ankhn'ahor marks the appearance of mannerism in the rendering of narration.⁵⁵ This more formalistic trend in the style accounts for the softening of the personal traits usually attributed to herdsmen, especially the older ones performing the magical spell. At Tji they are completely naked, with balding heads and unkempt beards, and the one carrying the calf has a hernia of the phallus.⁵⁶ Some of the men assume lively stances on widespread legs. The two scenes at Tji show the two methods — wading and swimming — of crossing water. It is interesting to note that the cows swimming are too busy to express any feeling toward the calf, like that shown by the cows wading. Vandier remarks that hornless cattle manifest more feeling than those sporting lyre-shaped horns.⁵⁷ At Mereruka the cattle swim, but the front cow stretches her tongue toward the calf, though the small animal does not turn back its head⁵⁸ — a more formalized treatment than at 'Ankhn'ahor. At Kagemni, where the calf turns back and reaches with its tongue toward that of its mother, the boatmen in both front and rear skiffs are clothed and do not show as lively attitudes as those at Tji, though they are given the typical trait of a balding head. The multitudinous aspect of com-

position also shows in the representation of two herdsmen instead of one in each boat, though there are two boats to the fore carrying one and two herdsmen at Kagemni.

Room I, south wall. Next to a doorway opening from the east corner toward Ishefi's chapel only one extant register stretches westward above the dado, at the level of the fording scene. It represents a procession of offering-bearers personifying the estates that contribute to provisioning 'Ankhn'ahor (fig. 25). This theme occurs just below the fording scene at Akhetetep and Tji. Seven women walk toward the interior, each identified by an inscription naming the estate. The foremost had a name compounded with that of King Unas of the Fifth Dynasty. The fifth was *Hbnn Ssi*, and the seventh *Nbs Ssi*. Hebenen (*wt*) is the name of a sort of bread, but also of localities mentioned in several mastaba chapels.⁵⁹ Nebes is the zizyphus (Arabic *nabq*)⁶⁰ and a cake made of this fruit, as well as a locality. It is supposed that estates bearing the names of products were indeed fictitious, but that such names allowed the deceased to enjoy the products by magic. There is no way of determining the original number of personifications, which probably ran in three more registers above the bottom one. A guess of 28 personifications is not impossible, since Tji shows as many as 36 female figures,⁶¹ Akhetetep 17, Ptahhetep 17 or 18, and another Ptahhetep 30. Maspero thought that some of these alleged estates were fictitious, a theory not accepted by Junker who assumed that all estates were real, though not necessarily belonging to the deceased. They could have been royal endowments in favor of the provisioning of the tomb.⁶² The number 36 corresponds to the number of nomes that were personified in the procession on royal monuments, imitated by private ones. Male personifications sometimes occur, as at Mereruka,⁶³ or they alternate with female figures. The theme appears in the early Fourth Dynasty. By the early Sixth Dynasty the figures are encumbered, like those of the offering-bearers, with numerous items, and in addition they lead on a leash one or two animals shown in a ridiculously small scale, as at Kagemni.⁶⁴ Here, at 'Ankhn'ahor, there is a definite effort to introduce variation in movements and attitudes: head turned back, two opposed and offset animals,

calf licking the foot of the woman, gazelle turning to lick her suckling small one.

Room I, west wall. Next to the doorway leading from room I to room II is a shallow register portraying a hunt in the marshes (fig. 26, pl. 28). This theme usually appears in connection with fording scenes and with the procession of estates, as at Tji (north wall), Mereruka (A 1, south wall), and Kagemni (entrance hall). Although much eroded, the north end still shows traces of several taut cords pulling on harpoons lodged in the massive body of a hippopotamus. This hunt scene must have spread its background of papyrus stems vertically to a great height (cf. Tji, Mereruka). At the opposite end, south, is another dramatic focus of interest: another hippopotamus is a victim, this time of a predatory crocodile. The female hippopotamus is in the process of giving birth and the crocodile stands ready to snatch the young one when it issues forth (pl. 29). This topical detail appears even more realistically, with the mouths of both crocodile and hippopotamus wide open, at Idwt (Saqqara, late Sixth Dynasty). The primeval hatred between the two species was always recorded in marsh scenes, with the topical detail of a hippopotamus, having gripped a crocodile with its powerful jaws, holding it up high upside down so that its tail beats desperately above water (Tji,⁶⁵ Mereruka⁶⁶). The stretch is so full of fish and plants that little area is left for the water, contrasting with the empty background at Idwt, the moderately peopled one at Mereruka, or the more densely populated one at Tji or Kagemni. The artist of 'Ankhn'ahor seems to have been possessed by a real horror vacui, for he tried to fill in the spaces between the larger beasts with a profusion of fish and plants. This tendency is perhaps another expression of the multitudinous character of his style. The abundance of figures does not impair accuracy, and we can readily identify the species of fish, from left to right,⁶⁷ as *Tilapia nilotica*, *Mugil*, *Petrocephalus Bane*, *Schilbe mystus*, *Tilapia nilotica*, *Mugil*, *Synodontis shall*, *Clarias*, *Citharinus eitharus*, *Malopterurus electricus*. Plants are arranged as decorative filling items with buds or wide-open flowers of the blue lotus, *Nymphaea caerulea*, or the white one, *Nymphaea lotus*. Just beneath the small hippopotamus being born is a broad

open lotus flanked by two lotus buds set symmetrically at a slant. This decorative composition gives the illusion of a restful, though too fragile, bed for the small animal, but the bed is utterly useless because the baby will drop into the gaping mouth of the crocodile.

Room I, doorway I-VI. The funeral procession had to pass from the entrance vestibule through the northern doorway to the pillared portico on its way to ascend the staircase to the terrace. It is significant that the themes carved on both doorjamb deal with surgical operations, including circumcision. The latter occurs on the bottom register of the east jamb in two contiguous scenes (0.368 m. tall). A boy at puberty stands completely naked, his hands held fast by an attendant behind him (fig. 27, pl. 30). The operator, squatting in front of the boy, rubs the member, probably with a "stone of Memphis." This carbonate of lime, known to Dioscorides (*De mat. med.* V, 158) and Pliny (XXVI, 7) but never mentioned in Egyptian papyri, produces the analgesic carbonic acid when wetted with an acid. The inscription reads *ndr sw m rdi db3.f* "Hold him fast. Do not let him swoon!"⁶⁸ to which the attendant answers, *iry(.i) r hsit.k* "I am doing to thy satisfaction!"⁶⁹ The operation is defined as *sbit* (= Coptic *sebbe*) "to circumcise," described with a curving item perhaps representing the foreskin.⁷⁰ The operator holds the title of *hm-k3* "funerary priest." In the area to the right the boy stands, holding his right hand over his hip and his left hand on the head of the operator, who proceeds to cut with a curved knife, possibly of flint. The boy says, *sin wnnt r mnh* "Obliterate really thoroughly!"⁷¹ to which the operator answers; *iw(.i) r iit r ndm* "I will make (it) agreeable!" This theme is later represented only once, in the Eighteenth Dynasty in the temples at Karnak.

Above this scene is another, fragmentary one, showing treatment by massaging⁷² the leg and the back of two patients. The operator squats on a low block and lets the standing patient put his ailing leg on his own knee so that it be easily accessible for manipulation. In the second scene the patient squats on the floor, his legs bent in front, and bends forward, stabilizing himself with his left arm. Behind him the operator rubs his back with a swab or an unguent. Massaging is

also represented at Ptahhetep.⁷³ Medical papyri prescribe various unguents to be applied with bandages or occasionally massaged into the legs.⁷⁴ A similar scene occurs at Khentika, where a vessel is shown between the patient and the operator.⁷⁵

On the west doorjamb there are two registers representing the treatment of hands and feet,⁷⁶ sometimes called manicure and pedicure (fig. 28, pl. 31). As a result of walking barefoot, minor accidents and ailments requiring surgery must certainly have been common. Both operator and patient are squatting on the floor. In one scene the right hand is treated; in the other, the toe of the left foot. The inscriptions do not elucidate the procedure: *iri nw di hp(š)* "Make these give strength!" To which the operator responds: *iry.i r hsit.k ityw* "I will do to thy pleasure, sovereign!" This answer, inscribed between the two operators, could also be valid for the one to the right, who treats the toe of a patient who is begging: *n rdi mr n nw* "Do not cause pain to these!"⁷⁷

Above a row of three caskets that could belong to the lower register is an upper fragment representing a patient whose two hands are being treated simultaneously by two operators flanking him. The inscription giving the patient's utterance is badly defaced . . . *n hnt m 'nh* ". . . by thy life!" And the answer of the operator to the left is *(iri.i nw r) ndm mry(.i)* "(I will make this) agreeable, dear!" This last inscription is restored on analogy with the one above a similar scene defined as manicure and pedicure in the mastaba of Khentika.⁷⁸ There, however, the dialogue, identical to that at 'Ankhm'ahor, seems to have been reversed so that the answers are ascribed to the patients: "I will make this agreeable, dear!" This scene is the only one where a patient has a foot and a hand treated simultaneously.

Room I, north wall. In the area close to the entrance doorway, the lower register and part of the one above it are well preserved (fig. 29, pl. 32). These are market scenes where loaves and liquids are handled by two pairs of men whose transactions are recorded by a scribe at the west end, close to doorway I-VI. On the lower register the pair near the entrance deals with conical loaves picked up from a basket on the floor. Each of the two buyers wears a short

kilt, and the dealer has a loose flap turned around behind him; he is probably a peasant, like the one represented in the same garb stacking grain (see east wall). The dialogue reads: *dī iw ky ht* "Cause to come another *htj*-loaf!"⁷⁹ In response the dealer seems to defend himself: *i(w).f mh wrt* "It [lit., he] is full very much!" The transaction of the pair to the left is recorded by the scribe, for the buyer holds a loaf in his left hand and turns his head to him: *sš ir.k tp(y)-r(i) iry n h3i srs psn* "Write to thee (my) utterance of a count of 6 *pesen*-loaves!" (*ht*, *h3t*, or *ip* means "measure, count").⁸⁰ *Pesen*-bread was used for brewing.⁸¹ The dealer holds another loaf in his left hand, with others still in his basket, and to convince the buyer he tells him: *hw(i) rf m3.k r m3' t(3) rth 'd pw* "Would, then, that thou seest verily how this *reteh*-bread is in good condition!" The scribe, who is squatting on the floor, is busily writing. In front of him is his equipment placed on two boxes, against which stands a third smaller one, possibly for water. The equipment consists of a papyrus roll and a large writing palette. The scribe seeks to assure the buyer that he is recording at his best: *sti(i)*⁸² *nw r-mnh n-hr hrt* "(I) throw in these thoroughly by a share." In a scene of measuring beer at Khentika the scribe Shen of the estate, recording, is ordered, *sti nw r-mnh*, which is the answer of our scribe at 'Ankhm'ahor. This instance proves that the artist of Khentika again reversed the dialogues after a copy from 'Ankhm'ahor, as he did for the scene of the treatment of hands and feet. Here also the inversion confuses the meaning of the dialogue. The official giving the orders turns his head back to the scribe, but in a less dramatic way than at 'Ankhm'ahor.

In this strictly two-dimensional representation the sculptor has introduced rhythm with the pair of men bending uniformly on either side of a basket. These pairs form two independent groups, each in a triangular composition, except for the left pair where the buyer turns his head 180 degrees to give an order to the scribe. In all the figures, including those of the scribes, half the torso closest to the spectator is represented in accurate side view, while the other half and the rest of the figure are in the usual composite projection, thus achieving an illusory foreshortening. It seems that in both scenes the record-

ing is done by the same scribe, who sports a boldly protruding lower lip, a personalized feature in an otherwise formal style.

Room I, doorway I-II. On each doorjamb there still is, above the dado, nearly a whole register representing two pairs of men engaged in barter. On the south jamb, a farmer squats at either end, offering the fresh produce piled up in his basket and liquids in slender ovaloid jars (fig. 30, pl. 33). The farmer to the right has a basket full of figs topped with lettuce, and he presents a fig to the buyer standing in front of him, who has a nearly full platter, saying: *dī.k ht nfr(t) ndm(t) n ib.k wp . . . w* "Give something good and sweet for thy heart . . . !" Opposite, the other farmer, with even more appetizing dried fish displayed in a broad basket, oil or wine jugs, and loaves of various types, offers a loaf to a buyer: *m33.k is . . . dh.k pn m ht . . . k dd.k hi im3 is pw* "Look then! . . . thou sayest . . . it is charming indeed!"

On the north jamb (fig. 31, pl. 34) a squatting dealer presents a dried fish to a man carrying a casket on his back; a sack hangs from his right elbow and he holds in his left hand three spindle whorls. Thus burdened, he still appreciates the fish, for he answers *ikr* "Excellent!" to the dealer's invitation, *(m)3 nw n* "See these!" On the left an itinerant dealer has just handed over a headrest to a man who is carrying a casket on his back and has a sack hanging from his right elbow. A boy, naked as all boys of his age were, accompanies him, steadying a large globular vessel on his head with his left hand and holding a fly whisk in his right hand. To the craftsman's invitation, *m3 s(t)* "See it!" He answers enthusiastically, *hm pw i(w).k mi s mnh* "O artisan! Thou art (as) an able man!"⁸³ It is noteworthy that the only personage wearing a wig is the dealer of fish and other goods on the south jamb. The style differs radically on the two jambs — a difference that can be studied the more conveniently since the topic treated is the same. While the figures on the south jamb show half the torso in side projection and indicate in assured draftsmanship the muscles of the legs and the navel, the figures on the north jamb are mostly in composite projection, with geometrized outline, in a bold carving that ignores anatomical detail. Thus two hands of varying ability executed nearly identical scenes on the

opposite jambs of a doorway, as was also done, perhaps competitively, on the doorways between rooms II and III and between III and IV.

Room II.

Architecturally this room duplicates the shape of the vestibule. Its better-preserved walls show a variety of topics: crafts on the south, fowling with a clapnet on the west, and offering-bearers on the north. On the east wall only the feet are extant in the remains of the bottom register. Most of the paint on the dado is preserved, especially on the north wall. 'Ankhn'ahor appears in heroic size watching the activities in the marshes (west) and probably also on the opposite wall (east). He would thus see the activities of the fowling in the marshes and of the craftsmen (south). A comparable choice of topics appears in the offering room at Tji, where scenes on the north wall depict hunting and fishing in the marshes, gathering papyrus, and a mock fight between boatmen, and those on the south wall show the counting of cattle, slaughtering, agricultural pursuits, offering-bearers, and, in four superimposed registers, goldsmiths, sculptors, drillers of stone vases, carpenters, leatherworkers, and barter at the market. At Mereruka the crafts are depicted on the east wall of a small room (A 3) beyond the entrance vestibule, a location similar to that at 'Ankhn'ahor. At Nebemakhet there are five registers which show, from the top, jewelry, preparation of oil and pouring it into stone vases, vase-drilling with sculpture and carpentry, metalworking, and metal vases and weighing. The three registers at Senedjemibmehy display sculpturing, metalwork, dwarfs assembling collars, and a scene of vase-drilling. In the offering room of Ptahhetep the fowling scene appears on the lower part of the east wall, just above a mock fight of boatmen. Of the crafts, only the threading of collars by dwarfs is shown (north wall).

It is remarkable that nowhere does the wife of 'Ankhn'ahor appear. This unusual feature, which occurs also at Khentika, could indicate that the wife was already dead or that mention of her was banned because of a family feud.

Room II, south wall. Two nearly complete registers (0.295 m. tall) are topped by a thin stripe, all that remains of a third register repre-

senting groups of two and three artisans on either side of a table and two other workmen each spinning with a whorl held in his right hand and stretching the thread with his left foot. At the chapel of Tji⁸⁴ three men are spinning the cords for their fishing nets in much the same way, with hands and toes. They are squatting on the ground, looking to the right.

The distribution of the crafts in the two registers follows a sequence from the west, beginning closest to the figure of 'Ankhn'ahor which stands on the west wall (fig. 32, pl. 35): weighing and recording gold ingots, smelting, carving statues; on the lower register: drilling stone vases, leatherworking, stringing jewelry and recording it. So compact an arrangement, with various activities represented on the same register, differs from the neat staging of the crafts shown separately in six or seven registers. At Mereruka there are six registers (from the top): stone vessels, carpenters, three statues drawn on sleds, and goldsmiths. The sequence at 'Ankhn'ahor is like that at Tji, itself the reverse of Mereruka's.⁸⁵ The first phase of the cycle of goldworking is weighing and recording the ingots. We are in a hall whose ceiling is carried on three (or six) elegant columns with bundle shafts, each crowned with a lotiform capital. The petals of the open lotus flare out above smaller buds inserted between the stems of the shafts, as in stone capitals from Abusir.⁸⁶ Two squatting men are busy with gold ingots. The "overseer of the ingots" *imyr bi3* holds up with his right hand a balance while he steadies his right arm with his left hand (pl. 36). Both scales, in the shape of small concave containers, are heavy with ingots and weights. Each container is suspended from the hand of a model forearm directed toward the mid post of the balance. Identical forearms occur in Mereruka's balance, but they are reversed toward the outer ends. Ingots are piled in a box behind the overseer. In front of him the scribe writes on papyrus a list of the successive weights enumerated by the overseer. The process is defined by inscriptions in other chapels,⁸⁷ as at Mereruka: "Writing down what concerns the weighing of ingots. Weigher." That the ingots are of gold is mentioned elsewhere.⁸⁸

Outside the measuring office, possibly in the yard, four kneeling workmen blow air into the

fire in a furnace, using terra-cotta pipes with a slightly bulging ovaloid lower end (pl. 37). They screen their faces against the scorching glare of the fire, while a fifth artisan standing nearby bends down to poke through the mouth of the furnace with a short rod. At Tji there are also four blowers, while at Mereruka there are six, next to the weighing scene. The 'Ankhn'ahor inscription, the longest of the type (six columns), records a dialogue between the man standing and one of the blowers: *m₃₃ hr.f ds m₃ pw (w)d(i) m tbt.f wrt nt(y) hn(.i) hn.k m 'nh* "See his face! It is a new pot! Put into his sandal, strongly, comrade. Hurry up! By thy life!" To which comes the usual answer: *iry(.i) r hsit.k m₃₃ bi₃ d'm* "I am doing to thy satisfaction! See, a gold ingot!" There is no need to interpret, as Montet does,⁸⁹ the words "face" and "sandal" in their proper sense, or the suffix pronoun as referring to one of the workmen. Gold in fusion is called "beautiful of face," and the whole dialogue can refer only to the metamorphosis of the ore, described elsewhere as stones *inr*⁹⁰ into a "face" or aspect, glowing red like a new pot. The term "sandal" must have a technical connotation. In other inscriptions⁹¹ the process is described as *nbi bi₃ wdi r tbt.f ds m₃ pw* "Smelting the ingot placed in his sandal. It is a new pot! Hurry much! On the beautiful-of-face that bubbles in the smelting pot!"

The mass of fused gold has hardly cooled when it is placed on a hard stone block to be beaten by two workmen. They use heavy pebbles held in their right hands while they steady the gold mass with their left hands. Above we read: *skr d'm r krstt* "beating gold for the funerary equipment." The last word occurs again with the same spelling in the scene of the recording of the inventory of funerary jewelry (room III, south wall). At Tji⁹² a workman pours the molten mass into a mold, where it hardens while cooling, before it is beaten by two workmen. At Mereruka the workmen are engaged in beating gold. Occasionally the legend specifies that the gold is beaten into a plate or a bar,⁹³ or that it is to be heated again.

The eastern half of the upper register represents four standing statues of natural size being worked on in the open by sculptors and painters. We are simultaneously introduced to various techniques of carving, to different kinds

of materials, and to the titles of artists. An "overseer of sculptor(s)" *imyr gnwty(w)* finishes chiseling the first statue, driving the chisel he holds in his left hand with soft strokes of his right palm. He stands on the pedestal and bends slightly forward toward the arm he is finishing, his adze slung over his right shoulder. The statue represents 'Ankhn'ahor standing, both arms hanging by his sides. He wears a wig and a short kilt. As there is no back pillar and no link or connecting wall to the torso, we may infer that the statue is of wood. So is the next statue, but it is completely nude and was originally accompanied by a small figure. Both the small figure and its legend were hurriedly hammered out. There is no doubt that the small effigy represents the second son, also erased in four other places. The statue is finished by *sš w'bt rsy(t) Msi* "scribe of the southern embalming house, Mesi," who applies pigment he takes with his brush from a small pan to the lower edge of the wig, along the brow (pl. 38). The additional information about the material imparted by the legend, *twt n(t) špnn* "statue of shepenen," is rather frustrating, for the material mentioned only here is not identified.⁹⁴ The next statue represents 'Ankhn'ahor in a striding posture, bareheaded, wearing a broad collar and a puffing triangular skirt. He holds the scepter in his right hand and the long staff in his left. Accompanying him is the nude figure of a small boy, Ishefi *Išfi*, known from other scenes to be 'Ankhn'ahor's eldest son. The figure is so adjusted as to fit in below the father's skirt, to which it raises its left arm. A similar pair is portrayed in the actual statue of Pepi I and his son Merenre' (copper, 1.75 m., C.M.). A scribe *sš* paints the statue which the legend calls *twt n(t)ksbt* "statue of *kesebet*-wood," from a species of tree in Ineny's garden at Thebes in the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁹⁵ The fourth statue has been destroyed, except for some of its front elements, such as the left hand holding the staff, the tip of the scepter, and the left foot, proving that it was a figure similar to the preceding one. An "overseer of sculptors" *imyr gnwty(w)*, standing on the floor, paints the arm with his right hand while his left holds his adze and grasps the staff of the statue. A second sculptor, squatting on the floor, hammers with a wooden mallet on a chisel applied to the pedestal near the left foot.

It is remarkable that the sculptors of the three extant statues stand on the base of the statues and that half of each torso is in side view, while all statues show in the composite projection as real figures. Such a departure from the rule that statues are represented in side view is not very common. At Tji⁹⁶ three of the eight statues represented are complete and in accurate side view. Four are striding figures, one of which is in the nude; three are seated; and one is a statue of a lady. The attitudes of the sculptors at Tji are varied: standing, kneeling, or seated on tall stools. At Mereruka,⁹⁷ a scene of drawing three statues on their sleds toward the tomb is substituted for the scene of sculpturing.

The representation of drilling is appended to statuary carving, either following directly (Tji) or in an independent register (Mereruka) or panel ('Ankhn'ahor). At 'Ankhn'ahor this activity is emphasized, for four craftsmen instead of the usual two are busy on four vases of different shapes. In the upper row the "overseer of vase-drillers" *imyr hm(ww)ty(w)*, squatting on the floor, holds both his hands around a tall cylindrical vase without using any tool. In front is a *hm(ww)ty*⁹⁸ "vase-driller" polishing with a pebble the tall lid of an elegant vessel adorned in front with a uraeus perched on its shoulder and provided with a handle at the back. The shape would suggest that it is made of metal, a material that conforms with the elaborate uraeus, the handle, and the eagle-shaped lid. Below is a second pair of craftsmen, each turning a cranked vertical shaft weighed down by two heavy stones acting as flywheels. At the lower end is a cutting flint that bores its way into the stone vessel, with the help of moist sand. Vessels at 'Ankhn'ahor are squat and broad-mouthed. One of the craftsmen uses both hands to make the shaft revolve, while the other turns its top with his right hand and steadies the vase with his left. The legend, only partly legible, is *di shpr.s iri n . . .* "Cause that it be made . . .," and the submissive answer is *iry. i r hst.k imyr* "I do to thy satisfaction, overseer!"

The next panel shows three leatherworkers. The one standing to the left is the *imyr ist* "overseer of the workshop." With both hands he stretches a hide, passing it over a smooth bridge on a wooden stand, a process described specifically as *t hs hnt* "stretching a hide."⁹⁹ This

essential manipulation seems to be to his taste, for he expresses his satisfaction: *[iw].s sndm wrt* "It [is] well smoothed." The man squatting in front of him cuts a leather thong on a wooden block in preparing to make sandals, as the caption informs us: *db3 tbt* "completing the sandal."¹⁰⁰ The third man handles a deep sack, one of several items arrayed in front of him.

In the eastern half of the lower register we are shown into a hall with four (or eight) columns of the same lotiform type as those in the office for weighing gold. Here a scribe is also busy recording the jewelry pieces finished by two pairs of craftsmen, each handling a broad collar and its counterpoise at a table. A fragmentary inscription reads *stt* "to throw," probably for the technical term "to string."¹⁰¹ The final stages were prepared by a group of six dwarfs seated in pairs on low stools or on the floor on either side of two tables. In the absence of legends one has to interpret the rather awkward gestures of the stump arms and hands fitting the pieces together (pl. 39). Although the dwarfs share common deformities, not one of them looks exactly like the others. The artist succeeded in bringing out personal features in attitudes, obesity, cranial shape, and hunchbacks. Two, taller than the others, squat on the floor. Despite their deformities dwarfs were particularly prized, not only as entertainers, but also as caretakers for clothes and jewelry. Many of them reached high rank in office and superior social standing¹⁰² in palaces and mansions.

Room II, west wall. More than two registers are preserved above the dado, running the length of the wall (fig. 33). At the north end stands 'Ankhn'ahor in heroic size, wearing over the puffing skirt a panther's skin and sandals on his feet. In front of his left leg a small figure, wearing a long wig, a beard, and a puffing skirt, stands with both arms hanging along his sides. The figure is *smr w'ty hry-hb(t) Isfi* "sole companion, lector priest, Ishefi," who appears again at the front of the procession of retainers on the mid register. He is identified there and in other scenes as the eldest son. Behind 'Ankhn'ahor and following him were three superimposed figures. Of the uppermost one only the lower part remains, but it is enough to identify him as a chief from the marshland wearing a flap skirt, holding a baton, and carrying a long sack on his

back. Beneath is a spirited dwarf carrying in his left hand a small basket of fruit. Perched on the dwarf's shoulder is a long-tailed ape who brings one of the excellent fruits to his mouth with his right hand, while steadying himself in his precarious position with his left hand laid flat on the dwarf's head. A leash around the ape's neck is held taut by the dwarf. This representation marks the only appearance of a dwarf among the retainers of 'Ankhm'ahor. These delightful creatures kept close to the master, whom they entertained with their wit and their antics. A dwarf leading an ape and a dog accompanies the carrying chair of Kagemni,¹⁰³ and another with the title "steward, 'Ankhef," presents Khentika¹⁰⁴ with a basket of fruit.

The figure at the bottom, along with its legend, was entirely hammered out, but it can be recognized as that of a man of the same stature as Ishefi, standing with both arms hanging by his sides and clad in a puffing skirt. This instance is one of five when the personage was erased, probably the same as the nude figure accompanying one of the statues of 'Ankhm'ahor (see south wall). 'Ankhm'ahor watches the activities of the fowlers in the marshes, as defined by the vertical column of inscription in front of him: . . . *sh't 3pdw in wh'w3 pdw nw dt.f* ". . . capturing fowl by the marsh fowlers of his estate." The reading *mhw* or *mhty* for the sign of the papyrus skiff was commented upon by Montet,¹⁰⁵ who also proved that *dt* was an abbreviation used in the Sixth Dynasty for *pr-dt*, originally *pr n dt*.¹⁰⁶ To be noted is the writing of the word-sign "fowl" with three birds, two overlapping ones proceeding to the left in the same direction as the scene, and one in the opposite direction. The birds in each group are of a different species from those in other groups. Both devices, akin to topical detail, were obviously intended to avoid monotony.

The scene of hunting with a clapnet in the marshes appears in the vicinity of the crafts here (south wall) and at Tji (north wall opposite crafts on south wall of offering chamber), or on the same wall with a mock game of boatmen and building papyrus skiffs at Ptahhetep, or near games of mariners and the agricultural cycle (Sekhem'ankh-Ptah at Boston). At Kagemni the scene appears in the room beyond the entrance portico.

Preceding the scene of the clapnet on the three registers are retainers coming to 'Ankhm'ahor with bunches of fowl in both hands. In the uppermost register are the legs of three personages striding toward 'Ankhm'ahor, the first holding the title *shd* [?] *hntyw-s* "inspector [?] of land tenants," and the third, the title *hm k3* "funerary priest." In the top register is *s3.f wr n ht.f mry.f shd hntyw-s pr-3 Isfi* "his eldest son, of his belly, his beloved, inspector of land tenants of Pharaoh, Ishefi." This is certainly the same personage standing in front of the legs of 'Ankhm'ahor. He is followed by Ipi and the *sinw pr-3 nh* "court physician, 'Ankh."¹⁰⁷ In the lower register a personage was also erased. Following him is the *shd hm(w) k3 Hpi* "inspector of funerary priest(s), Hepi," a fat bareheaded man clad in a long skirt (pl. 40). It is remarkable that the artist represented this person in side view, as he did for 'Ankhm'ahor himself when he aimed at a naturalistic rendering of a potbellied figure with pendulous breasts and creases of fat (entrance doorway).

The scene of the hunt proper follows on the two lower registers, with all its actors directed south, like 'Ankhm'ahor himself (pl. 41). The hunt is supervised by the *imyr wh'w 3pdw* "overseer of the marsh fowlers," who is standing with his right hand curved over the tip of a short stick and his left arm hanging by his side. Flung over his right shoulder, across his torso, is a rolled-up mat. In front of his skirt is a protruding mat apron.¹⁰⁸ Such a garment was worn by Tji himself when he chose to play the role of an overseer of marsh fowlers.¹⁰⁹

At 'Ankhm'ahor only two phases of the clapnet hunt are represented. At the south end of the lower register (0.285 m. tall), under the supervision of the overseer, four men bend forward and hold with both hands a rope that is connected beyond a rush screen to the clapnet and is bound at the rear end to a top-shaped peg driven deep into the ground. The head of the gang kneels on the ground in hiding behind the screen and raises high his left arm, looking toward his men and at the same time urging them to keep silent: *iw hb 3pdw n .k wh'w pw igr tiwn* "There is a lot of fowl for thy arm, O fowler, if you keep silent!"¹¹⁰ All the men are naked, with balding foreheads (pl. 42), and at least one of them, the second in the row, is

potbellied and has a dropsy of the scrotum (pl. 43). A similar affliction is shown by the last fowler at Tji and Neferseshem-Ptah.¹¹¹ To get a better grip on the rope, the men twist it in their left hands. All left arms are in exact side view. Much of the formality in the figures is redeemed by the tense attitudes, the marked musculature in the legs, and the intense gaze. At Tji the fowlers hang on the rope, standing precariously on their heels and slanting forward. At Kagemni¹¹² the three fowlers and their supervisor are already in motion, starting to pull away, their left feet scarcely touching the ground and their heads turned back to the net. At Ptahhetep¹¹³ the seven fowlers squat on the wet mud, their torsos bent slight backward. At the tomb of Neferseshem-Ptah,¹¹⁴ neighbor of 'Ankhm'ahor and his close follower in time, the men stand, each slanting back on his right leg while his left leg is flexed. To comply with horror vacui, the background is nearly filled with subsidiary elements such as upper rows of loaves, coiled ropes, two jugs flanking a sack of fruit, and, on the ground, large baskets full of ropes and rushes. Between the striding legs grow water plants and bushes, and a long-legged crane or heron stands in the foreground. On each of the three bouquets of rushes is a large insect; a butterfly, a dragonfly, and a grasshopper provide a delightful genre or topical detail for the marshy environment.

The hexagonal frame of the clapnet lies open over a shallow basin full of fowl swimming in groups. Nearby, several birds stand aloof from the impending drama. One of them, a tall crane, turns toward the rush screen. This ubiquitous creature, found at the same place in all clapnet scenes (Tji, Ptahhetep, Kagemni, mastaba of the Louvre, of Brussels, Neferseshem-Ptah), was a decoy taught to lure the wild fowl.¹¹⁵ Whether the other birds on the ground, especially the one hatching eggs on the nest, belong to the same device cannot be proved.

In the upper register the subsequent phase of the hunt is depicted. Behind the screen the head of the gang is in the process of rising, having just signaled to his men to pull on the rope. The four men, having thrown themselves back on their bottoms, firmly plant both feet in the slippery mud in an utmost effort to bring the heavy panels of the lid down tight on the frame. Let us

note the straightening of the muscles of the hips. The last man in the row has a hernia swelling out of his navel (pl. 44). Behind the figures are baskets full of rushes, a dome-lidded vase, rushes, and aquatic plants. The men are really surrounded with aquatic vegetation, for small greeneries dangle above them as if hanging from the upper ground line. In reality they grow on the farther side of the men, but they were rabatted in the plane of the picture. On this subsidiary ground line are arrayed, beginning just at the back of the chief fowler, a crate full of fowl, the crane that was used as a decoy, vases and bundles of stems, a broad sack containing a jug, a basket with two jugs and loaves — all part of the equipment or the harvest for the day.

On the other side of the rushes the clapnet has closed on the birds that are still swimming in the shallow water. A fowler has hastened to kneel down and withdraw the birds trapped by the wooden edge of the net. To prevent the birds from escaping he entangles both wings. At Tji the birds are obviously scared, some fluttering desperately against the mesh, others injured with broken necks. The style at Tji is certainly more naturalistic and the composition more impressive than at 'Ankhm'ahor. The heroic-sized figure of Tji encompasses both stages of the hunt proper, displayed on two superimposed registers, and in addition there appears in an upper register the preparation of the net: cords are being unrolled and pegs are being driven into the soil. Beneath the three registers are aviaries or fowl yards. At Kagemni both stages are shown side by side on the same register; above are fowl yards shaded by awnings, each draped around a rectangular basin approached from a portico with lotiform columns. At Neferseshem-Ptah a similar poultry yard is represented on a mid register between the preliminary stage of the hunt (lower register) and the final phase (upper register).

Room II, north wall. Two well-preserved registers and the uppermost fragmentary register represent offering-bearers proceeding eastward (to the right) (fig. 34, pl. 45). The direction undoubtedly relates to the heroic-sized figure of 'Ankhm'ahor, accompanied by his two sons, at the north end of the east wall. Only the feet are extant. Capart¹¹⁶ could identify bearers of fish proceeding toward 'Ankhm'ahor, therefore sug-

gesting a fishing scene parallel to the fowling on the wall opposite. A similar connection exists between the crafts on the south wall and the fowling scene to the west, both being watched by 'Ankhm'ahor (north end of west wall). At Tji offering-bearers appear on the same south wall as the craftsmen and the butchers. The offering-bearers on the north wall of room II at 'Ankhm'ahor form the first of lengthy processions that cover most of the walls of the remaining rooms (III-V).

In the extant upper register (0.295 m. tall) eight men stride toward the east, carrying toilet equipment such as unguent vases of various shapes, caskets, and folded linen. The two who head the procession, *Tw3* Twa and *Tti'nh* Teti-'ankh, seem to be more important, for they hold the title *hrp sh* "director of the dining hall."¹¹⁷ As such they are in charge of food provisioning, and they are not overburdened as the other men are. Twa carries within the bend of each arm a pointed jug with slender concave neck topped with a conical stopper, perhaps containing drinks.¹¹⁸ Teti-'ankh, preceded by a heavy-jawed dog of the Saluki breed, carries a huge ablution bowl and long-spouted jug¹¹⁹ with a kerchief in his left arm and, hanging from his right hand, a painted ovaloid vessel with concave neck and rounded lid. Each of the three following men carries on his extended left arm a small casket crowned with a cavetto cornice and reinforced between the legs by a bent-up strut. In addition, the first man holds a large unguent jar with a concave cylindrical body and a sealed flat lid.¹²⁰ Another type of unguent vase, ovaloid, long-necked, and broad-mouthed,¹²¹ hangs from the left arm of the next man, who holds a headrest in his right hand and the leash of a long-legged, long-tailed ape that is walking behind him. This pet must have been particularly close to the heart of 'Ankhm'ahor, for her name is inscribed in large hieroglyphs *mri rdi.s* "Love she gives!" Each of the last three bearers carries on his left shoulder a pile of three folded linens.¹²² They also bring toilet equipment: the first bearer carries a trapezoid deep sack for clothes, a duck-shaped unguent vase, a headrest, and a broad-mouthed flat-bottomed jug with two handles;¹²³ the second, a short stick and a wickerwork vertical container; and the third brings a sack. The latter has so light a burden

that he urges the one preceding him to hurry, *iti n.k rdwy.k* "Snatch to thee thy two legs!" rendered accurately by the colloquial Arabic idiom *ekhtaf reglaik*, comparable to "take off to thy feet!" Note the ethical dative, "to thee." The most interesting item is the unguent vase, probably in alabaster, in the shape of a sleeping duck whose head is bent over its back; it is reminiscent of the double-duck vessel from the toilet equipment of the butler Kemuny (Thebes, Twelfth Dynasty, M.M.A.).¹²⁴

In the lower register (0.30 m. tall) four offering-bearers carry on their shoulders baskets, filled with loaves and produce of the fields, or jugs. From the left elbow of each hangs a jug, a basket with lettuce and fruit, or a wickerwork container. The first one has a similar wickerwork container and the fourth one holds a pointed jug. The third carries three ducks by their wings and a bouquet of lotus flowers and buds. A calf leashed by its right leg precedes the second bearer; a slender greyhound accompanies the third man; a young gazelle with hair tufts on its back is with the fourth one. Worthy of notice are the shape of a broad bowl, covered with a looped-handle lid,¹²⁵ and a pointed ovaloid vase with two lateral broad spouts and a broad mouth, similar to those containing lotus flowers¹²⁶ fashionable in the Middle Kingdom.¹²⁷ Such overburdening of the offering-bearers is characteristic of the style in the early Sixth Dynasty (Seshemnefer IV at Giza).¹²⁸ To preserve the sequence in the procession, the animals accompanying the figures are of a ridiculously small size.

Following the procession are three swift messengers clad only in flap skirts. Each has a folded bedcover or mat flung diagonally over his left shoulder across his torso. At a quick running pace, their feet hardly touching ground, they used to bring, in the early Old Kingdom, young animals and birds in two crates hung at both ends of a pole slung over the left shoulder. They no longer performed this service in the early Sixth Dynasty, for here they are burdened with baskets full of produce, a small quadruped hung by all fours, ducks, and bunches of lotus. Although they wear flap skirts that open apart to reveal their genitalia, they also have graded wigs and sandals, the only ones other than 'Ankhm'ahor himself to be allowed this luxury.¹²⁹ The

front messenger shouts to the offering-bearers preceding him: *di n(i) w3t* "Make way for me!"

In composition and style, the scenes on the north wall of room II consist of strictly formal figures in the composite projection, with no expression of movement except for the messengers. The latter, however, show inaccuracies in the projection of the left arm, which is obviously bent over the pole but is represented as if it were held behind the pole. In the offsetting of the birds, with their necks bent down to show as completely as possible, there is a spirit of perspective foreshortening.

Room II, doorway II-III. The doorway between rooms II and III is marked by a threshold, and its dado is lower than elsewhere to allow for a vertical development of the scenes above it.

On the north thickness of the doorway (fig. 35, pl. 46) there are only two registers, but they are in a beautiful state of preservation, even showing remains of red and black pigments (left bottom). The upper register represents the overturning of an ox by six farmhands under the supervision of the "chief herdsman" *hrp nrw*, who stands leaning on his long staff at the east end. This personage wears a remarkable long wig, or headcloth, reaching down to his loins, a short skirt, and a projecting apron of wicker-work held up by a broad knotted belt. The stately ox sticks out its tongue in anguish at the strains it has to withstand. Two of the men hang onto the horns and pull at the rope binding the lower jaw. Two others work at the opposite end, pulling up and twisting the tail. One of them sits on the haunch of the ox while the other climbs onto its behind, with one foot firmly set just below the root of the tail. A fifth man kneels to pull also on the rope binding the jaw and forcefully to lift up the left foot of the beast. The sixth man, also kneeling, leans forward to put all his effort into throwing his arms around the animal's left hind leg. All the farmhands wear flap skirts consisting of three or four double streamers and, curiously, graded wigs. They are, in fact, funerary priests (ka-servants). The combined efforts of all these slender figures against the massive beast seem, at first glance, futile. But there is no doubt that tiring will soon bring down the heavy ox, which is described by the inscription above its head as *rn n iw3* "young

ox."¹³⁰ There are no dialogues, but a legend in big hieroglyphs running in a line above the scene reads: *shpt*¹³¹ *iw3w in hm(w)-k3*¹³² *nw dt.f* "to bring up the oxen by the ka-servant(s) of his estate."

In contrast with the formal representation of offering-bearers on the north wall in room II, this scene is lively, with figures in acrobatic attitudes of unstable equilibrium, seemingly hanging in midair to either end of the ox. What impresses the observer most is the balance between the two pairs of upright figures in both halves of the panel. The rounded modeling is enlivened with naturalistic musculature in the legs.

The lower register, with its less dramatic topic of a procession of two desert animals led by four herdsmen, poses a contrast. To the front a massive *rn n m3-hd* "young oryx" is pulled by its muzzle and horns, a common topical feature with such stubborn animals, while a second servant pushes on the horns and back, urging the others to *iti r.k wrt* "pull strongly to thee."¹³³ The evolution of this topical feature has been clearly traced by Junker.¹³⁴ Behind comes a gazelle, *rn n ghs* "young gazelle," led by a man holding its muzzle and horns, while a second pushes its back and twists its tail, urging: *ndr sw r mnh* "Hold him properly!" The poor animal is further solicited by its fawn suckling at its udder. The inscription giving the title of the panel reads: *shpt hk3w innt n.f in hm(w)-k3* "to bring up the desert animals fetched for him by the ka-servant(s)."¹³⁵

The style of the scenes on this wall differs from that of the offering-bearers shown on the north wall of room II (see above), for none of the figures is in composite projection; all show the bust in accurate side view. The triangular composition features two foci of interest well balanced at either end, and it deals satisfactorily with an entanglement of subjects, men and animals, using considerable overlapping. All the figures proceed toward the interior of the chapel, even the man leading the oryx, who walks backward, throwing his torso to the rear in a total effort to pull the reluctant beast.

On the door thickness opposite (south) the wall relief is preserved up to the lintel; it comprises three registers similar to the two on the northern thickness (fig. 36, pl. 47). The motion

is to the interior, toward the right. In the uppermost scene a man leads a *rn n ghs imyt mdt* "young gazelle belonging to the stable."¹³⁶ The man carries a vertical wickerwork container and has passed his right hand behind the neck of the gazelle. Another servant pushes at the back and tail of the animal, saying: *ini sw r.k* "Bring him to thee!" From the neck of the gazelle hangs a fringed round-topped trapezoid pendant.¹³⁷ This ornament was reserved for the head of a herd, sometimes called *h3t mdt* "foremost of the stable."¹³⁸ Oxen wearing such ornaments, and probably also gazelles and oryxes, were chosen from among the pick of the herds in the estate and were led to the funerary chapel to be sacrificed. Thus they had an important role in the funerary ritual.¹³⁹ The ornaments were probably made of beads threaded within a leather framework, or collar. Behind follows a similarly adorned bubalis, *rn (n) šs3w* "young bubalis," pushed by a man. At the top of the whole panel runs a horizontal line: *shpt ndt-hr* (in *hmw-k3 nw dt.f*) "to bring the gifts (by the ka-servants of his estate)." Although its second half has been destroyed, the inscription can be restored from the probably identical one running above the lower register. The mid register represents the overturning of the ox, *rn n iw3* "young ox," in a more dramatic way than the one on the opposite door thickness. The two scenes, obviously similar in composition, are perhaps derived from the same book of models but interpreted by two different artists. A chief herdsman stands at the rear end in much the same attitude as the one on the north door thickness, but he is wearing short hair. Two pairs of men are shown: one pair is overturning the horns and the other is pulling up the tail. Two other men ride on the back of the ox, while the man at either end is jumping up in midair. Kneeling on the ground are three additional men, two holding the front legs and the neck of the ox, the third one pulling both hind legs. The entanglement is even worse than in the parallel scene. The inscription above the panel reads: *shpt rn n iw3 in hm(w)-k3 nw dt.f* "to bring up the young oxen by the ka-servant(s) of his estate." In the lowest register a *rn n m3-hd* "young oryx" is led by two herdsman, the one in front facing the animal to pull on its raised left leg and its horns, the other pushing on the

back of the oryx with one hand while pulling on its tail with the other hand. This time it is the front man who urges speed: *dī iwt n(.i) m3-hd pn dr ii hry-hb(t)* "Make this oryx come to (me) before the lector priest arrives!"¹⁴⁰ To which comes the answer: *mk w(i) hr.s mry.i* "Behold! I am at [lit., upon] it, my beloved!" The mention of the impending arrival of the lector priest must have had a magical effect on the personnel preparing the funerary ceremony, for it occurs again in this chapel and elsewhere.¹⁴¹ Note that all the personages are ka-servants, not ordinary butchers.¹⁴² Moreover, the overturning of the ox is a rare topic, occurring again at Sheshi (Saqqara). The fantastic pyramidal composition and entanglement may have discouraged the artists, for the normal cycle of the slaughter shows the ox being led to the slaughter yard and then lying on its back, often already bound, ready for the cutting of the foreleg. Following closely, a small calf with a leash around its right hoof is led by an *imyr wh'w* "overseer of the marsh fowlers," appropriately bringing three huge pintail ducks. This last scene is far less dynamic than its parallel opposite. Above it runs the legend: *shpt ndt-hr in hm(w)-k3 nw dt.f* "to bring up the gifts by the ka-servant(s) of his estate."

The three superimposed panels on this side of the door may be considered a variant of the ones opposite, sculptured by another artist, perhaps in a spirit of contest. Although the balanced composition in the mid panel, with its entanglement and its acrobatic attitudes, shows an even wilder expressionism than its counterpart, the two scenes above and below it are more formal than the ones on the north thickness. The only possible explanation for such variation is that the work was done by at least three sculptors.

Room III

This room is the focus of the layout of the wall scenes, for it corresponds to the central hall in the plan of the typical house (pl. 48). The focusing is apparent in the heroic size of 'Ankhm'ahor, who is striding toward the exterior at the rear edge of each of the four walls. The huge figure, preserved to the level of the mouth, encompasses at least three superimposed registers of scenes, each topped with a horizontal inscrip-

tion in one line (III-V, west, north) or in two lines (east). The registers uniformly represent processions of offering-bearers (east), even on the thickness of doorway III-V, except for the south wall where, in a narrow vertical strip, the brother appears; originally the son of 'Ankhn'ahor, with a display of jewelry, was also represented. All the offering-bearers walk toward 'Ankhn'ahor, as they would have done if coming into the chamber through its doorway II-III. All scenes are in raised relief on a carefully pared-down ground, leaving around the wall a protruding band flush with the dado and forming a frame.

The representation of processions of offering-bearers starts just before the doorway on the north wall of room II; they are exceptionally directed toward the east, instead of the west, to reach 'Ankhn'ahor portrayed on the east wall. At Tji, offering-bearers start in the peristyle court. At Mereruka the pillared hall (A 10) groups all offering-bearers, though it is not the center of the plan. In contrast, the small hall V at Kagemni, the equivalent of the central hall of a house, shows the start of offering processions.¹⁴³ This room corresponds to room VI at Khentika,¹⁴⁴ just preceding the south chapel (room VII) containing the large false-door. No wonder, then, that on the south wall appears a striding figure of Khentika dressed in full regalia, nearly identical to that of 'Ankhn'ahor on the east wall of room III.

