

TOMBS AT GIZA

Volume II

Seshathetep/Heti (G5150), Nesutnefer (G4970)
and Seshemnefer II (G5080)



Naguib Kanawati

With contributions by
A. McFarlane, S. Shafik, E. Thompson, N. Victor, S. Winlaw

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The Australian Centre for Egyptology

Report 18

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The current project of publishing or republishing some of the important tombs at Giza started in January 2001 with the recording of the two tombs of Kaiemankh and Seshemnefer I, which have appeared in volume 1 of this series. The three tombs recorded in the second season and presented in the current volume belong to Seshathetep, Nesutnefer and Seshemnefer II. The choice of these tombs was influenced by their close proximity in location and date and by their apparent architectural and artistic similarities. As work is completed on more tombs of similar dates it is our hope to be able to undertake a detailed study of the development of art and architecture of certain groups of mastabas and to analyse any influence that they may have exerted on other contemporary or subsequent tombs.

The mastabas of both Seshathetep and Nesutnefer have been previously published by Junker in *Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Gîza*, 12 volumes (Vienna, 1929-55). It is hoped that the present record represents an improvement on the previously available information, in particular in correcting minor errors and providing more details of the wall scenes and inscriptions. Information on the tomb of Seshemnefer II, on the other hand, has remained inaccessible to scholars and this publication aims to make it available. I am now aware that William Kelly Simpson is preparing a publication of the tombs of Seshemnefer I and II which will also include some objects associated with the burials in these two mastabas and now held in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston. I look forward with great anticipation to his publication.

For practical reasons, mainly financial, it was necessary to limit the work of the expedition to epigraphy and architecture, deferring to a future season the reclearance of any shafts, but this remains one of the objectives of the project. With the intention of making the material available to scholars it was thought preferable to present the reader with the results so far obtained rather than delaying the publications. Since the series focusses on a specific area the presentation of material on some tombs in more than one volume is possible, and in that respect the present volume includes an Addenda with additional photographs of the tombs of Kaiemankh and Seshemnefer I, improving on those published in *Tombs at Giza*, volume 1.

In producing our line drawings of the tombs of Seshathetep and Nesutnefer the earlier drawings published by Junker were constantly consulted. Any variation was carefully checked; but it is not the intention in the text to render this publication as a response or review of Junker's work. It was pleasing, however, to notice that the scenes and inscriptions have not deteriorated since he produced his records. With the exception of Nesutnefer, which retains a good deal of its colours, the reliefs preserve little paint and hence the photographs of the other two tombs are published in black and white

The work of the second season in 2002 was financially supported by the Macquarie University Research Grants and the Rundle Foundation for Egyptian Archaeology. In Egypt the expedition received, as usual, full cooperation and every encouragement from the Supreme Council of Antiquities and its staff. In this respect we would like to express most sincere thanks to the previous Chairman, Professor Dr. Gaballa A. Gaballa, and to the present Chairman, Professor Dr. Zahi Hawass, whose invitation to work at Giza in the first place has given us both the pleasure and honour of working at this site. We also acknowledge with appreciation the assistance given to the expedition during this season by the Director of Antiquities at Giza, Mr. Ahmed el-Haggar, Chief Inspector Mr. Mahmoud Afifi and our Accompanying Inspector Mr. Mamdouh Al-Ghazaly.

Thanks and appreciation are extended to many individuals who participated in various aspects of the field work and assisted in the preparation of this report. On site the epigraphic work was largely undertaken by Mr. Sameh Shafik (Sohag) and Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson (Macquarie University), and the architectural features were measured and recorded by Mr. Naguib Victor (Sydney) and Ms. Sophie Winlaw (Macquarie University). In addition Mr. Shafik produced the final inked drawings of scenes and inscriptions and Mr. Victor prepared the architectural plans and sections for publication. The published photographs were provided by Mr. Nasser el-Din Abd el-Monem (Egyptian Museum, Cairo) and Mrs. Kim McCorquodale (Macquarie University). Descriptions of architectural features were written by Ms. Sophie Winlaw and Dr. Ann McFarlane (Macquarie University). Dr. McFarlane was also responsible for recording and writing the colour conventions. Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, assisted by Mrs. Joan Pollett, prepared the final artwork for this volume. Mrs. Pollett typed the manuscript and Dr. McFarlane undertook the final editing and production for printing.

Naguib Kanawati

ABBREVIATIONS

- Baer, Rank and Title:** Baer, K., *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties* (Chicago, 1960).
- Barta, Opferliste:** Barta, W., *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Berlin, 1963).
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- Borchardt, Sa3hu-Re^c:** Borchardt, L., *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa3hu-Re^c*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1910, 1913; repr. Osnabrück, 1981-82).
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- ZÄS: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.**
- Ziegler, Akhetetep:** Ziegler, C., *Le Mastaba d'Akhetetep: Une chapelle funéraire de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1993).

THE TOMB OF SESHATHEP/HETI G5150*

I THE TOMB OWNER, HIS FAMILY AND DEPENDENTS

Tomb Owner

NAMES

- 1- *Sšst-ḥtp*¹ 'Seshathetep'.
- 2- *Htj*² 'Heti'.

TITLES

If the pair statue found in *Sšst-ḥtp*'s serdab belongs to him, which seems likely,³ then his career may be divided into two phases, the first leading to the second. The last promotion to the vizierate is documented only on the statue and possibly took place late in his career, after the decoration of his chapel was completed.⁴

Titles of Phase I:

- 1- *jmj-r kst nb(t) nswt* 'overseer of all works of the king'.⁵
- 2- *wr 10 Šmꜥ* 'greatest of the ten of Upper Egypt'.⁶
- 3- *w tj Jnpw* 'embalmer of Anubis'.⁷
- 4- *rh nswt/jrj ḥt nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.⁸
- 5- *ḥrj-sšꜥ (n) kst nb(t) nswt* 'privy to the secret of all works of the king'.⁹
- 6- *ḥrp ḥ* 'director of the ḥ-palace'.¹⁰
- 7- *ḥrj-ḥbt* 'lector priest'.

* Porter - Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 3:1, 149-50.

1 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 259:18, where it is read as *Htp-sšꜥ.t*. It is likely that the name should be read as *Sšst-ḥtp(w)* or *Sšst-ḥtp(.tj)* 'Seshat is satisfied', and that might explain the shorter name of *Htj*. However, in this publication the commonly used name *Sšst-ḥtp* will be maintained.

2 Ibid, 231:15.

3 Strudwick, *Administration*, 137 [126]. Junker suggests that the statue belonged to *Sšst-ḥtp*'s parents and thus the higher titles belonged to his father (*Giza* 2, 193).

4 This appears similar to the case of *Jnw-Mnw* in the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, where the vizier's title appears only on the sarcophagus and not in the chapel (publication by the Australian Centre for Egyptology forthcoming).

5 Jones, *Index*, 262 [950]. For a study of the office see Strudwick, *Administration*, 222ff.

6 Jones, *Index*, 388 [1437]; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 218.

7 Jones, *Index*, 405-406 [1493].

8 The reading of this title *rh nswt/jrj ḥt nswt* is disputed and also its meaning, 'acquaintance of the king/one who is concerned with the things/property of the king' (ibid, 327-28 [1206]).

9 Ibid, 645 [2361].

10 Ibid, 707 [2579].

- 8- z3 nswt n ht.f 'king's son of his body'.¹¹
 9- smr 'companion'.
 10- .¹²

Titles of Phase II:

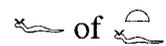
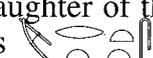
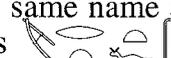
- 11- jrj-pt 'hereditary prince'.
 12- ʿ3 Dw3w 'assistant of Duau'.¹³
 13- wʿ (m) wrw hb 'unique one among the greatest of the festival'.¹⁴
 14- wn r 'opener of the mouth'.¹⁵
 15- wr msw Jwnw 'greatest of the seers of Heliopolis'.¹⁶
 16- hm-ntr B3 n ʿnpt 'priest of the Ram of Mendes'.¹⁷
 17- hm-ntr B3stt 'priest of Bastet'.¹⁸
 18- hm-ntr Hr Sth 'priest of Horus and Seth'.¹⁹
 19- [hm-ntr] Hntj-Hm 'priest of he who is foremost of Letopolis'.²⁰
 20- hm-ntr Šzmtt 'priest of the goddess Shesmetet'.²¹
 21- hrp mrt Šmʿ Mhw 'director of the singers of Upper and Lower Egypt'.²²
 22- hrp tjst btj 'director of the tjst of the king of Lower Egypt'.²³
 23- z3 nswt n ht.f smsw 'king's eldest son of his body'.
 24- zš md3t-ntr 'scribe of the god's book'.²⁴
 25- smsw snwt 'elder of the snwt-house'.²⁵
 26- t3jtj z3b t3tj 'he of the curtain, judge and vizier'.²⁶
 27- ... Jnpw '... of Anubis'. Junker reads this as wtj Jnpw 'embalmer of Anubis'.²⁷ This title is also held by Š3st-htp in Phase I.
 28- ... Jnpw '... of Anubis'.

Female Relatives of Seshathetep

NAME

Mrt-jt.s²⁸ 'Meretites'. The name survived in full only on the northern false door where it is written as Mrt-tt.s, perhaps as a result of the silent  in . The

- 11 Schmitz, *Königsohn*, passim.
 12 Nothing now remains of this title. For its amendment see Junker, *Giza 2*, 189.
 13 Jones, *Index*, 351 [1308].
 14 Ibid, 366 [1353].
 15 Ibid, 380 [1410].
 16 Ibid, 386 [1429]; Moursi, *Hohenpriester*, passim.
 17 Jones, *Index*, 514 [1921].
 18 Ibid, 514 [1921].
 19 Ibid, 560 [2072].
 20 Ibid, 568 [2094].
 21 Ibid, 582 [2138].
 22 Ibid, 719 [2619].
 23 Ibid, 701 [2564].
 24 Ibid, 857 [3132]. Junker's amendment of the title as jmj-r zš(w) md3t-ntr (*Giza 2*, 190) is uncertain as this reading is unattested elsewhere (Jones, *Index*, 215 [800]).
 25 Ibid, 904 [3318].
 26 Ibid, 1000 [3706]. For a study of the office see Strudwick, *Administration*, 300ff.
 27 *Giza 2*, 190.
 28 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 158:18.

 of  'jt' appears in Junker's facsimile of the north wall;²⁹ yet this part of the wall is now missing and appears already to have been damaged in his time.³⁰ However, a daughter of theirs, with the same name as her mother, had her name written once as  and another as .

TITLES

- 1- *rh(t) nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.
- 2- *hm(t)-ntr Nt* 'priestess of Neith'.
- 3- *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr* 'priestess of Hathor'.

NAME

*Hpt-k3*³¹ 'Hepetka'.

TITLES

- 1- *rh(t) nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.
- 2- *hm(t)-ntr Nt* 'priestess of Neith'.
- 3- *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr* 'priestess of Hathor'.

Mrt-jt.s and *Hpt-k3* bear identical titles and each is depicted on one false door. Three other major representations of women appear in the tomb, one on the south entrance thickness and one on each of the east and north walls of the chapel. But apart from Junker's facsimile(?) of the last, suggesting that she was *Mrt-jt.s*, the other two are now nameless. The relationship of these women to the tomb owner is uncertain, as nowhere any of them is described as 'his wife'. Junker suggests that *Mrt-jt.s* was *Sš3t-htp*'s wife and *Hpt-k3* was probably his mother.³² While this is not unlikely, it is equally possible that both women were his wives. Multiple marriages were not unknown in the Old Kingdom, particularly among the upper classes,³³ and a study of *Sš3t-htp*'s children shows two separate and distinct age groups among them, which may hint at two different wives. If this was the case, then *Mrt-jt.s* might have been the younger woman, since all sons and daughters represented with *Sš3t-htp* near his joint false door with *Mrt-jt.s* are shown as naked children. Similarly, a naked son touches *Sš3t-htp*'s leg in his representation with *Mrt-jt.s* on the north wall of the chapel.³⁴

Children of Seshathetep

With the exception of one/two sons and one daughter, *Sš3t-htp*'s children are not described as such. Five women are likely to be appreciably older than the other children. These are dressed in the traditional female dress with two shoulder straps and bear titles. The others are depicted as naked children, with the exception of one

²⁹ *Giza 2*, fig. 29.

³⁰ *Ibid*, pl. 16a.

³¹ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 239:4.

³² *Giza 2*, 193.

³³ Simpson, *JEA* 60 [1974], 100ff.; Kanawati, *SAK* 4 [1976] 149ff.; *idem*, *Chron. d'Ég.* 51 [1976] 235ff.; Vachala, *ZÄS* 106 [1979] 87ff.

³⁴ See Junker's facsimile (*Giza 2*, fig. 29).

daughter, *Mrt-jt.s*, who once wears a dress when represented on the north thickness of the entrance doorway, and a son, *Sšst-ḥtp*, who is shown on the west wall as an adult recording his father's property, but with no titles.

OLDER GROUP

Daughters:

- 1- *zwt-jb*³⁵ 'Awetib'. *rḥt nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'. East wall.
- 2- *Mz-zt*³⁶ 'Messat'. Junker suggests that she was *zst nswt* 'king's daughter', a title which is broken.³⁷ No evidence of this exists. East wall.
- 3- *Nj-sj-nswt*³⁸ 'Nisinesut'. *rḥt nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'. East wall.
- 4- *Hnwt.sn*³⁹ 'Henutsen'. *rḥt nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'. East wall.
- 5- *Htp-jb.s*⁴⁰ 'Hetepibes'. *rḥt nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'. East wall.

YOUNGER GROUP

Daughters:

- 1- *Mrt-jt.s* 'Meretites'. The name is written as *Mrt-tt.s* on the west wall and *Mrt-jt.s* on the north thickness of the entrance doorway, where she wears a dress and is described as *zst n(t) ḥt.f* 'daughter of his body'.
- 2- *N-sdr-kj*⁴¹ 'Nesedjerkai'. West wall.

Sons:

- 1- *Htj* 'Hetj'. *z3.f n ḥt.f* 'his son of his body'. West wall.
- 2- *Shntjw-k3*⁴² 'Sekhentiuka'. *zš pr-md3t* 'scribe of the house of documents'. West wall.
- 3- *Sšst-ḥtp* 'Seshathetep'.⁴³ *z3.f n ḥt.f* 'his son of his body'. West wall.

Other representations of now nameless young sons are found on the east and north walls of the chapel and on the south thickness of the entrance, in all cases holding to the tomb owner's staff or touching his leg. It is unknown whether these sons are different from the abovementioned ones. Each of the first and the third listed sons bear one of the names of the tomb owner, and it is not unlikely that both figures belonged to the same son, once shown as a child and another as an adult recording his father's property, but bearing no title. If *Sšst-ḥtp* was older than the other children shown on the west wall, he would belong to the other, older group.

³⁵ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 1:11.

³⁶ Ibid, 165:3.

³⁷ *Giza* 2, 193.

³⁸ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 177:23.

³⁹ Ibid, 244:1.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 257:28.

⁴¹ Ibid, 169:1.

⁴² Ibid, 320:5.

⁴³ It is possible that this son is the same as *Sšst-ḥtp*, owner of the small mastaba in the near vicinity, but unfortunately the inscriptions there are badly damaged (Junker, *Giza* 7, 142-43, fig. 55).

If, on the other hand, he is the same as *Htj*, then the tomb owner had only five daughters by his first marriage and at least two sons and two daughters by the second.

Dependents of Seshathetep

- 1- *ꜣhꜣ*⁴⁴ 'Akhi'. *hꜣꜣ ꜣh* 'director of the dining-hall'.⁴⁵ Right outer jamb of southern false door.
- 2- *Jwꜣ-nꜣ*⁴⁶ 'Iufni'. *hꜣꜣ* 'chief'.⁴⁷ West wall.
- 3- *Jꜣꜣ*⁴⁸ 'Ipi'. *jꜣꜣ-r ꜣꜣ* 'overseer of the house'. North wall.
- 4- *ꜣnhꜣ-m-ꜣ-kꜣ(j)*⁴⁹ 'Ankhnakai'. *hꜣꜣ-kꜣ* 'ka-servant'. North wall and left outer jamb of southern false door. In the latter representation he is described as *msꜣ ꜣꜣ* 'his child of the funerary estate'.⁵⁰
- 5- *Wꜣꜣ*⁵¹ 'Weha'. *hꜣꜣ* 'chief'. Right outer jamb of northern false door.
- 6- *Pꜣh-šꜣꜣꜣ*⁵² 'Ptahshepses'. *hꜣꜣ-kꜣ* 'ka-servant'. Left outer jamb of southern false door.
- 7- *Mꜣꜣ*⁵³ 'Meni'. *sꜣꜣꜣ ꜣꜣ* 'elder of the house/domain'.⁵⁴ East wall.
- 8- *N-m(w)tꜣ*⁵⁵ 'Nemutef'. *šꜣꜣꜣꜣ* 'retainer'.⁵⁶ West wall.
- 9- *Nꜣꜣꜣ-jꜣꜣꜣꜣ*⁵⁷ 'Neferiretes'. *jꜣꜣ(w) ꜣꜣꜣ* 'dentist'.⁵⁸ North wall.
- 10- *Rꜣꜣ*⁵⁹ 'Rehi'. *jꜣꜣꜣ-r ꜣꜣꜣ* 'overseer of linen'.⁶⁰ Right outer jamb of southern false door.
- 11- *Hꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ*⁶¹ 'Hertjesi'. *Nꜣꜣꜣꜣ(j)* 'Nubian'. Right outer jamb of northern false door.
- 12- *Hꜣꜣꜣ*⁶² 'Hesi'. North and west walls.
- 13- *Hꜣꜣꜣꜣ-kꜣ(j)*⁶³ 'Hetepkai'. *ꜣꜣꜣ* 'scribe'. North and west walls.
- 14- *Hꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ-n-Pꜣh*⁶⁴ 'Khuienptah'. *hꜣꜣꜣ-kꜣ* 'ka-servant'. Left outer jamb of southern false door.

44 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 3:7.

45 Jones, *Index*, 736 [2682].

46 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 15:26.

47 Jones, *Index*, 662 [2426].

48 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 22:15.

49 Ibid, 64:4.

50 Junker, *Giza* 2, 194-95, and now Jones, *Index*, 451 [1690]. See also Perepelkin, *Privateigentum*, 26ff., 62ff. The designation of 'brother of the funerary estate' was much more common (see Jones, *Index*, 907-908 [3324]).

51 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 83:29.

52 The reading *šꜣꜣꜣ-Pꜣh* is also possible (ibid, 326:19).

53 Ibid, 151:2.

54 Jones, *Index*, 901 [3305].

55 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 168:16.

56 Jones, *Index*, 991 [3665].

57 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 195:11.

58 Jones, *Index*, 307 [1119].

59 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 225:14.

60 Jones, *Index*, 234-35 [864].

61 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 254:7.

62 Ibid, 254:28.

63 Ibid, 259:19.

64 Ibid, 266:23.

- 15- *Zššn*⁶⁵ 'Sesheshen'. *šmsw* 'retainer'. West wall.
 16- *Zkr-ḥtp(w)*⁶⁶ 'Sokarhetepu'. North wall.
 17- *Sn-mrr*⁶⁷ 'Senmerer'. It is possible that the title *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant' describes both *Sn-mrr* and *Pth-šps*. Left outer jamb of southern false door.
 18- *Sn-mrr-smsw* 'Senmerer, the elder'.⁶⁸ West Wall
 19- *K3(j)-(ḥr?)-Pth*⁶⁹ 'Kai(kher)ptah'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. Left outer jamb of southern false door.
 20- *K3(j)-ḥntt(?)* 'Kaitjentet'.⁷⁰ *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North wall.
 21- *Tjwj* 'Tiwi'.⁷¹ *wḏpw* 'butler'.⁷² West wall.
 22-r '.....r'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North wall.

II DATING OF SESHATHETEP

This core in the cemetery en échelon was converted to a mastaba with an interior chapel with two false doors. Junker has argued for a date early in the Fifth Dynasty for *Sš3t-ḥtp*⁷³ which has been accepted by most scholars,⁷⁴ although some have placed him in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty,⁷⁵ and others at the end of the Fourth.⁷⁶ The dating of this tomb should be considered in conjunction with some others in the vicinity, particularly with that of *Nswt-nfr*, which shows evidence of direct influence by, or copying from *Sš3t-ḥtp*'s scenes.⁷⁷

The themes depicted in the chapels of *Sš3t-ḥtp* and *Nswt-nfr* have been studied by Harpur, who shows that the presentation of a short list, depicted on the north walls of both chapels, is found in a limited number of mastabas in the West Field at Giza, all dating from Userkaf to Niuserra.⁷⁸ The representation on the east walls of the two tombs of the 'journey to the West' appears to be a Giza innovation, perhaps at the end of the Fourth or the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.⁷⁹ The depiction of *Nswt-nfr*, but not of *Sš3t-ḥtp*, leaning on his staff with one leg relaxed is found in tombs dated to the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.⁸⁰ Travelling boats with hedgehog-headed prows are not rare, but seem to be more common during Dynasty 5.⁸¹ The

⁶⁵ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 298:3.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 298:12.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 308:24.

⁶⁸ For the designation 'the elder' see Fischer, *Varia*, 81ff.

⁶⁹ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 340:21; Junker, *Giza* 2, 194.

⁷⁰ The name is unattested in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

⁷¹ The reading of *Tj* is also possible (ibid, 1, 375:7; Junker, *Giza* 2, 194).

⁷² Jones, *Index*, 406 [1494].

⁷³ *Giza* 2, 172-74.

⁷⁴ For example, Baer, *Rank and Title*, 130-31 [473]; Strudwick, *Administration*, 136-37 [126]; Harpur, *Decoration*, 270 [230].

⁷⁵ For example, Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines funéraires*, 251.

⁷⁶ Smith, *HESPOK*, 165; Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 154 [304].

⁷⁷ Junker, *Giza* 3, 71-76; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 96-97 [292]; Harpur, *Decoration*, 26-27, 396-97.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 74.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 83.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 323-24.

⁸¹ For some examples and recent studies see ibid, 200-201; McFarlane, *Unis* 1, 19, 51.

offering lists, on the south walls of the chapels of both *Sšst-ḥtp* and *Nswt-nfr* are, unlike the Fourth Dynasty ones, extensive, yet do not fit into the canonical pattern which seems to have been introduced in the non-royal tombs in or after the reign of Sahura.⁸² With *Nswt-nfr* probably copying scenes from *Sšst-ḥtp*'s chapel, he is likely to be later, but perhaps not much later.

Both the name of *Sšst-ḥtp* and his shorter name, *Htj*, are uncommon. The former is attested once in a nearby mastaba perhaps belonging to this *Sšst-ḥtp*'s son, and the latter, attested in very few other tombs at Giza,⁸³ perhaps also belongs to men related to our tomb owner since one of his own sons was also named *Htj*. However, a man called *Htj* and bearing the titles *ḥstj-ꜥ ḥrj-ḥbt* is depicted in the funerary temple of Sahura.⁸⁴ Whether this man is the same as *Sšst-ḥtp/Htj* is uncertain, for it may well be a case of two different individuals with the same name. On the other hand, the rarity of the name, the probable date of both men, and above all their apparent importance make such an identification at least possible. In his tomb *Sšst-ḥtp/Htj* bears the title *z3 nswt n ḥt.f* 'king's son of his body', and on a nameless pair statue found in his shaft, and presumably belonging to him,⁸⁵ he is designated as *z3 nswt n ḥt.f smsw* 'king's eldest son of his body'. The inscriptions on the statue also show the title *t3jtj z3b t3tj* 'he of the curtain, judge and vizier' and some other titles not attested in his chapel, including the rank of *jrj-pꜥt* 'hereditary prince', and it is possible that these titles represent a late promotion which *Sšst-ḥtp* received after the decoration of his chapel was completed.⁸⁶ While it is impossible with our present evidence to identify *Sšst-ḥtp*'s exact ancestry, the title 'king's son of his body' at this relatively early period in the Old Kingdom most probably indicates some royal descent. It is interesting that all viziers were designated as 'king's son' up to the reign of Sahura, but very rarely afterwards,⁸⁷ which might well indicate that up to this period viziers were chosen from members of the royal family. The suggestion that some holders of the 'king's son' titles, including *Sšst-ḥtp*, were 'titular princes'⁸⁸ disregards the likelihood that these individuals might have inherited the title through their mothers, even if the royal ancestry of the mothers is not recorded in their husband's tombs.⁸⁹ Furthermore, *Sšst-ḥtp* was designated as 'king's son' in the inscriptions of his tomb and before attaining the higher office of vizier.

82 Strudwick, *Administration*, 40.

83 Junker, *Giza* 12, 159.

84 Borchardt, *Sahur-Re* 2, pls. 17, 33, 50. The same person is described only as *ḥrj-ḥbt* in *ibid*, pls. 34, 47.

85 See Strudwick, *Administration*, 137, as against Junker who suggests that the statue represents the tomb owner's parents (*Giza* 2, 189ff.).

86 Schmitz, *Königssohn*, 73ff.; Strudwick, *Administration*, 137. Examples of late promotions received just before the completion of the tomb decoration are found in the tombs of *Sšm-nfr* III (Baer, *Rank and Title*, 132 [478]) and *Ḥzj* (Kanawati - Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, 11-13). The case of *Rꜥ-špss* even shows a promotion after the decoration of the chapel itself was finished (Baer, *Rank and Title*, 101 [315]; Strudwick, *Administration*, 94-95 [95]). In all cases the promotion, like that of *Sšst-ḥtp*, was to the vizierate.

87 See *ibid* 308-309, Table 29.

88 *Ibid*, 312; Schmitz, *Königssohn*, 84.

89 Research now in progress.

At Sahura's funerary temple the man named *Htj* is consistently depicted in a most prominent position, either immediately behind,⁹⁰ or even once in front of,⁹¹ Sahura's own successor, Neferirkara.⁹² While many other men in these scenes are described as 'king's son', *Htj* is not, and accordingly he is unlikely to have been a son of Sahura. However, his depiction among royal sons and the heir apparent, in such a close proximity to the king himself may well suggest a royal ancestry. That *Htj* is described in the temple as *hrj-ḥbt* 'lector priest' should not indicate a non-royal background, since a man named *Ntrj-rn-R^c* is depicted in the same temple with the title 'eldest king's son' and described as *hrj-ḥbt n jt.f* 'lector priest of his father'.⁹³ While *Htj*'s title of *hrj-ḥbt* is also recorded in the tomb of *Sšst-ḥtp* at Giza, his rank of *ḥstj-^c* 'count' is not. However, as he is designated as *jrj-p^ct* 'hereditary prince' on the statue where he also bears the title of vizier, he almost certainly enjoyed the rank of *ḥstj-^c* since with very few exceptions, perhaps due to incomplete sources, all *jrjw-p^ct* were also *ḥstjw-^c*.⁹⁴

If *Sšst-ḥtp/Htj* was the same as *Htj* of Sahura's temple, then he must have decorated his tomb before the completion of the temple, where he is described as *ḥstj-^c*. The importance of this individual can explain the influence of his tomb on the decoration of that of *Nswt-nfr*, who was presumably a contemporary, or near contemporary, of *Sšst-ḥtp*.

Suggested date: Sahura, probably the middle of the reign for the building and decoration of the tomb.

III ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Pls. 3a, 39-40

The free-standing mastaba of *Sšst-ḥtp*, oriented true north-south, measures 23.85m. N-S x 14.05 m. E-W with a present height of 3.70m. The core mastaba was cased with roughly dressed blocks of local nummulitic limestone which survive on the east façade to a maximum height of 2.15m. Reisner's typology indicates it was a core of type IIa converted into a mastaba of type VIIa with a chapel of type 4a, a two niched offering room with a subsidiary external niche at the northern end of the east façade.⁹⁵ This external niche measures 1.60m. wide x 2.80m. to its present height from the ground level of the façade. Constructed of a monolithic block, it has two pairs of jambs and bears no signs of any inscription.

⁹⁰ Borchardt, *Sashu-Re^c* 2, pls. 17, 33-34.

⁹¹ Ibid, pl. 47.

⁹² The fact that Neferirkara is described in his predecessor's temple as 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferirkara, may he be given life forever' may either indicate that he completed the decoration of Sahura's temple, or that he altered the inscriptions after his accession (ibid, 91). No photographs are available in order to examine possible alteration.

⁹³ Ibid, pls. 33, 49.

⁹⁴ See Strudwick, *Administration*, 308-309, Table 29.

⁹⁵ *Giza* 1, 215. The author records the casing blocks as masonry type w (ibid, 181, fig. 88).

The outer jambs are .45m. wide x .23m. deep, the inner jambs .25m. wide x .13m. deep and the central niche .20m. wide.

Junker's plan of the mastaba of *Sšst-ḥtp* recreates a large mud-brick structure extending to the east and including a N-S corridor chapel in front of the east façade.⁹⁶ Today all traces of this complex have completely vanished, except for the northern part of the corridor between *Sšst-ḥtp*'s façade and the back of a now uninscribed mastaba.

The entrance to the offering chapel of *Sšst-ḥtp* is located at the southern end of the present east façade and defined by a recess with the same 5° slope as the façade. Broken in the upper part, the entrance recess measures 3.20m. wide x .35m. deep. Within the recess is a doorway .80m. wide x 1.00m. thick at floor level x 1.80m. high to a flat-based drum .35m. thick. The drum links with the east wall of an internal recess 1.10m. wide x .40m. deep x 2.00m. high. In the ceiling of the recess at the north end is a cavity .25m. long x .18m. wide x .07m. deep, and within it is a tapering hole with a diameter of .08m. and a depth from the recess ceiling of .10m. The cavity presumably held a wooden block designed to hold a door pivot.

From the doorway a small step down of .05m. leads into a north-south chapel which measures 4.90m. N-S x 1.55m. E-W x 3.05m. high. The floor is now paved and three of the original ceiling slabs remain *in situ*, each measuring approximately 2.40m. long x 1.00m. wide x .65m. thick. Built into the south wall at a height of 2.57m. above the floor is a rectangular viewing slit for a serdab. It measures .17m. wide x .36m. high with the sill sloping upward at an angle of 13°. It is presently blocked in the southern part. Reisner reported two small serdabs behind each of the false doors,⁹⁷ which was not possible to verify.

The chapel is decorated in painted relief and set into the west wall are two recessed false doors of the same early type consisting of a single pair of jambs.⁹⁸ Both doors are raised .15m. above the floor level of the chapel and recessed .15m. The northern door's upper lintel measures 1.27m. wide x .30m. high; the central panel is .52m. wide x .40m. high with side apertures .07m. wide; the lower lintel is .66m. wide x .15m. high; the jambs are .22m. wide x 1.69m. high; the central niche is .22m. wide x .15m. deep x 1.45m. high to a drum .24m. thick. The southern false door has the same features and measurements as its northern counterpart except for the central panel and side apertures, which are now missing.

Burial Apartments

The core of *Sšst-ḥtp*'s mastaba accommodates four shafts which were not recleared. Core mastabas rarely hold more than two burial apartments and the two smaller shafts may not have been associated with the original building.⁹⁹ Reisner records two major shaft mouths and three other mouths of minor shafts.¹⁰⁰ Junker

⁹⁶ *Giza* 2, 176-77, fig. 23.

⁹⁷ *Giza*, 215.

⁹⁸ Rusch, *ZÄS* 58 [1923], pl. A. Type II.1.

⁹⁹ Junker, *Giza* 1, 177-78.

¹⁰⁰ *Giza* 1, 215.

records four shafts, all lined to bedrock with approximately nine courses of masonry, and the following description of the subterranean features are from his publication.¹⁰¹

1. The mouth of main shaft is 2.30m. square. The measurements and architectural drawings were lost during World War I, so no details can be provided. In this shaft was found the upper part of a double statue from the serdab; the burial chamber had been plundered except for a limestone sarcophagus.
2. Directly north of shaft 1 is another with a mouth also 2.30m. square (Junker, 2.10m. square) and a total depth of 14.00m. (8.70m. in bedrock), narrowing as it descends to a floor 1.50m. square. At the floor of the shaft an opening cut in the south wall measures 1.04m. N-S x 1.15m. E-W x 1.00m. high. From this entrance a deep step down of .90m. leads into a large burial chamber 2.80m. N-S x 3.17m. E-W x 1.55m. high at the entrance. A wooden coffin was placed along the west wall.¹⁰²
3. The measurements of the mouth of the NE shaft are 1.60m. N-S x 1.30 E-W (Junker, 1.40m. square). The shaft descends through bedrock to a depth of 8.00m. where cutting across the east wall at a height of 1.00m. and a depth of approximately 1.05m., presumably for a burial chamber, was abandoned.
4. Aligned directly south of shaft 3, shaft 4 has a mouth 1.60m. N-S x 1.40m. E-W and a depth in bedrock of 7.50m. At the floor of the shaft an entrance cut in the south wall measures 1.15m. wide x x 1.55m. high. It leads directly into an unfinished burial chamber 3.30m. N-S x 1.05m. E-W at the entrance and .95m. at the south wall x 1.55m. high. The ceiling slopes slightly downward in the southern part where a section of uncut rock, ca 1.40m. N-S x .60m. E-W, also remains on the floor.

IV SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS

The decoration of the chapel was executed in raised relief, which was also coloured, although most of the paint has now disappeared.

Entrance

LINTEL

Pl. 42a-b

The lintel is missing, but a fragment now stored inside the chapel most probably formed the left end of the lintel. This shows a seated figure of the tomb owner with his name inscribed before him as *Sšꜣt-ḥtp Htj* 'Seshathetep/Heti'. Another fragment published by Junker may have belonged to the right end of the lintel. The

¹⁰¹ *Giza* 1, 177-78, fig. 23.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 178-179, pl. 14b-c.

inscriptions were arranged in vertical columns, as they are indeed on the lintels of both false doors inside the chapel. The text reads: (1) *ḥtp dj nswt* (2) *ḥtp rdj Jnpw* ... '(1) An offering which the king gives, (2) and an offering which Anubis gives, ...'.¹⁰³

JAMBS

Pl. 41

The jambs on both sides of the entrance doorway are decorated with an elaborate palace façade motif executed in relief.

NORTH THICKNESS

Pls. 3b, 43a

The tomb owner sits on a chair with bull's legs and a cushion, but no back.¹⁰⁴ He wears a short wig covering his ears¹⁰⁵ and a leopard skin, the presence of which is now visible only in the way it is tied on his left shoulder. He also wears bracelets and extends his right hand to an offering table laden with thirteen short half-loaves of bread.¹⁰⁶ Above the loaves are four trays containing cuts of meat and a fowl. Three vertical lines of text identify him as (1) *ḥrj-sštḥ kṣt nbt nswt* (2) *jmj-r kṣt nbt nswt* (3) *Sšt-ḥtp Htj* '(1) he who is privy to the secret of all works of the king, (2) the overseer of all works of the king, (3) Seshathetep/Heti'. Behind him stands a woman described as *zṣt n(t) ḥt.f Mrt-jt.s* 'the daughter of his body, Meretites'.

On the opposite side of the table two priests are performing a ceremony for the meal. A standing man, described as *ḥrj wdb* 'master of reversions',¹⁰⁷ gestures with an open hand and a kneeling man, labelled as *wtj* 'embalmer', has both arms raised. The inscription describing the ceremony reads *snmt ʒḥ* 'food for the glorified', then lists the following items: *t ḥnqt pṣt kṣ ḥṣ ḥṣ*¹⁰⁸ *t-wr t-rth šs ḥṣ mnḥt ḥṣ* 'bread, beer, cake, oxen, thousands, *wr*-bread, *rth*-bread, alabaster one thousand, clothes one thousand'.¹⁰⁹ One line of text above the two priests reads: ... *nb ʒbd smdt m ḥb nb* '... every (day?), the monthly feast, the half-monthly feast and at every feast'.¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ For a study of the offering formulae see Lapp, *Opferformel*, passim.

¹⁰⁴ For the different types of chairs see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 25ff.

¹⁰⁵ For the different types of wigs see *ibid*, 55ff.

¹⁰⁶ For the variation in the height of bread loaves see *ibid*, 42ff.

¹⁰⁷ Jones, *Index*, 603 [2212].

¹⁰⁸ *ḥṣ ḥṣ* written in the centre of the column probably represents an abbreviation of the more traditional writing of *ḥṣ* 'one thousand' for each item.

¹⁰⁹ For these items see Barta, *Opferliste*, passim.

¹¹⁰ For a study of feasts see Altenmüller in *LÄ* II, 171ff. It is possible that the lacuna at the beginning of this line may be amended to *pṣt-ḥrw hrw nb* 'may an invocation offering come forth every day ...' as is the case on the south wall of the chapel.

SOUTH THICKNESS

Pl. 43b

The tomb owner and probably his wife are shown on a chair with bull's legs and cushion. He holds a staff which is also held by a small, naked son depicted before the couple. The only text remaining is the end of the vertical line that reads: ... *hb nb* '... every feast'.

