

The Realm of the Pharaohs

Essays in Honor of Tohfa Handoussa



Volume I

Edited by
Zahi A. Hawass,
Khaled A. Daoud
and Sawsan Abd El-Fattah

CAHIER N° 37



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Massive golden finger ring
(University Museum, inv.-no. 1929).

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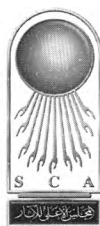
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THE WASHERMAN OF THE GOD, SENENU

Edward BROVARSKI

The tomb of the Washerman of the God, Senenu, was found by Professor Abu Bakr in 1952.* A view of the mastaba and of the panel of the northern false door of Senenu have previously been published.¹ It is the northern of Senenu's two false doors which forms the principal subject of the present article. But first something should be said about the physical appearance of Senenu's mastaba and chapel.

The Mastaba, Chapel and False Doors

Senenu's mastaba is built of mud brick and has an exterior corridor chapel along the eastern façade of the mastaba (Fig. 1).² The entrance is in the east wall at the north end of the corridor. Counting from the southern end of the chapel, there are three pairs of niches consisting of a compound niche and a simple niche. The compound niche of the third pair actually comprises a stone false door. The principle northern niche that succeeds is likewise of stone, but is not paired with a simple niche unless one takes into account the simple niche further north, but at a some distance from the northern false door. If this is so, the two simple and two compound niches at the northern end of the corridor would form another pair of niches, in which case there would actually be six pairs of niches. Depending on whether there are an even or odd number of niches, the chapel would conform to Reisner's type (8b) or (8c).³

Opposite the northern stone niche or false door is a deep embrasure which clearly marks this false door as the principal offering place of the mastaba. A deep embrasure also opens in front of the first compound niche in the northern section of the corridor. Emphasizing that this was a subsidiary offering place is the presence of an uninscribed limestone libation basin at the bottom of the same niche (not shown in the plan in Fig. 1). Presumably, the funerary priests or relatives of the deceased might place the funerary offerings and ritual objects in these embrasures in the course of the regular feasts of the necropolis.

Reisner assumed that the exterior chapels at Giza were roofed over. At present there is a modern wooden shed and door enclosing the southern section of the

corridor with the two stone false doors. A photograph from Professor Abdel-Moneim Abu Bakr's archive shows the length of the corridor after clearance, but there is no evidence visible that the corridor was actually roofed. The pristine state of the northern false door might argue that at least the southern section of the corridor was originally covered over with a wooden roofing. On the other hand, the southern false door is badly weathered, and this could constitute evidence that the corridor was not roofed. Of course, the weathering could have occurred at a later date after an original roofing had collapsed and sand had drifted in that covered and protected the northern false door but left the southern false door exposed.

Except for the two stone false doors, the walls and niches in the southern section of the corridor are covered with a thick layer of yellowish mud plaster. There is no trace of the fine, hard lime plaster which originally covered the walls and niches of the northern section of the corridor. The lack of lime plaster on the walls of the southern section of the corridor could constitute another argument that this section of the corridor was roofed originally.

The two false doors are stone-built and not monolithic.⁴ In form they are close replicas of one another (Fig. 2). Both are two jamb false doors with an oblong panel that allows a figure of the wife of the tomb owner to be included (Fig. 3). In both false doors the apertures are wide and each almost half the size of the panel itself. The principal text on the panel is located above the heads of the seated figures and gives the name and titles of Senenu and his wife in one horizontal line (A). On either side of the pedestal of the table of bread, an abbreviated ideographic list appears (B). Between the faces of Senenu and his wife is inscribed a list of food and drink (C). In both cases the apertures of the false door are decorated with offering lists (D-G), although the contents of the lists vary somewhat. The panel itself is situated on the lintel (H) located on top of the jambs and, like the panel and apertures, occupies the entire space between the plain limestone frame of the false door. The drum of the northern false door gives the name and two titles of the tomb owner (I).

Unlike the northern false door, the jambs of the southern false door were never decorated. At an unknown date, the decorated jambs of the northern false door (J, K) were removed by thieves. The right-hand jamb ultimately made its way into the collections of the Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, but has been returned to Egypt recently (Pl. I).⁵ The left-hand jamb at present resides in the Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art of the Catholic University of Louvain (Pl. II).⁶ Its return too is being sought by Prof.-Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary-General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities. Knowledge of the existence of the two jambs is due to Dr. Nadine Cherpion, who published the Louvain jamb in 1991 and identified it as coming from the mastaba of Senenu on stylistic grounds.⁷ The original provenience of the jambs was confirmed by an expedition photograph which shows both jambs in situ.⁸

Regrettably, the thieves badly damaged the lintel of the false door in the process of forcibly removing the jambs, so that the end of the line of inscription is now missing. Fragments from the lintel found in the re-clearance of the chapel allowed the beginning of the inscription to be restored. Fortunately, another photograph from the Abu Bakr archive permits the restoration of the lintel inscription. Damage was also done to the sides of the two jambs in the process of extraction.

So far nothing has been said about the design of the table scene of the northern false door.⁹ Senenu and his wife, Ankherfenedjes, are seated on opposite sides of the same offering table. Senenu's right hand is extended to the half-loaves of bread on the table before him. So is Ankherfenedjes's right hand, while her other hand rests on her leg. Both individuals are seated on bull-legged stools whose side rails terminate in papyrus flower finials. The tendons are carefully delineated on three of the bull legs, but not on the front leg of Senenu's stool. The legs rest on frustrum-shaped supports with beaded moldings. The pedestal offering table set on the ground between the couple reaches to knee height. The tall stand with concave sides has a triangular perforation at the base. The twelve half-loaves of bread resting on the table top are of medium height and have lost their realistic aspect inasmuch as the lower part of the loaves no longer reflects the form of the mold in which the bread was baked.¹⁰

The top row of Senenu's wig of overlapping locks is higher than the rest and is filled in with divided vertical lines.¹¹ He wears a long panther-skin robe that reaches to his ankles. In his left hand, which rests on his chest, he grasps one end of the elaborate shoulder knot of the garment. No traces of paint are preserved on the garment; indeed, the only indication that the false door was ever painted are traces of black paint around the eyes of the couple. Hoop-bangles adorn Senenu's wrists, as they do those of Ankherfenedjes. Both husband and wife are barefooted. Ankherfenedjes wears a lappet wig and a long, tight-fitting dress with shoulder straps. Around the wig, she wears a floral diadem.

The Inscriptions

Section A

(1) *iry-ht ntr, hwty (ntr), w'b nswt Snnw.* (2) *iry-ht nswt 'nh-r-fnd.s.*

(1) The custodian of the god's property, the washerman (of the god), and king's *w'b*-priest, Senenu. (2) The (female) custodian of the god's property, Ankherfenedjes.

Section B

(1) *kꜣ hꜣ, (2) mꜣhd hꜣ.*

(1) a thousand oxen, (2) a thousand oryx.

Section C

iʿ ʿwy, bd, nbs hʷ, iʃd hʷ, dʒb hʷ, irp hʷ, hnqt hʷ, t hʷ, iħt nbt nfr(t) hʷ, wnš hʷ, ʿwʿhʿ hʷ, t nbs hʷ, iʿ ʿwy, bd.

Implements for washing hands, natron, a thousand baskets of Christ's thorn fruit, a thousand baskets of Hegelig-fruit,¹² a thousand baskets of figs, a thousand double jars of wine,¹³ a thousand jars of beer, a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand of every good thing, a thousand raisins,¹⁴ a thousand baskets of 'earth almonds',¹⁵ a thousand loaves of bread from Christ's thorn fruit, implements for washing hands, natron.

Section D

idmy št(?) hʷ, diw hʷ, št(?) hʷ, ifdw hʷ, ifdw hʷ, snwi hʷ, szf hʷ.

Idmy-linen:¹⁶ a thousand of 100? (cubits wide), a thousand of five (cubits wide), a thousand of 100? (cubits wide), a thousand of four (cubits wide), a thousand of four (cubits wide), a thousand of two (cubits wide), a thousand of width *sezef(?)*.

Sšr št(?) hʷ, diw hʷ, št(?) hʷ, ifdw hʷ, ifdw hʷ, snwi hʷ, szf hʷ.

Sšr-linen: a thousand of 100? (cubits wide), a thousand of five (cubits wide), a thousand of 100? (cubits wide), a thousand of four (cubits wide), a thousand of four (cubits wide), a thousand of two (cubits wide), a thousand of width *sezef(?)*.




Šmʿt nfrt št(?) hʷ, diw hʷ, št(?) hʷ, ifdw hʷ, ifdw hʷ, snwi hʷ, szf hʷ.

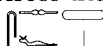

Fine linen: a thousand of 100? (cubits wide), a thousand of five (cubits wide), a thousand of 100? (cubits wide), a thousand of four (cubits wide), a thousand of four (cubits wide), a thousand of two (cubits wide), a thousand of width *sezef(?)*.








ʿʒ št(?) hʷ, diw hʷ, št(?) hʷ, ifdw hʷ, ifdw hʷ, snwi hʷ, ifdw hʷ, snwi hʷ.

Aa-linen: a thousand of 100? (cubits wide), a thousand of five (cubits wide), a thousand of 100? (cubits wide), a thousand of four (cubits wide), a thousand of four (cubits wide), a thousand of two (cubits wide), a thousand of four (cubits wide), a thousand of two (cubits wide).

Comments

There are four main divisions in the linen list, each composed of nine compartments arranged in a column. In the large compartment at the top of each division, the quality of cloth is marked by the signs for *idmy*, *sšr*, *šmʿt nfrt*, and ʿʒ. Both *sšr* and ʿʒ are determined by the *mnħt*-sign. Beneath the heading for each kind of linen, the remaining eight compartments in the four columns are grouped in pairs. The upper compartment of each pair contains a series of signs, sometimes a strip of cloth , sometimes horizontal strokes, and sometimes multiples of the sign . The lower compartment of each pair contains one or two  signs. The signs contained in the

compartments of the first column are repeated verbatim across the other three rows, all except for the last row. In this row the designative word  is reiterated three times, but the last column once again contains  signs.

The horizontal strokes and the  signs indicate the breadth of the cloth in cubits,¹⁷ while *szf* represents an unusually narrow width of cloth such as might have been used for belts or ribbons.¹⁸ All this is fairly straightforward, but the strip of cloth which is the foremost entry in eight of the compartments is problematical. Nevertheless, a measurement of breadth is expected, and this calls to mind the largest measurement of breadth in linen lists of the Fourth Dynasty. Commonly written  *št*, 'one hundred', and representing a 'hundred cubits' width, in certain lists the measurement may be written  or .¹⁹ It is the absence of  that is puzzling in the present case, but it is important to observe the presence of  in the linen list of Seshemnefer I (G 4940) to the exclusion of all other measurements of width (see Fig. 6d). It therefore seems very likely that the strip of cloth in both Senenu's and Seshemnefer's linen lists stands for  *št*, 'one hundred'.

Section E

Hꜣt tpꜣ sꜥꜣ-hb, hꜣt tpꜣ hknw, hꜣt tpꜣ ib(r), hꜣt tpꜣ 'dnt, hꜣtt mrꜥt, snꜥr, dbn hꜣ, ʒ' hꜣ, hn hꜣ, hꜣt-ʕ, tnn, i'(ʒ), sꜥꜣ hꜣ, mnꜥt.

First quality²⁰ festival unguent,²¹ first quality *hknw*-oil,²² first quality *ib(r)*-oil,²³ first quality *'dnt*-oil,²⁴ best quality oil,²⁵ incense, a thousand round-topped baskets,²⁶ a thousand linen bags,²⁷ a thousand flat-lidded boxes,²⁸ a document case,²⁹ a *tnn*-box,³⁰ a mantle,³¹ a thousand pieces of linen, clothing.

