

EGYPTIAN CULTURE AND SOCIETY

STUDIES IN HONOUR OF NAGUIB KANAWATI



Preface by

ZAHİ HAWASS

Edited by

ALEXANDRA WOODS
ANN MCFARLANE
SUSANNE BINDER



VOLUME II

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SUPPLÉMENT AUX ANNALES DU SERVICE
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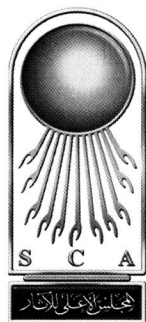
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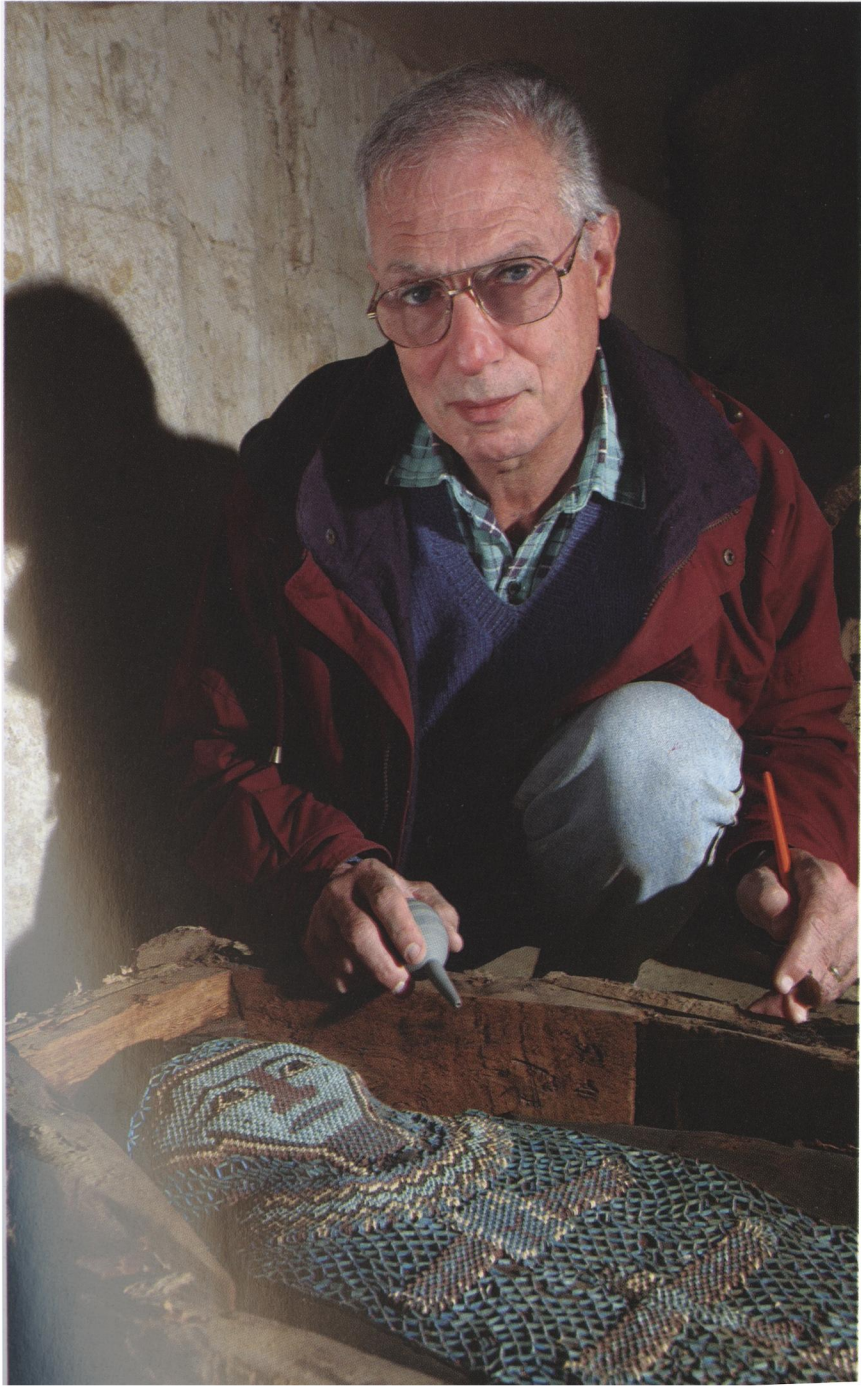
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Presented to

NAGUIB KANAWATI AM FAHA

Professor, Macquarie University, Sydney
Member of the Order of Australia
Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities

by his
Colleagues, Friends, and Students

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A DATE FOR THE TOMB OF SENEH AT GIZA: REVISITED*

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Macquarie University

A variety of dates have been proposed for the tomb of Seneb in the West Field at Giza, which range from the early Fourth through to the late Sixth Dynasty. The aim of the present article is to refine the tomb's date, based on examination of evidence from Seneb's tomb complex and includes a discussion of the following: the mastaba's location at Giza and its architectural design, the hieroglyphic inscriptions as well as selected features in the tomb's two- and three-dimensional art.

I offer this paper in tribute to Naguib Kanawati, who has been an exemplary Professor, colleague and friend as well as a mentor who truly encapsulates our university's motto 'and gladly teche'. None of what I have achieved would have been possible without his guidance and support, for which I am and will continue to be extremely grateful.

The stone-built mastaba of the dwarf Seneb was discovered by H. Junker in 1927 and is positioned in the West Field at Giza. The tomb consists of a rectangular mastaba with two false door niches and an external chapel.¹ Several stone elements are incorporated into the tomb's architectural design and include: an inscribed lintel and drum positioned above the doorway of the external chapel (Figure 1);² Seneb's false door and two side panels from the chapel (Figures 2-6);³ a granite offering stone (Figure 7);⁴ and the remains of the false door of his wife, Senet-ites, in the northern niche (Figure 8).⁵ Other items associated with the tomb complex are: the famous double statue of the tomb owner and his family discovered in the northern serdab (Figure 9)⁶ and the limestone chest in which it was found;⁷ a small wooden shrine and statue as well as a limestone chest found in the southern serdab;⁸ a fragment of a granite statue base belonging to Seneb (Figure 10);⁹ and the limestone sarcophagus in Seneb's burial chamber.¹⁰

The mastaba of Seneb has attracted significant attention in the literature due to the many unusual features present in his tomb complex. These include a granite offering stone sunk into the floor of the external chapel in the shape of a *h3w.t* offering table; the architectural design of the tomb given its location in the far west of the West Field at Giza; the inclusion of a pair of *w3d.t* eyes on the false door; as well as the realistic representation of the tomb owner (as a dwarf in both two- and three-dimensional art) resulting in modification of the canon of proportion and scene content accordingly. Identifying parallels for such aspects has proven

difficult and may account for the wide range of dates suggested for this tomb, as some scholars have placed Seneb's mastaba in the early Fourth Dynasty while others have suggested a date late in Dynasty Six. Since there appears to be no general consensus in the literature, the aim of this paper is to propose a date for the tomb of Seneb by examining the following features: the location of the tomb in the West Field at Giza and its architectural design; the hieroglyphic inscriptions in the tomb; the statuary as well as a selection of scenes from the chapel.

Previous Discussion

The dating of Seneb's tomb has been considered by a number of scholars. Steindorff, Keimer, Ranke, Breasted and Scharff were the first to suggest a date in the late Sixth Dynasty in the first half of the twentieth century.¹¹ Junker also accepted this date and believed that the mastaba of Seneb, along with those of his neighbours, illustrate deliberate copying (or 'archaising') of earlier Fourth Dynasty architecture and artistic style.¹² Junker argues for a late Sixth Dynasty date based on the following: the location of the cluster of tombs in the far west of the West Field at Giza as an indication that the cemetery had expanded after the initial building phase in the mid-Fourth Dynasty; the unusual feature of a square-shaped external chapel in comparison with the other mastabas of the Fourth Dynasty nucleus cemeteries in the West Field; the uncertainty that the presence of the cartouches of Khufu/Djedefre (in priestly titles/forming the name of Seneb's two children) indicate he served under these kings; the unusual placement of the two serdabs behind the two main false doors, one with a double statue, rather than a reserve head in the burial chamber; the placement of all scenes and inscriptions in the chapel on the false door; and the depiction of a pair of *w3d.t* eyes below the drum on the false door. Interestingly, the late Sixth Dynasty date for the tomb of Seneb, more specifically a date in the reign of Pepy II, has generally been followed in the literature until recently.¹³ Other scholars such as Fischer, Porter and Moss¹⁴ prefer a date in the mid-Sixth Dynasty or later, whereas Wenig places the tomb in the early Sixth Dynasty.¹⁵

A late Fifth Dynasty date for Seneb's tomb has been proposed by Harpur,¹⁶ Smith, Russman and Reisner,¹⁷ while a late Fourth to early Fifth Dynasty date is suggested by other scholars.¹⁸ Cherpion strongly advocates a mid-Fourth Dynasty date based on the occurrence of the following: the latest cartouche belonging to king Djedefre suggesting Seneb served under this king; the presence of a long panther skin robe; the shape of the *shym*-scepter; the offering list on the false door; the use of Tura limestone for the stone elements; and the tomb's placement in the West Field at Giza, indicating the mastaba was completed during the initial building phase of the cemetery during Dynasty Four.¹⁹ Many of the dates presented for Seneb's tomb are based on examination of selected features, such as the apparent tendency to transfer scenes to the west wall of the chapel during the Sixth Dynasty,²⁰ the style of the double statue found in the serdab,²¹ the square-shaped exterior chapel,²² or the presence of specific iconographic details.²³ Therefore, to propose a revised date for

the tomb of Seneb at Giza, a variety of evidence²⁴ from the chapel and burial chamber will be examined and compared with other examples from well or 'securely' dated tombs in the Memphite region.

The Tomb's Location in the West Field and its Architectural Design

The location and architecture is of relevance to the dating of the tomb of Seneb as it is positioned in the far west of the West Field, to the north of the tomb of Ankhu, to the west of Itchu and adjacent to a series of large Fourth and Fifth Dynasty stone-built mastabas.²⁵ The tomb is free-standing and the masonry neither rests against the sloping external walls of the flanking mastabas nor does it block a street, which is a frequent occurrence in the West Field at the Giza during the Fifth Dynasty.²⁶ The location of the tomb complex in the far west of the West Field has prompted some scholars to suggest it was not part of the original plan of the necropolis and, accordingly, should be dated from the second half of the Fifth Dynasty onwards.²⁷ The cluster of tombs surrounding Seneb's complex do not appear to be part of the Fourth Dynasty necropolis but it should be noted that both the G6000 cemetery²⁸ and the cemetery of Palace Attendants²⁹ were first constructed outside the original necropolis plan during the early Fifth Dynasty and the mid-Fifth Dynasty respectively. Several tombs around Seneb's complex have a significant number of features in common³⁰ and include elements characteristic of late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasty architecture and art.³¹

Architectural Design

The tomb of Seneb is comprised of a rectangular mastaba oriented north–south with a single roomed exterior chapel. The masonry of this chapel rests against the sloping external walls of the south-eastern part of the mastaba,³² with two shafts belonging to Seneb and his wife cut from the roof and leading to their respective burial chambers. The entrance doorway of the external chapel is in the east wall and opens into a square room, which includes several inscribed stone elements. This chapel shape was originally identified by Reisner as being Type 10b (a square room with a pillar supporting the roof and one or two niches in the west wall), which usually dates to the late Fifth or early Sixth Dynasty.³³ However, after examination of Junker's architectural plan it appears that Reisner identified the offering stone in the chapel floor as the remains of a pillar. Accordingly the chapel shape should be assigned to Reisner's Type 8g, consisting of a roofed single-roomed exterior chapel surrounding the main false door.³⁴ Reisner notes that Type 8g is a development of the earlier Type 1d, where a slab stela is incorporated in the offering niche, and highlights that these two chapel types were only constructed at Giza from Khafre through to Neferirkare in early Dynasty Five.³⁵ Several examples of the Type 8g chapel are encountered during this time and can be seen in the tombs of Imi-setka (G4351),³⁶ Shenu (G1351),³⁷ G1407³⁸ and G4410.³⁹ The mastaba of G4410 provides the best example for comparison as the serdab is placed to the south of the chapel and is in an identical location to that of Seneb's. Reisner notes that the core of G4410's original mastaba was re-built and the external chapel added during the late Fourth