ENTRANCE RECESS

Pl. 42c

The south side of the internal entrance recess is decorated with three superposed registers each containing two men. Each of the men in the top register supports a box on his shoulder, while each in the middle register supports an animal foreleg and carries another item in his right hand, a heart in the case of the first man and a fowl in the case of the second. The two men in the bottom register lead a young ox labelled *hrj db^c* 'hornless ox/calf'.¹¹¹

Chapel

EAST WALL

Pls. 4, 44

North of Entrance

The upper part of the wall is occupied by a large representation of the tomb owner and his wife seated on a chair with bull's legs. Four women, probably daughters, are depicted in front of them and a fifth under their chair. They all wear the traditional dress with two shoulder straps, and four of them bear the title *rh(t) nswt* 'acquaintance of the king', while the title of the fifth one is missing. Junker mentions that she was *zst nswt* 'king's daughter',¹¹² yet nothing of the title is preserved, photographed or drawn by Junker. The women are named (1) *Mz-zst* 'Messat', (2) *Hnwt.sn* 'Henutsen', (3) *Nj-sj-nswt* 'Nisinesut', (4) *Htp-jb.s* 'Hetepibes', (5) *zwt-jb* 'Awetib'.

In the bottom register two animals are depicted, each being tended by two men. The animals are identified as *rn (ms)-hd* 'young Scimitar-horned oryx' and *ng(3w) rn* 'young bull'.¹¹³

South of Entrance

The decoration of this part of the wall is dominated by the standing figures of the tomb owner and his wife. He holds a sceptre and a staff and standing before him is

¹¹¹ See Junker, *Giza* 6, 51; Montet, *Vie privée*, 139.

¹¹² Junker, *Giza* 2, 193.

¹¹³ For the identification of these animals see Houlihan, *Animal World*, passim.

a young son touching the staff. Three registers and a part of a fourth now survive in front of the main figures. Of the top register only one man carrying what appears to be a linen bag remains. In the second register seven men bring objects to the tomb owner, including jars and a carrying chair. Only the first man is identified as ... *smsw pr Mn.j* '..., the elder of the house, Meni'. Five men are depicted in the third register; the first carries a small gazelle, the second a goose, the third a calf, the fourth a crane and the fifth leads a bull on a rope. The bottom register shows two groups of butchers cutting animals. The first group of two men are working on an oryx, while the second group, also of two men, are working on an ox. It is interesting that the same two species, or perhaps two animals, are shown also in the bottom register of the same wall on the north side of the entrance, being led inside the chapel and presented live to the tomb owners. A fifth man approaches the tomb owner and his family carrying a foreleg and a heart.

The section of the east wall above the entrance is occupied by the representation of a boat proceeding southwards. The prow has the shape of presumably the head of a hedgehog. The boat appears to have a deckhouse but no mast, and accordingly is manned by eight (or eight pairs) of oarsmen, two helmsmen at the stern and an overseer holding a *hrp*-baton. The tomb owner is depicted in a relatively larger size, leaning on his staff in front of the deckhouse.

SOUTH WALL

Pls. 5, 46

The tomb owner sits on a chair with bull's legs and extends his right hand towards an offering table laden with eleven half-loaves of bread. Four lines of inscriptions above his head identify him as (1) *smr hrp ḥ z3 nswt n ht.f Htj* (2) *wtj Jnpw hrj-ḥbt wr 10 Šmṛ rh nswt* (3) *hrj-sṣt3 n k3t nb(t) nswt Htj* (4) *jmj-r k3t ...* '(1) the companion, the director of the ḥ-palace, the king's son of his body, Heti, (2) the embalmer of Anubis, the lector priest, the greatest of the ten of Upper Egypt, the acquaintance of the king, (3) he who is privy to the secret of all works of the king, Heti, (4) the overseer of all works ...'. The tomb owner's name is written in front of his face as *Sṣt-ḥtp* 'Seshathetep'.

Apart from a rectangular viewing slit of the serdab (now blocked), the upper part of the wall is divided into one vertical (1) and six horizontal (2-7) lines of text as follows: (1) *ḥtp dj nswt sntr ḥt(3)* (2) *pṛt-ḥrw*¹¹⁴ *hrw nb 3bd smdt ḥb (nb)* (3) *ḥ3tt*¹¹⁵ *jb jrp nbs t-nbs wḥ ...* (4) *pzn ḥt3 ḥ3t-jb*¹¹⁶ *šḥwt dptj t-ḥrj*¹¹⁷ *ṯb nḥrw ...* (5) *mw [z3t]*¹¹⁸ *ḳbh ʿj*¹¹⁹ *prw ḥdt šḥpt ḥnw-ʿwj ḏsrt j3tt šḥt-w3dt šḥt-ḥdt ...*

¹¹⁴ For the offering formulae see Lapp, *Opferformel*, passim.

¹¹⁵ For this item and the following ones see Barta, *Opferliste*, 31 and passim.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 20. The inclusion of an ointment among different types of bread is curious. As this item is rarely mentioned, it may be that its interpretation as ointment needs to be reconsidered.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 124.

¹¹⁸ Although this item may be read *mw wḥb*, later examples show that it should be read as *mw z3t* (for example Kanawati - Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pl. 64b).

¹¹⁹ These two items are better preserved in Junker's copy (*Giza* 2, fig. 33).

(6) *hps (j)w spr swt 3srt mjzt nnšm zhn jwf h3t*¹²⁰ *εgt jt zwt [b3b3wt p3t]*¹²¹ (7) *t3 ntrj 4 bd wnḥw mnḥt d3t sr trp zt s smn mnwt ng3w jw3 rn hrj dbε hmt (m3)-hd rn ghs [h]tt* '(1) An offering which the king gives, incense, *h3t*-bread. (2) May an invocation offering come forth every day, the monthly feast, the half-monthly feast and (every) feast, (3) ointment, kid, wine, *nbs*-fruit, *nbs*-bread, carob beans ..., (4) *pzn*-bread, *h3t*-bread, ointment, *šwt*-bread, *dptj*-bread, *hrt*-bread, offering item(?), *nhrw*-bread ..., (5) libation water, libation bowl, *prw*-beverage, *hdt*-beverage, *shpt*-beverage, *hnw-εwj*-wine, *dsrt*-milky beverage, *jtt*-milky beverage, green *shḥ*-fruit, white *shḥ*-fruit, ..., (6) foreleg, thigh, rib, piece of meat, roasted meat, liver, spleen, kidney, fillet, preparation of barley, wheat, [*b3b3wt*-fruit, *p3t*-bread], (7) 4 balls of natron, natron, cloth strips, clothes, crane, *sr*-goose, *trp*-goose, *zt*-duck, *s*-goose, *smn*-goose, pigeon, bull, young ox, hornless ox, cow, young Scimitar-horned oryx, gazelle, hyaena'. Below the items listed in the last line are determinatives representing the items, such as jars, loaves, baskets, cuts of meat, fowl, etc., each placed on a tray.

Below the offering table, to the right, is written *t h3 hmqt h3 šs h3 mnḥt h3 t-rth t-wr* 'bread, one thousand; beer, one thousand; alabaster, one thousand; clothes, one thousand, *rth*-bread, *wr*-bread'.

On the other side of the table opposite the tomb owner are two kneeling and one standing men performing a ceremony. The first man, with jars in both hands, is described as *wdpw hntj wr* 'butler of the great cellar'.¹²² The second man, with both arms raised is designated as *wjt* 'embalmer' and is probably announcing *snmt šh* 'food for the glorified'. The third man designated as *hrj wdb* 'master of reversions' stretches his arm, palm up, and says, *hṯp dj nswt* 'an offering which the king gives'.

The bottom register shows two bound animals being slaughtered, an oryx and an ox, representing the same species depicted twice on the east wall, in a presentation scene and a slaughtering scene. Two men are working on each animal and in each case the butcher is about to sever its foreleg. Two men are also shown to the extreme right, each supporting with one hand an animal's foreleg placed on his shoulder and carrying in the other hand a heart.

WEST WALL

Pls. 6-8, 45, 48a-b

The decoration of this wall is dominated by a large figure of *Sš3t-hṯp*, accompanied by his children and receiving the gifts of his funerary estates. His figure is positioned in such a place as to be immediately seen by anyone entering the tomb. On both sides of this representation is a false door. Each of the false doors is set at the back of a shallow recess, both sides of which are divided into four superposed compartments. All compartments on both sides of the southern false

¹²⁰ This item is usually translated as 'brisket', but Montet shows that it was probably the fillet (*Vie privée*, 170ff.). See also Kanawati - Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 2, pl. 49.

¹²¹ These two items are now damaged; see Junker, *Giza* 2, fig. 33 and compare with *Nswt-nfr*'s similar list.

¹²² See Junker, *Giza* 2, 63-64, 169.

door and the upper three on those of the northern false door depict jars on stands. The bottom compartment on either side of the northern recess shows an offering table on a stand.

Northern False Door

Upper Lintel: This part of the false door is divided into two rows of vertically inscribed compartments listing the titles, epithets and names of the tomb owner. The first six compartments (1-6) of the first row are missing, while the last four compartments (7-10) and all ten compartments (11-20) of the second row are preserved and read: (1-6) ..., (7) *jmšhw hr ntr* (8) *wtj Jnpw hrj-ḥbt* (9) *z3 nswt n ḥt.f* (10) *Htj* (11) *[s]mr hrp ḥ* (12) *z3 [nswt] n ḥt.f* (13) *wtj Jnpw hrj-ḥbt* (14) *wr 10 Šmꜥ rh nswt* (15) *hrj-sšꜥ* (16) *kꜣ nbt nswt* (17) *jmj-r kꜣ* (18) *nbt nswt smr* (19) *mrjj nb.f* (20) *Sšꜥt-ḥtp* '(1-6) ..., (7) the honoured one before the god, (8) the embalmer of Anubis, the lector priest, (9) the king's son of his body, (10) Heti; (11) the companion, the director of the ḥ-palace, (12) the king's son of his body, (13) the embalmer of Anubis, the lector priest, (14) the greatest of the ten of Upper Egypt, the acquaintance of the king, (15) he who is privy to the secret (16) of all works of the king, (17) the overseer of all works (18) of the king, the companion, (19) the beloved of his lord, (20) Seshathetep'.

Central Panel: The tomb owner and his wife sit opposite each other at an offering table laden with fifteen half-loaves of bread. Their chairs are of the same type used throughout the tomb, with bull's legs and a cushion, but no back. He is identified as *smr [z3 n]swt n ḥt.f Sšꜥt-ḥtp* 'the companion, the king's son of his body, Seshathetep', while she is described as *[rh]t nswt Mrt-jt.s* 'the acquaintance of the king, Meretites'. Above the table are inscribed the names of six items: *sntr wꜣdw msdt*¹²³ *[ḥꜣ]tt jrꜣp [n]bs* 'incense, green eye paint, black (eye) paint, ointment, wine, nbs-fruit'. Below these, on small trays, are food items, presumably cuts of meat. Beneath the table the following items are listed: *t ḥꜣ ḥnqt ḥꜣ kꜣ šꜣ ḥꜣ mnḥt ḥꜣ ꜣpd mꜣ-ḥd* 'bread, one thousand; beer, one thousand; oxen, alabaster, one thousand; clothes, one thousand, fowl and oryxes'.

Lower Lintel: *smr z3 nswt n ḥt.f wtj Jnpw hrj-ḥbt Htj* 'the companion, the king's son of his body, the embalmer of Anubis, the lector priest, Heti'.

Drum: *smr Sšꜥt-ḥtp* 'the companion, Seshathetep'.

Left Inner Jamb: Wearing a short curled wig, a short kilt, a collar and a sash across the chest, the tomb owner is identified as (1) *smr z3 nswt n ḥt.f* (2) *wtj Jnpw hrj-ḥbt Htj* '(1) the companion, the king's son of his body, (2) the embalmer of Anubis, the lector priest, Heti'.

Right Inner Jamb: This was reserved for the tomb owner's wife. Represented wearing a long wig and a long dress with two shoulder straps, she is designated as (1) *rh(t) nswt ḥm(t)-[ntr] Nt* (2) *ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr Mrt-jt.s*¹²⁴ '(1) the

¹²³ *msdt* is the Old Kingdom spelling of *msdmt* (James, *Khentika*, 63).

¹²⁴ This is clearly written as *Mrt-tt.s*.

acquaintance of the king, the priestess of Neith, (2) the priestess of Hathor, Meretites'.

Central Niche: The tomb owner is depicted wearing a kilt and sash and holding the staff and sceptre.¹²⁵ He is labelled as *smr z3 nswt* ... 'the companion, the king's son ...'.

Outer Jambs: To maintain a balance each of the outer jambs was divided into three superposed registers, each depicting one individual. However, the left outer jamb was incorporated into the central family scene and will be described as part of this scene, while the right jamb represented offering bearers. The man in the top register carries a spouted jar and a linen bag and is described as *hq3 Whc* 'the chief, Weha'. The unnamed man in the middle register carries a basket on his head and a foreleg and a heart in his hand. The man in the bottom register carries a linen bag and sandals and is labelled *Nhs(j)* 'Nubian', which may also be seen in his hair style. He is named *Hrts.j* 'Hertjesi'.

Southern False Door

The layout of this false door is very similar to that of the northern one.

Upper Lintel: The upper row, if it existed, has disappeared. Eight of nine inscribed compartments (2-9) in the second row have retained their text as follows: (1) ... (2) *z3 nswt* (3) *n ht.f* (4) *w tj Jnpw* (5) *wr 10 Šmꜥ rh [nswt]* (6) *hrj-[s]št3* (7) *kst nbt nswt* (8) *mrj[j] nbl.f* (9) *Htj* '(1) ..., (2) the king's son (3) of his body, (4) the embalmer of Anubis, (5) the greatest of the ten of Upper Egypt, the acquaintance of the king, (6) he who is privy to the secret (7) of all works of the king, (8) the beloved of his lord, (9) Heti'.

Central Panel: This is totally missing.

Lower Lintel: *smr hꜣp ꜥh z3 nwt n ht.f hrj-ḥbt Htj* 'the companion, the director of the ꜥh-palace, the king's son of his body, the lector priest, Heti'.

The decoration of the drum, inner jambs and central niche is similar to that of the northern false door, with two exceptions: the first two titles on the left inner jamb are reversed and the right inner jamb is inscribed for a different woman, *Hpt-k3* 'Hepetka', who carried the same titles as *Mrt-jt.s*. Whether this was the tomb owner's mother, as suggested by Junker,¹²⁶ or another wife, is uncertain. In favour of the latter alternative are the apparent representations of *Sšst-ḥtp*'s children as if belonging to two age groups. If *Hpt-k3* was also *Sšst-ḥtp*'s wife, she is more likely to have been his first, for one of the daughters in the younger group is named *Mrt-jt.s*, presumably after her mother. It would seem unlikely that *Sšst-ḥtp* would name a daughter by *Hpt-k3* after his other wife.

Outer Jambs: To maintain the symmetry each jamb was, like those of the northern false door, divided into three superposed registers. While the left outer jamb is

¹²⁵ The same is found in the tomb of *Nswt-nfr*.

¹²⁶ *Giza* 2, 193.

totally independent, and with the right outer jamb of the northern false door provides a frame for the entire wall, the right jamb, like the left jamb of the northern false door, is partly linked to the central scene of the wall.

Two men are depicted in the top register of the left outer jamb. The first, carrying a bird and another object, is *hm-k3 Pth-špss* 'the ka-servant, Ptahshepses', while the second, holding a censer, is *hm-k3(?) Sn-mrr* 'the ka-servant(?)',¹²⁷ Senmerer'. The first man in the second register, *K3(.j)-[hr?]-Pth* 'Kai[kher]ptah' is described as *hm-k3* 'the ka-servant' and carries a box and another object. Behind him, carrying a jar in each hand, is *hm-k3 Hwj-n-Pth* 'the ka-servant, Khuienptah'. In the bottom register, also carrying two jars, is *hm-k3 nḥ-m-ε-k3(.j)* 'the ka-servant, Ankhmakai'. He is the only one designated as *ms.f dt* 'his child of the funerary estate'.

The man depicted in the upper register of the right outer jamb carries a tray placed on a short stand and holding loaves of bread. He is described as *hrp zh ʒhj* 'the director of the dining-hall, Akhi'. Below him is *jmj-r sšr Rhj* 'the overseer of linen, Rehi', who carries a linen bag and a jar. The bottom register represents a continuation of the bottom register of the central scene, yet the figures are directed towards this false door. The first man is labelled *wḏpw Tjwj* 'the butler, Tiwi' and carries a jar and an empty tray on a stand. The second man, named *Hzj* 'Hesi', carries a hyaena, holding tight its legs and mouth.

Central Scene

The central scene shows the tomb owner in a large size, wearing a short kilt and a leopard skin and holding the staff and sceptre. The only signs remaining of two columns in front of his face read: ... *hrp ʒh ... [hrj]-sšts ...* '..., the director of the ʒh-palace, ..., he who is privy to the secret ...'. He is accompanied by four children, all shown as young, unclothed and holding birds or flowers. The one in front of him, depicted with the side lock, is named *Htj* 'Heti' and is the only one in the scene described as *z3.f n ht.f* 'his son of his body'. The other three children are *Mrt-jt.s* 'Meretites',¹²⁸ *zš pr-mdʒt Šhntjw-k3* 'the scribe of the house of documents, Sekhentiuka' and *N-sḏr-kʒj* 'Nesedjerkai'. Two vertical lines of inscriptions seem to bracket the three registers of the scene in front of him, with the right line, i.e. that to the north, referring to gifts brought from the Delta, and the left/south line referring to the gifts from Upper Egypt. The signs of each line face towards the direction they represent. The former line reads: *jnt prt-hrw jn njwwt.f nt T3-mḥw m ḥb nb hrw nb n Sšst-ḥtp* 'bringing the invocation offerings by his towns of the Delta at every feast and every day, for Seshathetep'. The second line, to the left, probably started at the top of the wall and contained a parallel text: ... *nt Šmε m ḥb nb hrw nb n Sšst-ḥtp* '... of Upper Egypt at every feast and every day, for Seshathetep'.

Of the top register only the lower part of a standing man and scribal equipment are preserved. The second register is also headed by a scribe holding the scribal palette with two reeds tucked behind his ear. On the ground in front of him are items of

¹²⁷ It is possible that *hm-k3* 'ka-servant' describes both men.

¹²⁸ Written as *Mrt-tt.s*.

writing equipment. The man is identified as *z3.f n ht.f Sšst-htp* 'his son of his body, Seshathetep', and is said to be *jp jšt nbt nt pr-dt*¹²⁹ 'counting all the property of the funerary estate'. Behind him are five individuals, three men and two women, representing funerary estates and all carrying baskets on their heads and birds in one hand, except for one man who instead carries fish. The first three individuals face towards the northern false door, while the following two face the southern. Each one has the name of an estate written before him/her, but of the first only the town determinative now remains. The other estates are named as follows: (2) *Htpwt Hw.f-wj* 'The offerings of Khufu', (3) *W3h Hw.f-wj* 'Abundance of Khufu', (4) *Hnmt Hw.f-wj* 'Nurse of Khufu', (5) *Sg3 ...* 'The hill of ...'.¹³⁰

Another scribe heads the third register. He is labelled *zš Htp-k3(.j)* 'the scribe, Hetepkai' and is said to be *jp ndt-hr nt njwwt.f pr-dt* 'counting the gifts of his towns of the funerary estate'. Behind him are two men, each leading an animal. The first man is identified as *šmsw Zššn* 'the retainer, Sesheshen' and is leading a *rn (m3)-hd* 'young Scimitar-horned oryx'. The second man, described as *šmsw N-m(w)t.f* 'the retainer, Nemutef', is said to be *jnt ndt-hr njs(w)* 'bringing a gift, Nubian ibex'.¹³¹ The first man in the fourth register carries a small gazelle on his shoulder. His name is written in front of him as *Sn-mrr smsw* 'Senmerer, the elder'. He is followed by two men leading animals. The first, described as *hq3 Jwf-nj* 'the chief, Iuefni', leads a *jw3 rn* 'young ox', while the second, unnamed, leads a *rn wndw* 'young addax'.¹³²

NORTH WALL

Pls. 9, 47

The tomb owner and his wife sit on a chair with bull's legs and a cushion. He holds a staff and she places her left hand on his shoulder. In front of them is a son shown as a naked child. Junker amends some inscriptions above the couple, but of these only ... *n ht.f* '[king's son] of his body' now remain.¹³³ No traces of the other signs are present on this section of the wall, which was clearly damaged when Junker took his photograph.¹³⁴ The upper part of the wall in front of the couple is occupied by short registers containing food items in baskets and on trays. Below them are three registers of equal height depicting various individuals. In the top register a man described as *zš Htp-k3(.j)* 'the scribe, Hetepkai' is reading from an unfolded scroll and is said to be *m3 zš n phrt* 'viewing the records of the reversion offerings'. Behind him is *jmj-r pr Jpj* 'the overseer of the house, Ipi'. In the following register one standing man is labelled *jr(w) jbh Nfr-jrt.s* 'the dentist, Neferiretes'. The bottom register is occupied by eight offering bearers carrying items of food and drink. Five of them are now identified as follows: *hm-k3 nh-m-ε-k3(.j)* 'the ka-servant, Ankhmakai', *Zkr-htp(w)* 'Sokarhetepu', *H3j* 'Hesi', *hm-k3 ...r* 'the ka-servant, ...r' and *hm-k3 K3(.j)-tntt* 'the ka-servant, Kaitjentet'.

¹²⁹ For the meaning of *pr-dt* see Perepelkin, *Privateigentum*, 158ff.

¹³⁰ For the reading of the funerary estates see Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines funéraires*, 251-52.

¹³¹ Houlihan, *Animal World*, 60ff.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 57-58.

¹³³ Junker, *Giza 2*, fig. 29.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 16a.

V COLOUR CONVENTIONS

The walls were given a wash of pale pink gypsum in preparation for painting. No colour remains on the façade or the south door thickness, the north showing only a patch of red and traces of white. Very little paint is preserved in this tomb, particularly on the south wall which retains only traces of red on five figures in the bottom register.

Male flesh: Pale red (traces on a number of male figures on all walls)
 Female flesh: Yellow (daughter behind tomb owner W wall)
 Pupil: Black (tomb owner W wall)
 Kilt: White (S entrance recess)
 Dress: White (E wall)
 Lotus stem: Red (W wall)
 Stand and jars: Red (sides false door recesses)
 Small tables, trays, jars, loaves, meat : Red traces (bottom register N wall)
 Oil jars: Red traces (sides false door recesses)
 Calf: White (S entrance recess)
 Bull: White, orange-red outline (W wall)
 Oryx: White, dark red outline (E wall)
 False doors: Ceiling above central panel and drum painted red. All column dividers and inscription frames are green.

DADO Pl. 42d

The north and west walls and the southern entrance recess have a dado with an average height of 1.04m. Below the relief decoration is a dark-red band .05m. high above a band .04m. high which appears to have been coated with white and then painted pale orange. Beneath is a tall band, .17m. high on the north wall and .21m. high on the west wall, with very fine vertical red lines painted on a ground of yellow. Grey patches suggest the walls below were painted black to the floor. The dado on the east wall is 1.01m. high with a single band .05m. high which retains white paint and traces of orange-red; the area below to the floor shows remains of black paint.

HIEROGLYPHS

The signs below are according to Gardiner's sign list.

Red

D21  D32  D36  O34  S28  V13 
 W24  W22 

Green

M17  M23  R4  Q3  V10 

Blue

G38 

Yellow

M17 

White (orange-red outline)

T3 

VI STATUE

Pls 10a-b, 48c

A pair statue representing a man and a woman was found in *Sšst-htp*'s serdab.¹³⁵ Junker suggested that it might belong to the tomb owner's parents,¹³⁶ yet it seems more likely that it belongs to *Sšst-htp* and a wife.¹³⁷ The back of the statue is inscribed with five columns of hieroglyphs, giving titles of the owner, but unfortunately his name is not preserved. The inscriptions read: (1) *z3 nswt n ht.f smsw mrj.j.f jrj-pst t3jtj z3b t3tj wr [10 Šmꜥ]...* (2) *wr m3w Jwnw hrp tjst bjtj 3 Dw3w wn r [hm-ntr] Hntj-Hm...* (3) *hm-ntr B3 n 3npt hm-ntr Hr Sth hrp mrt Šmꜥ Mhw ... Jnpw...* (4) *hm-ntr B3stt hm-ntr Šzmtt wꜥ wrw hb ... Jnpw...* (5) *zš md3t-ntr smsw snwt jmj-r k3t nbt nswt...* '(1) the king's eldest son of his body, his beloved, the hereditary prince, he of the curtain, judge and vizier, the greatest of the ten of Upper Egypt, ... , (2) the greatest of the seers of Heliopolis, the director of the *tjst* of the king of Lower Egypt, the assistant of Duau, the opener of the mouth, the priest of he who is foremost of Letopolis, ... , (3) the priest of the Ram of Mendes, the priest of Horus and Seth, the director of the singers of Upper and Lower Egypt, the ... of Anubis, ... , (4) the priest of Bastet, the priest of the goddess Shesmetet, the unique one among the greatest of the festival, ... of Anubis, ... (5) ... , the scribe of the god's book, the elder of the *snwt*-house, the overseer of all works of the king, ...'.

VII WOODEN COFFIN

Pl. 10c

A coffin, made of dark brown cedar wood was found in the burial chamber of shaft 2.¹³⁸ It is constructed so that the outside surfaces resemble the palace façade decoration. It measures overall 2.09m. long x .87m. wide x .975m. deep and probably contained an inner coffin in which the body was placed.

¹³⁵ Ibid, pls. 13, 14a (Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. 7788).

¹³⁶ Ibid, 189ff.

¹³⁷ See for example Strudwick, *Administration*, 137.

¹³⁸ Egyptian Museum, Cairo: JE 49695. For a full description of the coffin and its construction see Junker, *Giza 2*, 178-79.

THE TOMB OF NESUTNEFER G4970*

I THE TOMB OWNER, HIS FAMILY AND DEPENDENTS

Tomb Owner

NAME

Nswt-nfr 'Nesutnefer'. Ranke suggests the reading *Nfr-nswt*.¹³⁹ While this is also possible, in this publication the commonly accepted reading of *Nswt-nfr* will be followed.

TITLES

Nswt-nfr's titles may be divided into three groups.

Group A:

- 1- *jmj-r ḥ* 'overseer of the ḥ-palace'.¹⁴⁰
- 2- *jmj-r prw msw-nswt* 'overseer of the houses of the royal children'.¹⁴¹
- 3- *ḏ-mr grgt* 'administrator of a settlement'.¹⁴²
- 4- *rh nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.
- 5- *z3b hrj-sšt3* 'judicial secretary'.¹⁴³

rh nswt is the only rank title (?) recorded by *Nswt-nfr*. Titles Nos. 1 and 5 are found inside the chapel, but specifically referred to as being held at the pyramid of Khafra, and it seems possible, but by no means certain, that these two titles on the entrance drum represent an abbreviated form of those inside the chapel. It is however curious that the titles of 'administrator of a settlement' and 'overseer of the houses of the royal children', visibly written on the entrance drum, do not appear anywhere else in the tomb. One wonders if the titles of Group A represent *Nswt-nfr*'s earlier career and that his association with the palace enhanced the king's trust in him, which resulted in him receiving more important and sensitive positions in the provincial administration. It may be argued, on the other hand, that *Nswt-nfr*'s service in the provincial administration was rewarded by appointing him to palace positions in his later years. The first alternative seems more plausible, as one would expect his highest responsibilities to be mentioned on the important west wall of his chapel. It is interesting that *Nswt-nfr*, who was in charge of the houses

* Porter - Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 3:1, 143-44.
139 *Personennamen* 1, 197:14.
140 Jones, *Index*, 80 [347].
141 *Ibid*, 129-130 [513].
142 *Ibid*, 362 [1342].
143 *Ibid*, 810 [2959].

of the royal children, had a particularly large number of children of his own, eight sons and nine daughters, a total of seventeen.

Group B:

Titles in this group are related to Khafra's pyramid.

- 6- *jmj-r ḥ Wr-Ḥ^c.f-R^c* 'overseer of the ḥ-palace of the Pyramid <Great is Khafra>'.¹⁴⁴
- 7- *jmj-r w^cbw Wr-Ḥ^c.f-R^c* 'overseer of the w^cb-priests of the Pyramid <Great is Khafra>'.¹⁴⁵
- 8- *ḏ-mr tⁿw rsj (Wr-Ḥ^c.f-R^c)* 'administrator of the southern settlement (of the Pyramid <Great is Khafra>'.¹⁴⁶
- 9- *[ḥm-ntr] Ḥ^c.f-R^c (Wr-Ḥ^c.f-R^c)* 'priest of Khafra (at the Pyramid <Great is Khafra>'.¹⁴⁷
- 10- *ḥm-ntr twt (Wr-Ḥ^c.f-R^c)* 'priest of the (king's) statue¹⁴⁷ (at the Pyramid <Great is Khafra>'.¹⁴⁸
- 11- *ḥrp jm(jw) z³w Wr-Ḥ^c.f-R^c* 'director of the members of the phyles of the Pyramid <Great is Khafra>'.¹⁴⁸
- 12- *z³b ḥrj-sšt³ Wr-Ḥ^c.f-R^c* 'judicial secretary of the Pyramid <Great is Khafra>'.¹⁴⁹

Titles of this group appear on the north and east walls of the chapel and on the panels of the false doors.

Group C:

Titles in this group relate to the administration of three provinces, *T³-wr* (Upper Egypt, nome 8), *W³dt* (Upper Egypt, nome 10) and *Ḥq³-ḥndw-j³btt* (Lower Egypt, nome 13).¹⁵⁰ During the Fourth and early Fifth Dynasties provincial administrators, like *Nswt-nfr*, were responsible for a number of provinces, which they inspected periodically, but resided in the capital where they were also buried.¹⁵¹ Titles of Group C are recorded on the east, south and west walls of the chapel.

Nswt-nfr held identical responsibilities in two Upper Egyptian nomes, U.E. 8 and U.E. 10, where he was:

- 13- *jmj-r wp(w)t* 'overseer of commissions'.¹⁵²
- 14- *jmj-r mnnw* 'overseer of fortresses'.¹⁵³

144 Ibid, 80-81 [348].

145 Ibid, 84 [363].

146 Ibid, 364 [1347].

147 Ibid, 583-84 [2140].

148 Ibid, 697-98 [2547].

149 Ibid, 810.[2959]

150 For a study of the Egyptian provinces see Helck, *Gaue* 90ff., 95ff., 182ff.

151 See Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 1ff.

152 Jones, *Index*, 102 [415].

153 Ibid, 139 [540].

- 15- *jmj-r nswtjw* 'overseer of the king's people'.¹⁵⁴
 16- *ḥqꜣ ḥwt ʿst* 'ruler of the great estate'.¹⁵⁵
 17- *sšm-tꜣ* 'leader of the land'.¹⁵⁶

He held other titles in relation to the administration of L.E. 13 as follows:

- 18- *jmj-r mnnw nswt* 'overseer of the royal fortresses'.¹⁵⁷
 19- *jmj-r rthw* 'overseer of the strongholds'.¹⁵⁸
 20- *jmj-r zmjwꜣt* 'overseer of the desert places'.¹⁵⁹

Wife of Nesutnefer

NAMES

- 1- *Ḥnt(j)*¹⁶⁰ 'Khenti'.
 2- *Ḥntjt-kꜣ*¹⁶¹ 'Khentitka'.

TITLES

- 1- *rḥt nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.
 2- *ḥm(t)-nꜣr Nt* 'priestess of Neith'.
 3- *ḥm(t)-nꜣr Ḥwt-ḥr* 'priestess of Hathor'.

Sons of Nesutnefer

- 1- *Wr-rwdw*¹⁶² 'Werrewedju'. *rḥ nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'. East wall.
 2- *N-sḏr-kꜣ(j)*¹⁶³ 'Nesedjerkai'. *shḏ wjꜣ* 'inspector of the boat'.¹⁶⁴ East wall.
 3- *Nfr-Mꜣt*¹⁶⁵ 'Nefermaat'. *rḥ nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'. East wall.
 4- *Špss-kꜣ(j)*¹⁶⁶ 'Shepseskai'. *shḏ wjꜣ* 'inspector of the boat'. East wall.
 5- *Kꜣ(j)-wd-ꜥnh(j)*¹⁶⁷ 'Kaiwedjankhi'. *ꜥd-mr tnw* 'administrator of a settlement'.¹⁶⁸ East wall.
 6- *Kꜣ(j)-m-jb(j)*¹⁶⁹ 'Kaiemibi'. *smr ḥrp ʿḥ* 'companion, director of the ʿḥ-palace'. East wall.
 7- *Kꜣ(j)-m-ḥzt*¹⁷⁰ 'Kaiemheset'. *rḥ nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'. East wall.

154 Ibid, 156-57 [604].
 155 Ibid, 678 [2481].
 156 Ibid, 978 [3611].
 157 Ibid, 138-39 [539].
 158 Ibid, 160-61 [617].
 159 Ibid, 204 [764].
 160 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 271:20.
 161 Ibid, 273:13.
 162 Ibid 2, 274:19.
 163 Ibid 1, 169:1.
 164 Jones, *Index*, 917-18 [3373].
 165 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 196:17.
 166 Ibid, 327:1.
 167 Ibid, 339:8.
 168 Jones, *Index*, 363-64 [1346].
 169 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 339:15.
 170 Ibid, 339:25.

- 8- *K3(j)-hr-st.f*¹⁷¹ 'Kaihersetef'. *zš* *ϵ(w) nswt* 'scribe of the royal documents'.¹⁷²
East, west and north walls. This son is likely to be the youngest, for although he held a title he is the only one represented in the tomb as a naked child, on both the east and west walls. Interestingly, unlike all his brothers who are depicted only once in the tomb, he appears three times, always in close proximity to his parents.

While all sons of *Nswt-nfr* carry titles, only the first in the row of sons depicted on the east wall enjoys the rank of *smr* 'companion', the following three were *rh* *nswt* 'acquaintance of the king' and the remaining ones have only functional titles.

Daughters of Nesutnefer

Nine daughters are represented on the east wall, the first four of whom bear the title *rh* *nswt* 'acquaintance of the king', while the rest have no titles at all. This, together with the evidence gained from the depiction of the sons, suggests that sons and daughters were represented in order of seniority, despite the separation of sexes. The daughters are:

- 1- *3tt-k3w.s*¹⁷³ 'Atjetkaues'. *rh* *nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.
- 2- *Bw-nfr*¹⁷⁴ 'Bunefer'. *rh* *nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.
- 3- *Mrt-jt.s*¹⁷⁵ 'Meretites'. *rh* *nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.
- 4- *Mzht*¹⁷⁶ 'Mesehet'.
- 5- *Nj-ϵnh-Hwt-hr*¹⁷⁷ 'Niankhathor'.
- 6- *Nb-k3*¹⁷⁸ 'Nebka'.
- 7- *Nfrrt-hr-nswt*¹⁷⁹ 'Nefertkernesut'.
- 8- *Hnwt.sn*¹⁸⁰ 'Henutsen'. *rh* *nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.
- 9- *Z3t-mrt*¹⁸¹ 'Satmeret'.

Dependents of Nesutnefer

- 1- *Jj*¹⁸² 'Iy'. *hq3* 'chief'. West wall.
- 2- *Jj-mw*¹⁸³ 'Iymu'. Possibly the same person appears twice, on the south wall described as *sšm(tj)* 'butcher'¹⁸⁴ and on the east wall as *hrp zh* 'director of the dining-hall'.¹⁸⁵

171 Ibid, 340:17.

172 Jones, *Index*, 838 [3057].

173 Ranke, *Personennamen* 2, 259:26.

174 Ibid 1, 94:6.

175 Ibid, 158:18.

176 Ibid, 164:16.

177 Ibid, 171:18.

178 Ibid, 186:19.

179 Ibid, 203:2.

180 Ibid, 244:1.

181 Ibid, 289:13.

182 Ibid, 8:11.

183 Ibid, 9:12.

184 Jones, *Index*, 979 [3612].

185 Ibid, 736-37 [2682].

- 3- *Jj-tw3j*¹⁸⁶ 'Iytwai'. *hq3* 'chief'. North wall.
- 4- *Jn-nb.f*¹⁸⁷ 'Innebef'. West wall.
- 5- *Jnj*¹⁸⁸ 'Ini'. *smsw pr* 'elder of the house/domain'.¹⁸⁹ East wall.
- 6- *Jnpw-htp(w)*¹⁹⁰ 'Inpuhetepu'. *htm(w)* 'sealer'.¹⁹¹ East wall.
- 7- *Jswj-ꜥnh.j-wd.s*¹⁹² 'Isuiankhiwedjes'. West wall.
- 8- *ꜥt*¹⁹³ 'Aat'. *hq3* 'chief'. West wall.
- 9- *ꜥnh-jswj-Dd.f-R*¹⁹⁴ 'Ankhisuidjedefra'. West wall.
- 10- *W...d* 'W...dj'. *wdpw* 'butler'. East wall.
- 11- *Wdꜥ-ntr.f*¹⁹⁵ 'Wedjanetjeref'. *šmsw* 'retainer'. South wall.
- 12- *Phts*¹⁹⁶ 'Pehtes'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. West wall.
- 13- *Mr-jb*¹⁹⁷ 'Merib'. *hq3* 'chief'. North wall.
- 14- *Mr-kjj*¹⁹⁸ 'Merky'. *jmj-r ššr* 'overseer of linen'. East wall.
- 15- *Mrj*¹⁹⁹ 'Meri'. *Nhs(j) šmsw* 'Nubian, retainer'. West wall.
- 16- *Mtjw*²⁰⁰ 'Metiu'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. East wall.
- 17- *Nfr-nn*²⁰¹ 'Nefernen'. *zš* 'scribe'. West wall. Another man with the same name but no titles appears in a boat on the east wall. It is uncertain if the two representations depict the same individual.
- 18- *Nfr-h3j*²⁰² 'Neferhai'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. West wall.
- 19- *Nngj*²⁰³ 'Nengi'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. South wall.
- 20- *Nswtj*²⁰⁴ 'Nesuti'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. Appears twice on north wall.
- 21- *Ntr-nfr*²⁰⁵ 'Netjernefer'. *hq3* 'chief'. West wall.
- 22- *H3j*²⁰⁶ 'Hesi'. *hm-k3* 'ka-servant'. South wall.
- 23- *Hnmw-htp(w)*²⁰⁷ 'Khenumhetepu'. *h3rp jz(w)t* 'director of the crew'.²⁰⁸ East wall.
- 24- *Z-sw-n-dt.f*²⁰⁹ 'Sesuendjetef'. *hq3* 'chief'. West wall.
- 25- *Z3tw*²¹⁰ 'Satju'. East wall.