Section F

Idmy hꜣ, sꜥꜣ hꜣ, šm'(t) hꜣ, ʒ hꜣ, šꜣ(?) hꜣ.

A thousand pieces of *idmy*-linen, a thousand pieces of *sꜥꜣ*-linen, a thousand pieces of *šm'(t)*-linen, a thousand pieces of *ʒ*-linen, a thousand pieces of *šꜣ*-linen(?).³²

Hn hꜣ, tꜣꜣ hꜣ, dbn hꜣ, wrs hꜣ.

A thousand flat-lidded boxes, a thousand *tꜣꜣ*-chests,³³ a thousand round-topped baskets, a thousand headrests.

Comments

The abbreviated linen list inscribed at the top of the right aperture, and the furniture list below it, lack vertical dividing lines. Nevertheless, the linen types in the first instance and the items of furniture in the second are arranged in horizontal rows, three rows in the first instance and two in the second. In case of the linen list, the hieroglyphs referring to the different qualities of cloth occupy the first row, a *mnꜥt*-determinative follows in the second row and the third row is occupied by *hꜣ*-signs. The furniture list occupies only two rows, with the words for the objects

spelled out in the first row, and the determinative followed by a *h3*-sign in the second row.

Section G

In contrast to the lists contained in Sections D-F, the objects depicted in the upper of two compartments of Section G are not accompanied by phonograms. The objects depicted are (from left to right) two floppy-topped bags, a carrying chair, a large box, a cylinder-seal attached to a bead-necklace and a round-topped basket. Three of these items we have already encountered in Sections E and F: the tubular bags (*3'*), the box (*hn*) and the round-topped basket (*dbn*).

The form of *3'* represents an elongated bag bound at the neck that was used, among other purposes, to store sticks and staves³⁴ and musical instruments.³⁵ An example from the painted burial chamber of Kaiemankh has the body of the bag painted red and the top painted white.³⁶ The top of the sign flops over, as it does in Senenu's tomb, and this, combined with the white color, suggests that the upper part of the case was made of linen. On the other hand, elongated bags like this could stand by themselves,³⁷ so the red-painted body of the bag in Kaiemankh should be of a stiffer material, possibly leather considering the red color. An elongated, tubular case found in the burial chamber of Queen Hetepheres tomb I at Giza was indeed composed of leather and differed from the *3'*-bags depicted here only in that it had metal-covered disks at both top and bottom.³⁸

Hn(w) boxes are generally rectangular boxes of simple design and varying dimensions with flat lids and were usually supported on battens. On the other hand, they can on occasion be provided with short legs or sit on separately manufactured stands made to look like a low table. Sometimes they are provided at the top with a cavetto cornice and torus molding. By the end of the Old Kingdom, *hn(w)* had become the generic term for virtually any kind of box or chest, including chests with gable lids, though there is no question that it continued to be used to designate simple rectangular boxes and chests supported on battens.³⁹ The determinative of *hn*, portrayed three times on Senenu's false door, shows a box from above, with two pairs of cord loops which would have fitted around the button handle in the middle of the chest and then been sealed with a lump of wet clay.⁴⁰

The cylinder-seal attached to a bead-necklace is familiar as a hieroglyph, in the title *hmty bity*, for example. Here extraordinarily it is shown as an independent object.

The body of the carrying chair with its high back, the curved frame of the armrest on one side, one of the side boards of the footrest and one of the carrying poles are all shown. The one end of the carrying pole that is visible appears to be capped with a palmiform finial, like the carrying chair of Queen Hetepheres I.⁴¹ Unlike the latter, the curved frame of the armrest appears to be mounted directly on the side board of the footrest. The carrying chair or litter was a sign of high social rank and importance.⁴²

The use of a carrying chair was a prerogative bestowed by the king, who also assigned noble youths of the Residence to carry the chair.⁴³ Its presence here is indicative of the esteem in which Senenu was held by his sovereign, and assured by sympathetic magic the continued use of a carrying chair by Senenu in the next world. Carrying chairs also appear in the furniture lists of Hathor-nefer-hetep Rahotep and Seshemnofer I.⁴⁴

The lower of the two compartments of Section G contains a portrayal of a boat with a light cabin aft of amidships and with a hedgehog prow. The term for hedgehog is *hnt*,⁴⁵ and the word for this type of boat by extension is apparently *hnt(y)*.⁴⁶ What is interesting here is what appears to be a reduplication of the last two radicals of the word.⁴⁷ Boats like this feature in the 'journey to the West' on the walls of Old Kingdom mastabas.⁴⁸ Droste zu Hölshoff suggests that the ancient Egyptians, like the later classical authors, believed the hedgehog could foretell the coming of the wind.⁴⁹

Section H

(1) *Htp-[dī] Ġnpw 'qr's.ti.f iʒw m nb imʒh iry-ht nswt, hwt(y)-ntr, w'b nswt, Sn[nw. Hmt.f irt-ht nswt nbt imʒh 'nh-r-fnd.s].*

(1) An offering which Anubis [gives] that he be [bur]ied after he had achieved old age as a possessor of reverence, (namely) the custodian of the king's property, the washerman of the god, the king's *w'b*-priest, Sene[nu. His wife, the (female) custodian of the king's property, the possessor of reverence, Ankherfenedjes].

Section I (Right-hand jamb)

(1) *Ġry-ht nswt, w'b nswt, Snnw.*

(1) The custodian of the king's property, the king's *w'b*-priest, Senenu.

Section J

(1) *Ġry-ht nswt, w'b [nswt], hwt(y)-ntr Snnw.*

(1) The custodian of the king's property, the [king's] *w'b*-priest, the washerman of the god, Senenu.

(3) *Snnw 'nds';* (4) *ʒʒ ʒʒ.f.*

(3) Senenu 'the Younger'; (4) the son of his son.

(5) *W'b nswt, Ġr-kʒ(.i)-Hwfw.*

(5) The king's *w'b*-priest, Ir-kai-khufu.⁵⁰

(6) *W'b nswt, Hwfw-snb.*

(6) The king's *w'b*-priest, Khufu-seneb.⁵¹

Section K (Left-hand jamb)

(1) *Ġryt-ht nswt mwt.s Ġʒl.* (2) *Mwt n hmt.f p(w).*

(1) The (female) custodian of the king's property, her mother, Izi.⁵² (2) It is the mother of his wife.

- (3) *İryt-ht nswt 'nh-r-fnd.s.* (4) *Hmt.f p(w).*
 (3) The (female) custodian of the king's property, Ankherfenedjes.
 (4) It is his wife.
 (5) *İryt-ht [nswt] Hpt-k3.*
 (5) The (female) custodian of the [king's] property, Hepetka.⁵³
 (6) *İryt-ht nswt Mrt.* (7) *Hmt 33f p(w).*
 (6) The (female) custodian of the king's property, Meret.⁵⁴
 (7) It is the wife of his son.
 (8) *Snnw 'nds'.* (8) Senenu the Younger.

Comments

Fischer thought that the use of the circumlocution 'the mother of his wife', in Section K, instead of *šmt.f*, the word for 'mother-in-law', is doubtless to be explained by the fact that the mother-in-law and wife are represented side by side and the parallel phrasing of inscriptions K 1-2 and 3-4.⁵⁵

The Tomb Owner, His Family and Social Position

Senenu was evidently proud of his family, for he had represented on the jambs of his false door some four generations of his family. First of all, there was his wife Ankherfenedjes's mother, Izi, shown embraced by her daughter in the upper register of the right-hand jamb. Depicted in the upper register of the left-hand jamb is Senenu himself with his two sons Ir-kai-khufu and Khufu-seneb in the register below. Shown together with his grandfather on the upper register is Senenu's grandson, Senenu the Younger. In the bottom register of the right-hand jamb are two women, the second of whom is definitely a daughter-in-law of Senenu and Ankherfenedjes because the inscription behind her figure tells us that this is so. She is accompanied by Senenu the Younger who is presumably her son. If the order in which the two female figures are depicted here and the order of the sons on the left jamb directly opposite means anything, it seems likely that Hepetka was the wife of Ir-kai-khufu and Meret the spouse of Khufu-seneb. It is curious that Senenu did not depict his own mother and father. Perhaps Senenu married above him and Ankherfenedjes's parents had more status than Senenu's own mother and father. But this last is conjectural.

In the inscriptions on his false door, Senenu is *İry-ht nswt* 'custodian of the king's property', and *w' b nswt*, 'king's w' b-priest'. Otherwise, he is *İry-ht ntr*, 'custodian of the god's property', and *hwty-ntr*, 'washerman of the god',

From the very start the title *İry-ht nswt* was designed simply for those persons (both of royal and nonroyal origin) who were in some way associated with the duties or service to the king at his court. The evidence suggests that at least down to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty the title was a mark of distinction, the ranking title associated with officials who attained high positions at the royal court.⁵⁶ Thereafter

the title still remained an indicator of royal favor, even though it was no longer held by the highest ranking officials, but rather by officials of the treasury and granary, building overseers, scribes, craftsmen, overseers of ointments, overseers of weavers, physicians, priests of the royal mortuary temples and the sun temples and so on,⁵⁷ in other words by practically anyone concerned with the administration of state business on any level. As an honorary title, the feminine equivalent, *iry-ht nswt*, was also held by the wives of many of these officials. So is the case, for instance, with Ankherfenedjes.⁵⁸

The title *W^cb nswt* is very commonly coupled with *iry-ht nswt*, as it is on the drum of Senenu's false door.⁵⁹ The priesthood in Old Kingdom Egypt comprised two main classes, the priests (*hmw-ntr*) being the higher and the *w^cb*-priests (*w^cbw*) the lower.⁶⁰ *W^cb*, literally 'pure' or 'clean one' was a general term for priest in later times, and was retained in Coptic to designate the Christian priest.⁶¹ In the Old Kingdom, *w^cb*-priests served in the cults of a limited number of deities, namely Wadjet, Wepwawet, Min, Nemty, Ptah, Hathor, Re and Sekhmet.⁶² Less commonly, *w^cb*-priests were attached to the sun temples of the Fifth Dynasty kings.⁶³ The mortuary cults of the kings in particular, down to and including Teti,⁶⁴ were serviced by *w^cb*-priests,⁶⁵ after which time the title appears to have fallen into neglect.⁶⁶ As *w^cb nswt (n) pr-ꜥ*, *w^cb*-priests also seem to have been employed in the palace.⁶⁷

There is no evidence that Senenu as *w^cb nswt* was attached to a royal mortuary cult. As is the case with those individuals who were *w^cb (n) nswt pr-ꜥ*, he may well have served in the royal palace.⁶⁸ This would be in keeping with his titles of *iry-ht ntr* and *hwty-ntr*, especially if *ntr* in the two titles refers to the king, as it sometimes does in titles, and not a god as such.⁶⁹

An idea of the economic status of the holders of the title *w^cb nswt* can be had from the tombs they constructed for themselves and their families. These were medium-sized mastabas of stone, rubble or mud brick, but with limited figurative and inscriptional decoration (false doors or false door panels, lintels and drums, entrance thicknesses).⁷⁰ On occasion, the tombs were equipped with statues.⁷¹ None of the tombs had scenes of daily life on their walls.

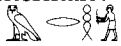
Two other individuals in the Abu Bakr Cemetery, like Senenu, are *iry-ht nswt*, *w^cb nswt*. Their tombs form a useful contrast to Senenu's mastaba, but still fall within the parameters defined above. Unlike his, these two mastabas are stone-built, constructed of medium-sized blocks of local limestone.

