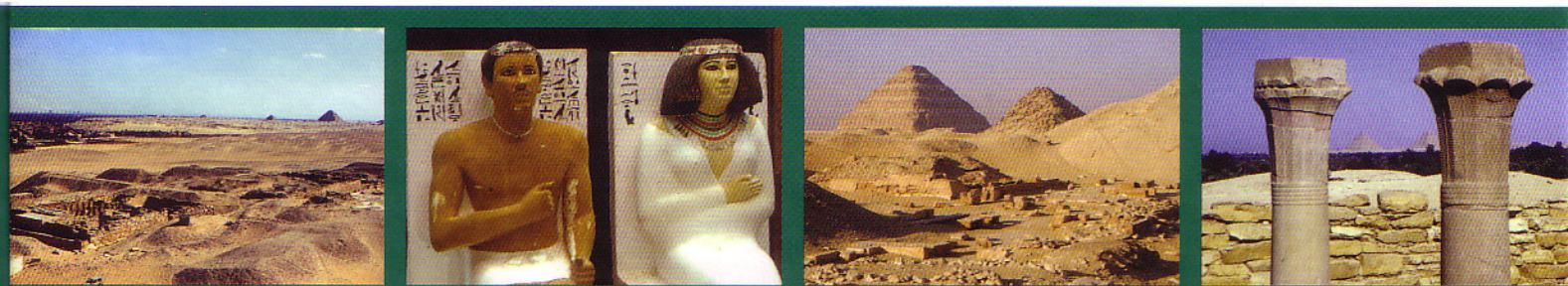


# THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

## Proceedings of the Conference



Prague, May 31 – June 4, 2004

Miroslav Bárta  
editor

# **THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY**

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE HELD IN PRAGUE,  
MAY 31 – JUNE 4, 2004

**Miroslav Bárta**  
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## Foreword

It is with pleasure that after more than two years the publication of the lectures held during the conference on the Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology in Prague in the year 2004 (May 3 – June 4) has been made possible.

The conference held in Prague continued the tradition of previous meetings by being dedicated to the same subject: art and its dating in the Old Kingdom of Egypt: the period that forms the first apogee of the developing Egyptian state. The tradition of these irregular meetings was established in 1991 by Hourig Sourouzian and Rainer Stadelmann, at that time the Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, who organised the first conference.<sup>1</sup> The second meeting also took place in Cairo, at this time the place of the venue was the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology and the conference, held on November 10–13, 1994, was organised by its director Nicolas Grimal.<sup>2</sup> The penultimate meeting took place in Paris, France, on April 3–4, 1998, and was organised by Christiane Ziegler, Chief Conservator of Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre.<sup>3</sup>

The present volume continues a well-established and successful tradition of post-conference publications. As such, it makes available most of the contributions that were presented during the conference in Prague. It was mainly the scientific profile of the Czech Institute of Egyptology that led us to substantially widen the scope of the conference in 2004. The total of thirty-three contributions presented in this volume cover various aspects connected to Old Kingdom culture, not only its art, but also its archaeology and architecture, selected administrative problems, iconography, texts and the latest, often first time published results of ongoing excavations. From the list of contributions it becomes evident that natural sciences and their application in the widest sense receive general acceptance and support from among Egyptologists. It is one of the few aspects that can in the future significantly enhance our understanding of specific issues connected to the Old Kingdom art and archaeology.

Eng. Marta Štrachová carefully edited the manuscript and was essential in producing this volume. The advice and guidance of Eng. Jolana Malátková also proved indispensable. The Czech Academy of Sciences is to be thanked for the production of the book. Last but not least, it was Prof. Dr. Jean Leclant, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, and the chair of the European branch of the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini, and Prof. Dr. David Silverman, University of Pennsylvania, chair of the North American branch of the the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini and the respective committees that approved this publication and agreed to support it financially.

Miroslav Bárta

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<sup>1</sup> The conference was held in the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo, on October 29–30, and the proceedings published in 1995 in the volume *Kunst des Alten Reiches. Symposium des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 28, Mainz am Rhein.

<sup>2</sup> N. Grimal, ed., *Lex critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 120 (Cairo, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Ch. Ziegler, N. Palayret, eds., *L'Art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien. Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service culturel les 3 et 4 avril 1998* (Paris, 1999).

## Bibliography

Abbreviations for journals, series and monographs used throughout the volume follow the system of *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (cf. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Band VII. Nachträge, Korrekturen und Indices*, founded by W. Helck and E. Otto, edited by W. Helck and W. Westendorf, Wiesbaden 1992, XIV–XXXVIII).

The following additional abbreviations are also used:

ACER – *The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports*, Sydney;  
AOS – *American Oriental Society*, Michigan;  
BSAK – *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte*, Hamburg;  
CA – *Current Anthropology*, Chicago, Illinois;  
Hannig, *Handwörterbuch* – R. Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.)*, Mainz 1995;  
Harpur, *DETOK* – Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, London and New York 1988;  
Harvey, *WSOK* – J. Harvey, *Wooden Statues of the Old Kingdom. A Typological Study, Egyptological Memoirs 2*, Leiden 2001;  
KAW – *Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt*, Mainz am Rhein;  
*LingAeg* – *Lingea Aegyptia, Journal of Egyptian language Studies*, Göttingen;  
*OrMonsp* – *Orientalia Monspeliensia*, Montpellier;  
PAM – *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, Warsaw;  
SAGA – *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens*, Heidelberg;  
WES – *Warsaw Egyptological Studies*, Warsaw.



# False doors & history: the Sixth Dynasty<sup>1</sup>

Edward Brovarski

The present article arises out of a conviction that the traditional documentary sources from which our knowledge of the Old Kingdom is drawn must be supplemented by less traditional sources if our understanding of the history and administration of the period is to progress. The idea is not new, and the contribution to be made to chronology by material sources has begun to be acknowledged of late.<sup>2</sup>

As far as false doors are concerned, as long ago as 1923 A. Rusch made considerable strides in the categorization and dating of false doors.<sup>3</sup> More recently, N. Strudwick has included an extremely important chapter on the false door as a criterion for dating in his study of the Old Kingdom administration.<sup>4</sup>

Strudwick observes that in the Sixth Dynasty the false door with cornice, torus moulding, and three pairs of jambs of equal length, each with a similar disposition of texts and figures of the deceased of equal height, which had gradually been introduced for high officials in the later Fifth Dynasty, became the standard type for all officials. A similar pattern was followed down to the early part of the reign of Pepy II.<sup>5</sup> According to Strudwick, examples from the reign of Teti all exhibit these features.

In the reign of Teti, in the viziers' tombs in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at North Saqqara, the decoration of east-west offering rooms was likewise standardized and became a model for much of the remainder of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> To a considerable extent the decoration of table scenes on false door panels reflects the decorative scheme of the table scenes on the north and south walls of the long east-west offering rooms in these mastaba chapels. Although we refer to the latter where appropriate in the present article, we have focused principally on false door panels, first of all because many more false doors survive than intact offering rooms, but also because false doors could be commissioned by individuals of modest means, who could not afford decorated offering rooms. In addition, false doors continued to be made after fully decorated offering rooms were a thing of the past, even for high officials.

Indeed, it is the false doors of the viziers of the Sixth Dynasty that provide a chronological framework for our investigation. An assumption made here is that the vizier's false doors (and offering rooms) were 'state of the art' and to a certain

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<sup>1</sup> The author would like to thank Christina Spangler for inking figs. 2f, 5b, 7c, 7d, 8c of the present article.

<sup>2</sup> M. M. F. Mostafa, *Untersuchungen zu Opfertafeln im Alten Reich*, HÄB 17 (1982), 97–135, has devoted a very useful chapter to the typology of offering basins of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. R. Hözl, *Ägyptische Opfertafeln und Kultbecken*, HÄB 45 (2002), 9–63, likewise deals with the typology of offering stones and basins of the Old through the New Kingdom. In terms of dating, more remains to be done, however.

<sup>3</sup> 'Die Entwicklung der Grabsteinformen im Alten Reich', ZÄS 58 (1923): 101–124. The study of S. Wiebach, *Die Ägyptische Scheintür* (Hamburg, 1981) has been criticized for being insufficiently concerned with dating; see review of *ibid.*, by N. Strudwick, *BiOr* 41, No. 5/6 (September – November, 1984): 630–634.

<sup>4</sup> N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), 9–52.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 16–17.

<sup>6</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 107; E. Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex, Part 1. The Mastabas of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Khnumenti (G 2374), and Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378), Giza Mastabas 7* (Boston, 2002), 16–18. In the footnotes that follow, the dates of the tombs, given in parentheses by a Roman numeral representing the dynasty and Arabic numerals indicating the sequence of a king in a dynasty are those of Harpur and are to be found in the List of Tombs and Fragments under the tomb owner's name on pages 265–282 of her important study.

extent served as models for the false doors (and offering rooms) of lower ranking officials (for an exception, see p. 87). Fortunately, although problems remain, the succession of the viziers of the Sixth Dynasty, especially of those individuals who served Teti and Pepy I in that capacity, is fairly well established.<sup>7</sup> Since most of the viziers of the period in question were buried at Saqqara, that site naturally enough forms the focus of our attention. But Giza and the provincial sites will be included in the discussion wherever relevant.

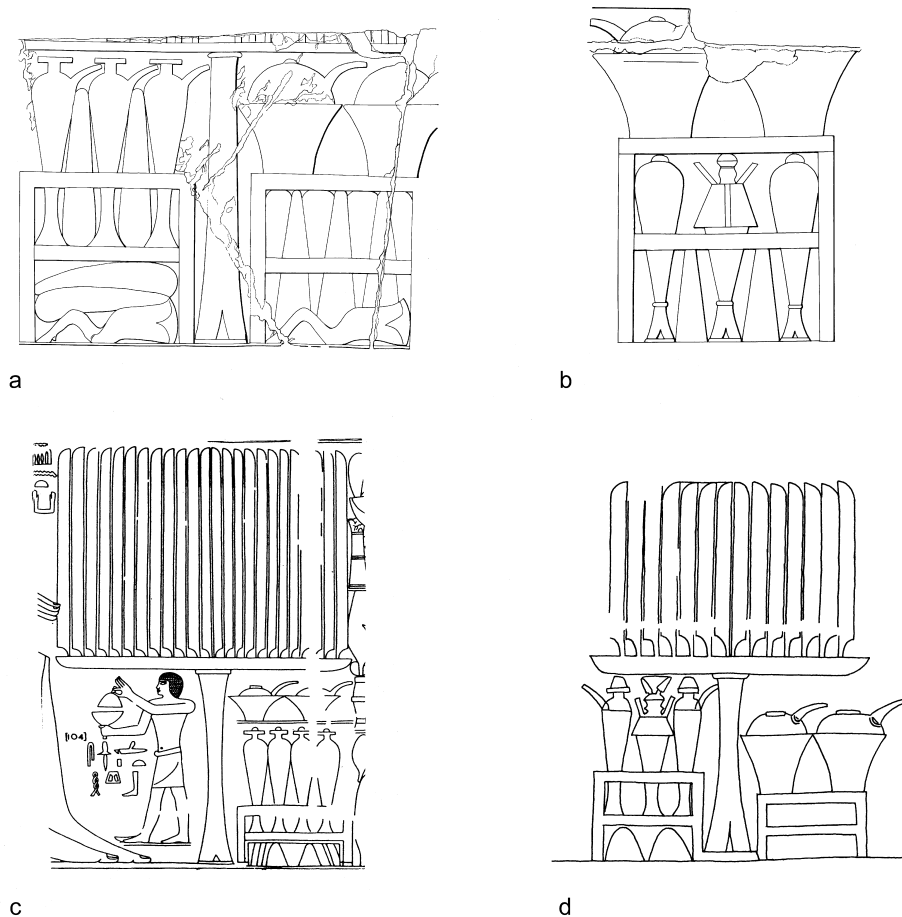


Fig. 1 Table scenes of Mereruka (a, b), Khentika/Ikhekhi (c) and Mehu (d)

Cecil Firth thought that Neferseshemra/Sheshi preceded Kagemni in the office of vizier.<sup>8</sup> Firth was probably correct in this, since Neferseshemra's mastaba is the first in line in the so-called 'Rue de tombeaux' to the north of Teti's pyramid and is square like Kagemni's, while his burial chamber is undecorated, unlike the burial chambers of the later viziers of Teti and Pepy I in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery.<sup>9</sup> The decoration of Neferseshemra's false door panel (*fig. 2b*) points to the same conclusion, inasmuch as the table scene on the panel lacks the rectangular table bearing paired ewers and basins in the space on the far side of the pedestal of the table of bread that appears on the slightly later false door panels of Kagemni/Memi and Mereruka/Meri (*fig. 2d*).<sup>10</sup> Instead Neferseshemra's false door bears a double representation of the deceased at table with an ideographic offering list occupying the space between the vizier's legs and the two tables of bread.

Beginning apparently in the middle part the reign of Teti, a new arrangement of the table scenes on the north and south lateral walls of the long east-west offering

<sup>7</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 100 (68); 112 (88); N. Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace* (London, New York, 2003), 113–115.

<sup>8</sup> Firth – Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I*, 15.

<sup>9</sup> N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, vol. 3: *The Tombs of Neferseshemra and Seankhuptah*, ACER 11 (1998), 15–16.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 18, 58; Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pl. 62.

rooms appears (Scheme I). As fate would have it, the lateral walls of Neferseshemra's offering room are destroyed. Thus, as far as the table scenes on the walls of the offering rooms of the viziers in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery are concerned, the new arrangement, which consists of *hezset*- and/or *qebeh*-vessels set in a jar-rack on one side of the pedestal leg of the offering table of bread and nested ewers and basins

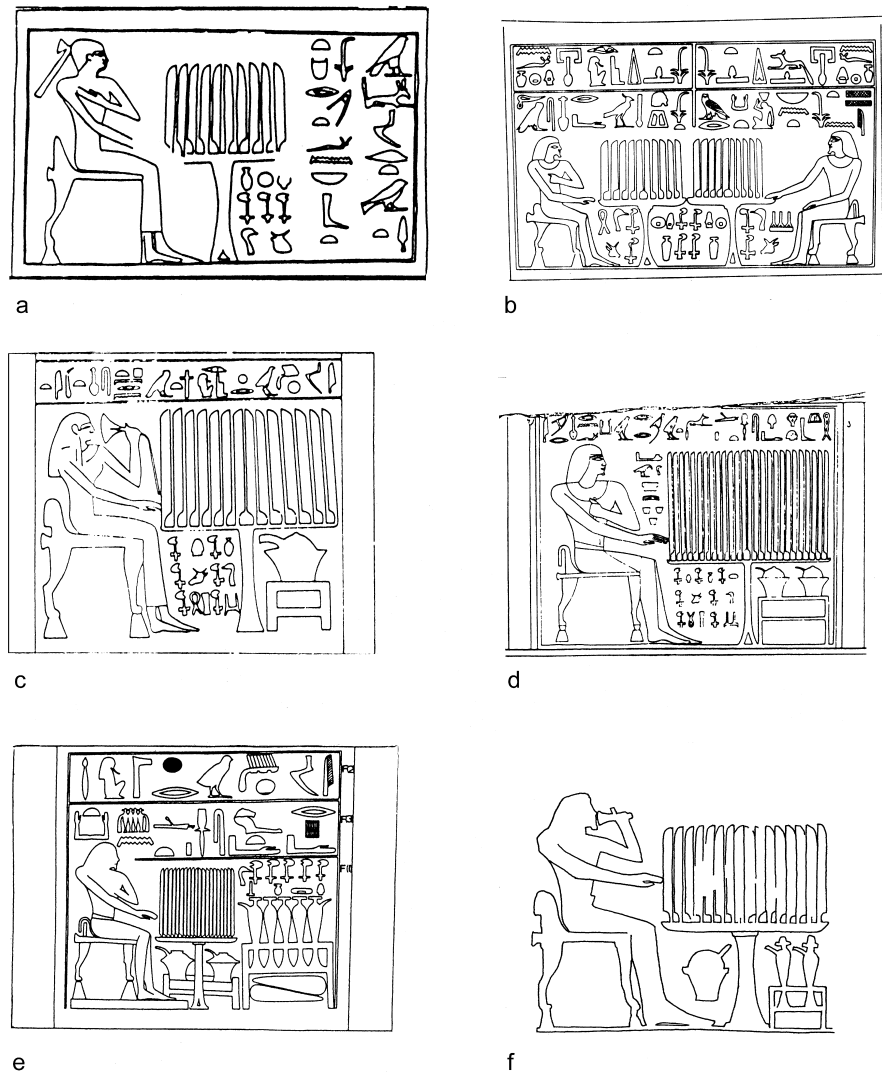


Fig. 2 Table scenes on false door panels

placed on a small square or low rectangular service table on the opposite side of the table leg first appears on the south wall of the offering room in the tomb of the vizier Kagemni in the early part of the reign of King Teti.<sup>11</sup> A similar arrangement occurs on the south wall of Mereruka's chapel in the middle to late part of the same reign,<sup>12</sup> but the jar rack contains *qebeh*-vessels in lieu of Kagemni's *hezset*-vessels (fig. 1a). Two tall *šns*-loaves are inserted between the *qebeh*-vessels in the jar rack in Mereruka's table scene, and *šns*-loaves and other food offerings fill the open spaces between and under the horizontal struts of Mereruka's jar rack and beneath the service tables in both chapels.

Interestingly, the design on the opposing north wall in both Kagemni and Mereruka's chapel is divergent. In both cases, the service table with paired ewers and basins on its top has been transformed into a jar rack, in which are set jars of

<sup>11</sup> F. W. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai. Band I* (Berlin, 1905), pl. 20. Both *hezset*-vessels in racks and ewers and basins on tables appear in earlier scenes, but not grouped beneath the offering table as here; see e.g. A. M. Moussa, H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay, AV 5* (1971), pl. 25 (V.6); Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas 1*, pl. 23 (Usernetjer; V.6L-7); Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex 1*, figs. 61 (Senedjemib/Inti; V.8M-L), 124, 128, 129 (Senedjemib/Mehi; V.9).

<sup>12</sup> Duell, *Mereruka 1*, pl. 57 (VI.1M-L).

two or three different shapes (Scheme II). The vessels in Kagemni's jar rack are badly damaged, and it is impossible to be certain of their precise nature from the published photographs, but in the corresponding arrangement on the north wall of Mereruka's offering room, the jar rack holds two *špn(t)*-jars<sup>13</sup> with a tall storage jar with basketwork flaps in between (fig. 1b).<sup>14</sup> In both cases, two medium-sized *šns*-loaves fill the interstices between the jars.<sup>15</sup>

The table scenes on the long walls of the vizier Ankhmahor/Zezi's chapel are destroyed along with his false door. Nevertheless, in the table scene painted on one wall of his burial chamber, a single ewer and basin rests on a baseline close to the chair of the deceased, while three *hezēt*-jars are set in a jar rack on the far side of the table leg.<sup>16</sup> Ankhmahor's tomb probably belongs to the middle or late reign of Teti; as Strudwick has observed, there are no indications that his career continued into the reign of Pepy I, at least not long enough for the name of that king to appear in his tomb.<sup>17</sup>

In the table scene on the north wall of Khentika's chapel, in the early-middle reign of Teti, the elaborate jar rack with paired ewers and basins and the fancy vessels in the rack below is absent. Instead, two nested ewers and basins on a single baseline are placed above a rack filled with *qebēh*-jars on the far side of the table leg (fig. 1c).<sup>18</sup> Vestiges of a jar rack on the damaged south wall suggest that the table scene on this wall presented a mirror image of the north wall.<sup>19</sup>

The chapel of Mereruka's son, the vizier Meryteti/Meri, and that of the vizier Mehu do not adhere to the arrangement apparent on the south walls of the offering rooms of Kagemni or Mereruka, on both walls of Khentika's offering room, or in the burial chamber of Ankhmahor. On the north and south walls of Meryteti's chapels, in the middle to late reign of Pepy I,<sup>20</sup> two *špn(t)*-jars and a tall storage jar with basketwork flaps are set in a rack, while two ewers and basins rest on the top of the rack, as on the north wall of Mereruka's chapel (Scheme II). In the corresponding walls of Mehu's chapel two *qebēh*-jars plus a tall storage jar with basketwork flaps are likewise set in a rack (with food below), but two ewers and basins appear opposite, in one case resting on a separate baseline and on the opposite wall set on a low table (fig. 1d).<sup>21</sup> This probably brings us down to about the middle of the reign of Pepy I (see pp. 81–82), at which time a number of fundamental changes occur in the table scene on both tomb walls and false door panels. These will be discussed below after the scheme of decoration of the false door panels in the same chapels is examined.

If the table scenes on the south wall of the chapels of the viziers Kagemni, Mereruka, and Khentika in the reigns of kings Teti and Pepy I depict nested ewers and basins on a low table and a rack filled with *hezēt*- and/or *qebēh*-vessels beneath the offering table (Scheme I), they are not the only sepulchers to do so. Indeed, from the reign of Teti down to the end of the Sixth Dynasty and perhaps beyond, a jar rack containing *hezēt*- and/or *qebēh*-vessels and one or two nested ewers and basins set

<sup>13</sup> For the *špn(t)*-jar, see Wb. IV, 445.1-3; M. du Buisson, *Les noms et signes égyptiens désignant des vases ou objets similaires* (Paris, 1935), 22.

<sup>14</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pl. 64.

<sup>15</sup> Interestingly, the two table scenes on the side-panels of the false door niche of Mereruka's wife Watetkhethathor exhibit a design all their own. Below the table of bread in each case, a single ewer and basin on a small table is balanced by a low table on which are set two *qebēh*-vessels with a *špn(t)*-jar between them. Food offerings are set out beneath the table.

<sup>16</sup> N. Kanawati, A. Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, vol. 2: The Tomb of Ankhmahor*, ACER 9 (1997), pl. 68.

<sup>17</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 75 (30). Note, however, that Harpur (*DETOK*, 273) thinks Ankhmahor lived into the early reign of Pepy I.

<sup>18</sup> The small figure of a thurifer appears in the space on the other side of the table leg.

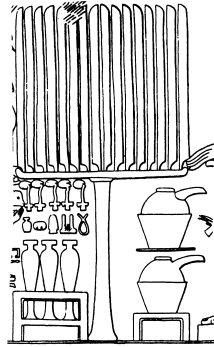
<sup>19</sup> T. G. H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi*, ASE 30 (1953), pls. 20, 21. The space closest to the deceased is instead filled by a small figure of a thurifer.

<sup>20</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 274.

<sup>21</sup> H. Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*, AV 42 (1998), pls. 56, 64. The juxtaposed scenes here make it clear that the presence or absence of the table under the basin and ewer is of little significance for dating purposes.

on a table or on a base- or ground-line regularly appear beneath the offering tables on tomb walls of lesser officials as well. The disposition of the racks and tables may vary with, for example, the table and rack placed on the same side of the table leg, instead of opposite sides, or the ewer and basin may be set on the groundline of the table scene or on a separate baseline, rather than on a service table.

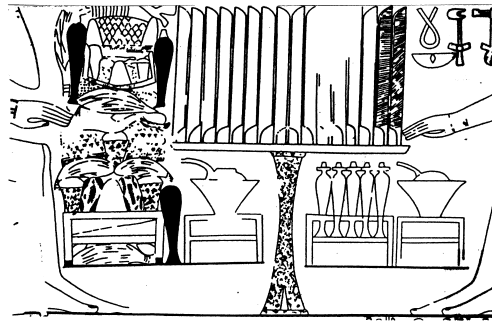
In the Teti Pyramid Cemetery itself, in the early to middle reign of Teti, in the table scenes on the long walls of the offering room of Udjahateti/Sheshi/Neferseshemptah in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, two ewer's and basins on a baseline are set above two jar racks containing *qebeh*-jars.<sup>22</sup> On the south wall, four *qebeh*-jars (along with



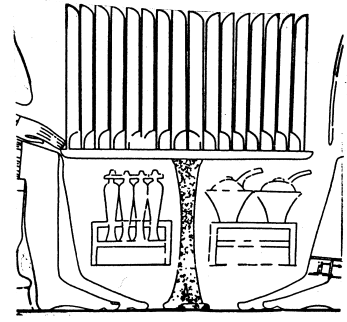
a



b




c



d

Fig. 3 Table scenes with separate ewers and basins and *hez*- and *qebeh*-vessels in jar-racks (Scheme I)

a small -loaf in the center) are set in the rack, while food offerings are arranged on the shelf of the rack and on the groundline of the scene underneath it.<sup>23</sup> On the north wall, the jar rack just holds two *qebeh*-vessels.<sup>24</sup> Other instances of Scheme I on tomb walls in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery are to be found in the offering rooms of Mereri<sup>25</sup> and Seankhuiptah.<sup>26</sup>

Scheme I is known from other occurrences in the Memphite cemeteries. In the middle of the reign of King Teti a jar rack containing *hez*-jars is set at the feet of the High Priest of Ptah Sabu/Ibebi on the left-hand side-panel of his false door niche, while a nested ewer and basin rest on the ground opposite.<sup>27</sup> In the tomb of Sabu/Ibebi's son, Ptahshepses II (see p. 89), in the reign of Merenra or early Pepy II, two nested ewers and basins are shown at the feet of the deceased, one above the other, while a jar rack with *hez*-vessels appears on the far side of the table leg (fig. 3a).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> For the date, see Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 108, who thinks the westernmost room in the mastaba belongs to Neferseshemptah's like-named son. Cf. Harpur, *DETOK*, 273 (VI.1-2E).

<sup>23</sup> J. Capart, *Rue de Tombeaux* (Brussels, 1907), pl. 99.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 97. On the east wall, only a low table with two ewers and basins appears on the far side of the offering table, while Neferseshemptah's wife squats at her own offering table at the feet of her husband opposite.

<sup>25</sup> W. V. Davies, A. El-Khouli, A. B. Lloyd, A. J. Spencer, *Saqqara Tombs I: The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu* (London, 1984), pls. 12, 14 (Harpur, *DETOK*, 274, VI.2E).

<sup>26</sup> Kanawati, Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pls. 67, 68, 72, 74.

<sup>27</sup> CG 1295-1805, vol. 2, pl. 21 (CG 1418) (Harpur, *DETOK*, 276; VI.1M ?).

<sup>28</sup> Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pls. 29, 30; K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), 76, 290 [168]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 274.

At Giza during the same span of time, a jar-rack filled with *qebeh*-vessels appears on the side of the table leg closest to the deceased in a table scene on the west wall of the tomb of Idu (G 7102), while a nested ewer and basin are set on the groundline on the far side of the table.<sup>29</sup>

The nested ewers and basins and the *hezset*- and/or *qebeh*-vessels also enter into the composition of table scenes on tomb walls in the provinces of Upper Egypt in the late Sixth Dynasty, although on occasion there seems to be some confusion regarding the service tables and racks. In the tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi in the first third of the reign of Pepy II, a ewer and basin are set in a jar rack (rather than on a service table) close to the deceased's legs, while a jar rack holding *hezset*- and *qebeh*-vessels rests on the groundline of the scene opposite (fig. 3b).<sup>30</sup> In the tomb of Tjauti at Qasr el-Saiyad, in the middle of the same reign, a ewer and basin on a small table and three *qebeh*-jars on another small table (rather than in a rack) are set on the far side of the table leg.<sup>31</sup> The draughtsman who designed the table scenes in the tombs of Niankhpepy Hepi the Black<sup>32</sup> and Pepyankh the Middle at Meir (fig. 3c, 3d)<sup>33</sup> were not subject to the same confusion. Niankhpepy is dated by Harpur to the first third of the reign of Pepy II and Pepyankh the Middle to the Sixth – Eighth Dynasties.<sup>34</sup>

On the panel of Kagemni's false door, there is just visible above a low table with two nested ewers and basins the bottom part of a jar rack which once held containing two *hezset*- or *qebeh*-jars (Scheme I).<sup>35</sup> The jar rack does not recur in Mereruka's false door panel, whose decoration (Scheme III A) is confined to two ewers and basins on a low table on the far side of the leg of the offering table and to an ideographic offering list opposite (fig. 2d).<sup>36</sup> The absence of the jar rack on the panel of Mereruka's false door is somewhat surprising, especially since the jar rack does appear along with a low table bearing two nested ewers and basins in the table scene on the south wall of Mereruka's offering room (fig. 1a). Possibly, the decorative scheme of jar rack with *hezset*- or *qebeh*-vessels and the low table with ewers and basins (Scheme I) had not yet been completely established as a definitive decorative program for false doors panels by the middle part of King Teti's reign.