Dynasty, possibly during the reign of Menkaure, and suggests the burial took place during early Dynasty Five. This proposal is supported by the discovery of a mud box-seal bearing the Horus name of Userkaf.⁴⁰

False Door Arrangement and Type

The external east wall of Seneb's tomb contains two false doors, a design that is characteristic of the mid-Fourth to the mid-Fifth Dynasties at Giza.⁴¹ Both false doors in the tomb have a projecting lintel, one pair of jambs and a deep recessed central niche, all features typical of tombs built during Dynasties Four and Five and rarely attested in Dynasty Six.⁴² False doors with one or two pairs of wide jambs are common from the mid-Fourth to mid-Fifth Dynasty.⁴³ The scenes and inscriptions on Seneb's false door are carved in raised relief, which is not common after the late Fifth Dynasty.⁴⁴ Although the upper portions of the two false doors are not preserved, the lower section shows no evidence of a torus moulding that always accompanies the cavetto cornice. The torus and cornice is an architectural feature attested in elite tombs as early as Niuserre and was popular to the end of the Old Kingdom, suggesting the tomb of Seneb was constructed no later than the reign of Niuserre.⁴⁵

Serdabs






The tomb complex includes three north–south oriented serdabs, which are positioned behind the northern and southern false doors of Senet-ites and Seneb respectively as well as to the south of the main exterior offering chapel.⁴⁶ More than one serdab is common in tombs at Giza and Saqqara from Dynasties Four to Six, however the positioning of a small north–south oriented serdab behind a false door is mainly found in tombs dating from early Dynasty Four to early Dynasty Five, with the latest example preserved in the tomb of Seshemnefer I at Giza.⁴⁷

Burial Apartments

Finally, the two shafts belonging to Seneb (southern) and his wife (northern) are accessed from the roof of the mastaba, in preference to the floor of the chapel, which is introduced in free-standing mastabas during the reigns of Niuserre at Saqqara and Abusir and of Djedkare at Giza.⁴⁸ The depth of Seneb's shaft and the exact measurements of his burial chamber are not recorded by Junker, other than stating that the chamber is positioned to the south of the shaft and extends to the west.⁴⁹ However, the architectural details of the shaft and burial chamber of Senet-ites are documented and accordingly conform to Reisner's Type 6a (2), where the chamber is parallel to the adjoining side of the shaft and opens flush with one end of the chamber.⁵⁰ This type is rarely attested at Giza during Dynasty Four, and is more common in Dynasties Five and Six.⁵¹ The uninscribed limestone sarcophagus discovered in Seneb's burial chamber has a flat lid (Reisner's Type d), rather than the *krs.t* or box paneling style common to elite tombs during Dynasties Five and Six.⁵² A sarcophagus with a flat lid is attested at Giza in tombs dating to Dynasty Four and early Dynasty Five.⁵³

Hieroglyphic Inscriptions

Seneb's titles⁵⁴ illustrate he held several offices connected with the organisation of dwarves,⁵⁵ the administration of transportation (palanquin and ships),⁵⁶ the priesthoods of Khufu and Djedefre⁵⁷ as well as offices in the palace that would have brought him in direct contact with the king.⁵⁸

The hieroglyphic inscriptions in Seneb's tomb indicate he had two names, the most frequently inscribed being  *Snb* 'Seneb', while the other is only partially preserved on the offering stone as  *...w-Snb* '...u-Seneb' (Figure 7).⁵⁹ Junker has highlighted that only a handful of king's birth names have a *w* ending and suggests the following cartouches as restoration:  'Sneferu',  'Khufu', or  'Sahure'. A photograph of the offering stone taken on behalf of the Art History Museum, Vienna, highlights the remains of a vertical sign and also a circle within the cartouche that are not carved in sunk relief as deep as the *...w* (Gardiner's G43).⁶⁰ The differences in carving style may suggest the cartouche in Seneb's second name may have been altered, although the identification of the king's name is not certain at present. The names of Seneb's children are also formed with the cartouches of kings Khufu and Djedefre.⁶¹ Cherpion maintains an individual whose name is compounded with the cartouche of a king and elements such as *ankh*, *khaf*, *seneb* and *nakht* or held priesthoods associated with the pyramid of a king, was probably born or served in the reign of the king after whom he/she was named.⁶² However, this circumstance is not always the case, as the acquisition of a royal name may have been due to a special relationship to that king or been given to an official later in life. Furthermore, an official's association with a priesthood of a king's pyramid or sun temple does not necessarily guarantee they are contemporaries as such institutions were commonly maintained long after the king's death.⁶³

The inclusion of certain texts and also the orientation of the inscriptions are of interest for dating purposes. Several short columns of text are inscribed on the granite architrave of Seneb's false door (see Figure 3 for a reconstruction), similar to other early Fifth Dynasty tombs at Giza.⁶⁴ The offering list is positioned on the northern and southern recesses of the deep central niche of the false door, which is not normally decorated after early Dynasty Five.⁶⁵ Offering lists on false doors are extremely rare in the Old Kingdom and are normally placed on a separate wall near the tomb owner seated before an offering table.⁶⁶ The only known examples of such a list on a false door (other than the panel) are found in tombs dated to the Fifth Dynasty.⁶⁷ The offering list on Seneb's false door is un-canonical, which is first attested in the tombs of the royal family in the East Field at Giza during the mid-Fourth Dynasty.⁶⁸ While a list of offerings within a rectangular compartment is found in the mortuary temple of Sahure,⁶⁹ the canonical list is gradually included in the tombs of non-royal officials at Giza and Saqqara during the early Fifth Dynasty. The first examples are seen in the tombs of Wehem-kai, Seshat-hetep,

Nesut-nefer, Kai-ni-nesut I and Kai-nefer at Giza and Wash-ptah/Isi at Saqqara,⁷⁰ before the compartmentalised lists of Dynasties Five and Six appeared in their full form in the tombs of Seshem-nefer I and Ka-pu-nesut/Kai at Giza, both dating to the reigns of Sahure–Neferirkare.⁷¹

The panel of Senet-ites's false door includes a linen list, which is frequently attested on slab stela and false door panels from Dynasty Two through to the reign of Khafre in Dynasty Four.⁷² Junker notes how the inclusion of a linen list in the tomb is characteristic of Dynasty Four, however he suggests 'archaising' was implemented and makes reference to the tomb of Kaiemankh (G4561) at Giza in support of his preferred late Sixth Dynasty date.⁷³ The latest occurrence of a linen list in a chapel is on the east wall of the tomb of Seshemnefer I at Giza, dated to the reigns of Sahure–Neferirkare,⁷⁴ while another list is most unusually found in the burial chamber of Kaiemankh.⁷⁵ A recent analysis of the chapel and burial chamber belonging to Kaiemankh has suggested a date in the reign of Djedkare and possibly extending to early in the reign of Unis.⁷⁶ Therefore, the inclusion of a linen list would suggest that the tomb of Seneb was decorated no later than the reign of Unis.

Sculpture

The remains of three statues were discovered in the serdabs of the tomb complex. The best preserved is the famous double limestone statue of Seneb, his wife and two children,⁷⁷ whereas the other two, a granite base and wooden statuette, are in a poor state of preservation. The double statue has been frequently referred to in the literature due to the unique and realistic rendering of Seneb as suffering from a type of dwarfism. The iconography and sculpture in Seneb's tomb do not clearly indicate whether he suffered from the most common type of dwarfism, *achondroplasia*, a short limbed disorder where the trunk is normal and shows a prominent forehead; or the milder type of *hypochondroplasia*, where the proportions of the body are similar but the head and the face are normal.⁷⁸

The workmanship of the sculpture is of medium quality, and yet the sculptor has shown originality in shortening the length of Seneb's arms and legs, elongating the torso and showing his head larger than is proportionate to the rest of his body.⁷⁹ Most unusually, Seneb's legs are crossed beneath him and two of his children occupy the space normally filled by the legs of the seated male figure. Seneb is also shown as the same height as his wife,⁸⁰ who is presented according to the normal proportions of a female figure. Senet-ites affectionately places her right arm around his shoulder and her left hand on his arm, which is a posture found in statuary dating to the Fifth Dynasty.⁸¹ S. Falke's analysis of Old Kingdom group statuary highlighted many unusual features in this piece, such as Seneb's hairstyle and clothing as well as the absence of jewellery on all figures.⁸² Despite this, Falke classified the statue as Type C III c and after analysis of the composition and style indicated similar pieces could be found in tombs dating from the early Fifth through to the late Sixth Dynasty.⁸³

Significantly, the double statue shows an absence of the so-called 'Second-style' of Egyptian sculpture as identified by E. Russmann.⁸⁴ Unlike the natural portrayal of musculature, proportion and physiognomy characteristic of Dynasties Four and Five, this style exaggerates certain features such as over-large heads, elongated bodies with a narrowing of the waist and a thick torso (in profile).⁸⁵ This style is first apparent in the statuary belonging to Metchetchi and Mitry in the late Fifth Dynasty, probably during the reign of Unis, and continued to the end of the Old Kingdom.⁸⁶

Selected Wall Scenes in Seneb's Tomb Complex

The scenes that provide valuable information for dating are found on Seneb's false door, the two side panels and the offering stone, as well as the false door of Senet-ites in the northern niche. The scenes in Seneb's chapel are often thought to have been entirely placed on the false door,⁸⁷ however it seems that the decoration is arranged on three separate stone elements as follows:

1. *The False Door (Figures 3-4)*

Architrave, panel and lintels: Fragments of titles.⁸⁸ Right jamb – four registers: Seneb seated and receiving a list from three scribes (I);⁸⁹ Senet-ites seated and receiving a lotus flower, surrounded by her three children (II);⁹⁰ three offering bearers in each register (III-IV).⁹¹ Left jamb – three registers: Seneb being carried in a palanquin (I);⁹² three offering bearers (II); three attendants (III).⁹³ North and south of deep central niche: Un-canonical offering list.⁹⁴

2. *The Southern Side Panel (Figure 5)*

Outer section – titles of Seneb⁹⁵ and two registers: Seneb in an animal skin robe seated before his son censing and standing in front of two offering stands (I); two men bringing forelegs (II).⁹⁶ Inner section – six registers: Seneb with men in a papyrus boat being paddled (I);⁹⁷ Seneb with men in a wooden boat under sail (II);⁹⁸ Seneb in a boat rattling papyrus with two punters (III);⁹⁹ boats being paddled (IV-VI).¹⁰⁰

3. *The Northern Side Panel (Figure 6)*

Outer section – titles of Seneb¹⁰¹ and four registers: men presenting a standing Seneb with linen (I); three kneeling scribes recording (II);¹⁰² two scribes with two men receiving rewards of jewellery (III); three women with rewards of jewellery (IV).¹⁰³ Inner section – seven registers: male and female funerary estates (I-II);¹⁰⁴ Seneb seated before a scribe and two dogs under a pavilion (III); rendering accounts (IV);¹⁰⁵ procession of bulls, donkeys and goats (V-VII).¹⁰⁶

The decoration in Seneb's tomb is certainly restricted to a small surface area, however a variety of subjects are incorporated into the scheme. The traditional scenes such as representations of the tomb owner and his family as well as offering

bearers are placed on the false door. By contrast, the two side panels act as the remaining walls of the chapel and depict the so-called scenes of 'daily life' including the presentation of linen, rendering accounts and transportation of the tomb owner by ship.

In order to represent Seneb as accurately as possible, the artist/s decorating his tomb modified the canon of proportion. To analyse the changes to the canon, a 'hypothetical' grid has been applied to both standing and seated figures of Seneb.¹⁰⁷ Such changes do not assist in the dating of the tomb, however the unique rendering of Seneb's figures should be considered throughout the forthcoming discussion of the tomb's decorative scheme. Although the squared grid is not attested in the Old Kingdom, a 'hypothetical' grid can help to understand the placement of the different body parts between the soles of the feet and the hairline. Applying the early model for the canon of proportion, consisting of 18 squares for standing figures and 14 squares for seated, Seneb's torso was elongated and the length of his arms and legs were shortened.¹⁰⁸ More specifically, the standing figures of Seneb show the height of his knee as being on horizontal 4, rather than 6; the lower border of the buttocks on 7, instead of 9; the small of the back on 9, as opposed to 11 and the arm-pit on 13, rather than 14.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, it seems that 2 squares were removed from the knee to sole of the feet and 1 square added between the small of the back and the arm-pit. Examination of the seated figures of Seneb indicate that 1 square was also added to the torso between the small of the back and arm-pit, yet only 1 square was removed from the knee to the soles of the feet.¹¹⁰ It is interesting to note that three figures of Seneb also show a reduction in the width of the shoulders, from 6 to 5 squares, which is similar to the rendering of female standing or seated figures.¹¹¹ Finally, Seneb's arms from the elbow to fist are consistently rendered with 3 squares, as opposed to the usual 4½ squares for male and female figures. W. S. Smith and V. Dasen highlight how the attendants in the tomb are shown on a smaller scale, but with the correct proportions.¹¹² Such rendering may have sufficiently emphasised their role as subsidiary figures, while simultaneously reinforcing Seneb as the focal point for each scene. While these results are hypothetical and based on a later grid system, it is clear that the artists who completed the decoration possessed the ability to carefully modify the rendering of the human figure to suit the aesthetic needs of the tomb owner.