The first of these, an interior symmetrical chapel (cruciform) with two false doors in the west wall with the doorway opposite the space between,⁷² belonged to *Kꜣ-tp* and his wife *Tp-m-nfrt*.⁷³ The northern false door, which is inscribed for *Kꜣ-tp*, forms the principal offering place.⁷⁴ All surfaces of the false door are decorated with figures and inscriptions, including a frame around the false door niche. In contrast, the decoration of *Tp-m-nfrt*'s false door is confined to the architrave, panel and drum. Except for the

inscribed lintel and drum of the entrance, these are the only decorated elements of the mastaba.




The second tomb belongs to an individual named *Snb* or just possibly *Tpꜣ-snb*.⁷⁵ It is an open-air chapel of corridor form built against an older mastaba to the east. The chapel proper consists of a deep-roofed niche lined with stone.⁷⁶ The side walls of the niche and the false door at its back are completely decorated with depictions of the deceased, his family and attendants. In addition to the chapel proper, there are two compound niches and a simple niche cut into the façade, all uninscribed.

The ideogram for *hwty* in Senenu's title of *hwty-ntr* evidently represents a man beating a piece of linen on a stone from which arises a curved stream of water (Fig. 4). The water is actually striated on the example on the horizontal line of inscription above the head of the seated image of Senenu on the panel of the false door.

The ordinary word for 'washerman' is *rhty*, a term which according to *Wb.* II, 448, is only attested since the Middle Kingdom. *Hwty* is perhaps an earlier word for 'washerman'. The word is not common, although it is possible that it recurs in the title , 'overseer of washermen', on a libation basin of Old Kingdom date from Giza.⁷⁷ It does not seem that the word survived into the Middle Kingdom. As early as the late Old Kingdom or Ninth Dynasty, the verb *rht* is determined with the figure of a man beating a piece of linen against a stone.⁷⁸ Similarly, at Beni Hasan two workmen beating cloth against a stone are labeled *rht*, 'washing'.⁷⁹ In our present state of knowledge, the function of the *hwty* and the *rhty* thus seems identical.

The Names of the Tomb Owner and His Wife

Snnw (*sn.nw*) is actually the cardinal number for 'second'.⁸⁰ Senenu was most probably the second child of his parents or possibly the second son. *Hmt.nw*, 'the Third', is also known as a personal name.⁸¹

The name Senenu actually appears in two different orthographies on the northern false door, as pointed out to me by Professor Erich Winter during a visit to the Abu Bakr Cemetery in 2000. In general, the name is written , but in the line of inscription above Senenu and his wife it appears as . The oval sign  is the determinative for 'round' in *snw*, 'circuit', and related words, but it is difficult to account for its presence in Senenu's name.

The name of Senenu's wife, Ankherfenedjes (*nh-r-fnd.s*), 'Life is at her nose', is paralleled by a masculine variant of the same name in the tomb of Nefermaat and Atet at Medum, one of whose sons was called Ankherfenedjef (*nh-r-fnd.f*), 'Life is at his nose'.⁸² Another son of the couple is Ankhercheretef (*nh-r-šrt.f*), 'Life is at his nostril(s)'.⁸³ *Wb.* translates both *fnd* and *šrt* as 'nose',⁸⁴ but also notes that *šrt* is used in the dual in medical texts, and it is thus likely that the latter word designates the two nostrils.⁸⁵

Both words occur in other personal names. The wife of Sekhentiu-ka, the owner of an Old Kingdom tomb in the Central Field at Giza, is a certain Ni-ankh-sheret (Ny-*nh-*

šrt), 'Life belongs to the nostril(s)'.⁸⁶ An ancestor of Sarenput II in the Middle Kingdom at Aswan was one Nebfendjet (*Nb-fnd.t*), 'Possessor of a (big) nose'.⁸⁷ The personal name Fenedj(ey) (*Fnd[y]*), 'The one of the (big) nose', likewise occurs at Aswan.⁸⁸

The Date of the Tomb

The precise dating of Senenu's tomb has been a matter of controversy, the tomb being variously assigned, by Barta to the end of the Fourth Dynasty, by Leclant to the Fifth Dynasty, by Porter and Moss to the same dynasty and by Kees to the end of the Fifth or the Sixth Dynasty.⁸⁹ The most recent effort to date the tomb is that of Nadine Cherpion in her study of dating criteria for Old Kingdom tombs. A number of the criteria put forth by Cherpion are useful in demonstrating that the tomb probably antedates the second half of the Fifth Dynasty. These include: (1) the depiction of the cushion on the chair of the owner so that only the rear of the cushion shows (Criterion 3); (2) the medium height of the topmost row of overlapping locks (calotte) of the short wig (Criterion 29); (3) the 'dog collar' or 'choker' worn without a *wsh*-collar (by the daughters-in-law of Senenu on the right-hand jamb of his false door) (Criterion 45).⁹⁰ Cherpion believes that the most reliable means of dating a particular tomb is the presence of a king's cartouche on its walls.⁹¹ In the case of the three criteria just cited, the last king whose name can be read on the walls of the tombs where these criteria appear is Neuserre.⁹²

Cherpion offers three other criteria which she feels are more useful in narrowing down the date of the mastaba of Senenu.⁹³ These are: (1) the presence of a linen list (Criterion 61); the existence of a list of vases (Criterion 64); and the long leopard skin garment worn by the tomb owner (Criterion 38). In fact, there is no list of vases properly speaking on Senenu's false door, but rather a list of oils. Otherwise, according to Cherpion, the last royal name that one reads on the walls of the mastabas where Criterion 61 and 38 appear is the name of Djedefre. The mastaba of Senenu is therefore not later than that king.⁹⁴

At the time when Cherpion published her study, she was evidently unaware that the two jambs from the northern false door of Senenu existed. The occurrence of Khufu's cartouche in the names of Senenu's two sons on the left-hand jamb would seem to confirm a Fourth Dynasty date for the mastaba of Senenu, assuming that Cherpion's methodological approach is correct. There are problems though as far as Criterion 61 and 38 are concerned. In the case of the linen list (Criterion 61), one of the two latest mastabas in which the criterion occurs is that of Seshemnefer I (G 4940), which is assigned by other scholars to the early Fifth Dynasty.⁹⁵ As far as the long leopard skin garment (Criterion 38) is concerned, it appears in three mastabas which are again dated by other authorities to the early Fifth Dynasty, but by Cherpion to the Fourth Dynasty, namely the mastabas of Seshathetep/Heti (G 5150), Ny-kai-nesut I (G 2155) and Tjenti (G 4920).⁹⁶

The mastabas of Seshemnefer I, Seshathetep/Heti, Ny-kai-nesut I and Tjenti are all L-shaped chapels with two false doors in the west wall. Reisner thought that the date of transition from one-niched L-shaped chapels to two-niched L-shaped chapels was the latter part of the Fourth Dynasty. The two-niched chapel was actually used in five mastabas previous to the reign of Menkaure. These chapels belonged to a queen of Khufu (G I-b), three princes of the royal family (G 4000, Hemiunu; G 2000, NN; G 7510, Ankhhaf) and a princess (G 7650, Akhethetep and Meretites). In the large mastabas at Giza after the reign of Menkaure, the chapels were usually the two-niched L-shaped chapels down to the end of the reign of Neferikare.⁹⁷

The decoration of the two-niched L-shaped chapels of the Fourth Dynasty at Giza was very limited in scope. These chapels show only the table scene, the offering scenes, the presentation scene and family groups (sometimes with smaller subsidiary scenes such as men bringing the funeral meal and the slaughter scene).⁹⁸ Smith has observed that there were two additions to the basic Fourth Dynasty repertoire of scenes. The first was the inclusion of the boats which generally appear over the entrance on the east wall, and which represented the journey to the sacred cities or the voyage of the soul to the fields of the west.⁹⁹ This 'journey to the West' is confined to a group of six two-niched L-shaped chapels in the West Field at Giza: Mer-ib, Seshathetep/Heti, Nesutnefer, Ny-kai-nesut I, Seshemnefer I and Wehemkai.¹⁰⁰ The close proximity of these tombs, as well as other similarities in their decoration,¹⁰¹ imply that these chapels were probably decorated by the same group of craftsmen or by artists who had received very similar training in sculpture and chapel design.¹⁰² In contrast to Cherpion, Harpur dates the chapels of Nesutnefer, Ny-kai-nesut I, Seshemnefer I and Wehemkai to the early Fifth Dynasty.¹⁰³ Mer-ib she assigns a slightly earlier date, from Shepseskaf to Userkaf.¹⁰⁴

In terms of dating these chapels, it is worth repeating a number of pertinent observations made by Kanawati in his dating of the chapels of Seshathetep/Heti and Nesutnefer.¹⁰⁵ The depiction of Nesutnefer leaning on his staff with one leg relaxed is found in tombs dated to the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, but not earlier.¹⁰⁶ The offering lists on the south walls of the chapels of both Seshathetep/Heti and Nesutnefer are, unlike the Fourth Dynasty ones, extensive, yet do not fit into the canonical pattern which seems to have been introduced in the non-royal tombs in or after the reign of Sahure.¹⁰⁷ With Nesutnefer probably copying scenes from Seshathetep/Heti's chapel, he is likely to be later, but perhaps not much later.¹⁰⁸ Kanawati concludes that Seshathetep/Heti's tomb was probably built and decorated in the middle of the reign of Sahure.¹⁰⁹ Kanawati also thinks Seshathetep/Heti may be identical with an individual named Heti who is depicted in the funerary temple of Sahure.¹¹⁰

In dating the tomb of Seshemnefer I, Kanawati, citing Cherpion, observes that the chair with back and cushion, on which the wife sits in the scene above the northern false door, was rare before the reign of Izezi and common afterwards.¹¹¹ In fact, the

names of the kings that one reads on monuments where this criterion (Criterion 6) is evident include the Fourth Dynasty kings Sneferu, Khufu, Djedefre and Menkaure, as well as later Fifth and Sixth Dynasty kings.¹¹² This is an important criterion, but in actual fact it can be demonstrated that none of the individuals whose monuments exhibit this feature and the cartouches of the Fourth Dynasty kings actually date to the Fourth Dynasty.