186 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 11:3.

187 Ibid, 35:6.

188 Ibid, 36:13.

189 Jones, *Index*, 901 [3305].

190 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 37:19.

191 Jones, *Index*, 760 [2763].

192 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 46:16.

193 Ibid 2, 269:24.

194 Ibid 1, 63:2.

195 According to Junker, *Giza* 3, 179:14 and Ranke, *Personennamen* 2, 275:28.

196 Ibid, 286:24.

197 Ibid 1, 155:17.

198 Ibid 2, 291:27.

199 Ibid 1, 159:21.

200 Ibid 2, 292:24.

201 Ibid 1, 197:13.

202 See *ibid*, 197:23.

203 Ibid 2, 300:2; Junker, *Giza* 3, 183:10.

204 Ranke, *Personennamen* 2, 301:15.

205 Ibid 1, 214:16.

206 Ibid, 254:28.

207 Ibid, 276:6.

208 Jones, *Index*, 700 [2559].

209 Ranke, *Personennamen* 2, 312:2.

210 Ibid, 313:20.

- 26- *Spr(.j)-r-ꜥnh*²¹¹ 'Seperirankh'. East and south walls, on the former he is designated *hꜣp zḥ* 'director of the dining-hall'.
- 27- *Sn-rḥwj*²¹² 'Senrehui'. *jrj mꜣs(w)t* 'keeper of documents'.²¹³ East and west walls.
- 28- *Snj*²¹⁴ 'Seni'. East and south walls, on the former he is designated *wꜣpw* 'butler'.
- 29- *Snb*²¹⁵ 'Seneb'. *Nḥs(j) ḥtm(w)* 'Nubian, sealer'.²¹⁶ West wall.
- 30- *Kꜣ.j*²¹⁷ 'Kai'. *jmj-r pr* 'overseer of the house'. West wall.
- 31- *Kꜣ(j)-ḥꜣ(j)*²¹⁸ 'Kaihai'. *ḥm-kꜣ* 'ka-servant'. Two men with the same name and title appear in the third register of the east wall. They may well be two different individuals.
- 32- *Ttjj*²¹⁹ 'Tety'. *ḥm-kꜣ* 'ka-servant'. Two men with the same name and title are represented in the same register as above.
- 33- *Tntj*²²⁰ 'Tjenti'. *ḥm-kꜣ zš* 'ka-servant, scribe'. Depicted in two scenes on the west wall.
- 34- *Dd-ḥknw*²²¹ 'Dedhekenu'. He appears twice on the west wall, once described as *ḥm-kꜣ* 'ka-servant' and the other as *jmj-r ḥm(w)-kꜣ* 'overseer of the ka-servants'.

II DATING OF NESUTNEFER

The date of this tomb should be considered in conjunction with that of *Sšst-ḥtp*, which most scholars believe influenced its decoration.²²² It should be emphasised that the similarity between the decoration of the two tomb chapels exceeds the usual influence found between some other tombs, or even the copying of one or more motifs. The scenes in this case are almost identical. Apart from the different names and titles of the tomb owners, their families and dependents, the other inscriptions, the layout of the scenes, the subject matter, most individual movements, the types of chairs and tables, the height of the bread loaves on the offering tables, the type and placement of boats, etc. are very similar in the two tombs. One is inclined to think that the two tombs were decorated by the same artists, and/or the two tomb owners, who presumably had to agree on such similarities, were related. *Nswt-nfr* must have been very close in time to *Sšst-ḥtp*.

²¹¹ Ibid 1, 306:13.

²¹² Ibid, 309:9.

²¹³ Jones, *Index*, 317-18 [1167].

²¹⁴ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 310:11.

²¹⁵ Ibid, 312:15.

²¹⁶ Jones, *Index*, 760 [2763].

²¹⁷ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 341:15.

²¹⁸ Ibid, 342:16.

²¹⁹ Ibid, 385:17.

²²⁰ Ibid, 392:10.

²²¹ Ibid 2, 333:12.

²²² See for example Junker, *Gîza* 3, 71-76; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 96-97 [292]; Harpur, *Decoration*, 26-27, 396-97.

Suggested date: Sahura or immediately after.

III ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Pls. 49-50

This free-standing mastaba, oriented true north-south, measures 24.10m. N-S x 11.20m. E-W with a present height of 4.00m.²²³ Originally a core mastaba with no cult room, *Nswt-nfr* cased part of the core with blocks of local nummulitic limestone and constructed within it at the SE corner an offering chamber. The arrangement of the casing on the east façade is irregular, the blocks having various heights, widths and stages in their treatment. The north façade is more systematically cased with similar-sized blocks arranged in regular courses. The casing of these two façades overlaps onto the corners of the south and west façades respectively, and is the only evidence of casing on the latter façades. At the SE corner it is evident that the casing stones abut the stepped courses of the core to form the sloping outer façade which maintains an angle of 5°.

According to Reisner *Nswt-nfr*'s tomb was a core of type IIa converted into a mastaba of type VIIa with a chapel of type 4a, a two niched offering room with a subsidiary external niche at the northern end of the east façade.²²⁴ The narrow, uninscribed niche, constructed of four limestone blocks, is .90m. wide x 2.85m. high to a lintel 1.40m. wide x .50m. high, resulting in an overall height of 3.35m. The other dimensions are: outer jambs .20m. wide x .10m. deep x 2.85m. high; central panel .45m. wide x .30m. high; lower lintel .45m. wide x .20m. high; inner jambs .15m. wide x .10m. deep x 2.35m. high; central niche .20m. wide x .13m. deep x 2.20m. high to a drum .15m. thick.

The entrance at the southern end of the east façade is defined by a roughly smoothed recess which maintains the 5° slope of the façade. The entrance recess measures 2.85m. wide x .25m. deep and has the same height of 3.35m. as the external niche. Within the recess, just south of its axis, is a doorway .70m. wide x .75m. deep x 2.00m. high, above which is a slightly projecting architrave 2.39m. wide x .52m. high. The doorway has a flat-based drum .30m. thick, cut in the same monolithic block of limestone forming the entire entrance ceiling. The entrance has an internal recess 1.10m. wide x .30m. deep x 2.00m. high.

The doorway is located at the extreme northern end of a N-S chapel which measures 3.20m. N-S x 1.30m. E-W x 2.70m. high. The present floor is paved and all four ceiling slabs are *in situ*, measuring approximately 1.75m. long x .50-1.10m. wide x .50m. thick. The chapel is decorated with painted relief and set into the west wall are two recessed false doors which follow the slight inward slope of the wall. Both doors, fixed at floor level of the chapel and with a height of 2.45m.,

²²³ Junker gave a height of 4.40m. and suggested that the mastaba may have originally stood to 5.00m. (*Giza* 3, 164).

²²⁴ *Giza* 1, 214. Reisner records the casing blocks as masonry type w (*ibid*, 181, fig. 88).

are of the same early type consisting of a single pair of jambs.²²⁵ The northern false door has an upper lintel .83m. wide x .20m. high, a central panel .36m. wide x .40m. high with side apertures .07m. wide, a lower lintel .50m. wide x .15m. high, jambs .15m. wide x 1.70m. high and a central niche .20m. wide x 1.60m. high to a drum .15m. thick. The southern false door has an upper lintel .90m. wide x .25m. high, a central panel .40m. wide x .35m. high with side apertures .05m. wide, a lower lintel .50m. wide x .15m. high, jambs .15m. wide x 1.70m. high and a central niche .20m. wide x 1.55m. high to a drum .15m. thick.

Junker mentions serdab slits under the drums of the false doors and Reisner records a serdab behind the southern false door,²²⁶ but these could not be verified at present, partly due to modern restoration.

Burial Apartments

The core of the mastaba accommodates two shafts which were not recleared. The following brief description of two shafts is after Junker.²²⁷

1. Shaft 1 has a mouth 2.10m. square, is lined to bedrock with undressed irregularly-shaped limestone blocks and descends 8.20m. through bedrock to a total depth of 12.00m. At the floor of the shaft an entrance cut to the south 1.60m. N-S x 1.15m. E-W x 1.60m. high leads to a large burial chamber cut to the west and measuring 3.12m. N-S x 3.24m. E-W x 1.60m. high. Along the west side is a burial pit 2.80m. N-S x 1.20m. E-W x .90m. deep which probably held a wooden coffin, a fragment of which was recovered by Junker.
2. In the northern part of the core is a shaft with a mouth 2.10m. square (Junker 1.90m. sq.) which is lined to bedrock with twelve courses of dressed masonry blocks. The shaft descends 6.40m. through bedrock to a total depth of 11.00m., the sides narrowing to produce a floor 1.75m. N-S x 1.60m. E-W. An opening cut in the west wall leads directly to a burial area cut in fissured rock and slightly irregular in shape. It measures 2.75m. N-S x 1.85m. E-W x 1.10m. high.

IV SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS

The decoration of the chapel, both scenes and inscriptions, was executed in raised relief, which was also vividly coloured. A good deal of the colour has survived, astonishingly more so in the section near the entrance on the east, north and west walls.

²²⁵ Rusch, *ZÄS* 58 [1923], pl. A. Type II.1.

²²⁶ Junker, *Giza* 3, 164; Reisner, *Giza*, 214.

²²⁷ *Giza* 3, 164, 166, fig. 26.

Entrance

Pls. 11, 51, 55a

DRUM

This is the only preserved part above the doorway. The inscriptions read: *jmj-r ḥ zsb ḥrj-sšt jmj-r prw msw-nswt ḥd-mr grgt rh nswt Nswt-nfr* 'the overseer of the ḥ-palace, the judicial secretary, the overseer of the houses of the royal children, the administrator of a settlement, the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'.

NORTH THICKNESS

The tomb owner is represented on a chair with bull's legs and a cushion. He extends his right hand towards an offering table. While this scene has similarity in subject matter to that in the tomb of *Sšst-ḥtp*, it was left totally unfinished. Considering that all the scenes inside the chapel were not only cut in relief, but also coloured, the unfinished condition of this scene seems to have been intentional, perhaps for magical or superstitious reasons.²²⁸

ENTRANCE RECESS

The south side of the internal entrance recess is decorated with five registers depicting jars of oils described as (from top): (1) *tpj-ḥst*²²⁹ *stj-ḥb* 'the very best of *stj-ḥb*-oil', (2) *tpj-ḥst ḥknw* 'the very best of *ḥknw*-oil', (3) *tpj-ḥst ḥntjw* 'the very best of myrrh', (4) *tpj-ḥst sft* 'the very best of *sft*-oil', (5) *tpj-ḥst ḥdnt*²³⁰ 'the very best of *ḥdnt*-ointment'.

Chapel*EAST WALL*

Pls. 1a, 12-15, 52, 54

To the right are large standing figures of the tomb owner and his wife. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a short kilt and a leopard skin and holds the staff and sceptre. She wears a long wig and a long dress with shoulder straps and holds her husband's arm with one hand while placing the other on his shoulder. Five columns of hieroglyphs above him list all his Group C titles which are related to the administration of three provinces. A sixth column gives an additional title: *jmj-r ḥ Wr-Ḥ.f-R* 'the overseer of the ḥ-palace of the Pyramid <Great is Khafra>'. In front of his face he is identified as *rh nswt Nswt-nfr* 'the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'. Two columns above his wife describe her, as everywhere else in the tomb, as *ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr ḥm(t)-ntr Nt rhḥ nswt Ḥnt(j)* 'the priestess of Hathor, the priestess of Neith, the acquaintance of the king, Khenti'. A young son, with

²²⁸ Kanawati, *The Tomb*, 122.

²²⁹ For the infrequent expression *tpj-ḥst* see Barta who translates it as '(Salböl von) bester Sorte' (*Opferliste*, 32). It may actually refer to the best of the best, or the very best.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, 36.

the side lock, holds a goose in one hand and wraps the other arm around *Nswt-nfr*'s staff, and is labelled *zš ʿ(w) nswt K3(.j)-hr-st.f* 'the scribe of the royal documents, Kaihersetef'.

The wall in front of the couple is divided into four registers, the upper two in which the couple's children are depicted taller than the lower two showing offering bearers. Sons and daughters are separated, but presumably each gender was arranged in order of age since only the first four of each sex bear a rank title, *smr* or *rḥ/rḥt nswt*.

The top register begins with the label *msw.f n ht.f* 'his children of his body'. Seven sons are depicted in a row, all wearing the leopard skin and holding the sceptre. They are identified as follows: (1) *smr hrp ʿh K3(.j)-m-jb(.j)* 'the companion, the director of the ʿh-palace, Kaiemibi'; (2) *rḥ nswt Wr-rwdw* 'the acquaintance of the king, Werrewedju'; (3) *rḥ nswt K3(.j)-m-hzt* 'the acquaintance of the king, Kaiemheset'; (4) *rḥ nswt Nfr-M3t* 'the acquaintance of the king, Nefermaat'; (5) *ʿd-mr tnw K3(.j)-wd-ʿnh(.j)* 'the administrator of a settlement, Kaiwedjankhi'; (6) *shd wj3 Špss-k3(.j)* 'the inspector of the boat, Shepseskai'; (7) *shd wj3 N-sdr-k3(.j)* 'the inspector of the boat, Nosedjerkai'.

Nine daughters, each wearing a long wig and long dress, are represented in the second row as follows: (1) *rḥt nswt Hnwt.sn* 'the acquaintance of the king, Henutsen'; (2) *rḥt nswt Mrt-jt.s* 'the acquaintance of the king, Meretites'; (3) *rḥt nswt Bw-nfr* 'the acquaintance of the king, Bunefer'; (4) *rḥt nswt 3tt-k3w.s* 'the acquaintance of the king, Atjetkaues'; (5) *Mzht* 'Mesehet'; (6) *Nfrrt-hr-nswt* 'Nefertkhernesut'; (7) *Nb-k3* 'Nebka'; (8) *Z3t-mrt* 'Satmeret'; (9) *Nj-ʿnh-Hwt-hr* 'Niankhathor'.

Seven offering bearers depicted in each of the lower two registers carry jars, trays, live fowl and young animals, cuts of meat, incense, cloth and an apron held by two men which is labelled *j3* 'apron'. Those in the third register are identified as: (1) *hm-k3 K3(.j)-hb(.j)* 'the ka-servant, Kaihai'; (2) *hm-k3 Mtjw* 'the ka-servant, Metiu'; (3) *hm-k3 Ttjj* 'the ka-servant, Tety'; (4) *jmj-r šsr Mr-kjj* 'the overseer of linen, Merky'; (5) *hm-k3 Ttjj* 'the ka-servant, Tety'; (6) *hm-k3 K3(.j)-hb(.j)* 'the ka-servant, Kaihai'; (7) *htm(w) Jnpw-htp(w)* 'the sealer, Inpuhetepu'. The men in the bottom register are labelled: (1) *hrp zh Spr(.j)-r-ʿnh* 'the director of the dining-hall, Seperirankh'; (2) *hrp zh Jj-mw* 'the director of the dining-hall, Iymu'; (3) *wdpw W...d* 'the butler, W...dj'; (4) *jmj-r pr K3.j* 'the overseer of the house, Kai'; (5) *wdpw Snj* 'the butler, Seni'; (6) *smsw pr Jnj* 'the elder of the house, Ini'; (7) *jrj md3(w)t Sn-rhwj* 'the keeper of the documents, Senrehui'.

As is the case in the tomb of *Sš3t-htp*,²³¹ the area above the entrance doorway was reserved for travelling boats.²³² Only the first boat in the top register appears to be of papyrus, the rest were made of wood. Each register depicts a small boat in front of a larger one in the middle of which the tomb owner stands, leaning on his staff. Each large boat has a small shelter built of posts and perhaps matting. The

²³¹ See also the tomb of *Sšm-nfr* I (Kanawati, *Giza* 1, pls. 41, 44).

²³² For studies of these boats see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, 659ff.; Landström, *Ships*, passim; McFarlane, *Unis* 1, 48ff.

prow of each boat in the lower register has the shape of a hedgehog's head.²³³ The first boat in the top register is manned by three (or three pairs of) rowers and one helmsman in the stern. Above them is written *hn(jt) nfrt jmnt* 'the beautiful travel of/to the west'. The second boat has six rowers, two helmsmen, another crew member on top of the shelter and an overseer, named *Zštw* 'Satju', standing in the prow raising his *hrp*-baton. In the middle of the boat the tomb owner is identified as *rḥ nswt Nswt-nfr* 'the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'.

The small boat in the lower register is also manned by three rowers and one helmsman, but has an overseer named *Nfr-nn* 'Nefernen', who holds a baton. Above the boat is written *mr jmnt tp nfr pw* 'the canal of the west, it is something good'.²³⁴ The second boat is manoeuvred by the same number of men as the large boat in the upper register. The inscription identifying the overseer reads *hrp jz(wt) Hnmw-ḥtp(w)* 'the director of the crew, Khenumhetepu', and that above the tomb owner *rḥ nswt Nswt-nfr* 'the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'. A few signs now unclear are difficult to read.²³⁵

SOUTH WALL

Pls. 16, 56

The south wall of *Nswt-nfr* is almost a copy of that of *Sšst-ḥtp*, modified for a different tomb owner. Above the seated figure of *Nswt-nfr* are six columns of hieroglyphs listing all his titles in the administration of the three provinces, U.E. 8 and 10 and L.E. 13 (see his titles Group C), and ending with *rḥ nswt Nswt-nfr* 'the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'.

Like *Sšst-ḥtp*'s the inscriptions giving the requested offerings above the table are formed of one vertical (1) and six horizontal (2-7) lines. With identical items listed in both tombs the reading of *Nswt-nfr*'s list is similar to that of *Sšst-ḥtp*, with the addition of the following items which are missing at the end of lines (3-5) in the latter's tomb. Line (3) ...*dšb jšd ...t... ḥdw* '... figs, *jšd*-fruit, ...t..., onions'; line (4) ...*znwt*²³⁶ *ḥfn(wt)*²³⁷ *ḥ[bnnt]* '...*znwt*-bread, *ḥfnwt*-fruit, *ḥ[bnnt]*-bread'; line (5) ...*šḥt*²³⁸ *twšwt ...n...* '...*šḥt*-bread, *twšwt*-oil, ...n...'. The ceremony performed by three men in front of the tomb owner is identical to that in the same position in *Sšst-ḥtp*'s tomb.

As in the tomb of *Sšst-ḥtp*, the bottom register in *Nswt-nfr*'s tomb contains two groups of butchers working on an ox and an oryx, each group being formed of two men. In addition, two men are shown carrying the forelegs of animals but here, unlike in *Sšst-ḥtp*'s scene, they are placed at either end of the register. The men are named as follows (from right): *ḥm-k3 Nngj* 'the ka-servant, Nengi', *šmsw Wd-ntr.f* 'the retainer, Wedjanetjeref', *Jj-mw* 'Iymu' described as *sšm(tj)* 'butcher', *Snj* 'Seni', *Spr(.j)-r-ḥ* 'Seperirankh', *ḥm-k3 Hzj* 'the ka-servant, Hesi'.

²³³ Other identifications of this animal have been suggested, see *ibid*, 51 n.224.

²³⁴ Junker, *Giza* 3, 184.

²³⁵ See *ibid*, 184-85.

²³⁶ Barta, *Opferliste*, 36.

²³⁷ This fruit might have been used in making the *ḥnfw*-bread (*ibid*, 71).

²³⁸ *Ibid*, 57.

WEST WALL

Pls. 1b, 17-21, 53, 55b

Depicted in the centre of the west wall is a scene of the tomb owner and his wife receiving the accounts from his estates. On either side of this scene is a false door.

Northern False Door

The false door is set at the back of a shallow recess decorated on either side with four superposed representations of jars on stands, followed by one figure of an offering table on a stand.

Upper Lintel: The inscriptions are arranged in ten vertical lines: (1) *h̄tp dj nswt* (2) *h̄tp dj Jnpw* (3) *h̄ntj zh-n̄tr* (4) *qrs* (5) *m zmjt jmntjt* (6) *jsw nfr wrt* (7) *m nb jms̄h* (8) *nb jms̄h hr n̄tr ʿs* (9) *r̄h nswt* (10) *Nswt-nfr* '(1) An offering which the king gives, (2) and an offering which Anubis, (3) foremost of the divine booth, gives. (4) A burial, (5) in the western desert, (6) at a very good old age, (7) as a possessor of veneration, (8) a possessor of veneration before the great god, (9) the acquaintance of the king, (10) Nesutnefer'.

Central Panel: The tomb owner and his wife sit opposite each other at an offering table laden with eight half-loaves of bread, each extending the right hand to the bread. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard and the leopard skin, and she wears a long wig, a dog collar and a long dress. He is identified as *jmj-r w̄bw Wr-Ḥ̄.f-R̄c jmj-r ʿh Wr-Ḥ̄.f-R̄c r̄h nswt Nswt-nfr* 'the overseer of the *w̄b*-priests of the Pyramid <Great is Khafra>, the overseer of the *ʿh*-palace of the Pyramid <Great is Khafra>, the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'. She is described as *hm(t)-n̄tr Hwt-hr hm(t)-n̄tr Nt r̄ht nswt H̄nt(j)* 'the priestess of Hathor, the priestess of Neith, the acquaintance of the king, Khenti'. Above the table the following items are inscribed: *sn̄tr w̄d̄w msdt h̄tt jrp nbs* 'incense, green eye paint, black (eye) paint, ointment, wine, *nbs*-fruit'. Below these are represented cuts of meat on trays. Beneath the table is written: *t h̄s h̄nqt h̄s k̄s s̄s h̄s mn̄ht h̄s ʿpd m̄s-h̄d* 'bread, one thousand, beer, one thousand, oxen, alabaster, one thousand, clothes, one thousand, fowl and oryxes'.

Lower Lintel: This lists his titles in the administration of U.E. 8 (see Group C), followed by *r̄h nswt Nswt-nfr* 'the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'.

Drum: Damaged.

Left Inner Jamb: The tomb owner is depicted leaning on his staff.²³⁹ The inscription above him is mostly damaged, with only a few signs now remaining: *jmj-r ... r[h̄ nswt Nswt]-nfr* 'the overseer of ..., the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'.

²³⁹ For this posture see Harpur, *Decoration*, 323-24.

Right Inner Jamb: The tomb owner's wife is shown with a long wig, long dress, dog collar and elaborate bracelets.²⁴⁰ She bears her usual three titles and the name *Hnt(j)* 'Khenti'.

Central Niche: The tomb owner is represented wearing a long wig, a beard, a sash and a short kilt. The sign above him could be a part of the title *rh nswt* 'acquaintance of the king', or of his name *Nswt-nfr* 'Nesutnefer'.²⁴¹

Right Outer Jamb: The left outer jamb is incorporated into the central scene, while the right one is divided into five registers. The first register depicts a man wearing a head-dress and a beard and carrying a linen bag and a jar. He is identified as *Nhs(j) šmsw Mrj* 'the Nubian, the retainer, Meri'. A man with the same appearance is shown in the second register carrying an apron and labelled *Nhs(j) htm(w) Snb* 'the Nubian, the sealer, Seneb'. The following two registers depict dwarfs. The one in the third register is named *nh-jswj-Dd.f-Rc* 'Ankhisudjedefra', and carries a head-rest and a slanting couch/back-rest,²⁴² while the one in the fourth register is called *Jswj-nhj-wd.s* 'Isuiankhiwedjes' and carries a staff and sandals. The bottom register shows a jar in a stand.

The drawing of the dwarf in the third register presents us with an interesting case. It is true that figures in the Old Kingdom were generally drawn out on a system of horizontal guidelines, frequently with an axial vertical that divided the body into two parts, but the example of this dwarf suggests that a squared grid was used. This goes against the belief that squared grids are not attested before the Middle Kingdom.²⁴³ The grid lines in this case are not completely preserved, but enough remain to suggest that we are dealing with a squared grid, perhaps called for here by the unusual proportions of a dwarf's body.

Southern False Door

Upper Lintel: Identical to that of the northern false door.

Central Panel: Very similar to that of the northern false door, with minor variations. The offering table shows twelve half-loaves of bread, rather than eight. While the wife's designation is similar on both doors, the tomb owner is described here as *q-mr tnw rsj rh nswt Nswt-nfr* 'the administrator of the southern settlement, the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'. The items inscribed above the offering table are similar on both false doors, but in reversed order.

Lower Lintel: This lists the same titles as on the other door, only related to the administration of U.E. 10 (see Group C).

Drum: *rh nswt Nswt-nfr* 'the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'.

²⁴⁰ The collar and bracelets as shown in Junker, *Giza 3*, fig. 27, are inaccurate. See also the collar on the central panel.

²⁴¹ The depiction of the tomb owner's figure in the central niche is also found in the tomb of *Sšst-htp*.

²⁴² Junker, *Giza 3*, 179.

²⁴³ See for example Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 64ff.

Left Inner Jamb: The tomb owner leans on his staff. Above him is a list of his titles related to the administration of L.E. 13 (see Group C), followed by *rh nswt Nswt-nfr* 'the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'.

Right Inner Jamb: Identical to its counterpart in the northern false door.

Left Outer Jamb: The right outer jamb is incorporated into the central scene, while the left one is divided into four registers each depicting one offering bearer. The top register shows a man, labelled as *jmj-r hm(w)-k3 Dd-hknw* 'the overseer of the ka-servants, Dedhekenu', holding a spouted jar and said to be *rdjt mw w^cb(?)* 'dispensing water of purification'. The man in the second register is described as *zš Tntj* 'the scribe, Tjenti'. He holds a censer and is said to be *jdt(?) sntr* 'censing incense'. The man in the third register carries a footed tray of food and is described as *hm-k3 Nfr-h3j* 'the ka-servant, Neferhai'. The bottom register depicts a man carrying an animal foreleg and is designated *hm-k3 Ph^ts* 'the ka-servant, Pehtes'. In front of him is a tray with loaves placed on a stand, perhaps to balance the representation of a jar on a stand shown in a separate register at the bottom of the right outer jamb of the northern false door. There, the shorter two registers allocated to the dwarfs resulted in a fifth very short register where the jar on a stand was depicted.

Central Scene

Large standing figures of the tomb owner and his wife are depicted receiving the accounts from his estates. He wears a short wig, a beard, a collar, bracelet (only on one arm?) and a leopard skin, and holds the staff and sceptre. She wears a long wig, a long dress, bracelets and anklets. All his titles in the provincial administration (Group C) are inscribed in six columns above him, while opposite his face is written *rh nswt Nswt-nfr* 'the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'. Above his wife the regularly given three titles are inscribed in two columns, ending with her name *Hnt(j)* 'Khenti'. The two are accompanied by a son shown as a naked child facing them, while holding his father's staff with one hand and a bird in the other. He is identified as *zš ^c(w) nswt K3(.j)-hr-st.f* 'the scribe of the royal documents, Kaihersef'.

The space in front of the couple is divided into five registers, the upper three depicting funerary estates, and the lower two showing the presentation of animals. The offering bearers representing the funerary estates alternate between males and females, except in the second register where two women follow each other. All individuals representing the estates support with one hand a basket full of food and drink placed on their head, while carrying in the other hand live birds, or in one instance fish and in another a papyrus roll(?). Each individual has the name of the estate he/she represents written in front of his/her figure.

The top register is headed by a scribe, slightly bowing and in the process of writing. In front of him is some scribal equipment. He is described as *hm-k3 Dd-hknw* 'the ka-servant, Dedhekenu', and is said to be *jp njwwt nt pr-dt* 'counting the towns of the funerary estate'. Three estates are represented as follows: (1) *Jw mtt* 'the isle of *mtt*', (2) *Šndtj* 'the two acacias', (3) *R-t3wj* 'the mouth of the two

fledglings'.²⁴⁴ The last man in the register carries a young gazelle and is described as *ḥqꜣ Ntr-nfr* 'the chief, Netjernefer'.

The first man in the second register is *zš Nfr-nm* 'the scribe, Nefernen'. Like his counterpart in the top register, he is in the process of writing, and the text describing his action reads *jp jšt.f nbt nt pr-dt* 'counting all his property of the funerary estate'. The three estates named here are: (1) *Zꜣw dh(ꜣ)w* 'the protections of offerings', (2) *Grgt Jdr* 'the foundation of Ider', (3) *Hwt-kꜣ* 'the ka-chapel'. The last man, in front of whom is placed scribal equipment, carries a bag and papyrus rolls, and is designated as *jrj mdꜣ(w)t Sn-rḥwj* 'the keeper of documents, Senrehui'. Five estates are represented in the third register. The names of the first two are damaged, the others are: (3) *Šꜣ bšꜥ* 'the lake of the rebel', (4) *Šḥt Hwt-ḥr* 'the field of Hathor', (5) *Hꜥw* 'the hyaena'.

The lower three registers are framed on either side by a vertical line of text. The text to the right reads: *jn(t) prt-ḥrw jn njwwt.f nt Šmꜥ m ḥb²⁴⁵ hrw nb n Nswt-nfr* 'bringing the invocation offerings by his towns of the South at the feast and of every day for Nesutnefer'. The text to the left is similar, except that 'the South' is replaced by *Tꜣ-mḥw* 'the Delta' and the tomb owner is described as *rḥ nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'. Unlike the similar inscriptions in the tomb of *Sšꜣt-ḥtp*, the 'South' and 'Delta' are not positioned in the correct direction, i.e. the 'South' is placed to the right, or north, and vice-versa.

The fourth and fifth registers depict men bringing animals to be viewed by the tomb owner. Heading the fourth register is a scribe described as *ḥm-kꜣ zš Tntj* 'the ka-servant, the scribe, Tjenti', who is said to be *jp ndt-ḥr nt njwwt.f pr-dt* 'counting the gifts of his towns of the funerary estates'. Behind him are two men leading an animal labelled *rn (mꜣ)-ḥꜥ* 'young Scimitar-horned oryx'. Both men are described as *ḥqꜣ* 'chief', the first named *ꜣt* 'Aat' and the second *Jj* 'Iy'.

The bottom register shows two men with beards, each leading an animal. The first man, designated *ḥqꜣ Z-sw-n-dt.f* 'the chief, Sesuendjetef', leads a *ꜣwꜣ rn* 'young ox'. The second man, named *Jn-nb.f* 'Innebef',²⁴⁶ is said to be *jnt ndt-ḥr njꜣ(w)* 'bringing a gift, Nubian ibex'.

NORTH WALL

Pls. 2, 22, 57

The layout of the scenes on this wall is very similar to that on the north wall of *Sšꜣt-ḥtp*, only more complete. Wearing a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a bracelet on one hand(?) and a leopard skin, the tomb owner sits on a chair with bull's legs and holds a staff. He is accompanied by his wife who sits next to him wearing a long wig, a dog collar and a long dress with shoulder straps. One horizontal and

²⁴⁴ For the reading of the estate names in this tomb see Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines funéraires*, 255ff.

²⁴⁵ The sign below the open booth (Gardiner, O22) appears to be the alabaster basin (W3) rather than the basket (V30), and accordingly the reading seems to be *ḥb* and not *ḥb nb*, as is likely in the similar inscription in the tomb of *Sšꜣt-ḥtp*.

²⁴⁶ This name is a later addition.

six vertical lines of hieroglyphs list all his offices in the service of Khafra's pyramid (see Group B), followed in front of his face by *rḥ nswt Nswt-nfr* 'the acquaintance of the king, Nesutnefer'. Two vertical lines above the wife give all her three titles and the name *Hntjt-k3* 'Khentitka'.

The top part of the wall opposite the couple is divided into seven short registers containing cuts of meat, jars of drinks, different types of bread and cake, vegetables and fruits. Immediately facing the couple are two registers, each showing two men. The first man in the top register is reading from an unfolded scroll. He is identified as *zš ʿ(w) nswt z3.f K3(j)-ḥr-st.f* 'the scribe of the royal documents, his son, Kaihersef'. His action is described as *m3 zš n phr* 'viewing the records of the reversion-offerings'. Standing behind him is *ḥq3 Jj-tw3j* 'the chief, Iytwai'. In the register below a man is pouring water(?) into a basin on a stand. He is identified as *ḥm-k3 Nswtj* 'the ka-servant, Nesuti'. Behind him stands a man wearing a herdsman's kilt with the inscription *ḥq3 Mr-jb* 'the chief, Merib'. The bottom register occupies the width of the wall and depicts eight offering bearers carrying live birds, animal forelegs, a tray of food and a spouted jar. Only the first man is identified as *ḥm-k3 Nswtj* 'the ka-servant, Nesuti'. He is most probably the same *Nswtj* of the register above, and it is noticed that his name received some corrections(?) in both instances.

V COLOUR CONVENTIONS

The stone chapel is decorated in raised relief and painted. The south and east walls retain almost no colour other than in the boating scene above the doorway. Considering how little colour is preserved on the scenes themselves, it is surprising how much paint remains on the hieroglyphic signs.

Frieze at ceiling: Black on white

Grid-lines: Black (extreme N end W wall)

Register lines, vertical dividers and inscription frames: Green

Male flesh: Red; boat scene, tomb owner orange red and oarsmen alternately orange-red and dark-red (E wall)

Female flesh: Yellow; red nipple

Hair: Black

Eye: Black outline, red pupil

Kilts: White, red outline

Panther skins: Yellow with red detail; claws and outline dark red

Herdsman's kilt: White with fine red line detail

Dresses: White (generally); red (N false door jamb); spots of blue and red on straps and dress suggest beadnet pattern (N wall)

Jewellery: Blue collars, chokers, bracelets, anklets; red and blue drop beads (broad collar tomb owner W wall)

Offering tables: lower stand red; footed tray red outline; loaves red (and yellow?)

Chairs: Yellow with red outline; papyrus finial red umbel, green flower (N wall)

Staff: Yellow, red outline

Sceptre: Yellow (E wall)

Trays, jar stands, storage jars and containers: Red (N, W walls)
 Loaves: Red (tall); white (oval); yellow (in container, N wall); orange-red, yellow with red detail, white (on footed tray, sides N false door recess)
 Hanging meat : Red foreleg and fillet; red and white ribs and meat on bone; red supporting poles (N wall)
 Papyrus roll: White, red outline (N wall)
 hz-jar and basin: Yellow?, red outline (N wall)
 Jar stand: Mottled red (N, W walls)
 Basin: Green (W wall)
 Wooden boats: Yellow; hedgehog ear outlined in red; oars red
 Water: Lines drafted in black, no present indication of blue paint
 False doors: Both are spotted red in imitation of granite on the ceilings and side apertures of the panels and, on the north door, on the ceiling of the lower lintel, around the drum and the sides of the central niche. Red pots and trays, central panel
 Jars in basket on head: Lower part red (W wall)
 Scribal equipment: Red line detail (W wall)
 Headless fowl held: Red (W wall)

HIEROGLYPHS

Polychrome

Some of signs given in this section retain only one colour, yet it is almost certain that they originally were polychrome with two or more colours. The list below follows Gardiner's sign list, with three signs in bold typeface from *Hieroglyphica* and three others unclassified.

A1		Faded red flesh, black hair
A6		Red traces on body; red pot, blue water
A20		Red flesh; white kilt, red outline; yellow staff, red outline
B1		Yellow flesh, black hair
D1		Red face, black hair
D2		Yellow face, red details and outline; no colour beard
D4		Black outline, red iris
D253		Red arms; sceptre?
F 1		Yellow horns; head?
F4		Yellow face and body, blue mane
F35		White, red detail and outline
F39		White, red detail and outline
F44		Red meat, white bone
F81		Blue horns; head?

NESUTNEFER

- G17  Yellow, red face and feather detail, red outline
- G25  Green traces
- G38  Blue body, beak, legs; red eye
- G43  Yellow, legs red
- H1  Yellow, red beak, eye and outline
- M12  Green flower, red stem and base
- M18  Green reed; red legs
- M24  Green plant; red mouth
- N25  Green ground; hill pink dotted in red and green
- N39  Red banks; blue water
- O8  Blue enclosure; black *t*; red column
- O10  Blue enclosure; blue bird, legs yellow with red outline
- O11  Blue battlements at top; palace?
- O175**  Yellow booth, red binding detail and outline; green pole; cloth?
- R4  Green and white mat, red outline; loaf?
- R8  Green pole; cloth white with red detail
- R13  Blue body, yellow legs; blue feather; red standard, yellow pole
- T32  Blue whetstone, red handle; red legs
- V24  Red pole, white string
- V30  Red, green and white woven pattern
- W18  Red bodies and tops of jars, black necks (and rack?)
- W21  Red wine jars; binding yellow with red detail
- W22  Red base, black top
- Y3  Green pigment palette; red rope; water pot red outline; reed holder
white, red outline
-  Blue building; yellow battlements? outlined in red (W); top blue (N)
- LE 13  White top, red detail; yellow horizontal element above white (spear?)
with yellow detail
- UE 10  Blue cobra and feather; stand?