Although the art in Seneb's mastaba has already been discussed by H. Junker, N. Cherpion and A. Bolshakov, it is important to re-examine certain scenes that provide significant features to date the tomb complex.

The Offering Table and Chairs

On the granite offering stone, Seneb is seated before an offering table with a double pedestal, which is depicted in tombs from the time of Khufu through to Djedkare of late Dynasty Five.¹¹³ The loaves of bread placed on the offering table

have not yet taken the form of the series of tall reeds,¹¹⁴ common from the reign of Niuserre onwards.¹¹⁵

The chairs depicted in the tomb, which are located on the right jamb of the false door as well as the northern and southern outer frames, present valuable dating criteria. Each chair is shown with lion's legs and a small rounded cushion without a backrest. Lion's legs are frequently attested on slab stela and in tombs dating from the Third to Sixth Dynasties.¹¹⁶ However, on the offering stone Seneb is also shown seated on a chair with bull's legs (Figure 7), which are commonly represented in tombs dating from the reign of Sneferu to Djedkare with 137 examples currently known.¹¹⁷ Bull's legs are rarely depicted in tombs dating to the reigns of Teti–Pepy I, with only five scenes exhibiting this feature. A small rounded cushion without a backrest on a chair is represented in a total of 45 tombs, which date from the reign of Sneferu to Niuserre–Menkauhor.¹¹⁸ The number of tombs that are securely dated and represent chairs with lions/bull's legs as well as a small rounded cushion provides a 'statistically significant' result.¹¹⁹ The presence of these features in Seneb's tomb suggests a date no later than the reign of Pepy I.

The Clothing and Adornment of Seneb and his Family

Seneb is shown wearing a short 'skull cap' wig, a style attested in tombs dating from the reign of Sneferu to Niuserre in mid-Dynasty Five.¹²⁰ Several female figures are depicted wearing multiple bangles on their wrists, a detail seen in tombs dating from Sneferu to Teti in early Dynasty Six.¹²¹ The partially preserved false door panel of Senet-ites indicates she wears a choker, which is worn by both male and female figures from the reigns of Sneferu through to Unis in the late Fifth Dynasty.¹²²

Most significantly, on the southern side panel Seneb wears a long animal-skin robe, an item worn by both men and women, which is first attested in the tomb of Hesy-re at Saqqara early in Dynasty Three.¹²³ This style of robe is commonly associated with individuals of royal decent on the Giza slab stela,¹²⁴ however there are also several examples shown on false door panels or chapel walls.¹²⁵ The last example is represented in the tomb of Wehem-kai dated to the reigns of Sahure–Neferirkare.¹²⁶ Seneb and several attendants are also shown wearing a short and tight fitting kilt named after Ra-hotep by Cherpion.¹²⁷ This type of kilt has a short lifespan and first appears at Meidum and Saqqara in early Dynasty Four and is attested until the reign of Niuserre in Dynasty Five.¹²⁸ Finally, Seneb is also depicted in an extremely unusual posture where he is seated and holding a staff and baton. This is first preserved in the early Fifth Dynasty tomb of Kai-ni-nesut II at Giza¹²⁹ and continued to be represented in the Memphite and provincial cemeteries during Dynasty Six.¹³⁰

Transportation by Palanquin and Sailing Ship

On the left upper jamb of Seneb's false door, the tomb owner is shown being carried by two individuals in a palanquin chair with an attendant holding a sun-

shade above his head. Considering Seneb held titles associated with palanquins including 'great one of the carrying chair', it is perhaps not surprising to see such a scene so prominently depicted in his tomb. This scene type is first attested in royal contexts during the proto- and early Dynastic period and subsequently in the Fourth Dynasty at Meidum and Giza.¹³¹ However palanquin scenes became particularly popular in tombs at Saqqara and Giza in the reign of Niuserre and continued to be prominently depicted during Dynasty Six.¹³² The earliest sun-shade may be seen in the early Fourth Dynasty tomb of Nefer-maat at Meidum,¹³³ however the shade was more commonly represented in tombs dating from the reign of Niuserre onwards.¹³⁴

Seneb is also shown seated on a sailing ship and, most unusually, pulling on the back stays of the ship's rigging. The tomb owner as an active figure in this context is extremely rare in the Old Kingdom. The only close parallel can be found in the tomb of Kai-khenet at El-Hammamiya, where a relative or official is performing a similar activity.¹³⁵ A male tomb owner depicted on a boat is commonly standing and holding a staff, with only a few examples of male figures seated on a chair on the deck. The first examples of such a motif are in the tombs of Seshem-nefer I, Wehem-kai and Nefer dating to the early Fifth Dynasty.¹³⁶ The mast of Seneb's ship carries a sail with the trapezoidal shape characteristic of Dynasty Five, which is slightly narrower at the bottom showing the foot of the sail remaining within the beam of the ship.¹³⁷ The prow of the sailing ship is also in the form of the head of a hedgehog, which is attested in tombs dating from the mid-Fourth to the late Fifth Dynasty.¹³⁸

Presenting Rewards

Scenes of rewards being presented to workers are rare in the Old Kingdom and are only attested in tombs at Giza, Abusir and Saqqara. Although a royal proto-type may have existed in Dynasty Four, the earliest example of such a scene is found in the late Fourth Dynasty tomb of Neb-em-akhet at Giza.¹³⁹ The fragmentary remains of a rewards scene are preserved in the mortuary temple of Sahure,¹⁴⁰ with all remaining scenes being found in Fifth Dynasty tombs, including Khaef-khufu II, Ptah-shepses, Akhet-hotep and Metchetchi at Giza, Abusir and Saqqara respectively.¹⁴¹

Estate Bearers

On the inside of the northern frame flanking the false door, two registers of male and female estate bearers carry small, simple bucket-shaped baskets on their heads with one hand raised to balance the basket. However, the first register depicts one male figure holding a jar in his spare hand. M. Khaled highlights that such rendering of funerary domains is typical during Dynasty Four and early Dynasty Five, noting that during the reign of Khafre the spare hand of these figures begins to hold other food items or lead an animal on a leash.¹⁴²

Funerary Priests presenting Incense and Offering Stands

The southern outer frame depicts Seneb in an animal skin robe seated before his son censuring and standing in front of two offering stands. Funerary priests (or sons) holding funnel shaped censurs are first shown engaging in this type of activity in the second half of Dynasty Four in the tomb of Nefer at Giza, and is a motif that continued until the early Sixth Dynasty.¹⁴³ An offering jar stand on or near false doors is best paralleled in Dynasty Four,¹⁴⁴ but is also attested in the early to mid-Fifth Dynasty tombs of Ka-pu-nesut I, Merib, Kai, Kapi, Seshat-hetep and Nesut-nefer at Giza.¹⁴⁵

Rattling Papyrus in the Marshlands

The northern inner frame represents Seneb rattling papyrus in the marshlands,¹⁴⁶ a theme that was first introduced into tomb decoration during the late Fourth Dynasty at Giza.¹⁴⁷ From the late Fifth Dynasty onwards, papyrus rattling scenes become less frequent, with only four examples attested at Giza and Saqqara.¹⁴⁸ The last known examples representing a male figure engaged in the activity dates to the reign of Djedkare-Unis and are encountered in the tombs of Kaiemankh, Iasen and Khew-wer at Giza.¹⁴⁹ I am aware of only two Memphite examples of a papyrus rattling scene which date to the Sixth Dynasty; however both depictions are of females who are of royal decent.¹⁵⁰ Considering this, it would be rather unusual for a papyrus rattling scene to be included in a late Sixth Dynasty tomb.

Seneb's papyrus rattling scene incorporates many unique motifs. For instance, he does not hold a stalk of papyrus above his head, similar to other male major figures;¹⁵¹ the papyrus thicket is shown in front and behind the boat, rather than extending the full width of the scene as is customary for this scene type;¹⁵² two punters are on the stern of the boat, instead of the usual one;¹⁵³ and Seneb wears a wrap-around kilt with a short tie, rather one with a projecting point as is the norm for male figures in this scene type.¹⁵⁴ However, the most unusual feature in the scene is the posture adopted by the tomb owner. Seneb stands with both feet flat on the boat deck and grasps two stems in front of his body. The stance is normally reserved for female figures performing passive roles in papyrus rattling and pleasure cruise scenes.¹⁵⁵ In order to explain such an unusual posture Y. Harpur suggests that the shape of Seneb's body would not have allowed him to strike the traditional male pose (i.e. holding a papyrus stalk above his head).¹⁵⁶ While the practical issues of engaging in such an activity may have influenced the scene's composition, it is also possible that the desire to accurately represent Seneb as a dwarf caused the artist to modify the scene content. Dwarves in Egyptian art are normally associated with female activities and sedentary roles,¹⁵⁷ and we have already noted that alterations to the canon of proportion reduced the width of Seneb's shoulders to that of a female figure. It is difficult to determine whether the artist intentionally feminised Seneb to emphasise a dwarf's traditional association with female roles or if the canon of proportion and postures reserved for male and female figures could be freely interchanged for the depiction of dwarves in two-

dimensional art. Despite these unusual features, Seneb's papyrus rattling scene shows numerous parallels with that in the tomb of Meres-ankh III at Giza.¹⁵⁸ The similarities exist in both major compositional elements as well as minor details, perhaps indicating that Seneb's artists used the earlier royal example of the scene type as a basis for their modified and 'feminised' composition. In addition, there are many motifs absent in Seneb's papyrus rattling scene that are helpful for dating purposes such as: the papyrus boat with a wooden deck; the predatory behaviour of animals in the papyrus thicket; the birds flying in rows above the thicket and the umbels above the thicket with straight tops and spaced regularly.¹⁵⁹ Each of these details became 'standard elements'¹⁶⁰ in Old Kingdom marsh scenes during the reign of Niuserre (or shortly after) and suggests that Seneb's tomb was decorated prior to the mid-Fifth Dynasty.

A Question of 'Archaising'?

Scholars in support of a late Sixth Dynasty date prefer to explain similarities with Fourth and Fifth Dynasty tombs as 'archaising', where an artist decorating a later mastaba deliberately copies the artistic style in earlier tombs.¹⁶¹ Such an argument raises problems when referring to the rather restricted period of the Old Kingdom. The so-called 'archaising' material from later periods of Egyptian history, i.e. the Late Period, display significant inaccuracies and mistakes.¹⁶² Despite the many unusual features present in Seneb's tomb complex other parts, such as the architectural design and the presence of specific artistic motifs and details, illustrate similarities with several early Fifth Dynasty tombs at Giza, particularly those of Seshem-nefer I, Seshat-hetep, Nesut-nefer and Wehem-kai. Therefore, if we accept that Seneb and his neighbours were indeed 'archaising', the artist/s who decorated these tombs illustrated a remarkable ability to portray *every single* architectural and stylistic detail with incredible accuracy. Such attention to detail also includes a reversion to symbolism belonging to a period earlier than Dynasty Six, such as the depiction of half loaves of bread (rather than tall reeds) and the inclusion of papyrus rattling scenes.¹⁶³ In this circumstance there appear to be two possible interpretations. The first accepts the notion of 'archaising' within a short period of time as well as the artist's outstanding capacity to accurately copy numerous minor details, while the second acknowledges the possibility that tombs illustrating strong similarity to those from 'earlier' periods are (near) contemporaries.

