

## CHAPTER 7: KHNUMENTI – G 2374

**T**HE MASTABA was excavated by the Harvard–Boston Expedition on November 16, again on November 28 to 29, and on December 6 of 1912. Shaft A was cleared on January 26–27, 1913. Shaft G 2385 A, the probable burial place of Khnumenti, was cleared between December 10 and 12, 1912.

As previously mentioned, G 2374 was inserted between the north side of G 2370 and the south side of G 2375, 2376, 2377, and 2378 (pl. 94a), and was probably the next mastaba built in the Senedjemib Complex after that of Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378).<sup>1</sup> Two walls were constructed closing off the resultant east–west corridor, one on the west and the other on the east with a doorway opening into the court. Even though the exterior north wall of G 2370, which was constructed of great blocks of grey nummulitic limestone, was dressed flat in Rooms I and II of G 2374 to take the reliefs, Reisner still classified the mastaba as his type VIII a(3), with retaining walls of white limestone backed by nummulitic blocks of grey stone. The type (7d) chapel is entered from the east at the south end of its east–west vestibule (II) with an east–west offering room (III). The mastaba measures 4.1 (east)–3.6 (west) by 18.5 m. The proportion of the length of the mastaba to the width is 1/0.22. The total area is 75.85 sq. m, while the total floor area of Rooms I–III is 19.03 sq. m. The relation of the floor area of the chapel to the area of the mastaba is 1/3.98. The height on the east is 3.05 m and on the west 3.43 m.<sup>2</sup>

The roof of G 2374 has entirely disappeared, but the ceiling in Room II apparently consisted of slabs bedded in the south side wall. A groove in the south wall of the room (pl. 88b, c) is well preserved. Its bottom is located at the top of the decorated wall surface at a height of 2.83 m from the preserved pavement and its top is at 3.13 m above the floor. It is thus 30 cm in height, while its depth is 6.0 cm. This seems rather shallow to hold the ends of the ceiling slabs, but it is difficult to imagine what else the groove might represent, especially as there is no interior wall on the south side of the room on which the slabs might rest. Room II is only 1.05 m wide, and limestone ceiling slabs in the tombs of Ni-ka-anekh and Ka-pu-inpu at Saqqara spanned comparable distances of 1.54 m (5 ft.) and 2.0 (6 1/2 ft.) respectively.<sup>3</sup>

Resting at present on the top of the south wall of G 2374 between Rooms I and II is a large block with a right-angle cut in its

surface (pl. 88a, c). It seems very likely that this block is out of place, for if it is moved 40 cm or so to the left, it would be in a position to form the southwest corner of Room II. The top of the right-angled cut is located at 3.43 cm above the preserved pavement at the foot of the south wall. The ceiling of Room I therefore seems to have been somewhat higher than that of Room II. In the case of Room III, the side walls are largely destroyed, and it is not possible to ascertain if the ceiling was at the same height as or higher than the ceilings in the other rooms.

Unlike the mastabas of his father Inti (G 2370), his brother Mehi (G 2378), and of Nekhebu (G 2381), Khnumenti's tomb lacked a portico. Instead the facade appears to have been crowned by a frieze inscription proclaiming the identity of the owner.<sup>4</sup> A surviving block from the left end of the frieze (pl. 85a; fig. 79b) measures approximately 71.3 cm in length and 28.1 cm in height. The inscription, in large sunken hieroglyphs between incised lines, reads from right to left: [... *imy-rs kst*] *nb(t) n(t) nswt imshw hr ntr-3 Hnmnti*, “[... overseer of] all [works] of the king, one honored by the great god, Khnumenti.”

On the facade north of the entrance are four standing figures of Khnumenti in the same attitude facing left and preceded each by a long column of inscription (pl. 84c; fig. 80). The arrangement is reminiscent of a popular type of Old Kingdom architrave with standing figures of the owner repeated, although many of these are later in date than Khnumenti.<sup>5</sup> Figures and inscriptions alike are in sunk relief. The costume of the best preserved figure at the right consists of a shoulder-length wig, chin beard, beaded collar, and a short kilt with flaring front panel. He holds a long walking stick at a diagonal with his right hand in front and a scepter in his hanging left hand behind. The walking stick appears to be capped rather than knobbed. As is appropriate in a figure facing to the left, the scepter passes behind the figure and is largely hidden by the kilt.<sup>6</sup> The other figures were apparently identical except that the first wore a leopard skin vestment, as is evident from the tail hanging down between the legs. An isolated fragment with the face, front shoulder, and arm from the first figure is in Boston and has been restored to its approximate position in fig. pl. 84c and fig. 80. There is a minimum of carving within the outlines of the figures, and details such as the beads of the collars and the spots of the leopard skin were presumably added in paint.

Insofar as they are preserved, the long columns of text read from left to right as follows: (1) [... *iry*]-*p<sup>c</sup>t hsty-c t<sup>y</sup>ty zsb t<sup>y</sup>ty Hnmnti*, “[... the hereditary] prince and count, chief justice and vizier, Khnumenti; (2) [... *mdh*] [*qd*] [*nswt*] *m prwy Hnmnti*, “[... royal master] ‘builder’ in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt), Khnumenti;” (3) [*i*] *mshw<sup>1</sup> hr Inpw* [...] *Hnmnti*, “[one h]onor<sup>ed</sup> by Anubis, [...], Khnumenti;” (4) [*i*] *mshw hr* [...], *imy-rs kst nb(t) nt nswt*

<sup>1</sup> See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” pp. 135ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *GN* 1, p. 267 (2), fig. 165.

<sup>3</sup> *Seven Chapels*, pp. 6, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Junker, *Giza* 8, p. 112, provides a discussion of inscribed friezes like this. It is interesting to note that the mastaba of Khnumenti's putative nephew, Kakherptah Feteki (see above, p. 25), was surmounted by just such a frieze (Junker, *Giza* 8, figs. 50–51).

<sup>5</sup> Discussed in Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 217–18.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 43.



caption is preserved: [...f]<sup>15</sup> *ḫwt ḫmt.nw* [...], “[...] [Rai]’se<sup>1</sup> the sail and the ‘upper yardarm’(?)!”<sup>15</sup>

Although the top of the mast is lost, it is clear that several stays were attached to various points on its upper part whence they ran diagonally aft to be fastened to either side of the hull. One sailor at the stern of the boat leans backward with the effort of handling two braces or guide ropes fixed to the ends of the ship’s yard to swing it horizontally. Both braces are secured to a large staple on the deck. Even though the two helmsmen are placed on the starboard side, this is almost certainly a convention designed to show both rudders, and in reality one helmsman must have stood on each side of the deck.<sup>16</sup> The hands of the helmsmen are destroyed, but the two rudders were probably managed without tillers. Both rudders appear to be carried outside the projecting bulwark.

It is possible that a loose stone found in the court of the Senedjemib Complex, and known only from a photograph, came from the right inner thickness of G 2374 (pl. 87a; fig. 82a). If it does not belong immediately above the boat just described, it may have belonged to another boat in one of the destroyed registers above. Parts of two columns of text and the better part of a third are preserved: (1) [...] *mr’wy* *ḫwy*.<sup>17</sup> *k’ m imy.k wr’ḫ* [...], (2) [*K3*]’*p’ m ts(y)t* *ḫs ḫw.k rs.t(i) r ḫr*], (3) *ḫw ḫs.k whmw m(i) s(y) ‘d̄s.*<sup>1</sup> (1) “[...] the [two] channel[s].<sup>17</sup> ‘Your’ two winds are on your right’ [...]. (2) [Adjus]’*t*(?) the ‘rigging!’<sup>18</sup> Fight your wind! Pay attention [to the

brace(s)]!<sup>19</sup> (3) The wind is behind you, o transmitter of commands.<sup>20</sup> Behold it ‘is blowing!’<sup>21</sup>

### East Wall, South of Entrance

In the bottom register of this short wall the lower part of a male offering bearer is preserved. He seemingly faced left and was dressed in a plain, tight-fitting kilt (pl. 87c; fig. 82c). In his hands he once held an object or food offering, of which faint traces alone remain. The relief is poorly executed with the background only partially cut away and the figure defined by deep chisel lines. Additional bearers of offerings may have occupied the destroyed registers above, as is certainly the case on the short, west wall opposite.

### South Wall

Episodes from Khnumenti’s funeral were depicted on the south wall of Room I (pl. 88a; fig. 83). The location of the scene on a wall adjacent to the entrance is of some interest, inasmuch as the preferred location for funeral scenes was in pillared halls or in open courts which were functionally equivalent to pillared halls. Only in exceptional cases do such scenes penetrate into the chapel and then only on the thickness of the entrance or on a wall near the entrance.<sup>22</sup>

The scene is virtually illegible on cursory inspection, consisting as it does of chisel lines left behind when the plaster in which it was evidently carved fell away. As has previously been noted, this wall, like the south wall of Room II, which is in a similar condition, represents the exterior north wall of G 2370, which was dressed flat to take the reliefs. The masonry blocks thus cut back were of gray nummulitic limestone of a quality that necessitated the application of a coating of plaster in whose surface the reliefs might be cut.<sup>23</sup>

The portrayal is an abbreviated one and several of the usual episodes of the journey from the realm of the living to the final internment in the necropolis are omitted.<sup>24</sup> At the top right of the wall is a large figure of Khnumenti in a kiosk. The remainder of this register is destroyed. In the registers below are depicted the journey on land and water of Khnumenti’s coffin and of a statue(?). The movement in the three lower registers proceeds from the left to the right, that is, from east to west, as though the funeral procession were proceeding into the chapel. The same orientation probably held true in the largely destroyed top register. Since the sequence of the episodes clearly proceeds from the bottom register to the top register, we reverse our usual procedure and describe the registers in order from the bottom to the top of the wall.

<sup>15</sup> For *ḫwt*, “raise sail,” see *Wb.* 1, p. 574, 1; *LD* 2, pl. 22d. *Wb.* 3, p. 284, 16, cites a word *ḫmt* known from CT V, 131b, 132a, where it designates part of a boat. Jéquier, *BIFAO* 9 (1911), pp. 58, 80, was of the opinion that the word means “upper yardarm.” Faulkner agreed that *ḫmt*, literally “three” (*Wb.* 3, p. 283, 8–12), is in some way connected with the mast, as is shown by the Coffin Text context (Sp. 398) in which it occurs, but he suggested that the word refers to the three spars, that is, the mast and two yards (*FECT* 2, p. 37, n. 24). It is clear from the photograph that the word in front of the boat in G 2374 is spelled . Properly speaking, the orthography suits neither *ḫmt*, “three” nor *ḫwt*, “upper yardarm, spars.” In CT V 132 (M2NY) the nautical term is once written without a *t* and twice without the *nw*-pot. It is thus possible that the original nautical term reflected in the variants was *ḫmt.nw*, literally “the third” (*Wb.* 3, p. 284, 1–8). If so, this might favor Jéquier’s interpretation.

<sup>16</sup> Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 36.

<sup>17</sup> A second is probably to be restored here. The groups and appear respectively in the tombs of Kapure at Saqqara (Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 272), of Ka-em-ankh at Giza (Junker, *Giza*, 4, pl. 3), and in a provincial tomb of the Old Kingdom at Al-Ma’abda (12. *Oberägyptischen Gau*, fig. on p. 149). The reading of is uncertain, but *itrwy*, “two rivers, streams, canals, channels” (*Wb.* 1, p. 146, 10–17), should perhaps be considered as well as *mr.wy*, “two canals, channels” (*Wb.* 2, p. 97, 3; *AEO* 2, pp. 164\*, 179\*). The significance of is also unclear, but Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p. 116, suggests it is a question of a technical sailing term. It should be noted that Kurth and Rößler-Köhler (12. *Oberägyptischen Gau*, p. 49) appear to read the group as *ḫw*, a possibility that deserves consideration. The reversal of the component signs and the repetition of the sail in the example from the Senedjemib Complex is curious.

<sup>18</sup> *Ksp m tsyt* appears behind a sailor (*ḫrp iz*) who sits on a ship’s cabin in the tomb of Sekhentiu Neferseshemphah at Saqqara and adjusts the braces to trim the sail (*Two Craftsmen*, pl. 8). As Moussa and Junge note, *ibid.*, p. 37, this command is not usual in sailing scenes and none of the conventional meanings of the verb *ksp* appear to fit the context. In *ibid.*, n. 167, they hesitantly translate “Boatswain, shelter is on the port bow.” *Ksp m* in the Saqqara scene, however, pretty clearly defines the activity of the sailor. Hence, the tentative translation offered here. In Sekhentiu’s tomb the postcomplement *p* is centered under the *ksp*-sign. In the loose block from the Senedjemib Complex, the letter *p* at the right was presumably balanced by a (now destroyed) determinative at the left. If the proposed restoration in the present context is correct, *ksp m ts(y)t* would form a suitable description of the activity of the sailor handling the braces in Khnumenti’s sailing ship. For *tsyt*, “tackle, rigging,” see Jones, *Nautical Titles and Terms*, p. 193 [176]. *FECT* 3, p. 204, translates *tsyt*, “sail and mast.” Beiß (*Schiffe*, pp. 119; 133, 37; cited by Jones [*Nautical Titles and Terms*, p. 193 (176)]) thinks that *tsyt* encompasses not only the sailcloth but the entire tackle or rigging.

<sup>19</sup> Junker, *Giza* 4, p. 57.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60–61; Edcl, *Altäg. Gramm.* 2, § 915 β; Jones, *Nautical Titles and Terms*, p. 75 (111). Allen would take *whmw* as the adverb “again,” as does Boreux, *Nautique*, p. 453, in translating a parallel passage in the tomb of Kapure (Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 272). Montet, *Scènes*, p. 353, translates the same text “Le vent derrière toi redouble.”

<sup>21</sup> Literally, “It is giving.” For the imperative *m(i)*, “behold,” see Edcl, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 612. Edcl, *ibid.*, § 166, observes that the 3rd sing. m. dependent pronoun *sw* is sometimes written *s*. James Allen suggests instead that here represents feminine *s(i)*, “it,” used without antecedent, like English “It’s windy.” A partial parallel from Saqqara helps clarify the passage here; see Altenmüller, *Mehu*, p. 117, pl. 21b.

<sup>22</sup> Bolshakov, *GM* 121 (1991), p. 41.

<sup>23</sup> See above, p. 20.

<sup>24</sup> See Bolshakov, *GM* 121 (1991), pp. 35–55, for the complete repertoire of scenes.

*Fourth Register.* A funeral procession conveyed the bier with the body of the deceased from his dwelling place to the bank of the Nile or to a canal nearby. The house with mourning relatives is sometimes depicted in such scenes but is lacking here.<sup>25</sup> The bier consisted of a coffin set under a shrine-shaped canopy (largely destroyed) supported on ten posts (only the five closest are shown) and mounted on a lion-headed sledge.<sup>26</sup> The coffin is a long rectangular box, and the parallel lines at its top may represent a cavetto cornice lid.<sup>27</sup> The bier is dragged by a team of oxen assisted by a file of men who haul on a long tow-rope. Seven haulers are preserved in part. In parallel scenes, the coffin of the deceased is most often carried to a boat for the crossing of the river by coffin-bearers.<sup>28</sup> When the coffin is set on a lion-headed bier, however, the bier may either be drawn by men alone<sup>29</sup> or by both men and oxen as here.<sup>30</sup> An eighth man, immediately in front of the sledge, turns back and steps up onto it, his arm(s) raised as if to steady the canopy. His figure is wigless and he wears a plain kilt. Although it seems probable from traces that the haulers for the most part wore belt-sashes with pendant ends, the last man in the file is distinguished by a short kilt with flaring front panel. A horizontal line of text extended across the whole length of the register above the procession, but only the beginning is preserved. From left to right it reads: *m htp m htp r imntt nfr[ $\bar{t}$ ]*, “In peace, in peace to the beautiful West.”

*Third Register.* In this register and the next the funeral cortege crosses the Nile or a canal.<sup>31</sup> The ferrying of the coffin on a ship is a favorite theme of Old Kingdom funeral processions.<sup>32</sup> The traces remaining suggest a similar arrangement of elements in this register and the one above. In both registers, for example, two ships tow a larger vessel. The ship towed in this register is the better preserved of the two and appears to be a funeral barque with overhanging ends constructed in imitation of a papyrus boat.<sup>33</sup> In the center of the funeral barque in this register the coffin of the deceased rests under a shrine-shaped canopy. The two men (largely destroyed) who stand in front of and behind the canopy both face the prow. Identifying

labels are destroyed, but the man immediately to the right of the coffin may be the pilot and the man behind a member of the funeral cortege. Alternately, since a lector priest and an embalmer often sit or stand in the bow or stern of the funerary barque, the two men could represent these officiants.<sup>34</sup>

The towboats in both registers are blunt-ended craft with bulwarks amidship. In the upper towboat in this register traces of what is probably a deckhouse canopy are to be seen behind the damaged figures of the oarsmen. Each of the boats evidently had seven rowers apiece. The best preserved oarsman in the lower towboat in this register extends his arms in front of him. He grasps his oar with both hands, his upper body leaning forward, legs braced, as if at the beginning of a stroke. The blade of his oar is lancet-shaped like those of the better-preserved oars in both registers. The bow watch in the lower boat stands with front arm raised and holds a sounding pole which trails behind him in the water in his other hand. His hair is close-cropped and no traces of clothing are preserved. The man behind him stands with left fist closed on his chest in a gesture of respect, while his other arm hangs at his side.<sup>35</sup> Like his companion, he is wigless but traces suggest he wore the belt-sash with pendant ends. The stance of the rowers in the upper towboat in this register is different from that of their counterparts below, for each rower appears to rest his forward foot on the gunwale. Part of what may be the shaft of a steering oar is visible towards the stern of this boat.

*Second Register.* A papyriform(?) ship was once again towed across a long stretch of water by two boats. Towards the center of the towed vessel an isolated leg and foot, on a horizontal line that could represent the top of a base, suggests that a statue of Khnumenti was being transported. Traces of two rowers and parts of four oars are preserved in the lower of the two towboats in this register. In the upper boat, no traces remain of the rowers or their oars, but traces of a figure at the stern of the vessel survive.

*First Register.* At the right end of the register a figure of Khnumenti was depicted in a kiosk. Little remains of the kiosk except for its floor and the lower part of the front. Khnumenti was shown seated on a lion-footed chair or stool whose front leg rests on a frustrum-shaped support. The front of his torso and the upper section of one arm, along with the lower part of his body and both legs are still visible. From the position of the arm, it seems possible that he held a staff, though no traces of such remain. He was probably dressed in a short kilt of which part of the belt and the belt knot survive. Traces of hieroglyphs towards the front of the kiosk, on a level where his face would have been, can be restored to read [*Hnm*]nti, “[Khnum]enti.”

Although the goal of funeral processions was, of course, the tomb, at which various rites were enacted and a ritual meal took place,<sup>36</sup> the tomb itself is rarely depicted in the Old Kingdom. In the mastaba of Mereruka the entrance to his tomb appears, while in the “Tomb of the Two Brothers” at Saqqara a tomb front with elaborate palace-facade panelling and entrance portal is twice

<sup>25</sup> It occurs in *Rue de tomb.*, pls. 70–72; *Mereruka* 2, pl. 130; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhm $\bar{a}$ hor*, pl. 71, fig. 56; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 35.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Gebr.* 1, pl. 10; 2, pl. 7.

<sup>27</sup> See *ibid.*, 1, pl. 10; *Meir* 5, pls. 42–43; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 35. Reisner found a cavetto-corniced coffin in Giza shaft G 2416 D III (Obj. Reg. 36–7–24; Exp. Ph. A 7655, 7674).

<sup>28</sup> *Meir* 5, pls. 42–43; *Mereruka* 2, pl. 130; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, figs. 24, 35; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhm $\bar{a}$ hor*, fig. 56.

<sup>29</sup> *Gebr.* 2, pl. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 35; Hassan, *Saqqara* 2, fig. 28 (?); Kanawati, *El Hawawish* 3, fig. 12.

<sup>31</sup> Bolshakov, *GM* 121 (1991), pp. 37–38, feels that the group of men hauling the ship in *Meir* 5, pl. 43, indicates that no crossing of the Nile was implied, but rather that the ferrying scenes represent a purely ritual cruise or at most couring along the shore of a canal. He thinks that the house of the deceased and the necropolis to which the corpse was taken were both located in the capital region, that is, in close proximity to Memphis (or at Meir in the case of Pepyankh Heny the Black) on the western side of the Nile, so that there was no need to cross the river. Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), p. 205, discusses the same question and concludes that the fact that towboats of some size are used in the journey argues for a Nile crossing, although he also acknowledges that a system of canals on the west bank would facilitate movement over any considerable distance. Like Bolshakov, Wilson notes that Egyptian scenes sometimes combine the actual and spiritual.

<sup>32</sup> Bolshakov, *GM* 121 (1991), p. 37.

<sup>33</sup> On papyriform craft, see Reisner, *Ships and Boats*, pp. xviii–xxi; Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, pp. 56–59.

<sup>34</sup> E.g., *LD* 2, pl. 101b; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 24.

<sup>35</sup> See p. 57, n. 295 above.

<sup>36</sup> Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), pp. 213–18.

depicted.<sup>37</sup> All that remains of an interesting representation in the tomb of Tjeti Kahep at Akhmim is part of a tomb facade and entrance along with a ramp ascending to what was presumably the roof of the tomb.<sup>38</sup> The damage in this instance is particularly unfortunate, since the representation, when intact, may have supplied a parallel to a well-known scene in the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Debehen at Giza.<sup>39</sup> The Debehen scene is the earliest depiction of the funeral services performed at the tomb to survive. While funerary priests perform ritual acts, men with offerings ascend a ramp to the roof of the mastaba and present them to a statue of Debehen standing in a double shrine with cavetto cornices. In the double depiction of funeral services in the “Tomb of the Two Brothers,” the statues of the deceased in their shrines are said to be set up “in front of” their tomb, but the same ritual acts are performed.<sup>40</sup> By analogy with the Debehen scene and the double depiction in the “Tomb of the Two Brothers,” the seated figure in the kiosk depicted as the goal of Khnumenti’s funeral cortege most likely represented a statue of the deceased. Certain depictions of seated statues do hold a staff in the far hand, as the figure of Khnumenti in the kiosk may have done. In these depictions, the near hand that rests on the lap may be open or closed to hold a handkerchief or scepter.<sup>41</sup> As Eaton-Krauss points out, this attitude is not known in actual statuary, though it is found in portrayals of the “living” tomb owner. As she also observes, wood is the only medium technically suitable for the arm position depicted, and the representation in G 2374 therefore may represent a wooden prototype.<sup>42</sup> It seems more likely that the figure in the booth did indeed represent a statue of Khnumenti rather than a “living” figure of the owner itself, even though in depictions of seated statues in Old Kingdom reliefs the statues generally sit on block seats or thrones, whereas the present example appears to be seated on an ordinary chair or stool with animal’s legs. A few examples of actual statues where the owner is seated on a theriomorphic chair or stool are known, however.<sup>43</sup> If this was indeed a statue of Khnumenti, priests performing the funerary ritual may have been shown in the destroyed portion of the register at the left. Further, if the misplaced block referred to above actually does form the southwest corner of the room, it is possible that its surface originally bore, in addition to the top of the kiosk, a caption to the scene.

#### *West Wall, South of Door*

Three registers with two offering bearers in each remain on the short west wall south of the door to Room II (pl. 89b; fig. 84a). As on the east wall opposite, the relief is of poor quality with deep lines incised around the figures and the background unevenly cut away. All six figures faced right but only the foremost figure in each register was identified by name and title. Although the second figure in each register is damaged and any details of costume lost, the foremost figure

wears a folded kilt with belt and overlap, and presumably all six figures were similarly attired originally. Although all six bearers probably had their hair close-cropped, the line of the hair around the face survives only in the case of the foremost figures in the middle and lower registers. A large round hole drilled through the name of the foremost figure in the second register may represent a place where a nodule of flint was removed. The falling away of the plaster with which it would have been filled resulted in the loss of the first sign in his name.

*First Register.* Man holding a tray aloft with produce destroyed and an amorphous object in his hanging hand: *ḥm-kꜣ Snḏm*, “funerary priest, Senedjem.”

Second figure largely destroyed.

*Second Register.* Man holding aloft a tray laden with two filled small, flat-bottomed, flaring bowls,<sup>44</sup> a triangular loaf of bread, and a lettuce, and holding a bird (largely destroyed) by the wings: *ḥm-kꜣ [K]i(?)*, “funerary priest, [K]ai(?)”

Man holding aloft a tray laden with two filled small, flat-bottom, flaring bowls, a triangular loaf of bread, and a lettuce.

*Third Register.* Man holding aloft a tray laden with two filled small, flat-bottom, flaring bowls, a triangular loaf of bread, and a lettuce(?), and holding an ill-defined object in his other hand: *ḥm-kꜣ Mn-ihy*, “funerary priest, Men-ihy.”

Man holding aloft a tray on his right shoulder with part of a triangular loaf preserved.

#### *West Wall, North of Door*

Only a section of the lower part of the marsh scene in medium-high raised relief that once occupied this wall is preserved (pl. 89c; fig. 84b). The cutting away of the background was more consistent here than elsewhere in the anteroom but wide, deep chisel lines are nonetheless apparent. In the rectangle that represents a stretch of water, Nile fish and a crocodile are visible. Above to the right the very bottom of a papyrus skiff is recognizable by its cord bindings. The crocodile has its mouth agape and is in the process of devouring what appears to be, from the characteristic shape of the tail, a catfish.<sup>45</sup> An eel swims over the crocodile’s back towards a large fish of indeterminate species at the right. Other traces are visible to the left of the crocodile and its prey.

#### *North Wall*

The scene was executed in a low raised relief with more or less flat surfaces and without detailed modeling (pl. 90b; fig. 85). More attention appears to have been devoted to the large figure of the owner than to the subsidiary figures, the toe nails, for example, being carefully

<sup>37</sup> *Mereruka* 1, pl. 130; *Nianchchnum*, pp. 50–51, 52–53, pls. 6–7, 10.

<sup>38</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hawawish* 3, fig. 12.

<sup>39</sup> *LD* 2, pl. 35; Hassan, *Giza* 4, p. 176, fig. 122, pl. 1.

<sup>40</sup> *Nianchchnum*, pp. 50–51, 55, pls. 11, 15.

<sup>41</sup> Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 13.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14–17.

<sup>43</sup> See e.g., Curto, *Ghiza*, pp. 42–45, pls. 9–11; Valloggia, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), pl. 24a–g. Both of these statues are carved from limestone.

<sup>44</sup> In Williams, *Decoration of Perneb*, pl. 13, the contents of the bowls are green with black stippling; in Meir 4, pls. 18, 21, they are yellow. Perhaps an edible seed of some sort was intended. For the bowl, cf. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 229, fig. 80 [1], Type XLIV [1].

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Teti Cem.* 2, pl. 53 [2].

indicated. At the left end of the wall, Khnumenti stood facing right. His legs and feet, the bottom line of a short kilt with flaring front panel, and the outline of his walking stick held at a diagonal before him are preserved. Five offering bearers with close-cropped hair and folded kilts with overlap approach from the right. The bearer at the head of the file held an offering tray aloft in front with his now destroyed right hand and a bird by the wings in his hanging left hand. The offerings on the tray consist of a triangular loaf of bread between two filled, small, flat-bottom, flaring bowls with a lettuce(?) placed on top. The second offering bearer held a bird, whose tail alone survives, in the crook of his right arm and a wickerwork frail by a cord in his left hand hanging behind. The third bearer carried a tray of offerings aloft in front and probably a young animal or other offering, now lost, in the crook of his left arm. The fourth man holds aloft a tray with his right hand and a wickerwork frail by a cord in his hanging left hand. The offerings on the tray are destroyed but, on the basis of the photograph, they evidently consisted of a triangular loaf between two filled bowls with possibly a lettuce above. The last man balanced two trays on his shoulders, but the offerings on the trays are destroyed. In addition, a bunch of vegetables(?) and another of papyrus flowers hang from his elbows. Visible above the heads of the third and fourth figures in the photograph is a segment of groundline from the register above and possibly the very bottom of the foot of another figure walking to the left.

### East Wall

An elaborate palanquin scene occupied this wall.<sup>46</sup> As restored from photographs by William Stevenson Smith, the wall is shown in pl. 91 and, as copied by the Giza Mastabas Project, in fig. 86. As may be seen from the modern masonry visible at the east end of the north wall in pl. 90a, the east wall has been re-erected too far to the east. The correct position is indicated by the broken line in figs. 2, 3.

Khnumenti is shown seated in his portable covered chair borne on the shoulders of twenty men. Only the lower part of the first three pairs of porters is preserved, on the end of the block which forms part of the inner entrance thickness and whose other face bears the representation of a sailing ship.<sup>47</sup> In each pair of porters, the forward figure covers almost entirely the figure of the man behind, and only a narrow portion of the front edge of the second porter projects in front of the complete figure.<sup>48</sup> They proceed to the right and are evenly spaced along the length of the carrying poles, which they grasp with both hands in front of them. Their figures occupied the entire width of the register.

The porters are wigless and wear long belt-sashes whose loose ends hang down in front.<sup>49</sup> Well-executed examples of this garment show a loop and two ends hanging down in front (fig. 94b, 1–3), but it is in general drawn as if it were an apron of cloth strips (fig. 94b, 1–5).<sup>50</sup> It is commonly worn by agricultural workers of every sort,<sup>51</sup>

marsh dwellers,<sup>52</sup> huntsmen,<sup>53</sup> butchers,<sup>54</sup> mariners,<sup>55</sup> guards,<sup>56</sup> and individuals engaged in a variety of other strenuous activities.<sup>57</sup> But the garment is also that adopted by porters of carrying chairs<sup>58</sup> who might be noble youths appointed by the king to that service.<sup>59</sup> In the course of strenuous activity, the loose ends may be tucked up under the belt behind (fig. 94b, 4).

Khnumenti is shielded from the sun by an elaborate baldachin whose curved roof is supported by six slender, bulbous-headed columns (only the three columns closest to the viewer are shown).<sup>60</sup> He is seated on a cushion on the floor of the chair with his knees drawn up. The chair has a high back and panelled sides, and the end of the cushion is draped over the back. Khnumenti's right forearm is held parallel to the rail of the chair and the clenched hand holds a handkerchief. Between the fingers of his raised left hand he holds a short baton.<sup>61</sup> He wears a shoulder-length wig which hides his ears and has a beaded collar around his neck. The flaring front panel of his short belted kilt projects stiffly. Between the columns of the canopy is written: *hry-tp nswt imy-r3 kst nbt n(t) nswt mdh qd [nsw] t m prwy [Hnm]-nti*, "the royal chamberlain, overseer of all works of the king, [royal] master builder in both houses, [Khnum]enti. Above the canopy are two incomplete horizontal lines and a short column of text which brackets the two lines at the left: (1) [... *h*]ry sst3 wdt-mdw nb(t) nt [n]sw[t mr]y nb[.fm] t3[wy.f], (2) [...] *imy-r3 kst nbt n(t) nswt imy[-ib] nswt imy-r3 kst nbt*, (3) *Hnm-nti*, (1) "[... mas]ter of secrets of every command of the [k]in[g, beloved] of [his] lord [in his] (viz. the king's) [two] land[s], (2) [...] overseer of all works of the king, favorite of the king, overseer of every work, (3) Khnumenti."

Other members of Khnumenti's retinue are shown on separate ground lines behind the carrying chair. They carry equipment essential to their master's comfort in the course of his outing. In the top-most of three subregisters, two men walking to the right raise both hands to steady the plain, rectangular boxes balanced on their heads. A headrest is set on top of each of the boxes. Like the porters, each man is wigless and wears a belt-sash with pendant ends. In the next subregister at the level of Khnumenti's shoulder are three more individuals. The first is a dwarf who likewise carries a box on his head; he steadies the box with one hand and in the other holds a bag(?) by its strap. He is naked and has a disproportionate short stature with

<sup>50</sup> The sources for fig. 94, 1–5 are the following: (a) Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 18; (b) Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, fig. on p. 67; (c–e) Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D. Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 56.

<sup>51</sup> E.g., LD 2, pl. 46; *Ti* 2, pl. 111; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D; Ziegler, *Akhet-hetep*, pp. 128, 131–34.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., Paget-Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 33; *Nianchchnum*, figs. 18, 19.

<sup>53</sup> E.g., Ziegler, *Akhet-hetep*, pl. 108; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pl. 12.

<sup>54</sup> E.g., LD 2, pl. 45a–b; *Mereruka* 2, pl. 144; Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, nos. 42, 53, 59, 61–62; *Nianchchnum*, figs. 9, 10; Ziegler, *Akhet-hetep*, pp. 138–43; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pl. 84.

<sup>55</sup> E.g., Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, nos. 30–33, 35–38, 41.

<sup>56</sup> Van de Walle, *Nefertitenef*, pls. 14, 15; Ziegler, *Akhet-hetep*, pp. 106, 108.

<sup>57</sup> E.g., Junker, *Giza* 11, fig. 100; CG 1419, 1536; *Meir* 5, pl. 31; Simpson, in: *Fs. Elmar Edel*, fig. 3.

<sup>58</sup> See above, pp. 46–47.

<sup>59</sup> The finials of these so-called "tent poles" probably represent papyrus buds; see Jenkins, *Boat Beneath the Pyramid*, captions to pls. VII, IX; Brovanski, in: *Iubilae Conlegae* (forthcoming). For actual examples of such poles, see Firth–Quibell, *Step Pyramid* 1, p. 62; 2, pls. 37 (1), 47 L; *GN* 2, p. 24, figs. 19, 20, pls. 4, 5, 7, 9c; Jenkins, *Boat Beneath the Pyramid*, fig. 35, pls. V, VI, VII, and passim.

<sup>60</sup> See above, p. 47.

<sup>46</sup> See Klebs, *AR*, pp. 27–29; *GN* 2, pp. 367–68; *HESP*, pp. 155, 293–95; Junker, *Giza* 11, pp. 251–54; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 328–51.

<sup>47</sup> See above, p. 116.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *HESP*, pp. 334–37.

<sup>49</sup> On this item of apparel, see Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 56; Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p. 66; Roth, *Phyles*, p. 141.

short, thickset trunk, short bowed limbs, and large head.<sup>62</sup> Like the other attendants he is wigless. The attendant behind him carries a vessel shaped like a bucket by its handle in his left hand and a case with a rounded cap and loop handle in the crook of his right arm.

