



ABUSIR

The Mastaba
of Ptahshepses

Reliefs

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Since the mid-sixties, following the participation in the UNESCO international archeological campaign to save the monuments of Nubia threatened by the waters of the High Dam in Asuan, the research of the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology focused on the Mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir. The excavations in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses have been carried out in seven archaeological seasons, and ended in 1974. Their director, Professor Zbyněk Žábka, did not live to see the conclusion of these excavations as he died prematurely in 1971. The Mastaba of Ptahshepses, a vizier and one of the important personalities of the Vth Dynasty, was discovered at the end of the last century by the French archaeologist Jacques de Morgan and it represents now, after its complete excavation, one of the largest non-royal tombs of the Old Kingdom. Its unique monumental architecture reminds the visitor rather of a royal burial complex than a private tomb. Remains of reliefs on the walls of the tomb belong to the best we know from the relief art of the Old Kingdom. Numerous graffiti found on the masonry blocks of the Mastaba contribute essentially to a better understanding of the organization and the methods of work on the monumental constructions in ancient Egypt, etc.



THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK INSTITUTE OF EGYPTOLOGY AT

ABUSIR – I

THE MASTABA OF PTAHSHEPSES RELIEFS I/1



Text by

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|--|
| Abh Berlin | Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin |
| AcOr | Acta Orientalia, Leiden |
| Allam, <i>Beiträge zum Hathorkult</i> | Shafik Allam, <i>Beiträge zum Hathorkult bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches. (MÄS 4)</i> München 1963 |
| Ancient Egypt | Ancient Egypt, London – New York |
| ASAE | Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Le Caire |
| Baer, Rank and Title | K. Baer, <i>Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.</i> Chicago 1960 |
| BIE | Bulletin de l'Institut de l'Égypte, Le Caire |
| BIFAO | Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire |
| v. Bissing, <i>Gemnikai</i> | F. W. von Bissing, <i>Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai.</i> 2 vols. Berlin 1905–1911 |
| v. Bissing, <i>Metallgefäße</i> | F. W. von Bissing, <i>Metallgefäße. (CGC)</i> Vienne 1901 |
| Blackman, <i>Meir</i> | A. M. Blackman, <i>The Rock Tombs of Meir.</i> (Archaeological Survey of Egypt. Memoirs 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29) 6 vols. London 1914–1953 |
| BM Hieroglyphic Texts | <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum.</i> 7 vols. London 1911–1925 |
| Boessneck, <i>Haustiere</i> | J. Boessneck, <i>Die Haustiere in Ägypten.</i> (Veröffentlichungen der Zoologischen Staatssammlung in München, 3) München 1953 |
| Bonnet, <i>RÄRG</i> | H. Bonnet, <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte.</i> Berlin 1952 |
| Borchardt, <i>Neuserre</i> | L. Borchardt, <i>Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re.</i> (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 7) Leipzig 1907 |
| Borchardt, <i>Sahure</i> | L. Borchardt, <i>Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'a3hu-re.</i> (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 14 und 26) 2 vols. Leipzig 1910, 1913 |
| Boreux, <i>Nautique égyptienne</i> | Ch. Boreux, <i>Études de nautique égyptienne. (MIFAO 50)</i> Le Caire 1925 |
| Capart, Werbrouck, <i>Memphis</i> | J. Capart, M. Werbrouck, <i>Memphis à l'ombre des pyramides.</i> Bruxelles 1930 |
| Capart, <i>Rue de tombeaux</i> | J. Capart, <i>Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah.</i> 2 vols. Bruxelles 1907 |
| CGC | <i>Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> |
| Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> | N. de G. Davies, <i>The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi.</i> (Archaeological Survey of Egypt. Memoirs 11, 12) 2 vols. London 1902 |
| Davies, <i>Ptahhetep and Akhetetep</i> | N. de G. Davies, <i>The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep.</i> (Archaeological Survey of Egypt. Memoirs 8, 9) 2 vols. London 1900, 1901 |
| Dixon, <i>Masticatories</i> | D. M. Dixon, <i>Masticatories in Ancient Egypt.</i> (in D. R. Broswell, D. A. Chiarelli (edit.), <i>Population Biology of Ancient Egyptians</i> , London – New York 1973, pp. 433–449) |
| Drenkhahn, <i>Handwerker</i> | R. Drenkhahn, <i>Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Ägypten.</i> (Ägyptol. Abhandlungen 31) Wiesbaden 1976 |
| Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> | P. Duell, <i>The Mastaba of Mereruka.</i> (Oriental Institute. Publications 31, 39) 2 vols. Chicago 1938 |
| Dunham, Simpson, <i>Mersyankh</i> | D. Dunham, W. K. Simpson, <i>The Mastaba of Mersyankh III.</i> Boston 1974 |
| Edel, <i>Grammatik</i> | E. Edel, <i>Altägyptische Grammatik.</i> (Analecta Orientalia 34, 39) 2 vols. Roma 1955, 1964 |
| Edel, <i>Qubbet el-Hawa</i> | E. Edel, <i>Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan.</i> 2 vols. Wiesbaden 1970, 1971 |
| Edel, Wenig, <i>Jahreszeitenreliefs</i> | E. Edel, S. Wenig, <i>Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-user-re.</i> (Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 7) Berlin 1974 |
| Eggebrecht, <i>Schlachtungsbräuche</i> | A. Eggebrecht, <i>Schlachtungsbräuche im alten Ägypten und ihre Wiedergabe im Flach-</i> |

- Épron, Ti
Erman, Reden
Firth, Gunn, TPC
Fischer, Coptite Nome
Fischer, Dendera
Forbes, Studies
Gardiner, AEO
Gardiner, Grammar³
Gardiner, Wilbour Papyrus
GM
Goedicke, Re-used Blocks
Graefe, Wortfamilie bí3
Grapow, Drogennamen
HÄB
Harris, Lex. Stud.
Hassan, Giza
Hassan, Stöcke und Stäbe
Hayes, Scepter
Helck, Beamtentitel
Jacquet-Gordon, Domaines funéraires
James, Khentika
JARCE
JEA
Jéquier, Les frises d'objets
Jéquier, Neit et Apouit
JNES
JSOR
Junker, Giza
Junker, Zu einigen Reden
Kees, Totenglauben
Keimer, Zwiebelkult
Keimer, Gartenpflanzen
Kémi
Klebs, Die Reliefs des alten Reiches
Landström, Ships
LAAA
LÄ
LD
LD Ergänzt.
Lucas, Materials
bild bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches. München 1973
L. Épron, *Le tombeau de Ti*. I (MIFAO 45) Le Caire 1930
A. Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches*. (Abh Berlin, Jahrg. 1918, Nr. 18) Berlin 1919
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- Macramallah, Idout
MÄS
Mariette, Mastabas
Martin-Pardey,
Provinzialverwaltung
MDIK
Mercer, Pyramid Texts
- MIFAO
- Mogensen, La collection égyptienne
- Mogensen, Mastaba égyptien
- Mohr, Hetepherakhti
- Montet, Scènes
- Morgan, Dahchour II
Moussa, Altenmüller
Nefer and Kahay
- Moussa, Altenmüller,
Nianchnum und Chnumhotep
Moussa, Junge, Two Craftsmen
Murray, Saqqara Mastabas
- MVEOL
- NAWG
OrSu
Perepelkin, Das "Schnau-Haus"
- Petrie, Deshasheh
Petrie, Medum
Petrie, Tools and Weapons
- Pirenne, Institutions
- Posener-Krieger, Les archives
de Néferirkarê
PSBA
Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara
(1907-1908)
Reisner, Mycerinus
- Saeculum
Saleh, Three Old-Kingdom Tombs
- Sb Wien
Schäfer, Kunst⁴
Schmitz, Untersuch. zum Titel
s3-njswt
Simpson, Pap. Reisner
Simpson, Qar and Idu
Staehelin, Tracht
- Täckholm, Flora
Täckholm, Drar, Flora
- Urk. I
- R. Macramallah, Fouilles à Saqqarah. Le mastaba d'Idout. Le Caire 1935
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sertationsdrucke. Reihe Ägyptologie 2) Bonn 1976
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1966
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30) 2 vols. Cairo 1950, 1954
K. Sethe, Urkunden des Alten Reiches. Leipzig 1933

- Vandier, *Manuel*
Walle, Neferirtenef
Wb
Weidemann, Pörtner, *Karlsruhe*
Wild, *Ti*
Woenig, *Pflanzen*
Wreszinski, *Atlas*
Zaki Nour, *The Cheops Boats*
ZÄS
- J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*. V/1. V/2. *Bas-reliefs et peintures. Scènes de la vie quotidienne*. 2 vols. Paris 1964, 1969
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W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. 3 vols. Leipzig 1923–1938
M. Zaki Nour, Zaky Iskander, M. Salah Osman, A. Youssef Moustafa, *The Cheops Boats*. I. Cairo 1960
Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig, Berlin

Preface

The reliefs in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses had been holding attention long before the Czechoslovak Egyptological expedition started to excavate at Abusir under the guidance of the late Professor Zbyněk Žába. In 1893, J. de Morgan discovered the ruine of the Mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir on the very site earlier designated by R. Lepsius as "Pyramide XIX". De Morgan uncovered only part of the tomb but, as it may happen, just the one that contains the greatest portion of reliefs. The data about this tomb — some of them not quite exact — he published in his paper "*Découvert du Mastaba de Ptahshepsés dans la nécropole d'Abou-Sir*" in *Rev. arch.* 24, 3^e série, pp. 18–33 (Paris 1894). After de Morgan, a number of other Egyptologists have visited the tomb of Ptahshepses to study the not very numerous but beautiful and unique scenes depicted on its walls as well as the historically very important inscriptions accompanying the scenes. The texts have been transcribed, for example, by Schäfer, and his transcriptions have been used by A. Erman in his study "*Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des alten Reiches*" (*Abh Berlin*, Jahrgang 1918, Berlin 1919). Similarly, J. Černý visited the Mastaba of Ptahshepses in 1940 and copied all the texts available at that time (J. Černý, *Notebook*, 118, pp. 3–20). Also P. Montet has included some inscriptions from this tomb in his publication "*Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*" (Strasbourg-Paris 1925). Some of the scenes have been dealt with by W. S. Smith in his comprehensive volume "*A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*" (London 1946), etc. For the more detailed list of bibliography referring to till now published inscriptions or scenes from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, see B. Porter, R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. III. Memphis. Pt. I. Abu Rawash to Abusir* (2nd ed.), pp. 340–342 (Oxford 1974).

However, new findings about the Mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir had been brought forth during the excavations carried out in the area of this tomb by the Czechoslovak Egyptological Institute of Charles University in the 1960s and early 1970s (see *Preliminary Report on Czechoslovak Excavations in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir*. Prague 1979). In the course of seven seasons of excavations, not only the scenes and inscriptions discovered by J. de Morgan have been documented but also other, as yet unknown parts of the tomb have been uncovered containing, among others, further inscriptions and scenes in relief. The excavations have shown that the Mastaba of Ptahshepses is a huge complex, the largest private tomb of the mastaba type we know from the Old Kingdom. However, the tomb was, like many other large monuments on the Abusir cemetery, badly damaged in later times when it served as an easily accessible "quarry". Thousands of fragments of reliefs have been found in the whole area, both outside and inside the tomb. An overwhelming majority of them belong to the Mastaba of Ptahshepses while part of them come from the adjacent pyramid complexes, in particular from that of Sahure. With regard to the significance and the historical weight of the reliefs, the assessment and publication had to follow certain viewpoints. Hence, evaluated and prepared for publica-

tion have first been the reliefs surviving *in situ* ("The Mastaba of Ptahshepses. I. Reliefs"). The publication to follow will discuss the fragments of reliefs and the reconstruction of the destroyed scenes ("The Mastaba of Ptahshepses. II. Fragments of Reliefs and Reconstruction of Destroyed Scenes"). The fragments of reliefs coming from the pyramid complexes in the vicinity as well as those stored by L. Borchardt in the area of the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, mainly when he was carrying out excavations in the Mortuary Temple of Sahure, will be assessed and published separately.

The present publication deals with those reliefs that have remained *in situ*, or on blocks *in situ* respectively. It consists of two parts, the text and the plates. The former contains relatively detailed descriptions (the author has considered it necessary to give as full a coverage as possible, including the determination of the remains of colour, etc.), of each scene, translations of the inscriptions with comments, and interpretations and evaluations of the significance of individual scenes. The publication is arranged according to the sequence of the rooms, such as may have been taken by the visitor of the tomb. Each wall of every room is discussed separately (without neglecting the overall significance of all the scenes and inscriptions shown in individual rooms), as is one register after another, following the sequence that appears, in each given case, to be the most logical, i.e. once the registers are read from top to bottom, elsewhere from bottom to top. Added to each independent scene is a brief survey of the most important analogous scenes from other tombs, mostly from Dyn. V but also from Dyn. IV and VI. To be found in the second part, Plates, are photographs as well as drawings of the scenes. For more details on the techniques of drawing, see p. 141.



The basic documentation of the reliefs in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses was accomplished by the late Professor Zbyněk Žába in the seasons of 1960, 1961, 1962 and, after the "International Campaign of UNESCO to save the Monuments of Nubia" had finished, in 1966, 1968 and 1970. He intended to assess the materials and prepare them for publication after the excavations in the area of the Mastaba of Ptahshepses were finished, which he however, did not live to see. In the season of 1974, the author of this publication carried out a complete revision of the existing records and completed them (e.g. by the determination of colour in reliefs, preparation of special photo-documents for palaeographic purposes, and others). The author wishes to extend his thanks to the photographer Milan Zemina for the cooperation and assistance in the preparation of the plates. Thanks also go to Tomáš Kraus, Tamara Šimčíková and Jaroslava Chyská, who assisted in making the drawings of the reliefs. Last but not least the author would like to express his grateful thanks to Professor Fritz Hintze, Professor Elmar Edel and Dr. Steffen Wenig for their knowledgeable advice, particularly in the translations of several inscriptions. The textual arrangement of the present work dealing with the reliefs of the Mastaba of Ptahshepses has been made according to the rooms in which complete or partly preserved reliefs have been discovered. The rooms are described as they proceed from the entrance to the tomb into its inside (see Fig. 1). The reliefs are discussed as independent decorative wholes usually covering one entire wall; however, it happens that one subject depicted in the reliefs extends across two walls, e.g. North and East Walls (North Section) in Room 4. It should be remembered that this arrangement is not to make the impression that there is no inner relation in the decoration of the walls of one and the same room. In this publication it would be premature to make an evaluation of the total decoration of the individual rooms. This will be possible in the publication "The Mastaba of Ptahshepses. II. Fragments of Reliefs and Reconstruction of the Destroyed Scenes" which is to appear later.

The first room, the nearest to the entrance to the tomb, in which reliefs have remained *in situ* is Room 3.



To Dr. Pavla Dlouhá the author extends his thanks for the translation of the text from Czech into English.

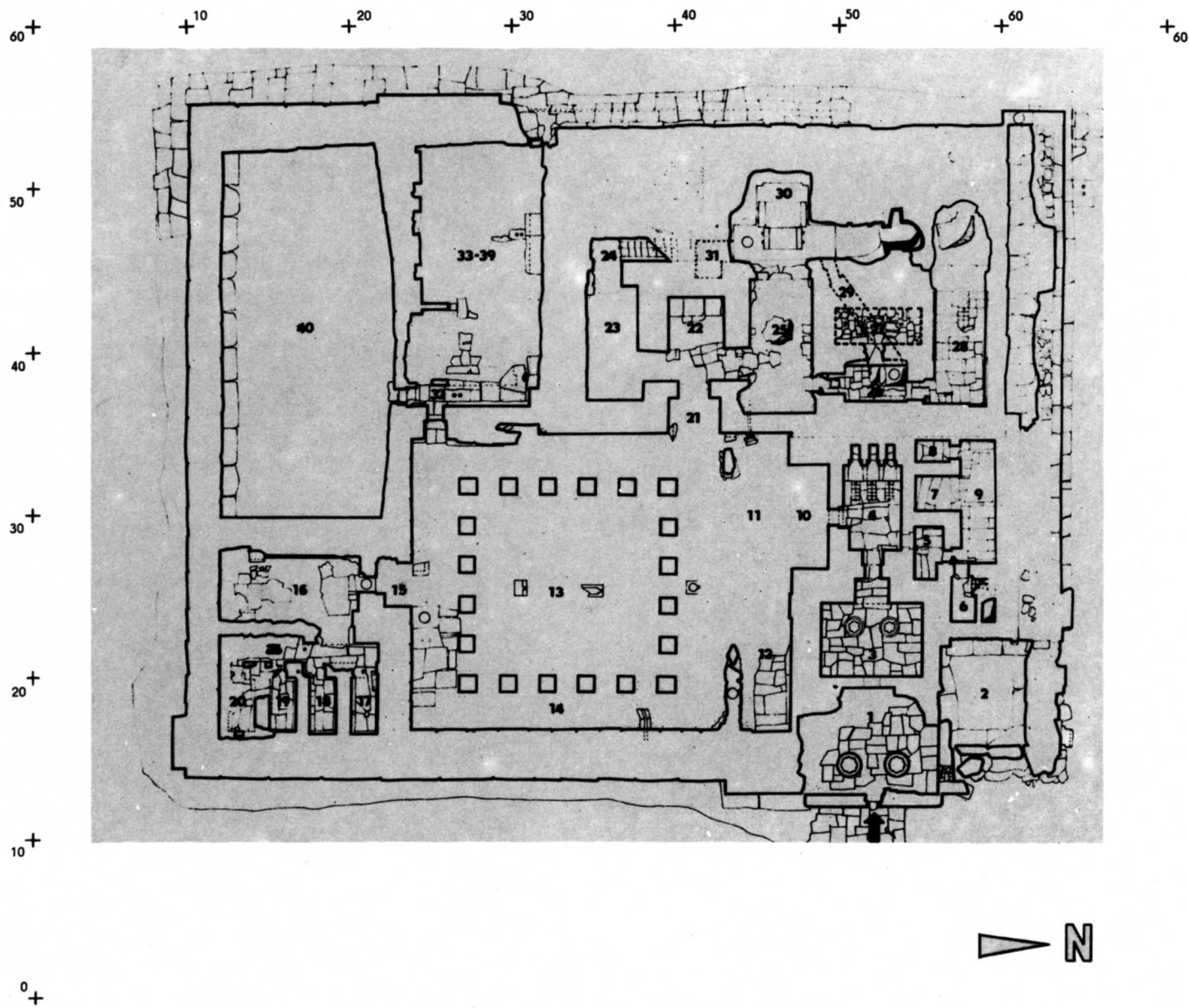


Fig. 1 Plan of the Mastaba of Ptahshepses

Room 3

This room was built as late as during the first great enlargement of the Mastaba and was to serve as the entrance to the tomb (see Fig. 1). Arrayed symmetrically to its east-west axis is a pair of six-stem lotus columns of fine white limestone. The room had already been investigated by de Morgan¹, who did not, however, come to understand its original function and had its damaged wall blocked up² without realizing that in doing so he was walling up the entrance not only to this room but to the whole tomb. Only little has survived of the original relief decoration of this room. A fragment of relief is still visible in the southern end of the east wall, beside which de Morgan erroneously built in two blocks which do not belong there (one shows a fragment of a market scene, the other of a big ship). A relatively large and continuous piece of relief decoration has remained on the south wall while the north wall has retained only a tiny fragment near its western edge. Small fragments of reliefs have also survived on both halves of the west wall. Visitors' graffiti have been discovered on the latter, i.e. the northern half³.

¹ *Rev.arch.* 24, 3^e série, pp.26–32

² *op.cit.* Fig.2 /B/

³ See Daressy in *BIE* 5, 3^e série, pp.107–113, and Spiegelberg in *RT* 26, pp.152–154

Room 3 — East Wall

1st Register

(from the bottom)

Pl 1

Photos 2, 3, 4

The lowest register on this wall is incomplete and what has remained is moreover damaged. It shows six men (there must have originally been more of them because the register undoubtedly continued to the edge of the door connecting Rooms 1 and 3) walking towards the middle of the wall, i.e. to the entrance to the room. All men are dressed in short kilts with triangular front-piece. The first man in the row, i.e. the first left, has both arms hanging down and did not apparently hold anything in the hands (part of the right arm is lost, and thus this assumption is not unambiguous). Above his head are remains of a hieroglyphic inscription in low relief (No. 1). The man next to him carries on the right shoulder a box with higher legs and a flat lid, the rim of which imitates a concave cornice.¹ He supports the box with his left hand, in the right clenched hand, hanging at his side, he may have been clasping a piece of cloth (the relief is damaged in this place). The third man also carries on his right shoulder a low rectangular box with low legs,² steadying it with his right hand. His left arm, fist clenched, hangs down beside him. In front of the lower half of the man's body is one vertical line of text in incised relief (No. 2). Between the legs of the man, remains of red graffito can be seen (No. 3). The figure of the fourth man is badly damaged by a crack with broken-off edges. Nevertheless, we can safely discern that there was a man here carrying on his right shoulder a box of the same shape as that carried by the second man. With his left hand he supports the box, in the right clutching a piece of cloth.³ In front of the man are remains of red graffito (No. 4). The last but one carries on the breast and the left shoulder a long narrow object, obviously a roll of cloth, supporting it from below with both hands. The upper edge of the roll has intentionally been hacked off. In front of the man is an inscription partly in low, partly in incised relief (No. 5). The sixth man carries a bag-like object on his head.⁴ He is steadying it with his left hand, in the right grasping a piece of cloth (or a small sack).

Colours: The bodies of all men show smaller or larger traces of the original dark red paint. Also on the kilts of all the men are remains of the original white paint. White is still visible on the roll of cloth and on the bag-like object carried by the fifth and sixth men, and on the piece of cloth (or a small sack) in the right hand of the last man in the row.

¹ See Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets*, p.247 and fig.648.

² *id.ib.* fig.649.

³ It is a folded piece of cloth which served as a sweatcloth and perhaps as a handkerchief as well, see Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp.162–163.

⁴ Vandier, *Manuel IV/l*, p. 143 and fig. 46/52.

Register No. 2

Above the lowest register with the row of men carrying cloth and boxes are remains of the legs of a standing male figure turned towards the middle of the wall, i.e. in the direction of the main entrance to the room. Judging from the fragment of the legs, it was a life-sized figure.

Colours: Traces of dark red paint can be detected on the fragment of the legs.

Inscription No. 1

... *ṛm*¹ (?), *ṛmy-r*¹ *ššw* ...¹

... (?), the overseer of the scribes ...

Colours: In sign Y 3 are traces of green paint.²

Inscription No. 2

Hm-ṛkš, *ḥkw*¹ *Nfr-ḥww-Pth*.³

The *kš*-servant, the barber Neferkhuuptah.

Inscription No. 3

20

2

4

Inscription No. 4

[*Hm*]-*ṛkš*¹, *ksty* ... *ṛf*¹ ...

The *kš*-[servant], the sculptor (?).

Inscription No. 5

*Hm-ṛkš*¹, *imy-r ššr Ny-nḥ-Mnw*.⁴

The *kš*-servant, the overseer of the linen Nyankhmin.

The small fragment of the relief evidently indicates that the southern part of the east wall of Room 3 has been decorated with a large standing figure of Ptahshepses facing the middle of the wall, i.e. the entrance to the room. The identification of the figure as Ptahshepses is not based on any preserved name but on the fact that it is only the owner of the tomb to be represented here on such a large scale (see the doorway between Rooms 3 and 4, and that between Rooms 4 and 10). Moreover, a similar life-sized figure of Ptahshepses can be assumed to have been drawn, symmetrically to that just described, on the north half of the east wall of Room 3, again facing the middle of the wall.

¹ In transliteration, the following marks are used:

• [] for rendering destroyed passages or for reconstruction of the text,

ṛ¹ for damaged signs,

() for clarifying additions and insertions by the author.

² The letters and numbers of signs are those assigned to them by Gardiner in *Egyptian Grammar*³, pp.438–543 (List of hieroglyphic signs).

³ Ranke, *PN I*, p.199/8

⁴ Ranke, *PN I*, p.171/12.

Below the large figure of Ptahshepses, a scene of *bringing the linen* is depicted. The determination of the scene proceeds from the title *imy-r ššr* "the overseer of the linen" (Inscription No. 5),⁵ as well as from the representations of the white rolls of linen and of the linen-chests carried by the men. Scenes like this frequently occur in private tombs of this date.⁶ It is further worth noticing that this scene accords with the overall character of the decoration, better to say, with its remains preserved in Room 3. Depicted here are solely scenes of bringing or transporting various products and objects necessary for the funerary cult of Ptahshepses (see the text below).

⁵ This title can often be found in such scenes, e. g. in the tomb of Ptahhotep, *imy-r ššr* with a long stick is in the head of a row of linen-bearers (*LD* II, 104b). In the tomb of Fetekta, *imy-r ššr* supervises the storing of linen in chests (*LD* II, 96), etc.

⁶ See Wild, *Ti* II, pl. 126, and others.

Room 3, North Wall

1st Register

(from the bottom)

Pl 2
Photos 5, 6, 7

Only small remains have survived of the original relief decoration. One can discern the feet of seven men advancing towards the main entrance to the room and to the whole tomb at the same time. Closing the procession is a pair of men (whose figures are almost intact), carrying two boxes on poles. One box is big, the other small, both are of the same shape; they are simple, rectangular, their lids are flat. On the sides of both boxes are handles of string making transport easier. The bigger box shows traces of horizontal alternating black and yellow stripes. No traces of paint have remained on the smaller box put on the lid of the bigger one. Remarkable on the male figures carrying the boxes is that the one in the back is not in relief but painted. Only the outline of his left arm is carved in a soft line. Both men, and obviously all the others in the procession, were clad in short kilts with triangular front-piece. Also a few fragments of inscriptions have remained in the register, namely in front of the feet of the fifth and sixth men (Nos. 6 and 7), below the boxes (No. 8), and last but not least a fragment of a horizontal line of text running above the whole procession (No. 9). All these inscriptions are in low relief, with the exception of No. 8, which is partly in low and partly in incised relief.

Colours: The bodies (or their parts) of all men show traces of red paint. On the bigger of the two boxes are alternating black and yellow stripes.

Inscription No. 6

..... *ṛf*l¹.

Colours: M 17 shows traces of green, D 21 of red.

Inscription No. 7

..... *Ny*-*ṛn*ḥ-*Ḥnmw*¹.

..... *Nyankhnum*.

Colours: Aa 1 shows traces of green paint.

Inscription No. 8

ṛṢḥd *ṣd*ṣ*wt*y*w* (?) *ṛḤsi*².

The inspector of sealers Hesi.

Colours: Traces of blue are visible in X 1.

¹ They are undoubtedly remains of a private name.

² See Ranke, *PN I*, p. 254/28.

Inscription No. 9

..... [?] *rw nw stwt* (?).
.....³

Only tiny remains have survived of the scene covering the bottom register on the north wall of Room 3 but enough is left to convey the basic character of the whole scene. Depicted in the register were *men bringing boxes*. Judging from the distance between the individual pairs of feet surviving of the figures referred to above, it seems probable that at least one more pair of men carried a similar box (or boxes) on poles. The remaining men undoubtedly carried other objects in their hands.⁴

2nd Register

A very small fragment of relief has survived on the western edge of the register, in which we can detect the remains of the feet of two men walking to the right, i.e. towards the entrance to the room and the whole tomb at the same time. Unfortunately, the fragment does not offer any other information, but we may indulge ourselves in the guess that the scene depicted in this register did not differ much in subject-matter from that in the register described above, nor from the other scenes on the other walls of Room 3.

³ Can we read — with regard to the preserved fragment of the scene and, particularly, to the Inscription No. 8 — “..... *hnw* (?) *nw stwt* (?)” and translate “..... boxes (?) of jewels (i.e. the glittering ones?, see Wb IV, 330 — however, *stí* “strahlen, bestrahlen” is attested since Dyn. 18 only (?)” or “..... boxes (?) of pastry (?)” (concerning *stj/stw*? “Backwerk” see Wb IV, 332)?

⁴ The scene of bringing boxes and other objects can frequently be found in private tombs; see e.g. the bringing of boxes in the tombs of Fetekta (LD II, 96), Kagemni (v. Bissing, *Gemnikai* I, pl. 5, Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka* I, pls. 69, 72, 74, a. o.), etc.

Room 3 — South Wall

1st Register

(from the bottom)

Pls 3-8
Photos 8-16

This register contains five ships floating to the left, i.e. towards the main entrance. The scene is, however, incomplete, its preserved part being moreover badly damaged in some places.

The first ship (from the left) has a massive hull and its prow and stern are lifted from the water indicated below the register by a strip painted blue. The after deck projects over the edge of the hull. Beneath the upper edge of the hull, across almost the whole length, is a band with a zig-zag pattern passing into vertical stripes with cross lines both in the back and in the front. Sitting in a file on the prow are four oarsmen. Each of them holds with the right hand the middle of the ore stock, with the left grasping its upper end pulling thus the oar toward himself. The ore blades are slender and pointed. The ores are not hinged in a fork nor fastened with a rope sling to the side of the ship. Towards the water surface they are inclined at an angle of 68°. The oarsmen are clad in short skirts and wear wigs. Above them are two horizontal lines of inscription (No. 10). Amidships is an oblong rectangular deckhouse with a slightly inward-curved roof. The framework of the deckhouse, made of light plant materials, is outlined both in relief and in colour (see Colours below). The door to the deckhouse is on its side, placed roughly above the centre of gravity of the ship. On the flat roof of the deckhouse are piles of bundles, sacks and vessels and over them is a badly damaged inscription (No. 11). Standing on the deck beside the deckhouse is a goat, of which only the back part has survived; lying a little farther on is another goat (?). Attached aft the deckhouse is a roundtopped annex narrowing towards the stern. The construction of this cabin, again of light plant materials, is also distinctly outlined in relief. The door to the cabin is on the side, too. Standing on the roof of the cabin are two helmsmen, both holding long rudders. The rudder blades are slender and pointed; in contrast to the oars of the oarsmen, the rudder stock is indicated along the whole length of the blade. Standing behind the helmsmen is a man having both hands behind his back in such a way that his right hand clasps the wrist of the left holding a sling. Both helmsmen are attired in short tight-fitting skirts, the man with the sling in a short kilt with triangular front-piece. All three wear wigs.

Colours: The strip of water on which the ship floats is painted blue. On the hull are traces of dark red paint but the narrow band with the zig-zag pattern is painted yellow. The bodies of the oarsmen, of the helmsmen as well as of the man with the sling are coloured red. Some traces of red can also be found on the body of the lying goat (?). Both the horizontal and vertical beams of the framework of the deckhouse are painted dark red, the fillings between them yellow. Some traces of dark red paint are visible on the sacks and vessels on the roof of the deckhouse.

The second ship does not differ much from the first. It also has a massive hull, the prow and stern lifted from the water. The edges of the hull on the prow and stern are rectangular and the deck on the stern overhangs the hull. Beneath the upper edge of the hull, across almost its whole length, runs a narrow band with a zig-zag pattern. Sitting in file on the prow are three oarsmen. Each of them holds with the right hand an oar with a slender, pointed blade, the left hand clasping its upper end. The oars are not hinged in a fork nor fastened with a sling to the side of the ship, and include with the surface an angle of about 60°. The oarsmen wear short tight-fitting skirts and wigs. Above their heads is an inscription (No. 12). In the middle part of the deck is an oblong rectangular deckhouse with the roof slightly curving inward. The wicker framework of the deckhouse is outlined both in relief and in colour (see Colours below). The door to the deckhouse, placed on its side, is rectangular. In the doorway we can see the upper part of a male figure wearing a wig. In both hands he holds a beer jug. Sitting to the right of the door to the deckhouse is a man dressed in a short skirt and wearing a wig. His left hand is leaned against the deck, the right touching the forehead. On the front edge of the roof of the deckhouse sits a man again wearing a short skirt and a wig. His left arm hangs down, the right hand touching his face in a position similar to that in sign A 2. Piled behind him on the roof of the deckhouse are a bundle, two sacks and six vessels. Above them is an inscription (No. 13). Attached aft the deckhouse is a round-topped annex narrowing towards the stern. Standing on this annex are two helmsmen holding with both hands rudders with slender, pointed blades. The rudder stock is indicated on the blades as far as the point. Both helmsmen wear short skirts and wigs.

Colours: The water on which the ship floats is indicated by a stretch of blue paint. The hull of the ship still retains much of the original dark red paint, the narrow band with the zig-zag pattern being painted yellow. The bodies of all the men represented in the ship show traces of red paint. Both the vertical and horizontal beams of the framework of the deckhouse are also painted red, the fillings between them yellow. Traces of dark red paint can also be found on the sacks and the vessels on the roof of the deckhouse.

The third ship, too, has a massive hull, its prow and stern lifted from the water, as in the case of the two ships just described. Beneath the upper edge of the hull runs a narrow band with a zig-zag pattern. Standing in the prow are three stooping oarsmen, all grasping with both hands oars with pointed blades again. Unlike the two preceding ships, the oars here distinctly show the stock going as far as the point of the blade. They are not hinged in a fork on the side of the ship nor fixated with a sling, and include with the water surface an angle of 125°. The oarsmen have a narrow strip of cloth about their loins, a sheath hanging down in front, and wear wigs. Above them is an inscription (No. 14). Amidships is again an oblong rectangular deckhouse, its roof slightly curving inward. Its framework of wicker is distinctly outlined both in relief and in colour (see Colours below). The door to the deckhouse is on its side, placed roughly above the centre of gravity of the ship. In the doorway is a squatting man, holding with both hands a beer jug emptying its contents overboard. The man wears a short skirt and wig. Bound on a rope on both sides of the door to the deckhouse are two standing goats. Sitting on the roof of the deckhouse is a man, his left hand resting on his lap, the right clenched folded on his breast. He wears a short skirt and wig. Piled behind him on the roof are a bundle, two sacks and three vessels, with an inscription over them (No. 15). Attached to the deckhouse is a roundtopped annex narrowing towards the stern. Its wicker framework is again outlined distinctly in relief. Standing on its roof are two helmsmen holding with both hands rudders with slender, pointed blades. The stock is indicated on the blades as far as the point. The back part of the annex, as well as of the whole ship, is missing, for it was on the block which has been broken out.

Colours: The water on which the ship floats is painted blue. The hull of the ship shows traces of dark red paint. Some red has also remained on the bodies of both helmsmen, of the man sitting in the doorway to the deckhouse, as well as on the vessels and the sacks piled on the roof of the deckhouse. The liquid which the man in the doorway is pouring overboard is

coloured blue. The framework of the deckhouse is painted dark red, the fillings between the beams yellow.

Only a tiny fragment has survived of the fourth ship, for the block on which it was represented has been broken out. Nevertheless, even this is enough to prove that the ship did not differ from the three discussed above. It, too, has a massive hull, with the prow and stern lifted from the water. Beneath the upper edge of the hull runs a narrow band with a zig-zag pattern. The remains of the oars would seem to indicate that there were four oarsmen in the prow. Their blades are slender and pointed, the stock being outlined throughout. Amidships was an oblong deckhouse of the same type as those on the preceding ships. However, only the lower part of it has survived, including the door pierced again on the side. In the doorway we can see the upper part of a male figure leaning over the side of the boat and emptying a "beer jug" into the water. Lying on the deck beside the deckhouse is a goat (? – only part of the animal has survived) bound on a rope to the deck. From the preserved blades of two rudders it can be gathered that two helmsmen were represented in the stern of this ship as well.

Colours: The hull of the ship shows remnants of dark red, the band with the zig-zag pattern is coloured yellow. The liquid, which the man in the doorway of the deckhouse is pouring from a vessel, is painted blue.

The fifth, and the last, ship represented in this register differs somewhat from the four mentioned above. True, its hull is massive again, the edges of the hull are rectangular, the prow and stern lifted from the water, a narrow band with a zig-zag pattern running beneath the upper edge of the hull. But there is no deckhouse on the deck. In the prow we can discern the legs of three standing oarsmen. The first of them, on the very edge of the prow, has his legs pressed tightly together whereas the other two are in striding positions. The oars are the same as on the preceding ships, the stock indicated as far as the pointed end of the blade. The oars are not hinged in a fork nor fixated with a sling and include with the surface an angle of about 120°. Amidships we can discern the lower parts of the bodies of two male figures, one of them sitting on his right heel, the other squatting with the knees up. The latter holds the halter of one of two heads of cattle (perhaps young bulls as indicated by the preserved forelegs) standing opposite him. Parts of two rudders have remained in the stern. However, they are not outlined here in front of the ship as was the case with the four preceding ones, but behind it. Moreover, the blades which are oblong and pointed again, do not show any indication of the stock.

Colours: On the hull of the ship and on the remains of the figures of the men and animals are traces of dark red colour. The narrow band with the zig-zag pattern is painted yellow.

Inscription No. 10

1. ¹Imy¹[-r pr], ¹hkz-hwt¹ [š]¹šm-n¹[f]¹r¹.¹

2. ¹I, wp-¹ ¹m nfr¹t!²

1. The steward, the estate manager Seshemnefer.

2. Hey, well begun!

Colours: Only slight traces of green paint have survived in sign M 17 in the second line of the inscription.

¹ A problem arises here, namely to which of the persons on the ship to assign the name and titles. Neither below the inscription nor anywhere near to it is a suitable person to whom the inscription might be related. Thus the only solution would seem to be in connecting the inscription with the man standing behind the helmsmen on the roof of the cabin. The unusual placement of the inscription might be explained by lack of space (either for the man near the inscription or for the inscription over the man in the stern of the ship). For the name *Šm-nfr*, see Ranke, *PN I*, p.320/17.

² The inscription is written in the opposite direction to that above it. Both inscriptions obviously bear no relation, as seems to follow from this inscription as well as from similar inscriptions over the other ships in this register. The first line (written left to right) apparently refers to the commander standing in the stern, whereas the other line (written right to left) relates to the oarsmen in the prow. The expression *wp-^c m nfrt* has been thoroughly studied by Sethe in Borchardt, *Sahure*, p.86. He translates it as "eröffnet wird mit Gutem", i. e. "ein guter Anfang".

Inscription No. 11

H[bs]. ¹Mm¹. ¹I¹.

Cloth. Mm.¹ I¹.²

Colours: Signs V 28 and M 17 show traces of green paint.

Inscription No. 12

1. ¹Imy-r pr, hk3-hwt Hnw¹.

2. Mk, dd(. i),³ nty-hn⁴!

1. The steward, the estate manager Khenu.

2. Behold, I am pulling (i. e. by the oar), comrade!

Colours: In the first line of the inscription some traces of green have survived in Aa 1. Also the second line shows traces of green in V 31* and V 28.

Inscription No. 13

¹Hbs¹. ¹Mm. ¹Šrmt. ¹W¹h¹.

Cloth. Mm.⁵ Šrmt.⁶ W⁶h.⁷

Colours: V 28 (in hbs) shows traces of green. On the determinatives of the three balls after mm and w^h (only painted, not in relief) and of the three pieces of grain after šrmt are traces of red.

¹ The inscription mm refers to the two sacks on the roof of the deckhouse. Mm (or mmi or mimi) designates a plant which has not been identified yet. Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen*, p. 149, hypothesizes that the term mm is attested from Dyn. XVIII until the Greek Period, and that it denotes some "Körnerfrucht". Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus II*, pp. 113–114, considers mimi to be "seed-corn of emmer (?)" and refuses the interpretation advanced by Brugsch and Dawson. Brugsch in ZÄS 29, pp. 25–28, interprets mimi as Ethiopian cummin. Agreeing with this interpretation, Dawson in JEA 21, p. 38, also considers mimi to be "one or more species of the genus ammi, the Ethiopian Cummin". The use of mimi in Ancient Egyptian medicine is the object of investigation by Grapow, *Drogennamen*, pp. 220–223. However, not even Grapow assumes a new or unambiguous view ("...sicher eine Körnerfrucht und wohl den 'Emer' bezeichnend"). In the discussed scene in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, mm appears to refer to the contents of the two sacks on the roof of the deckhouse. The word is determined by three balls. Apart from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, mm of the Old Kingdom date is also attested in the Mortuary Temple of Sahure (Borchardt, *Sahure II*, p. 114) in the Old Kingdom letter from the Museum of Torino (Roccati in JEA 54, pl. 4, line 9), in pot inscriptions from the rock tombs of Qubbet el-Hawa (Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa II*, 1/2, pp. 23–24), as well as in the names of the funerary estates (Jacquet-Gordon, *Domaines funéraires*, p. 289).

² The interpretation of ¹cc has quite recently been enabled by the finds of pots with this inscription and with preserved remains of the contents. These remains, even though badly damaged by insect, have been identified as barley (Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa II*, 1/2, p. 21).

³ For wdi as having the meaning of "stossen", "werfen", etc., see Wb I, 386–387. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 132, correctly translates it as "Voici, je force, camarade!"

⁴ In contrast to the first line written left to right, the second line is written right to left. The first line obviously relates to the man sitting on the front edge of the roof of the deckhouse. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 132, also considers the second line to be referring to this man and advances the hypothesis that the words in the text may have been uttered by the commander to encourage the oarsmen. This interpretation also takes into consideration the postures of the above-mentioned man holding his right hand to the mouth as if shouting something. However, it cannot be excluded that they are the words of one of the oarsmen (see Inscription No. 14 below).

⁵ See Note to Inscription No. 11.

⁶ Wb III, 463, gives the translation as "yeast", "sort of beer". Also Grapow, *Drogennamen*, pp. 456–458, translates it as "yeast". This interpretation he bases on the Coptic CAPM, i. e. yeast obtained from old wine or beer. Gardiner, *AEO I*, p. 15, points out that "šrmt, often named as a beverage, but from the determinative here and elsewhere was also stored away in a dry state: that it was sometimes consumed in that state is proved...". In the inscription from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, the word can distinctly be read as šrmt, with š; nevertheless, we might be dealing here with šrmt identical with that given in Wb III, 463. As has correctly been pointed out by Gardiner (loc. cit.), the determinative of šrmt often indicates that the reference is also to a product stored away and consumed in a dry or loose (?) state. This assumption is also supported by the writing of šrmt in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses where three pieces of grain are used as determinatives, and show distinct traces of the original red paint. Does it mean that in Dyn. V šrmt was a designation of some corn or elongated seeds?

⁷ As in the case of ¹cc, also the identification of w^h has recently been enabled by some finds of pots with this inscription and some preserved remains of the contents, which have been identified as the bulbs of *Cyperus esculentus* L. (Edel, *Qubbet el-Hawa II*, 1/2, p. 22).

Inscription No. 14

1. ⁸ *Imy-r pr, hḳꜣ-hwt Ir-n-wr*.⁸

2. ⁹ *I, dd(.i) n hst*!⁹

1. The steward, the estate manager Irenwer.

2. Hey, I am pulling (i. e. rowing with all my force) to get reward!

Colours: Only the second line of the inscription has, in M 17 and V 28, some traces of green, and in X 1 of blue.

Inscription No. 15

Hbꜣ. Mm. I'. Bnt.

Cloth. *Mm.*¹⁰ *I'*.¹¹ *Bnt*.¹²

Colours: V 28 and M 17 show traces of green, D 58 of red.

Five *cargo-ships without sails*¹³ are represented in the register. As suggested by both the shape and colour, the hull of these ships was built of wood.¹⁴ The ships were massive, wide and spacious in order to carry as much load as possible. In shape, they rank among the "papyrus boats"; they had no keel and did not cut the water surface with their prow.¹⁵ For joining the individual parts, ropes were used the bindings of which are indicated by the yellow band with the zig-zag pattern.¹⁶ Last but not least, our idea of this type of ships is made more accurate by the models of ships.¹⁷ If it is at all possible to advance an estimate based on the height of the figures of the men, the length of the ships (including the projecting deck in the stern) in the scene under discussion must have been about 10 m. Of the men forming the crew of these cargo-ships, the oarsmen must be mentioned first. There are four on the first and fourth ships, and three on each of the remaining ones. The attitudes of their bodies and the positions of the oars in their hands make it possible to reconstruct the individual phases of the voyage.¹⁸

⁸ Ranke, *PN I*, p.80/20.

⁹ *I* is an interjection, not an augment of imperative. The imperative form of *wdi* is rarely attested, and its writing is specific (see Edel, *Grammatik I*, §§ 450, 458 and 602). Besides the above-mentioned translation, another possible interpretation may perhaps be admitted, namely *I, dd.n (n) hst*! "Hey, we are pulling (i.e. rowing with all our forces) to get reward!" In both cases they are presumably words of an oarsman (or oarsmen) and not of the man sitting on the front edge of the roof of the deckhouse. It was already Montet, *Scènes*, p.132, who studied this inscription. He translates it as "Eh! force, pour avoir ma louange". Thus he inaccurately interprets *dd* as imperative and considers the inscription to be an encouragement of the oarsmen uttered by the commander.

¹⁰ See Inscription No.11.

¹¹ See Inscription No.11.

¹² *Bnt* is not included in *Wb*. It is only possible to hypothesize that it might be a spelling variant of *bnnt* ("die kleinen Samenkapseln des Flachses" – see Grapow, *Drogennamen*, p.171), or of *bnr* "dates" or of *bnrt* "sweets"? Reading it as *bnrt* is evidently favoured by Edel (*Qubbet el-Hawa II*, 1/2, p.25), who mentions the above inscription (No.15) from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses. In this inscription, *bnrt* is determined by three balls. Further, this inscription relates to the contents of the hemispherical bowl with a lid, placed on a stand. Similar bowls served for storing food, see Balcz in *MDIK* 4, pp.25–26, figs.36–37.

¹³ See e. g. Boreux, *Nautique égyptienne*, pp.258–261, Vandier, *Manuel V/2*, pp.736–776, Junker, *Giza IV*, pp.55–56, Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, pp.106–107, Landström, *Ships*, pp.60–62.

¹⁴ River cargo-ships were built of acacia wood, see Boreux, *op.cit.*, p.237.

¹⁵ Boreux, *op.cit.*, p.236 ff.

¹⁶ Rich comparative material for understanding the details of bindings is offered, for example, by the ships represented in the Mortuary Temple of Sahure (Borchardt, *Sahure*, II, pls. 11, 12, 13, and others). Assmann (in Borchardt, *Sahure* II, p.137) is of the opinion that ropes were used for joining individual parts. This conjecture is also attested by the boat discovered near the Pyramid of Khufu at Giza (Zaki Nour, *The Cheops Boats I*, pl. 63 A). That we are dealing here with ropes is also indicated by the yellow colour in the zig-zag pattern. Landström, *Ships*, pp.60–61, explains the function of the zig-zag-bound rope in this way: "... a zig-zag pattern at the upper edge of the hull... I believe this to be a truss girdle... If the beams on cargo vessels, like those on the royal ship, were secured to the hull only by a simple joint into the uppermost planking and by bindings (and we have no evidence of any other system during the Old Kingdom), there was a risk of a heavy cargo pressing out the sides of the hull so that the beams slipped, I believe the function of the truss girdle to have been to hold the hull together more firmly".

¹⁷ See e. g. Jéquier, *Neit et Apout*, p.39, fig.21.

¹⁸ Boreux, *op.cit.*, p.319 ff, distinguishes three basic strokes: 1. "attaque", 2. "passe dans l'eau", 3. "dégagé". See also Vandier, *Manuel V/2*, pp.792–795.

The postures of the oarsmen in the first and second ships are the same, and it is no chance either that it is on these ships that the front of the oar blades is outlined (i.e. there is no indication here of the continuation of the stock, nor of how the blade was fixated).¹⁹ Supposing that we are dealing here with an intentional differentiation of the front and the back of the oars, we can then arrive at a probable conclusion that the first two ships represent the initial phase of the voyage, i.e. with the full pull at the oars (l'attaque). This conjecture finds support in the inscription above the oarsmen (Nos. 10 and 12). It might be even inferred that the oarsmen in the second ship are shown as exercising greater strain than those in the first ship (their bodies are more back-bent, their legs pressed against the deck, and their hands holding the oars are wider apart), and that the next phase of the sail ("passe dans l'eau") is illustrated here (?). The oarsmen in the third ship are stooping and pulling (!) at the oars with full force. Judging from the postures of their bodies and the oars, the oars should be hinged in a fork or fastened with a sling to the side of the ship, but this is not the case. Probably another phase of the sail is rendered here, i.e. one when the oarsmen have already finished the pull and moved the oars to the other side, and now want to pull at the oars again.²⁰ On the fourth ship there were four oarsmen again. Their figures have not survived, only the blades of their oars. Therefore it is difficult to deduce the attitudes of their bodies and the phase of the sail. The position of the oars is roughly the same as that on the first and fourth ships but, in contrast, the back of the blades is shown here. In the fifth ship are three standing oarsmen, and perhaps the same phase of sail is illustrated as with the third ship. Pairs of helmsmen were represented in the stern of all five ships; in the first three their figures have come down to us unimpaired, in the case of the last two we can surmise their presence on the basis of the remains of the rudders (or "steering oars" to put it more accurately). It is certainly strange that not even the rudders show any fixation to the hull.

A prominent position on the deck of all the ships discussed above was occupied by the commander (in the last two ships we can only conjecture his presence). His figure is always larger than those of the other members of the crew. In the first ship, the commander is shown standing behind the helmsman in the stern, holding a sling which Boreux²¹ assumes to have served for signalling. In the second and third ships the commanders sit on the front edge of the roof of the deckhouse. The one in the second ship has his hands at the mouth, apparently to make the commands he is giving loud enough. In the third ship he sits in a relaxed attitude, only observing the voyage. In all three cases the commander has the title "steward" and "the estate manager" (*imy-r pr, ḥk3-ḥwt*). This is certainly not illogical if we realize that the boats are cargo-ships carrying various products from the estates to the necropolis, into the tomb.²² It would seem therefore obvious that the supervision and command over the transport has been entrusted to the man whose function is indicated in the above inscription. As a designation of the commanders of ships, Boreux²³ uses the expression "le prorète".

Greater part of the deck is occupied by a long rectangular deckhouse with the roof slightly curving inward. Its framework was made of vertical and horizontal wooden beams. That the material used was wood is borne out, among others, by the dark red colour of the same shade as that on the hull. Fastened to the wooden skeleton were mats painted yellow (like the bindings on the hull). In all four ships the rectangular door to the deckhouse is pierced on its side, roughly above the centre of gravity of the hull. Apart from this side-door, we can presuppose one or two doors in the front wall of the deckhouse, as can be seen on the Ancient Egyptian models of ships.²⁴ A further door used to connect the deckhouse with the annex in the stern.

¹⁹ The blade can be joined to the stock with one side only and then it is possible to differentiate between the front and the back of the oar. However, in some cases the blade is stuck into a split at the end of the stock and then it is not possible to distinguish the front from the back (see e.g. Zaki Nour, *The Cheops Boats*, pl.48 and p.7).

²⁰ The cases showing the oarsmen as standing up in this phase of sailing are not very frequent, see e.g. *LD II*, 101 b.

²¹ *Nautique égyptienne*, p.406.

²² Junker, *Giza IV*, p.56.

²³ *Nautique égyptienne*, pp.404–411.

²⁴ Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, p.39, fig.21.

No figures appear in the side-door on the first ship, while on the following ones there are small scenes depicted there. On the first ship we can see a man in the door drinking out of a jug. Squatting opposite him and greeting him respectfully is another man who has obviously brought the jug. This scene continues in the deckhouse door on the third ship. The squatting man pours the rest of the liquid overboard. The blue colour of the liquid seems to indicate that it is water. A similar scene can be seen in the door on the fourth ship. Scenes depicting the drinking of refreshing water are relatively rare in reliefs of the Old Kingdom date²⁵; in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses it is, however, arrayed in an interesting way into several phases.

On the first four ships there is an annex attached aft the deckhouse. It is a wickerwork cabin with a convex roof, tapering towards the stern. Forming the skeleton of the cabin was a wooden frame reinforced by wicker and plaited with papyrus stalks.²⁶ Ancient Egyptian models of ships clearly show that there was a connecting door between the deckhouse and the cabin; therefore no other door to the annex is usually represented. Thus attention should be called to the annex in the first ship that has a rectangular door pierced on its side. The cargo on the ships includes live cattle and various produce in bundles, sacks and sealed vessels.²⁷ All the cargo on the ships is transported from Ptahshepses's estates and stores to the tomb in the necropolis for the needs of the funerary cult.

The Scene of Cargo-Ships

(List of Old Kingdom Sources Used)²⁸

| | |
|----------------|--|
| FETEKTA | Saqqara Dyn. V (middle or later) ²⁹ LD II, 96 |
| HETEPHERAKHTI | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) Mohr, <i>Hetepherakhti</i> , p. 49, fig. 17 |
| KAGEMNI | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) Firth, Gunn, <i>TPC</i> II, pl. 53 |
| PTAHHOTEP | Saqqara Dyn. V (middle or later) LD II, 104 b |
| RASHEPSES | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare) LD II, 62 |
| INSNEFRUISHTEF | Dahshur Dyn. VI de Morgan, <i>Dahchour</i> II, pl. 20 Balcz, <i>ZÄS</i> 67, pp. 9–15 |
| TI | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre – end of Dyn. V) Épron, <i>Ti</i> I, pl. 19 |

²⁵ See e.g. Mohr, *Hetepherakhti*, p. 49, fig. 18; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 16; Moussa, Altenmüller, *Nefer and Kahay*, pl. 16 (here a man is shown pulling up a beer-jug on rope from the water).

²⁶ Boreux, *op.cit.*, p. 260, is of the opinion that forming the frame of the annex were wooden poles covered with cloth or leather. Vandier, *Manuel* V/2, p. 751, thinks that they were planks alternating with plaited reed.

²⁷ The objects included in the cargo were stored away in the deckhouse or on the deck, not on the roof of the deckhouse. Here they are only "exhibited" for artistic reasons, for this was the only possibility of representing most of the objects and exposing them to view.

²⁸ Lists of comparative materials are given in this publication mainly in reference to complete scenes, or little damaged ones respectively. The lists are not supposed to contain all the comparable scenes dating from Old Kingdom.

²⁹ The dating is taken over from Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 52 ff.

2nd Register

Only three fragments have remained of the scene in this register. Two larger are *in situ*, the third, the smallest, has been put in the wall by de Morgan. True, it belongs to this scene but its place is not quite exact. It is on this fragment that we can find a relief of remarkably fine workmanship that has come down to us only due to the fragment having lain on the ground under debris. Shown on the three fragments are a row of running male figures. Altogether 24 figures (or their parts) have remained in place; considering the missing part of the scene and the size of the wall, there must have originally been 26 of them. They are shown as running right, i.e. to the west. Their left legs are placed forward, the arms with hands clenched are bent in the elbows. All wear a strip of cloth about the loins with a sheath in front.

In view of the fact that the figure of the first man in the row has survived, it seems obvious that the scene of the running men has covered only the left half of the register. The whole of the right half is lost. The motif of running men, referred to as *running sailors* with regard to the general character of the boats scene, is not very common in such scenes in private tombs.¹ That they are sailors follow from the character of all the scenes (or their remains respectively) on the south wall of Room 3, not from any concrete shipping attributes or accompanying inscriptions.² For the same attire the sailors wear can be, for example, found on the men carrying the palanquin with Ptahshepses, as well as on those dragging a sledge with the statues of Ptahshepses (see Room 10). Some light on the function of the running sailors might perhaps be thrown by the missing scenes on the south wall of Room 3 and, above all, by those in the missing right half of the register.³ The running sailors are usually interpreted as assistants in the landing of a ship, the viewpoints only differing in whether they are sailors who have left the ship and are moving on the bank,⁴ or whether they may possibly be "dockers" who only work in the ports.⁵ In interpreting the scene found in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses one important fact should not be omitted, namely the existence of a similar scene (where the running sailors hold sticks) in the near Mortuary Temple of Sahure,⁶ which may have inspired the artist carrying out the decoration in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses.

¹ See e.g. the two files of running sailors in the tomb of Pehenuka (LD II, 45 a, b). Several sailors, holding ropes, sticks, oars, etc., are often shown as running beside the ship supplementing thus the general character of the scene; see Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl.144; Junker, *Giza* II, fig.22; Moussa, Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl.16; Mogensen, *Mastaba égyptien*, fig.9; Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl.6; a. o.

² For example, in the tomb of Kaemrehu the running sailors are referred to as *iswt hry(t) mw* "the crew which is upon the water" (Mogensen, *Mastaba égyptien*, fig.9).

³ Montet, *Scènes*, p.132, is of the opinion that "lorsque le vent ou le courant était contraire, les beaux courers qui forment entre deux registres de bateaux, chez Ptah-Chepses, une frise magnifique, s'attelaient sans doute à un cable pour faire avancer le chaland...". This interpretation is open to objections in that the running sailors do not hold any rope in their hands with which to tow the ship. Scenes of the towing of ships are namely realistically depicted in reliefs of that date, including the towrope, e.g. in the tomb of Idut (Macramallah, *Idout*, pl.8), or in the tomb of Ti (Junker, *Giza* XI, fig.88a).

⁴ Junker, *Giza* II, p.158.

⁵ Vandier, *Manuel* V/2, p.860.

⁶ Borchardt, *Sahure* II, pls.9 and 10. Of a similar character is also a scene probably coming from the Mortuary Temple of Unis, see Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p.73.

3rd Register

The register has only retained a small but very important fragment of the original decoration, because it gives an indication of the character of the scene depicted here as well as of the surprising height of the register. The fragment shows a large sailing boat floating left to right, like the row of the running sailors in the register discussed above. The water on which the ship floats is illustrated by a strip with vertical zig-zag lines. It has a massive hull, the stern lifted from the water (the prow has not survived). Preserved are also the stump of the mast and part of the diagonal ropes running from the mast-head to the stern. If we fill in the remaining parts of the mast and of the rigging, we get the height of about 105 cm. Adding the stretch of water, i.e. 15 cm., we find that the total height of the register must have been 120 cm.! Amidships is a deckhouse supported by a light framework of poles. A standing male figure is shown here facing the prow, attired in a short kilt with triangular front-piece. In his right hand he holds a long staff, in the left hanging down beside him a scarf. Facing him is another male figure represented on a somewhat smaller scale; he, too, is clad in a short kilt with triangular front-piece, in the left hand hanging at his side holding a papyrus roll.⁷ Sitting on the low railing (?) are seven oarsmen (originally there must have been more of them), the upper edge of the oar-stocks resting on their knees. In front of them stands a man holding a rope sling in one hand.⁸ Immediately above the edge of the deck behind the deckhouse there file several heads of male figures over which very faint traces of a relief can be seen (horizontal and oblique lines?). Remains of four rudders can be discerned in the stern.

Even a small fragment like the one discussed clearly suggests that here is a part of a scene depicting a *watertrip of the owner of the tomb*⁹ in a large sailing ship. From the attitudes of the oarsmen in the prow (they are having a rest, the oars placed on their knees), it may be inferred that the ship floats either under sail or downstream. The crew shown in the stern¹⁰ do not seem to be exercising any activity either. Even though the accompanying inscription has not come down to us, it is fairly safe to assume that the figure in the middle of the deckhouse is to represent Ptahshepses attired in a festive robe, with a long staff and scarf¹¹ in his hands. Ptahshepses is taking part in a symbolic trip in (or to) the netherworld.¹² The idea of this voyage is not derived from the private funerary cult, it is simulation of the rites performed at funerals of the early Kings in ancient times.¹³ In some tombs, the place of destination of the voyage is explicitly mentioned in accompanying inscriptions. Sometimes it is the West, the netherworld,¹⁴ elsewhere the voyage evoked a visit to sacred places (Heliopolis, Buto).¹⁵

⁷ Similar scenes can also be found in other tombs, e.g. in the tomb of Pepiankh at Meir (Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl.16), or in that of Pehenuka at Giza (*LD* II, 45 a, b) where an inscription even says that it is the son who hands over a papyrus roll to his father.

⁸ Boreux, *op.cit.*, p.406, conjectures that the rope sling served for signalling.

⁹ This subject-matter is often depicted in private tombs of the end of Dyn.IV (see e.g. Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig.5; Junker, *Giza* II, fig.22; *LD* II, 24; Moussa, Altenmüller, *Nefer and Ka-hay*, pl.16; Mogensen, *Mastaba égyptien*, figs.11 and 13; Epron, *Ti* I, pl.49; Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhetetep* II, pl.10; *LD* II, 43; Duell, *Mereruka* II, pl.141; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl.16; Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl.6; Wreszinski, *Atlas* I, pl.409; a.o.

¹⁰ A similar fashion of rendering the crew can be found, for example, in the tomb of Snefruinshtef (Wreszinski, *loc.cit.*, or in the relief now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (Landström, *Ships*, figs.143 and 144).

¹¹ Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp.246–250.

¹² Junker (*Giza* II, pp.66–69 and *Giza* IV, pp.55–57) has been greatly preoccupied with the interpretation of this type of scenes. However, certain inconsistencies can be found in his interpretation. In *Giza* II, p.69, he claims that we are concerned here with symbolic voyages in the netherworld which reoccur every day, and that they are no voyages to the netherworld. In contrast, in *Giza* IV, p.57, he puts forward the view that the ship is bound for the necropolis, and that the deceased is represented alive as if taking a pleasant trip because it was not appropriate to represent his corpse in the chapel nor anything that would remind of a funeral. It is, however, possible that several, not quite identical, ideas were interlinking in these scenes. This has, for example, been pointed out by Boreux, *op.cit.*, pp.144–173, who divides these voyages into two categories, funerary voyages and mystic ones.

¹³ In his views, Junker bases himself on the opinion advanced by Kees, *Totenglauben*, p.163.

¹⁴ See e.g. Junker, *Giza* IV, pl.6; Hassan, *Giza* V, fig.245, *LD* II, 45a; and others.

¹⁵ Junker, *Giza* II, pl.9.

Room 3 — West Wall

(Northern Section)

Register 1

(from the bottom)¹

Pl 9

Photos 17, 19–21

The lowest register did not run full length of the wall. One part was placed against the left edge, the other against the right edge of the wall. Between them is a smoothed blank space. Both parts are badly damaged, especially the left with big pieces of blocks with reliefs broken off. The latter part has retained an incomplete row of male figures carrying furniture. Above them, near the upper edge of the register, is a horizontal line of inscription (No. 16). The men are walking right, i.e. in the northerly direction. Of the first man only the upper part of the body has remained. His arms are turned backwards, which obviously implies that he must have been carrying a sizeable object together with another man behind him, of whom not a trace has survived. The third figure has only preserved the head and the right shoulder on which he carries a bed, its leg imitating an animal's hooved paw. Closing the row are a pair of male figures carrying a seat. One of them is badly damaged, the other is intact. The latter is the only male figure that has also retained the garment, a short skirt with a cross fold.² The seat the men carry has a high back-rest, its legs imitating lion's paws. Below the seat is a short vertical line of a crudely carved hieroglyphic inscription (No. 17).

In the right part of the register, in the corner at the north wall, there remains in place only the lower part of a male figure, the upper part from the waist up missing. The figure was not carved in relief, only roughly sketched in red paint.

Colours: Traces of dark red are visible on the bodies (or their parts respectively) of all the male figures. On the skirt of one of the seat-bearers, scraps of white survive. The seat shows traces of yellow paint.

Inscription No. 16

ṣḥpt ṣwt rdw m¹ ṣt.ṣ¹n i(n) ṣḥd ṣdṣwtw¹ n pr-dt.

Bringing the seats and their emplacement (lit. putting (them) in their place)
by the inspector of sealers of the endowment.

Colours: Fragments of green are visible in Aa 1 and Q 3 (*ṣḥpt*), in all three signs Q 1, and in M 17. Some red paint remains in D 21, D 46 and in both S 29. Traces of blue can be found in all three X 1 and in O 1, yellow in Q 17 and G 43.

¹ Under the lower edge of this register, several visitors graffiti have been found. One of them has been published by Spiegelberg in RT 26, pp.152–154. Other graffiti discovered on this wall as well as in other parts of the Mastaba will be published in a separate study.

² Staehelin, *Tracht*, pl.21, fig.8.

Inscription No. 17

*Hm-k3 Ny-nh-Mnw.*³

The *k3*-servant Nyankhmin.

The register under discussion depicts a scene of *servants bringing furniture*. Furniture and household utensils played an important role in Ancient Egyptian images of life in the nether-world and in the funerary cult.⁴ Therefore apart from the actual funerary equipment in which these objects are never absent, and besides their enumeration in the offering-lists we can often find reliefs depicting rows of servants carrying beds, seats, chests, head-rests, etc.⁵ This scene is also present in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, both on the northern and southern parts of the west wall of Room 3 (see the text below). Even though relief is badly damaged, it is exceedingly probable that the scene here represented the bringing of two seats and a bed. (From what can be judged of the fragment of the first bearer, and with regard to Inscription No. 16, also the first pair of bearers may have been bringing a seat.) Inscription No. 16 informs us that the objects are being put in place, i.e. into the tomb of Ptahshepses.

2nd Register

The fragment surviving of the scene in this register is even smaller than that in the preceding one. Shown in the lower left part are remains of a row of male figures walking left, i.e. towards the entrance to Room 4. The first three figures are preserved up to the shoulders, of the fourth only the right leg is in place. All men are clad in short tight-fitting skirts. The first man in the row is seizing in his right hand a pair of birds by the wings. With his right hand, raised up, he must have been supporting an object resting on his shoulders. Before him is an inscription (No. 18) in incised relief that partly superimposes an incompletely erased older one. The second man was obviously carrying an object on his head or the shoulders, supporting it with both hands. The third carries a basket loaded with figs in the left hand. With the right he was steadying an object which he presumably carried on the head. Before the latter two are also inscriptions in incised relief (Nos. 19, 20).

Inscription No. 18

*Šḥd ḥmw-k3 Ny-nh-Pth.*⁶

The inspector of *k3*-servants Nyankhptah.

Inscription No. 19

*Šš šwt, ḥm-k3 Nfr-šm-Pth.*⁷

The scribe of the granary, the *k3*-servant Neferseshemptah.

Inscription No. 20

*Šš šwt, ḥm-k3 Ššm-nfr.*⁸

The scribe of the granary, the *k3*-servant Seshemnefer.

³ Ranke, *PN I*, p.171/12.

⁴ See Junker, *Giza IV*, pp.70–72.

⁵ See e.g. Vandier, *Manuel IV/1*, p.135ff.; Klebs, *Reliefs des alten Reiches*, pp.141–143; a.o.

⁶ Ranke, *PN I*, p.171/11.

⁷ *ibid.* p.200/7.

⁸ *ibid.* p.320/17.

Even though only a small fragment of the register has come down to us, we can reasonably assume that depicted in the register was a scene of the *bringing of offerings*, which was never absent in any Ancient Egyptian tomb decorated with reliefs. In the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, this scene well accords with the general character of Room 3; the remains of the reliefs clearly suggest that this room was almost exclusively decorated with scenes of the bringing or transporting on ships of a great variety of objects, plants and produce. A detail to be observed is the reoccurring title "the scribe of the granary". Can we perhaps conjecture that it makes the scene more definite, indicating that plants and fruits are being brought that have been stored away in granaries?

Room 3 — West Wall

(Southern Section)

1st Register

(from the bottom)

Pls 10, 11

Photos 18, 22–24

The decoration in this register was disposed, as on the northern part of the wall, into two parts. One part is near the right edge of the register, the other at the left edge, the middle being without decoration. Both parts of the scene are incomplete due to several blocks having been broken out. Depicted in the right part, i.e. near the entrance to Room 4, are a row of male figures advancing left carrying various objects. All are clad in short skirts with a cross-fold. Only the lower part has remained of the first man. As his arms are not to be seen, we can assume that they were upraised supporting an object on the head or the shoulders. The figure of the second man is almost intact. On the right shoulder he carries a box with a convex lid, steadying it with the left hand. In front of him are remains of an inscription (No. 21), only crudely carved in the wall. Closing the row is a group of four men carrying a seat on poles; two men are in front and two behind. The seat has a high back-rest and legs in the shape of lion's paws. Above the group is a horizontal line of inscription (No. 22).

The left part of the register shows remains of the lower parts of two male figures walking right, i.e. facing the man represented in the right half of the register. Both are again clothed in short skirts with a cross-fold. The first apparently carried an object on the head or shoulders supporting it with both hands. The second holds in the left hand a head-rest, with the right probably supporting an object he carried on the shoulders. Both figures are in low relief passing in some places into incised relief, which strengthens the impression of the wall decoration as having been hastily finished.

Colours: The bodies of the men show traces of dark red, the skirts of white. A red horizontal line runs across the whole register connecting the skirt-hems of all men represented in the register.

Inscription No. 21

..... *Nfr-h¹y*.¹

..... Neferhay.

¹ Is it a private name *Nfr-hy* or *Nfr-h3i.i* (?) preceded by a title? For the name *Nfr-h3i.i*, see Ranke, *PN I*, p.197/24.

Inscription No. 22

Šhṛpṭ st ṛd(w) ṛmṣt.ṛs.¹

Bringing a seat and its emplacement (lit. putting (it) in its place).

Colours: In signs Aa 1, Q 3 and both Q 1 are traces of green, in both X 1 of blue, and in D 54 of red.

In subject-matter, the scene depicted in this register bears a strong resemblance to that in the bottom register in the northern part of this wall (see pp. 23). Even the inscriptions are almost identical (Nos. 16 and 22).

2nd Register

A small fragment has survived of the scene depicted here. It shows remains of a row of male figures walking left and carrying various objects. Only the left leg has remained of the first figure, the other three are preserved up to the shoulders. The second man carries a box (?) supporting it with his right hand. The third carries a bag² on the shoulders steadying it in front with both hands. The man closing the row carries before him a long bundle (a roll of cloth?). All wear short skirts folded over in front. In all likelihood, this fragment comes from the scene of *bringing the linen* (see pp. 11).

¹ See Inscription No. 16.

² See Vandier, *Manuel* IV/1, p. 143, fig. 46/52.

The Doorway between Rooms 3 and 4

(North Wall)

The north wall of the doorway from Room 3 into Room 4 is not even but articulated into several narrow walls. Three of them bear relief decoration with scenes resembling in subject-matter those showing symmetrically on the south wall of the doorway (see Doorway – South Wall/I–IV). For the sake of convenience, the walls with relief decoration are referred to as Doorway – North Wall/I–III, their order being from east to west, i.e. from Room 3 to Room 4.

The Doorway – North Wall/I

1st Register

(from the bottom)

Pls 12, 13
Photos 25–28

The register shows a butchering scene which is partly damaged by wide slits between the blocks with broken-off edges. Near the left edge of the register is a standing male figure, slightly bent forward, sharpening a knife. The sharpener is fastened to the hem of the short skirt.¹ The man has a short beard and wears a short wig. Above his head is an inscription in two vertical lines (No. 23). To the right of him, an ox is shown as lying on the ground. Its head, the tongue protruding, is twisted with the horns down, the windpipes distinctly swelling out on the neck. The legs, no doubt bound, are on the reverse part of its body. Two men are standing astride over it. One holds a knife in his right hand, the left placed on the belly of the ox. Tucked under the belt of his skirt is a sharpener. The other man stands behind the head of the ox, his head turned towards his fellow-worker. He is leaning over the ox, the left hand laid on its belly, the right thrust up to the wrist inside the ox's chest. Both men are short-bearded and wear short tight-fitting skirts and short wigs. Above their heads runs an inscription divided by a vertical line into two parts (Nos. 24 and 25).

Depicted in the right part of the register is again an ox lying on the ground in the same position as the one on the left part. Standing astride over him are two men. The one left seizes with both hands the left foreleg of the ox, pulling on it with such force as to bend backward. The man standing to the right leans with the left hand on the ox's stretched foreleg, trying to cut it off with a knife he holds in the right hand. (The relief is damaged in these places but the reconstruction is unquestionable.) The man left has a strip of cloth about the waist, a narrow apron tucked under it. The other man wears a short skirt, a sharpener at his waist. Both men are short-bearded and wear short wigs. Above their heads is an inscription divided by a vertical line into two parts (Nos. 26 and 27).

¹ The cord, to one end of which the sharpener is fixated, must have had its other end tied to the band of the skirt; nevertheless, what one sees in the register makes the impression of the sharpener being part of the hem of the skirt.

Closing the scene at the right edge of the register is a striding male figure turned towards the lying oxen. In his right hand he has a sharpener edging it with the knife he holds in the left. The sharpener is again fastened to the hem of his skirt. He wears a short wig and a short beard.

Colours: The bodies of all the men represented in the register show traces of dark red, their skirts of white, and the wigs of black. Remains of pink (?) colour are visible on the bodies of the two oxen. The whole scene in the register is superposed by a net of lightly sketched vertical and horizontal red lines² drawn even across the damaged parts, which is evidence of their having been painted much later. The net consists of regular squares, the sides being about 14 cm.

