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The Tomb of Unisankh at Saqqara and Chicago

Venisanchova hrobka v Sakkáře a Chicagu

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Prohlášení

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracoval samostatně, výhradně s použitím odborné literatury a pramenů, uvedených na konci práce.

V Praze, 16. ledna 2009

<div align="right">Pavel Onderka</div>

Acknowledgements

Content

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1   UNISANKH AT SAQQARA

1.1.1   Excavations of James E. Quibell

In 1908, Edward E. Ayer (1841–1927),[1] the founding father of the Egyptian collection of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, IL, purchased for the museum two chapels of Old Kingdom mastabas once located in the vicinity of the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet at central Saqqara. One of them belonged to Netjeruser (*NTr-wsr*),[2] a high official from the later reign of Nyuserre till that of Menkauhor,[3] the other to Unisankh (*Wnjs-anx.w*), who is generally considered to have been son of Unis, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty.

The tomb of Unisankh was excavated in 1907 by James E. Quibell (1867–1935),[4] then the chief inspector at Saqqara, for the purpose of its sale to the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago (the later Field Museum of Natural History).[5] When Quibell started his excavations, the whole Unis Cemetery North-West was hidden under sand. In the course of excavating the site, Quibell cleared the tomb of Unisankh. He undoubtedly realized the existence of several other structures, in particular the tomb of Iynefert that was partly unearthed in the course of dismantling the neighboring tomb of Unisankh. One block from the mastaba of queen Nebet (*Nbt*), wife of Unis, was found as well.[6]

1.1.2   Excavations of Cecil M. Firth

In 1913, Cecil M. Firth (1878–1931) was appointed the inspector at Saqqara, where he undertook a number of extensive excavations including those in the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet.[7]

During the excavation season of 1925–1926, Firth cleared a considerable area south of the temenos wall of the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet in order to

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[1] Cf. Lockwood 1929; Dawson – Uphill – Bierbrier 1995: 26; Yurco1988; Cottle 1981.
[2] Mariette 1889: 164–174, Murray 1905: 19–24.
[3] Strudwick 1985: 114, [91].
[4] Dawson – Uphill – Bierbrier 1995: 240–241.
[5] Cf. Saad 1941: 687.
[6] Cf. Bieger – Munro – Brinks, 1974: 36, note 4.
[7] Dawson – Uphill – Bierbrier 1995: 151.

provide a place for debris from his excavation within the Netjerykhet's funerary monument. South of the temenos wall he discovered several Fifth and Sixth Dynasties mastabas belonging to the Unis Cemeteries North-East and North-West.[8] In the following season of 1926–1927, the clearance continued in the area and resulted in the discovery of the mastaba of vizier Ihy (*JHy*),[9] later usurped by King's daughter Seshseshet Idut (*¤SsSt Jdwt*).[10] Although the tomb of Unisankh is not mentioned in either of the reports from the two excavation seasons, Firth must have been well aware of its existence, as the tomb of Ihy (reused by Seshseshet Idut) was built against the Tomb of Unisankh.

1.1.3   Excavations of Zaki Y. Saad

The next archaeologist to work in the area of the Unis Cemetery North-West was Zaki Youssef Saad (1901–1982), who later became the chief inspector at Saqqara.[11] During his excavations, Saad unearthed the double-mastaba of Unis' wives, queens Khenut and Nebet. In his rather brief report on the outcomes of the work carried out in the tomb of Unisankh during the excavation season of 1939–1940, Saad specified the dimension of the tomb being 23.80 metres from south to north and 14 metres from east to west. Judging from his report, the walls of *Room I* must have been already largely destroyed by the time as Saad made a reference only to one (decorated) room (i.e. *Room II*). His report further listed three titles included in the two inscription (Tx. 9, 19) on the walls of *Room II* and described the very large scale of representations on the walls of the room as being "even larger than those on the walls of the mastaba of Queen Nebet".[12]

1.1.4   Excavations of the Hanover Group (DAIK)

The area between the pyramid complexes of Netjerykhet and Unis once again garnered attention in 1973 when the Hanover group of the *Deutsches*

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[8] PM III[2]: 632.
[9] The tomb of Ihy (reused by Seshseshet Idut) was later on published by Macramallah (1935).
[10] Firth 1927: 107.
[11] Dawson – Uphill – Bierbrier 1995: 369.
[12] Saad 1941: 687, Pls. LXXV, LXXVI.

Archäologisches Institut in Kairo, headed by Prof. Peter Munro, launched their excavation within the Unis Cemetery North-West. The works started in the double-mastaba of the Queens Khenut and Nebet, i.e. their *Line B*, and continued with the tombs of Unis' high officials set between *Line B* and the temenos wall of the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet, i.e. their *Line A*.

The tombs of Unisankh and Iynefert were once again cleaned of sand. Nine fragments of an Old Kingdom relief with finely executed inscriptions and two fragments of a Late period fowling scene relief were found in the open courtyard of the Tomb of Unisankh. A `Htp`-sign shaped altar made of bricks and covered by a layer of stucco was found in the north-east corner of the open courtyard.[13]

The documentation of the Chicago part of the monument was intended by the Hanover group, however this plan has never been realized. References to the Tomb and its Owner appear in the first two preliminary reports from the excavations of the Hanover Group.[14]

Prof. Peter Munro kindly assigned the documentation compiled in the tomb by his mission in 1974 and 1982 to the present writer.

1.1.5   Excavations of the joint Australian-Egyptian Mission

After the Supreme Council of Antiquities carried out major reconstruction works on the site, the team of the Australian Centre for Egyptology of the Macquire University headed by Naguib Kanawati in conjunction with the University of Suez Canal represented by Muhammad Abder-Raziq, worked in the Unis Cemetery North-West.

The works in *Line A* resulted in a publication of the tombs of Ihy (later usurped by Seshseshet Idut) and Iynefert.[15] Due to the geographic division of its two parts, the tomb of Unisankh was not included in the publication but the authors mentioned the intention of the Tomb's publication in its entirety after the Chicago part was studied. Members of the team came to study the two rooms in

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[13] Hölscher – Munro 1975: 114.
[14] Hölscher – Munro 1975; Bieger – Munro – Brinks 1974.
[15] Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003.

the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, however the publication has not yet materialized.[16]

1.1.6   Present Research

The present writer was invited to study, document and publish the Chicago part of the Tomb by Chapurukha M. Kusimba, the Field Museum's Curator of African Ethnology and Archaeology, in 2003. The documentation works in Chicago were carried out during the summers of 2004 and 2006. The part of the tomb *in situ* at Saqqara was studied on a number of occasions in 2005 and 2006.

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[16] Personal communication with Chapurukha M. Kusimba, 2004.

1.2   UNISANKH IN CHICAGO

1.2.1. From Saqqara to Chicago

The chapels from the mastabas of Unisankh and Netjeruser are referred in the museum's *Annual Report* of 1908 (published in 1909) as anticipated accessions.[17] The receipt of 206 large cases weighing 96 tons, including the blocks of the two chapels and a Late Period sarcophagus, was confirmed in the *Annual Report* of 1909.[18]

At the end of 1908, the two rooms of the tomb of Unisankh (*Room IV and V*) were dismantled, boxed and transported to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where they were temporarily stored. From Cairo the cases traveled by train to Suez where they were embarked on a steamship to Hamburg. There the blocks were transshipped on the steamship Badenia, coursing from Hamburg to Boston and New York. From the East Coast, the blocks were transport overland to Chicago.

1.2.2   History of Installations

Still in 1909, the false door from the chapel of Unisankh was installed in the old building of the museum[19] in the Jackson Park (now occupied by the Museum of Science and Industry).[20] The remaining blocks were stored in a storehouse next to the museum building constructed only with this purpose. In 1921, the Field Museum moved to its present building on the Lake Shore Drive.

The 122 blocks forming the walls of the two rooms were put together only in 1928–1932. Unfortunately, the Tomb as designed by ancient Egyptian architects ran counter to the Chicago fire department's codes and as a consequence it remained fully inaccessible to the public for more then half a century.

In 1981, within the framework of partial renovation of the Egypt Hall (*Hall J*), a secondary access was inserted into the middle of the east wall of the chapel by means of removing several decorated blocks. The Tomb thereby gained

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[17] *Annual Report* 1908: 227.
[18] *Annual Report* 1909: 342.
[19] *Annual Report* 1909: 354.
[20] Cottle 1981: 34.

an emergency exit and thus met the security measures and was then opened as a walk-through exhibit.

Between 23 November 1987 and 9 March 1988, the two chambers were taken apart, moved from the ground to the main floor and reassembled there within the preparation works on the Museum's permanent display of Ancient Egypt, *Inside Ancient Egypt*. The false door was moved on 19 January 1988. For the current installation, a replica of the Tomb was constructed with the original blocks set into it.

Present visitors go through the Tomb, leave the chapel through an exit set in its north wall (the blocks bearing the lowermost register of the north wall are set aside) and eventually climb to the roof of the mastaba's replica, from where they descend through the burial shaft into the actual display *Inside Ancient Egypt*[21] which was opened on 21 November 1988.[22] Frank J. Yurco (19?? – 200?) was the *Inside Ancient Egypt* consultant and Mark Lehner acted as adviser in matters related to the Tomb. The original concept of the exhibit came from Whitcomb, who had, however, left the Museum by 1981.

1.3   REFERENCES TO UNISANKH

As neither of the parts of the tomb has been fully published so far it is rarely referred to in Egyptological literature. Besides its excavators (Saad[23], Munro[24], Kanawati and Abder-Raziq[25]), references to Unisankh come from only a limited number of studies (the publications mentioned below are listed in chronological order):

- Porter & Moss give a plan[26] and basic information on the rooms still *in situ* at Saqqara (*[1] Man reading from papyrus before deceased. [2] Offering bringers. [3] and [6] Oil jars. [4] and [5] Men bringing animals*

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[21] For the exhibition *Inside Ancient Egypt* cf. Faulkner – Cummings (1988).
[22] *Biennial Report* 1987–1988.
[23] Saad 1940.
[24] Bieger – Munro – Brinks 1974, Hölscher – Munro 1975, Munro 1993.
[25] Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003, Kanawati 2003: 3, 29, 149.
[26] PM III^2, Pl. LXIII.

to deceased) and mention that the two rooms are in the Chicago museum.[27]

- Schweitzer (1948) describes in her *Archäologischer Bericht aus Ägypten* the excavations of the Zaki Y. Saad's excavations between the pyramid complexes of Netjerykhet and Unis. She briefly mentions the tomb of Unisankh: "Von der dritten Mastaba is heute nur noch eine Kammer an Ort und Stelle, ein Teil der übrigen Anlage wurde in 1907 in das Chocagoer Museum verbracht. Der Eigentümer des Grabes, Prinz (Unis)|anch war möglicherweise ein Sohn des Unas und Bruder der Idut, deren schon länger bekannte Mastaba die vierte der Reiher bildet.[28]

- In his study on the *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, Baer (1960) dates Unisankh (listed as No. 112) to the reign of Unis till that of Teti. He "wonders if the fragment" from TT 413 "might be from some Upper Egyptian monument of the Tomb Owner or a relative. The tomb of Unisankh of Thebes at el-Khokha had not yet been discovered.[29]

- Smith in *The Cambridge Ancient History* maintains that "the chief queen of Unis was named Nebet. She was buried in a mastaba to the east of the pyramid adjoining that of another queen called Khenut. Nebet's son Unisankh was buried nearby, as was the vizier Iynefert."[30] This statement had a far-reaching impact on many authors who uncritically accepted it.

- Schmitz (1976) in her study on the holder of the title "King's son" favors for Unisankh's fictive royal sonship.

- Strudwick (1985) in his study on the vizierate mentions Unisankh in the discussion on the relative chronology of the tombs within the Unis Cemeteries North-West and North-East. Unisankh is not listed in the prosopography, as Strudwick was not familiar with Unisankh's full titulary.[31]

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[27] PM III²: 616–617.
[28] Schweitzer 1948: 263.
[29] Baer 1960: 66–67, 289.
[30] Smith 1971: 188.
[31] Strudwick 1985: 56–57.

- Harpur (1987) in her analysis of the tomb decorations only lists Unisankh (under No. 378) and dates the Tomb to period V.9, i.e. the reign of Unis.[32]

- Baud (1999), in his extensive study on the royal family, analyzed Unisankh's royal sonship and finds it as not necessary.[33]

- Brovarski, "has visited the chapel and had the opportunity to make notes on a number of different occasions"[34] and refers to the Tomb and its owner in some of his publication, relating to the topic of Old Kingdom non-royal tombs.[35]

- In connection with the 1981 opening of *Inside Ancient Egypt* exhibit, Williams published an article for general public in the museum's bulletin.[36]

A number of authors use interpretations published by the excavators or refer to the fundamental studies on Old Kingdom administration, especially those of Baer and Strudwick when referring to Unisankh. However, they prefer to see Unisankh as a real son of Unis.[37] Unisankh is mention either explicitly or implicitly in these studies.

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[32] Harpur 1987: 38, 273, 321.
[33] Baud 1999: 422.
[34] Brovarski 2006: 77, footnote no. 39.
[35] Brovarski 2001: 8, footnote no. 56; Browarski 2006: 77, footnote no. 39.
[36] Williams 1981.
[37] Cf. *Chapter Five*.

CHAPTER TWO: UNIS CEMETRY NORTH-WEST

2.1   **Introduction**

The Unis Cemetery North-West[38] is one of the sub-cemeteries of central Saqqara. The Cemetery is set between the south temenos wall of the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet and the funerary temple and the upper part of the causeway of the pyramid complex of Unis. It served the court elites of the (early to middle) reign of Unis.

The general area in which the cemetery sits had been first used as the burial-place of the first kings of the Second Dynasty.[39] Later on Netjerykhet chose the site for the construction of his pyramid complex.[40] Only very little is known about the development of the area of the later Cemetery between the reigns of the Kings Netjerykhet and Unis.[41] Generally speaking, the channels of the Dry Moat surrounding the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet were extensively used in the Fifth (as well as in the Sixth) Dynasty for the construction of non-royal tombs that were built on the beds and in the sides of the channels.[42]

In connection with the construction of the pyramid complex of Unis, large scale grading of the area south of the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet was undertaken. The outer south channel of the Dry Moat surrounding the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet was filled in for the construction of the boat pits and the causeway.[43] The inner south channel was treated similarly. Its central part was filled in for the sake of establishing a cemetery for the King's family and his highest officials, the so-called Unis Cemetery North-West.

The cemetery consists of two lines of large mastabas, labeled by Munro as the so-called *Line A* and *Line B*. Closest to the funerary temple of Unis, the double mastaba for the King's wives Khenut and Nebet, i.e. *Line B*, was constructed.[44] The double-tomb partially leans on the bedrock between the outer and inner south

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[38] Cf. Munro 1993: 4–6; PM III²: 613–653.
[39] Cf. PM III²: 613–614; cf. van Wetering 2002.
[40] Cf. e.g. Lauer 1936, Verner 2002: 108–140; Lehner 1997; etc.
[41] Cf. Munro 1993: 3–4.
[42] Moussa – Altenmüller 1975; Altenmüller 1998; Hassan 1975a, 1975b; Munro 1993; McFarlane 2000; etc.
[43] Swelim 1988: 15.
[44] Cf. Munro 1993.

channels,[45] but the major part of the double-mastaba's mass was already built above the filled channel.[46]

Behind the double-mastaba, a group of three mastabas for high officials was set, thus forming *Line A*. The three mastabas were built on the same level as the double-mastaba of the queens[47] but entirely above the filled channel of the Dry Moat. The three original tombs of the line belonged to the vizier Iynefert,[48] the overseer of Upper Egypt Unisankh and the vizier Ihy (from west to east).[49]

The archaeological situation of the area lying to the west of the tomb of Iynefert does not provide an easy survey. Judging from the fractional western wall of the tomb, some structures had been present there before the construction of the tomb of Iynefert started.

To the east of the Unis Cemetery North-West lies the Unis Cemetery North-East. It incorporates another group of large mastabas, including the so-called *Line C* consisting of two large mastabas built for the vizier Akhethetep Hemi (later usurped by the King's son Nebkauhor)[50] and the vizier Nyankhba.[51] Other tombs of the cemeteries belonged to Akhtihotep, Kairer, Bebi, Mirti and others.[52]

Roth, in her study on organization of royal cemeteries, finds the cemetery "especially interesting in that there appears to be some spatial organization within it. The tombs of king's wives are arranged next to the causeway, the viziers are located in a parallel row behind them, and the tomb of the overseers of the judiciary and other judicial offices are located along the causeway to the east" (i.e. the Unis Cemetery North-East).[53]

The Unis Cemetery North-West, as well as the Unis Cemetery North-East, evidently has a royal focus and is organized by the social status of the tomb

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[45] Cf. Bieger – Munro – Brinks 1974: 36.
[46] Munro 1993: Beilage 1.
[47] Cf. Bieger – Munro – Brinks 1974: 36.
[48] Cf. PM III^2: 616; Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: 11–31.
[49] Cf. PM III^2: 617–619; Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: 33–73, Macramallah 1935.
[50] Hassan 1975a.
[51] Hassan 1938, 1975b.
[52] PM III^2: 613–653.
[53] Roth 1988: 208.

owners. The pyramid complex is the cemetery's centerline and the pyramid its focal point. The King's wives are buried closest to the pyramid, the actual interment place of the king. Tombs in *Lines A* and *C* were built for viziers and an officer who was likely to be promoted to this position (i.e. Unisankh).[54]

At the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, the vizier Mehu constructed his tomb to the east of the tomb of Ihy, albeit on a lower level inside of the channel.[55] At the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, the tomb of Ihy was usurped by the King's daughter Seshseshet Idut[56] and the tomb of the vizier Akhtihetep Hemi for the King's son Nebkauhor.[57]

The cemetery was used extensively in later periods as well. From the Sixth Dynasty until the the turn of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom, priests responsible for the funerary cult of Unis were buried within it.[58] During the Late Period a large number of tombs were constructed around the pyramid complex of Unis.[59]

2.2   Chronologies

The chronology of Old Kingdom non-royal tombs within the Unis Cemeteries has never been discussed in detail. Beginning with Baer,[60] various authors dated the tombs of the Cemeteries based on diverse selected criteria while most authors settled for dating the tombs to the reign of Unis or later.[61]

Only Strudwick made a real attempt to establish a closer relative and absolute chronology of the tombs of viziers located in the Unis Cemeteries and to assign their owners to particular periods of Unis' reign. Most recently, Kanawati (and Abder-Raziq) refined Strudwick's chronology.[62]

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[54] Cf. *Chapter Five*.
[55] Altenmüller 1998.
[56] Cf. Macramallah 1935; for the identity of the King's daughter Seshseshet Idut cf. Seipel 1978: 264; Altenmüller 1990; Munro 1993: 25; Baud 1999: 564–565, [202], Kanawati 2003: 30-31; Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: 34, 36–37.
[57] Cf. Hassan 1975a; Kanawati 2003: 25–27.
[58] Cf. PM III²: 615ff.
[59] Cf. PM III²: 648–649.
[60] Baer 1960.
[61] E.g. Baud 1999, Harpur 1987, etc.
[62] Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: 12–13, 36–37, Kanawati 2003: 29.

2.2.1   Eastward Chronology

All the chronologies compiled so far follow the eastward progress of *Line A* of the Cemetery. This would seem logical when considering the location of the royal tomb, i.e. the pyramid, as the sites closer to the actual burial place of the king would be favoured by, and primarily assigned to, the highest officials of their time. The situation within the Unis Cemeteries was probably more complex and affected by the previous funeral activity in the general area, as well as other relevant factors. The present writer has suggested a reversed sequence of the tombs of *Line A*.

Baer dated Unisankh at large to the reign of Unis till that of Teti and claimed that the tomb of Ihy was built against his tomb. Based on the basilophoric proper name Tetiankh (⸗ *tj-anx.w*)[63] found in the tomb of Ihy (reused by Idut), Baer dates the original owner into the reign of Teti.[64] However, the inscription containing this name most likely represents a much later addition to the tomb's original decoration. Iynefert is not included in the study at all. Baer's dating of the two tombs would hence indirectly indicate a westward progress of *Line A*.