Visible inside the bucket is a pointed object. Bucket-shaped situlas are commonly carried by attendants of the tomb owner during outings, while a spatulate implement of unknown use is either placed in the bucket or held by the attendants, some of whom are identified as barbers or manicurists.<sup>63</sup> An example in the tomb of Iymery seems to show that the implement was a kind of brush made from vegetable fibers.<sup>64</sup> Possibly the bucket contained a scented liquid and the brush was used for asperging. A bucket-shaped vessel with handle appears along with vessels of different shapes in a metallurgy scene in the tomb of Ka-em-rehu, and it is a logical assumption that these vessels were of metal.<sup>65</sup> The form does not seem to be represented in the surviving corpus of metal vessels, however.<sup>66</sup>

The last man in this register wore a belt-sash whose loose ends hung down in front and with his left hand carries by its strap a basket wider at the bottom than at the top. Across his back he holds a pack bag, both ends of which are shown together with the broad main surface.<sup>67</sup> He steadies the bag with his right hand. A three-dimensional example of such a pack bag, on the back of a servant statue from Meir, was carried by a broad strap around the neck.<sup>68</sup> Taking the painted details into account, the original of the latter pack bag was probably made from leather over a wicker frame and had a decorative leopard skin patch with a border of bead work.

The first attendant in the third subregister held his master's knobbed walking stick in his left hand and a capped, tubular case that probably held spare sticks over his right shoulder.<sup>69</sup> The next man carries his master's sandals in his left hand and a triangular cloth bag over his right shoulder.<sup>70</sup> The figure of the third attendant is damaged, but enough is preserved to suggest that he had his arms folded in front of him and carried a wickerwork frail suspended on a cord around his neck. These last two figures wear the long belt-sash with pendant ends. In contrast to them and the other attendants

above, the first man in this register wears a short kilt with flaring front panel, his garb presumably reflecting a superior status.

In front of the carrying chair other attendants were shown on two other groundlines. The right side of the wall is now lost, however, and only two partly preserved figures immediately in front of Khnumenti's carrying chair survive. Both face towards Khnumenti. The upper figure holds a bird in his right hand, perhaps a golden oriole considering its moderately long bill.<sup>71</sup> A young son of the tomb owner often holds a bird in his father's presence in Old Kingdom daily life scenes,<sup>72</sup> and it is possible an otherwise unknown son of Khnumenti's was represented here. If so, the hieroglyph *ꜥnh* before him probably formed part of his name.<sup>73</sup>

The man on the ground line immediately below this figure, who was perhaps Khnumenti's steward, proffered a sheet of papyrus held between his two hands for examination.<sup>74</sup> Except for the edge of the flaring front panel of his kilt and the line of his front leg, the rest of his figure is destroyed.

The lowermost register of the east wall appears to be devoted to an entirely different subject: the transport of a life-size striding statue of Khnumenti to the tomb. Further investigation reveals that this is not the case. Junker and Wild have both discussed scenes where the "living" tomb owner is depicted together with his statues on the occasion of the actual transport of the statues to the tomb, and this representation, like a corresponding representation in G 2370, may constitute another instance of the genre.<sup>75</sup>

On the right side of the register, three men facing right haul on a tow rope and pull the statue in its shrine mounted on a sledge towards the left. It is clear from the photograph that the last of the haulers had passed the rope across his shoulders to prevent it from slipping. A man immediately in front of the sledge bends over to the right and pours water on the ground from a tall jar with short neck, tapering body, bulging shoulder, and rounded base.<sup>76</sup> The stream of water is indicated by several ripples. Mixed with the dirt the water would have made a mud slurry to ease the passage of the sledge. In the space above the man's head is the caption: *šsp twt n Hnm-nti*, "Receiving a statue of Khnumenti." The use of the verb *šsp* in this context is exceptional; *šms*, "escorting," or *špjt*, "bringing," are usual, while *itj*, "towing," and *stj*, "dragging," are also attested.<sup>77</sup> A priest on the sledge steps up on the front of the statue base to cense the statue. The double doors of the cavetto-corniced shrine are thrown open to allow the purifying incense to reach the statue, as the priest lifts the cover of the double-bell censer with his right hand, thus directing the incense smoke to the statue's face. The life-size statue is drawn in profile with both arms held at the sides. The costume consists of a

<sup>62</sup> See Dasen, *Medical History* 32 (1988), pp. 253–76. On dwarfs, terms for dwarfs, and their place in ancient Egyptian society, see below, p. 148 and n. 184.

<sup>63</sup> E.g., LD 2, pls. 50, 63; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 381 (= CG 1919); Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pl. 22 (= *ibid.*, pl. 29 [196]); Mereruka 1, pls. 14, 46; 2, pls. 139, 171–72; Hassan, *Giza* 2, fig. 240; 5: fig. 122; Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 8; 10; fig. 12; *Seven Chapters*, pl. 15; Wild, *Ti* 2, pl. 126; Verner, *Prabshepes*, fig. 31; Simpson, *Kaymnoftret*, pl. E; Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, figs. 162, 205.

<sup>64</sup> Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 32.

<sup>65</sup> Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, figs. 39–42, pls. 8–9.

<sup>66</sup> Radwan, *Die Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße Ägyptens*.

<sup>67</sup> See Schafer, *Principles*, p. 99, fig. 50 (= *Ti* 3, pl. 174). The pack bag is very common in relief; see e.g., Junker, *Giza* 4, fig. 8; *Ti* 1, pl. 16; 3, pls. 150, 174; Verner, *Prabshepes* 1, pl. 3; Ziegler, *Akhethetep*, pp. 167, 168; Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, fig. 162.

<sup>68</sup> CG 241: Borchardt, *Statuen* 1, pl. 51.

<sup>69</sup> Two tubular leather cases for walking sticks were found by Emery in a First Dynasty tomb at Saqqara (*Hemaka*, fig. 12 and p. 41, no. 435) and another by Reisner in the tomb of Queen Hetepheres I at Giza (*GN* 2, pp. 45–47, fig. 46). All three cases appear to have had flat caps, while the top of the case depicted in G 2374 is rounded. In *Ti* 3, pl. 174, an attendant removes walking sticks from a long, tubular case.

<sup>70</sup> The attendant with a linen bag and sandals is a regular member of the retinue of the tomb owner in the Old Kingdom; see Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 118 (e), fig. 33 [26–29].

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 129–31.

<sup>72</sup> See below, p. 143.

<sup>73</sup> See above, p. 31.

<sup>74</sup> See Manuelian, in *Simpson Studies* 2, pp. 561–88.

<sup>75</sup> See above, p. 49.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Reisner's Type A–II c pottery jar (*GN* 2, p. 70, fig. 82).

<sup>77</sup> See e.g., Montet, *Scènes*, p. 358; Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pp. 64–65. The verb here is written *šsp* with the folded cloth *s* rather than the *šzp* with the door bolt *z*, the latter being the customary earlier form of the verb (*Wb.* 4, p. 530). This may simply represent an early instance of *s* for *z* (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 116). Alternatively, it may be that the ancient draftsman conflated *šms* and *šzp* in his mind and then transferred his error to the wall.

shoulder-length wig, beaded collar, and short kilt with a flaring front panel. A lector-priest's sash is tied across the chest and what is apparently a papyrus roll is clasped in the left hand hanging behind.<sup>78</sup>

The presence of the sledge shows that the statue had yet to be installed in its final position in the serdab behind the west wall of Room I.<sup>79</sup> An unusual detail here is that of the haulers leaning backwards with their effort;<sup>80</sup> usually the men pulling on the tow rope walk without visible strain in the same direction that the statue faces.<sup>81</sup> It is unlikely that the haulers in G 2374 could have dragged the statue very far in this fashion, and they may be shown maneuvering the statue into position as a preliminary to removing it from the sledge.

In the Old Kingdom offering ritual before a statue of the deceased, the statue itself is usually set on the ground. Bearers may approach with offerings to add to a pile already in front of the statue.<sup>82</sup> There is no pile of offerings in G 2374, but on the left side of the bottom register a file of four offering bearers marches to the right towards the statue. The figures of the bearers have all been subjected to a varying degree of damage, but the three better preserved figures all appear to have carried aloft with their left hand a tray laden with a triangular loaf of bread between two filled small, flat-bottomed flaring bowls, with a lettuce laid across the top.<sup>83</sup> The first offering bearer held in addition a wicker frail on a cord with the right hand hanging at his side, while the second man carried a milk jar on a cord in his hanging right hand.<sup>84</sup> The figure of the last man is lost except for his feet.

## ROOM II

Room II is an east–west vestibule connecting Rooms I and III. It is entered from a door at the east end and exited by a door in the west end of the north wall. It measures 1.05 x 3.72 meters, and its area is 3.91 square meters.

### *Outer Door Thicknesses*

The thicknesses of the door from Room I were originally decorated with registers of offering bearers representing Khnumet's agricultural estates. The south thickness is preserved to its full height of three registers. On the north jamb opposite only the lowest part of the bottom register survives.

*Left (south) thickness.* The three registers each contain six striding female figures facing right (west), as if walking into Room II (pl. 92; fig. 87a). Each of the personified female estates was dressed in a long sheath dress with tapering shoulder straps and a long wig with the near lappet resting on the breast. In every case the left hand is raised to steady a basket balanced on the head. In most instances the figures

bear conical baskets, but six estates carry hemispherical baskets on their heads. In contrast to the other estates, the fourth, eighth, sixteenth, and eighteenth figures have covered baskets on their heads. Visible over the rim of the baskets are a variety of foodstuffs, most of which are insufficiently defined to render any attempt at identification profitable. In addition, the first estate in the top register carries a wickerwork frail on a cord in her hanging right hand, the second a bunch of papyrus flowers, the third a rush basket splayed towards the bottom by its handle, the fourth a pintail duck by the wings, the fifth a milk jar on a cord (destroyed), and the sixth once again a bunch of papyrus flowers. In the second register, the first estate holds her right arm parallel to the ground, palm up, but empty. The second figure in this register holds with her hanging right hand a jar on a cord and a duck by the wings, the third a bunch of papyrus, and the fourth a bunch of vegetables(?). The fifth again has a duck, while the sixth carried a wickerwork frail on a cord (destroyed). At the head of the third register, the first estate carries with her hanging right hand a jar on a cord, the second a brace of ducks by the wings, the third a wickerwork frail, the fourth a bouquet composed of a lotus flower and two buds, the fifth a jar on a cord. The right hand of the final estate in the procession hangs empty at her side.

The names of the estates have been published by Helen Jacquet-Gordon utilizing her personal copy of the original.<sup>85</sup> Corrections and improved readings are minor and affect mainly numbers 2, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 16 below.

1. *Hnt* ' *ibbt*': *mr Hrty nhy Tti*, "Kherty desires that Teti live, the 'Front of 'the East' nome."<sup>86</sup>
2. *Isbt*: *mr Hnm nhy Tti*, "Khnum desires that Teti live, the Eastern nome."
3. *Hst mhyt*: *shpt Pth Tti*, "Ptah satisfies Teti, the Mendesian nome."
4. *Wc m hww, gs imnt*: *mn dff Tti*, "The nourishment of Teti abides,<sup>87</sup> the Harpoon nome, western half."
5. *Iw*: *qbht Tti*, "The coolness(?) of Teti, the Letopolite nome."
6. *Imnt*: *mr Sst nhy Tti*, "Seshat desires that Teti live, the Western nome."
7. *Nt*: *mr Hr Trty nhy Tti*, "Horus of Tjerty desires that Teti live, the Saite nome."
8. *Wnw*: *S nhy Pth Tti*, "Ptah causes Teti to live, the Hare nome."
9. *Inpw*: *Htpwt Tti*, "The offerings of Teti, the Jackal nome."
10. *Nrt hntt*: *mr Sst nhy Tti*, "Seshat desires that Teti live, the Heracleopolitan nome."

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, cat. no. 116.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Dunham-Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 5.

<sup>81</sup> See the majority of the scenes of statue transport discussed by Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, pp. 60–76.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 72–73, 179.

<sup>83</sup> This motif is discussed above, p. 119, n. 44.

<sup>84</sup> As here, milk jars were commonly stoppered with a plug of leaves or grass; see e.g., Davies, *Prabhetep I*, p. 38, pl. 16; Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai I*, pl. 29 [184, 187]; Gardiner, *EG*, p. 530 [W 20]; Vandier, *Manuel 4*, p. 153 [2].

<sup>85</sup> Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, pp. 310–12.

<sup>86</sup> For the easternmost nomes of the Delta in the Old Kingdom, see Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 129–42.

<sup>87</sup> On this estate name, cf. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 75.



11. *Inpw: S<nh> Sst Wnis*, “Seshat makes Unis <live>, the Jackal nome.”

12. The figure lacks a name.

13. *Nrt hnt: Hnty bs Wnis*, “The *bs* of Unis is foremost, the Heracleopolitan nome.”

14. *Iw: Nfr h'w Wnis*, “Beautiful of appearances is Unis, the Letopolite nome.”

15. *Iw: Shtp P'th' Wnis*, “P'tah' satisfies Unis, the Letopolite nome.”

16. *Wnw: mr Sst nh Wnis*, “Seshat desires that Unis lives, the Hare nome.”

17. The figure lacks a name.

18. The figure lacks a name.

Fischer has expressed the opinion that the occurrence of Seshat, patroness of architects, in the names of the estates located in Lower Egyptian nome 3 and Upper Egyptian nomes 15, 17, and 20, has nothing to do with geographical factors, but is related to the fact that Khnumenti was a royal builder.<sup>88</sup>

*Right (north) thickness.* Only the legs and a few of the offerings carried by the six bearers originally depicted in the lowermost register survive (fig. 87b). The bearers of offerings on this thickness may well have been male, since the line which would indicate the bottom hem of the long dress customarily worn by female estates is lacking. The first offering bearer held a brace of birds in his left hand hanging behind and the second holds a jar by a cord in the corresponding hand. Since no offerings are visible in the case of the other four figures, these men probably had both arms raised, holding a tray aloft with one or both hands or possibly carrying a young animal or bird at chest height.

#### *Inner Door Thickness*

The inner, left (south) door thickness is lost to below the level of the reliefs, and it is impossible to be sure that it was once decorated. There is no corresponding north door thickness, but rather a long north wall that still bears vestiges of relief.

#### *South Wall*

Khnumenti stands at the right and faces towards the entrance. Before him appear five registers of agricultural and marsh scenes, the action in which proceeds from left to right (pl. 88b; fig. 88). As on the south wall of Room I the decoration is mostly visible as chisel lines since the plaster has fallen away.

Khnumenti's face, shoulders, and shoulder-length wig are damaged but, as for the rest, it is clear that he wore a short kilt with belt, waist tie, and flaring front panel with sledge indicated. He carries a walking stick knob-end up at a diagonal with his right hand in

front and a scepter in his left hand behind. The scepter is incorrectly drawn for a figure facing left, passing as it does in front of the kilt.<sup>89</sup> The long column of text in front of Khnumenti contains the caption to the scene and is continued in six shorter columns containing titles, epithets, and names over his head: (1) *M3 ht nb [nf]r[t] innt m [ph'w m] kst [sh]t [...]*, (2) *iry-p't hsty-ꜥ imy-r3 kst nb(t) nt n[swt]*, (3) *imy-r3 'zšw' ꜥ n 'nswt' imy-r3 hwt-wrt '6'*, (4) *[smr w'ty mdh] 'qd' [nsw]t m prwy*, (5) *[i]mshw hr Pt'h'*, *Hnm-nti*, (6) *[i]mshw hr Inpw<tp-dw>.f Hnm-nti*, (7) *imshw hr ntr-ꜥ Hnm-nti*, (1) “Inspecting everything [g]oo[d] which is brought from [the hinterlands consisting of] work of the [fel]d(s)<sup>90</sup> [...], (2) the hereditary prince and count, overseer of all the works of the k[ing], (3) overseer of ‘scribes’ of ‘royal’ records, overseer of the ‘six’ great (law) courts, (4) [sole friend, roya]l [master] ‘builder’ in both houses, (5) [one] honored by Pta’h,’ Khnumenti. (6) [One] honored by Anubis, <Who-is-upon->His-<Mountain>, Khnumenti. (7) One honored by the great god, Khnumenti.” The pattern of repeated epithets introduced by *imshw hr* and followed by the name of a god and that of the tomb owner in symmetrical columns is especially common in tombs of the early to mid-Sixth Dynasty at Saqqara.<sup>91</sup>

*First Register.* Herdsmen drive a file of cattle to the right. The first animal balks but is pulled up short by a drover who yanks on a rope tied round one of the animal's front legs; startled, it turns its head round and glances back. The rope is now lost save for a short section between the hands of the drover. The next two oxen walk placidly ahead, encouraged by their drovers who extend an arm over the back of each animal. The figure of the second herdsman is destroyed except for traces. The third man, like the first, wears the headman's garment, a kilt of matting with a rigid, fringed piece hanging down in front.<sup>92</sup> Only part of the leg and front foot remain of the figure who brought up the tail end of the procession.

*Second Register.* An abbreviated agricultural scene occupies this register. Of the large number of episodes that make up such scenes, only the concluding activities of reaping, transport, and piling sheaves appear in G 2374.<sup>93</sup> The first group at the right is composed of three field hands. Two reapers bend forward to cut the grain. They grasp the sheaves high up in their left hands and hold the sickles in their right hands so that they curve upward. The man between them has his arms raised and his hands held in such a manner as to suggest that he was drinking from a jar of water, although no traces of the jar remain.<sup>94</sup> At the left is a symmetrical group of two field hands tossing sheaves on a grain stack. Their arms cross over their slightly tilted bodies, as if to swing the sheaves back and up in a continuous movement.<sup>95</sup> Above the stack are the words, reading from right to left: *wbs*

<sup>89</sup> See *HESP*, pp. 275ff.

<sup>90</sup> For the restoration, cf. above, pp. 49, and below, pp. 134, 137.

<sup>91</sup> E.g., *Teti Cem.* 1, p. 143; *Idout*, pls. 7, 12, 20; *Mereruka* 1, pl. 35; El-Fikey, *Rē-wer*, pls. 1, 2; *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pls. 4, 9, 12; see also Drioton–Lauer, *ASAE* 55 (1958), p. 250; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, pls. 38, 40.

<sup>92</sup> See above, p. 58 and n. 310.

<sup>93</sup> Compare the extensive repertoire of agricultural scenes depicted on the west wall of the vestibule in G 2370 (above, pp. 59–65).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. *Gebr.* 1, pl. 12; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, fig. 47; van de Walle, *Neferitenef*, pl. 12; *Nianchchum*, pl. 58.

<sup>88</sup> Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 133, n. 14.

*zpt*, “Piling up the threshing floor.”<sup>96</sup> The two donkeys at the left, relieved of their burden of sheaves, wait patiently in the charge of their drover. Traces suggest that this man, like the field hands stacking grain and the laborers in the field, wore a folded kilt with overlap and his own short-cropped hair.

*Third Register.* The better part of the register is occupied by a scene of fowling netting water-fowl.<sup>97</sup> The first man at the right wears the headman’s mat kilt. His left arm is bent at the elbow and held across his body, in what is probably a gesture of respect, while his other hand hangs at his side.<sup>98</sup> A seemingly superfluous line at the bottom of his kilt may indicate that he held a stick or sceptre. The figure of the next man is largely destroyed but he evidently wore a flaring kilt. At the left end of the register a large clapnet is set out on either side of a small pool full of birds. As usual in Old Kingdom scenes of trapping birds, the net was shown as a hexagon, the shape it assumed when closed.<sup>99</sup> Between the net and the two figures already described, three men stand, facing right and holding on to a rope attached to one end of the net. The arms of the second and third men overlap but otherwise the three figures show none of the variety of posture usual in such scenes.<sup>100</sup> All three figures are damaged, but the outline of the best-preserved figure in the middle suggests they were naked. Between the haulers and the net is a fourth figure, probably the signalman whose job was to judge when the net was full of birds, and then to signal the haulers to close the net either by pulling a cloth held between his outstretched hands back and forth across his shoulders or by giving a simple hand signal.<sup>101</sup> The upper part of his figure is destroyed, so the identification is not absolutely certain, but he is separated from the haulers by a narrow space, his hands do not appear on the rope where expected (though the rope is destroyed about where his hands should be), and most importantly, his presence is indispensable in such scenes.<sup>102</sup> The figures of the fowling were concealed behind a stylized clump of foliage on the margin of the pool but, inasmuch as the upper part of this blind is lost, it is not clear whether a thicket of reeds or a clump of papyrus was represented. The birds which fill the pool, along with lotus buds and leaves, appear to be ducks. As the net snaps shut, five birds, the one on the upper left almost certainly a pintail duck, make good their escape.

*Fourth Register.* Boatmen are shown returning home from a day in the marshes. Three papyrus skiffs are depicted on a narrow rectangle representing a stretch of water. The ends of the skiffs bend slightly upward. The posture of the crew in the boats is essentially identical,

although the first boatman in the lead boat and the second man in the last skiff turn their heads around to look at the man behind. Each boatman leans slightly backwards with knees bent and body evidently poised on the ball of the foot, so as to apply all of his weight to the pole.<sup>103</sup> In each case their hands are held as if they were wielding long punting poles, but the poles themselves were never carved. Traces suggest that all the boatmen wore the very short kilt with rounded edge and belt-sash tied in front. Resting in the prow of the first skiff is a flat-topped chest on legs. The object in the stern of the second boat is not so readily identifiable. It appears to be round and has a trapezoidal projection at the top. Possibly it represents an example of the *mhn*-game, although the game seemingly does not otherwise appear in this context.<sup>104</sup> Several different objects are piled up at the stern of the last boat. Three have indistinct shapes, but the object on top of the pile is the papyrus bandolier used as a life preserver by boatmen.<sup>105</sup> The presence of the chest and the board game(?) suggest that this was no ordinary scene of boatmen returning from the marshes,<sup>106</sup> but rather a scene from an outing intended for Khnumenti’s amusement.

*Fifth Register.* Herdsmen lead three bulls into Khnumenti’s presence. The first three figures have short, belted kilts, waist ties (destroyed in the case of the third individual), and flaring front panels. Judging from the waist tie, the last herdsman also wore a kilt, but one lacking a flaring panel. All four men probably had their own hair cropped close, but the last figure is too damaged to be certain of this detail. Like the man at the head of the third register, the first man here bends his arm at the elbow and holds the forearm across his body. The second herdsman places his left hand on the rump of the first bull and leads a polled animal by a rope held in his right hand.<sup>107</sup> Next comes a man with his left hand on the rump of the second animal and his right hand hanging at his side. The last man places his left hand on the rump of the horned bull which precedes him, while his other arm hangs free. Above the backs of all three animals is the label *rn iw*, “young stable ox.”<sup>108</sup>

### West Wall

This short end wall (pl. 93a; fig. 89a) is largely destroyed. At the right are the feet of a large figure of Khnumenti oriented towards the left and the bottom of his walking stick, both in medium high relief of good quality. In the bottom register before him are traces of the figures of three offering bearers in lower relief facing right. Above the last offering bearer at the left parts of two more registers are preserved. The figure of an offering bearer at the left end of each of these partially preserved registers was evidently aligned with the last figure

<sup>95</sup> See p. 63 and n. 399 above.

<sup>96</sup> *Wb.* 1, p. 296, 13; 3, p. 434, 15; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 213; Junker, *Giza* 4, p. 146; 11, p. 194; *Nianchechnum*, p. 132.

<sup>97</sup> On bird trapping in general, see Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 42–66; Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 320–61. Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 141–44, deals with the development of clapnet scenes and the postures of the haulers and other participants in considerable detail.

<sup>98</sup> Neither Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), pp. 100–108, or Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 319–25, discuss this particular gesture.

<sup>99</sup> For a detailed description of bird trapping and a modern reconstruction of the ancient Egyptian net trap, see Dunham, *BMFA* 35, no. 210 (August, 1937), pp. 52–54.

<sup>100</sup> See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 142–44.

<sup>101</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>103</sup> On the postures of boatmen, see *ibid.*, pp. 153–56.

<sup>104</sup> See Kendall, *LÄ* 5 (1984), p. 654 and n. 8.

<sup>105</sup> See above, p. 51 and n. 218.

<sup>106</sup> For this genre of scene, Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 153, should be consulted. Examples appear or once appeared in the porticos of both Inti (above, pp. 38 and 42) and Mehi (below, pp. 134 and 137).

<sup>107</sup> There is considerable debate as to whether a true, hornless race of cattle existed under the Old Kingdom, especially since the animals represented as being hornless may have been mutilated instead; see, e.g., *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, p. 98; *Domestic Plants and Animals*, pp. 82, 84.

<sup>108</sup> See above, p. 57.

in the bottom register. In all likelihood two additional offering bearers in front of the partly preserved figures balanced the figures of the other two offering bearers in the lowermost register. The last offering bearer in the lowest register and the two corresponding offering bearers above each held a tray of offerings aloft with the right hand. Part of a vessel(?) is visible on the tray of the topmost figure. On the tray of the offering bearer in the middle is the bottom of a small, flaring bowl, while the offerings on the tray of the figure in the lower register included a triangular loaf. If the diagonal line to the right of this loaf belongs to another flaring bowl, it is possible that a triangular loaf appeared between two flaring bowls on the trays of both the middle and lowermost offering bearers.<sup>109</sup> The topmost offering bearer has in addition a milk-jar hanging from his elbow on a sling, while the offering bearer in the middle has a large, filled, two-handled basket (only one handle is preserved) with a splay toward the bottom suspended by a cord from his elbow.

#### North Wall

The north wall (pl. 93b; fig. 89b) is lost except for part of the lowest register. The scene consisted of cattle being led to the left by attendants. The left end of the register is destroyed, and all that is preserved of the first animal are its hindquarters. The wall itself ends some 27 cm to the left, and there was probably sufficient room for the figure of another herdsman, perhaps the stall overseer, at the head of the file. Walking behind the lead animal was a herdsman who probably placed a hand on its back. The next group on the right is similar to the first, though the animal is better preserved. The animal at the end of the file lacks an attendant, but may have been led by means of a short rope tied round its lower jaw.

### ROOM III

This long east–west offering room (pl. 94a) is entered by a door in the east end of the south wall. The room measures 1.82 by 5.19 m and its area is 9.45 sq. m.

#### South Wall

Although the south wall of Room III is destroyed to below the level of the decoration, a number of fragmentary reliefs found by Reisner in the debris of G 2374 probably derive from this wall. One fragment (pl. 96a; fig. 89c) shows at its left edge the end of a compartment list of offerings and on the right the tops of two columns of titles, all executed in a rather poor quality raised relief. The titles are as follows: (1)  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{d}} \text{ḥ}^{\text{m}^{\text{w}}-\text{n}^{\text{t}^{\text{i}}}} \text{Dd-swt-zs R}^{\text{c}} \text{Tti} [\dots]$ , (2)  $\text{i}^{\text{r}^{\text{y}}-\text{p}^{\text{c}}\text{t}} \text{ḥ}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}^{\text{y}}}-\text{c}} \text{ḥ}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}^{\text{y}}}} \text{zsb} \text{ḥ}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}^{\text{y}}}} \text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}}-\text{r}^{\text{s}} [\dots]$ , (1) “in[spector of priests] of the pyramid (named) ‘the Son of Re Teti is enduring of places,’ [...]” (2) the hereditary prince and count, chief justice and vizier, overseer of [...].<sup>110</sup> The constituent signs of the titles face left and, given the character of the decorative scheme of east–west offering rooms at Giza, it is likely that the block came from a table scene located at the right (west) end of the south wall, where it would have stood above the head of a seated figure of the vizier at table, with his back to the false door.<sup>111</sup> Only

two entries from the offering list at the left edge of the block are partly preserved,  $\text{z}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}^{\text{w}}}}$ , “libation,” at the head of the first row of three compartments and  $\text{t-wt}$ , a type of bread, at the head of the second row.<sup>112</sup> Beneath each entry is a compartment giving the portion of each item presented and a second compartment with a pictorial determinative of the offering. As is to be expected, the signs which make up the names of the offerings faced toward Khnumenti, their recipient.<sup>113</sup> This block, and a number of other relief fragments that appear on a handwritten list of fragments from G 2374 on file in Boston, and which were presumably stored at Giza, have yet to be located. The list records two more fragments of the same offering list, including one fitting on to the lower left portion of the block just described. These were apparently neither photographed nor drawn.

#### West Wall

The west wall of the offering room is occupied by a false door (pl. 95; fig. 90) cut from a single block of fine white limestone. Originally the door was surmounted by a cavetto cornice and enclosed in a torus moulding. At a subsequent date, the upper part of the false door with the cornice was broken away, and is now missing. The customary decoration of diagonal lashings and cross-lashings appears on a fragment of moulding preserved at the lower left. The door has three pairs of jambs of equal width, inscribed in sunk hieroglyphs for Khnumenti. Like the small sunk relief figures of the owner at the bottom of each jamb, the hieroglyphs face inward.

On the false door panel is the lower part of a seated figure of Khnumenti facing right and the base of the offering table behind which he sits. Only the papyrus flower terminal of the side rail and the rear leg of the stool on a tall fulcrum-shaped support is shown, its front leg being concealed by Khnumenti’s legs.<sup>114</sup> Under the table at the right is a large ewer and basin.

The lintel below the panel bears two horizontal lines of text. From right to left, they read: (1)  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{r}^{\text{y}}-\text{t}^{\text{p}}}$   $\text{nswt m}^{\text{d}^{\text{h}}}$   $\text{q}^{\text{d}}$   $\text{nswt m}$   $\text{p}^{\text{r}^{\text{w}^{\text{y}}}}$   $\text{Ḥnm-nti}$ , (2)  $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{s}^{\text{h}^{\text{w}}}}$   $\text{ḥ}^{\text{r}}$   $\text{n}^{\text{t}^{\text{r}}-\text{z}^{\text{s}}}$   $\text{Ḥnm-nti}$ , (1) “royal chamberlain and royal master builder in both houses, Khnumenti, (2) one honored by the great god, Khnumenti.”

The inscriptions on the respective pairs of jambs are identical. Each jamb bears two columns of text and one short horizontal line with the name  $\text{Ḥnm-nti}$  directly over the head of the standing figure at the bottom of the jamb. The figure in each instance has a shoulder-length wig, a chin beard, beaded collar, and short kilt with belt, waist tie, and flaring front panel. The hand in front holds a walking stick, knob end up, at a diagonal and the hanging rear hand a scepter. The figures are equal in height.

The tops of the two columns on the outer jambs are lost. What remains is as follows: (1) [...]  $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}-\text{r}^{\text{s}}}$   $\text{ḥ}^{\text{w}^{\text{t}}-\text{w}^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}}$   $\text{ḥ}$   $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}-\text{r}^{\text{s}}}$   $\text{k}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}}}$   $\text{n}^{\text{b}^{\text{t}}}$   $\text{n}^{\text{(t)}}$   $\text{nswt}$   $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}-\text{r}^{\text{s}}}$   $\text{ḥ}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}^{\text{y}}}}$   $\text{ḥ}^{\text{r}^{\text{y}}-\text{s}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}^{\text{s}}}}$   $\text{n}$   $\text{w}^{\text{d}^{\text{t}}-\text{m}^{\text{d}^{\text{w}}}$   $\text{n}^{\text{b}^{\text{(t)}}$   $\text{n}^{\text{t}}$   $\text{nswt}$   $\text{m}^{\text{r}^{\text{y}}}$   $\text{n}^{\text{b}^{\text{.f}}}$   $\text{m}$   $\text{ḥ}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}^{\text{y}}}}$ , (2) [...]  $\text{s}^{\text{m}^{\text{r}}}$   $\text{w}^{\text{c}^{\text{t}^{\text{y}}}}$   $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}-\text{r}^{\text{s}}}$   $\text{z}^{\text{s}^{\text{w}}}$   $\text{c}^{\text{n}}$   $\text{nswt}$   $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}-\text{i}^{\text{b}}}$   $\text{nswt}$   $\text{m}$   $\text{k}^{\text{s}^{\text{t}^{\text{.f}}}}$   $\text{n}^{\text{b}^{\text{t}}}$   $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{y}}-\text{r}^{\text{s}}}$   $\text{p}^{\text{r}^{\text{w}^{\text{y}}}-\text{ḥ}^{\text{d}}}$   $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{s}^{\text{h}^{\text{w}}}}$   $\text{ḥ}^{\text{r}}$   $\text{n}^{\text{t}^{\text{r}}-\text{z}^{\text{s}}}$   $\text{n}^{\text{b}}$   $\text{i}^{\text{m}^{\text{n}^{\text{t}}}}$ , (3)  $\text{Ḥnm-nti}$ , (1) “[...] overseer of the six great (law) courts, overseer of all works of the king, overseer of the

<sup>111</sup> See above, pp. 16–17.

<sup>112</sup> See above, p. 73, n. d.

<sup>113</sup> See above, p. 71.

<sup>114</sup> See Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, p. 41, § 10.

<sup>109</sup> See above, p. 119.

<sup>110</sup> Obj. Reg. 35–10–32.

two granaries, master of secrets of every command of the king, beloved of his lord in his (viz. the king's) Two Lands, (2) [...] sole friend, overseer of scribes of royal records, favorite of the king in every work of his, overseer of the two treasuries, one honored by the great god, lord of the west, (3) Khnumenti." The columns of text on the middle jambs also lack their beginning, which is perhaps to be restored as follows: (1) [*Htp-dī-nswt h̄p.f h̄r*] *wswt nfrt n h̄rt-ntr h̄p̄pt imshw h̄r.sn m h̄tp h̄r ntr-ꜣ h̄ry-tp nswt mdw rhyt iwn knmt*, (2) [... *imshw h̄r Wsir h̄r nswt h̄r Inpw tp-dw.f nb tꜣ-dsr imy-wt imy-rꜣ wꜣbty imy-rꜣ prwy nwb h̄ry-sꜣtꜣ n nswt*, (3) *Hnm-nti*, "[An offering which the king gives that he may travel on] the goodly ways of the necropolis<sup>115</sup> on which the honored ones travel in peace with the great god,<sup>116</sup> (namely) the royal chamberlain, staff of the people, pillar of the *knmt*-folk, (2) [...] one honored by Osiris, by the king, and by Anubis, Who-is-upon-His-Mountain, Lord of the Sacred Land, Who-is-in-Ut,<sup>117</sup> (namely) the overseer of the two workshops, overseer of the two houses of gold, master of secrets of the king, (3) Khnumenti." The text is complete on the two shorter, inner jambs, which extend only as far as the lintel. (1) *Htp-dī-nswt qrs.t(i).f m h̄rt-ntr m zmt imnti*, (2) *imshw h̄r Pth rsy-inb.f smr wꜣty h̄ry-tp nswt mdh qd nswt m prwy*, (3) *Hnm-nti*, (1) "An offering which the king gives that he be buried in the necropolis in the western desert, (2) the one honored by Ptah, Who-is-south-of-His-Wall, the sole friend, royal chamberlain, royal master builder in both houses, (3) Khnumenti."<sup>118</sup>

Khnumenti's offering stone, the rear part of which is still in place, was 150 cm wide. This section of the stone, which is carved from the same block as the false door, projects 15 cm beyond the surface of the outermost jambs and is roughly finished. Most likely another large block with the customary loaf-on-a-mat carved on its upper surface was set against it.