In Mereruka's case we are fortunate in possessing the false doors of three generations of his family, that of his mother, Nedjetempet, Mereruka's own false door, and that of his son Meryteti. The panel of Nedjetempet's false door has a small table with a single nested ewer and basin beneath the table of bread and an ideographic offering list on the other side of the table leg (fig. 2c).<sup>37</sup> The simpler design could conceivably be a result of available resources, but is more probably the consequence of the slightly earlier date of Nedjetempet's false door, since the panel of the false door of King Unas's daughter, Princess Idut, has the same design.<sup>38</sup> So

<sup>29</sup> W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu, G 7101 and 7102. Giza Mastabas 2* (Boston, 1976), fig. 39 (VI.3-4E). For the date, see Baer, *Rank and Title*, 62, 288 [77]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 265.

<sup>30</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi 1*, pl. 19 (VI.4E).

<sup>31</sup> T. Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad)* (Stockholm, 1994), pls. 19, 29; (VI.3-5).

<sup>32</sup> *Meir V*, pls. 9 and 11.

<sup>33</sup> *Meir IV*, pls. 9, 12.

<sup>34</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 280. For other instances of the same decorative scheme, see Hassan, *Giza VI.3*, fig. 10 (Irenakhti/Irenptah/Iry; VI); *idem*, *Giza VII*, fig. 51 (Seshemnefer/Iufi; VI); A. El-Khouli, N. Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna, ACER 1* (1989), pls. 40, 43 (VI.7-FIP); Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, fig. 37 (Iuiu; see pp. 89–89 below); R. J. Leprohon, 'The Sixth Dynasty False Door of the Priestess of Hathor Irti' *JARCE 31* (1994): 41–47, fig. 3; W. K. Simpson, 'Two Egyptian Bas Reliefs of the Late Old Kingdom', *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin 11*, no. 3 (December, 1972): figs. 2, 3 (Khesufuikhnum/Khnumenti).

<sup>35</sup> von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai 2*, pl. 35.

<sup>36</sup> Duell, *Mereruka 1*, pl. 62.

<sup>37</sup> N. Kanawati, A. Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara 1, ACER 8* (1996), pl. 40.

<sup>38</sup> Macramallah, *Mastaba d'Idout*, pl. 6. Harpur, *DETOK*, 275, dates the original use of the tomb by the vizier Ihy to the reign of Unas and its reuse by Idut to the reign of Teti or the early reign of Pepy I. But it is possible that the princess died prematurely, early in the reign of Teti or still within the reign of her father.

does the panel of Unas's son, the Overseer of Upper Egypt Unasankh.<sup>39</sup> For that matter, the false door panel of Unas's wife, Queen Nebet, exhibits an even simpler design, which omits the low table with ewer and basin (*fig. 2a*).<sup>40</sup>

The layout of the table scene on the panel of the false door of Mereruka's son Meryteti is similar to his father's, but the rectangular table with paired basins and ewers has once again been transformed into a jar rack, in which are set two *špn(t)*-jars on pot stands with a tall storage jar having basket work flaps between them (Scheme II). The same jar rack appears beneath the offering table on the north wall of Mereruka's own offering room (*fig. 1b*), and probably Kagemni's as well, but it is otherwise rare in false door panels.<sup>41</sup>

If the vizier Kagemni's false door is the earliest attested panel which incorporates both a jar rack with *hezset*-vessels and a rectangular table with nested ewer(s) and basin(s) into the design of the table scene, the table scene on the false door of a near contemporary of his, the High Priest of Ptah, Sabu/Ibebi, also has a jar rack containing *hezset*-jars and nested ewers and basins.<sup>42</sup> As a matter of fact, Sabu/Ibebi's panel bears a double representation of the owner at table, so the elements are twice repeated. In his case the ewers and basins rest directly on the groundline of the scene and not on a table. The table scene on the false door of Mereruka's successor in the vizierate, Khentika Ikhekhi, likewise incorporates both elements, but in his panel the rectangular table with paired ewers and basins is centered on the offering table and the jar rack, which accommodates two *qebeh*-jars and three *hezset*-jars, is located on the far side of the table rather than beneath it (*fig. 2e*).<sup>43</sup> In the table scene on the false door of the Vizier Mehu in his tomb in the Unas Pyramid Cemetery, a ewer and basin rests next to the legs of the deceased, while a jar rack holding two *qebeh*-vessels is placed on the opposite side of table leg (*fig. 2f*).<sup>44</sup>

One or two nested ewers and basins resting on a service table (or not) and coupled with a jar rack containing *hezset*- and/or *qebeh*-vessels placed on the opposite side of the pedestal of the offering table are thus regular elements in the false door panels of viziers and other officials from the middle of the reign of King Teti. As is the case with Scheme I on tomb walls, they continue to appear in table scenes on false door panels down to at least the first half of the reign of Pepy II, even after newer schemes of decoration appear.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The chapel of Unasankh in Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History A. 24448, remains unpublished; see *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 616–617. The present writer has visited the chapel and had the opportunity to make notes on a number of different occasions. Harpur, *DETOK*, 273, dates the chapel to the reign of Unas.

The decoration of a number of other false door panels which date to the time of Unas or to the early reign of Teti is likewise restricted to a single ewer and basin on a small table or groundline, plus an ideographic offering list; see e.g. LD II, 81 (Seshemnefer IV; V.9-VI.1); Junker, *Gîza X*, fig. 104 (Hetepheres); N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, Vol. VII: The Tombs of Shepsipuptah, Mereri (Merinebti), Hefi and Others*, ACER 17 (2001), pl. 38 (Shepsipuptah; V.9-VI); Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex 1*, pl. 95, fig. 90 (Khnumenti; VI.1).

<sup>40</sup> P. Munro, *Das Unas-Friedhof Nord-West 1* (Mainz, 1993), pl. 30. Both of these designs are revived at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, but conceivably as the result of limited resources or diminished artistic ability (see p. 89, note 145, p. 91).

<sup>41</sup> It appears on the false door of the Overseer of the Two Treasuries Hefi (Kanawati, Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery 7*, pl. 49). The tomb is dated by Kanawati (*ibid.*, 46) to the reign of Teti. The recurrence of this rare motif could indicate that Hefi's tomb, like the chapel of Meryteti himself, belongs to the middle to late reign of Pepy I.

<sup>42</sup> CG 1565: CG 1295–1808, Vol. 2, pl. 65. Sabu/Ibebi is dated to the reign of Teti by his autobiography, *Urk.* I, 82–84.

<sup>43</sup> Khentika probably belongs to the early/middle reign of Pepy I; see Strudwick, *Administration*, 125 (109); Harpur, *DETOK*, 275 (middle Pepy I)

<sup>44</sup> Altenmüller, *Grab des Mehu*, pl. 75.

<sup>45</sup> Firth – Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II*, pl. 73 [2] (Seni; see p. 108); CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 17 (CG 1403, Seshemnefer/Meteti): 41 (CG 1490, Neferseshemseshat/Khenu; see p. 92); Z. Y. Saad, 'A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Saqqara, 1939–1940', *ASAE* 40 (1940): fig. 73 (Iarty); Junker, *Gîza VIII*, figs. 58 (Itji), 88 (Nisuptah); R. Krauspe, *Ägyptisches Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1987), cat. no. 32 (Khuenkhnun); R. S. Bianchi, *Splendors of Ancient Egypt from the Egyptian Museum Cairo* (London, 1996), fig. on »

For that reason, it is unexpected that there is only one other occurrence of Scheme I on false doors in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. This is in the table scene on the exterior false door panel of the Overseer of the Tenant Farmers of the Palace Mereri.<sup>46</sup> Two ewers and basins are set one above the other on the far side of the offering table, while a jar rack containing four *hez*-vessels appears alongside the offering table, as it also does in Khentika/Ikhekhi's false door panel.<sup>47</sup> The table scenes on the long walls of Mereri's offering room exhibit the decorative program with the nested ewer and basin on a low table to one side of the offering table and four *hez*-vessels in a rack opposite.<sup>48</sup> Kanawati had argued persuasively for a date for Mereri in the mid to late reign of Teti,<sup>49</sup> and the parallel with Khentika's false door might argue for the latter alternative.

Other false doors in the Teti Period Cemetery feature a simpler scheme of decoration. A salient feature of their design is the omission of the jar rack filled with *hez*- and/or *qeb*-vessels. For example, the table scene on the external false door in the west wall of the vizier Hezi's portico features two ewers and basins resting on a service table on the near side of the leg of the offering table with an ideographic list opposite.<sup>50</sup> This layout (Scheme III B) resembles closely the false door panel of Mereruka (*fig. 2d*).<sup>51</sup>

Kanawati dates the construction of Hezi's tomb to the late reign of Teti, but thinks Hezi's promotion to the vizierate took place at the end of Teti's reign or early in the reign of Pepy I.<sup>52</sup> The name and figure of the tomb owner were carefully chiselled out from the inscriptions and scenes inside the chapel, and Kanawati connects these erasures with the putative assassination of King Teti and the vengeance of Pepy I, when the latter mounted his father's throne.<sup>53</sup> Alternatively, he thinks it possible that Hezi could have been involved in a conspiracy early in Pepy I's reign.<sup>54</sup> The tomb was then usurped with royal approval by a certain Seshemnefer.<sup>55</sup>

In contrast to the table scene on the external false door, the two ewers and basins placed, seemingly in midair, on either side of the pedestal leg of the offering table on the panel of the principal false door inside Hezi's chapel do not rest on service tables (Scheme IV A). The scene is not part of the original decoration of the tomb, however, being recut by the usurper Seshemnefer as it was (*fig. 4a*).<sup>56</sup>

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p. 58 (Seankhenptah). Nisuptah's false door writes *htp-dj-nswt dj jn Wsjr*, a feature that indicates a date at the end of the Sixth Dynasty or later (see pp. 106–107).

On Neferseshemshat/Khenu's false door, the jar rack containing *hez*-vessels is placed above a nested ewer and basin on a low table on the far side of the table of bread, not on either side of the table leg underneath it. If Harpur (*DETOK*, 272) is correct in her date (VI.7) for the false door of Iyenhor (S. Hassan, *Mastabas of Princess Hemet-R<sup>c</sup> and Others. Excavations at Saqqara, 1937–1938*, vol. 3 [Cairo, 1975], fig. 34b), both elements may continue to occur into the late Old Kingdom.

<sup>46</sup> Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs I*, pl. 2.

<sup>47</sup> The panel of Mereri's interior false door (*ibid.*, pl. 11) has a ewer and basin on a ground line opposite a jar rack with four *hez*-vessels; however, above the rack is a grouping of two baskets and a loaf of bread, so properly speaking, this table scene belongs to Scheme I B.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 12, 14.

<sup>49</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 96.

<sup>50</sup> N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, Vol. 5. The Tomb of Hesi*, ACER 13 (1999), pl. 57.

<sup>51</sup> Two ewers and basins on a service table also appear on the far side of the leg of the offering table of Metjetji, whose false door is now in New York; see P. Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi* (Bern, 1976), fig. on page 51. P. Munro, 'Bermerkungen zur Darierung MTTI 's', in C. Berger, G. Clerc, N. Grimal, eds., *Hommages à Jean Leclant 1*, *BdE* 106/1 (1994) down dates Metjetji to the Heracleopolitan Period or the Eleventh Dynasty. I hope to show in 'The Date of Metjetji' (forthcoming) that Metjetji, like several other individuals down-dated by Munro, does indeed belong to the Sixth Dynasty.

<sup>52</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 15–16.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 61, 138ff.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 61, 157ff.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 41, 63. A grouping of bread loaves is included in the composition.



Like the false door panel of Hezi as recut for Seshemnefer, that of the vizier Inumin shows only two ewers and basins beneath the table of bread (fig. 4b).<sup>57</sup> One of the ewers and basins is set on the groundline of the scene, while the second is placed directly above the first (Scheme IV B). The decoration of the panel is otherwise limited to the seated figure of the deceased, the offering table, and an ideographic list. Inumin was inspector of priests of Pepy I's pyramid. Additionally, a cartouche

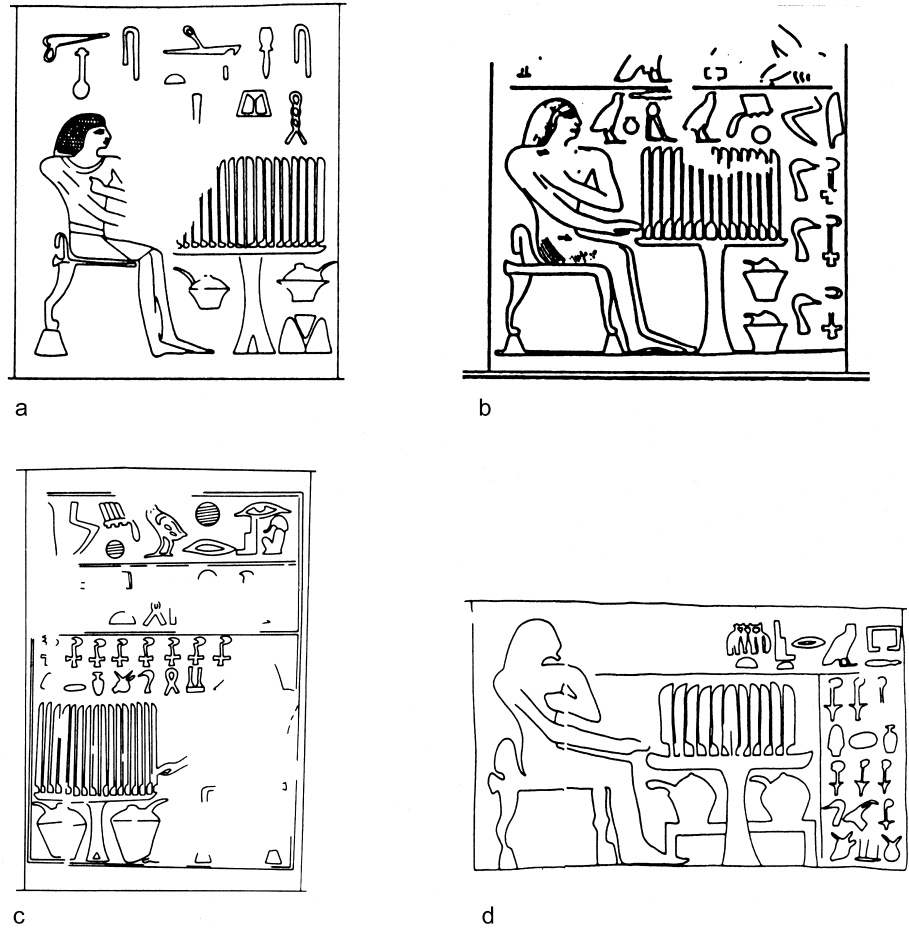


Fig. 4 False door panels with paired ewers and basins (Scheme IV)

with the throne name Nefersahor which, according to Kanawati, Pepy I used very early in his reign, was chiselled out and replaced in red paint by the later throne name of Pepy I, Meryra.<sup>58</sup> We do not, in fact, know precisely when the name change took place, only that Nefersahor in the Pyramid Texts in the burial chamber of Pepy I was changed at a later date to Meryra.<sup>59</sup> Presumably, the beginning of the reign would have been occupied with the construction of the pyramid. The first attested occurrence of the throne name Meryra actually belongs to the 18<sup>th</sup> numbering of Pepy I.<sup>60</sup>

Inumin's tomb was erected in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, but at a distance from the other vizier's tombs of the reigns of Teti and Pepy I.<sup>61</sup> The simplified decorative scheme of the false door panel is not known from the tombs of Pepy's other viziers, Khentika, Mehu, and Meryteti, and Inumin's chapel may well be later in date than these, but probably not later by much, since the tomb is a multiroom chapel with good quality relief scenes on the walls,<sup>62</sup> and such a tomb is unlikely to have been constructed at the end of Pepy I's reign or in later reigns (see p. 82).

<sup>57</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, fig. 2.40.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>59</sup> *Pyr.* 3, 43, 127.

<sup>60</sup> *Urk.* I, 93.

<sup>61</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 68, fig. 2.24.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 68–69.

Hence the chapel may have been decorated closer to the middle of Pepy I's reign. The title of vizier appears only on Inumin's sarcophagus,<sup>63</sup> and the throne name Nefersahor could have been changed to Meryra at the time of his burial as well. Since the change was made only in red ink, it may be that there was simply no time to recarve the cartouche. Similarly, Inumin's burial chamber was altered and lined with slabs of fine limestone, preparatory to converting it into a decorated burial chamber like that of the other viziers, but Inumin evidently passed away before the change could be made.<sup>64</sup>

Resembling the arrangement on the panel of the internal false door of the vizier Hezi is that of Chief Physician Seankhuptah/Hetepniptah save that the paired ewers and basins in the latter rest on the groundline of the scene (*fig. 4c*).<sup>65</sup> It is nonetheless interesting to observe that Scheme I is utilized in both table scenes on the walls of Seankhuptah's offering room.<sup>66</sup>

As is also the case with the tomb of the vizier Hezi, the name and figure of Seankhuptah have been deliberately chiselled out, although the removal of the figures on the façade and entrance of the tomb is more thoroughly executed than inside the chapel.<sup>67</sup> As he does in the case of Hezi, Kanawati connects these erasures with the putative assassination of King Teti and the vengeance of Pepy I, when the latter mounted his father's throne or, alternatively, with a conspiracy early in Pepy I's reign.<sup>68</sup>

The table scene on the false door of the Princess Inti, daughter of Pepy I and granddaughter of Teti, in her tomb in the Unas Pyramid Cemetery once again features two ewers and basin. On this occasion, the basins are set on separate baselines on either side of the pedestal leg of the offering table.<sup>69</sup> The tomb of Inti is close to the pyramid of Teti, but as the Teti cemetery continued in use in the reign of Pepy I,<sup>70</sup> the princess could have passed away in the course of her father's reign. On the other hand, her chapel is a niche-chapel with side-pieces decorated with scenes in relief on their inner side, surmounted by a lintel, and forming a roof to the niche.<sup>71</sup> This type of chapel would be unusual at this early date,<sup>72</sup> and it is conceivable that she outlived her father.

The scheme of decoration which exhibits paired ewers and basins on either side of the leg of the offering table (Scheme IV A) had a long life. Indeed, it may be based on an earlier model, popular in the Fifth Dynasty and which appears, for example, on the false door of Ankhiri/Iteti.<sup>73</sup> At Meir it is found on the panel of Pepyankh the Middle<sup>74</sup> at the end of the Sixth Dynasty or later (see p. 76). The same layout also appears in the table scene on a false door now in Richmond, Virginia, which belongs to the Royal Noblewoman Inti.<sup>75</sup> The false door possesses a supplementary frame, which indicates a date no earlier than the reign of Pepy II (see pp. 109ff.).

<sup>63</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 69, fig. 2.41.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Kanawati, Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pl. 73.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 68, 72.

<sup>67</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 118.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 61, 157ff. Both of Seankhuptah's table scenes (Kanawati, Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 3, pls. 68, 72) exhibit Scheme III with a rack holding *qebeh*-vessels on the far side of the leg of offering table set above two ewers and basins on a service table (and with a ideographic list opposite).

<sup>69</sup> See J. Malek, 'Princess Inti, the Companion of Horus', *JSEA* 10 (1980): 229–241, pls. 8, 9.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 239. Foremost among these are the tombs of the viziers Mehu and Inumin; see pp. 79–92.

<sup>71</sup> Firth – Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I, 203.

<sup>72</sup> See e. g. Vandier, *Manuel*, Vol. 2, pt. 1, 434–435; Fischer, *Dendera*, 58, 87.

<sup>73</sup> N. Kanawati, *The Tomb and Its Significance in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 1999), pl. 3a. This detail does not appear in the drawing in Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 18.

<sup>74</sup> *Meir* IV, pl. 11.

<sup>75</sup> Virginia Museum, Richmond Virginia, *Ancient Arts in the Virginia Museum* (Richmond, 1973), no. 10, 18

The decoration of two other false doors in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery is likewise limited to two ewers and basins. In the tombs of both Wernu<sup>76</sup> and Semdenti (*fig. 4d*),<sup>77</sup> however, the ewers and basins are set at either end of a service table which is itself centered on the table of bread (Scheme III C). A similar arrangement is apparent on the false door panel of Khentika/Ikhekhi, but in his case a jar rack containing *hezet*- and *qebeh*-vessels is also included in the composition (see p. 77). Kanawati has argued on stylistical grounds that the tomb of Wernu belongs to the middle to late reign of King Teti, whereas Harpur thinks the tomb may be as late as Merenra or early Pepy I.<sup>78</sup> Taking the asymmetrical arrangement of the jambs of his false door into account, Semdenti may well belong to the early reign of Pepy II (see pp. 100ff.).

In a third false door panel from the Teti cemetery, that of Meru/Tetiseneb>Meryraseneb/Pepyseneb, the paired ewers and basins are placed on separate tables to either side of the pedestal of the offering table.<sup>79</sup> Meru's false door may be as late as Pepy II (see p. 100).

It is possible that the decorative program of Semdenti's false panel should be accounted as a variant of Scheme III; the presence of a table under the ewers and basins would certainly support this suggestion. The design of Meru's panel may similarly represent a variant of Scheme III. Wernu's panel is more problematical, however, in that two figures of the deceased appear face-to-face on either side of the offering table, and one ewer and basin is probably to be ascribed to each of the figures.<sup>80</sup>

The next stages in the development of the table scene on tomb walls and false door panels are well represented in the mastaba of the vizier Mehu in the Unas Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara, in the chapels of Mehu's son Meryraankh and his grandson Hetepkai. In keeping with earlier trends in the decoration of false door panels, the panel of Mehu's own false door has a jar rack containing two *qebeh*-jars on the far side of the leg of the offering table and a nested ewer and basin opposite (*fig. 2e*).<sup>81</sup> On the other hand, the false door panels of Mehu's son and grandson exhibit entirely different decorative programs, as we shall see shortly.

Before examining the false door panels of Meryraankh and Hetepkai, however, it is necessary to point out that the precise date of the vizier Mehu is contested. Strudwick thinks his tomb may belong to the early or middle reign of Pepy I.<sup>82</sup> Harpur assigns him to the middle part of the same reign, but leaves open the possibility that he lived on into the reign of Merenra.<sup>83</sup> Baer thought his tomb was completed in the period between years 35–55 of Pepy II.<sup>84</sup> The latter date is almost certainly too late, and Baer himself remarks that it is later than expected.<sup>85</sup> Kanawati originally placed Mehu's tomb in the long reign of Pepy II, but later changed his mind and concluded its decoration was executed or completed under Pepy I.<sup>86</sup> In contrast to all these scholars, Altenmüller dates Mehu's demise to the reign of Teti,<sup>87</sup> which is almost certainly too early. Mehu bears the title *šḥd ḥmw-nṯr Mn-nfr-Mrjṯr*, that is, Inspector of Priests at the pyramid of Pepy I, no less than seven times on

<sup>76</sup> Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs I*, pl. 26.

<sup>77</sup> A. B. Lloyd, A. J. Spencer, A. El-Khouli, *Saqqara Tombs II* (London, 1990), pl. 16.

<sup>78</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 131; Harpur, *DETOK*, 273.

<sup>79</sup> Lloyd et al., *Saqqara Tombs II*, pl. 10.

<sup>80</sup> Double depictions of the deceased are fairly common, but their discussion is outside the scope of the present article.

<sup>81</sup> Altenmüller, *Grab des Mehu*, pl. 75. The table scenes on the long walls of Mehu's offering room exhibit a different arrangement, see p. 74 above.

<sup>82</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 101 (69).

<sup>83</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 40–41, 274.

<sup>84</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 83, 290 [202].

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 290 [202].


<sup>86</sup> N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom* (Warminster, 1977), 14; *idem*, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Warminster, 1980), 34.

<sup>87</sup> Altenmüller, *Grab des Mehu*, 83.

the pillars of the inner court.<sup>88</sup> Altenmüller remarks that these pillars are ‘over’ the entrance to the shaft of Mehu’s burial chamber and, for that reason, can only have been erected after Mehu’s interment. Therefore, the inscriptions too must have been added posthumously. From the plan and section provided, it appears that the foundation for the southern pillar may indeed rest on the masonry of the sloping passage to the burial chamber.<sup>89</sup> If this is indeed the case, the sloping passage would of necessity have to have been erected before the portico. But the mouth of the passage opens in the middle of the court at some distance from the portico, and there is no reason that I can readily see why both sloping passage and portico cannot have been completed before Mehu’s death. On the other hand, since the title does not appear in the interior rooms of Mehu’s chapel, the decoration of the pillars of the portico may well have been added at a later date than the rest of the tomb, but still within Mehu’s lifetime. One final point is that I know of no example where an official was posthumously assigned a functional title, as Mehu was the title *shd hmw-nfr Mn-nfr-Mrjir*<sup>c</sup>, according to Altenmüller. The one clear example we possess of posthumous promotion in the Old Kingdom is that of nomarch Djau/Shemai, who is promoted in rank to *h3tj*-<sup>c</sup> ‘count’.<sup>90</sup> With Strudwick and Harpur, then, I would assign Mehu’s tomb to the early or middle reign of Pepy I.

The tomb of Mehu forms a well-documented case study of the impoverishment of even the highest-ranking officials in the course of the later reign of Pepy I and in the reign of Pepy II.<sup>91</sup> Mehu’s own burial place is a multi-roomed mastaba with extensive relief decoration and a pillared courtyard. His son Meryraankh seemingly could not afford a proper tomb of his own and arranged to have a former storeroom in his father’s mastaba converted for his own funerary cult. Nevertheless, the walls of Meryraankh’s offering room are decorated with reliefs of fairly good quality.<sup>92</sup> Meryraankh’s own son, Hetepkai, had of necessity to insert his offering room into the portico of his grandfather’s courtyard, even though it remained open to the sun on one side.<sup>93</sup> Familial affection is probably not an adequate explanation for Meryraankh and Hetepkai’s failure to erect tombs of their own.

The table scenes on the north and south walls of Meryraankh’s chapel and on the panel of his false door represent some of the earliest examples of a new scheme of decoration. Strudwick assigns Meryraankh, who was a vizier in his own right, to the period extending from the end of the reign of Pepy I to early Pepy II.<sup>94</sup> Harpur dates him between years 1–85 of Pepy II, but the upper limit strikes me as too late.<sup>95</sup> Depending on Meryraankh’s exact date, the new decorative scheme will have become popular towards the end of the reign of Pepy I, in the reign of Merenra or in the early part of the reign of Pepy II. In the new decoration scheme, nested ewers and basins are represented as before, but *hezet*- or *qebeh*-jars alternate with or are replaced by other kinds of vessels or by bread loaves on the service tables or in/on the jar racks located beneath the table of bread in both table scenes and false door panels (Scheme V).<sup>96</sup> When it is a question of service tables, no separate jar rack is represented.