Strudwick dates Akhethetep Hemi into the first half of Unis' reign ("early Unis"), Ihy, Nyankhba and Iynefert Shanef to the latter half of the reign ("later Unis")[65] and extensively comments on the chronology of the Unis Cemeteries. His dating is based on Baer's conclusions and on the analyses of the architecture of particular tombs: "Nebet and Khenut were almost certainly wives of Unis, and one would consequently expect the construction of their tombs to have begun in his reign. On the similarity of tomb plans, the viziers may also be of the same date. The disposition of the tombs would also seem to support this theory. With the exception of the very small later mastabas on the site, the two queens' tombs are the closest to the mortuary temple and the large tombs of the officials are in two locations: one row, including Iynefert, Ihy and also the overseer of Upper Egypt Unisankh, is between these queens' tombs and the temenos wall of the Step

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[63] Ranke 1935: 384.15; Macramallah 1935: 10; Kanawati 2003: 36–37.
[64] Baer 1960: 59, [57].
[65] Strudwick 1985: 300.

Pyramid, while those of Akhethetep Hemi and Nyankhba are situated next to each other at the upper end of the causeway of the pyramid. It would seem possible that the tombs in each group could have been constructed simultaneously. Only the tombs of Akhethetep Hemi and Ihy lend their title sequence to a date. Baer dates Ihy to his period VI-C (mid-Sixth Dynasty); this is probably incorrect, but his date suggest that the tomb was built in the early to middle part of the reign of Unis. The similarity of the mastaba of Nyankhba suggests that its date too may be akin to that of Akhethetep Hemi. Ihy and Iynefert are less easy to date more closely. Their mastabas are separated from each other's by that of Unisankh; if this names was given to him (or changed from another) after the accession of Unis, his tomb is unlikely to have been constructed before the later part of that reign, perhaps together with the two neighboring viziers' tombs."[66]

The double-mastaba of the queens was undoubtedly designed as single project and both parts of it were constructed simultaneously. A high degree of similarity between the tombs in *Line C* would suggest that the tombs for the two viziers were constructed simultaneously or with a close temporal relationship. The situation was likely different in *Line A* and the progress of the line was more gradual.

Kanawati and Abder-Raziq provide a more specific chronology of the cemetery. They followed the eastward progress for *Line A* and suggested westwards progress of *Line C*, claiming that Ihy and Akhethetep Hemi were the last viziers of Unis. They describe the situation in *Line A* as follows: "The tombs were constructed in the following order: Iynefert, Unisankh and Ihy. But it should be mentioned that the rooms of the chapels of Iynefert and Unisankh are so close to each other that they might have been built simultaneously. The mastaba of Ihy on the other hand appears to have been added to them, even though the effort was made to link the stones of their façades, giving them the appearance of being constructed as a single project. Modern restoration of these tombs prevents an examination of the internal joints of the mastabas."[67]

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[66] Strudwick 1985: 56–57.
[67] Cf. Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: 13–14, 37.

The westward progress of *Line C* is questionable, as is the dating (both absolute and relative) of the two tombs it includes, as both tombs are freestanding and the relief decoration is almost totally absent.

Kanawati dates Akhethetep Hemi to the late reign of Unis[68] and suggests that Line C "progressed westwards as did the causeway itself, and therefore the tomb of Nyankhba was followed by that of way itself, and therefore the tomb of Nyankhba was followed by that Akhethetep Hemi. It is likely that Ihy and Akhethetep Hemi shared the vizierate, and the fact that the latter held the office of overseer of Upper Egypt suggests his responsibility for this part of the country, while Ihy might have been in charge of the Delta. It is interesting that Akhethetep's tomb is located in southern row of tombs, while that of Ihy is in the northern row, perhaps representing Upper and Lower Egypt."[69]

As a matter of fact, we do not know much of the relative construction of particular parts of the pyramid complex of Unis, and therefore it is impossible to establish a relative chronology of non-royal tombs to the north of the pyramid complex based on this concept.

The co-vizierate of Akhethetep Hemi and Ihy is rather hypothetical. No direct evidence supporting the simultaneous dating of the two viziers exists. Kanawati refers to the fact that both tombs were usurped for royal children. Yet the two tombs were unlikely usurped simultaneously, i.e. during the reign of Teti. According to Strudwick Akhethetep Hemi's tomb was usurped by Nebkauhor Idu only in the reign of Pepi II if not later. The King's son Ptahshepses whose sarcophagus was found on the terrace of Unis' valley temple has also been dated to the reign of Pepi II.[70]

The relative location of the tombs of Akhethetep Hemi and Ihy is also likely accidental, as the general arrangement of Unis Cemeteries North-West and North-East was dictated by the local topography rather than symbolism. In addition, *Line A*, i.e. the northen one, includes the tomb of the overseer of Upper Egypt, i.e. the South, Unisankh.

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[68] Kanawati 2003: 26
[69] Kanawati 2003: 149.
[70] E.g. Verner 2002: 338.

2.2.2 Westward Chronology[71]

Based on the outcomes of the excavations of the Hannover Group[72] and the Egypto-Australian Mission,[73] combined with the data provided by the tomb of Unisankh, we are able to revise the chronology of the cemetery.

The relative chronology of the tombs may be established on the basis of architectural evidence (namely the orientation of walls, analyses of joints between the mastabas, similarities and dissimilarities among the tombs and individual architectural features). In order to establish an absolute chronology of the Unis Cemetery North-West, the textual evidence from the pertinent tombs must be taken into consideration.[74]

2.2.2.1 Discussion

The walls of the tombs in *Line A* display in their alignment an orientation consistent with both pyramid complexes in their vicinity. The common back wall of the three tombs parallels the temenos wall of the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet. The south façade of Ihy's tomb follows practically the same east-west alignment and the east, freestanding, wall is perpendicular to both of them. Ihy's southern façade is set back some 0.15 m from the façades of Unisankh and Iynefert.[75] The façade of the tombs of Unisankh and Iynefert angles slightly to the south. Its east-west alignment parallels the back wall of the double-mastaba of the queens in *Line B*, or more precisely the upper axis of the pyramid complex of Unis. The double-mastaba of the queens is fully oriented in accordance with the upper part of the pyramid complex of their husband. We may conclude that the orientation of the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet was applied in the eastern part, particularly in the tomb of Ihy, while the orientation according to the pyramid complex of Unis dominates the western part of *Line A*.[76]

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[71] Onderka 2007a: 24.
[72] Bieger – Munro – Brinks 1974; Hölscher, Uvo – Peter Munro 1975; Munro 1993.
[73] Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003.
[74] Cf. Chapter Five.
[75] Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: 37.
[76] Cf. Munro 1993: Beilage 1, 2.

Modern restoration of Line A prevents a thorough understanding of its development. The ancient architects aimed to give the tombs the appearance as being constructed as a single project, so the divisions between individual tombs are not clearly visible. Only the beginning of the paved street between Line B and Line A is marked through a break in the south façade of Line A. This break does not mark the limit of the particular tomb, because the inner rooms of Ihy's tomb exceed this limit.

The presumed joints between the mastabas were overbuilt in the course of modern reconstruction works. The plans from early[77] and recent excavations[78] do not evince any relevant divisions between the tombs. Saad in his excavation report gives approximate proportion of the tombs.[79]

According to Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, the mastaba of Ihy has no dividing wall in the core between the adjacent mastaba of Unisankh,[80] which would thereby indicate that the two tombs must have been constructed simultaneously as a single unit.

The eastern walls of Rooms I, IV and V of the tomb of Iynefert are sloping down under an angle equal to the sloping of the façades. This clearly indicates that Iynefert annexed his tomb directly to the Tomb of Unisankh and used its eastern façade as inner walls for his own tomb.[81] The tomb of Unisankh had thus been then already finished, when the construction of the tomb of Iynefert began. The direct annexation of the Iynefert's rooms to Unisankh's façade also explains why the chapels of the two tombs are so close to one-another.[82]

If we look on the tombs within the Unis Cemeteries in detail we can observe that the tombs in each line share a number of specific features that distinguish them from those in other lines of the Unis Cemeteries.

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[77] Macramallah 1935: Pl. 2.
[78] Munro 1993: Beilage 1; Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: Pl. 29, 30, 49.
[79] Saad 1940: 686–687.
[80] Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: 37.
[81] Personal examination of the tomb.
[82] Cf. Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: 13.

- The tombs in particular lines have approximately the same size. Only that of Iynefert differs markedly from other two tombs in *Line A*.

- The tombs in *Line A* show the greatest degree of distinction among each other. The tombs of Ihy and Unisankh resemble each other in main aspects: The relative position of the open courtyard, the chapel and the shaft leading to the burial chamber is identical; the roofed rooms of the tombs are arranged in the shape of "L" surrounding the open courtyard from the south and the west. All the tombs, including that of Iynefert, are entered from the south. The inner structure of the tomb of Iynefert is similarly dominated by the open courtyard, the relative position of which is similar as it is the case of the tomb of Ihy and Unisankh. The chapel (*Room V*) is in a totally different position to both the open courtyard and the shaft leading to the burial chamber. The chapel is set between the open courtyard and the shaft leading to the burial chamber.

- The tombs in *Line B* are almost identical and display minimum variations, as they were, from the very beginning, planned as a single project. The roofed rooms of the tombs are arranged in the shape of "U" surrounding the open courtyard from the east, north and west. The complex of inner rooms is entered from the southwest corner of the respective halves of the double-mastaba.

- The tombs in *Line A* and *Line B* resemble each other in terms of architecture and also decoration, but the two tombs of *Line C* differ markedly. The *wesekhets* have the form of a pillared hall instead of an open courtyard, what indicates a later date.[83] The other roofed rooms are arranged into a quasi L-shape with most of the rooms concentrated to the west of the pillared hall. The entrances of both tombs are set into the center of the mastabas' south wall.

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[83] The *weskhets* in the form of a large pillared hall is the dominant form of the Sixth Dynasty (e.g. the tombs around the pyramid of Teti); cf. *Appendix.*

There are, however, a number of features shared by the particular tombs between the lines:

- Almost all tombs share general pattern of the arrangement of inner rooms (type II), except for those of Unisankh and Nyankhba (type I.C).[84] The very specific type I-C is attested only in the case of these two tombs and is strictly defined in space and time, i.e. by the reign of Unis, and the vicinity of his pyramid complex. Whether we should take this structural similarity as an indicator of simultaneous construction of the two tombs is a matter of further discussion.

- Chapels of almost all tombs are east west oriented, only those of the tombs of Ihy and Unisankh are north south oriented.

- The entrance doors of the tombs of Queens Khenut and Nebet and that of Ihy are defined by a shallow sloping recess of exactly same dimensions.[85]

- All false door architraves in the tombs of the Unis Cemetery North-West are inscribed with only one line of text, except for the tomb of Iynefert where two lines were inscribed.[86] One line on Ihy's false door was overwritten with two lines when usurped for the King's daughter Seshseshet Idut.[87]

- The entrance doorways are decorated only in the case of the tomb of Iynefert[88] and Seshseshet Idut.[89]

2.2.3 Conclusion

A cemetery for members of the King's family must have been planned from the very beginning of the construction of the pyramid complex of Unis. For this

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[84] Cf. *Appendix*.

[85] Personal examination of the tombs; Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: 37; Munro 1993: 33.

[86] The false door of Khenut is not preserved, but one would expect it to be similar to those of Queen Nebet; cf. Munro 1993: Tf. 39.

[87] See Munro 1993: Tf. 30 (for Nebet), Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: Pl. 47 (for Iynefert), Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: Pl. 68 (for Ihy and Seshseshet Idut), for the development of the false doors panel design cf. Browarski 2006.

[88] Cf. Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: 33, 34.

[89] Cf. Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: Pl. 53.

purpose, the central part of the inner south channel of the Dry Moat was filled in with debris coming, most likely, from the construction of the pyramid complex.

After the construction of the pyramid complex of Unis had advanced enough for non-royal construction to be launched, parcels above the filled part of the inner south channel of the Dry Moat were allocated to the members of the the King's family, i.e. the King's wives Khenut and Nebet and the King's son Unisankh, and possibly to other members of the royal family, who eventually were not buried within this particular cemetery. It seems probable that at the very beginning a series of tombs was planned for *Line A*, most likely for other (real and titulary) King's children. A rectangle lot of land was delimited for the royal family cemetery.

Only after this was a parcel lying to the east of the parcel for the tomb of the King's son Unisankh allocated for the tomb of the vizier Ihy. When parcels for the two pairs of tombs in *Line A* and *B* were allocated, the construction began. Construction proceeded in three phases (*Phase 1–3*). [90]

The tomb of Ihy is the only structure belonging to the construction *Phase 1*. The first building activity on the cemetery was likely the staking out and laying the foundations of the tomb of Ihy, which is characterized by the orientation in accordance with the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet. The pyramid complex of Unis, for some unknown reason (e.g. actual degree of progress of construction, situation within the general working area), could not serve as a guidance for the orientation for the tomb of Ihy.

Only very shortly after the works on the tomb of Ihy had begun, *Phase 2*, comprising the double-mastaba of Queens Khenut and Nebet and that of the King's son Unisankh, was also initiated. *Phases 1* and *2* were begun almost simultaneously, which makes the sequence of events in early *Phases 1* and *2* very complex. Furthermore, both phases in *Line A* were concluded at a same moment. *Phase 2* is already oriented in accordance with the pyramid complex of Unis.

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[90] Under the term *phase* one should understand a rather long period of time between the commencement of the construction works and their completion. Individual phases may thus coincide.

The tombs of the Queens and that of Ihy display an important similarity supporting a conclusion of their simultaneous construction. Main entrance doors of the three tombs are defined by the recess of precisely the same dimensions.

Phase 2 in *Line A* is represented by the construction of the tomb of Unisankh. The two mastabas were likely merged together in an early stage of their construction and finished as a single project, a quasi double-mastaba.

However, the break in the south façade caused by different orientations of the façades clearly shows that the two tombs were not planned as a single project from the very beginning. The back wall of the two mastabas follows the alignment set by the tomb of Ihy, i.e parallels the south temenos wall of the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet.

The completion of the double-mastaba of Queens Khenut and Nebet is of no relevance for *Line A*. *Phases 1* and *2* in *Line A* were concluded simultaneously. Only after this did *Phase 3* begin. The tomb of Iynefert was appended to the west façade of the tomb of Unisankh and took over the orientation of *Phase 2*. It seems probable that some structures might have already stood west to the tomb of Unisankh, judging from the broken west façade of the tomb of Iynefert.

Iynefert, unlike other original owners of the tombs within the Unis Cemetery North-West, had his doorway decorated. Later on, the King's daughter Sesheshet Idut had the same done in the course of usurping the tomb from the vizier Ihy. It appears that the decoration of the entrance doorway is introduced within this specific cemetery only sometime during *Phase 3*.

Phase 1 and *Phase 2* were realized during the early reign of Unis or, at the latest, in the middle of his reign. *Phase 3* was very short, as there are many indications that the tomb of Iynefert was finished in a hurry, and was realized in the middle to late reign of Unis.

In the reign of Teti, the Unis Cemetery North-West was still used for the burials of the top elites. The tomb of Ihy was reused for the King's daughter Seshseshet Idut, hence making it a royal cemetery *par excellence*.[91] Teti's vizier

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[91] The reason for usurping the tomb by the King's daughter Seshseshet Idut is dispute; cf. e.g. Kanawati 2003: 30–31, 34, 150–151, 158, 183.

Mehu constructed his tomb east of the tomb of Ihy. Mehu might have chosen the site due to his possible family affiliation with the vizier Iynefert.[92]

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[92] Cf. Altenmüller 1998: 53.

CHAPTER THREE: TOMB

The Tomb is an example of the class of non-royal, large, multi-roomed mastabas constructed for highest officials of the late Old Kingdom in the vicinity of royal pyramid complexes at the residential cemeteries. This type of tombs first appeared during the reign of Nyuserre and was continuously developed throughout the late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties.[93]

3.1   SUPERSTRUCTURE

The Tomb's superstructure has a rectangular ground plan. Following Saad, the tomb measures 23.80 meters from south to north and 14 meters from east to west, hence covering an area of cca 333 sqm.[94] The neighboring tomb of Ihy is of just about the same size, covering cca 310 sqm.[95] The other neighboring tomb, belonging to Iynefert, is markedly smaller in size with the built area of cca 240 sqm.[96] The contiguous tombs of Unis' wives are larger being cca 530 sqm each.[97] The two large mastabas in *Line C*, belonging to the viziers Nyankhba and Akhtihetep (later usurped by King's son Nebkauhor) of the Unis Cemetery North-East, are much larger being cca 590 and cca 630 sqm respectively.[98]

The Tomb is the largest one in *Line A* and is one of the largest non-royal tombs known from central Saqqara. The built tomb area was not significantly smaller than that of tombs of other officials of the late Fifth Dynasty, e.g. Ptahhotep (Saqqara, D 62)[99] with 376 sqm, Seshemnefer III (Giza, G 5170)[100] with 307 sqm and Ptahshepses Junior II with 376 sqm.[101]

The walls of the Tomb were constructed as filled masonry. Poorer material (limestone lumps and chips joined with mortar) was used for the core of the wall

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[93] Cf. Bárta 2005.
[94] Saad 1941: 687.
[95] Macramallah 1935: 1–2, Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2001: 37.
[96] Saad 1941: 686; Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2001: 13.
[97] Munro 1993: 32; Saad 1941: 683–684.
[98] Hassan 1938: 506, 512.
[99] Mariette 1889: 359.
[100] Brunner-Traut 1977.
[101] Bárta 2000: 45.

and high quality material for the casing.[102] For the filling of the walls and blank parts of the superstructure, scraps produced during the hacking of limestone blocks used for the construction of the pyramid complex of Unis and the tombs of his wives were likely reused. The material used for the construction of the Tomb is generally known as Tura limestone named after the eponymous site, however the specific material used in the tomb of Unisankh originates from the quarries at the near-by Maasara.[103] The very same material was used for the pyramid complex of Unis as well as other tombs in the Unis cemetery NW.

3.1.1 System of Rooms

The inner rooms within the mass of the superstructure are concentrated in the mastaba's south half. Only the chapel (*Room V*) and the shaft leading to the burial chamber extend to the north half. The inner rooms including the *wesetkhet* (having the form of an open courtyard) room take up about 15 per cent of the mastaba's ground plan.

Five roofed rooms are arranged in the shape of "L" (following a broken axis) and surround the *wesekhet* from the south and the west. The walls of *Rooms I–IV* and those of the courtyard are aligned into a rectangle, forming a strictly defined unit. Only the chapel (*Room V*) diverts from the rigorous scheme into which the other rooms are arranged.

The roofed rooms of the Tomb of Unisankh are divided into two parts, namely the *outer section* (*Rooms I, II* and *III*, corresponding to the part of the Tomb still *in situ* at Saqqara), the *inner section* (*Rooms IV and V*, corresponding to the Chicago part of the Tomb, FMNH Inv. No. A 24448). The *wesekhet* on its own forms an autonomous element of the Tomb. A very special feature of the Tomb is an opening (height: 1.04 m, width 0.53 m) connecting *Rooms III* and *IV*, alias the *outer section* and the *inner sections* of the Tomb. It bypasses the main communication route joining the two sections via the open courtyard. The opening

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[102] Cf. Arnold 1991: 148–149; Reisner's *casing x* (Reisner 1942: 178–179).
[103] I am much indebted for this information to Ass. Prof. Dr. Jaromír Leichmann of the Masaryk University in Brno, who carried out analyses of samples provided by the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, IL; cf. Klemm – Klemm 1993.

was equipped with a door (opening inwards *Room III*) and was likely used for moving offerings and cultic inventory from the storerooms (*Room II* and *III*) of the *outer section* into the *inner section* of the Tomb. Within the Unis cemeteries, a similar opening can be found only in the tomb of the vizier Nyankhba, located to the southeast of the Tomb in *Line C*,[104] possibly indicating that the tombs were built simultaneously or in a close temporal relationship.[105] The superstructure of the Tomb does not include a *serdab*. Within the Unis cemetery North-West only the tomb of the vizier Ihy (later usurped by Seshseshet Idut) has one (*Room X*).[106]

3.1.1.1 *Room I*

The Tomb is entered from the south through the main, inwards opening door through a narrow corridor (not numbered; EW: 1.02 m, NS: 1.28 m) leading to the entrance vestibule (*Room I*; *in situ* at Saqqara; EW: 3.16 m, NS: 2.10 m). *Room I* must have been the most frequented place in the entire tomb. It principally served as a communication space connecting the Tomb with the exterior. The door set into its north wall leads to the open courtyard and the other one in the west wall to *Room II*. The door leading to the open courtyard used to open inwards, but the one in the west wall outwards. The walls of the room are badly damaged. They mostly retain only the lower courses of masonry largely below the lower limit of the relief decoration. The east wall is almost fully destroyed.