Ni-ankh-Sneferu/Fefi's tomb has a east-west chapel,¹¹³ a chapel type that first appears in the early Fifth Dynasty, becomes more frequent in the middle of that dynasty, and becomes the principal form of chapel in the Sixth Dynasty.¹¹⁴ Baud observes that Fefi's title [*hry s*]št n wḏ-mdw m ḥwwt wrt 6, cannot have preceded the creation of the department of the 'six great courts' around the time of Neuserre. Since the title itself under that form and numerous variants is only known a little later, he thinks the mastaba probably belongs to the end of the Fifth Dynasty.¹¹⁵ It should also be noted that Fefi has a three jamb false door with texts of even length and figures of equal height.¹¹⁶ In the Fifth Dynasty the inscriptions, size and decoration of the jambs of false doors became more regular: the length of the texts became even and the figures of the deceased on each jamb became of equal height. Strudwick connects this with the appearance of the cavetto cornice and torus molding, but notes that it took more time for the torus and cornice concept to become a standard feature of false doors than did the new layout of the jambs and their inscriptions.¹¹⁷ It is not certain from De Morgan's sketch of Fefi's false door that it possessed a torus molding (and cavetto cornice), but it is likely that it did. Taking into account the offering formula *ir.tw n.f sḥt* in *hry-ḥbt* on his false door, it is likely that Fefi belongs to the Sixth Dynasty.¹¹⁸

Sneferu-hetep's tomb has a straight corridor chapel entered from the north.¹¹⁹ At Giza the two-niched L-shaped chapel was succeeded in Fifth Dynasty by new types which presented increased wall areas. These new types include the corridor chapels, which became the prevailing type of chapel at Giza after the reign of Neferirkare.¹²⁰ In addition to the offering scenes, agricultural pursuits are shown on the east wall.¹²¹ Harpur remarks that that wall has a composition like that of Akhetetep (D 64) of the reigns of Izezi and Unis.¹²²

The chapel of Kahif is a rectangular room with a pillar in the center.¹²³ Smith notes that the table scene on the south wall is accompanied, as in the chapel of Iymery (G 6020), by small figures of members of the family who sit at little offering tables.¹²⁴ In addition, the east wall is covered with scenes from life resembling those of Nefer I (see below).¹²⁵ On the basis of a number of stylistic criteria, Cherpion herself concludes that the mastaba of Kahif is not anterior to Neuserre.¹²⁶

Like Sneferu-hetep, Nefer I has a straight corridor chapel.¹²⁷ The decoration includes outdoor and kiosk scenes with lotus presentation, dancers and clappers and agricultural and marsh sequences.¹²⁸ Banquet scenes are depicted in a few early chapels, but kiosk and pavilion scenes do not feature prominently in any chapel type

until the first half of the Fifth Dynasty.¹²⁹ It is likely that parts of the decoration in Nefer's tomb were copied from the tomb of Ny-kai-nesut II.¹³⁰ Ny-kai-nesut II was a priest of Khufu, but his tomb is unlikely to be as early as that king. It was built against the tomb of Ny-kai-nesut I, which Cherpion would date because of the occurrence of the cartouche of Khufu and on stylistic grounds to the reign of that king,¹³¹ but which other scholars assign to the early Fifth Dynasty.¹³² Ny-kai-nesut's tomb was still unfinished at the time of his death and was completed by his son, Ny-kai-nesut III. The latter circumstance makes it unlikely that the tomb of Ny-kai-nesut II dates to the Fourth Dynasty. The same conclusion draws support from a canonical offering list on the walls of Ny-kai-nesut II's chapel,¹³³ the appearance of which in the nonroyal cemeteries at Saqqara seems to date to the reign of Neferirkare, while at Giza the earliest canonical list appears in the tomb of Seshemnefer I.¹³⁴ A canonical offering list also appears on the walls of Nefer's tomb.¹³⁵ Since Ny-kai-nesut II dates to about mid-Fifth Dynasty, Nefer is likely to be at least as late.

The mastaba of Akhethetep is located in the Abu Bakr Cemetery at Giza. It adjoins the western side of the uninscribed 'Mastaba A'. The northern side of the latter mastaba is built against the southern end of the Fourth Dynasty mastaba of Hetep-ni-khnum tomb.¹³⁶ So Akhethetep's mastaba is probably later in date than Hetep-ni-khnum's.¹³⁷ It is also later in date than the mastaba of Persen tomb, for the northwest corner of the mastaba rests on the outer enclosure wall of the Persen Complex.¹³⁸ The latter mastaba is dated by Reisner to the first half of the Fifth Dynasty,¹³⁹ by Baer to the early Fifth Dynasty,¹⁴⁰ and by Harpur to the reigns of Userkaf or Sahure.¹⁴¹ The design and layout of Akhethetep's northern false door suggest that the mastaba in actuality dates to the Sixth Dynasty.¹⁴² Two criteria are of importance in this regard. Beginning seemingly in the early part of the reign of Pepy II, the content of table scenes on tomb walls and false door panels begins to be simplified and is commonly confined to the seated figure of the deceased at a table of bread and a single ewer and basin, the latter either resting on a small table or not.¹⁴³ The same arrangement occurs at Saqqara under Unis and in the early part of Teti's reign.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, another feature of Akhethetep's false door suggests that the late Sixth Dynasty date is the correct one. While the false door of Akhethetep has two pairs of jambs, the figures are lacking on the central pair of jambs, which instead bear two text columns. Parallels date to the early part of the reign of Pepy II and later.¹⁴⁵

Khnumhotep II erected at the western end of the west Field at Giza a small mastaba with an L-shaped chapel and several shafts.¹⁴⁶ Baer observes that it is the first mastaba in a cluster of connected tombs in the general mass of late tombs in this portion of the cemetery, and assigns the tomb to the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁴⁷ Utilizing a combination of Cherpion's criteria, Baud dates the tomb between the reigns of Neferirkare and Neuserre.¹⁴⁸

On the thickness of the entrance to the chapel of Nefer I (see above), a *z3b zš* Iha presents an offering to the deceased.¹⁴⁹ Iha's false door, on which he is assigned the

higher ranking title *zḥ imy-rj zšw*, was found on the floor of the room.¹⁵⁰ The false door is thus at least as late as Nefer I. It has two pairs of jambs with jamb inscriptions of even length, with figures of the deceased of equal height at the bottom of each. It has already been pointed out above that in the Fifth Dynasty the inscriptions, size, and decoration of the jambs of false doors became more regular. At the same time, the length of the texts became even and the figures of the deceased on each jamb became of equal height. This is the case with Iha's false door, which is therefore at least as late as the Fifth Dynasty.

Toward the end of the Fifth Dynasty, a characteristic element of the decoration of tombs was lintels with a series of figures of the owner.¹⁵¹ Irenakhti/Irenptah/Iri possesses just such a lintel above the entrance to his chapel.¹⁵² In addition, the false door of Irenakhti has a cavetto cornice and a torus moulding.¹⁵³ The cornice and torus appear first in the early to middle Fifth Dynasty in both royal and private contexts.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, in the table scenes on the walls of Irenakhti's chapel and on the panel of his false door, a nested ewer and basin is coupled with a jar rack containing *hez*-vessels placed on the opposite side of the pedestal of the offering table.¹⁵⁵ The nested ewer and basin (resting on a table or not) and the jar rack containing *hez*- and/or *qeb*-vessels are regular elements in table scenes of viziers and other officials from the reign of Teti.¹⁵⁶ Irenakhti thus seemingly lived in the Sixth Dynasty.

On the basis of details of the titulary and certain characteristics of its decoration, Schürmann assigns the tomb chapel of Ii-nefret tomb in Karlsruhe to the mid-Fifth Dynasty.¹⁵⁷ In contrast, Harpur cites a number of reasons for dating the tomb to the Sixth Dynasty, specifically to the reign of Merenre or the early part of the reign of Pepy II.¹⁵⁸ In particular she observes that during the Old Kingdom, perhaps on account of their dress and demands of decorum, women were not shown in the raised-knee posture. This convention was strictly observed until the Sixth Dynasty, when, probably in the early years of the reign of Pepy II, a few women were depicted with their further knee raised. This is the case in the fowling scene of Ii-nefret, where the deceased's wife appears to be squatting with one or both knees drawn up.¹⁵⁹ Harpur also refers to a composite scene of a fowler and a pleasure cruise in Ii-nefret's chapel. She remarks that the crouching male figure in this scene is without parallel in the Old Kingdom, for in all other similar scenes the male figure stands erect.¹⁶⁰ In actual fact, the pleasure cruise and the crouching male figure is paralleled in the unpublished reliefs from the tomb of Nekhebu at Giza (G 2381).¹⁶¹ According to his biography, Nekhebu served Pepy I as overseer of all works of the king.¹⁶² Considering Nekhebu's status as minister of public works, it is more likely that Ii-nefret's artist copied the scene from Nekhebu's tomb than vice-versa, so Harpur's date for Ii-nefret's tomb is probably not far off the mark.

Baud, citing Strudwick, points out that the depiction of the deceased seated facing himself on the panel of the false door of Khenu in the British Museum¹⁶³ favors a date

for the latter individual in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty or at the beginning of the Sixth.¹⁶⁴ Additionally, Khenu is *shd hntyw-š*. Baer dates the appearance of *hnty-š* titles to the time of Izezi or slightly later.¹⁶⁵ Baud vigorously opposes Baer's hypothesis and believes that the title is known, at the latest, at the end of the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁶⁶ At question is the date of the false door of Khufu-ankh (G 4520), who is *hnty-š pr-ʿj*.¹⁶⁷ This individual has a son named Menkaure-ankh, and Baud thinks that the false door was therefore decorated in all probability in the reign of Menkaure, even though he is aware that a sealing found in the tomb of Khufu-ankh bears the Horus name of Userkaf.¹⁶⁸ Baer points out that the sealing only provides a *terminus a quo* for the tomb of Khufu-ankh. He notes that William Stevenson Smith decided that the statue of khufu-ankh and his wife belongs on stylistic grounds to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁶⁹ All things considered, Baer thinks it probable that the date of the tomb is approximately that of the statue. His final conclusion is that Khufu-ankh belongs to his period VD, that is, the reign of unis.¹⁷⁰

Like the physician Ny-ankh-sekhmet, whose false door was a gift from Sahure, Khufu-ankh's false door was a gift from his sovereign.¹⁷¹ Both are colossal, monolithic limestone false doors, the first measuring 3.17m in height and the second 2.96m in height. In both cases, according to the texts inscribed on the false doors, the king, unnamed in Khufu-ankh's case, checked the progress being made on the respective false doors in the course of every day. There are differences in the format of the two doors. Both false doors have two pairs of jambs, but Ny-ankh-sekhmet treats the outer jambs and the architrave almost as a frame. In Khufu-ankh's false door, the outer jambs are larger, the inner smaller, while the converse is true of Ny-ankh-sekhmet's false door. In addition, the lower lintel on Khufu-ankh's false door is smaller than Ny-ankh-sekhmet's.

Nevertheless, the two false doors have a number of features in common. In both husband and wife face each other across an offering table on the false door panel. As is the case with a number of false doors of Fifth Dynasty date, there is an abbreviated offering list above the heads of the couples with bowls bearing meat and fowl offerings below this.¹⁷² In Ny-ankh-sekhmet's case, the individual items are separated by vertical lines, while on Khufu-ankh's panel the items are actually contained in individual compartments. Offering bearers appear on the wide apertures of Khufu-ankh's false door, while family members are depicted on the apertures of Ny-ankh-sekhmet's false door. Khufu-ankh is shown together with family members (wife, children, parents, and a *sn(t)-dt* named Iti)¹⁷³ on the jambs of his false door. On the jambs of his false door, Ny-ankh-sekhmet is depicted with wife, children, brothers, and a dentist named Menkaure-ankh!

Taking into account the similarities between the two doors, it is likely that Khufu-ankh and Ny-ankh-sekhmet were near contemporaries. Ny-ankh-sekhmet's autobiography makes it clear that he was a contemporary of Sahure. Khufu-ankh's

false door may have been carved in the course of the same reign or, given the presence of the sealing of Userkaf in his burial chamber, the false door may have been executed a little earlier, in the reign of Userkaf.

As an early holder of a *hnty-š* title, Baud also cites Duare, who was overseer of Sneferu's two pyramids at Dahshur.¹⁷⁴ Duare was also *hnty-š W' b-swt-Wsrkf*.¹⁷⁵ Most scholars agree that Duare belongs to the first half of the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁷⁶ In that case the appearance of the *hnty-š* titles would indeed antedate the reign of Izezi, but not belong to the end of the Fourth Dynasty. Khenu too would not be earlier than the Fifth Dynasty.

Since none of the mastabas listed under Criterion 61 with the names of the kings of the Fourth Dynasty on their walls actually date to the Fourth Dynasty, Criterion 61 cannot be used to date the mastaba of Seshemnefer I to the Fourth Dynasty. On the contrary, it indicates the mastaba belongs to the Fifth Dynasty. Given the close proximity of the tombs of Mer-ib, Seshathetep/Heti, Nesutnefer, Ny-kai-nesut I, Seshemnefer I, and Wehemkai and the similarities in their decoration, it is likely that all these tombs likewise belong to the early Fifth Dynasty.