The service table on the south wall of Meryraankh’s offering room is damaged, but enough survives to show that vessels of different form were set upon it (Scheme V A).<sup>97</sup> Alongside the service table a ewer and basin is placed on a separate baseline. The scene on the north wall is better preserved and shows a -loaf of bread between

<sup>88</sup> Altenmüller, *Grab des Mehu*, 202–205, pls. 76–78.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, Plans A and C.

<sup>90</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 13.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, 38–42, 69–79, and *passim*.

<sup>92</sup> Altenmüller, *Grab des Mehu*, 219–250, pls. 80–95, 103–104, Plans A – D.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 250–258, pls. 96–97, Plans A – D.

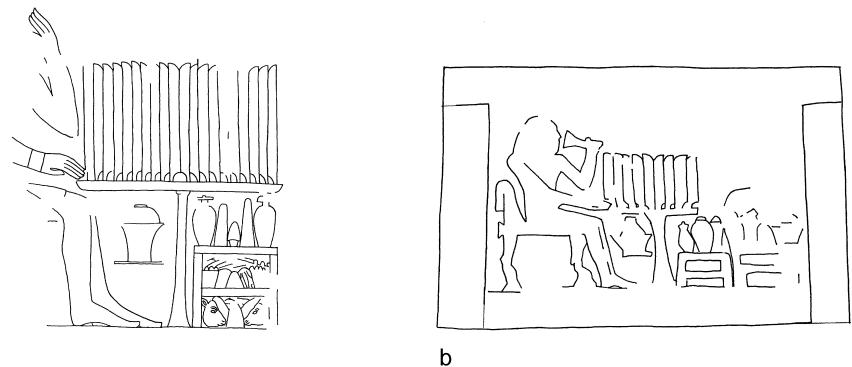
<sup>94</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 77 [33].

<sup>95</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 274.

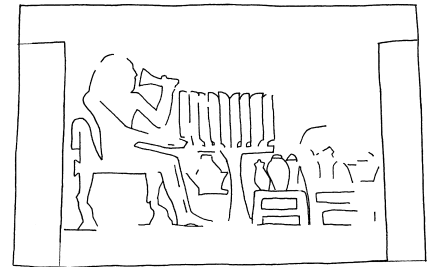
<sup>96</sup> Watetkhehor has a *špn(t)*-jar and two *qebeh*-jars on her service table in the reign of Teti (see note 15). This is an isolated occurrence, however.

<sup>97</sup> Altenmüller, *Grab des Mehu*, pl. 81.

two beer-jugs and two tall *šns*-loaves on the service table (with food offerings below) and a ewer and basin set on a separate baseline opposite (fig. 5a).<sup>98</sup> The table scene on Meryraankh's false door panel has a nested ewer and basin on a groundline on the near side of the pedestal leg of the offering table and a low service table opposite.<sup>99</sup> A beer-jug, a  $\ominus$ -loaf of bread, and a *qebeh*-vessel rest on the top of the table.<sup>100</sup>



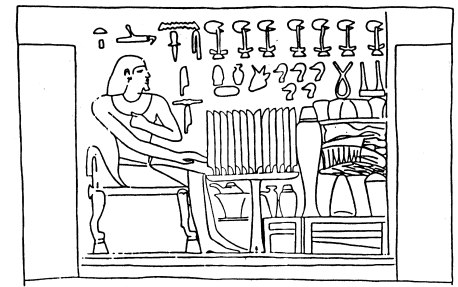
a



b



c



d

Fig. 5 False door panels with separate ewers and basins and different vessels on service table (Scheme V A)

Other instances of the new scheme of decoration on tomb walls come from Upper Egypt and appear to be at least as late as the reign of Pepy II. An instance on one wall of the rock-cut tomb of the nomarch Kahep/Tjetiiqer at Akhmim has a *hezset*-jar and a *nemset*-vessel resting side-by-side on the same table.<sup>101</sup> The tomb probably belongs to about the middle of the reign of Pepy II.<sup>102</sup>

Two separate table scenes on the same wall in the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle at Meir show three jars on one low table and a *nemset*-jar between two *hezset*-jars on the other.<sup>103</sup> In the first scene, a ewer and basin is set on the groundline of the scene, while in the second scene, the ewer and basin is placed on a separate baseline. Baer dates Pepyankh the Middle between years 35–55 of Pepy II, while Harpur places him in the period between the end of the Sixth Dynasty and the Eighth Dynasty.<sup>104</sup>

On a service table on the false door panel of Tetiseneb/Iri a beer-jug is set alongside two differently shaped bread loaves, with a ewer and basin on a low table on the near side of the table leg opposite.<sup>105</sup> The tomb is located in the fourth

<sup>98</sup> Altenmüller, *Grab des Mehu*, pl. 86.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 95.

<sup>100</sup> This detail is clearer from the photograph of the table scene on the north wall of his chapel, where the table bears two beer-jugs along with two tall *šns*-loaves of bread and a smaller *šns*-loaf; see *ibid.*, pl. 86.

<sup>101</sup> N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: the Cemetery of Akhmim 1* (Sydney, 1980), fig. 17.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 13–14; Harpur, *DETOK*, 281.

<sup>103</sup> *Meir IV*, pl. 15.

<sup>104</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 70, 289 [133]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 281.

<sup>105</sup> A. El-Khouli, N. Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara North-west of Teti's Pyramid 2* (Sydney, 1988), pl. 4. On the far right of the panel is a larger service table with a *qebeh*-jar, a tall *šns*-loaf, and a covered bowl on a stand on top of it and four filled baskets set in the interstices below.

east-west street in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, and Kanawati believes it was built during the reign of King Teti.<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless, the layout of the panel again indicates the tomb was probably decorated no earlier than the end of the reign of Pepy I.

An additional instance of this decorative scheme on a false door panel comes from Abydos and has been dated by the present writer to the end of the reign of Pepy II or to the succeeding period of the Sixth – Eighth Dynasties.<sup>107</sup> This is the false door of the Overseer of Priests Iuu (*fig. 5c*).<sup>108</sup> A nested ewer and basin close to the deceased's legs is balanced by a service table opposite. On the table are a sealed beer jar and two *qebeh*-vessels.

In a number of other table scenes on tomb walls and false door panels, it is the jar-rack that is affected rather than the service table (Scheme V B).

For example, alongside four *hezset*-vessels in a jar-rack in the table scene on the south wall of the chapel of Meryraankh's son Hetepkai is set a tall *šns*-loaf.<sup>109</sup> A ewer and basin rests on a small table opposite. Hetepkai (who apparently was raised to the dignity of vizier before he died<sup>110</sup>) is dated by Strudwick to the middle of the reign of Pepy II.<sup>111</sup>

Another instance of this decorative scheme derives from the Central Field at Giza. On the northern side-panel of a false door recess in the tomb of Seshemnefer/Iufi a flask is shown between two *qebeh*-jars in a rack (*fig. 6a*). Once again a ewer and basin rest on a small table on the opposite side of the leg of the offering table.<sup>112</sup> It is of interest to note that the southern side-panel of Seshemnefer has an example of the decorative Scheme I with a ewer and basin on a table and a jar rack opposite containing two *qebeh*-vessels. The tomb is difficult to date, and both Baer and Harpur simply assign it to the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>113</sup> Given the occurrence of Scheme V B, it is unlikely that it is earlier in date than the end of the reign of Pepy II.

The provinces provide a few further examples of Scheme V B in the tombs of Shepsespumin/Kheniankhu at Akhmim (*fig. 6b*)<sup>114</sup> and Pepyankh/Heni the Black at Meir (*fig. 6c*).<sup>115</sup> Shepsespumin probably belongs to end of the reign of Pepy II or to the Sixth–Eighth Dynasties.<sup>116</sup> Harpur dates Pepyankh/Heni the Black between years 1–54 of Pepy II, while Baer places him between years 55 and 85 of the same reign.<sup>117</sup>

False door panels also exhibit this decorative program. The false door of the Overseer of the Six Great (Law)-courts Inti, son of the vizier Qar at South Abusir, has a double depiction of the deceased at table on its panel.<sup>118</sup> Close to the legs of the

<sup>106</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 74–78.

<sup>107</sup> 'Abydos in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, Part II', in D. P. Silverman, ed., *For His KA: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, SAOC 55 (1994), 34–39. It should be recalled that *hezset*, *qebeh*, or *špn(t)* jars and storage jars with basketwork flaps are set in racks on the walls (usually the north wall) of the viziers of the reigns of Teti and Pepy I; see above, pp. 73–74.

<sup>108</sup> On the right outer jamb of the false door, Iuu wears a shoulder-length wig covered with an overlapping pattern of locks which leaves straight lines of longer locks on the crown of the head. In 1994 I remarked that the wig pattern is not definitely attested elsewhere in monuments prior to the end of the reign of Pepy II (*ibid.*, 38–39). Subsequently, I noticed an unpublished example that dates to the end of Pepy II's reign, namely a figure of Sabni I on a relief at the top of the right-hand side of the stairway that leads up to the tomb of Sabni and his father Intef/Mekhu at Aswan. Mekhu and Sabni are dated by both Baer and Harpur to years 55–85 of Pepy II; see p. 96.

<sup>109</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 97a.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 258–261, pl. 6.41.

<sup>111</sup> *Administration*, 153 (149).

<sup>112</sup> Hassan, *Gîza VII*, fig. 50.

<sup>113</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 133 [481]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 270.

<sup>114</sup> N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: the Cemetery of Akhmim 2* (Sydney, 1981), fig. 24; see also fig. 25.

<sup>115</sup> *Meir V*, pl. 33; see also pl. 34.

<sup>116</sup> N. Kanawati, with a Chapter by Ann McFarlane, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom, Part 1: Chronology and Administration* (Sydney, 1992), 127ff.; Harpur, *DETOK*, 281.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 280; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 289 [134].

<sup>118</sup> M. Bárta, K. Voděra, *Memories of 4500 Years Ago* (Prague, 2002), fig. 30.

deceased beneath each offering table is a nested ewer and basin. In the space between the two offering tables is a jar rack which holds a single *qebeh*-vessel between two tall *nemset*-vessels. According to Miroslav Bárta (personal communication), Inti's brother, Qar Junior, served in the mortuary cults of Pepy I and II. So, a date in the (early) reign of Pepy II is not unlikely for Inti's false door.

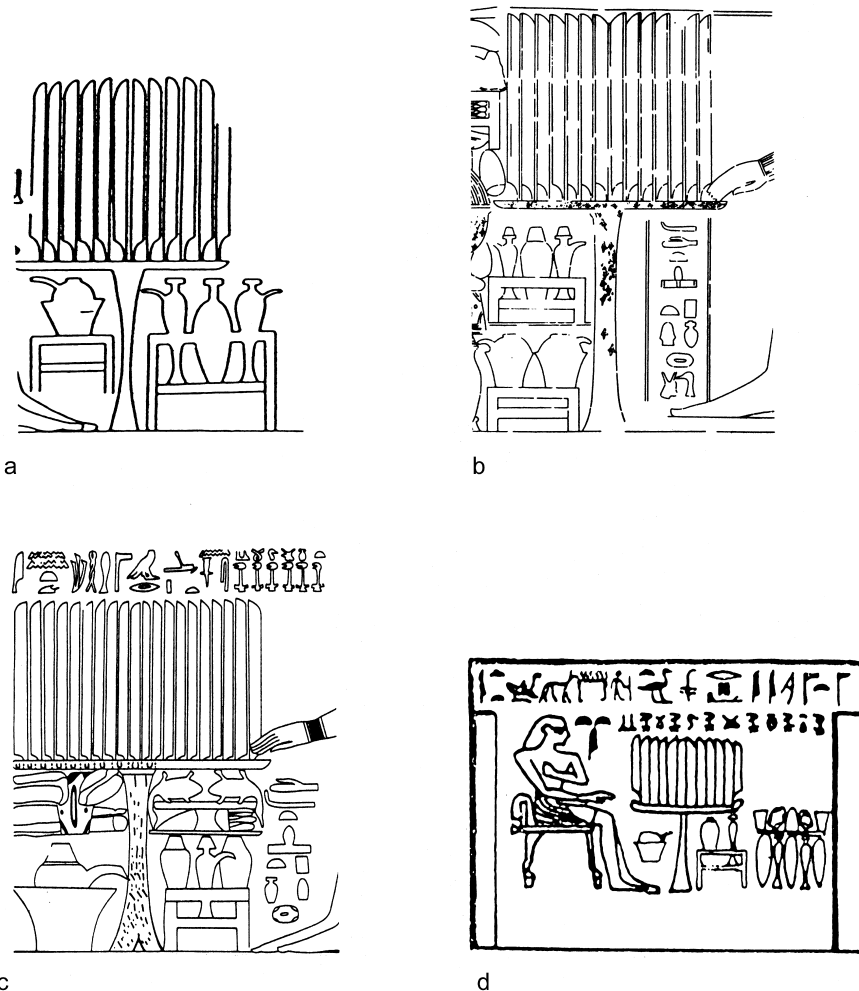


Fig. 6 Table scenes with separate ewers and basins and different vessels in jar-rack (Scheme V B)

Another example of the decorative program under discussion occurs on a false door found north of the Djoser Step Pyramid.<sup>119</sup> The door belongs to an Overseer of All the Works of the King named Hezezi and has been dated to the late Fifth or early Sixth Dynasty.<sup>120</sup> However, the presence of the different vessels, two *hezset*-jars in the rack plus a beer-jug and a necked ovoid jar on top of it, again indicates that it is unlikely to be that early in date.

On the false door panel of Prince Teti, a vizier and presumably a son of Pepy II, a *hezset*-vessel is set in the rack with a *nemset*-vessel resting beside it on the top of the jar rack (*fig. 6d*).<sup>121</sup> Teti's tomb is located east of the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara. Kees, Baer, and Strudwick all place the prince at the end of the reign of Pepy II,<sup>122</sup> but for a number of reasons given below he may actually have died towards the end of the first half of his father's reign.<sup>123</sup>

In a small number of table scenes, the vessels of different form on the service table are entirely replaced by bread loaves (Scheme V C). Thus, in the tomb of

<sup>119</sup> CG 1413: CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 19.

<sup>120</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 118 [98].

<sup>121</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, fig. 70.

<sup>122</sup> H. Kees, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Vezirats im Alten Reich', *NGWG 2* (1940), 48; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 152, 295 [560]; Strudwick, *Administration*, 157 [156].

<sup>123</sup> See pp. 112–113.

Meru/Tetiseneb > Meryraseneb/Pepyseneb in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at North Saqqara, a large triangular loaf rests on a small table in lieu of the different vessels (*fig. 7a*).<sup>124</sup> Harpur has dated Meru's tomb to the early or middle part of Pepy I's reign,<sup>125</sup> but the layout of the jambs of his false door suggests he could be as late as Pepy II (cf. p. 100).

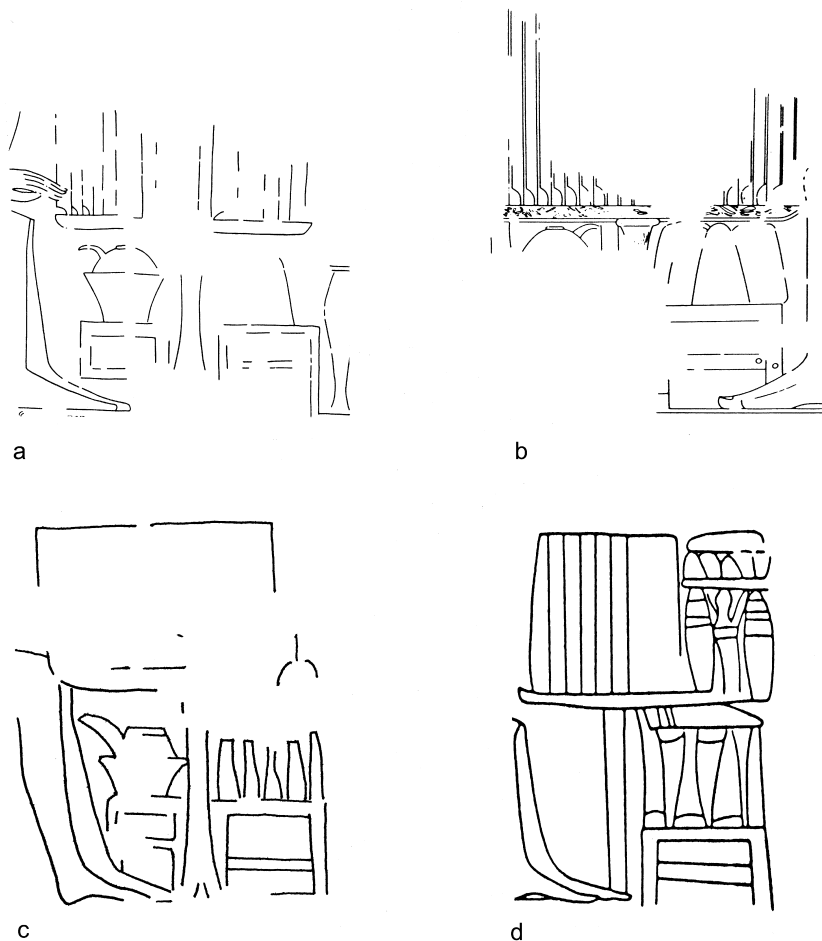


Fig. 7 Table scenes with ewers and basins (a–c) and bread loaves on service tables (Scheme V C)

In a table scene on the west wall of the Saqqara tomb of Tjetjetu, three large triangular loaves occupy a small table (*fig. 7b*).<sup>126</sup> Kanawati assigns Tjetjetu's tomb to the reign of Pepy I<sup>127</sup> but, like that of Meru, it may be somewhat later in date.

In two other scenes the loaves take a different form. In the table scene on the left outer jamb of the false door of Meryraankh's son Hetepkai, in the middle of the reign of Pepy II (see p. 84), the nested ewer and basin placed near the deceased's legs is balanced by a service table laden with an array of tall, triangular *sns*-loaves (*fig. 7c*).<sup>128</sup>

The table scene on the model tomb (a so-called 'stèle-maison') of a man named Hehi/Ihi, found recently in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara, also has a service table laden with an array of tall, triangular loaves, although in this case no ewer and basin is depicted (*fig. 7d*).<sup>129</sup> Until this discovery all such examples of these model tombs derived from the cemetery around the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara. Presumably, they are all at least as late as Pepy II (see p. 114) and so too is the model tomb of Hehi/Ihi.

<sup>124</sup> Lloyd, *Saqqara Tombs 2*, pl. 11.

<sup>125</sup> DETOK, 274.

<sup>126</sup> Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 1*, pl. 19.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>128</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, pl. 97b.

<sup>129</sup> Kanawati, Hassan, *Teti Cemetery 1*, pl. 56, 53–55.



A review of the preceding paragraphs will show that the majority of the examples of Scheme V A–C belong to the time of Pepy II. This could mean that the vizier Meryraankh is also as late as that reign.

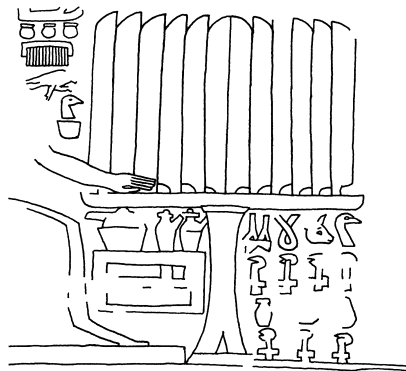
Possibly as early as the beginning of the reign of Pepy II, parallel to the decorative schemes just discussed, another scheme (Scheme VI) is found in which the nested



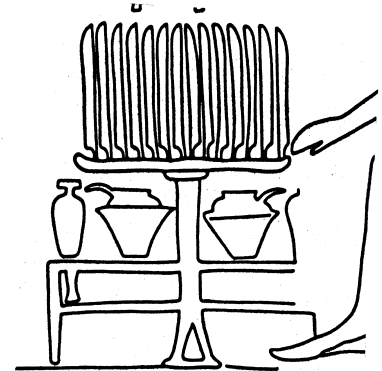
a



b



c



d

Fig. 8 Table scenes with ewers and basins alongside other vessels on one and the same table (Scheme VI A)

ewers and basins do not appear on the opposite side of the pedestal leg of the offering table from a service table or jar rack, but instead are depicted alongside other vessels on one and the same table (A) or on one and the same jar rack (B). In the table scenes on tomb walls and false door panels in which the various vessels or offerings rest on tables, no jar rack is represented. Conversely, in those scenes in which the vessels or offerings are placed on/in jar racks, no service table is depicted.

Except for a single occurrence in the tomb of the vizier Hezi in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, which dates to the end of Teti's reign or the beginning of Pepy I's (see p. 78), most other occurrences of this new scheme of decoration are as late as Pepy II. On the southern side-panel of Hezi's false door niche, paired ewers and basins rest on the top of a jar rack into which two *hezeti*-vessels are set (fig. 8d).<sup>130</sup> The jar rack itself is centered on the offering table.<sup>131</sup> Perhaps it is best to consider Hezi's scene as an isolated early occurrence of a decorative scheme that became popular at a later date. On the other hand, examples of intermediate date may yet appear.

<sup>130</sup> Kanawati, Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pls. 45, 64[a].

<sup>131</sup> In the scene on the northern side-panel of Hezi's false door, a service table bearing two nested ewers and basins is likewise centered on the offering table (*ibid.*, pls. 44, 64[b]). As we have already seen, the same feature occurs on the false door panel of Khentika except that, on the latter, there is a jar rack filled with *hezeti*- and *qebeh*-vessels to the right of the offering table (see p. 77).

At Giza in the tomb of Meryranefor/Qar, a pair of nested ewers and a beer-jug are set on low tables in two separate table scenes (*fig. 8a*).<sup>132</sup> The tomb of Qar has been dated by Harpur between years 1–34 of Pepy II and by Baer to years 15–35 of the same ruler.<sup>133</sup> The nature of the decoration of Qar's burial chamber<sup>134</sup> might in fact be an argument for the somewhat later date proposed by Baer, for the reason that its walls are painted with a version of the arrangement found in the burial chambers in the necropolis around the pyramid of Pepy II South Saqqara, the earliest of which probably date to the end of the first half of the reign of that sovereign.<sup>135</sup>

Somewhat later instances of nested ewers and basins depicted along with other vessels on the same table in scenes on tomb walls are to be found at Aswan in the tomb of Khunes (*fig. 8b*).<sup>136</sup> Khunes himself probably belongs to the late Old Kingdom (Sixth – Eight Dynasties).<sup>137</sup>

An example of the decorative scheme with a ewer and basin depicted along with different vessels in/on a jar rack (Scheme VI B) appears in the tomb of Iries to the northwest of Teti's pyramid at Saqqara. The tomb was originally dated by Kanawati to middle or later Sixth Dynasty, but subsequently he changed his mind and dated the tomb mid to late Teti, or immediately thereafter.<sup>138</sup> In both the table scene of Iries (*fig. 8c*) and his wife Qedi<sup>139</sup> and in one of Iries's two false doors<sup>140</sup> a jar rack with a ewer and basin, a *qebeh*-vessel or two, or a *nemset*-vessel are placed near the owner's legs beneath the table of bread, while an ideographic offering formula appears on the far side of the table leg. In Iries's second false door, a ewer and basin appears alone, again with an ideographic offering formula on the other side of the table of bread.<sup>141</sup> The appearance of a single ewer and basin, without an accompanying jar rack, would argue that Iries probably passed away in the early reign of Pepy II (see pp. 89ff.). The decoration on the false door panel of Qedi is limited to a seated figure of the deceased at a table of bread, which could be indicative of an even later period in the reign of Pepy II (see pp. 114ff.).

The tomb of Meru/Bebi at Sheikh Said furnishes an additional example of Scheme VI B. The tomb probably belongs to the middle part of the reign of Pepy II.<sup>142</sup> In a table scene on the wall of the tomb, a long jar rack, centered on an offering table, holds *qebeh*-vessels, *špn(t)*-jars, and tall storage jars with basketwork flaps.<sup>143</sup>

Another example of Scheme VI B occurs on one end of the model tomb (or 'stèle-maison') of Iuiu, from South Saqqara. On the far side of the table of bread is a jar rack which contains three *hezset*-jars and has a ewer and basin resting on its top.<sup>144</sup> The table scene on the other end of the model tomb has the earlier scheme of decoration with a ewer and basin on a groundline and a rack in which are set two *hezset*-jars and one *qebeh*-jar. In the table scene on the false door carved on the front

<sup>132</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 25; see also fig. 30.

<sup>133</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 136, 294 [495]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 267.

<sup>134</sup> See Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, 11–12, fig. 7.

<sup>135</sup> See E. Brovarski, 'The Late Old Kingdom at South Saqqara', in L. Pantalacci, C. Berger-El-Naggar, eds., *Des Néferkare aux Montouhotep. Travaux archéologiques en cours sur la fin de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie et la Première Période Intermédiaire, Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 40 (Lyon, 2005), 31–71.

<sup>136</sup> J. de Morgan et al., *Catalogue des Monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique, 1 ser.: Haute Égypte, Vol. 1: de la frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombo* (Vienna, 1894), figure on p. 159. The table scene illustrated here belongs to Khnumenti/Shemai, the son of Khunes. The tomb owner's own table scene is illustrated in *ibid.*, figure on p. 160.

<sup>137</sup> E. Brovarski, 'The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr' (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1989; Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Services, 1997), 984, n. 71; Harpur, *DETOK*, 282.

<sup>138</sup> N. Kanawati, A. El-Khouli, A. McFarlane, N. V. Maksoud, *Excavations at Saqqara North-west of Teti's Pyramid 1* (Sydney, 1984), 48.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 31, 34, 36, 37.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 33.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 38.

<sup>142</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 81, 290 [192]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 280.

<sup>143</sup> *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 20.

<sup>144</sup> Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, fig. 37.

of the monument, the deceased and a table of bread alone appear. The provenance and character of the piece are in themselves probably sufficient to assure a date in the second half of the reign of Pepy II, but so too is the limited nature of the table scene on the false door panel (see pp. 114ff.).

Beginning seemingly in the early part of the reign of Pepy II, the content of table scenes begins to be simplified and is commonly confined to the seated figure of the deceased, a table of bread, and a single nested ewer and basin, the latter either resting on a small table or not (Scheme VII A).<sup>145</sup> The ewer and basin are generally placed on the ground on the far side of the offering table, but there are exceptions to the rule.<sup>146</sup>

The false door panel of the vizier Tjetju in his tomb in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara shows a seated figure of the deceased at table with a nested ewer and basin resting on a small table on the far side the offering table (fig. 9). The phrase *dbht-htp* (the 'requirements of the funerary meal' = 'compartmental offering list, menu') also appears, situated on the near side of the leg of the offering table opposite the ewer and basin.<sup>147</sup> Elsewhere I have stated my reasons for thinking that Tjetju served as vizier towards the end of the first half of Pepy II's reign.<sup>148</sup>

The disposition of the false door panel of Irenakhti/Iri in his tomb in the Teti Cemetery is similar to that of Tjetju with the ewer and basin placed on a low table.<sup>149</sup> Kanawati assigns the tomb of Iri to the middle to late reign of Teti or immediately after.<sup>150</sup> The restricted nature of the decoration of the table scene probably indicates that the tomb is as late as the beginning of the reign of Pepy II, however.