3.1.1.2 *Room II*

Room II (*in situ* at Saqqara; NS: 6.15 m EW: 2.10 m) is accessible from *Room I* through the inwards opening door in the east wall. Another door, leading to *Room III* and opening outwards, is set in the west part of the north wall. Judging from the decoration of the west and east walls, the room most likely served as a storage area. In terms of communication, *Room II* represents a passage corridor. The presence of the decoration on the walls suggests that the room was to be visited. Thus, if things were stored in the room, they did so likely only temporarily.

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[104] Hassan 1975a: 41–48.
[105] Cf. *Appendix.*
[106] Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: Pl. 29; Marcamallah 1935.

3.1.1.3   *Room III*

Room III (*in situ* at Saqqara; NS: 2.72 m, EW: 1.54 m,) is entered from *Room II* through an inwards opening door. It is the only undecorated roofed room and served as the proper storage area. The opening connecting the *outer* and *inner sections* of the Tomb is set in the north wall of *Room III* and leads to *Room IV*, i.e. the chapel vestibule. It used to open inwards.

3.1.1.4   *Room IV*

The chapel vestibule (*Room IV*; FMNH, Inv. No. A 24448; NS: 2.60 m, EW: 1.60 m,) is entered from the open courtyard. The opening linking *Rooms III* and *IV* is set into the lower part of the south wall, being below the lower limit of the decoration, and hence not interfering with the decorative program. The room primarily served as a communication space, its purpose being similar to that of *Room I*. It played the very same role for the inner part of the Tomb, as did *Room I* for the *outer section* and the entire Tomb. A door set in the north wall leads to the chapel (*Room V*). Only lower, undecorated courses of masonry remain *in situ* at Saqqara. The rest of the blocks are in the possession of the Field Museum of Natural History.

3.1.1.5   *Room V*

The chapel (FMNH, Inv. No. A 24448, NS: 5.45 m, EW: 1.80 m) is entered from the south through the doorway from the chapel vestibule (*Room IV*). It is a south north oriented corridor plus niche chapel.[107] The false door is transferred into a niche situated in the very center of the west wall. The width of the niche is equal to the length of the runs of both separated sections of the west wall. The specific design of the chapel does not have many analogies either in royal or non-royal context. Jánosi suggested a very similar layout for the chapel of the funerary temple of Queen Khentkaus II at Abusir.[108] The closest parallels in non-royal

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[107] Harpur 1987: 321. The inner structure of the Tomb does not fit into Reisner's classification of Giza Chapels of the Fourth to Sixth Dynasties, however most resembles his *type 7-b* (cf. Reisner 1935: 184–186).
[108] Jánosi 1995.

context to this unique layout, in terms of symmetry, are the T-shaped chapels (e.g. the chapel of Akhtihetep of the Ptahhetep-Akhtihetep complex[109]).[110] In the case of Unisankh, the niche is too shallow for the chapel to be classified as such. The depth of Unisankh's false door niche approximately matches with that of Ihy, yet Ihy's niche is not centered on the middle of the west wall. A number of corridor plus niche chapels entered either from north or south are found within the Unis Cemeteries.[111] The chapels of the tombs of Unis' wives and the vizier Iynefert are east west oriented. Only lower undecorated courses of masonry remain *in situ* at Saqqara. The rest of the blocks are in the possession of the Field Museum of Natural History.

3.1.1.6 *Wesekhet*

An open courtyard, being a specific form of a *wesekhet*, was the place where important ceremonies in favor of the tomb owner used to take place. This feature, adopted from the royal mortuary complexes, was introduced into non-royal architecture during the reign of Nyuserre.[112]

The open courtyard of the Tomb takes up a considerable part of the Tomb's superstructure (NS: 6.20 m; EW: 7.65 m). An offering altar made of bricks, covered by a layer of stucco having the shape of the Htp-sign, was placed to the northwest corner of the courtyard.[113] The altar may be similar to some altars from Saqqara dated to the late Fifth Dynasty.[114]

Besides its cultic role, the *wesekhets* served as a communication space, at least until the reign of Unis. In this specific case, the *wesekhet* provides access from the *outer section* to the *inner section* of the Tomb. The open courtyard was accessible from *Room I* through the door set in the courtyard's southern wall. The door leading to *Room IV* is situated in the north part of the courtyard's west wall. Both doors used to open outwards from the open courtyard.

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[109] Davies 1900, 1901.
[110] For *cruciform chapels and T-shaped offering rooms* cf. Harpur 1987: 60–63, 315.
[111] Harpur 1987: 319, Table 5.9.2.
[112] Bárta 2005: 17.
[113] Hölscher – Munro 1975: 114.
[114] Mostafa 1982: 116–118.

3.1.2 System of doors

The system of doorways of the Tomb is quite elaborate. All seven doorways (including the low opening connecting *Rooms III* and *IV*) of the Tomb were once equipped with single-leaf doors as attested by the presence of holes for door pivots in both floors and stone architraves.

All doors linking the roofed rooms with open space used to open inward. Doors linking roofed rooms open deeper into the Tomb following the broken axis of the arrangement of the roofed rooms, aiming at the chapel. The only exception from this general rule is the door of the low opening joining the *inner section* and *outer section* of the Tomb. The reason for the reversed direction of this door's opening stems from the very nature of the doorway. The door was tended from *Room III*, where the cultic inventory and offerings were stored, and hence logically opened inwards.

The doors had their implication for the decorative program, yet only in the *inner section* of the Tomb. The doors in the *outer section* were either set into a recess, as in the case of the main entrance into a short corridor, or used to open inwards to the undecorated room (*Room III*). In the *inner section,* the parts of the wall that were concealed when the door was opened were left without decoration. In the case of *Room IV*, one offering bearer was only painted and not executed in relief. In *Room V*, a substantial part of the east wall was left blank.

3.1.3 Antecedent

An earlier tomb with the specific L-shaped arrangement of roofed rooms surrounding the open courtyard belonged to Ptahshepses Junior II at Abusir.[115] The resemblance of the two tombs is unlikely accidental. The architects responsible for the tombs in *Line A* of the Unis Cemetery North-West (particularly those of Unisankh and Ihy) might have sought inspiration in this particular tomb (or similar ones that have not been preserved or have not yet been discovered). The list of common architectural features follows:

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[115] Bárta 2000.

- Both tombs share the L-shaped arrangement of roofed rooms surrounding the *wesekhet* from south and west.
- Entrances to the tombs of Ptahshepses Junior II and Unisankh are oriented towards the most important monument in their vicinity. The Tomb of Unisankh is entered from the south, the entrance being pointed at Unis' causeway. The tomb of Ptahshepses Junior II is entered from the west, the entrance being oriented to the mastaba of his father, the vizier Ptahshepses.
- Both *wesekhets* have the form of an open courtyard.
- The *weskhets* are in both cases surrounded by the roofed rooms from the south and the west.
- The mass of the superstructure is not fully utilized. In both cases, the inner rooms are concentrated in the tomb's either half. Only the chapel extends to the other.
- The tomb of Ptahshepses Junior II is slightly larger in size than that of Unisankh with 376 sqm.[116]

Besides the architectural similarities between the two tombs, Unisankh and Ptahshepses Junior II had much in common in terms of social status:
- Both men held one of the highest posts in the state's administration.
- Both held the title "overseer of Upper Egypt"[117] and stand close in the sequence of its holders.
- Both had royal filiations. Ptahshepses Junior II was maternal grandson of Nyuserre and Unisankh held the title "King's son".

The above given facts may possibly indicate a sort of a relationship between the two men, possibly a father-and-son relation. However, any similarities between the two tombs and may not be established when considering their decoration. Only two decorated blocks from the tomb of Ptahshepses Junior II were

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[116] Bárta 2000: 45.
[117] Bárta 2000: 57–59.

discovered and published by Bárta.[118] The first block depicts a riverine scene with a hippopotamus, a fish and two pairs of legs belonging to two fishermen holding fish traps, and the other a butchery scene. The former is unparalleled in the decorative program of the Tomb and the latter clearly distinguishes from those of Unisankh.

3.2   SUBSTRUCTURE[119]

The substructure is accessible through a rectangular shaft (NS: 2.90 m; EW: 2.65 m) entered from the roof of the mastaba. The shaft to the burial chamber is located to the north of the open courtyard and to the east of the chapel (*Room V*) in the north half of the mastaba's mass. The shaft is aligned true north south. The burial chamber was likely similar to those of the vizier Ihy and Iynefert. The walls of burial chambers of the tombs in *Line A* were decorated with colored painting on a layer of gypsum plaster. The decoration depicted different kinds of offerings which may be found on the walls of rooms within the superstructure.[120]

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[118] Bárta 2000: Pl. 11–12.
[119] The present writer had not chance to study the substructure of the Tomb and had no access to the relevant documentation. Dawood (2005) does not list Unisankh's burial chamber in his study.
[120] Cf. Kanawati – Abder-Raziq, 2003: 62–64; Pl. 51, 52.

4.   DECORATIVE PROGRAM

The relief decoration is mostly executed in low relief, only some scenes of the inner part of the Tomb (above all the walls of *Room IV* and both runs of the west wall in *Room V*) show signs of high relief, which reflect two levels of the decorative program's quality.

The paints that once colored the relief are only rarely preserved which prevents us from the reconstruction of the original color decoration of the tomb. No contradictions against the color convention have been found.

The decorative program consists of two mutually interconnected parts, namely the pictorial part and the textual part. While the pictorial program usually receives much attention and is subjected to comparative analyses, the texts written on the walls of the tombs are largely valued only for the factual pieces of information they provide about the tomb owner, or more precisely for his name and his social status. Texts are generally regarded as supplementary to the pictorial representations into which they are incorporated. The textual program of some of the large mastabas from the latter part of the Old Kingdom is highly complex and elaborate and its structural analysis has the potential to provide additional information and to enable a better understanding of the decorative program.

The contents of the pictorial program were intelligible to any ancient visitor to the tomb, while the textual program remained reserved exclusively to the literate elites of the society, into which the owner of such a funerary monument belonged.

It was the tomb owner's identity and rank, the description of particular activities shown within the pictorial program and the precise identification or quality of offerings being brought which was described in the texts.

4.1   Description of the Decorative Program[121]

The decorative program of the tomb is quite sophisticated. It follows the bent processional axis of the Tomb (*Rooms I, II, III, IV, V*), despite the facts that *Rooms III* and *IV* are not connected by means of a passage meant to be used by people and that *Room III* was left without any decoration. The open courtyard possesses no decoration except for a graffito inscribed on its east wall.

Sc. 1.S   ROOM I: SOUTH WALL

The south wall is largely damaged. Only few blocks from the lower part of the wall are lost. The remaining part of the relief decoration shows a part of the standing figure of the Tomb Owner facing east (Rg. 1.S.1) likely "[viewing the *nDt-Hr*-offerings brought …] from Lower and Upper Egypt by the *ka*-servants" (Tx. 1). In front of the Tomb Owner there were originally three registers with offering bearers striding west towards the Tomb Owner, of which only the lowermost one is partly preserved (Rg. 1.S.2). At the head of the preserved register stands a scribe presenting the scroll for inspection. Names of both offering bearers preserved in the register are accompanied by names (Tx. 2 – 1.S.2.1, Tx. 3 – 1.S.2.2) as well as a graffito (Gr. 1 – 1.S.2.2).

Rg. 1.S.1   Tomb Owner viewing offerings

The figure of the Tomb Owner is only partly preserved. The head and the fore part of the figure are missing. The standing Tomb Owner faces east. He wears a knee-length kilt with a triangular front-piece. He has a broad *wesekh*-collar around his neck and holds a *sekhem*-scepter in his left hand. The text, which was originally organized into one column and one line (following the same fashion as Rg. 2.S.1) is attached, giving the description of the scene (Tx. 1). The column contained the title of the scene and the unpreserved line the core titles and name of the Tomb Owner.

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[121] The Field Museum's documentation concerning the Tomb (their Inv. No. A 24448) was used for describing the decorative program.

Tx. 1
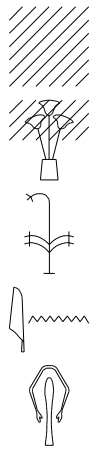

```
... mHw Smaw jn Hm(w)-kA
```

"... from Lower and Upper Egypt by the ka-servants."

Rg. 1.S.2   Bringing offerings

A row of offering bearers bringing various offerings strides west towards the Tomb Owner. At the head of the row stands a scribe presenting the scroll for inspection. He is followed by a partly preserved figure of another offering bearer. Depictions of both attendants are accompanied by names (Txs. 2, 3, Gr. 1).

1.S.2.1   The scribe presents the scroll to the Tomb Owner. His hands are stretched holding an unrolled papyrus scroll from which he reads. A text with the attendant's name accompanies the figure.

