

C H R O N O L O G Y  
A N D A R C H A E O L O G Y  
I N A N C I E N T E G Y P T  
(THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.)

Hana Vymazalová, Miroslav Bárta  
editors



**CHRONOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY  
IN ANCIENT EGYPT  
(THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.)**

This book was published from the financial means allocated for the research project of the Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic,  
Grant No. MSM 0021620826

# **CHRONOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN ANCIENT EGYPT (THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.)**

**Hana Vymazalová, Miroslav Bárta**  
editors

**Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts,  
Charles University in Prague  
Prague 2008**

## **Contributors**

Hartwig Altenmüller, Tarek El Awady, Miroslav Bárta, Aleš Bezděk, Vivienne Gae Callender, Andrzej Ćwiek, Michael Dee, Mohamed Ismail Khaled, Jaromír Krejčí, Juan Carlos Moreno García, John S. Nolan, Hratch Papazian, Patrizia Piacentini, Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Joanne M. Rowland, Teodozja Rzeuska, Anthony Spalinger, Rainer Stadelmann, Miroslav Verner, Hana Vymazalová, Anna Wodzińska

*Reviewed by Vassil Dobrev and Filip Coppens*

© Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts,  
Charles University in Prague,  
and individual authors  
Prague 2008

ISBN 978-80-7308-245-1

## Table of contents

Foreword xi

Abbreviations and journals xiii

Bibliography xvi

Michael Dee, Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Joanne M. Rowland:  
Evaluating the effectiveness of radiocarbon studies of the Old Kingdom 1

*Recent radiocarbon studies of the Old Kingdom have produced dates that are significantly offset from historical estimates. As part of the Egyptian Chronology Project at the University of Oxford, the procedures and results from many of these studies are currently being examined. The data are being modelled using Bayesian statistics and the key methodologies, from sample collection to pre-treatment, are being evaluated. The insights gained are enabling the performance of radiocarbon dating to be optimised for Dynastic sites. This update includes simple archaeological and statistical approaches that have already proven successful. Eventually, the Oxford Egyptian Chronology Project aims to combine existing and new measurements to give a precise radiocarbon-based chronology for ancient Egypt.*

Joanne M. Rowland:  
Building bridges between radiocarbon, relative and historical chronologies:  
the case of early Egypt 10

*The chronology of Pre- and Early Dynastic Egypt remains one of the most flexible, yet complex issues in our understanding of early Egypt. A recent compilation of radiocarbon measurements showed that in excess of a third of all dates published relate to Pre- and Early Dynastic contexts. Furthermore, more than two-thirds of the radiocarbon dates prior to the First Dynasty have been obtained during the last 20 years, as compared with only half of the First and Second Dynasty dates. This is as reflective of the increase in research into the Predynastic as it is of our application of scientific dating methods. As part of the Egyptian Chronology Project at the University of Oxford, a new series of radiocarbon measurements is being made on Egyptian material, focussing primarily on the period from the First–Twentieth Dynasties, with a number of samples currently being selected for the First and Second Dynasties. Subject to relative dating, the lack of historical documentation allows these dates to influence the chronology of this formative period to a much greater extent than from the Third Dynasty onwards.*

## vi Table of contents

Miroslav Verner:

The system of dating in the Old Kingdom

23

*The paper discusses the so far available pieces of evidence of chronological dates in the Old Kingdom written documents, the evolution of the Old Kingdom dating system and the meaning of *rnpt m-ht sp*.*

John S. Nolan:

Lunar intercalations and “cattle counts” during the Old Kingdom: the Hebsed in context

44

*During the Old Kingdom, civil years were named after events called „cattle counts“. If these events occurred every other year, as has been traditionally maintained, then two Hebsed festivals in the Old Kingdom would have been delayed. However, if the „cattle count“ were skipped in accordance with intercalary lunar years, in a 3–3–2–3–3–2 pattern, then the dates of Old Kingdom Hebsed festivals agree with the regnal year dates of those from the Middle Kingdom on. This pattern may be confirmed by the known civil year names from the reign of Djedkare Isesi, letters to the vizier Senedjemib Inti, and the Hebsed reliefs from the Niuserre Sun Temple at Abu Ghurab.*

Hratch Papazian:

Perspectives of the cult of Pharaoh during the third millennium B.C.: a chronological overview

61

*This article outlines and analyses the nature of the cult of the living Pharaoh by tracing the development of royal ka-foundations through the third millennium B.C. The purpose is to highlight and discuss the differences that can be discerned in the organization of non-mortuary royal cults in the Early Dynastic and the early part of the Old Kingdom on the one hand, and in the late Old Kingdom on the other. Although the fundamental principles that governed the service of Pharaoh's cult remained constant for the most part, the administration of those cults and their affiliated ritual centers appears to undergo a transformation over the course of the third millennium. Such a variation in the character of the royal cult should neither be regarded as an isolated phenomenon, nor studied within its own restricted context, because the evolution appears congruent with the broader administrative initiatives that were enacted during the late Old Kingdom with wide-ranging consequences on the nature of the royal economy itself. Ultimately, those innovations constituted the basis of economic policies prevalent in subsequent periods of Egyptian history.*