Conclusion

In order to propose a date for the tomb of Seneb a variety of evidence from the chapel and burial chambers have been examined and compared with other examples from well or 'securely' dated tombs from the Memphite region. Although Seneb's tomb complex illustrates many unique features, this paper has highlighted the large number of architectural, linguistic and artistic details that have parallels with other late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasty examples. It is not surprising to note that many of the criteria listed here are found in tombs dating to the Fifth and Sixth

Dynasties, since many established traditions overlap and continue in subsequent reigns. However it is important to note the first and last attestations of each detail listed in Table 1¹⁶⁴ and to observe those omitted from the tomb complex. For example, the torus moulding on the false door, the 'Second style' on the sculpture; tall reeds on the offering table in place of half loaves of bread and the opening of the shaft from the chapel floor are *all absent* in the tomb complex which, along with the remaining criteria that are supported by a considerable amount of data, would suggest a date for the tomb up to the mid-Fifth Dynasty. Therefore, the evidence compiled and presented in this paper indicates that the mastaba of Seneb can be dated from the late Fourth to the early Fifth Dynasty. However, the large number of similarities with the early Fifth Dynasty tombs of Seshem-nefer I, Seshat-hetep, Nesut-nefer and Wehemkai at Giza, suggest it is likely Seneb's tomb can be placed during the reigns of Userkaef to Neferirkare.

Dating the tomb of Seneb to the Sixth Dynasty changes our understanding of the development of architectural design, sculpture, scene content and funerary beliefs during the Old Kingdom. A main argument for a late date for this tomb complex rests upon considering any similarities with Fifth Dynasty tombs as being evidence of 'archaising'; however such an interpretation is not consistent with the architecture and art in Sixth Dynasty tombs. By contrast, the main argument for an early Fourth Dynasty date focuses primarily upon the dating of officials' tombs by the latest cartouche present, the methodology of which is problematic. Another important consideration is that several tombs located in the immediate vicinity at Giza, including those of Irti, Ankhu, Itchu, Sa-nehen and Demeg,¹⁶⁵ have been compared to Seneb's 'landmark' or 'celebrity' tomb. On the basis of comparable artistic style the entire group has been dated to either Dynasty Six (after Junker) or indeed Dynasty Four (following Cherpion). Accordingly, these tombs, along with others in the Memphite region, should be examined separately and their dates (re-) evaluated. This on-going process is one that should challenge existing interpretations, open avenues for new research and allow the dating of the corpus of Old Kingdom tombs to be gradually refined.

	DYNASTY 4						DYNASTY 5									DYNASTY 6				FROM - TO
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	
Architectural Design/Elements																				
Exterior square chapel: Reisner's Type 1d → 8g																				4.4 – 5.3
False door: 1– 2 pair wide jambs																				4.4 – 5.6
False door: Carved in raised relief																		4.1 – 5.9
False door: Torus moulding and cavetto cornice												////	////	////	////	////	////	////	////	5.6 – 6.4
Shaft opening in chapel floor												////	////	////	////	////	////	////	→	5.6 – 8
Sarcophagus: Reisner's Type d																				4.2 – 5.2-3
Hieroglyphic Inscriptions																				
False door central niche: Decoration on inner section																				4.1 – 5.2
Offering list on false door (other than panel)																				5.1 – 5.3
Offering list: Canonical							////	////	////	////	////	////	////	////	////	////	→	5.2-3 – 8
Linen list	←																			2 – 5.8-9
Linen list in tomb chapel	←																			2– 5.2-3
Sculpture – Double statue																				
Composition and Style Falke's Type C III c																				5.E – 6.L
Affectionate display: Wife embraces shoulder and arm																				5.1 – 5.6-7
'Second style'														////	////	////	→		5.9 – 8
Art																				
Offering table: Double pedestal																				4.2 – 5.8
Offering table: Tall reeds												////	////	////	////	////	////	////	→	5.6 – 8
Chairs: Bull's legs																	4.1 – 6.2
Chairs with a small rounded cushion without a back rest																				4.1 – 5.8-9
Long animal-skin robe	←																			3.2 – 5.2-3
Ra-hotep kilt style																				4.1 – 5.6
Choker with/without collar																				4.1 – 5.9
Seneb seated: Staff and baton																				5.2-3 – 6.4
Ship: Hedgehog-headed prow																				4.3-4 – 5.9
Presenting rewards																				4.4-6 – 5.9
Funerary priests: Funnel shaped censor																				4.4 – 6.2
Papyrus rattling scene (male)																				4.4 – 5.8-9
Papyrus boat: Wooden deck												////	////	////	////	////	////	////	→	5.6 – 8
Predatory behaviour: Animals												////	////	////	////	////	////	////	→	5.6 – 8
Birds fly in rows above thicket												////	////	////	////	////	////	////	→	5.6 – 8
Umbels: Straight tops in structured rows														////	////	////	////	→		5.9 – 8

TABLE 1. List of dating criteria applicable to Seneb's tomb complex at Giza.

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PM III/2, 101-103, plans 7, 13, 27; H. Junker, *Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza*, 12 vols. (Vienna, 1934-1955), V, 3-128, figs. 1-32, pls. 1-9.

Junker, *Giza V*, 33, fig. 4a.

False door: JE 51297 (Junker, *Giza V*, 33-98, figs. 4-8, 14-26, pls. 4-6). For the fragments of the granite architrave, panel and lower lintel see Junker, *Giza V*, 33-34, fig. 4b.

CG 57026 (Junker, *Giza V*, 100-104, fig. 28, pl. 7b-c).

Junker, *Giza V*, 98, 100, fig. 27.

JE 51280 (Junker, *Giza V*, 107-111, pl. 9; E. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture. Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, 1989), 39-41 [14].

JE 51281 (Junker, *Giza V*, 104-105, pl. 8d-f). Behind the shoulder of the statue, several alabaster vessels were discovered (2 bowls and 13 vases), along with a flat alabaster table, green eye paint, carnelian beads and an agate splitter (Junker, *Giza V*, pl. 20a).

Stone chest: Hildesheim 3115 (E. Martin-Pardey, *Plastik des Alten Reiches*, II. *Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim*, CAA (Mainz am Rhein, 1978), 95-98; Junker, *Giza V*, 104-105, pl. 8a-c); wooden shrine: Hildesheim 3116 (Martin-Pardey, *Plastik II*, 99-102); wooden statue: (Martin-Pardey, *Plastik II*, 103-107); related items: Hildesheim 3118 (Martin-Pardey, *Plastik II*, 99-102). Other items found on the floor of the serdab include: 7 alabaster vessels (5 plates, 2 cups and flat table) – Hildesheim 3119, 3126.

Statue base: Hildesheim 3132 (E. Martin-Pardey, *Plastik des Alten Reiches*, I. *Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim*, CAA (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), 155-157); inlaid eyes from statue: Hildesheim 3133 (Martin-Pardey, *Plastik I*, 158-159).

Junker, *Giza V*, 122-124, fig. 30, pl. 7a; Leipzig Museum Inventory 3695.

G. Steindorff, *Kunst der Ägypter. Bauten, Plastik, Kunstgewerbe* (Leipzig, 1928), 189; L. Keimer, 'Bemerkungen und Lese Früchte zur altägyptischen Naturgeschichte', *Kémi* 2 (1929), 95; H. Ranke, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Vienna, 1936), fig. 74; J. H. Breasted, *Geschichte Ägyptens* (Zurich, 1936), n. 74; A. Scharff, 'On the Statuary of the Old Kingdom', *JEA* 26 (1940), 49, pl. 10 [4].

Junker, *Giza V*, 3-6, 98.

See for example, J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III. *La statuaire* (Paris, 1958), 137; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne. Les Grandes Époques: L'architecture funéraire*, II [1], (Paris, 1954), 432-433; K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties* (Chicago, 1960), 123-124 [441]; W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln. Des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt, 1954), 39; A. O. Bolshakov, *Man and his Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom* (Wiesbaden, 1997), 61-62 [36], n. 9; A. O. Bolshakov, 'Hinting as a Method of Old Kingdom Tomb Decoration, I. The Offering Stone and the False Door of the Dwarf Snb', *GM* 139 (1994), 10, n. 1; S. Falke, *Untersuchungen zu Gruppenstatuen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Verhältnisses von Frau zu Mann und Kindern* (PhD diss., Freie University, Berlin, 1987), 90-102. For further references see N. Cherpion, 'De quand date la tombe du nain Seneb?', *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 35, n. 3.

H. G. Fischer, 'Sun shades of the marketplace', *MMJ* 6 (1972), 152; PM III/2, 101; J. Baines and J. Malek, *Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (rev. ed., New York, 2000), 163.

S. Wenig, *Die Frau im Alten Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1967), 46.

- ¹⁶ Harpur originally dated the tomb from mid-Pepy II through to Dynasty VIII (Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content* (London, 1987), 269 [212]); however this date has been subsequently revised to the reign of Unis in the late Fifth Dynasty (see Seneb's entry in the *Oxford Expedition to Egypt. Scene Details Database* available at: <http://www.oxfordexpeditiontoegypt.com>).
- ¹⁷ W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (repr., New York, 1978), 57; Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 39-41, 214-215; G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, I (Cambridge, MA, 1942), 313.
- ¹⁸ C. Aldred, *Egyptian Art in the Days of the Pharaohs 3100-320 BC* (repr., London, 1993), 77; P. der Manuelian, *Slab Stela of the Giza Necropolis* (New Haven, 2003), 235; M. Fitzanreiter, *Statue und Kult. Eine Studie der funerären Praxis an nichtköniglichen Grabanlagen der Residenz im Alten Reich*, IBAES III (Berlin, 2001), 278-281; J. Swinton, *The Dating of the Tombs of Officials of the Old Kingdom of Egypt* (MA honours diss., Macquarie University, Sydney, 2001), 302-305.
- ¹⁹ Cherpion, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 35-54; N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire. le problème de la datation* (Brussels, 1989), 89. The Fourth Dynasty date is also followed by B. Bothmer 'On Realism in Egyptian Funerary Sculpture', *Expedition* 24 [2] (Winter 1982), 36, fig. 24; Z. Hawass, 'The Statue of the Dwarf *Pr-n(j)nh(w)* Recently Discovered at Giza', *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 161; D. Arnold, 'Old Kingdom Statues in their Architectural Setting', in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids. Metropolitan Museum of Art Catalogue* (New York, 1999), 45; H. Altenmüller, 'Der Himmelaufstieg des Grabherrn: Zu den Szenen des *sšš wꜥd* in den Gräbern des Alten Reiches', *SAK* 30 (2002), 38 [10.2]; N. Kanawati and A. McFarlane, *Akhmin in the Old Kingdom*, I. *Chronology and Administration* (Warminster, 1992), 65, n. 331.
- ²⁰ Bolshakov, *GM* 139 (1994), 10, n. 1.
- ²¹ Smith, *HESPOK*, 57; Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 39-41 [14].
- ²² Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 313.
- ²³ Cherpion, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 35-54.
- ²⁴ For a similar approach to the dating of this tomb see Falke, *Gruppenstatuen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 90-102.
- ²⁵ Junker, *Giza* V, large plan, figs. 1-2. See for example G1457 dated to the reign of Menkaure based on the chapel type and sealings bearing the Horus name of this king (PM III/2, 64; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 49, 210 [37], fig. 12; G. A. Reisner, 'Report on the Egyptian Expedition during 1934-35', *BMFA* 33 [199] (October 1935), figs. 2-3; G. A. Reisner and W. S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, II. *The Tomb of Hetep-Heres the Mother of Cheops. A Study of Egyptian Civilization in the Old Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA, 1955), 50-51, fig. 50; G1412 (dated to the early Fifth Dynasty based on the chapel type: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 281, fig. 176); G1407 (dated to the reigns of Menkaure-Shepseskaf on its chapel shape and position in the cemetery: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 282, fig. 179).
- ²⁶ See for example Kai who blocked the east-west passage between G4660 and G4650 (Junker, *Giza* III, 123-145, fig. 12); Nefer who blocked the blocked the north-south passage between G4760 and G4860 (Junker, *Giza* VI, 26-30, fig. 3) and Kedfi between G4760 and G4770 (Junker, *Giza* VI, 80-94, fig. 21). For a general plan see Junker, *Giza* VI, 275.
- ²⁷ Junker, *Giza* V, 3-6; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 89. For Malek's objection to such an interpretation see J. Malek, 'Review of Nadine Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire: le problème de la datation*' (Brussels, 1989), *DE* 20 (1991), 93-100.
- ²⁸ The earliest tomb in the complex belongs to Shepses-kaef-ankh, who was labelled as 'son the king', and was probably born during the reign of the late Fourth Dynasty king Shepses-

kaef. The construction of his tomb may have begun in the early Fifth Dynasty (K. R. Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000. G 6010 (Neferbaupah); G 6020 (Imery); G 6030 (Ity); G 6040 (Shepseskafankh)* (Boston, 1994), 4-5, fig. 1).