Tx. 2


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¢ntj-sSm-nfr
```
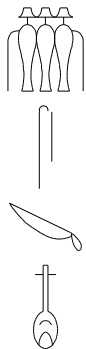
"Khentiseshemenefer."

1.S.2.1   A partly preserved figure (fore leg and elbow clutching an ox leg) of an offering bearer. A text and a graffito containing personal names of attendants accompany the figure.

Tx. 3
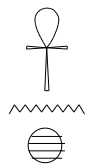
```
anx
```
"Ankh"

Gr. 1
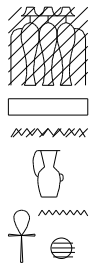
```
xntj-S Ny-anx-£nmw (?)
```
"Tenant Nyankhkhnum (?)."

Sc. 1.W   ROOM I: WEST WALL

The west wall is partly damaged. Its upper part is entirely missing. The enduring part of the relief decoration bears the remains of a sitting figure of the Tomb Owner facing south (Rg. 1.W.1) likely "[viewing the *nDt-Hr*-offerings brought during] every festival, every day, forever" (Tx. 4). In front of the Tomb Owner there were originally three registers with offering bearers striding north towards the Tomb Owner, of which only the two lowermost registers are preserved (Rgs. 1.W.2, 1.W.3). The blocks with the uppermost register (Rg. 1.W.4) and the upper part of the scene depicting the sitting Tomb Owner are missing. At the beginning of Rg. 1.W.3 the description "bringing young *oryx* antelope" is place (Tx. 6). It particularly relates to the first offering bearer in the row (1.W.3.1). Names accompany two offering bearers (Tx. 5 – 1.W.2.1, Tx. 7 – 1.W.3.1). A `nbw`-sign (Gr. 2) is inscribed below the lower limit of the relief decoration in the vicinity of 1.W.2.4).

Rg. 1.W.1   Tomb Owner viewing offerings

The figure of the Tomb Owner is only partly preserved. The upper half of the figure is missing. The sitting Tomb Owner faces south. He sits on a chair with four lion's legs. He wears a knee-length kilt. He holds a *medu*-staff in his right hand. A text describing the scene originally organized into one column and one line (following the same fashion as it is the case in Rg. 2.S.1) is attached (Tx. 4).

Tx. 4
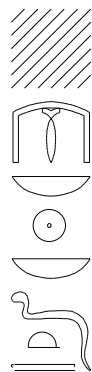
... Hb nb ra nb Dt

"… during every feast, every day, for ever."

Rg. 1.W.2   Bringing offerings

A row of four bearers bringing different offerings strides north towards the Tomb Owner.

1.W.2.1   The offering bearer has short hair and wears a knee-length kilt. He supports two plates heavy-loaded with loaves of bread, figs and vegetables with his hands and shoulders. Three bundles hang on his left hand and a bunch of alliaceous plants on his right. The depiction is accompanied by a text containing a title and a name.

Tx. 5

Hm-kA Mrrj

"*kA*-servant Mereri"

1.W.2.2   The offering bearer has short hair and wears a knee-length kilt. He carries a goose in his arms and keeps the rope of an ox which strides in front of him.

1.W.2.3   The offering bearer has short hair and wears a knee-length kilt. He carries a huge basin, supporting it with his left shoulder and hand. The basin is flat-bottomed with a conical body and a re-curved rim. It is covered by a lid. In his right hand he carries a bunch of three

lotus blossoms. A young *oryx* antelope walks in front of him, without being on the rope.

1.W.2.4   The offering bearer has short hair and wears a knee-length kilt. He supports two plates heavy loaded with loaves of bread and figs with his shoulders and hands. Three bundles hang on his right hand and a bunch of alliaceous plants on his arm. A *nbw*-sign (Gr. 2) is inscribed beneath the figure of the bearer.

Gr. 2

nbw
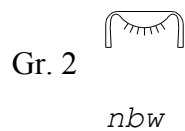
Rg. 1.W.3   Bringing offerings

The register shows the "bringing of a young *oryx* antelope" (Tx. 6) and other offerings by a row of three bearers striding north towards the Tomb Owner.

Tx. 6

sxpt rn mA-HD
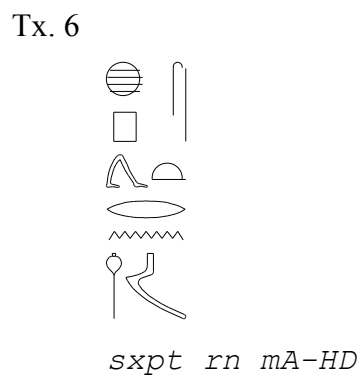
"Bringing a young *oryx* antelope."

1.W.3.1   The first bearer wears a knee-length kilt. He "carries a young *oryx* antelope" in his arms (cf. Tx 6). A text with the attendant's name accompanies the figure (Tx. 7).

Tx. 7
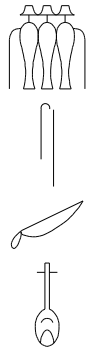
```
ẖntj-sSm-nfr
```

"Khentiseshemenefer."

1.W.3.2   The second bearer has short hair and wears a knee-length kilt. He carries a papyrus boat shaped basket which he supports with his left hand and shoulder. His right hand stretches forward and holds a trapezoid basket.

Sc. 1.N   **ROOM I: NORTH WALL**

The north wall is largely damaged. Only blocks forming the casing of the door leading to the open courtyard and the bottom of the wall (east to the door) are preserved. The preserved part of the relief decoration shows the remains of the standing figure of the Tomb Owner facing east (Rg. 1.N.1) likely "[viewing *nDt-Hr*-offerings brought for him from his domains and villages in Lower and Upper Egypt] of the funerary estate" (Tx. 8). In front of the figure of the Tomb Owner, there were originally three registers with offering bearers striding west towards the Tomb Owner, of which only some remains of the lowermost one are preserved (Rg. 1.N.2). Above the door set into the wall and behind the figure of the Tomb Owner, remains of one short register are preserved as well (Rg. 1.N.3).

Rg. 1.N.1   **Tomb Owner viewing offerings**

The figure of the Tomb Owner is only partly preserved. The head and the fore part of the figure are missing. The standing Tomb Owner faces east. He likely wore a knee-length kilt with a triangular front-piece. He is shown with a long wig and a broad *wesekh*-collar around his neck. A text describing the scene originally organized into one column and one line (following the same fashion as it is the case in Rg. 2.S.1) is attached (Tx. 8), while only last signs are preserved.

Tx. 8

... Dt

"... of the funerary foundation."

Rg. 1.N.2   **Bringing offerings**

A row of offering bearers strides west towards the Tomb Owner. Only four pairs of feet of the bearers are preserved.

1.N.2.1   Feet of an offering bearer.

1.N.2.2   Feet of an offering bearer.

1.N.2.3   Feet of an offering bearer.

1.N.2.4   Feet of an offering bearer.

Rg. 1.N.3   Bringing offerings

A row of five bearers bringing different offerings strides east towards the Tomb Owner from behind. Their heads are not preserved.

1.N.3.1   The first bearer wears a knee-length kilt.

1.N.3.2   The second bearer wears a knee-length kilt.

1.N.3.3   The third bearer wears a knee-length kilt with a triangular front piece. He likely carries an animal around his neck or supports an offering in front of his body.

1.N.3.4   The fourth bearer wears a knee-length kilt with a triangular front piece. He holds a bunch of lotus or papyrus stems in front of his body.

1.N.3.5   The last bearer wears a knee-length kilt with a triangular front piece. He supports an offering held with both arms in front of his head.

Sc. 1.E   ROOM I: EAST WALL

The east wall is almost fully destroyed. It only retains lower courses of masonry below the lower limit of the decoration. The wall most likely contained three registers with processions of offering bearers striding north. Judging from the analogous western and eastern walls of *Room II* (Scs. 2.W, 2.E) and the south wall of *Room IV* (Sc. 4.S), the scene did not include a depiction of the Tomb Owner.

Sc. 2.S   ROOM II: SOUTH WALL

The south wall is almost fully preserved. The exception to this is foundin the east part of the wall, where blocks from the uppermost courses of masonry are missing. The relief decoration shows a standing figure of the Tomb Owner facing east (Rg. 1.S.1) "viewing the cattle within the `ndt-Hr`-offerings brought (*alternatively* "and gifts") for him from his villages in Lower and Upper Egypt". In front of the figure of the Tomb Owner, there are three registers (Rgs. 2.S.2, 2.S.3, 2.S.4) with herdsmen "bringing cattle" (Tx. 10–18). The herdsmen bring a single ox, a pair of oxen or a calf. At the head of the procession of herdsmen in Rg. 2.S.2 and 2.S.3 stands a scribe presenting the scroll for inspection.

Rg. 2.S.1   Tomb Owner viewing offerings

The standing Tomb Owner faces east. He wears a knee-length kilt with triangular front-piece. He is shown with a long wig and a short beard. He has a broad *wesekh*-collar around his neck. He holds the *medu*-staff in his right hand and a handkerchief in his left. A text, organized into one column and one line, describing the scene is attached (Tx. 9). This scene serves as a pattern for reconstructions of unpreserved scenes from the walls of *Room I*.

Tx. 9
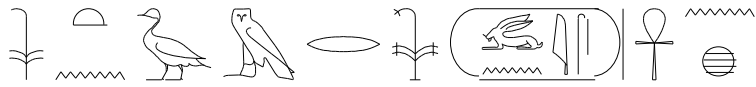
mAA jwA n nDt-Hr jnw n=f m njwwt=f nt mHw Smaw sA
nswt (j)m(y)-rA Smaw Wnjs-anx(.w)

"Inspecting the cattle within the nDt-Hr-offerings brought for him from his
villages in Lower and Upper Egypt (by) the King's son, overseer of Upper
Egypt Unisankh."

Rg. 2.S.2 **Bringing cattle**

The register shows a procession of herdsmen bringing cattle (Tx. 10–14). At the head of the procession stands a scribe presenting the scroll to the Tomb Owner.

2.S.2.1   The scribe is dressed in a knee-length kilt with a triangular front piece. He has short hair. His hands are stretched in front of his body and hold an unrolled scroll from which he reads.

2.S.2.2   The first herdsman in the register brings a single ox. The body of the ox is painted red. With his left hand he holds a bunch of twigs (probably intended for dispatching oxen) in front of his body. With his right hand he reins the rope tied up to the neckband and mouth of the animal he brings. He most likely wears a knee-length kilt. He has short hair. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 10

sxpt jwA
"Bringing cattle."

2.S.2.3   The second herdsman brings a single ox. The body of the ox is painted yellow. His left hand is stretched forward touching the ox with palm and fingers from above on his back. With his right hand the herdsman reins the rope tied up to the neckband and mouth of the animal he brings. He wears a short tight-fitting kilt with a sheath in front. He has short hair. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 11

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.S.2.4   The third herdsman brings a single ox. The paint on the body of the ox is not preserved. The herdsman wears a knee-length kilt tied around with a belt. He has short hair . His left hand is bent and touches the ox striding before him on the base of his tail. With his right hand the herdsman reins the rope tied up to the neckband and mouth of the animal he leads. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 12

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

1.S.2.5   The fourth herdsman brings a single ox. The body of the ox is painted red. The herdsman's body slightly leans forward. He wears a knee-length kilt tied around with a belt. He has short hair. His left hand is bolded and touches the ox striding before him on the base of his tail. With his right hand he reins the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. The animal's neckband is exceptionally finely executed. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 13

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.S.2.6	The fifth herdsman brings a calf. The calf is at a glance smaller in size compared to other animals and does not have horns. The paint on the body of the calf is not preserved. The herdsman wears a knee-length kilt tied around with a belt and a short wig. His left hand is stretched out forward and he touches with his palm and fingers the ox striding before him. With his right hand he reins the rope tied up to the neckband of the animal he brings. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 14

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.S.3 **Bringing oxen**

The register shows a procession of herdsmen "bringing cattle" (Tx. 15–18). At the head of the procession stands a scribe presenting the scroll to the Tomb Owner.

2.S.3.1	The scribe is dressed in a knee-length kilt with a triangular front piece. He has a short wig. His arms are bent and hold an unrolled scroll from which he reads. The scribe holds the ends of the scroll with his hands, while the scroll rest on his left forearm.
2.S.3.2	The first herdsman in the register brings a single ox. The paint on the body of the ox is not preserved. With his left hand the herdsman holds a bunch of twigs, probably intended for dispatching oxen, in front of his body. With his right hand he reins the rope tied up to the neckband and mouth of the animal he brings. The neckband is extraordinary finely executed. The herdsman wears a short tight-fitting kilt with a sheath in front. He has short hair. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 15

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.S.3.3   The second herdsman brings a single ox. The body of the ox is painted red. The herdsman wears a tight-fitting kilt with a sheath in front. He is bald-headed. His body slightly leans forward. His left hand is bent and touches the before striding ox on the base of his tail. With his right hand the herdsman reins the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 16

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.S.3.4   The third herdsman brings a single ox. The paint on the body of the ox is not preserved. His left hand is stretched out forward and he touches, with palm and fingers, the ox striding before him from above. With his right hand he reins the rope tied up to the neckband and mouth of the animal he brings. He wears a tight-fitting kilt with a sheath in front. He has short hair. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 17

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.S.3.5   The fourth herdsman brings a single ox. The paint on the body of the ox is not preserved. The herdsman wears a tight-fitting kilt with a sheath in front. He has short hair. His left hand is bolded and touches the before striding ox on the root of his tail. With his right hand the herdsman reins the rope tied up to the neckband and mouth of the animal he brings. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 18

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.S.3.6   The last herdsman brings a maverick. The calf's head is turned back and the herdsman has a hard time pulling it forward. The body of the calf is painted red. The herdsman is shown astride, standing on his tiptoes and holding the taut rope with his both hands. The rope is tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. The herdsman wears a tight-fitting kilt with a sheath in front.

2.S.4   **Bringing cattle**

The register shows a procession of herdsmen bringing cattle. At the head of the procession stands a scribe presenting the scroll to the Tomb Owner. The upper and eastern parts of the register are not well preserved and may have contained other depictions of herdsmen bringing cattle as well as descriptions of activities they were carrying out.

2.S.4.1   The scribe is dressed in a knee-length kilt with a triangular front piece. He has short hair. His arms are bent and hold an unrolled scroll from which he reads. The scribe holds the ends of the scroll with his hands, while it rest on his left forearm.

2.S.4.2 The first herdsman in the register brings a single ox. The paint on the body of the ox is not preserved. With his left hand the herdsman holds in front of his body a bunch of twigs probably intended for dispatching oxen. With his right hand he reins the rope tied up to the neckband and mouth of the animal he brings. He wears a tight-fitting kilt with a sheath in front.

2.S.4.3 The second herdsman brings a pair of oxen. The paints on the bodies of the oxen are not preserved. With his right hand the herdsman reins the rope tied up to the animals' neckbands and mouth. The herdsman wears a tight-fitting kilt with a sheath in front. He is bald-headed. His left hand is bent and touches the ox striding before him on the base of his tail.

2.S.4.4 Only lower parts of a herdsman and a single ox he brings are preserved. Upper courses of the masonry are lost. The paint on the body of the ox is not preserved.

2.S.4.5 Only lower parts of the herdsman and a single ox he brings is preserved. Upper courses of the masonry are lost. The paint on the body of the ox is not preserved.

(2.S.4.6) The end of the register is not preserved at all. The missing space was probably filled with a depiction of another herdsman bringing a piece of cattle.

Sc. 2.W   ROOM II: WEST WALL

The west wall is almost fully preserved. The relief decoration consists of three registers. The lowermost (Rg. 2.W.1) and uppermost registers (Rg. 2.W.3) contain depictions of vessels with seven sacred oils. The middle register contains depictions of chests with luxuries, namely different types of collars and vessels with seven sacred oils. No texts were written on this wall.

(from north to south)

Rg. 2.W.1   Vessels for seven sacred oils

The register consists of depictions of seven large vessels of three basic types (oval vases, cylindrical *bAs*-vases and *Xnm*-jugs).

2.W.1.1	A cylindrical vase.
2.W.1.2	A jug.
2.W.1.3	An oval vase.
2.W.1.4	A jug.
2.W.1.5	An oval vase.
2.W.1.6	A jug.
2.W.1.7	A cylindrical vase.

Rg. 2.W.2   Chests with luxuries

The register depicts three chests with luxurious contents shown on their tops. Two of them contain necklaces and other adornments (?), and the third one contains vessels with seven sacred oils.

(from north to south)

2.W.2.1   A chest with legs reinforced with bentwood braces. Three vases – cylindrical, oval and cylindrical – are depicted on top of the chest.

2.W.2.2   A chest with legs reinforced with bentwood braces. Different shaped necklaces are depicted on top of the chest.

2.W.2.3   A chest with legs reinforced by simple stretches. Different shaped necklaces are depicted on top of the chest.

Rg. 2.W.3   Vessels with seven sacred oils

The register consists of depictions of seven large and one half-sized vessels of three basic types (oval vases, cylindrical *bAs*-vases and *Xnm*-jugs). Judging from the layout of the register it seems probable that the decoration was conceived from the sides inwards.

2.W.3.1   A cylindrical vase.

2.W.3.2   An oval vase.

2.W.3.3   A jug.

2.W.3.4   A half-sized cylindrical vase.

2.W.3.5   A cylindrical vase.

2.W.3.6   An oval vase.

2.W.3.7   A cylindrical vase.

2.W.3.8   A jug.

Sc. 2.N   **ROOM II: NORTH WALL**

The north wall is almost fully preserved. In the east part of the wall, blocks from the uppermost courses of masonry are missing. The relief decoration shows a sitting figure of the Tomb Owner facing east (Rg. 2.N.1) "viewing cattle within the *nDt-Hr*-offerings of the first year". In front of the figure of the Tomb Owner, there are three registers with herdsmen "bringing cattle" (Rgs. 2.N.2, 2.N.3, 2.N.4). The herdsmen bring either a single ox or a pair of oxen. At the head of the procession of herdsmen in Rg. 2.N.2 and 2.N.3 stands a scribe presenting the scroll for inspection (2.N.2.1 and 2.N.3.1). In Rg. 2.N.2 the scribe presenting the scroll is accompanied by another scribe (2.N.2.2) making a record. At the end of the third register stands a bearer (2.N.2.7) bringing "a fat calf" (Tx. 28). The middle register (Rg. 2.N.3) includes a figure of a lame herdsman (2.N.3.4). Below the figure of the tomb owner, a register (Rg. 2.N.5) with two bearers bringing boxes with luxuries is placed.

Rg. 2.N.1   **Tom Owner viewing offerings**

The sitting Tomb Owner faces east. He sits on a chair with on a chair with four lion's legs. He wears a knee-length kilt. He is shown with a long wig and a short beard. He has a broad *wesekh*-collar around his neck. He holds a *medu*-staff in his left hand and a handkerchief in his right. A text, organized into two columns, describing the scene is attached (Tx. 19).

Tx. 19

mAA jwA n nDt-Hr nt rnpt

sA nswt (j)m(y)-rA Smaw tpy Xrt nswt Wnjs-anx(.w)

"Viewing the cattle within the nDt-Hr*-offerings of the first year*

(by) the King's son, overseer of Upper Egypt, property administrator of the
King Unisankh."

Rg. 2.N.2   Bringing cattle

The register shows a procession of herdsmen bringing cattle (Txs. 20–14). At the
head of the procession stands a scribe presenting the scroll to the Tomb Owner.

2.N.2.1   At the head of the procession of herders bringing oxen stands
                a scribe presenting the scroll to the Tomb Owner. He is dressed in
                a knee-length kilt with triangular front piece. His arms are bent and
                hold an unrolled scroll. The scribe holds the ends of the scroll with

his hands, while it rest on his left forearm. The body of the scribe is upright.

2.N.2.2.   The first herdsman brings a single ox. The body of the ox is painted yellow. The body of the herdsman is upright. With his right hand the herdsman holds in front of his body a bunch of twigs probably intended for dispatching the ox. With his left hand he reins the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. He wears a kilt with a flap in front. He has short hair. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 20

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.N.2.3.   The second herdsman brings a pair of oxen. The body of the ox is painted orange. The body of the herdsman slightly leans forward. Both of his hands are along his body. With his right hand he dispatches the ox striding before him, in his right hand he reins the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. He wears a short knee-length kilt. He has short hair. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 21

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.N.2.4.   The third herdsman brings a single ox. The paints on the body of the ox are not preserved. The body of the herdsman slightly leans

forward. His right hand is stretched out forwards touching the ox with palm and fingers from above on his back. With his left hand the herdsman reigns the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. His right hand is enormously long. He wears a short knee-length kilt. He has short hair. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 22

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.N.2.5.   The fourth herdsman brings a single ox. The paints on the body of the ox are not preserved. The body of the herdsman slightly leans forward. Both of his hands are alongside his body. With his right hand he dispatches the ox striding before him, in his right hand he reins the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. He wears a short knee-length kilt. He has short hair. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 23

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.N.2.6.   The fourth herdsman with the ox is followed by another herdsman who does not bring an ox on his own but only dispatches the ox striding before him. He pushes the ox with his stretched right hand and with a stick he holds in his left hand. The body of the herdsman is upright. He wears short knee-length kilt. He has short hair.

2.N.2.7.   The last person in the procession is an offering bearer bringing a fat calf. He holds it in his arms. With his right hand he touches it on his mouth and with his right hand he holds its heels so that it cannot kick. The body of the herdsman is upright. He wears a kilt with a flap in front. He is bald-headed. The depiction is accompanied by a text clarifying the activity.

Tx. 24

Hrj Dba
"A fat calf."

Rg. 2.N.3   Bringing cattle

The register shows a procession of herdsmen bringing cattle (Tx. 20–28). At the head of the procession stand two scribes – one presents the scroll to the Tomb Owner, the other keeping records.

2.N.3.1   At the head of the procession of herdsmen bringing oxen stands a scribe presenting the scroll to the Tomb Owner. He is dressed in a knee-length kilt with triangular front piece. He has short hair. The body of the scribe is upright. His hands are stretched in front of his body and hold the unrolled scroll.

2.N.3.2   The scribe with the scroll is followed by another scribe keeping a record (of the offerings being brought). He is dressed in a knee-length kilt with triangular front piece. The body of the scribe is upright. He holds the scroll from below with his left hand and with he writes with his right.

2.N.3.3   The first herdsman brings a single ox. The paints on the body of the ox are not preserved. The body of the herdsman slightly leans forward. With his right hand the herdsman holds a trapezoid

basket. In his left hand he reins the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. He wears a short knee-length kilt. He has short hair. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 25

sxpt jwA

„Bringing cattle."

2.N.3.4   The second herdsman is lame. He brings a single ox. The paints on the body of the ox are not preserved. Both of his hands are along sidehis body. With his right hand he dispatches the ox striding before him, in his right hand he reins the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. He wears a short knee-length kilt. He has short hair. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 26

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.N.3.5   The third herdsman brings a single ox. The body of the ox is painted yellow. The body of the herdsman is upright. His right hand is stretched out forwards touching the ox with palm and fingers from above on his back. With his left hand the herdsman reigns the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. He wears short knee-length kilt. He has short hair. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 27

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

2.N.3.6   The last herdsman brings a single ox. The body of the ox is painted orange. The body of the herdsman is upright. With his right hand the herdsman holds in front of his body a bunch of twigs probably intended for dispatching the oxen. In his left hand he reins the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. He wears a short knee-length kilt. He has short hair. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.
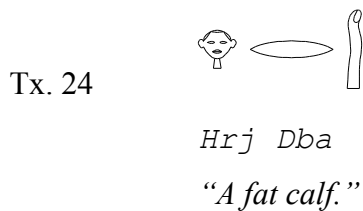
Tx. 28

sxpt jwA

"Bringing cattle."

Rg. 2.N.4   Bringing cattle

The register shows a procession of herdsmen bringing cattle. No scribe stands at the head of the procession. The upper and eastern parts of the register is not well preserved and may have contained other depictions of herdsmen bringing cattle as well as descriptions of activities being carried out by them. The decorative program represents the most inconsistent part of the north wall.

2.N.4.1   At the head of the procession stands a herdsman. He wears a short knee-length kilt. He has short hair. The paints on the body of the ox are not preserved. The body of the herdsman is upright. With his right hand the herdsman holds in front of his body a bunch of twigs probably intended for dispatching the oxen. With his left

hand he reins the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. He wears a short knee-length kilt. He has short hair.

2.N.4.2   The first herdsman with the ox is followed by a solitary striding ox. The paints on the body of the ox are not preserved.

2.N.4.3   The second herdsman brings a single ox. The paints on the body of the ox are not preserved. The body of the herdsman is upright. With his left hand the herdsman reins the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. He wears a kilt with a flap in front. He has short hair.

2.N.4.4   The third herdsman brings a single ox. The body of the ox is painted yellow. The body of the herdsman is upright. His right hand is stretched out forwards touching the ox with palm and fingers on his back. With his left hand the herdsman reigns the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. He wears short knee-length kilt. He has short hair.

2.N.4.5   The fourth herdsman brings most likely a single ox. The depiction of the ox is not almost entirely lost. The body of the herdsman leans slightly forward. His right hand is bent and touches the ox striding before him on the base of his tail. With his left hand the herdsman reins the rope tied up to the animal's neckband and mouth. He wears a kilt with a flap in front. He has short hair. Only the figure of the bearer but not that of the ox is preserved. The depiction was most likely accompanied by a text describing the activity.

(2.N.4.6)   The end of the register is not preserved at all. The missing space was probably filled with a depiction of another herdsman bringing a piece of cattle. The depiction was most likely accompanied by a text describing the activity (sxpt jwA).

Rg. 2.N.5   Bringing luxuries

The register shows a pair of bearer carrying chests-on-legs on their shoulders. The register is situated under the depiction of the seated Tomb Owner, west of the door leading to *Room III*.

2.N.5.1   The first bearer carries a cavetto corniced chest-on-legs on his left shoulder holding it with his left hand by its leg. In his right hand the bearer carries a flyswatter.

2.N.5.2   The second bearer carries a cavetto corniced chest-on-legs on his left shoulder supporting it with his both hands.

Sc. 2.E   **ROOM II: EAST WALL**

The east wall is only partly preserved. Only one and a half of the original three registers are preserved. The decoration of the wall is affected by the door joining *Rooms I* and *II*, hence the lowermost register is approximately half the size of its west wall counterpart. The bottom line of the original middle register is broken making the vessels above the door smaller in size. No texts were written on this wall.

(from north to south)

Rg. 2.E.1   **Vessels for seven sacred oils**

The register consists of depictions of four large vessels of three basic types (oval vases, cylindrical *bAs*-vases and *Xnmw*-jugs).

2.E.1.1   A jug.

2.E.1.2   A cylindrical vase.

2.E.1.3   An oval vase.

2.E.1.4   A jug.

Rg. 2.E.2   **Vessels**

The register consists of depictions of eight vessels, one half (in the south part) are larger in size, and the other (above the door) is of two-thirds size. The upper part of the register is not preserved.

2.E.2.1   Lower part of an oval vase.

2.E.2.2   Lower part of a globular bowl on a base.

2.E.2.3   Lower part of a cylindrical vase.

2.E.2.4   Lower part of an oval vase.

2.E.2.5   Lower part of a cylindrical vase.

2.E.2.6   Lower part of a jug.

2.E.2.7   Lower part of a cylindrical vase.

2.E.2.8   Lower part of an oval vase.

ROOM III

Room III was left without any relief decoration.

ROOM IV

Sc. 4.S   ROOM IV: SOUTH WALL

The relief decoration of this wall shows "bringing every good thing during festivals" (Tx. 29). Two different kinds of scenes are recognized: (rows of) bearers bringing offerings (Scs. 4.S.2 and 4.S.3) and bringing animals (young oxen – Rg. 4.S.2; an *oryx* antelope – Rg. 4.S.1).

Sc. 4.S.1.1   Bringing an *oryx* antelope (≈ Sc. 3.5)

The register covers only that part of the wall that was not concealed when the door was opened. The scene is not accompanied by any comment that would state the sort of animal. However, the sort of animal is evident from iconography.

4.S.1.1   A man standing astride brings an *oryx* (mA-HD) antelope holding it by its horns and beneath its mouth. He is dressed in a short kilt and has short hair.

 Rg. 4.S.2 Bearers bringing offerings

A row of six men stride west and bring various gifts. The figures of the first five bearers are executed in relief; but the last one is only painted, since the door, when open, conceals it. All are dressed in short kilts and have short hair.

4.S.2.1   The first man supports a plate loaded with figs and lettuce on his left shoulder. A bunch of alliaceous plants hangs over his left arm. He bears a fowl by its wings in his right hand.

4.S.2.2   The second man supports a tray loaded with baskets, one trussed goose and a calf's head.

4.S.2.3	The third man carries a goose, holding it with his right hand under and with left hand by its body. A basket with ducklings' head sticking out of it hangs on his folded left arm.
4.S.2.4	The fourth man carries a gazelle on his shoulders holding its legs with both hands.
4.S.2.5	The fifth man bears a plate loaded with breads and lettuce.
4.S.2.6	The painted figure of the sixth man is preserved in a very bad condition. Only the position of his outstretched arms implies that he may have supported two loaded trays.

Rg. 4.S.3   Bringing young oxen

Two men and two young oxen, all of them advancing west, are shown in the register. The men are dressed in short kilts. Altogether three inscriptions are included in the scene, the first of them identifying the depiction of the whole south wall (Tx. 29), the other two describing the kind of animal being brought (Txs. 30, 31). The second animal is markedly smaller due to the lack of space left for it.

Tx. 29

sxpt xt nb(t) nfrt m HAbw

"Bringing every good thing during festivals."

4.S.3.1	The first man carries a bunch (possibly for dispatching the ox) in his left hand and with the right he reins the animal. The rope is tied up to a kind of collar round the ox's neck and is fastened in an unexplained manner to its mouth. An inscription stating the sort of the animal accompanies the depiction.

Tx. 30

rn jwA

"A young ox."

4.S.3.2   The body of the second man is shown in profile rather than from *en-face*. He is bald-headed. He stretches his left hand towards the first ox touching its dorsum. In his right hand the man certainly held a rope, with which he controlled the second ox. Although the relief is damaged in this part, one can be sure that the ox was tied in the same manner as the previous one. An inscription stating the sort of the animal accompanies the depiction. The second ox is smaller when compared with the first one.

Tx. 31
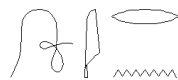
rn jwA

"A young ox."

Rg. 4.S.4 Bearers bringing offerings

A row of six men striding west and carrying various gifts is shown in the upper-most register. All of them are dressed in short kilts and have short hair. Only figures of the second and the third bearer are almost intact. The upper part of the wall is damaged.

4.S.4.1   The first bearer carries a goose, holding it with his arms with his right hand by its legs, with left by its body.

4.S.4.2   The second bearer supports a plate with his left hand and shoulder. The plate is loaded with bread and baskets. In his right hand, he holds a fowl by its wings.

4.S.4.3	The third bearer supports a plate with his left hand and the shoulder. The plate is loaded with unidentified foodstuff.
4.S.4.4	The fourth bearer holds up a tray loaded with figs and other fruits. A trapezoid bag hangs over his left arm. In his right hand he holds a fowl by its wings.
4.S.4.5	The fifth bearer carries a calf in his arms. He steadies it from below with his right hand. With his left he holds its forelegs so that it cannot kick.
4.S.4.6	The last bearer probably supports a loaded plate with his left shoulder. A vertical bundle suspended from a cord hangs on his left arm. In his right hand he holds a bunch of lotuses.

Sc. 4.W   ROOM IV: WEST WALL

The west wall is fully preserved. The relief decoration shows a standing figure of the Tomb Owner facing south (Rg. 4.W.1) "viewing the great annual *nDt-Hr*-offerings brought for him from his estates and villages of the funerary foundation in Lower and Upper Egypt" (Tx. 32). In front of the figure of the Tomb Owner are four registers with bearers coming on foot (Rgs. 4.W.2 and 4.W.4) and sailors coming on papyrus boats (Rgs. 4.W.3 and 4.W.5), bringing various offerings, above all fowl. At the head of Rg. 4.W.2 stands a scribe "presenting the scroll for inspection" (Tx. 33).

Rg. 4.W.1   Tomb Owner Viewing Offerings

The standing Tomb Owner faces south. He wears a knee-length kilt with triangular front-piece. He is shown with a long wig and a short beard. He has a broad *wesekh*-collar around his neck. He holds a *medu*-staff in his right hand and a handkerchief in his left. A text, organized into one long and seven short columns, describing the scene is attached, and gives the titles, epithets and name of the Tomb Owner (Tx. 32).
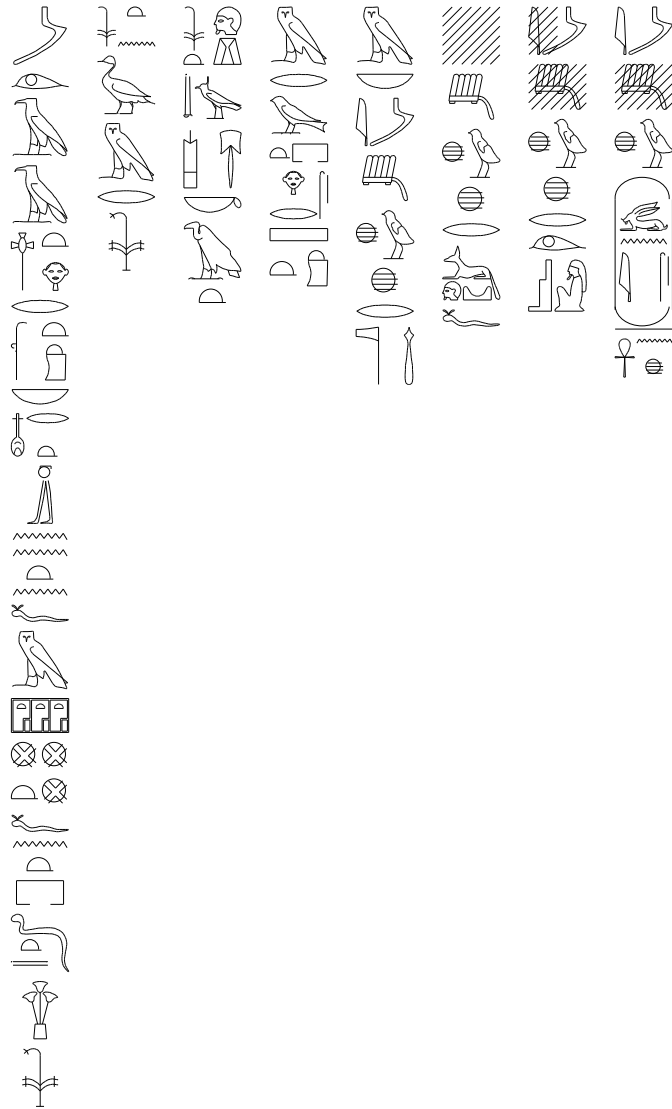
Tx. 32

mAA nDt-Hr rnpt nb(t) jnnt n=f m Hwt(=f) njwwt=f

nt pr-Dt m mHw Smaw

sA nswt, (j)m(y)-rA Smaw

tpy Xrt nswt, mdw rxyt, jwn knmwt

(j)m(y)-rA Hwt wrt, Hry sStA

m nb jmAx xr nTr aA

[nb] jmAxw xr Jnpw tpy Dw=f

jmAxw xr Wsjr

jmAxw Wnjs-anx

"Viewing all beautiful annual `nDt-Hr`-offerings brought for him
from his houses and estates of the funerary foundation in Lower
and Upper Egypt
(by) the King's son, overseer of Upper Egypt,
property administrator of the King, staff of the rekhyt people,
support of the kenemut people,
overseer of a (law) court, privy to the secrets,
as possessor of reverence before the great god,
possessor of reverence before Anubis, who is upon his mountain.
revered before Osiris
revered Unisankh."

Rg. 4.W.2   Bringing offerings on boats

The lowermost register presents two different topics, namely „presenting the scroll for inspection" (Tx. 33) and the bringing of offerings (above all fowl) on two boats. Both individual parts are indicated by means of a differentiated level of the bottom line. The scribe presenting the scroll is on a lower level than the papyrus boats that rest on a narrow strip representing waters. The boats overlap slightly. All boatmen face north towards the Tomb Owner.

4.W.2.1   The scribe is dressed in a knee-length kilt with a triangular front piece. He has short hair. His hands are stretched in front of his body and hold an unrolled scroll from which he reads. The depiction is accompanied by a text describing the activity.

Tx. 32

`djt sS (r) mAA`

"Presenting the scroll for inspection."

(Boat 1)	The crew of the first papyrus boat consists of three sailors all facing north. The first two bring fowl, while the third one is shown at the moment of poling the boat forward. The boat was originally decorated with stripped pattern.
4.W.2.2	The first sailor stands on the prow of the papyrus boat and holds a fowl in front of his body. His right hand is stretched and holds the bird by its neck, while with the left he holds it by its wings. The sailor wears a knee-length kilt with triangular front-piece and has short hair.
4.W.2.3	The second sailor stands next to a cage of fowl sitting on the deck. Three fowl are kept in the cage while another one stands on it. He holds a bird by its wings in left hand while he holds a lotus flower in right. He wears a tight kilt and has short hair.
4.W.2.4	The third sailor stands on the rear of the boat poised on one foot at the moment of poling the boat forward. He heavily leans on the pole which has a bifurcated end and is immersed into water. The sailor wears a tight kilt, his penis sticking out of it. He is bald-headed. A calf stands behind him tethered to the deck.
(Boat 2)	The crew of the second papyrus boat consists of two boatmen. Both of them pole the boat forward. The boat is loaded with a cage containing four fowl. A bag for a traveling mat and a draw-net and foodstuffs (?) are placed on top of the cage. The boat was originally decorated with stripped pattern.
4.W.2.5	The first sailor stands on the bow of the boat. With both hands he holds the pole with bifurcated end leaning on it while poling the boat forward. He wears a tight kilt with a sheath in front. He has short hair.
4.W.2.6	The second sailor stands on the rear of the boat. He stands on his left leg and with toes of his right leg he leans on the very rear of the boat. He faces backwards. He holds the pole with bifurcated end immersed into water both of his hands pushing the boat forward.

Rg. 4.W.3   Bringing offerings

The register shows a procession of seven offering bearers striding north towards the Tomb Owner and bringing different offerings, mostly animals. All of them have short hair and wear either tight kilts with sheaths in front or knee-length kilts.

4.W.3.1   The first bearer has short hair and wears a tight kilt with a sheath in front. He holds a fowl in front of his body. His right hand is stretched and holds the bird by its neck, while with his left he holds it by its wings. The head of the figure is badly damaged.

4.W.3.2   The second bearer has short hair and wears a tight kilt with a sheath in front. He holds a fowl in his arms. He holds the bird by its beak with his left hand and by its legs with his right.

4.W.3.3   The third bearer has short hair and wears a tight kilt. He cradles a fowl in his left hand crook. In his right hand he holds a bunch of lotus flowers.

4.W.3.4   The fourth bearer has short hair and wears a knee-length kilt. He carries a calf in his arms holding its forelegs with his left hands and supporting the beast's belly from below. A trapezoid basket hangs on his left arm. Two duckling's head are sticking out of the basket.

4.W.3.5   The fifth bearer has short hair and wears a knee-length kilt. He carries a crane in his arms. With his left hand he holds it by its beak and with his right hand by its leg.

4.W.3.6   The sixth bearer has short hair and wears a knee-length kilt. He carries an *oryx* antelope in his arms. He supports it from beneath with his both hands.

4.W.3.7   The depiction of the last man is squeezed into insufficient space. His right arm is held up at a bizarre angle and supports a large basket. In his left hand he holds a bunch of lotus flowers.

Rg. 4.W.4   Bringing offerings on boats

The register shows bringing of offerings (above all fowl) on two boats. The papyrus boats rest on a strip representing waters. The boats overlap slightly.

(Boat 3)	The crew of the third papyrus boat consists of three sailors all facing north. The first two bring fowl, while the third on is shown at a moment of poling the boat forward.
4.W.4.1	The first man is bald-headed. He wears a knee-length kilt with a flap in front. He holds a fowl with right hand by its neck and with his left by its wings.
4.W.4.2	The second man has short hair and wears a short knee-length kilt. He stands next to a cage with fowl sitting on the deck. Four fowl are kept in the cage. A piece of cloth (possibly a bag for traveling mat) and a draw-net is placed atop of the cage. The boatman holds a fowl by its wing with his both hands and clasps a bunch of papyrus stems in his right under his right arm.
4.W.4.3	The third man stands on the rear and poles the boat forward. The pole, which he holds in both hands has a bifurcated end. He is bald-headed and wears a short kilt. His left arm is folded. He rests mainly on his left leg and with the right he leans on the elevated stern. Between his legs, a fishing basket is placed.
(Boat 4)	The crew of the fourth papyrus boat consists of three sailors. Those on the prow and on the rear pole the boat forward. The boat is loaded with a cage with three pieces of fowl and two freestanding calves are tethered to the deck.
4.W.4.4	The first boatman has short hair and wears a short kilt. He puts his foot down on the elevated prow and holds a stick in both hands with which he poles the boat forwards.
4.W.4.5	The second man is bald-headed and wears a skirt with a slap in front. In his left hand he holds two fowls by their wings, in the right only one.

4.W.4.6   The third man is rather old. He is bald-headed, has longer hair on the nape and a beard. All of these symptoms imply that he suffered from a disease (possibly *bilharzias*). He leans on the stick and poles the boat forward. He holds the pole in his right hand. In the left he probably bears a bunch of lotus blossoms.

Rg. 4.W.5   Bringing offerings

The uppermost register shows a procession of six bearers striding north towards the Tomb Owner and bringing different offerings (in all but one case an animal.) All of them have short hair and wear short knee-length kilts.

4.W.5.1   The first man holds a fowl with his left hand by its wings and with his right by its neck. The left arm is folded and the right stretched.

4.W.5.2   The second man carries a calf in his arms. His left hand holds its forelegs so that it cannot kick. A milk-jug hangs on his left forearm.

4.W.5.3   The third man carries a crane in his arms. He holds it with his left hand by its beak and with his right by its body.

4.W.5.4   The fourth man bears an *oryx* antelope on his shoulders. With his right hand, he holds it by its horns, with his left by its legs.

4.W.5.5   The fifth man carries a fowl in his arms. He holds it with his left hand by its beak and with his right by its body.

4.W.5.6   The last man in the row carries a loaded basket in his right hand, and in the right a papyrus stem.

Sc. 4.N   ROOM IV: NORTH WALL

The north wall is fully preserved. The relief decoration shows a seated figure of the Tomb Owner facing west (Rg. 4.N.1) "viewing the great annual *nDt-Hr*-offerings brought (for him from his villages of the funerary foundation) in Lower and Upper Egypt" (Tx. 34). He sits on a chair with four lion's legs. The cushion of the chair was depicted erratically. In front of the figure of the Tomb Owner there are three short registers with bearers bringing various offerings (Rgs. 4.N.3, 4.N.4 and 4.N.5). Under the register with the figure of the Tomb Owner is a register (Rg. 4.N.2) showing a herdsman bringing an *oryx* antelope.

Rg. 4.N.1   Viewing offerings

The sitting Tomb Owner faces west. He sits on a chair with four lion's legs. He wears a knee-length kilt. He is shown with a short wig and a short beard. He has a
          broad *wesekh*-collar around his neck. He holds the *medu*-staff in his right hand, while his left hand is empty. A text, organized into one long and six short columns, describing the scene is attached (Tx. 34).
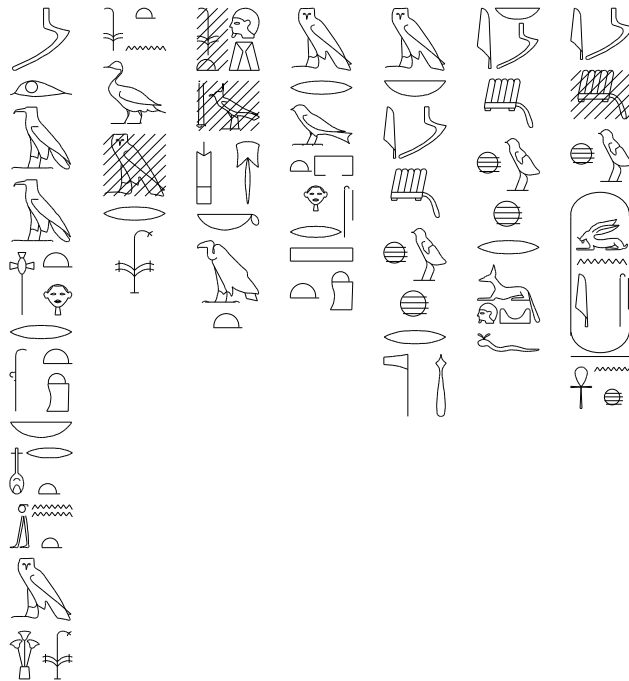
Tx. 34

          mAA nDt-Hr rnpt nb(t) nfrt jnnt nt mHw Smaw

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sA nswt (j)m(y)-rA Smaw
tpy Xrt nswt mdw rxyt jwn knmwt
(j)m(y)-rA Hwt wrt Hry sStA
m nb jmAxw xr nTr aA
nb jmAxw xr Jnpw tpy Dw=f
jmAxw Wnjs-anx(.w)
```
"Viewing all beautiful annual `nDt-Hr`*-offerings brought of*[SIC] *Lower and*
  Upper Egypt
(by) the King's son, overseer of Upper Egypt,
property administrator of the King, staff of the rekhyt people, support of
  the kenemut people,
overseer of a (law) court, privy to the secrets,
as possessor of reverence before the great god,
possessor of reverence before Anubis who is upon his mountain,
revered Unisankh."

