

SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

EXCAVATIONS
AT GIZA

VOL. IV.

1932 - 1933

by

SELIM HASSAN

with the collaboration of

MAHMOUD DARWISH

Excavations of

THE FACULTY OF ARTS, FOUAD I UNIVERSITY

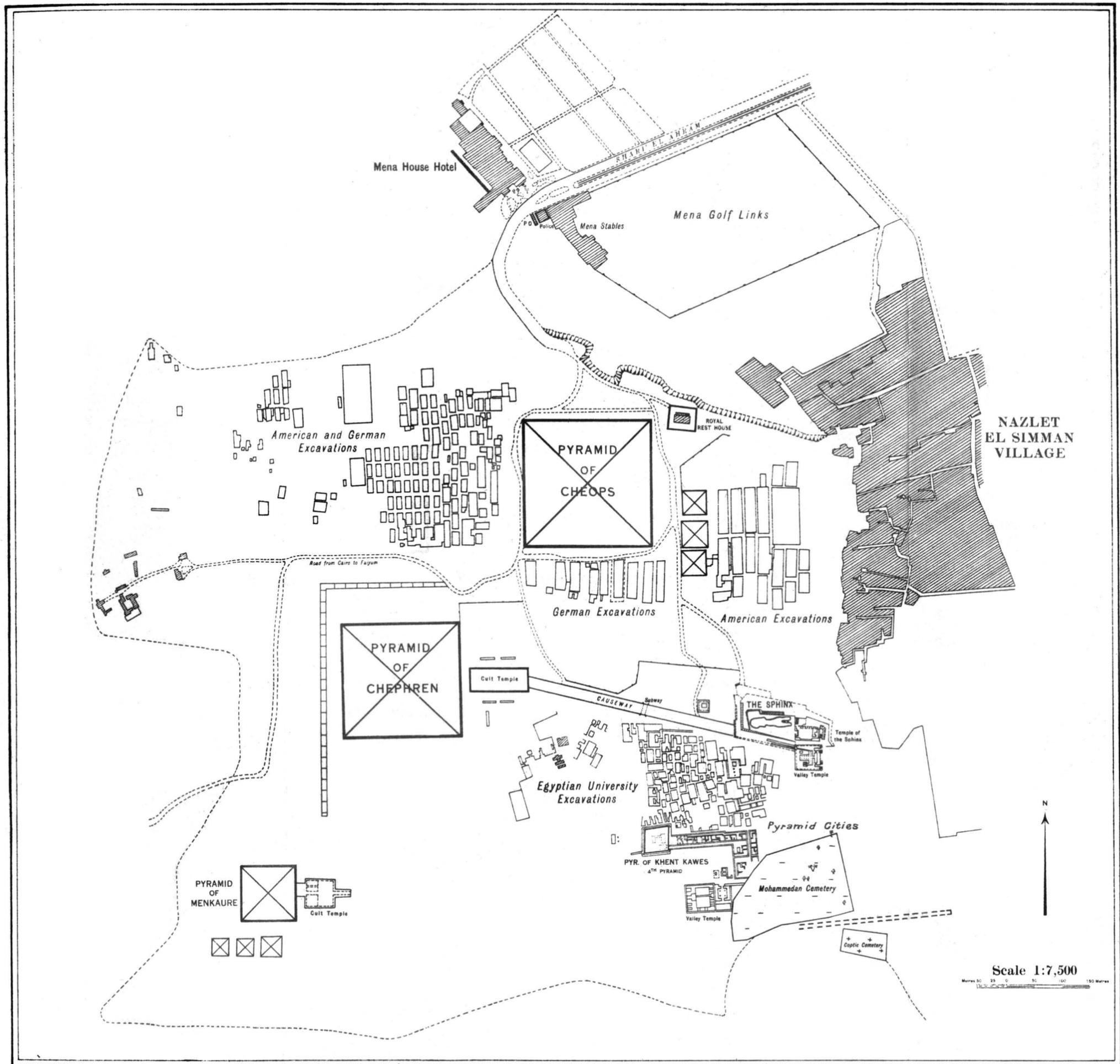


CAIRO
Government Press, Bulâq
1943

TO THE MEMORY

OF

MY MOTHER



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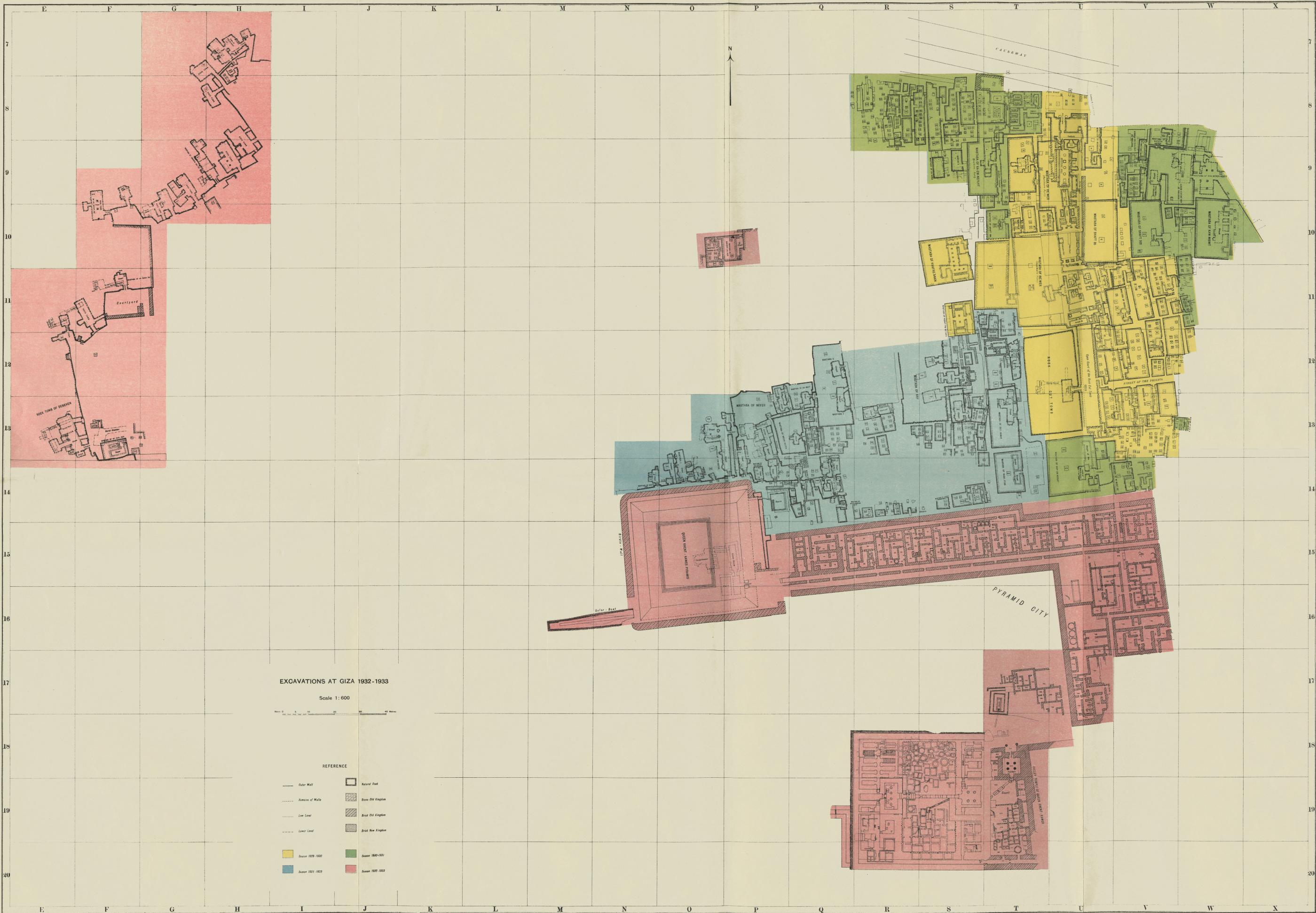
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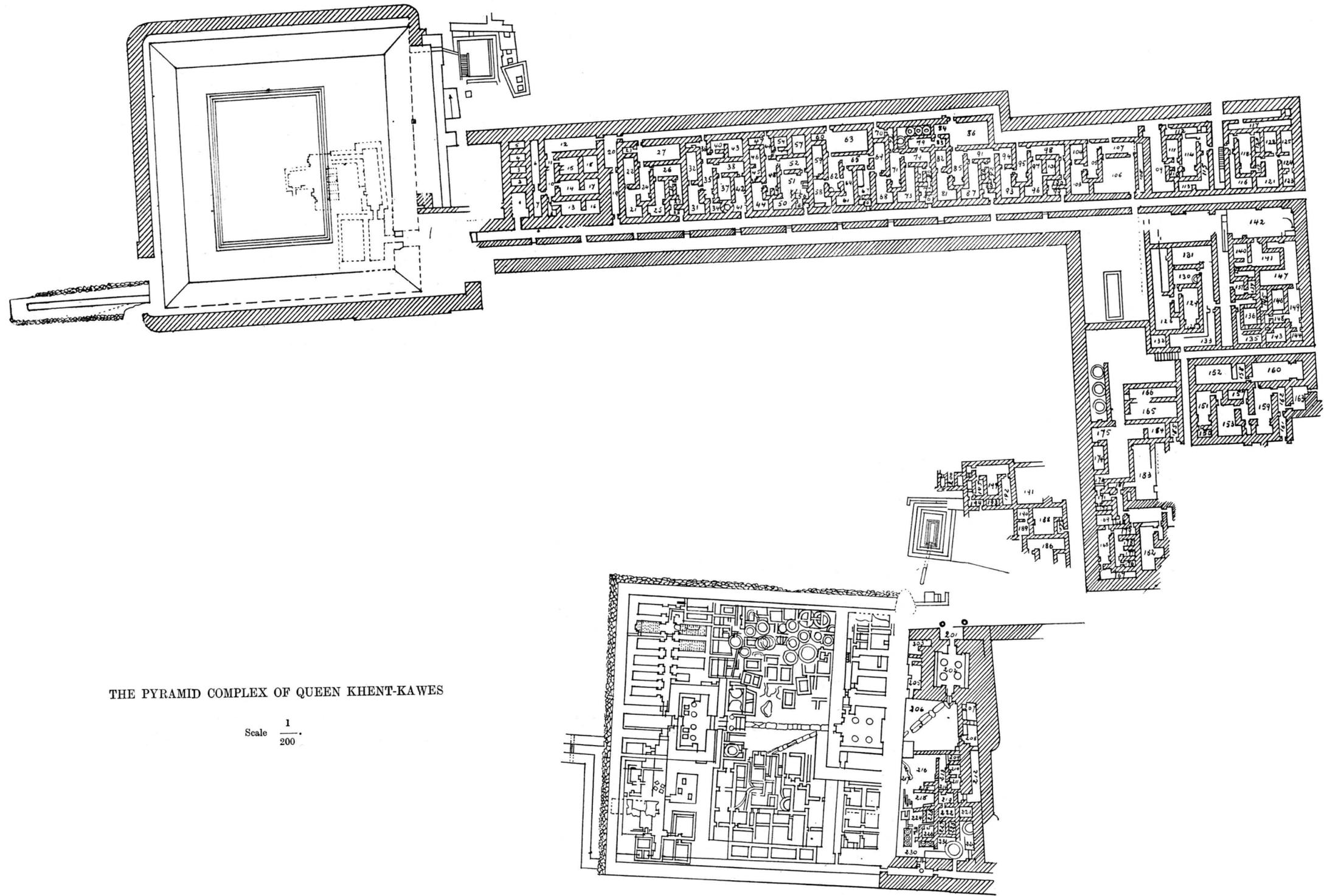
EXCAVATIONS AT GIZA 1932-1933

Scale 1:600



REFERENCE

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| — Outer Wall | □ Natural Rock |
| - - - - - Remains of Walls | ▨ Stone Old Kingdom |
| Low Level | ▨ Brick Old Kingdom |
| Lower Level | ▨ Brick New Kingdom |
| ■ Season 1929-1930 | ■ Season 1932-1933 |
| ■ Season 1931-1932 | ■ Season 1932-1933 |



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Scale $\frac{1}{200}$

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PREFACE

WE commenced our fourth season's work on behalf of the Egyptian University, in the Giza Necropolis on November 11, 1932, though actually we had located the presence of the Fourth Pyramid complex during our third season. Our staff, under my supervision, consisted of Mahmoud Darwish Eff. Assistant; Ramādan Abu-el-iz, sub-assistant, (who, I regret to say has since abandoned his archaeological studies); Fawzi Ibrahim Eff., Architect, (to whom my especial thanks are due for his care in preparing the drawings and measurements, with Mahmoud Emam Eff. and Ahmed Sidky Eff. as draughtsmen. As in our previous seasons, the photography was left in the capable hands of Doktor Ahmed Hassan, a trained Kufi, while Reis Saddik Saïd was in charge of the labouring staff whom he controlled and directed with his usual ability. The labourers consisted of experienced diggers from Kufi supplemented by local men and basket-boys recruited from the villages neighbouring the Pyramids, and I have to thank them, as well as the rest of my staff for their unsparing efforts to make the season a success in spite of the unusually heavy tasks occasioned by the wide area under excavation, and the deeply encumbered nature of the site. This entailed the daily removal of hundreds of cubic metres of sand and debris, all of which had to be dumped at a considerable distance in order not to further encumber the site. At the same time large numbers of small antiquities kept coming to light every day, all of which had to be promptly photographed, recorded and registered.

Our aim for this season's work was the clearance of the Fourth Pyramid Complex, part of which, as mentioned above, actually came to light during our previous season's work, and of which we entertained great hopes of important discoveries, but the large number of small objects just referred to necessitated our finding another magazine in which to house them. For this purpose previous experience had taught us that there is nothing better than a roomy rock-cut tomb. Accordingly we set a small party of workmen to clean out the tomb of Neb-em-akhet, a son of Khafra, that lay a few metres to the north of our already existing magazine, namely the tomb of Ny-kaw-Ra'. These two monuments belong to a series of tombs visited by Lepsius and other early scholars and travellers, and which had been mostly copied by some of them. The filthy condition in which we found the once beautifully sculptured tomb of Neb-em-akhet, led me to examine the remainder of the series in this spot, namely the tombs of Sekhem-ka-Ra', Ny-kaw-Her and Debehen. Inspection soon revealed the fact that unless prompt measures were taken for their preservation, scenes and inscriptions in these tombs, some of which are of great historical importance, would soon vanish entirely under the combined influence of time and man's depredations. Therefore, I decided to have them all cleaned, re-copied and recorded, and where necessary, consolidated and fitted with iron gates to prevent further damages being caused by ignorant and unauthorized persons frequenting these tombs. This was undertaken purely as a labour of love, for we had little hope of interesting finds in tombs that had been plundered and re-plundered from ancient times down to the present day. However, Fate was kind to us, and in addition to bringing to light scenes and parts of scenes that had been either missed or erroneously copied by Lepsius and the others, we brought to light many interesting finds of small objects in the debris filling and surrounding these tombs, while during the clearance, other hitherto unknown tombs came to light.

These, however, formed but a side-line to our season's work, the most important part of which was certainly the clearance of the Fourth Pyramid Complex, and the fresh light which it throws upon the two great dynasties of the Old Kingdom.

With regard to the present volume, it will be noticed that its lay-out differs somewhat from the preceding volumes. The mass of material to be dealt with demanded one of two alternatives, either a double volume or a more constricted lay-out. Therefore I chose the latter as being the "lesser evil", and I think the staff of the Government Press are to be congratulated on having achieved a handy volume without the sacrifice of artistic effect and especial praise is due to William Eff. Abdel Sayed for the careful way he carried out the tricky task of setting up the type, both hieroglyphic and English. The work of reproducing the plates was again undertaken by the Government Press and in this task they have maintained their customary high standard of production despite the serious shortage of materials occasioned by war conditions. Finally, I must thank Mr. J. Leibovitch for the care he has taken in proof-reading and generally preparing this volume for publication.

SELIM HASSAN

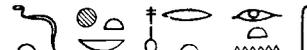
SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

EXCAVATIONS AT GÎZA, 1932-1933

IV

THE PYRAMID COMPLEX OF QUEEN KHENT-KAWES

TITLES

1.  "King of Upper and Lower Egypt."
2.  "Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt."
3.  "Daughter of the God."
4.  "Every good thing which she orders is done for her; or, of whom one relates all good things which she has done (1)."

INTRODUCTION

The Egyptian University began its third season of excavations in the middle of November, 1931. Work was systematically continued from where we had finished off in the previous season (*see* General Plan, third season), and this necessitated our excavating that part of the Gîza Necropolis which lies to the south-east of the famous tomb of Ra'-wer. We had, however, to find a new place for our dumps.

Some years ago the Department of Antiquities had dumped a great quantity of rubbish south of our site, where it was thought that no ancient monuments existed. But by way of precaution, we began to examine this spot, and to our surprise it was found that in three different places there were remains of brick buildings lying at a depth of three or four metres below the surface of the ground. Our attention was at once directed to the possibility of the existence of a Valley-Temple

(1) See JUNKER, "Mittellungen des Deutschen Instituts" Band III, Heft 2, 1932, p. 129.

in connection with a huge structure in the neighbourhood, known as "the unfinished pyramid of Shepses-ka-f" (Pl. I, B). This pyramid had for a long time puzzled archaeologists, and many explanations as to the meaning and purpose of its upper parts — which were the only portions visible at that time — were given. J.S. Perring and R.W.H. Vyse, who visited the site in 1837-1838, considered it simply as a pyramid. In the following year Lepsius maintained the same opinion, but afterwards changed his view ⁽¹⁾. Dr. Hölscher, who surveyed the ground around it in 1912, called it "the unfinished pyramid of Shepses-ka-f" ⁽²⁾. Dr. Reisner, in his book on Men-kaw-Ra', remarks that in addition to the pyramids of Khwfw, Khafra', and Men-kaw-Ra', "there is one other King's pyramid at Giza — the unfinished pyramid south-east of the Chephren pyramid. Beside it on the north-east is a small cemetery; but it is as yet uncertain whether the unfinished pyramid with its adjacent cemetery is to be reckoned as a fourth part of the whole site" ⁽³⁾. In discussing the question of the "Her-pyramid", the same author says: "There remains the unfinished pyramid north of the Mycerinus Valley Temple. This structure would satisfy the requirements of the inscription; but I am of opinion that the unfinished pyramid was begun by Shepses-ka-f after the death of Mycerinus" ⁽⁴⁾.

As the work proceeded we found that the mud-bricks discovered under the sand, were similar to those of the Valley-Temple of Men-kaw-Ra', which lies near by on the south-west. Moreover, it was noticed that these remains of mud-brick buildings were situated to the east of the so-called unfinished pyramid.

This at once suggested that the monument itself really was a pyramid, and that the brick buildings were connected with it. We therefore decided that the whole site should be cleared in order to solve the problem and at the same time to be methodical in our work.

The work of clearance began on January 20, 1932, at a distance of 250 metres, east of the so-called "unfinished pyramid", and after about a fortnight, working from east to west, we came up to the building itself. The depth of the sand and debris in this place reached to 15.0 metres and sometimes more! The building at first appeared to be in steps, somewhat like the Step-pyramid at Sakkara; but when all the eastern side was cleared, it was found that these steps were cut in the rock core of the monument in order to support a casing of Turah limestone.

A few days later we found some great blocks of red granite inscribed with incised hieroglyphs. These blocks proved to be the jambs of a large doorway leading to the cult-chapel, which was cut in the south-eastern corner of the rock which served as a base for the superstructure. These jambs have the form of a narrow false-door (Fig. 2, and Pls. V, VI), and both bear a similar vertical inscription giving the titles and name of the royal person for whom the structure was raised. Similar inscriptions were also found upon the red granite blocks relating to a false-door in the northern cult-chapel of the structure (Pl. VIII). They read: "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Daughter of the God, every good thing which she orders is done for her, Khent-kawes" ⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ See LEPSIUS, "Denkmäler" 1, 31, and Text—Grab No. 100, p. 121.

⁽²⁾ "Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren", p. 6.

⁽³⁾ "Mycerinus" (The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza), 1931, p. 4.

⁽⁴⁾ *Op. cit.* Appendix "A", p. 257.

⁽⁵⁾ This translation will be discussed later on p. 3.

Now this monument has been revealed to be a pyramid, though a pyramid of peculiar form, for it is composed of a large, square mass of the native rock which is cased with fine Turah limestone, and crowned with a massive edifice of stone construction. (Pls. I, II and III). The name of its owner is fixed beyond any doubt: Khent-kawes.

THE PLACE OF QUEEN KHENT-KAWES IN THE HISTORY OF EGYPT

Queen Khent-kawes was a sovereign in her own right, and was fully entitled to be called King of Upper and Lower Egypt, in spite of the fact that she bore no Horus title (so far discovered), and did not enclose her name in a cartouche; for during the Old Kingdom the title of King of Upper and Lower Egypt was often put at the head of the ruler's titles, and not immediately before the personal name.

Parallel examples of this case may be cited from the Old Kingdom, as, for instance, the titles born by King Snefru on the stela of Wadi Maghara ⁽¹⁾, in the reliefs of King Khwfw ⁽²⁾, the titles of King Ded-ka-Ra' ⁽³⁾, and those of King Ny-weser-Ra' ⁽⁴⁾.

This interpretation has, however, been disputed by some archæologists, and it has been suggested that the first two titles of Queen Khent-kawes might be read as "Mother of the two Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt" ⁽⁵⁾; but it should be noticed that the repetition of the two groups of signs may perhaps indicate two contemporary kings, instead of two successive ones, whose names should be indicated separately, as in the case of , Mery-Ra'-ankhnes, Mother of King Mery-en-Ra' and King Nefer-ka-Ra' ⁽⁶⁾.

On the other hand, Khent-kawes is not called "King's Wife", yet she is called "Daughter of the God", that is to say, daughter of a king, and also "Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt". It would seem, therefore, that she was the legitimate heiress to the Throne, and it was she who transmitted the blood of the God-king's veins to a new dynasty. The epithet "Every good thing which she orders is done for her" is also important in this connection, because it was only used by the Great Queens of Egyptian history, such as Queen Hetep-heres, who "carried the blood-royal through from the third to the fourth dynasty" ⁽⁷⁾.

In the Westcar Papyrus, preserved in the Berlin Museum, is an interesting legend concerning the transition of one dynasty to another. With the Fifth Dynasty a new family came to the throne, and this fact found an echo in the legend where the Sun-god Ra' is claimed as being the father of the three children who, each in turn, became King of Egypt. It was during the reigns of these three children that the Heliopolitan sun-cult became the State religion.

⁽¹⁾ LEPSIUS, "Denkmäler" II, 2 a.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, II, 6.

⁽³⁾ SETHE, *Urk. des alten Reiches*, I. 55, 56.

⁽⁴⁾ "Mitt. der O. G." September, 1902, No. 14.

⁽⁵⁾ This question will be discussed afterwards. See p. 4.

⁽⁶⁾ For this paragraph I am indebted to the efficient report of Prof. Junker in the "Mitt. der Or. Ges.", p. 131.

⁽⁷⁾ REISNER, "Mycerinus" I. C., p. 240. G. at p. 140.

The new dynasty, in order to make itself secure, and be organized without restrictions by the Egyptians, had to be legitimized by the marriage of the first king of that dynasty with a princess of the full blood-royal.

Khent-kawes undoubtedly belongs to the Fifth Dynasty, but the monarchs of that family were buried at Abusir, and this Queen's pyramid is at Gíza, the Necropolis of the Fourth Dynasty kings. We may suggest, therefore, that she was the connecting link between the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. In this case, Khent-kawes cannot have been the mother of the first two kings of the Fifth Dynasty, as mentioned in the story (namely Weser-ka-f and Sahw-Ra'), and without her, the question of the legitimacy of Weser-ka-f would be left in doubt. If, on the other hand, we admit that Khent-kawes is their mother, the principal point in the legend will be meaningless, as it is expressly stated therein that the royal race of the Fifth Dynasty was descended from a woman of an ordinary private family, who was the wife of a Priest of Ra'. But even if we admit that Khent-kawes was the mother of Weser-ka-f and Sahw-Ra', their father can only have been a prince indirectly descended from the pure royal blood, and also was not honoured with the royal dignity. In this case there would have been no need for the interruption of the ruling dynasty; in fact, there would have been no reason for any change whatever. That is the reason why her husband's name is not mentioned. The position of Khent-kawes and her husband was in some ways analogous to that of Queen Victoria of England and Prince Albert. Although the latter was the husband of the reigning Queen, he was accorded the title of "Prince Consort".

It is evident then, that all the power of the son came to him from the Queen, his mother, who had an authority in the country equalling that of a king. Also it would appear as though her husband had died while her son was still in his infancy, and that she herself held the government of the country during his minority, and was fully entitled to be called "*King of Upper and Lower Egypt*". According to the ancient laws governing the King's accession, it was perfectly legal for a woman of pure royal blood to rule as Queen in her own right. Manetho states that King  *Ntr-mw* (?), of the Second Dynasty, ordained that the throne might pass in the female line; and Petrie is of the opinion that this decision is nothing more than a reversion to the pre-dynastic system (1).

The name of Queen Khent-kawes is mentioned on several monuments dating from the Fifth Dynasty. For example, in the temple of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra', at Abusir, there was found a broken alabaster offering-table bearing the following inscription: "Khent-kawes, the beloved of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra' for ever, friend of Horus, companion of Horus, King's Wife" (2).

The same name and titles were also found on a block of stone at the pyramid of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra'. Moreover, in a private tomb at Abusir were fragments of an inscription mentioning the name of "Khent-kawes, the King's Mother". But it is by no means certain that these two queens are one and the same person. On the contrary, the absence of the principal title "King's Mother" (see p. 8) on the offering-table and on the stone block from the pyramid of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra', makes it improbable that they are to be identified with the Khent-kawes of our pyramid.

(1) PETRIE, "*A History of Egypt*", Vol. I, p. 31.

(2) JUNKER, *op. cit.*, p. 130. BORCHARDT, "*Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-Wser-re'*", p. 146, pl. 126.

It is also to be observed that personal names often pass to later generations of a family, so that in the Fourth Dynasty we have two queens named Hetep-heres, three queens named Mersy-'ankh, and three others named Kha-merer-Nebty.

The wife of an official named Senedem-ib — whose tomb faces the north-west corner of the Great Pyramid — bore the name of Khent-kawes, moreover, she was a member of the Royal Family, and bore the title “ King’s Daughter of his body ”.

The “ King’s Mother, Khent-kawes ” mentioned in the funerary inscription from Abusir, is probably the same person as the lady for whom the Fourth Pyramid was built. In support of this opinion is an inscription of a certain Mer-set.f-Ptah, in which he mentions a temple (*Ht-ntr* not *ht-ks*) of the “ Mother of the King. “ Het-neter ” means “ House of the God ”, a real temple, not a mortuary chapel, which is called in Egyptian “ Het-ka ”, “ House of the ka ”. Only reigning kings were entitled to build a Het-neter, and that the Khent-kawes of the Fourth Pyramid exercised such royal powers is shown by her title of “ King of Upper and Lower Egypt. Another convincing proof of her authority is the fact that in the northern side of the courtyard of her pyramid is the tomb of a certain *Renpet-nefer*, who bore the titles “ Priest of the King’s Mother ” and “ King’s Purificator. ” The title “ *Hm-ntr* ”, Priest (literally God’s servant) of the King’s Mother ”, only occurs here — as far as I know — though there were many priests of kings who had reigned, as well as, of course, priests of various gods. In front of this tomb was a large basin with which Renpet-nefer was concerned ; and no doubt there is a close relationship between the two titles borne by this official, for the King’s mother mentioned is undoubtedly Khent-kawes herself.

Now, as to Khent-kawes II, the lady who is mentioned at Abusir as being the wife of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra’ ; she seems to have had her tomb situated near to her husband’s pyramid, as is indicated by the block of stone found there. Consequently, the Khent-kawes of the Fourth Pyramid must be either the wife of Weser-ka-f, the first King of the Fifth Dynasty, or of Sahw-Ra’, the second King of that dynasty. It is impossible to attribute her to an epoch more recent, the decision must be for one or the other of these two kings, but most probably the balance inclines to the side of Weser-ka-f, who would thus have obtained his title to the throne through her, for he is always regarded as a legitimate king. Khent-kawes was of the royal blood of the ancient race of the Fourth Dynasty, and the title “ King’s Wife ” was omitted from her pyramid inscription, because Weser-ka-f, her husband, was not of royal blood. If the importance of the part played by Khent-kawes in the history of Egypt, in her capacity of a connecting link between the two great dynasties of the Old Kingdom could only be proved by the inscriptions we have recently discovered, the conclusion would seem to be hazardous ; but it will be shown that all the titles borne by her are to be found with other queens who, like her, have transmitted the royal blood to a new dynasty.

We know the names of the wives of Khwfw and Khafra’, the two great sovereigns of the Old Kingdom, but not one of them bears the titles in question. Their titles are : (1) “ She who Sees Horus and Seth ”, *i.e.* the two gods who are incarnated in the king. (2) “ The Companion of King Horus ”. (3) “ The Companion of the Master of the Two Lands ”. (4) “ Rich in Favours ” etc. But we do not find any of them expressly stated to be the “ Mother of the King ”. On the other hand, their royal descent is indicated by the following words : “ King’s Daughter ”, or “ King’s Daughter of his body ”. Apparently not one of them was called “ Daughter of the God ”.

But on the other hand, we encounter the titles of Khent-kawes with: Ny-Maa't-Hap — the mother of King Zoser — who connected the Second and Third Dynasties. Her position is still very uncertain⁽¹⁾. Was she, as has been suggested, the wife of King Khasekhemwi and the mother of King Zoser? If so, she is the connecting link between the Second and Third Dynasties. The rupture between these two dynasties is certain, and we can explain it by saying that between Khasekhemwi and Zoser there intervened some other kings of another family, like Neb-ka, who is called *Necherophes* by Africanus. But it has not been proved that Ny-Maa't-Hap was the wife of Khasekhemwi, probably she was his daughter, and the presence of her name in his tomb proves nothing more than does the presence of the name of Shepses-ka-f in the tomb of Men-kaw-Ra'.

Zoser may have been descended from her by the intermediary of a prince who was not of pure royal blood. She is called, "The Mother who had borne the King", the "Mother of the Royal Children", "Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt". And these epithets which were peculiar to her, were not merely customary titles, because in the tomb of Methen, an official who flourished after the death of Zoser, it is said: "The tomb of Ny-Maa't-Hap, the Mother who had borne the King". This is what we find inscribed in the tomb of Mer-set.f-Ptah, concerning Khent-kawes. In the tomb of Methen there also appears the epithet "All that she orders is done for her". This is a notable epithet of the greatest queens and mothers of dynasties.

The transition from the Third to the Fourth Dynasties is much clearer. Here once more a great Queen appears upon the stage — Hetep-heres, the mother of King Khwfw — whose tomb was discovered by Dr. Reisner in 1926, and whose magnificent funerary furniture is now exhibited in the Cairo Museum. Hetep-heres was the daughter of King Hwni, the last monarch of the Third Dynasty. Snefrw, the first king of the Fourth Dynasty, legitimized his own accession and that of his descendants, by means of his marriage with her.

This fact is reflected in the titles which she bears in the inscriptions on the different objects of her funerary furniture, and on her palanquin. Even as Khent-kawes, she is called "Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt", "Daughter of the God, of his body". Here also, we encounter the title "Whose actions are celebrated", an epithet which only occurs twice in the Fourth Dynasty, the second occurrence being in relation to *Meritotes*, the wife of Snefrw, who subsequently married Khwfw, and lived to reach an honoured old age in the reign of Khafra'. The fact that neither Hetep-heres nor Khent-kawes bore the title "King's Wife" is significant.

To the two examples preceding Khent-kawes, we can add a third belonging to the epoch which came after her. The transition from the Fifth to the Sixth Dynasties is obscure; the only certainty is that it was not the son of Wnis, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty, who founded the succeeding one. Here also, there appeared a Queen, who in her quality as a scion of the ancient blood, had secured the tie with the new dynasty and legitimized it. It is the Queen Apwt, wife of Teti — the first king of the Sixth Dynasty — and mother of Pepy I. Her tomb was discovered by Loret in 1898. She also publically declared that she continued the ancient race of the Gods: "Beloved of the victorious Gods", "Mother of the King — Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt — Daughter of the God".

(1) CH. BOREUX, " *Etudes de Nautique Egyptienne*", p. 117 note (1).

The similarity of the titles of Ny-Maa't-Hap (IIrd-IIIrd Dynasties), Hetep-heres (IIIrd-IVth Dynasties), Ipwt (Vth-VIth Dynasties), and Khent-kawes cannot be a matter of chance. The same medium could exist between the fourth and fifth Dynasties.

These parallels, taken from the Old Kingdom, may suffice, but we must note that because of the strong persistence of tradition in Egypt, one can find, without surprise, analogous titles in the New Kingdom appertaining to queens of particular importance, as in the case of Aah-hotep, Aah-mose, and Hat-sheps-wt.

It is now our task to examine the ancestry of Queen Khent-kawes. We should consider her father to have been one of the last sovereigns of the Fourth Dynasty. Shepses-ka-f is out of the question, as we know that his eldest daughter was called Kha-Maa't, and that she was married to an official named Ptaḥ-shepses. Moreover, it is unlikely that Khent-kawes would have boasted of being the daughter of Shepses-ka-f, as he was not a very important king, *and did not even possess a pyramid-tomb*. Strong motives of a similar nature eliminated the last two kings of the Fourth Dynasty, shadowy rulers whose very names are still unknown to us. Perhaps their memories had been purposely destroyed because they had usurped the throne, and consequently they cannot be considered as ancestors of Khent-kawes, the legitimate Queen. There remain then, only Khafra' and Men-kaw-Ra'. The former may be rejected for chronological reasons; therefore it is to Men-kaw-Ra' to whom we must direct our attention, for it seems most probable that he was the God-king that the Queen was proud to call her father.

Perhaps it was not by mere chance that she erected her tomb very near to the Valley-Temple of Men-kaw-Ra', and also built her own Valley Temple adjacent to his, similar in style and material, as though it were a miniature replica.

Concerning the mother of Khent-kawes, we must look for her in the family-tree which we find in the tomb of Queen Meres'-ankh III, which was discovered in 1927. Here appears Hetep-heres II, daughter of Khwfw, and perhaps the wife of Ded-f-Ra'. Her daughter, Meres'-ankh III, appears behind her, and some of her children also are represented, although their names are not mentioned. Therefore, Khent-kawes may be one of these latter. This may easily be admitted if Meres'-ankh had married Men-kaw-Ra' as her second husband; but if she had been married only to her uncle Khafra', then she cannot be the mother of Khent-kawes, and the problem remains obscure.

Before finally concluding the question of the identity of Khent-kawes, we may as well examine the alternative theory concerning her, which is put forward by Borchardt, who upheld the idea mentioned on p. 4, namely, that her title should be read as "*Mother of the Two Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt*". This theory he sets forth very plausibly in his article "*Hnt-kaw.s Die Stammutter der fünften Dynastie*" (1).

Firstly, he bases his whole theory concerning the identity of Queen Khent-kawes upon the translation of the inscription upon her door-jamb as rendered by Prof. Vikentieff (2). According to the latter, this inscription should read as follows: "Mother of the Two Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, Daughter of the God (*i.e.* the King), to whom all good things which she only said (wished) are done".

(1) BORCHARDT in "*Annales du Service*", XXXVIII, pp. 209-215.

(2) *A. a. O. S.* 129, p. 5.

According to this rendering she was a King's Daughter, a Queen, and the mother of two kings who had ruled over Egypt. He then proceeds to recall that the excavations of the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft* at Abusir had recovered some monuments bearing the name and titles of Queen Khent-kawes. Of these he places the Abusir Papyrus foremost. This papyrus was found in 1893, in the funerary temple of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra' (1). It was in fragments, and was divided between various collections. As far as we know, there is a piece preserved in the Cairo Museum, another in the Museum of the University College, London; a third piece was retained by Borchardt, and apparently there was yet another fragment, the whereabouts of which is at present unknown. So far, these scattered fragments have never been gathered together for systematic study and publication. But Borchardt asserts that they are fragments of an account and inventory book relating to the Temple of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra'. The names of King Issi Ded-ka-Ra' also occurs here as what appears to be references to the taking of the fourteenth and twentieth censuses in his reign (2). It is a known fact that King Ded-ka-Ra' gave much pious attention to the funerary monuments of his predecessors (3). The name of Khent-kawes occurs twice in this papyrus. In one instance it heads a list of participators in a ceremony (?) and, with reserve, the title of this list may be read as follows: "The reciting of the book according to the Ritualist, for the King's Mother Khent-kawes". The other occurrence of her name is upon a small fragment where it appears behind a double-entry column the lines of which are ruled, but the spaces left blank, the items never having been entered. Here again she is entitled "King's Mother", and her name is followed by a determinative in the form of a seated queen, with a few illegible signs below it. The importance of these fragments for us is the occurrence of the Queen-Mother's name in connection with the funerary temple of Nefer-ir-ka-Ra', (who, Borchardt is convinced, was her son), long after the death of that king.

The name of Khent-kawes also occurs as previously mentioned, on three alabaster fragments of an offering-table. One of these pieces formed about $\frac{1}{7}$ th of the whole table and the inscription on it reads: "She who is always beloved by the King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra', Khent-kawes. The Friend [*Smr.t*] of Horus, the Companion [*ht*] of Horus (the King), the King's Mother". On the smallest of these fragments is inscribed: "The King's Mother". (See p. 4.)

From the above-mentioned material Borchardt deduces with apparent correctness, that the mother of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra' was a queen named Khent-kawes, and so far he is on fairly safe ground although her first titles appertain more to a Queen, than to a Queen-Mother (4), though not exclusively so. She may therefore easily be the wife of Nefer-ir-ka-Ra' and mother of his successor, Shepses-ka-Ra'. But Borchardt then goes on to say that more information concerning Khent-kawes is to be gleaned from a block of stone from the tomb of the official Mer-set.f-Ptah (5). This man was the Director of the Pyramid City called "Revered is King Kakai" (Nefer-ir-ka-Ra'). His tomb was situated at Abusir. But at the same time, he held the title of "Chief Purificator of the Pyramid of King Khwfw", and of "Assistant Ka-servant of

(1) BORCHARDT, "Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-ka-Ra'" S.I.

(2) These fragments cannot go back earlier than the time of king Ded-ka-Ra'.

(3) BORCHARDT, "Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re", p. 158.

(4) See foot-note 3, in *Annales du Service*, XXXVIII, p. 213, in which he says: "Zu *hm.t*, Frau, passt der Rest nicht, wohl aber zu *mw.t*, Mutter."

(5) SCHÄFER, "Priestergräber" S. 9. Abb. 6 und S. 10 Abb. 7; and BORCHARDT, "Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re" S. 137. Abb. 117.

the King's Mother, Khent-kawes". Borchardt then expresses his opinion that as Mer-set.f-Ptah was an official at Khwfw's pyramid at Giza, his other priestly office must be in the same district, and unhesitatingly attaches him to Tomb No. 100 (after Lepsius) which is none other than our Fourth Pyramid, and in so doing definitely identifies the lady mentioned in the papyrus and inscriptions of Abusir with the Khent-kawes of our pyramid. Out of this quagmire of speculation he then jumps on to firmer ground, and states that Khent-kawes was the connecting link between the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. So far so good, but in order to "prove" his assertion he begins by saying that Shepses-ka-f was no relation to Men-kaw-Ra', but had come to the throne after a short period of anarchy⁽¹⁾. He bases this statement on the fact that in the stela inscription of Shepses-ka-f, wherein he claims to have completed the pyramid-temple of Men-kaw-Ra', he does not use the actual words: "He made it as a monument for *his father* [*it. f.*]. As a matter of fact, the stela in question is badly damaged, being in several fragments, and it so happens that one of the fractures crosses the inscription at this critical point, obliterating some of the writing there. Reisner, however, reconstructs the line thus⁽²⁾ "*ir-n.f. m mn[w.f n'] t-f.*"⁽³⁾. "He made as his monuments for *his father*" etc. The actual hieroglyphs of the text read: ↓ . However, Borchardt insists

on denying the relationship of Shepses-ka-f to Men-kaw-Ra', and on these grounds, suggests that he married Khent-kawes (whom he considers as a daughter of Men-kaw-Ra') in order to secure his position as a legitimate king. He then suggests that Khent-kawes bore her, apparently non-royal husband, two sons, one of whom was certainly Nefer-ir-ka-Ra', while the other may have been either Weser-ka-f or Sahw-Ra', the kings Nefer-f-Ra', Shepses-ka-Ra' and Ny-weser-Ra', being too far away in point of time from Khent-kawes, and therefore do not enter the question. He suggests that Shepses-ka-f and Weser-ka-f had not a full right to the kingship, and therefore we should consider that Sahw-Ra' and Nefer-ir-ka-Ra' were the two kings descended from the fully royal Queen Khent-kawes. He correctly points out that the latter is the connecting link between the two dynasties, and is undoubtedly the ancestress of the Fifth Dynasty. He also remarks that the transition from the Fourth to Fifth Dynasties took place without any hostility on either side, giving as proof the fact that Shepses-ka-f completed the funerary temple of Men-kaw-Ra' who, as already shown, Borchardt regards as being merely his father-in-law, and furthermore, that some of the princesses of the Fifth Dynasty were named after some of the royal ladies of the preceding dynasty⁽⁴⁾. Finally, he is of the opinion that from the fact of the two kingly brothers sprung from the royal mother, arose the legend of the Westcar Papyrus, which was a pious fabrication of the priesthood of the Sun-cult.

Another fallacy Borchardt labours under is that Khent-kawes was ministered to by  *hm-k3* priests, and not exclusively by  *hm-ntr* priests (see p. 8, note 5). As reference for

⁽¹⁾ *Annalstein von Palermo. R.S.Z. I.*

⁽²⁾ "*Mycerinus*", p. 278.

⁽³⁾ Sethe reads without "*it.*" See *Urk. I.*, p. 160.

⁽⁴⁾ REISNER, "*Mycerinus*", p. 232 and Pl. 19. A.

this statement he cites a certain Imby whose title was *imj-r3 hm-kaw mut njswt* "Overseer of the Ka-servants of the King's Mother", and whose tomb came to light during our first season's work at Giza (1). Now while it is quite true that Imby was only a  *hm-k3* (lit. Ka-servant) and not a  *hm-ntr* (lit. God's-servant), yet there is not a shred of evidence that he ever ministered to Queen Khent-kawes. On the contrary, his tomb in the "Street of Priests" is far from the Pyramid Complex of Khent-kawes, but is quite near to the tomb of Queen Kha-merer-Nebty I (2), whose priest he undoubtedly was. But Rēpet-nefer, the  *Hem-neter*, has his tomb actually in the courtyard of the Fourth Pyramid, and Shepses-akhty (3), who was styled: *šhd-hm-ntr mut njswt* "Inspector of the Priests of the King's Mother", also has his tomb close to the northern boundary-wall of the Pyramid City, and neighbouring the tomb of a certain "Overseer of the Granaries", another of Khent-kawes' officials, so we may safely include him as being one of her priests. Other ministers to "King's Mothers" whose tombs or inscriptions came to light in our excavations are: Ny-kaw-Hathor, the wife of Akhet-hetep, whose title was "(Female) Ka-servant of the King's Mother" (4). Here also, the tomb in question is far from Khent-kawes, and near to queen Kha-merer-Nebty; and Ny-Maa't-Ra' (5) who was styled: "Overseer of the Purificators of the King's Mother". Now this latter certainly has his tomb close to the eastern end of the northern boundary wall of the Fourth Pyramid Complex, but he seems to be too late in the dynasty to be connected with Khent-kawes I, and he appears to have been in the service of King Ny-weser-Ra', at whose pyramid he ministered as Chief Purificator. In any case, the title of  *w'b* "Purificator" was borne by a class of priests who ministered to reigning Kings.

There is also another point. In our excavations in the Giza Necropolis we came upon the tombs of two Queens, both of whom were "King's Daughters" and to be regarded as real Queens and not mere concubines. They are: "Bw-nefer (6) and Rekhēt-Ra' (7). But in spite of their royal blood, we have not found one  *Hem-neter* priest who ministered to them, and they are represented in their tombs as being served by Ka-servants only. This clearly shows the legal superiority of Queen Khent-kawes.

Therefore, it would seem as though Borchardt's theory, though ingeniously put together and containing some elements of truth is nevertheless an insecure structure raised upon the erroneous translation of the door-jamb inscription to start with, and backed by the fallacious theory that Shepses ka-f was not Men-kaw-Ra's son, (though in reality he seems to have been a particularly

(1) "Excavations at Giza", 1929-1930, p. 91.

(2) PORTER and MOSS, "Memphis", p. 58.

(3) "Excavations at Giza", 1931-1932, p. 93.

(4) "Excavations at Giza", 1929-1930, p. 73.

(5) "Excavations at Giza", 1930-1931, p. 211.

(6) "Excavations at Giza", 1931-1932, p. 176 ff.

(7) Not yet published.

dutiful son); and in this way he wants to start the Fifth Dynasty with Shepses-ka-f, thus setting at nought the general opinion of historians, ancient and modern, and at the same time rendering entirely meaningless the legend of the Westcar Papyrus, which otherwise may be considered as a very clever piece of priestly propaganda.

Concerning the subject of the children of Khent-kawes there is yet another point to be considered. In her title of "King's Mother" we must certainly look for Weser-ka-f's successor to fill the position of her son. This of course, gives us Sahw-Ra'. Who then is Kakai, or as he afterwards styled himself, Nefer-ir-ka-Ra'? If the Westcar Papyrus is correct, he is the brother of Sahw-Ra', therefore he must also be the son of Khent-kawes, which immediately identifies her with the lady of Abusir, and at the same time saddles her with two pyramids, one at Giza and one at Abusir⁽¹⁾. This however, is not a precedent, as Snefru had two pyramids, one at Meydum and the other at Dashur⁽²⁾, while Zoser possessed the Step Pyramid at Sakkara and a huge mastaba at Bet Khallaf, while many of the archaic kings possessed double burial-places. Moreover, Hetep-heres, the mother of King Khwfw also seems to have had two tombs; one near her husband's pyramid at Meydum, and the other in front of her famous son's pyramid at Giza. In the latter her splendid funerary outfit was discovered, though the sarcophagus was quite empty⁽³⁾. If we admit that our Khent-kawes was also the mother of Nefer-ir-ka-Ra', we have also to explain why her second pyramid was built beside that of her younger son, and not by that of her first-born, or of her husband; and furthermore, why was it not a complete royal pyramid like that at Giza? If the lady of the Abusir Papyrus and offering-table is really to be considered as the mother of Nefer-ir-ka-Ra' (the evidence for this being by no means conclusive), we are safer in considering her as a younger woman than our Khent-kawes, the wife, and probably sister, of King Sahw-Ra', named in honour of the celebrated foundress of the Fifth Dynasty. In this way, the confusion between the two identical names of the Queens could easily give rise to the statement in the Westcar Papyrus which says that Sahw-Ra' and Kakai (Nefer-ir-ka-Ra') were brothers.

But although several questions relating to Queen Khent-kawes cannot yet be satisfactorily answered, they do not affect the main conclusion, namely, that she was a sovereign of great historical importance, and was the means of legitimizing the line of the Fifth Dynasty Kings; and therefore she was the connecting link between the two great dynasties of the Old Kingdom.

THE TRADITIONS CONCERNING QUEEN KHENT-KAWES

There is a very interesting point concerning Queen Khent-kawes which can be gathered from late traditions. Some of the statements of the Greek historians concerning the pyramid-field at Giza are remarkably accurate; others are based upon legendary sources. The Great Pyramid was generally attributed to Cheops (Khwfw), the Second Pyramid to Chephren (Khafra'), and the third Pyramid to Mycerinus (Men-kaw-Ra'). But Diodorus (I,64) reports—either

⁽¹⁾ PORTER and MOSS, "Memphis", p. 78.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid* p. 233.

⁽³⁾ REISNER, "The Empty Sarcophagus of the Mother of Cheops", in *Boston Mus. Bull.* Oct. 1928, pp. 76-88.

from native Egyptian, or Greek sources—that the three pyramids are of *Armaios*, *Amosis* and *Inaros*. There is also the myth that the Third Pyramid was the tomb of the courtesan Rhodophis, and that it was erected at the expense of some nomarchs who had been her lovers. This last version is very persistent, and is reproduced by Strabo (XVII, 808). According to him, however, the courtesan was called Doricha by the famous poetess Sappho, while by others she was called Rhodophis.

Herodotus disputes this legend, saying that Rhodophis, notwithstanding all the wealth she had gathered, would not have been able to find the means to erect such a monument. Moreover, she lived at a different period to the erection of the pyramid, namely, during the reign of King Amasis. He then relates the story of Rhodophis, saying that she was a Thracian slave-woman belonging to the Samian, Jadman, who brought her to Egypt. There she was bought by Khraxos, the brother of Sappho. After obtaining her freedom from him, she remained in Egypt as a courtesan. Manetho, in his Compendium of Egypt (after the text of Africanus) mentions that at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, there reigned a queen named Nitokris, who erected the Third Pyramid and he described her as being the strongest and most beautiful woman of her time, adding that she was of a fair complexion. The text of Eusebius describes her as a rosy-cheeked blond (*flava rubis genis*).

The change from Rhodophis to Nitokris may perhaps be understood by the Queen being described as fair and rosy-cheeked, for Rhodophis means "The woman with the rosy-complexion". In the Greek myth, therefore, "Rhodophis" must not be interpreted as a proper name, but as an epithet for the blond Doricha. Furthermore, both Nitokris and Rhodophis are described as being the most beautiful women of their time.

Endeavours have been made in different ways to solve the apparent contradiction of these traditions. Manetho must have known that the Third Pyramid belonged to Men-kaw-Ra', and that his name was to be read upon it. In the Egyptian King-lists there appears the name Men-ka-Ra', occurring at the beginning of the Seventh Dynasty. This name, so similar to that of Men-kaw-Ra', has been supposed to be the Throne-name of Queen Nitokris, who approximately filled this place in the king-lists. But this supposition is extremely problematical. According to others, the double attribution of the Third Pyramid is explained by the fact that there are two burial-chambers in it, one above the other, and that traces of burial were found in both of them. Finally, it has been supposed that the legend refers not to the original building of the pyramid, but to the finishing of it, for Diodorus reports (I, 64) the fact that Men-kaw-Ra' died before the completion of his pyramid.

But it is not permissible to say that Nitokris, or any other Queen completed the Third Pyramid, for it is known that the unfinished Valley-Temple of Men-kaw-Ra' was completed by his son, Shepses-ka-f. Thus, the legend crediting Nitokris-Rhodophis with the erection of the Third Pyramid remains entirely unexplained.

Now we have fixed the attribution of the Fourth Pyramid, which according to the inscription on its doorway belonged to Khent-kawes "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt". The tradition of a pyramid built by a queen may therefore have

been transferred from the Fourth to the Third Pyramid. This conjecture is strengthened by the text of Eusebius which records that in the Sixth Dynasty Nitokris was ruling "stronger than all of her time and more beautiful than all women, fair, and with rosy-cheeks ; by her, the Third Pyramid, which looks like a hill is thought to be erected".

Now the Third Pyramid does not differ at all in its shape from the two larger ones of Khwfw and Khafra', therefore the statement that it looked like a hill has been thought to be an error in the text of Eusebius. But his description agrees with the Fourth Pyramid. It is erected upon a rectangular base carved out of the rock, and presents, in fact, the likeness of a hill, even if in Manetho's time, the upper part was less damaged (Pl. I. B). How the confusion with the Third Pyramid came about, cannot, of course, be conjectured with certainty. Perhaps in Manetho's original text the Fourth Pyramid was actually mentioned. But ancient writers were accustomed to speak of the three Pyramids of Giza, and it may have been supposed that the mention of a fourth one was an error in the text. Or it may have been thought that as the Fourth Pyramid was situated near the Valley Temple of Men-kaw-Ra', it might have belonged to a daughter of that king (as apparently it actually did!).

On the western wall of the main chapel of the tomb of Queen Meres-'ankh III is a coloured representation of her mother, Queen H̄etep-h̄eres II, wife of King Ded-f-Ra' (?). The lady is figured as a fair-complexioned blond. She was probably descended from Khwfw through his marriage with a foreign princess, who may have been of Libyan origin. Meres-'ankh III, the daughter of H̄etep-h̄eres II, and perhaps the wife of Men-kaw-Ra', is depicted with the normal Egyptian colouring of hair and skin, but it may well be that the foreign blood re-asserted itself again in the following generation ; and it is not at all unlikely that Khent-kawes is the grand daughter of H̄etep-h̄eres II. It is perhaps not by mere chance that tradition speaks so persistently of a fair and beautiful woman being the Queen who owned the pyramid, for she may well have been descended from fair ancestors. Here again we have one of those cases where a detail, which appears to be unimportant, was rightly adhered to through the ages.

Thus everything points to the conclusion that the report of Manetho concerning the pyramid of the queen, has a nucleus of reality. It was only by the assimilation of names and the misplacement of monuments that the contradictions were brought about. Khent-kawes (Nitokris) was thus made the builder of the Third Pyramid. The Greeks displaced her by Rhodophis, and in so doing, introduced the less pleasant traits into the traditional picture of the queen, who, according to Manetho, was called the strongest and most beautiful woman of her day. The Rhodophis version can still be recognised in the Arab myth which relates that the Third Pyramid belongs to a beautiful female ghost who flies around the monument, and drives men mad with love of her.

A NEW TYPE OF ROYAL TOMB PRESENTED BY THE FOURTH PYRAMID

On examination, the geometrical construction of the funerary monument of Queen Khent-kawes was found to be unlike any other royal building of the Old Kingdom, for it was neither a mastaba, nor a pyramid of the ordinary type. It cannot be classed as a mastaba, for that type of tomb has not such a square ground-plan, nor such a height as this monument. Moreover, the existence of a superstructure which has a vaulted top, and forms a second storey, is quite unusual

for a mastaba. In this respect the monument resembles the Step Pyramid at Sakkara, which is called a pyramid despite its rectangular base and terraced sides. It is also interesting to notice here that this superstructure connects the traditional form of the Giza Pyramids with the new type of tomb created by Shepses-ka-f at Sakkara⁽¹⁾. This connection, in its turn, gives evidence of the relationship between these two rulers, and clearly demonstrates that Khent-kawes possessed the same powers as Shepses-ka-f. Moreover, the huge square base of the Fourth Pyramid connects Khent-kawes with her ancestors, by whose side she was buried.

Now it is known that the superstructure of this Pyramid resembles a sarcophagus of a type employed during the Old Kingdom; and in this respect it is similar to the tomb of Shepses-ka-f at Sakkara. This fact is of great importance for obtaining a clear estimation of the Fourth Pyramid⁽²⁾.

It has been shown elsewhere (p. 4-11) that Khent-kawes formed the link between the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, and that she was the means of legitimizing the new royal family of the latter dynasty. It is evident, therefore, that the close connection between her tomb and that of Shepses-ka-f gives a new and decisive proof of this statement. For a reason to be discussed later Shepses-ka-f abandoned the usual form of royal sepulchre which had been in use during the Fourth Dynasty. His example was followed by Khent-kawes, who adopted the new type for her own tomb, in order to demonstrate that she had the same royal power. This connection between the two monuments is not confined to the sarcophagus-form, but manifests itself in other directions. For example, in the rock-cut, underground burial-chamber of the Fourth Pyramid there is a series of cells cut in the southern and eastern walls, which probably served as magazines; similar cells occur in the tomb of Shepses-ka-f. The funerary temples of Khent-kawes and Shepses-ka-f also show a great resemblance to each other.

But in spite of all these points of similarity, the Fourth Pyramid is not a blind imitation of the Mastabet el-Faraoun. The latter tomb is in the form of a huge sarcophagus placed upon a very low elevation, while that of Khent-kawes displays the form of a sarcophagus mounted upon a massive, square base, which might have been intended to be a typical pyramid. This huge base adapted the Fourth Pyramid to its surroundings, and brought it into harmony with the view of the pyramids. Therefore, it can be said that the Fourth Pyramid presents a novel form of a royal tomb, and links the new type erected by Shepses-ka-f with the old, traditional form of the Giza Pyramids.

The funerary buildings which are characteristic of a true pyramid, are also to be seen in connection with this monument. These subsidiary buildings are:—

- (1) A Pyramid (or Mortuary) Temple. Here replaced by a small chapel.
- (2) A Pyramid City and a Valley-Temple situated on the east (Pls. II, B; XIX, E; XXVIII, A; XXXI).
- (3) A causeway connecting the Valley-Temple with the Pyramid Temple (Pl. IV).
- (4) A boundary-wall enclosing the Pyramid, its City, and the Temples (Pls. II, B, XIII, A, and B).
- (5) A large basin appertaining to the Pyramid (Pl. XIV, A).
- (6) A rock-cut Solar-boat similar to those of Khwfw and Khafra'.

⁽¹⁾ Now known as "Mastabet el-Faraoun", or "Pharaoh's seat".

⁽²⁾ A comparison of the measurements of the two monuments reveals that: Mastabet el-Faraoun is about 100×72·0 m. by 18·0 m. high. The Fourth Pyramid is 45·50×46·50 m. by 17·50 m. high.

The Rock-cut Base of the Fourth Pyramid (Pls. II, A and III).

The base of the Fourth Pyramid, which is also its core, is entirely cut in the native rock, and measures 45.50 × 46.50 m., and is 10.0 m. high. The outer faces were recessed in order to receive and support the slabs of white Turah limestone with which they were cased. Most of this casing remains on the western and northern faces, parts being in a very good state of preservation (Pl. III, B). Many loose slabs belonging to it were recovered during the course of excavation. However, the casing of the southern side is totally destroyed, and its denudation reveals the interesting fact that in this place the rock was hewn to represent the recessed panelling and false-doors of the so-called "Palace-façade" so often depicted upon the Old Kingdom sarcophagi (Pls. I, A and II, A). This indicates that the original design of the tomb may have been conceived as a gigantic sarcophagus⁽¹⁾, but, perhaps owing to the low-lying site and the imposing height of the neighbouring pyramids, this design proved insignificant, and was altered by the addition of a superstructure taking the sarcophagus-form, while the base was squared to make it conform to the traditional form of the Giza Pyramids. The recesses in the southern face were cased over with Turah limestone, as can be proved by traces of mortar still adhering in the crevices of the stone. Some of these casing slabs were found re-used in a late, poor burial, in which we found some limestone beads interred with the skeleton.

The Superstructure (Pls. I, II, III, IV).

The superstructure of the Fourth Pyramid measures 27.50 × 21.0 m., and does not lie symmetrically upon the base, but tends to cover the position of the burial-chamber rather than that of the chapel, and to lie more to the western than the eastern side of the base. Moreover, the rectangular slope of the superstructure does not conform to the square base, and necessitates that the eastern and western terraces are wider than those of the north and south⁽²⁾. This rectangular mass is crowned with a vaulted top, giving it the form of an Old Kingdom sarcophagus and bringing it somewhat into line with Mastabet el-Faraoun. It measures 7.50 metres high, and is composed of seven courses of local limestone blocks, some of which exceed the size of those used in the construction of the Great Pyramid. These blocks diminish in size as they reach the top, where they were covered by the curved blocks forming the vault. One of these latter blocks was found by us, and its curved line gave the final proof that the top was vaulted⁽³⁾. The whole construction was cased with white Turah limestone, traces of which still remain on the eastern face of the building. The terraces are also paved with Turah limestone, and as this pavement runs actually under the masonry of the superstructure it proves that it was laid before the latter was erected. Perhaps the plan of a pyramid was first thought of, and then changed.

(1) It seems very probable that the idea of decorating this base at first with false-doors was really intended, as can be proved by the completion of one of these false-doors on the south-eastern corner of the southern face of the base, while the others were abandoned when only partially achieved. On the other hand, it may be an echo of the recessed panelling which formed the outstanding feature of the archaic royal mastabas. See: EMERY "Hor-aha" and "Hemaka".

(2) The placement of this sarcophagus-like superstructure in this position was made on purpose, so as to be exactly over the burial-chamber lying below it.

(3) This block is now kept in one of the magazines of the excavations. In form it closely resembles the vaulted stones of Mastabet el-Faraoun. See JEQUIER, "Mastabet el-Faraoun", Fig. 6, p. 11.

The Chapel (Pl. IV).

As previously mentioned, the chapel of this pyramid is cut in the rock forming the core of the base. It is situated to the eastern side, and access to it is gained from the Valley by means of a causeway having three parallel walls. A comparison with the causeways of other pyramids, as well as with that of the tomb of Shepses-ka-f, leads us to conclude that a covered corridor formed an important feature of this causeway, although the walls have been denuded down too far to afford us any definite proof (Pl. IV).

The chapel seems to take the place of a Mortuary Temple, included in, and yet apparently, separate from the main structure of the monument. It is composed of three rooms, the outer two of which are situated in the south-eastern corner of the pyramid base, and are constructed of massive blocks of local limestone masonry supplementing the natural rock of the base. The entrance to the chapel, which is fronted by a paved courtyard, opens east, and is flanked by two massive jambs of red granite, inscribed with the name and titles of the Queen-ruler (Fig. 2, Pls. V and VI). This entrance gives access to the chapel, rather than to the pyramid proper, its eastern orientation, together with the presence of a causeway leading to it, bringing it into line with the traditional examples of Mortuary Temples. The mouth of the passage leading to the burial-chamber is situated in the north-west corner of the inner room of the chapel, and as the latter is cut in the actual core of the pyramid, it obviates the necessity for the customary northern entrance usually associated with pyramids of the Old Kingdom. We may consider that the burial-chamber crowned by its superstructure constitutes the pyramid proper; while the chapel, although included in the actual fabric of the monument, is yet entirely separate from it, and conforms in every respect to an ordinary Mortuary Temple. This latter fact is emphasized by the presence of a Valley-Temple, and the other units of a true pyramid complex.

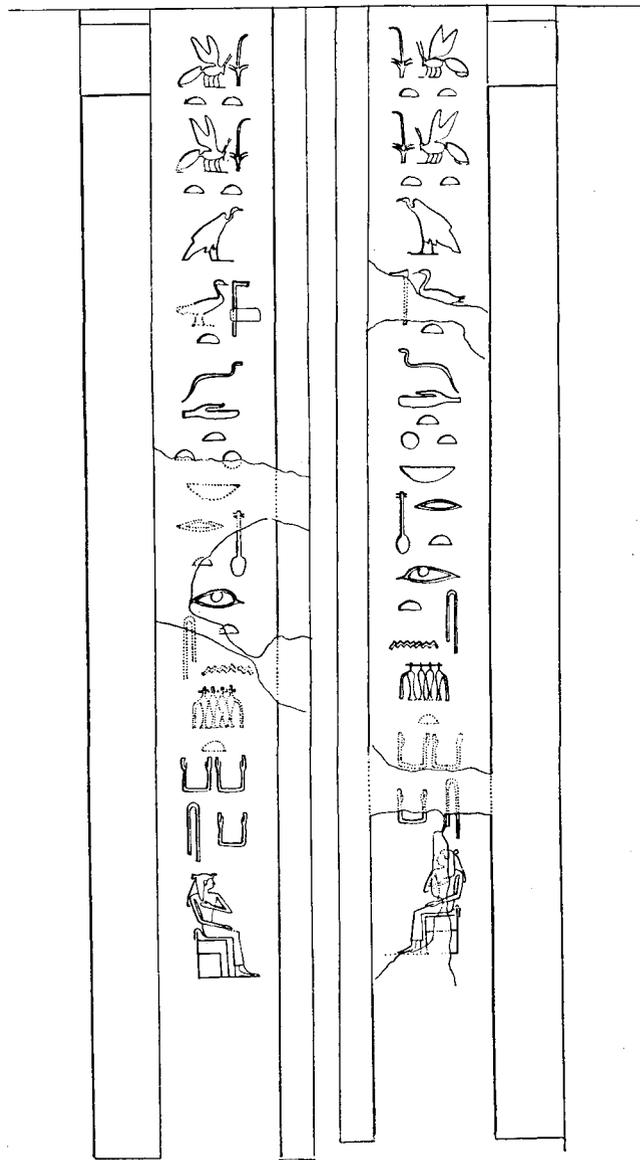


FIG. 2.

THE ENTRANCE OF THE CHAPEL

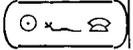
The jambs of this entrance are composed of red granite monoliths, the southern one measuring 1.25 m. wide and 2.0 m. high. The eastern face of each jamb is carved to represent a simple false-door (Fig. 2, Pls. V and VI). The whole entrance was recessed back to a depth of

2.85 m. from the main façade of the pyramid. Both jambs were badly damaged by plunderers and quarrymen, but each of them still bear upon their outer faces an identical row of incised hieroglyphs, reading vertically:  *njswt-bitj mwt njswt-bitj s3.t-ntr dd.t ht nb. [t] nfr.t ir.t n.s. Hnt-k3w.s* "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, every good thing which she orders is done for her, Khent-kawes".

At the end of this inscription is a representation of the Queen seated upon a chair. Her right hand is placed upon her thigh, while her left arm is bent and the hand rests open upon her breast. She wears a long wig and the Vulture Crown, and is clad in a long, close-fitting robe.

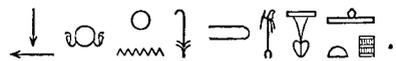
OBJECTS FOUND NEAR THE ENTRANCE OF THE CHAPEL

The following objects were found in the debris in and around the entrance to the chapel:—

- (1) A large jar of red-ware with a short neck, three small handles, and a pointed base. Height: 47.0 cm. (Pl. VII, A).
- (2) A deep bowl of red-ware having straight sides and a convex base. It bears a crude decoration of arabesques apparently applied by the potter's own finger dipped in black pigment. Height: 15.0 cm. Diam: 20.0 cm. (Pl. VII, B).
- (3) A jar of dark red-ware with a straight neck, a roll-rimmed mouth, a small handle and a flat base. It is slightly cracked. Height: 27.0 cm. (Pl. VII, C).
- (4) A jug of rough buff-ware having a long neck, a fluted mouth, a small, curved handle and a flat base. Height: 20.0 cm. (Pl. VII, D).
- (5) Half a pear-shaped mace-head of limestone. It is incised with the Horus-name  *wsr-ib*, and the *njswt-bitj* name of Khafra . Height: 65.5 cm. (Pl. VII, E)⁽¹⁾.
- (6) A small scarab of white steatite. On the base is an incised representation of two uræi. Length: 1.5 cm.
- (7) A damaged alabaster jar-lid bearing an incised line of horizontal inscription, reading:  (Pl. VII, F).
- (8) A vase of thick red-polished ware with a wide mouth, a short neck and a round base. Height 20.5 cm.
- (9) A large, thick jar of red-ware. It has three handles and a round base.
- (10) Small fragments of an alabaster statuette.
- (11) A flint implement.

⁽¹⁾ See the mastaba of Bw-nefer "Excavations at Giza", 1931-1932, p. 8, Pl. LVI, 3

- (12) The knee of an alabaster statuette. Dim. : 9.0 × 7.0 cm.
- (13) A deep bowl of red-ware with straight sides and a convex base. Height: 12.0 cm. Diam. : 20.0 cm. (Pl. IX, C).
- (14) A wide-mouthed vase of red-ware, having a short, circular spout and a flat base. Height: 9.0 cm. Diam. : 9.5 cm. (Pl. IX, D).
- (15) A fine seal of blue faience inscribed with a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading:



THE ROOMS OF THE CHAPEL

The entrance leads to a rectangular chapel measuring 2.60 × 2.70 m., the floor of which is paved with Turah limestone. Unfortunately this chapel is in a very dilapidated condition, probably owing to the collapse of the roof of the two outer rooms, which seems to have relied for support upon the partition-wall dividing these two rooms. This latter was built of white Turah limestone, a material of insufficient strength to support the enormous strain imposed upon it.

THE HALL

The southern wall of this room was built of enormous blocks of local limestone, of which only three blocks constituting the lower courses, remain in place. The eastern wall is entirely demolished, except for the granite door-jambs referred to above. The western wall was formed by the eastern face of the partition-wall, of which only one block belonging to the lower course remains. The northern wall is formed by the natural rock of the pyramid base, and most of its area is occupied by the entrance giving access to the inner room of the chapel.

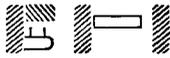
THE SECOND ROOM

The floor-level of the second room is about 0.70 m. higher than that of the hall. It is recessed in the native rock, while its eastern wall was supplied by the western face of the now destroyed partition wall. The walls of both the hall and this room were apparently cased with slabs of white and grey limestone, many fragments of which came to light during our excavations. These fragments bear parts of typical Old Kingdom tomb-scenes and inscriptions, mostly executed in relief.

INSCRIBED AND SCULPTURED SLABS FROM THE CASING OF THE PYRAMID CHAPEL

Some of the following fragments were recovered from the debris filling the chapel, while others were scattered at random over the ruins of the Pyramid City. There is no doubt, however, that they all formed part of the casing of the chapel. It is especially unfortunate that no complete representation of the Queen has been preserved among them; in fact the only part we can ascribe to her with any degree of certainty is the representation of a great tce (*see* Fig. 17) ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ These scenes, or rather fragments of scenes are of the greatest importance to us in the history of royal tomb decoration, for they are the first of the type known to us in this respect, if we except the very small fragments of scenes which were recently found in the Mortuary Temple of Khwfw.

- (1) A dark limestone slab bearing the representation of the upper part of a man. He wears a curled wig, and is engaged in taking part in a funerary ceremony ⁽¹⁾. He is kneeling upon the ground with both arms stretched out before him in the act of presenting jars of some liquid (?) to the deceased. Behind him is part of a chest presented by one of his companions ⁽¹⁾ (Fig. 3).
- (2) A dark limestone slab showing a representation of the middle part of a man's legs (Fig. 4).
- (3) A dark limestone slab bearing the left hand and foot of a man. He holds a bunch of long-stemmed lotus-flowers looped in his left hand (Fig. 5) ⁽²⁾.
- (4) A dark limestone slab sculptured in relief with the lower part of a male offering-bearer. In his right hand he carries a small basket, or perhaps a bundle of flax-stems tied together at each end. Behind him is part of an inscription, reading  (Fig. 6) ⁽³⁾.

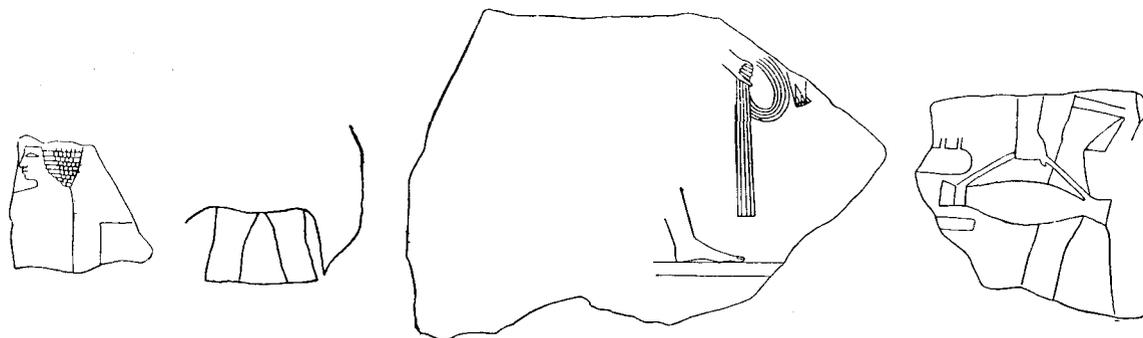


FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.

FIG. 6.

- (5) A dark limestone slab sculptured in relief with the lower part of a male offering-bearer who carries a head-rest in his right hand (Fig. 7).
- (6) A dark limestone slab bearing a representation of a man's foot and ankle (Fig. 8).
- (7) A dark limestone slab bearing the lower part of a man's leg (Fig. 9).

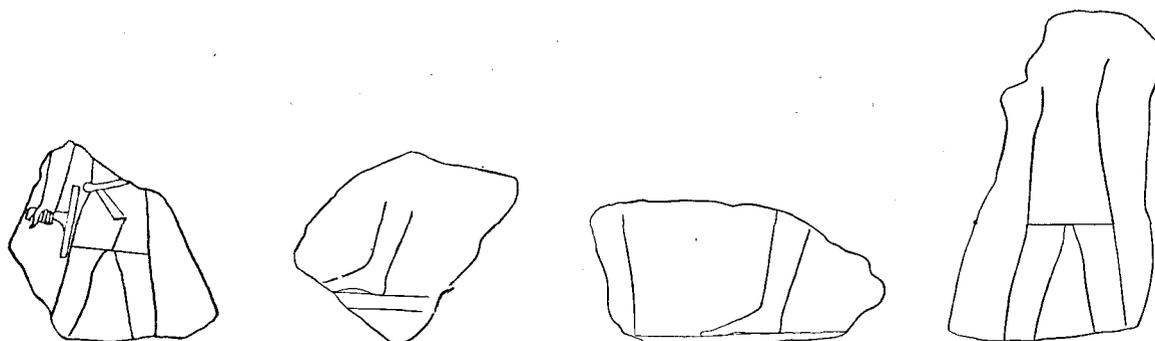


FIG. 7.

FIG. 8.

FIG. 9.

FIG. 10.

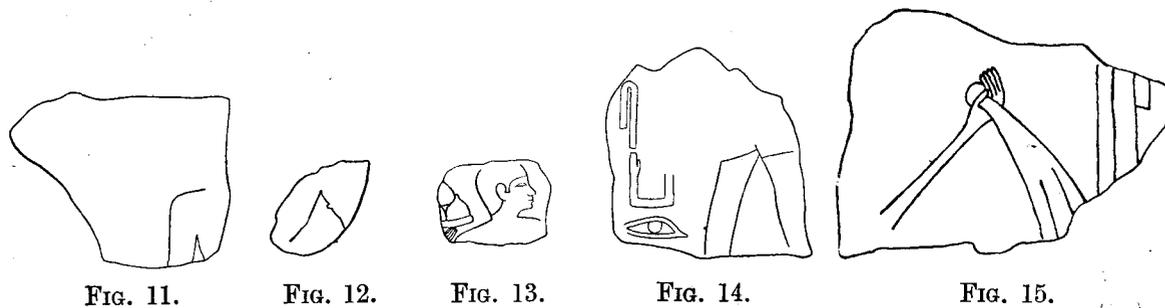
- (8) A dark limestone slab sculptured with a representation of the body and legs of a man in a walking attitude (Fig. 10).

⁽¹⁾ G. DAVIS, "Ptah-hetep", Vol. II, Pl. XXXI

⁽²⁾ See "Ptah-hetep", Vol. II, Pl. XXVI.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.* Vol. II, Pl. XXX, and *Irerw.* "Excavations at Giza", 1931-1932, p. 62, Fig. 54.

- (9) A dark limestone slab bearing a representation of a man's right shoulder(?) (Fig. 11).
- (10) A dark limestone fragment bearing part of a man's breast and the underside of his right arm (Fig. 12).
- (11) A dark limestone fragment showing the head and shoulders of a male offering-bearer carrying a tray of figs upon his right shoulder⁽¹⁾ (Fig. 13).
- (12) A dark limestone slab bearing the legs of a man in a walking attitude, facing right. Behind him are traces of a vertical inscription, reading : $\leftarrow \parallel \uparrow \cup \text{eye} \parallel$ (Fig. 14).
- (13) A dark limestone fragment showing a fly-whisk, the handle of which terminates in a carved (?) human hand. Fly switches of this type seemed to have been popular among the Egyptian nobles who are frequently represented holding them. It is possible that in the present instance this switch formed part of a representation of Queen Khent-kawes. Behind is the back of a chair with a cloth thrown over it (Fig. 15)⁽²⁾.



- (14) Two fragments of dark limestone which fit together and form a representation of two scribes squatting upon the ground. They are engaged in writing upon papyrus rolls held in the left hand. The foremost man, whose figure is the most complete, has two spare pens stuck behind his right ear. The second man's figure is almost obliterated, but

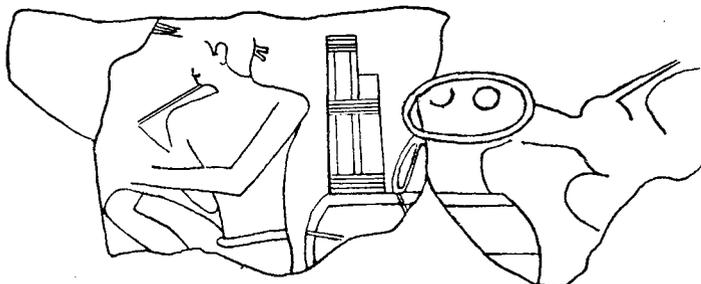


FIG. 16.

before him is his scribe's equipment consisting of a low oval desk, apparently made of palm-ribs (gereed). Upon it are two rolls of papyrus of differing widths, an oval palette containing two round cakes of pigment (one red and one black) and a water-pot (Fig. 16)⁽³⁾.

(1) "Ptah-ḥetep" Vol. II, Pl. XVII. Also Neb-kaw-Ḥer at Sakkara, etc.

(2) See also, KLEBS. *Reliefs*, Abb. 16, p. 28; Shepses-ka-f-ankh; LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, III. Bl. 50.A, *Ka-dwa*, etc.

(3) See *Neb-kaw-Ḥer* at Sakkara; also Ti, *Baedeker's Guide* 1902. p. 145; *Akhet-ḥetep*; CAPART. "Memphis", p. 357. etc.

- (15) A dark limestone slab bearing traces of an offering-scene. At the top may be seen part of the big toe of the Queen, and below it, traces of a man placing his hand upon a rectangular object (Fig. 17).
- (16) A limestone slab showing part of a scene representing a goldsmith's shop (Fig. 18).
- (17) Two fragments of limestone on which are represented the feet of large birds, perhaps cranes. Below them is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: →  " . . . Bringing . . . " (Fig. 19) ⁽¹⁾.

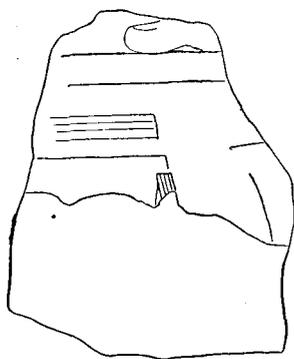


FIG. 17.

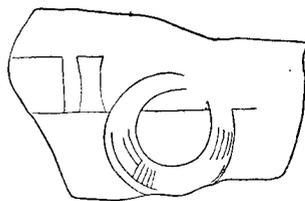


FIG. 18.

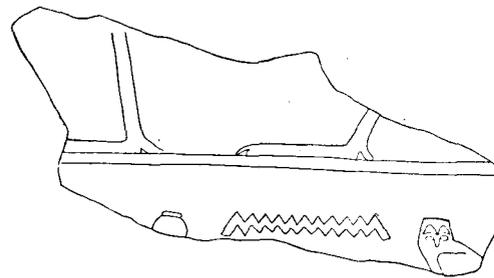


FIG. 19.

- (18) A fragment of dark limestone bearing part of an inscription, of which only the following signs remain: →  Evidently it is the determination of a place name (Fig. 20).

- (19) A limestone slab bearing part of a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading: ↓  " . . . in his estates . . . " (Fig. 21).



FIG. 20.

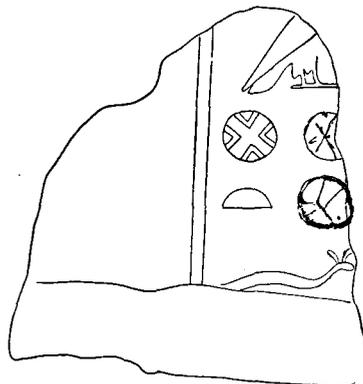


FIG. 21.

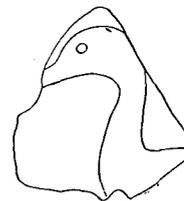


FIG. 22.

- 20) Dark limestone slab bearing part of a representation of a large goose. It may belong to the same scene as the fragments No. 17 (Fig. 22).

⁽¹⁾ *Ptah-helep*, Vol. I, pl. XXI.

- (26) A limestone slab upon which is the figure of a male offering-bearer carrying one end of a small table. The other end was held by a companion figure, now destroyed. The man walks to the left, but turns his face backwards to look at his burden (Fig. 28) ⁽¹⁾.
- (27) A small fragment of dark limestone bearing a few signs which formed part of a vertical inscription, reading :  and .
- (28) A fragment of dark limestone bearing part of a vertical inscription similar to the preceding, but reversed in direction. The remaining signs read : .
- (29) A fragment of limestone upon which are represented the figures of two men. The first is of normal size. The upper part of his body and his feet are missing. The second is a dwarf. He holds a short club in his left hand and is leading a pet animal, either a dog or an ape, most probably the latter ⁽²⁾ (Fig. 29).
- (30) A limestone slab bearing part of a concert scene. A man is represented playing the flute, while behind him is the hand of another man who was keeping time to the music by snapping his fingers (Fig. 30) ⁽³⁾.

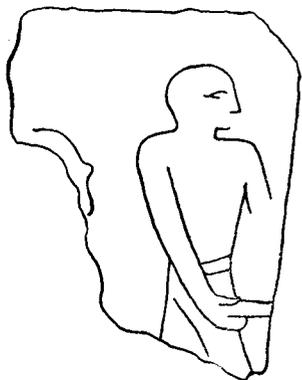


FIG. 28.

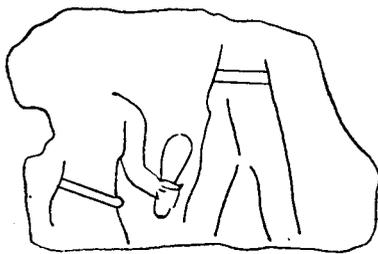


FIG. 29.

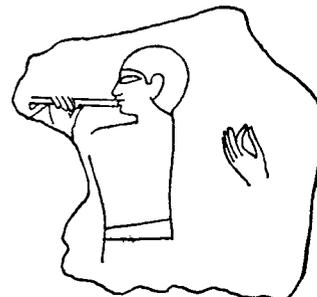


FIG. 30.

- (31) A limestone slab bearing part of a scene representing a procession of offering bearers, apparently alternately male and female. To the left is the upper part of a man who carries a crate of live ducks upon his head, steadying the load with his right hand. He carries a stick across his left shoulder, from which are slung two bundles of flax stems. Traces of red colour remain upon the fleshy parts. Behind him is the right arm of a woman supporting some kind of load carried upon her head. She wears a wide bracelet upon her wrist.
- (32) There are also six other small fragments, but though parts of sculptured forms remain upon them, they are too vague and fragmentary to identify.

⁽¹⁾ See mastaba of Ti. BAEDER (1902), p. 141.

⁽²⁾ See KLEBS, *Reliefs* pp. 32-34. It would seem as though the dwarf represented on our fragment is the earliest example so far discovered of a dwarf in the service of a ruling monarch.

⁽³⁾ KLEBS, *Reliefs* p. 108, Fig. 88.

See also Ka-dwa at Giza, Neb-kaw-Ḥer at Sakkara, (both unpublished).

THE INNER ROOM OF THE CHAPEL

The inner room of the chapel lies to the north of the hall and is on the same axis. It is entirely cut in the rock of the base, and measures 11·80 × 4·50 m. Access to it is given from the south by means of a doorway, the jambs of which were composed of black granite; two fragments of these jambs were recovered from the debris. These jambs may also have served as piers to assist in supporting the roof of the chapel. The threshold of this entrance remains *in situ*, and is composed of white limestone.

The eastern wall of the chapel was cased with Turah limestone, the lower courses of which still remain in place. In the northern wall is cut a large, shallow recess.

The western wall was occupied by two large monolithic false-doors of red granite, which are, however, in a very bad state of preservation. The southern one which measures 2·05 m. wide, was discovered fallen face downwards in the chapel, and has now been restored by us to its original position. The upper part is entirely defaced, while its lower part is carved in the well-known "Palace-façade" design. No trace of an inscription appears upon it.

The northern false-door is a total wreck, although its place can easily be discerned above the sloping passage which leads to the burial-chamber. Large fragments of this false-door were found scattered in the debris, among them being the upper part upon which is preserved the panel, with part of a scene of an offering-table, and the northern extremity of the lintel, upon which is incised a horizontal row of large hieroglyphs, reading: ↓ (Pl. VIII) .
"The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt."

The remaining part of this wall is cased with white Turah limestone. At the top of the eastern and western walls is a series of rectangular holes cut in the rock, the purpose of which is obscure, perhaps they had been cut in recent times.

THE BURIAL-CHAMBER OF QUEEN KHENT-KAWES

The Sloping Passage.

The entrance to the sloping passage leading down to the burial-chamber of the Fourth Pyramid is cut in the floor of the inner chapel. It is close to the northern wall, and a little to the right of the recess once occupied by the northern false-door. The wall of the passage is cut in the rock, and is supplemented on the north-west side by blocks of limestone masonry. The actual passage measures 5·60 m. long, and 0·90 m. wide. Its sides are lined with six huge blocks of red granite, three upon each side, the average dimensions of these stones being 2·59 m. long, 0·83 m. high, and 0·71 m. wide. The floor of this sloping passage is paved with similar blocks of red granite, placed lengthwise across the width of the passage. The quantity of smashed fragments lying in the well of the passage, and at its lower end, together with a space of 0·69 m. remaining between the top of the side casing-stones and the roof of the passage indicates that the latter was also cased with red granite.

THE BURIAL-CHAMBER

The burial-chamber is entirely cut in the rock below the base of the pyramid. It is large and lofty, and in its form is unique in the history of Old Kingdom funerary architecture, so far as our present knowledge extends. As will be seen later, it can be considered as a complete tomb in itself; and the nearest parallel to it is the burial-chamber of Shepses-ka-f at the Mastabet el-Faraoun (¹).

The chamber is divided into two unequal halves, the eastern one of which measures 2.70×7.85 m. and is 3.70 m. high. The northern wall is plain, except for a small square recess high in its upper north-west corner.

THE MAGAZINES

Situated in the lower part of the eastern wall are the entrances to four small rooms, which probably served as magazines for the funerary equipment. Similar rooms to these occur in the Mastabet el-Faraoun. The floors of these cells, as they may perhaps be more aptly termed, descend about 0.61 m. lower than the floor of the chamber. Commencing from the north, they measure:—

No. 1.—Entrance: 0.97×0.53 m. Cell: 1.45 m. high, 0.87 m. wide and 1.60 m. long.

No. 2.—Entrance: 1.0×0.52 m. Cell: 1.38 m. high, 1.05 m. wide and 1.60 m. long.

No. 3.—Entrance: 0.99×0.54 m. Cell: 1.39 m. high, 1.05 m. wide and 1.60 m. long.

No. 4.—Entrance: 1.0×0.54 m. Cell: 1.38 m. high, 1.05 m. wide and 1.60 m. long.

A few traces of mortar are to be seen on the eastern walls of Nos. 2, 3 and 4.

In the upper south-western corner of the western wall is a shallow square recess, similar to that situated in the northern wall, while the base of the wall is occupied by the entrances of two more cells identical with those in the eastern wall. From east to west they measure:—

No. 1.—Entrance: 1.0×0.55 m. Cell: 1.38 m. high, 1.06 m. wide and 1.53 m. long.

No. 2.—Entrance: 0.98×0.65 m. Cell: 1.37 m. high, 1.04 m. wide and 1.54 m. long.

Cell No. 1 contained the shoulder-blade of an ox, probably a portion of one of the sacrificial animals slaughtered as a funerary-offering to the Queen.

(¹) The tomb of Ra-wer discovered in our 5th season displays a modified form of this type of burial-chamber. The owner of this tomb was "Overseer of all the Works of the King" and as his mastaba lies but a few metres west of the girdle-wall of the Fourth Pyramid we may assume that he was the official in charge of the construction of the Queen's Pyramid. Apparently he also took the opportunity to erect his own tomb at the same time and employed a similar type of burial-chamber, as will be mentioned in the forthcoming volume.