Red

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|-----|---|-----|--|-----|---|
| D21 |  | D28 |  | D32 |  | D36 |  | D46 |  |
| D58 |  | F34 |  | G4 |  | M39 |  | O29 |  |

NESUTNEFER

O34  S29  V13?  W10  W12 
 Z1  X3 

Orange-red

F46 

Yellow

I9  **Q6a var**  S38  V4  V6 
 V13  Aa1 

Green

M17  M22  M23  Q3  U1 
 V10  V28  V31 

Blue

G47  I9  G36  O1  O49 
 Q1  U30  U31 

Black

N29  N35  S34  T20  X1 

White

S27 

VI STATUES

Pl. 23

A seated statue of the tomb owner was found in the serdab behind the southern false door and a similar one for his wife was recovered from the serdab behind the northern false door.²⁴⁷ The statues measure in height .63m. and .54m. respectively and are made of fine limestone. *Nswt-nfr*'s statue retains the red-brown colour of the body, black of the hair and bright colours of the necklace. The paint on *Hnt(j)*'s figure has almost disappeared, but the colours of the necklace and wig are visible. The workmanship is not among the best of the Fifth Dynasty and

²⁴⁷ Respectively, Hildesheim Museum 2143 and Vienna Kunsthistorische Museum Inv. No. 7507. For descriptions see Junker, *Giza* 3, 185-85.

that of *Nswt-nfr* is better than that of his wife. While *Nswt-nfr* sits on a chair with no back, *Hnt(j)*'s chair has a high back. Beside her leg stands a son shown as a naked child with the side lock and a finger in his mouth.

Both statues are inscribed. That of *Nswt-nfr* has one line of text that runs down the front of the chair and continues on the statue base. It reads *rḥ nswt jmj-r wp(w)t jmshw hr nb.f Nswt-nfr* 'the acquaintance of the king, the overseer of commissions, the honoured one before his lord, Nesutnefer'. Two inscriptions identify his wife and her son. To her right is written *Hnt(j) z3t.s rḥt nswt Hnt(j)* 'Khenti,²⁴⁸ her daughter, the acquaintance of the king, Khenti'; to her left the text reads *rḥt nswt Hnt(j) z3.s rḥ nswt Rwdw*²⁴⁹ 'the acquaintance of the king Khenti, her son, the acquaintance of the king Rewedju'.

²⁴⁸ This refers to *Nswt-nfr*'s mother-in-law.

²⁴⁹ It is uncertain whether this is the same as *Wr-rwdw* who is depicted on the east wall of the chapel or, more likely, a younger brother and hence the description of the elder as *wr*.

THE TOMB OF SESHEMNEFER (II) G5080*

I THE TOMB OWNER, HIS FAMILY AND DEPENDENTS

Tomb Owner

NAME

*Sšm-nfr*²⁵⁰ 'Seshemnefer'. He is referred to as *Sšm-nfr* II, following Junker's study of this family²⁵¹ and pending the examination and analysis of the data from the tombs of other family members.

TITLES

- 1- *jmj-r (pr?)*²⁵² *ḥꜣw m prwj* 'overseer of the (house of) weapons in the two houses'. The title in its suggested form is unattested elsewhere, but similar titles exist.²⁵³ It is noticed that his son *Sšm-nfr* III held the title *jmj-r prwj ḥꜣw*²⁵⁴ 'overseer of the two houses of weapons'.²⁵⁵
- 2- *jmj-r zš(w) ḥ(w) nswt* 'overseer of scribes of the king's documents'.²⁵⁶
- 3- *jmj-r kꜣt nb(t) nswt* 'overseer of all works of the king'.²⁵⁷
- 4- *ḥrj-sšꜣtꜣ* 'privy to the secret'.²⁵⁸
- 5- *ḥrj-sšꜣtꜣ n wꜣt-mdw nbt nt nswt* 'privy to the secret of all decrees of the king'.²⁵⁹
- 6- *ḥrj-sšꜣtꜣ n ḥrt-ꜣ nswt* 'privy to the secret of the document-case of the king'.
- 7- *zš ḥ(w) nswt n sbꜣjt nswt* 'scribe of the king's documents of the royal instructors'.²⁶⁰
- 8- *zš ḥrt-ꜣ nswt* 'scribe of the document-case of the king'.²⁶¹

* Porter - Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 3:1,146-147

250 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 320:17.

251 *Giza* 3, 9ff.

252 For this amendment see Strudwick, *Administration*, 139 [130]; Jones, *Index*, 132 [520].

253 See *ibid*, 81-82, 116-17, 131-32.

254 Brunner-Traut, *Seschemnofers* III, fig. 1, 3-4.

255 Jones, *Index* 131-32 [520].

256 *Ibid*, 209-10 [780].

257 *Ibid*, 262-63 [950].

258 *Ibid*, 609 [2233].

259 *Ibid*, 617-18 [2265].

260 *Ibid*, 842-43 [3072].

261 *Ibid*, 867 [3174].

Mother of Seshemnefer

NAME

*Mrt-jt.s*²⁶² 'Meretites'.

TITLE

rh(t) nswt 'acquaintance of the king'.

Wife of Seshemnefer

NAME

*Hnwt.sn*²⁶³ 'Henutsen'.

TITLES

1- *rh(t) nswt* 'acquaintance of the king'.

2- *hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr nbt nht* 'priestess of Hathor, mistress of the sycamore'.²⁶⁴

Sons of Seshemnefer

1- *Pḥn-Pth*²⁶⁵ 'Pehenptah'. *zš ʿ(w) n(w) nswt* 'scribe of the king's documents'.²⁶⁶ West and south walls.

2- *Nfr-ḥtp-R*²⁶⁷ 'Neferhetepa'. *zš ʿ(w) nswt zsb šḥd zš(w)* 'scribe of the king's documents, juridicial inspector of scribes'²⁶⁸. West and south walls.

3- *R-wr*²⁶⁹ 'Rawer'. *zš ʿ(w) n(w) nswt* 'scribe of the king's documents'. West and south walls.

4- *Ztw*²⁷⁰ 'Setju'. *zš* 'scribe'. The kinship of this man to the tomb owner is uncertain, for while he appears with three of the tomb owner's sons on the west wall of the chapel, this particular scene does not label them all as 'his children'.

5- *Sšm-nfr* 'Seshemnefer'. *jmj-r zš(w) ʿ(w) nswt* 'overseer of scribes of the king's documents'. East, south and west walls.

Daughters of Seshemnefer

1- *[M]rt-jt.s* 'Meretites'. West wall.

2- *Ndt-m-pt*²⁷¹ 'Nedjetempet'. West wall.

²⁶² Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 158:18.

²⁶³ Ibid, 244:1.

²⁶⁴ Jones, *Index*, 545 [2024].

²⁶⁵ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 136:1.

²⁶⁶ Jones, *Index*, 838 [3057].

²⁶⁷ Unattested in Ranke, *Personennamen*, but for similar names formed with the names of other deities see *ibid* 1, 198; vol. 2, 298.

²⁶⁸ Jones, *Index*, 814 [2978].

²⁶⁹ Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 217:12.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, 298:17.

²⁷¹ Ibid, 215:7.

Grandson of Seshemnefer

*Sšm-nfr-šrj*²⁷² 'Seshemnefer the younger'. He is the son of *Pḥn-Pth*. South wall.

Dependents of Seshemnefer

- 1- *Jsj*²⁷³ 'Isi'. *jrj* ... 'custodian of ...'. North Wall.
- 2- *Jtj*²⁷⁴ 'Itji'. East wall.
- 3- *Wrj*²⁷⁵ 'Weri'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North wall.
- 4- *Nḏm*²⁷⁶ 'Nedjem'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North wall.
- 5- *Rc-ḥtp(w)*²⁷⁷ 'Rahetepu'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North wall.
- 6- *Ḥtptj*²⁷⁸ 'Hetepti'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North wall.
- 7- *Ḥntj-k3*²⁷⁹ 'Khentika'. East wall.
- 8- *Tn3*²⁸⁰ 'Tjena'. *ḥm-k3* 'ka-servant'. North wall.

II DATING OF SESTEMNEFER

The dating of *Sšm-nfr* II has been considered by a number of scholars. Junker has drawn attention to the possible relationship between *Sšm-nfr* and *Jj-mrjj*, since the former had an estate named *Grgt Jj-mrjj*, and, according to Junker, might have copied a scene from his tomb.²⁸¹ Reisner,²⁸² Baer,²⁸³ Kanawati,²⁸⁴ Strudwick,²⁸⁵ Harpur²⁸⁶ and Weeks²⁸⁷ have dated *Sšm-nfr* II to the earlier part of Niuserra's reign. *Sšm-nfr* II was almost certainly the father of *Sšm-nfr* III who is generally dated on firmer ground to the reign of Djedkara.²⁸⁸

Suggested date: Niuserra, probably in the second half of the reign.

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- 272 Ibid, 320:18. A son of *Sšm-nfr* I was also called *Sšm-nfr-šrj* (Kanawati, *Giza* 1, 52, pl. 42).
- 273 Ibid, 46:7.
- 274 Ibid, 52:29.
- 275 Ibid, 82:20.
- 276 Ibid, 215:8.
- 277 Ibid, 219:15.
- 278 Ibid, 260:16.
- 279 Ibid, 273:6. The reading *Ḥntjw-k3* is also possible.
- 280 Ibid, 391:16.
- 281 *Giza* 3, 71.
- 282 *BMFA* 37 [1939], 29ff.
- 283 *Rank and Title*, 132 [477].
- 284 *Egyptian Administration*, 154 [308].
- 285 *Administration*, 139 [130].
- 286 *Decoration*, 270 [233].
- 287 *Cemetery G6000*, 4-7; for a study and a record of the almost contemporary mastaba of *Jj-mrjj* see *ibid*, 31ff., figs. 25ff.
- 288 See discussion under Strudwick, *Administration*, 140 [131].

III ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Pls. 24, 58-59

G5080 was originally a free-standing mastaba oriented true north-south which was cased in stone and an entrance and chapel constructed in the SE corner, providing measurements of 26.30m. N-S x 13.50m. E-W. Reisner's typology states that the type IIa core was converted into a mastaba of type VIIx with a type 4a chapel, a two niched offering room with a subsidiary external niche at the northern end of the eastern façade.²⁸⁹ The addition of a second casing on the north façade, a corridor chapel to the east and a large serdab complex to the south expanded the area of *Sšm-nfr* II's mastaba, resulting in overall dimensions of 34.10m. N-S x 16.90m. E-W. The casing of the four façades, all with a slope of 15°, is of well-dressed white limestone blocks which are irregularly arranged, with the exception of those on the east façade. The west façade largely retains its original height of 4.20m. and behind the east façade a section ca. 5.00m. wide is preserved to a height of 3.30m. of the original facing of the core. Elsewhere, few parts of the external walls remain above a height of 1.50m.

The external niche at the northern end of the east façade measures .70m. wide x 1.50m. to its remaining height above ground level. It is constructed of a monolithic block and maintains the slope of the mastaba. It has a single pair of jambs .25m. wide x .10m. deep and a central niche .20m. wide x .10m. deep. At a distance of 1.70m. south of the niche there is a section, also .70m. wide, of incised palace façade with a pair of jambs .25m. wide and a central niche .20m. wide. Closer to the chapel entrance at the south end of this façade is a larger section, 3.30m. wide, of palace façade decoration. Each repetition of the pattern measures .50m. in width, consisting of a pair of outer jambs .15m. wide, inner jambs .05m. wide and a central niche .10m. wide. The six repetitions of the pattern are divided at the centre by a central niche .30m. wide.

The entrance to the offering chapel at the southern end of the east façade is defined by a recess with a slope of 15° which is 2.85m. wide x .40m. deep. The entrance is broken and no drum or lintel is preserved. The doorway, .80m. wide, has a present thickness at the floor of 1.40m. and a present height of 1.60m. It has an internal recess 1.10m. wide x .25m. deep; no details of height can be provided.

The doorway opens at the northern extremity of the east wall into a north-south chapel 3.75m. N-S x 1.55m. E-W x 3.00m. high. The floor of the chapel has been restored and no ceiling slabs remain. The walls of the chapel are vertical except for the south, which slopes outward at 5°. The chapel is decorated with painted relief and set into the west wall are two recessed false doors. Both are of the same early type with a single pair of jambs.²⁹⁰ The northern door is raised .03m. above the present chapel floor and recessed .09m. into the wall. The upper lintel measures 1.20m. wide x .25m. high, the central panel .46m. wide x .40m. high with side apertures .10m. wide, the lower lintel .66m. wide x .20m. high, the jambs .22m.

²⁸⁹ *Giza* 1, 214-15.

²⁹⁰ Rusch, *ZAS* 58 [1923], pl. A. Type II.1.

wide x 1.95m. high and the central niche .22m. wide x 1.80m. high to a drum .15m. thick. The southern door is raised .15m. above the floor of the chapel and recessed .10m. into the wall. Its measurements are: upper lintel 1.05m. wide x .25m. high, central panel .46m. wide x .45m. high with side apertures .10m. wide, lower lintel .66m. wide x .20m. high, jambs .22m. wide x 1.75m. high, central niche .22m. wide x 1.60m. high to a drum .15m. thick.

The north-south street in front of *Sšm-nfr* II's mastaba has been completely enclosed to form a corridor chapel 26.50m. N-S x 3.30m. E-W. The street was blocked by the construction of an entrance to a serdab complex at the south end, by a now partially preserved wall of unfinished limestone blocks built across the eastern side of the street between the SW corner of another mastaba and the NW corner of *Sšm-nfr* III,²⁹¹ and by the addition of an entrance to this street at the north end. The corridor chapel has an entrance formed by two free-standing pillars, each .40m. square, and two engaged pillars adjoining the mastabas on either side. The west engaged pillar, .60m. N-S x .60m. E-W, forms part of a corner block which abuts the outer limestone casing of *Sšm-nfr* II. The east engaged pillar, .60m. N-S, projects only .10m. from a block 1.00m. N-S x .30m. E-W placed against the northern end of the west façade of the mastaba on the east side of the street. None of the pillars is preserved above a height of 2.10m. The pillars are inscribed for *Sšm-nfr* II and presumably would have supported an architrave. At a distance of 15.60m. south of these pillars are two rectangular pink granite plinths which could have supported obelisks. The east plinth measures .95m. N-S x .80m. E-W, the west one 1.00m. N-S x .70m. E-W and both are .40m. high.

Occupying the east-west street adjacent to *Sšm-nfr* II's south façade is a large serdab complex, constructed between his south wall, the north wall of another mastaba and the east wall of *Sšm-nfr* III. It has overall dimension of 6.60m. (max) N-S x 16.40m. E-W. The north wall abuts the south façade of *Sšm-nfr* II's mastaba and, accordingly slopes inward at 15°, as do also the north faces of the blocks forming the entrance. The east wall of this serdab encroaches upon the west façade of *Sšm-nfr* III and the south wall abuts the northern wall of the mastaba to the south. The north-south street behind the eastern end of the south wall of the serdab has been further blocked by a stone wall 3.10m. thick.

The entrance to the serdab, at the south end of the corridor chapel, is .80m. wide x .25m. thick. From the doorway a ramp 1.30m. N-S x .80m. E-W slopes upwards at an angle of 10° into what might be termed an antechamber, 4.30m. N-S x 1.40m. E-W. Axial to this chamber is a long corridor room 1.85m. N-S x 11.45m. E-W. The floor of the serdab is paved and all walls are well-dressed, although none are preserved above a height of 1.25m. Built into the thicknesses of the north and south walls of the corridor are eight depressions, four set into each wall in parallel positions to their counterparts. Placed at equidistant intervals of .70m., each measures .95m. N-S x 2.10m. E-W with a present depth of .15m. Junker's reconstruction of this complex implies that these functioned as the bases of sealed compartments for statues, reiterating the proposed use of this room as a

²⁹¹ Only a few shapeless blocks of stone remain of this possible wall. It seems likely that these found their way there at a later stage and that this section was opened, providing access between the tomb of *Sšm-nfr* II and that of his son, *Sšm-nfr* III.

serdab.²⁹² Junker also suggests that the raised section presently existing at the western end of the room, 2.60m. N-S x 1.00m. E-W x .60m. high, was similarly used as a serdab compartment, recreating a wall with three viewing slits at the west end of the corridor.

Junker's reconstruction of the decoration of the south wall²⁹³ is based on the discovery of broken parts of doors of fine limestone, decorated in relief with cross bars, door bolts and inscriptions.²⁹⁴ These dummy doors were undoubtedly associated with the statue compartments, yet Junker's reconstruction of these is unlikely. These fictitious doors, formed of superposed blocks, were most probably not placed at ground level but in front of the compartments, at a level over a metre above the chamber floor. The full length of the north wall is decorated with incised palace façade panelling. Each repetition of the pattern has a width of 2.60m. and is composed of a large central niche .40m. wide, four small niches consisting of outer and inner jambs and a central niche, each .30m. wide, then two small niches which use a common pair of jambs .40m. wide, followed by an outer jamb at either extremity, each .10m. wide.

Burial apartments

The core of the mastaba holds one shaft which was not recleared. It has a mouth 2.10m. square and is lined to bedrock with eight courses of masonry blocks. Reisner, however, records two shafts for this mastaba of types 3af, and 4b (type w).²⁹⁵ The second shaft was not located. Objects recovered from the main shaft include a red granite sarcophagus, a statuette of a scribe, an inscribed sceptre, a limestone slab with an offering list and a sealing of Shepseskaef.²⁹⁶

IV SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS

All scenes and inscriptions are executed in raised relief, with little colour now preserved.

Entrance to Corridor

Pls. 24a, 60

PILLAR I

North Face: *jmj-r zš(w) ʿ(w) nswt n(j) st-jb nb.f*²⁹⁷ *hrj-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt nb jm3h* ... 'the overseer of scribes of the king's documents, he who belongs

²⁹² *Giza* 3, 187-92, figs. 33-34.

²⁹³ *Ibid*, fig. 34.

²⁹⁴ Several of these are now held in German museums: Berlin E21600 (see Brunner-Traut, *Seschemnofers III*, pl. 28); Hildesheim M1540; Tübingen Äg. Inst. der Universität, Inv. 4.

²⁹⁵ *Giza* 1, 215.

²⁹⁶ For references see Porter - Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 3:1, 144.

²⁹⁷ Jones, *Index*, 474 [1765].

to his lord's affection, he who is privy to the secret of all decrees of the king, the possessor of reverence,²⁹⁸ ...'.

South Face: *[jmj-]r zš(w) ʿ(w) nswt n(j) st-jb nb.f hrj-sšt3 n wdt-mdw nbt nt nswt mrjj nb.f Ššm-nfr* 'the overseer of scribes of the king's documents, he who belongs to his lord's affection, he who is privy to the secret of all decrees of the king, the beloved of his lord, Seshemnefer'.

PILLAR II

North Face: ... *nb jmšh hr nb.f Ššm-nfr* '..., the possessor of reverence before his lord, Seshemnefer'.

ENGAGED PILLARS

East: ... *mrrt nb.f hrw nb Ššm-nfr* '..., what his lord desires, every day, Seshemnefer'. West: ... *Ššm-nfr* '... Seshemnefer'.

Entrance Doorway

Pls. 25a, 61

NORTH THICKNESS

Two men are depicted leading three oxen inside the chapel. The details of the relief and the twists of the ropes are beautifully rendered. The inscriptions above them read *jnt j[w3]t [m] ndt-hr*²⁹⁹ 'bringing oxen as gift'.

SOUTH THICKNESS

Two men are shown bringing a Scimitar-horned oryx. The partly preserved label reads *rn [m3-hd]* 'young (Scimitar-horned oryx)'. Only the bottom part of the upper register is now preserved, showing a boat with nine oars.

Chapel

EAST WALL

Pls. 25b, 62

The tomb owner is depicted standing to the left, wearing a long kilt and leaning on his staff³⁰⁰ with a cloth held between his fingers. Six columns of hieroglyphs

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 478 [1778].

²⁹⁹ For a similar inscription see the tomb of *Ššm-nfr* III (Brunner-Traut, *Seschemnofers* III, fig. 1). The *t* after *jws* is however unusual, but is attested again on the neighbouring north wall of the chapel, identifying a similar animal.

³⁰⁰ For this posture see Harpur, *Decoration*, 127-28.

identify him: (1) *jmj-r zš(w) ʿ(w) nswt n zš(w) [hrt-ʿ]*³⁰¹ *nswt* (2) *hrj-sšt3 n hr[t-ʿ] nswt* (3) *zš hrt-ʿ nswt* (4) *jmj-r k3t nb(t) nswt* (5) *jrr mrrt nb.f* (6) *rʿ nb Sšm-nfr* '(1) the overseer of scribes of the king's documents and of scribes of the document-case of the king, (2) he who is privy to the secret of the document-case of the king, (3) the scribe of the document-case of the king, (4) the overseer of all works of the king, he who does what his lord loves,³⁰² (6) every day, Seshemnefer'. Standing before the tomb owner and holding to his staff is a naked male identified as *z3.f mrjj.f Sšm-nfr* 'his son, his beloved, Seshemnefer'.

The wall space in front of the tomb owner is divided into four registers representing men bringing gifts for him. One vertical line of text describes his action as *m33 n[dt-hr?] ... m njwwt.f pr-dt* 'viewing [the gifts] ... from his towns of the funerary estate'.³⁰³ The top register is probably headed by one of the tomb owner's sons, *Phn[-Pth]*, of whom only the legs are preserved. The second man carries a document under his armpit and the third, named *Hntj-k3*, reads from a scroll. In front of him are a sack and another object and behind him are the remains of a foot of another man. The second register depicts two men, each leading an animal to be presented to the tomb owner. The scene is described as *jw nn ...* 'these are ...'. The first man, designated *jmj-r mdt* 'the overseer of the cattle stall',³⁰⁴ holds the rope attached to an animal which is also tethered to the ground. Above the animal is written *jnt rn (m3)-h3d*³⁰⁵ 'bringing a young Scimitar-horned oryx'. The second man is pulling an animal of which only the legs remain, and is perhaps being helped by a second man behind the animal. The third register depicts two large oxen, the first led by a farmhand while the second is tethered to the ground. Above the first animal is written *jnt jw3 r prt-hrw* 'bringing an ox for the invocation offerings'. Behind the second ox, labelled *rn jw3* 'young ox', is a herdsman holding a stick and described as *jmj-r t3z(w)t* 'overseer of herds'.³⁰⁶ He is followed by a man carrying a goose and perhaps a large bunch of vegetables. The bottom register shows six men, all carrying geese, either in their hands or in crates. The first man is the only one wringing the neck of the bird, while the fifth man is the only one named in the group; he is *Jtj* 'Itji'.

SOUTH WALL

Pls. 26, 64

The tomb owner sits on an elaborately decorated³⁰⁷ armchair with bull's legs and high back and sides. He probably holds a fly-whisk in his right hand, while receiving a lotus flower from his son with his left hand. A son stands in the middle register of the three depicted in front of the tomb owner. He is described as *z3.f mrjj.f jmj-r zš(w) ʿ(w) nswt Sšm-nfr* 'his son, his beloved, the overseer of the

³⁰¹ The amendment of this part of the inscription is based on other titles held by *Sšm-nfr* which begin with . *jmj-r zš(w) ʿ(w) nswt* is followed elsewhere by  'of ...' (see Jones, *Index*, 210 [781, 782]).

³⁰² For this epithet see *ibid*, 339 [1251].

³⁰³ For similar inscriptions see Montet, *Vie privée*, 126ff.

³⁰⁴ Jones, *Index*, 147 [573].

³⁰⁵ For the abbreviated writing of *m3-h3d* as *h3d* see Montet, *Vie privée*, 136, 155.

³⁰⁶ Jones, *Index*, 276 [992].

³⁰⁷ For a similar decorative motif on a chair see Junker, *Giza* 4, 35, fig. 9.

scribes of the king's documents, Seshemnefer'. Behind him is presumably the tomb owner's grandson, the son of *Phn-Pth*. The inscription describing him reads *Phn-Pth z3.f Sšm-nfr-šrj* 'Pehenptah, his son, Seshemnefer the younger'.³⁰⁸ The presence of a large ewer in a basin placed on a tall table in front of the grandson may explain the washing gesture of his hands. The top register shows two men carrying between them an offering table and followed by a third man bearing food items. The register below that of the son and grandson shows three more sons, all seated. They are described as *msw.f* 'his children': (1) *z3b šḥḏ zš(w) Nfr-ḥtp-R* 'the juridical inspector of scribes, Neferhetep'; (2) *zš ʿ(w) n(w) nswt R-wr* 'the scribe of the king's documents, Rawer'; (3) *zš ʿ(w) n(w) nswt Phn-Pth* 'the scribe of the king's documents, Pehenptah'.

A full register beneath the tomb owner is reserved for music and dancing. To the right is a man with one hand placed on his ear and is said to be *ḥst* 'singing'. He is followed by a harp player with the label *sqr m bnt* 'beating/playing on the harp'.³⁰⁹ In the centre of the register are three girls wearing only short skirts and performing a slow movement dance, with one foot slightly raised from the ground and both arms above the head.³¹⁰ The three girls to the left wear long, tight dresses and are clapping. The inscription in front of them reads *ḥst jb* 'making rhythm³¹¹ of dancing'.

WEST WALL

Pls. 27-30, 63

The central part of the wall is dominated by an offering table scene, showing the tomb owner and his wife, accompanied by three of their children. On either side of this scene is a false door and a side panel.

Northern False Door

Upper Lintel: *ḥtp dj*³¹² *nswt ḥtp dj Jnpw prt-ḥrw n.f m [Dḥw]tjt ... m sḏ prt Mnw(?) 3bd smdt tpj rnpt wpt rnpt r ʿ nb [jmj]-r zš(w) ʿ(w) nswt Sšm-nfr* 'An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis gives. May an invocation offering come forth for him at the Thot feast, ..., at the *sḏ*-feast, the coming forth of Min feast, the monthly feast, the half-monthly feast, the first of the year feast, the opening of the year feast and every day,³¹³ the overseer of scribes of the king's documents, Seshemnefer'.

Central Panel: Wearing a short wig, a short kilt and a leopard skin the tomb owner sits on a chair with bull's legs and a cushion, but no back. He extends his hand towards an offering table, but does not reach the twelve half-loaves of bread on it. The man is identified as *jmj-r zš(w) ʿ(w) nswt Sšm-nfr* 'the overseer of scribes of

³⁰⁸ For references to filial relationships see Edel, *Grammatik*, § 307.

³⁰⁹ Montet, *Vie privée*, 361.

³¹⁰ See Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, 14ff. For a general description of various dances see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, 391ff.

³¹¹ Ziegler, *Akhetetep*, 162.

³¹² *dj* is written only once in a large size for both *ḥtp dj nswt* and *ḥtp dj Jnpw*.

³¹³ For these feasts see Altenmüller in *LÄ* II, 171ff.

the king's documents, Seshemnefer'. Above the table in five compartments is written: (1) *mw zst* (2) *stj-ḥb* (3) *ḥknw* (4) *nḥnm* (5) [*sntr*]³¹⁴ '(1) water for libation, (2) *stj-ḥb*-oil, (3) *ḥknw*-oil, (4) *nḥnm*-oil, (5) incense'. Beneath the table is written: *t ḥz ḥnqt ḥz ʔd ḥz šs ḥz mnḥt ḥz* 'bread, one thousand; beer, one thousand; fowl, one thousand; alabaster, one thousand; clothes, one thousand.

Lower Lintel: *jmj-r zš(w) ʕ(w) nswt mrr nb.f Sšm-nfr* 'the overseer of the scribes of the king's documents, the beloved of his lord, Seshemnefer'.

Drum: *Sšm-nfr* 'Seshemnefer'.

Jambs: Both left and right jambs have identical inscriptions which do not terminate with the standing figure of the tomb owner. The text reads: *jmj-r zš(w) ʕ(w) nswt ḥrj-sšt Sšm-nfr* 'the overseer of the scribes of the king's documents, he who is privy to the secret, Seshemnefer'.

Southern False Door

This false door is identical to the northern one, except for the inscriptions on the upper lintel. It should be noted that although the beginning of the inscription, *ḥtp dj nswt ḥtp dj Jnpw*, is identical on both lintels the text requires a continuation from the first to the second lines on the northern lintel and reading of the two lines as separate statements on the southern lintel. It reads: *ḥtp dj nswt jḥp.f³¹⁵ ḥr wšwt nfr(w)t m ḥtp nfr wrt ḥtp dj Jnpw ḥntj zh-ntr qrs.tj.f m ḥrt-ntr jšw nfr wrt jmj-r zš(w) ʕ(w) nswt Sšm-nfr* 'An offering which the king gives, that he may travel upon the beautiful roads in very great peace. An offering which Anubis, foremost of the divine booth, gives, that he be buried in the necropolis having reached a very good old age, the overseer of scribes of the king's documents, Seshemnefer'.

Side Panels

North of the Northern False Door: This is divided into four registers, the top three of which depict men known from elsewhere to be the tomb owner's sons. It is possible, but of course uncertain, that the man in the bottom register is also a son. The four men are similarly dressed in kilts which reach below the knee, but the positions of their arms and hands are all different. From top they are identified as follows: (1) *zš ʕ(w) nswt zšb šḥd zš(w) Nfr-ḥtp-Rʕ* 'the scribe of the king's documents, the juridicial inspector of scribes, Neferhetepa'; (2) *zš ʕ(w) n(w) nswt Rʕ-wr* 'the scribe of the king's documents, Rawer'; (3) *zš ʕ(w) nswt Pḥn-Pth* 'the scribe of the king's documents, Pehenptah'; (4) *zš Zṯw* 'the scribe, Setju'. The significance of the signs to the right of the upper lintel of the false door is not clear.

South of the Southern False Door: This panel is devoted to the tomb owner's mother,³¹⁶ where she is depicted wearing a long wig, a dog-collar and a broad collar and a long, tight dress. The inscriptions identifying her read: (1) *mw.t.f*

³¹⁴ This item is now missing, but is completely preserved on the identical southern false door.

³¹⁵ For the writing of *ḥp* as *jḥp.f* see Lapp, *Opferformel*, §91:3.

³¹⁶ An identical arrangement is found in the neighbouring tomb of his son, *Sšm-nfr* III (Brunner-Traut, *Seschemnofers* III, fig. 3).

rh(t) nswt (2) *htp dj [nswt] Jnpw hntj zh-ntr qrst* (3) ... *m nbt jmh hr ntr* (4) *Mrt-jt.s* '(1) His mother, the acquaintance of the king. (2) An offering which the king and Anubis, foremost of the divine booth, give. A burial (3) ... as a possessor of reverence before the god, (4) Meretites'.

Central Scene

The tomb owner and his wife are seated together on a chair before an offering table laden with eighteen half-loaves of bread.³¹⁷ He wears the leopard skin, a short wig, a beard and a collar, while she wears a long, tight dress, a long wig, a dog-collar and a broad collar and anklets. Five columns of hieroglyphs above the tomb owner describe him: (1) *jmj-r zš(w) c(w) nswt zš c(w) nswt n sbjt nswt* (2) *hrj-sšt3 n hrt-c nswt zš hrt-c nswt* (3) *jmj-r (pr) c3w m prwj* (4) *hrj-sšt3 n wd-t-mdw nt nswt* (5) *jmj-r k3t nb(t) nswt mrr nb.f* '(1) the overseer of the scribes of the king's documents, the scribe of the king's documents of the royal instructors, (2) he who is privy to the secret of the document-case of the king, the scribe of the document-case of the king, (3) the overseer of the (house of) weapons in the two houses, (4) he who is privy to the secret of the decrees of the king, (5) the overseer of all works of the king, the beloved of his lord'. Above his head is written the name *Sšm-nfr* 'Seshemnefer'. His wife is identified as *rh(t) nswt hm(t)-ntr Hwt-hr nbt nht Hnwt.sn* 'the acquaintance of the king, the priestess of Hathor, mistress of the sycamore, Henutsen'.

Beneath the chair are represented on a small scale three seated individuals, a man and two women, described as *msw.f* 'his children'. They are: (1) *Sšm-nfr* 'Seshemnefer', (2) *(M)rt-jt.s* 'Meretites', (3) *Ndt-m-pt* 'Nedjetempet'. Below the table is inscribed *t h3 hnqt h3 k3 h3 3pd h3 š3 h3 mnht h3 m ht nb(t) nfrt* 'bread, one thousand; beer, one thousand; oxen, one thousand; fowl, one thousand; alabaster, one thousand; clothes, one thousand, of every good thing'.

Above the table is a partly preserved offering list composed of thirty-five compartments, arranged into five lines of seven compartments, to the right of which are two larger compartments containing a loaf of bread, cuts of meat in a woven basket and a prepared goose on a footed tray. The items included in the offering list are as follows:³¹⁸

1. *z3t* 'a libation'
2. *s(ntr sdt?)* 'lighted incense'
- 3-7. lost
8. *sntr sdt* 'lighted incense'
9. *qb(hw t3wj?)* 'libation water and two balls of natron'
10. *h3t* 'offering table'
- 11-14. lost
15. *hnfw* 'hnfw-bread' (four)
16. *hbnnwt* 'hbnnwt-bread' (four)

³¹⁷ The layout of the scene is also similar to that in *Sšm-nfr* III, even in the number of the bread loaves, although these are slightly higher in relationship to the figure of the respective tomb owners, as is the expected trend in this period (see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 42ff.).

³¹⁸ For the reading of these items see Barta, *Opferliste*, passim.

17. *jdst* 'jdst-bread' (four)
18. *qmhw* 'qmhw-bread' (three?)
19. *šnsu* 'šnsu-bread' (four)
20. *t-jmj-t3* 'jmj-t3-bread' (four)
21. *ju* 'thigh'
22. *sr* 'sr-goose' (one)
23. *trp* 'trp-goose' (one)
24. *zt* 'zt-duck' (one)
25. *s* 's-goose' (one)
26. *mnwt* 'pigeon' (one)
27. *sp(h)t* 'rib-cut' (one)
28. *zhn* 'kidney' (one)
29. *šht hdt* 'white šht-fruit' (two)
30. *šht w3dt* 'green šht-fruit' (two)
31. *ꜥgt zt* 'special preparation of wheat' (two)
32. *ꜥgt jt* 'special preparation of barley' (two)
33. *b3b3wt* 'b3b3wt-fruit' (two)
34. *ht nb(t) bnrt* 'every sweet thing'
35. *rnpt nbt* 'all year-offerings'

The bottom register below the seated figures of the tomb owner and his wife is devoted to the butchery cycle. Two oxen are bound, tethered to the ground and being slaughtered. In each case two men are working together, one holding the animal's foreleg upright while the second applies his knife to the foreleg. Three other men are sharpening their knives and a fourth one, in the middle, is standing with a knife in one hand and a coiled rope in the other.

NORTH WALL

Pls. 31, 65

The wall is divided into four registers, the upper three of which are largely occupied by funerary estates, represented by alternating men and women carrying baskets and numerous items of food and drink, including bread, pomegranates, fowl and meat. Part of the upper two registers has disappeared but eleven estate names are preserved.³¹⁹ In the top register the names of four estates are (1) *Ddnw*³²⁰ (or *Htpt Ddnw*) 'the offerings of Dednu', (2) *Grgt Ššm-nfr*³²¹ 'the foundation of Seshemnefer', (3) *Dnw* 'the estate of Denu', (4) *Grgt Ššm-nfr* 'the foundation of Seshemnefer'. Another four estates remain in the second register with the names (1) *Grgt ꜥnh-k3* 'the foundation of Ankhka', (2) *Dnw* 'the estate of Denu', (3) *Grgt Ššm-nfr* 'the foundation of Seshemnefer', (4) *Grgt ...wr* 'the foundation of ...wer'. Three estates in the third register are named (1) *Db3 sk3w* 'the reward of cultivation', represented by a man carrying a small gazelle on his shoulders with an inscription above him which reads *jnt ghs* 'bringing a gazelle', (2) *Grgt Jj-mrjj* 'the foundation of Iymery',³²² and (3) *Hwt dw s(j)* 'the domain of

³¹⁹ For these estates see Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines funéraires*, 243-44.

³²⁰ The estate of *Ddnw* is also mentioned in the tomb of *Ššm-nfr* I (Kanawati, *Giza* 1, pl. 41).

³²¹ This estate is also listed in *Ššm-nfr* I's tomb (*ibid.*).

³²² Another estate is named after *Jj-mrjj* (*Jnt Jj-mrjj*) in the tomb of *Ššm-nfr* I (*ibid.*).

the one who calls it'. Behind the last man is another one who carries a hyaena and is labelled: *jrj... Jsj* 'the custodian(?) of ..., Isi'. He is followed by a woman who carries a bunch of vegetables and leads a hornless calf on a rope. Above the animal is written *jnt jwst* 'bringing a young ox'.