### North Wall

Although destroyed to the first course, about a quarter of this wall is still in place at the east end (pl. 94a). A large block with the legs of offering bearers and crates of birds executed in a flat, sharp-edged relief now rests on the ground at the opposite side of the room (pl. 94b; fig. 91). Since the offering bearers face left, it is clear that this block comes from the north wall of the room. Seeing that it is smooth and finished below the feet of the offering bearers, it is also clear that the bearers of offerings comprised the bottom register of the wall. A horizontal line of drill holes visible in the photograph is witness to an attempt at some point in time to sunder the block in two.

The legs of eight offering bearers and feet of a ninth, proceeding to the left towards the lost table scene and the false door at the west

end of the wall, are preserved. A cage of live birds rests on the ground in front of the seventh, eighth, and ninth figures. Since part of a cage is also visible behind the ninth figure, there was probably at least one more such figure to the right. The length of Room III is 5.19 m and the decorated block is only 2.17 m long, so less than half of the bottom register is preserved. The handwritten list of fragments from G 2374 in Boston includes a fragment with the lower part of an offering bearer and another cage filled with ducks, which may have belonged in the bottom register further to the right, thus totalling five offering bearers preceded by cages. Taking into account the decorative scheme in contemporary east-west offerings rooms, it may be inferred that the group of six figures on the left side of the block carried haunches, while the group of figures to the right, with the bird cages at their feet, held up strangled geese as offerings.<sup>119</sup>

Another loose block found by Reisner shows parts of two superimposed registers (pl. 96a). In the lower register, the figure of a man with feet missing faces left and holds two bouquets of papyrus and lotus flowers before him in his right hand. In his left hand hanging behind, he holds an ill-defined offering dangling from a cord. His costume consists of a short wig with overlapping rows of curls and a short kilt with belt, waist tie, and overlap. Since he faces left, his figure most likely belongs to the north wall. The projecting ridge of stone at the right edge of the block identifies it as a corner block, so the figure probably brought up the tail end of a procession of similar figures, either that in the bottom register or one higher up on the same wall. In the register above are the feet of another figure, this time facing right. The unexpected shift in orientation would be explained, if the figure in the upper register presented offerings to the back of a large figure of Khnumenti (now destroyed) on the adjacent east wall. Scenes or parts of scenes in Old Kingdom tombs do occasionally extend onto an adjacent wall in a similar fashion.<sup>120</sup>

### East Wall

The east wall of the room is destroyed to the course below the bottom register. A loose stone with part of a butchery scene on it found by Reisner may have belonged on the lower right side of the wall, since such scenes commonly appear in bottom registers, and the broad border on the right side of the block implies such a location (pl. 96b; fig. 92a).<sup>121</sup> The broken area at the right of the border may represent all that remains of the projecting jamb on the east side of the doorway between Rooms II and III. As may be seen from the plan (fig. 3), both door jambs were cut in the same stone that forms the adjacent wall. Another reason for assigning the fragment to the east wall is the presence in the upper register of the partially preserved figure of an offering bearer walking towards the left. This is the wrong direction for a figure on the south wall, where the movement is from the right to the left, while the north wall of the room is also excluded from consideration because it bore a procession of

<sup>115</sup> The writing of *h̄rt-ntr* with the mountain determinative (N 26) instead of the hill-country determinative (N 25) on both jambs is unusual, but is attested in at least one other instance (Hassan, *Giza* 5, p. 259, fig. 116, pl. 32). The orthography with the combination of hill-country and city determinatives is not uncommon from about the middle of the Fifth to the first half of the Sixth Dynasty; e.g., LD 2, pl. 65; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 279; Davies, *Ptahhetep* 1, pl. 39; 2, pl. 29; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, p. 33; Badawy, *Giza*, fig. 19; *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pl. 27–28.

<sup>116</sup> For this wish and its variants, see Barta, *Opferformel*, pp. 17, 28, 39, 48, 60 and passim (Bitte 12).

<sup>117</sup> The writing of *imy-wt* is faulty, the city-determinative being omitted on both middle jambs.

<sup>118</sup> The orthography of *h̄rt-ntr* with *ntr*-pole and the sign of the falcon on the divine standard separate from the *h̄rt-ntr* monogram is worthy of note.

<sup>119</sup> See p. 18 above.

<sup>120</sup> E.g., LD 2, pl. 27; Junker, *Giza* 2, fig. 18; GN 1, fig. 242.

<sup>121</sup> On the location of butchery scenes on the walls of the east-west offering rooms in multi-roomed mastaba chapels, see Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 107–108 and above, p. 18.

offering bearers in the bottom register. Furthermore, the style of the relief is inferior in quality to that on the north wall.

The relief fragment in question was identified and drawn by the Giza Mastabas Project but, as is evident from the drawing, the surface of the relief has undergone further deterioration in the intervening years since its discovery. Nevertheless, it can be seen from the photograph that the butcher in the bottom register leant to the left over the carcass of an ox. Behind him an assistant facing in the same direction carried a large basin, presumably for the blood of the sacrificed ox.<sup>122</sup> Both men were dressed in short wigs and plain kilts, although in the case of the butcher, the rows of overlapping locks covering the surface of his wig had been carved. The butcher appears to have had a whetstone tucked into the back of his kilt. Above the slaughter scene ran a line of inscription of which only the end survived: [*shpt stpt* ...] ‘*mdh*’ *qd* [*nswt*] *m prwy*, *Hnmnti*, “[Bringing choice things ...] [the royal] ‘master’ builder in both houses, Khnumenti.”<sup>123</sup>

The offering bearer in the upper register held the diminutive figure of a bull on a rope. In front of the right leg of the bearer are traces that perhaps represent another animal.

As previously noted, the loose block from the north wall with the legs of the figure facing right suggests that a large figure of Khnumenti, facing right towards the offering bearers in registers before him and the butchers in the extra register below his feet, occupied the left side of this wall.<sup>124</sup>

### Serdab

In the masonry behind the west wall of Room I, north of Room II, and east of Room III, is a chamber which Reisner identified as a serdab (pl. 94a), even though the upper parts of its walls are destroyed along with any serdab slots that may have existed. It measures 1.55 by 2.1 meters and has an area of 3.25 square meters.

## ASSOCIATED SHAFTS AND BURIAL CHAMBERS

### Shaft G 2374 A

In the masonry behind the false door of Room III is shaft A, an unfinished cutting in the rock lined with masonry for a distance of about 1.6 m (fig. 92b).<sup>125</sup> The shaft measures 2.15 by 1.97 m, and had been cut about 6 m into the rock, when the work was abandoned. There was no chamber at its bottom and the shaft was filled with clean masons’ debris. The upper courses of the west wall of G 2374 were actually built over the shaft and had to be removed in order to excavate it.

Since G 2374 A was never finished, Reisner concluded that Khnumenti’s actual burial took place in G 2385 A (pl. 97b, 98a;

fig. 93), a sloping passage tomb cut in the lower rock terrace under the edge of the platform, roughly opposite the entrance to Khnumenti’s chapel. In part his conclusion was based on a process of exclusion, the burial place of Inti (G 2370 B) definitely being known from the inscriptions on his sarcophagus, and that of Mehi (G 2378 A) being virtually assured by its location under the east wall of his mastaba. Moreover, Khnumenti held a priesthood of King Teti, and a diorite bowl bearing Teti’s name was found in the debris in the burial chamber of G 2385 A.<sup>126</sup>

### Shaft G 2385 A

Of Reisner’s type 9 a (1), sloping-passage tomb G 2385 A (fig. 93) descends from the east to terminate in a large chamber, in the floor of which a vertical shaft descends to the actual burial chamber.<sup>127</sup> The passage was originally plugged with stones, but was found open and filled with rubbish except for one long block at its lower end. The opening of the shaft at the upper end measured 1.05 by 2.2 m. The horizontal length of the sloping passage was 11.25 m; the angle of descent 28° 15’. The sloping length of the floor was 12.35 m and that of the roof 10.25 m. At the foot of the slope in the floor is a horizontal space 0.5 m wide (east–west). The upper chamber is entered near the middle of its east wall. The sloping drop from the end of the passage to the floor of the chamber is 0.8 m in height. The chamber is irregularly cut and measured 5 by 4 m with a height of 2.0 m. The area is 19.6 sq. m and the capacity 39.2 cu. m. In the southwest corner an oblong vertical shaft descends to the burial chamber. Three of its roofing slabs were found in place, while the fourth had been shoved aside (pl. 98b). The shaft to the lower chamber measures 2.55 by 1.0 m. It is 1.65 m to the roof of the lower chamber and 3.15 m to the floor. The lower chamber opens to the east of the shaft and measures 2.55 by 3.6 m. The height is 1.25 m and the area 6.6 sq. m with a capacity of 8.25 cu. m. The total floor area of the passage and upper and lower chambers is 26.2 sq. m, and the total capacity 47.45 cu. m. A rectangular coffin pit was sunk in a bench in the floor of the lower chamber. The bench measures 2.6 by 1.5 m and is 0.1 m in height, while the pit measured 2.45 by 0.85 meters and had a depth of 0.55 meters. It was roofed over with three stone slabs, but was found open and empty.

Inscribed on the shoulder of the translucent diorite bowl found by Reisner in Khnumenti’s burial chamber (pl. 101b; fig. 94a) was a single horizontal line of inscription: *nswt bity z3 R<sup>c</sup> Tti n<sup>h</sup> dt*, “the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Son of Re, Teti, living forever.” The bowl is now in Boston.

From debris in the the sloping passage came a number of carved limestone food cases (pls. 99a–101a). The cases consist of two parts, a lower case or receptacle and a fitting upper case or cover. The edges of the cases lack a rebate or groove and the upper case lay edge to edge on the lower cases with no evidence of fastening. Presumably they would have been tied together with cloth strips or string. The cases were originally painted yellow inside and out. In form the food cases represent pieces of meat, including ribs and the upper joint of the leg

<sup>122</sup> See Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 156, 165, 176.

<sup>123</sup> The scribe has inadvertently placed the preposition *m* between *mdh* and *qd*, instead of at the head of the prepositional phrase *m prwy*. For the restoration at the beginning of the line, see above, p. 18.

<sup>124</sup> For this arrangement, see p. 18 above.

<sup>125</sup> See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” pp. 138–39. Certain of Reisner’s measurements for shaft G 2374 A are manifestly incorrect. The measurements given here are based on the scale drawing in fig. 92b and are only approximate.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. *GN* 1, p. 153 (1).

<sup>127</sup> *GN* 1, pp. 89, 101, 153 (14).

of an ox, trussed birds of varying sizes, and round cakes, in addition to an ovoid case which could represent either a cake or a piece of meat. Virtually identical food cases were found in a second burial chamber of the Senedjemib Complex, G 2381 z. The hollows of the cases were large enough to have contained food offerings, and evidence from G 2381 z, consisting of seventeen lots of animal and bird bones, suggest that they originally did.<sup>128</sup>

In addition to the bowl and the food cases, a number of miscellaneous items were found in the debris in the sloping shaft of G 2385 A. Without stating his reasons, Reisner felt that a fragmentary wig from a statue, two alabaster boring cores, blue glazed faience cylinder beads found together with one blue glass(?) bead, and a wooden finger with plaster on the end were intrusive. He considered the wooden finger to be a Ptolemaic amulet.<sup>129</sup>

## REGISTER OF OBJECTS—G 2374 AND G 2385 A

For stone vessel types, see *GN* 2, pp. 90–102.

### *G 2374, in upper debris*

12–11–33 Fig. headrest, alab. l. 7.5 cm (pl. 101c; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. A 994 1/4

### *G 2374, in Room II*

35–10–32 Two blocks with relief decoration. (pl. 96a). Exp. Ph. A 6024

### *G 2374 A, built into rear wall*

13–1–566 Two adjoining fragments of relief showing two registers of butchers at work, the fragmentary figure of a singer, and above a half-register of food and drink offerings. The carving is of much better quality than that visible in G 2374, and the relief presumably derives from another, earlier mastaba in the vicinity. (pl. 97a). MFA 13.3101. Exp. Ph. C 3370

### *G 2385 A, in debris in sloping shaft*

- 12–12–46 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, head of goose bruised, l. 35.5, w. 24 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 2/4. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.6.2A, by exchange; fits 12–12–56(?). Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119, fig. 73
- 12–12–47 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in three pieces, l. 39, w. 24.5 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 2/3. MFA 13.3478
- 12–12–48 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in three pieces, l. 39, w. 25 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 2/2. MFA 13.3479
- 12–12–49 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in three pieces, l. 38, w. 26.5 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 2/1
- 12–12–50 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in four pieces, l. 28, w. 19 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 1/4. MFA 13.3481
- 12–12–51 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in six pieces, l. 32, w. 21.8 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 1/3. MFA 13.3482, fits 12–12–55(?)
- 12–12–52 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in five pieces, not complete, l. 23, w. 15 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 1/2
- 12–12–53 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, l. 27, w. 18 cm (pl. 99a, b). Exp. Ph. B 1673–74 1/

1. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.6.4A, by exchange; fits 12–12–57(?); Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119, fig. 73
- 12–12–54 Upper part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in two pieces, quarter missing, l. 32, w. 21 cm. (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 3/3
- 12–12–55 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in seven pieces, l. 31, w. 22 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 3/2. MFA 13.3485, fits 12–12–51(?)
- 12–12–56 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in four pieces, l. 34.5, w. 23.5 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 3/1. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.6.2B, by exchange; fits 12–12–46(?); Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119, fig. 73
- 12–12–57 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in two pieces, l. 26.5, w. 16.5 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 2/3. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.6.4B, by exchange; fits 12–12–53(?); Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119, fig. 73
- 12–12–58 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in two pieces, l. 38, w. 26.5 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 2/2. MFA 13.3487
- 12–12–59 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in six pieces, incomplete, l. 31.5, w. 22.5 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 2/1
- 12–12–60 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in four pieces, incomplete, l. 25.7, w. 18 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 1/3
- 12–12–61 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in two pieces, incomplete, w. 15.5, orig. 17 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 1/2
- 12–12–62 Lower part of offering case in the form of a goose, lst., yellow wash inside and out, broken in three pieces, incomplete, l. 27.3 cm, orig. 17 cm (pl. 99c). Exp. Ph. B 1675 1/1. Fits 12–12–60
- 12–12–63 Lower part of offering case for round cake, lst., yellow wash inside and out, very shallow hollow, five pieces, incomplete, h. 3, diam. 28.8 cm (pl. 100a). Exp. Ph. B 1676 1/3. MFA 13.3489, may belong to 12–12–65
- 12–12–64 Lower part of offering case for round cake, lst., yellow wash inside and out, shallow hollow, four pieces, incomplete, h. 3.5, diam. 28.5 cm (pl. 100a). Exp. Ph. B 1676 1/3. MFA 13.3490, fits 12–12–66
- 12–12–65 Upper part of offering case for round cake, lst., yellow wash inside and out, shallow hollow, four pieces, h. 4, diam. 28.8 cm (pl. 100a). Exp. Ph. B 1676 1/2. MFA 13.3491, may belong to 12–12–63
- 12–12–66 Upper part of offering case for round cake, lst., yellow wash inside and out, shallow hollow, three pieces, half missing, h. 6, diam. 28.5 cm (pl. 100a). Exp. Ph. B 1676 1/1. MFA 13.4306, fits 12–12–64
- 12–12–67 Offering case for ovoid cake(?), lst., yellow wash inside and out, consisting of two parts which appear to fit: (a) three pieces, incomplete; (b) two pieces, incomplete, l. 32, w. 24, h. 11 (5 + 6) cm (pl. 100a). Exp. Ph. B 1676 2/3. MFA 13.3475 a–b
- 12–12–68 Offering case for ovoid cake(?), lst., yellow wash inside and out, consisting of two parts which appear to fit, l. 31, w. 23.5, h. 11.25 (5.25 + 6) cm (pl. 100a). Exp. Ph. B 1676 2/1 and 2/2. MFA 13.3476 a–b
- 12–12–69 Upper part of offering case for ribs, lst., yellow wash inside and out, three pieces, l. 55, w. 24–27, th. 3 cm (pl. 100b). Exp. Ph. B 1677 2/2. MFA 13.4324, probably belongs to 12–12–71
- 12–12–70 Upper part of offering case for ribs, lst., yellow wash inside and out, eight pieces, incomplete, l. 57, w. 28, th. 4 cm (pl. 100b). Exp. Ph. B 1677 2/1. MFA 13.4325, probably belongs to 12–12–72
- 12–12–71 Lower part of offering case for ribs, lst., yellow wash inside and out, eleven pieces, l. 56, w. 24.3–26.5, th. 5 cm (pl. 100b). Exp. Ph. B 1677 1/2. MFA 13.4326, probably belongs to 12–12–69
- 12–12–72 Lower part of offering case for ribs, lst., yellow wash inside and out, four pieces, incomplete, l. 34+, w. 27.7 cm (pl. 100b). Exp. Ph. B 1677 1/1. MFA 13.4327, probably belongs to 12–12–70
- 12–12–73 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, eight pieces, l. 55, w. 23.5, h. 10.5 cm (pl. 100c). Exp. Ph. B 1678 3/2. MFA 13.4307, fits 12–12–79
- 12–12–74 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, three pieces, incomplete, l. 50+, w. 24, h. 13 cm (pl. 100c). Exp. Ph. B

<sup>128</sup> See Reisner, "A History of the Giza Necropolis," Vol. 1, Pt. 2, pp. 619–22; Brovarski, in *Mummies and Magic*, cat. no. 26.

<sup>129</sup> "Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon," p. 139.

- 1678 3/1. Ex-MFA 13. 4308. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.6.5A, by exchange, fits 12–12–75; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119, fig. 73
- 12–12–75 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, three pieces, l. 55, w. 22.5, h. 10 cm (pl. 100c). Exp. Ph. B 1678 2/2. Ex-MFA 13. 4309. Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.6.5B, by exchange, fits 12–12–74; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, p. 119, fig. 73
- 12–12–76 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, five pieces, l. 55, w. 25, h. 10 cm (pl. 100c). Exp. Ph. B 1678 2/1. MFA 13. 4310, probably belongs to 12–12–80
- 12–12–77 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, two pieces, l. 49, w. 29, h. 10 cm (pl. 100c). Exp. Ph. B 1678 1/2. Cairo(?)
- 12–12–78 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, two pieces, l. 50, w. 28.5, h. 11.5 cm (pl. 100c). Exp. Ph. B 1678 1/1. Cairo
- 12–12–79 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, l. 56, w. 25, h. 9 cm (pl. 101a). Exp. Ph. B 1679 2/2. MFA 13.4311, fits 12–12–73
- 12–12–80 Offering case for leg of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, l. 55, w. 23.5, h. 11 cm. (pl. 101a). Exp. Ph. B 1678 2/1. MFA 13.4312, probably belongs to 12–12–76
- 12–12–81 Offering case for shoulder piece or thigh of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, incomplete, l. 27, w. end, l. end 10.5 cm. (pl. 101a). Exp. Ph. B 1679 1/3
- 12–12–82 Offering case for shoulder piece or thigh of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, three pieces, incomplete, l. 41+, w. 18+, h. 5.5 cm (pl. 101a). Exp. Ph. B 1679 1/2
- 12–12–83 Offering case for shoulder piece or thigh of beef, lst., yellow wash inside and out, three pieces, incomplete, l. 23+, w. 29.25, h. 5.5 cm (pl. 101a). Exp. Ph. B 1679 1/1
- Also a lot of small fragments that could not readily be fitted onto the above cases.
- G 2385 A
- 12–12–85 Frg. from wig of statuette, wood, l. 6.5 cm (pl. 101e; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. A 992 2/1
- 12–12–86 Core(?), alab., l. 5.4, diam. above 2.5, diam. below 2 cm (pl. 101i; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/7
- 12–12–87 Core(?), alab., l. 4.2 cm (pl. 101i; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/9
- 12–12–88 Flint blade, l. 7.5 cm (fig. 94a). Not photographed
- G 2385 A, in debris
- 12–12–97 Model block headrest(?) with concave top, lst., l. 7.9, h. 7.0 cm (pl. 101i; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. B 1684 2/10
- 12–12–105 Finger, wood, with plaster on end, apparently not from a statue, l. 14.7, w. 1.3 cm (pl. 101f; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. A 992 3/2
- 12–12–106 Hanging left arm and hand of standing statue, wood, poor condition, l. 20 cm (pl. 101d; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. A 992 3/3
- 12–12–107 Dummy shoulder jar, alab., bored and rubbed, rough work, piece missing from rim, h. 8, diam. 4.8 cm, type OK XV a (pl. 101g; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. A 996 1/2
- 12–12–108 Rough offering saucer, bored and rubbed, alab., diam. 7.4 cm, type OK IXa (pl. 101g; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. A 996 3/2. Object in Boston
- 12–12–109 Small bowl with flat bottom and recurved rim, diorite, on the right side, just under the shoulder, *nswt bity z3 R<sup>c</sup> Tti* is incised in fine, small hieroglyphs, diam. 9.3, h. 4.2 cm, type OK XI b. (pl. 101b; fig. 94a). Exp. Ph. C 4464. MFA 13.3141. *GN* 1, p. 101, fig. 147, pl. 45c
- 12–12–110 Quantity of crumpled gold foil frgs., very thin. Object in Boston. Not illustrated or photographed
- 12–12–111 Fifteen cylinder beads, mostly broken, faience; one blue cylinder bead, glass(?); one large shell, l. 13.8 cm (pl. 101h). Exp. Ph. A 991 1/9
2. *imy-ib nswt* “favorite of the king”
3. *imy-ib nswt m kst.f nbt* “favorite of the king in all works of his”
4. *imy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>bty* “overseer of the two workshops”
5. *imy-r3 prwy-nwb* “overseer of the two houses of gold”
6. *imy-r3 prwy-hd* “overseer of the two treasuries”
7. *imy-r3 hwt-wrt 6* “overseer of the six great (law) courts”
8. *imy-r3 zšw<sup>c</sup> n nswt* “overseer of scribes of royal records”
9. *imy-r3 šnwt* “overseer of the two granaries”
10. *imy-r3 kst nbt* “overseer of all works”
11. *imy-r3 kst nb(t) nt nswt* “overseer of all works of the king”
12. *iry-p<sup>c</sup>t* “hereditary prince”
13. *mry nb.f m tšwy.f* “beloved of his lord in both his lands”
14. *mdw rhyt* “staff of the people”
15. *mdh qd nswt m prwy,* “royal master builder in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt)”
16. *hsty-<sup>c</sup>* “count”
17. *hry-ššt n wdt-mdw nb(t) nt nswt* “master of secrets of every command of the king”
18. *hry-ššt n nswt* “master of secrets of the king”
19. *hry-tp nswt* “royal chamberlain”
20. *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* “sole friend”
21. <sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>[*hd hmw ntr*] *Dd-sw<sup>c</sup>-z3-R<sup>c</sup>-Tti,* “in[spector of priests] of the pyramid ‘Enduring are the places of the Son of Re Teti’”
22. *tšyty z3b tšty,* “chief justice and vizier”

Titles No. 1 and 14 are commonly paired in Old Kingdom titularies. Helck suggests an implied contrast between the lapwing and *knmt-bird* as folk designations.<sup>130</sup>

With the reign of Teti, all viziers bear title No. 21, *šhd hmw-ntr Dd-sw<sup>c</sup>-z3-R<sup>c</sup>-Tti*.<sup>131</sup> Khnumenti is no exception. *šhd hmw-ntr* was the highest available grade in the priestly hierarchy at the later Old Kingdom pyramid temples.<sup>132</sup> Priesthoods of this type first appear in vizierial titularies in the reign of Unis.<sup>133</sup> Akhethetep, who served as vizier in the early reign of Unis, was *šhd hmw-ntr* of the pyramids of Neuserre, Menkauhor, and Izezi, and evidently the first vizier to hold the newer type of priesthood,<sup>134</sup> but it is interesting to note that his

## TITLES OF KHNUMENTI (IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

1. *iwn knmt* “pillar of the *knmt*-folk”

<sup>130</sup> Helck, *Beamtenitel*, p. 74, n. 54.

<sup>131</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 317.

<sup>132</sup> Brovarski, *LÄ* 6 (1985), col. 393.

<sup>133</sup> See above, p. 85.

<sup>134</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 317.

younger contemporary Senedjemib Mehi lacks any such title (below, p. 158).

In Khnumenti's title, the figure of a squatting female offering bearer is appended as a determinative to the name of the pyramid. Wilke collected and discussed a number of such examples, the oldest of which involved the pyramid of Sahure, and furthermore argued that the royal pyramid was conceived as a female divinity in its own right.<sup>135</sup> Subsequently, Gardiner confirmed Wilke's contention.<sup>136</sup>

Unis was the first king to place *z3 R<sup>c</sup>* before his personal name in a cartouche, a custom that was followed by his successors, including Teti, as is evident from the present title.<sup>137</sup>

### DEPENDENTS OF KHNUMENTI

The figures of three offering bearers surviving on the west wall of the anteroom to the south of the doorway to the vestibule are identified

by name and title. All three are entitled *hm-k3*, "funerary priest," and their names are as follows.

1. *Mn-Ihy* (*PN* I, p. 150, 4, "es bleibt *ihjj*"). Although the name is poorly attested, an official with this name and the title *zš pr-mdst ntr pr-3* is known.<sup>138</sup> If Harpur's date for the latter is correct, he could conceivably be our individual.<sup>139</sup> In the absence of a title other than *hm-k3* in G 2374, certainty is lacking, however.

2. [*K*]*i*? (*PN* I, p. 341, 15 and 16). Although *H*š*i* (*PN* I, p. 262, 3; 2, p. 380) cannot be entirely excluded from consideration, taking the available space into account, the more likely restoration appears to be *K*š*i*, written either with the basket with handle or the embracing arms. *K*š*i*, moreover, is by far the more common name.

3. *Sndm* (*PN* I, p. 316, 20). The name is not especially common.<sup>140</sup> A like-named *zš c nswt hft-hr* seemingly appears in the tomb of Inti.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>135</sup> *ZÄS* 70 (1934), pp. 56–83.

<sup>136</sup> *JEA* 41 (1955), p. 121.

<sup>137</sup> See Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, p. 32.

<sup>138</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 378.

<sup>139</sup> *Decoration*, p. 276 (*Sšbw: Ibbi*).

<sup>140</sup> See also *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, pp. 546, 548.

<sup>141</sup> See p. 87 (20) above.



## CHAPTER 8: ANONYMOUS TOMBS G 2376–77

THE SUB-COMPLEX of Senedjemib Mehi stood on the east of G 2375.<sup>1</sup> The nucleus was G 2378 on the north edge of the great court of the main complex and facing the court. As previously noted, this nucleus was built soon after G 2370 and before G 2374. At that time G 2375 was already in place with its open court and probably with its subsidiary mastaba or mastabas built in the court.<sup>2</sup> The south wall of G 2378 was continued westwards to form the north side of the court of the Senedjemib Complex (pl. 103b; figs. 2, 3). The massive masonry (w masonry) of this wall actually continued 1.5 m to the east face of G 2374, where it continued for about half a meter, before changing to small blocks (u-masonry). The irregular joint between the two kinds of masonry was concealed from view by G 2374 (pl. 103b). The southwest corner of G 2378 is not indicated by a joint in the massive masonry, but west of the corner the wall is dressed to a slope which marks the face of the west wall of G 2378 which lies behind the masonry. The south wall of G 2378 was thus built for about 2.0 m west of the southwest corner of the mastaba. This wall was continued westwards with small masonry to a jut, 2.7 m from the east face of G 2374 (c. 2.2 m from the end of the massive masonry); this point is a little east of the west wall of G 2377 but has no relation to that mastaba. The jut in the masonry appears to represent the southeast corner of the court of G 2375 at 9.2 m east of the southeast corner of G 2375. This long composite east–west wall, extending from the southwest corner of G 2378 (marked by a difference in the dressing of the south face of the masonry) to the southeast corner of G 2375, was that against which the mastaba G 2374 was built (pl. 94a). On the north side, the composite wall was strengthened first by masonry facing north, which entailed a widening of the south wall of the open court of G 2375, and finally with a thick wall of mud brick (pl. 104a). The doorway in the eastern boundary wall of G 2375, which provided access to its court, was presumably still open at this point. At the same time or somewhat later a similar mud brick casing wall was built along the west wall of G 2378 before the construction of G 2377 and was cut by the northern stone retaining wall of G 2377 (figs. 2, 3). Reisner remarked that the addition of the mud brick walls was a most unusual procedure, but he had no ready explanation for their construction.<sup>3</sup> Then G 2377 and 2376 were built as successive additions to G 2378 and were themselves cased in mud brick.<sup>4</sup> They

contained only one burial shaft each and neither had chapels of their own. Reisner assumed the services were held in the chapel of G 2378.

### G 2376

G 2376 was built against the west side of G 2377 and was of the same length (pl. 102a, 104a).<sup>5</sup> It was bounded on the south by the east–west stone wall that forms the north boundary of G 2374. On the north and west the retaining wall was built of small blocks of gray nummulitic masonry set in low courses to form a rough sloping surface (u-masonry) with a mud brick backing or casing on the west. The casing was continuous along the north side of G 2376 and 2377. The mastaba measured 7.65 by 7.35 m, and the area was 28.68 sq. m. It was preserved to a height of 3.20 m.

There was only one shaft, A, in the center of the mastaba (figs. 2, 3, 95a). It measured 1.17 by 1.04 m and was cut 15.8 m into the rock. Above it was lined with mud brick for 1.2 m and with masonry for 2.9 m. The total height of the lining was thus 4.1 m. The shaft was of type 6 a (2) with a long chamber parallel to the west side, opening flush with one end of the chamber. The chamber measured 2.6 by 1.2 m with a height of 1.65 m. The area was 3.02 sq. m. and the capacity 4.9 cu. m. It was found open and empty.

### G 2377

G 2377 was built against the west wall of G 2378 with G 2376 built against its own west wall (pl. 103b). With a retaining wall of u-masonry on the north and west, the superstructure covered the mud brick casing on the west wall of G 2378 and that along the north boundary wall of the court and G 2374.<sup>6</sup> The mastaba measured 7.15 by 5.15 m, and the preserved height was 2.66 m. Its area was 36.73 sq. m. Along the north wall, the mud brick casing of G 2376 was continued to the west face of G 2378.

Once again there was only one shaft, A, just north of the center of the mastaba (figs. 2, 3, 95b). It measured 1.5 by 1.51 m and was cut 4.33 m into the bedrock. Above, it was lined with mud brick to a height of 1.0 m and with five courses of masonry above that to a height of 1.85, the total lining being 2.85 m in height. Also of type 6 a (2), the shaft again had a long chamber parallel to its west side. The dimensions of the chamber were 2.5 by 1.0 m with a height of 1.38 m. The area is 2.5 sq. m. and the capacity 3.45 cu. m. The shaft was found open. The body of an adult female with the skin well preserved was found lying extended on its back, head toward the north, arms by its sides, and with the bones of the legs badly broken. The body rested on debris consisting of rubbish and large stones that filled two-thirds of the chamber (pl. 102b) and, for this reason, Reisner thought it might be intrusive.<sup>7</sup> In the debris of the chamber were found six small model vessels from an “Opening of the Mouth” set (pl. 102c).

### REGISTER OF OBJECTS—G 2377 A

For stone vessel types, see *GN* 2, pp. 90–102.

<sup>1</sup> For what follows, see Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” pp. 143, 145.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 2 above.

<sup>3</sup> “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> *Giza Diary 1912–1913*, pp. 56–57.

<sup>5</sup> See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>7</sup> See Tomb Card G 2377 A.

THE SENEDJEMIB COMPLEX, PART I

- 13-1-516 Model bowl with spreading sides and plain rim, slate, h. 2.8 cm, type OK Xb (pl. 102c, 1/2). Exp. Ph. c 3351 1/2
- 13-1-517 Model bowl with spreading sides and plain rim, slate, h. 2.8 cm, type OK Xb (pl. 102c, 2/4). Exp. Ph. c 3351 2/4
- 13-1-518 Model ovoid jar with flaring neck and flat base, slate, h. 5.5 cm, type OK XVc (pl. 102c, 2/3). Exp. Ph. c 3351 2/3
- 13-1-519 Model ovoid jar with flaring neck and flat base, quartzite, h. 5.3 cm, type OK XV c (pl. 102c, 2/2). Exp. Ph. c 3351 2/2
- 13-1-520 Model bowl with spreading sides and plain rim, quartzite, h. 2.7 cm, type OK Xb (pl. 102c, 2/1). Exp. Ph. c 3351 2/1
- 13-1-521 Model bowl with spreading sides and plain rim, hard grey stone, h. 2.2 cm, type OK Xb (pl. 102c, 1/1). Exp. Ph. c 3351 1/1

## CHAPTER 9: SENEDJEMIB MEHI – G 2378

**G**<sup>2378</sup>, THE MASTABA OF Senedjemib Mehi, eldest son of Senedjemib Inti, sits on an independent site on the north side of the paved court of G 2370 (pls. 103a, b; figs. 2, 3, 95c).<sup>1</sup> According to Reisner G 2378 was built soon after G 2370 and before G 2374. At that time G 2375 was in place with its open court facing west. G 2378 was built over the eastern end of the court of G 2375. Moreover, its northern part overlay older constructions of mud brick represented by a series of rooms (pl. 104b).<sup>2</sup> The mastaba received two additions on the west, G 2376 and G 2377. It was excavated by the Harvard–Boston Expedition in December, 1912.

G 2378 has a retaining wall or casing of different types of masonry and therefore belongs to Reisner's type VIII a(2) or (3). The chapel is of the multiple room type (7), and consists of a pillared portico (Room I) and two interior rooms. Room II is an east–west corridor or anteroom, south of and parallel to the east–west offering room (Room III). It has a slot with a serdab behind its west wall.