Patrizia Piacentini:

Scribal titles in the third millennium B.C.: innovations, continuity and transformations

81

*This paper is a presentation of some results of the research on the scribal titles in the third millennium B.C., in the capital and in the provinces: the first known occurrences, the meaning that can change in the course of time, and the chronological, spatial and hierarchical distribution.*

Andrzej Ćwiek:

History of the Third Dynasty, another update on the kings and monuments **87**

*Since the publication of Nabil Swelim's book on the history of the Third Dynasty in 1983 much has changed concerning the reconstruction of this period. Research stimulated by this important work provided scholars with new data and – invalidating much of its conclusions – gave new ideas of the number, the sequence and the names of the kings, and of the date and attribution of the monuments. However, also new accounts like those by J. von Beckerath (1997) and J. Málek (2000), seem to be outdated in several points. New archaeological discoveries and the re-evaluation of old material lead towards an up-to-date view in which the sequence Khasekhemui – Netjerykhet – Sekhemkhet – Sanakht (=Nebka) can be proven. One may plausibly estimate the length of their reigns, and suggest the attribution and identification of the mortuary complexes and other monuments. A view of the later Third Dynasty is more shadowy, but some questions at least may be cleared.*

Rainer Stadelmann:

Inscriptional evidence for the reign of Sneferu at Dahshur **104**

*The paper focuses on quarry marks with exact dates which were unearthed during the excavation around the Red Pyramid executed by the German Institute of Archaeology under direction of the author in the 1980s. They prove that the construction of the pyramids continued throughout the year and not only during the time of the inundation as Herodotus wrongly was told. With the date of the 15th time of counting = regnal year 30 on the foundation stone of the south-west corner of the pyramid we have a singular date, the oldest date of construction in the world. Other dates of the 16th time of counting, the 17th and 24th time provide a clear sequence of regnal years. These dates confirm the long reign of Senefru of about 45 to 48 years. Consequently the regnal years of his successors Khufu, Djedefre, etc. have to be reconsidered.*

Anna Wodzińska:

White carinated bowls and dating of the Giza Plateau Mapping Project site **111**

*White carinated bowls (CD7) are the most abundant ceramic bowls from the site excavated by the Giza Plateau Mapping Project (GPMP). According to their shape they are very similar to the red carinated, so called Meidum bowls. Meidum bowls are well known time indicators for the Egyptian Old Kingdom. The present paper attempts to show that the dating criteria used in the case of the red carinated bowls can be also applied to the white carinated bowls. The rim parts of the CD7 bowls from the GPMP area called RAB were selected, drawn, measured and statistically analyzed.*

Jaromír Krejčí:

Several remarks on the Abusir pyramid necropolis: its minor tombs and their place in the chronology of the royal cemetery **124**

*This contribution tries to bring some new remarks concerning the chronology of the kings who reigned during the period when the Abusir pyramid necropolis was flourishing. The theoretical*



## viii Table of contents

constructions were based on the study of the architecture and position of the non-royal, but also royal mortuary monuments on the site, especially that of the Ptahshepses mastaba.

Hana Vymazalová:

Some remarks on the wꜥg-festival in the papyrus archive of Raneferef 137

*The wꜥg-festival is mentioned several times in the documents of the Raneferef's mortuary temple archive. The dates associated with the festival provoked a discussion on the dating of the Old Kingdom, to which this paper aims to contribute.*

Hartwig Altenmüller:

Family, ancestor cult and some observations on the chronology of the late Fifth Dynasty 144

*An analysis of the decoration of the tombs of Seshemnefer I (G 4940), Seshemnefer II (G 5080) and Seshemnefer III (G 5170) at Giza and an investigation of the titles and names of the members of this family offer a new possibility for an exact dating of the tomb-complexes of the Seshemnefer-family. The investigation leads to the conclusion that tomb G 5080 of Seshemnefer II belongs to the beginning of the reign of Djedkare whereas the tomb of his son Seshemnefer III (G 5170) must be situated in the middle part of the reign of king Djedkare. The investigation aims to find out the relevance of a particular family string for the research of the chronology of the Old Kingdom.*

Tarek El Awady:

Kaswedja: an overseer of expeditions 162

*The paper discusses the newly discovered reliefs from the causeway of Sahure, depicting the king's officials, and the tombs of officials from the royal cemeteries published by H. Junker and others. The dating of these tombs which undoubtedly belong to Sahure's officials is problematic. The tomb of Kaswedja in Giza (G 5340) provides an example for the need to re-evaluate the dating in the light of the newly revealed material.*

Vivienne Gae Callender:

Queen Tatjet: an exercise in chronology 170

*A large (1.64 metre high) false door which is on display in one of the Old Kingdom rooms on the ground floor of Cairo Museum is the focus of this article. The monument had been found in an undisclosed location at Saqqara in 1888, but has been given little attention since that time. It features a woman named as Queen Tatjet – one of the least known of Egyptian queens – we are not even certain that we know the correct transcription of her name. Her approximate date is also unsure, and suggestions have been made that range from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period. This paper looks at the evidence connected with this woman and attempts to narrow the chronological horizon suggested for her.*

Juan Carlos Moreno García:

Building an elite image: considerations about some private monuments of the Old Kingdom (stelae CGC 57133, 57168 and 57188) **180**

*This study of three stelae of the Old Kingdom (two of them unpublished) addresses some important issues concerning the self-presentation of modest members of the elite in their own monuments, as well as the use made of the means at their disposal (writing, imitations of the best production of the palatial workshops) in order to display their status and social position. But these objects were not only status symbols: they also transmitted the values, culture and the social and cosmological interpretation of the ordered world as elaborated by the palatial circles, they were “consumed” by the elite of the kingdom and knowledge thus progressively spread to a broader public.*

Mohamed Ismail Khaled:

Old Kingdom funerary domains: a question of dating **194**

*This paper discusses the scenes of the funerary domains in the Old Kingdom and their potential for dating the tombs of officials from the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasties. Some dating criteria are established, and these enable us to re-date some of the published tombs.*

Miroslav Bárta, Aleš Bezděk:

Beetles and the decline of the Old Kingdom: climate change in Ancient Egypt **214**

*The decline of the Old Kingdom pyramid builders era has been attracting significant attention not only from among Egyptologists. Traditionally, it has been taken for granted that socio-economic factors deeply rooted in ancient Egyptian society were the major contributing forces for this phenomenon. Among them may be named the following ones: crisis of identity, participation, penetration, legitimacy and distribution (following R. Müller-Wollermann). Recent finds of Poecilus pharao beetles at the Abusir South cemeteries dated to the reign of Pepy II show convincingly that already during his reign large areas of what is known today as the Abusir and Saqqara necropoleis were largely desertified. Implications of this evidence in the light of recent explorations into the history and palaeoenvironmental characteristics of the Sixth Dynasty will be considered.*

Teodozja Rzeuska:

Late Old Kingdom pottery from the West Saqqara Necropolis and its value in dating **223**

*Pottery, the most numerous group of finds excavated on all archaeological sites in Egypt, is commonly used for the dating of distinctive contexts (sites, tombs, burials, houses, etc). Ceramics can be a valuable tool to create a chronology on three different levels: to establish a relative chronology of a site, to synchronize the chronology of a site and other sites functioning in the same period in Egypt, and finally to synchronize the chronology of Egypt and neighbouring*

## x Table of contents

regions in the Mediterranean. Each analysis requires a different method and uses different type(s) of pottery.

Anthony Spalinger:

Chauvinism in the First Intermediate Period

240

*A discussion and analysis of early nationalistic feeling in Pharaonic Egypt. Emphasis is placed upon certain common images – whether they be literary topoi and/or icons is sidestepped – relating to kingship and monarch, especially during times of war and conflict. The time frame covered is mainly during the middle to late First Intermediate Period. On the other hand, key data from the Twelfth Dynasty are also covered. In this discussion the concept of “Thebes the Victorious” is a major theme that is brought to bear upon the socio-political nature of dynastic capitals and the concentration of power by one ruling house.*

Indexes

261

## Foreword

The subject of the chronology of ancient Egyptian history remains of particular interest. The new excavations as well as the explorations of the so far known monuments and written sources have brought many interesting results which enlarge our knowledge about the history of ancient Egypt and the development of different aspects of the Egyptian culture.

The Czech Institute of Egyptology invited a group of scholars working on subjects relevant to the ancient Egyptian chronology to a conference in Prague in June 2007. The meeting offered the opportunity to exchange information and to present the latest results of the research. The various papers presented, and for a large part gathered in the present volume, provided different and highly stimulating approaches to chronological issues.

The nineteen contributions to the volume approach the subject of Egyptian chronology from different perspectives. Some of them concern the use of modern methods ( $^{14}\text{C}$ ) and natural sciences in Egyptology; others analyze the development of various aspects of the Egyptian culture during the whole period of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, or try to specify the date of certain monuments and personalities. The question of calendars and festivals is also alluded to, and some new archaeological discoveries are presented. A study and interpretation of archaeological as well as textual sources and iconographical material is combined in the papers in order to attain a deeper knowledge and better understanding of the Egyptian chronology, archaeology and the ancient history.

The overview of individual contributions also shows that Egyptology dealing with the third and early second millenium B.C. still prefers to follow rather traditional paths of research. The reasons for this tendency may be manifold, one of them yet relates to the fact that sampling and subsequent analysis abroad (in many case no other solution would have been possible) is strictly prohibited in Egypt, indeed a very rare exception in the whole Middle East.