All this means that two of the criteria which Cherpion utilizes to date the mastaba of Senenu to the Fourth Dynasty (Criteria 61 and 38) are also attested at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. To reiterate: in the case of the linen list (Criterion 61), one of the two latest mastabas in which the criterion occurs is that of Seshemnefer I (G 4940).¹⁷⁷ As far as the long leopard skin garment (Criterion 38) is concerned, it appears in three mastabas which also apparently date to the early Fifth Dynasty, namely those of Seshathetep/Heti (G 5150), Ny-kai-nesut I (G 2155), and Tjenti (G 4920). So, on the basis of Criteria 61 and 38, Senenu's mastaba could alternatively belong to the early Fifth Dynasty.




It is not easy to decide between the two alternatives. Nevertheless, a number of features are worth discussing.

As noted above, Senenu and Ankherfenedjes share the same offering table. This could derive from earlier models like the early Fourth Dynasty panel scene of Nofret at Medum, which shows Nofret with her husband, Rahotep, seated on opposite sides of an offering table.¹⁷⁸ On the other hand, this group exists as a small scene above the north false door of Seshemnefer I and on the panels of the false doors of Seshathetep/Heti.¹⁷⁹

On the panel of the false door, Ankherfenedjes wears a lovely floral diadem consisting of three flowers, two viewed in profile and one from the front (Fig. 5b). Similar is a diadem with flowers worn by a queen or princess in a marsh scene from the Sahure mortuary temple (Fig. 5c).¹⁸⁰ The rosettes with which the latter diadem is ornamented are of the same type as the ones from the footboard of the bed of Queen Hetepheres I.¹⁸¹ The form of the floral motifs and the fact that the diadem is painted yellow in the latter case suggests that it is a question of a piece of jewellery.¹⁸² Two

comparable diadems are worn by the wife of Pehenuka in his Saqqara tomb (Figs 5d, e).¹⁸³ These diadems are known only from Lepsius's drawings and no color notations are provided. Nonetheless, these diadems too were in all probability products of the jeweller's craft. The floral elements in Ankherfenedjes's diadem are less stylized, and it seems likely that the diadem was composed of natural flowers. This seems also to have been the case with the circlet worn by Nofret at Medum (Fig. 5a), which appears to have two flowers tucked under the band at front and back.¹⁸⁴ Another diadem which was probably made from natural flowers is worn by a daughter of Hetep-ni-khnum.¹⁸⁵ As will be seen in the next paragraph, the latter tomb may well date to the Fourth Dynasty. If this is indeed the case, the form of Ankherfenedjes's diadem could constitute an argument for a similar date for Senenu's mastaba.

The linen list had established itself on the right-hand side of the false door panel by the time of Metjen, but it seems to have ceased to be a part of the decoration of the door by the end of the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁸⁶ In Senenu's false door the linen list no longer appears on the panel, but has been transferred to the left-hand aperture of the door.¹⁸⁷ In this it resembles the false door of Hetep-ni-khnum (also located in the Abu Bakr Cemetery at Giza) in which the linen list is located on the right-hand aperture of the false door.¹⁸⁸ Although a number of scholars have dated Hetep-ni-khnum's mastaba to the Fifth Dynasty or later,¹⁸⁹ on good grounds Cherpion has assigned the tomb to the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁹⁰ Hetep-ni-khnum's false door is demonstrably earlier than Senenu's, however. In particular, Hetep-ni-khnum wears a diadem composed of a bow with two large loops, parallels for which belong to the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁹¹

On the lintel of Senenu's false door, the offering formula is addressed to Anubis alone. Fischer has observed this formula without a preceding    is particularly common on monuments of the Fourth Dynasty, but was also in use later.¹⁹² Fischer's references were limited in number,¹⁹³ but he subsequently noted two more examples of the formula in the mastabas of Khafkhufu I and Wehemkai.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, three of the four monuments designated by Fischer as 'later', namely the tombs of Neferi, Itju, and Irti¹⁹⁵ have been dated by Cherpion to the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁹⁶ The fourth reference is to a libation basin, a type of object which is notoriously difficult to date precisely.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, clearly dated examples of the formula thus seem to derive from the Fourth Dynasty, and this could argue that Senenu's tomb likewise belongs to that dynasty. On the other hand, additional examples derive from the so-called 'Minor Cemetery' at Giza,¹⁹⁸ and other, unpublished instances come from the Abu Bakr Cemetery.¹⁹⁹ Further analysis will be necessary before it can be determined whether all these occurrences date to the Fourth Dynasty or whether some belong to the Fifth Dynasty.

One criterion that may argue for an early Fifth Dynasty date for Senenu is the vertical format of his linen list (Fig. 6a). This in sharp contrast to the horizontal format of the Fourth Dynasty offering lists, especially those in the slab-stelae of the reign of

Khufu (Fig. 6b).²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, it is notable that already in the false door panel of the Overseer of the Treasury Nofer (G 2110),²⁰¹ which probably dates to the reign of Khafre or a little later,²⁰² there is visible a deviation from the norm (Fig. 6c).²⁰³ The falcons on standards (*idmy*) appear at the top of Nofer's list, with the horizontal subdivisions containing the width and amounts of the linen following as normal. But the first row of the second horizontal subdivision, which would ordinarily be occupied by the arrow (for *sšr*-linen) is instead occupied by the other three terms for the different qualities of cloth (*sšr*, *šm't nfrt*, '3), which like *sšr* usually head there own subdivisions. Then the three subdivisions indicating the widths and amounts of the linen in two more rows, which would normally be separated by the terms for the different qualities of cloth, follow in one block. Even so, the horizontal format of the linen lists is to some extent maintained in contrast to Senenu's vertical format.




Seshemnefer I's linen list (Fig. 6d) shares the horizontal format with the earlier lists, but it also has something in common with Senenu's linen list. This is the use of a strip of cloth to represent the largest measurement of breadth in the linen lists, that is, a 'hundred cubits' (see above). If Seshemnefer indeed dates to the early Fifth Dynasty, the shared feature could argue that Senenu is as late.

There are other departures from Fourth Dynasty traditions as well. Common component elements in the short panel lists from the reign of Khufu are *sntr*, *ḥtt mrht*, *w3d*, *msdmt*, that is, incense, the best oil, green eye paint, black eye paint.²⁰⁴ This is not to say that every Fourth Dynasty panel offering list contains these elements, but many do.²⁰⁵ So do some lists of the early Fifth Dynasty.²⁰⁶ Senenu's short list lacks all four elements, which suggests that the draftsman was unfamiliar with the Fourth Dynasty tradition of compiling offering lists.²⁰⁷

Endnotes

- * During six field-seasons over the last nine years, it has been the privilege and pleasure of the writer to work side-by-side with Professor Tohfa Handoussa in the Abu Bakr Cemetery at Giza. It seems appropriate to publish in her honor a monument which was uncovered by Professor Abdel Moneim Abu Bakr in the cemetery named after him - a monument which has been copied moreover by the Cairo University- Brown University Expedition under her direction (and that of the present writer).
- 1 J. Leclant, 'Fouilles et travaux en Égypte', *Orientalia* 22 (1953), pls 16 [30], 17 [31], 94 [2, b]; M. H. van Voss, 'Egyptische Archaeologie: Archaeologisch Overzicht over de Werkzaamheden in Egypte en de Soedan en de verschenen Literatuur in de Jaren 1946-1953', *JEOL* 13 (1953-1954), pl. 62 [upper left], 291; PM III², 52 (hereafter PM III²).
- 2 I would like to express my appreciation to Richard L. Cook, Archaeological Draftsman of the Cairo-Brown Expedition, for the two drawings reproduced here as Figs 1 and 2.
- 3 G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* 1 (Cambridge, 1942), 272.
- 4 The description of the false door follows N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), 9ff.
- 5 I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Luc Limme, Responsable des collections égyptiennes, Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, for a photograph of the relief, formerly MRAH E.8250, along with permission to publish it.
- 6 B. Van den Driessche, Administrateur, Musée de Louvain-la-Neuve, very kindly provided a photograph of the left-hand jamb, inventory number LLN/EG.162, and permission to illustrate it.
- 7 *Du Nil à l'Escaut, L'Art égyptien dans les collections belges depuis cinq siècles*, Banque Bruxelles Lambert, 5 April-9 June 1991 (Brussels, 1991), cat. no. 52.
- 8 This photograph will be included in the final publication.
- 9 I am grateful to Christina Spangler for inking the drawing reproduced here as Fig. 3.

- 10 N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire* (Brussels, 1989), 45.
- 11 H. G. Fischer, 'A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the early Fifth Dynasty', *JNES* 18 (1959), 238.
- 12 *Balanites aegyptiaca*: R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten*, *SDAIK* 14 (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), 99, 148; W. J. Darby, P. Ghalioungui, and L. Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris 2* (London, 1977), 716.
- 13 On the 'bs-jars, two wine jars set in a sling, see Mesnil du Buisson, *Les noms et signes égyptiens désignant des vases ou objets similaires* (Paris, 1935), 31-35, 107.
- 14 See H. von Deines and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogenamen* (Berlin, 1959), 136, 137.
- 15 The tuber of *Cyperus excultus* L., see E. Edel, *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Aswan II/1/2* (Wiesbaden 1970), 22 (7).
- 16 For a recent discussion of the reading of the falcon on a standard as a quality of cloth, see P. D. Manuelian, *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis* (New Haven and Philadelphia, 2003), 153.
- 17 W. S. Smith, 'The Old Kingdom Linen List', *ZÄS* 71 (1935), 142.
- 18 Smith, *ZÄS* 71, 148.
- 19 Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, 39; *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 1 (Leipzig, 1913), 96 (hereafter *ÄIB*). I am grateful to Peter der Manuelian for permission to reproduce the hieroglyph of the 'hundred sign within a square bolt of cloth from his publication.
- 20 *Tpi* is generally written before *hwt*; see e.g. W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892), pl. 13; M. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, *ERA* 10 (London, 1905), pls 1, 2; A. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, *Av* 21 (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), 106-108.
- 21 G. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, *MIFAO* 47 (Cairo, 1921), 146 (1).
- 22 Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 146 (2).
- 23 Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 107 and n. 569.
- 24 R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch 1: Altes Reich und erste Zwischenzeit* (Mainz am Rhein, 2003), 299, no. 6294.
- 25 *Mrht* is the generic term for oils and unguents; see e.g. F. W. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai* 2 (Leipzig, 1911), pl. 36; C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 2 (Cairo, 1926), pl. 79.
- 26 *Wb*. does not give *dbn* as a term for 'a round-topped basket, although *dbn*' is listed in *Wb*. V, 437, 16, as a word for 'a (runder) Kasten aus Holz'. Nonetheless, the meaning is clear from the determinative of the word, in both Sections E and F of Senenu's false door.
- 27 Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 129, 220; A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³ (Oxford, 1964), 527 (Sign List V 35). For the term for this kind of bag, see esp. *LD* II, 4; *Urk.* I, 42, 8.
- 28 The word is the generic term for 'box' and is used to describe a variety of chests and boxes; see Brovarski, 'Inventory Offering Lists and the Nomenclature for Boxes and Chests in the Old Kingdom', in E. Teeter and J. A. Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, *SAOC* 58 (Chicago, 1999), 32 (cc).
- 29 M. Weber, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Schrift- und Buchwesens der alten Ägypter', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cologne (1969), 57; Brovarski, in *Gold of Praise*, 39 (ee).
- 30 A *mn*-box in the furniture list of Hathor-nefer-hetep (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 2) is round-topped; see Brovarski, in *Gold of Praise*, 41ff. That is clearly not the case here.
- 31 *Wb* I, 40, 4, incorrectly identifies *l'(s)* as a term for 'skirt', but see Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 25. For the determinative, see E. Brovarski, 'An Inventory Offering List from 'Covington's Tomb' and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom', in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), R. E. Freed, 'project supervisor', *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* 1 (Boston, 1996), 122. In certain tombs of the Fourth Dynasty and early Fifth Dynasty mantles of animal skin are brought to the tomb owner; see e.g. *LD. Ergän.* VIII; W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, *Giza Mastabas* 3 (Boston, 1978), fig. 30.
- 32 *Šr* does not otherwise occur in the Old Kingdom linen lists. *Wb* IV, 558 does list *šr*, New Kingdom *šr*, as a type of garment, probably crossed bands of some sort.
- 33 See Brovarski, in *Gold of Praise*, 41 (gg).
- 34 H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* III: *Varia Nova* (New York, 1996), 229 and n. 423. Fischer points out that a shorter bag of similar pattern is associated with scribes.
- 35 N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said*, *ASE* 10 (London, 1901), pl. 4; H. Junker, *Giza* 4 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1940), pl. 15.
- 36 Junker, *Giza* 4, pl. 15.
- 37 L. Epron, F. Daumas, and G. Goyons, *Le tombeau de Ti* 1 (Cairo, 1939), pl. 67.
- 38 G. A. Reisner, completed and revised by W. S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* 2 (Cambridge, MA., 1955), 45, fig. 46.
- 39 See Brovarski, in *Gold of Praise*, 32 (cc).
- 40 Brovarski, in *Gold of Praise*, 36.
- 41 Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis* 2, 33-34, fig. 34, pls 27-29.
- 42 H. Goedicke, 'A Fragment of a Biographical Inscription of the Old Kingdom', *JEA* 45 (1959), 9.
- 43 Brovarski, in *Simpson Studies* 1, 134.
- 44 Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 2; Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 13; T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts on Egyptian Stelae*, etc. 1, 2d ed. (London, 1961), pl. 1 [2]; *LD* II, pl. 28; N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 1, *RACE* 16 (Warminster, 2001), pls 41, 43.
- 45 *Wb* III, 121, 15; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, 90 and n. 425.
- 46 See D. Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London and New York, 1988), 142 (53) with references.
- 47 In two captions in the tomb of Fetekta (*LD* II, 96) and that of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhetep (Moussa-Altenmüller,