In the Unas Pyramid Cemetery, the design of the false door panel of Hetepkai, grandson of the vizier Mehu, is likewise limited to a ewer and basin on a small table on the far side of the offering table (and an ideographic offering list opposite).<sup>151</sup> Hetepkai probably belongs to the middle reign of Pepy II (see p. 84). The panel of a second false door of Hetepkai's, apparently made for him after he had been promoted to the office of vizier, shows double depictions of the vizier seated at an offering table. Before each of the depictions of the owner is a nested ewer and basin.<sup>152</sup>

Another case in point appears on the panel of the false door of the Greatest of Seers Ptahshepses II at North Saqqara.<sup>153</sup> Ptahshepses shares a tomb with, and may well be a son of, the High Priest of Ptah Sabu/Ibebi, who held office under King Teti (see note 42).<sup>154</sup> Baer and Harpur both date Ptahshepses's tomb to the reign of Merenra or the early part of that of Pepy II.<sup>155</sup> In his case the ewer and basin rest on the groundline of the scene.

At Giza an example of this limited scheme of decoration is found on the panel of the false door of the vizier Idu I/Nefer.<sup>156</sup> Idu's tomb has been variously dated, by Harpur to the reign of Teti, by Kanawati to Pepy I, and by Strudwick from late

<sup>145</sup> The same arrangement occurs at Saqqara under Unas and in the early part of Teti's reign; see note 40.

<sup>146</sup> E. g. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 28 (Ptahshepses II); Junker, *Gîza* VIII, fig. 34 (Idu I/Nefer; see p. 33); M. Vallogia, 'La stèle d'un chef d'expédition de la première période intermédiaire', *BIFAO* 85 (1985): pl. 42 (Sobekhotep/Hepi).

<sup>147</sup> Firth – Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* II, pl. 61. *Dbht-htp* appears alongside the table leg in a number of scenes of the later Sixth Dynasty; see e.g. Meir V, pls. 9, 11 (Nyankhpepy Hepi the Black; VI.4); Hassan, *Gîza* VI.3, fig. 10 (Irenakhti/Irenptah/Iri; see pp. 94–95); Säve-Söderbergh, *Hamra Dom*, pls. 19, 20 (Tjauti; see p. 76).

<sup>148</sup> E. Brovarski, 'A Second Style in the Relief of the Old Kingdom', in St. E. Thompson, ed., *Egypt and Beyond (Fs. Lesko)* (Providence, forthcoming).

<sup>149</sup> Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara* 1, pl. 27.

<sup>150</sup> *Idem*, *Conspiracies*, 71–74.

<sup>151</sup> Altenmüller, *Grab des Mehu*, pls. 96, 97b

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 77, 258–261.

<sup>153</sup> Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 28.

<sup>154</sup> See Baer, *Rank and Title*, 76 [168].

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 76, 290 [168]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 274.

<sup>156</sup> Junker, *Gîza* VIII, fig. 34.

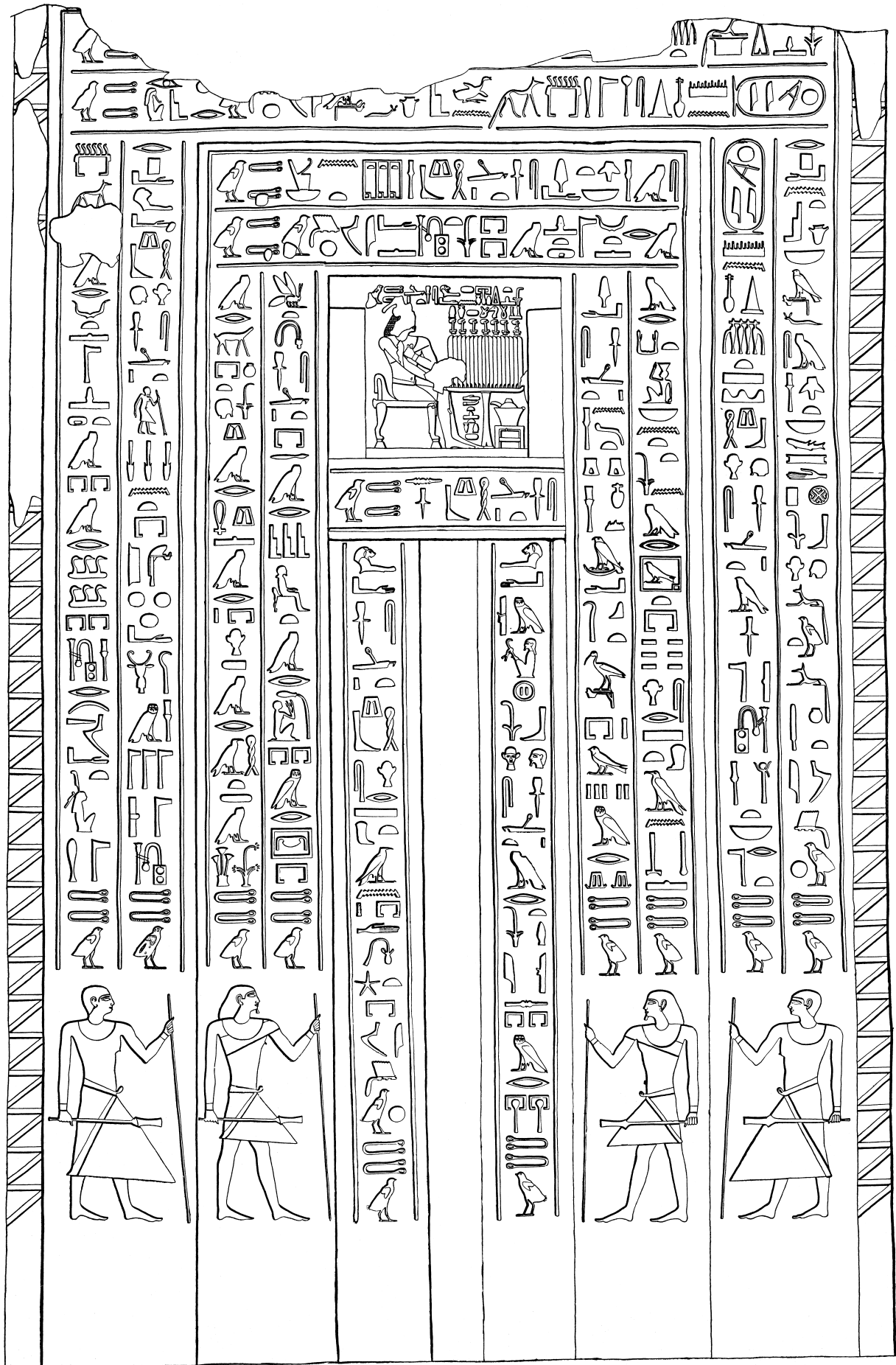


Fig. 9 False door of Tjetju

Pepy I to early Pepy II.<sup>157</sup> Scheme VII A is also known from the end of the Fifth and beginning of the Sixth Dynasties (see note 40), and this may be one reason why Harpur dates the tomb to the reign of Teti. The chapel, like that of the vizier Tjetju, is a niche-chapel, whose decoration is limited to the false door and table scenes on the side walls, although in Idu's case there were also two figures of the tomb owner on jambs at the entrance to the chapel.<sup>158</sup> As is the case with Tjetju's chapel, the modest nature of Idu's sepulcher may attest to the declining trend in the resources of even the highest officials in the later Sixth Dynasty (see p. 82), and this in turn may indicate that the vizier's tomb was decorated no earlier than the reign of Pepy II,<sup>159</sup> presumably in the first part of that reign, since the viziers of the second half of that king's reign were buried at South Saqqara.<sup>160</sup> The fact that the figures on the outer jambs of Idu's false door are taller than those on the inner jambs would also argue for a later date (see pp. 101–102). Moreover, the table scene on the south wall shows the simple decorative program which is confined to the figure of the deceased at table, without even a single ewer and basin (see pp. 114ff.).

Several examples of Scheme VII A also occur in the tomb of Tjetju/Nikainesut at Giza (G 2001), both in Tjetju's own table scenes on the north and south walls of his portico chapel<sup>161</sup> and in the table scenes on the false doors panels of certain members of his family.<sup>162</sup> The mirror on a box under the chair in one of these table scenes serves to date the tomb to the reign of Pepy II, probably in the second half of that reign.<sup>163</sup> The box under the chair on one of the false door panels<sup>164</sup> substantiates this conclusion. It is once again worthy of note that the table scene on Tjetju/Nikainesut's false door panel features the earlier decorative scheme (Scheme I A) with *hezet*-jars in a rack on the far side of the offering table (plus piled offerings) and a ewer and basin on a baseline opposite.<sup>165</sup>

The false door panel of Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi likewise incorporates a single nested ewer and basin into its design.<sup>166</sup> The joint tomb of Djau/Shemai and his son Djau was decorated by the latter at least halfway through the reign of Pepy II (see p. 94). Another occurrence in the tomb of Mery at el-Hagarsa<sup>167</sup> is actually dated to the same reign by an inscription.<sup>168</sup>

In the Upper Egyptian provinces this limited scheme of decoration also appears on an architrave that originally surmounted the false door of Izi of Edfu.<sup>169</sup> Izi lived into the reign of Pepy I,<sup>170</sup> and the decoration of his tomb presumably took place in the earlier years of that king. The architrave is thus earlier in date than the other examples of Scheme VII A discussed above. However, Edfu was far away from the capital, and Izi's tomb out of the ordinary in a number of other regards, such as the presence of *wedjat*-eyes on the inner jambs of the false door flanking the niche (see p. 108), a feature that elsewhere belongs to the late Sixth Dynasty and the First Intermediate Period,<sup>171</sup> so that the apparent anomaly need not be of too much concern. In Izi's case the ewer and basin rest on the groundline on the

<sup>157</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 267; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 34–35; Strudwick, *Administration*, 68 (22).

<sup>158</sup> Junker, *Giza VIII*, figs 25, 31. The right-hand jamb is probably Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, FM 31698; see E. Brovarski, 'Some monuments of the Old Kingdom in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago' (forthcoming), fig. 4b.

<sup>159</sup> See Harpur, *DETOK*, 80.

<sup>160</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 69.

<sup>161</sup> W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery, Part 1* (Boston, 1980), figs. 24, 25.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 17, 18, 21, 25.

<sup>163</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 219.

<sup>164</sup> Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 17.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 16.

<sup>166</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 13.

<sup>167</sup> N. Kanawati, *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa 1*, *ACER* 4 (1993), pls. 13, 14 [b], 45.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 57, pls. 11 [b], 42 [c].

<sup>169</sup> Ch. Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiennes de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire vers 2686–2040 avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1991), cat no. 9.

<sup>170</sup> See Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 30–31.

<sup>171</sup> Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 40 and n. 1.

far side of the offering table, while on the opposite side of the table leg a thurifer burns incense.<sup>172</sup>

Other instances of Scheme VII A on false door panels are too numerous to discuss individually.<sup>173</sup> There is no reason to think that any of the examples cited antedate the early reign of Pepy II.

The same decorative scheme appears in the table scenes on the tomb walls of several high-ranking individuals. A case in point is the vizier Neferseshemseshat/Khenu (see note 45). Strudwick and Harpur tentatively date Khenu from the reign of Merenra to early Pepy II.<sup>174</sup> However, his probable appearance in the pyramid temple of Pepy II caused Kanawati<sup>175</sup> to assign him to the early reign of Pepy II, a proposition with which the present writer is in accord.

The table scene that appears twice on the architrave of Bia/Irery, a funerary priest who served the mortuary cult of the vizier Mehu, is once again confined to the seated figure of the deceased, an offering table, and a nested ewer and basin.<sup>176</sup> Bia's name and title is in surcharge in one scene in the vizier Mehu's tomb (see pp. 81–82) and was added in paint in another.<sup>177</sup> His son Khai appears as a thurifer in a grafitto under a figure of the deceased in the same tomb.<sup>178</sup> Khai once follows his father in a row of offering bearers on the south wall of the chapel of Mehu's son Meryraankh.<sup>179</sup> He reappears in a file of offering bearers in the chapel of Mehu's grandson Hetepkai, and here it is followed by three other sons of Bia, Mehu, Pepyankh, and Menkhetnefer.<sup>180</sup> Fischer assumed that each of the generations of funerary priests was at least partly contemporaneous with the father, son, and grandson whose cult they served.<sup>181</sup> Mehu's tomb probably belonged to the early or middle reign of Pepy I, that of Meryraankh was probably decorated in the early reign of Pepy II, while Hetepkai probably passed away around the middle of the same reign (see above, pp. 81–82, 84). If Fischer's assumption is correct, Bia probably survived till at least the end of the reign of Pepy I and had very probably died by the middle of the reign of Pepy II, since he is not depicted in the chapel of Hetepkai. His architrave, on which all of his sons are depicted could then have been carved anywhere between the end of Pepy I's reign and the middle of the reign of Pepy II. The date of the other monuments discussed here (with the exception of Qar of Edfu's architrave) would suggest that Bia's architrave was decorated in the early reign of Pepy II.

An example of Scheme VII A on the model tomb (or 'stèle-maison') of Hehi/Ihi from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery probably belongs to the second half of the reign of Pepy II, since all other examples of the type derive from the cemetery around the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara (see p. 114). Another example of the same

<sup>172</sup> This is also the case with the table scenes on the long walls of Khentika/Ikhekhi's offering room; see James, *Khentika*, pls. 20, 21.

<sup>173</sup> E.g. Quibell, *Excav. Saqq.* 1 (1907), pl. 11 (Nakhti/Ankhirtyteti); *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, pl. 13 (Djau); Firth – Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* II, pls. 67 [1] (Imhotep), 73 [1] (Hetep); CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 17 (CG 1404, Neferseshemtah/Seankhptahmeryra/Sheshi); Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, fig. 64 (Nefry); Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* 3, fig. 38b (Wadjkaues, wife of Hermeru); T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (London, British Museum, 1961), pls. 35 [1] (Meri/Idu), 38 [1] (Shenay); Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, figs. 18, 25 (G 2001: Tjetu/Nykainesut; see p. 91); Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, cat. nos. 12 (Izi/Nebsen), 40 (Sheshi); Vallogia, 'Chef d'expédition', pl. 42 (Sobekhetep/Hepi); K. Martin, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum: Übersee-Museum Bremen, Lfg 1: Die altägyptischen Denkmäler* (Mainz, 1991), 87–89 (Ankhi); Kanawati, Hassan, *Teti Cemetery* 1, pl. 65 (Geref).

<sup>174</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 112 (89); Harpur, *DETOK*, 275.

<sup>175</sup> Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 79.

<sup>176</sup> H. G. Fischer, 'Bj3 and the Deified Vizier Mhw', *JARCE* 4 (1965): pl. 29.

<sup>177</sup> Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 46 (32a, b), pls. 9, 61.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 49 (75), 89.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 66 (A 7) 68 (A 29), pl. 85. The name Bia occurs no less than three times in this scene; see *ibid.*, 66 (A 7, A 28a, b).

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 74 (H 9/10/11/12), 253–254, pl. 97a and 253–254 assumes that Pepyankh in Hetepkai's chapel is identical with Bia's son Ankhti, who also appears on Bia's architrave.

<sup>181</sup> Fischer, 'Bj3 and the deified vizier Mhw', 51–52.

decorative scheme from South Saqqara, on the side panel of the false door niche of Pepy, is again presumably no earlier in date than the end of the first half of Pepy II's reign.<sup>182</sup>

In 1996 Karol Myśliwiec and the joint Polish-Egyptian Expedition at Saqqara brought to light the beautifully preserved tomb of a new vizier named Unasankh/Merefnebef/Fefi to the west of the Djoser Step Pyramid at Saqqara.<sup>183</sup> The design of the two table scenes on the north and west walls of the tomb and on the panels of the two false doors cut in the west wall to either side of the tomb entrance differs considerably. On the near side of the offering table on the west wall paired ewers and basins rest on a service table and opposite these a jar rack holds a tall storage vessel with basketwork flaps between two beer jars stoppered with cone-shaped clay stoppers.<sup>184</sup> A similar layout (Scheme II) also occurs on the south walls of the tombs of the viziers Kagemni, Mereruka, Mehu, and Meryteti (see pp. 73–74), but the stoppered beer jars are a new feature in this context and replace the traditional *špn(t)*-jars that bracket the tall storage jars in the earlier chapels.

A ewer and basin appears on the near side of the table leg on the southern of Merernebef's false doors along with another jar with basketwork flaps between two stoppered beer jars on the far side of the table leg.<sup>185</sup> Unlike the table scene on the west wall, there is no jar rack, and the vessels are instead simply set on individual jar stands. Possibly the more elaborate composition with the vessels set in a jar rack presented too great a challenge for the sculptor on so small a scale.<sup>186</sup>

The layout of the table scenes on the north wall of the tomb and on the northern false door are more limited than the above. On the far side of the table of bread on the north wall a single ewer and basin rests on the groundline of the register, with an ideographic offering list above it, and another list on the opposite side of the table leg.<sup>187</sup> The majority of examples of this decorative program (Scheme VII A) date to the reign of Pepy II (see pp. 89–92).

The table scene on Merefnebef's northern false door displays the simplest arrangement of all. There is nothing underneath the table, not even an ideographic offering list.<sup>188</sup> This limited scheme of decoration (Scheme VIII), as far as we know at present, first appears at South Saqqara in the second half of the reign of Pepy II (see pp. 114ff.).

According to Myśliwiec, Merefnebef may have been born or started his career in the second half of Teti's reign, reaching the culminating point of his career during the short reign of Userkara, and died in the times of Pepy I.<sup>189</sup> There are a number of reasons, however, in addition to the content of the table scenes on the north wall of the tomb and on the northern false door, to think that Merernebef is somewhat later in date. Like the false doors of the viziers Neferseshemshat/Khenu and Rawer, Merefnebef's northern false door has four jambs only, not the six jambs which are typical of the tombs of Teti's and Pepy I's viziers (see pp. 99–100). (Indeed, the southern false door has a single pair of jambs.) Like the tombs of the viziers Rawer, Tjetju, and Idu I/Nefer, Merernebef's burial place is a one-roomed chapel.<sup>190</sup> The quality of the relief in Merernebef's tomb is quite good, and this might appear to argue for an earlier date, but then so too is the relief of

<sup>182</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux*, 116.

<sup>183</sup> K. Myśliwiec et al., *Saqqara I: The Tomb of Merefnebef* (Warsaw, 2004).

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 23.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>186</sup> Something similar occurs in the false door of the Royal Favorite Sedjit (? Djesit ?) found by the Polish-Egyptian mission to the west of the Djoser Step Pyramid Complex at Saqqara; K. O. Kuraskiewicz, 'Inscribed Objects from the Old Kingdom Necropolis', *ArOr* 69 (2001), fig. 3; close to the woman's legs is a nested ewer and basin and, on the far side of the offering table, three *hezet*-vessels without a jar-rack. The T-shaped panel indicates the false door is no earlier than Merenra (see pp. 111–112).

<sup>187</sup> Myśliwiec et al., *Saqqara*, pl. 19.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 18.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>190</sup> Myśliwiec et al., *Merefnebef*, pl. 6.

Nefersesheshat/Khenu's niche-chapel<sup>191</sup> and, for that matter, the reliefs that cover the walls of Pepy II's pyramid temple, although the latter are decorated in a bolder relief than Merenebef's.<sup>192</sup> Considering this and the limited scheme of decoration of two of his table scenes, it seems likely that Merernebef belongs to the reign of Pepy II. Given that the viziers of the later part of the reign of Pepy II were buried at South Saqqara (see p. 91), he may well have served Pepy as vizier in the first half of his reign.

A further example of Scheme VII A occurs at Giza in the tomb of Meryranefer/Qar.<sup>193</sup> The tomb probably belongs to the first part of the Pepy II's reign (see p. 88). Three other occurrences on the Giza plateau from the second half of Pepy II's reign are to be found in the tomb of Tjetju/Nikainesut (see p. 91).<sup>194</sup>

Instances of this decorative program appear on tomb walls in Upper Egypt as well. One such occurrence is in the tomb of Iteti/Shedu at Deshasha,<sup>195</sup> which probably belongs to the first half of the reign of Pepy II.<sup>196</sup> Another example appears in a secondary scene in the chapel of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi which belongs to a female relative of the tomb owner.<sup>197</sup> Ibi's career spanned the reigns of Pepy I and Merenra; he probably lived into the first third of the reign of Pepy II.<sup>198</sup> A third occurrence in the tomb of Ibi's son Djau/Shemai and his grandson Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi<sup>199</sup> is a generation or so later in date.<sup>200</sup> A fourth instance in the tomb of Pepi at Meir probably dates to the second half of Pepy II's reign.<sup>201</sup>

Side by side with several of the schemes of panel design outlined above, there is a parallel development in which an array of offerings appears on the far side of the offering table.

Scheme IB: The earliest well dated example of a table scene which includes an array of food offerings as well as a nested ewer and basin (no table) and *hez*-jars in a rack belongs to the well-known Overseer of Upper Egypt Weni the Elder.<sup>202</sup> According to his autobiography, Weni's career continued into the reign of Merenra.<sup>203</sup>

On the false door panel of the Princess Hemetra/Hemi, a *hez*-vessel in a jar rack close to the princesses's legs is balanced by two nested ewers and basins on a low table at the far side of the leg of the offering table; above the ewers and basins on the table are set a jar rack containing a vessel with basketwork flaps and two stoppered bear jars, and above the jar rack an array of offerings on a *hetep*-sign.<sup>204</sup> The princess was a daughter of King Unas, but apparently lived into the reign of King Teti, since she is *hmt-ntr mrt Ttj*. It is not known if she died before the end of the reign of Teti or survived into that of Pepy I.

Other occurrences of the decorative scheme are to be found on the false doors of Abebi<sup>205</sup> from Saqqara (?) and of Irenakhti/Irenptah/Iri and Tjetu/Nikainesut at

<sup>191</sup> CG 1491–1492: CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl 42.

<sup>192</sup> See e.g. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 2, pls. 11, 64, 91 and *passim*.

<sup>193</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 23.

<sup>194</sup> Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, figs. 21, 23, 25.

<sup>195</sup> N. Kanawati, A. McFarlane, *Deshasha*, ACER 5 (1993), pl. 54.

<sup>196</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 60, 288 [73]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 279.

<sup>197</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 9.

<sup>198</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 56, 288 [32]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 280.

<sup>199</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 8.

<sup>200</sup> Baer (*Rank and Title*, 157, 295 [592]) thinks that the tomb of Djau/Shemai and Djau was decorated between years 55–85 of Pepy II, while Harpur (*DETOK*, 280) assigns the tomb to years 15–34 of the same sovereign. Whatever prompted Djau to build one tomb for himself and his father, it probably was not the premature death of Djau/Shemai, for the latter appears to have had a long career, as is indicated by the full titulary ascribed to him in his tomb (*Deir el Gebrâwi* 2, pls. 3–5, 7–12; H. G. Fischer, 'Four provincial administrators at the memphite cemeteries', *JAOS* 74 [1954]: 32, n. 54; N. Kanawati, 'The identification of *D<sup>c</sup>w/Šm3j* and *D<sup>c</sup>w* in the decoration of their tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi', *JEA* 63 [1977]: 59–62). I would agree with Baer that the tomb belongs to the second half of Pepy II's reign.

<sup>201</sup> *Meir* V, pl. 46; Harpur, *DETOK*, 280.

<sup>202</sup> CG 1574: H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I. Varia* (New York, 1976), fig. 5.

<sup>203</sup> *Urk.* I, 98–110; see Baer, *Rank and Title*, 66, 289 [110].

<sup>204</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* 3, pl. 2, fig. 2.



Giza.<sup>206</sup> Abebi was a *hntj-s* of Pepy I's pyramid and his false door is thus no earlier than that reign in date. If he is identical with another Abebi with similar titles, the owner of a second false door from Saqqara, then he was also a Tenant Farmer at the pyramid of Pepy II.<sup>207</sup> The Giza tomb of Tjetju/Nikainesut was evidently decorated in the second half of the reign of Pepy II (see p. 91).

The table scenes on both the north and south walls of Irenakhti's tomb show a nested ewer and basin close to the deceased's legs and three *hezet*-vessels in a jar stand opposite.<sup>208</sup> In addition, on the northern wall, a daughter of the deceased sits at her father's feet. Smaller figures of the wife of the deceased appear in analogous positions on the walls of the offering rooms of Mereruka (fig. 1b) and Neferseshemptah in the reigns of Teti and Pepy I.<sup>209</sup> By contrast, on the south wall of Irenakhti's offering room the phrase *dbht-htp* is inscribed in a short column beside the deceased's legs. The same phrase appears next to the legs of the tomb owner in a number of late Sixth Dynasty sepulchers, including those of Tjauti at El-Qasr wa Es-Saiyad and Niankhpepy Hepi the Black at Meir, and not earlier in this precise configuration (see note 147). It also occurs alongside the legs of the deceased in the table scene on the south wall of the offering room of Khentika/Ikhekhi II, which provides an additional example of the decorative scheme under discussion here.<sup>210</sup>

An additional example of Scheme I B occurs on one of two false door in the chapel of Khentika/Ikhekhi II (fig. 12).<sup>211</sup> The room [Room III] in the mastaba of the vizier Khentika/Ikhekhi I in which this false door (and a second damaged one) are found was a subordinate chapel belonging to a secondary burial situated below the floor of the room.<sup>212</sup> Two of the titles of Khentika II refer to the pyramid cult of Pepy I, so he must be at least as late as that sovereign.<sup>213</sup> Fischer believes that he belonged to a later generation of the vizier's funerary personnel, and may have been given the vizier's name for that reason.<sup>214</sup> Fischer is not specific about just how late Khentika II is, but his burial chamber has decoration on its walls of late Sixth Dynasty type. In fact, the decoration of the east and west walls of the chamber is quite similar to that of Groups IV and V at South Saqqara, which correspond in date to the late Sixth Dynasty and the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>215</sup>

Further examples of this decorative program likewise come from Saqqara.<sup>216</sup> It is perhaps surprising that, with the possible exception of Princess Hemetra more

<sup>205</sup> CG 1406: CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 18 (Abebi).

<sup>206</sup> Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* 1, fig. 18.

<sup>207</sup> CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 36 (CG 1459); see also Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material from Nagad-Dêr*, 406, n. 415; 984, n. 71. CG 1459 is a four jamb false door with shorter jambs figures on the inner jambs and the simplest decorative program which shows the deceased at table unaccompanied by any service furniture or cult vessels whatsoever (see p. 114).

<sup>208</sup> Hassan, *Gîza VI.3*, figs. 10, 11.

<sup>209</sup> Duell, *Mereruka* 1, pl. 64; Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pls. 97, 101.

<sup>210</sup> James, *Khentika*, pl. 14. Three *hezet*-vessels appear in a jar rack on the far side of the offering table in this scene; only the bottom part of a small table is preserved opposite, but it very probably supported a ewer and basin.

<sup>211</sup> James, *Khentika*, pl. 13.

<sup>212</sup> H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies III. Varia Nova* (New York, 1996), 1–6.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>215</sup> Brovarski, 'The Late Old Kingdom at South Saqqara', pp. 43–49. If the foremost title on a block from the north wall of his chapel (James, *Khentika*, 34, 71, pl. 43) is to be restored *shd hmw-ntr hwt-3ht [Nfr]k3[rˁ]* on the basis of a fragmentary block with the words *hwt-3h[t]j Nfrk3rˁ* in the British Museum (James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 40 [1]), this would provide corroborative evidence that Khentika/Ikhekhi II was at least as late as Pepy II.