The bottom register is occupied by a row of six offering bearers. Heading them is *hm-k3 R-htp(w)* 'the ka-servant, Rahetepu', who is censuring. The following man carries two rolls of cloth and is designated as *hm-k3 Ndm* 'the ka-servant, Nedjem'. The third man is *hm-k3 Htpj* 'the ka-servant, Hetepti', who carries a young animal, probably an oryx. The woman behind him is not named and carries a box on her head and a ewer in her hand. She is followed by *hm-k3 Wrj* 'the ka-servant, Werj', who carries a basket and a jar. The last man carries a basket and a goose and is described as *hm-k3 Tn3* 'the ka-servant, Tjena'.

V COLOUR CONVENTIONS

Repairs and adjustments due to irregularities in the stone were made with a coarse reddish plaster and the surface coated with a hard pink gypsum in preparation for decoration. Little colour remains on any of the relief-decorated stone walls of *Sšm-nfr* II's chapel.

Dado: Red band .09m. high above black, 1.03m., to the floor (poorly and partially preserved on N and W walls)

Register lines: Black

Vertical dividers and inscription frames: Blue

Male flesh: Faded red (small patches on a number of male figures on each wall)

Female Flesh: Orange-yellow (offering bearer, bottom register N wall); yellow traces (one woman, register 2 N wall)

Hair: Black traces (man, bottom register N of N false door)

Incense jar: Red (held by first man, bottom register N wall)

Chest: Red (carried on head of a woman, bottom register N wall)

Anklets: Blue traces (same woman as above)

Whetstone: Red (W wall)

False doors: Spotted red paint in imitation of red granite on ceilings above the panels and drums and the side walls of the jambs on each of the two doors

Loaves on offering table: Alternate red and yellow (S false door)

HIEROGLYPHS

Very little colour is preserved on any of the hieroglyphic signs, including those designated below as polychrome but which can fairly safely be listed under this category. The unusual use of blue, rather than red, for , the only sign for which colour is preserved on the upper lintel of the north false door, suggests that all signs in this inscription may have been painted blue.

Polychrome

- A6  Blue water; man?, jar?
 M12  Red stem and base; flower?
 Y3  Green palette; red reed case; water pot?
 T33  Black whetstone; red traces handle

Blue

- M4  N13  N37  S29  T8  U30 
 X1 

Green

- M23  Q3  V28 

Yellow (traces only)

- G17  I10  M17 

Black

- N35 

VI INSCRIBED SERDAB BLOCK

Pl. 32

A group of limestone blocks forming part of a dummy door from the serdab of *Sšm-nfr* II are preserved and housed in Berlin.³²³ The relief decoration includes cross bars, a door bolt and a partly preserved line of horizontal inscription above the door bolt. It reads in two directions, the text of each identical: *jmj-r zš(w) ʿ(w) nswt Sšm-nfr* 'the overseer of scribes of the king's documents, Seshemnefer'.

³²³ Brunner-Traut, *Seschemnofers III*, pl. 28.

ADDENDA

KAIEMANKH AND SESHEMNEFER I

Some of the photographs of the tombs of *K3(.j)-m-ꜥnh* and *Sšm-nfr* I published in volume 1 were not sufficiently clear in their details. The following list of plates should therefore be added to the documentation of these two tombs.

33. Kaiemankh, chapel
 - (a) Recess, north wall, detail
 - (b) Corridor, west wall, detail
34. Seshemnefer I, chapel, east wall, upper register, details
35. Seshemnefer I, chapel
 - (a) East wall, detail
 - (b) East wall, detail
 - (c) East wall, detail
 - (d) West wall, northern false door, panel
36. Seshemnefer I, chapel, south wall
37. Seshemnefer I, chapel, west wall, centre, details
38. Seshemnefer I, chapel
 - (a) West wall, upper left
 - (b) North wall, upper part

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Grgt Sšm-nfr 62
Grgt ...wr 62
Zsw đh(3)w 45
Šht Hwt-hr 45
Sg3 ... 28
Š3 bšt 45
Šndtj 44
Dnw 62
Ddnw 62, n.318
Db3 sk3w 62

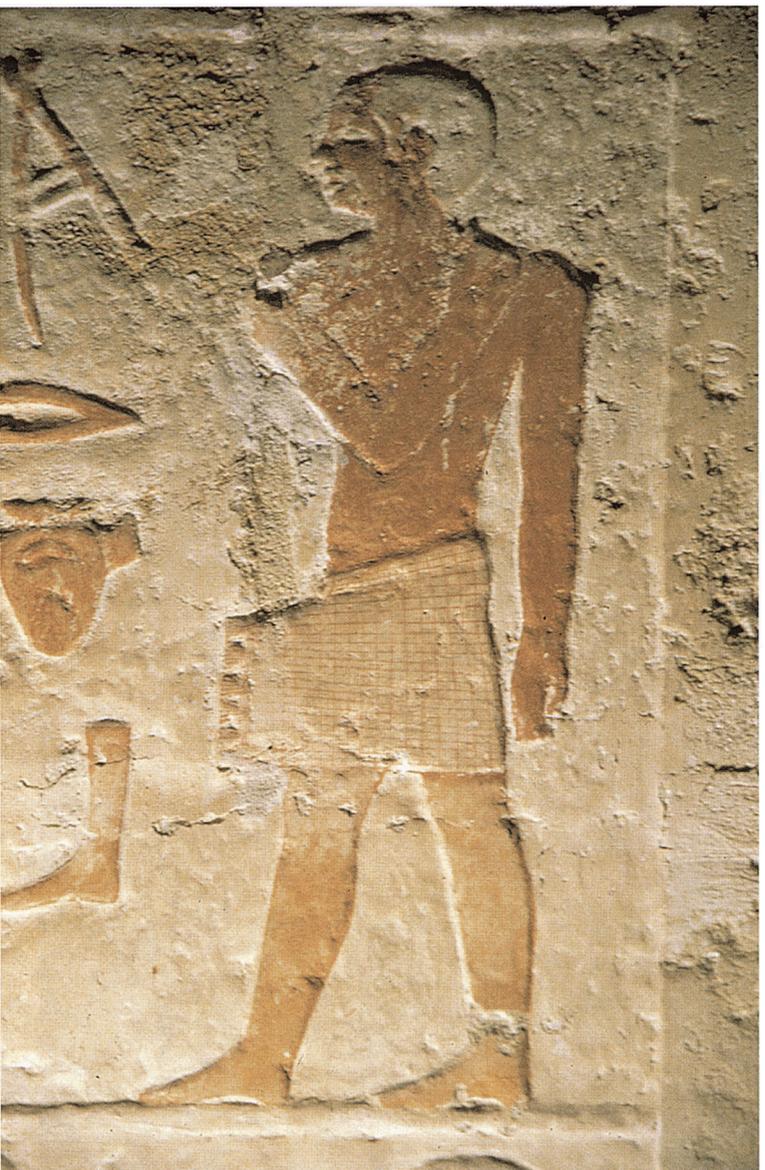
PLATES



(a) East wall, details



(b) West wall, northern false door, details



Pl. 2. Nesutnefer, chapel, north wall, details



(a) Façade, looking west



(b) Entrance, north thickness



(a) Above entrance



(b) North of entrance



(a) Middle part



(b) Lower part



(a) Upper part



(b) Lower part

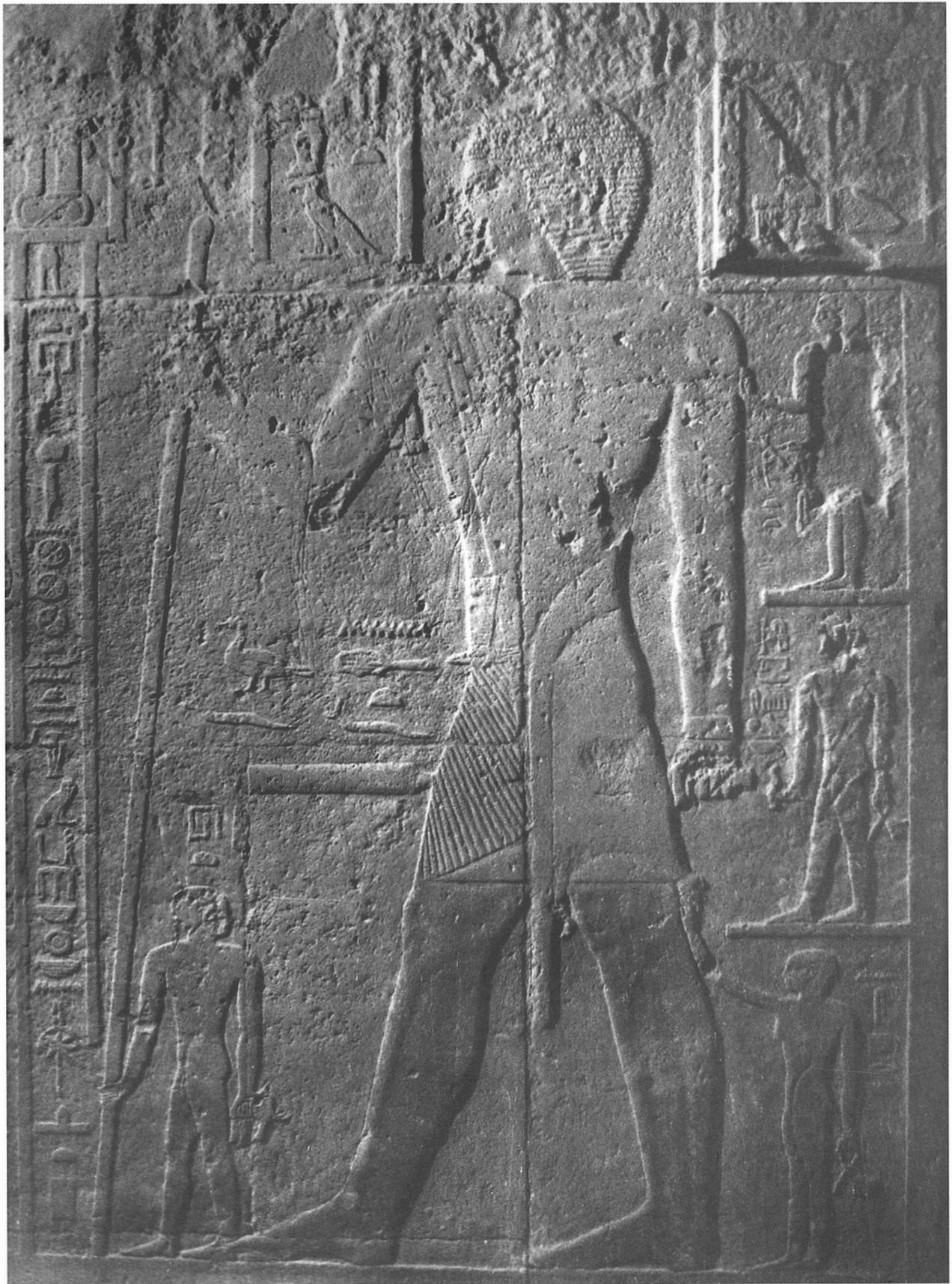
Pl. 6. Seshathetep, chapel, west wall, northern false door



(a) Southern false door, lower part



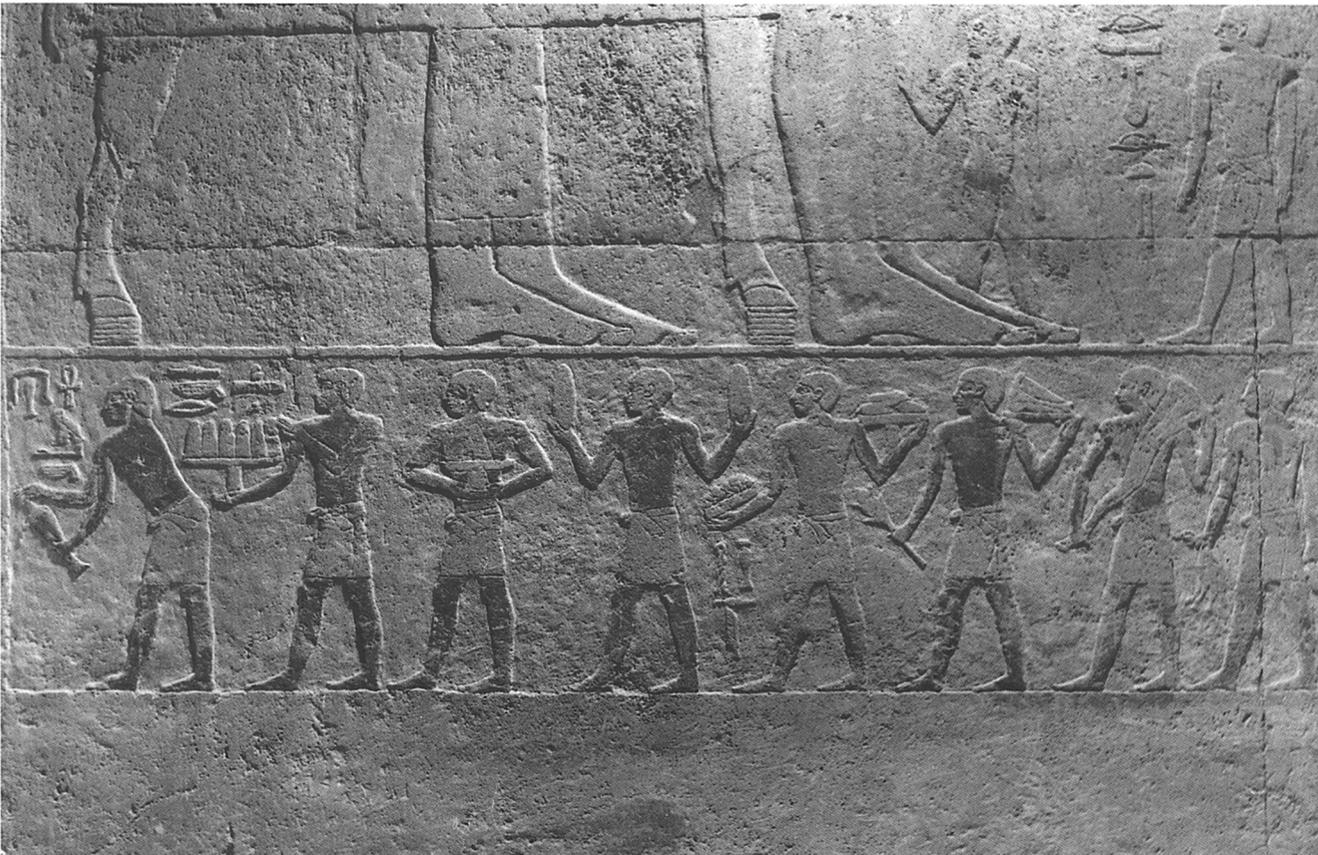
(b) Centre, detail



Pl. 8. Seshathetep, chapel, west wall, centre



(a) Upper part

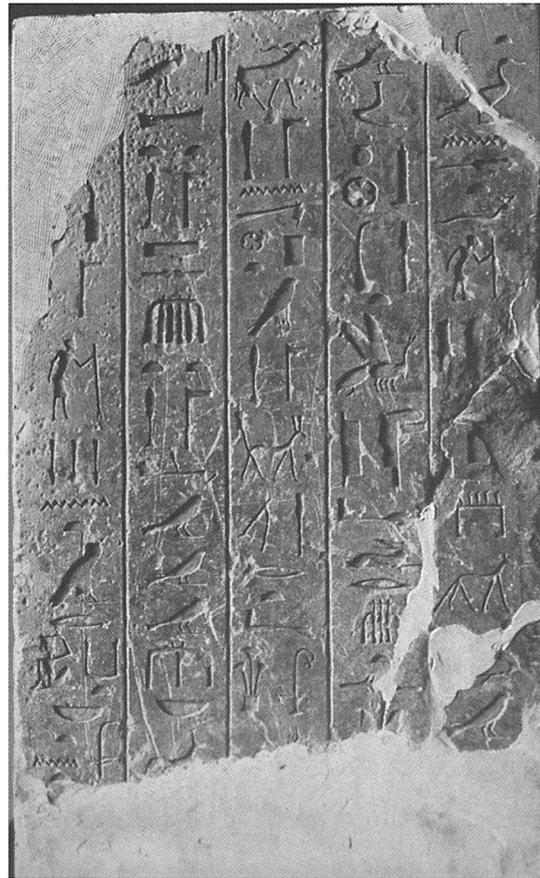


(b) Lower part

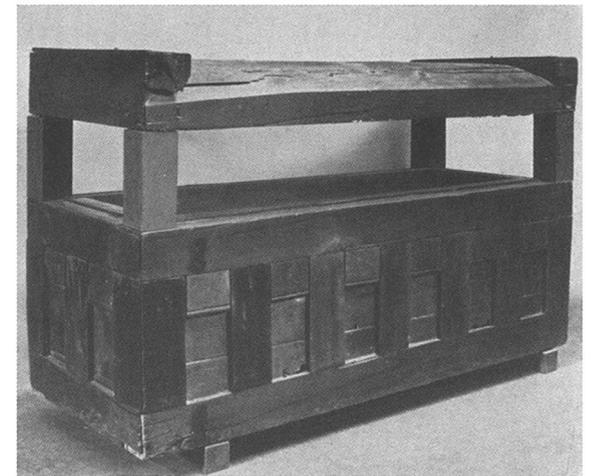
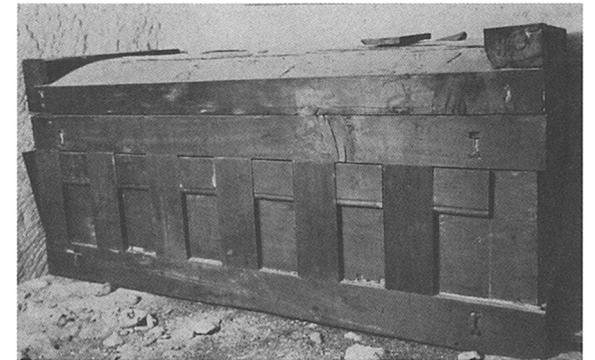
Pl. 9. Seshathetep, chapel, north wall



(a) Pair statue



(b) Inscriptions on statue



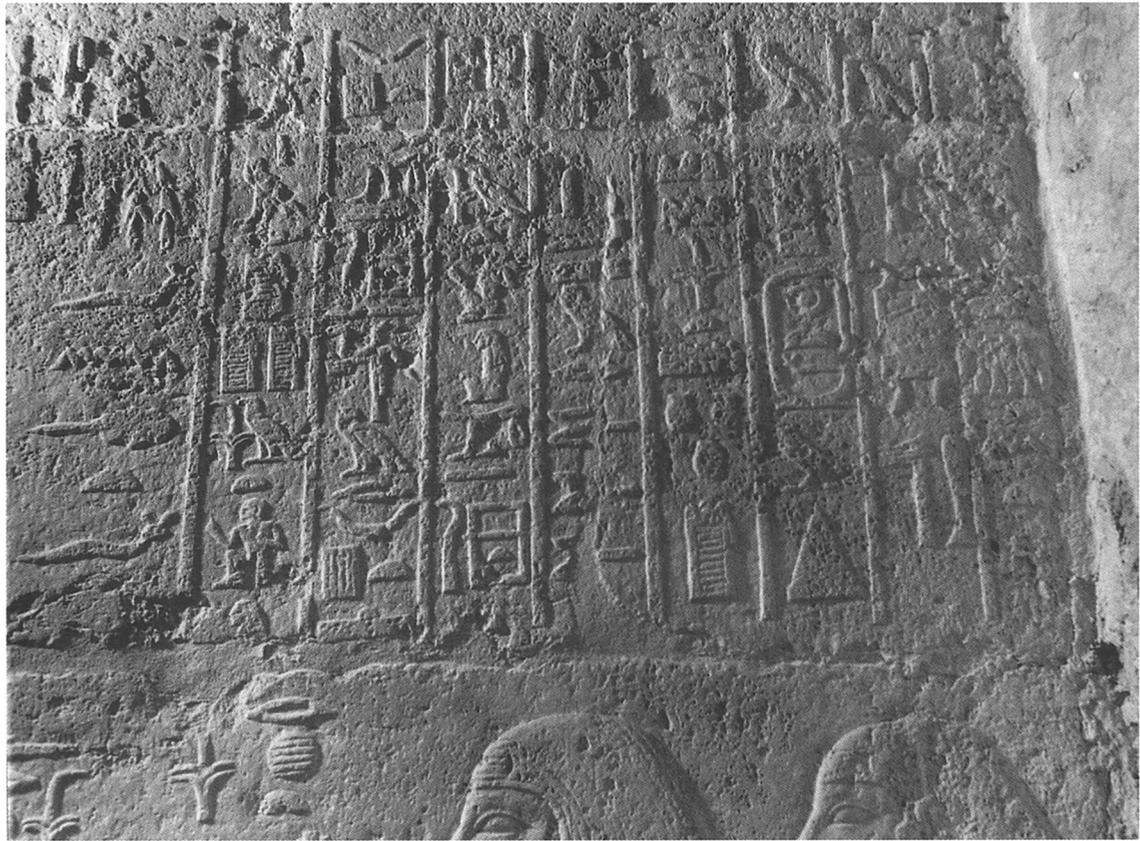
(c) Coffin



(b) North thickness



(a) Drum



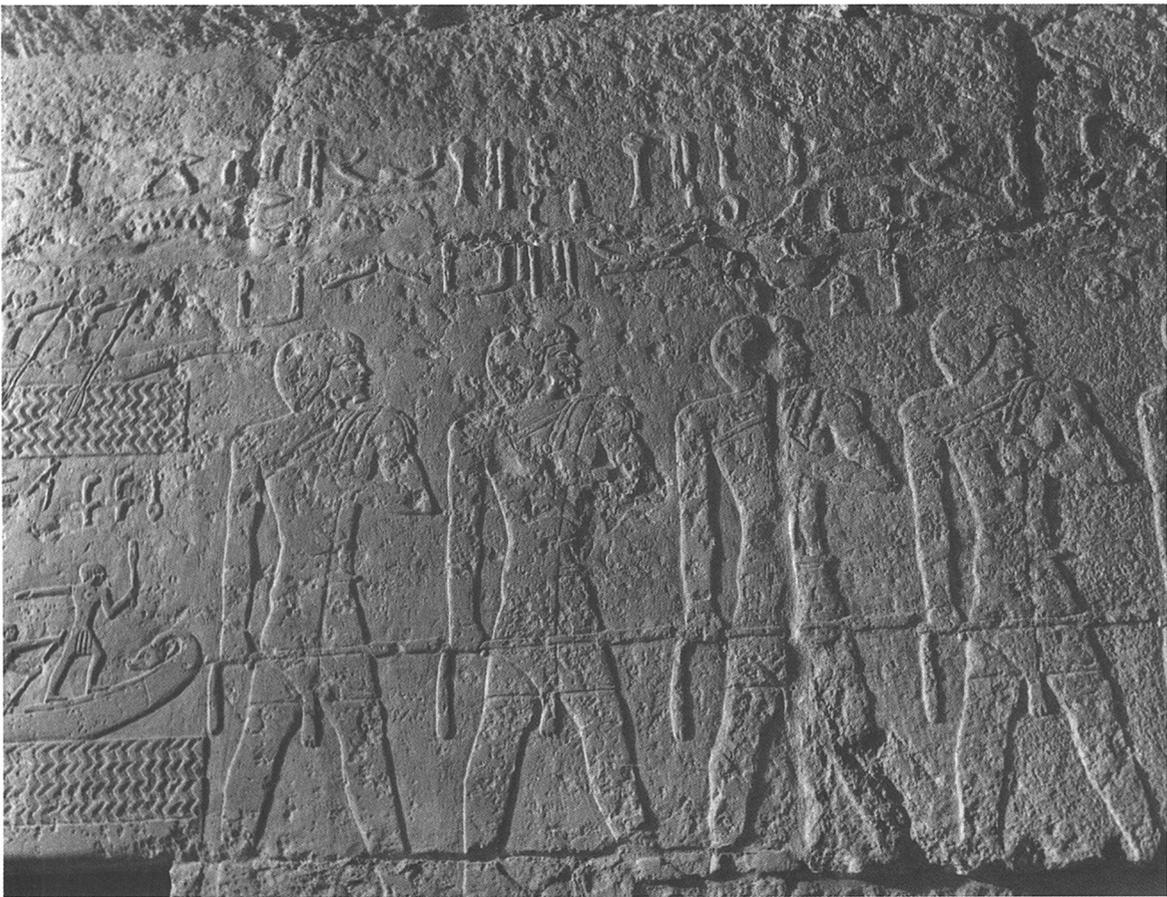
(a) Upper part



(b) Lower part



(a) Right



(b) Left

Pl. 13. Nesutnefer, chapel, east wall, centre, upper register

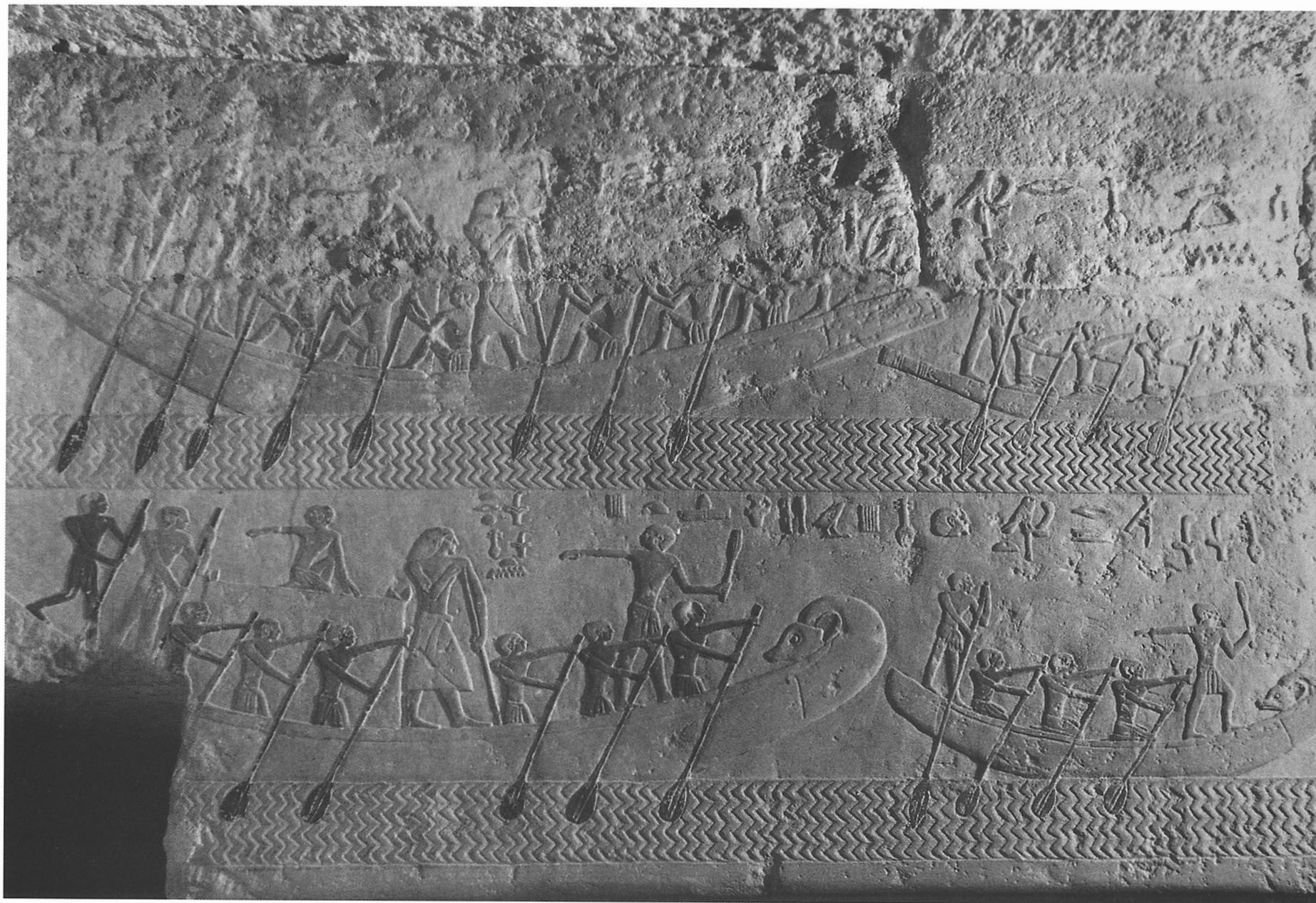


(a) Right

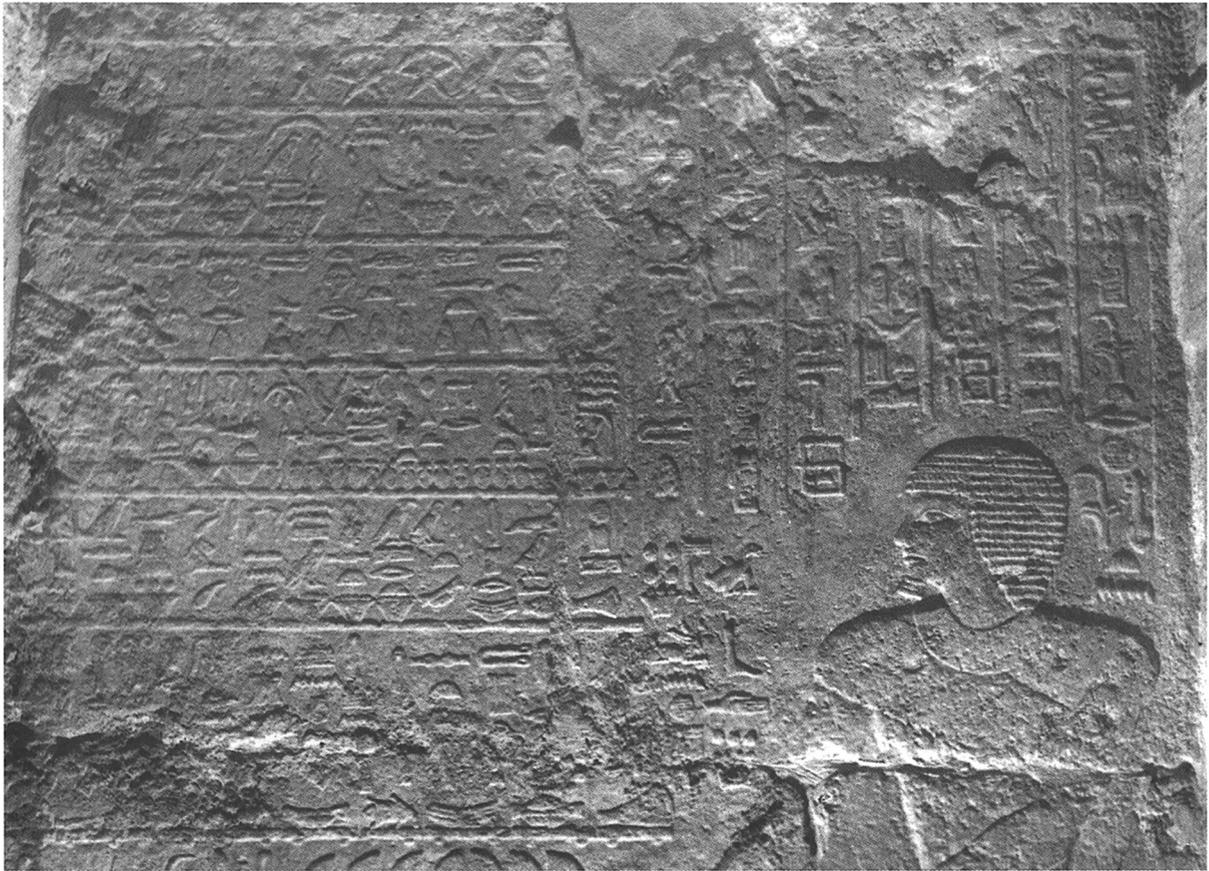


(b) Left

Pl. 15. Nesutmefer, chapel, east wall



Above entrance



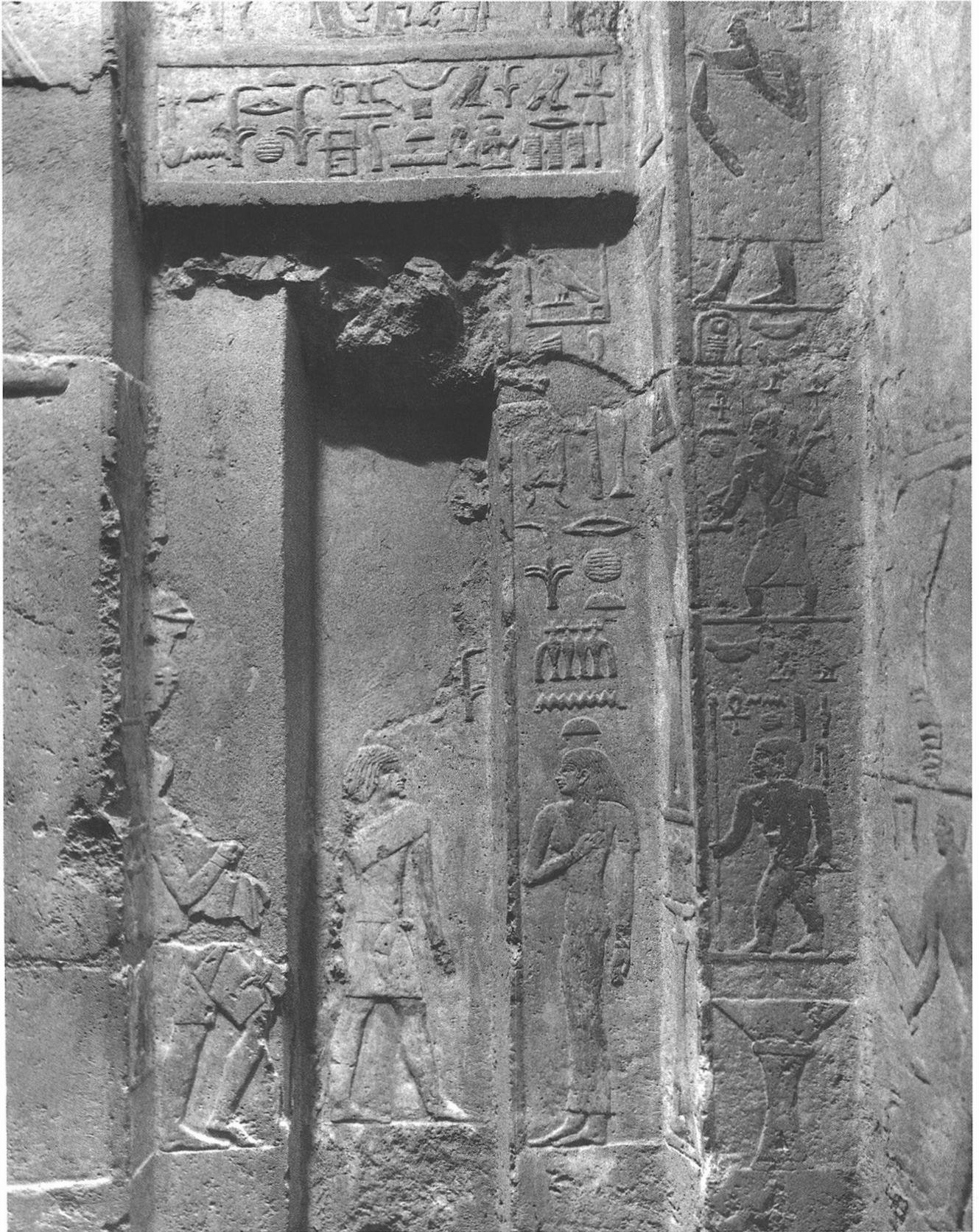
(a) Upper part



(b) Middle part



Pl. 17. Nesutnefer, chapel, west wall, northern false door, upper part

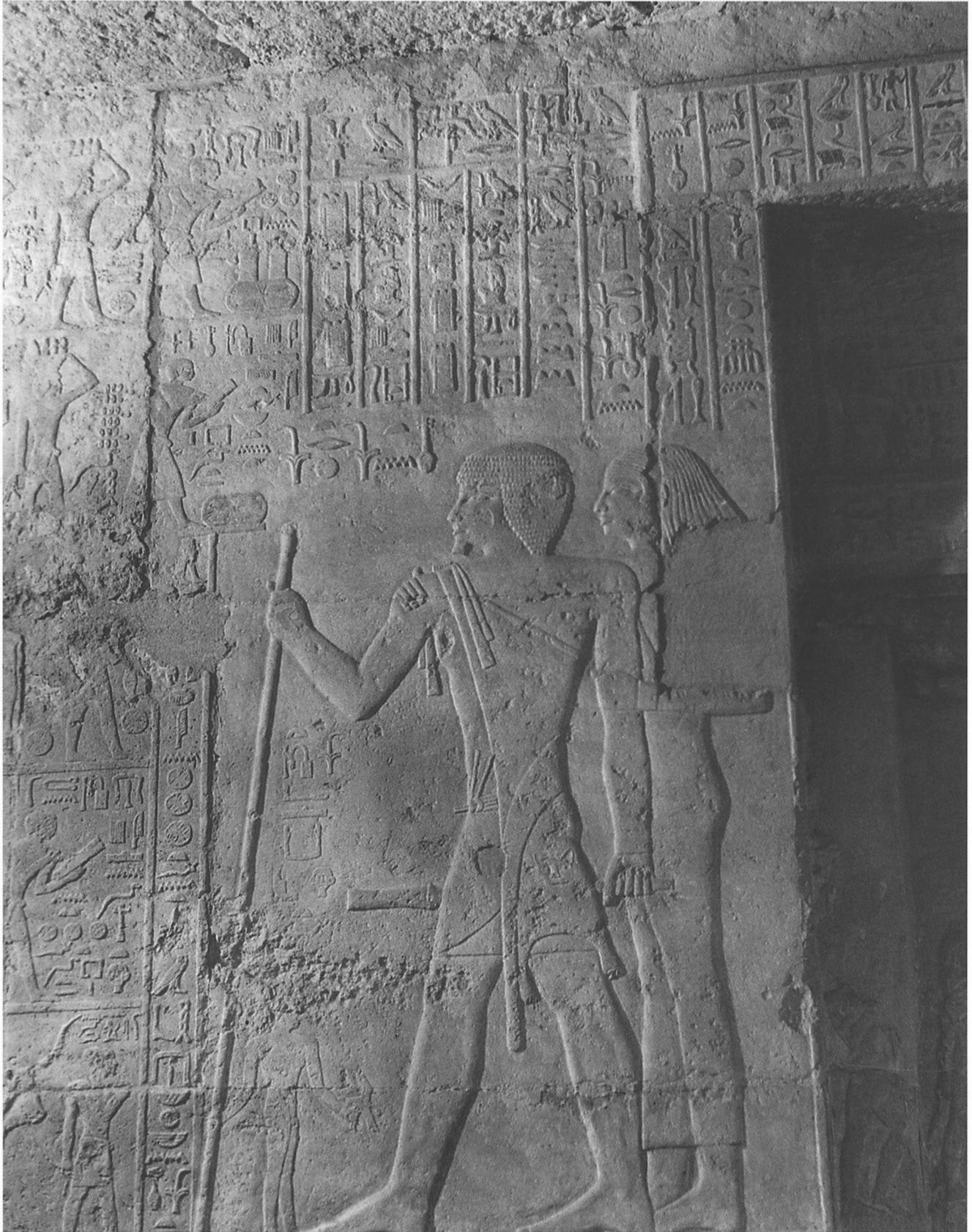


Pl. 18. Nesutnefer, chapel, west wall, northern false door, lower part

Pl. 19. Nesutmefer, chapel, west wall



Southern false door, upper part



Pl. 20. Nesutnefer, chapel, west wall, centre



Centre, detail

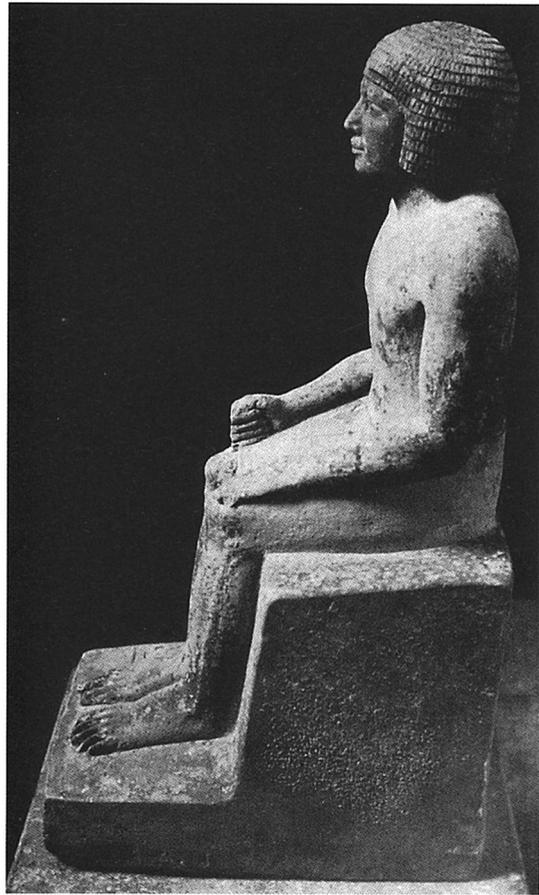
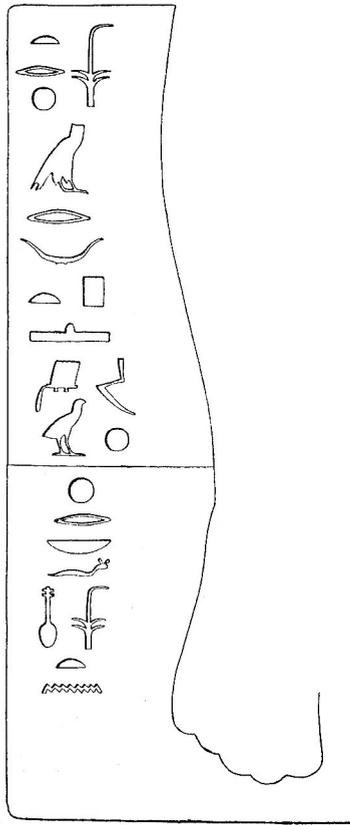
Pl. 21. Nesumfer, chapel, west wall