The western wall displays two large, uninscribed false-doors, which are cut in the rock at its northern and southern corners. They both measure 3.30 m. high, and 0.95 m. wide. At the upper part of each of these false-doors the stone was recessed back to allow for the insertion of a lintel and panel of some other material. Indeed, it is not unlikely that the entire surface of these false-doors was originally cased with a stone of fine quality, as they now present a plain, unfinished appearance quite out of keeping with the general standard of workmanship displayed in this monument.

The western half of the burial-chamber measures 3.96×4.60 m. At the bottom of the western half of its southern wall is a small square niche measuring $0.52 \times 0.60 \times 0.80$ m. A rebate 0.38 m. deep at its outer edge seems to indicate that it was closed by a stone slab. Traces of decayed plaster remaining in the rebate support this theory. Possibly this niche served to house the canopic jars of the Queen.

In the northern wall, and situated directly opposite to this square niche, is a narrow, horizontal rock-cut shelf. It measures $0.62 \times 0.20 \times 0.19$ m., and may have supported a ewer and basin for libation purposes⁽¹⁾.

Nearly all the floor-space of this western part of the chamber is occupied by a large rectangular depression, cut in the rock, and measuring about 3.60×3.0 m. It is now filled with huge blocks of red granite, some of which are intact, and measure $1.78 \times 0.70 \times 0.71$ m., and also many large fragments of white Turah limestone. From the size and shape of these granite blocks it would appear as though they had once formed a chamber in the shape of a sarcophagus, and having a vaulted top similar to the superstructure of the pyramid. A similar arrangement occurred in the Step Pyramid at Sakkara, and here the stones had been carefully marked to facilitate their assemblage. This chamber seems to have housed a sarcophagus of polished alabaster, many fragments of which we recovered from the debris and sand with which this chamber was filled. There were also some small blocks of finely-dressed red granite scattered about the burial-chamber, and similar examples were subsequently found among the house-ruins at the western end of the Pyramid City. They have an average measurement of about $0.36 \times 0.19 \times 0.17$ m.

From the filling of the burial-chamber we also recovered a small scarab of brown limestone. It is uninscribed, but the style of workmanship it displays leads us to date it to the XIIth Dynasty. Its presence in this spot denotes that the burial-chamber of Queen Khent-kawes was re-used for later interments, even at such an early date, and thus shows that the Fourth Pyramid had shared the fate of usurpation along with nearly all the tombs of the Giza Necropolis.

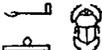
From the examination of this burial-chamber it will be seen that we have a complete tomb contained in this single room. The eastern half forms the chapel and contains the false-doors and magazines, while the western half forms the burial-chamber proper, and contained the sarcophagus and funerary equipment.

(1) A model ewer and basin placed on a similar shelf occurred in the intact tomb of Prince Khnum-ba-f, excavated by me in the 7th season.

A LIST OF SMALL OBJECTS DISCOVERED IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY
OF THE FOURTH PYRAMID

The following objects were recovered from the sand and debris surrounding the pyramid:—

- (1) Three fragments of an alabaster cup and two fragments of an alabaster vase.
- (2) A flint implement.
- (3) A quantity of blue faience beads, found with a late mummy buried in the sand near the mastaba of Queen Bw-nefer.
- (4) A large jar of yellow-polished ware with three handles and a flat base. The neck is damaged (Pl. X, A).
- (5) A straight-sided bowl of red-ware with a rolled-rim and a flat base (Pl. X, C).
- (6) A trumpet-shaped object of finely-worked alabaster. It is pierced through its entire length (Pl. X, B).
- (7) A deep bowl of thin, red-ware with straight sides tapering abruptly to a small, flat base (Pl. X, D).
- (8) A globular flask of brown-ware with a long, narrow neck and a curved handle (Pl. X, E).
- (9) A divine eye of blue faience, the pupil and eyebrow being picked out in black. Both sides are alike. Length: 5·0 cm. (Pl. XI, A).
- (10) A divine eye of green faience. It represents the left eye. Length: 5·0 cm. (Pl. XI, B).
- (11) A small divine eye of pale blue faience, decorated on one side only. Length: 3·0 cm. (Pl. XI, D).
- (12) A divine eye of red jasper. Length: 1·5 cm. (Pl. XI, C).
- (13) A blue faience figure representing the god Nefer-Atum, the Third Person of the Memphite triad. He is represented in a walking attitude, the left foot advanced, and the arms hanging by the sides with the hands closed. Upon his head he wears his emblematic lotus-flower, a long wig and a beard. Around his hips is a short kilt upheld by a girdle. The wig and beard are picked out in black glaze. The execution of this figure is unusually good; it has no plinth supporting the back, and the limbs are free from any connecting tenons. Height: 8·2 cm. (Pl. XI, E).
- (14) A figure of the god Nefer-Atum in pale blue faience. It is similar to the preceding example, but of coarser workmanship and lacking in detail. Height: 8·6 cm. (Pl. XI, F).
- (15) A figure of the goddess Mwt in pale green faience. She is represented in a walking attitude with the left foot advanced, and her arms hanging at her sides. Upon her head she wears a Double Crown, uræus and a long wig. She is clad in a long, tight-fitting transparent robe. Height: 5·3 cm. (Pl. XI, G).
- (16) A figure of the goddess Mwt, similar to the above, but having a plinth running up the back, upon which is incised:  . Height: 4·0 cm. (Pl. XI, H).

- (17) A scaraboid in the form of a hedgehog. It is of white faience, and the base is incised with:  . Length: 2.2 cm. Height: 1.5 cm. (Pl. XII, A).
- (18) A beautiful ring of blue faience. It bears an open-work design representing the Sun-god Ra', hawk-headed, and crowned with the Solar Disk. He is seated, and holds the feather of Truth. Height: 1.5 cm. Diam.: 2.6 cm. (1) (Pl. XII, B).
- (19) A damaged ring of blue faience, the bezel of which is decorated with the ægis of some goddess, probably Sekhmet, flanked by lotus flowers. The head of the goddess is missing. Height: 2.5 cm. (Pl. XII, C).
- (20) A blue faience amulet representing the god Bes. He wears a head-dress of plumes, at the back of which is a small eyelet for suspension. Height: 7.0 cm. (Pl. XII, E).
- (21) An amuletic figure of the god Bes, similar in form and material to the preceding, but smaller in size. Height: 3.5 cm. (Pl. XII, D).
- (22) A small scarab of pale blue faience decorated on its base with a geometrical design. Length: 3.2 cm. Breadth: 2.3 cm. (Pl. XII, F).
- (23) A pale blue faience scarab inscribed on its base with the following hieroglyphs:  . Length: 3.2 cm. Breadth: 2.5 cm. (Pl. XII, G).
- (24) A very fine amuletic figure of the goddess Sekhmet. It is made of green faience and represents the goddess seated upon a throne, the sides of which are ornamented with an open-work design. That on the right side represents the Serpent-god Neheb-ka, and the ded-emblem  , while the design on the left-hand side represents two figures of Neheb-ka. The leonine head of the goddess is excellently rendered and is pierced between the ears with a small, round hole, probably to attach a solar-disk made of some other material, perhaps, gold. Her right hand rests upon her lap and grasped some object now broken off. The left arm is bent, and the hand, which rests against her body, holds a long, papyrus-reed. She wears a long wig, and is clad in the close-fitting garment peculiar to goddesses at all periods, and which was the ordinary dress of the Egyptian women during the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Height: 6.8 cm. (Pl. XII, I).
- (25) A pale blue faience figure of the goddess Sekhmet. She is represented as seated upon a throne, the sides of which are ornamented with a scale (or feather?) pattern. The hands rest closed upon her knees. The modelling of this figure is particularly good, especially the rendering of the anatomical details, and the combination of the fierce expression of the leonine head with the graceful curves of the woman's body. Height: 5.7 cm. (Pl. XII, H).

(1) A similar ring was found in the Pyramid Temple of Men-kaw-Ra', see REISNER, "Mycerinus", Pl. XXIII.

- (26) A white limestone scarab. On its base is incised a representation of a seated king, who holds the 'ankh-sign ⚡ . In front of him is the cartouche of Thothmes III, $\left(\text{⊙} \text{⊢} \text{⊢} \right)$, Men-kheper-Ra'. Length: 1.9 cm. Breadth: 1.5 cm.
- (27) An amuletic figure of the goddess Sekhmet in pale blue faience. She is represented in a walking attitude, with the left leg advanced, the arms hanging by the sides with the hands closed. She wears a long wig, and a long tight robe. Height: 4.9 cm.
- (28) A pale blue faience figure of the goddess Sekhmet, similar to the preceding, except that here her head is surmounted by a uraeus which is pierced to serve as a suspension eyelet. Height: 5.0 cm.
- (29) A pale blue faience triad representing the goddesses Isis and Nephtys with Horus the Child between them. They are shown in a walking attitude with their left feet in advance, and are holding each other by the hands. The two goddesses wear long wigs surmounted by the symbols of their names, and are clad in long, tight-fitting garments. Horus is represented as a naked boy wearing his hair plaited in the side-lock of youth, and a uraeus upon his brow. The modelling of this group is very good and life-like, despite its small size. Height: 3.5 cm. Breadth: 2.5 cm.
- (30) A blue faience triad of Isis, Nephtys and Horus the Child. It is similar to the preceding, except that here Horus is represented on a slightly larger scale than the two goddesses. Height: 3.3 cm. Breadth: 2.3 cm.
- (31) A charming little green faience pendant representing an open-work, ornamental basket in which is seated a miniature cat. The basket is bell-shaped, and has two pierced lugs at its upper edge, perhaps for the insertion of a wire handle. Height: 2.0 cm. A similar object to this was recovered from the Pyramid Temple of Men-kaw-Ra' (1) (Pl. XXXII, F).
- (32) A figure of the goddess Ta-wrt in pale green faience. The goddess is represented in her usual form of a hippopotamus walking erect upon its hind legs, the left foot in advance, and with human-like arms hanging at its sides. Upon the head is a disk and cow-horns, flanked by two tall plumes. Height: 5.0 cm. (Pl. XXXII, G).
- (33) A pale blue faience figure of the goddess Nephtys. She is represented in a walking attitude, with the left leg advanced, and the arms hanging at the sides with the hands open. She wears a long wig surmounted by the symbol of her name ⏏ . Running up the back of the figure is a narrow plinth, pierced for suspension at about half its height (2). Height: 4.3 cm.
- (34) A blue faience amuletic figure representing the Serpent-god, Neheb-ka. He is represented seated upon his tail, and resting his chin upon his two clasped hands. Height: 4.5 cm.

(1) REISNER, "Mycerinus", Pl. XXIII.

(2) Where these amuletic figures are pierced mid-way down their height, they were perhaps intended to be sewn on the mummy-wrappings, as when suspended on a necklace, they do not balance properly.

- (35) A curious amulet of white faience. It appears to represent a naked god (Horus the Child ?) seated in a shrine surmounted by a suspension eyelet. The pillars supporting the roof of the shrine are in the shape of Was-sceptres \uparrow , while the base is pylon-shaped. Height: 2.4 cm. Breadth: 2.0 cm.
- (36) A very fine green faience figure representing Horus the Child. He is depicted as a naked boy seated upon the ground, with his knees drawn up in front of his body. His right hand rests upon his right knee, while the left arm is bent, and the folded hand rests against his body. At the right side of the head, and in the centre of the forehead are two small, circular holes for the insertion of a side-lock of youth and a uraeus respectively. The ears are also pierced for the insertion of ear-rings. These details, which are now lacking, were perhaps of gold. The modelling of the figure, despite its small size, is excellent. Height: 3.5 cm.
- (37) A damaged figure of a serval in blue faience, the markings of the animal being represented by black spots. It is represented as crouching upon its haunches, and the forelegs were raised, but are now broken off; the head also is missing. On each of the bent hind legs is a seated kitten. Existing height: 3.4 cm.
- (38) A brown faience triad representing the goddesses Isis and Nephtys with Horus the Child between them. They are shown in a walking attitude, with the left legs advanced. Height: 2.5 cm.
- (39) A blue faience figure of the god Neheb-ka. Height: 4.0 cm.
- (40) A square plaque of blue faience upon which is represented a (right-hand) divine eye, executed in relief. Dim.: 1.8 × 1.6 cm.
- (41) A divine eye (right) amulet, of blue faience. Length: 2.0 cm.
- (42) An openwork basket of blue faience. It is similar to the example previously described, (see No. 31) but is empty. Height: 3.3 cm.
- (43) A pale blue faience figure of the goddess Isis. She is represented in a walking attitude with the left leg advanced; her arms are hanging at her sides, with the hands open. She wears the usual long wig, surmounted by the hieroglyphic symbol of her name, \updownarrow , and is clad in a long, tight-fitting robe. A narrow plinth runs up the back of the figure and is pierced at a little over half its height. Height: 3.6 cm.
- (44) A faded blue faience figure of the god Ptah-Soker-Osiris. He is represented as a naked dwarf, wearing only a wsekh-collar. His hair and top-knot are black. Height: 6.5 cm.
- (45) A faded blue faience figure of the god Ptah-Soker-Osiris, similar to the above. Height: 4.0 cm.
- (46) A blue faience figure of the god Khnwm. He is represented as a ram-headed man, in a walking attitude, the arms hanging by the sides with the hands closed. He wears a long wig, and a short, pleated kilt. A narrow plinth runs up the back of the figure and is pierced near the top. Height: 3.3 cm.

(62) Some potsherds of decorated vases.

(63) A group of blue faience ushabti figures, each bearing a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading: 

(64) The head of a limestone statuette of a man, the features of which are very badly damaged. Height: 10.0 cm. Breadth: 8.5 cm.

The Girdle-Wall (Pls. IV and XIII, A, B).

The Fourth Pyramid is surrounded on three sides by a thick mud-brick girdle-wall, measuring on an average 2.75 m. thick. On the eastern side of the pyramid this brick wall gives place to a high wall cut in as loping strata of the rock, and which forms the eastern wall of a long, narrow chamber, the western wall of which is formed by the eastern face of the pyramid. This chamber was very probably the place where the Queen's body was embalmed, and this aspect of it will be fully discussed below (see pp. 93, 94 and Fig. 49). At about the middle of this rock-cut wall is a projection forming the western jamb of an entrance which gave access to a ramp leading to the rock-cut basin on the north, and the courtyard of the chapel on the south. The eastern jamb of this doorway is supplied by the western end of a thick mud-brick wall which runs down towards the valley, and bounds the pyramid city on the north. The southern side of the girdle-wall begins in a curve from the eastern extremity of the Solar-boat, and runs eastward for a distance of 61.0 m., when it turns north for a further 4.0 m. and forms the southern jamb of a doorway which leads from the courtyard of the chapel to the third corridor of the causeway. A few metres before this junction there is a later tomb which is partly cut in the rock, and supplemented by mud-brick and slabs of white limestone. The rock-cut portion partly runs under the girdle-wall. It is interesting to notice that this tomb possessed a vaulted roof of mud-brick, resembling the superstructure of the pyramid. Only the southern portion of this roof now remains. The existence of this tomb indicates that the girdle-wall was ruined in this spot in ancient times. (For further examples of intrusive burials, see p. 46 ff.).

After the doorway alluded to above, the girdle-wall again continues eastwards and forms the southern boundary of the pyramid city; proof of the latter's connection with this pyramid. Continuing for 104.0 m., the girdle-wall turns south, and after about 43.0 m., bends to the east, where it is soon lost under the modern Moslem cemetery. The wall, in its many turns conforms to the outlines of the pyramid city, which spreads out in a southern direction at its (present) eastern extremity, and resembles in shape the hieroglyphic sign  *neter*, inverted. This however, may not have been its original form, as much of the city is still lying buried under the modern cemeteries and village of Nezlit es-Semman.

The continuation of the northern girdle-wall starts from the eastern jamb of the doorway leading to the pyramid basin, and after running east for a distance of 97.0 m., turns south for a further 5.0 m., and again bends east. At a distance of 51.0 m., it runs southwards and forms the eastern boundary of the city. It is finally lost under the modern cemetery.

THE SOLAR-BOAT

The Solar-boat is situated at the south-western corner of the pyramid, and is directed east to west (Fig. 31). It is cut in the natural rock, and measures 30.25 m. long, and 4.25 m. in depth

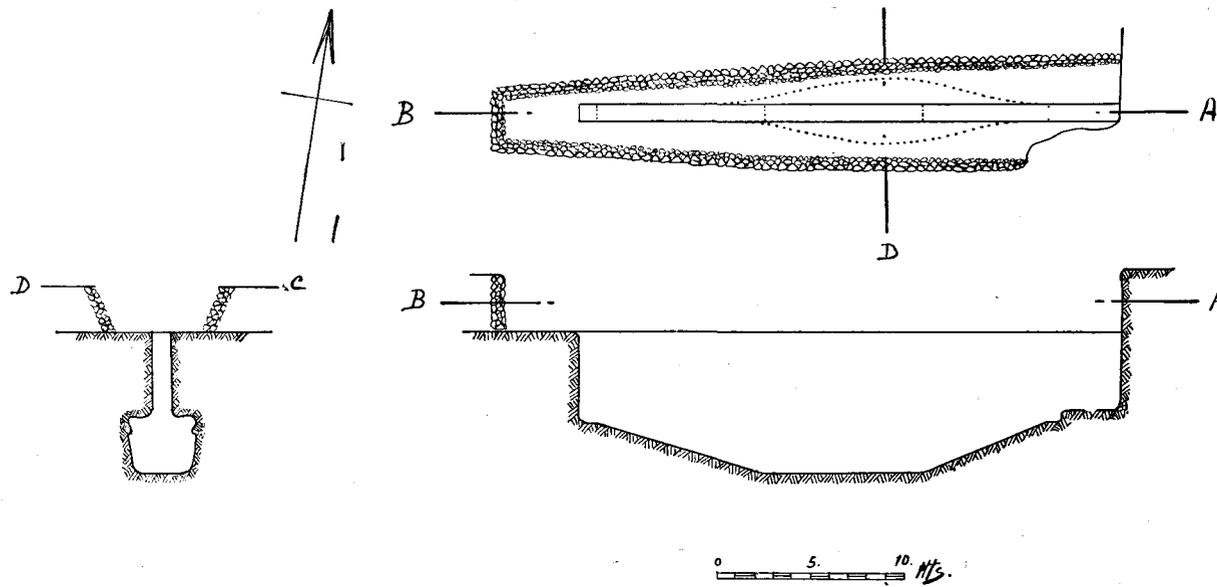


FIG. 31.

at its deepest part. The actual boat is sunk in a depression a little longer and wider than itself, the sides of which are built of rubble coated with mud-plaster. At the south-eastern corner of this depression are some massive blocks of local limestone, and upon the upper surface of the ground, is a huge block of black granite. These may have formed part of the roofing of the boat. The vessel has the characteristic upraised prow and stern of the Solar-boats,⁽¹⁾ From the fact that it was almost certainly roofed, and therefore dark in its interior, we may deduce that it represents the Night Boat of the Sun-god, in which he embarked at evening to make his journey through the dreary passage of the Underworld. According to the precedent of the Solar-boats of Khwfw and Khafra, there should be at least one other of these vessels, namely, that representing the Day-boat. This may perhaps lie under the sand and debris to the west of the pyramid. The presence of this boat necessitated a gap being left in the girdle-wall at the spot where it abuts on to the pyramid. It is evident, then that it forms part of the pyramid-complex, and thus demonstrates the importance of the monument to which it is connected.

The W'abet Basin of the Pyramid (Fig. 32, Pl. XIV, A).

At the northern end of the embalming-house lying behind the rock-cut wall to the east of the pyramid, the rock slopes down to a shallow drain with a square aperture cut under the wall, and leading to a rock-cut basin. The aperture is blocked by a large block of red granite mortared into place. This plug-stone is probably a later addition. The basin is cut in the rock lying in front of the north-eastern corner of the pyramid. It measures 6.25 × 5.40 × 3.0 m. Low walls are constructed round its upper edge, the northern one of which rises in a curve in the centre.

⁽¹⁾ The type of the Horus boat as described by CH. BOREUX in his book: "*Nautique Egyptienne*", p. 102, etc. (Les barques mskt.1 et m'ndt).

This latter feature suggests a vaulted roof over the tank. If such a covering ever really existed, it was probably made in order to conform to the vaulted top of the superstructure, and would have served to preserve the privacy of the rites connected with the Queen's embalment.

Access to this basin is gained by means of a ramp cut in the rock against the above-mentioned eastern wall of the Pyramid. At the western side of the basin a flight of eleven rock-cut steps descends to the water's edge. These were probably made to enable the priests to descend easily and thus facilitate the task of emptying and cleaning the basin.

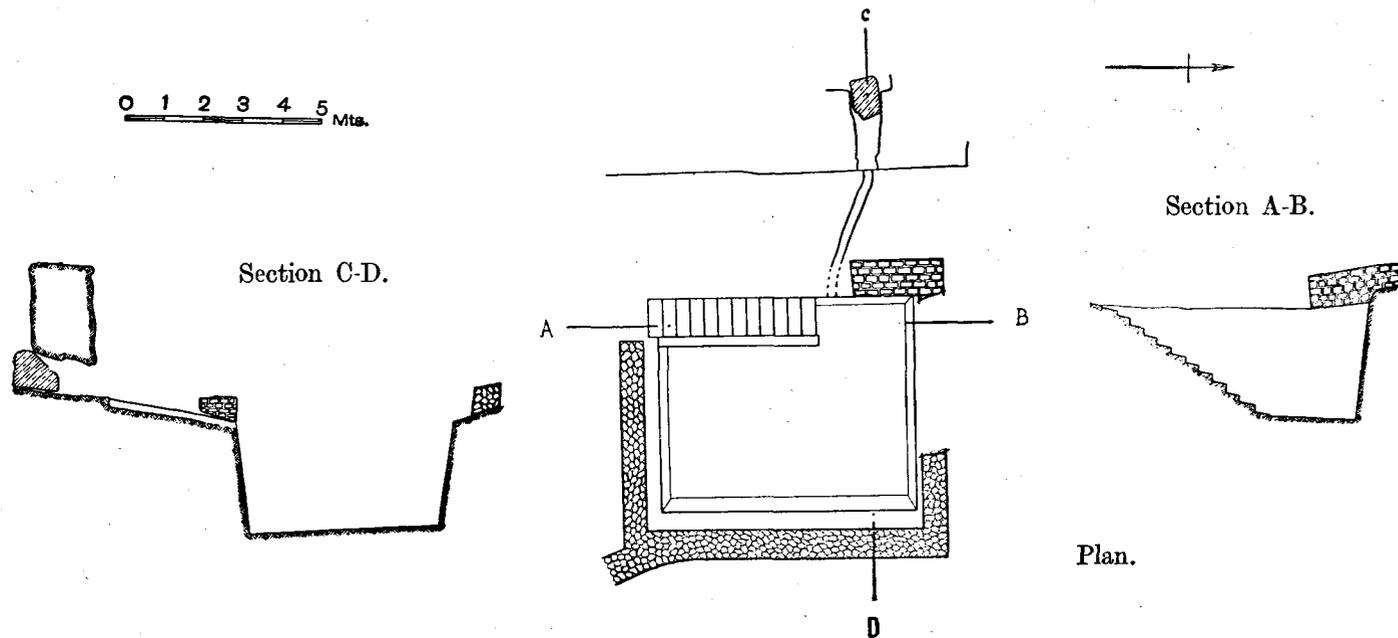


FIG. 32.

The Purificator priest in whose charge this basin probably lay, had his tomb cut in the cliff overlooking it from the north. He also bears the title "Priest of the King's Mother" which connects him with Khent-kawes, to whom the basin belonged (1).

When discovered, this basin was partially occupied by four mud-brick shafts appertaining to later burials. The actual shafts contained nothing but some skeletons, but the following objects were recovered from the debris filling the basin:—

- (1) A small scarab of brown stone.
- (2) An obsidian amulet representing two conjoined fingers.
- (3) A fine divine eye amulet of blue faience. It represents the left eye, and has the pupil and eyebrow picked out in black glaze (Pl. XV, A).
- (4) A large ded-amulet of blue faience. Height: 12.5 cm. (Pl. XV, B).
- (5) A blue faience ded amulet, slightly smaller than the above. Height: 10.3 cm. (Pl. XV, D).
- (6) A divine eye of blue faience. It represents the right eye (Pl. XV, C).
- (7) An amulet of blue faience representing a papyrus sceptre, symbol of eternal youth.
- (8) A limestone head-rest. Length 23.5 cm. Height 16.0 cm. (Pl. XV, E).
- (9) A large assortment of blue faience ushabti figures.

(1) See "Excavations at Giza", 1931-1932, pp. 160-165; and p. 10 of present volume.

THE PYRAMID CITY

An unusual feature of the pyramid of Queen Khent-kawes is the presence of a city lying immediately at its eastern face. The plan of this city shows that it was designed as a whole. The straight streets, the regular, intersecting by-ways, the division of the houses into groups, each having its own granaries and reservoirs, all tend to prove that it was not the haphazard growth of years. While the fact that it is enclosed within the girdle-walls of the Fourth Pyramid complex is sufficient proof that it is contemporary with, and belonging to, that monument; fortunately it was found in a sufficiently good state of preservation to enable us to form an accurate idea of its component parts. The arrangement of the rooms in every house proves that a high standard of refinement and civilization had been reached; while the planning and actual construction of the city show that the architects and surveyors were thoroughly experienced in their sciences.

Owing to the denudation of the walls of the houses, we cannot say for certain how many, or what type, of windows they possessed, but we may assume that these were rather small, and placed high in the walls, such apertures being quite sufficient to admit light in the brilliant glare of the Egyptian sunshine. It is also impossible to state with certainty how many stories high these houses were, but the absence of any existing remains of staircases, and the fact that high dwellings would have entirely ruined the studied spectacular effect of the pyramid-complex when viewed from the valley, leads us to conclude that they consisted of one floor only.

The entire city is built of unbaked mud-brick, coated on all its exposed surfaces with a hard, yellow plaster. This coating is dark yellow in colour, and is about 3·4 cm. thick. Examined under a lens, it was found to contain air-holes, carbonaceous particles and small quartz grains. Chemical analysis showed that it contains:—

- Common salt. (Sodium chloride.)
- Traces of Gypsum. (Hydrated calcium sulphate.)
- Powdered limestone. (Calcium carbonate.)
- Coarse sand and small quartz grains.
- Fine silica.
- Aluminum and iron oxides.

The traces of gypsum present are certainly insufficient—even if previously burned—to bind the other constituents together so as to form a plaster that could have withstood the action of the climate, including rain, for more than 4,500 years. This suggests the possibility that the fine silica and salt may be the agents responsible for the stability and adhesive qualities of the plaster. In order to confirm this theory we made an experimental specimen of plaster from the same constituents. As it appeared probable that the ancient masons obtained their limestone for this purpose from the quarries near the site of the pyramid city, some of this stone (present there in the form of powder) was brought and analysed. It proved to be practically identical with that in the ancient plaster, except that sand and some quartz grains are absent.

In the quartz there are thin layers of crystalline hydrated gypsum between the thick layers of the limestone. Therefore it appears that the presence of the traces of gypsum in both the old plaster and in the powder brought from the quarries are due to those thin layers of gypsum, which in grinding, mix with the limestone powder.

The powder which we obtained was mixed with nearly the same proportion of sand, in which there are tiny quartz grains, and the plaster formed was spread upon a mud-brick. When dry, it was found to be very hard and quite adherent to the brick.

This experiment confirms the supposition made that the salt and very fine silica are responsible for binding the plaster together.

Therefore we can say, that in making this yellow plaster, the ancient Egyptians brought limestone from the old quarries near the city, which was then powdered and mixed with sand (in which there were small quartz grains), and probably extra salt added. These ingredients were mixed together with water, and applied to the walls while the bricks were still damp, where it immediately adhered, forming an agreeable and durable coating. The use of plastered mud-brick as a building material, besides the fact that it is cheap and convenient, is ideally suited to the climate of Egypt; for the thick walls necessary for strength, combined with the texture of the material, are non-conductive to heat, and render the temperature of the rooms equable in summer and winter.

The houses of the city can be divided into three separate groups, graded according to their size: the mansions, which lie to the south-east, in the immediate vicinity of the Valley-Temple, the smaller houses lying to the north, and reached by means of a subway passing under the causeway, and the larger houses lying to the west, and near to the pyramid itself. The task of excavating the city was extremely laborious and difficult, for the whole site was deeply encumbered with high mounds of drift-sand as well as the dumps of former excavations made by the Antiquities Department (Pl. XIX, E). All this we had to remove by the aid of shovel-workers and Decauville cars. During the removal of these high mounds, the following objects came to light:—

- (1) A model, round-bottomed dish of alabaster. Diam. : 4.2 cm. Height: 1.3 cm.
- (2) Half a sandstone grinding stone. Dim : 180 × 140 × 110 cm.
- (3) A fragment of an alabaster slab.
- (4) A slab of local limestone inscribed with the signs :  "Akhet" (Pl. XIV, B).
- (5) Two roughly-made alabaster dishes.
- (6) A small alabaster model cup. Height : 2.5 cm. Diam. : 4.0 cm.
- (7) A damaged flint knife. Length : 10.5 cm. Breadth : 3.7 cm.
- (8) A head which belonged to a limestone statuette representing a woman grinding grain. The body to which it belonged, (and to which it has been re-attached) was found in the mastaba of Sed-hetep during our third season's work ⁽¹⁾. This is only one example of the scattering of shattered statuary over a very wide area.
- (9) An alabaster model cup. Diam. : 4.5 cm.
- (10) A ded-amulet of green faience. Height : 4.2 cm.
- (11) An alabaster model vase, with a wide mouth and a pointed base. Height : 8.0 cm.
- (12) A cylindrical bead of blue faience. Length : 1.7 cm.
- (13) A slab of local limestone bearing traces of a Coptic inscription. Dim. : 11.0 × 8.5 cm.

⁽¹⁾ See "Excavations at Giza", 1931-1932, p. 111.

- (14) An uninscribed ushabti figure of pale green faience.
- (15) An alabaster model dish. Diam. : 4·0 cm. (Pl. XVII, F).
- (16) An amulet of green stone (felspar ?) representing a hawk-headed deity in a squatting posture.
- (17) A fragment of an alabaster slab. Dim. : 5·5 × 4·5 cm.
- (18) A small ded-amulet of green faience. Height : 3·6 cm.
- (19) A small gaming-piece of green faience (Pl. XXIV, B).
- (20) A fragment of an alabaster slab bearing part of a representation of a bird.
- (21) Two fragments of an alabaster statue.
- (22) A headless bust of a granite statuette (Pl. IX, A).

When we finally reached the level of the city, the house ruins were found to be entirely filled with decayed mud-brick, so that it was difficult to distinguish at first which was debris and which was wall. But by clearing a little of the upper surfaces, we were able to trace the layer of yellow plaster with which the walls were coated ; and by placing our most experienced men on the job, we were able to follow down the surface of each wall, and eventually reveal the city as it was originally planned. Naturally, this was a very delicate operation, and one which called for extreme care on the part of the workmen and their supervisors, especially in those places where the plaster coating was damaged or utterly lacking. A further clue to the arrangement of the walls was then afforded by the direction in which the bricks lay.

The excavation of this city was mostly undertaken during our fourth season's work, and completed in our fifth season.

Against the eastern girdle-wall of the pyramid, and south of the rock-cut basin, lies an open courtyard separating the pyramid area from that of the city. To the east of this courtyard is a space occupied by four cells (see Pl. XVI, H). No. 5 measures 1·50 × 3·10 m. No. 4 is 2·40 × 3·10 m. No. 3 is 2·47 × 3·10 m. while No. 2 measures 2·55 × 3·10 m. These cells are completely enclosed on all their sides, and it is probable that they were the "caches" which contained the refuse and spare material from the Queen's embalment (Pl. XVI, H), see p. 94.

Against cell No. 2 is a room (No. 1) measuring 4·65 × 3·10 m. and opening south into the main street of the city. At a distance of 16·26 m. from this doorway is another entrance, the threshold of which is composed of a slab of white limestone. It leads to an entrance hall (No. 19) and ante-chamber (No. 20), at the northern end of which are two doorways, one opening east into the northern street of the city, and the other opening west into a long room measuring 9·25 × 2·50 m. (No. 12). In the south western corner of this room is a doorway leading into a passage ; (Nos. 10 and 11) giving access to three large rooms on the east, and two other rooms on the west. Each of the three eastern rooms is subdivided by a curtain wall to form a small, square chamber at its end (Nos. 13 to 18). The two western rooms are long and narrow (Nos. 6 and 7), and communicate with each other. At the end of the passage are two very small rooms (Nos. 8 and 9).

This suite of rooms is followed on the east by a group of dwellings, all of which are identical in their main construction. Each of these dwellings has two entrances, one of which lies on the *north-west* and the other on the *south-east*. The main features of each of these houses are :—

- (1) A main entrance opening into the northern street.
- (2) A porter's lobby on the west of the doorway, measuring 1.10×2.82 m. (No. 23).
- (3) A reception-room on the east of the doorway, measuring 7.65×2.77 m. (No. 27).
- (4) A living-room leading out of the reception-room (No. 24).
- (5) Two communicating bed-rooms on the west of the living-room (Nos. 21 and 22).
- (6) An open court on the east of the living-room (No. 26), giving access to the kitchen (No. 25), the small water-storage room (No. 29) and the domestic offices (No. 30).
- (7) A doorway opening south into the main street of the causeway (No. 28).

The architect who designed these houses was evidently an expert in domestic architecture, for he has placed the kitchens to the south-east of the living and sleeping-rooms. As the prevailing wind in Egypt has always been from the north, this arrangement prevented the pungent smells of cooking from pervading the whole house ; and as a further precaution, the kitchens were situated across an open courtyard, forming, as it were a separate part of the establishment. Many of the ovens which we found in these kitchens contained the ashes of the last fires lit in them.

In the first house, the southern entrance had been bricked up in ancient times, and the resulting room (No. 28) seems to have been used as a stable for some animal, as can be proved by the presence of a limestone tethering-block set in the floor against the southern wall.

There are some slight differences in the details of the other dwellings, chiefly concerning the domestic arrangements of the house. These alterations seem to have been dictated by the personal whims of the tenants. For example, in the second house there is a circular granary built at the rear of the kitchen (No. 34). The third house has a circular, mud fire-place in the living-room (No. 48). The reception rooms in each of these two houses were subdivided by brick-walls, for some domestic reason (Nos. 39, 40, 43, 49, 53 and 54). The fourth house is comparatively well-preserved, and retains its original plan, except for the bricking-up of the doorways leading to the living-room (No. 62), kitchen (No. 61, 64) and one small room at the rear which may have served to house the water-jars (No. 66). The fifth house has the same plan, but the reception-room has been occupied by a granary containing five circular bins (No. 75). This granary is situated opposite to the mastaba of Irew, the Overseer of the Granary⁽¹⁾, who probably lived in this house. This, combined with the situation of the city between the pyramid and the Valley Temple, leads us to suppose that it was inhabited by the priests and servants of the pyramid. As there was no *coined money*, as we know it, during the Old Kingdom, it is very probable that these mortuary priests received allowances of corn, oil and linen as their stipends. Hence the granaries and storehouses occurring in the city.

(1) See "Excavations at Giza", 1931-1932, p. 57

The sixth house follows the same plan as those we have just examined, but it is not in such a good state of preservation.

Then follows a group of four houses in which the main features of the preceding plan are observed in the arrangement of their inner rooms. The reception-rooms and porter's lobbies have, however, been omitted, thus making the houses comparatively smaller. This last group of dwellings has suffered greatly at the hands of the Sabakhin. The fourth house of the group is separated from the preceding ones by an intersecting street running from north to south. At the point where this street cuts through the northern girdle-wall, is a large threshold constructed of white limestone, and bearing two large socket-holes, proving that the street was provided with a heavy, double-leaved door, which was most probably closed at sunset. This street passes under the central causeway by means of a subway cut in the rock, descending from the north by means of twelve rock-cut steps and ascending again on the south by means of a ramp, which was apparently roofed over by large slabs of white limestone, one of which was found *in situ*. A somewhat similar subway was cut in the rock under the causeway of Khafra' and also of Khwfw the former having been discovered by me during our sixth season's work. These examples prove that the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom were thoroughly familiar with a device quite recently "invented" and adopted in Europe!

From the filling of the subway of the pyramid city, we recovered the following objects:—

- (1) A fragment of a worked alabaster slab. Length : 9.5 cm. Breadth : 5.0 cm.
- (2) A blue faience figure of the god Thoth. He is represented as an ibis-headed man in a walking attitude, with the arms hanging at the sides, and the left foot advanced.
- (3) A fragment of a vase of red-ware. Dim. : 5.5 × 4.5 cm.
- (4) A fragment of a red granite false-door. It is part of the panel and bears part of a representation of an offering-table. Dim. : 12.0 × 8.0 cm.
- (5) A fragment of a limestone slab upon which is part of a figure of a male offering-bearer, sculptured in relief. Dim. : 18.0 × 10.5 cm.
- (6) A fragment of a finely-worked diorite plate. Dim. : 10.0 × 6.5 cm.

The street continues south for a further 17.0 m. where it joins another street running westward from the valley, this latter thoroughfare leads to a higher level of ground by means of a flight of four steps, the lowest of which is of limestone, while the other three are of mud-brick. Before this stairway is a limestone threshold provided with socket-holes, which proves that this street also could have been closed from the west by means of a double-leaved door. It is interesting to note that the surface of this threshold is pitted with twelve circular depressions, and probably served as a gaming-board where the boys of the city gathered to play "siga". In fact, we found many circular pieces of pottery which were used as "dogs" in playing this game (*see* p. 46 and Pl. XXIX, A). At this point the natural level of the ground was sloping and uneven, and this defect was remedied by a thick bed of rubble and debris, retained in place by a stout wall of mud-brick running across the entire width of this part of the city. The upper level, to which the above-mentioned stair-way ascends, is occupied by a rock-cut water-tank on the north, and a large granary on the south (No. 164). These two areas are separated from each other by a thick mud-brick wall.

THE WATER TANK

The tank is rectangular in shape and measures 29.0×8.50 m. Its sides slope inwards as they descend. Near its western edge is a circular oven constructed of mud and limestone rubble, but this seems to have been a late addition. From the debris filling the tank we recovered the following objects:—

- (1) Two limestone rollers used for moving heavy objects, such as large blocks of stone.
- (2) Two fragments of limestone vases.
- (3) A fragment of an alabaster statue.
- (4) A small copper tool.
- (5) A large jug of red-ware having a damaged spout.
- (6) A fragment of worked alabaster.

THE GRANARIES AND MAGAZINES

The granaries are constructed of mud-brick, and are erected against the western girdle-wall of the city (No. 164). They are bounded on the east by a thin retaining-wall, and on the south by a thicker wall which serves to separate them from some magazines and store-chambers. In front of the granaries is a courtyard, bounded on the east by two long, narrow rooms (Nos. 165, 166) lying parallel to each other, and separated by a brick wall. The northern room measures 2.0×8.40 m., and the southern one is of the same dimensions. The entrance to the northern room has a limestone threshold measuring 0.90×1.30 m., while the entrance to the southern room — bricked up in ancient times — measured 0.90×1.10 m. These rooms are well paved with mud plaster laid upon a bed of debris, and were probably used as store-chambers.

The courtyard of the granary opens southwards into a T-shaped court, to the west of which lies a store-room (No. 174), measuring 4.50×2.0 m. This room is divided into three compartments by means of thin mud-brick walls. Another store-room lies to the east (No. 183), and runs the length of the courtyard, the southern end of which is intersected by walls added at a later period.

The shaft of the T-shaped court ends in the entrance to a large house, probably belonging to the official in charge of the granaries and magazines. This house lies in the extreme south-west corner of the city, and near to the Valley-Temple of the Queen. Its main entrance opens north and leads into a small passage (No. 172), to the south of which are two small rooms (Nos. 170 and 171), communicating with each other, although they also possess separate entrances. These two rooms were perhaps occupied by the porter. To the left of the entrance are two other small chambers, which communicate with the courtyard by means of a doorway in the eastern extremity of the northern façade of the building. The entrance passage leads into two open courtyards (?) lying to the right and left. The right-hand courtyard gives access to a long living-room (No. 168) communicating on the south with the kitchen, which is particularly large and roomy (No. 167). The left-hand courtyard gives access to a small ante-chamber leading into a large reception-hall (No. 182). In the centre of its eastern wall is a deep recess in which

a dais for the master's chair may have been placed on ceremonial occasions. In the south-western corner of the left-hand courtyard is another door leading to a large hall, the eastern side of which is occupied by three bedrooms, opening to the west, and lying parallel to each other (Nos. 176, 177 and 178).

Unfortunately the remainder of this exceedingly comfortable and practical residence is buried under the modern Moslem cemetery.

The space lying between the ramp of the subway and the eastern girdle-wall of the city had been occupied during two successive periods, the later houses being erected upon the ruins of their predecessors; thus we find two levels of ground at this spot. The later buildings are in a bad state of preservation, and the bricks used in their construction are smaller than those of the earlier period. The later additions and alterations, combined with the ruinous state of the site, make it difficult to form an accurate idea of the original plan of this part. However, the first house occurring after the intersecting street which leads from the valley to the high ground, is comparatively well-preserved. It is one of the largest houses in the city, and has very thick walls. The existent access to it is gained by three doorways, one of which opens north into the above-mentioned street, and leads into a space occupied by three communicating rooms (Nos. 152, 158 and 160). No. 152 measures 6.60×3.50 m., No. 158 measure 1.60×8.60 m., and No. 160 measures 9.10×3.50 m. At the eastern extremity of the latter room are many traces of fire-making. The second doorway opens east in the girdle-wall of the city, which at this point forms the eastern façade of the house. This entrance, which is 0.95 m. wide, leads into an ante-chamber measuring 2.30×4.30 m. (No. 163), communicating with a passage 9.0 m. long, and 1.30 m. wide, (No. 162), which runs at right angles to it. At the north-west end of this passage is a doorway leading to a large room measuring 3.0×8.40 m. (No. 159), and communicating with the north-eastern hall (No. 160), by means of a doorway in its north-western corner. It also communicates with a further suite of five rooms by means of another doorway situated in its western wall. At the southern extremity of the above-mentioned passage is a doorway leading to yet another passage (No. 161) having the same measurements as the first. This latter passage turns to the right and leads to two small rooms lying to the north and south of it, and still partly hidden under the modern cemetery. It also eventually leads to an entrance hall on the south-west, which in turn gives access to a large room also on the south-west, and still partially hidden under the cemetery. From the north-west corner of this entrance-hall is a by-way running to the west, where it joins the main street of the city at right angles.

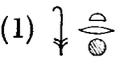
Some of the walls of this house still bear the remains of mural decoration in the form of horizontal bands of black, white and red paint, while others are merely whitewashed or painted black. Further excavation at this part is impossible owing to the presence of the modern cemetery; therefore at this point we decided to make a sondage within the boundary of the cemetery in order to ascertain, if possible, how far the city extended below the modern graves. The first trench made revealed mud-brick buildings at a depth of only 2.0 m., the fabric of the walls being saturated with infiltrated water. Numerous fragments of granite and potsherds of rough, and red-polished ware also came to light. A further test, a little to the south-west of the previous one, produced the same results. Innumerable potsherds were scattered in the debris, from which we also recovered fragments of a fine diorite plate. These tests afforded clear proof of the presence of ancient buildings extending for a considerable distance below the Moslem cemetery.

When our diggings began to approach towards the boundaries of this burial-ground, we were forced to erect limestone retaining walls in order to prevent falls of sand from damaging the graves. In spite of our precautions however, the villagers begged us, as they had previously entreated Dr. Reisner (when he attempted to clear this neighbourhood) to respect their cemetery. Therefore, it was decided that the best course to adopt in order to satisfy both the villagers and the claims of science, was to search out a new piece of ground that did not cover any ancient monuments, and present it to the villagers as a new burial-ground and at the same time to transfer the existing interments thereto. We should then have been enabled to follow out the entire extent of the pyramid city. This course was agreed to by the Department of Public Health and the village notables. Accordingly, we set some men to work to make a sondage at a spot chosen by the Department of Public Health, (which lay a little to the south of the thick stone girdle-wall) in order to ascertain if this part contained any antiquities. After the removal of nearly 3·0 m. of fine sand, we came upon a clay pavement, averaging between 30·0 and 40·0 cm., in thickness, which was laid upon a bed of limestone rubble. This, of course, proved the existence of ancient monuments, so that spot had to be abandoned. The workmen were transferred to another site, lying more to the south-west in order to make a fresh trial there. This particular spot proved to be free of antiquities, but as a precaution, the men made another test of the ground lying about 300 m., to the south of the stone girdle-wall. After digging down through the sand to a depth of over 6·0 m., they came upon the remains of mud-brick walls, coated with a layer of yellow plaster. A further attempt was made to the south of the Valley-Temple of Men-kaw-Ra', but at a depth of about 6·0 m., a layer of wet, yellow substance appeared. Another trial was made in a spot a further 400 m., south of the stone girdle-wall, and here water appeared at a depth of 4·0 m. Fifty metres further west the men again dug down through the sand, but here also, mud-brick walls appeared. Another sondage was made between the stone girdle-wall and the Coptic cemetery, and at a depth of 4·50 m., a pavement came to light. Therefore the men shifted to a spot lying further south, and after digging down only 1·0 m., they located some badly-damaged skeletons lying in the sand. Two of the best-preserved of them were lying on their backs, with their heads to the south-east, and their faces upwards; the right hand resting upon the right thigh, and the left one placed upon the pelvis. Below these remains was a layer of debris about 6·0 m., deep and below that, a layer of sand. At a depth of 9·0 m. water appeared.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS RECOVERED FROM THE PYRAMID CITY

The following objects were recovered from the debris filling the rooms of the pyramid city, that is to say, they were discovered actually *inside* the house ruins. These objects which were discovered in the streets, etc., will be dealt with in their proper places:—

- (1) A fragment of a diorite plate.
- (2) A small copper tool.
- (3) A damaged granite grindstone. Length: 21·5 cm. Breadth: 14·5 cm. (Pl. XVI, A).
- (4) A flint implement.

- (5) An alabaster model vase, found in a pit sunk below the floor of a room. Height : 6.9 cm. (Pl. XVI, B).
- (6) With the above-mentioned vase was also an alabaster model cup. Diam. : 6.3 cm. (Pl. XVI, C).
- (7) A lenticular flask of brown-ware with a short narrow neck, flanked by two unpierced lugs. Height : 9.0 cm. It was found in a second pit sunk in the floor of the same room as mentioned above (Pl. XVI, D).
- (8) A small, spouted jug of red-polished ware, with a wide, flaring mouth and a flat base. Height : 17.5 cm. Diam. of mouth : 10.5 cm. (Pl. XVI, E).
- (9) A damaged ring-stand of red-ware. Height : 20.0 cm. (Pl. XVI, F).
- (10) A badly damaged ring-stand of red-ware (Pl. XVI, G).
- (11) A fragment of a blue faience ushabti figure (Pl. XVII, D).
- (12) A small scarab of blue faience. The underside is modelled to represent the natural beetle, and is provided with a small suspension ring.
- (13) An obsidian amulet representing the index and middle fingers.
- (14) A shallow bowl of brown-ware. Height : 6.8 cm. Diam. : 22.5 cm. (Pl. XVII, E)
- (15) A flint implement. Length : 13.0 cm.
- (16) Three flint implements. Length : 10.0, 12.0, and 7.8 cm.
- (17) A green faience heart-amulet. Height : 2.5 cm. (Pl. XVII, B).
- (18) A curiously-shaped object of limestone. Dim. : 11.0 × 6.5 cm. (Pl. XVII, A).
- (19) Two fragments from the panel and lower lintel of a false-door of white limestone. On the upper part is a representation of the deceased seated upon a chair. He wears a curled wig, a false beard, a broad necklace, and a short, tight kilt. His left hand rests closed upon his lap, while his right one is extended towards an offering-table set before him. Above the offering-table is a horizontal row of large hieroglyphs, reading : →
 Below the table are inscriptions relating to the kind and quantity of provisions offered. The lower lintel bore two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, of which the remaining signs read : ← (1)  "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs . . ." (2)  "Great of the Ten of Upper Egypt, He Who is in Front of the Throne . . ." Below are the extreme upper ends of the left-hand inner and outer jambs, bearing the signs : ↓ (1)  "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs . . ." (2)  "Maa't" (Pl. XVII, H).

- (20) An alabaster model plate. Diam. : 6.0 cm. (Pl. XVII, F).
- (21) A small cup of blue faience. Height : 2.0 cm. Diam. : 10.0 cm. (Pl. XVII, G).
- (22) A spouted jug of red-polished ware with a wide mouth, straight neck, and flat base. Height : 18.0 cm. Diam. : 10.0 cm. (Pl. XVII, C).
- (23) A basalt object, which seems to have been used as a pulley. Similar objects were found in the pyramid-complex of Men-kaw-Ra' ⁽¹⁾. Length : 24.0 cm. Breadth : 18.0 cm. (Pls. XVIII, A and B).
- (24) Four small, flat objects of bone, decorated with incised lines. Maximum length : 3.6 cm. Breadth : 1.5 cm.
- (25) Two small fragments of an alabaster statuette.
- (26) A fragment of a limestone plate.
- (27) A fine vase of red-polished ware with a wide mouth, a collared neck, oval body and pointed base. Height : 21.5 cm. Diam. : 12.0 cm.
- (28) A potsherd of brown-ware that has been purposely smoothed at the edges ; for what purpose, is not clear. Dim. : 9.7 × 6.5 cm.
- (29) A damaged jug of red-ware. Height : 12.0 cm. Diam. : 14.5 cm. (Pl. XVIII, C).
- (30) A damaged ovoid jug of red-ware. Height : 15.0 cm. Diam. : 14.0 cm. (Pl. XVIII, D).
- (31) Two fragments of flint implements : (A) Length : 8.0 cm., breadth : 4.0 cm., (B) Length : 14.5 cm., breadth : 5.0 cm. (Pl. XIX, J).
- (32) Four flint implements.
- (33) A conical object of black clay.
- (34) A rectangular piece of black basalt, perhaps used as a weight (?). Dims. : 1.5 × 2.0 × 1.0 cm.
- (35) A small bowl of red-painted ware. Height : 4.0 cm. Diam. : 7.5 cm.
- (36) An alabaster grindstone.
- (37) A flint implement. Length : 13.0 cm.
- (38) A damaged pot of red-painted ware.

⁽¹⁾ REISNER "Mycerinus", p. 272, Pl. A. 6.

- (39) Fragments of limestone vases.
- (40) A spouted jug of red-painted ware.
- (41) Fragments of alabaster vases.
- (42) A small limestone figure of a crouching animal.
- (43) A limestone model jar.
- (44) Fragments of a flint implement.
- (45) A fragment of a diorite vessel.
- (46) Part of a rectangular slate object.
- (47) Two small pots of rough red-ware.
- (48) The upper part of a three-handled pot.
- (49) Three flint implements.
- (50) Fragments of limestone, diorite and alabaster vases.
- (51) A small kohl-pot of white limestone.
- (52) A small oval seal of brown faience. It has an incised ornamental design on both sides.
- (53) A damaged jar of red-painted ware.
- (54) Fourteen flint implements.
- (55) A small rectangular weight.

The following objects were recovered from the debris, while we were engaged in clearing the southern street of the city:—

- (1) A limestone head-rest of the solid, or "pillow" type.
- (2) A limestone head-rest, similar to the above. Height: 15.0 cm.
- (3) A damaged clay seal bearing the cartouche of King Khwfw and some illegible hieroglyphs. Length: 3.9 cm. Breadth: 3.2 cm.
- (4) A similar seal to the above, but bearing a device of crossed lines in place of an inscription.
- (5) A fragment of a decorated vase of brown-ware. Dim.: 12.0 × 6.0 cm.
- (6) Several flint implements.

The following objects were found during the clearance of the northern street of the pyramid city :—

- (1) A flint implement. Length : 9·5 cm.
- (2) Five more flint implements, found near to the above-mentioned ones.
- (3) Fragments of a diorite vase.
- (4) Fifteen flint implements of various sizes.
- (5) A fragment of polished alabaster.
- (6) An ingot of copper.
- (7) A fragment of alabaster.
- (8) Fragments of alabaster smoothed on all edges. Probably they were used as “ dogs ” for playing “ siga ” (Pl. XIX, B, C).
- (9) Fragments of an alabaster slab, the surface of which was divided into squares by means of incised lines (Pl. XIX, A).
- (10) A fragment of the leg of a granite statue. Height : 31·5 cm.
- (11) A torso of a limestone statuette. It represented a man in a standing attitude, and clad in a short kilt with a side-wrap. Height : 14·0 cm. Breadth : 9·5 cm. (Pl. XVIII, E).

LATER INTRUSIVE BURIALS

One of the most definite proofs that the pyramid-city never revived after its dissolution in the First-Dark Age, following the collapse of the Old Kingdom, is the presence of many late intrusive burials. Some of these occur in the high mounds of wind-borne sand covering the town ruins, and are of a much more recent date, while others occur at a low level, many burial-pits being constructed in the actual fabric of the walls and floors of the houses. Most of these burials had been plundered, but with one exception, those remaining intact appeared to be the remains of poor persons, who were either buried without any funerary equipment or were possessed of but a few paltry objects of little value. It is significant that the interior of the Valley-Temple of Queen Khent-kawes is entirely free from these late burials, although they occur frequently in the near vicinity outside the temple walls. This seems to suggest that the Temple was in constant use, at a comparatively late date, perhaps until the Saitic Period (?).

The earlier of these interments, that is to say, those occurring at the lowest levels, are of two types : (a) Extended burials in shallow oval or rectangular pits. (b) Contracted burials in

small oval or rectangular pits. In neither type does the body appear to have been enclosed in a coffin. Some examples of contracted burials are as follows :—

- (1) Shaft No. 644 is sunk in the floor of a room in the pyramid city. It has a burial-chamber on the north, the entrance to which was closed by two large limestone slabs. The skeleton lay on the floor, contracted upon its left side, with its head to the north and its face to the east.
- (2) A mud-brick chamber constructed in the wall of the northern street, opposite to the mastaba of Irew. It is roofed with limestone slabs which are set in a peculiar, sloping manner, the high end of one slab alternating with the low end of its neighbours. The skeleton was contracted on its left side, and lay with the head to the north and the face east.
- (3) A series of shafts constructed against the façades of the rock-cut tombs, lying immediately to the north of the Fourth Pyramid. They all consist of shallow pits terminating in small burial-chambers. The skeletons contained in them were all smashed up by plunderers, and scattered in disorder ; but from the small size of the burial-chambers, we may assume that they lay in a contracted position.
- (4) In the sand and debris lying to the east and west of the pyramid was a series of shallow oval pits, all containing contracted burials, which had, however, been disturbed by plunderers.

The fact that these interments follow the ancient custom of arranging the corpse in a contracted position, does not necessarily denote that they date from the Old Kingdom, for it seems that many persons in later times preferred to retain the old, traditional type of burial. In some cases there is the possibility that economy may have dictated the size of the burial-pit, and, therefore, also the position of the skeleton.

Of the extended burials, the following may be cited as examples :—

- (1) At the south-eastern corner of the Fourth Pyramid is a shallow oval pit measuring $2.0 \times 0.50 \times 0.50$ m. dug in the mud deposits. It contained a skeleton extended upon its back, with the head to the west, and the hands placed at the sides. The corpse was covered by a thin layer of mud-plaster crudely decorated with bands of red, yellow and green paint.
- (2) In the southern girdle-wall of the city is a rectangular pit measuring $1.65 \times 0.50 \times 0.15$ m. deep, containing a skeleton extended upon its back with the head to the north and the face to the east. The hands were placed upon the thighs.
- (3) Near to the above was another pit, oval in shape, and measuring $1.95 \times 0.45 \times 0.20$ m. deep, sunk in the debris. It contained a skeleton extended upon its back, with the head to the north and the face upwards. The right hand was placed upon the pelvis, and the left one at the side.

- (4) Another burial in the same spot consisted of an oval pit measuring $2.05 \times 0.80 \times 0.60$ m. containing a broken skeleton which had apparently been laid in the extended position, as can be gathered from the dimensions of the pit. With it were a white limestone kohl-vase, and a faience seal.
- (5) In the high sand covering the area south of the Fourth Pyramid were a group of mummies dating from the Roman Period, two of which were in a very fragile condition, and were covered by a wafer-thin layer of sheet-gold, also in a very fragmentary condition. On one body, the eyes and nose were covered by thin plates of embossed sheet-gold imitating these organs (Pl. XX, A).
- (6) A third mummy was that of a young girl. It was covered with a thin layer of plaster modelled to represent the dead girl clad in the costume of that period, and bore traces of gilding (Pl. XXI). The body, with the exception of the head, which was badly decayed, was in a good state of preservation, and was extended upon the back with the hands folded upon the breast. As in the former example, the eyes and nose were covered with thin plates of gold, while golden plates also covered the nipples and the navel (Pl. XX, B). The following objects were found either actually upon the body, or fallen in the sand beside it:— (see Pl. XX, B)
- (a) Two small rectangular emeralds.
- (b) Two oval garnets.
- (c) One oval carnelian.
- (d) Forty-one cylindrical gold beads.
- (e) A gold ring set with a square blister pearl.
- (f) Two wide bracelets of thin gold, slightly convex on their outer surface.
- (g) A small oval onyx gem, the markings of which resemble an eye.
- (h) Two peridots bearing roughly-cut intaglio devices, one of which represents Horus the Child rising from a lotus-flower, and the characters $\begin{array}{c} I \text{ IIII} V \\ X \text{ H} \end{array}$ on the reverse.
- (i) A pair of gold earrings, the pendants of which consist of beads threaded upon a short rod.
- (j) A scrap of sheet-gold.
- (k) A large oval onyx gem.
- (l) A quantity of ebony beads. These were so fragile that they crumbled at a touch.
- (m) A quantity of wooden beads.
- (n) A bronze coin (see Pl. XX, B).

It seems strange that such a richly-equipped body should have been given such an apparently careless burial, without a proper tomb or even a coffin in order to protect the body. But this may have been done intentionally, and the body placed in direct contact with the warm, dry sand in order that it might be thus preserved. For sand was well-recognised by the Egyptians as a preservative agent. Doubtless the spectacle of the naturally-embalmed bodies of Pre-dynastic burials, dessicated by the dry sand in which they were laid, first opened the eyes of the Egyptians to this fact. And even after the development of the desert grave into the rock-hewn or masonry burial-chamber, we find numerous examples of bodies that were laid upon a layer of clean, sifted sand spread upon the floor of the chamber and taking the place of a sarcophagus. This belief in the importance of sand to the welfare of the dead body, later finds an echo in the formula inscribed upon ushabti figures, in which the deceased charges the ushabti to act as a substitute for him in undertaking any fatiguing tasks he may be called upon to perform in the Other World and ends by specially mentioning the clause of "bringing the sand of this east to the west" (1). The meaning of this reference to the transport of sand, following, as it usually does, the mention of tasks of a clearly agricultural type, appears to have escaped notice. But there seems to be little doubt that it refers to the practice of placing the dead (who are, of course, in the west, the general situation of the necropoli) in large or small quantities of sand. And this explanation also gives meaning to an otherwise senseless task of transporting sand to the west, an action which in Egypt is truly a case of "carrying coals to Newcastle"! It may also be remarked that the ushabties themselves were often laid in the sand, from whence we recovered literally hundreds of specimens during the course of our excavations (*see* p. 32).

On the other hand, Petrie has found similar mummies under identical conditions, and is of the opinion that they are those bodies which in later times were kept above ground in the houses of their surviving relatives. After some years they became shabby and damaged, and were handed over to the undertakers to be buried in any convenient spot (2).

In addition to the above-mentioned examples, there were countless other intrusive burials in this area, (without counting those later mummies which were literally stacked in piles in the chapels and burial-chambers of plundered Old Kingdom tombs). But most of these had been so thoroughly rifled by tomb-robbers (or possibly by dogs and jackals) that the details of the interments were no longer discernable.

A RESUMÉ OF THE HISTORY OF THE PYRAMID CITY

To briefly sum up the history of the Pyramid city, we may safely repeat that it was built at the same time as the erection of the Fourth Pyramid, that is to say, at the end of the Fourth, or beginning of the Fifth Dynasty (about 2750 B.C.); and it probably continued to flourish, until the break-up of the royal power at the end of the Sixth Dynasty. The city was then abandoned to the mercy of the sands, which soon covered it; and the southern and western parts,

(1) BUDGE, "*Book of the Dead*", Ch. VI, p. 54.

(2) PETRIE, "*Roman Portraits*", pp. 2, 3.

at least, were never re-occupied. This can be proved by four facts : (1) The rooms of the houses in these parts contained fragments of smashed statuary and stone vessels, probably flung there during the violation of the Necropolis. Had the houses been re-occupied after this time, such useless rubbish would have been thrown out of the rooms. (2) There is no sign of even a second level of building, which is such a notable feature of brick-built sites that were inhabited during successive periods. Certainly some of the houses in the eastern quarter of the city show clear traces of re-building, but this may be due to the fact that they were more accessible from the valley. On the other hand, it is possible that this later re-building occurred some time towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty, during the period when the city was still flourishing. (3) A study of the lists of small antiquities found in and around the city, reveals that the only objects to which we may safely ascribe a domestic character are definitely of Old Kingdom date ; while the later objects are all of a funerary nature, in many instances appertaining to intrusive burials. (4) The presence of late burials in the actual fabric of the walls and floors, proves conclusively that these houses were at that time unoccupied by the living.

THE VALLEY-TEMPLE OF QUEEN KHENT-KAWES

INTRODUCTION

At the end of our fourth season's work we came across a large rectangular basin, constructed of limestone blocks and rubble (Pl. XXII, A). The presence of this basin naturally suggested to us the presence of a Valley-Temple, for it was the third tank that we had discovered in this area. Two were accounted for, one belonging to the pyramid-chapel, and the other to the city; therefore this third basin should be attached to a Valley-Temple. A further clue was afforded by the causeway which runs from the Pyramid-chapel due east, and then turns at right angles, continuing in a southern direction, where it merges into a wide, brick-paved causeway running up from the valley. This latter causeway leads directly to the spot where the basin is situated. It was clear then, that the temple must lie in the immediate vicinity.

It may here be mentioned that the whole site occupied by the Valley-Temple of Queen Khentkawes was thickly encumbered by a huge mound of sand and debris, the removal of which was indeed a formidable task. (Pl. XIX, E) shows the northern end of this sand-heap and gives some idea of the task our men performed. During the clearance of this vast mass, many interesting objects came to light, as well as untold quantities of stone fragments representing smashed vases and statuary, and of course, the inevitable quantity of potsherds. In the higher layers of sand were some skeletons representing burials of the later period (*see* p. 48). These interments are a proof of the traditional holiness of the site, although at the time they were placed there, the Temple was already buried deep under the engulfing sands.

The following list enumerates the objects we recovered from this spot:—

- (1) A fragment of the torso of a schist statuette of a king (Pl. XXII, B).
- (2) A copper dagger with the point broken off. Present length: 16·0 cm. (Pl. XXII, C).
- (3) Two copper tools. Length: 6·3 and 5·0 cm. respectively (Pl. XXII, C). These tools and the above-mentioned dagger were found with a skeleton which lay in a pit dug in the rubble. The pit measured about 1·50 × 0·80 × 0·40 m., and the skeleton lay on its left side, in a contracted position, with the head north and the face to the east.
- (4) Three stone grinders, showing clear traces of continual use.
- (5) Two cylindrical beads of blue faience.
- (6) A blue faience amulet in the form of a seated hawk crowned with the "Atef" diadems. It is probably to be considered as a form of the god Horus. The figure is beautifully made, and full of fine detail. The plumage is minutely rendered, while the fierce expression of the bird's face is most life-like. Height: 3·5 cm.
- (7) An alabaster model vessel. Diam.: 5·0 cm.
- (8) A damaged ushabti figure of blue faience. Height: 7·5 cm. Breadth: 3·5 cm.

- (9) A jug of red-ware having a long neck with a straight-sided mouth, a long narrow spout, a curved handle, and a flat base. Height : 26·0 cm. Diam. : 23·5 cm.
- (10) A fragment from a hand of a black granite statue.
- (11) A vase of red-ware with a rolled-rimmed mouth, a short, narrow neck, swelling body and a flat base. Height : 29·5 cm. Diam. : 15·0 cm.
- (12) An amuletic figure of blue faience, representing a cat and her three kittens. Height : 3·4 cm. Length : 2·8 cm. Breadth : 1·0 cm. (Pl. XXIII, B).
- (13) A divine eye of blue faience. Dim. : 1·8×1·3 cm. (Pl. XXIII, A).
- (14) A badly disfigured face of a limestone statue. Length : 15·5 cm. Breadth : 11·7 cm.
- (15) A divine eye of lapis lazuli. Dim. : 1·7×1·0 cm.
- (16) An amuletic figure representing the goddess Sekhmet (or perhaps Bastet ?) holding a sistrum. The legs are missing (Pl. XXIII, C).
- (17) A blue faience seal in the form of a frog. It is very nicely modelled, and on the flat base is incised the following group of hieroglyphs :  *B'h-k3-nfr*. Height : 2·5 cm. Diam. : 2·3 cm. (Pl. XXIII, D).
- (18) Some fragments of painted pottery.
- (19) A charming little amuletic figure of faience representing the god Maḥes. He is shown in the form of a lion-headed man in a walking attitude, and is resting his chin upon his two hands. Height : 4·0 cm. Breadth : 1·5 cm. (Pl. XXIII, E).
- (20) A glass bead striped with black and white (Pl. XXIII, F).
- (21) A rectangular bead of blue faience, decorated with incised crossed lines (Pl. XXIII, G).
- (22) A small gaming-piece of blue faience. Height : 1·0 cm. Diam. : 1·5 cm. (Pl. XXIV, B).
- (23) A glass bead coloured black and yellow.
- (24) Fragments of the head of an alabaster statue.
- (25) The head of a limestone statuette of a woman. She is represented wearing a short, plaited wig, parted in the centre, beneath which can be seen the fringe of her natural hair. The nose is missing, and the whole head is badly bruised. Height : 9·0 cm. Breadth : 11·0 cm. (Pl. XXIV, A).
- (26) A thick-walled pot of red-ware. The outside is roughly finished, but the inside has been carefully smoothed. It was used as a mould for baking loaves of bread in. Height : 16·0 cm. Diam. : 15·5 cm.
- (27) A clay jar-stopper.
- (28) A fragment of a thick-walled diorite vase.

- (29) A globular pot of red-ware, with a wide, rolled-rimmed mouth, very short neck, and round base (Pl. XXIV, C).
- (30) A crystal eye set in a copper frame. It was doubtless originally set in the head of a statue.
- (31) A globular pot of red-ware, similar to the one mentioned above.
- (32) Four flint implements.
- (33) A black granite grindstone.

As the sand was cleared away, an area covered with mud deposits was revealed. On cleaning the surface of this area, we found that the mud was intersected, as in the city buildings, by regular lines of yellow plaster, marking the extent of the walls, which were built of mud-brick, and coated with the same kind of plaster as that previously described (p. 35).

By employing the same methods which had proved to be so successful in the case of the city ruins, we were able to clear out the chambers and lay bare the exact plan of the building (*see* Fig. 1).

SITUATION

The Valley-Temple lies at the south-eastern corner of a vast open area bounded on the north and east by the girdle-wall of the city. Access to this courtyard is gained by means of a broad causeway running westwards from the valley and lying between a thick mud-brick wall attached to the Valley-Temple, and the southern girdle-wall of the city. It continues up the whole breadth of the eastern side of the Valley-Temple of King Men-kaw-Ra', another point which suggests a close relationship between these two Rulers.

THE WASHING-TENT OF QUEEN KHENT-KAWES

Lying before the façade of the valley-temple, a little to the north-west of its main entrance, is a rectangular mud-brick building measuring 6·05×3·10 m., and direct east-west. Against the middle of its western wall is a platform, or bench, of mud-brick. This building was the inner cell of the washing-tent, where the corpse of the Queen received its initial purification before entering the sacred territory of the necropolis on its way to the embalming-house (1). The bench may be the place where the instruments of the purificatory-priests and the offering were arranged; and it is significant that the debris filling this chamber contained many fragments of stone vessels, potsherds and flint instruments. But the interesting point about it, and the one which seems to clearly indicate its original purpose, is that in the floor is the opening of a limestone drain which runs downwards under the ground for a distance of 7·20 m., and empties into a large, rectangular basin on the north. In addition to being neatly cut from white limestone slabs, the drain is furthermore covered by arched sections of the same material, the whole forming an almost circular stone pipe. This, though by no means the oldest subterranean water-channel known in Egyptian funerary architecture, is, I believe, the earliest of this particular type and construction.

(This question will be dealt with in detail in p. 93.

The basin in which this drain terminates lies at a distance of about 30·0 m. from the façade of the Valley-Temple (Pls. XXII, A and XXIV, D).

It is large, rectangular in form, and descends in three stages. (This form is the original of the small model basins we so frequently meet within and around the tombs of the Old Kingdom). The two upper stages are constructed of rubble, thickly coated with the usual hard, yellow plaster, while the lowest stage is constructed of five stepped courses of local limestone masonry. The basin measures 1·60 × 9·68 m. at its upper edge, and 0·80 × 8·80 m. at the bottom. From its filling of sand and debris we recovered the following objects:—

- (1) Two small pots of rough red-ware.
- (2) The upper part of a large vase of red-ware.
- (3) Three flint implements.
- (4) Many fragments of statuary and stone vessels, of diorite, alabaster and limestone.

THE TEMPLE WELL

Behind the brick-cell and west of the valley-temple lies a well, the sides of which are of rubble on the north and east, and of enormous blocks of limestone on the south and west. According to Dr. Reisner, these blocks of limestone mark the north-western end of the platform of the Valley-Temple of King Men-kaw Ra'. This well was probably also constructed by him, and afterwards utilized by Khent-kawes.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE VALLEY-TEMPLE

As before mentioned, the Valley-Temple of Queen Khent-kawes shows a strong resemblance to that of King Men-kaw-Ra' which adjoins it on the south-west. The two buildings show several points of similarity in plan, and both are built of mud-brick supplemented in parts by white limestone and alabaster.

The main entrance to the Queen's temple opens north, a very unusual orientation for an Old Kingdom Valley-Temple, which are usually entered from the east. It would almost seem as though the Queen had deliberately reversed the accepted order of the royal funerary architecture of her time, by designing her pyramid to open east instead of north, and her Valley-Temple to open north instead of east! However, there may be a practical reason for this seeming eccentricity on her part, for as the modern Moslem cemetery extends right up to the eastern wall of the Temple, we cannot say what lay in this spot, beyond the traces of further buildings revealed by our sondages there. It may well be that a pyramid city of Men-kaw-Ra' existed here, and thus made an eastern entrance to the Khent-kawes Temple impractical.

There is also a southern entrance to this Temple, which opens into the wide street bounding the Valley-Temple of Men-kaw-Ra' on the south.

The Main Entrance (Pl. XXIV, D).

The main entrance is approached by means of a wide brick-paved causeway which runs up from the valley in a westerly direction. At some time after its original construction, this causeway

had been re-paved, and a thick layer of limestone rubble was laid down as a foundation for the new paving. The doorway was embellished by a spacious portico, which was upheld by two columns. The limestone drums of these columns are still in position, but the shafts, which may possibly have been of wood, have vanished. The floor was paved with white limestone, and the walls were whitewashed (*see* Plan, No. 201).

THE DOORWAY

The doorway, which is situated in the centre of the southern wall of the portico, presents an interesting feature, for at the base of the inner side of its western jamb we discovered the pedestal and feet of a diorite statue, bearing the Horus and njswt-bity names of Khafra'. It measures 33·0 × 29·0 × 11·0 cm. and was undoubtedly one example from the splendid series of diorite statues representing that King. But the strange fact is that the fragment, clearly broken in antiquity, was employed as a socket-stone for the wooden door which once closed this entrance (Pl. XXV, A). This can be proved by the presence of a well-worn depression which exists in the instep of the left foot. It is extremely unlikely that this act of vandalism was committed at the time of the original building of the Temple. The Queen seems to have entertained a reverent regard for the kings of the Fourth Dynasty, as we may gather from the fact that she chose to be buried in their necropolis. Therefore, we must assign the making of this door-socket to a later date, probably to the time when the Temple was re-employed as a dwelling-place. From it, we can catch a glimpse of the troublous times which followed swiftly upon the downfall of the Sixth Dynasty, for this shattered statue is an evidence of the furious vandalism of the enraged workers of the necropoli, who, finding their allowances diverted, and faced with starvation, turned against the memory of the kings they had once served, and pillaged the very tombs they had previously helped to construct and guard. Carrying off all the valuables they could lay their hands upon, they smashed up everything that had no market value, was useless to them, or was too heavy to be moved easily. Especially did they vent their rage upon the statues of the dead, hoping in this way to take vengeance upon the Kas of their owners. This pedestal, as well as countless other fragments of statues which we found scattered over the entire necropolis, proved only too well how thorough these rebels were in their campaign of destruction.

The Vestibule (Pl. XXVI, A) (*see* Plan, No. 202).

The doorway opens into a vestibule, the roof of which was supported upon four columns. As in the case of those upholding the portico, the drums of these columns, which are alabaster, and measure 1·0 m. in diameter, remain in place upon the floor; while the shafts have disappeared⁽¹⁾. The walls were coated with yellow plaster, upon which was laid a pleasing decoration of simple colour-washes, the upper parts being whitewashed, while the lower parts were adorned by a black dado relieved by a red border at the top. These colours were well-preserved upon the western wall, and some rather faint traces of them remained upon the eastern one. This eastern wall consists of three separate layers. Firstly, there is an inner wall

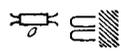
⁽¹⁾ Cf. the vestibule of the Valley-Temple of Men-kaw-Ra'. REISNER "Mycerinus", p. 40.

measuring about 1.0 m. thick and bearing on its inner surface the coloured decoration just referred to. This is reinforced by a massive wall 2.0 m. thick, which in its turn abuts directly on to the eastern girdle-wall of the pyramid city.

A somewhat similar state of affairs exists on the western side of the vestibule, where the painted wall, measuring nearly 1.0 m. thick, is backed by another one, which measures 2.0 m. in thickness. Behind this latter wall is a long corridor which will be described later.

OBJECTS DISCOVERED IN THE VESTIBULE

One of the many interesting finds which we made in this part of the Temple was an incense-burner in the form of a limestone column, the top of which was hollowed out to form the brazier (Pl. XXVI, A). And by a strange and fortunate chance, we even recovered some round pellets of the ancient incense which was burned in it. A piece of this incense which we burned as an experiment gave off a distinct and pleasant perfume, despite the long ages it had remained buried in the debris of the Temple. Other objects found included:—

- (1) The middle part of a fine schist statuette of a king, possibly Khafra'. He was represented as seated upon a solid square throne, his hands resting upon his lap, the left one open and palm downwards, and the right one clenched upon the unknown, cylindrical object. The muscles of the arms are beautifully rendered, while those of the legs are somewhat conventionalized. Although the upper part of the statuettes is lacking, as well as the feet and pedestal, yet the fact that the man is represented wearing the pleated shindyt kilt, is sufficient to prove that it is a royal statuette, as during the Old Kingdom, the shindyt was a garment peculiar to kings. Existing height: 6.5 cm. Length: 7.5 cm. Breadth: 5.0 cm (Pl. XXV, B).
- (2) The body of a schist statuette of a sphinx. It is a great misfortune that this fine specimen was so badly damaged, as it presents a very uncommon feature. Contrary to the usual custom of depicting sphinxes in the round as couchant, this one was certainly represented in a standing posture, the forelegs firmly planted out in front, and the belly well clear of the base. Perhaps it was originally shown as trampling upon prostrate enemies of Egypt, a motif often seen in relief sculpture, but never, so far as I am aware, in the round. Existing height: 11 cm. Length: 22.0 cm. Breadth: 10.0 cm. (Pl. XXVI, B).
- (3) An inscribed fragment of diorite bearing the signs:  'd-mr "Nome-administrator".
Dim.: 13.0×8.0×3.0 cm. (Pl. XXVII, B).
- (4) A small fragment of the pedestal of a diorite statuette, inscribed with the signs: 
Dim.: 7.0×7.0×2.0 cm.
- (5) A small fragment of diorite inscribed with the Horus-name and cartouche of King Khafra' (Pl. XXVII, A).
- (6) The base and feet of a seated statuette of a man. It is of white limestone, painted, and traces of red colour still remain upon the feet.

- (7) A limestone model vessel with a single handle. Height: 5.5 cm. Diam.: 8.0 cm. (Pl. XXVIII, B).
- (8) Three flint knives and a flint saw.
- (9) A fragment of an alabaster slab which originally bore an inscription inlaid with blue and green paste. Only the signs  now remain.
- (10) A fragment from the arm of an alabaster statue. There were also found great quantities of potsherds and fragments of stone vessels.

In the centre of the southern wall of the vestibule is another doorway situated on the same axis as the main entrance, and like the latter, flanked by rectangular pilasters. It is provided with a limestone threshold which takes a triangular form on its inner or southern side.

The Court (see Plan, No. 206).

The above-mentioned doorway gives access to a court measuring about 10.50 × 9.9 m. and sloping a little from east to west. It is paved with mud-brick, and has a pathway formed of a double row of limestone slabs measuring about 1.30 m. wide, by 11.50 m. long. This pathway commences at the triangular threshold of the doorway and crosses the court diagonally to the south-west corner of the wall. At this point it disappears under the wall and terminates on the other side in the vestibule of the Valley-Temple of King Men-kaw-Ra'. This would suggest a communicating doorway between the two temples, though at the time of excavation an examination of the wall in this part failed to reveal any trace of such an opening. Recently, however, heavy rains have caused part of the wall to collapse at this place, and the damage has revealed the fact that an entrance did actually exist here, and has also explained why we were unable to trace it. It seems that the Queen's architect first bricked up the doorway in a normal manner. After completing this, he next thickened the wall by building against it another wall, two bricks thick, which entirely hid the first alteration. The rain-water having percolated down between the original wall and its thinner facing, caused the latter to collapse into the court, and thus revealed the vertical joint between the original door-jamb and the brick-work with which the entrance was blocked. It may be that the site now occupied by the temple of Khent-Kawes was at one time belonging to that of Men-kaw-Ra', and this limestone pathway led to its entrance. The Queen wishing to build her temple as close as possible to that of her father, occupied this space for her own use, and in so doing, closed the eastern entrance of the existing building. Of course, this is mere hypothesis, but it seems to be the only satisfactory explanation of the limestone pathway, which is otherwise meaningless. Dr. Reisner was also of the opinion that there was once a doorway at the spot where the pathway passes under the wall.

THE MAGAZINE

In the north-western corner of the court is a narrow doorway giving access to a magazine which runs the length of the vestibule and ends in the thickness of the portico. In later times

it was divided into three compartments, by means of thin mud-brick walls (Nos. 203, 204 and 205). In this magazine we discovered the following objects:—

- (1) Fourteen potsherds of red-ware, all of which were blackened by smoke, proving that they were at one time in actual domestic use. Probably they are the remains of the cooking-pots belonging to the people who subsequently employed the temple as a dwelling-place.
- (2) A limestone model jar, very roughly made, or perhaps unfinished. Height: 5.3 cm. Diam.: 2.5 cm.
- (3) A small fragment of local limestone bearing the sign  "Nefer".
- (4) Part of an alabaster offering-table. On it is a roughly-incised inscription, reading:  "... Her father, the King's Daughter (?)" This is followed by an incised representation of a woman seated upon a stool, which in some respects resembles the figures of Queen Khent-kawes appearing upon the red granite door-jamb (see Fig. 2 and Pl. V). There are also the signs:  . . .  . . .

The slab has obviously been re-employed, and traces of the original inscriptions can be discerned all over its surface. Dim.: 35.0 × 32.0 × 27.0 cm. (Pl. XXVII, C).

- (5) Sixteen circular pieces of potsherds of red-painted ware. They vary in diameter from 2.0 cm. to 1.0 cm. and seem to have been used as "dogs" for playing "siga" (see p. 39) (Pl. XXIX, A).
- (6) The head of a limestone statuette of a man. He wears a curled wig which covers the ears. The features are somewhat damaged, but are well-cut, and pleasant in expression. Height: 9.0 cm. (Pl. XXX, E).

THE CORRIDOR

Situated behind the eastern wall of the court is a corridor measuring about 2.80 m. wide and extending from the northern wall of the court, down the entire length of the Temple. It was probably originally intended to house the Queen's statues. This corridor seems to have had two entrances, according to the original plan, one at the northern extremity of the western wall, (which was afterwards bricked up), and another, measuring 1.60 m. wide, at the southern end of the same wall. A third doorway was made in later times at a spot about 6.0 m. south of the original northern one. Moreover, the corridor was divided into three chambers by means of thin walls constructed of mud-brick (Nos. 207, 208 and 12). The northern one measures 8.60 m. in length, the middle one measures 9.80 m.; while the southern one measures 11.40 m. long. Although the partition-walls of these chambers were certainly constructed at a later date than the building of the Temple, yet the fact that they were laid upon the original pavement of the corridor, proves that they were among the earliest of these subsequent constructions. Undoubtedly these alterations were made when the Temple began to be employed as a dwelling-place, and in this respect it is interesting to note that in many places the walls of the corridor are blackened by smoke from the

fires of the household hearths. Moreover, many of the objects recovered from the filling of this spot are of a distinctly domestic character, as the following list will show :—

- (1) A jar of brown-ware, painted white. It has a wide mouth, a rolled rim, bulging shoulders and a pointed base. Height : 17·5 cm. Diam. : 7·0 cm. (Pl. XXIX, B) ⁽¹⁾.
- (2) A pot of red-ware, having a wide, rolled-rimmed mouth, and a tapering, rounded base. Height : 17·0 cm. (Pl. XXIX, C).
- (3) Twelve flint implements.
- (4) Two damaged drinking-bowls of red-ware, with recurved rims to fit the drinker's lips, and rounded bases. They both measure 7·5 cm. in height (Pl. XXIX, D).
- (5) A fragment of an alabaster statue, and a great quantity of potsherds.

THE LATER DWELLINGS

The existing southern wall of the court is certainly not the original one, but is a later, flimsy construction ; and behind it, that is to say, to the south, lies a maze of later walls forming a conglomeration of mean hovels which probably served as habitations for the very poor people, or the low-class workers in the necropoli (Pl. XXVIII, A, and XXXI). Moreover, this human "warren" must have been inhabited for a very considerable period, as at least two distinct layers of dwellings were found there, some of the walls being built upon the original pavement of the Temple, while others are laid upon thick beds of rubbish and debris, so that in some cases the floors of the rooms were as much as 60·0 cm. higher than the original pavement. Strangely enough, with the exception of the magazine and corridor referred to above, the northern part of the Temple, that is to say, the vestibule and the court, does not seem to have been lived in. Therefore, it may be that the mortuary services of the Queen were carried on here after the remainder of the Temple had been occupied. Support is lent to this theory by the presence of the incense-burner described on p. 56 and more especially by the pellets of incense, neither of which is likely to have remained *in situ* had the spot in which they were found, been inhabited. Neither does it seem possible that the dwellers in the crowded "warren" at the southern part of the Temple would have refrained from encroaching on to the northern part had they been allowed to do so. Furthermore, the dividing wall between these two parts is unbroken by a doorway, and even the northern end of the eastern corridor is barricaded off by an unpierced wall at the same level as that which crosses the court. Regarding the rooms constructed in this northern part of the corridor, as well as those made in the magazine, we may perhaps consider them as the dwelling-places of the priests who ministered in the Temple.

But all this is pure hypothesis, therefore let us return to the southern half of the Temple, and examining the irrefutable testimony of existing remains, see what facts we can deduce from it.

⁽¹⁾ Similar jars to this were found by Dr. Reisner in his excavations. He groups them under type VIII, and considers them characteristic of IVth and Vth Dynasties. ("Mycerinus", p. 214).

Dr. Reisner excavated a small part of this area which lay against the south-eastern corner of the Valley-Temple of Men-kaw-Ra', and being misled by the obvious domestic character of the structures, and naturally unaware of the existence of Queen Khent-kawes and her pyramid-complex, he formed the opinion that these remains were part of a pyramid city ⁽¹⁾.

One of salient points about these dwellings is the previously mentioned fact that they show clear evidence of successive occupation. This can be proved by the foundations of these walls, some few of which, such as those constructed in the corridor, are laid upon the original floor-level, while most of the other walls were set up on beds of rubbish and debris of decayed earlier constructions. The latter types are seen in Rooms Nos. 209, 210 and 211. No. 209 measures about $2.30 \times 2.30 \times 1.50$ m. and presents the peculiar feature of having no apparent doorway. It may be that an entrance existed in the now-vanished upper part of the walls, but even if this were so, its purpose is still obscure. It may perhaps have been constructed to serve as a serdab when the Temple was re-used in later times. The squints, would of course, have been situated in the higher part of the wall which has long since disappeared. Immediately to the south is Room No. 210, which measures 2.35×2.20 m. and has a floor which is raised 0.60 m. higher than the original ground level. A doorway in the eastern end of its southern wall communicates with Room No. 211, which has the same high floor-level, and measures 2.50×2.15 m. These two rooms clearly form one dwelling, but the position of their main entrance is not clear. In addition to the usual large collection of potsherds and fragments of alabaster, the following objects were recovered from the filling of these three chambers:—

- (1) A large jar with a wide mouth and bulging shoulders, almost identical with that found in the corridor (*see* p. 59 and Pl. XXIX, B). Height: 32.0 cm.
- (2) A small jar of brown-ware with a wide mouth and a rolled-rim, globular body and a flat base. Height: 16.5 cm. (Pl. XXX, A).
- (3) A small, flat-bottomed alabaster jar. Height: 5.0 cm. (Pl. XXX, B).
- (4) A fragment of a cylindrical alabaster vase, having an external rim and a flat base. Dim.: 12.0×11.0 cm. (Pl. XXX, C).
- (5) Six flint implements.
- (6) A small alabaster dish measuring 5.5 cm. in diameter.
- (7) A round button-seal very finely fashioned of brown limestone. It bears an incised decoration on its flat surface that has a faint suggestion of a swastika (Pl. XXX, D) ⁽²⁾.

To the south of these chambers lies Room No. 220. which measures 1.90×1.10 m. and communicates with the corridor-room No. 212 by means of a doorway 1.55 m. wide, which opens in its eastern wall. In the south-western corner of this small room we found a hand which had belonged to an alabaster statuette Dim.: 4.0×4.0 cm.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. "*Mycerinus*", p. 53. D.

⁽²⁾ NEWBERRY ("*Scarabs*," pp. 57-58) states that these "button-seals" were only used in Egypt for a limited period; between the VIth dyn. (or a little earlier) and the XIth dyn. This, then, fixes a limit to the age of the site in which they are found.

Immediately to the west of Rooms Nos. 209, 210 and 211, and extending down their combined lengths, is a long narrow chamber (Nos. 213 and 214) which was at one time subdivided by a thin wall, and which communicates with Room No. 216 by means of a doorway situated almost in the centre of its western wall. Another entrance seems to have existed in the extreme north-western corner of Room No. 213. No. 216 appears to have been an open courtyard resembling the "hoash" of a modern Egyptian house and in its north-western corner is the foundations of a small circular granary and a curiously-shaped enclosure. In the south-eastern corner is Room No. 215, which appears to have been entirely open on its western side, and may perhaps have served as a small stable. Immediately to the south is Room No. 218 in which is situated a remarkable structure consisting of four mud-brick walls running north-south, and placed so close together that only mere narrow slots exist between them, while at their southern end they merge together in a mass of solid brick-work. The purpose of this structure is quite obscure. Room No. 218 also seems to have been open on its western side. Rooms Nos. 223 and 226 communicate with each other, and belong to one of the later series of dwellings, as can be proved by the fact that the southern wall of No. 226 was erected on the ruins of two small circular granaries. These granaries measured about 1.0 m. in diameter, and the present height of their walls is about 0.60 m. Rooms No. 228 and 229 also communicate but their exterior entrance seems to have disappeared. No. 225 may have been a store-room. In its north-western corner are the foundations of these small granaries enclosed within mud-brick walls.