Room III, east wall. 'Ankhn'ahor stands in a striding posture at the south end of this wall (fig. 37, pl. 49). He is in full regalia, wearing a long wig, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar, and bracelets; around his neck hangs a necklace of long beads spacing on either side two massive rectangular, perhaps cylindrical, pieces. The necklace ends with a pendant outlined like the trapezoid counterpoise of a collar and bordered with a lower fringe of eight tear-shaped elements. The pendant shows a human face with cow's ears above a vertical pillar flanked by two pendulous long loops. The emblem is identified as that of the goddess Bat¹⁴⁵ and as the fetish appearing in the standard of the seventh nome of Upper Egypt (capital, Diospolis Parva). The pendant hangs just below two straps that cross on 'Ankhn'ahor's chest (pl 50). A similar emblem worn by Khentika¹⁴⁶ is fastened onto

the crossing straps and is larger than 'Ankhn'ahor's. 'Ankhn'ahor is barefoot and wears a short kilt adorned on the front with a trapezoid plate from which hang five strings of beads with tassels, identical to Khentika's emblem. Tji also wears the same kind of emblem over cross straps.¹⁴⁷ 'Ankhn'ahor holds the long staff in a vertical position so as to leave more space for the registers in front of him; in his left hand is the *kherp*-scepter. It has been suggested that the Bat emblem represented in the tombs of some high officials, especially directors of the palace, of the Old Kingdom from the Fourth Dynasty (fig. 38) was a reminiscence of the privilege of wearing the emblem during a jubilee festival of the Pharaoh.¹⁴⁸ 'Ankhn'ahor, however, held only a few offices at the court, such as that of "privy to the secret of the king in all his places," or "royal chamberlain," which perhaps explains the small size of the emblem hanging from his necklace. Possibly, however, the emblem he wore was a later form that could be worn by others than court officials. At the level of 'Ankhn'ahor's face is written *Ssi* "Sesi," and in front of his waist are three lines: *imyr k3t nbt nt nswt m t3 r dr.f hry-tp nswt im3hw hr ntr '3 Ssi* "overseer of all the works of the king, in the entire land, royal chamberlain, venerated before the Great God, Sesi."

Each of the three registers in front of 'Ankhn'ahor represents four offering-bearers bringing food items provided as a royal boon. In the uppermost row each bearer carries in his left arm and hand a sack of fruit, a basket, and an ovaloid jug, and in his right hand either a jug and four or five fowl hanging heads downward of a basket and a jug. The first and the last man each lead a gazelle. The inscription above the mid register reads: *shpt prt-hrw t3 hnkt innt m htp-di-nswt in hm(w)-k3 t(3) w'b pw n Wsir iw n Ssi im3hw* "to bring up the food offering of bread and beer brought as a boon given by the king, by the ka-servant(s). This pure bread of Osiris, it is for Sesi, venerable."¹⁴⁹ The four men bring fowl, a platter full of loaves, a basket of loaves and fruit, and a wickerwork container. A calf accompanies each of three of the men. For some reason the first personage sports a ceremonial beard and wears a long wig and a broad collar. A small inscription in front of this unusual bearer gives the key to his identity: *init*

ndt-hr in š n dt.f “to bring gifts by the lake of his estate.” The bearer is probably a personification of the lake on 'Ankhm'ahor's estate.¹⁵⁰

Above the lowest register runs the general caption: *shpt prt-hrw t3 hnkt inwt m htp-di-nswt in hm(w)-k3 t3 w'b pw n Inpw iw n Ssi im3hw* “to bring up a funerary food offering of bread and beer, brought as a boon that the king gives by the ka-servant(s). This pure bread of Anubis is for Sesi, venerable.”¹⁵¹ The second sentence of the parallel inscription could mean: “It is the pure bread of Anubis; it is for Sesi, venerable.” There are, in addition to the usual fare, a bowl with lotus growing in it, a basket of loaves topped with lettuce, a whole ox foreleg (*khepesh*), and platters of loaves and ribs. A calf and a gazelle are led on the leash.

The formal style of this wall, in both scenes and inscriptions, conforms to the ceremonial character of the figure of 'Ankhm'ahor dressed in full regalia.

Room III, doorway III-IV. The thicknesses of the doorway are elaborately carved with registers representing offering-bearers proceeding from room III to room IV. Along the vertical edges of the doorjambs runs a band of rectangles imitating a simplified version of the torus molding.

The west thickness has only two registers, each surmounted by two lines of huge hieroglyphs (0.067 m. tall). The upper inscription reads: *shpt 3pdw shpt . . . hdw ht nb(t) nfrt innt m niwt.f nt mhw sm' m hb nb m hrt-hrw nt r'-nb* “to bring up fowl, to bring up . . . onions, every good thing fetched from his towns of Lower and Upper Egypt, at every feast in the course of every day” (fig. 39, pl. 51). This inscription is similar to the parallel one on the opposite door thickness, which fills in the gap with *shpt shrt dsrt* “to bring up grain, strong ale.” These are choice items from the funerary offering list. Of the four men bringing offerings in the upper register (0.338 m. tall), the first one is the most interesting, for he is the *shd hm(w)-k3 Hpi* “inspector of the funerary priest(s), Hepi,” the fat personage who brought numerous fowl to 'Ankhm'ahor during the hunt with the clapnet (room II, west wall). He has the same corpulence, with the torso represented this time in half side view (pl. 52). He is burdened with three ducks he holds by the wings in his

right hand and three others he is nearly strangling by the neck in his left hand. The poor birds stretch their wings in a desperate attempt to relieve the stress. Two calves accompany him. Behind come three offering-bearers. The one at the front is *shd ss(w) mrt Ir-n-3hti* “inspector of the scribe(s) of the domain, Irienakhti.”¹⁵² He carries in his right hand a large bowl in which lotus plants are spouting¹⁵³ and a bundle of grass; across his elbow is a basket of fruit with a wickerwork container; and in his left hand are two pigeons and a board. In an original idea for ornamentation, the sculptor placed on the bearer's chest two pairs of pigeons, hanging symmetrically. A gazelle precedes this bearer. He is followed by the *ss s3 hm(w)-k3 Sn(i)* “scribe of the phyle of funerary priest(s), Sen,” who also wears a similar mock collar made of two pairs of ducks whose wings are made to cross around his neck. The scribe carries in his right hand a basket of fruit topped with a large head of lettuce; across his elbow hangs a basket containing a calf's head, two jugs, a small haunch, and a wickerwork container; and in his left hand he holds a second wickerwork container and lotus flowers. He is preceded by an oryx. The last bearer is as heavily burdened as the first two's he carries a platter balanced between his right hand and the tip of his right shoulder.¹⁵⁴

Below runs the title of the lower scene (0.337 m. tall): *shpt ndt-hr . . . nbt nfrt innt m niwt.f nt mhw sm' shpt d3bw isd irp m.hrt-hrw nt r'-nb in hm(w)-k3 nw dt.f* “to bring up the gifts . . . every good (thing) fetched from his towns in Lower and Upper Egypt. To bring up figs, *ished*-fruit, and wine in the course of every day by the funerary priest(s) of his estate.” Four of the funerary priests stride with baskets of fruit, ribs, and jugs of wine. The first two also carry geese and ducks. A large hemispheric bowl with curving-in lip contains sprouting lotus.¹⁵⁵ The men all lead animals on leashes: the first, a calf; the second, two gazelles; the third, a calf; and the fourth, one gazelle.

On the east thickness are three registers, each representing four offering-bearers (fig. 40, pl. 53). The two lines of legend surmounting each scene are similar to the corresponding ones on the western thickness. The uppermost inscription, though badly weathered, is legible; it repeats the title of the procession topic: . . . *m*

hwt.f nt mhw šm' . . . ht nb(t) nfrt in hm(w)-k₃ nw pr-dt.f " . . . of his mansions of Lower and Upper Egypt . . . every good thing fetched by the funerary priest(s) of his estate." Here *pr-dt* is written fully. The offerings represented in the upper register (0.345 m. tall) are food items: *khepesh*-haunch, loaves, ribs, and a bunch of greens. An interesting item is a hemispheric bowl with curving-in lip and a loop-handled lid (third bearer).¹⁵⁶ Although the relief is carefully carved, there is no strap with which to hang the vase from the elbow, so that it seems to float in midair, a remark applying to the whole door thickness. A gazelle bending its head toward the ground, a calf, and on oryx turning its head to lick its udder accompany the men.

The inscription above the mid panel (0.337 m. tall) is complete: *shpt 3pdw shpt šht dsrt ht nb(t) nfrt innt m niwt.f nt mhw šm' m hb m hrt-hrw nt r'-nb* "to bring up fowl, to bring up grain, strong ale, every good thing fetched from his towns of Lower and Upper Egypt, at the feast, and in the course of every day." The first offering-bearer, who carries only fowl and who is preceded by a calf, is the *shd hm(w)-k₃ n imy-wrt* "inspector of the funerary priest(s) of the phyle." To be noted is the definite foreshortening in the drawing of the legs of the five birds held in his left hand. The second man is the *shd hm(w)-k₃* "inspector of funerary priests." He brings ribs and loaves on a platter; a sack hangs from his elbow with loaves and vegetables; in his right hand he carries two pigeons. He is accompanied by an oryx. Accompanying the two other bearers are a gazelle and a goat, presumably leashed by the right hoof, which is held up, though no strap is showing. Of interesting shape are the large hemispheric bowl, with curving-in wavy lip covered with a conical loop-handled lid,¹⁵⁷ and a long, pointed ovaloid jug.¹⁵⁸

Above the lowest register runs (0.336 m. tall) a two-line inscription: *shpt ndt-hr rnpwt nbt nfrt innt m mhw šm' shpt d₃bw isd irp innw m htp-di-nswt* "To bring up the gifts of all good vegetables fetched from Lower and Upper Egypt. To bring up figs, *ished*-fruit, and wine, fetched as a boon the king gives." There is nothing unusual about the offerings or about the calf, the gazelle, the oryx, and a second gazelle turning back its head. Fruit is shown with the first man. The legs of the birds he carries follow

a slant rising line reminiscent of vanishing lines in perspective.

Room III, south wall. The south wall is badly weathered and destroyed at the top. It represents 'Ankhn'ahor striding toward the doorway to room V (fig. 41, pl. 54). Two small figures (0.305 m. tall), probably his sons, precede him, and a third follows. 'Ankhn'ahor holds the long staff and the *kherep*-scepter whose papyrus umbel still shows incised detail of basal leaves. 'Ankhn'ahor wears sandals and, over the puffing skirt common in the Sixth Dynasty, a panther's skin showing at its lower edge two paws and a long tail curving along the hide itself in a fashion common in the Fifth Dynasty, but rare later.¹⁵⁹ This hide is the emblem of the *sem*-priest, a most important officiant in the ceremony of the opening of the mouth and the funerary ritual, originally chosen from among royal sons.¹⁶⁰ Just beneath the bent left elbow of 'Ankhn'ahor, in front of his waist, are some of his titles: *im₃hw hr Inpw hry-tp nswt imyr ht-wrt 'nh-m-'Hr* "venerated before Anubis, royal chamberlain, overseer of the great mansion, 'Ankhn'ahor."

Between 'Ankhn'ahor's staff and the corner of the room runs a narrow vertical strip in which collars, with their counterpoises, and bracelets are displayed on tables (pl. 55). Two of the tables stand in front of a small portly man (0.308 m. tall) with creases of fat who is wearing a long skirt and a broad collar; both ends of a broad strap that hangs around his shoulders slant down over his belly. This personage, who faces 'Ankhn'ahor, is *Tmrw* Tjemerw, identified as 'Ankhn'ahor's brother. The inscription in columns above him reads: *sn (?) f mry.f špss nswt imyr hntyw-š pr-'₃* "his brother(?), his beloved, royal noble, overseer of the land tenants of Pharaoh." The title "royal noble" is known at Giza.¹⁶¹

Below are four horizontal lines of inscription which probably belong to an erased figure, still recognizable as that of a striding man facing 'Ankhn'ahor. In front of him can still be clearly seen a casket for papyrus rolls and a scribe's equipment placed on a low stand. There could be traces of the inscription *s₃.f* "his son."¹⁶² This son is obviously the same one whose effigy was hammered out when he was represented as a young boy accompanying his father in the

double statue (room II, south), and twice again in the same room (west). He was responsible for reading the donation deed: *šdt n.f sš n kṛstt.f dyt n.f m ḥtp-di-nswt imyr k3t Ssi* "to read out for him the deed of his funerary equipment given to him as a royal boon; overseer of the works, Sesi."¹⁶³ The donation, the most important event in the ceremony of the funeral, was presided over by 'Ankhm'ahor's brother, while the deed was read by his son in the presence of his other sons. The donation was the justification for all the rites the priests performed for the funeral.¹⁶⁴

Room III, doorway III-V. The funerary equipment was carried into room V through the doorway opening next to the scene of the deed. On both thicknesses are represented the various items being transported into the room where they were stored (fig. 42, pl 56a-b).

On the north thickness of the doorway are three registers, all weathered, especially the upper one (0.377 m. tall). Here are three funerary priests *ḥm-k3 Tti, Iṣfi, Rdy* Tjeti, Ishefi, and Redy, striding toward room V carrying two vessels each. The vessels are an ablution basin and ewer¹⁶⁵ and a flat-bottomed ovaloid jar with flaring neck.¹⁶⁶ The vessels, which are carried on the shoulders, are very large, seemingly to conform to the heroic size of 'Ankhm'ahor rather than to the size of the bearers.¹⁶⁷ Each of the three funerary priests in the mid register (0.416 m. tall) carries, one in each hand, tall vases whose shapes are derived from the *hes*-type, but which are provided with a spout.¹⁶⁸ Only the name of the last man is recorded in huge hieroglyphs, *'nh.f* 'Ankhef. A horizontal legend beneath the scene explains the lowermost episode (0.3 m. tall): *sq3t*¹⁶⁹ *mnḥt r is* "bringing clothing to the tomb." Two men carry on poles, only one of which is showing, a stand and its casket. The stand is reinforced by a curving rod along the bottom of the casket and the inner side of the legs.¹⁷⁰ The carrying pole that can be seen passes through two lugs and is held in the arms of the bearers. The casket is crowned with a cavetto cornice above which appears the shallow curve of the lid, or it is provided with a knob(?). At Kagemni the names of caskets are recorded.¹⁷¹

On the south thickness (fig. 43, pl. 57) the bearers bring unguents, jewelry, and linen. In the

uppermost register (0.41 m. tall) three men proceed toward the magazine, or rather the treasury (room V). The first one carries on his left shoulder a huge basket with two loop handles which contains jugs of *sft sefeti*-oil, the name of which is inscribed behind the bearer's head. It is the first of the seven perfumed oils and unguents always recorded in the offering list. From a strap over the left elbow hangs a collar terminating in a trapezoid pendant flanked at either end of its lower edge by a uraeus. Two identical collars are represented in the murals of the tomb chamber. A similar collar and pendant are worn by the wife of Mereruka (fig. 44).¹⁷² At 'Ankhm'ahor the two uraei definitely have the swollen breast of the typical royal uraeus. It is possible that the uraeus motif, essentially a royal protection appearing at either end of the royal skirt in the Middle Kingdom, was usurped by the grandees in the Sixth Dynasty.¹⁷³ The collar and pendant — a rather rare jewelry piece — were later painted on coffins from the New Kingdom.¹⁷⁴ In his right hand the first bearer carries a bouquet and a basin with its ewer. The second bearer has a tall cylindrical basket with *t(w3)wt t(wa)wt*-oil in his left hand. In his right hand are a *hes*-vase and the counterpoise of a collar. The third man carries a basket that has two loop handles along the top edge. It contains *h3tt š* "best cedar oil" and *h3tt Thnw* "best Libyan oil." The two names are inscribed side by side because both start with the word *h3tt*.¹⁷⁵ From the bearer's left elbow hangs a spherical bag — a typical container for eye pigments — and in his right hand he carries a long bag.

In the mid register (0.413 m. tall) the first bearer holds a cylindrical vase containing *sti-ḥb* "perfume of festival." From his right elbow hangs a strap similar to that worn around the neck by Tjemerw (south wall). In his right hand he carries a broad collar. The second man has on his left shoulder a two-handled flat-bottomed sealed basket, or a vase without a neck, for *ḥknw* "*hekenw*-oil." From his right hand hangs the counterpoise of a collar. The third man is burdened with an enormous and elegant jar, provided with a small lug and a curving slender handle reaching from the shoulder to the broad rim crowning a slender neck.¹⁷⁶ This vessel was for *nhnm* "*nekhenem*-oil," whose name is determined by a miniature reproduction of the

vase. Across the bearer's left elbow hangs another strap-scarf, and from his right hand, a long bag. The perfumed oils and unguents are brought in the same order as their occurrence in the list of offerings.¹⁷⁷ If the type of container¹⁷⁸ is a valid criterion for determining the consistency of the perfume, only the *nekhenem* could have been an oil, since it was contained in a jar with a long narrow neck. The others must have had the semifluid or solidified consistency of unguents, for they are carried in tall broad-mouthed vessels. The same criterion applies to the hieroglyphs determining the containers in the offering list, except for *twawt*, which is occasionally a long-necked jar (at Kai, Kaniswt II).

The horizontal line of hieroglyphs comprising the caption for the lowest register (0.295 m. tall) reads: *shpt hbs nw htp-di-nswt* "to bring up the clothes of the royal boon." The clothes are uniformly represented as bands of folded linen carried vertically, one in each hand, by the four bearers. To save space and squeeze in a fourth bearer the two men to the right are represented with half the torso in side view.

Room III, west wall. This badly damaged wall represents 'Ankhem'ahor in heroic size, accompanied by two smaller figures, the figure of Tjemerw, and processions of offering-bearers, probably on four superimposed registers (fig. 45, pl. 58). 'Ankhem'ahor wears sandals and a puffing skirt upon which is laid a panther's skin. At the lower edge of the animal hide are two paws and the tail; the latter, unlike the tail in the costume depicted on the south wall, does not proceed in relief over the hide proper. It therefore follows the fashion typical for the late Fifth and the Sixth dynasties.¹⁷⁹ The small head of the panther is slanting at the height of the belly of 'Ankhem'ahor.¹⁸⁰ The panther hide hangs over the left shoulder,¹⁸¹ where it was secured by a knotted thong ending in two shield-shaped appendages. In painted scenes these clasps are yellow, a color that may indicate a metal, either gold or copper.¹⁸² The clasp is called *idr*. 'Ankhem'ahor holds the long staff in his left hand and the scepter in his right one. In front of his wrist are three lines of inscriptions giving some of his titles: *imyr k3t nb(t) nt nswt m t3 r dr.f mdh ss(w) hswt Ssi* "overseer of all the works of the king in the entire land, overseer of royal

scribe(s), Sesi." A vertical column of hieroglyphs as large as those giving 'Ankhem'ahor's titles gives titles that belong to Tjemerw: *špss nswt smr pr shd hnty(w)-š pr-3* "royal noble, companion of the house, inspector of the land tenant(s) of Pharaoh." The name Tjemerw is inscribed in smaller hieroglyphs just in front of the face of the figure.

Of the scenes to the right of 'Ankhem'ahor's staff only fragments of three registers are extant. The uppermost one (0.326 m. tall), much eroded, is topped with a horizontal inscription: *shpt . . . sh t innt n . . .* "to bring up . . . the fields brought to the royal . . ." Only two figures and the upper part of a third can be recognized as offering-bearers proceeding toward 'Ankhem'ahor. The first one brings in both hands ducks and a basket; the second and third carry vegetables and a platter of loaves and ribs. A gazelle and another quadruped accompany the bearers.

The caption for the mid register (0.328 m. tall) is clearer than that for the upper register. It reads: . . . *shpt ndt-hr innt n imyr k3(t)* ". . . to bring up the gifts fetched for the overseer of works." The single bearer holds a bunch of five ducks by the wings in his right hand; a sack of fruit hangs from his elbow; and in his left hand he carries a wickerwork container and a bunch of geese. Preceding him is a pack of three gazelles, the farthestmost one picking up something from the ground with its open mouth. The personage is *ss md3t pr-3 ss w'bt pr ntr Msi* "scribe of the archives of Pharaoh, scribe of the *wa'bet* of the house of God, Mesi." This Mesi is the same one who paints one of the statues of 'Ankhem'ahor (room II, south) and is perhaps the one represented in the tomb chapel of Khen-tika.¹⁸³

The caption for the lowest register (0.33 m. tall) reads: *shpt sh t 3pd(w)* . . . "to bring up fruit, fowl . . ." Two offering-bearers, the front one with fowl and a basket of fruit, the second with a platter, a basket, and a wickerwork container, proceed with their calf and gazelles to a man wearing a puffing skirt, who is seemingly part of 'Ankhem'ahor's company. He is, in fact, a "sole companion" *smr w'(ty)*, but his name has disappeared in a lacuna.

Room III, north wall. Only the front outline of the skirt and the leg of 'Ankhem'ahor walking east is showing (fig. 46, pl. 59). He holds the

staff and the scepter, and he strides barefoot, preceded by a small figure. The titles must have read: *im(yr k3t nb(t) nt) nswt . . . im3hw hr ntr-'3 Ssi* "overseer (of all the works of) the king, . . . venerated before the Great God, Sesi." Three horizontal registers are nearly complete, except for the uppermost one. Each is topped with a horizontal line of hieroglyphs describing the activities of the six offering-bearers proceeding toward 'Ankhn'ahor with food items.

The caption above the uppermost register (0.325 m. tall) reads: *shpt 3pdw rnpwt nb(t) nfrt* "to bring up fowl, all good vegetables." The four offering-bearers are burdened with fowl (first, second) and fruit in flat or deep baskets hanging from their elbows (second, third, fourth), with a sack (second) or a jug (third, fourth) in the left hand. Accompanying the first man is a calf, and the second, a gazelle. There is also a large bowl with sprouting lotus on the right arm and shoulder of the third bearer. The types of platters hanging from the elbow, either flat (first bearer) or concave (fourth) or on a stand, have not been met before.

Above the mid register (0.33 m. tall) runs the inscription: *shpt ht nb(t) nfrt innt n.f m [htp-di-] nswt . . .* "to bring up all good things fetched for him as royal [boon] . . ." The royal boon is mentioned in the two captions on the east wall, but in both instances it refers to a *prt-hrw* offering; on the south thickness of doorway III-V it is connected with clothes. There again are fowl (first, fourth), pigeons (fifth), loaves on a platter (third, sixth), ribs (fifth), and, hanging from the elbow, a sack with vegetables and fruit (first, fourth), jugs in a basket (second), fruit (fifth), and a platter on its stand (third, sixth). In the left hand the men carry a jug (first), a wickerwork container (third), and a sack (sixth). To avoid monotony the artist has devised other gestures: the second bearer carries a spouted jar in his left hand and a wickerwork container hangs from his elbow;¹⁸⁴ the fourth man holding its legs carries a calf, crossed around his neck.¹⁸⁵ Accompanying each of the offering-bearers are animals, which also show personalized attitudes, picking something from the ground or looking back in fear.

The caption above the lowest register (0.332 m. tall) reads: *shpt ndt-hr rnpwt nbt nfrt innt m nywwt.f hwwt.f nt mhw sm'* "to bring up the

gifts of all good vegetables fetched from his towns and mansions of Lower and Upper Egypt." The first bearer has a large bowl with sprouting lotus; four others carry platters with food, and the fifth holds a *khepesh*-foreleg with a bouquet of lotus. From the right elbow hang a sack (first), a basket (second, third, fifth), and a platter on its stand (fourth, sixth). As if the basket was not enough of a load by itself, from its bottom hangs a wickerwork container (third, fifth); even two containers hang from the platter on its stand (fourth). An animal precedes each of three of the bearers.

The composition of this wall is crowded, especially in the mid register which unfolds at the eye level of the spectator. The abundance of carving may indicate different hands, especially because of other differences: for example, the straps from which hang baskets are marked around the elbow in the upper register but not in the lowest one. Careful detail – of the city or of the owl – fills the hieroglyphs with incised lines. Throughout the whole composition the artist or artists carefully avoided overlapping, with the result that some of the hanging vases and containers are slanting so as to be tangent to the calf of the legs of their bearers, in defiance of the law of gravity.

Room IV

This rearmost room, by far the largest in the chapel (2.72 X 5.94 m.), is the counterpart of the lobby servicing the private apartments that form the third part of the plan of a typical house. It is oriented east-west and had at its west end a false-door, probably similar to that at Khentika. It was through this false-door that 'Ankhn'ahor appeared to partake of the funerary offerings and ritual and to come forth from the tomb. For this purpose there must have been, as marked in the plan drawn by Loret, an offering slab at the foot of the false-door, similar to that at Neferseshem-Ptah or Khentika (room VII). A table on which the offerings could be displayed was built against the north wall. Part of this table, crowned with a cavetto cornice, is extant.

The room was designed in such a way as to fulfill its function for performance of the offering ritual (pl. 60). Both long walls were carved with rows of offering-bearers (four super-

imposed at Khentika) proceeding toward the west end where 'Ankhn'ahor must have been represented seated, ready to receive the offerings (cf. Neferseshem-Ptah, Khentika). Only part of two registers are extant above the dado in the east half of each wall, north and south.

Room IV, east wall. The east wall is entirely occupied by the slaughter cycle, of which nearly two complete registers and a half register at the top still remain (fig. 47, pl. 61). At Khentika the east wall represents the slaughter cycle in three registers, with offering-bearers in the uppermost one.¹⁸⁶ Only the lowest register was finished in bold carving; in the two registers above only the hieroglyphs and the heads of the personages are fully sculptured, the figures being simply delineated, probably indicating that the process was speeded up at the sudden death of 'Ankhn'ahor.

The compositions are among the liveliest of the chapel, animated with violent movements of the butchers cutting haunches, forelegs, and ribs, driving out the heart and viscera which their assistants carry to the table. All the men wear short, graded wigs and clinging short skirts that open in front when the legs are in motion. Except for a few of the assistants, each carrying a haunch, or a butcher whetting his knife, who are represented in composite projection, the figures show rabatement in the shoulder and arm closest to the spectator. Dark-red pigment is still visible on the figures in the bottom register, and black on all the wigs. Several butchers have their whetstones attached to their belts. All the oxen are already bound and lie on their backs, and around each beast are two to four men. There could have been five or six oxen on each register (cf. Tji, Khentika). To accommodate long inscriptions above the personages, which are on the same scale as those in the other registers, the bottom register is made taller. These inscriptions, separated by vertical lines, record the wordy dialogues, often marked by ironic remarks, which are being exchanged. Dialogues are inscribed only in the background of scenes at Tji;¹⁸⁷ a general legend runs in a line at the top of the register, which is free of inscriptions, at Mereruka.¹⁸⁸ At Khentika both types of inscriptions crowd the scenes.¹⁸⁹

In the uppermost register five oxen are being handled. Only the lower part of the figures and the inscriptions are extant. Two men are busy

on the first ox from the right, bound but seemingly intact. The second animal has already been deprived of most of its flesh, for its ribs are bared by one butcher bending over the carcass, while the hind part is being cut by another. An assistant with a boned chunk in his right hand holds the hind leg: . . . *iw hry-hb(t) ii* "... the lector priest is coming!"¹⁹⁰ One butcher, knife in hand, bends low over the third ox. Behind him is . . . *mri(i)* "... (my) beloved." In front is . . . *di hpš.k hr h3t* "... put thy *khepes*-shank on the offering table!" This order is addressed to the man standing behind the rear part of the ox: . . . *hn.k m 'nh* "... by thy life!"¹⁹¹ The fourth victim is being handled by two men bending over it, who are simply baring its ribs. The butcher busy over the last ox to the left turns back and raises up his left arm, in the same attitude as that of a butcher in the mid register. He proclaims that the blood of the ox is pure. Of the two attendants standing in front of him, the one closest to him holds a vessel for the blood, similar to the one carried by the attendant in the mid register. The second assistant is "whetting a knife" *pdt ds*. The utterance of the butcher is not clear: . . . *r ky hn' wrt*.

The mid register is better preserved. Again there are five scenes of handling five oxen.¹⁹² From the right, the butcher has just cut the foreleg: *'h wrt nt(y) hn'(i) di hpš.k pn (n) h3t wni* "Stand up, strongly, comrade! Put this thy *khepes*-shank on the offering table! Hurry!" The assistant answers to assure him of his good will: *iry(i) r hsit.k f3(i) n ikr* "(I am) doing to thy satisfaction! (I will) carry readily!" A second assistant, who holds his left arm around the hind leg of the ox to show that he is ready to take charge of it, says: *mk iw hn'.k wni min* "Behold! Let me go with thee! (There is) hurry today!" In the scene adjacent to the first one the butcher has just withdrawn the heart of the ox, and sniffing at it he exclaims: *w'b iw w'b n Ssi n k3.f di iw 'ndw pn* "Pure! It is pure for Sesi, for his ka! Let this vase come!" The bearer holds the vase ready: *di h3t pn wn(i)* "Give this heart! Hurry up!" An attendant wearing a flap skirt unfastens the rope binding the legs of the ox and adds a note of salty humor: *i(w).k m t3 m3' ink pw* "Who art thou? The real guy, it is me!"

In the third scene three men are busy on the

ox. The one to the fore of the animal displays in each hand a choice piece of meat: *mk if n h3t di(.i) hr h3t* "Behold the choice meat! (I will) put (it) on the offering table." The butcher at the rear is in the process of cutting the hind leg held fast by his assistant: *iti r.k ir.k ntt tbn* "Pull forcefully to thee! To thee what is cut up!"¹⁹³ To which the attendant answers: *iry(.i) hsit.k nt(y) hn'(.i)* "(I am) doing to thy satisfaction, comrade!" In the fourth scene one of the butchers sits on the head of the ox, holding both horns: *tbn r.k i(w) n k3 n Ssi nb(.i) nhm w(i) m-.f k3 pw shm* "Cut up for thee! . . . for the ka of Sesi, (my) master. Take me off him: this ox is powerful."¹⁹⁴ The butcher cuts off the haunch of the leg he is holding vertically: *ndrw sw r.k r mnh* "Hold him fast to thee, thoroughly!"¹⁹⁵ A man stands by, "whetting a knife" *pdt ds*. An offering-bearer carries a haunch on his left shoulder and ribs in his right hand, and across his left elbow hangs a basket full of ribs and loaves. He shouts: *iri n.i w3t* "Make way to me!"

In the scene at the left end a butcher pulls out the bowels, saying: *ms tw r.i hn.k m 'nh* "Betake thyself to me, by thy life! The attendant comes running, extending both hands: *iw ssw(.i) nn n m3' di n hrp sh m mh.f* "(I will) dry this offering given to the director of the dining hall"¹⁹⁶ as his holding." A self-sufficient operator working alone cuts the haunch of the leg he holds vertically with his left hand and extols the feat in a lengthy utterance: *iw ksn r irt nn w'.k(wi) wrt* "It is very difficult to do this alone!"¹⁹⁷

The bottom register is fragmentary at its south end. Two oxen are handled by two pairs of butchers. Some exclamations can be recognized in the inscription. On the extreme right, *iry(.i) r [hsit.k nt(y) hn'(.i)]* "(I am) doing to thy satisfaction, comrade!" can be restored on the analogy with the inscription in the third scene. Then comes . . . *wni hn.k m 'nh* "Hurry up, by thy life!" In the second scene: . . . *hrp sh n t tp . . . 'd w3 nfr wrt . . . pw n .f . . . n nb(.i) . . . im3hw n Inpw tpy dw.f* ". . . of my lord, . . . venerated of Anubis, who is upon his hill." It is remarkable that so formal a religious title is introduced among the dialogues of butchers. The third scene north is well preserved. Two men facing each other bend sym-

metrically toward the ox (pl. 62). The butcher orders: *ndr(w) n(.i) mnt hn.k m 'nh* "Hold fast for (me) the hind leg, by thy life!" and *shp st r h3t* "Bring it up to the offering table!"¹⁹⁸ The assistant answers: *iry(.i) r hsit.k nt(y) hn'(.i)* "I am doing to thy satisfaction, comrade!"

In the fourth scene one of the men is turning up the head of the ox while the butcher whets his knife: *pns tp n iw3 pn wni di.k pr(.i) m hps.fl(n) k3 n Ssi nb im3h n Inpw* "Cut off"¹⁹⁹ the head of this ox! Hurry up! Make that (I) finish with his haunch! (For) the ka of Sesi, lord of veneration with Anubis." An offering-bearer proceeding southward is carrying, like the bearer in the mid register, a shank and lotus flowers; a basket of ribs and vegetables hangs from his left elbow, and he holds in his right hand ribs and a live pintail duck. Above him: *t3 w'b pw n Inpw iw t3 n Ssi im3hw* "It is the pure bread of Anubis. It is for Sesi, venerable." This text is the same one that follows the general caption, "To bring up the food offering of bread . . .," inscribed above the row of offering-bearers on the west wall of room III. Was this an utterance chanted by the offering-bearers? In the adjacent scene only the depleted carcass of the ox is left, from which a man is removing the thoracic rib cage while another one, squatting on the ground, unravels the bowels, and a third one by himself cuts the hind haunch, the only one left. The flabby edge of the void belly curving over as a lip is carefully observed by the sculptor. These hectic and diversified activities are accompanied by animated dialogues: *'h' wni nt(y) hn'(.i) shp.k drww pn hr pr dr iit hry-hb(t) r irt ht* "Stand up, hurry up, comrade! Bring up this rib flank and put it on the house before the lector priest arrives to do the rite."²⁰⁰ The "house" is perhaps a generic term defining the built-in table near the false-door. Or is it an error for the hieroglyph of the offering table? The episode of the extraction of the thoracic cage by a butcher bending forward, his left leg aslant behind him, occurs only in this unique representation.²⁰¹ The butcher who kneels by himself to cut the hind haunch seems to speak to himself in a rather dispirited or angry soliloquy,²⁰² as does the other solitary butcher in the mid register: *ink ndr(w.i) n(.i) ds(.i) iw hmw-k3 nw s3 pn t3-wr hr shpt ht r h3t* "I, I hold fast for (me), (my)self, (for) the

funerary priests of the larboard phyle²⁰³ are bringing up the things to the offering table." The utterance of the solitary butcher certainly stresses the point that he works alone, for himself, without any assistant. The term *t3-wr* "larboard" is borrowed from the technical terms of navigation to define a body, or phyle, of priests, but it is also used for scribes (Kagemni, Mereruka) and granaries (Mereruka). This term is paralleled by *imy-wrt* "starboard phyle," *imy-ndst* "stern phyle," and *imy-nfrit*. At the north end of the register another solitary butcher, kneeling on the ground, cuts a choice chunk and hands it over to an offering-bearer: *iti i(w)f n h3t n iw3 n hrit tn n Ssi n k3.f* "Take off the choice ox meat of this sacrificial victim to Sesi, for his ka." The bearer, who already carries a haunch and a jug, answers: *iry(.i) r hsi(t).k* "(I am) doing to thy satisfaction!"

The unfinished state of the wall scenes provides information about the method and the process of carving, starting from the left and the bottom. Such areas would be completely finished, even to painting, while the upper ones were still being worked on.

Room IV, south wall. The comment on the process of carving wall scenes on the east side of the chamber applies also to the south one, preserved only in its eastern part on two and a half registers (fig. 48, pl. 63). Work started from the left end (east) and the bottom. At the right end of the mid and upper registers only incised outlines without modeling are extant. The registers each show a procession of offering-bearers striding to the west, where a figure of 'Ankhm'ahor was seated, as in Khentika's chapel, waiting for the offerings. Both north and south walls represented provisioning with offerings brought up and deposited on the offering table, whence certain items were taken and presented on the offering slab at the foot of the false-door. These processions consist of uniform rows of offering-bearers, all independent and formal figures in the composite projection. The bearers are overburdened with items they carry in both hands and in baskets hanging from the left elbow, or even from both elbows (sixth from left, bottom), and often a bearer is leading a ridiculously small animal (calf, ox, gazelle, antelope, oryx) or two on a leash. The leash is bound around the

right foreleg, with the result that the animal often holds up this leg. The ox, however, is not on a leash but has a rope hanging from its lower jaw. The men wear short, graded wigs, painted black, and short kilts. At the west end the procession in both mid and upper registers reaches a pile of offerings drawn at a larger scale to agree with that of the figure of 'Ankhm'ahor, now destroyed. There were at least 22 offering-bearers in the bottom register (0.41 m. tall) and 18 each in the mid (0.32 m. tall) and upper ones. There must have been a fourth, topmost register. A rough estimate of the total number of bearers represented on the south wall runs to about 94, a figure that coincides with the number of items in the offering list. Huge vessels of the *hes*-type, taller than the offering-bearers, fowl, fruit on platters, vegetables, and flowers mark the end of the procession and the proximity of the offering table. There are no captions, but a few graffiti at the level of the legs record proper names: Ptahshepses (sixteenth from left, bottom) *nw* "hunter," or *iry nw* "concerned with the hunt," who in fact is the only offering-bearer carrying fowl in both hands; and the "eldest of the dockyard"²⁰⁴ Nefermenkhet *smsw [w] hrt Nfr-mnh.t*.

One line running within a band above the lowest register gives the hieroglyphic inscription for the usual dedication of the *prt-hrw* invocation offerings performed at feasts and daily: *. . . m Dhwt m rkḥ m ḥb nb wr t3 hnkt m ḥb Skr m imnyt nt r'-nb m hrt-hrw in ḥmw-k3 nw dt.f n hry-tp nswt imyr ht wrt Ssi* ". . . at the Thoth (feast), at the burning feast, at every great feast, bread and beer at the Sokar feast, as a daily offering of every day, daily by the funerary priests of his estate, to the royal chamberlain, overseer of the great mansion, Sesi." The beginning of the invocation must have been of the type recorded elsewhere: "May offerings be given him on the New Year's feast. . . ."

The bearers bring offerings of food, including meats ranging from ribs and *khepesh*-forelegs of oxen to live or trussed ducks or a live crane (thirteenth from left, bottom), and of course live cattle or desert animals. Among the vegetables one can recognize lettuce, other greens, and probably also onions. Figs, *nebes*- and *ished*-fruit, lotus flowers in bouquets or sprouting in a bowl, complement the varied menu. Drinks are

carried in jugs sealed with conical stoppers. There are also loaves and cakes of various shapes arrayed on platters carried on the shoulder or in baskets hanging from the elbow.

The typology of the vessels is as varied as in the wall scenes of room III, but probably more complete because the number of bearers is so large.

The attitudes of the men are formal, differing slightly in the position of the arms. The left arm carries a platter or a basket held against the left shoulder or across the chest or holds a fat jar in the bend of the elbow. The left hand may also hold up a bunch of fowl or help carry a large bundle of flowers and stems held in the right hand. The right arm hangs along the side, carrying a flank of ribs, a fowl, a wickerwork container, or a jug. Exceptionally, both arms are bent symmetrically on the sides of the torso, carrying two platters and two baskets hanging from the elbows (sixth and seventh from left, bottom). The bearer carrying the crane against his chest with his right arm holds the beak in his left fist; from his right elbow hangs a rib flank, and from his left, an ovaloid jug.

More variation is attempted in the attitudes of the animals: they stride with heads bent toward the ground; they look back; or they romp with both forelegs slanting forward. Some raise the right foreleg to which the leash is attached; some rear up. When two animals stride together their outlines are offset to express third-dimensional depth, or the one in the back plane bends down, or one animal stands as if striding in the opposite direction (fifth bearer from left, mid register). For no apparent reason an animal may sometimes overlap the left leg of its keeper, especially in the left half of the mid register, instead of being shown in the back plane as is more common. The overlapping could be an attempt at variation if the carving were the work of the same sculptor, but it is more likely that this feature indicates another hand, especially since in this left half of the procession animals are always in pairs (up to the fifth bearer from left, mid register). Another stylistic observation is that the original attitudes of three rearing-up animals and two bearers holding their arms raised appear only at the left end of the bottom register (up to the seventh bearer from left, bottom). It is quite possible that such a stretch

(1.3 m. long), numbering seven or eight figures, was the amount of work assigned to one sculptor. Such evidence about the distribution of work may be compared with that indicated by equidistant vertical lines on the walls of separating trenches around an obelisk in the process of being quarried at Aswan.²⁰⁵

Room IV, north wall. Diversity in formalism is also found in the scenes on the north wall, better finished with bolder carving and more minute detail. Again, two registers and part of the upper third one remain (fig. 49, pl. 64). As on the south wall, the bottom register is made taller (0.41 m.) than the mid one (0.32 m.) to accommodate the line of inscription for the dedication: (. . . m) *rkḥ m ḥb wr t3 ḥnkt m ḥb imnyt nt r'-nb m ḥrt-hrw in ḥmw-k3 nw dt.f n k3 n ḥry-tp nswt 'nh-m'-Hr* "[. . . at] the burning feast, at the great feast, bread and beer at the feast of the daily offerings of every day, daily, by the funerary priests of his estate, to the ka of the royal chamberlain, 'Ankhm'ahor."

The fifteen offering-bearers in each register proceed west toward the figure of 'Ankhm'ahor, now destroyed. A minimum of sixty figures for the whole wall may be assumed. In addition to the usual figures overburdened with profuse offerings, there are at least two figures, both in the bottom row, which show a peculiar composition. The eighth from the east carries at shoulder level a basket in his right hand and a platter of ribs in his left hand, so that both arms are held symmetrically askew, following the edges of the frontal bust. This attitude is not recorded in the list compiled by Vandier,²⁰⁶ though a few figures do hold both arms symmetrically, but outside the profile of the bust. One of these occurs in the same bottom register (fourteenth) holding both arms bent symmetrically at some distance from the torso to carry a broad bowl on its stand (right hand) and a platter of loaves (left hand and shoulder). The other figure that departs from normal composition is the thirteenth from the east, a moscophorous who holds his hands, with which he is gripping the legs of the calf, close to each other in the middle of his chest.²⁰⁷ From his right elbow hangs a pair of young gazelles, tightly wrapped up back to back in a mat, and a bunch of flowers; from his left elbow hangs a wickerwork container. Another pair of young animals is stuffed back to back in

a cagelike wrapping hanging from a strap in the hand of the fifth bearer, while the third one carries a single animal wrapped in a mat. Similarly wrapped-up pairs of young gazelles appear at Kagemni,²⁰⁸ but the strap carrying them is wound unrealistically around both necks.

Animals are led on the leash by the bearers, but there is no grouping as in the east part of the opposite wall. There seems, on the contrary, to be a deliberate attempt at variation in the distribution, as offering-bearers without animals, mingle freely with others accompanied by one or two. There is also variety in the attitudes of the animals: overlapping the legs of the men, striding in the plane behind them, rearing up with their hind parts (mid register), romping about with forelegs aslant, or one of a pair looking back. A unique feature is the erasing of the figure of a hyena and the substitution of a calf (third from east) or a gazelle (eleventh) in the bottom register — a clear proof that 'Ankhn'ahor controlled the work of his sculptors.

There seems to be a greater abundance of fowl in the hands of the offering-bearers in the mid register than in the bottom one. The heads of the birds are arranged fanwise as usual (twelfth, mid register) or offset at the same level (eighth, mid register), or one head of a group of three may be held in the fist, perhaps as a preliminary to wringing the bird's neck (fourteenth, mid register).

Only one offering-bearer is named. A small graffito in front of his legs, at the west end of the bottom register, reads: *shd sd₃wty(w) Htp* "inspector of the seal-bearer(s), Hetep."

Room V

This room, accessible from room III, was used as a magazine or a treasury. Items of jewelry, unguent jars, and caskets — the funerary furniture — are represented as being transported into the room on both doorjambs of doorway III-V.

Room V, east wall. There is, in addition, a scene on the east wall complementing this information. Two registers and part of an uppermost one show caskets and vases being brought to 'Ankhn'ahor, whose heroic-sized figure stood at the north end (pl. 65). Only his staff and the legend for bringing up the items by the funerary priests are extant. In the second register are two

heavy caskets, each crowned with a cavetto cornice and a pyramidal lid and lashed with rope and each carried by four men who hold them by the carrying handles. A man holding a vessel on his right arm follows: *w₃dt n hst*. A supervisor completes the procession. In the lower register two similar caskets are in charge of two similar groups, between whom was the figure of the younger son (erased) who, after having read the donation deed, was responsible for the storing process. Capart has already noted the artist's ambiguous attempt to express depth by offsetting the two rows of carriers, with the result that one figure in partial side view acquires two left arms (second register).

Two representatives of the phyle of priests appear on each register: *im(y) nfrt n hst* and *w₃dt n hst* on the upper register, and *sft n hst* and *im(y) wrt n hst* on the lower one.

Room VI

Room VI is the largest room (ca. 12 m. long) in the chapel. It does not offer many scenes because the north and west walls and part of the east wall have been destroyed. Two of the scenes, however, are of prime importance owing to their topics and their artistic merit: the ballet dance and the funeral procession. The funeral scene is located along the route followed by the procession, as at Mereruka (pillared hall, south).

On the antas flanking the easternmost pillar 'Ankhn'ahor appears in the usual striding attitude, directed toward the hall, holding the long staff and the scepter. He is barefoot and wears the triangular puffing skirt (fig. 50, pl. 66). The upper part of the figure is missing.

Room VI, south wall of alcove. The two eastern antas and their pillar separate an easternmost alcove from the hall proper. On the south is the dancing scene. 'Ankhn'ahor, seated on a chair that has lion's feet, his feet on a low stool at the left, watches two dance performances represented in two superimposed registers (fig. 51, pl. 67). On the upper one two boys perform to the rhythm marked by a man clapping his hands *hst*. Only the lower part of the legs is extant. The register below, which is complete, represents five young dancing girls raising their left legs high in a ballet ensemble to the hand clapping of two women *hst* "clapping" facing them at the extreme left end. Each of the two women

is clad in a skintight long gown and wears a long wig adorned with a headband ending in two streamers at the back. Each has a broad collar around her neck and is adorned with bracelets and anklets. Each dancer wears a close-fitting cap with a long streamer ending in a ball and a very short kilt rounded along the front edges, which are covered by a long flap. All the dancers are very young and easily achieve acrobatic attitudes, standing in equilibrium on the left leg with both arms stretched forward to balance the torso bent back in a smooth curve with the leg. The dancers' position contrasts sharply with the formal attitude of the two women, who hold their arms bent to clap hands at the level of their faces. The performance of the dancers is uniformly defined by an inscription repeated five times behind the figures: *ib(3)* "dance."

Contrasting with the attitude of similar groups of dancers at Kagemni and Mereruka, where the haunch is bent to follow the slant of the torso, the leg on which the dancer stands in 'Ankhn'ahor's chapel is held straight and vertical. It is obvious that such an attitude represents an instantaneous motion whereby the whole body, especially the raised leg and its stretched-out foot, would have to tense to help the two arms balance the mass of the bent-back torso.²⁰⁹ Interpretations of the movement of the dancers range widely, seeing it as a quick revolution of the dangling ball around the figure (Capart), a forward-stepping sequel whereby the figure alternated in standing up and bending back (Brunner-Traut), or an acrobatic movement of the figure standing in situ (Wild).²¹⁰

The representation at Mereruka is very similar, but the dancers in the same garb stand with their backs to the clapping women. At Kagemni the dancers wear *menit*-collars. Our scene is silent, but those at Mereruka are accompanied by inscriptions giving the name of the dance, or rather the names of its various tableaux, each beginning with "Behold," probably announced by the girls. The dances of "jittering," "seizing gold," "seizing the boat," and "the rapt of the beautiful" are known. There is even a dance of the "mystery of birth," consisting of several attitudes with different names that have not been elucidated.²¹¹ All these tableaux fall under a general title: "Behold the mysteries of the harem."

The artistic value of the dance scene at 'Ankhn'ahor lies mainly in its focusing on the rhythm of the ensemble, the lively attitudes,²¹² and the supple lines of the figures profiled against a blank background. The simplicity contrasts with the horror vacui that governs some of the compositions in other rooms (I, II, III).

Room VI, east wall of alcove. The south end of the wall shows the lower part of a scene representing 'Ankhn'ahor standing, wearing the panther's hide and sandals (fig. 52, pl. 68). Behind him stood at least four personages, the two on the upper register marked only by the remains of the legs and a fragmentary inscription . . . w, perhaps [Tjemer]w, the brother of 'Ankhn'ahor.²¹³ Below is the figure of Ishefi, in the striding attitude, both arms hanging, wearing a long wig and a puffing skirt. He is called *s3.f n ht.f smsw smr w'ty İšfi* "his real eldest son, sole companion, Ishefi." Behind him would have stood the second son, whose effigy was so thoroughly erased as to leave only a suggestion of both feet and the left arm. This instance is one of six examples of such an attrition (statue of boy, south wall II; twice on west wall II; south wall III; east wall V).

Room VI, north wall of alcove. The lowest part of a badly eroded register can still be interpreted as representing the breeding of cattle (fig. 53, pl. 69). There is no way to tell what the eastern wall showed; perhaps it was a procession of 'Ankhn'ahor's cattle.

The cattle-breeding scene shows at the right end a recumbent ox or cow being fed by two squatting farmhands. An overseer holding a long staff watches the next scene, which shows another recumbent ox or cow being attended to by a farmhand who is bending over to touch its hind part and another man squatting in front. These scenes undoubtedly represent the process of fattening cattle by feeding them forcibly, which is an essential episode in cattle breeding.²¹⁴

The north anta of the alcove bears only traces of two legs, probably the remains of a standing effigy of 'Ankhn'ahor directed toward the hall, similar to the scene on the south anta (fig. 54).