The earliest tomb constructed in this cluster to the north of the West Field belongs to Kapi, dated to Niuserre-Menkauhor (A. M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants, including G 2084-2099, G2230 + 2231 and G 2240* (Boston, 1995), 35-37, fig. 131).

Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 89.

For an analysis of the different features useful for dating see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 85-103.

Junker, *Giza V*, 24, 26, figs. 2-3. The exterior chapel was clearly a later addition by Seneb. For a similar interpretation see Fitzenreiter, *Statue und Kult*, 292.

Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 284-285, 313; Harpur, *Decoration*, 95-97.

Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 282.

Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 196-199, 304.

PM III/1, 126-127; Junker, *Giza VI*, 208-217, figs. 80-84, pl. 23a.

PM III/1, 62; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 282, fig. 178.

The tomb has been dated to the reign of Menkaure-Shepseskaef based on its position in the cemetery and chapel type (G. Reisner, 'Note on Objects Assigned to the Museum by the Egyptian Government', *BMFA* 36 [214] (April 1938), 30). See also Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 282, fig. 179.

PM III/1, 127; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 283, figs. 180, 455, 514-516, Appendix D: figs. 317-318; Smith, *HESPOK*, 72.

Seal number 15-12-49 (Reisner and Smith, *Giza Necropolis II*, 52, fig. 54; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 455).

N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The Highest Titles and their Holders* (London, 1985), 15-16, 41-48. See for example, Junker, *Giza III*, figs. 16, 27.

The false door corresponds to Type II.1 after A. Rusch, 'Die Entwicklung der Grabsteinformen im Alten Reich', *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 106-112, pl. A; Vandier, *Manuel II* [1], 394-401; Strudwick, *Administration*, 15-16.

Rusch, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 107; Strudwick, *Administration*, 35.

Strudwick, *Administration*, 24. Sunk relief on false doors was introduced during the reign of Niuserre and gradually became the predominant form of relief by the end of the Fifth Dynasty. The latest example of raised relief dates to the reign of Unis, found in the tomb of Ptah-hotep II at Saqqara (Y. Harpur and P. Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep. Scene Details* (Oxford, 2008), 207 [293]-212 [305]).

Rusch, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 113-119, 123, pl. B; Vandier, *Manuel II* [1], 401-404; S. Wiebach, *Die Ägyptische Scheintür. Morphologische Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Hauptkultstelle in den Privat-Gräbern des Alten Reiches* (Hamburg, 1981), 128-141; Strudwick, *Administration*, 15. For one of the earliest examples see the tomb of Ti at Saqqara (H. Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, Fascicle 3. *La chapelle* (Cairo, 1966), pls. 182-185). Strudwick notes that torus moulding is first attested in the tomb of Persen at Saqqara, however specific iconographic details and the tomb's architectural design suggest a date in the mid-Fifth Dynasty, probably in the reign of Niuserre (H. F. Petrie, *Seven Memphite Tombs Chapels* (London, 1952), 9, pl. 22 [26, 29]).

K. Lehmann, *Der Serdab in den Privatgräbern des Alten Reiches*, 3 vols. (Heidelberg, 2000), III, Cat. Num. G 383.

Lehmann, *Der Serdab*, II, figs. 35, 51/168; M. Bárta, 'Serdab and Statue Placement in the Private Tombs down to the Fourth Dynasty', *MDAIK* 54 (1993), 65-75. See for example the tombs of Hem-iienu (Junker, *Giza I*, 137-138, figs. 18-20); Pet-pen-nesut (PM III/1²,

55); Shepses-kaef-ankh (Weeks, *G6000 Cemetery*, fig. 8); Ka-ni-nesut I (Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 12); Seshem-nefer I (N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza*, 2 vols. (Warminster, 2001-2002), I, 56, pl. 38).

48 Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 153-155. See also L. Épron and H. Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, Fascicle I. *Les approches de la chapelle* (Cairo, 1939), pl. 1; M. Verner, *The Excavations of the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology at Abusir. The Mastaba of Ptahshepses*, 2 vols. (Prague, 1977), I, fig. 1; Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 21; Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 50; M. Bárta, 'Architectural Innovations in the Development of the Non-Royal Tomb During the Reign of Nyuserre', in P. Jánosi (ed.), *Structure and Significance. Thoughts on Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, DÖAW 33 (Vienna, 2005), 113.

49 Junker, *Giza V*, 122.

50 Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 89, 91, 95-96, fig. 44.

51 Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 148-150. See for example, G1233 (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 411, fig. 234a-b); G4830 (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 499, fig. 305); G4860 (Junker, *Giza I*, 242, fig. 58); G4320 (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 89-90, 501-502, fig. 24).

52 E. Brovarski, 'Sarkophag', in W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds) *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1975-), V, 471.

53 Brovarski, *LÄ V*, 472. See for example the tombs of Kawab (W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II. G7110-20, 7130-40, and 7150 and subsidiary mastabas of Street G 7100* (Boston, 1978), pl. 10); Nefer (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 425); Khaef-Khufu I (Simpson, *Kawab*, 19, pl. 28c).

54 For a full list of Seneb's titles see Junker, *Giza V*, 12-18.

55 'Overseer of the *iwakhu* dwarves' – *im.y-rʿ iwḥ(w)* (D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases in the Old Kingdom*, 2 vols., BAR 866 [I] (Oxford, 2000), I, 55 [268]); 'Director of dwarves in charge of dressing' – *hrp dng.w šsr.w* (Jones, *Index II*, 754 [2748]). See also the related office of 'Director of the estates of the *mw* textile' – *hrp ḥww.t mw* (Jones, *Index II*, 728 [2647]).

56 'Great one of the carrying chair' – *wr ʿ.w* (Jones, *Index I*, 383-384 [1420]); 'Director of the crew of a boat' – *hrp ʿpr.w wiʿ* (Jones, *Index II*, 706 [2576]); 'God's sealer of the ship *Wenher-bau*' – *ḥtm(w)-ntr n (wiʿ) Wn-Hr-Bʿ.w* (Jones, *Index II*, 770 [2798]).

57 'Priest of Khufu' – *ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw* (Jones, *Index II*, 565-566 [2087]); 'Priest of Djedefre' – *ḥm-ntr Dd=f-Rʿ.w* (Jones, *Index II*, 587 [2149]). Seneb also holds the titles 'Priest of the *merkhu* steers' – *ḥm-ntr Mrḥ.w* (Jones, *Index I*, 520 [1945]); 'Priest of *Wadjet*' – *ḥm-ntr Wʿd.t* (Jones, *Index I*, 508 [1901]); 'Priest of *ka-wer* foremost of Setjepet' – *ḥm-ntr k3-wr ḥn.ty Stp.t* (Jones, *Index II*, 583 [2139]).

58 'Director of the estates of the red crown' – *hrp ḥww.t N.t* (Jones, *Index II*, 727-728 [2646]); 'Overseer of the canal (?)/weaving shed of the great house' – *im.y-rʿ š pr.w-ʿ* (Jones, *Index I*, 244 [890]); 'Director of the *akh* palace' – *hrp ʿḥ* (Jones, *Index II*, 707 [2579]). Seneb also held the usual honorific titles of 'Companion' – *smr* (Jones, *Index II*, 891-892 [3263]) and 'Companion of the house' – *smr pr.w* (Jones, *Index II*, 896 [3287]).

59 Junker, *Giza V*, 6-7. The hieroglyphic font used in this paper was supplied by JSesh: An Open Source Hieroglyphic Editor.

60 Accessed from the Giza Archives Website: Photo ID number: AEOS_II_3082. See also Junker, *Giza V*, pl. 7c.

61 Seneb and Senet-ites bore one son named: *ʿnh-m-ʿ Dd=f-Rʿ.w* 'Ankh-ma-Djedefre' as well as two daughters called *ʿw-ib-n-Ḥwfw* 'Au-iben-Khufu' and *Smr.t-Dd=f-Rʿ.w* 'Semeret-Djedefre'. Junker, *Giza V*, 18-19.

62 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 21.

63 Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 34; Junker, *Giza V*, 4; Malek, *DE* 20 (1991), 94. See for example the decree of Pepy I from Dahshur exempting the priesthood of Sneferu's

- pyramid towns from taxation and compulsory duties (PM III/2, 876; N. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Atlanta, 2005), 103-105 [20]).
- 64 Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 4b; Strudwick *Administration*, 44. See for example Seshat-hetep (Kanawati, *Giza II*, pl. 45); Nesut-nefer (Kanawati, *Giza II*, pl. 53); Kai-nefer (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, fig. 257). For a possible earlier phase of the arrangement of these inscriptions see the late Fourth Dynasty tomb of Ka-ni-nesut I (Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 18).
- 65 Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, 53; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 339-340, 342-344; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 71, 195 (criterion 49); Strudwick, *Administration*, 40. The latest examples of decoration on the inner section of the central niche can be found in tombs dating to the reign of Sahure-Neferirekare and include: Seshem-nefer I (Kanawati, *Giza I*, pls. 6, 7a, 48a-b); Nesut-nefer (Kanawati, *Giza II*, pls. 17-18, 55b).
- 66 Strudwick *Administration*, 36-41; Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, 53.
- 67 Strudwick, *Administration*, 36-41. See the tombs of Ra-merery-Ptah (A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'ancien Empire* (Paris, 1889), 154-155); Ni-ankh-ra (T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum*, 10 vols. (2nd edn. London, 1961), I, pl. 26); Iteti (M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, 2 vols. (London, 1905), I, pls. 18-19); Inkaef (S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 10 vols. (Cairo, 1932-1960), VI [3], fig. 119); Ka-ma-ankh (L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, I. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1937), 183-184); Ti (Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 39-41); Kai (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 231); Wash-ptah/Isi (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 268-269); Ha-merer-Ptah (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 119).
- 68 Swinton, *Dating*, 227-235 (Criterion 43a-b). See the tombs of Khaef-Khufu I (Simpson, *Kawah*, figs. 31-32); Meres-ankh III (D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III. G7530-7540* (Boston, 1974), fig. 9); Ni-kau-re (C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Ergänzungsband* (Leipzig, 1913), pl. 35); Sekhem-ka-re (Hassan, *Giza IV*, fig. 63); Debehni (Hassan, *Giza IV*, fig. 122).
- 69 L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ahu-Re*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1913; re. pr. Onabrück, 1981-1982), II, pl. 63.
- 70 See Wehem-kai (H. Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka. Ein Grab in der Wüste*, (Hannover, 1964), 32; Seshat-hetep (Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 46); Nesut-nefer (Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 56); Kai-ni-nesut I (Junker, *Giza II*, figs. 15, 21); Kai-nefer (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, fig. 260); Wash-ptah/Isi (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 268-269).
- 71 See W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Berlin, 1963), 47-88. Kanawati, *Giza I*, 58-61, pl. 43; Junker, *Giza III*, 135, fig. 17.
- 72 W. S. Smith, 'The Old Kingdom Linen List', *ZÄS* 71 (1935), 134-149; Manuelian, *Slab Stela*, Appendix 3, 227-236. The stela of Setchu was discovered in Shaft B of G2352 together with several sealings of king Djedkare. Simpson highlights the stela is probably earlier than the mastaba, but could also be a later product with archaistic titles and features (W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, Part I. *Sekhemka (G 1029)*; *Tjetu I (G 2001)*; *Iasen (G 2196)*; *Penmeru (G 2197)*; *Hagy, Nefertjentet, and Herunefer (G 2352/53)*; *Djaty, Tjetu II, and Nimesti (G 2337 X, 2343, 2366)* (Boston, 1980), 35, fig. 47, pl. 61). A late Sixth Dynasty date is followed by Manuelian. (*Slab Stela*, Appendix 3, fig. 314).
- 73 Junker, *Giza V*, 98.
- 74 Kanawati, *Giza I*, pls. 41, 43.
- 75 Kanawati, *Giza I*, 40-41, pl. 36.
- 76 See A. Woods, 'Contribution to a Controversy: A Date for the tomb of *K3(=i)-m-ḥḥ* at Giza', *JEA* 95 (2009), in press. Other scholars who propose a Fifth Dynasty date for the