The remaining space lying between the above-mentioned dwelling and the thick wall of the southern street of the city seems to have been an open communal courtyard, and communicates with the said street by means of two doorways in its southern wall (No. 230). Opposite to the easternmost of these doorways is a large, circular granary, while a similar granary existed in the north-eastern end of the courtyard, part of the original thick wall of the eastern corridor of the Temple having been demolished in order to accommodate it. Both of these structures belong to a later series of dwellings, and were erected upon the debris of earlier buildings.

During the clearance of the above-mentioned chambers the following objects came to light:—

- (1) The lower part of a limestone statuette representing a woman seated upon a stool. The feet and pedestal are missing. On the left-hand front of the stool was a vertical row of incised hieroglyphs, the remaining signs of which read : . Height : 0.24 m. Breadth : 0.20 m.
- (2) A cylinder of brown pottery bearing a crude decoration of incised lines. It may have been a playing-piece for some game. Height : 3.0 cm. Diam. : 1.5 cm.
- (3) Twelve flint implements.
- (4) A limestone model representing a conical loaf of bread. Height : 3.3 cm.
- (5) The legs and stool of a limestone statuette. Height : 8.0 cm.
- (6) Three model vessels of alabaster.
- (7) A limestone model vase. Height : 8.5 cm.

- (8) A white limestone spindle-whorl. Diam. : 6·0 cm. Height : 3·0 cm.
- (9) A socket of dark stone (basalt ?) for the reception of an inlaid eye of a life-sized statue. Usually these eye-sockets were made of copper (Pl. XXXII, A).
- (10) The left foot and part of the pedestal of a pink granite statuette (Pl. XXXII, B).
- (11) Two drinking bowls of thin red-ware, one of which has a re-curved rim to fit the drinker's lips (Pl. XXXII, E).
- (12) Sixteen more flint implements.
- (13) A small bowl of red-ware. Height : 2·5 cm. (Pl. XXXII, D).
- (14) A bead of light and dark blue faience representing an open lotus flower (Pl. XXXII, C).
- (15) An alabaster model plate.

In addition to these, we recovered countless fragments of diorite, basalt, granite, quartzite, alabaster and limestone fragments of vessels, statuary, etc., as well as enormous quantities of potsherds.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FUNERARY MONUMENTS OF KING SHEPSES-KA-F AND QUEEN KHENT-KAWES

The ideal of life after death was, in the opinion of the ancient Egyptians of the Old Kingdom (up to the end of the Fourth Dynasty) to be obtained by material rather than by spiritual means. This idea has been fully discussed by Breasted in his "Dawn of Conscience". But side by side with this material conception of the Hereafter was a somewhat more spiritual idea which was steadily gaining ground. Under its influence we find inscriptions of individuals in which they lay claim to having possessed certain standards of virtue, such as not having usurped the property—particularly the tombs—of others; nor to have forced labourers to work upon the construction of their tombs without proper remuneration. This is a clear evidence of a reaching out to an ideal of justice and righteous conduct. Also, the fact that these recitations of the perfections of the deceased are sometimes followed by an expressed hope that *his* funerary monuments may also be permitted to escape usurpation, denotes the tentative groping of the human mind towards the ideal of virtue rewarded. But, nevertheless, the material cult was the predominating one.

Early in the Fourth Dynasty it seems, and it is true, that the priests of the Heliopolitan cult of Ra' were beginning to dominate the religious ideas of the upper classes, or more particularly, of the royal family, so that it ultimately became the state cult. We can see this in the inclusion of element 'Ra'' in the composition of the kingly names of the period, Ded-f-Ra', Khafra', Men-kaw-Ra', although, of course, this type of name had appeared previously, even as far back as the archaic period.

The Heliopolitan priesthood claimed for their God, a doctrine of a somewhat more spiritual nature, especially in regard to those ideas appertaining to the Ba (soul), which, they believed, flew away from the body at the moment of death ⁽¹⁾.

But this new ideal was not deeply rooted in the minds of the people, who were only just beginning to see clearly in a spiritual life; and in examining the material ideas of the time, and the preparation for life after death, we see that people were absolutely absorbed in material things, and scarcely at all in spiritual matters. We must, of course, except from this statement the Pyramid Texts, which, though doubtless fully developed, were not yet, as far as we know, inscribed in the royal tombs, and which were in any case, especially for the use of the kings. Neither, for that matter, can the Pyramid Texts be said to wholly embody a highly idealized conception of spiritual life; for mingled with passages of majestic sublimity are echoes of the barbaric practices of the remote ages. In fact, they may in parts almost be termed a theological lumber-room in which the Egyptian stowed away those outworn religious beliefs, his conservative mind could not bring itself to totally discard. As we shall see later, everything was being done for the preservation of the *Ka* ⁽²⁾; and when we come to examine those things which were thought to be necessary for

⁽¹⁾ For the ideas concerning the soul, see Pyramid Texts.

⁽²⁾ In my book *مصر القديمة* "Ancient Egypt", I have translated the word KA by "the Material Soul", as contrasted with BA "the spiritual soul", and have shown that the cult of the KA was more ancient than the cult of the BA, a very natural and logical matter in the history of human development (see *مصر القديمة*, Vol. 2, p. 302, etc.).

its well-being, we shall see that they all consist of material objects such as food, drink, clothing, ornaments, weapons, etc. Only a very few benefits for the Ka were thought to be obtainable by magic formulae, that is, in the early days of the Fourth Dynasty, and the offerings placed in the tombs for the most part consisted of real objects (1). For this reason they were forced to provide estates of the endowment of the tomb and the provision of funerary offerings, etc.; and to deal with this mass of accumulated material property, which apparently arrived at the tomb at regular intervals, they appointed priests called $\left(\overline{\text{Q}}\right) hm-k3$ "Servant of the Ka," (2) who ministered to the Ka of the owner of the tomb in the same way that his household servants had served him during his life-time.

Now the important point is, did the kings of the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties begin to be influenced by these material ideas, and, believing like the mass of the people in the doctrine of the Ka in the sarcophagus, abandon that of Ra' and the pyramid; just as afterwards happened when the Heliopolitan cult was overpowered by Osiris and his doctrine of the resurrection, and in so doing, make a new, but unripe attempt to abandon the solar cult for the material faith, which is nothing more or less than a veiled form of the Osirian cult?

There are several facts which may perhaps indicate that from a religious point of view, the royal family of the Fourth Dynasty was divided against itself. Firstly, after having had a series of kings whose names included the "Ra'" element, we suddenly find two who abruptly abandon it, and compound their names with the element "Ka". These are, Shepses-ka-f and Khentkawes. Moreover, Shepses-ka-f broke right away from tradition in regard to his tomb and its situation, even going to the length of abandoning the pyramid form of tomb, which had been the recognised type of royal funerary monument by every monarch who could afford one, since the time of Zoser, of the Third Dynasty.

Now the pyramid was in itself perhaps the acme of materialism in one sense, for it may be regarded as a stupendous effort on the part of a nation to preserve the mortal body of one man by encasing it in the heart of a mountain of stone, even as a fossil is preserved in its matrix of surrounding rock, but regarded from another angle, the pyramid was not merely the geometrical form of a mass of stone erected over a royal grave, it was a sacred emblem, the symbol of the benben, the sun-stone of Heliopolis. To be buried within a pyramid was to be, as it were, merged into the very core of the holy symbol. To adopt a pyramid-tomb was to recognise the pre-eminence of the Solar cult, and to place one's hopes of a future life under the protection of the Sun-god Ra',(3). This idea had apparently been faithfully followed by his predecessors, why then, did Shepses-ka-f break away from the traditions of his family? It is possible that he was influenced in his religious ideas by the sheer force of public opinion. Did the overwhelming weight of the material cult, professed by the great mass of the populace, lead him to abandon the

(1) Later reasons of economy of both expense and space led to the adoption of funerary models, an idea which coupled with the growing belief in the power of magic, led to the sculptured and painted scenes of daily life and objects which eventually became such a feature of the Old Kingdom tombs. But even in the Third Dynasty, we see pioneers of this idea, an outstanding example being the painted panels in the tomb of Hesy at Sakkara.

(2) There is no instance known of a priest being called a "Servant of the Ba", which, being spirit, needed no material service.

(3) Although numerous references to Ra' are made in the Old Kingdom inscriptions, up to the present, not a single statue of representation of him is known from this date, unless, of course, we consider the Sphinx, which is a type of the Sun-god.

vaguer doctrine of the Solar-cult, and, turning his back on the pyramid-dominated necropolis of Giza, and all the ideas it stood for, erect his sarcophagus-shaped "House of Eternity" for his Ka, at Sakkara? Another possibility is that "Shepses-ka-f" adopted the material cult in order to gain a greater popularity with his subjects. Perhaps he foresaw a possible source of danger in the wide gulf separating the Palace from the Market-Place and sought by 'playing to the gallery' to win a certain measure of good-feeling between the people and their rulers. Or perhaps we have in this action a shrewd piece of statesmanship by which Shepses-ka-f hoped to advert an evergrowing menace to his dynasty. As we have already seen, the power of the Heliopolitan priesthood was steadily increasing throughout the whole time of the Fourth Dynasty, while on the contrary, the royal power, which had reached its zenith under Khwfw, was gradually, but none the less steadily, declining. This may be proved by the funerary monuments of the kings succeeding Khwfw, each of which in turn falls a little short of the splendour of its predecessor. Perhaps, then, Shepses-ka-f foresaw the inevitable result of the increasing aggrandizement of the Ra' priesthood, and forestalling the move of Akhenaton, some 1,370 years later, made a bold attempt to shatter the sacerdotal power by renouncing the accepted state religion, and making a clean break with all that it stood for. In the case of Shepses-ka-f, he seems to have completely abandoned the Solar-cult and adopted the material creed of the Ka. As proof of this we have: (1) His sarcophagus-shaped tomb (the sarcophagus being the very heart and core of the eternal dwelling of the Ka), and furthermore, orientated this tomb to the east, the direction in which the Ka was thought to enter and leave the burial-chamber⁽¹⁾. (2) He abandoned the old necropolis, hallowed by those gigantic solar symbols, the pyramids, and chose a spot for his tomb far to the south, near Sakkara. (3) He did not adopt the Ra' element in his name⁽²⁾.

Manetho hints at a short period of anarchy following the death of Men-kaw-Ra', but there is not a shred of evidence from the monuments to prove this statement; it may be, however, an echo of a fierce though bloodless battle waged between a far-seeing but not over-powerful monarch and a jealous and ever increasingly-powerful priesthood. That the feud (if it ever really existed) did not irrevocably blast the King's reputation is proved by the fact that the name of Shepses-ka-f is recognised as that of a legitimate monarch, in the King-lists, neither was his memory hated by either priests or people of the succeeding Solar Dynasty, and his name and monuments escaped destruction at the hands of the adherents of the Solar-cult. While in the later case of Akhenaton, the very reverse happened.

Coming to Khent-kawes, we find her also compounding her name with the 'Ka' element, but if we accept that Shepses-ka-f broke away from the Heliopolitan faith, then perhaps we may see in the religious ideas of Khent-kawes a compromise between the two faiths. That she favoured the material cult may be gathered, as we have already seen, from her name, from the sarcophagus-shaped superstructure of her pyramid, and from the eastern orientation of the pyramid itself. But against this are the facts that she built her tomb in the Giza Necropolis in the company of the great kings who lived and died in the Solar-faith, and under the very shadow of the great

(1) WEIGALL ("A History of the Pharaohs", Vol. I. pp. 186, 187) identifies Shepses-ka-f with the *Asychis* of Herodotus. According to the latter, this king built a brick pyramid formed from the mud collected on the end of a long pole thrust into a pond; a strangely laborious and unsatisfactory manner of obtaining material which exists conveniently at hand on the banks of the Nile and in all the cultivated lands. He is also credited with having built the eastern gate of the Temple of Ptaḥ (called by Herodotus Vulcan) at Memphis.

(2) Basing his theory on MANETHO'S "*Sebercheres*", Hall suggests that an alternative name of Shepses-ka-f was Shepses-ka-Ra'. If so, we may assume that this was his original name, which he later abandoned, as all his monuments known to us give his name as Shepses-ka-f. (See HALL, "*The Ancient History of the Near East*", p. 127.)

symbols of the Sun-cult; also, she used the pyramid base in conjunction with the sarcophagus-form, for her tomb, thus welding together the symbols of the two faiths. Moreover, she seems to have married, and perhaps been influenced by a man who was either the High Priest of Heliopolis, or at any rate was a nominee of the Heliopolitan priesthood; and this brings us to Weser-ka-f.

Despite the 'Ka'' element of his name, it is easy to see where this man's religious sympathies lay by examining the record of his gifts to the priesthoods. According to the Palermo Stone (1) he gave large endowments of land from the royal domains to the Temple of Ra', and to provide offerings on days of festival for the "Spirits of Heliopolis"; he built a shrine in the temple of Horus at Buto, presented an estate in the Delta to the cult of Hathor, built a temple to the obscure god Sepa and endowed it with an estate, as well as several other similar actions (2). As a result of this piety, he bore the title "Beloved of the Gods" (3). He also built a Sun-temple, and erected a pyramid for himself. Our main evidence for the existence of these last two monuments is from the inscriptions of certain persons who officiated therein, but their exact situation is not definitely known. In fact, until recent years it was thought that they had been totally destroyed. However in 1928-1929, Mr. Firth undertook to examine the Rubble Pyramid at Sakkara, on behalf of the Antiquities Department. This pyramid had hitherto been assumed to have belonged to Ded-ka-Ra' Isisi, but examination of the large temple lying to south of it revealed numerous fragments bearing the name of Weser-ka-f, and though its position to the south of the pyramid is unusual, Mr. Firth was convinced that the temple and pyramid are the monuments of one king — Weser-ka-f (4). If this is so, then the splendid colossal head of red granite which was found in the temple court must be accepted as representing a portrait of this King. With the exception of the Great Sphinx, it is the only colossal statue known from the Old Kingdom. The face measures 0.75 m. high, and appears to be a portrait of a kindly man of average intelligence and good looks, a dreamer rather than a man of action. The style is reminiscent of the statuary of Men-kaw-Ra' found by Dr. Reisner in that king's pyramid complex.

Thus we can clearly see that despite his Ka-compounded name, Weser-ka-f was at heart a true follower of the Solar faith, and the mention of his name raises the question, did he continue to call himself Weser-ka-f all his life? The fact that raises a doubt is the list of Manetho, who as is well-known, uses a Graecized form of the Egyptian names, often distorting them to an almost unrecognisable degree. Now for the first kings of the Fifth Dynasty Manetho gives us: Usercheres, Seferes, Nephherchares, Siseres, etc., while the monuments give us: Weser-ka-f, Sahw-Ra', Nefer-ir-ka-Ra' (Kakai), Shepses-ka-Ra', etc., all of which can be recognised in Manetho's list. But it must be noted that the second, third and fourth names from the monuments all terminate in Ra', while the corresponding names in Manetho's list end in "res", which may perhaps be understood as a later pronunciation of Ra'. But the first king, according to the monuments, is Weser-ka-f, yet Manetho persists in calling him Usercheres, again using the "res" termination, which in no way resembles the sound of "F" (5).

(1) BREASTED, "Ancient Records" Vol. I, p. 68.

(2) Notice that all the gods who benefit by his munificence are those with a Solar affinity.

(3) On a cylinder-seal in the British Museum.

(4) Cf. *Annales du Service*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 64-70, Pl. I.

(5) See note 2, p. 65, where Hall uses *ka*: same argument in favour of an alternative name for Shepses-ka-f.

Therefore is it possible that this king, at some time during his reign, changed his name to Weser-ka-Ra', in order to demonstrate even more forcibly, his adherence to the Solar-cult? It may also be remarked that in the Abydos King-list, the name of a certain Weser-ka-Ra' is slipped in between Teti I and Pepi I, of the Sixth Dynasty, but it is omitted and has no equivalent in the Sakkara List ⁽¹⁾ and is ignored by Manetho, while the Turin Papyrus is defective in this place. In fact, the name of Weser-ka-Ra' only occurs in this one, isolated instance, and up to the present, no other mention of it has been found. Who then was this mysterious Weser-ka-Ra'? We certainly have no concrete evidence to prove it, but perhaps we may see in this name a variant of Weser-ka-f, which, misunderstood by the scribes of Abydos, was entered by them as a separate king and even placed in the Sixth Dynasty. Of course, this is mere hypothesis, but later Egyptian history provides us with further examples of the practice. In fact, Kakai, the next king but one to succeed Weser-ka-f, changed his name to Nefer-ir-ka-Ra'; of course, it is well known that Amenhotep IV changed his name to Akhenaton, while Tutankhamen was originally named Tut-'ankh-Aten.

The Westcar Papyrus gives the name of Weser-ka-f as Weser-ref. In this case, the names given to the three divine children are puns on their real names and it is quite feasible Weser-ka-f changed to Weser-ka-Ra' should be jokingly referred to as Weser-ref ⁽²⁾. In any case, though we are treading on the dangerous ground of "Perhaps" in regard to the possible Solar-name of this King, yet we are perfectly safe in asserting that he was the first king of the Fifth Dynasty, and was the man who led the royal line back to the fold of the Heliopolitan Solar-cult; and this proves the veracity of the most important point in the Westcar Papyrus and gives historical value to a narrative which scholars of the past have been inclined to regard as idle fable.

⁽¹⁾ This list, being compiled by Memphite scribes, should be more reliable where the names of Lower Egyptian Kings are concerned than the Abydos list. Therefore, the fact that they have not mentioned a king Weser-ka-Ra' in the Sixth Dynasty is important evidence against the fact that he ever occurred at that date.

⁽²⁾ The names of the other two children are given as: Sah-Ra' (Sahw-Ra') and Kakaw (Kakai). As both of these bear a very strong affinity to the original we may assume that the first name did the same.

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supplement Mr. Grdseloff's pictorial representations with tangible, concrete facts. In 1927, Mr. Warren Dawson published an interesting article on embalming ⁽¹⁾ in which he points out the fact that contrary to the usual modern idea, the embalmer's workshop was not a permanent establishment, like a mortuary, but was a temporary structure, or tent, erected for each person as occasion rose, and afterwards dismantled. He draws attention to the fact that the ancient texts frequently refer to "thy place of embalming", or "his place of embalming ⁽²⁾", which implies that each person of means possessed his or her own embalming-house. But he confuses the two terms , *w'bt* with  *sh-ntr*, and gives them as variant terms for the embalming-house. In reality, they represent two distinct establishments, and it is the *sh-ntr* (God's tent, or dwelling) or, as it is called in the case of persons other than kings  ⁽³⁾ *ibw*, which is represented by those constructions relating to the valley-temples; while those relating to the mortuary temples or in the case of private tombs, are situated immediately outside the tomb, are to be identified with  *w'bt*, or  *wt*, which is the embalming-house. In support of this theory I propose to lay before the reader the mass of material collected by Mr. Grdseloff, plus the recent discoveries which I have made in the Pyramid Zone of Giza, and at Sakkara. This evidence is further substantiated by the Royal Pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, the Middle Kingdom tombs discovered by Winlock at Thebes, and various scenes and inscriptions from the New Kingdom and Late Periods.

Firstly, as it is conveniently grouped together, let us examine the publication of Mr. Grdseloff, supplemented by scenes from Debehen, and from the Sakkara tomb of Neb-kaw-Her, which I discovered during the season of 1937-1938, but which has not yet been completely published ⁽⁴⁾. To begin with, one must remember that during the Old Kingdom burial was divided into two main ceremonies, the first of which began when the funeral cortege bore the corpse away from the house and ended with its delivery at the place of embalming. The second ceremony began when the priests and mourners went to receive the completed mummy, and ended when the mummy was placed in the burial-chamber of the tomb. A considerable time elapsed between these two ceremonies. Grdseloff mentions the case of Queen *Mr.s-nh* III whose corpse was said to have rested for 272 days in the embalming-house. This is an extreme case, and the usual period was 70 days. This is the period mentioned by Herodotus ⁽⁵⁾ and is confirmed by the Egyptian texts ⁽⁶⁾. In the Theban tomb of Dhwt (No. 110) an inscription reads:   "Thy 70 days having been fulfilled in thy place of embalming." It is interesting to note that the Old Testament says that the embalming of the Patriarch Jacob occupied 40 days,

⁽¹⁾ W. DAWSON, "Making a Mummy", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XIII, pp. 40-49.

⁽²⁾ DAVIES-GARDINER, "The Tomb of Amenemhet", p. 56.

⁽³⁾ This word is written with various determinatives, as: , , , , , , . For further details concerning the signification of these signs, See GRDSELOFF's article, referred to above, pp. 21-22.

⁽⁴⁾ SELIM BEY HASSAN "Excavations at Sakkara", 1937-1938, *Annales du Service XXXVIII*.

⁽⁵⁾ Book II, paras. 85-88.

⁽⁶⁾ SMITH AND DAWSON, "Egyptian Mummies", p. 53, ff. See also ALAN ROWE "New light on the objects belonging to Generals Potasimto and Amasis", *Annales du Service*, XXXVIII, pp. 176-177.

away upon the roof of the cabin. This is only natural, for Sekhem-ka-Ra' was a King's Son! In Neb-kaw-Ḥer at Sakkara, this scene is represented in a very interesting manner (Fig. 33).

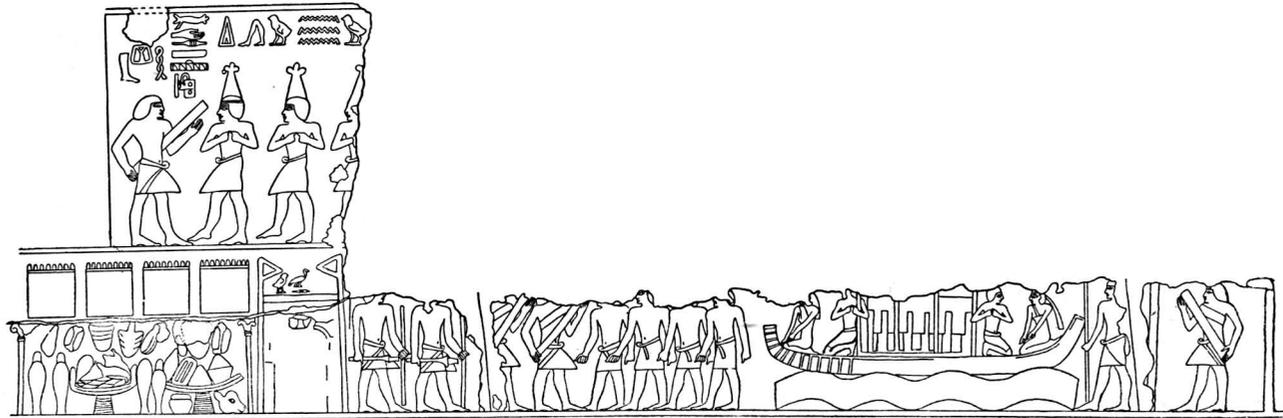


FIG. 33.

The boat is towed by four men, and the coffin rests upon a scaffolding under a catafalque. Beside it kneel two men, one of whom crooks his left arm round one of the poles of the catafalque. In the prow and stern kneels a mourning-woman. The boat is followed by a man carrying a long staff, and a Ritualist, who stands beside a rectangular building, reading from a roll of papyrus. The water under the boat is represented as a broad, undulating band. A scene almost identical with this occurs in the tomb of Snefrw-ani-mert-f at Sakkara⁽¹⁾. In Neb-kaw-Ḥer, the scene depicting the preliminary visit to the washing-tent is omitted, and the landing scene is followed immediately by that which took place before the embalming-house. In these scenes, the destination of the boats is made clear by the shouted orders of the sailors:  "One is ready. Haste the passage!"; and  "Halt sharp at the West!"⁽²⁾. Or the scene may be inscribed:  "Travelling towards the washing-tent"⁽³⁾.

On arriving at the western bank of the river, the boat is towed ashore by sailors, who welcome the deceased with complimentary phrases. Here the company assembles and marches in procession to the washing-tent, originally a light, temporary structure erected beside the water, which might be either the river, a canal or the flood-water of the Inundation⁽⁴⁾. The coffin, carried by the bearers, is preceded and followed by the priests and mourners who have accompanied it. According to

⁽¹⁾ DE MORGAN, "Fouilles à Dahchour, 1894-1895", Pl. XXII.

⁽²⁾ Pepy-'ankh, Meir, VIth dynasty.

⁽³⁾ Tomb of 'Idw.

⁽⁴⁾ In an article in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology" Vol. VII, p. 186, Prof. T. Hayter Lewis describes some stone tanks found at Tel el-Yahoudeh, one of which (Fig. I) is a miniature replica of the rock-cut basin of the Fourth Pyramid. In hazarding a guess at the purpose of these tanks, he says: "... I venture to give an extract from Mr. Samuel Sharpe's work on Egyptian mythology, which may possibly assist us ["*Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity*"] he says: "If death took place on the west side of the river, the procession was conducted across the small lake, a large tank which belonged to the Temple... It was not unusual to have a small model of this sacred tank, with its flight of steps leading down to the water, cut in stone, to be used as a basin for the libations in the temple."

the scene at Meir, the staff of the washing-tent numbered 12 persons on the occasion of the first visit of the deceased, and these are grouped at each of its two doors, in order to receive the cortege. The initial rite of purification completed, the cortege leaves the washing-tent and conveys the corpse to the embalming-house, as the accompanying inscription clearly states: 

 "Escorting to the workshop of the embalmers, after a very good old-age."

Outside the embalming-house there is great activity. Offerings are piled up, and dancers are performing a ceremonial dance to the accompaniment of singing and hand-clapping. In Neb-kaw-Ḥer the cortege is received by two Ritualists, who are reciting from their papyrus-rolls, and two other officials, who carry long staves and *hrp*-batons . The embalming-house is a high, rectangular structure, the walls having a slight batter. It is crowned by two triangular pennants. Behind it is a light shelter supported upon wooden poles with papyriform capitals, under which an array of offerings is spread out. Similar shelters, under which offerings are displayed are to be seen in Debehen (Fig. 121) and Sekhem-ka-Ra' (Fig. 58). In the third dynasty tomb of Ḥesy, at Sakkara (1), the greater part of the funerary gear is represented as though arranged in a long tent of decorative matting hung from slender wooden poles. Above the roof of Neb-kaw-Ḥer's shelter are four rectangular objects surmounted by *hkr* ornaments .

A unique feature of this scene is the fact that the cult dance is being performed by male Mww dancers, under the direction of a Ritualist. This is, as far as I am aware, the earliest representation of the Mww dancers, who were a constant feature of the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom funerary scenes. They are three in number, and wear high, conical caps surmounted by tassels. Above them is inscribed:

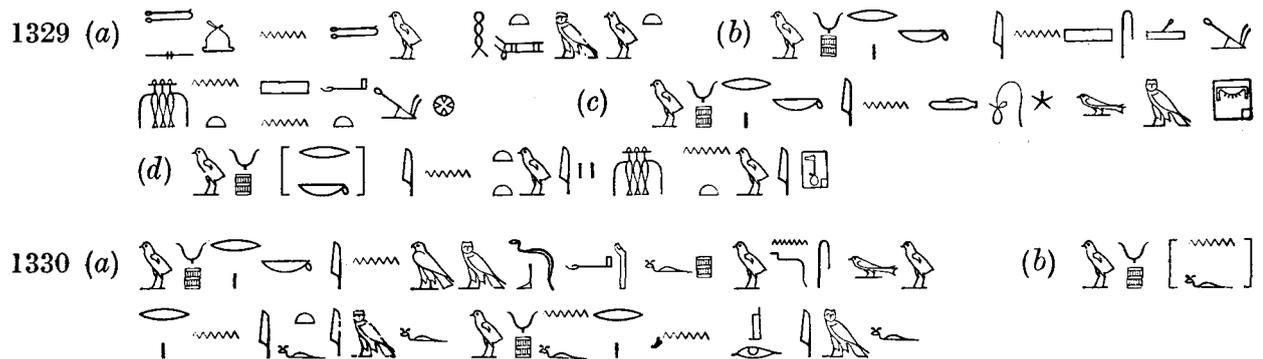
 "Causing the coming of the Mww-dancers . . ."

According to the Middle Kingdom tomb of Antefoker, (2) these dancers should be four in number, and this may have originally been the case in Neb-kaw-Ḥer, but a break in the wall has destroyed most of the third figure, and may therefore have completely obliterated the fourth dancer. Mr. Davies points out that although their appearance and gait seem inappropriate to the occasion, nevertheless, they represent priests of Ḥathor, who was the goddess of merriment as well as of the necropolis. In Antefoker the Mww exclaim:  "She has inclined her head," which may mean that they are announcing that the goddess had given her permission for the corpse to take up its residence in her domain—the necropolis. It is worthy of note that these Mww dancers are confined strictly to funerary ceremonies, and in no scene so far discovered, do they appear as performers in ordinary worldly entertainments. Above the Ritualist—who confronts the dancers—is inscribed:  "Reciting the script, by the Ritualist." As mentioned above, a break in the wall has destroyed the remainder of this scene, but a comparison with a scene in the tomb of Snefrw-ani-mert-f, which except for the presence of the Mww-dancers, closely resembles it, leads us to conjecture that the remainder of the upper register was occupied by representations of the ships which transported the priests and mourners over to the western bank of the Nile.

(1) QUIBELL, "The Tomb of Ḥesy", pp. 8, 9.

(2) DAVIES-GARDINER, "The Tomb of Antefoker", p. 21.

mummy. The object of the ceremony was to endow the inanimate figure with the bodily functions of the living, and at the same time to identify it with the body of the deceased (1), and in this manner render it an acceptable medium in which the Ka could manifest itself. Moreover, this rite was not performed in the washing-tent. During the Old Kingdom it was performed in the  *Ht-nwb* "House of Gold", which, according to the general opinion of scholars, was the sculptor's studio, where the statues were made (2). This may be proved by a passage in the Pyramid Texts (3), which reads:—



"The divinity *Ht-mwt* had raised thee up. Thy mouth is opened by the god *Šs* who presides in the place called "*Šn't*". Thy mouth is opened by the great Morning-star who is in the House of Gold. Thy mouth is opened by the two statues which are in the House of Incense (4). Thy mouth is opened by *Horus* with his little finger with which he opened the mouth of his father *Osiris*."

As far as I am aware, the earliest representation depicting the "Opening of the Mouth" (5) is in the tomb of Methen, a high official of King Snefrw (6) (Fig. 34). Here the subject is certainly a statue and not a mummy. As for the "*Ht-nwb*", Reisner was of the opinion that a workshop where statues were made existed in the Pyramid Complexes (7), and judging by the number of unfinished statues which came to light during our excavations of the Giza necropolis, it is possible that private persons also had their statues fashioned within the boundaries of the necropolis. Perhaps many of these latter were made in the royal ateliers, as we learn from the inscription of Debehen that he was presented with statues by King Men-kaw-Ra' (see p. 169 and Fig. 118).

The two examples quoted above are sufficient to prove the great antiquity of the ceremony which in its original form seems to have been a fairly simple procedure, involving the purification of the statue with water and incense, touching its mouth with various instruments and finally presenting it with food and drink-offerings. But in later times this ceremony developed into a complicated ritual consisting of no less than forty-one episodes (8). During the New Kingdom the

(1) BLACKMAN, "*The House of the Morning*", *J.E.A.*, Vol. V, p. 159.

(2) DAVIES-GARDINER, "*The Tomb of Amenemhat*", pp. 57-58.

(3) Nos. 1329-1330, (Sethe's translation).

(4) Perhaps the mention of the "two statues" is in accordance with the two statues mentioned in the tomb of Debehen, (see p. 169). and also accounts for the multiplication of statues in the tombs, and especially of those which consist of a group of two or more representations of the same person (see "*Excavations at Giza, 1929-1930*") Pls. IX, XXII, LIII, LXX, LXXII.

(5) See JUNKER, "*Giza II*" p. 65.

(6) LEPSIUS "*Denkmäler II.*" 4.

(7) *Mycerinus*, 129.

(8) BLACKMAN, "*Opening the Mouth in Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*", *J.E.A.*, Vol. X, p. 56.

performance of the rite was transferred from the statue to the mummy (1), and was represented in the funerary papyri (2) as taking place outside the tomb. It was also sometimes said to have taken place in the $\overline{\text{pr-dwst}}$ (3) which was originally the Toilet-house, or vestry wherein the Pharaoh was purified and fed prior to officiating in a temple ceremony. (The fact that these same rites were performed for the dead king as well, links the *pr-dwst* with the washing-tent.) The purification of the king was made in imitation of the Sun-god's daily purification in the mystic lake (4), and this shows that despite its eager adoption by the followers of the Osirian cult, the ceremony of Opening the Mouth was essentially Solar in origin (5). An interesting point in connection with this ceremony, and one which is perhaps often overlooked, is that it was performed in detail on the day of interment, but was afterwards performed in a curtailed fashion at subsequent services for the dead, which were supposed to have been performed every day (6). For this reason we find miniature implements for the ceremony buried with the dead, where, in common with the other funerary models, they might become magically capable of fulfilling their mystic purpose after they had been "animated" by the spells of the Ritualist.

But to return to our argument, Grdseloff takes the sentence "Necessities for the work of the Ritualist" — which, in the tomb of Kar appears above two rectangular wooden chests in the washing-tent — as proof that these latter should contain the utensils for the performance of the Opening of the Mouth, but as far as we know, the principal task of the Ritualist was to read the prayers for the dead, and the offering formulae. In the ceremony of Opening the Mouth, he appears to have merely acted as a kind of "prompter" to the other officiants (7). As far as we can gather from various sources, the principal officiant in this rite was the $\overline{\text{sm}}$ -priest, and in all the material quoted by Grdseloff there is neither the name nor the representation of such a priest, neither does any inscription in the scenes mention the rite of Opening the Mouth though they are explicit on other matters. Furthermore a large presentation of offerings had been received by the deceased prior to leaving the embalming-house for the second visit to the washing-tent or $\overline{\text{sh-ntr}}$. Therefore, the rite of Opening the Mouth must have already been performed, otherwise the presentation of food offerings would be a meaningless mockery.

We may suggest that perhaps the second visit to the washing-tent was for the recitation of prayers and to form a meeting-place for those persons who wished to take part in the ceremonies of interment. This is done in Egypt of to-day, where, after washing the body and preparing it for burial, they carry it to the mosque to pray over it. Here assemble all the persons desirous of accompanying the deceased to his grave; though of course, mummification is no longer practised in Egypt.

(1) In the tombs of Seti I and of Rekhmara the ceremony is represented as though performed on statues.

(2) See *Papyrus of Ani* Brit. Mus. No. 10, 470 (Sheet 6).

(3) BLACKMAN, "The House of the Morning", *J.E.A.*, Vol. V, p. 159.

(4) BLACKMAN, "Some Notes on the Ancient Egyptian Practice of Washing the Dead", *J.E.A.*, Vol. V, p. 117.

(5) Blackman is of the opinion that the rite was performed at dawn. "Opening the Mouth in Ancient Egypt and Babylonia", *J.E.A.*, Vol. X, p. 59).

(6) DAVIES-GARDINER, "The Tomb of Amenemhèt", p. 76.

(7) DAVIES-GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

(Fig. 35) the tent was covered with a curtain of matting, so that the interior was hidden from the view of passers-by ; while the doorways were closed by means of wooden doors of the form .

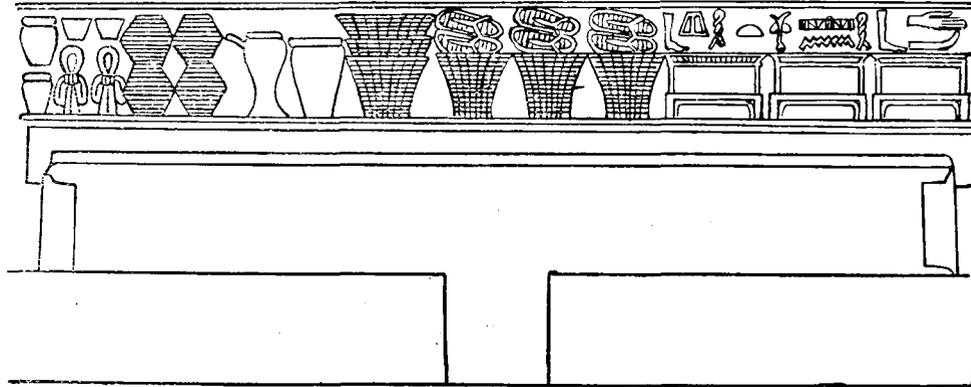


FIG. 35.

In Kar (Fig. 36) the walls of both the tent and the central cell were of matting, but the doorways seem to have been closed by means of a curtain, in place of the wooden door. The tent of Idw

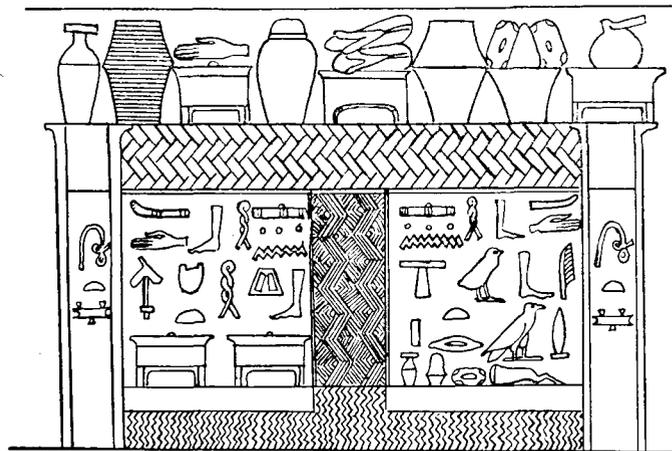


FIG. 36.

(Fig. 37) is quite plain in style, even the doorways being two simple rectangular openings, from which two oblique ramps, perhaps edged by water-channels ran down to the water's edge. From

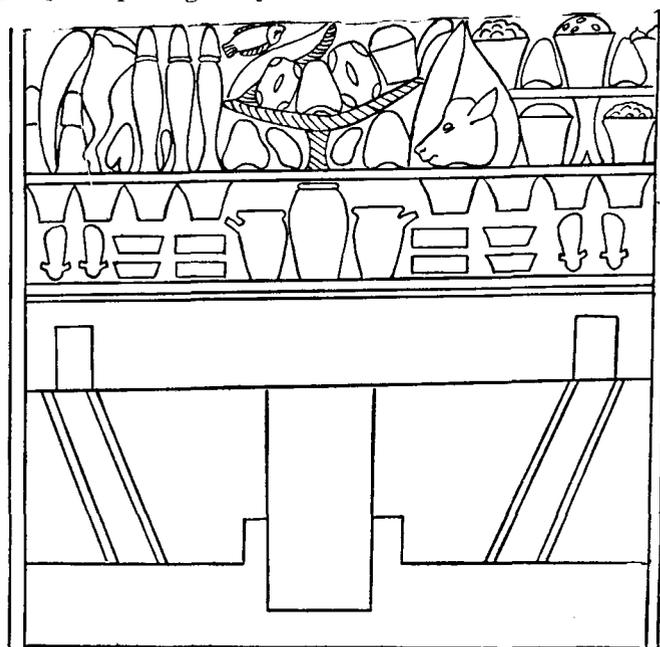


FIG. 37.

in the formal arrangement of the tent. In the tomb of Idw, two such vessels are represented, and this is doubtless the correct number, as two officials are usually shown when lustration scenes are depicted. In this case also, we are able to produce actual examples to supplement the pictured article of the tomb scenes (1). Third on the list comes the   *nms.t*-vases, which in Idw, figure as a set of four . These are really small, shallow bowls with wide mouths and straight sides, sloping to a flat base. Pl. XVII, G. reproduces a model *nms.t*-vase of blue faience (2). The last of the libation vessels are the     *dsr.t*-dishes, which, as their name implies, were made of red-ware . A well-made and excellently-preserved *dsr.t*-dish is shown on Pl. X, C. In the tomb of Mererwka the equipment of the washing-tent included two signs of the "Blood of Isis" , which in those far-off days was regarded as the equivalent of the  'ankh-sign of life' (3). The meaning and purpose of these magical knots are somewhat obscure, but nevertheless, they were important accessories of the washing-tent. The 'ankh-sign figures largely in the Middle Kingdom coffin-scenes (4) which illustrate the equipment needful for the welfare of the dead. Here they are usually grouped with the articles of clothing. In El-Bersheh an inscription reads:      "Ankhw on earth under his two feet." In the coffin of Hor-tep at Beni Hasan the  is placed under the sandals, and is inscribed:       "Ankhw placed upon the earth under thy two feet." With regard to its presence in the washing-tent, we must refer again to the tomb of *Wsr* at Thebes, where the deceased is shown seated upon the *sn.w*-vat with the two 'ankh-signs lying on the ground under his feet.

Daressy (5) sought to explain the meaning of the  and . In his opinion, they originally represented the umbilical cord tied previously to being severed. Budge is of the opinion that both these signs represent anatomical objects, possibly the internal genital organs of the goddess Isis (6). Nevertheless the Egyptians themselves seemed to regard these signs as something connected with clothing and in particular with sandals. Gardiner's identification of the  with a sandal strap is a very plausible one (7), and certainly the earlier hieroglyphs, when rendered in detail seem to represent an arrangement of straps or ribbons rather than of internal organs, moreover in these early signs, the central support of the  is drawn thicker, and as though

(1) See Pls. IX, D, XVI, E, XVII, C, XVIII, C and D. An excellent example of a *mrg*-ewer was found during our sixth season's work; it came to light during the clearance of the forecourt of the tomb of Prince Iwn-Ra', a son of Khafra'. It is of red-ware, and measures 18.0 cm. in height. Its position in the forecourt of the tomb is significant, especially when we consider that this court also contained two life-sized rock-cut statues of the Prince in sculptured niches. These recall the rock-cut statues of Debehen as well as his pictured representation of a statue in a naos. It would seem that this forecourt was the embalming-house of Prince Iwn-Ra' and that the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth" was performed upon these statues, as being rock-cut, and therefore immovable, the rite could not have been performed upon them in the *Ht-nwb*. Probably the *mrg*-ewer in question was actually used during the ceremony. Dr. Reisner found similar vessels in the Valley-temple of Men-kaw-Ra', and classified them as type XXXV. ("Mycerinus" pp. 224, 227, Fig. 76.)

(2) For references to these vases in the Pyramid Texts, see below p.; also BREASTED "The Dawn of Conscience", p. 84.

(3) *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 129.

(4) "BUDGE "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection", Vol. II, p. 276, Vol. II, p. 280; and "The Mummy", pp. 308 and 315

(5) *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. XXVI p. 129.

(6) "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection" Vol. II, p. 276, Vol. II, p. 280; and "The Mummy", pp. 308 and 315.

(7) GARDINER, "Egyptian Grammar", pp. 494, 530.

consisting of two separate halves lying together. This is clearly seen in a large hieroglyph on the lintel of Kakai-'ankh at Giza (1) which is rendered thus: .

On the base of a stela in the Louvre Museum (C.-15) is shown a large basin in which are two  signs supporting the body of a man. On each side stand two persons, one of whom grasps the man by his arm, while the other pours a stream of water and 'ankh-signs over him (2). This would seem to be a form of baptism performed with water in which (according to Schäfer's opinion) were 'ankh-sign formed of slender lengths of reed twisted to the required form and coated with salt by a process of crystallization (3).

It may be noted that a number of wooden 'ankh-signs measuring over 50.0 cm. in height were found in the tomb of Amenhotep II and are now in the Cairo Museum.

Another strange object in the washing-tent, is the wooden hand and wrist from the tomb of Kar. Such a hand, measuring about 30.0 cm. long, and made of acacia wood, was found in the tomb of Amenhotep II, and is now in the Cairo Museum. Its exact use in the washing-tent is uncertain, but the fact that it was connected with libation is shown by the sign-group  "Water-pourer to the King (4)", and the Old Kingdom priestly title:  "Greatest of the Water-pourers." It may be that these wooden hands were magical figures, which, animated by the spells of the Ritualist would daily continue to perform the ceremonies of purification for the deceased. For it must be remembered that this rite was solar in origin, and was made not only to purify the body that it might enter the necropolis, but that the deceased might daily renew his life in the Hereafter, even as Ra renewed his life with his daily bathe in the Lake of the Field of Reeds. To gain this end, the rite should have been performed daily upon earth, and so these magically animated hands were perhaps called upon to perform this service in the same manner that the statues of servants were supposed to become animated and work for the comfort and welfare of the deceased.

In the tomb of Kar a pair of sandals is included in the equipment of the washing-tent; but in Idw two pairs are shown, while in Mererwka no less than three pairs are depicted resting upon baskets. These, and the armbands and anklets shown in Idw and elsewhere are merely for the adornment of the corpse. In Mererwka and Kar are shown four rectangular chests to which are appended the following inscription:  "Equipment for the washing-tent" or  "Necessities (or equipment) for the work of the Ritualist." These chests, then, must have contained the instruments used by the Ritualist during the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth". Lastly, the washing-tent must be provided with a good supply of food and drink offerings; and these are arranged in baskets and vases of various shapes and sizes. Most of these are shown open, revealing their contents. But in some instances they are provided with high covers.

(1) Sixth season's excavations (unpublished).

(2) See SCHÄFER, "Das sogenannte "Blut der Isis" und das Zeichen "Leben", *Ä.Z.* 62, S. 108-110.

(3) See the coffin of Ntrw-hp. GARSTANG "Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt", Pl. VI.

(4) PETRIE, "Royal Tombs", Vol. I, Pl. 17.

THE EMBALMING-HOUSE

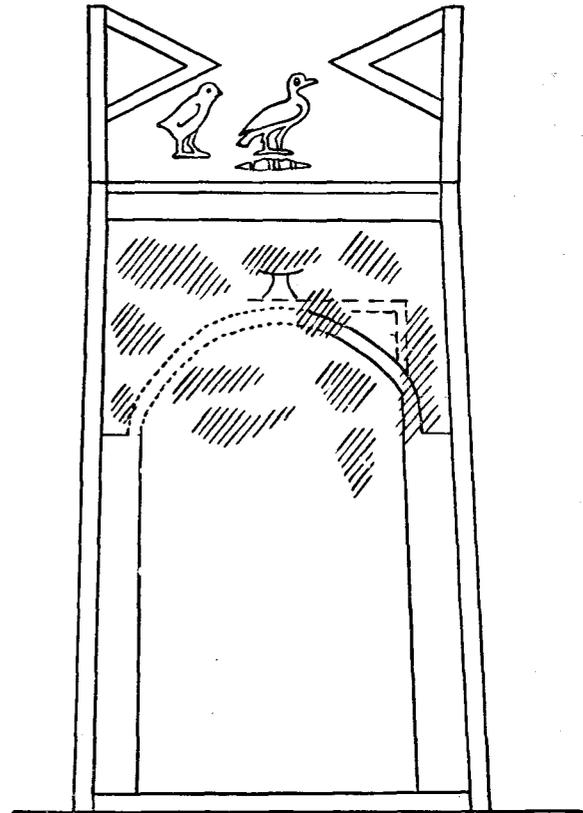
The embalming-house was called by the Egyptians   *wt*, and a frequently-used title of the god Anubis was    "He who is in the Wet." It was also styled     "The Workshop of the Embalmers" (1). It has always been thought—without any definite grounds—that the embalming-house was a special establishment wherein any and every person was embalmed who could afford the means for it. In reality such was not the case, at least in the Old Kingdom. In his excavations at the temple of Deir el-Bahari, Naville discovered what he took to be an embalmer's workshop (2). In it were several large jars filled with chopped straw used for stuffing the mummies, as well as numbers of small bags containing natron. A large, well-made anthropoid coffin inscribed with the name of    , a priest of Mentw (Twenty-second Dynasty) was found to contain hundreds of these little bags of natron. Naville supposes that the coffin was ordered but never called for, and was used by the embalmers as a storage place for their chemicals. With regard to this discovery, which was made in 1893, our later knowledge suggests that this was not the actual place of embalming, but was the stores of the embalmers, their headquarters, where they perhaps lived, and from whence they conducted their business. We have concrete proof, as will be given later, as well as contemporary pictorial evidence, that most persons of rank had their embalming-house in the immediate vicinity of their tomb. As we have already seen, in the case of private persons, the washing-tent was a light temporary erection as its transient use warranted; but the embalming-house was intended to serve a highly important purpose for a period of several months, and as the temporary resting-place of the corpse, it must be a stable structure, capable of protecting its precious inmate from the depredations of wild animals or the malicious damage of ill-disposed persons. Therefore we find that the embalming-house was an edifice built of stone or mud-brick, as the means or taste of the person concerned dictated. Its essential features were an imposing monumental entrance, and a rear exit. In Pepy-'ankh we are shown a rectangular building, the sides of which have a slight batter. Placed symmetrically in the centre of its façade is a large, handsome doorway surmounted by a cavetto cornice, and set in a moulded frame. This doorway is flanked by two slender wooden columns, with lotiform capitals and flat abaci, which support the roof of a portico. This roof has the ends fashioned in a sloping angle, suggestive of the hieroglyph  *ms't* 'Right, Truth or Justice'. In this representation, the rear exit is shown in plan at the bottom of the left-hand side of the main entrance. In Kar we are shown the whole building drawn in plan. Here one enters through a projecting portico, which gives access to a long passage. To the right is a room shaped like an inverted L, which leads, by means of a narrow passage, into a small ante-room, which in turn gives access to a large rectangular chamber inscribed:     "The middle court of the embalming-house." A feature of this building is the profusion of food and drink offerings which are piled up there. In Idw, the embalming-house is shown as a

(1) See DAWSON, "Making a Mummy", *J.E.A.*, VIII, p. 41.

(2) "The Temple of Deir el-Bahari", "Vol. II, p. 6

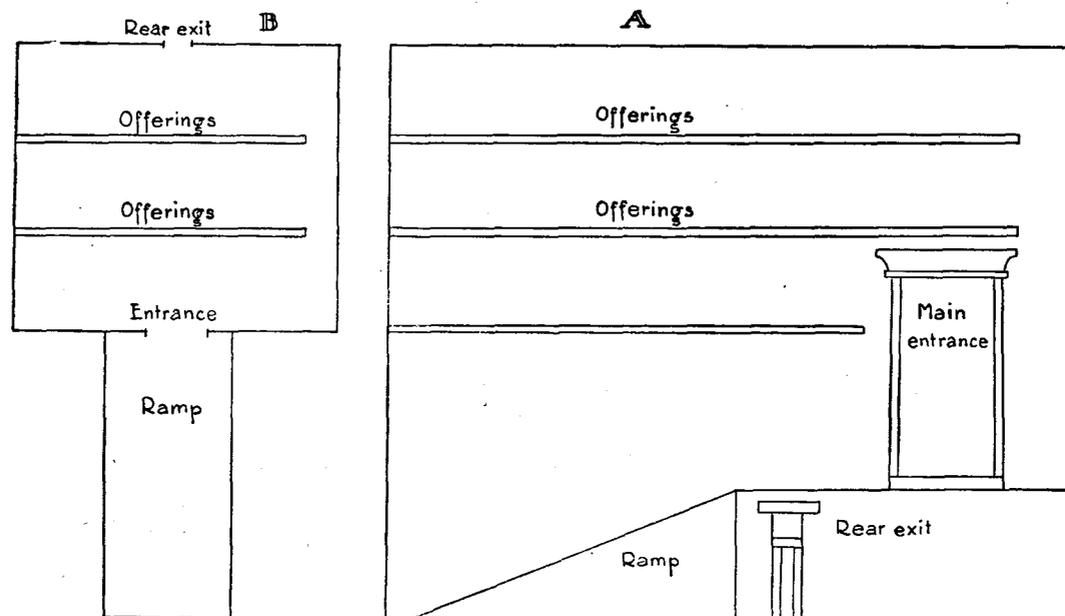
rectangular building surmounted by a *hkr*-frieze. It possessed a fine panelled doorway, and a portico upheld by the usual wooden columns with lotiform capitals. In Neb-kaw-Her we have again the rectangular building, which here is surmounted by two pennants. It appears to have possessed an arched doorway, but unfortunately the surface of the wall has flaked away in this place and defaced the architectural details which were undoubtedly originally represented (Fig. 39). But we are indebted to Debehen for a very fine and interesting representation of the embalming-house (Fig. 122). Here the artist has endeavoured to show us a rectangular building approached by a steep ramp, and provided with the characteristic monumental doorway, (shown as if above the building) and a smaller rear exit (shown below). Before the main door stands a naos placed upon a sledge and containing a statue of Debehen. The interior of the building is divided into three long narrow chambers, the last two of which contain an array of offerings (see Fig. 40).

Now we come to tangible proof. Hitherto our knowledge of the private embalming-house has been, like that of the washing-tent, confined to pictorial representations; but our excavations in the Giza Necropolis have provided us with actual specimens of the embalming-house. In the



The embalming-house of
Neb-kaw-Her.

FIG. 39.



A. The architectural details of the embalming-house of Debehen.
B. A suggested plan of the above.

FIG. 40.

courtyard of the tomb of Nefer⁽¹⁾ we were confronted with the remains of much ruined mud-brick walls, the presence of which in such a place was not easy to account for. Moreover, situated midway between the entrance of the tomb and the entrance of the court, and running along the axis of both, was a rock-cut drain measuring $4.50 \times 0.20 \times 0.15$ m. It slopes down towards the east and terminates in a rectangular depression cut in the rock, just in front of the entrance to the court. For a distance of 1.50 m. in front of this depression, the drain is roofed over by small slabs of limestone covered by mud and rubble. But that part near the chapel, 3.50 m. in length, was roofed over with huge blocks of white limestone. The centre part was found open to the sky, but this may not have been its original state. There seems little doubt that we have here before our eyes the embalming-house of Nefer. The mud-brick ruins are doubtless the remains of the walls, which have perished; but the rock-cut drain and basin are significant. They surely represent the channel which carried off the liquids used in embalming, and the tank into which they flowed and from which they could be collected and decently disposed of (Fig. 41).

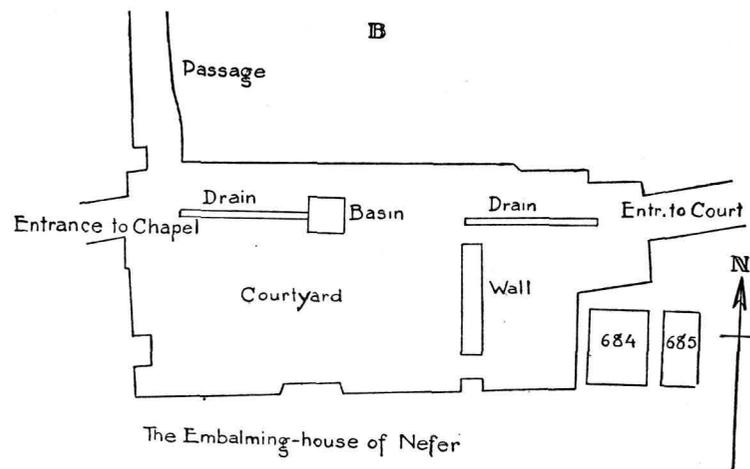


FIG. 41.

The tomb of Kaw-niswt⁽²⁾ furnishes us with yet another example of an embalming-house. In front of the chapel is a long hall supported by four rock-cut pillars. It is separated by a passage measuring 1.63×20.20 m., at the northern end of which is a large basin measuring $1.95 \times 0.95 \times 0.75$ m. cut from a single block of white limestone.

The tomb of Kai⁽³⁾ also provides us with yet another example of an embalming-house. In this instance it consists of three chambers of mud-brick built against the rock-cut façade of the tomb. In the south-western corner of the southern chamber is a white limestone basin measuring 0.50×0.40 m., to which is connected a drainage channel. This latter runs southwards, passing under the wall of the chamber, to discharge on the open ground outside.

(¹) SELIM HASSAN, "Excavations at Giza", 1931-1932, p. 202.

(²) *Ibid.*, 1930-1931, p. 78.

(³) *Ibid.*, 1931-1932, p. 34, Pl. XIII, 1.

That this structure is a separate building and not part of the tomb, can be proved by the fact that it is built over the recessed panelling of the tomb-façade (Fig. 42).

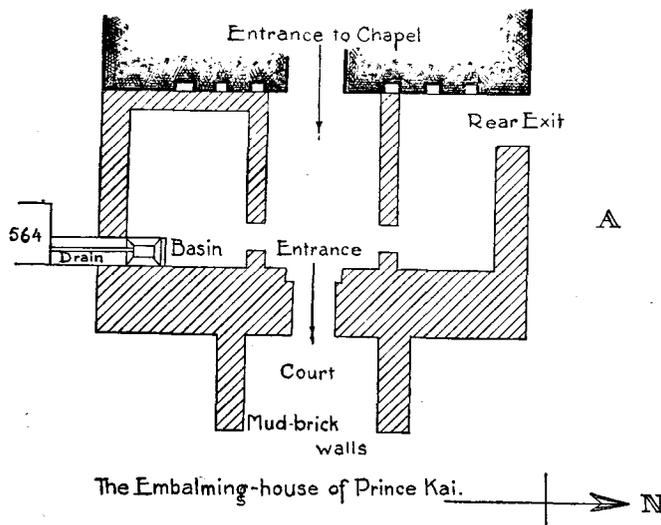


FIG. 42.

The situation of the embalming-house in the immediate vicinity of the tomb, explains the presence of a courtyard in so many of the tombs, which otherwise do not appear to have been necessary. There is, however, a point which the pictured representations do not make clear, and that is, "On what was the corpse placed during the operation of evisceration?" From later sources we know that low tables of wood or stone, pierced with holes for drainage, were employed for the purpose of supporting the corpse during the operation of opening and cleaning the body⁽¹⁾. In our ninth seasons' work in the Giza necropolis, we came upon the tomb of a certain King's Concubine, called Ka-wesert, which by reason of its style and its proximity to the valley-temple of Khafra', I am inclined to date to the reign of that king. The tomb itself does not possess any unusual features, but in the north-eastern corner of the courtyard lying before its main entrance, is a large slab of white limestone measuring $1.70 \times 0.85 \times 0.15$ m., which is pierced by 45 circular holes measuring 7.5 cm. in diameter. The slab is slightly hollowed in the centre. It was found resting upon a bed of rubble about 0.65 m. high. There is no part of the tomb where this slab could have been fitted, and one is tempted to hazard a guess that it represents the embalmer's table upon which the body of Ka-wesert was prepared for mummification, although other explanations have been suggested. One idea put forward was that the slab formed a stand in which flasks of oil were set. This does not seem to me to be feasible. For one thing, the slab is too thick and heavy for such a purpose. Secondly, the holes are too numerous, and so close together that only very small, narrow flasks could be accommodated, and these would be out of all proportion to the size and weight of the slab.

The courtyard in which this slab lies shows clear traces of a mud-brick building embellished with limestone. We found a lintel relating to it lying in the debris; and it is very possible that the whole court was once roofed over.

⁽¹⁾ See WINLOCK, "A Late Embalmer's Table", *Annales du Service*, XXX, pp. 102-104.

With regard to the process of embalming, Mr. Dawson has suggested that the salt-bath, which formed the chief part of the process, took place in a jar (1). Support to this theory is given by

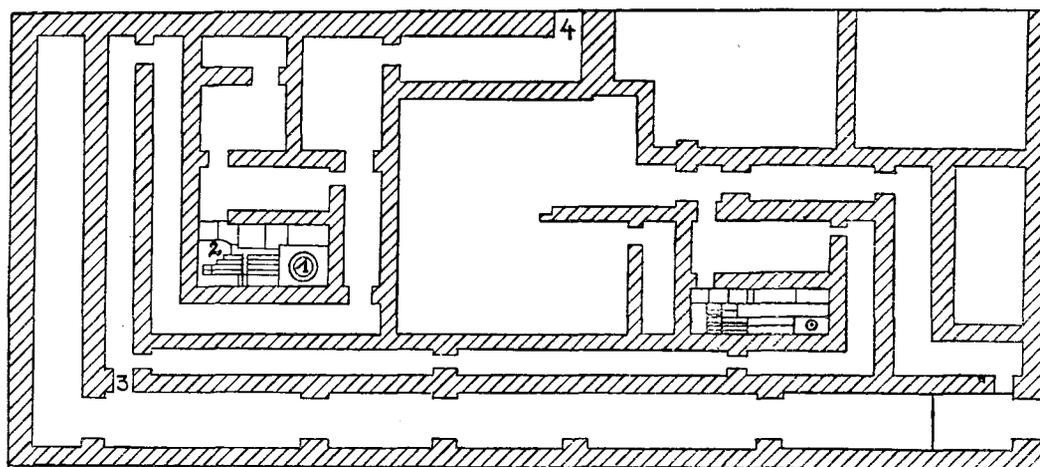
a passage in the Pyramid Texts, which says (No. 437):  "Wn's has come forth from his jar, after having rested in his jar."

THE ROYAL WASHING-TENT AND EMBALMING-HOUSE

So far we have been dealing with private burials, but let us now examine these structures as they are found in connection with the royal pyramids. Here we are more fortunate in our material, for instead of relying mainly upon pictorial evidence, we have concrete facts. The best preserved of these monuments are undoubtedly those belonging to the Khafra' pyramid complex, but we will examine them in chronological order, and begin with the Step-Pyramid of Sakkara, the funerary monument of King Zoser (Third Dynasty).

Zoser.

The embalming-house of Zoser is situated in the building known as the Northern Temple, which forms a unit of the Step-Pyramid complex. At the northern end of the court we find a group of four chambers and an ante-room, approached by means of a narrow passage (Fig. 43).



1. Circular basin
2. Drainage grooves
3. Exit
4. Entrance

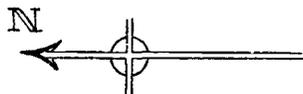


FIG. 43.

In the westernmost chamber is a large, circular basin of limestone, sunk in the floor. To this basin run small, sloping projections which would facilitate the flow of liquids into the basin.

(1) "Making a Mummy", *J.E.A.*, XIII, pp. 40-49.

M. Lauer (¹) asks if this series of chambers, and another similar, but smaller one lying to the south of it, can be places for ablutions or for sacrifice, and if they are contemporary with the Step-Pyramid or are a later afterthought. But our knowledge gained from later pyramids leads us to claim that these chambers constitute the embalming-house of Zoser. This theory is also supported by the plan of a private embalming-house as shown in the tomb of Kar. Figs. 44 and 45 show the

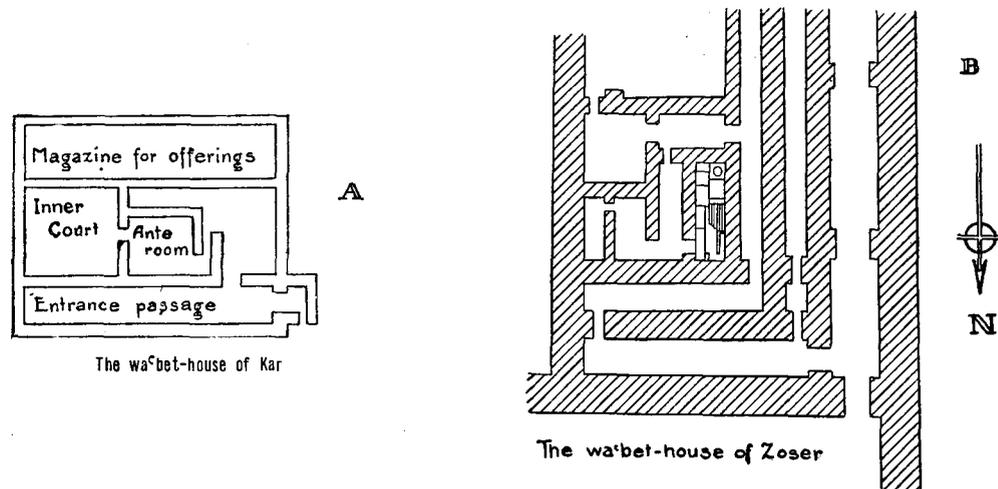


FIG. 44.

FIG. 45.

two plans side by side, and a glance is sufficient to show the similarity of design. Notice the narrow entrance passage, the screen wall and the small ante-room. The fact that there are two of these structures in Zoser's complex may be explained in two ways. Firstly they may be the logical outcome of the dual nature of the Pharaoh in his capacity of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, for this duality was extended to many things connected with the King, as for instance, the two crowns, two treasuries, two entrances to the temples and the palace, and in many cases two tombs! On the other hand, the smaller structure may have belonged to some other members of Zoser's family, perhaps buried with him.

Khufu.

As in the case of the Step-Pyramid, the valley-temple of the Great Pyramid has not yet been excavated, therefore, we cannot say anything about the washing-tent, though doubtless it exists there. But for the embalming-house we have ample evidence that it was situated in the centre of the Great Court of the mortuary temple.

About 35.0 m. from the eastern face of the pyramid is a rectangular depression cut in the rock of the plateau and measuring about 8.0 × 6.0 m. and about 1.0 m. deep. From its northern and southern sides are limestone drainage channels, that on the north being the more complete. It is cut from huge blocks of local limestone, and is raised about 1.0 m. from the upper edge of the depression. It runs due north for about 1.0 m. and then bends north-east, finally terminating in a gully which runs to the edge of the plateau. The actual channel measures about 16.0 cm. at its southern end, widening to about 30 centimetres where it merges into the gully.

(¹) LAUER, " *La Pyramide à Degrés*", Vol. I, p. 74.

A similar channel runs due south for a distance of about 5.0 m. where it disappears under the basalt pavement, which is still intact at this place. A further section of a drainage channel came to light during our excavations in this spot (tenth season). It is of white limestone, and lay in the debris to the south-east of the Great Pyramid. Yet another section was discovered by Prof. Junker in his excavation to the south of the Great Pyramid. The above-mentioned depression and the commencement of the drainage channels seem to have been situated in a large, rectangular chamber, the roof of which was supported by square pillars. This chamber was approached from the south by means of a gangway about 1.50 m. wide recessed in the rock (see Fig. 46).

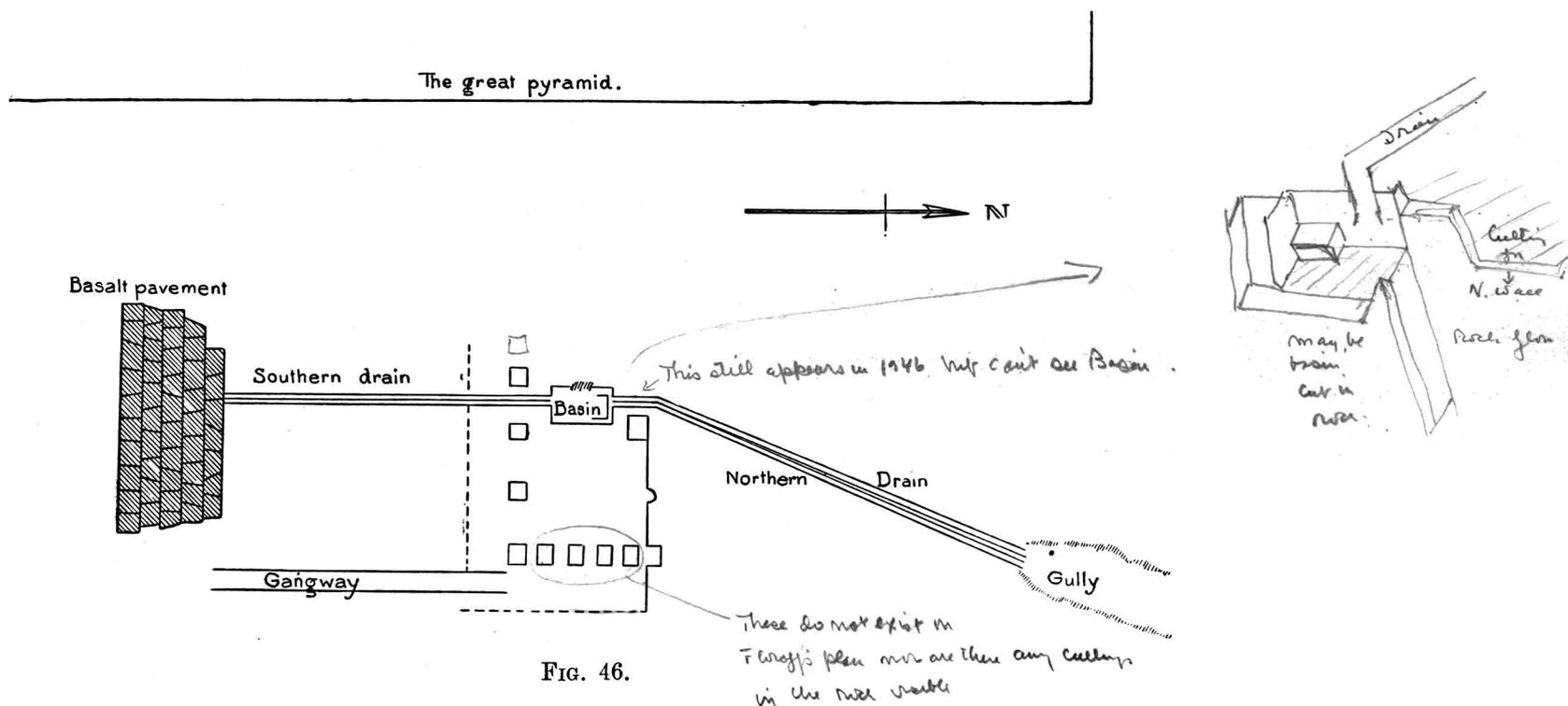


FIG. 46.

Khafra'.

In the case of the Khafra' Pyramid-complex, the washing-tent is to be looked for in the immediate vicinity of the valley-temple. Borchardt (1) and Hölscher (2) were of the opinion that this structure was simply an elaborate monumental gateway beside a quay, where worshippers landed from their boats in time of inundation, in order to pass up to the mortuary temple. On the other hand, Grdseloff goes so far as to claim that the building was a combined washing-tent and embalming-house. In reality, it seems to have been a compromise between these two theories. A comparison of the accompanying plan of the frontage of this temple with the representation of the washing-tents of Kar and Idw shows that they all possess close affinities

(1) "Des Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Ra" S. 10-11 U.A. and C.

(2) "Des Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren" S. 13.

(Fig. 47). In the case of the temple we have a rectangular terrace running the whole width of the eastern façade from the northern and southern ends, of which raised ramps lead down past a sunken court to a water-course running north-south, parallel with the façade of the building.

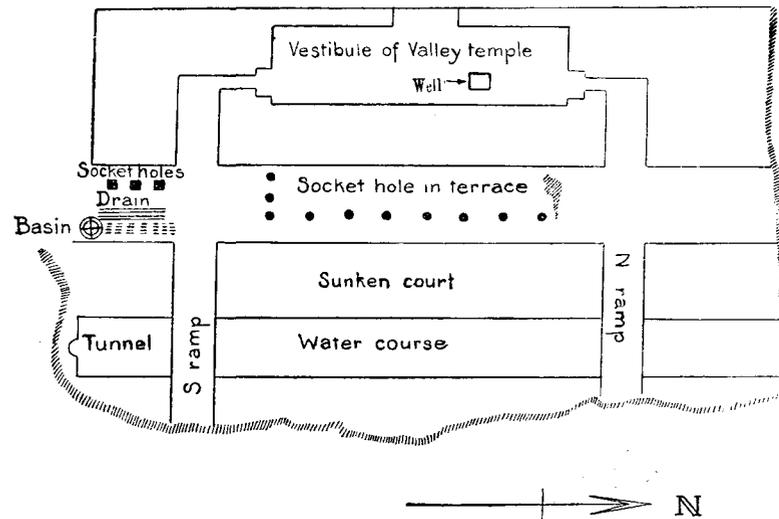


FIG. 47.

This sunken court and water-course came to light while I was excavating this area in 1938-1939. Cut at frequent intervals in the rock-floor of the terrace are a number of round holes about 30.0 cm. in diameter. These immediately suggest the places where the wooden poles supporting the washing-tent were placed.

To the south of the terrace is a damaged circular basin about 1.0 m. in diameter. It is made of limestone, and was fashioned in four sections, cemented together and embedded in the floor of the terrace. Immediately to the north-west of this basin is a section of a red granite drain measuring about 2.50 m. in length, by about 0.50 m. wide. The actual channel measures 15.0 cm. wide at its northern end, and widens slightly as it nears the basin. It does not lie in its original position, but has been moved slightly to the west.

A recess in the floor, of the same dimensions as the granite block indicates that it originally lay immediately to the north of the circular basin, which obviously formed the outfall for the channel.

To the west of this drain, and lying about 1.50 m. from the façade of the temple, are three rectangular holes in the floor of the terrace. These are the sockets of limestone pillars, a fragment of one of which was found lying beside the southern hole.

Here then, it seems we have the washing-tent of Khafra', the site possessing all the special features which the contemporary representations stress upon. On the other hand, it is possible that the first hall of the valley-temple may represent the washing-tent. Certainly, it has the required rectangular shape, and possesses the two side doors with the descending ramps to the water's edge. Moreover, a well (now filled up) existed in the centre of this hall (1).

(1) If indeed this really is a well, and not a Saitic tomb-shaft; for in spite of its fame of being the place from whence came the famous diorite statue of Khafra', now in the Cairo Museum, it has never been scientifically investigated, as far as we know.

But if this theory is correct, it is difficult to give a satisfactory explanation of the socket-holes in the floor of the terrace, and especially of the drain and basin, the latter being most certainly still in its original position.

For the embalming-house of Khafra' we have to look to the mortuary temple of the Second Pyramid, where we shall find all the requirements. Most significant here is the great court, near the centre of which lies a red granite drainage channel measuring about 3.0 m. long, by about 0.70 m. wide, and directed south-west. The northern end of this drain presents a peculiar appearance that is to say, the channel is rectangular in form, measuring about 12.0 cm. in width at its northern end and widening to 17.5 cm. at its southern end, where it passes under the wall of the court, and continues in a rock-cut gully running due south, until it eventually merges into the open ground of the plateau. But at the northern end of this channel, it suddenly widens out into a semicircular depression. To the west is a large, shallow rectangular depression, apparently caused by the removal of some paving-blocks of considerable size. The floor of the court at this point is in a very ruinous state, but there are indications of the foundations of walls, perhaps denoting the existence of a chamber (Fig. 48).

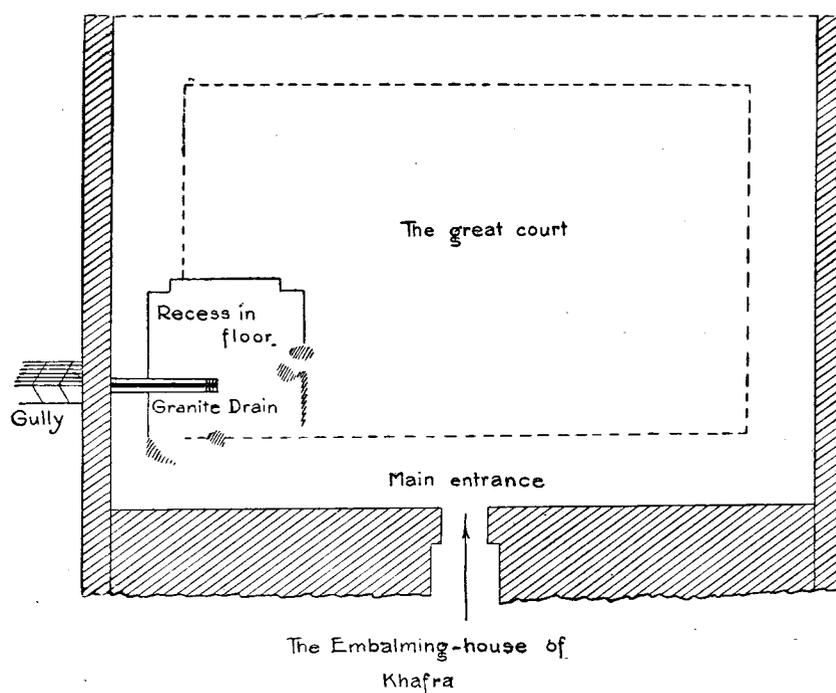


FIG. 48.

Men-kaw-Ra'.

The remains of the washing-tent of Men-kaw-Ra' are to be found in his valley-temple ⁽¹⁾. South of the middle aisle of the court is a large rectangular basin of limestone, sunk in the floor of the court. From its north-eastern corner an inflowing drain extends slantingly to the western door of the ante-room. This drain was covered over by slabs of stone. Unfortunately later additions and alterations in this temple have destroyed all further details of the structure.

⁽¹⁾ REISNER, "Mycerinus".

The embalming-house of Men-kaw-Ra' existed in the mortuary temple of the Third Pyramid. From the centre of the main entrance to the court is a narrow gangway measuring about 1.50 m. wide, and running due west towards the pyramid. At its eastern end this gangway is flush with the surrounding floor of the court, but as it proceeds westwards, it slopes gently upwards until it reaches a height of about 20.0 cm. above the floor-level. At about the middle of the gangway are traces of the presence of a large slab of stone, which has now disappeared. This may have been the embalming-table, enclosed in a chamber, perhaps built of mud-brick, for the walls of the court itself were lined with that material⁽¹⁾. Immediately to the north is a limestone channel 13.0 cm. wide, which runs due north and empties into a large, rectangular depression (originally containing a basin ?), measuring about 6.0 × 5.50 m. (Fig. 49).

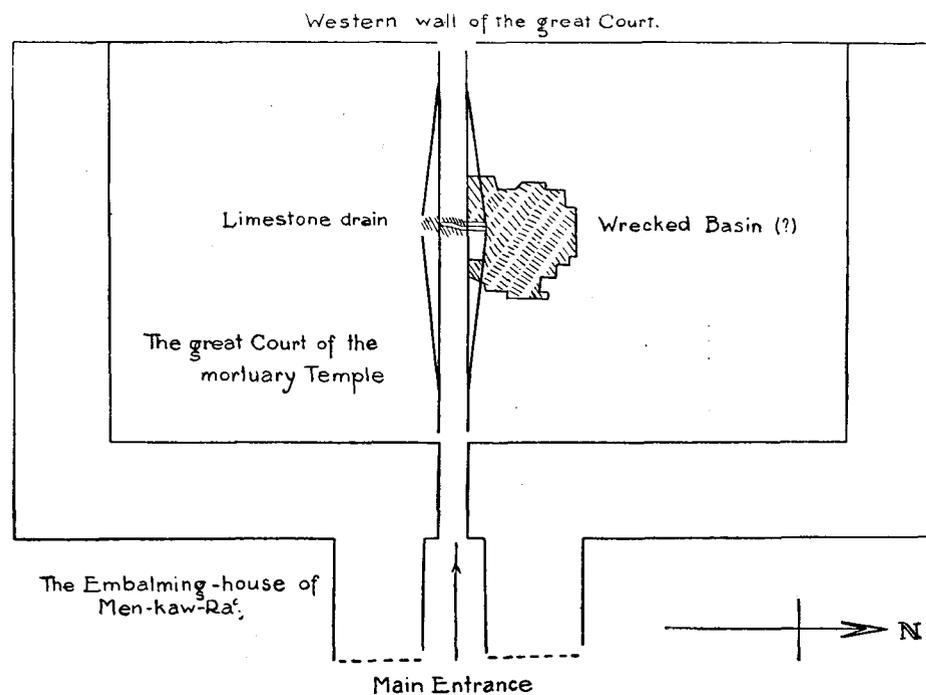


FIG. 49.

The small Queen's pyramid lying south-east of the Third Pyramid also possesses this feature in the centre of the court of its mortuary temple. Here is preserved a fine rectangular basin sunk in the floor.

Shepses-ka-f.

The Mastabet el-Faraoun preserves to us the embalming-house of Shepses-ka-f, which consists of a three-roomed building situated to the north-west of the great court (Fig. 50). In the first room is a limestone drain, which running north, and passing under the northern wall, empties itself into a large, rectangular basin lying outside. This drain was roofed over, and only the first section was originally visible. A second drain opens in the court, and passing under the northern

⁽¹⁾ See REISNER, "Mycerinus".

wall of the court, runs north-west and terminates in a small-rectangular basin. The purpose of this second drainage system is not clear, and it recalls a similar state of affairs, which, as we have already seen existed in the Step-Pyramid Complex.

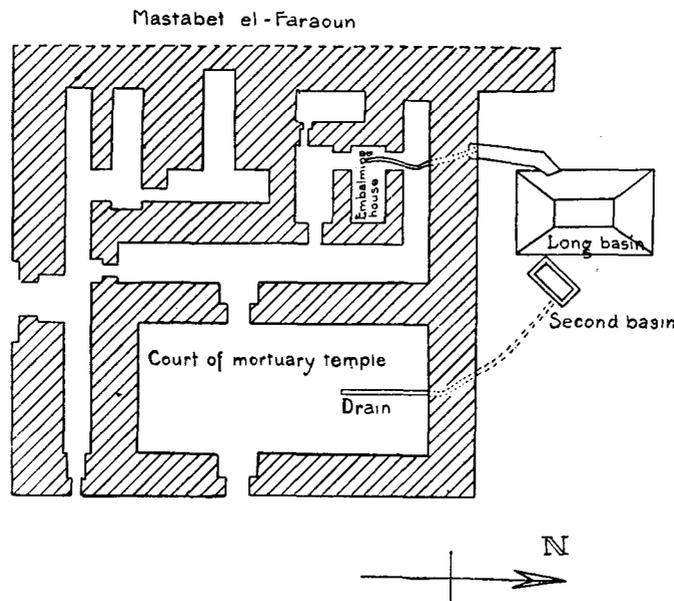


FIG. 50.

Khent-kawes.

The washing-tent of Queen Khent-kawes is to be identified with the mud-brick building which lies to the north of her valley-temple (*see* p. 53). Or rather, this building should be the central cell of the tent, the outer part probably following the traditional form of poles and matting. Owing to the proximity of the modern Moslem cemetery we were unable to ascertain if a water-course or canal existed in the vicinity. But the presence of a large well immediately to the south-west of the structure, suggests that this was the source from which was obtained the water used for washing the Queen's corpse. This well seems originally to have belonged to the Third Pyramid Complex, as two of its sides are formed by the termination of Men-kaw-Ra's temple platform. However, it was certainly re-employed by the Queen for her own use. The most interesting and at the same time, the most significant point here is the fact that in the interior of this brick cell is the opening of a covered limestone drain, measuring 7·20 m. in length. It slopes downwards to the north, and passing under the ground, empties into a large, rectangular basin. This seems clearly to have been the channel which carried off the washing-water during the initial ceremony of purification.

For the Queen's embalming-house, we have to look to the long, rectangular chamber lying between the eastern rock-cut wall mentioned on pp. 33, 34, and the eastern face of the pyramid (Fig. 51). This long, narrow hall seems originally to have possessed a door at each end of it, but its main entrance was at the southern end, opening directly into the square court in front of the pyramid. The eastern half of this chamber takes the form of a low platform of mud and rubble measuring about 4·0 m. wide, and 0·40 m. high, and running the whole length of the chamber. This platform was divided by a wall of mud-bricks running across it a little to the south of its dead centre, thus dividing it into two separate rooms of almost equal size. There is no definite evidence that these chambers were ever roofed over, but the fact that the topmost of the rock-cut steps in the eastern face of the pyramid is of the same height as the highest point of the rock-cut wall, suggests that the intervening space might have been spanned by a roof. On the

other hand, there are no traces of the huge slabs which would have been required to bridge this space, but perhaps the roof (if it ever existed) was of wood, and may even have been a temporary structure, removed when the Queen's embalming rites were completed. At the northern end of the second, or northern room the floor slopes down to a shallow rock-cut drain which passes through a rectangular opening under the wall and empties into the huge rock-cut basin lying to the north-

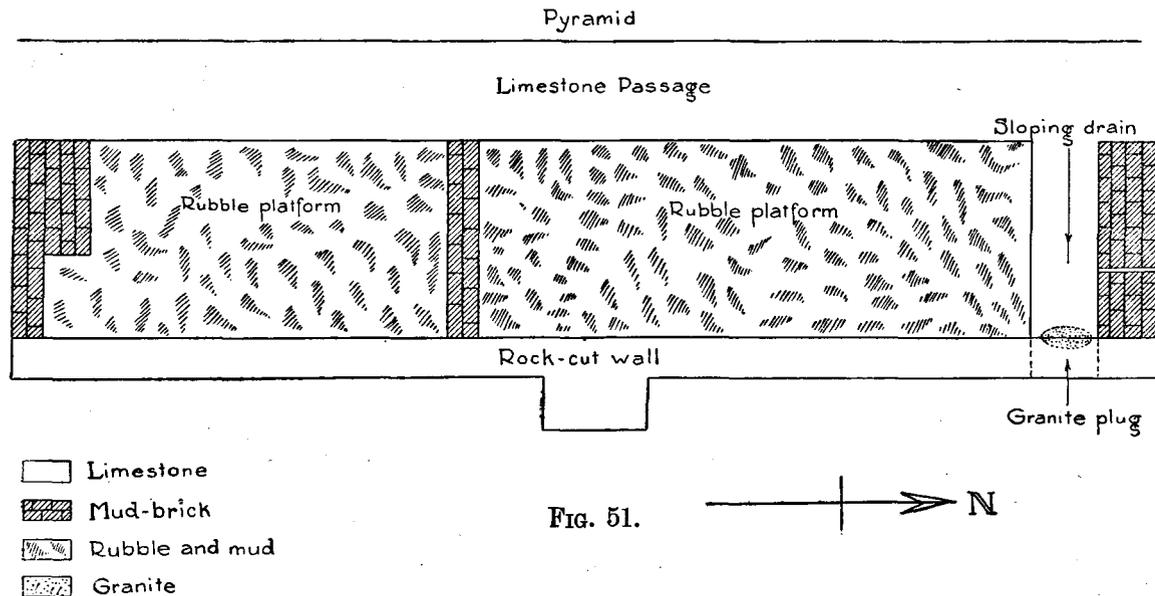


FIG. 51.

east of it (see pp. 33, 34, Fig. 32 and Pl. XIV, A). The granite plug which blocks this drain may have been placed there when the embalming of the Queen was completed, and the drain no longer had a practical use. Or perhaps it was done much later in order to prevent rainwater from pouring into the basin, which was afterwards used for intrusive burials. The basin itself is unusually large and is provided with a rock-cut staircase leading down into its interior. This was perhaps to facilitate the task of emptying and cleaning the basin; while the presence of a vaulted roof, which it appears to have possessed, would have given privacy during the embalming operations.

The four doorless and windowless cells lying to the east of the court may be the magazines where the waste material, such as jars, spare bandages, medicaments, etc., were sealed up after the funeral ceremonies had taken place⁽¹⁾. From later evidence we know that such a practice was customary⁽²⁾, and this was probably the nature of the cache which played such an important part in leading Lord Carnavon and Mr. Howard Carter to the discovery of the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amon. There is no trace of the Queen's embalming-table in the embalming-house, but a fragment of polished alabaster came to light while we were excavating the Fourth Pyramid Complex which may have perhaps formed part of it. (See Pl. XIX, A). The surface is divided into small squares by means of incised lines, and at frequent intervals it was pierced by circular holes about 7.0 cm. in diameter. It recalls the limestone slab of Ka-wesert, found in the courtyard of her tomb. (See p. 86.)

From the foregoing pages we can see that in all essential points of the arrangements of the washing-tent and the embalming-house, Queen Khent-kawes was following the precedent set by the great kings of the Fourth Dynasty.

⁽¹⁾ See p. 37.

⁽²⁾ Dawson, "Making a Mummy", *J.E.A.*, XIII, p. 47.

Weser-ka-f.

Up to now we have traced the royal embalming-house from the reign of Zoser to the reign of Khent-kawes, and we have seen that it remained practically unchanged from the Third Dynasty to the end of the Fourth Dynasty. But with the accession of Weser-ka-f we find an innovation introduced into the pyramid which was faithfully followed by the kings of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, as well as by some of their Queens, and this innovation may have some bearing upon the embalming-house. Situated immediately to the south of Weser-ka-f's pyramid at Sakkara, and west of its mortuary temple, is a small pyramid containing a single oblong chamber (Fig. 52). This was referred to by Firth as a "Ritual pyramid". But he frankly confessed that he did not know its real significance, and suggested that it might have served some purpose in the Heb-sed festival, functioned as a temporary resting-place for the King's body, or have housed the solar barques⁽¹⁾.