On the west face of the northern anta is inscribed in sunk relief similar to that on the pillars a column of inscriptions: . . . *hr ntr '3 nh-m'(Hr) rn.f nfr Ssi* "... before the Great

God, 'Ankhn'a(hor), (of) beautiful name, Sesi." The type of inscription ending at the bottom with a small figure of 'Ankhn'ahor striding duplicates that on the pillars. Although it is in a fragmentary state and contributes no new data, this inscription is particularly important because it is the only evidence that the north aisle of the hall was a portico (fig. 55, pl. 70). Titles in sunk relief appear only on the pillars and on this fragment, whereas those on the walls of the eastern alcove and of the southern aisle are in raised relief. If the interpretation of a northern portico is correct, this part of the chapel would imitate the northern facade of a mansion preceding a portico and its court or garden – an essential feature in the plan of typical mansions in the Middle Kingdom, such as those of Meketre' at Thebes and in the pyramid town at Lahun.

Room VI, south wall of portico. Only one area of the south wall, starting from doorway I-VI, is extant. It represents the funeral of 'Ankhn'ahor (fig. 56, pl. 71), a topic introduced into the repertoire of funerary chapels from the Fourth Dynasty at Giza, in the tombs of Debehen, and later (Qar and Idw) (figs. 57, 58).²¹⁵

Part of the lower register is extant (0.32 m. tall), but the upper one, running nearly the same length, lacks all heads and titles. It is, however, clear that the upper register represents some of the personages who accompany the bier in the lower scenes, but they are proceeding in the opposite direction, toward the east. The focus of the two processions must have been the *pr n dt* "estate,"²¹⁶ as implied by the inscription above the plan of a structure in the left corner of the lowest register: *prt m pr n dt r Imntt nfrt* "going forth from the estate toward the goodly West."²¹⁷ The spelling *pr n dt*,²¹⁸ already found at Meydum, is archaizing. It is abbreviated into *pr dt*, and ultimately, during the Sixth Dynasty, into *dt*, as in our tomb. We can recognize in the personages preceding the bier when carried to the estate the same ones who follow it when leaving for the West. They are the same "woman mourner" *drtiw*, a man *imyr sd3wt(y)w* *ntr* "overseer of the seal-bearer(s) of God," holding a long staff and a scepter and wearing a scarf slung aslant over his left shoulder, and three other men each holding with both hands a long roll of folded linen. These

three men are the officiants in charge of preparing the burial, and to mark their religious role they wear ceremonial beards. Two of them are identified as *wt Inpw* "embalmer of Anubis" and *hry hbt* "lector priest." They bring the linen used for wrapping the mummy in its final shrouds. The lector priest will utter his spells for the "opening of the mouth" and the wailing woman will chant her lamentations as the body is placed on the empty bier.

In the second phase the procession is already on its way, at some distance from the enclosure. The bier is carried on two beams by at least eleven men, six of whom handle the rods while five or six others support the flanks of the bier with their bare hands. They have left behind groups of men and women in utter despair. Standing within the estate enclosure are the pathetic figures of two women, shouting *i it(.i) nb im3(t)* "O (my) father, possessor of charm!" Three other women, squatting nearby, are gesturing in despair. Some of those who are trying to follow the bier in two orderly files of men and women are swooning; an elder is being helped to his feet by two companions, and the three proceed in an embrace. The sculptor designed the two files of followers for two superimposed registers, each half the height of the full register. This compositional device is used elsewhere, when 'Ankhn'ahor's figure is meant to encompass two or more secondary registers. Two of the men are identified as *shd sd3wt(yw) Pth-spss* "inspector of seal-bearer(s), Ptahshepses," and *hm-k3 Snbi* "funerary priest, Senbi." Ptahshepses raises both arms above his head. This composition has been praised by W. S. Smith²¹⁹ as an "interplay of movements maintained throughout a large group of mourning women (as with the men on the register above)" (pl. 72). And the same scholar concludes with a remark about "admirable united figures." But more arresting even than the physical aspect of grief is the variation in its expression through head beating, hair pulling, or the bending over of the whole figure in attrition. Despite this realistic depiction, the atmosphere is still dignified, unlike that created by the more realistic hysterical gesturing of mourners in wall scenes from the New Kingdom. Another merit of the composition is the successful combination of the procession of officiants, designed in

formal style, with the two groups of relatives and retainers in an original design not conforming to iteration or isocephaly. Among the relatives are subsidiary groups of three personages marching in an embrace or united in a pyramidal composition. The effect conveyed by the gestures is emphasized by the slimness of the figures, many of which are in side view or frontal elevation. This deliberate departure from the use of the composite projection throughout a whole scene proves the occasional independence of the Egyptian artist from formalism.

Room VI, south wall: independent block. A block has been restored about 2.13 meters above the floor in the south wall, near the northwest corner of the room (fig. 59, pl. 73). Its weathered scene can be identified as a representation of two barges landing in front of 'Ankhn'ahor. Only the top of the wig is extant to show that the figure was in heroic size, looking east (i.e., to the left). In the upper boat the double mast is lying down on the cabin, for the craft is moored, and even when it was sailing it did not use the sail because it came downstream from Upper Egypt. It is a barge or freight boat, with a low flat prow²²⁰ and a cabin with a curving roof, used for the transport of oxen from Upper Egypt. The purpose of transporting cattle is specified by the first two columns of the accompanying inscription. At the front an officer is bending in courtesy to 'Ankhn'ahor, with his right arm aslant across his chest so that his hand can grasp his left shoulder.²²¹

The same attitude is assumed by the officer standing at the front of the lower boat, who bears the title *smsw whrt* "eldest of the dockyard."²²² Some officials bearing this title were responsible for building boats or were in charge of the trade fleet. Along the top of the cabin are sacks of the type carried by offering-bearers.²²³ Unfortunately, the weathered relief does not show the cattle, which were often represented within or above the cabin of such a barge (Kaiem'ankh at Giza, Ptahhetep, Kagemni). A second man standing behind the one at the front of the lower boat bends over, twisting his head back: . . . *nw n iw₃* ". . . these oxen." This fragmentary inscription probably records an order he gives relating to the animal cargo. Above the figure of 'Ankhn'ahor is an inscription in six columns: (1) *m₃₃ spr hw'*²²⁴ *n . . .* (2) *innw n.f*

m niwwt.f nt sm' . . . (3) *imyr k₃t nbt nt nswt S(si)* (4) *hry tp nswt imyr ht wrt* (5) *imyr sswy n shm_h-ib* (6) *'nh-m'-Hr rn.f nfr (Ssi)* "(1) Watching the arrival of the freight boat of . . . (2) brought to him from his towns of Upper Egypt . . . (3) overseer of all the works of the king, Se[si]. (4) Royal chamberlain, overseer of the great mansion, (5) overseer of the two fowl ponds of recreation,²²⁵ (6) 'Ankhn'ahor, of beautiful name [Sesi]."

This inscription throws additional light on 'Ankhn'ahor as a wealthy grandee who possessed estates in Upper Egypt and held the rather rare title of "overseer of the two fowl ponds of recreation." It is noteworthy that the sign *n* was left unfinished in order to show the indentation of rippled water.

Room VI, pillars. Of the five pillars (numbered 1-5 from the east) that stood in a row east-west forming the facade of the portico only the westernmost one is fully preserved. One column of hieroglyphs (15.5-16.2 cm. wide) is inscribed in sunken relief on each face of each pillar. At the bottom of each column is a small figure (21.7-22.7 cm. tall) representing 'Ankhn'ahor striding, holding the long staff and the scepter, barefoot, and wearing a broad collar and a puffing triangular skirt. The figure is also in sunk relief, but the carving varies in its finishing. It is interesting to examine the direction assumed by the figure. On the north faces of the five pillars the figure strides east (fig. 60). On the south faces the figure is directed toward the axis of the interpillar space between pillar 2 and pillar 3, so that the figure strides either east (pillars 3, 4, 5) or west (pillars 1, 2). On all east and west faces, except for the east face of pillar 1, the figure strides to the south, that is, toward the chapel. This organized orientation is a function of the progress of the funeral, which came from the front room I to the portico, where the bier was turned to the west, just in front of the wall scene representing the funeral procession on the south wall, and proceeded between pillar 2 and pillar 3, which were for that purpose erected with a wider interspace between them than between other pairs of pillars. In all the phases of the procession, the small figure of 'Ankhn'ahor at the bottom of each face of each pillar faced the bier.

The inscriptions on the east and west faces of

pillar 5 are identical, but those on the north and south faces differ. On the east face (fig. 61a, pl. 74): *h3ty- mniw Nhn hry-tp Nhb im3 hw hr ntr-3 'nh-m'-Hr rn.f nfr Ssi* "count, protector of Nekhen, overlord of El Kab, venerated before the Great God, 'Ankhem'ahor, of beautiful name Sesi." All these titles seem to be honorific. "Protector of Nekhen" and "overlord of Nekheb" sometimes occur in combination as the more common title "mouth of all people of Pe"²²⁶ *r Ptwnb*.

On the north face of pillar 5 (fig. 61b): *t3ity s3b t3ty imyr prwy-hd im3hw hr Wsir nb Ddw 'nh-m'-Hr rn.f nfr Ssi* "chief justice, vizier,²²⁷ overseer of the two treasures,²²⁸ venerated before Osiris, lord of Busiris,²²⁹ 'Ankhem'ahor of beautiful name Sesi." These titles, which mark the apogee of an administrative career, as for Seshemnefer III and Ra'wer II at Giza, are not preceded by any preliminary steps for 'Ankhem'ahor, a fact that could indicate their honorific character.

On the south face of pillar 5 (pl. 75): *hry-tp hry(w)-hb(t) sm im3- im3hw hr Wsir nb Imnt.f 'nh-m'-Hr rn.f nfr Ssi* "overlord of the lector priest(s), *sem*-priest, agreeable of hand, venerated before Osiris, lord of his West, 'Ankhem'ahor of beautiful name Sesi." The character of the *sem*, one of the highest-ranking priests, is not fully defined; his office was often cumulated by a chief lector priest.²³⁰ The reading and the nature of *im3-* are quite uncertain.²³¹ It has even been suggested that it might be the name of a deity.

On the other pillars only the bottom part of the inscription, "'Ankhem'ahor, of beautiful name Sesi," is occasionally preserved (pillar 1 (figs. 62, 63). Some of the large hieroglyphs show intricate detail, contrasting with the rather summary treatment of the figure of 'Ankhem'ahor (pl. 76).

BURIAL APARTMENT

The following summary is derived from the account of the burial written by the excavators of the tomb, Firth and Gunn,²³² with comparative material from the tomb of Khentika.²³³ The shaft, about 2.75 meters square, descends 23 meters from the terrace of the superstructure, in alignment with room IV containing the false-door against its west wall (fig. 64). It is remarkable, however, that there was no attempt

to place the underground apartment below the false-door; on the contrary, it extends farther west. The general rule prescribing that the sarcophagus chamber be to the west of the shaft (Tji, Kagemni, Mereruka) was rigidly applied, with the result that the sarcophagus was not placed directly below the false-door. A similar layout is seen at Nefereshemre'.

The part of the shaft built within the superstructure is lined with large bricks. Below ground level the shaft is cut through the soft bedrock and after 11 meters reaches firmer rock. The entrance to the chamber was blocked with limestone, but it had been forced over the top of the blocks. The rather irregular rectangular chamber has a large alcove, nearly as wide as the west wall, which contained the sarcophagus; adjacent to it on the west was a shelf on which the lid was placed until it was slid over the sarcophagus after the wooden coffin had been placed inside. A steep ramp for the sarcophagus descends from the bottom of the shaft to the floor. Lowering the huge limestone sarcophagus (3 × 1.5 m. deep) must have posed more than one difficulty. It was probably lowered in a vertical position on sand filling the entire shaft. When it reached the bottom of the shaft it had to be slanted and slid down the ramp, then twisted 90 degrees into a horizontal north-south position.

Sarcophagus

The sarcophagus had been violated, for a hole about 0.75 meter in diameter had been cut into its east face, just at the place where the *wdjat*-eyes were carved in the front of the head of the mummy. Firth remarks that the carving of the eyes and of the name Sesi was not usual in the early Sixth Dynasty. The lower part of the sarcophagus (0.3 m.) shows a pattern of alternate panels of green and blue between bands with oval black spots, after a matting pattern (*Hesire*'). This description seems to conform to that of Khentika's sarcophagus,²³⁴ which was worked in an incised pattern of 28 panels with a double-leaf doorway showing the *wdjat*-eyes in the middle. Four red and yellow bands alternate at the top of the panels and also occur above. The *wdjat*-eyes and inscriptions were filled with green pigment. These inscriptions were cut through a coat of stucco covering the limestone.

On the east side of the lid are two lines (0.16 m. from top, 0.3 m. from bottom): (1) *imyr k3t nbt nswt m t3 r dr.f Ssi dd.f i rmtw 80 wt(yw) hk3(w) hr(t)-ntr i3t nbt h3wti.sn r st tn (i)n iw mry-tn hsy tn nswt pr hrw (n.) tn m hrt-ntr* (2) *wnn im3h.tn nfr hr ntr-3 dd.tn n(i) 3 pn krs pn hr mwt.f m bw mnh n rh.tn mi irt.tn (n) 3ht ikr iri hsst nb.f r-nb Ssi n(i) mrwt* “(1) The overseer of all works of the king in the entire land, Sesi, he says: ‘O 80 men, embalmers, administrators of the necropolis, every functionary who shall come down to this place, do you want the king to favor you? Shall funerary offerings be made for you in the necropolis? (2) Shall your honor be good before the Great God? (Then) you shall place for (me) this cover of this sarcophagus upon its mother as well as you can, as you ought to do (for) a perfect spirit who does what his lord usually praises. I am Sesi, to whom is love.’”

This interesting inscription was written by a careless or ignorant scribe and had to be emended when carved. It is an appeal, perhaps prompted by instances of careless handling, to the artisans and officiants in charge of the burial, adjuring them to slide the lid carefully from its shelf onto the sarcophagus. A similar text is inscribed on the east face of Khentika's lid.

On the east face of the sarcophagus²³⁵ (0.4 m. below top), just beneath the place where the *wdjat*-eyes had been, there is one line: *imyr k3t nbt nswt 'nh-m'-Hr rn.f nfr Ssi t3ity s3b t3ty imyr ss(w) '(n) nswt Ssi rn.f nfr im3hw hr tp(y) dw.f nb t3-dsr Ssi* “Overseer of all the works of the king, 'Ankhm'ahor, of beautiful name Sesi, chief justice, vizier, overseer of the scribe(s) (of) royal documents. Sesi is his beautiful name. Venerated before the One who is on his hill, lord of the sacred land, Sesi.”

On the north end of the sarcophagus are two short inscriptions: *im3h(w) hr ntr-3 'nh-m'-Hr* “venerated before the Great God, 'Ankhm'ahor.”

A line alone the top of the inner north and east faces reads: *rp't h3ty- t3ity s3b t3ty ['nh]-m'-H[r] rn.f nfr Ssi hry-tp nswt imyr ht wrt 'nh-m'-Hr rn.f nfr Ssi im3hw hr Wsir* “Hereditary prince, count, chief justice, vizier, ['Ankh]m'aho[r], of beautiful name Sesi. Royal

chamberlain, overseer of the great mansion, 'Ankhm'ahor, of beautiful name Sesi, venerated before Osiris.”

On the inner east face is a row of seven unguent jars, of cylindrical shape with concave sides. Each jar is defined by the name of the oil it contains, marked to the left of each. Starting from the north end: *sti-hb, hknw, sft, nhnm, tw3wt, h3tt-š, h3tt nt Thnw*. These seven typical unguents are given in the same order as in the offering list (nos. 83-91 at Kai, Kaninswt II, Seshemnefer III)²³⁶ but in slightly different sequence as carried by the offering-bearers on the south thickness of doorway III-V (see above).

The appeal to the specialists which appears in the Sixth Dynasty does not seem to occur in tombs other than 'Ankhm'ahor's and Khentika's. For it is substituted the appeal to the living, asking for food and offerings, a request that evolves into a prayer for food, to be retributed by a variety of promises from the deceased. The specialists range from lector priests, embalmers, and administrators of the necropolis to functionaries. The number of “80 men” ('Ankhm'ahor), or “80 men of the necropolis” (Khentika), seems at first glance puzzling. It is possible, however, that it indicates the total body of necropolis officiants at Saqqara, not necessarily those who would be in charge of one funeral.

Chamber

A limestone lining 0.15 meter thick covers the walls. It was carved with slightly incised representations of offerings and inscriptions carelessly painted in brilliant color on a white background. The sarcophagus alcove has no scene. At the bottom of the walls runs a plain dado separated from the representations by a band of yellow and an upper one of red (0.8 m. above floor) and delimited by black lines; it is similar to the typical dado in tomb chapels, except that the broad zone is left without the usual black. A band of colored rectangles imitating a torus molding frames the top and both edges of every wall. In the western part of the south wall there is at mid-height a deep niche left unpainted, perhaps for the canopic jars. The representations on the walls consist of four registers.

*Sarcophagus chamber, east wall.*²³⁷ At the north end are two vessels of wine or strong ale on each of four registers (pl. 77). Above is a list of titles: *imyr k3t nbt nt nswt m t3 r dr.f hry-tp nswt imyr ht wrt hry sst3 n nswt m st.f nbt 'nh-m'-Hr rn.f nfr Ssi* "overseer of all the works of the king in the entire land, royal chamberlain, overseer of the great mansion, privy to the secret of the king in all his places, 'Ankhn'ahor of beautiful name Sesi." Below this inscription is a list of 52 columns, 46 of which have two items each, from the offering list. The last ones refer to an unusual listing of rites: "wash thyself, sit down at (meals), bringing away the foot(prints), breaking the red vessels, reversing the king's offering, purifying by water, libating with water, censuring with fire."²³⁸ The hieroglyphs are filled in with blue pigment and the lines and numbers are in black.

The offering list follows the order of the typical list at Giza, which numbers about 94 items (Seshemnefer III). At the south end of the same east wall are two registers with representations of five tall heaps of grain (*ph3 sm', ph3 mh'w, mh, st, bs3*), six magazines, and seven heaps of fruit (*w'h, sspt i3rt, nbs, isd, t3 nbs, d3b, sht*).

Three registers on the lower part of the east wall, from the offering list to the south edge, represent slaughtered animals (ox, goose, oryx, gazelle), food, drinks, and flowers.

*Sarcophagus chamber, south wall.*²³⁹ In the four registers, caskets with linen or incense alternate with unguent vases and wine jars (pl. 78). There are at least two "secret caskets" *hn sst3*. Above the niche are two necklaces with pairs of uraei, similar to the one carried by a bearer (south thickness, III-V), and a broad collar with its counterpoise.

*Sarcophagus chamber, west wall.*²⁴⁰ In the four registers are cylindrical unguent vases and *hes*-vases alternating with caskets topped with four or five round bags. There is also a basin with its ewer, both made of electrum (pl. 79a-b).

North of the sarcophagus alcove²⁴¹ are five registers, showing alternatively one casket and three vases. In the bottom register are seven unguent vessels, five of them of the cylindrical type and one a flat-bottomed jug with handle to contain *nhnm*-oil.

*Sarcophagus chamber, north wall.*²⁴² This

most interesting composition shows at the left end the empty chair of 'Ankhn'ahor in front of an offering platter on its stand, with piles of food items occupying half the area of the wall (pl. 80). Although 'Ankhn'ahor himself is not represented, his presence is suggested by the titles that surmount the chair: (1) *rp't h3ty-t3ity s3b t3ty* (2) *imyr k3t nbt nt nswt* (3) *m t3 r dr.f hry-tp nswt* (4) *imyr ht wrt ss mdh nswt* (5) *imyr sst3 md3t* (6) *im3hw hr tpy dw.f* (7) *im3hw hr ntr-3* (8) *'nh-m'-Hr rn-f nfr Ssi* "(1) Hereditary prince, count, chief justice, vizier, (2) overseer of all the works of the king (3) in the entire land, royal chamberlain, (4) overseer of the great mansion, scribe of the king's carpenters, (5) overseer of (all) secret [i.e., judicial] hearings, (6) venerated before the One upon his hill, (7) venerated before the Great God, (8) 'Ankhn'ahor, of beautiful name Sesi." In front of the chair: *imi hnkt pdw t hnkt* "Give offerings (of) fowl, bread, beer."

The empty chair has been explained as resulting from the suppression of the human form,²⁴³ even that of the deceased himself, in his sarcophagus chamber: "Even a figure of the deceased might take an independent and hostile life."²⁴⁴ Such superstitious fear led also to abnormalities in writing, with the suppression or modification of signs representing human figures or animals. This consideration is in conformity with the fact that the determinative for a person of rank seated *šps* was found superfluous and was therefore eliminated in the vicinity of 'Ankhn'ahor's mummy or picture or statue, which would be the determinative.²⁴⁵ There are instances of such "complemented" writings, but also of others "uncomplemented," with determinatives.

In the inscriptions, whether on the sarcophagus or on the walls, the human figure is completely eliminated, and once it was abbreviated into two arms without hands (in the vocative *i* "O 80 men . . .). Because of reluctance to associate a sacred entity with the corruption of the sarcophagus, the sacred hawk is suppressed and the divine name of Anubis is referred to by his epithets, "lord of the sacred land," "One who is upon his hill." An impure animal such as the fish is eliminated. Similar suppression and modification occur at Kagemni, Mereruka, Nefer-seshemre', and Tjetju.

Walls scenes in the sarcophagus chamber

borrow from those in the chapel above, with modifications in the choice of topics, mostly offerings and offering lists, and in the composition. On the north wall was the funerary repast and its food provisioning; on the east, the offering list and heaps of grain, fruit, slaughtered animals, drinks, and flowers; on the south, caskets of linen and vessels of unguent; on the west, more caskets, incense bags, unguent vessels, and a basin and ewer made of electrum.

'Ankhn'ahor's chamber shows the trend toward covering the walls with scenes, a trend perhaps initiated with inscribing the Pyramid Texts in the burial chamber of pyramids, beginning with that of Unas.²⁴⁶ The simple list of Senedjemib Yenty, in black paint, was amplified in the Sixth Dynasty at Giza into scenes representing food, equipment, scenes from life, and the owner himself. At Saqqara painted burial chambers occur in Teti Pyramid cemetery (Mere-ruka left unfinished, Kagemni with yellow background, 'Ankhn'ahor, Khentika), south of the Step Pyramid of Neterikhet (Idwt, Baen'ankh), and around the pyramid of Pepi II. The tomb chamber of 'Ankhn'ahor is unique in showing the empty chair of the owner, in addition to lists and food offerings.

METROLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

An attempt to interpret measures in terms of cubits (1 cubit = 0.523 m.) does not yield a satisfactory proportion of even figures. In some instances, however, the original figure in cubits can easily be recognized: width of doorways, 0.75 meter = 1.5 cubits; cross-section of pillars, 0.52-0.4 meter = 1.0-0.8 cubit; room I, 8 X 4 cubits; court, 24 cubits; portico, 22.5 cubits long.

An estimate of the height of the ceiling can be derived approximately from the walls that are extant, with the addition of a calculated measure above them. This calculation is based on the assumption that all the walls had four superimposed registers of scenes above a dado measuring, on the average, 1 meter in height. There must have been a crowning frieze of *kheker* at the top as tall as a register. The ground line of each register measures about 2 centimeters. In room III a total height of about 2.42 meters is reached, whereas the height of room IV is

2.50 meters. The height of the portico in room VI can be derived from that of the monolithic column, which measures 2.32 meters, possibly 2.40 meters when complete, above a base of 0.1 meter in height. The architrave, about 0.3 meter deep, should be taken into account. The total height from the floor to the ceiling blocks is 2.80 meters, exceeding by 0.3 meter the height calculated for the rooms. The total area of wall scenes must originally have been about 100 square meters.

The problem of lighting can hardly be investigated in the absence of all the ceilings and the upper parts of the walls. On analogy with better-preserved chapels of mastabas and mortuary temples of pyramids, however, several suggestions can be ventured. The strong similarity of the offering room IV to that in the mortuary temples of Pepi II and Teti would justify the assumption that it also had in its east wall an upper-slanting opening to admit light, allowing the sunrise rays to illuminate the offering table and the false-door. Room II could have been dimly lit from room I, and similarly room III from room IV. The magazine V was probably left in total darkness, as were the later crypts (Dendera). There is no way to ascertain the possible existence of slots in ceiling blocks.

THE STYLE

Several of the titles held by 'Ankhn'ahor, especially among those inscribed on the pillars, seem to be honorific, such as "count, chief justice, vizier." If we accept the surmise that the highest titles in the government were honorific, as they seem to have been for other personages of that time, such as Khentika,²⁴⁷ we are led to picture 'Ankhn'ahor as an able master builder whose interest in art did not preclude versatility in scientific pursuits. For the "overseer of all the works of the king in the entire land" it must have been easy to secure the services of the best among the court sculptors.

The personality of 'Ankhn'ahor is obscure, for there is no biographical inscription to complement the official portrayal conveyed by his titles. One oddity is the total absence of any mention of his wife, though young womenfolk do appear at his funeral, calling him "Father, possessor of charm," as well as elderly women.

The absence of the wife also marks the tomb of Khentika.²⁴⁸ We are introduced to 'Ankhm-ahor's brother Tjemerw, and to his elder son Ishefi, but the name of the younger son, whose effigy was erased from the walls in six places, is not given. The family feud that seems to have existed should be ascribed to the eldest son Ishefi, rather than to dissent relating to 'Ankhm-ahor's wife, though the latter possibility should by no means be dismissed. Ishefi possibly wanted to obliterate all traces of his younger brother after the death of their father for some dark reason, perhaps connected with the heritage. The theory invented by Maspero and accepted by Capart – that obliteration of figures in chapels of that time was intended to remove any trace of a son who was given an independent tomb – cannot hold here, because 'Ankhm-ahor's tomb was planned from the start to allow one room for one son only.

Originality characterizes the tomb of 'Ankhm-ahor. Its architectural design shows a close relationship with that of the typical house, even to the extent of having a pillared portico along the north side, which in a house would provide shade in the "sweet breeze" from the north. Originality is revealed also in the choice of topics, such as the unique scene of circumcision, the representation of surgical and massaging treatment, the anatomical representation of dropsy of the scrotum, and the unique painting of the master's empty chair in the sarcophagus chamber.

As suggested before, the superior quality of the wall scenes gives abundant evidence of the outstanding ability of the sculptors. Although they submitted to the Sixth Dynasty fashion of showing the multiplicity of items carried by the offering-bearers, the composition reveals in several of the longer scenes a masterful balance between subject matter and background. The balance is sometimes enhanced by the strong contrast between the figures and the void background, as in the scene of the dance, but it is also seen in a setting obscured by legends, as in the slaughter of oxen. There is even a real *horror vacui* in decorative trend, as evident in the profusion of fish and aquatic plants in the hippopotamus hunt scene. In long scenes two foci of interest are created, one at either end, to achieve balance; examples are the representations of the

two boats and crocodiles in the fording scene, of the hippopotamus harpooned and another giving birth in the hippopotamus hunt, and of the clapnets and the group of retainers in the hunt.

In general, the style is repetitious, often duplicating the same motif or figure in superimposed registers. It is also multitudinous, as when a cattle herd numbering no less than 32 head, instead of the usual six or nine animals in similar scenes in other chapels, crosses a ford. Such repetition verges on mannerism, as suggested by W. Wolf.²⁴⁹

There is no doubt that several hands were responsible for the carving, as can be proved by examination of such scenes as those appearing on the opposed thicknesses of the same doorway: market scenes (I-II), overpowering the ox (II-III), offering-bearers (III-IV). Some evaluation of the style on such opposed scenes has already been made. The signs of the town and the owl on doorway III-IV (pl. 81a-b) are more minutely finished on the west thickness than on the east one. The hieroglyphs on the latter are, however, more refined in shape. The sculptor of the east panels could eventually achieve splendid work (pl. 82), in both design and elaborate detail. A similar variation may be observed on the same wall; on the north wall of room III, for example, the straps supporting baskets hanging from the elbows of their bearers (pls. 83, 84) show in the upper register but not in the lower register. In room IV long sequences of offering-bearers proceed west on both north and south walls, but the rather flat figures, left unfinished on the south wall, contrast sharply with the bold, minutely detailed ones opposite, whose sculptors have produced miniature jewels in the pair of young quadrupeds (pl. 85) carried in a wickerwork wrapping and in the young birds in a sack (pl. 86). The details of collars and counterpoises, bracelets and pendants flanked by two uraei, are elaborately sculptured in the display of funerary equipment (south wall, room III) (pl. 87) and its transport to the treasury (III-V). Finally, the excellence of detail can be seen in the subtle modeling of an ox's head (IV, east) (pl. 88) and in the anatomical study of the musculature of the herdsman pulling on a reluctant oryx (II-III, north). When examining the two portrayals of fat Hepi (pl. 89a-b), one can recognize two styles, for the expression of character

in the figure bringing fowl from the clapnet (II, west) is subtler than in the other figure (III-IV, west).

To alleviate the monotony intrinsic to long processions of figures, certain well-known devices are used. Animals striding in the same direction are given varied postures, turning back their heads, romping, or even rearing up; one foot may be raised by the leash wound around the leg, two animals may be opposed when walking in pairs, a fawn may suckle at the udder of its mother, or an oryx may be portrayed as reluctant. Offering-bearers are given personalized features: a boorish one may have a balding brow; an abnormally fat figure may be shown in side view; or bearers may be afflicted with pathological defects, such as a hernia of the navel or a dropsy of the scrotum — both rather unusual observations. Topical detail may provide an arresting feature, such as the ape perching on the shoulders of a dwarf, or the vicious donkey resenting the blows rained upon him and trying to thrust his hoof against his torturer while baring his teeth in a threatening grimace. In the animal world relations between individuals are expressed in a style tense with realism. Clichés known elsewhere are here treated in a more dramatic manner. The crocodile lurking in the water while watching the small hippopotamus as it issues forth from its mother to tumble onto the huge lotus flower, as if it were on an offering platter ready for the crocodile to eat, has the most hypocritical, even insidious, look. Cows usually lick their calves when carried in front of a herd that is fording or swimming, but at 'Ankhn'ahor the tongues of the cow and her calf meet in an effusion of love. One feature that distinguishes our artist is his use of pyramidal composition, showing two figures bending symmetrically over an element placed between them, as in scenes of barter, harvest or slaughter of an ox. More complex pyramidal composition, seldom if ever met with in other chapels, is designed for the hectic manipulation of an ox by a group of men trying to overpower the massive beast and bring it to the ground.

Some observations on draftsmanship in the wall scenes may be added. Overlapping is consistently avoided, even when the sculptor represents vases hanging from one hand that is close to the figure as at some distance and askew, in a

contradiction of gravity. Lines may run continuously in the same figure, as from the edge of the wig to the shoulder or from the figure to the paraphernalia it carries or to the animals it leads, where the outlines of the legs of man and animal coincide. The naturalistic trend in the observation of anatomy does not exclude mannerism.

In the carving, a smooth, supple technique is the general rule, bolder in some instances but never excessive as at Mereruka. Even isolated scenes of lesser quality do not detract from the superb artistic value of the whole, which reveals a master of outstanding initiative whose name, unhappily, remains unknown.

To conclude this discussion of artistic style, one last question should be investigated. What was the relationship of 'Ankhn'ahor to his sculptors? Was there any aesthetic incentive in addition to the utilitarian concern that the deceased find an adequate life in the netherworld? 'Ankhn'ahor is one of the few who addresses an appeal to the specialists in his inscription on the lid of the sarcophagus. He makes a clear promise to remunerate those who will place the lid tightly over the sarcophagus. Such a reward is assured in a text, common at the time, addressed to all artisans and craftsmen who work on the tomb: "Every man who made this for me, he will never regret it. Sculptor or quarryman, I will reward him!"²⁵⁰ We know about Ptahhetep's liberal treatment of his sculptor Ptah'ahkh, whom he allowed to be represented on the main wall of his chapel sailing a boat and being given drinks and victuals. Ptahhetep even calls his sculptor his "benefactor, beloved, venerated before him."²⁵¹ No such written evidence clarifies 'Ankhn'ahor's relations with his sculptors. We can, however, infer from two observations that he did control their work. Among the animals accompanying the offering-bearers in the rearmost chamber (IV, north), one hyena was changed into a calf (pl. 90) and another into an antelope, but not thoroughly enough to obliterate completely the heavy head and the slant back characteristic of the hyena. The hyena that became a calf proves that the species was not tolerated by 'Ankhn'ahor, though it formed part of the repertoire of domesticated animals represented in mastaba chapels from the Fourth Dynasty. To this control by 'Ankhn'ahor should be added his condoning, if not suggest-

ing, the initiative of representing unique topics of surgical treatment and pathological observation. Such recording probably betrays 'Ankham'ahor's personal interest in medicine, an interest attributed by tradition to another genial architect, Imhotep, who built the first step pyramid in the Third Dynasty and was later deified as Imuthes, god of medicine. The recording proves also that 'Ankham'ahor cooperated in a creative way with his sculptor.

ONOMASTICA

'Ankham'ahor Sesi:	<i>'nh-m'-Hr</i> , possibly, as suggested by Ranke, ²⁵² <i>'nh(.i?) -m'-Hr</i> "(My) life is in the hand of Horus." As already pointed out, the name of the god is written phonetically, but never with the hawk, probably indicating the "Upper One." As was often true, "his beautiful name" (rather than "his good name") Sesi had no relation to his great name.
Tjemerw:	<i>Tmrw</i> , brother; not in Ranke (room III, south, west).
Ishefi:	<i>İsfı</i> , ²⁵³ eldest son (room II, west; doorway III-V, north; room VI, east; room II, south).
Mesi:	<i>Msi</i> , ²⁵⁴ retainer (room II, south).
Hepi:	<i>Hpi</i> , ²⁵⁵ retainer (room II, west; doorway III-IV, west).
'Ankh:	<i>'nh</i> , ²⁵⁶ retainer (room II, west).
Twa:	<i>Tw3</i> , ²⁵⁷ retainer; the only one of that name in Ranke (room II, north).
Hetep:	<i>Htp</i> , retainer (room IV, north).
Ipi:	<i>İpi</i> , retainer (room II, west).
Ptahshepes:	<i>Pth-šps</i> "Ptah is august," retainer (VI, south).
Senbi:	<i>Snbi</i> , retainer (VI, south).
Teti'ankh:	<i>Tti-nh(w)</i> or <i>'nh-Tti</i> ²⁵⁸ "King Teti lives," retainer (II, north).

Ptahshepes:	<i>Pth-šps</i> , read <i>Špsi-Pth</i> by Ranke ²⁵⁹ (IV, south).
Nefermenkhet:	<i>Nfr-mnht</i> (IV, south). Ranke ²⁶⁰ gives Middle Kingdom examples only.
Irienakhti:	<i>ir-n-3hti</i> , ²⁶¹ inspector of scribes of the domain (doorway III-IV, west).
Sen:	<i>Sn</i> , ²⁶² retainer (doorway III-IV, west).
Redy:	<i>Rdi</i> , funerary priest (doorway III-V, north).
Tjeti:	<i>Tti</i> , ²⁶³ funerary priest (doorway III-V, north).
'Ankhef:	<i>'nh.f</i> ²⁶⁴ offering-bearer with the title "funerary priest" (III-V, north).
Meriredies:	<i>Mrrdi.s</i> "Love, she gives," ape (II, north).

TITLES

'ANKHM'AHOR:

Honorific: *rp't* "Hereditary prince."

h3ty "Count." Both this title and the preceding one were bestowed on high officials of no princely descent, especially viziers at the end of the Old Kingdom, to enhance their rank. The titles are not entirely honorific, but serve to express the power of the personage. ²⁶⁵

im3hw "Venerated."

im3hw hr ntr-3 "Venerated before the Great God." The personality of this universal cosmic deity was studied by Junker. ²⁶⁶

im3hw hr Wsir "Venerated before Osiris."

im3hw hr Wsir nb İmnt.f "Venerated before Osiris, lord of his West."

im3hw hr İnpw tpy dw.f "Venerated before Anubis, the One upon his hill."

im3hw hr tpy dw.f "Venerated before the One upon his hill." A title modified from the preceding one in order to suppress the name of Anubis in the sarcophagus chamber.

im3hw hr tpy hr dw.f. Variant of the preceding modified title.

imy-ib "The one in the heart," interpreted as "intimate" by Junker. ²⁶⁷

mniw Nhn "Protector of Nekhen." ²⁶⁸

hry-tp Nhb "Overlord of El Kab," also held by Mereruka and Kagemni.

Palace: *imyr mdh(w) nswt* "overseer of the royal carpenter(s)."

imyr k3t "Overseer of the works."

imyr k3t nbt nt nswt "Overseer of all the works of the king."
imyr k3t nbt nt nswt m t3 r dr.f "Overseer of all the works of the king in the entire land."
imyr sš(w) '(n) nswt "Overseer of scribe(s) of royal documents."
imyr sšwy m3 "Real overseer of the two fowl ponds."²⁶⁹
imyr sšwy n šmh-ib "Overseer of the two fowl ponds of recreation."
hry sšt3 n nswt m st.f nbt "Privy to the secret of the king in all his places."
hry (sš)t3 n wdt-mdw nbt št3t nt nswt "Privy to the secret of all the secret orders of the king."²⁷⁰
hry-tp nswt "Chamberlain of the king."
 Government: *t3ity s3b t3ty* "Chief justice, vizier. As already noted, these highest titles were probably honorific, insofar as 'Ankhm'ahor exercised the power and enjoyed the prerogatives without being burdened with the duties."²⁷¹
imyr ht-wrt "Overseer of the great mansion."
*hwt-wryt*²⁷² "Law courts." As the law court was connected to the palace, it follows that the title could be considered a palatial one.
imyr sšt3 md3t "Overseer of the secret [i.e., judicial] hearings."
imyr prwy hq "Overseer of the two treasuries."
mdw rhyt "Speaker [or staff]²⁷³ of the people." Always used in conjunction with judiciary titles.
 Religious: *shd hmw ntr* "Inspector of the prophets" of the pyramid. Cf. Khentika.²⁷⁴
hnty-š "Land tenant" of the pyramid. Ptahiwfeni was a land tenant at the pyramid Menefer Pepi, which implies that he enjoyed the produce of lands so that he could provide for the funerary offering at the pyramid temple.²⁷⁵
hry-tp hryw-hb(t) "Overlord of the lector priests."
sm "Sem-priest."
im3- "Agreeable of hand," as tentatively translated by Gunn,²⁷⁶ who also considered the possibility that *im3* was the name of a divinity.
TJEMERW:
 Honorific: *špss nswt*²⁷⁷ "Royal noble."
 Palace: *smr pr* "Companion of the house." As noted by Fischer, this title occurs in conjunction with the preceding one, as for Idw.
shd hntyw-š pr-3 "Inspector of the land tenants of Pharaoh" (or the court).
ISHEFI:
 Honorific: *smr w'ty* "Sole companion."
 Palace: *shd hntyw-š pr-3* "Inspector of the land tenants of Pharaoh."
 Religious: *hry-hbt* "Lector priest."

MESI:

Palace: *sš md3t pr-3* "Scribe of the archives of Pharaoh."²⁷⁸
 Religious: *sš w'bt pr ntr* "Scribe of the wa'bet of the temple."
ss w'bt rsy(t) "Scribe of the southern wa'bet." There is no way to identify this "pure place,"²⁷⁹ which can be a workshop, a refectory, a chamber in the temple, or an embalming laboratory.

'ANKH:

Palace: *sinw pr-3* "Physician of Pharaoh" or "court physician."

HEPI:

Religious: *shd hm(w)-k3* "Inspector of the funerary priest(s)."

IRIENAKHTI:

Palace: *shd sš(w) mrt* "Inspector of the scribe(s) of the domain."

TWA:

Palace: *hrp sh* "Administrator of the dining hall."

TETI'ANKH:

Palace: *hrp sh* "Administrator of the dining hall."

REDY:

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

TJETI:

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

HETEP:

Government: *shd sd3 wty(w)* "Inspector of the seal-bearers."

PTAHSHEPSES:

Government: *shd sd3wt(yw)* "Inspector of the seal-bearer(s)."

SEN:

Religious: *sš s3 hm(w)-k3* "Scribe of the phyle of funerary priest(s)."

NEFERMENKHET:

Government: *smsw whrt* "Eldest of the dock-yard."²⁸⁰

'ANKHEF and SENBI:

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

PTAHSHEPES:

Palace: *nw* "Hunter." This rare title occurs also at Giza.²⁸¹

iry nw "Concerned with the hunt."

Anonymous personages:

In several instances titles of anonymous personages are not official but define a profession and cannot be ascribed to any group.

Religious: *hmw-k3 nw s3 pn t3-wr* "Funerary priests of the larboard phyle."

shd hmw-k3 n imy-wrt "Inspector of the funerary priests of the phyle."

hm-k "Funerary priest" or "offering-bearer."

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imyr sd₃wty(w) ntr "Overseer of the seal-bearer(s)
of God."
hry-hb(t) "Lector priest."
hk₃ hrt-ntr "Chief of the necropolis."
wti Inpw "Embalmer of Anubis."
wti "Embalmer."
i₃t "Functionary."
drtiw "Woman mourner."
Professional: *sš* "Scribe."
imyr "Overseer."

imyr gnwty(w) "Overseer of sculptor(s)."
imyr hm(ww) ty(w) "Overseer of vase-driller(s)."
imyr bi₃ "Overseer of ingots."
hm(ww)ty "Vase-driller."
hm "Artisan."
imyr ist "Overseer of the workshop."
imyr wh'w 3pdw "Overseer of marsh fowlers."²⁸²
wh'w or *wh'w 3pdw* "Marsh fowler."
hrp nrw "Chief herdsman."
nrw "Herdsman."

NOTES

1. V. Loret, "Fouilles dans la nécropole memphite (1897-1899)," *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 3d ser., no. 10 (Cairo, 1899).
2. Capart, *Rue*, pp. 27-62.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
4. T. G. H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi* (London, 1953), p. 28.
5. Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, p. 15.
6. Alexander Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture: The First Intermediate Period, the Middle Kingdom, and the Second Intermediate Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), pp. 12-19.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-27.
8. James, *Khentika*, pl. III.
9. Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, pl. 10.
10. James, *Khentika*, p. 20, pl. VII.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 37, inscription 8.
12. *Wb.*, III, 484.
13. Junker, *Giza VII*, p. 27; G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pépi II* (Cairo, 1929), p. 110.
14. *Wb.*, II, 178.
15. E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (Berlin, 1966), p. 205 n. 3. For Mereruka, see P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1938), II, pl. 212 B, C. For side view of arm and composite projection of torso at Niswptah, see Junker, *Giza VIII*, p. 172, fig. 89. See also H. Junker, "Zum Idealbild der menschlichen Figur in der Kunst des Alten Reiches," *Anzeiger der Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, no. 17 (1947); W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Boston, 1946), pl. 43b.
16. Capart, *Rue*, p. 28, pls. 78-79; Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, pl. 10; Duell, *Mereruka*, II, pl. 212.
17. Junker, *Giza VII*, pp. 36-37. The title *shmh-ib n nb.f* "the one who entertains the heart of his lord," or *shmh-ib n biti* "the one who entertains the heart of the king of Lower Egypt," is held by performers in dance and music.
18. The "great mansion" was the great hall of justice (Junker, *Giza III*, p. 234; VII, pp. 199-201). A title "royal inspector in the great hall of justice" is also known.
19. The inscription is published in K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, I, 202. See Junker, *Giza III*, p. 110: *s₃h* "Verklärungen," lit., "to make spiritual, to spiritualize," a formula to be recited by the lector priest.
20. Edel, *Phraseologie*, p. 76.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 33, suggests a restoration for 10 void squares.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
23. Junker, *Giza XII*, p. 97: "Möge es euch gut ergehen, ihr Nachkommen, möget ihr gerechtfertigt sein (*m₃'hrw*) ihr Vorfahren!" Edel, *Phraseologie*, p. 17, gives a similar translation but uses "my" for both descendants and ancestors.
24. Edel, *Phraseologie*, p. 18, restores *wnn iri.w* in the passive. For *ist*, "property" = "tomb."
25. *Ibid.*, p. 26, restores thus and justifies the construction: substantive = object with preposition + adjective.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 5, translates *3h ikr* "Verklärer."
27. Cf. the two titles: *irit hst.f* "who does what he praises" (Junker, *Giza VIII*, p. 72) and *irr hst ntr.f r'-nb* "who usually did every day what his god praised" (Junker, *Giza XI*, pp. 82 ff; of court physician Nt'ankhre'). See also Edel, *Phraseologie*, p. 19.
28. Edel, *Phraseologie*, p. 13, restores: "I will snatch his neck as that of a goose." He suggests a passive *wdi.w*.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10: *wd'w mdw* passive.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 8; James, *Khentika*, p. 37 n. 13.
31. *Wb.*, II, 191, 1.
32. Junker, *Giza I*, p. 149.
33. Junker, *Giza XII*, p. 75.
34. J. Sainte-Fare Garnot, *L'Appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires égyptiens des origines à la fin de l'Ancien Empire* (Cairo, 1938).
35. Edel, *Phraseologie*, p. 13, referring to Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 18.
36. Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, I, 98.
37. Edel, *Phraseologie*, pp. 9-12.
38. Junker, *Giza III*, pp. 83 ff.
39. Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 74 (Seshemnefer IV); Wreszinski, *Atlas*, p. 107. Cf. the right edge of the scene of the butchers at Khentika.
40. N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqarah*, II (London, 1901), pl. VIII.