The mastaba measures 23 x 12 m and has an area of 276 sq. m. The proportion of the length of the mastaba to the width is 1/1.92. The total floor area is 34.86 sq. m; the relation of the floor area of the chapel to the area of the mastaba is 1/7.91.<sup>3</sup>

### PORTICO

The embrasure of the portico is nearly in the middle of the south facade of the mastaba, 2.75 m from the southwest corner and 3.1 m from the southeast corner (pl. 103a). The portico measures 1.8 x 5.9 m and has a total area of 10.06 sq. m. It was roofed with north–south slabs. The architrave was presumably supported by two columns on the pattern of G 2370.<sup>4</sup> Except for a central pathway, however, the pavement of the portico had been torn up, and no traces of column bases were actually found (fig. 3). The bases, column shafts, and abacus which support the roof of the portico at present are modern creations made of concrete. On the other hand, the cavetto-and-torus cornice is ancient.<sup>5</sup>

### Architrave

The architrave that spanned the embrasure of the portico originally comprised three discrete pieces, one of which when found was broken in two (pl. 105a–c). It has been restored to its original position. It bears the following inscription between incised border lines: *iry-pꜣ ḥsty-ꜣ mꜣꜣ imy-rꜣ kꜣt nbt nt nswt ḥry sꜣꜣ n wꜣt-mdw nb(t) nt nswt imy-ib n nswt m st.f nb(t) imꜣḥ[w ḥr] nswt bity Wnꜣs nb imꜣḥ ḥr nꜣr-ꜣ Sndm-[ib]*, “the hereditary prince and true count, overseer of all works of the king, master of secrets of every command of the king, favorite of the king wherever he is, one honor[ed by] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Unis, and a possessor of honor with the great god, Senedjem[ib].”

### West Wall

The upper part of the scene on the left (west) wall of the portico was divided in two by a long column of inscription which furnished the caption to the scene (pl. 106a; fig. 97). In the broader area to the right of the column Mehi and a smaller figure, most likely that of a son, stood facing outwards (left), as if welcoming the marsh dwellers and offering bearers who approached them from its opposite side. At the time this wall was copied by Lepsius, the large block with the upper portion of Mehi's figure and the smaller figures of the marsh dwellers and bearers before him was displaced, and thus not included in his drawing (fig. 96).<sup>6</sup> It has been restored modernly to its original position. Mehi wears a short wig, a neat chin beard, and a short kilt with flaring front. He carries a long walking stick with knobbed end up in his right hand in front and a folded handkerchief in his left hand hanging behind. Over his short wig he wore a diadem with a double flower-knot. The details are not entirely clear, but the short end of the bow is turned down towards the ear, while a long streamer hangs down over the shoulder. In reality, there would probably have been a pair of flower-knots on either side of the head, each with a long and short streamer.<sup>7</sup> This type of diadem is derived from the floral fillet worn by boatmen and is common to both men and women who wear it when engaged in a variety of outdoor activities.<sup>8</sup> Traces indicate that a beaded collar formed part of his attire. The middle part of Mehi's figure is destroyed, and the smaller figure of the son badly damaged. Lepsius shows the son with head turned back towards his father and holding up an ill-defined object with his right hand in front, whereas traces visible today indicate that he, in fact, had both arms hanging at his sides. The object he supposedly held was probably in actuality the hieroglyph of the papyrus thicket at the bottom of the long column of hieroglyphs, which served as the determinative of [*Tꜣ-m*]ḥw, “[Lower E]gypt.” Lepsius's artist evidently misinterpreted traces of other signs above as the upper part of the object. Over Mehi's head and extending into the space before his face is an inscription which, on the basis of a parallel on the opposite

<sup>1</sup> See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” pp. 145–47.

<sup>2</sup> *Giza Diary* 1912–1913, p. 56. The walls showed a yellowish-white plaster. The rooms were filled with stones, and there was no pit. The ends of a series of older, small, poor mastabas were also to be seen in the excavation to the north of G 2376–77 (pl. 102a). Reisner assigned them the number G 2461.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *GN I*, pp. 266–67.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. 11 [lower].

<sup>7</sup> In a few instances, where they rest on box lids or table tops, diadems are shown with a pair of double flower-knots on opposite sides of the circlet, either with or without long streamers; e.g., Junker, *Giza* 5, fig. 9; Hassan, *Saqqara* 3, pl. 28. In addition to two pairs of knots with a long and short streamer each, a diadem in the tomb of Mereruka has a third double flower-knot without streamers which presumably was positioned over the forehead; *Mereruka* 1, pls. 29–30.

<sup>8</sup> Kern, *AcOr* 24, nos. 3–4 (1959), pp. 161–88; Dunham, *BMFA* 44 (1946), pp. 23–29.

side wall, is probably to be restored as follows: *h3ty-ε msε Sndm-ib [rn.f ε] Mh[i] rn.f nfr*, “the true count [whose great name is] Senedjemib, and whose good name is Meh[i].” This was undoubtedly preceded by other titles and epithets inscribed in columns, but the latter are now lost along with the upper portions of the wall.

Part of the caption to the scene appears on the restored block in front of Mehi’s face. With the aid of the presumably identical text on the opposite wall, it can be restored with some confidence as follows: *[m3ε kst sht] ht nb(t) nfrt innt m phww [m sht.f niwwt.f hwwt.f nt] T3-mhw<sup>1</sup> [Šm<sup>ε</sup>w]*, “[Inspecting the work of the countryside] and every good thing which is brought from the hinterlands,<sup>9</sup> [from his countryside, his villages, and his estates of] ‘Lower Egypt’ [and Upper Egypt].”<sup>10</sup>

On the same wide block of stone as Mehi’s head and shoulders are preserved one complete register and portions of two others which contained the figures of marsh dwellers. A block is missing from the middle section of the wall below, and the rest has sustained serious damage, but the damaged and missing sections certainly bore the lower parts of the figures at the bottom of the wide block and very probably an additional register of marsh dwellers. That two more marsh dwellers stood on the same ground line as Mehi and his son is indicated by clear traces. Evidence thus survives for at least five registers of marsh dwellers.

It is clear that certain of the marsh dwellers proceeded on foot, while others traveled in papyrus skiffs, and it is tempting to restore alternating registers of marsh dwellers so engaged. Support for this arrangement seems to come from the mastaba of Mehi’s younger contemporary Seshemnofer IV, the decorative scheme of whose portico appears to closely parallel that of Mehi.<sup>11</sup> Although two blocks alone survive from Seshemnofer’s portico, one from its west and the other from its east side wall, one of these preserves parts of three contiguous registers with marsh dwellers in boats in the top and bottom registers and others on foot in the middle register.<sup>12</sup>

It is not certain whether five or six registers of marsh dwellers were originally depicted on the west wall of the portico of G 2378. The present height of the reconstructed portico of G 2378 does not appear to allow for a sixth register. On the other hand, it is not clear on what grounds the modern reconstruction was made, since the walls of the portico were not preserved to their full height. The restoration of a sixth register would allow ample room for Mehi’s titles and would be more in keeping with the scale of the portico of G 2370, inasmuch as the height of the restored wall from the pavement line to the top of the decorated area in G 2378 would then be in the neighborhood of 4.66 m (fig. 98), and the corresponding part of the north wall of the portico of G 2370 apparently measured originally something like 4.70 m.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Phww. Wb.* 1, p. 538, 8–9; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* 2, p. 26; 4, p. 79 (“backland”); Caminos, *L.-Eg. Misc.*, p. 80 (“hinterlands”). For the distinction between the open country or alluvial flats and the waterlogged backswamps, see Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization*, pp. 15–20 and passim.

<sup>10</sup> Compare the legends assembled by Montet, *Scènes*, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 14.




<sup>12</sup> Junker, *Giza* II, figs. 61 and 62.

<sup>13</sup> See p. 13 above.

The upper part of the first partially preserved register of marsh dwellers on the restored block is missing, but the legs and feet of two men remain. Whatever the first offering bearer may have carried is destroyed. The second evidently held a bunch of flowers or vegetables in his left hand and a wickerwork frail suspended from a cord in his other hand. The register below is complete and shows two men in a papyrus boat. The first man proffers a goose which he holds by the neck and wings. The man behind bears down heavily on a pole thrust into the water to propel the skiff forward, his knees bending under the effort. The prow of the boat is bowed down under the weight of a large object, possibly a rush basket with a splayed bottom, but the stern curves sharply upwards. The first offering bearer in the next register holds a duck in the crook of his right arm, while his companion carries a calf. The lower parts of both figures are missing. The next register was carved on the missing block and is lost. As far as the lowermost register is concerned, only traces remain of two figures on foot bearing offerings. The first man held a bunch of flowers or vegetables in his hanging right hand. The two figures appear to be on the same scale as Mehi’s son. Boatmen and bearers alike appear to have been wigless. Scanty traces suggest they wore short, tight-fitting kilts.

Beneath Mehi’s feet two horizontal registers extend across the width of the wall (pl. 107). In the upper of the two registers, herdsmen in papyrus skiffs and their charges are seen crossing a stretch of water. The movement is again directed inwards and the episodes depicted here and in the lower register are linked to those on the wall above by their common locale. The prow and stern of the lead boat in the upper register bend upwards in a gentle curve. This boat has a crew of three who sit on their heels as they ply their egg-shaped paddles.<sup>14</sup> Over their heads is a caption in a single horizontal line: *hn nty-hnε zfs<sup>1</sup> in mniw*, “Row comrade, ‘go slowly!’,”<sup>15</sup> says<sup>16</sup> the herdsman.” The next boat is different in form from the first in that both ends are bent up and backwards, but it also has a crew of three. The first man sits back on his heels and rows with a paddle. The second stands and faces backwards. This individual wears the headman’s mat kilt with an unfolded fringed part hanging down in front<sup>17</sup> and extends his arm in the gesture of conjuration.<sup>18</sup> The last man at the stern of the boat kneels and pulls a calf out of the water by its forelegs. The frightened animal looks back imploringly at its mother.<sup>19</sup> The lower parts of the adult animals behind the boat are hidden in the water in which they swim.<sup>20</sup> The first two cattle are polled, while the last three have long, curved horns. In two horizontal lines above

<sup>14</sup> See Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, p. 55, for the distinction between paddles and oars.

<sup>15</sup> On the verb *zfs*, “go slowly(?)” see p. 42, n. 81 above. The orthography here with the *aleph* in the initial position is presumably an instance of graphic metathesis, similar to the sporadic writings of  for , *mzh*, “crocodile” (*Wb.* 2, p. 136, 10–14; *Urk.* 1, p. 23, 12; *Rue de tomb.*, pl. 30; Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 164, 14), only in this case with a twofold metathesis like  for *msh* in James, *Hekanakhte*, p. 1, n. 3.

<sup>16</sup> See above, p. 38, n. 14.

<sup>17</sup> See above, p. 58.

<sup>18</sup> See above, p. 38 and n. 12.

<sup>19</sup> For the motif of the calf preceding a herd crossing the marshes, see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 110–13.

<sup>20</sup> Partially hidden figures in Old Kingdom relief are discussed by Smith, *HESP*, pp. 346, 347.

the heads of the swimming cattle is the headman's speech which, on the basis of a parallel on the south wall of Inti's portico, is probably to be restored: [*wsh š n ihw hsf*] *mt hsf mzh* [*š*] *n* [*mnw*], "[The channel has been prepared for the cattle.] 'When the crocodile is repulsed, then the dead man is repulsed!,' says the herdsman."<sup>21</sup>

In the lower register, boatmen return home with their produce after a day in the marshes.<sup>22</sup> They propel their boats by means of long punting poles.<sup>23</sup> It seems from the traces that three boats were originally represented. The first is manned by three standing boatmen who wield their poles diligently. The first man leans forward, bending both knees, and applies the force of his arms to the pole whose top he grasps with both hands. His attitude is worth noting for his body is drawn in a near approximation to true profile—the far shoulder and arm disappear behind the near shoulder and arm, even though the far hand is shown.<sup>24</sup> On the prow at his feet is a large, two-handled splayed basket filled with some product of the marshes. The body of the next boatman is tipped back so that his face looks slightly upwards, one hand grasping the top of his pole and the other hand placed further down on its shaft. Except for the figure in the middle of the second boat, who holds a goose in both arms before him, and the man in the prow of the last boat, all the other boatmen assume a similar attitude. The boatman in the prow of the second boat, however, leans so far backwards as he applies his weight to the pole that it looks as though he is about to topple into the water. The figure of the man at the prow of the last boat is damaged, but may have been portrayed in the same attitude as the first boatman. At his feet also is a large, splayed basket.

Traces in both registers suggest that the boatmen wore the belt-sash tied in front with pendant loose ends, or possibly the belt-sash coupled with the round-edged kilt, as on the opposite wall, and their own hair close-cropped.

#### *North Wall, west of entrance*

On the rear wall of the portico to either side of the entrance to the interior chapel are scenes of Mehi spear fishing and fowling.

The scene on the left of the entrance is both incomplete and badly weathered at present (pl. 108a; fig. 101). It was already so in Lepsius's day (fig. 100).<sup>25</sup> Mehi stands in a papyrus boat spearing fish, his wife and son accompanying him, as attendants watch from a nearby bank. The boat curves upwards at the prow, more sharply upwards at the stern. Beneath the stern a large clump of swamp reed projects above the water.<sup>26</sup> Mehi's legs are widespread for balance. With both arms raised nearly symmetrically to the height of his shoulders, he holds either end of a fishing spear. Numerous parallels to the scene indicate that he was portrayed in the act of transfixing two large river fish; the back of one fish is still to be made out in the midst of the badly damaged papyrus thicket at the right.<sup>27</sup> His dress

consists of a shoulder-length wig and the semicircular kilt usual in fishing and fowling scenes, the trapezoidal front panel destroyed, but the overlapping folds, belt, and waist tie still evident.<sup>28</sup> Above his head are the remains of a horizontal line of large hieroglyphs which probably read: [... *Snd*] *m-ib m.f nfr*, "[Sened]em-ib, his good name."

On a separate ground line above the curving prow of the boat stands one of Mehi's sons. He is wigless, and it is clear from Lepsius's drawing that he was dressed in a short kilt with flaring front panel. He apparently held a spare harpoon, blunt end up, in his left hand before him. A short column of text probably occupied the space between his figure and the papyrus thicket at the right, but all that remains are a few damaged signs giving his name, which was better preserved in Lepsius's day: *Sndm-ib*, "Senedjemib."

Sitting with both legs tucked under her at her husband's feet is Mehi's wife. Before her face are traces of the signs that made up her name, [*Hnt*]-*ḥ ksw*.s, "[Khent]ḥkau's." It is clear from Lepsius's copy that she held a blue lotus to her nose with her left hand, while the other hand lay open in her lap. Except for the stem the lotus is now destroyed, and her hand and head mostly lost. She wore a short wig and over it a double flower-knot diadem with long streamers, which is better preserved in Lepsius's copy.

Behind Mehi three attendants stood on separate groundlines. The figure on the upper line is the most severely damaged of the three but, like his fellows, he was presumably wigless and wore a kilt with flaring front panel. Traces make it clear that he held something in his hanging right hand, possibly a bird. Even though his rear hand is destroyed, the foremost attendant on the lower groundline probably had both hands hanging empty at his sides, since the duck held by the second individual otherwise fills the space between the two. His title and name were inscribed in a column before him but all that remains is: *zš ḥ nswt n hff[-hr]*, "per[sonal] scribe of royal records." The last attendant also appears to have held something in his hanging right hand, perhaps a wickerwork frail, but the object itself is destroyed, even though the cord from which it hung can still be made out.

The stretch of water below the papyrus skiff teemed with aquatic life. The fish from left to right are: destroyed, destroyed, a catfish(?), destroyed, an eel, and an Oxyrhincus fish (*Mormyrus kannume*). Further to the right Lepsius saw a crocodile with mouth agape waiting to devour a newborn hippopotamus calf. The motif is a popular one in the Old Kingdom.<sup>29</sup> Only the line of the crocodile's back and the outline of the hippopotamus cow are still visible. From the angle of its body, the fish to the right is probably a puffer fish.<sup>30</sup>

At the far right a man in a papyrus boat fishes with a handnet.<sup>31</sup> A well preserved example of the handnet in the tomb of Kagemi consists of a pair of sticks crossed and lashed near the head end to form a V with a third stick placed crosswise to act as a spreader, while

<sup>21</sup> See above, p. 38. There is room for the terminal clause *in mnw* after *mzh*, and part of the letter *n* may be visible in the appropriate place in the photograph.

<sup>22</sup> See above, p. 124 and n. 106.

<sup>23</sup> See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 155–57, for the postures adopted by the boatmen.

<sup>24</sup> Compare *HESP*, pp. 309–11; Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 152.

<sup>25</sup> *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xii [top].

<sup>26</sup> See above, p. 40 and n. 55.

<sup>27</sup> See above, p. 39.

<sup>28</sup> See above, p. 40, n. 43.

<sup>29</sup> See Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 355–67 [feature 49].

<sup>30</sup> See p. 40, n. 51 above.

<sup>31</sup> See Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, p. 254; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 24–26; Vandier, *Manuel 5*, pp. 541–47; Brewer–Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, pp. 38–40; van Elsbergen, *Fischerei*, pp. 40, 169 (612).

the projecting ends of the side were connected by a rope which formed one side of the mouth of the deep net that hung between the sticks.<sup>32</sup> A few faint lines here indicate that the net was filled with small fry. As in the tomb of Kagemni, it is possible that another fisherman shared the boat, for other traces appear to show a fish caught on a line.<sup>33</sup>

#### *North Wall, East of Entrance*

On the wall to the right of the entrance, Mehi was depicted with his wife, son, and attendants fowling in the marshes (pl. 109; fig. 101). The upper part of the wall was already destroyed in Lepsius's day (fig. 100), and what survives has undergone further deterioration.

The skiff is better preserved here than on the flanking wall. The stern is more elevated than the prow, and it is clearly fitted out with a wooden deck to protect Mehi and his wife from the water which would have seeped up through the bottom of such craft.<sup>34</sup> A clump of swamp weed again fills the space under the stern.

Mehi's figure is destroyed above the waist. He stood facing left and would undoubtedly have held a throwstick aloft in his rear hand and decoys in the other.<sup>35</sup> He apparently wore the same semicircular kilt with overlap and trapezoidal front panel as in the spear fishing scene on the other side of the entrance, but here the garment is even less well preserved. In contrast to the flanking scene, his wife sits at the front of the deck. She has both legs tucked under her and holds on to Mehi's front leg with her rear hand. Her figure is now nearly destroyed, but it is clear from Lepsius's drawing that she had fresh flowers stuck into her hair and sniffed a blue lotus held in her other hand.<sup>36</sup> Over her head was a short, horizontal line reading from right to left which contained her name: *Hnt-kw.s*, "Khentkaus." Except for faint traces, this is lost today.<sup>37</sup>

Above the prow of the boat, a standing figure on a separate groundline faces the couple and holds a throwstick in his left hand. The figure is badly damaged and any identifying text lost, but probably represents one of the couple's sons, since a son of the owner oftentimes stands in the prow or stern of the boat in such scenes and holds a spare throwstick or two.<sup>38</sup> Here the son actually turns towards his father and holds the spare boomerang out to him.<sup>39</sup>

On separate groundlines behind Mehi, Lepsius shows the damaged figures of four attendants two-by-two. All that remained of the

attendants in the upper row were their legs. The figure of the first man in the bottom row was better preserved and stood facing left with hands hanging at his sides. He was wigless and wore a kilt with flaring front. Part of the line of his back is all that is visible today. Before him was a short column of hieroglyphs which undoubtedly contained his title(s) and name; *nswt* was to be made out in 1842–43, but only a few traces of signs survive at present. The front part of the figure of the man behind was also preserved, as was the column of text before him, which can be restored with some confidence, since his figure appears elsewhere in Mehi's tomb: [*imy-r3*] *zšw* [*Hm*]-*šty*, "the overseer of scribes, [Hem]-akhti."<sup>40</sup> Here he wore a flaring kilt and probably had both hands at his sides like his fellow, even though the front arm and hand alone are preserved in the Lepsius drawing.

In the midst of the papyrus thicket in front of Mehi, a hippopotamus hunt is depicted (pl. 108b). Two harpooners and a boatman, on a smaller scale than Inti and his family, occupy a papyrus skiff. The attitude of the harpooners, whose figures partly overlap, was identical: legs spread wide for balance, rear hand raised ready to cast a harpoon, front hand lowered. As is also the case with certain of the punting poles on the east wall of the portico, the harpoons themselves were never carved. Neither were the lines that would have been attached to the harpoon points embedded beneath the skin of the animals, and only the first harpooner is shown with gathered retrieving lines in his front hand, whereas the other man's front hand is clenched but empty. Both harpooners wear the very short, rounded kilt with the loose ends of the belt-sash hanging down in front, but the figure of the second harpooner is damaged, so that it is impossible to know whether he too wore the kind of halter held up by a single strap that covers the upper body of the foremost man.<sup>41</sup> The boatman in the stern raises one heel and leans on his pole to hold the craft steady for the harpooners. Once again his pole was not carved. The lower parts of the bodies of the two hippopotami which are the quarry of the harpooners are hidden in the water; all that projects above the surface are their gaping jaws.<sup>42</sup>

The upper part of the thicket was already destroyed by Lepsius's day, and only one bird is seen at present nesting on a low lying papyrus umbel. A stalk at the left is bent down, presumably under the weight of a marauder, either an ichneumon or civet cat, who climbed towards the nests.<sup>43</sup> Part of its tail is still visible as a broken diagonal line.

#### *East Wall*

Although there is some variation in the subsidiary figures in the registers beneath Mehi's feet, the scene on the upper part of the east wall (pls. 110, 111; fig. 105) essentially duplicated that on the west wall. Once again Mehi and a son stood facing outwards towards marsh dwellers in superimposed registers before them. The figure of the son and those of the two marsh dwellers on the same ground line are badly damaged and only their legs remain. Traces of five other marsh dwellers appear on an isolated block high up on the wall (pl. 111).

<sup>40</sup> See below, pp. 146, 150.

<sup>41</sup> Called by Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 56, a "baudrier" or "bretelle." For other examples, see *Ti* 3, pl. 155; *Two Craftsmen*, fig. 9.

<sup>42</sup> For partially hidden figures in Egyptian art, see above, p. 134 and n. 20.

<sup>43</sup> See p. 40 above.

<sup>32</sup> Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pls. 4 [2] and 29 [212]; Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, p. 254.

<sup>33</sup> *Teti Cem.* 2, pl. 53. On hook and line fishing in ancient Egypt, Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, p. 254; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 23–24; Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 533–41; and Brewer–Friedman, *Fish and Fishing*, pp. 26–31, should be consulted.

<sup>34</sup> Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 229–30.

<sup>35</sup> See above, p. 39, n. 41.

<sup>36</sup> Kern, *AcOr* 24, nos. 3–4 (1959), p. 166, actually considers this the best example of the "flower-cap" fashionable for women during the late Fourth to Sixth Dynasties.

<sup>37</sup> If Lepsius is correct, the direction of the terminal letter *s* in the name was reversed. The letter *s* is one of a small number of signs that are sometimes reversed in Old Kingdom inscriptions, apparently because they lack a clearly defined front or rear side; see above, p. 53 and n. 237.

<sup>38</sup> E.g., *Deshasheh*, pl. 22 = Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasheh*, pl. 48; *Seven Chapels*, pl. 6; Taylor, *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum* 23 (1932), fig. on p. 11 (Ni-an-kh-nesut); *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs*, pl. 12; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Traces suggest that in the parallel scene on the rear of the portico of G 2370 to the north of the entrance Mehi likewise held a boomerang up to his father; see above, p. 40.

In 1842–43 the bottom of the wall, as high up as Mehi's feet, alone remained in place (fig. 104).<sup>44</sup> Two fallen blocks also copied by Lepsius, the first with the upper part of Mehi's figure, the second the isolated block with the figures of the marsh dwellers, have subsequently been returned to the wall, albeit not quite to their original places. In fig. 105 these blocks have been restored approximately to their original positions. There is considerable damage to Mehi's figure, so it is not certain that his costume was identical in every respect to the portrayal on the opposite wall. Nonetheless, it is clear that he once again wore a double-flower knot diadem with streamer over a short wig and carried a walking stick knob-end up at a diagonal in his front hand. Above his head appears the identifying caption: *ḥty-ꜥ msꜥ Sndm-ib rn.fꜥ Mḥi rn.f nfr*, "The true count whose great name is Senedjemib and whose good name is Mehi."<sup>45</sup> Presumably here too, the space above would have been occupied by columns of text giving his titles and epithets. Before Mehi's face is part of the long column of text that served as a caption to the scene. Assuming that it was identical to the column on the west wall, it probably read: [*mꜥ kst sḥt ḥt nb(t) nfrt innt m phww m sḥt.f niwwt.f [ḥwwt.f nt Tꜥ-mḥw Šmꜥw]*], "[Inspecting the work of the countryside and every good thing] which is brought from the hinterlands, from his countryside, his villages, [and his estates of Lower and Upper Egypt]."

The isolated block at the top of the wall preserves most of one register and parts of two more. The traces remaining in the uppermost register are difficult to make out. From the posture of the first marsh dweller, it is likely that he knelt in and paddled a papyrus skiff. The figure of the second individual is only represented by a few surviving lines, but it is possible that he held up a goose by the neck and wings. The first marsh dweller in the middle register carries two papyrus stalks with his left hand, the arm bent at the elbow and fist closed on his chest, and a splayed basket in the hand hanging behind. The second man may have carried a small animal, since what appear to be a snout and ears(?) are to be made out at his right shoulder. Only the very top of the register below survives. It may similarly have contained two figures originally. All that is visible now is the top of the head and face of the marsh dweller at the right and part of the offering he carried.

The representations in the two broad registers underneath Mehi's feet are badly weather worn. Enough remains though to show that the composition in both registers differs in a number of particulars from that on the opposite wall. For example, the lead skiff in the upper register was evidently propelled by punters rather than by rowers as on the west wall. In the middle of this skiff are the legs and feet of a standing figure who may have held up an offering to Mehi in his destroyed right hand. The upper part of his figure and that of the boatman in the prow are destroyed, but a broken line suggests that his left arm hung behind. Both punters were clearly poised in a deep crouch. Presumably the man in the prow, like his fellow in the stern, held his punting pole across his chest with one hand close to his head and the other hand close to his hip. As is the case with the harpoons of the hippopotamus hunters on the north wall of the

portico to the east of the entrance, the punting poles here were apparently never carved. The figures in the second skiff are badly damaged, but there appear to have been only two occupants instead of the three as on the opposite wall. Traces suggest that the first man sat on his heels, and probably rowed with a paddle. The other individual clearly stood and faced backwards. He was almost certainly the headman making the gesture of conjuration, for his spell survives in the space over the head of the swimming cattle: *wšḥ š ihw ḥsf mt ḥsf mzh in mniw*, "The channel has been prepared for the cattle. 'When the crocodile is repulsed, then the dead man is repulsed!,' says the herdsman." As on the opposite wall a group of polled and long-horned cattle swims behind the boat, but the figure of the crocodile is omitted. The calf at the rear of the file appears to be confused or distracted, for it faces in the wrong direction.

The attitudes of the boatmen in the lower register likewise differ from those in the corresponding register on the west wall. Although the figures are badly damaged, they were much better preserved in Lepsius's day (fig. 104). The first and second men in the first papyrus skiff were punters, their knees bent, the pole held close to the top and lower down, in the case of the first man at chest height and in that of the second man close to the hip. The man at the stern faced in the opposite direction and evidently pushed on the top of his pole to propel or direct the boat. The attitudes of the boatmen in the other two skiffs show little variation and, even then, mostly in regard to how they hold the poles or where they place their feet. Once again, the poles of the first three punters, and evidently also of the punter at the prow of the second skiff, were never carved, in contrast to the poles of the punters on the right side of the register. The man in the center of the second skiff held a goose or duck in both arms in front. The figure of the calf lying down between his wide-spread legs is now completely destroyed. In contrast to the west wall, Lepsius's artist shows the boatmen in this register dressed in the round-edged kilt with the belt-sash tied behind and the private parts exposed. The curious outline at the stern of the last boat was also seen and drawn by Lepsius. It appears to be the raised arm and back of the head of a boatman who has fallen overboard and is hauling himself out of the water. This detail and that of the calf above, neither of which are part of the standard repertoire of motifs, may represent a rare instance of an ancient artist inserting his own personality into the composition, perhaps in this instance even with comical intent.

## ENTRANCE

Both the drum and the lintel over the entrance to the interior chapel were already missing when Lepsius cleared the mastaba.<sup>46</sup> Flanking scenes of Mehi and his eldest son Senedjemib decorated both entrance thicknesses.

### *Left (west) outer thickness*

The left thickness (pl. 112a; fig. 107) was in a somewhat better state of preservation when drawn by Lepsius (fig. 106).<sup>47</sup> Mehi stands at the right facing outwards towards a smaller figure of a son. He holds

<sup>44</sup> LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xii [bottom].

<sup>45</sup> For the relationship between the *rn nfr* and the *rn ꜥ*, see e.g., Junker, *ZÄS* 63 (1928), pp. 59–64; *PN* 2, pp. 6–7; Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 117.

<sup>46</sup> LD, *Text* 1, p. 51.

<sup>47</sup> LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xiii [upper].

a walking stick knob-end up at a diagonal in his right hand in front and a folded handkerchief in his hanging left hand behind. Over a mid-calf kilt with a flaring front panel and waist tie, he wears a leopard skin. His right hand (seen from the front) holding the walking stick is correctly rendered but, as is apparent from Lepsius's sketch, the hand holding the handkerchief was a right hand (seen from the front) attached to the left shoulder.<sup>48</sup> Mehi's head has been destroyed, but it is likewise clear from Lepsius's sketch that his wig was a short one, probably worn together with a double-flower knot diadem and streamers (of which one had survived), a chin beard, and a beaded collar. Lepsius also shows bracelets on Mehi's hanging left arm which are no longer visible. The upper border of the leopard skin and the shoulder knot have likewise disappeared, but part of the ribbons dangling from the shoulder knot are still to be made out. There are also traces of the claws dangling from the leopard's paws. A seemingly odd feature is the leopard's head set on its side at waist level, but the same placement appears on the north entrance thickness of G 2370 and in a number of other instances both at Giza and Saqqara.<sup>49</sup> Before Mehi's face stood an inscription in four columns: (1) [... *imy-rs kst nbt*] *nt nswt*, (2) [... *imy-ib n nswt*] *m st.f nb(t)*, (3) [...] *r<sup>c</sup> nb*, (4) [... *hsty-c*] *ms<sup>c</sup> M[hi] rn.f nfr*, "(1) [...] overseer of all works] of the king, (2) [...] favorite of the king] wherever he is, (3) [...] every day, (4) [...] the true [count] whose good name is Me[hi]."

Mehi's son stands respectfully in his father's presence with both hands hanging open at his sides. He is wigless and wears a short kilt with flaring front panel and waist tie. Over his head in four short lines stood the following inscription, which is still largely intact today: (1) *z.f smsw mry.f*, (2) *hry-tp nswt mdh qd nswt*, (3) *m pruy*, (4) *Sndm-ib*, (1) "His eldest son whom he loves, (2) the royal chamberlain and royal master builder (3) in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt), (4) Senedjemib."

#### *Right (East) Outer Thickness*

The right thickness (pl. 112b; figs. 108, 109) has sustained considerably more damage than the left thickness.<sup>50</sup> As on the flanking wall, Mehi stands facing a smaller figure of his son. He is dressed in a leopard skin worn over a flaring, calf-length kilt and holds a walking stick knob-end up at a diagonal in his left hand before him. In contrast to the flanking figure which has a short wig, he wears a shoulder-length wig and carries a scepter in his right hand instead of a handkerchief. Traces of a chin beard remain. Mehi faces right but, as on the left thickness, the artist experienced trouble in the rendering of the hands. He correctly placed a left hand (seen from the front) holding the walking stick on the left arm, but incorrectly showed the right hand, as though it were seen from the front instead of the back. In a figure facing right the scepter normally passes in front of the body, whereas in a figure facing left it usually passes behind the body.<sup>51</sup> It is clear from Lepsius's sketch that in the present case the scepter passed behind the body, even though Mehi faces right. The outline of the leopard skin was better preserved in 1842–43, but Lepsius's

artist failed to draw or did not see the leopard's head located just above Mehi's waist.

Presumably as on the left thickness, an inscription of several short columns stood before Mehi's face, but it had already been destroyed before Lepsius visited Giza. The same is true of the identifying inscription in horizontal lines over the son of which only the name [*S*] *ndm-ib*, "[S]enedjemib," preserved. As on the left thickness, the son stands deferentially before his father with both hands hanging open at his sides. He is identically garbed in beaded collar and short kilt with flaring front panel and wears his own short hair.

## ROOM II

Room II, the east–west anteroom south of and parallel to Room III, is entered from the south at the west end of the south wall. A doorway to Room III occupies the east end of the north wall. The room measures 1.85 x 5.2 m. The area is 9.62 sq. m and the proportion of the length of the room to the width is 1/0.36.

Just beyond the outer entrance thicknesses were two inner thicknesses. Neither has survived to its full height, but cut in the better preserved western wall were four horizontal notches (figs. 95c, 106; pl. 117c).<sup>52</sup> Presumably the door pivot was also located on this side, so that the door swung back against this wall and the notches accommodated the battens at the rear of the door.<sup>53</sup> The same feature appears in a number of other tombs at Giza.<sup>54</sup> The eastern inner thickness appears to have been blank (fig. 108).

#### *South wall, west of entrance*

Mehi and his son Senedjemib stood at the right side of the wall facing left toward the entrance, viewing the presentation of animals in several registers before them (pl. 113; fig. 111).<sup>55</sup> A good deal more of this wall was preserved in Lepsius's time (fig. 110). Today only portions of the bottom two registers survive, and everything above the level of Mehi's waist is lost. Assuming there were originally six registers on this wall, as there clearly were on the adjacent west wall, then the first preserved register in Lepsius's plate would be the third.

Mehi wore a shoulder-length wig, chin beard, beaded collar, and short kilt with flaring front, belt, and waist tie. In his forward hand he held a walking stick at a diagonal, while in his hanging rear hand he has a handkerchief. The two outer beaded rows of his beaded collar appear to have been carved, although the individual beads were evidently not delineated.<sup>56</sup> In this instance, the artist has correctly reversed the hands according to convention. The titles and epithets in columns that presumably filled the space above Mehi's figure had disappeared by 1842–43, and only the end of the inscription in horizontal lines immediately above his head and before his face survived. The text is perhaps to be restored as follows: (1) *hsty-c* [*ms<sup>c</sup> Sndm-ib rn.f*]

<sup>52</sup> LD 1, pl. 23 (section g–h); LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xiii [upper right].