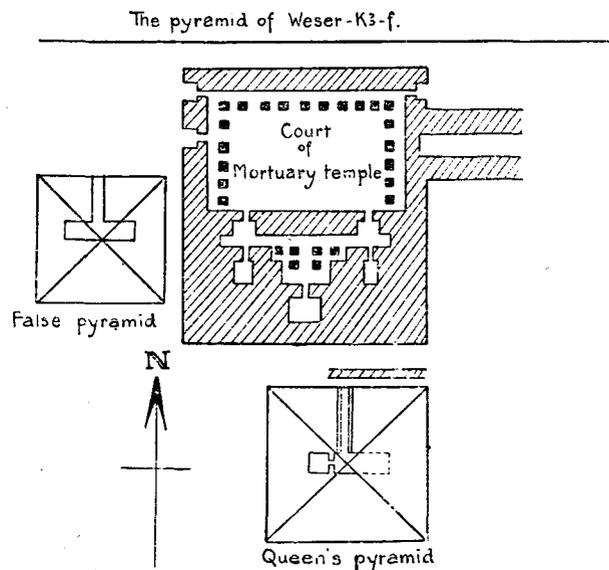


FIG. 52.

The latter hypothesis may be at once ruled out, for the wooden fleet of Queen Neit was found buried in a small pit near, but by no means connected with a similar small pyramid attached to her complex. At first glance, one would say that these small pyramids were the tombs of queens, such as we find attached to the royal pyramids of the Fourth Dynasty. But the fact that they also occur in connection with the pyramids of the Queens Neit and Apwit rules out this possibility at once. Moreover, no traces of a real burial has ever been found in one of them up to the present. Perhaps we may see in these miniature pyramids an addition to the embalming-house, to which they were sometimes attached, or rather, perhaps they were a temporary resting-place for the spiritual body. If this theory is correct, then these small pyramids fall into line with other known features of Old Kingdom tomb construction.

FALSE-SHAFTS AND FALSE-PYRAMIDS

During our excavations in the Giza necropolis, I noticed that the majority of the large tombs possessed two shafts, one of which terminated in a burial-chamber containing the sarcophagus; while the other, which was usually found to the south of the true shaft, was smaller in size, less in depth, and never contained a burial-chamber, and is, in fact, merely a pit filled with debris, and containing nothing at all. In the case of 250 real shafts which I examined in the Giza necropolis, each had beside it a false-shaft, absolutely empty, except for its filling, which on examination proved to be original, and had not been touched since ancient times. These had

(1) "Annales du Service", Vol. XXX, pp. 64-70.

of course, been observed by other excavators⁽¹⁾, and had always been considered as unfinished shafts. So sure was this conviction that often the clearance of a tomb was suspended on the discovery of one of these blind shafts, on the firm impression that the entire monument had never been completed and used for burial. A notable case in point was the search for the burial-chamber of the son of Ty, which was rightly thought to exist somewhere in the structure of his father's famous mastaba at Sakkara. But after some searching, the excavators, at first Mariette, and many years later M. Lacau, alighted upon one of these false-shafts, which each took to be a sign that the son of Ty had not been buried in his father's tomb after all, and so they abandoned their search⁽²⁾. I was dissatisfied with the explanations given concerning those so-called "unfinished shafts" for I noticed that they frequently occur in tombs which are clearly complete in every respect, and which have proved to have contained burials. Therefore, I decided to investigate the matter more closely in conjunction with the religious ideas of the Old Kingdom Egyptians, and came to the conclusion that they are analogous to the false-doors of the tombs. It is, of course, a well-known fact that these latter are representations of doors, of carved stone, or more rarely, of wood, and existed to provide the Ka with a means of entrance into, and exit from, the burial-chamber.

The false-shaft then, should be a place of refuge for the Khw, or spiritual body, and the false pyramid should be a further development of this idea, as applied to royalty. That is to say, perhaps they were constructed in order to provide a fitting resting-place for the spiritual body of the king. In the case of Queen Wdjebten the wife of Pepy II we have a revision to the false-shaft. Perhaps unable to find the means for a miniature pyramid, this Queen had in its place a wide, well-built and highly finished shaft in its stead. It does not possess a burial-chamber, and is situated in exactly the same relation to the pyramid of the Queen as were the small false-pyramids⁽³⁾. This interchangeability seems to prove that the false pyramid and the false-shaft were identical in nature and function.

On the other hand, in the cases of Weser-ka-f, Teti, Pepy II, Queen Neit and Queen Apwit these false pyramids exist alongside a structure which contains a system of drains and basins, and which clearly seems to have been the embalming-house. This suggests that the false pyramids may have had some connection with this ceremony as well, and gives rise to an alternative suggestion, namely that they may have been used to house the body during the rites of embalment. In the case of Weser-ka-f, the chamber containing the basins and drains exists at the western face of this pyramid, and Firth was of the opinion that it was merely the offering-place⁽⁴⁾. But perhaps this and the similar buildings relating to the pyramids of Tety, Pepy II, Neit and Apwit, and which in these latter instances lie alongside the small pyramids, are the places where

(1) The fact that these false-shafts were not dug out by the ancients themselves, who were expert tomb-robbers, shows that their real purpose was known to them, and therefore were left untouched, while the real shafts which contain treasures were mostly re-excavated. How many times modern excavators were thrilled with joy when at the beginning of clearing such false-shaft, they found that its filling was virgin, but at the end they were disappointed to find that it was a blind shaft—the ancient tomb robbers were more expert than these modern scientific tomb robbers!

(2) I subsequently cleared this part of the tomb, and using the knowledge which experience had lent me, I searched in the immediate neighbourhood of the "false-shaft" and soon located the real one, which in this case proved to be intact, and to contain a number of beautiful and interesting objects.

(3) JEQUIER, "*La Pyramide d'Oudjebten*", p. 10.

(4) *Annales du Service*, XXX., p. 68.

the "dirty-work" of opening and eviscerating the corpse took place, after which it may have been placed in the false pyramid to undergo the salting process. Here it would certainly have been safe and easily guarded, and above all, could have been maintained at an equable temperature. At the end of the salting period the body may have been returned to the outer chamber in order to undergo the final washings which would have been required to free it from excess salt, and impurities. The false pyramids may also have had a magical significance along with other funerary "models".

Concerning the small pyramid belonging to Queen Neit⁽¹⁾, the oblong interior chamber was found to contain the smashed remains of many jars of red-ware and alabaster. Perhaps these represent the materials remaining over from the embalment of the Queen, which were collected here when the ceremonies were over, and buried out of sight, as the priests hoped, for ever. This was the case in some of the Eleventh Dynasty tombs investigated by Winlock at Thebes⁽²⁾.

Whichever of these theories is the correct one, it is not at all surprising to find that Weser-ka-f was apparently the first king to introduce the pyramid-motif into this particular unit of the pyramid-complex. Probably High-priest of Heliopolis, certainly a nominee of the Heliopolitan priesthood, and anxious to promote the sun-cult to the unchallenged supremacy of a state religion, it is only logical that he should seek to associate the purely Osirian, but none the less vital ceremonies of embalment and interment with the symbol of the solar faith, namely the pyramid or Ben-ben. Thus, if we are to see in the false pyramids a new architectural form of the embalming-house, then we have a clear attempt to solarize what is purely and entirely an Osirian rite and one which had no connection with the Heliopolitan doctrine. If, on the other hand, and in our present state of knowledge this seems the more probable—we are to regard the false pyramid as a kingly development of the false shaft, and the abiding-place of the Khw, then once more, the pyramid-form is quite in order, for this spiritual body was an entity recognized and accepted by the solar-faith as well as by the followers of Osiris.

THE ROYAL WASHING-TENT OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH DYNASTIES

We have been able to examine the remains of the royal embalming-houses in almost unbroken succession from the beginning of the Third to the end of the Sixth Dynasties, for being situated in the desert and therefore somewhat inaccessible, these structures have remained more or less well-preserved. With regard to the washing-tent which was situated in the valley-temple, we have not been so fortunate, for lying near, or actually in the zone of cultivation these structures have naturally suffered to a greater extent than the mortuary temples. Moreover, for some reason or another, even when remains of a valley-temple are known to be still existent, they have remained neglected by archæologists, and are still unexcavated. Two notable cases in point are the valley-temples of the Great Pyramid and the Pyramid of Meydum. However, we may congratulate ourselves on being in a position to examine some of these structures as they relate to the pyramid-complexes of some of the Kings of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.

(1) JEQUIER, " *Les Pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit* ".

(2) WINLOCK, " *Bulletin of the Metrop. Mus.* New York, 1922 p. 34 and 1924 p. 32.

Sahw-Ra'.

In the valley temple of Sahw-Ra' at Abusir, we have a form of the washing-tent, displaying its main characteristics. Here we see a long terrace flanked by two walls of masonry. From the centre of the terrace, a sloping way runs down to the canal. The wooden poles of the original tent seem to have been replaced by stone columns supporting a central portico, which in its turn suggests the small inner cell of the washing-tent. This building faces south, but is attached to the main body of the valley-temple, which faces east in the normal way, and is a modified version of the valley-temple of Khafra' at Giza.

Ny-weser-Ra'.

The valley-temple of Ny-weser-Ra' is similar in form to the above, but omits the flanking walls.

Pepy II.

Coming to the Sixth Dynasty, we find that the valley-temple of Pepy II is also fronted by a long terrace, similar to, but larger than, that of Khafra'. From each end of it, a slipway runs down to the water's edge, while the two end doors give access to two partially roofed passages leading to two small side-chambers. These chambers have no connection with the main body of the temple, which can only be reached by means of a doorway situated in the centre of the façade and opening out on to the terrace. At the two ends of the terrace are deep holes cut in the pavement. Of these, Jequier says: ". . . cuts in the floor . . . mark the situation of a structure which, without the least doubt constituted a double way for the approach to the monument" (1).

These would seem to have been the socket-holes for the wooden poles of the washing-tent, which here, apparently returned to its earlier form (if we accept that the whole "tent" of Sahw-Ra' and his successors was interpreted in masonry).

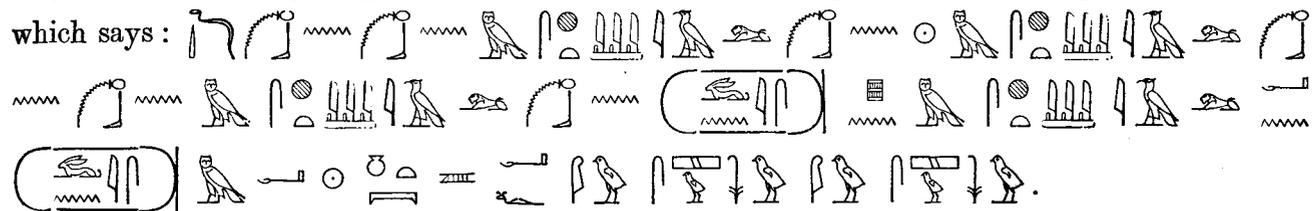
The valley-temple of Pepy II is a further development of that of Khafra', being similar in design and main features, but possessing a far greater number of small rooms and magazines. This fact, in its turn, suggests a development in the cult of the dead King, and innovations demanding more and yet more ritual offerings and objects, which on their part, demanded still more storage-room. There must in fact, have been a strange resemblance between these temple-magazines and the modern "property-room" of any large theatre of film-studio!

THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS BEHIND THE RITES OF THE WASHING-TENT
AND THE EMBALMING-HOUSE

Up to now we have discussed the washing-tent from a purely material point of view, but now it behoves us to consider it from a religious standpoint as well. In reality, the ritual of the washing-tent is one connected with the solar-faith, and was, moreover, the exclusive prerogative of kings. The purpose of the rite seems to have been firstly to bring the deceased king into

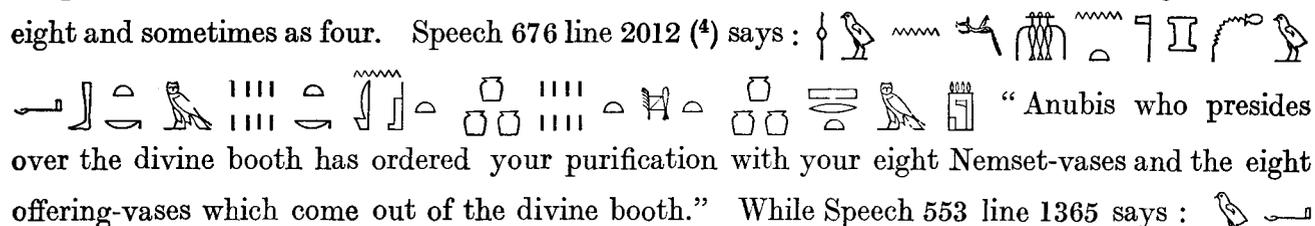
(1) JEQUIER, "La Monument Funéraire de Pepi II", Vol. III.

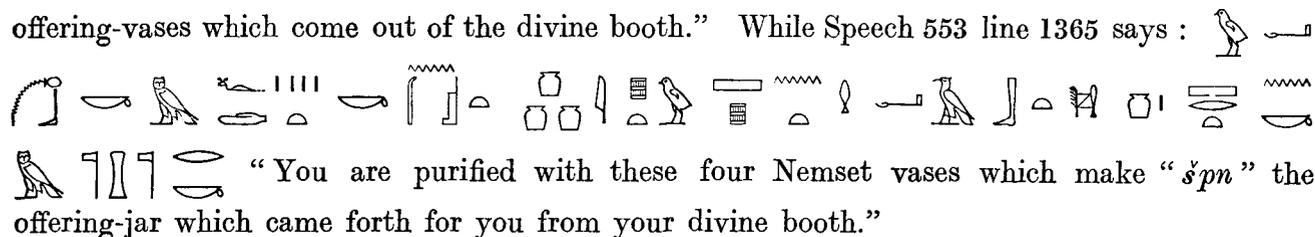
relationship with the Sun-god, who underwent a daily purification in the lake of the Field of Reeds which the Egyptians pictured as being situated in the eastern ocean of heaven. This idea is made very clear by several passages in the Pyramid Texts. It is explicitly stated in Speech No. 253 (1)

which says :  The hieroglyphs are arranged in three lines. The first line contains 12 signs, the second line 12 signs, and the third line 12 signs. The signs include various symbols such as birds, lotus flowers, and other ritual objects.

“ Purified is he who is purified in the Field of Reeds, Purified is Ra' in the Field of Reeds. Purified is he who is purified in the Field of Reeds. Purified is this *Wni's* in the Field of Reeds. The hand of this *Wni's* is in the hand of Ra' ; Nwt takes his hand, Shw raises him, Shw raises him.” The aim of this daily bath in the mystic lake seems to have been the renewal of the life and vitality of the Sun-god, and consequently, of the dead king. Breasted points out that this purification, which is so insistently stressed upon in the Pyramid Texts, might also have a moral aspect, and suggests that this enormously old oriental ceremony may have survived into modern times in the rite of baptism (2).

A passage from a Middle Kingdom coffin-text, which is very important, says : “ You mount with Ra' to purify yourself in the lake ; you clothe yourself in the washing-tent, and live again behind your shelters ” (3). The Pyramid Texts also make constant reference to the purification of the Sun-god and the dead king by means of the Nemset-vases, which as we have already seen, are part of the equipment of the washing-tent. These are sometimes referred to as being in a set of eight and sometimes as four. Speech 676 line 2012 (4) says :

 The hieroglyphs are arranged in two lines. The first line contains 12 signs, and the second line contains 12 signs. The signs include various symbols such as birds, lotus flowers, and other ritual objects. “ Anubis who presides over the divine booth has ordered your purification with your eight Nemset-vases and the eight offering-vases which come out of the divine booth.”

While Speech 553 line 1365 says :  The hieroglyphs are arranged in three lines. The first line contains 12 signs, the second line 12 signs, and the third line 12 signs. The signs include various symbols such as birds, lotus flowers, and other ritual objects. “ You are purified with these four Nemset vases which make “*s'pn*” the offering-jar which came forth for you from your divine booth.”

And there are many texts of a similar nature which clearly indicate that this rite of the washing-tent was one, by means of which the dead king was helped to enter heaven and daily renew his life, even as the Sun-god had done. Gradually religion became democratized, and what had once been a celestial fate reserved for the king, was placed within the reach of his nobles and was finally shared by all his subjects (5).

(1) SETHE'S translation.

(2) BREASTED, “ *The Dawn of Conscience* ”, p. 75.

(3) GRDSELOFF, “ *Das Ägyptische Reinigungszell* ”, p. 35.

(4) SETHE'S “ *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* ”.

(5) This process of democratization is amply demonstrated by BREASTED in his “ *Dawn of Conscience* ”, ch. XIII.

But with regard to the rites of embalming, we have quite another theological doctrine. The solar-cult was not concerned with the body; it was concerned only with the fate of the Ba, or soul. But the body left behind in the tomb was the concern of the Osirian faith. The rites of mummification were modelled upon those which were performed upon the body of Osiris himself, and the aim was to transform each dead person into a replica of Osiris. To such an extent did this identification with the great God of the Dead develop that it became the custom to address or refer to a deceased person as "the Osiris N.N.". As early as the end of the Sixth Dynasty this development had taken place, and we constantly find the dead king addressed as "the Osiris Pepy" in the Pyramid Texts, which, notwithstanding their solar origin, eventually became swamped by the rising tide of the Osirian faith (1). This is clearly seen in those passages referring to the preservation of the corpse, which as already mentioned, was originally a matter of no importance in the Solar faith; and as early as the end of the Fifth Dynasty we find Osiris adjured in such terms as: "Thy body is the body of this King *Wni's* thy flesh is the flesh of this King *Wni's*, thy bones are the bones of this King *Wni's*. As he (Osiris) lives, this King *Wni's* lives; as he dies not, this King *Wni's* dies not; as he perishes not, this King *Wni's* perishes not" (2). And later we see: "The odour of Pepy is that of the Uraeus. He shall not rot, he shall not become corruption, this Pepy shall not perish" (3).

The ceremony of "Opening the Mouth" was also one shared by the Osirian cult. Its aim was to restore to the dead body the functions, not only of the mouth, but of the whole body and limbs (4).

Thus, we find that in the ceremonies of embalment the rites of two distinct, and even antagonistic religious systems were combined—the purification, which was originally solar in origin, and the actual embalment, which was Osirian. And this demonstrates the state of religious opinion in the Old Kingdom. The two doctrines ran side by side, and even though the Heliopolitan cult had the advantage of being the state religion, especially during the Fifth Dynasty, yet the stronger appeal of the Osirian cult was not to be denied, and little by little the ideal of the God-man who triumphed over death gained the ascendancy over men's minds, and resulted in the final triumph of the Osirian faith.

"Another point of interest is the persistence of religious thought in ancient Egypt. In a Ptolemaic inscription, now in Vienna, we have the details of the interment of an Apis-bull (5). Unfortunately the text is much mutilated, otherwise we should probably have had a complete description of the whole ceremony before us. Nevertheless, mutilated as it is, it is of great importance, for it demonstrates the persistence of the Old Kingdom religious ideas, and shows that right to the end of paganism, the Egyptian's conservative mind clung to the customs which his remote ancestors had followed. An interesting passage in this inscription reads:

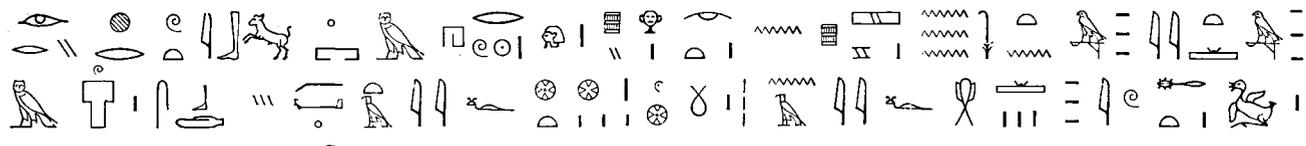
(1) BREASTED, "Dawn of Conscience", p. 109.

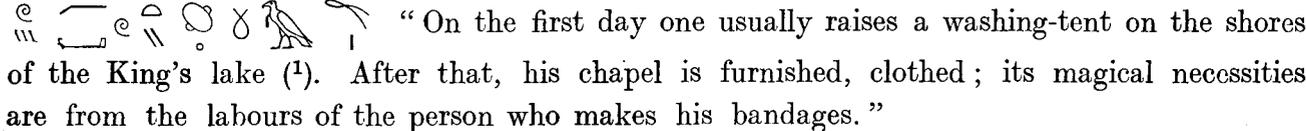
(2) BREASTED, *ibid.* p. 108.

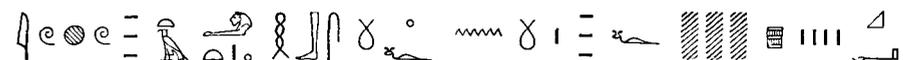
(3) BUDGE, "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection", Vol. II, p. 346.

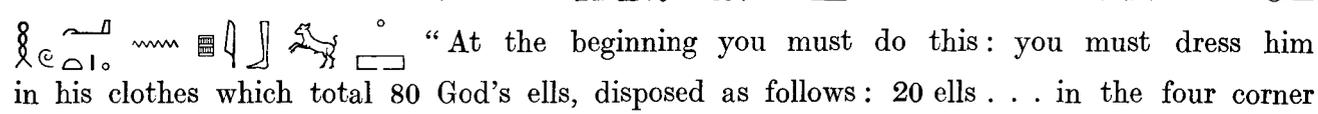
(4) *ibid.* p. 74.

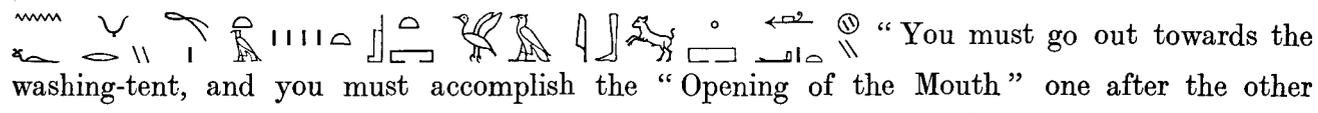
(5) GRDSELOFF, "Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt", p. 47.

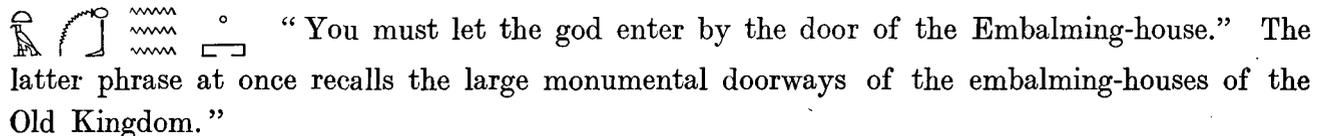



 "On the first day one usually raises a washing-tent on the shores of the King's lake (1). After that, his chapel is furnished, clothed; its magical necessities are from the labours of the person who makes his bandages."

Another passage reads : 


 "At the beginning you must do this: you must dress him in his clothes which total 80 God's ells, disposed as follows: 20 ells . . . in the four corner of the washing-tent." And also: 


 "You must go out towards the washing-tent, and you must accomplish the "Opening of the Mouth" one after the other in the four places (?) of the washing-tent, and after that you have fulfilled all the festival ritual." Here (2) there is still no deviation from tradition, and the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth" still takes place in the washing-tent. Lastly, we have: 


 "You must let the god enter by the door of the Embalming-house." The latter phrase at once recalls the large monumental doorways of the embalming-houses of the Old Kingdom."

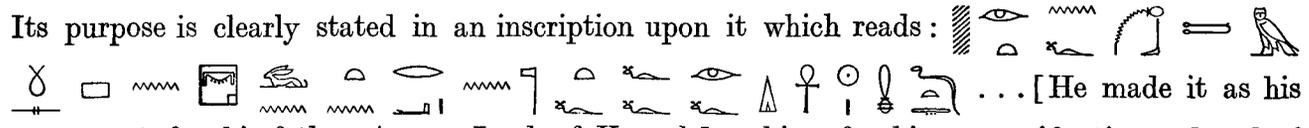
By this fragmentary inscription we can see that the same ideas concerning the purpose of the washing-tent and embalming-house were held in Ptolemaic times as had been held during the Pyramid age. Moreover, it shows that their use could be applied to the Gods (as exemplified by the dead Apis) in the same manner as to the kings and their subjects. Finally, we must remember that the Pyramid age is not our earliest source for the evidence of Egyptian funerary ritual. From the beginning of the art of writing we have reference to burial customs, as may be seen from the ivory and ebony tablets dating from the First Dynasty, discovered at Abydos, Naqada, etc.; while the huge brick mastabas of the same period, with their elaborate equipment (3) were clearly not mushroom growths which sprang up in a single night, but are the outcome of an established funerary ritual which must have had its origin far back in the dark, forgotten ages of Egyptian pre-history.

In conclusion, it may be said the stone basins occurring in the temples which we have been discussing were merely for ablutions, and were used by priests before taking part in any religious ceremony. But in the case of Zoser, Shepses-ka-f and Teti these drain-and-basin systems were duplicated, and it may be that the extra installation was for the use of the living. Blackman, referring to Ny-weser-Ra', suggests that possibly part of the ablution ceremony (performed by

(1) Notice the persistence of the importance of the position of the washing-tent beside water, and the reference to a lake, a tradition harking back to the Pyramid-Texts.

(2) This is Grdseloff's opinion, but we think it is a later development of the Old Kingdom rites.

(3) PETRIE, "Royal Tombs"

the king) took place in the two sunken basins outside the vestry of Ny-weser-Ra's sun-temple⁽¹⁾. On the other hand, the later representations of the ablution place, as well as an actual example found by Legrain at Karnak⁽²⁾ show a totally different form to the drain-and-basin installations of the Old Kingdom funerary temples. In the Middle Kingdom tomb of Dhuthotep at El-Bersheh⁽³⁾, the ablution place is represented as a slab of stone (?) not more than 15.0 cm. to 20.0 cm. high. The actual specimen found by Legrain consists of a rectangular block of alabaster about 1.0 m. long, 0.75 m. wide and 0.50 m. high. The top is a shallow basin with sloping sides and a flat rim about 10.0 cm. wide. In the centre are two raised oblong foot-rests. Its purpose is clearly stated in an inscription upon it which reads:  . . . [He made it as his monument for his father Amon, Lord of Karnak] making for him a purification-pedestal of alabaster of Hatnub for the use of the fathers of the God, that he may make an "Endowed-with-life-like-Ra'-for-ever".

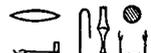
This seems to be the form of the slab depicted in the Theban tomb-chapel of Okheperkera'sonb⁽⁴⁾. In all the scenes depicting ceremonial purification, the subject is shown fully-clothed. Therefore, we may assume that the ablution was merely a symbolical sprinkling and not an actual bath. This being so, the type of pedestal represented and the example found by Legrain would be the most practical, and the large, deep basins of the Old Kingdom temples would be both impractical and undesirable for this purpose. Neither are the existing basins conveniently situated for such a rite. If the object of the lustration ceremony was to render the worshipper ceremonially clean, then the rite should have taken place immediately upon entering the valley temple, and it is not impossible that the basin of the washing-tent was afterwards put to this use. But if we allow that they are for lustration purposes, then the drain-and-basin systems of the mortuary temples are meaningless. Why should the worshipper, still ceremonially unclean, pass through the valley-temple, up the causeway, traversing the whole of the sacred necropolis and enter into the great court of the mortuary temple before he could be purified? And if he had been purified in the valley-temple, then what is the use of the installation in the mortuary temples, for, being on holy ground all the time, the worshipper could hardly become defiled before reaching the mortuary temple.

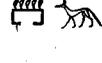
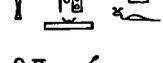
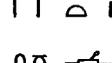
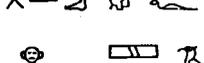
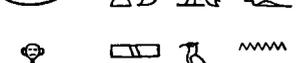
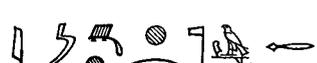
(1) BLACKMAN, "The Ancient Egyptian Practice of Washing the Dead", *J.E.A.*, Vol. V, p. 120.

(2) LEGRAIN, "Annales du Service", IV, p. 225.

(3) NEWBERRY, "El-Bersheh", Vol. I, Pl. X.

(4) BLACKMAN: *op. cit.*, Pl. XIX.

THE TOMB OF SEKHEM-KA-RA', 

	TITLE	
1. 	<i>s3 njswt smsw nj ht.f.</i>	Eldest King's Son of His Body.
2. 	<i>rp'.t.</i>	Hereditary Prince.
3. 	<i>htj-'.</i>	Count.
4. 	<i>imj is.</i>	He who is in the Chamber.
5. 	<i>sdswty bitj.</i>	Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt.
6. 	<i>hrp 'h.</i>	Director of the Palace.
7. 	<i>t3jtj s3b.</i>	Chief Justice.
8. 	<i>tsty.</i>	Vizier.
9. 	<i>hrp s3 nj it.f.</i>	Director of the Scribes of the Book of His Father.
10. 	<i>smr wtj.</i>	Sole Confidant.
11. 	<i>smr wtj nj it.f.</i>	Sole Confidant of His Father.
12. 	<i>hrj-tp hrj-hb nj it.f.</i>	Chief Ritualist of His Father.
13. 	<i>hrj s3ts nj it.f.</i>	Master of the Secrets of His Father.
14. 	<i>hrj s3ts nj pr dwst.</i>	Master of the Secrets of the Toilet-house.
15. 	<i>'3 Dwaw '3 . . .</i>	Doorkeeper of the God Dwaw (?)
16. 	<i>wtj. inpw.</i>	Embalmer-priest of Anubis.
17. 	<i>imshw hr it.f.</i>	Honoured by His Father.
18. 	<i>imshw hr it.f njswt.</i>	Honoured by His Father, the King.
19. 	<i>imshw hr ntr-'3.</i>	Honoured by the Great God.
20. 	<i>imshw hr njswt-bitj H'-f-R'.</i>	Honoured by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khafra'.

21.		<i>imshw hr njswt-bitj Mn-kaw-R'.</i>	Honoured by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Men-kaw-Ra'.
22.		<i>imshw hr njswt-bitj Šps-k3-f.</i>	Honoured by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Shepses-ka-f.
23.		<i>imshw hr njswt-bitj Wsr-k3-f.</i>	Honoured by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Weser-ka-f.
24.		<i>imshw hr njswt-bitj Šshw-R'.</i>	Honoured by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sahw-Ra' (1).

FAMILY

Mother:

Hekenew-hezes.

TITLE

1.		<i>m3 3.t Hr St.</i>	She who Sees Horus and Set (the King).
2.		<i>hsw.t wr.t.</i>	Great Favourite (2).
3.		<i>hm.[t]-ntr . . .</i>	Priestess of . . .
Wife:		<i>Hwfw . . . t</i>	Khufw . . . t.

TITLE

irj-ht njswt.

She who is Concerned with the King's Affairs.

Sons:

Sekhem-ka-Ra'.

TITLE

1.		<i>irj-ht njswt.</i>	He who is Concerned with the King's Affairs.
2.			Sa-f-Khafra'.

TITLE

irj-ht njswt.

He who is Concerned with the King's Affairs.

3.

Her-khaf.

TITLE

irj-ht njswt.

He who is Concerned with the King's Affairs.

4.

Khafra'-['ankh] (3).

(1) See JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. II, p. 32.

(2) See WEIL, "Die Viziere des Alten Reiches", p. 6.

(3) LEPSIUS, DENKM., T. I, 109.

TITLE		
		<i>irj-ht njswt.</i> He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs.
PRIESTS		
1.		Heknew.
TITLE		
		<i>shd hm [w]-ks.</i> Inspector of the Ka-servants.
2.		Zed-f-[Ra'].
3.		Neb.
TITLE		
		<i>shd hm [w]-ks.</i> Inspector of the Ka-servants.
4.		
TITLE		
		<i>shd hm [w]-ks nb imshw.</i> Inspected of the Ka-servants. Possessor of Honour.
5.		Kek.
TITLE		
		<i>shd hm [w]-ks.</i> Inspector of the Ka-servants.
6.		Ny-Maa't-Ra'.
TITLE		
		<i>hm-ks.</i> Ka-servant.
7.		In.
8.		Rethet.
9.		Mer-rekh . . .
TITLE		
		<i>ss' nt pr dt</i> Scribe of the House of Eternity

INTRODUCTION

In the year 1841 Wilkinson made some sketches of the drum of this tomb (XIII-59), the 'Palace-façade' represented on the northern wall, and that part of the eastern wall where the deceased and his wife are shown receiving the products of their estates; (XIII, 60) and in 1843 Lepsius copied most of its scenes (1), and proved to be very accurate. We have, therefore, only to include here the results of our clearance of those parts of the tomb which we found to be still encumbered with sand and debris, and which, in consequence, had been overlooked by earlier scholars (2).

SITUATION

The tomb of Sekhem-ka-Ra' is situated to the south-west of that of Ny-kaw-Ra' and north-west of the tombs of Ny-weser-Ra' and Ny-'ankh-Ra'. It is cut in the face of the cliff that forms the northern boundary of the cemetery lying north-west of the pyramid of Queen Khent-kawes, and south-east of the pyramid of Khafra' (see General Plan, third season, and Fig. 53).

DESCRIPTION

In common with several other tombs of this period, (late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasty) this tomb bears evidence of a deviation from its original plan. Apparently the first design was for a large rectangular chapel in the centre of the eastern wall of which was to have been a niche measuring 1.03 x 0.90 m. wide and 1.60 m. high.

This niche was to have contained two rock-cut statues, but before the execution of these latter had progressed further than a mere blocking out of their proportions, the idea of a single, large chapel was abandoned. A partition wall was built across the centre, dividing the chapel into two halves, and necessitating the abandonment of the niche and its statues, as its northern end was hidden behind the masonry of the wall.

Although no mention of this wall was made by Lepsius in his "Denkmäler", yet it must have been removed in comparatively recent years, as the stone of the eastern and western walls of the chapel, against which it was fixed, retains its original light colour, whereas the surrounding surfaces of the walls is blackened and discoloured. One stone from the lowest course of this wall remains in place in front of the unfinished niche.

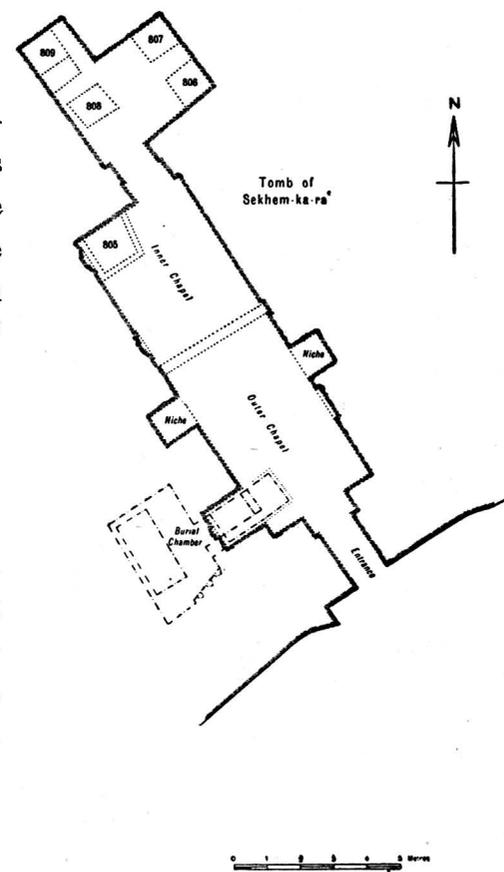


FIG. 53.

(1) LEPSIUS, "Denkmäler", II, 41, 42.

(2) See PORTER and MOSS, "Memphis", p. 62.

At a distance of 1.25 m. south of this partition wall a second niche was cut, measuring 1.00 × 1.00 × 1.40 m. which might have contained statues of a superior kind of stone to those which were originally intended. A similar niche, measuring 0.90 × 1.10 × 1.40 m. was cut at a distance of 0.80 m. to the south of the partition wall, but at the western side.

The roof of the northern chapel had been raised to a height of 0.50 m. in excess of that of the southern chapel. Both of these roofs were coloured to imitate red granite.

The decorations on the wall of the northern chapel show a marked indication of the increased wealth and luxury of the deceased. This affluence is explained by the inscription on the northern wall, which was, perhaps, the last to be decorated. In this inscription Sekhem-ka-Ra' is said to have enjoyed the favour of five successive kings, each of whom apparently added to his increments. He inherited a considerable amount of wealth from his father, Khafra', as is indicated by the estate-names in the scene on the eastern wall of the first chapel. Later, he became the first Vizier of the Fifth Dynasty, an office which must certainly have added greatly to his means and influence (1).

A further room was cut behind the northern room of the second chapel, but was left in a very rough and unfinished state.

The Entrance.

The entrance to this tomb is situated in the middle of its façade and opens south. It measures 1.0 m. wide, and 2.57 m. high. The lintel is entirely lacking, although the recess into which it fitted is still visible on the outside.

The Drum (Fig. 54, Pl. XXXIII, A).

The drum, which is somewhat weather-worn on its left-hand side, bears six vertical rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading :—

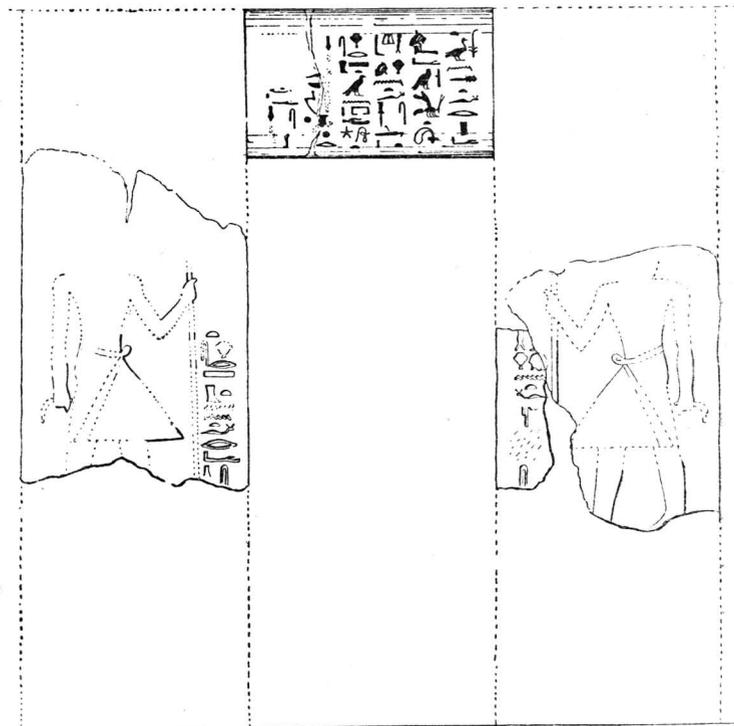
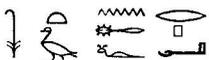


FIG. 54.

1/2 3/4 5/8 c.m.

1.  "King's Son of His Body, Hereditary Prince."

2.  "Count, He Who is in the Chamber, Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt."

(1) Cf. A. WEIL, "Die Viziere des Pharaonenreiches", (1908), pp. 1, 6.

3.  "Chief Ritualist of His Father, Sole Confidant."
4.  "Master of the Secrets of the Toilet-house."
5.  "Director of . . . his . . . , Possessor of Honour in the Presence of . . ."
6.  ". . . Sekhem-ka-Ra'."

The two jambs of the doorway were sculptured in relief, but unfortunately they are badly damaged.

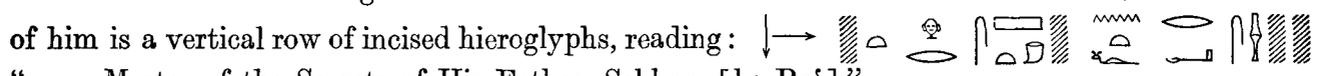
The Right-hand Jamb (Fig. 54, Pl. XXXIII, B).

This jamb retains a few traces of the representation of Sekhem-ka-Ra' in a walking attitude facing west. He holds a long staff in his hand, while his left arm hangs at side with the hand grasping a handkerchief. In front of him is an incised vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading:



"Chief Ritualist of His Father, Doorkeeper of the God Dwaw (?) . . . [Sekhem-ka-Ra'] ."

The Left-hand Jamb (Fig. 54, Pl. XXXIII, C).

It bears traces of a figure of Sekhem-ka-Ra' similar to that described above; and in front of him is a vertical row of incised hieroglyphs, reading:  ". . . Master of the Secrets of His Father, Sekhem [ka-Ra'] ."

The Door Thicknesses.

The thicknesses of this doorway were apparently sculptured, but only a few traces of their scenes are preserved. Some fragments of stone relating to these thicknesses were recovered from the debris lying near to the entrance, and were restored by us to their proper places.

The Right-hand Thickness (Fig. 55).

It bears a representation of Sekhem-ka-Ra' and a woman seated together upon one stool, and facing south. Opposite to them are traces of the figure of a man carrying a bird in his left hand, and in front of him a few signs from an inscription. At the top of the scene are traces of an inscription giving the name of Sekhem-ka-Ra'.

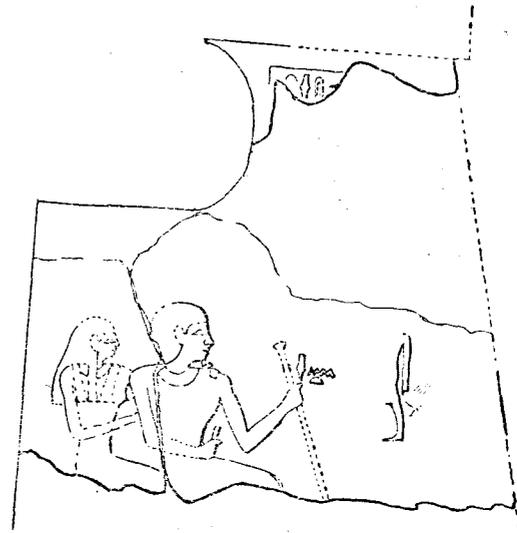
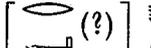


FIG. 55.

The lower part of the scene is entirely destroyed.

The Left-hand Thickness (Fig. 56).

On a slab of stone which belonged to the left-hand thickness are two superposed registers, in the upper one of which are the mutilated figures of two male offering-bearers. They are facing north, as though about to enter the tomb and all carry live ducks in their left hands. In front of the hindmost man is inscribed his name

[ (?)]  Zed-f-[Ra']?

The lower register bears the representation of three men. They also face to the north, and each places his left hand upon his right shoulder in a gesture of respect; while the second and third men carry ducks in their right hands. The lower part of the scene, including the right hand of the first man, is destroyed, but he carries a sheaf of lotus flowers over his left shoulder. In front of the second man is inscribed his name,  "Heknew," and his title,  'Inspector of the Ka-servants.' In front of the third man remains only his title  'Inspector of the Ka-servants'.

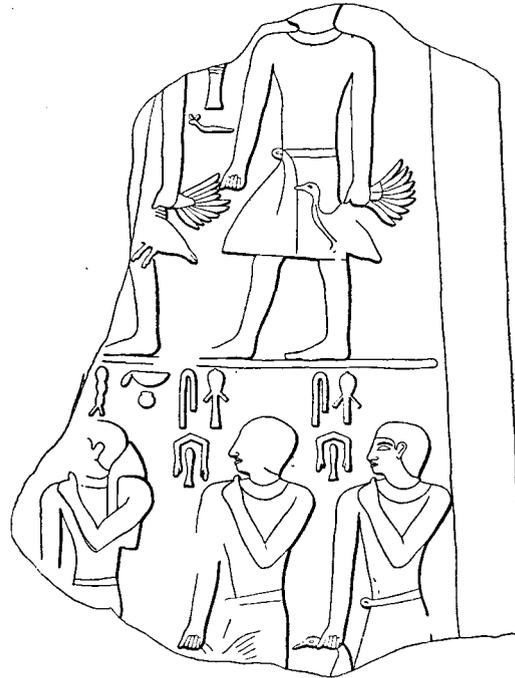


FIG. 56.

At the top of the inner side of this doorway is a recess cut to receive the slab bearing the upper socket-holes of the door; while at the foot of the doorway are two recesses cut in the rock for the reception of the lower sockets.

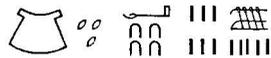
From the drift-sand in front of this entrance, we recovered the following objects:—

- (1) A large quantity of faience beads, and three "divine eye" amulets, also of faience.
- (2) A blue faience amulet in the form of a seated cat. Height: 3.3 cm. Breadth: 1.7 cm. (Pl. XXXV, B).
- (3) An amuletic figure of green faience representing the goddess Sekhmet in a standing posture. Height: 7.0 cm. Breadth: 2.2 cm. (Pl. XXXV, C).
- (4) A fine vase of red-ware with a re-curved rim, a long, wide neck, and a swelling body tapering to a footed base. It is decorated with two horizontal bands of lines in relief upon the body, and vertical bands of darker coloured paint running from the middle of the body to the foot. Height: 20.5 cm. (Pl. XXXV, A).

THE FIRST ROOM OF THE CHAPEL

This room measures about 5.70 m. in length, and 3.50 m. in width.

At the extreme left is a large heap of grain, and beside it a man (?) seated upon the ground. Above the man is inscribed ; while above the heap of grain is inscribed: →

 "A heap of grain forty-six ells and five palms."

Of the third register there remain only a few lines denoting a similar grain heap, at the extreme right-hand edge. The remainder of this half of the wall is completely defaced.

The left-hand side of the wall is in a similar state of dilapidation, but parts of four superposed registers are still to be seen upon it. The topmost register was a narrow one, and apparently bore representations of various kinds of offerings; all that now remains of it are three tall "khh"-vases , set upon ring-stands.

The second register evidently bore a pastoral scene. In the centre is a large tree, and to the right of it a goat is grazing. Above the animal is inscribed: ← .

To the left-hand side of the tree is a large basket placed upon the ground, and five globular jars.

The third register bears a fowling-scene. A bird-trap is set to the right of a large tree, behind which are traces of a man, apparently concealing himself. Three birds have walked into the trap, while four more are hovering outside. Under the tree is a seat, apparently vacated by the fowler.

The fourth register is badly damaged, but appears to have been connected with the one above it, for in it are shown two men, seemingly engaged in packing live birds into a crate set between them.

The Eastern Wall (Fig. 58).

At the northern end of the eastern wall is a large representation of the deceased and his wife seated together in an arm-chair. He wears a long wig, a false-beard, a broad necklace, and a

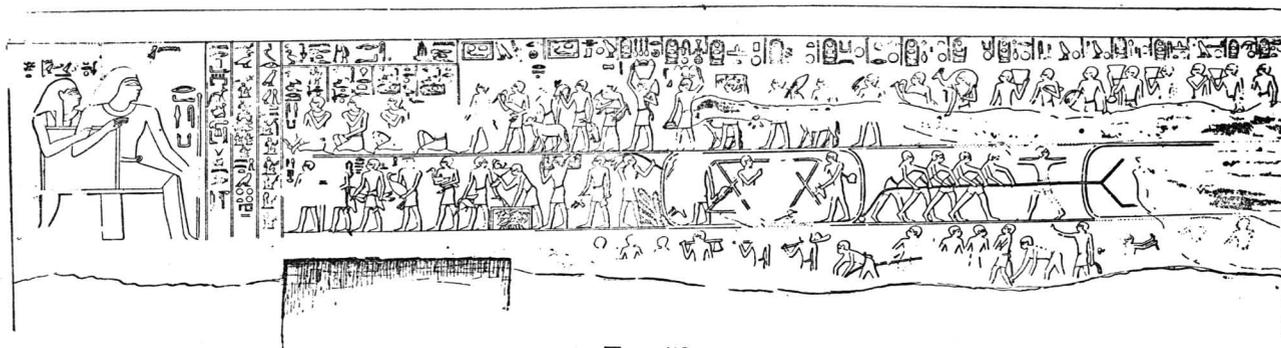
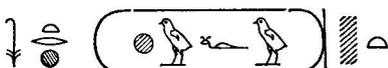
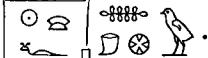


FIG. 58.

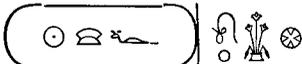
kilt. He holds a long staff in his left hand, and his right hand rests upon the arm of the chair in a most natural manner. His wife, who is embracing him, wears a long wig, a broad necklace, and a robe supported by braces over the shoulders. Above her head is inscribed her name and

title, ←  "Khwfw . . . t."

The fourth man carries two dead geese, one in each hand; and the fifth carries a young hyena.

Above them is inscribed: . *S3w-t3-H'. f-R'.*

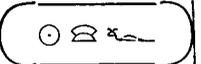
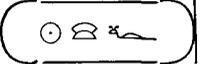
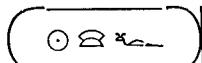
The sixth man carries a large basket upon his head, steadying it with his right hand. It contains two conical loaves and a small, covered bowl. Over his left shoulder he carries a long-stemmed lotus-flower; and above him the inscription reads:  "Nfrw-H'. f-R'." The seventh man carries a "neb-" basket, , upon his head, supporting it with his left hand; while he holds a small basket in his right hand. Above his head is inscribed:

 *w3h H'. f-R'.*

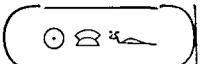
The eighth man carries a crate of live birds upon his shoulder, steadying it with his left hand, and leads a gazelle. Above him, the inscription reads:  *H'. f-R'-htp.*

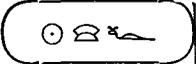
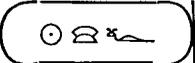
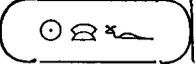
The ninth man carries three large fish-hooks in his right hand, and a large lotus in his left one. Above him is inscribed:  *H'. f-R'.*

The tenth man leads an antelope (?), while the eleventh carries a small gazelle. Above them is inscribed:  *k3-nj-H'. f-R'.* The twelfth man carries a large, live crane, tucked under his arm, and above him is inscribed:  *hrr.*

The thirteenth man carries a gazelle across his shoulders. Above him the inscription reads:  *H'. f-R'-nfrt* and:  *H'. f-R' ... k3.* The fourteenth man carries a basket on his left shoulder and supports it with his left hand. Above him is inscribed:  *H'. f-R'-nfrt.* The fifteenth man carries some objects tucked under his left arm, and from the position of his right arm he appears to have been leading some animal, but the wall here is badly damaged, and the lower parts of this figure, as well as those succeeding it, are entirely obliterated. Above him the inscription reads:  "Šbw."

The sixteenth man leads an ibex, and above him is inscribed:  *hrw.*

The seventeenth man carries a basket supported between his right hand and shoulder, and carries a live bird in his left hand, while a long-stemmed lotus blossom hangs over the crook of his right elbow. Above him is inscribed:  *Šhd-H'. f-R'.* The eighteenth

man also carries a basket in the same manner as the preceding, and above him the inscription reads:  |  *Šhtp-H' f-R'*. The nineteenth man places his right hand upon his left shoulder in a gesture of respect. Above him is inscribed: . The twentieth man carries a basket supported between his right hand and shoulder, and carries a live duck in his left hand. Above him is inscribed:  |  *Gm-H' f-R'*. The burden carried by the twenty-first man is obliterated, but above his head is inscribed:  |  *Rht-H' f-R'*.

At the right-hand end of the second register is the representation of a fowling-scene in which is shown a large clap net (1), the rope of which is grasped by four men, who lean forward in readiness to spring back and close the trap as soon as the signal is given by the man who stands watching the net, and who holds a piece of cloth between his outstretched arms (2). To the left of this group three men are taking the birds out of the net, and others are carrying them away, some to be packed in crates and others to be carried in the hands, into the presence of the Master. A naturalistic touch is supplied by the man who stands at the left-hand end of the second net, disentangling a lotus-flower that has caught in its meshes. At the left-hand end of the scene four ka-servants are bringing the captured birds to Sekhem-ka-Ra'. They are headed by a man whose burden is obliterated, but which, by the position of his arms, should have been a large goose.

In front of him is inscribed:  "The Inspector of the Ka-servants, Neb." Of the man following him, only the legs, back, and left arm remain. The third carries two live ducks, one in each hand, and in front of him is inscribed:  "The Ka-[Servant], Ny-Maa't-Ra'." The fourth man carries a large goose, and in front of him is inscribed:  "In".

At the right-hand end of the third register are a few traces of some men who are perhaps navigating a small boat. Following them are six fishermen awaiting the command of their overseer to haul in a net, the rope of which they are grasping in readiness. To the left of them are the much-mutilated figures of six men, three of whom appear to be carrying implements of some kind, over their shoulders. In the narrow part of the wall lying between the two niches are the remains of a mutilated scene. Only the lower parts of three men in a walking attitude, and facing south, can be distinguished, and between the legs of the first and second men, traces of a large, rectangular object.

(1) Cf. DAVIES, "Sheikh Said" Pl. XII., p. 23, 24. KLEBS, "Reliefs", p. 70, MONTET, "La chasse au filet" in *Bull. de l'Institut. Fr. d'Arch. Orient.*, XI, p. 145.

(2) DAVIES, "Ptah-helep" I., Pl. XXVI (below).

The Northern Partition Wall.

All that remains *in situ* of this wall is one slab of stone fixed between the floor and the eastern wall. However, a few limestone slabs were found in the debris which almost certainly formed part of it. These are as follows:—

- (1) A white limestone slab measuring 0.27 × 0.40 m., upon which a hawk, a hoopoe, and a butterfly are carved in relief (Fig. 59).

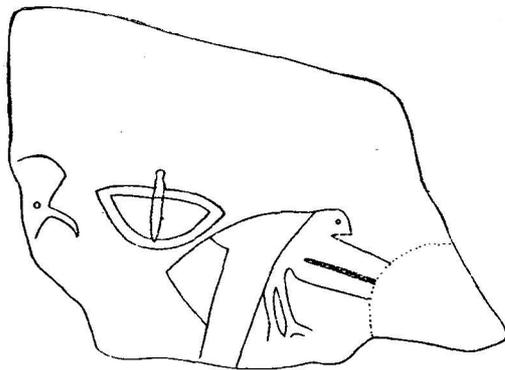


FIG. 59.

- (2) Four slabs of white limestone which fit together and form a scene of woodcutters felling trees. At the left-hand end of the scene, a man is energetically attacking a tree which is in the act of falling. To the right, four men are engaged in chopping the branches from the trunk of a tree (1), under the eyes of an overseer, who stands, staff in hand, watching them (Fig. 60).

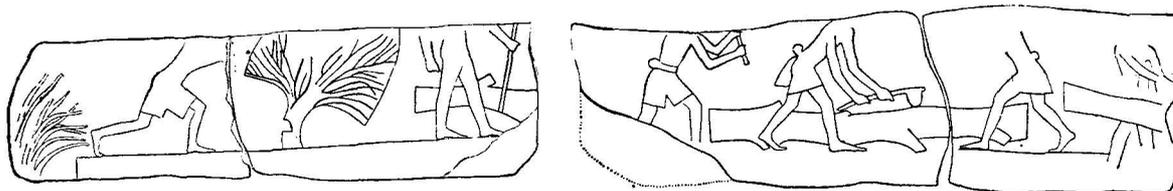


FIG. 60.

The Western Wall (Fig. 61).

On the northern end of the western wall is a representation of Sekhem-ka-Ra' seated beside his mother, and facing to the left. Above the head of this lady are four vertical

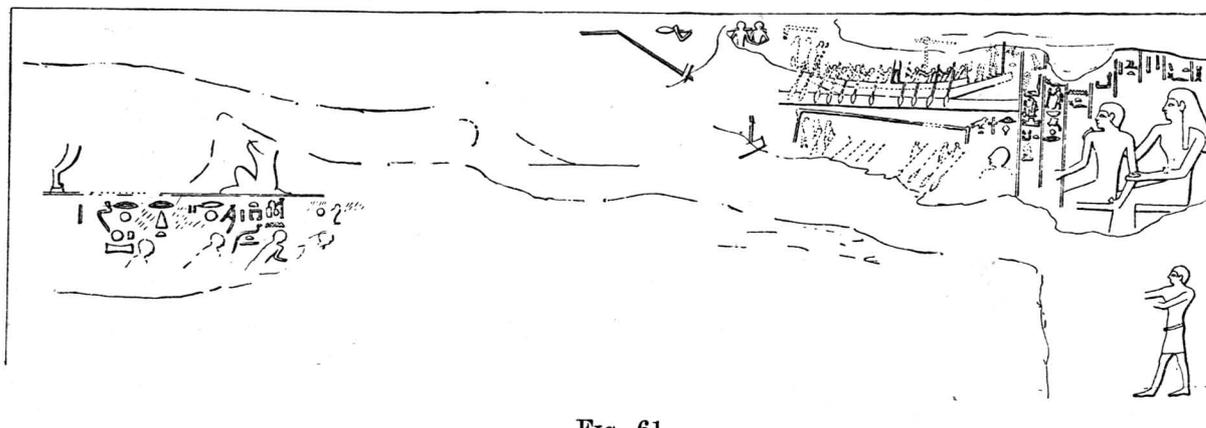


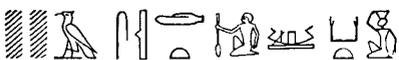
FIG. 61.

(1) Cf. LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, II, 108.

rows of hieroglyphs, sculptured in relief, but unfortunately badly damaged. The remaining signs read:—

- (1) “The Great Favourite(?) (2) Priestess of . . . (3) . . . who is beloved by him.
(4) . . . Heknew.”

In front of Sekhem-ka-Ra' four vertical rows of hieroglyphs are carved in relief and read:

- (1)  (2)  (3)  (4) .

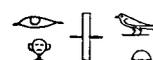
“(1) [Seeing] the sailing works. (2) [by the Eldest [King's Son of] His [Body] the Possessor of Honour in the Presence of . . . (3) . . . of His Father. (4) [Sekhem]-ka-[Ra']”.

The surface of this wall is in a very bad state of dilapidation and most of the scenes sculptured upon it have disappeared.

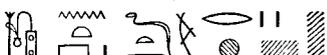
At the right-hand side of the top register are traces of a large ship navigated by nine oarsmen and three steersmen (1). By this we are supposed to understand double that number, as only those members of the crew immediately in front of the spectator are drawn, it being obvious that an equal number must be operating on the opposite side of the vessel.

The captain stands amidship, perhaps issuing orders to the crew, and on the prow stands the pilot with his sounding-rod to test the depth of the water. In the stern stand a group of sailors carrying between them one of the long steering oars.

A few faint traces denote that this ship was followed by another one of a similar type, but the left-hand end of the register seems to have borne a representation of an entirely different nature; apparently there was a large figure of the deceased seated upon a chair, facing to the right, and before him some persons seated upon the ground facing him. The right-hand end of the second register bears part of the representation of another large boat, in front of which is inscribed: ←

-  “Going to the West”.

The left-hand end of this register retains the mutilated figures of four men, each of whom is leaning forward and facing to the right. Above the first is inscribed ← .

Above the second is inscribed:  “The Scribe of the House of Eternity, Mer-rekh . . .”; while above the last one is inscribed: .

Below the ship-scene is cut a niche which lies almost opposite to the one in the eastern wall. It measures about 1.0×1.0×1.40 m. In the lower part of the left-hand end of this wall is a deep niche occupied by an unfinished false-door. The floor of this niche, and of the chapel immediately in front of it, has been cut away to form a sunken passage measuring 3.85 m. long and 0.99 m. wide, leading to a large burial-chamber measuring 3.40×2.25×2.30 m. A recess is cut in the floor of this chamber to serve as a sarcophagus; but it had been thoroughly plundered, and contained only a few disturbed bones.

(1) Cf. BAEDER (1902) “Tomb of Ti”, p. 142.

THE SECOND ROOM OF THE CHAPEL

The second room of the chapel measures 4.40 m. long, 3.50 m. wide and 3.90 m. high.

The Eastern Wall (Fig. 62).

At the northern end of the eastern wall is another representation of Sekhem-ka-Ra' and his mother seated together upon one chair. They are facing to the right, and unfortunately a greater

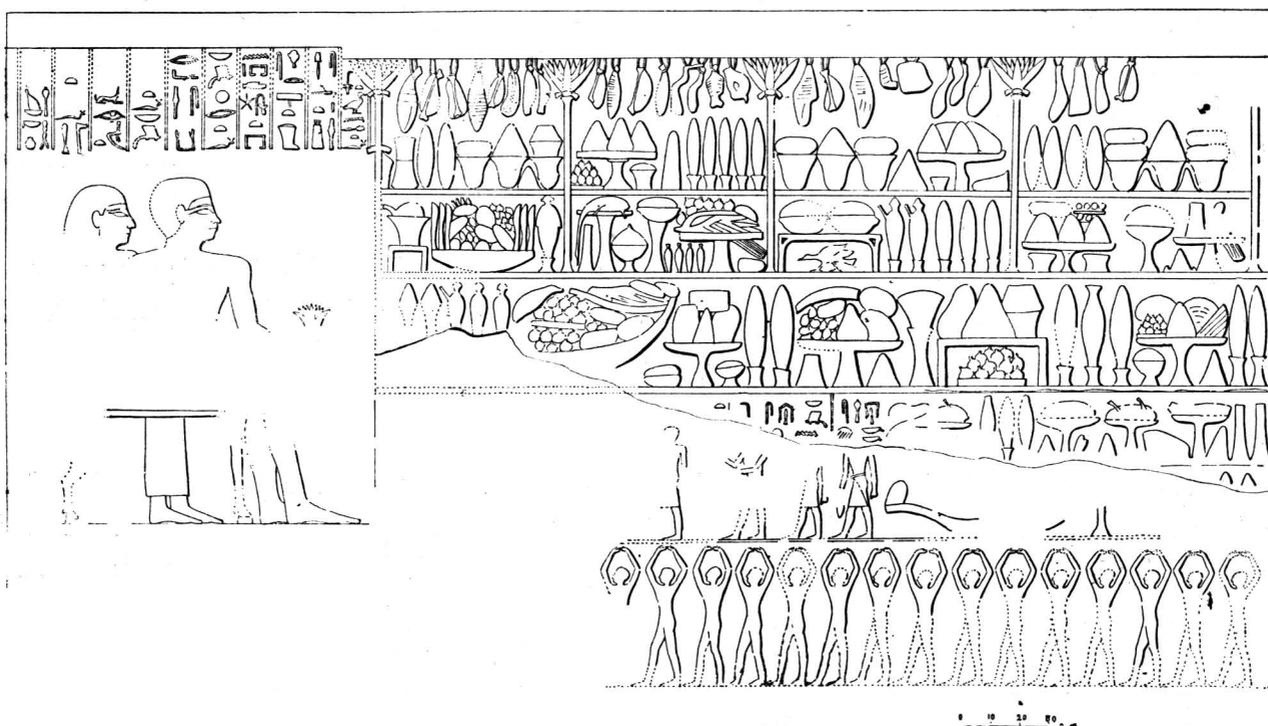


FIG. 62.

part of their figures is destroyed. Sekhem-ka-Ra' holds a lotus-flower in his left hand. Above their heads is an inscription consisting of ten vertical rows of hieroglyphs executed in relief. This inscription reads : ↓

1. "The King's Son of His Body."
2. "Sole Confidant, Director of the Palace."
3. "Master of the Secrets of the Toilet-house."
4. "Possessor of Honour in the Presence of His Father."
5. "Sekhem-ka-Ra'."
6. "His [Mother], the Possessor of Honour."
7. "She Who Sees [Horus] and Set."
8. "... Priestess of ..."
9. "Heknew-hezet."

In front of this group the remainder of the wall is divided into four superposed registers, the topmost one of which is somewhat wider than the others, and represents a long pillared hall, the roof of which is supported by five light wooden columns, their capitals carved to represent full-blown lotus-flowers⁽¹⁾. From the roof of this hall hang twenty-eight joints of meat⁽²⁾ of various kinds; and upon the floor is a great quantity of food and drink offerings arranged in two rows. The second register is a narrow one, and also bears a representation of food and drink offerings. The third register is divided into two halves, that to the right being occupied by two more rows of offerings; while that to the left bore a procession of male offering-bearers of which remain only the damaged figures of four men. Above the third man from the left is inscribed:

 "Inspector of the Ka-servants, the Possessor of Honour . . ." Above the fourth man is inscribed:  "Inspector of the Ka-servants, Kek."

The bottom register is very badly eroded, and all that remains of its scene is a few traces of the figures of fifteen naked dancers, all of whom raise their arms above their heads, the hands palm-upwards and the fingers of the two hands touching.

The Western Wall (Fig. 63).

The western wall of this chapel is occupied by two false-doors. Both of them are uninscribed and measure about 0.60 m. wide, and 3.22 m. high. The space lying between them is occupied by an important inscription, the lower part of which is, unfortunately, damaged.

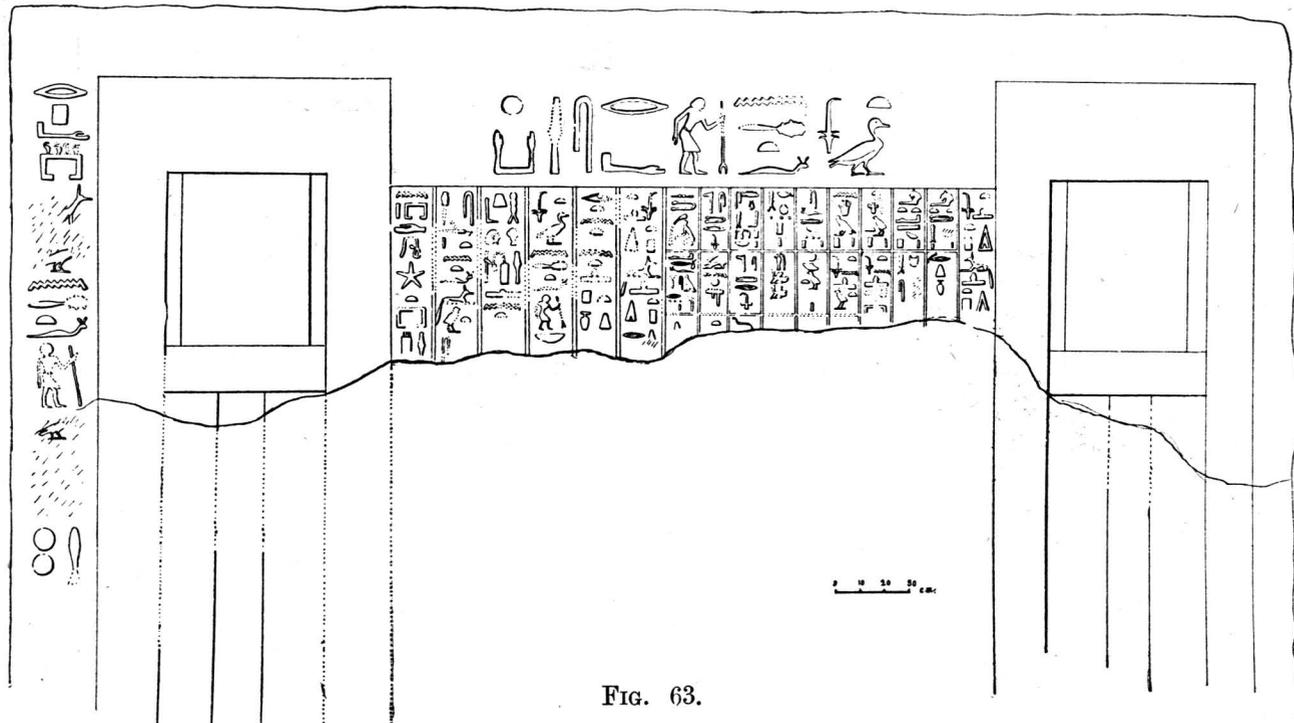
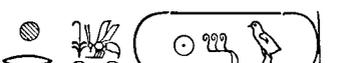


FIG. 63.

On the upper part of the wall is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading:  "The Eldest King's Son of His Body, Sekhem-ka-Ra'."

⁽¹⁾ Cf. KLEBS, *Reliefs* p. 17. BORCHARDT, *Die altägyptische Pflanzensäule*, p. 8.

⁽²⁾ See also the tomb of Debehen.

3.  "By the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Men-kaw-Ra'."
4.  "By the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Shepses-ka-f,"
5.  "By the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Weſer-ka-f,"
-  "By the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Œaḥw-Ra'.

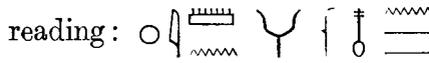
This important inscription fixes the date of the tomb beyond any doubt, to the end of the Fourth and the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. It also gives the legal order of the succession of the kings mentioned.

The remainder of the wall is occupied by a beautiful design representing a 'Palace-façade', which is, however, badly damaged at its lower part (1).

Below the inscription on this wall is cut a doorway leading to the northern inner room, and measuring 1.25 m. wide, and 2.17 m. high. This doorway was intended to have been closed by a wooden door, as can be proved by a rebate sunk in the centre of its thickness, and by a recess at the top in which was fixed the slab bearing the socket-holes.

It gives access to an inner room, which is very roughly cut and in an unfinished condition. It measures about 4.0 m. wide, and 2.60 m. long at its right side, and about 4.30 m. at its left side, and is about 2.32 m. high. Its floor is pitted with the openings of four later shafts (Nos. 806-809), which were filled with the remains of late mummies.

While removing the sand and debris from the interior of the tomb-chapel, many bones of late mummies were found; and from the debris the following objects were recovered:—

- (1) A green faience "New year" flask, dating from a late period. Height: 14.5 cm. It has a short, narrow neck, at either side of which squats a miniature baboon, forming small handles. The rim of the mouth is made in the form of a papyrus umbel, tied round its stem with a three-fold cord. Below the neck, on the front and back of the flask is an incised design imitating a "Wsh" collar. Beneath the baboons is a flattened band at the edge of the flask, upon which is incised a vertical row of hieroglyphs reading:  "Amon-Ra' opens a good new-year for . . ." Fig. 65.
- (2) Wooden mask of a late mummy. Height: 20.5 cm. Breadth: 11.7 cms. The poor quality of the wood is covered with a thin layer of stucco. Traces of black colour are still preserved on the eyes, eyebrows and hair. It is damaged at the left side of the head and the nose.

(1) NEWBERRY, "Beni-Hasan" IV, Pl. XXI, QUIBELL; "Tomb of Hesi", Pl. VIII. IX, p. 9. BLACKMAN; "Meir" IV, p. 47 Pl. XIX; "Meir" III, p. 27, Pl. XX.

- (3) A clay figure of a woman, perhaps a doll, with extended arms. Height: 0·17 cm. The head, feet and forearms are lacking. It appears to have been wrapped in bandages, some of which, in a very fragmentary condition, are still adhering to the back of the figure (Pl. XXXV, D).

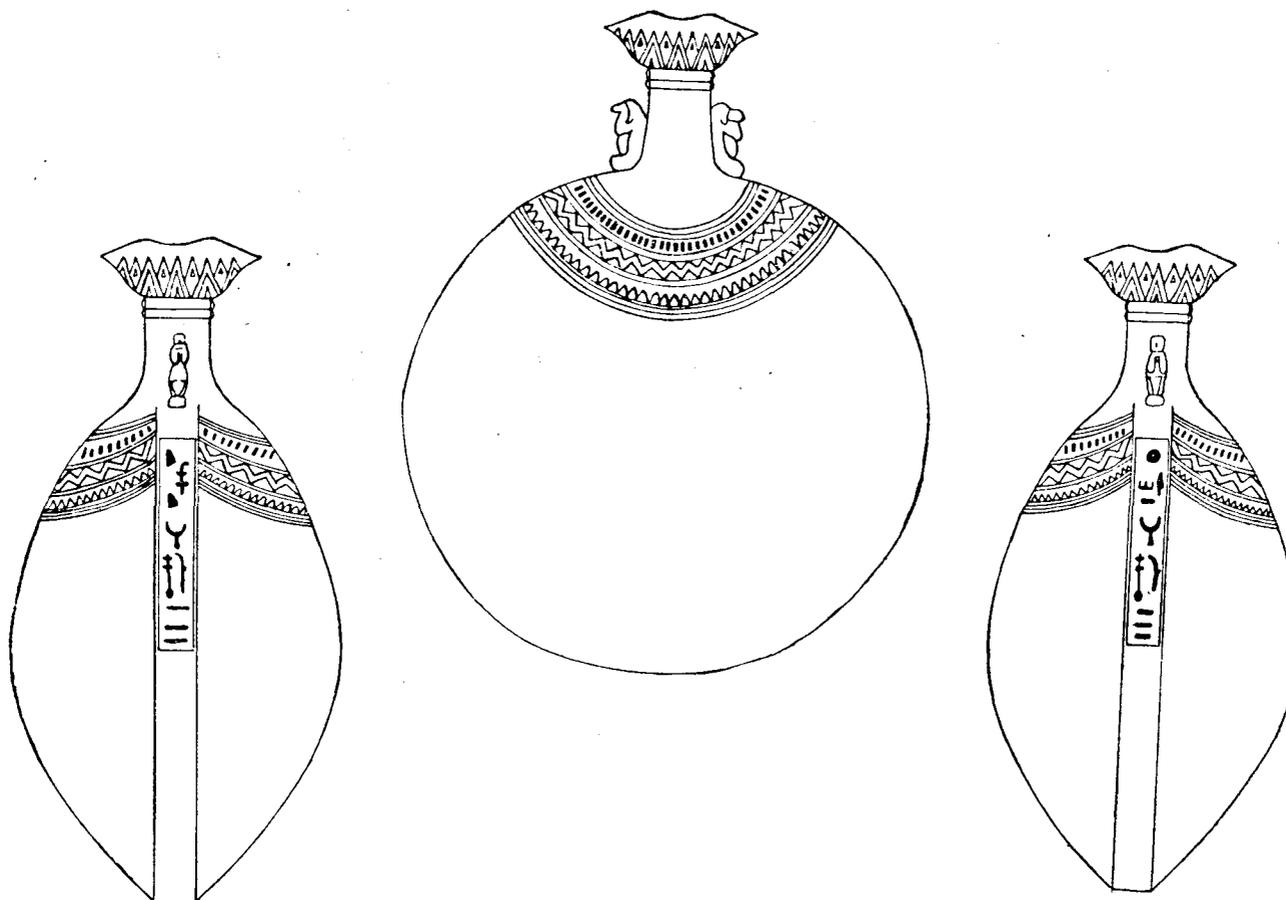


FIG. 65.

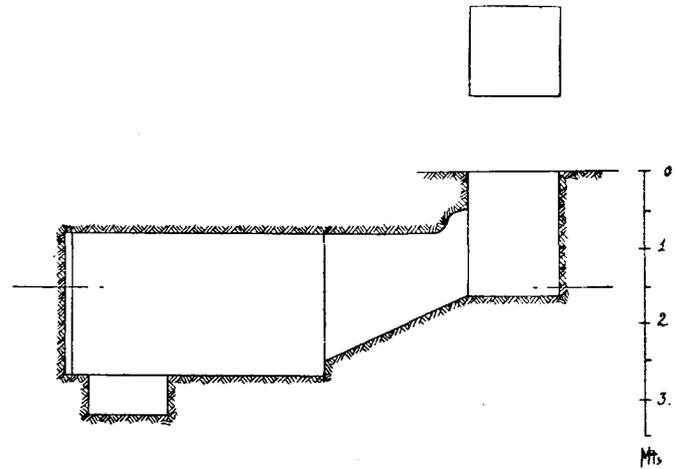
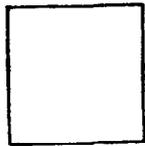
- (4) A small bowl of red-ware. Height: 3·0 cm. Diam.: 10·0 cm.
- (5) A footed bowl of rough red-ware. Height: 6·0 cm. Diam.: 13·0 cm.
- (6) A small footed bowl of rough red-brown-ware. Height: 4·5 cms. Diam.: 8·0 cm.
- (7) A deep bowl of brown-ware, having a rounded, tapering base. Height: 7·0 centimetres. Diam.: 9·0 centimetres.
- (8) A vase of brown-ware with a wide mouth, a re-curved rim, and a tapering, rounded base. Height: 10·0 centimetres. Diam.: 10·0 cm.
- (9) The cover of a jar of red-painted ware. Height: 7·5 centimetres. Diam.: 16·0 cm.

SHAFTS

Shaft No. 805 (Fig. 66).

Grave-pit: 1.20 × 1.20 × 1.60 m. deep, with a side-chamber on the west. In the bottom of this shaft was found a large, alabaster offering-table.

Burial: Plundered.



No. 805.

FIG. 66.

Shaft No. 806 (Fig. 67).

Grave-pit: 0.90 × 0.90 × 0.90 m. deep. No burial-chamber.

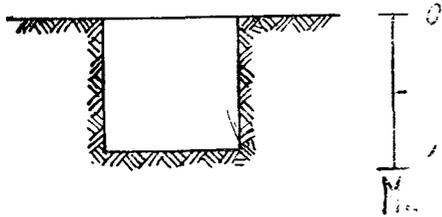


FIG. 67.



Shaft No. 807 (Fig. 68).

Grave-pit: 0.95 × 0.95 × 1.67 m. deep. No burial-chamber.

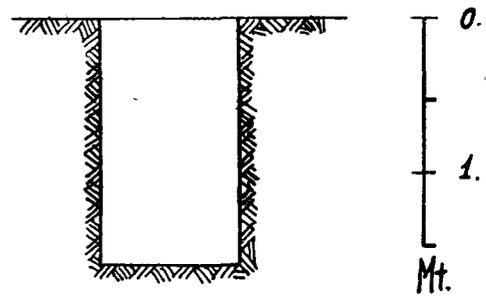
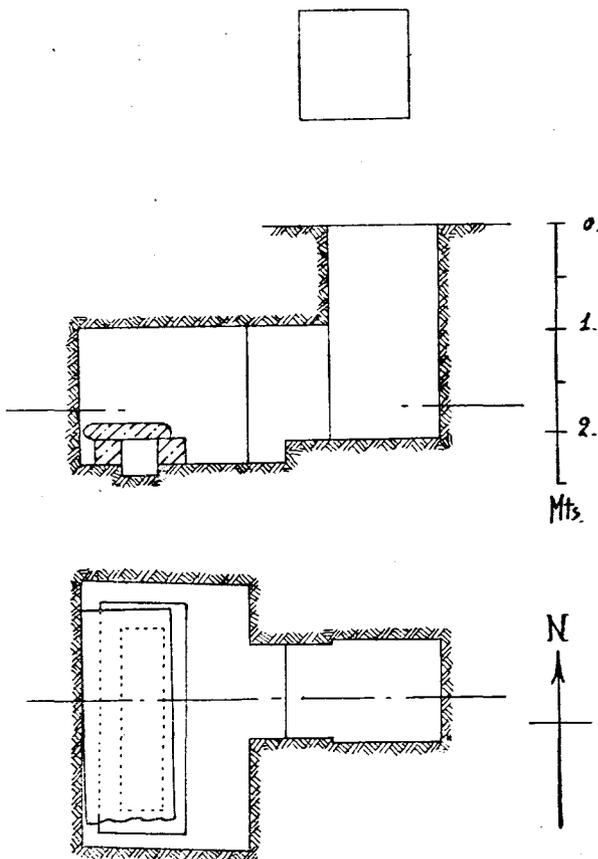


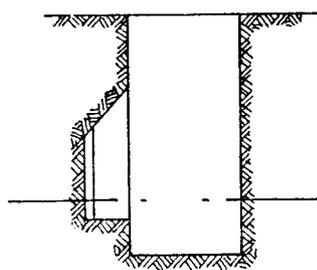
FIG. 68.

Shaft No. 808 (Fig. 69).

Grave-pit: $1.05 \times 1.05 \times 2.05$ m deep. It has a burial-chamber on the west measuring about 2.60×1.60 m.

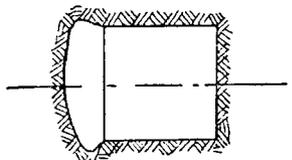


No. 808. FIG. 69.



Shaft No. 809 (Fig. 70).

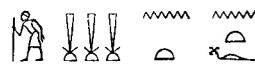
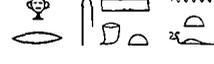
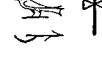
Grave-pit: $0.94 \times 0.94 \times 2.0$ m deep. It has a shallow recess in the bottom of its western side.



No. 809. FIG. 70.

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THE TOMB OF , NEB-EM-AKHET

TITLES		
1. 	<i>sz njswt nj ht.f.</i>	King's Son of His Body.
2. 	<i>rp'.t</i>	Hereditary Prince.
3. 	<i>smsw sn.w.t-nj it.f.</i>	Eldest of the Senwet [house] of His Father (1).
4. 	<i>sš mdst-ntr nj it.f.</i>	Scribe of the Divine Book of His Father.
5. 	<i>smr w'tj nj it.f.</i>	Sole Confidant of His Father.
6. 	<i>smr w'tj.</i>	Sole Confidant.
7. 	<i>hrj-sšt3 nj it.f.</i>	Master of the Secrets of His Father.
8. 	<i>t3tj s3b</i>	Chief Justice.
9. 	<i>t3tj</i>	Vizier.
10. 	<i>hrj-tp hrj-hb.</i>	Chief Ritualist.
11. 	<i>wr ht H3</i>	High-priest of the H3-god (2).
12. 	<i>wr ht</i>	High Priest.

FAMILY

Mother :  (3) | Meres-'ankh.

TITLES

1. 	<i>hmt-njswt.</i>	King's Wife.
2. 	<i>m33.t Hr St.</i>	She Who Sees Horus and Set (the King).

(1) Cf. GUNN, "Teti Pyr. Cem." p. 281, No. 27 and p. 150, No. 9. GAUTHIER, "Dict. Geogr." Vol. 5, p. 38: "L'édifice snwt" the "snwt-house" (Breasted), sanctuaire consacré au dieu Re' dans la ville de Memphis." GAUTHIER, "Le Fête du Dieu Min." p. 82: "Ce nom a été très souvent étudié, depuis Brugsch, (Dict. Geogr., pp.723-725) jus-à Kees, qui a donné en 1922 un monographie fort complète (A.Z. LVII, p.120-136). "A Memphis d'autre part, il y avait aussi un édifice de ce nom mais qui semble avoir été d'abord le palais royal ou une partie speciale de ce palais."

ERMAN-GRAPOW "Wörterbuch," IV, p. 152; belegt seit Pyr. "Art Palast als Heiligtum des Ra', des Min und anderer Gottheiten."

(2) Cf. GUNN, *op. cit.* p. 168, No. 8. CAPART, "Rue de Tombeaux," Pl. 23, GAUTHIER, "Le Personnel du Dieu Min." p. 64-65. NEWBERRY, "Annals, University of Liverpool", Vol. I, p. 27; II, p. 49; III, p. 50: "High-Priest of the H3-God (double axe)."

(3) See REISNER, "Mycerinus", p. 242, where he suggests that "Princess Meresankh III is the wife of Chephren and mother of Prince Nebemakhet" *op. cit.* p. 244: "Meresankh was a grand-daughter of Cheops and was married to her uncle Chephren, as is proved by the estate names in the tomb of her son." According to JUNKER (Giza II, p. 38) Neb-em-akhmet may be the son of Men-kaw-Ra'.

3.		<i>hts wr.t</i>	Great Favourite (<i>lit.</i> Ornament).
4.		<i>hsw.t-[wr].t</i>	Great Favourite (or Praised).
Sister :			Shepset-kaw (1).

TITLES

1.		<i>sst njswt nj ht.f.</i>	King's Daughter of His Body.
2.		<i>nb.t imsh hr ntr-'s.</i>	Possessor of Honour in the Presence of the Great God.
Wife :			Neb-hetep.

TITLES

1.		<i>irj.t-ht njswt.</i>	She Who is Concerned With the King's Affairs.
2.		<i>hm [t]-ntr Ht-Hr [Nb-t] nht m iswt.s nb.t.</i>	Priestess of Hathor, [Mistress] of the Sycamore, in all Her Places.
3.		<i>imsh hr ntr-'s</i>	Honoured Before the Great God.
Brothers :			Ny-weser-Ra'.

TITLES

1.		<i>ss njswt nj ht.f.</i>	King's Son of His Body.
2.		<i>Dwsw-[nj-Ra'] (?) (?)</i>	

TITLES

1.		<i>ss.njswt nj ht.f.</i>	King's Son of His Body.
3.		<i>'Anh-m-[Ra'] (?)</i>	

TITLE

1.		<i>ss njswt nj ht.f.</i>	King's Son of His Body.
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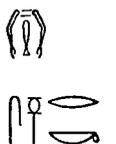
(1) REISNER, "Mycerinus", p. 244 : Princess Shepset-kaw is daughter of Meresankh III.

(2) *Op. cit.* p. 242 : Prince Dwanera, mentioned in the tomb of Nebemakhet is perhaps the Prince Dwanera of Mastaba Gr. 4510.

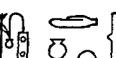
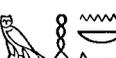
PRIESTS

1.			Iskha.
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TITLE

2.		<i>hm-ks</i>	Ka-servant. Semer-ka.
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TITLES

(a)		<i>ss-kdt.</i>	Sculptor.
(b)		<i>mhnk.</i>	Rewarded (?)
3.			In-ka-f.

TITLE

	<i>mhnk.</i>	Rewarded.
---	--------------	-----------

INTRODUCTION

In the year 1842, Lepsius copied the principal scenes of this tomb with remarkable accuracy, considering that he was under the disadvantage of the fact that the tomb had not been systematically cleared beforehand⁽¹⁾. During the time that has elapsed since Lepsius completed his work, many portions of the wall-scenes have disappeared. This is certainly due to wanton destruction wrought by ignorant tourists and their guides who were in the habit of frequenting the tomb, a practice which we have now altogether stopped⁽²⁾.

In the course of our clearance of this tomb we recovered many inscribed and sculptured slabs forming part of the walls and doorways, and by means of these we can supplement the work of Lepsius, and add to the comprehension of the tomb.

⁽¹⁾ It was partly cleared by Lepsius in 1843. See LEPSIUS, "Denkmäler", II., Grab. 86.

⁽²⁾ See also, the tomb of Debehen, p. 160.

In spite of the present dilapidated condition of its walls, it is clearly evident that the tomb was in a very highly finished state at the time of the death of its owner. Most of the walls were sculptured in relief and painted in brilliant shades of red, green, yellow and also black. The ceiling was painted red and stippled with black to imitate red granite.

The main structure of the tomb is composed of two large chapels, rock-cut, and lying parallel with each other, being separated by a thick wall of living rock. The first of these rooms is remarkable for the number of niches which it contains. Comparison with other tombs of the period leads us to suppose that some of these are part of the original design of the tomb, such as the oblong niche cut in the eastern wall of the first chapel, which seems to have been designed to house the monolithic group of statuettes which we found while clearing the tomb. On the other hand, the rectangular niche situated in the western wall presents a problem, for it is obvious that it is a later addition to the tomb, and was certainly made after the completion of the wall-decoration, as it cuts into the scenes in a most inartistic manner, almost completely destroying a large figure of the owner of the tomb. This figure being somewhat in the nature of a Ka-statue, would have had great importance in the eyes of the Egyptians; therefore the construction of this niche must have been a matter of most urgent necessity to warrant the mutilation of the above-mentioned scene. It also cuts into the registers lying to the right of it, in a manner that would never have tolerated by the original artists had they been able to allow for it at the commencement of their work.

Notwithstanding the number of niches inside the tomb, two more were constructed outside the main entrance, proving that Neb-em-akhet placed a great importance upon the accommodation of his funerary statues, and most probably those of his family as well. A further proof that niches were an architectural feature of the tombs of this period is that the four false-doors in the inner chapel are contained in two great niches.

SITUATION

The tomb of Neb-em-akhet is one of the series of rock-cut tombs allotted to the family of Khafra'. It is situated in the wall of living rock lying to the south-east of the Second Pyramid, and is north-east of the tomb of Ny-kaw-Ra'. (See General Plan, third season and Fig. 72.)