Rg. 4.N.2   Bringing an *oryx* antelope

The register is placed next to the door. The scene is not accompanied by any comment that would state the sort of animal. However, the sort of animal is evident from iconography. The scene corresponds to the similar depiction on the opposite wall (Rg. 4.S.1).

4.N.2.1   A man standing astride brings an *oryx* (`mA-HD`) antelope holding it by its horns with his left hand. He strides to the west, but his head is turned back. His tight kilt is put up.

Rg. 4.N.3 Bearers bringing offerings

A row of two men, advancing east towards the Tomb Owner, is shown in the upper-most register. Both men have short hair and wear short kilts.

4.N.3.1   The first man carries a plate loaded with bread and meat supporting it by left shoulder and arm. A bunch of alliaceous plants (?) hangs on his left arm. In his right hand, he carries a milk jug.

4.N.3.2   The second man carries two plates loaded with bread, vegetables and meat supported on his shoulders. He also bears a bunch of alliaceous plants hanging on his right arm.

Rg. 4.N.4   Bearers bringing offerings

A row of two men, advancing east towards the Tomb Owner, is shown in the middle register. Both men have short hair and wear a short kilt.

4.N.4.1   The first man holds a fowl with his left hand by its wings and with his right by its neck.

4.N.4.2   The second man carries a plate loaded with bread, supporting it by his left arm and shoulder. A bunch of lotus flowers hangs on his left arm. He bears a bunch of stems in his right hand.

Rg. 4.N.5   Bearers bringing offerings

A row of two men, advancing left towards the Tomb Owner, is shown in the lowest register. Both men have short hair and wear a short kilt.

4.N.5.1   The first man holds a fowl in his arms supporting it from beneath with both hands. A bunch of lotus blossoms hangs on his left arm.

4.N.5.2   The second man carries a calf in his left arm. With his right hand he supports a plate loaded with bread.

Sc. 4.E   ROOM IV: EAST WALL

The east wall is fully preserved. The relief decoration shows a standing figure of the Tomb Owner facing south (Rg. 4.E.1) "viewing the great annual *nDt-Hr*-offerings brought for him from his estates and villages of the funerary foundation in Lower and Upper Egypt" (Tx. 32). In front of the figure of the Tomb Owner are four registers with bearers coming on foot (Rgs. 4.E.2 and 4.E.4) and boatmen coming on papyrus boats (Rgs. 4.E.3 and 4.E.5) bringing various offerings, especially fowl. The two lower registers are of half the size of the upper ones. Above the doorway there is a narrow additional register with different offerings (4.E.6).

Rg. 4.E.1   Viewing offerings

The sitting Tomb Owner faces south. He wears a knee-length kilt with a triangular front-piece. He is shown with a long wig. He has a broad *wesekh*-collar around his neck. He holds the *medu*-staff in his left hand and a handkerchief in his right. A text, organized into one long and seven short columns, describing the scene is attached and gives the titles, epithets and name of the Tomb Owner (Tx. 35).