<sup>53</sup> LD, *Text* 1, p. 51.

<sup>54</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 45, 91–92.

<sup>55</sup> LD 2, pl. 74 [b]; head of deceased, LD 3, pl. 289 [9]; see *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 88.

<sup>56</sup> In the detail of Mehi's head from this wall in LD 3, pl. 289 [9], the two outer beaded rows of the broad collar are not indicated, but such details are also omitted from the portraits of Iymery and Neferbaupth reproduced on the same plate.

<sup>48</sup> See *HESP*, pp. 274–75.

<sup>49</sup> See above, p. 41 and n. 98.

<sup>50</sup> LD, *Ergänz.*, pl. xiii [lower].

<sup>51</sup> *HESP*, pp. 274–75.



(2) *m.f nfr Mhi*, “(1) The [true] count [whose great name is Senedjemib], (2–3) and whose good name is Mehi.”

The smaller figure of the son has both hands at his sides and, although he is wigless, he is otherwise dressed in a fashion similar to his father. Over his head, in the space bordered by his father’s arm, walking stick, and kilt, was an identifying inscription, which is still largely intact: (1) [z3.f] *smsw mry.f*; (2) [*hry-tp*] *nswt<sup>3</sup> mdh qd nswt m prwy*; (3) *Sndm-ib*, (1) “[His] eldest [son] whom he loves, (2) the ‘royal’ [chamberlain] and royal master builder in both houses, (3) Senedjemib.”<sup>57</sup>

*First Register.* Destroyed.

*Second Register.* Destroyed.

*Third Register.* Three cranes were driven towards Mehi by a keeper. Their heads were already destroyed when Lepsius copied them, but they are readily recognizable by their long legs, the form of their bodies, and the drooping outline of their tail plumage.<sup>58</sup> As is generally the case in bird processions, their species were probably given in captions over their backs, just as the smaller birds are identified in the next register below.<sup>59</sup> All that was preserved of their keeper were his legs.

*Fourth Register.* Three birds faced Mehi. All three were of approximately the same size but were distinguished by short captions. Over the back of the first bird was written: *hs sr*, “a thousand greylag geese (*Anser anser*).”<sup>60</sup> Over the second bird was *hs trp*, “a thousand white-fronted geese (*Anser albifrons*).”<sup>61</sup> Over the back of the third animal *hs hd*, “a thousand white geese” appeared.<sup>62</sup>

*Fifth Register.* This register was occupied by three men struggling with an oryx. The figure of the man on the right, part of the individual directly in front of him, the better part of the caption behind them, and traces of the legs of the figure on the far left and of the oryx are all that survive today. From Lepsius’s drawing, it is clear that the oryx had all four feet firmly planted on the ground and was refusing to budge. The efforts of the men were of little avail. The two men at the right leaned forward to the left, weight shifted to the right foot placed flat on the ground, rear heel raised. The first man grasped the oryx’s horns just above its head with his right hand, while his other hand, which was hidden behind his companion’s body, probably held the animal’s snout. The man in front of him wrapped both arms around the oryx’s head and held on to his own right forearm with his left hand to gain purchase. The caption behind them read: *int rn ms-hd*, “bringing a young oryx.” The man on the far left faced right and

bent forward at the waist, both feet flat on the ground, and held onto the horns of the oryx midway up with both his hands. A short inscription behind him presumably represented his utterance: *wds-ib.k wrt*, “May it please you very much!”<sup>63</sup> All three men were wigless and wore the belt-sash with pendant ends.

A interesting feature of the caption to the scene is the partial reversal of signs. The component signs of the caption might reasonably be expected to maintain the same direction, but the reversed sickle in *rn ms-hd* is a clear indication that the second column faces a different direction (right) from the first, *rn ms-hd* in actuality being oriented in the same direction as the animal it refers to, even though it is not placed directly over it, whereas *int*, which designates the activity of the first two men, faces in the same direction as they (left).<sup>64</sup>

*Sixth Register.* This register has further deteriorated since Lepsius’s day. Three men struggle with a second oryx. The first man on the right facing left holds the animal’s snout and, as may be seen from Lepsius’s copy, also held onto its horns. The next man leans forward to the right and probably placed both his hands on the animal’s neck to urge it in the right direction. The last man at the left leans backwards and most likely was shown pulling on a rope attached to one of the animal’s rear legs with his right hand, although the rope itself appears never to have been carved. Only a few traces remain of the caption written over the animal’s back: *int rn ms-hd*, “Bringing a young oryx.” Although only the head of the figure on the right was preserved, all the men probably had their own close-cropped natural hair and wore the belt-sash with loose ends hanging down in front.

#### West Wall

The west wall was the only one in Mehi’s tomb which appears to have been preserved to essentially its full height in 1842–43. Lepsius copied six registers, four dedicated to agricultural activities and two others occupied by offering bearers and butchers (fig. 112).<sup>65</sup> The sequence of events in the first four registers appears to be from top to bottom, the reaping of grain being shown in the first register, the loading of donkeys with sheaves in the second register, the return of the donkeys in the third register, and the threshing and winnowing of the grain in the fourth register. The agricultural activities represented on this wall were continued from the adjacent north wall, where scenes of land preparation and the flax harvest were shown. At present the first register and the top of the second register are missing and, while the blocks bearing the top of the second register and the left side of the second through fourth registers are still in place, their surfaces have almost entirely spalled away (pl. 114a–b; fig. 113).

Behind this wall is a rectangular serdab which communicates with Room II by a slot opening in the fourth and fifth registers at about the middle of the wall.<sup>66</sup> The measurements of the serdab are 3.4 x 1.45 m, and it has an area of 4.93 sq. m and a depth of 2.50 m. At a date subsequent to its construction, the serdab was divided in two by a rubble wall, the slot filled with plaster, and an intrusive pit

<sup>57</sup> Note that the 3rd. per. sing. masc. suffix precedes *mry* instead of following it, as it does for instance in pl. 115, fig. 114 below. Here as elsewhere Lepsius’s draftsman has misinterpreted the two component signs for *qd* in the title *mdh qd nswt m prwy* as *hry* *h*; see above, p. 78, n. 575.

<sup>58</sup> See Houlihan, *Birds*, p. 83.

<sup>59</sup> For the different species of cranes, see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 402–28.

<sup>60</sup> Boessneck, *Haustiere*, pp. 33–35; idem, in *Fs. Josef Schreiber*, pp. 192–206, esp. pp. 194–98; Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 54–56, 140, 150.

<sup>61</sup> Boessneck, *Haustiere*, pp. 33–35; idem, in *Fs. Josef Schreiber*, pp. 192–206, esp. pp. 194, 199; Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 56–57, 140, 150.

<sup>62</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 5, pp. 402–404.

<sup>63</sup> Erman, *Reden*, p. 33 (our reference); *FCD*, p. 74.

<sup>64</sup> For a similar reversal of orientation, see Fischer, *Reversals*, p. 73, fig. 75.

<sup>65</sup> *LD* 2, pl. 73 [left].

<sup>66</sup> See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 146.

(G 2378 B) constructed in its southern half.<sup>67</sup> The plaster filled slot is visible as an irregular blank outline in pl. 114a, b and figs. 112 and 113.

*First Register.* This register is now lost, but it may be seen in Lepsius's drawing that two groups of three reapers are separated by a seventh man who stands erect. The field of grain is represented by a low rectangle without interior detail. The reapers bend forward to the right and grasp a sheaf of grain in their left hands. The sickles with which they cut the grain are held curve upwards in their other hands.<sup>68</sup> The man in the middle holds his hands out before him in such a fashion as to suggest that he was occupied in removing a weed or straggly stalk from a bundle of grain.<sup>69</sup> The two badly damaged figures on the edge of the field to the far left possibly represent a flute player and an overseer.<sup>70</sup>

In Lepsius's drawing the standing reaper wears a very short round-edged kilt, whereas the other reapers appear to be naked except for a belt with a pendant element at the back. It is, in fact, possible that all the reapers originally wore the very short, round-edged kilt with belt-sash, a costume that is frequently adopted by field hands, here, as often, shown with the belt-sash tied behind,<sup>71</sup> and that Lepsius's draftsman has in the first case mistakenly omitted the tucked up flap and in the second case the curved edge of the kilt. He was evidently unaware of the nature of the garment, for he consistently shows the round-edged kilt without pendant loose ends both here and in the registers of agricultural workers below, whereas traces visible both then and now suggest that many of the workers were probably dressed in the round-edged kilt with the loose ends of the sash either tied up behind or hanging down in front. Although a simple belt-sash with pendant ends tied in front or back is sometimes worn by field workers,<sup>72</sup> the round-edged kilt is almost invariably worn with a belt-sash.

*Second Register.* A file of four donkeys loaded with panniers of grain was driven to the right by drovers and the young boys who served as their assistants.<sup>73</sup> The better part of the figures of the first two donkeys visible in Lepsius's plate, along with the drovers and their assistants, still survive, as do the forepart of the third donkey and the figure of an assistant. The taller figures of the drovers have lost their heads, however, whereas a number of the (younger and shorter) boys walking alongside the donkeys have kept theirs. The first donkey walks to the right, while the young boy marching alongside probably steadied the large, ovoid sack on its back with his raised left hand, which is now destroyed. His right arm is held at waist height, but the hand is likewise destroyed and was so in Lepsius's day. The arms of the drover walking behind the donkey are both raised above his shoulders and the forearms are lost in the damaged area at the top of the register. This was already the case in 1842–43, and his activity, as a result, is obscured. It is possible that he raised

his right hand to his mouth to shout instructions to the boy, while simultaneously brandishing a stick above his head in his other hand with which he urged the donkey forward.<sup>74</sup> The next donkey is evidently in trouble, the sacks on its back perhaps having shifted. The drover at its front has turned back and holds the donkey's head between both his arms, a detail which is clearer in Lepsius's plate. His companion at the rear of the donkey helps to immobilize it by pulling on its tail, while with his other hand, as may also be seen in the earlier drawing, he probably held onto the mat blanket on the animal's back. Just such a blanket is visible on a donkey in the register below. The young boy beside the animal stoops to the left, presumably to adjust the girth or strap that encircled its body and fastened the sacks on its back.<sup>75</sup> Between the drover holding onto the donkey's tail and the next animal is an incomplete caption: [...] *imy s*, "[...] that which is in the rear(?)." <sup>76</sup> It perhaps represents the speech of the young boy beside the third donkey. This animal and its drovers proceeded to the right without apparent incident. From Lepsius's drawing, it seems that the young boy at its side steadied the load with his missing left hand. It is not clear what he might have been doing with his other hand, since his right arm below the elbow was also missing. The position seems awkward but occurs elsewhere.<sup>77</sup> The drover behind this donkey, in the portion of the register that is now destroyed, had his left hand raised, perhaps to steady the load on the animal's back. He appears to have had a stick tucked under his right arm and grasped the donkey's tail with his right hand. Behind him were traces of a caption. The last donkey stumbled under the weight of its load. In Lepsius's drawing its head nearly touches the ground and its front knees buckle from the weight of the burden. The young boy beside it lunged forward to grab the sacks with his left hand, as did the drover behind, who also pulled on the donkey's tail with his other hand. His raised left hand may once have held a stick.

*Third Register.* On the right side of the register sheaves of grain were stacked up on the edge of the field. Lepsius drew two stacks, the left-hand stack higher than the other. It is possible that he was correct in this but, if so, the plaster in which the right-hand stack was apparently carved has fallen away, leaving only an indefinite outline. The posture adopted by the two men at the left makes their activity perfectly clear: the pair kneel on either side of a large sack filled with sheaves of grain and pull on the ropes that pass through loops at its top in order to close it.<sup>78</sup> The ropes themselves though were never carved. The grain protrudes from the top of the sack, but the individual sheaves are not delineated.

<sup>67</sup> See above, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> See above, p. 61.

<sup>69</sup> See p. 60 above.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. p. 42 above.

<sup>71</sup> See above, p. 45.

<sup>72</sup> See above, p. 44 and fig. 75d–f.

<sup>73</sup> The gestures of the donkey drovers are studied at length by Vandier, *Manuel* 6, pp. 143–53.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 147 (11).

<sup>75</sup> The straps are rarely indicated, but see e.g., Quibell, *Excav. Saq. (1907–1908)*, pl. 62 [2]; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, figs. 50, 52; Hayes, *Scepter* 1, fig. 57; van de Walle, *Nefertitenef*, pl. 12.

<sup>76</sup> Or "he who is in the rear;" see Gardiner, *EG*, §§ 79–80; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 347, 1. If a verbal form or phrase preceded *imy-s*, it is lost in the damaged area above or in the space between the blocks; see e.g., *di m-s imy-wrt* in the tomb of Werirentah (*HTESt*, pl. 29 [2]). *Im s*, "Take hold of the rear (of the donkey)!", would fit the context, but the imperative *im* does not seem to be written with the crossed planks [Z 11]; see e.g., Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 611; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 173–74.

<sup>77</sup> See e.g., Junker, *Giza* 6, pls. 17, 45.

<sup>78</sup> See above, p. 62.

The middle of the register is occupied by a herd of donkeys returning from the threshing floor, where they had been relieved of their sacks of grain. Five donkeys wait to be reloaded. The complete figure of the donkey in front wears a blanket on its back. One of the animals lowers its head to browse, while another turns around and brays at the drovers who approached from the left, but whose figures are now missing. Over the backs of the donkeys is a short label reading from right to left which probably represents the speech of the first man and seemingly reads: *hry wn*, “(Get) control, hurry!”<sup>79</sup>

Four of the five drovers were drawn as a partially overlapping group. Their attitude was nearly identical with legs wide apart in a running attitude, arms bent at the elbow and swinging back and forth in keeping with their gait. Drovers usually carry sticks, but if they did so here, Lepsius’s artist has omitted them and shows their left hands open.<sup>80</sup> He has omitted as well the right hands of all but the last drover, whose right hand is likewise shown open. Since he is set apart from the rest of the drovers, the man who ran in front was probably an overseer. He carried a long stick in his right hand.

*Fourth Register.* The threshing and winnowing floors are represented on either side of a large stack of grain. Four donkeys and two field hands were shown on a low rectangle which represented the threshing floor. The figures of donkeys and field hands are damaged and were so in 1842–43. The bottom of the register with the base line is lost in the space between blocks and only the upper line of the threshing floor is preserved. Although the field hands are shown ankle-deep in the grain on the threshing floor, the donkeys appear to stand on top of the sheaves. Three of the donkeys face right, and the foremost lowers his head to nibble at the grain. A fourth animal faces in the opposite direction. Field hands in threshing scenes generally brandish sticks to keep the animals moving, and it is possible that the smaller figure on the right of the threshing floor leaning forward to the left with both arms in front of him held together and loosely bent at the elbow wielded a stick held in both hands, even though Lepsius’s artist has again shown the hands open.<sup>81</sup> The field hand on the other side of the threshing floor holds out what may be a stalk of grain with his right hand to the donkey facing left, perhaps to entice it to move in the desired direction. He raises his other hand to his mouth as though shouting to attract his comrade’s attention.<sup>82</sup> The top of the serdab slot intrudes between this field hand and the grain stack on the other side of which the winnowing process takes places.

Although his head is at present destroyed together with his front arm and shoulder, it is clear from Lepsius’s copy that the field hand to the left of the grain stack faced right. He makes use of a pitchfork which he held high up on the shaft with his left hand and lower down with his right hand, close to the curved prongs. With the pitchfork he evidently transferred the grain from the stack to the winnowing floor.<sup>83</sup> The winnower at the left stands with the upper part of the

body bent over to the left and appears to hold the stub of two objects. The stubs may have belonged to a winnowing broom held in one hand and a pair of winnowing fans grasped in the other.<sup>84</sup> The task of separating the wheat from the chaff was generally entrusted to women.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, the piece of clothing projecting behind the waist may be an indication that this figure wore the short, round-edged kilt with front flap tucked up that has already been discussed.<sup>86</sup> Only occasionally do women wear this distinctly masculine garment.<sup>87</sup> Alternately it might represent the belt-sash tied at the back of the plain, tight-fitting kilt occasionally worn by female workers, even though the bottom hem expected in such a garment is not visible here.<sup>88</sup>

As previously mentioned, the left side of the register has suffered further deterioration since Lepsius copied the wall, and the figures of the two winnowers at the left end of the register no longer exist. Lepsius shows these figures with their own short hair, dressed in the plain, short kilts worn by male and female field hands alike.<sup>89</sup> In his copy, however, the left-hand figure has what looks to be a pigtail at the back of the head, and it may be that this represents the ends of a cloth tied around the head to protect the hair from airborne chaff.<sup>90</sup> Since men usually make do without a head covering of any kind, if correctly copied, this detail might indicate that this figure at least was that of a woman. The right-hand figure stood and faced right. From the position of the arms, which are brought together in front and sharply bent at the elbow, it is possible that the figure was passing grain and chaff through a sieve. The rectangular outline in front of the figure, extending from hands to ground, would then represent the sifted grains falling to the ground.<sup>91</sup> The left-hand figure stoops over to the left. The position of the arms, which are extended horizontally in front at the height of the shoulders with the forearms bent obliquely, suggests that this figure threw wheat and chaff into the air with two pairs of winnowing fans held in the hands.

*Fifth Register.* A totally different subject is represented in this and the succeeding register: the slaughter of animals for the funerary meal and the opening phases of the ritual directed to the statues in the serdab. On the right side of the register, three figures face the serdab slot. The first individual holds up a goose by the neck and wings. The artist appears to have experienced some difficulty with this portrayal. In his near or left hand, the figure holds the bird by the neck just below the head, while he grasps the bird’s wings with his far hand (actually a left hand seen from the back on an arm attached to the right shoulder). Properly speaking the wings should pass behind the figure, but instead the wing tips overlap his kilt. As a result the figure’s arms appear to cross in front of his body. Before his face is the label: *z3b smsw hst*, “the dignitary and elder of the

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Erman, *Reden*, p. 25, who had only Lepsius’s copy, erroneous in this connection, before him.

<sup>80</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 136. In Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, fig. 7, pl. D, the running drovers carry sticks in both hands.

<sup>81</sup> See above, p. 64.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), figs. 3 and 48.

<sup>83</sup> See above, p. 64.

<sup>84</sup> See e.g., Junker, *Giza* 6, fig. 47; *Ti* 3, pl. 155.

<sup>85</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 176.

<sup>86</sup> See above, p. 45.

<sup>87</sup> See, e.g., *Ti* 3, pl. 155; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D.

<sup>88</sup> See above, p. 68 and n. 473.

<sup>89</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 6, p. 203a; see e.g., *ibid.*, figs. 49, 52 a, 62, 65.

<sup>90</sup> See above, p. 64.

<sup>91</sup> See above, p. 64.

porch.” Unless it once occupied the destroyed space below the bird’s tail or that over his own head, his name was omitted.

The next man holds up two pieces of cloth. Before his face and figure are inscribed a title and name: *zsb* [...] *Hnm(Bz?)-šps*, “the dignitary and [...], Khnum(Ba?)-shepses.” *Zsb* does not usually occur alone in the Old Kingdom, being regularly paired with another, functional title as an indication of rank.<sup>92</sup> This is true, for example, in the titulary of the previous individual, *zsb smsw hst*. Although no traces of signs are visible after *zsb* in the present case, the wall is worn here, and there is definitely space for a short title to have followed.<sup>93</sup>

The last man holds a goose before him in both arms. Though there is definitely room for a title and name in front of his figure, no such caption survives.

The heads of all three individuals were close-cropped and wigless. Lepsius indicates they all wore a folded kilt with overlap, but this is no longer evident in the case of the second and third individuals. A curious feature is the concave overlap of the kilt worn by the first man.<sup>94</sup>

On the left of the serdab slot a thurifer, who faces right towards the slot, elevates a double-bell censer before him with his left hand. With his other hand he lifts the cover to release the incense smoke. He wears his own close-cropped hair and is dressed in a plain, tight-fitting kilt. Following closely on his heels is an attendant leading four sacrificial oxen. The latter carries a bundle of fodder over his left shoulder and held a rope in his hanging rear hand which was tied round the jaw of the lead ox. His figure is badly damaged but, according to Lepsius, he was dressed like his companion. Between the two figures, Lepsius saw a third, smaller figure, the head of which alone is visible today. The rear ox at the end of the line covers almost completely those behind, and only the heads and legs of the other oxen projected in front of the complete animal. As is usual, when two or more animals are shown, there is an insufficient number of legs for all the animals depicted.<sup>95</sup> The enigmatic caption in two short horizontal lines which is to be seen above the backs of the animals in Lepsius’s plate is now lost.

*Sixth Register.* Three animals are butchered. The details of the scene at the right are especially difficult to make out because of the poor state of preservation of this area of the wall. A bound animal, possibly an oryx because of the long, curved horn(s) shown in profile, lies on the ground with its head to the left, while a butcher leans over it to the right. From parallels in other tombs it seems that he held a knife in his right hand with which he is about to remove its heart.<sup>96</sup> He simultaneously turns his head round and looks slightly upwards at the assistant behind him.<sup>97</sup> This latter individual stands facing right and grasps the foreleg he carries over his left shoulder with both

hands. A damaged caption before his face appears to read *stp*, perhaps for *stp[š]*, “choice cut,”<sup>98</sup> although Lepsius’s draftsman thought he saw walking legs after the word rather than the *stp*-adze. The lower part of another butcher at the right is hidden behind the body of the oryx(?). The latter individual faces left towards the preceding figures. Both hands are raised before him, and he holds a knife in his right hand, while his other hand is open and empty. The speech inscribed in the area before his face is only partially preserved today. As copied by Lepsius it reads: *wn tw*, “Hurry up!”<sup>99</sup> At the far right, standing beside the rump of the animal, is another assistant who faces left and holds a foreleg over his right shoulder with his right hand. In his left hand hanging behind, he holds what was probably intended for a slab of ribs on a cord. His name is *Hufw-<sup>r</sup>nh<sup>1</sup>*.

In the second scene two butchers carve up the carcass of another animal thrown on the ground, this time with its head to the right. The butcher on the right leans over the carcass to the left. With his right hand he thrusts a knife into the animal’s body, while holding its head steady with his left hand. The second butcher at the left facing right places his left foot on the animal’s bound legs and sharpens his knife with a whetstone. The whetstone in parallel scenes is usually attached to the belt by a cord but no cord is visible here.<sup>100</sup> The speech of the second butcher began in front of his face and continued behind his head; it was still largely intact in 1842–43: *wn tw nty-hm<sup>r</sup> iri*, “Hurry up comrade, do (it)!”<sup>101</sup>

Three figures and a bound ox make up the third scene at the left. The head of the ox is once again to the right. The assistant on the right places his right foot on the head of the ox and holds onto its horns to prevent the head from moving. The butcher behind the body of the ox faces the man at its head, and once again appears to be sharpening his knife. The assistant on the left places one foot on the bound legs of the animal and leans far back to the left, as if he were pulling hard on a rope tied around the legs, though the rope itself was never carved. He says: *Ir rk di hpr wn*, “Do (it), make it happen, hurry.”<sup>102</sup>

### North Wall

At the left end of the north wall Lepsius copied a scene that showed Mehi, his wife, and their children standing and viewing the marsh and agricultural pursuits depicted in four registers and part of a fifth before them (fig. 114).<sup>103</sup> At present the figures of Mehi and his family, part of the bottom register, and the left ends of the two registers above are all that remains (pls. 115–17a; fig. 115).

Mehi wore a short wig, chin beard, beaded collar, leopard skin, bracelet on one wrist, and short kilt with flaring front. He carried a long walking stick in his left hand in front and a scepter in his

<sup>92</sup> See *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, pp. 921–22 [270–92] (translated “judge”).

<sup>93</sup> See below, p. 160 (5).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. above, p. 74.

<sup>95</sup> See e.g., *HESP*, p. 336.

<sup>96</sup> See e.g., Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, p. 6.

<sup>97</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 46, notes that the head turn is a common feature of figure portrayal, but one which is only applied to deeply bending or leaning figures in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty, especially during the reigns of Izezi and Unis. As regards butchery scenes she cites our example and another in *Idout*, pl. 20.

<sup>98</sup> *Wb.* 4, p. 239, 10–11.

<sup>99</sup> Erman, *Reden*, pp. 9, 15; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 286.

<sup>100</sup> See above, p. 66.

<sup>101</sup> Lepsius also saw the reed leaf after *ir*. Examples of the imperative singular in Old Egyptian generally show no ending (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 597). Nonetheless, Allen (*Inflection of the Verb*, § 598), notes that final-weak verbs show examples with and without the final weak radical, although the former are rare in the singular. He gives no example of an imperative singular for *iri*, but the present context perhaps provides one such.

<sup>102</sup> Erman, *Reden*, p. 16; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 173; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, § 622.

<sup>103</sup> *LD* 2, pl. 73 [right]; *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xiv.

hanging right hand. His short wig was covered with rows of overlapping locks of which traces still exist today. Worn over the wig was a flower-knot diadem with a long streamer which hung down over his shoulders. The streamer is still to be seen. According to Lepsius, the circlet of the diadem exhibited a scale pattern between horizontal borders, which perhaps represented cloisonné-work.<sup>104</sup> The leopard skin was tied at the shoulder in an elaborate knot and belted at the waist.<sup>105</sup> Details of the knot are visible in a photograph taken in 1930 (pl. 115). The leopard's tail depends from the front edge of the skin. According to Lepsius's drawing only one paw, which hung down below the hemline of the kilt between the legs in the position customarily reserved for the tail, was shown. Two claws visible today at the bottom edge of Mehi's kilt do seem to verify the location of the paw. The positions of the paws and tail show considerable variation in Old Kingdom reliefs,<sup>106</sup> and the current arrangement with the tail at the front of the vestment does find parallels.<sup>107</sup>

It may be assumed that several columns containing titles and epithets were originally inscribed over Mehi's head, like those above his wife's head, but these were lost even in Lepsius's day. Only vestiges of the last signs of the identifying caption that Lepsius saw in front of Mehi's face, and which read *Mhi m.f nfr*, "Mehi, his good name," remain at present.

Standing in front of Mehi was the small figure of a son who held on to his father's walking stick, his other hand hanging open, his head turned back towards his parents and siblings. He was wigless and wore a beaded collar and short kilt with flaring front panel. His figure is now badly damaged and none of these details evident. Conversely, the inscription over his head is still largely intact. He is: (1) *z3.f smsw mry.f*, (2) *hry-tp nswt m prwy*, (3) [*mdh q*] *d nswt* (4) *Sndm-[ib]*, (1) "His eldest son whom he loves, (2) the royal chamberlain in both houses (Upper and Lower Egypt), (3) and royal [master build]er, (4) Senedjem[ib]."

Behind Mehi is the figure of his wife, Khentkaus, who stood with legs together, her left hand open on her breast, and the other hand hanging down. Her garment was the usual long, form-fitting dress extending from just above the ankles to just below the breasts, and held up by tapering shoulder straps. It is clear from Lepsius's drawing that her costume also comprised a long wig with lappet falling over the near shoulder, a diadem, a beaded collar, bracelets on one arm, and anklets. The design on the diadem consisted of vertically incised lines between horizontal borders. The pattern suggests a circlet of metal with inlays of colored stone.<sup>108</sup> Lepsius thought he saw two sedge-like rosettes at the front of the diadem, and two papyrus flowers at the back. This has led to the conjecture that the two types of flowers in Khentkaus's diadem constituted the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt. As attractive as this idea may be,

it can be seen from fig. 115 that the rosettes are in fact papyrus flowers, the paired flowers corresponding to the double papyrus-flower knot on each side of an actual diadem. The artist here has chosen a less conventional way of rendering the paired flowers than is the case with Mehi's diadem.<sup>109</sup>

It may therefore be legitimately questioned whether Lepsius's renderings of Khentkaus's other items of personal adornment are accurate in every detail. According to his drawing, the inner row of her beaded collar consisted of drop-shaped beads(?) and the outer row of circular elements. The pattern is quite out of the ordinary and the individual elements not easy to identify. Although the small rectangles in Khentkaus's bracelet and anklets in all likelihood represent spacers, it is difficult to satisfactorily resolve the horizontal lines into their original constituent elements.<sup>110</sup>

The inscription in three short columns over the wife's head terminated before her face with her name and titles: (1) [*z3t nswt n h*] *t.f* (2) *hmt-ntr Hthr nb(t) n[h]* (3) *imshw[t] hr ntr* (4) *hmt.f mrt.f* (5) *Hnt-kw.s*, (1) "[the king's daughter of] his [bo]dy, (2) the priestess of Hathor, Mistress of the Sy[camore],<sup>111</sup> (3) one honore[d] by the god, (4) his wife whom he loves, (5) Khentkaus." At present only traces of lines 4 to 5 remain.

Between Mehi and Khentkaus stands another small figure, in this case that of a naked child with the sidelock of youth. The sidelock has largely disappeared, but the oval amulet pierced by a thorn-like object and suspended on a cord, which Lepsius drew not quite correctly, is still visible.<sup>112</sup> In his left hand the boy holds a hoopoe and in the right hand another bird of indeterminate species. Young children are frequently depicted in the Old Kingdom holding a pet bird by the wing. The hoopoe was a favorite both on account of its gaily colored plumage and because it will become very tame in captivity.<sup>113</sup> Keimer thought there was a symbolic reason for the popularity of the hoopoe in such scenes as well, namely, the affection that these birds entertain for their young and the ability of the young to recognize their parents.<sup>114</sup> Less often children standing beside their parents carry a different kind of bird, such as a lapwing,<sup>115</sup> golden oriole (*Oriolus oriolus*),<sup>116</sup> dove<sup>117</sup> or duck.<sup>118</sup> The first word of the label above the head of the small figure is now missing: [*z3*].*f Mhi*, "his [son] Mehi."

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, and above, p. 133 and n. 8.

<sup>110</sup> Contrast the jewelry worn by the wife in *Mereruka* 1, pls. 23, 41; 2, pl. 172.

<sup>111</sup> On this very common title assigned to women of good class, see Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, pp. 53, 56–58, 59–60, 71, 74, and on Hathoric titles in general, see Galvin, *JEA* 70 (1984), pp. 42–49; Gillam, *JARCE* 32 (1995), pp. 211–37.

<sup>112</sup> For this and other Old Kingdom amulets, see Murray, *Ancient Egypt* 4 (1917), pp. 48–56.

<sup>113</sup> Houlihan, *Birds*, p. 120. For children holding a hoopoe, see e.g., Davies, *Ptahhetep* 2, pls. 4, 6; Paget-Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 31; Quibell, *Excav. Saq. (1907–1908)*, pl. 63; *Beschr.* 1, pl. 14; *Mereruka* 1, pls. 46, 48; Dunham–Simpson, *Meryankh III*, fig. 7; *Nianchnum*, pls. 5, 51; figs. 6, 21; Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 7; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pls. 33, 38.

<sup>114</sup> Keimer, *BIFAO* 30 (1930), pp. 305–31.

<sup>115</sup> E.g., *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl. 3; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pls. 33, 38; Houlihan, *Birds*, p. 94 and n. 512.

<sup>116</sup> E.g., Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pl. 13, fig. 160; Kaplony, *Methethi*, nos. 5, 6; for the species, see Houlihan, *Birds*, pp. 112, 120, 129–31, 166.

<sup>117</sup> E.g., CG 1414; *Ti* 1, pls. 60, 63.

<sup>118</sup> E.g., Boeser, *Beschr.* 1, pl. 14; CG 1414; *Mereruka* 1, pl. 23; 2, pl. 177; Kaplony, *Methethi*, no. 1; Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 21.

<sup>104</sup> See Kern, *AcOr* 24, nos. 3–4 (1959), p. 174. Aldred (*Jewels*, pp. 113–14) cites a number of Old Kingdom examples of cloisonné.

<sup>105</sup> See above, p. 43 and n. 90.

<sup>106</sup> See e.g., *LD* 2, pls. 11, 21, 32, 33; Junker, *Giza* 2, figs. 18, 19; 4, fig. 10; 5, fig. 44; 6, fig. 40; *Mereruka* 2, pl. 183; Hassan, *Giza* 1, fig. 25; Dunham–Simpson, *Meryankh III*, fig. 7; El-Fikey, *Rē-wer*, pl. 10; *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pls. 7, 27; Simpson, *Kayemnofret*, pl. B.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. *LD* 2, pls. 3, 8, 11, 18, 27; Junker, *Giza* 3, fig. 27; 5, fig. 44.

<sup>108</sup> See Kern, *AcOr* 24, nos. 3–4 (1959), p. 174.

Behind Khentkaus is a small standing female figure dressed like her mother in a lappet wig and tight-fitting dress. She holds on to Khentkaus's leg with her left hand and her other hand hangs free. Over her head are the words *zst.s Hnt-kw.s*, "her daughter Khentkaus."

Presumably there were six registers of scenes depicted before Mehi originally, as on the west wall of Room II.

*First Register.* Destroyed.

*Second Register.* At the left end of the second register Lepsius saw traces that probably formed part of a vineyard scene.<sup>119</sup> The characteristic posture of the first preserved figure at the left in all likelihood identifies him as one of the four men who twist the poles attached to the ends of a sack filled with the pulp and skin of crushed grapes in opposite directions in order to squeeze out the remaining juice. To the right were additional traces which probably represent the treading vat and part of its pole framework along with the legs of two workers who trod on the grapes in the vat.