THE ENTRANCE

The main entrance of the tomb opens east and is reached from the south by means of a small passage cut in the rock. The actual doorway measures 1.10 m. wide, 1.75 m. deep and 2.55 m. high. The jambs and thickness are uninscribed, and a bolt-hole in the right-hand thickness proves that it was originally closed by a wooden door. On both of the outer sides of this doorway two niches have been constructed by building two stone walls against the rock in which the entrance is recessed. Each of these niches measures 1.0 m. long and 0.45 m. wide.

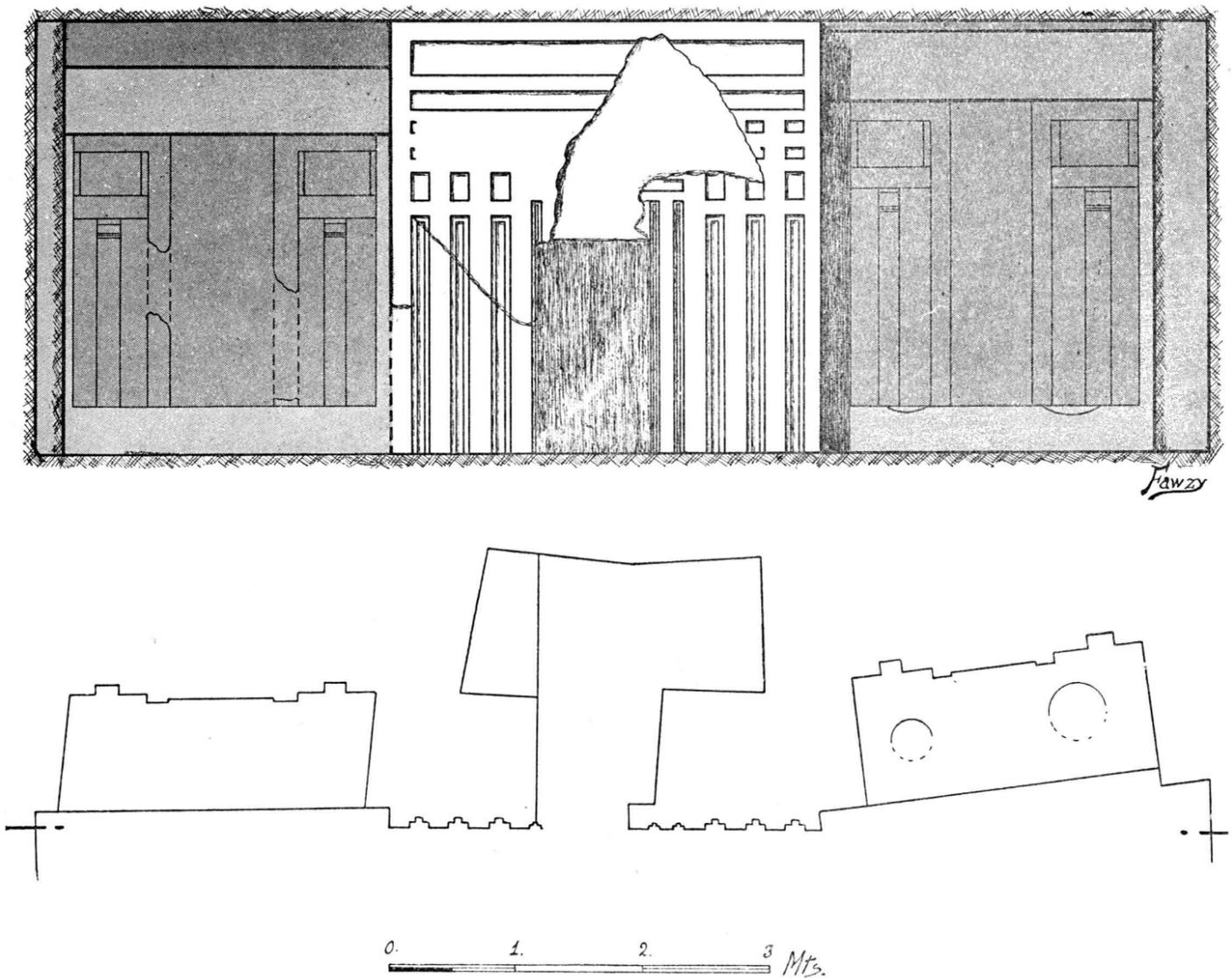


FIG. 71.—SECTION LOOKING WEST.



FIG. 72.

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The Southern Wall.

Two niches have also been cut in the southern wall of this chapel, each at a height of 16.0 m. from the floor. They both measure 0.70 × 0.70 × 0.60 m. The wall-space lying above the niches is occupied by the remains of a large scene depicting the deceased and his sister (whose figures have unfortunately been destroyed) watching some rural activities⁽¹⁾ (Fig. 76).

At the left-hand side of the scene, above the place where the figures of Neb-em-akhet and his sister originally existed, is an inscription consisting of eleven vertical rows of incised hieroglyphs, the lower parts of which are destroyed. The remaining signs read:—

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|-----|-----|
| (1) | | " . . . " | (2) | |
| | | (3) | | (4) |
| | | (5) | | |
| | | (6) | | (7) |
| | | (8) | | (9) |
| | | (10) | | |
| | | | | |

- (1) "Seeing . . . (2) Hereditary Prince, King's Son. (3) of His Body, Chief Ritualist. (4) Scribe of the Divine Book of [His] Father. (5) Eldest of the Senwt-house, High [Priest]. (6) Sole Confidant of His Father. (7) Neb-em-akhet. (8) His Sister . . . (9) King's Daughter of His Body . . . (10) Possessor of Honour in the Presence of the Great God . . . Shepset-kaw."

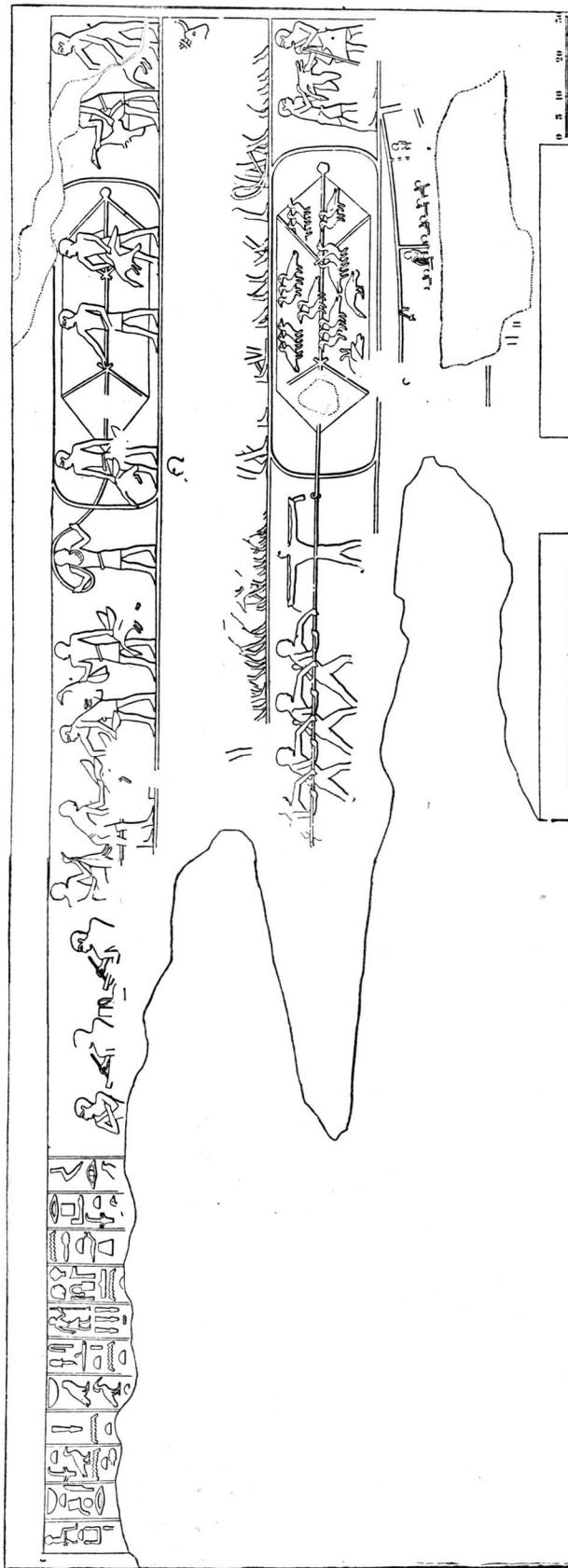


FIG. 76.

(¹) LEPSIUS, "Denkmäler," II. 12a. Ref. Text, I, p. 103.

At the extreme right-hand end of the topmost register are five men taking geese out of a clap-net, and one man coiling up the rope by which the net is closed. To the left, four men are packing the live birds into crates (1), while behind them two scribes register the number of birds caught. At the extreme left, a man, who is perhaps an overseer, sits with folded arms, facing the owner of the tomb. Traces of colour still remain upon this scene, the flesh of the men being coloured dark red, while the background of the clap-net is green.

The second register is largely defaced, but parts of its lower half remain, proving that it bore an agricultural scene. At the right-hand side are to be seen two ploughs drawn by oxen and each in charge of two men, one of whom actually guides the plough, while his companion drives the animals. Behind them comes a man who should have been represented scattering seed, but who appears to be caressing a goat (perhaps he is offering it a handful of grain) (2). Behind the ploughs and the sower comes a herd of goats whose function was to tread the seed into the newly-ploughed earth.

The third register bears a representation of a clap-net, in which are twenty-one geese. The rope of the net is grasped by four fowlers, leaning forward, and awaiting the signal of their foreman, who stands between them and the net. Between his outstretched hands he holds a strip of cloth with which he will signal for the net to be closed (3). To the right of this group are two men facing each other. One, who wears the stiff kilt affected by the marsh-dwellers, seems to be the superintendant who is responsible for the fowler's activities. He leans upon a long staff, and seems to be conversing with the other man. This latter is carrying a goose, apparently dead and they appear to be discussing it. This same dead goose is shown inside the net.

Of the fourth register there remains only the upper part of a representation of a boat navigated by seven rowers under the guidance of the captain who stands in their midst. From the size of the boat we should perhaps understand that it was manned by fourteen oarsmen, seven on each side. To the right of the rowers, that is to say in the stern of the ship, stand the steersmen.

The Western Wall.

In the southern side of the western wall is cut an iche measuring 1.55 × 1.25 × 2.25 m. Its lower edge is 0.60 m. higher than the level of the floor of the chapel. Above and to the right side of this niche are the remains of what was originally intended to be one large scene covering the whole of that part of the wall. This scene was completed and coloured, when for some reason, probably connected with a religious innovation, the scheme of the tomb was changed, and the above-mentioned niche cut into the wall, with disastrous results as far as the decoration of the

(1) Burton MSS. 25621, 75, verso 76.

(2) Cf. *The Tomb of Ti* (BAEDEKER, 1902), p. 147 for both the above-mentioned, and for the group following. Note however, that rams not goats, are represented in the tomb of Ti.

(3) Cf. DAVIES. *Ptah-ḥetep I*, p. 10, Pl. XXVI.

wall is concerned (Fig. 77, Pl. XXXVII). To the left-hand end of the wall was a large figure of the owner of the tomb standing in a papyrus canoe and holding a double fish-spear poised in his upraised

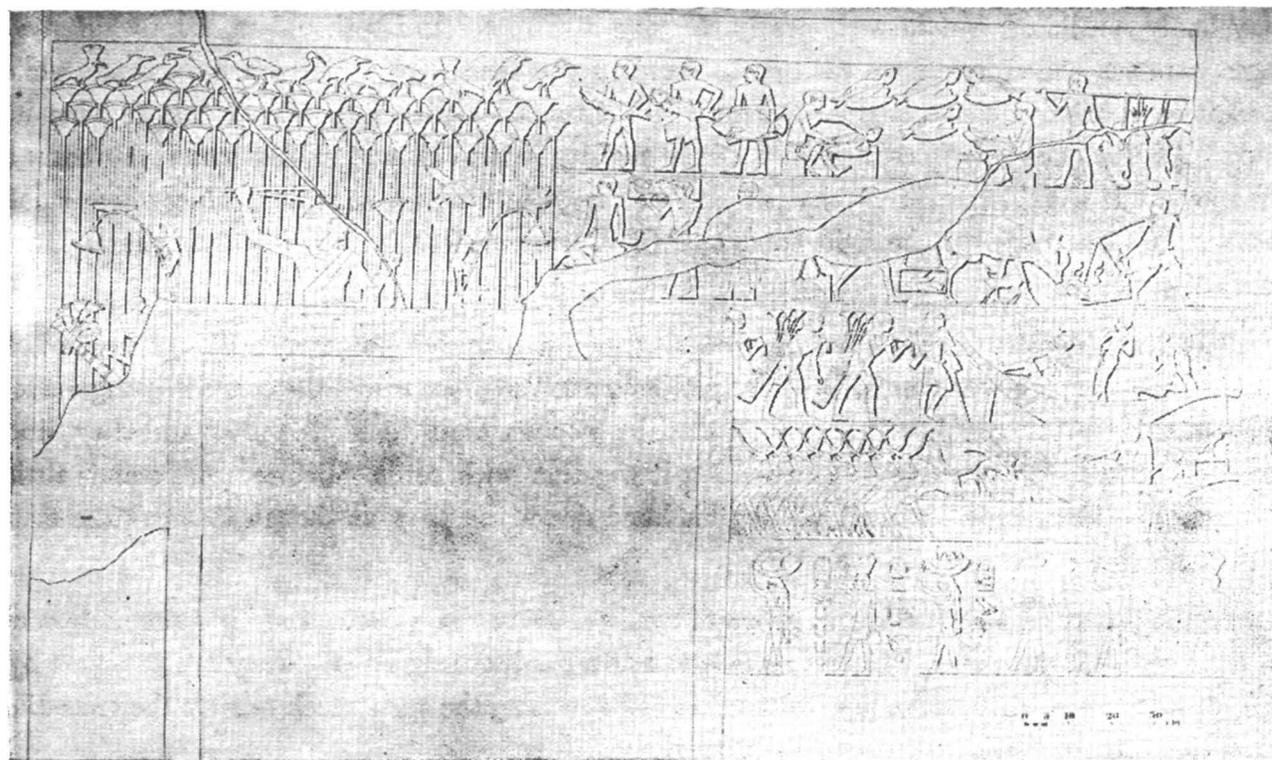


FIG. 77.

right hand. Of this figure only the upper part from above the waist remains, together with the upraised stern of the canoe, decorated with a bunch of lotus-flowers, and part of a small figure of an attendant poling the small craft along. The background consists of a papyrus-thicket on the umbels of which various birds are perching. To the right and left sides of the thicket are two ichneumons, each climbing a bending stem of papyrus in order to reach a nest built upon it. The nest to the right-hand side seems to contain young birds, and the distressed mother-bird is shown frantically flapping its wings above the head of the ichneumon in a vain effort to drive it away.

The right-hand side of the wall is divided into five superposed registers. At the left-hand side of the top register are three men carrying large fish. Behind them, and with his back towards them, is a man seated at a low table engaged in gutting fishes and laying them out to dry. Facing him is another man engaged in cleaning fish and putting them in a large pot, probably to be preserved in salt. At the extreme right of the register are two men carrying three large fishes slung upon a pole borne between them ⁽¹⁾.

The second register bears a representation of men engaged in the transportation of living animals and birds. At the extreme left-hand end is a man carrying two live geese, one in each

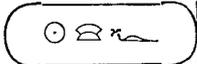
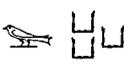
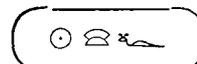
⁽¹⁾ KLUBS: "Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches", p. 79, PETRIE, *Deshashed*, pl. V, p. 7.

hand. Behind him is another man carrying a cage of live ducks upon his right shoulder, supporting it with his right hand. In his left hand he carries a goose, which he holds by its wings. The figure of the third man is almost totally destroyed. That of the fourth man is also very badly mutilated, but he was clearly carrying a yoke across his shoulders, from which two cages were suspended, one from each end. In the right-hand cage crouches a living hare, while the left-hand one contains a large hedgehog. To the right is a gazelle (*gazella dorcas*) suckling its fawn. At the extreme right-hand end of the register is the figure of another man who bears a yoke over his shoulders. From the left end of the yoke hangs a cage containing three small gazelles (1). The cage on the right-hand end (if it ever existed) is now destroyed through the mutilation of the wall.

The third register bears a scene representing the building of a papyrus canoe. Three naked peasants are carrying heavy bundles of papyrus stems to the place where the canoe is being made. One vessel is almost completed: it is supported by wooden props under the prow and stern, and three naked workmen are engaged in binding it together with cords. Before them stands their overseer, who leans upon his staff, placing his hand under the prow as though to assist the man who is binding that particular part (2).

In the fourth register are seen a drove of cattle crossing the water. The foremost ox lowers his head to drink the water, which is represented as a solid, oblong band. They are preceded by a papyrus canoe in which sits a man who seems to be reciting the spell which renders the crocodile harmless (3).

In the prow of the canoe is a crane perched upon a rectangular crate; while a naked lad wades along beside the craft.

The fifth register has suffered much from erosion, but enough remains to show that it originally bore a procession of offering-bearers, (alternately male and female) who bring various products from the estates of King Khafra', to the tomb of his son. The first figure on the left-hand side is that of a woman who carries a shallow basket of bread and meat upon her head, supporting it with her right hand, while in her left one she carries a live duck. The second figure is that of a man who bears a deep basket upon his head and carries a small bag in his left hand. In front of him is inscribed:   *wr-kno-H'.f-R'* (4). The third figure is that of a woman who bears a basket upon her head, which contains four vases with conical covers, while in her left-hand she carries a live goose. In front of her is inscribed:   *mrj-W'dt-H'.f-R'* (5). The fourth figure is that of a man who carries a deep basket upon his head

(1) KLEBS *op. cit.*, p. 63, Fig. 50.

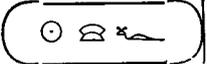
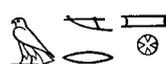
(2) KLEBS *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 101. DAVIES, "Sheikh Said" Pl. XII, p. 23, 24. PETRIE, "Deshashah" Pl. V, p. 4, STEINDORFF, "Ti" Pl. CX.

(3) Cf. DAVIES, "Ptah-hetep I," Pl. III, p. 9. "One punts, another is guiding a calf by a cord, and they are exclaiming at the crocodile", "O filthy one, may your heart be pleased with the water-weeds (?)"

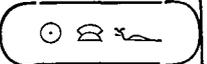
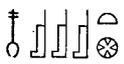
(4) GAUTHIER, *Dict. Geogr.* I, p. 20: "Grands sont les doubles du Roi Chephren—Nom d'une localité de la IV^e dyn. dans la région de Memphis".

(5) GAUTHIER, *Dict. Geogr.* I, p. 184: "La ville Ouazt-Mer du Roi Chephren—Localité de la IV^e Dyn."

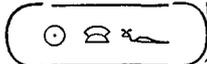
steadying it with his right-hand, and holding a bunch of lotus-flowers in his left one. In front

of him is inscribed:   *mrj-Hr-H'.f-R'* (1). The fifth figure is that of

a woman. She bears a shallow basket upon her head, and carries a live goose in her left hand.

In front of her is inscribed:   *nfr-iswt-H'.f-R'* (2). The sixth figure is

a man who bears a deep basket upon his head and carries a small bag in his left hand. In

front of him is inscribed:   *pk-H'.f-R'* (3).

The Northern Wall

The northern wall of this chapel is so badly defaced by erosion, that no traces remain of any scenes or inscriptions.

In the course of the clearance of this chapel, the following objects were recovered from the debris:—

- (1) A fragment of an alabaster vessel. Dim. : 7.0 × 4.5 cm.
- (2) A fragment from a circular alabaster slab, perhaps an offering-table. Dim. : 8.0 × 5.5 cm.

The Inner Chapel (Dim. : 9.55 × 3.36 × 3.50 m.).

The entrance leading into this chapel lies in the centre of the western wall of the first chapel. It measures about 1.0 m. wide, the breadth of its outer thickness being 0.45 m., while that of its inner thickness is 1.05 m. It was originally closed by a wooden door, as can be proved by the presence of a recess cut in its upper part, in which was fixed the slab of stone bearing the socket-holes of the door.

The Right Outer Thickness (4) (Fig. 78).

On the right outer thickness there remains part of a representation of two men standing and facing to the right.

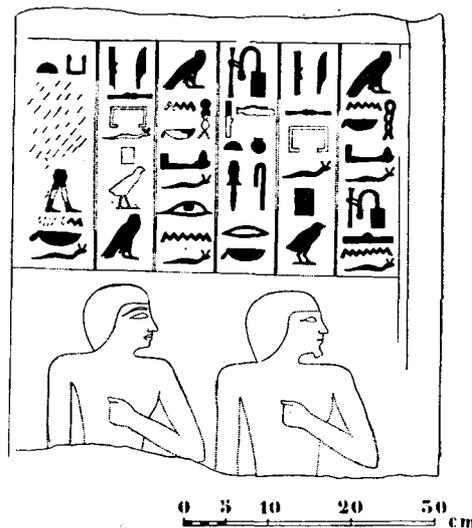


FIG. 78.

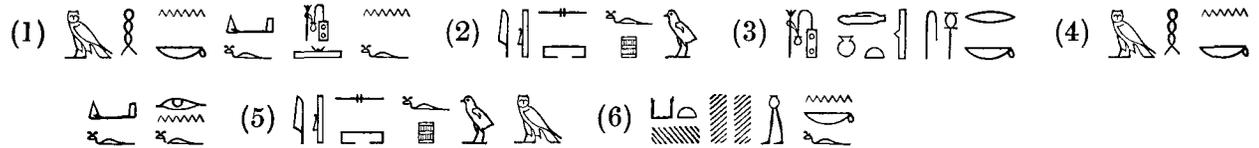
(1) GAUTHIER, *Dict. Geogr.* IV, p.38: "La ville Hr-mer (ou Mer-Hor) du Roi Chephren—Localité de l'Ancien Empire, ou peut-être simplement un domaine du Roi Chephren." See also the tomb of Sekhem-ka-Ra', where this estate-name also occurs.

(2) GAUTHIER, *Dict. Geogr.* III, p.91: "Beaux sont les emplacements de Khafra—Domaine du Roi Chephren, situation inconnue."

(3) GAUTHIER, *Dict. Geogr.* II, p. 159: "Endroit non-identifié".

(4) LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, II, 12. C. Sethe, *Urk.* I, 16, (12).

They each wear short wigs, and place their closed left hands upon their chests, while their right arms hang at their sides. The foremost man wears a false beard. Above their heads is an inscription composed of six vertical rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading :—



“(1) His Rewarded One, who inscribed for him (2) this, his tomb, (3) the Sculptor, Semer-ka (4) His Rewarded One, who made for him (5) this, his tomb, with (6) the work . . . In-ka-f (1).”

The name and representation of this man provides one of those rare instances where the name and personality of an ancient Egyptian artist is made known to us.

The left outer thickness is uninscribed.

The Right Inner Thickness (Fig. 79).

At the top of the right inner thickness is a scene representing four men in the act of throwing a sacrificial bull, preparatory to slaughtering it⁽²⁾. Above them is a horizontal inscription

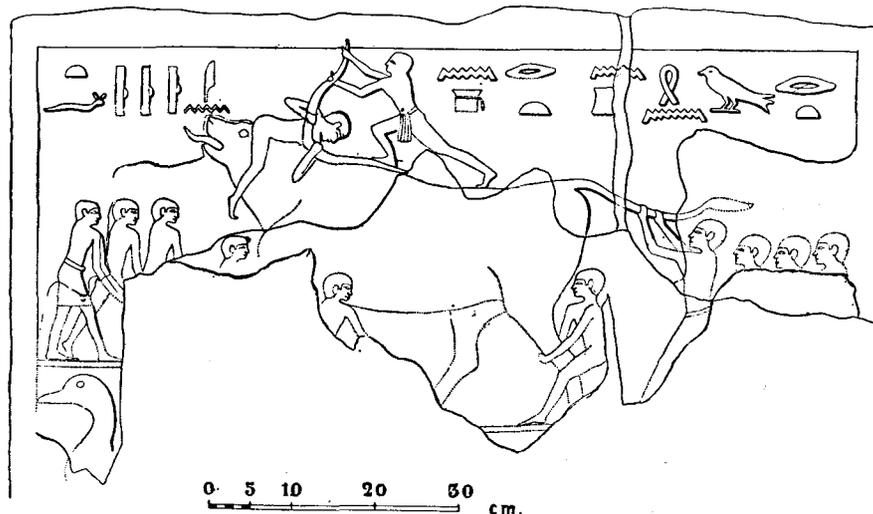


FIG. 79.

reading: → “Holding (the bull) and turning steadily” and ←
 “by his gangs.”

(1) The tomb of In-ka-f, the sculptor, was discovered by us during our sixth season's work.

(2) Cf. “PETRIE, *Deshashek*,” Pls. XII and XVIII, p. 9, LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, II. 14. C.

The Left Inner Thickness (Fig. 80, Pl. XXXVI, B).

On the upper part of the left-hand inner thickness are two registers bearing a representation in relief of herdsmen leading animals into the chapel. The upper register is somewhat mutilated, but enough remains for us to see that to the right a man is leading an ibex, while behind him, a companion follows with a large hyena led by a rope attached to its neck. Note that its attendant also carries a stick. The lower register is well-preserved. To the right, a man is leading a gazelle by means of a rope attached to its neck, while for additional control he grasps it by one horn. To the left, a man is leading an oryx, or to be exact, he is restraining it, by placing one hand upon its muzzle and one upon its horns. Above its back is inscribed:

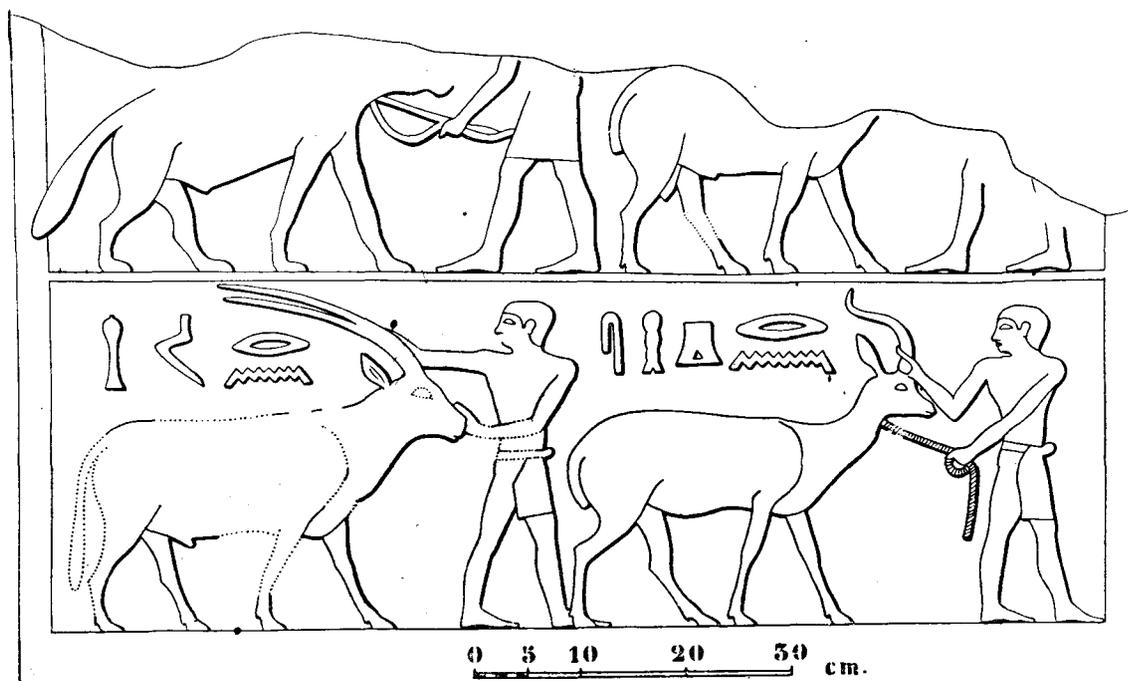


FIG. 80.

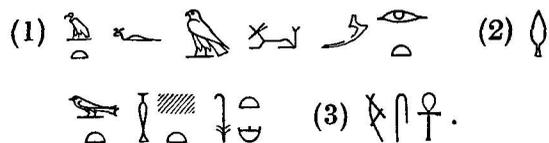
Above the back of the animal is inscribed: ←  "A young gazelle." To the left is a man leading an oryx, or to be exact, he is restraining it, by placing one hand upon its muzzle and one upon its horns. Above its back is inscribed:  "A young oryx."

The Eastern Wall (Fig. 81, Pl. XXXVIII).

The left-hand side of the eastern wall ⁽¹⁾, which lies to the north of the doorway, is very much damaged and incrustated. There remains upon it only a small portion of three registers, the upper one of which bears a scene depicting an array of offering-tables near which stands a man. In the middle register are seen a few traces of four butchers dismembering the carcass of an ox; while on the bottom register was a row of dancers, clad in short kilts, raising their arms above their heads.

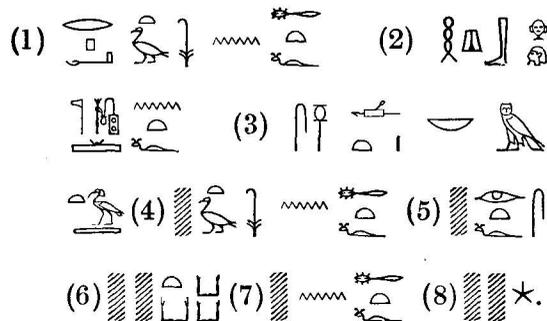
(1) LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, II. 14.A., Text, 1. p. 104.

Above the doorway is preserved the upper part of a group consisting of Neb-em-akhet, with his sister behind him and his mother confronting him. Above these three figures is an inscription composed of eleven vertical rows reading :—



“(1) His Mother, She Who Sees Horus and Set (2) The Great Ornament, the Great Favourite (or Praised), the King’s Wife (3) Meres-’ankh.”

This part of the inscription occurs above the head of the lady to whom it refers. The remaining lines of the inscription read :—



“(1) The Hereditary Prince, the King’s Son of His Body, (2) Chief Ritualist, Scribe of the Divine Book of His Father, (3) Sole Confidant, Neb-em-akhet. (4) . . . the [King’s] Daughter of His Body, . . . (5) her father (6) . . . [Shepset]-kaw. (7) [the King’s Son] of His Body (8) Dwa [ny-Ra’] (?)”

The right-hand side of the doorway is occupied by three registers sculptured in relief. In the topmost register is seen a catafalque, the decorated roof of which rests

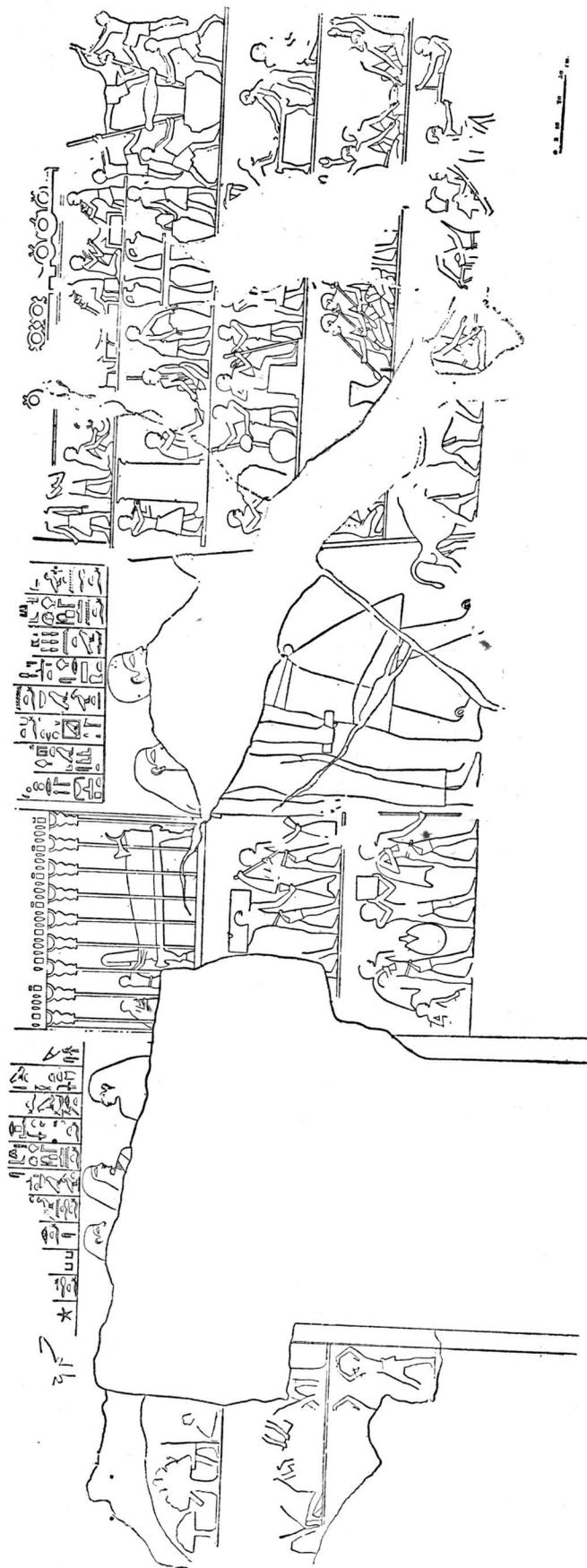
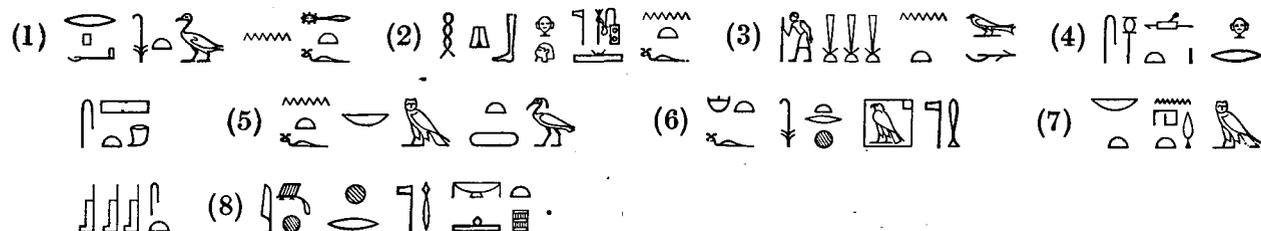


FIG. 81.

upon nine Hathorian columns ⁽¹⁾. Under the catafalque is a coffin resting upon a bier. A head-rest (supposed by Lepsius to be a bull's head) is placed upon the head of the coffin, while at the foot stand two men who appear to be covering it with a pall ⁽²⁾.

Below this scene are two superposed registers, in each of which are three male attendants carrying bags and boxes. At the end of the lower register is the mutilated figure of a dwarf who was probably leading a pet ape or dog. To the right of the above-mentioned scene is a large representation of Neb-em-akhet accompanied by his wife. He wears his natural hair, cut short, and is clad in a long kilt, and shod with sandals. In his left hand he carries a long staff, while in his right hand he holds a roll of papyrus. In front of him are his two pet apes, apparently male and female. Behind Neb-em-akhet stands his wife, who embraces him with her left arm. She wears a long wig, and is clad in a close-fitting transparent robe. Above the heads of this couple is an inscription consisting of eight vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading:—



“(1) The Hereditary Prince, King's Son of His Body, (2) Chief Ritualist, Scribe of the Divine Book of His Father, (3) Eldest of the Senwt-house, High Priest, (4) Sole Confidant, Master of the Secrets (5) of His Father, Neb-em-akhet. (6) His Wife, She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Priestess of Hathor (7) Mistress of the Sycamore in All Her Places, (8) the Honoured by the Great God, Nb-hetep.”

The remaining part of the wall is occupied by five superposed registers ⁽³⁾ depicting the occupations of daily life. The upper register, which is in a very bad condition, bears a scene representing goldsmiths at work. At the extreme right are two men seated at a low table, holding a large necklace between them. One, who is seated upon a low stool, appears to be a dwarf. Behind them are another pair of dwarfs similarly engaged. To the left of this latter group is a man seated upon the ground, holding a finished necklace ⁽⁴⁾. Behind him stands a man with folded arms who seems to be an overseer superintending the work in progress. At the extreme left is a man who faces towards the owner of the tomb, and carries a long staff in his right hand and a handkerchief in his left one. Above all these figures is a row of necklaces of various designs, apparently the completed articles displayed upon a shelf. At the right-hand end of the second and third registers is the representation of a wine-press that is remarkably well-preserved ⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ BORCHARDT, *Ä.Z.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 168, “Sistrumsäulen”. Cf. NEWBERRY, “Beni-Hasan,” III, Pl. V, No. 81.

⁽²⁾ Cf. WIEDEMANN in “*Le Muséeon*” V; III le culte des animaux: BORCHARDT, *Ä.Z.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 168. We actually found in our excavations many examples of head-rests so placed upon sarcophagi.

⁽³⁾ See LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, II, 13.

⁽⁴⁾ See also the tomb of Wep-em-nefert, “*Excavations at Giza*”, 1930-1931, pp. 198-199, Fig. 219.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. KLEBS *op. cit.* p. 57. MONTET, “*Scènes de la Vie Privée*”, p. 268. See also the tomb of Queen Bw-nefer. “*Excavations at Giza*”, 1931-1932, p. 187, Fig. 148.

The press is composed of a sack which contains the grapes, through the looped ends of which are thrust long poles. These poles are held by four men, and are turned in opposite directions, while a fifth man balances himself between them, gripping the poles with his hands and bare feet, and exerting all his strength to keep the sack fully extended. As the poles are twisted, the sack contracts and crushes the grapes, so that the juice filters down into a large vessel placed ready to receive it.

In the second register, and immediately to the left of the wine-press, are a number of large jars filled with wine, and the figures of two men, the one to the right being engaged in filling the last of the jars, while his companion follows along, closing and sealing the jars after him.

Next come a pair of workmen seated upon the ground facing each other, apparently they are enjoying a few moments rest. The man on the left-hand side is represented in a very natural and pleasing manner. He is seated with his legs bent, the thighs pressed against his body; his right arm is clasped round his knees, and his left foot is slightly in advance, and resting upon the heel. His head is bent forward, with the chin resting upon his right knee. His companion sits with his legs bent, and his feet crossed at the ankles. He supports his staff against his chest, so as to leave his hands free to hold some object, now effaced, which lay upon the ground between him and his mate. Behind them is a man who seems to be inscribing a large naos, which rests upon a sledge in front of him.

At the extreme right-hand end of the third register is a man seated upon the ground, but it is not clear what he is supposed to be doing. Behind him are two men polishing a leonine couch which stands between them. Then follows a break in the wall which has almost totally destroyed another group of two workers, one of whom was wielding a stone hammer with great energy. They are followed by a sculptor working upon a life-sized statue of a man, presumably of Neb-em-akhet himself. The statue is in a seated posture, and holds a long staff in its left hand ⁽¹⁾. At the extreme left of the register are two craftsmen patiently working upon two large stone vessels. One man is drilling out the inside of a jar, while his companion is giving a completed vessel its final polishing.

The fourth register bears a scene of metal workers; those to the right seem to be gold-beaters while the group to the left are engaged in blowing the fire under a crucible of molten metal. Between these two sets of workers is a man, standing and facing to the right, but a break in the wall has almost totally destroyed his figure.

The fifth register is in a bad state of preservation, but the scene sculptured upon it may perhaps represent coppersmiths engaged in fashioning ewers and basins. At the extreme right two men are weighing something, probably metal, in a hand balance.

⁽¹⁾ For sculptors at work see also the tomb of Wep-em-*nefert* "Excavations at Giza", 1930-1931, fig. 219, pp. 194-199.

The Southern Wall (Fig. 82) ⁽¹⁾.

A doorway had originally been cut in the eastern side of the southern wall, but was afterwards blocked up with limestone masonry and sculptured with scenes in relief. Later, the upper part of the blocking of this doorway was removed in order to make a window. Of the five superposed registers which once adorned this part of the wall, there remains only part of a procession of men carrying strips of cloth, ornaments, and fillets for the hair. In the fourth register can be seen

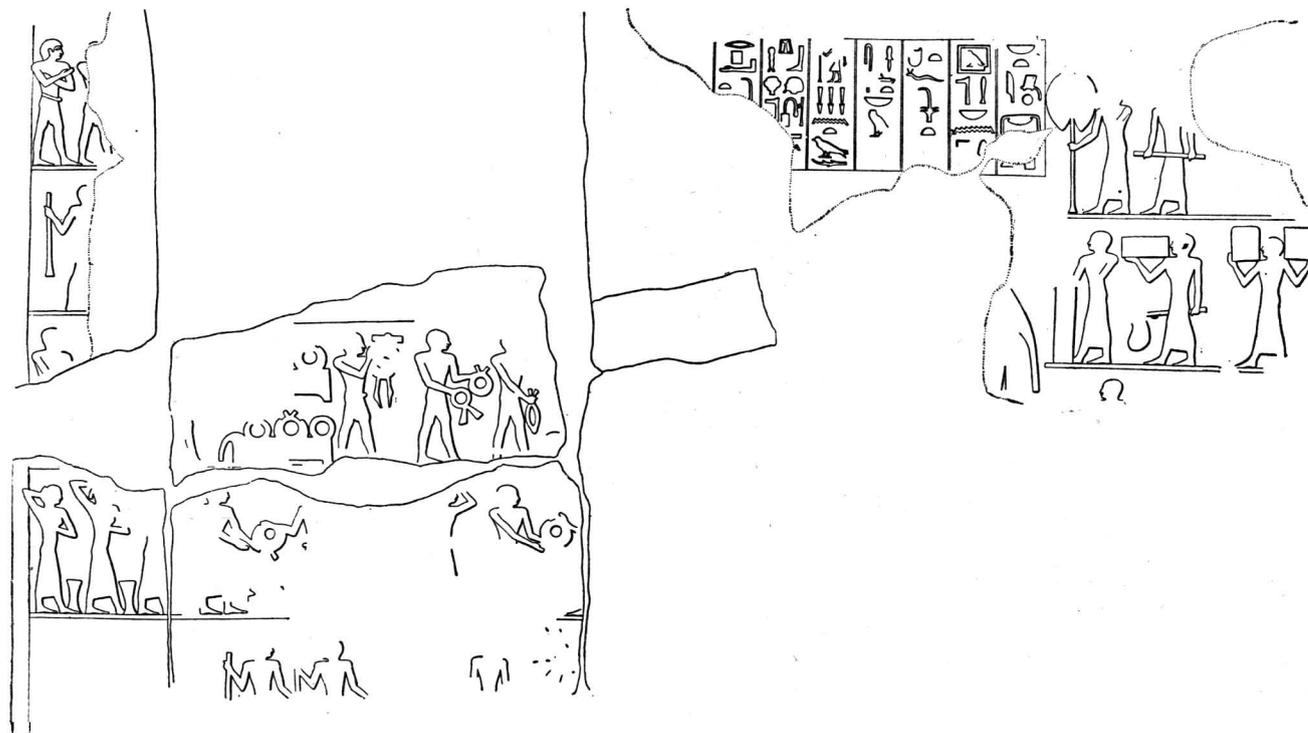
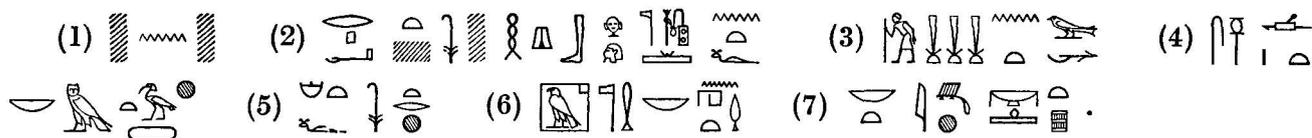


FIG. 82.

three women engaged in spinning yarn. They face the right, and in front of each is a cylindrical jar in which the thread is placed ⁽²⁾. In the centre of the wall was originally a large group representing Neb-em-akhet and his wife, facing to the left. However, all their figures have been destroyed and only the inscription, and a small fragment of the lady's wig and shoulder afford us evidence of what originally existed here. This inscription consists of eight vertical rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading:—



“(1) . . . of . . . (2) Hereditary Prince, . . . Chief Ritualist, Scribe of the Divine Book of His Father, (3) Eldest of the Senwt-house, High Priest, (4) Sole Confidant, Neb-em-akhet. (5) His Wife, She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, (6) Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore (7) Possessor of Honour, Neb-hetep.”

In the upper right-hand corner of the wall are the remains of two registers in which are shown servants, apparently women, carrying various articles. In the top register, the first woman carries

⁽¹⁾ LEPSIUS, *Denkm.*, “Ergänz.,” XXXIV (A).

⁽²⁾ Cf. NEWBERRY “*Beni Hasan*”, IV, Pl. XV.

Between them are four vertical rows of hieroglyphs, the right-hand two of which relate to Ny-weser-Ra', and read:  [King's Son] of His Body . . . Ny-weser-Ra'." The two rows of inscription on the left-hand side relate to Neb-em-akhet, and read: (1)  (2)  "[King's] Son of His Body . . . Neb-em-akhet" (Fig. 85).

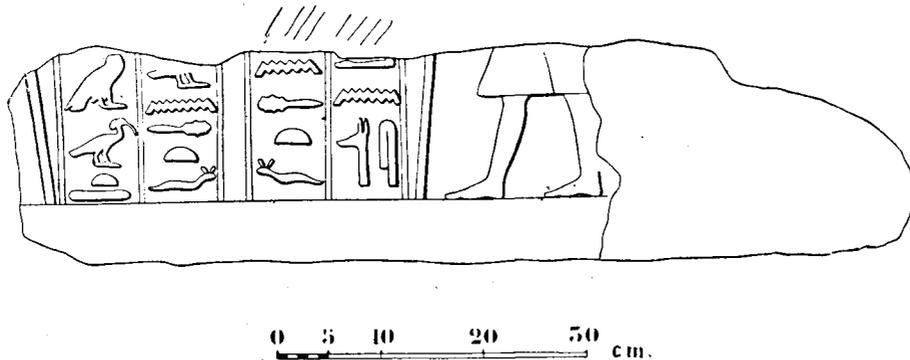


FIG. 85.

- (4) A white limestone slab measuring 0.60×0.22 m. It bears the lower parts of the figures of two men, walking one behind the other. The foremost man was clad in a leopard-skin and a short kilt. The right-hand figure may perhaps represent Neb-em-akhet's brother, as the remains of a vertical inscription before it seems to read "[King's Son] of [His] Body . . . 'Ankh-ma-[Ra']" (Fig. 86).

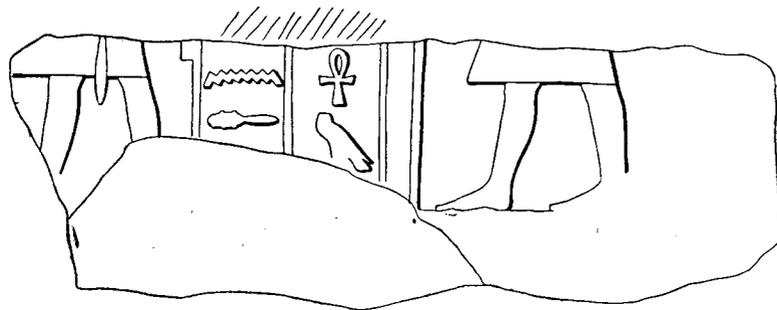


FIG. 86.

- (5) A white limestone slab measuring 0.65×0.16 m. It bears a fragment of a scene representing the owner of the tomb (?) of whose figure only the sandal-shod feet remain,

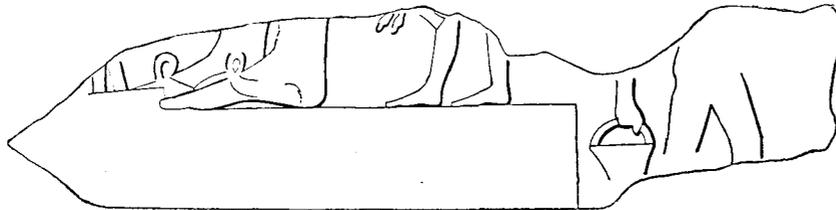


FIG. 87.

and behind him a child carrying a bird. To the right are traces of an attendant, carrying a small basket (Fig. 87).

(6) A fragment of white limestone measuring 0.25×0.17 m. It is inscribed with the title:  "Chief Ritualist" (Fig. 88).

(7) A fragment of white limestone measuring 0.28×0.17 m., and bearing part of a representation of led ox (Fig. 89).

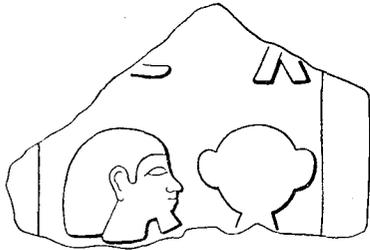


FIG. 88.

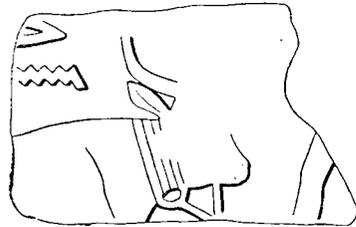


FIG. 89.

(8) A white limestone slab measuring 0.40×0.20 m., which belonged to the thickness of the northern niche of the inner chapel. It bears part of a representation of Neb-em-akhet seated upon a chair. Above him are preserved the two final signs of his name:  (Fig. 90).

(9) A white limestone slab measuring 0.45×0.15 m. It bears the lower part of the representation of a kneeling man (Fig. 91).

(10) A white limestone slab measuring 0.26×0.28 m., bearing a damaged representation of a man seated upon a feline-footed chair (Fig. 92).

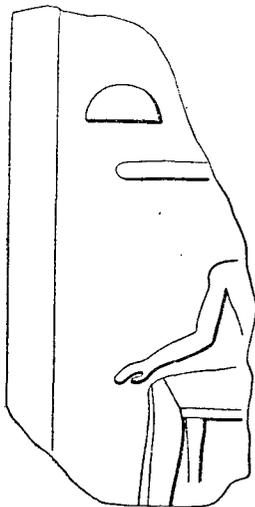


FIG. 90.

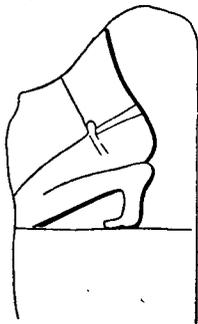


FIG. 91.

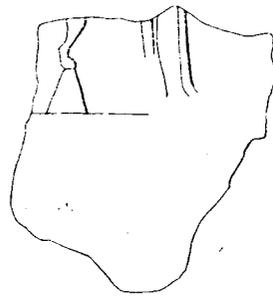


FIG. 92.

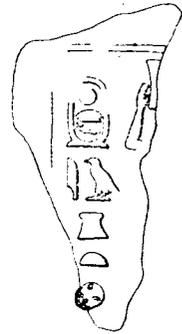


FIG. 93.

0 5 10 20 50 cm.

(11) A limestone slab measuring 0.32×0.15 m., bearing the right arm and part of the basket of an offering-bearer. In front of this figure is the name of the estate from which the offerings were brought, inscribed in a vertical row, reading:  "igt-H.f-R" (Fig. 93).

- (12) A limestone slab measuring 0.70×0.15 m., bearing a damaged representation in relief of a man engaged in flaying a goat which hangs from a branch of a tree ⁽¹⁾. Behind him is another man seated upon the ground with his knees drawn up against his body, and his back resting against a mound of sand (?). A third man kneels upon the ground, bending forward so that his head is hidden by what appears to be the legs of a standing man or a statue. This fragment forms part of the eastern wall of the first chapel (Fig. 94).
- (13) A limestone slab bearing a damaged representation of a woman holding a lotus-flower in her right hand. In front of her is part of the figure of a man wearing a leopard-skin, and represented on a larger scale. Behind the latter is a hoopoe. This is probably a fragment of a group representing the deceased (centre figure) with his daughter on one side of him and his son (who held the hoopoo) on the other. This slab measures 0.45×0.15 m. (Fig. 95).

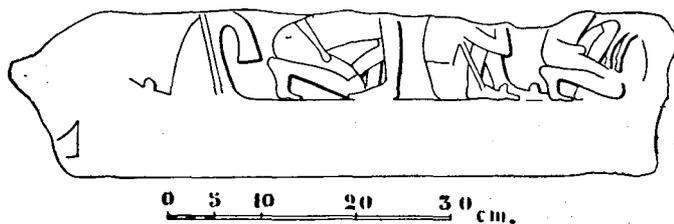


FIG. 94.

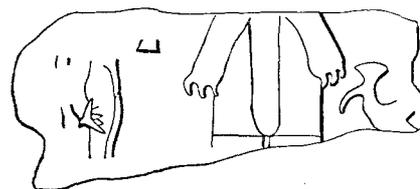


FIG. 95.

- (14) A limestone slab measuring 0.33×0.27 m., bearing the torso of a man, carved in relief (Fig. 96).
- (15) A limestone slab measuring 0.24×0.14 m. It bears a representation of a herdsman driving a fatted bull, executed in relief (Fig. 97).

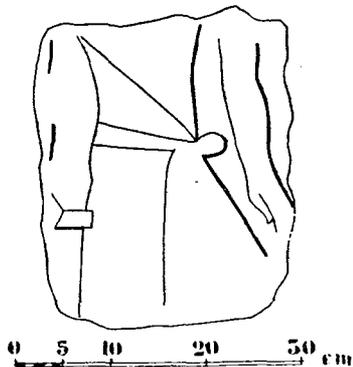


FIG. 96.

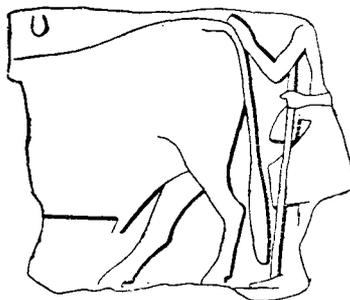


FIG. 97.

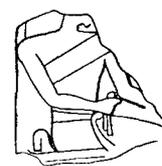


FIG. 98.



FIG. 99.

- (16) A limestone fragment measuring 0.15×0.15 m., bearing a figure of a man seated upon a stool. He wears the stole of a Ritualist (Fig. 98).
- (17) A limestone fragment measuring 0.15×0.10 m. bearing part of the figure of a man with his right arm outstretched before him (Fig. 99).

⁽¹⁾ See LEPSIUS, "Denkm.", II, 108.

- (18) A limestone slab measuring 0.35×0.18 m. bearing part of a scene of metal-workers blowing the fire of a furnace (Fig. 100). This fragment forms part of scene on the eastern wall of the inner chapel (*see* p. 140 and Fig. 81).
- (19) A limestone slab measuring 0.32×0.10 m. It bears the torso of a woman, and the shoulders and chest of a man, the latter being represented on a larger scale (Fig. 101).
- (20) A limestone slab measuring 0.17×0.14 m. It bears only the right leg and part of the kilt of a man (Fig. 102).

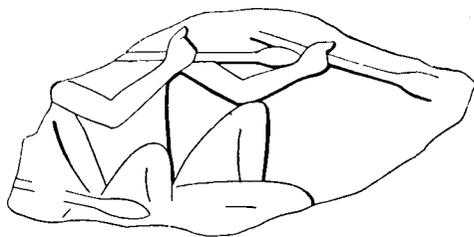


FIG. 100.

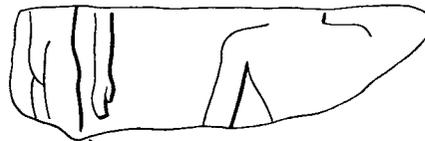


FIG. 101.



FIG. 102.

If, as seems highly probable, most of these fragments represent parts of the casing of the northern wall of the inner chapel, they must have been torn from their places in ancient times, as the above-mentioned wall is thickly encrusted with dust and earth in which are embedded scraps of coarse linen, faïence beads, and fragments of bone, being the remains of late mummies intrusively buried there.

In the debris filling the inner chapel were also found the following objects:—

- (1) Part of a limestone triple group of statuettes of men. They are seated cross-legged, and have their arms folded across their chests. They are finely-carved from a single block of Turah limestone, and traces of red colour are still visible upon them. The heads and shoulders are lacking. Upon the lap of the left-hand figure is inscribed “. . . pry (?)” and on the lap of the middle one is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading:  “The Ka-servant, Iskha” (Pl. XXXIX, A). Dim.: 0.90×0.36 m.
- (2) A fragment from the pedestal of a statue, retaining the front part of the left foot. On the left side of it are some incised hieroglyphs, reading:  “. . . Eldest [King's Son of] His Body, S . . .” It is carved from white limestone, the foot being painted dark red and the pedestal black. Dim.: 12.5×6.5 cm.
- (3) A fragment of a limestone statuette, representing the left arm embracing a circular object. Height: 10.0 cm. (Pl. XXXIX, B).
- (4) The torso of a life-sized statue of a woman. It is made of fine Turah limestone, and was apparently of excellent workmanship. Height: 0.39 m. (Pl. XXXIX, C).
- (5) A fragment of the pedestal of a group of at least two limestone statuettes of white limestone. Dim.: 9.0×19.0×12.0 cm.
- (6) Part of the left forearm of a white limestone statue. Dim.: 28.0×13.0 cm.

The following list represents objects recovered from the sand and debris filling a small rectangular chamber cut in the eastern wall of the rock-cut passage leading to the tomb of Neb-em-akhet :—

- (1) A shallow bowl of red-ware. Height : 4.0 cm.
- (2) A small blue faience figure representing the goddess Sekhmet. Height : 5.2 cm.
- (3) An amuletic figure of the goddess Bastet seated upon a throne. She holds a damaged sistrum in her right hand. Height : 6.0 cm.
- (4) A small fragment of an alabaster vase (or statue ?).
- (5) A fragment of a large alabaster statue. Dim. : 21.0 × 10.0 cm.
- (6) A headless and armless bust of a small statuette of white limestone. Dim. : 9.5 × 7.0 cm.

The following objects were found in the debris filling the entrance to the tomb :—

- (1) Numerous fragments of an alabaster statue of a king.
- (2) A small pot of polished red-ware having a wide mouth, a bulging body and a tapering base. Height : 11.8 cm.

The following were found in the debris lying immediately to the south of the tomb :—

- (1) Three copper spear-heads, one of which is complete, the second lacks only a small fragment, while the third is broken into three pieces. Average height : 7.0 cm.
- (2) A small fragment from the middle of a limestone statuette. Dim. : 11.0 × 7.0 cm.
- (3) A similar fragment from another statuette. Dim. : 11.5 × 10.0 cm.

SHAFTS

Shaft No. 782 (Fig. 103).

This shaft is sunk below the floor at the southern side of the principal false-door.

Grave-pit: 1.15 × 1.15 × 2.70 m., with a side-chamber on the west; aperture open.

Burial: A few bones scattered in the debris.

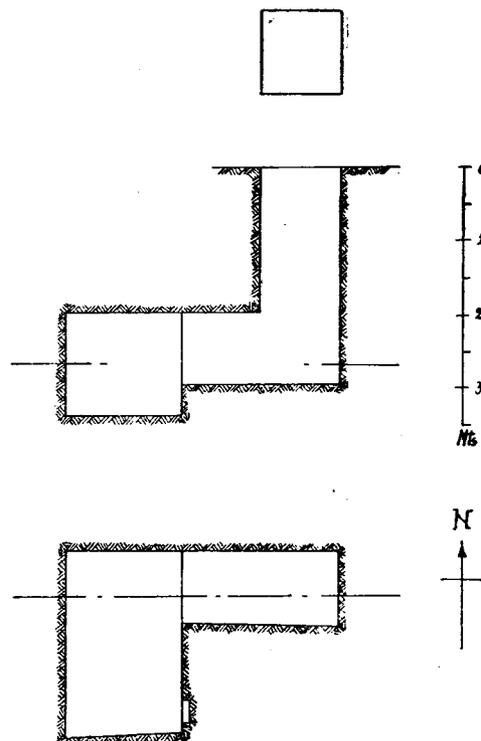


FIG. 103.

Shaft No. 783 (Fig. 104).

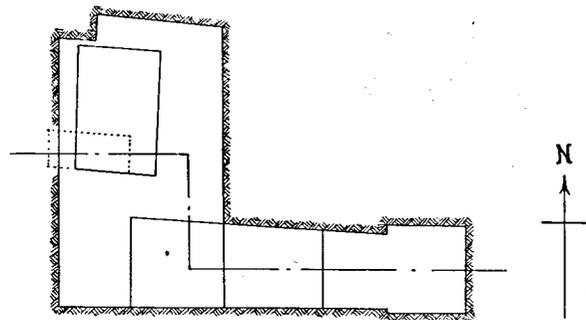
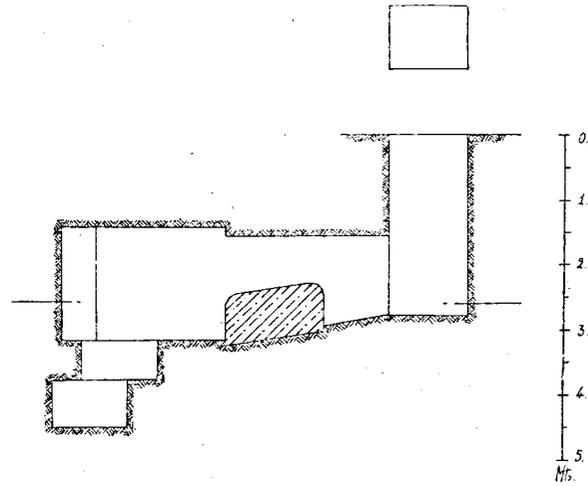
It lies to the north of the preceding one.

Grave-pit: $1.25 \times 1.27 \times 2.85$ m., with a side-chamber on the west. Aperture open.

Burial: A few bones scattered in the debris.

The following objects were found in the debris filling this burial-chamber:—

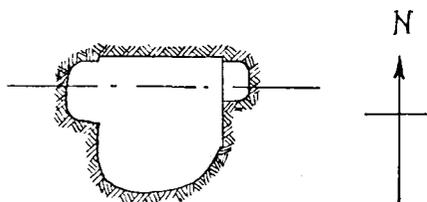
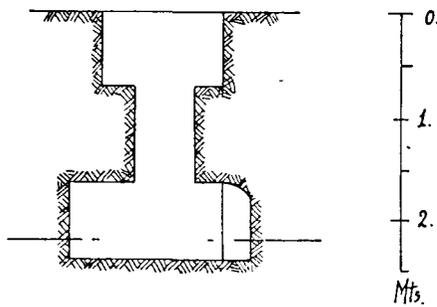
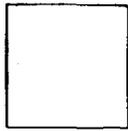
- (1) The torso of a white limestone statue of a woman. Height: 43.0 cm. Breadth: 20.0 cm.
- (2) A pottery lamp of a late period. It is highly glazed on the inside, but the outside is unglazed and somewhat blackened by smoke. Dim.: $9.0 \times 8.0 \times 4.0$ cm.



No. 783. FIG. 104.

- (3) Two deep bowls of rough red-ware, one of which is slightly damaged. Average dim: 8.0×16.0 cm.

- (4) A fragment of a globular vase of red-painted ware. Dim.: 12.5×14.5 cm.

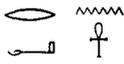


No. 784. FIG. 105.

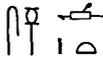
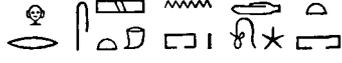
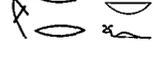
Shaft No. 784 (Fig. 105).

This shaft is sunk below the floor of the north-western corner of the first chapel.

Grave-pit: $1.25 \times 1.25 \times 2.40$ m. with two side-chambers, one on the east and one on the west. Aperture opened.

THE MASTABA OF  NY-'ANKH-RA'

TITLES

1.		<i>s3-njswt</i>	King's Son.
2.		<i>smr w'tj.</i>	Sole Confidant.
3.		<i>hrj-sšts-nj pr-dwst.</i>	Master of the Secrets of the Toilet-house.
4.		<i>hrj-sšts njswt m iswt-f. nbt.</i>	Master of the Secrets of the King in all His Places.
5.		<i>hrj-sšts nj mdw-ntr.</i>	Master of the Secrets of the Divine Language.
6.		<i>hrj-hb.</i>	Ritualist.
7.		<i>imj-r3 kst nb.t n.t njswt.</i>	Overseer of all the Works of the King.
8.		<i>tpj-hr njswt.</i>	First under the King.
9.		<i>smsw is.</i>	Eldest of the Chamber
10.		<i>iwn kn mwt.</i>	Iwn-kn-Mwt-priest (1).
11.		<i>mdw-rhjt.</i>	Staff of the People.
12.		<i>hrp wsht.</i>	Director of the Hall.
13.		<i>wḏ'-mdw m3' n hrj-wḏbw.</i>	The Real Commander of the Overseers of the Distributions.
14.		<i>imj-ib. n. nb. f.</i>	He who is in the Heart of His Master.
15.		<i>mrr. n. nb. f.</i>	The One Beloved by His Lord.
16.		<i>imshw hr ntr-'3</i>	Honoured Before the Great God.
17.		<i>imshw hr njswt.</i>	Honoured Before the King.

(1) Lit. "Pillar of His Mother", a title of the god Horus.

SITUATION

The mastaba of Ny-'ankh-Ra' is situated to the north-east of the tomb of Debehen, and south-east of that of Ny-weser-Ra' (see General Plan, third season) (Fig. 106).

DESCRIPTION

It is partly cut in the native rock and partly built of enormous blocks of local limestone masonry (Fig. 106). In front of the façade of the mastaba is a forecourt, the eastern and southern walls of which are constructed of mud-brick upon a foundation of limestone, which in the case of the eastern wall is cut in the natural rock. The existing height of the brick walls is about 0.80 m. The western wall of the court is formed by a bend in the cliff. This courtyard measures 18.57 × 10.70 m. :—

The following objects were recovered from the sand and debris encumbering the courtyard and near vicinity of the mastaba.

- (1) A slab of white limestone bearing the lower part of a representation of a man in a standing attitude. The combined vertical and horizontal pleating of the kilt is unusual (Pl. XLIII, A).
- (2) A lid of a canopic jar of white limestone, slightly chipped at the edges. Diam. : 17.0 cm.
- (3) The lower part of a group of basalt statuettes. It originally represented two men standing side by side upon a pedestal. They were clad in short, tight-fitting kilts. An unusual feature of this fragment is that the feet, which are now damaged, were placed close together, and not one in advance of the other as in the normal manner of male statues. Height : 22.0 cm. Breadth : 19.0 cm. (Pl. XLIII, B).
- (4) A fragment of an alabaster statuette. Dim. : 10.0 × 11.0 cm.
- (5) A fragment of an alabaster offering-table inscribed :  "... Hereditary Prince, King's . . ." Dim. : 12.0 × 7.0 cm.
- (6) A fine head of a basalt statuette of a man. This fragment was recovered from the debris filling Shaft No. 882, which lies a little to the south of this mastaba, but it undoubtedly belongs to the same statuette of which the elbow was recovered from the burial-chamber of Ny-'ankh-Ra'. The head is in a good state of preservation, and represents a man wearing a heavy, curled wig which covers his ears. The features are well-cut, pleasant in expression, and give the impression of being a faithful portrait. The shape of the eyes and the contour of the cheek-bones recall the famous diorite statue of Khafra' in the Cairo Museum, and it is quite likely that this basalt head belonged to a statuette of one of Khafra''s many sons. It was originally coloured dark red. When discovered, the tip of the nose was damaged, but it has since been restored (Pl. XLII).

THE ENTRANCE

The main entrance to the mastaba lies in the centre of the façade, and opens to the south. It measures 1.40 m. wide, and is 1.80 m. deep. Its jambs are neither decorated nor inscribed.

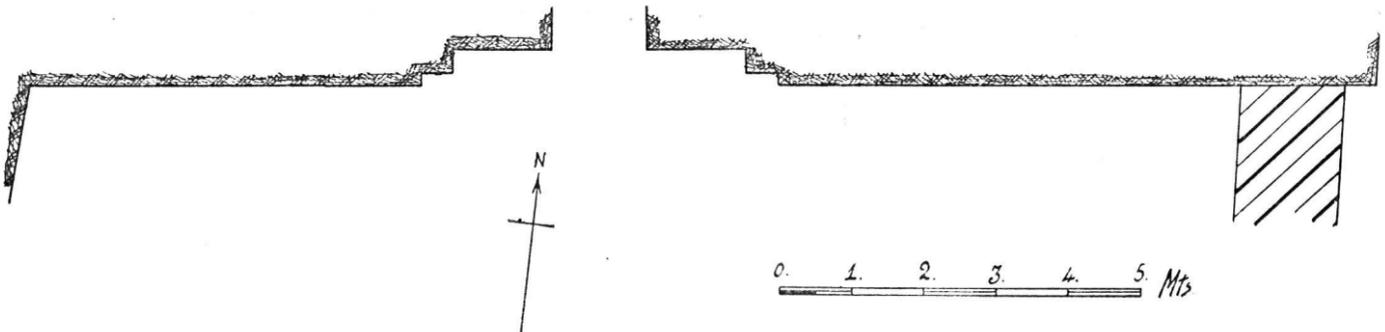
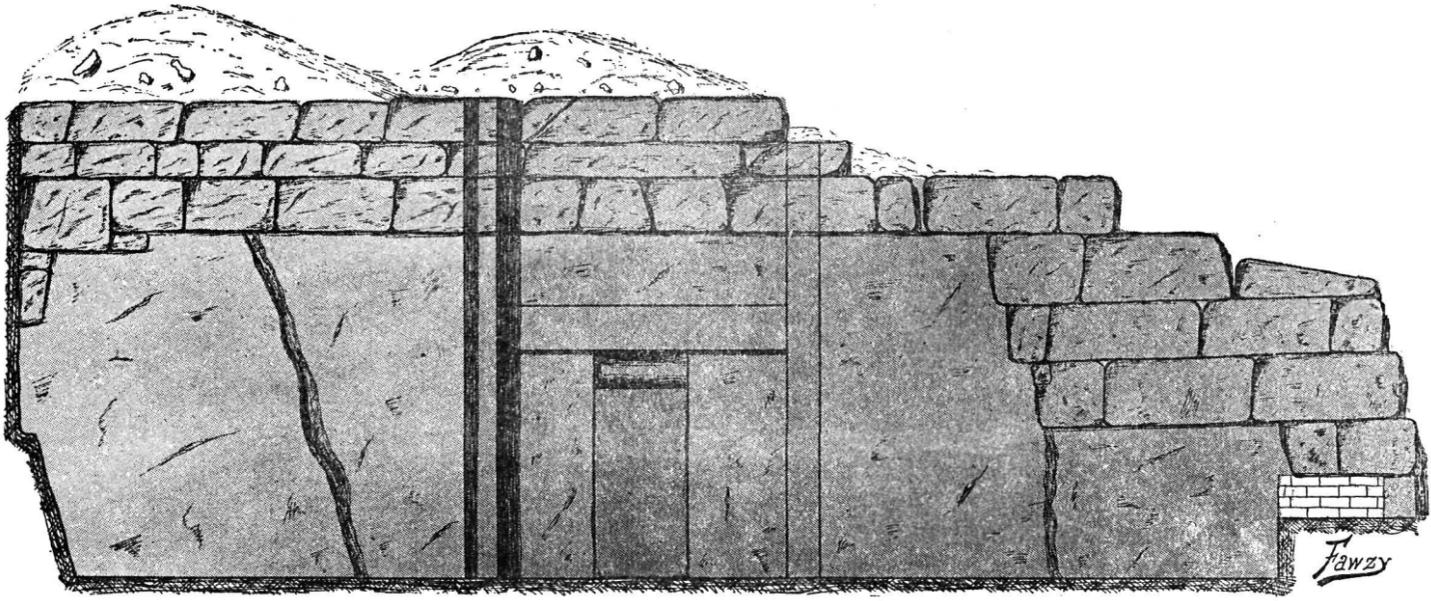


FIG. 106.—FAÇADE LOOKING NORTH.

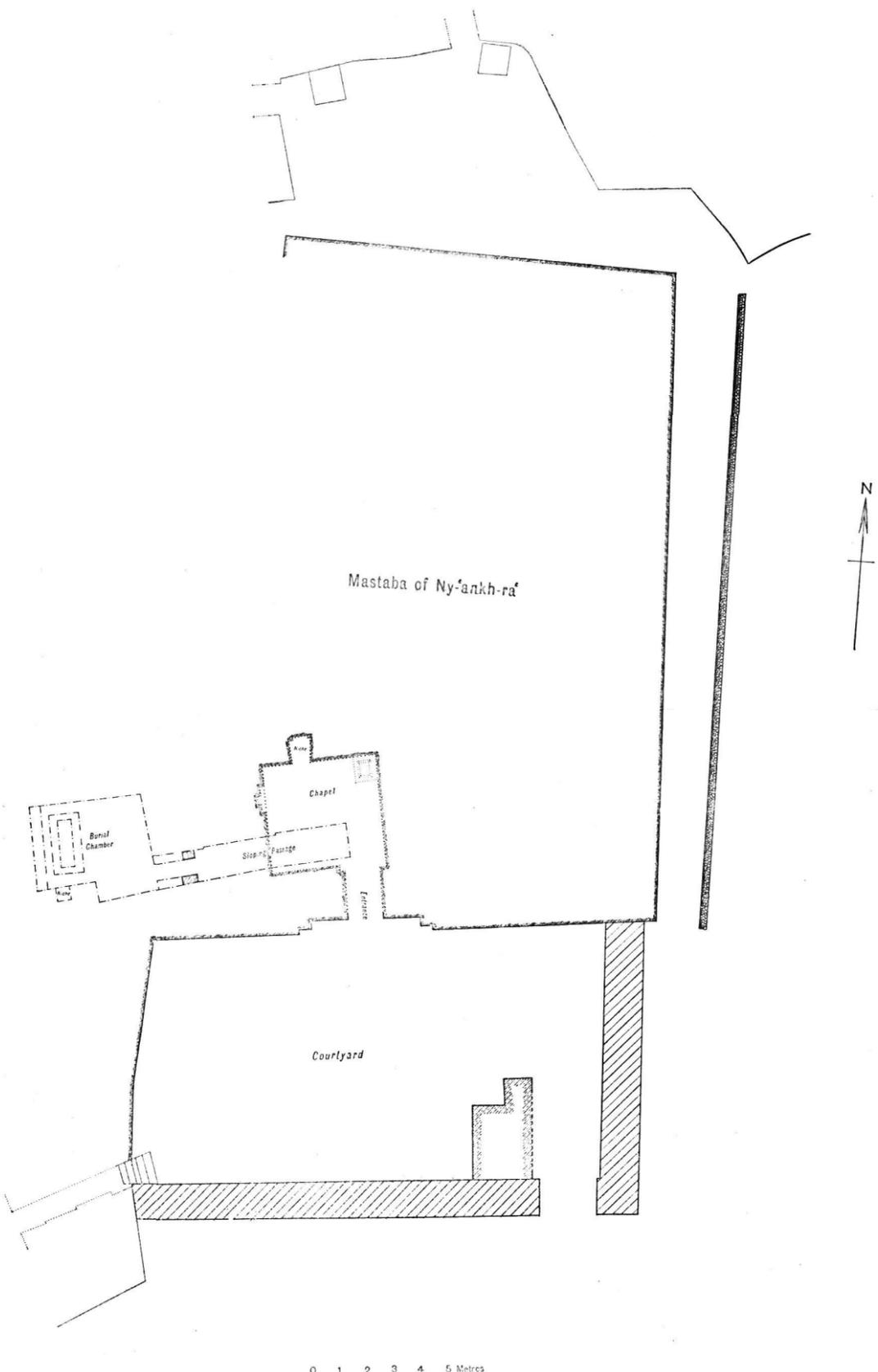
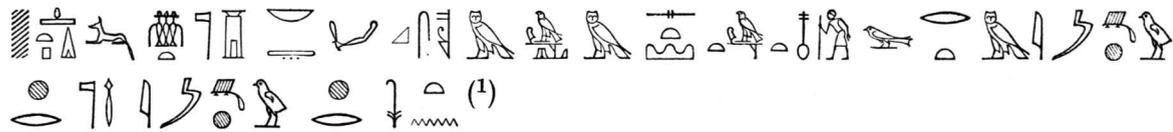
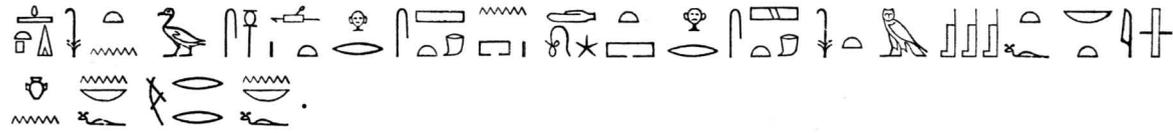


FIG. 107.

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The Lintel (Fig. 108, Pl. XLI, A).

The lintel bears three rows of well-cut hieroglyphs, reading :—

- (1)  (1)
- (2) 
- (3) 

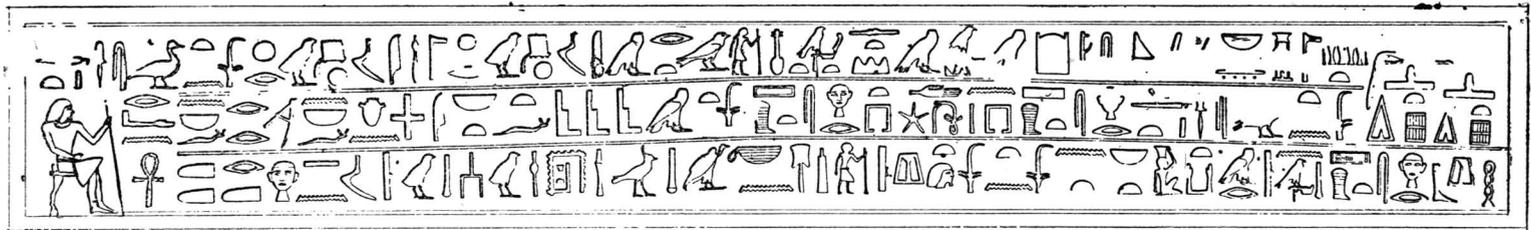
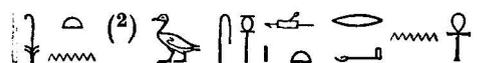


FIG. 108.

- (1) "A boon which the King gives, and a boon which Anubis Who Presides Over the God's Dwelling, Lord of the Sacred Land, gives: that [he] may be buried in the necropolis of the western desert [after] a very good old age as an Honoured One Before the Great God, Honoured One Before the King."
- (2) "The King's Son, Sole Confidant, Master of the Secrets of the Toilet-house, Master of the Secrets of the King in All His Places, He Who is in the Heart of His Master, the One Beloved by His Lord."
- (3) "The Ritualist, Master of the Secrets of the Divine Language, the Overseer of All the Works of the King, the First Under the King, Eldest of the Chamber, Iwn-kenmwt-priest, Staff of the People, Director of the Hall, the Real Commander of the Overseer of the Distributions."

At the end of this inscription is a representation of Ny-'ankh-Ra' seated on a chair and holding a long staff in his left hand. Above and in front of him is inscribed the remainder of the inscription, which reads:  "The King's Son, Sole Confidant, Ny-'ankh-Ra'."

(1) Note how in the original the opening words of the formula are written so as to form the beginning of the first two lines.

(2) The signs  are intended to be read twice.

The Drum (Fig. 109, Pl. XLI, B).

Upon the drum is a horizontal row of incised hieroglyphs reading:—


 "The King's Son, Sole Confidant, Ritualist, Ny-'ankh-Ra'."

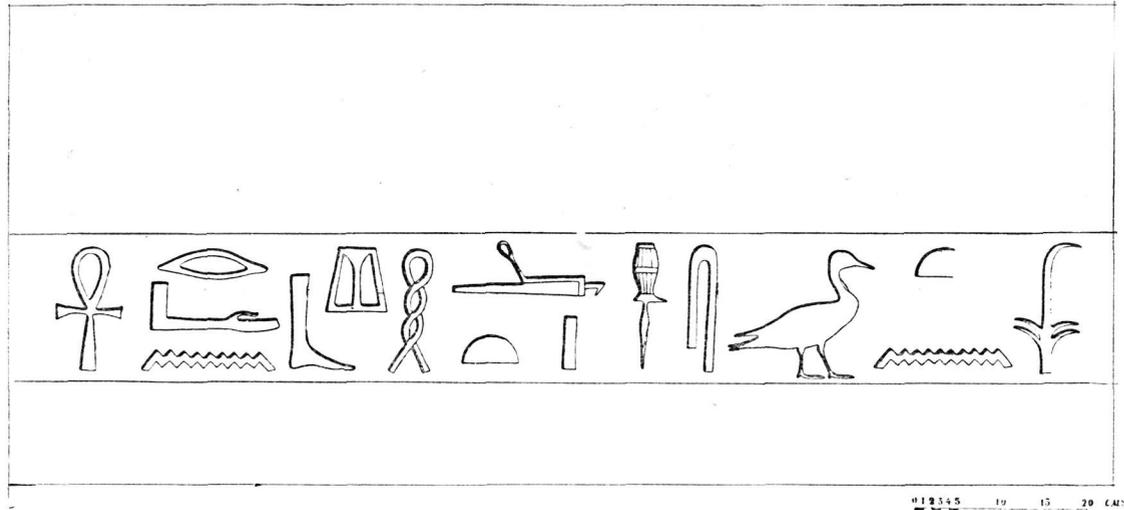


FIG. 109.

THE CHAPEL

This entrance gives access to the chapel which is almost square in shape, and measures 4.0 × 4.20 × 3.20 m. The cutting of this chapel is admirably done, the walls and floor being very finely dressed and remarkably even, but the former are entirely uninscribed. This is probably due to the untimely death of the owner of the tomb. In the northern wall is a niche measuring 0.80 × 0.70 × 1.80 m.

Nearly in the centre of the western wall is recessed a false-door measuring 1.0 m. wide and 2.70 m. high, but like the walls of the chapel, this false-door bears no trace of an inscription. In the south-western corner of the chapel, and immediately to the left of the false-door is a descending passage which measures 4.75 m. long, and is 1.20 m. wide. It leads down into a burial-chamber measuring about 4.20 × 3.80 × 2.0 m. (Fig. 112).

THE CONTENTS OF THE BURIAL-CHAMBER

On the floor of the burial-chamber is a large, finely-made sarcophagus of polished white limestone totally uninscribed. The lid was found removed from its place, and the sarcophagus had been thoroughly plundered.

In the debris filling the burial-chamber and the descending passage were found the following objects :—

(1) Fifty-eight alabaster model vessels, all of which are very finely made (Fig. 110, Pls. XLIV, A XLV, A). They may be grouped as follows :—

- (a) Ten conical cups with straight sides and flat bases.
- (b) Twelve cups with concave side and small, flat bases.
- (c) Twenty-four round bottomed dishes with plain rims.
- (d) Eight shallow plates with flat bases.
- (e) Four cylindrical jars with concave sides, flat bases and rolled rims around the mouths.
- (f) One shouldered vase with a rolled rim, the body tapering slightly to a flat base.

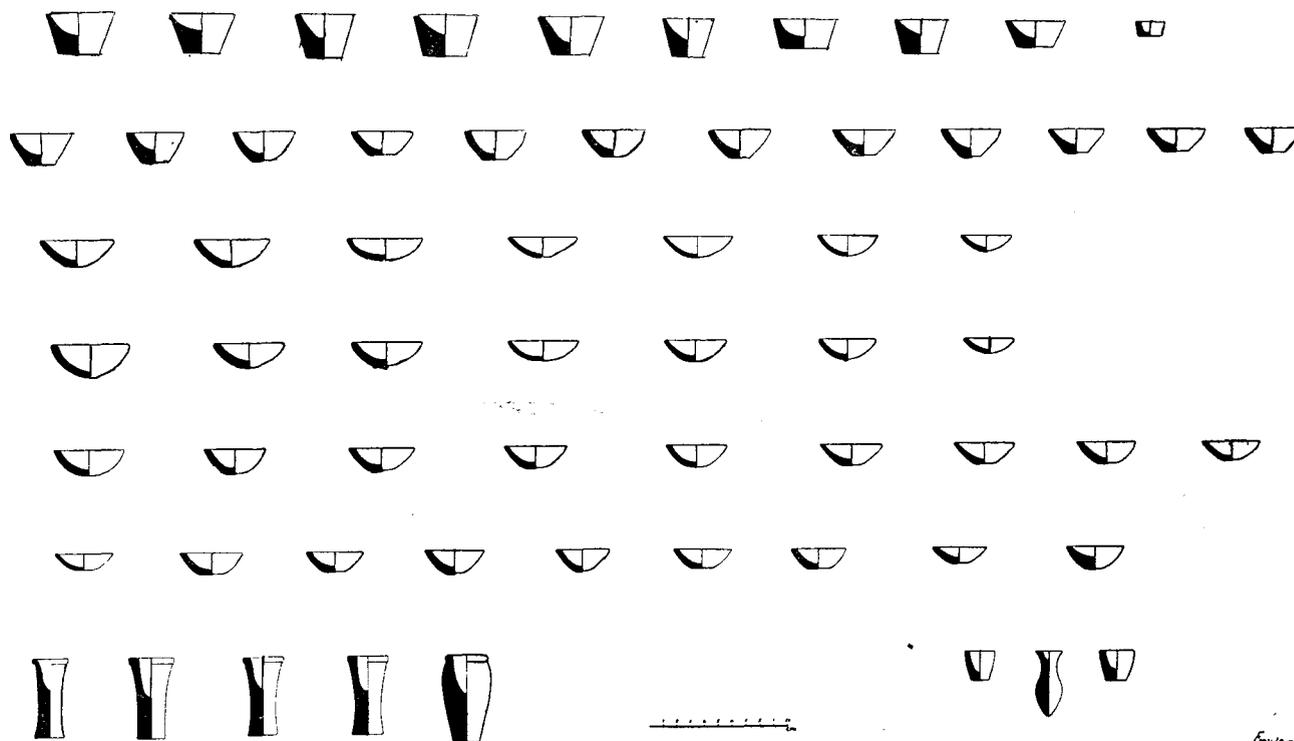


FIG. 110.

(2) Three obsidian model vessels (Fig. 111, Pl. XLIV, C). They comprise :—

- (a) Two cups with slightly concave sides and flat bases.
- (b) A long-necked vase with a flaring mouth and a pointed base. It is almost solid.

(3) A collection of copper vessels and implements (Fig. 111 and Pls. XLIV, D, XLV, B). They comprise :—

- (a) A fine Kēbh-vase. Height : 19·5 cm. (Pl. XLV, B).
- (b) Broken pieces of a second Kēbh-vase.

- (c) Two chisels (Pl. XLV, C).
- (d) Two shallow plates, slightly damaged across the rim (Pl. XLIV, D).
- (e) One shallow plate with a re-curved rim (Pl. XLIII, C, D).
- (f) A small cup, slightly damaged (Pl. XLIV, B).