During the editing of the text we did not attempt to unify the transliteration of ancient Egyptian, and several different variants may occur depending on the choice of the authors. The personal names and the names of places were, however, in most cases unified in order to simplify the orientation in the text for the reader. The bibliographical references follow the pattern of the *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, and the list of journals and the bibliography are given in a list at the beginning of the volume.

## **xii** *Foreword*

Our thanks go, above all, to Filip Coppens for his help during the editorial work and to Vivienne Gae Callender who kindly revised some of the articles in the volume.

We also wish to thank all members of our Institute for their help and encouragement.

Prague, May 2008

The Editors

## Abbreviations and journals

*ACME* – Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell' Università degli Studi di Milano, Milano.

*AcOr* – Acta Orientalia, Kopenhagen – Leiden.

*AEPHE 5<sup>e</sup> Section: Sciences Religieuses* – Annuaire, École Pratique des Hautes Études 5<sup>e</sup> Section: Sciences Religieuses, Paris.

*AJA* – American Journal of Archaeology, New York – Baltimore – Norwood.

*AJSL* – American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Chicago.

*Ä&L* – Ägypten und Levante, Wien.

*AmAnt* – American Anthropologist. Organ of the American Anthropological Association, Washington.

*Annales de la Société Entomologique de France (N.S.)* – Annales de la Société Entomologique de France, Paris.

*Antiquity* – Antiquity. Quarterly Review of Archaeology, Cambridge.

*AOF* – Altorientalische Forschungen, Berlin.

*ArchGeo* – Archaeologia geographica, Hamburg.

*Archaeometry* – Archaeometry. Bulletin of the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford.

*Archéo-Nil* – Archéo-Nil. Revue de la société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil, Paris.

*ArOr* – Archiv orientální, Praha.

*ArtAs* – Artibus Asiae. The Journal of Asian Art and Archaeology, Zürich.

*ASAE* – Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Le Caire.

*BES* – Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar, New York.

*BIFAO* – Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire.

*BMFA* – Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

*BSEG* – Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève, Genève.

*BSFE* – Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie, Paris.

*Canadian Journal of Zoology* – Canadian Journal of Zoology=Journal canadien de zoologie, Ottawa.

*CCE* – Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne, Le Caire.

*CdE* – Chronique d'Égypte, Brussel.

*CRAIBL* – Comptes Rendus de séances. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris.

*CRIPPEL* – Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille, Lille.

*DE* – Discussions in Egyptology, Oxford.

#### xiv *Abbreviations and journals*

*EA* – Egyptian Archaeology, London.

*Enchoria* – Enchoria. Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie, Wiesbaden.

*Entomologist's Monthly Magazine* – Entomologist's Monthly Magazine, Oxford.

*Environmental Archaeology* – Environmental Archaeology. The Journal of Human Palaeoecology, Oxford – London.

*Fauna of Saudi Arabia* – Fauna of Saudi Arabia, Basle.

*GM* – Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen.

*De Ibis* – De Ibis. Tijdschrift van de Nederlandse egyptologische Vereniging Sjemsoethot, Amsterdam.

*JARCE* – Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, New York.

*JAS* – Journal of Archaeological Science, London – New York.

*JEA* – Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London.

*JEOL* – Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch genootschap ex Oriente Lux, Leiden.

*JNES* – Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.

*Journal of Applied Entomology* – Journal of Applied Entomology, Berlin.

*Journal of Pest Science* – Journal of Pest Science, Heidelberg.

*JSA* – Journal of Social Archaeology, London.

*JSSEA* – Journal for the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto.

*Kemi* – Kêmi. Revue de Philologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Coptes, Paris.

*KMT* – K.M.T. A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt, San Francisco.

*Kush* – Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service, Khartum.

*LingAeg* – Lingua Aegyptia. Journal of Egyptian Language Studies, Göttingen.

*MDAIK* – Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo, Mainz – Wiesbaden – Berlin.

*Méditerranées* – Méditerranées, Paris.

*Mémoires de la Société Entomologique d'Égypte* – Mémoires de la Société Entomologique d'Égypte, Le Caire.

*MMJ* – Metropolitan Museum Journal. Journal of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

*Nature* – Nature, London.

*Nekhen News* – Nekhen News. Published for the Friends of Nekhen, Chicago.

*OMRO* – Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

*Or* – Orientalia. Nova Series, Roma.

*OLZ* – Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft von ganzen Orient, Berlin.

*Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology* – Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology. An International Journal for the Geo Sciences, Amsterdam.

*PAPS* – Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

**PAM** – Polish Archaeology in Mediterranean, Warsaw.

**PPS** – Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society. Journal of the Prehistoric Society, London.

**Pubblicazioni del Museo Entomologico "Pietro Rossi"** – Pubblicazioni del Museo Entomologico "Pietro Rossi" Duino, Udine.