Inscription No. 23

*Ṗḏt dš ṛn ššm³ ṛtī-šn¹.*⁴

Sharpening the knife by the butcher Itisen.

Inscription No. 24

Šdt ḥṣty rn iwṣ ṛn ššm¹.

Cutting out the heart of a young ox by the butcher.⁵

Colours: In both signs M 17 are traces of green, in D 46 of red.

Inscription No. 25

Sft ṛn iwṣ¹ ṛn ššm ṛn¹ pr-ḏt, ḥm-kṣ ṛtī-ḥr¹-nfrt.⁶

Skinning⁷ a young ox by the butcher of the endowment, the k3-servant Iyherneferet.

Colours: Both signs M 17, then M 18, V 13 and V 4 show traces of green paint.

² For the copying of selected scenes in later times, see e.g. Brunner in *Saeculum* 21, pp.151–161.

³ The reading of the ideogram “butcher” is not quite clear. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 158, suggests to read it as *mnḥ*. Even though certain doubts remain, the most common reading used is *ššm*, or *ššmty* respectively (see Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, pp.139–140).

⁴ Ranke, *PN* I, p.49/26.

⁵ Montet, *Scènes*, p.167, translates this inscription as “Arracher le coeur du boeuf domestique par le boucher”.

⁶ Ranke, *PN*, does not mention the name *ṛtī-ḥr-nfrt*.

⁷ Montet, *Scènes*, p.167, translates this inscription as “Enlever la peau du boeuf domestique par le boucher du domaine”. He further comes to the conclusion that *sft* has soon lost its narrow meaning (i.e. “enlever la peau”? – the author’s note) and began to be used as a general designation of the butcher’s operations. Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, p.73, also believes that *sft* means “to skin”, in an extended meaning also “to cut up” (“zerlegen”, see *Wb* III, 443). In the discussed inscription in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, *sft* also expresses the skinning of a slaughtered ox.

Inscription No. 26

ʿ¹ *Iṯ rk wrt, ššm¹ pw!*⁸ ʿ¹ *Iw hry-ḥbt hr ir(t)¹ ḥt . . . k3¹.*

Pull then, properly, butcher! The lector-priest is already performing the rites⁹
(lit. is doing things)...¹⁰

Colours: Both signs V 31, then M 17 and Aa 1 show traces of green paint.

Inscription No. 27

ʿ¹ *Irī.ī r ḥst¹.k.*

Yes, please (lit. I am doing so that you praise).¹¹

Inscription No. 28

ʿ¹ *Pḏt ʿdš iʿn ššm.*

Sharpening the knife by the butcher.

Colours: Sign M 17 shows traces of green paint.

The register discussed above depicts a *butchering scene* consisting of four acts: sharpening the knife, cutting out the heart, cutting off the foreleg, and sharpening the knife again. The acts of sharpening the knife are placed by the left and right edges of the register, as if setting the scene into a completed frame. The sharpening is in both cases designated by the expression *pḏt dš*, i.e. “sharpening the knife all along”.¹² Both knives are of flint. Of the same material are also the knives with which the butchers work in the remaining parts of the scene.¹³

⁸ Montet, *Scènes*, p.158, translates this inscription as “Tire à toi, ce boucher!” First, *wrt* is not translated, secondly, *rk* has here the meaning of an enclitic particle strengthening the imperative (see Edel, *Grammatik*, § 616).

⁹ The scene and the accompanying inscription clearly indicate that the foreleg of the ox to be cut off is, or is to be, part of the rite performed by the lector-priest. The phrase *hry-ḥbt hr ir(t) ḥt* sometimes occurs in butchering scenes. We can find it, for example, in tombs of mostly Dyn. VI date, e.g. in those of Pepiankh (Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl.9), Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka*, pl.109), Ankhmahor (Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl.80), Khentika (James, *Khentika*, p.22), etc. In exceptional cases, this phrase is also accompanied by a corresponding scene. In the tomb of Pepiankh where the butchering scene (with the phrase *hry-ḥbt hr ir(t) ḥt*) is part of a larger scene of the bringing and preparing of offerings, two lector-priests are shown standing in front of the owner of the tomb. One of them reads from a papyrus-roll, the other brings two birds, a calf and a papyrus stem. Edel in *MDIK* 13, p. 30, refers to *Urk.* I, 186/14–15, where the activity of the lector-priest is interpreted in more definite terms: “... der Vorlesepriester, der mir die erklärenden Riten des Thot gemäss jener geheimen Schrift von der Kunst des Vorlesepriesters vollziehen wird”. In view of this, it is then more suitable to translate *ir(t) ḥt* as “to perform rites” (Edel, *Grammatik* II, § 928 translates *Mk, hry-ḥbt hr ir(t) ḥt!* as “Siehe, der Vorlesepriester ist dabei die Riten zu vollziehen.”) rather than “offer” (Junker, *Zu einigen Reden*, p.34), or literally “to do things” (James, *Khentika*, p.55). For the sake of completeness, it should be added that in the inscription in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, *ir(t) ḥt* has the ending of the feminine infinitive *t* left out (see Edel, *Grammatik* I, § 690). Concerning *ḥt*, see also Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives de Néferirkarê* I, p. 17 and other bibliographical references here quoted.

¹⁰ The end of the inscription is damaged, which makes its interpretation difficult. Two signs, *k* and 3, can be identified, and it is possible that one more sign may have been in the chipped-off part of the relief. Not even the analogous inscriptions in the butchering scenes in Old Kingdom tombs make a solution easier. One can regard ... *k3* as part of a private name, which is not probable though. Another possibility is to pre-suppose that the damaged place has borne, for example, the sign *n*. In this case the end of the inscription, *n k3*, might be interpreted as relating to the preceding sentence, which would give the translation “The lector-priest is (already) performing the rites for the spirit”. However, objections can also be made here in the sense that the alphabetical writing of *k3* “the soul”, “the spirit”, usually occurs only in private names in the Old Kingdom.

¹¹ It is a frequently occurring phrase not only in butchering scenes. It often represents an answer to a command, its sense corresponding to the affirmative replication “yes” (Edel, *Grammatik* I, § 472).

¹² Montet, *Scènes*, p.157, suggests to translate *pḏt dš* as “rendre le couteau tranchant, droit fil”.

¹³ For the use of flint knives in butchering scenes, see Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, pp.111–115.

Leaving aside the marginal scenes of sharpening the knives, we can see that the scene under discussion contains the two most important acts involved in ritual killing, namely the cutting out of the heart and the cutting off the foreleg. The heart was not regarded as a piece of meat, as food. It is therefore not surprising that only rarely does it occur over the offering-table, and that it is absent from the offering-lists.¹⁴ In explaining this fact, Eggebrecht comes to the conclusion that the heart, in terms of being the abode of life, was among the offerings brought to the deceased but was not held for an offer to eat, and that this is the reason why it is not included in the offerings-lists. In the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, also the skinning of the animal is depicted together with the cutting out of the heart.¹⁵ This operation is performed by the butcher who holds the knife in the right hand, with the left trying to tear off the skin.

Another very important operation depicted in this scene is the cutting off the foreleg performed on a lying ox by a pair of butchers. This scene has thoroughly been studied by Junker¹⁷ who has tried to prove that this operation was performed on the live animal. Eggebrecht¹⁸, on the other hand, tries to confute this view and prove that in these scenes from the Old Kingdom the animals had already been slaughtered.

The butchering scene described above deserves special attention for several reasons. Interesting is its place in the doorway between Rooms 3 and 4, and that on the north wall in the lowest register. No false door is anywhere around nor a scene with the offering-table but, surprisingly, there is a scene showing the deceased surrounded by the members of his family (see the second register on the same wall). Also interesting is the place of another, very similar butchering scene on the opposite, i.e. south wall of the doorway. The scene itself then surprises one by its multifariousness and vivacity. Several butcher's operations are shown on a relatively small space, such as the sharpening a knife, skinning, cutting out the heart and cutting off the foreleg, with many accompanying inscriptions. From all the viewpoints mentioned, this scene ranks among the best butchering scenes known from private tombs of the Dyn. V.¹⁹

¹⁴ As has been pointed out, for example, by Junker, *Giza V*, p.40.

¹⁵ *Schlachtungsbräuche*, pp.81–82. Eggebrecht derives from Spell 1547 of the Pyramid Texts and believes that the heart of an enemy (who is, in the above place of the Pyramid texts, regarded as a sacrificial animal) had been completely destroyed.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.82.

¹⁷ *Giza III*, pp.229–231.

¹⁸ *Schlachtungsbräuche*, p.64 ff.

¹⁹ See Eggebrecht, *op.cit.*, p.217.

The Butchering Scene

(List of Old Kingdom Sources Used)

| | | | |
|---------------|--|---------------------------------|--|
| ANKHMAHOR | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi I) Capart, <i>Rue de tombeaux</i> , pl. 45 | NIKAURE | Giza end of Dyn. IV <i>LD Ergänz.</i> , pl. 35 |
| DEBHEN | Giza Dyn. IV (temp. Menkaure) | PEPIANKH | Meir Dyn. VI (early Pepi II or later) |
| HETEPENPTAH | Hassan, <i>Giza</i> IV, p. 176, fig. 122 Giza early Dyn. VI <i>LD</i> II, 71–72 | SEKHEMKA | Blackman, <i>Meir</i> IV, pl. 9 Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) |
| HETEPHERAKHTI | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) | SENEDJEMIB | Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> I, pl. 7 Giza Dyn. V (temp. Unis) <i>LD</i> II, 73 |
| KAGEMNI | Mohr, <i>Hetepherakhti</i> , p. 75, fig. 36 Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) | SETIKAI | Giza middle of Dyn. V or later |
| KAKAIANKH | v. Bissing, <i>Gemnikai</i> II, pl. 26 Giza Dyn. VI | TI | Junker, <i>Giza</i> VII, fig. 87 Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre – end of Dyn. V) |
| KHENTIKA | Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI/3, p. 115, fig. 101 Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi I) | | Épron, <i>Ti</i> I, pls. 14 and 50 Wild, <i>Ti</i> III, pls. 163 and 179 |
| MANEFER | James, <i>Khentika</i> , pl. 22 Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare or later) | WERIRENPTAH | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Neferirkare or later) |
| MERERUKA | <i>LD</i> II, 66–68 Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) | | <i>BM Hieroglyphic Texts</i> VI, pls. 6 and 8 |
| NEBEMAKHET | Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> II, pl. 109 Giza end of Dyn. IV | ? (Mastaba “H”) Name unknown | Giza Dyn. V |
| NETJERWESER | Hassan, <i>Giza</i> IV, p. 140, fig. 81 Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare or later) | | Hassan, <i>Giza</i> , p. 173, fig. 144 |
| NIKAUHOR | Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> I, pl. 23 Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare or later) | | |
| | Quibell, <i>Excavations at Saqqara</i> III, pl. 64 | | |

2nd Register

The scene following that of butchers on the same wall has retained only its lower part showing the remains of several figures facing Room 3. The upper part is missing, for it was on another block. In the middle of the fragment are large legs, preserved up to the knees, of a male figure drawn life-size. In all likelihood it is Ptahshepses, the owner of the tomb, for he is the only figure in the whole tomb to be represented on such a large scale (see Rooms 4 and 10 below). Considering the size of the foot, we can estimate the original height of the figure to have been about 1.5 to 1.6 m. Ptahshepses was leaning on a staff, the lower end of which has remained near the edge of the register. Between the point of Ptahshepses's foot placed forward and the end of the staff is a small standing male figure. His left leg is forward, the arms hanging down at his side. He is dressed in a short kilt with triangular front-piece. Round the neck he has a broad collar and a pendant suspended from it. Behind Ptahshepses's legs is a small standing female figure. She presses with the left hand a lock of the wig against her breast, the right hanging beside her. She is dressed in a long tight-fitting robe with shoulder-straps¹ and is richly adorned with jewels. She wears a broad collar, bracelets² and anklets³. Above her head are remains of two vertical lines of inscription (No. 29). Behind her, remnants of another, bigger female figure are visible near the very edge of the register. This woman, too, wears a long, tight-fitting robe and anklets.

Colours: Ptahshepses's legs and the body of the man standing beside his staff show traces of dark red paint. On the bodies of both women are scraps of yellow, on their robes of white paint. Drawn across the scene are vertical and horizontal lines forming a regular net (the sides of the squares being about 14 cm).

Inscription No. 29

..... f ^rim3h.t.f,
..... Hm(t)-[R]^r.⁴
..... his . . . his revered one,
..... Hemetre.

Although a tiny fragment of the scene has been preserved, it is quite evident that represented here was *Ptahshepses with wife and children*. After all, this is also attested by the name of his daughter Hemetre. As in the case of the butchering scene, also this family scene has its analogue placed symmetrically on the south wall of the doorway, which may have shown other children of Ptahshepses (daughter Meretiotes? – see Inscription No. 40).

¹ Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp.166–167.

² *ibid.*, pp.141–142.

³ *ibid.*, p.143.

⁴ Ranke, *PN I*, p.240/5.

The Doorway – North Wall / II

Represented on the narrow wall is only the standing figure of Ptahshepses. He is facing the doorway and another figure of him placed symmetrically on the south wall (see the text below). In the right hand he holds a long staff before him,⁵ the left hanging beside him clasping a scarf.⁶ He wears a short beard and a shoulder-length wig. Round the neck he has a broad collar and is clad in a short kilt with triangular front-piece. We can say that on the narrowest place of the doorway, Ptahshepses is depicted as if “showing” the visitor from Room 3 into Room 4. Above him are five vertical and one horizontal lines of inscription (No. 30). Both the figures and the inscription are damaged in several places.

Colours: Ptahshepses's body shows traces of dark red, the kilt and scarf of white, and the collar of green and white. Drawn across the figure and the inscription are vertical and horizontal red lines forming a regular net (the side of one square being about 14 cm.).

Inscription No. 30

1. *ḥ3ty-^c, śmr w'ty, ḥry-tp¹ Nh¹b, iry¹ nfr ḥ3t, mry¹ nb¹.f r^c nb¹,*
2. *[ḥry] ḥ3t3¹ n pr dw3¹t¹, imy¹ ib¹ nb¹.f, ny¹ ib¹ nb¹.f,*
3. *t3yty, s3b, t3ty¹, imy-r¹ k3¹t nb¹(t) nt¹ n¹swt, ḥm ist,*
4. *[ḥry]-ḥbt, ḥry ḥ3t3¹ n mdw ḥ3t¹ nw mdw ntr,*
5. *im3ḥw ḥr nb¹.f, imy-r¹ is¹wy n¹ ḥkr nswt,*
6. *ḥ3ty-^c, śmr w'ty, ḥry-ḥbt Pth-špš3¹.*

1. The count, the sole companion, the overlord of Nekheb, the keeper of the headdress, the beloved one by his Lord every day,
2. the privy to the secret of the House of the Morning, the favourite of his Lord, one who belongs to the heart of his Lord,
3. the chief justice, the vizier, the overseer of all the works of the King, the servant of the throne,
4. the lector-priest, the privy to the secret of the secret sacred writings of the god's word(s),
5. the revered one by his Lord, the overseer of the w^cbt-chamber, the priest...(?),
6. the count, the sole companion, the lector-priest Ptahshepses.

Colours: Traces of paint have remained in the following signs:

1. green in both V 30, in both M 17 and in U 23 (the handle), red in D 36 and blue in X 1 and Z 1;
2. red in D 21, blue in both X 1, in both O 1, in Z 1 and N 37, and green in both V 30;
3. blue in O 17, in X 1 (four times) and in U 36, green in V 30, M 23 and Q 1;
4. green in V 28, and blue in both N 37;
5. green in both M 17, in both Aa 1, in V 30 and M 23, blue in both O 1, and in X 1;
6. green in both V 28, in Q 3 and U 23 (the handle), and blue in both X 1 and in Z 1.

⁵ The long staff belongs to the symbols of power and office. In the tombs we can mainly find it in the representations of the owner of the tomb. Last but not least, the staff also used to be included in the funerary equipment, see Staehelin, *Tracht*, p.156.

⁶ The scarf šw was a sweat-cloth and a handkerchief as well, see *ibid.*, pp.162–163.

The Doorway – North Wall / III

This wall has retained an incomplete scene of Ptahshepses and his wife. The scene is already orientated to the following room (Room 4). Ptahshepses is drawn here slightly under life-size but markedly bigger than his wife. He is seated on a chair with a low back-rest and lion's legs. He is attired in a short kilt with triangular front-piece, on the neck he has a broad collar and a pendant.¹ In the right hand he holds a staff, in the left a scarf. Above his head are four vertical and one horizontal lines of inscription (No. 31). Kneeling before him is a much smaller figure of his wife, reaching to about the knees of her seated husband. Her left hand is laid on her breast, the right grasping her husband's staff. She wears a long tight-fitting robe with shoulder-straps, and a long wig reaching down to the middle of her back. Richly adorned, she has a tight necklet round her throat, a broad collar under it, on both arms broad wristlets, and anklets. Above her head are three vertical lines of inscription (No. 32) which are incomplete, and what has remained is, moreover, damaged. Also the figures of Ptahshepses and his wife, as well as the inscription above Ptahshepses, are damaged.

Colours: On the body of Ptahshepses remains of dark red, on that of his wife of yellow can be seen. Ptahshepses's kilt and his wife's robe show traces of white paint. On his collar there are alternating white and green stripes.

Inscription No. 31

1. *ḥṣty-ʿ*, *šmr* *w'ty*, *ḥry-tp Nḥb*, *ḥry-ḥbt*,
2. *tḥty*, *sḥb*, *tḥty*, *imy(-r) kḥt nb(t)*
3. *[n]t n'šwt*, *i'mḥw* *ḥ'r nb.f*,
4. *ḥrp imyw ntrw*, *ḥry* *wrw*,
5. *ḥṣty-ʿ Pth-špsš*.

1. The count, the sole companion, the privy to the secret of his Lord,
2. the chief justice, the vizier, the overseer of all the works
3. of the King, the revered one of his Lord,
4. the lector-priest, the privy to the secret of the god's words, the servant of the throne,
5. the count Ptahshepses.

Colours: Traces of paint are visible in the following signs:

1. green in U 23 (the handle), N 22 and V 28, blue in X 1 and Z 1, and red in both D 58;
2. blue in O 17, G 47 and X 1, yellow in G 17, and green in V 30;
3. green in M 23, M 17, U 1, Aa 1 and V 30, and orange in I 9;
4. green in S 42 and the three R 8 (the lower part of the staff), red in R 8 (the upper part of the staff), and blue in the three G 36;
5. green in Q 3 and V 28, blue in X 1, and red in A 50 (the face) and in both S 29.

¹ A number of authors have already tried to explain the significance of this pendant, but so far it has not been elucidated yet, see e.g. Schmidt in *PSBA* 28, pp.268–269; Schäfer in *ZÄS* 39, pp.83–84; Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*; Murray, *Ancient Egypt* 1917, pp.49–56, and Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp.100–102. The real finds of these pendants have been published by Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl.26/17, 19, 20 and 24.

Inscription No. 32

1. $\text{Ḥm}^{\text{t}}.f, \text{mr}^{\text{t}}.f, \text{im}^{\text{3}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{t}}.f,$
2. $\text{s}^{\text{3}}(t) \text{n}^{\text{t}}\text{s}^{\text{w}}\text{t} \text{n}^{\text{t}}\text{ḥt}.f^{\text{t}}, \text{mr}^{\text{t}}.f^{\text{t}},$
3. $\text{ḥm}(t)\text{-n}^{\text{t}}\text{r} [\text{Ḥwt-Ḥr nb}(t)] \text{nh}^{\text{t}}, \text{ḥkrt}^{\text{t}} \text{n}^{\text{t}}\text{s}^{\text{w}}\text{t} \text{w}^{\text{t}}\text{t}^{\text{t}}$
4. $\text{Ḥ}^{\text{t}}\text{-mr}^{\text{t}}\text{r}\text{-nbty}^{\text{t}}.$

1. His beloved and revered wife (lit. His wife, his beloved, his revered),
2. King's beloved daughter of his body (lit. King's daughter of his body, his beloved),
3. the prophetess of Hathor Mistress-of-the-Sycamore, the sole King's ornament
4. Khamererneby.¹

Colours: Remains of paint are visible in the following signs:

1. blue in N 42 and in the three X 1, green in M 17 and Aa 1;
2. green in M 23, blue in G 39 and the four X 1, and red in D 21;
3. green in V 30, M 1 and M 23, blue in O 4, U 36 and X 1 ($\text{n}^{\text{t}}\text{s}^{\text{w}}\text{t}$),
4. blue in G 14, yellow in I 12, and green in both V 30 (G 14, I 12 and V 30 naturally form one single sign G 16), and in N 28 (the upper edge).

¹ The wife of Ptahshepses was the daughter of the King Nyuserre, see Borchardt, *Neuserre*, pp.127–128 and Schmitz, *Untersuch. zum Titel s3-njswt*, pp.29–30.

The Doorway between Rooms 3 and 4

(South Wall)

The south wall of the doorway between Rooms 3 and 4 is articulated again (symmetrically to the north wall), consisting of four large walls of different sizes, all with relief decoration. For the sake of convenience, they are designated as Doorway – South Wall (I–IV, their order being from east to west, i.e. from Room 3 to Room 4. The scenes depicted on these walls are only slightly modified variants of those on the the north wall (or walls respectively).

Doorway – South Wall/I

Pls 18,19

Photos 29, 32–35

1st Register

(from the bottom)

Shown in the register is a butchering scene which is very similar to that on the opposite wall (see Doorway – North Wall/I). It is badly damaged, for big pieces of blocks with reliefs have been chipped off. Only the upper part of a standing male figure with a short wig has survived near the left edge of the register. Before the figure's face is one horizontal line of inscription (No. 33). To the right of this man is a pair of men cutting up an ox lying on the ground between them. The ox lies on its side, the hindlegs bound with rope. Its head, the tongue protruding, is twisted with the horns down. The man to the left, shown as standing before the ox, places his left hand on the ox's belly cutting it through with the knife he holds in the right hand. He wears a short wig and a short skirt. Tucked under its belt is a sharpener on cord fastened to the hem of the skirt. Above his head is the beginning of one horizontal line of inscription (No. 34). The other man, facing the first, is depicted as standing to the rear of the lying ox. His figure is, however, much destroyed, only his head with a short wig and the lower half of his legs surviving. Behind his back is an incomplete, crudely carved inscription (No. 35). Above and before his head is another incomplete vertical line of inscription (No. 36).

In the middle of the register is a standing male figure looking right, i.e. towards Room 4. Greater part of his figure is destroyed. What has remained are only his head with a short wig, part of one hand grasping the haunch that the man carries on his shoulders, and his legs up to about the knees. Above his head is one horizontal line of inscription (No. 37). Represented in the right half of the register are again two men leaning over an ox lying in the same position as the one described above. Its bound legs are not visible, which means that they must be on its reverse side. The windpipe distinctly stands out on its neck. The man standing to the left

holds in the right hand a knife cutting with it the ox's belly. With the left clenched hand he is apparently trying to tear off the cut skin and make thus the cutting easier. He wears a short wig and a short skirt, a sharpener tucked under its belt. Greater part of this figure is again destroyed due to some pieces of the relief having been chipped off. Above his head is an inscription (No. 38). Opposite him is another figure of a standing man, who is also leaning over the belly of the ox and performing the same operation as the first. In the right hand he holds a knife and cuts open the ox's belly, in the left he clasps the edge of the skin to make the cutting easier. He, too, wears a short skirt and a short wig. This male figure is again badly damaged owing to pieces of the relief being chipped off. Above his head is an inscription (No. 39). Closing the scene near the right edge of the register is the figure of a man wearing a short wig. He holds a knife edging it with a sharpener, fastened with cord to the hem of his skirt.

Colours: On the bodies of the men are traces of dark red, on their skirts of white. The wigs retain scraps of black. The bodies of both oxen show traces of pink (?) paint. The whole scene is superposed with vertical and horizontal red lines forming a net (the side of one square being about 14 cm.).

Inscription No. 33

ʿDm dšʿ.

Sharpening the knife.¹

Inscription No. 34

ʿIwʿ(.i) r ʿsft r ḥst.kʿ.

I'll be cutting as you like.

Inscription No. 35

Ḥm-kʿ

The *kʿ*-servant

Inscription No. 36

Wn ʿtwʿ! Šʿdʿ²

Hurry up! Cut out

Inscription No. 37

ʿItt štpʿ(t).

Carrying off the haunch of meat.

Colours: Signs M 17 and Q 3 show traces of green, X 1 (*itt*) of blue.

¹ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 157, deals in greater detail with the meaning of *dm*, in particular with its difference from *pdt*. *Dm dš* he translates as "affuter le couteau."

* All inscriptions in the left part of the register (i. e. Nos. 33–36) are written in the same direction, right to left. However, they suggest that they are parts of a dialogue between the butchers. Inscription No. 36 is a call to work more quickly, while Inscription No. 34 contains an answer to it in the affirmative. No. 36 refers to the butcher on the right, No. 34 to that on the left.

² The damaged place can, with great probability, be filled in with *ḥ3ty*. If so, both butchers would be represented while cutting out the heart from the ox's chest.

Inscription No. 38

ʿIṯ ʿrk! Wn ʿ[ṯ]w! ʿRḥs ʿr nfr!³

Pull, then! Hurry up! Cut properly!

Colours: Aa and V 31 bear remains of green, D 21 (rk) and T 30 of red.

Inscription No. 39

ʿNḏr ʿrk! ʿIw ḥwrw (?) ʿds m ʿ(.i).⁴

Hold firm! My hand with the knife is getting weak

(lit. the knife is weak in my hand (?)).

Colours: Traces of green paint appear in signs M 37, V 28 and V 31, scraps of red are visible in both signs D 21, in D 46 and D 36, blue can be seen in G 36.

In subject-matter as well as in composition, the *butchering scene* is very similar to that on the opposite north wall (see p. 00). Two butchers sharpening knives are represented near the edges as if “bordering” the scene. Showing here are again two slaughtered oxen and two pairs of butchers working on them. The only difference to be found here in comparison with the analogous scene on the opposite wall are the slightly modified postures of the butchers and the inscriptions accompanying them. But the remaining part of the scene differs much more from that on the opposite wall. First of all, shown in the very centre of the register is a butcher carrying away the freshly cut-off haunch for further funeral rites. Different is also the operation performed by the other pair of butchers. They are namely cutting open the slaughtered ox. It is undoubtedly the first cut to be followed by disembowling, skinning, quartering, etc.⁵ After all, this intention is indicated by the use of the word *rhs*⁶ in the dialogue between the two butchers. This dialogue is remarkable for its bearing upon the operations of both butchers. One of them calls upon his fellow-worker to hold firmly, i.e. to stretch the skin on the ox’s belly, for a stretched skin is easier to cut. He justifies it by saying that he is tired already, or that his hand holding the knife is getting weak respectively. All he says is an answer to his fellow-worker asking him to hurry up and cut properly.

Colours: On the body of Ptahshepses are traces of dark red, on his kilt, of white, and on the collar are alternating white and green stripes. Superposed over the figure and the inscription are again horizontal and vertical red lines forming a net (the sides of one square being about 14 cm).

³ Erman, *Reden*, p.14, translates *rhs r nfr* as “schlachte gut”.

⁴ Montet, *Scènes*, p.174, translates this inscription as “Tiens toi, le couteau est glissant (?) dans ma main!” He apparently assumed that *hwr* was abnormal writing of *wrh* “annoint”, “smear on unguent”, etc. But the inscription can be translated as it is written. Wb III, 55, gives *hwrw* from Middle Kingdom onwards as meaning “schwach sein”. Thus the butcher in the scene discussed complains that “the knife is getting weak” in his hand, i.e. that his hand holding the knife is getting weak, and urges his fellow-worker to hold firmly, i.e. to stretch the skin so that it may be cut more easily.

⁵ See Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, p.75.

⁶ “Tiere schlachten, sie zerlegen” (Wb II, 448).

2nd Register

As on the opposite north wall, here, too, only the lower part of the scene above that of the butchers has survived, containing some fragments of figures of different sizes, turned towards Room 3. In the middle of the preserved fragment large legs (up to the knees) can be seen, belonging to a male figure in life-size. In all likelihood it is again a fragment of Ptahshepses who is the only man in the tomb to be represented on such a scale. With regard to the size of the foot, the original height of the figure must have been 1.5 to 1.6 m. Ptahshepses is leaning on a staff of which only the lower end has remained near the edge of the register. Shown between the advanced leg of Ptahshepses and the lower end of his staff is a much smaller male figure with hands hanging down. The man wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece, on the neck a broad collar and a pendant. The figure is badly damaged in some places. Behind Ptahshepses's legs a female figure can be seen, again represented on a smaller scale. Her left hand hangs beside her, the right is placed on her breast. She wears a long tight-fitting robe with shoulder-straps, a long wig reaching to about the half of her back, a broad necklace, bracelets and anklets. Above her head are remains of two vertical lines of inscription (No. 40). Behind her, near the right edge of the register, is a much larger incomplete figure of another woman. She also wears a long tight-fitting robe and anklets.

Colours: On Ptahshepses's legs and on the body of the man standing in front of him are traces of dark red paint. The bodies of both women show scraps of yellow, their robes, of white. This scene, too, is overlaid by vertical and horizontal red lines forming a regular net (the sides of the squares being about 14 cm).

Inscription No. 40

..... ḥ¹ ...
..... ḥ¹ ...⁷

Also in this case it is safe to assume, on the basis of the preserved fragment of the relief, that represented here is a scene of *Ptahshepses surrounded with wife and children*. The remains of Inscription No. 40 indicate that it is the daughter Meretiotes who is represented here, not Hemetre, as was the case on the opposite north wall of the doorway. May it be inferred from it that also the sons were different in each scene?

The Doorway – South Wall/II

Pls 20–21
Photo 36

The narrow front wall contains the standing figure of Ptahshepses. He faces the doorway, against another figure of him symmetrically placed on the north wall of the doorway. In the left hand he holds a staff, the clenched right hand, hanging at his side, clutching a scarf. He wears a wig of shoulder length, a short beard and a broad collar. He is clad in a short kilt with triangular front-piece. All this shows that he is attired in a festive robe. Together with his other representation on the opposite wall, he is right in the visual point of everybody entering the Mastaba through the main entrance. He “shows” the visitor further into the interior of the tomb. Above him are five vertical and one horizontal lines of inscription (No. 41). Both the figure and the inscription are damaged in some places, and the wall above the upper edge of the inscription is disjointed.

⁷ Pro hably ... [im3]ḥ[t.f] ... [Mrt-it].š. Concerning this daughter of Ptahshepses see also Schmitz, *Untersuch. zum Titel s3-njswt*, pp.29–30.

Inscription No. 41

1. 'H3ty-^c, šmr w'ty, hry-tp Nhb, ury nfr-h3t, mry nb.f r' nb¹,
2. 'hry ššt3 n pr dw3t, imy ib nb.f, ny ib nb.f¹,
3. [t3yty], 's3b, t3ty, imy-r k3t nb(t) nt nšw't, hm ist,
4. [hry-hbt], 'hry ššt3 n mdw št3 nw mdw ntr¹,
5. [imy3h]w hr nb.f, imy-r w'bt¹, hty . . . (?)⁸
6. 'h3ty-^c, šmr w'ty, hry-hbt Pth-špšš¹.

1. The count, the sole companion, the overlord of Nekheb, the keeper of the headdress, the beloved one by his Lord every day,
2. the privy to the secret of the House of the Morning, the favourite of his Lord, one who belongs to the heart of his Lord,
3. the chief justice, the vizier, the overseer of all the works of the King, the servant of the throne,
4. the lector-priest, the privy to the secret of the secret sacred writings of the god's word(s),
5. the revered one by his Lord, the overseer of the Two Chambers of the King's ornament,
6. the count, the sole companion, the lector-priest Ptahshepses.

Colours: Remains of colour have survived in the following signs:

1. green in both signs M 17 and in both V 30,
2. green in V 4, M 17 and in both V 30,
3. blue in all four X 1, green in V 30 and N 23,
4. blue in both X 1 and in N 37 (in mdw št3),
5. green in the three Aa 1 and in V 30, red in D 21 (hr), blue in A 6 (only the water flowing from a vessel), in both X 1 and in O 1,
6. green in U 23 (the handle), V 28 and Q 3.

Pls 22-23
Photo 37

The Doorway — South Wall/III

This wall, as the opposite one, has retained an incomplete scene of Ptahshepses with wife. It is already orientated to the following Room 4. Ptahshepses's figure is slightly under life-size but markedly larger than that of his wife kneeling before him. He is seated on a chair with a low backrest and lion's legs. He has closely cropped hair, and wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece, a broad collar and a pendant over it. In the left hand he holds a staff, the clenched right hand clutching a scarf. Above his head are four vertical and one horizontal lines of inscription (No. 42). The figure of his wife kneeling before him is much smaller. Her right hand is laid on her breast, the left holding the lower end of her husband's staff. She wears a long tight-fitting robe with shoulder-straps, a long wig reaching to about the middle of her back, a tight necklet with a broad collar under it, broad wristlets, and anklets. Over her head is also an inscription in three vertical lines (No. 43). The scene has intentionally been damaged by hewing off the relief, the upper part (particularly the upper edges of both inscriptions) missing entirely.

Colours: Visible on Ptahshepses's body are traces of dark red, on his kilt, of white, and visible on the collar are alternating white and green stripes. The body of his wife shows traces of yellow, and her robe, of white.

⁸ See p. 129.

Inscription No. 42

1. [H3ty]-f, s1mr w'ty, h'ry sst3 n1 nb.f1,
2. t3yty, s3b1, t3ty, imy1-r k3t nb(t)
3. [n]f1 n'swt1, im3h'w1 n nb.f,
4. [hry]-hbt1, hry s'st3 'n1 mdtw ntr, [hm] ist,
5. h3ty-f1 Pth-f'sp's1s.

1. The count, the sole companion, the overlord of Nekheb, the lector-priest,
2. the chief justice, the vizier, the overseer of all the works
3. of the King, the revered one by his Lord,
4. the director of those who are among the gods, the superior of the great ones,
5. the count Ptahshepses.

Colours: The following traces of paint have survived:

1. green in U 23 (the handle) and in V 30, blue in X 1 (w'ty) and in N 37,
2. blue in X 1, green in V 30, red in A 9 (the body) and yellow in A 9 (the basket),
3. green in Aa 1 and V 30, yellow in G 43,
4. green in V 28 and Q 1, blue in X 1 and N 37, yellow in G 7 and Y 2,
5. yellow in F 4 (the body without the mane), and green in Q 3 and V 28.

Inscription No. 43

1. Hmt.f, mrt.f, im3ht.f1,
2. s3(t) n'swt nt ht.f, mrt.f1,
3. hm(t)-ntr Hwt-Hr nb(t) nht, hkrt n'swt w'tt1
4. H'-mrr-nbty1.

1. His beloved and revered wife (lit. his wife, his beloved, his revered),
2. King's beloved daughter of his body (lit. King's daughter of his body, his beloved),
3. the prophetess of Hathor Mistress-of-the-Sycamore, the sole King's ornament
4. Khamerernebty.

Colours: The following traces of colour have remained:

1. blue in N 42 and in all three X 1, green in M 17 and Aa 1,
2. blue in all four X 1 and in G 39 (only on the chest, while yellow can be seen on the back, and red on the wings),
3. blue in O 10, O 4, U 36 and in all four X 1, green in V 30 and M 1,
4. green in G 16 (only the baskets); sign N 28 has retained traces of concentric stripes in the following order (from the centre): green, yellow, red and green.

The Doorway – South Wall / IV

Only part of the wall has survived, the upper blocks missing. There are two registers, each of them showing three men, Ptahshepses's sons, walking left, as if complementing the preceding scene of the seated Ptahshepses with wife (see Doorway – South Wall / IV). The bottom register is higher and so are the figures in it which are 3 cm higher than those in the upper register. With regard to this fact and to the contents of the inscriptions in both registers (see the text below), it clearly follows that the order of the registers is from bottom to top. The symmetrical surface on the opposite north wall is blank, the reason undoubtedly being that there was originally a door there the socket of which is placed near this wall.

1st Register

Originally, the register contained three walking men. The first of them has, however, been carefully erased and the surface of the wall smoothed up again. But from the tiny fragments of the relief we can safely reconstruct parts of a figure, such as the top of the head, chin, left shoulder, left leg, left arm and right foot. Also the inscription in front of the man has been carefully erased. But a thorough examination under various angles of light has enabled us to reconstruct the entire inscription (No. 44). The second man in the row stands with his right leg forward, the hands hanging down at his sides. He wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece, a broad collar and a pendant. In front of him is a vertical inscription (No. 45). The third man is represented in the same way as the second, also with a vertical inscription (No. 46) in front of him. Over the heads of the men is a horizontal line of inscription (No. 47). Disregarding the erased figure of the first man, the other two figures as well as the inscriptions in the register are badly weathered.

Colours: The bodies of the men show traces of dark red, their kilts, of white, the broad collars of blue and black, and the pendant, of blue.

2nd Register

The scene here is nearly identical with that in the bottom register. Again three walking men are represented here, Ptahshepses's sons. They are also advancing left. The first is shown standing with his hands hanging beside him. He is attired in a short kilt with triangular front-piece and has a broad collar on the neck and a pendant. In front of him is a vertical inscription (No. 48). The second and third men are represented alike, including the inscriptions in front of them (Nos. 49 and 50). Over the heads of all three are remains of a horizontal inscription (No. 51). The figures as well as the inscriptions are badly weathered.

Colours: The bodies of the men show traces of dark red, their kilts, of white, the collars, of blue and black, and the pendant, of blue.

Inscription No. 44

ʿS3.f ʿsmšwʿ, [ʿsmr wʿty], ʿhry-ḥ[bt] ʿHʿ.f-ʿInʿiʿ.

His eldest son, [the sole companion], the lector-priest Khafiny.

Inscription No. 45

ʿS3.f, ʿsmr wʿty, ʿhry-ḥbtʿ, ḥm ʿistʿ K3-ʿḥtpʿ.⁹

His son, the sole companion, the lector-priest, the servant of the throne Kahotep.

Colours: Some blue can be found in X 1, red in S 29, green in U 23 (the handle), V 28, Q 1, R 4 and Q 3.

Inscription No. 46

S3.f, ʿsmr wʿty, ʿhry-ḥbt, ḥm ist Pth-špššʿ.

His son, the sole companion, the lector-priest, the servant of the throne Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 47

ʿH3ty-ʿ, ʿsmr wʿty, ʿhry-tp Nḥʿb, ʿiry nfr-ḥ3t Pth-špššʿ.

The count, the sole companion, the overlord of Nekheb, the keeper of the headdress Ptahshepses.

Colours: Remains of blue are visible in F 4 (the mane), red in D 36, D 58, D 2 (!) and D 1, and green in U 23 (the handle) and in M 22.

Inscription No. 48

[S3].ʿf ʿsmšwʿ, ʿsmrʿ wʿty, ʿhry-ḥ[bt] Pth-špššʿ.

His eldest son, the sole companion, the lector-priest Ptahshepses.

Colours: Traces of red have survived in A 20 (the hair is painted black and the kilt white), T 28 and D 58. Blue can be discerned in both X 1 and in Z 1, green in both V 28 and in Q 3.

Inscription No. 49

ʿS3ʿ.f, ʿsmr wʿty, ʿhry šst3 ʿnʿ nb.f ʿHm-3ḥtʿ(y).¹⁰

His son, the sole companion, the privy to the secret of his Lord Hemakhty.

Colours: Traces of red paint can be seen in Both S 29, blue in all three X 1, H 1, N 37 and U 30, green in U 23 and V 30.

Inscription No. 50

ʿS3.f, ʿsmr wʿty, ʿhry šst3 n nb.f ʿHnwʿ.¹¹

His son, the sole companion, the privy to the secret of his Lord Khenu.

Inscription No. 51

..... ʿhryʿ-tp [Nḥ]ʿbʿ, [ʿiry] ʿnfr-ḥ3tʿ [Pth-špššʿ].

..... the overlord of Nekheb, the keeper of the headdress
[Ptahshepses].

⁹ Ranke, PN I, p.259/19 gives Htp-k3(i).

¹⁰ See Ranke, PN I, p.239/17.

From the historical viewpoint, the scene with *Ptahshepses's sons* represents a very important place in the Mastaba. That they are Ptahshepses's sons is explicitly mentioned in the horizontal inscriptions near the upper edges of both registers, where also the name and titulary of the owner of the tomb are given. Each register shows three sons, i.e. six sons altogether. Their order began in the left-hand corner of the bottom register, terminating in the right-hand corner of the upper register. That this is so is indicated by the larger size of the figures in the bottom register on the one hand, and supported by the analysis of the inscriptions accompanying on the other. Of extraordinary significance is the interpretation of the inscription accompanying the first figure in the order, i.e. of the first-born son, which has however been erased together with the figure. It must be emphasized that we are not dealing here with incidental vandalism but with an intentional removal of the figure and name of the first-born son, and that not only here but everywhere in the tomb (see the text p. 100). The erasure has been carried out very thoroughly and the surface of the wall smoothed out again. Nevertheless, choosing suitable light, we can discern distinct traces of both the figure and inscription. Very important is the very beginning of the inscription (No. 44), which contains the formula *s3.f šmšw*, i.e. information that represented here is the eldest, the first-born son. The following two titles *šmr w^cty* and *hry-hbt* can also be reconstructed beyond any doubt. As the beginning, so the end of the inscription is very interesting and important, for it contains the name of Ptahshepses's first-born son, part of which was a royal name in a cartouche. The late Professor Zbyněk Žába originally assumed that the cartouche contained the name *S3hw-R^c*, and read the whole name as *'It.f-S3hw-R^c*. On the basis of this name he even deduced, among others, the length of Ptahshepses's life, the time when the Mastaba began to be built, and others. However, a thorough investigation of the cartouche under various angles of light shows that it is not the name *S3hw-R^c* that was written here but *'Iní*, the name of King Nyuserre. It is possible clearly to identify the muzzle of a fish (*in*), part of the upper edge of sign *n*, and, in particular, the lower half of the reed leaf *í*. Thus the name of the first-born son can be reconstructed as *H^c.f-'Iní*.¹² According to this scene, the second in the order of the sons is Kahotep,¹³ the third is a son bearing the name of his father, i.e. Ptahshepses. (To distinguish him better from another son of the same name, he will further be designated as Ptahshepses-(Junior I).) At the beginning of the upper register we are facing another problem. Instead of a fourth son we find here Ptahshepses (Junior II), whom the accompanying inscription designates as *s3-f šmšw* "his eldest (i.e. first-born) son." Not even a very thorough examination of the inscription (No. 48) in front of this son has led to unambiguous conclusions. There exist some faint traces allowing for a conjecture that this inscription may have been altered (?). The fact, however, remains that it is this son who was in the end regarded as the first-born, even though it does not accord with his place in the whole scene of Ptahshepses's sons. Following him is the fifth son Hemakhty, the order being closed by the sixth, called Khenu. The question of the erasure of the first figure and of the name will be discussed later, for we shall find this also in some other places in the tomb. For the time being it is possible to conclude by stating that the original order of the sons has been altered in the following way:

Original order:

Khafiny
Kahotep
Ptahshepses (Junior I)
Ptahshepses (Junior II)
Hemakhty
Khenu

Altered order:

Ptahshepses (Junior II)
Hemakhty
Khenu
Kahotep
Ptahshepses (Junior I)

¹¹ See Ranke, *PN I*, p.270/4.

¹² Ranke, *PN*, does not explicitly give the name *H^c.f-'Iní*, but cites other analogically formed names of Old Kingdom date, such as *H^c.f-Wšr-k3.f* (*ibid.*, p.265/12).

¹³ A man with the name Kahotep, having also the titles *šmr-w^c-ty* and *hry-hbt*, has his burial chamber in the neighbouring Mastaba of Princesses (see Borchardt, *Nyuserre*, p. 128). It is very probably the same person as that in the scene discussed above, i.e. Ptahshepses's son.

Room 4

Like the preceding room, this one too was built as late as during the first great enlargement of the Mastaba. It is the best preserved and the most interesting room in the tomb. There are three doors pierced in the east, north and south walls, which indicates, among others, what an important communication junction the room was in the whole complex of the Mastaba. In the west wall there are three niches having originally borne statues. Graffiti of later date have been discovered on its walls.¹ Before the niches, which were closed by narrow two-leaf doors, is a low platform approached to by steps leading to each niche. The whole west wall imitates an enormous false-door, and this impression is underlined by its decoration as well as by the special colour convention (see the text below). Large surfaces with reliefs have survived on all four walls. However, the upper parts of the walls are either missing entirely or badly damaged by erosion to which they have been exposed for a long time. The room had already been investigated by de Morgan,² who has incorrectly placed back some blocks found on the ground, though. All four walls contain beautiful and in some places even well preserved scenes in low relief.

Pls 26–28
Photos 41–43

Room 4 – East Wall (Northern Section)

This relatively narrow wall shows the pursuits of craftsmen in several registers.³ Relatively the best preserved is the bottom register, the upper one badly damaged, the top missing entirely. Over the upper edge of the surviving wall, de Morgan has incorrectly placed a corner block containing a fragment of Ptahshepses's titulary.

¹ The graffiti will be discussed in a separate publication.

² Room A (see de Morgan in *Rev.arch.* 24, 3^{ème} série, p.25 ff and fig.2).

³ For scenes with craftsmen at work, see e. g. Junker, *Sb Wien*, 233/1, p.29 and p.31.

1st Register

(from the bottom)

The register shows sculptors working on three statues, three on each. The first statue on the left represents a seated man, slightly over life-size (with regard to the sculptors), looking right. The man is seated on a cube-like seat with a low back-rest, a cushion draped over it. The man sits upright, both hands placed on the thighs. In the right hand he clutches a scarf, the left is clenched. He wears a short skirt and a shoulder-length wig. The three sculptors working on the statue are clad in short kilts with triangular front-piece. The one standing in front of the statue holds an object in the right hand, completely hidden in the fist, and polishes with it the left shoulder of the statue.⁴ It must have been strenuous work, for the sculptor is supporting his right and with the left, which increases the effect of his action. Beside the head of the sculptor is an inscription in incised relief (No. 52). The second sculptor sits behind the chair. With the left hand he is leaning on the base of the chair, in the right holding an object⁵ polishing with it the surface of the chair. He holds the object lightly between the thumb and the forefinger. Above his head is a short inscription (No. 53) in incised relief. The last of the three sculptors stands behind the statue, the right hand laid on its right shoulder. Between the thumb and the forefinger he lightly holds a small pointed object, with which he gently dresses the surface of the wig. Over his head is a short inscription (No. 54) in incised relief.

The second group of sculptors are at work on a statue standing on a low base, placed roughly in the middle of the register. Like the seated statue, this one too looks right. It represents a standing man clad in a short kilt with triangular front-piece and wearing a short wig. In the right hand he holds a sceptre, in the left he held a staff of which only the lower end has survived. Standing on the base in front of the statue is a sculptor. The front half of the body, including the right hand, has disappeared, for it was on the chipped-off piece of the block. His clenched left hand hangs down at his side. He is attired in a short kilt with triangular front-piece and wears a short wig. The other two sculptors are dressed alike. In front of the first sculptor's advanced leg is a crudely carved vertical inscription (No. 55). The second sculptor stands behind the statue, the left hand placed on its right shoulder. In the upraised right hand he grasps an adze, ready to strike. Above his head is one horizontal line of inscription (No. 56) in incised relief. The third sculptor sits on the ground behind the statue, his left hand holding its left leg, the right with an adze raised up. Above his head is also a short inscription in incised relief (No. 57).

The third group of sculptors also work on a statue standing on a low base. It is again a male figure with the left leg forward, holding a staff in the right hand, the clenched left hand hanging down. This statue looks left, i.e. against the other two statues. This is easy to explain, for this statue was placed at the very right edge of the register and was therefore turned to look into register, not "out of" it. The statue is badly damaged due to the wheathered surface of the relief. The figure is dressed in a short kilt with triangular front-piece, has a short wig and a broad collar with a pendant over it. One of the sculptors stands behind the statue. His right hand is laid on its shoulder, the left probably clutching a stone with which he is rubbing the left shoulder of the statue. He is clad in a short kilt with triangular front-piece and wears a short wig. Between him and the statue is a vertical inscription (No. 58). The second sculptor stands in front of the statue. With the left hand he obviously held the right hand of the statue, with the right dressing its face. It is difficult to give an exact interpretation of his operation, because this place of the scene is badly weathered. The sculptor is attired in a short kilt with triangular front-piece and wears a short wig. Above his head is a short inscription (No. 59). The third sculptor, clad alike, sits on the base of the statue, the left hand embracing its right leg, the right, holding an adze, upraised. Over his head are remains of an inscription (No. 60).

⁴ Conveniently adapted stones and abrasive powder or sludge were used for the rubbing and the final polishing of stone statues (see Lucas, *Materials*, p.66).

⁵ It cannot be excluded that also smooth pebbles have been used for polishing (see Platt in *PSBA* 31, p.183).

Colours: The body of the sitting statue is painted pink, with tiny specks of dark red. The kilt and the cushion on the backrest of the chair show traces of white. The body of the standing statue in the middle of the register is painted dark red, its kilt and wig (!) white. Also the body of the other standing statue shows traces of dark red. Remains of dark red are visible on the bodies of all sculptors, white on their kilts. The wigs of the sculptors (and apparently of the statues as well) have probably never been painted black. On several wigs we can discern specks of dark red, obviously splashed off during the painting of the bodies of the sculptors, but there are no traces of black whatever.

Inscription No. 52

*Šḥd ḥmwṯ Mmī.*⁶

The inspector of craftsmen Memi.

Inscription No. 53

*ʿIr-n-Ḥnmw.*⁷

Irenkhnun.

Inscription No. 54

Š3bī (?).⁸

Sabi (?).

Inscription No. 55

ʿIr-n-Rʿ (?).⁹

Irenre (?).

Inscription No. 56

*Šḥd kštyw*¹⁰ *Pṯḥ-špśś.*

The inspector of sculptors Ptahshepses.

⁶ Ranke, *PN I*, p.149/18.

⁷ Ranke, *PN I*, p.39/27.

⁸ The reading of this name is rather complicated, mainly because of the second sign. The sign reminds of an egg-shaped vessel, which does not naturally make the reading possible. There is another possibility, namely that it is a somewhat deformed writing of sign F 28 (š3b). The name Š3bī often occurs in texts of Old Kingdom date, see Ranke, *PN I*, p.299/16. To read it as Šnfr-bī as suggested by Smith, *HESPOK*, p.353, is very improbable.

⁹ The likelihood is that this is not the original inscription relating to the sculptor. It was presumably in front of the sculptor's face where a piece of the relief is now lost. He who has later carved the above-mentioned inscription near the sculptor's leg may have been inspired by the inscription next to it (No. 57), which contains the name 'Ir-n-Rʿ.

¹⁰ The reading of the hieroglyph designating the sculptor has been a subject of discussions for a long time. Montet, *Scènes*, pp.291–294 prefers to read it *gnty*. Gardiner, *Grammar 3*, p.514 s. v. T 19, accepts Montet's interpretation and reads *gnwty* (?). *Id.* in *AEO I*, p.67* speaks about this reading as "provisionally adopted" and adds: "Wb II, 145 suggested *kš.tj* and refers the reader hither, only to disappoint him; Sethe in *ZÄS*, p. 50 ff. showed that the supposed reading *mšnty* was based upon an error and that the comparison with Copt. ^sBECHNT, ^bBACHNT "smith", Gk. *χαλκεύς* is impossible". An interesting solution of the problem has been suggested by Anthes in *MDIK 10*, pp.103–104. He is of the opinion that the sculptors used to be distinguished according to the material they worked on. Those who worked in stone were *ḥmwṯ* "Steinbohrleute", as is also indicated by the ideogram (U 24) of a stone-worker's drill weighted at the top with stones. The designation of the second group of sculptors (and this is the designation in our Inscription No.56) may have been derived, in Anthes's opinion, from harpoon head of bone (T 19), and its reading would be *kšty*. Originally, the designation would have been "Knochenschnitzer", whose operations also included rarer work in wood. In spite of some doubts, Wilson in *JNES 6*, pp.235–236, agrees with Anthes's view. The scene of sculptors in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses also seems to support the view of Anthes, for the materials, i. e. stone and wood, are clearly distinguished, as are the different categories of sculptors working on them. The reading of the designation of sculptors has been recently discussed also by Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp.60–62, who rejected the reading *gnw.tj* or *gn.tj* and accepted that of *qs.tj*.

Inscription No. 57

Kšty ¹*Ir-n*-R^c.¹¹

The sculptor Irenre

Inscription No. 58

¹*Šḥd* ¹*kštyw* *Pth-špšš*.

The inspector of sculptors Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 59

¹*Šḥd* *kštyw* *W3š-k3(.i)*.¹²

The inspector of sculptors Washka(i).

Inscription No. 60

.....(?)

The scene with *sculptors* is divided into three smaller groups, much resembling one another in many aspects. Each group has one statue and three sculptors working on it. Once it is a seated statue, twice standing statues. No material is given as referring to the statues, probably for lack of space in the register. However, the material of which the individual statues are made can indirectly be inferred from the painting as well as from the instruments the sculptors work with, i.e. from the character of their operations. Also, there is no mention anywhere whom the statues are to represent. Beyond any doubt, they represent the owner of the tomb Ptahshepses. The seated statue is painted pink with dark red spots, evidently to represent red granite.¹³ That the material is stone is also supported by the operations that all the three sculptors are engaged in. The one standing in front is rubbing, or more probably polishing, the left shoulder of the statue with a rubstone.¹⁴ It must have been laborious work as is indicated by the sculptor using both hands when pressing on the rubstone. In contrast, the attitude of the other two sculptors clearly shows that their work is not so hard. Also the instruments they work with are small. In their hands they probably hold tiny hard stones; in the case of the tiny pointed instrument in the hand of the sculptor standing behind the statue it may be a copper point.¹⁵ Thus both sculptors are shown applying the finishing touches to the statue.¹⁶ The final operation should then be the painting of the statues. There are even indications that some parts have been painted, namely the kilt, the scarf in the right hand and the cushion on the back-rest of the chair. In contrast, the wig is not painted. Is this to indicate that the statue is, as it were, finished, that some parts have already been painted and that the surface of the wig as well as some small irregularities on the chair and the left shoulder are being smoothed up before the final painting?¹⁷

¹¹ Ranke, *PN* I, p. 39/26.

¹² Ranke, *PN* I, p. 74/12, reads the name *W3š-k3*. Junker, *Sb* Wien, 233/1, mentions this inscription from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses. He transliterates the name *W3š-k3/i*, but erroneously transcribes *k3* with sign D 28.

¹³ This view is shared by Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 106, but his observation is incorrect in that they are spots of dark red, not of black, as he maintained.

¹⁴ For rubbing and final polishing of stone statues by hard stones, see e.g. Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 66–67.

¹⁵ A copper point (in connection with abrasive sludge) is given as a possible working instrument for the final touches on the surface of stone statues, see e.g. Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 118.

¹⁶ The order of the basic operations has been worked out, on the basis of his investigations of the statues from the Valley Temple of Menkaure, by Reisner, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–118, and fully accepted by Lucas, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–67.

¹⁷ A standing figure of Ptahshepses of red granite has been found in Room 3 (de Morgan in *Rev. arch.* 24, 3^e série, p. 31).

The other two groups, each consisting of three sculptors again, are concentrated round two standing statues. In both cases the statues stand on low bases, differing from one another in details only. One has a sceptre in the hand, the other has a broad collar and a pendant. The material of which they are made is not mentioned here either. The only instruments the sculptors use in working the statues are adzes. That would indicate that the material used was wood.¹⁸ Judging from the postures of the sculptors, we might be dealing here with physically demanding, i.e. more extensive, dress work on the statues. However, this is contradicted by the fact that both statues are shown as fully finished, including the colouring. Another piece of evidence of the material being wood is offered by the titles of the sculptors. They are exclusively designated as *gnwty* (? or is it perhaps necessary to read *ḳsty*?, see Note 00 on p. 000), which clearly distinguishes them from the sculptor at the stone statue, captioned *šḥd ḥmwt*. This naturally agrees with the above-mentioned hypothesis of Anthes, according to which *ḥmwt* was a designation of sculptors in hard stone while *ḳstyw* (?) referred to those working in soft stone.

¹⁸ Not even statues of limestone can be excluded, for this material could also be worked with an adze, see Lucas, *op. cit.*, p. 67. For types of statues (i. e. a standing man with staff and sceptre), see Vandier, *Manuel* III, p. 90.

The Scene of Sculptors

(List of Old Kingdom Sources Used)

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| ANKHMAMOR | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi I) Capart, <i>Rue de tombeaux</i> , pl. 33. |
| DJAU | Deir Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi II) el-Gebrāwi |
| IBI | Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrāwi</i> II, pl. 10 Deir Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi II) el-Gebrāwi Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrāwi</i> I, pl. 14 |
| INTY | Deshasha Dyn. VI Petrie, <i>Deshasha</i> , pl. 13 |
| IYMERY | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) <i>LD</i> II, 49b |
| KAEMREHU | Saqqara Dyn. V Mogensen, <i>Le mastaba égyptien</i> , p. 45, fig. 44 |
| KHUENRE | Giza Dyn. IV (temp. Mycerinus) Smith, <i>HESPOK</i> , p. 169 |
| MERESANKH (III) | Giza Dyn. IV Dunham, Simpson, <i>Mersyankh</i> III, fig. 5 |
| NEBEMAKHET | Giza Dyn. IV (temp. Khephren to Mycerinus or a little later) Hassan, <i>Giza</i> IV, p. 140, fig. 81 |
| NYANKHKHNUM and | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre) |
| KNUHMHOTEP | Moussa, Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> |
| PEPIANKH | Meir Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi II or later) Blackman, <i>Meir</i> V, pls. 16 and 18 |
| SANKHENPTAH | Giza late Dyn. V or Dyn. VI <i>LD Text</i> I, p. 59 |
| SENEDJEMIB good name INTY | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Isehi) <i>LD Ergän.</i> 19 (left) |
| SENEDJEMIB good name MEHI | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Unis) <i>LD Text</i> I, p. 52 |
| TI | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre — end of Dyn. V) Wild, <i>Ti</i> III, pl. 173 |
| WEPEMNEFRET | Giza middle to late Dyn. V Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, pls. 74–76 and fig. 219 |

2nd and 3rd Registers

Both registers, depicting metal-workers at work, are very narrow (height about 16 cm). The scenes are closely connected. The second register is badly damaged, its middle part missing entirely. The left part shows a pair of men kneeling at a fire and applying blow-pipes with the end-piece widened,¹⁹ which they hold in both hands. The fire is low and has the shape of a cone; in its middle stands a crucible – a higher bowl with slightly convex walls. Piled on it are several *bd3*-pots.²⁰ Both blowers are clothed in short skirts and wear short wigs. Between their hands is an inscription (No. 61). Nearly the whole of the middle part of the register is destroyed; nevertheless, distinct remains of two big vessels can be detected. The right end of the register shows an incomplete scene of two men kneeling at an anvil²¹ (the figure nearer to the middle of the register is almost entirely destroyed). With one hand they support a flat object²² lying on the anvil, the other is stretched, holding an egg-shaped stone, with which they are hammering the object.²³ The man also wears a short skirt and a short wig. Over the anvil is an incomplete inscription (No. 62). At the right edge of the register, the scene is closed by a group of vessels – flasks, a concave cup, jugs and a bowl on a high stem with spout.

Colours: Traces of dark red are visible on the bodies of the men, white on the skirts. Visible on the incomplete two big vessels behind one of the metal-blowers are remains of light red paint.

The third register is damaged, too, but considerably less than the second. The right part of the register again bears a pair of men kneeling at the fire applying blow-pipes with widening end-pieces. The one left holds the pipe with both hands, the other holds it only with the right hand, in the left clutching a short stick with which he is poking the fire, or removing the cinder sticking to the end-piece of the blow-pipe. The fire is relatively low and wide, with *bd3*-pots piled on it, as was the case before. No crucible can be discerned but one must remember that the relief is badly deteriorated in this place. Both metal-blowers wear short skirts and short wigs. Above the fire, between the heads of the workers, is an inscription (No. 63). Left of the group of the metal-blowers, this narrow register is further divided into two sub-registers. The upper shows a number of vessels, a wide bowl with spout on a stand, two vases, a tray on a high stem and two concave cups. Shown in the lower is a low box adorned with ornament of *dd*-pillars.

The left half of the register has preserved two male figures sitting at a low flat stone – the anvil. The one to the right of the anvil supports a flat object with the left hand, the right clutching a stone hammer ready to pound. The man opposite him holds with the right hand an object on the anvil, the left hand, grasping a stone hammer, is represented at the moment of the hammer falling down. Both men are dressed in short skirts and wear short wigs. Above the anvil, between their heads, is an inscription (No. 64). Behind the pair of the metal-beaters, at the very edge of the register, are again displayed several vessels in two sub-registers – a flask, a can with spout, two concave cups and a mirror in the shape of a lotus leaf.²⁴

Colours: The bodies of the metal-blowers as well as of the metal-beaters reveal traces of dark red, the skirt of one metal-beater shows slight traces of white.

¹⁹ The end-piece of the blow-pipe was of baked clay. This prevented the end of the pipe, which was made of hollow reed, from being burnt. (Forbes, *Studies IX*, p.58).

²⁰ *Bd3*-pots served for baking bread (Balcz in *MDIK* 4, pp.210–211). In our case they were, however, used for increasing the effect of the fire. They held together the red-hot coals and concentrated the heat inside the fire, i.e. on the crucible.

²¹ An anvil was usually a flat piece of hard stone, diorite, basalt, or granite (Forbes, *op.cit.*, p.50).

²² It is a flat, oval piece of metal, usually represented as a cake lying on the anvil. Exceptionally, this metal-cake is shown on the anvil as if viewed from above (see *LD II*, 13).

²³ Used for hammering were stone hammers, i.e. egg-shaped stones. It has so far not been elucidated what consequences this implement and the way of work must have had on the metal-beater's wrist (see e.g. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p.40, and Forbes, *Studies IX*, p.50).

²⁴ A similar mirror has been published, for example, by Keimer in *ASAE*, pp.98–99, figs.10–13.

Inscription No. 61

ʿNfʿ (ḥt?) wrt (?) ²⁵
 Blow the fire properly! (?)

Inscription No. 62

ʿŠkr ʿwrʿt, n ʿš (?) ²⁶
 Hammer properly! (?)

²⁵ The inscription is damaged and difficult to read. It appears to contain two horizontal lines, both being impaired by two slits between the blocks, one vertical and one horizontal, the edges broken off. If we put right the shift between the blocks (the shift can well be seen on one blow-pipe), we find that after filling in signs *n* and *f*, there is no more space for any other. Another problem consists in whether the following sign Q 7 ("brazier with flame rising from it") is an independent word or a determinative of the preceding *nf*. Wb II, 250, gives *nf* with the determinative of a sail and in the meaning of "breathe", "breath", dating however from the New Kingdom. If we hypothesize that sign Q 7 is the determinative of *nf*, and if we proceed from the scene to which the inscription refers, we might suggest that *nf* should mean in this case "blow fire". The first line could then be translated "Blow the fire properly!". It would be an urge to a better performance, and perhaps even an indication that work is only beginning, that the fire must be blown to produce greater heat. Less probable seems the other possibility that assumes that Q 7 is an independent word. It would perhaps be necessary to read it ḥt "fire". The final meaning would be the same, i. e. "breathe into the fire properly!", i. e. "blow the fire properly!". It would perhaps be less convenient to translate *nf ḥt wrt* as "the fire is glowing (lit. the fire is breathing very much)". The second line of the inscription is, unfortunately, damaged at a place which is very important for its interpretation, and the translation is therefore far from certain. It remains to add that this inscription has been translated, on the basis of Schäfer's copy, by Erman (*Reden*, p.42), like this: "Blase sehr (dass er warm wird)". It has also been translated by Montet, *Scènes*, p. 282, "Souffle le feu fort, pour qu' il brûle".

²⁶ The beginning of the inscription has been preserved and is not difficult to translate. The verb *škr* is used to express the "hammering down" of the ingots into sheets or bars. The interpretation of sign *škr* (Aa 7) is uncertain (see Gardiner, *Grammar*³, p.540, s. v. Aa 7). According to Badawy (*JNES* 15, p.177), its shape would, however, suggest some heavy mallet with chamfered edge and handle. The other half of the inscription is completely defaced but the verb after the negation, of which only the first consonant *š* has remained, might be *šm*, or *šmm* respectively, expressing "be hot, whitehot" (Wb IV, 468). Grammatically, it would be *n šdm.f*, but a further problem would be the subject of this sentence. Judging from the character of the scene, it may, with some probability, be assumed that it may have been the piece of metal being worked, expressed in the pre-supposed construction either by the pronoun or by the name of the metal. The form *n šdm.f* refers to both the present and even the future action. A hypothetically reconstructed end of the damaged inscription might then be translated as "It (metal? copper?) is not hot", or "it (metal? copper?) will not be hot". (Inscriptions from analogous scenes in Old Kingdom tombs do not provide any comparative material for the interpretation of the damaged inscription.) In the former case, the whole inscription would be an urge to greater working efforts and a warning that the hammering of a cooling or not sufficiently hot metal is more laborious. In the latter case, the basic meaning would be the same but it would more probably express one metal-beater's insistence on his fellow-worker to work harder while the metal is still hot and therefore easier to hammer. Erman, *Reden*, p.44, translates this inscription "Schlage sehr, ohne . . .". Montet, *Scènes*, p. 284 translates it "Frappe fort, il n'y a pas . . .".

Inscription No. 63

Šmm (šmšm ?) t3w hr sn.f.

*ʾIn n- (i) k3 (i) ! ʾIw1 (i) r hr nfr.*²⁷

The air is more and more burning (lit. the air is hotter and hotter) in breathing it.
(My) ka is coming to (me)! (I) will be molten already.

Inscription No. 64

ʾŠ1kr! ʾIr m p3kt!

*ʾIm1y-r hmtyw Tnw.*²⁸

Beat! Hammer out a metal-sheet (lit. make (it) as a metal-sheet)!
The overseer of metal-workers Tjenu.

²⁷ The first half of the inscription is translated by Montet, *Scènes*, p.282, as “Brûlant est l’air par son souffle”. In the tomb of Nyankhkhnum at Saqqara, the scene of men blowing into a fire, on which a crucible stands, is accompanied by an inscription of which the first part is also *šmm (šmšm ?) t3w hr sn.f* (see Moussa, Altenmüller, *Niankhnum und Chnumhotep*, p. 135. An analogous inscription from the tomb of Kaemrehu at Saqqara has been translated by Erman, *Reden*, p.41, as “... Luft wegen (?) seinem Bruder”. (This block is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Room 41, No. 79; the scene from which the inscription comes has been published by Mogensen, *Le Mastaba égyptien*, p.41, fig.40, and by Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, pl.402.) The difference between the two translations shows how difficult it is to interpret this inscription. For example, the beginning itself can be understood differently. *Wb IV*, 468, gives the twice written *šm*, including the determinative, as an alternative writing of the verb *šmm* “be hot”. Is it not however more exact to consider it as a reduplicated verb *šm šm*? Reduplication would emphasize the continuity and gradual gradation of the action (see Edel, *Grammatik I*, p.193, §439). As for the above inscription, it cannot be even excluded that we might be dealing here with the word *šm* repeated twice in grammatically different contexts (i.e. *Šm (i). Šm t3w hr sn.f*). Another difficulty consists in the interpretation on *sn.f*. Erman, *loc.cit.*, translates it as “sein Bruder”, which is grammatically correct but rather problematic within the context of the whole inscription, in particular with regard to its second half. Montet, *loc.cit.*, translates *sn* as “blow”, even though this meaning is not given in *Wb*. *Wb IV*, 153, mentions *sn* in the meaning “riechen. (Luft) einatmen”, dating from as early as the Old Kingdom. In relation to the scene depicted, the most corresponding translation of the beginning of the inscription *Šm šm t3w hr sn.f* would be “the air is more and more burning (lit. the air is hotter and hotter) in breathing it”. They are probably words of the metal-blower kneeling right of the fire holding the blow-pipe with both hands. The remaining part of the inscription may refer to the metal-blower kneeling left. In one hand he holds the blow-pipe, in the other a short stick with which he is doing something in the fire. He either pokes it or clears away the cinder to release the crucible, or he removes the pieces of cinder sticking to the end-piece of the blow-pipe in order to make the blowing more effective. A similar situation can be found in several other scenes of metal-workers from the Old Kingdom, e.g. in the tomb of Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka I*, pl.30), where one man holds a crucible, the other taking out the stopper with a short stick so that the molten metal may flow out. In contrast, in the tomb of Ankhmahor we find a man leaning over the fire poking it with a short stick held in one hand, the other hand shielding his face against the glow (Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl.33). We can only regret that the scene in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses is so damaged as not to reveal clearly what the metal-blower is actually doing with the stick. Erman, *Reden*, p.40, explains *hr nfr* as “ein Ausdruck für das Aussehen, das Glänzen des geschmolzenen Metalles”. Edel, *Grammatik II*, p.483, §949, translates the analogous inscription *iw nfr hr hr wrt*, to be found above the cited scene from the tomb of Mereruka, as “das Aussehen ist sehr schön”. In fact, we are dealing here with an idiom containing a hidden term to designate the melting point of metal, i.e. that the metal has lost its crude solid form and has become a glossy and pliable liquid.

²⁸ The reading of the sign used for designating “metal” and “metal-worker” has been a subject of discussions for some time. The meaning and use of this sign has been thoroughly studied by Junker in *MDIK 14*, pp.89–103. In his opinion, the sign represents a furnace with charcoal and a crucible (*ibid.*, p.102). Its reading would be *bi3*, and through *bi3t* “Erzofen”, “Schmelzofen” a nisbe was formed designating the profession, i.e. “metal-worker” (*ibid.*, p.103). Harris, *Lex.Stud.*, p.24 and p.62, comes to the conclusion that the previous discussion of the sign has not, in fact, produced any satisfactory explanations. In his opinion, *hmty* clearly refers only to copper and copper ores, and *bi3* to iron, meteoric material in general, and probably some other substances thought to be meteoric. Simpson, *Pap. Reisner II*, p.42, takes over the reading *hmty* and remarks that the explanation of the ingot of metal with the phonetic complement *-ty* has long been troublesome, but the sense must clearly be that of “metal-worker” or “coppersmith”. The reading *hmty* was, however, refused by Graefe, *Wortfamilie bi3*, p.87. The reading of the sign designating “metal-worker” has been recently discussed by Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, pp.38–40.



Among the *metal-worker scenes* of the Old Kingdom, the scene from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses stands out unique in extent, artistic rendition as well as importance of contents. In two registers, metal-work operations alternate in regular rhythm²⁹ with “still lifes” of final products.³⁰ The layout of the series of the working operations into two registers and, moreover, the symmetrical arrangement of the partial scenes enhances still more the produced impression in a flowing rhythm of the activity performed. It may even be said that an impression arises of a great, closed technological process. An examination of both the partial scenes and of the inscriptions accompanying suggests that their order is to be understood from left to right in the 2nd Register, and right to left in the third. The opening scene shows a pair of metal-blowers blowing the fire,³¹ on which a crucible stands.³² Thus they are starting the process of metal melting. The metal is not expressly mentioned in the preserved inscriptions but it must have been copper.³³ It is only to be regretted that part of the relief, immediately behind the first pair of metal-blowers in the middle, has been broken off. What has remained clearly suggests that there were two big vessels. (Considering the preserved parts of these vessels and completing the missing figure of one of the metal-beaters, we find that there is no more space for any other object.) Both vessels bear traces of red paint which might indicate that they are of baked clay or copper. Copper vessels³⁴ are pre-supposed in other scenes depicted in this register as well as in the following ones. In our case, however, the size of the vessels does not exclude that they may have been made of baked clay. Naturally, then the question of their function in the scene would arise. If this should be so, they might perhaps be containers storing the material to be smolten (see the text below). The following scene in the right part of the same register shows a pair of metal-beaters hammering out a piece of metal having the shape of the so-called metal-cake. Near the right edge of the following register we can see a pair of metal-blowers blowing the fire. Their activity as well as the accompanying inscription indicate that this scene is only seemingly similar to that in the preceding register. In fact, the reference here is to a quite different operation, to another phase of the process of production. In no respect is it an artistic pun repeating the same operation with only slight formal differences. The same is true of the last scene of two metal-beaters. While those in the second register beat a piece of metal (already cooling perhaps? – see the text above), the craftsmen in the third register are already hammering out a metal-sheet, their operation closing a certain phase of production. A sheet has been made which, in turn, represents a starting material for another category of craftsmen.