- Nianchnum, fig. 11),  is actually written. Both A. Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches*, APAW, Phil.-hist. Kl., no. 15 (Berlin, 1918), 54; and Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, 91 and n. a, take the final  to be the first person plural suffix-pronoun. This cannot be the case in the false door of Senenu.
- 48 Harpur, *Decoration*, 67.
- 49 V. von Droste zu Hülshoff, *Der Igel im alten Ägypten*, HÄB 11 (Hildesheim, 1980), 26-27.
- 50 H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* 1 (Glückstadt, 1935), 40, 23 (hereafter PN I).
- 51 PN 1, 268, 10.
- 52 PN 1, 45, 15.
- 53 PN 1, 239, 4.
- 54 PN 1, 158, 13.
- 55 Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I: Varia* (New York, 1976), 21, fig. 4.
- 56 M. Barta, 'The title 'Property Custodian of the King' during the Old Kingdom Egypt', ZÄS 126 (1999), 83.
- 57 W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, ÄF 18 (Glückstadt, 1954), 27-28; K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), 177-178.
- 58 Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, 28.
- 59 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 177 (18/9).
- 60 A. Blackman, in J. Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* X (New York, 1918), 300.
- 61 *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* X, 297; Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* 1 (Oxford, 1947), 53*.
- 62 D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, 2 vols (Oxford, 2000), nos 1363 (*w'b' Pth*), 1364 (*w'b' n Mnw*), 1365, 1374, 1381, 1392, 1393, 1395, 1396, 1400.
- 63 Jones, *Index of Titles*, nos 1393 (Userkaf), 1394 (Sahure); P. Paule-Krieger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï 2*, BdÉ 65/2 (Cairo, 1976), 581-582; A. M. Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom*, SAOC 48 (Chicago, 1991), 82-84.
- 64 Jones, *Index of Titles*, nos 1361, 1366, 1369, 1371, 1376, 1379, 1380, 1383, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1397, 1398, 1399.
- 65 They also served the funerary cults of the king's mother and king's sons, see Jones, *Index of Titles*, nos 1375, 1378.
- 66 This was not the case with the title *w'b' 200*, which seems to have been of a different nature; see Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom*, 83, n. 31.
- 67 See Roth, *Phyles*, 83, n. 33. Roth refers specifically to a *Pth-htp* who was *imy-ht w'bw pr'w* (L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* 1, CGC 53 (Berlin, 1911), 112 [CG 156]). The following individuals held the title *w'b' nswt (n) pr'w*: L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* 2 (Cairo, 1964), 5, pl. 2 (CG 1306, *Hnm-htp*); S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* 3 (Cairo, 1941), 108 (*Sd-htp*); Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants, Giza Mastabas* 6 (Boston, 1995), 151, pl. 114a-b (*Rr:mnw*); P. Piacentini, 'Enquête sur les scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire (les nécropoles Memphites)' 1, Ph.D. thesis, EPHE IV^e Sect. (Paris, 1997), 498 (*Qd.n.s*); Jones, *Index of Titles*, no. 1385. See also *w'b' pr'w*, M. Verner, *Abusir III: The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus* (Prague, 1995), 100 and pl. 22 (285/A/78) 114 and pl. 25 (386/A/78e); Jones, *Index of Titles*, no. 1372. *Rr:mnw* was also *iry-ht nswt*.
- 68 It is more difficult to generalize about the tombs of the holders of the title *w'b' (n) nswt pr'w* (see n. 67), since both *Hnm-htp* and *Rr:mnw* possessed other titles. *Sd-htp* had a rock-cut tomb with two uninscribed false doors, rock-cut statues, and a free-standing statue inscribed with his name and title; Hassan, *Giza* 3, 108-114, fig. 96.
- 69 For example in the titles, *iry nfr-ht m sskr ht nfr* (LD II, 67; *ÄIB* 1, 110); *it nfr, mry nfr* (Jones, *Index of Titles*, no. 1283), *hry sst: n hntm-nfr* (H. G. Fischer, 'A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar', *JARCE* 3 (1964), 26); *sskr ht nfr* (A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, edited by G. Maspero (Paris, 1882-89), 366). For the king as *nfr*, see e.g. H. Brunner, 'König-Gott-Verhältnis', *LÄ* III (1978), 462; O. Berlev, 'The Eleventh Dynasty in the Dynastic History of Egypt', in D. W. Young (ed.), *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky* (Boston, 1981), 362-365; J. Baines, in D. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden, 1995), 9.
- 70 Junker, *Giza* 5 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1941), 124-126, fig. 31 (*'nh-m'-R'*); Junker, *Giza* 5, 134-148, fig. 35, pls 11a, b (*Htw*); S. Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani a El-Ghiza* 1903 (Rome, 1963), 96, pl. 27b.
- 71 G. Steindorff and U. Hölscher, edited by Alfred Grimm, *Die Mastabas westlich der Cheopspyramide* 2 (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 33 (*R'-šps*), 41-42 (*Mmi*).
- 72 Reisner's Type (6); see Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. xxv, 247-249.
- 73 PM III², 52.
- 74 See Leclant, *Orientalia* 22 (1953), p. xvii [32], p. 94 [2, a].
- 75 PM III², 48. On the name, see Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 264-265.
- 76 The chapel probably belongs to Reisner's category of anomalous chapels, Type (13); see Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, pp. xxix, 291.
- 77 C. S. Fisher, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza* (Philadelphia, 1924), 135, pl. 52 (3); Fischer, 'An Old Kingdom Monogram: ', ZÄS 93 (1966), 68-69.
- 78 Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley, 1968), 156 and n. 685, 169, fig. 30, pl. 17a; cf. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millenium B.C.*, 156, for the inscription of the Sole Companion Hornakht.
- 79 P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, ASE 2 (1894), pls 4, 13.
- 80 Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 263, 2; E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* 1 (Rome, 1955), 406.
- 81 See PN I, 296, 26.
- 82 Petrie, *Medum*, pls 20, 22, 24; PN I, 65, 17.
- 83 Petrie, *Medum*, pls 20, 24.
- 84 Wb. I, 577, 10-15; IV, 523, 1-19.

- 85 Wb. IV, 523, 8; see e.g. J. H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, OIP 3 (Chicago, 1930), 565.
- 86 B. Schlick-Nolte, 'Die Mastaba des Sechentiu-ka in Giza und zwei Scheintüren in Frankfurt am Main und in Copenhagen', in I. Gamer-Wallert and W. Helck (eds), *Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* (Tübingen, 1992), pls 2a, b, 3, 4.
- 87 L. Habachi, *Elephantine IV: the Sanctuary of Heqaib*, with contributions by G. Haeny and F. Junge, AV 33 (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), 36, 45 (B), fig. 3, pl. 24.
- 88 *Elephantine IV*, 26, 45 (B), fig. 1i, pl. 10b.
- 89 For the references, see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 99, n. 164. None of these individuals elaborate on their dating.
- 90 Note that Ankherfenedjes and her mother in the upper register of the right-hand jamb wear a choker and broad collar, and see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 70 (Criterion 46). All four women on the jamb wear multiple bracelets; see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 70 (Criterion 47). The last kings whose name can be read on the walls of the tombs where these criteria appear are respectively Izezi and Neuserre.
- 91 See Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 22-23.
- 92 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 28, 56, 69.
- 93 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 99.
- 94 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 99.
- 95 E.g. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 131, 293 [476]; Strudwick, *Administration*, 138 (129); Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (London and New York, 1987), 270; N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 1, 54-55. The other mastaba is that of the dwarf Seneb (Junker, *Giza* 5, 3-124), which I believe has been convincingly dated to the Fourth Dynasty by N. Cherpion, 'De quand date la tombe su nain Seneb?', *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 34-54.
- 96 The mastaba of Ny-kai-nesut I (Kaninisout I) is expressly dated to the reign of Khufu in Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 118-119.
- 97 Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 211.
- 98 Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 322.
- 99 W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*² (Oxford, 1949), 167 (hereafter *HESP*). The second addition to the repertoire was the insertion of the figures of musicians and dancers under the figure of the tomb owner seated at his funerary meal. This is in general a later phenomenon, occurring for example in the chapel of Seshemnefer II (G 5080); see Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 2, *RACE* 18 (Warminster, 2002), pl. 64. But two clappers are inserted under a representation of a funerary meal already in the Fourth Dynasty chapel of Nefermaat (G 7060). For the date of the two tombs, see Harpur, *Decoration*, 267, 270.
- 100 Harpur, *Decoration*, 67.
- 101 See Harpur, *Decoration*, 26-27, 64-65, and *passim*.
- 102 Harpur, *Decoration*, 64-65, 67.
- 103 Harpur, *Decoration*, 266, 268, 270.
- 104 Harpur, *Decoration*, 267.
- 105 Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 2, 16.
- 106 Harpur, *Decoration*, 323-324.
- 107 Strudwick, *Administration*, 40.
- 108 See Junker, *Giza* 3, 71-76; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 96 [292]; Harpur, *Decoration*, 26-27, 396-397; Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 2, 36.
- 109 Kanawati also cites Harpur, *Decoration*, 74, who observes that the presentation of a short list, depicted on the north walls of the chapels of Seshathetep and Nesutnefer, is found in a limited number of mastabas in the West Field at Giza, all dating from Userkaf to Neuserre. According to Harpur, it is the only theme in L-shaped chapels with two niches that is not present in the repertoire established for the Fourth Dynasty chapels with one niche. However, the same theme occurs already in the Eastern Field in tombs of Fourth Dynasty date; see P. D. Manuélian, 'Presenting the Scroll: Papyrus Documents in Tomb Scenes of the Old Kingdom', in *Simpson Studies* 2, 586.
- 110 Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 2, 18.
- 111 Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 1, 54; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 30.
- 112 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, table on p. 151.
- 113 J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895* (Vienna, 1903), fig. 26.
- 114 Strudwick, *Administration*, 30.
- 115 M. Baud, 'À propos des critères iconographique établis par Nadine Cherpion', in N. Grimal (ed.), *Les Critères de datation stylistiques à l'Antien Empire*, BdÉ 120 (Cairo, 1998), 47.
- 116 De Morgan, *Dahchour*, fig. 27.
- 117 Strudwick, *Administration*, 16.
- 118 W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, ÄF 24 (Glückstadt, 1968), 29 (Bitte 26).
- 119 Fisher, *Minor Cemetery*, 82, Plan 1.
- 120 Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, 301-302.
- 121 Fisher, *Minor Cemetery*, pl. 53.
- 122 Harpur, *Decoration*, 218. On the date, see Harpur, *Decoration*, 272; cf. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 53, 287 [13].
- 123 Junker, *Giza* 6 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1943), fig. 27.
- 124 *HESP*, 198. The tomb of Iymery is dated by both Baer (*Rank and Title*, 54, 287 [21]) and Harpur (*Decoration*, 34) to the reign of Neferirkare.
- 125 Harpur *Decoration*, 34.
- 126 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 137-138.