**Radiocarbon** – Radiocarbon. An International Journal of Cosmogenic Isotope Research, New Haven.

**RAr** – Revue archéologique, Paris

**RdÉ** – Revue d'égyptologie, Paris.

**Rec. Trav.** – Recueil des travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, Paris.

**RevArch** – Revue archéologique, Paris.

**RIDA** – Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité, Office international des Périodiques.

**SAK** – Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg.

**SbWien math.-nat.Kl.** – Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse, Wien.

**Sicilia Archeologica** – Sicilia Archeologica, Roma.

**Sphinx** – Sphinx: Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'égyptologie, Uppsala – Stockholm.

**SSEA** – The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto.

**Studie a Zprávy Oblastního Muzea Praha-východ** – Studie a Zprávy Oblastního Muzea Praha-východ v Brandýse nad Labem a Staré Boleslavi, Brandýs nad Labem.

**Transactions of the Royal Entomological Society of London** – Transactions of the Royal Entomological Society of London, London.

**WA** – World Archaeology, London.

**WZKM** – Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien.

**ZÄS** – Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Berlin.

**Zeitschrift für Physik** – Zeitschrift für Physik, Berlin.



## Kaswedja: an overseer of expeditions

*Tarek El Awady (Cairo)*

During the course of the excavation work around the causeway of Sahure at Abusir between 1994 and 2004, the Egyptian Expedition uncovered a large amount of the rich relief program applied to the causeway (El Awady 2006a) (fig. 1). Among the discovered polychrome scenes, depictions of Sahure's officials with their names and titles were found. A total number of 34 officials were identified, however only 16 officials are known from Borchardt's excavation between 1907 and 1909 (Borchardt 1910–1913). The study of Sahure's officials is of special importance due to the fact that the discovered scenes from the causeway are almost complete and well preserved and have been sufficiently dated by other historical sources.<sup>1</sup>

This article deals with the identity of an official named Kaswedja and the dating of his monument in the western cemetery in Giza. Kaswedja is



**Fig. 1 The discovered blocks from the upper part of Sahure's causeway at Abusir (photo M. Frouz).**

---

<sup>1</sup> For example, the scenes depicting the return of Sahure's expedition from Punt is well documented on the Palermo Stone among the king's Annals of the year 12 of his reign. Therefore, we have to believe that the attendants of the event with their names and titles are those who witnessed the last or most probably the penultimate year of Sahure's reign.