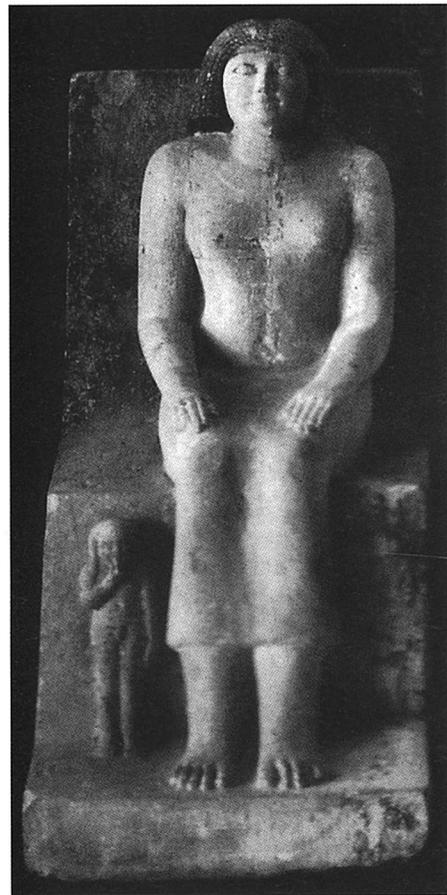
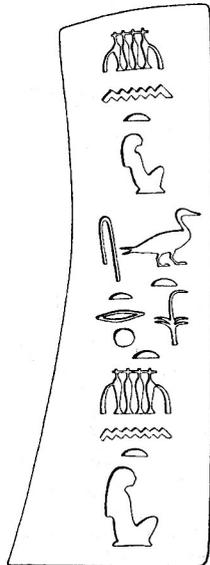
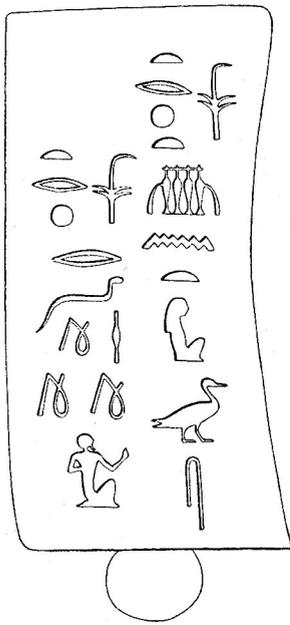
(a) Upper part



(b) Lower part



Nesutnefer and statue inscriptions



Khenti and son and statue inscription



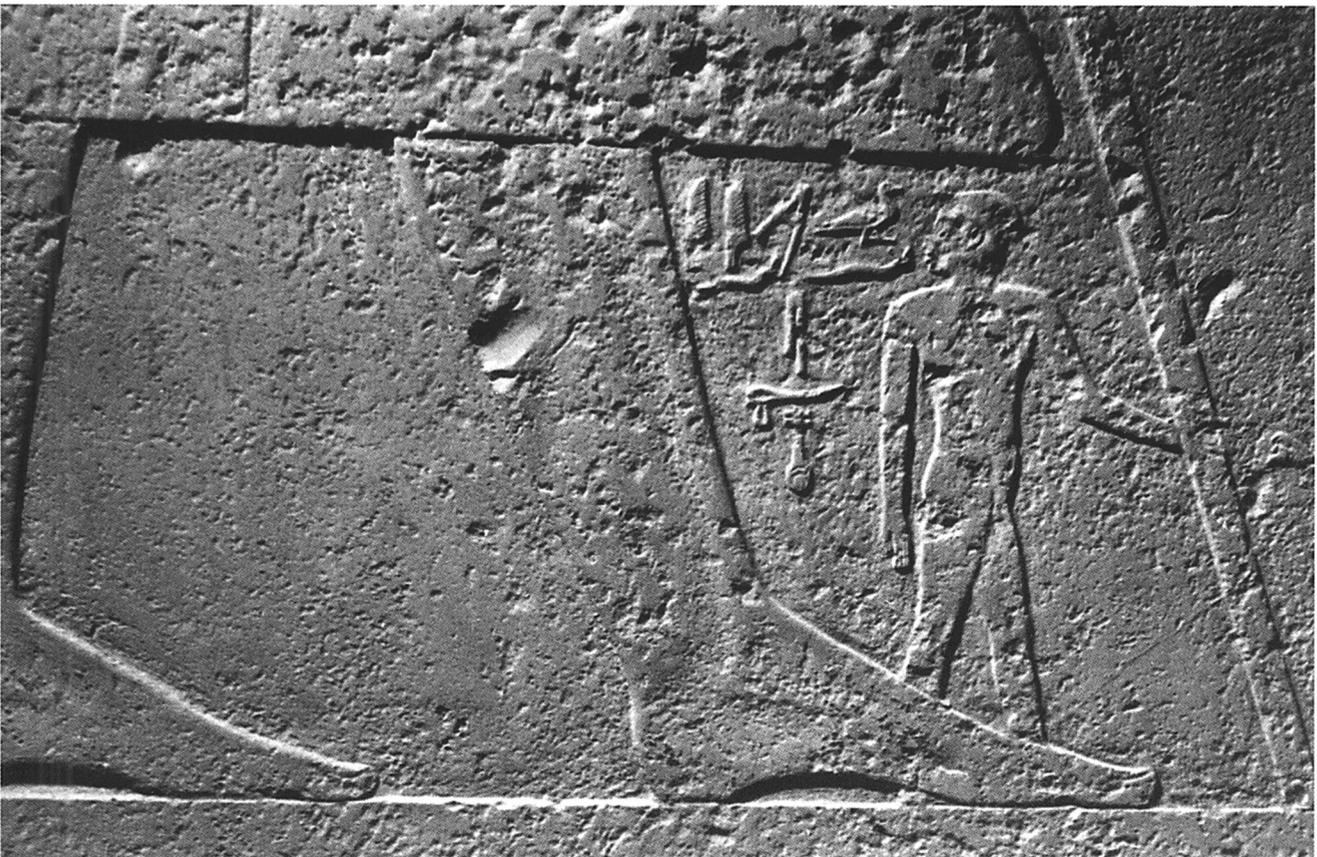
(a) Entrance corridor, looking south



(b) South-east corner, with entrance and serdab, looking west



(a) Entrance, north thickness



(b) Chapel, east wall, north, detail



(a) Middle part



(b) Lower part



(a) Northern false door, upper part



(b) Centre, detail



(a) Panel



(b) Jambs

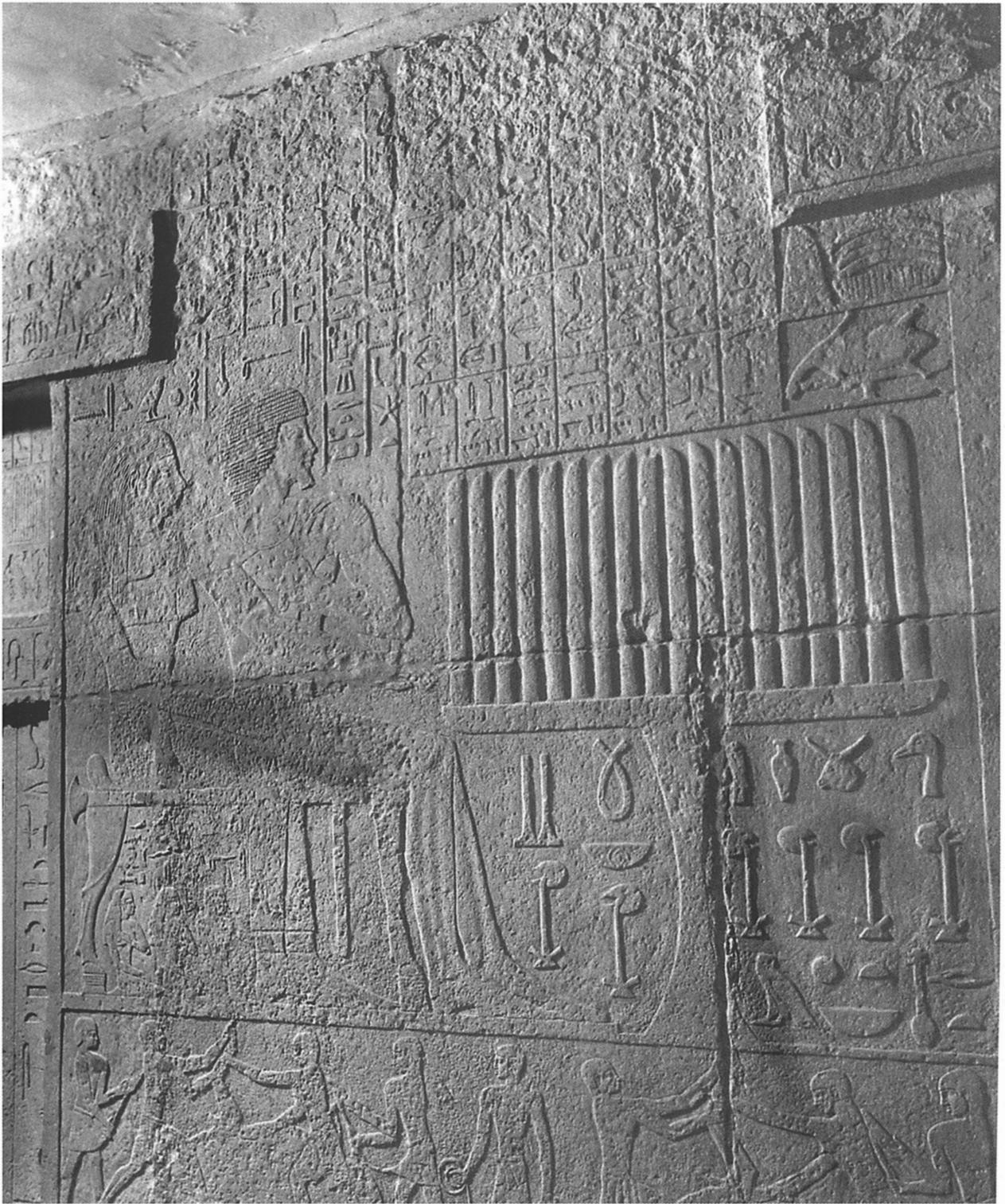
Pl. 29. Seshemnefer II, chapel, west wall, south



(b) Lower part



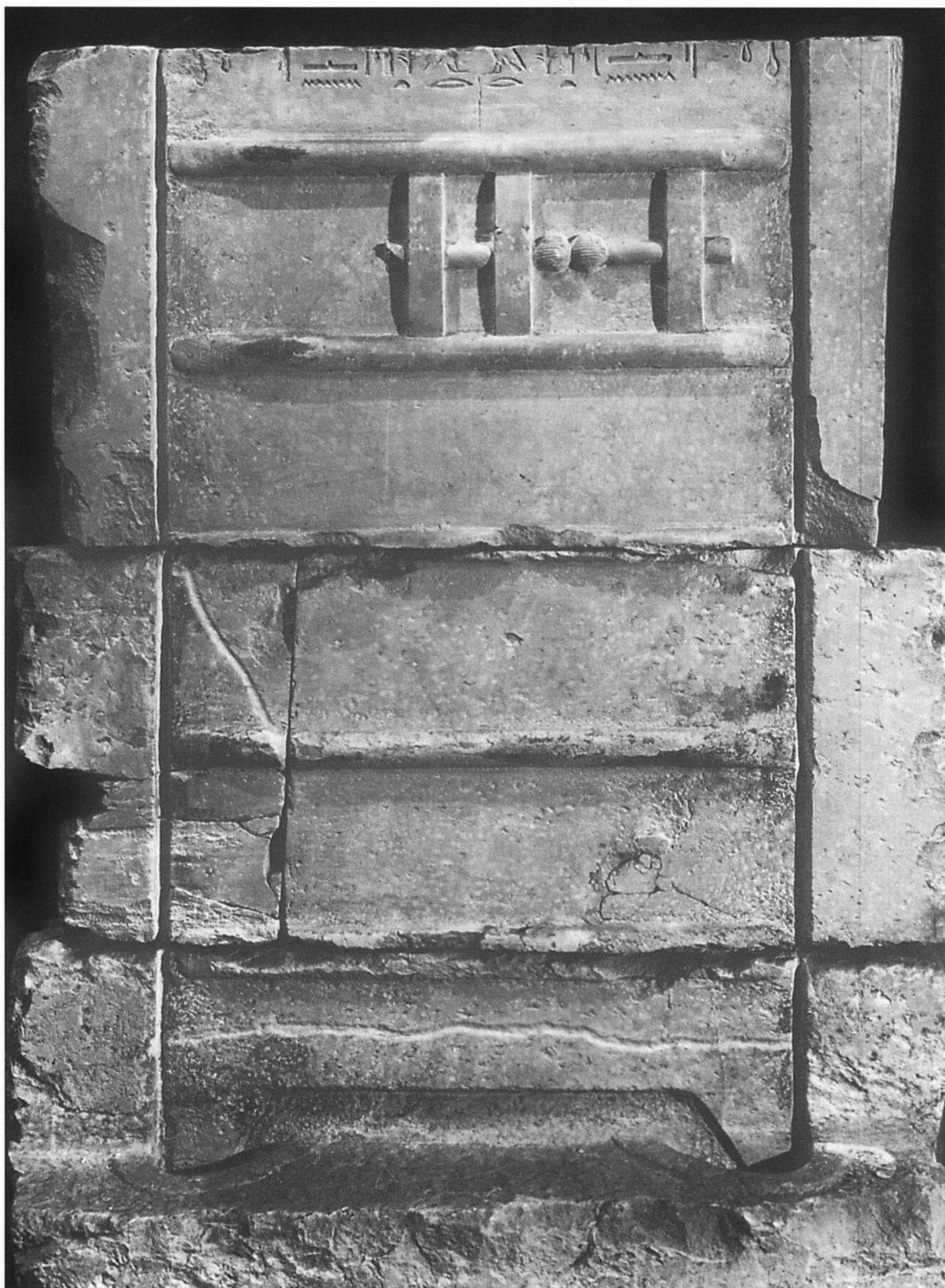
(a) Upper part



Pl. 30. Seshemnefer II, chapel, west wall, centre



Pl. 31. Seshemnefer II, chapel, north wall, centre, details



Pl. 32. Seshemnefer II, inscribed block from serdab (from Brunner-Traut, *Seschemnofers* III, pl. 28)



(a) Recess, north wall, detail



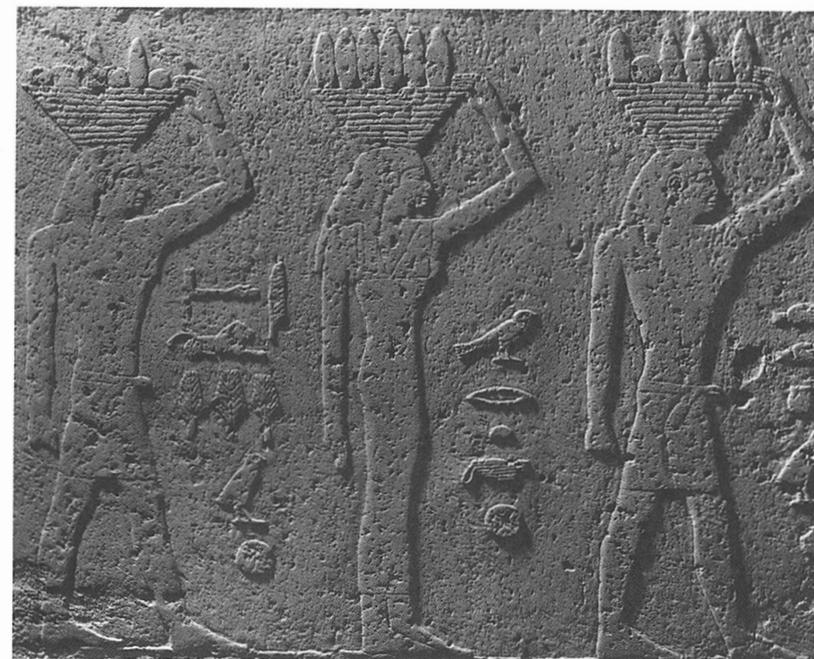
(b) Corridor, west wall, detail



Pl. 34. Seshemnefer I, chapel, east wall, upper register, details



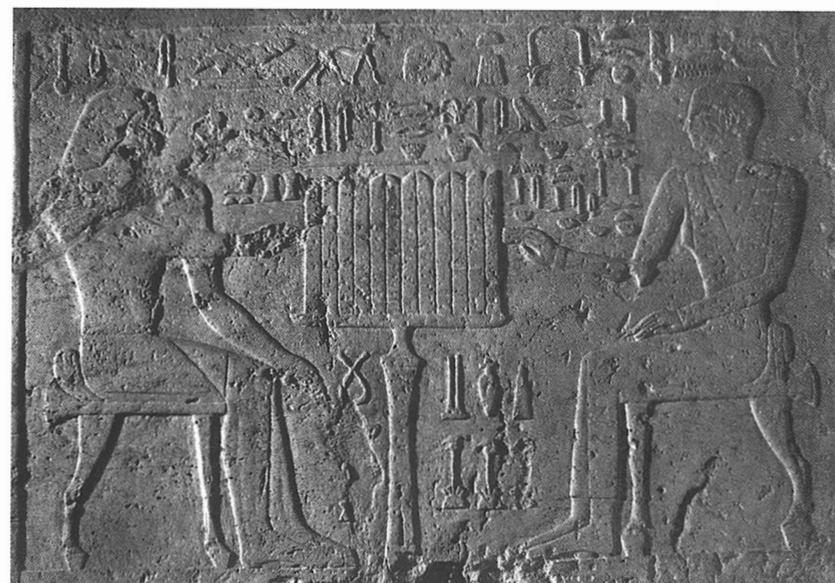
(a) East wall, detail



(b) East wall, detail



(c) East wall, detail



(d) West wall, northern false door, panel



Pl. 36. Seshemnefer I, chapel, south wall



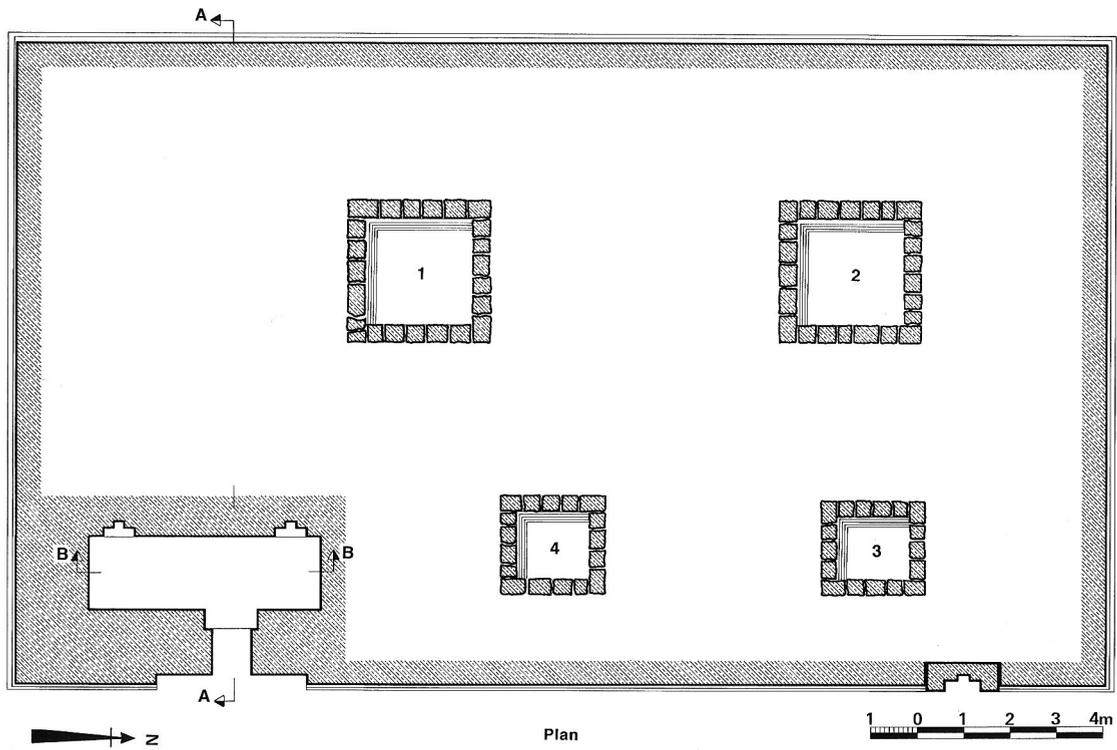
Pl. 37. Seshemnefer I, chapel, west wall, centre, details



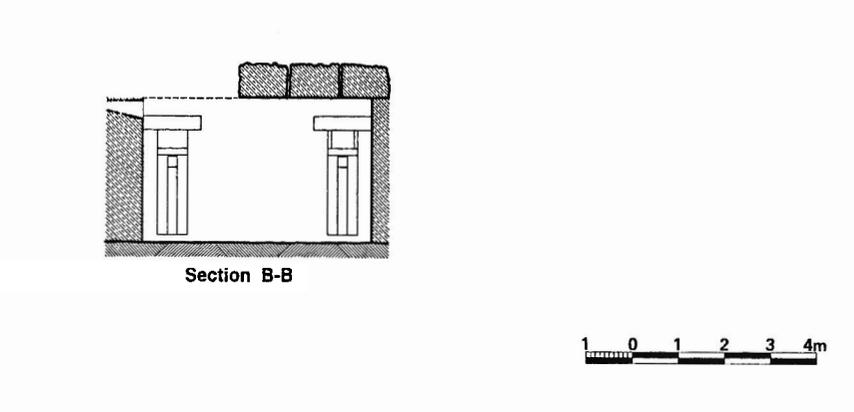
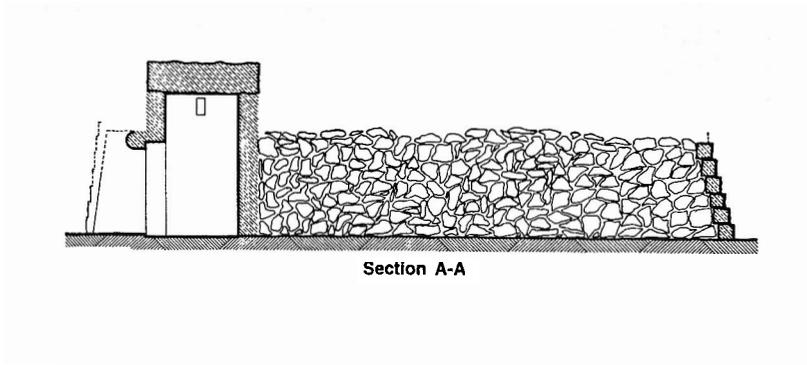
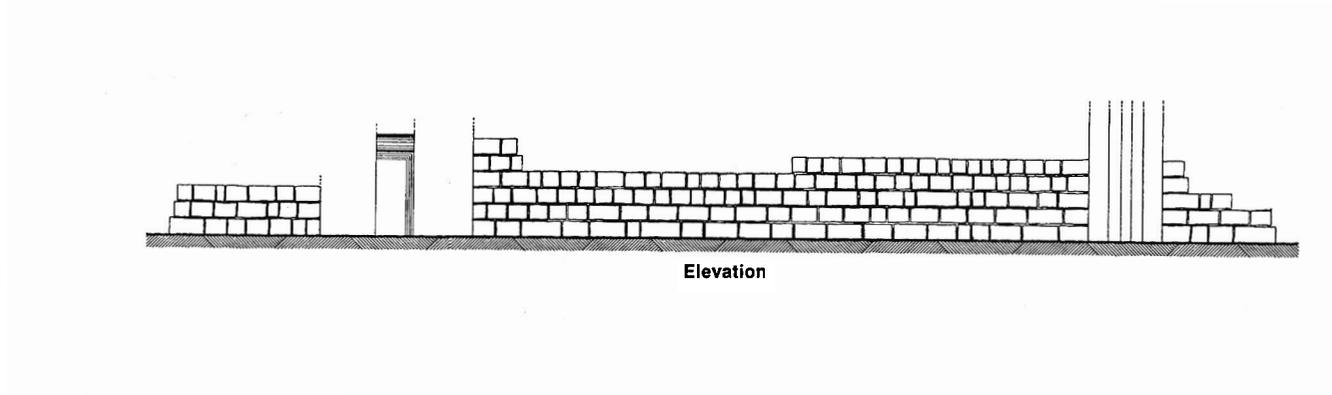
(a) West wall, upper left



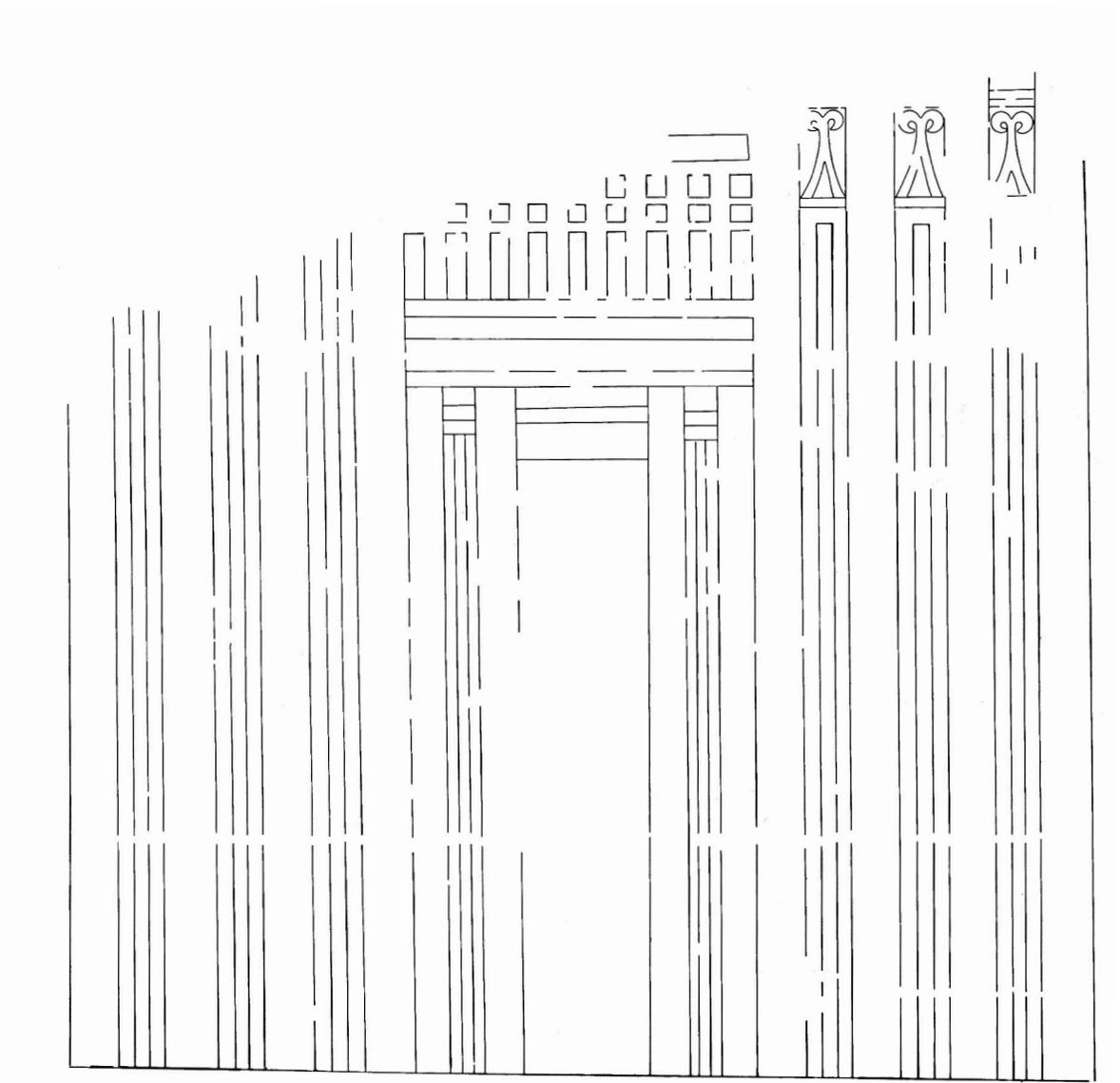
(b) North wall, upper part



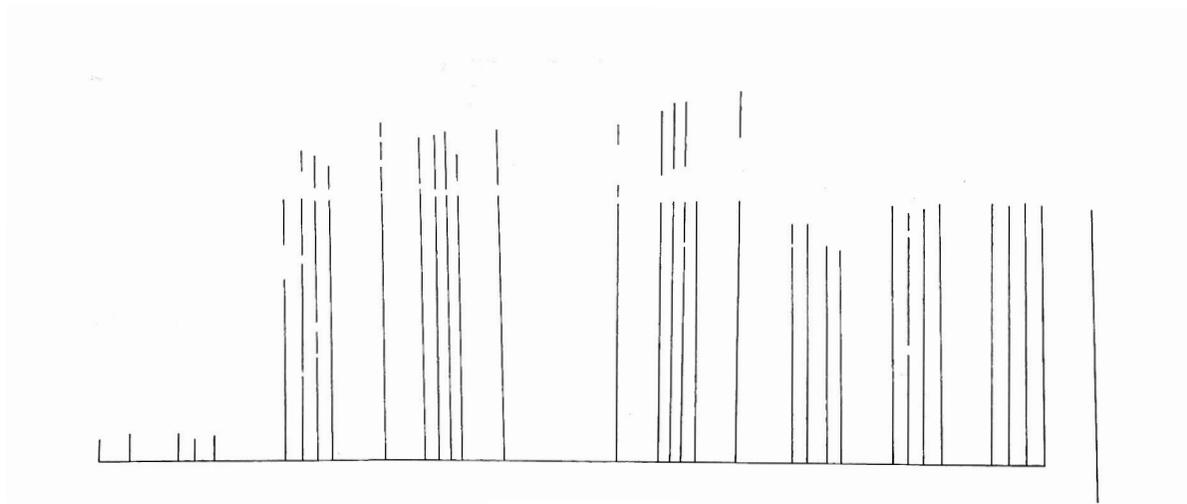
Pl. 39. Seshathetep, architectural plan



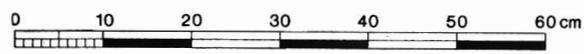
Pl. 40. Seshathetep, elevation and sections



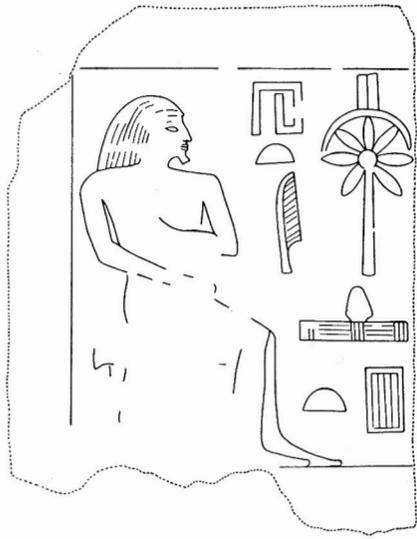
(a) North jamb



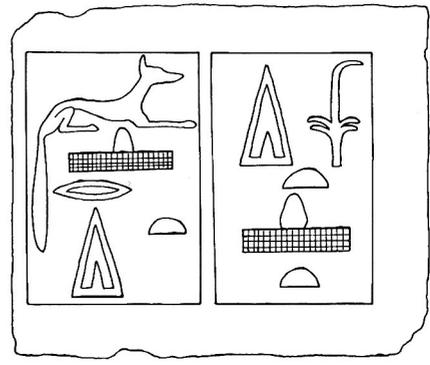
(b) South jamb



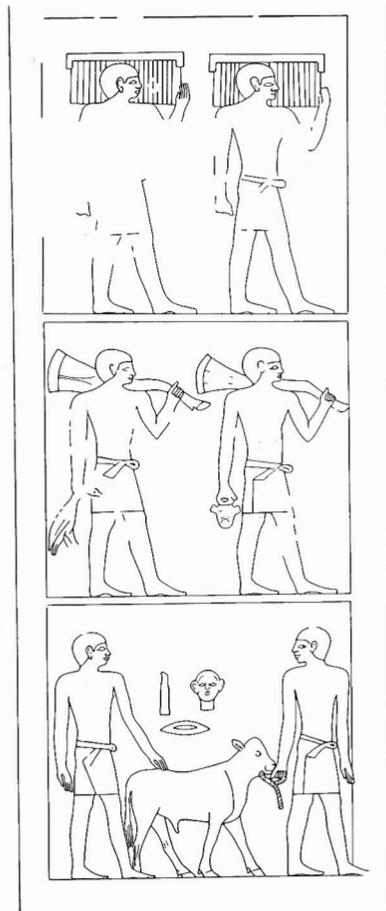
Pl. 41. Seshathetep, entrance



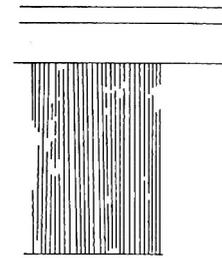
(a) Fragment of lintel
(after Junker, *Giza 2*, fig. 24a)