²⁹ For symmetry and asymmetry as expressions of rhythmically performed operations, see Balcz in *MDIK* I, p. 137 ff.

³⁰ “Still life” scenes of final products mainly show vessels of various types, not even a mirror missing. These objects themselves are not being made in the scenes, their display only symbolically indicating what the metal will be used for in future.

³¹ In Ancient Egypt, charcoal was used for the melting of metal. It was indisputably effective but very expensive fuel. Another disadvantage was that it was brittle, could not be weighted, and ore had to be smelted in small portions (see Forbes, *Studies* VIII, p. 50).

³² For various types of crucibles, see Curto in *MDIK* 19, pp. 59–69.

³³ It cannot have been bronze in the Old Kingdom. The objects on display indicate that it was not precious metals but one relatively common at that time, namely copper (see Lucas, *Materials*, p. 199 ff.).

³⁴ Various types of copper vessels are given, for example, in v. Bissing, *Metallgefäße*.

In other words, the registers under discussion depict the production of pure copper in a unique way. The first scene shows the initial phase of smelting ore (?),³⁵ the second the hammering out of a crude metal-cake,³⁶ the third the remelting of the refined and hardened³⁷ metal in a mechanical way, and the fourth the hammering out of a metal-sheet from pure metal.³⁸

³⁵ The Egyptian copper-ores are mainly easily reducible ores. The main ore of the Sinai was a friable sandstone with modules of malachite and chrysocolla, which by crushing and sieving could easily be concentrated (Forbes, *Studies IX*, p. 48). The two big vessels shown near the first pair of metal-blowers might serve as containers of ore concentrate (provided they are of baked clay, of course); if so, the scene might really depict the smelting of ore. If the vessels are of copper, i.e. "still lifes" with symbolic final products, the idea underlying it might be a representation of a shortened process of production. The scenes would then only show the annealing and hammering out of metal. Two scenes depicting the annealing of metal (from the tombs of Ti and Wepemnefret) have been dealt with by Weinstock in *JARCE* 11, pp. 23–25.

³⁶ The initial ingot was very brittle and full of impure ingredients. In a mechanical way, i.e. by pounding with stone hammers, the ingot was purified of the crude ingredients on the one hand, the spongy, incompletely fused metal hardening on the other. (Lucas, *Materials*, p. 212).

³⁷ The mechanically refined and hardened piece of metal was broken and remelted. Thus pure metal was achieved (Lucas, *loc.cit.*). This is clearly testified to by the inscription in which the idiom *hr nfr* occurs, evidently designating pure, glossy molten metal.

³⁸ These four phases are in accordance with the assumed Old Egyptian process in the production of copper (Lucas, *loc.cit.*).

Metal-Workers

(List of Old Kingdom Sources Used)

| | |
|------------|---|
| ANKHMAHOR | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi I) Capart, <i>Rue de tombeaux</i> , pl. 33 |
| DJAU | Deir el-Gebrawi Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi II) Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> II, pl. 10 Deir el-Gebrâwi Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi II) |
| IBI | Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> I, pl. 14 |
| IHY | Thebes Dyn VI Saleh, <i>Three Old-Kingdom Tombs</i> , pl. 15/3 |
| IYMERY | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre) <i>LD</i> II, 49b |
| KAEMREHU | Saqqara Dyn. V (Nyuserre or later) Mogensen, <i>Le Mastaba égyptien</i> , pl. 41, fig. 40 |
| KAGEMNI | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) v. Bissing, <i>Gemnikai</i> I, pl. 30 |
| KHENTY | Thebes Dyn. VI Saleh, <i>Three Old-Kingom Tombs</i> , p. 40, pl. 11 |
| MERERUKA | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> I, pl. 30 |
| MERSYANKH | Giza Dyn. VI Dunham, Simpson, <i>Mersyankh</i> III, fig. 5 |
| NEBEMAKHET | Giza Dyn. IV (temp. Khephren to Menkaure or a little later) |

| | |
|------------------|---|
| NYANKHKHNUM | Hassan, <i>Giza</i> IV, p. 140, fig. 81 |
| and | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre) |
| KHNUMHOTEP | Moussa, Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , pp. 135–136, pls. 63–64 |
| PEPIANKH | Meir Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi II) |
| | Blackman, <i>Meir</i> V, pl. 16 |
| SENEDJEMIB | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Unis) |
| god name MEHI | <i>LD</i> II, 47a |
| TI | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre – end of Dyn. V) |
| | Wild, <i>Ti</i> III, pl. 173 |
| Causeway of UNIS | Saqqara Dyn. V |
| | Hassan, <i>ASAE</i> 38, p. 520, pl. 96 |
| WEPEMNEFRET | Giza Dyn. V (middle or later) |
| | Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, pls. 74–76, fig. 219 |

4th Register

The register, which is badly wheathered and of which part is missing entirely, depicts scenes of the dressing of sticks. The left part of the register has been divided into two narrow sub-registers. The upper one had a "still life" displaying joiner's products of which only part of a bed has survived. In the lower sub-register we can see two male figures facing each other, each holding a stick in front and dressing it with an adze. Both men wear short skirts and short wigs. In the middle of the register is another pair of male figures holding with both hands long sticks before them. The one left stands upright, the other, facing the first, slightly bending forward. Thus a blank area has remained over his head which has been filled with an inscription (No. 65). The men are dressed in the same way as the pair discussed above. The right part of the register has retained a very interesting and in Old Kingdom tombs not very common scene of two men working on a vice. The vice consists of three parts. Apparently the main of them is a massive, immovable fork to which two long poles are fixed with rope, one horizontal, the other slanting. The latter rests with one end on the ground and may have also been immovable, serving probably as the lower jaw of the vice as well as increasing the stability of the whole equipment. One end of the horizontal pole was fixated in the fork but the other end was free, working as the movable upper part of the vice. One man sits on the ground with the right knee drawn up, his extended left hand leaning on the vertical fork of the vice. With both hands he holds a short stick squeezed in the jaws of the vice. The other man is sitting on the horizontal movable pole, holding it with both hands, and is trying to increase with his weight the grip of the vice jaws. In front of his face, i.e. above the horizontal arm of the vice, is an inscription (No. 66). The remaining free space in the upper right-hand corner of the register shows a man sitting on his left heel, the right knee drawn up. He holds a short stick in front of him, dressing it with an adze. All three men are clad in short skirts and wear short wigs.

Colours: Only the bodies of the men in the left and middle parts of the register have retained traces of dark red paint.

Inscription No. 65

ʿI' mdw¹ pw!

Damp the stick!³⁹

³⁹ Erman, *Reden*, p. 45, translates this inscription, on the basis of Schäfer's copy, as "wasche diesen Stock". Montet, *Scènes*, p. 314, is in error when assuming that the second sign in the inscription "ne peut être autre chose que le bras d'un ouvrier occupé à écorcer". 'I always means "wash" etc.; furthermore, in the above inscription this sign is clearly written as a hand over which is a small vessel with water flowing from it. Montet, *op. cit.*, p. 313, has incorrectly translated the inscription as "Écorce cette branche!" Another reason why he is in error is that *mdw* means "pole", "stick", never an undressed "branch" (*Wb* II, 178). Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 22, translates the inscription as "Wasche diesen Stab" (he has incorrectly transcribed in *i* the forearm with hand holding stick).

Inscription No. 66

ḥnd¹ mdw in šmī¹t(y?).⁴⁰

Pressing of the stick by the man at the vice (?).

The register depicts the basic phases of the production of sticks or, in more exact terms, the *dressing of sticks*. In the left part of the register, a pair of men are evidently trying to dress the surface of the sticks,⁴¹ to even them, and possibly even smooth them up. The pair of men in the middle of the register are seemingly just holding the sticks in their hands. However, the inscription accompanying the scene clearly suggests that they are damping them. This scene as well as some analogous ones in the Tomb of Serefka in Sheikh Said⁴² indicate that the damping has been done by hands only, and it seems probable that the craftsmen tried not only to damp the surface of the sticks but to rub in the liquid as deep as possible. This may have been the method of achieving the desirable effect. To damp the sticks insufficiently seems to have been as undesirable as to damp them excessively (which could have resulted from plunging them into water for too long), for the wood might have soaked up more water than was necessary and make thus the intended dressing impossible. Montet's conjecture that the men are peeling the sticks is probably erroneous.⁴³

A very interesting, and in Old Kingdom tombs unique, is the scene of the two men working at the vice.⁴⁴ Even though this scene is relatively well preserved, an unequivocal interpretation of both craftsmen's work is difficult and perhaps even uncertain. One of the men holds a short stick one end of which is gripped in the jaws of the vice. The pose of his body seems to suggest that he may be trying to balance out the undesirable bend of the stick which arises when only one end of it is pressed.

⁴⁰ Erman, *Reden*, p. 45, incorrectly transcribes this inscription (apparently on the basis of Schäfer's inaccurate copy), not translating it at all. However, in a similar inscription from Sheikh Said he translates *ḥnd mdw* as "Stöcke krümmen". Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 28, translates the inscription as "Krümmen des Stabes durch den Stabbearbeiter". Wb III, 312, interprets *ḥnd* as "Stäbe krümmen o. ä." and refers to the illustration of work on the vice. As Wb *Belegstellen* III, p. 94/15, indicate, it has been on the basis of the above inscription from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses that this word has been interpreted. The enclosed illustration of the operation which the word *ḥnd* is to express is not, however, exact and does not agree in some details with the scene in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, nor with those in other tombs of the Old Kingdom. With regard to these scenes, the interpretation of *ḥnd* as "bend" is not quite exact. Wb III, 312, gives *ḥnd* mainly in the meaning of "tread on something", figuratively "tread down" (the enemy), etc. The inscription and the scene in Mastaba of Ptahshepses seem to express the same idea. With the weight of his body, i.e. with downward pressure, the craftsman is pressing the stick squeezed in the jaws of the vice. It is therefore more exact to translate *ḥnd* in this inscription as "press" rather than "bend", for the latter translation evokes an image of such a manipulation of the stick that is actually not represented. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 314, translates the above inscription as "conformer une canne par le dresseur de branches". *Ibid.* see also for the discussion of the meaning *šmīty* (?). This word may be a derivative of *šmī* "vice", the nisbe ending *y* not having been written in our case (for *šmī*, see also *id.* in *Kēmi* 4, p. 183). Can it be that this word is derived from *mit* "copy", "something that is similar or the same", i.e. two equal arms of the vice?? To a similar conclusion came also Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, p. 114: "... Vielleicht ist *smjtj* auch als eine kausative Nisbebildung von *mj* abzuleiten: Einer, der etwas gleichmacht, ebnet, begradigt. Möglicherweise ist diese Bezeichnung als (*S*)*imj.tj* in der defektiven Beischrift bei V (i.e. the inscription in the tomb of *Šdw*, see *ibid.* p. 113) wiederzuerkennen".

⁴¹ Ancient Egyptians did not know planes, and thus they smoothed up the surface of wooden objects with adzes or rubstones (Lucas, *Materials*, p. 449).

⁴² Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. 4.

⁴³ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 313, (see Note to our Inscription No. 65).

⁴⁴ The principle of *vicēs* is roughly the same in these scenes. Terminated with a fork is either the vertical immovable stand or one movable arm. Sometimes the joint of the vice has not the form of a fork at all, the movable arms being simply fixed with rope to the vertical pole of the stand.

By pressing it in the vice the craftsmen are perhaps removing slight irregularities on the surface of the stick; they are hardly trying to bend it. In order that wood can be bent, it must first be steamed, i.e. warmed up and damped, and then put into a mould to dry. From the Old Kingdom we know a scene where wood is being warmed and then damped.⁴⁵ Therefore it is not impossible that the scenes with the vice discussed above did not show the whole process of production but only some selected operations, moreover in a considerably simplified manner. However, in the case of the above-mentioned scene from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, neither the operations represented nor the accompanying inscriptions clearly indicate that the reference here is to the bending of sticks.⁴⁶

Men Dressing Sticks

(List of Old Kingdom Sources Used)

| | |
|----------|--|
| ITETI | Deshasheh. Dyn. VI (temp. Teti or later) Petrie, <i>Deshasheh</i> , pl. 21 |
| MERERUKA | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) Duell, <i>Mereruka I</i> , pl. 31 |
| SEREFKA | Sheikh Said. early Dyn. V (or later?) Davies, <i>Sheikh Said</i> , pl. 4 |
| TI | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre – end of Dyn. V) Wild, <i>Ti III</i> , pl. 174 |

5th Register

The topmost preserved register in the northern part of the east wall of Room 4 is almost completely destroyed in consequence of the limestone wall being badly weathered. Moreover, greater part of it is missing entirely. On the preserved fragment we can discern in its left part the lower parts of the bodies of two men facing each other holding an object between them. Below this object is an inscription (No. 67), or remains of it respectively, which continued on the missing part of the register. Shown in the right end of the fragment are again the lower parts of two male figures facing each other, and a heap of some products (?) between them. The man left stands upright, the one to the right stooping and evidently taking something from the heap.

Inscription No. 67

rw . . . mm . . . (?)⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Davies, *op. cit.*, pl. 4. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 22, concludes from the scene in Sheikh Said: "... Das Halten des Stabes über ein Feuer und das Abkühlen mit Wasser sind direkt aufeinanderfolgende Arbeitsgänge. Wenn wir uns an die Abfolge in Sheikh Said halten, ist die Wasserbehandlung die zweite Tätigkeit." It is true that in this scene the damping is preceded by warming, which is – to our knowledge – a reverse procedure than we would expect, for wood must first be damped and then steamed by being warmed over fire, thus acquiring the desirable flexibility.

⁴⁶ Is there a parallel between the scene from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses and that from the tomb of Iteti at Deshasheh? Concerning the interpretation of the scene from Deshasheh, see Seyfried in *GM* 23, pp. 65–70. In the tombs of Ti (Wild, *Ti III*, pl. 174) and Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka I*, pl. 31), the scene of sticks gripped in the vice are accompanied by very similar inscriptions. Erman, *Reden*, p. 44, does not regard it impossible that they are joking remarks of the craftsmen who know that when working with sticks they may be beaten with them one day. Differently interpreted are both inscriptions by Montet, *Scènes*, p. 315, who not quite convincingly argues that the inscriptions refer to sticks full of knots, and that both craftsmen are therefore removing them by means of vice. The meaning of the scene remains also a little unclear to Drenkhahn (*Handwerker*, p. 114 "... ist das Krümmen oder Begradigen eines Stockes mittels eines besonderen Gestells unklar").

⁴⁷ It is really extremely difficult to interpret the remains of this inscription. Provided we exclude the possibility of the inscription continuing on the higher missing part of the register, it might be a private name or the name of plant *mm*? These are but little justified assumptions deriving from a fragment of inscription lacking a clear context of a scene.

Room 4 – East Wall

(South Section)

Pls 29, 30
Photos 44–47

The wall has retained three complete and one incomplete registers with relief decoration. The upper part of the wall, which must have originally borne two other reliefs at least, is lost. The whole wall with the preserved relief is badly damaged in consequence of weathering, some places having even been intentionally broken off.

1st Register

(from the bottom)

The left part of the lowest register shows two standing male figures. The one near the edge holds in his right hand a sack flung over his shoulder, the left hand seizing the neck of a bird with outstretched wings. The other man carries a cubic-like vessel¹ on the right shoulder supporting it with his right hand, the left stretched forward. The right part of the register is subdivided into two narrow sub-registers. The lower bears two heaps, one small, the other big, a cage of pigeons placed on the latter. Standing beside the heap are three vessels – a wide conical bowl, a flask with spout on a high stem, and a conical flask tapering to the top. In the upper sub-register sits a man, a wide wicker basket on the ground before him filled with fruits (?). With his left he is taking one of the fruits (?) on the basket, in the extended right hand holding again a cubic-like basket (?) which he is obviously taking over from the stretched hand of the man standing in front of him. Like both the men standing in front of him, he too wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece and a short wig.

Colours: The bodies of all three men reveal traces of dark red, the wig of the sitting man, of black. The fruits on the basket have retained well preserved remains of green paint with a yellow stripe in the middle. On the cage with pigeons are nets painted in red lines. On both cubic-like baskets (?) are traces of yellow, the same colour showing on the bigger heap in the lower sub-register. All three vessels are painted red.

2nd Register

In decoration distribution, the register resembles very much the preceding one. Shown in the left part are again two standing male figures bringing various objects. The man near the left edge carries on the right shoulder a cubic-like basket (?) steadying it with one hand. In the right he carries a beer jug with stopper, bottom up. The other man, standing nearer to the middle of the register, holds out a bowl in front of him with small ball-shaped fruits (?). The bowl is being taken from him by another man sitting right in the upper sub-register. Behind the latter is a heap of grain (?) with three beer jugs, bottom up, sunk into it. The lower sub-register shows another high heap of grain (?) and a tray with two joints of meat, two plucked geese and a beef head. All three men are clad in short kilts with triangular front-piece and wear short wigs.

¹ The object is painted yellow. It is probably a vessel (wicker-basket?) used for transporting grainy plants. With an identical vessel a man is scooping grain from a heap in an agricultural scene in the tomb of Kaemrehu (Mogensen, *Le mastaba égyptien*, p. 24, fig. 19). Similar objects are also in the scene of men feeding two oxen in the tomb of Khenty (here identified as boxes full of grass), see Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs*, p. 20, fig. 40, pl. 10.

Colours: Visible on the bodies of all three men are traces of red, white can be seen on the kilts of the two standing men. Traces of green are to be found on the small ball-shaped fruits on the bowl, red on the cuts of meat on the tray. Yellow appears on the heap in the upper sub-register, red on the jugs sunk in it.

3^d Register

This register, too, has preserved in the left part two male figures, this time facing each other. The one near the left edge is bent forward holding a wide conical bowl with pastry (?) in both hands. The man standing beside him holds in each hand a cut of meat with bone. On the ground between the two men is a conical flask and a conical loaf of bread (?). The right half of the register is subdivided into two narrow sub-registers. In the upper one is a tray piled with two joints of meat and a piece of ribs. Showing in the lower is a wide bowl with a rounded bottom filled with further cuts of meat.

Colours: Traces of dark red can be seen on the bodies of both men, white on their kilts. Also the conical flask has retained some dark red paint.

4th Register

The register is incomplete, its upper part lost. But enough is left to show that its left part contains a pair of men facing each other and exchanging objects which they hold in their hands. The man near the left edge of the register holds a plaited bag in his right hand, with the left handing over to the other man a cubic-like vessel (?) similar to those represented in the two lowest registers. The other man holds a sack in his left hand, a piece of ribs in the right. Both are attired in short kilts with triangular front-piece. The right half of the register is again divided into two narrow sub-registers. The lower shows a tray piled with two cuts of meat and pastry (? or heaps of grain?) of a conical shape. Judging from the preserved fragments of the relief, the upper contained a row of vessels.

Colours: Only the legs of both men have retained traces of dark red paint.



None of the registers described above has retained an inscription which might help to explain the scenes depicted. Nevertheless, the scenes are expressive enough even without inscriptions. Common to all of them is that they represent *exchanging various goods*. One is bringing, and possibly handing over, something, the other is taking over the thing and giving something in exchange. These bartered goods are fruit, corn, pastry (?), meat, poultry, beverages in vessels, etc. The barter scenes from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses rank thus to the series of the so-called market scenes that we know from a number of Old Kingdom tombs.²

² Market scenes have been dealt with in greater detail by Montet, *Scènes*, pp.319–326. The cited evidence from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses (*op.cit.*, p.325) does not come from the wall described above, but from a loose block erroneously placed by de Morgan in the east wall of Room 3, right into the space of the main entrance to the tomb. For interpretations of several inscriptions accompanying market scenes, see also Erman, *Reden*, pp.48–51.

Room 4 – North Wall

Pls 31–37

Photos 48–60

A door is pierced in the bottom right-hand corner of the wall, connecting Room 4 with Rooms 5–9 farther to the north. The wall has retained the biggest continuous relief decoration of the Mastaba, even though here too the top part is missing and the wall as a whole badly pitted by weathering. Represented in the left part is a life-sized figure of Ptahshepses surrounded by attendants and accompanied by two sons. The middle and right parts show remarkable scenes of fowling, gardening, and bringing baskets and offering-tables loaded with garden fruits and field plants. The large accompanying inscription in front of Ptahshepses (see Inscription No. 68) indicates that belonging to this series were also scenes of craftsmen depicted on the northern half of the east wall of Room 4.

Retained near the left edge of the wall is an incomplete figure of Ptahshepses shown as standing. The head and right arm are lost but we can assume that the original height was about 160 cm. Ptahshepses stands with his left leg forward facing right, i.e. towards the main entrance to the Mastaba. He is clad in a festive garment – a short pleated kilt and a leopard skin¹ flung over the back, caught on the left shoulder with a clip.² In the left hand he holds a long staff, in the right a sceptre.³ On the neck he has a broad collar of two rows of tubular beads; as indicated by a tiny fragment of the wig, he was wearing a shoulder-length wig with locks.⁴ On the feet he has simple sandals.⁵ In front of Ptahshepses is a vertical inscription in one line (No. 68). Represented between the advanced left leg of Ptahshepses and the lower end of his staff are two unclothed boys, their bodies painted yellow.⁶ Both stand with left leg forward, facing right like Ptahshepses. They have broad collars and pendants suspended over them. One boy is shown with his left hand laid on Ptahshepses's staff, the right holding a lapwing. The other boy is holding up in the left hand a lotus to smell and a hoopoe⁷ in the right. Above the heads of the boys is a four line vertical inscription (No. 69).

The narrow space behind Ptahshepses, at the very left edge of the wall, was divided into several short "registers". Only three of them have survived, each showing a walking man carrying various objects. The man in the bottom register carries a big mat roll⁸ in front of him, embracing it with both hands. Before him is a vertical inscription (No. 70). The man in the second "register" from the bottom carries on the right shoulder a box with a convex lid and a button, steadying it with the right hand. In the left he carries a fan. There is also a vertical inscription (No. 71) in front of him. The figure of the man in the third "register" is incomplete but one can discern that he is carrying a box on the left shoulder, supporting it with the left hand while in the right he has a basket. The inscription before him (No. 72) is badly damaged. All the men are attired alike, wearing short skirts and short wigs.

¹ The owner of a tomb is usually attired in a leopard skin on certain occasions, in particular when receiving offerings, and at funerary repasts. Originally, the leopard skin used to be the privilege of princes, to become later a badge of *šm*-priests (see Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp.75–79). Some authors think this skin to be that of a panther, a leopard, etc. Westendorff in *ZÄS* 92, pp.132–133, argues that with regard to the small head it most probably is a cheetah, which is the so-called "Mafdet-Tier". Goddess Mafdet, however, was the "Lady of providing with food", which might explain why the deceased used to wear this skin when receiving offerings.

² Staehelin, *op.cit.*, p.56, takes over the argument of Junker (*Giza* I, p.174) who considers the clip to be a small tube with cords drawn through it. For discussion on the meaning of this clip (*st*), see also Murray in *Ancient Egypt* 1922, pp.14–19, and Engelbach in *ASAE*, pp.33–39.

³ "b3-sceptre was a wand of office and power, see e.g. Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, pp.181–185.

⁴ Staehelin, *op.cit.*, p.89, calls a wig of this type "die Strähnenfrisur".

⁵ *ibid.*, pp.94–100.

⁶ The yellow colour indicates that the figures are boys, see Fischer in *JARCE* 2, pp.17–22.

⁷ Hoopoe (*upupa epops*), see Keimer in *BIFAO* 30, pp.305–331.

⁸ For a similar "big mat roll" carried by a servant accompanying his master, see Moussa, Junge, *Two Craftsmen*, p.20 and pl.3 (the structure of the mat can well be seen here too).

Colours: Ptahshepses's body is painted dark red, his kilt, sandals, the hem of the leopard skin, and the sceptre white, the inside of the skin and the staff are yellow, the collar green and the fragment of the wig, black. The bodies of the boys are yellow, green can be seen on the collars and pendants. The calyxes and the stalk of the lotus are green, the blossom is white. On the wings of the hoopoe and of the lapwing are traces of grey-green. The bodies of the three men behind Ptahshepses are dark red, their skirts white, and the wigs bear traces of black. The roll in the hands of the man in the lowest "register" is green, as is the fan carried by the man depicted in the second "register". On both boxes carried by the men in the second and third "registers" we can see broad white stripes alternating with narrow yellow ones.

Inscription No. 68

..... *ṣḥw(?) 3pḏw ḥmwṯ nbṯ nw pr-ḏt*.⁹
 all fowlers and craftsmen of the endowment.

Inscription No. 69

1. *S3.f ṣmšw, ny ib ṯnbṯ.f*,
2. *ṣmr wṯy, iry nfr-ḥ3tṯ Pth-ṯpššṯ*.
3. *S3.f, ṯṣmr ṯwṯyṯ, ḥrp ṯḥṯ*,
4. *mrr nb.ṯf rṯ nbṯ Ḥm-ṯḥtyṯ*.

1. His eldest son, the favourite of his Lord,
2. the sole companion, the keeper of the headdress Ptahshepses.
3. His son, the sole companion, the director of the palace,
4. one who loves his Lord every day Hemakhty.

Colours: Traces of paint have survived in the following signs:

1. red in A 20 and F 34, green in V 30,
2. red in S 29 and 21, green in U 23 (the handle),
3. green in U 23 (the handle) and S 42, blue in X 1,
4. green in both V 30, red in N 5 and G 25, and blue in U 36 and X 1.

Inscription No. 70

Ḥm-k3, irṯ-nt ṯnh-ḥ3.f.¹⁰
 The *k3*-servant, the manicure Ankhhaf.

Colours: Some green paint can be seen in signs M 16 and Aa 1.

Inscription No. 71

Ḥm-ṯk3ṯ, ḥṯkw Ḥsi-Ḥnsw.¹¹
 The *k3*-servant, the barber Hesikhonsu.

Colours: Only sign Aa 1 bears remains of green paint.

⁹ Judging from the height of Ptahshepses's figure and from the assumed height of the relief decoration on the whole wall, the missing beginning of the inscription may have covered four to five squares with hieroglyphic signs. It seems probable that written here was one of the common variants of the beginning of inscriptions of this kind, namely *m33 k3t* ... "regarding the works...". This inscription has been published, among others, by Junker, *Sb Wien* 233/1, p.9, who suggests to read the missing and the damaged beginning of the inscription... *gnwtwy (?) ḥmwṯ nbt*, etc., i.e. "...all sculptors and craftsmen", etc. The reconstruction suggested by Junker is evidently erroneous.

¹⁰ Ranke, *PN I*, p.65/22.

¹¹ *op.cit.*, p.255/1. It is this inscription in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses that has provided the evidence cited by Ranke.

Inscription No. 72

*H'kw Mr-ṯmꜣt-Šꜣhw-R'.*¹²

The barber Mermaatsahure.

Colours: Orange has survived in sign *h^ck*, red in N 5, and green in U 1.

Surviving in the middle and the right parts of the north wall of Room 4 are, in several registers, scenes of fowlers, gardeners and bearers of fruit and vegetables. The wall is incomplete, its top part lost entirely or badly weathered. Judging from the size of Ptahshepses's legs, the wall must have originally held six registers, but only five have survived, their average width being about 34 cm. Above the preserved top of this wall, de Morgan has misplaced a block which he apparently considered to be belonging here. The block namely contains a frieze of alternating pairs *dd* and *hkr*, with a fragment below of a scene of men carrying vessels. Thus the block represents one of the few pieces of evidence of the upper termination of decorated walls in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses. Unfortunately, the termination has not survived anywhere *in situ*. What also deserves attention here is the order of the registers on this wall. In view of the fact that the upper registers show work in the garden and the lower ones the bringing of fruit and vegetables, i.e. the produce of gardening, it seems logical enough to read the registers from top to bottom.

1st (Preserved) Register

(from the top)

The register is incomplete and badly damaged, its upper and right parts missing entirely. In the left part are remains of two male figures walking left, i.e. towards the big figure of Ptahshepses. In the middle part we can see the remains of a male figure turned with his back to Ptahshepses and leaning over a big rectangular cage. The right part bears remains of two other men shown as advancing in the direction of Ptahshepses. Even though the register is badly damaged, with only a few fragments of the scene surviving, it is highly probable that represented here were fowlers,¹³ as is also indicated in the large inscription (No. 68) in front of Ptahshepses.

¹² True, the inscription is badly damaged but the reading of the name cannot be doubted. Ranke, *PN*, does not mention this name.

¹³ Scenes of fowlers are common in Old Kingdom tombs. As a rule, they depict trapping of birds, bringing birds in cages, and taking birds from the cages and presenting them to the deceased. For similar scenes of fowlers, see for example, *LD II*, 54 (Iymery); Weidemann, Pörtner, *Karlsruhe*, pl.5; Duell, *Mereruka I*, pl.20 (Mereruka); *LD II*, 12 (Nebemakhet); *LD II*, 46 (Pehenuka); Davies, *Ptahhetep II*, pl.5 (Akhethetep); *LD II*, 42a (Sekhemkare); Junker, *Giza XI*, fig.91 (Seshemnefer); Wild, *Ti III*, pl.170 (Ti), and others.

2nd (Preserved) Register

Surviving in the left part of the register are eight male figures walking towards Ptahshepses. All of them wear short tight-fitting skirts and short wigs. The first man in the row carries a tray with two marrows on the shoulder. In front of him is a vertical line of inscription (No. 73). The second was probably carrying a tray as well, steadying it with one hand. The third also carries a tray on the right shoulder, a bunch of onions hung from the left elbow. The fourth is probably carrying a big marrow (?) in front of him. The fifth carries a tray with marrows on the shoulder, a bunch of onions hanging on the elbow. The sixth carries trays on both shoulders, figs piled on one of them. The figure of the seventh is damaged and it cannot be discerned what he holds in the hands. The last man in the row, the eighth, carries lettuce. To the rear of the men, approximately in the middle of the register, is an incomplete scene of men working on a plot of lettuce. Standing on the left edge of the plot is a man facing it, who holds a tray of figs (?). Kneeling at the plot beside him is another man cutting out the lettuce with a long knife. Represented on the plot are four lettuce plants reaching up to the shoulders of the men standing around. Between the individual plants are ...?

On the right edge of the plot stands a belly-shaped vessel, a man leaning over it and pouring into it water from a jug. The remaining part of the register is missing.

Colours: Visible on the bodies of all men, except the one pouring water, are small scraps of dark red paint.

3rd (Preserved) Register

The subject-matter of the scenes in this register is very similar to that in the preceding one. At the left edge are two male figures advancing towards Ptahshepses. The first carries three lotuses in one hand and a small egg-shaped vessel (milk jar) in the other. In front of him is a vertical inscription in one line (No. 75). The second man carries a posy of ears in the right hand, a bunch of onions hung from the elbow. There is also a vertical inscription in front of him (No. 76). Behind this pair of men is a plot with four lettuce plants, among which there grow ...? ... Kneeling on the right edge of the plot is a man cutting out one plant right above the ground. Above the lettuce plot is a horizontal inscription in one line (No. 77). Both the men at the edge of the register as well as the one kneeling by the plot wear short tight-fitting skirts and short wigs.

Colours: Traces of dark red paint are visible on the bodies of all men. The soil in the plot is indicated by dense dark-red points. Also some of the lettuce plants have retained traces of green paint.

In the middle part of the register is a group of four men walking towards Ptahshepses. All are clad in short tight-fitting skirts and wear short wigs. The first carries in both hands a lettuce plant in front of him. The second carries a bunch of ears in the right hand, the left hand supporting a tray of figs and marrows on the shoulder. The third carries in both hands two papyrus stems with flowers, the right hand holding, moreover, a basket of figs. The fourth carries trays on both shoulders, supporting them with both hands. Piled on one tray are figs and marrows, on the other onions, lettuces and a lotus bud.

Colours: The posy of ears is painted yellow; on the tray with marrows are traces of red, on the papyrus stems, of green.

Shown behind the group of the bearers is another plot, this time with onions and corn, not lettuce. The onions reach up to about the waist of the men standing beside; the corn is even higher, reaching up to their shoulders. Over the plot is an inscription (No. 78). On the right edge of the plot stands a belly-shaped vessel, a man leaning over it and pouring into it water from a ball-shaped pot. He wears only a strip of cloth about the loins and a short wig. Behind him are remains of another male figure bringing two jugs suspended by a cord from a yoke (which has not survived). In front of him are remains of an inscription (No. 79). Showing behind him are remains of a male figure, apparently bringing, in the same way, two ball-shaped vessels.

Colours: On the stalks of onions are traces of green, the corn is yellow. Scraps of dark red paint can be seen on the bodies of the men.

Inscription No. 73

¹⁴ *Ir-nt Pr-3, šhđ hmw-k3 Hnmw-htp¹*.¹⁴

The manicure of the Great House, the inspector of the *k3*-servants Khnumhetep.

Colours: Signs W 9 and Q 3 have retained elements of green.

Inscription No. 74

.....¹*k¹*..... (?)

Inscription No. 75

[¹*Ir-nt Pr¹-[3]*, *šhđ hmw-¹k3 Ny¹-nh-¹Hnmw¹*.¹⁵

The manicure of the Great House, the inspector of the *k3*-servants Nyankhkhnum.

Inscription No. 76

¹*Ir-nt Pr-3, šhđ hmw-¹k3¹ Hnmw-¹htp¹*.¹⁶

The manicure of the Great House, the inspector of the *k3*-servants Khnumhetep.

Colours: Some blue paint appears in O 1 and X 1, red on D 32 and green in W 9 and R 4.

Inscription No. 77

¹*Fdt bw š3w in k3ny n pr-dt¹*.¹⁷

Cutting out the garden lettuce by a gardener of the endowment.

¹⁴ Ranke, *PN I*, p.276/6.

¹⁵ Ranke, *PN I*, p.171/21.

¹⁶ Are we dealing here with the same person as that in Inscription No.73?

¹⁷ With regard to the unambiguous rendition of lettuce being cut out with a knife, *fdi* ("ausreissen", "abpflücken" – *Wb I*, 582) has been translated in this inscription as "cut out". The earliest evidence of writing lettuce (from Dyn.XVIII) as *bw* is mentioned by Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen*, pp. 121–126. The reading of lettuce as *bw* is argued against by Jéquier in *BIFAO* 19, p. 28, who suggests to read *f3* (*ibid.*, p.57). Provided we accept Keimer's reading *bw*, there remains to explain the following *š3w*. *Wb IV*, 399, gives *š3w*, among others, as "Ort wo die Blumen wachsen". Is it to mean that *bw š3w* designates "lettuce of the garden", i.e. lettuce grown in a cultivated and irrigated garden in contrast to lettuce growing wildly? The Tomb of Nyankhnum, the north wall of Room B (see Moussa, Altenmüller, *Niankhnum und Chnumhotep*, p. 77), shows a similar scene of cutting out the lettuce and watering a lettuce plot.

Inscription No. 78

*Ṛntf ḥdw in k3ny*¹⁸

*Ntf bdt in k3ny*¹⁹

Besprinkling the onions by the gardener.

Besprinkling the emmer by the gardener.

Inscription No. 79

..... *Ṛi[n] k3ny*²⁰

..... by the gardener.

4th (Preserved) Register

At the left edge of the register a man is shown as walking towards Ptahshepses and carrying in each hand a bunch of lotus flowers. In front of him is a vertical inscription in one line (No. 80). The man is clad in a short tight-fitting skirt and wears a short wig. Following him is a series of five pairs of men carrying offering tables with fruit and vegetables. All wear short skirts and short wigs. The offering tables are of the same type as those before. They have a massive, upward tapering foot, the top is recurved. The indicated structure clearly suggests that they are of wicker. Piled on the table carried by the first pair are figs, onions, cut-off lower parts of papyrus stems, a sheave of small papyrus stalks and a grape. In front of the first man is a vertical inscription (No. 81), another one (No. 82) can be seen between his legs and the base of the offering table.

Colours: On the bodies of the men carrying offering tables as well as on the one bringing lotuses, traces of dark red have survived, white on their skirts, and black on the wigs. Scraps of green are visible on the lotus stems, the papyrus stalks, the onion stalks and the offering table. White has survived on the lotus blossoms, yellow on the lower ends of the papyrus stalks, and blue on the grape.

Piled on the second offering table are three marrows, two trays of figs (the trays are also made of wicker), the lower parts of two papyrus stalks and a bowl with indeterminate contents.

Colours: The offering table and both trays have retained traces of dark green, the marrows, of green and yellow.

On the third offering table carried again by a pair of men are a tray of figs, lettuce, a marrow and a bunch of onions.

Colours: Traces of green paint have survived on the offering table, the tray, lettuce, figs, marrow and on the onion stalks.

Figuring on the fourth offering table are lettuce, a grape, a tray of figs and a tuft of two lotus blossoms and two buds.

Colours: Surviving on the lotuses are scraps of green and white, blue is visible on the grape.

¹⁸ A similar inscription *ntf ḥdw can*, for example, be found in a garden scene in the tomb of Rashepses (*LD* II, 61 a). *Wb* III, 212, translates *ḥdw* in very general terms as "Knoblauch", "Zwiebeln" o.ä. They are undoubtedly plants of the species "Allium", of which only onions, garlic and leek have been grown in Egypt (Täckholm, Drar, *Flora* III, p.93 ff.). In the inscription under discussion *ḥdw* has been translated "onions" because it is only this kind of vegetables that can be seen in the hands of the bearers and on the offering tables. For the cult of onions in Ancient Egypt, see Keimer in *Eg.Religion* I/2, pp.52–60.

¹⁹ Junker in *Sb Wien* 221/5, p.21 n.2, corrects *Wb* I, 486, and points out that *t* had never been written in the ideogram *bd* in agricultural scenes of Old Kingdom date. Our inscription confirms this argument. For *bd* "emmer", "spelt" (*triticum dicoccum*), see Murray in *Ancient Egypt* 1929, pp.44–45; Gardiner, *AEO* II, pp.221–222; Wild in *BIFAO* 64, p.119; Leek in *JEA* 59, pp.199–200; a.o.

²⁰ The beginning of the inscription is destroyed but it no doubt refers to the bringing of water by the gardener.

The next pair of men are not carrying an offering table but rather a big basket in the shape of a halfmoon. It is also made of wicker. Under the basket one can discern remains of a conical and upward-tapering foot which has been erased later on. Piled on the basket are two trays (again of wicker) with figs, lettuce, a grape, onions and five lotuses.

Colours: The grape bears traces of blue, the figs of red and green, the lettuce of green and white.

The last pair of bearers near the right edge of the register has not survived complete. Moreover, the preserved fragment of the relief is damaged by slits between the blocks, running through it. From this fragment it can be inferred that again two men have been represented here carrying a halfmoon basket similar to that carried by the preceding pair. Of what has been piled on the basket, only part of lettuce, part of a tray of figs and two lotus blossoms have remained in place. Surviving of the other bearers are only legs from knees down. Below the basket are remains of a badly damaged inscription (No. 83) in incised relief.

Colours: Traces of green and white can be seen only on the lotus blossoms. On the bodies, or their remains respectively, are scraps of dark red; white can be seen on the skirt of one of them, and black on the wig.

5th (Preserved) Register

The scenes depicted in this register, which is the lowest on the whole wall, does not much differ in subject-matter from those in the preceding register. Shown again are pairs of men at offering tables loaded with fruit, vegetables and flowers. However, one important difference can be found here. The tables are not carried but stand on the ground, the men only arranging the things piled on them. All the figures showing in the register wear short tight-fitting skirts and short wigs. Also the offering tables are of the same shape as those before, i.e. recurved trays on massive conical foot of wicker. Besides the pairs of men standing by the offering tables, also individual men are represented in the register, who are not carrying things on offering tables but in their hands. Immediately at the left edge of the register, a man is shown as walking towards Ptahshepses. In the right hand he holds a lapwing presenting it to Ptahshepses, in the left a duck (?). The man behind him is also bringing Ptahshepses two papyrus stalks with blossoms. In front of each of the men is a vertical line of text (Nos. 84 and 85).

Colours: The bodies of both men, as well as of all the other men in the register, have traces of dark red, their skirts are white and the wigs black. Some remains have survived on both papyrus flowers. The blossoms bear traces of white and green, the stalks of green, and their lower edges of yellow.

The pair of men at the first offering table are facing each other. The one left holds a posy of ears in the right hand, with the right arranging a tray of figs on the table. The man right holds a tray of grapes in the left hand, with the right helping his fellow-worker to arrange the tray of figs on the table. Besides the above-mentioned tray of figs, piled on the table are also grapes, lettuce, a sheave of tiny papyrus stalks, and another tray of figs. Above the table are remains of erased hieroglyphs (No. 86). To the left of the foot of the offering table are fragments of inscription painted red (No. 87). A similar inscription, also painted red, can be seen right of the foot (No. 88).

Colours: Visible on the offering table, the trays, figs and lettuce are traces of green, on the grapes, of blue, and on the posy of ears, of yellow.

At the second table are two men, too, one facing the other. The one left holds a basket of figs in his right hand, with the left taking something out and putting it on the tray of figs on the offering table. The man to the right is putting a lettuce on the table with the right hand, in the left holding a bunch of lotus flowers. On the table is still another tray of figs and a big grape.

Colours: Scraps of green can be seen on the offering table, the figs, lettuce and lotus flowers, blue on the grape.

Behind the pair of men at the second offering table, a man is shown advancing towards Ptahshepses and carrying a bowl with a bunch of onions and two marrows. He carries the bowl in front of him, embracing it with both hands.

Colours: The onions bear traces of green, on one of the marrows are scraps of green and yellow.

At the following offering table only one man is represented standing to the right of the table. He is arranging on the table large papyrus stems with blossoms and a sheave of tiny papyrus stalks. Besides these, there are also two trays of figs, grapes and a conical bowl with small ball-shaped fruits. Above the table are remains of an erased inscription (No. 90).

Colours: Fragments of red remain on the conical bowl, of blue on the grapes, green on the figs. The papyruses have blossoms painted green and white, the stems are green, and the lower parts of the stems are yellow.

Represented behind this offering table is a man walking towards Ptahshepses and carrying in each hand a bunch of one bud and two lotus blossoms. In front of him is a vertical line of text (No. 91).

Colours: Green and white paint survives on the lotus blossoms, green on the stalks.

Standing at the fourth offering table is only one man again. He stands to the left of the table, the right hand leaning on its edge, with the left arranging a grape on the table. Piled on it are a conical bowl with grapes, a tray (of wicker) of figs, half of a marrow (?), a bunch of onions and a bunch of rush stalks even with roots.

Colours: Traces of red are to be found on the bowl, blue on the grape, green on the onions and the rush, and green and yellow on the marrow.

Standing at the last offering table at the right end of the register are two men facing each other. The one left is putting a marrow on the table with the left hand. The man to the right is arranging the things on the table. Piled on it are two papyrus stalks, lettuce and a tray of figs. Above the table is a short inscription (No. 92) in incised relief.

Colours: The marrow has preserved traces of green and yellow, the papyruses and the sheave of tiny papyrus stalks, of green.

Inscription No. 80

*ʿIry mrht (?) Pr-ʿ3 Ny-nh-ʿRʿ1.*²¹

The keeper of the oil (?) of the Great House Nyankhre.

Colours: Traces of blue in signs 0 1 and X 1, green in V 28, red in D 21 (*R*^c), D 36, N 35 (!) and S 34 (!).

²¹ In examining the inscription one has the impression that the sign *r* (between *pr-ʿ3* and *mrht*) has been included later. It is therefore not impossible that still another sign has been omitted, namely *m*, and that it could (or should respectively) have been the title *imy-r mrht Pr-ʿ3* (see Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p.30). No other evidence of the occurrence of the title *iry mrht Pr-ʿ3* has so far been found as dating to the Old Kingdom.

Inscription No. 81

*Hm-k3, imy-r 'prw*²² *['P3n]* (?).²³

The *k3*-servant, the overseer of the workmen Pan (?).

Colours: Traces of blue paint have remained in sign Aa 20.

Inscription No. 82

'In.f ht nfr(t).²⁴

He brings good things.

Inscription No. 83

['Imy-r 'prw (?) k3ny].²⁵

The overseer of the workmen . . . gardener.

Inscription No. 84

'Ir šny Pr-3 ['K3(.i)-hp].²⁶

The hairdresser of the Great House Ka(i)hap.

Colours: Traces of green paint can be seen in signs V 31, Aa 5 and Q 3.

Inscription No. 85

Sš ['Hm-R'].²⁷

The scribe Hemre.

Colours: Scraps of red remain in signs D 21 and D 36.

Inscription No. 86

. . . ['rd'] (?)

Inscription No. 87

. . . ' (?) , ['hm-k3] Mmi.²⁸

. . . (?) , the k3-servant Memi.

Colours: The whole inscription is painted red.

²² For greater details about the title, see p.134 below.

²³ Ranke, *PN I*, p.129/16.

²⁴ In form, this inscription differs somewhat from all the others not only in this register but on the whole wall. It probably refers to the first of the bearers of the offering table. In its more extended form (*ht nbt nfrt* . . .), *ht nfr(t)* commonly occurs in the offering formulae.

²⁵ No large inscription can be expected in the space below the basket, but it cannot be excluded that there were two short inscriptions. The first would be the title *imy-r 'prw* and a private name, followed by another inscription separated by a vertical register line??

²⁶ Ranke, *PN I*, p. 340/16.

²⁷ Ranke, *PN I*, p. 239/24.

²⁸ The inscription is written right to left, as are some erased ones in this register (Nos. 89 and 90). Very probably ' is not part of a name but of a title which preceded *hm-k3*. If ' were part of a name, the writing of the title *hm-k3* after the private name would be very strange.

Inscription No. 88

ʿšḥd ḥmw-k3 ʿMmʿi (?)

The inspector of *k3*-servants Memi (?).

Colours: This inscription, too, is all painted red.

Inscription No. 89

.... ḥ3 t (?)

Inscription No. 90

.... pw (?)

Inscription No. 91

šḥd šd3wtw, ḥm-k3 ʿIdw.²⁹

The inspector of sealers, the *k3*-servant Idu.

Colours: Scraps of red paint are visible in signs S 29, D 32, D 46 and A 17, blue in U 36, and green in M 17.

Inscription No. 92

š3.f ššm-nfr.³⁰

His son Seshemnefer.

The decoration on the north wall of Room 4 is remarkable for the good condition of the reliefs (naturally in comparison with the badly damaged reliefs in other parts of the Mastaba), as well as for the subject-matter depicted here. The central figure of the whole wall is that of the standing Ptahshepses of near life-size. He is accompanied by his two sons and a group of attendants carrying a fan, toilet articles, etc. It is toward this large figure of Ptahshepses that the entire decoration on the remaining greater part of the wall is orientated. Only five registers have survived, but there must have originally been six of them. This estimate is based on the size of Ptahshepses's figure, including a possible inscription with the titulary above his head. The upper preserved register has retained a few fragments of a relief with scenes of *fowlers*,³¹ and it seems probable that a similar scene was depicted in the register above it that is missing now.

²⁹ Ranke, *PN I*, p. 54/10.

³⁰ Within the context of the scene, the inscription looks rather unusual. With regard to the direction of the writing, it might refer to the man standing right of the table.

³¹ Fowler scenes are of common occurrence in Old Kingdom tombs, see e.g. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 42 ff. Of this series, only a fragment of the scene of taking birds from cages and presenting them to Ptahshepses has survived in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses.

The scenes in the two next registers depict *gardening* pursuits,³² i.e. a subject-matter not very common in Old Kingdom tombs. Distributed here in regular rhythm are gardeners at work on plots and others bringing vegetables (one might even say “fresh” vegetables). On the plots one can see lettuce,³³ corn³⁴ and onions.³⁵ The gardeners round the plots are engaged in various operations. They are cutting out lettuce and taking it away, bringing water and pouring it, by means of the vessels on the edge of the plot, into small irrigation canals.³⁶ Logically following the gardeners’ operations is a series of smaller scenes in the two lowest registers, namely the *bringing of offering tables and baskets* (in the second register from the bottom) *with fruit and vegetables*, and the *final arrangement of the fruit and vegetables on the offering tables* (in the bottom register).³⁷ Ptahshepses is thus being presented with the products of the gardeners’ work, who are represented in the two upper registers. Brought to Ptahshepses on tables are two sorts of figs,³⁸ lettuce, onions, papyruses,³⁹ grapes,⁴⁰ marrows,⁴¹ corn ears,⁴² rush stalks even with roots, lotus flowers, and tiny unidentified ball-shaped fruits. All these fruit and vegetables are intended for Ptahshepses’s funerary repast.

There is one question still open to discussion, namely the erased inscriptions on the north wall of Room 4. Are we dealing here with only small, insignificant repairs, or some more extensive alterations in the decoration which might be in some connection with the enlargement of the Mastaba? It would seem that the traces of the erased inscriptions appear only in the two lowest registers, placed in all cases in the free area above the offering tables (which they must have already taken into account). Another striking fact is that all these erased inscriptions, like the two only painted red (Nos. 87 and 88), are written right to left, i.e. contrary to all the other inscriptions in the five preserved registers on this wall.

³² Similar gardening occupations are represented in the tombs of Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka* I, pl. 20), Rashepses (*LD* II, 61a), Iymery (*LD* II, 53), and others, if we do not count the numerous vintage scenes. For Old Kingdom gardening scenes in general, see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 247 ff.; Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, pp. 54–55; Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 179, 192–193, 238 and 349.

³³ Lettuce (*lactuca sativa*) belonged among the favourite vegetables in Ancient Egypt (see Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen*, pp. 1–6 and 121–126, and Täckholm, *Flora*, pp. 89–90). Representations of lettuce plots are relatively scarce in private tombs. Apart from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, it is particularly in the tomb of Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka* I, pl. 20, and that of Nyankhkhnum (Moussa, Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, pp. 76–77, fig. 8). There is a very strong probability that the scene of lettuce plots in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses has been patterned on the decoration in the Chapel of Seasons in the Sun Temple of Nyuserre at Abu Gurob, see Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 179 and 349. See also Edel, Wenig, *Jahreszeitenreliefs*, p. 23, pl. 15, No. 258.

³⁴ See Note 19, p. 69

³⁵ See Note 18, p. 69

³⁶ The vessels have evidently their bottoms pierced through so that water can flow freely into the small irrigation canals. The purpose of this simple device seems to have been to prevent a waste of water and to make a regular distribution into the canals possible. For this way of irrigation, see also Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 259–260.

³⁷ The bringing of offering tables with fruit, vegetables, etc. commonly occurs in various scenes in Old Kingdom tombs, see e.g. *LD* II, 61a (Rashepses); Wreszinski, *Atlas* I, pl. 96 (Hetepherakhti); and others. For the construction of the offering tables, see Vandier, *Manuel* IV, p. 137 ff.

³⁸ For *figus sycomorus* and *figus carica*, see e.g. Woenig, *Pflanzen*, p. 280 ff. and p. 294 ff.; Täckholm, *Flora*, p. 450; Keimer in *AcOr* 6, pp. 288–304.

³⁹ *Cyperus papyrus* was not only widespread but also much used in Ancient Egypt. The juicy flesh of the papyrus stalks was favourite food (Täckholm, Drar, *Flora*, II, pp. 104–106; Keimer in *JSOR* 11, pp. 142–145; Dixon, *Masticatories*, pp. 433–449). Besides the big papyrus stems, either with flowers or already cut into small pieces, also sheaves of tiny papyrus stalks can be found on the offering tables. Jéquier in *BIFAO* 19, pp. 232–233 s.v. “Asperge”, thought that they represent bunches of asparagus (*asparagus officinalis*). Täckholm, Drar, *Flora*, II, p. 221, contradicts this opinion and put forward a conjecture that they represent sheaves of papyrus stalks.

⁴⁰ *Vitis vinifera*, see e.g. Woenig, *Pflanzen*, p. 254 ff.

⁴¹ *Cucumis melo*, see Keimer, *Gartenpflanzen*, pp. 14–17, 130–133 and 171.

⁴² *Triticum dicoccum*.

The Gardening Scene

(List of Old Kingdom Sources Used)

| | |
|-------------|---|
| IYMERY | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) LD II, 53 |
| MERERUKA | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> I, pl. 20 |
| NYANKHKHNUM | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre) Moussa, Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> |
| RASHEPSES | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare) LD II, 61a |

Room 4 – South Wall

(West Section)

Pls 38–40

Photos 61–70

Approximately in the centre of the wall, a door is pierced connecting Room 4 with the numerous rooms of the southern and western parts of the Mastaba. The wall is incomplete, especially its top part missing entirely. Originally, the whole wall was decorated with reliefs which are badly damaged now, mainly due to the limestone surface being weathered. In the upper part of the wall, the impairment of the reliefs is more extensive, for the wall here has lain bare and exposed to erosion for a longer time. The reliefs are also damaged by slits between the blocks, the edges of which have crumbled off. Last but not least, some reliefs are to be found here that have been intentionally erased (see the text below). Reliefs cover not only the wall west and east of the door to Room 10 but also the left door-jamb. Near the right end of the wall is an incomplete standing figure of Ptahshepses of near life-size, the left arm, shoulders and head missing now. He is shown with the right leg forward, facing left, i.e. towards the main entrance to the Mastaba. He leans on a long staff, the left hand having seized its upper part, the right laid on it lengthwise. He wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece and sandals. In front of Ptahshepses are remnants of a vertical inscription in one line (No. 93). Represented before the advanced right leg of Ptahshepses are figures of a man and a boy, drawn on a much smaller scale. The man is holding with the left hand the lower end of Ptahshepses's staff, in the right seizing a lapwing by the wings. He wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece, has a broad collar and a pendant over it. Above his head are two vertical lines of text (No. 94). The boy standing behind him is unclothed, his body painted yellow (in contrast to the man standing before him, whose body is painted dark red).¹ The boy, too, holds Ptahshepses's staff with the right hand, in the left seizing a hoopoe by the wings. He has also a broad collar and a pendant suspended from it. Above his head is a vertical inscription in two lines (No. 95).

Filling the narrow space behind the large figure of Ptahshepses, at the right edge of the wall, are two men shown as standing one "above" the other. Both are attired in short tight-fitting skirts. The lower one carries on the shoulders an angular box with low legs, supporting it with his right hand. With the left he presses a bag (?) to his breast. The man above him carries a bed. In front of the latter is a short inscription (No. 96).

Colours: Ptahshepses's body is painted dark red, his kilt white, and the staff yellow. The man leaning upon his staff is painted dark red, his skirt white. The body of the boy is painted yellow. On the lapwing are traces of white and blue, on the hoopoe, of white. The bodies of both the men standing behind Ptahshepses retain traces of dark red, their skirts, of white. Visible on the box are scraps of yellow.

¹ A marked difference can be found here in comparison with the opposite north wall, where both figures are shown as boys; they are unclothed, their bodies painted yellow. On the wall under discussion, one of them is already grown-up, wears a skirt, and his body is painted dark red; the other is still a boy.

Inscription No. 93

[... *iw*?] *ʿm ḥswt n imyw-r šd* (?) [*nyw pr-ḏt*].²

[... coming?] in favour by the overseers of the poultry [of the endowment].

Colours: Remnants of red paint are to be found in sign D 46.

Inscription No. 94

1. *ʿSḏ.f šmšw*, *ny ib ʿnb.f*,

2. *šmr wʿty*, *ʿiry nfr-ḥt*

3. *Pth-špšš*.

1. His eldest son, the favourite of his Lord,

2. the sole companion, the keeper of the headdress

3. Ptahshepses.

Colours: Green (the handle) and red (the blade) can be seen in U 23, green in Q 3 and V 28, blue in X 1.

Inscription No. 95

1. *ʿSḏ.f*, *šmr wʿty*, *ʿhrp ʿh*,

2. *mʿrr nb.f ʿHm-ḥty*.

1. His son, the sole companion, the director of the palace,

2. one who loves his Lord, Hemakhty.

Colours: Traces of red paint are in signs T 21, in both D 21, and in G 25.

Inscription No. 96

Nfr-ʿkḏ-Šḏḥw-R.³

Neferkasahure.

The wall between the door and the large figure of Ptahshepses is crowded with scenes of the bringing of poultry. In the upper part of the wall, badly damaged now, we can discern figures of scribes shown as sitting and taking records. Only five registers have survived, but we can presuppose the original number to have been six at least, judging from the height of the large figure of Ptahshepses. The series of scenes begins in the lowest register.

² The interpretation of the preserved fragment of the inscription is rather complicated. For example, Wb IV, 565, translates *šd-3pd* as “Vogelmäster”, adding that it is the inscription in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses that provides the only evidence of the occurrence of this word in a title of Old Kingdom date.

³ The name is not attested in Ranke, *PN*.

1st Register

The register is relatively high as against the two other registers on the wall as well as the average height of the registers in other parts of the Mastaba. Its height is 59 cm, that of the registers above 28 cm, 22 cm and 19 cm, while the average height of the registers in the Mastaba is about 52 cm. The height of the register under discussion must have been influenced by the scene it shows. It is the bringing of four cranes. The first three are of the same size differing from one another only in some details of the build and in colouring. The first has red legs and beak, the feathers are light blue. The second also has red legs and beak but the feathers are yellow-grey. The third has red legs and beak, and light blue feathers, like the first. Behind the heads of all three are short inscriptions (Nos. 97, 98, 99). The fourth crane differs from the three in that it is smaller and has a tuft on the breast and the nape. Its body is painted light blue, but the tufts are yellow-grey, the legs and beak red. Behind its head is also a short inscription (No. 100). Walking behind the cranes is a shepherd represented on a much smaller scale than the cranes before him. In the right hand he holds a long stick, with the left he presses a bag under his arm suspended from a cord slung over his shoulder. He wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece and a short wig. Above his head are two vertical lines of text (No. 101). The body of the shepherd is painted dark red, his kilt white, the wig bears traces of black, the bag, of green, and the stick, of yellow.

2nd Register

The register shows six geese walking towards Ptahshepses. They differ from one another in slight details of the build and in the colour of their feathers. The first goose in the row has wings and neck painted yellow, the underbelly white. Behind its head are fragments of an inscription (No. 102). The second goose is almost entirely destroyed, only a fragment of the leg surviving. The third has wings painted yellow, the underbelly white. The fourth is all painted light blue. The fifth has again wings, neck and head painted yellow, the underbelly white. Of the last goose only the front part of the body remains. However, even this fragment clearly suggests that its wings, neck, and head were painted yellow and the underbelly white. Behind the heads of the last four are short inscriptions (Nos. 103, 104, 105, 106).

3rd Register

Represented in the register are seven ducks walking towards Ptahshepses. As the cranes and geese in the preceding register, so the ducks differ from one another in some details of the build and in the colour of their feathers. True, this paint has considerably faded but the bodies of the first four show distinct traces of white, the fifth and seventh of white and yellow. There has never been any inscription above any of them.

4th Register

The register is very narrow, showing the squatting figure of five scribes writing records into papyrus rolls. They all squat on the heel of the right foot while the left knee, drawn up, supports the left hand holding the papyrus. Each of them, with the exception of the middle and the last ones, has an elliptical box⁴ placed in front of him with papyrus rolls and writing implements piled on it. Placed on the ground before the middle and the last are angular boxes on low legs with writing implements and papyrus rolls on top of it. All scribes are clad in short tight-fitting skirts.

Colours: Only the bodies of several scribes have retained faint traces of dark red, their kilts, of white.

⁴ Hrt.^c, "A wooden box for writing implements and documents". More details on this subject can be found, for example, in Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, pp. 265–266, and in Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 146–147.

5th Register

The scene in this register is almost entirely destroyed. Only fragments of three standing male figures in short skirts can be discerned here.

Inscription No. 97

D3t.⁵

The *d3t*-crane.

Inscription No. 98

D3t i'w.⁶

The *d3t i'w*-crane.

Inscription No. 99

D3t.

The *d3t*-crane.

Inscription No. 100

Wd'.⁷

The *wd'*-crane.

Inscription No. 101

i'Imy-r šd *Df*dy.⁸

The overseer of the poultry Defdy.

Inscription No. 102

[*Šm*]n (?).⁹

Šmn(?)-goose.

Inscription No. 103

Hmt.¹⁰

Female (goose).

⁵ *D3t* is the most frequently represented species of crane in Old Kingdom tombs. Vandier, *Manuel* V, p.404, designates it as "Grue centrée" (?), Boessneck, *Haustiere*, pp.33–36, as "Grauer Kranich" (*Grus grus*).

⁶ According to *Wb* V, 516, it is "besondere Art *d3t* Kranichs". See also Montet, *Scènes*, p.141.

⁷ *Wd'*, too, is a relatively common species of cranes occurring in Old Kingdom tombs. Vandier, *op.cit.*, p.402, designates it "Demoiselle de Numidie" (?), Boessneck, *op.cit.*, pp.33–35, as "Jungfraukranich" (*Anthropoides virgo*).

⁸ It has already been mentioned in Note to Inscription No. 93 that evidence to the title *imy-r šd*, given in *Wb* IV, 565, comes from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses. It should be pointed out that it is in Inscription No. 93 that it occurs, not in Inscription No. 101 (see *Wb Belegstellen* s.v.); however, the latter might be more suitable for understanding the title.

For the name *Dfdy*, see Ranke, *PN* I, p.399/21. The only evidence to the name given by Ranke comes from this very inscription in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses.

⁹ Is it a fragment of the word *šmn* which designates a species of goose (*Alopochen aegyptiaca*, see Boessneck, *Haustiere*, pp.33–35)?

¹⁰ *Hmt*, usually followed by the determination of the species, is a general designation of the female. Montet, *Scènes*, p.143, gives *r3-hmt* as being the inscription from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, which is not correct.

Inscription No. 104

ⲓⲔⲛⲁ-ⲕⲁ.¹¹

White goose.

Inscription No. 105

ⲓⲔⲛⲁ (ⲓⲣ).¹²

The *trp*-goose.

Inscription No. 106

ⲓⲔⲛⲁ(ⲓⲣ).

The *trp*-goose.

The relief decoration of the western part of the south wall of Room 4 has not, unfortunately, survived complete. Moreover, even the main inscription introducing the scenes here is incomplete and badly damaged. Yet it seems obvious that a substantial part of the decoration consisted in scene of the *bringing of poultry, cranes, geese and ducks*, and of the registering of their amounts by a group of scribes. It is a scene of common occurrence in private tombs of Old Kingdom date,¹³ for poultry was a favourite dainty of Ancient Egyptians, which was never absent in funerary repasts. The scene of the bringing of poultry is given great prominence in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, for it fills a great portion of one of the walls of so important a room as the chapel which niches was. The scene is orientated toward the deceased, Ptahshepses, accompanied by his two sons and his personal attendants.

The scenes under discussion fall in harmonically with the decoration of the whole south wall of Room 4; for the other parts of this wall show the bringing of wild animals and of the gifts of pastures.

Bringing the Poultry

(List of Old Kingdom Sources Used)

| | | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|------------|--|---|
| AKHETHETEP | Saqqara | Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare – Unis) | NEFER | Giza | End of Dyn. V or later |
| | Davies, <i>Ptahhetep</i> II, pl. 19 | | | Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, pp. 59–60. figs. 15 and 16 | |
| IYMERY | Giza | Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or a little later) | PTAHHETEP | Saqqara | Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare – Unis) |
| | LD II, 50b | | | Davies, <i>Ptahhetep</i> I, pl. 21 | |
| KADUA | Giza | Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) | RAWER | Giza | End of Dyn. V |
| | Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI/3, p. 103. fig. 82 | | | Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, p. 233, fig. 48 | |
| KAEMNEFERET | Giza | Dyn. V–VI | RAEMKAI | Saqqara | End of Dyn. V |
| | LD II, 91c | | | Hayes, <i>Scepter</i> I, p. 100 | |
| KAEMREHU | Saqqara | Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) | RAHSHEPSES | Saqqara | Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare) |
| | Mogensen, <i>Le mastaba égyptien</i> , p. 22, fig. 17 | | | LD II, 61b | |
| KAPURE | Saqqara | Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare or later) | SENEDJEMIB | Giza | Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare) |
| | Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , p. 276 | | | LD II, 74b | |
| MANEFER | Saqqara | Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare or later) | TI | Saqqara | Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre – end of Dyn. V) |
| | LD II, 69–70 | | | Épron, <i>Ti</i> I, pl. 24; Wild, <i>Ti</i> III, pl. 165–169 | |

¹¹ In similar scenes in Old Kingdom tombs, we can usually find the designation *r3* or *hḏ*.

¹² *T* is just an abbreviated writing of *trp*, one of the species of goose (*Anser albifrons*), see Boessneck, *op.cit.*, pp.33–35.

¹³ For general discussion of scenes of the bringing of poultry in Old Kingdom tombs, see Klebs, *Reliefs des alten Reiches*, pp.119–120; Montet, *op.cit.*, p. 126 ff.; Vandier, *op.cit.* V, p.398 ff.

Door Between Rooms 4 and 10

Pls 41,42
Photos 81-83

Relief decoration covers only the left door jamb (in the direction from Room 4 to Room 10). The original decoration has not survived complete, for its upper part is lost. Only five registers have remained, and that badly damaged. This is due to the weathered surface of the limestone wall, to several pieces of the blocks being broken off, and, last but not least, to an intentional erasure of the reliefs. Represented on the door jamb are scenes of the bringing of animals, continuing thus in subject-matter those on other parts of the south wall.

1st Register

(from the bottom)

Shown in the register is a male figure bringing a male gazelle. The man, looking behind, is walking before the gazelle holding it by the nostrils with the left hand and by the horns with the right. He wears only a strip of cloth about his loins. Above the gazelle is a short inscription (No. 107). The gazelle, man and inscription are badly damaged due to the relief having been intentionally erased. It has been only the picture of the gazelle, or the hieroglyphs respectively, that have been erased. The register is also remarkable for the fact that it gets narrower in the direction out of Room 4. The lower edge of the register is horizontal while the upper line is declining.

Colours: Only the preserved parts of the bodies of the men bear traces of dark red paint.

2nd Register

The basic display of the scene much resembles that discussed above. However, instead of a gazelle, a male oryx is being led by a man walking before it. He holds it by the nostrils with his left hand and by the horns with the right, his upper body turned back. He wears a narrow strip of cloth about the loins and a short wig. Above the oryx is a horizontal inscription (No. 108).

Colours: The bodies of both the man and the oryx show traces of dark red paint.

3rd Register

In the register a man is seen bringing a male ibex. He is walking before it, his upper body turned back. With the right hand he holds the ibex by the horns, with the left by the nostrils. The man wears only a narrow strip of cloth about his loins and a short wig. Above the ibex is a short inscription (No. 109). Some parts of the relief have been erased but not so badly as was the case of the bottom (1st) register.

Colours: The body of the man reveals traces of dark red paint.

4th Register

Only part of the scene has survived, moreover badly damaged. A lying ox is shown here, its back covered with a blanket. Sitting on the ground before it is a man feeding it from a low bowl. His left hand is inside the bowl, the right touching the muzzle of the ox. Also this man has only a narrow strip of cloth about his loins. Above the lying ox are remains of an inscription (No. 110).

5th Register

Only a badly weathered fragment has remained of the scene in this register. All that can be discerned is the lower part of a walking male figure and remains of a vertical inscription (No. 111). Small as the fragment is, it clearly indicates that the scene here has been disposed differently from those in the registers described above.

Inscription No. 107

ṚḤs¹.

Gazelle.

Inscription No. 108

Ṛn¹ mṣ-Ṛḥd¹.²

Young oryx.

Inscription No. 109

ṚN¹ṣ¹.³

Ibex.

Inscription No. 110

Ṛn iws¹.

Young ox.

Inscription No. 111

... Ṛḥprt¹ (?)

The *bringing of offering animals*, both wild and domesticated, is again an important and frequently occurring scene in tombs of Old Kingdom date.⁴ It is often connected with a scene of the bringing of poultry, and sometimes even with one of scribes registering their amount. It is the same case in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses where the scene of bringing offering animals has been ingenuously placed on the left door jamb. Yet it has remained part of the decoration of the south wall of Room 4. The lower three registers show the bringing of wild animals, a gazelle, an oryx and an ibex. The man bringing them holds them by the horns with one hand, the fingers of the other stuck in the nostrils, which makes the animals more manageable.⁵ The bringing of wild animals is often followed by the bringing of oxen. In an abbreviated form, our scene shows a lying ox fed from a bowl by a man sitting in front of it.⁶ The fifth register, of which only a small and moreover damaged fragment has remained, may have also depicted the bringing of animals.

¹ Gazelle *dorcas dorcas*, see Boessneck, *Haustiere*, pp. 27–30.

² Oryx *Blainville* (Boessneck, *op.cit.*, pp. 27–30).

³ *Capra ibex nubiana* (*ibid.*).

⁴ Montet, *Scènes*, p. 126 ff.; Vandier, *Manuel V*, p. 1 ff.

⁵ The same way of bringing the animals can be found, for example, in the tombs of Rashepses (LD II, 61 b, and *Ergänz.* 39), Kadua (Junker, *Giza III*, p. 103, fig. 82), Hetepherakhty (Mohr, *Hetepherakhti*, p. 85, fig. 53), Inty, (Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl. 11), and others.

⁶ A similar scene can be found in the tombs of Rashepses (LD II, 62), Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 153), Isi (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi II*, pl. 19), and others.

In evaluating the scenes on the left door jamb, attention should be also devoted to the lowest register narrowing in the direction out of Room 4 and, consequently, to the registers above declining in the same direction. Implied here is an obvious effort to bring the decoration of the door jamb into a harmonic relation with the door space itself, and perhaps even an effort to achieve a seeming perspective.⁷ No less remarkable is the intentional erasure of the relief in the bottom register depicting the bringing of a gazelle. The reason must have been the emplacement of the relief low above the floor, an easily accesible place in the much used door space. However, it also seems probable that there may have been another, more serious, reason for erasing this register. The gazelle was originally regarded as Sutech animal,⁸ which may have made a later visitor of the Mastaba damage the relief deliberately.

⁷ See e.g. Schäfer, *Kunst*⁴, p. 272, and Smith, *HESPOK*, pp. 326–327.

⁸ Bonnet, *RÄRG*, p. 201.

Bringing the Animals

(List of Old Kingdom Sources Used)

| | |
|---------------|--|
| AKHETHETEP | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare – Unis) Davies, <i>Ptahhetep</i> II, pls. 19 and 21 |
| ANKHMAHOR | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi I) Capart, <i>Rue de tombeaux</i> , pls. 44–45 |
| BUNEFER | Giza End of Dyn. IV to Dyn. V Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, p. 192, fig. 154 Deir el-Gebrâwi Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi II) |
| DJAU | Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> II, pl. 9 |
| HETEPHERAKHTI | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) Mohr, <i>Hetepherakhti</i> , pp. 41 (fig. 8), 43 (fig. 10) and 85 (fig. 53) |
| IDUT | Saqqara Dyn. VI Macramallah, <i>Idout</i> , pls. 9, 10 and 20 |
| INTI | Deshasha Dyn. VI Petrie, <i>Deshasheh</i> , pl. 11 |
| ISI | Deir el-Gebrâwi Dyn. VI Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> II, pl. 19 |
| IYMERY | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) <i>LD</i> II, 49, 50b, 54 |
| IYNEFERET | Giza Dyn. V or later Wiedemann, Pörtner, <i>Karlsruhe</i> , pl. 3 |
| KADUA | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VI/3, p. 103, fig. 82 |
| KAEMNEFERET | Giza Middle of Dyn. V or later Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, p. 122, fig. 136 |
| KAEMREHU | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) Mogensen, <i>Le mastaba égyptien</i> , p. 20, fig. 15 |
| KAGEMNI | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) v. Bissing, <i>Gemnikai</i> I, pl. 13 |
| KAHIF | Giza Middle of Dyn. V Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, p. 127, fig. 40 |
| MERERUKA | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> I, pl. 50 and II, pl. 153 |
| NEBEMAKHET | Giza Dyn. IV (temp. Khephren to Menkaure) Hassan, <i>Giza</i> IV, p. 139, fig. 80 |
| NEFER | Giza End of Dyn. V or later Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, fig. 16 |
| NEFERBAUPTAH | Giza Middle – End of Dyn. V <i>LD</i> II, 58 |
| NEKHETKA | Giza Middle of Dyn. V or later Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VII, p. 31, fig. 22 |

| | |
|----------------|---|
| NIUTY | Giza End of Dyn. V or later <i>LD Ergänz.</i> 30 |
| PTAHHETEP | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare – Unis) Paget, Pirie, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , pl. 33 |
| RASHEPSES | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare) <i>LD</i> II, 61b, 62 and <i>Ergänz.</i> 39 and 41 |
| RAWER | Giza End of Dyn. V Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, p. 233, fig. 48 |
| SENEDJEMIB | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Unis) <i>LD</i> II, 74b, c |
| good name MEHI | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare) Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, p. 73, fig. 8b |
| SESHMNEFER | Giza End of Dyn. V or later Junker, <i>Giza</i> IX, fig. 86 |
| SHETUI | |
| TI | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre – end of Dyn. V) Épron, <i>Ti</i> I, pl. 6; Wild, <i>Ti</i> II, pl. 124 and III, pls. 165–169 |

Room 4 – South Wall

(Eastern section)

Pls 43,44

Photos 71–75

The eastern portion of the south wall of Room 4 is no doubt the most damaged part of this wall and perhaps of the whole room. The wall is destroyed by erosion, pieces of blocks broken off. Only four incomplete registers have remained with scenes of bringing the gifts from the marsh- and pasture-land. All preserved registers are of about the same height, about 35 cm.