Tx. 35

```
mAA  nDt-Hr  rnpt  nb(t)  jnnt  n=f  m  Hwt(=f)

njwwt(=f) nt pr-Dt mHw Smaw

sA nswt, (j)m(y)-rA Smaw

tpy Xrt nswt, mdw rxyt, jwn knmwt

(j)m(y)-rA Hwt wrt, Hry sStA

m nb jmAx xr nTr-aA

nb jmAxw xr Jnpw tpy Dw=f

jmAxw xr Wsjr

jmAxw Wnjs-anx
```

"*Viewing all beautiful annual* nDt-Hr*-offerings brought of*[SIC] *Lower and Upper Egypt*

(by) the King's son, overseer of Upper Egypt,

property administrator of the King, staff of the rekhyt people, support of

the kenemut people,

overseer of a (law) court, privy to the secrets,

as possessor of reverence before the great god,

possessor of reverence before Anubis who is upon his mountain,

revered Unisankh."

Rg. 4.E.2   Bringing offerings on boat

The lowermost short register next to the door shows two boatmen bringing flowers and fowl. They advance north towards the Tomb Owner. Both men have short hair and wear short kilts. They both have short hair and wear knee-length kilts.

(Boat 5)	The two bearers are depicted on a stylized papyrus boat placed on a narrow strip representing the river.
4.E.2.1	The first man carries a bunch of papyrus stems in his right hand which he holds it in front of his chest. With his left hand he holds two pieces of fowl by their wings.
4.E.2.2	The second man carries a goose with his right arm and holds some flowers in his left hand.

Rg. 4.E.3   Bringing Offerings

The upper short register next to the door shows two men bringing various gifts and advancing north towards the Tomb Owner. Both men have short hair and wear short kilts.

4.E.3.1	The first man supports a plate with his right hand and shoulder. The plate is loaded with bread and a basket of fruit. A bunch of lotus blossoms hangs over his right arm. In his left hand, he carries a fowl by its wings.

4.E.3.2   The second man supports a plate loaded with meat with his right shoulder. A bunch of alliaceous plants hangs over his arm. In his left hand, he carries a milk jug.

Rg. 4.E.4   Bringing Offerings on Boats

The register shows bringing of offerings (principally fowl) on two boats. The papyrus boats rest on a strip representing waters. The boats do not overlap. All the boatmen face north towards the Tomb Owner save one..

(Boat 6)   The crew of the sixth papyrus boat consists of three sailors all facing north. The first two bring fowls, while the third on is shown at the moment of poling the boat forward. The craftsmanship of their execution is poor.

4.E.4.1   The first man is bald-headed. He wears a skirt with a flap in front. He holds a fowl by its wings with his left hand. With his right hand he holds large flowers in front of him.

4.E.4.2   The next man holds up a duck by its wings in right hand. His left hand is clenched to his breast.

4.E.4.3   The third man stands on the rear of the boat and poles it forward. The pole he holds in both hands has a bifurcated end. He is bald-headed. His left leg is sharply bent and foot is in air.

(Boat 7)   The crew of the seventh papyrus boat consists of three boatmen. Two of them pole the boat forward, while one stands between them. The boat is loaded with a bag for a traveling mat (?) and a lifesaver (?). Both are shown, as if they were lying on a cage, but no cage has ever been carved.

4.E.4.4   The first boatman leads in the prow. He leans forcefully on the pole with bifurcated end pushing the boat forwards. He is bald-headed and wears a tight kilt with sheath in front.

4.E.4.5   The middle boatman holds his hand upright with index finger extended. His left hand holds two fowls by a rope pinioning their wings. He has short hair and wears a short knee-length kilt.

4.E.4.6   The last boatman stands on the prow facing rearward. He leans on his staff and forcibly pushes the boat forward.

Rg. 4.E.5   Bearers bringing offerings

The register shows a row of seven men striding north towards the Tomb Owner and bringing various gifts. All are dressed in short kilts and wear short hair (at least those preserved). The register is damaged in its upper part.

4.2.1   The first man holds a fowl by its wings with his left hand and with his right by its neck. The left arm is folded and the right stretched.

4.2.2   The second man carries an *oryx* antelope on his shoulders, holding it by its limbs with his left hand. With his right arm, he clasps the animal's head, while holding a trapezoidal basket in his hand.

4.2.3   The third man carries a calf in his arms. On his right arm hangs a horizontal bundle.

4.2.4   The fourth man carries a fowl by its wings in his left hand. A bunch of lotus blossoms hangs on his left arm. His right hand is indistinct. He likely carries a beer jug on his right palm, while his arm is bent in at the elbow.

4.2.5   The figure of the fifth man is badly damaged. He carries a bunch of lotus blossoms on his left arm and in his left hand most probably a fowl.

4.2.6   The sixth man carries an antelope in his arms. He holds it with his left hand by its legs, with his right by its body. A milk jug (?) hangs on his right arm.

4.2.7   The figure of the last man is badly damaged. He probably bears a bunch of stems in front of him. He holds a fowl with his left hand.

4.6   **Offerings**

The register resembles those of upper parts of decoration in *Room V*. It fills the gap between two upper long registers and the door. Six different groups of offerings are shown: an offering table loaded with bread and lettuce and with baskets beneath it; six tall vessels with stoppers, a basket and vegetable; a papyrus boat shaped basket loaded with meat and vegetable; tall vessels with stoppers with a loaf of bread or a piece of vegetable which is placed between the first two vessels and an offering table loaded with a basket of fruit, bread and a piece of meat. The register ends with a pile of meat and vegetables.

A graffito – a depiction of bird – is found on the west wall of the doorway connecting *Rooms IV* and *V*.

Gr. 3
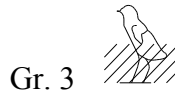
ROOM V

Sc. 5.S   **ROOM V: SOUTH WALL**

The south wall is fully preserved. The relief decoration consists of three high (Rgs. 5.S.1, 5.S.2 and 5.S.3) and three low registers (Rgs. 5.S.4, 5.S.5 and 5.S.6). The lowermost high register (Rg. 5.S.1) contains two offering bearers carrying legs of oxen. The two middle high registers (Rgs. 5.S.2 and 5.S.3) contain depictions of offering bearers bringing different offerings. The three narrow uppermost low registers (Rgs. 5.S.4, 5.S.5 and 4.S.6) show groups of different offerings. The registers are described from west to east.

Rg. 5.S.1   **Bearers bringing offerings**

A couple of bearers or butchers stride west and bring various gifts. They both have short hair and wear knee-length kilts. Their bodies lean slightly forward. They both carry ox legs. In both cases the sculptor carelessly cut the left arm through the ox leg but corrected the error in paint.

5.S.1.1   An bearer bringing an ox leg holding it with both hands.

5.S.1.2   An bearer bringing an ox leg holding it with both hands.

Rg. 5.S.2   **Bearers bringing offerings**

A couple of bearers strides west and bring various gifts. They both have short hair and wear knee-length kilts.

5.S.2.1   The first bearer brings a bunch of papyrus stems which he hold upright with his left hand in front of him. With his right hand he supports a trapezoid basket in front of his chest. Bundles hang on rope over his bent left arm.

5.S.2.2   The other bearer brings a bunch of papyrus stems which he holds with his left hand in front of his body. He supports a loaded tray with his right hand and shoulder. A trapezoid basket hangs over his right arm.

Rg. 5.S.3   Bearers bringing offering

A row of six bearers strides west and bring various offerings. All of them have short hair and wear knee-length kilts.

5.S.3.1   The first bearer brings a tray loaded with foodstuffs supporting it with his left hand and shoulder. In his right hand he carries a bunch of papyrus stems.

5.S.3.2   The second bearer carries a trapezoid basket in his left hand and with his right hand and shoulder supports a loaded tray. A bunch of alliaceous plants (or a piece of cloth) hangs over his right arm.

5.S.3.3   The third bearer holds up a loaded tray on his left shoulder. A trapezoid basket hangs over his right arm. A milk jug hangs over his right arm.

5.S.3.4   The fourth bearer support a tray on his left shoulder and holds forward a bunch of lotuses or papyrus stems in his right hand.

5.S.3.5   The fifth bearer holds upright a long floral bouquet in his right hand and a bunch of papyrus stems in front of his body.

5.S.3.6   The figure of the last bearer is only partly preserved. Only his feet remain.

Rg. 5.S.4   Offerings

From the west, there is a rectangular table with breads on it, three tall vessels, a round offering table with loaves of bread on it and baskets of fruits beneath. Three more vessels follow, then another rectangular offering table loaded with baskets, another three tall vases and a papyrus boat shaped basket loaded with meat and vegetables (?).

Rg. 5.S.5   Offerings

From the west, there are three vases, an offering table with smaller vessels on top and baskets of fruits beneath, a tall sealed vessel, a bowl with lotuses, more tall

vessels, a boat shaped basket filled with an ox leg, a basket and vegetable topped off by ettuce and ribs. To the east there are conical loaves of bread, three tall vessels and a wide bowl on a stand.

Rg. 5.S.6   Offerings

A round offering table with loaves of bread on it and baskets with fruits beneath it; three tall vessels; a round offering table with loaves of bread on it and baskets with fruits beneath it; a wide bowl on a stand, tall vessels, an calf's head, a round offering table with loaves of bread on it and baskets with fruits beneath it, tall vases, a round offering table with loaves of bread on it and baskets with fruits beneath it, tall vases.

Sc. 5.Wa   ROOM V: WEST WALL – SOUTH RUN

The southern run of the west wall is fully preserved. The relief decoration shows a figure of the Tomb Owner facing south (Rg. 5.W.1) in front of an offering table, a pile of offerings and an offering list. Rg. 5.Wa.1 includes altogether three texts (Tx. 36–38). Below the main register is a narrow register (Rg. 5.W.2) showing offering bearers "bringing choicest meat" (Tx. 39), namely legs of oxen and whole poultry.

Rg. 5.Wa.1   Tomb Owner at the offering table

The sitting Tomb Owner faces south. He sits on a chair with four lion's legs. He wears a knee-length kilt. He is shown with a long wig and a short beard and wearing a broad *wesekh*-collar around his neck. The Tomb Owner is shown seated in front of the offering table with a pile of offerings placed on a mat. The Tomb Owner stretches his hands towards the offering-table. The offering table is loaded with 18 papyrus reeds. The pile of offerings may be roughly divided horizontally into two groups. The lower part of the pile is more organized. At right are three conical loaves of bread with a slain fowl on top. At the middle is a group of offerings including a foreleg, pieces of meat, a basket with figs, loaves of bread and a lettuce (?). At the left are two tall vessels (a water jug and a beer jug) with stoppers. The upper part is rather disorganized. At the right is a papyrus boat shaped basket with figs, a foreleg, a slain bird, a loaf of bread and two types of leg-bones with adjoining meat, a head of a cattle and cucumbers. Further to the left are three conical loaves of bread. Between the leg of the offering table and the Tomb Owner's legs a text, organized into two lines (Tx. 38) and mentioning *thousands of offerings*, is placed. A rectangular stand with legs joined by cross rails is depicted to the left from the foot of the offering table with a basin and a ewer standing on it. The scene is supplemented by an offering list with 90 items (15 columns, six lines), which is placed in the upper south corner of the scene. A text, organized into three long columns, giving the epithets, titles and the name of the Tomb Owner is placed next to the offering list (Tx. 36).
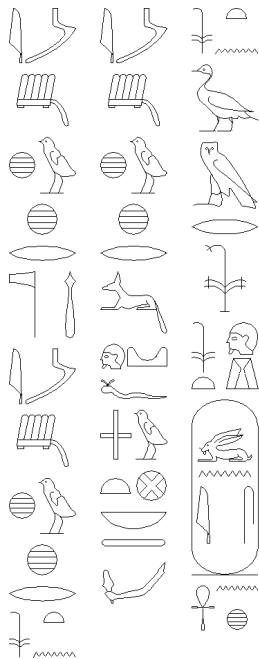
Tx. 36

jmAxw xr ntr-aA, jmAxw xr nswt

jmAxw xr Jnpw, tpy Dw=f, (j)m(y) wt, nb tA Dsr

sA nswt, (j)m(y)-rA Smaw, tpy Xrt nswt Wnjs-anx(.w)

"Revered before the Great God, revered before the King,

revered before Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the
   embalming place, the lord of the sacred land,

the King's son, overseer of Upper Egypt, the property administrator of the
   King Unisankh"

Tx. 37 *Offering list*

[Cf. below]

Tx. 38
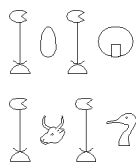
```
xA (m) t, xA (m) pAwt
xA (m) kAw, xA (m) Apdw
```

"Thousands in bread, thousands in cakes,
thousands in bulls, thousands in birds"

Rg. 5.Wa.2   Bringing choicest meat

The register shows a row of offering bearers "brining the choicest meat" (Tx. 39), namely ox legs. They all have short hair and wear knee-length kilts. Their bodies lean forward slightly.

Tx. 39

```
sxpt stpwt
```

"Bringing the choicest meat."

5.Wa.2.1	A bearer bringing an ox leg holding it with his both hands.
5.Wa.2.2	A bearer bringing an ox leg holding it with his both hands.
5.Wa.2.3	A bearer bringing an ox leg holding it with his both hands.
5.Wa.2.4	A bearer bringing an ox leg holding it with his both hands.
5.Wa.2.5	A bearer bringing an ox leg holding it with his both hands.

Sc. 5.Ra   ROOM V: WEST WALL – FALSE DOOR NICHE – SOUTH WALL – Seven Sacred Oils

The south wall of the false door niche is fully preserved. The relief decoration is divided into seven rather small registers each including a depiction of a vessel with one of the seven sacred oils with an inscription indicating the content – "festival fragrance" (Tx. 40), "*hekenu*-oil" (Tx. 41), "cedar oil" (Tx. 42), "*nykhenem*-unguent" (Tx. 43), "*tuaut* -unguent" (Tx. 44), "the best cedar oil" (Tx. 45) and "the best Libyan oil" (Tx. 46) (from above). The vessels are of three basic types (oval vases, cylindrical `bAs`-vases and `Xnmw`-jugs). Some of the registers are partly lost.

5.Ra.1   A cylindrical vase with "festival fragrance" (Tx. 40).

Tx. 40
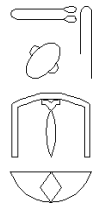
`sTj-Hb`

"Festival fragrance."

5.Ra.2   A cylindrical vase with "`hekenu-oil`" (Tx. 41)

Tx. 41
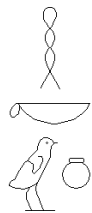
`Hknw`

"Hknw *oil*"

5.Ra.3   An oval vase with "cedar oil" (Tx. 42).

Tx. 42
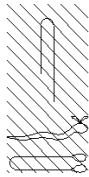
[sfT]

"Cedar oil."

5.Ra.4   *A* jug *with* "nykhenem-*unguent" (Tx. 43).*

Tx. 43

nXnm

"Nykhenem-oil."

5.Ra.5   A cylindrical vase with "tuaut-unguent" (Tx. 44)*.*

Tx. 44

twAwt

"Tuaut-oil."

5.Ra.6 *An oval vase with "the best cedar oil" (Tx. 45).*

Tx. 45
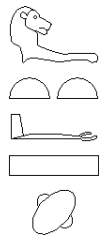
HAtt (nt) aS

"The best cedar oil."

5.Ra.7 *A jug with "the best Libyan oil" (Tx. 46).*

Tx. 46

HAtt (nt) THnw

"The best Libyan oil."

Sc. 5.Rb   ROOM V: WEST WALL – FALSE DOOR NICHE – NORTH WALL – Seven Sacred Oils

The north wall of the false door niche is fully preserved. The relief decoration is divided into seven rather small registers each including a depiction of a vessel with one of the seven sacred oils with an inscription indicating the content – "festival fragrance" (Tx. 47), "*hekenu* oil" (Tx. 48), "cedar oil" (Tx. 49), "*nykhenem* unguent" (Tx. 50), "*tuaut* unguent" (Tx. 51), "the best cedar oil" (Tx. 52) and "the best Libyan oil" (Tx. 53) (from above). The vessels are of three basic types (oval vases, cylindrical `bAs`-vases and `Xnmw`-jugs).

5.Rb.1   A cylindrical vase with "festival fragrance" oil (Tx. 47).

Tx. 47

`sTj Hb`

"Festival fragrance."

5.Rb.2   A cylindrical vase with "`hekenu`-oil" (Tx. 48).

Tx. 48
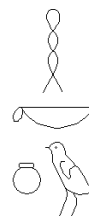
`Hknw`

"Hekenu-oil."

5.Rb.3 An cylindrical vase with "cedar oil" (Tx. 49).

Tx. 49

```
sfT
```

"Cedar oil."

5.Rb.4 A jug with "nykhenem-unguent" (Tx 50).

Tx. 50

```
ny-Xnm
```

"Nykhenem-unguent."

5.Rb.5 A cylindrical vase with "tuaut-unguent" (Tx. 51).

Tx. 51

```
twAwt
```

"Tuaut-unguent."

5.Rb.6   A cylindrical vase with "the best cedar oil" (Tx. 52).

Tx. 52


```
HAtt (nt) aS
```
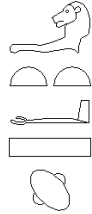
"The best cedar oil."

5.Rb.7   A jug with "the best Libyan oil" (Tx. 53).

Tx. 53


```
HAtt (nt) T(Hnw)
```

"The best Libyan oil."

Sc. 5.Wb.1   ROOM V: WEST WALL – NORTH RUN

The northern run of the west wall is fully preserved. The relief decoration shows a figure of the Tomb Owner facing north (Rg. 5.Wb.1) in front of an offering table, a pile of offerings and an offering list. Rg. 5.Wb.1 includes altogether three texts (Tx. 54–56). Below the main register is a narrow register (Rg. 5.Wb.2) showing offering bearers "bringing choicest meat" (Tx. 57), namely ox legs and poultry. The description of the register is not divided from the rest of it by means of a dividing line.

Rg.5.W.3

The sitting Tomb Owner faces north. He sits on a chair with four lion's legs. He wears a knee-length kilt. He is shown with a long wig and a short beard. He has a broad *wesekh*-collar around his neck. The Tomb Owner is shown seated in front of the offering table and a pile of offerings placed on a mat. The Tomb Owner's right hand is balled into a fist and is held on the chest. The left hand stretches towards the offering table. The offering table is loaded with 18 slices of bread. The pile of offerings include three conical loaves of bread with a slain fowl on top, a foreleg, pieces of meat, basket with figs, lettuce, a tall vessel with a spout (a water jug), loaves of breads, a papyrus boat shaped basket with figs, another slain fowl, ribs, different joints of meat and a bowl with lotus flowers. Between the leg of the offering table and the Tomb Owner's legs a text mentioning *thousands of offerings* is placed and organized into two lines (Tx. 56). A rectangular stand with legs joined by cross rails is depicted to the left from the foot of the offering table with a basin and a ewer standing on it. The scene is supplemented by an offering list with 90 items (15 columns, six lines, Tx. 55), which is placed in the upper north corner. A text, organized into three longer columns, giving the epithets, titles and the name of the Tomb Owner is placed next to the offering list (Tx. 54).
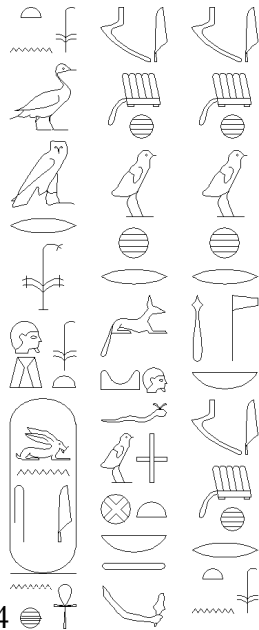
Tx. 54

jmAxw xr ntr-aA, nb jmAxw xr nswt

jmAxw xr Jnpw, tpy Dw=f, (j)m(y) wt, nb tA Dsr

sA nswt, (j)m(y)-rA Smaw, tpy Xrt nswt Wnjs-
anx(.w)

"Revered before the Great God, possessor of reverence before the King"

"Revered before Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the embalming place, the lord of the Sacred Land"

"the King's son, overseer of Upper Egypt, the property administrator of the King Unisankh"

Tx. 55 *Offering list*

[Cf. below]
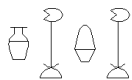
Tx. 56
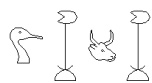
xA (m) t, xA (m) Hnkt

xA (m) kAw, xA (m) Apdw

"Thousands in bread, thousands in beer,"

thousands in bulls, thousands in birds."

Rg. 5.Wb.2   Bringing choicest meat

The register shows a row of offering bearers "brining the choicest meat" (Tx. 57), namely ox legs and poultry. They all have short hair and wear knee-length kilts. Their bodies lean forward slightly.