<sup>216</sup> Z. Saad, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqara 1942–43', *ASAE* 43 (1943): pl. 40 (Nebet; see p. 105); J. F. Romano, *In the Fullness of Time: Masterpieces of Egyptian Art from American Collections* (Seattle, 2002), fig. 50, 59 (Khenu I); N. Kanawati, 'Interrelation of the Capital and the Provinces', *BACE* 15 (2004): fig. 1, 55–58 (Inkaf/Ini). Munro, in Berger, Clerc, Grimal, eds., *Hommages Leclant* 1, 251, dates Khenu I's tomb to the late First Intermediate Period, if not Eleventh Dynasty (see note 51). The false door of the Director of Jewellers Bakenptah (CG 1731: CG 1295–1808, Vol. 2, pl. 93) is without provenance.

examples of Scheme I B do not derive from the reign of Teti. Perhaps it took a short while for the scheme to be established before a draftsman decided to complement it with offerings.

Scheme III C: I know of only one example of paired ewers and basins resting on service table and accompanied by offerings. This is on the panel of the Sixth Dynasty false door of the Overseer of the Commissions of the Tenant Farmers of 'Beautiful are the Places of Unas' Ankhi from Saqqara.<sup>217</sup>

Scheme V D: Examples in which nested ewers and basins are depicted as before and different types of vessels appear on service tables are accompanied by offerings include the table scenes on the false door of Prince Teti (see pp. 112–113) from South Saqqara (fig. 6d),<sup>218</sup> the late Old Kingdom false door of the Vizier Idi II from Abydos in Cairo,<sup>219</sup> and a second false door in the Louvre, which belongs to a treasury official named Izi (fig. 5d).<sup>220</sup> Idi's false door has a beer jar, a *qebeh*-jar and a *nemset*-jar on a rectangular table, while Teti and Izi have only a *hezset*- and a *nemset*-jar. In none of these scenes is the nested ewer and basin provided with a table. The present writer has dated the Vizier Idi's false door to the end of the reign of Pepy II or later,<sup>221</sup> while Strudwick has assigned Izi's false door to the end of the Old Kingdom or later.<sup>222</sup>

Another example of Scheme V D is provided by the false door panel of the Physician Irenakhti/Niankhpepy/Iri.<sup>223</sup> On Iri's panel, two beer jars, two *hezset*-vessels, and a covered bowl rest on a low service table on the far side of the owner's offering table. The ewer and basin is actually placed under his chair, a feature which probably dates the false door to the reign of Pepy II at the earliest.<sup>224</sup>

On a service table on the false door panel of Tetiseneb/Iri a beer-jug is set alongside two differently shaped bread loaves, with a ewer and basin on a low table on the near side of the table leg opposite.<sup>225</sup> The tomb is located in the fourth east-west street in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, and Kanawati believes it was built during the reign of King Teti.<sup>226</sup> Nevertheless, the layout of the panel again indicates the tomb was probably decorated no earlier than the beginning of the reign of Pepy II.

Scheme VI C: The tombs of Intef/Mekhu and his son Sabni I at Aswan provide examples of false door panels in which ewers and basins depicted alongside other kinds of vessels on service tables are accompanied by an array of offerings at the far right of the table scene. In both instances, a ewer and basin a *nemset*-jar and a *hezset*-jar share the same low table.<sup>227</sup> The tomb of the two officials probably belongs to years 55–85 of Pepy II.<sup>228</sup>

Scheme VI C: Two false doors exhibit the variant in which a nested ewer and basin sharing a jar rack with other vessels are likewise accompanied by an array of offerings. The first of these false doors is located in the tomb of Iries in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara.<sup>229</sup> The ewer and basin rest on the top of the rack, while in the rack are set a *hezset*-jar and a beer-jug. The tomb may be as late as Pepy II (see p. 88).

<sup>217</sup> Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pl. 44.

<sup>218</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, fig. 70.

<sup>219</sup> CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 35 (CG 1457).

<sup>220</sup> Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, cat. no. 10.

<sup>221</sup> *Abydos II*, 34–39.

<sup>222</sup> *Administration*, 66 (18); see also Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, 84–85.

<sup>223</sup> H. Junker, 'Die Stele des Hofarztes Jrj', *ZÄS* 63 (1928): 53–70, pl. 1.

<sup>224</sup> See James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 39 (1) (Ptahhetep/Ipti; see note 313); R. Weill, *Dara, Campagnes de 1946–1948* (Cairo, 1958), pl. 12 (Mehi/Itjai; Ninth–Tenth Dynasty).

<sup>225</sup> El-Khouli, Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 2*, pl. 4. On the far right of the panel is a larger service table with a *qebeh*-jar, a tall *šns*-loaf, and a covered bowl on a stand on top of it with four filled baskets set in the interstices below.

<sup>226</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 74–78.

<sup>227</sup> The false doors are unpublished, but the writer has photographs of both in his possession.

<sup>228</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 57, 288 [39]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 282.

<sup>229</sup> Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 1*, pl. 33.

The second false door belongs to an official named Irenakhti/Iri.<sup>230</sup> A ewer and basin rests on one side of a jar rack which is centered on the offering table, while a *qebeh*-vessels is set in the other side of the rack. To the right of the offering table is a jar stand holding three stoppered beer jars and a covered bowl on a stand; above the rack and stand food offerings are piled up. Ziegler dates the false door to the Sixth Dynasty or later. There is nothing in the inscriptions that would indicate a date later than the end of that Dynasty, however.

Scheme VII B: There are actually quite a few false door panels in which a single ewer and basin on a table (or not) is accompanied by an array of offerings on the right side of the panel. The false door panel of Qar/Meryranefer at Edfu, for example, has a ewer and basin placed close to the knees of the deceased.<sup>231</sup> An array of offerings above the half-loaves of bread on the offering table continues half-way down the right side of the panel. Beneath the offerings is the figure of a servant proffering a bird. Qar's panel is one of a small number that incorporate human figures into the design.<sup>232</sup> His tomb seemingly belongs to the early reign of Pepy II.<sup>233</sup>

The table scene on the northern false door of the vizier Rawer also exhibits Scheme VII B.<sup>234</sup> Set on the groundline on the near side of the offering table is a single nested ewer and basin, while an array of offerings occupies the space opposite and the right side of the panel. On the southern door, there are two ewers and basins placed directly on the groundline of the scene to either side of the pedestal of the offering table and a more elaborate array of offerings on the far right.<sup>235</sup> Rawer's tomb probably belongs to the first half of the reign of Pepy II (see pp. 99–100).

Other examples of Scheme VII B include the false door of Meryraankh/Heqaib from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery which, because of the owner's basilophoric name, clearly belongs to the mid-Sixth Dynasty or later.<sup>236</sup> The false door of Nubhetep/Bebi, from the area between the Step Pyramid and the causeway of Unas at Saqqara, features the 'inverted T-shaped panel' which occurs in a small number of doors from the end of the Sixth Dynasty or later (see pp. 117–118).<sup>237</sup> The offering formula *htp-dj-nswt jn* + divinity and the phonetic writing of Anubis (without the jackal) are probably sufficient in themselves to date the false door of Tetiankh from the Teti cemetery to the end of the Sixth Dynasty or later (see pp. 97, 106–107), although numerous other anomalies in the texts on the door point to the same date.<sup>238</sup> The false door was set up in the antechamber of the tomb of Iries, which had been converted for Tetiankh's use. The tomb of Iries itself probably dates to the early part of the reign of Pepy II (see p. 88).

The extension of the crossbar above all the jambs and niches of the false door of Tetiseneb/Iri in the same cemetery<sup>239</sup> is an indication that the monument probably

<sup>230</sup> Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, cat. no. 7.

<sup>231</sup> M. El-Khadragy, 'The Edfu Offering Niche of Qar in the Cairo Museum', *SAK* 30 (2002): fig. 7. The ewer and basin is set close to the legs of the deceased and balanced by the figure of a servant offering a fowl opposite. Food offerings occupy the space above the servant's head and above the offering table.

<sup>232</sup> Hassan, *Giza III*, fig. 109, pl. 39 (Seankhenakhty/Itji; VI.4); *ibid.*, fig. 114 (Ankhhaf/Qar); Baer, *Rank and Title*, 65, 288 [100] Merenra - 15 Pepy II; Strudwick, *Administration*, 78 (35), early Sixth Dynasty); Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara 3*, fig. 27, pls. 33–34 (Pehernefer; VI).

<sup>233</sup> Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 69.

<sup>234</sup> S. A. El-Fikey, *The Tomb of the Vizier Re'-wer at Saqqara*, (Warminster, 1980), pls. 9, 21.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 5.

<sup>236</sup> Cf. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 80 [186].

<sup>237</sup> Z. Y. Saad, 'A Preliminary Report on Excavations at Saqqara 1939–1940', *ASAE* 40 (1940), fig. 72.

<sup>238</sup> Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara 1*, pl. 29; *ibid.*, 48. Kanawati suggests a date in middle or later Sixth Dynasty.

<sup>239</sup> El-Khouli, Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 2*, pl. 4. Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 74–78, dates the tomb to the late reign of Teti, or shortly after. For some reason, the torus mouldings at either side of Iri's false door were never finished, although the moulding at the top of the door apparently was.

belongs to the end of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>240</sup> Like the false door of Pepyankh the Middle at Meir (see p. 83), Tetiseneb's false door has the customary apertures on either side of the panel.<sup>241</sup>

The Unas Pyramid Cemetery has also provided a number of examples of Scheme VII B. Instances of this decorative scheme on the false door panels of Neferkhuuptah/Tjetji and Ankhi/Intji are at least as late as the reign of Pepy II (see p. 110).

Two examples of this decorative scheme occur in the tomb of the King's Document Scribe in the Presence Seshemnefer/I(u)fi in his tomb in the Central Field at Giza.<sup>242</sup> Patterned kilts of a type that do not otherwise appear in relief before the second half of the reign of Pepy II suggest that the tomb probably belongs to the late Sixth Dynasty (see p. 102).

Behenu, the wife of Qar/Pepynefer, provides another instance of the decorative program under discussion. Giza has been given as the site of Pepynefer's tomb, but this provenience has also been questioned.<sup>243</sup> The tomb is assigned by Cherpion to the reign of Pepy I.<sup>244</sup> On the other hand, the design of Pepynefer's own panels is confined to the seated figure of the deceased, a table of bread, and a single nested ewer and basin, a decorative scheme which seemingly first occurs in the early reign of Pepy II (see pp. 89–93).

In table scenes on three false doors, the offerings displayed are of a more limited nature than the other instances discussed here. Even so, they should probably be included in the present category.

On the panel of the Overseer of a Department of Tenant Farmers of the Palace Seshemnefer/Iufi, in his rock-cut tomb in the Unas Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara, the offerings are restricted to a covered bowl on a stand and several stoppered beer jars at the level of the half-loaves of bread on the offering table.<sup>245</sup> The tomb is difficult to date; both Baer and Harpur simply assign it to the Sixth Dynasty, without being more specific.<sup>246</sup> The particular type of rock-cut tomb suggests Seshemnefer's demise may have taken place as late as Pepy II (see p. 106).<sup>247</sup>

The panel of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi has a tall storage jar with basketwork flaps, once again set on a separate baseline at the level of the half-loaves of bread, above a ewer and basin on a small table.<sup>248</sup> Ibi's tomb belongs to the early reign of Pepy II (see p. 94). Like Ibi's panel, the offerings on the false door panel of Hermeru/Mereri in his tomb in the Unas cemetery are limited in nature and consist of a *špn(t)*-jar and a tall storage vessel with basketwork flaps placed at the level of the half-loaves on the offering table, plus a lettuce set on top of the nested ewer and basin below.<sup>249</sup> Hermeru's tomb is dated by Harpur to the Sixth–Eighth Dynasties.<sup>250</sup>

In the mid-Sixth Dynasty a number of changes took place in the structural layout of false doors as well. The first of these changes affected the number and decoration of the jambs of false doors.

Nigel Strudwick has noted that in the Fifth Dynasty as the cavetto cornice and torus moulding were introduced, the inscriptions, size and decoration of the

<sup>240</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 196. It should be noted, however, that the false door of Metjetji from Saqqara (Kaplony, *Methethi*, cat. no. 9), which is generally dated to Unas or Pepy I (see N. Kloth, *Die [auto-]biographischen Inschriften des ägyptische Alten Reiches* [Hamburg, 2001], 20 [39]) likewise has a crossbar that extends across the jambs and niches. Munro, in Berger, Clerc, Grimal, eds., *Hommages Leclant* 1, 253, No. 24, uses this feature to date Metjetji to the Heracleopolitan Period or the Eleventh Dynasty, but see note 51 above.

<sup>241</sup> *Meir* IV, pl. 26 [1]. Later examples of false doors of this structural type eliminate the spaces on either side of the panel; see Fischer, *Dendera*, 196.

<sup>242</sup> Hassan, *Gîza* VI.3, figs. 218, 220

<sup>243</sup> James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I<sup>2</sup>, 33.

<sup>244</sup> N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire. Le problème de la datation* (Brussels, 1989), 230.

<sup>245</sup> Z. Saad, *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan*, SASAE 3, pl. 8; *idem*, 'Preliminary Report on the Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan 1942–1943', ASAE 40 (1940): pl. 19

<sup>246</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 133 [483]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 276.

<sup>247</sup> See Munro, in Berger, Clerc, Grimal, eds., *Hommages Leclant* 1, 249 and note 51 above.

<sup>248</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 18.

<sup>249</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* 3, fig. 37b.

jamb of false doors becomes more regular. In the Sixth Dynasty, the false door with cornice, torus moulding, and three pairs of jambs of equal length, each with a similar disposition of texts and jamb figures of equal height, became the standard type for all officials (see p. 1).<sup>251</sup> This is certainly true of the viziers of Teti and Pepy I buried in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara,<sup>252</sup> with a single exception.<sup>253</sup> It is also true of the false doors of the viziers Mehu and his son Meryraankh, who were entombed in the Unas Pyramid Cemetery close-by. In all these cases the doorjambs bear six youthful figures of the deceased carrying a staff and scepter. As we have already seen, Mehu in all likelihood served in office in the early/middle part of the reign of Pepy I, while Meryraankh was probably in office in the early reign of Pepy II (see pp. 81–82).

Strudwick notes that a similar pattern was followed down to the early part of the reign of Pepy II, when two pairs of jambs become possible for even the highest officials, that is, the viziers.<sup>254</sup> False doors of the earlier type with three pairs of jambs and figures of equal height from the beginning of Pepy's II's reign include the false door of the High Priest of Ptah Sabu/Tjety,<sup>255</sup> but a trend towards simplification of the format of the false door is begun that culminates in the later reign of Pepy II.

In the early reign of Pepy II, the vizier Neferseshemseshat/Khenu has a four jamb false door.<sup>256</sup> The same is true of the viziers of the second half of the same reign, Prince Teti, Meryraiam, Pepynakht (see p. 116), and Nyhebsedneferkara.<sup>257</sup> They are thus in keeping with Strudwick's observation.

In addition to the individuals just mentioned, it should be noted that the two false doors of the vizier Rawer likewise feature four jambs.<sup>258</sup> Moreover, the jambs of the two false doors are narrow with only one column of inscription each, a common feature of false doors of the second half of Pepy II's reign from South Saqqara,<sup>259</sup> including the false doors of the viziers of Pepy II mentioned at the end of the last paragraph, with the exception of Pepynakht. Although Rawer's tomb is located at the southeast corner of the pyramid temple of King Teti at North Saqqara, not

<sup>250</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 275. Munro, in Berger, Clerc, Grimal, eds., *Hommages Leclant* 1, 250, assigns the tomb to the late First Intermediate Period, if not to the Eleventh Dynasty; but see note 51 above. See further below p. 106.

<sup>251</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 16–17.

<sup>252</sup> Mereruka, Meryteti, Khentika, Hezi, Inumin.

<sup>253</sup> The exception to the rule just referred to is represented by the false door of the vizier Neferseshemra (see p. 72). The false door has three pairs of jambs with two figures of the vizier holding a staff and scepter at the bottom of each of the outer jambs but only one at the bottom of the middle jambs. The bottom of the right inner jamb is destroyed, but enough of the left inner jamb survives to show that here the vizier was carried in a palanquin on the shoulders of his attendants. The same motif was earlier represented on three false doors of the reign of Unas, those of Ptahhetep/Tjefi (Paget, Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. 39) and Ptahhetep/Tjefu (Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* 3, fig. 58) at Saqqara and that of Seshemnofer at Dahshur (De Morgan, *Dahchour 1894–1895*, fig. 3), but apparently not later.

Harpur (*DETOK*, 274) dates the first two individuals to middle/late Unas. *Ibid.*, 279, she assigns Seshemnofer to her periods V.6–VI.1, that is, Nyuserra–Teti. Given the close parallels in the designs of the four false doors, it seems that Seshemnofer's date can be narrowed down to the reigns of Unas and Teti. This particular feature is another argument that Neferseshemra is the earliest of Teti's vizier's; see p. 71.

<sup>254</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 17. For the use of two pairs of jambs at Giza in the middle or later Fifth Dynasty, see *ibid.*, 51. Two pairs of jambs are sometimes used for lesser officials even in the first half of the Sixth Dynasty; illuminating cases are those of the vizier Hezi (see p. 78) and Mereri (see p. 78), whose principal false doors have six jambs, but whose exterior, supplementary false doors possess only four; see Kanawati, Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery* 5, pls. 57, 63; Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs* 1, pls. 2, 11.

<sup>255</sup> E. g. *CG 1295–1808*, Vol. 2, pl. 100 (CG 1756, Sabu/Tjety); see also *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 19 (Meru/Bebi; VI.5); *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pl. 18 (Ibi; VI.4E). The High Priest of Ptah Sabu/Tjety appears in the reliefs of the mortuary temple of Pepy II; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 2, pl. 74; D. Wildung, 'Hohenpriester von Memphis', *LÄ* 2 (1977), col. 1258.

<sup>256</sup> *CG 1295–1808*, Vol. 2, pl. 65 (CG 1565; VI.3-4?).

<sup>257</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, figs. 50, 60, 70.

<sup>258</sup> El-Fikey, *Re'-wer*, figs. 5, 9; pl. 21.

<sup>259</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 17.

together with the other vizier's tombs of the reigns of Teti and Pepy I to the north of the Teti pyramid, Strudwick, Harpur, and Kanawati all assign it to the latter part of the reign of Pepy I.<sup>260</sup> I find it difficult to believe the decoration of Rawer's two false doors were executed this early. Both doors bear little resemblance to the false doors of the viziers of the reigns of Teti and Pepy I buried in the Teti and Unas Pyramid Cemeteries, all of which have three pairs of jambs and six jamb figures<sup>261</sup> in contrast to Rawer's two pairs of jambs and four figures. Moreover, the tombs of the viziers who served Teti and Pepy I in the early/middle part of his reign are all multiroomed chapels. Even Meryteti's chapel, whose style and workmanship El-Fikey compares to Rawer's,<sup>262</sup> comprises three rooms and has a more extensive series of scenes than the latter's single-roomed chapel.<sup>263</sup> For all these reasons, I would be more inclined to assign Rawer to the early part of the reign of Pepy II.

In this connection, it should also be pointed out that Rawer does not bear the title of *shd hmw-ntr* of a royal pyramid complex. Strudwick observes this title is not common after the middle of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>264</sup> Khentika, Mehu, Meryteti, Meryraankh, Inumin, Hezi, and Hetepkai all have the title, but Rawer does not.<sup>265</sup> In this Rawer resembles the viziers of Pepy II's reign, Neferseshemseshat/Khenu, Prince Teti, Meryraiam, and so forth.<sup>266</sup>

False doors with four jambs but eight jamb figures constitute a curious variant of the above pattern. Most of the datable examples seem to belong to the later Sixth Dynasty. This jamb layout appears, for example, on the false door of Pepyankh the Middle at Meir, whose tomb is dated to years 35–55 of Pepy II by Baer, but by Harpur to the late Old Kingdom (Sixth – Eighth Dynasties) (see p. 83). The arrangement also occurs on the false door of the Metal Worker of the Palace Ankh/Intji in his tomb to the west of the Step Pyramid Complex, a tomb that is likewise dated by Harpur to the late Old Kingdom.<sup>267</sup>

Two false doors from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery show the same layout; the first of these belongs to Meru/Tetiseneb > Meryraseneb/Pepyseneb<sup>268</sup> and the second to Geref/Itji.<sup>269</sup> Meru's panel has two ewers and basins set on small tables to either side of the leg of the offering table (see p. 81), but the ewers and basins on small tables in the table scenes on the north and south walls of his offering room are balanced by small tables laden with bread offerings opposite. This last feature may well serve to date his tomb to the early reign of Pepy II (see pp. 86–87).

Kanawati suggests that Geref's tomb dates mid to late Teti, or immediately afterward.<sup>270</sup> In addition to the layout of his false door, the disposition of the table scene, which is limited to the figure of the deceased at table and a ewer and basin on a small table, suggests he too may be as late as Pepy II (see pp. 89–93).

An even stranger variant is presented by the false door of Mehi/Mehnes from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery.<sup>271</sup> The false door is question has only two pairs of jambs, with three columns of inscription and three jamb figures on the wider outer jambs but only one of each on the narrower inner pair of jambs. As is the case with the false door of Iri/Tetiseneb, Mehi's false door exhibits the late structural feature of a crossbar that extends across all the jambs and niches (see pp. 97–98). A curious feature in Mehi's table scene is the ewer that rests on the groundline of the far side of the table. Unlike the other ewers referred to herein, Mehi's ewer is not nested in

<sup>260</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 115 (93); Harpur, *DETOK*, 275; Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 116.

<sup>261</sup> See pp. 71, 98.

<sup>262</sup> El-Fikey, *Re'-wer*, 44 (d).

<sup>263</sup> See now N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *Mereruka and His Family, Part I*, *SACER* 21 (2005).

<sup>264</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 318.

<sup>265</sup> See *ibid.*, Table 29 (No. 16).

<sup>266</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>267</sup> G. Goyon, 'Le tombeau d'Ankhou à Saqqarah', *Kêmi* 15 (1959): 10–22, pl. 2.

<sup>268</sup> Lloyd et al., *Saqqara Tombs II*, pl. 10.

<sup>269</sup> Kanawati, Hassan, *Teti Cemetery 1*, pls. 35, 65.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, 71; *idem*, *Conspiracies*, 55.

<sup>271</sup> El-Khouli-Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 2*, pl. 7.

a basin. An exact parallel is hard to find, but in the late Old Kingdom false door of the vizier Werkauba/Iku from the Senedjemib Complex at Giza, a ewer and basin are set on opposite sides of the leg of the offering table (see p. 104). In addition the ewer is much taller than the usual ewer that is represented on the false door panels, and is provided with a neck. Kanawati dates the false door of Mehi to the late reign of Teti, or shortly after.<sup>272</sup> He remarks that evidence from the neighboring tombs supports such a date, for Mehi's tomb is in the same street where the tombs of Hefi, Hezi, Mereri, and Seankhuptah are located.<sup>273</sup> These tombs are, in fact, at the far, eastern end of the street in question, whereas Mehi's tomb is located in the midst of a number of tombs at the western end of the street which appear to date to the reign of Pepy II; these include the tombs of Iri/Tetiseneb, Geref/Itji, Inenikai/Tjetji, Iries and Tetiankh.<sup>274</sup>

The false door of Ishfi/Tutu in Room VII of the mastaba of the vizier Ankhmahor at Saqqara (see p. 74) has an equally asymmetrical arrangement.<sup>275</sup> Again there are four jambs, with the outer pair wider than the inner. Both sets of jambs have two columns of texts, but the outer jambs have two figures of the owner, while the inner jambs have only one. Kanawati believes Ishfi to be a son of Ankhmahor.<sup>276</sup> With one exception, all the jamb figures wear a projecting kilt and hold a staff and scepter. The right figure on the right outer jamb wears a tight kilt and has his arms hanging by his side (see pp. 102–103).<sup>277</sup> If Ankhmahor's tomb dates to the middle to late reign of Teti,<sup>278</sup> and Ishfi is indeed his son, the latter could have lived into the reign of Pepy I or even that of Merenra.<sup>279</sup> If Ishfi is not Ankhmahor's son, the false door might be later in date and more in keeping with the date of the other false doors just discussed.

The changes also affect the character of the figures of the deceased at the bottom of the jambs. The figures now may or may not be of equal height.<sup>280</sup> In Weni the Elder's false door (see p. 112), the figures of the deceased on the inner jambs are shorter than those on the outer jambs. In the case of the vizier Pepynakht (see pp. 115–116), the figures on the outer jambs of the false doors are also taller than those on the inner jambs. The vizier Idu I/Nefer (see p. 89–91) has six jambs, but once more the figures on the outer jambs are taller than those on the inner jambs.<sup>281</sup> At Sheikh Said the same layout is evident on the false door of the nomarch Wiu/Iyu,<sup>282</sup> who is dated by Harpur to Merenra or the early reign of Pepy II,<sup>283</sup> and is also apparent in a second false door which belongs to a Hathor priestess named Hehenet.<sup>284</sup> The

<sup>272</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 93–95.

<sup>273</sup> See pp. 77 (note 41), 78, 80. Kanawati (*Conspiracies*, 139) believes that Teti's official cemetery was from the first fenced by an enclosure, divided, and allocated and already full, or at least fully allocated, by the end of his reign. Furthermore: 'With the exception of a limited number of officials whose tombs were built in awkward locations [the viziers Khentika, Tjetju, and Rawer], and those who added a chapel within their fathers' mastabas, all of whom were no later than Pepy I, the rest of the tomb owners most probably served under Teti and participated in the events of his reign. That a few of these outlived him to also serve under his successor(s) does not contradict this conclusion' (*ibid.*, 143). However, Nigel Strudwick, review of Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara 1*, *JEA* 73 (1987): 277, already suggested that some of the monuments in the cemetery, such as the false doors of Inenikai/Tjetji, Tetiankh, and Memi (see pp. 87, 106–107, 108–109) may be late Sixth Dynasty or even later.

<sup>274</sup> See pp. 88, 96–98, 100, 106–107.

<sup>275</sup> Kanawati, Hassan, *Teti Cemetery*, 2, pl. 62.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, 54–55

<sup>277</sup> See *ibid.*, 55.

<sup>278</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 75 (30); Harpur, *DETOK*, 273.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 64 [94A]. Strudwick, *Administration*, 67 (19) assigns his chapel to the middle to late reign of Pepy I.

<sup>280</sup> It should be pointed out that figures of unequal height occur on jambs of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty date; see e.g. Strudwick, *Administration*, 15–16, 68 [21] (Iteti/AnkhIries), 137 [127] (Seshemu); Junker, *Giza VI*, fig. 101 (Niankhnemty).

<sup>281</sup> Junker, *Giza VIII*, fig. 34.

<sup>282</sup> *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 23.

<sup>283</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 280.

<sup>284</sup> *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 25.

same juxtaposition of taller and shorter figures is evident in other false doors that probably belong to the reign of Merenra or the long reign of Pepy II.<sup>285</sup>

Instead of the slender, youthful images of the deceased holding a staff and scepter, which were ubiquitous in the reigns of Teti and Pepy I, other types of figures now appear with some regularity at the bottom of the jambs. Certain of these figural types are attested already in the Fifth Dynasty and certain others are known from the early reign of Teti, but it is important to recognize that they do not appear on the false doors of the viziers of Teti and Pepy I in the Teti and Unas Pyramid Cemeteries.