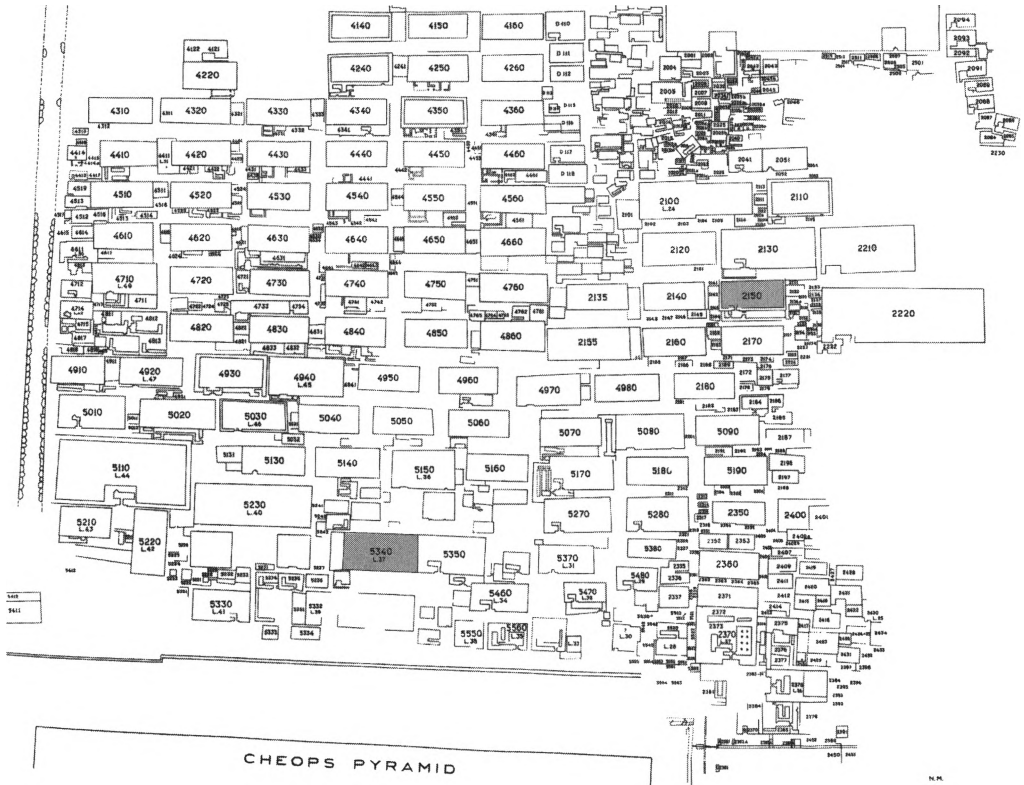
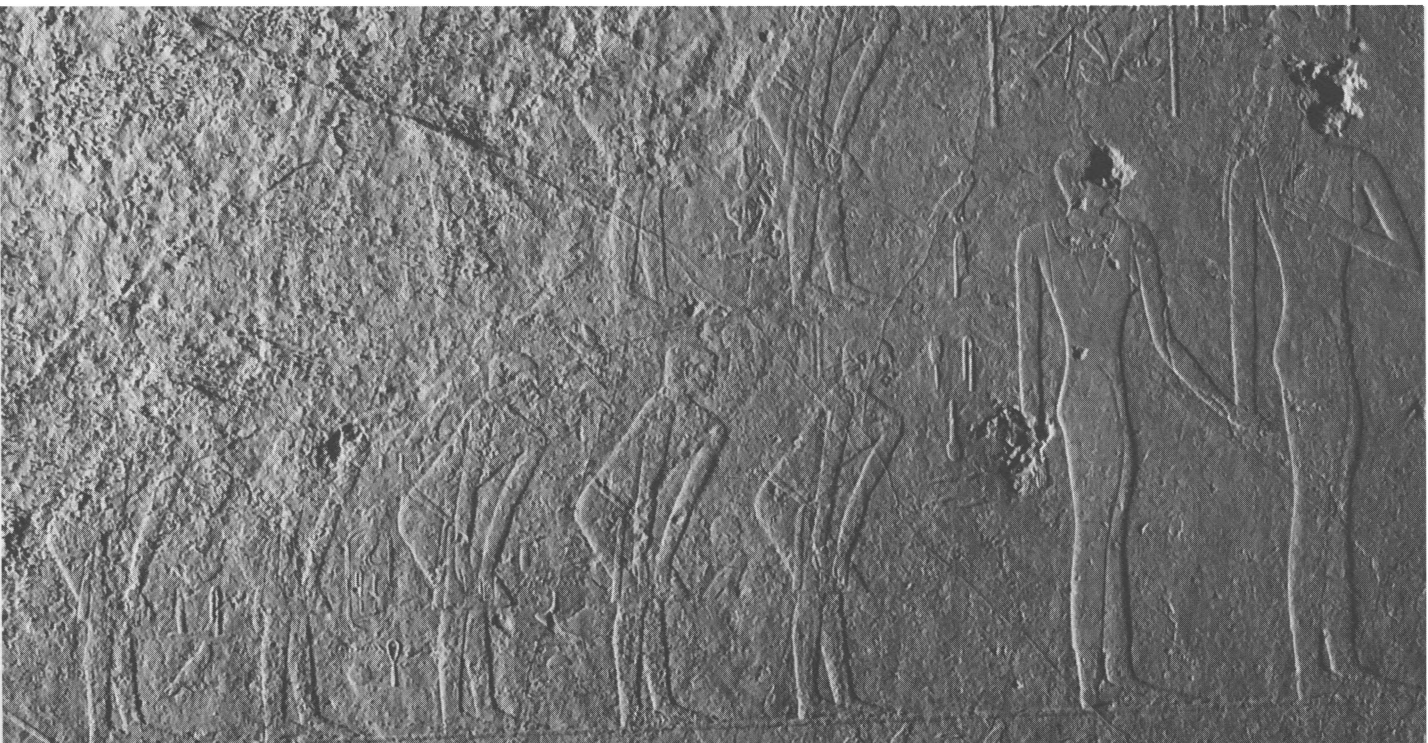
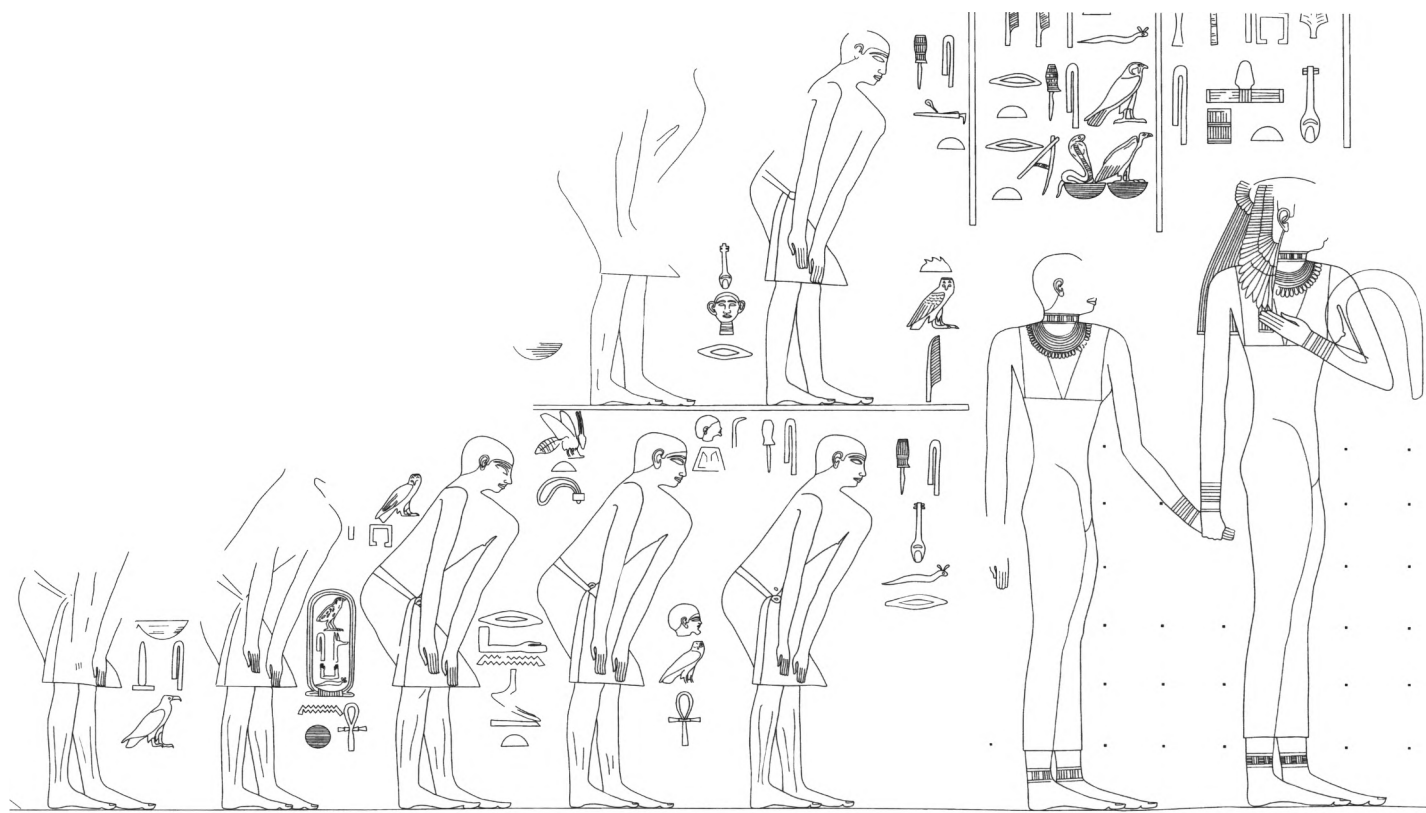