1st Register

(from the bottom)

In the front part of the register, just by the door, is a group of men carrying various objects. They file towards the large figure of Ptahshepses at the western edge of the wall. The first three are clad in short kilts with triangular front-piece, the fourth wears a striped skirt with a flap in front.¹ All four wear short wigs. The first man carries in the left hand an indeterminable object (a mat?, or a bunch of plants? judging from the remains of green paint), and presses it against his breast, in the right hand lotuses. The second man carries a calf steadying it from below with his left hand, with the right holding it by the forelegs so that it could not kick. The third carries a cage with birds on the shoulder. With his left hand he supports the cage, in the right carrying a fish (a young catfish?). The fourth carries a stick on the right shoulder, a bag full of tiny ball-shaped fruits suspended from it. Also in the left hand he clutches a stick leaned against the shoulder.

Shown in the second half of the register, following the group of the four men, is a scene with a papyrus boat. Unfortunately, it is more damaged than the front part of the register. Represented on the preserved fragment is a man standing in water up to his knees, dragging by the prow the papyrus boat to the bank. On the prow is a cage with birds, another man standing astride over it, perhaps preparing to jump down on the bank. Both men wear strips of cloth about the loins with a narrow sheath in front. Visible in the background are reeds growing from the water. Next to the boat, immediately at the edge of the register, another small fragment of the relief has survived. From this it follows that the register was divided into three narrow "sub-registers". The lowest one shows remains of a lying cow (or a calf), its neck bound on a rope. In front of it is a cubic-like object (a feeding basket?). In the middle "sub-register" is a fragment of an indeterminate object, in the top one a vessel, a piece of meat on bone over it.

Colours: On the bodies of all men shown in the register are traces of dark red, on their skirts and the strips of cloth about their loins, of white, on their wigs, of black. The lotus flowers held by the first man reveal white, the fish carried by the third is red. Scraps of green are to be found on the papyrus boat and on the reeds. Surviving on the vessel near the right edge of the register are remnants of dark red, on the piece of meat, of pink with dark red spots.

¹ Similar skirts can often be found as worn by herdsmen.

2nd Register

Greater part of the decoration in the register is destroyed. On the preserved fragments one can, however, safely discern a row of male figures walking again towards the large figure of Ptahshepses. Altogether eight men are shown here as carrying various gifts. Only the figures of the first two are almost intact, of the remaining six only the upper part of their bodies surviving. The first two men are clad in short kilts with triangular front-piece, all men wear wigs. The first carries a small vessel in his left hand stretched forward, in the right a long, narrow wicker-basket.² In front of his face are remains of an inscription (No. 112). The second carries a goose holding it with the right hand by the legs, with the left by the neck. The third carries a stick on the shoulder (on which a bag was apparently slung). In front of him is a vertical inscription in incised relief (No. 113). As to the fourth, it is impossible to discern what he was carrying. The fifth carries a bunch of papyrus. The sixth has again a stick on the shoulder on which a bag may have been suspended. The seventh carries a crane in his arms. The eighth carries a small vessel in the left hand, in the right he had perhaps a bag. The final part of the register, following the row of eight men, is divided into two subregisters. The lower shows a vessel with a lid, a plucked bird spitted on a stick, and a box. In the upper are a vessel, a box and a pile of indeterminate fruits.

Colours: The bodies of the men bear traces of dark red, the kilts of the first two are white. On several wigs are scraps of black, on the basket carried by the first man, of green. Both boxes at the end of the register bear alternating stripes of yellow and green, the plucked bird is painted red, both vessels red, and the pile of produce is red, green and yellow.

3rd Register

Even though the register is badly damaged due to the weather-worn surface of the wall, the scene in it is relatively the best preserved on the wall. The front part of the register shows a group of four men walking right towards the large figure of Ptahshepses. The first two wear short skirts with a flap hanging down in front, the other two have short kilts with triangular front-piece. All four wear wigs. The first man carries in his left hand a small egg-shaped vessel suspended from a cord, in the right holding a stick. This is leaned against the shoulder, a bag with tiny ball-shaped fruits slung on its end. The second man carries a bunch of lotus flowers in his left hand and a goose in the right. The third has both hands upraised, small ball-shaped vessels in each. The fourth carries a bag with tiny ball-shaped fruits in the left hand, a bunch of papyrus in the right (?).

The other half of the register depicts the milking of a cow. The cow has the hindlegs bound with rope, a man kneeling under it and milking it. The milk flows into a semispherical bowl on a stand. Before the cow is a small calf. Two men, one in front and the other in the back, help to hold the cow while it is being milked. The one in front holds it by the horns, in the left hand carrying a milk jug hung on a cord. The man standing behind the cow has his left hand placed on its back, in the right holding a stick leaned against the shoulders, a bag with small ball-shaped fruits slung on it. The scene is closed by a man carrying a small calf and a stick in his arms. The men are attired either in short kilts with triangular front-piece or in skirts with a flap hanging down in front. Above the milking scene are remains of an inscription (No. 114).

Colours: Only the bodies of several men show traces of dark red paint. Some scraps of white can be found on several kilts. Visible on the milk jug are remnants of red, on the bag, of green.

² For various types of this basket, see e.g. Smith, *HESPOK*, fig. 208, and v. Bissing, *Gemnikai* I, pl. 28.

4th Register

The scene in this register is almost entirely destroyed. From the tiny fragments one can judge that the front part of the register depicted a head of cattle walking right. The other half contained a cow accompanied by a small calf, walking right as well. The cow has its left foreleg bound on a rope.

5th Register

The surface of the wall being badly damaged, it is impossible to reconstruct the scene depicted in this register.

Inscription No. 112

Ḥm-kꜣ³

The kꜣ-servant

Inscription No. 113

. . . . Wnn-nfr⁴

. . . . Wenennefer.

Inscription No. 114

š[šr] i(r)tt.

Milking.

The scenes on the eastern part of the south wall of Room 4 harmonically complement those on the western half and on the left door jamb. Represented in several registers is the *bringing of the gifts of marsh- and pasture-land*,⁵ *milking*, and obviously other similar scenes (in the damaged top registers). Relatively the best preserved is the milking scene, which can often be found in Old Kingdom tombs. In the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, only one cow⁶ is being milked, but calves which usually accompany such scenes are not absent here.⁷ The milking is performed by one man kneeling on the left knee in front of the cow. The milk flows into a bowl⁸ put on a stand, not on the ground as is usual in scenes of this kind. The inscription "milking" is brief, but this is usually so in such scenes.⁹

³ The following private name must have been on the broken-off piece of the relief, under the man's upraised hand.

⁴ The damaged beginning of the inscription contained a title. For the name, see Ranke, *PN I*, p. 79/19.

⁵ Scenes of this kind are of common occurrence in Old Kingdom tombs. A similar one appears on a fragment of a relief published by Mogensén, *La collection égyptienne*, pl. 92 (A 664).

⁶ For example, one register in the tomb of Manefer shows the milking of five cows, another one of four cows (*LD II*, 66).

⁷ The calves are sometimes shown leaping and turning their heads to the cow, elsewhere they are held by the herdsman, etc. Their movements clearly indicate that they are asking for milk, of which they are being deprived by the milking man.

⁸ The bowl in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses has a rounded bottom, so that the stand on which it is placed makes it more stable. It is only exceptionally that milk is milked into an inconvenient vessel, for example a narrow "beer jug" (in the tomb of Kaemankh, see Junker, *Giza IV*, pl. 12).

⁹ Sometimes the inscription "Milking a cow" can be found, elsewhere "Efficacious milking", etc. Worth attention is also the inscription "Milking milk for the spirit of Isi" in the tomb of Hemre called Isi (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi II*, p. 25). The inscription ššr iṛtt appears, for example, in the milking scene published by Moussa, Junge, *Two Craftsmen*, p. 41 and pl. 13.

Milking

(List of Old Kingdom Sources Used)

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|--|
| AKHMERUTNESUT | Giza | End of Dyn. V or later Smith, <i>HESPOK</i> , fig. 79 |
| FETEKTA | Saqqara | Middle of Dyn. V or later <i>LD II</i> , 96 |
| HEMRE, called ISI | Deir el-Gebrâwi | End of Dyn. VI or later râwi Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi II</i> , p. 25 and pl. 19 |
| HETEPHERAKHTI | Saqqara | Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) Mohr, <i>Hetepherakhti</i> , p. 61, fig. 32 |
| IBI | Deir el-Gebrâwi | Dyn. VI (temp. Pepi II) Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrâwi I</i> , pl. 11 |
| ITETI | Deshasha | Dyn. VI |
| good name SHEDU | Petrie, <i>Deshasheh</i> , | pl. 18 |
| KAEMANKH | Giza | Dyn. VI Junker, <i>Giza IV</i> , p. 81, pl. 12 |
| KAEMNEFERET | Giza | Middle of Dyn. V or later Hassan, <i>Giza II</i> , fig. 123 |
| KAGEMNI | Saqqara | Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) Firth, Gunn, <i>TPC I</i> , p. 114 and II, pl. 52 |
| KHUNES | Zawiyet el-Maiytin | Middle of Dyn. V – first half of Dyn. VI <i>LD II</i> , 106a |
| MANEFER | Saqqara | Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare or later) <i>LD II</i> , 66 |
| SENEDJEMIB | Giza | Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare) <i>LD II</i> , 77 |
| TI | Saqqara | Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre – end of Dyn. V) Wild, <i>Ti II</i> , pl. 124 |

Room 4 – West Wall

Pls 45–48

Photos 76–80

The west wall is unquestionably the most remarkable in Room 4. True, only its bottom part has remained (about one third of the assumed height), but enough is left to make a reconstruction of its original appearance possible. In the wall are three not very deep niches which divide it, as it were, into seven regular narrow sections. Three are formed by the niches, the remaining four, of about the same width, being walls between them. The fronts of these walls are decorated with reliefs, the side surfaces (before the niches, not inside!) bear narrow orange stripes alternating with wide green ones. Judging from the remnants of the door-pits at the edges of the niches, we can safely assume that there has been a narrow two-leaf door in each niche. In front of the niches is a low platform approached to by three stairs, placed in the axis of each niche. At its southern and northern edges, the whole west wall is decorated by a torus. Each of the four narrow front walls has remains of reliefs, showing Ptahshepses and bigger or smaller remnants of inscriptions. Ptahshepses's figures are all orientated towards the middle niche, i.e. two are facing right, two left.

1st "Narrow Wall"

(from the south, i.e. from left)

Owing to the torus at the left edge, the wall here is narrower than the two middle ones. On both sides it is bordered by bands, framing, as it were, the picture of Ptahshepses. He is shown as standing with the left leg forward and facing right, i.e. in the direction of the middle niche, his hands hanging down beside him. He is clad in a short kilt with triangular front-piece, has a wide sash across the breast, and wears a short beard, a broad collar and a shoulder-length wig. Above him is an incomplete vertical inscription (No. 115). The picture of Ptahshepses is impaired by a "double" contour of the face, for an outline of the nose, mouth and chin goes through the wig. It is obviously an error of the artist carving the picture. He must have begun to cut the face too far to the left and forgotten the bordering band, supposing that the border would be formed by the torus. He has later realized his mistake and shifted the picture 5 cm to the right, which is the exact width of the band. The wrong picture has certainly been covered by plaster which has, however, crumbled off in the course of time and laid it bare again. The narrowing of the wall by the width of the torus has also been the reason why Ptahshepses's advanced left leg could not get into the surface limited by the two bands. Thus the point of the foot goes across the band, reaching the edge of the wall.

Colours: The border band is formed by alternating wider blue, red and green stripes separated from one another by three narrow stripes, black, white and black (these three narrow stripes together give the width of one wide stripe). Ptahshepses's body is painted dark red, his kilt and sash white, the wig reveals traces of black, and the collar, of green. The background of both the figure and the inscription is yellow.

2nd "Narrow Wall"

Repeated here in a slightly modified form, is the same subject-matter as that shown on the wall described above. Bordered by bands on both sides, the wall shows Ptahshepses also looking right, his left leg advanced. In his right hand, hanging down at his side, he clutches a roll, in the left holding a long staff in front of him. He wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece, a broad collar, a short beard and a wig of shoulder length. Above his figure is an incomplete inscription (No. 116). This wall, too, contains an interesting correction. Originally, Ptahshepses held a sceptre in the right hand; this has, however, been erased and part of its grip remade into a short roll. But the original contour of the sceptre is well visible.

3rd "Narrow Wall"

Represented on the surface bordered by bands on the sides is again Ptahshepses. He is looking left, i.e. toward the middle niche and the two figures of him mentioned above. His right leg is advanced, the left hand hanging at his side clutching a roll, the right holding a long staff in front of him. He is attired in a short kilt with triangular front-piece, has a broad collar, a short beard and a long wig. Above his head is again an incomplete vertical inscription (No. 117).

Colours: The border bands are striped in the same way as those on the preceding walls. The body is painted dark red, the kilt is white, the collar green, on the wig are remains of black, and on the staff, of yellow.

4th "Narrow Wall"

At its right edge the surface of this wall is narrower by the width of the torus. Bordering the wall are bands again. Represented in the middle is Ptahshepses facing left. His right leg is forward, the hands hanging beside him. He wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece, a wide sash across the breast, a wig of shoulder length, a short beard and a broad collar. Above his head are remains of a vertical inscription (No. 118). This wall, too, reveals serious corrections. Originally, Ptahshepses was portrayed as wearing a short tight-fitting skirt, reaching up to the waist only, which has later been altered into the type described above. The correction has been made by white paint only. Owing to the torus and the narrower surface for Ptahshepses's figure, we can also find here the point of his advanced foot reaching across the border band.

Colours: The border band has the same colour stripes as those on the three preceding walls. The background of Ptahshepses's figure as well as of the inscription is yellow. The body is dark red, the kilt and the sash white, visible on the collar are remnants of green, and on the wig, of black paint.

Inscription No. 115

..... [Pth-šp]šš.

..... [Ptahshep]ses.

Colours: In both signs are tiny traces of blue paint.

Inscription No. 116

..... ỉry nfr-hꜣt Pth-špšš'.

..... the keeper of the headdress Ptahshepses.

Colours: Visible in X 1 and in both S 29 are traces of blue, in V 28, of green.

Inscription No. 117

..... [šmr] ṛwṛtyṛ, ṛry nfr-h3ṛtṛ Pṛtṛh-ṛšpššṛ.

..... the sole [companion], the keeper of the headdress Ptahshepses.

Colours: In signs T 21, X 1, D 21, F 4, Q 3, A 50 and in both S 29 are traces of white.

Inscription No. 118

[Pṛh-šp]ššṛ.

..... [Ptahshep]ses.

Colours: Remains of blue can be seen in both S 29.

The west wall was of extraordinary significance not only in Room 4 but in the whole Mastaba.¹ Disposed in the niches, once provided with tall, narrow two-leaf doors, were in all likelihood standing statues of Ptahshepses. All of the front narrow walls, quasi pillars, which originated due to the wall being resolved by the niches, show Ptahshepses. Altogether four pictures of him are positioned in such a way as to face the middle niche, i.e. two figures look right, two left. Two different representations of Ptahshepses can be found here, one as a priest, the other as a high official and dignitary. As a lector-priest he is clad in a skirt with a sash across the breast, as a high official he wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece, holding a long staff and a roll in his hands.² His representations as lector-priest are to be found on the two corner walls, those as a high official on the two middle ones. Above all pictures of Ptahshepses are inscriptions containing his titulary and name, the figure as if determining them. It can be safely assumed that all the inscriptions were not the same but that there have been two pairs of text corresponding with the representations of Ptahshepses-lector-priest, and Ptahshepses-high official. This conjecture finds some support in the two relatively best preserved inscriptions (Nos. 116 and 117). Both are placed above Ptahshepses-high official, the preserved fragments of the titulary they contain being identical.

The special significance of the whole west wall of Room 4 is also pointed out by other facts. The wall is bordered on its sides by a torus, resembling thus an enormous false door. Remarkable is also the special application of colour in the inscriptions. As far as could be ascertained, there are traces of blue in all signs, in one case also of green. This special colour convention has already been taken notice of by Smith.³ The use of blue for filling in the signs is strikingly reminiscent of the later Pyramid Texts. We are obviously dealing here with the same tendency to the conventional use of blue, in the background of which are the same religious reasons.⁴

¹ According to Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 55, the elaborate arrangement in this room has been made for three statue shrines which were intended for three large standing statues of Ptahshepses. Somewhat similar dispositions of private statues of the owner occur in the chapels of Ankhmare (G 7837), Khafraankh (LG 75), Yaseh (G 2196) and Neferbaupah (G 6010) at Giza or in the Mastaba of Mereruka at Saqqara.

² The deceased liked to have himself represented as lector-priest in certain places of his tomb, in particular on the false doors (Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp. 80–83). Interesting is also the other representation of Ptahshepses on the walls between the niches. It shows him as a high official with staff and roll as badges of office.

³ Smith, *HESPOK*, p. 259, remarks: "This conventional use of blue and green is the same as that found in the blue or green incised hieroglyphs of the texts in the Dyn. V and VI pyramids, or in certain incised or sunk relief inscriptions in private monuments where all the signs are filled in with green paint, or sometimes with blue."

⁴ For the implication of blue as a colour of mourning, see Hornblower in *Ancient Egypt* 1932, p. 51. The use of blue in the Pyramid Texts and its religious background would perhaps deserve a re-assessment. It is namely surprising that Kees in *NSWG* 11, p. 464, states in a rather negative way "trotzdem spielt die blaue Farbe in der Symbolik religiöser Texte keine Rolle". Of the same viewpoint is also Brunner-Traut in *LÄ* 9, p. 125 s.v.

Room 10

As far as Room 10 is concerned, there are some questions that have not been answered yet. Even though the space between Room 4 and the northern row of pillars of the pillared court seemingly form one whole, in the plan it is divided into two spaces (Nos. 11 and 12). The reason was a supposition that the wide Room No. 11 had in fact been a portico divided by a pair of pillars. In de Morgan's plan¹ the two pillars in question were marked by a dot-and-dash line. However, his suggestion was a vague one. In the course of the recent excavations nothing was found that would confirm the existence of the two pillars. The partly preserved decoration in low relief on the wall of Room 10 proves that the room had most probably been roofed which would not have been possible without appropriate support. Therefore the supposition of the existence of a pair of pillars cannot be totally rejected. Last but not least, the significance of Room 10 results from the fact that it is direct on the boundary of the three presupposed building stages of the Mastaba. It cannot be excluded that during the second building stage a disposition was planned differing somewhat from what was finally accomplished in the third stage.

Room 10 – East Wall

Pls 49–52
Photos 84–89

The wall is badly damaged by erosion, the top part missing entirely. The middle part of the wall has preserved remains of the original decoration in low relief. Represented here over life-size is a male figure seated on a chair. He is looking right, i.e. towards the pillared court. Badly damaged though the relief is, part of the figure even missing, it is possible to discern that the man has the right hand placed on the lap, the left holding a long staff in front of him. He wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece. The chair has a low back-rest and lions legs. Kneeling before him is a woman represented on a much smaller scale. Greater part of her figure is destroyed, yet the remains indicate that she was clad in a short tight-fitting robe reaching down to her knees. On the left hand, resting on her leg, she has a broad bracelet. In front of the kneeling woman are remains of an inscription (No. 119). Behind the woman, at the very edge of the wall, a standing girl is represented on a still smaller scale. Her left hand hangs down at her side, the right laid on her breast. She is dressed in a long tight-fitting robe and has broad anklets. In front of the girl, whose figure is badly damaged by erosion, are remains of hieroglyphs (No. 120).

¹ *Rev. arch.* 24, p. 21, fig. 2.

The wall behind the seated man is divided into three registers. Originally, the relief decoration may have gone still higher. The bottom register shows a pair of male figures turned towards the chair, their hands hanging beside them. They are clad in short kilts with triangular front-piece. Above and in front of each of them are inscriptions (Nos. 121 and 122). Shown in the second register, which is behind the back of the seated man, is again a pair of men walking in the same direction as that before. Both are attired in short kilts with triangular front-piece. The first man has his right hand along the thigh, clutching a scarf, with the left supporting a low oblong box on the shoulder. The other man is represented in the same way. Both figures are badly damaged by erosion, as are the inscriptions accompanying them (Nos. 123 and 124). Of the third register, behind the shoulders of the seated man, only the lower line has survived, the rest being entirely destroyed by erosion.

The surface below the scene of the seated man is divided, by a horizontal line and a vertical one, into four rectangulars. Each of the two left of the vertical line shows four seated male figures, the two right five seated figures. All men are clad in short skirts and differ from one another in the position of the hands. Most of them have one hand resting on the lap, the other laid on the shoulder or placed clenched on the breast. The modified postures of the individual men do not seem to follow any rhythm or symmetry. The top right-hand rectangular shows, in fact, only four seated men, for the first man left has been intentionally erased, as has the inscription in front of him. After the erasure of the picture, the wall has been carefully smoothed up. Nevertheless, some traces of both the figure and the inscription (No. 125) could be discerned. Inscriptions have also survived in front of the second man (No. 126), the third (No. 127), the fourth (No. 128) and the fifth (No. 129). The bottom right-hand rectangular again shows five seated male figures, with inscriptions in front of each (Nos. 130, 131, 132, 133, 134). Represented in the top left-hand rectangular are only four seated male figures, inscriptions again in front of each (Nos. 135, 136, 137, 138). The same is to be found in the bottom left-hand rectangular (Inscriptions Nos. 139, 140, 141, 142).

Colours: No traces of paint have survived on the reliefs on this wall.

Inscription No. 119

..... *h*

Inscription No. 120

..... [*i*ryt]¹-*i*ht *n*swt¹, [*h*krt] *n*swt *w*tt¹ [*M*]¹*r*¹[*t*]-*i*t.¹,²

..... King's acquaintance, the sole ornament of the King, Meretiotes.

Inscription No. 121

¹*H*¹*k*w¹ *Pr*-¹*z*¹, ¹*shd* *hmw-k*¹,

¹*w*¹*b* *n*swt¹ ¹*N*¹*h*-¹*h*¹*z*.¹,³

The barber of the Great House, the inspector of *k*³-servants,
the royal *w*¹*b*-priest Nekhaf.

² Ranke, *PN* I, p. 158/18.

³ Ranke, *op. cit.*, does not give this name even though he cites names found with *nh* (*ibid.*, p. 209/11, 12), but of the New Kingdom date, of course. Or can we be dealing in our case with the miswritten name ^c*nh-h*³.*f*?

Inscription No. 122

«Ššb, šš, ḥm-kš»,

«wḥ nšwt šš» . . . (?) «Ir-«n-Pth»,⁴

The senior scribe (?), the kš-servant,
the royal wḥ-priest, the scribe . . . (?) Irenptah.

Inscription No. 123

. . . «r» . . .

«ḥm-kš nḥ-[Ššḥ]w-R»,⁵

.

the kš-servant, Ankhsahure.

Inscription No. 124

. «ḥkw»,

«ḥm-kš Nfr-nšw[t]»,⁶

. the barber,

the kš-servant, Nefernisut.

Inscription No. 125

. «š» . . .

. «n» . . .⁷

Inscription No. 126

«Šmr w'ty»,

«Pth-špšš»,⁸

The sole [companion]

Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 127

«Šmr w'ty»,

«hry-ḥbt Ḥm-šhty».

The [sole] companion,

the lector-priest, Hemakhty.

⁴ Ranke, *PN I*, p. 39/25.

⁵ Ranke, *op. cit.*, does not give this name.

⁶ Ranke, *PN I*, p. 197/14.

⁷ This is another case of a careful erasure of a picture. Only some tiny fragments have remained of the original inscription but they are sufficient to put forward a justified assumption that represented in the relief were the picture and name of Ptahshepses's first-born son Khafini.

⁸ Even though *s3.f* is not explicitly included, the reference here is unmistakably to Ptahshepses's son, as is the case with the two men below (Inscriptions Nos. 127 and 128). This conjecture derives both from the titles and the sequence of the names Khafini (?), Ptahshepses, Hemakhty and Nysuked, i.e. names we know from other places in the tomb as those of Ptahshepses's sons.

Inscription No. 128

Ṛš[*mr w'ty*], . . . (?),

Ṛ*ny-šw-kd*.

The [sole] companion, . . . (?),

Nysuked.

Inscription No. 129

Ṛ*Swmw K3(.i)-wd3*.⁹

The physician Ka(i)udja.

Inscription No. 130

Ṛ*Ir1-šny Pr-Ṛ3*,

šhḏ ḥmw-*k3*

K3(.i)-Hp.

The hairdresser of the Great House,

the inspector of the *k3*-servants

Ka(i)hap.

Inscription No. 131

Ṛ*S3b, sš*,

Ṛšhḏ ḥmw-*k3*,

Ṛ*Wr-b3w-Skr*.¹⁰

The senior scribe, (?),

the inspector of the *k3*-servants

Werbausokar.

Inscription No. 132

Ṛ*Ir-Ṛšny Pr-Ṛ3*, ḥm-Ṛ*k3*

Ṛ*Pth*.¹¹

The hairdresser of the Great House, the *k3*-servant

Ptah.

Inscription No. 133

Ṛ*H'kw Pr-Ṛ3*, ḥm-*k3*

Ṛ*Hnmw-htp*.

The barber of the Great House, the *k3*-servant,

Khnumhetep.

Inscription No. 134

Ṛ*Hm-k3 Pth-špsš*.

The *k3*-servant Ptahshepses.

⁹ Ranke, *PN* I, p. 339/6.

¹⁰ Ranke, *PN*, does not cite this name but quotes analogous ones (*ibid.*, p. 80/26–29).

¹¹ The earliest evidence of this name is given in Ranke, *PN* I, p. 138/8, but not until of Middle Kingdom date.

Inscription No. 135

Ṡḥd Pr-ʿḳ¹,

Ṡḥd ḥmw-kḳ¹

Ṡḥ-ʿIsi¹.¹²

The inspector of the Great House,
the inspector of the kḳ-servants
Ankhisi.

Inscription No. 136

Ṡḳb, ḥḥ¹,

Ṡḥd ḥmw-kḳ¹

Ṡḥm-nfr¹.

The senior scribe (?),
the inspector of the kḳ-servants
Seshemnefer.

Inscription No. 137

Ṡḳb, ḥḥ¹,

ḥm-kḳ, Ph-r-nfr¹.¹³

The senior scribe (?),
the kḳ-servant Pehernefer.

Inscription No. 138

Ḥḳw Pr¹-ʿḳ¹,

ḥm-kḳ Ḥnmw-ḥtp¹.

The barber of the Great House,
the kḳ-servant Khnumhetep

Inscription No. 139

ʿImy-Ṡr pr¹-ḥd,

Ṡḥd ḥmw-Ṡkḳ¹

ʿIi-mry.¹⁴

The overseer of the treasury,
the inspector of the kḳ-servants
Iymery.

Inscription No. 140

Ṡḥd Ṡḥw, ḥry¹ Ṡdḳwt,

Ṡḥd ḥmw-kḳ¹

Ṡs.f¹.¹⁵

The inspector of the scribes, the seal-bearer,
the inspector of the kḳ-servants
Tjesef.

¹² Ranke, *PN* I, p. 45/17.

¹³ Ranke, *PN* I, p. 135/24.

¹⁴ Ranke, *PN*, I, p. 9/16.

¹⁵ The only evidence of this name given by Ranke, *PN* I, p. 394/13, comes from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 141

ṣš, hry¹ šdwt,
ḥm-k³ I¹ pi¹.¹⁶

The scribe, the seal-bearer,
the k³-servant Ipi.

Inscription No. 142

Imy-r pr¹, ḥm-k³ Wt-k³(.i).¹⁷

The steward, the k³-servant Wetkai.

It is much to be regretted that the east wall of Room 10 is so badly damaged and that great part of it is moreover missing. For this wall represented, in a rather unusual way, a scene of the *deceased seated on a chair and accompanied by family, personal attendants and subordinate officials*. It must have been Ptahshepses, even though his name has not survived on the wall. It has probably been above the head of the large seated figure, on the missing top part of the wall. Kneeling in front of Ptahshepses is his wife, his daughter Meretiotes standing behind her. Immediately behind the chair are his personal attendants, particularly barbers. Two of them are even carrying toilet articles. Below the seated Ptahshepses are rows of men — his sons and subordinate officials. The group of four sons (the picture and name of the first-born are again erased) is very suitably, and certainly on purpose, placed as near as possible to the father, mother and sister. Although we know from another place in the Mastaba (the doorway between Rooms 3 and 4) that Ptahshepses had more sons, only four are to be found here. The fifth man, sitting behind Ptahshepses's sons, is a physician and his emplacement suggests how important his position was and what favour with Ptahshepses he enjoyed. From Old Kingdom tombs we know a lot of scenes where officials accompany their master, give him reports, help him, are awarded by him, etc.¹⁸ However, the scene in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses indicates something more. Represented here is Ptahshepses's court, his nearest collaborators. The scene may have been inspired by a similar representation in the Mortuary Temple of Sahure¹⁹ in near vicinity. Last but not least, this scene represents another piece of evidence of the rapid growth of Ptahshepses's power shortly before the last extensive enlargement of his tomb.

¹⁶ Ranke, PN I, p. 22/15.

¹⁷ *op. cit.*, p. 88/1.

¹⁸ See e.g. Klebs, *Reliefs des alten Reiches*, p. 17 ff.

¹⁹ The relief in the Mortuary Temple of Sahure shows rows of courtiers, as in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses. The sitting courtiers and officials are even drawn in the same or very similar attitudes, including the positions of the hands. Sitting among them is also a certain šmr w^cty Pth-špšš (see Borchardt, *Sahure II*, p. 120 and pl. 50).

Room 10 – North Wall
(Eastern Section)

Pls 53–55
Photos 90–97

Greater part of the wall is missing and what has survived is badly damaged by erosion. Therefore only a fragment has remained of the scene in low relief which decorated the wall. The central figure of the scene is a male figure, facing west, carried in a palanquin. Represented on a much larger scale than all the other figures round him, he sits on a chair in the palanquin, the left hand resting on the arm-rest, the right holding a long staff in front of him. He is clad in a long skirt²⁰ and has a broad collar. The chair is not very high, so that the man's position, the knees drawn up nearly to the breast, is not very comfortable. The chair is fixated to the floor of the palanquin. Round the chair is a light frame of poles which have once supported the roof. However, the relief is nearly entirely destroyed in this place. In front of the palanquin are remains of a vertical inscription (No. 143). A row of men carry the poles with the palanquin on the shoulders, supporting it with both hands. There are sixteen of them, divided into two groups of eight. They wear narrow strips of cloth about the loins with a sheathe in front. Walking before the bearers is another man looking behind. With the left hand he was probably touching the end of the pole (the relief is damaged in this place due to a split between the blocks), in the right clutching a rope sling.²¹ He, too, wears just a narrow strip of cloth about his loins with a sheathe in front. Walking before him near the very edge of the register, and thus heading all the procession, is still another man. In the right hand he carries sandals, in the left holding the tip of a sack flung across the shoulders. He is attired in a short kilt with triangular front-piece. In front of the man is a vertical inscription (No. 144). Beginning above his head is a horizontal inscription (No. 145), which runs as far as above the heads of the front group of bearers. Another horizontal line of text (No. 146) is to be found above the heads of the rear group of bearers. Walking behind the latter is again a man holding with the right hand the end of the pole, in the left clutching a rope sling. The procession is closed by a man holding a roll in the right hand, with the left pressing a squarish box against his breast. Above his head is a short inscription (No. 147). Like the man with the sling before him he, too, wears a narrow strip of cloth about his loins with a sheathe in front.

The area behind the palanquin and above the heads of the rear group of bearers is divided into several registers (of which two and a tiny fragment of a third have survived). The bottom register originally represented four walking male figures. The first in the row (i.e. the man immediately behind the palanquin) has been carefully erased and so has the inscription in front of and above him, of which only faint fragments have remained (No. 148). The figures of the other three men are damaged, not intentionally but due to erosion. The men have their hands down at their sides and wear short kilts with triangular front-piece. Above and in front of each of them are inscriptions (Nos. 149, 150, 151). The second register begins at about the height of the head of the man seated in the palanquin. The scene in the register is nearly entirely destroyed by erosion. It depicted four walking male figures clad in short kilts with triangular front-piece. Above and in front of each are inscriptions (Nos. 152, 153, 154, 155). Of the third register only part of the register line has, in fact, survived.

Colours: Traces of paint have remained in several signs only (see below).

²⁰ Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp. 253–257, deals in detail with the garment worn on pleasure trips in palanquins.

²¹ Boreux, *Nautique égyptienne*, p. 413, is of the opinion that the overseer used the sling not only for signalling but also for securing discipline among those who did not follow his orders or did not keep the pace set.

Inscription No. 143

..... *ṛṛ*!(?) ... *ṛṣ*!(?)
 (?)

Inscription No. 144

Ṣḥd ṣmšw n(w) ḥnw, ṣtp sṣ Pr-n-kṣ(.i)^{1,22}

The inspector of the retainers of the Residence, the court councillor Perenka(i).

Colours: In sign Q 3 are traces of green paint.

Inscription No. 145

ṛ Ir rk nfr, ²³ t(w)t(.i)! ²⁴ ṛ nty-ḥn! Mṣṣ n.k n tpt-rd.k wrt^{1,25}

Behave yourself (lit. do well), (my) equal! Calm down, comrade! Mind your task properly!

Inscription No. 146

Ḥr.k m-ḥṣt nfr^{1,26} *ṛ Ḥr ḥr(y)-ḥs(w) t pw*^{1,27}

Look well forward (lit. your face forward)! You quiet down, you favoured one!

Colours: V 31, M 17 and Q 3 show traces of green, X 1 (*ḥṣt*), of blue.

²² Ranke, *PN I*, p. 133/25.

²³ Both this inscription and the following one (No. 146) are not easy to interpret. Erman, *Reden*, p. 53, has only published it (after a not very precise copy of Schäfer's) but not translated. This inscription has also been published, after Erman, *loc. cit.*, by Montet, *Scènes*, p. 379, who has not translated it either. But he remarks that it may be part of a dialogue between the man with the sling walking in the head of the procession and one of the bearers. Montet's opinion is evidently correct. Inscription No. 145 can be interpreted as words of the man in the head turning towards the bearers and reprimanding one of them to behave himself, to fulfil his duties properly and to follow his commands.

²⁴ This is an important and, at the same time, puzzling part of the inscription. May it be *twt* (

²⁵ It is in this part of the inscription that Schäfer's transcription, from which both Erman, *loc. cit.* and Montet, *loc. cit.* derived, is erroneous. Following *mṣṣ* is not *nb*, but clearly *k*. *N.k* can then be understood as *dativus ethicus*, and the following *n* as a preposition introducing the object of the verb *mṣṣ*, which is *tpt-rd*, interpreted in *Wb V*, 290, as "das was vor jem. ist, i.e. seine Aufgabe". The only evidence of this word, which *Wb* gives, comes from the discussed inscription in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, see *Wb Belegstellen V*, p. 56 s. v. 290, 6 (the transcription *tpt-rd* is not exact either, as is the case with Erman, *loc. cit.* and Montet, *loc. cit.*). It seems that the only analogy is Inscription No. 68 from the Mastaba of Kagemni (v. Bissing, *Gemnikai I*, pp. 15–16, pl. 22). Here, too, they are words of the man with a stick and a rope sling in his hand, who supervises the palanguin-bearers. He says: *ṛrk tp(t?)-rd!* v. Bissing, *op. cit.* p. 16, translates it as "Du da! Ordnung!" The construction *mṣṣ tp-rd* is also included in *Wb* 289, but of as late as Dyn. XVIII.

²⁶ This inscription has not only been published but also translated by Erman, *Reden*, p. 53, "Blicke vorwärts, schön und zufrieden, du Belohnter". He remarks that the issue here is again (i.e. as was the preceding inscription, our No. 145 – the author's note) a ditty referring to the master, i.e. Ptahshepses in the palanquin. This interpretation of Erman's does not seem probable; moreover, it leans upon some grammatical inaccuracies, e.g. *ḥr* is clearly imperative here. Edel, *Grammatik II*, p. 401, § 790, translates *m-ḥṣt* as "nach vorne", referring to the inscription from the Mastaba of Ptahshepses published by Erman, *loc. cit.* Edel's interpretation of the adverbially used compound preposition is correct and falls in well with our translation.

²⁷ The construction *ḥr ḥs(w)t* "in der Gunst" (*Wb*, III, 157) is of frequent occurrence. In our inscription a nisbe-adjective is derived from the preposition *ḥr*: *ḥr(y)-ḥs(w)t* "he who is under the favour", i.e. "the favoured one". *Pw* is used in a vocative: *ḥr(y)-ḥs(w)t pw* "thou (lit. this) favoured one" (see Gardiner, *Grammar*³, p. 87, § 112). "The favoured one" does not refer to Ptahshepses in the inscription but to the man with the rope sling in his hand, i.e. the one who was favoured to go in the head of the procession and set the pace. The sense of the dialogue is in that the foreman of the bearers turns to one of them and reprimands him to behave himself and fulfil his task properly. The bearer answers him in a rather ironical way saying that he himself should look well forward, i.e. not to turn back and mind his step, and thus fulfil his duties as the leader of the procession with the palanquin.

Inscription No. 147

ṚSš mḏwt, štp sḏ¹²⁸

The scribe of the documents, the court councillor

Colours: Traces of blue paint are visible in sign Y 3 (palette).

Inscription No. 148

Sḏ.f šmšw mr(y). f²⁹

His eldest and beloved son (lit. his eldest son, his beloved)

Inscription No. 149

ṚSḏ.f šmšw mr(y). f, šmr¹ w^Ṛty, hry-hbt¹, hm Ṛst P^Ṛth-špšš¹.

His eldest and beloved son, the sole companion, the lector-priest, the servant of the throne Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 150

ṚSḏ.f imḏh¹.f, Ṛšmr¹ w^Ṛty, hry¹-hbt, hm Ṛst Hm¹-ḏhty.

His revered son, the sole companion, the lector-priest, the servant of the throne Hemakhty.

Inscription No. 151

ṚSḏ.f¹ mr^Ṛy¹[.f],

Ṛšmr w^Ṛ[ty], hry-hbt, hm Ṛst Ny-šw-kd¹.

His beloved son,

the sole companion, the lector-priest, the servant of the throne Nysuked.

Inscription No. 152

.Ṛš¹(?)

Inscription No. 153

.Ṛšhd hmw-kḏ¹

. the inspector of the kḏ-servants

Inscription No. 154

.(?) Ṛy¹.

Inscription No. 155

. . .Ṛšš nšwt¹[š]Ṛhd hmw-kḏ Ts¹.

. . . the scribe . . . royal the inspector of the kḏ-servants, Tjesef.

²⁸ The name following the titles was on the now broken-off piece of the relief.

²⁹ This is the third and the last piece of evidence of the picture and name of Ptahshepses's first-born son having been erased in the reliefs that have remained in the Mastaba (see below).

A trip in the palanquin – whatever its purpose may have been³¹ – had been favourite among noble Egyptians from very old times.³² Thus a palanquin soon became part of the funerary equipment,³³ and scenes depicting processions with palanquins began to appear in the decoration of tombs.³⁴ The palanquins are shown as having various constructions.³⁵ Sometimes it is just a suitably adapted chair, elsewhere a roof can be found over the chair, sometimes the chair is missing and the palanquin has a flat door, etc. In the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, a palanquin is shown in the form of a chair with arms and back-rest, but without legs. The chair is part of the floor of the palanquin, which makes the one who is carried sit in a rather uncomfortable posture.³⁶ And it is this position with knees drawn up high that must have played a role in the selection of the attire, a long skirt which perfectly covers the body of the seated.³⁷ Vertical bars fixated into the floor of the palanquin support a roof, the construction of which is, with regard to the damaged relief, not very clear. It may have been a frame of bars over which a piece of cloth or a mat could be fixed to provide protection against the sun.³⁸ The palanquin rests on a long pole carried by one group of bearers in front and one behind. The second pole is not shown, nor even indicated by doubling the figures of the bearers.³⁹ The bearers carry the pole with the palanquin on the shoulders supporting it with both hands in front of them. That must have given them greater stability⁴⁰ as well as a possibility to better handle the swings of the palanquin, especially when walking more quickly. Belonging direct to the bearers are both the men holding the rope slings in their hands. One walks before, the other behind the bearers. Undoubtedly, their task was to supervise the transport and set the pace.⁴¹ In dress, they do not differ from the bearers.⁴² The same cannot be said about the other two men, one walking in the head of the procession, the other closing it. Both have the same title *štp s3* and belonged obviously to the closer circle of personal attendants.

³¹ It may have been the inspection of the estates, an excursion with the intention to get a rest and entertainment, etc. (see e.g. Junker, *Giza XI*, p. 250).

³² A palanquin had already been represented on the great mace of Narmer or that of the King Scorpion (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, pls. 26 B and 26 C).

³³ A palanquin in the form of a simple chair without legs appears in the offering list from Dyn. XXX (the stela of Neferhetep-hathor, see Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 2). What this type of palanquin really looks like is well illustrated by the find of one in the tomb of Hetepheres (the reconstructed palanquin has since been published many times, see e.g. Capart, *Memphis*, p. 268, fig. 251).

³⁴ From early Dyn. IV, from the tomb of Nefermaat in Meidum, comes a scene of a procession with the palanquin which is, in fact, a not much adjusted chair fixated on poles (Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 21).

³⁵ For more details, see Klebs, *Reliefs des alten Reiches*, pp. 28–29, and Vandier, *Manuel IV*, p. 330 ff.

³⁶ On a similar chair sits, for example, Djau (Davies, *Deir el-Gebrāwi II*, pl. 8). Some types of palanquins, where there is no “chair” with side-arms, show well that the seated person sits on the floor (e.g. Épron, *Ti I*, pl. 16, or *LD II*, 50a).

³⁷ Staehelin, *Tracht*, pp. 253–257, states that in the case of a comfortable position the carried person is shown as wearing a short skirt, whereas in that of an uncomfortable attitude (the back-side and soles being in the same level) preference is given, for practical reasons, to a long skirt.

³⁸ A very similar construction of the roof of a palanquin can, for example, be found in the scene from the tomb of Nimaatre (Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 240). It was certainly desirable that the roof should be as light as possible, for thus the stability of the palanquin during the transport was increased.

³⁹ The doubling of the profiles of the figures and an attempt at a sort of perspective are to indicate the existence of a back, i.e. hidden, row of bearers (e.g. the scene from the tomb of Ipi, see Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, pl. 405).

⁴⁰ The bearers can carry the palanquin on poles held either in hands hanging down, or on the shoulders. In the latter case they either have one hand beside them, the other holding the pole (see e.g. Hassan, *Giza VI*, fig. 122), or they hold the pole with both hands (*LD II*, 78 b; *LD Ergänz.* 10a; and others). For greater details, see Junker, *Giza XI*, pp. 253–254.

⁴¹ The figure of a supervisor with a rope sling in his hand is also to be found in other scenes of the transport of a palanquin, e.g. *LD II*, 50 a (Iymery), or v. Bissing, *Gemnikai I*, pl. 22 (Kagemni).

⁴² No names and titles refer to the men either. Are they thus the most capable of the bearers who have been selected to lead the procession? This conjecture would seem to be supported by the dialogue between one of them and one bearer (Inscriptions Nos. 145 and 146) which might indicate that one of the ordinary men has been “honoured” to lead the others.

Represented as a suite behind the palanquin are Ptahshepses's three sons: Ptahshepses, Hemakhty and Nysuked. Originally, they have been four, but the picture of the first of them, including his name and titulary, has been intentionally erased. In the rest of the suite were apparently officials. Damaged though the scene is, there are several viewpoints why it is of great significance. First it shows clearly who the man seated in the palanquin is. Thus it can be safely stated that represented here is the carrying of Ptahshepses seated in a palanquin and accompanied with sons, subordinate officials and personal attendants. The preserved part of the wall has not retained any inscription that would make the identification possible, although this could be safely pre-supposed within the total context of the tomb. As Ptahshepses's name and titles cannot have been omitted, they must have been disposed either in front of or above the palanquin, where great parts of the wall are missing now. There may have been even an inscription there making the purpose of the excursion in the palanquin more definite.⁴³ Another reason why this scene is of such a significance is that the picture of Ptahshepses's first-born son has been carefully erased. Thus it can be stated that his picture has been erased in all (!) reliefs preserved in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, i.e. on three places. On the south wall of the doorway between the Rooms 3 and 4 (see p. 44 above), where his picture, name and titulary have all been erased, another son of Ptahshepses is referred to as the first-born, also the sequence of the sons being altered. On the east wall of Room 10 (see p. 100 above) his picture, name and titulary have all been erased, too; but as the filial formula *s3.f śmśw* (or *s3.f* with the other sons respectively) is not included, the newly "determined" first-born son has not been explicitly given. However, his identification follows from the disposition of the scene after the erasure. Finally, in the discussed scene on the eastern half of the north wall of Room 10, the picture of the first-born son has not only been erased but the name of the "new" first-born son is even given. From the most complete enumeration of Ptahshepses's sons (the doorway between Rooms 3 and 4) it follows that their original sequence during the building of this part of tomb was the following:

Khafini

Kahotep

Ptahshepses (Junior I)

Ptahshepses (Junior II)

Hemakhty

Khenu.

After the corrections a new sequence was made:

Ptahshepses (Junior II)

Hemakhty

Khenu

Kahotep

Ptahshepses (Junior I).

On the east wall of Room 10 the following sequence was made up after the corrections:

Ptahshepses (undoubtedly Junior II)

Hemakhty

Nysuked.

On the eastern half of the north wall of Room 10 the following sequence is to be found:

Ptahshepses (undoubtedly Junior II)

Hemakhty

Nysuked.

⁴³ See e.g. Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 250.

A comparison of these three sequences of Ptahshepses's sons suggests further interesting conclusions. First, it is evident that both scenes in Room 10 do not contain Kahotep and Ptahshepses (Junior I) any more but still bear the first-born son Khafini. This would seem to suggest that Kahotep and Ptahshepses (Junior I) died or were the first to arouse discontent, whereas Khafini some time later. It is also surprising that the two scenes in Room 10 do not show any more the son Khenu placed third in the altered sequence on the doorway between Rooms 3 and 4, after the newly instituted first-born Ptahshepses (Junior II). He was replaced by Nysuked. Last but not least, two other representations of Ptahshepses's sons should not be omitted, namely those on the north and south walls of Room 4. Only two are shown in both cases, Ptahshepses (undoubtedly Junior II) and Hemakhty holding upon his father's staff. Further, it is not uninteresting either that the north wall of Room 10 shows both Ptahshepses (Junior II) and Hemakhty as boys because they are unclothed and their bodies painted yellow. In contrast, the south wall of Room 10 represents Ptahshepses (Junior II) as an adult – he is clothed, his body painted dark red – whereas Hemakhty is still shown as a boy. It is not easy to explain away the intentional and systematic erasure of the picture and name of Ptahshepses's first-born son, and the alterations in the sequence of his other sons. It will perhaps be necessary to better understand all the problems concerning Ptahshepses's wife, daughters, and even his parents. Some further, most valuable information about Ptahshepses's family is provided by the fragments of reliefs and by the inscriptions on the masonry blocks of the Mastaba, and by several adjacent tombs at Abusir, particularly the Mastaba of Princesses and the yet unpublished small Mastaba of Ptahshepses excavated by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization in 1970 (the latter is situated east of the entrance to "our" Mastaba of Ptahshepses). Within this context it will be requisite to reconsider some aspects of the architecture of the Mastaba, other archeological finds (e.g. beside the two sarcophagi of red granite belonging to Ptahshepses and his wife, fragments of a third (!) of the same material have been found), etc. Therefore it would not seem fitting to make any premature conclusions on the basis of three erased reliefs only, however significant they may be. We may not possibly be far from the truth in putting forward a hypothesis that the alteration of the sequence of Ptahshepses's sons may have been consequential on his marriage with Khamernernebt and the resulting necessity to give preference to children with royal blood to those from a not yet attested but pre-supposed preceding marriage with a woman of a common origin.

The Deceased Carried in Palanquin

(List of Old Kingdom Sources Used)

| | |
|----------------|--|
| DJAU | Deir el-Gebrāwi Dyn. VI (Pepi II or later) Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrāwi</i> II, pl. 8 |
| HETEPENPTAH | Giza Early Dyn. VI <i>LD Ergän.</i> 10 a |
| IPI | Saqqara Dyn. VI Wreszinski, <i>Atlas</i> I, pl. 405 |
| ITISEN | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) <i>LD</i> II, 50 a |
| KAGEMNI | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) v. Bissing, <i>Gemnikai</i> I, pl. 22 |
| MERERUKA | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> I, pl. 14 |
| NEFERMAAT | Medum Early Dyn. IV Petrie, <i>Medum</i> , pl. 21 |
| NIMAATRE | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, fig. 240 |
| SENEDJEMIB | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare) <i>LD</i> II, 78 b |
| good name INTI | |
| SESHMNEFER | Giza End of Dyn. V or later |
| (ITI) | Junker, <i>Giza</i> XI, fig. 100, and pl. 25a |
| TI | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre – end of Dyn. V) Épron, <i>Ti</i> I, pl. 16 |

Room 10 – North Wall

(Western Section)

Pls 56–59

Photos 98–109

The wall is again incomplete, its upper part missing. Also several blocks above the door in this wall are lacking. The preserved part bears decoration in low relief which is damaged both by erosion and by slits between the blocks with chipped-off edges. The decoration is disposed into two large registers which are further divided in some places into several smaller sub-registers.

1st Register

(from the bottom)

The register contains a scene of the dragging of the standing statue of Ptahshepses on a sledge (we are told so in a three line vertical inscription above the statue, No. 156). Ptahshepses has one leg advanced, the arms hanging beside him, the left hand grasping a scarf. He wears a short skirt and a short wig. The sledge is dragged by eight pairs of men, one other man walking in front carrying the end of the towrope. Above the heads of the men is one horizontal line of text (No. 157). Immediately before the sledge is still another man bending down to pour liquid from an egg-shaped jar beneath the sledge. Above his bent back are two horizontal lines of text (No. 158). All the men wear only a narrow band of cloth about the waist with a sheathe in front.

Standing astride before the statue on the sledge is a man holding up to its face an incense burner in his left hand, in the right grasping the lid. The incense burner is a vessel with convex walls and a low, narrow foot, its lid being of a similar shape.⁴⁴ The man wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece. Above his head is a short damaged inscription (No. 159).

The space behind the statue has originally been divided into two sub-registers, of which the lower and a tiny fragment of the upper are still in place. Represented in the bottom sub-register are two men walking behind the statue, their hands at their sides. They are clad in short kilts with triangular front-piece. Above the head of each is a short horizontal inscription (Nos. 160, 161). On the fragment of the upper sub-register two pairs of male legs can be clearly detected. Probably two other men were represented here walking behind the statue, as in the lower sub-register.

The surface above the row of men with the towrope, in front of the statue, is divided into two narrow sub-registers. Shown in the lower, left to right, are:

a beer jug with a high lid on a stand; a shallow hemispherical bowl with a recurved rim and lid on a stand; a tray on a high foot with several sorts of cakes; two low trays with pieces of ribs; a tray on a high foot with three loaves of bread, two bowls with small ball-shaped fruits, lettuce and a piece of haunch; two pairs of conical bowls, their mouths turned against each other;⁴⁵ a wine jar with lid on a low stand,⁴⁶ a flask with a narrow, short neck and lid on a stand;⁴⁷ a beer jug with lid on a stand;⁴⁸ a low table⁴⁹ with three loaves of bread, two conical bowls with small ball-shaped fruits and lettuce; an offering table of wicker on a low conical foot, piled with cakes, a plucked goose, a "bi-conical" bowl (*w^c hr sn.f*), and a sheave of small papyrus stalks; a low tray of small figs (*ficus sycomorus*) and another tray of large figs (*ficus carica*); a wine jar with collar, straight neck and lid on a low stand, and a neckless wine jar with lid on a stand. Closing the scene is a low table loaded with cakes, a piece of meat on bone, and a "bi-conical" bowl.

Similar things, arranged in a slightly different way, are to be found in the upper sub-register. Left to right are a hemispherical bowl with a recurved rim and lid on a stand, two loaves of bread, a flask with straight neck, spout and lid on a low stand; a wine jar with lid on a stand; a beer jug with lid on a low stand; an offering table on a low conical foot of wicker piled with lettuce, two trays of figs (*ficus sycomorus* and *ficus carica*), a marrow and cakes (?); two low trays of cuts of meat; a tray on a high stand with two loaves of bread and a "bi-conical" bowl (*w^c hr sn.f*) on which stands another tray of figs (*ficus sycomorus*), a conical vessel with a marrow, and a conical vessel with small ball-shaped fruits; two small trays on low stands, one with a piece of haunch, the other with a beef head; a tray on a high stand with pieces of ribs, a loaf of bread, a vessel with small ball-shaped fruits and lettuce; two trays of figs (*ficus sycomorus* and *ficus carica*); two beer jugs with lids on low stands; a flask with straight neck, spout and lid on a low stand; a tray on a high stand with three loaves of bread, two conical bowls with small, ball-shaped fruits and lettuce; a tray of small figs and a loaf of bread; an offering table on a low conical foot of wicker piled with cakes, a "bi-conical" bowl, a conical bowl with two hemispherical bowls with recurved rim and lid; a straight-necked flask with spout on a low stand; a beer jug with lid on a stand; and a wine jar with lid on a stand.

Colours: All colour has now disappeared except for some traces of paint in several hieroglyphic signs (see registers below).

⁴⁴ See Balcz in *MDIK* 4/2, pp. 211–214, and figs. 56, 58, 59.

⁴⁵ *w^c hr sn.f*, "one upon the other", is the name given to a vessel formed by putting two conical bowls with their mouths against each other (Balcz in *MDIK* 3, p. 98, and *Wb* I, 276).

⁴⁶ Balcz in *MDIK* 5, fig. 87.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, fig. 95 and pp. 64–66.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, fig. 77 and pp. 49–51.

⁴⁹ Vandier, *Manuel* IV, p. 140 and fig. 43/22, 23.

2nd Register

The register is badly damaged by erosion, part of it missing entirely. Its inner arrangement is the same as that in the register discussed above. Also the scene in it is similar, including the orientation to the west. Shown here is again the dragging of a statue of the standing Ptahshepses on a sledge. But almost the whole statue is lost now; there remain in place only one advanced leg, part of the body with a short tight-fitting skirt and part of the left arm hanging down. The sledge is dragged by seven pairs of men, a man walking in the head and carrying on his shoulder the end of a rope. Above the heads of the men is a damaged horizontal inscription in one line (No. 162). In front of the sledge a man bending down to pour water from a beer jug beneath the sledge. Like the men with the towrope, he has only a narrow strip of cloth about the loins. Standing before the statue on the sledge is a man in a striding position, clad in short kilt with triangular front-piece. His upper part is now destroyed.

The space above the men dragging the statue is divided into two narrow sub-registers, both badly damaged. In the lower one can discern a beer jug with lid on a stand; an offering table on a low conical stand of wicker piled with two trays of figs (*ficus sycomorus*), lotus flowers, a bowl; cakes; three beer jugs with lids on stands, and a wide hemispherical bowl and an offering table.

Owing to the badly damaged surface, only fragments of three vessels on stands and a tray on a high foot can be indentified in the upper sub-register.

Colours: No traces of paint have survived in the register.

Inscription No. 156

1. *ṯwt n(t) mṣṯ ʿ3 mh 7¹⁵⁰*
2. *ḥṣty-ʿ, šmr wʿty¹*
3. *ṯt¹[ḥ]-ṯpš¹[š].*

1. 7 cubits high (lit. great) granite statue of
2. the count, the sole companion
3. Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 157

Šmr wʿty, ḥry-tp Nḥb¹, ʿry ṯnfr-ḥṣt, ḥry-ḥbt, ḥry ššt3 n pr-dw3¹t, ṯ3 (?) Dw3w P¹t¹ḥ-šp¹šš.⁵¹

The sole companion, the overlord of Nekheb, the keeper of the headdress, the lector-priest, privy to the secret of the House of Morning, the assistant of Dw3w Ptahshepses.

Colours: Traces of green paint remain in signs M 22 and V 28.

⁵⁰ Sign ʿ3 is extraordinarily large, perhaps because it is at the end of the line. For the style of apposition, see Edel, *Grammatik* I, pp. 131–132, §§ 312 and 313.

⁵¹ At the beginning of the inscription, five squares are left empty. The reason why the space has not been filled with inscription can only be conjectured. The size of the space is exactly the same as that in the analogous inscription above the other dragging scene on the same wall, which reads *šmš twt n(t) ḥ3ty-ʿ*.

Inscription No. 158

1. 'Štū mw
2. 'in hrp iswt Wsr¹⁵²
1. Pouring the water
2. by the director of the gang of workmen Weser.

Colours: Traces of green paint can be seen in signs M 17 and S 42.

Inscription No. 159

「*K3p šntr*」.⁵³

Burning the incense.

Inscription No. 160

1. *Sšb*, 'šš',
 2. 'šhḏ ḥmw-kš'
 3. 'Ššm-nfr'.
1. The senior scribe,
 2. the inspector of the *kš*-servants
 3. Seshemnefer.

Inscription No. 161

$$Hm-k\} \text{「} Ph \text{」-} r \text{-「} nfr \text{」.}^{54}$$

The k^3 -servant Pehernefer.

Inscription No. 162

*Šm's twt n(t) šmr w'ty, hrp 'h, hry-tp Nhb, ury [nfr]-hšt, hrp
ir(w)-šny, hry-hbt, [hry] ššt n pr [dwšt P] th-/špš's.*

Bringing the statue of the sole companion, the director of the palace, the overlord of Nekheb, the keeper of the headdress, the director of the hairdressers, the lector-priest, privy to the secret of the House of Morning Ptahshepses.

⁵² For the grammatical construction (the subject of the infinitive introduced by a preposition), see Edel, *Grammatik* I, p. 353, § 696.

Wsr is a name frequently occurring in the Old Kingdom (Ranke, *PN* I, p.85/6).

⁵³ For the hieroglyph *k3p* (R6), see Brunner in NAWG 1965, No. 3, pp. 82–83.

⁵⁴ Ranke, *PN* I, p. 135/24.

Room 10 – West Wall

Pl 60

Photos 110-115

Also the west wall of Room 10 is incomplete, even greater part of it missing. The preserved fragment of the wall, badly damaged by erosion, bears a decoration in low relief. It was arranged into two registers which are, in some places, further divided into sub-registers. After de Morgan's excavations, the walls have recently been filled in with blocks which do not fit here. In some cases they are evidently blocks from the adjacent pyramid complexes.

1st Register

(from the bottom)

Only about half of the register has remained bearing a scene of the dragging of two statues of Ptahshepses. The scene is directed toward the south, i.e. towards the Pillared Court. The identification proceeds from the inscription (No. 163) disposed in six vertical lines above the two statues. The statues are placed in a shrine with a concave cornice. Both are identical and represent the standing Ptahshepses with one leg forward, his hands at his sides, the left holding a handkerchief. He wears a short tight-fitting skirt, a dagger tucked under its belt, and a short wig. The shrine rests on a sledge dragged by a row of men by a rope. Only four pairs have remained but originally they must have been more. They have narrow strips of cloth about the loins with a sheathe in front. Above their heads is an incomplete horizontal line of text (No. 164). On the front edge of the sledge, before the shrine, sits a man bending down to pour water from a beer jug beneath the sledge. His garment is the same as that of the men with the rope. Above his head is a horizontal inscription in two lines (No. 165). The space behind the sledge is divided into two registers. The lower shows a pair of men walking behind the sledge and wearing short kilts with triangular front-piece. The first has his hands beside him, the second has the right hand placed on the left shoulder, the left hanging down (this attitude has been enforced by the inscription being partly placed in front of the man). Above and in front of each of them is an inscription (Nos. 166, 167). Represented in the upper register is a similar pair of men walking behind the sledge. The only difference is that their hands hang at their sides. Above and in front of them are also inscriptions (Nos. 168, 169).

The space above the men with the rope is occupied by the remains of two narrow registers, the lower showing, left to right, an incomplete beer jug with lid on a low stand; a flask with narrow neck and spout on a low stand; a conical bowl on a stand; a boat-shaped basket on a stand piled with both small and large figs, a marrow, grapes, lettuce, onions, and a sheave of small papyrus stalks; a tray of small figs; a beer jug with lid on a stand; a flask with collar, moulded neck and lid on a stand; a beer jug with lid on a stand; a beer jug with lid on a low stand.

In the upper register, left to right, are a piece of ribs on a tray; a hemispherical bowl with recurved rim and lid on a stand; two trays of cuts of meat; a large boat-shaped basket on a low stand, on which are big figs, grapes, lettuce and pieces of papyrus stalks.

Colours: Paint has survived only in a few hieroglyphs (see Inscriptions below).

2nd Register

Only a tiny fragment has remained of the register but is sufficient to identify the scene represented here. It is again the dragging of only one statue on a sledge. The standing statue with one leg advanced rests on a low base, and has a dorsal pillar. Several pairs of men drag the sledge by a rope (fragments remain of four pairs, originally they must have been more). All have narrow strips of cloth about the loins with a sheathe in front. Before the sledge, facing the statue, a man is bending down to pour water beneath it. The space behind the sledge is again divided into two short registers. The lower shows a man walking behind the statue, wearing a short kilt with triangular front-piece, his hands hanging down beside him. Above and in front of him are remains of an inscription (No. 170). The fragment of the upper register indicates that it also bore a man walking behind the statue. This scene, too, is orientated toward the Pillared Court.

Colours: No paint has been preserved in the register.

Inscription No. 163

1. *ṯwt(y) nw*¹
2. *mꜣꜣ[ṯ] n (yty)*¹
3. *ḥꜣty-ꜣ, šmr wꜣty*¹,
4. *ḥry-tp Nḥb, iry nfr-ḥꜣt*¹,
5. *ḥry-ḥbt, sš mdꜣt nṯr*¹
6. *Pṯ[ṯh]-špšš*¹.
- 1.2. (Two) granite statues of
3. the count, sole companion,
4. the overlord of Nekheb, the keeper of the headdress,
5. the lector-priest, the scribe of the god's book
6. Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 164

..... *[šmr] wꜣty, ḥry-tp Nḥb, iry nfr-ḥꜣt, ḥry-ḥbt*¹,
ꜣ (?) Dwꜣw Pṯh-špšš.
 the sole [companion], the overlord of Nekheb, the
 keeper of the headdress, the lector-priest, the assistant of
Dwꜣw (?), Ptahshepses.

Colours: Traces of blue paint can be seen in both signs X 1, green in V 28 (*ḥbt, Pṯh*) and Q 3.

Inscription No. 165

*Šꜣꜣt mw (in) ḥrꜣw iswꜣꜣ Iꜣfw*¹.
 Pouring the water (by) the director of the gang of workmen Ifu.

Colours: All three signs X 1 reveal traces of blue, S 42 and M 17, of green.

¹ The only evidence of the name *Iꜣfw* given by Ranke, *PN I*, p. 24/24, comes from this very inscription in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 166

ʿSṣb, sšʿ, šhd ḥmw-ʿkṣ, wʿb nšwt, ḥry ššʿtṣ Dwṣ-Ḥp.²

The senior scribe (?), the inspector of the *kṣ*-servants, the royal *wʿb*-priest, the privy to the secret Duahap.

Colours: Only traces of green paint are visible in Y 3, M 23, V 28, Aa 5, Q 3 and V 4.

Inscription No. 167

ʿSṣb, sšʿ, ḥm-ʿkṣ Ḥnty-tnʿnt-irt.³

The senior scribe (?), the *kṣ*-servant Khentytjenenetiret.

Colours: Faint traces of green remain in Y 3, V 13 and in both M 22.

Inscription No. 168

...ʿsš, šhd ḥmw-*kṣ*, wʿb nʿ[šw]ʿt Ny-mnh-ʿInpw¹(?).⁴

... scribe, the inspector of the *kṣ*-servants,
the royal *wʿb*-priest Nymenekhinpu (?).

Colours: Scraps of green have survived in sign Aa 1.

Inscription No. 169

ʿSš pr-ḥd, ḥm-*kṣ*¹

ʿKṣ-ʿInpw¹.⁵

The scribe of the treasury, the *kṣ*-servant
Kainpu.

Colours: Y 3 shows traces of green paint.

Inscription No. 170

...ʿtʿ, ḥm-ʿ*kṣ*¹

...ʿ*kṣ*¹...

... the *kṣ*-servant ...

² Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 237/22.

³ Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 273/10.

⁴ Or *Mnh-Inpw* (?). Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 37/14, suggests *Inpw-n-mnh*... (?).

⁵ Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 332/8.

The statute of the deceased – the abode of his *k3* – occupied a quite exceptional and significant position in his funerary cult. This is, after all confirmed by the numerous finds of real statues in the tombs, by the existence of the *serdab* – a room in the tomb reserved for the statues of the deceased – and last but not least by the scenes of the dragging of the statues of the deceased into the tomb. The scene of the *dragging of the statues of Ptahshepses* is treated in a unique way, for it covers the western half of the north wall and the whole west wall of Room 10. Represented here is the dragging of as many as five statues,⁶ which is a surprisingly high number in a private tomb.⁷ The statues are not identical, the differences being of several kinds. The first, and the main, difference is in the basic treatment, for represented here are statues without a base and dorsal pillar placed in a shrine, as well as statues not placed in shrines but having both a base and dorsal pillar. Slight differences can be found in the garments Ptahshepses wears (both statues in the shrine show Ptahshepses with a dagger tucked under the belt), and in the countenance. The similarity consists in Ptahshepses having one leg forward, the arms hanging at his sides, his left hand always grasping a handkerchief. The attire is the same as well, i.e. a short tight-fitting skirt and a short wig. The material of which the statues are made is the same too, at least as far as the inscriptions designating the material have survived (three out of five). The statues are of granite, i.e. material which was not easy to work.⁸ Perhaps the greatest attention ought to be paid to the pair⁹ of statues of Ptahshepses placed in a shrine, the upper edge of which is decorated with a concave cornice.¹⁰ They represent the same Ptahshepses, the only difference being that the face of the first is grave while that of the other bears a slight smile. The latter has been achieved by a small wrinkle near his nose and a slight slant of the eye. As to the other statues represented on this wall and the adjacent one, the countenance cannot be ascertained because the relief is badly damaged.

The remaining three statues of Ptahshepses have bases and dorsal pillars. The caption above one of them explicitly says that it is also of granite, moreover giving its height. It is really imposing, seven cubits, i.e. 364 cm! The transport of such huge statues and the placement of them in the tomb cannot have been any easy matter. Another problem which cannot, however, be discussed in this connection is the determination of the place in the mastaba where these statues were deposited.¹¹

⁶ The fact that altogether five statues have been represented can be a matter of incidence following from the size of the wall. But it can also be an intentional representation of just five statues. In the royal mortuary temples of the Old Kingdom, a prominent place was given to five *k3*-statues corresponding to the five names of the king (see e.g. Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 223). Ptahshepses did not have five names, of course, but it cannot be excluded that he tried in this way to approach, at least formally, the royal funerary cult.

⁷ Still more, i.e. six statues, are represented in analogous scenes in Mastaba of Ti (Épron, *Ti* I, pls. 52–54). The tomb of Rashespes shows the dragging of four statues (*LD* II, 64 bis a,b), that of Mereruka of three (Duell, *Mereruka* I, pl. 29), Hetepherakhty also of three (Mohr, *Hetepherakhti*, pp. 39–41, figs. 3, 6 and 7), etc.

⁸ The granite, better to say the difficulty to work it, must have, to some extent, influenced Ptahshepses's pose with hands hanging down beside him, as well as the attire he wears, i.e. a short tight-fitting skirt.

⁹ Similar scenes from the Old Kingdom usually show the dragging of single statues, not of pairs. Let us point out again that it is not a double statue but two independent ones. It is impossible that they should represent Ptahshepses in different stages of his life. They are identical, except for the slightly changed countenance, expressing however two quite opposite feelings, namely glee and authority. Is it perhaps the artist's play? One might, of course, speculate whether one statue shows Ptahshepses and the other his *k3* (for a greater discussion of this problem, see Junker, *Giza* VII, pp. 96–100).

¹⁰ The transport of a statue in a shrine with a concave cornice is shown in other tombs as well. Sometimes even the open door of the shrine is represented (*LD* II, 78 b; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 178; Mohr, *Hetepherakhti*, p. 39, fig. 3; and others). In the tomb of Debhen, it is not the transport of the statue but a ceremony during which the statue is being placed in a double shrine with a concave cornice (Hassan, *Giza* IV, p. 176, fig. 122) on the roof of the tomb.

¹¹ Several tens of fragmentary statues have been found in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses. Some represented Ptahshepses, others Khamernernebt, the rest not being identified by inscriptions. They are statues of granite, quartz, limestone and alabaster.

In all four scenes, the way of transport is the same.¹² The statue stands on a sledge dragged by a row of men by a rope. The men are represented in pairs, standing one beside the other.¹³ In reality, they could have hardly dragged the sledge in this way because they would have stood in each other's way. It is rather the artist's endeavour to show in a simple way (by doubling the profile, in fact) as great a number of people at work as possible.¹⁴ Of great importance for a smooth transport of the statues was the man shown in all four scenes as pouring water beneath the sledge. In three cases he stands before the sledge, in one he even sits on it, reducing with water its friction against the surface of the road and making thus the transport considerably easier. Where there is an inscription above this man (in two cases), he is designated as *hrp iswt* "director of the gang of workmen", which means that he is the chief of the men dragging the statue. Three scenes show a priest in front of the statue taking off the lid of a censer and incensing the statue.¹⁵ The only scene that does not represent him is that of the two statues in a shrine, the reason obviously being that there was no more place where to place him. The scenes clearly indicate that the incensing of the statues was being done during the transport. Whether there were other ceremonies performed during the transport is not suggested by the scenes themselves. Another problem to tackle are the offerings, in all scenes shown in two narrow sub-registers above the row of the men with the rope.¹⁶ Were they to serve the ceremonies during the transport of the statues, or during their deposition in the tomb?¹⁷ Even though the accompanying inscriptions do not explicitly say where the statues are being brought, it is obviously to the tomb of Ptahshepses.¹⁸ Also the time of the transport remains unclear, namely whether the statues were being brought during Ptahshepses's life¹⁹ or during his funeral. With regard to the other scenes on the walls of Room 10, i.e. those showing Ptahshepses carried in a palanquin, and the seated Ptahshepses surrounded by family and officials, it is the first possibility that would seem more probable. In comparison with the two large scenes just mentioned, it is not Ptahshepses's sons who are walking behind the sledge, but only his subordinate officials, probably because the transport itself was mainly a matter of workmen and priests.

¹² The sledge with statues is usually dragged by men in the scenes in Old Kingdom tombs, but also representations of draught-cattle can be found doing this work (Mohr, *Hetepherakhti*, p. 39, fig. 3).

¹³ Pairs of men dragging a sledge with a statue can also be found in a number of other tombs, e.g. in those of Kagemni (v. Bissing, *Gemnikai* I, pl. 6), Mereruka (Duell, *Mereruka* I, pl. 29), Senedjemib (*LD* II, 78 b), Raḥshepses (*LD* II, 64 bis a,b), and others. Frequently occurring are also representations of a single row of men (*LD* II, 104 c; Dunham, Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 5; Macramallah, *Idout* pl. 9; and others).

¹⁴ The issue here is not to indicate a possible second, independent row of men that would be "covered" by the first row. It is clearly visible that all men are holding upon one and the same rope.

¹⁵ For the meaning of incensing, see Bonnet in *ZÄS* 67, pp. 20–28.

¹⁶ Offerings piled on trays, baskets and offering tables fill in the space above the men with rope in almost all scenes of the dragging the statues. They are usually disposed in one, sometimes two narrow registers. In some scenes a man is represented direct behind the sledge, carrying birds whose offering was evidently part of the ceremony during the transport (Mohr, *Hetepherakhti*, pp. 40–41, figs. 6–7).

¹⁷ For an extensive discussion of this problem, see Junker, *Giza* XI, pp. 228–233.

¹⁸ In some analogous scenes from other tombs it is explicitly mentioned that the procession with statues is heading for the tomb (*r is*), e.g. see Walle, *Neferitenef*, p. 64; Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 178; and others.

¹⁹ Scenes are known representing the tomb owner as watching the ceremonies performed on his own statues, or the transport of them, during his life (Junker, *Giza* XI, figs. 88 and 88a).

Dragging the Statues

(List of Old Kingdom Sources Used)

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| DEBHEN | Giza Dyn. IV (temp. Menkaure) <i>LD II</i> , 35 |
| HETEPHERAKHTY | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre or later) Mohr, <i>Hetepherakhti</i> , pp. 39–41, figs. 3, 6, 7 |
| IDUT | Saqqara Dyn. VI Macramallah, <i>Idout</i> , pl. 9 |
| KAGEMNI | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) v. Bissing, <i>Gemnikai I</i> , pl. 6 |
| MERERUKA | Saqqara Dyn. VI (temp. Teti) Duell, <i>Mereruka I</i> , pl. 29 |
| MERSYANKH (III) | Giza Dyn. IV (temp. Khufu to Shepseskaf) Dunham, Simpson, <i>Mersyankh</i> , fig. 5 |
| NEFERIRTENEF | Saqqara Dyn. V Walle, <i>Neferirtenef</i> , ppl. 32–33 and 64 |
| PTAHHOTEP | Saqqara Middle of Dyn. V or later <i>LD II</i> , 104 c |
| RAEMKAI | Saqqara End of Dyn. V Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , p. 178 |
| RASHEPSES | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare) <i>LD II</i> , 64 bis a, b |
| SENEDJEMIB called INTY | Giza Dyn. V (temp. Djedkare) <i>LD II</i> , 78 b |
| TI | Saqqara Dyn. V (temp. Nyuserre – end of Dyn. V) Épron, <i>Ti I</i> , pls. 52–54 |

ROOM 11

North Wall

(Eastern Section)

Pl 61
Photo 117

The wall is incomplete and moreover damaged by erosion. Only a fragment has remained of the decoration in low relief. It showed a man, evidently Ptahshepses, drawn somewhat larger than life-size. He has one leg forward, holding upon a long staff and looking in the direction of Room 10. He is clad in a short kilt with triangular front-piece. Only his lower part has survived, as that of a female figure standing immediately behind him. The woman, obviously his wife, is drawn on a much smaller scale. Her left hand hangs beside her, the position of the right cannot be discerned. She wears a long tight-fitting robe reaching to the ankles.

Colours: No traces of paint have remained in the relief.

North Wall

(Western Section)

Pl 62
Photo 116

Almost the whole wall is destroyed, only a faint fragment surviving of the original decoration in low relief. It shows remnants of six male figures walking left, i.e. toward the west wall of the room. They wear short kilts with triangular front-piece. The largest part, up to the waist, has remained of the figure of the first man in the row; the smallest, just the feet, of the last. In front of the first, second, third and fourth are remains of inscriptions (Nos. 171, 172, 173, 174). The fragment may belong to the scene of bringing the offerings from the stores (see Note to Inscription No. 171).

Colours: The legs of the first four men still retain traces of dark red paint.

Inscription No. 171

.....¹ *pr-šn^c, iḥt 3ḏ330*.¹
..... the department of stores, 3 330 things.

Colours: Elements of blue paint remain in X 1, green in Aa 1. The three M 12 have retained traces of two colours, green on the leaves and bulbs, red on the stalks.

Inscription No. 172

..... *[šḥpt iḥt]*.
..... bringing the things.

Colours: Traces of green paint are visible in Aa 1.

Inscription No. 173

..... *[šḥp]ṯt iḥṯt*.
..... bringing the things.

Inscription No. 174

..... *[šḥp]ṯt iḥṯt*.
..... bringing the things.

¹ The beginning of the inscription is difficult to reconstruct. Of great significance is the mention *pr-šn^c*, for it makes it possible to interpret the fragment of the scene in more precise terms. *Pr-šn^c* and its meaning in the Old Kingdom are discussed by Perepelkin in *Das "Schnau-Haus"*. He arrives at the conclusion that *pr-šn^c* had two meanings in the Old Kingdom, a place where meals and beverages were stored away as well as one where food and beverages were being prepared. He also refuses the view that *pr-šn^c* was at that time a sort of ergastulum where slaves, in particular agricultural ones, were working. Can we hence surmise that the fragment under discussion comes from the scene of bringing food and beverages from *pr-šn^c*? The number 3330 is apparently the artist's play, a symbolic expression of the term "an immense amount". Three signs *ḥ3*, "thousand", naturally mean 3000. But they can also be understood as plural, expressing then the notion "thousands". In this sense, the number 3330 might also be interpreted as a symbolic expression of "thousands, hundreds and tens", i.e. "an immense amount".

ROOM 13–15 (Pillared Court)

Pls 63–82

Photos 118–129

132–134

The Pillared Court is the largest room in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses and, unfortunately, also one of the worst damaged. It had already been discovered by de Morgan who laid bare the tops of the pillars and also found several architraves fallen down from the pillars.¹ However, the court was excavated later, during the Czechoslovak excavations in the seasons of 1960–1961. It has a square plan and contains twenty pillars altogether (Nos. 1–20, see fig. 17). With the exception of one pillar (No. 6), all were decorated with the picture of Ptahshepses in sunk relief. Always shown with one leg forward, he holds a long staff in the right hand, in the left, hanging beside him, grasping a scarf, and in one case (pillar No. 18) even a papyrus roll. He wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece, a wig of shoulder length, a short beard, and a broad collar. The representations of Ptahshepses differ from one another in several cases, for example in the treatment of the wig. Above several pictures are remains of inscriptions in sunk relief, namely on pillars No. 13 (Inscription No. 175), No. 14 (Inscription No. 176), No. 17 (Inscription No. 177), No. 18 (Inscription No. 178), No. 19 (Inscription No. 179) and No. 20 (Inscription No. 180). Stereotyped as they may appear, the pictures are disposed on individual pillars in a peculiar manner. On the southern row of pillars, Ptahshepses is looking towards the centre of this row, i.e. on three pillars in the left part he looks (and walks of course) right, on the three pillars in the right part he looks left. On the eastern row of pillars he is walking to the north, on the northern row to the west, and on the western row again to the north. The only exception is pillar No. 1, in the north-west corner of the court, on which he walks to the south.

¹ De Morgan in *Rev. arch.* 24, p. 24, is not quite right when stating that a picture of Ptahshepses and his titles are to be found on each pillar. Equally inaccurate is his remark that the architraves (the number of which he does not mention) bear inscriptions with complete (!) titulary of Ptahshepses. He gives the transcription of the text on one of these architraves and indicates that the same titulary is repeated on the others, which is not true either.

Thus it can be said that the figures of Ptahshepses on the pillars are arranged in such a way as to show the visitor round the court in a certain direction. The beginning and the end of the tour are clearly given by the two places where the figures face each other, i.e. in the centre of the southern row of pillars and in the north-west corner of the court. And it is from the latter that the visitor gets straight into the entrance to the so-called "initial mastaba", the oldest part of the tomb, a place where there is the sarcophagus chamber. The other end of this "tour" is in the centre of the southern row of pillars, exactly on the north-south axis of the court. On this axis, and near the southern row of pillars, a limestone block of a big offering table has been found, the upper edge of which bears sign *hṭp* in high relief. Also in the north-south axis of the court, but nearer to the northern row of pillars, a rectangular stone basin has been found. The table and the basin, which served for the bringing of offerings and libations, played an important role in the funerary ceremonies which were held in the open air, in the middle of the pillared court. Also the above-mentioned orientation of the figures of Ptahshepses ought to be viewed within the context of the ceremonies. The visitor of the tomb and participant at the ceremonies is very probably "shown" into the court through the "south entrance", after having walked through the peristyle of the pillared court. That the south wing represents the beginning of the "tour" about the court is also supported by the fact that it is from here that an immediate communication can be found with two systems of store-rooms, in the SE (rooms 17–20) and SW (rooms 33–39) corners of the Mastaba, where offerings and other objects were stored.

Three architraves have been found in the pillared court, one of them a corner one. None of them has been found *in situ*² but lying on the ground near the northern front of pillars Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. It is possible that it was on these pillars that the architraves had originally rested. Represented on the architraves is the standing Ptahshepses with one leg advanced, his arms hanging at his sides. He wears the attire of a lector-priest with a broad sash across the breast, a shoulder-length wig, and a broad collar. The picture is in sunk relief, as is the inscription preceding it on each architrave (Nos. 181, 182, 183). The architraves are also damaged by erosion, even though not so much as the pillars.

Fragments of relief decorations have also been preserved on still another place in the pillared court, namely in the south-west corner near the entrance to Room 32. Surviving on a small piece of the casing of the wall are the lower parts of three male figures walking towards the entrance to Room 32. All are clad in short kilts with triangular front-pieces. In front of each are remains of inscription (Nos. 184, 185 and 186). Both the figures and inscriptions are in low relief. This fragment is, among others, an important piece of evidence of the fact that originally the peristyl of the pillared court was decorated with reliefs and the court had been finished. At the present time the casing of the walls is lost, torn off, and the two kinds of the blocks of the wall core (dressed and undressed) produce the misleading impression that the pillared court may have never been finished.

Inscription No. 175

..... [Pt]ḥ[-špšš].
 Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 176

..... ḤPtḥ-špšš.
 Ptahshepses.

² The architraves represent the only exception, for this study deals only with reliefs found in the mastaba *in situ*. The reason is the significance of the architraves, or the inscriptions on them respectively.

Inscription No. 177

..... [P]ṯḥ-špśś.
..... Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 178

..... ṯḤ-špśś.
..... [Ptahshep]ses.

Inscription No. 179

..... ṯḤ-špśś.
..... Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 180

..... [Pṯḥ-šp]ṯśś.
..... [Ptahshep]ses.

Inscription No. 181

1. Ḥṣty-^c, śmr¹ w^cty, ḥry-tp Nḥb, ỉry nfr-ḥṣt, mry ṯntr.f¹,
 2. ṯṣyty, sṣb, ṯṣty, ḥry śštṣ n nswt m ỉswt.f nb(t)¹,
 3. ỉmy-r kṣt¹ nb(t) ṯnt n¹św^ct, ỉmṣḥw¹ [ḥr nb.f], ḥry-ḥbt¹
 4. ṯḤ-špśś¹.
1. The count, the sole companion, the overlord of Nekheb, the beloved one by his God,
 2. the chief justice, the vizier, the privy to the secret of his Lord in all his places,
 3. the overseer of all the works of the King, the revered one [of his Lord], the lector-priest
 4. Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 182

1. Ḥṣty-^c, ỉmy ỉs Nḥn, sṣw (?) Nḥn, ḥm¹-ntr ṯNḥbt¹ nb^c ḥ-ntr ṯŠm^c¹,
 2. ṯṣyty, sṣb, ṯṣty, ỉmy¹-r kṣt nb(t) ṯn¹t nswt, ṯmr¹y n nb.f,
 3. śmr w^cty, ḥry śštṣ n pr d^cwṣ¹t, ḥry-ḥb¹t ḥry-tp ṯ¹ṣ Dwṣw (?)
 4. Pṯḥ¹-špśś¹.
1. The count, the councillor of Nekhen, the guardian (?) of Nekhen, the prophet of Nekhet – the Lady of the Upper Egyptian sanctuary,
 2. the chief justice, the vizier, the overseer of all the works of the King,
 3. the sole companion, the privy to the secret of the House of Morning, the chief lector-priest
 4. Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 183

1. *S'mr¹ w'ty, h'ry šš't³ 'n pr¹ d'w³t¹, hrp 'h¹,*
 2. *'imy¹-r 'k³'t nb(t) 'n't 'nšwt, im³h(w)¹ n nb. 'f¹,*
 3. *'hry-h¹bt, hry šš't³ n mdw ntr, iwn '... (?)³, imy-ht 'Wr(?)¹,*
... (?)⁴
 4. *'P'ht¹-šp'š'š.*
1. The sole companion, the privy to the secret of the House of the Morning,
the director of the palace,
 2. the overseer of all the works of the King, one revered by his Lord,
 3. the lector-priest, the privy to the secret of the god's word(s?), the support of the
arm of the net (?), the priest of *Wr* (?),
 4. Ptahshepses.

Inscription No. 184

..... (?) 'nšwt Hr¹.⁵
 royal (?) Hor.

Inscription No. 185

..... 'Hr¹-ht'p¹.⁶
 Harhotep.

Colours: Traces of green paint are visible in R 4.

Inscription No. 186

..... 'nh¹-h³. 'f¹.⁷
 Ankhhaf.

Colours: M 16 retains traces of green paint.

³ See p. 128

⁴ See p. 128

⁵ For the name *Hr*, see Ranke, *PN I*, p. 245/18. The text preceding the name contains a title, part of which is *nšwt*. The incomplete sign may be an alternative form of U 14 (?). Hence it might be possible to reconstruct the title as *imy-r pr šn^c nšwt* "the overseer of the royal department of stores"? Would then the title indicate that the fragment of relief in the south-west corner of the Pillared Court comes from the scene of bringing things from the royal store-rooms?

⁶ Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 250/7

⁷ Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 65/22

Room 16

Pls 83, 84

Photos 130, 131

Room 16 in the SW corner of the Mastaba is part of the store-rooms. The entrance to it lies exactly on the north-south axis of the Pillared Court. Pierced in the north wall is an entrance to four smaller store-rooms. Room 15 was originally decorated with reliefs as the only of all the rooms in the SW corner of the Mastaba. However, only little has remained of it, in fact, just two fragments of reliefs on the north and east walls in the NE corner. The east wall, in a narrow space between the northern edge of the wall and the entrance to the stores, bears a standing male figure in low relief, looking towards the entrance. Only its lower part has been preserved, which makes it, however, possible to ascertain that the man's hands hang down on his sides and that he wears a short kilt with triangular front-piece. In front of him is the end of a one-line vertical inscription (No. 187). Preserved on the north wall, in the space between the eastern edge of the wall and the entrance to the Pillared Court, is a badly wheathered fragment of a relief representing a boat floating through a papyrus thicket. It is a wooden travel ship, and with regard to the bad condition of the relief it is not possible to determine exactly whether the boat travels under sail or not. The rudder is half pulled out onto the deck. It is possible to discover figures of three sailors standing near the mast. They wear a narrow strip of cloth about the loins, a sheath hanging down in front. Along the mast above their heads are remains of a vertical inscription (No. 188). Fragments of another, still worse damaged, inscription can be seen above the prow (No. 189).

Inscription No. 187

..... *ḥ3-wr-k3* (i ?).
..... Khawerka (i ?).

Inscription No. 188

ḥmy-r iswt Ḥtpi.¹

The overseer of the crew Hetepi.

Inscription No. 189

..... *ḥi* ... *w3* ... *ḥd* ... (?)
..... (?)

¹ For the title *ḥmy-r iswt*, see e.g. Edel, *Grammatik*, §§ 252 and 280. With regard to the fact that the title clearly refers to the sailors, *iswt* has been translated here as "crew". For the personal name *Ḥtpi*, see Ranke, *PN I*, 260/3.

Indexes

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1. Egyptian Words

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| pr-šn' | 115 | ḥmwt | 65 | tpt-rd | 99 |
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| pdt | 20 | ḥr | | trp | 78 |
| fdi | 68 | — nfr | 54 | dm | 30 |
| m33 n | 99 | ḥswt (in iw m (?) ḥswt n) | 76 | dš | 30 |
| m3t | 106, 109 | ḥdw | 69 | d3t | 78 |
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| mm | 17, 61 | ḥt | 30, 72 | | |

2. Personal Names

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| <i>'Ii-ḥr-nfrt</i> 25 | 48, 51, 56, 58, 69, 94, 115, | <i>Hm-R'</i> 85 |
| <i>'Ipi</i> 141 | 116, 117, 118, 126, 134, 149, | <i>Hmt-R'</i> 29 |
| <i>'Ifw</i> 165 | 156, 157, 162, 163, 164, 175, | <i>Hr</i> 184 |
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| <i>'Ir-n-Pth</i> 122 | 182, 183 | <i>Hsi</i> 8 |
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| <i>'Ir-n-Hnmw</i> 53 | <i>Mr-mš't-Ššḥw-R'</i> 72 | <i>Htpi</i> 188 |
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| <i>Wr-bšw-Skr</i> 131 | <i>Nfr-nšwt</i> 124 | <i>Tnw</i> 64 |
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| <i>Wt-kš(.i?)</i> 142 | <i>Nfr-ḥww-Pth</i> 2 | <i>Dwš-Hp</i> 166 |
| <i>Pšn (?) Pš-n(.i?)</i> 81 | <i>Nfr-ššm-Pth</i> 19 | <i>Dfdy</i> 101 |
| <i>Pr-n-kš(.i?)</i> 144 | <i>Nfr-kš-Ššḥw-R'</i> 96 | <i>Ḳš-'Inpw</i> 169 |
| <i>Ph-r-nfr</i> 137, 161 | <i>Nh-ḥš.f</i> 121 | <i>Kš(.i?)-ḥp</i> 84, 130 |
| <i>Pth</i> 132 | <i>Hš-wr-kš(.i)</i> 187 | <i>Kš(.i?)-ḥtp</i> 45 |

3. Titles and Epithets of Ptahshepses

(The references are to the numbers of inscriptions.)

im3hw n nb.f

“one revered of his Lord”

(Inscr. Nos. 42, 182)

Im3hw has been a subject of discussions for some time. For example, in his comprehensive study “The *im3h* and the *im3hww* in the Pyramid Texts” (S. A. B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* IV, Excursus XXV), J. Saint Fare Garnot characterizes this discussion like this: “The scholars . . . may be divided in two groups. Some of them, following V. Loret, consider that the *im3hww* of the Pharaoh or a landlord were royal or private servants who, at the end of their career, had been entitled to receive the pension . . . Other scholars, noticeably A. Moret and J. Pirenne think that the *im3hww* were those servants and holders of offices whom the king promoted to the dignity of “attachés” to their person and aggregated, either to the intimate circle of their favourite (Moret) or to their religious cult (Pirenne) . . .” (*op.cit.*, pp. 95–96). Saint Fare Garnot adds to it: “As regards the condition of the *im3hww* in general, the evidence supplied by the Pyramid Texts agrees with the information to be gathered from the study of the private texts and confirms, on the whole, the “classical” theory, as expressed by Moret, *Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne*, pp. 227–235 (Paris 1926) . . .” (*op.cit.*, p. 101). The notion *im3hw* has also been studied in detail by W. Helck in “*Wirtschaftliche Bemerkungen zum privaten Grabbesitz im Alten Reich*” (*MDIK* 14, pp. 63–75). Helck translates *im3hw* as “der Versorgte” and considers this term to be an example of the shift of the meaning that took place in the Old Kingdom and in which the designation of at first purely material thing sublimed into the spiritual sphere (*op.cit.*, pp. 68–69). The issue would thus be “providing” (“Versorgung”) in the sphere of funerary endowment.

im3hw hr nb.f

“one revered by his Lord”

(Inscr. Nos. 30, 31, 41, 181)

imy ib nb.f

“favourite of his Lord”

(Inscr. Nos. 30, 41)

imy is Nhn

“councillor of Nekhen”

(Inscr. No. 182)

imy-r iswy n hkr nswt

“overseer of the Two Chambers of the King’s ornament”

(Inscr. No. 30)

The title is translated in different ways, for example "Directeur du double service du cérémonial royal" (Pirenne, *Institutions* II, p. 51), "Intendant du double atelier de l'orfèvrerie royale" (Drioton in *ASAE* 43, p. 488), "Overseer of the Two Chambers of the King's wardrobe" (James, *Khen-tika*, p. 10), "Vorsteher der Abteilung des königlichen Schmuckes" (Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 65), and the like. These smaller deviations are in connection with the interpretation of *iswy n hkr nswt*. E. Schott considers this term as a designation of the king's personal treasury which was housed in the palace near the House of Morning (*GM* 4, p. 34).

imy-r w^bbt

"overseer of the w^bbt-chamber"
(Inscr. No. 41)

For the meaning of w^bbt-chamber, see Junker in *Sb Wien* 223/1, pp. 23–25.

imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt

"overseer of all the works of the King"
(Inscr. Nos. 30, 31, 41, 42, 181, 182, 183)

iry nfr-h3t

"keeper of the headdress"
(Inscr. Nos. 30, 41, 47, 51, 116, 117, 157, 162, 163, 181)

Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 42, considers *nfr-h3t* to designate a wig. So does Fischer who remarks in *ZÄS* 90, p. 39: "... 'keeper of the headdress' ... is more specifically associated with title of the king's hairdresser and it seems probable that the headdress in question (literally "beautiful of brow") is a wig".

imy-ht Wr (hty Wr?)

"priest of Wr (?)"
(Inscr. No. 183)

Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 98 ff., transcribes the title as *hty Wr* and translates it "Gefolgsmann des Wr". Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 47, transcribes the beginning of the title as *imy-ht*, drawing attention to the alternation of *Hr* and *Wr* which cannot be explained by the use of the title, and adds that it belongs "in den Kreis jener Bezeichnungen, die für den engeren Kreis um den König mit ihren machtgeladenen Aufgaben bestimmt waren".

3 Dw3w (wn- Dw3w?)

"assistant of Dw3w"
(Inscr. Nos. 157, 164, 182)

Sethe, *Kommentar* I, p. 162, remarks on this title: "... Zur Erklärung des Ausdrucks... kann man wohl nur auf die Redewendung 'jemandem seinen Arm öffnen', 'für jemanden aufnehmen', 'ihm helfen', 'verweisen...'. For the transcription of the title, see Kees in *ZÄS* 57, p. 127.

Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 37, translates the title "Helfer des Morgendlichen (?)". Grdseloff in *ASAE* 41, p. 214, translates the title, with reference to the above-mentioned interpretation by Sethe, as "L'assistant de *Dw3w*". He transcribes the title *wn^c Dw3w* and remarks that its bearers were high officials who were honoured to wear the emblem of the *Dw3w*-God during royal ceremonies.

mry n b.f

"beloved one by his Lord"
(Inscr. No. 182)

mry n nb.f r' nb

"beloved one by his Lord every day"
(Inscr. Nos. 30, 41)

mry ntr.f

"beloved by his God"
(Inscr. No. 181)

ny ib nb.f

"one who belongs to the heart of his god"
(Inscr. Nos. 30, 41)

See Piankoff, *Le Coeur*, p. 114, and Fischer in *JNES* 18, p. 268.

ḥ3ty-

"count"
(Inscr. Nos. 30, 31, 41, 42, 47, 156, 162, 163, 181, 182)

ḥm ist

"servant of the throne"
(Inscr. Nos. 30, 41, 42)

ḥm-ntr Nḥbt nbt 'ḥ-ntr Šm'

"prophet of Nekhbet, the Lady of the Sanctuary of Upper Egypt"
(Inscr. No. 182)

See Kaplony, *Gottespalast und Götterfestungen in der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (ZÄS 88), p. 6, n. 3. Concerning the translation *ḥm-ntr* as "prophet", see Gardiner, *AEO* I, pp. 30*-31*.

ḥry wrw

"superior of the Great Ones"
(Inscr. No. 31)

ḥry ššt3 n pr dw3t

“privy to the secret of the House of Morning”

(Inscr. Nos. 30, 41, 157, 162, 182, 183)

See e.g. Blackman in *JEA* 5, pp. 148–165, and Junker in *ASAE* 49, p. 208.

For the translation of the title, see Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 137.

ḥry ššt3 n mdw ntr

“privy to the secret of the god’s word (s?)”

(Inscr. No. 183)

ḥry ššt3 n mdw št3 nw mdw ntr

“privy to the secret of the secret sacred writings of the god’s word(s?)”

(Inscr. Nos. 30, 41, 42)

ḥry ššt3 n nbf

“privy to the secret of his Lord”

(Inscr. No. 42)

ḥry ššt3 n nšwt m iswt.f nb(t)

“privy to the secret of his Lord in all his places”

(Inscr. No. 181)

ḥry-tp Nḥb

“overlord of Nekheb”

(Inscr. Nos. 30, 31, 41, 47, 51, 157, 162, 163, 164, 181)

ḥrp imyw ntrw

“director of those who are among the gods”

(Inscr. No. 162)

ḥrp ‘ḥ

“director of the palace”

(Inscr. Nos. 162, 183)

ḥry-ḥbt

“lector-priest”

(Inscr. Nos. 30, 31, 41, 42, 127, 157, 162, 163, 164, 181, 183)

ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp

“chief lector-priest”

(Inscr. No. 182)

s3w Nhn (mniw Nhn?)

“guardian of Nekhen”

(Inscr. No. 182)

Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 22, translates the title “Wächter von Nhn”, and remarks that it was originally the commander of the fortress guarding the southern border of the country. In ZÄS 42, p. 122, Gardiner opposed the reading *s3w Nhn* and suggested to read *mniw Nhn* and translate “Controller of Nhn”, or “Herdsman of Nhn”. Fischer, *Dendera*, n. 288, interprets the title as “Guardian (?) of Nhn”.

s3b

“judge”

(see *t3yty s3b t3ty*)

sš mḏṣt nṯr

“scribe of the god’s book”

(Inscr. No. 163)

šmr w’ty

“sole companion”

(Inscr. Nos. 30, 31, 41, 42, 47, 117, 126, 127, 128, 156, 157, 162, 164, 181, 182, 183)

t3yty s3b t3ty

“chief justice and vizier”

(Inscr. Nos. 30, 31, 41, 42, 181)

t3ty

“vizier”

(see *t3yty s3b t3ty*)

Reading uncertain

iwn ‘ . . . (?)

“support of the arm of the net (?)”

(Inscr. No. 183)

Junker in *ASAE* 49, pp. 213–214, translates the title as “Stütze der Arme dessen, der die *snḥm* mit dem Netze fängt”. (*snḥm mini* “locusts”, i.e. “enemies”). For the title, see also Fischer in *ZÄS* 90, p. 40, n. 2.

... (?)

(Inscr. Nos. 41, 183)

Both translation and interpretation of this title are uncertain even though they have been concern of Egyptologists for a long time. Newberry in *LAAA* II, pp. 49–51, suggests the translation “Khet-priest of the Double Axe”; Firth, Gunn, *TPC* I, p. 168, translates it as “*ht*-priest of *λαβρνσ*?”; Hassan, *Giza* IV, p. 125, transcribes the title as *wr ht H3* and translates it “High priest of the Ha-god”. Greater attention has been paid to the title by Dittman in *ZÄS* 77, pp. 7–12. He has refused any connection of this title with the “double axe” but has not arrived at any final solution of the problem.

4. Titles of Khamernernebtj

(the wife of Ptahshepses)

(The references are to the numbers of inscriptions.)

hm(t)-ntr Hwt-Hr nb(t) nht

“prophetess of Hathor Mistress-of-the-Sycamore”

(Inscr. Nos. 32, 43)

See e.g. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, pp. 3 and 15

hmt.f mrt.f im3ht.f

“his beloved and revered wife” (Inscr. Nos. 32, 43)

hkr̥t nšwt w'tt

“sole King’s ornament”

(Inscr. Nos. 32, 43)

For the meaning of the title, see e.g. Junker, *Giza II*, p. 111

s3(t) nšwt nt ht.f mrt.f

“King’s beloved daughter of his body”

(Inscr. Nos. 32, 43)

For the meaning of the title, see Schmitz, *Untersuch. zum Titel s3-njšwt*.

5. Titles and Epithets of Sons of Ptahshepses

(The references are to the numbers of inscriptions.)

iry n/r-h3t

“keeper of the headdress”
(Inscr. Nos. 69, 94)

mrr nb.f

“one who loves his Lord”
(Inscr. No. 95)

mrr nb.f r' nb

“one who loves his Lord every day”
(Inscr. No. 69)

ny ib nb.f

“one who belongs to the heart of his Lord”
(Inscr. Nos. 69, 94)

hm ist

“servant of the throne”
(Inscr. Nos. 45, 46, 149, 150, 151)

hry 3st3 n nb.f

“privy to the secret of his Lord”
(Inscr. Nos. 49, 50)

hrp 'h

“director of the palace”
(Inscr. Nos. 69, 95)

hry-hbt

“lector-priest”
(Inscr. Nos. 44, 45, 46, 48, 149, 150, 151)

s3.f im3h.f
“his revered son”
(Inscr. No. 151)

s3.f smsw
“his eldest son”
(Inscr. Nos. 44, 48, 69, 94)

s3.f smsw mr(y).f
“his beloved son”
(Inscr. Nos. 148, 149, 151)

smr w'ty
“sole companion”
(Inscr. Nos. 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 69, 94, 95, 149)

6. Titles and Epithets of Daughters of Ptahshepses

(The references are to the numbers of inscriptions.)

iryt-ih̄t n̄swt

“King’s acquaintance”

(Inscr. No. 120)

For greater details on the discussion about the translation and meaning of this title, see e.g. Firth, Gunn, *TPC* I, p. 157, n. 5, Goedicke in *MDIK* 21, pp. 61–62, Fischer in *JNES* 18, p. 237, n. 12, and Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives de Néferirkarê* II, p. 595.

hkrt n̄swt w̄tt

“sole King’s ornament”

(Inscr. No. 120)

7. Titles and Occupations of Other Persons

(not members of Ptahshepses's family)

(The references are to the numbers of inscriptions.)

imy-r iswt

“overseer of the crew”
(Inscr. No. 188)

imy-r 'prw

“overseer of workmen”
(Inscr. Nos. 81, 83)

Wb I, 181 gives *'pr* (or *'prw* resp.) in the meaning 1. “Schiffsmannschaft” (O.K.-N.K.), and 2. “Winzer”, “Traubenkelterer” (Dyn. 18). T. Säve-Söderbergh has paid attention to the interpretation of *'prw* in connection with the inscriptions in the Theban Tombs (“The *'prw* as vintagers in Egypt”, in *OrSu* I, 1/2, pp. 5–14). He has reflected upon the possibility that in the Theban tombs inscriptions, *'prw*, “ship’s crew” is used in the abnormal writting of the Semitic word *'prm*. Finally he has favoured the other possibility, i.e. that the *'prw* in the Theban tombs Nos. 39 and 155 is the famous *'prm* of Ugarit: Acc. Hapíru. The meaning of the word *'prw* has also been dealt with by H. Goedicke in *JEA* 54, pp. 23–30). Goedicke says, among others (*op. cit.*, p. 25): “The etymology of the term suggests a connection with the verb *'pr* “to equip”, “to supply”; thus it is rather a qualification of the people acting as crew than a specification of their navigational abilities. The term indicated that the people denoted were “supplied”, i.e. that they were paid for their work... Thus the people denoted as *'prw* should be considered as professionals who received a remuneration for their activities”.

imy-r pr

“steward”
(Inscr. Nos. 10, 12, 14, 142)

imy-r pr-ḥd

“overseer of the treasury”

(Inscr. No. 139)

imy-r pr šn

“overseer of the department of stores”

(Inscr. No. 184)

Junker, *Giza* VI, p. 201, translates the title as “Vorsteher des Vorrats-hauses”. *Id.* *Giza* XII, p. 167 s.v. gives a slightly different translation, namely “Vorsteher des Wirtschaftshauses”. The meaning of *pr-šn* in the Old Kingdom has been studied by Perepelkin (“*Das ‘Schnau-Haus’ im alten Reiche*”) who has come to the conclusion that it was a place where meals and beverages were being prepared, as well as stored away. This interpretation accords in principle with the translation “overseer of the department of stores”, as suggested by Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 121. *Id.* *Coptite Nome*, p. 60, n. 1, remarks that “the term *pr-šn* is closely associated with *hwt* when the latter means “field district”, “estate”, etc.” Posener-Krieger, *Les archives de Néferirkarê II*, pp. 36–37, translates *imy-r pr šn* as “chef d’entrepôt” and adds “... désignation bien connue des dépôts et magasins, une telle unité économique pouvant inclure des ateliers”.

imy-r ḥmtyw

“overseer of the metal-workers”

(Inscr. No. 64)

In his comprehensive article “*Die Hieroglyphen für Erz*” und “*Erzarbeiter*” (*MDIK* 14, pp. 89–103), Junker transcribes the title as *imy-r b3tyw* and translates it “der Vorsteher der Erzarbeiter”.

imy-r ššw

“overseer of the scribes”

(Inscr. No. 1)

imy-r ššr

“overseer of the linen”

(Inscr. No. 5)

Junker, *Giza* III, p. 113 and IX, p. 229, translates the title as “Vorsteher der Leinwand”. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, p. 66, translates it “overseer of the cloth”.

imy-r šd (?)

"overseer of the poultry-feeders"
(Inscr. Nos. 93, 101)

ir-^cnt

"manicure"
(Inscr. No. 70)

In his study "*Die Gesellschaftliche Stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reiche*" (Sb Wien 233/1), Junker also mentions the occurrence of this title in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses (after Schäfer's copy). Transcribing it *iry^cnwt*, he translates it "Nagelpfleger" (op. cit., p. 12). For the title, see also Montet in *Kêmi* 4, p. 179 ff., and Fischer in *ZÄS* 93, p. 59.

iry-^cnt Pr-^c3

"manicure of the Great House"
(Inscr. Nos. 73, 75, 76, 84)

Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives de Néferirkarê II*, p. 603, transliterates and translates as *irw^cnt pr-^c3* "pédicure/manicure du palais".

Ibid. pp. 601-2, she remarks: "Helck avait déjà souligné que le titre de coiffeur allait souvent de pair avec un titre de *hm-ntr* dans un temple funéraire ou dans un temple solaire d'un des rois de la V^e dynastie (Helck in *MDIK* 15, pp. 97-98). Le rapport qui existe très évidemment entre la fonction de coiffeur et ces prêtres n'est pas encore élucidé".

ir-šny Pr-^c3

"hairstylist of the Great House"
(Inscr. Nos. 130, 132)

iry (?) mrht Pr-^c3

"keeper of the oil (?) of the Great House"
(Inscr. No. 80)

Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives de Néferirkarê II*, p. 603, translates the title *iry mrht pr-^c3* as "préposé à l'huile du palais".

It cannot be excluded that the scribe has by mistake left out *m* from the title and that originally it was to have read *imy-r mrht*. This title is mentioned by Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 65, who translates it as "Vorsteher der Salben".

w^cb nšwt

"royal w^cb-priest"
(Inscr. Nos. 121, 122, 166, 168)

For the interpretation of this title (w^cb used to be translated as "pure", but it should be rather interpreted as "he who purifies") as well as for the function connected with it, see Junker, *Giza VI*, p. 13.

wh' 3pdw

“fowler”

(Inscr. No. 68)

hm-k3

“k3-servant”

(Inscr. Nos. 2, 4, 5, 17, 25, 35, 70, 71, 81, 87, 91, 112, 122, 123, 124, 132, 133, 134, 137, 138, 141, 142, 161, 167, 169, 170)

hry šst3

“secretary”

(Inscr. No. 166)

hk3 hwt

“estate manager”

(Inscr. Nos. 10, 12, 14)

It has already been Junker, *Giza III*, p. 95, who has pointed out that it is necessary to distinguish between “Gutshofmeister” and “Der das Gut oder die Stadt verwaltet”. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, p. 60, remarks that *hwt* has, among others, also the meaning “field district”, “estate”. Gardiner, *Grammar*³, p. 583 s.v. translates the title *hk3 hwt* as “village headman”; Helck in *GM* 18, p. 26, as “Leiter eines Gutes”.

hrp ist

“director of the gang of workmen”

(Inscr. Nos. 158, 165)

h'kw

“barber”

(Inscr. Nos. 2, 71, 72, 124)

For the title, see e.g. Montet in *Kêmi* 4, p. 187.

h'kw Pr-3

“barber of the Great House”

(Inscr. Nos. 121, 133, 138)

hry šd3wt

“seal-bearer”

(Inscr. Nos. 140, 141)

Junker, *Giza IV*, p. 5, remarks on the bearers of this title: “Es sind die ‘Beschliesser’; sie versiegeln die Kasten mit den Stoffen und die Gefässe mit den Ölen...“ For the reading *šd3wt*, see also Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pp. 126–128.

s3b

“judge” (when prefixed to titles: “senior...”(?))

(Inscr. Nos. 122, 131, 136, 137, 160, 166, 167)

Junker, *Giza* VII, p. 198, deals with this title in greater detail and comes to the conclusion that *s3b* cannot be always translated as “judge” but that this title designated an “expert in laws who, after achieving a higher position, participated in court decisions”. Fischer in *JNES* 18, pp. 259–260, translates the title as “magistrate”. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 209, s. v., suggests to read it, if it precedes other titles, as “senior”(?). Kelly Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* II, p. 42, translates *s3b* as “juridicial official, dignitary”, giving some other Egyptologists’ views of this title in the commentary.

sinw

“physician”

(Inscr. No. 129)

sš

“scribe”

(Inscr. Nos. 85, 122, 131, 136, 137, 160, 167, 168)

sš pr-ḥd

“scribe of the treasury”

(Inscr. No. 169)

sš md3wt (?)

“scribe of the documents”

(Inscr. No. 147)

In the Mastaba of Ptahshepses, this title is borne by the man walking behind the group of the palanquin bearers. In his hand he holds a roll, under the arm pressing a box with papyrus(?) against his body. This title is one of the two cases from the Old Kingdom where the sign *md3t* is written three times, as plural, see Fischer in *JNES* 18, pp. 259–260.

sš šmwt

“scribe of the granary”

(Inscr. Nos. 19, 20)

šḥd Pr-3

“inspector of the Great House”

(Inscr. No. 135)

šḥḏ ḥmw-k3

“inspector of the *k3*-servants”

(Inscr. Nos. 18, 73, 75, 76, 88, 121, 130, 131, 135, 136, 139, 140, 153, 155, 160, 166, 168)

šḥḏ ḥmw

“inspector of the craftsmen”

(Inscr. No. 52)

šḥḏ sšw

“inspector of the scribes”

(Inscr. No. 140)

šḥḏ šḏ3wtȳw (?)

“inspector of sealers”

(Inscr. Nos. 8, 91)

For the title, see e.g. Gunn, Firth, *TPC* I, p. 113.

šḥḏ šḏ3wtȳw (?) n pr-ḏt

“inspector of the sealers of the endowment”

(Inscr. No. 16)

šḥḏ šmšw n(w) ḥnw

“inspector of the retainers of the Residence”

(Inscr. No. 144)

šḥḏ gmwtȳw (?) (or kštyw?)

“inspector of the sculptors”

(Inscr. Nos. 58, 59)

For this title, its transcription and meaning, see discussion on p. 48.

štp s3

“court councillor”

(Inscr. Nos. 144, 147)

See e.g. Gunn, Firth, *TPC* I, p. 110, n. 2 and p. 132. Junker, *Giza* XI, p. 148, translates the title as “Leibdiener”.

ššm (?)

“butcher”

(Inscr. No. 23)

ššm (?) n pr-ḏt

“butcher of the endowment”

(Inscr. No. 25)

kšty (?)

“sculptor”

(Inscr. Nos. 4, 57)

For this title, its transcription and meaning, see the discussion on p. 48.

k3ny

“gardener”

(Inscr. No. 83)

Several remarks on this title can be found in Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 155 and n. 681. See also Helck in *LÄ* II/3, p. 372.

k3ny n pr-ḏt

“gardener of the endowment”

(Inscr. No. 77)

Remarks on the Drawings

The drawings of the reliefs have been made after photographs, i.e. not on spot in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses. We have considered this method to be more effective and accurate. The drawings only show the preserved parts of the reliefs; the damaged places are not indicated by cross lines, but left blank. Lines of various width have been used to distinguish the deeper cuts of the usually border lines from the shallower ones used for the inner details of the objects, etc. The following kinds of lines have been used in the drawings:

- for the reliefs (low, incised, sunk)
- for painting
- for intentionally erased reliefs



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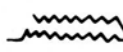
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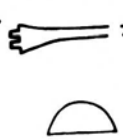
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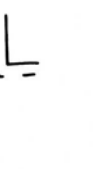
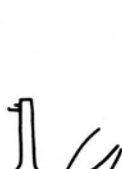
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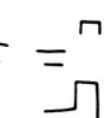
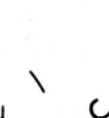
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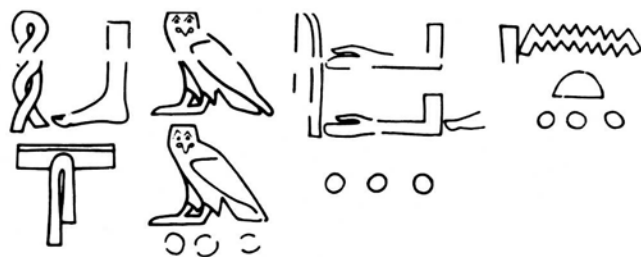
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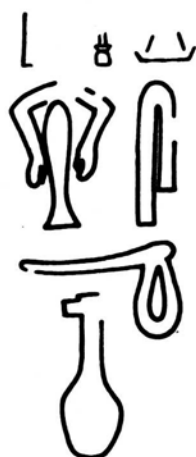
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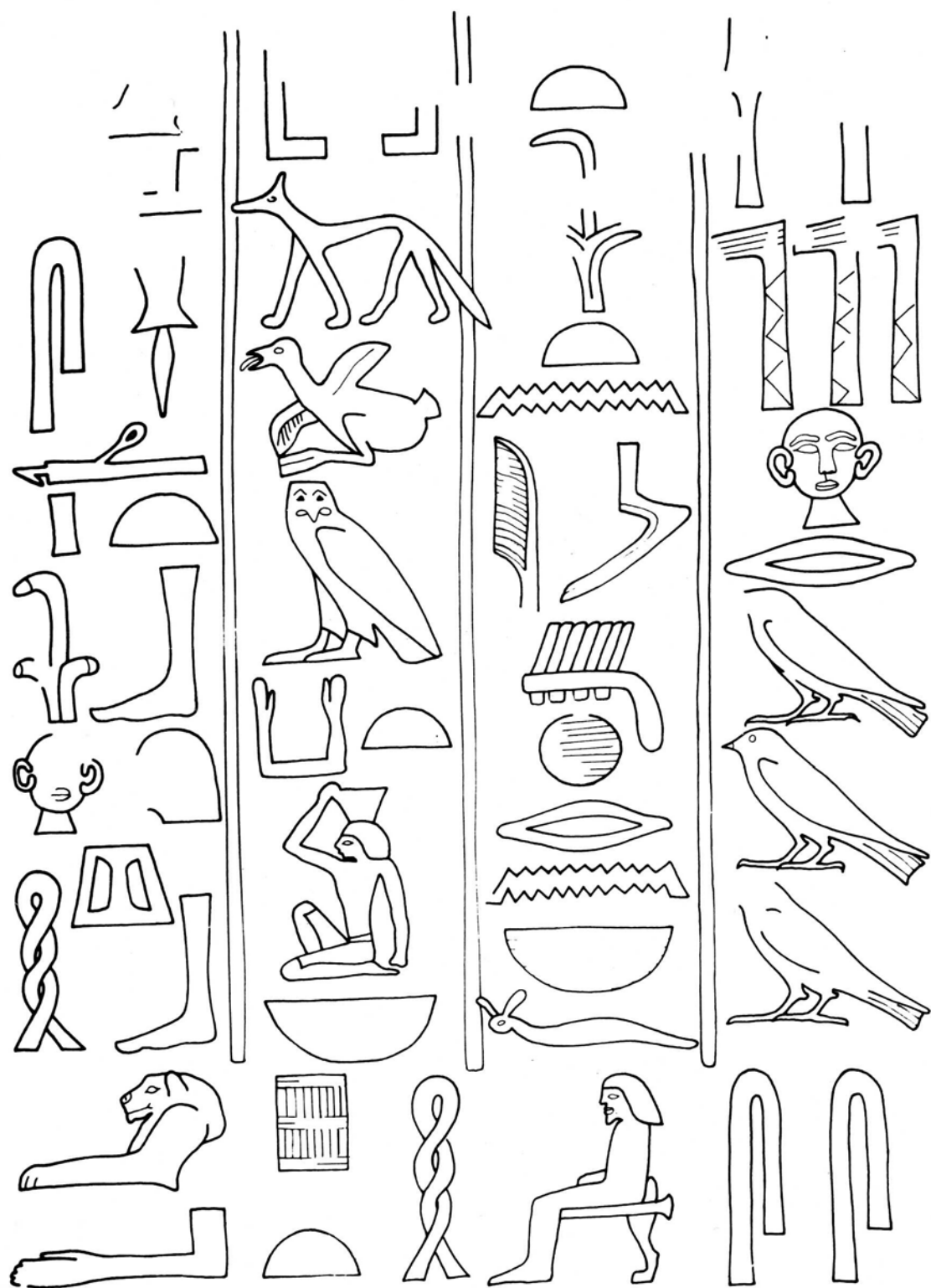
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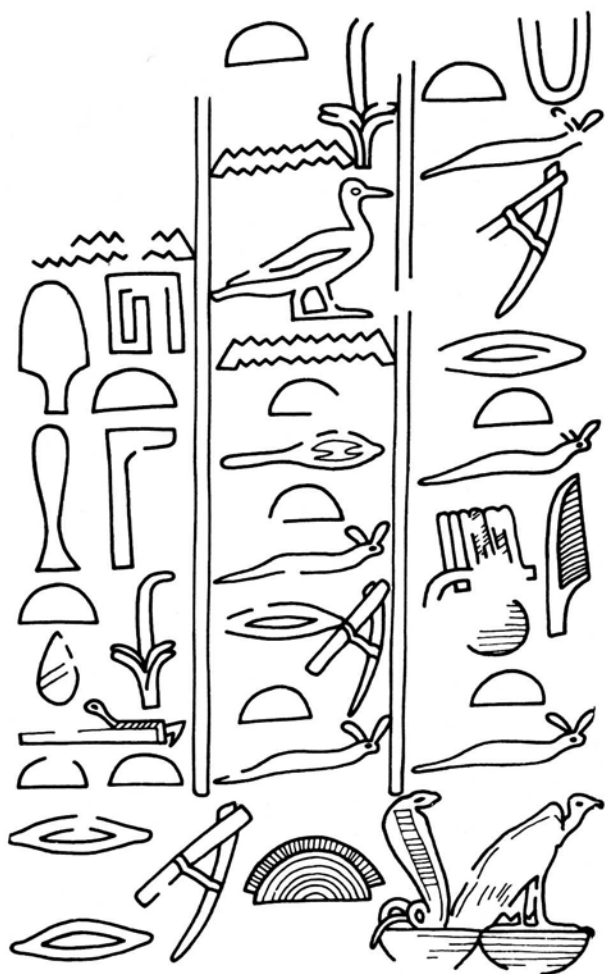


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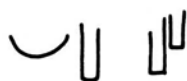
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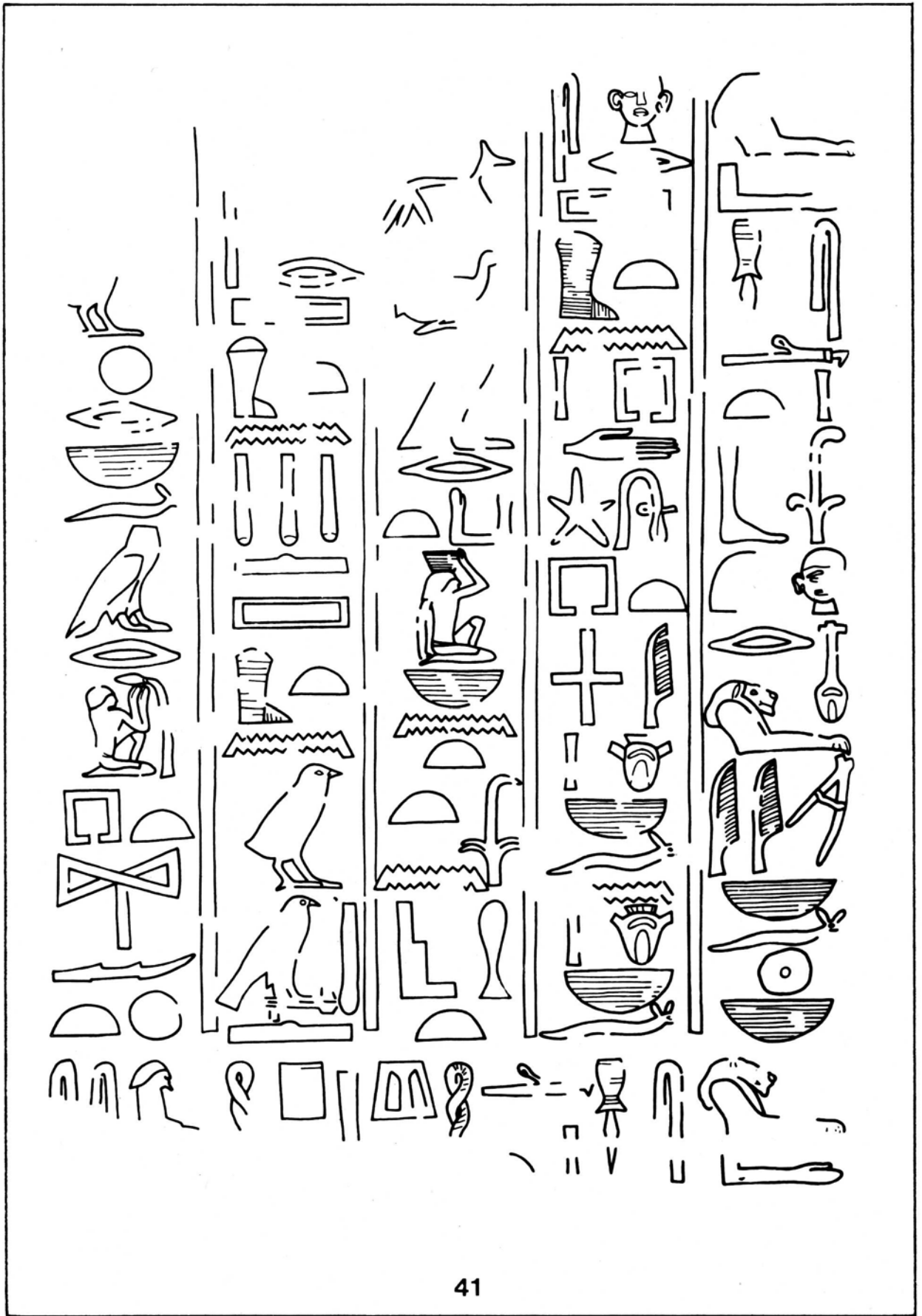
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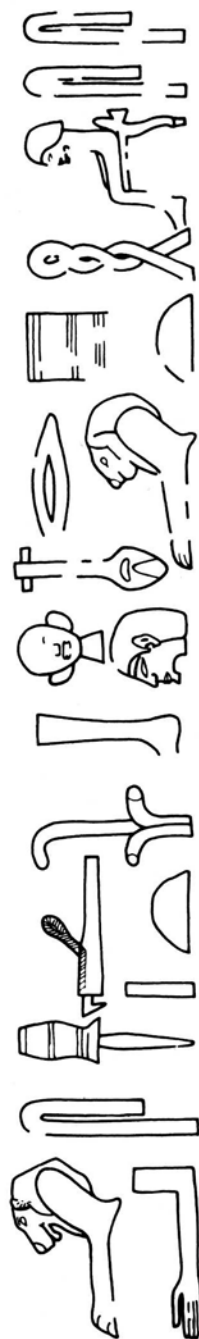
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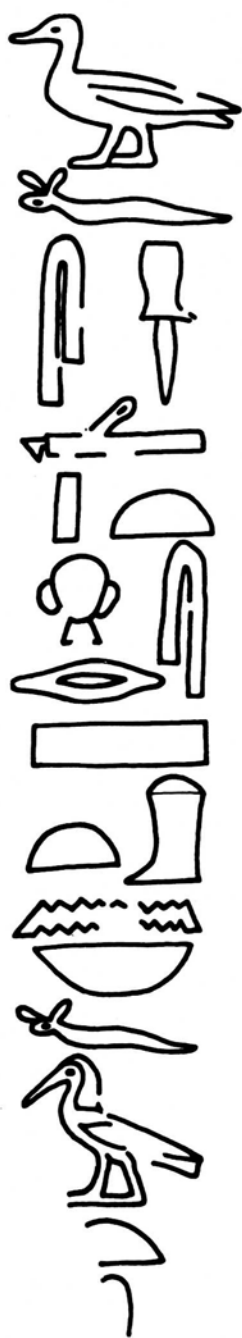
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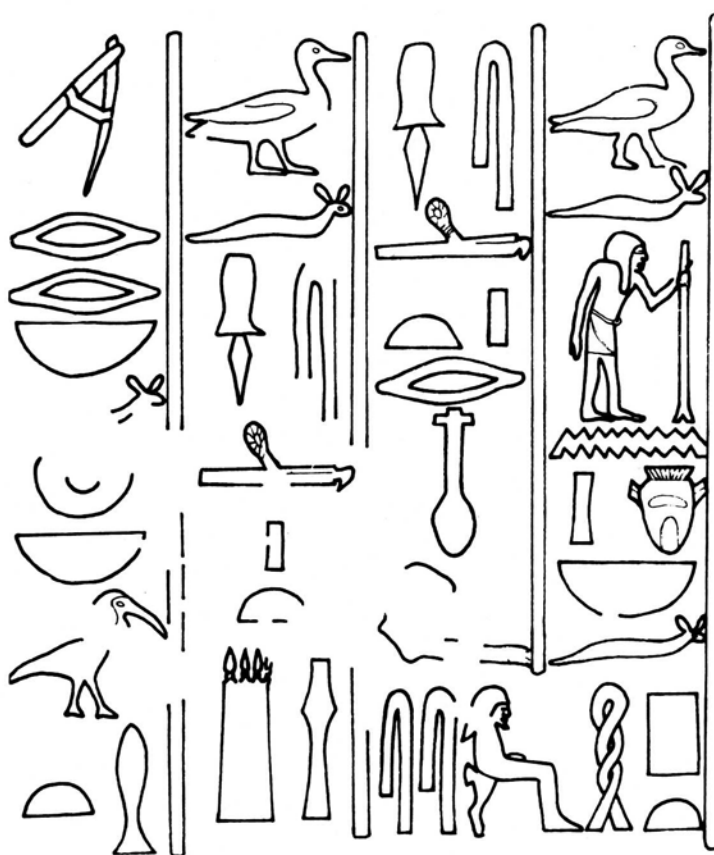
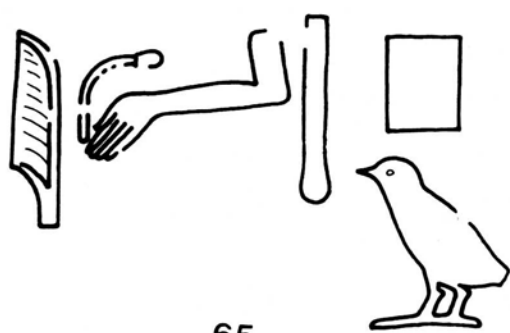
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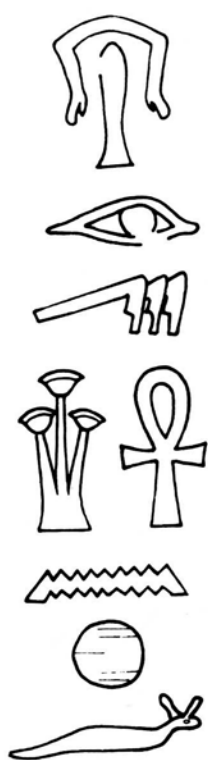


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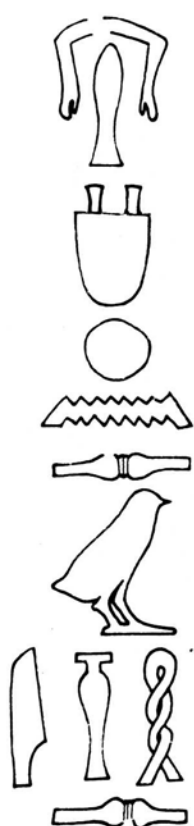


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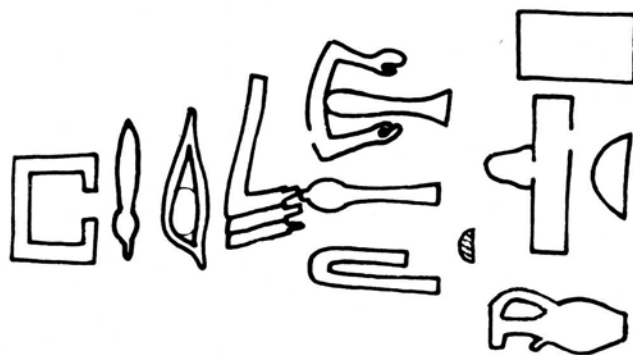
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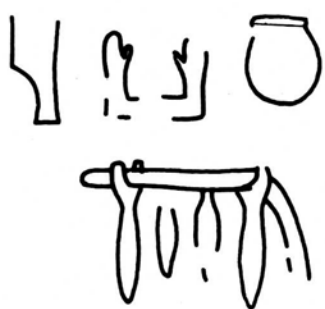
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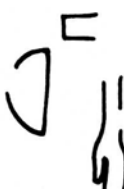
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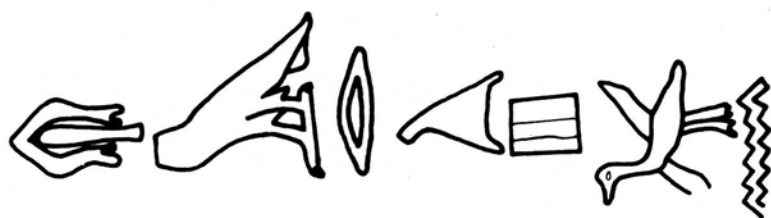
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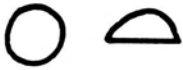
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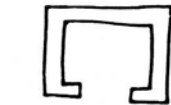
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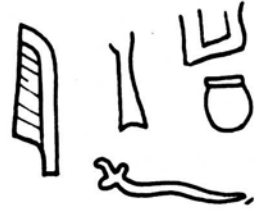
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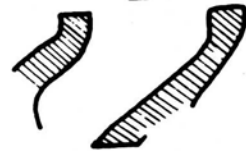
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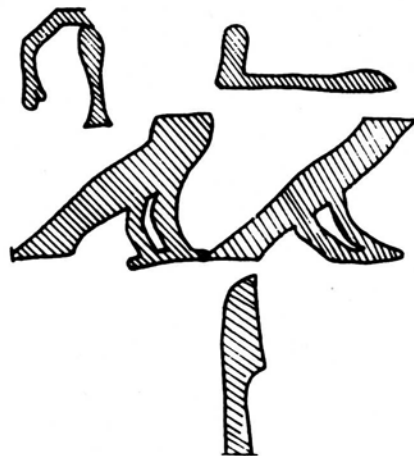
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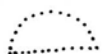
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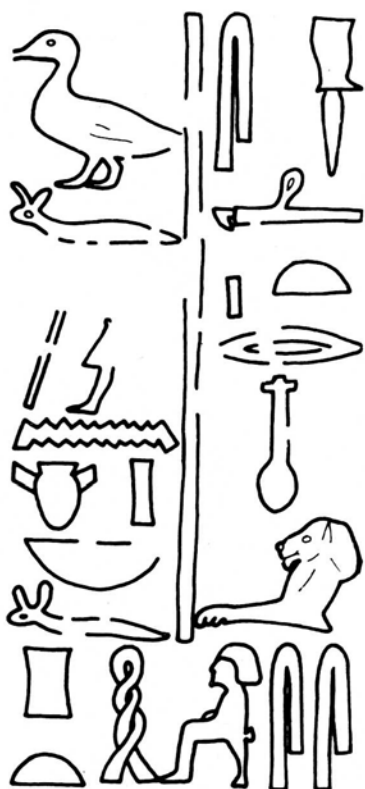
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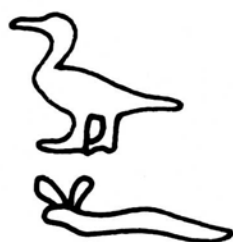
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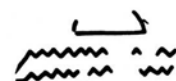
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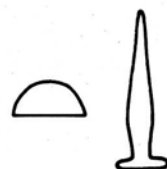




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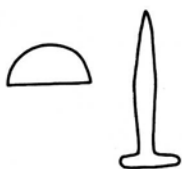
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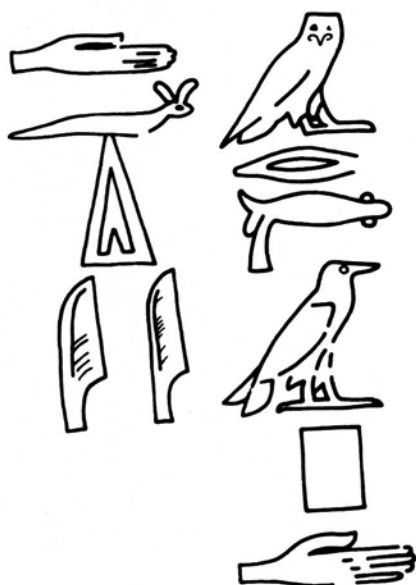
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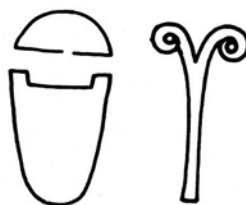
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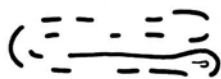
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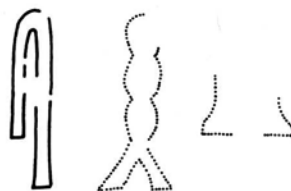
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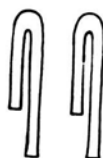
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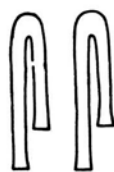


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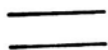
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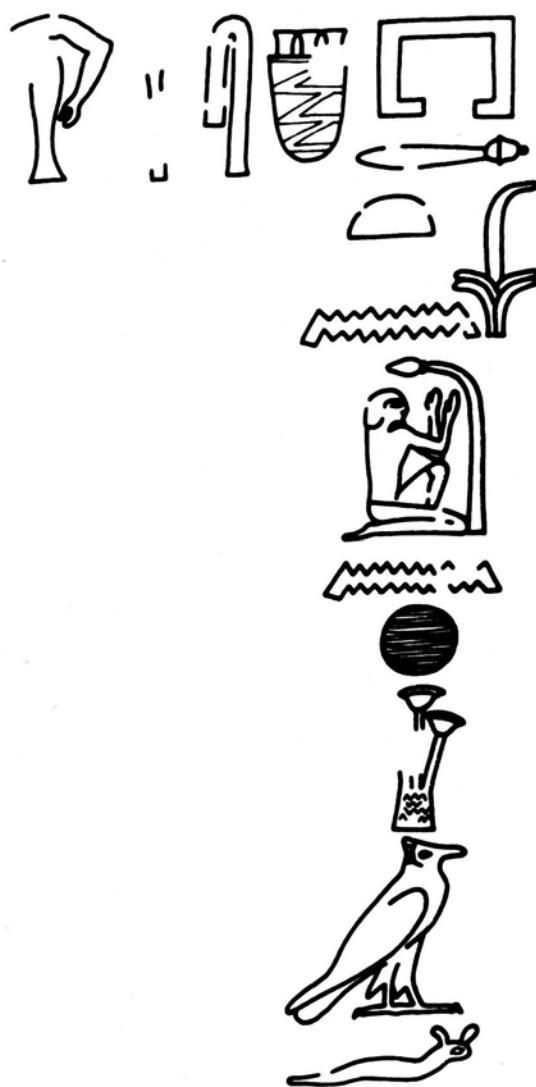
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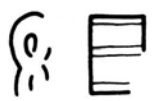
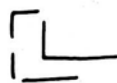
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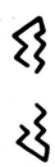
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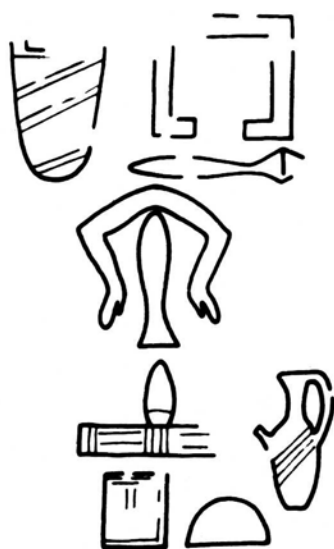
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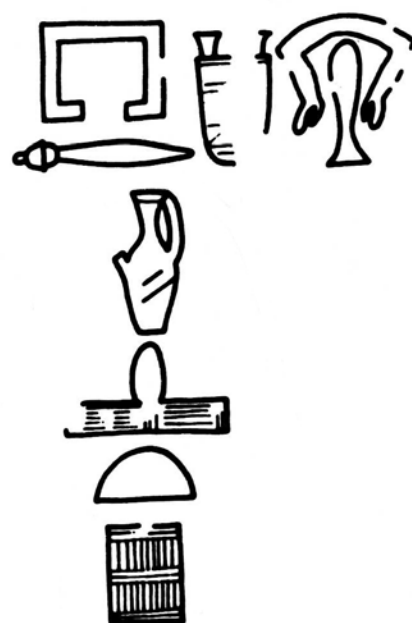
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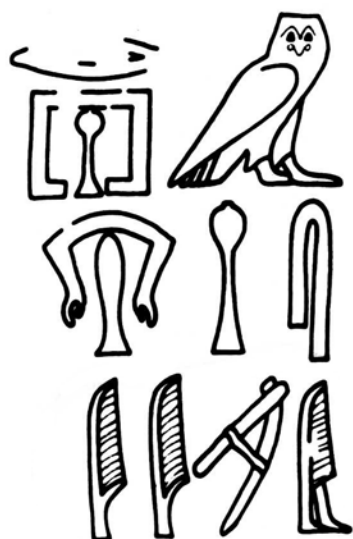
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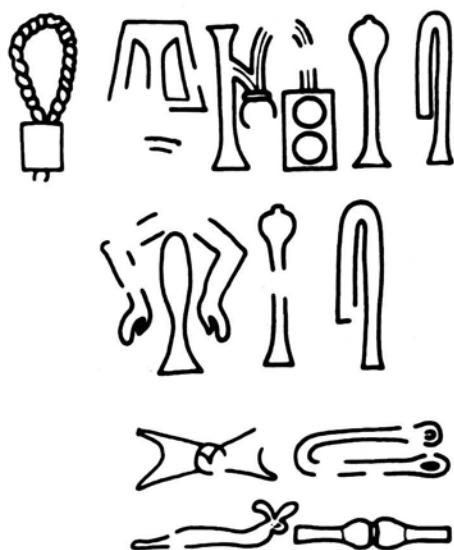
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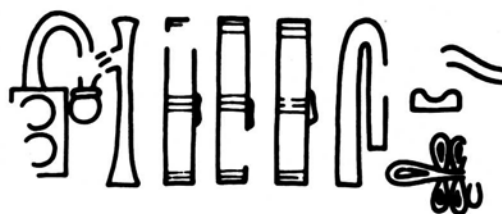
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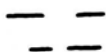
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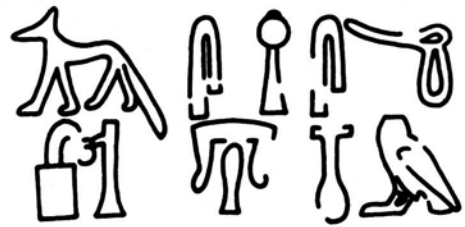
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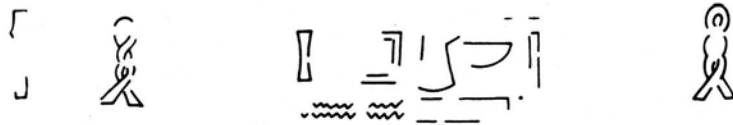
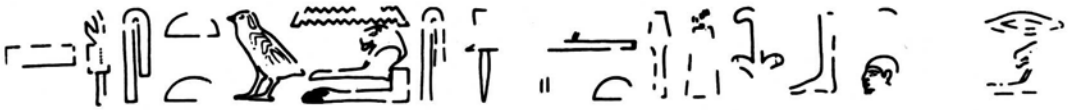
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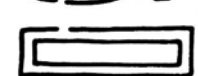
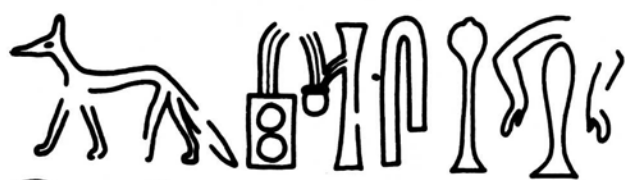
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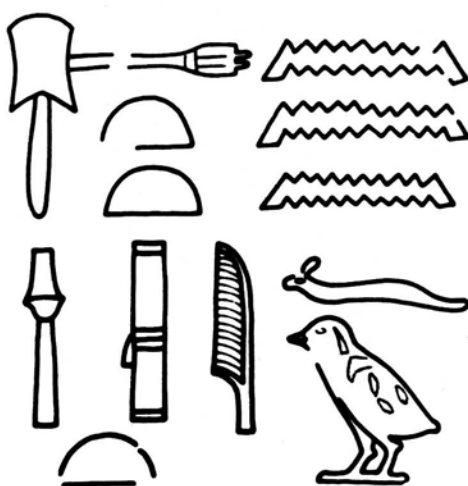
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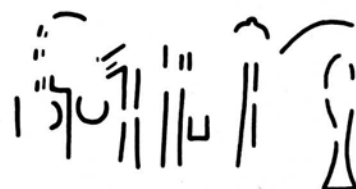
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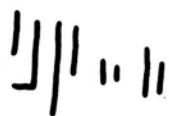
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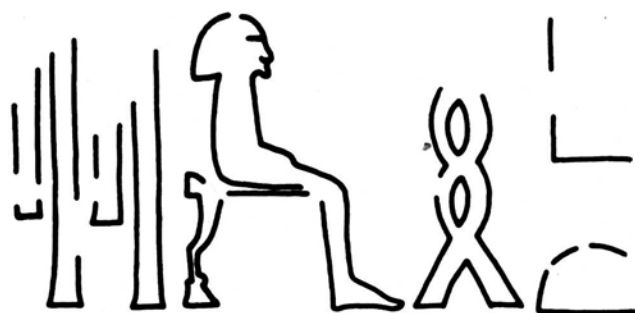
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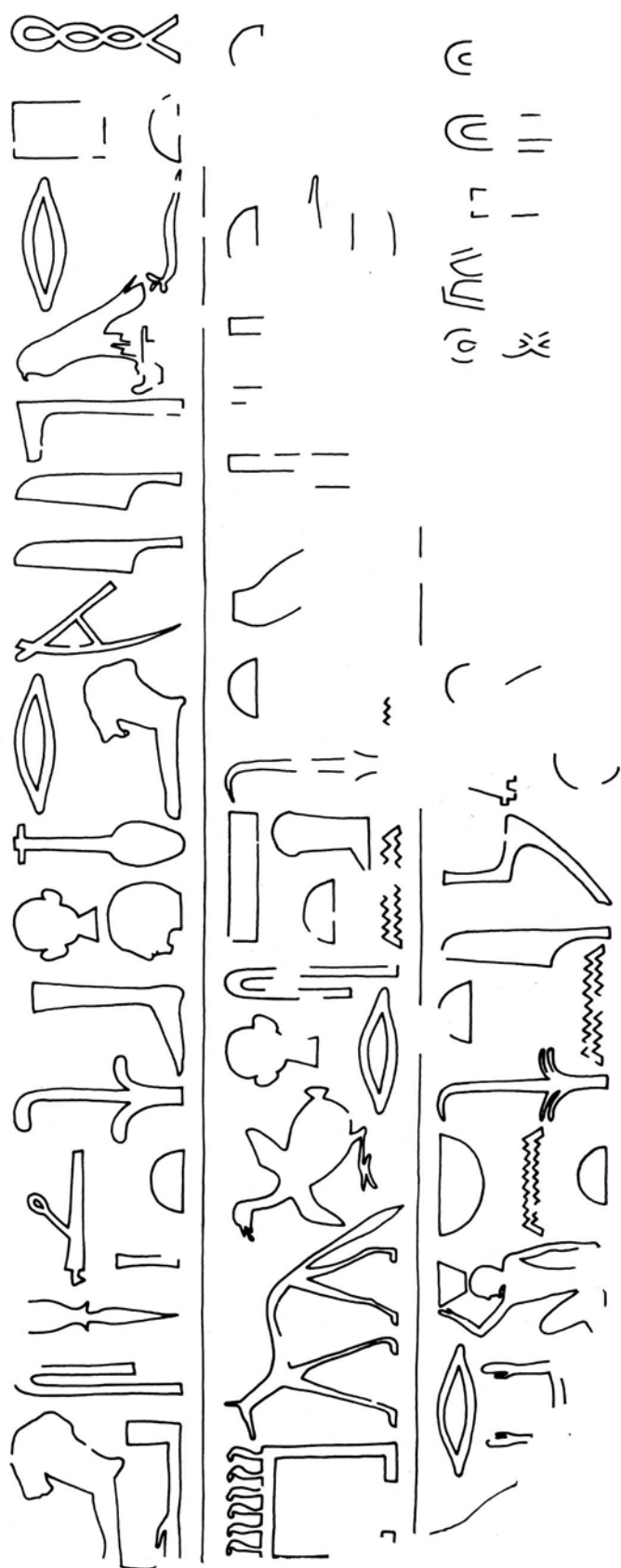
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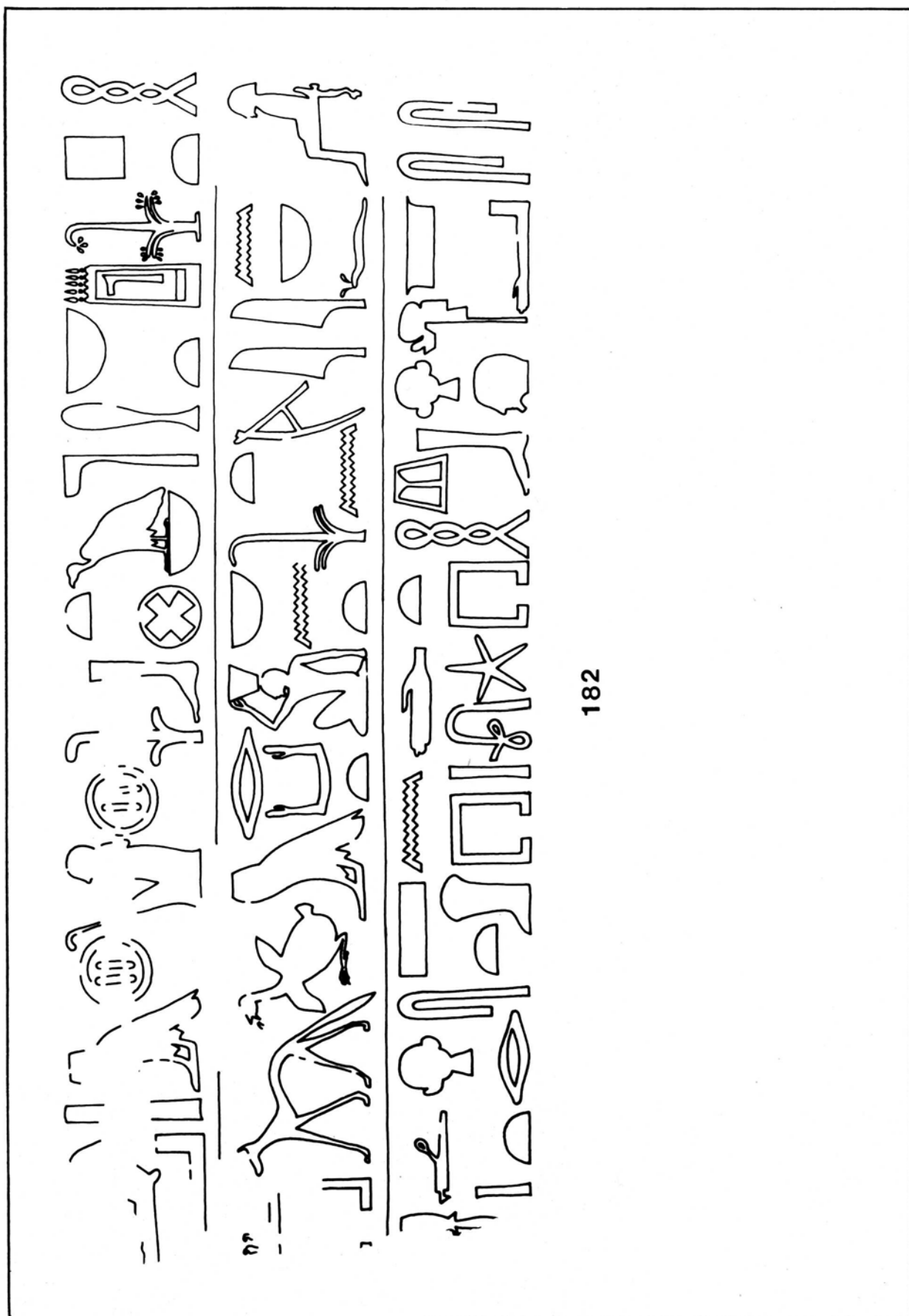


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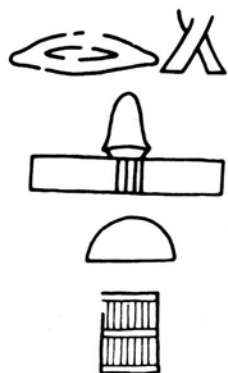
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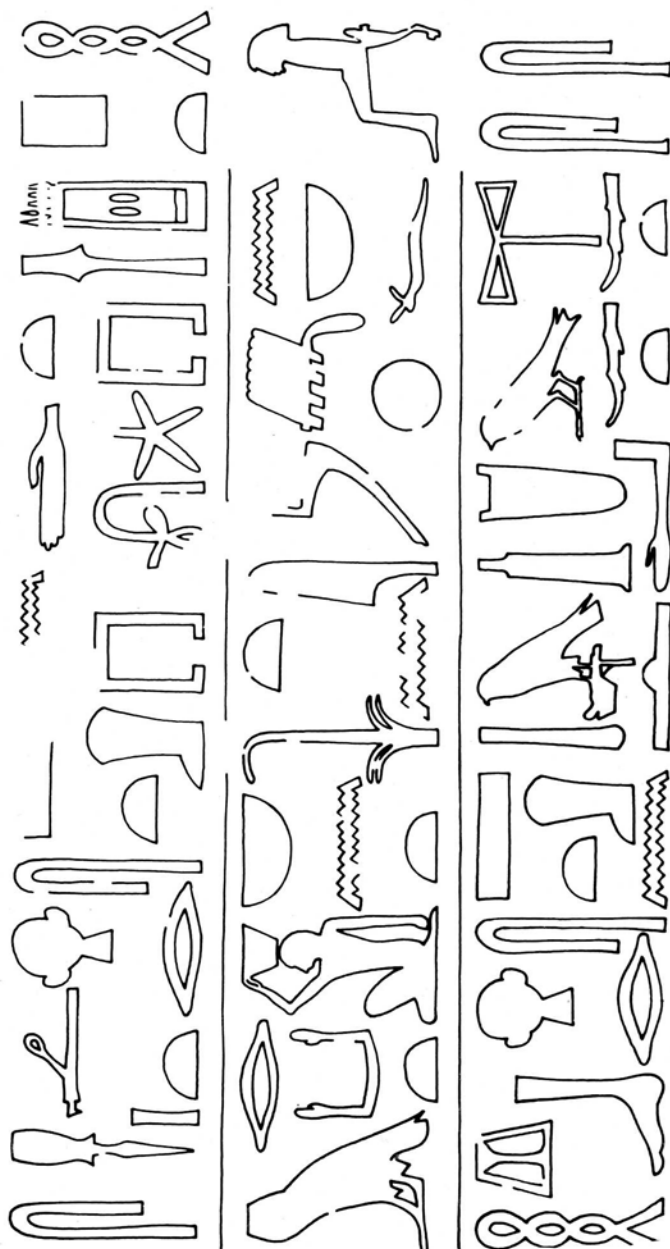


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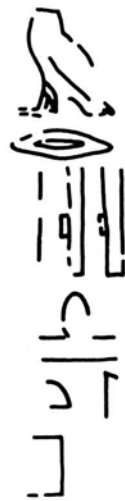
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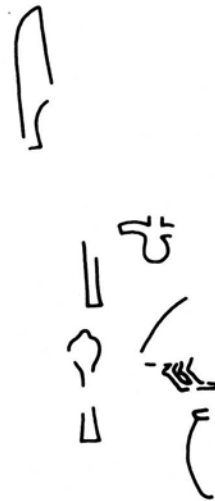
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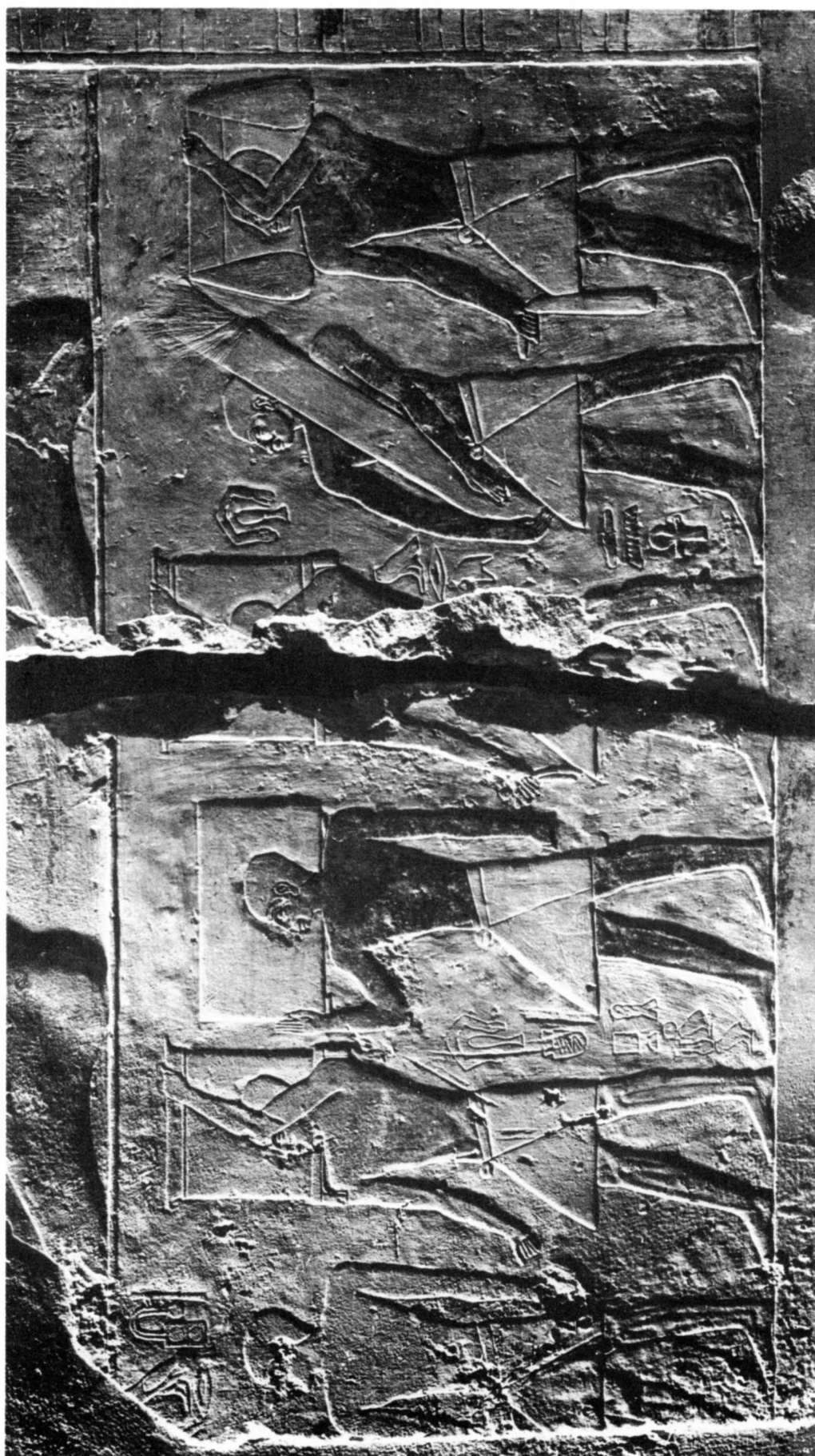


Mastaba of Ptahshepses, seen from the Pyramid of Nyuserre

1



Room 3 – East Wall

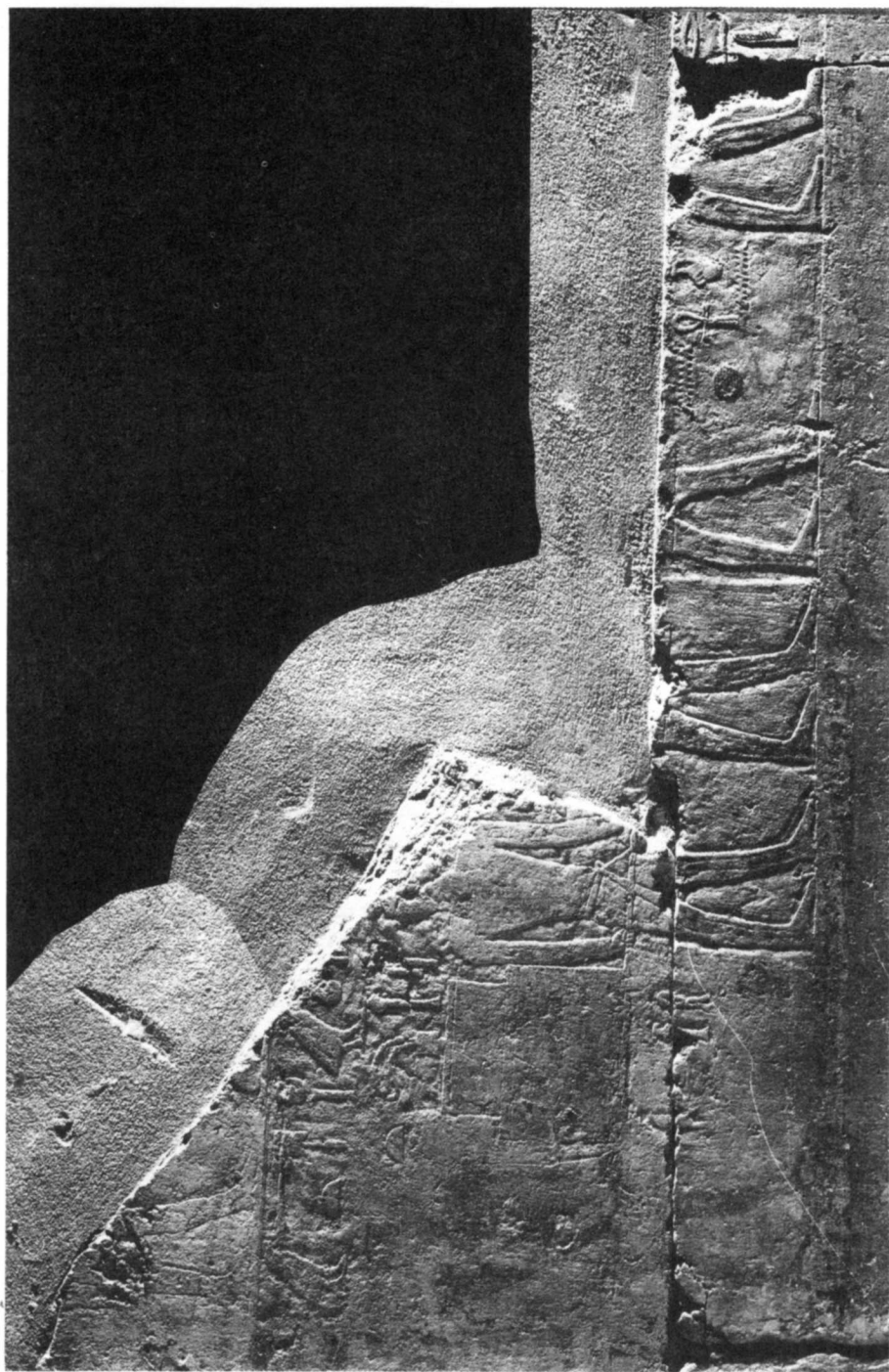




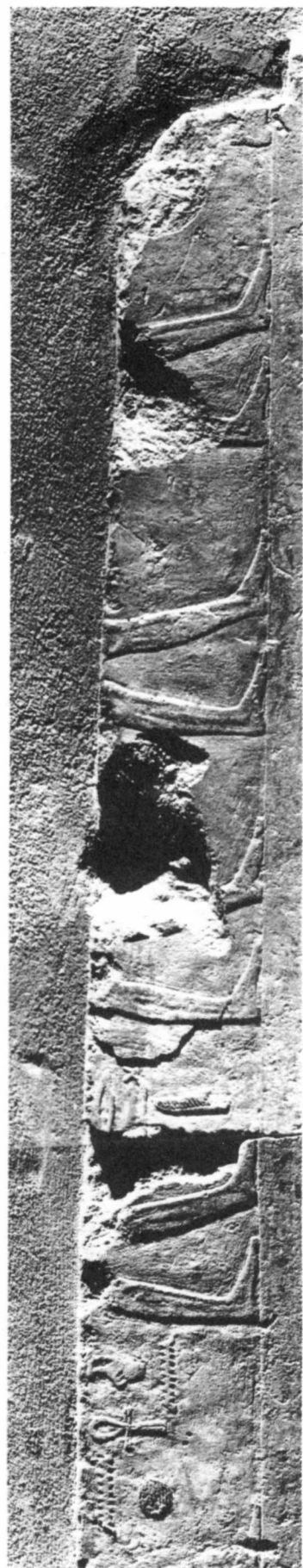
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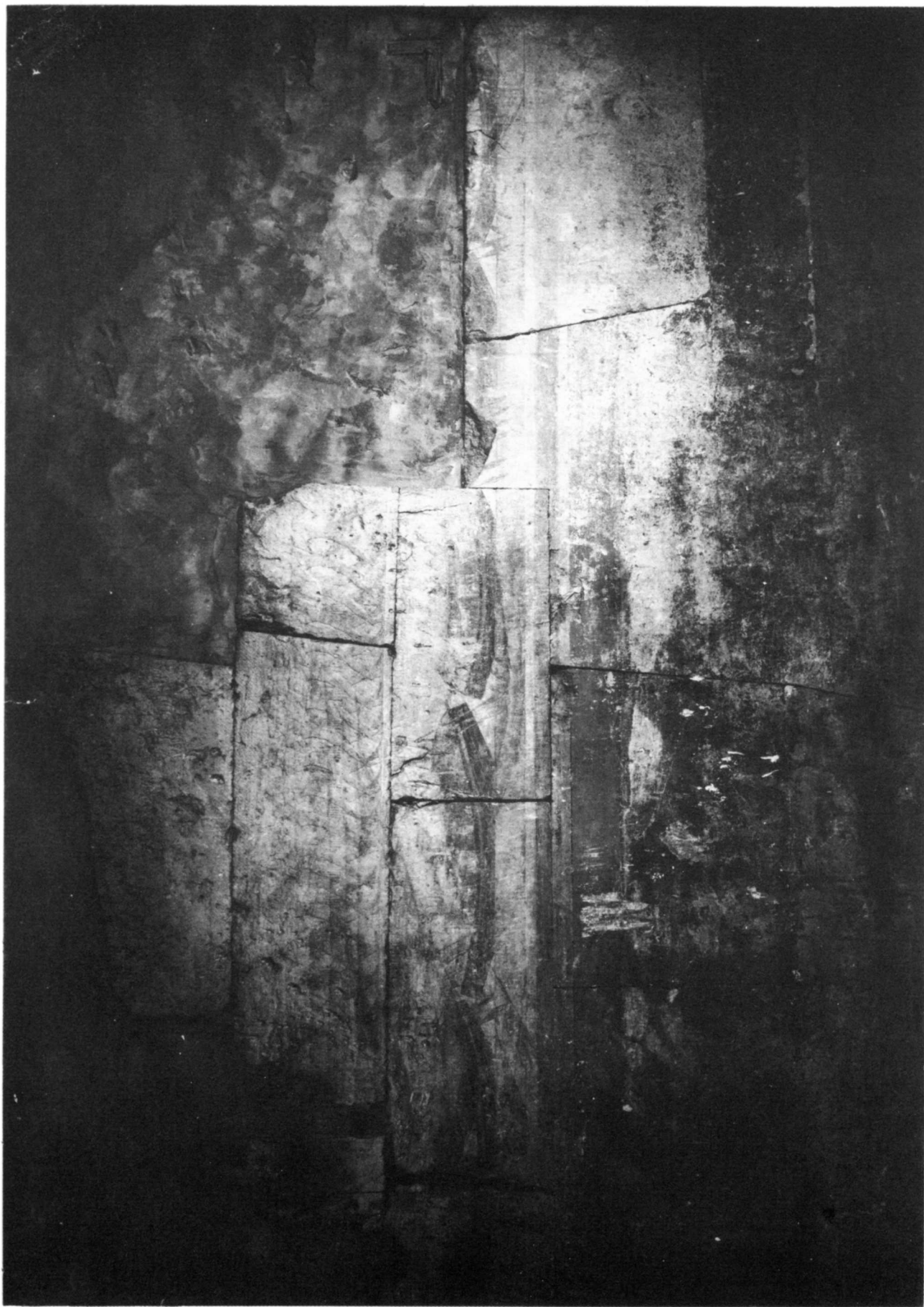
Room 3 – North Wall



6

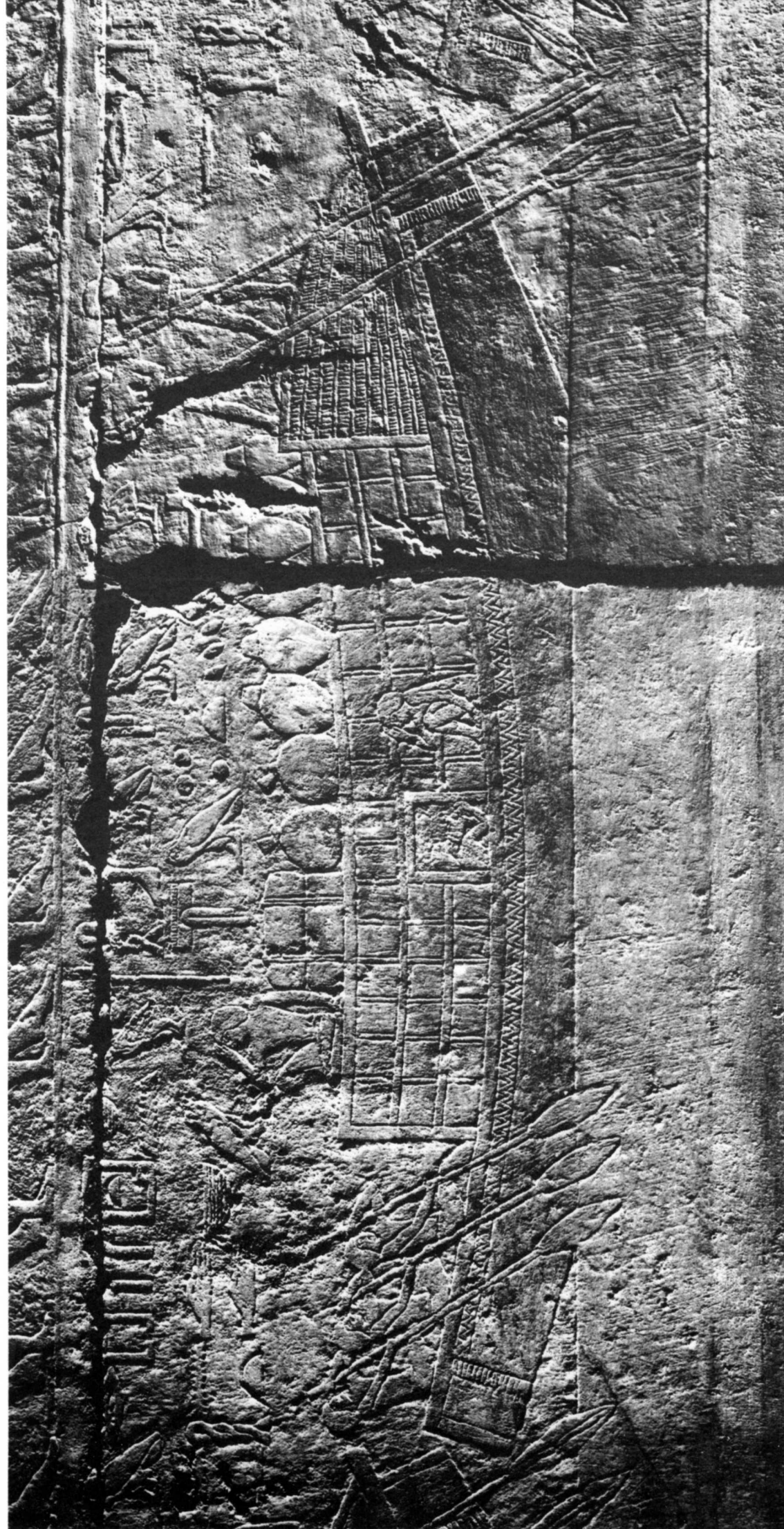


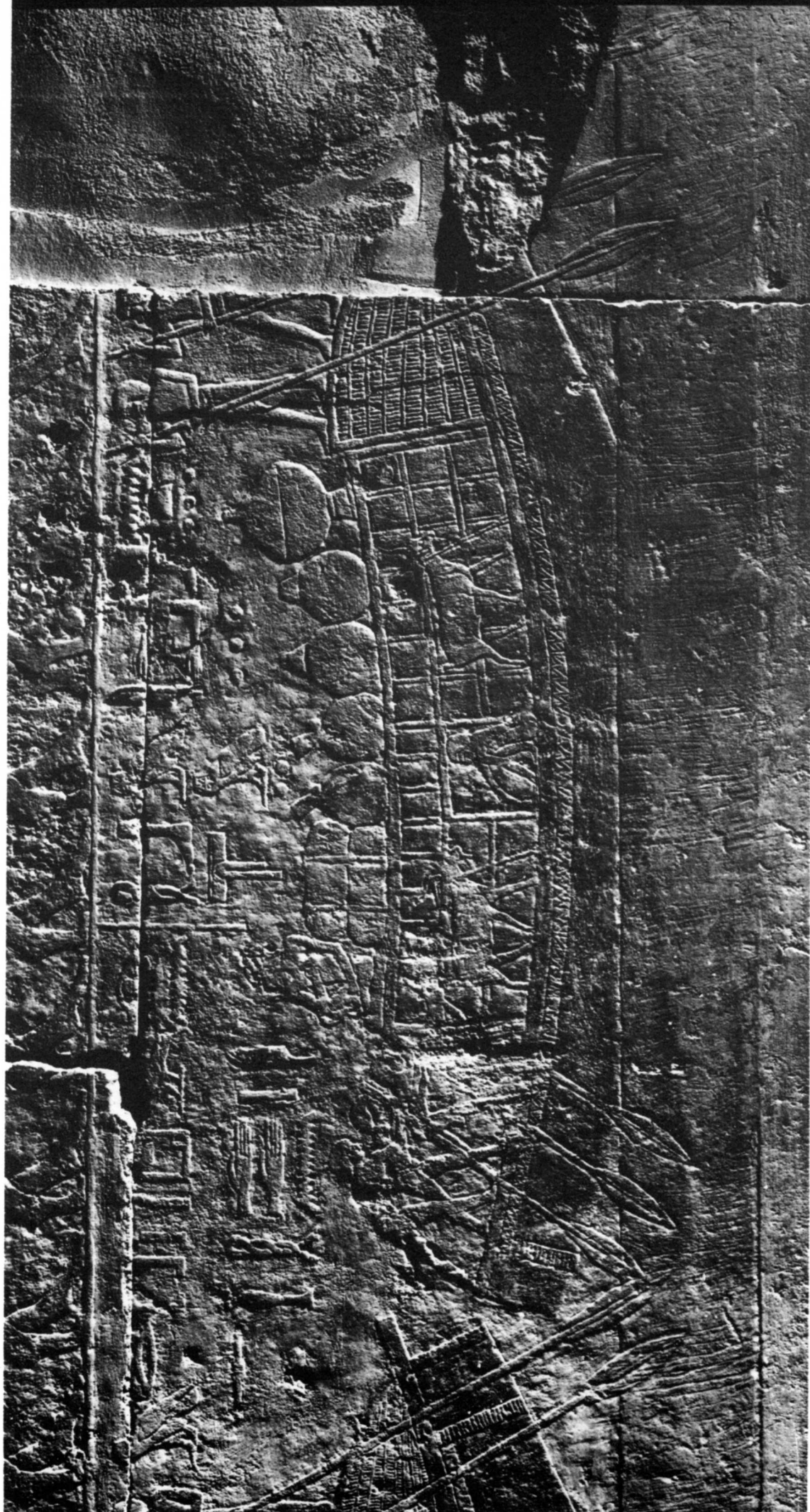
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Room 3 – South Wall









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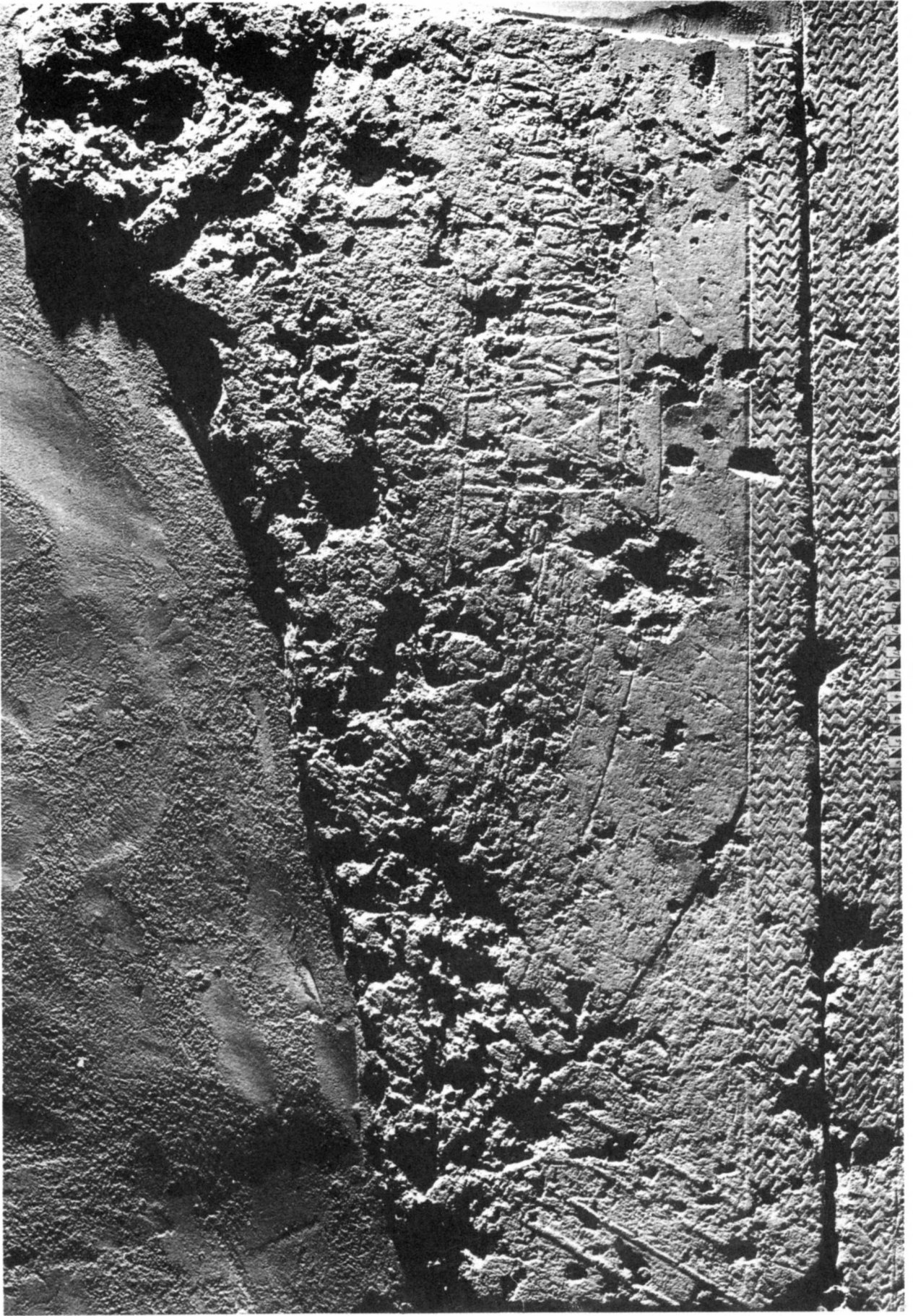
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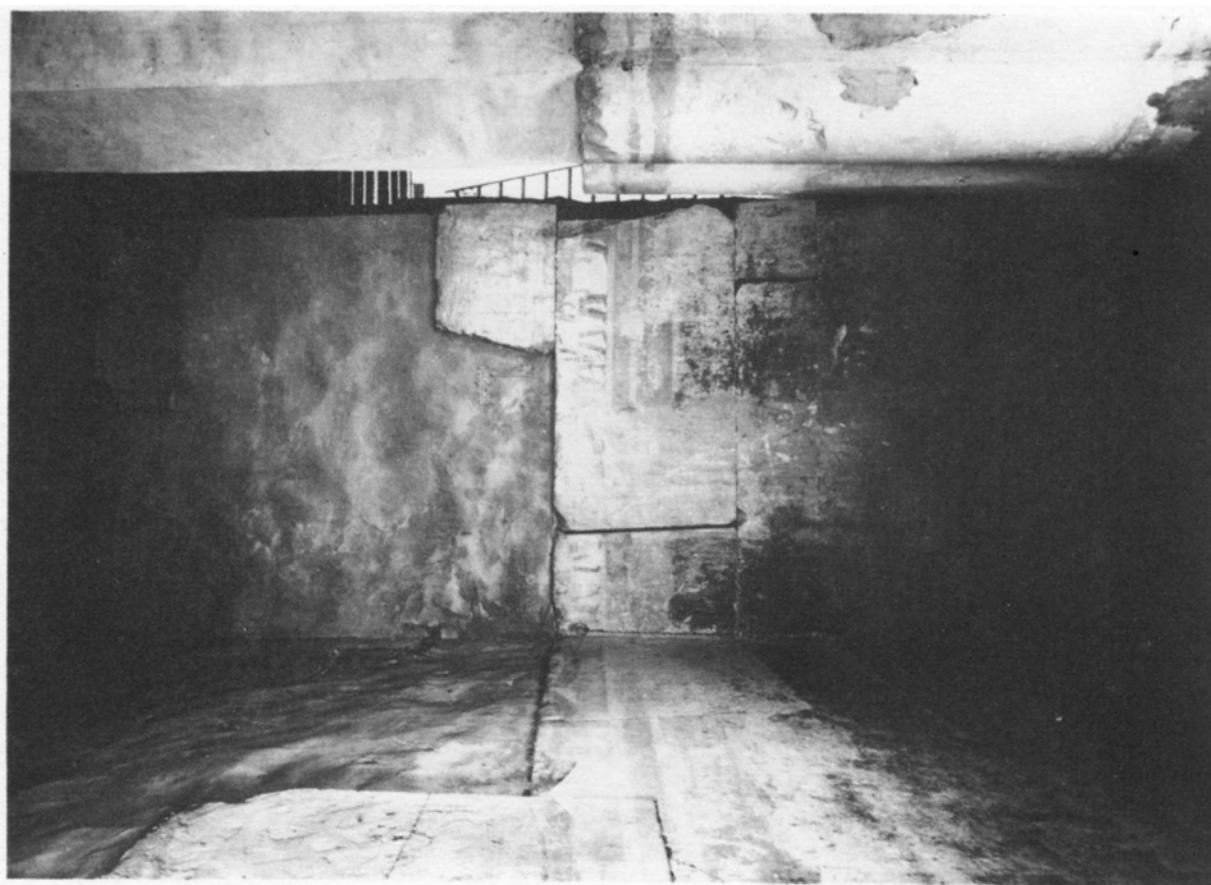
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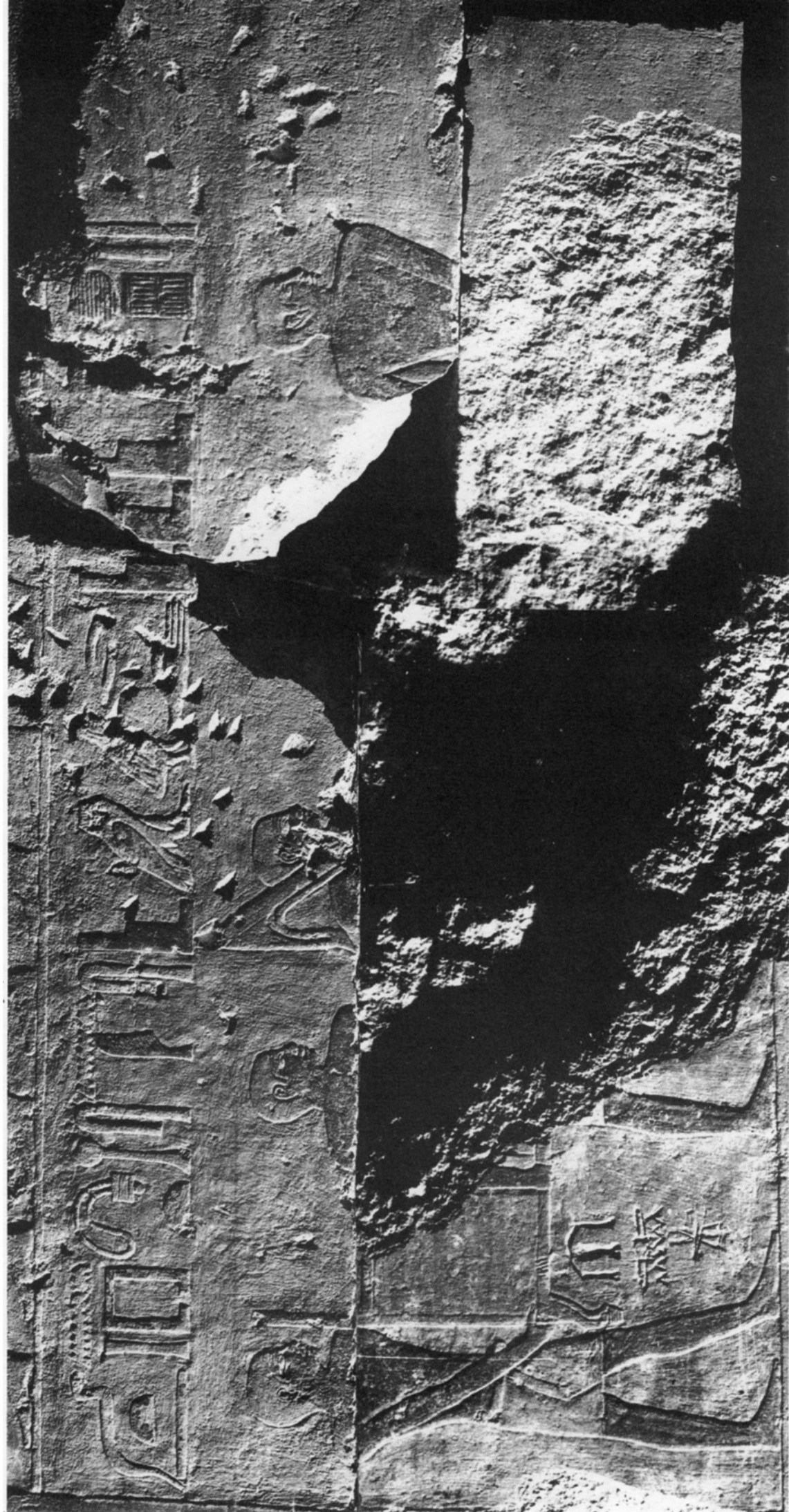
Room 3 – West Wall (Northern Section)

17



Room 3 – West Wall (Southern Section)

18



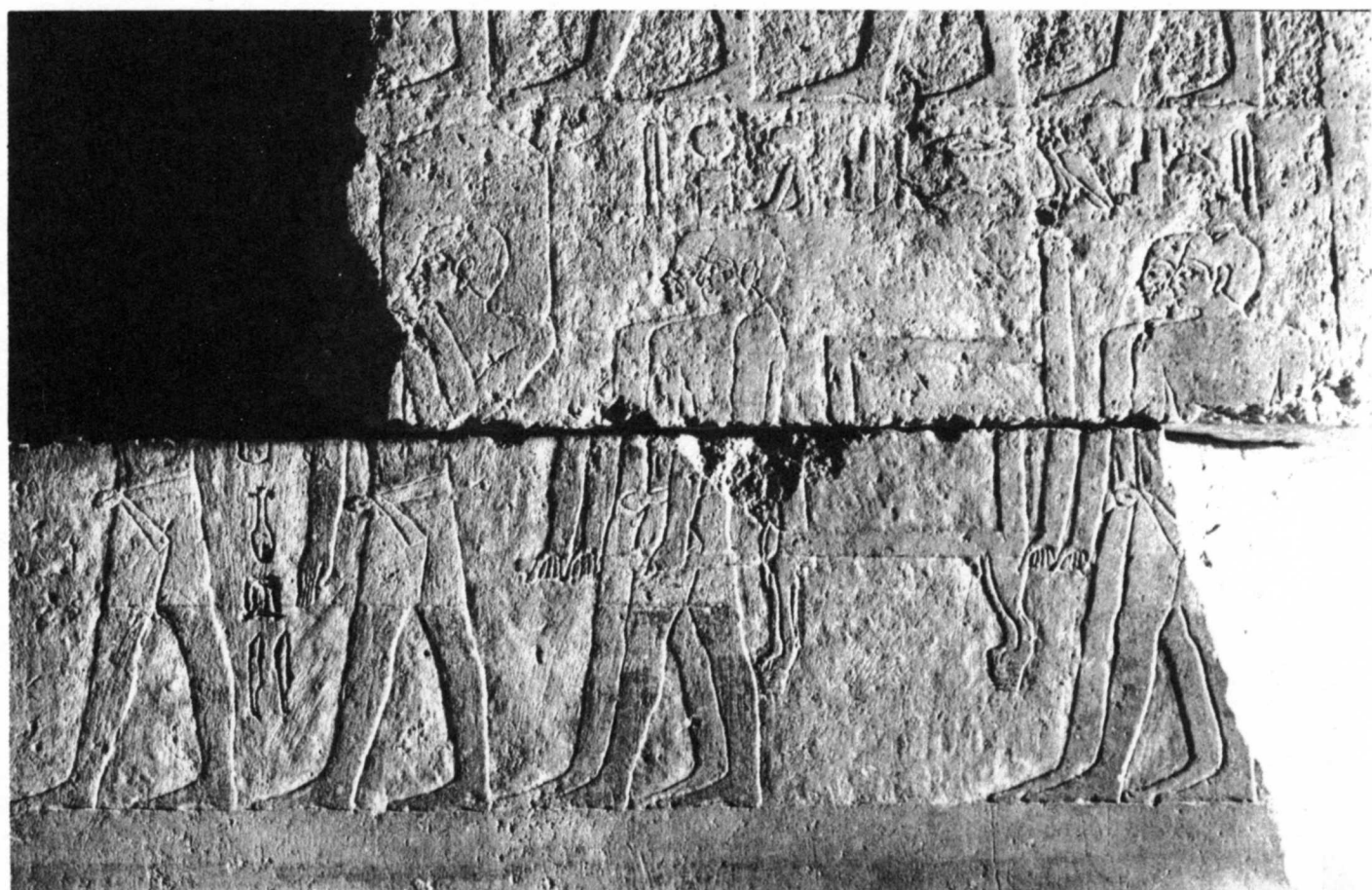


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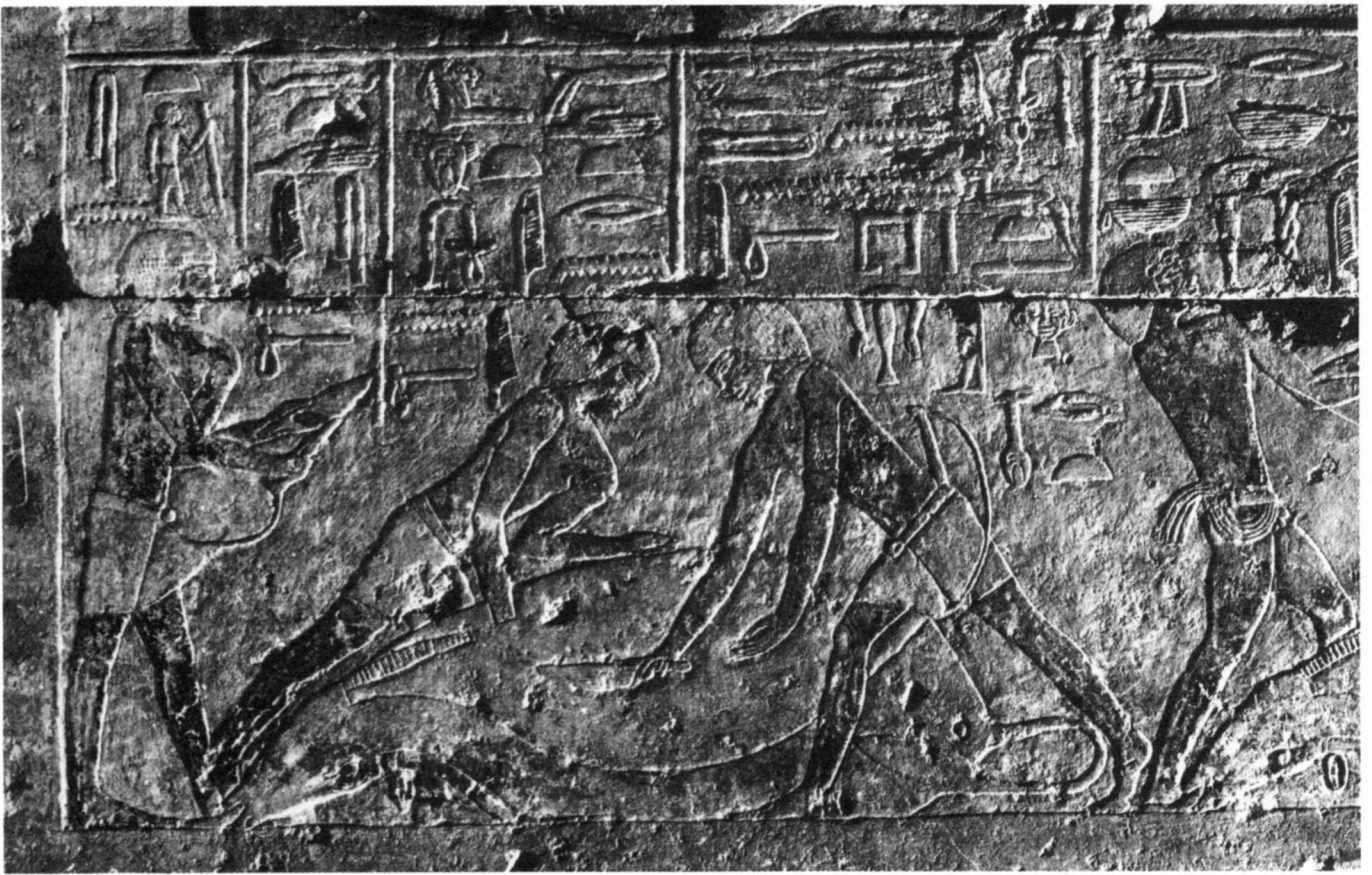


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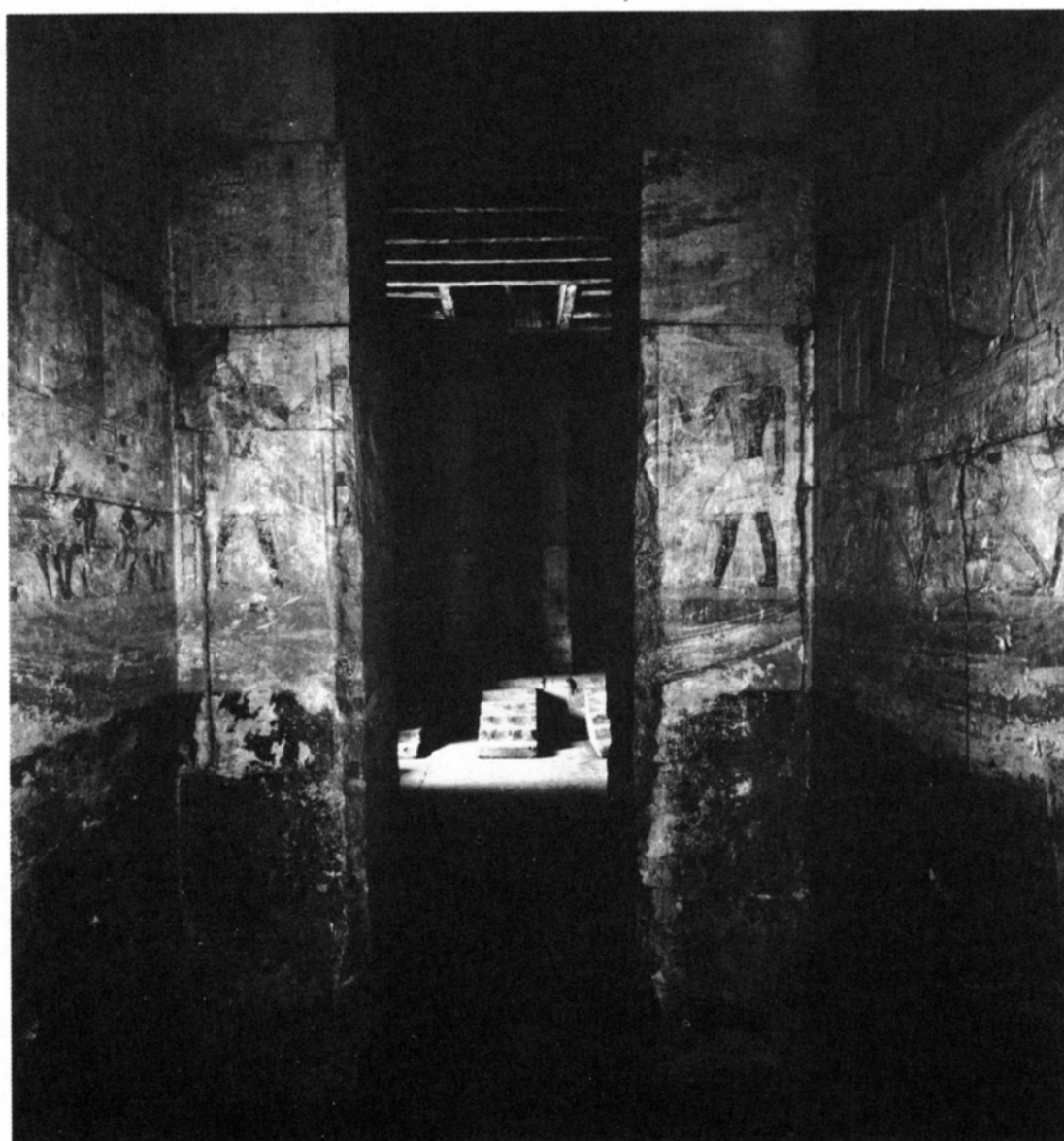
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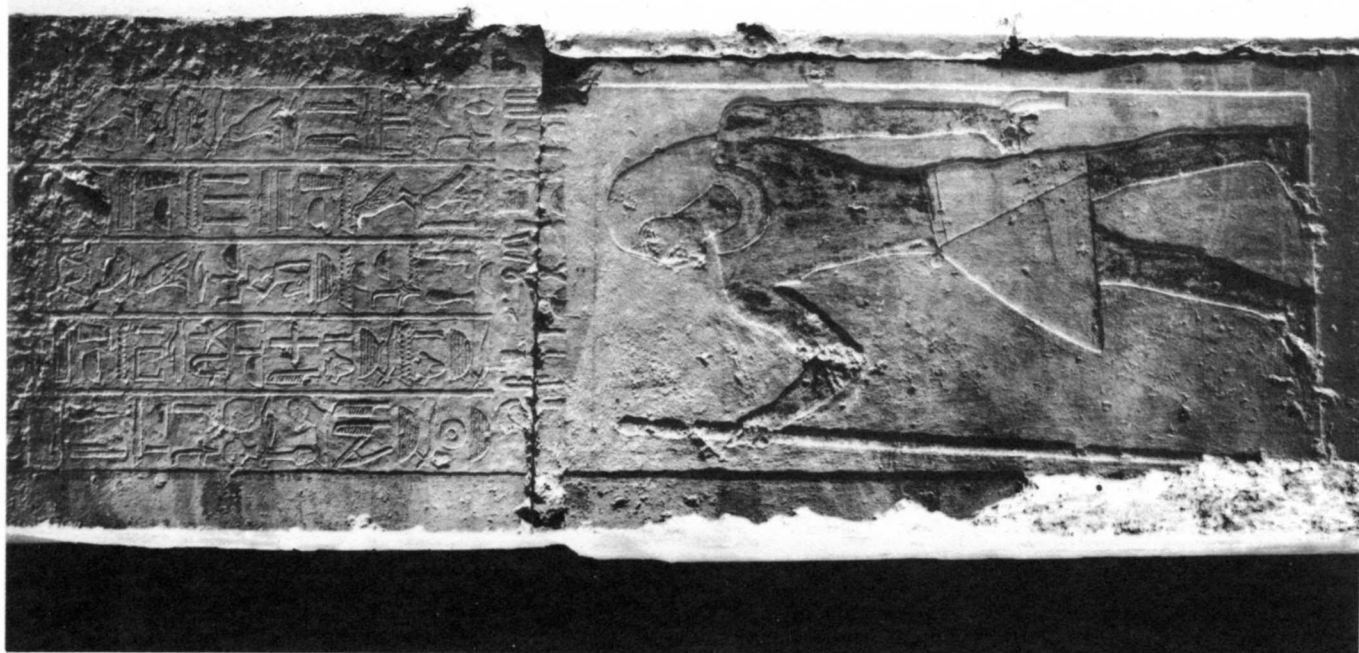


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Doorway between Rooms 3 and 4

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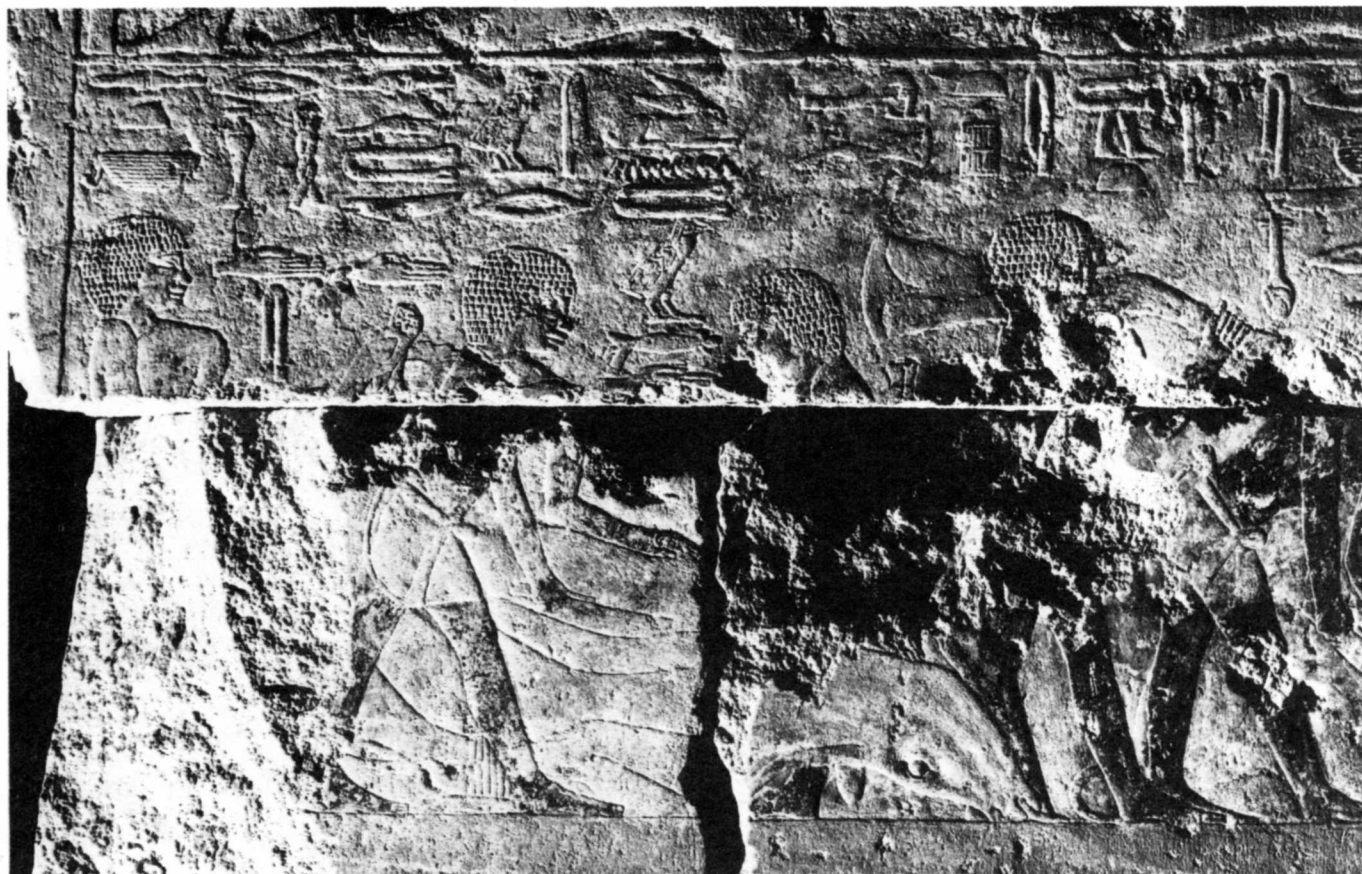




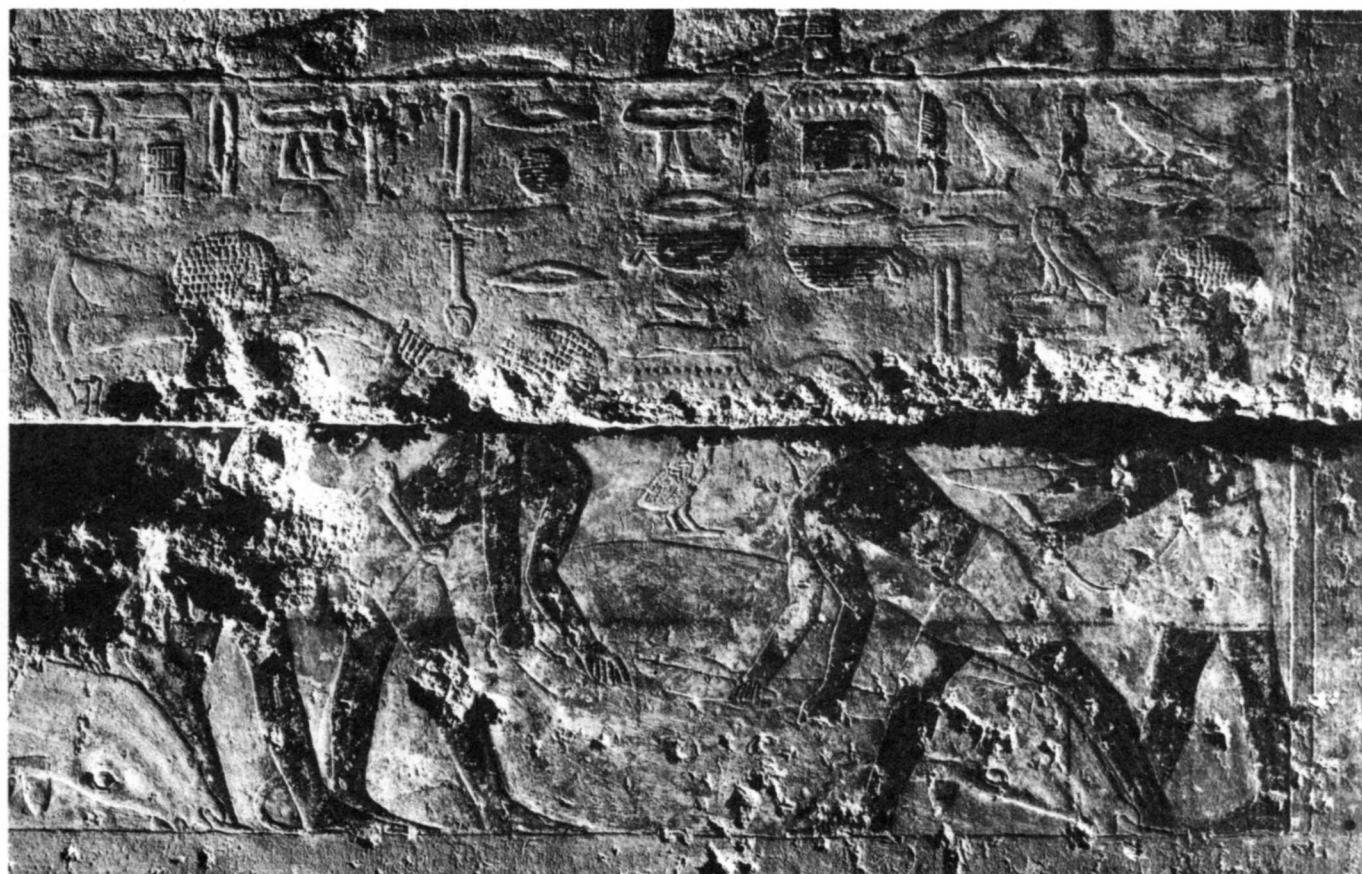
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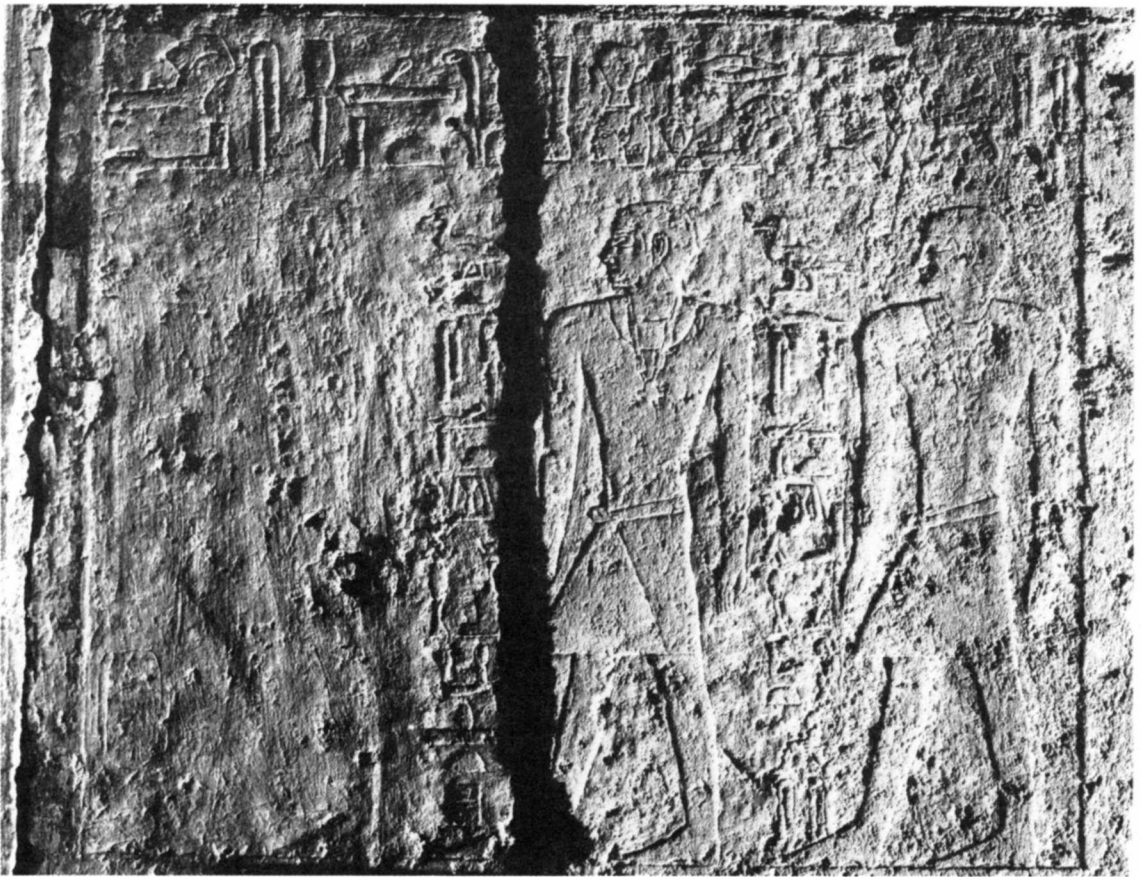
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202

37



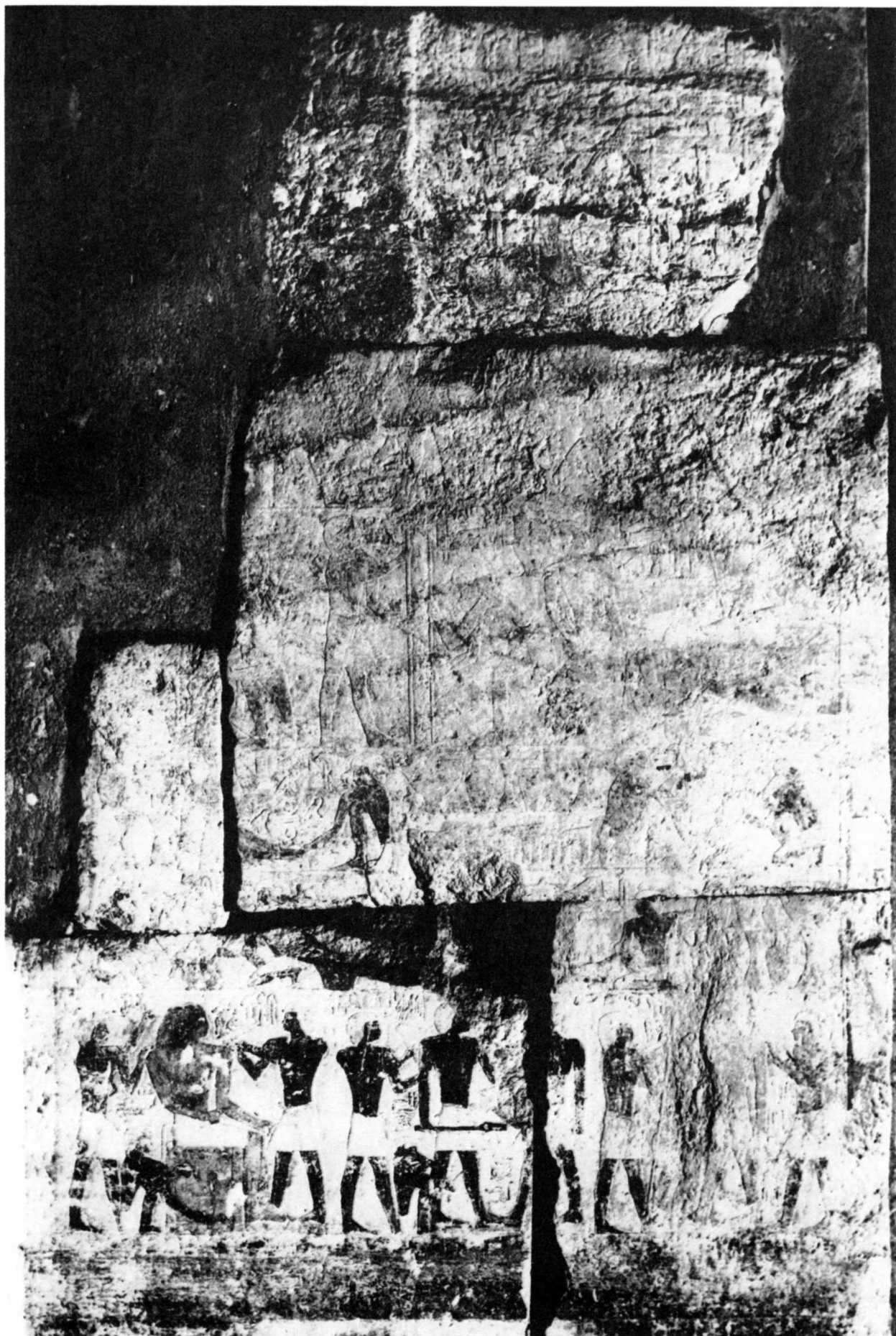


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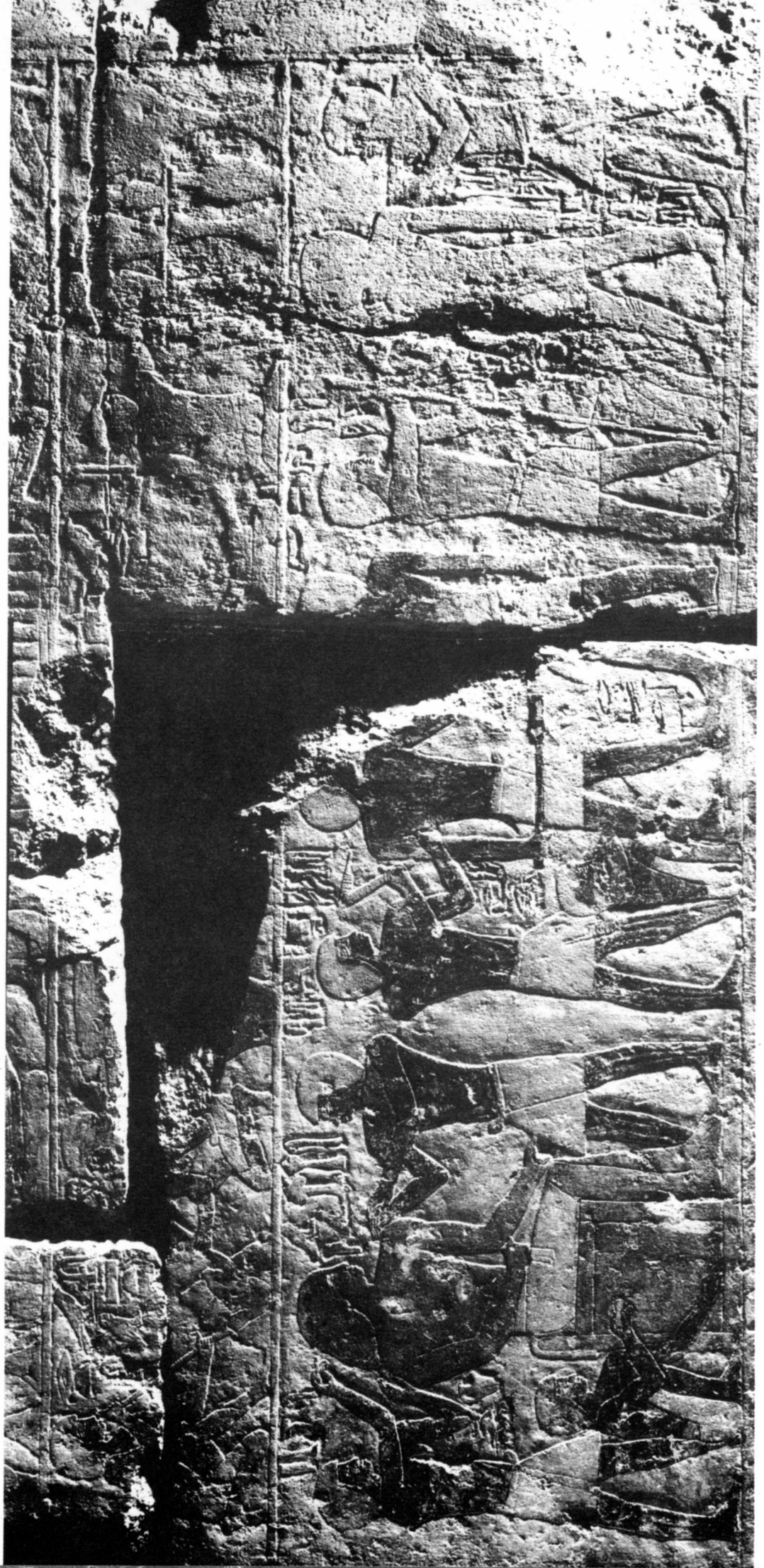


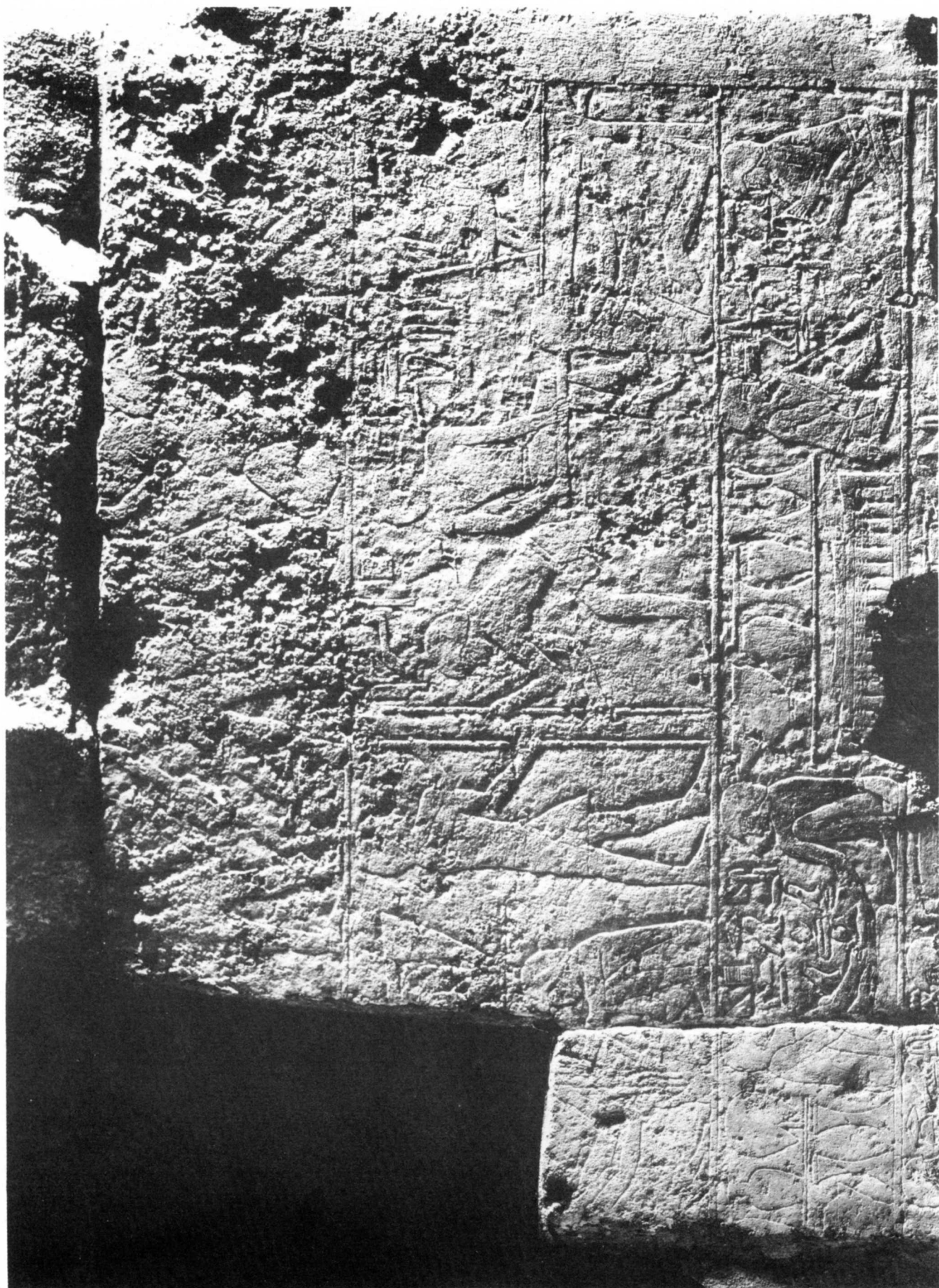
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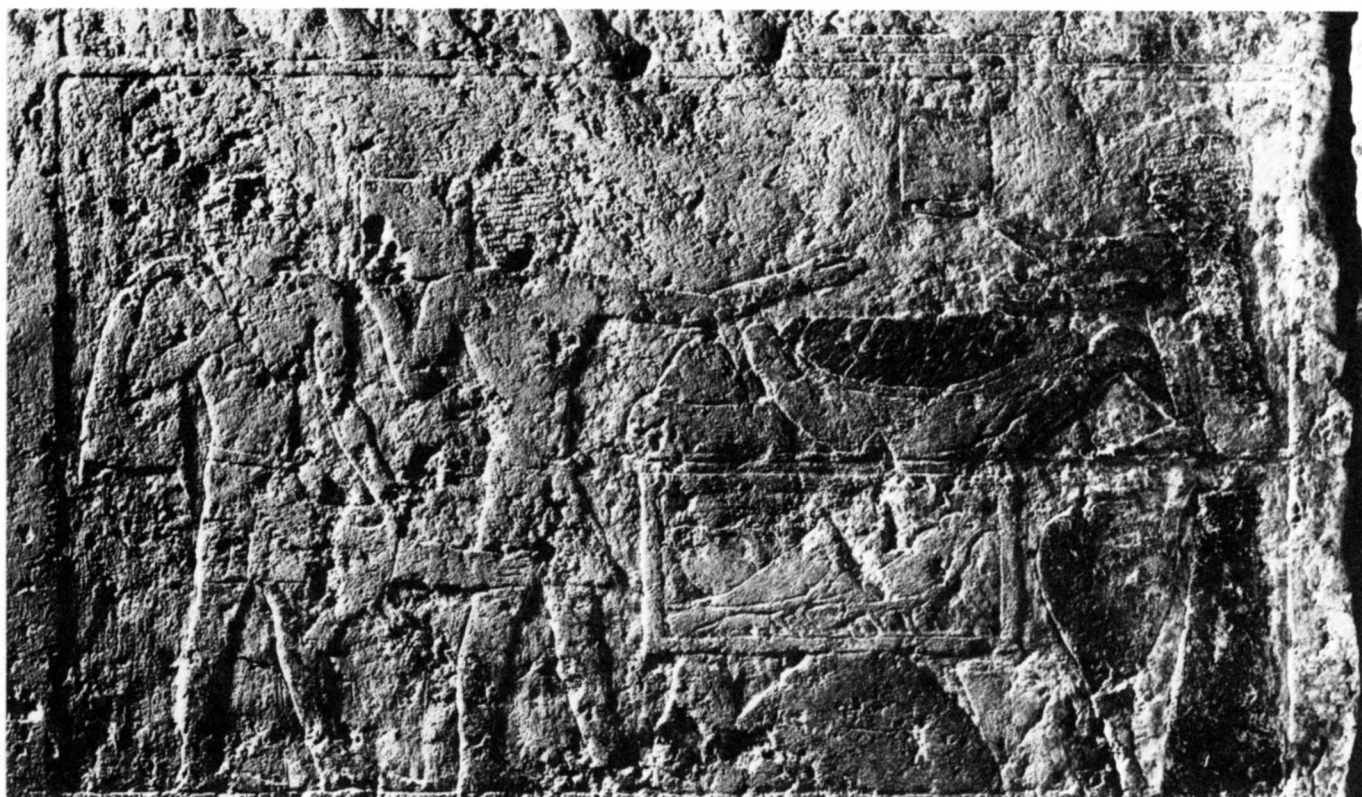
Room 4 – East Wall (Northern Section)







Room 4 – East Wall (Southern Section) 208



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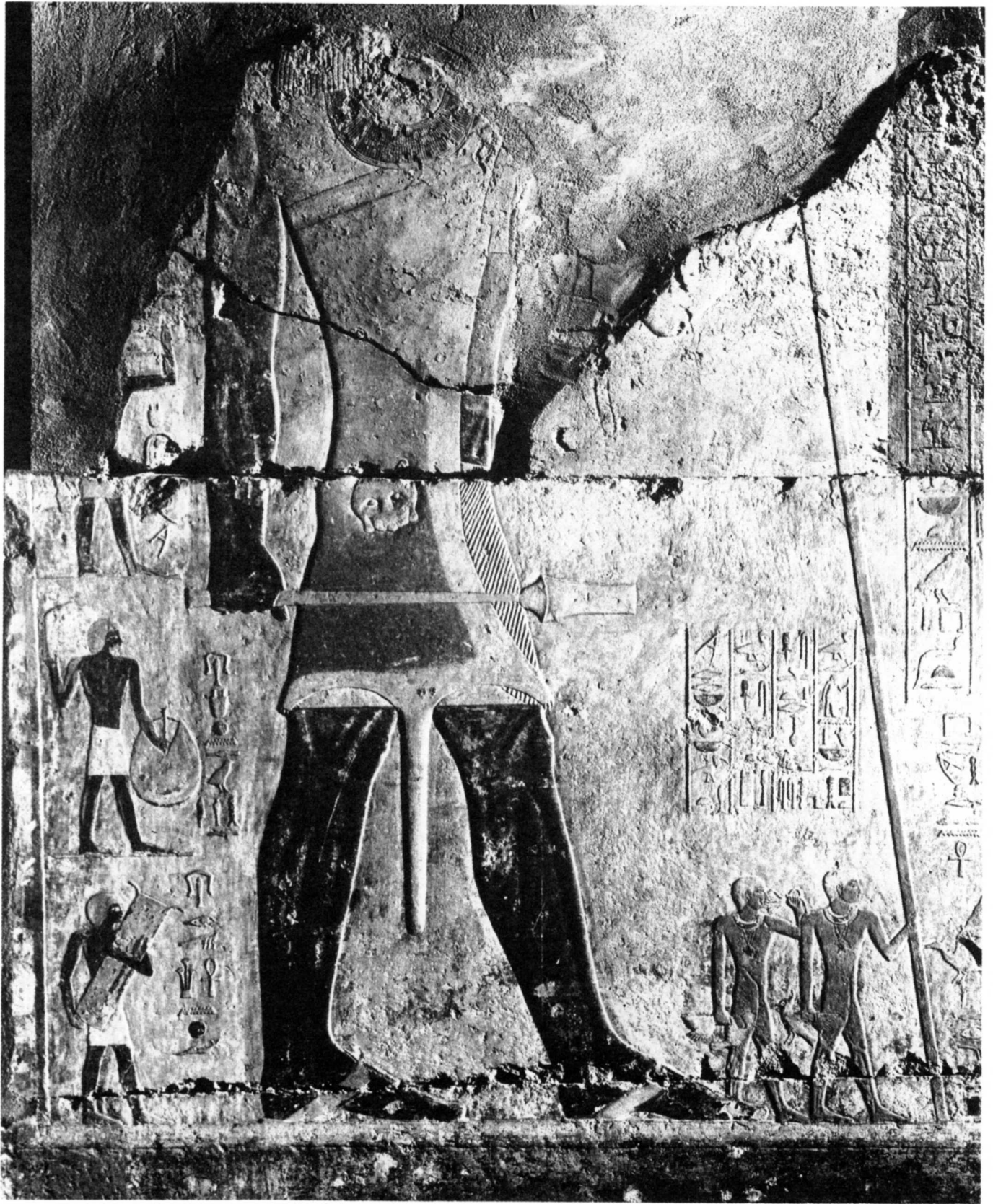


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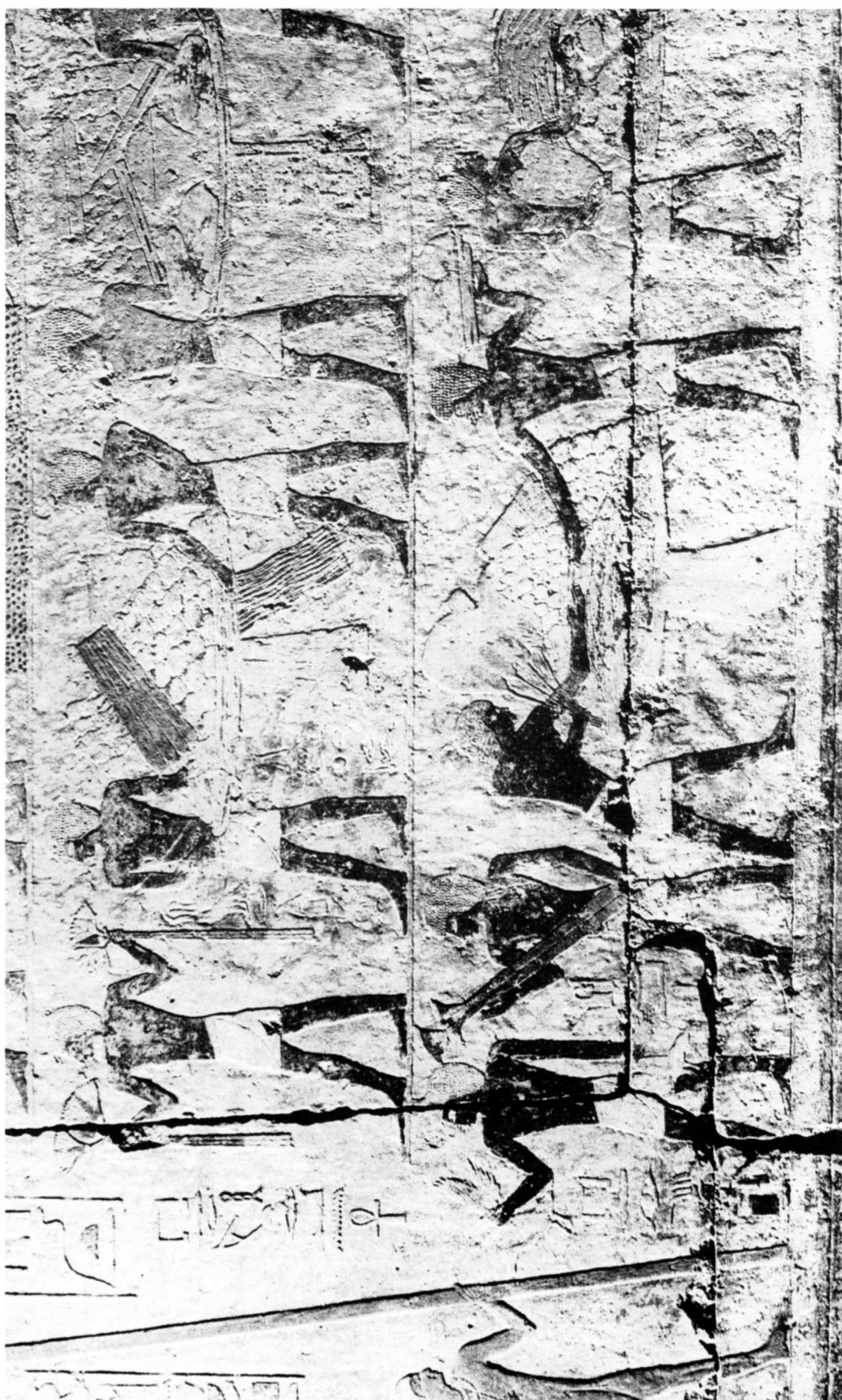


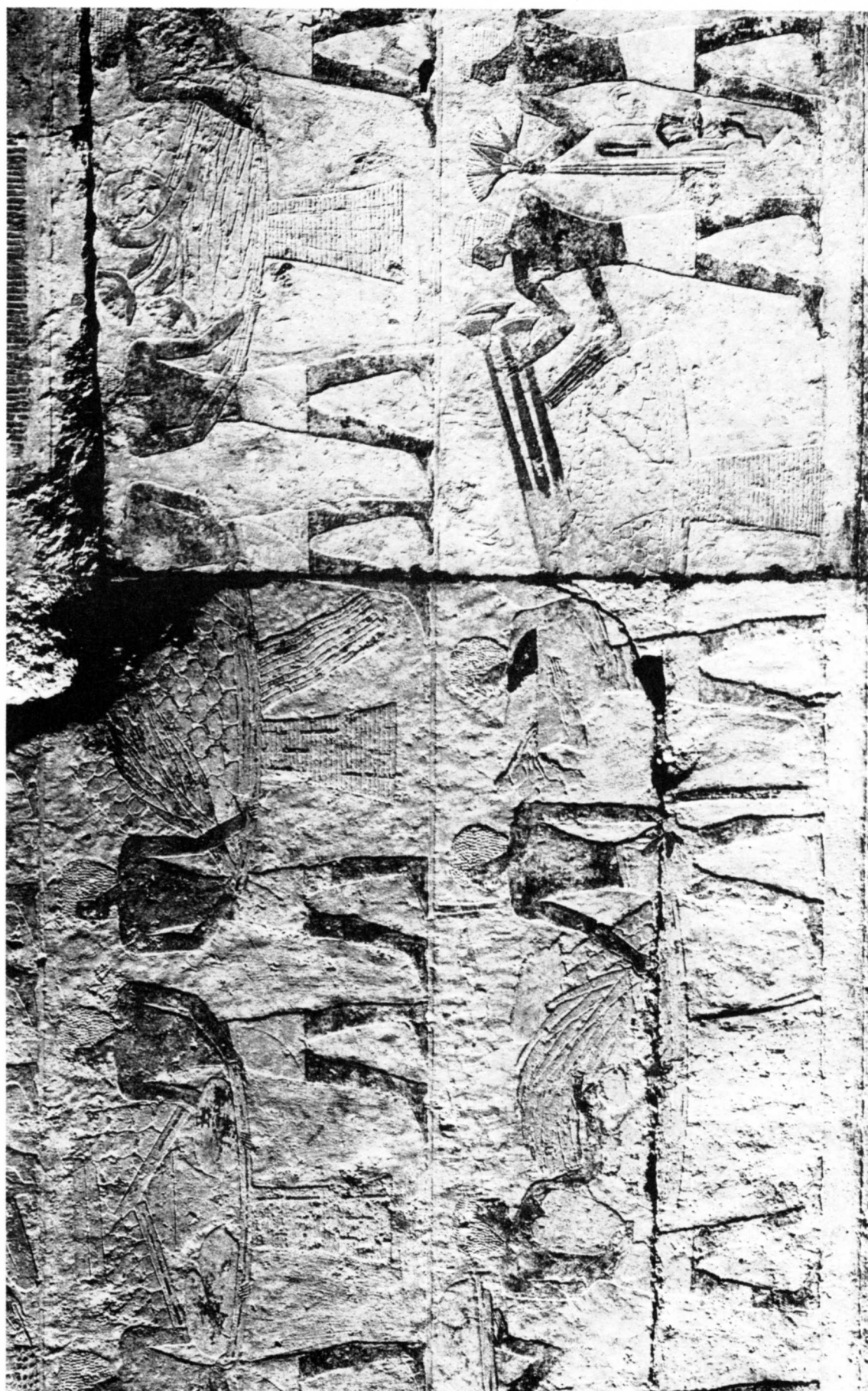
Room 4 – North Wall

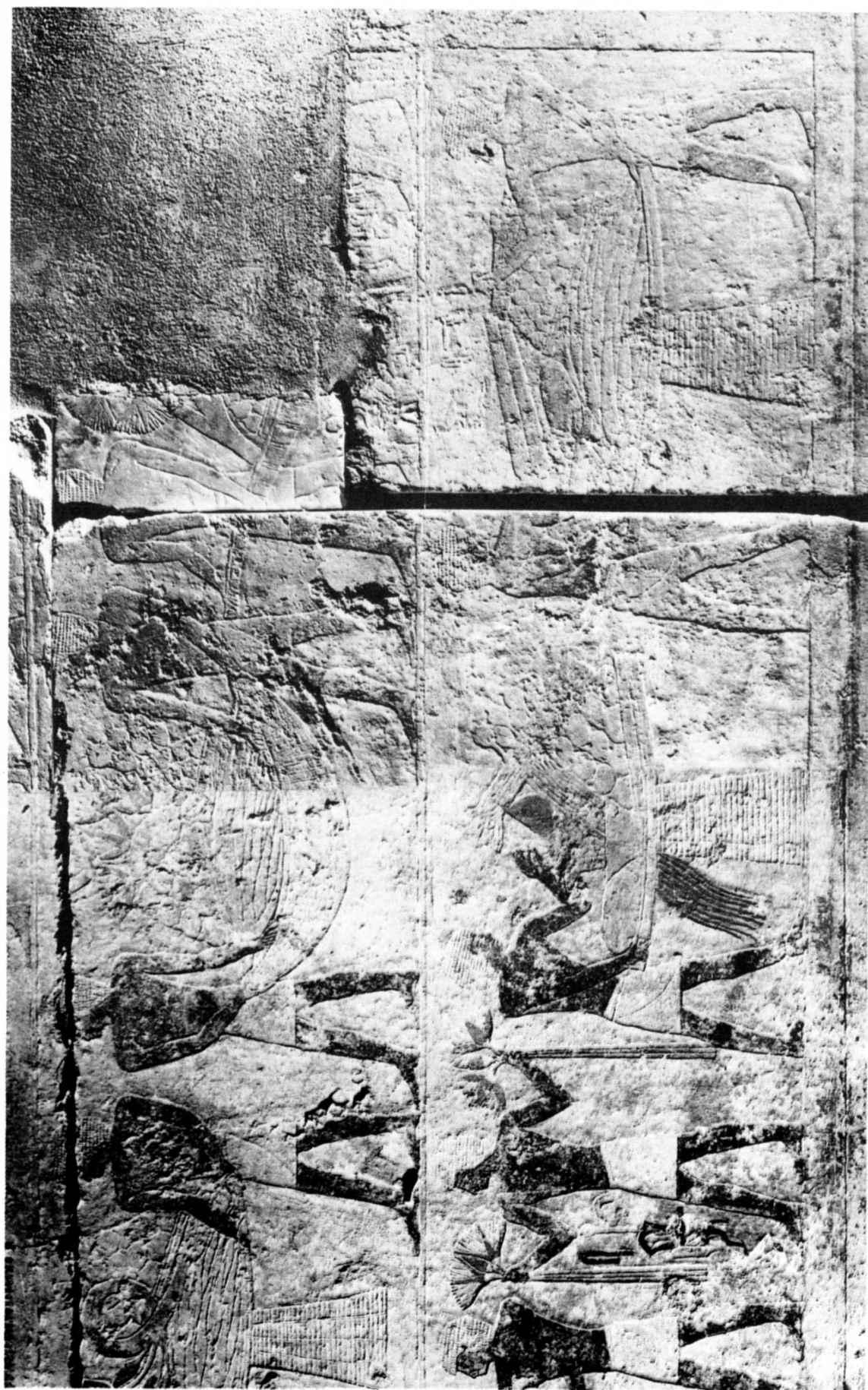


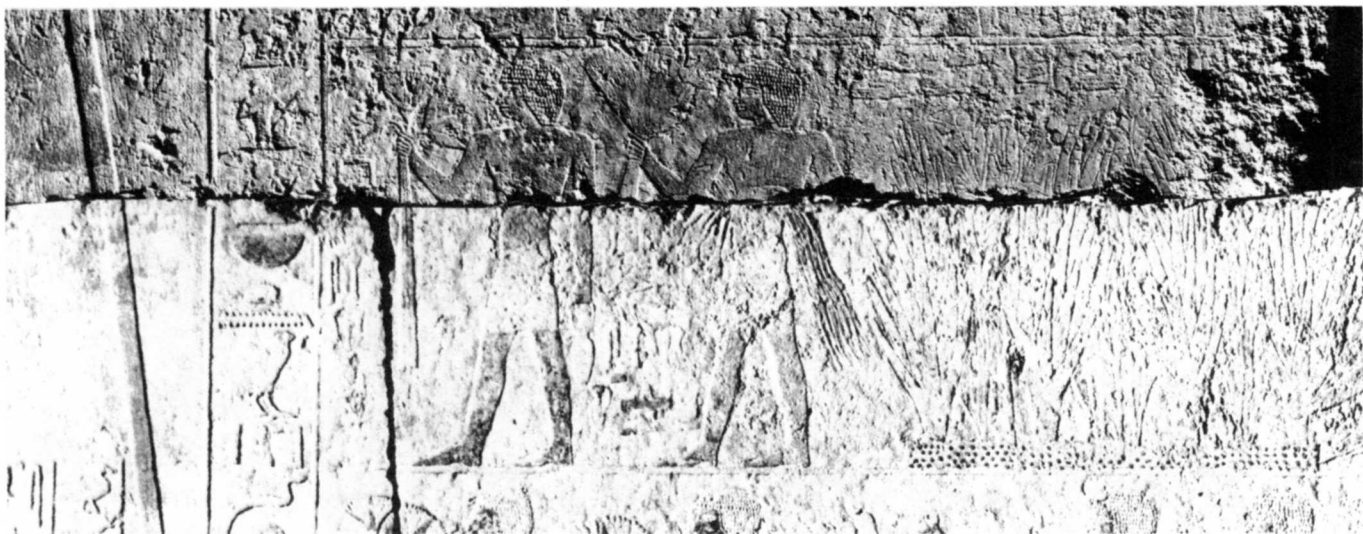




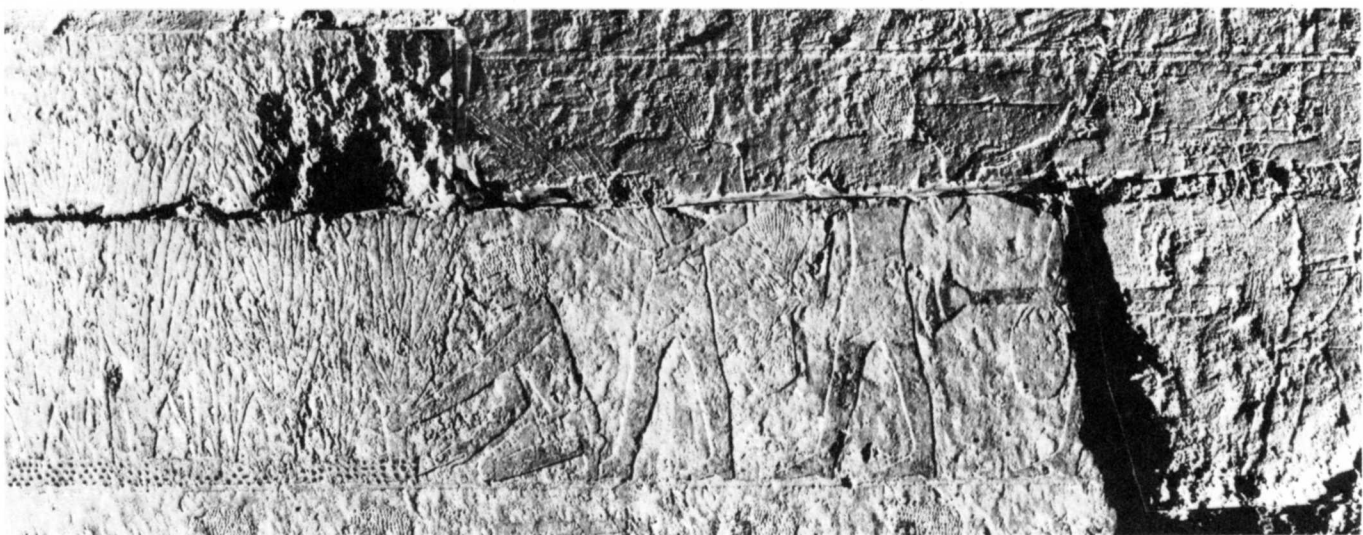




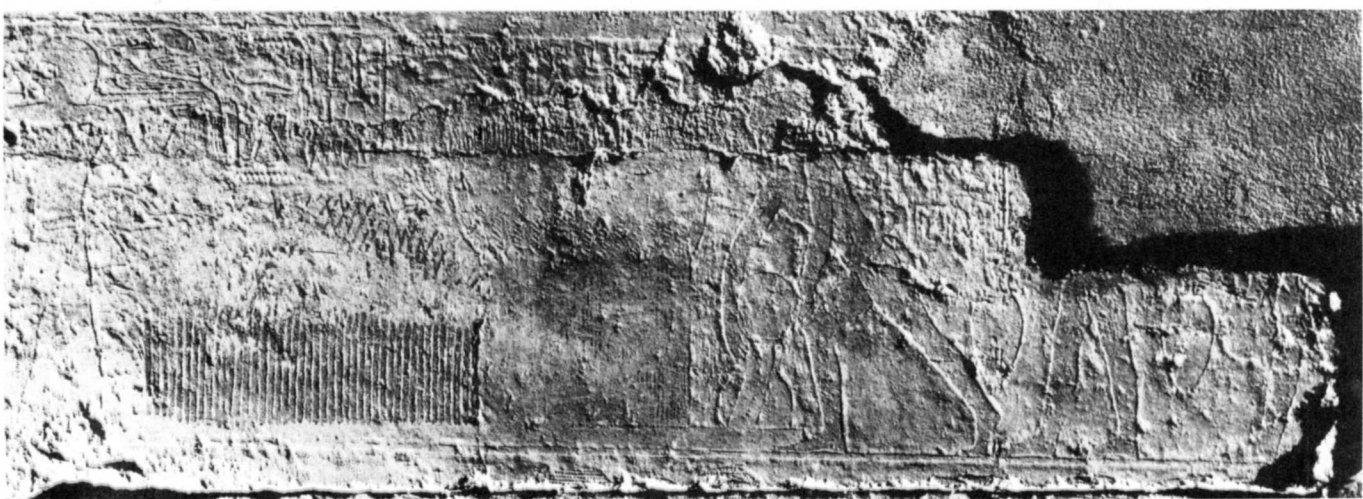




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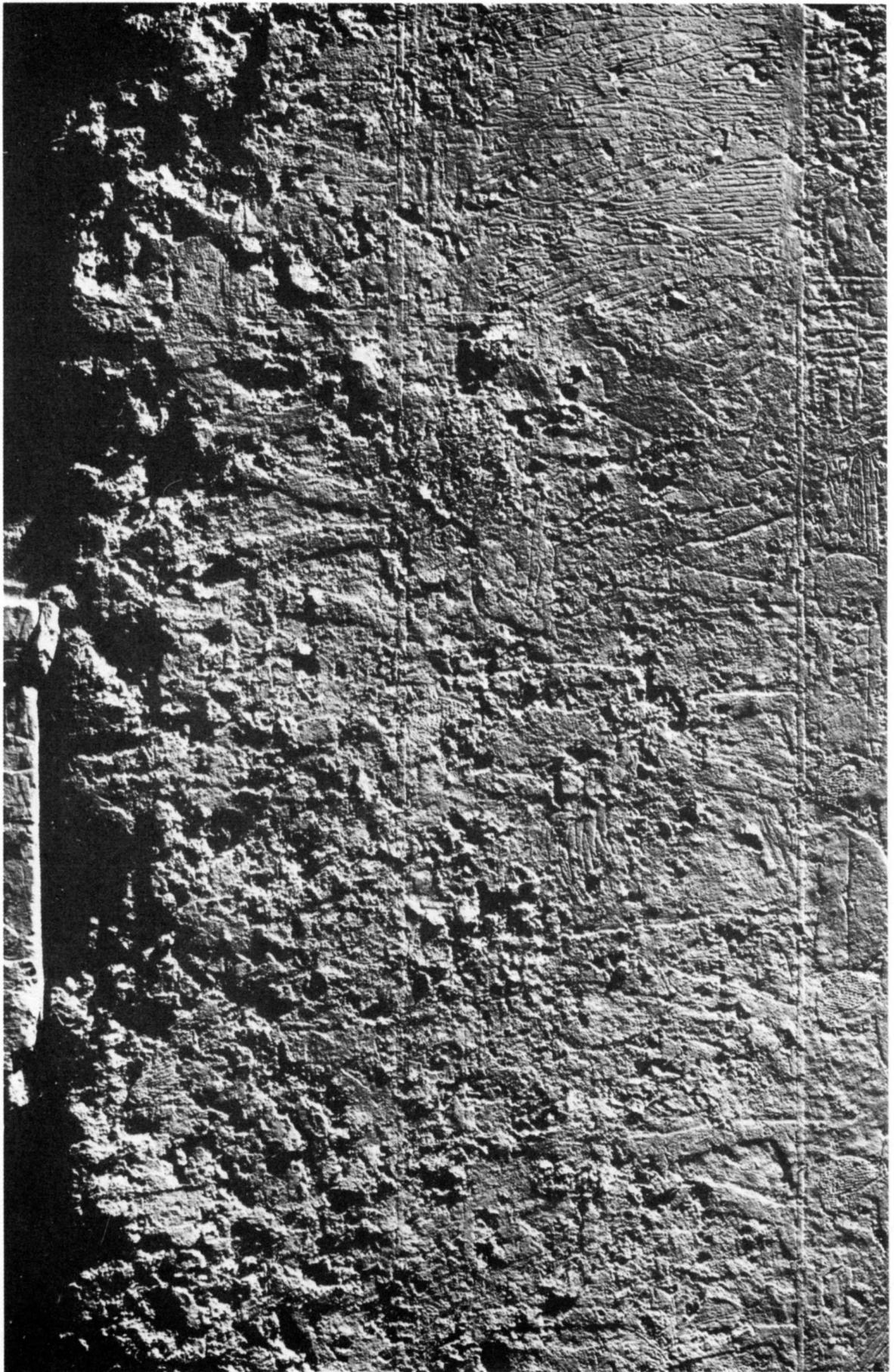


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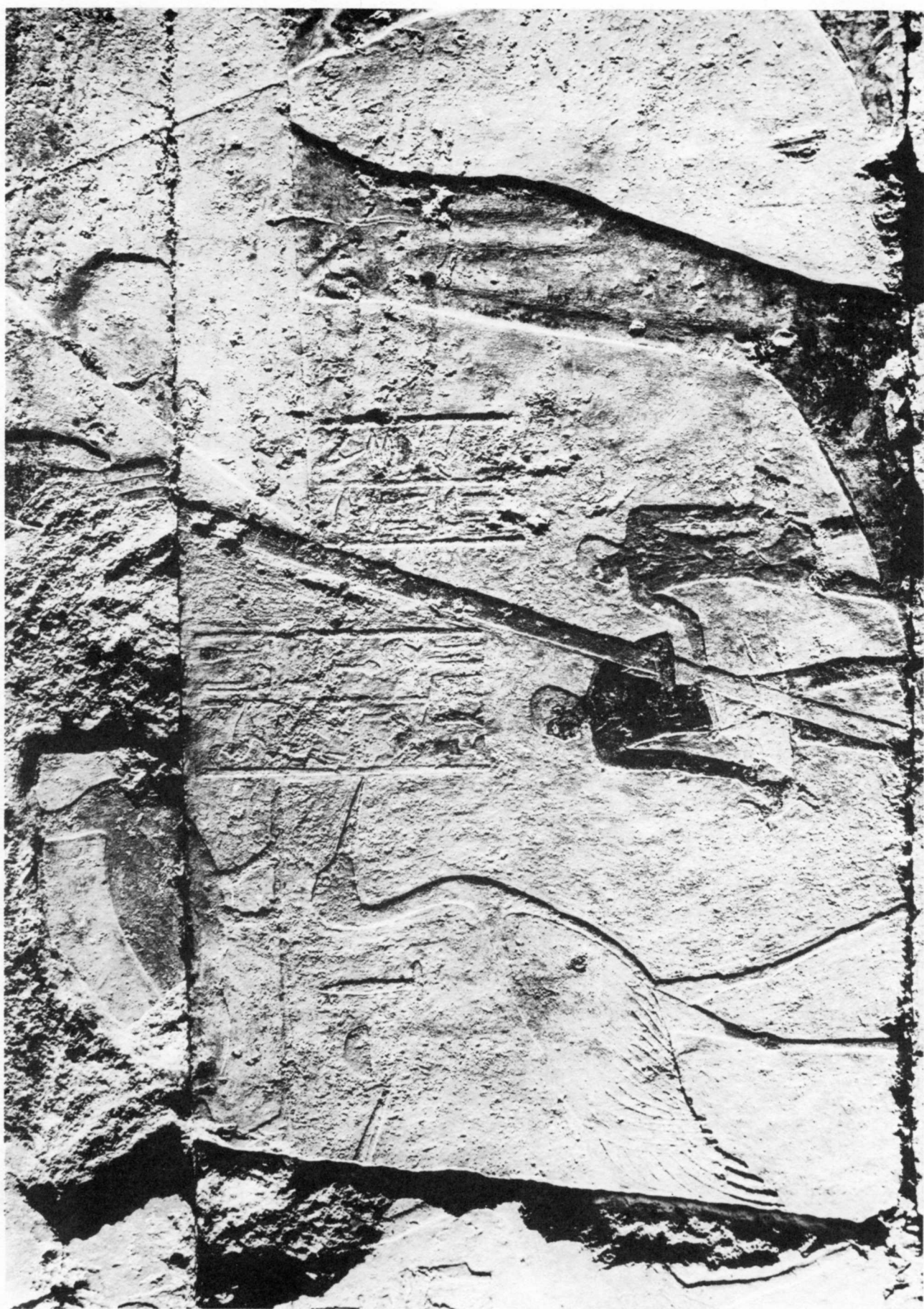


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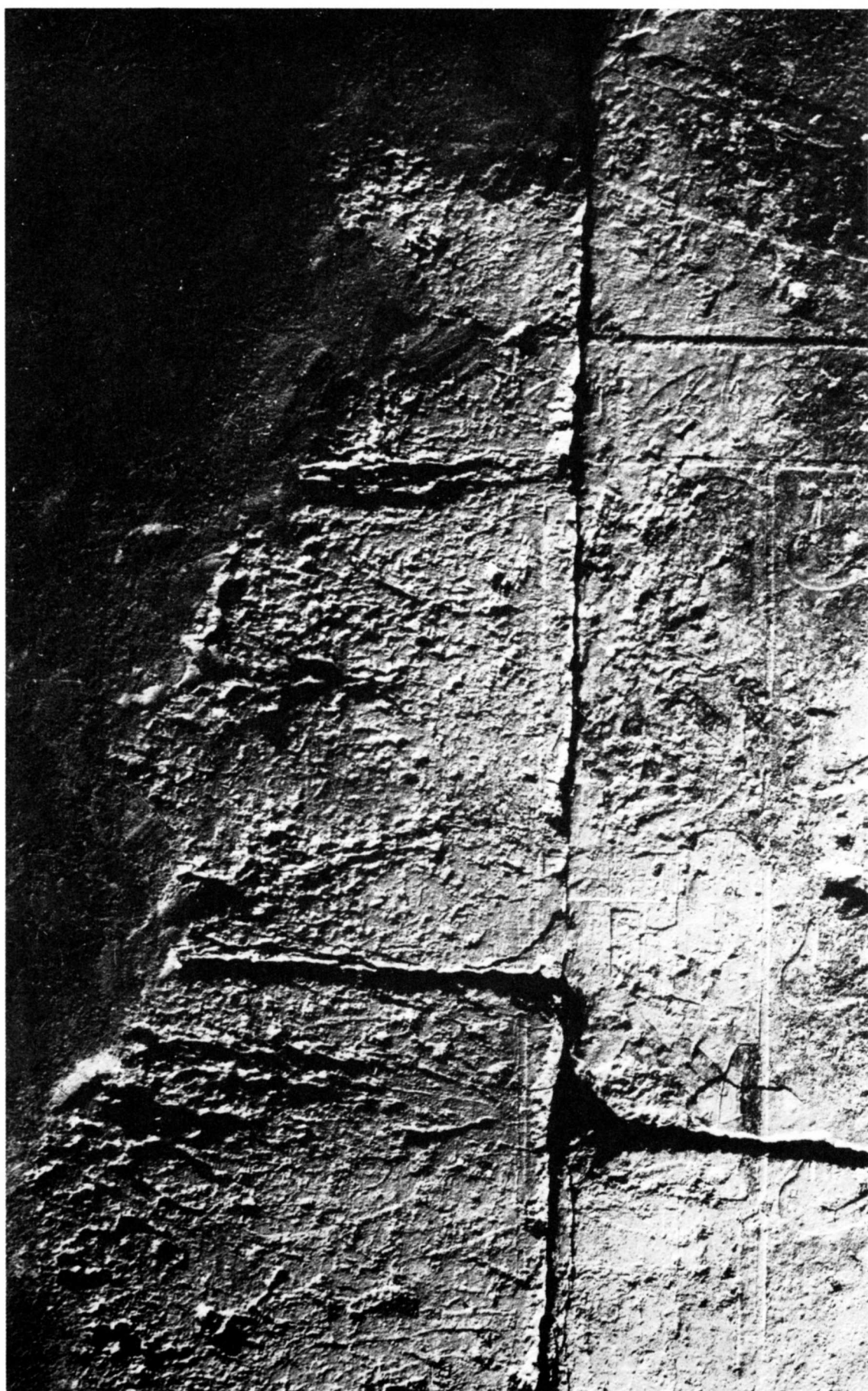


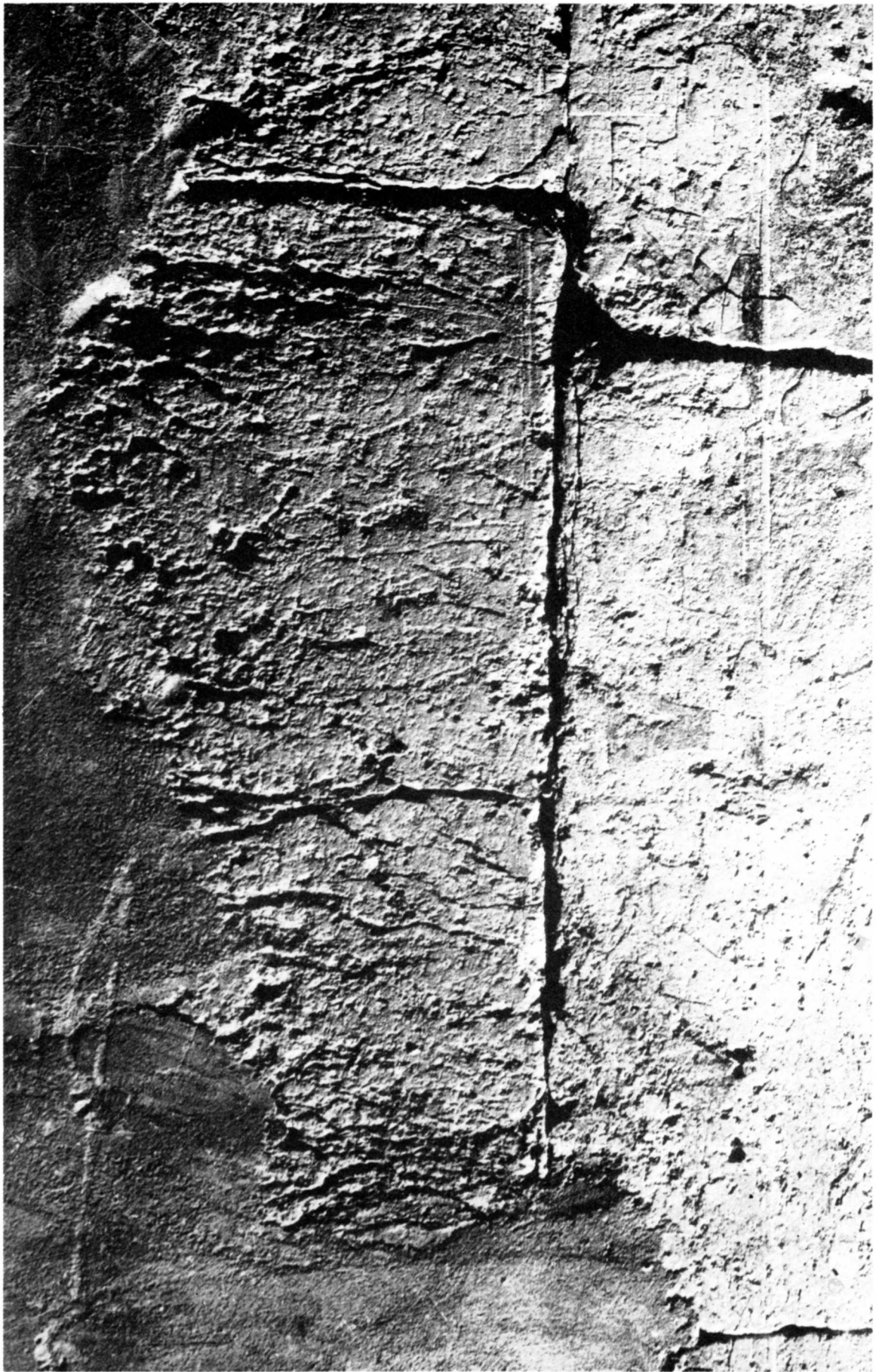






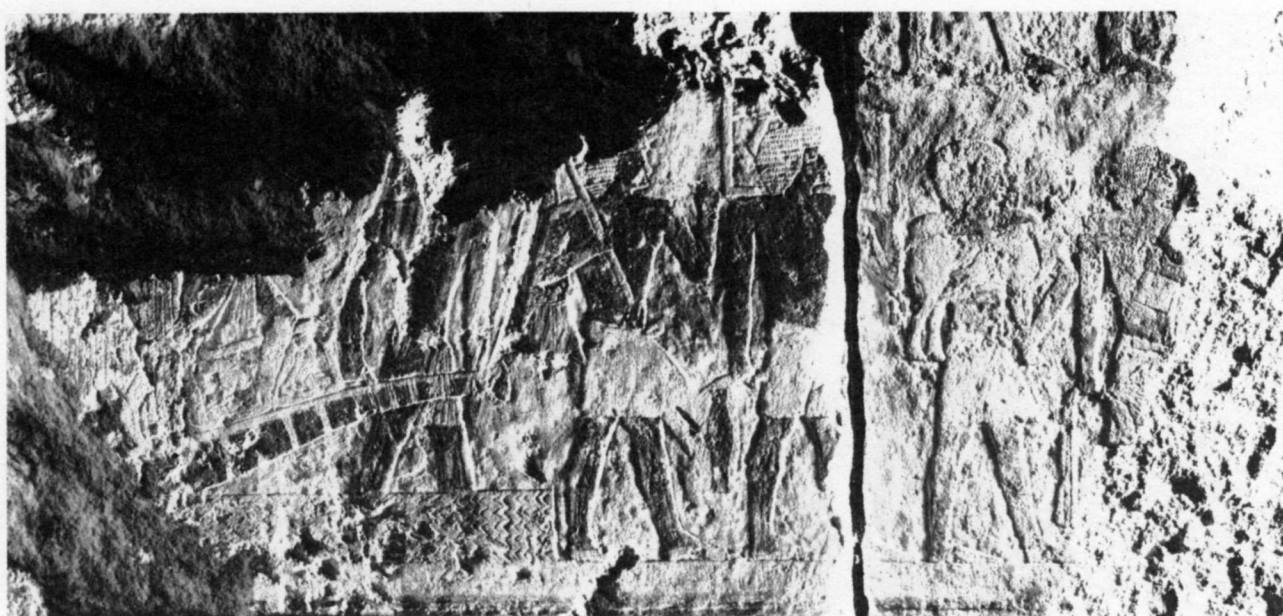




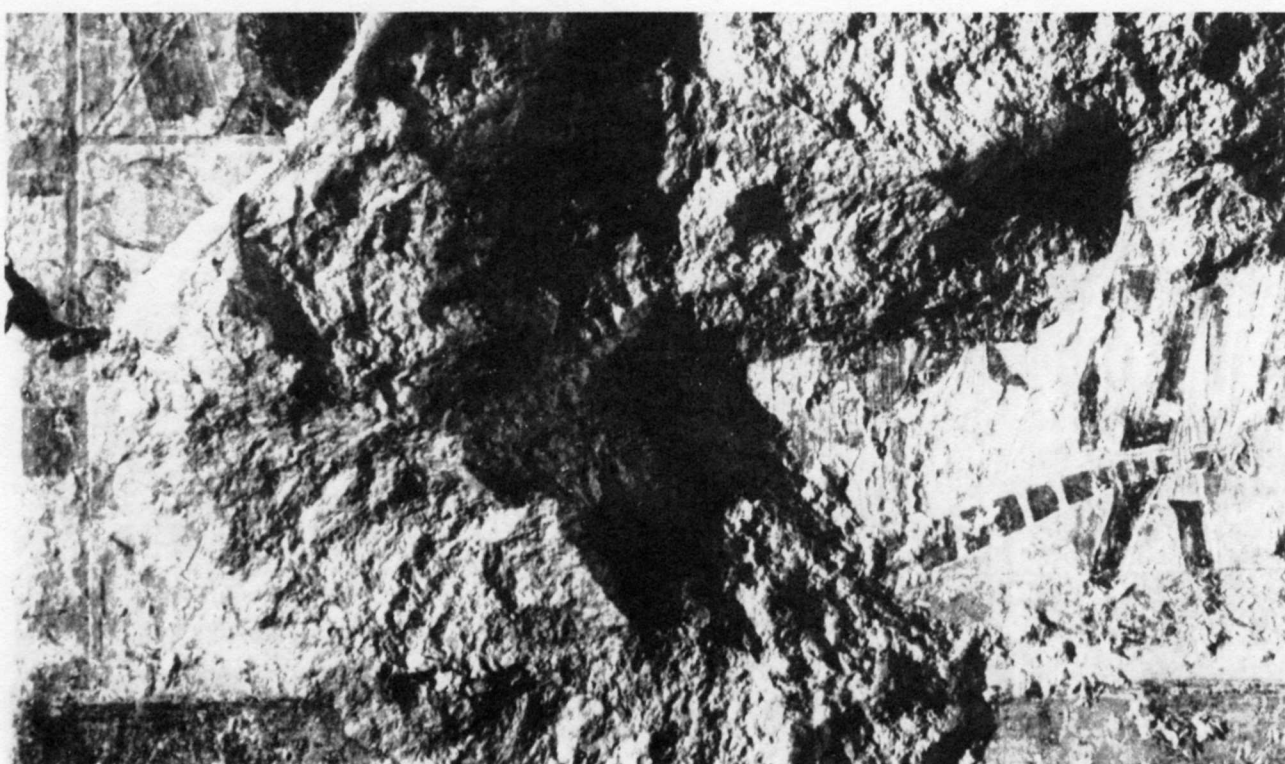




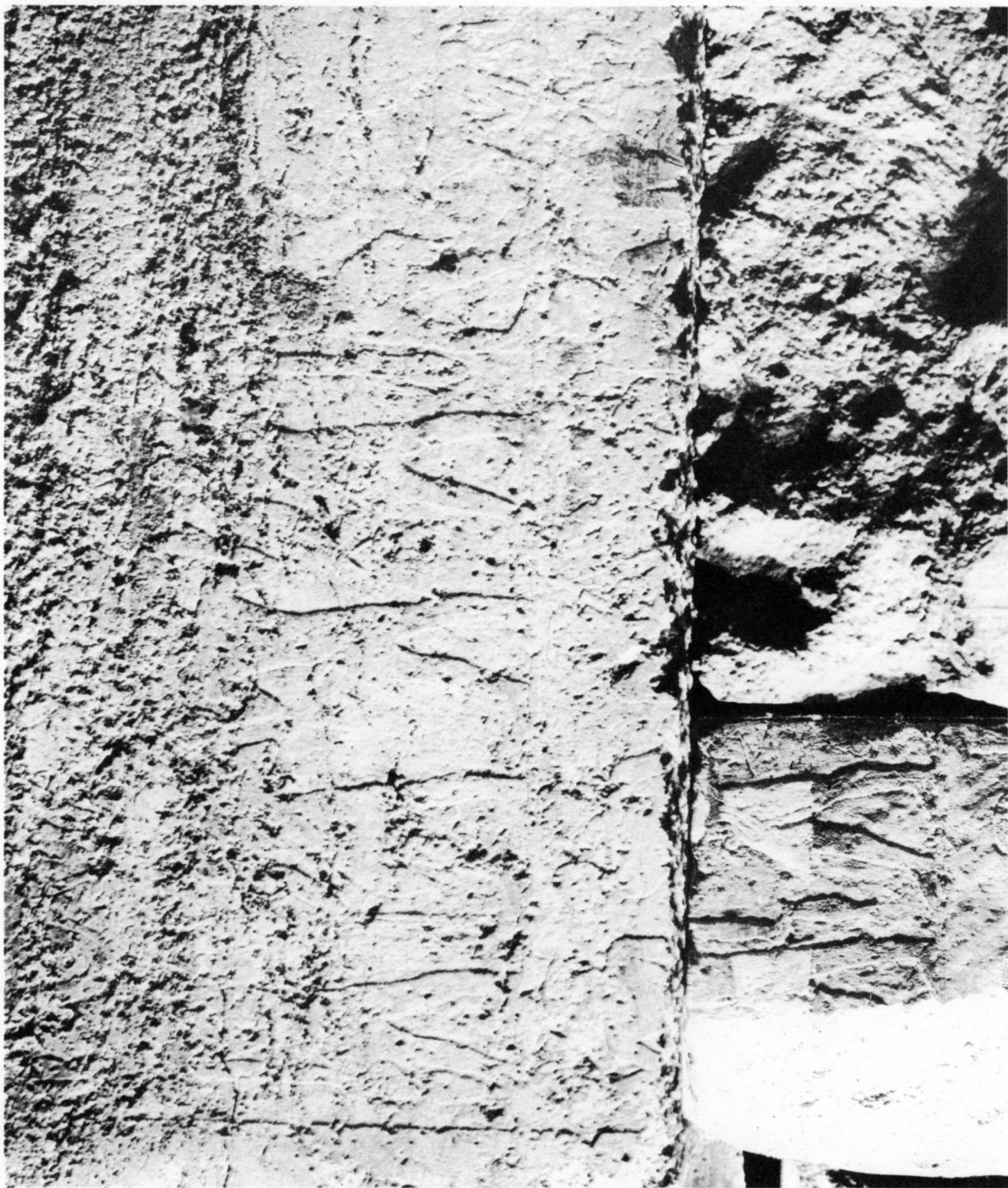
Room 4 – South Wall (Eastern Section)



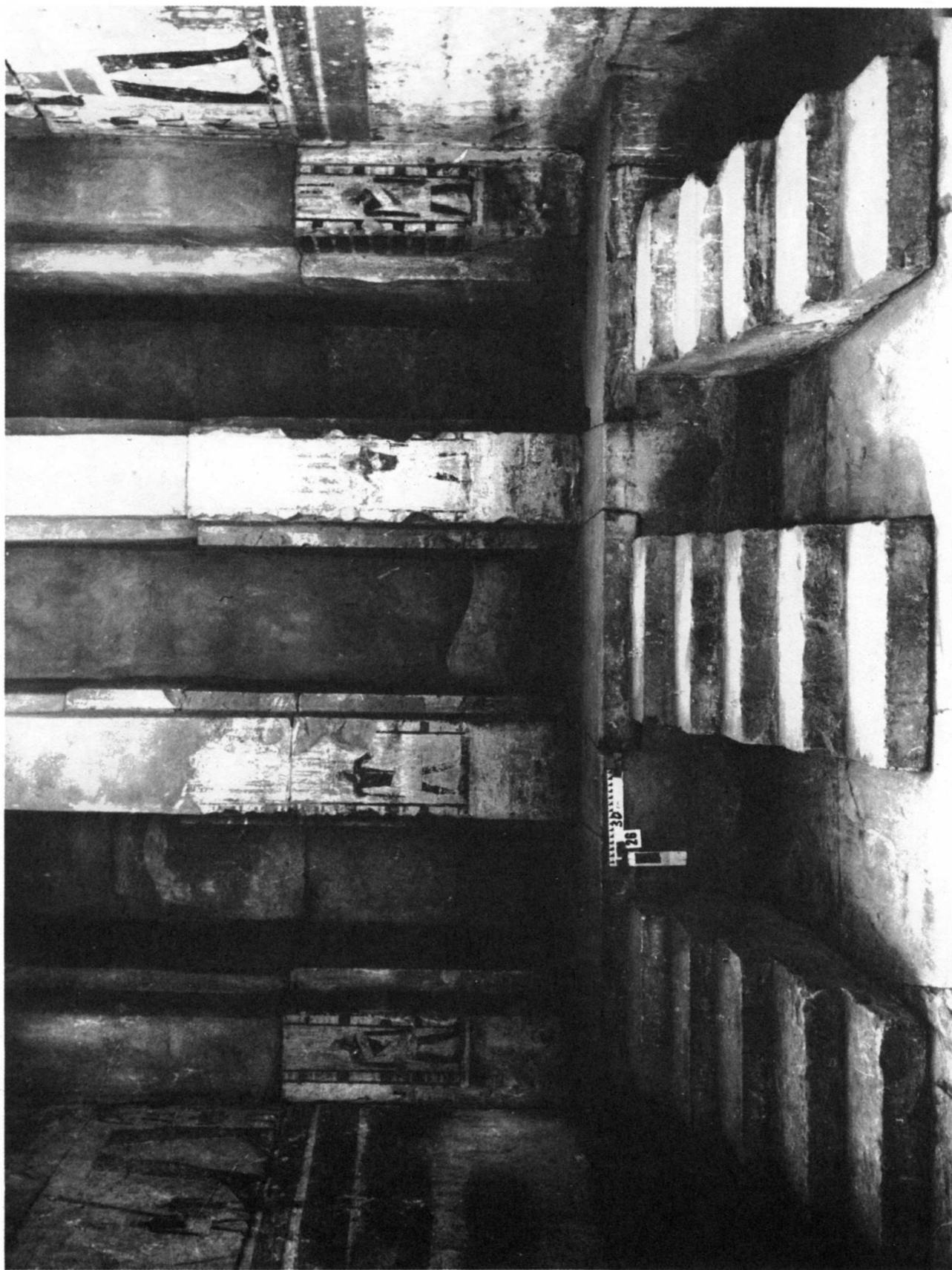
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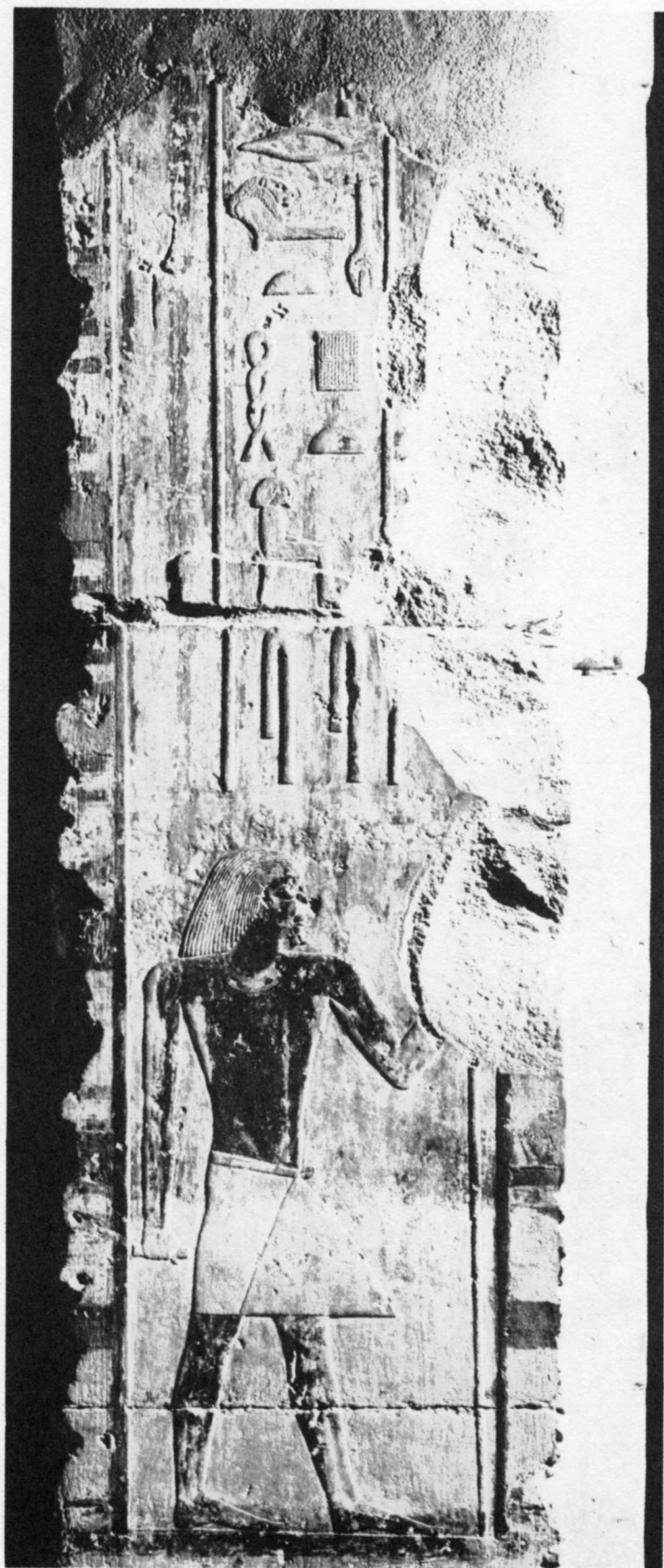




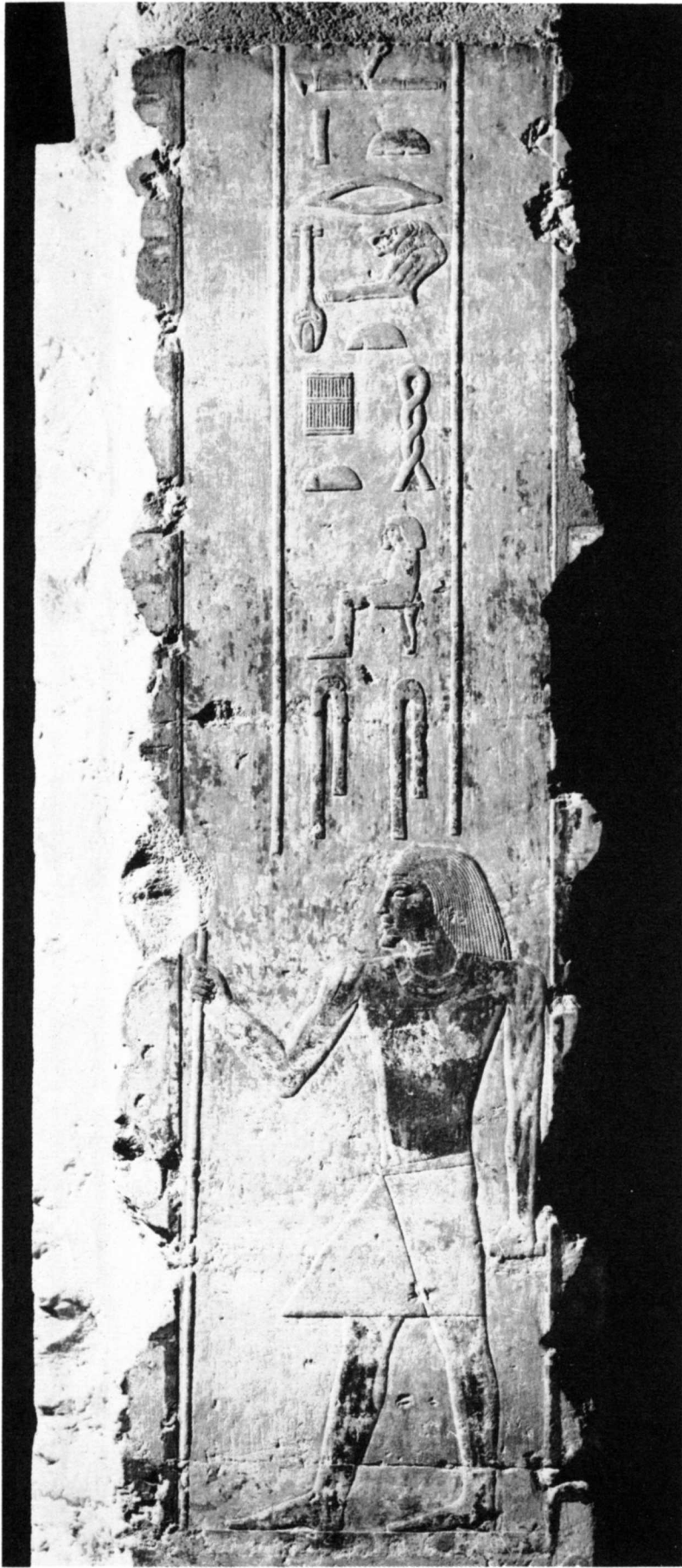
Room 4 - West Wall



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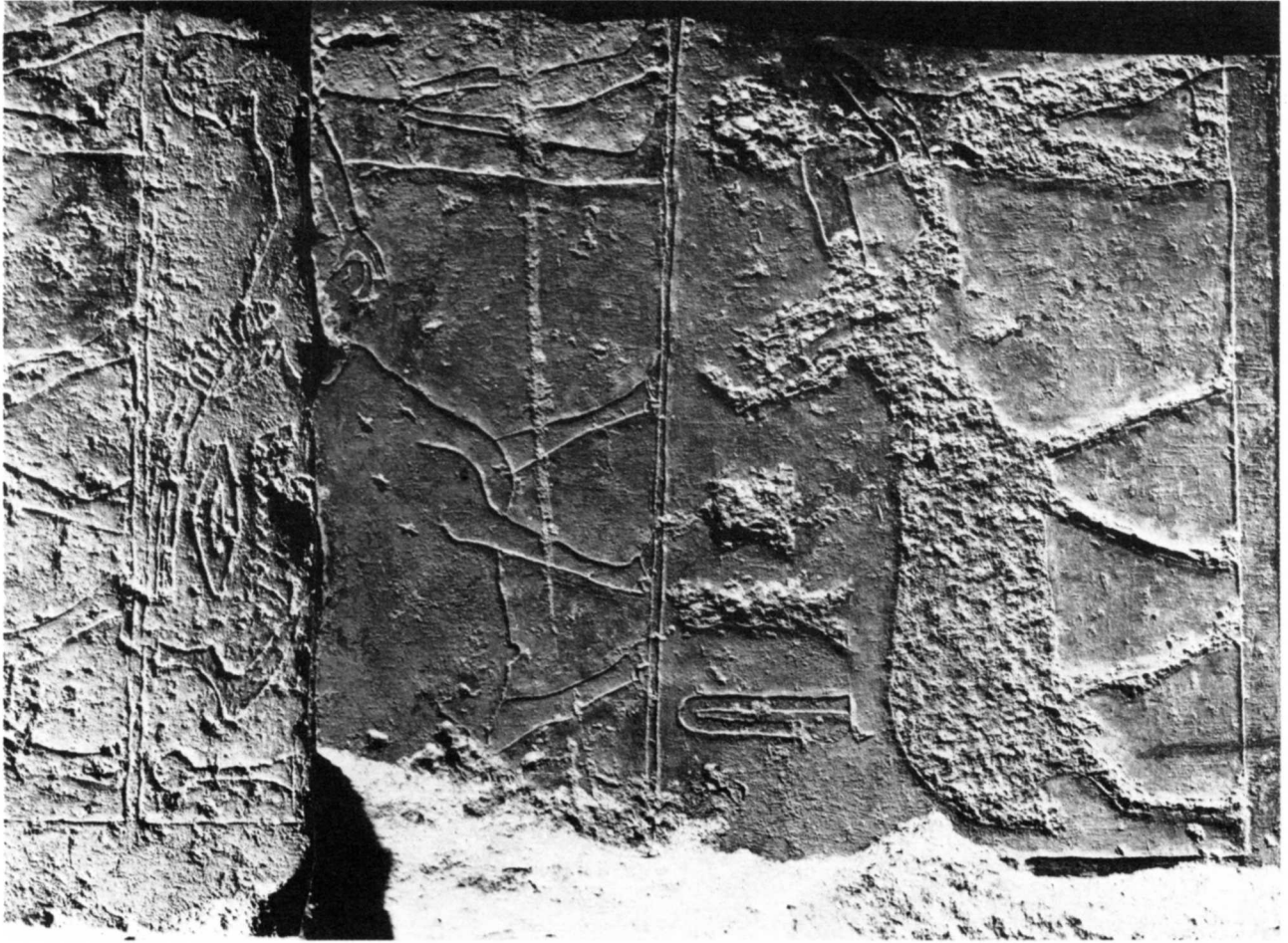
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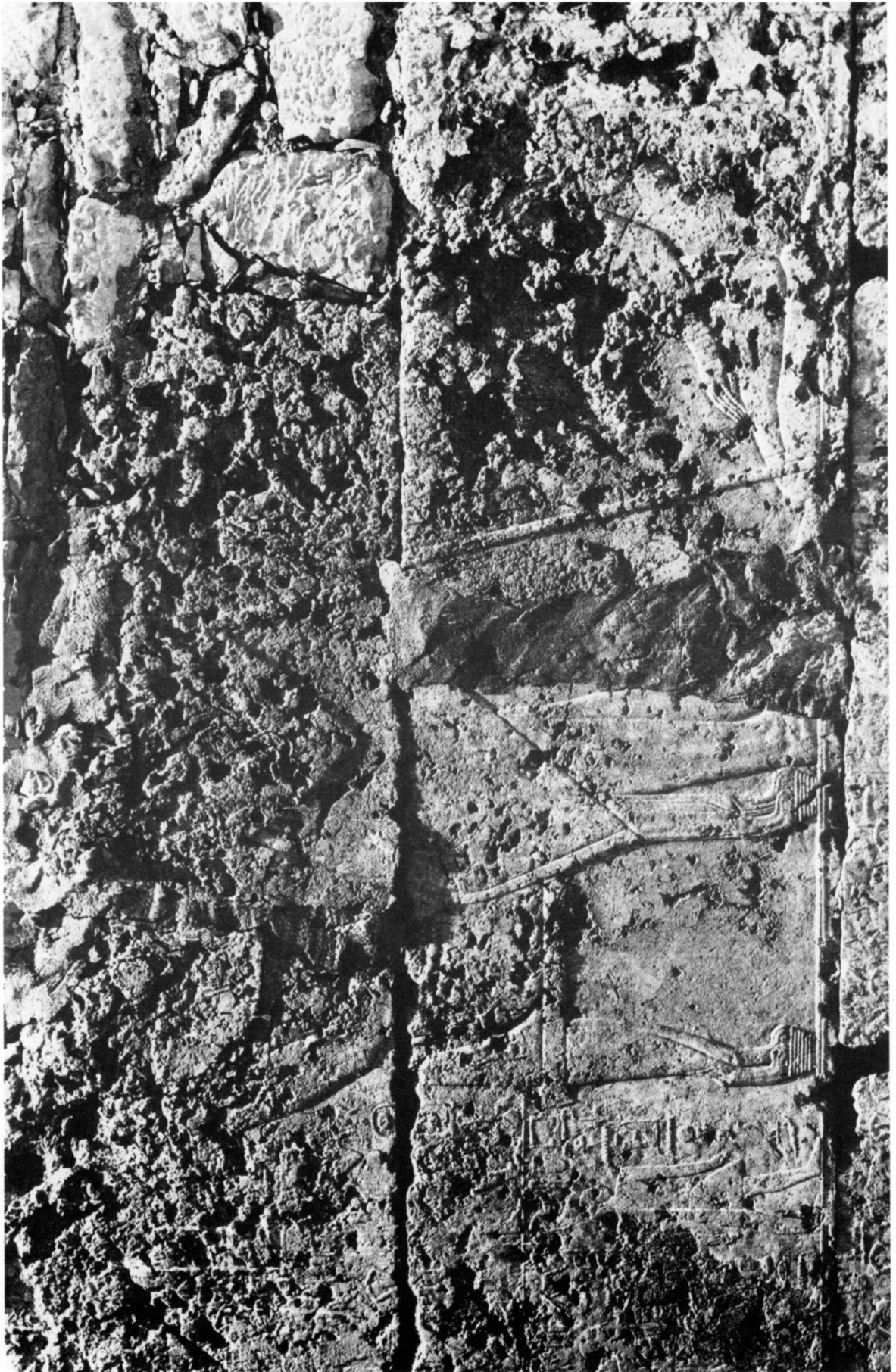
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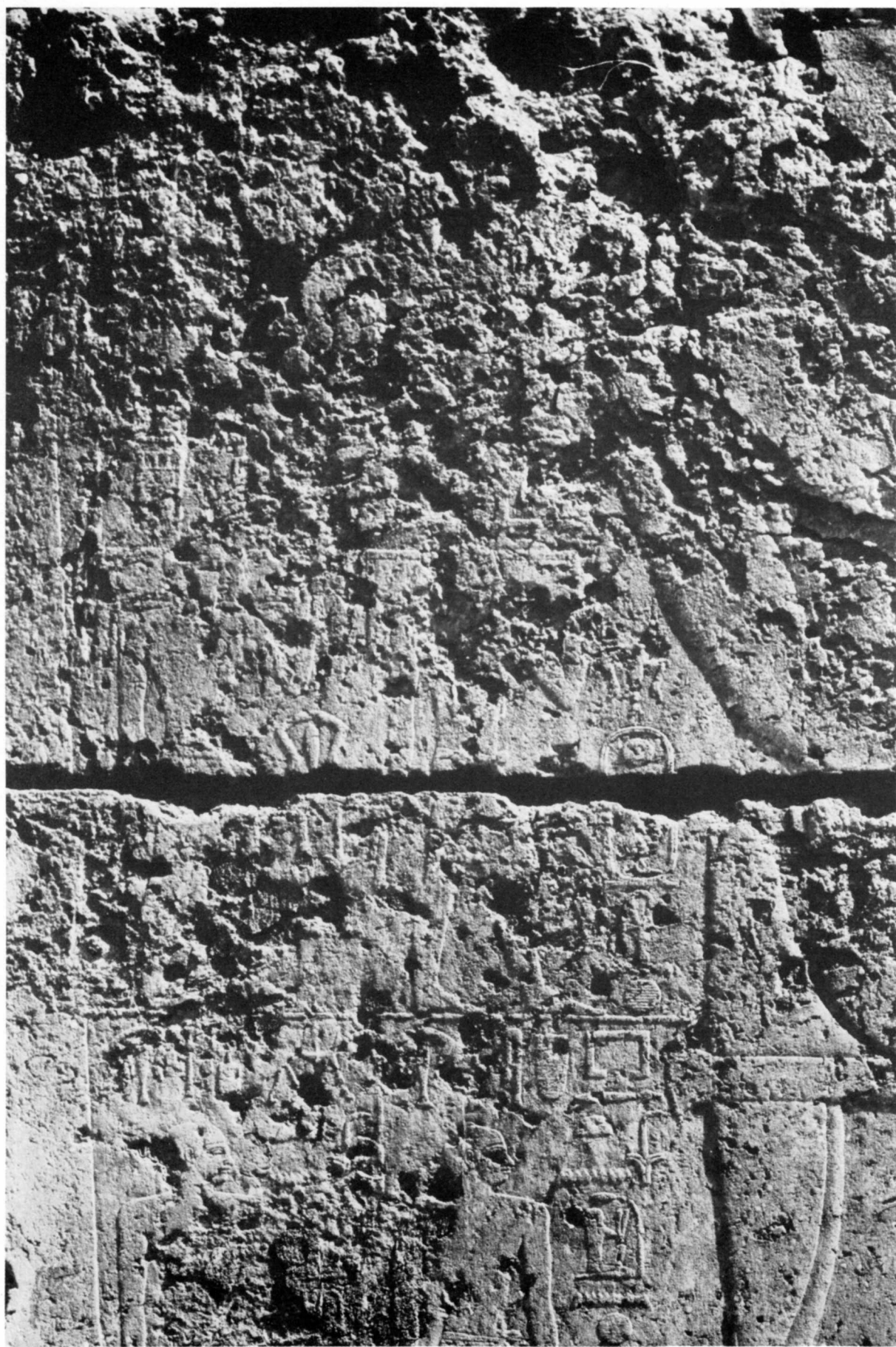
Door between Rooms 4 and 10