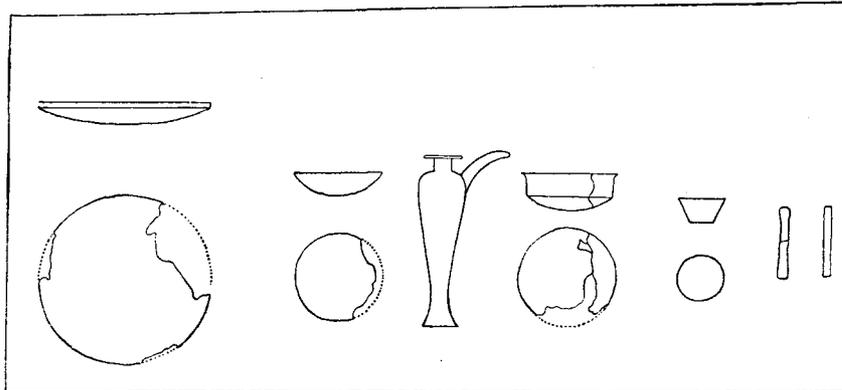
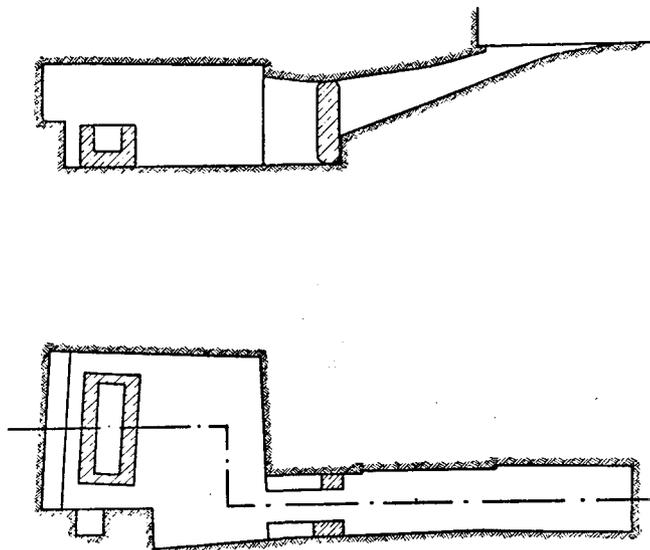


FIG. 111.

- (4) Six large jars of brown-ware with short necks, bulging bodies and tapering bases (Pl. XLVI).
- (5) Fifteen fragments of an alabaster offering-table.
- (6) Part of an arm of a basalt statue, the head of which was found in Shaft No. 832 (see Pl. XLII).



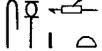
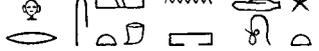
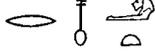
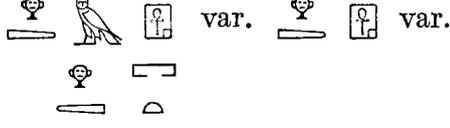
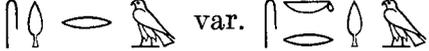
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FIG. 112.

- (7) A small amuletic figure of a cat, carved from rock-crystal (Pl. XLIV, B).
- (8) Fragments of copper tools and implements, bearing traces of gilding.
- (9) Fragments of limestone canopic jars and lids.

THE ROCK-CUT MASTABA OF , DEBEHEN

TITLES

1. 	<i>smr.</i>	Confidant.
2. 	<i>smr w'tj.</i>	Sole Confidant.
3. 	<i>Nhb hrj-tp.</i>	Chief Nekhebite.
4. 	<i>hrj-hb hrj-tp.</i>	Chief Ritualist (1).
5. 	<i>hrj-sšt3 n pr dwst.</i>	Master of the Secrets of the Toilet-house.
6. 	<i>r nfr hst.</i>	Attached to "Fair-is-the-Face" (2).
7. 	<i>hrj wdb m pr-'nh.</i>	Master of the Distribution in the House of Life.
8. 	<i>'d-mr sb3 Hr hnt-pt.</i>	Nome-administrator of the Vineyard [called] "Star of Horus, President of Heaven."
9. 	<i>hrp-'h.</i>	Director of the Palace.
10. 	<i>imj-r3 iswt špswt nt pr-'3.</i>	Overseer of the August Services of the Great House (3).
11. 	<i>shkr Hr.</i>	He Who Adorns Horus (the King).
12. 	<i>[hrj-sš'] t3 n njswt.</i>	Master of the King's Secrets.
13. 	<i>smr ib n nb. f.</i>	Confidant of the Heart of His Lord.
14. 	<i>imj-ib n nb. f.</i>	He who is in the Heart of His Lord.
15. 	<i>m3j nb. f.</i>	The One Beloved by His Lord.

(1) This title is usually given to king's sons, particularly during the Old Kingdom.

(2) That is to say, the crown.

(3) See FIRTH and GUNN. "Excavations at Sakkara".

16.		<i>ir mrr.t nb. f.</i>	Doing What His Lord Likes.
17.		<i>nb imh hr nb. f.</i>	Possessor of Honour in the Presence of His Lord.

INTRODUCTION

The tomb of Debehen has long been one of the show-places of the Giza Necropolis, both on account of its archæological interest and on account of its being the scene of a weekly "zikh," or devotional dance, performed by the villagers of the neighbouring village of Nezlet es-Semman in honour of a certain holy man who is reputed to have once dwelt in this tomb (*see* p. 167). In the past, these illiterate peasants have been largely responsible for the deplorable condition of the walls of the tomb, though some of the blame must also rest upon a certain class of tourists (whom one would expect to know better!) and their ignorant guides.

Among the early scholars and travellers who visited the tomb of Debehen and recorded their opinions on it were: Mariette⁽¹⁾, Nestor l'Hote⁽²⁾, Lepsius⁽³⁾, Burton⁽⁴⁾, and Wilkinson⁽⁵⁾. All these, however, merely copied the material then visible, and made no attempt to thoroughly clean the tomb. Therefore, I determined during the course of our fourth season's work, to examine this monument thoroughly in order to make a complete record of what scenes and inscriptions still remained, and to prevent further wanton destruction therein. I found the tomb in a filthy condition, half-choked with the accumulated rubbish of thousands of years, the walls black and greasy with dirt and the smoke of lamps and candles. The main burial-chamber was almost entirely filled up with sand, debris and accumulated rubbish, which on removal, disclosed a finely-made sarcophagus of red granite, with its lid lying beside it, as well as some interesting and well-preserved specimens of pottery. Eventually the arduous and somewhat unpleasant task of cleaning this vermin-infested monument was completed, a work that also included the removal of tons of sand and debris that had accumulated against the façade, and an iron gate was fixed in the entrance. Access to the tomb was forbidden to all unauthorized persons, except on Friday mornings when it is placed at the disposal of the villagers for the performance of their devotions, which are however, now carried out under the watchful eye of a Government Ghaffir.

These measures will, I hope, preserve from further destruction an extremely interesting monument of the past, and one, moreover, of great archæological value, by reason of the inscription upon its eastern wall, which not only affords us a vivid and pleasantly human picture of a great Pharaoh's relations with his subjects, but also provides us with a definite dating for the tomb, thus giving valuable evidence as to the age of other tombs not so precisely inscribed, but which may be dated by comparison of type and constructional peculiarities.

(1) "Mastabas" 546.

(2) MSS. 20396, 335.

(3) "L.D.I, 27. (plan) Text: 1, p. 111.

(4) MSS. 25621, 77.

(5) MSS. XIII. 56-59.

Naturally, for the majority of persons, the chief point of interest in this tomb is the famous inscription (*see pp. 168, 169*), which has been published by Lepsius⁽¹⁾, Sethe⁽²⁾, Breasted⁽³⁾ and others. The assertions which Debehen makes in this inscription concerning the measurements of his tomb, were confirmed as a result of our excavation there, although they had been previously considered as an exaggeration (*see p. 163*). Furthermore, we recovered actual inscribed fragments of the life-sized statues which, Debehen so proudly informs us, were presented to him by the

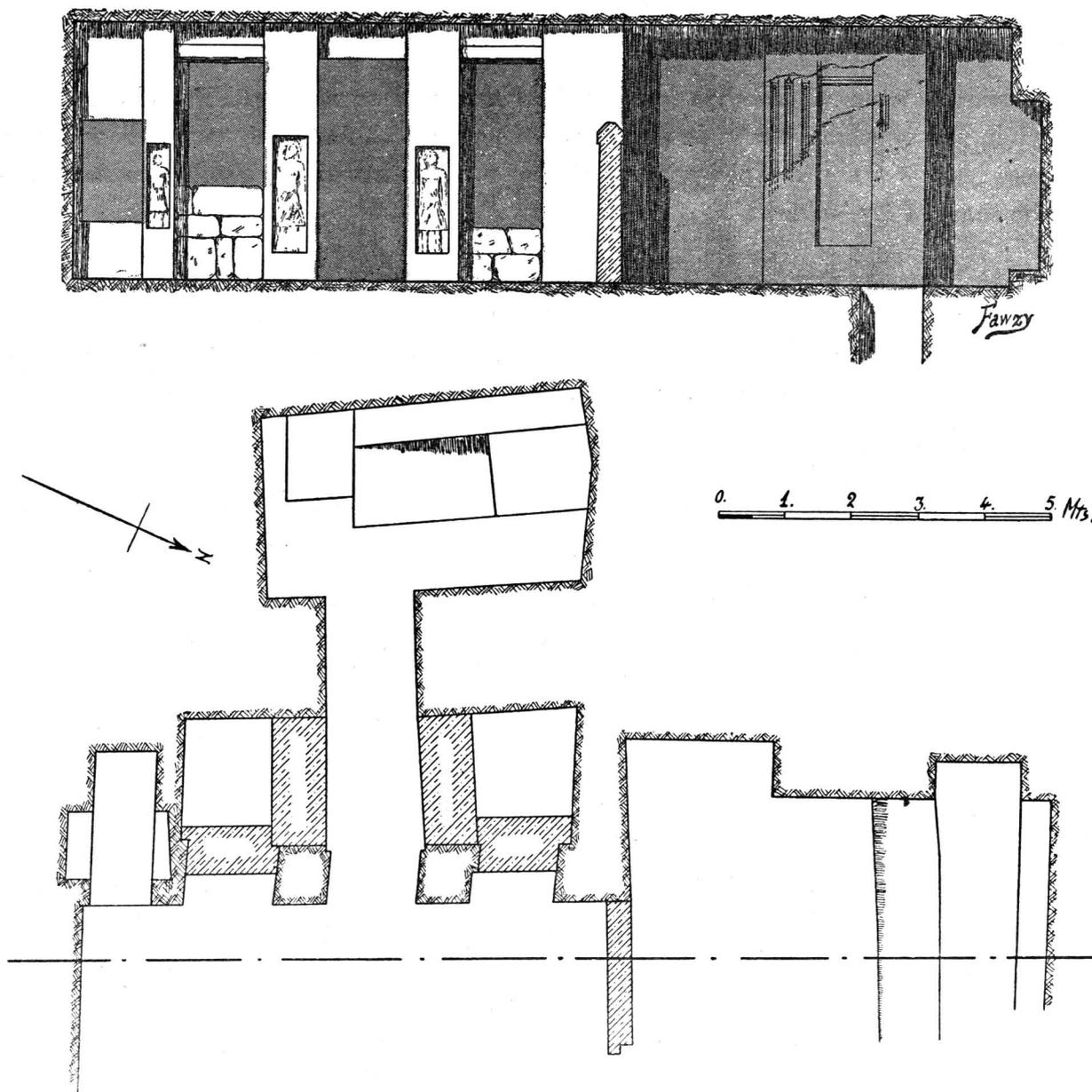


FIG. 113.

gracious generosity of King Men-kaw-Ra'. But perhaps the most important and interesting line in this inscription is that where it says: "His Majesty . . . decreed to them the completion of

(1) L.D. II, 37-B.

(2) Urk. I, 18-21 (14).

(3) BREASTED, "Ancient Records", Vol. I, pp. 94-95.

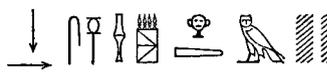
the place of embalment." For this sentence proves that as early as the Fourth Dynasty it was the custom to erect the embalmer's workshop actually in or very near the tomb. Hitherto this practise was thought to date only from the Eleventh Dynasty. Further confirmation on this point is provided by the scene on the southern wall of the second chapel, where, in the centre of the right-hand end of the second register, the "Wety" or Embalmer-priest is represented standing in front of the tomb.

SITUATION

The Rock-cut tomb of Debehen (*see* General Plan, third season, and Figs. 113 and 120), is situated in the southern corner in the bay of the cliff which forms the western boundary of the cemetery lying to the west of the pyramid of Queen Khent-kawes. It also lies to the south-west of the tomb of Ny-'ankh-Ra'.

DESCRIPTION

The main structure of the tomb is cut in the native rock. At the southern end of its façade was originally a courtyard, which in later times was employed as a burial-place, and from the sand and debris covering this spot, we recovered the following objects:—

- (1) The pedestal and feet of a large limestone statue, upon which is incised the name of Debehen (Pl. LI, A).
- (2) A fragment of the torso of a limestone statue of a man.
- (3) Three fragments of a statue of a man (limestone) (Pl. LI, B).
- (4) A fragment of the head of a limestone statue of a man wearing a curled wig. Dim.: 17.0×14.0 cm. (Pl. LII, D).
- (5) A fragment of the legs of a rock-cut statue (Pl. LII, C).
- (6) A fragment of a limestone vessel. Dim.: 18.0×11.0 cm.
- (7) A fragment comprising the left leg and part of the stool of a limestone statue of a seated man, almost certainly Debehen himself. Down the front of the stool is an incised vertical inscription, reading:  "The Confidant, Director of the Palace, Master of the Distribution in the [House of Life]" (Pl. LI, B).
- (8) Part of the chest and the left shoulder of a rock-cut statue. Dim.: 25.0×19.0 cm.
- (9) A fragment of the curled wig of a limestone rock-cut statue of a man. Dim.: 10.0×9.0 cm.
- (10) Part of the thigh of a large rock-cut statue. Dim.: 28.0×11.0 cm.
- (11) An alabaster model plate. Dim.: 4.0 cm. Height: 1.5 cm. (Pl. LII, F).

THE ENTRANCE

The main entrance of this tomb opens east and is situated at the southern end of its façade. It measures 1·20 m. wide, and 3·00 m. high. To the north of the entrance, the cliff has been smoothed and levelled to a distance of about 37·50 metres, and is unoccupied by any other tomb. From this fact we may assume that the whole of this area was reserved for Debehen. An additional reason for this assumption is provided by Debehen's inscription, which gives the measurements of his tomb. These measurements are far in excess of those of the interior structure of the tomb, but correspond with the exterior levelling of the cliff-face, which has furthermore been sloped to the traditional angle of a mastaba façade.

This fact seems, however, to have been overlooked by Dr. Reisner, who was unable to account for the excessive measurements of the tomb and stated that perhaps they referred to a mastaba built upon the cliff above (1). However, no trace of this supposed mastaba can be found. Probably Dr. Reisner's mistake was due to the fact that at the time when he arrived to his conclusions, the façade of the tomb was almost entirely covered by drift-sand and debris, which we have since cleared away.

The Lintel (Fig. 114, Pl. XLVII, A).

The lintel of the entrance is somewhat eroded at its southern extremity, and is finely inscribed with two horizontal rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading:—

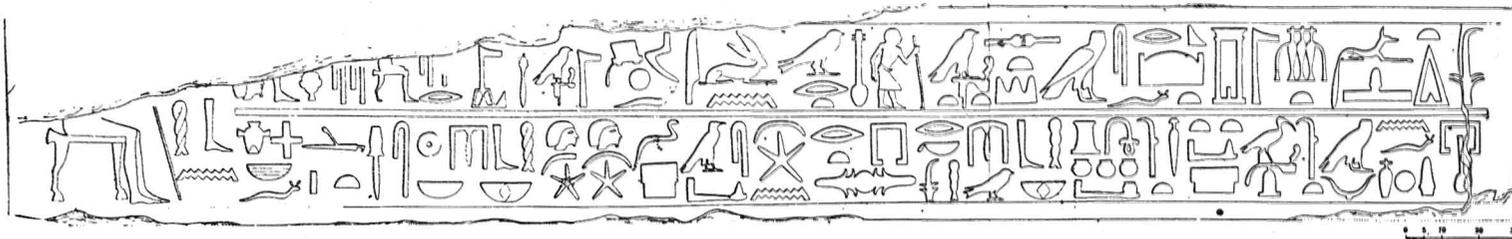
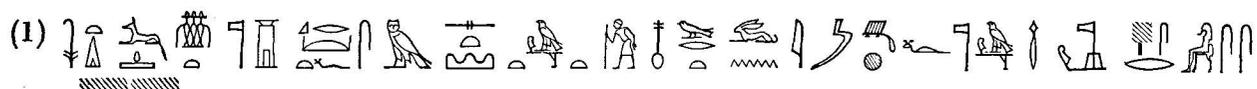
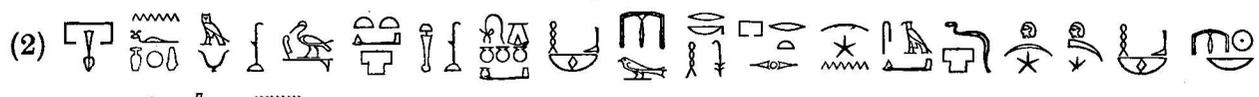


FIG. 114.

(1) 
 “A [boon] which the King gives, and a boon which Anubis, Presiding over
 the God's Dwelling [gives]. That he may be buried in the Necropolis of the
 Western Desert after a very good old-age, while he is honoured by the Great God of
 the Necropolis . . .

(2) 
 “That offerings may come forth to him at the voice, of bread, cake

(1) “Mycerinus”, p. 258.

and beer in the Opening Day of the Year Feast, the Feast of Thoth, the First Day of the Year Feast, the Wag Feast, the Great Feast, the Feast of Burning, the Feast of the Coming Forth of Min, the Monthly Feast of Saz, the First of the Month Feast, the First of the Half-monthly Feast, and the Feast of every day, [to] the Sole Confidant, He Who is in the Heart of His Lord, [De] behen."

At the end of the inscription Debehen is represented seated upon a chair, and holding a long staff; but only the lower part of the figure is preserved.

The Drum (Fig. 115, Pl. XLVII, B).

The drum bears an inscription composed of ten vertical lines of incised hieroglyphs, reading: "The Sole Confidant, Chief Ritualist, Master of the Secrets of the Toilet-house, Attached to 'Fair-is-the-Face,' He Who Adorns Horus, Master of the Distributions in the House of Life,

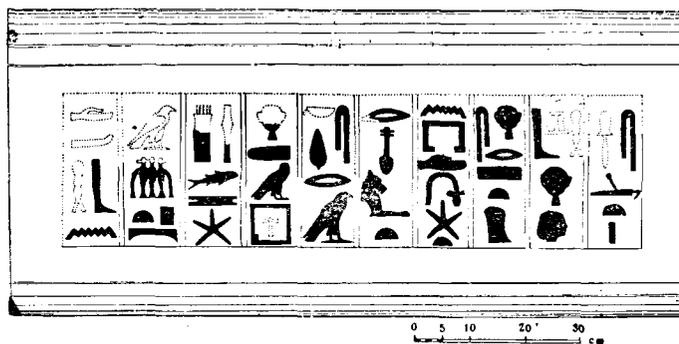


FIG. 115.

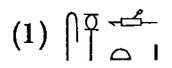
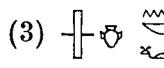
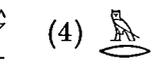
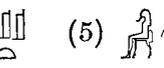
Director of the Palace, Nome-administrator of the Vineyard [called] "Star of Horus, President of Heaven, Debehen."

The two jambs of the door are uninscribed.

The Right Thickness (Fig. 116).

On the right thickness of the doorway is a large representation of the owner of the tomb in a walking attitude. He is facing east, as though coming forth from his tomb, and is wearing a long wig, a broad necklace and a long kilt, he grasps a long staff in his left hand. In front of him is a miniature figure of a woman, probably his daughter. Only the lower part of this figure remains intact. Behind him are three superposed registers, the topmost one of which is a male attendant carrying a rectangular object in both hands. A second attendant appears in the middle register,

Above the figure of the deceased are seven vertical rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading:—

- (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)  (5)  (6)  (7)  : “(1) The Sole Confidant, (2) Chief Nekhebite, (3) He Who is in the Heart of His Lord, (4, 5) Overseer of the August Services of the Great House, (6) The One Beloved by His Lord, (7) Debehen.”

The Left Thickness (Fig. 117).

On the left-hand thickness of the door is a similar representation of Debehen, but facing in the opposite direction to that upon the right-hand thickness. Behind him are three superposed registers, in the uppermost one of which is a figure of a male attendant carrying a sack slung over



FIG. 117.

his left shoulder, and holding a long staff in his right hand. In the middle register is another attendant who holds a small vase in his right hand and a conical loaf in his left one. In front of him is inscribed:  “The Ka-servant . . .”. In the bottom register is a representation of Debehen’s pet dog,

In front of Debehen's feet are a few scanty traces of a miniature figure which Lepsius gives as being that of a naked boy, probably the great man's son. In front of the face of the owner of the tomb is inscribed his name : . . .  " . . . Debehen."

The threshold of this door-way is formed of a single block of local limestone, and measures 1.24 m. long, 0.47 m. wide, and 0.23 m. high.

In the right-hand side of the wall immediately inside the door-way, are cut two circular holes, at a height of 1.20 m. and 1.42 m. from the floor. The lower hole, which is the smaller of the two, corresponds with a similar hole cut in the wall to the left-hand side of the doorway. These holes were most probably made to receive the bolt which fastened the wooden door of the tomb. Above the door-way, the rock is recessed to receive the slab bearing the upper socket-holes of the door. There are also two recesses cut in the floor at the bottom of the door-way for the reception of the two lower sockets, thus proving that the door was of the double-leaved type.

The Chapel.

The chapel bears traces of having undergone alteration. It seems originally to have been designed in a simple, rectangular form, its roof supported by a central row of three square pillars. During the course of construction this plan was changed by the addition of a masonry wall which divided the chapel into two separate rooms. The spaces between the northern and southern pillars and the western wall, were likewise filled in with carefully-fitted blocks of limestone, and thus formed two small chambers, which were probably used as serdabs. These will be referred to later (Fig 113). Elevation).

The First Room of the Chapel.

The first room of the chapel measures 7.80 m. long, 3.90 m. wide, and is 3.90 m. high.

The lower part of its eastern wall is occupied by a long niche measuring 5.30 × 0.30 m. and which is 0.25 m. deep. It is surmounted by a cavetto cornice and has a torus moulding running along the top and down each side. This niche contained thirteen rock-cut statuettes of a man in a walking attitude, certainly the owner of the tomb. Unfortunately these statuette have suffered wanton damage at the hands of the ignorant villagers who frequent this tomb every Friday morning to celebrate the memory of a certain Holy Man, called Sidi Hamid es-Semman, who is supposed to have once lived in this tomb. Their present state of almost total destruction must be of a fairly recent date, for apparently they were quite well preserved when Lepsius saw them (1).

The upper part of the wall is comparatively well-preserved, and bears one of the most important inscriptions from the time of King Men-kaw-Ra', the mention of whose name fixes the date of the

(1) LEPSIUS, " *Denkm.*", I. 27.

tomb beyond any doubt. It is composed of over twenty vertical rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading (Fig. 118, Pl. XLVIII):—

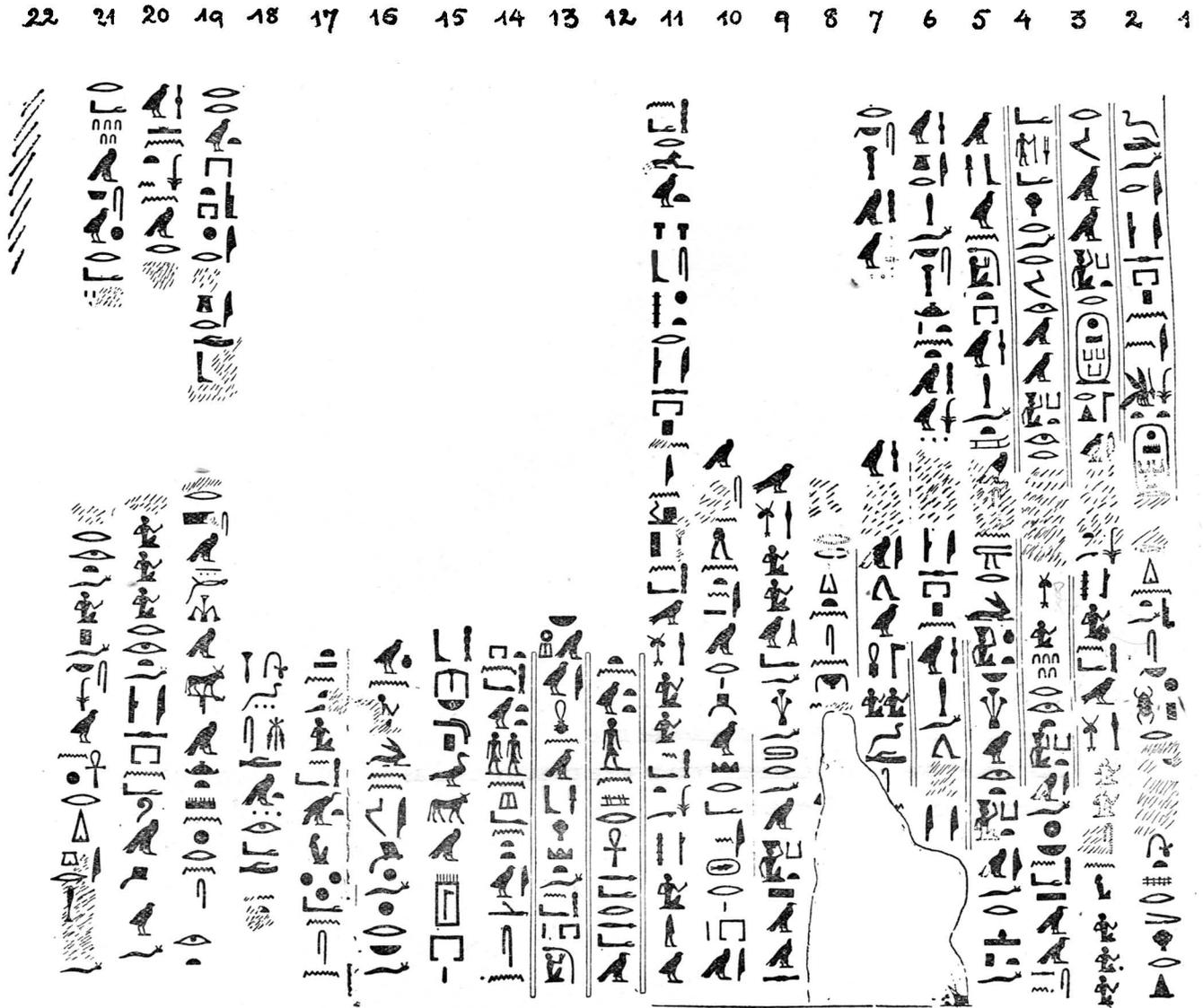


FIG. 118.

“ . . . who says,” As for this tomb, it is the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Men-kaw-Ra’ . . . who assigned to me its spot (1) while it happened that the Lord was upon the road toward the pyramid (*hr*) plateau in order to see the work concerning the (2) pyramid [called] “Men-kaw-Ra’ is Divine” . . . the King’s Carpenter and Mason, together with the Supreme Director of Artisans (3) [and the stone-workers] ?

“ . . . standing before His Majesty in order to see the work done . . . (His Majesty assigned) fifty artisans to do the work on it every day, and decreed to (?) them (4) the completion of the

(1)  is not inserted in *Urk.* I, 18.

(2)  is to be inserted instead of  Cf. *Urk.* I-18.

(3) The High Priest of Memphis.

(4)   var.    — (line 9).

place of embalment⁽¹⁾. His Majesty ordered that they should not be taken⁽²⁾ for any forced labour, except to do the work to his satisfaction. His Majesty ordered, moreover, to clear the site of rubbish⁽³⁾, to build there this tomb.

“His Majesty ordered to come⁽⁴⁾ . . .

“In order to clear the rubbish . . . [His Majesty ordered] the Two Divine Treasurers to come there. They said⁽⁵⁾ . . . So in order to give them gold of⁽⁶⁾ [favour?] . . . The Two Supreme Directors of Artisans. His Majesty decided to go around the work decreed⁽⁷⁾. . . with them^(?) the bringing of stone from Turah in order to case therewith the chapel . . .

“Together with two doors⁽⁸⁾ for this tomb, by the Master of the Crew and the Two Supreme Directors of Artisans, together with the King's Carpenter and Mason, who came . . . [bringing] for me a statue which is done after *life very greatly* (*i.e.* very life-like) . . .

“. . . as a daily ration. To-day it is finished upon its mountain, together with its chapel . . .

“. . . together with *two statues* of the assistant, one of them was . . . Feast of Apis in the Temple . . . [He made] these for me while he was honoured by his Lord . . .

“. . . for my father and my mother exempted them.

“. . . green cosmitique and black cosmitique and d . . . plant of . . .

“An order of the King [was made] to the Overseer of the . . . and [stone-workers?] to make him a tomb one hundred ells in its length, and fifty ells in its width, and . . . ells [in height?] . . .

“More than that which my father made while he was alive. [His Majesty] gave, moreover . . .”

Above this record of kingly munificence is a window measuring 3.20 m. in length and 1.0 m. in breadth; while to the north of it are indications of another, unfinished, window which, in the original plan of the tomb, would have been situated in the middle of the chapel. But with the alteration of the design, the latter window was abandoned, and replaced by one to the south of it.

(1) Cf. JUNKER, “Giza”, Vol. II, p. 59.

(2)  . . .  are missing in *Urk.* I, 19.

(3)  are substituted for  in *Urk.* I, 19.

(4)  is apparently seen upon the wall in *Urk.* I,

(5)  instead of  in *op. cit.*

(6)  in *op. cit.*

(7)  Cf. *op. cit.*  “to go behind and around.”

(8)  false-doors and gate.

The remainder of the wall is occupied by five superposed, horizontal registers. In the first [topmost] register are representations of offerings. To the left is a low rectangular stand supporting a ewer and basin for ablutions. This is followed by a covered bowl, resting upon a ring-stand, and beside it to the right, a low dish of dates. Next is a small table on which are laid a bundle of onions, a lettuce and a conical loaf of bread. Next come three tall *Kbh*  vases supported upon ring-stands, and followed by a small bowl containing two cooked pigeons (?). Next comes a small table apparently laden with onions, followed on the right by a covered pot standing on the floor, after these is yet another table, but its upper part is erased, and on the right of it, two joints of meat upon a low, rectangular stand, at these more *Kbh* vases.

On the second register is a similar representation of offerings, commencing on the left with a low table upon which are laid three conical loaves of bread, a round loaf, a covered pot and a lettuce, while under the table (to the left) is a covered pot, and on the right a bowl containing the "drum-sticks" of fowls. These are followed by three tall vases on ring stands, and a large covered bowl, also on a ring-stand. After comes a small table bearing a large conical loaf of bread, under the table is a bowl of "drum-sticks" (on the left), and on the right of it, a covered bowl. Next is a tapering bowl set upon a ring-stand, and covered by a conical lid, followed by an offering-table laden with vegetables, among which may be seen a large lettuce and a bundle of onions. Below the table (to the right) is a joint of meat on a small rectangular stand, and (on the left) a covered pot. Next are two large vases with conical stoppers, set upon ring-stands, a large covered bowl upon a ring stand, a calf's head upon a low stand, and an offering-table laden with three loaves of bread, a covered pot, and some dates.

The third register contains representations of the more important food-offerings. Starting from the left, these comprise: a low, rectangular stand, upon which is set a boat-shaped basket laden with offerings. In the bottom is a layer of small fruit, perhaps nebk-fruit, two long, rectangular objects (perhaps bread?) two small vases of fruit (grapes? some figs?) and three long-stemmed lotus-flowers. Following this is an open-work basket set upon a ring-stand, and containing two joints of meat, a loaf of bread and a covered pot. To the right of this is a large trussed goose lying upon a tray, which, in its turn rests upon a ring-stand. Underneath it is a calf's head upside down upon a low stand; and to the right, another, smaller trussed goose upon a low rectangular table, with a vase in a ring-stand above it. They are followed by a large, covered bowl set upon a ring-stand, an offering-table laden with loaves of varying shapes, topped by a lettuce, and underneath it (to the left) a covered pot, and (to the right) a large fruit upon a stand. Lastly, there is another open-work basket set upon a ring-stand, and containing bread, fruit and a covered pot.

The fourth register bears a representation of seven musicians. From the left, these are two male harpers squatting upon the ground and performing upon their instruments, each of which have nine strings. In front of them is inscribed:  "Playing for the Ka." Behind the harpists are two male singers seated back to back upon the ground. Each places one hand beside his ear, while he gesticulates or snaps fingers with the other. This attitude is still

adopted by modern Egyptian singers. Behind the singers are three flutists, the first of whom performs upon a long, slender pipe which he holds obliquely across his body, pointing it behind him. His companion plays upon a short, thicker instrument, which he holds in front of him; while the third man plays a long pipe like that of the first, but he holds it obliquely in front of him.

In the bottom register are four dancers stepping forward with their right legs, and raising their right arms outstretched before them, while their left hands are placed flat against their hips. They wear their short hair bound by a ribbon fillet and decorated with lotus-flowers⁽¹⁾. Around their necks are broad necklaces from which depend the Hathorian "menat," and they are clad in short kilts.

Behind the dancers are three women clapping their hands to mark time to the rhythm. Their head-dresses are identical to those of the dancers, but they wear long, tight-fitting robes in place of the short kilt. Last of all comes a naked, deformed dwarf who appears to be beating upon an inflated skin of some animal.

The Southern Wall.

The southern wall of this chapel is undecorated, and behind it lies a serdab measuring 3.15×1.60×1.90 m. high. It is cut in the rock, and presents an unusual feature in the shape of a door in the centre of its northern wall. This doorway which measures 0.70 m. wide, is provided with bolt and socket holes which prove that it was once closed by a single-leaf wooden door. This door might, however, have been a later addition. On each side of the doorway is cut a narrow vertical slit. The eastern slit measures 0.10×0.80 m. on the outside, and widens to 0.35×0.80 m. on the inside. The western slit is 0.10×0.60 m. on the outside, and 0.40×0.60 m. on the inside. Both slits are at a convenient height to afford any adult person standing in the chapel a clear view of the contents of the serdab.

The Western Wall (Fig. 113, plan and elevation).

The southern end of the left-hand side of this wall is occupied by a niche measuring 2.0×0.85 m. with two recesses cut out in its northern and southern inner sides, at a height of about 0.55 m. from its floor. Its entrance was originally blocked by slabs of limestone, and it was, perhaps, used as another serdab. In front of the northern wall of this niche is cut a shallow recess containing a rock-cut statue which was apparently left unfinished. This niche measures about 0.17×0.40 m. and is 1.33 m. high. Down the centre of the chapel stand three square rock-cut pillars supporting the roof. The southern and centre pillars have recesses cut in their eastern

⁽¹⁾ Cf. DAVIES, "Deir el-Gebrawi", Vol. II, Pl. XVII, p. 23. KLEBS, p. 110.

faces, each of which contain life-sized statues in the first stages of execution. The northern pillar has not been completely detached from the rock on its western face, probably owing to the change in

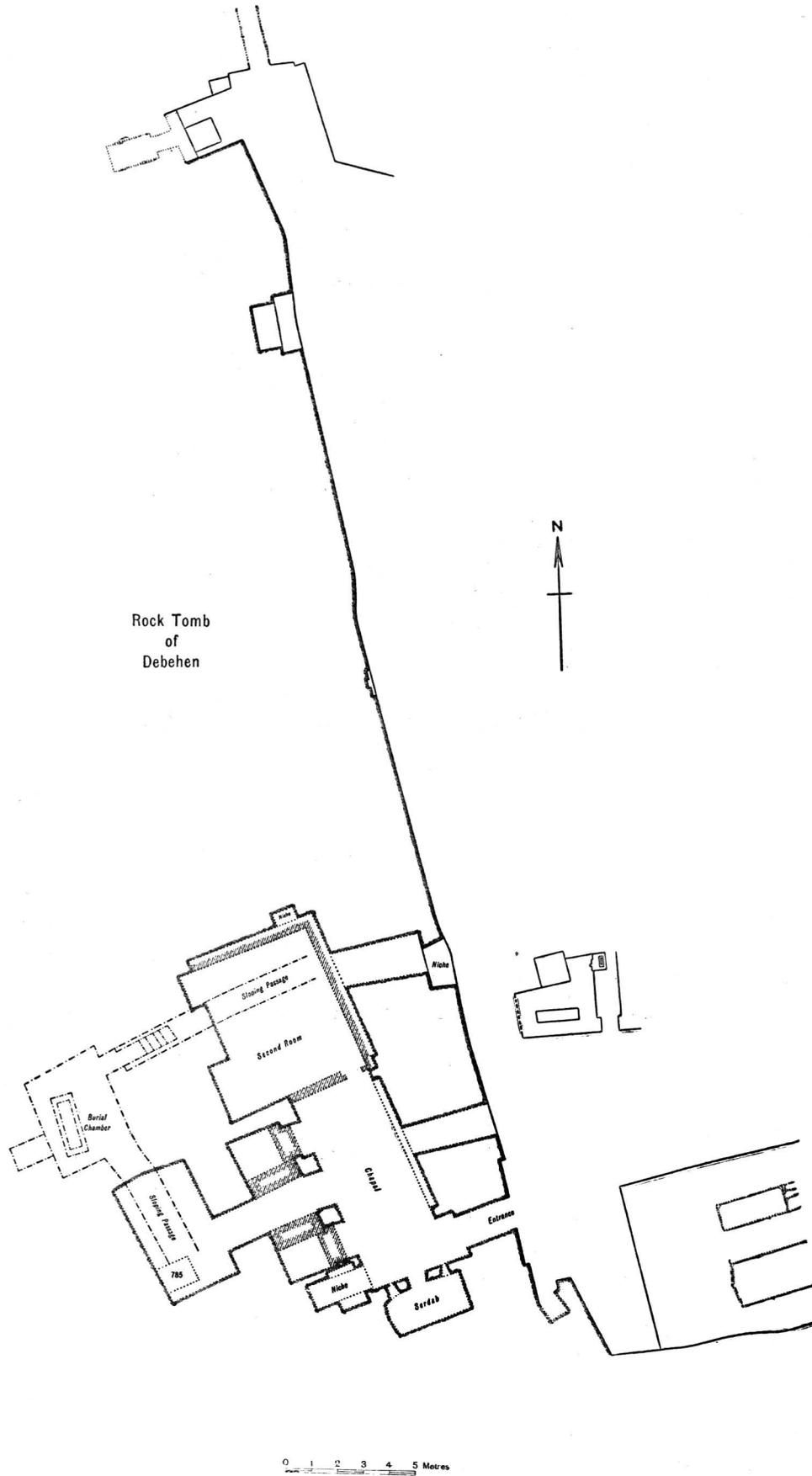


FIG. 120.

the design of the tomb. Between the western wall of the chapel and the western faces of the southern and middle pillars, two walls of masonry have been added, (as mentioned above) thus forming two large niches. The fronts of these niches were also filled in with limestone masonry with the result that they formed two additional serdabs. These may have contained the life-sized statues presented to Debehen by his King. Many fragments of these statues, inscribed with the name of Debehen, were found during the course of excavation. At the top of each of these additional serdabs the architrave has been cut away in order to form a drum, while between the southern and middle pillars the architrave has been left in its original squared state. The fact that the flattened undersides of the two drums are on the same level as the underside of the centre architrave, proves that the former were added when the plan of the tomb was changed. At the foot of the front wall of these serdabs a masonry step was added, probably to give visitors an easy access to the squints.

In the middle of the western wall, between the southern and central pillars, is a roughly-cut doorway measuring 1.30 m. wide, and 2.20 m. high, access to which is gained by means of a passage formed by the two masonry walls already referred to. This doorway, in its turn gives access to a small, unfinished chamber measuring 4.70 × 2.70 m., and which is 2.90 m. high. The northern side of the floor is occupied by a sloping passage leading to the main burial-chamber of the tomb. In the south-western corner of the floor is cut Shaft No. 785. The following objects were recovered from the debris filling this chamber:—

- (1) A roughly-made limestone grindstone.
- (2) Two ushabti figures of green faience. One is complete, but the other is broken in half and the lower part is missing.

THE SECOND ROOM

The second, or northern room of the chapel measures 7.70 × 4.75 m. and is 3.90 m. high. Access to it is given by an entrance lying between the northern and eastern walls of the first room. The jamb fixed to the eastern wall is occupied by a vertical row of incised hieroglyphs, reading:  (1) "The Sole [Confidant], Chief Nekhebite, Master of the Secrets of the Toilet-house, He Who is in the Heart of His Lord, Director of the Palace, Debehen." At the end of the inscription is a small representation of Debehen seated upon a stool, and holding a long staff (Fig. 118). This right jamb, which is of Turah limestone is cut in one piece with the south-eastern corner of the northern room. (Similar examples are to be seen in the masonry of Khafra's Valley-Temple.)

The threshold, which is formed of a single block of local limestone, has a rebate on its northern side, proving that the door opened inwards into the second room. In the left-hand side of the doorway, at a height of 1.15 m. from the threshold, are two bolt-holes, one circular and one

(1) LEPSIUS, *Denkm., Ergänzungsband*, Taf. XXXIV B, and Text I, p. 112.

rectangular. The presence of these two holes seems to indicate that two types of bolts were contemplated for use on this door. The rectangular hole was probably made to receive a sliding bar, as there are indications on the opposite jamb of the hole in which it would have entered; but the scheme was abandoned before the cutting of this second hole was completed.

The walls of this room were certainly cased with fine white Turah limestone, as mentioned in the inscription on the eastern wall of the first room; but unfortunately most of this embellishment has been stripped away and re-used in later buildings and so, only two courses, and three blocks from a third course remain in place. On one of these blocks, which is situated in the eastern wall, is the representation of a hippopotamus and two fishes(?) (Fig. 121).

At a height of 2.50 m. a window has been cut in this wall, which measures 3.0×1.20 m.

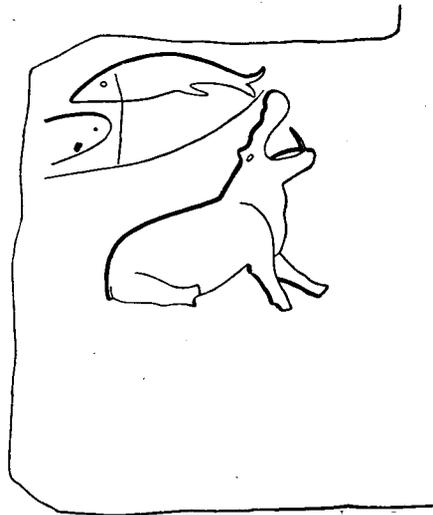


FIG. 121.

The Southern Wall (Fig. 122, Pl. L).

The right-hand side of this wall, which apparently formed part of the original plan of the tomb, is cut in the native rock. The left-hand side is formed by the reverse side of the northern wall of the first room. The rock-cut part of the wall is divided into three superposed registers which depict a most interesting scene dealing with the ceremonies performed on behalf of the dead man at his embalming-house⁽¹⁾. When Lepsius copied this scene, he overlooked the topmost register, which is very important on account of its inscription, which gives the clue to the whole scene. This register is subdivided into two, the upper one showing a procession of five men dragging a sledge or boat (now destroyed) which may have carried either a statue of the deceased, or his corpse in its coffin. Standing on the sledge (or boat) is a woman with her back turned to the men. She may be either burning incense, or anointing a statue. Between her and the men is inscribed



Above this group are two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading:—

- (1) (2) "... which is made to him from the embalming-house (*W'bt-pr*)⁽²⁾ to the tomb . . . "

To the right-hand side of the second register is the representation of the deceased executed in a walking attitude, a long staff in the left hand and a handkerchief in the right one. This statue stands upon a sledge, which appears to be dragged by some men, the figures of whom are almost

⁽¹⁾ For particulars of this ceremony, see p. 83 ff.

⁽²⁾ Cf. JUNKEB, *Giza II*, p. 59, for the part played by the *Wa'bet* in the ritual of private persons.

totally destroyed. In front of the sledge is a man, who faces the statue, and is apparently in the act of burning incense. Behind him, another man bends down to pour water on the ground in order to prevent the wooden runners of the sledge from catching fire through friction with the ground ⁽¹⁾. Above the heads of these two men is a horizontal inscription, which, however, only

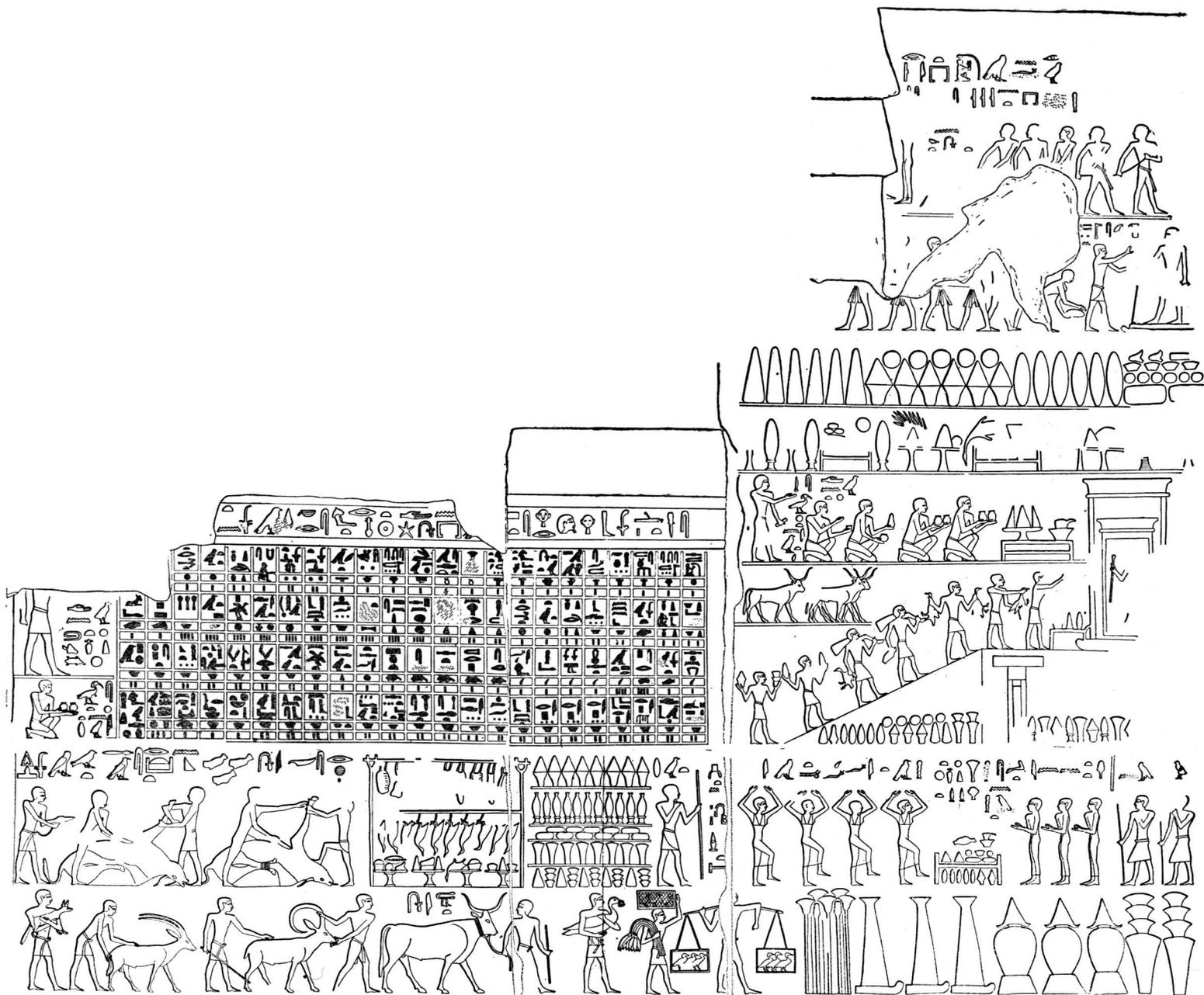
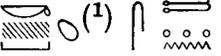


FIG. 122.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. KLEBS "Die Reliefs des alten Reiches", p. 42; Steindorff, "Das Grab des Ti" Pl. LXIV, LXVI; MACRAMALLAH, "Le Mastaba d'Idout" Pl. IX B, p. 10

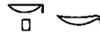
refers to the former. It reads:  (1) |  "Burning incense". Next follow two men who appear to be carrying some object between them, perhaps a small chest or an offering-table.

The right-hand end of the middle register depicts the embalming-house of Debehen, which is shown to be a rectangular building approached by a ramp and possessing a fine monumental doorway, (shown as though on top of the building) and a less pretentious rear exit (shown below). In front of the main entrance is a statue of Debehen, standing and holding a long staff. This statue, which may be one of those which he tells us was presented to him by King Men-kaw-Ra' stands within a naos which is placed upon a sledge. Before it is set a rectangular offering-table, behind which stands a priest burning incense. Six male offering-bearers ascend the ramp, the first of whom wrings the neck of a sacrificial goose. The second man carries two dead ducks; while the third carries a haunch of meat across his shoulders and a small oblong basket in his right hand. The fourth man also carries a haunch across his shoulders, but carries a live duck in his right hand. The fifth man balances a conical loaf on the palm of each hand, while the sixth brings up the rear with a covered pot and a vase balanced in the same manner. Above the last three men are the figures of three oxen. These are probably the draught-animals that dragged the heavy coffin and statues up from the valley, and which would afterwards be sacrificed at the tomb. Moreover, they serve here to fill in an awkward and inartistic space, left by the descent of the ramp (2).

Above (3) the oxen and the men are three narrow registers which seem to represent the three rooms of the embalming-house. In the first, (lowest) one is a rectangular offering-table bearing a ewer and basin and a low stand laden with three conical loaves. Behind the offering-table, and facing it, are four men kneeling upon the ground. The first two are each presenting a pair of *Nw*-vases, . The third presents a *Nw*-vase and a conical loaf; while the fourth presents a small pot of ointment (?).

Above the head and behind the back of the last man is inscribed:  "the placing of the offering, the food of the glorified, by the *wty* priest." Lastly comes a figure of a priest in a standing attitude. His right hand is raised and outstretched before him, and he appears to be reciting. He holds a roll of papyrus in his left hand. The second register contains representations of offerings. To the right is a pair of tall jars set upon ring-stands and followed by a small stand laden with bread. These are followed by a rectangular offering-table upon which lies a dead goose and a large pot. Next come two more small stands of bread, a tall vase on a ring-stand, another rectangular offering-table and two more tall jars, with two small stands (the latter being damaged). Above is a third row of offerings consisting of bread, meat, covered pots and tall vases.

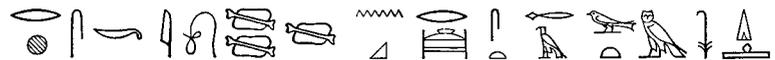
Along the base of the embalming-house, apparently outside the rear exit, is another row of offerings of food and drink. To the left of this scene is an offering-list composed of about

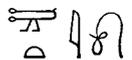
(1)  "to fumigate" (see "*Wörterbuch V*", p. 103).

(2) DAVIES, "*Deir el-Gebrawi*", Vol. II, p. 6.

(3) See JUNKER, "*Giza II*", p. 76.

He is followed by an array of food and drink offerings, neatly arranged in five rows. The left-hand end of the register is occupied by two groups of butchers engaged in dismembering two oxen which lie bound upon the ground. Above them is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading:

 "Slaughtering the Iwi-oxen for burial, very greatly (in great quantities ?), as a boon which the King gives." To the right of the butchers is a tent supported upon light forked poles. From the cross-beams of this structure hang joints of meat and dead geese, while upon the floor are four small tables laden with offerings. The first (from the right) bears a conical loaf and two small, covered pots. On the second is a dead duck and a covered pot. On the third are two conical loaves and a joint of meat; while the fourth bears a covered pot, a round loaf, a trussed duck and a cut of meat.

On the lower right-hand end of this register are two large formal bouquets of flowers, followed by three large jars, set upon stands and provided with large, conical covers. Next, are three tall pylon-shaped jars set upon sledges⁽¹⁾. To the left of these latter jars is a clump of flowering papyrus-reeds, which appears to have been introduced solely for the purpose of giving an "outdoor", or rural atmosphere to the scene following it. First of all come three men carrying products of the marsh-lands. The foremost bears two crates of live ducks slung from a long pole carried yokewise across his shoulders⁽²⁾. The second man balances a crate of live ducks upon his head, supporting it with his left hand; while over his right shoulder hangs a large sheaf of long-stemmed lotus-flowers. The upper part of the figure of the third man is now badly eroded, but according to Lepsius' copy he was carrying a large goose. They are followed by five other men, the first of whom is leading a long-horned ox, above which is inscribed:  "Bringing forth the Iwi-bull⁽³⁾."

Next comes an ibex, which seems to be troublesome, for it requires a man armed with a stick to drive it from behind, and another man in front who grasps it by one horn and the muzzle to restrain it. This group is followed by an oryx, which seemingly needs urging along by its driver, who pushes it from behind. Last of all comes a man carrying a young hyena in his arms⁽⁴⁾.

The Northern Wall.

Nothing remains of any sculptured scenes or inscriptions which may have originally existed on the remaining part of the casing of the northern wall. Many slabs however, were

(1) KLEBS, *op. cit.* p. 43. BORCHARDT, "Neusera", p. 122, Fig. 28. DAVIES, "Ptah-hotep II, Pl. XXII, L.D. II, 101.

(2) KLEBS, *op. cit.* p. 142, LEPSIUS "Denkm.", II, 35, 42, VON BISSING "Gem-ni-kai" II, Pl. XXI. MURRAY, "Sakkara Mastabas" I, Pl. XII.

(3) KLEBS, p. 120, "Beim Begräbnis werden die Tiere zur Mastaba geführt". MACRAMALLAH "Le Mastaba d'Idout", Pl. XXVIII, p. 40.

(4) See KLEBS, p. 64, Fig. 52; LEPSIUS "Denkm.", II, 15.

recovered from the debris near this spot, and most probably they belong to this wall. They are as follows:—

(1) A white limestone slab (Fig. 123), measuring: 1·15×0·15 m.

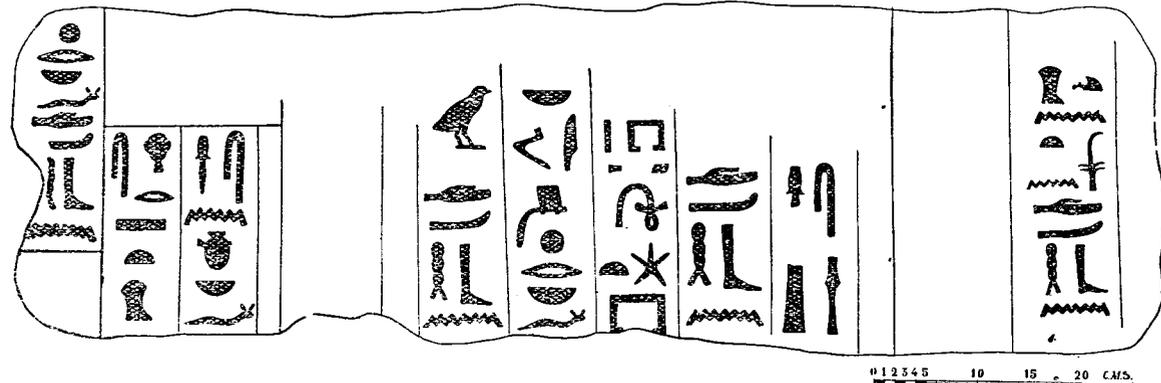


FIG. 123.

It is occupied by nine vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading:—

1. "... of the Secrets of the King, Debehen."
2. "... Confidant, Director of the Palace."
3. "... Debehen."
4. "... [Master of the Secrets of] the Toilet-house."
5. "... Possessor of Honour in the Presence of His Lord."
6. "... w . . . Debehen."
7. "Confidant of the Heart of His Lord."
8. "Master of the Secrets."
9. "... in the Presence of His Lord, Debehen."

(2) A white limestone slab (Fig. 124), measuring 0·55×0·35 m.

It is covered with three vertical rows of incised hieroglyphs, reading:—

1. "... Chief of the Distribution in the House of Life."
2. "Master of the Secrets . . ."
3. "Master of the secrets of the Toilet-house."

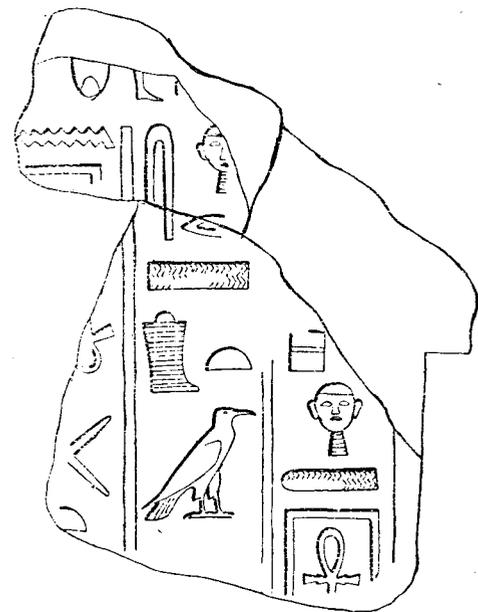


FIG. 124.

- (3) A limestone fragment (Fig. 125), measuring 0.48×0.20 m. It bears a representation of the head and right shoulder of a man.
- (4) A white limestone slab (Fig. 126), measuring 0.39×0.32 m. It bears the upper part of a figure of Debehen, who wears a long wig, a broad necklace, and is clad in a leopard-skin. His name  is inscribed horizontally above his head, and above that again, are traces of a vertical inscription, of which only a few signs remain.

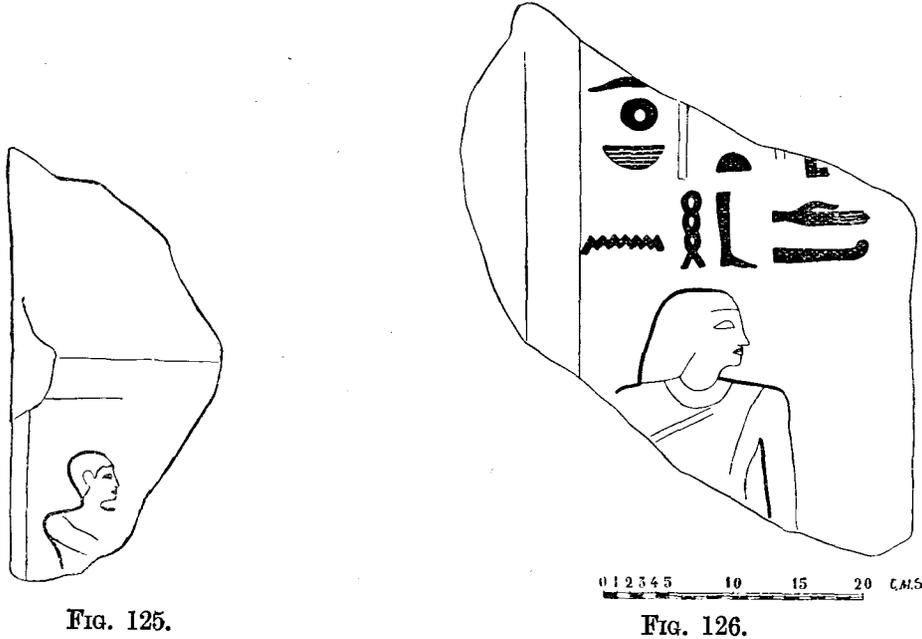


FIG. 125.

FIG. 126.

- (5) A white limestone slab (Fig. 127), measuring 0.90×0.25 m. It belonged to that part of the wall above the doorway leading into the second room of the chapel, and was restored by us to its proper place (see Fig. 122).

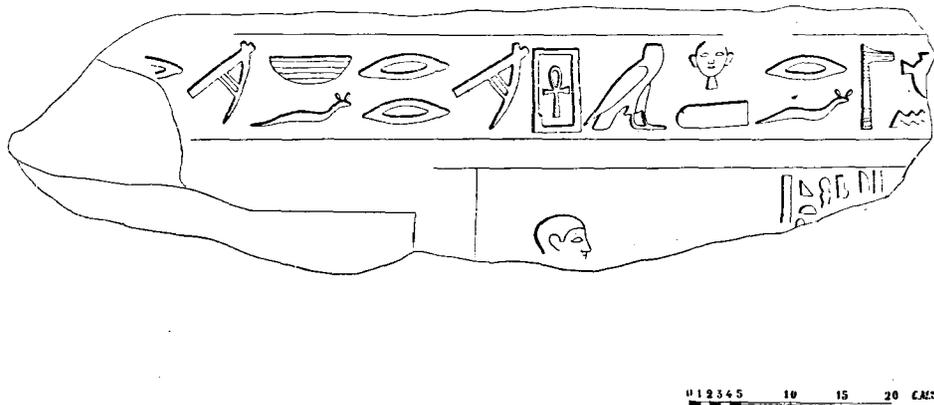


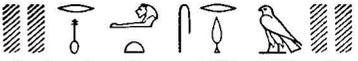
FIG. 127.

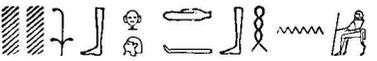
- (6) A white limestone slab measuring 0.38×0.29 m. It shows a representation of food-offerings, but does not appear to have been finished, as it is lacking in detail.
- (7) A fragment of white limestone having a representation of two tall vases set upon ring-stand.
- (8) A fragment of white limestone bearing a representation of two tall vases set upon ring-stand

- (9) A white limestone slab measuring 0.16×0.12 m. and apparently forming part of a lintel. Upon it is a fragment of a horizontal row of incised hieroglyphs, the remaining signs of which read:  "... Lord of the Sacred Land ..."
- (10) A limestone slab bearing the words:  "... In the Feast ..."
- (11) A fragment of limestone bearing the word:  "Confidant."
- (12) A white limestone slab. It is sculptured on both sides, one side showing the lower part of a figure of a man in a walking attitude, while the other bears the upper end of a long staff, doubtless held by the owner of the tomb. Dim.: 0.30×0.21 m.
- (13) A limestone slab measuring 0.24×0.75 m. On it is a mutilated representation of a man with his left arm bent sharply at the elbow, and the hand upraised.
- (14) A white limestone slab upon which is a figure of a man facing to the right, and raising both hands in adoration. It measures 0.30×0.12.5 m.
- (15) A white limestone slab bearing the representation of the torso of a man. It measures: 0.17×0.9 m.

The Western Wall.

The centre of the western wall is occupied by a large false-door, carved in the form of a "palace-façade" (Fig. 128). It is cut in the natural rock, but is, unfortunately, very badly damaged. Upon its left-hand jambs are a few traces of two vertical inscriptions which read:—

 "... Attached to 'Fair-is-the-Face,' He Who "Adorns Horus, ..."

 "... Chief Nekhebite, Debehen." On each side of this false-door, the wall is recessed back to a depth of 0.80 m. on the south, and 0.45 m. on the north.

The Eastern Wall.

On the top of this wall, and lying somewhat to the north is a window, admitting light into the chapel. This is evidently a later addition, made when the plan of the tomb was changed, for its outer opening occurs in the top part of a niche cut in the façade of the tomb. This eastern wall has been denuded of its Turah limestone casing, except for the two lowest courses, and the three blocks already referred to.

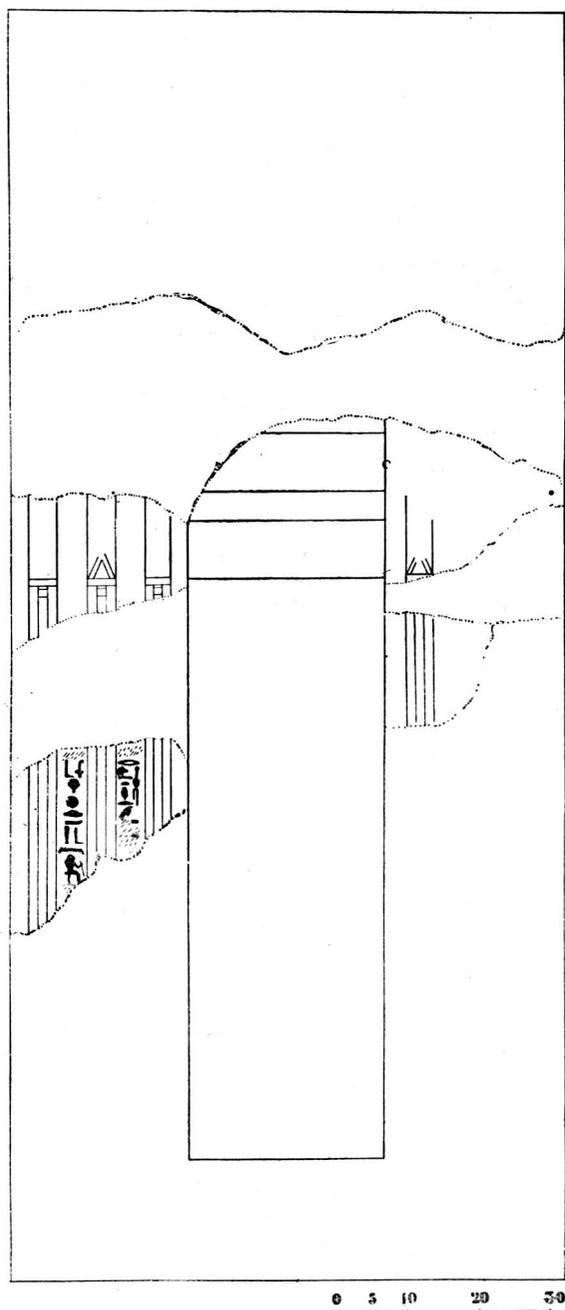


FIG. 128.

THE BURIAL-CHAMBER

The principal burial-chamber of the tomb lies behind the false-door in the western wall of the northern chapel. It is reached by means of two sloping passages, one from the east and the other from the south. It measures about 3.90 m. in length and 2.60 m. in width (Fig. 129).

The eastern sloping passage is sunk in the floor of the second room of the chapel, its mouth lying immediately below the window cut in the eastern wall. It measures 9.60 m. in length, and is 1.0 m. wide. The southern sloping passage is the one referred to on p. 174, which is sunk in the floor of the roughly-cut chamber behind the western wall of the first chapel. It measures 5.50 m. in length, and is 1.20 m. wide.

Inside the burial-chamber is a sarcophagus measuring 2.25 × 0.85 × 0.600 m. :—

Contents of the Burial-Chamber.

The following objects were recovered from the debris filling the burial-chamber.

- (1) Fragments of the face of a white limestone statue, probably representing Debehen.

Height: 0.18 m.

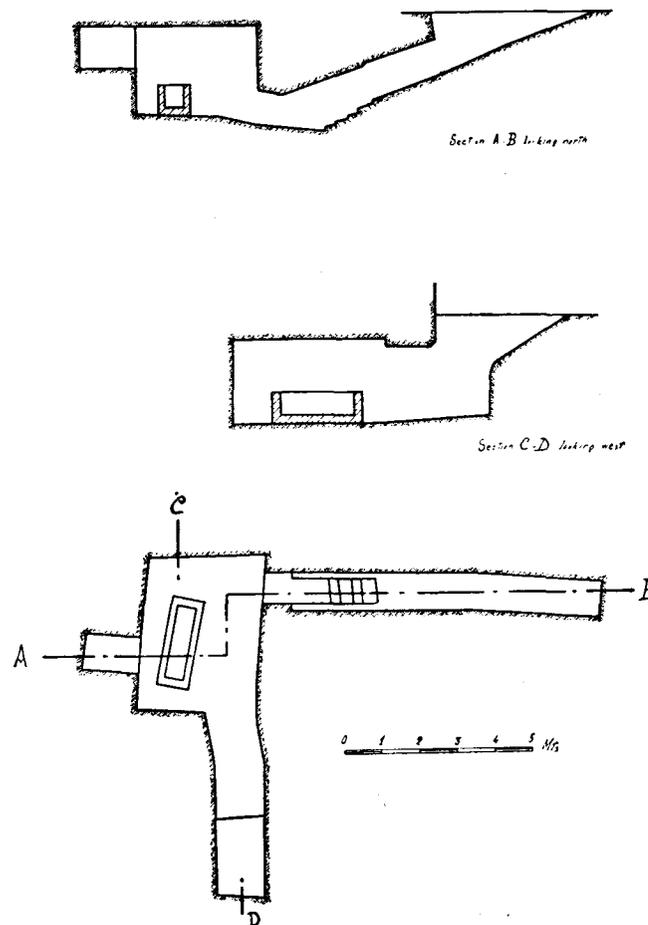


FIG. 129.

- (2) A fragment from a rock-cut statue.
- (3) A large pot of thick red-ware, decorated with crude triangles of incised lines. It is blackened by fire and has evidently been in practical use. Height: 22.0 cm. Diam.: 19.0 cm. (Pl. LII, A).
- (4) A shallow, roughly made bowl of red-ware. Diam.: 14.0 cm. (Pl. LII, A).

Shaft No. 785 (Fig. 138).

Below the floor of the room lying behind the western wall of the first room of the chapel, is sunk Shaft No. 785. Its mouth lies to the south of the southern sloping passage leading to the principal burial-chamber of the tomb. It measures about 1.30×1.05 m. and is 2.0 m. deep. It terminated in a burial-chamber measuring 2.40×1.55 m. and nothing is cut in its western side. This chamber had been completely plundered, and nothing was found in it except a roughly-made pottery vessel and a broken ushabti figure, the latter being eloquent testimony, that this tomb had been robbed and re-used in ancient times.

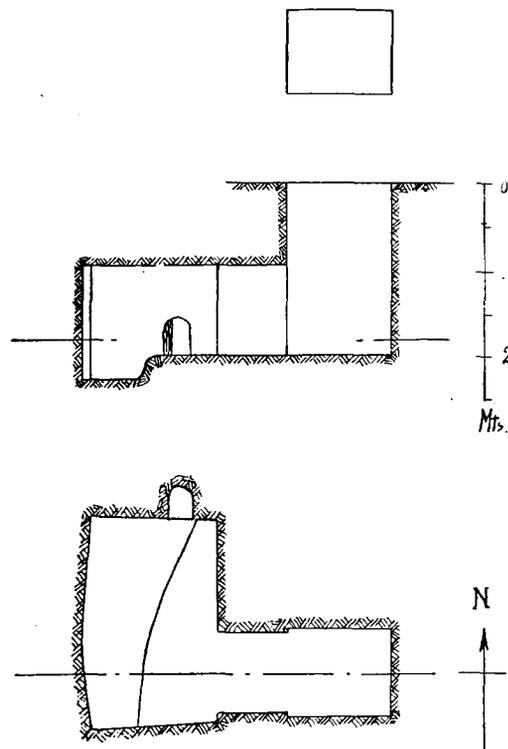
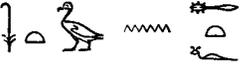


FIG. 130.

THE ROCK CUT TOMB OF , NY-WESER-RA^c

TITLES

1.		<i>sz-njswt nj ht. f</i>	King's Son of His Body.
2.		<i>hrj-hb hrj-tp nj it. f.</i>	Chief Ritualist of His Father.
3.		<i>sdwtj-bjtj.</i>	Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt.
4.		<i>smr-w'tj</i>	Sole Confidant.
5.		<i>rs.P nb.</i>	Mouth of Every Butite.

SITUATION

The tomb of Ny-weser-Ra' is situated to the west of that of Sekhem-ka-Ra', and to the north of the mastaba of Ny-'ankh-Ra', and is one of the series of rock-cut tombs occupying the cliff which bounds the necropolis on the west, and lies south-east of the pyramid of Khafra' (see general Plan, third season, and Fig. 131) (1).

DESCRIPTION

This tomb is entirely cut in the native rock, but seems not to have been completed, as may be seen from the rough cutting of a small chamber situated to the west of its funerary chapel.

THE ENTRANCE

The entrance opens east, being situated at the southern end of the façade. The doorway measures 1.10 m. wide, is 3.0 m. thick, and 3.0 m. high. A socket hole in which the door swung is still visible in the threshold at the inner left-hand side. The lintel, both jambs and the right-hand thickness were left uninscribed, but the drum and the left-hand thickness were sculptured in relief. This is another point of evidence that the tomb was unfinished at the time of Ny-weser-Ra's death.

(1) The dating of this tomb is fairly definite, as Ny-weser-Ra' appears beside his brother Neb-em-akhet in a scene in the latter's tomb. Thus, both men were the sons of Khafra' and this fixes their tombs to the late Fourth Dynasty. (See the tomb of Neb-em-akhet.)

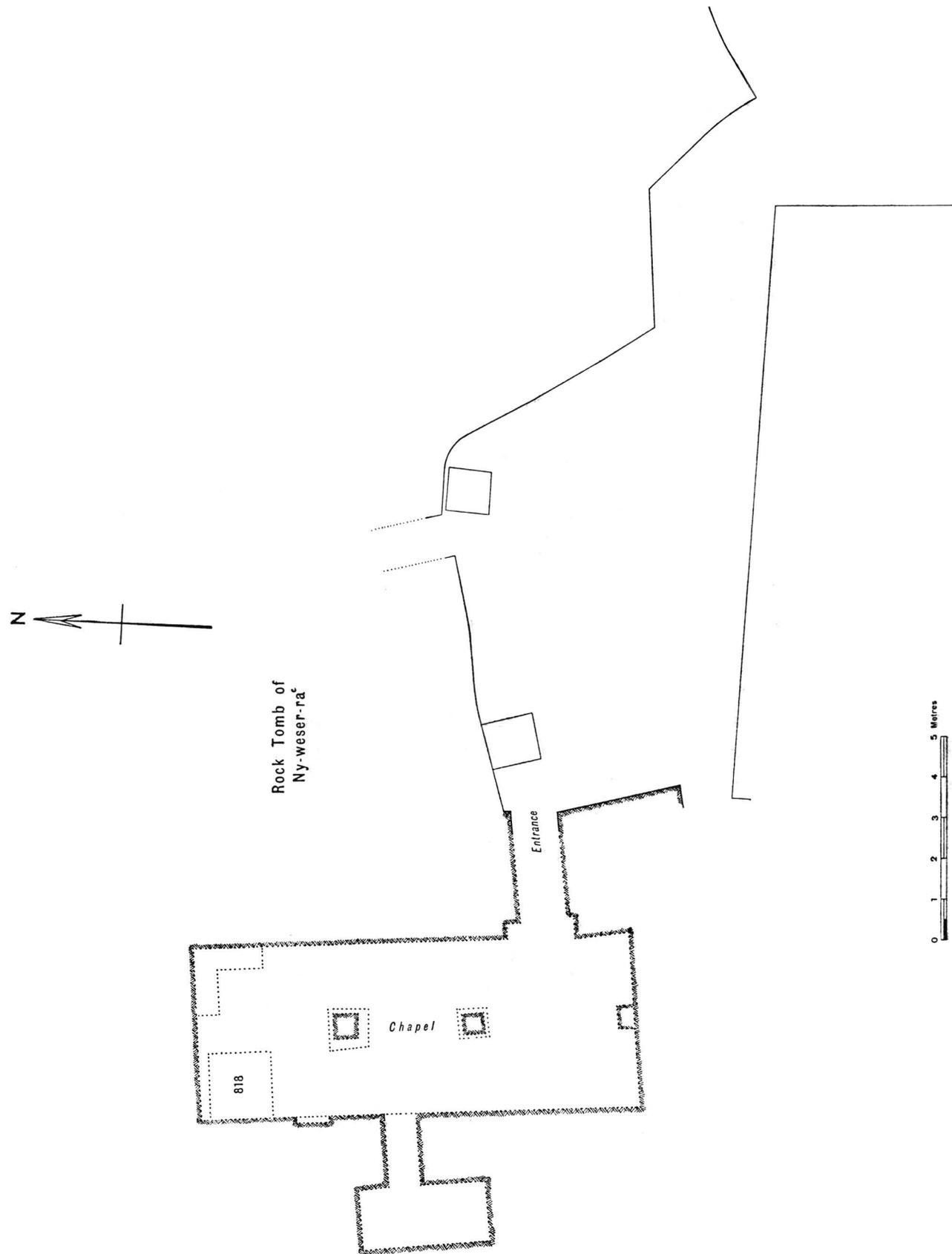
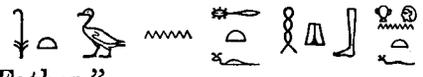


FIG. 131.

The Drum (Fig. 132, Pl. XL, A).

The drum of the entrance bears two rows of hieroglyphs carved in fairly high relief. They are arranged horizontally, and read:—

1.  "The King's Son of His Body, Chief Ritualist of His Father."
2.  "Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Confidant, Mouth of Every Butite, Ny-weser-Ra'."

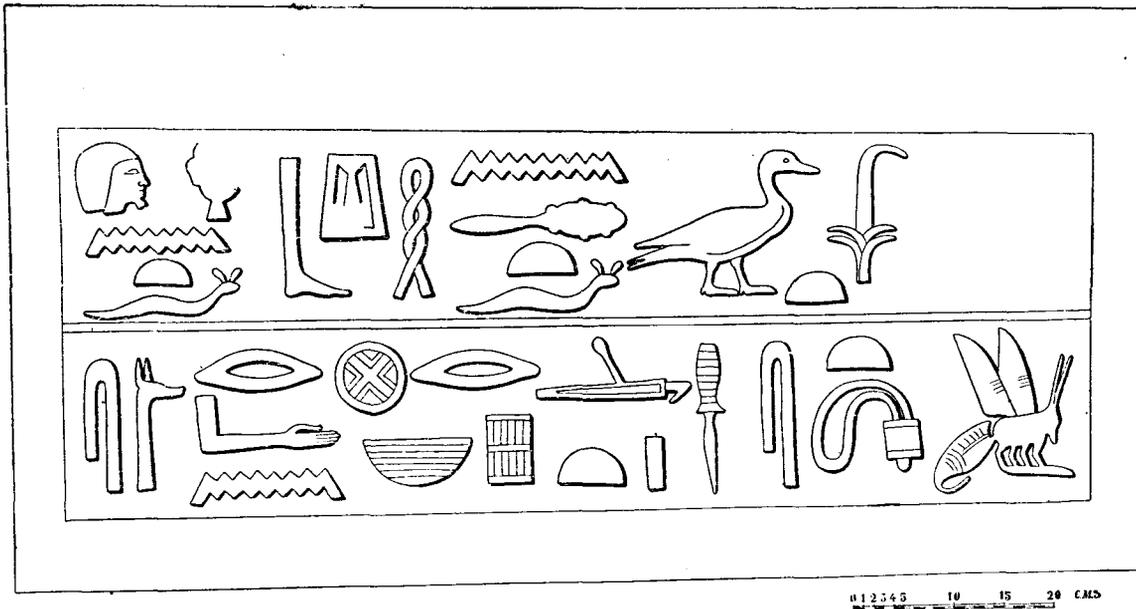


FIG. 132.

On the left-hand thickness (Fig. 133, Pl. XL, B) is a representation of Ny-weser-Ra'. He is shown in a walking attitude, and holds a long staff in his right hand and a handkerchief in his



FIG. 133.

left one. He wears a long wig, a false-beard and a wide necklace, and is clad in a short kilt with a triangular apron. In front of the lower part of his staff are a few traces of a figure of a child, probably that of his son.

The Chapel.

This entrance gives access to a large hall measuring about 10·90 m. long by 4·20 m. wide and 3·30 m. high. Its roof is supported by two rectangular, rock-cut pillars, each of which measures 0·55 × 0·55 m. in section.

All the walls of this hall are finely cut in the native rock, and in many places treated with a thin coating of plaster, which was, however, left without receiving even the preliminary draughting out of its scenes and inscriptions.

Almost in the centre of its western wall is recessed a doorway measuring 0·77 m. wide, 1·75 m. thick and 2·05 m. high, which gives access to a small rectangular chamber which measures 3·0 × 0·50 × 2·20 m. The floor of this chamber is 0·50 m. higher than that of the chapel, and its walls are very uneven and roughly cut. It was clearly intended to have been enlarged, but was abandoned, as mentioned before, in its incomplete condition.

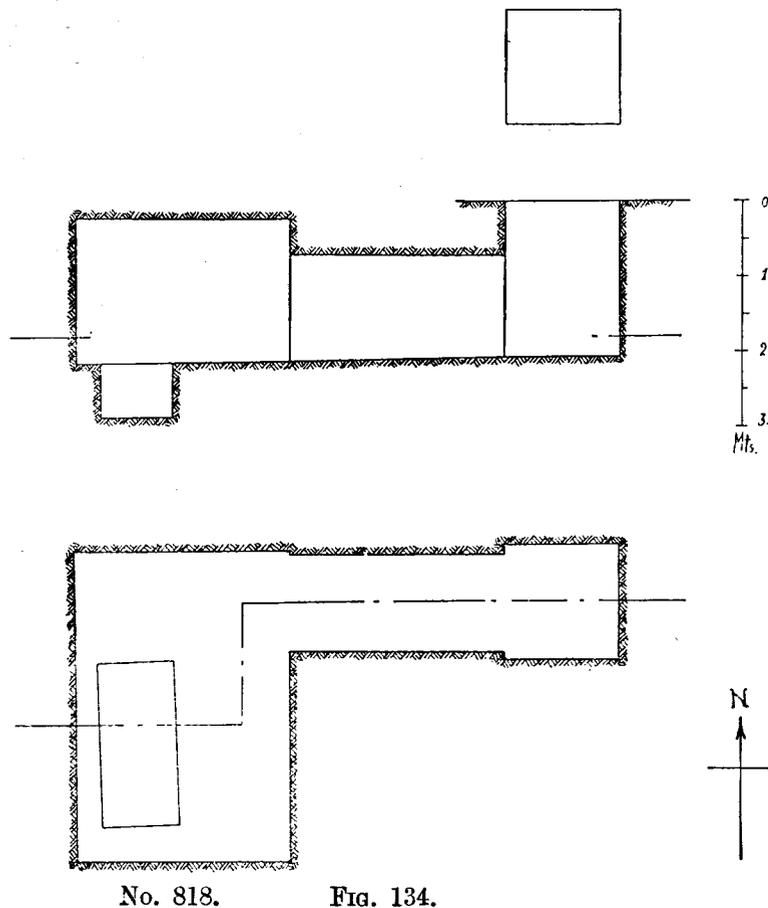
The northern end of the western wall of the chapel is occupied by a niche which measures 0·75 m. wide, and is 1·10 m. high.

Shaft No. 818.

In the north-western corner of the floor of the chapel is sunk Shaft No. 818 (Fig. 134).

Grave-pit.—2·10 m. deep, with a side-chamber on the west. Aperture open.

Burial.—No remains were found.



No. 818.

FIG. 134.

THE MASTABA OF , NY-KAW-HER

TITLES

1. 	<i>hm-ntr M3't.</i>	Priest of the Goddess Maa't.
2. 	<i>imj-r3 ss' [w] 3ht.</i>	Overseer of the Scribes of the Cultivated Lands.
3. 	<i>hntt nst.</i>	He Who is in Front of the Throne.

SITUATION

The mastaba of Ny-kaw-Her is situated to the east of the mastaba of Debehen, and to the south of that of Ny-'ankh-Ra' (see General Plan, third season, and Fig. 135).

DESCRIPTION

This mastaba is one of the series of tombs which were partly copied by Lepsius, who published the plan of it ⁽¹⁾, as well as a drawing of the false-door ⁽²⁾. Mariette also gave a rough sketch-plan of the tomb as it was known to him ⁽³⁾.

It is entirely built of local limestone masonry, but is cased on the inside with Turah limestone; its walls, however, are partially destroyed. These walls are of a considerable thickness, and contain a rubble filling. It is rectangular in shape, and the funerary chapel is composed of two parts:—

- (a) A small ante-chamber measuring 1.90 × 1.30 m., with an entrance, 0.60 m. wide, opening eastwards. The walls of this ante-chamber are uninscribed.
- (b) A large inner chapel on the south, measuring 1.70 × 5.15 m. Its walls were evidently very finely sculptured, but only scanty portions of the scenes are still preserved.

⁽¹⁾ LEPSIUS, "Denkm.", Text, I, p. 113.

⁽²⁾ op. cit. II, 94, d.

⁽³⁾ "Mastabas", 543 (X).

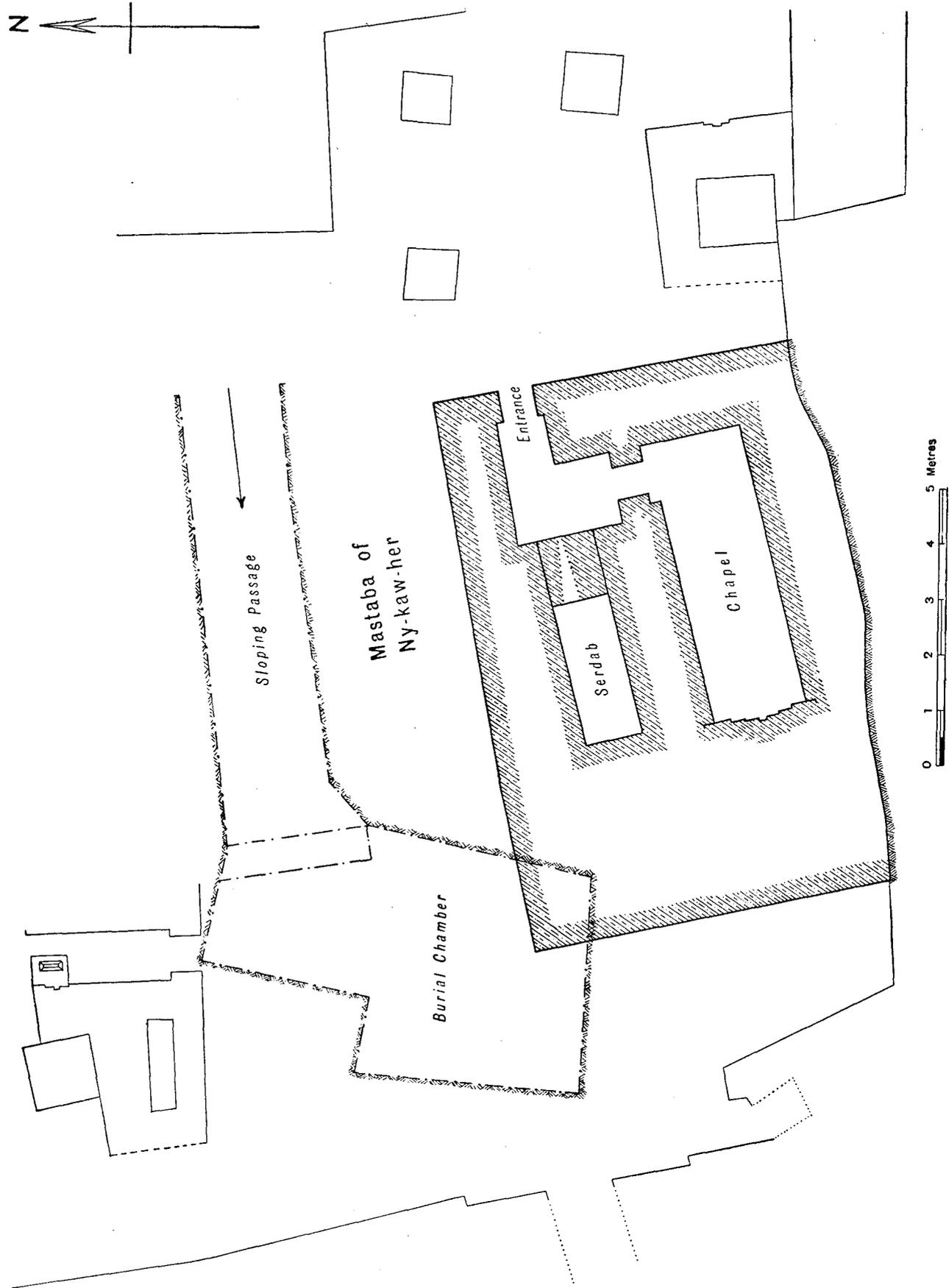


FIG. 135.

The Northern Wall (Fig. 136, Pl. LIII, A).