Reisner thought that a loose block found in G 2378 (pl. 117b; fig. 115) may well have belonged to the present scene.<sup>120</sup> If the back of the loose block (which has not been located by us) was broken off at an angle, it could well have fitted onto one of the two blocks to the right of the fragmentary scene in Lepsius's plate which had clearly lost their carved surfaces and may have been broken off in a corresponding manner. At the broken left edge of the loose block is the damaged figure of a man walking to the left and carrying a filled basket. The lower part of his figure is lost, but it is clear that he was wigless, wore a plain, tight-fitting kilt, and carried some object (a waterskin?) on a cord over his right elbow. Behind him is the upper part of the figure of a worker kneeling at the foot of a trellis with both arms bent at the elbow and held parallel before him, as he picks grapes. The largely destroyed caption above the head of the man with the basket is perhaps to be restored [*ir*]p, "[wi]ne."<sup>121</sup> The label over the other man apparently read [*w*]ʿ *h3*ʿ *h3*ʿ [*rr*]t, "picking grapes."<sup>122</sup>

*Third Register.* The entire register appears to have been devoted to a scene of trapping water-fowl.<sup>123</sup> At the left facing right was an overseer leaning on his staff. One hand was cupped over its top and the other extended along the shaft. His forward leg was bent, the heel raised, and the weight of his body distributed between the toes of his forward foot and the flat back foot.<sup>124</sup> A fowler approaching from the right brought a bird from the catch for his inspection. It is clear that the fowler grasped the bird by the neck with his left hand, but his other hand and arm were destroyed. The overseer evidently wore a short kilt with overlap and a belt-sash tied behind. Due to the location of the bird's wings, it is not certain whether the fowler wore the same garment or instead the round-edged kilt with the belt-sash tied behind, as appears to be the case with the four haulers behind him. The haulers leant forward to the right with arms outstretched before

them, as if preparing to pull on the cable whose other end would have been attached to the clapnet further to the right. Their knees were bent and they were balanced on the balls of their feet. In front of the haulers and facing them was a standing figure, his right arm raised to the height of his shoulders and his other arm hanging down behind. Both hands were destroyed, but he was probably the signalman who indicated with a hand signal when the net was full of birds. He was presumably dressed like the haulers, but only the sash around his waist survives. All the fowlers, like the workers, offering bearers, and officials in the other registers on this wall wore their own short-cut hair.

The area between the signalman and the net was destroyed, but it probably contained a stylized clump of foliage on the margin of the pool behind which the signalman crouched until standing up to deliver his signal.<sup>125</sup> The startled birds in the hexagonal clapnet made a futile effort to escape. On the right, one of the two stakes that fastened the clapnet to the ground was visible.

To the right of the clapnet, fowlers were shown crating birds. A yoke bearer on the left runs away from the trap carrying what were undoubtedly wickerwork bird cages hanging from his yoke.<sup>126</sup> He probably held on to both ropes just above the cages to keep the yoke steady, but Lepsius's artist placed his figure so close to the man ahead that no room remained for his left forearm and hand or the cage hanging from the front of the yoke. A curved line suggests he wore the very short, round-edged kilt. The next fowler also proceeds to the right and holds two braces of birds. One of the birds in his forward hand beats its wings and tries to fly away. The last fowler, part of whose figure was destroyed, bent over to the left and added two more birds to the four already inside a wickerwork cage placed on the ground. Except for their heads and legs, the two birds behind are hidden by the two birds in front. One of the birds lowers his head as if to feed. The frets of the cage are not visible, but this is not surprising, since they were generally added in paint and are only sporadically preserved.<sup>127</sup>

*Fourth Register.* This register contained the beginning of the agricultural sequence that was continued on the west wall of the room. Episodes of land preparation occupied the right half of the register. The upper part of the first figure at the right was lost, but he was probably a sower who scattered handfuls of seed to be covered by the plow and trodden into the soil by the hooves of the flock of sheep that would have followed.<sup>128</sup> The ploughman bent over to the right and grasped both handles of the plow. His left foot was flat and his rear heel raised as he pushed the plough-head through the soil behind the team of oxen pulling the plough to the right.<sup>129</sup> Over the oxen was probably written: *sk3 m [hb]*, "Cultivating with [a plough]."<sup>130</sup> All that remained of the figure behind the ploughman was a front leg overlapping the latter's rear leg. It is possible that this

<sup>119</sup> Cf. pp. 66–67 above.

<sup>120</sup> See *Photographic Register B*, p. 177 [B 8547].

<sup>121</sup> Cf. *LD* 2, pl. 61a.

<sup>122</sup> See *Wb*, I, p. 346, 9; Paget-Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 33.

<sup>123</sup> For literature on bird trapping, see above, p. 124, n. 97.

<sup>124</sup> On this "supporting leg and free leg posture," see above, p. 52, n. 223.

<sup>125</sup> See above, p. 124.

<sup>126</sup> On yoke bearers in Old Kingdom relief, see *HESP*, p. 362; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 147–48, and pp. 15, 57 above.

<sup>127</sup> E.g., *Meir* 5, pl. 36; Hassan, *Saqqara* 1, fig. 27; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 9; Verner, *Ptahshepses* 1, pl. 29.

<sup>128</sup> See above, p. 60.

<sup>129</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 161.



According to Lepsius, most of the haulers wore the very short kilt with rounded edge and a belt-sash. Certain among them appear to have tied the belt-sash up behind. The man at the end of the right-hand cable, according to Lepsius, was dressed instead in a folded kilt with overlap; so too may have been the man with the shoulder sling. Given the state of the wall, it is not possible in every instance to check the details of the clothing. Nevertheless, the photograph (pl. 116) seems to show, in the case of the overseer, that the loose ends of the belt-sash hung down in front.

The seine net in the water beneath the haulers was a long strip with parallel top and bottom and pointed ends to which were affixed the drag ropes. The right end of the net was already destroyed in Lepsius's day. A series of semi-circular objects along the upper line of the net may represent the floats, in spite of the fact that Old Kingdom floats were generally conical or pyramidal in shape.<sup>144</sup>

The net was filled with fish. Even though the details are not always clear from Lepsius's drawing, three *boliti*-fish, at least one catfish, a mullet, a puffer fish, and a moonfish are probably to be made out.

The right half of the register was occupied by boatmen returning from a day in the marshes.<sup>145</sup> All this is lost at present. In Lepsius's drawing the first papyrus craft at the left is largely destroyed, as is the prow of the second boat. The lashings passed around all three boats at regular intervals are plainly visible, and it is possible the upper edges of the body of the second and third boats were reinforced with rope or wood as well.<sup>146</sup> The man at the stern of the second boat sits back on his heels and guides it with his paddle. Lying in the hull of the craft is an animal, possibly an oryx given the preserved outline of its horns. The last craft is a small papyrus raft whose front end is clear of the water.<sup>147</sup> It is occupied by one passenger and propelled by a man with a paddle, who again sits with his legs folded beneath him. The passenger stoops over to the left until his upper body is nearly parallel to the water. His hands appear to hang empty before him, but it is possible that he bent over to pick up a handnet filled with fish, which had been inadvertently omitted by Lepsius's draftsman.<sup>148</sup> According to the latter, the fisherman wore only a belt-sash. Traces in the water beneath the boat suggest lotus flowers as well as fish.

*Sixth Register.* A procession of fifteen men approached the figures of Mehi and his family. Of the first seven figures only traces remain today. Nonetheless, Lepsius's drawing clearly indicates that the procession was headed by four officials. The first individual, who stood with his hands at his sides, we have already encountered, as we will again.<sup>149</sup> According to the short column of inscription before him, he was the *zsb zš Hm-šhty*, "dignitary and scribe, Hemakhti." He was wigless and dressed in a calf-length kilt reflective of his age and station.<sup>150</sup> By contrast, the next three individuals wore short kilts

with flaring front panels. The names and titles of the first two of these officials did not survive, but the foremost was evidently a scribe as well, for he appears to have carried a rolled papyrus in his hanging right hand. His other hand rested open at the level of his chest. The position of the hands was reversed in the case of the next official, with his right hand placed open on his chest in a gesture of respect and his left hand hanging at his side.<sup>151</sup> The last of the four officials also carried a papyrus roll with his right hand before him and a scribe's palette under his left arm.<sup>152</sup> The short label in front of him identifies him as the *hry-tp šnwt Sndm-ib*, "granary attendant, Senedjemib."

The next eleven men were offering bearers. The first man held two birds by the wings and papyrus stalks(?) over one shoulder. Behind his head *hm-kz*, "funerary priest," was written, but the title may actually have belonged to the next bearer to the right. The latter individual ran with a yoke from which were suspended two cages, the contents of which were no longer visible.<sup>153</sup> He had his right arm draped over the crossbar to hold it steady and held the other end of the yoke with his left hand from below.<sup>154</sup> In his right hand he held a jar(?) on a cord as well. Behind his head was another short label, *hm-kz Qr*, "the funerary priest Qer," which may likewise have belonged to the succeeding figure, who held up a brace of birds by the wings. The figures of the last eight offering bearers survive to a varying extent. The fourth brought papyrus stalks(?) and led a small animal; the fifth carried a goose in both arms and papyrus stalks over the elbow; the sixth holds some sort of vegetable and led a calf; the seventh evidently carried a young animal in both arms in front; the eighth held lotus flowers(?) and carried ribs(?) on a cord, while leading a small oryx; the ninth bears a large animal of indeterminate species across his shoulders; the tenth held a brace of birds by the wings and another bird in his hanging hand; and the eleventh carried a goose in both arms before him. Even though shown on the same small scale as the other animals, the oryx from its horns appears to be a mature animal. Murray opined that the Egyptians had domesticated a special breed of dwarf animals, but this is most unlikely, the smallness of the animals perhaps being due, as she had previously remarked, to a convention of art that made them slightly smaller in comparison with the human figures in order to make the latter appear more important.<sup>155</sup> Generally, animals are led by a rope, but the ropes appear never to have been carved in the present instance.

Crudely scratched into the stone before the eighth bearer are two signs which might be construed to read *imy-rz*, "overseer," followed by a trace of a vertical sign. Alternately, if the first sign were a sparrow rather than an owl, the group might be read as a personal name, *Wri*.<sup>156</sup> The stance of the bird seems too erect for a sparrow, however.

According to Lepsius, most of the offering bearers were dressed in short, plain kilts. Still an overlap was or is visible on the kilts of the

<sup>143</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 588, n. 4, citing Daumas, *BIFAO* 62 (1964), pp. 78–80. Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 147, alternately suggests that the overseer is indicating the freshness of the fish by raising a fin.

<sup>144</sup> See Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 259–60.

<sup>145</sup> See above, p. 124 and n. 106.

<sup>146</sup> See Bates, *Ancient Egyptian Fishing*, pp. 226, 229.

<sup>147</sup> For the distinction between papyrus skiffs and rafts; see *ibid.*, pp. 226–28.

<sup>148</sup> See above, pp. 135–36.

<sup>149</sup> See above, p. 136; below, p. 150.

<sup>150</sup> See p. 54 above.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), p. 104, fig. 36.

<sup>152</sup> See Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 197 (A), 199 (A), fig. 83 (1–5, 7, 9–11, 23, 36).

<sup>153</sup> See above, p. 144, n. 126.

<sup>154</sup> See Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 148.

<sup>155</sup> Murray, *Saq. Mast.* 1, p. 13.

<sup>156</sup> For the masculine personal name *Wri*, see *PN* 1, pp. 82, 20.



third, sixth, eighth, and ninth figures, and it is possible that others of the kilts originally had an overlap. The costume of the man with the yoke, a very short, round-edged kilt may have distinguished him as a laborer from the other offering bearers.<sup>157</sup>

### *East Wall*

Three registers of craft scenes seen by Lepsius on the east wall are now entirely lost.<sup>158</sup> Since presumably there were originally six registers of relief scenes on this wall, the topmost register seen by Lepsius was actually the fourth.

*First Register.* Destroyed.

*Second Register.* Destroyed.

*Third Register.* Destroyed.

*Fourth Register.* The sculptor's workshop in the badly damaged fourth register is known only from the sketch in the text volume of the *Denkmäler* (fig. 116a). On the right side of the register, a sculptor facing right works on a standing statue of Mehi depicted in profile and dressed in a short kilt.<sup>159</sup> The statue is slightly over lifesize, and the sculptor leans backwards and looks upwards, distributing the weight of his body between his right foot which is flat on the ground and the toes of his raised left foot. The head and arms of the statue were evidently not preserved when Lepsius copied the wall nor were the tools used by the sculptor, which were presumably a mallet and chisel. Like a second standing statue further to the left, this one apparently lacks a base. The second statue is life-size and is also depicted in profile with the near arm held at the side.<sup>160</sup> It faces right and was dressed in a short wig and short kilt. A sculptor at the left facing right probably worked with mallet and chisel on the statue's back, but his tools were again destroyed. The next two groups perhaps each represent a sculptor on the right working on a statue at the left. Towards the center of the register, however, Lepsius's artist drew what looks like a low mound. The second of the two groups just referred to is set on this "mound," as is the rear foot of the statue in the first group. Behind the second group another figure stands on the "mound" facing right, and to its left a figure facing to the right steps up onto it with his left foot. The "mound" is difficult to account for, and the only explanation that comes readily to mind is that the two figures facing right on the "mound" represent statues on bases, and that Lepsius's artist erroneously saw and drew the top line of the statue bases as one continuous, uneven line. The man stepping up on the "mound" would, in other words, have been stepping up on the rear of a statue base to work on the back of the statue before him. Still, this does not account for the diagonal element in front of him. Finally, it is possible that the group at the extreme left, consisting of a figure leaning slightly forward to the right and a rectangle outlined by two sets of parallel lines, represents a sculptor or painter working on a statue shrine.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>157</sup> See above p. 45 and n. 115.

<sup>158</sup> *LD*, *Text* 1, fig. on p. 52 [lower]; *LD* 2, p. 74a.

<sup>159</sup> See Eaton-Krauss, *Representations of Statuary*, p. 122, cat. no. 22.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121, cat. no. 21.

*Fifth Register.* The operations in a metallurgical workshop were the subject of this register (fig. 116b).<sup>162</sup> On the left the crude metal is weighed in a pair of scales prior to being issued to the metalworkers for processing. Two officials supervise the weighing. The first stands on the left side of the scales and bends over to the right to examine them. Although the balance arm was horizontal, one of the pans appears to be lower than the other. Captions to similar scenes make it clear that it was the pan which held the stone weights that, as a matter of custom, was shown as heavier than the pan that held the metal.<sup>163</sup> The speech of the first man in the space over his head draws attention to this circumstance: *m3 rk*, "Look here!" On the opposite side of the scales the *imy-r3* [...] *Ffi*, "the overseer of the [...] Fefi," sits on the ground with both legs drawn up before him, his right arm raised with the palm of the hand held open before his face, and with his other hand resting on a finished article at his feet, perhaps waiting to be weighed in its turn. His speech is largely destroyed.<sup>164</sup>

In the tomb of Mereruka, it is an *imy-r3 pr*, "overseer of the house" or "steward" who supervises the weighing out,<sup>165</sup> but in the tomb of the vizier Mehu at Saqqara, it is an *imy-r3 bdtiw n pr-dt*, "overseer of the metal workers of the estate," who oversees the process.<sup>166</sup> Similarly, an *imy-r3 bdtiw*, "overseer of metalworkers," holds a hand scale in the tomb of Ankhmahor.<sup>167</sup> Either *pr* or *bdtiw* would fit the lacuna in Fefi's title.

The example in G 2378 is one of the earliest representations of an equal-arm balance on a stand, and it is all the more unfortunate that it is only known from Lepsius's copy.<sup>168</sup> Most Old Kingdom scenes of weighing involve a hand-held scales, but the balance-beam in the present case is suspended from the top of a stand. Of the stand-balances known from Old Kingdom relief scenes, Lepsius copied three; these include the present example (fig. 117a) and two others from the tombs of Rashepses at Saqqara (fig. 117b)<sup>169</sup> and Iy-mery at Giza.<sup>170</sup> The last is now available in a modern facsimile (figs. 117c).<sup>171</sup> Four other examples derive from the Unis causeway at Saqqara (fig. 117d),<sup>172</sup> from the tomb of the vizier Mehu at the same site

<sup>161</sup> A suggestion already made by Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchechnum*, p. 135, n. 786. Selected parallels are *LD* 2, pl. 13 = Hassan, *Giza* 4, fig. 81 (statue shrine with cavetto cornice); Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 13 = Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasheh*, fig. 28 (*hn*-shrine); *Nianchechnum*, pl. 64 (*hn*-shrine). Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, p. 72, is of the opinion that the *hn* was a shrine or cabin for the transport of statues by ship.

<sup>162</sup> For scenes of metal-working, see e.g., Klebs, *AR*, pp. 84–86; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 275–88; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 18–42.

<sup>163</sup> Altenmüller, *GM* 89 (1986), p. 10.

<sup>164</sup> Altenmüller, *ibid.*, p. 9, translates the speech as follows: "[Ich] bin schon dabei (*w3[.j]*), [das Werkstück abzuliefern ö.a.]." On the verb *w3i*, "tend to, be engaged in," see *Wb.* 1, p. 244, 7–8; *ALex* 1 (1977), p. 77; 2 (1978), p. 84; 3 (1979), p. 58. James Allen, however, who observes that *w3i*, "tend to," is usually in the old perfective, thinks this could be part of any verb or noun beginning with the lasso, for example, *w3[h]*, "set" (*Wb.* 1, 253ff.). As for the gesture, Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), p. 63, fig. 2, is perhaps to be compared.

<sup>165</sup> *Mereruka* 1, pls. 29–30.

<sup>166</sup> Altenmüller, *GM* 89 (1986), p. 12, Dok. 4; *idem*, *Mehu*, pl. 42.

<sup>167</sup> Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, fig. 32. For the reading *bd/bd.t* of the crucible hieroglyph, see Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 36–40.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. Ducros, *ASAE* 9 (1908), p. 33.

<sup>169</sup> *LD* 2, pl. 64a.

<sup>170</sup> *LD* 2, pl. 49a.

<sup>171</sup> Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 30.

<sup>172</sup> Hassan, *ASAE* 38 (1938), pl. 96.

(fig. 117e),<sup>173</sup> and from the tombs of Ibi (fig. 117f) and Hemre Izi (fig. 117g) at Deir el-Gebrawi.<sup>174</sup> The examples from the Unis Causeway and the tomb of Ibi are the most complete and detailed renderings. Both consist of a tall upright post set on a low base, the post being held immobile by two wooden braces attached both to it and the base.<sup>175</sup> In the scene from the Unis Causeway, the cross beam of the balance is fixed at right angles to a vertical board. The resulting balance is identical to the hand-held scales in the tombs of Ka-em-rehu, Ankhmahor, and Mereruka.<sup>176</sup> In the Unis Causeway, the balance is suspended by means of a cord from a small hook fixed in a short piece of wood projecting from the top of the stand. The plummet is hung against the vertical board. From each end of the cross beam a cord hangs which terminates in a hook from which the hemispherical scale pans are suspended. The parallelism of the plummet to the vertical board indicated whether or not the weights placed in the opposite pans were equal. Ibi's balance is similar except that the vertical board is attached to the stand by what appears to be an L-shaped piece of metal, and the hook by which the bag-shaped pans are suspended is more prominent.<sup>177</sup> Mehu's balance is damaged, but it is clear that, as in both the Unis and Ibi representations, the plumb-line and bob are an integral part of the balance.<sup>178</sup> This opens up the possibility that Lepsius's draftsman erred in his depiction of the scale-balance in G 2378 and mistook the vertical board and the plummet fastened against it for a second upright.

Behind Fefi appeared seven smelters. The six smelters to the right with blowpipes to their mouths knelt around a crucible. Although they are shown three to each side of the crucible, in reality they would have been evenly spaced in a circle around it. The crucible itself and the charcoal fire beneath it were destroyed by the time Lepsius drew the scene.<sup>179</sup> The actual blowpipes probably consisted of hollow reeds, the ends of which were provided with clay tips to prevent ignition. By blowing through the reeds, the smelters forced the fire to a sufficiently intense temperature to melt the ingots of crude metal placed within the crucible. The long, two-part caption over their heads can be restored with some certainty thanks to parallels in other tombs. The legend over the three men at the left

probably read from right to left: *nb[ $\epsilon$  bis] wd r tbt.f n ds ms [p]w*, "Smelt[ing metal]. Put (it) at its base (lit. "sole [of foot]") for [th]is new *ds-jar*!"<sup>180</sup> The second phrase probably constituted an admonition by one of the smelters to another to direct a strong blast of air on the charcoal fire at the base of the crucible in order to maintain the requisite temperature. The text over the heads of the men at the right exhorted them to: *[wn] tw wrt r hr [nfr iphr nfr] m bd*, "[Hurry up] to the '[beautiful] appearance' [which circulates satisfactorily] in the crucible," that is, until the moment when the ore melts and takes on the brilliant color of the pure metal.<sup>181</sup>

To the left of the metalworkers, a lone smelter sat on the ground with both legs drawn up before him. He had one end of a blowpipe in his mouth and appears to have held its other end in his hand. In other metallurgical scenes where the figure of an isolated smelter occurs, the latter seems to be heating a small amount of gold in a pottery vessel.<sup>182</sup> There is no indication of such a vessel here, and it is possible that the smelter was instead clearing a blockage in the reed or perhaps attaching a new clay tip to it.

On the other side of the circle of metalworkers an overseer stood in a relaxed position with both feet flat on the ground leaning on his walking stick with his left hand placed on its top and his right hand further down along its shaft. It is possible that the text over the right-hand group of smelters represented his speech, since the signs terminated just in front of his face and seem to proceed from his mouth.<sup>183</sup>

*Sixth Register.* In each of two narrow sub-registers at the left, separated by a vertical line from the rest of the register, a pair of dwarfs assembled beaded collars. In the Old Kingdom dwarfs served as clothiers, musicians, dancers, and keepers of pet animals,<sup>184</sup> but they are also commonly represented in scenes of jewelry making.<sup>185</sup> Even though Lepsius's artist has only drawn their outline, the dwarfs probably sat on splay-leg stools.<sup>186</sup> The stools in the lower scene were quite a bit higher than those in the upper. Each pair of dwarfs held up between them a piece of jewelry, most likely beaded collars, which they were probably in the process of stringing. The middle parts of the collars rested upon low, rectangular tables provided with struts. Above the collar in the upper sub-register, two other pieces of jewelry, from their shape either chokers, bracelets or stolas, were to be seen,

<sup>173</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 42.

<sup>174</sup> *Gebr.* 1, pl. 13; 2, pl. 19.

<sup>175</sup> Ducros, *ASAE* 9 (1908), p. 33, thought it likely that there were four such brackets or braces forming a criss-cross base. This would certainly keep the base steadier, but it is impossible to confirm because of the nature of Egyptian drawing conventions. In the tomb of Ibi, the base itself is not separately distinguished. In the tomb of Hemre Izi, the upright and brackets are fastened together with ropes.

<sup>176</sup> Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, fig. 42, pl. 9; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, fig. 32, pls. 35–36; Mereruka 1, pls. 29–30. A simpler hand-scale is used to weigh metal vessels in *LD* 2, pl. 13; Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 13 = Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, fig. 28. Presumably this sort of hand scale had a cord that passed through a drilled central hole as a handle and two other cords that passed through holes drilled vertically at either end of the beam and terminated in hooks from which objects and weights might be hung. For a more developed example of the type, see *Egypt's Golden Age*, cat. no. 31.

<sup>177</sup> In the depictions of hand-held scales in the tombs of Ankhmahor and Mereruka the hook assumes the form of a human arm and fist. The same is true of Mehu's stand balance.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Ducros, *ASAE* 9 (1908), p. 36.

<sup>179</sup> On Egyptian metallurgy in general, including smelting techniques, see Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 228–34; Forbes, in *A History of Technology* 1, pp. 572–99; Weinstein, *JARCE* 11 (1974), pp. 22–25; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 29–36; Scheel, *SAK* 12 (1985), pp. 117–77; 13 (1986), pp. 181–205; 14 (1987), pp. 247–64; idem, *Egyptian Metalworking*, pp. 7–33.

<sup>180</sup> See Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 31–32.

<sup>181</sup> See Erman, *Reden und Rufe*, p. 40; Montet, *Scènes*, p. 282; Balcz, *MDAIK* 3 (1932), p. 86; Curto, *MDAIK* 18 (1962), p. 62; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp. 18, 32. At the beginning of the sentence, Lepsius's draftsman has mistakenly copied *r* instead of *wn*.

<sup>182</sup> Hassan, *ASAE* 38 (1938), pl. 96; *Nianchechum*, pl. 63.

<sup>183</sup> See above, p. 41, n. 70.

<sup>184</sup> Dawson, *JEA* 24 (1938), p. 187; Silverman, *Serapis* 1 (1969), pp. 56–57; Fischer, *ZÄS* 105 (1978), pp. 47–52; Seyfried, *LÄ* 6 (1986), cols. 1432–35; El-Aguizy, *ASAE* 71 (1987), pp. 53–60; Dasen, *Medical History* 32 (1988), pp. 253–76, and especially, pp. 260–68; Thompson, *BACE* 2 (1991), pp. 91–98; Dasen, *Dwarfs*, pp. 109–133.

<sup>185</sup> The manufacture of jewelry is represented in the following: Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 13 = Kanawati–McFarlane, *Deshasha*, fig. 28; Paget–Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 35; *Sh. Said*, pl. 4; *Gebr.* 1, pl. 13; 2, pl. 19; *Rue de tomb.*, pl. 33; Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, figs. 38–39; Hassan, *Giza* 2: fig. 219; 4: fig. 81; Mereruka 1, pls. 29–30; Meir 5, pls. 16–17; *Ti* 3, pl. 174; *Nianchechum*, pl. 64; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, fig. 32; Lauer, *Saqqara*, pl. 68; Simpson, *Kawab*, fig. 50. For discussions, see e.g., Klebs, *AR*, pp. 85–86; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 275–88. An examination of the occurrences shows that normal-sized men are also on occasion shown stringing beads.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. *Gebr.* 1, pl. 14; *Ti* 3, pl. 173, and see Baker, *Furniture*, p. 56; Fischer, *LÄ* 4 (1980), col. 184.

while in the space behind the left-hand dwarf two beaded collars were set out. The activities represented on a wall are usually arranged so that the end of a register coincides with a change of subject,<sup>187</sup> and the dwarfs ordinarily would have been depicted side by side in the same register. Here, presumably for reasons of space, the draftsman chose to place the scene in two superimposed sub-registers rather than omit it entirely. It is possible that the sub-registers are related thematically to the register above, the gold smelted there perhaps serving as a component element in the collars assembled below, even though the intermittent processes of casting and beating the metal were not shown.<sup>188</sup>

The remainder of this register was taken up by a scene of the preparation and filling of beer jars. At the left two men sat on the ground facing right with their legs drawn up before them. The first man held a jar with his left hand and thrust his other hand into the jar. Over his head was written: *wd s[ī]n*, “applying clay.”<sup>189</sup> It seems likely that he was doing just that, lining the interior of the jar with a fine clay in order to render it less porous.<sup>190</sup> His companion to the right had both arms held up before him and was evidently working something between his hands, possibly clay taken from the circular mass at his feet. Once again the legend provides a clue to his activity: *šyt idš*, “kneading clay.”<sup>191</sup> The clay was probably intended for the cone-shaped stoppers of the big beer jars that were lined up in two parallel rows before him. Most of these were already sealed. Opposite, however, a man bent over the jars to the left with both arms hanging down in front of him. Damage has obscured what he held but, if the legend above originally read *mḥ ḥ<sup>r</sup> nq<sup>1</sup> t*, “the filling up of b<sup>f</sup>ee<sup>r</sup>,”<sup>192</sup> as seems likely, he probably decanted beer from a small jar into an as yet unsealed beer jar before him. Behind him a damaged figure facing left adopted a similar pose. On the basis of a parallel representation in a tomb at Meir, it is possible that he was supplying the jars with their cone-shaped stoppers, although the presumed jar at his feet was also destroyed.<sup>193</sup> Of the caption over his head traces alone remained.

Further to the right two more individuals bent face to face over their tasks. On account of the longer hair and the cloth band around the head, the kneeling figure on the left was probably that of a

woman. She sat on her heels, leant forward to the right, and had both arms extended before her. Her hands and the surrounding area were destroyed and the task she was engaged in is therefore not readily apparent. The last figure on the right sat facing left with knees drawn up, hands likewise held out in front, and grasped an ill-defined object. It is likely that the legend over the latter figure is to be restored *s[ī] d(w)<sup>r</sup> d<sup>w</sup>*, “sifting flour.”<sup>194</sup> In the event, the figure would have been holding a sieve from which sifted flour fell. Since a group composed of face-to-face figures of two women grinding and sifting is a stock motif in scenes of baking and brewing, the figure on the left in all probability would then have been grinding grain on a quern.<sup>195</sup> If this was indeed the case, the unintelligible legend above the head of the woman on the left should probably be emended to read: *nd[t]*, “grinding.”<sup>196</sup>

### South Wall, East of Entrance

The south wall to the east of the entrance to Room II was occupied by a developed presentation scene in which Mehi, accompanied by his wife, surveys the bringing in of cattle and the rendering of accounts, while the couple are entertained by dancers, singers, and musicians. In 1842–43 the three lowest registers on the wall were still essentially complete (fig. 118b).<sup>197</sup> The two registers above were badly damaged, however, and Lepsius provides only a sketch of these (fig. 118a).<sup>198</sup> At present only the bottom two registers are still largely intact, while the upper part of Mehi’s figure is lost (pl. 118, 119a–b; fig. 119).

At the left end of the wall, Mehi sat in an armchair facing right toward the entrance. The armchair had plain side panels, the side rails terminated in papyrus flowers, and the bull’s legs rested on frustrum-shaped supports.<sup>199</sup> Mehi’s costume consisted of a shoulder-length wig which covered his ears, a chin beard, a beaded collar, and a short kilt whose flaring front panel projected stiffly upwards. His right arm was draped over the arm of the chair and his left hand outstretched to receive the document of accounts presented by the official before him.<sup>200</sup> The legend to the scene was presumably contained in the first of several short columns of hieroglyphs which once filled the space above his head, but was lost along with any titles and epithets that followed. All that remained were two lines of hieroglyphs over the top of his head: (1) *ḥsty-<sup>c</sup> ms<sup>c</sup> Sndm-ib*, (2) *rn.f nfr Mḥi*, (1) “the true count Senedjemib, (2) whose good name is Mehi.”

Mehi’s wife sits at his feet with both legs tucked under her. As may be seen from Lepsius’s drawing, she wore the usual form-fitting garment with tapering shoulder straps, a short wig, a diadem with streamer, and a beaded collar. One hand rests open on her chest, while the other grasped Mehi’s forward leg. Over her head is

<sup>187</sup> See Schäfer, *Principles*, p. 165.

<sup>188</sup> For these processes, see especially Scheel, *Egyptian Metalworking*, pp. 27–32.

<sup>189</sup> Montet, *Scènes*, p. 251; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 295–96; Helck, *Bier*, p. 36; Harris, *Materials*, p. 203.

<sup>190</sup> See Montet, *Scènes*, p. 251; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 295–96; Helck, *Bier*, p. 36; Schürmann, *Li-nefert*, p. 43, fig. 17 a–b. *Sin* is the fine grey clay utilized for small vessels, magical bricks, and figurines, but especially for door and box sealings; see *Wb.* 4, p. 37, 11–38, 2; Anthes, *Hatnub*, p. 82; Harris, *Materials*, p. 204–206.

<sup>191</sup> Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 254–55, cites our reference and a Middle Kingdom parallel (*Beni Hasan* 2, pl. 7), which shows the preliminaries to pot making. Two men knead clay with their feet and a third does the same with his hands. The pair of men is captioned *ḥwt šyt*, “kneading alluvial clay,” and the individual figure *ḥwt idš*, “kneading (marl?) clay.” On the other hand, Harris, *Materials*, p. 209, feels that *idš* is not a material at all but must refer to “body fabric,” “constituents,” “texture” or the like. He suggests that *wd sin* and *šyt idš* together may refer to the application of the slip and the smoothing of the fabric. On the Beni Hasan legends, see also *ibid.*, p. 235, and Do. Arnold, *MDAIK* 32 (1976), p. 4, who translates the same legends respectively “to strike the mud” and “to strike the wedging mass;” cf. Arnold and Bourriau, eds., *Introduction to Pottery*, p. 13.

<sup>192</sup> Montet, *Scènes*, p. 251; for parallels to *mḥ ḥnqt*, see e.g., Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, p. 35, fig. 32; Hassan, *Giza*, fig. 219; *Nianchchnum*, p. 71, pl. 23.

<sup>193</sup> *Meir* 5, pl. 44.

<sup>194</sup> See above, p. 68 and n. 476.

<sup>195</sup> See e.g., Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, fig. 33; *Ti* 1, pls. 66–67; Hassan, *Giza* 2, fig. 219; and p. 68, figs. 56, 57, pl. 33a, b of the present volume.

<sup>196</sup> See above, p. 68 and n. 475.

<sup>197</sup> *LD* 2, pl. 74c.

<sup>198</sup> *LD* 2, *Text*, p. 357 [top].

<sup>199</sup> On Old Kingdom armchairs, Baker, *Furniture*, pp. 41–43, 49–50, and *GN* 2, pp. 28–32, figs. 31–32, pls. 15–24, should be consulted. For the frustrum-shaped supports, see above, p. 71 and n. 504.

<sup>200</sup> On document presenters, see above, p. 121 and n. 74.

inscribed: *zst nswt n(t) h(t).f h m <t> .f Hnt-kw.s*, “the king’s daughter of his bo(dy), his wi<fe>, Khentkaus.”<sup>201</sup>

*First Register.* Destroyed.

*Second Register.* The contents of this register and the next are known only from Lepsius’s sketch (fig. 118a). Vestiges of four figures remained at the right end of this register. Although the upper parts of the first two figures on the left were destroyed, both clearly knelt on one knee with buttocks resting on their heels. The last two figures, on the other hand, sat back with both legs tucked under them, a position generally assumed by women.<sup>202</sup> They had their right hands closed on their chests and their left hands resting palm open in their laps. Due to the extensive damage to the register the role played by these four figures is unclear.