It is fairly common, for example, to find on the jambs of false doors of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty youthful figures of the owner holding a staff in his front hand and a handkerchief in his hanging rear hand.<sup>286</sup> This type of figure is now common again; it appears for example on the false doors of the viziers Neferseshemseshat/Khenu and Rawer.<sup>287</sup> Then again, the hanging hand may be open and empty.<sup>288</sup>

Another attitude that is recurrent at this time, but which is also known from the late Fifth Dynasty is that of the owner with both arms hanging at his side.<sup>289</sup> Early instances occur on the false door of the Overseer of the Tenant Farmers of the Palace Mereri, whose tomb in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery may belong to the middle or late reign of Teti (see p. 78).<sup>290</sup> Another occurrence is on the false door of the Vizier Mereri,<sup>291</sup> who is dated by both Strudwick and Harpur from Merenra to early Pepy II.<sup>292</sup> The fact that the Vizier Mereri's false door panel shows the figure of the deceased at table unaccompanied by service furniture or cult vessels argues for the later date (see pp. 114ff.). Other examples are not closely dated,<sup>293</sup> although Qar/Pepynefer may belong to the early reign of Pepy II (see p. 98), while Weser<sup>294</sup> wears a patterned kilt of late Old Kingdom

<sup>285</sup> Sheikh Saïd, pl. 23 (Meru/Bebi; see p. 88); Jéquier, *Pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit*, fig. 32 (Prince Nemtyemsaf); CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pls. 36 (Abebi), 39 (Meryraankh/Nisuihy); James, *Khentika*, pl. 13 (Khentika/Ikhekhi II); James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 35 [1] (Meri/Idu); Altenmüller, *Grab des Mehu*, pl. 96 (Hetepkai); Sabni I, Aswan (unpublished)

<sup>286</sup> E.g. LD II, pls. 65 (Manefer; V.9-VI.1), 84 (Rawer II; V.8-9M); S. Hassan, *The Mastaba of Nebkaw-Her. Excavations at Saqqara, 1937–1938*, Vol. 2 (Cairo, 1975), fig. 34b (vizier Ptahhetep/Iyenankh; V.9-VI.1); W. K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-ankh-ptah in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1976), pl. B (Sekhemankhptah; V.8-9); *idem*, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, 1992), pl. B (Kayemnofret; V.8-9).

<sup>287</sup> See also CG 1431: CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 19 (Hezezi; see p. 85); Kanawati, Hassan, *Teti Cemetery 1*, pls. 35, 65 (Geref/Itji; see p. 100); Altenmüller, *Grab des Mehu*, pl. 96 (Hetepkai; see p. 84); Lloyd, *Saqqara Tombs 2*, pl. 16 (Semdenti; see p. 81). A badly damaged figure on the false door of Seankhuiptah (Kanawati, Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery 3*, pl. 71) appears to be holding a handkerchief in its hanging rear hand. Unfortunately, it is not possible to check this occurrence, which would be considerably earlier than these others, in *ibid.*, pls. 1 or 28.

<sup>288</sup> E.g. Sheikh Saïd, pl. 23 (Wiu/Iyu; VI.4); *Deir el Gebrâwi 1*, pl. 18 (Ibi; VI.4E); *Meir V*, pl. 10 (Niankhpepy/Hepi the Black; VI.4); Jéquier, *Pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit*, fig. 32 (Prince Nemtyemsaf); CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 18 (Abebi; VI.7-FIP); Junker, *Giza VIII*, fig. 34 (Idu I/Nefer; see pp. 89–91); El-Khouli, Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 39 (Khuenukh; VI.7-FIP); Lloyd, *Saqqara Tombs 2*, pl. 23 (Khui; VI.4-5); Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, cat. no. 11 (Izi); Mekhu and Sabni I, Aswan (unpublished).

<sup>289</sup> See LD II, pl. 81 (Seshemnofer IV; V.9-VI.1); Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas 1*, pl. 18 (Iteti/Ankhires); Strudwick, *Administration*, 68 [21], later Fifth Dynasty); James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 19 (Izeziankh); Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara 2*, fig. 13 (Vizier Ptahhetep I; V.8M-L).

<sup>290</sup> Davies, *Saqqara Tombs 1*, pl. 11; Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 95–97.

<sup>291</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara 2*, fig. 17b.

<sup>292</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 99 [67]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 274.

<sup>293</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, H. R. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. 1* (London, 1911), pl. 46 (Nebi); CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 18 (Abebi); Junker, *Giza VII*, fig. 104 (Senedjemib/Inti); Hassan, *Giza VI.3*, fig. 207 (Qar); James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 35 [1] (Meri/Idu); E. Brovarski, 'The Senedjemib Complex at Giza: an Interim Report', *L'Égyptologie en 1979: Axes prioritaires de recherches*, 2 vols., International Colloquiums of C.N.R.S., No. 595 (Paris, 1982), fig. 21 (vizier Werkauba/Iku; see p. 104 below); Ziegler, *Ancien Empire*, cat. no. 11 (Izi).

<sup>294</sup> CG 1295–1808, Vol. 2, 9, pl. 57 (CG 1551).



type,<sup>295</sup> and two examples of the attitude derive from tombs in the cemetery around the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara.<sup>296</sup>

A portly older figure of the deceased alternates with the slender youthful ideal on jambs as early as the reign of Teti in the false door of the Greatest of Seers Sabu/Ibebi.<sup>297</sup> The older figure is rare on false doors in the interim, but becomes fairly widespread now.<sup>298</sup> The portly older figure alternates with the youthful ideal on the false door of the vizier Tjetju (*fig. 9*) in the early part of the reign of Pepy II, for example.

Harpur notes that seated figures of the owner with a staff and scepter begin to appear on the jambs of false doors in the late Fifth Dynasty, in the reigns of Izezi and Unas.<sup>299</sup> The earliest attested instance of seated figures on jambs of Sixth Dynasty date known to me appears at the bottom of the false door of Meryrenefer/Qar at Giza (G 7101), which dates to the early part of the reign of Pepy II (see p. 88). The figures on Qar's false door are well carved representations of the deceased, who is depicted seated on a lion-legged chair and holding a staff in one hand and scepter in the other.<sup>300</sup> The same is true of two seated representations of the deceased on the late Old Kingdom false door of Weser from Giza, who likewise holds both a staff and scepter (see p. 102). Otherwise, the seated figures of the deceased on false door jambs are in the nature of peremptorily executed hieroglyphs.<sup>301</sup> Most of the examples are at least as late as Pepy II. This is certainly true of the false door of Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi (see p. 91)<sup>302</sup> and of the Overseer of Priests Iuu from Abydos (see p. 84).<sup>303</sup> Three other false doors have supplemental frames (see pp. 109ff.);<sup>304</sup> several show the abbreviated panel scene with the figure of the deceased at table plus a ewer and basin (pp. 89ff.).<sup>305</sup> The false door of Ihyemsaf/Meru/Tetiseneb<sup>306</sup> shows so many peculiar features in addition – the absence of a table scene, an inverted T-shaped panel (see pp. 117–118), and all inscriptions, including those on the jambs, facing right – that it must surely be at least as late as Pepy II.<sup>307</sup>

<sup>295</sup> See P. A. Bocchi, 'Of Lines, Linen, and Language: A Study of a Patterned Textile and Its Interweaving with Egyptian Beliefs', *CdE* 71 (1996): 223ff.

<sup>296</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux*, fig. 111 (Henenu; VI.7), 134 (Degem/Merpepy).

<sup>297</sup> CG 1565: CG 1295–1808, Vol. 2, pl. 65; see above note 42.

<sup>298</sup> *Meir V*, pl. 10 (Niankhpepy/Hepi the Black); CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pls. 15 (Metju), 17 (Neferseshemptah/Sankhptahmeryra/Sheshi), 39 (Meryraankh/Nisuihy); Junker, *Giza VIII*, fig. 88 (Nisuptah); James, *Khentika*, pl. 42 (Djedipepy II); Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, pl. 16 (Tjetu/Nikainesut); Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, cat. nos. 10 (Izi), 40 (Sheshi).

<sup>299</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 130, note 81. As A. M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants including G 2084–2099, G 2230 + 2231, and G 2240, Giza Mastabas 6* (Boston, 1995), 36 and note 23, observes, Harpur gives no table of occurrences for this feature, so it is difficult to tell how many examples her dating is based upon, but see e.g. Paget-Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 39 (Ptahhetep/Tjefi; VI.9M-L); Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara 2*, fig. 58 (Ptahhetep/Tjefu; VI.9M-L). Roth assigns the false door of Zaib, with two seated figures on its jambs, to the reign of Izezi; see Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 36, pl. 179.

<sup>300</sup> Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 32.

<sup>301</sup> Hassan, *Giza I*, fig. 125 (Neferwenet); James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I<sup>2</sup>*, pl. 38 [1] (Shenay); Bengt Petersen, 'Finds from the Theteti Tomb at Saqqara', *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 20 (1985), pl. 4 (Tjeteti; see p. 111); Kanawati, *Saqqara 1*, pls. 10 (Ihyemsaf/Meru/Tetiseneb); El-Khouli, Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery 5*, pl. 11 (Hezi); Kanawati, Hassan, *Teti Cemetery 1*, pl. 45 [b] (Ibi).

<sup>302</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi 2*, pl. 11; see p. 94.

<sup>303</sup> Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, cat. no. 5.

<sup>304</sup> Petersen, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 20 (1985): photograph on p. 4 (Tjeteti; see p. 111); Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 1*, pl. 24 (Kagemni/Gemni); Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery 1*, pl. 45 [b] (Ibi).

<sup>305</sup> S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara, C. H. Roehrig, eds., *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), cat. no. 28 (Kha); Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 1*, pl. 24 (Kagemni/Gemni); Petersen, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 20 (1985): pl. 4 (Tjeteti); Kanawati, *Teti Cemetery 1*, pl. 45 [b] (Ibi); James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I<sup>2</sup>*, pl. 38 (1) (Shenay). The same kind of peremptorily executed seated figure appears on the jambs of the supplementary frame of Raheikai/Ipi at South Saqqara (Jéquier, *Tombeaux*, fig. 138).


<sup>306</sup> Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 1*, pl. 10.

<sup>307</sup> *Idem*, *Conspiracies*, 64 [16], who dates the door to late Teti or early Pepy I.

In most of these false doors, the seated figures occur on the central pair of jambs, whereas standing figures appear on the outer jambs.<sup>308</sup> This latter arrangement of jamb figures is apparent, for example, on the central jambs of the false doors of the Overseer of Upper Egypt Hezy.<sup>309</sup> Kanawati assigns Hezy to the reign of Pepy I.<sup>310</sup> At first glance, the table scene on the panel of Hezy's false door appears to show a ewer and basin on the near side of the offering table balanced by three *hez*-jars in a rack, a design program that is known as early as the middle reign of King Teti (see pp. 72ff.). Upon closer examination, it is clear that the jars are not *hez*-jars at all and the rack is not a rack, but rather a small service table. A similar confusion is apparent in a table scene in the tomb of Pepyankh the Middle at Meir in the late Old Kingdom (see p. 83), where once again the vessels on the small table are really neither *hez*-vessels or beer-jugs in shape.<sup>311</sup> This detail, when taken in conjunction with the small seated figures on the jambs of Hezy's false door, suggests that his false door more probably belongs to the reign of Pepy II.

Jamb figures that are represented by only one or two examples show the deceased holding a staff with a papyrus scroll in the hanging rear hand;<sup>312</sup> with one hand clenched on the chest, the other holding a handkerchief;<sup>313</sup> with one hand slightly raised, the other grasping a handkerchief;<sup>314</sup> or with arms raised in prayer (see pp. 115–116).

The figures of women are likewise affected. In addition to the traditional attitude of smelling a lotus blossom, women are sometimes shown with arms hanging at their sides.<sup>315</sup> On the false door of the late Old Kingdom vizier Werkauba/Iku, from the Senedjemib Complex at Giza, the wife of the owner places her open hand on her chest in a attitude of respect, a gesture which is presumably directed at her husband, who faces her on the opposite jamb.<sup>316</sup> A false door of probable late Old Kingdom date from Busiris in the Delta shows a seated figure of the deceased, a woman named Hemira/ Hemi, smelling a lotus blossom on the middle jambs.<sup>317</sup> A false door of analagous date from Giza exhibits the same motif on its outer jambs. The latter door belongs to a woman named Meresankh/Iy.<sup>318</sup> Unparalleled to my

knowledge are the squatting figures (  ) of the woman on its inner jambs.

Another false door of late Old Kingdom date shows the deceased, a woman named Kauset, holding a lotus bud or lotiform staff on the jambs of her false door.<sup>319</sup> The same motif appears on the jambs of a second late Old Kingdom false door from the

<sup>308</sup> Meresankh/Isi; Iuu; Weser, Neferwenet; Hemra/Hemi; Kagemni/Gemni; Ibi; Shenay.

<sup>309</sup> El-Khouli, Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 2*, pls. 11, 12.

<sup>310</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 126 [40].

<sup>311</sup> *Meir IV*, pl. 15.

<sup>312</sup> D'Auria, Lacovara, Roehrig, eds., *Mummies and Magic*, cat. no. 28 (Kha).

<sup>313</sup> James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I<sup>2</sup>*, pl. 39 [1] (Ptahhetep/Ipti). In the table scene of Ipti, there is nothing under the offering table, and the nested ewer and basin is set beneath the chair of the deceased, a feature that dates the false door to the reign of Pepy II or later. Note that Ipti has longer locks of hair on the crown of his shoulder-length wig, a feature that dates him no earlier than Pepy II; see p. 116.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.* (Ptahhetep/Ipti).

<sup>315</sup> Budge, Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae 1*, pl. 45 (Mennefer, wife of Nebi); James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I<sup>2</sup>*, pl. 34 [1] (Behenu, wife of Qar: Meryra/Pepynefer; see p. 98),

<sup>316</sup> Brovarski, in *Égyptologie en 1979*, 117, 120, fig. 21; *idem*, *The Senedjemib Complex 1*, 35.

<sup>317</sup> The door was originally published by H. G. Fischer, 'Some Early Monuments from Busiris in the Egyptian Delta', *MMJ* 11(1976): 166–174, figs. 8, 9, at which time it was dated to the Heracleopolitan Period (Tenth Dynasty). A drawing of the false door also appears in *idem*, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and the Heracleopolitan Period* (New York, 2000), fig. 30. In the latter volume, *ibid.*, 39, Fischer has changed his mind and ascribed a late Old Kingdom date (Eighth Dynasty) to the false door. I would concur with the late Old Kingdom date.

<sup>318</sup> The false door derives from G 7509 in the Eastern Field at Giza, Obj. Reg. 26-1-512 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; unaccessioned). It is represented in Harvard-Boston Expedition photograph A 4374.

<sup>319</sup> S. Bosticco, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze: Le stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno 1* (Rome, 1959): pl. 1.

Teti Pyramid Cemetery that belongs to a certain Mestni.<sup>320</sup> The lotiform staff is held by women in representations dating to the very end of the Old Kingdom and later and continues to be depicted in the early Middle Kingdom.<sup>321</sup> Kauset, in addition, holds a lotus flower in her hanging rear hand. Another figure of Kauset on the right outer jamb of the door holds two lotus blossoms in her hanging hands, while the corresponding figure on the left outer jamb appears to hold a bag or basket in her hanging hand. Both Kauset and Mestni show the late decorative program (Scheme VIII) which is restricted to the seated figure of the deceased at table unaccompanied by any service furniture or cult utensils whatsoever (see pp. 114ff.).

Most innovative are the representations at the bottom of the Sixth Dynasty false door of Nebet.<sup>322</sup> As Henry Fischer has pointed out, the owner, who is a priestess of Hathor, holds two similar bags or baskets, wears a *mnjt*-necklace, and holds a sistrum; a second sistrum is to be seen in one of the bags.<sup>323</sup>

A handful of false doors include representations of the deceased's wife or family on the jambs.<sup>324</sup> Such representation are far more common in false doors of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>325</sup> If Harpur's assignment of the vizier Hetepnptah to the reign of Teti is correct,<sup>326</sup> we would possess an example of a false door with the deceased's wife on the jambs from the early Sixth Dynasty.<sup>327</sup> For the later period, it may be noted that Qar/Meryranefer of Edfu includes members of his family on the jambs of his false door in the early part of the reign of Pepy II (see p. 97).<sup>328</sup> The inclusion of the deceased's wife or family on the jambs in the second half of the Sixth Dynasty may be related to the generally limited nature of tomb decoration at this time which pretty much excluded the possibility of their depiction elsewhere in the tomb.

Thurifers or offering bearers are shown on the jambs of a small number of false doors in conjunction with figures of the deceased. Indeed, two thurifers and two offering bearers appear on the jambs of the false door of Hetepnptah referred to in the last paragraph.

The false door of Sefget from Saqqara, shows a figure offering a fowl to Sefget on one jamb of the false door.<sup>329</sup> The false door clearly dates to the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>330</sup> but it is no easy matter to narrow the date. The panel shows a double depiction of Sefget at a single offering table with a ewer and basin close to the legs of each depiction.

<sup>320</sup> Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* 1, pl. 16.

<sup>321</sup> H. G. Fischer 'Eleventh Dynasty Relief Fragments from Deir el Bahri', *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 24, No. 2 (October, 1958): 31, n. 12; E. Brovanski, 'An Unpublished Stele of the First Intermediate Period in the Oriental Institute Museum', *JNES* 32 (1973): 461, n. 27. To the references in these two articles, add: Newberry, *Beni Hasan* II, fig. 4 (Baket III), 16 (Khety I).

<sup>322</sup> Saad, *ASAE* 43 (1943): pl. 40.

<sup>323</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 12, fig. 13.

<sup>324</sup> Budge, Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae* 1, pl. 45 (Nebi); J. A. Wilson, 'A Group of Sixth Dynasty Inscriptions', *JNES* 13 (1954): fig. 3 (Bia/Ireri; VI.3-4); Brovanski, *L'Égyptologie en 1979*: fig. 21 (vizier Werkauba/Iku); Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara* 1, pl. 22 (Inenikai/Tjetji; see p. 106); El-Khouli, Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 39 (Khuenukh); K. O. Kuraszkiewicz, 'Inscribed Objects from the Old Kingdom Necropolis', fig. 2 (Tetiankh). On the dates of Bia/Ireri and Khuenukh, see pp. 92, 115.

<sup>325</sup> On occasion a wife may occupy a doorjamb or the central niche of her husband's false door; see e.g. *CG 1295-1808, Vol. 1*, pl. 33 (CG 1447; Netjernefer); Moussa, Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pls. 32, 39. The opposite scenario may also be the case and the husband occupy a jamb or the central niche on his wife's false door, e.g. *ibid.*, pl. 36. Or a relative may be shown on a jamb of the tomb owner's false door; see e.g. *CG 1295-1808, Vol. 1*, pl. 35 (CG 1456, Kayemtjennet). Or the married couple may appear together on the same jamb; see e.g. *ibid.*, pls. 39 (CG 1482, Niankhsakhmet), 40 (CG 1484, Nenkheftkai). Strudwick (*Administration*, 16) also draws attention to false doors which feature several small registers with figures of the family or show family members in conjunction with the large figure of the deceased.

<sup>326</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 267.

<sup>327</sup> LD II, 72. Harpur reads the name *N-htp-Pth*; Fischer (*Varia Nova*, 58) prefers the reading *Htp-n(.j)-Pth*.


<sup>328</sup> Khadragy, *SAK* 30 (2002): fig. 7.


<sup>329</sup> Fischer, *MMJ* 11(1976): fig. 12, 20-21.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

Just conceivably, this represents a variant of Scheme VII A, in which case the false door might be as late as Pepy II (see pp. 89ff.).

The subordinate figures before the deceased on the jambs of the false door of Hermeru/Mereri are damaged and it is not entirely clear whether they burn incense or make offering to the deceased, or possibly both.<sup>331</sup> Hermeru is described as ‘one who was honored before the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Unas’ and, as there is no mention of a later king in the tomb, it would be tempting, as Kanawati has remarked, to date the tomb to the reign of that king. As he has also observed, however, there are a number of rock-cut below ground tombs of a similar sort to Hermeru’s in the near vicinity, whose owners held office at the pyramid of Pepy I.<sup>332</sup> These include the rock-cut tombs of Niankhpepy, Iy, and Tjetju. Of the three individuals, Niankhpepy/Niankhmeryra and Iy were tenant farmers of Pepy I’s pyramid, while Tjetju was a priest at the same establishment.<sup>333</sup> For this reason, Kanawati thinks the tombs of all three of these individuals, and Hermeru’s as well, belonged to the early reign of Pepy I.<sup>334</sup> However, as Fischer observes, the beams of the wooden bedstead found inside Nyankhpepy’s coffin are inscribed with a brief series of funerary texts

in which the first person pronoun is written  and the independent pronoun

is , as is first attested in the Eighth Dynasty Pyramid Texts of King Ibi.<sup>335</sup> Therefore, Niankhpepy’s tomb or least his burial probably belongs to the late Old Kingdom (Sixth – Eighth Dynasties).<sup>336</sup> If this is true, the other rock-cut tombs may equally be later than the time of Pepy II. Indeed, Harpur dates another of the rock-cut tombs, that of Iyenhor, to late Sixth – Eighth Dynasties.<sup>337</sup>

In the case of the false door of Inenikai/Tjetji from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, the figure of an offering bearer in the central niche of the door proffers birds to the figures of the deceased on the middle jambs to either side.<sup>338</sup> Inenikai’s false door is one of those that also has a figure of the wife on one jamb as previously noted. The date suggested by Kanawati for the false door is the middle of the Sixth Dynasty or later.<sup>339</sup> The false door is hard to categorize. The decorative program on what appears to be the panel is restricted to an inscription, a feature that might indicate that the door in fact belongs to the end of the Sixth Dynasty or later (see p. 116). In addition, the table scene on the false door, which shows five tall triangular loaves on the offering table (not the customary stylized half-loaves of bread) with a ewer and basin on the far side of the leg, has been transferred to what looks like an unusually broad lintel below. It is possible this is another example of an ‘inverted T-shaped panel’ (see pp. 117–118), although the table scene and identifying inscription are not usually reversed on such panels, as they are here. Finally, the offering formula is represented by the variant *htp-dj-nswt jn* + divine name which, as Henry Fischer observes, was employed a number of times toward the end of the Sixth Dynasty

<sup>331</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara 3*, fig. 37b.

<sup>332</sup> Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 28.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 33, 46.

<sup>334</sup> Both Hermeru (Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara 3*, fig. 37b) and his wife Wadjkaues (*ibid.*, fig. 38b) have a nested ewer and basin under their offering tables (see pp 89ff.). Hermeru in addition has a lettuce on top of his ewer and basin and a *špn(t)*-jar and a tall storage jar with basketwork flaps to the right of the loaves on the offering table. A lettuce is also placed on top of a ewer in basin on a side-panel of Khesufuikhnum/Khnumenti, which probably belongs to the end of the Sixth Dynasty or shortly thereafter, see Simpson, ‘Two Reliefs of the Late Old Kingdom’, figs. 2, 3 (see note 34).

<sup>335</sup> H. G. Fischer, review of *Excavations at Saqqara, 1937–1938*, 3 vols., by S. Hassan, re-edited by Z. Iskander, in *JEA* 65 (1979): 179. Subsequently J. Osing, ‘Sprüche gegen die *jbh3tj*-Schlange’, *MDAIK* 43 (1986): 205–210, has identified these spells as Coffin Texts.

<sup>336</sup> Cf. Harpur, *DETOK*, 274 (VI.6-7?, reused VI.7-F. I. P.).

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, 272. For the tomb of Iyenhor, see Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara 3*, 59–67; for Iyenhor’s false door, which incorporates a ewer and basin and a jar rack with four *hez*-vessels into the design, see *ibid.*, fig. 34 b.

<sup>338</sup> Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 2*, pl. 22.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

and later.<sup>340</sup> Taking all this into account, Inenikai's false door is, in all likelihood, no earlier in date than the reign of Pepy II.

The false door of Itji from Giza has four jambs with taller figures at the bottom of the outer jambs and shorter figures on the inner jambs (see pp. 101–102).<sup>341</sup> On the left outer jamb is a figure of a son burning incense before his father. On the panel a nested ewer and basin to one side of the offering table is balanced by a jar rack with three *hez*-vessels on the other side (Scheme I A); nevertheless the jamb figures of unequal height indicate that Itji's false door is unlikely to be earlier in date than the reign of Merenra (see p. 101).

A number of different jamb layouts also occur. The false door of the vizier Tjetju, for instance, has six jambs with four jamb figures, but the figures are lacking on the central pair of jambs which instead bear two columns of text (fig. 9).

The false door of Iunmin/Tjetetu from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery exhibits the same jamb layout.<sup>342</sup> Kanawati thinks the false door dates to the middle of the reign of Teti to the early reign of Pepy I,<sup>343</sup> but the jamb layout suggests that it cannot be this early. The false door panel exhibits what is probably a variant of Scheme VI (see pp. 87ff.); on the far side of the table are a ewer and basin on a service table between two tall *šns*-loaves and a jar rack that holds three *qeb*-vessels. Considering the date of the previous two false doors Tjetetu's could also be as late as the early reign of Pepy II. The seated figure of the owner appears to float in midair and this strange feature would also more appropriate at the later date.

In a number of false doors with two pairs of jambs and two jamb figures, the jamb figures are similarly lacking on the central pair of jambs which likewise bear two columns of texts. The present writer has dated one example of this layout to the end of the reign of Pepy II or later. This is the false door of the vizier Idi II from Abydos (see p. 96).

Another such monument is the false door of a Seal-bearer of the God named Ikhi/Mery from West Saqqara.<sup>344</sup> The false door derives from a rock-cut tomb belonging to a like-named father and son. The same title was held by a certain Ikhi in four inscriptions in the Wadi Hammamat connected with an expedition mentioning the first *Sed*-festival of Pepy I in the latter part of that king's reign; two of the graffiti also contain the name and title of the man's son, who was named Ikhi like his father, and has the title *jmj-jrty ḥprw wjz*.<sup>345</sup> Kuraszkiewicz assigns the false door to Ikhi II. Considering that the false door has the supplementary frame which, to our knowledge, first appears in the early part of the reign of Pepy II (see pp. 109ff.), the attribution is very probable.

Yet another instance of a false door in which jamb figures are lacking and the central pair of jambs bear two columns of text is to be found in the tomb of Tjetju/Nikainesut at Giza (G 2001) and belongs to a female relative of the tomb owner.<sup>346</sup> Nebet's false door shows the deceased at a table of bread with a nested ewer and basin on the ground on the far side of the table. The tomb has been dated above to the reign of Pepy II, probably to its second half (see p. 91).

Two further examples of this jamb layout derive from the cemetery around the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara (see p. 109). The false door panel of Nefry has the same decorative scheme as Nebet's false door except that the ewer and basin rest on a small table.<sup>347</sup> The panel of the other false door, which belongs to an individual without titles named Iri, exhibits the later decorative scheme which shows the owner alone at a table of bread (see pp. 114ff.).<sup>348</sup>

<sup>340</sup> Fischer, *MMJ* 11(1976): 15 (a).

<sup>341</sup> Junker, *Giza* VIII, fig. 58.

<sup>342</sup> Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara* 1, pl. 18.

<sup>343</sup> *Idem*, *Conspiracies*, 127.

<sup>344</sup> K. O. Kuraszkiewicz, 'Saqqara 2002: Inscriptions', *PAM* 14 (2003): fig. 3.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*, 137–138.


<sup>346</sup> Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 25.

<sup>347</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, fig. 64.

<sup>348</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux*, fig. 97.

Other examples of this layout are not so well dated. The false door of Seni from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery shows a ewer and basin on the near side of the table leg and two *qebeh*-vessels in a jar rack on the opposite side of the leg (see pp.