Fig. 2 The location of G 5340 and G 2150, the tombs of Kaswedja and his father Kanefer (after Reisner 1942).

depicted twice on Sahure's causeway, the first depiction is in the scene showing king Sahure with the royal family and the high courtiers receiving the expedition returning from Punt at the royal residence! Only Kaswedja's name and figure can still be seen, while his title has been destroyed (fig. 3 a, b). The second depiction of Kaswedja is in the scene showing the king with the royal family and the officials celebrating the bringing of the precious Frankincense trees from Punt (El Awady 2006b) (fig. 4 a, b). Kaswedja is depicted in the last register, standing, the title depicted above his figure reads: *(j)m(j)-r3 wp(w)t* "overseer of expeditions" (Jones 2000, 88–9, no. 375). It is therefore obvious, that his depictions in the two scenes are because of his position as the one in charge of the king's expeditions. This also explains his absence in the other scenes depicted on the causeway.

Borchardt's publications showed that no depictions of Kaswedja were found in the mortuary temple of Sahure. Also no depictions of officials carrying the





**Fig. 3 a, b** The remains of Kaswedja's figure and name (last person to the left) in the new Punt Scene found by the Egyptian Expedition depicted on Sahure's causeway (photo M. Frouz, drawing J. Malátková).



title “overseer of expeditions” were found. However, this absence is most probably due to the fragmentary state of the famous scenes found by L. Borchardt that depict the return of the king’s expedition from the north (Borchardt 1910, fig. 14; 1913, pls. 11–3).

Looking for the tomb of Kaswedja who was the overseer of expeditions of Sahure did not seem difficult. An official named Kaswedja with the title “overseer of expeditions” is buried in the western cemetery at Giza in the mastaba tomb G 5340, L37 (Porter & Moss 1974, 159) (fig. 5). The tomb was excavated and published by H. Junker; it measures 32 × 14 m with an L-shape chapel built of fine limestone to the southeast. The chapel or the so-called cult room has two false doors and the walls are decorated with bas-relief. The scene on the north wall shows Kaswedja sitting on an armchair receiving a lotus flower (an exclusive feature for Giza tombs; see Junker 1944, 171, fig. 71). Kaswedja is depicted watching dancers and musicians; another scene shows Kaswedja sitting by the offering table. The highest functional title depicted among the inscriptions of his tomb is *(j)m(j)-r3 Wpwt* “overseer of expeditions”,