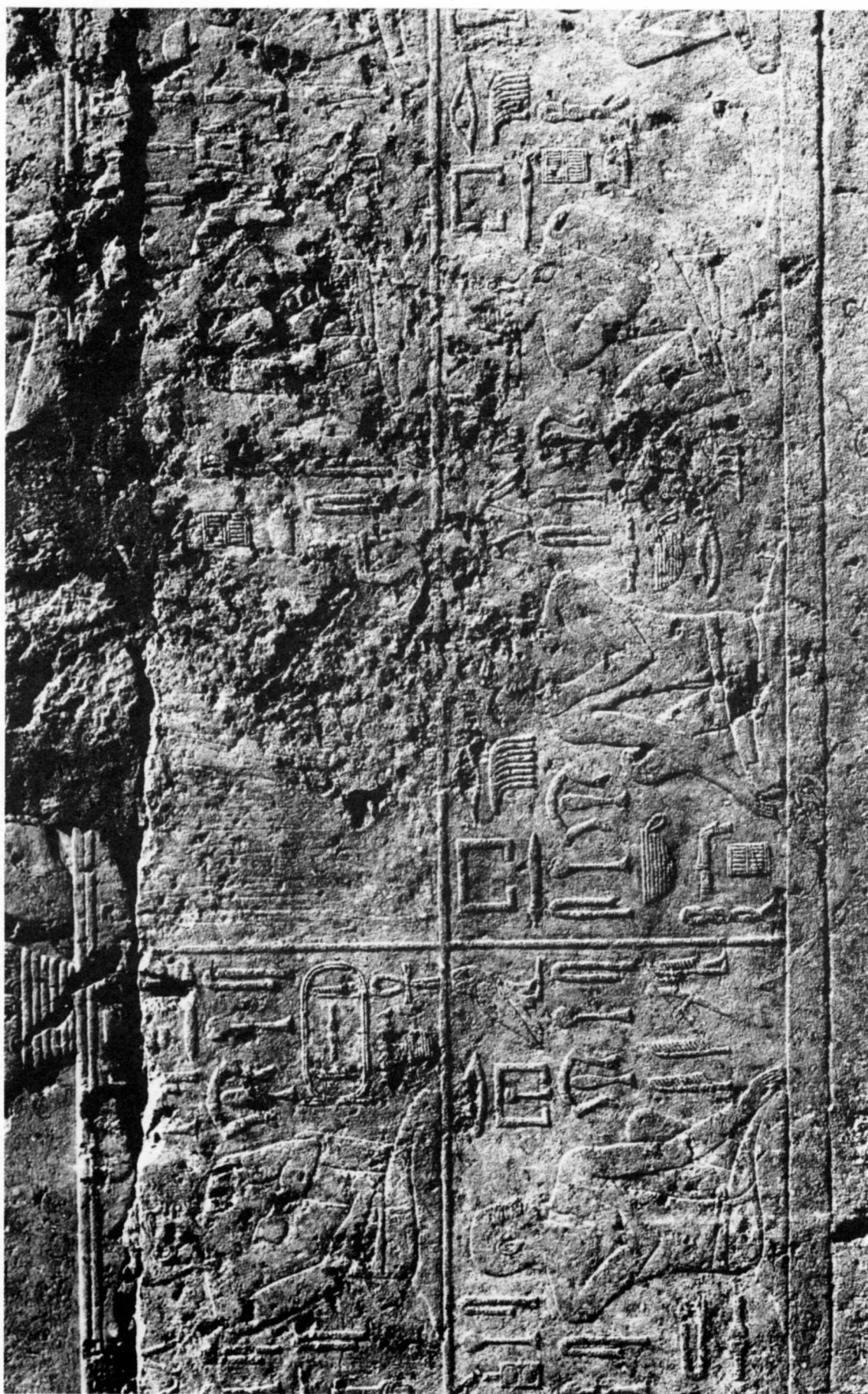


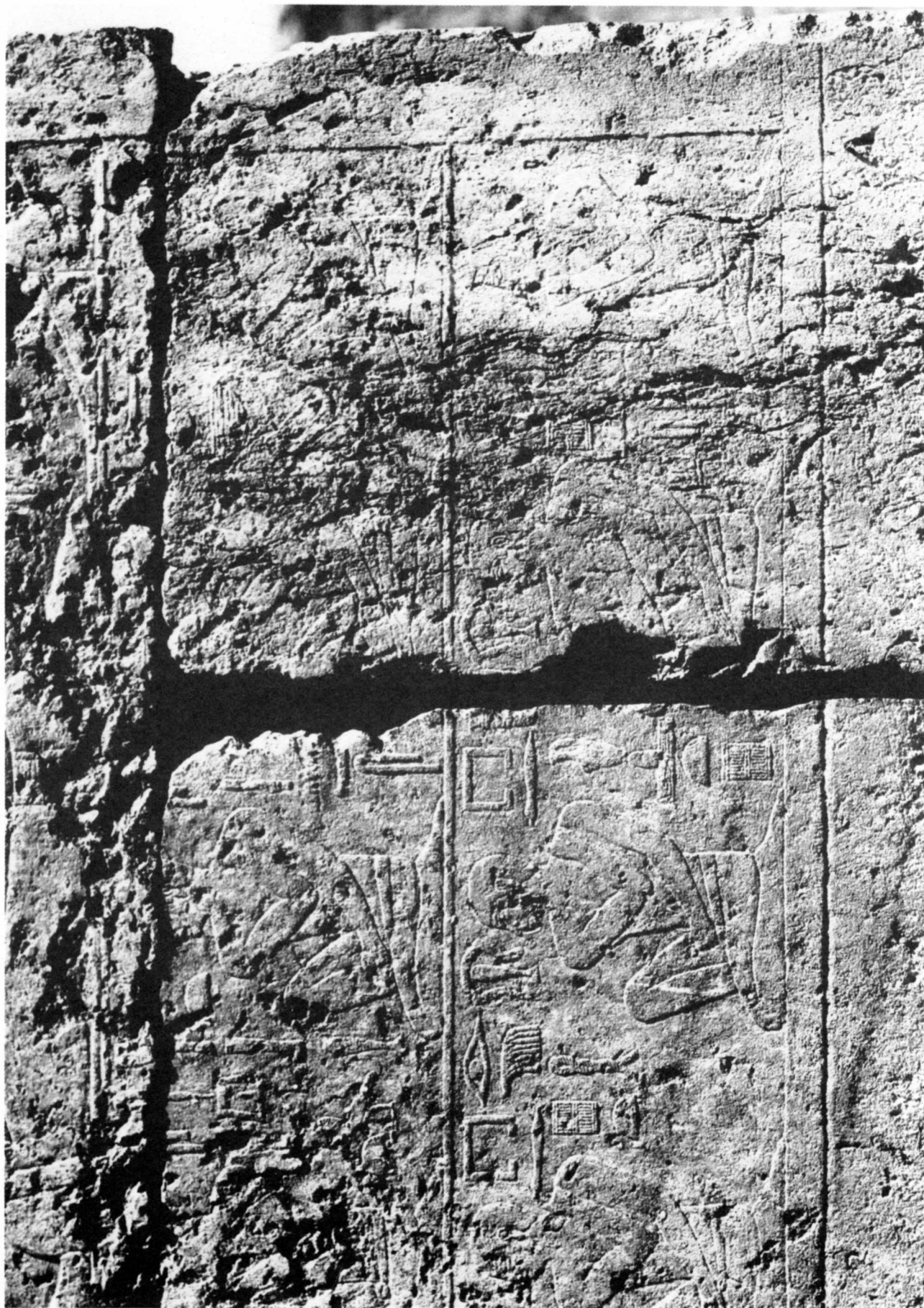


Room 10 – East Wall







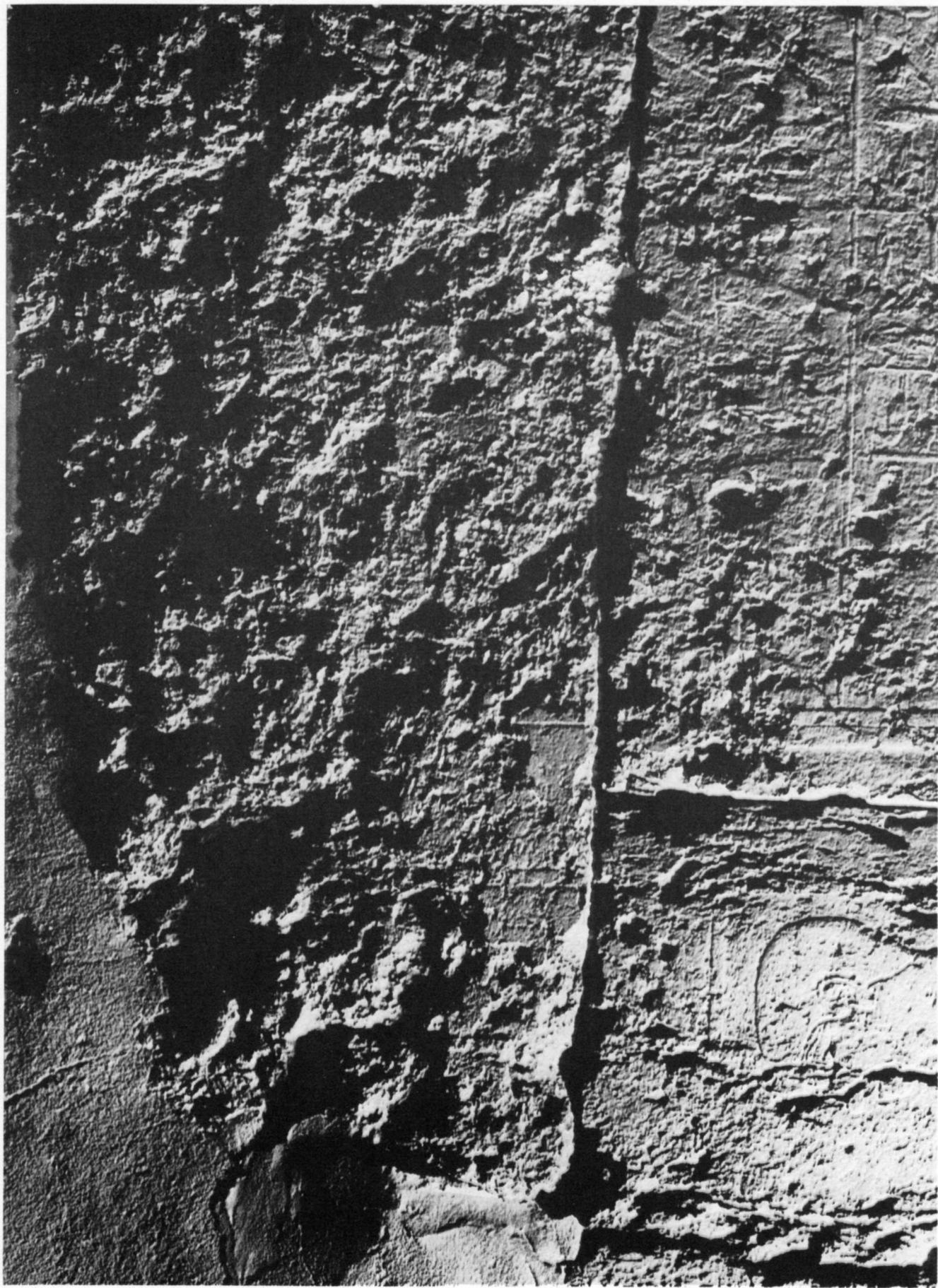






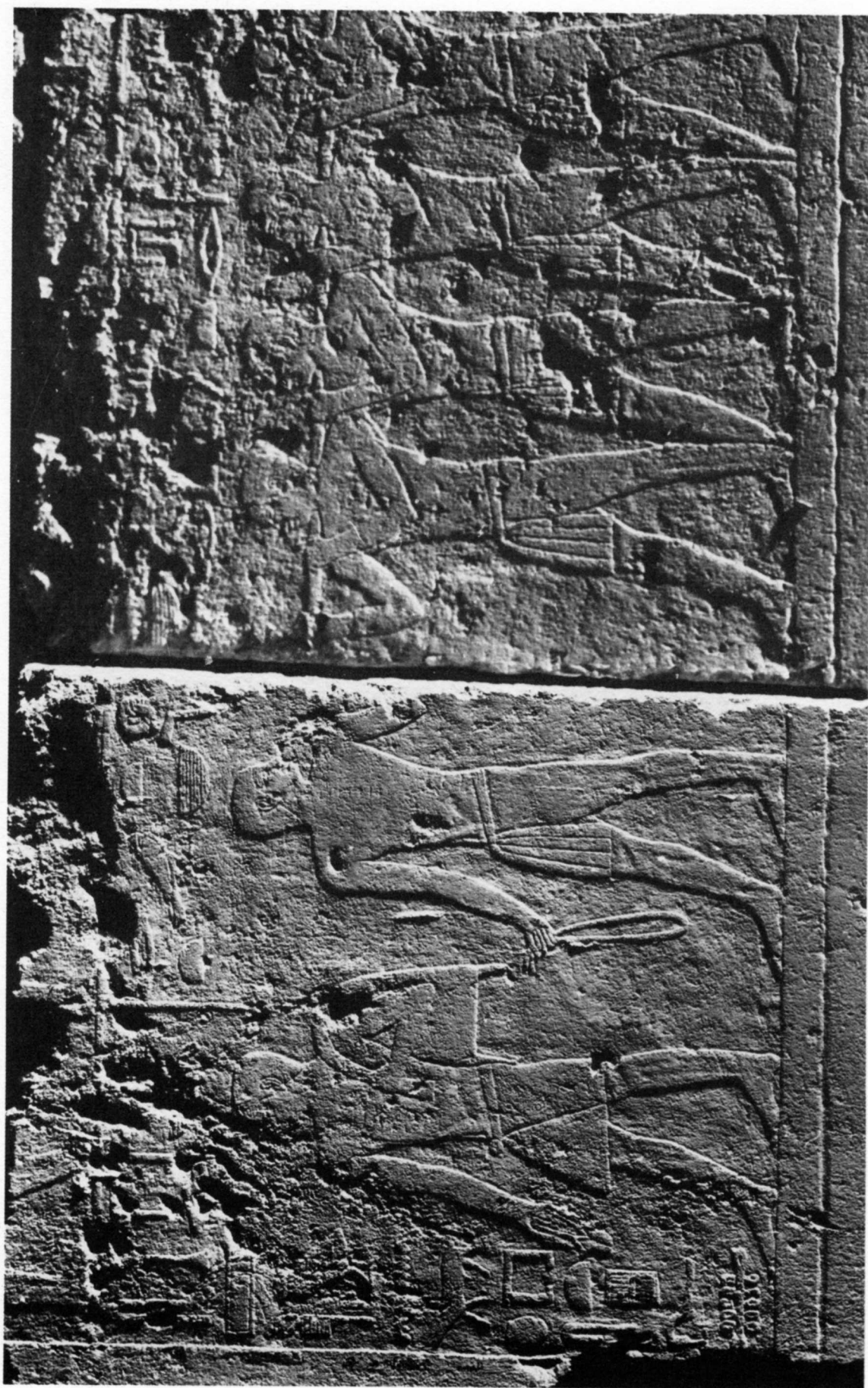
Room 10 – North Wall (Eastern Section)









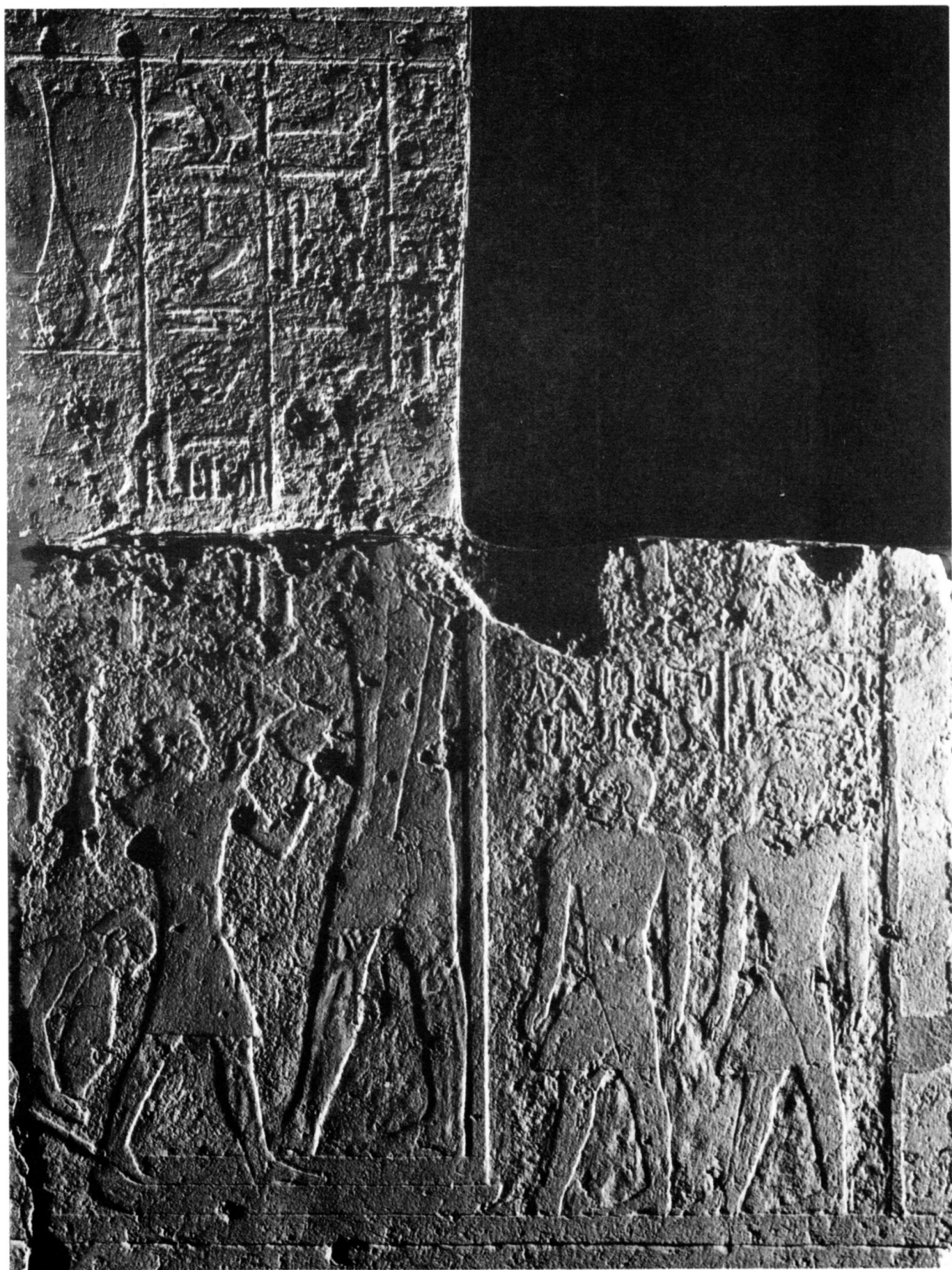




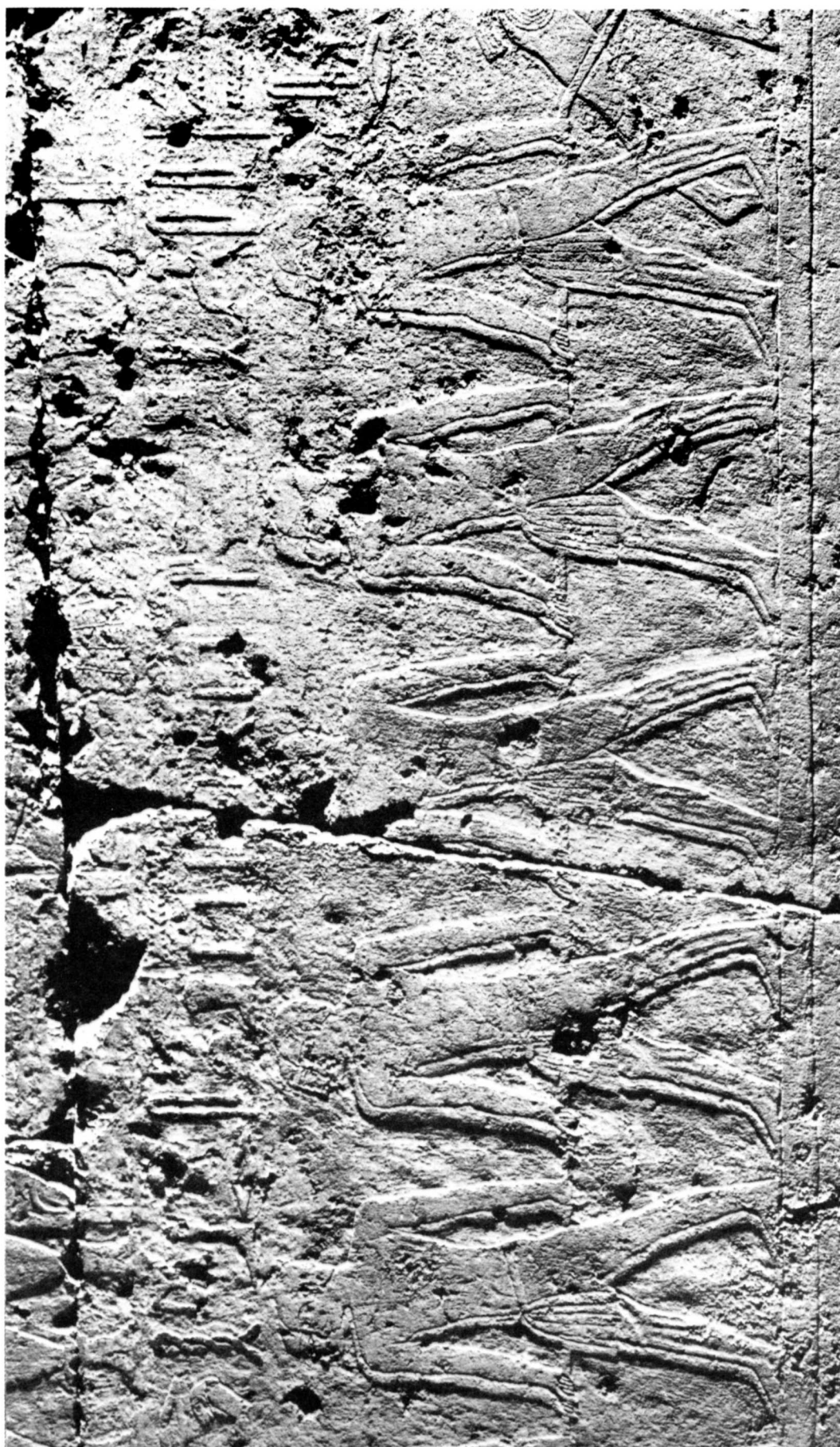




Room 10 – North Wall (Western Section)









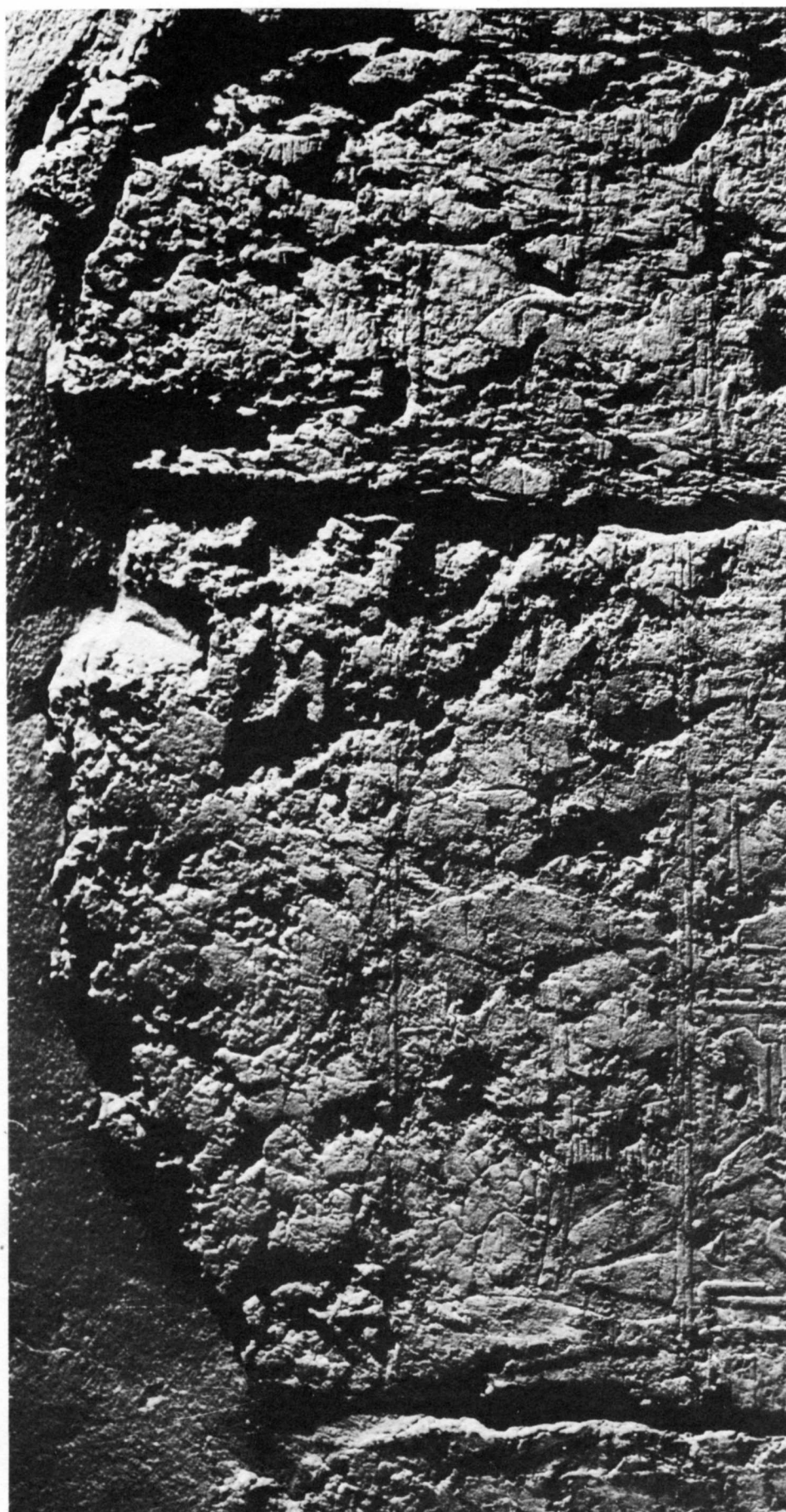


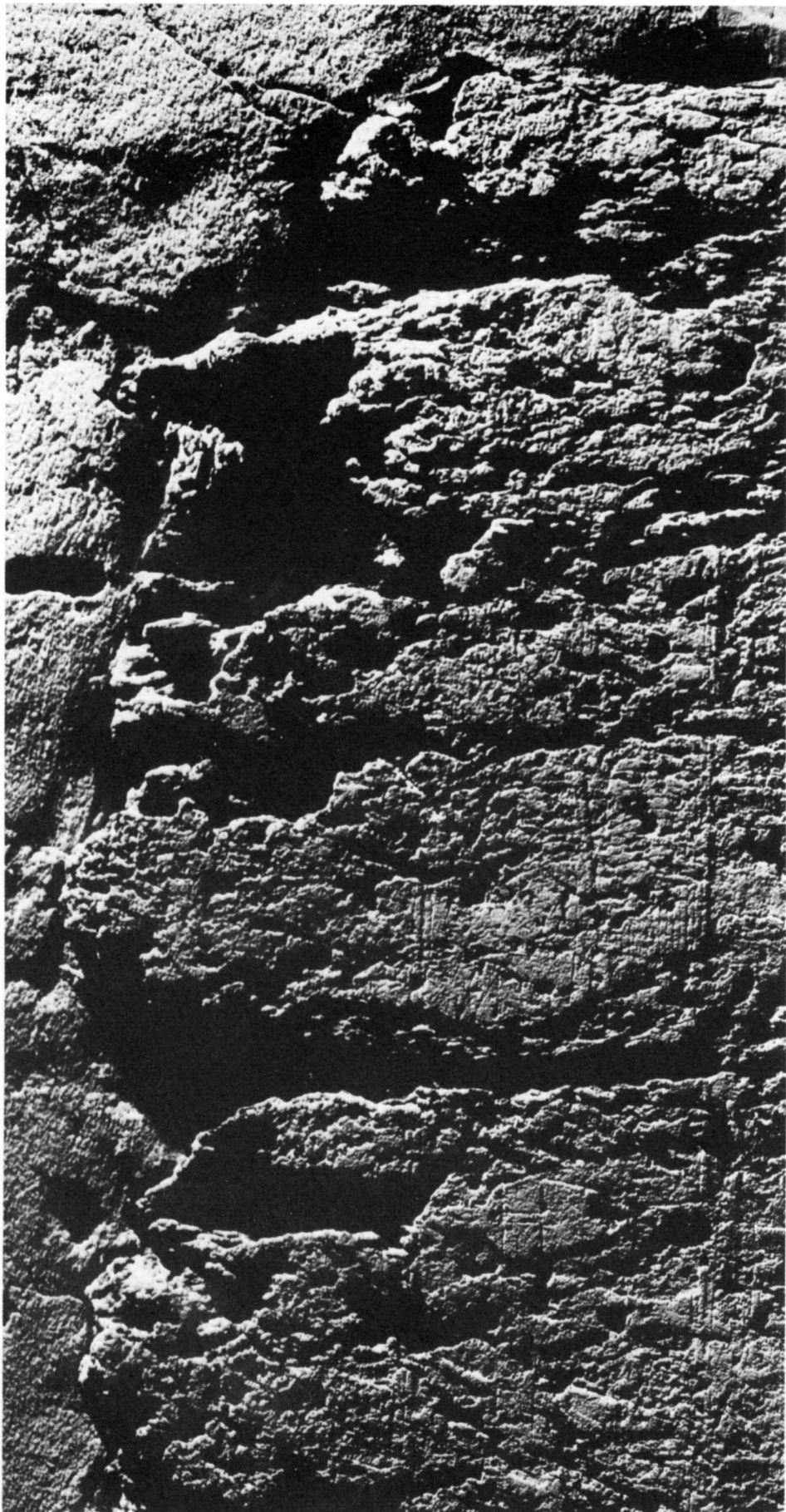






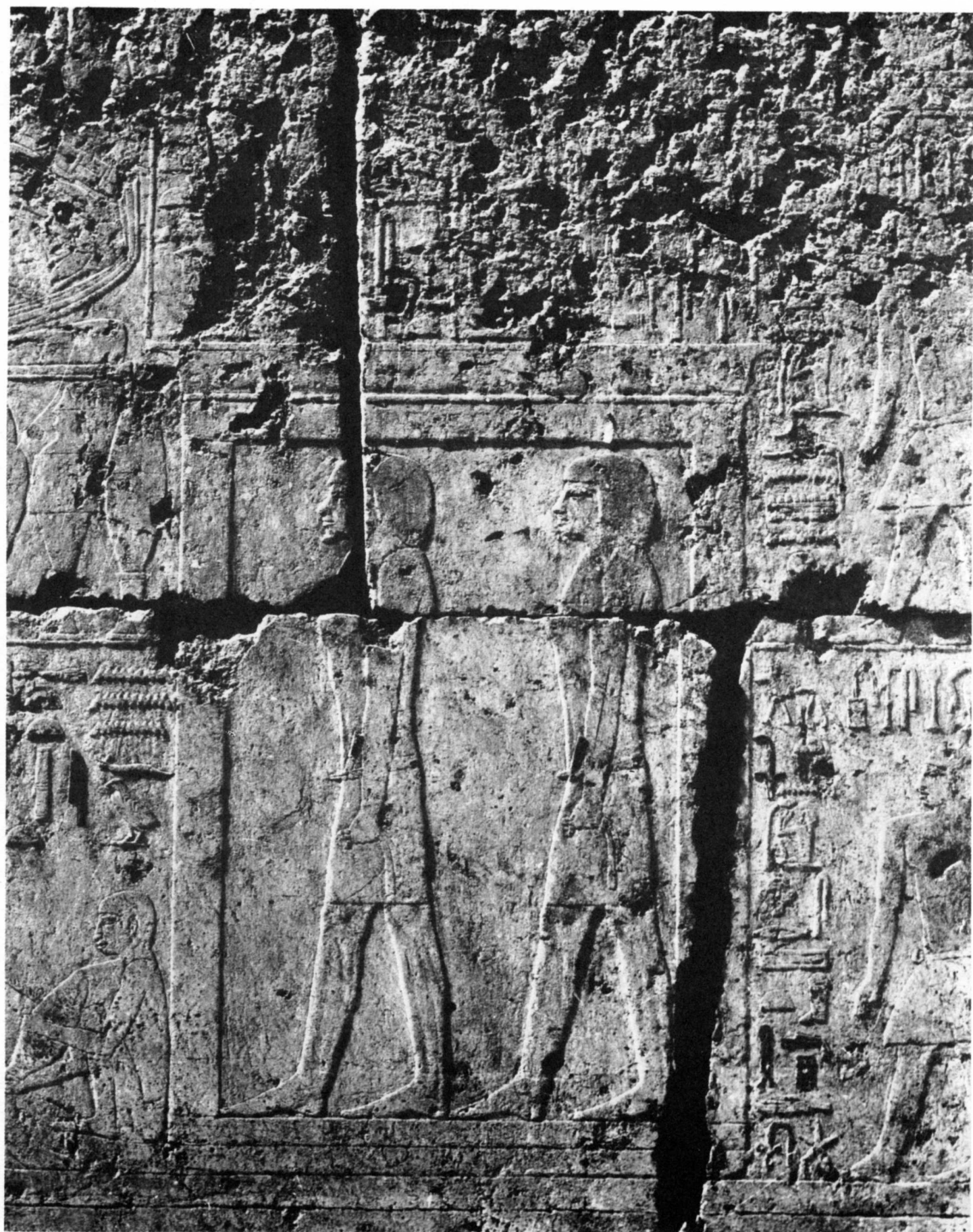


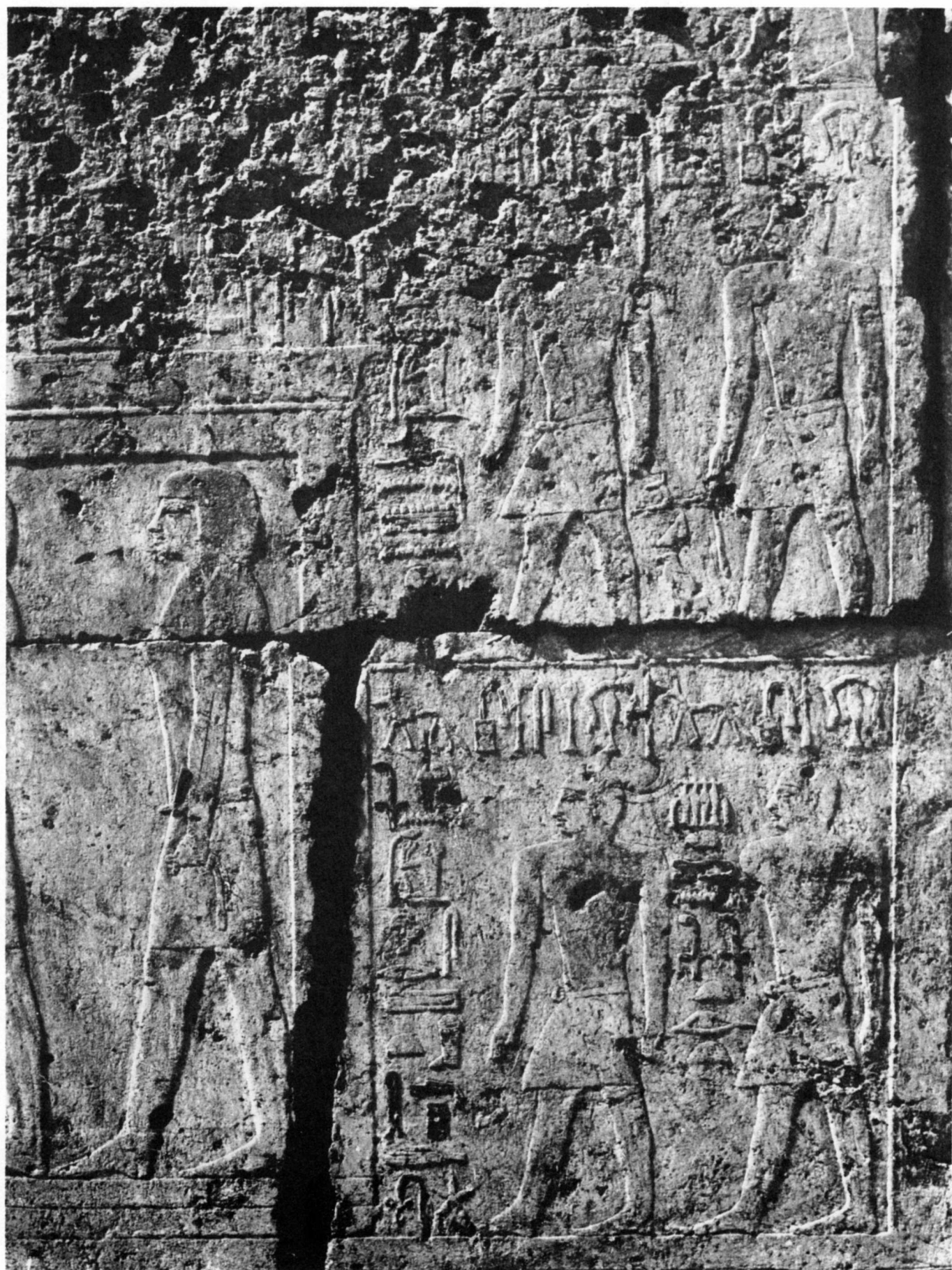






Room 10 – West Wall









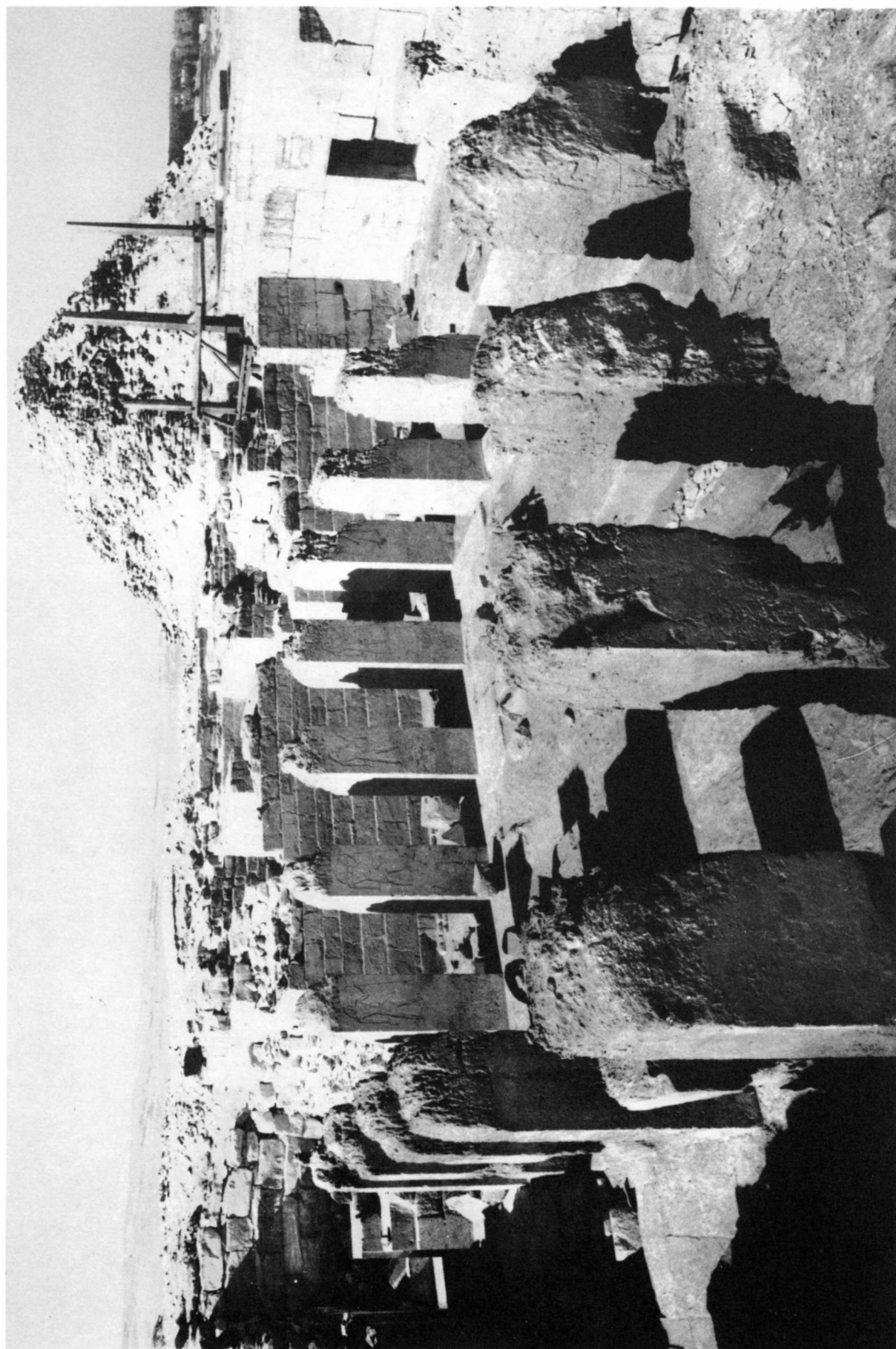




Room 11 – North Wall (Eastern Section)



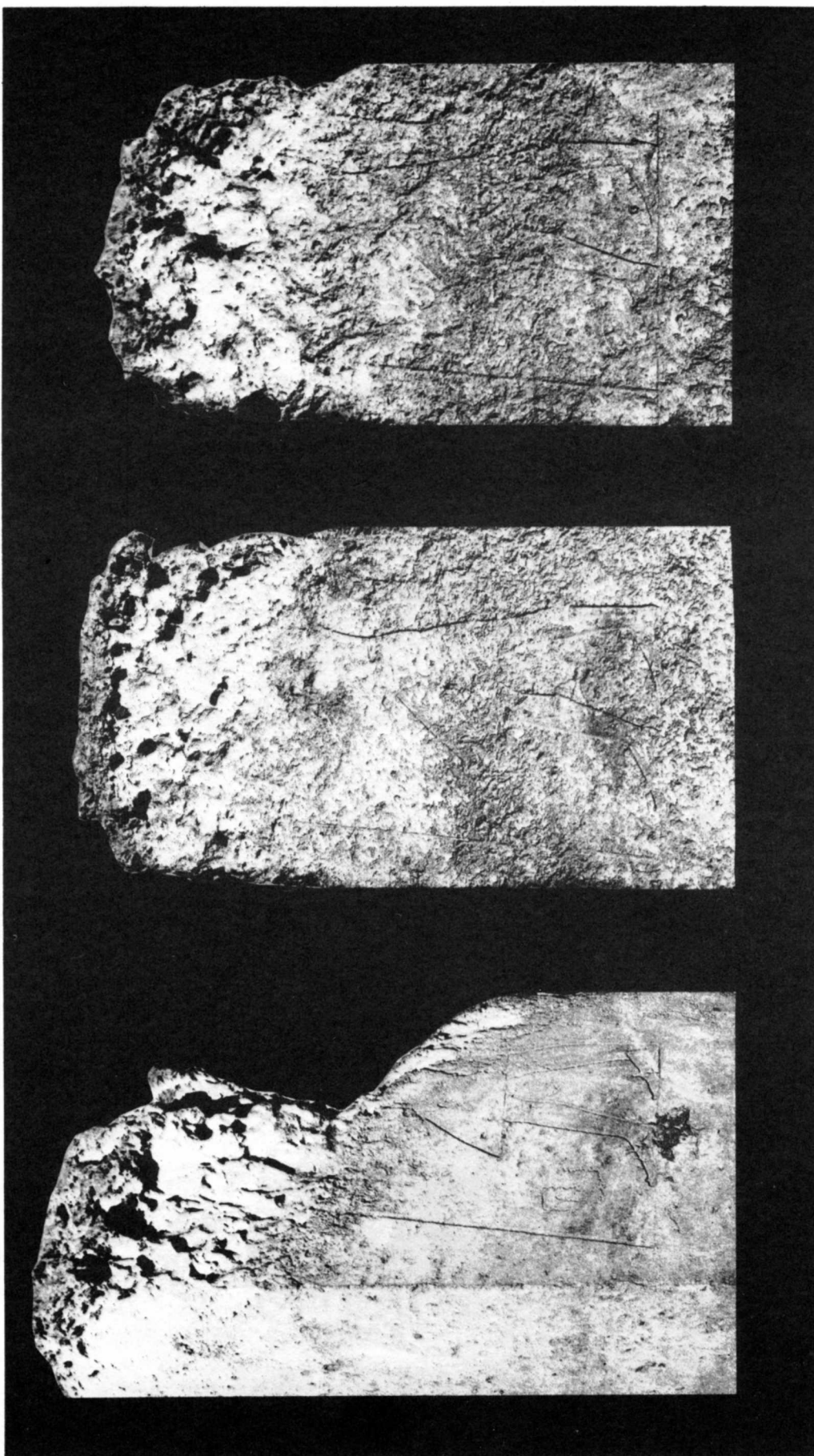
Room 11 – North Wall (Western Section)



Room 13 – Pillared Court (looking NW)



Room 13 – Pillared Court (looking SE)



Pillar No. 1

Pillar No. 2

Pillar No. 3



Pillar No. 5

Pillar No. 6

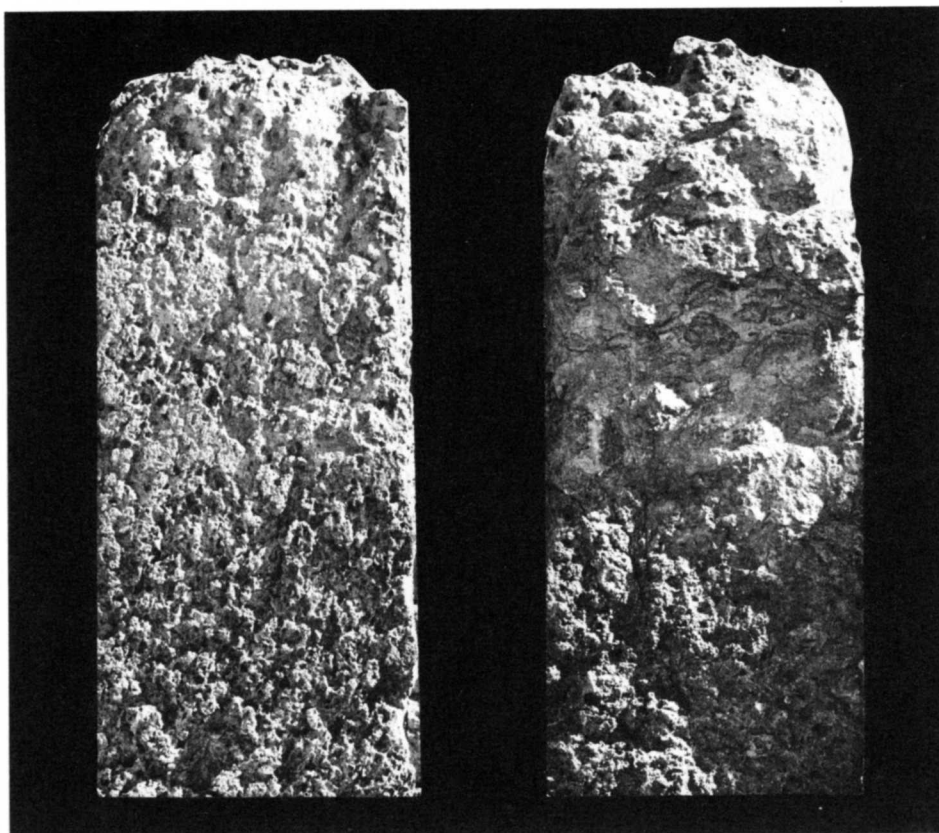
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Pillar No. 7

Pillar No. 8

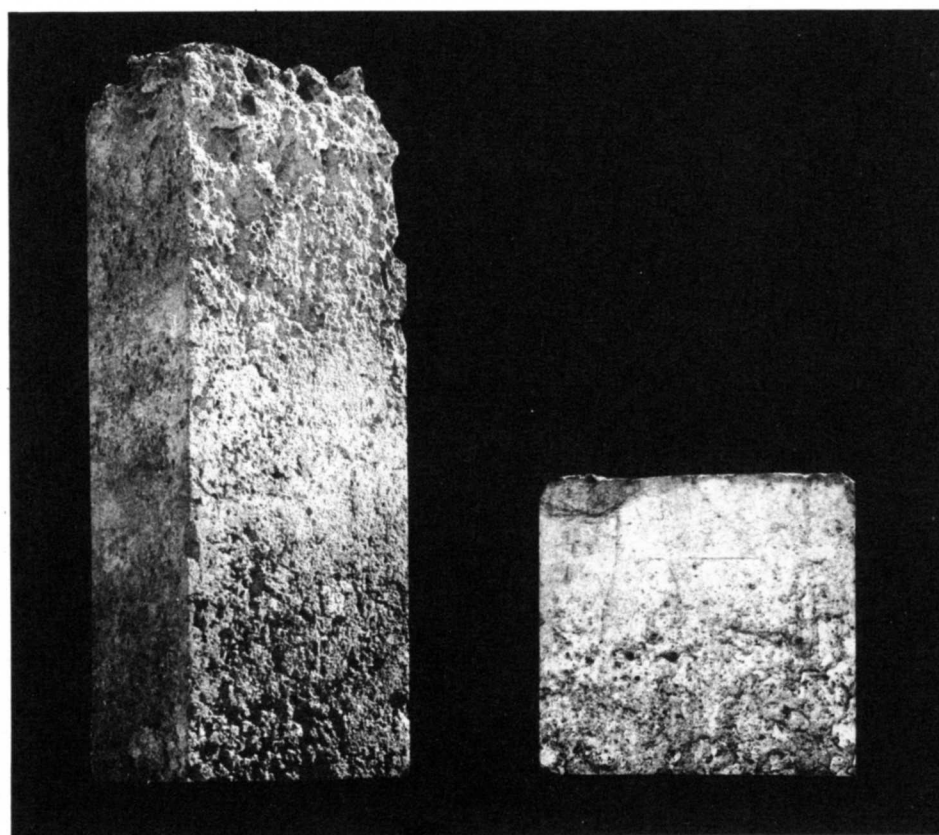
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Pillar No. 9

Pillar No. 10

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Pillar No. 11

Pillar No. 12

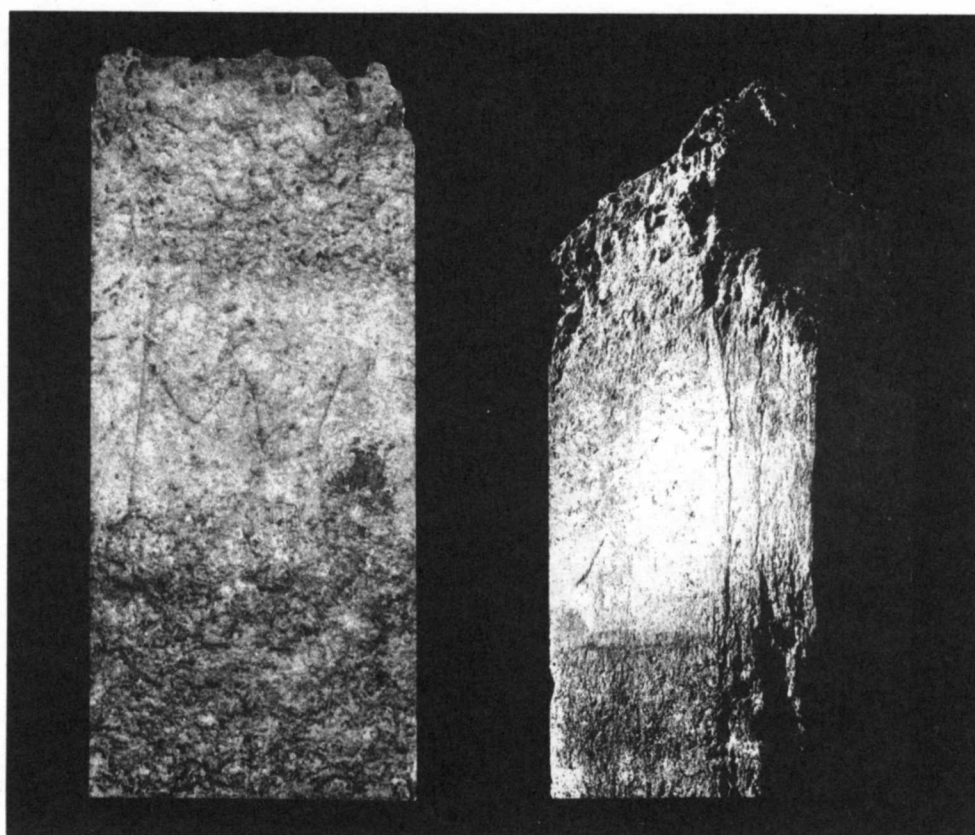
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Pillar No. 13

Pillar No. 14

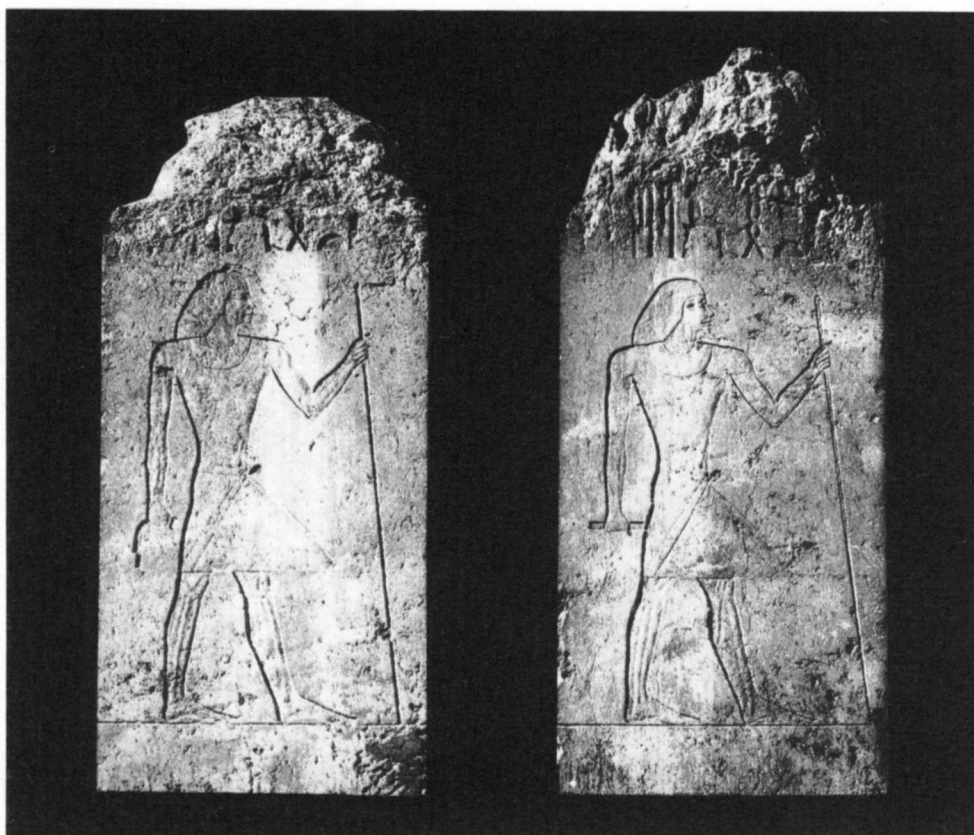
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Pillar No. 15

Pillar No. 16

126



Pillar No. 17

Pillar No. 18

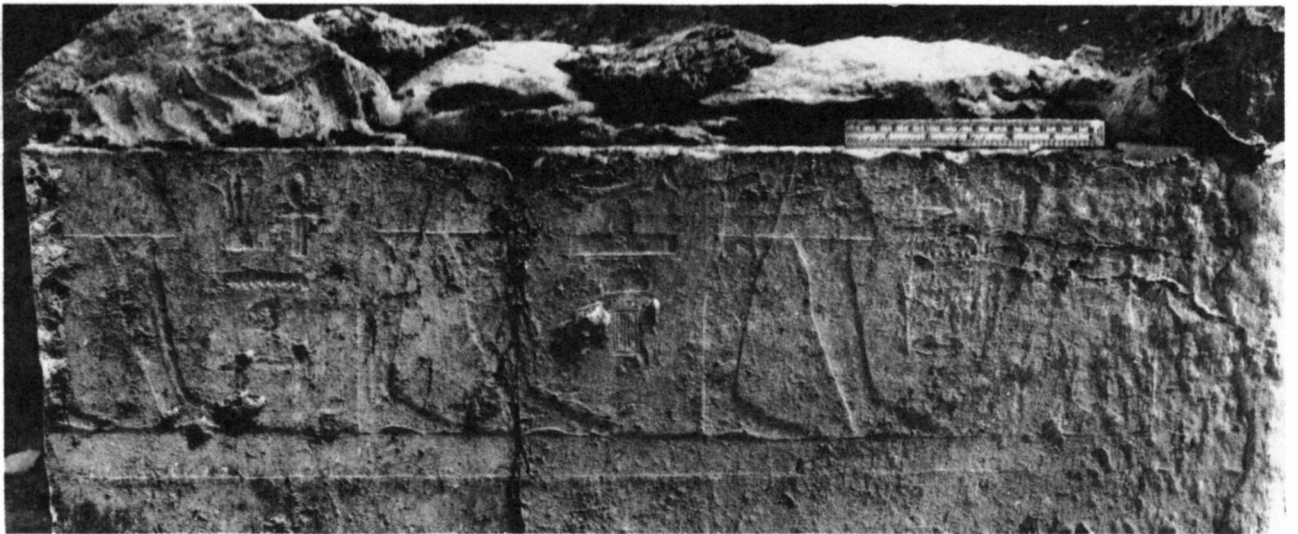
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Pillar No. 19

Pillar No. 20

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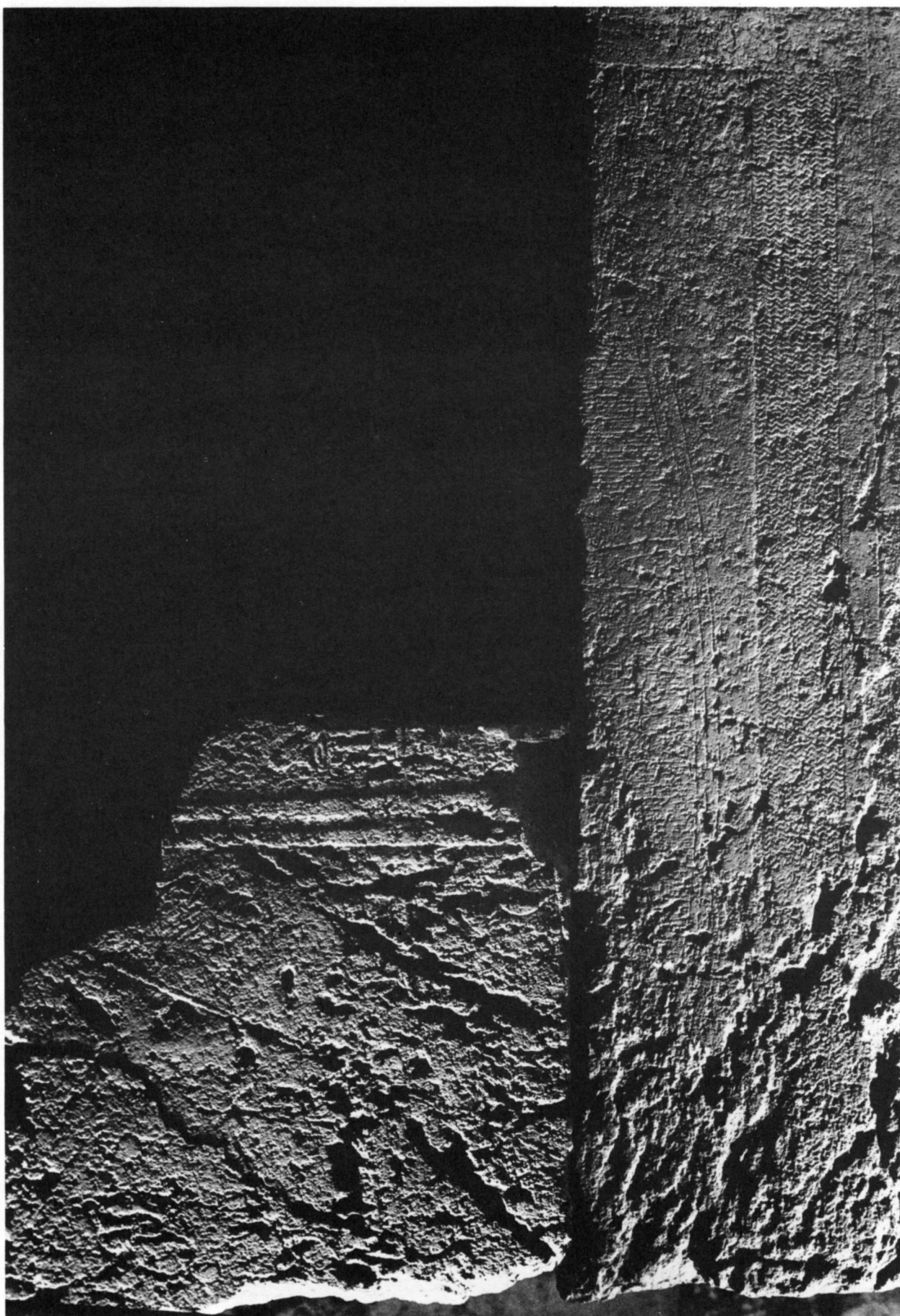


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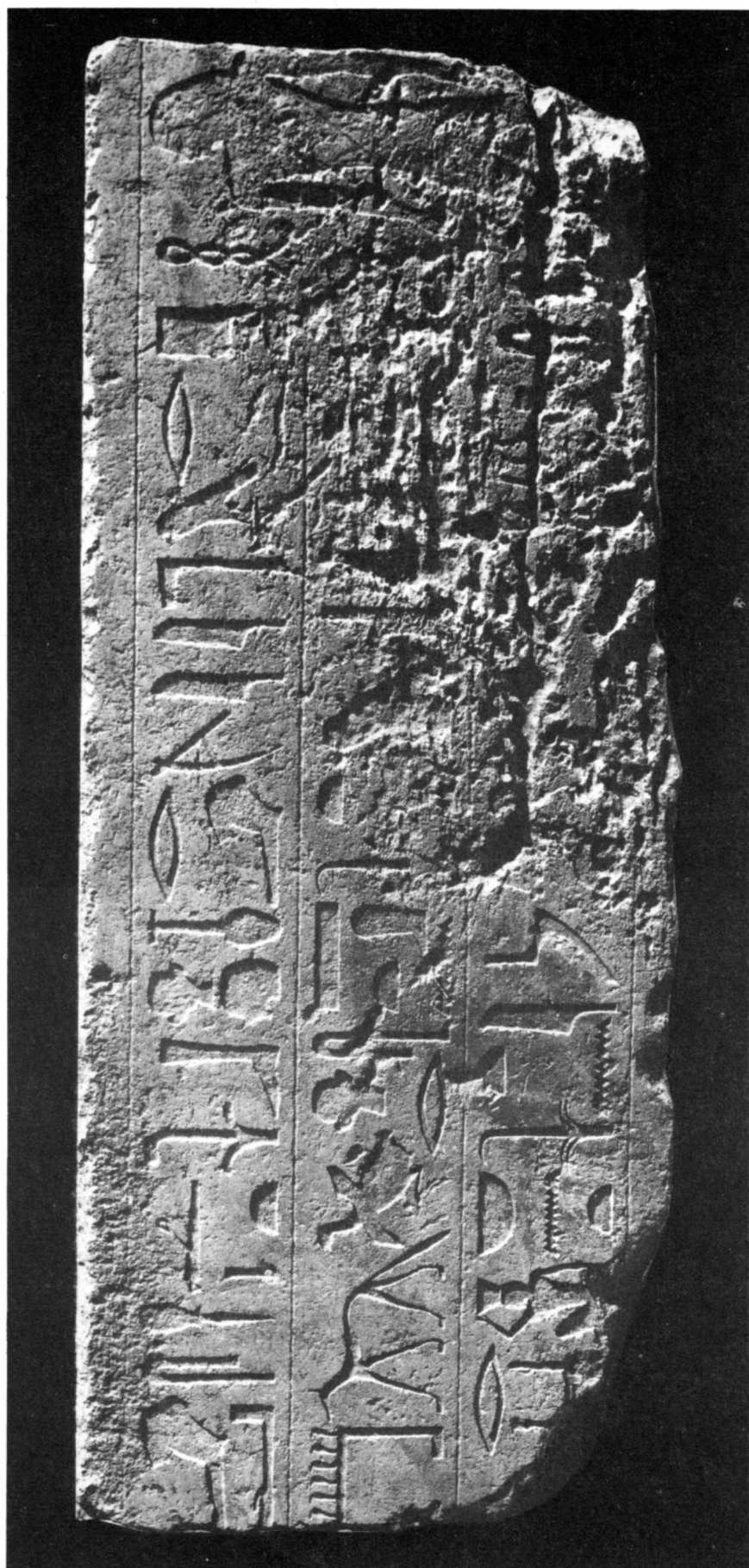
Room 15 – East Wall

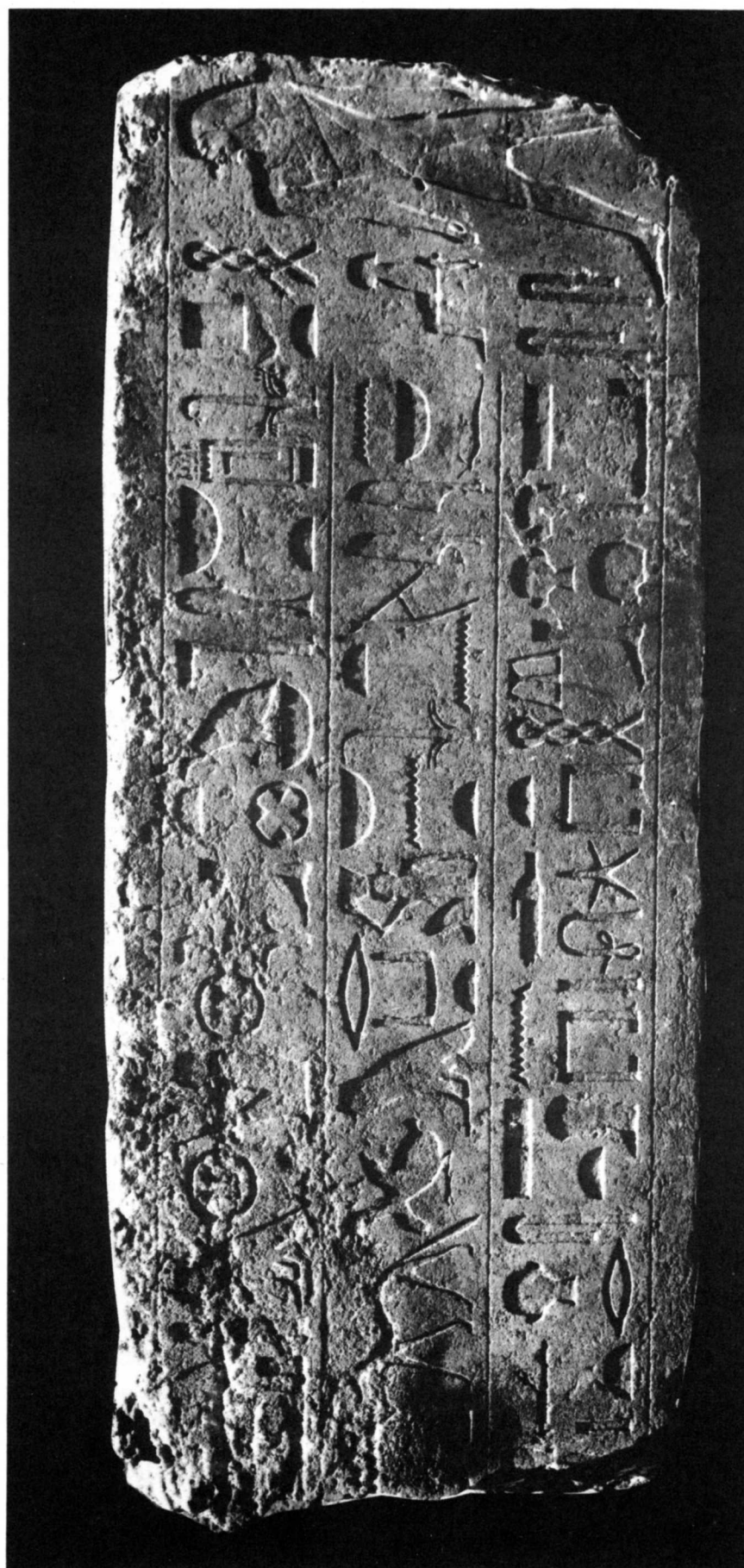
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Room 15 – North Wall







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Univerzita Karlova- Praha
THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK INSTITUTE OF EGYPTOLOGY AT
ABUSIR-I

THE MASTABA OF PTAHSHEPSES

RELIEFS I/1

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Recenzovali Prof. Dr. Fritz Hintze a Dr. Steffen Wenig

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Valuable historical records gathered in the excavations of the Mastaba of Ptahshepses are either in press or are being prepared for publication. "The Mastaba of Ptahshepses. Reliefs I" represents the first volume in a series of publications issued by the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology in which the results of the excavations at Abusir will be presented. The following volumes,

Abusir II: M. Verner, Baugraffiti der Ptahshepses-Mastaba

Abusir III: E. Strouhal-L. Bareš, Secondary Cemetery in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir

Abusir IV: B. Vachala, The Mastaba of Ptahshepses. Reliefs I/2 (Fragments)

are in print. The series of publications on the Mastaba of Ptahshepses will be concluded by a volume on the architecture of the tomb. In the future it should be continued by other publications based on the records being gathered in the current excavations organized by the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology on a hitherto unexplored southern part of the necropolis at Abusir.