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41. H. Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, III (Cairo, 1966), pl. CLV.
42. Duell, *Mereruka*, II, pls. 166-167.
43. Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 46.
44. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pl. 53.
45. Cf. Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 216-217: "I will heal thee if thou turnest therefrom," playfully reversed from the idiomatic *phr m sw n* "persuade by flattery." Cf. R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), p. 93.
46. As in Junker, *Giza VI*, p. 147: "Komm herab mit ihnen, mein Kamerad." Cf. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 218 n. 6: "Descends hors d'eux, camarade!"
47. Duell, *Mereruka*, II, pl. 168.
48. For *w n i* "hurry," cf. *Wb.*, I, 313.
49. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 222 n. 5.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 222, no. 11; *Wb.*, II, 55.
51. Vandier, *Manuel*, V, fig. 24.
52. *Ibid.*, V, 96 ff. For 'Ankhm'ahor, see *ibid.*, pp. 124-125, fig. 70.
53. Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 70-72, no. 11; Vandier, *Manuel*, V, 118. For *šy* "aquatic," see *Wb.*, IV, 415.
54. *Wb.*, I, 194; Vandier, *Manuel*, V, 118.
55. W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens* (Stuttgart, 1957), p. 246.
56. Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, II (Cairo, 1953), pls. CXIV, CXXIV.
57. Vandier, *Manuel*, V, 114.
58. Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pl. 20.
59. *Wb.*, III, 63 n. 16.
60. *Wb.*, II, 245-246 n. 2.
61. Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pls. CVII-CIX.
62. Junker, *Giza III*, pp. 87-89; Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 127-135; H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (Cairo, 1962).
63. Duell, *Mereruka*, II, pls. 196-197.
64. W. Fr. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1905-1911), II, pls. XV, XXXI.
65. Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, II, pl. CXIX.
66. Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pl. 19.
67. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, p. 192 n. 1.
68. G. Lefèbvre, *Essai sur la médecine égyptienne de l'époque pharaonique* (Paris, 1956), p. 174; Capart, *Rue*, p. 51; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 372; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pp. 45 ff., pls. 25-26; P. Ghalioungi, *Health and Healing in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 1965), pp. 24-26, figs. 87-96.
69. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 177.
70. *Wb.*, IV, 81; Capart, *Rue*, p. 57.
71. Lefèbvre follows A. Erman, *Reden, Rufen und Lieder*, p. 61, and interprets: "Rub thoroughly what will be (operated)." But see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 372. For the scene at Karnak, see Lefèbvre, *Médecine égyptienne*, p. 175, and bibliography, n. 3.
72. According to Capart, *Rue*, p. 52; against surgical intervention: M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches* (Washington, 1906).
73. Davies, *Ptahhetep*, II, pl. XXX.
74. Lefèbvre, *Médecine égyptienne*, pp. 156-159.
75. James, *Khentika*, p. 46, pl. XI.
76. G. Steindorff, *Egypt* (Baedeker, 1929), p. 174; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, p. 44, pl. 24.
77. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 372.
78. James, *Khentika*, p. 46, pl. XI.
79. *Wb.*, III, 204. This type of bread is mentioned in the list of offerings; cf. Junker, *Giza III*, pp. 98 ff.; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pp. 147-148, pl. 72.
80. James, *Khentika*, inscription 30, pl. IX.
81. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 244.
82. James, *Khentika*, inscription 37, pl. IX, where the translation is misunderstood for "moulding"!
83. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 325 n. 2.
84. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, p. 210, pl. 97.
85. Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pl. 30; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pp. 58-61, pl. 34.
86. G. Jéquier, *Le Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, fig. 130; see also representations in figs. 126-138.
87. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 277.
88. P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II (London, 1894), 4.
89. Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 281-282.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
91. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, pls. 49, 74; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 279-280, nos. 4, 5.
92. Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, III, pl. CLXXXIII.
93. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 284, nos. 3, 4.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 290. The reading *škd* (Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture*, p. 353) is illusionary. The alleged hieroglyph is only the vertical line of separation between the two parts of the legend. The same is true for the next artisan.
95. Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, 73; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 290.
96. Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, III, pl. CLXXXIII.
97. Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pl. 30.
98. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 295. The second determinative depicts a tall cylindrical vase with lid.
99. *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316, no. 2.
100. *Ibid.*, pp. 317-318, no. 2.
101. *Wb.*, IV, 330 n. 2.
102. Junker, *Giza V*, pp. 8-12.
103. Von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, I, pl. XXII (room I, wall G).
104. James, *Khentika*, p. 59, inscription 186, pl. XXXI.
105. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 17 n. 2.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 384.
107. Capart, *Rue*, p. 35, reads *wr snw* "chief physician."
108. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, p. 11, fig. 14.
109. Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, II, pl. CXXII.
110. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 58.
111. The representation of the hernia in marshland people and shepherds is a topical detail. Cf. the shepherd carrying the calf or the elderly papyrus gatherer at Tji (Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pls. CX, CXIX, CXXII).
112. Von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, I, 8-9.
113. Davies, *Ptahhetep*, I (London, 1900), 25-26.
114. Capart, *Rue*, pl. 90.
115. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 58; Vandier, *Manuel*, V, 330.
116. Capart, *Rue*, p. 37.
117. Junker, *Giza III*, pp. 178, 180; VII, p. 170: "butler, maître d'hotel."
118. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 152, fig. 50, no. 63.
119. *Ibid.*, fig. 47, no. 3.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 154, fig. 51, no. 89; James, *Khentika*, pl. XL.
121. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, fig. 50, no. 67.
122. In the second burial chamber of Khentika (James, *Khentika*, pl. XL).
123. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 156, fig. 51, no. 101.
124. W. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I (New York, 1953), 157.
125. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 148, fig. 49, no. 36.
126. *Ibid.*, p. 154, fig. 51, nos. 50, 51.
127. H. Carter, *Beni Hasan*, IV (London, 1900).
128. Junker, *Giza III*, p. 64.
129. Nowhere else do the messengers wear sandals. Cf. Seshe-mnefer, II, III, IV (Junker, *Giza III*, figs. 8a, b; XI, fig. 81).
130. Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 111-113, prefers "domesticated."
131. *Ibid.*, p. 139, prefers "faire défiler." Cf. Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, I, 122: "bringing up."
132. Montet, *Scènes*, "porteur d'offrandes" for *hm-k* 3.
133. Cf. James, *Khentika*, p. 54, inscription 128, where *rk* is

- considered a particle "then." But see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 158.
134. Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 7.
 135. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 151, no. 1.
 136. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
 137. Vandier, *Manuel*, V, 21, fig. 18.
 138. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 139.
 139. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, p. 130.
 140. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 151, no. 5.
 141. *Ibid.*, p. 154; Capart, *Rue*, pl. 45.
 142. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 150.
 143. Von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, II, pls. II-VII.
 144. James, *Khentika*, p. 25.
 145. H. Fischer, "The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, I (1962), 7-18.
 146. James, *Khentika*, pl. XVI.
 147. L. Epron and F. Daumas, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, I (Cairo, 1939), pl. XXXVII.
 148. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, p. 133.
 149. Capart, *Rue*, p. 43: "The pure bread of Osiris, is (the pure bread) of Sesi." Cf. an identical formula at Khentika (James, *Khentika*, p. 59, inscription 185). See also von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, II, pl. I.
 150. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, p. 90, fig. 44.
 151. James, *Khentika*, p. 59, inscription 184.
 152. Cf. Junker, *Giza* VIII, p. 151.
 153. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, fig. 49, no. 38.
 154. *Ibid.*, fig. 33, no. 5 (= Tji in Epron and Daumas, *Tombeau de Ti*, I, pl. XLII).
 155. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, fig. 49, no. 39.
 156. *Ibid.*, fig. 49, no. 36.
 157. *Ibid.*, fig. 49, no. 37.
 158. *Ibid.*, fig. 50, no. 74.
 159. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, p. 41 n. 5. For the puffing skirt see *ibid.*, p. 45.
 160. *Ibid.*, pp. 64 ff.
 161. Junker, *Giza* VII, pp. 27, 28; VII, pp. 144, 148, 151, 168, 172; IX, pp. 235; XI, p. 65.
 162. Capart, *Rue*, p. 43.
 163. James, *Khentika*, p. 58; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 203.
 164. Capart, *Rue*, p. 43.
 165. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, fig. 47, no. 5.
 166. *Ibid.*, fig. 51, no. 102.
 167. Capart, *Rue*, p. 48.
 168. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, fig. 51, no. 84.
 169. *Wb.*, IV, 378.
 170. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, fig. 45, no. 47.
 171. Von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, I, pl. V.
 172. Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pls. 15, 17.
 173. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, p. 125.
 174. Capart, *Rue*, p. 49.
 175. Also on the sarcophagus of Khentika (James, *Khentika*, pl. XXXIX).
 176. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, fig. 51, no. 102.
 177. Junker, *Giza* III, pp. 99 ff.
 178. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101.
 179. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, p. 41.
 180. *Ibid.*, pp. 42 ff.
 181. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
 182. *Ibid.*, p. 58 n. 1; H. Junker, *Die Kultkammer des Prinzen Kanjnswt* (Vienna, 1931), p. 21; W. F. Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892), pl. 23.
 183. James, *Khentika*, pp. 20, 43.
 184. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, fig. 34, nos. 52-53.
 185. *Ibid.*, fig. 35, no. 91.
 186. James, *Khentika*, pl. XXII.
 187. Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, III, pl. CLXIII.
 188. Duell, *Mereruka*, II, pl. 109.
 189. James, *Khentika*, pl. XXII.
 190. A pseudoverbal construction (A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* [Oxford, 1927], #323).
 191. *Wb.*, III, 103: "As thou art fresh in life." See also Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 171-172 n. 2.
 192. Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 175-177.
 193. *Ibid.*, p. 176, tentatively suggests: *tbn* "découper" (?).
 194. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
 195. The hieroglyph of the owl is probably an error for the quail chick *w* in *ndrw*.
 196. Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 174; H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1968), pp. 164, 167.
 197. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 177.
 198. *Ibid.*, p. 169, translates: "to bring up to the table."
 199. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164, translates *pns* "turn." See also *Wb.*, I, 510.
 200. Wreszinski, *Atlas*, p. 198, pl. 94. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 154, inadvertently substitutes the hieroglyph of the offering table, as it appears in the next inscription, for *pr*.
 201. Vandier, *Manuel*, V, 171, 181.
 202. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 173; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, p. 198.
 203. Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 395-396.
 204. For the title "eldest of the dockyard," see Junker, *Giza* VII, p. 27; X, p. 183; Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 210-212, 195(3).
 205. S. Clarke and R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* (Oxford, 1930), p. 29, fig. 29.
 206. Cf. symmetrical arms in Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, fig. 35, nos. 64, 74, 75, 90.
 207. *Ibid.*, fig. 35, no. 91. See also N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrāwi*, I (London, 1902), pl. XIX.
 208. Von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, I, pl. XXVIII, no. 150.
 209. Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 396.
 210. *Ibid.*, p. 397.
 211. Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 367-368.
 212. Low relief 1534 C.M. contrasts with static attitudes; also north wall at Kaemnofert at Giza.
 213. Capart, *Rue*, p. 55.
 214. Epron and Daumas, *Tombeau de Ti*, I, pl. XXVI; von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, I, pl. XI (room I E); Junker, *Giza* IV, pp. 50, 81 ff.
 215. Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture*, pp. 171, 193.
 216. The same spelling appears at Kagemni.
 217. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 383.
 218. The same spelling appears at Kagemni. See von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, II, pl. 32; James, *Khentika*, p. 60, inscription 189; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 384.
 219. *History of Egyptian Sculpture*.
 220. Vandier, *Manuel*, V, 736 ff.
 221. Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 16 (= Nefer).
 222. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 300; Junker, *Giza* VII, p. 27; X, p. 183; Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 212.
 223. On the roof of the boat of Insnefrw-ishetef at Dahshur.
 224. *Wb.*, III, 52. Old word for "boat," probably to be read *wh*.
 225. Capart, *Rue*, p. 59: "chef des deux étangs de plaisir."
 226. Junker, *Giza* II, p. 160; Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 74 n. 288.
 227. Junker, *Giza* I, pp. 149, 151; II, pp. 189, 191; III, pp. 9, 204, 206; VIII, pp. 69, 90, 155.
 228. *Ibid.*, I, p. 240; V, pp. 13, 55; VIII, pp. 70, 90.
 229. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 52 (Sehetepw at Giza).
 230. *Ibid.*, II, p. 160.
 231. *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 126 ff.; *Wb.*, I, 81; Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, I, 105 n. 6.
 232. Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, I, 16-18, 93-102.

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233. James, *Khentika*, pp. 30-32, 60-66.
234. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32, pl. XXXIX.
235. Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 204-205; Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, II, pl. 58. See also Garnot, *L'Appel aux vivants*, p. 34.
236. Junker, *Giza* III, pp. 99-101.
237. Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, II, pl. 6 C.
238. *Ibid.*, I, 94-96.
239. *Ibid.*, II, pl. 6 D.
240. *Ibid.*, pl. 6 B.
241. *Ibid.*, pl. 6 E.
242. *Ibid.*, pl. 6 A.
243. *Ibid.*, I, 171.
244. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
245. *Ibid.*, p. 171 n. 2.
246. Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture*, pp. 213, 255.
247. James, *Khentika*, pp. 12-13.
248. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
249. Wolf, *Kunst Ägyptens*, p. 246.
250. W. Fr. von Bissing and Bruckman, *Denkmäler zur ägyptischen Sculptur* (Munich, 1911), p. 150.
251. Davies, *Ptahhetep*, I, pl. XXV.
252. H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* I (Glückstadt, 1935), 64, no. 2.
253. *Ibid.*, p. 47, no. 6.
254. *Ibid.*, p. 165, no. 7.
255. *Ibid.*, p. 237, no. 24.
256. *Ibid.*, p. 62, no. 19.
257. *Ibid.*, p. 379, no. 4.
258. *Ibid.*, p. 384, no. 15.
259. *Ibid.*, p. 326, no. 11.
260. *Ibid.*, p. 196, no. 23.
261. *Ibid.*, p. 39, no. 24.
262. *Ibid.*, p. 308, no. 6.
263. *Ibid.*, p. 395, no. 5.
264. *Ibid.*, p. 67, no. 2.
265. Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 111-113.
266. Junker, *Giza* II, pp. 46-54.
267. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 133.
268. *Ibid.*, II, p. 160; see Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 23, for "protector of Nekhen." For "overlord of El Kab," see Junker, *Giza* I, p. 160; II, p. 34. The title is also found at Mereruka and Kagemni.
269. *Wb.*, III, 484.
270. Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 172.
271. Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 116-117.
272. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 165; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 73.
273. Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 170; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 74.
274. James, *Khentika*, pp. 37-38, inscription 8.
275. Junker, *Giza* VII, p. 27.
276. Firth and Gunn, *TPC*, I, 105 n. 6; Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 128.
277. Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 176; Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 98-99, 113.
278. Junker, *Giza* II, p. 164.
279. *Wb.*, I, 284.
280. Junker, *Giza* VII, p. 27; X, p. 183; Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 195 n. 3, 210-212.
281. Junker, *Giza* IV, p. 37.
282. *Wb.*, I, 350.

Figures for 'Ankhm'ahor

(All wall scenes are reduced 1:5, except figs. 16, 38, 44, 57, 58, 60, 64.)

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- 61a-b. *Pillar 5: east and north faces.*
 62. *Pillar 1.*
 63. *Pillars 2 and 3.*

64. *Cross-section of shaft and sarcophagus chamber.*

Plates for 'Ankhm'ahor

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| 20. <i>Area of facade north of entrance.</i> | 46. <i>Marching desert animals and overpowering the ox (north thickness of doorway II-III).</i> |
| 21. <i>North thickness of doorway.</i> | 47. <i>Marching desert animals and overpowering the ox (south thickness of doorway II-III).</i> |
| 22. <i>Portrait on north thickness of entrance.</i> | 48. <i>Perspective of central room III looking toward magazine (right).</i> |
| 23. <i>South thickness of entrance doorway.</i> | 49. <i>'Ankhm'ahor in full regalia meets offering-bearers (III, east).</i> |
| 24. <i>Area of facade south of entrance.</i> | 50. <i>Detail of necklace with Bat pendant (III, east).</i> |
| 25. <i>Detail of portrait of 'Ankhm'ahor (after Capart, Rue).</i> | 51. <i>Hepi preceding offering-bearers (west thickness of doorway III-IV).</i> |
| 26. <i>Harvesting and fording scenes (I, east).</i> | 52. <i>Figure of Hapi (III-IV, west).</i> |
| 27. <i>Aggressive donkey (I, east).</i> | 53. <i>Offering-bearers (III-IV, east).</i> |
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| 32. <i>Market scenes (I, north).</i> | 58. <i>'Ankhm'ahor meeting his brother Tjemerw and retainers with offerings (III, west).</i> |
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| 35. <i>Craftsman at work (II, south).</i> | 61. <i>Scenes from slaughter cycle (IV, east).</i> |
| 36. <i>Goldsmith weighing ingots (II, south).</i> | 62. <i>Two butchers at work on an ox (detail of slaughter scene, IV, east).</i> |
| 37. <i>Craftsmen blowing into furnace (II, south).</i> | 63. <i>Procession of offering-bearers striding toward false-door (IV, south).</i> |
| 38. <i>Mesi painting a statue of 'Ankhm'ahor. The small statue of a son was hammered out (II, south).</i> | 64. <i>Procession of offering-bearers striding toward false-door (IV, north).</i> |
| 39. <i>Two dwarfs stringing a collar (II, south).</i> | |
| 40. <i>Hepi bringing fowl in the hunting scene (II, west).</i> | |
| 41. <i>Fowling with clapnet (II, west).</i> | |
| 42. <i>Detail of a balding marsh fowler (II, west).</i> | |
| 43. <i>Marsh fowler with dropsy of the scrotum (detail of fowling scene, II, west).</i> | |
| 44. <i>Marsh fowler afflicted with hernia of the navel (II, west).</i> | |

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65. *Funerary equipment carried and stored in magazine (V, east; after Capart, Rue, pl. LXV).*
66. *South anta of alcove in room VI (north face).*
67. *Ballet (VI, south, in alcove).*
68. *'Ankhn'ahor and his sons (VI, east, in alcove).*
69. *Tending cattle (VI, north, in alcove).*
70. *Inscription in sunk relief on north anta (west face).*
71. *Funeral of 'Ankhn'ahor (VI, south).*
72. *Wailing women following funeral procession (VI, south).*
73. *Freight boats moored (VI, upper block, south).*
74. *Pillar 5: east face.*
75. *Pillar 5: south face.*
76. *Pillar 1: north face.*
77. *Sarcophagus chamber: east wall murals (after Firth and Gunn, TPC, II, pl. 6).*
78. *Sarcophagus chamber: south wall (after Firth and Gunn, TPC, II, pl. 6).*
- 79a-b. *Sarcophagus chamber: west wall (after Firth and Gunn, TPC, II, pl. 6).*
80. *Sarcophagus chamber: north wall (photograph corrected; after Firth and Gunn, TPC, II, pl. 6).*
- 81a. *Hieroglyphs for owl and town (east thickness of doorway III-IV).*
- b. *Same hieroglyphs from opposed thickness (III-IV, west).*
82. *Detail of hieroglyphs showing splendid carving (east thickness of doorway III-IV).*
83. *Basket without straps (III, north, lower register).*
84. *Basket hanging from straps (III, north, upper register).*
85. *Two young animals wrapped back to back in mat (IV, north).*
86. *Young birds in sack (IV, north).*
87. *Jewelry displayed on tables (III, south).*
88. *Ox head (detail of slaughter scene, IV, east).*
- 89a-b. *Two portraits of Hapi (II, west, and II-IV, west).*
90. *Hyena that became a calf: a modified relief that proves 'Ankhn'ahor's control of his sculptors (IV, north, lower).*

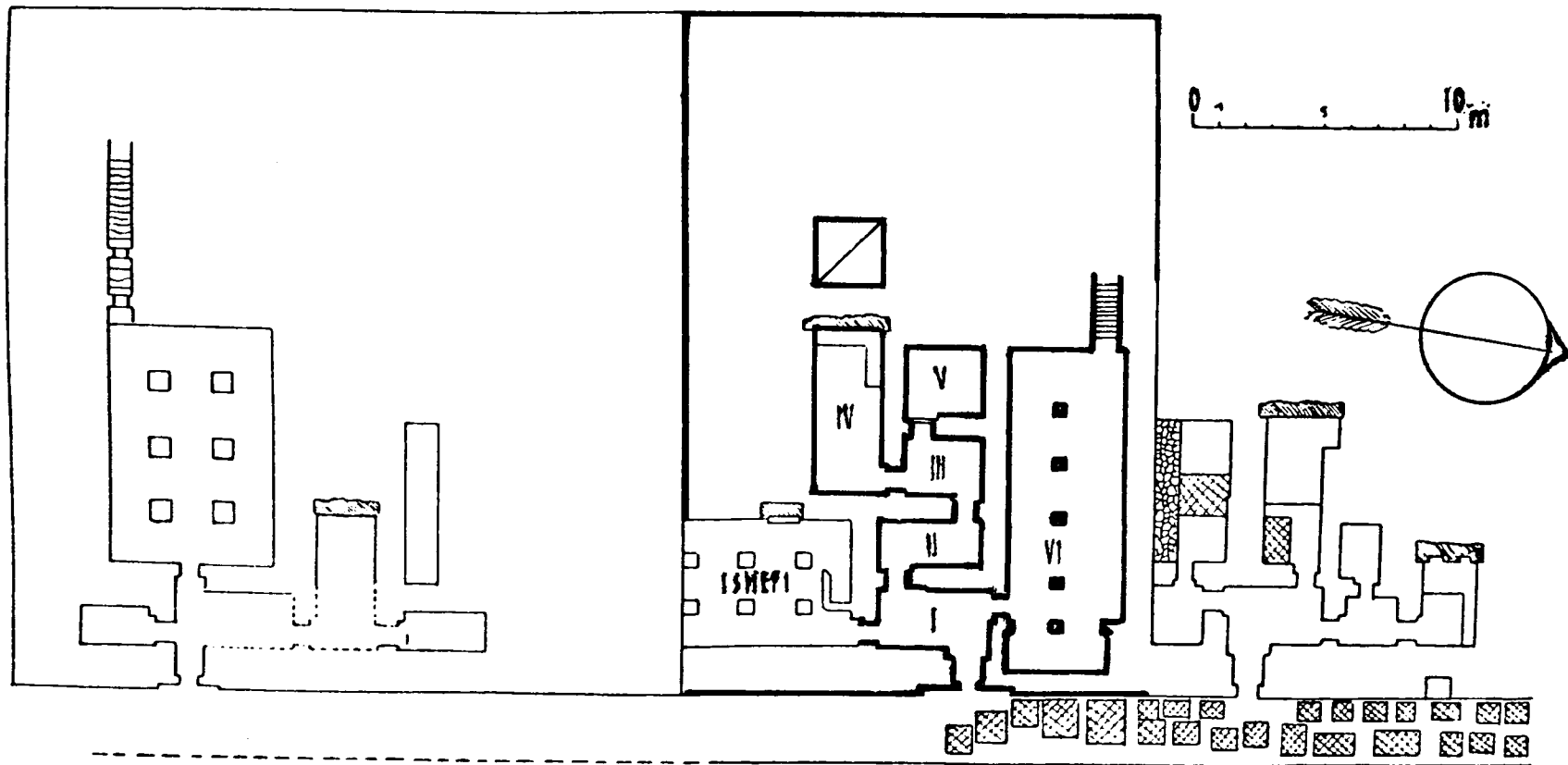


Fig. 16. Situation map.

Note: The Figures and Plates that follow are arranged as ordered in the original book, which is not strictly numerical.

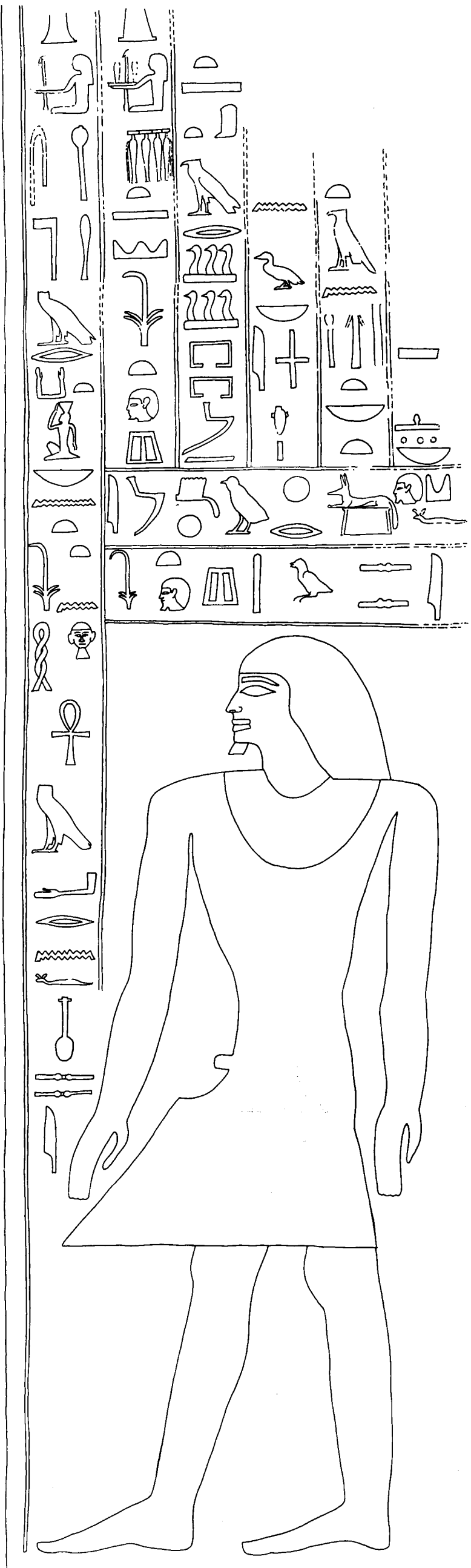


Fig. 18. North doorjamb.

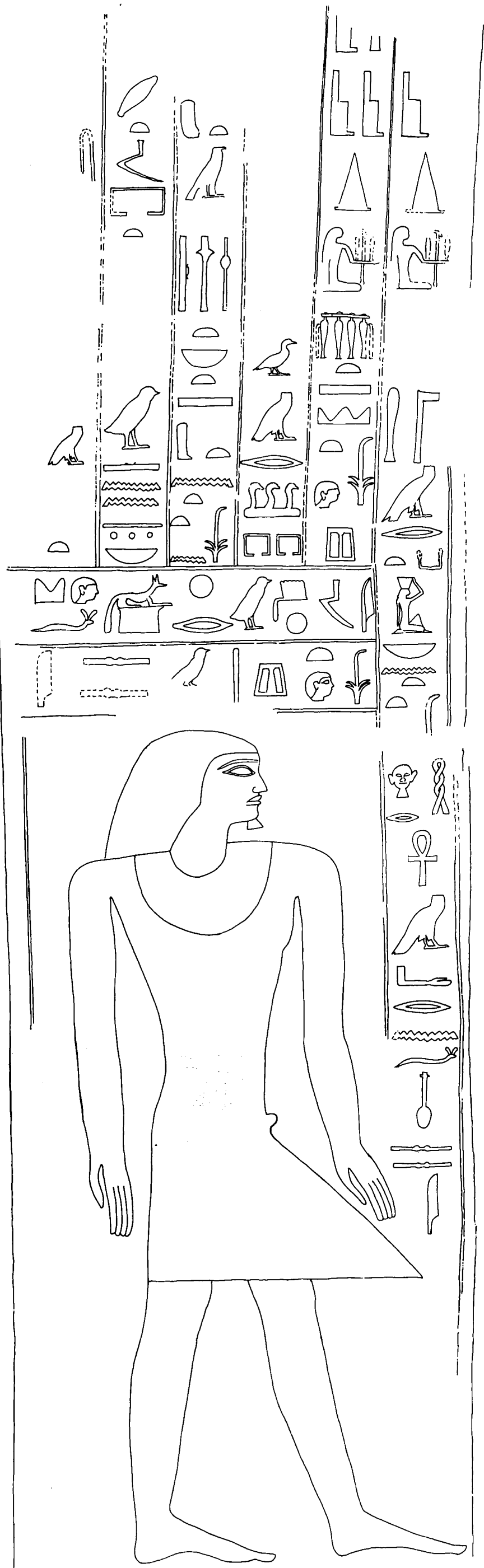


Fig. 19. South doorjamb.

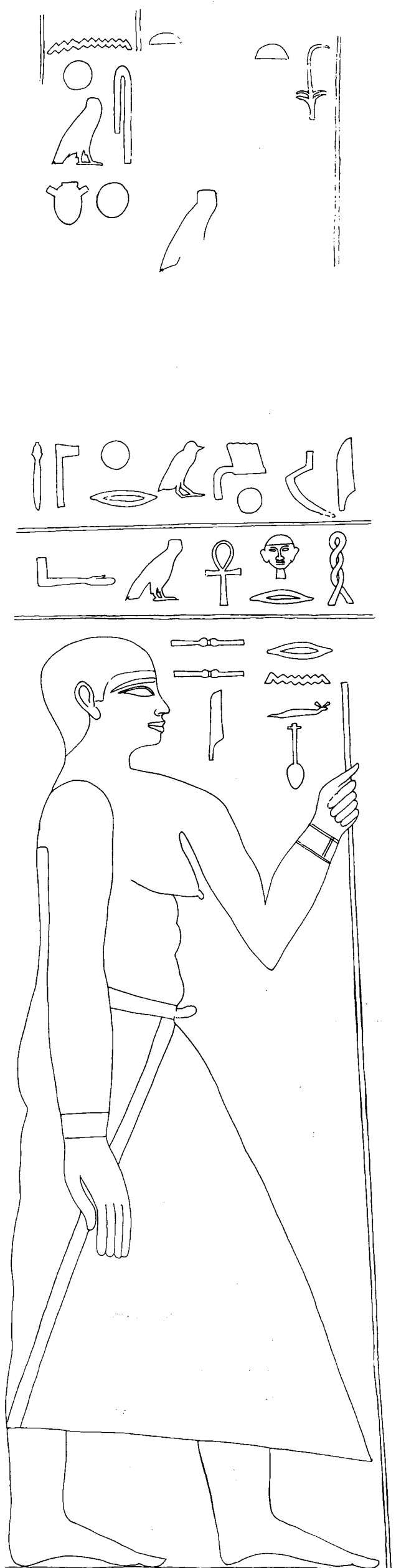


Fig. 20. North thickness of entrance doorway.

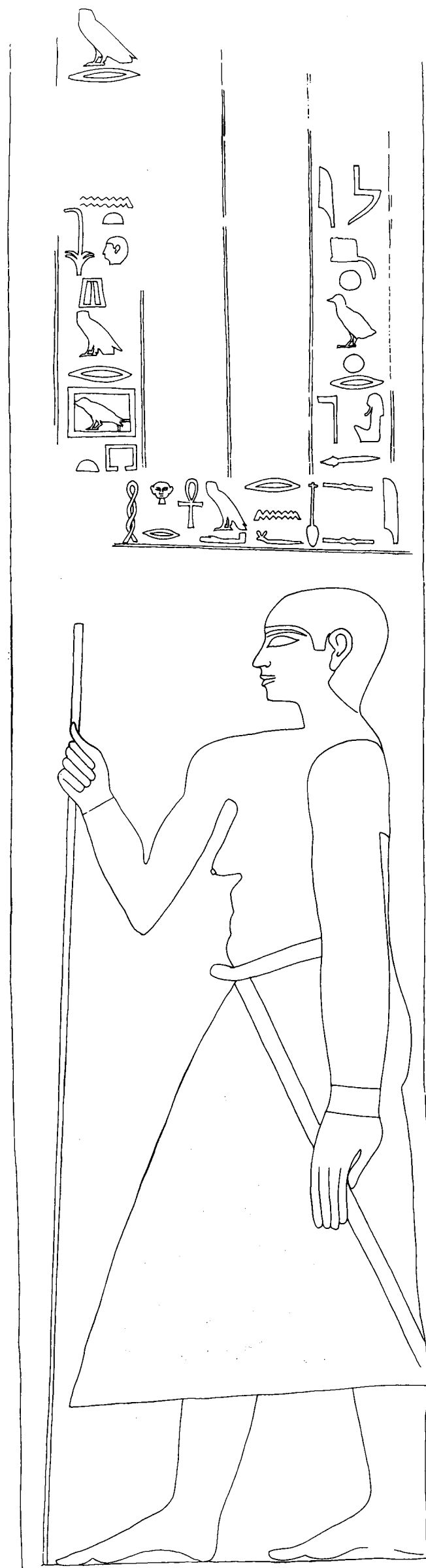


Fig. 21. South thickness of entrance doorway.

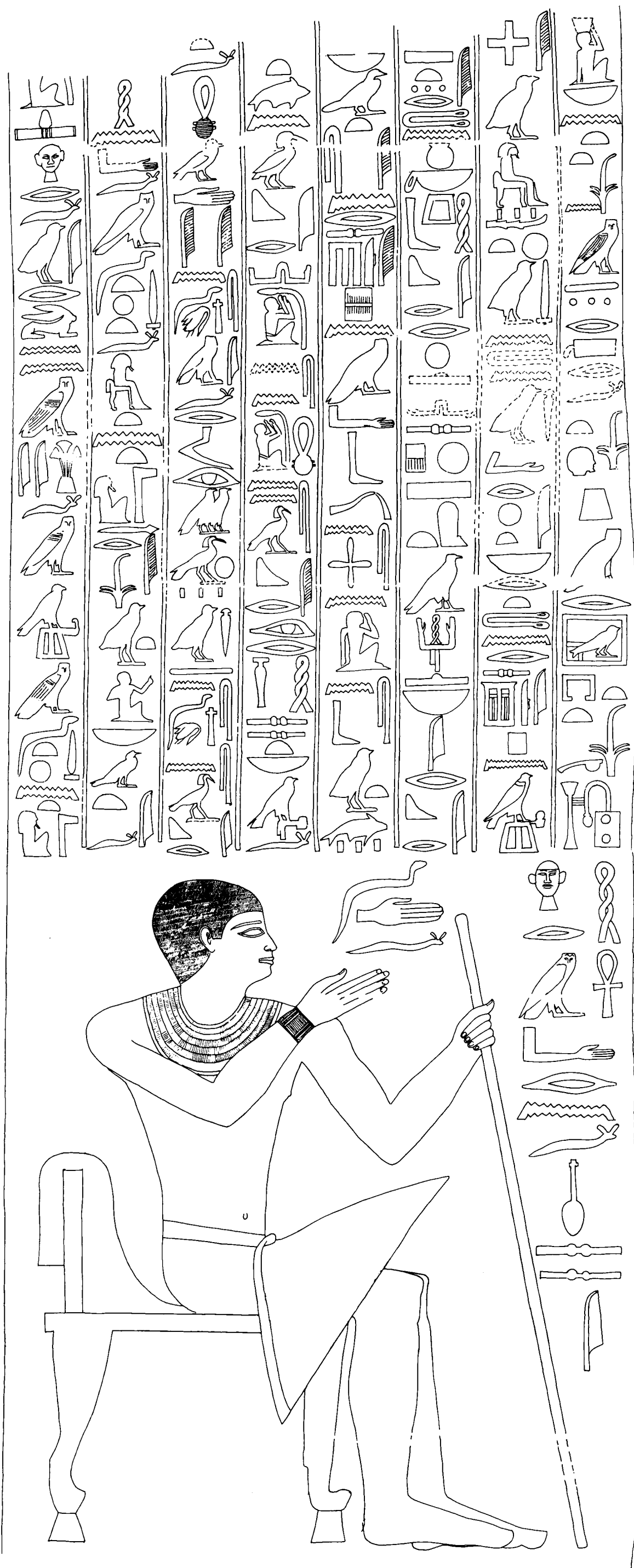


Fig. 23. South area of facade recess.

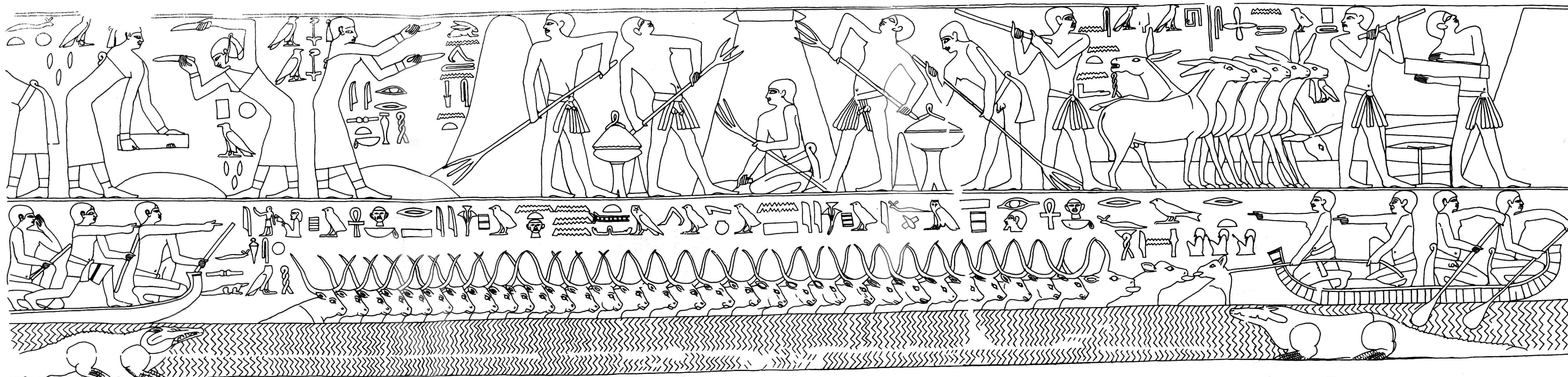


Fig. 24. Harvesting and fording scenes (room I, east wall).

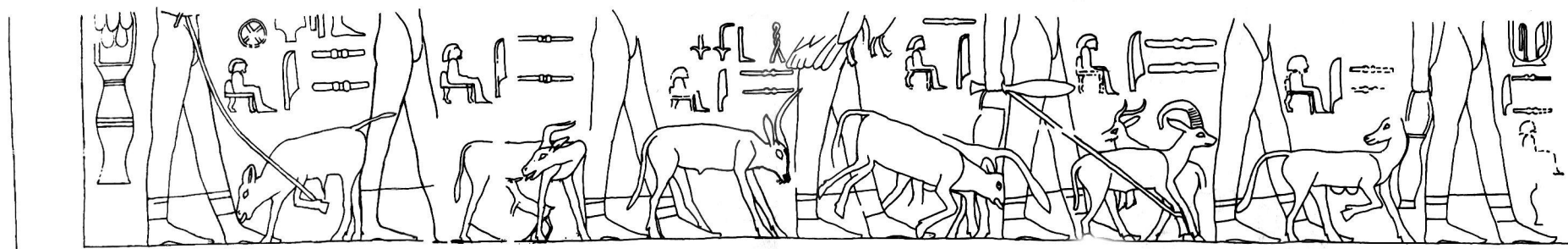


Fig. 25. Procession of personifications of estates (I, south).

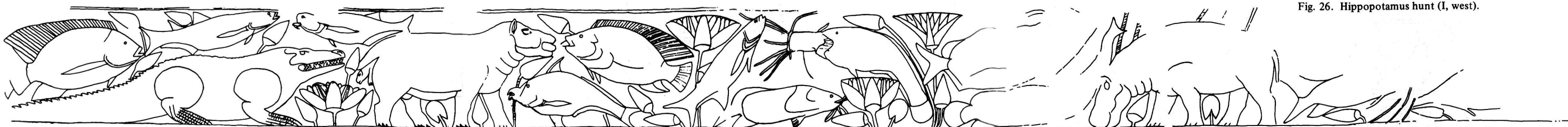


Fig. 26. Hippopotamus hunt (I, west).



Fig. 30. Barter scene (south thickness of doorway I-II).



Fig. 31. Barter scene (north thickness of doorway I-II).

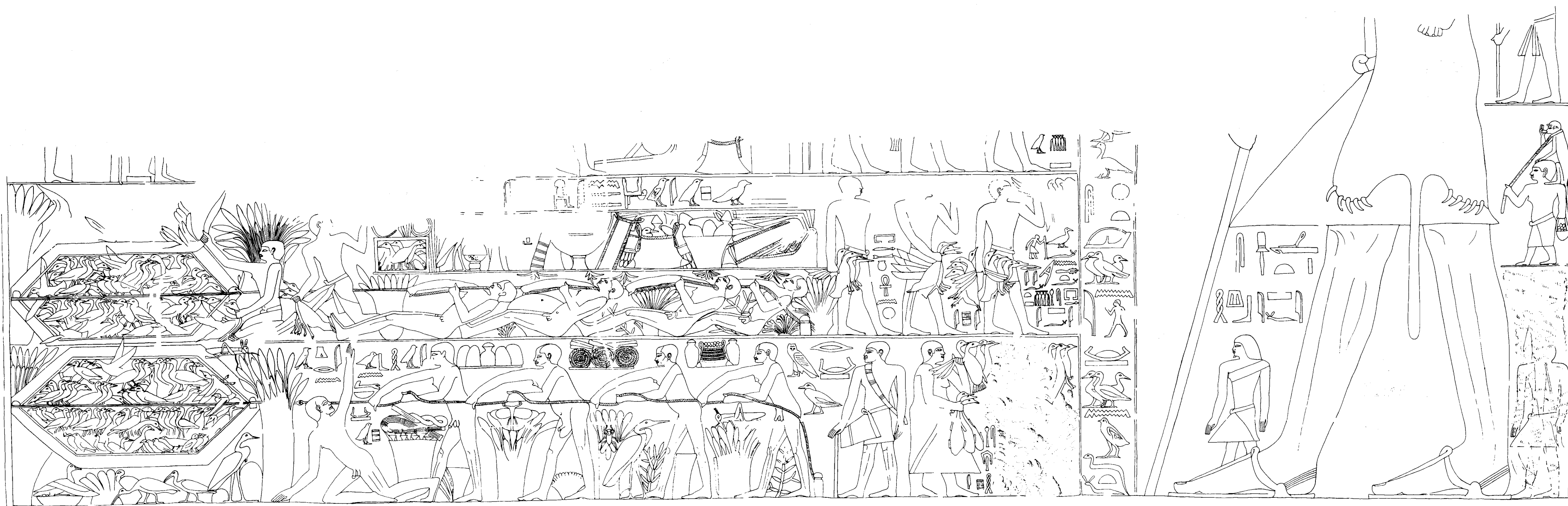


Fig. 33. Fowling with clapnet (II, west).

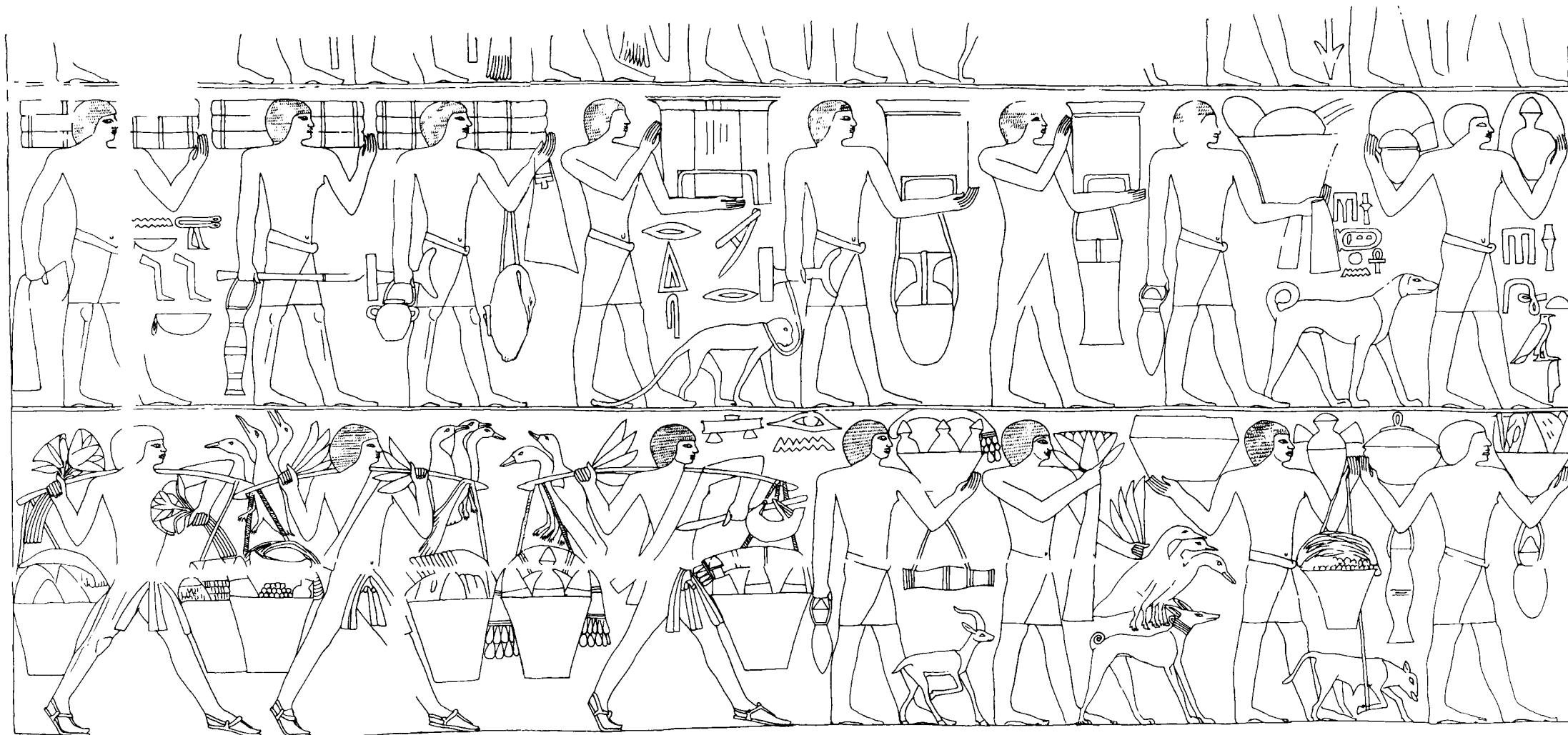


Fig. 34. Offering-bearers (II, north).

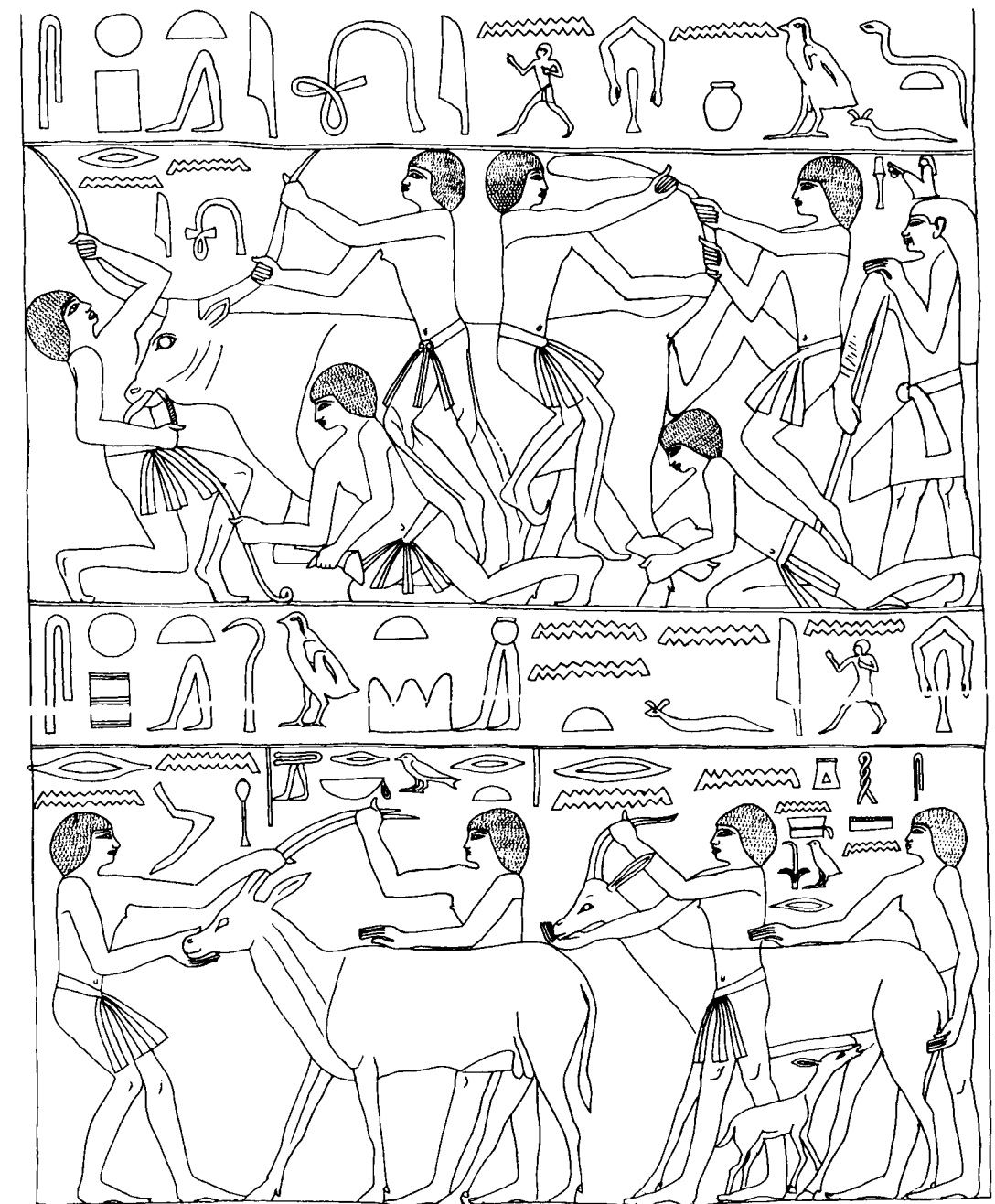


Fig. 35. Marching desert animals and overpowering the ox (north thickness of doorway II-III).