On the northern wall of the inner room of the chapel there remains only part of the lower register representing a procession of male offering-bearers facing to the left. These figures are beautifully sculptured in relief, and the excellence of the workmanship displayed in them makes us regret all the more the loss of the remainder of the wall-decorations of this tomb. At the extreme left-hand edge of the register is seen part of a bag carried by a man whose figure is now

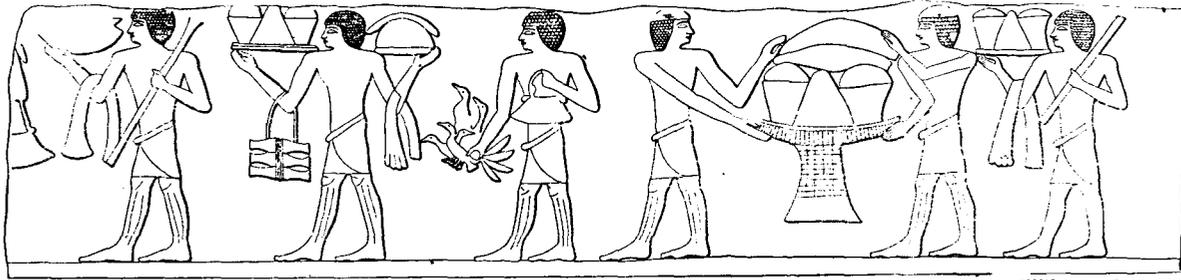


FIG. 136.

lost. The next man bears a large bowl of lotus-flowers balanced on the palm of his right hand ⁽¹⁾, and a bundle of onions hanging from the crook of his elbow, while in his left-hand he carries a long stem of papyrus (?) The second man is fully loaded. Balanced between his right hand and shoulder is a tray laden with two covered vases and a large, conical loaf of bread; while three bundles (perhaps containing cheese?) tied together, hang from the crook of his right elbow. He bears another tray supported between his left shoulder and hand, which appears to be loaded with a heap of some kind of food, topped by a large slice of meat (?), and from the crook of his elbow hangs a bundle of onions. The third man carries a struggling bunch of five live ducks in his right hand, and a small bag in his left one. He is followed by two men who bear a laden offering-table between them, the foremost man turning half round in order to see that the load on the table is not upset. This load consists of two large covered vases, a conical loaf of bread and two lettuces. A sixth man brings up the rear bearing a tray between his right shoulder and hand. Upon this tray is a conical loaf of bread flanked by two large covered vases; while a bundle of onions hangs from the crook of his right elbow. In his left hand he carries a bundle of papyrus stems (?).

The Southern Wall (Fig. 137, Pl. LIII, B).

On the southern wall there still remains the lower part of a procession of male offering-bearers similar to that which appears upon the northern wall. Unfortunately, however, this scene is

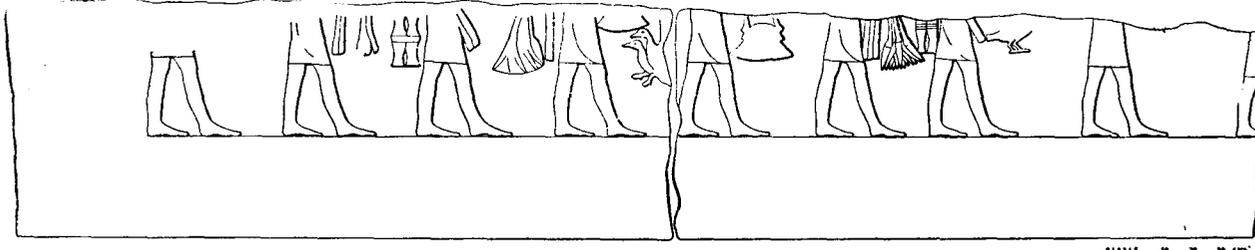


FIG. 137.

(1) See the tomb of Per-neb. WILLIAMS. "The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-neb", Pl. XVIII.

badly damaged, the upper parts of all the figures being destroyed. Two fragments of this wall were found in the debris filling the chapel; they comprise:—

- (a) A limestone slab bearing part of two registers, in both of which appear a procession of offering-bearers (Fig. 138, Pl. LIII, C).

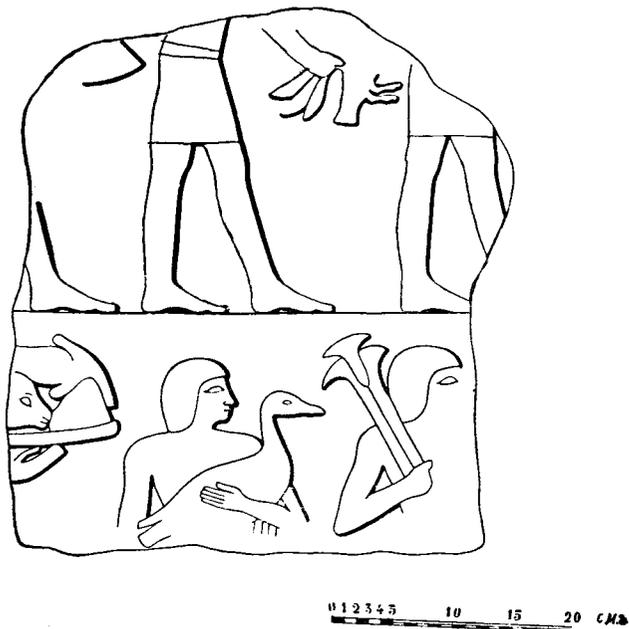


FIG. 138.

- (b) A limestone slab bearing only the legs of four men. It appears to belong to the fragment described above (Fig. 139, Pl. LIII, C).

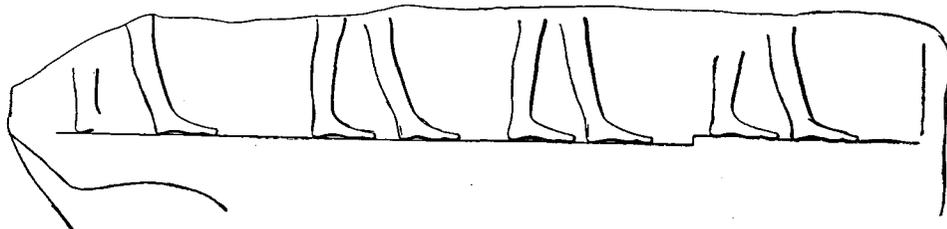


FIG. 139.

The Western Wall (Figs. 140 and 141, Pl. LIV).

The western wall of this chapel is occupied by a large false-door formed of a monolithic slab of local limestone. The upper part has been entirely destroyed, and most of the inscriptions upon its lower part have weathered away, though it seems to have been in a somewhat better condition when Lepsius saw it, and made his copy. In Fig. 141, the dotted lines indicate those portions of the inscription which were still existent in Lepsius' days, but which have now totally disappeared.

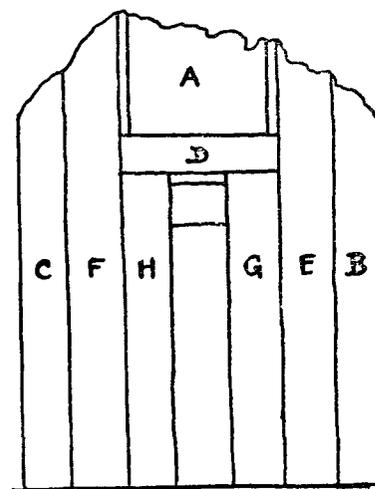


FIG. 140.

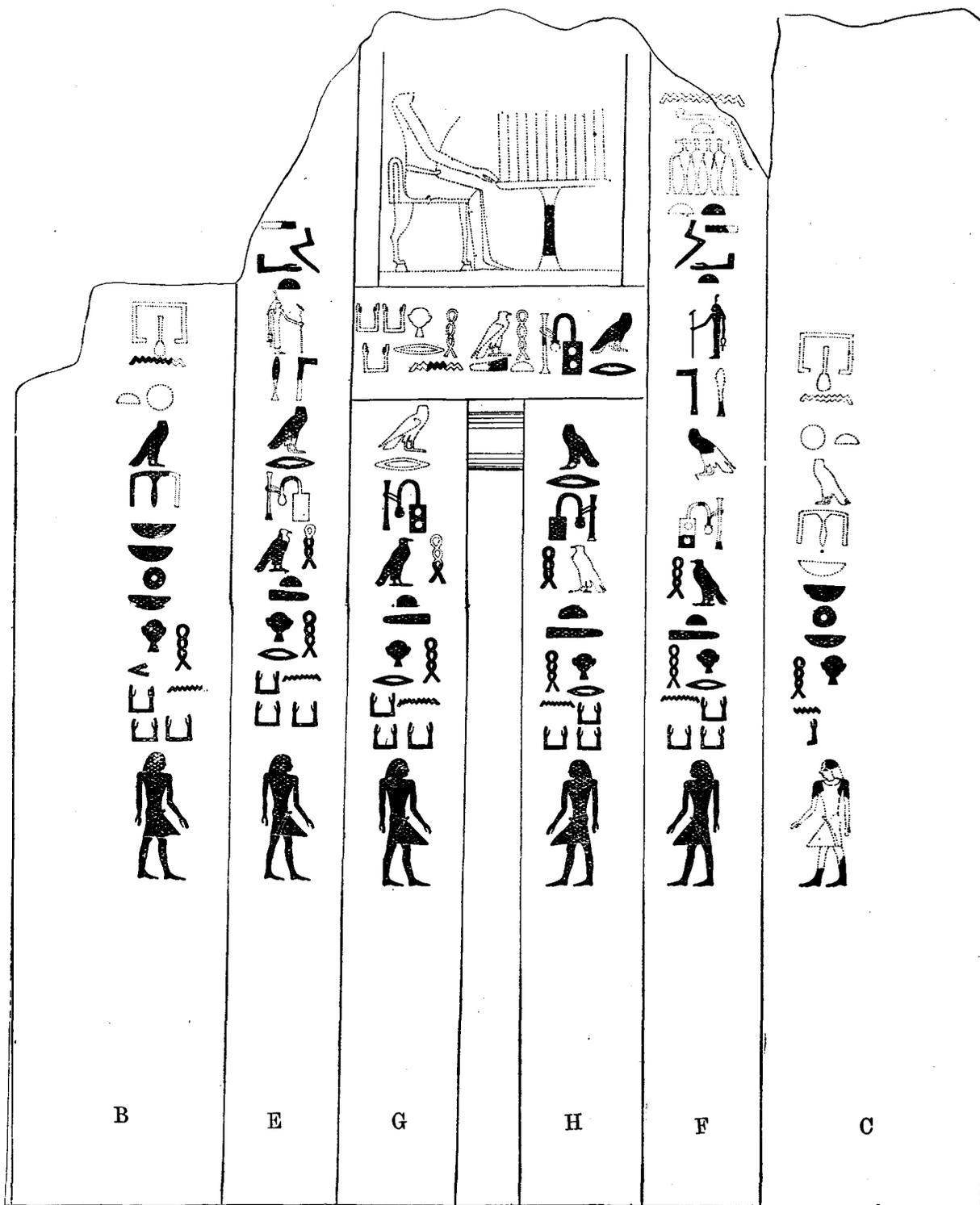


FIG. 141.

The Burial-Chamber (Fig. 142).

Against the northern side of the tomb-chapel is sunk a descending passage measuring about 8.0 m. in length, and leading to a burial-chamber which is situated immediately behind the above-mentioned false-door. This burial-chamber measures about: 6.85 × 4.15 × 2.85 m. and was entirely choked with rubbish. A large slab of local limestone, doubtless part of the lid of a sarcophagus, lay against the southern wall. Nothing else was found there.

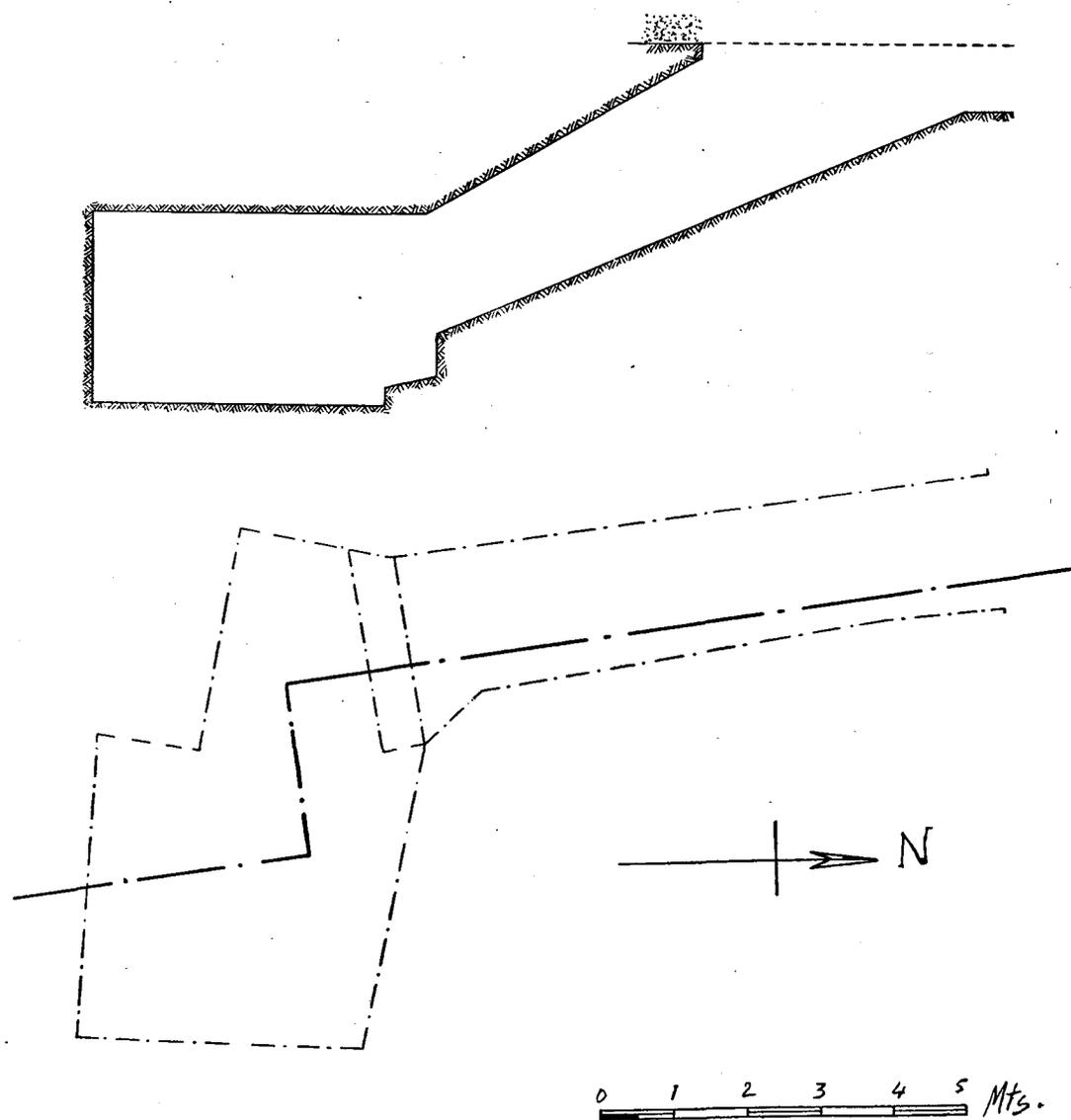


FIG. 142.

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THE MASTABA OF , SEKHE-NT-KA-ḤOR ⁽¹⁾

TITLE


 Wife: 

irj-ḥt njswt.

He Who is Concerned with
the King's Affairs.
Ny-'ankh-sheret.

TITLE



irj[t]-ḥt-njswt.

She Who is Concerned with
the King's Affairs.

SITUATION

The Mastaba of Sekhent-ka-Ḥor is situated against the northern face of the mound of rock lying to the north of the tomb of Queen Bw-nefer. It also lies to the east of the mastaba of Iamam-Neith (see General Plan, third season, and Fig. 143).

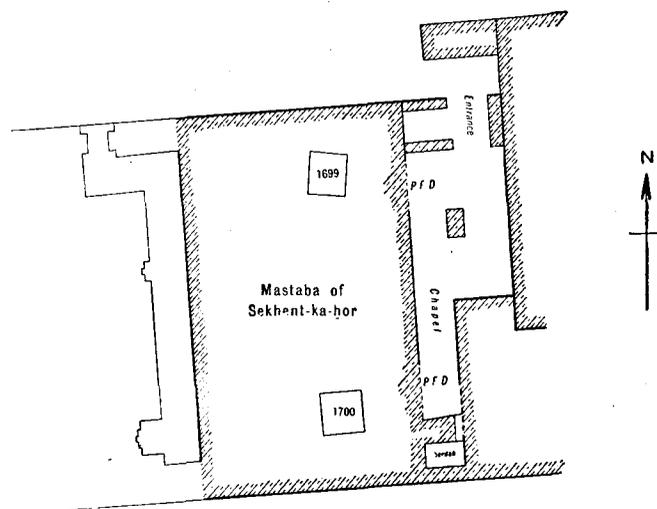


FIG. 143.

DESCRIPTION

It occupies the space lying between the two uninscribed mastabas, the outside walls of which have been utilized to form the eastern and western walls of the chapel.

⁽¹⁾ Ranke (Die "Ägyptischen Personennamen, p. 320) gives the reading of this name as *š.bntjw (?)-k3-(j?)*, but is clearly doubtful of its accuracy. But in our example it seems clear that the bird sign is "Ḥor" and not "tjw".

THE ENTRANCE

The entrance of this mastaba opens north, but only the lower parts of the jambs remain in place. Four fragments of its lintel were found in a serdab belonging to a near-by mastaba, where they had been re-employed in roofing a later burial.

These fragments bear a sculptured representation of Sekhent-ka-Hor and his wife, executed in relief. They are shown seated together upon one stool. The man holds a long staff in his left hand, while his right hand rests upon his lap. He wears a short, curled wig, a broad necklace of beadwork and a pair of bracelets. His wife embraces him with both arms. She wears a long wig, a wide beadwork necklace, a pair of bracelets, and a tight-fitting robe upheld by straps over the shoulders. Above their heads is an inscription, reading:  "He Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, Sekhent-ka-Hor, his wife, Ny-'ankh-sheret." (Fig. 144, Pl. LV, A).

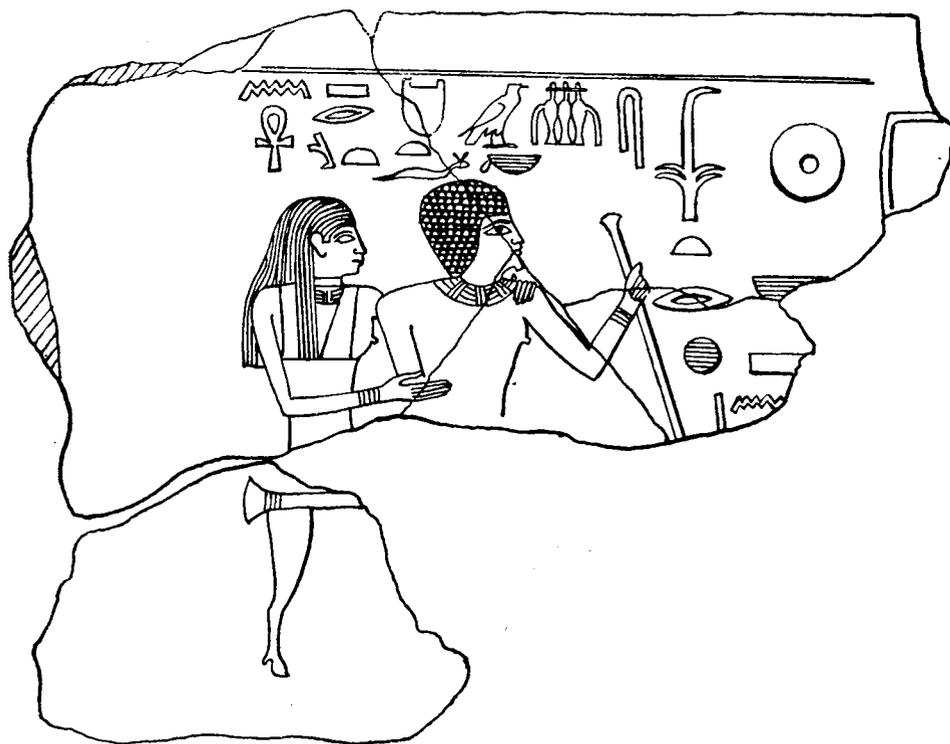


FIG. 144.

This doorway leads to a chapel measuring 3.82×2.52 m., the roof of which was supported by a rectangular pillar of white limestone, measuring 0.43×0.74 m. and is 2.05 m. high. On both its eastern and western faces is a life-sized representation of a man in a walking attitude. He holds a long staff in one hand and a handkerchief in the other. In each case, the head of the figure is destroyed (Figs. 145 and 146). He wears a kilt reaching to just below his knees, and in one representation he is shown wearing sandals (Fig. 146). On the northern face are two superposed registers, in the upper one of which is depicted a man in a walking attitude; while in the lower

register is the figure of a woman standing with her feet close together. She wears a long wig and a transparent robe. Her left arm is bent at the elbow and the hand raised before her face, probably she was holding a lotus-flower to her nose, but the surface of the stone is eroded in this place and

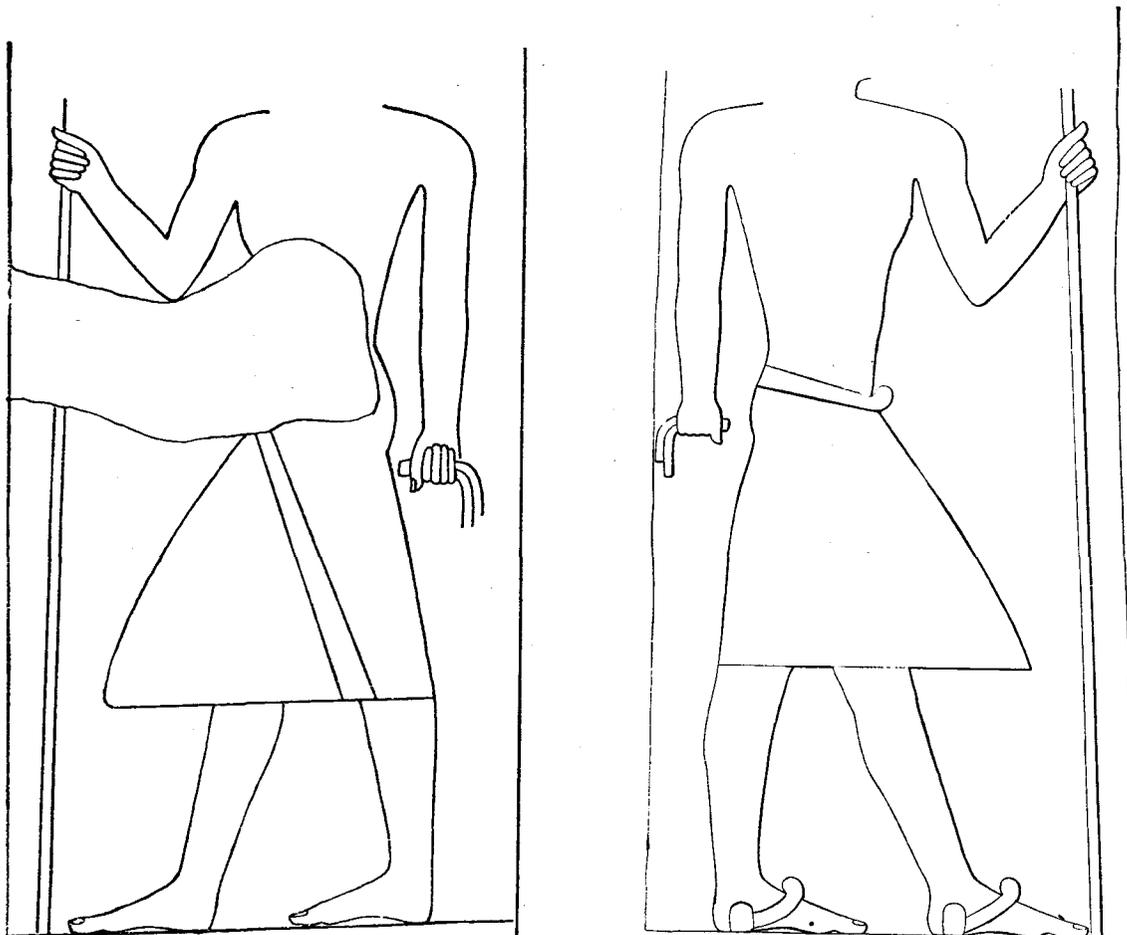


FIG. 145.

FIG. 146.

her hand is missing. Above her head is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading:  "She Who is Concerned With the King's Affairs, Ny-'ankh-sheret" (Fig. 147).

The southern face of this pillar also bears two superposed registers, in the upper one, of which is the figure of a man similar to that on the northern face. In the lower register is a representation of a man and a woman, doubtless Sekhent-ka-Hor and his wife. He wears a short wig, or more probably, his natural hair, a wide necklace and a short kilt. The woman is embracing him with her left arm. She wears a long wig, and a long, transparent robe (Fig. 148).

At 3.82 m. distance from the entrance, the chapel narrows to a width of 1.0 m., the space being decreased by an addition of limestone masonry against its eastern wall. It continues in this manner for a further 3.0 m., thus forming a small inner chapel, the southern wall of which is formed by one huge slab of white limestone. Behind this slab is constructed a serdab measuring 1.20 × 0.57 m., the squint of which is situated almost in the middle of the eastern edge of the above-mentioned slab. This serdab contained a damaged statuette of limestone, representing a woman grinding grain (Pl. LV, B, C).

At the extreme southern end of the western wall is a gap in the masonry which must denote the place of a false-door, now lacking.

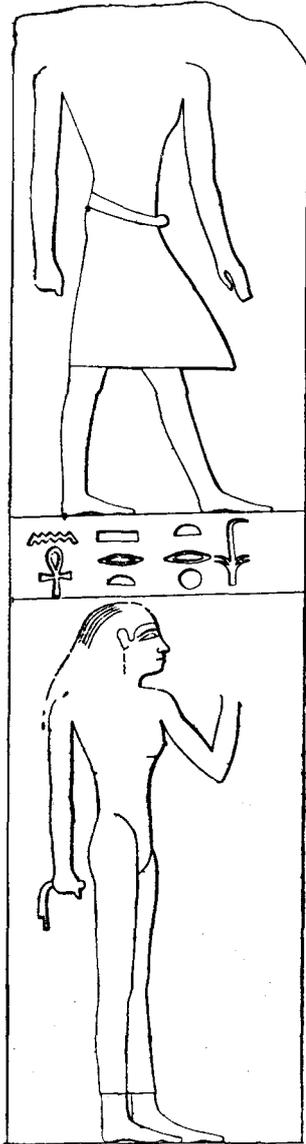


FIG. 147.

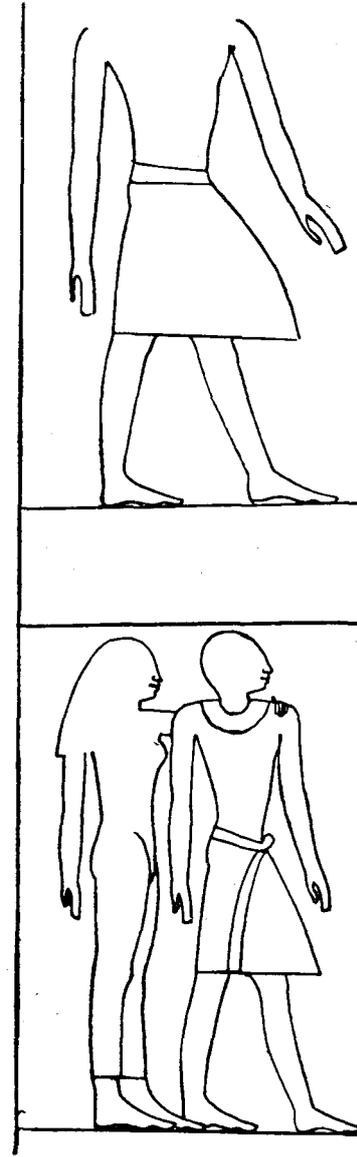


FIG. 148.

1699

SHAFTS

Shaft No. 1699 (Fig. 149).

Grave-pit 0.95 × 1.10 × 3.35 m. deep, with a side-chamber on the west. Aperture open.

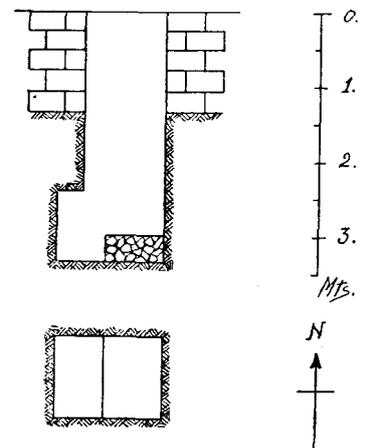


FIG. 149.

Shaft No. 1700 (Fig. 150).

Grave-pit $1.10 \times 1.10 \times 7.90$ m. deep:—

- (a) Burial-chamber on the south about 1.90 m. at a level of 2.00 m.
- (b) Burial-chamber on the west about 1.50 m.

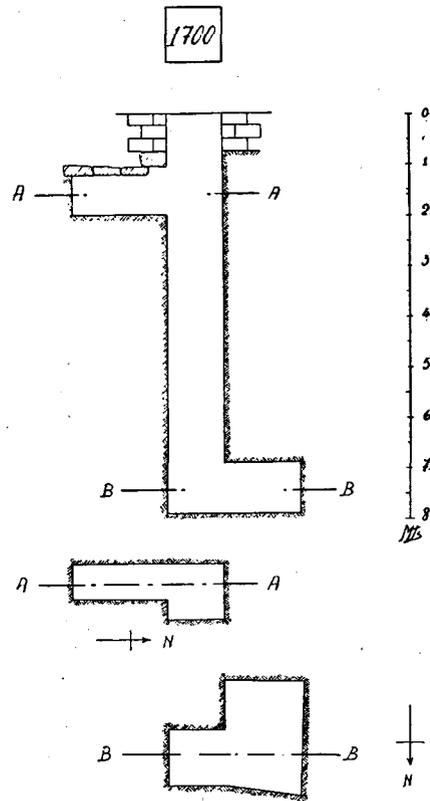


FIG. 150.

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THE MASTABA OF , IAMAM-NEITH

TITLES



irj-ht njswt.

w'b njswt.

He Who is Concerned With
the King's Affairs.

King's Purificator.

SITUATION

This mastaba lies to the west of that of Sekhent-ka-Ḥor (see General Plan, third season, and Fig. 151).

DESCRIPTION

This mastaba is of the corridor type like that of Sekhent-ka-Ḥor. It is constructed of local limestone masonry against the western wall of the uninscribed mastaba which lies between it and the mastaba of Sekhent-ka-Ḥor.

The site of this tomb and the area immediately surrounding it were deeply buried under a high mound of drift-sand, during the removal of which we recovered the following objects:—

- (1) A large copper vase with a wide, fluted mouth and a blunt-pointed base. Height: 22.5 cm. Diam.: 16.0 cm. (Pl. LVII, B).
- (2) A round copper mirror. It was originally fitted with a handle of some other material probably wood, to which it was attached by means of the tongue on its under-side, which fitted into a hole in the handle. Diam.: 12.0 cm. (Pl. LVII, C).
- (3) Fragments of various copper vessels.

THE ENTRANCE

The entrance to this mastaba opens northwards, and measures 0.57 m. wide. It is flanked by two jambs of fine white limestone, smoothly dressed, but left uninscribed.

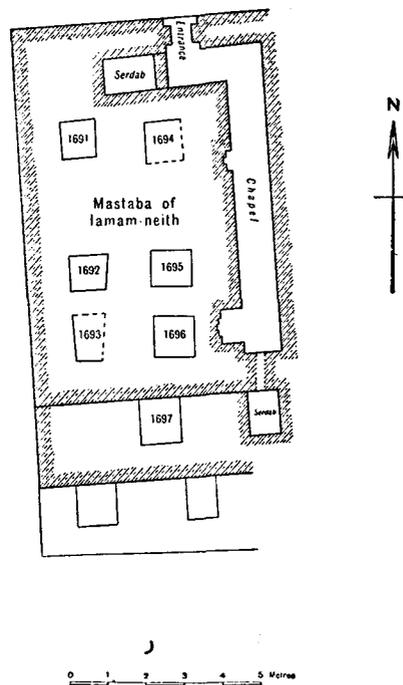


FIG. 151.

The Lintel (Fig. 152, Pl. LVI).

This lintel was found in the debris lying in front of the entrance, and broken into two pieces. It bears an incised inscription reading :—

“ A boon which the King gives, and a boon which Anubis, Lord of the Sacred Land, Presiding Over the God’s Dwelling, gives, a burial . . . , that offerings of bread, beer, oxen and geese may

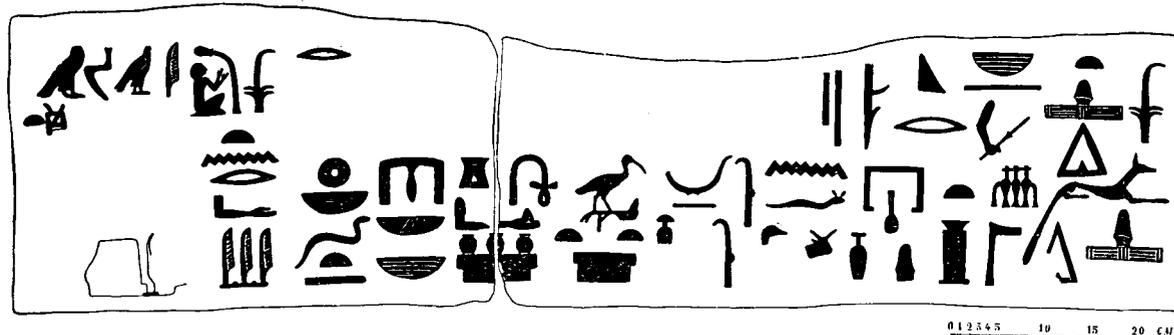


FIG. 152.

come forth to him [in] the Opening Day of the Year Feast, the First of the Year Feast, the Feast of Thoth, the Wag Feast, and every feast and every day eternally, [for] the King’s Purificator, Iamam-Neith.”

The Chapel.

The above-mentioned entrance gives access to a short passage measuring 2.43 × 0.92 m. and directed east-west. It leads into a narrow chapel measuring 17.14 × 0.86 m. and which is directed north-south.

At the northern and southern ends of the western wall are two unscribed false-doors, the northern one of which is made of Turah limestone, and measures 0.49 m. wide and 1.30 m. high.

The southern false-door is recessed back in a niche measuring 0.91 m. wide, and 1.83 m. high, and which is 0.58 m. deep. It is built of local limestone slabs. When discovered, this niche was blocked up, undoubtedly in a late period. In front of it was a rectangular construction built of slabs of local limestone, and containing a skeleton contracted on its left side, with the head to the north and the face to the east. This, of course, is a later intrusive burial.

Behind the southern wall is a serdab measuring 1.24 × 0.80 m.; its squint being situated at a height of 1.40 m. from the floor of the chapel. This serdab was utilized for a later burial and has a small side-chamber constructed in its southern side.

SHAFTS

Shaft No. 1691 (Fig. 153).

Grave-pit: $1.00 \times 1.00 \times 1.55$ m. deep; with a burial-chamber on the south.

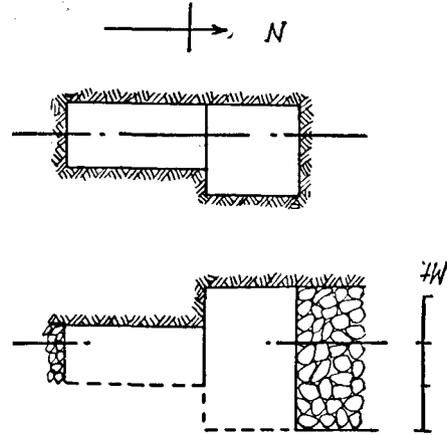
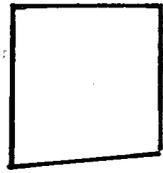


FIG. 153.



Shaft No. 1692 (Fig. 154).

Grave-pit: $0.95 \times 1.05 \times 0.8$ m. deep. No burial-chamber.

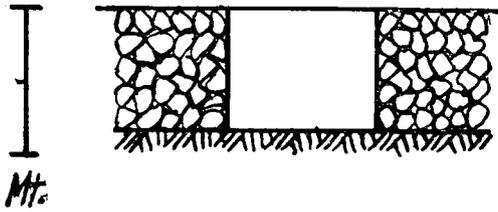


FIG. 154.



Shaft No. 1693 (Fig. 155).

Grave-pit: $0.90 \times 1.25 \times 1.25$ m. deep; with no burial-chamber.

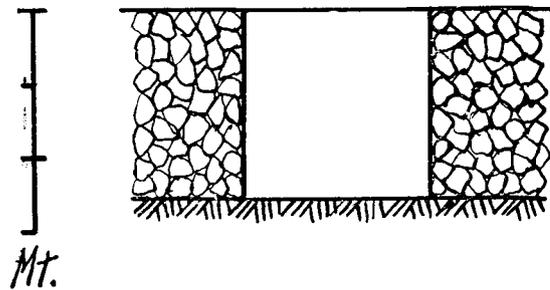


FIG. 155.

Shaft No. 1694 (Fig. 156).

Grave-pit : $0.95 \times 1.10 \times 1.00$ m. deep ; with a side-chamber on the south. Aperture opened. Contents : a few broken bones scattered in the debris.

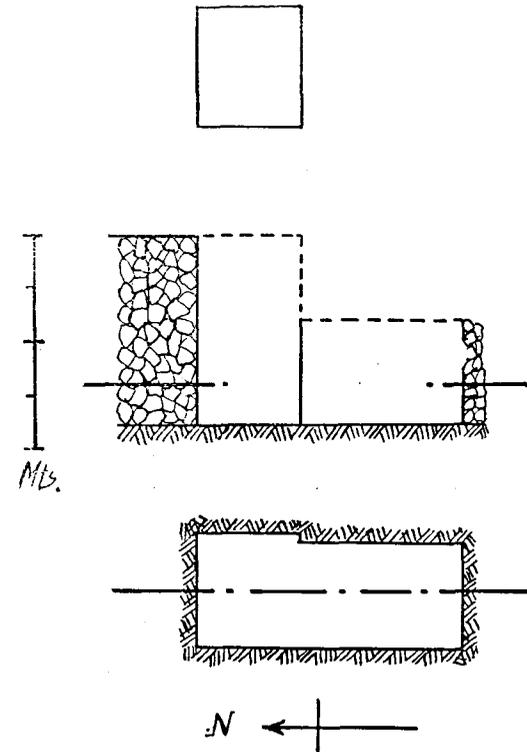


FIG. 156.

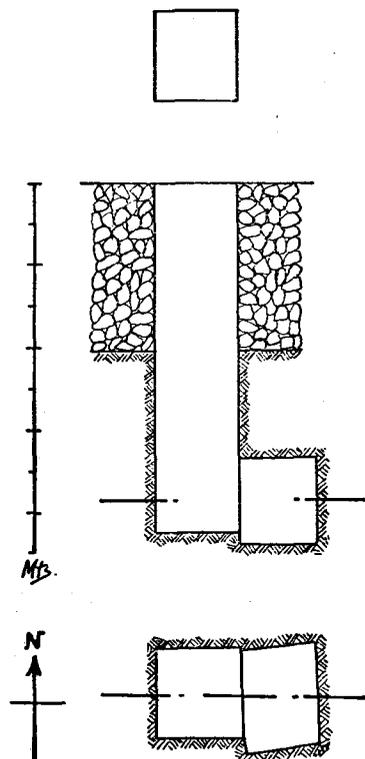


FIG. 157.

Shaft No. 1695 (Fig. 157).

Grave-pit : $0.95 \times 1.10 \times 4.40$ m. deep ; with a large, unfinished burial-chamber on the west. Aperture open. An unfinished recess cut deep in the floor of the chamber. From the filling of the chamber we recovered the head and part of the chest of a black granite statuette, the feet and pedestal of which we subsequently found in a neighbouring shaft (Pl. LVII, A). It represents a man wearing a plaited wig brushed back to reveal his ears. Unfortunately, the nose is damaged, but the heavy features and somewhat pugnacious expression give the impression of being a faithful portrait of the unnamed original. Traces of black paint remain on the eyebrows and the pupils of the eyes.

Shaft No. 1696 (Fig. 158).

Grave-pit: 1·10×1·10×1·15 m. deep; with a burial-chamber on the west. Aperture open. Contents: a few broken bones scattered in the debris.

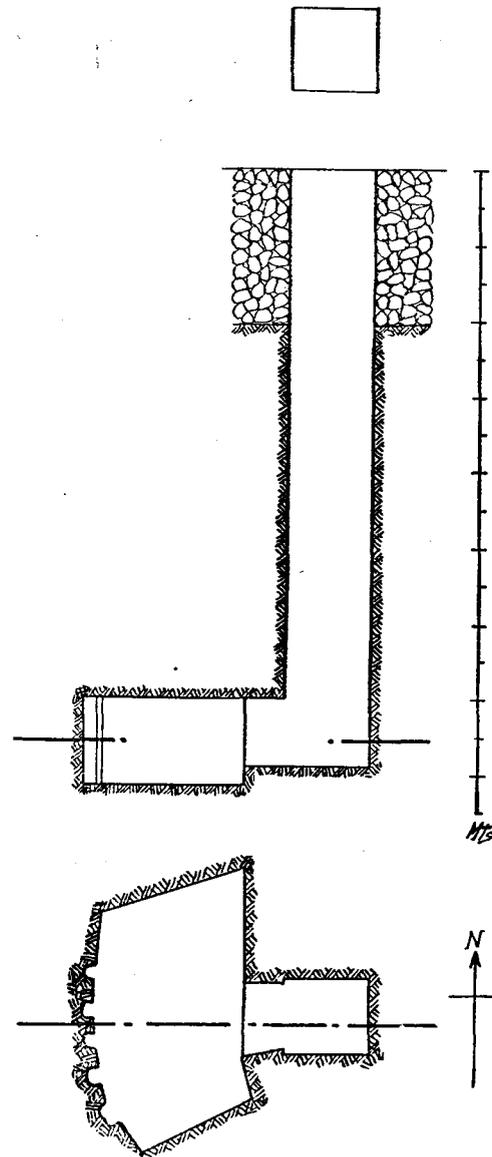
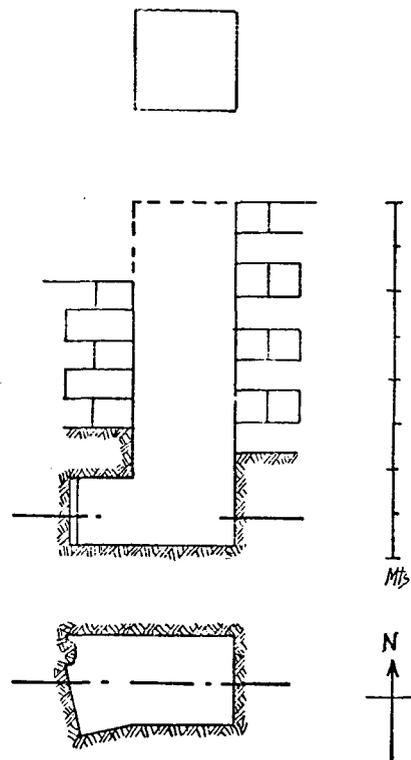


FIG. 158.



Shaft No. 1697 (Fig. 159).

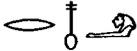
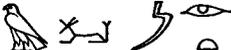
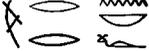
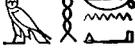
Grave-pit: 1·10×1·15×2·95 m. deep; with a burial-chamber on the west.

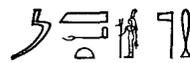
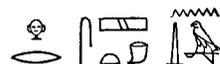
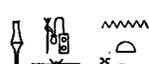
FIG. 159.

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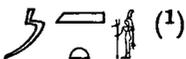
	<i>iwn kn mwt.</i>	Iwn-ken-Mwt-priest, pp. 151, 155.
	<i>imsh[w]hr it. f.</i>	Honoured by His Father, pp. 103, 117.
	<i>imsh[w]hr it. f. njswt.</i>	Honoured by His Father the King, pp. 103, 119.
	<i>imsh[w]hr njswt.</i>	Honoured by the King, pp. 151, 155.
	<i>imsh[w]hr njswt bitj. Wsr-k3. f.</i>	Honoured by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Weser-ka-f., pp. 104, 119, 120.
	<i>imsh[w]njswt bitj. Mn-k3w-R'.</i>	Honoured by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Men-kaw-Ra', pp. 104, 119, 120.
	<i>imsh[w]hr njswt-bitj. H'. f-R'.</i>	Honoured by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khafra', pp. 103, 119.
	<i>imsh[w]hr njswt-bitj. Sshw-R'.</i>	Honoured by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sahw-Ra', pp. 104, 119, 120.
	<i>imsh[w]hr njswt-bitj. Spss-k3-f.</i>	Honoured by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Shepses-ka-f., pp. 104, 119, 120.
	<i>imsh[w]hr ntr '3.</i>	Honoured by the Great God, pp. 103, 126, 151.
	<i>imj-ib n nb. f.</i>	He Who is in the Heart of His Lord, pp. 151, 155, 159, 163, 164, 165, 166, 174.
	<i>[imj] ib n ntr f.</i>	He who is in the Heart of His God, pp. 176, 178.
	<i>imj-is.</i>	He Who is in the Chamber, pp. 103, 107.
	<i>imj-r3 iswt špswt. nt. pr-'3.</i>	Overseer of the August Service of the Great House, pp. 159, 165, 166.
	<i>imj-r3 sš [w] zht.</i>	Overseer of the Scribes of the Cultivated Lands, pp. 189, 193, 194.
	<i>imj-r3 kat nb.t nj.t njswt.</i>	Overseer of All the Works of the King, pp. 151, 155.
	<i>irj-mrr.t nb. f.</i>	Doing What His Lord Likes, pp. 160, 170.

	<i>irj-nfr. hst.</i>	Attached to "Fair-is-the Face", pp. 159, 164, 165, 170, 176, 178, 182.
	<i>irj-ht njswt.</i>	He Who is Concerned With the King's Affairs, pp. 43, 104, 105, 111, 112, 197, 198, 203, 204.
	<i>irj [t] -ht njswt.</i>	She Who is Concerned with the King's Affairs, pp. 104, 126, 141, 143, 197, 198, 199, 200.
	<i>'s Dwaw.</i>	Doorkeeper of the God Dwaw, pp. 103, 107, 108, 111, 112.
	<i>'d-mr sbz-Hr-hntj-pt.</i>	Nome Administrator of the Vineyard (called) Star-of-Horus President-of-Heaven, pp. 159, 164, 165.
	<i>w'b njswt.</i>	King's Purificator, pp. 10, 203, 204.
	<i>wr-ht.</i>	High Priest, pp. 125, 141, 143.
	<i>wr ht Hs.</i>	High-Priest of the Hs-god, pp. 125, 131.
	<i>wtj-Inpw.</i>	Embalmer-priest of Anubis, pp. 71, 75, 103, 118, 119.
	<i>wd'-mdw ms'n hrj wdbw.</i>	The Real Commander of the Overseers of the Distributions, pp. 151, 155.
	<i>mss.t Hr St.</i>	She Who Sees Horus and Set, pp. 104, 117, 125, 140.
	<i>mwt njswt-bjtj.</i>	Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, pp. 1, 2, 3, 16, 17, 24.
	<i>mrj nb. f.</i>	He Who is Beloved by His Lord, pp. 159, 165, 166.
	<i>mrr nj nb. f.</i>	The Beloved One of His Lord, pp. 151, 155, 176, 178.
	<i>mhnk.</i>	Rewarded, pp. 127, 137, 138.
	<i>mdw rhjt.</i>	Staff of the People, pp. 151, 155.
	<i>njswt-bjtj.</i>	King of Upper and Lower Egypt, pp. 1, 2, 16, 17, 24.
	<i>nb imsh [w] hr nb. f.</i>	Possessor of Honour in the Presence of His Lord, pp. 160, 170, 180.
	<i>nb.t imsh hr ntr 's.</i>	Possessor (or Mistress) of Honour in the Presence of the Great God, pp. 126, 133.
	<i>rs P nb.</i>	Mouth of Every Butite, pp. 185, 187.

	<i>rp^c. t.</i>	Hereditary Prince, pp. 103, 107, 111, 112, 125, 131, 140, 141, 143, 144, 152.
	<i>hstj^c.</i>	Count, pp. 103, 107.
	<i>hm-ntr. Mā't.</i>	Priest of the Goddess Maa't, pp. 189, 193, 194.
	<i>hm [t]-ntr Ht-Hr nb.t. nht m iswt.s nb[w].t.</i>	Priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore, in all Her Places, pp. 126, 141, 143.
	<i>hm-kz.</i>	Ka-servant, pp. 9, 10, 64, 105, 111, 114, 127, 148, 166.
	<i>hm.t-njswt.</i>	King's Wife, pp. 125, 140.
	<i>hrj-wdb m pr^cnh.</i>	Master of the Distribution in the House of Life, pp. 159, 162, 164, 170, 176, 178, 180.
	<i>hrj-sšt3 nj mdw ntr.</i>	Master of the Secrets of the Divine Language, pp. 151, 155.
	<i>hrj-sšt3 njswt.</i>	Master of the Secrets of the King, pp. 103, 107, 108, 125, 141, 159.
	<i>hrj sšt3 nj pr dwst</i>	Master of the Secrets of the Toilet-house, pp. 105, 107, 108, 117, 118, 119, 151, 155, 159, 164, 170, 174, 176, 178, 180.
	<i>hrj-sšt3 [nj] njswt m iswt.f nb.t.</i>	Master of the Secrets of the King in All His Places, pp. 151, 155.
	<i>hrj-tp Nhb.</i>	Chief Nekhbite, pp. 159, 165, 166, 174, 176, 178, 182.
	<i>hsw.t wrt.</i>	Great Favourite, pp. 104, 115, 116, 126, 140.
	<i>hts (w) rt.</i>	Great Ornament, pp. 126, 140.
	<i>hntt nst</i>	He who is in Front of the Throne, pp. 189, 193, 194.
	<i>hrp 'h.</i>	Director of the Palace, pp. 103, 117, 118, 119, 159, 162, 164, 170, 174, 176, 180.
	<i>hrp wsht.</i>	Director of the Hall, pp. 151, 155.
	<i>hrp sš md3t nj it. f.</i>	Director of the Scribes of Book of His Father, pp. 103, 118, 119.
	<i>hrj-hb.</i>	Ritualist, pp. 71, 73, 74, 82, 151, 155, 156.
	<i>hrj-hb hrj-tp.</i>	Chief Ritualist, pp. 118, 119, 125, 131, 133, 140, 141, 143, 146, 159, 164.

	<i>hrj-hb hrj tp. nj it. f.</i>	Chief Ritualist of His Father, pp. 103, 107, 108, 111, 112, 185, 187.
	<i>s3 njswt.</i>	King's Son, pp. 151, 155, 156.
	<i>s3 njswt nj ht f.</i>	King's Son of His Body, pp. 103, 107, 117, 125, 131, 133, 140, 141, 144, 145, 185, 187.
	<i>s3 njswt nj ht. f smsw.</i>	Eldest King's Son of His Body, pp. 103, 111, 112, 115, 116, 118, 119, 148.
	<i>s3.t njswt nj ht. f.</i>	King's Daughter of His Body, pp. 22, 126, 133, 140, 144.
	<i>s3.t ntr.</i>	Daughter of the God, pp. 1, 2, 3, 16, 17.
	<i>smr.</i>	Confidant, pp. 159, 162, 170, 180.
	<i>smr w'tj.</i>	Sole Confidant, pp. 103, 107, 108, 117, 125, 140, 141, 143, 151, 155, 156, 159, 163, 164, 165, 166, 170, 174, 176, 178.
	<i>smr w'tj nj it. f.</i>	Sole Confidant of His Father, pp. 103, 118, 119, 125, 133.
	<i>smr nj ib nb. f.</i>	Confidant of the Heart of His Lord, pp. 159, 180.
	<i>smsw is.</i>	Eldest of the Chamber, pp. 151, 155.
	<i>smsw sn. w. t nj it. f.</i>	Eldest of the Senwet-house of His Father, pp. 125, 131, 133, 141, 143.
	<i>shd-hm[w]-ks.</i>	Inspector of the Ka-servants, pp. 105, 109, 111, 114, 117, 118.
	<i>shkr Hr.</i>	He Who Adorns Horus, pp. 159, 164, 176, 178, 182.
	<i>sš nt. pr. dt.</i>	Scribe of the House of Eternity, pp. 105, 115, 116.
	<i>sš mdst ntr nj it. f.</i>	Scribe of the Divine Book of His Father, pp. 125, 131, 133, 140, 141, 143.
	<i>sš kdt.</i>	Sculptor, pp. 127, 137, 138.
	<i>sdwtj bjtj.</i>	Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, pp. 103, 185, 187.
	<i>t3jtj-s3b.</i>	Chief Justice. and vizier pp. 103, 111, 112, 118, 119, 125, 131, 132.
	<i>tpj-hr njswt.</i>	First Under the King, pp. 151, 155.
	<i>dd.t iht nb.t nfr.t ir.t n.s.</i>	Every Good Thing which She Orders is Done for Her (or) Of Whom One Relates All Good Things Which She Has Done, pp. 1, 2, 16.

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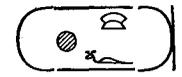
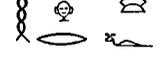
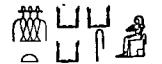
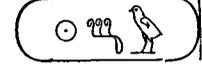
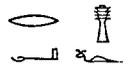
	<i>Inpw.</i>	Anubis, pp. 103, 119, 155, 163, 204.
	<i>W'dt.</i>	Wadjet, pp. 135, 136.
	<i>M's't.</i>	Maa't, pp. 105, 111, 114, 189, 193.
	<i>Mn[w] (?)</i> .	Min, pp. 164.
	<i>R'.</i>	Ra', pp. 105, 109.
	<i>Hs.</i>	Ha, pp. 125, 131.
	<i>Hr.</i>	Horus, pp. 104, 117, 135, 137, 159, 164, 165, 176, 178, 182, 189, 193, 197, 198.
	<i>Ht-Hr.</i>	Hathor, pp. 126, 140, 141, 143.
	<i>St.</i>	Set, pp. 104, 117.
	<i>Dwaw.</i>	Dwaw, pp. 103, 107, 108, 111, 112.
	<i>Dhwtj.</i>	Thoth, pp. 164, 204.

(1) Maa't also occurs as an element in personal names.

(2) Occurring mostly as an element in personal names.

(3) When occurring as an element in personal names it is spelt out phonetically .

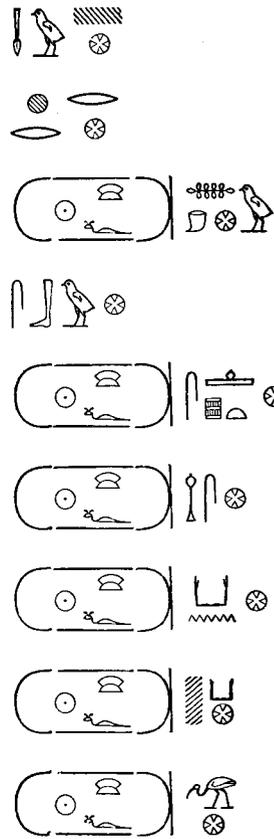
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	<i>Hkn.w</i>	Heknew, pp. 105, 109.
	<i>Hkn.w-hdt.</i>	Heknew-hezet, pp. 104, 115, 116, 117.
	<i>H'.f-R'.</i>	Khafra', pp. 103, 119.
	<i>H'.f-R'-'nh].</i>	Khafra-['ankh], pp. 104, 111, 112.
	<i>H'j.f-Hr.</i>	Kha-ef-Her, pp. 104, 111, 112.
	<i>Hwjw- . . . t.</i>	Khfw . . . t., pp. 104, 111.
	<i>Hnt-kw.s.</i>	Khent-kawes. pp. 1, 2, 3, 16, 17.
	<i>S3.f-H'.f. R'. (?)</i>	Sa-f-Khafra', pp. 104, 111, 112.
	<i>S3hw-R'</i>	Sahw-Ra', pp. 119, 120.
	<i>Smr-k3</i>	Semer-ka, pp. 127, 137, 138.
	<i>Shm-k3-R'</i>	Sekhem-ka-Ra', pp. 103, 104, 107, 108, 111, 112, 115, 116, 117, 118.
	<i>S.hnt-k3-Hr.</i>	Sekhnt-ka-Hor, pp. 197, 198.
	<i>Šps3-k3. f.</i>	Shepses-ka-f., pp. 119, 120.
	<i>Špsst-k3w</i>	Shepset-kaw, pp. 126, 133, 140, 144
	<i>kk.</i>	Kek ⁽¹⁾ , pp. 105, 117, 118.
	<i>Dw3-[-n.j-R']</i>	Dwa-[ny-Ra'], pp. 106, 140.
	<i>Dbhn</i>	Debehen, pp. 159, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 170, 174, 176, 180, 181, 182.
	<i>Dd.f-R'</i>	Zed-ef Ra', pp. 105, 109.

(¹) Ranke gives this name for Middle Kingdom only (p. 348, 31).

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	<i>i3gt-H'.f-R'</i>	Iaget-Khafra', p. 146.
	<i>w3h-H'.f-R'</i>	Wakh-Khafra', pp. 111, 113.
	<i>wr-k3w-H'.f-R'</i>	Wer-kaw-Khafra', pp. 135, 136.
	<i>. . . (?)H'.f-R'</i>	. . . (?) Khafra', pp. 111, 113.
	<i>p</i>	Buto, pp. 185, 187.
	<i>pk-H'.f-R'</i>	Peq-Khafra', pp. 135, 137.
	<i>mrj-w3djt-H'.f-R'</i>	Mery-Wazet-Khafra', pp. 135, 136.
	<i>mrj-Hr-H'.f-R'</i>	Mery-Her-Khafra', pp. 111, 112.
	<i>mrj-Hr-H'.f-R'</i>	Mery-Her-Khafra', pp. 135, 137.
	<i>Nfr-i3swt-H'.f-R'</i>	Nefer-iswet-Khafra', pp. 135, 137.
	<i>nfr-H'.f-R'</i>	Nefer-Khafra', pp. 111, 113.
	<i>nfrw-H'.f-R'</i>	Neferw-Khafra', pp. 111, 113.
	<i>nfr.t-H'.f-R'</i>	Nefert-Khafra', pp. 111, 113.
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	<i>htp-H'.f-R'</i>	Hetep-Khafra', pp. 111, 113.

*hrw*

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k3...H'.f-R'

Ka . . . Khafra', pp. 111, 113.

gm-H'.f-R'

Gem-Khafra', pp. 111, 114.

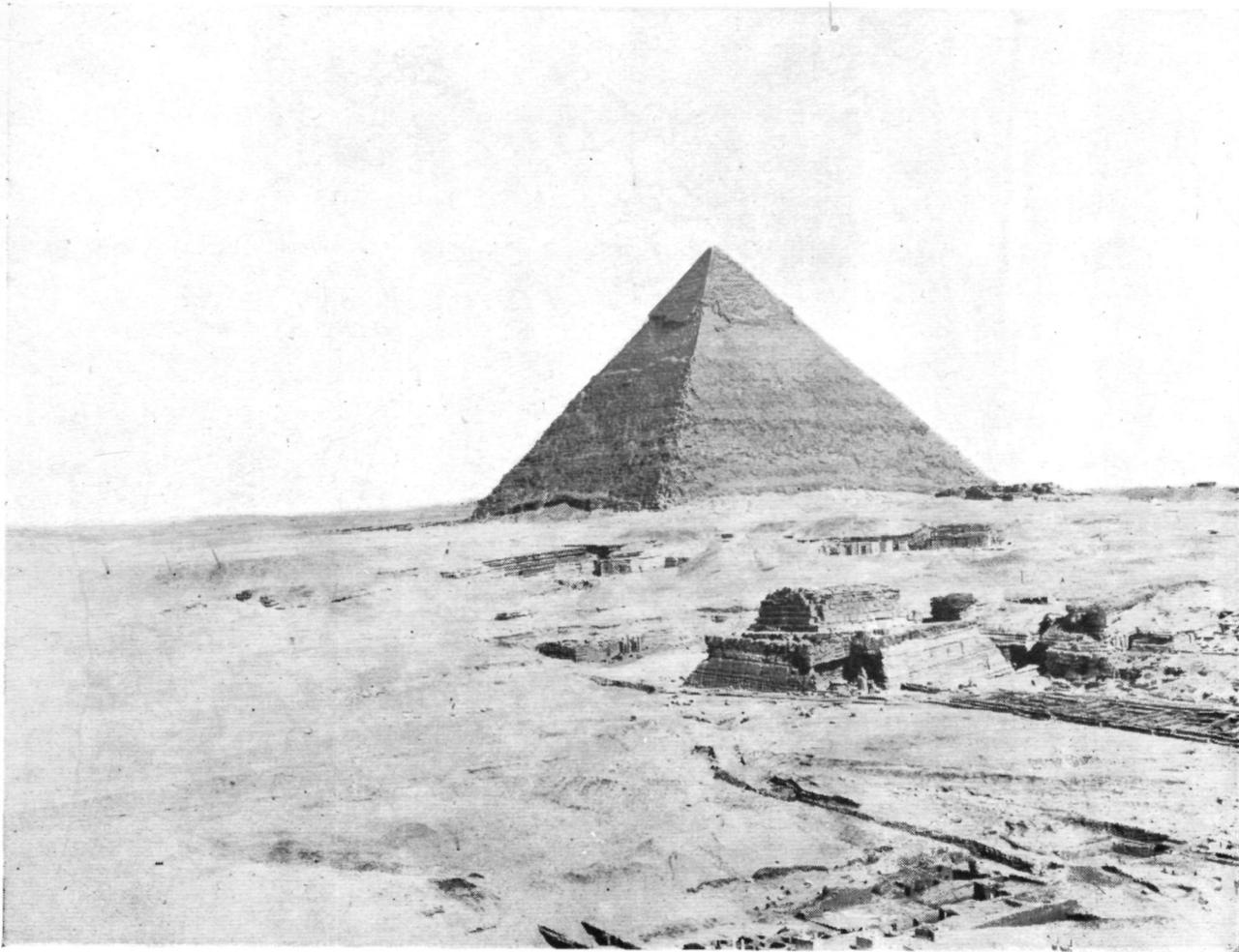
Printed at the Government Press, Bulâq, Cairo

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- 15 -

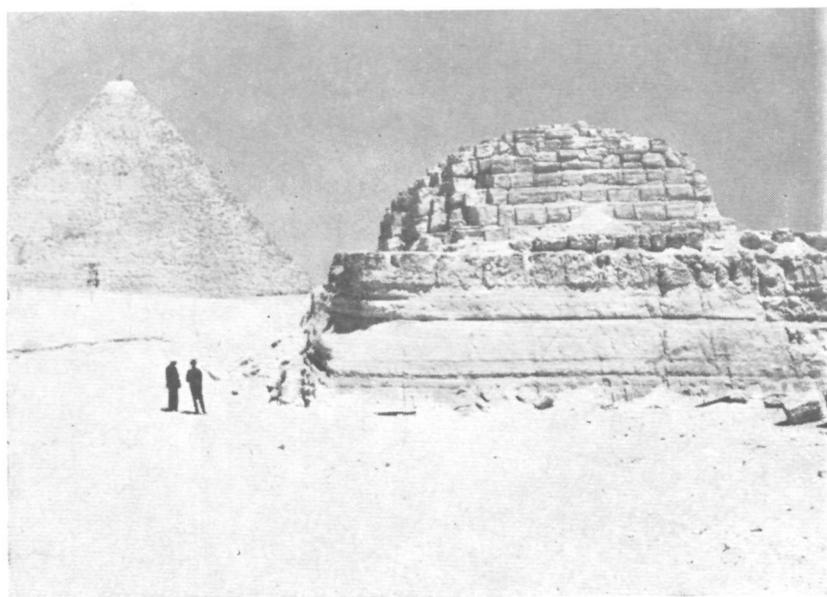
PLATES



A.—The Fourth Pyramid (from the south-east).



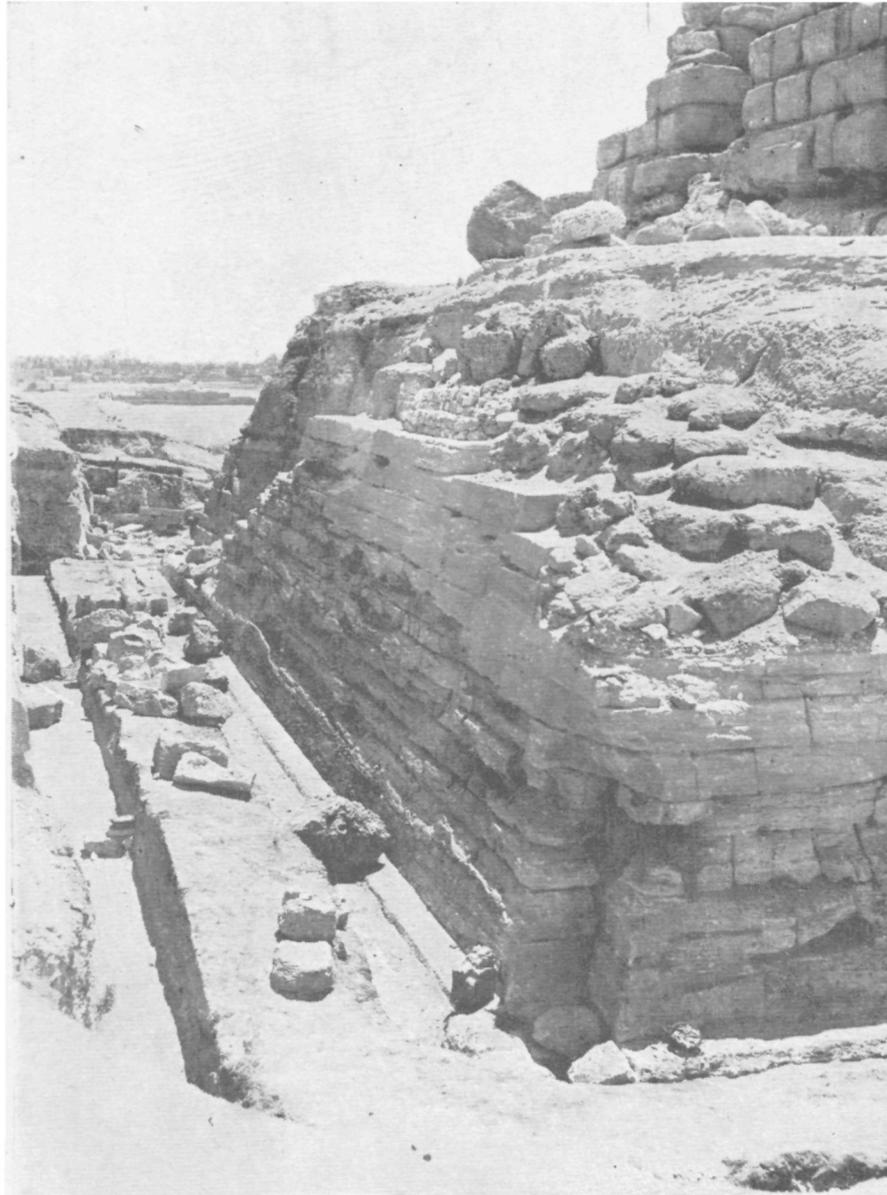
B.—The Fourth Pyramid before clearance (north-west corner).



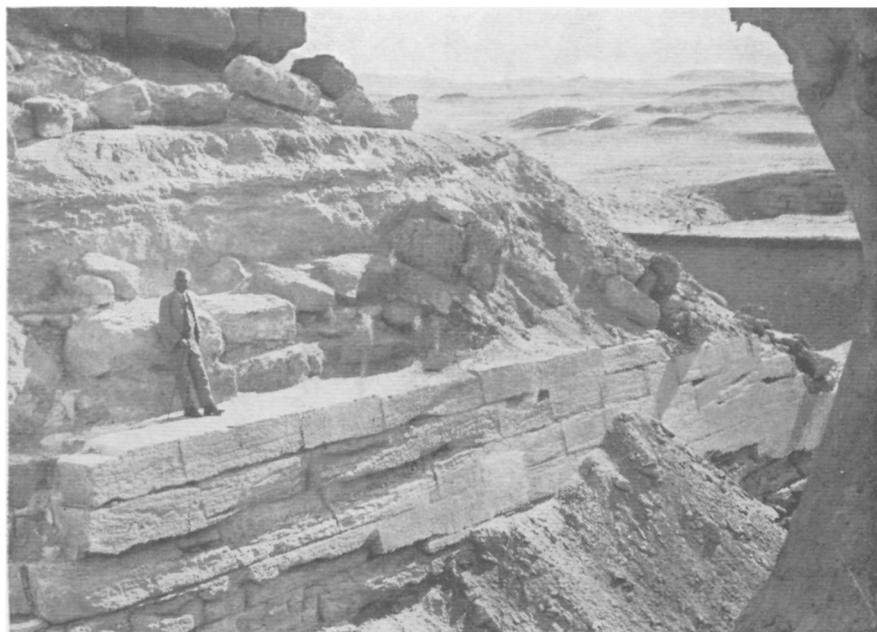
A.—The southern side of the Fourth Pyramid (showing the recessing).



B.—A general view of the Fourth Pyramid complex (from the south).



A.—North-western side of the pyramid and the girdle-wall.



B.—The northern side of the Fourth Pyramid (showing the casing stones).



The causeway and outer chapel.



A. and *B.*—Red-granite jambs of the entrance to the outer chapel.



C.—The upper part of a red granite door-jamb.



A red-granite door-jamb.



A.—A jar of red-ware.



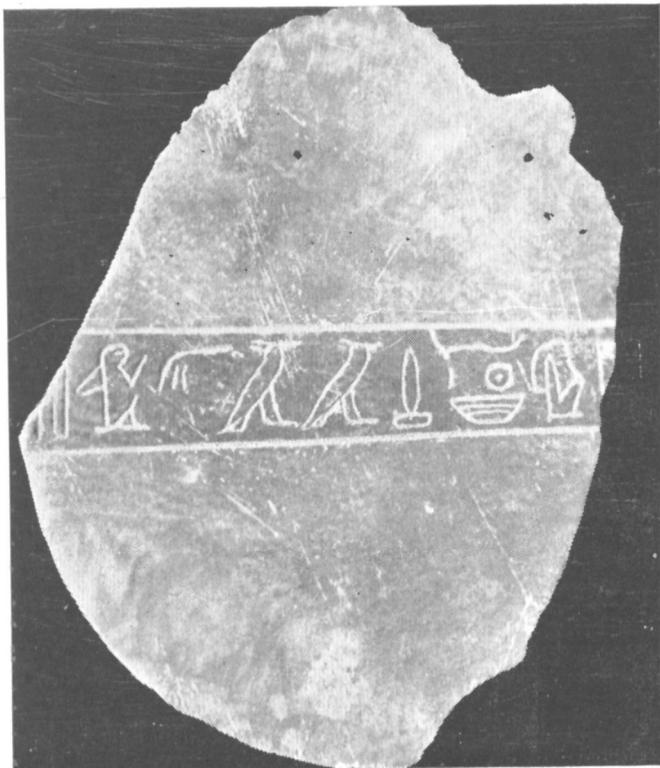
B.—A bowl of red-ware.



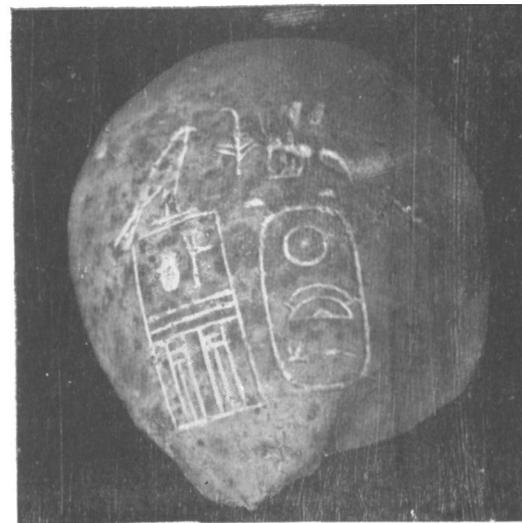
C.—A jar of dark red-ware.



D.—A jug of buff-ware.



F.—An alabaster jar-lid.



E.—A limestone mace-head of Khafra.



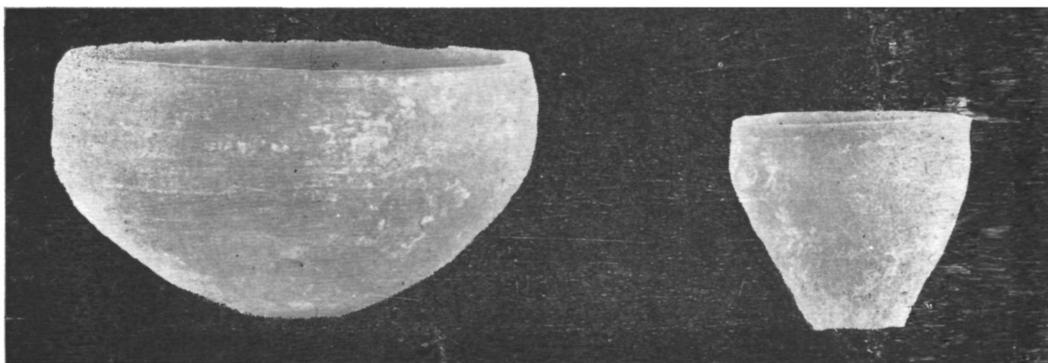
A fragment of a red-granite false-door.



A.—A fragment of a granite statuette.



B.—An inscribed slab of limestone.



C.—A deep bowl of red-ware.

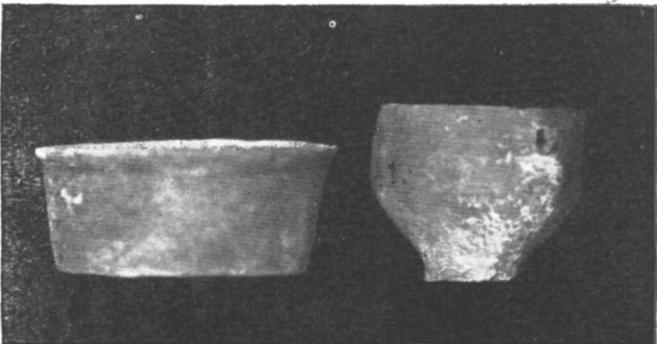
D.—A spouted vase of red-ware.



A.—A large jar of yellow-polished ware.



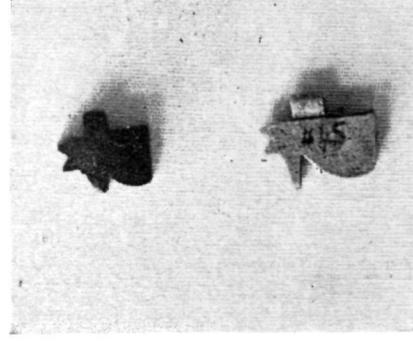
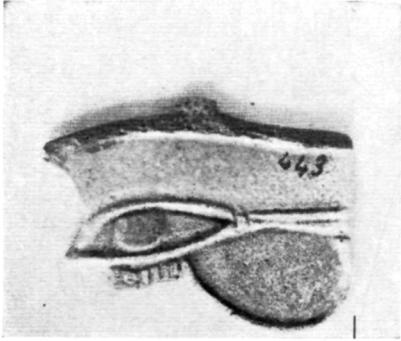
B.—An alabaster object.



C and D.—Two bowls of red-ware.

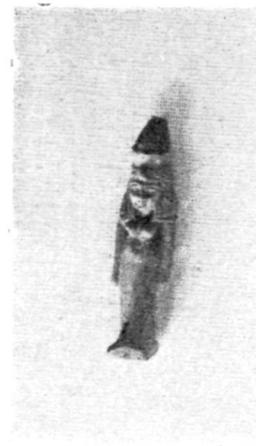


E.—A globular flask of brown-ware.



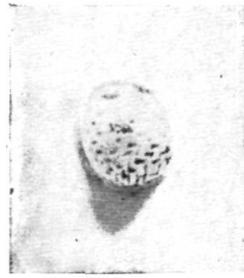
A and B.—Two divine eye amulets.

C and D.—Divine eyes.

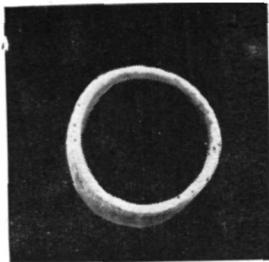


E and F.—Two figures of the god Neter-Atum.

G and H.—Two figures of the goddess Mwt.

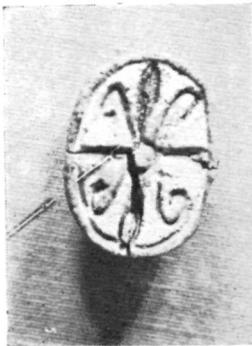


A.—A scaraboid in the form of a hedgehog.



B.—A blue faience ring.

C.—A blue faience ring.



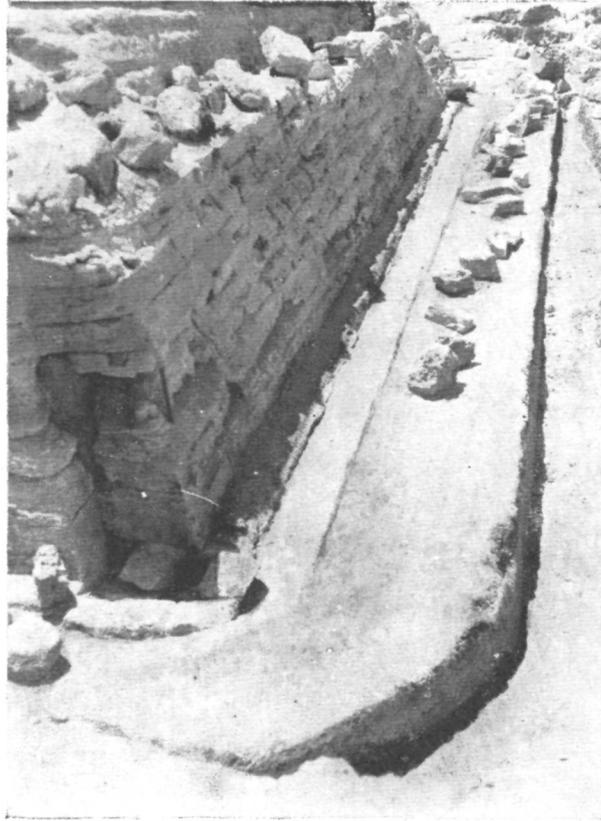
F.—A blue faience scarab.

G.—A scarab of pale blue faience



D and E.—Two blue faience figures of the god Bes.

H and I.—Amuletic figures of the goddess Sekhmet.



A.—The girdle-wall of the Fourth Pyramid (western side).



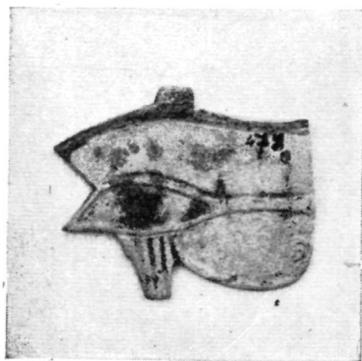
B.—The north-western corner of the girdle-wall of the Fourth Pyramid.



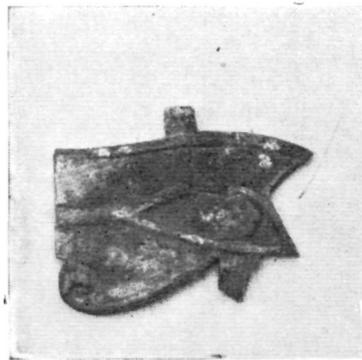
A.—The basin of the Fourth Pyramid (showing the mud-walls of later intrusive burials).



B.—A sculptured limestone slab.



A.—A divine eye of blue faience.



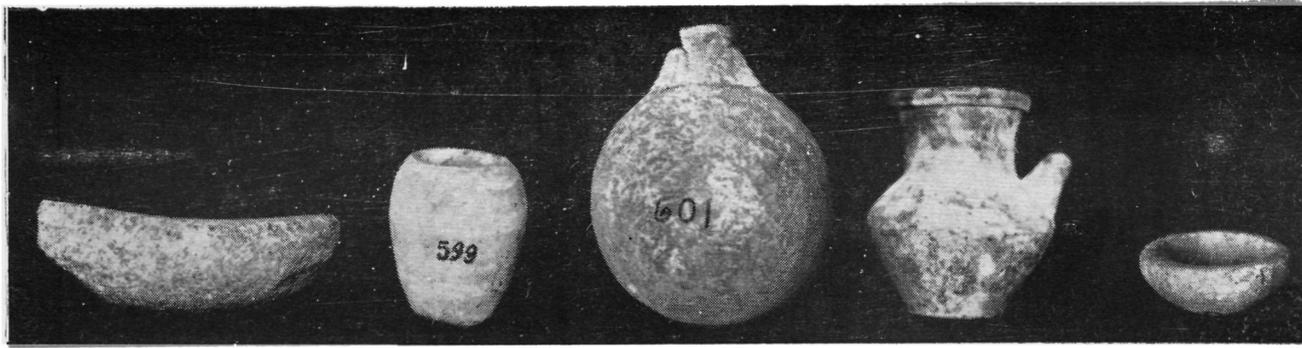
C.—A divine eye.



B and D.—Blue faience Ded amulet.



E.—A limestone head-rest.



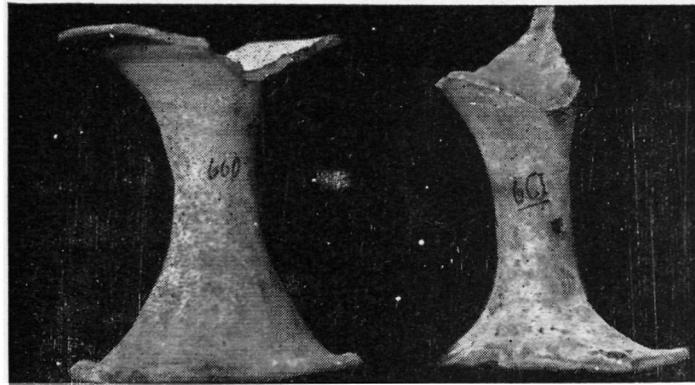
A.—A granite grindstone.

B.—An alabaster model vase.

D.—A lenticular flask of brown-ware.

E.—A jug of red-polished ware.

C.—An alabaster model cup.



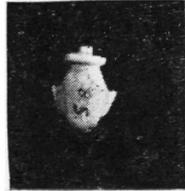
F and *G.*—Two ring stands of red-ware.



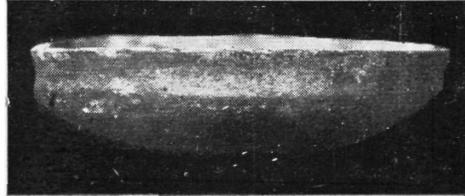
H.—The northern part of the pyramid-city.



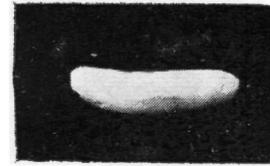
A



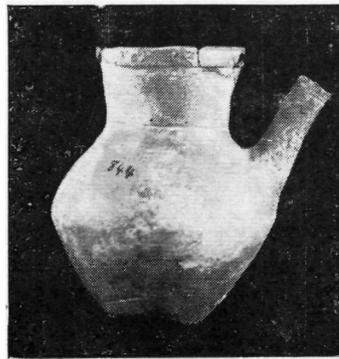
B



E



F



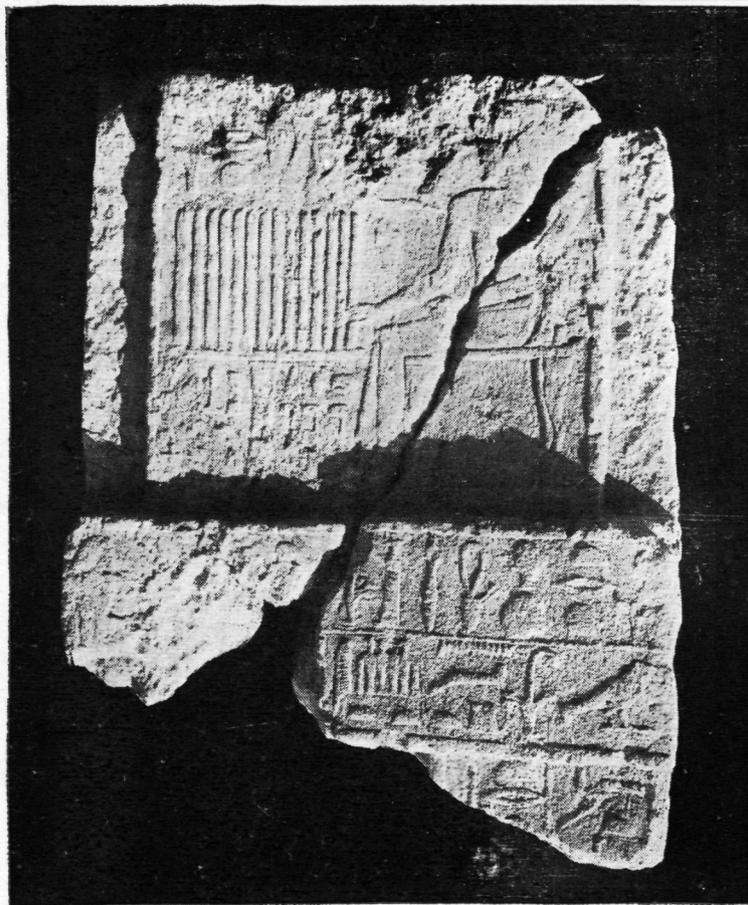
C



D

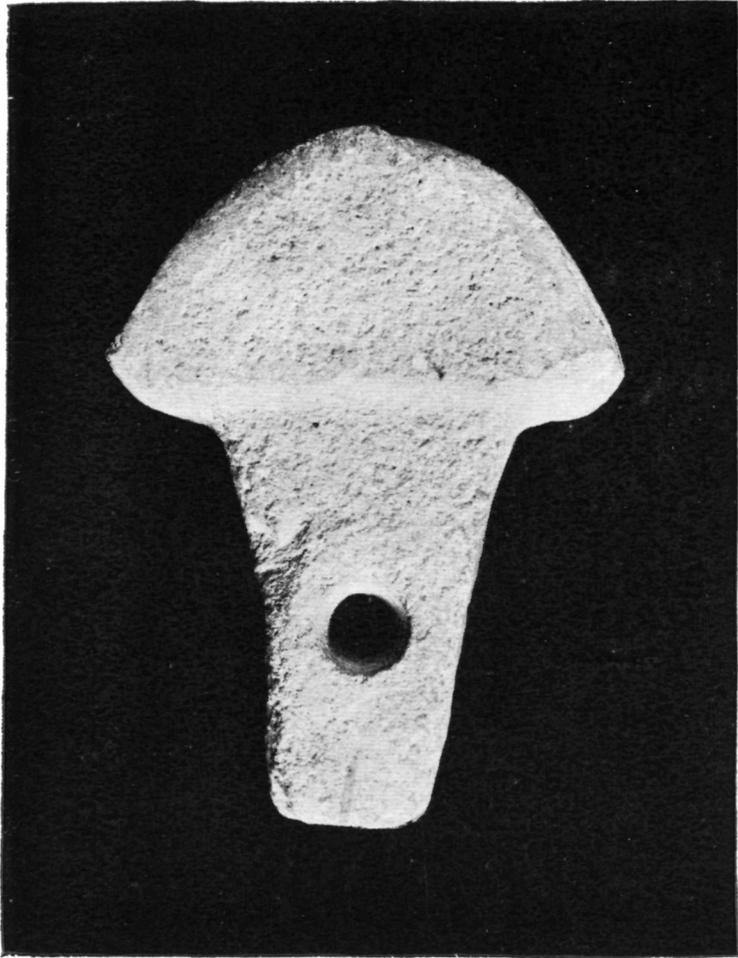


G



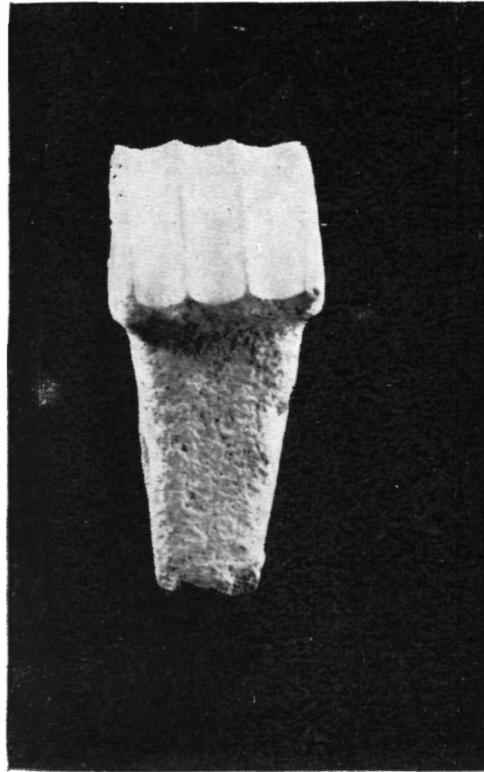
H

- A.*—A limestone object (unidentified).
B.—A green faience heart amulet.
C.—A jug of red-polished ware.
D.—A broken ushabti figure.
E.—A bowl of brown-ware.
F.—An alabaster model plate.
G.—A blue faience cup.
H.—A fragment of a white limestone false-door

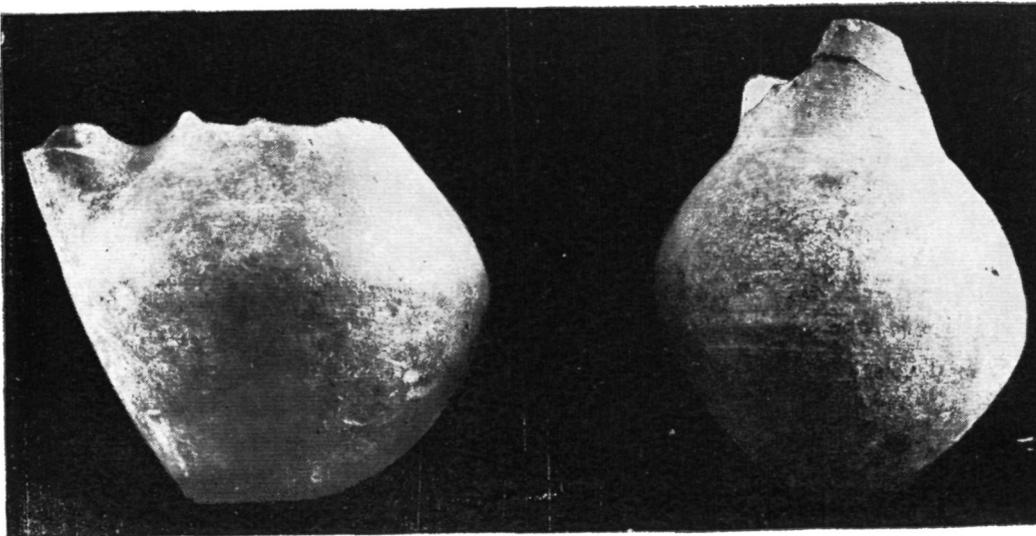


A.—Front view.