72ff.).<sup>349</sup> The arrangement , several examples of which occur at South Saqqara,<sup>350</sup> as well as on the false door of the vizier Idi II (see p. 96), indicate that Seni's monument probably belongs to the end of the Sixth Dynasty, if not later. Four of the remaining false doors show the owner seated on the panel with a ewer and basin on the far side of the table of bread (see pp. 89ff.),<sup>351</sup> while three others show the late arrangement which is limited to a figure of the tomb owner at table (see pp. 114ff).<sup>352</sup>

The same jamb layout occurs on the false door of a woman named Irti.<sup>353</sup> The upper part of the false door is missing. Nevertheless, the figure of Irti's husband on an adjacent block<sup>354</sup> is executed in the mature Second Style of the later Sixth Dynasty.<sup>355</sup>

One small false door from fill in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery has the jamb layout under discussion as well as a supplementary frame which in all probability dates it to the reign of Pepy II or later (see pp. 109ff.). The false door belongs to the Director of the Kitchen of the Palace Ptahkai/Kai, who is shown on the panel seated behind a table of bread with a ewer and basin on the far side of the table.<sup>356</sup> The ewer and basin is on the same (imaginary) groundline as Kai's feet, but the offering table appears to float off the ground.

The false door of Khenti/Tjetji, which was found in the tomb of Mehi/Mehnes (see p. 100) in the Teti Pyramid cemetery, likewise has two columns of inscriptions on the inner jambs and two figures on the outer pair of jambs.<sup>357</sup> The false door is reproduced in a photograph with no accompanying drawing, but it looks as if there is nothing beneath the offering table of the deceased, even though food offerings appear at the far right. The phonetic writing of Anubis on the architrave of the false door, without the figure of the jackal, is a late feature that indicates the false door is no earlier in date than the very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>358</sup>

The false door of Memi from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery also has two figures on the outer jambs only.<sup>359</sup> Instead of a line of inscription, a pair of *wedjat*-eyes appears on the inner jambs flanking the niche. As Fischer notes, *wedjat*-eyes appear in this position on the inner jambs of the false doors of Izi of Edfu and his son Qar, whereas otherwise the occurrence of *wedjat*-eyes in the niche itself is characteristic of the late Sixth Dynasty and the First Intermediate Period.<sup>360</sup> The tombs of Izi and Qar

<sup>349</sup> Firth – Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II*, pl. 73 [2].

<sup>350</sup> E.g. Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, fig. 34 (Great Overlord of the Thinite Nome Khubau; see note 370); *idem*, with the collaboration of D. Dunham, *Le Mastabat Faroun*, fig. 25 (Pepy- [. . .]); *idem.*, *Tombeaux*, figs. 90 (Wadjet), 134 (Degem/Merpepy), 140 (Rahekai). See also Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1*, pl. 16 (Mestni; see pp. 104–105); Hassan, *Gîza VI.3*, fig. 20 (Seshemnefer/Iufi; see p. 98); Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 2 (Hetepnebi); Bosticco, *Steles egiziane*, pl. 1 (Kauset; see p. 104).

<sup>351</sup> CG 1399: CG 1295–1808, vol. 2, pl. 16 (Khnument ?); Hassan, *Gîza VI.3*, fig. 220 (with a low table heaped with offerings at the far right) (Seshemnefer/Iufi; see p. 98 above); *Ägyptisches Museum* (Berlin, 1981), cat. no. 232 (Senti); Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, cat. no. 12 (Iyi/Nebsen; see note 173).

<sup>352</sup> See James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I<sup>2</sup>*, pl. 42 [3] (Seni); CG 1500 (see H. G. Fischer, 'A Provincial Statue of the Egyptian Sixth Dynasty', *AJA* 66 [1962]: 68, n. 28) (Id); Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 1*, pl. 12 (Memi; see p. 109); Kanawati, Hassan, *Teti Cemetery 1*, pls. 12a, 64a (Ibi; see notes 304, 305).

<sup>353</sup> Leprohon, *JARCE* 31 (1994): fig. 2.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 3. The other face of the block shows part of a table scene, with a jar rack containing four *hezet*- and *qebeh*-vessels placed above a ewer and basin set in a second jar rack.

<sup>355</sup> See Brovarski, 'The Second Style in the Relief of the Old Kingdom' (forthcoming).

<sup>356</sup> El-Khouli, Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 2*, pl. 22.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 9.

<sup>358</sup> See Fischer, *MMJ* 11(1976): 7–8.

<sup>359</sup> Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 1*, pl. 12.

<sup>360</sup> Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 40, n. 1.

probably date to Pepy I and II respectively (see pp. 91, 97). The limited nature of the design scheme on the panel of Memi's false door, which shows the deceased alone at a table is probably an indication that Memi was a contemporary of Pepy II (see pp. 114ff.).

The four-jamb false door of the Vizier Zezi reverses the usual pattern and instead has jamb figures on the inner jambs, while the outer jambs bear texts only.<sup>361</sup> From

his titles (*shd hmw-ntr Mn-nfr-Mryr*<sup>c</sup>, etc). Zezi can be no earlier than Pepy I. The use of three texts columns per jamb is common among false doors from the first part of the reign of Pepy II,<sup>362</sup> and Zezi may be as late.

Unlike the false doors just discussed, the false door of the provincial governor Tetiankh/Imhotep at Sheikh Said has four pairs of jambs.<sup>363</sup> Even so, the outer jambs alone bear jamb figures, while the inner pairs of jambs have text columns only. A king Pepy is mentioned in the texts of the tomb, so it must date to Pepy I or later.<sup>364</sup> If the four jamb false doors with a similar layout cited above are relevant, Tetiankh too could be as late as Pepy II.

Two other features of late Sixth Dynasty false doors are of import from the point of view of dating. The first of these is the presence of a supplementary frame consisting of a lintel and two jambs outside the cavetto cornice and the false door proper (fig. 10).<sup>365</sup> The other is the appearance of the flaring T-shaped panel.

Both these features make their first appearance in the cemetery around the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara. The decoration of the pyramid temple of Pepy II was apparently completed at a point in the second quarter of the reign of that king.<sup>366</sup> Presumably the cemetery came into use about the same time. This assumption is supported by the fact that the viziers of the early part of the reign of Pepy II were buried elsewhere.<sup>367</sup>

The earliest datable false door with the outer, supplementary frame belongs to Meryraiam,<sup>368</sup> who apparently served Pepy II as vizier at the end of first half of his reign.<sup>369</sup>

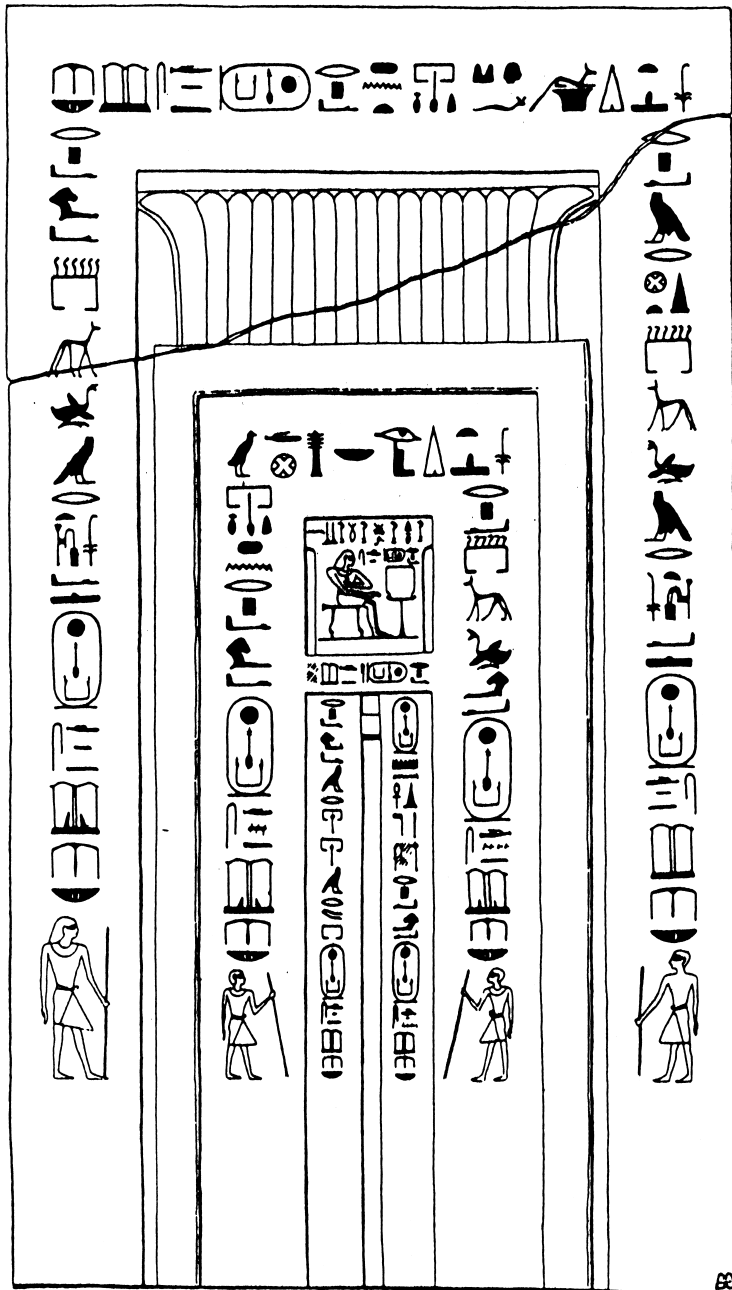


Fig. 10 False door of Nihebsedneferkara

At South Saqqara the same structural feature is to be seen in the false doors of the Thinite nomarch Gegi, who in all probability belonged to the last years of the Sixth

<sup>361</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 420. The panel scene is badly damaged.

<sup>362</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 129.

<sup>363</sup> *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 28.

<sup>364</sup> *Rank and Title*, 279 [561].

<sup>365</sup> See Vandier, *Manuel* 2, pl. 1, 404–406; Strudwick, *Administration*, 17–18.

<sup>366</sup> See Baer, *Rank and Title*, 61 [73A]; Strudwick, *Administration*, 63–65, 96.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.*, 301–303, Table 28.

<sup>368</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, fig. 70.

<sup>369</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 95 [61]; Brovanski, in Pantalacci, Berger-El-Naggar, eds., *Des Néferkare aux Montouhotep*, 34–35.

Dynasty.<sup>370</sup> The supplementary frame occurs as well in the false door of his close contemporary, the vizier Nihebsedneferkara (*fig. 10*), who was buried at the end of the reign of Pepy II or in the period immediately following.<sup>371</sup> It is also found in the false door of Prince Nemtyemsaf, who is mentioned in a decree of his father dated to the 31<sup>st</sup> count,<sup>372</sup> and who succeeded his father, Pepy II, as King Nemtyemsaf Merenra II at the beginning of the Seventh Dynasty,<sup>373</sup> and that of Queen Ankhnespepy III, wife of Pepy II and mother of his successor Neferkara Pepy III in the Seventh Dynasty.<sup>374</sup> This is not to say that all of the false doors found by Jéquier at South Saqqara possess the supplementary frame, for there are many that do not.<sup>375</sup>

At North Saqqara the supplementary frame appears on the false doors of Sebekemkhent/Sebeky, Ishtji/Tjetji, and Neferkhuuptah/Tjetji.<sup>376</sup> The tombs of these three individuals are part of a group of small chapels to the northwest of the Djoser complex which also includes the tomb of Ankhi/Itji.<sup>377</sup> Since the latter tomb was walled-in and covered over by additions and 'transformations' to the mastaba of Neferkhuuptah,<sup>378</sup> it is in all likelihood earlier than these other tombs. The question is how much earlier. Drioton and Lauer thought Ankhi lived under the Fifth Dynasty, for the spurious reason that the god *Hntj-j3wt.f* is mentioned in his inscriptions and King Sahura of the Fifth Dynasty dedicated land to that deity.<sup>379</sup> Ankhi's false door panel has paired basins beneath the table (plus piled-up offering at the right). However, the box beneath the chair of the owner is a good indication that it does not antedate the end of the reign of Pepy II (see p. 91). Neferkhuuptah was an official of Pepy I's pyramid, whereas both Ishtji and Sebekemkhent not only served that king's cult but were attached to Pepy II's pyramid.<sup>380</sup> On stylistic grounds, Harpur tentatively dates the tomb of Neferkhuuptah between Pepy I and year 34 of Pepy II.<sup>381</sup> She assigns Ishtji to the same span of time.<sup>382</sup> Julia Harvey assigns Ishtji statues to the reign of

<sup>370</sup> CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 55 (CG 1455). *Ggj* probably preceded *Hw-b3w* as nomarch, and thus served in that office in the last years of the Sixth Dynasty; see H. G. Fischer, 'Four Provincial Administrators at the Memphite Cemeteries', *JAOS* 74 (1954): 33; Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 125–139, pace Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 49, and more recently Kanawati, McFarlane, *Akhmin in the Old Kingdom*, 55.

<sup>371</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, fig. 60. For the date, see Brovarski, in Pantalacci, Berger-El-Naggar, eds., *Des Néferkare aux Montouhotep*, 37–39, 49. Other examples of the supplementary frame occur on the false doors of Senti (Jéquier, *Mastabat Faraoun*, fig. 24), Iri (?) (*idem*, *Tombeaux*, fig. 97), Izti (*ibid.*, fig. 98), Horhotep (*ibid.*, fig. 107), Nebi/Nebipupepy (*ibid.*, fig. 119), Degem/Merpepy (*ibid.*, fig. 134), Rahekai/Ipi (*ibid.*, fig. 138), (both contemporaries of the vizier Nihebsedneferkara; Brovarski, in Pantalacci, Berger-El-Naggar, eds., *Des Néferkare aux Montouhotep*, 43, 49), Nehri (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, fig. 62), and Khnumhotep (*ibid.*, fig. 63);

<sup>372</sup> Goedicke, *Königl. Dokumente*, fig. 12, 149.

<sup>373</sup> Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, fig. 32.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 31. The pyramid of Pepy III *Mn-nh-Nfrk3r*<sup>c</sup> is referred to on his mother's false door.

<sup>375</sup> Vizier Zezi (Mariette, *Mastabas*, fig. on p. 420), Pepy-[ . . . ] (Jéquier, *Mastabat Faraoun*, fig. 25), Queen Oudjebten (?) (*idem*, *Oudjebten*, fig. 6), Tjeti (f) (*ibid.*, fig. 33), Thinite nomarch Khubau (*ibid.*, fig. 34, stèle-maison), Chenu (*ibid.*, fig. 36, stèle-maison), Iuiu (f) (*ibid.*, fig. 37, stèle-maison), Ankhnespepy (Jéquier, *Tombeaux*, fig. 22), Neset I (*ibid.*, fig. 36), Neset II (*ibid.*, fig. 104), Pepy-ima (*idem*, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, fig. 21), Sedekh (*ibid.*, fig. 22), Rekhy (*ibid.*, fig. 23), Nefery (*ibid.*, fig. 64), Prince Teti (*ibid.*, fig. 70). For several other badly damaged false doors without the supplementary frame, see *idem*, *Pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit*, figs. 33, 34.

<sup>376</sup> J.-Ph. Lauer, 'Fouilles et travaux divers effectué à Saqqarah de Novembre 1951 à Juin 1952', *ASAE* 53 (1956): pl. 3; Ét. Drioton, J.-Ph. Lauer, 'Un groupe de tombes à Saqqarah: Icheti, Nefer-khouou-Ptah, Sebek-em-khent et Ânkhî', *ASAE* 55 (1958): pls. 6, 22a, 23.

<sup>377</sup> Lauer, *ASAE* 53 (1956): 155–158; Drioton, Lauer, *ASAE* 55 (1958): 207–251.

<sup>378</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

<sup>381</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 274.


<sup>382</sup> *Ibid.*, 273. Two other, smaller false doors with supplementary frames also derive from the same complex of tombs. They belong to two women named Sedekhi and Satjet (Drioton, Lauer, *ASAE* 55 [1958]: pl. 20 [b, c]).



Pepy II.<sup>383</sup> Sebekemkhent is definitely at least as late as Pepy II, since he was an official at the latter's pyramid. In addition, the decorative scheme on his false door is confined to a representation of the deceased at table (see pp. 114ff.). Neferkhuuptah's false door panel has a ewer and basin on a small table but incorporates piled-up offerings on the far right of the panel as well (see p. 97).

The false door of Mesi from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara also exhibits the supplementary frame.<sup>384</sup> The limited design with the figure of the tomb owner at a table of bread on the false door panel shows the false door in all likelihood is no earlier than the first half of the reign of Pepy II (see pp. 114ff.).

At Giza the supplementary frame appears in a number of false doors, including those of the King's Document Scribe in the Presence Heneni and the Tenant Framer of Pepy I's pyramid Ptahiufni.<sup>385</sup> The table scene on Ptahiufni's false door is destroyed, but Heneni's panel shows the later decorative scheme with the deceased alone at a table of bread (see pp. 114ff.). The jamb figures on the central pair of jambs on Heneni's four jamb false door are shorter than those on the outer jambs (see pp. 101ff.). Although the only king mentioned on Ptahiufni's false door is Pepy I, both

his and Heneni's false doors utilize an arrangement of *pṛt-hrw nt*  that is popular towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty and later.<sup>386</sup>

At Deir el-Gebrawi, the supplementary frame appears on the late Old Kingdom false door of the nomarch Hemra/Izi in his tomb in the northern necropolis at Deir el-Gebrawi.<sup>387</sup> Naguib Kanawati has argued against the commonly held view that the northern necropolis belongs to the end of the Old Kingdom and later.<sup>388</sup> The issue is too complex to argue here, but the supplementary frame of Izi's false door certainly argues against Kanawati's hypothesis. So too does the box under the couch of Izi and his wife (see p. 91).<sup>389</sup>

The supplementary frame is also a regular feature of numerous false door without provenance which date to the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>390</sup> These include the false door of the Overseer of the Double Granaries Tjeteti, whose statues are in Boston, Neuchâtel, New York, and Stockholm.<sup>391</sup> Harvey dates the statues to the last years of Pepy II at the earliest.<sup>392</sup>

There are actually two kinds of T-shaped panels evident in the later Sixth Dynasty.<sup>393</sup> Those in which the joint of the vertical and horizontal sides of the 'T' form a right angle are the earlier and apparently came into use as early as the reign of Merenra. This type of panel may have evolved from a small extra 'lintel' above the panel and beneath the architrave inscribed with the name and title of the deceased

<sup>383</sup> J. Harvey, *Wooden Statues of the Old Kingdom. A Typological Study* (Leiden, 2001), cat. nos. A 59–63.

<sup>384</sup> El-Khouli, Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 2*, pl. 20.

<sup>385</sup> Junker, *Gîza XI*, fig. 40, pl. 7c; *idem*, *Gîza VII*, fig. 8.

<sup>386</sup> E.g. *Deir el Gebrâwi I*, pl. 18 (Ibi; see p. 94); *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 8 (Djau; see p. 91); Jéquier, *Pepi II, Vol. 3*, fig. 60 (Nyhebsedneferkara; see p. 110); H. G. Fischer, 'The Osiris Iti', *ZAS* 90 (1963): pl. 5; A. F. El-Sabbahy, 'Blocks from the the tomb of Shedabed at Saqqara', *JEA* 79 (1993): fig. 1.

<sup>387</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 28.

<sup>388</sup> Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 61–71. For the more common view, see the citations in *ibid.*, 62, n. 299.

<sup>389</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 17.

<sup>390</sup> I. Woldering, ed., *Kestner Museum Hannover. Ausgewählte Werke der Aegyptischen Sammlung* (Hannover, 1958), cat. no. 14 (Shepi/Tjety); *Ancient Arts in the Virginia Museum*, 18, no. 10 (Inti); O. W. Muscarella, ed., *Ladders to Heaven: Art Treasures from Lands of the Bible* (Toronto, 1979), cat. no. 2 (*w<sup>c</sup>b 3 Pth* Ptahshepses/Impy); *Egyptian and Middle Eastern Antiquities*, etc., Sales Catalogue, Sotheby's, London, July 10, 1989): cat. no. 128 (Khutenptahshepset/Khuitshepset); F. Schultz, *The Good Life* (New York, n. d.), 11 (*jmj-r3 šnwt, hrj-tp šnwt, hrj-sšt3 n bw-r3 nswt, jmj-r3 šn<sup>c</sup>, jmj-r šn<sup>c</sup>, J3t*).

<sup>391</sup> Petersen, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 20 (1985): 3–24; Harvey, *WSOK*, cat. nos. A 83-A 102.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*, 74–78, cat. nos. A 83–102.

<sup>393</sup> For the distinction between the two types of false door panels, see Kanawati, *Akhmim*, 85–86.

which is seen, for example, in the false door of Meryraankh/Ihyenes.<sup>394</sup> The false door has been dated by Strudwick to the later reign of Pepy I or Merenra.<sup>395</sup> The earliest well-dated example known to me of this type of panel, which I shall simply call the T-shaped panel, is in the false door of the Overseer of Upper Egypt Weni the Elder from Abydos.<sup>396</sup> Weni's career continued into the reign of Merenra.<sup>397</sup> In Weni's false door, as in Meryraankh/Ihyenes's, the extra lintel has not yet been completely assimilated with the panel, as it is in false doors of the early part of the reign of Pepy II and later. Ihyenes's false door has three pairs of jambs, as opposed to Weni's two pairs, but in both false doors, the figures on the inner jambs are shorter than those on the outer, this last a feature which is probably sufficient to date Ihyenes's monument to the reign of Merenra or Pepy II (see pp. 101–102ff.).

Two relatively well-dated T-shaped panels occur in the tomb of Ibi and the joint tomb of his son Djau/Shemai and grandson Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi. The tomb of Ibi probably dates to the early reign of Pepy II and that of his son and grandson to the second half of the same reign (see pp. 91, 94).<sup>398</sup>

Examples of the 'T' shaped panel from other sites or of unknown provenance are fairly numerous but in general poorly dated, although a small number bear the names of Pepy I and II.<sup>399</sup> They exhibit a number of the decorative programs of false door panels already discussed: ewer and basin coupled with *hezet*- and/or *qebeh*-vessels in a rack<sup>400</sup> (with piled-up offerings at the right<sup>401</sup>); ewer and basin on groundline with different vessels on table;<sup>402</sup> ewer and basin only on table or groundline<sup>403</sup> (with piled-up offerings at the right<sup>404</sup>); and with the figure of the deceased at a table of bread, unaccompanied by any service furniture or cult utensils (see pp. 114ff.).<sup>405</sup>

Both the T-shaped and the flaring T-shaped panel appear at South Saqqara. At that site, the T-shaped panel is met with on the false door of the king's son and vizier, Teti (*fig. 6d*).<sup>406</sup> It occurs there at a somewhat later date in the false door of Queen Ankhnespepy III and in those of the Thinite nomarchs Gegi and Khubau (see note 370).<sup>407</sup> It is, in fact, by far the more common panel type at South Saqqara and is represented by nearly a dozen other examples from the Pepy II cemetery.<sup>408</sup>

Prince Teti is generally assigned to the end of his father's reign.<sup>409</sup> On the other hand, his false door lacks the supplementary frame which is evident in the false doors of the

<sup>394</sup> CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 39 (CG 1483); Strudwick, *Administration*, 76 (32).

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*, 76 (32).

<sup>396</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, pl. 20, fig. 5.

<sup>397</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 66 [110].

<sup>398</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi I*, pl. 17; *Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. 11.

<sup>399</sup> Quibell, *Excav. at Saqq. 1*, pl. 16 (Mestri; see p. 104–105); Junker, *ZÄS* 63 (1928): plate opposite 54 (Irenakhti/Niankhpepy/Iri; see p. 89); CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 36 (CG 1459, Abebi; see pp. 94–95); Junker, *Giza VII*, fig. 104 (Senedjemib Inti); Hassan, *Giza VI.3*, fig. 219 (Iqeri, in Seshemnofer Iufi; see p. 98); CG 1295–1808, Vol. 2, pl. 75 (vizier Pepynakht, see pp. 115–116).

<sup>400</sup> Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, cat. nos. 11 (Izi).

<sup>401</sup> Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 16 (Tjetu/Nikainesut; see p. 91); CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 18 (CG 1406, Abebi).

<sup>402</sup> CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 35 (CG 1457, vizier Idi II; see p. 96); Ziegler, *Catalogue de stèles*, cat. nos. 10 (Izi; see p. 91).

<sup>403</sup> Quibell, *Excav. at Saqq. 1*, pl. 11 (Irtyetiankh/Nakhti); Firth – Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II*, pl. 61 (vizier Tjetju); Jéquier, *Tombeaux*, fig. 64 (Nefry); James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I<sup>2</sup>*, pls. 32 [1, 2] (Meryra/Pepynefer/Qar), 38 [1] (Shenay, *shd Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh Nfrk3r<sup>c</sup>*); Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 18 (Mesni/Tjetu, in Tjetu/Nikainesut); D'Auria, Lacovara, Roehrig, eds., *Mummies and Magic*, cat. no. 28 (Kha).

<sup>404</sup> Quibell, *Excav. at Saqq. 1*, pl. 14 (Khuy); Firth – Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemetery 2*, pl. 64 (Meryraankh/Heqaib); CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pls. 15 (CG 1397, Metju), 39 (CG 1483, Meryraankh/Nisuihy); Hassan, *Giza VI.3*, figs. 219 (Iqeri, in Seshemnofer Iufi), 220 (Seshemnofer Iufi; see p. 98); James, *Hieroglyphic Texts I<sup>2</sup>*, pl. 34 [1] (Behenu, wife of Meryra/Pepynefer: Qar; see p. 98).

<sup>405</sup> Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara 1*, pl. 12 (Memi; see p. 108).

<sup>406</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, fig. 70.

<sup>407</sup> *Idem*, *Oudjebten*, fig. 34.

<sup>408</sup> *Idem*, *Mastabat Faroun*, fig. 24 (Senti), 25 (Pepy-[ . . . ]); *idem*, *Oudjebten*, fig. 37 (Iuiu; see pp. 88–89); *idem*, *Tombeaux*, figs. 36 (Neset [I]), 98 (Izti), 104 (Neset [II]), 138 (Rahekkai/Ipi); *idem*, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, figs. 26 (Rekhy), 62 (Nehri), 63 (Khnumhotep), 64 (Nefry).

viziers Meryraiam and Nihebsedneferkara, two of the other viziers buried at South Saqqara, and which is also apparent in the false doors of Queen Ankhnespepy III, the nomarch Gegi, and other individuals buried at South Saqqara. Its absence could be an indication of an earlier date. More importantly, its panel has a *nemset*-jar and ewer and basin in/on a rack (see pp. 87ff.), whereas the scene on the panel in the majority of false doors at South Saqqara is confined to a figure of the deceased at table (see pp. 114ff.). Furthermore, the prince's burial chamber is completely different in its form and decoration from the other decorated burial chambers at South Saqqara.<sup>410</sup> For all these reasons, it seems to me likely that Prince Teti was the earliest, rather than the latest, of the viziers of Pepy II to be buried at South Saqqara, and probably served his father as vizier in the second quarter of his reign.