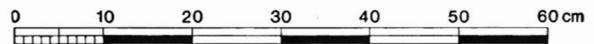
(b) Fragment of lintel
(after Junker, *Giza 2*, fig. 24b)

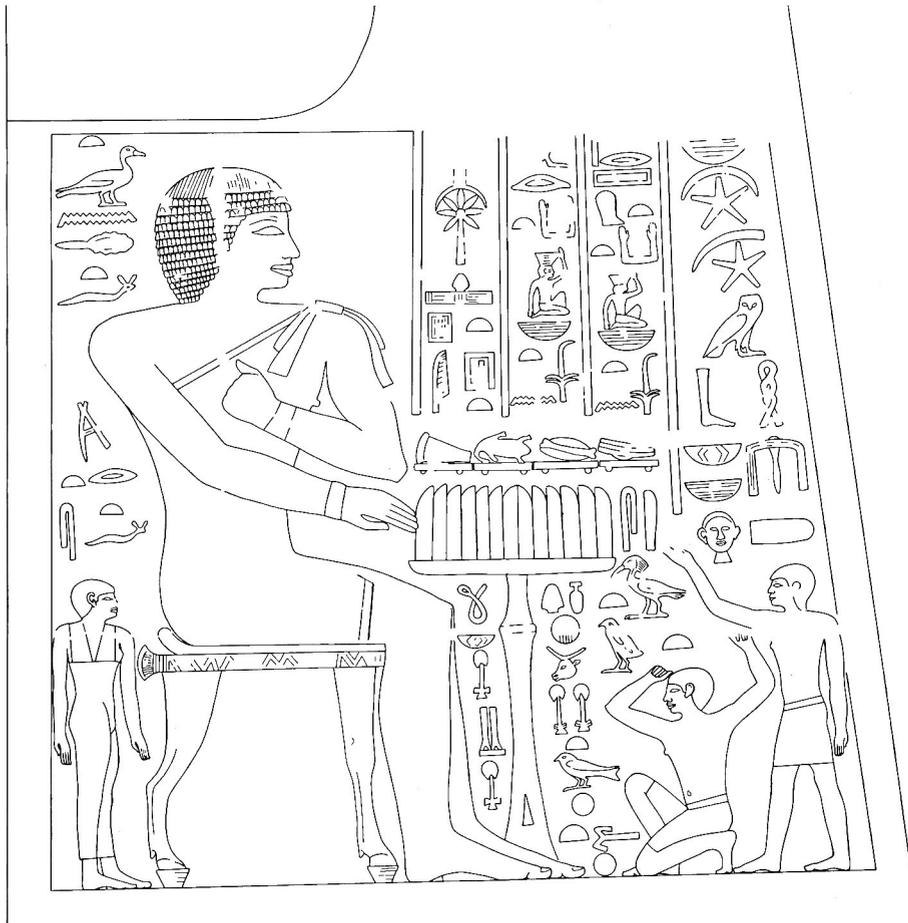


(c) Entrance recess, south side



(d) Example of wall decoration
below dado

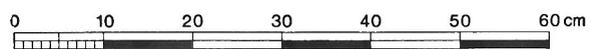


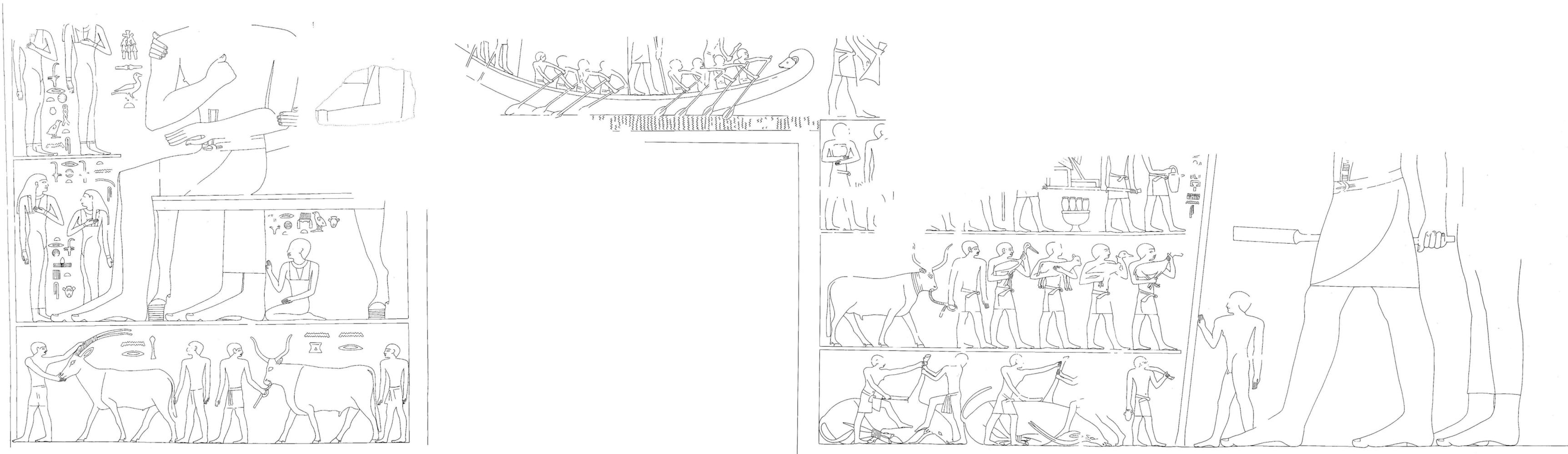


(a) North thickness

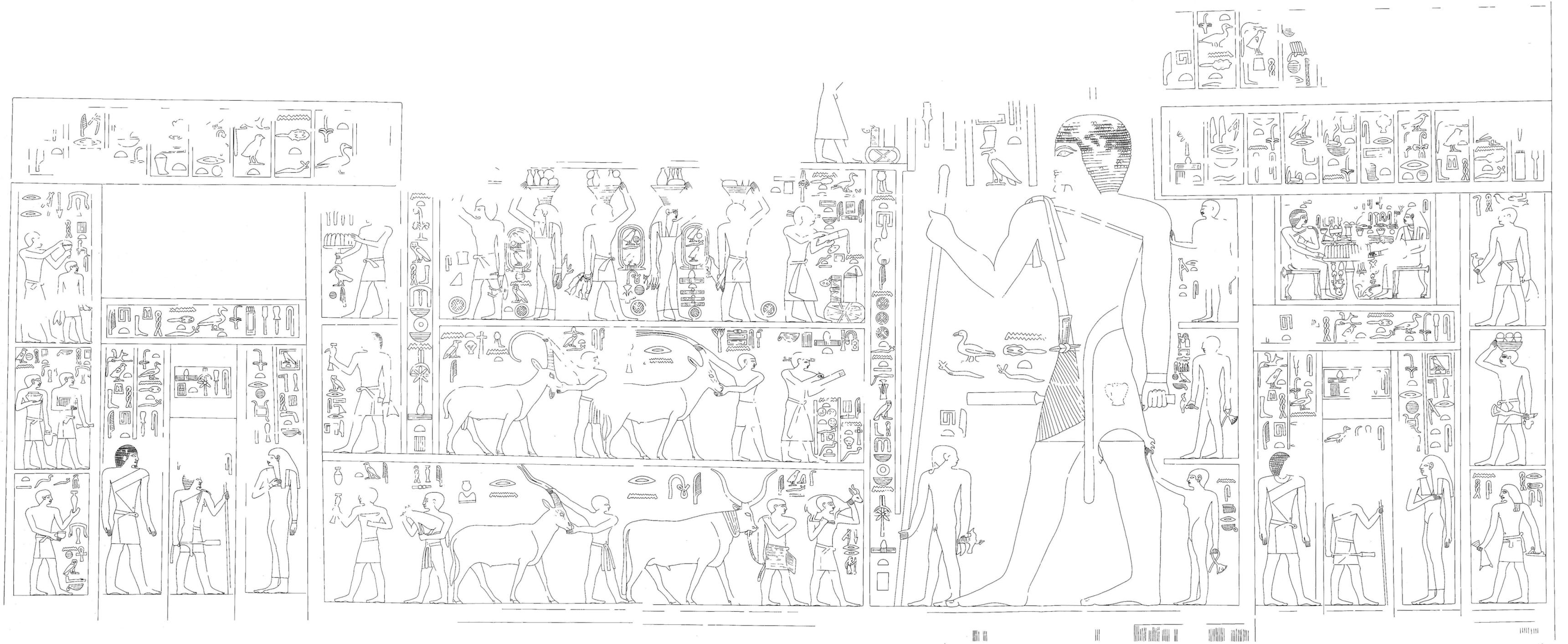


(b) South thickness

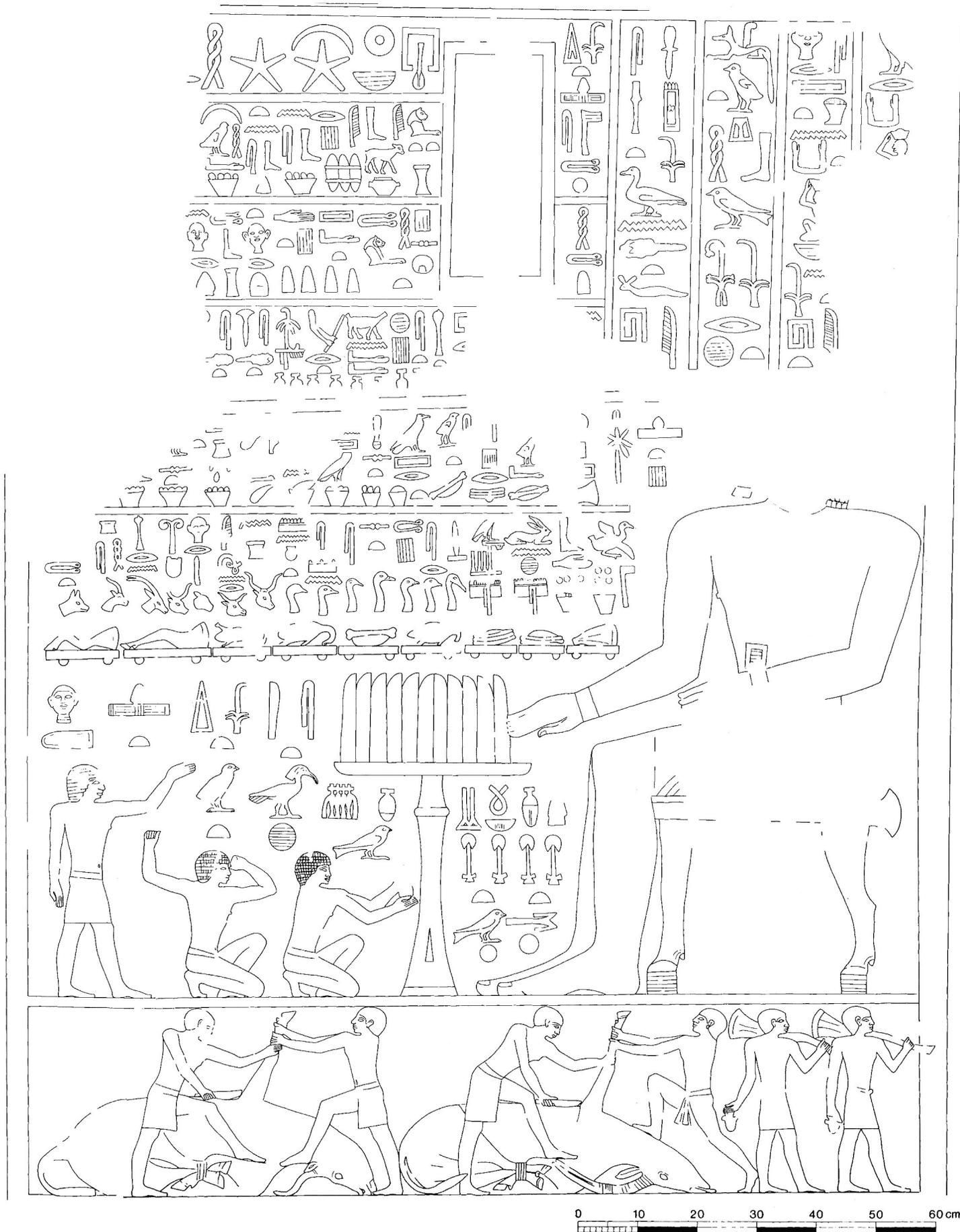




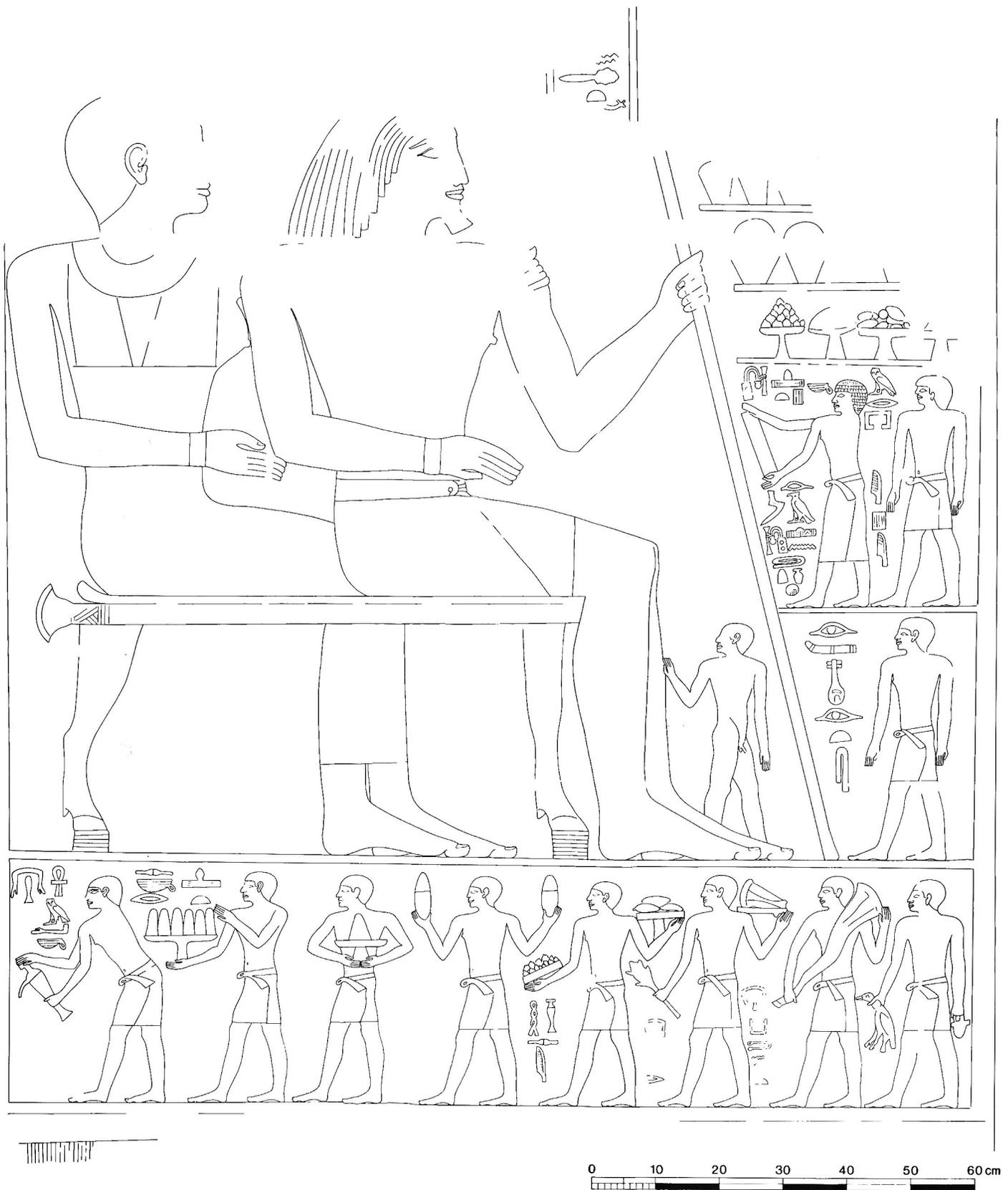
Pl. 44. Seshathetep, chapel, east wall



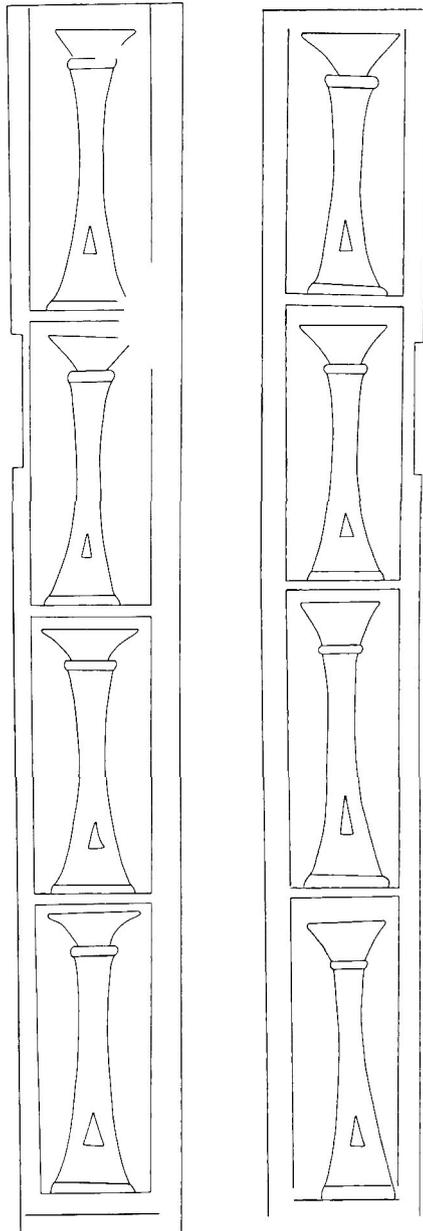
Pl. 45. Seshathetep, chapel, west wall



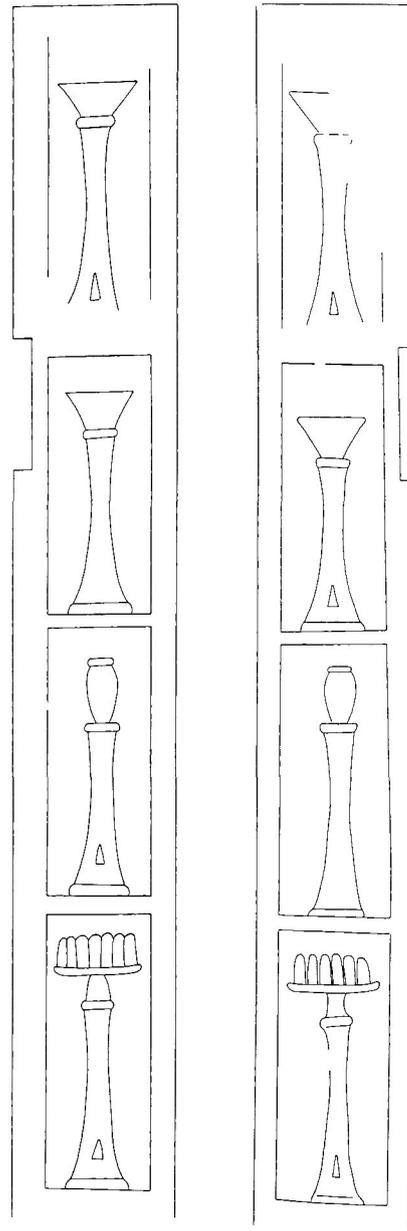
Pl. 46. Seshathetep, chapel, south wall



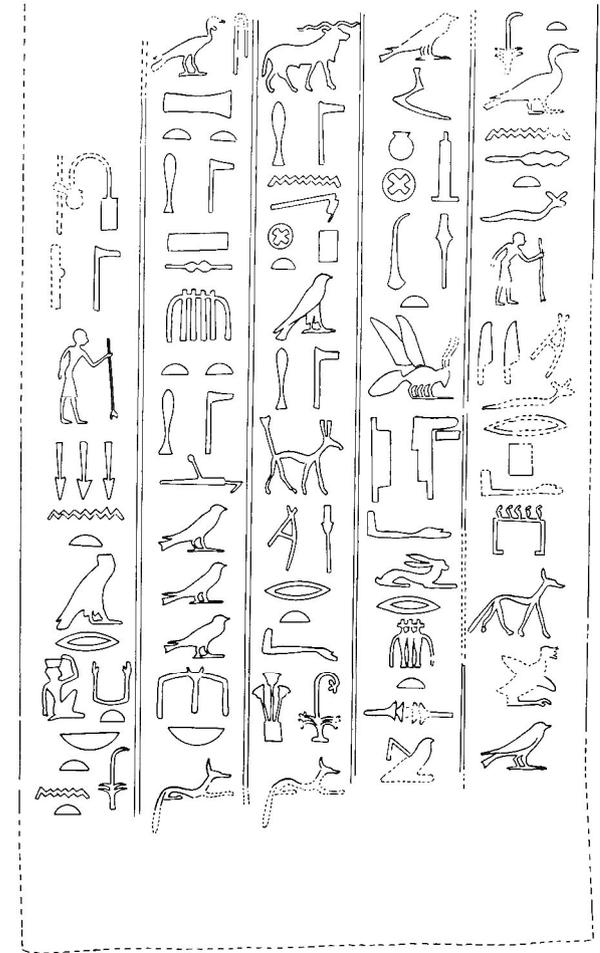
Pl. 47. Seshathetep, chapel, north wall



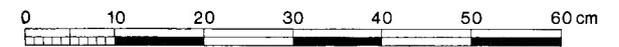
(a) Chapel, west wall, sides of southern false door recess

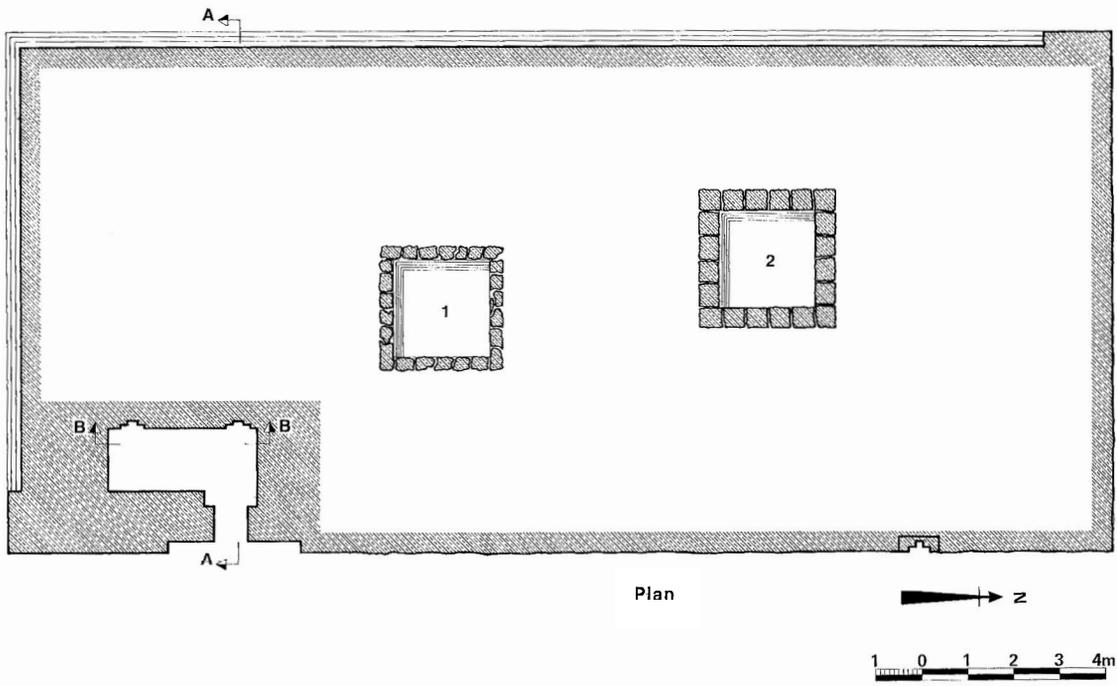


(b) Chapel, west wall, sides of northern false door recess

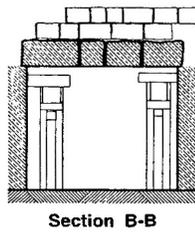
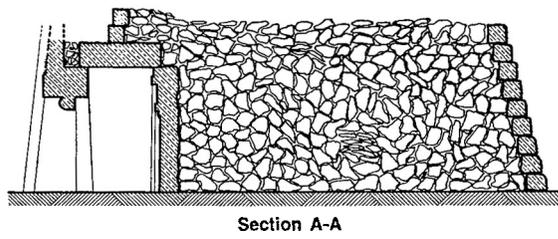
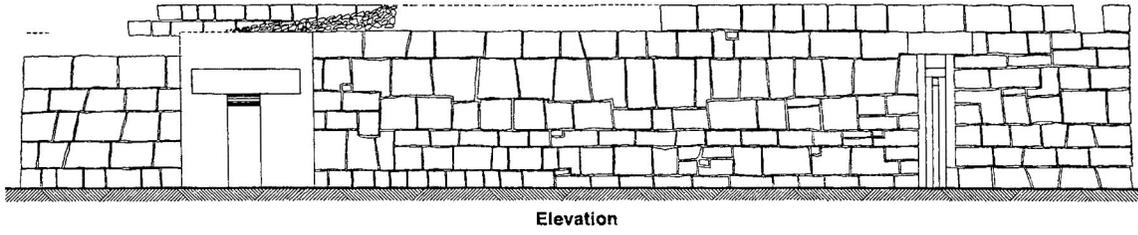