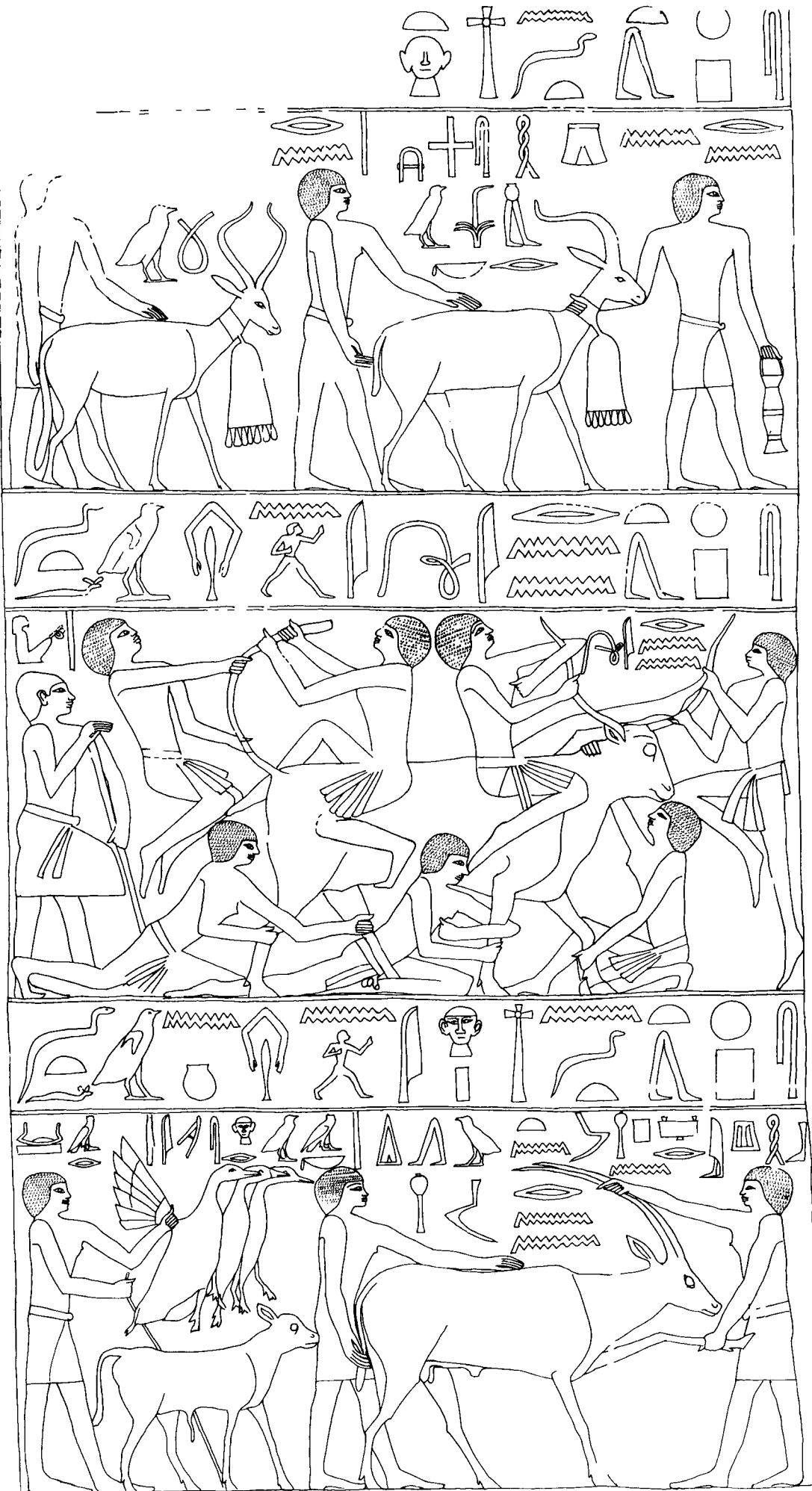


Fig. 36. Marching desert animals and overpowering the ox
(south thickness of doorway II-III).

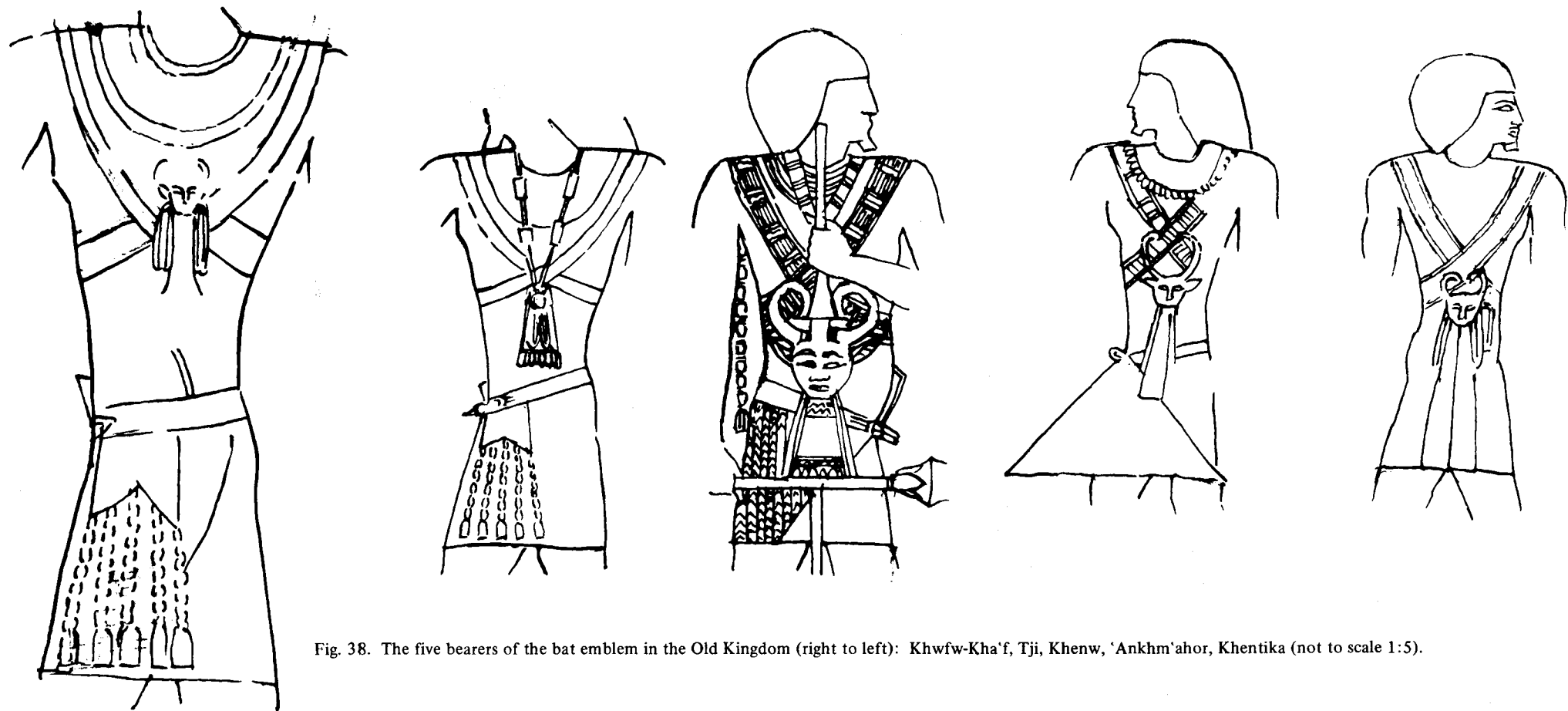


Fig. 38. The five bearers of the bat emblem in the Old Kingdom (right to left): Khwfw-Kha'f, Tji, Khenw, 'Ankhm'ahor, Khentika (not to scale 1:5).

Fig. 37 on next page.

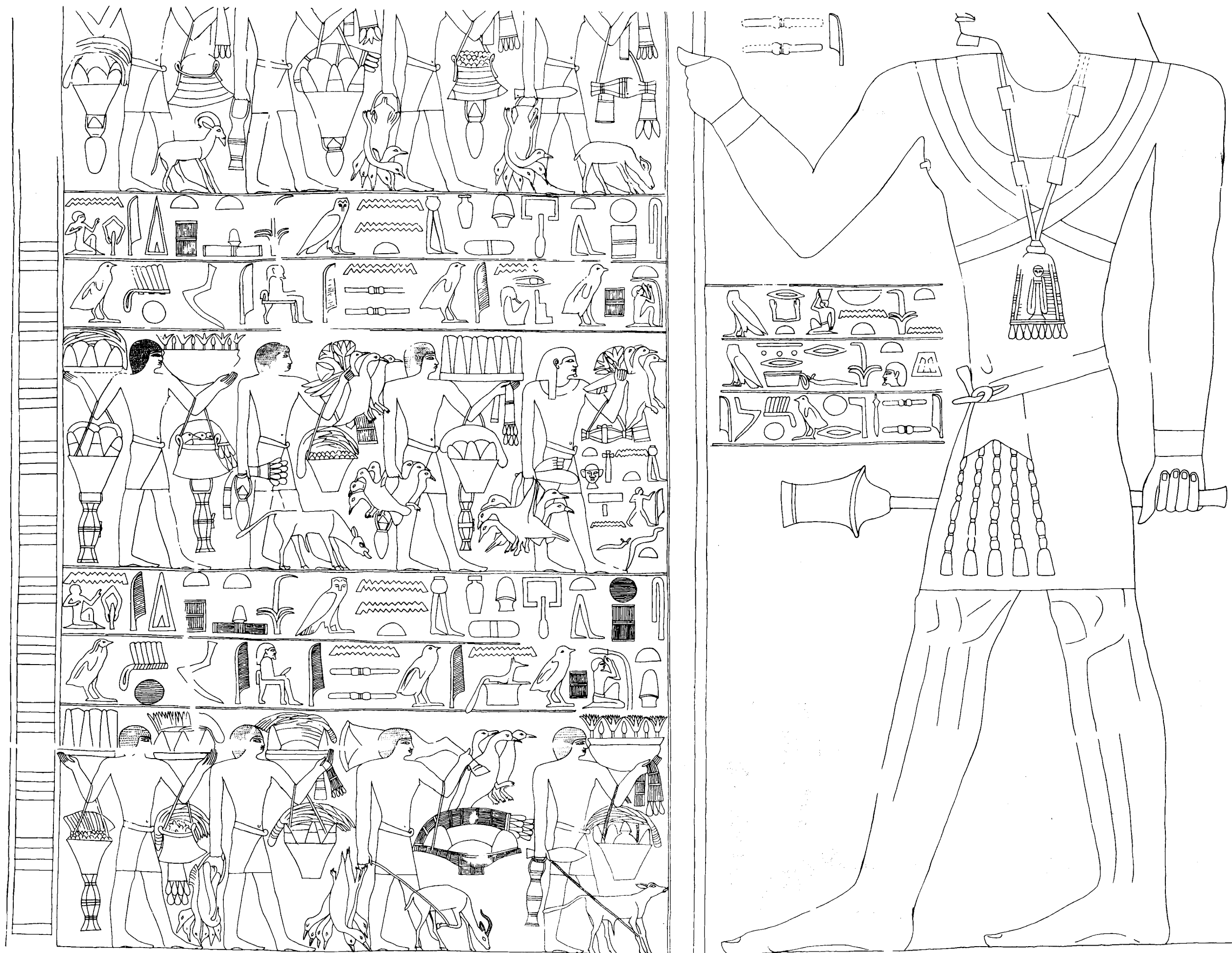


Fig. 37. 'Ankhm'ahor in full regalia meets offering-bearers (III, east).

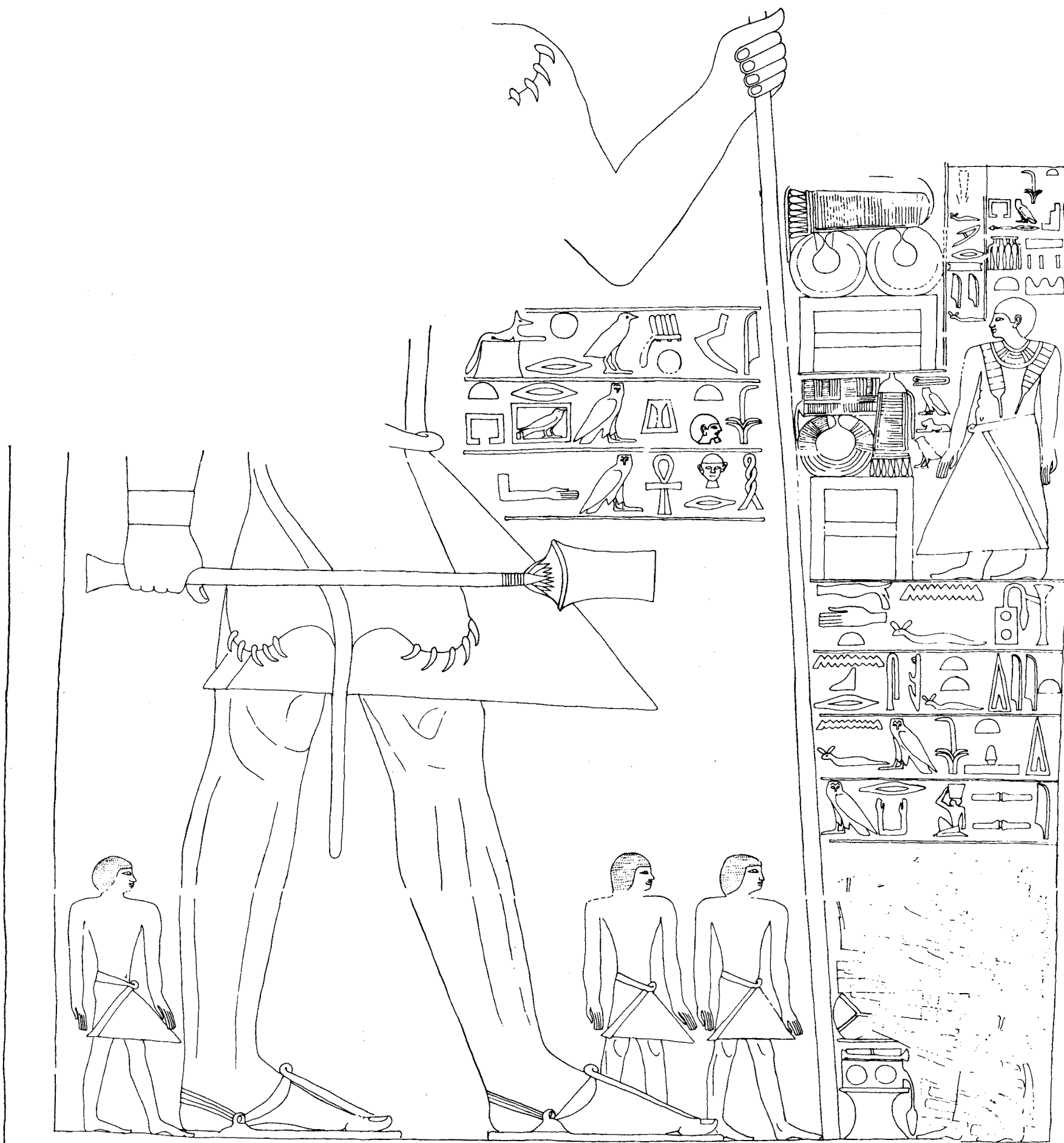


Fig. 41. Reading donation deed for funerary equipment (III, south).

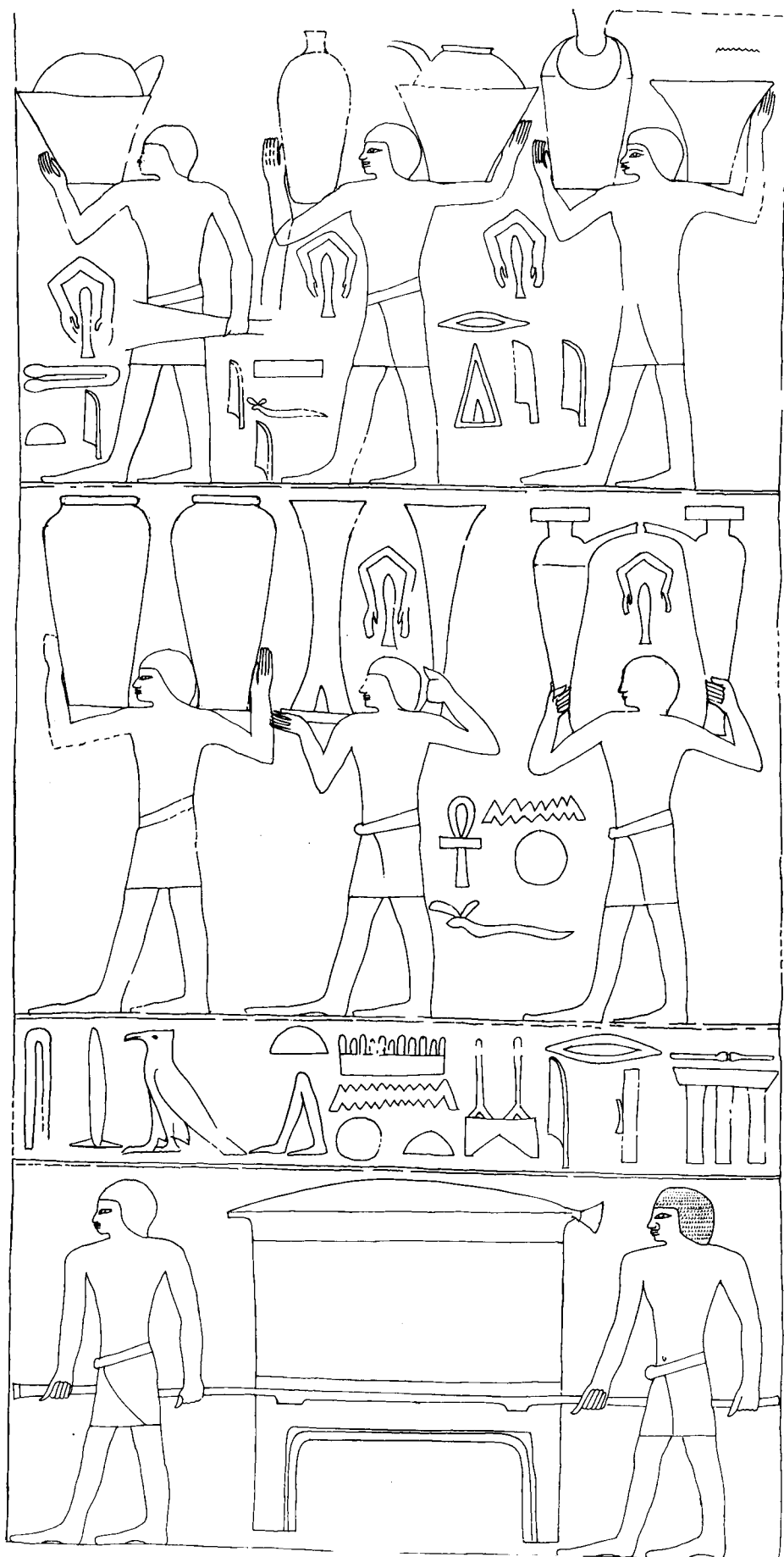


Fig. 42. Carrying funerary equipment to the magazine (north thickness of doorway III-V).

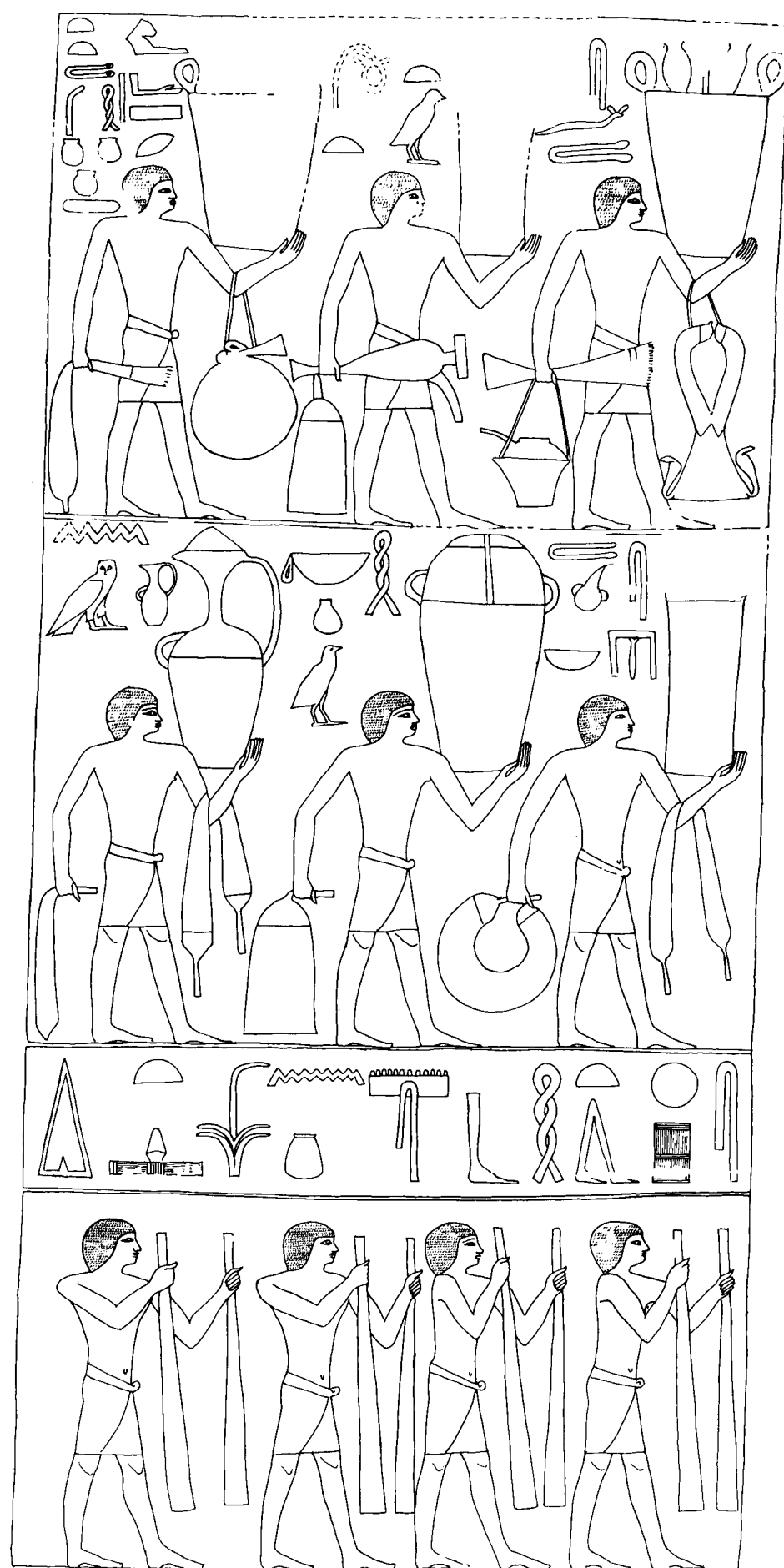


Fig. 43. Carrying funerary equipment to the magazine (south thickness of doorway III-V).

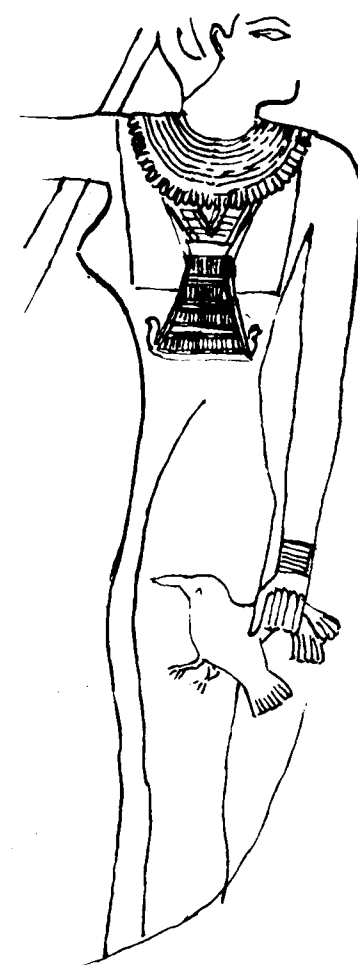


Fig. 44. Pendant with two uraei worn by Mereruka's wife (not to scale 1:5).

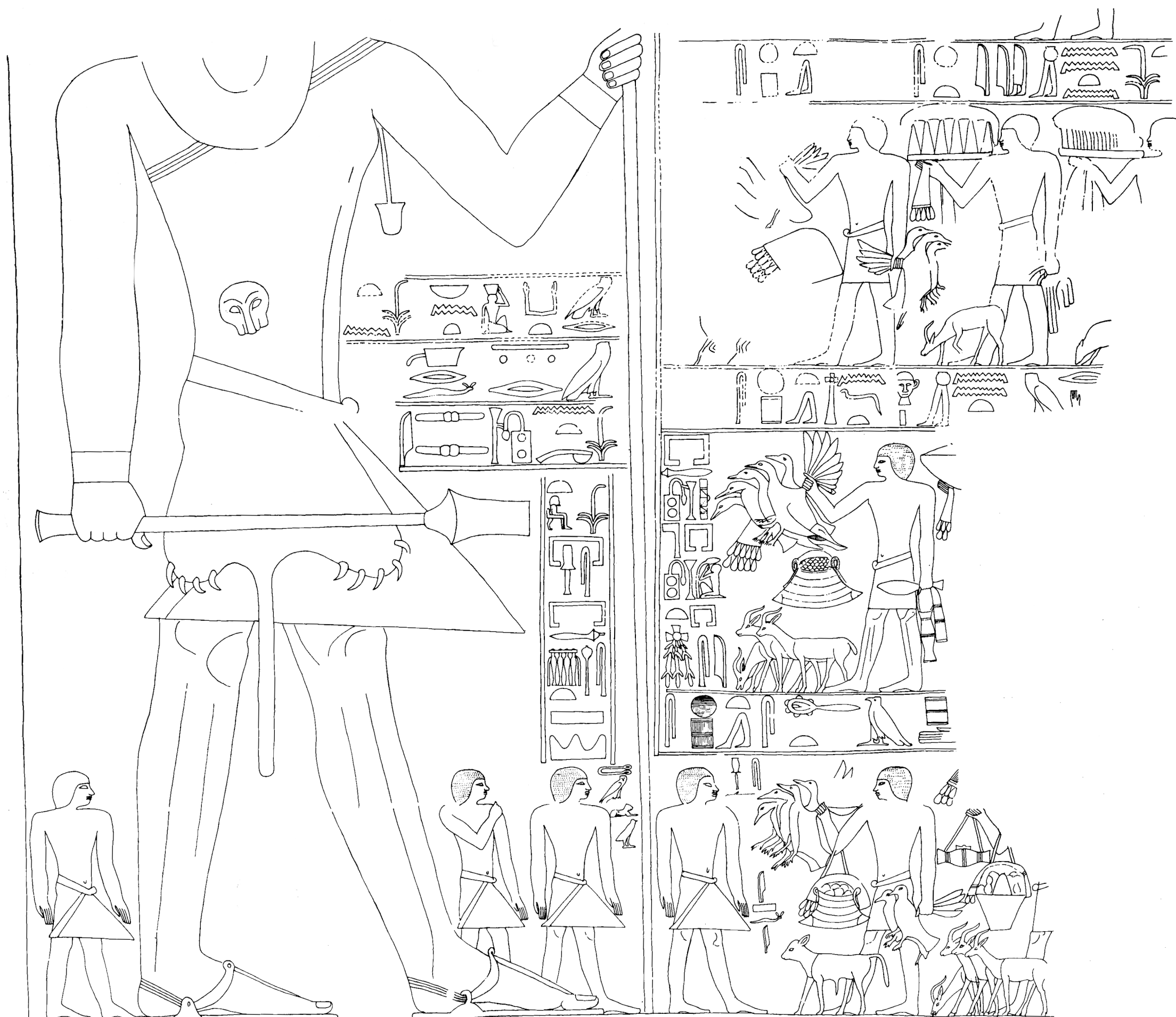


Fig. 45. 'Ankhm'ahor meeting his brother Tjemerw and other retainers (III, west).

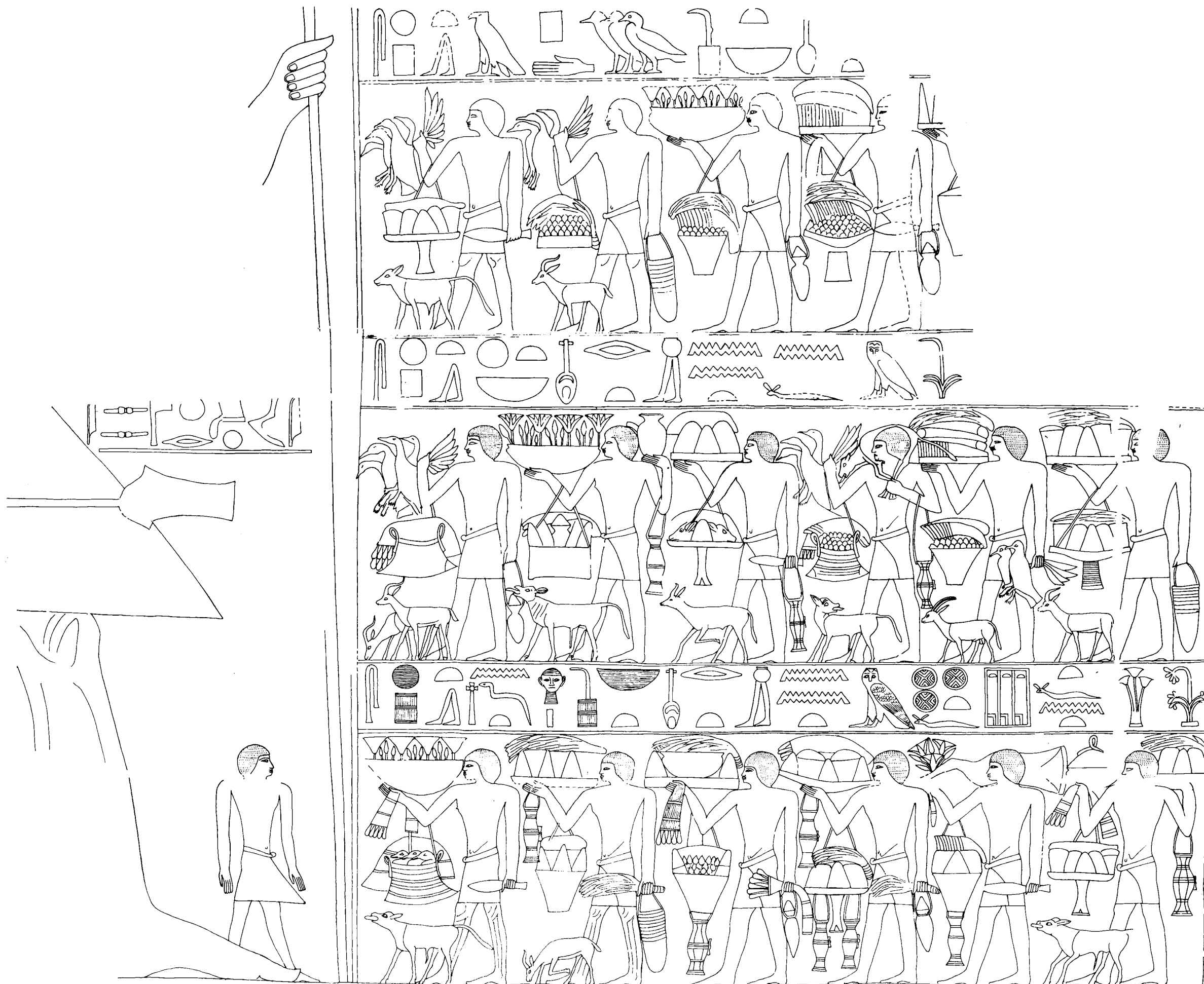


Fig. 46. 'Ankhem'ahor meeting offering-bearers (III, north).



Fig. 47. Scenes from slaughter cycle (IV, east).

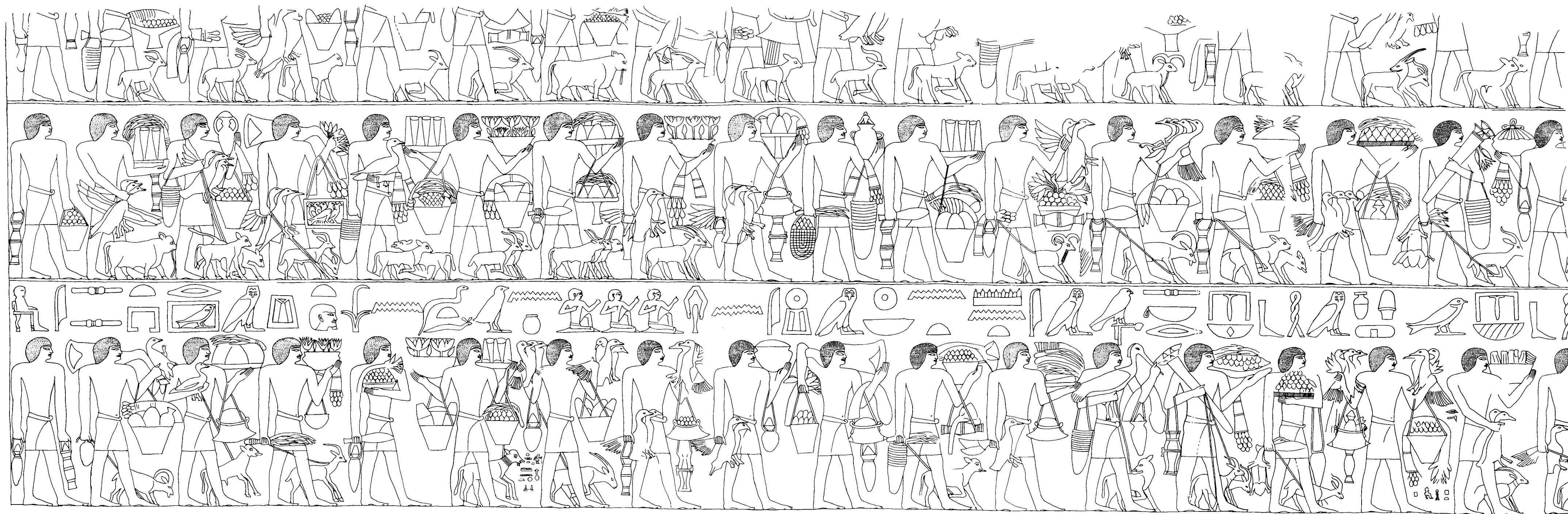


Fig. 48. Procession of offering-bearers striding toward false-door (IV, south).

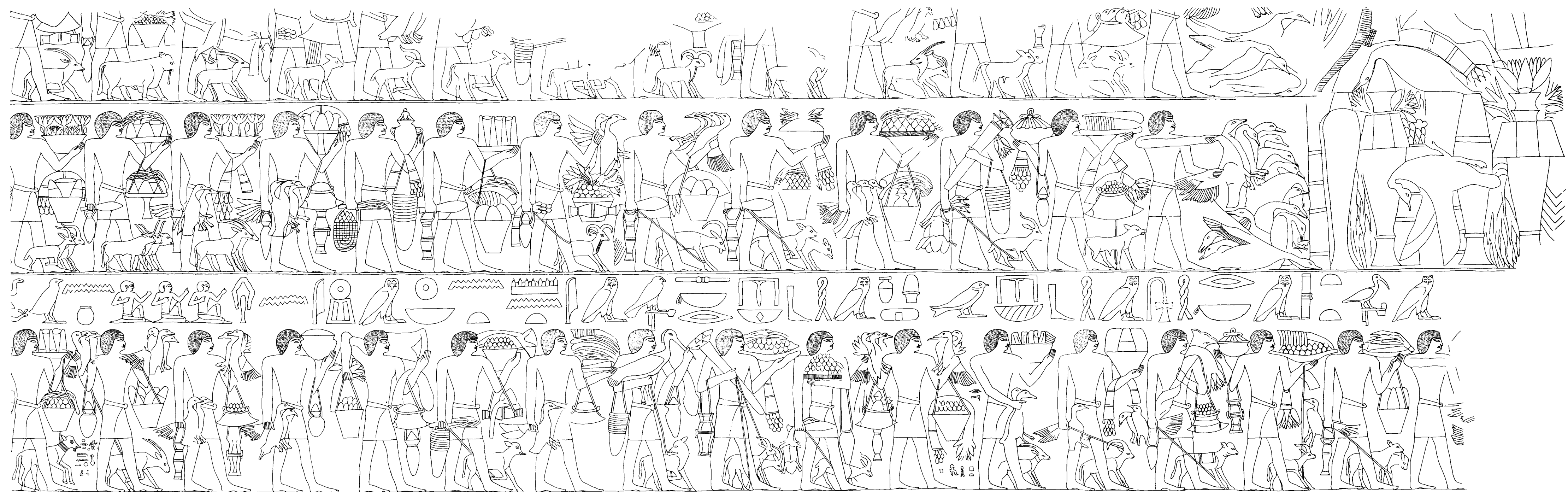


Fig. 48 (continued). Procession of offering-bearers striding toward false door.



Fig. 49. Procession of offering-bearers striding toward false-door (IV, north).

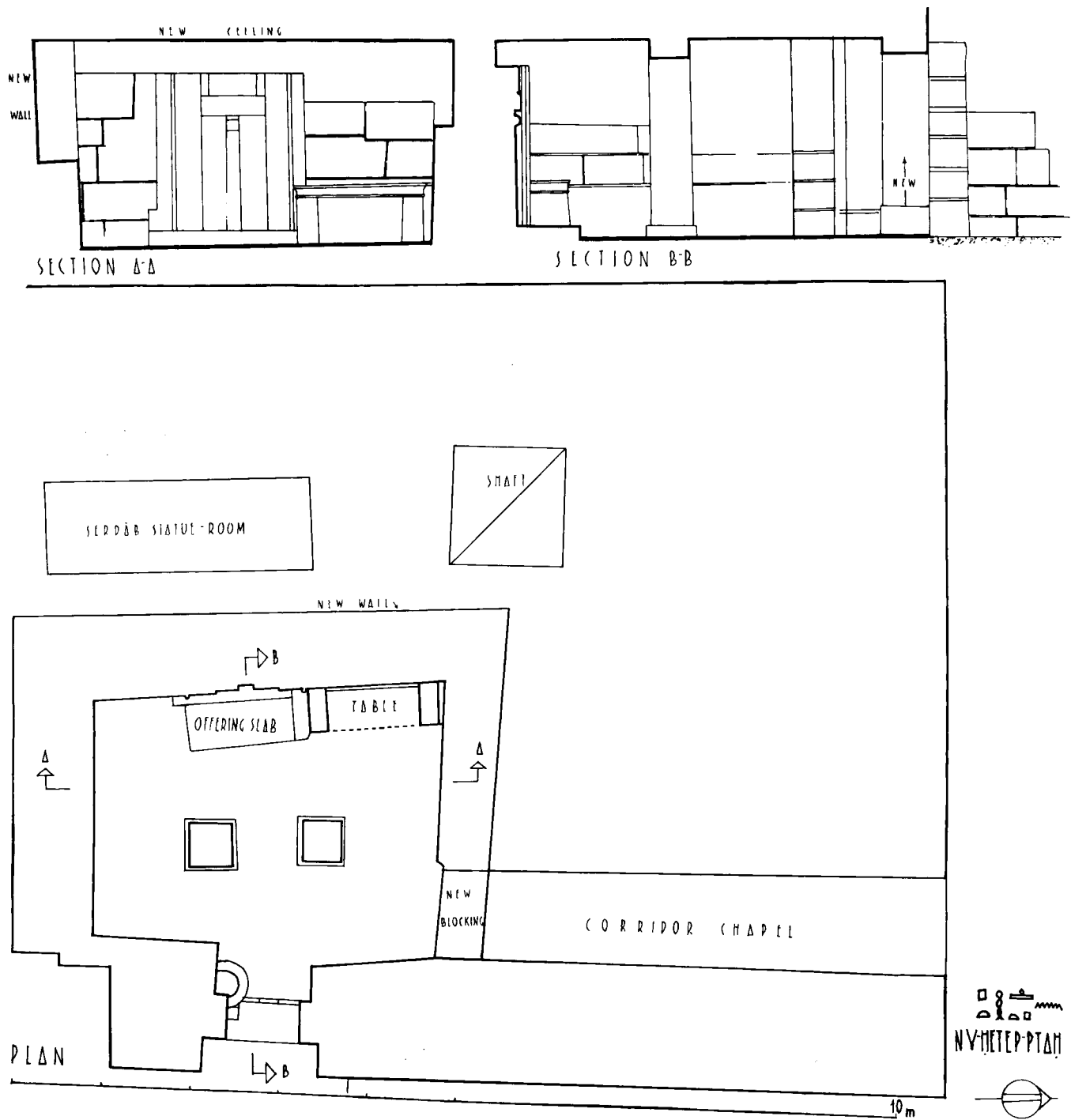


Fig. 17. Plan of superstructure of mastaba of 'Ankhm'ahor.

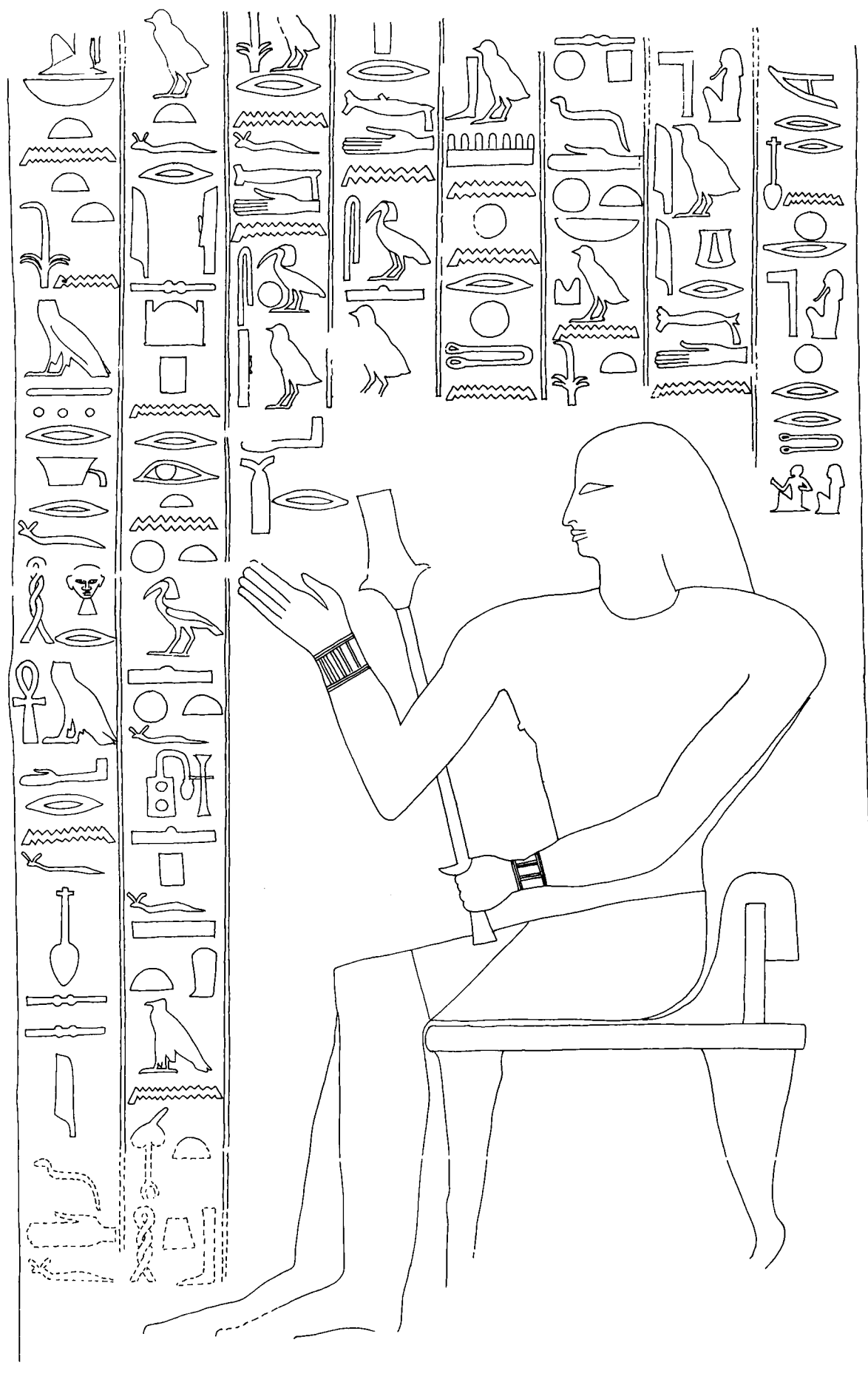


Fig. 22. North area of facade recess.



Fig. 27. Circumcision and massaging (east thickness of doorway I-VI).

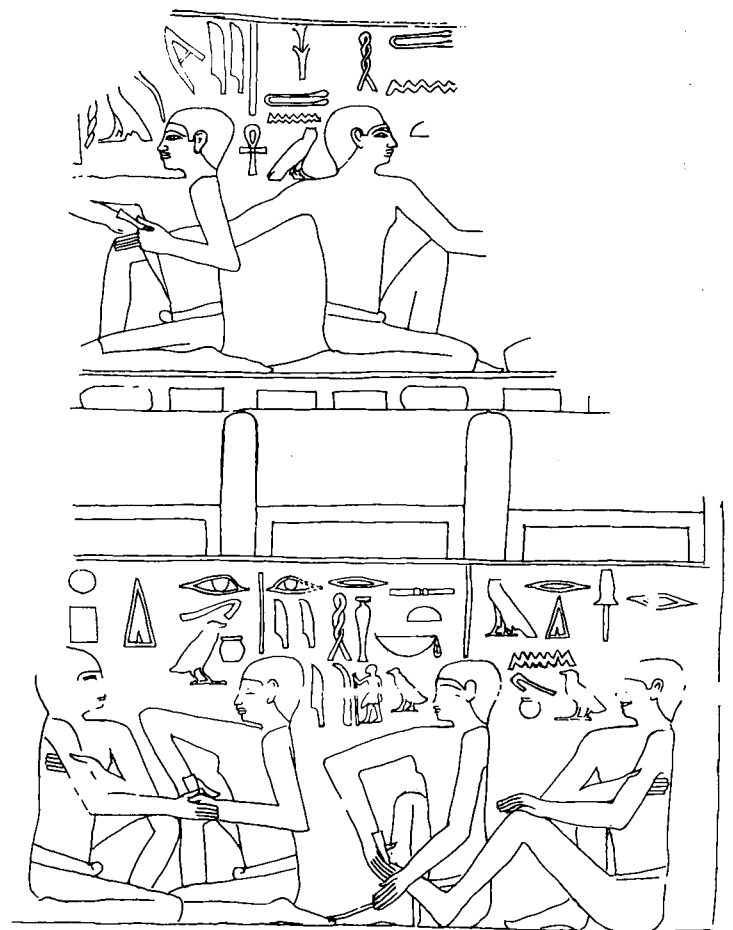


Fig. 28. Treatment of hands and feet (west thickness of doorway I-VI).

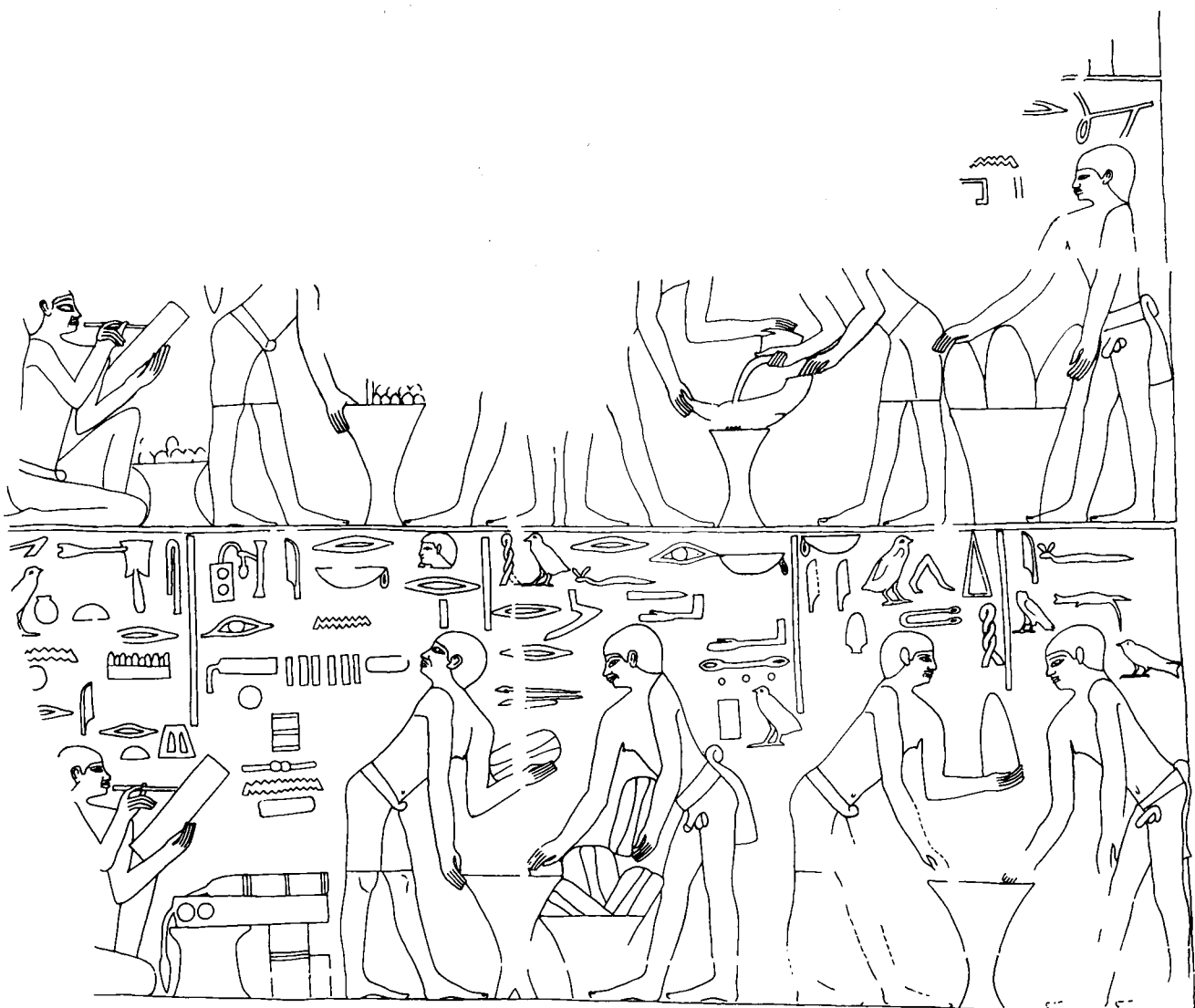


Fig. 29. Market scenes (I, north).

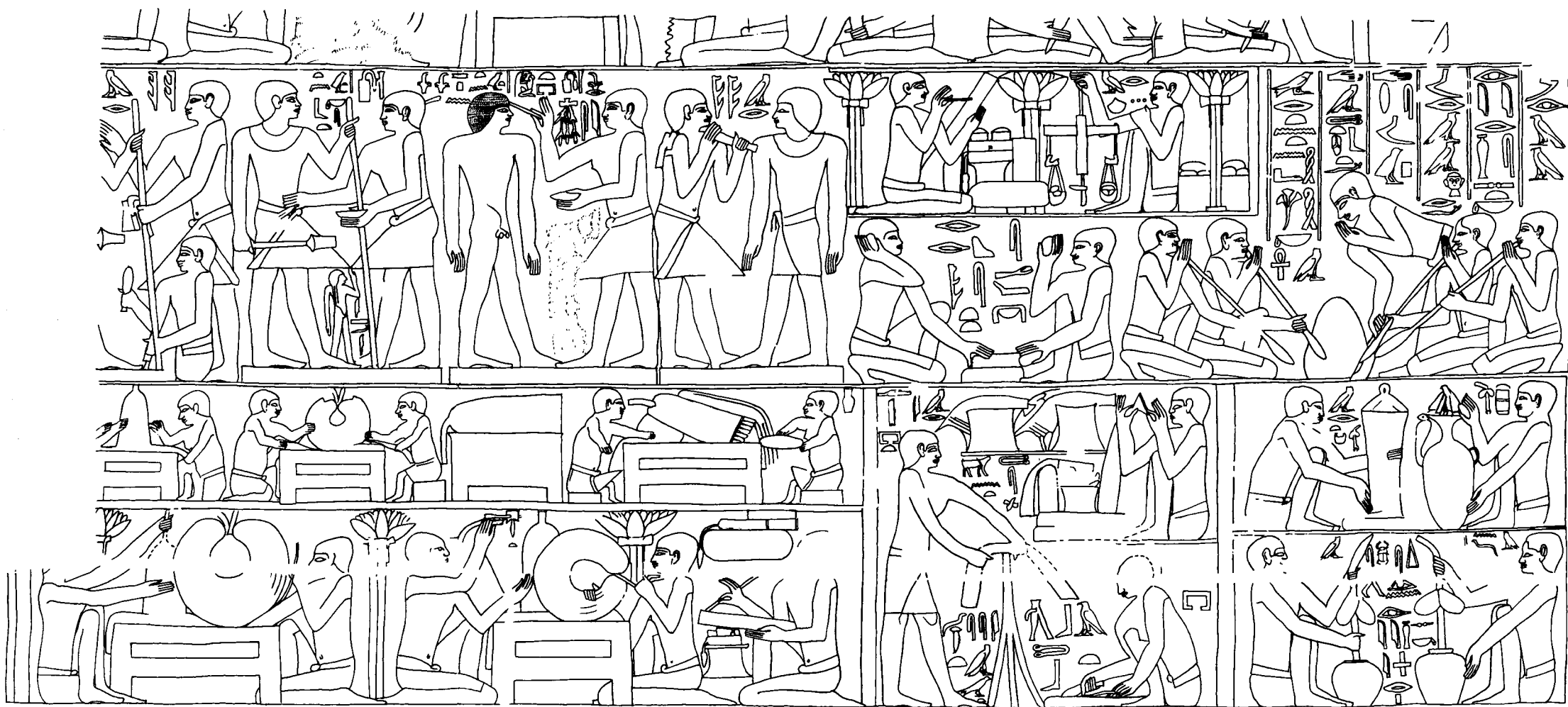


Fig. 32. Craftsmen at work (II, south).

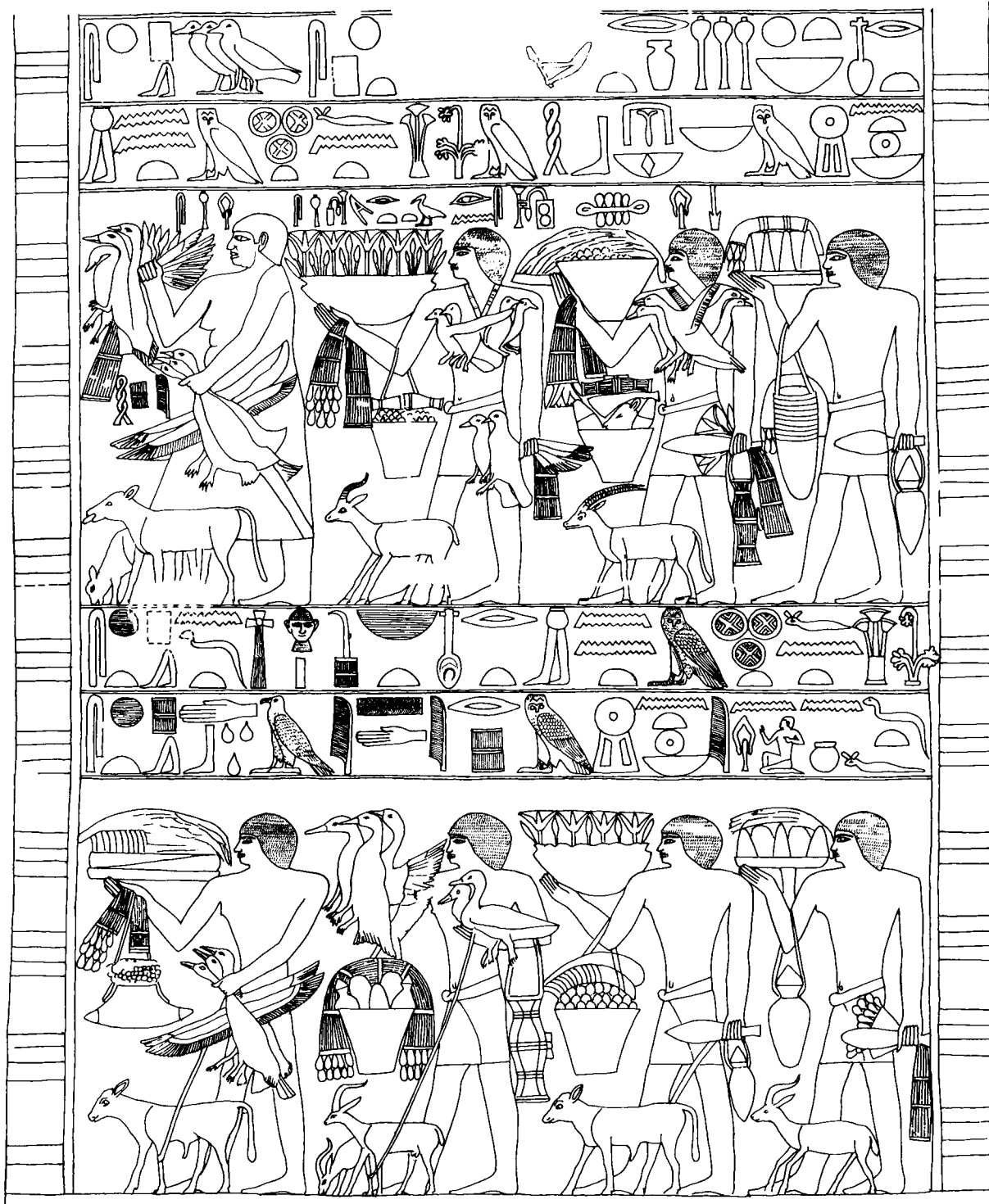


Fig. 39. Hapi and offering-bearers (west thickness of doorway III-IV).

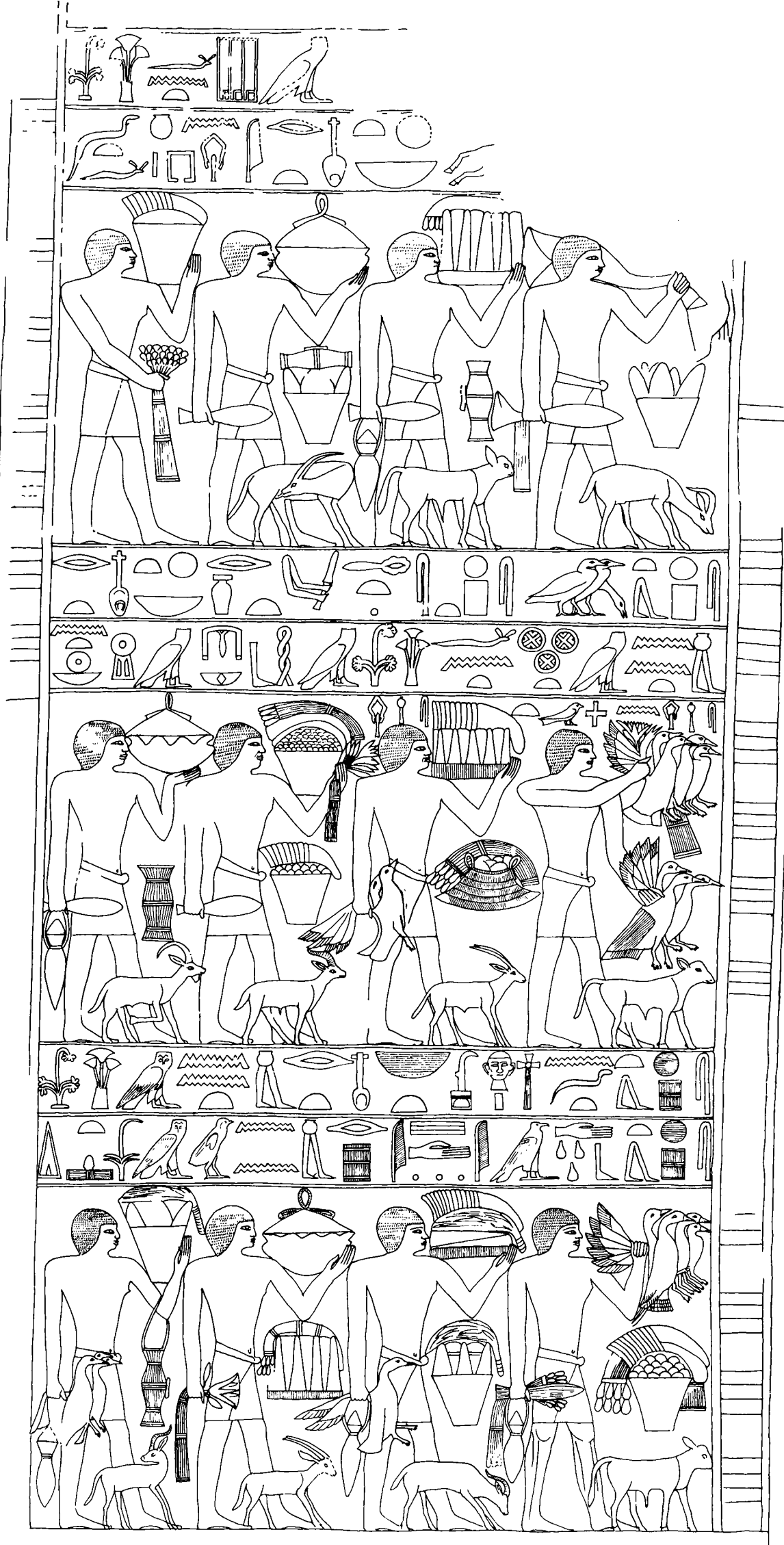


Fig. 40. Offering-bearers
(east thickness of door-
way III-IV).

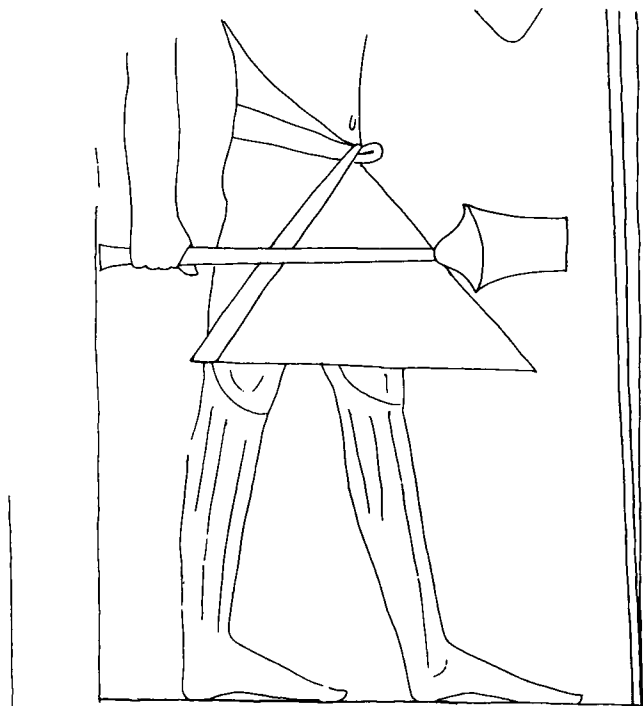


Fig. 50. South anta of alcove in room VI (north face).

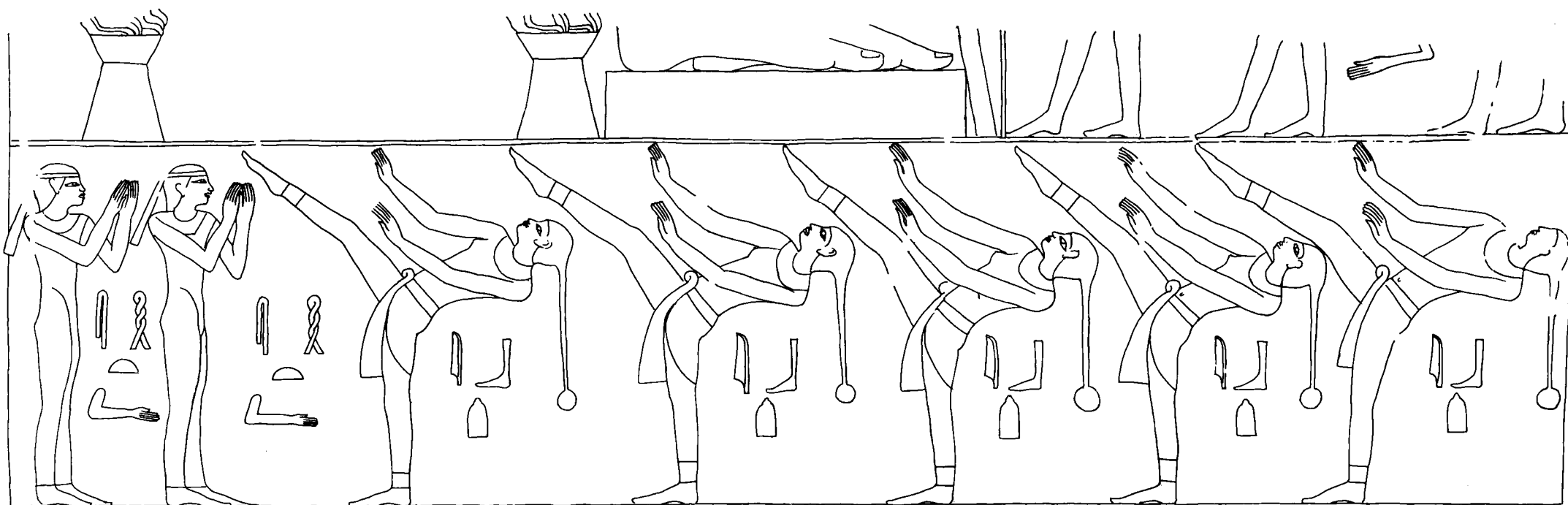


Fig. 51. Ballet (VI, south, in alcove).

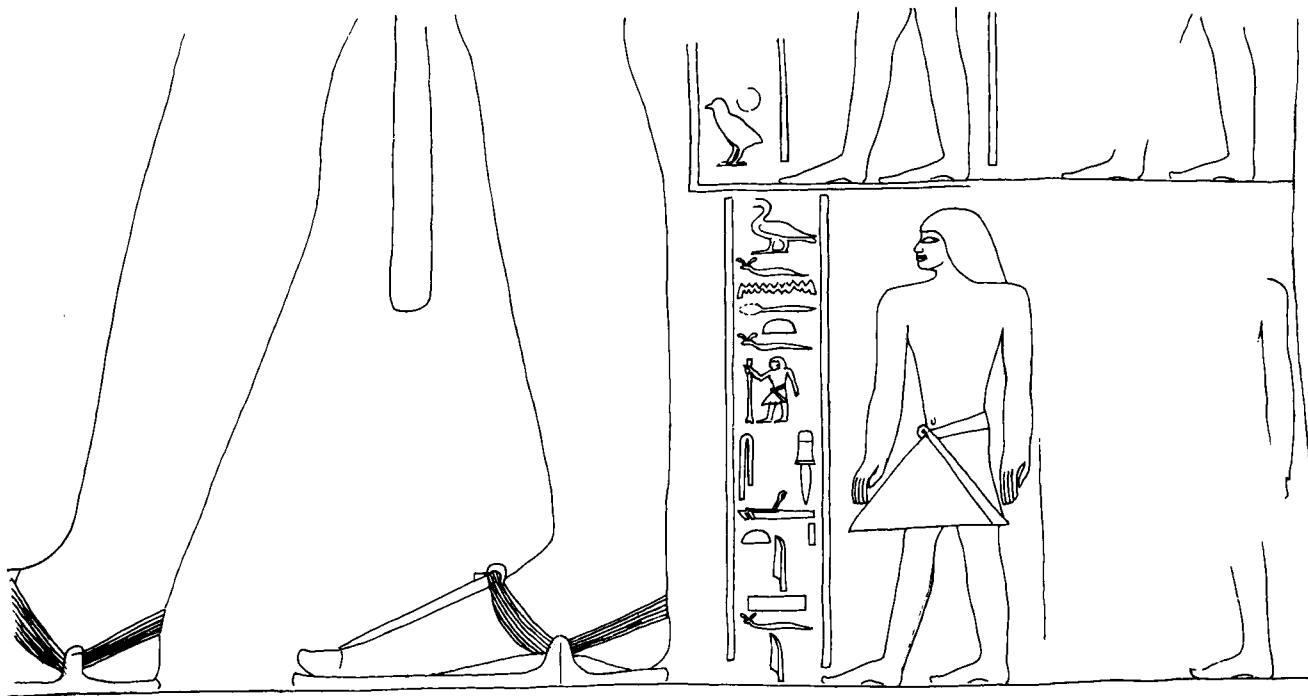


Fig. 52. 'Ankhm'ahor and his sons (VI, east, in alcove).



Fig. 53. Tending cattle (VI, north, in alcove).

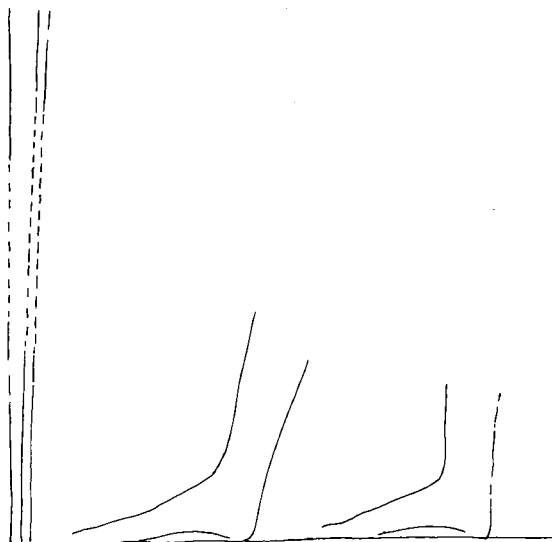
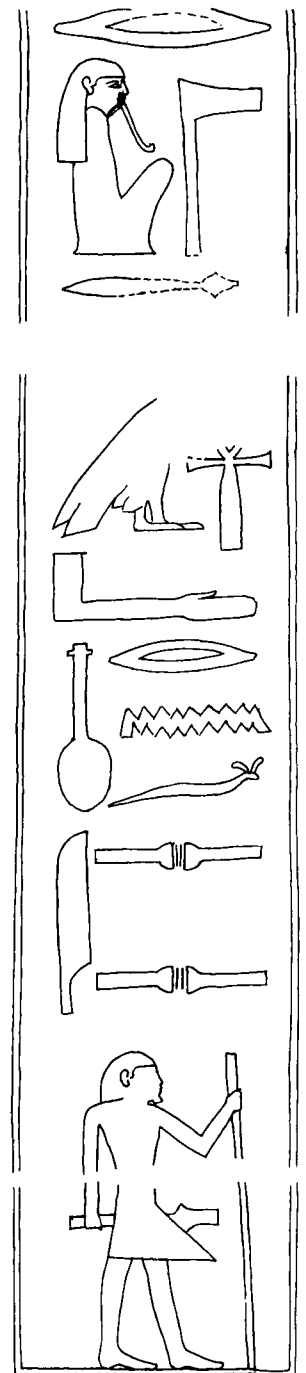


Fig. 54. North anta of alcove.

Fig. 55. Inscription in sunk relief on north anta (west face).



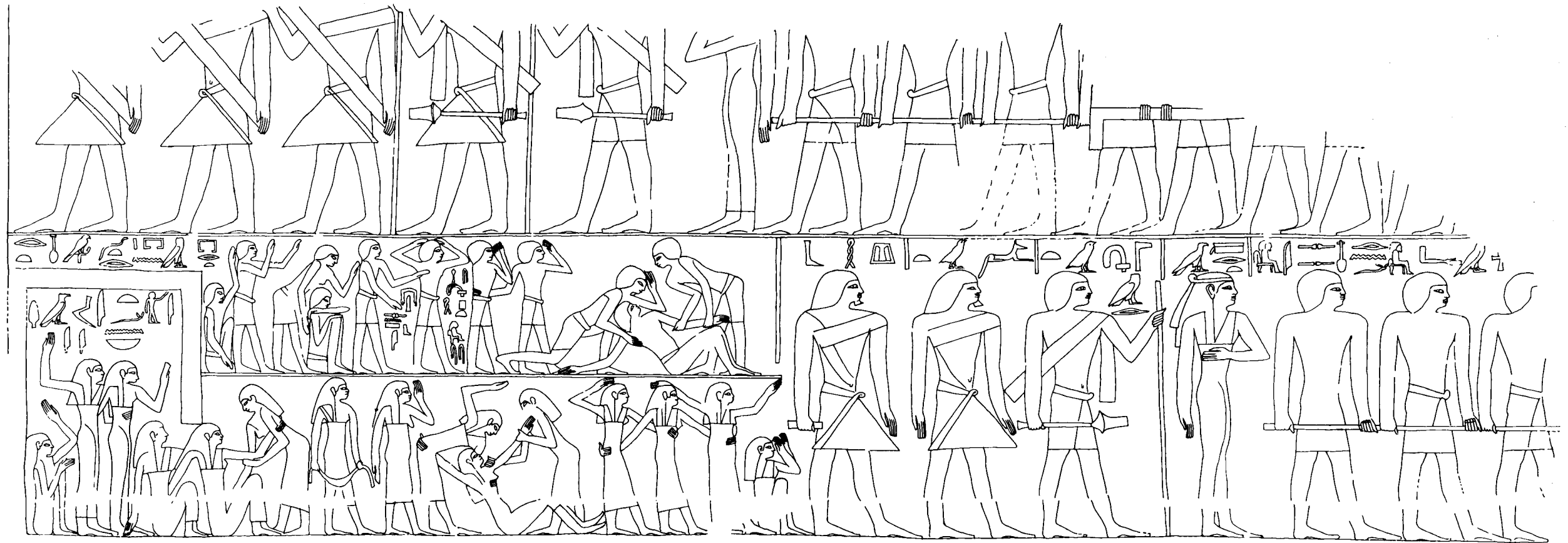


Fig. 56. Funeral of 'Ankhm'ahor (VI, south).

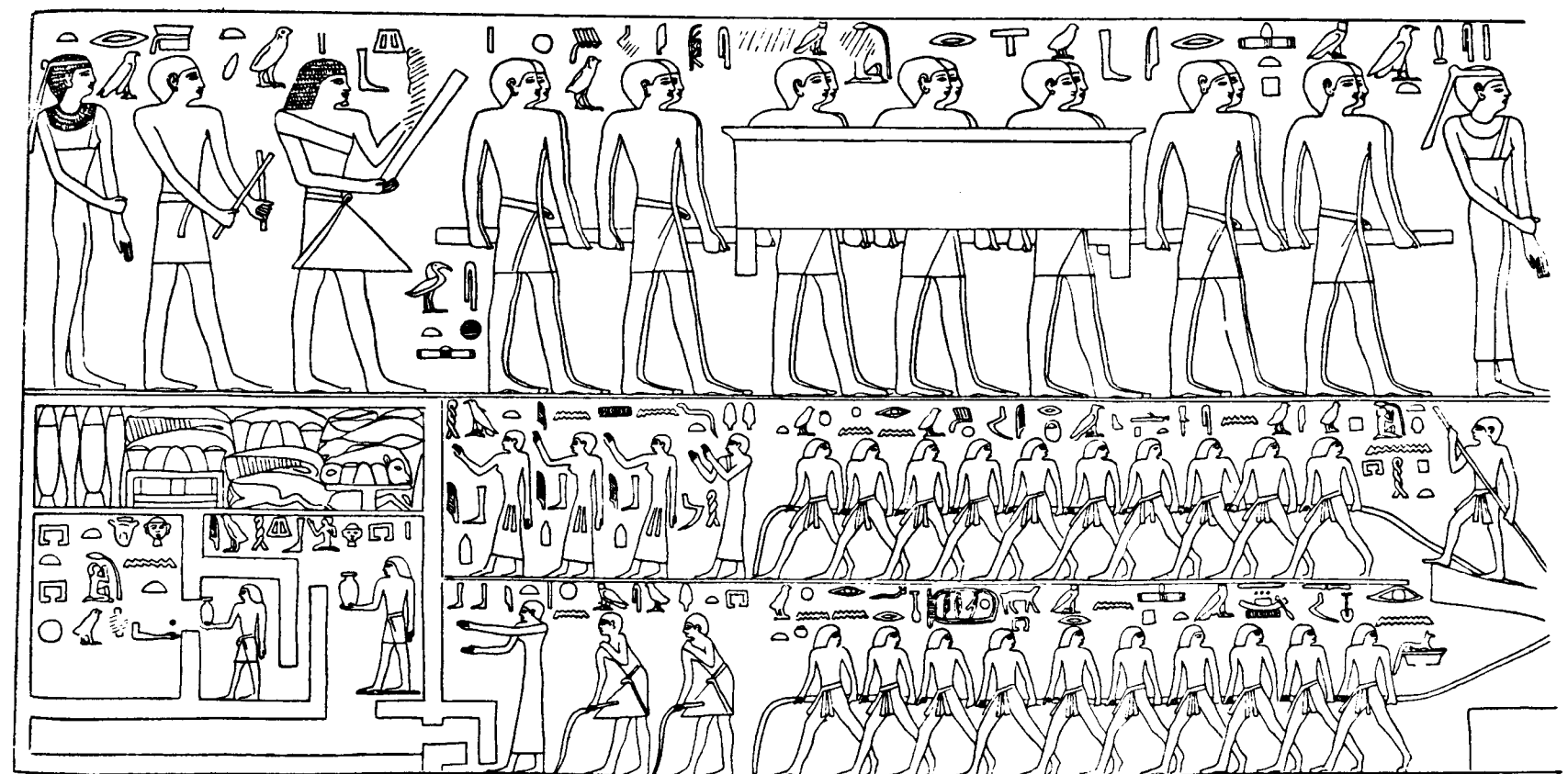


Fig. 57. Funeral of Qar (not to scale 1:5).

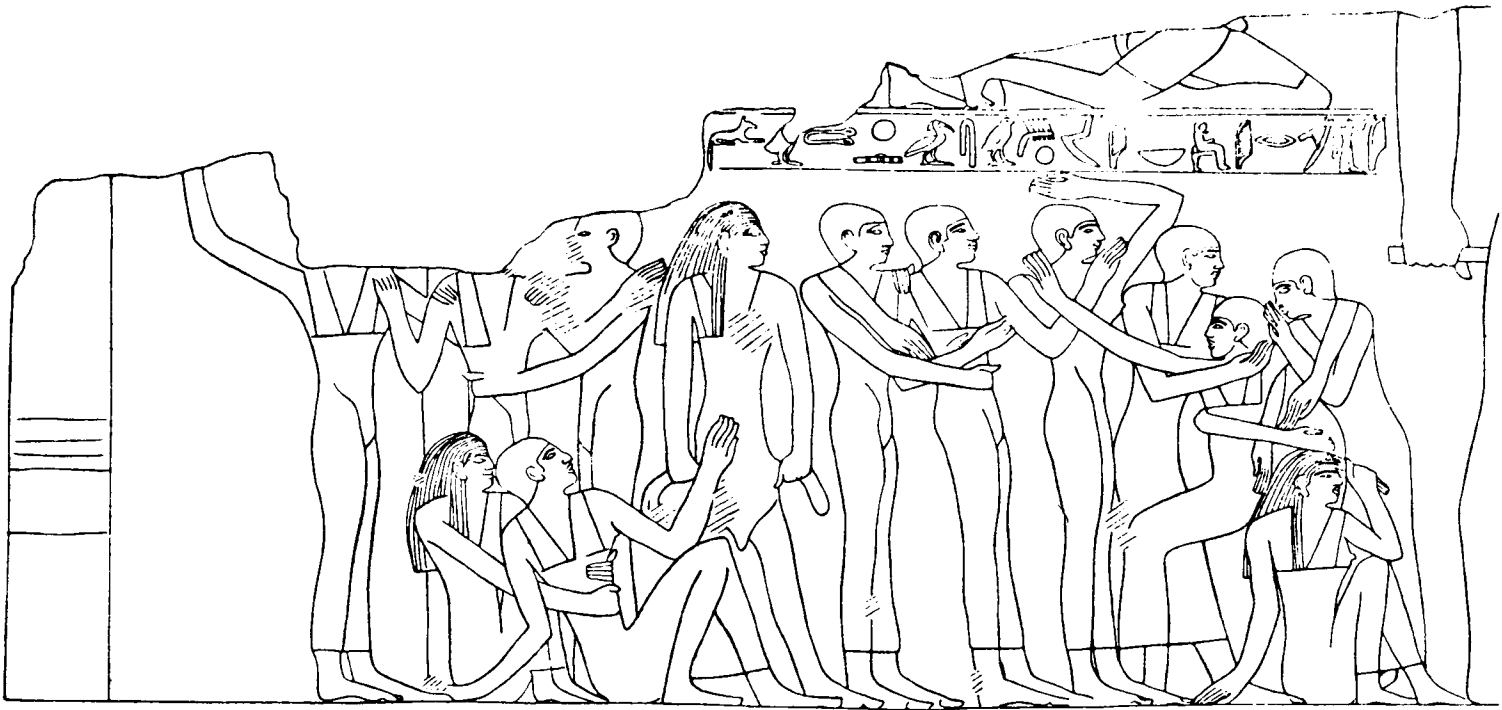


Fig. 58. Painting women at funeral of Mereruka (after P. Duell, The Mastaba of Mereruka (not to scale 1:5).

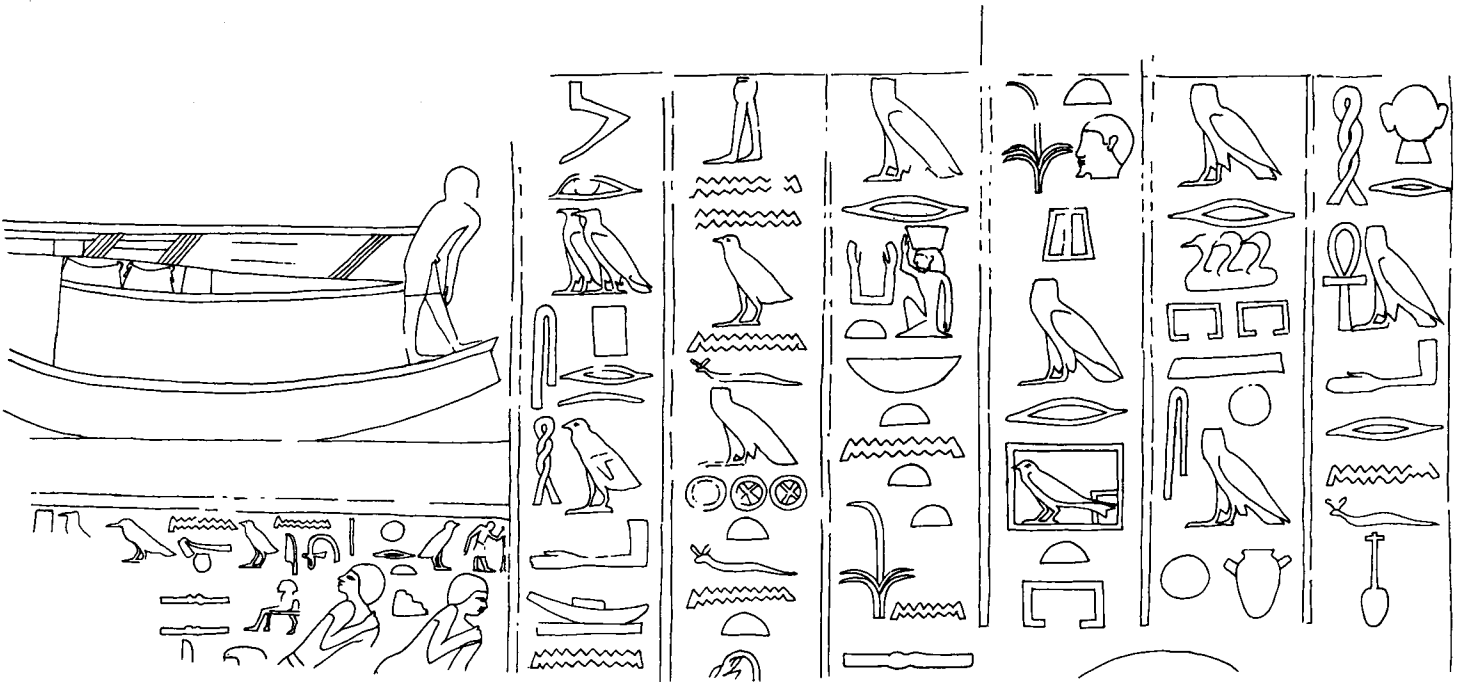


Fig. 59. Freight boats bringing oxen from Upper Egypt (VI, upper block, south).

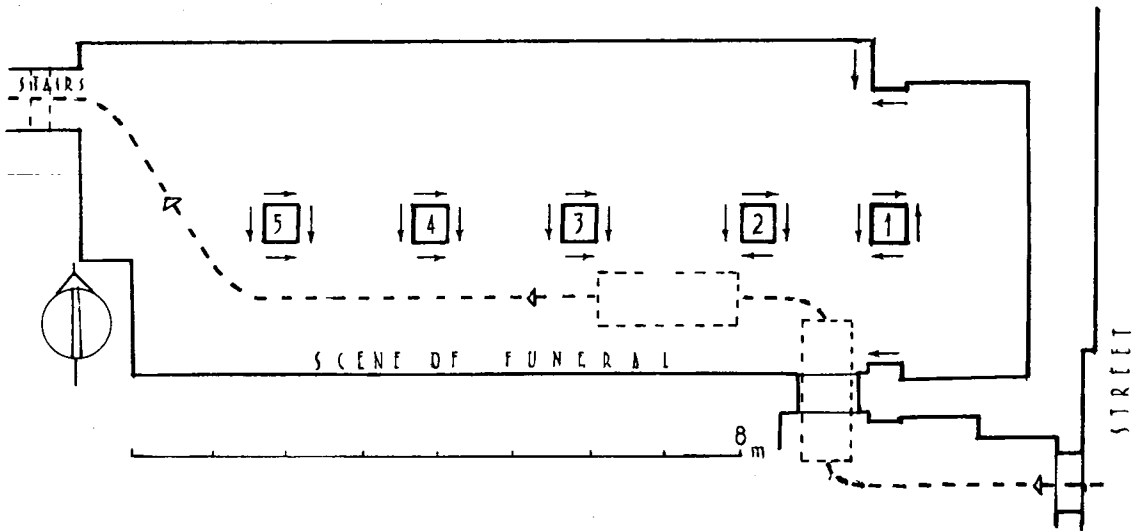


Fig. 60. Plan of pillars indicating direction of inscriptions and path of funeral procession.

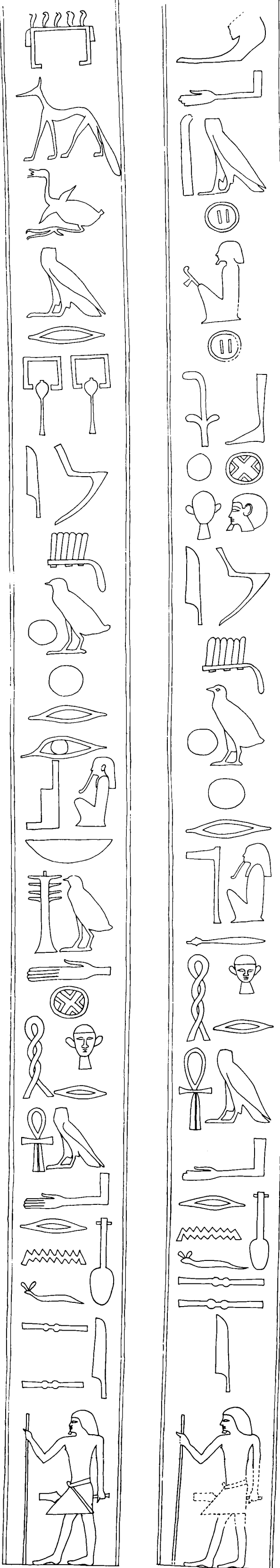


Fig. 61. Pillar 5: east and north faces.

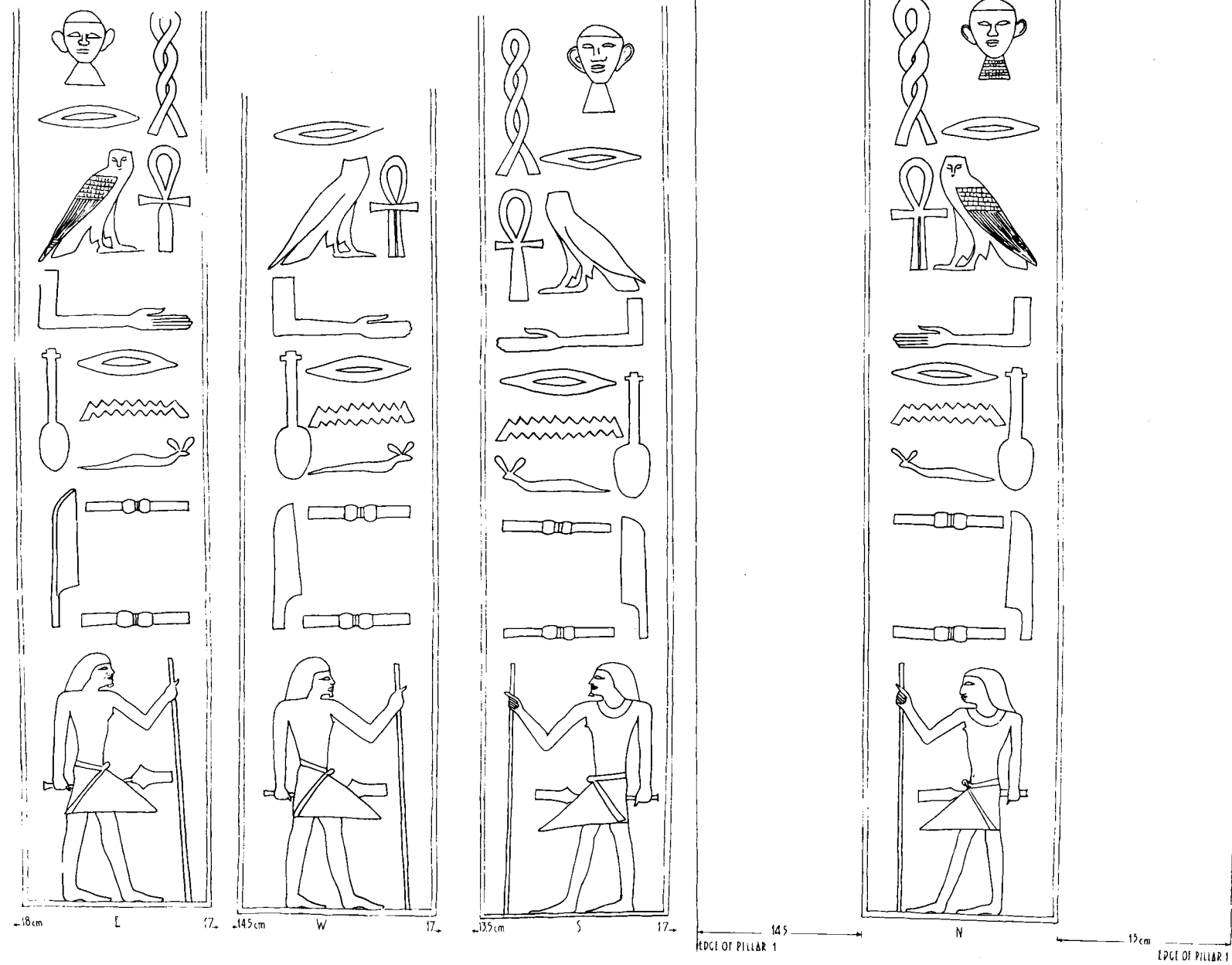


Fig. 62. Pillar 1.

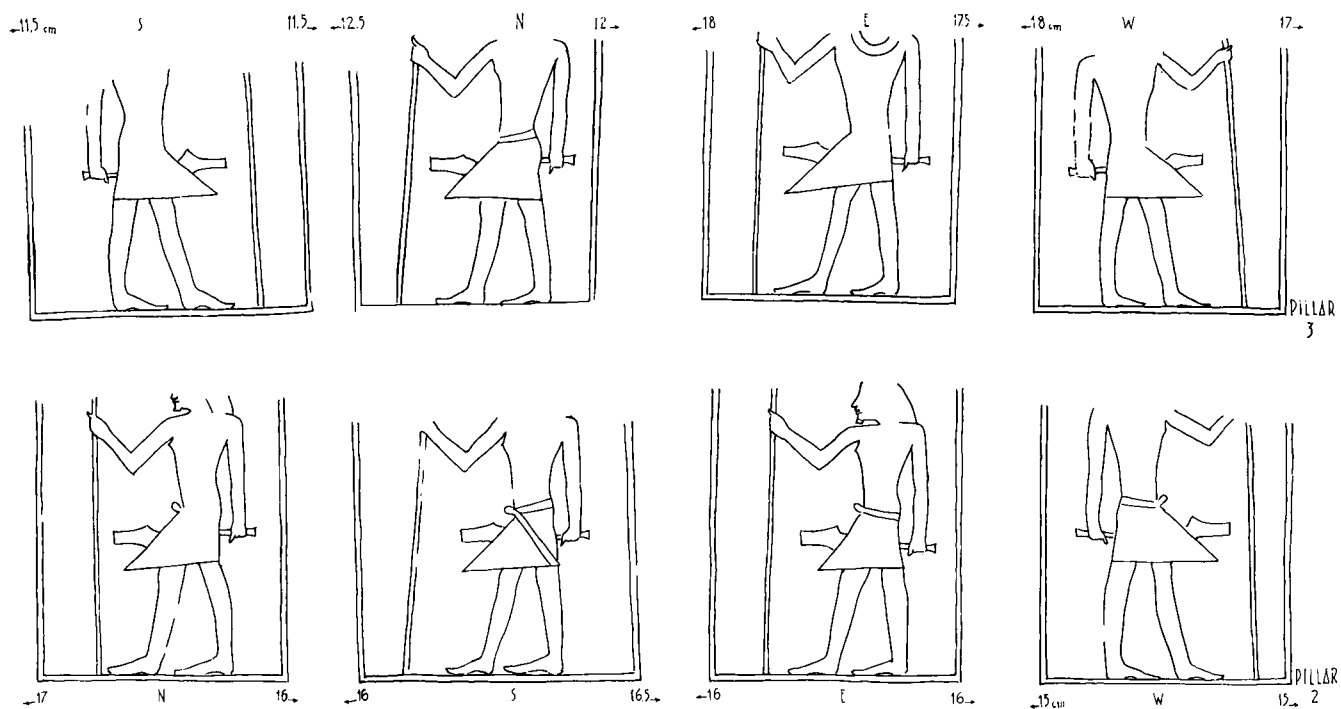


Fig. 63. Pillars 2 and 3.