Tx. 57

sxpt stpwt

"Bringing the choicest meat."

5.Wa.2.1	A bearer bringing an ox leg holding it with his both hands.
5.Wa.2.2	A bearer bringing an ox leg holding it with his both hands.
5.Wa.2.3	A bearer bringing an ox leg holding it with his both hands.
5.Wa.2.4	A bearer bringing a fowl holding it by its wings and head.
5.Wa.2.5	A bearer bringing a fowl holding it by its wings and head.

Offering lists

Tx. 37

Tx. 37   Tx. 55

1	1	*sAT, 1*	„*libation, 1*"
2	2	*sDt snTr 1*	„*burning incense, 1*"
3	3	*sTj-Hb 1*	„*festival fragrance, 1*"
4	4	*Hknw 1*	„*hekenu-oil, 1*"
5	5	*sfT 1*	„*cedar oil, 1*"
6	[6]	*ny-Xnm 1*	„ *nychenem-unguent, 1*"
7	[7]	*twAwt 1*	„ *tuaut-unguent, 1*"
8	[8]	*HAtt nt aS 1*	„*the best cedar oil, 1*"
9	[9]	*HAtt nt THnw 1*	„*the best Libyan oil, 1*"
10		*... wADw 1*	„ *... green paint, 1*"
11		*... msdmt 1*	„ *... black paint, 1*"
12	[10]	*wnxw 2*	„*cloth strips, 2*"
13	[11]	*sDt snTr 1*	„*lighted incense, 1*"
14	12	*qbHw TAwy 2*	„*libation water and two ball of natron, 2*"
15	13	*xAt 1*	„*offering table, 1*"
16		*Htp nswt 2*	„*royal offerings, 2*"
17	14	*Htp nswt (j)m(y) wsxt 2*	„*royal offerings from the wesekhet, 2*"
18	[15]	*Hms 1*	„*sitting down, 1*"
19	16	*jaw 2*	„*washing mouth, 2*"
20	17	*t-wt 2*	„*wet-bread, 2*"
21	18	*t-rtH 2*	„ *reteh-bread, 2*"
	19	*nmst Dsrt 2*	„*a jug of djeseret-beverage, 2*"
	20	*[nmst Hnqt xnms] 2*	„*a jug of khenemes-beer, 2*"
	21	*[Sns a fAjt] 2*	„*serving of shenes-bread, 2*"
[22]		*[…]*	*?*
[23]		*[…]*	*?*
24	22	*[Sns Dwjw n Sbw] 2*	"*shenes-bread and a jug as main course*"

	23	[swt] 1	„piece of meat, 1"
[25]		[…]	?
[26]		[…]	?
27	24	[mw a] 2	„bowl of water, 2"
28	25	[bdj] 2	„natron, 2"
29	26	[Sns Dwjw] jaw-rA 1	„shenes-bread and a jug for breakfast, 1"
30	27	[t ttw] 2	„ tetew-bread, 2"
31	28	t-rtH 2	„reteh-bread, 2"
32	29	HTw 2	„hetju-bread, 2"
33	30	nHrw 2	„neheru-bread, 2"
34	31	dpt(A) 1 [+ 3]	„depeta-bread, [4]"
35	32	psn 4	„pesen-cake, 4"
36	33	sSn 4	„seshen-bread, 4"
37	34	t jmy tA 4	„ imy-ta-bread, 4"
38	35	[xnfw 2] + 2	„khenefu-bread, 4"
39	36	Hbnnwt 4	„hebenenut-bread, 4"
40	37	qmHw qmA 4	„kemehu-kema-bread, 4"
41	38	jdAt HAk 4	"idat-hak-bread, 4"
42	39	pAwt 4	„pawet-bread, 4"
43	40	t ASr 4	„asher-bread, 4"
44	41	HDw 4	„onions, 4"
45	42	xpS 1	"foreleg, 1"
46	43	jwa 1	"thigh, 1"
47	44	sxn 1	„kidney, 1"
48	45	swt 1	„piece of meat, 1"
49	46	spHt nt spr 4	„a piece of the ribs, 4"
50	47	AS(r)t 4	„roasted piece of meat, 1"
51	48	mjst 1	„liver, 1"
52	49	nnSm 1	„spleen, 1"

[53]	50	*[Ha, 1]*	„*[piece of meat, 1]*"
54	51	*jwf n HAt, 1*	„*fillet, 1*"
55	[52]	*sr 1*	„*ser-goose, 1*"
56	53	*Trp 1*	„*tjerep-goose, 1*"
	54	*dpt 1*	„*depet-goose, 1*"
57	55	*st 1*	„*set-goose, 1*"
58	56	*mnwt 1*	„*pigeon, 1*"
59	57	*t sjf 1*	„*seyef-bread, 1*"
60	58	*Sat 2*	„*shat-bread, 2*"
61	59	*npA(w)t 2*	„ *nepawet-bread, 2*"
62	[60]	*ms(w)t 2*	„ *mesut-bread, 2*"
63	[61]	*Dsrt 2*	„*džeseret-beverage, 2*"
64	[62]	*Dsrt jAtt 2*	„*djeseret-milk beverage, 2*"
65	63	*Hnqt [xnms] 2*	„*khenemes beer, 2*"
66	64	*Hnqt 2*	„*beer, 2*"
67	65	*sxp(t) 2*	„ *sekhepet-beverage, 2*"
68	[66]	*[pxA] 2*	„*pecha-beverage, 2*"
69	[67]	*Dwjw sSr 2*	„*a jug of sesher-beverage, 2*"
70	[68]	*dAb 2*	„*figs, 2*"
71	[69]	*jrp 2*	„*wine, 2*"
72	[70]	*abS jrp 2*	„*abesh wine, 2*"
73	[71]	*jrp 2*	„*wine, 2*"
74		*jrp 2*	„*wine, 2*"
75		*jrp 2*	„*wine, 2*"
	[72]		
	[73]		
	[74]		
76	[75]	*Hbnnwt 2*	„*hebenenut-bread, 2*"
77	76	*xnfw 2*	„*khenefu-bread, 2*"
78	77	*jSd 2*	„ *ished fruits, 2*"

79	78	`sXt HDt 2`	„*white sekhet-barley, 2*"
	[79]	`[...], 2`	„*?, 2*"
80		`sXt wADt 2`	„*green sekhet-barley, 2*"
81		`st agt 2`	„*specially prepared wheat, 2*"
82		`jt agt 2`	„ *specially prepared barley, 2*"
83		`bAbAwt 2`	„ *babawet fruit, 2*"
84		`nbs 3`	„ *nebes fruits, 3*"
85		`t nbs 2`	„ *nebes bread, 2*"
	[80–85]	`[...]`	„*?*"
	[86–87]	`[...], 2`	„*?, 2*"
86		`wHa 2`	„*carob beans, 2*"
87		`xt nbt bnrt 2`	„*every sweet thing, 2*"
88		`rnpt nbt 2`	„*every annual offering, 2*"
89		`Hnkt nbt 2`	„*every heneket-offering, 2*"
90	[88]	`gsw 2`	„*half-loaves, 2*"
	[89]	`[...], 2`	„*?, 2*"
	[90]	`[...]`	„*?*"

Sc. 5.N   ROOM V: NORTH WALL

The south wall is almost fully preserved. The relief decoration consists of three high (Rgs. 5.N.1, 5.N.2 and 5.N.3) and three low registers (Rgs. 5.N.4, 5.N.5 and 5.N.6). The lowermost high register (Rg. 5.N.1) contains two scenes from the butchery cycle. The two middle high registers (Rgs. 5.N.2 and 5.N.3) contain depictions of offering bearers bringing various offerings. The three narrow uppermost low registers (Rgs. 5.N.4, 5.N.5 and 4.N.6) show groups of different offerings. The registers are described from east to west.

Rg. 5.N.1   **Butchery cycle scenes**

The register depicts scenes of the so-called butchery cycle, which is the topic of the lowermost registers of the north and east walls of *Room V* (Rgs. 5.N.1 and 5.W.1). The register contains two scenes that are accompanied by one text each.

5.N.1.1–2   *Butchery cycle scene 1*

One butcher stands with a foreleg on his left shoulder facing east. He has short hair with a headband. He probably holds fillets of meat in his right hand. He looks at another butcher working on the ox with a knife. The other butcher stands on the beast's hoppled legs and cuts its forepart with the knife which he holds in his right hand. The scene is accompanied by an inscription describing the activity shown.
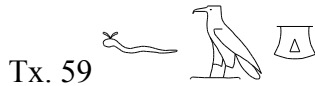
Tx. 58

rDj(t) jwt jwf n Hat
„*Bringing the fillet.*"

5.N.1.2–3   *Butcher cycle scene 2*

One butcher stands aside and sharpens the knife. Two other hold together the ox's leg and one of them "cuts" it "off" with knife. The scene is accompanied by an inscription describing the activity shown.

Tx. 59

fAg

"Cutting off."

Rg. 5.N.2   Bearers bringing offerings

A row of six bearers strides west bringing various offerings. All of them have short knee-length kilts.

5.N.2.1   The first bearer carries a tray loaded with conical bread (or meat slices) on his right shoulder. In his left hand he holds a bundle on a rope. A bunch of alliaceous plants hangs over his right arm.

5.N.2.2   The second bearer carries two plates loaded with breads and cucumbers (?) on each of his shoulders.

5.N.2.3   The third bearer holds a bunch of papyrus stems in front of his chest with his right hand. In his left hand he holds a bundle on a rope. A bunch of alliaceous plants is hanging over his right arm.

5.N.2.4   The fourth bearer carries a tray with bread and two baskets of fruit on his right shoulder. In his left hand he holds a floral bundle.

5.N.2.5   The fifth bearer holds a bundle of lotus flowers in front of him with his right hand. In his left hand he holds a fowl by its wings.

5.N.2.6   The sixth bearer carries a tray loaded with foodstuffs on his right shoulder. His left hand, reversed and raised up to shoulders, supports a beer jug.

Rg. 5.N.3   Bearers bringing offerings

A row of six bearers strides west bringing various offerings. All of them have short knee-length kilts.

5.N.3.1   The first bearers holds a long flower bouquet in front of him in his right hand. He also supports a tray loaded with bread, baskets and a piece of vegetable with his left hand and shoulder.

5.N.3.2   The second bearer carries a bunch of stems in front of his chest with his right hand. In his left hand he holds a bundle.

5.N.3.3   The third bearer supports a tray loaded with bread, baskets with fruits and vegetable with his right hand and shoulder. In his left hand he holds a bunch of flowers stems.

5.N.3.4   The fourth man holds a bunch of stems in front of him in his right hand. With his left hand and shoulder he supports a heavy loaded tray.

5.N.3.5   The fifth man is not well preserved. He cradles a lost object in his right forearm. He holds a floral bouquet in his left hand.

5.N.3.6   The sixth man holds a lost object in his right hand and a beer jar on sling in his left.

Rg. 5.N.4   Offerings

The register contains a loaded rectangular table, three tall vases, a round offering table with loaves of bread on top and baskets beneath. The central part of the register is lost. Further to the east there is a round offering table loaded with loaves of bread, followed by conical loaves of bread and a pile of undeterminable offerings.

Rg. 5.N.5   Offerings

From the register only the western part is fully preserved. The register contains three conical loaves of bread, a rectangular table (?) loaded with loaves of bread and vegetable, a papyrus boat shaped basket with ribs and lettuce on top, three tall

vases. The rest is lost save the lower part of an offering table with round baskets beneath.

Rg. 5.N.6   Offerings

From the uppermost register only the western part is preserved. It depicts a rectangular table with loaves of bread on top, followed by three tall vases, three conical loaves of bread and a calf's head. The rest is lost.

Sc. 5.E   ROOM V: EAST WALL

The east wall is almost fully preserved. The relief decoration consists of three high (Rgs. 5.E.1, 5.E.2 and 5.E.3) and three low registers (Rgs. 5.E.4 and 5.E.5). The lowermost high register (Rg. 5.E.1) contains scenes from the so-called butchery cycle. These scenes include conversational texts and texts specifying them (Txs. 58–67). The two middle high registers (Rgs. 5.E.2 and 5.E.3) contain depictions of offering bearers bringing different offerings. The two uppermost low registers (Rgs. 5.S.4 and 5.S.5) show groups of various offerings. The relief decoration is affected by the tomb's architecture. Two lowermost registers do not stretch until the very southern end of the wall, since the door, when opened, would conceal it.

Rg. 5.E.1   Butchery cycle scenes

The register depicts scenes of the so-called butchery cycle, which is the topic of the lowermost registers of the north and east walls of *Room V* (Rgs. 5.N.1 and 5.E.1). The register contains seven scenes that are accompanied by six texts (Txs. 60–65). The butchers are dressed in tight kilts with sheath in front.

5.N.1.1–2   *Butchery cycle scene 3*

One butcher on right facing north finishes tying up the ox. With his right foot he stands on the beast's hoppled legs and with both hands he ties them up. The other butcher facing south stands aside and "sharpens the knife" (Tx. 60).
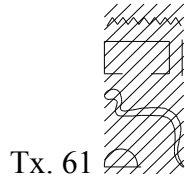

Tx. 60
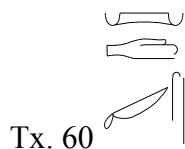
`pDt ds`

"Sharpening the knife."

5.N.1.3–4   *Butchery cycle scene 4*

Two butchers cut up a trussed ox. One butcher facing south and standing right has a put up kilt and pulls up on the the ox's foreleg while the other cuts at the thigh with knife. An only partly preserved text (Tx. 61) accompanies the scene.

Tx. 61

... n pr Dt

"of the funerary foundation."

5.N.1.5–6   *Butchery cycle scene 5*

One butcher stands on left, facing right, pulls with both arms on a rear leg of a trussed ox. Another butcher in the middle, facing left, cuts at base of the leg. One sign only remains of an original text accompanying the scene: "Pull, then!" (Tx. 62)
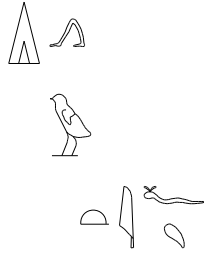
Tx. 62

(jT r)k

"Pull, then!"

5.N.1.7   A butcher carrying an ox leg over his right shoulder stands at left of the scene. In his left hand he holds a piece of cloth (?, handkerchief). His depiction is surrounded by signs forming a commentary text (Tx. 63).

Tx. 63

rDj(t) jwt jwf

"Bringing the meat."

5.N.1.8–9   *Butchery cycle scene 6*

A butcher standing at left is turned to right but looks back and up. His hands extend into the trussed ox lying at his feet. The central part of the scene is lost. Another butcher likely stood at the right of the scene. Both butchers were accompanied by text describing respective activities (Tx. 64–65).
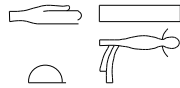
Tx. 64

Sdt

"Cutting out."

Tx. 65

pD(t) ds

"Sharpening the knife."

5.N.1.10–11 *Butchery cycle scene 7*

The butcher on left has just cut the heart out of a trussed ox. He holds it in his right hand and a knife in his left hand. To the right of the beast stands a butcher carrying an ox leg on his left shoulder. He extends his right hand towards the other butcher in order to take the heart. A text accompanies the scene (Tx. 66).

Tx. 66

rDjt jwt

"Bringing."

5.N.1.12–13   *Butchery cycle scene 8*

Two butchers work on a trussed ox. One at left, facing south, pulls up the beast's foreleg with his both hands. The other at right, facing north, cuts with knife at the base of the foreleg and helps to push it up with his left hand.

5.N.1.14   In between two oxen stands a bearer carrying an ox leg. He walks northward but turns his head south and extends his left hand speaking to the butcher behind him: "Take this heart!" (Tx. 67).

Tx. 67
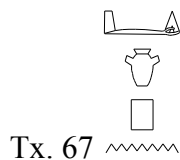
jm HAtj pn

"Take this heart!"

5.N.1.15   *Butchery cycle scene 9*

One butcher works on the ox. He stands astride facing left but with his head turned back. His right hand introduces into the body of the ox, presumably extracting his heart. He holds a knife in his left hand.

5.N.1.16   At the end of the register stands a man walking north and holding a large ceramic container in front of his body, supporting it with both hands from beneath. Blank space follows to overlap the door.

Rg. 5.E.2   Bearers bringing offerings

A row of eighteen offering bearers all facing left and carrying various gifts is depicted in the lower of the two registers with offering bearers. All of them are dressed in short knee-length kilts and have short hair.

5.E.2.1   The first bearer carries a bunch of papyrus stems in his right hand in front of his chest. He carries a beer jug on his left palm, while his arm is tightly bent in elbow. A bunch of alliaceous plants hangs over his right elbow.

5.E.2.2   The second bearer carries a bunch of papyrus stems (or of grass) in his right hand in front of his chest. He supports a tray with a loaf of bread, cucumbers and baskets with fruits with his left hand and shoulder.

5.E.2.3   The third bearer holds a fowl by its wings in his right hand. He supports a tray with a loaf of bread, baskets with fruits and probably a piece of meat (ribs) with his left elbow. A bunch of alliaceous plants hang over his left elbow.

5.E.2.4   The fourth bearer holds a bunch of papyrus stems in his right hand in front of his chest. A large trapezoidal basket with sagging bottom hangs over his left elbow.

5.E.2.5   The fifth bearer holds a bunch of papyrus stems in his right hand in front of his body. He supports a basin with cover with a handled lid with his left palm, while his arm is tightly bent in elbow.

5.E.2.6   The sixth bearer support a tray loaded with two pieces of meat with his right hand and shoulder. A bunch of alliaceous plants hangs over his right elbow. A trapezoidal basket hangs over his other elbow. He probably supports a tray or a beer jug with his left hand.

5.E.2.7   The seventh bearer supports a tray loaded with baskets with fruits and a loaf of bread with his right hand and shoulder. He holds a bunch of papyrus stems with his left hand in front of his body. It is probable that he originally might (also) hold a fowl in his left hand.

5.E.2.8	The eight bearer supports a loaded tray with his right hand and shoulder. The load of the tray is only sketched and cannot be specified. A bunch of alliaceous plants hangs over his elbow. His left arm is straight down next to the body. He holds a bundle suspended by a rope in his left hand.
5.E.2.9	The ninth bearer supports a loaded tray with his right hand and shoulder. A bunch of lotuses hangs over his right arm. He holds a bunch of papyrus stems in his left hand in front of his body.
5.E.2.10	The tenth bearer carries a beer jug on his right palm, while his arm is tightly bent in elbow. A trapezoidal basket hangs over his right elbow. His left arm is straight down next to the body. He holds a deep basket in his left hand.
5.E.2.11	The eleventh bearer holds a bunch of papyrus stems in his right hand in front of his body. He supports a loaded tray with his left hand and shoulder. The load of the tray is only sketched and cannot be specified. A bunch of alliaceous plants hang over his left elbow.
5.E.2.12	The twelfth bearer carries a basin with cooked pieces of meat supporting it with his hand and shoulder. Three stems of lotus hang over his right elbow. Three stems of lotus hang over his right elbow. The outer stems end in a bud, the middle one with a blossom. He also supports a loaded tray with his left hand and shoulder. The load of the tray is only sketched and cannot be specified. A bunch of alliaceous plants hangs over his left hand.
5.E.2.13	The thirteenth bearer carries a goose, holding it in his bent right arm beneath its body and clutching it to his chest. He also carries a tray loaded with baskets with fruits and a rectangular object, supporting it with his left hand and shoulder.
5.E.2.14	The fourteenth bearer holds three stems of lotus. The outer two stems end in a bud, the one in the middle with a blossom. With the same hand he holds a small deep basket. He holds a bunch of papyrus stems with his left hand in front of his body.

5.E.2.15 The fifteenth bearer supports two loaded trays with his hands and shoulders. There are loaves of bread loaded on the first tray. The main load of the other tray is only sketched. There are two other pieces, probably lettuces, above the unspecified main load. A bunch of lotuses hangs over his right elbow.

5.E.2.16 The sixteenth bearer carries two bundles suspended by a rope in his right hand in front of his body. He supports a trapezoidal bag from beneath with his left palm in front of his chest.

5.E.2.17 The seventeenth bearer carries a bunch of papyrus stems in his right hand in front of his body. The part of the relief with his left hand is unfortunately badly damaged and it is not possible to ascertain what he carries in it.

5.E.2.18 The last bearer supports a tray loaded with loaves of bread with his right hand and shoulder. A bunch of three lotus stems hangs over his left elbow. He supports a bier jug with his left palm in front of his chest.