- 127 Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 3.
 128 Harpur, *Decoration*, 94.
 129 Harpur, *Decoration*, 80. Note that Nikaure has a pavilion scene in his rock-cut chapel in the Fourth Dynasty; see Harpur, *Decoration*, plan 40.
 130 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 90 [251]; Harpur, *Decoration*, 37-38.
 131 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 118-119.
 132 Early Fifth Dynasty: Junker, *Giza* 2 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1934), 136-137. Sahure or Neferirkare: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 145, 294 [531]. Userkaf-Neferirkare: Harpur, *Decoration*, 270.
 133 Junker, *Giza* 3 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1938), fig. 22.
 134 Strudwick, *Administration*, 38-39.
 135 Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 19.
 136 For a Fourth Dynasty date for the mastaba of Hetep-ni-khnum, see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 98-99, and further below.
 137 A.-M. Abu-Bakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949-1950* (Cairo, 1953), 2, 27.
 138 See the plan of the Persen Complex reproduced in T. Handoussa and E. Brovarski, 'Preliminary Report on the 2001 Field Season of the Cairo University-Brown University Expedition', SCA, 2001.
 139 Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, 311.
 140 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 71, 289 [143].
 141 Harpur, *Decoration*, 266.
 142 Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 5.
 143 Brovarski, 'False Doors and History: the Old Kingdom', in M. Bårta (ed.), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology* (Prague, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2006), 89ff. Frequently, a brief ideographic offering list also appears above or below the table.
 144 Brovarski, in *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, n. 145.
 145 Brovarski, in *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, n. 145. An epigraphic feature also bespeaks the relatively late date of Akhetetep's false door. This is the separation of $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ and $\overline{\text{𓆏}}$ in *hrt-ntr*. Fischer, 'A Parental Link between Two Thinite Stelae of the Heracleopolitan Period', *BES* 9 (1987/88), 18 and n. 16, observes that the separation of the two signs is found occasionally on steles of the late Heracleopolitan Period and Eleventh Dynasty from Abydos, Deir el-Ballas, and Thebes, but also, at least once, somewhat earlier at Saqqara (Jéquier, *Tomb. Part.*, fig. 62). The last reference is to one of the burial chambers around the pyramid of Pepy II, the majority of which date to the reign of that sovereign or to the end of the Old Kingdom; see recently Brovarski, 'The late Old Kingdom at South Saqqara, in L. Pantalacci and C. Berger-el-Naggar (eds), *Des Néferkaré aux Montouhotep* (Lyon, 2005), 31-71.
 146 Junker, *Giza* 9, 199-208; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 119 [404].
 147 Junker, *Giza* 9, 199-208.
 148 Baud, in *Critères de datation*, 54-55.
 149 Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 5.
 150 Junker, *Giza* 6, 74, fig. 18.
 151 Junker, *Giza* 4, 18-20; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 49.
 152 Hassan, *Giza* 6/ 3 (Cairo, 1950), fig. 6.
 153 Hassan, *Giza* 6/ 3, fig. 9, pl. 3C.
 154 S. Wiebach, *Die ägyptische Scheintür*, *HÄS* 1 (Hamburg, 1981), 133-135, cited by Strudwick, *Administration*, 15. Strudwick notes that the earliest well-dated false door with a cavetto and/or torus is that of Persen (H. F. Petrie and M. A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, *BSA* 65 (London, 1952), pl. 9) of the reign of Sahure or slightly later.
 155 Hassan, *Giza* 6/3, figs 9-11.
 156 See Brovarski, in *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, 72ff.
 157 W. Schürmann, *Die Reliefs aus dem Grab des Pyramidenvorstehers Ii-nefret* (Karlsruhe, 1982), 14. Schürmann restores the reliefs in Karlsruhe as a corridor and alcove chapel, Schürmann, *Die Reliefs aus dem Grab des Pyramidenvorstehers Ii-nefret*, 8-10. A. Bolshakov, 'Some Notes on the Reliefs of *Jj-nfr.t* (Karlsruhe)', *GM* 115 (1990), 15-27, disagrees with Schürmann's reconstruction. A relief in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (FM 31707) forms the south wall of the alcove and shows that Schürmann's reconstruction is correct; see Brovarski, 'Some Old Kingdom Reliefs in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago' (forthcoming). Bolshakov, *GM* 115, 15-27, dates the mastaba of Ii-nefret between the reigns of Neuserre and Izezi. Baud, in *Critères de datation*, 52, noting that the decoration of the chapel shows a repertoire quite close to that of the mastabas of Ii-mery, Ti, Hetepherakhti, and Ni-anh-Khnum, and citing two criteria of Cherpion (Criteria 13 and 45) assigns the mastaba to about the time of Neuserre.
 158 Harpur, *Decoration*, 265.
 159 Harpur, *Decoration*, 138-139. For other iconographical reasons for dating, see Harpur, *Decoration*, 160, 200, 202.
 160 Harpur, *Decoration*, 200.
 161 See Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, Part 2 (forthcoming).
 162 D. Dunham, 'The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo', *JEA* 24 (1938), 1-8.
 163 James, *Hieroglyphic Texts on Egyptian Stelae* 1, pl. 9 [1].
 164 Baud, in *Critères de datation*, 52 (18) and n. 139; Strudwick, *Administration*, 18.
 165 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 272-273, 297.
 166 Baud, in *Critères de datation*, 36.
 167 MFA 21.3081: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, pl. 65b.
 168 Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis* 2, 52, fig. 54.

- 169 Smith, *HESP*, 71-72.
 170 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 111, 292 [372].
 171 Ny-an-kh-Sekhmet's false door is CG 1482; see Mariette, *Mastabas*, 203-205; Borchardt, *Denkmäler* 1, pl. 39, 169-173.
 172 See e.g., Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani a el-Ghiza*, fig. 32, pl. 25. In later false doors, in which the bowls with meat and/or fowl offerings do not appear, the list tends to be restricted to the sacred oils, incense, eye paints, and sometimes water; see e.g. H. Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti 3*, MIFAO 65 (Cairo, 1966), pl. 182; G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka* (London, 1979), pl. 21 (Hetepkai); W. K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1992), pl. B; Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 2, pl. 63 (Seshemnefer II).
 173 On the title *sn-dt*, see recently W. Boochs, 'Zur Funktion des *sn dt*', VA 1 (1985), 3-9; Y. Harpur, 'Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza', *JEA* 67 (1981), 28-35.
 174 PM III², 894.
 175 See Strudwick, *Administration*, 163 (162).
 176 See Baud, in *Critères de datation*, 36 and n. 28.
 177 The other mastaba is that of Kaiemankh, which has a linen list in its decorated burial chamber; see Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 1, pl. 36. Although there is much discussion about the date of the tomb, the most likely possibilities are the late Fifth Dynasty or Sixth Dynasty; see Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 1, 15-18.
 178 Harpur, *Decoration*, 79.
 179 Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 1, pls. 42, 47; Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza* 2, pl. 53.
 180 The source for Figure 5 c is M. Gauthier-Laurent, 'Couronnes d'orfèvrerie à bandeau de soutien de l'Ancien Empire', *RdÉ* 8 (1951), fig. 4, drawn after L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa'hu-re'* 2 (Leipzig, 1913), pl. 16; for a photograph, see *ibid.*, 1, figs 9, 15.
 181 Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis* 2, pl. 25a: cf. Reisner-Smith, *Giza Necropolis* 2, figs 32, 40, pls 21a, 23a; E. E. Kern, 'The Development of the ornamental 'Boatman's Fillet' in Old and Middle Kingdom in Egypt', *AcOr* 24 (1959), 173.
 182 Gauthier-Laurent, *RdÉ* 8 (1951), 89, n. 1.
 183 LD II, 46, 47. Figs 5 d, e are after Gauthier-Laurent, *RdÉ* 8, figs 5, 6.
 184 Fig. 5 a is after Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 10.
 185 Abu Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 10.
 186 Strudwick, *Administration*, 28. For examples from the Fourth Dynasty, see LD II, 3 (Metjen), 19 (Merib); Petrie, *Medum*, pls 13 (Rahotep), 16 (Nefermaat), 20 (Nefermaat); C. Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire vers 2686-2040 avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1990), cat. no. 17 (Mery); N. Alexanian, *Dahschur II: Das Grab des Prinzen Netjer-aperef*, AV 56 (Mainz, 1999), fig. 28; Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, fig. 218 (Meretites, G 7650).
 187 A subsidiary linen list appears at the top of the right-hand aperture (see above).
 188 Abu Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 10. Note that the offering list on the left-hand panel of Hetep-ni-khnum's false door has the elements *sntr, w:ḏ, msdmt, ḥ:tt mrhty* in that order, and see below.
 189 For references, see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 98, n. 158.
 190 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 98 (8).
 191 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 59, 183 (Criterion 34).
 192 Fisher, *Egyptian Studies I: Varia* (1976), 24 and nn. 1 and 2.
 193 A. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie* (Paris, 1872), pl. 18; Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 13 (Rahotep); Dunham and Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, Giza Mastabas* 1 (Boston, 1974), fig. 6; James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, pl. 3 (BM 1168, 1170, 1171).
 194 Fischer, 'Occurrences of [ḥ:tt mrhty], agential and dative', *GM* 107 (1989), 70, n. 14; Simpson, *Mastabas of Kawab and Khafkhufu I and II*, figs 24, 25; H. Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Wehemka* (Hannover, 1964), 24-25.
 195 Junker, *Giza* 5, figs 36, 48; Abu Bakr, *Giza*, figs 35-37.
 196 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 91 (3), 92 (4), 97 (7).
 197 Fisher, *Minor Cemetery*, 144 and pl. 48 (3).
 198 Fisher, *Minor Cemetery*, pl. 51 (2) (Sabef), 51 (3) (Ankh).
 199 E.g., the mastabas of Katep and Tepemnefret (see above), Ii-ka, Itji, and Neferseshem.
 200 Fig. 6b is adapted from the slab stelae of Ini and is reproduced from Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, fig. 227, with the kind permission of the author.
 201 Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, fig. 241, fig. 31c.
 202 Strudwick, *Administration*, 109 (84); Harpur, *Decoration*, 267.
 203 Fig. 6c is after Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, fig. 241.
 204 *ÄlB* 1, 97 (Merib); Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, fig. 241 (Nofer, G 2110); Junker, *Giza* 5, fig. 27 (Senetites); Ziegler, *Ancien Empire*, cat. no. 17 (Mery); Jørgensen, *Catalogue. Egypt I (3000-1500 B.C.)*, (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, 1996), cat. no. 11 (Izi); Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, pls 1-2 (Wepemnefret), 5-6 (Khufunakht), 11-12 (Nefret-iabtet), 13-14 (Setjhekenet), 15-16 (*Ini*) (*ḥ:tt mrhty*), 19-20 (anonymous), 23-24 (Meretites).
 205 Exceptions include: LD II, 82a (Duaenhor): Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, pls 3-4 (Kanefer), 7-8 (Nefer), 25-26 (Iunu). The lists earlier than Khufu do not contain these elements; see e.g. LD II, 3 (Metjen); Petrie, *Medum*, pls 13 (Rahotep), 15 (Nofret), 16 (Nefermaat), 20 (Nefermaat).
 206 Kanawati, *Giza Tombs* 1, pl. 47 (Seshemnefer I); Kanawati, *Giza Tombs* 2, pls 45 (Seshathetep/Heti), 53 (Nesutnefer), but not Junker, *Giza* 2, fig. 18 (Ny-kai-nesut I).
 207 *ḥ:tt mrhty* and *sntr* actually appear in Section E of Senenu's false door.