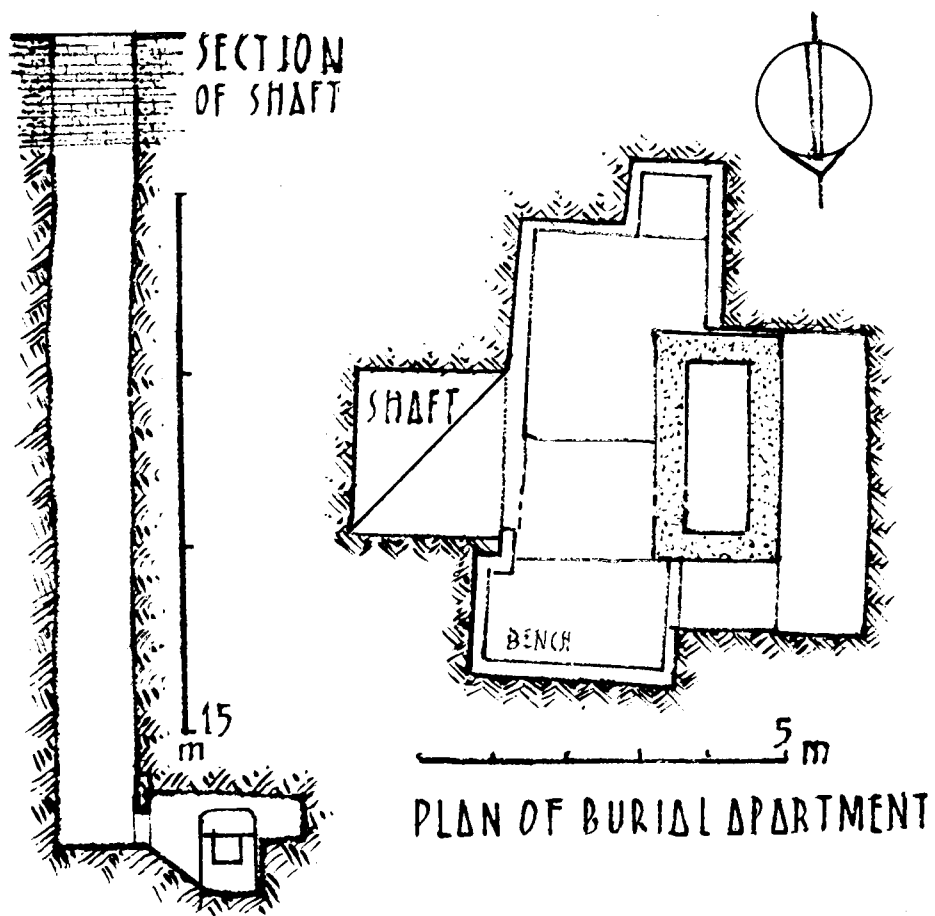
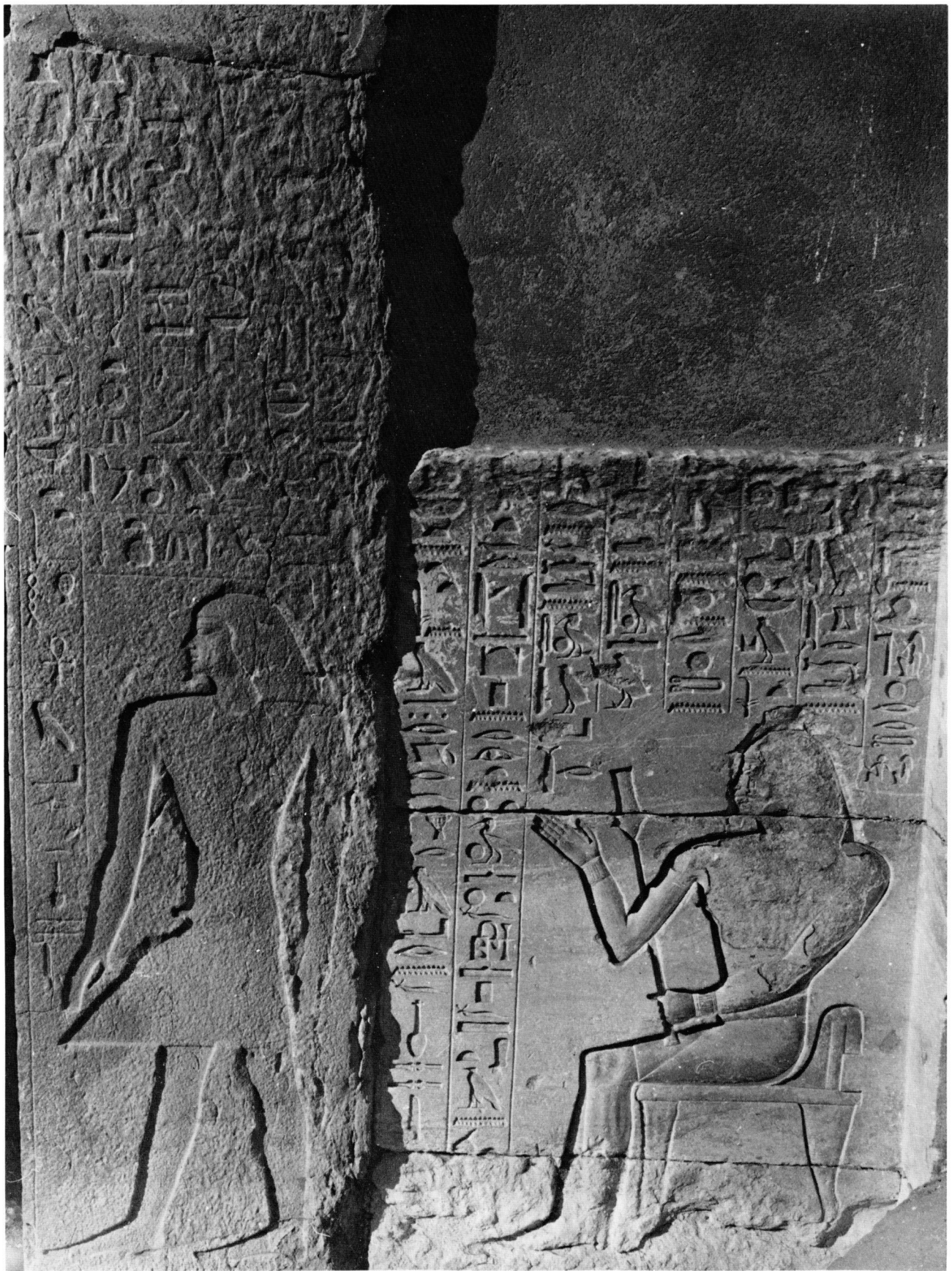


Fig. 64. Cross-section of shaft and sarcophagus chamber.



Pl. 19. Restored perspective of north portico and court VI, looking west.



Pl. 20. Area of facade north of entrance.



Pl. 21. North thickness of doorway.



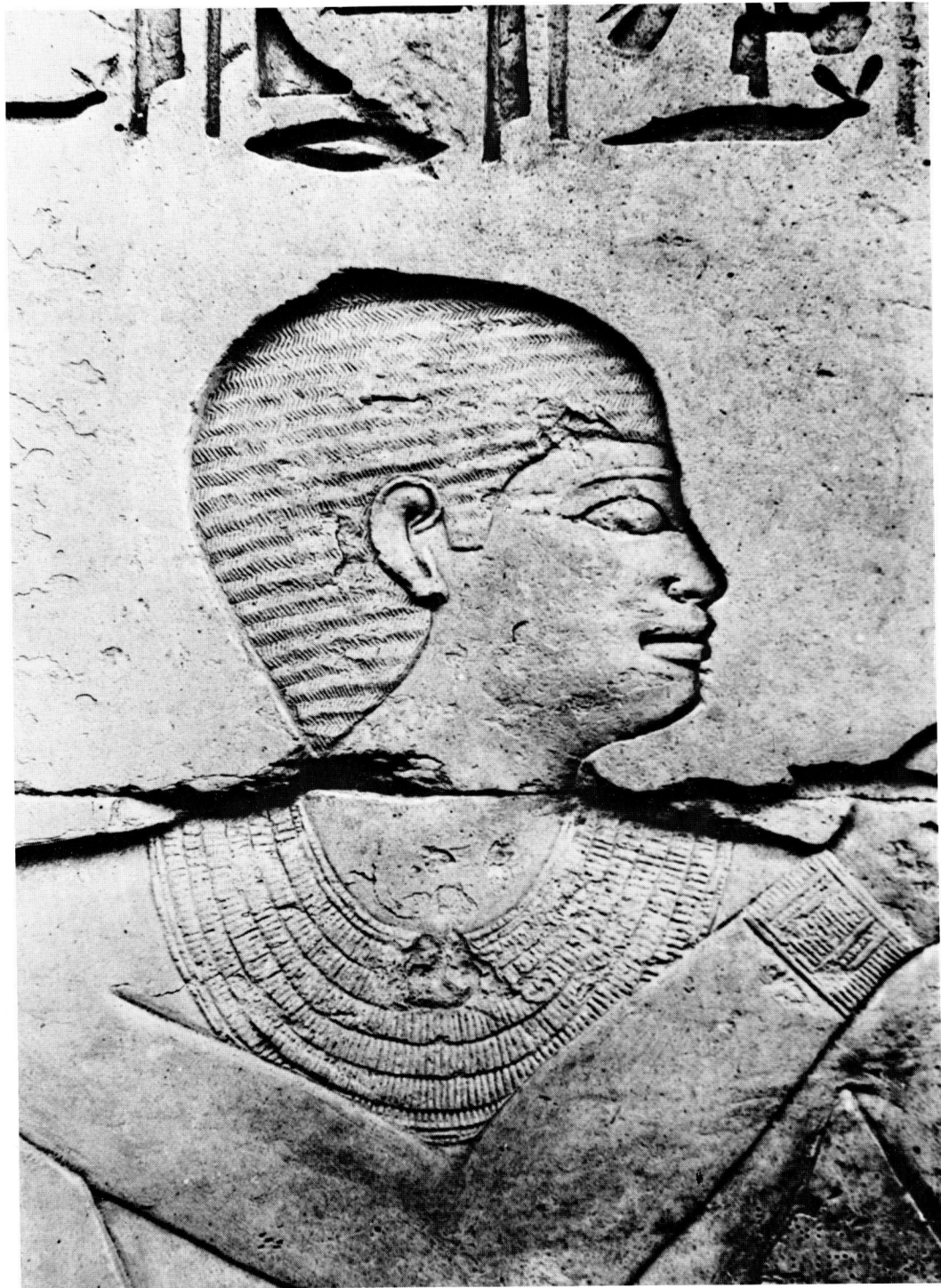
Pl. 22. Portrait on north thickness of entrance.



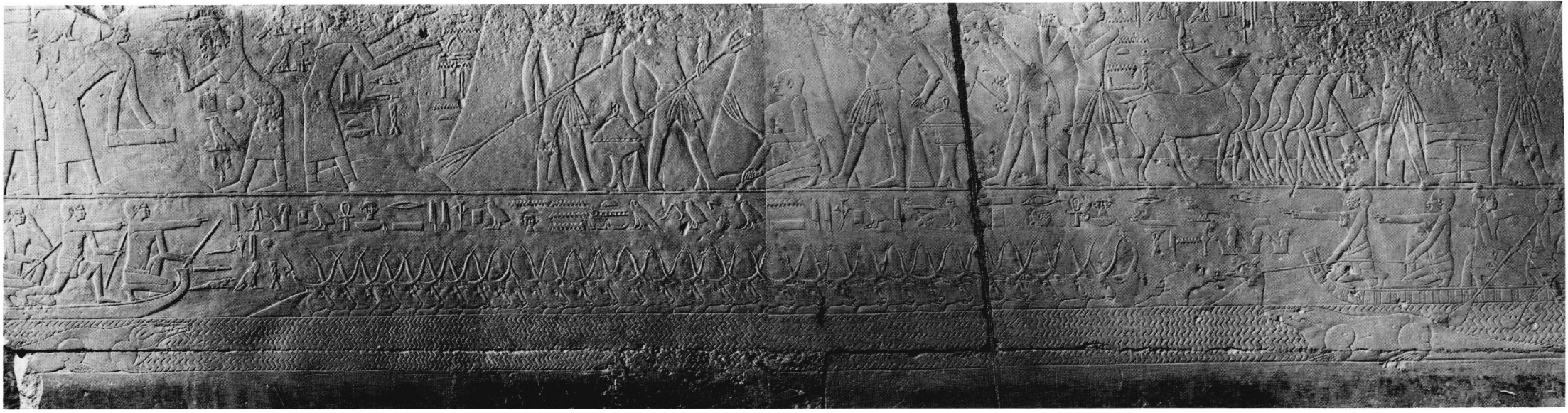
Pl. 23. South thickness of entrance doorway.



Pl. 24. Area of facade south of entrance.



Pl. 25. Detail of portrait of 'Ankhm'ahor (after Capart, Rue).



Pl. 26. Harvesting and fording scenes (I, east).



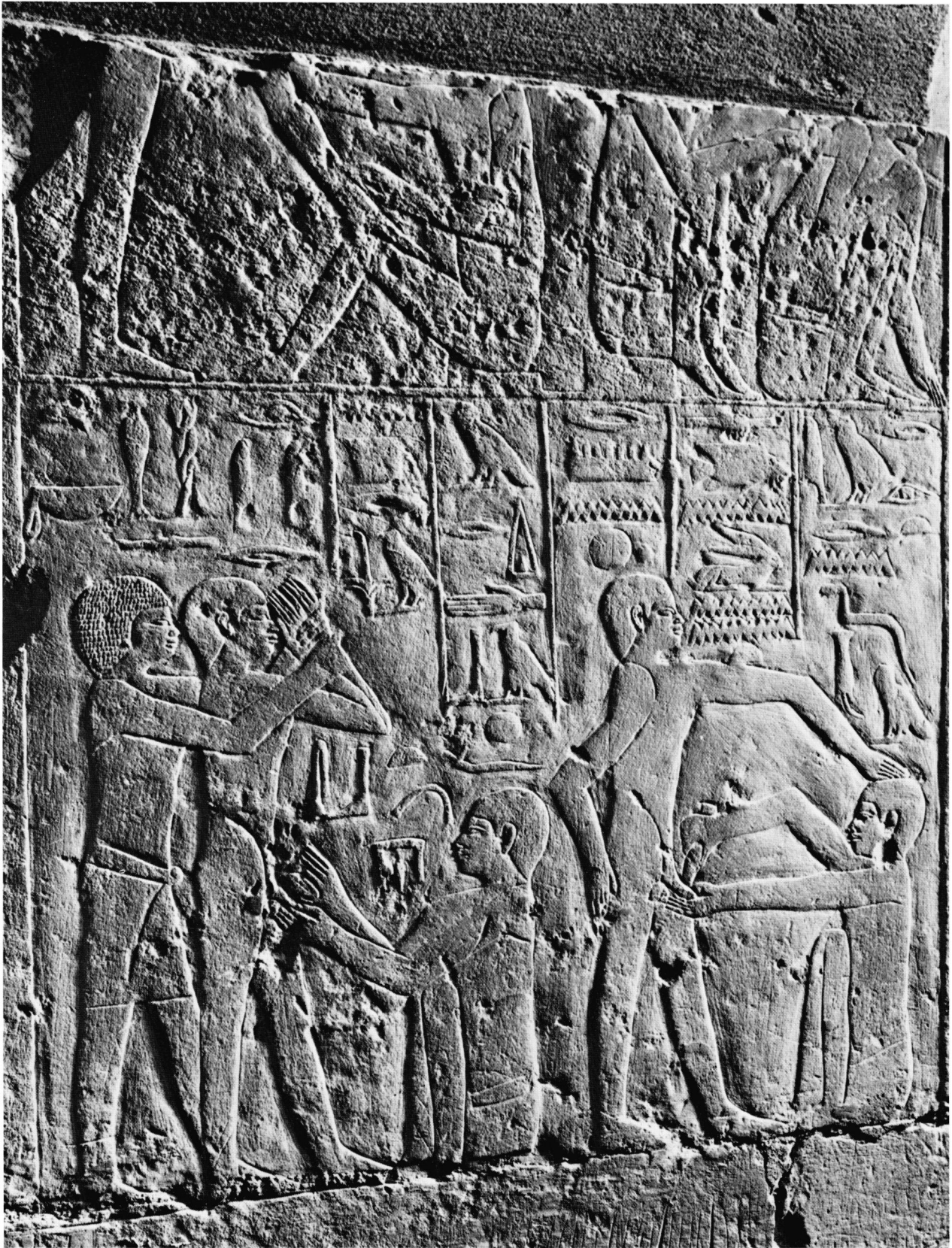
Pl. 27. Aggressive donkey (I, east).



Pl. 28. Hippopotamus hunt (I, west).



Pl. 29. Crocodile waiting for newborn hippopotamus (detail of hunt scene, I, west).



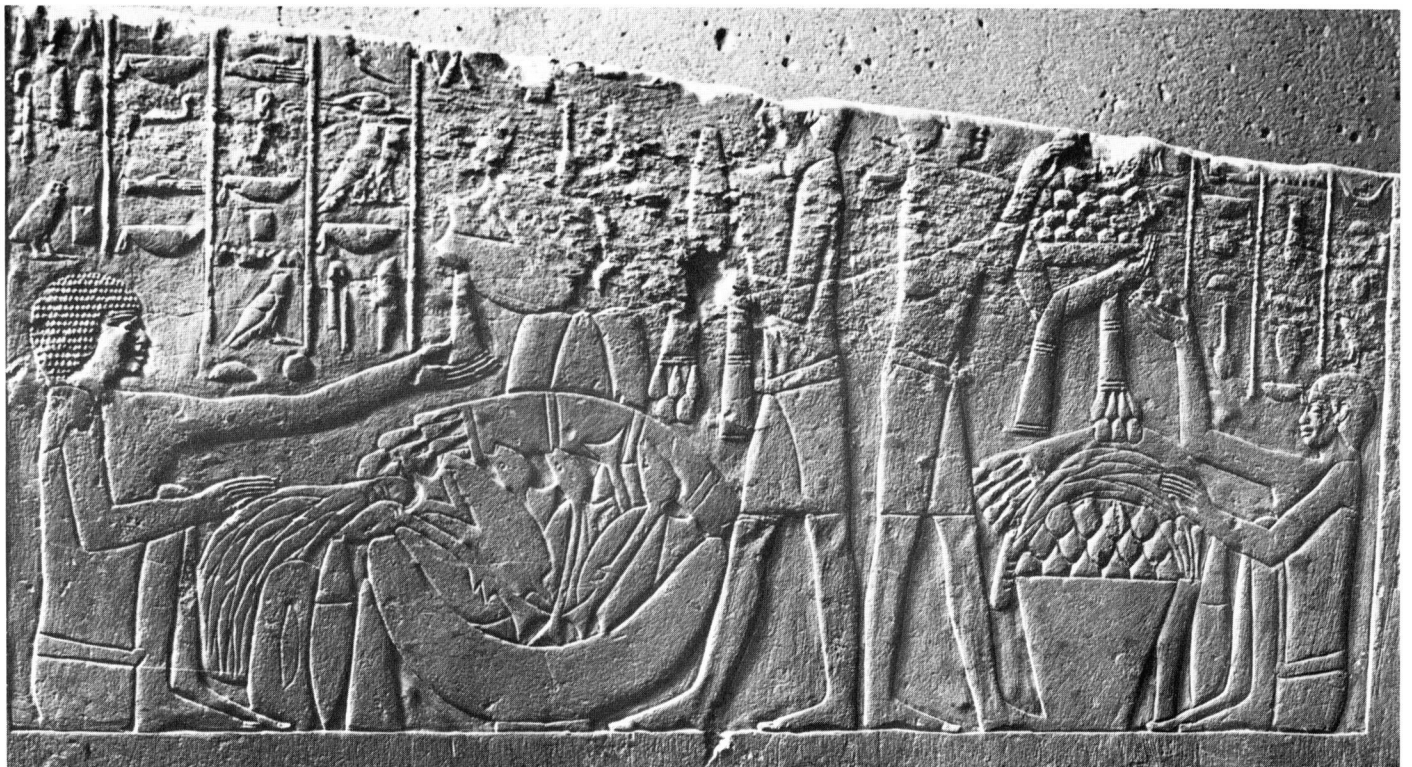
Pl. 30. Circumcision and massaging (east thickness of doorway I-VI).



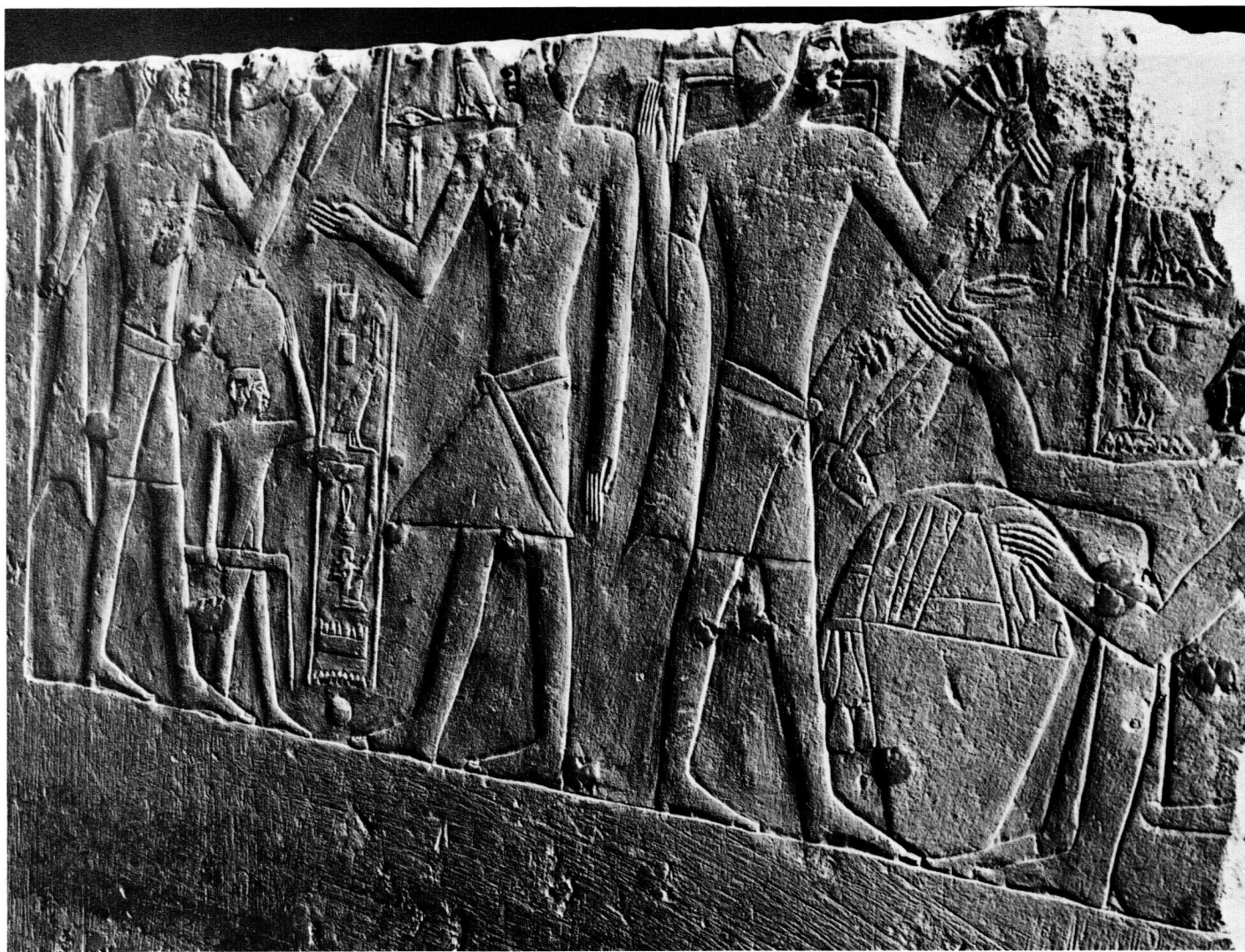
Pl. 31. Treatment of hands and feet (west thickness of doorway I-VI).



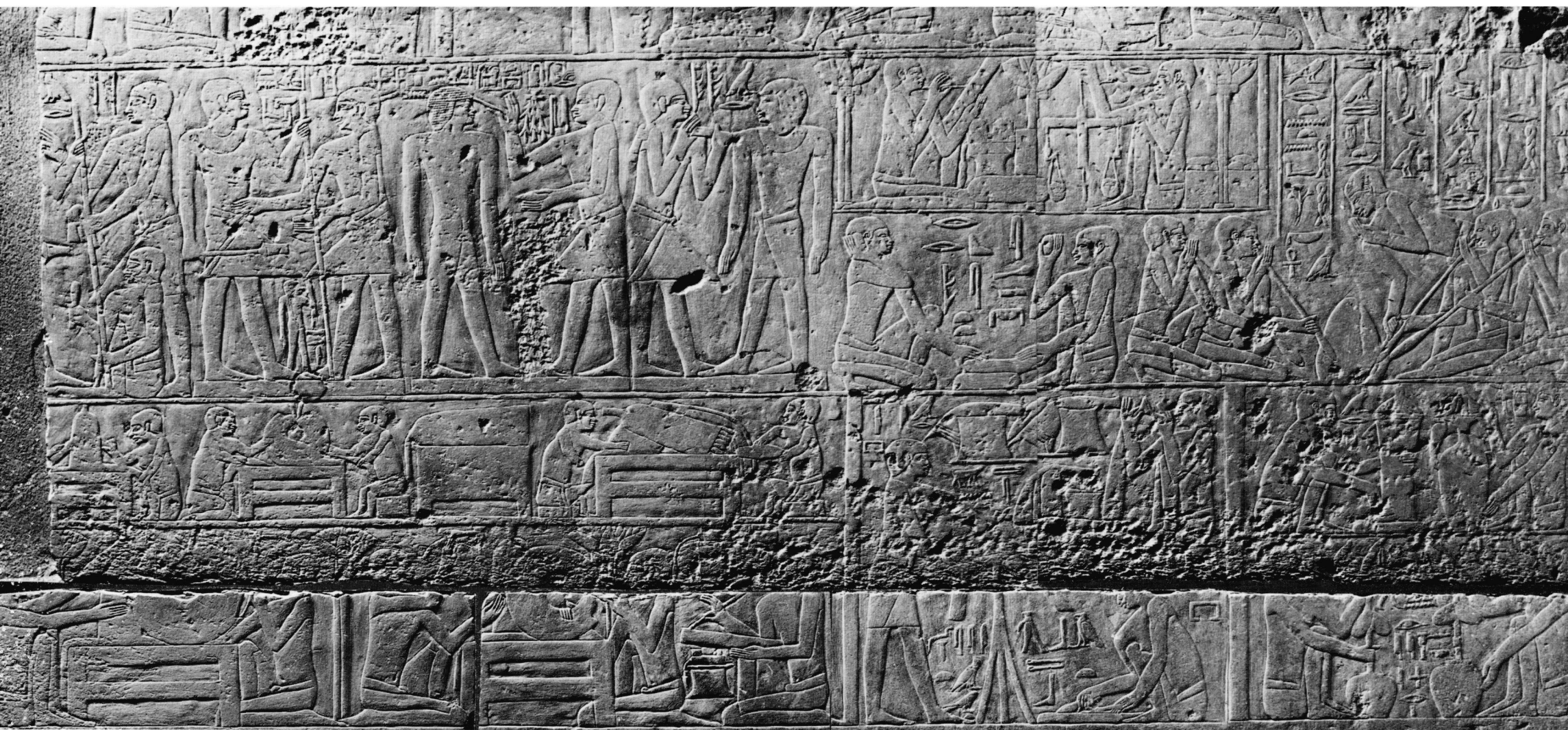
Pl. 32. Market scenes (I, north).



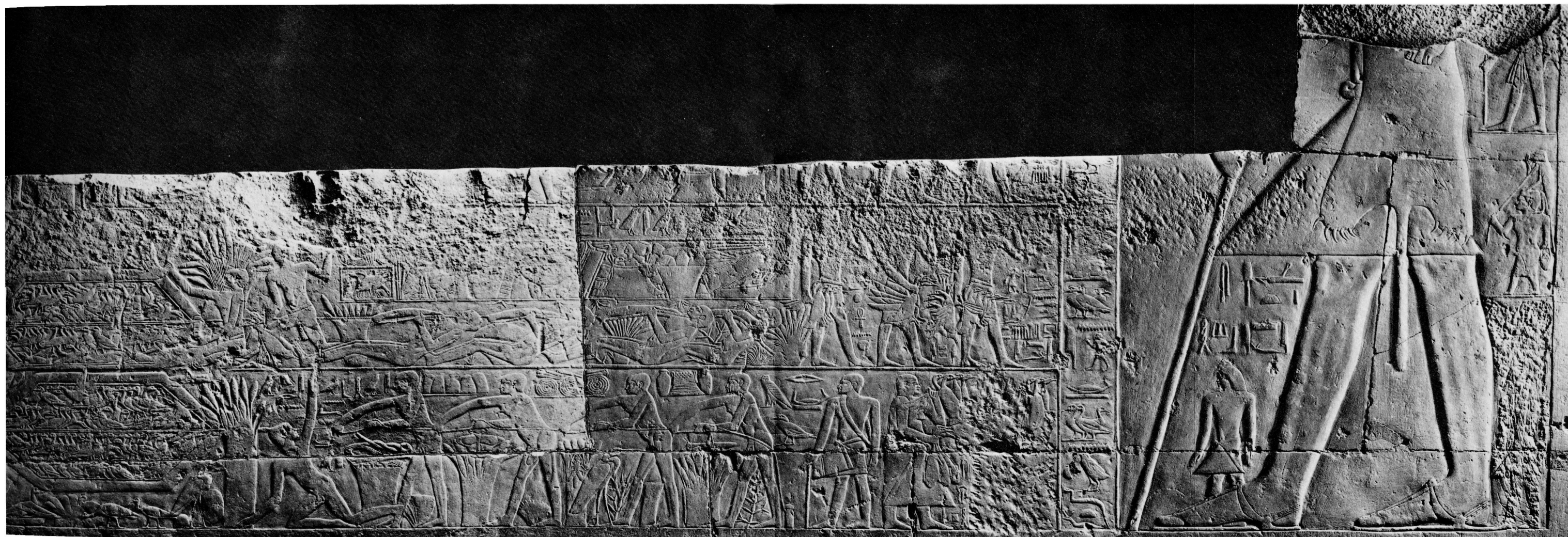
Pl. 33. Barter scene (south thickness of doorway I-II).



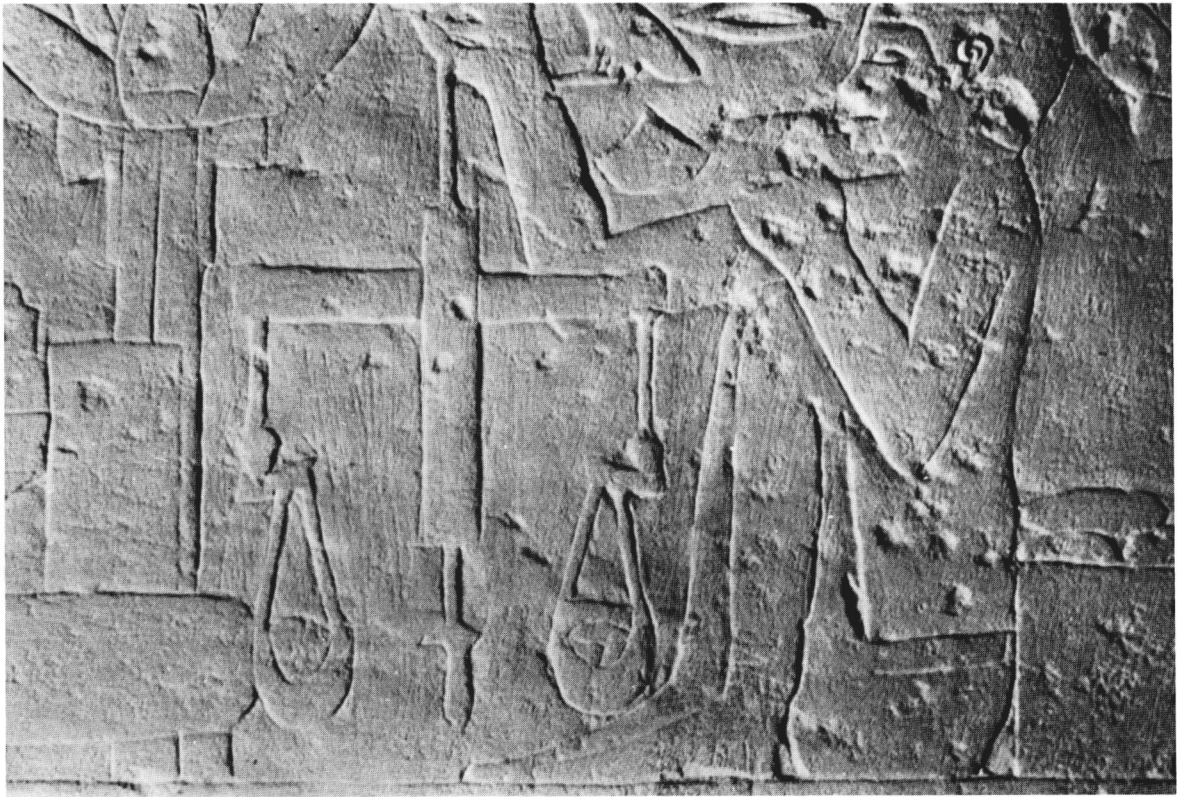
Pl. 34. Barter scene (north thickness of doorway I-II).



Pl. 35. Craftsman at work (II, south).



Pl. 41. Fowling with clapnet (II, west).



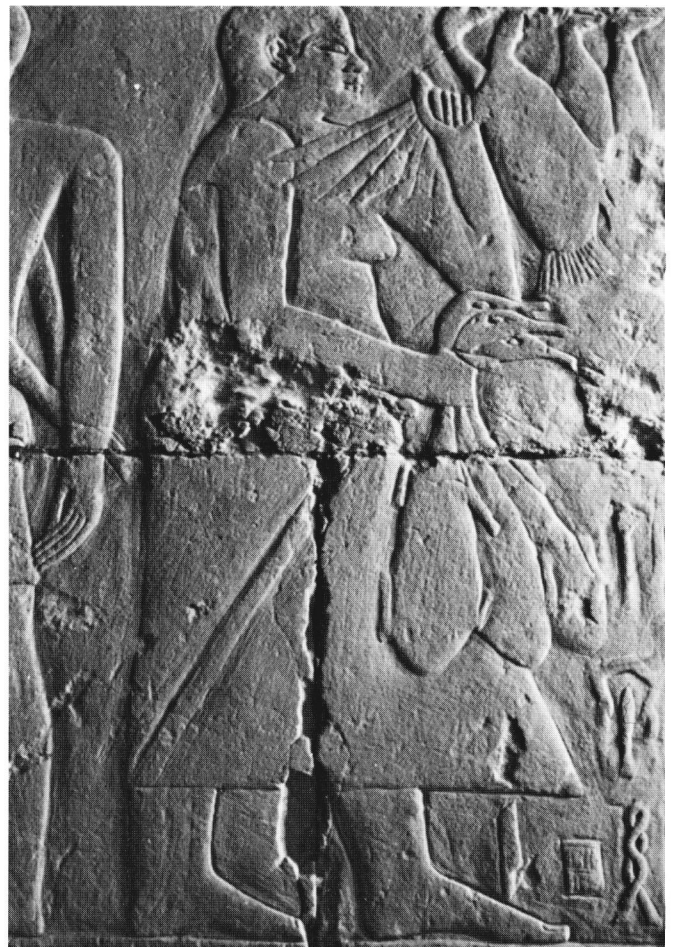
Pl. 36. Goldsmith weighing ingots (II, south).



Pl. 37. Craftsmen blowing into furnace (II, south).



Pl. 38. Mesi painting a statue of 'Ankhm'ahor. The small statue of a son was hammered out (II, south).



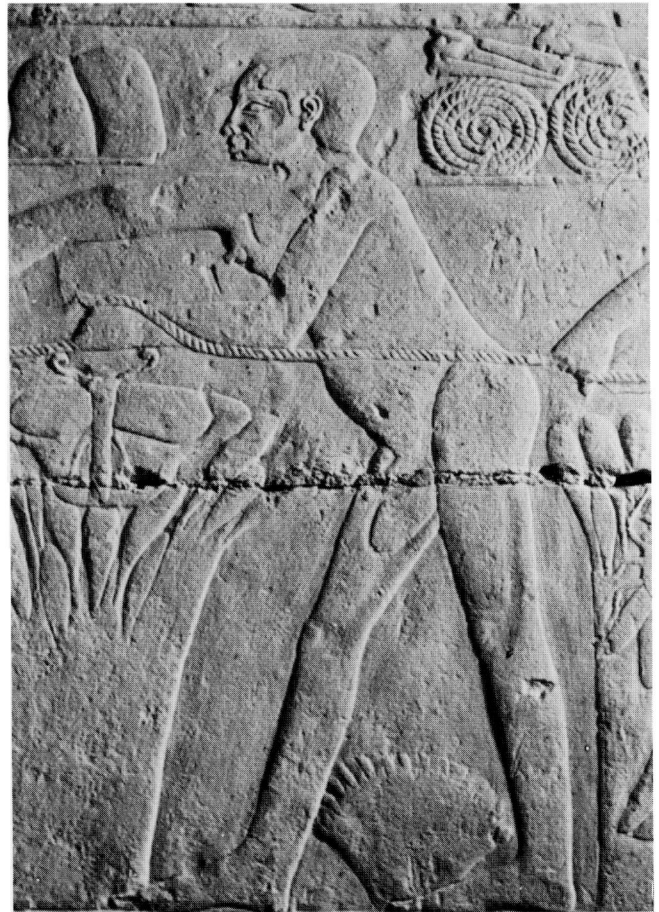
Pl. 40. Hapi bringing fowl in the hunting scene (II, west).



Pl. 39. Two dwarfs stringing a collar (II, south).



Pl. 42. Detail of a balding marsh fowler (II, west).



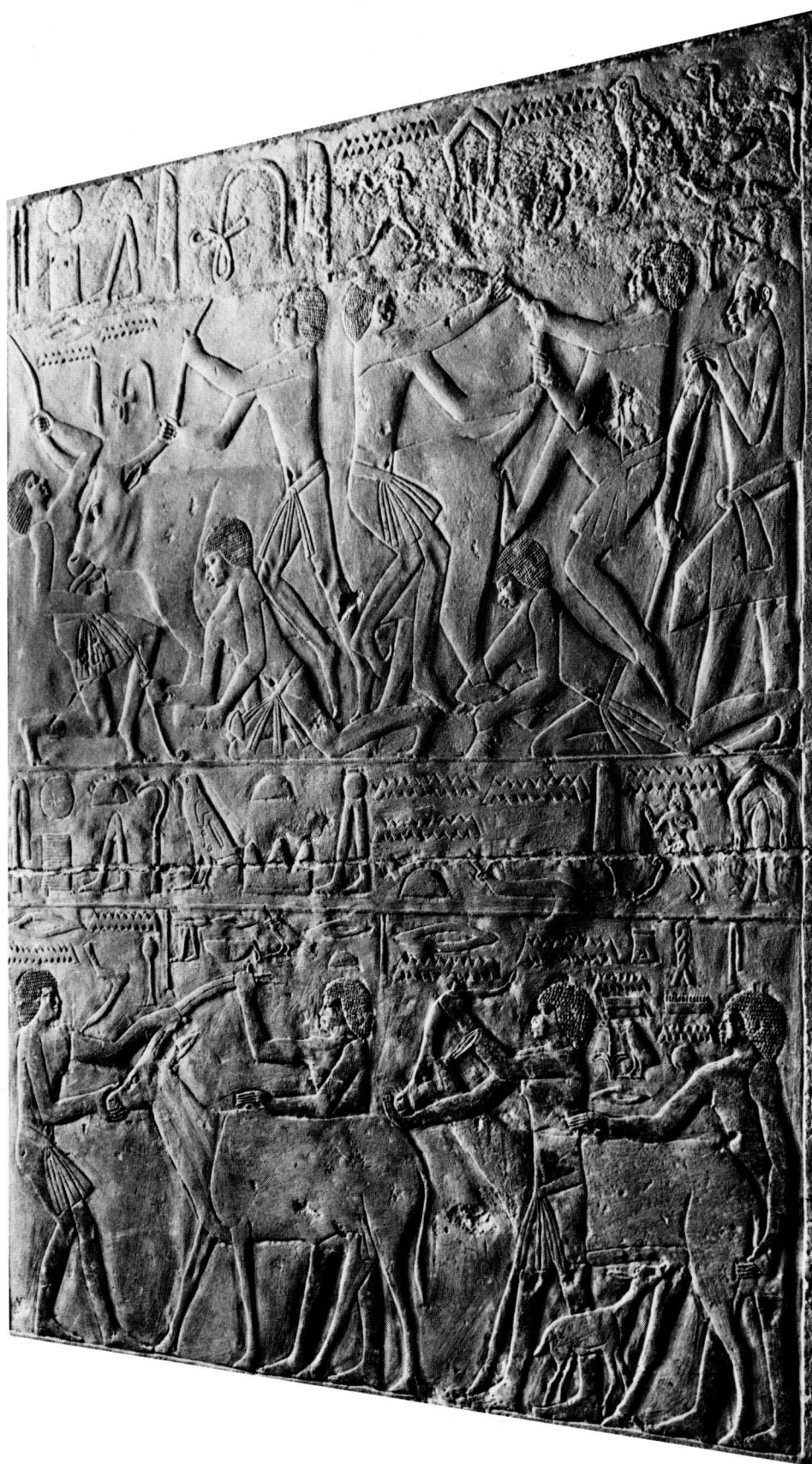
Pl. 43. Marsh fowler with dropsy of the scrotum (detail of fowling scene, II, west).



Pl. 44. Marsh fowler afflicted with hernia of the navel (II, west).



Pl. 45. Offering-bearers (II, north).



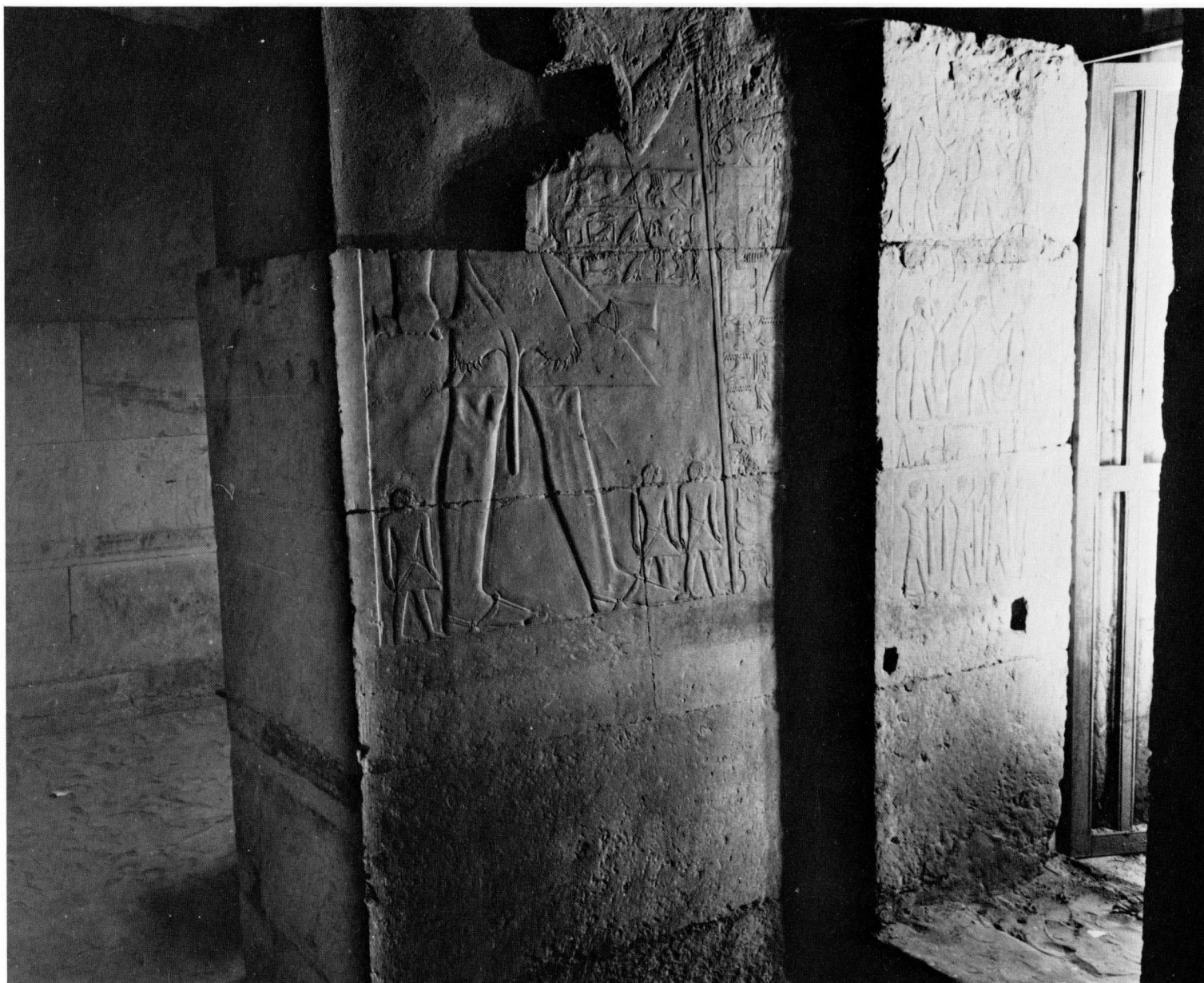
Pl. 46a. Marching desert animals and overpowering the ox (north thickness of doorway II-III).



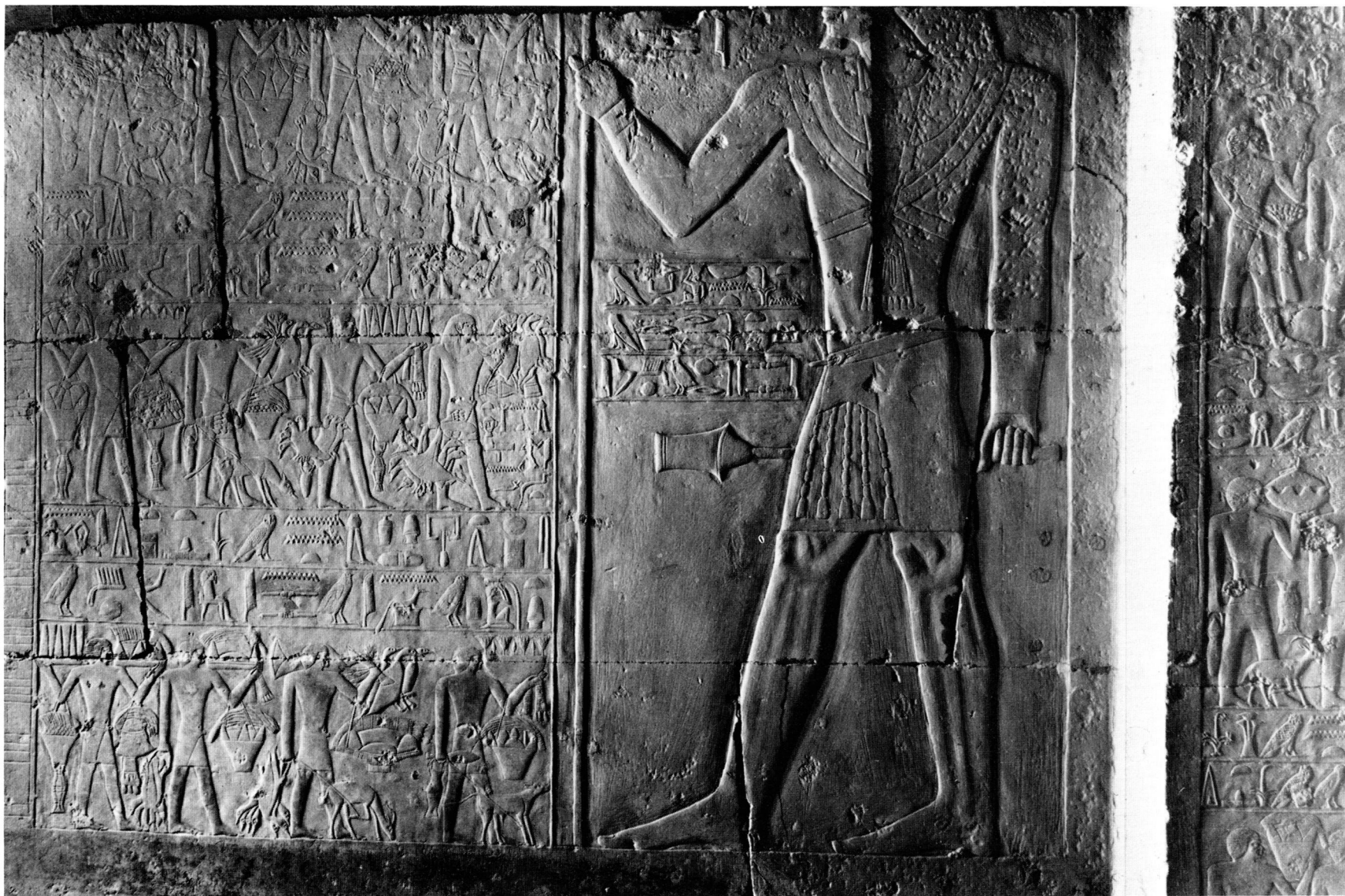
Pl. 46*b*. Detail of leading herdsman pulling the oryx.