- tomb include Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 256-260, 312-313; C. Sourdive, *La Main dans L'Égypte pharonique* (Bern, 1984), 139 [028]; Kanawati, *Giza I*, 15-21.
- 77 M. Fitzenreiter also noted the unusual inclusion of several alabaster vessels (2 bowls and 13 vases) in the limestone chest with the double statue (Fitzenreiter, *Statue und Kult*, 279), however comparable items have been discovered in Fourth and Fifth Dynasty tombs at Giza. (See for example the tombs of Kai-ni-nesut I and II (Junker, *Giza III*, pl. 9b) and also the funerary complex of Sahure at Abusir (Borchardt, *S'ahu-Re I*, 114, fig. 163).
- 78 See V. Dasen, 'Dwarfism in Egypt and Classical Antiquity: Iconography and Medical History', *Medical History* 32 (1988), 253-276; J. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (London, 1996), 78-79; E. Thompson, 'Dwarfs in the Old Kingdom in Egypt', *BACE* 2 (1991), 91-98.
- 79 Bothmer, *Expedition* 24 [2] (Winter 1982), 36, fig. 24; Smith, *HESPOK*, 57.
- 80 For a discussion of the possible reasons for this rendering see Fitzenreiter, *Statue und Kult*, 123, 234, n. 489.
- 81 N. Cherpion, 'Sentiment Conjugal et Figuration a l'Ancien Empire', in *Kunst des Alten Reiches: Symposium im Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo Am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991*, SDAIK 28 (1995), 33-47. See for example Khufu-ankh (G4520: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, pl. 67c); Mesi (G2009: Smith, *HESPOK*, 68-70, pl. 24); Im-set-kai (Junker, *Giza VI*, 216-217, pl. 23a); Ti (CG 94 + 285: L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum Kairo*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, 5 vols. (Cairo, 1911-1936), I, pl. 21); Ni-akh-re (Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. 32 [1]); Ni-maat-re (G8900: Hassan, *Giza II*, pl. 32 [1]).
- 82 Falke, *Gruppenstatuen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, Kat. 121; 100.
- 83 Falke ultimately prefers Junker's late Dynasty Six dating of the tomb complex (*Gruppenstatuen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 6-14, 98-101).
- 84 E. Russmann, 'A Second Style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom', *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 369-379.
- 85 C. Ziegler, 'Non Royal Statuary', in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pharaohs*, 57-71.
- 86 Russmann, *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 273-276. J. Harvey, *Wooden Statues of the Old Kingdom. A Typological Study* (Leiden, 2001), 5-6.
- 87 See for example, Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, 122-123; Bolshakov, *GM* 139 (1994), 10, n. 1.
- 88 Junker, *Giza V*, 33-34, fig. 4b.
- 89 Junker, *Giza V*, 88, fig. 22.
- 90 Junker, *Giza V*, 88-91, fig. 23.
- 91 Junker, *Giza V*, 92, fig. 24.
- 92 Junker, *Giza V*, 83-84, fig. 20.
- 93 Junker, *Giza V*, 84, 86, fig. 21 (registers II-III).
- 94 Junker, *Giza V*, 92, 94, 96, 98, figs. 25-26.
- 95 Junker, *Giza V*, 36, fig. 5a.
- 96 Junker, *Giza V*, 37, 40, fig. 5b (registers I-II).
- 97 Junker, *Giza V*, 61, fig. 14a.
- 98 Junker, *Giza V*, 64, fig. 14b.
- 99 Junker, *Giza V*, 65-69 fig. 15.
- 100 Junker, *Giza V*, 69-73, fig. 16.
- 101 Junker, *Giza V*, 40-41, fig. 6.
- 102 Junker, *Giza V*, 41-42, 44, fig. 7 (registers I-II).
- 103 Junker, *Giza V*, 44, 46, fig. 8 (registers III-IV).
- 104 Junker, *Giza V*, 73-74, fig. 17.
- 105 Junker, *Giza V*, 74, 76, 78, fig. 18 (registers III-IV).

- 106 Junker, *Giza* V, 78, 80-81, fig. 19 (registers V-VII).
- 107 For the use of hypothetical grids see G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Austin, 1994), 60-63.
- 108 Similar to the unique rendering of Seneb's body on the double statue (Smith, *HESPOK*, 57).
- 109 For the canon of proportion typically applied to standing male figures see Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 73-76.
- 110 For the canon applied to seated male figures see Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 76-78.
- 111 See Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 79.
- 112 Smith, *HESPOK*, 57; Dasen, *Medical History* 32 (1988), 263.
- 113 Swinton, *Dating*, 268-269 (Criterion 67). For the earliest examples see Wep-em-nefert (Manuelian, *Slab Stela*, 32-40, pls. 1-2); Iuenu (Junker, *Giza* I, pls. 26-27, fig. 31; Manuelian, *Slab Stela*, 98-103, pls. 25-26); for the latest occurrences see Ka-pu-nesut (Junker, *Giza* III, figs. 16-17); Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (A. Moussa, H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz/Rhein, 1977), figs. 4, 20, 25-26, pl. 88); Rawer II (C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, II (re-pr. Berlin, 1972), pl. 84).
- 114 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 48, 169-171 (criterion 19-20); Swinton, *Dating*, 218-223 (criterion 33).
- 115 For an overview of changes to religious symbolism as expressed in the change from the half loaf to tall reefs see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 45, n. 60; M. Bárta, 'Archaeology and Iconography: *bdj* and *prt* bread moulds and "Speisetischszene" development in the Old Kingdom', *SAK* 22 (1995), 21-35.
- 116 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 34; Swinton, *Dating*, 273.
- 117 This number was compiled from the data listed in Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 155-159 (criterion 10); Swinton, *Dating*, 272-273, Table 4: 426-433 (criterion 89).
- 118 This number was compiled from the data listed in Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 28, 147-149 (criterion 3); Swinton, *Dating*, 274-277 (criterion 94).
- 119 R. van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs. Analysis and Interpretation, Theoretical and Methodological Aspects* (Leiden, 2005), 41, 95.
- 120 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 55, 178-179 (criterion 28). For the earliest and latest example see Ra-hotep (Y. Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum. Discovery, Destruction and Reconstruction* (Oxford, 2001), figs. 92-93, 97-98) and Khaef-Khufu II (Simpson, *Kawab*, figs. 26, 30, 32-33).
- 121 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 70, 193-194 (criterion 47); Swinton, *Dating*, 254-255 (criterion 78). See for example, the tombs of Ra-hotep (Harpur, *Nefermaat and Rahotep*, figs. 92-93, 98-99); Khaef-Khufu I (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 33); Meres-ankh III (Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 7); Persen (LD II, pl. 83b); Nen-sedjer-kai (Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 7); Ka-pu-nesut (Junker, *Giza* III, fig. 15); Nefer and Kahay (A. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay* (Mainz am Rhein, 1971), pls. 24a, 26); Seshem-nefer III (E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptische Grabkammer Seschemnofers III aus Giza* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), pls. 2-4); Mereruka (P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1938), II, pl. 108).
- 122 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 69-70, 191-193 (criterion 45-46); Swinton, *Dating*, 254-255 (criterion 76-77). For examples, see the tombs of Ra-hotep (Harpur, *Nefermaat and Rahotep*, fig. 98); Meres-ankh II (Smith, *HESPOK*, fig. 63); Khufu-ankh (Resiner, *Giza Necropolis* I, pl. 65b); Wehem-kai (Kayser, *Uhemka*, 37); Nen-sedjer-kai (Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 7); Ka-pu-nesut (Junker, *Giza* III, figs. 15-16); Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, figs. 5-6, 19, pls. 74-75); Ra-shepses (LD II, pl.

- 60); Nefer-iretenef (B. van der Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef* (Bruxelles, 1978), pls. 1-3, 6).
- 123 J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara. 1911-1912*, 5 vols. (Cairo, 1913), V, pl. 29.
- 124 See the stela of Wepem-nefert, Kai-nefer, Khufu-nakht, Kaem-ah, Nefer-iabet, Setjihenket, Ini, Seshat-sehentyu, Meret-ites and Iuenu (Manuelian, *Slab Stela*, 32-40, 42-49, 54-62, 64-74, 76-82, 92-97, pls. 1-6, 9-18, 23-24).
- 125 See the tombs of Ra-hotep (Harpur, *Nefermaat and Rahotep*, 109, fig. 98, pls. 65, 71); Shery (Oxford 1836.479; CG1384: Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, pls. 21-24); Neferi (Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, pl. 9; PM III/1, 51); Seshat-hetep/Heti (Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 45); Kai-khenet (A2: A. El-Khouli and N. Kanawati, *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya* (Warminster, 1990), pl. 46). See also the tombs of Ka-ni-nesut I (Junker, *Giza II*, figs. 16, 18) and Hetepet (PM III/2, 289; H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, (2nd edn. New York, 2000), pls. 1-4; A. Woods, 'The Tomb of Hetepet at Giza: Chronological Considerations', in L. Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis. 'Enduring is Perfection' – Proceedings of the Conference held at Macquarie University, Sydney, August 14-15 2008* (Leuven, forthcoming).
- 126 Kayser, *Uhemka*, 32.
- 127 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 62, 184 (criterion 37); Swinton, *Dating*, 165 (criterion 6).
- 128 See the tombs of Nefer-maat (Harpur, *Nefermaat and Rahotep*, figs. 72-73, 75-76); Metchen (LD, pls. 3, 5-6); Meres-ankh III (Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, figs. 4, 12); Ka-ni-nesut (Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 18); Seshat-hetep (Kanawati, *Giza II*, pls. 42c, 44-45, 47); Nesut-nefer (Kanawati, *Giza II*, pls. 52-53, 56-57); Wehem-kai (Kayser, *Uhemka*, 24-25, 32-33, 37); Mer-su-ankh (Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 178).
- 129 This tomb has often been dated to the reign of Niuserre based on a sealing belonging to a lector priest discovered in the burial chamber bearing the Horus name of this king (Junker, *Giza III*, 150; Junker, *Giza VII*, 240, fig. 99). However, the seal does not guarantee a secure date for the tomb as Kai-ni-nesut II did not possess the title of lector priest. Ka-ni-nesut II's tomb blocks a north-south street in the West Field at Giza and is built against that of his father, Ka-ni-nesut I (G2155: Junker, *Giza III*, fig. 19; Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 18, pl. 6). Ka-ni-nesut I is designated as 'son of the king of his body' (Junker, *Giza II*, 159) and the latest cartouche in the chapel is that of Menkaure. G2155 is a part of the G2100 cemetery constructed during the reign of Khufu, (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 66-68) and the chapel corresponds to Reisner's Type 4a (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 68, 185, 211-218, 304 [2]), which generally dates from Menkaure-Neferirkare. Based on the evidence presented, Ka-ni-nesut I may be dated to the late Fourth Dynasty, possibly from the reigns of Khufu to Menkaure. Ka-ni-nesut II can be dated from the late Fourth to the early Fifth Dynasty, with the construction of his tomb probably taking place in the early Fifth Dynasty, possibly during the reigns of Userkaef-Neferirkare.
- 130 See Harpur, *Decoration*, 130-131, 328 (Table 6.8).
- 131 See the tombs of Ra-hotep and Nefer-maat (Harpur, *Nefermaat and Rahotep*, figs. 77, 98); Meres-ankh III (Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 5).
- 132 A. McFarlane, 'Occupied Carrying Chairs at Memphis in the Old Kingdom', in L. Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis. 'Enduring is Perfection'*, (forthcoming); Bárta, in P. Janosi (ed.), *Structure and Significance*, 105-125.
- 133 Harpur, *Nefermaat and Rahotep*, fig. 70.
- 134 See for example the tombs of Khafre-ankh at Giza (LD II, pl. 9); Hetep-her-akhti (H. T. Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti. The Study of an Egyptian Tomb chapel in the Museum of Antiquities Leiden* (Leiden, 1943), 79, fig. 44); Ni-maat-re (Hassan, *Giza II*,

fig. 240); Ni-ankh-khnum and Khnum-hotep (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 63). Fischer, *MMJ* 6 (1972), 151-158.

135 El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 35, 37.

136 For seated male tomb owners see Seshem-nefer I (Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 41); Wehem-kai (Kayser, *Uhemka*, 36); Nefer (Junker, *Giza* VI, figs. 14, 16). See also Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka* II, pls. 140-144); Sabu/Ibebi (M. Khadragey, 'The Offering Niche of Sabu/Ibebi in the Cairo Museum', *SAK* 33 (2005), fig. 6). Female figures/tomb owners are frequently shown seated on boats as in the tombs of Meres-ankh III (Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 5) and Kai-khenet at El-Hammamiya (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 44).

137 B. Landtröm, *Ships of the Pharaohs. 4000 years of Egyptian Shipbuilding* (New York, 1970), 43, 46, fig. 120. A. McFarlane notes that a shorter rectangular sail appears in Dynasty Six (A. McFarlane, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara*, I. *The Tomb of Irukaptah* (Warminster, 2000), 49).