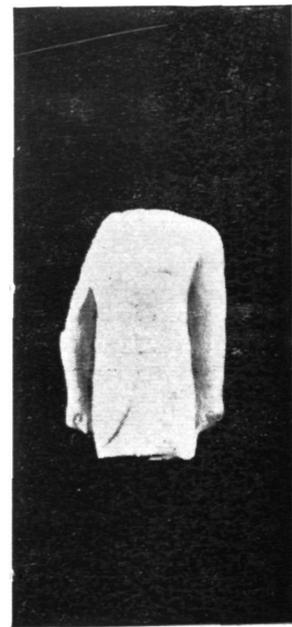
A basalt pulley.



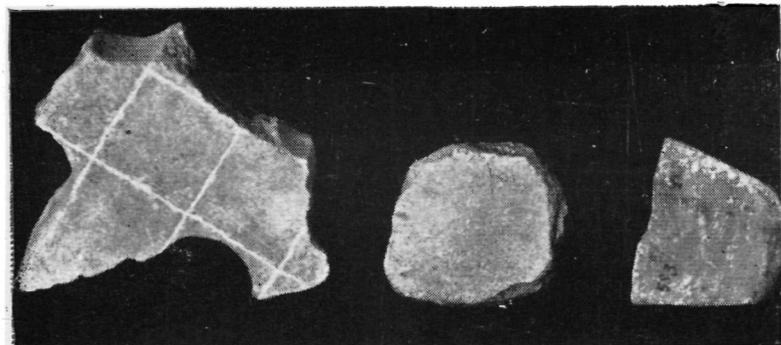
B.—Side-view.



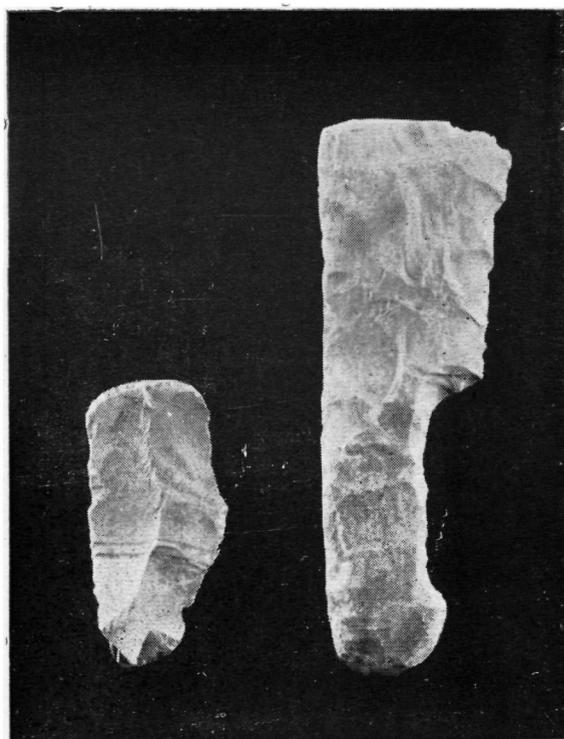
C and D.—Two jugs of red-ware.



E.—A torso of
a limestone statuette.



A, B and C.—Fragments of alabaster.



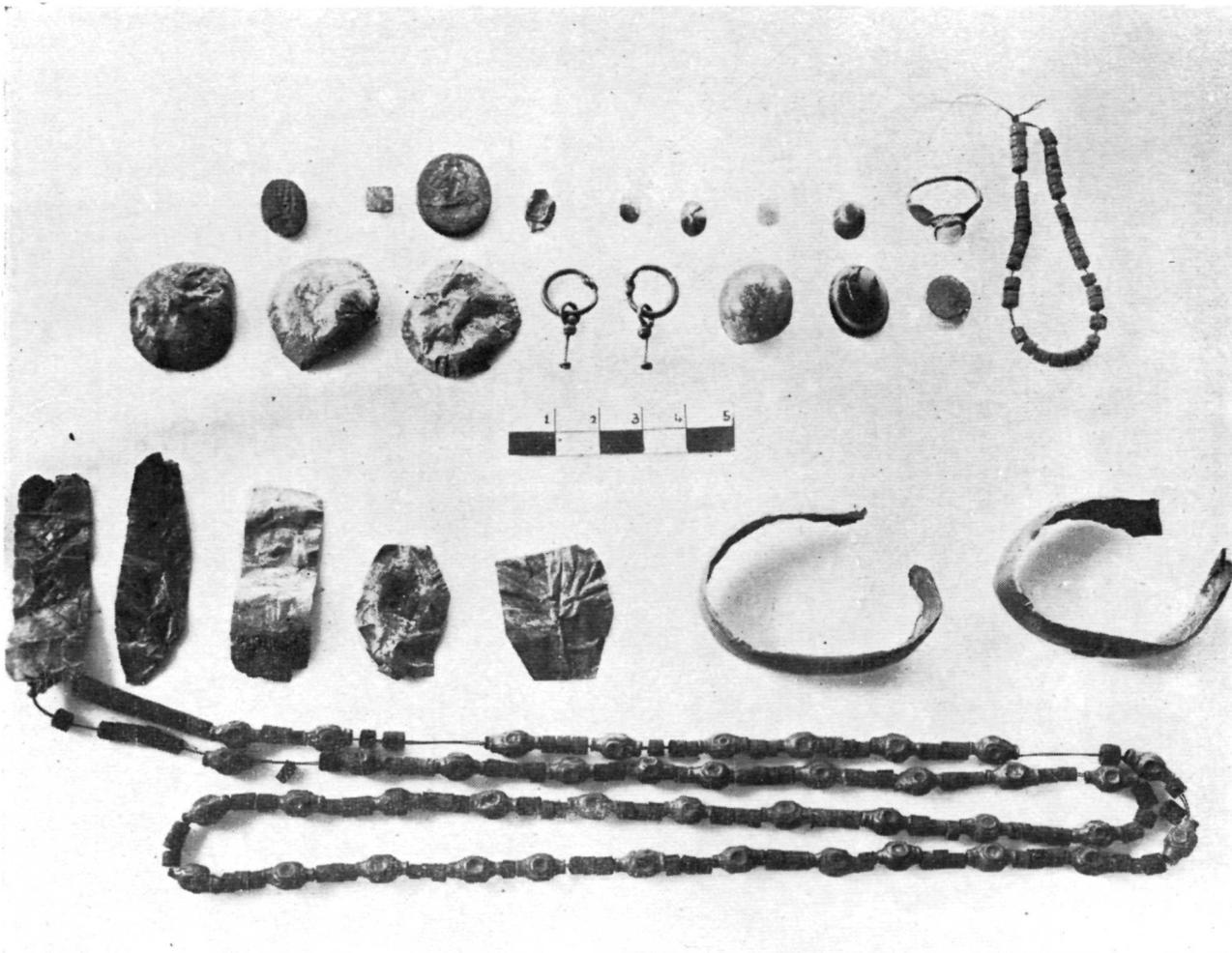
D.—Damaged flint implements.



E.—A view of the pyramid city (showing the northern end of the high mound of sand and debris extending south to cover the site of the Valley-Temple).



A.—Palques of Embossed sheet-gold found on a late Mummy.



B.—Jewelry found with a late mummy of a girl.



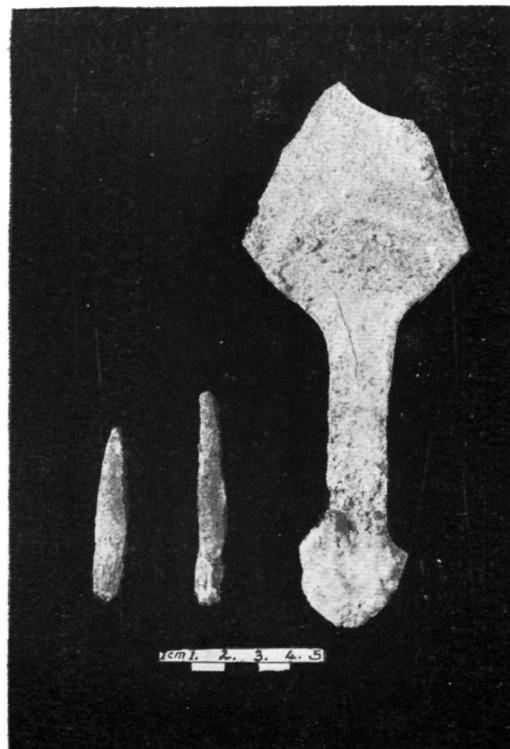
A late mummy of a girl (with a modelled plaster casing).



A.—Basin of the Valley-Temple.



B.—A fragment of a royal statuette of schist.



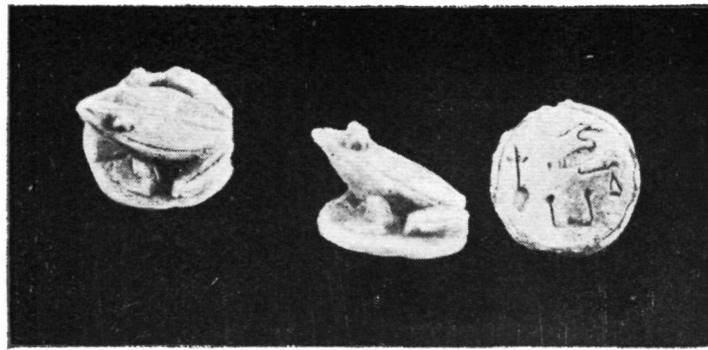
C.—Copper dagger and tools (found with a contracted skeleton).



A.—A divine eye. B.—An amuletic cat with three kittens.



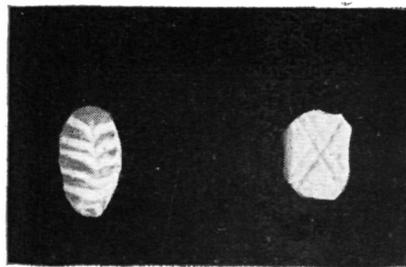
C.—The goddess Bastet.



D.—A blue faience seal in the form of a frog.



E.—The god Maḥes.



F.—A glass bead. G.—A faience bead.



A.—The head of a limestone statuette.



B.—A faience gaming piece.



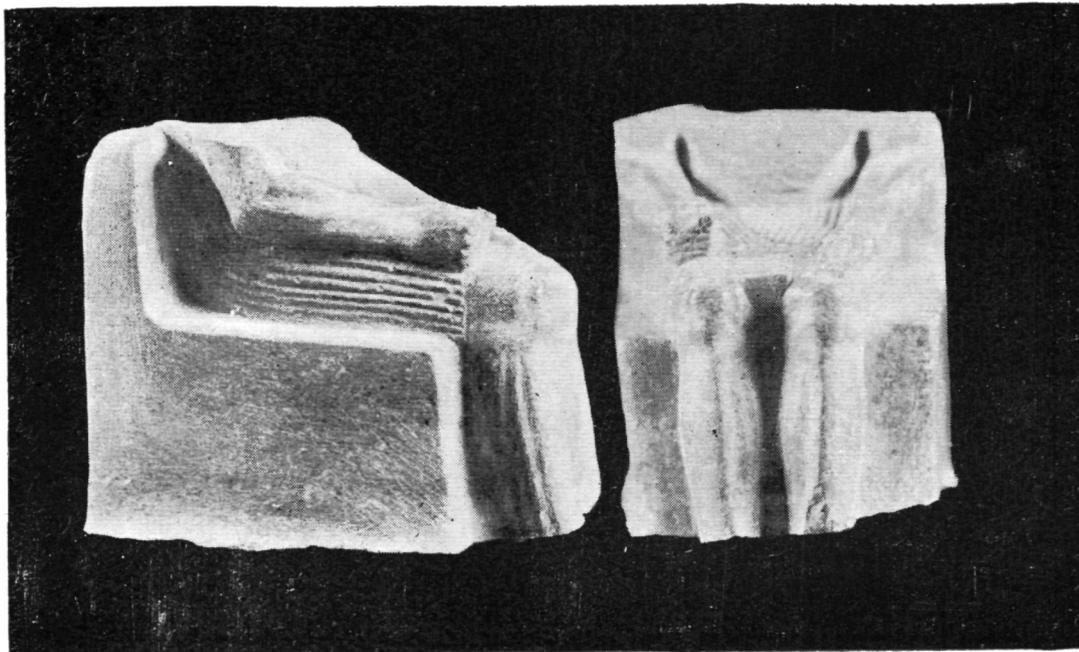
C.—A pot of red-ware.



D.—The basin and the Valley-Temple.



A.—The pedestal of a statue of Khafra used as a door-socket.



B.—A schist statuette of a king.



A.—The vestibule of the Valley-Temple (showing the incense burner).



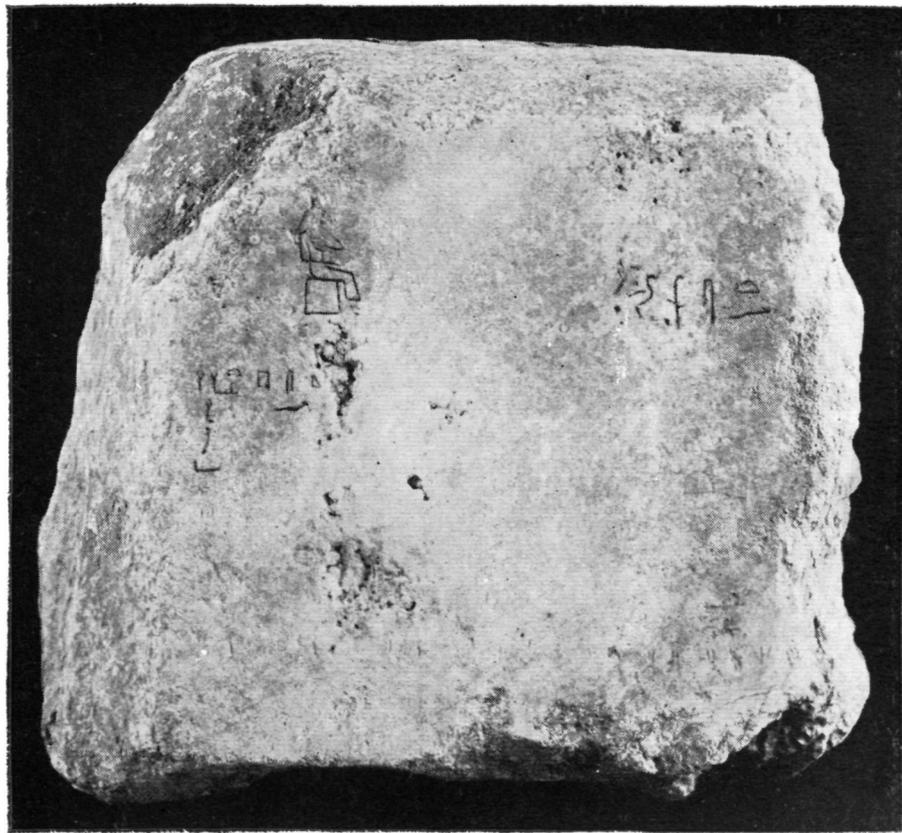
B.—A damaged sphinx of schist.



A.—A fragment of diorite bearing the names of Khafra.



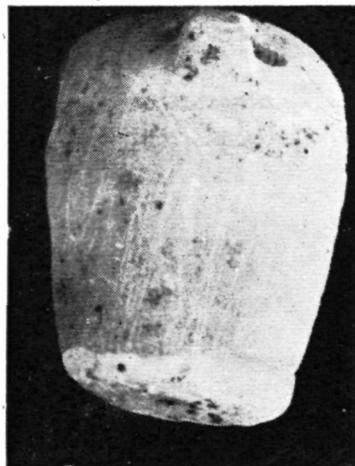
B.—A fragment of diorite.



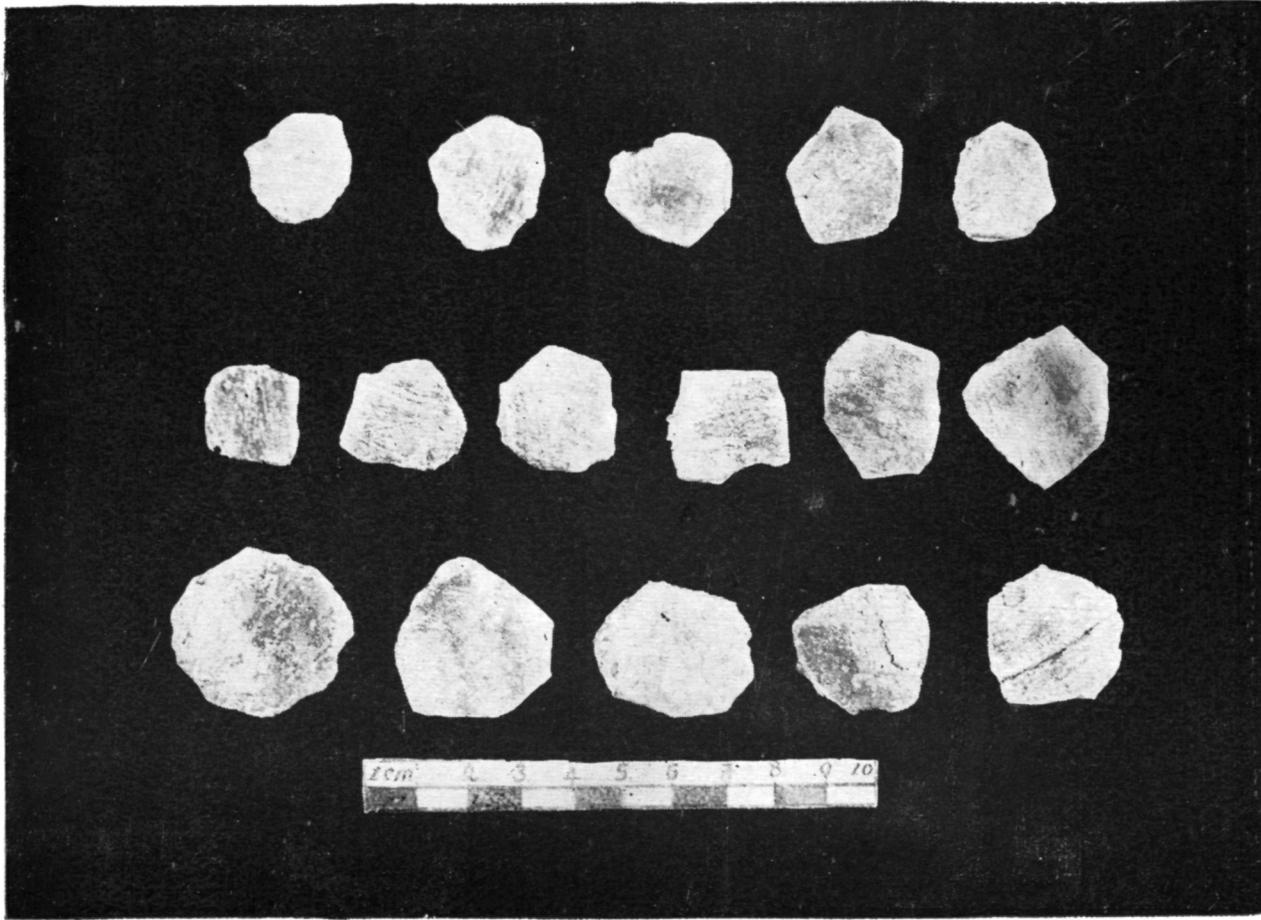
C.—An alabaster offering-table.



A.—The Valley-Temple from the south.



B.—A limestone model vase.



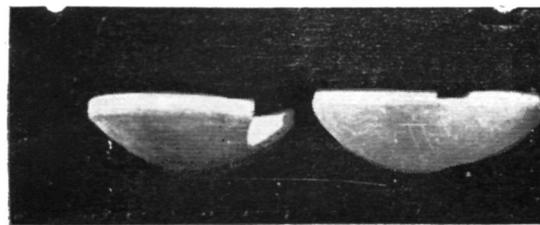
A.—“Dogs” for playing “Siga”.



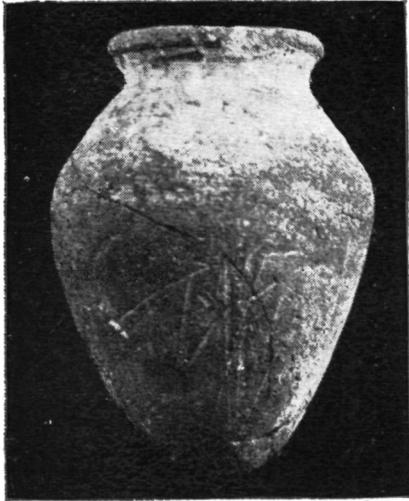
B.—A white-painted jar.



C.—A pot of red-ware.



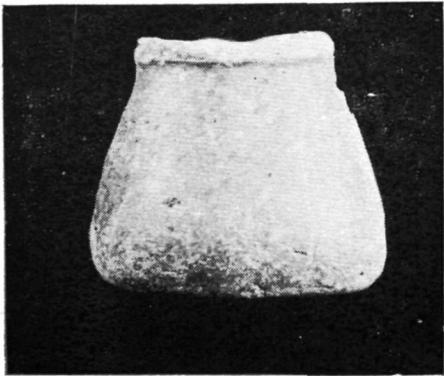
D.—Drinking bowls of red-ware.



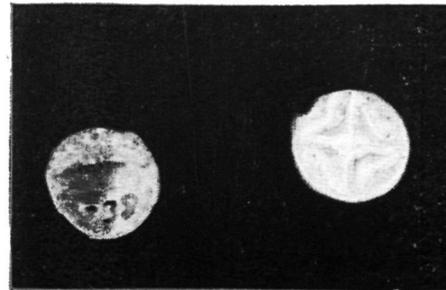
A.—A jar of brown-ware.



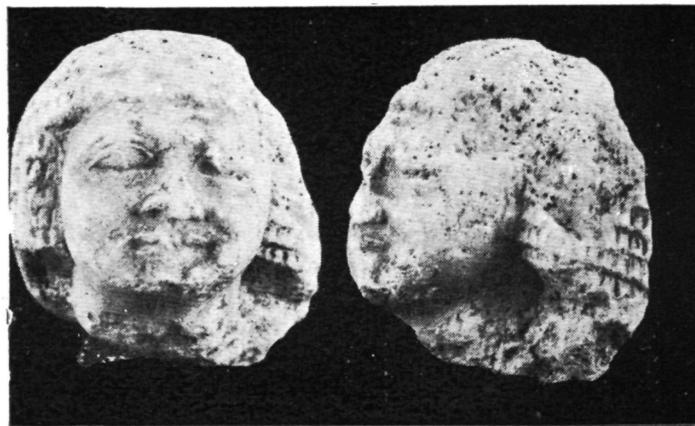
C.—An alabaster vase.



B.—An alabaster jar.



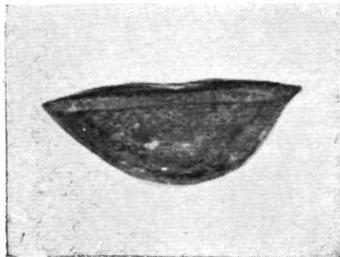
D.—A brown limestone button.



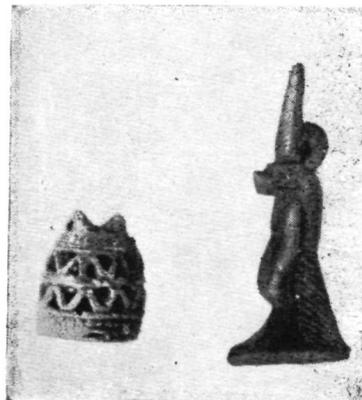
E.—The head of a limestone statuette.



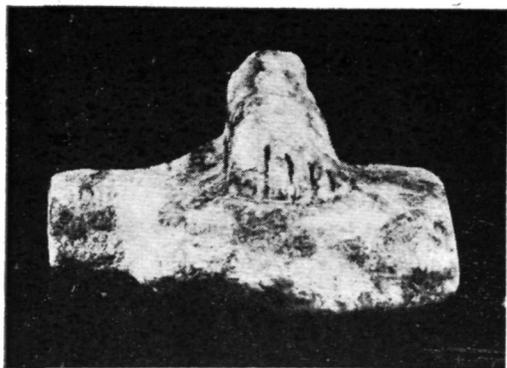
The Valley-Temple (from the east).



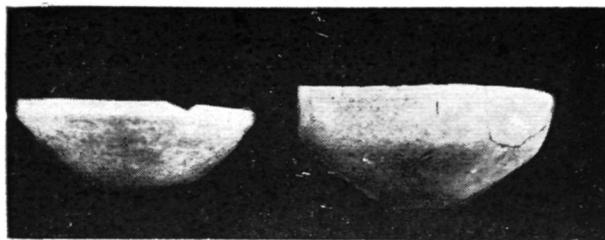
A.—An eye socket for a statue.



F.—A faience basket G.—The goddess
containing a Tawrt.
miniature cat.



B.—A foot of a granite statuette.



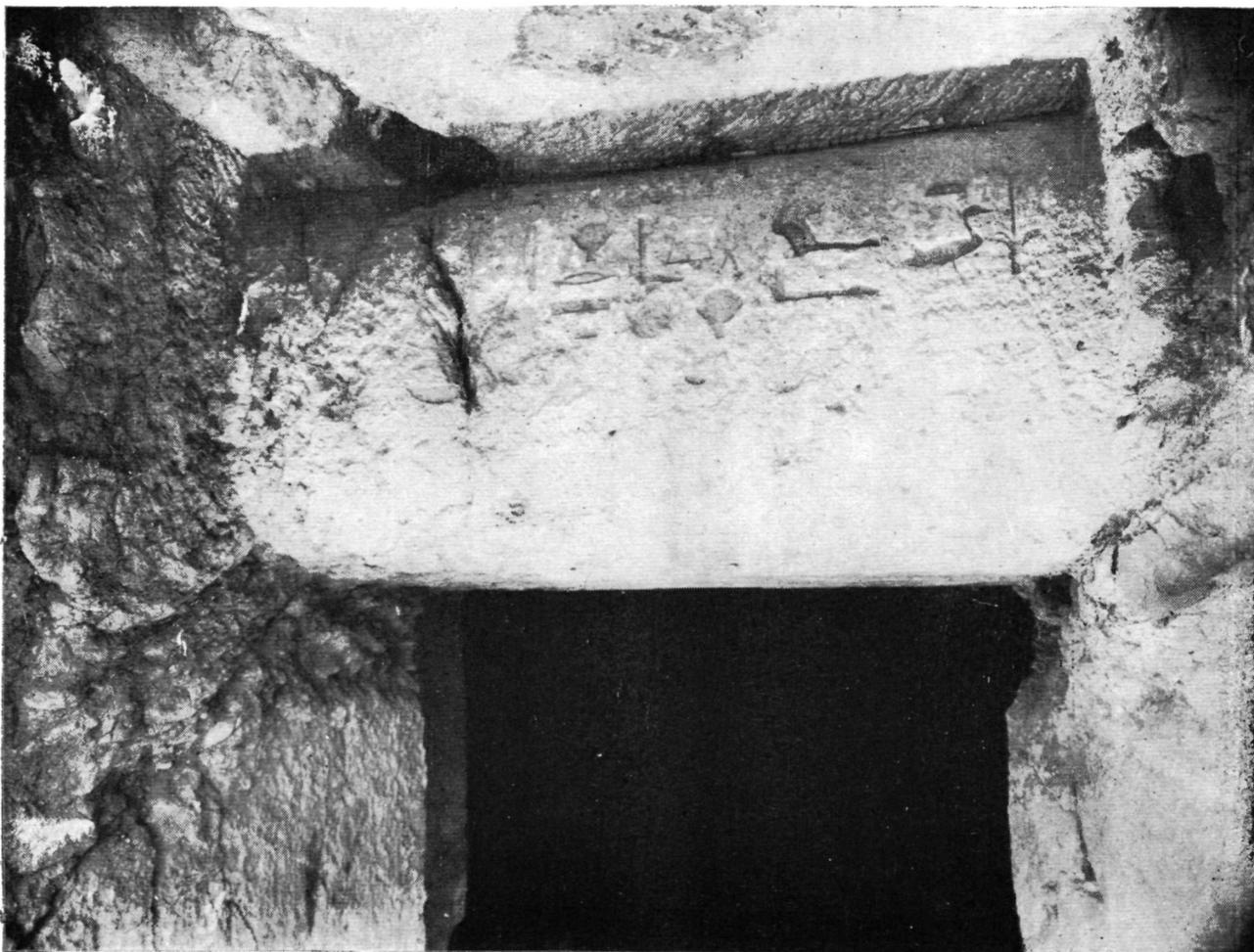
E.—Drinking bowls of red-ware.



C.—A faience bead in the form
of a lotus flower



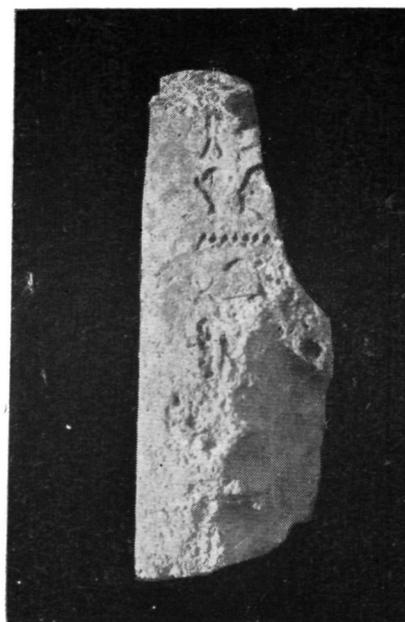
D.—A bowl of red-ware.



A.—The drum of the entrance.



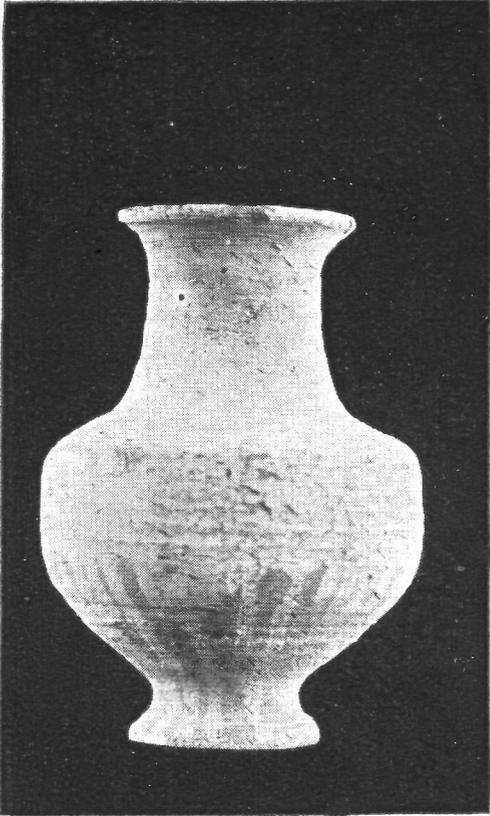
C.—The left-hand jamb of the entrance.



B.—The right-hand jamb of the entrance.



The chronological inscription of the northern wall of the second chapel.



A.—A pottery vase.



B.—An amuletic figure of a cat.



C.—A faience figure of the goddess Sekhmet.



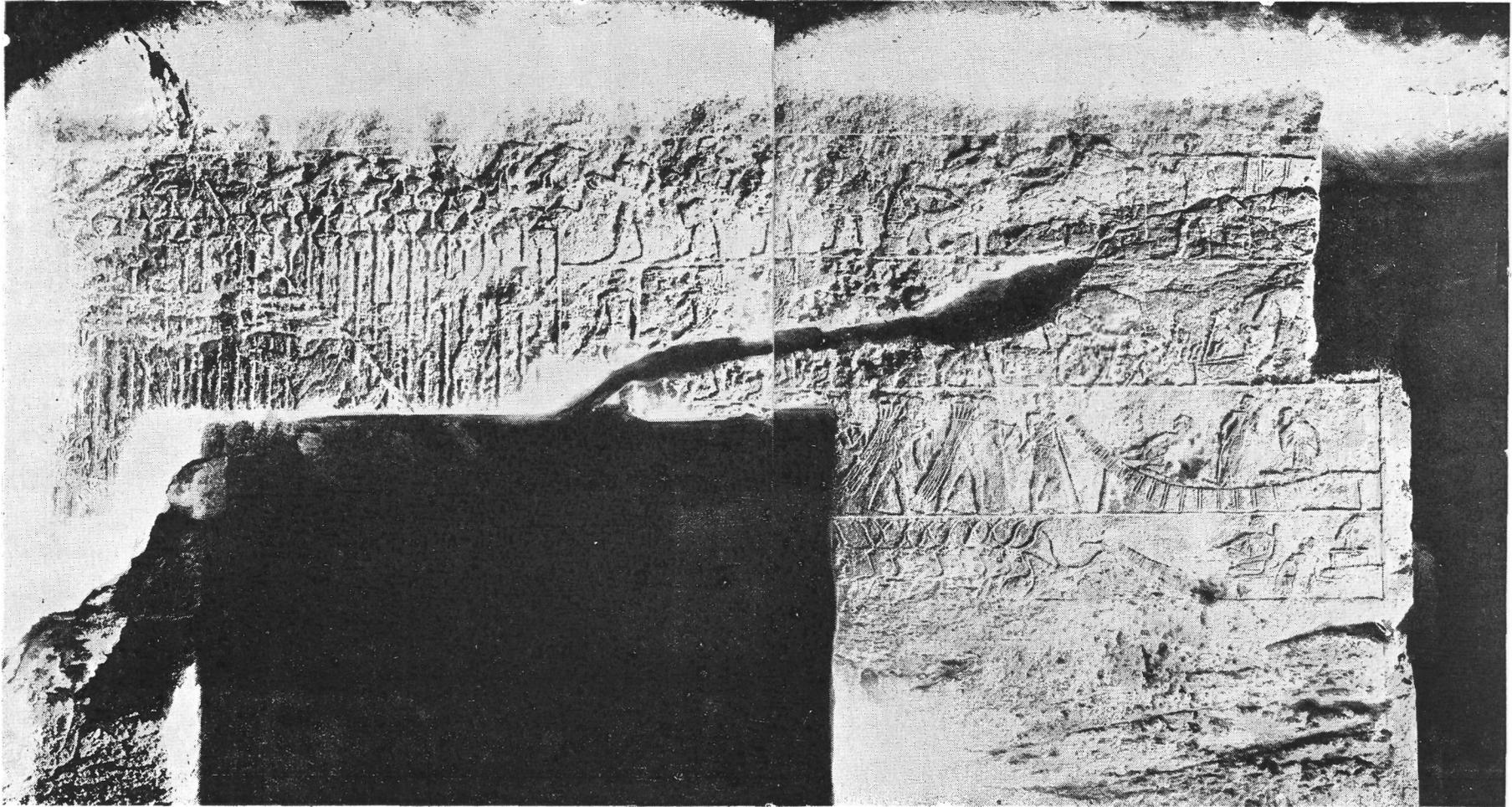
D.—A doll of unbaked clay.



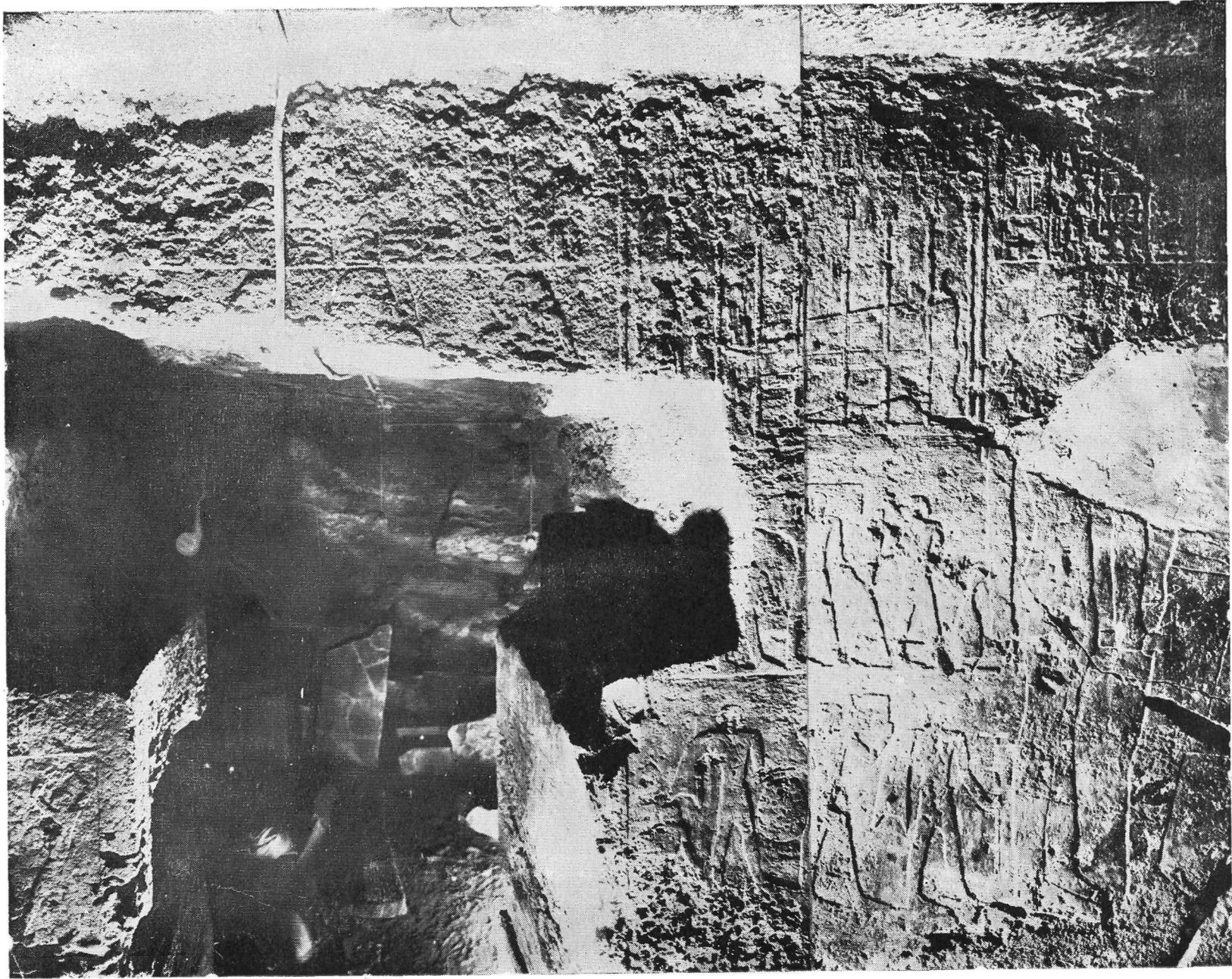
A.—A fragment of a lintel.



B.—Entrance to inner room. Left inner thickness.



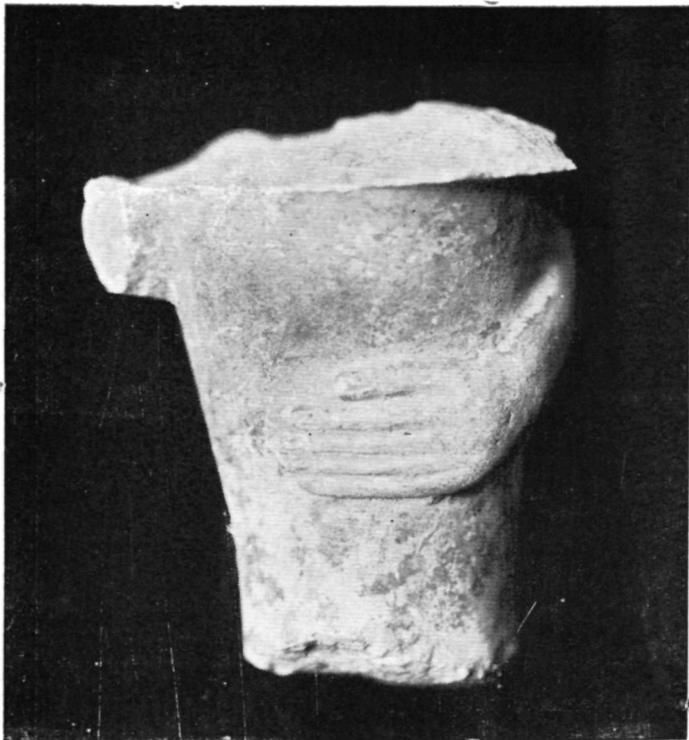
The western wall of the first chapel.



The eastern wall of the inner chapel.



A.—A damaged group of limestone statuettes.



B.—A fragment of a limestone statuette.



C.—The torso of a white limestone statue of a woman.



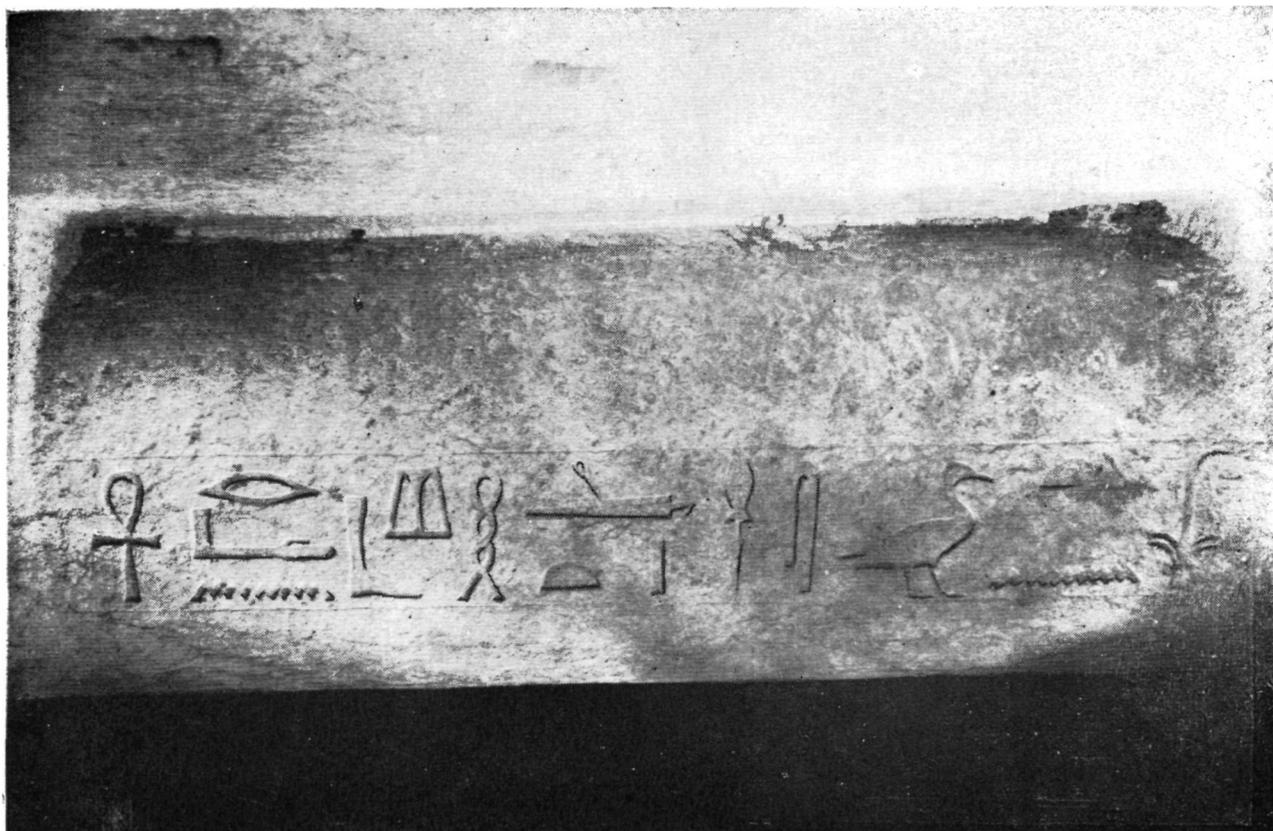
A.—The drum of the entrance.



B.—The left-hand thickness.



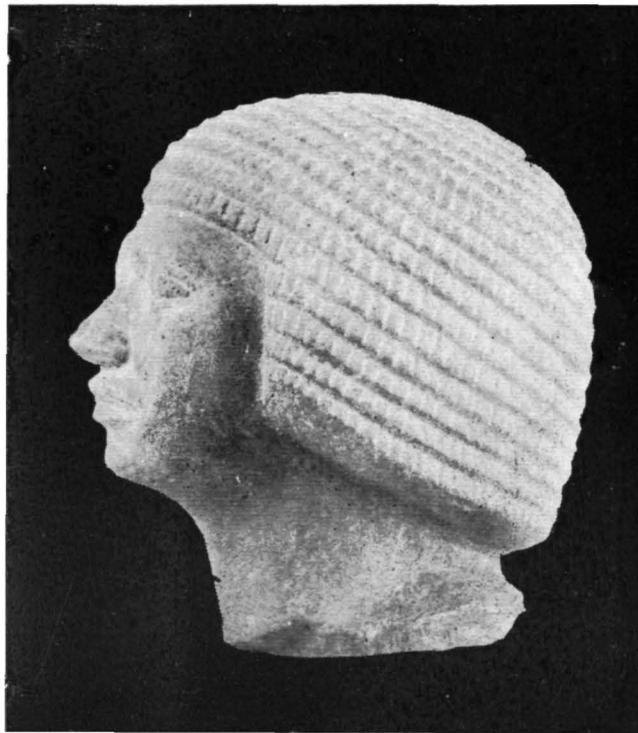
A.—The lintel of the entrance.



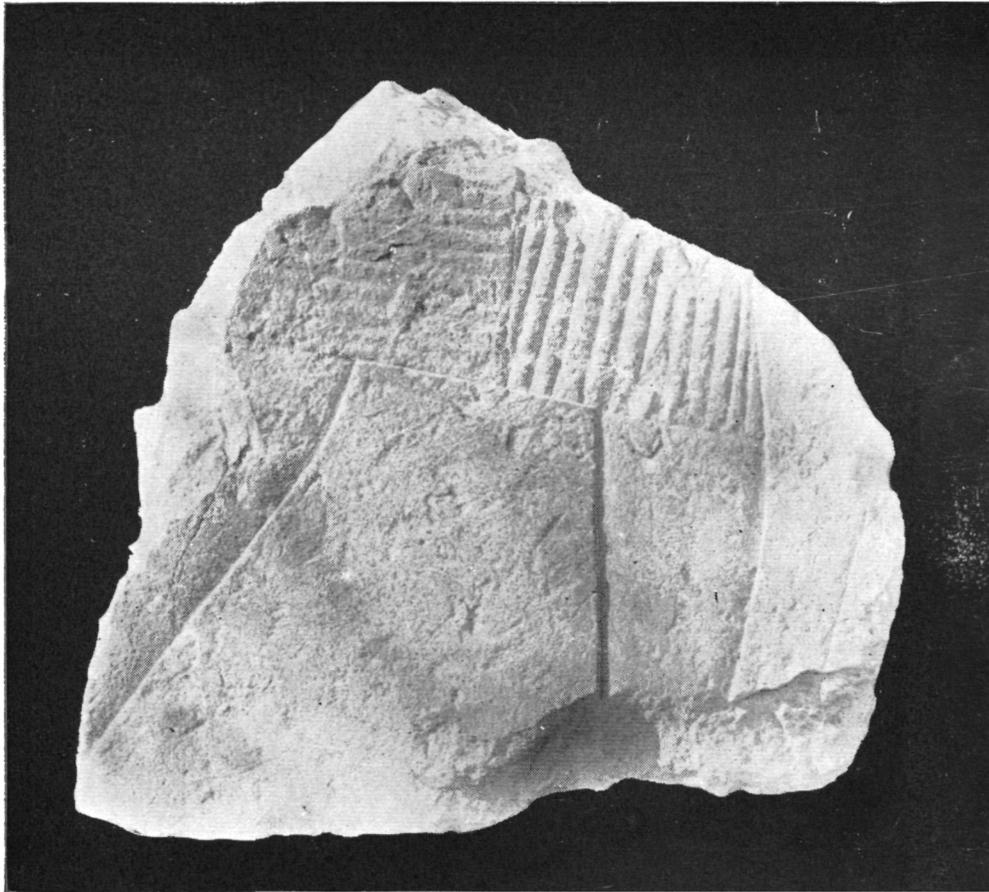
B.—The drum of the entrance.



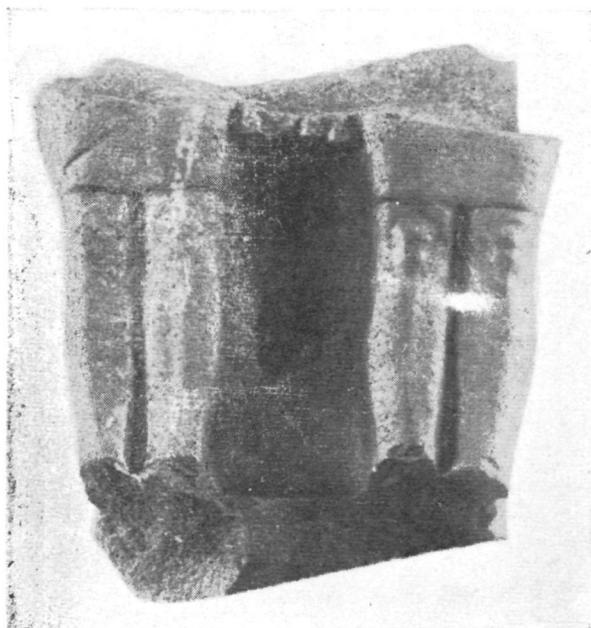
A.—The head of a basalt statuette.



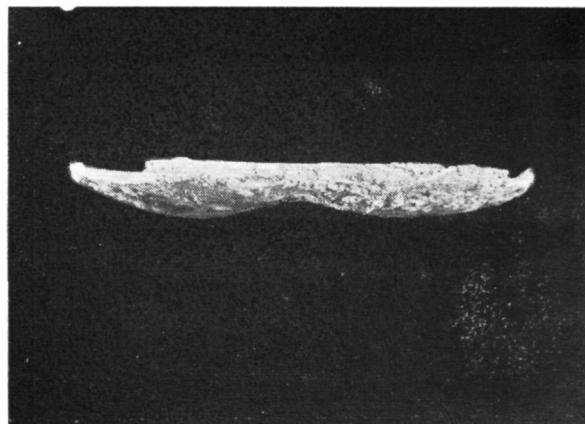
B.—The same head after restoration.



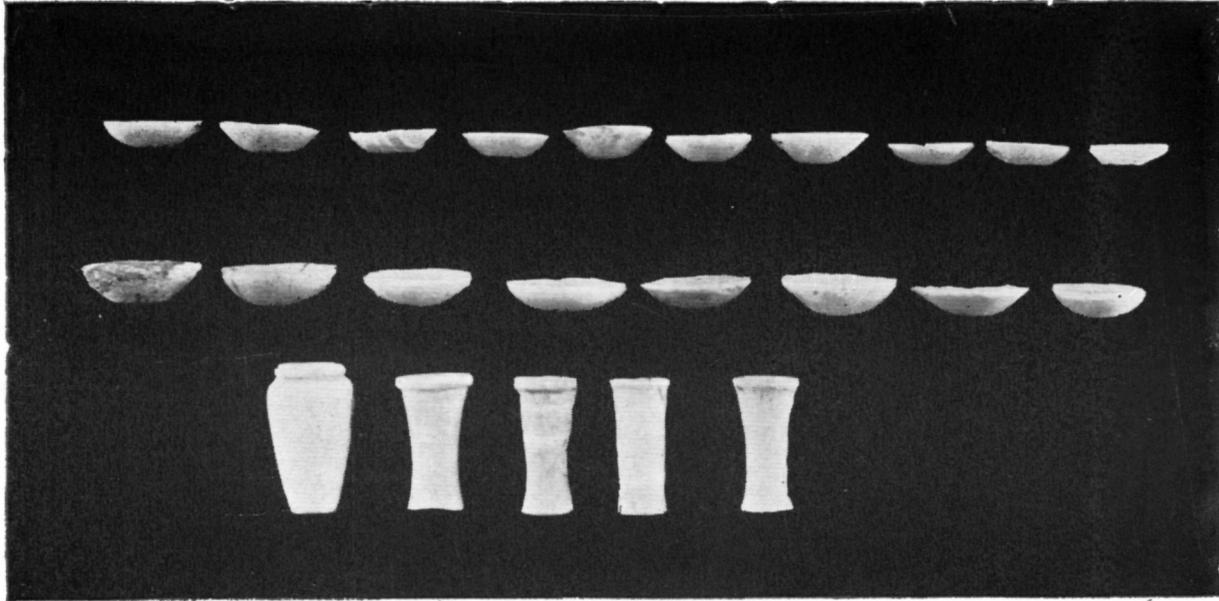
A.—A fragment of sculptured limestone.



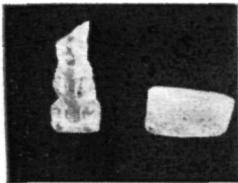
B.—The lower part of a basalt group.



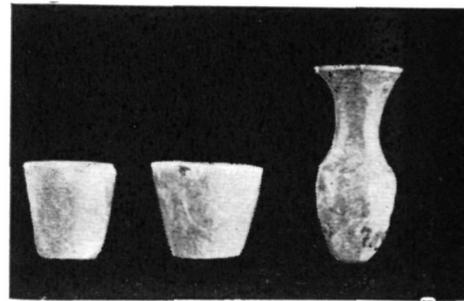
C.—A copper plate.



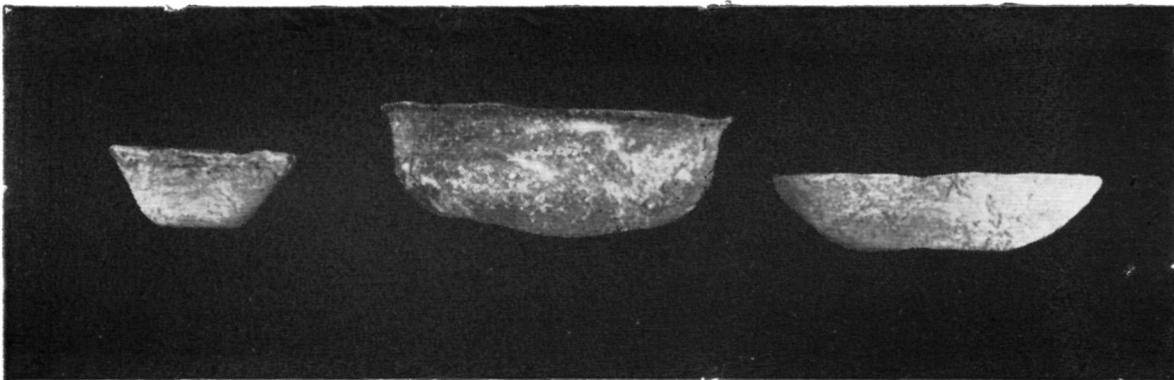
A.—Alabaster model vases.



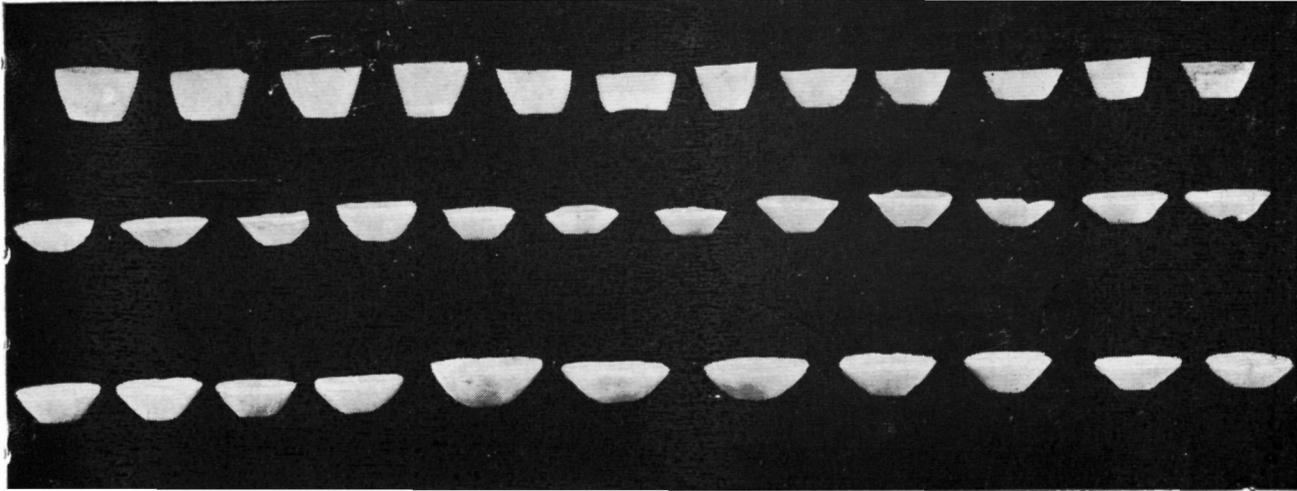
B.—A cat of rock-crystal and a small cup.



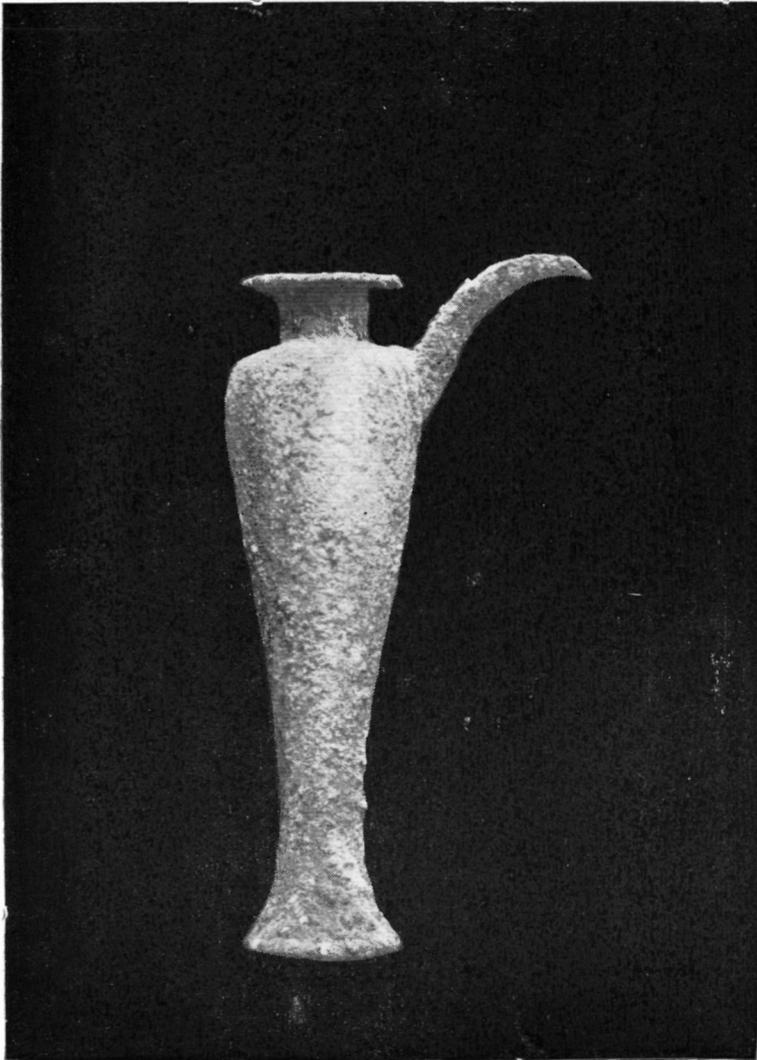
C.—Obsidian model vessels.



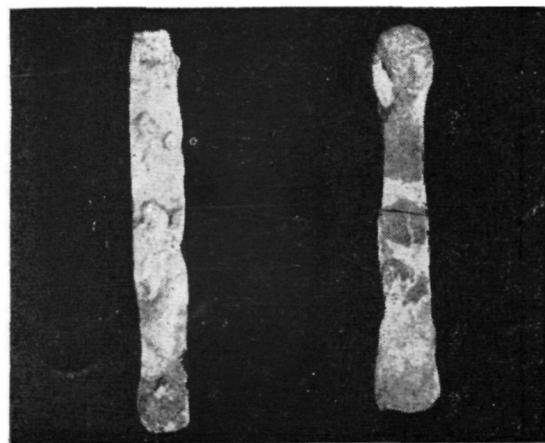
D.—Copper vessels.



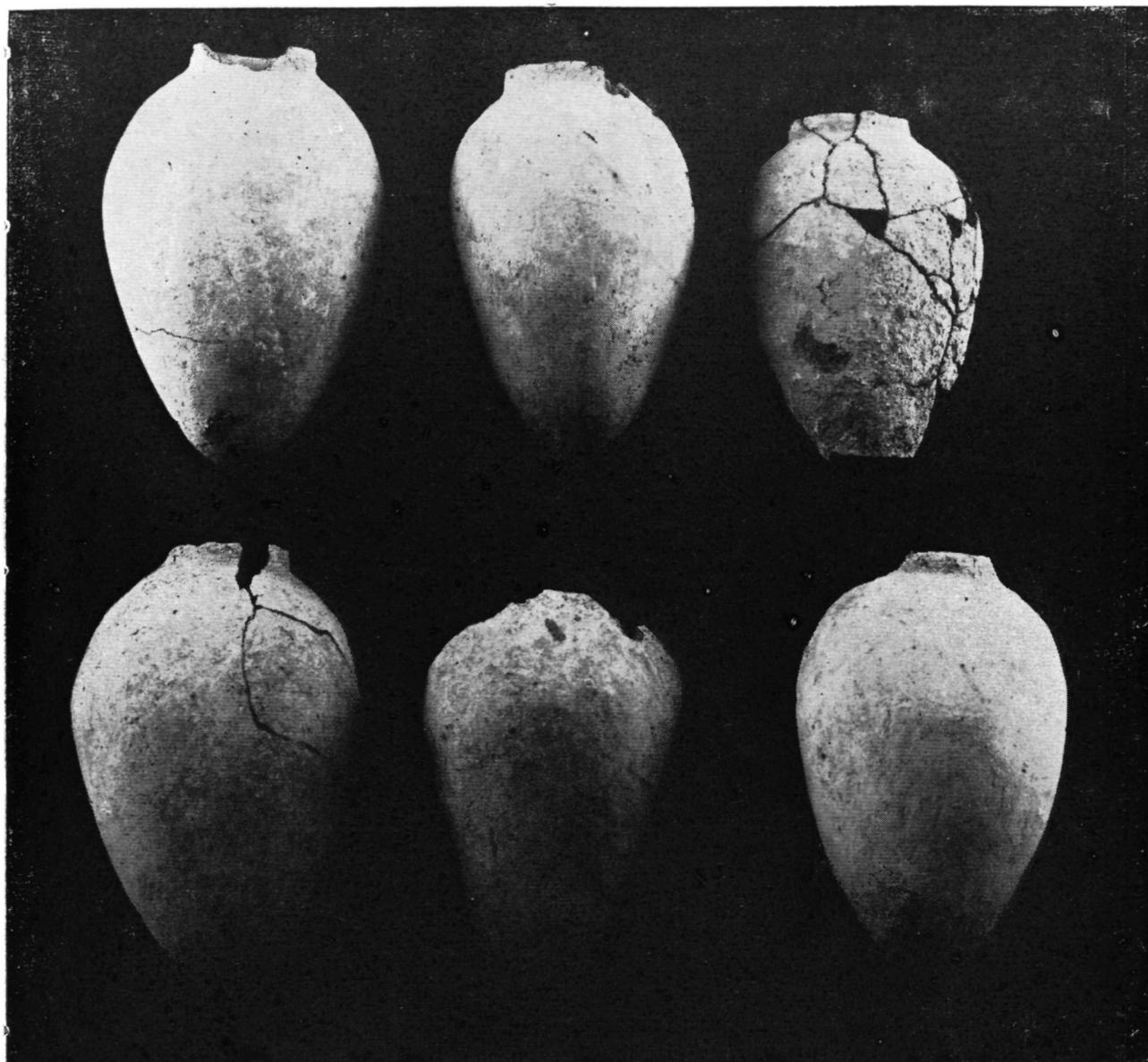
A.—Alabaster model vessels.



B.—A copper *Ḳebḥ* vase.



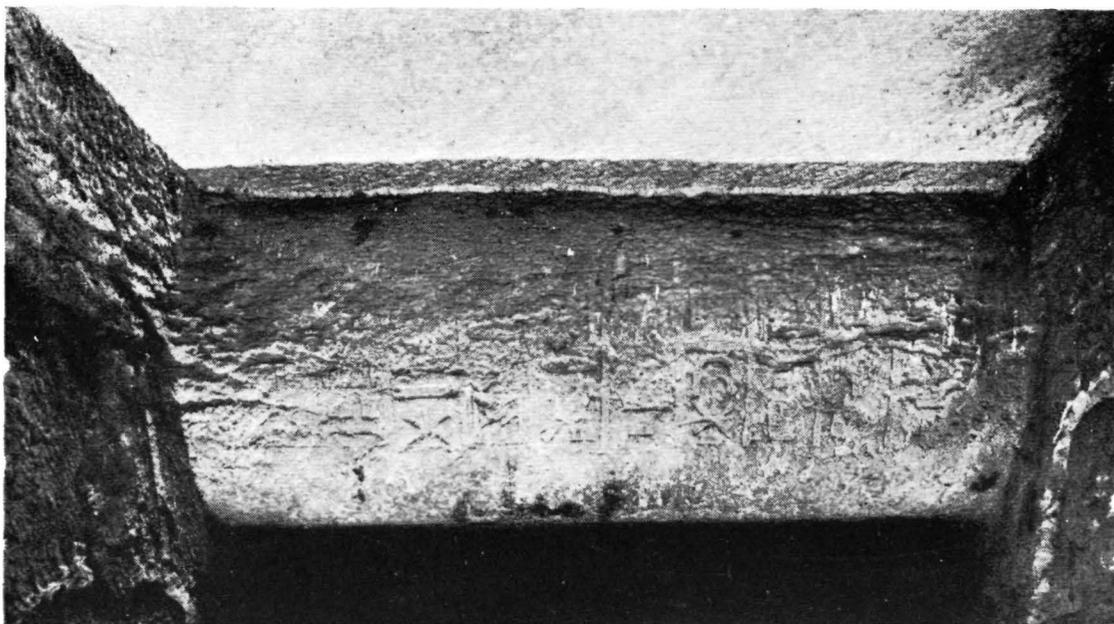
C.—Two copper chisels.



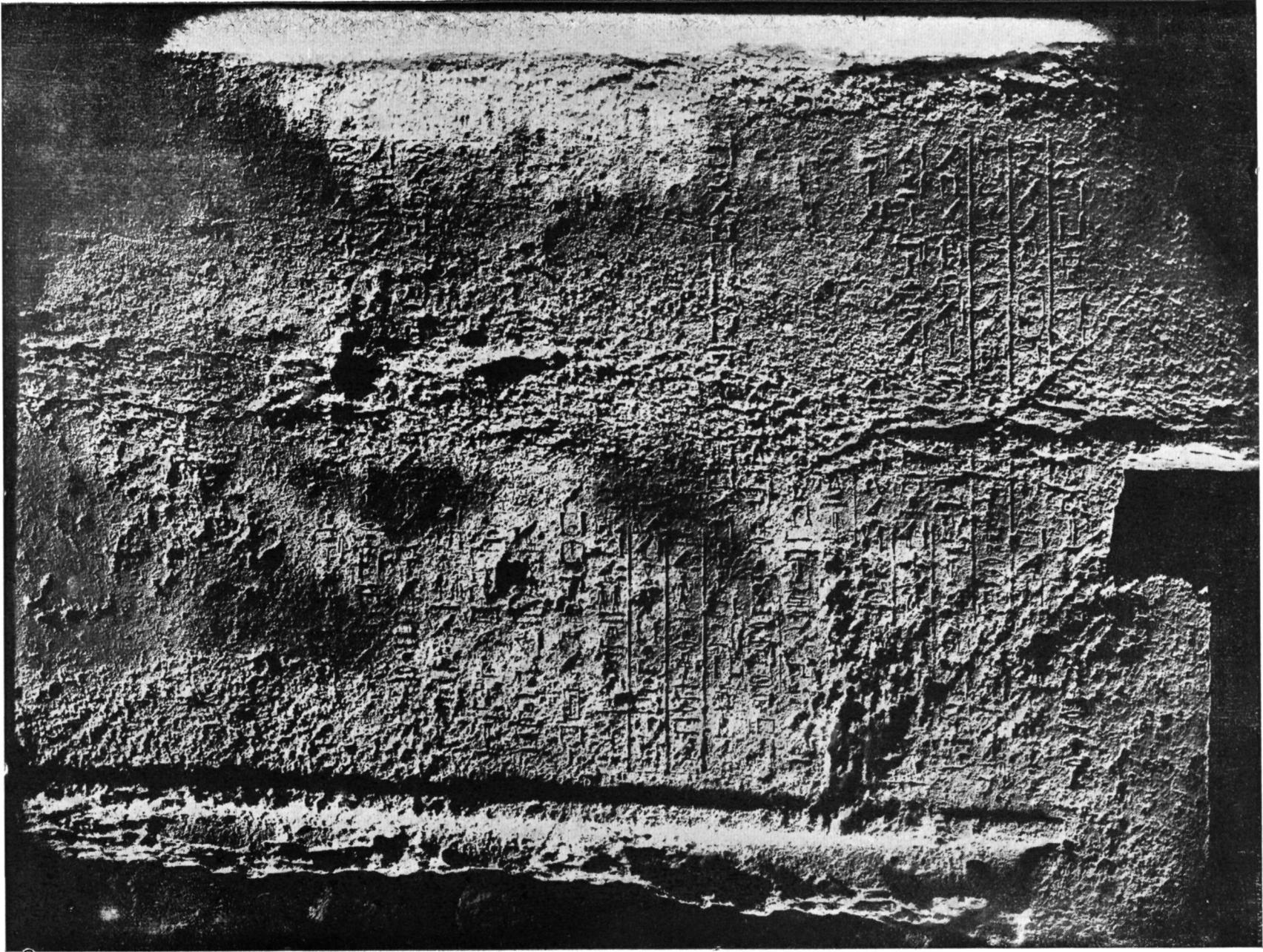
Six jars of brown-ware.



A.—The main entrance.



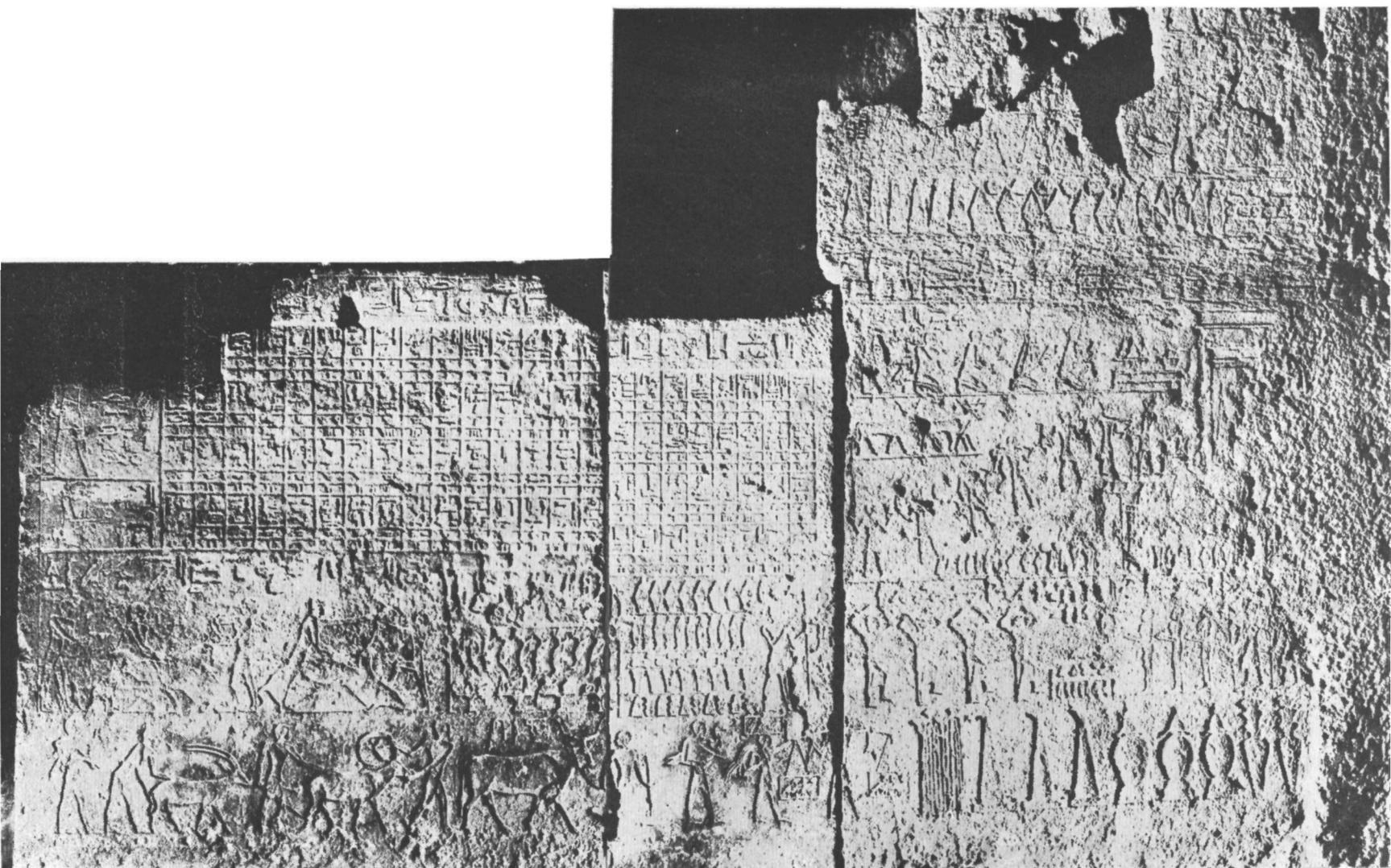
B.—The drum of the main entrance.



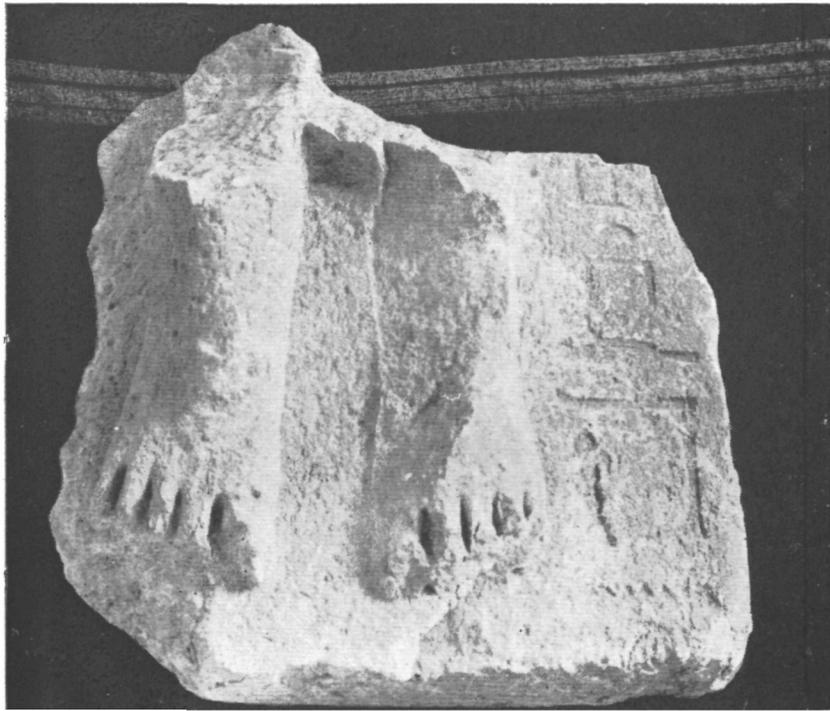
Inscription on the eastern wall.



The northern wall.



The southern wall.



A.—The feet and pedestal of a limestone statue.



B.—A fragment of a limestone statuette of Debehen.



A.—A bowl and large pot of red-ware.



B, C and D.—Fragments of a life-sized statue.

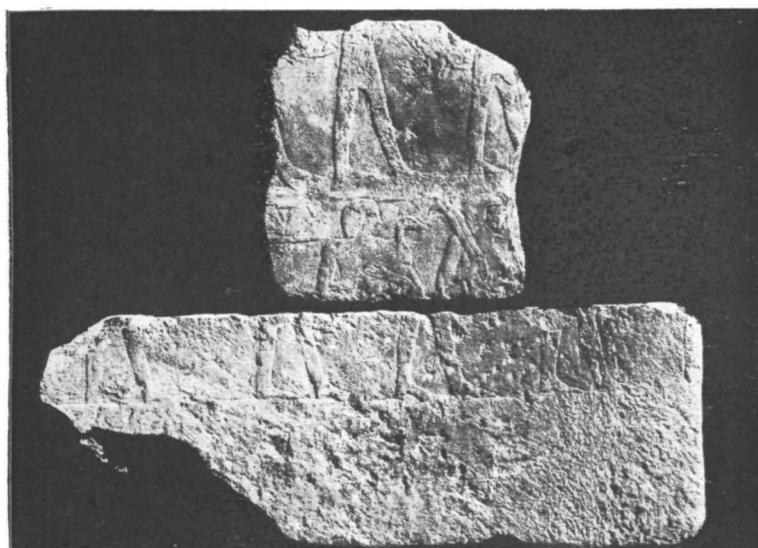
E.—Alabaster model Plate.



A.—The northern wall of the inner chapel.



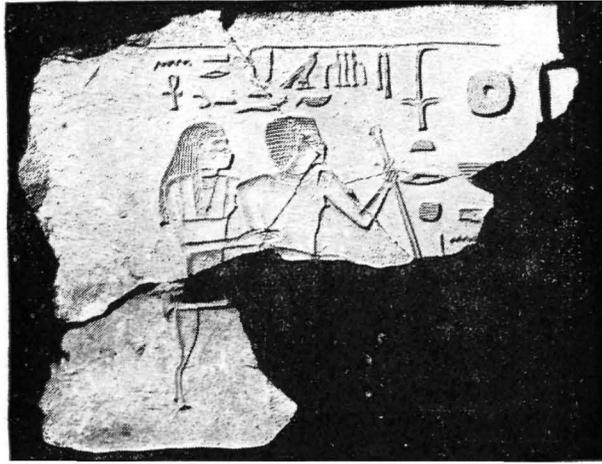
B.—The southern wall of the inner chapel.



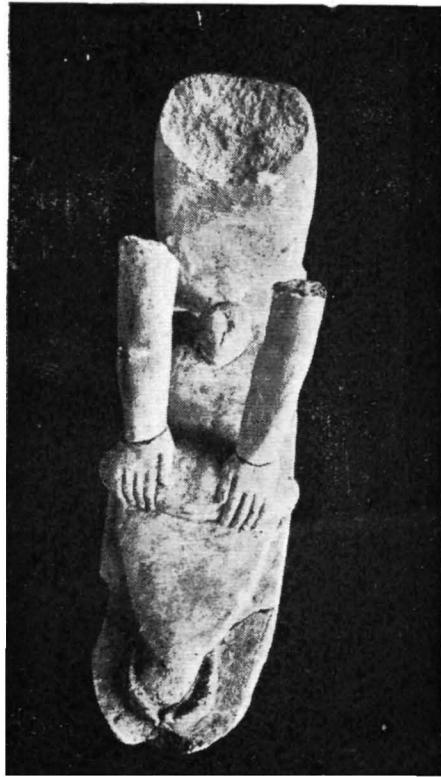
C.—Fragments of the southern wall.



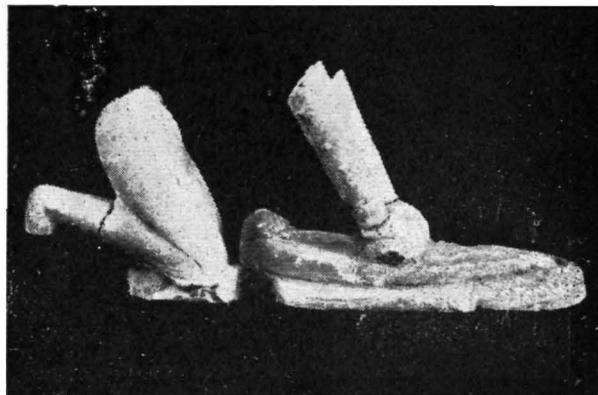
The false-door of Ny-kaw-her.



A.



B.

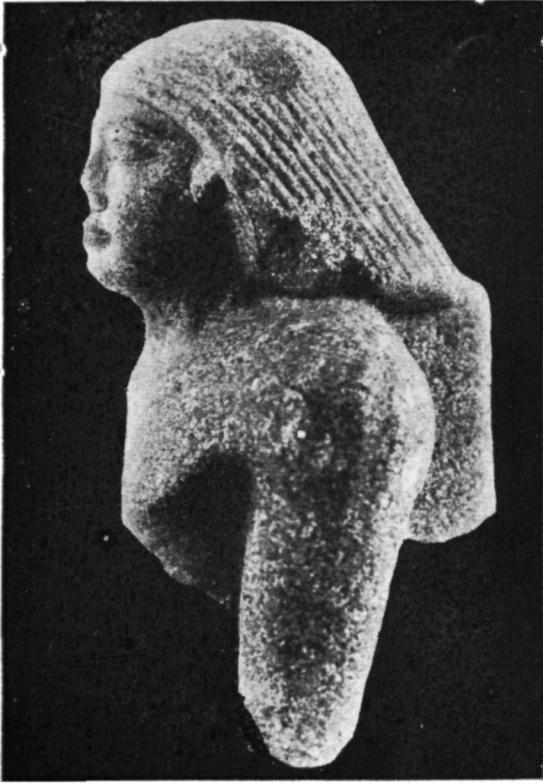


C.

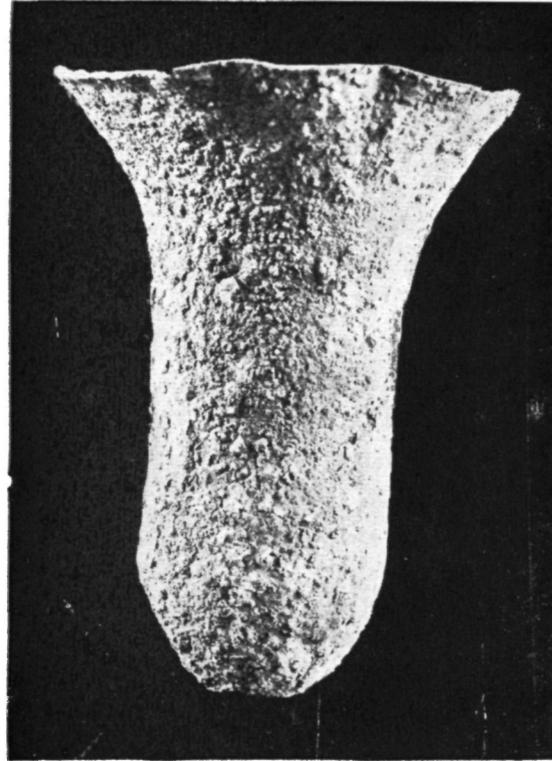
A.—Fragments belonging to the lintel of the entrance.
B and C.—A damaged statuette of limestone representing a woman grinding grain.



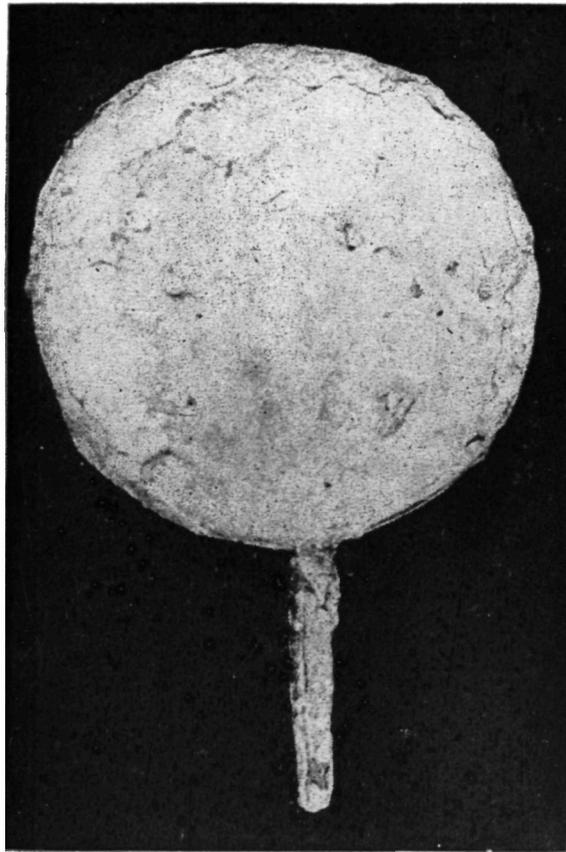
The lintel.



A.—The upper part of a black-granite statuette.



B.—A copper vase.



C.—A copper mirror.