(c) Inscriptions on statue

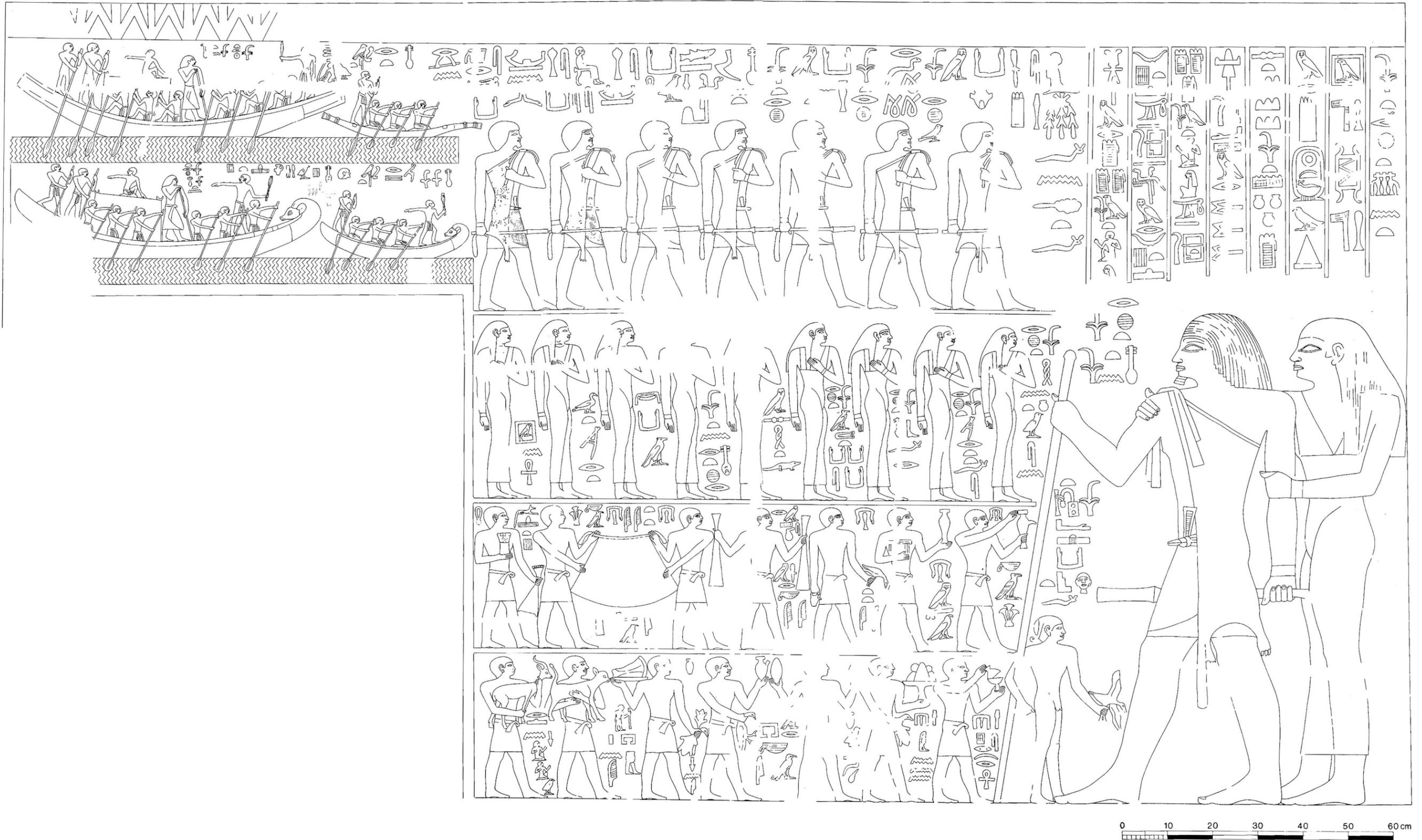




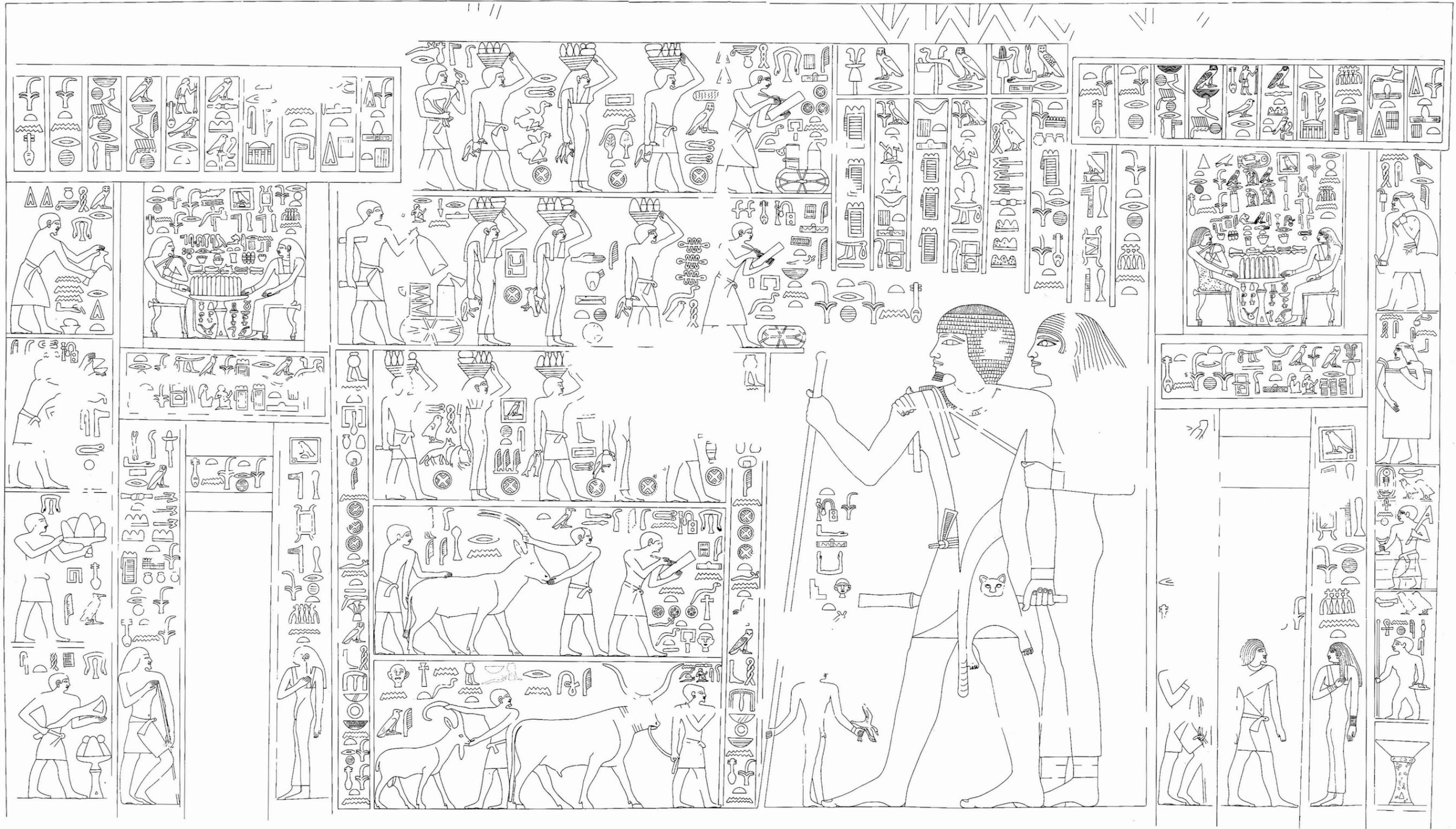
Pl. 49. Nesutnefer, architectural plan



Pl. 50. Nesutnefer, elevation and sections

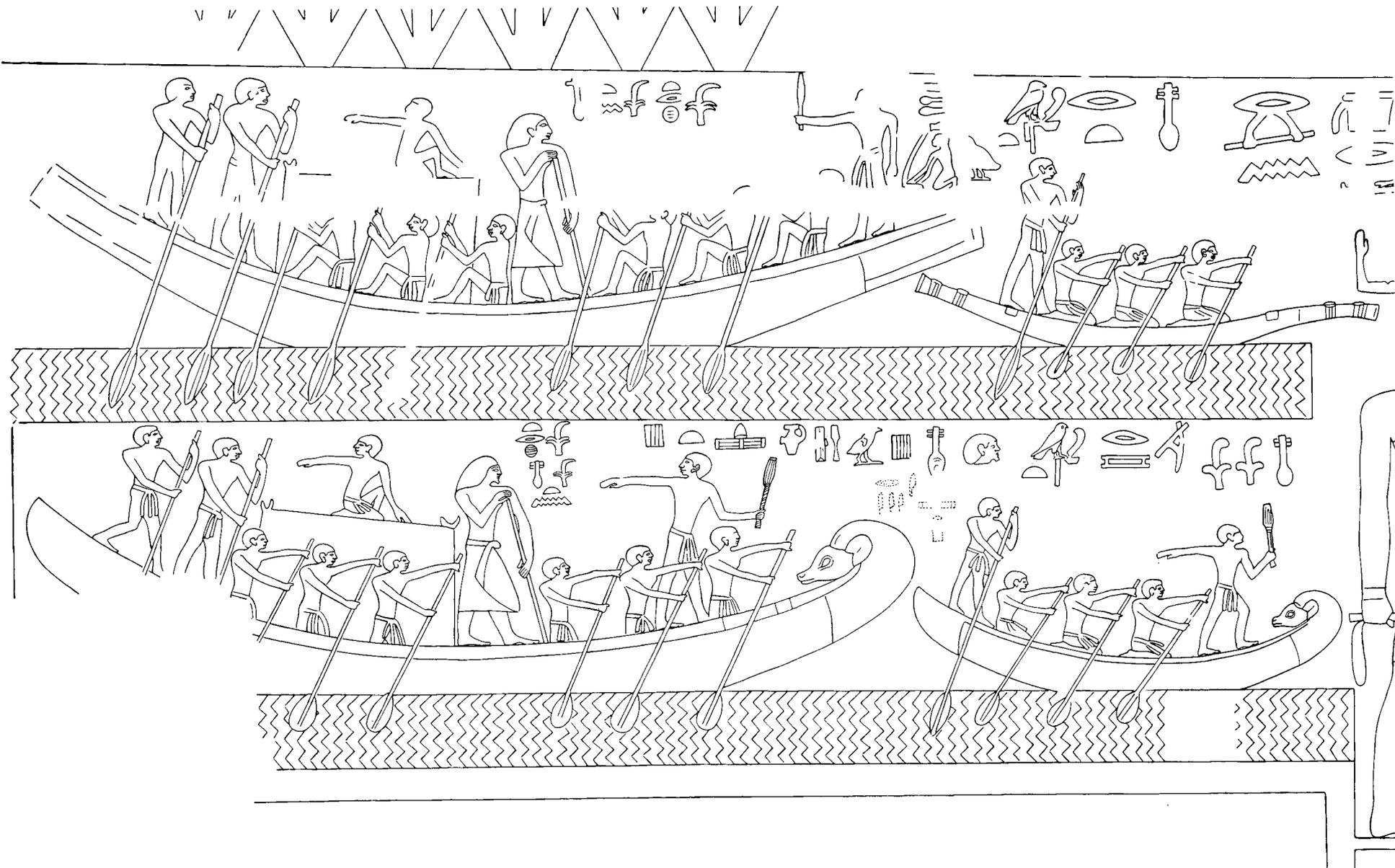


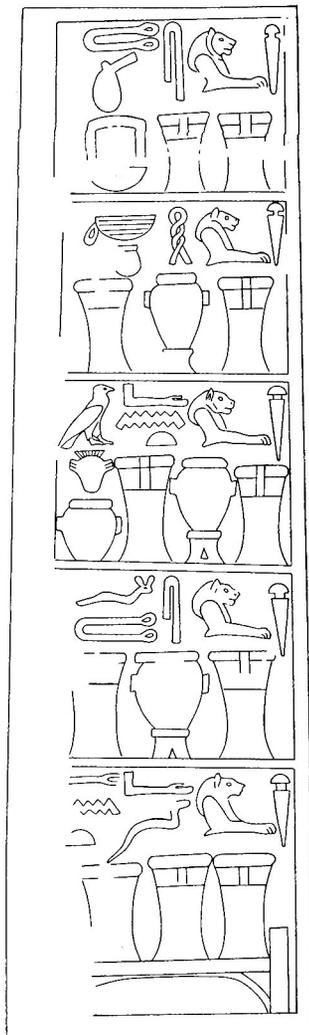
Pl. 52. Nesutnefer, chapel, east wall



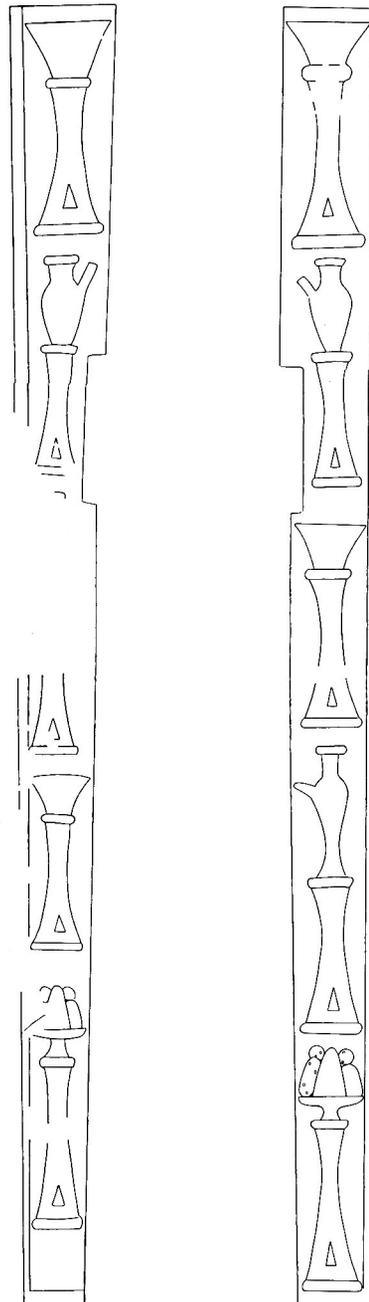
Pl. 53. Nesutnefer, chapel, west wall

Pl. 54. Nesutmefer, chapel, east wall, detail

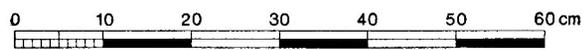




(a) Entrance recess, south side

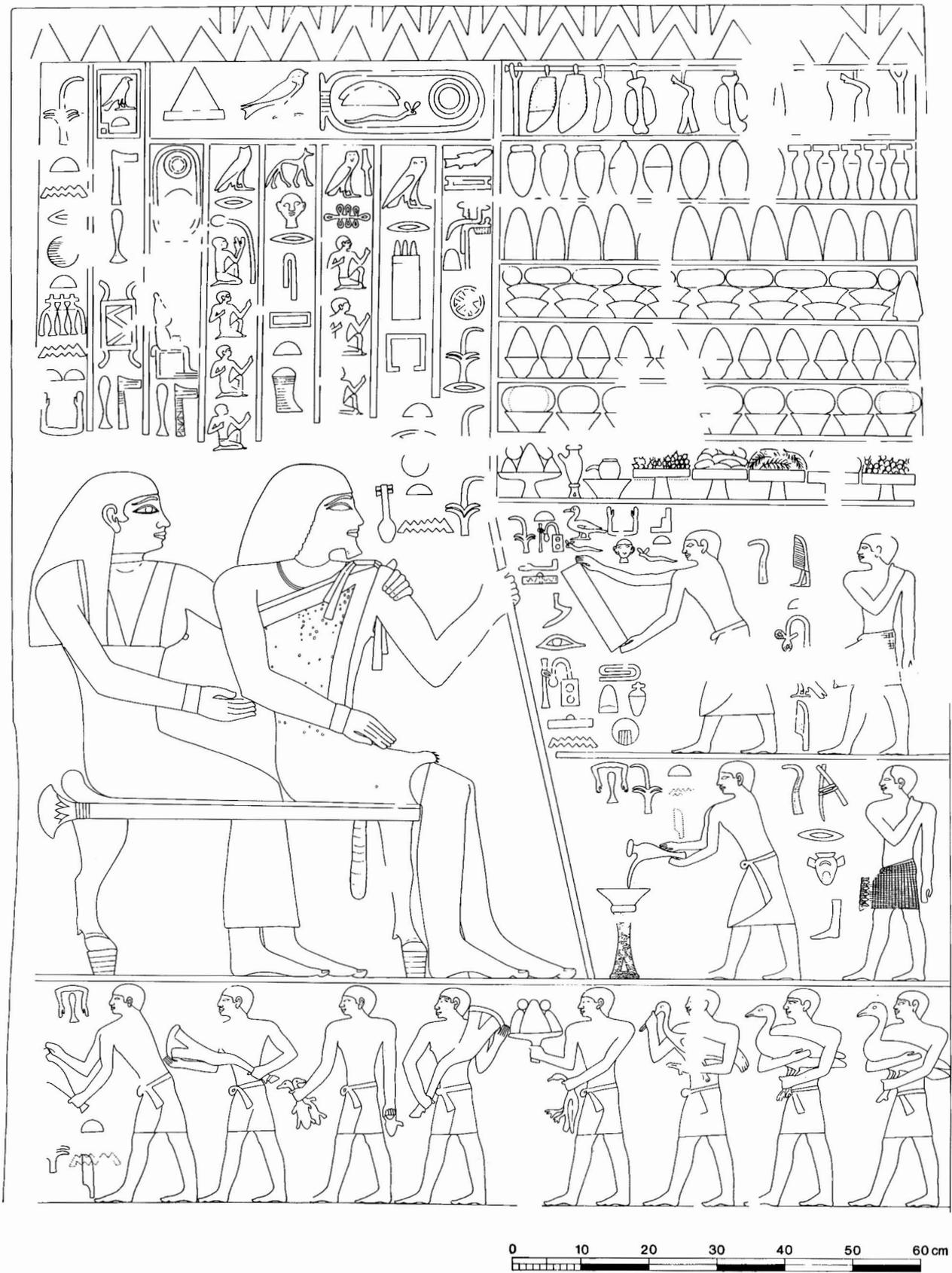


(b) West wall, sides of northern false door recess

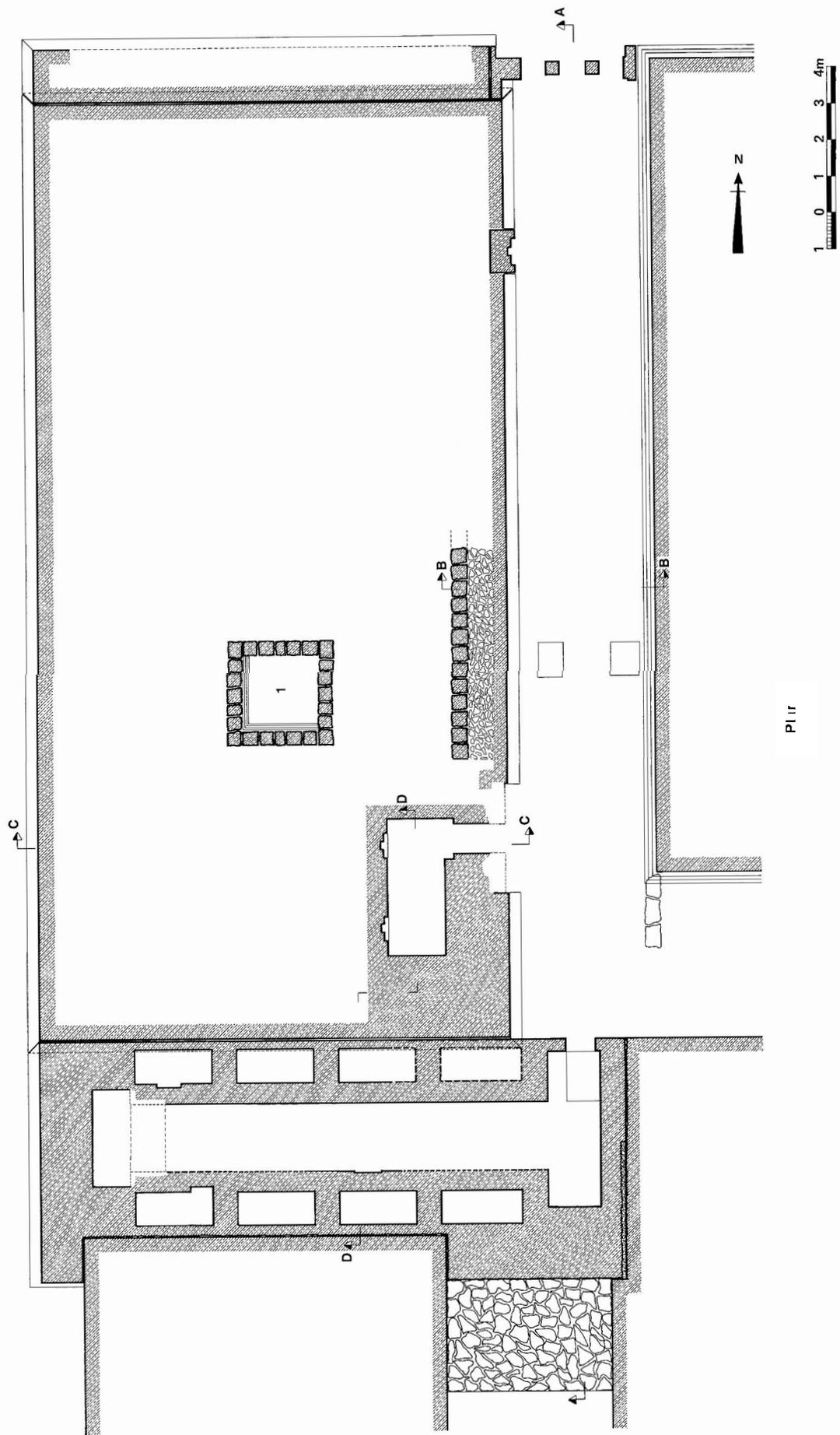




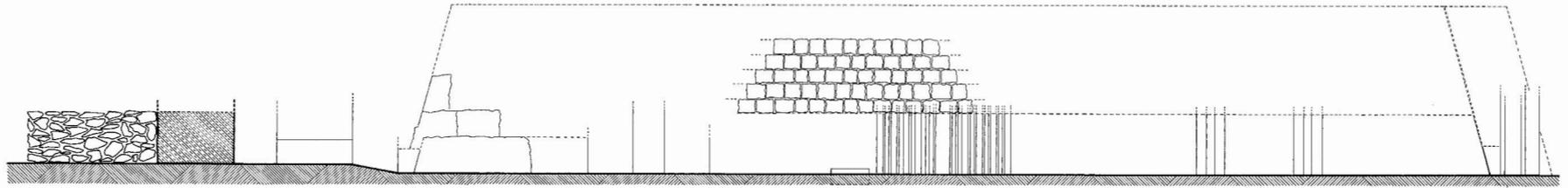
Pl. 56. Nesutnefer, chapel, south wall



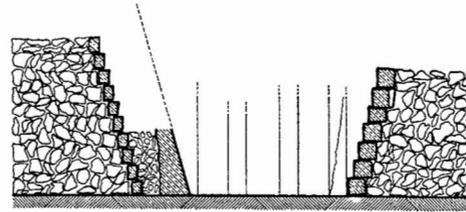
Pl. 57. Nesutnefer, chapel, north wall



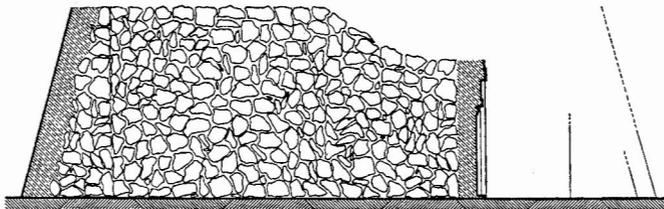
Pl. 58. Seshemnefer II, architectural plan



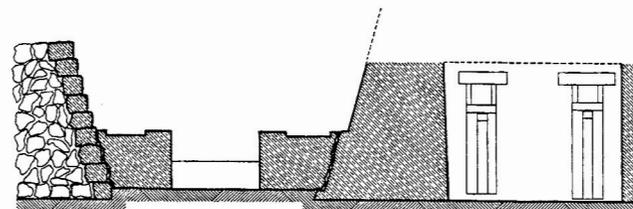
Section-elevation A-A



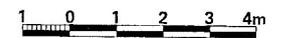
Section B-B

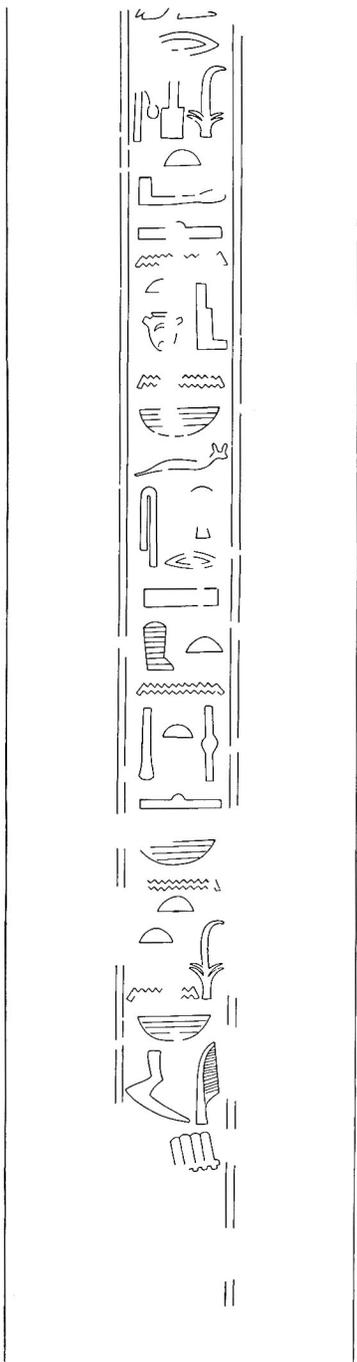


Section C-C

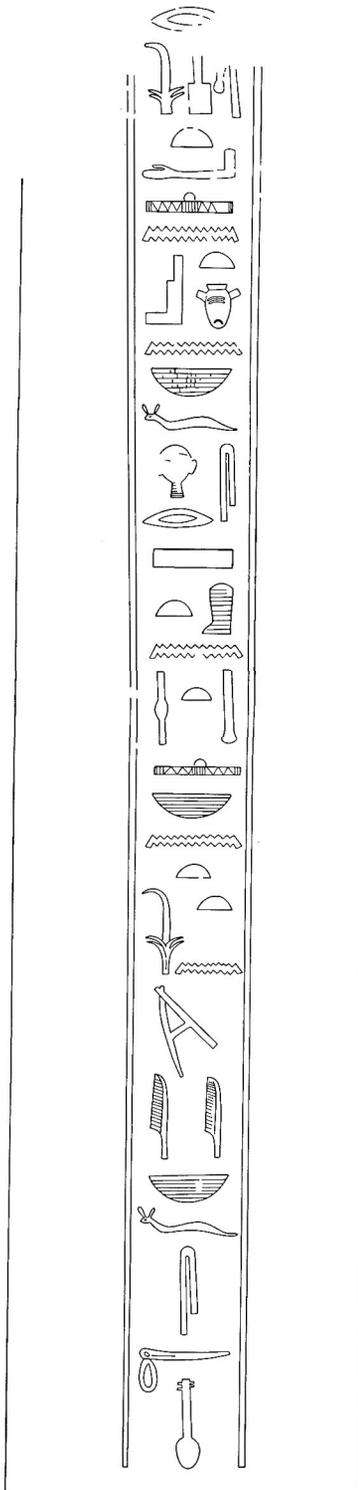


Section D-D

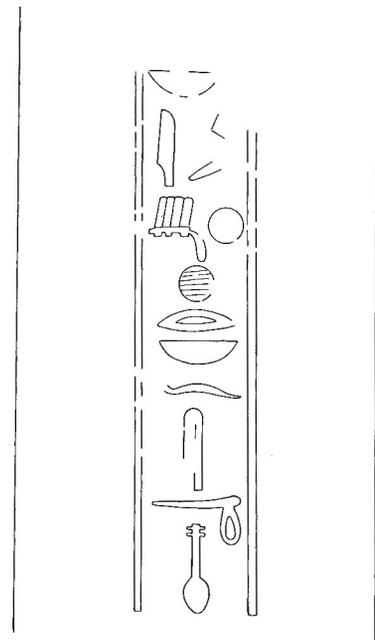




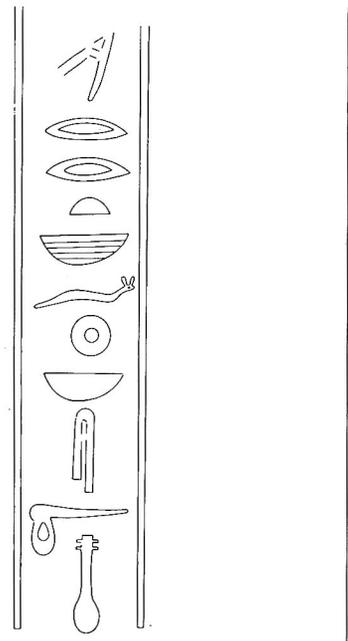
(a) Pillar 1, north face



(b) Pillar 1, south face



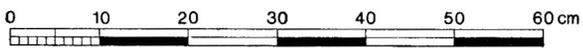
(c) Pillar 2, north face

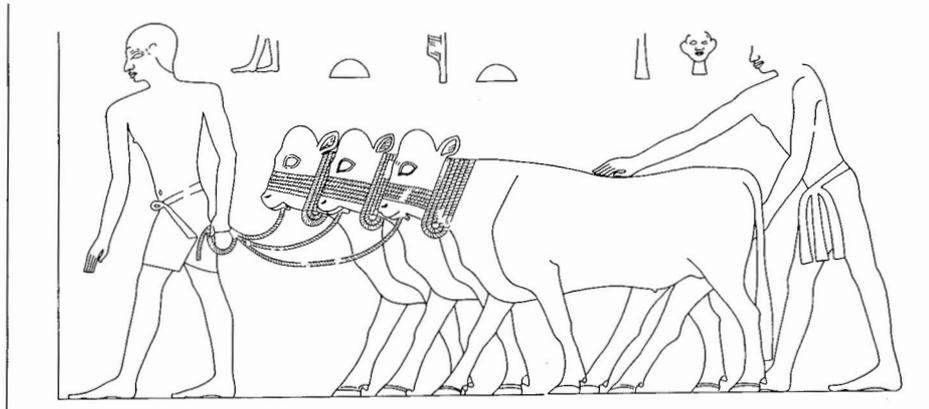


(d) East engaged pillar

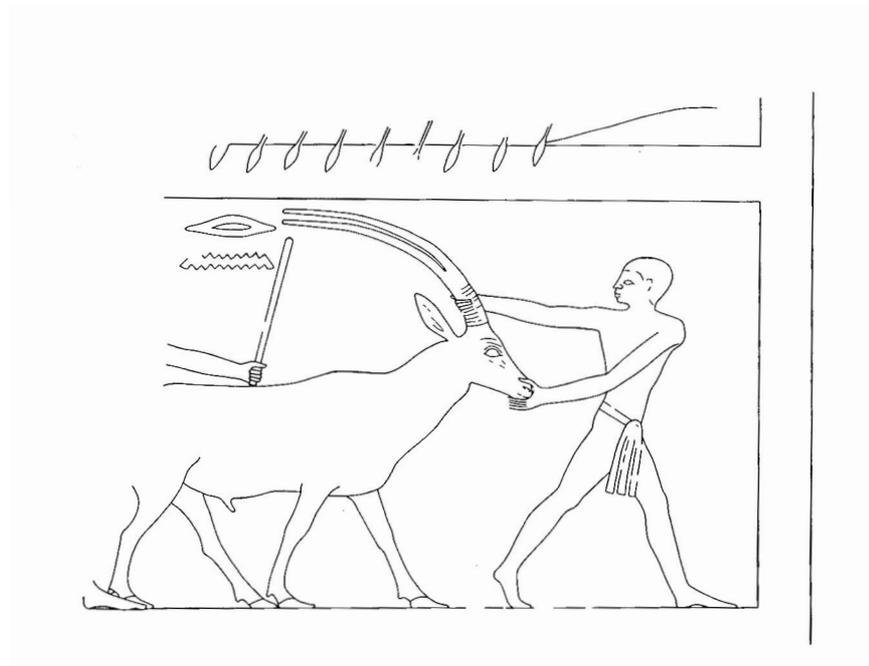


(e) West engaged pillar

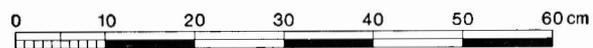


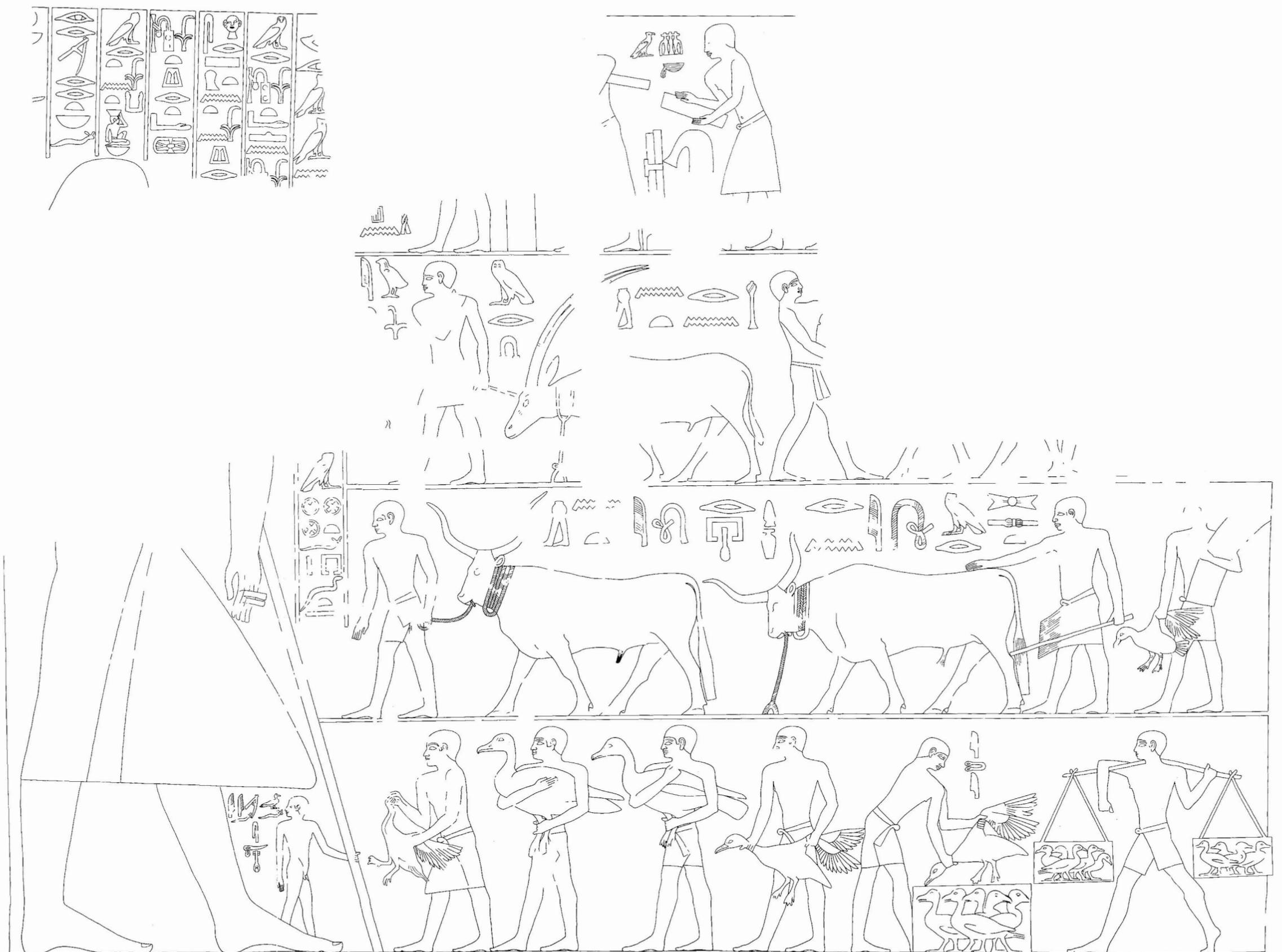


(a) North thickness

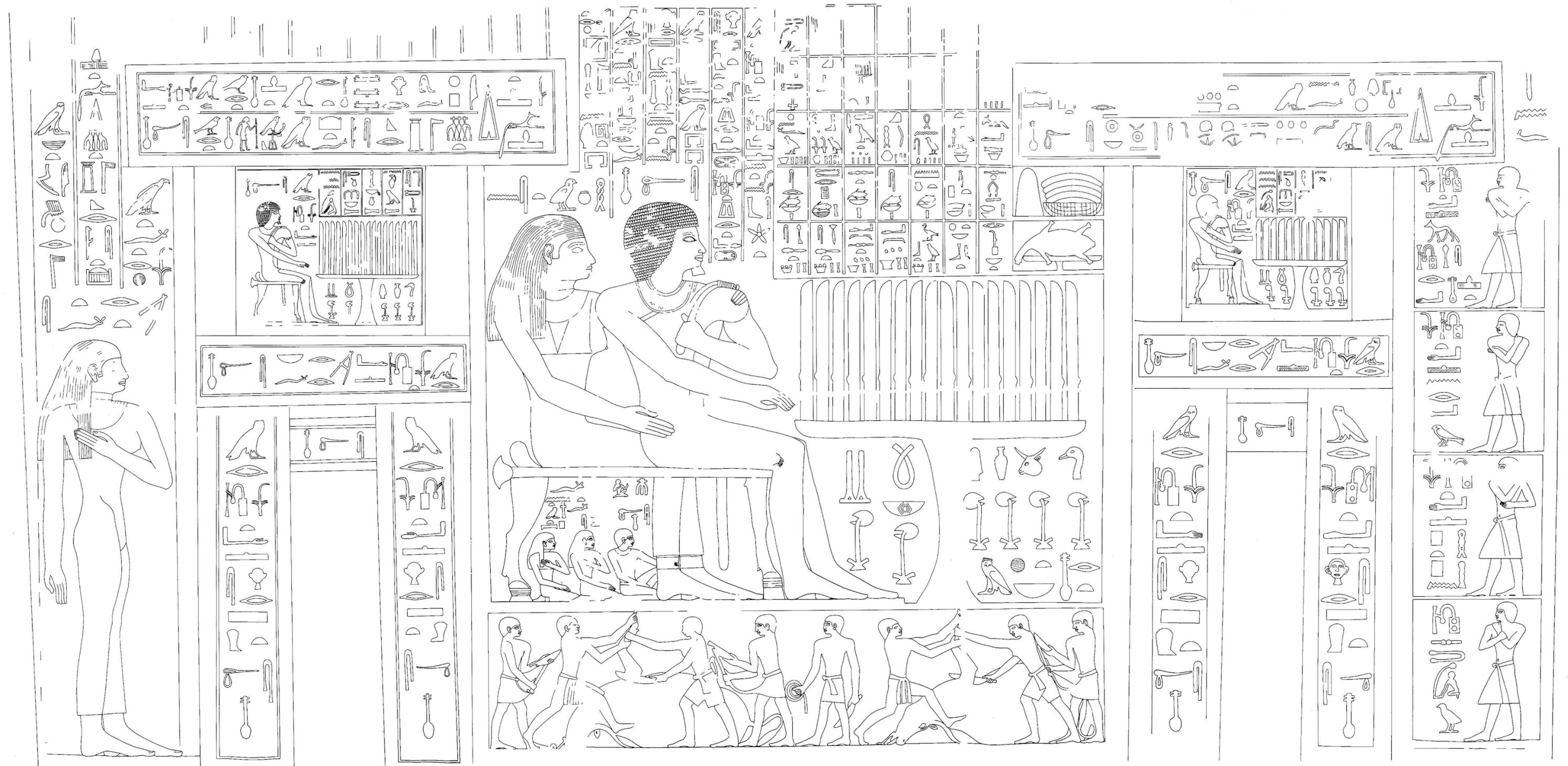


(b) South thickness

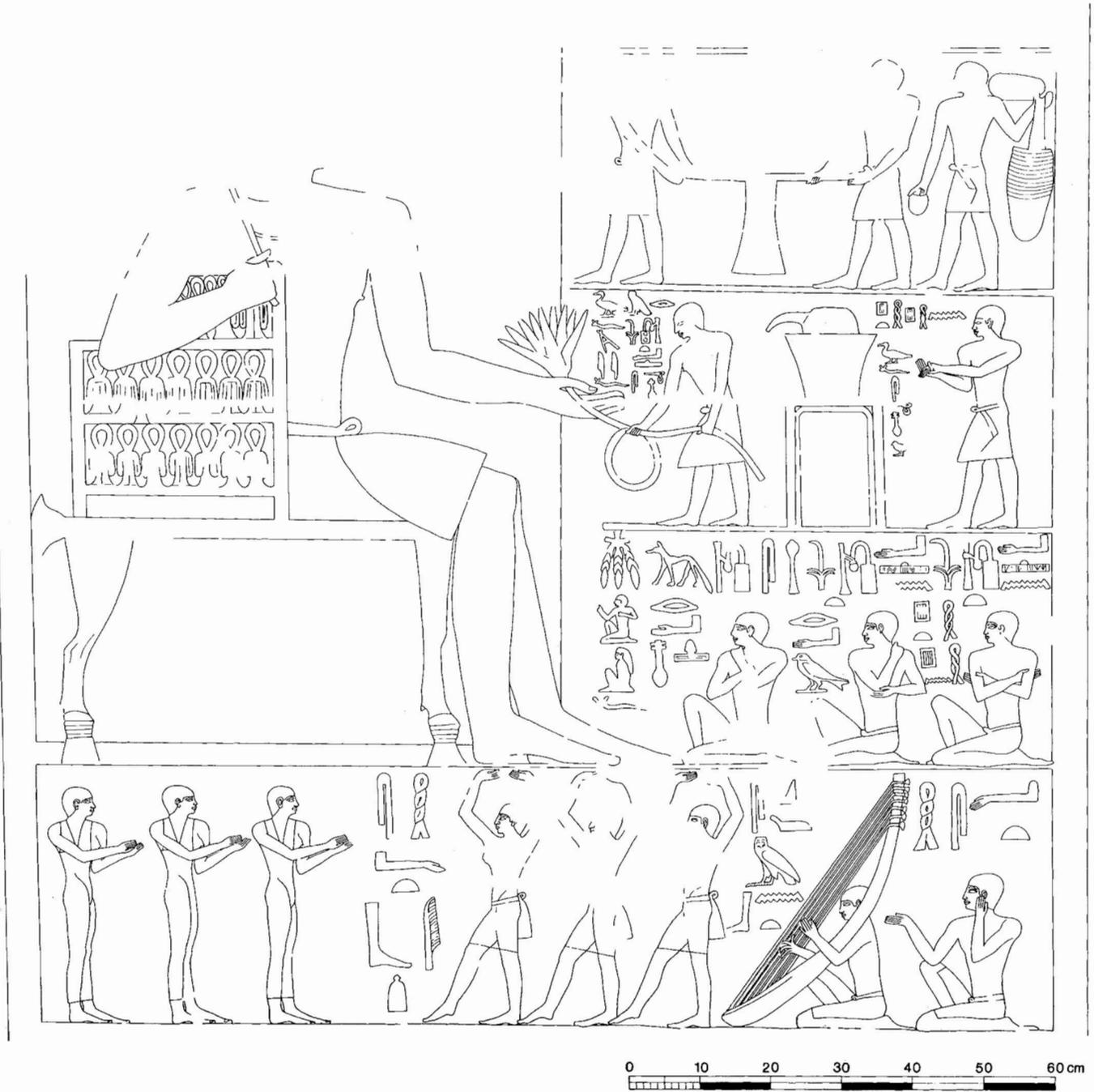




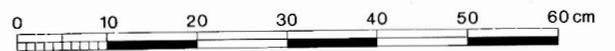
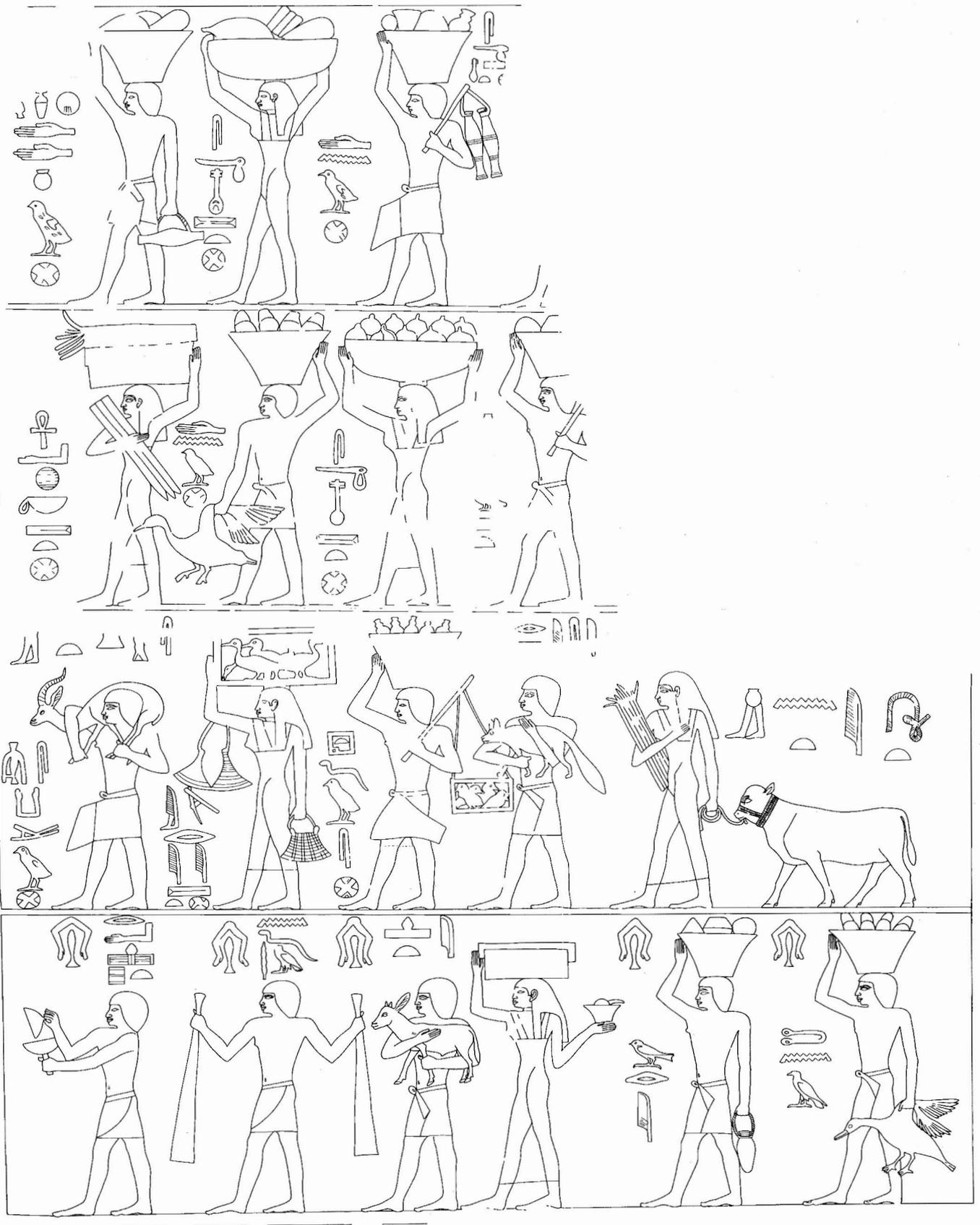
Pl. 62. Seshemnefer II, chapel, east wall



Pl. 63. Seshemnefer II, chapel, west wall



Pl. 64. Seshemnefer II, chapel, south wall



Pl. 65. Seshemnefer II, chapel, north wall



A.C.E.