138 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 78, 201 (criterion 58). See for example Meres-ankh III (Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 5); Ka-ni-nesut I (Junker, *Giza* II, fig. 22); Seshat-hotep (Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 44); Niankh-khnum and Khnumhotep (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, pl. 30); Irukaptah (McFarlane, *Unis Cemetery* I, pls. 47-48); Iyi-nefert (N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara*, II. *The Tombs of Iyefert and Ihy (reused by Idu)*, (Oxford, 2003), pl. 35). Pepy-ankh-hery-ib at Meir also depicts a similar shaped prow, however the heads are placed on both the prow and the stern (A. W. Blackman, *The Rock Cut tombs of Meir*, Part IV. *The Tomb-chapel of Pepi'onkh the middle son of Sobekhotpe and Pekhernefert (D. No.2)*, ASE 25 (London, 1924), pl. 16).

139 Hassan, *Giza* IV, 143, fig. 82. See also Harpur, *Decoration*, 114.

140 Borchardt, *S'ahu-Re* II, pls. 52-54.

141 See Khaef-khufu II (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 48); Ptah-shepses (B. Vachala, *Abusir*, VIII. *Die Reliefs aus der Ptahshepses-Mastaba in Abusir* (Prague, 2004), 262-263 [E99 – 1897]); Akhet-hotep (C. Ziegler, *Le mastaba d'Akhet-hotep. Une Chapelle funéraire de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1993), 116-119); and Metchetchi (P. Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi* (Bern, 1976), 22, nr. 2). See also Ptah-hotep (LD II, pl. 103a); Seshem-nefer IV (Junker, *Giza* XI, fig. 65) and Hetepet (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 12).

142 M. I. Khaled, 'Old Kingdom Funerary Domains: A Question of Dating!', in: H. Vymazalová and M. Bárta, (eds), *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (The Third Millennium B.C.)* (Prague, 2008), 197-198. Harpur, *Decoration*, 82-83. For the earliest examples see Simpson, *Kawab*, figs. 32-33; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4.

143 C. Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire* (Paris, 1990), 169, 171, [26]. See also the tombs of Seshat-hotep (Kanawati, *Giza* II, pl. 46); Kai-nefer (Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, fig. 257); Persen (LD II, pl. 83b); Iasen (Simpson, *Western Cemetery* I, fig. 33); Sabu/Ibebi (Khadragey, *SAK* 33 (2005), figs. 5-6); Idu (W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu. G7101 and 7102* (Boston, 1976), fig. 39).

144 See for example the tomb of Khaef-Khufu I (Simpson, *Kawab*, 16, fig. 32, pls. 20-21).

145 See the tombs of Ka-pu-nesut (LD II, pl. 20); Merib (LD II, pl. 20); Kai (S. Curto, *Gli Scavi italiani a el-Ghiza* (Roma, 1963), 47-48, fig. 12, pl. 12); Kapi (Roth, *Palace Attendants*, 103, fig. 164); Tchetchi (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I, pls. 7, 15 [No. 157B]); Abdu (PM III/1, 51); Seshat-hotep (Kanawati, *Giza* I, pl. 48a); Nesut-nefer (Kanawati, *Giza* I, pls. 53, 55b). For a discussion of the dating of the offering jar to the early Fifth

- Dynasty see Roth, *Palace Attendants*, 103, n.59. See also H. Balcz, 'Die Gefäßdarstellungen des Alten Reiches', *MDAIK* 3 (1932), 100-102.
- 146 Harpur, *Decoration*, 257 [5].
- 147 See for example, Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4; LD II, pl. 12b.
- 148 For a complete list of scenes see Harpur, *Decoration*, 335-339, Table 6.18; Altenmüller, *SAK* 30 (2002), 1-42; A. Woods, 'A Day in the Marshes'. *A Study of Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes in the Tombs of the Memphite Cemeteries*, 2 vols. (PhD diss., Macquarie University, Sydney, 2007), I, 27-29, Table 3.3; II, Table A.
- 149 Kanawati, *Giza I*, pl. 31; Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, fig. 30; LD II, pl. 43a. For a recent discussion of the dating of Iasen's tomb see Swinton, *Dating*, 47 [3].
- 150 See Duell, *Mereruka II*, pls. 127-129; J. Leclant and A. Minault-Gout, 'Fouilles et travaux en Egypte et au Soudan (1998-1999)', *Orientalia* 69 (2000), 245, pls. 17 (8).
- 151 See for example the scenes in the late Fourth to mid-Fifth Dynasty tombs of Neb-em-akhet (LD II, pl. 12b) and Khaef-khufu II (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 47).
- 152 Seneb's papyrus rattling scene is the only marsh scene in the Old Kingdom showing the thicket in this position.
- 153 For other examples see the tombs of Kapi (Roth, *Palace Attendants*, fig. 156) and Iasen (Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, fig. 30).
- 154 See the tombs of Iyi-mery (Weeks, *Cemetery G6000*, fig. 33); Khaef-Khufu II (Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 47); Ti (Épron and Wild, *Ti I*, pl. 46); Iasen (Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, fig. 30).
- 155 Y. Harpur, 'Sšš w'd Scenes of the Old Kingdom', *GM* 38 (1980), 57. See for example Meres-ankh III (Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4). It is interesting to note that Seneb also wears a choker, which is a type of jewellery worn only by women in marsh scenes. See the following examples, Meres-ankh II (Smith, *HESPOK*, fig. 63); Meres-ankh III (Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 4) and Iufi (El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pls. 50-51).
- 156 Harpur, *GM* 38 (1980), 57.
- 157 Harpur, *GM* 38 (1980), 57. See also Thompson, *BACE* 2 (1991), 92-92.
- 158 Compare the following features: the similar posture and adornment of the major figures; two punters on the stern of the boat wearing small loincloth garments; the boat is without a wooden deck; no equipment or other items on the stern. Additional similarities include: the stem pulled from the thicket with a large umbel and a curved top; no animals in the thicket; the narrow body of water stops at a right angle; no fish/hippopotami or crocodiles in the water below boat; no water weed under the prow or stern; no other activities in front of the boat.
- 159 Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, 43-45, nos. 19, 24-26, Table 4.1.
- 160 A standard element is a detail consistently found in an Old Kingdom marsh scene and is considered to be an approved model (Woods, *Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes*, 43-45, Table 4.1).
- 161 The term has also been applied to three-dimensional art, architecture, language, writing, religious beliefs as well as names and titles. H. Brunner, 'Archaismus', in *LÄ I*, 386-395.
- 162 P. der Manuelian, *Living in the Past. Studies in Archaisms of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (London, 1994), 1-5, 18-59; P. der Manuelian, 'Prolegomena zur Untersuchung saitischer "Kopien"', *SAK* 10 (1983), 221-245.
- 163 Swinton, *Dating*, 304.
- 164 The numbers below the Dynasty headings refer to the king's reigns, after Harpur, *Decoration*, 34; '...' illustrates that the criterion continue briefly into the listed king's reign; and '///' indicates that the criterion are absent in the tomb complex.
- 165 Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 85-103. See PM III/1, 100, 103-104.

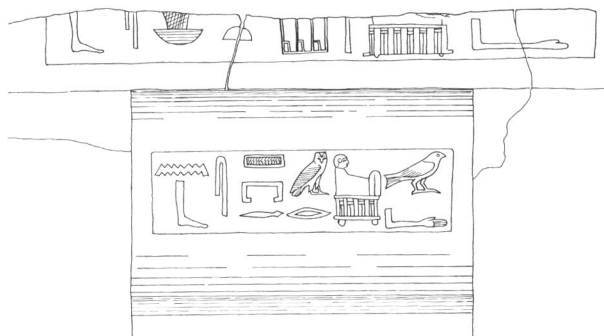


FIGURE 1. Drum above the entrance doorway to Seneb's chapel.
After Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 4a.



FIGURE 2. The false door, two side panels and offering stone of Seneb.
Courtesy of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, Vienna.
AEOS_II_3077; Junker, *Giza* V, pl. 4.

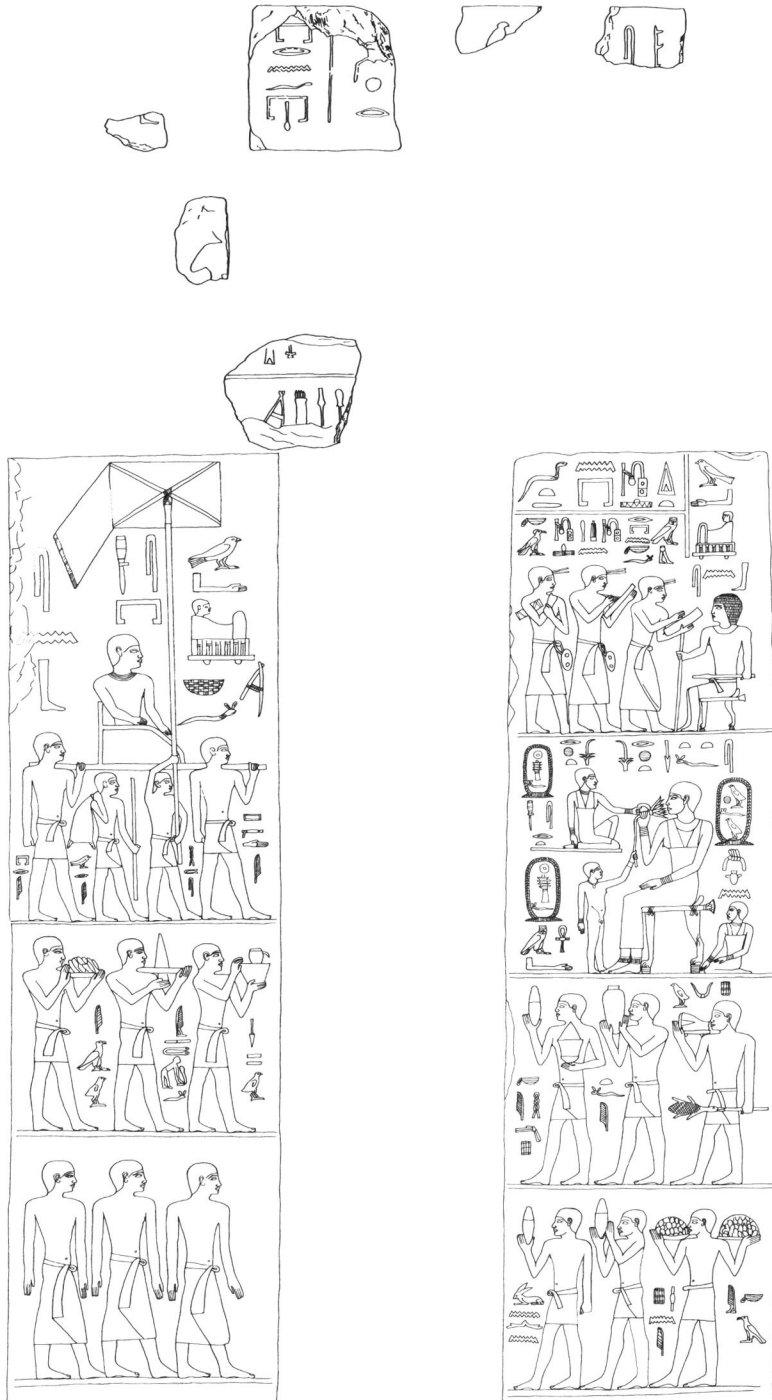
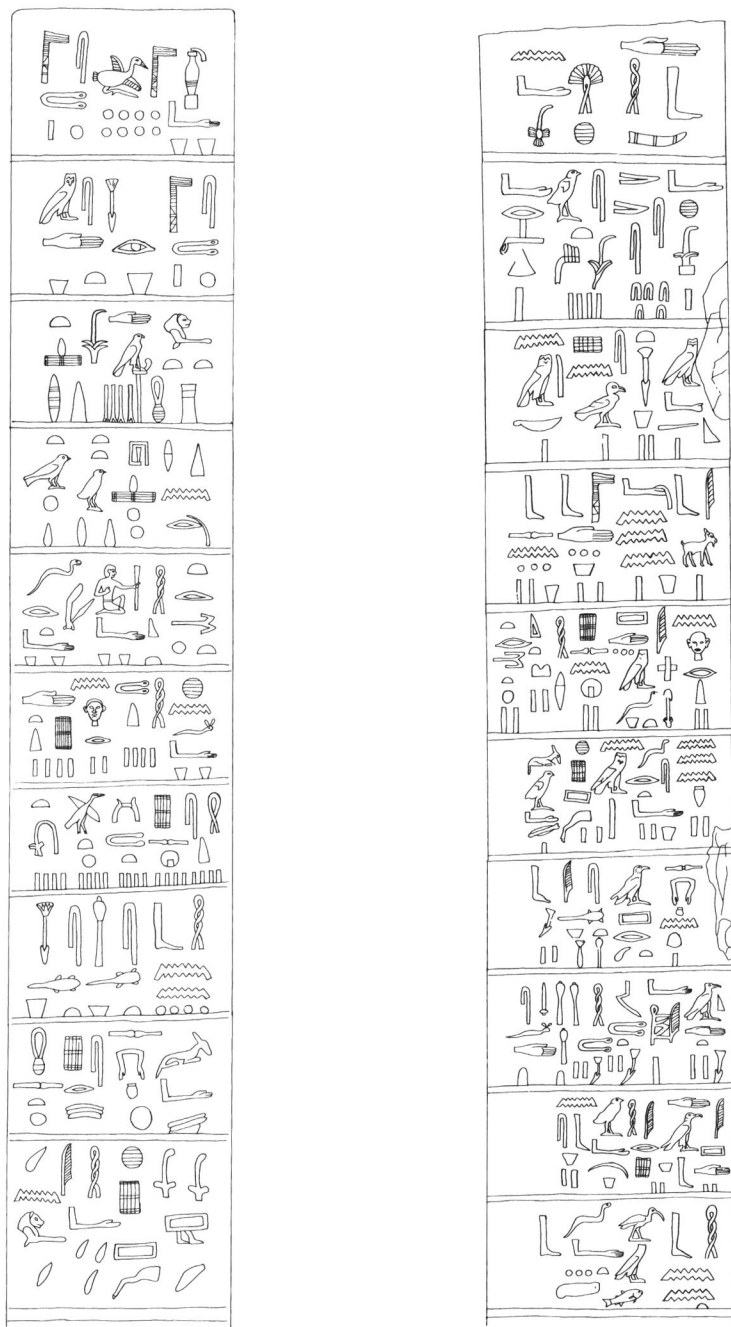