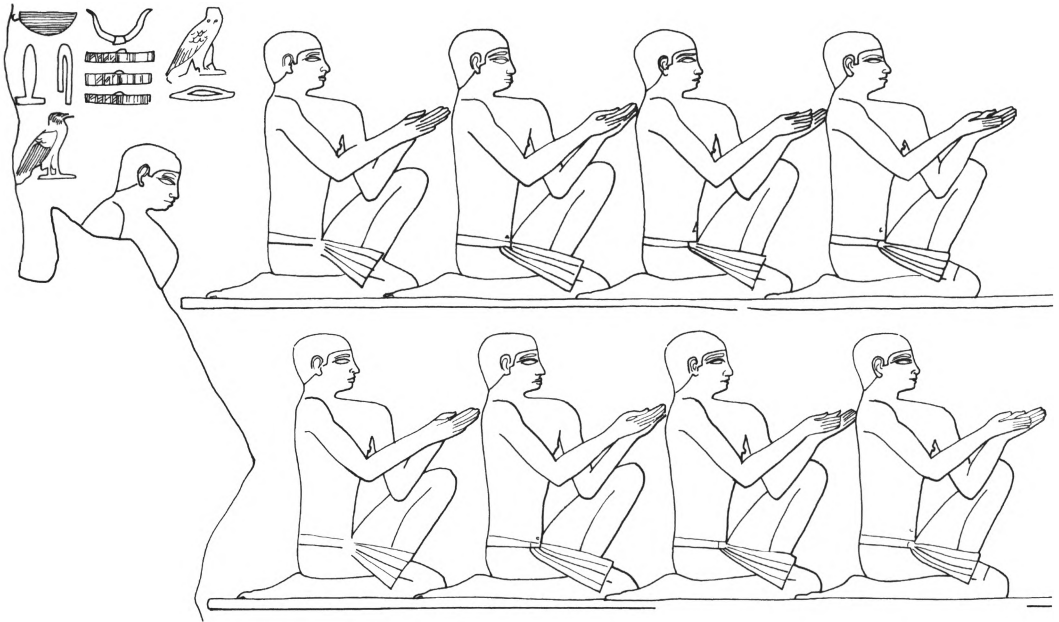


Fig. 4 a, b The depiction of Kaswedja (last person to the left) with his name and title on Sahure's causeway at Abusir (photo K. Voděra, drawing N. Abdel Hafiz).

with another title which emphasizes his position as the one in charge of the king's expedition, the title is *hpr ʿ3w* "director of interpreters".<sup>2</sup>

The depictions of Kaswedja on Sahure's causeway are, so far, the only depictions showing him on a royal monument other than his tomb. H. Junker dated Kaswedja's tomb to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty based on the architecture of the tomb and the cult chapel (Junker 1944, 158–84). Using the methods of dating applied by N. Cherpion (1989, 42–9), mainly the characteristic features of the offering table scene, Kaswedja's tomb can be dated in the first half of the Fifth Dynasty. An accurate date therefore cannot be proposed based on Cherpion's criteria.

The information about Kaswedja is not only from his tomb and Sahure's causeway, but also from the tomb of his father. A long time before the discovery of the scenes of Sahure's causeway, Kaswedja was identified as the son of Kanefer who is buried in the mastaba tomb (G 2150), which was excavated and published by G. Reisner as an early Fifth Dynasty tomb based on the architecture (Porter & Moss 1974, 77–8; Reisner 1942, 473–445, fig. 86; Junker 1944, 161). (fig. 2) It is interesting that Kanefer occupied the same office

<sup>2</sup> See also the title *(j)m(j)-r3 ʿ3w* in Jones 2000, 73–4, no. 327.





Fig. 5 Kaswedja in his father's tomb G 2150 as a child holding his name and title depicted above his depiction. He is also depicted as an official to the right (after Reisner 1942, fig. 257).

that he passed to his son, the “overseer of expeditions” (Reisner 1942, 439, 444, fig. 264). The tomb of Kanefer measures  $23 \times 10$  m with a small chapel decorated with scenes similar to the scenes depicted in the tomb of his son. Kaswedja is depicted in his father’s tomb twice as a child carrying his title “overseer of expeditions” leaving no doubt that Kanefer enjoyed a long life, or lived until he passed his office to his son Kaswedja. Neither Kanefer nor his son appeared in the scenes discovered by L. Borchardt from the area of the mortuary temple of Sahure. Therefore we cannot determine whether or not Kanefer served Sahure. However, based on the titles of Kaswedja and supported by the relief program in his tomb – he died in the first half of Neferirkare’s reign – tomb G 5340, therefore cannot be dated to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty as stated by H. Junker in his publication, keeping in mind the fact that Kaswedja was never promoted to a higher position than the “overseer of expeditions”.