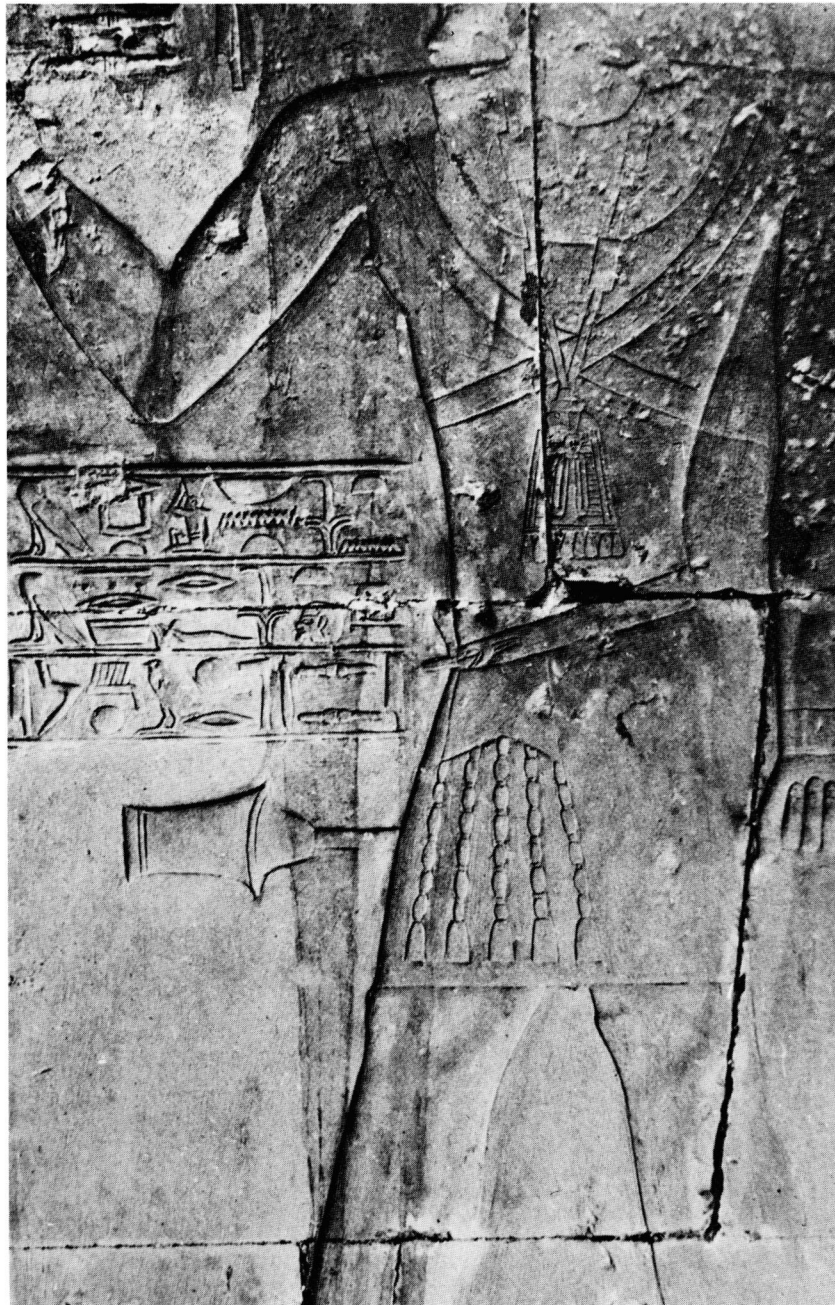
Pl. 47. Marching desert animals and overpowering the ox (south thickness of doorway II-III).



Pl. 48. Perspective of central room III looking toward magazine (right).



Pl. 49. 'Ankhm'ahor in full regalia meets offering-bearers (III, east).



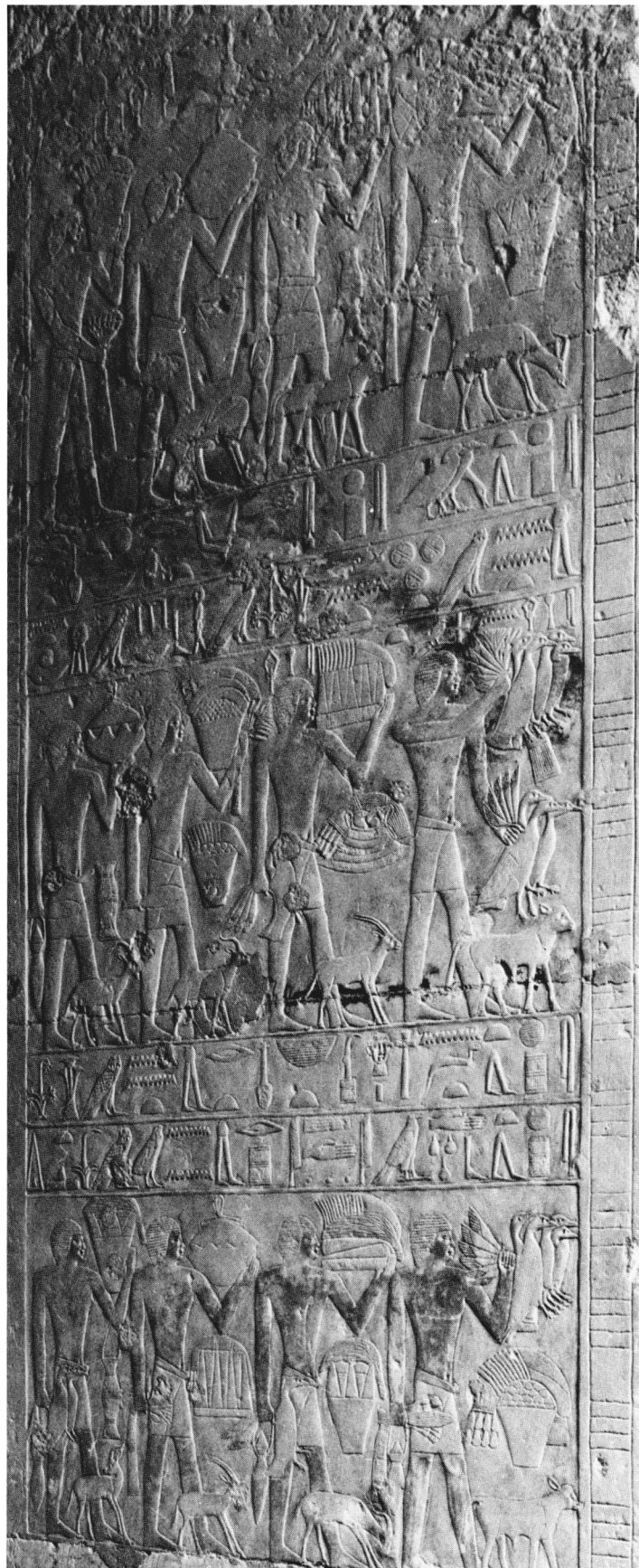
Pl. 50. Detail of necklace with Bat pendant (III, east).



Pl. 51. Hepi preceding offering-bearers (west thickness of doorway III-IV).



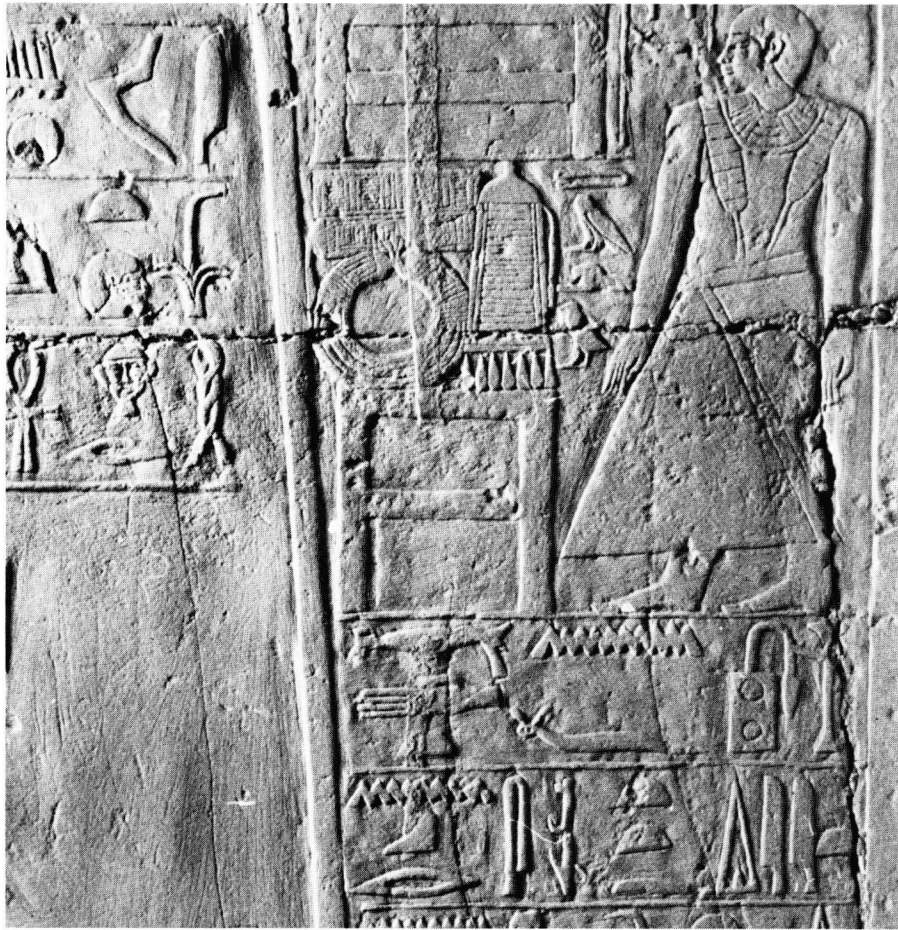
Pl. 52. Figure of Hapi (III-IV, west).



Pl. 53. Offering-bearers (III-IV, east).



Pl. 54. Display of jewelry and reading of donation deed (III, south).



Pl. 55. Detail of jewelry displayed on tables supervised by Tjemerw (III, south).



Pl. 56a. Carrying funerary equipment to the magazine (north thickness of doorway III-V). Lower part.



Pl. 56b. Upper part.



Pl. 57. Carrying funerary equipment to the magazine (III-V, south).



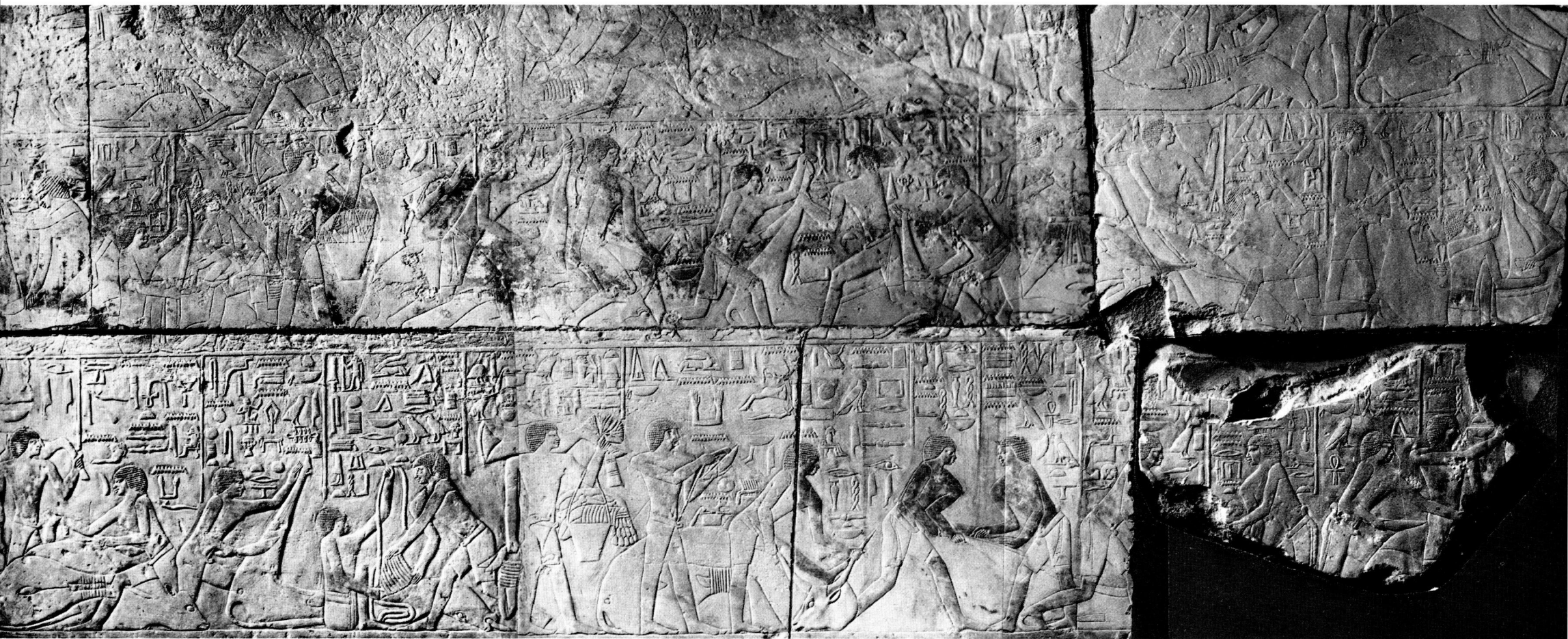
Pl. 58. 'Ankhm'ahor meeting his brother Tjemerw and retainers with offerings (III, west).



Pl. 59. 'Ankhm'ahor meeting offering-bearers (III, north).



Pl. 60. Restored perspective of offering room looking west toward false-door.



Pl. 61. Scenes from slaughter cycle (IV, east).



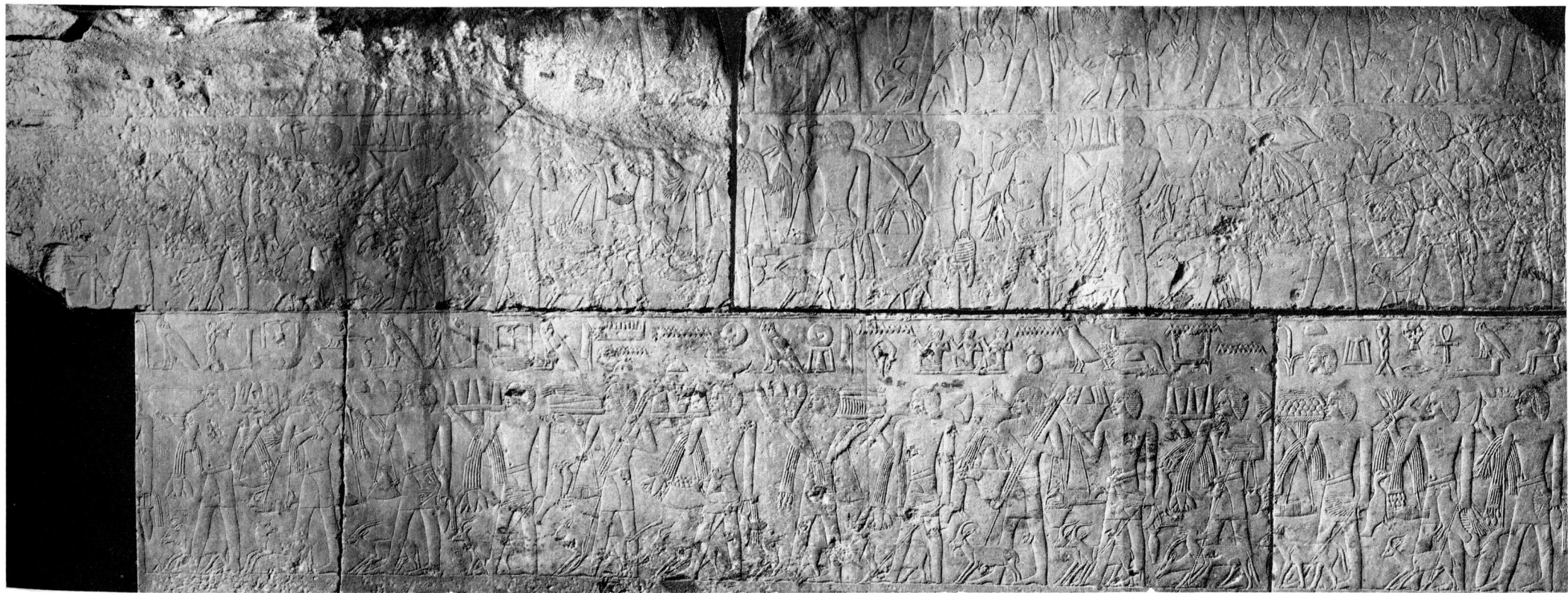
Pl. 62. Two butchers at work on an ox (detail of slaughter scene, IV, east).



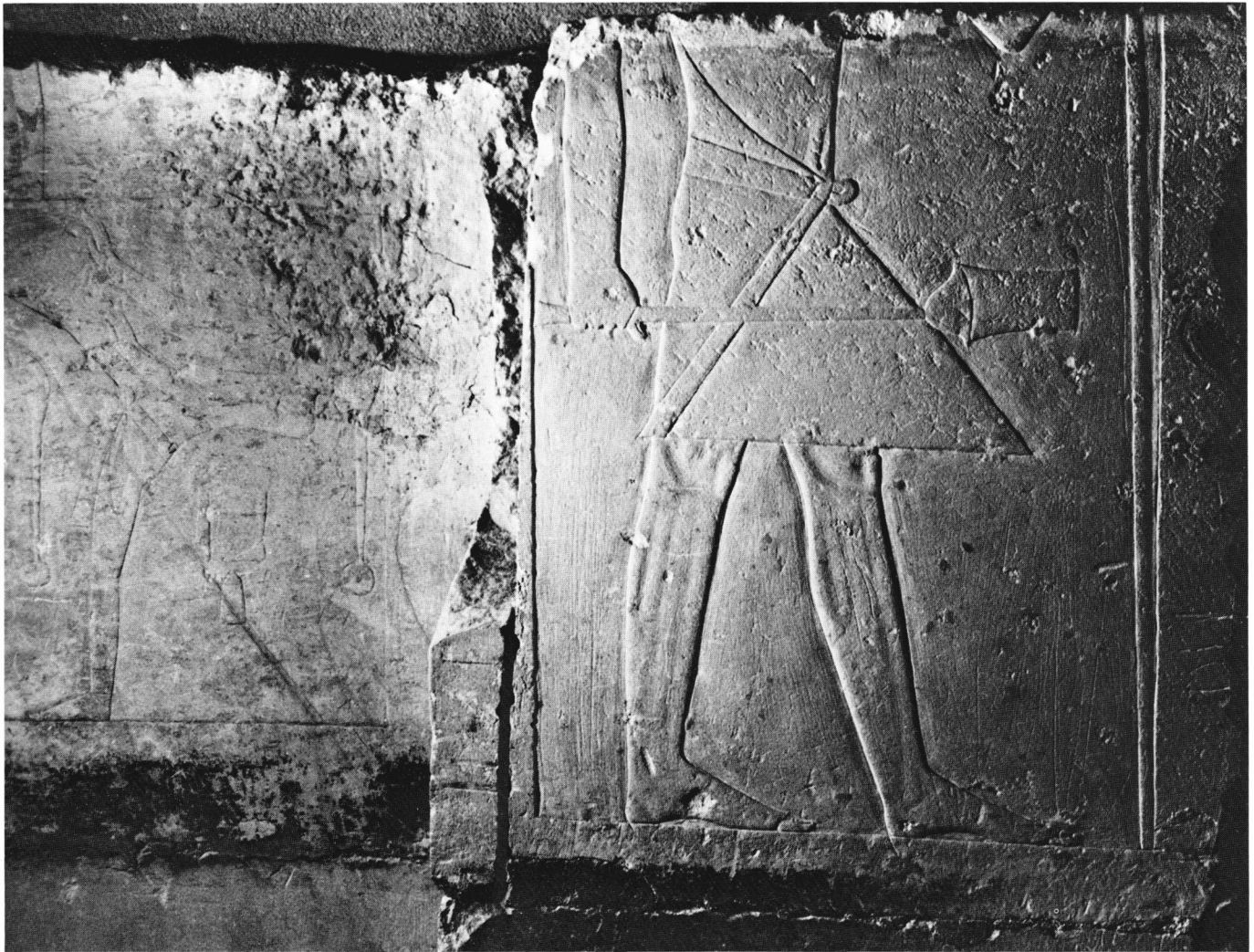
Pl. 65. Funerary equipment carried and stored in magazine (V, east: after Capart, Rue, pl. LXV).



Pl. 63. Procession of offering-bearers striding toward false-door (IV, south).



Pl. 64. Procession of offering-bearers striding toward false-door (IV, north).



Pl. 66. South anta of alcove in room VI (north face).



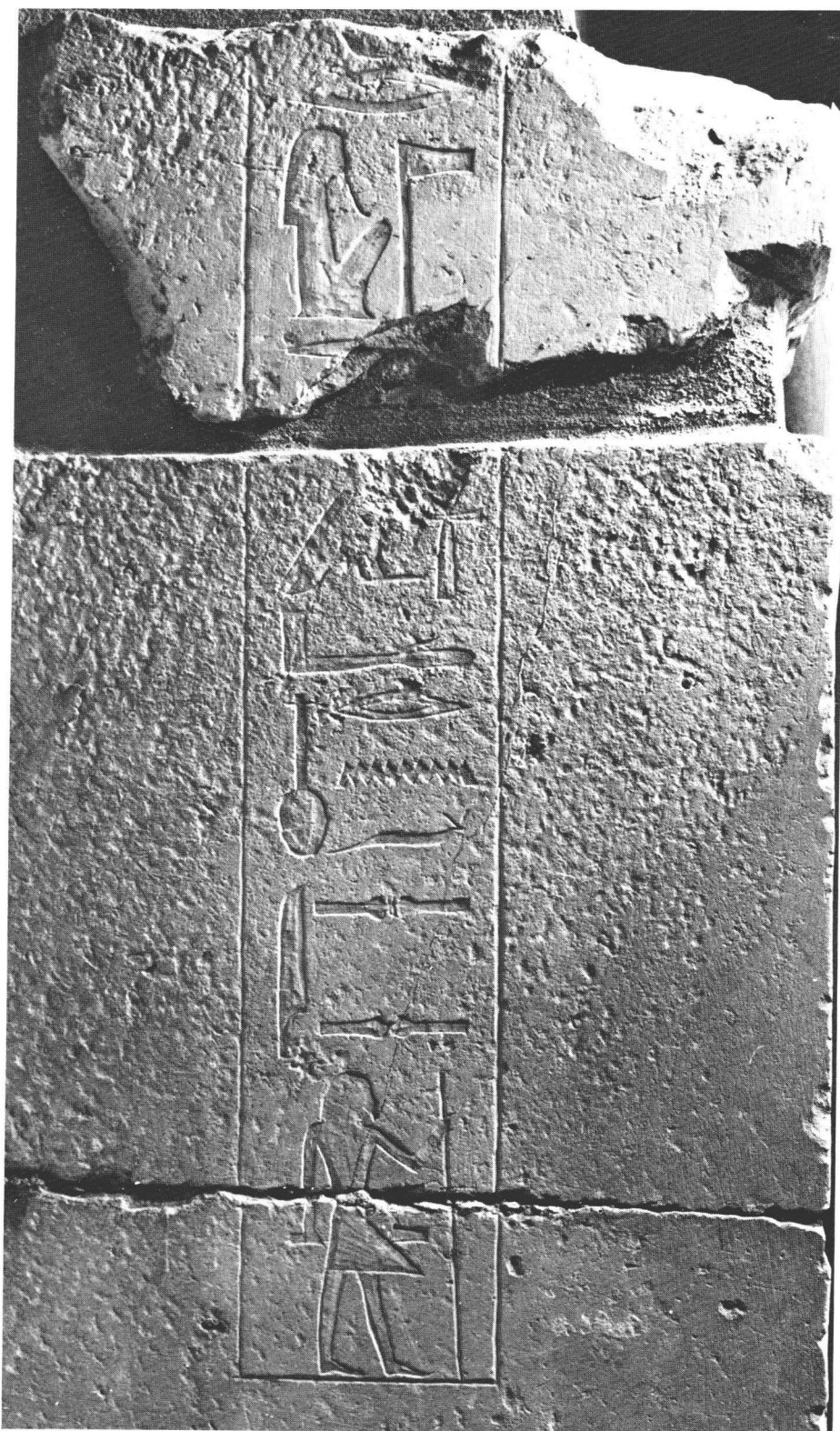
Pl. 67. Ballet (VI, south, in alcove).



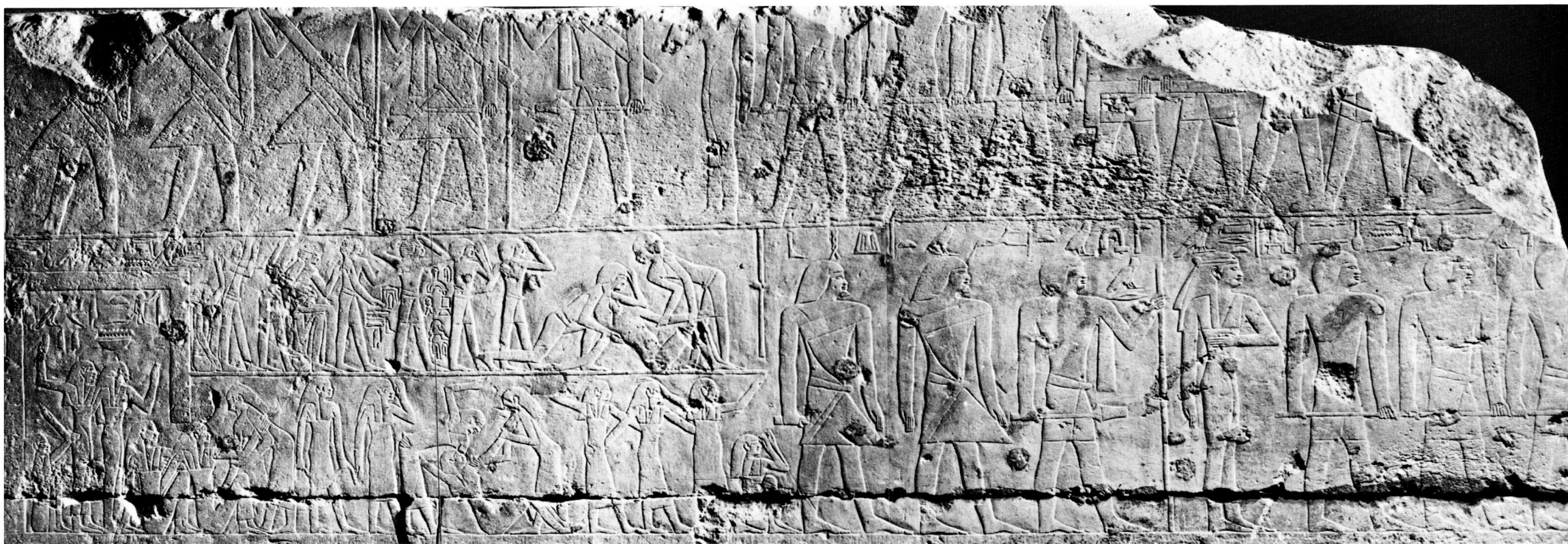
Pl. 68. 'Ankhm'ahor and his sons (VI, east, in alcove).



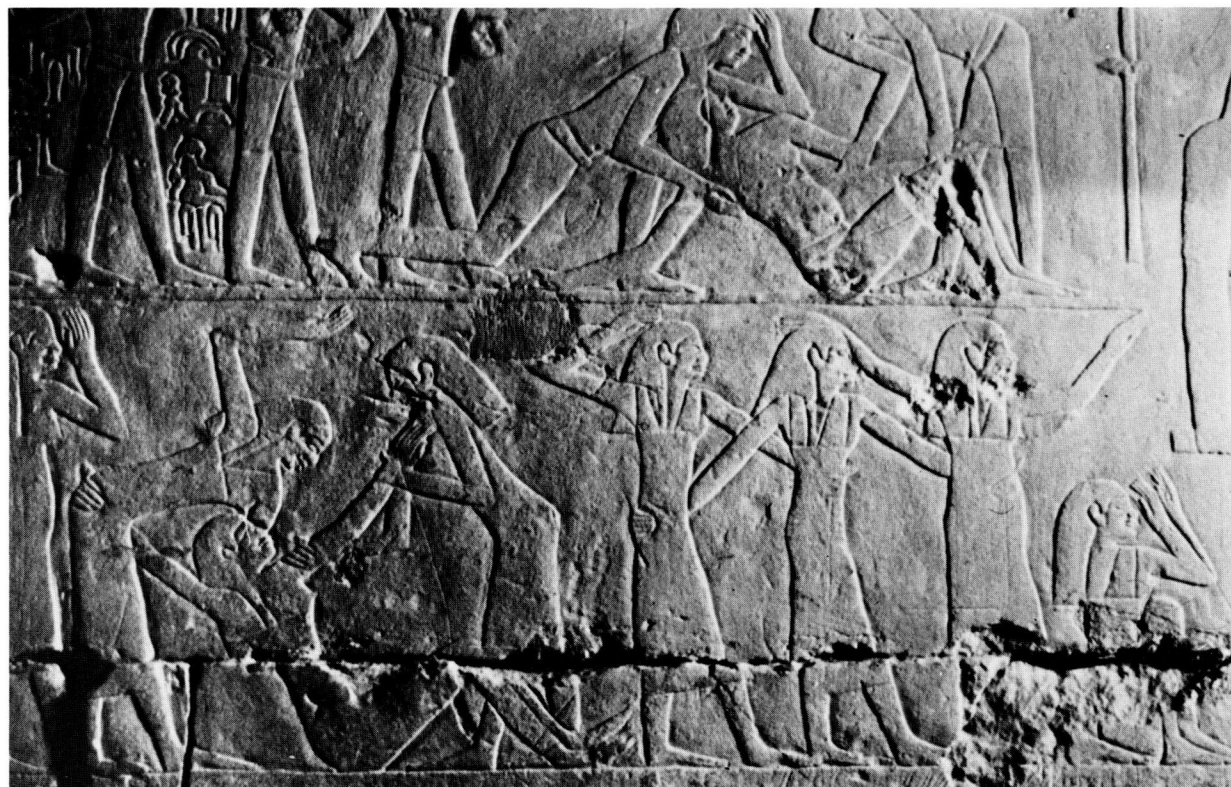
Pl. 69. Tending cattle (VI, north, in alcove).



Pl. 70. Inscription in sunk relief on north anta (west face).



Pl. 71. Funeral of 'Ankhm'ahor (VI, south).



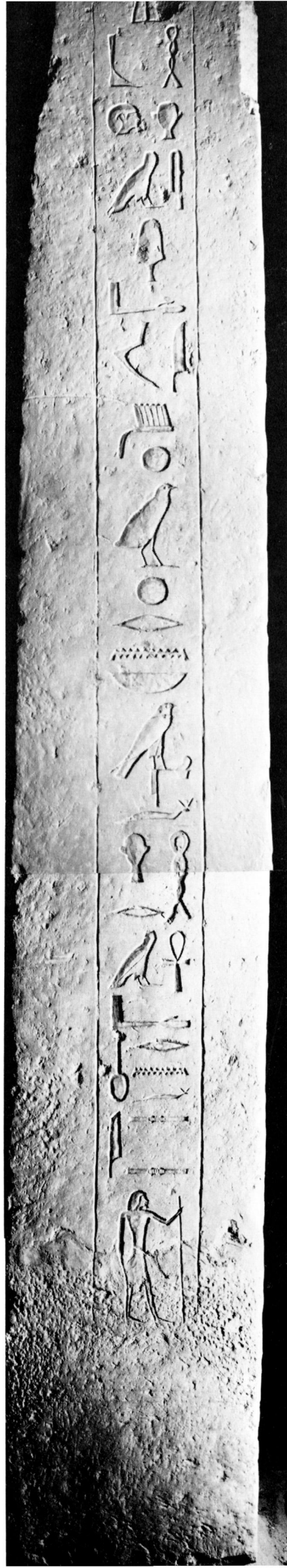
Pl. 72. Wailing women following funeral procession (VI, south).



Pl. 73. Freight boats moored (VI, upper block, south).



Pl. 74. Pillar 5: east face.



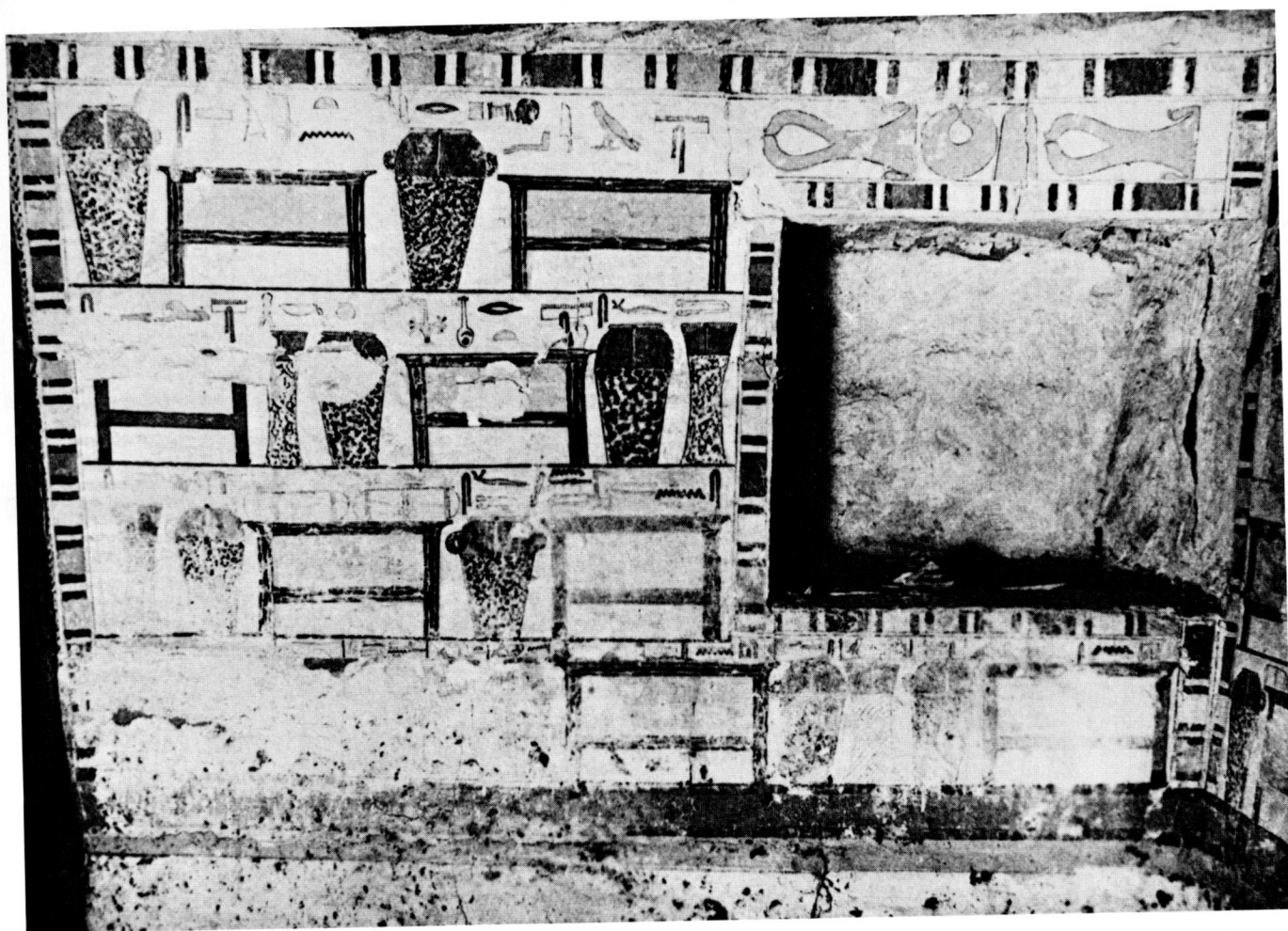
Pl. 75. Pillar 5: south face.



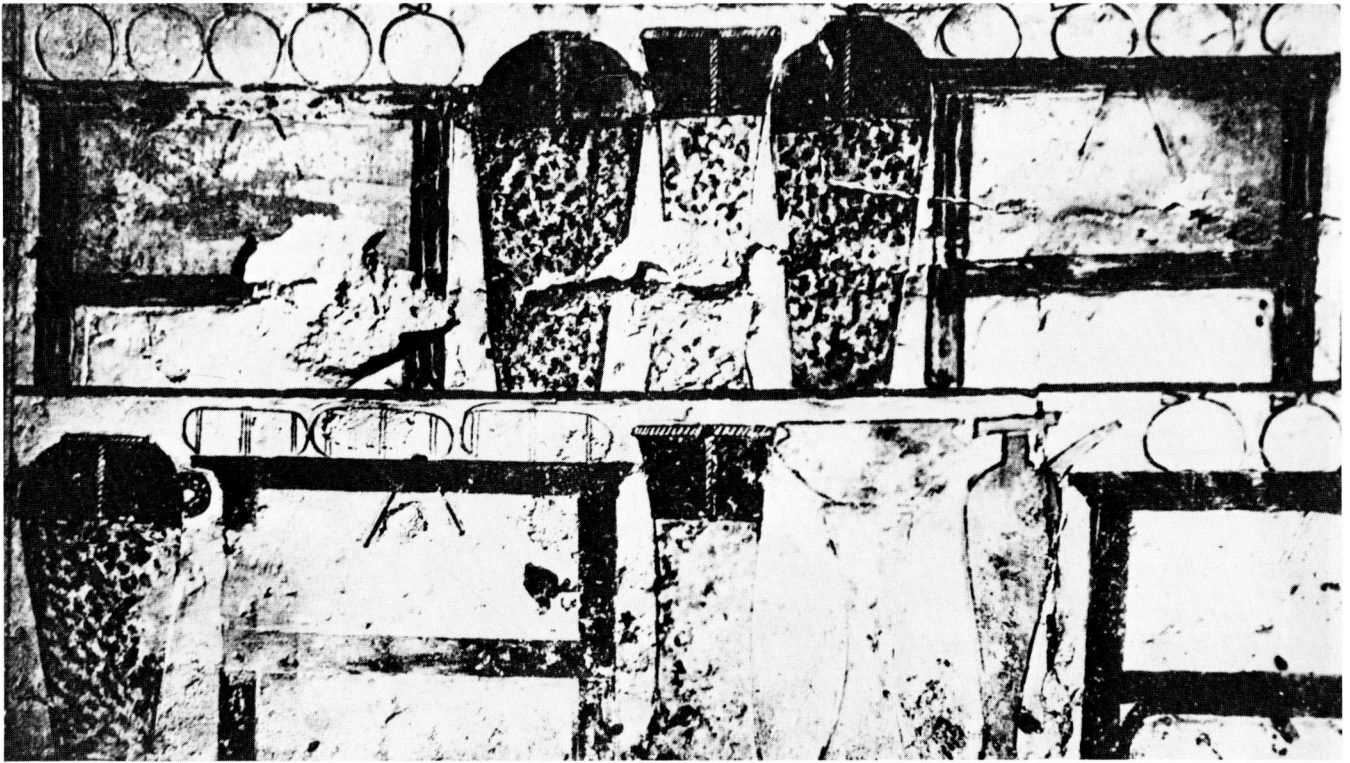
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Pl. 77. Sarcophagus chamber: east wall murals (after Firth and Gunn, TPC, II, pl. 6).



Pl. 78. Sarcophagus chamber: south wall (after Firth and Gunn, TPC, II, pl. 6).



Pl. 79a. Sarcophagus chamber: west wall (after Firth and Gunn, TPC, II, pl. 6).



Pl. 79b. Sarcophagus chamber: west wall (continued).



Pl. 80. Sarcophagus chamber: north wall (photograph corrected; after Firth and Gunn, TPC, II, pl. 6).



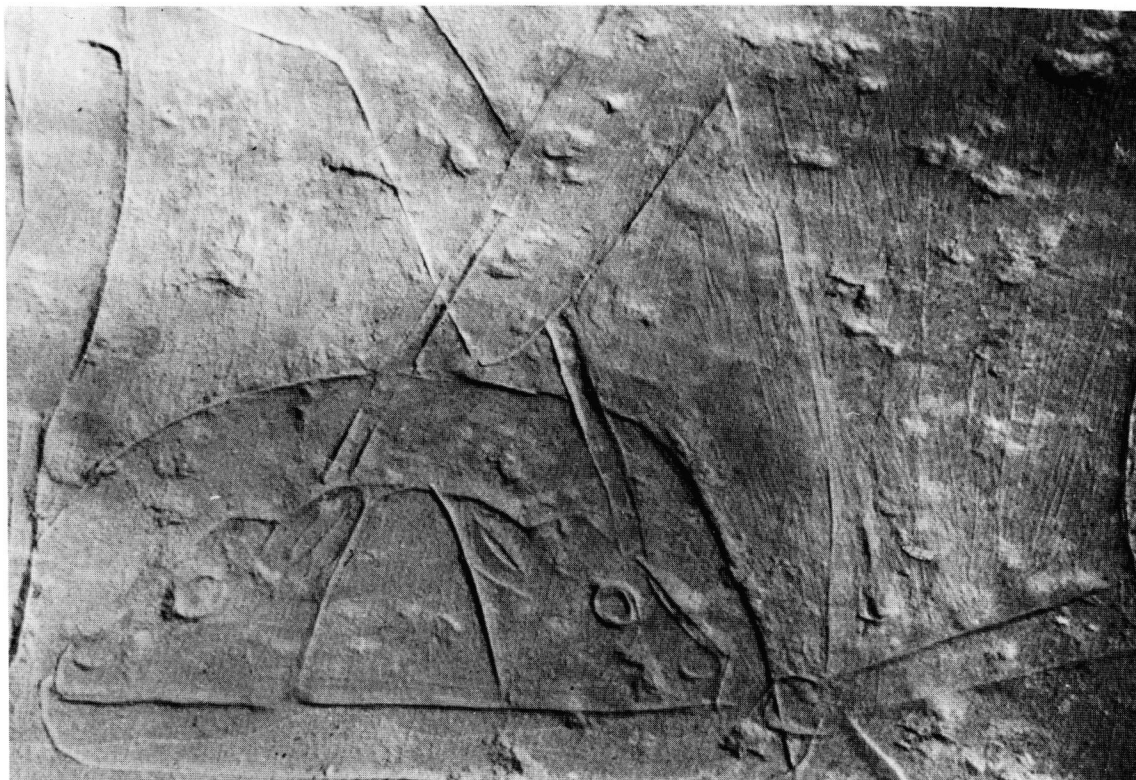
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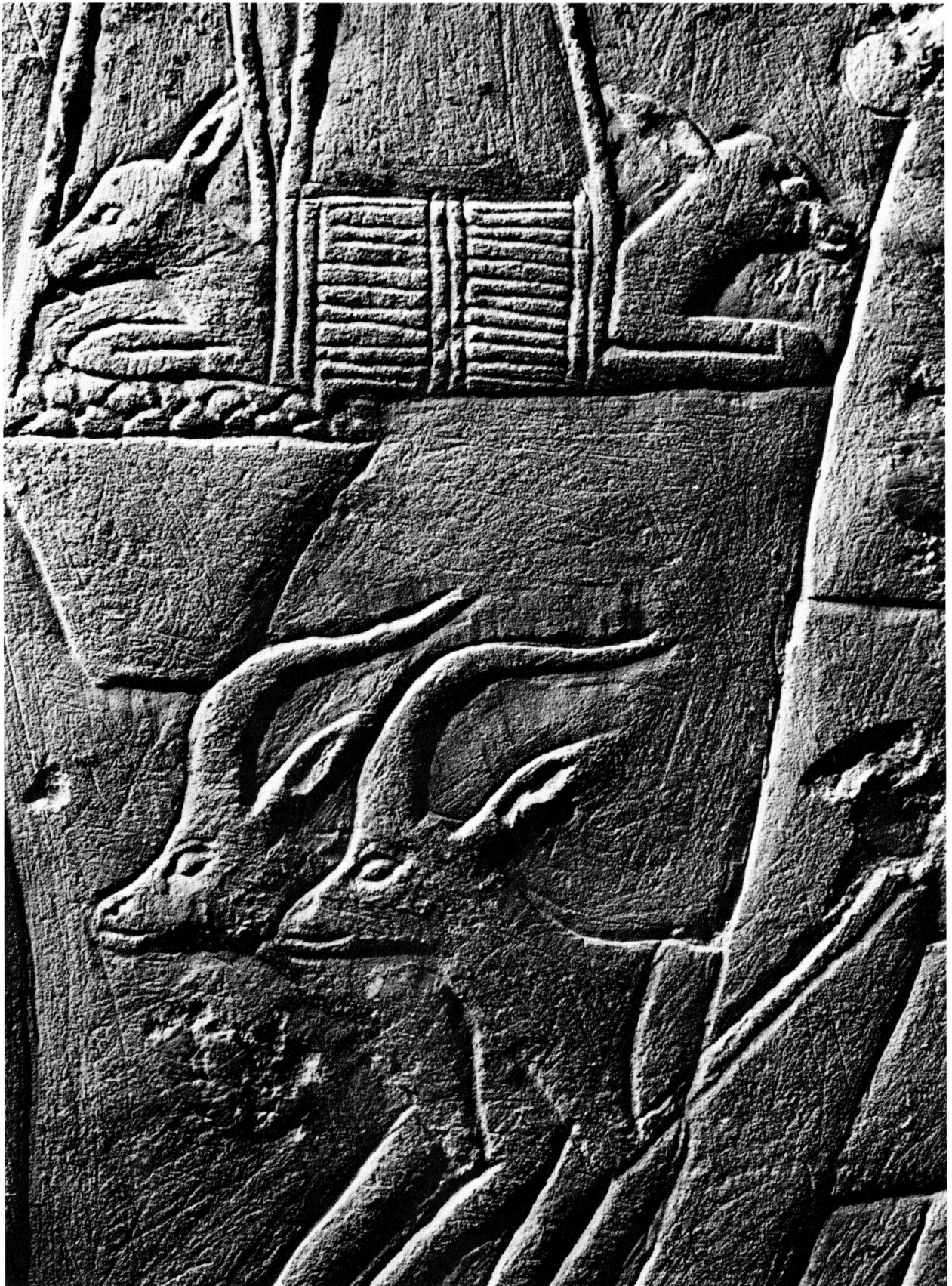
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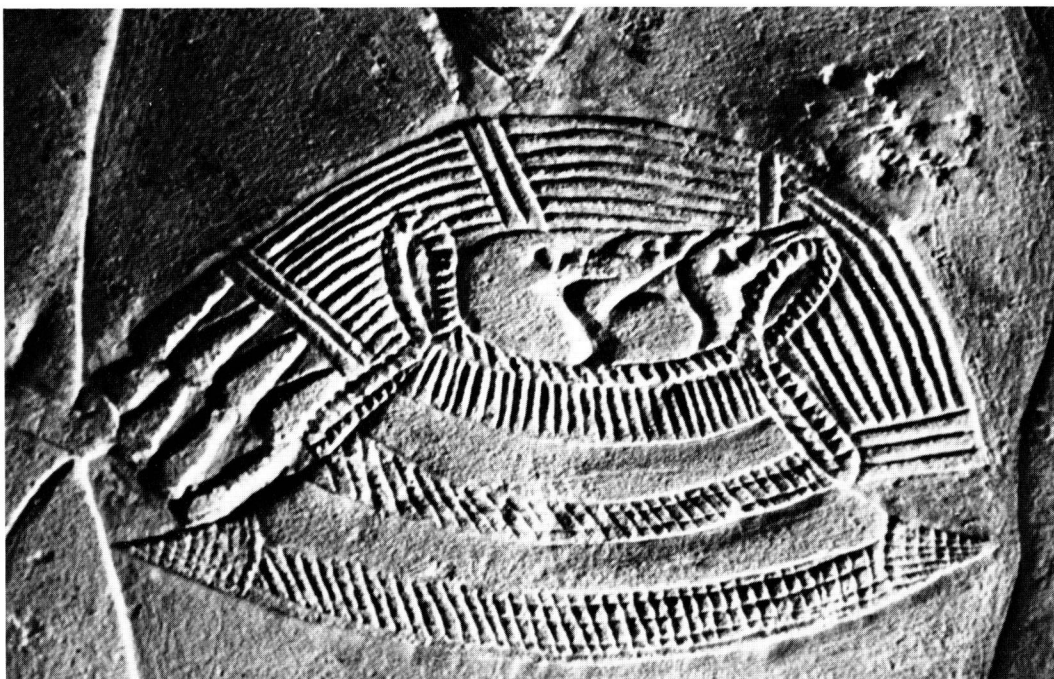
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