FIGURE 3. The false door, lintel and architrave (reconstructed position) of Seneb.
After Junker, *Giza V*, figs. 4b, 20-24.



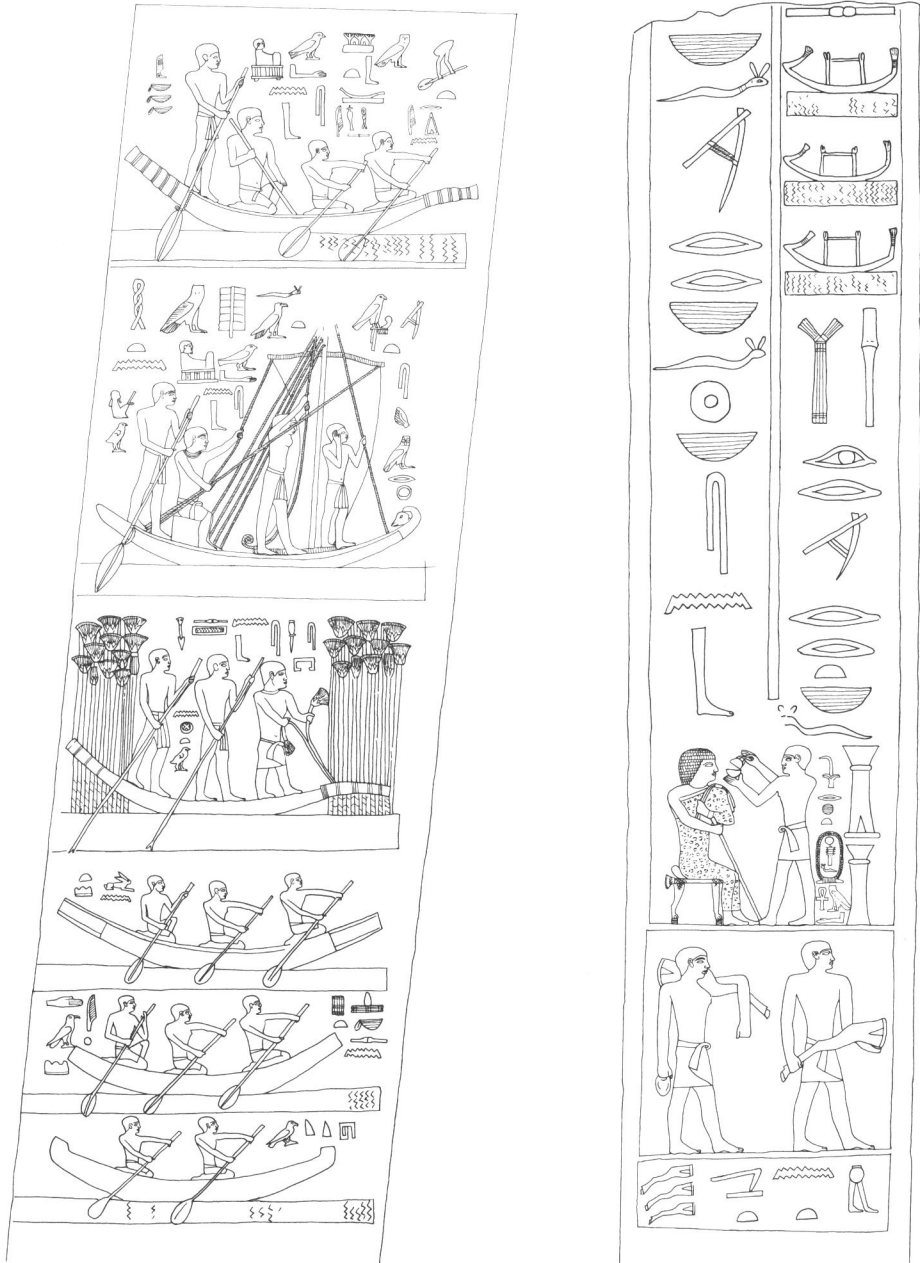
a) South side.

After Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 25.

b) North side.

After Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 26.

FIGURE 4. The offering list on the inner recessed niche of the false door of Seneb.



a) Inner section.
After Junker, *Giza V*, figs. 14-16.

b) Outer section.
After Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 5a-b.

FIGURE 5. Southern side panel of Seneb.



a) Inner section.

After Junker, *Giza V*, figs. 17-19.

b) Outer section.

After Junker, *Giza V*, figs. 6-8.

FIGURE 6. Northern side panel of Seneb.

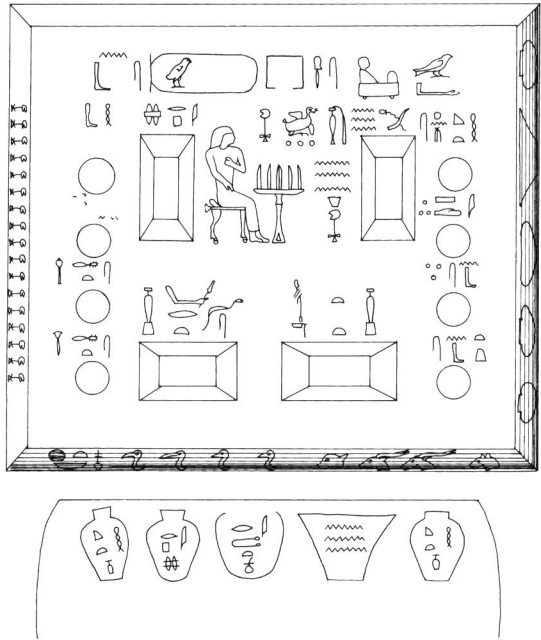


FIGURE 7. The offering stone slab of Seneb.
After Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 28.

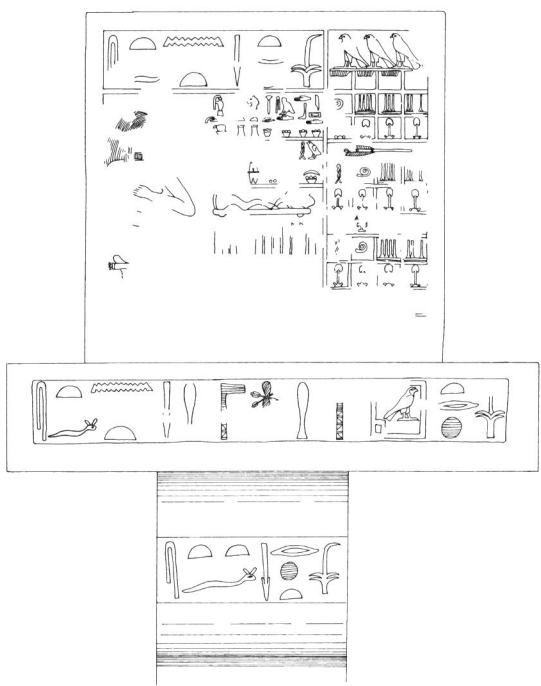


FIGURE 8. The false door of Senet-ites.
After Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 27.

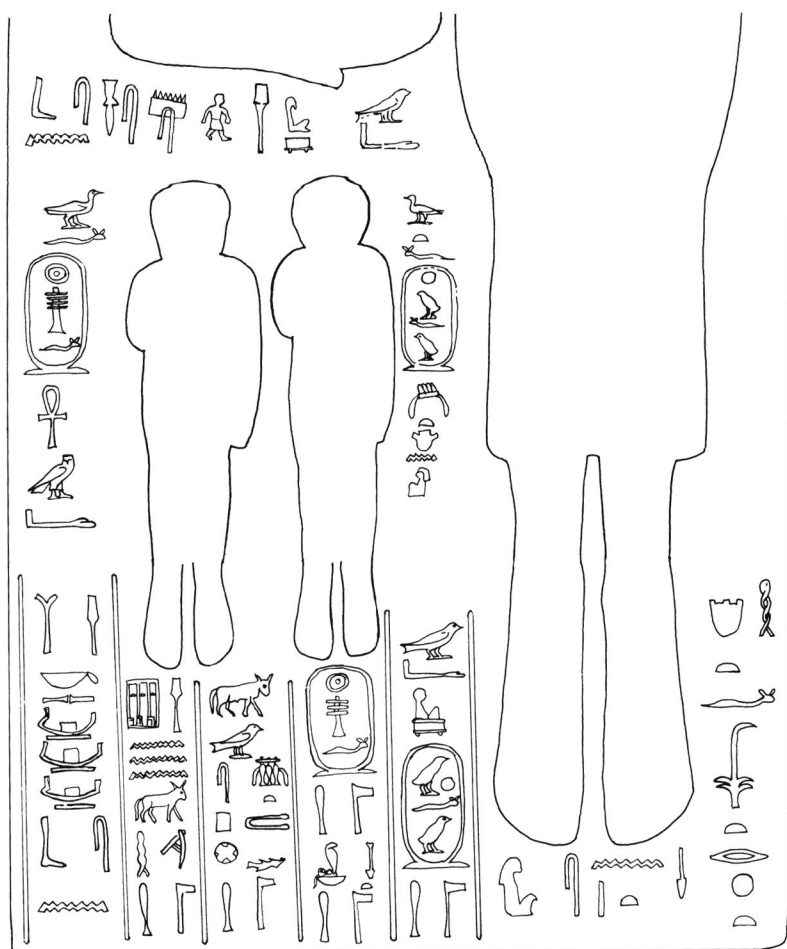


FIGURE 9. The inscriptions on the double statue of Seneb and his family from the northern serdab.
After Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 29 A.

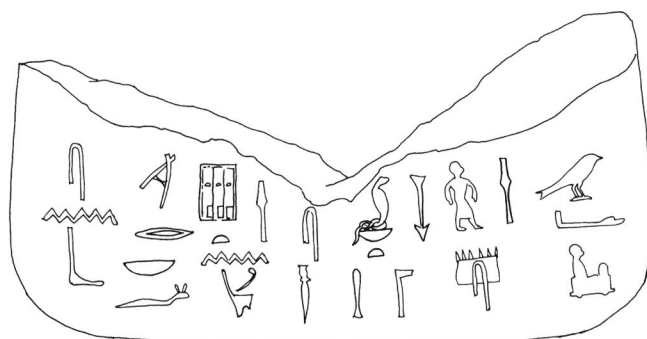


FIGURE 10. The inscriptions on the statue base of Seneb from the serdab in the external chapel.
After Junker, *Giza V*, fig. 29 B.