The other type of T-shaped panel, whose sides have a gradual curve, appears to have come into use no earlier than the middle part of the reign of Pepy II and possibly later. It is possible it derived from the T-shaped panel with the right-angle corners cut to save effort. This flaring T-shaped panel continued in use at South Saqqara until the end of the Old Kingdom and beyond.<sup>411</sup> Disappointingly, the panel of the vizier Meryraiam's false door is destroyed, so it is impossible to know whether it was of the T-shaped or flaring T-shaped pattern.<sup>412</sup> If the panel had been preserved and was of the flaring T-shaped type, we would have had evidence for this feature as early as the end of the first half of Pepy II's reign (see p. 109). As it is, the earliest secure testimony we possess for the flaring T-shaped panel is its presence on the false door of the vizier Nihebsedneferkara (fig. 10). It is possible that Nihebsedneferkara was the last of Pepy II's viziers to be buried at South Saqqara. On the other hand, he could date to the end of the Sixth or even to the Seventh Dynasty. Strudwick dates the vizier to the last third of the reign of Pepy II and Baer from year 85 of Pepy II to the end of the Eighth Dynasty.<sup>413</sup> By reason of the nature of the decoration of his burial chamber, it is likely that Nihebsedneferkara belongs to the period extending from the later years of Pepy II to the Seventh Dynasty.<sup>414</sup> The flaring T-shape actually occurs on only three other false doors from the Pepy II cemetery, at least one of which, that of Degem/Merpepy, is very probably as late as Nihebsedneferkara.<sup>415</sup>

The Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara furnishes two examples of the flaring T-shaped panel. The first of these derives from the mastaba of Khentika/Ikhekhi, who served Teti and Pepy I as vizier (see note 43). The false door (fig. 11) belongs to Djedipepy/Djedi, whom James and Strudwick identify with Khentika's younger son.<sup>416</sup> There are a number of problems with the identification, as I have shown elsewhere, and it seems likely that the owner of the false door was a different individual.<sup>417</sup> Since the door possesses a supplementary frame, while the panel scene is limited to a figure of the deceased at table (see pp. 114ff.), it is likely that this other Djedipepy passed away no earlier than the middle of the reign of Pepy II.

The decoration on the panel of the second false door from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery with flaring T-shaped panel is similarly limited in scope. The monument belongs to a certain Meresankh.<sup>418</sup>

<sup>409</sup> Kees, *NGWG 2* (1940): 48–49; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 152 [560]; Strudwick, *Administration*, 157 [156].

<sup>410</sup> See Brovarski, in Pantalacci, Berger-El-Naggar, eds., *Des Néferkare aux Montouhotep*, 31–49.

<sup>411</sup> See Brovarski, 'False Doors and History: the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom', in D. P. Silverman, J. Wegner, eds., *Archaism and Innovation. Recent Perspectives on Middle Kingdom Egypt* (Philadelphia, forthcoming).

<sup>412</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, fig. 50.

<sup>413</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 103 [72]; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 86, 291 [229 A].

<sup>414</sup> See Brovarski, in Pantalacci, Berger-El-Naggar, eds., *Des Néferkare aux Montouhotep*, 49.

<sup>415</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux*, fig. 50, 134 (Degem/Merpepy); *idem*, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, fig. 21 (Pepy-ima), 22 (Sedekh). On the date of Degem, see Brovarski, in Pantalacci, Berger-El-Naggar, eds., *Des Néferkare aux Montouhotep*, 45.

<sup>416</sup> James, *Khentika*, 14, pl. 42; Strudwick, *Administration*, 18.

<sup>417</sup> Brovarski, in Pantalacci, Berger-El-Naggar, eds., *Des Néferkare aux Montouhotep*, 56–57; see also Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 5, n. 35.

<sup>418</sup> Kanawati, Hassan, *Teti Cemetery 1*, pl. 57.

Except for the false door of Prince Teti, whose panel, as we have already seen, bears a nested ewer and basin and opposite a jar rack with a *hezset*-jar and a *nemset*-vessel, and the false door of an official named Nefery, which has a nested ewer and basin on a small table (see p. 107), the decoration of the other false door panels at South Saqqara consists only of the seated figure of the deceased at table with an ideographic offering list above the offering table and unaccompanied by any service furniture or cult utensils whatsoever (Scheme VIII),<sup>419</sup> regardless of whether the panels are T-shaped or flaring T-shaped.<sup>420</sup> This includes the false door of the vizier Nihebsedneferkara (fig. 10).

The decorative scheme which is limited to a figure of the tomb owner at a table of bread recurs at South Saqqara in the false doors carved on the front of three model tombs ('*stèle-maison*'). The first of these belongs to the Thinite nomarch Khubau (see note 370),<sup>421</sup> the second to an official named Khenu,<sup>422</sup> and the third a Hathor priestess named Iuiu (see pp. 88–89).<sup>423</sup> Until recently, these small models of tombs were known only from South Saqqara, but Naguib Kanawati has now found one in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at North Saqqara, which belongs to a certain Hehi/Ihi (see p. 86).<sup>424</sup> The latter find bears witness to the relatively late date of certain of the tombs in the Teti Cemetery (see p. 101).

North Saqqara and Giza also furnish examples of false doors in which the decorative program is confined to a figure of the deceased sitting at a table of bread. Sebekemkhent's false door, found in the Unas Pyramid Cemetery at North Saqqara, has already been referred to above, where it was pointed out that it possesses a supplementary frame (see p. 110). Sebekemkhent was an official of Pepy II's pyramid. Like Sebekemhat's false door, that of Mestni's, which was found by Quibell in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (see pp. 104–105), has a T-shaped panel.

The example at Giza comes from the tomb of the King's Document Scribe in the Presence Seshemnefer/Iufi in the Central Field. The false doors panels of Iufi and his wife (?) both have a ewer and basin beneath the table of bread (plus offerings at the right). This is not the case with the false door of a certain Iqeri, who presumably is the couple's son, and whose panel decoration is restricted to a figure

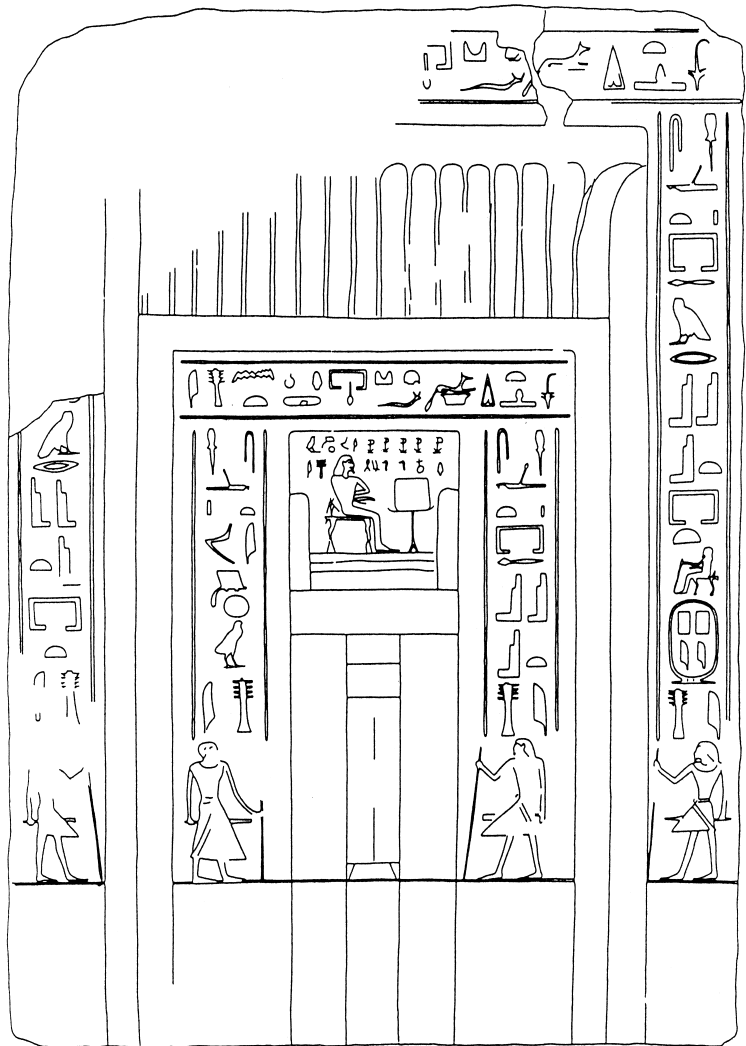


Fig. 11 False door of Djedipepy/Djedi

<sup>419</sup> See Jéquier, *Mastabat Faraoun*, fig. 24 (Senti); *idem*, *Oudjebten*, fig. 37 (Iuiu); *idem*, *Pepi II.*, Vol. 3, figs. 21 (Pepyima), 62 (Nehri), 63 (Khnumhotep); *idem*, *Tombeaux*, figs. 36 (Nesit), 97 (Iri); see p. 107), 98 (Izti), 138 (Rahekai/Ipi).

<sup>420</sup> It should be noted that the same limited scheme of decoration with nothing but an ideographic offering list under the table of bread, occurs both on tomb walls and false door panel at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth; e.g. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pls. 4, 5 (Vizier Ptahhetep I; V8.M-L), 23 (Netjeruser; V.6L-7); Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex* 1, figs. 61 (Senedjemib/Inti), 124, 129 (Senedjemib/Mehi); Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* 2, pl. 34 b (Ptahhetep/Iyenankh; V.9-VI.1); Munro, *Unas-Friedhof*, pl. 30 (Queen Nebet).

<sup>421</sup> Jéquier, *Oudjebten*, fig. 34.

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 36.

<sup>423</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 37.

<sup>424</sup> Firth – Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I, 53–56; II, pl. 56.

of the deceased at table.<sup>425</sup> Both Iufi and Iqeri wear patterned kilts of a type that does not otherwise appear in relief before the second half of the reign of Pepy II (see p. 102).<sup>426</sup>

The decoration of a number of table scenes on tomb walls is likewise restricted to a figure of the deceased at a table of bread. One such scene appears on the walls of the rock-cut tomb of Khunes at Aswan.<sup>427</sup> Khunes probably belongs to the Sixth–Eight Dynasties (see p. 88). Two other scenes in Khunes's tomb (*fig. 8b*) also show the decorative scheme of a ewer and basin set along with other vessels on one and the same rectangular table (Scheme VI A).

The table scene of a daughter of Khuenukh/Tjeti at Quseir el-Amarna is likewise confined to the deceased at a table of bread.<sup>428</sup> The table scenes on the walls of Khuenukh's tomb have a ewer and basin on a separate groundline and a jar rack containing three *hezet*-vessels under the table of bread in one case and two *qebeh*-vessels in the other.<sup>429</sup> A boulder of hard flint interfered in the decoration of Khuenukh's false door panel, so it is not certain whether or not the decorative scheme was restricted to a figure of the deceased at table.<sup>430</sup>

Kanawati thinks Khuenukh is likely to be the earliest of the three Meir officials, preceding even Pepyankh the Elder.<sup>431</sup> Although he does not specifically say so, this would presumably place Khuenukh in the reign of Merenra or early Pepy II. In fact, the converse may well be true. On the right entrance thickness to the tomb appears a figure of Khuenukh with arms outstretched in praise.<sup>432</sup> The earliest well-dated occurrences of this gesture appear on the entrance thickness of the tomb of Djau/Shemai and Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi.<sup>433</sup> As we have already seen, the Gebrawi tomb probably belong to the latter half of the reign of Pepy II (see p. 94). The gesture continued in popularity through the late Old Kingdom, the Heracleopolitan Period, and into the Middle Kingdom.<sup>434</sup>

Another example of the 'praising/praying' gesture may be contemporary with the Quseir el-Amarna and Deir el-Gebrawi tombs. This occurs on the false door of the vizier Pepynakht, which was found by Mariette set up against the enclosure wall of the Kom es-Sultan at Abydos.<sup>435</sup> The false door has the cavetto cornice and torus moulding typical of the Sixth Dynasty and a T-shaped panel which indicates that it is probably no earlier than Merenra (see pp. 111ff.). In fact, Baer has dated the vizier between Merenra and year 15 of Pepy II.<sup>436</sup> Strudwick has placed him in the middle part of the reign of Pepy II, while Kanawati assigns him to the latter

<sup>425</sup> Hassan, *Gîza* VI.3, figs. 218–220.

<sup>426</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 216–217; Brovarski, 'The Date of Metjetji' (forthcoming).

<sup>427</sup> De Morgan, *Catalogues des Monuments*, fig. on page 161.

<sup>428</sup> El-Khouli, Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 46.

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 40, 41, 43

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.*, 48, pls. 15, 39.

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid.*, 25–26.

<sup>432</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 36b.

<sup>433</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, 3.

<sup>434</sup> E. g. *ibid.*, 25, pl. 23, Tomb 23, *Mrwt*, lintel of false door; R. A. Caminos, H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (New York, 1976), 39, fig. 3, relief of Khenu I, beside Unas Causeway, later than the Sixth Dynasty; Jéquier, *Tombeaux*, fig. 129, 114, 'stèle-maison' of Weneni and Kheredni (longer locks on crown of head); cf. relief of Kheredni from N. VI, *ibid.*, 111–112, pl. 15 (longer locks on crown of head); CG 1295–1808, Vol. 1, pl. 43 (CG 1500, Sole Friend and Lector Priest Id), *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pl. 83 (CG 1619, Weni/Khedjedji (Abydos; late Old Kingdom, see H. G. Fischer, review of *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, by M. Saleh, *BiOr* 36, No. 1/2 [Jan. – March 1979]: 32); D'Auria, Lacovara, Roehrig, eds., *Mummies and Magic*, cat. no. 28 (Kha, late Sixth Dynasty; see note 305); C. Nestmann-Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga-ed-Dêr* (Ph.D. dissertation: Brown University, 1958; Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1970), pl. 11, son of *Mrw/ Ty3w* stands behind father and makes gesture, late Tenth – Eleventh Dynasty. Many other examples occur on false doors of the Tenth Dynasty from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at North Saqqara; see K. Daoud, 'Abusir during the Heracleopolitan Period', in M. Bárta, J. Krejčí, eds., *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (Prague, 2000), 200–201 and n. 48.

<sup>435</sup> CG 1295–1808, Vol. 2, 51–52, pl. 75 (CG 1573).

<sup>436</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 71, 289 [135].

part of the same reign.<sup>437</sup> A peculiarity of the false door is a standing figure of Pepynakht on the panel with arms outstretched in praise before piled up offerings at the right. Four more figures of the vizier with outstretched arms appear at the bottom of the jambs of the false door. To my knowledge, the design of the panel is unique.

A feature that serves to date the vizier to the end of the reign of Pepy II or later occurs not on his false door, but on the right side-panel of his niche-chapel, which was found by the Penn-Yale Expedition in the Ramesses Portal temple area in 1969.<sup>438</sup> This is the shoulder-length wig, worn by both Pepynakht and an attendant, the lower parts of which are covered with an overlapping pattern of locks, leaving straight lines of longer locks on the crown of the head.<sup>439</sup> The pattern appears in monuments of late Old Kingdom date at both North and South Saqqara, at Abydos, and Aswan.<sup>440</sup> It is also found in contemporary statues.<sup>441</sup> The earliest well-dated example of this type of wig in relief that is known to me is worn by a figure of Sabni I on a relief set into the wall at the top of one side of the ramp leading to the Aswan tomb of Sabni and his father Mehu.<sup>442</sup> Father and son alike probably belong to the end of the reign of Pepy II (see p. 96).

The false door panel of Queen Ankhnespepy III (see p. 110) is one of the false doors from South Saqqara whose decorative scheme does not feature the seated figure of the deceased at table. Instead, the decoration of the panel consists exclusively of an epithet designating the queen as 'beloved' of the god Anubis and her name. Panels in which the decoration is restricted to an inscription giving the titles and name of the deceased are uncommon.<sup>443</sup> A small false door belonging to an individual named Rekhy constitutes the only other example from South Saqqara.<sup>444</sup> The other instances I am aware of occur on the false door of Pepyankh Heny the Black at Meir (fig. 12)<sup>445</sup> and two false doors from Giza and North Saqqara respectively. The first of these belongs to an individual named Khnumankhu,<sup>446</sup> the

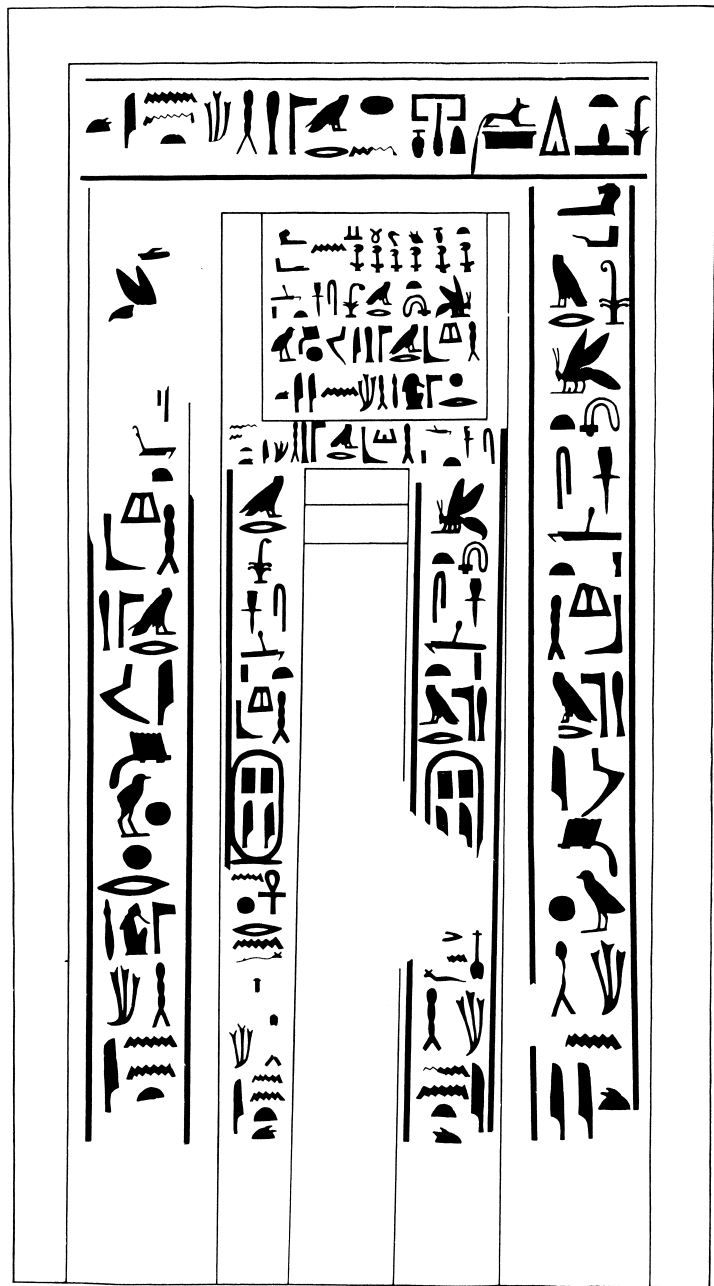


Fig. 12 False door of Pepyankh Heny the Black

<sup>437</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 303; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 89.

<sup>438</sup> W. K. Simpson, *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos*, PPYE 6 (1995), 5 (OK I), fig. 4, pl. 3.

<sup>439</sup> See H. G. Fischer, 'The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat', *JARCE* 1 (1962): 17, n. 80.

<sup>440</sup> Brovarski, 'The Date of Metjetji' (forthcoming).

<sup>441</sup> Harvey (*WSOK*, 213, cat. no. A 50) dates one example of this pattern on a short wig to the reign of Merenre, on the grounds that the owner is *jm3hw hr Mrnr*<sup>c</sup>. However, all other examples of this wig pattern belong to the reign of Pepy II or later.

<sup>442</sup> See W. de Bissing, 'Le tombeaux d'Assouan', *ASAE* 15 (1915): 3. As far as I know, no photograph or drawing of the relief has been published. I have a photograph of the relief taken some years ago.

<sup>443</sup> For earlier examples, see Strudwick, *Administration*, 19.

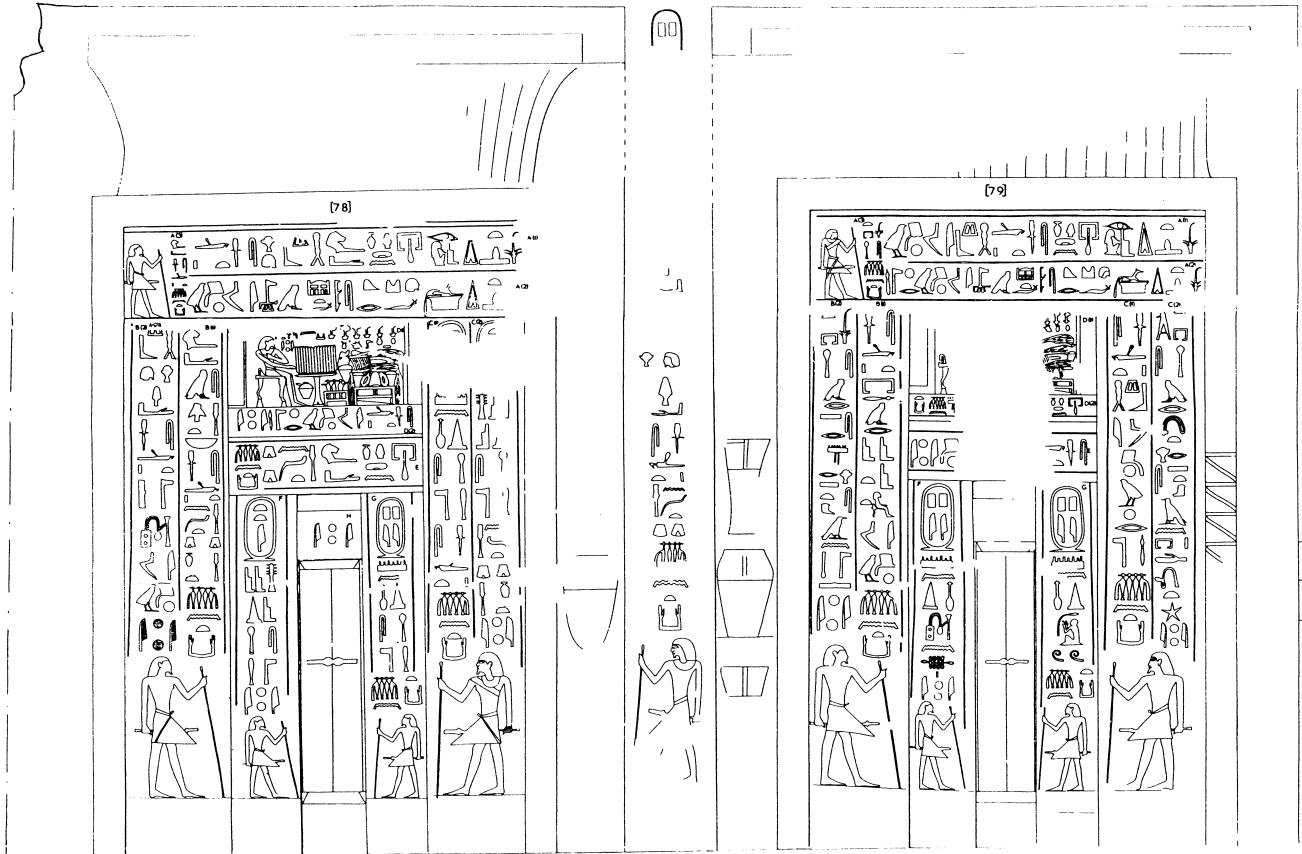
<sup>444</sup> Jéquier, *Pepi II*, Vol. 3, fig. 23.

<sup>445</sup> *Meir* IV, pl. 33.

<sup>446</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara* 2, fig. 20.

other to Ihyemsaf /Tetiseneb/Meru.<sup>447</sup> In addition, there is the false door carved on the front of the 'stèle-maison' of Hehi/Ihi from North Saqqara already mentioned more than once (see p. 86). Pepyankh Heny the Black has been dated by Harpur to years 1–54 of Pepy II and by Baer to years 55–85 of the same sovereign.<sup>448</sup>

Another late feature evidenced in the false doors of Queen Ankhnespepy III and Pepyankh Heny the Black is the absence of figures of the deceased at the bottom



**Fig. 13** False door of Khentika/Ikhekhi II and Khentika/Ikhekhi I

of the jambs. Three other examples of this feature occur at South Saqqara.<sup>449</sup> Two further instances are to be seen in the tomb of Djau/Shemai and Djau at Deir el-Gebrawi in the second half of the reign of Pepy II,<sup>450</sup> while yet another example is found in the tomb of Hemra/Izi at the same site.<sup>451</sup> Fischer thinks Izi is later than in date the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>452</sup> Another provincial false door without jamb figures belongs to the Overseer of Upper Egypt Meru/Bebi at Sheikh Said. Meru/Bebi is dated by Harpur between years 35–54 of Pepy II.

The false door of Khnumankhu, referred to in the penultimate paragraph, also lacks jamb figures. So does another false door from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, of a man named Nebemdjer.<sup>453</sup>

A curious feature in the false doors of the Overseer of Priests Niankhpepy/Hepi the Black at Meir<sup>454</sup> and of the nomarch Henqu/Kheteti at Deir el-Gebrawi<sup>455</sup> is what

<sup>447</sup> Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara* 1, pl. 10; see above, p. 103.

<sup>448</sup> Harpur, *DETOK*, 280; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 70, [134].

<sup>449</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux*, fig. 104 (Nesti II); *idem*, *Pepy II*, Vol. 3, figs. 62 (Nehri), 63 (Khnumhotep).

<sup>450</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, pls. 12, 13.

<sup>451</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 21.

<sup>452</sup> Fischer, *JAOS* 74 (1954): 86, n. 386.

<sup>453</sup> Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara* 1, pl. 23. N. Strudwick, review of *Excavations at Saqqara* 1, by N. Kanawati et al., *JEA* 73 (1987), 277, cites the writing of the reed leaf in the name Nebemdjeri as a late feature, for which, see e.g. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, Appendix A.

<sup>454</sup> *Meir* V, pl. 10.

<sup>455</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, pl. 28. According to Davies (*Deir el Gebrâwi* II, 32), on the panel of the false door Henqu is seated at table in front of piled up offerings.

I propose to call an 'inverted T-shaped panel'.<sup>456</sup> Baer dates Niankhpepy between Merenra and year 15 of Pepy II, while Harpur assigns him to the first third of the reign of the same sovereign.<sup>457</sup> Baer, Fischer, and Harpur all date Henqu after the end of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>458</sup> A small number of other occurrences of the same feature exist. The examples include the false door of Khentika/Ikhekhi II and a second false door he made for his patron, Khentika/Ikhekhi I (*fig. 13*).<sup>459</sup> The former individual has been dated above (see p. 95) to the end of the Sixth Dynasty or later. The false door of Inenikai/Tjetji from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery probably furnishes another example of the type (see pp. 101, 106–107), while the false door of Ihyemzaf/Tetiseneb/Meru, the decoration of whose panel is restricted to an inscription giving his names and titles and name, as we have just seen, certainly does. Finally, there is the false door of Nubhetep/Bebi, found by Zaki Saad to the south of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara (see p. 97). The last false door is one of less than a handful of late Sixth Dynasty false doors which incorporate the jars containing the Seven Sacred Oils in the decoration of the panel.<sup>460</sup>

The above account by no means exhausts the repertoire of Sixth Dynasty false door decoration. Nevertheless, it provides a general outline of certain of the main developments in the decoration of false doors down to what is essentially the end of the Old Kingdom.

### Addendum

After this paper was submitted for publication, N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq (*Mereruka and his family, Vol. 1, ACER 21* [Oxford, 2004]), appeared in print. From *ibid.*, pl. 49, it is now clear that the south wall of the vizier Meriteti's offering room (see above, p. 74), unlike the north wall (*ibid.*, pl. 50) has two service tables. While the one resembles the table on the north wall, the other is virtually identical to the right-hand table in our figure 1a.

<sup>456</sup> See Rusch, 'Grabsteinformen im Alten Reich', 123, fig. 2dB; Vandier, *Manuel 2*, pt. 7, 429.

<sup>457</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 84, 291 [212]; Fischer, *Dendera*, 130, n. 572; Harpur, *DETOK*, 280.

<sup>458</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 102, 292 [323]; Harpur, *DETOK*, 280.

<sup>459</sup> James, *Khentika*, pl. 13.

<sup>460</sup> See Junker, *Gîza VII*, fig. 105 (Ibib); Brovarski, in *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, fig. 21 (Werkauba/Iku; see pp. 57–58).



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