*Third Register.* Lepsius copied seven incomplete standing figures, all facing left. Of the captions which once presumably appeared before each of the first five figures, only a single sign survived. Given the context, it probably represented the draftsman determinative of the verb *ib*, “dancing,”<sup>203</sup> and, in point of fact, the front foot of each figure is poised on the toe in a dance step.<sup>204</sup> Before the last of the standing figures at the right *hst*, “singing,” was written.<sup>205</sup> The penultimate figure lacked a caption, but *hst* appeared once again in the broad lacuna between this figure and the last of the dancers, where it probably indicated the presence of a third singer whose figure was destroyed. In all likelihood *hst* was originally written before each of the three figures of the singers, just as *ib* was before those of the dancers. As Montet very well observed, the arm which determines the word *hst* shows that the hands were the principal instrument of the singer, while the noise produced by rhythmically clapping the hands was more important than the sound produced by the voice.<sup>206</sup> The arms of the singers are destroyed, but presumably they did indeed mark the rhythm by clapping their hands.<sup>207</sup>

The upper part of the dancer’s bodies are missing, but it may be assumed that they held their arms over their heads in a circular movement, the upturned palms almost meeting.<sup>208</sup> In the scenes of singing and dancing found in many Old Kingdom tombs, bare-breasted women with arms upraised, dressed in short skirts are accompanied by fully clothed women who clap their hands and sing in accompaniment.<sup>209</sup> As may be seen in Lepsius’s drawing four at least of the five dancers appear to have been dressed in short skirts. But Lepsius shows the singing women in short skirts as well, a much rarer feature.<sup>210</sup>

*Fourth Register.* Seven musicians and singers sat on the ground in the ordinary male posture with one knee raised and the buttock resting on the heel of the other foot.<sup>211</sup> The musician closest to Mehi leant slightly forward with the fingers of both hands splayed on the strings of a vertical harp. Here, as in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti, the entire instrument is drawn in profile.<sup>212</sup> Over the head of the harper and before his face *hst sqr*, “singing and plucking (the strings),” was inscribed.<sup>213</sup> The figures of the next three individuals to the right are partially preserved today. The first man apparently rested both hands on his raised knee. The legend above his head, already damaged in Lepsius’s drawing and now destroyed, tells us that he was *hst*, “sing’ing.” The next two men were flutists. The first holds his flute at an angle across his body. His instrument is a long side-blown or transverse flute.<sup>214</sup> Both hands are placed at the lower extremity of the flute, presumably to finger the holes located there. To the left of his head was the word *zbs*, “playing (the flute).”<sup>215</sup> Thereafter there was probably room for the word for transverse flute, and the original caption may thus have read: *zbs [m]t*, “playing the transverse flute.”<sup>216</sup> The placement of the *t* suggests that the initial signs of the word preceded it above, while the determinative followed it below. The companion of the flutist to the right played a shorter end-blown instrument which he held nearly parallel to the ground, while fingering its holes. The caption above his head was intact in 1842–43 and read: *zbs mmt*, “playing the double clarinet.”<sup>217</sup> His instrument probably consisted of two symmetrical tubes tied together and pierced with holes at regular intervals.<sup>218</sup> To the right of these two musicians was a second harper who again leant forward slightly as he plucked the strings of his harp. The caption before his face likewise reflected his activity: *sqr*, “plucking (the strings).” The next man to the right was probably another singer. He extended both hands before him, but his specific role is obscured by damage to the label above: *rdi [... h]t*, “giving [... sing]ing.”<sup>219</sup> The last man, who was also a singer, placed one hand open on his chest, while the other rested in his lap. Over his head was written: *hst*, “singing.”

*Fifth Register.* This and the bottom register contain the principal theme of this wall: the rendering of accounts, in the course of which the village headmen are interrogated and the cattle in their charge inspected.<sup>220</sup> At the left the *zsb imy-r zsw Hm-ibty*, “dignitary and overseer of scribes, Hemakhti,” held out a papyrus scroll for inspection. Today his head and titulary are lost. Like the officials and village headmen who follow, Hemakhti was wigless, but unlike these

<sup>201</sup> A Lieder squeeze (2.1) exists of the head of the wife and the text above; see *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 88.

<sup>202</sup> See *HESP*, p. 295.

<sup>203</sup> *Wb*, 1, p. 62, 8–9; cf. *ibid.*, p. 62, 14–17; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 365–66; Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, p. 20.

<sup>204</sup> Lexová, *Anc. Eg. Dances*, p. 46; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 394 and nn. 3, 4.

<sup>205</sup> *Wb*, 3, p. 164, 11–21; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 357–60, 363.

<sup>206</sup> Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 359–60.

<sup>207</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 392.

<sup>208</sup> See Lexová, *Anc. Eg. Dances*, p. 52; Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, pp. 20–22, 23–24, 25; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 398; Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* 6 (1985), pp. 218–19.

<sup>209</sup> Nord, in *Dunham Studies*, p. 137. For an in-depth treatment of these scenes, see Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz*, pp. 13–36, 83–86, and for a list of occurrences at the Memphite cemeteries, see *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, pp. 357 (12 b), 905 (12 b), 906 (13 d).

<sup>210</sup> Cf. Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 12; Kanawati-McFarlane, *Deshasha*, pl. 29.

<sup>211</sup> Compare the posture of the harper statuette published by Reisner, *JEA* 6 (1920), pp. 117–18, pls. 14–15, and for other postures, see Breasted, *Servant Statues*, pls. 80b; 81a–b.

<sup>212</sup> See above, p. 58.

<sup>213</sup> *Wb*, 3, p. 433, 3–6; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 360–61, 364.

<sup>214</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 365; Ziegler, *Instruments de musique*, pp. 83–84.

<sup>215</sup> Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 362–64.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*; Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, pp. 17–18.

<sup>217</sup> Montet, *Scènes*, p. 363; Brunner-Traut, *Tanz*, pp. 17–18.

<sup>218</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 365; Ziegler, *Instruments de musique*, p. 86. As Ziegler points out, relief CG 1533, which also gives the name of the instrument, clearly shows two short reeds bound together by cords at the ends. In *Nianchnum*, fig. 25, the *mmt* is longer, having the same length as the transverse flute which is also played, and is held at an angle like the latter.

<sup>219</sup> For pantomimic gesticulation in music directing, or chironomy, see above, p. 58 and n. 318.

individuals, he is dressed in a calf-length kilt indicative of his age and station. The figure of the official to the right was already damaged in 1842–43, and his function is not apparent, though it is clear from Lepsius's plate that his left hand was raised to the level of his chest. The third official, who holds a stick in his right hand, takes the lead headman by the scruff of the neck and roughly ushers him into Mehi's presence. The headman bows low to the ground and clasps his hands together in supplication. The next two village headmen are escorted by an official who walks between them. Their bodies are bent forward parallel to the ground, or nearly so, and the official keeps them in this uncomfortable posture by the pressure of his right hand placed on the top of the head of the man preceding and of his left hand on the neck of the headman behind. In both cases their arms hang down in front of them, while the headman behind steadies himself with one hand placed on the ground. Over the backs of the first and second headmen was a short text, now damaged, that read from left to right: *ip ḥqꜣw*, "examining the village headmen."<sup>221</sup> Two other officials bring up the rear of the procession, the first a scribe who makes notations with a reed pen held in his left hand<sup>222</sup> on a writing board held up before him on the palm of his open right hand.<sup>223</sup> The left arm of the last official is now destroyed, but photographs taken in 1931 (pl. 118, 119b) indicate that Lepsius's draftsman was correct in showing him with a scribal palette or possibly a roll of papyrus tucked under this arm.<sup>224</sup> As may still be seen, his right hand hung open at his side. Except for Hemakhti, the officials in this register all wear short kilts with flaring front panels, whereas the first village headman appears to wear a plain, tight-fitting kilt. Although only belts and waist ties are preserved in the case of the other two headmen, it may be presumed that they too were similarly garbed.

*Sixth Register.* At the left end of the register, the *smsw pr Pth-šps*, "elder of the house, Ptahshepses," bows to Mehi and Khentkaus. Lepsius actually has *Pth-ḥtp*, but the *šps*-sign, though damaged, seems clear enough.<sup>225</sup> Close behind him walks a herdsman who leads a bull by a rope held in his left hand. With his right hand closed on his chest in a gesture of respect, he likewise bows to the couple. Lepsius's drawing shows him with a bundle of fodder(?) in his right hand, but the draftsman may have been misled by the stony inclusion before

the man's face.<sup>226</sup> The bull is a prize animal and, judging from traces and parallel representations, wore a large bivalve shell on a rope collar around his neck.<sup>227</sup> The ropes attached to its lower jaw and collar are largely lost in the spaces between the masonry joints. Further to the right another herdsman places his right hand on the back of the first bull prompting it to move forward, and leads a second bull on a rope (destroyed) with his left hand. The second bull is also fattened and had a rope collar, but this time the individual strands of rope are indicated.<sup>228</sup> As in the case of the first bull, the leading rein and rope attached to the animal's jaw were lost when the plaster fell out of the bedding joints. Lepsius shows a non-descript object hanging from the collar, and this bull too may have been adorned with a shell. The last animal followed without an attendant. It is largely destroyed today, but from Lepsius's drawing it looks as though it may have worn a collar that resembled the so-called Isis-knot.<sup>229</sup> All three animals seem to belong to the same short-legged species, since above the back of each is written *rn iwꜣ*, "young stable ox,"<sup>230</sup> but the last individual unlike the other two was hornless and apparently polled.

### ROOM III

This east–west offering room is entered from the south, from Room II, by means of a doorway at the east end of the south wall. An elaborate false door occupies the west end of the room, while the long side walls, as is customary in long east–west offering rooms from the end of Dynasty 5, originally bore virtually identical table scenes. The room measures 2.25 x 6.75 meters, and has an area of 15.18 square meters. The proportion of the length of the room to the width is 1/0.33.

#### *Door Thicknesses*

Lepsius saw and recorded two registers of female figures personifying agricultural estates on each of the door thicknesses leading to the offering room. Although he published only one drawing, that of the estates on the left thickness (fig. 120a),<sup>231</sup> thanks to Dr. Walter-Friedrich Reineke of the Berlin Academy of Science, it has proven possible to include here Lepsius's original drawing of the other thickness, which is now completely destroyed (fig. 123).<sup>232</sup> In addition to the drawings, Lepsius's hand copies of the estate names on both walls were included in the text volumes of the *Denkmäler* published after his death (fig. 121).<sup>233</sup>

In 1842–43 the figures of five estates were visible in each of the two preserved registers of the left thickness (fig. 120a). Lepsius shows a blank area before the first figure in the upper register, however, and

<sup>220</sup> See Erman, *Reden*, pp. 51–52; Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 147–49; Guglielmi, *Reden*, pp. 120–25; Harpur, *Decoration*, pp. 169–70. For occurrences, see *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 356 (6), 904 (6). A particular aspect of the developed scenes of rendering accounts—the flogging at the whipping post—is discussed recently by Beaux, *BIFAO* 91 (1992), pp. 33–53.

<sup>221</sup> For *ip*, "examine," used of persons, see *Wb.* 1, p. 66, 5; *FCD*, p. 16.

<sup>222</sup> The fact that this individual writes with his left hand is probably to be explained by the difficulties the Egyptian artist customarily encountered when drawing a figure facing left, especially when there was a traditional reason for an object held by that figure being borne in a certain hand; see *HESP*, p. 274ff.

<sup>223</sup> Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 199, remarks that examples of this posture are not very numerous. Vandier is of the opinion that the scribe writes on a sheet of papyrus. Writing boards are well attested, however (see e.g., Brovarski, *ASAE* 71 [1987], pp. 50–51), and it is not easy to imagine how anyone could have written on a piece of papyrus resting on the arm and hand. On this question, see further, Manuélian, in *Simpson Studies* 2, pp. 568–77.

<sup>224</sup> See Vandier, *Manuel* 4, p. 197 (A).

<sup>225</sup> For *Pth-šps*, see *PN* 1, p. 326, 19 (*šps-Pth*). In the present instance, the postcomplement *s* (or *ss*) was either never written or was subsequently destroyed. The postcomplement is occasionally omitted in the spelling of *šps*; see e.g., *ibid.*, p. 326, n. 1, and Fischer, *JARCE* 4 (1965), p. 53.

<sup>226</sup> On the motif of the herdsman with a bundle of fodder, see above, p. 58 and n. 313.

<sup>227</sup> See e.g., Davies, *Ptahhetep* 1, pls. 16, 21, 27, 31 (3); Mogensen, *Mast. ég.*, figs. 8, 15, 35, 35bis; *Ti* 3, pls. 167–69; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 4.

<sup>228</sup> For this type of rope collar, see Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 24 (5).

<sup>229</sup> Pace Vandier, *Manuel* 5, p. 21, fig. 18, 3. On the origin and development of the "Isis-knot," see Fischer, *MMJ* 5 (1972), pp. 11–15. For two Early Dynastic gold amulets of an oryx and a bull with an ornament round their necks in the form of an "Isis knot," see Wilkinson, *Jewellery*, pp. 15–16, figs. 6, 7.

<sup>230</sup> See above, p. 57 and n. 306.

<sup>231</sup> *LD* 2, pl. 74d.

<sup>232</sup> Lepsius *Z.* 360.

<sup>233</sup> *LD*, *Text* 1, p. 53. Mariette (*Mastabas*, pp. 503–504) sketched the two thicknesses and gives the damaged names of four estates from the left (west) thickness and three from the right (east).

Jacquet-Gordon thinks there may have been room for another figure at the head of the procession.<sup>234</sup> Since there were traces of a figure and of an estate name in a lacuna of similar size at the head of the lower register in Lepsius's plate, it seems likely that there were originally six estates in each register, as on the corresponding right-hand thickness. If the same scheme of decoration evident on the door thicknesses in G 2370 and 2374 was followed here, both thicknesses probably bore three registers when intact.<sup>235</sup>

If Mariette's sketch of the left thickness is to be trusted, by 1850 the figures of the first three estates in the upper register and of the first estate and part of the second estate in the lower register had already spalled away (fig. 122a).<sup>236</sup> As far as the right thickness is concerned, the four estates and parts of two others seen by Lepsius in the lower register had likewise disappeared (fig. 122b).<sup>237</sup> By 1931 the last four estates in the lower register on the left hand thickness (pl. 120) were all that survived of a presumed thirty-six estates originally depicted on the two thicknesses. These four estates are still extant today (fig. 120b). As Mariette remarks, the difference in preservation between the different courses of stone on either side of this one passage-way arises from the varying quality of the different stones which had been employed, but the later deterioration was undoubtedly abetted by exposure to the elements.<sup>238</sup>

As may be seen from Lepsius's drawings and the figures of the four remaining estates, each estate was originally dressed in a tight-fitting dress and a lappet wig. As in G 2370, G 2374, and a number of contemporary tombs, the hems of the dresses were oblique.<sup>239</sup> There was little variation in the attitudes of the figures. Each woman evidently raised her forward hand to steady the conical basket filled with produce that she carried on her head, while the rear hand hanging behind held another offering.<sup>240</sup> The nummulithic limestone is very intractable here, and presumably the details of the figures and the offerings were added in the coating of plaster that was customarily applied to reliefs carved in such stone.<sup>241</sup> This procedure would certainly explain the unfinished appearance of the reliefs and the fact that Lepsius's copy is not precise in every detail. The partially preserved contents of the four remaining baskets on the heads of the women at the bottom of the left thickness, for example, do not seem to correspond item by item to those sketched by him. Nonetheless, it is clear from Lepsius's copy that the first woman in the upper register on the right (east) thickness carried in her hanging left hand a bird, while the fourth and sixth women probably held a milk jar.

*Left (west) thickness* (pl. 120; figs. 120a–b, 121a, 122a). Beginning with the first figure on the right of the uppermost preserved register in Lepsius's drawing and ending with the last figure in the register below, the names of the estates are as follows:<sup>242</sup>

1. Destroyed.
2. Traces of a cartouche.
3. *Hr*-[*n*] *rw*[...](?) , “[...](?)”<sup>243</sup>
4. *Hr*-[*fw*] [...], “The splendor of [...] appears in glory.”
5. *Š*[...], “[...]”
6. *Mr Hq* *nh* *Izzi*, “Heqa desires that Izezi live.”
7. [...] *Izzi*, “[...] Izezi.”
8. *Mr Šst* *I-kw-hr*, “Seshat loves Ikauhor.”<sup>244</sup>
9. *Wsh*-[*I-ki*] *w*-[*Hr*] , “[Ika]u[hor](?) flourishes.”<sup>245</sup>
10. *Šw*(?)-*Kiki*, “The plantations(?) of Kakai.”<sup>246</sup>
11. *Wš*-*bšw*-*Kiki*, “The power of Kakai is strong.”<sup>247</sup>
12. [...] *w*[*š*] *r*-*w*, “[...] of ‘Sah’ure.”

*Right (east) thickness* (figs. 121b, 123). The cartouches and estate enclosures on this wall appear to have been left blank.

1. *Hwt* [...]: *mr Pth* *nh* [...], “The estate of [...] (named) Prah desires that [...] live.”
2. *Hwt* [...]: [...], “The estate of [...] (named) [...]”<sup>248</sup>
3. *Mr R* *nh* [...], “Re desires that [...] live.”
4. [...] *w*t [...], “[...]”
5. [...] *nh* [...], “[...] live [...]”
6. A cartouche alone survives.
7. Destroyed.
8. Destroyed.
9. A cartouche alone survives.
10. [...] *R* [...], “[...] Re [...]”
11. [...] *r* [...], “[...]”
12. A cartouche alone survives.

The estate names on the left jamb were compounded with the names of the Fifth Dynasty kings Sahure, Neferirkare, Menkauhor, and Izezi. There is no mention of an estate bearing the name of Unis, the sovereign whom Mehi served as vizier, but possibly this king's name appeared in one of the blank cartouches or as a component in

<sup>234</sup> *Domaines*, p. 298 (1).

<sup>235</sup> See above, pp. 43–44, 122–23.

<sup>236</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 504.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 503.

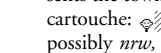
<sup>238</sup> See above, p. 9.




<sup>239</sup> See above, p. 55 and n. 279.

<sup>240</sup> A possible exception is the last figure in the lower register of the left thickness. Lepsius shows her with right hand raised, but the traces visible today are contradictory in this regard.

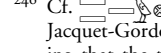
<sup>241</sup> See above, p. 20.

<sup>242</sup> See Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, pp. 298–300.

<sup>243</sup> As opposed to the published drawing which shows a circular sign after an empty cartouche followed by a long lacuna, a bull, and a circle which presumably represents the town-sign, Lepsius's hand copy gives the following signs after an empty cartouche: . [*M*] *rw* is perhaps “herdsman” (*Wb.* 2, p. 279, 1–5) or possibly *nru*, “fear, dread” (*Wb.* 2, pp. 277, 11–278, 11) with transposed determinative.

<sup>244</sup> Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 299, remarks that the sign  is probably to be corrected to  or .

<sup>245</sup> The quail chick at the bottom of the cartouche does appear to be visible at the upper right hand edge of the door thickness in the photograph.

<sup>246</sup> Cf.  in the tomb of Seshemnofer III; Junker, *Giza* 3, pp. 209, 243, pl. 4. Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 272 (23), reads *grgw*, “foundations.” Although noting that the three signs in Seshemnofer III resemble the *grg*-ideogram, Junker thinks the absence of a terminal *t* favors rather the reading *nru*, “Die Kanäle? (Teiche?).” “The canals” seems a peculiar designation for an agricultural foundation, and Junker's alternative translation, “Teiche,” seems more to the point. In that case, the toponym in question might better be taken to be a plural of *š*, “garden, plantation,” on which word, see above, p. 97 (b). Lepsius misread the quail chick of the plural ending, which is unusually large here (as likewise in the final toponym), as the monogram of the three jabirus. What at first glance appears to be traces of the letter *n* in the space under the quail chick is probably instead the wing tips of a bird held by the first surviving estate.

<sup>247</sup> Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 299, n. 2, believed that she saw *wsh* here, but our copy favors Lepsius's original reading.

<sup>248</sup> The name of the estate terminates in the figure of a bird which Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 300 (14), reads as *mnt*, “swallow.”

one of the incomplete estate names. At least one of the estate names, *Wšš-bšw-Kški*, and possibly another, if *Wšš-I-kšw-Hr* is indeed to be restored, recurs in the tomb of Mehi's father, Inti.<sup>249</sup>

### South Wall

Both lateral walls in Room III have suffered severely from weathering and the action of salts and there are large areas, especially towards the east end of these walls, where the wall surface has entirely flaked away, leaving substantial gaps in the decoration. This was already so in 1842–43, and it was presumably for this reason that Lepsius only drew the western sections of both walls.<sup>250</sup> Nevertheless, the walls were then in considerably better condition than now, even though the top registers on both walls had previously been removed.<sup>251</sup> Since the upper courses are gone, the original number of registers on the eastern and middle sections of the walls is not entirely certain. Still, the extra register of offering bearers seen beneath the feet of the deceased in the corresponding position in G 2370<sup>252</sup> is absent here, and this may be an indication that the walls were divided into five rather than six registers.

At the west end of the wall nearest the false door a large figure of Mehi seated before an offering table faced left towards the entrance of the room and the registers of offering bearers, priests, and food offerings before him (figs. 145, 125).<sup>253</sup> His right hand reached forward towards the twenty tall half-loaves of bread set out on the offering table. Between his legs and the pedestal of the table was inscribed a short, ideographic offering list: *ḥš šns ḥš pzn ḥš ḥnqt ḥš 3pd ḥš ššr ḥš [mnḥt ...]*, "A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand cakes, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster jars of unguents, a thousand [pieces of cloth ...]." The end of the list was destroyed, but when complete it probably mirrored in form the better preserved ideographic list on the opposite, north wall (fig. 128).<sup>254</sup> Both the pedestal of the table and the ideographic list are now lost. Mehi's chair was evidently lion-legged and the side-rails ended in a papyrus flower ornament. A cushion followed the vertical drop of the chair back. Lepsius's artist drew the element under the lion's feet at the front of the chair as though it were the customary drum tapering towards the base, but the corresponding element under the rear feet was drawn as if it were a frustrum-shaped furniture support narrower at the top than the bottom, whereas on the opposite wall both elements are wider at the bottom. In the tomb of Inti the two elements were carefully distinguished (pl. 40; fig. 61).<sup>255</sup>

Mehi was dressed in a shoulder-length wig, chin beard, broad collar, and folded kilt with (properly reversed) overlap. The individual rows of the broad collar were still visible in Lepsius's day. All that survives of Mehi's figure at present is his extended right arm

and hand, the line of his chest, the tips of the fingers of his left hand, and part of the outline of his legs.

Over Mehi's head were five columns of titles and epithets which terminated with his name in a single horizontal line below. At present only traces of the texts survive, but this portion of the wall was in a better state of preservation in Lepsius's day and, with the aid of what appears to be a parallel inscription on the opposite wall, the titulary can be restored to a certain extent: (1) [... *imy-rš kšt nb(t) nš*] *nswt*, (2) [...] *ir [ḥzzt Izz]i*, (3) [...] *iwn knmt, imy-rš ḥkr nswt nb*, (4) [... *imy-ib n nswt m*] *st.f nbt*, (5) [... *imšḥw*] *ḥr ntr-ḥ*, (6) *iry-pḥ ḥšty-ḥ mšḥ Sndm-ib*, "(1) [... overseer of all works of] the king, (2) [...] who does [what Izez]i [favors], (3) [...], pillar of the *knmt*-folk, overseer of all royal regalia, (4) [... favorite of the king wh]erever he is, (5) [... one honored] by the great god, (6) the hereditary prince and true count, Senedjemib."

Before Mehi's face two rows of low rectangular service tables and jar racks were represented. The racks were wider than the tables and had their tops pierced to hold the vessels which rested on a shelf below.<sup>256</sup> The tables by contrast were equipped with horizontal struts. The tops of the vessels in the upper row were already lost in 1842–43. By analogy with the north wall, a nested ewer and basin probably rested on the right end of the upper right-hand rack, although only traces of the basin remained. Set into the rack alongside of it were a group of four tall splay-footed vessels, perhaps *hez*-jars. Three tall storage jars, possibly similar to those on the table at the bottom right, were set on the table at the upper left. On the table at the lower right a tall storage jar with basket-work flaps probably stood between two tall stoppered, spouted jars; the forms of the jars are better seen on the north wall. Set in the rack at the lower left was a round-bottomed bowl with a recurved rim and a (basketwork) lid on a stand between two pairs of *hez*-jars.<sup>257</sup> The blocks with the representations of the racks and tables (and figures of the priests to the left) were removed subsequent to Lepsius's visit.

A compartment offering list would undoubtedly have extended above and beyond the service tables on both long walls, but no vestiges of such remain in place. They probably had a wide as opposed to a tall format, occupying two registers in height, the remainder of which may have been taken up with food and drink offerings.<sup>258</sup>

In the two lowest registers on both the north and south walls, piles of food and drink offerings separated the offering table from the approaching bearers. The offerings piled at the foot of Mehi's table in the lowermost register on the south wall were largely destroyed by 1842–43, and today only those to the left in the upper preserved register survive.

*First Register.* Destroyed.

*Second Register.* Destroyed.

*Third Register.* Lepsius saw the lower parts of a kneeling and two standing figures on the far side of the tables and racks in this register.

<sup>249</sup> See above, p. 70, and Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines*, p. 23.

<sup>250</sup> *LD, Text 1*, p. 54.

<sup>251</sup> See above, p. 9.

<sup>252</sup> See above, p. 17.

<sup>253</sup> *LD, Ergänzung*, pl. xv. Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 504, provides a not wholly accurate sketch of the outlines of the different blocks which make up the western half of the south wall of the room.

<sup>254</sup> See below, p. 156.

<sup>255</sup> See above, p. 71, n. 504.

<sup>256</sup> Cf. Radwan, *Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße*, pls. C, 30 (153B), 32 (160).

<sup>257</sup> See above, p. 68 and n. 469.

<sup>258</sup> See above, pp. 71–73, 125.

On the north wall opposite, a kneeling man and the individual behind him perform the opening rites of the funerary ritual, and this was presumably also the case here. The third figure was in all probability that of an offering bearer, as on the opposite wall. All three figures are now lost.

*Fourth Register.* The figure of the foremost offering bearer to the left of the pile of food offerings in this register was also copied by Lepsius. The head of the figure is now largely destroyed, but Lepsius shows him as wigless, and it can still be seen that he wears a folded kilt with waist tie and overlap. The offerings he held aloft on two trays are mostly destroyed, but the wickerwork frail he carried on a cord over the elbow of his left arm survives. After a gap of 1.55 m, there is another decorated block with traces of five more bearers of offerings in short, belted kilts whose figures were not drawn by Lepsius (fig. 125, inset).

*Fifth Register.* Two damaged figures are shown in the lowest register of the wall in Lepsius's plate. The figure of the first man has deteriorated further but is still visible. From his attitude it is clear that he once presented a goose with the hand of his straight outstretched left arm holding the neck and the right hand the wings.<sup>259</sup> A few traces which probably represent the bird's neck and tail survive. There are also vestiges remaining of another individual in front of this man who, by analogy with the corresponding figure on the north wall, probably again offered up a goose. All that remains of the inscription that once occupied the space before him are traces of the letter *n*. The vertical lines further to the right, again by analogy with the flanking scene, probably belong to a tall loaf of bread. Lepsius has drawn the corresponding loaf on the north wall with vertical sides, but traces that survive today show that the loaves on both walls probably flared towards the bottom. Behind the two men who once offered up geese, traces of three offering bearers are visible. The first man held offerings aloft on trays with both hands and has onions draped over his left elbow. From the position of his arms, the second figure probably held a young animal or a bird in both arms in front; he has in addition a wickerwork frail on a cord over his right arm. The third bearer appears to have held offerings aloft on a tray with his left hand and a stalk of papyrus(?) with his right hand over his shoulder.

Insofar as it is possible to tell, all of the offering bearers in this register wore short, belted kilts. The kilt of the first damaged figure in Lepsius's plate had an overlap, and the rest of the kilts here may have had overlaps as well.

### West Wall

When Lepsius saw it, the false door which occupies the west wall of the chapel was well preserved except for the flat surface over the cavetto cornice (fig. 126).<sup>260</sup> Mariette provides a sketch of the false door and the table scene on its panel together with hand copies of the

texts on the jambs.<sup>261</sup> By 1850, when Mariette sketched the false door, the cavetto cornice was largely destroyed and the text on the architrave illegible. By 1913 the texts and representations on the upper part of the door had further deteriorated (pl. 121). At present the texts on the panel, the lower lintel, and the drum roll are all illegible, as are the figure of Mehi and the other representations on the panel. The tops of the text columns on the outer and middle jambs are likewise obliterated (fig. 127).

From Lepsius's drawing it is clear that the false door comprised an architrave, a panel, a lintel, three pairs of jambs, and a central niche surmounted by a drum roll, the whole framed by a torus moulding with the traditional lashings and cross lashings and crowned by a cavetto cornice. The preserved height of the door in 1842–43 was 2.51 m. The jambs of the door are stepped back on three separate planes, and the surviving texts and representations are all carefully executed in sunk relief. At the time of the Prussian Expedition, there were extensive vestiges of paint visible on the door and the adjacent areas.<sup>262</sup>

At the foot of the false door was an offering stone extending across the width of the room and likewise surmounted by a torus-and-cavetto cornice. Against the north wall, adjacent to the false door, stands a plain, limestone offering bench measuring 2.12 x 0.47 m. This bench appears in both Lepsius's plan and section of G 2378 (fig. 95c), as well as in Reisner's detailed plan of the Senedjemib Complex (fig. 3).<sup>263</sup>

The architrave bore a single line of text between framing lines that reads from right to left as follows: *Htp-dī-nswt htp-dī Inpw hnty zḥ-ntr qrs.t<sup>1</sup>(i).fm zmt hrt-ntr imntt hsty-<sup>c</sup> ms<sup>c</sup> Sndm-ib*, "An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis, Who-presides-over-the-God's-Booth, gives that he 'be' buried in the desert of the western necropolis, (namely) the true count, Senedjemib."<sup>264</sup>

According to Lepsius's drawing Mehi sat on the left side of the panel on a low-backed chair whose animal legs rested on frustrum-shaped supports and whose side-rails terminated in papyrus-flower ornaments. He wore a shoulder-length wig and short, plain kilt and extended his right hand to the conventional loaves of bread on the pedestal table before him; the other hand was closed on his chest. Above the offering table and extending over Mehi's head in five short columns appeared the following text: (1) *Dḥht-htp nb(t) ḥprt n*, (2) *iry-p<sup>t</sup> hsty-<sup>c</sup> ms<sup>c</sup> smr w<sup>t</sup>y*, (3) *tyty zḥ ḥty imy-r<sup>3</sup> kst nb(t) nt nswt*, (4) *imy-r<sup>3</sup> zšw<sup>c</sup> nswt imy-r<sup>3</sup> ḥkr nswt*, (5) *imšḥw Sndm-ib*, (1) "All requisite offerings for (2) the hereditary prince and true count, the sole friend, (3) chief justice and vizier, overseer of all works of the king, (4) overseer of scribes of royal records, overseer of royal regalia, (5) the honored Senedjemib." Over the bread on the offering table stood a short ideographic list: *ḥḥ šns pzn ḥnqt ḥḥ ḥpd kḥ [...]* *ḥḥ šsr ḥḥ mnḥt*, "a thousand loaves of bread, cakes, and jars of beer, a thousand fowl, oxen, and [...], a thousand alabaster jars of unguents, a thousand pieces of

<sup>261</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 500–502.

<sup>262</sup> See above, pp. 21–22.

<sup>263</sup> See above, p. 19.

<sup>264</sup> Lepsius's draftsman was presumably mistaken in placing an *r* after the sarcophagus determinative of *qrs* instead of *t*. The hill-country determinative beneath the necropolis monogram apparently does double duty in the case of this word and of *zmt*.

<sup>259</sup> See above, p. 17.

<sup>260</sup> *LD* 2, pl. 75. According to *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 89, the text on the right jamb appears in Wilkinson MSS.xiii.84 [upper]. There are also squeezes in Oxford of the inner and outer right jambs by the Lieders, nos. 2.2, 2.3.



cloth.” To the right of the table leg a ewer and basin were set on a small rectangular table with horizontal strut, while the right side of the panel was occupied by offerings arrayed in three short registers. In the top register were depicted two tall, sealed beer jars on ringstands, a triangular loaf, a covered bowl(?) on a ringstand, and perhaps a circular bread and a bunch of grapes. The middle register contained an arrangement of three tall, triangular loaves of bread, a plucked fowl, and an ovoid object (a melon?) in a shallow basket.<sup>265</sup> In the bottom register were another tall, sealed beer jar on a ringstand, two filled bowls and a triangular loaf set on a low pedestal table, a tall, flaring bread loaf set on its side, and a collared jar decked with three lotus blossoms on a ringstand.<sup>266</sup>

The lower lintel spanning the central niche bore two lines of inscription reading from right to left: (1) *Htp-di-nswt Wsir nb Ddw pr n.fhryw m wpt-rnpt Dhwt tp-rnpt W3g hb Zkr hb wr rkh 3bd smndt nb hb nb r nb*, (2) *hry-tp nswt mdh qd nswt m prwy imshw hr ntr-3 Sndm-ib*, (1) “An offering which the king gives Osiris, Lord of Busiris, that offerings be invoked for him on the Opening-of-the-year festival, the festival of Thoth, the New Year’s Day festival, the *W3g*-festival, the festival of Sokar, the Great Festival, the festival of the Burning, every monthly and half-monthly festival and every festival of every day (2) (namely) the royal chamberlain, the royal master builder in both houses, the one honored by the great god, Senedjemib.”<sup>267</sup>

The drum roll at the top of the central niche was inscribed as follows: *imy-r3 kst nb(t) nt nswt Sndm-ib*, “the overseer of all works of the king, Senedjemib.” Once again the signs faced to the right.

The inscriptions on the corresponding pairs of jambs were arranged in a symmetrical and nearly identical fashion. At the bottom of each jamb a small figure of Mehi functions as a determinative for the names which terminate the columns of text above. The figures are dressed in shoulder-length wigs and short kilts with flaring fronts and hold a walking stick at a diagonal in front and a scepter in the hand hanging behind. One figure at least, that at the bottom of the middle left jamb, possessed a chin beard as well. The hieroglyphs and the figures on both sides of the central axis of the false door face the central niche.