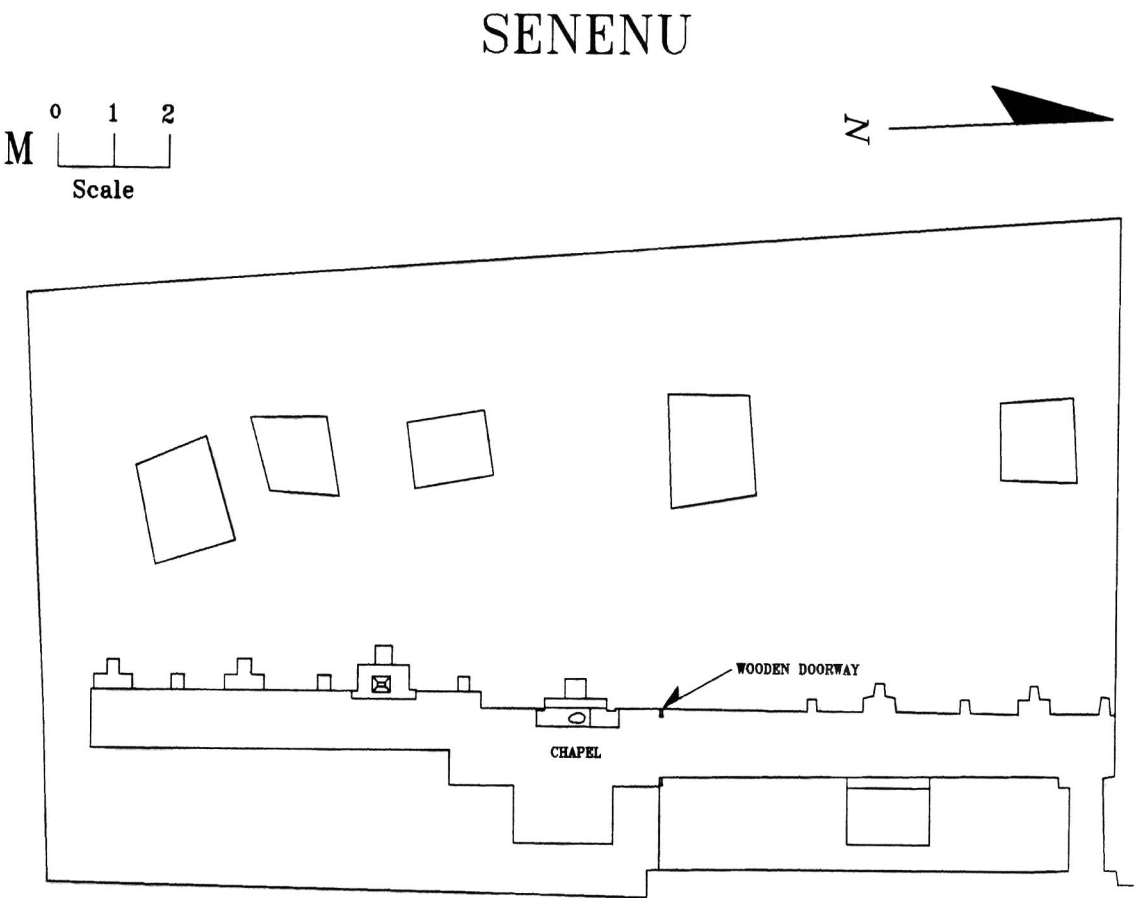
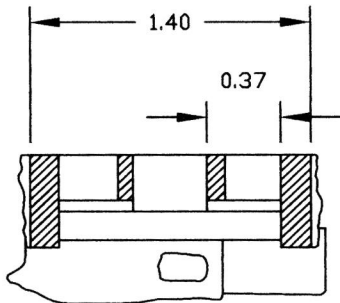
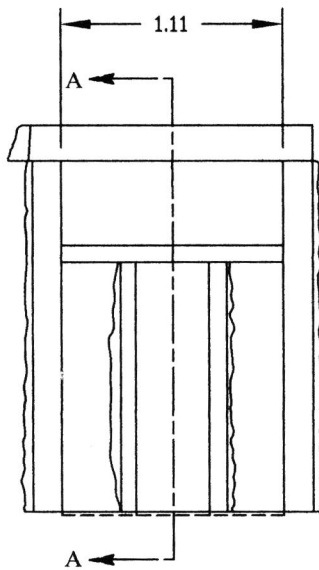
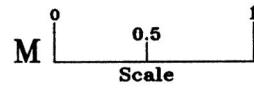


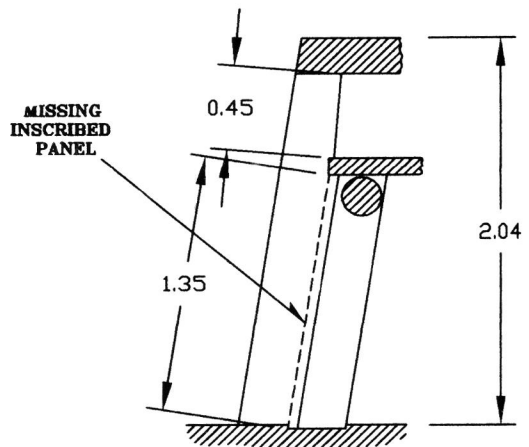
Fig. 1. Plan of the mastaba of Senenu.



PLAN VIEW



ELEVATION



CROSS SECTION A-A

Fig. 2. Plan, elevation and section of the northern false door of Senenu.

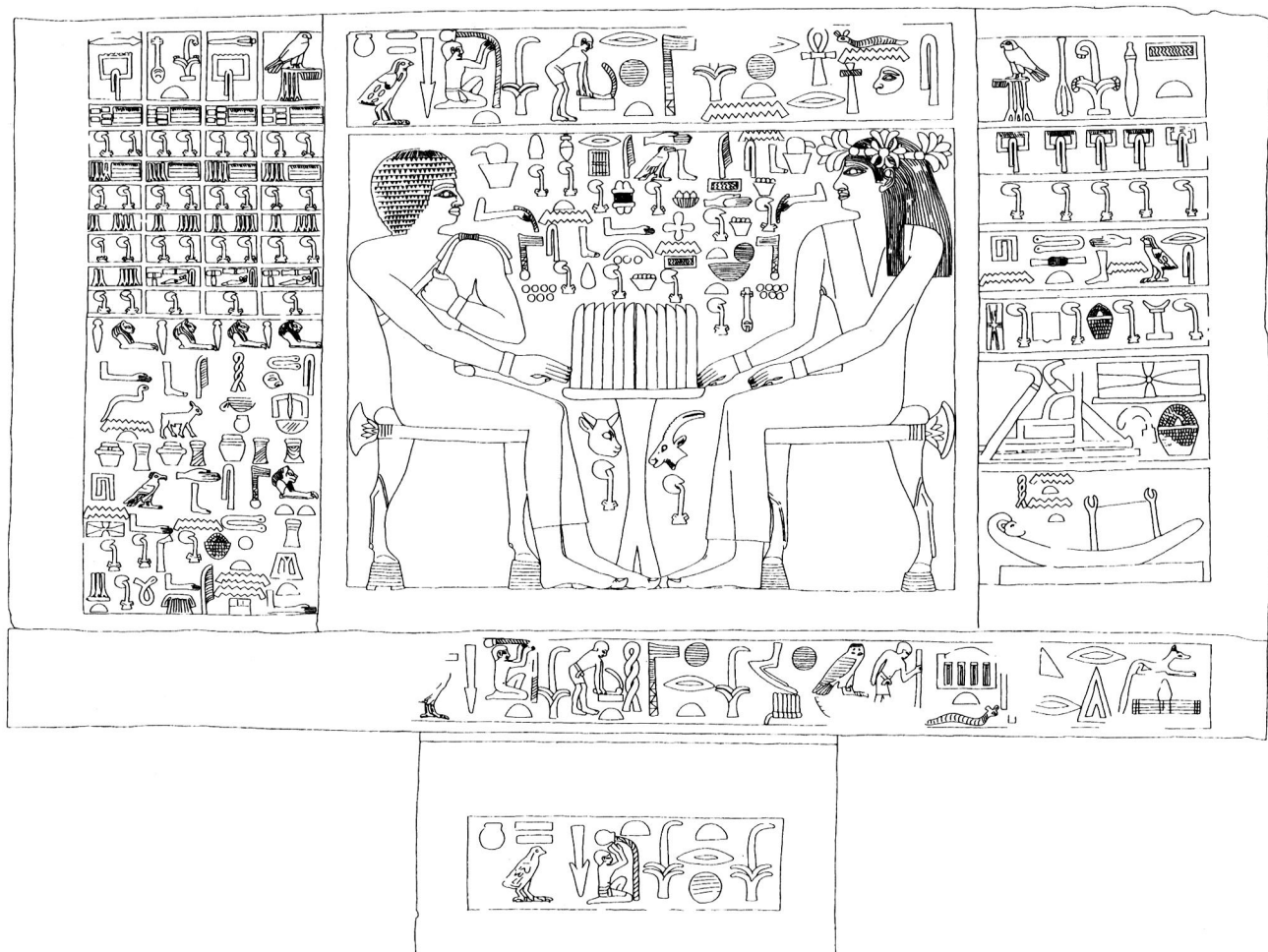


Fig 3. Drawing of the upper part of the northern false door of Senenu.

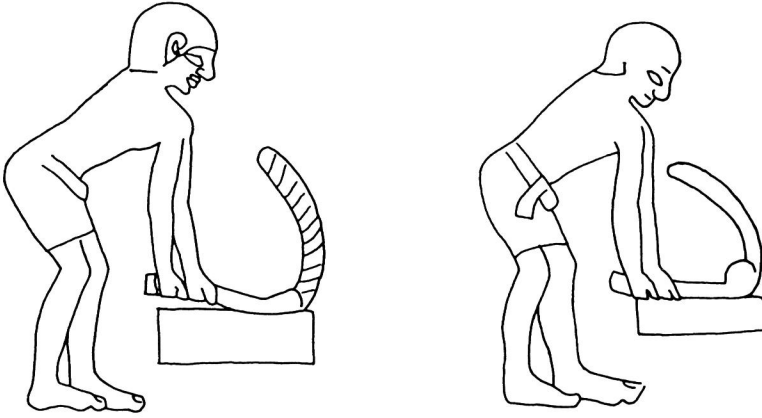


Fig. 4. The hieroglyph for 'washerman'.



a



b



c



d



e

Fig. 5. Old Kingdom diadems.

Pl. I



Left-hand jamb of Senenü, Louvain-la-Neuve EG 162.

Pl. II



Right-hand jamb of Senenu, Cairo.

SUPPLÉMENT AUX ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

CAHIER N° 37

PUBLICATIONS DU CONSEIL SUPRÊME DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE