

## The Offering Niche of Sabu: Ibebi in the Cairo Museum

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### *Abstract*

The present study represents a republication and examination of the offering niche of the Sixth Dynasty high priest of Ptah, Sabu: Ibebi. Removed from its original location at Saqqara, the niche is now in The Egyptian Museum, Cairo, bearing nos. CG 1418, 1419, 1565. Epigraphic and palaeographic errors of the previous publications are corrected and a facsimile of the niche is produced.

### *Introduction*

The subject of this article is the offering niche belonging to the Sixth Dynasty high priest of Ptah, Sabu: Ibebi\*. Forming the most important part of the inner chapel of a brick-built mastaba complex located to the north of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, the niche was entered from the east and has its three walls fully decorated. Excavated by Mariette about the Middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the mastaba has a second chapel, which opens into the north of its façade, belonging to Ptah-Shepses II<sup>1</sup>, another high priest of Ptah, whose relationship to Sabu is unknown. The decorated stone slabs of Sabu's offering niche were removed from its original emplacement and reassembled in 1892 in The Egyptian Museum, Cairo, under nos. CG 1418, 1419, 1565<sup>2</sup>. It was first published in Mariette, *Mastabas*, E 1, 373-76, 379-88, 412-15, but with misarrangement of the inner and middle jambs of the false door, omission of much of the decoration and inscriptions on the left side-piece and reversion of the scenes and inscriptions of the niche's decoration. Mariette's publication, therefore, lacks many of the scene details and has some copying errors. Correcting much of the copying errors of this publication and providing photographs and drawings of some scene details, Borhardt (*Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* I, nos. 1418-19, 91-101, pl. 21; II, no. 1565, 31-34, pl.65) republished the niche. Interested in historical inscriptions, and reversing the arrangement of both the outer jambs of the false door, Sethe (*Urk.* I, 81-84 [6]), on the other hand, republished the inscriptions of the chapel's entrance thicknesses and the false door's outer jambs. However, some epigraphic and palaeographic errors still needed correction, and a complete facsimile was necessary for the iconographic and palaeographic details.

### *Description*

The remaining part of the niche consists of a false door made of two limestone slabs and two rectangular side-pieces, each is made of a monolithic slab of limestone. The false door, measuring 267 cm. in max. height, 209 cm. in breadth at top and 203 cm. at bottom, is generally well preserved, except for its upper lintel which has a missing part at top, creating

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<sup>1</sup> PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 461; Mariette, *Mastabas*, E 2, 376-79; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pls. 28-31, 35 [middle right].

<sup>2</sup> PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 460-61, plan XLVII. For the history of the discovery see: Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, 1.

lacunae in the first two lines of its text and obliterating a part of the head of Sabu's standing figure. Having three pairs of jambs, an upper and a lower lintels, a wide panel flanked by two undecorated narrow apertures, and an undecorated central niche surmounted by a drum, the false door is painted in a brownish red colour with black dots to simulate granite. The decoration and inscriptions are cut in sunk relief and some of the hieroglyphic signs still have traces of blue paint. The left side-piece measures 261 cm. in height, 111 cm. in breadth and 21 cm. in thickness. It is in a good state of preservation except for some missing chips at the edges, obliterating parts of its inscriptions and decoration, especially to the right and left of the offering list and near the left end of the bottom register. The decoration and inscriptions are in raised relief except for the offering list, which is in sunk relief. Faint traces of the red painted background are still visible, while some of the hieroglyphic signs still have traces of blue paint. The right side-piece, with a missing upper part, a broken lower left corner and partially chipped edges, measures 239 cm. in height and 108 cm. in breadth. The decoration and inscriptions are in raised relief with no trace of colour preserved.

*Representation and texts*

I. The False door [Figs. 1-2; Pls. 1-4]

*The upper lintel:* It has five horizontal lines (1-5) and one vertical column (6) of text written from right to left, ending in a standing figure of Sabu, facing right. Missing a part of the head, Sabu wears a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar and a short, projecting kilt; and holds a long staff in his left hand and in the right hand a *hrp*-sceptre, which passes behind his figure. The inscriptions<sup>3</sup> read:

(1) [h<sub>1</sub>tp dj nswt h<sub>1</sub>tp Wsjr hp=f hr w<sub>3</sub>wt nfr(w)t šms.t(j)=f jn k<sub>3</sub>w=f šsp<sup>4</sup> c=f jn ntr<sup>5</sup> sšm].t(j)=f<sup>6</sup> hr w<sub>3</sub>wt dsr(w)t (h)p(p)t jm<sub>3</sub>hw hrt=sn (for hr=sn) sj<sup>c</sup>r.t(j)=f (n) ntr<sup>c</sup> 7 (2) [nb jmntt nb swt w<sup>c</sup>b(wt) m-m jm<sub>3</sub>hw mrrw ntr<sup>c</sup> 3 nb<sup>8</sup>] jm<sub>3</sub>h nb qrs nfr m hrt-ntr prt-hrw n=f m hrt-ntr<sup>c</sup> 3 wrt s<sub>3</sub>h.t(j)=f (3) [jn] hrj-hbt jn wtj<sup>c</sup> 3 wrt m wp rnpt Dhwtjt tpj rnpt w<sub>3</sub>g (hb) Zkr hb wr rkh (3bd n) s<sub>3</sub>d prjt Mnw (tpj) 3bd (tpj) smdt<sup>9</sup> (4) m tpjw trw tpjw mdw m hrt hrw [r<sup>c</sup>] nb [t p<sub>3</sub>t] hnqt h<sub>3</sub> šs h<sub>3</sub> mnht h<sub>3</sub> m<sub>3</sub>-hd h<sub>3</sub> k<sub>3</sub> [h<sub>3</sub>]<sup>10</sup> ghs h<sub>3</sub> nj<sub>3</sub>(w) h<sub>3</sub> cwt nbt w<sup>c</sup>bt h<sub>3</sub> r h<sub>3</sub> trp h<sub>3</sub> zt h<sub>3</sub> s

<sup>3</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the reconstruction of the now missing parts of the inscriptions follows Mariette, (Mastabas, 412-13).

<sup>4</sup> The space above the  sign in Mariette's publication (ibid., 412-13) suggests the reading .

<sup>5</sup> There is enough space above the  sign in Mariette's publication (loc. cit.) which suggests the reading . Compare with the inappropriate reconstruction  of Borchardt (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, 31 [2]).

<sup>6</sup> The lacuna in  of Mariette's publication (Mastabas, 412-13), reconstructed as  by Borchardt (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, 31 [2]), seems improbable, and the reading  is suggested here. For this formula see: Barta, Opferformel, 30 [Bitte 31b]; G. Lapp, Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches, SDAIK 21, 1986, §128.

<sup>7</sup>  is mistakenly copied by Borchardt (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, 31 [2]) as .

<sup>8</sup>  is suggested here for the lacuna before *jm<sub>3</sub>h* in Mariette's publication (Mastabas, 412-13).

<sup>9</sup> For the reading see: A. Moussa/ H. Altenmüller, Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep, ÄV 21, 1977, 58 [2].

<sup>10</sup> The now missing *h<sub>3</sub>* is reconstructed after Borchardt (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, 31 [5]).

*h<sup>3</sup> mnwt (5) 3pd nb w<sup>c</sup>b h<sup>3</sup> jrp h<sup>3</sup> jšd h<sup>3</sup> d3b h<sup>3</sup> (h)t nb(t) bnrt h<sup>3</sup> rnpwt nb(wt) m hrt hrw r<sup>c</sup> nb m 3wt dt n jm3hw (6) wr hrp(w) hmwt n r<sup>c</sup> hb<sup>11</sup> S3bw*

„(1) An offering which the king gives and an offering which Osiris (gives), that he may travel upon the beautiful roads, that he be accompanied by his kas, that his credentials<sup>12</sup> be accepted by the god, that he be guided upon the sacred roads, upon which the honoured ones travel, that he be ascended (to) the great god, (2) lord of the west and lord of the pure places, among the honoured ones, whom the great god, lord of veneration and lord of good burial in the necropolis loves. May an invocation offering come forth for him in the necropolis, very greatly, that he be glorified (3) by the lector priest and by the embalmer very greatly at the opening of the year feast, the Thot feast, the first of the year feast, the Wag-feast, the Sokar-feast, the great feast, the burning feast, the Sadj-feast, the coming forth of Min feast, the beginning of the month feast, the middle of the month feast, (4) at the seasonal feasts, the beginning of the decades feasts (i.e., the beginning of the tens of days feasts)<sup>13</sup>, and throughout the course of every day: a thousand of bread, cakes and beer, a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothes, a thousand of oryxes, a thousand of bulls, a thousand of gazelles, a thousand of Nubian ibexes, a thousand of every pure goat, a thousand of *r*-geese, a thousand of *trp*-geese, a thousand of *zt*-ducks, a thousand of *s*-geese, a thousand of pigeons (5) and of every pure bird, a thousand of wine, a thousand of *jšd*-fruit, a thousand of figs, a thousand of every sweet thing, and all the year-offerings throughout the course of every day to the extent of eternity for the honoured one, (6) the greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the festival of the sun, Sabu.“

*The panel:* Two symmetrical table scenes are represented on both sides of the panel<sup>14</sup>. Facing inwards, Sabu is represented in each scene sitting on a chair with a low, cushioned back and lion legs resting on truncated cone supports<sup>15</sup>. He wears a shoulder-length wig covering the

<sup>11</sup> For the different forms of the title *wr hrp(w) hmwt* see: D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom I*, 2000, 391-95 [1450-1458]. For a study of the title see: M. Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 1946, 25, 50-56; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 102-103, 103-106; E. Freier, in: *AoF* 4, 1976, 5ff. For another suggested reading *hmww wr šhm* „*l'artisan du Très Puissant*“ see: H. De Meulenaere, in: *Festschrift zum 150 Jährigen Bestehen, Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung* 8, 1974, 183-84.

<sup>12</sup> W. V. Davies et al., *Saqqâra Tombs I: The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu*, ASE 36, 1984, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Egyptian decades were, according to A. J. Spalinger, weeks of the civil months comprised of ten days apiece (*The Private Feast Lists of Ancient Egypt*, *ÄA* 57, 1996, 40). For a study of the Old Kingdom feasts see: *ibid.*, 24ff., 110ff. See also: Parker, *Calendars*, 34ff.; C. N. Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Dêr*, University Microfilms, Ph.D. Thesis, Brown University, 1958, 140ff.

<sup>14</sup> The double table scene is rarely attested as a panel decoration during the Old Kingdom, of which only one other example is known to me: (N. Kanawati/ M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara III*, ACE: Reports 11, 1998, pl. 58). Much more common, however, is the double representation of tomb owner on both sides of an offering table, which is attested as early as the Fifth Dynasty (e.g., Mariette, *Mastabas*, 268-71; Hassan, *Giza V*, fig. 108; IX, fig. 29a). For some Sixth Dynasty examples see: W. K. Simpson, *Giza Mastabas 2, The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, 1976, fig. 40; Davies et al., *Saqqâra Tombs I*, pl. 26; Kanawati/ Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery VII*, ACE: Reports 17, 2001, pl. 49.

<sup>15</sup> For this type of chairs see: N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire*, 1989, 30, *Criterion* 6.

ears, a beard, a broad collar and a short kilt<sup>16</sup>. Extending the right hand towards the offering table in each scene, Sabu's left-side figure holds in his left hand a perfume jar close to his nose<sup>17</sup>, while holding a folded cloth in the left hand of the other figure. In front of each figure is an offering table consisting of a tubular stand with a flaring foot and a round tray, over which are twelve stylized half-loaves. Beneath each table are a spouted ewer in a basin and a stand with three vases with lids and spouts. Above the left figure are two horizontal lines of hieroglyphs oriented towards the right as follows: (1) *wr hrp(w) hmwt n(j) hb r<sup>c</sup> jmj-r k3t nb(t) nt nswt*<sup>18</sup> (2) *jm3hw hr zmjt jmntjt S3bw* - „(1) the greatest of the directors of craftsmen who belongs to the festival of the sun, the overseer of all works of the king, (2) the honoured one before the western desert, Sabu“. The inscriptions above the right figure are written in two horizontal lines oriented towards the left as follows: (1) *wr [hrp(w) hmwt] n(j) hb r<sup>c</sup> hm- ntr*<sup>19</sup> *Pth hm-ntr Zkr* (2) *jm3[h]w hr Jnpw tpj dw=f S3bw* - „(1) the greatest of the directors of craftsmen who belongs to the festival of the sun, the priest of Ptah, the priest of Sokar, (2) the honoured one before Anubis, who is on his hill, Sabu“. Beside each table is written<sup>20</sup> *dbht htp hnk* - „requirements of *htp*-offerings and *hnk*-offerings“, while beneath each one of them is written *h3 t h3 p3t*<sup>21</sup> *h3 hnqt h3 mnht* - „one thousand of bread, one thousand of cakes, one thousand of beer, one thousand of clothes“.

*The lower lintel:* Three horizontal lines of hieroglyphs oriented towards the right occupy the greater part of the lintel and read: (1) *htp dj nswt htp dj Wsjr ntr c3 nb m3ct cnh(=f) j3w nfr wrt m nst(=f) m jm3hw hr Pth* (2) *htp dj Jnpw hntj zh-ntr jmj wt tpj dw=f nb t3 dsr prt-hrw n=f m wp rnpt Dhwtjt tpj rnpt w3g* (3) *špsj hr nswt jm3hw hr Pth wr hrp(w) hmwt*<sup>22</sup> *n r<sup>c</sup> hb hm-ntr Pth S3bw rn=f nfr Jbbj*  
 „(1) An offering which the king gives and an offering which Osiris, the great god, lord of justice gives, that he may live attaining a very good old age on his seat as an honoured one before Ptah. (2) An offering which Anubis, foremost of the divine booth, who is in the embalming place, who is on his hill, lord of the sacred land gives. May an invocation offering come forth for him at the opening of the year feast, the Thot feast, the first of the year feast and the Wag-feast. (3) The nobleman before the king, the honoured one before

<sup>16</sup> The costume of the left figure differs from that of the right in wearing a bracelet around his left wrist and a belt, which is hidden behind the left arm of the right figure.

<sup>17</sup> For this motif see: *ibid.*, 54, Criterion 27. For some examples see: Murray, Saqqara Mastabas, pl. 28; Jéquier, Tombeaux, fig. 36; Firth/ Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, pl. 64; Junker, Giza VIII, figs. 32, 58; Hassan, Giza III, fig. 109; VII, fig. 49; Simpson, Giza Mastabas 4, Mastabas of the Western Cemetery I, 1980, fig. 16; N. Kanawati et al., Excavations at Saqqara I, 1984, pl. 29; N. Kanawati/ A. Hassan, The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara I, ACE: Reports 8, 1996, pl. 51; M. El-Khadragy, in: SAK 30, 2002, fig. 7; N. Kanawati/ M. Abder-Raziq, The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara II, ACE: Reports 19, 2003, pl. 68.

<sup>18</sup> For this title see: Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, 262-63 [950]; N. Strudwick, The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, 1985, 222ff.

<sup>19</sup>  of Mariette's copy (Mastabas, 412-13) should be corrected both here and in the following title to .

<sup>20</sup> Although some signs of the inscriptions beside and beneath the right offering table are now missing, they were still visible at the time of Mariette (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>21</sup> Mistakenly copied by Mariette (*loc. cit.*) as  instead of  in his reversed left side of the panel.

<sup>22</sup> In Borchardt (*Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* II, 33 [e]),  should be corrected to .

Ptah, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the festival of the sun, the priest of Ptah, Sabu, his beautiful name, Ibebi“.

To the left is a figure of the owner seated on a chair with a low, cushioned back and four lion legs<sup>23</sup> resting on truncated cone supports. He wears a shoulder-length wig covering the ears, a beard, a broad collar, a bracelet around his right rest and a short kilt provided with a belt. He holds a staff in his left hand and a folded cloth in the right, which he rests on his lap. The label identifying him is written vertically before the figure as *wr hrp(w) hmwt S3bw* - „the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, Sabu“.

*The drum:* By the time of Borchardt's publication<sup>24</sup>, there was an obvious *w*-sign at the end of some short inscription on the drum, which fits well with the owner's name [*S3b*]*w* - „Sabu“.

*The outer jambs:* In continuation of the biographical text inscribed on both jambs of the doorway leading into the tomb chapel<sup>25</sup>, three vertical columns of hieroglyphs facing inwards are written on each of the false door's outer jambs<sup>26</sup>. Occupying the greater part of its decorated surface, each inscription terminates with a standing figure of Sabu, facing inwards too. Each of the two identical figures portrays him as a corpulent man with pendulous breasts and a thick waist. He has close-cropped hair and wears a long, projecting kilt. Holding a long staff in his far hand, the figure's nearer arm is shown with abbreviated shoulder like many of such figures dated to the Sixth Dynasty<sup>27</sup>.

Inscriptions on the left outer jamb<sup>28</sup>: (1) *mjn hr z3 R<sup>c</sup> Tj<sup>c</sup> nh dt wr hrp(w) hmwt špss hr nswt r b3k nb m hrj-sšt3 n k3t nbt mrrt hm=f jr.t(j)=s<sup>29</sup> snfrw jb n nb=f r<sup>c</sup> nb<sup>30</sup> wr hrp(w) hmwt S3bw*

<sup>23</sup>For this type of chairs see: Cherpion, Mastabas et hypogées, 35, Criterion 11.

<sup>24</sup>Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, 34 [k].

<sup>25</sup>On the right jamb of the entrance doorway, Sabu states that he served under Unis as the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, the text reads: *wr hrp(w) hmwt n Wnjs špss hr nswt r b3k nb h3=f r wj3 nb stp-z3 q=f hr w3wt h-(ntr) Šm<sup>c</sup>w m hbw S3bw rn=f nfr Jbbj* - „The greatest of the directors of craftsmen of Unis, more esteemed before the king than any servant, descending into every bark, escorting (the king), striding upon the ways of the temple of the South at the feasts, Sabu, his beautiful name, Ibebi“ (Mariette, Mastabas, 375 [D]; Urk I, 81 [5-10]). While the inscriptions on the left jamb read: *jm3hw hr nswt jrr hzzt=f mrr(w) nb=f wr hrp(w) hmwt m prwj n(j) hb r<sup>c</sup> hm-ntr Pth hm-ntr Zkr S3bw rn=f nfr Jbbj* - „The honoured one before the king, who does what he favours, beloved of his lord, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses who belongs to the festival of the sun, the priest of Ptah, the priest of Sokar, Sabu, his beautiful name, Ibebi“ (Mariette, Mastabas, 375 [C]; Urk. I, 81 [13-17]).

<sup>26</sup>For complete translations of the biography see: BAR I, 131-32; A. Roccati, La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien, 1982, 173-75. For grammatical analyzes and translations of several passages of the text see: É. Doret, The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 12, 1986, 24 [Ex. 3], 33 [Ex. 26], 50-51 [Ex. 76], 80 [Ex. 132]. For a study of the autobiographies to the end of the Middle Kingdom see: M. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom, OBO 84, 1988.

<sup>27</sup>Y. Harpur, Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom, 1987, 131-33 and n.84.

<sup>28</sup>The right jamb of Sethe (Urk. I, 82-83[3]).

<sup>29</sup>Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, 644-45 [2360].

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 908-9 [3329].

(2) *wr hrp(w) hmwt mhnk nswt<sup>31</sup> hrj-sšt<sup>3</sup> n nswt m s(w)t=f nb(wt)<sup>32</sup> jm<sup>3</sup>hw hr nswt wr hrp(w) hmwt m prwj n(j) hb r<sup>c</sup> sbnr hmt(jw?) nb<sup>33</sup>* (3) *jm<sup>3</sup>hw hr jtj nb stp.n=f z<sup>3</sup> r=f n(j)-jb n nb=f jmj-jb n nb=f mrjj nb=f jm<sup>3</sup>hw n Pth jrr mrrt ntr=f r<sup>c</sup> nb hr nswt*

„(1) Today, under the son of Re: Teti, living forever, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, more esteemed before the king than any servant, as privy to the secret of all works which His Majesty desired to be done, he who pleases the heart of his lord every day, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, Sabu. (2) The greatest of the directors of craftsmen, the intimate of the king, the secretary of the king in all his cult-places, the honoured one before the king, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses who belongs to the festival of the sun, the one who brings into favour all craftsmen, (3) the honoured one before every sovereign for whom he provided protection, he who belongs to the heart of his lord, the favourite one of his lord, the beloved one of his lord, the honoured one of Ptah, he who does what his god desires every day before the king“.

Inscriptions on the right outer jamb<sup>34</sup>: (1) *mjn hr z<sup>3</sup> R<sup>c</sup> Tj c<sup>n</sup>h dt wr hrp(w) hmwt špss hr nswt r b<sup>3</sup>k nb h<sup>3</sup>=f<sup>35</sup> r wj<sup>3</sup> nb<sup>36</sup> stp-z<sup>3</sup> c<sup>q</sup>=f hr w<sup>3</sup>wt c<sup>h</sup>-ntr<sup>37</sup> Šm<sup>c</sup>w m hbw nbw n h<sup>c</sup>w wr hrp(w) hmwt n r<sup>c</sup> hb S<sup>3</sup>b[w]* (2) *jhr hz w(j) hm=f rdj hm=f c<sup>q</sup>(=j) r hnw-<sup>c</sup> dj(=j) n=f c<sup>n</sup>hw m bw nb gmm(=j) w<sup>3</sup>t jm n-zp jr.t(j) mjtt n b<sup>3</sup>k nb mjt(j)(=j) jn jtj nb* (3) *n mrr w(j) hm=f r b<sup>3</sup>k=f nb n jrt(=j) hzzt=f r<sup>c</sup> nb n wn jm<sup>3</sup>h(=j) m jb=f jqr.k(wj) hr hm=f gmw w<sup>3</sup>t m sšt<sup>3</sup> nb n hnw<sup>38</sup> špss(=j) hr hm=f*

„(1) Today, under the son of Re: Teti, living forever, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, more esteemed before the king than any servant, descending into every bark, escorting (the king)<sup>39</sup>, striding upon the ways of the temple of the South at all the feasts of the coronation, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the festival of the sun, Sabu. (2) When His Majesty favoured me, His Majesty granted me access to the Residence that I might place the soldiers for him in every place, where I found the way<sup>40</sup>. Never had the

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. I, 449 [1681]; H. Junker, Die gesellschaftliche Stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich, SÖAW 233, 1, 1959, 11ff.

<sup>32</sup> Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, 630-31 [2311].

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 884 [3239].

<sup>34</sup> The left jamb of Sethe (Urk. I, 83 [4]-84 [6]).

<sup>35</sup> For using the *s<sup>d</sup>m=f* of verbs of motion like *h<sup>3</sup>* and *c<sup>q</sup>* here and elsewhere in Old Kingdom inscriptions in non-initial position as a circumstantial form see: Doret, Verbal System, 33.

<sup>36</sup> For a similar statement by the high priest of Ptah, Ptah-Shepses (PM 3<sup>2</sup> 464), pointing out that such barks were used in carrying (the statues of) the gods during the festivals of coronation, see: Urk. I, 53 [6]; Mariette, Mastabas, C1, H14, 112-13, 451. Compare: Roccati, Littérature historique, 107 [3].

<sup>37</sup> In Sethe's copy (Urk. I, 83 [11]), the ideogram for *c<sup>h</sup>*  should be corrected so as to enclose the ideogram for *ntr*  inside it.

<sup>38</sup> On the title *gmw w<sup>3</sup>t m sšt<sup>3</sup> nb n hnw* see: H. Fischer, in: BiOr 59, 1/2, 2002, 36 [3699a].

<sup>39</sup> As translated by Doret (Verbal System, 33 [Ex. 26]). On *stp-z<sup>3</sup>* see: H. Fischer, Egyptian Studies I: Varia, 1976, 14; Roccati, Littérature historique, 106 [4], 175 [1]. For *stp-z<sup>3</sup>* in Old Kingdom titles see: Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, 983-84 [3629-3636]; N. Kanawati, Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace, Unis to Pepy I, 2003, 153-54.

<sup>40</sup> As translated by Roccati (Littérature historique, 175, § 165). For another possible translation of this passage, see: Doret, Verbal System, 80 [Ex. 132]: „Now His Majesty favoured me, (when) His Majesty caused that I enter into the Privy Chamber. In every case for which I found a solution. He,

like been done to any servant like me by any sovereign (3) because His Majesty loved me more than any servant of his for doing that which he praises every day, and because my reverence was in his heart<sup>41</sup>. I was skillful in the presence of His Majesty, the one who used to find a way in every difficulty of the Residence, so that I was esteemed by His Majesty<sup>42</sup>.

*The middle jambs*<sup>42</sup>: The left and right middle jambs contain identical inscriptions, each consisting of three vertical columns and a short horizontal line of hieroglyphs facing inwards: (1) *h̄tp dj nswt h̄tp dj Jnpw pr n=f prt-h̄rw*<sup>43</sup> *m šnwtj*<sup>44</sup> *m prwj-h̄d m jzwj n h̄kr(w) nswt*<sup>45</sup> (2) *m pr-shpt m pr-b<sup>c</sup>h̄t*<sup>46</sup> *m st nb(t) nt h̄nw prrt prt-h̄rw jm=s* (3) *n špss nswt jm<sup>3</sup>h̄w hr Wsjr wr h̄rp(w) h̄mwt n r<sup>c</sup> h̄b db<sup>3</sup>t(j)*<sup>47</sup> *h̄m-ntr Pth* (4) *S<sup>3</sup>bw*

„(1) An offering which the king gives and an offering which Anubis gives, that an invocation offering may be issued for him from the two granaries, from the two treasuries, from the two chambers of the king's adornment, (2) from the storehouse, from the house of supplies and from every department of the Residence<sup>48</sup> from which the invocation offering comes forth (3) for the nobleman before the king, the honoured one before Osiris, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the festival of the sun, the adorer<sup>49</sup>, the priest of Ptah, (4) Sabu“.

Below is a standing figure of the owner, facing inwards, and wearing a shoulder-length wig covering the ears, a beard, a broad collar and a projecting kilt. He holds a staff in one hand and a *hrp*-sceptre in the other.

*The inner jambs*<sup>50</sup>: Ending in a standing figure identical to those on the middle jambs, the left inner jamb has three vertical columns and one horizontal line of hieroglyphs oriented towards the right, while the right jamb has only three vertical columns of inscriptions oriented towards the left.

Inscriptions on the left inner jamb: (1) *wr h̄rp(w) h̄mwt n(j) h̄b r<sup>c</sup> h̄m-ntr M<sup>3</sup>ct m swt (j)ptn*<sup>51</sup> *h̄m-ntr H̄rj-B<sup>3</sup>q=f*<sup>52</sup> *h̄m-ntr H̄ntj-mdf(t)*<sup>53</sup> (2) *wr h̄rp(w) h̄mwt m prwj h̄m-ntr H̄ntj-j<sup>3</sup>wt=f*<sup>54</sup> *h̄m-ntr Jmj-hnt-wr*<sup>55</sup> (3) *jm<sup>3</sup>h̄w hr ntr c<sup>3</sup> nb qrs jm<sup>3</sup>h̄w hr Pth* (4) *S<sup>3</sup>bw*

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(i.e., His Majesty), gave (me) *nh*-amulets“, reading it: *jhr hz w(j) h̄m=f rdj h̄m=f c<sup>3</sup>q(=j) r h̄nw-<sup>c</sup> dj.n=f c<sup>3</sup>nhw m bw nb gmm(=j) w<sup>3</sup>t jm*.

<sup>41</sup> As translated by Edel (Altäg. Gramm., § 712). Refer also to Doret (Verbal System, 50-51 [Ex. 76]).

<sup>42</sup> The inner jambs of Mariette (Mastabas, 412-415).

<sup>43</sup> Lapp, Opferformel, §162.

<sup>44</sup>  of Borchardt (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, 33 [g]) should be corrected to .

<sup>45</sup> For the translation of this department see: H. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 1996, 19.

<sup>46</sup> On *pr-shpt pr-b<sup>c</sup>h̄t* see: Barta, *Opferformel*, 26, n.12.

<sup>47</sup> The  in *db<sup>3</sup>tj* is lacking on the left middle jamb.

<sup>48</sup> On the different departments of the Residence supplying provisions see: Lapp, *Opferformel*, §184ff.

<sup>49</sup> For translating *db<sup>3</sup>t(j)* as „adorned“ see: Jones, *Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II*, 1010-11 [3745]; Staehelin, *Tracht*, 138; Freier, in: *AoF* 4, 1976, 16.

<sup>50</sup> The middle jambs of Mariette (Mastabas, 412-415).

<sup>51</sup> For the title see: Jones, *Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, 517 [1932].

<sup>52</sup> On *h̄m-ntr H̄rj-B<sup>3</sup>q=f* see: *ibid.* II, 571 [2103]; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 121, n.11, 145; H. Fischer, in: *JARCE* 4, 1965, 53, n.21; Freier, in: *AoF* 4, 1976, 20.

<sup>53</sup> On *h̄m-ntr H̄ntj-mdft* see: Jones, *Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II*, 568 [2093]; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 121, n.11, 145; Fischer, in: *JARCE* 4, 1965, 53, n.21; Freier, in: *AoF* 4, 1976, 20.

„(1) the greatest of the directors of craftsmen who belongs to the festival of the sun, the priest of Ma<sup>c</sup>t in these (cult) places, the priest of *Hrj-B<sup>3</sup>q=f*, (i.e., Ptah), the priest of *Hntj-mdft*, (alias of the god Ptah), (2) the greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses, the priest of *Hntj-j<sup>3</sup>wt=f*, (alias of the god Ptah), the priest of *Jmj-hnt-wr*, (alias of the god Ptah), (3) the honoured one before the great god, lord of burial, the honoured one before Ptah, (4) Sabu“.

Inscriptions on the right inner jamb: (1) *wr [hrp(w)] hmwt hm-ntr Pth hm-ntr Zkr m swt=f nb(wt) hm-ntr Hntj-Tnnt<sup>56</sup> hm-ntr Dd-špss<sup>57</sup> wr hrp(w) hmwt n r<sup>c</sup> hb* (2) *wr hrp(w) hmwt hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>c</sup> hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup><sup>58</sup> m Šzpw-jb-R<sup>c</sup>* (3) *wr hrp(w) hmwt hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup>-Hr<sup>59</sup>-<sup>3</sup>ht(j) m St-jb-R<sup>c</sup> hm-ntr Hwt-hr m swt nb(wt) S<sup>3</sup>bw*

„(1) the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, the priest of Ptah, the priest of Sokar in all his (cult) places, the priest of *Hntj-Tnnt*, the priest of *Dd-špss*, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the festival of the son, (2) the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, the priest of Re in *Nhn-R<sup>c</sup>*, (the sun-temple of Userkaf), the priest of Re in *Šzpw-jb-R<sup>c</sup>*, (the sun-temple of Niuserre), (3) the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, the priest of Re-Herakhty in *St-jb-R<sup>c</sup>*, (the sun-temple of Neferirkare), the priest of Hathor in all (cult)-places, Sabu“.

## II. The left side-piece [Figs. 3-4; Pls. 5-7a]

This wall is decorated with an offering scene, with an offering list accompanied by funerary priests performing rites at the top, a table scene in the centre, and offering bearers in two registers at the bottom. The offering list consists of ninety-four items arranged horizontally in five registers: the upper four containing twenty items each, while the lower one contains fourteen items. Each of the first eighty-eight items is written in a compartment divided into three parts: the first lists the name of the item, the second depicts a small figure of a kneeling man presenting or performing it, and the third shows the number required. The last six items are written in three compartments with two items each: the first item in each compartment is directly followed by the required number, while the second item has the required number in

<sup>54</sup> On *hm-ntr Hntj-j<sup>3</sup>wt=f* see: Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, 567 [2091]; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 121, n.11, 145; Fischer, in: JARCE 4, 1965, 53, n.21; Freier, in: AoF 4, 1976, 20.

<sup>55</sup> On *hm-ntr Jmj-hnt-wr* see: Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, 504-5 [1890]; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 121, n.11, 145; Fischer, in: JARCE 4, 1965, 53, n.21; Freier, in: AoF 4, 1976, 20.

<sup>56</sup> On *hm-ntr Hntj-Tnnt* see: Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, 569 [2095]; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 121, n.11, 145; Freier, in: AoF 4, 1976, 20-21.

<sup>57</sup> On *hm-ntr Dd-špss* see: Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, 587 [2148]; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 121, n.11; Fischer, in: JARCE 4, 1965, 51, 52, n. 20; Freier, in: AoF 4, 1976, 20-21.

<sup>58</sup> Missing the usual ideogram for the sun ☉, R<sup>c</sup> is written here with the god determinative  only.

<sup>59</sup> Mistakenly copied by Borchardt (*Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* II, 34 [i]) as *m*  instead of the falcon . This mistake found its way to Freier's important article dealing with the high priests of Ptah at Memphis in the Old Kingdom (AoF 4, 1976, 21 [1.5.8]), where she reads the title *hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup>-m-<sup>3</sup>ht m šs.t-ib-R<sup>c</sup>* translating it „Priester des ‚Re im Horizont‘ in šs.t-ib-R<sup>c</sup>“. Compare: Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, 534 [1995], who incorrectly attributes our example to Shepses-Ptah.

the same place as the other eighty-eight items. The list is very similar to the usual type (A) common in the Sixth Dynasty<sup>60</sup>.

#### Register I:

[1] *mw* (n) *z3t nmst* - „water for libation of the *nmst*-jar“ (one); [2] *sdt sntr* - „lighted incense“ (one); [3] *stj-hb* - „*stj-hb*-oil“ (one); [4] *hknw* - „*hknw*-oil“ (one); [5] *sft* - „*sft*-oil“ (one); [6] *nhnm* - „*nhnm*-oil“ (one); [7] *tw3wt* - „*tw3wt*-oil“ (one); [8] *h3tt* <sup>c(š)</sup><sup>61</sup> - „best cedar oil“ (one); [9] *h3tt (t)hnw*<sup>62</sup> - „best Libyan oil“ (one); [10] <sup>crf</sup><sup>63</sup> *w3dw* - „bag of green paint“ (two); [11] <sup>crf</sup> *msdt*<sup>64</sup> - „bag of black paint“ (two); [12] *wnhw* - „cloth strips“ (two); [13] *sdt sntr* - „lighted incense“ (one); [14] *qbhw t3wj* - „libation water and two balls of natron“ (one); [15] *h3t* - „offering table“ (one)<sup>65</sup>; [16] *hnp nswt* - „royal offerings“<sup>66</sup> (two); [17] *hnp nswt jmjw wshw*<sup>67</sup> - „royal offerings which are in the (*wshw*-hall)“ (two); [18] *hms* - „sit down“ (one); [19] [<sup>jcw-r</sup> *n*]<sup>68</sup> *šns* - „breakfast of *šns*-bread“ (one); [20] [<sup>jcw-r</sup> *dwjw*] - „breakfast of a jug of drink“ (one)<sup>69</sup>.

#### Register II:

[21] *t-wt* - „*wt*-bread“ (one); [22] *t-rth*<sup>70</sup> - „*rth*-bread“ (one); [23] *nmst dsrt* - „jug of *dsrt*-beverage“ (one); [24] *nmst hnqt* - „jug of beer“ (one); [25] *šns* - „*šns*-bread“ (one); [26] <sup>c</sup> *n f3jt* - „serving bowl“ (one); [27] *šns n š(b)w*<sup>71</sup> - „*šns*-bread for main meal“ (one); [28] *dwjw n š(b)w* - „jug for main meal“ (one); [29] *swt* - „piece of meat“ (one); [30] *mw* <sup>c72</sup> - „bowl of water“ (one); [31] *bd* <sup>c73</sup> - „bowl of natron“ (one); [32] [<sup>jcw-r</sup> *n*]<sup>74</sup> *šns*<sup>75</sup> - „breakfast of *šns*-bread“ (one); [33] [<sup>jcw-r</sup> *n*] *dwjw* - „breakfast of a jug of drink“ (one); [34] *t-wt* - „*wt*-bread“

<sup>60</sup> See Barta, Opferliste, 47ff., 83ff.

<sup>61</sup>  of *cš* is missing here.

<sup>62</sup>  of *thnw* is missing here.

<sup>63</sup> *crf* is written once for items 10 and 11.

<sup>64</sup> *msdt* is a common Old Egyptian spelling of *msdmt*: T. G. H. James, The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi, ASE 30, 1953, 63.

<sup>65</sup> The correct number is one and not two as published by Borchardt (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, 92).

<sup>66</sup> *hnp nswt* is written once for both items 16 and 17.

<sup>67</sup> In Borchardt's publication (loc. cit.)   should be corrected to   <sup>o</sup>, but without any cup  or bread  inside the ideogram for *wshw*.

<sup>68</sup> A loaf determinative  should be added to *šns* in Borchardt's publication (loc. cit.). For the suggested reconstruction of both this item and the following one see items 32 and 33 in the second register of this list.

<sup>69</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>70</sup>   should be corrected to   in Borchardt (loc. cit.).

<sup>71</sup>  of *šbw* is missing here. *n šbw* is written once for both items 27 and 28.

<sup>72</sup> The dual *cwj* is the normal writing for this item (Hassan, Gîza VI.2, 313).

<sup>73</sup> The dual *cwj* is the normal writing for this item (ibid., 316).

<sup>74</sup> [<sup>jcw-r</sup> *n*] is written once for items 32 and 33.

<sup>75</sup> In Borchardt (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, 92), a loaf determinative  should be added to *šns*.

(one); [35] *t-rth* - „*rth*-bread“ (one); [36] *ht(β)* - „*htβ*-bread“ (two)<sup>76</sup>; [37] *nhrw* - „*nhrw*-bread“ (three)<sup>77</sup>; [38] *dpt(j)* - „*dptj*-bread“ (four); [39] *pzn* - „*pzn*-bread“ (four); [40] *šns* - „*šns*-bread“ (four)<sup>78</sup>.

#### Register III:

[41] *t-jmj-tʒ*<sup>79</sup> - „*jmj-tʒ*-bread“ (four); [42] *hnfw*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *hnfw*-bread“ (four); [43] *hbnnwt*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *hbnnwt*-bread“ (four); [44] *qmhw*<sup>80</sup> *qmʒ* - „*qmhw qmʒ*-bread“ (four); [45] *jdʒt* *hʒ=k* - „*jdʒt hʒ=k*-bread“ (four); [46] *pʒt* - „*pʒt*-bread“ (four); [47] *t-ʒšr*<sup>81</sup> - „*ʒšr*-bread“ (four); [48] *hdw*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of onions“ (four); [49] *hps* - „foreleg“ (one); [50] *jw*<sup>c</sup> - „thigh“ (one); [51] *zhn* - „kidney“ (one); [52] *swt* - „piece of meat“ (one); [53] *spht (nt) spr*<sup>82</sup> - „rib-cut“ (four); [54] *ʒšrt* - „roasted piece of meat“ (one); [55] *mjzt*<sup>83</sup> - „liver“ (one); [56] *nnšm* - „spleen“ (one); [57] *h*<sup>c</sup> - „piece of meat“ (one); [58] *jwf n hʒt*<sup>84</sup> - „brisket“ (one); [59] *r* - „*r*-goose“ (one); [60] *trp* - „*trp*-goose“ (one).

#### Register IV:

[61] *zt* - „*zt*-duck“ (one); [62] *s* - „*s*-goose“ (one); [63] *mnwt* - „pigeon“ (one); [64] *t-zjf* - „*zjf*-bread“ (one); [65] *šct* - „*šct*-bread“ (two); [66] *npʒt*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *npʒt*-bread“ (two); [67] *mzwt*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *mzwt*-bread“ (two); [68] *dsrt*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *dsrt*-beverage“ (two); [69] *dsrt jʒtt*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of milky<sup>85</sup> beverage“ (two); [70] *hnqt*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of beer“ (two); [71] *hnqt hnms*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *hnms*-beer“ (two); [72] *shpt*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *shpt*-beverage“ (two); [73] *phʒ*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *phʒ*-beverage“ (two); [74] *dwjw šsr* - „jug of *šsr*-beverage“ (two); [75] *dʒb*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of figs“ (two); [76] *jrp*<sup>86</sup><sup>c</sup> - „bowl of wine“ (two); [77] *jrp*<sup>c</sup> *bš* - „*bš*-wine“ (two); [78] *jrp*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of wine“ (two); [79] *jrp*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of wine“ (two); [80] *jrp*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of wine“ (two).

#### Register V:

[81] *hbnnwt*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *hbnnwt*-bread“ (two); [82] *hnfw*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *hnfw*-bread“ (two); [83] *jšd*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *jšd*-fruit“ (two); [84] *sh̄t wʒdt*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of green *sh̄t*-fruit“ (two); [85] *sh̄t h̄dt*<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of white *sh̄t*-fruit“ (two); [86] *zwt*<sup>c</sup> *wgt* (for <sup>c</sup>*gt*)<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of special preparation of wheat“ (two); [87] *jt*<sup>c</sup> *wgt* (for <sup>c</sup>*gt*)<sup>c</sup> - „bowl of special preparation of barley“

<sup>76</sup> The correct number is two not three as published by Borchardt (loc. cit.).

<sup>77</sup> Two is the normal number (Davies et al., Saqqâra Tombs I, 17, n. 7). However, the number four copied for this item by Borchardt should be corrected to three (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, 92).

<sup>78</sup> The correct number is four not two as copied by Borchardt (loc. cit.).

<sup>79</sup> *tʒ* has the three grains <sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup> determinative and not the three strokes <sup>|</sup><sup>|</sup><sup>|</sup> as in Borchardt (loc. cit.).

<sup>80</sup> In writing *qmhw* here, the scribe mistakenly wrote  instead of .

<sup>81</sup> *t* was wrongly determined with  instead of .

<sup>82</sup> There is a superfluous  written before  which determine *spht* here.

<sup>83</sup>  of Borchardt (loc. cit.) should be corrected to .

<sup>84</sup> For translating *jwf n hʒt* as “fillet” see: Montet, Scènes, 170ff.; Kanawati/ Abder-Raziq, Teti Cemetery V, ACA: Reports 13, 1999, 48, n.184.

<sup>85</sup> For this translation see: Davies et al., Saqqâra Tombs I, 18 [No. 66].

<sup>86</sup> Apart from item 77 specifying the kind of wine desired as *jrp* *bš*, the wine of items 76, 78, 79 and 80 are simply written as *jrp* without any specification. For the different kinds of wine known from some Fifth and Sixth Dynasty offering lists see: Hassan, Giza VI.2, 399-410; Barta, Opferliste, 75 [Nos. 72-6].

(two); [88] *b3b3wt* <sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *b3b3wt*-fruit“ (two); [89] *nbs* <sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *nbs*-fruit“ (two); [90] *t-nbs* <sup>c</sup> - „bowl of *nbs*-bread“ (two); [91] *w<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>* - „bowl of carob beans“ (two); [92] *jht nb(t) bnrt* - „every sweet thing“ (one); [93] *rnpwt*<sup>87</sup> *nbt* - „all the year-offerings“ (one); [94] *hnkt* - „*hnkt*-offerings“ (one).

To the left of the fifth register of the offering list, are men performing the offering ceremony, of whom only three are now visible after chiselling out the figure of the second man from the right. Facing right and wearing a close-fitting wig with overlapping rows of locks and a short kilt, the first man is represented kneeling in front of an offering stone, upon which he lays his hands, palms downwards. Before him are faint traces of the label identifying him: [*hrp*] *zh Šps[s]-[z]3t* - „the director of the dining-hall, Shepses-sath“<sup>88</sup>. Behind him is the space left by the chiselled out figure whose action is described as *rdjt [mw]* - „dispensing water“. In similar scenes, a standing man who pours water from a jar over the hands of his kneeling companion usually follows such a kneeling figure<sup>89</sup>. The third man, facing right, stands holding an unrolled scroll and wearing a striated shoulder-length wig covering the ears, a beard and a projecting knee-length kilt. His action is described as: *šdt zš s3ht* - „reciting the book and making glorification“, while the label identifying him is written in front of his figure as: *hrj-ḥbt Pth-šps* - „the lector priest Ptah-shepses“. Similarly dressed as the preceding figure, the fourth man, who looks backward, is described as: *hrj-ḥbt* - „lector priest“. He drags a broom along the ground behind him with his left hand and holds a papyrus roll in his right. The ritual performed is described: *jnt rd* - „bringing the broom“<sup>90</sup>.

The central section of the wall is reserved for a table scene. Facing left, the tomb owner sits on a chair with a low, cushioned back and four lion's legs resting on truncated cone supports. He wears a shoulder-length wig covering the ears, a beard, a broad collar, bracelets and a short kilt, and holds a folded cloth in his left hand, while extending the right towards an offering table laden with sixteen stylized half-loaves. Beneath the table are three *hz*-vases in a stand and a spouted ewer in a basin, over which is inscribed *h3 3pd h3 t h3 p3t h3 hnqt h3 šs h3 mnht* - „one thousand of fowl, one thousand of bread, one thousand of cakes, one thousand of beer, one thousand of alabaster and one thousand of clothes“. The opposite side of the table is divided into four registers, the upper of which extends above the table, all reserved for piled offerings, cuts of meat, fowl, bread, fruits, vegetables, louts and jars on stands filled with various drinks. In front of the owner is written *dbht htp hnkt* - „requirements of *htp*-offerings and *hnkt*-offerings“, while above his head and to the right of the offering list are two vertical columns of hieroglyphs oriented towards the left, and

<sup>87</sup> *rnpwt* has the three grains <sup>ooo</sup> determinative and not the three strokes <sup>lll</sup> as copied by Borchardt (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, 92).

<sup>88</sup> He seems to be identical with the fifth man in the uppermost of the two registers representing offering bearers on this wall.

<sup>89</sup> For the offering ceremonies see: Junker, *Giza* 3, 103-11; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 369-71; J. A. Wilson, in: *JNES* 3, 1944, 216-17; Hassan, *Giza* 6.2, 84-99; Vandier, *Manuel* IV, 106-13; Badawy, in: *ZÄS* 108, 1981, 85-93; Lapp, *Opferformel*, 153-192, §262-323. For some examples see: Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 22a; Davies et al., *Saqqâra Tombs* I, pl. 12; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pls. 21, 23; James, *Khentika*, pl. 14; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. 12; V, pls. 9, 11; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish* I, 1980, fig. 17; II, 1981, figs. 24, 25; Kanawati/ Abder-Raziq, *Unis Cemetery* II, pl. 45.

<sup>90</sup> For this translation see: H. Altenmüller, in: *JEA* 57, 1971, 146-53.

identify the owner as: (1) *jmj-ht hm(w)-ntr Dd-swt-Ttj*<sup>91</sup> *wr hrp(w) hmwt n(j) hb r<sup>c</sup> S3bw* (2) *[jm3h]w hr nswt jmj-jb n nb=f wr hrp(w) [hmwt] m prwj S3bw*

„(1) the under-supervisor of the priests of (the pyramid) ‘Steadfast-are-the Places-of-Teti’, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen who belongs to the festival of the sun, Sabu, (2) the honoured one before the king, the favourite one of his lord, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses, Sabu“.

The lower section of the wall is divided into two registers with a row of offering bearers in each<sup>92</sup>. Proceeding towards the right, the upper row depicts six men, the first three of whom carry forelegs of animals, while the last three carry geese and are in the act of wringing their necks. All the offering bearers wear short curled wigs and short kilts<sup>93</sup>, except for the first man who differs in wearing a striated shoulder-length wig covering the ears, and a beard. These individuals are: 1) *z3=f mrj=f hrj-hbt zš md3t-ntr Pth-špss* - „his beloved son, the lector priest, the scribe of god’s book, Ptah-Shepses“<sup>94</sup>, 2) *z3 z3=f jmj-ht hmwt(jw) pr-<sup>c</sup>3 Pth-špss* - „the son of his son (i.e., his grandson), the under-supervisor of crafts(men) of the Great House, Ptah-Shepses“, 3) *z3=f jmj-ht hmwt(jw) pr-<sup>c</sup>3 S3bw* - „his son, the under-supervisor of crafts(men) of the Great House, Sabu“, 4) *mhk=f mrj=f jmj-ht qstj(w) pr-<sup>c</sup>3<sup>95</sup> Jr-n-3htj* - „his confident, his beloved, the under-supervisor of the sculptors of the Great House, Ir-en-akhti“, 5) *hm-k3 hrp-zh Špss-z3t* - „the ka-servant, the director of the dining-hall, Shepses-sath“, 6) *z3 z3=f Hnw* - „the son of his son (i.e., his grandson), Khenu“<sup>96</sup>. In front of these offering bearers is written *shpt stp(t)* - „bringing the choice food“, while the caption above them is written horizontally in one line oriented towards the right as follows: *shpt ndt-hr rnpt nb(t) jnnt m hwwt=f njwwt=f nt T3-mhw Šm<sup>c</sup>w<sup>97</sup> jn hmw-k3<sup>98</sup> n(w) pr-dt* - „bringing the gifts and all year-offerings which are brought from his estates and his towns of the Delta and Upper Egypt by the ka-servants of the funerary estate“.

Of the originally depicted eight offering bearers in the lower register, only six are well preserved after the figures and inscriptions of the first and third men have mostly been

<sup>91</sup> Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, 292 [1066].

<sup>92</sup> Lacking some hieroglyphic signs, all the labels identifying the offering bearers in these two registers need corrections in Mariette's published record (Mastabas, 380).

<sup>93</sup> In Mariette's record, no kilts can be recognized for any of the offering bearers in this register (loc. cit.).

<sup>94</sup> He seems to be identical with the *hrj-hbt Pth-špss* who is depicted among other funerary priests performing the offering ceremony on this wall. The same son appears again performing the censuring rite before one of his father's statues on the opposite right side-piece, where he is labelled *z3=f hrj-hbt Pth-špss*.

<sup>95</sup> Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, 298 [1090]. For reading  as *qstj* see: R. Anthes, in: MDAIK 10, 1941, 103 ff.; J. A. Wilson, in: JNES 6, 1947, 235-36; R. Drenkhahn, Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im Alten Ägypten, ÄA 31, 1976, 60-62. For the other probable reading *gnwtj* see: Gardiner, AEO I, 67\*; Montet, Scènes, 291-94; Junker, Künstler, 8-9, 18-19; W. Barta, Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers, MÄS 22, 1970, 64.

<sup>96</sup> Despite the two intrusive attendants between the last son and grandson here, the alternating arrangement of a son followed by a grandson may suggest that each of Sabu's sons is followed by his own son.

<sup>97</sup> Copied as  instead of  in Borchardt's publication (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, 94).

<sup>98</sup> Copied by Borchardt as  instead of  (loc. cit.).

chiselled out. All the preserved figures wear short curled wigs and short kilts. These men are: 1)  $z^3=f \dots \dot{h}m-ntr \dots P[t] \dots$  - „his son, ... the priest of ..., Pt... ..“; 2)  $z\dot{s} pr-md\dot{3}t ntr pr-c^3 Mn-jhjj$  - „the scribe (painter)<sup>99</sup> of the god’s archives of the Great House, Men-ihy“<sup>100</sup>, 3) the name and title have been totally chiselled out, 4)  $jmj-r \dots pr-c^3 \dots$  - „the overseer of ... of the Great House, ...“; 5)  $z\dot{s} pr-md\dot{3}t ntr pr-c^3 Jntj$  - „the scribe (painter) of the god’s archives of the Great House, Inti“; 6)  $jmj-ht pr-c^3 z^3=f Hm-wnwj$  - „the under-supervisor of the Great House, his son, Hem-yunui“; 7)  $\dot{h}m-ntr Pth H^3-nj$  - „the priest of Ptah, Hani“; 8)  $jmj-r qstj(w) pr-c^3 Jrj$  - „the overseer of the sculptors of the Great House, Iri“. Facing right, these offering bearers carry the traditional offerings including fruits, vegetables, pieces of meat, loaves of bread, jars of drink, live birds and a bowl with lotus growing or placed in it, while some of them are accompanied by small animals. The caption above them is written in one horizontal line oriented towards the right, it reads:  $shpt jht jn shdw \dot{h}m(w)-k^3 jmjw-ht \dot{h}m(w)-k^3 nw jm^3hw wr hrp(w) \dot{h}mwt S^3bw$  - „bringing offerings by the inspectors of the ka-servants and the under-supervisors of the ka-servants of the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, Sabu“.

### III. The right side-piece [Figs. 5-6; Pls. 7b-10]

Scenes on this wall were divided into seven registers, with the upper part of the top register now missing. Oriented towards the right, the top register contains the remains of a palanquin scene<sup>101</sup>, in which the tomb owner is shown carried in a palanquin provided with a chair with a high back and sides. The presence of four upright post supports<sup>102</sup> suggests that the palanquin had a canopy, which is now missing. Although the head is missing, the tomb owner's figure is shown wearing a broad collar and a short, projecting kilt, his name  $S^3bw$  - „Sabu“ is written vertically before him. The palanquin is carried on posts placed on the shoulders of ten footmen divided into two groups, front and back; they wear short wigs covering the ears and loin-cloths. They are accompanied by three supervisors, one leading the front group, the other stands in the space between the two groups, while the third follows the back group. They wear short wigs covering the ears and short, projecting kilts. The first man, who is looking backward, has his arms hanging by his side. The second man, who has his arms hanging by his side too, is accompanied by three vertical columns of hieroglyphs oriented towards the right, which read: (1)  $\dot{h}m-k^3 jmj-r s\dot{s}r \dot{h}m nb$ <sup>103</sup> (2)  $mr s(j) mh.t(j)$  (3)  $r wnn=s \dot{s}wj.t(j)$  - „(1) the ka-servant, the overseer of linen, the servant of the lord: (2) It (i.e., the palanquin) is more well-liked when it is full (3) than when it is empty“<sup>104</sup>. The third man steadies the palanquin post with his right hand, while his left arm hangs by his side. The label identifying him is written vertically before his figure as follows:  $\dot{h}m-k^3 smsw whrt Jw=f-n=j$  - „the ka-servant, the elder of the dockyard, Iuefni“. With the upper parts now

<sup>99</sup> For translating  $z\dot{s}$  as "painter" in this title see: Junker, *Künstler*, 22, 54-56; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 69-70.

<sup>100</sup> This  $z\dot{s} pr-md\dot{3}t ntr pr-c^3 Mn-jhjj$  is depicted twice on the walls of the northern chapel (E2) belonging to Ptah-Shepses II, which suggests that both chapels were decorated within a relatively short period (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pls. 30, 31 [7]).

<sup>101</sup> For the palanquin scenes see: Klebs, *Reliefs I*, 28-29; Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 328-51; Staehelin, *Tracht*, 253-57.

<sup>102</sup> According to Mariette's publication there was a fifth upright post support, the lower part of which was hidden by Sabu's sitting figure, but it is now missing (*Mastabas*, 381).

<sup>103</sup>  $\dot{h}m nb$  could also be taken here as a personal name, although not attested in Ranke (PN I).

<sup>104</sup> For a similar inscription in the same context see: Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 31. For such songs associated with the Old Kingdom palanquin scenes see: H. Altenmüller, in: *BSEG* 9-10, 1984-85, 15-30.

missing, five more attendants are represented on two sub-registers in front of and behind the palanquin. Of the originally depicted three figures on the front sub-register only two are preserved after chiselling out the figure of the last one. The remaining figures wear short, projecting kilts, the first of whom has his right arm hanging by his side, while the position of the remaining part of his left arm suggests that he held an object in it. The back group consists of two men, the first of whom wears a short, projecting kilt. The remaining part of the vertical inscription identifying him reads: ... *dsw*<sup>105</sup> - „... djesu“. The second man who is identified as *T-jj-nj (?)*<sup>106</sup> - „Ta-iy-ni“ wears a short, tight kilt. In his right hand, he leads three monkeys on leashes represented on superposed sub-registers, while the presence of a short part of a third leash in the same hand suggests that he was leading more pet animals once represented on a higher sub-register<sup>107</sup>. In his left hand, he holds a container and what looks like a short staff.

The second register depicts a row of eight male offering bearers proceeding towards the right. Their action is described in a short vertical line written before the first man as follows: *sdʿt r r-stʿw* - „proceeding to the necropolis“. All the bearers wear short, curly wigs that cover the ears and short, tight kilts. With the exception of the sixth man, who supports a hexagonal shaped box/basket over which are some offerings, each of the men supports with his left hand a basket on the head, filled with food items including conical loaves of bread, bunches of onion, ribs and some other unidentifiable things. More offerings are carried in their right hands, with additional items hanging from the crooks of the right arms of the sixth and eighth men. These offerings include small gazelles, live birds, flowers, a jar and a container having an unidentifiable thing<sup>108</sup>. In front of the second, third and fifth men are vertical inscriptions identifying them; they are: *ḥm-kʿ Sʿbj*<sup>109</sup> *mrr nb=f* - „the ka-servant, Sabi, whom his lord loves“, *ḥm-kʿ Šdj-j-Pth* - „the ka-servant, Shedy-Ptah“ and *ḥm-kʿ Mḥw* - „the ka-servant, Mehu“, respectively.

The transport action of two statues of the tomb owner is the theme of the third register<sup>110</sup>. Oriented towards the left, the first statue to the left is slightly over life-size, and depicts a figure seated on a block-like seat with a low, cushioned back. Holding a staff in the right hand and a sceptre in the left, the figure wears a striated shoulder-length wig covering the

<sup>105</sup> The first sign of the remaining part of the inscription seems to be  not  as suggested by Borchartd (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, 96).

<sup>106</sup> The name is unattested in Ranke, PN I, but its second composing element  is documented as an Old Kingdom private name (PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 112 [D. 42], 116 [D. 205]).

<sup>107</sup> Dogs and monkeys are usually associated with Old Kingdom palanquin scenes, for some examples see: LD II, 50a, 78b; F. W. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-Ni-Kai I*, 1905, pl. 22; Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. 31; Duell, *Mereruka II*, pl. 158; Épron/ Wild, *Tombeau de Ti I*, pl. 16; Junker, *Gîza XI*, fig. 100; Hassan, *Gîza V*, fig. 122; Moussa/ Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum and Chnumhotep*, pl. 60; Kanawati, *El-Hawawish I*, fig. 13; II, fig. 21; Kanawati/ Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery V*, pl. 55; VI, ACE: Reports 14, 2000, pl. 55. See also: J. Vandier d'Abbadie, in: *RdE* 16, 1964, 158.

<sup>108</sup> For such a container see: Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 138 [c], fig. 43 [16].

<sup>109</sup> The signs composing the name are irregularly arranged here as  instead of the usual arrangement . For this name see: Ranke, PN I, 299 [16].

<sup>110</sup> For the scenes of statue transport including our scene see: M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, *ÄA* 39, 1984, 60-70, 142-73.

ears, a beard, a broad collar, a bracelet around the left rest and a short kilt. Provided with a low base, the statue is set on a sledge over which the tomb owner's son stands holding a censer. Facing right, the son wears a shoulder-length wig with horizontal rows of locks that covers the ears, a beard and a short, projecting kilt. The label identifying him is written vertically before his figure as follows:  $z^3=f$  *hrj-ḥbt Pth-šps* - „his son, the lector priest, Ptah-Shepses“. Pulling on the rope attached to the sledge are three haulers, facing left. They wear short curled wigs and short kilts. The second hauler is identified as: *jmj-r sšr Jrj* - „the overseer of linen, Iri“, while the third man is labelled: *jmj-r sšr Wd<sup>3</sup>* - „the overseer of linen, Wedja“. The second statue, which is represented at the extreme right end of the register, faces left too. It depicts a life-size striding figure, which holds a staff in the right hand and a sceptre in the left<sup>111</sup>. The figure wears striated shoulder-length wig covering the ears, a beard, a broad collar, bracelets and a short, projecting kilt. The statue is provided with a low base, and is set on a sledge. Facing the statue, with his left foot placed on the sledge, is a man holding a censer. He has a close-cropped hair, and wears a short, projecting kilt. In front of him is written: *ḥtmj-nt<sup>r</sup>*<sup>112</sup> *zš md<sup>3</sup>(w)t 3ḥ-mrwt-Pth* -, „the treasurer of the god, the document scribe, Akh-merut-Ptah“. Facing left are three haulers pulling the rope attached to the sledge. Having short curled wigs, the first man wears a short, projecting kilt, while the other two wear short kilts. The first man is identified as:  $z^3=f$  *jmj-ḥt ḥntj(w)-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> Špsj-pw-Pth km* - „his son, the under-supervisor of guards of the Great House<sup>113</sup>, Shepsi-pu-Ptah Kem“, while the second man is labelled:  $z^3=f$  *Špsj-pw-Pth* -, „his son, Shepsi-pu-Ptah“. The caption above the whole scene is written in one horizontal line oriented towards the left, it reads: *šms twtw nw jm<sup>3</sup>ḥw ḥr Pth wr ḥrp(w) ḥmwt S<sup>3</sup>bw hnw nfr jrj nfr jrj nfr r jz n jm<sup>3</sup>ḥw ḥr Zkr wr ḥrp(w) ḥmwt S<sup>3</sup>bw* - „escorting the statues of the honoured one before Ptah, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, Sabu. Rejoice well, make (it) well, make (it) well to the tomb of the honoured one before Sokar, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, Sabu“.

The fourth register is occupied by a representation of funerary estates. A procession of eight women is shown advancing towards the left. They all wear long wigs, long tight fitting garments with shoulder straps and broad collars, while only the fourth and eighth women have bracelets around their right wrists. A *ḥwt*-sign placed on a standard and enclosing Teti's name is carried on the head of each of the first four women, while the rest of the inscriptions identifying the represented estates are written vertically before their figures. The names of the personified estates are written vertically before the other four women, and each one of them supports with her right hand a basket on the head, filled with food items including loaves of bread, lettuces and ribs. All the women are loaded with offerings including live birds, a young calf, bunches of lotus flowers, papyrus and onions, a lettuce, a jar on a rope, and some other unidentifiable food item on a tray. The offerings are held in their hands, while four of the women have some more offerings hanging from the crooks of their arms. With the exception of the first woman, all the others are accompanied by small

<sup>111</sup> In actual statuary, such an attitude is only attested for wooden statues (ibid., 57).

<sup>112</sup> Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, 767 [2791].

<sup>113</sup> For the translation of *ḥntj-š* as „guard“ and the responsibilities of this office see: Kanawati, Conspiracies, 14-24. As for the other suggested translations „tenant landholder“, „employee“ and „attendant“ see: Fischer, Dendera, 170-71; P. Posener-Krieger, Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï, les papyrus d'Abousir 2, 1976, 577ff.; A. M. Roth, A Cemetery of Palace Attendants, 1995, 42-43, respectively. Compare: Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, 295 [1077].

animals on leashes. As arranged from left to right, these animals are<sup>114</sup>: (1) Dorcas Gazelle, (2) two hornless oxen, (3) Scimitar-horned Oryx and Nubian Ibex, (4) Nubian Ibex, (5) hornless ox (6) Scimitar-horned Oryx and an uncertain animal, (7) Dorcas Gazelle. The accompanying inscriptions identify the represented estates and the provinces in which they are located as follows<sup>115</sup>:

- (1) *hwt Ttj: hz jrt*<sup>116</sup> *Pth n Ttj* - „the estate of Teti (named): Favourable is what Ptah does for Teti“. Situated in the Lower Egyptian Nome 3.
- (2) *hwt Ttj: s<sup>c</sup>nh Pth Ttj* - „the estate of Teti (named): Ptah causes Teti to live“. Situated in the Lower Egyptian Nome 12.
- (3) *hwt Ttj: nfr jrt Pth (n) Ttj* - „the estate of Teti (named): Good is what Ptah does for Teti“. Situated in the Lower Egyptian Nome 2.
- (4) *hwt Ttj: mn Ttj s<sup>c</sup>nh Pth* - „the estate of Teti (named): Enduring is Teti whom Ptah causes to live“. Situated in the Lower Egyptian Nome 13.
- (5) *šps H<sup>c</sup>=f-R<sup>c</sup>* - „Khafre is noble“. Situated in the Lower Egyptian Nome 14 (?)<sup>117</sup>.
- (6) *mr Zkr <sup>c</sup>nh Jzzj* - „Sokar desires that Isesi lives“. Situated in the Lower Egyptian Nome 14 (?).
- (7) *srwd Pth Wnjs* - „Ptah maintains Unis“. Situated in the Lower Egyptian Nome 15<sup>118</sup>.
- (8) *s<sup>c</sup>nh Pth Jzzj* - „Ptah causes Isesi to live“. Situated in the Lower Egyptian Nome 15.

The fifth register is reserved for scenes of butchery cycles<sup>119</sup> showing five men working on three bound animals under the supervision of a sixth man standing at the extreme left side. Having short curled wigs covering the ears, the five men wear short, wrap-around kilts, while their supervisor wears a short, projecting kilt. The dialogue between them is recorded above. Oriented towards the right, the first scene depicts a group of two men around the bound animal. The man to the right, who stands at the rear of the animal, holds a knife in his right hand, while the action of the other hand is probably that of one who is about to deliver the animal's heart to his assistant who is kneeling on the animal's head in front of him, but no heart can be recognized in the hand. The label accompanying the first man is: *ndr nt(j) hn<sup>c</sup>(=j)* - „hold, comrade“, while the latter responds: *zft pr m h<sup>3</sup>tj* - „slaughter and finish with the heart“. Next are two men around the second animal, the man to the right, whose action is not clear, is accompanied by the following label: *dj iwfn h<sup>3</sup>t* - „put the fillet“, while the man to the left is sharpening his knife on the whetstone and is accompanied by the label: *pdt ds* - „sharpening the knife“. A man is working on the third animal whose foreleg has already been severed and placed beside it. The butcher leans forward holding a knife in his right hand, while the open palm of his left hand presses against the animal to cut off more pieces. The man is identified as: *hrp zh Jrj* - „the director of the dining-hall, Iri“, while the label accompanying the scene reads: *zft* - „slaughtering“. The supervisor who stands near the head

<sup>114</sup> The identification of the various species of animals represented here depends on P. F. Houlihan's study (The Animal World of the Pharaohs, 1996, passim).

<sup>115</sup> For a study of the funerary estates in the Old Kingdom including those depicted here see: Jacquet-Gordon, Domaines, 416-18. For the reading of provinces' names see: Helck, Gaue, passim.

<sup>116</sup> In Borchardt (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, 98: IV [1])  should be corrected to .

<sup>117</sup> The name of the province is written once for both the fifth and sixth estates.

<sup>118</sup> The name of the province is written once for both the seventh and eighth estates.

<sup>119</sup> For butchery scenes see: Montet, in: BIFAO 7, 1910, 41-65; idem, Scènes, 150ff.; Vandier, Manuel V, 128ff.

of the third animal extends his left hand in front, in the invocation gesture, while his right arm hangs by his side. The label identifying him reads: *zwnw pr-ꜥ3 Jrj -*, „the physician of the Great House, Iri“.

A convoy of two travelling boats occupies the sixth register<sup>120</sup>. Facing left, both boats have flat-bottomed wooden hulls, the bulwarks of which project slightly beyond their sterns, and shelters formed of a roof supported by posts. Being rowed<sup>121</sup>, the tall bipod mast of the leading boat, provided with five ropes hanging down near its curved top and strengthened with crossbars, is supported on the backs of two bending men shown facing right on the roof of the shelter. A third man, facing right and standing in front of the shelter, assists them in erecting the mast by pulling a rope attached to its curved top<sup>122</sup>. Depicted on a slightly larger scale than all his fellows, he wears a short curled wig covering the ears and a short, projecting kilt. Similarly dressed are a lookout in the prow, standing in an attitude of respect with each hand under the opposite armpit<sup>123</sup>, and two helmsmen in the stern. The other members of the crew are five rowers wearing short curled wigs covering the ears and what seem to be loin-cloths. Showing neither a sail, oars nor poles, the second boat lacks the necessary means of propulsion. Of the boat's crew, three men, wearing short curled wigs covering the ears and loin-cloths, stand in the prow in an attitude of respect<sup>124</sup>, with the right hand of each grasping the opposite shoulder, while the left arms hang by their sides. The other two are helmsmen standing in the stern wearing short curled wigs covering the ears and short, projecting kilts. On the roof of its shelter, stands a monkey<sup>125</sup>, whereas the owner is depicted on a relatively small scale<sup>126</sup> sitting beneath on a block-like seat with a low, cushioned back. Facing the prow, he wears a striated shoulder-length wig covering the ears, a broad collar and a short, projecting kilt. He holds a baton in his right hand and a whisk of three fox-skins in his left. Facing left, the label identifying him is written horizontally above his head as follows: *wr hrp(w) hmwt Šbw -*, „the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, Sabu“. Almost totally chiselled out, faint traces of a standing figure show a man offering a

<sup>120</sup> For the Old Kingdom boats and navigation scenes see: B. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs: 4000 years of Egyptian shipbuilding*, 1970, 35-69; Vandier, *Manuel V*, 796ff.; Montet, *Scènes*, 346ff.

<sup>121</sup> Navigating in an oared boat, according to the Egyptian understanding, means going downstream, from south to north (H. Altenmüller, in: *ArOr* 70, 2002, 278). For explaining some of the early Old Kingdom navigation scenes in private tombs as referring to the heavenly journeys of the owner; i.e., the night voyage from west to east in a convoy of two boats lead by the sailing boat named *hnt*, and the day journey from east to west in a similar convoy lead by the rowing boat named *šbt*, see: *ibid.*, 274-81.

<sup>122</sup> On this unique Old Kingdom example showing the process of erecting a boat's mast see: Vandier, *Manuel V*, 812-13.

<sup>123</sup> For this attitude see: B. Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, SAGA 10, 1994, 5-9 (no. 3), fig. 1 (3: v).

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-9 (no. 4), fig. 1 (4: r).

<sup>125</sup> For representing monkeys on boats see: Vandier d'Abbadie, in: *RdE* 16, 1964, 171-77, figs. 36-43. For more examples see: A. M. Moussa/ H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-Hay*, AV 5, 1971, pl. 19 (an unusual detail of a baboon standing on a boat being launched); Kanawati, *El-Hawawish II*, fig. 19; Kanawati/ Abder-Raziq, *Teti Cemetery V*, pl. 56.

<sup>126</sup> For representing tomb owners on a relatively small scale in different Old Kingdom wall scenes including those of navigation see: V. Vasiljević, in: *SAK* 25, 1998, 341ff.

bird to Sabu. Of the now illegible label identifying him, Borchardt<sup>127</sup> could read the following: *z3=f smsw ... - „his eldest son, ...“*.

Viewing the animals and receiving the accounts is the theme of the seventh register. To the left sits Sabu, facing right, on a chair with a low, cushioned back and lion legs resting on truncated cone supports. He wears a shoulder-length wig with horizontal rows of locks covering the ears, a beard, a broad collar, a bracelet on his left wrist and a short, projecting kilt and holds in his left hand a long staff and in his right a folded cloth. The inscription identifying him is horizontally written in three short lines of hieroglyphs running from right to left as follows: (1) *wr hrp(w) hmwt n r<sup>c</sup> hb* (2) *jm<sup>3</sup>hw hr Pth Zkr* (3) *S3bw* - „(1) the greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the festival of the sun, (2) the honoured one before Ptah and Sokar, (3) Sabu“. In front of Sabu are traces of a standing figure, which has been deliberately erased. Of the four hieroglyphic lines originally inscribed above the figure's head<sup>128</sup>, the following traces are still visible: (1) *z3=f [m]rj[=f]* (2) ... [=f] (3) ... *hb* (or *nb*) (4) *Pth ...* - „(1) his beloved son, (2) his ..., (3) ... feast (or all), (4) Ptah-[...]“. Two herdsman bringing animals for inspection are proceeding towards the sitting owner. The first herdsman, labelled *hq<sup>3</sup> hwt Jrj* -, „the estate manager, Iri“, wears a short curled wig covering the ears and a short, projecting kilt. He carries a small calf and follows four hornless oxen and a calf. The other herdsman, carrying in his right hand a stick resting over his shoulder from which hangs a looped cushion/ mat<sup>129</sup>, follows four long-horned oxen and a calf, over which the number 435 is written. Having close-cropped hair and wearing a short kilt, he is labelled *mnjw S3bw* - „the herdsman, Sabu“. Above the scene is a short horizontal line of inscription oriented towards the left as follows: *m<sup>33</sup> jw<sup>3</sup> jnnw m hwwt njwwt=f n pr-[dt]*<sup>130</sup> - „viewing the oxen which are brought from his estates and towns of the funerary estate“. Facing the owner in a higher sub-register in front of his face is a kneeling scribe in the process of recording, with a reed-pen in his right hand and an unrolled papyrus in his left. Provided with another reed-pen tucked behind his ear, he has close-cropped hair and wears a short kilt. On the ground in front of him are items of writing equipment. The text describing his action is written before him in three short horizontal lines oriented towards the left as follows: (1) *zš m*<sup>131</sup> *jw<sup>3</sup>* (2) *jn zš n pr-dt*<sup>132</sup> (3) *S3bw* - „(1) recording the oxen (2) by the scribe of the funerary estate, Sabu“<sup>133</sup>.

#### IV. General commentary

<sup>127</sup> Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, 100 [VI, b:4].

<sup>128</sup> It is quite clear that there were four lines of inscriptions above the head of this chiselled out figure, the third line of which ends with what seems to be a *hb* or *nb* sign, while the fourth line begins with the word *Pth*. In his publication, Borchardt (ibid., 100 [VII, 2]) suggests three lines of inscriptions, the third line of which begins with the word *Pth* and ends with a questionable *hb* sign. Still unexplainable, however, is the seemingly unscribed area in the middle of the second line.

<sup>129</sup> According to Borchardt, such an object is a mat rolled up and then bent over (ZÄS 44, 1907-1908, 77-79), but, according to Blackman, it is a cushion made of mat (Meir IV, 28-29).

<sup>130</sup> The now missing *dt* is reconstructed after Borchardt (Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, 100 [VII, 3]).

<sup>131</sup> For *zš m* see: Wb III, 476 [2]; Moussa/ Altenmüller, Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep, 128.

<sup>132</sup> For a study of the *pr-dt* see: J. J. Perepelkin, Privateigentum in der Vorstellung der Ägypter des Alten Reichs, trans. R. Müller-Wollermann, 1986, 158ff.

<sup>133</sup> For the other suggested translation „*Ecrire au sujet des bœufs par le scribe du domaine*“ see: Montet, Scènes, 128.

According to Sabu's biography, he was *wr hrp(w) hmwt* under both Unis and Teti, and in this capacity he had a wide range of responsibilities in the fields of priestly service, supervising the craft work and the personal service of the king<sup>134</sup>:

- (1) In the field of priestly service, Sabu was a priest of the major Memphite gods, Ptah and Sokar. He was also a priest of some other local gods, i.e., *Hrj-B3q=f*, *Hntj-mdft*, *Hntj-j3wt=f*, *Jmj-hnt-wr*, *Hntj-Tnnt* and *Dd-špss*. Being a priest of both goddesses Ma<sup>c</sup>t and Hathor, Sabu was the director of the *sm*-attendants\*<sup>135</sup>. He had some other priestly duties in royal institutions, thus he was a priest of the sun temples of Userkaf, Neferirkare and Niuserre, and was an under-supervisor of the pyramids of Unis\* and Teti.
- (2) In the field of supervising the craft work, Sabu held the highest title of *wr hrp(w) hmwt* - „the greatest of the directors of craftsmen“. He was also *jmj-r k3t nbt nt nswt* - „overseer of all works of the king“, *hrj s3t3 n k3t nbt mrrt hm=f jr.t(j)=s* - „privy to the secret of all works which His Majesty desired to be done“, *jmj-r w3bt*\*<sup>136</sup> - „overseer of the *w3bt*-mortuary workshop“, *hrp hmwt(jw?) nb(t)*\*<sup>137</sup> - „director of all crafts(men)“, and *sbnr hmt(jw?) nb* - „who brings into favour all crafts(men)“.
- (3) In the field of personal service of the king, Sabu held the following titles and epithets: *hrp mhkw nswt*\*<sup>138</sup> - „director of the outfitters of the king“, *mhnk nswt* - „intimate of the king“, *hrj-s3t3 n nswt m s(w)t=f nb(wt)* - „secretary of the king in all his cult-places“, *hrj-s3t3 n ntr=f*\*<sup>139</sup> - „privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e., the king)“, *db3t(j)* - „adorner“, *snfrw jb n nb=f r<sup>c</sup> nb* - „he who pleases the heart of his lord every day“. Moreover, Sabu states in his biography that the protection of the king was among his responsibilities. So referring to king Unis he says<sup>140</sup>: „the director of craftsmen of Unis, more esteemed before the king than any servant, descending into every bark, escorting (the king), striding upon the ways of the temple of the South at the feasts, Sabu“. Confirming such responsibility during the reign of Teti<sup>141</sup>, Sabu states on his false door's right outer jamb: „Today, under the son of Re: Teti, living forever, the greatest of the directors of craftsmen, more esteemed by the king than any other servant, descending into every bark, escorting (the king), striding upon the ways of the temple of the South at all the feasts of the coronation ... When His Majesty favoured me, His Majesty granted me access to the Residence that I might place the soldiers for him in every place, where I found the way“. The association of escorting the king with other duties entrusted to Sabu during the feasts celebrated in the temple of the south, including those of coronation, seems significant. And one might conclude that Sabu, as a high priest of Ptah, was

<sup>134</sup> The titles are mainly classified after Freier's study devoted to the Old Kingdom high priests of Ptah in Memphis (AoF 4, 1976, 13ff.). It should be noted, however, that the titles followed here by an asterisk are only attested from the entrance inscriptions published by Mariette, Mastabas, 375.

<sup>135</sup> Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, 744 [2712].

<sup>136</sup> Ibid. I, 87 [370].

<sup>137</sup> Ibid. II, 730 [2656].

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 719-20 [2620].

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 632-33 [2316].

<sup>140</sup> Inscription on the right jamb of the entrance doorway: Mariette, Mastabas, 375 [D]; Urk. I, 81 [5-10]. Refer also to n. 25 above.

<sup>141</sup> Referring probably to Unis and Teti, Sabu repeats the same claim of being responsible for the king's protection, for he states on the false door's left outer jamb that he was: *jm3hw hr jtj nb stp.n=f z3 r=f* - „the honoured one before every sovereign for whom he provided protection“.

responsible for the king's protection during certain feasts celebrated in the temple of the South, especially the feasts of coronation<sup>142</sup>. More security duties within the Residence are also suggested for Sabu, who refers in the second passage to some responsibility dealing with organizing the soldiers in the places. Nevertheless, such a responsibility within the Residence might be a seasonal one and might be restricted to the festivals of the sun alluded to in Sabu's titles *wr hrp(w) hmwt m prwj n(j) hb r<sup>c</sup>* - „greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses who belongs to the festival of the sun“, *wr hrp(w) hmwt n(j) hb r<sup>c</sup>* - „greatest of the directors of craftsmen who belongs to the festival of the sun“ and *wr hrp(w) hmwt n r<sup>c</sup> hb* - „greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the festival of the sun“, and suggested by holding the priesthood of the sun temples of Userkaf, Neferirkare and Niuserre<sup>143</sup>. Supporting such a probable specific range of Sabu's authority concerned with the Residence security is the introduction of a new post connected to the security of the royal palaces around the middle of Teti's reign. Represented by the title *jmj-r stp-z<sup>3</sup> pr nswt nb*<sup>144</sup> - „overseer of the protection of every house of the king“, this new post was held by the viziers Mereruka<sup>145</sup>, Khentika<sup>146</sup> and Inumin<sup>147</sup>, respectively.

- (4) An isolated scribal title attested for Sabu and not classified among the above-mentioned three major classes of his titles is: *zš mdšt šš(t) n wd(t)-mdw n(t) wr hrp(w) hmt\**<sup>148</sup> - „scribe of the secret documents of the decrees of the greatest of the directors of craftsmen“.

Sabu was followed in his career by one of his sons and a grandson who were engaged in craft work. They are: *z<sup>3</sup>=f jmj-ht hmwt(jw) pr-<sup>c3</sup> Ššbw* - „his son, the under-supervisor of crafts(men) of the Great House, Sabu“, and *z<sup>3</sup> z<sup>3</sup>=f jmj-ht hmwt(jw) pr-<sup>c3</sup> Pth-šps* - „the son of his son (i.e., his grandson), the under-supervisor of crafts(men) of the Great House, Ptah-Shepses“. Another son had a post attached to the rituals and the god's book; he is: *z<sup>3</sup>=f mrj=f hrj-hbt zš mdšt ntr Pth-šps* - „his beloved son, the lector priest, the scribe of god's book, Ptah-Shepses“. A third son was a court official; he is: *jmj-ht pr-<sup>c3</sup> z<sup>3</sup>=f Hm-šnwj* - „the under-supervisor of the Great House, his son, Hem-yunui“. The fourth son belonged to the department of palace guards; he is: *z<sup>3</sup>=f jmj-ht hntj(w)-š pr-<sup>c3</sup> Špsj-pw-Pth km* - „his son, the under-supervisor of guards of the Great House<sup>149</sup>, Shepsi-pu-Ptah Kem“. In addition to the untitled son Shepsi-pu-Ptah and the similarly untitled grandson Khenu, Sabu had a sixth son, who was prominently represented five times in different scenes<sup>150</sup>, and whose figures and

<sup>142</sup> For a similar statement by the high priest of Ptah, Ptah-Shepses (PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 464 [48]), see: Urk. I, 52 [7-9]; Mariette, Mastabas, C1, H14, 112-13, 452-53 [i].

<sup>143</sup> Freier, in: AoF 4, 1976, 11-13, 21, 33.

<sup>144</sup> On *jmj-r stp-z<sup>3</sup> pr nswt nb* see: Kanawati, Conspiracies, 153-54.

<sup>145</sup> Duell, Mereruka I, pls. 35, 62.

<sup>146</sup> James, Khentika, pl. 6 [C:2]; cf., Strudwick, Administration, 125; Kanawati, Conspiracies, 193, n. 291.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 66-70, fig. 2.40. The tomb was discovered in the Teti cemetery by the Australian Centre for Egyptology, and is dated to the end of Teti and early Pepi I (ibid., 69-70).

<sup>148</sup> Jones, Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, 859-60 [3140].

<sup>149</sup> Refer to n. 113 above.

<sup>150</sup> He was represented twice on the left side-piece: once among other funerary priests performing the offering ceremony beside the lowermost register of the offering list, and once heading a row of

accompanying inscriptions were systematically chiselled out. Detecting the remaining traces of all these inscriptions, some parts of his title(s) and name could be reconstructed as follows: *z3=f smsw [m]rj[=f] hm-ntr ... .. Pth -*, „his eldest son, his beloved, the priest of ... , Ptah-[...]“<sup>151</sup>. As suggested by location<sup>151</sup> and name similarities<sup>152</sup>, the office of the high priest of Ptah was probably descending from father to son within the same family. Being the eldest of Sabu's sons, and the only holder of the priesthood of a god, the owner of these chiselled out figures was most probably the direct successor of Sabu's post as high priest of Ptah. As has already been suggested, Sabu ended his career late in Teti's reign<sup>153</sup>, and consequently his supposed successor might have served well into Pepi I's reign. Recently, Kanawati has studied such a practice of damaging parts of tomb decorations in the cemeteries of Unis and Teti, in addition to two tombs located to the north of the Step Pyramid, including that of Sabu<sup>154</sup>. He concludes that, in the case of the sons and retainers of Teti's high officials, these damages were a kind of punishment inflicted on the plotters involved in a conspiracy against Pepi I, which occurred around the 21<sup>st</sup> count of his reign, and that the conspiracy was led by the vizier Rawer<sup>155</sup>. This theory seems plausible and is supported by further analysis of the evidence related to Sabu's eldest son. New light may be shed on this case by reading the fragmentary biography of the high priest of Ptah, Sabu: Thety<sup>156</sup>, whom Baer dates to the reign of Pepi I or later<sup>157</sup>.

In his biography Sabu: Thety says<sup>158</sup>: *mjn hr hm=f wd w(j) hm=f [m wr hrp(w) hmwt w<sup>c</sup>.k(wj) ... hwt-ntr] ... nt Pth rsj jnb=f m st=f nb(t) hr hr(=j) sk nfr.n wnn [wr hrp(w) hmwt w<sup>c</sup> dr-b3h ... Zkr m Štt jht ntr nb jrt nb jrnt wrwj<sup>159</sup> hrp(w) hmwt -*, „Today, under His Majesty.

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offering bearers. On the right side-piece, he was represented in the palanquin scene, the navigation scene and the scene of viewing the animals and receiving the accounts.

<sup>151</sup> PM 3<sup>2</sup>, map 46 [37-8, 44, 47, 48, 50, Ptah-Shepses I].

<sup>152</sup> Of the eleven well known Old Kingdom high priests of Ptah (PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 916-17 [F]; Freier, in: AoF 4, 1976, 10-11), five had the name of Ptah-Shepses (PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 461 [38], 464 [48], 464-65 [50], 499; Louvre A 108), and two bore the name of Sabu (PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 460-61 [37], 463 [47]), while one had the name of Sabu-kem (ibid., 463 [44]). Also Ptah-Shepses II, the owner of the northern chapel within the same mastaba in which our Sabu has his chapel, had two sons named Ptah-Shepses, one with the title *jmj-ht hmwt(jw) -*, „the under-supervisor of crafts(men)“ and the other with the title *hntj-š pr-3 -*, „guard of the Great House“ (Murray, Saqqara Mastabas, pl. 29). He had also a third son named Sabu, and is designated as: *z3=f mrjj=f jmj-ht hmwt(jw) Š3bw -*, „his son, his beloved, the under-supervisor of crafts(men), Sabu“ (ibid., pl. 31 [3]). See also the above-mentioned names of Sabu's sons.

<sup>153</sup> Baer, Rank and Title, 121, 293 [421]; Strudwick, Administration, 130 [116]; Kanawati, Conspiracies, 135-37 [47].

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., passim.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 181-82. See also: idem, in: CdE 56, 1981, 203ff. For the vizier's tomb see: S. A. El-Fikey, The Tomb of the Vizier Re<sup>c</sup>-wer at Saqqara, Egyptology Today 4, 1980.

<sup>156</sup> PM 3<sup>2</sup>, 463 [47]; Mariette, Mastabas, E3, 389-90; Borchardt, Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, no. 1709, 148, no. 1756, 177-78, pl. 100; Urk. I, 84 [13]-85 [14].

<sup>157</sup> Rank and Title, 121 [422]. For a later suggested date ranging between Pepi II's reign and the Eighth Dynasty see: Harpur, Decoration, 276 [492].

<sup>158</sup> Urk. I, 84 [14]-85 [2]; cf., Roccati, Littérature historique, 175-76; Doret, Verbal System, 54 [Ex. 88]; Freier, in: AoF 4, 1976, 23ff.

<sup>159</sup> The simultaneous presence of two high priests of Ptah is referred to in Debeheni's biography dated to the reign of Menkaure (Urk. I, 18ff.), and again in Ni-ankh-sekhmet's biography dated to the reign of Sahure (ibid., 38).

His Majesty appointed me as greatest of the directors of craftsmen alone ... the temple of Ptah-South-of-His-Wall in his every cult-place was under my supervision. Never had a single greatest of the directors of craftsmen existed before ... Sokar in (his) *Štt*-sanctuary<sup>160</sup>, every property of the god and every work which the two greatest of the directors of craftsmen used to do“. Stating that he was the first to act as a single High priest of Ptah, and referring ambiguously to the god’s property and the work done by the two high priests of Ptah, Sabu: They seems to allude to some unusual events which led to this new situation. Keeping Kanawati’s theory in mind, and taking Sabu: They’s statement into consideration, one is inclined to suggest that Sabu: Ibibi’s eldest son might have been involved in some conspiracy against Pepi I. As a result of his involvement, this supposed high priest of Ptah was expelled from his office, and all his figures and the accompanying inscriptions were consequently removed from his father’s chapel. Sabu: They might have been the partner of this disgraced high priest of Ptah, and the responsibilities of the plotter might have been assigned to Sabu: They, who acted henceforth as a single high priest of Ptah.

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<sup>160</sup> For the *Štt*-sanctuary see: Roccati, *Littérature historique*, 176 [c].