The outer left jamb read: *iry-p<sup>t</sup> 3yty 33b 3ty imshw hr Wnis ir hzzt Izzt r nb Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr*, “the hereditary prince, chief justice and vizier, one honored by Unis, who did what Izezi favored every day, Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.” On the corresponding outer right jamb the following text appeared: *iry-p<sup>t</sup> 3yty 33b 3ty imshw hr Izzt sh3.n nswt bity Wnis hr.s Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr*, “the hereditary prince, chief justice and vizier, one honored by Izezi, whom the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Unis, remembered on account of it, Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.” The text on the middle left jamb was as follows: *h3ty-<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> imy-r3 kst nb(t) nt nswt*

*imy-r3 z3w <sup>c</sup> nswt imshw hr Izzt Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr*, “the true count, overseer of all works of the king, overseer of scribes of royal records, one honored by Izezi, Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.” The middle right jamb bore the following text: *h3ty-<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> imy-r3 kst nb(t) nt nswt imy-r3 z3w <sup>c</sup> nswt imshw hr Wnis Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr*, “the true count, overseer of all works of the king, overseer of scribes of royal records, one honored by Unis, Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.” On the left inner jamb the following appears: *imy-r3 snwty imy-r3 prwy-<sup>c</sup>h3w imy-r3 hkr nswt nb Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr*, “the overseer of the two granaries, overseer of the two armories, and overseer of all royal regalia, Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.” Finally, on the right inner jamb is inscribed: *imy-r3 w<sup>b</sup>ty imy-r3 prwy-nwb imy-r3 <sup>r</sup>sr<sup>r</sup> nswt imy-ib n nswt Sndm-ib Mhi rn.f nfr*, “the overseer of the two workshops, overseer of the two gold houses, overseer of royal ‘linen,’ intimate of the king, Senedjemib, whose good name is Mehi.”<sup>268</sup>

### North Wall

The north wall presented what was essentially a mirror image of the south wall (pls. 122–24b; figs. 128–29). The western half of the wall with the figure of Mehi at table and three registers of priests and offering bearers are shown in Lepsius’s drawing, while Mariette provides a sketch of the western end of the wall.<sup>269</sup> At the end of the last century several blocks with the figure of Mehi and part of the offerings, tables, and racks before him were removed from this wall. These blocks now form part of the collections of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, where they bear the accession number 31705 (pl. 122).<sup>270</sup> The blocks in Chicago have been incorporated into our fig. 129.

Mehi wears a shoulder-length wig, chin beard, broad collar, and folded kilt with belt and overlap. As on the opposite wall, the rows of beads on the broad collar were visible in Lepsius’s day. In this instance at least, they must have been painted, for no trace of them remains on the blocks in Chicago. Mehi sits with his left hand closed on his breast and has his open right hand extended to the offering table with conventionalized loaves of bread before him. The chair is essentially identical to that on the south wall, but the details of the legs are better preserved here, including the toes and dewclaw. A notable feature, not evident in Lepsius’s plate, is that the front legs of the chair are shown with the far leg overlapped by the near leg.<sup>271</sup>

Insofar as it is preserved, the inscription, in five columns and a horizontal line over Mehi’s head, appears to duplicate the corresponding text on the south wall. The tops of the columns are again lost, but what remains can probably be restored as follows: (1) [... *imy-r3 kst*] *nb(t) nt nswt*, (2) [... *ir hzzt*] *t Izzt*, (3) [... *iwn kn*]<sup>r</sup> *mt<sup>r</sup>*, *imy-r3 hkr nswt nb*, (4) [... *imy-ib n nswt*] *m st.f nbt*, (5) [... *imshw*] *hr ntr-3*, (6) *iry-p<sup>t</sup> h<sup>c</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> Sndm-ib*, (1) “[... overseer] of all [works] of the king, (2) [... who did what] Izezi [favored], (3) [...

<sup>265</sup> See *HESP*, p. 330, fig. 206; Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 22, color plate 2a, pl. 10; *Food: The Gift of Osiris* 2, pp. 717–18.

<sup>266</sup> Mariette’s sketch of the scene on the panel is faulty in a number of respects. To begin with he shows a damaged standing figure in a calf-length skirt with a walking stick held at a diagonal before him instead of the piled up offerings drawn by Lepsius, while the low pedestal table with basin and ewer to the right of the offering table in Lepsius’s plate appears as a small coffin-shaped box in Mariette’s sketch.

<sup>267</sup> For an important new investigation of Egyptian feasts, see Spalinger, *Private Feast Lists*.

<sup>268</sup> In the third title on this jamb, Lepsius’s draftsman saw a bag of linen. No traces of the ties at the corners of the sign are visible at present.

<sup>269</sup> *LD, Ergänz.*, pl. xvi; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 503. According to *PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 89, the representation of Mehi also appears in Wilkinson MSS.xiii.83. The text above Mehi’s head was copied by the Lieders (squeeze no. 2.4).

<sup>270</sup> See above, p. 8.

pillar of the *kn*<sup>r</sup>*mt*<sup>1</sup>-folk, overseer of all royal regalia, (4) [... intimate of the king] wherever he is, (5) [... one honored] by the great god, (6) the hereditary prince and true count, Senedjemib.”

In contrast to the twenty half-loaves seen by Lepsius on the offering table on the south wall, only sixteen half-loaves of bread were originally set on the offering table here. Half are lost today, and the others are missing their bases and tips; only the half-loaf at the extreme right still retains almost its entire outline. The offering table too is destroyed except for traces of the bottom line of its circular plate. Above the table were set the same low rectangular service tables and jar racks that appeared on the south wall. These were largely destroyed in the process of extracting the blocks from the wall, but the near side of the rack and the table at the left are still preserved on the edge of the large block with Mehi's head and titles. Part of the ewer and basin that sat on top of the rack at the upper left also survives. By analogy with the south wall, four tall splay-footed vessels were probably set into the rack alongside of it. The vessels on the table at the upper right were already destroyed in 1842–43, but they were probably three tall storage jars as on the south wall. Two of the three vessels that rested on the table at the bottom left survive on the block in the Field Museum. They show that Lepsius's artist has gotten the basic shape of the vessels right but erred in the details. The first vessel at the left is a tall, spouted jar with a stopper. In Lepsius's plate it is actually one of a pair of identical vessels with a vessel of different shape between. From the Chicago block it seems that the middle vessel is a tall storage jar with (basketwork) flaps and a stopper.<sup>272</sup> The destroyed jar rack at the lower right apparently held a covered round-bottomed bowl with a recurved rim set on a ring-stand flanked by two pairs of *hezset*-jars, an arrangement also evident on the opposite wall.

On the far side of the offering table, food and drink offerings of all kinds are piled up. In the bottom register they include an arrangement of two tall loaves of bread flaring slightly at the bottom, alternating with a sealed beer jar and a storage jar with rilled neck and basket-work flaps (both on jar stands), a covered bowl, a foreleg of beef, a calf's head, two ducks, and a deep boat-shaped basket probably filled with ribs of beef and fruit.<sup>273</sup> Between this heap of offerings and the support of Mehi's table was an ideographic offering list, now largely destroyed: *h3 t h3 pzn h3 hnqt h3 [k3] h3 3pd h3 s3r h3 [mnht] h3 ht nbt nfrt r3 nb*, “a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand cakes, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand [oxen], a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster jars of unguents, a thousand [pieces of cloth], and

a thousand of everything good every day.” The offerings continue into the register above.

In three partially preserved registers on the far side of the piled up food and drink, files of bearers bring additional offerings, while priests perform rites on a level with Mehi's head.

*First Register.* Destroyed.

*Second Register.* Destroyed.

*Third Register.* The pair of figures at the head of the register perform the initial episodes of the funerary ritual.<sup>274</sup> The first priest kneels, placing both hands palm down before him on a mound of sand(?).<sup>275</sup> The man standing behind pours a stream of water from a tall, spouted *hezset*-jar over the head of the first man and onto his hands. Both officiants have their hair close-cropped and wear short kilts. The kilt of the standing man shows an overlap as apparently once did the kilts of the offering bearers who follow. Above the heads of the priests are vestiges of a caption: [*i*]w nm n k3.[k], “This [i]s for [your] ka.” The first of the offering bearers carried a foreleg of beef across his shoulders with both hands; he has a bunch of onions(?) over one elbow and a splayed basket with loop handles hanging from the other. The second bearer held with both hands a large, rectangular object, now destroyed, possibly a box or cage, across his shoulders and carries lotus flowers and a wickerwork frail on a cord over his elbows. The offering the third man apparently held aloft on a tray is destroyed, as is the offering he once held in his left hand, but traces remain of the ovoid milk-jar(?) he carried by a cord over his right elbow. The fourth man has another splayed basket with loop handles over one elbow and a wickerwork frail dangling from a cord over the other. The figure of the fifth offering bearer is largely destroyed, and the offering he held aloft has disappeared along with the object he carried over his other shoulder, except for one end that juts out in front of his body.

As previously mentioned, towards the east ends of both lateral walls in Room III, there are large areas where the surface of the wall has flaked away, leaving gaps in the decoration. The remainder of this register has, in fact, been destroyed except for a block with traces of decoration at a distance of about 34 cm from the northeast corner of the room. This block has been mounted at the appropriate height in fig. 129, but the outlines of the intervening (modern) blocks are omitted. All that can be made out are the legs of one figure and behind this the legs and lower torso of a second, both facing left and presumably representing the tail end of the file of offering bearers.

*Fourth Register.* The surface of the block immediately to the right of the food offerings heaped up before the offering table in this register had flaked away by Lepsius's day. Beyond the gap traces of six men walking in procession who bring offerings to add to the pile are visible. There is space in the lacuna for one more offering bearer at the head of the procession. Lepsius drew only the first three of the six

<sup>271</sup> See Schäfer, *Principles*, pp. 183–84, fig. 180; *HESP*, pp. 336–37. The earliest example of the overlapping of the legs known to William Stevenson Smith was one in the tomb of Ptahhetep II (= Paget–Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pls. 34–35, 38–39), which probably also dates to the reign of Unis (Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 274). Smith cited other, later examples from the tombs of Nefer-seshem-ptah at Saqqara (*Rue de tomb.*, pl. 101; cf. pl. 20) and Idu at Giza (G 7102; Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* 2, figs. 39 [rear legs], 41 [rear legs]). Subsequently, other examples of this feature have appeared in print in *Ti* 1, pl. 17; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pls. 9, 10, 16, 22, 49 (rear and front legs). The last tomb was probably decorated in the period between Neuserre and early Izezi (Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 272; above, p. 12), which would make the occurrences there the earliest examples. As an afterthought, it might be noted that the legs of the bed upon which Mereruka and his wife sit are also drawn in this manner (*Mereruka* 1, pls. 94–95).

<sup>272</sup> On the curious flaps at the shoulders of jars, see above p. 71 and n. 516.

<sup>273</sup> On boat-shaped baskets, see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 13 and fig. 4; Vandier, *Manuel* 4, pp. 137–38; Posener-Krieger, in *Fs. Berliner Museums*, pp. 208–209 and fig. 1.

<sup>274</sup> The mortuary rites performed before the deceased are more fully represented in the tomb of Senedjemib Inti and are discussed above, pp. 73–74.

<sup>275</sup> See above, p. 73 and n. 526.

surviving offering bearers, but the offerings carried by these three men are better preserved in his drawing. The upper part of the body of the first surviving offering bearer is now entirely destroyed. According to Lepsius he held a small, ill-defined object against his chest with his left hand. The second man carried aloft a tray bearing an oblong-shaped offering with rounded ends (a loaf of bread?) and, on his other hand, a flat-bottomed bowl with recurved rim(?) and curved spout, while a papyrus stalk was draped over his right arm. Only the papyrus stalk is clearly visible today. The third man held two trays of nondescript offerings aloft (destroyed) and onions(?) over his right elbow. The fourth man probably had both arms raised and may have carried an animal across his shoulders. Two wicker-work frails are suspended horizontally on a single cord from his right elbow, while the “V” shaped element overlapping the back of his figure may represent a damaged object hanging from his other elbow. The next two figures are largely destroyed, but the fifth bearer may also have held offerings aloft with his right hand.

*Fifth Register.* Lepsius shows the two foremost figures in this register with straight, outstretched arms. Presumably, as on the south wall, they strangled birds. Scanty traces of the bird in the hands of the first man remain today, but the second man and the bird he held are now largely destroyed. Over the heads of the figures *iw nn n ks.[k]*, “this is for [your] *ka*,” was written.<sup>276</sup> The first figure was identified as *z.f smsw [mry].f*, “his eldest son whom he loved,” and, even though the name is lost, Mehi’s eldest son, Senedjemib, was probably represented here.<sup>277</sup> Behind the foremost figures are faint traces of other offering bearers, the first of whom carried lotuses over his right arm.

#### East Wall

Lepsius apparently saw traces of an offering procession on this wall, but evidently made no attempt to copy it.<sup>278</sup> In the bottom register of the wall an isolated block some 65 cm wide and 34 cm distant from the northeast corner of the room preserves traces of three more offering bearers (fig. 129, inset). Except for his front heel and part of his rear leg the first figure is destroyed, but he evidently held a bird by the neck with his hanging left hand. The second man carries a tray of offerings on his shoulder and probably held an offering with his left hand over the other shoulder. The last man again balanced a tray of offerings on his right shoulder, but the position of his other arm is uncertain.

### ASSOCIATED SHAFTS AND BURIAL CHAMBERS

Two shafts were associated with mastaba G 2378: Shaft A, descending under the east wall of the mastaba, and Shaft B, an intrusive pit constructed in the southern half of the serdab of the mastaba at a date subsequent to its original construction.

<sup>276</sup> Lepsius’s artist almost certainly erred in seeing a loaf *t* instead of the 2nd pers. m. sing. pronoun after the *ks*-arms.

<sup>277</sup> See above, p. 143.

<sup>278</sup> LD, Text 1, p. 54.

#### G 2378 A

Senedjemib Mehi was probably buried in G 2378 A, a sloping passage tomb of type 9 a that descends to the west under the east wall of his mastaba, at a distance of about 11 m from its southeast corner (pl. 125a; fig. 130a).<sup>279</sup> A built passage was constructed in a rock-cut passage and roofed with slabs. The empty space above the roof and on either side of the built passage was then packed with rubble and mud. Later, when mastaba G 2385 was built, the mouth of the sloping passage was hidden under the floor of its northernmost room (Room g–h) (figs. 2, 3, 9).<sup>280</sup>

The passage itself was blocked with plug-stones.<sup>281</sup> The opening of the passage in the rock floor measures 5.0 x 2.1 m, and the rock face on the east is about 3.20 m high. The horizontal length of the rock-cut passage is 7.0 meters; the angle of descent 27° 52'. The sloping length of the floor is 15.0 m and of the roof 8.25 m. A section vertical to the slope measured in width 2.1 m (east) and 1.9 m (west) and in height 1.9 m (east) and 1.9 m (west). The built passage is of the same length and inclination as the rock-cut passage, but the other measurements were never recorded. The passage enters the burial chamber from the east at the north end of the east wall practically at floor level. The chamber itself measures 6.85 x 3.3 m with a height of 2.4 m. The area is 22.6 sq. m. and the capacity 54.24 cu. m.

In the southwest corner of the chamber sits a plain red granite sarcophagus whose outside measurements are 3.4 x 1.45 m and whose height is 1.35 m (pl. 125b). The inside measurements are 2.35 x 0.8 m and the depth 0.65 m. Like Inti’s sarcophagus, Mehi’s had a heavy, thick lid of ill-defined form with a slightly curving top, and thus belonged to Reisner’s type (g).<sup>282</sup> Unlike his father’s sarcophagus, Mehi’s was uninscribed. It had a maximum thickness of 0.75 m and at the edges was 0.6 m thick. Tomb Card G 2378 A provides a few more details about the sarcophagus: it was partly polished on the sides; four drill holes were visible on each interior side (see pl. 126a; fig. 130a); and the roughly elliptical cover was fastened with lime plaster. The tomb card also provides the information that a square recess, 82 cm square and 53 cm deep, was cut in the floor of the chamber in the middle of the south wall adjacent to the northwest corner of the sarcophagus. This recess is visible in the plan and in section C–D.<sup>283</sup> The tomb card speculates that it was a receptacle for objects but, considering that the recess is close to the southeast corner of the burial chamber, which was the usual position for a canopic pit, it is possible that it was intended for this purpose.<sup>284</sup>

<sup>279</sup> See Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” pp. 146–47.

<sup>280</sup> In the plunderers shaft at the entrance to the sloping burial shaft, among a mass of loose stones beneath the floor of Room g–h, Reisner found two wooden statues, the larger of which is a work of outstanding quality; see e.g., *HESP*, pl. 23. Reisner (*BMFA* II, no. 66 [November, 1913], p. 62) thought the statues belonged to the owner of G 2385, whose name was not preserved, while Smith assigned both statues to Senedjemib Mehi (*HESP*, p. 58). Considering that the serdab of Mehi is on the far side of his mastaba from the entrance to sloping passage tomb G 2385, it seems more likely to the present writer that Reisner was correct and that the two statues belonged to the anonymous owner of G 2385, especially given the presence of the two north–south serdabs in the thickness of the eastern retaining wall of G 2385. The statues will therefore be included in *The Senedjemib Complex*, Part 2.

<sup>281</sup> For what follows see Reisner, “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 145.

<sup>282</sup> See p. 81 above.

<sup>283</sup> If Reisner’s figure for the depth of the sarcophagus, for example, is correct, the recess as shown in section C–D looks less than 53 cm in depth.

In the northwest corner of the chamber was a block of rubble measuring 0.8 x 1.3 m. Built against the northern end of the sarcophagus at a distance of 0.85 m south of this rubble block was a second block of rubble measuring 1.9 x 1.4 m. These rubble blocks of roughly the same height as the sarcophagus had probably supported the granite lid before the burial.

The plunderers had dug their way through the mud and rubble packing above the built passage and thrown the granite lid off to the east. The plundering of the chamber was thorough, and Reisner found only a few ox-bones (pl. 126b), some alabaster model vessels, a copper fragment from a vessel or model vessel, and a few small potsherds, along with five small wooden figures of kneeling prisoners with their arms bound at the elbows behind their backs.

Smith speculated that the five prisoner figures (pl. 126d, e; fig. 130b) imitated the custom of placing large, stone figures of captives in the temple of the king, such as are known from the examples of Niuserre and Pepy II.<sup>285</sup> The figures were in bad condition and one was missing its head. Of the four preserved figures, three wear short wigs and the other has a sort of lappet wig.<sup>286</sup>

#### G 2378 B

At a date subsequent to its construction, the serdab behind the west wall of Room II was divided in two by a rubble wall, the slot filled with plaster, and an intrusive pit, B, constructed in its southern half. Shaft G 2378 B was of Reisner's type 7 x. It measured 1.4 x 1.4 m, and was lined with rubble to a depth of 3.10 m. It ended ca. 1 m above the rock. The shaft was unfinished, and there was no burial chamber. Reisner found it open and empty.<sup>287</sup>

### REGISTER OF OBJECTS—G 2378

For stone vessel types, see Reisner-Smith, *GN* 2, pp. 90–102.

#### G 2378, in sand on top

12–12–41 Plummet(?), dried mud, l. 7.8 cm (pl. 126c; fig. 130b). MFA 13.3457; Exp. Ph. A 4992 1/8

#### G 2378 A, in chamber

12–12–209 Five figures of prisoners, kneeling hands tied behind back; one has the head broken off, bad condition, wood, h. ca. 10 cm. (pl. 126d–e; fig. 130b). MFA 13.3458–9; Cairo JE 44614, 44615, 44616. Exp. Ph. B 1922, C 4475

12–12–210 Rough saucer, alab., diam. 6.6 cm, type OK IXa. Not illustrated

12–12–211 Frg. from a model vessel, copper, l. 3.1 cm. Not illustrated

12–12–212 Two rough saucers and half of a third, alab., diam. 6.8 cm. Not illustrated

12–12–213 Model jar with spout, incomplete, alab., h. 3.4 cm, type OK XVIa (fig. 130b). Not photographed

<sup>284</sup> On canopic pits, see *GN* 1, pp. 155–62. Reisner does not include this recess in his list.

<sup>285</sup> *HESP*, p. 58. Subsequently, large prisoner statues have also been found in the pyramid complexes of Izezi (*PM* 3<sup>2</sup>, p. 424), Unis (ibid., p. 421), Teti (ibid., p. 394), and Pepy I (ibid., p. 422). The smaller wooden figures of foreign captives discovered in the pyramid temple of Neferefre appear to have originally adorned a piece of sacred furniture; see Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs*, pp. 146–47, figs. on pp. 148, 149.

<sup>286</sup> *HESP*, p. 58, pl. 23 e–f.

<sup>287</sup> “Description of Additions to Cemetery en Echelon,” p. 146; see above, pp. 3, 35.

12–12–214 Model jar, bottom broken off, alab., h. 7 cm. (fig. 130b). Not photographed  
35–7–20 Ox bones. No data. (pl. 126b)

### TITLES OF SENEDJEMIB MEHI

As is the case with his father and his brother Khnumenti, the honorific and religious content of Mehi's titulary is limited.

1. <i>iw n knmt</i>	“pillar of the <i>knmt</i> -folk”
2. <i>imy-ib n nswt</i>	“favorite of the king”
3. <i>imy-ib n nswt m st.f nb(t)</i>	“favorite of the king wherever he is”
4. <i>imy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>btj</i>	“overseer of the two workshops”
5. <i>imy-r3 prwy-<sup>c</sup>hw</i>	“overseer of the two armories”
6. <i>imy-r3 prwy-nwb</i>	“overseer of the two houses of gold”
7. <i>imy-r3 hkr nswt (nb)</i>	“overseer of (all) royal regalia”
8. <i>imy-r3 zšw <sup>c</sup> nswt</i>	“overseer of scribes of royal records”
9. <i>imy-r3 <sup>r</sup> sš<sup>r</sup> nswt</i>	“overseer of royal <sup>r</sup> linen <sup>1</sup> ”
10. <i>imy-r3 šnwty</i>	“overseer of the two granaries”
11. <i>imy-r3 kst nb(t) nt nswt</i>	“overseer of all works of the king”
12. <i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i>	“hereditary prince”
13. <i>mdh qd nswt m prwy</i>	“royal master builder in both houses (viz. Upper and Lower Egypt)”
14. <i>hsty-<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup></i>	“true count”
15. <i>hry-sšb n wd<sup>t</sup>-mdw nb(t) nt nswt</i>	“master of secrets of all commands of the king”
16. <i>hry-tp nswt</i>	“royal chamberlain”
17. <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	“sole friend”
18. <i>t3ty z3b t3ty</i>	“chief justice and vizier”

No. 4. There were two *w<sup>c</sup>bt*, or “workshops,” in the Old Kingdom, one the workshop of the embalmers and the other that of the artisans who fashioned mobilier for the dead, including funerary equipment of all kinds, statues, and stone architectural elements, such as false doors.<sup>288</sup> The title *imy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>btj* is a regular component in vizier's titularies from the reign of Unis.<sup>289</sup> Mehi may, in fact, be the earliest vizierial holder of the title. The presumably lower ranking *imy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>bt*, “overseer of a workshop,” occurs less often in vizier's titularies.<sup>290</sup> One of the viziers who have the lower-ranking title is *imy-r3 w<sup>c</sup>btj* as well.<sup>291</sup> Neither title was the sole preserve of the viziers. The higher-ranking title was held by three treasury overseers and a

<sup>288</sup> Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), p. 202; Brovanski, *Orientalia* 46 (1977), pp. 114–15.

<sup>289</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 56 (3), 68 (22), 96 (62), 99 (67), 100 (68), 101 (69), 109 (82), 112 (88), 112 (89), 130 (117), 154 (151), 160 (160).

<sup>290</sup> Ibid., pp. 68 (22), 87 (49), 89 (51), 89 (52), 134 (123).

<sup>291</sup> Ibid., p. 68 (22).

master metalworker who, like the treasury officials, was also *imy-r3 prwy nwb*, “overseer of the two houses of gold,” and a high priest of Ptah (*wr hꜣꜣ hmwt*, “greatest of the directors of craftsmen”<sup>292</sup>) who was not.<sup>293</sup> Three high priests of Ptah bore the lower-ranking title, as did a master metalworker and two overseers of craftsmen,<sup>294</sup> while an *imy-r3 wꜣbt nswt* is also *imy-r3 prw-inꜣt*, “overseer of the houses of the weavers.”<sup>295</sup> From the reign of Unis at least, it may be that the vizier was in overall charge of the two workshops, while the non-viziers who were *imy-r3 wꜣbt* or *imy-r3 wꜣbt* were responsible for their daily operation and production.

Strudwick notes that title No. 6 is more commonly found with *imy-r3 prwy-hꜣd* than *imy-r3 pr-hꜣd*.<sup>296</sup> Of the eighteen examples known to him, only four are not found in this combination. Two of these are probably associated with this title by virtue of their bearers being metal-workers.<sup>297</sup> Of the two other individuals, the titulary of the overseer of Upper Egypt Ni-kau-Izezi is not yet completely published, so theoretically it is possible that he was also *imy-r3 prwy-hꜣd*.<sup>298</sup> The second exception is Senedjemib Mehi. In this connection, Strudwick observes that Mehi is one of the few viziers to hold the title *imy-r3 šnwty* but not *imy-r3 prwy-hꜣd*, and he wonders if the latter title did not appear in the damaged portions of the tomb.<sup>299</sup> It would be surprising, however, for so important a title to be omitted from the title strings on Mehi’s false door, if he indeed possessed it. Then too, conversely, Inti is *imy-r3 prwy-hꜣd* (and *imy-r3 šnwty*) but not *imy-r3 prwy-nwb*, while Khnumenti has all three titles. In all likelihood, there are principles at work here governing the inclusion or exclusion of titles that are not readily comprehensible to us.

No. 9. Mehi appears to be the only vizier to have held this treasury-related title.<sup>300</sup>

No. 14. Mehi consistently adds the adjective *mꜣꜣ*, “true, real” to his rank title of *hꜣty-ꜣ*. Whereas some scholars think that the use of the *mꜣꜣ* after a title means that the holder actually exercised the office concerned, others claim that the use of the word denotes exactly the opposite, the adjective suggesting rather that the title was merely honorific.<sup>301</sup> James thinks it wrong to claim that *mꜣꜣ* indicates an active as against a passive holding of a title since, if it were true that it indicates a real exercise of office, it is surprising it is not found used more often.<sup>302</sup> He notes further that in the case of primarily honorific titles, such as *smr wꜣty* and *imꜣhw*, *mꜣꜣ* can hardly signify a difference between real and honorific. Fischer observes that the word *mꜣꜣ*

is added to the title “overseer of Upper Egypt” by Uni the Elder, who certainly controlled all the Upper Egyptian nomes, while Pepyankh Hery-ib of Meir, who controlled the Middle Nomes, appends *n bw mꜣꜣ* (“rightly, rightfully, truthfully”) to the same title.<sup>303</sup> Additions such as *mꜣꜣ* and *n bw mꜣꜣ* have also been taken as indications of the declining value of the titles to which they are appended.<sup>304</sup> Baer has noted, however, that these and certain other additions do not produce the slightest change in the rank of the titles to which they are added.<sup>305</sup> Perhaps, as James suggests, *mꜣꜣ* was used as a form of elegant variation.<sup>306</sup>

## DEPENDENTS OF SENEDJEMIB MEHI

1. *Pth-šps* (*šps-Pth*) (*PN I*, p. 326, 19; 2, p. 429, 14).<sup>307</sup> Even though this name was a popular one in the Old Kingdom, it is not possible to further identify our individual who, with the title *smsw pr*, “elder of the house,” leads a file of herdsmen and oxen into the presence of Mehi and his wife on the south wall of the anteroom, east of the entrance.

2. *Ffi* (*PN I*, p. 142, 8; 2, p. 359). Depicted overseeing the weighing of metal on the east wall of the anteroom, his title began with *imy-r3*. The weighing out of metal is usually supervised by an *imy-r3 pr*, “overseer of the house,” or *imy-r3 bꜣtyw*, “overseer of metal-workers.”<sup>308</sup>

Although a *Ffi* with the title *imy-r3 pr* is known from the tomb of the king’s son of his body and general Djaty (G 7810), this individual clearly antedates our period.<sup>309</sup>

3. *Hm-šty* also appears in the tomb of Inti with the titles *zꜣb zꜣ šꜣd hmw-ks*.<sup>310</sup> On the north wall of the anteroom in G 2378, he has the title *zꜣb zꜣ*, but in the presentation scene on the south wall of the same room, east of the entrance, he is *zꜣb imy-r3 zꜣw*, “magistrate and overseer of scribes.” *Zꜣb* is probably likewise to be restored before the title *imy-r3 zꜣw* in the fowling scene on the rear of the portico to the east of the entrance. If anything, Hemakhti occupies a more prominent role in G 2378 than in G 2370. In the portico of G 2378, as in that of G 2370, he is one of four senior officials who attend Mehi on an outing in the marshes, but on the north wall of the anteroom he heads a file of officials and offering bearers who approach Mehi and his family, while in the presentation scene on the south wall of the same room, he hands Mehi a papyrus scroll that presumably contained lists of the stock raised on his estates.

The name is a relatively common one,<sup>311</sup> but none of the bearers of the name has a very good claim to be identified with the official portrayed in Inti and Mehi’s chapels, though one among them, a *zꜣb zꜣ* represented in tomb of Akhetetep at Saqqara occupies the right

<sup>292</sup> See Fischer, *Varia*, p. 67.

<sup>293</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 121 [422]; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 78 (35), 103 (73), 98 (66); Goyon, *Kēmi 15* (1969), pl. 2.

<sup>294</sup> *PM 3<sup>2</sup>*, pp. 54 [G 1032], 138 [G 4811–12], 452 [No. 14], 460 [No. 38, north chapel], 464 [No. 48], 464 [No. 50].

<sup>295</sup> CG 1447. For the reading of the title, see Fischer, *Varia*, p. 72 (24). Another *imy-r3 wꜣbt nswt* (*PM 3<sup>2</sup>*, p. 64 [G 1457]) has no titles whatsoever that connect him with craftsmen.

<sup>296</sup> *Administration*, p. 284.

<sup>297</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 29; Goyon, *Kēmi 15* (1959), pl. 5 (8).

<sup>298</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 105 (76).

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>300</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 290, states that Khentika Ikhekhi has the title *imy-r3 šꜣr*. In fact, the title belongs to an individual with the same name and by-name as the vizier, but who probably belonged to a later generation of the vizier’s funerary personnel; see James, *Khentika*, pl. 13 [79], and Fischer, *Varia Nova*, p. 6.

<sup>301</sup> E.g., Gunn, in *Tei Cem.* 1, p. 109, n. 3; Nims, *JAOs 56* (1938), p. 647, n. 45.

<sup>302</sup> James, *Khentika*, pp. 10 (37), 12–13.

<sup>303</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 96–97, nn. 437–38.

<sup>304</sup> E.g., Kees, *Prov. Verw.*, p. 91, n. 2.

<sup>305</sup> *Rank and Title*, p. 163.

<sup>306</sup> James, *Khentika*, p. 13; but see also p. 41, n. 74 above.

<sup>307</sup> Additional citations: Murray, *Index*, pl. 6.

<sup>308</sup> See above, p. 147.

<sup>309</sup> REM photograph 8/77. For the date, see Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 164 (165); Harpur, *Decoration*, p. 271.

<sup>310</sup> See above, p. 86 (19).

<sup>311</sup> *PN I*, p. 239, 17; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 322; Quibell, *Excav. Saq.* (1907–1908), p. 25 [911]; Verner, *Ptahshepses*, pls. 49, 53, 69, 95, 150; Abder-Raziq, in *Mélanges Mokhtar*, p. 226, fig. 5.

time frame and could conceivably be our official before his promotion to *zsb imy-r3 zšw* early in the reign of Unis.<sup>312</sup>

4. *Hwfw-ḥnb(.w)* (*ḥnb-Hwfw?*) (*PN I*, p. 268, 5, “Cheops lebt”).<sup>313</sup> Without title, this individual appears as a butcher’s assistant on the west wall of the anteroom.

5. *Hnm (B:?)-špsš (Špsš-Hnm [B:?])* (*PN I*, pp. 429, 14; 326, 18; 2, p. 390). The second of three officials who make offering at the serdab slot in the west wall of the anteroom, he holds up two pieces of cloth. The title *zsb*, “dignitary,” in front of his face may have been followed by another short title, such as *ḥd-mr*, “district administrator,” or a scribal title such as *imy-r3 zšw*, *šḥd zšw*, or simply *zš*, all of which are regularly paired with *zsb*.<sup>314</sup> A judiciary title like *iry Nhn* would also be a possibility.<sup>315</sup>

The sign of the hairy long-legged ram with horizontal horns employed by itself can signify either *b3*, “ram(-god),” or *Hnmw*, “Khnum.” When unaccompanied by phonetic signs, as in the present instance, this can lead to confusion.<sup>316</sup>

6. *Sndm-ib* (*PN I*, p. 316, 21; 2, p. 388). The fourth figure in the procession of officials on the north wall of the anteroom, he bears the title *hry-tp šnwt*, “subordinate of the granary.”<sup>317</sup> From the papyrus scroll in his hand and writing palette under his arm, he appears also to have been a scribe. The owner of a fragment of a false door from Saqqara is the *hry-tp šnwt*, and *imy-r3 zšw šnwt*, *Sndm[...]*.<sup>318</sup> If the last preserved sign of the name was originally followed by a heart-sign, he could be the same individual. Except for *hry-tp nswt*, “royal chamberlain,” *hry-tp* is rare as an element in titles.<sup>319</sup>

7. *Qr* (*PN I*, p. 335, 21). One of a file of offering bearers on the north wall of the anteroom, he is identified as a *hm-k3*. Ranke gives *Qr* as a variant of *Qri* (*PN I*, p. 335, 30), but whereas the latter name is attested in the Old Kingdom, Ranke provides only a Middle Kingdom reference for the former. He also saw a connection between both these names and *Qir* (see above, p. 87 [21]), which was presumably based on the sporadic occurrence of the sack or purse in all three names. Any determinative that the name *Qr* in G 2378 may have possessed was lost by 1842–43, however.

8. Name lost. One of three attendants depicted behind Mehi in the spear fishing scene at the rear of the portico, he bore the title *zš ḥnswt ḥft-hr*.

9. Name lost. This anonymous *zsb smsw h3yt* strangles a goose on the right of the serdab slot in the west wall of the anteroom.

<sup>312</sup> Davies, *Ptahhetep 2*, pls. 24, 27.

<sup>313</sup> Additional citations: Murray, *Index*, pl. 11; *PM 3<sup>2</sup>*, pp. 129, 203, 216.

<sup>314</sup> Above, p. 142, n. 92.

<sup>315</sup> *PM 3<sup>2</sup>*, p. 934 (278).

<sup>316</sup> See Gardiner, *EG*, p. 459 [E 10]; Brovarski, *ASAE 71* (1987), p. 47.

<sup>317</sup> For this title, see *Teti Cem. 1*, p. 165; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 64 and n. 4. For other occurrences, see Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 34; Davies, *Ptahhetep 2*, pl. 20; *ÁIB 1*, p. 53; *Rue de tomb. 2*, pl. 137; *Teti Cem. 2*, pl. 63 [5]; *ArchAbousir 2*, pp. 388, 598; *PM 3<sup>2</sup>*, p. 696 (Cleveland 64.91).

<sup>318</sup> Martin, *Hetepka*, p. 25 (33), pl. 24.

<sup>319</sup> See *PM 3<sup>2</sup>*, pp. 930 (732, 743–44).