5.E.3 Bearers bringing offerings

A row of twenty offering bearers all facing left and carrying various gifts is depicted in the upper of the two registers with offerings. All of them are dressed in short knee-length kilts and have short hair.

5.E.3.1 The first bearer supports a tray loaded with a loaf of bread, two baskets with fruits and two long breads atop with his right hand and shoulder. A bunch of lotuses hangs over his right elbow. He carries a basin with lotus blossoms and buds sticking out of it on his left palm, while his arm is tightly bent in elbow. A bunch of alliaceous plants hangs over his left elbow.

5.E.3.2 The second bearer supports a tray loaded with loaves of different breads and a head of a calf with his right hand and shoulder.

A trapezoidal bag hangs over his right elbow. He carries a fowl in his straight down left hand.

5.E.3.3 The figure of the third bearer is badly damaged in the middle. Thus, it is impossible to ascertain commodities he carries with his left hand. He supports a tray loaded with loaves of different breads and two baskets with fruits with his right hand and shoulder. A bunch of alliaceous plants hangs over his right elbow.

5.E.3.4 As far as one can judge from the position of his right arm, the fourth bearer supports a loaded plate with his right hand and shoulder. The part of the relief depicting the tray itself is damaged. A bunch of lotuses hangs over his right elbow. He supports another tray loaded with two loaves of bread and two baskets with fruits with his left hand and shoulder. A bunch of alliaceous plants hangs over his left shoulder.

5.E.3.5 The fifth bearer carries a bunch of papyrus stems holding it with his right hand in front of his body. He carries a basin with cooked pieces of meat on his left palm, while his arm is tightly bent in elbow.

5.E.3.6 The sixth bearer supports a tray loaded with a loaf of bread and two baskets with fruits with his right hand and shoulder. A trapezoidal bag (type A) hangs over his right elbow. He holds a bunch of papyrus stems with his left hand in front of his body.

5.E.3.7 The seventh bearer supports a plate loaded with loaves of different breads with his right hand and shoulder. A bunch of lotuses hangs over his right elbow. He supports a bark-shaped tray with his left palm, while his arm is tightly bent in elbow. A bundle suspended by a rope hangs over his left shoulder. The carving of the hanging bundle is not finished. Only contours are executed.

5.E.3.8 The eights bearer supports a bier jug with his right palm, while his arm is tightly bent in elbow. A bunch of alliaceous plants hang over

his right elbow. He holds a bunch of papyrus stems with his left hand in front of his body.

5.E.3.9 The ninth bearer supports a bark-shaped tray with his right hand and shoulder. The content of the tray cannot be specified. Two oblong pieces of food lie at the bottom of the tray. A trapezoidal basket (type A) hangs over his right elbow. His left arm is straight down next to his body, while he holds a fowl by its wings with his left hand.

5.E.3.10 The tenth bearer supports a basin with a cover with his right palm in front of his head and probably a bier jug with his left palm, while his left arm is tightly bent in elbow. Not enough space was left between him and the following bearer, so that the arms of the two touch.

5.E.3.11 The eleventh bearer supports two loaded trays with his hands and shoulders. There are loaves of bread loaded on the first tray. The main load of the other tray is only sketched and thus cannot be specified. A bunch of alliaceous plants hangs over his right elbow and a bunch of lotuses over his left one.

5.E.3.12 The twelfth bearer supports a basin with cooked meat with his right hand and shoulder. A bunch of alliaceous plants hangs over his right elbow. He holds a vertical gA-bag (bundle, type B) in his left hand together with a rope leading to a calf striding in front of him. The calf seems to be fastened to the rope by its left foreleg ankle.

5.E.3.13 The thirteenth bearer supports a tray loaded with conical breads with his right hand and shoulder. Three stems of lotus hang over his right elbow. The outer stems end in a bud, the middle one with a blossom. His left arm is straight down next to the body. He holds a fowl by its wings in his left hand.

5.E.3.14 The fourteenth bearer supports a plate loaded with pieces of meat with his right hand and shoulder. A milk jug hangs over his right elbow. He holds a calf with his left arm in front of his body.

5.E.3.15	The fifteenth bearer carries a long bunch of papyrus stems in his right hand in front of his body. The lower part of the stem below his hand is bound together, but it opens into three separate stems above ending in a blossom. He holds a large loaf of bread (?) in his left hand in front of his body. Three stems of lotus hang over his left elbow. The outer stems end in a bud, the middle one with a blossom.
5.E.3.16	The sixteenth bearer supports a tray loaded with three loaves of bread with his right hand and shoulder. Two bundles hang on his right arm. His left arm is straight down next to his body. He holds three stems of lotus in it. The outer stems end in a bud, the middle one with a blossom.
5.E.3.17	The seventeenth bearer supports a tray loaded with meat and vegetables with his right hand and his right shoulder. He holds a floral bouquet in his left hand.
5.E.3.18	The eighteenth bearer holds up tray with meats on his right shoulder and holds a basket in his left hand.
5.E.3.19	The nineteenth bearer holds up a tray loaded with bread. He supports it with his right shoulder and hand.
5.E.3.20	The last bearer carries a tray on his right shoulder loaded with different foodstuffs. He holds a bunch of papyrus stems with his left hand.

5.E.4	**Offerings**
	The register contains three tall vases on jar stands; a wide bowl on a small table loaded with a piece of meat, a loaf of bread and a basket with fruits; a basket in the middle of two breads with a lettuce and ribs on top of them; three tall vases on jar stands; a round table with bread and baskets on top and beneath; a papyrus boat shaped basket loaded with meat products and vegetables; four tall vases; a papyrus boat shaped basket loaded with meat products

and vegetables; two tall vases; a round offering table loaded with bread and ribs on top and with two baskets beneath; three tall vases; a round offering table loaded with bread and meat products and lettuce on top; a small calf's head on a separate miniature table; three tall vases; a round offering table loaded with bread and lettuce on top and two baskets beneath; three tall vases; a stand loaded with different offerings; three tall vases and a rectangular table loaded with bread, meat products and baskets.

5.E.5   **Offerings**

The register includes a papyrus boat shaped basket loaded with meat products and vegetables; three conical breads; three tall vases; a tray on stand loaded with bread; a papyrus boat shaped basket loaded with meat products; three tall vases; a rectangular table with two plucked fowls; tall vases; a rectangular table with bread and meat; three tall vases; a tray on stand loaded with bread and vegetables; three tall vases on stands; a tray on stand with bread and a basket; three tall vases on stands; a tray on stand; conical loaves of bread; a tray on stand loaded with meat products; a tall vase; a tray on stand loaded with vegetable including lettuce and several tall vases.

5.E.6   **Offerings**

The register contains a rectangular table loaded with conical bread; two tall vases on stands; a tray on stand loaded with bread and meat products and surrounded by a calf's head and other bread; conical loaves of bread; a tray on stand loaded with meat products with a basket and a calf's head beneath it; several tall vases on stands; a tray on stand loaded with bread and meat products; conical loaves of bread; a rounded container with a sealed lid; a tray on stand loaded with offerings; three tall vases on stands; a tray on stand loaded with offerings; three tall vases on stands; a tray on stand loaded with offerings; three tall vases on stands; a rounded container with a sealed lid; three tall vases on stands and a tray on stand loaded with offerings surrounded with baskets.

5.FD   False Door[122]

The false door is made of the very same material as was used for the casing of the walls, i.e. the so-called Tura limestone. Its surface is painted red, imitating the Aswan red granite. The false door belongs to Wiebach's type VI-3.[123] It is surrounded by a torus and topped by a cornice. One line texts inscribed on the architrave, the panel and the lintel are concluded with the Tomb Owner's seated representation. Each jamb includes one column of text concluded with the standing representation of the Tomb Owner.

5.FD.1   Architrave

The architrave contains one line of the text including an offering formula and the name determined by a depiction of the seated Tomb Owner facing north. He sits on a chair with lion's legs. He is depicted with long wig and short beard and wearing a kilt with triangular front-piece. His right hand stretches towards the inscription, while holding the left hand on his chest.

The architraves seem to be crucial to the chronology of the false door in the Unis Cemetery North-West. Earlier specimens (Queens, the vizier Ihy and the Tomb Owner) have one line of text inscribed on the architrave, while later ones (Iynefert, Seshseseht Idut, Mehu) two.[124] Similarly, only drums of later specimens of false door at the Unis Cemetery North-West are inscribed with a line of text with names and titles of the Tomb Owner.

Tx. 68

Htp Dj nswt, Htp (Dj) Jnpw qrst=f m Jmntt, Wnjs-anx(.w)

> "An offering which the King gives, so that Anubis may give an offering of his burial in the West, Unisankh"

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[122] For the terminology used for the description of principal parts of false doors see Strudwick 1985: 10–11.
[123] Wiebach 1981: Tf. II.
[124] Cf. *Chapter Two*.

5.FD.2   Panel

The panel contains an offering table scene with offering table. The Tomb Owner faces north. He sits on a chair with four lion's legs in front of an offering table loaded with slices of bread. He wears a knee-length kilt. He is shown with a long wig and a short beard. He has a broad *wesekh*-collar around his neck. The Tomb Owner's right hand is balled into a fist and is held on the chest. The left hand stretches towards the offering table. To the north of the offering table is a pile of offerings including three conical loaves of bread with three conical vessels on top. To the north an offering table loaded with pastry and baskets on sides is shown. On top there are a piece of meat and papyrus skiff shaped basket loaded with fruits and vegetables (likely figs, lettuce and a cucumber). An inscription (Tx. 69) with the Tomb Owner's name and titles is inscribed above the scene. Between the leg of the offering table and the pile of offerings, a text mentioning thousands of offerings is inserterd (Tx. 70)

Tx. 69

(j)m(y)-rA Smaw, tpy Xrt nswt Wnjs-anx(.w)

"Overseer of Upper Egypt, property administrator of the King Unisankh."

Tx. 70
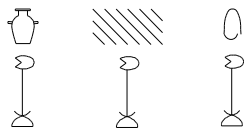
t xA, ... xA, Hnqt xA

"Thousand of bread, thousand of ... and thousand of beer."

5.FD.3   Lintel

The lintel contains one line of text. The Tomb Owner's name included in it is determined by a depiction of the seated Tomb Owner facing north. He sits on a

chair with lion's legs, he is depicted with short hair and short beard and wearing a kilt with triangular front-piece. In his left hand he holds a `mdw`-staff.

Tx. 71

```
sA nswt, (j)m(y)-rA Smaw, tpy Xrt nswt Wnjs-
anx(.w)
```

"The King's son, overseer of Upper Egypt, property administrator of the King Unisankh."

5.FD.3   Jambs

Each jamb contains on column of text. The columns are concluded with a standing figure holding a `mdw`-staff in one hand and a `sxm`-scepter in the other. They have short hair and short beards.

Inner jambs

Txs. 72 & 73

```
sA nswt, smr waty, (j)m(y)-rA Smaw, tpy Xrt nswt,
Hm-nTr MAat Wnjs-anx(.w)
```

"The King's son, sole companion, overseer of Upper Egypt, property administrator of the King, priest of Maat Unisankh."

Middle jambs

Txs. 74 & 75

```
Htp Dj nswt, xp=f Hr wAwt nfrt nt Jmntt¹²⁵ m jmAxw
xr nTr aA Wnjs-anx(.w)
```

"A boon which the King gives, so that he may travel on the beautiful ways of the West as revered before the Great God, Unisankh."

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[125] Lapp 1986: 51–58.

Outer jambs

Txs. 76 & 77
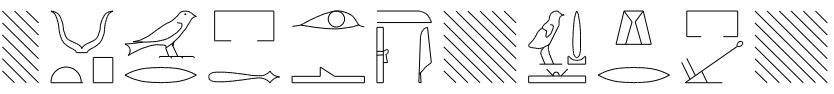
Htp Dj Wsjr, prt-xrw n=f (t, pAt, Hnqt) m HAb nb,
ra nb, Dt, jmAxw xr smjt jmntt, Wnjs-anx(.w)

"A boon which Osiris, an invocation offering for him (of bread, cake and beer) during every feast, every day, forever, revered before the Western Desert, Unisankh."
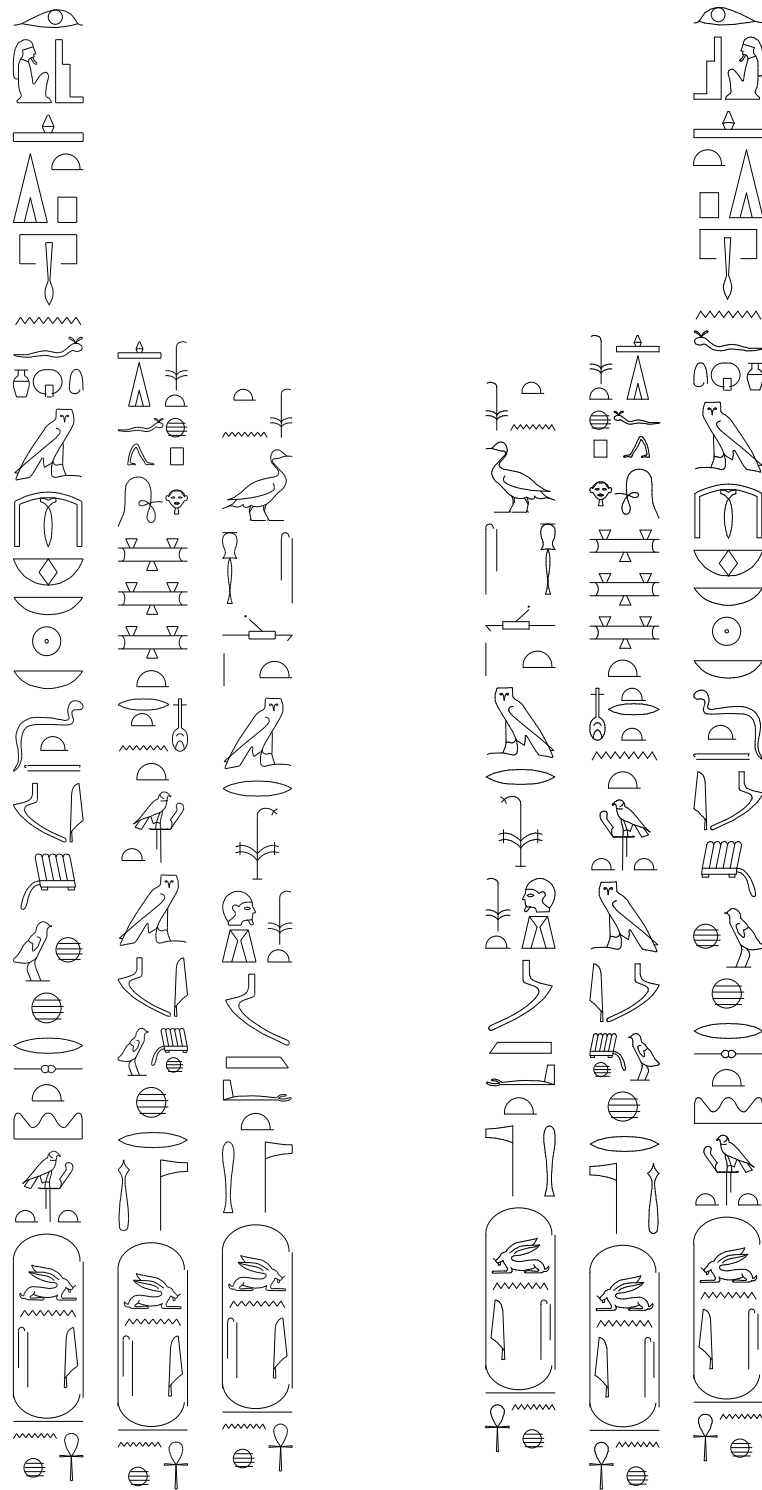
OPEN COURTYARD

A partly preserved secondary graffito is inscribed on the east wall of the open
courtyard.

Gr. 4

... pr Sna Xrj wDA ... (j)m(y) jz jrw qd *pr-aA Wr-wpt*

"... of the workshop, controller of storerooms, courtier, chief of the construction works of the palace Werwepet (?)."

4.2 Textual Program[126]

The textual part of the decorative program of the tomb was addressed only to the literate part of the society, into which the owner of such a tomb belonged.[127] The essence of the textual program rested in the hierarchy in which the texts were organized and in the fact that the verbal formulation of the decorative program must have preceded its factual implementation and served as a guideline for drawing up the pictorial part of the program.

4.2.1 System of Texts

On top of the system of texts are (1) *titles of scenes of individual walls*, followed by (2) *descriptions of individual registers* and (3) *captions inscribed next to the individual components* within registers. The last subgroup may be further subdivided according to the type of component being described – *actions, persons*, *animals* or (inanimate) *offerings*.

With regard to the system of text, the chapel stands more or less besides it and the system may be best demonstrated on walls of rooms forming the processional axis of the Tomb. The standardized depictions on the chapel's walls (e.g. offering table scene, butchery cycle scenes and bearers bringing offerings) do not need to be given a title as the themes of depiction on the walls of chapels are self-evident from the very essence of the chapel.

Sometimes texts representing direct speech are inscribed next to offering bearers or more often to butchers, but never to the Tomb Owner.[128] In this particular tomb, these texts appear exclusively in the scenes of the so-called butchery cycle (Rgs. 5.E.1 and 5.N.1).

Extracurricular of the system are the so-called offerings lists. Two examples are found on both runs of the chapel's west wall. The texts are organized into six rows and 15 columns, the total number of items being 90. Each

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[126] Cf. Onderka 2007b.
[127] Several Middle Kingdom texts encourage literate people to read the text to illiterates (e.g. biographic inscription of MnTw-wsr, MMA 12.184).
[128] The only texts that may resemble the direct speech of a tomb owner are (auto)biographical inscription that take use of *ich*-forms of verbs.

item is written into a major frame complemented by a minor one, where its quantity is specified by numbers from one to four.

Only on the false door one encounters specific types of texts – the offering formulae. The false door and its texts (Txs. 68–77) will be dealt with later on. Offering formulae, in case of other tombs, may also appear on other elements of the tomb, e.g. the entrance doorway.[129]

4.2.1.1 Titles of Scenes

Each wall except for those of the chapel's west wall where the depiction of the Tomb Owner was placed was given its title in order to specify the action the Tomb Owner chose to be performing. The text extends to the full height of the scene.

The titles of scenes describe the activity of the tomb owner, however, usually characterize the activity performed by the offering bearers as well.

The choice of activities the tomb owner could be performing was limited by the topics available for non-royal tombs.

In the case of the two depictions of the Tomb Owner on both sides of the false door niche the title of the scenes is missing as the depiction of the offering-table scenes was compulsory there and hence self evident.

The chapel formed the core of each tomb and other rooms represented only its extension. The topics of scenes in the chapel were more or less strictly given in order to symbolically provide the tomb owner with all the necessary he would need in the afterlife. All other rooms represented an addition, and the topic of scenes their walls received was more random, and hence needed a designation that gained the form of their titles.

Altogether eight walls of the entire tomb were granted a title, while only final passages of the three texts from *Room I* are preserved.

There seems to be a great variety in titles of scenes on the south, west and north walls of *Room I* (the east wall was not likely given a title), a phenomenon

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[129] This decorative element appears to become common in the Unis Cemetery North-West (Idut and Mehu).

not encountered in *Rooms II* and *IV*. Tx. 4 described an activity – likely „viewing *nDt-Hr*-offerings" (*mAA nDt-Hr*) – to be performed „... on every feast, every day and forever". Txs. 1 and 8 certainly contained a *mAA nDt-Hr jnnt n=f m Hwwt=f njwwt=f nt pr-Dt mHw Smaw* phrase, as they mention *mHw Smaw* and *pr-Dt* respectively.

The two titles of scenes from *Room II* are more consistent in their content. They both describe „viewing cattle of the *nDt-Hr*-offerings" (*mAA jwA n nDt-Hr*) „brought for him from his villages of Lower and Upper Egypt" (*jnw n=f m njwwt=f nt mHw Smaw*) and „of the first year" (*nt rnpt tpt*). The divergence between the two texts may be easily explained in terms of available space, as no pictorial differences between the cattle being brought on either side may be recognized. The main notification the texts bring is that the Tomb Owner „views cattle", while its origin and their quality are stressed respectively.

The titles of scenes are most consistent in *Room IV*, whose walls show „viewing all beautiful annual *nDt-Hr*-offerings brought for him from his houses and estates of the funerary foundation in Lower and Upper Egypt" (*mAA nDt-Hr rnpt nfrt jnnt n=f m njwwt=f Hwwt=f n pr-Dt nt mHw Smaw*). The text on the north wall is shortened due to the lack of space on "viewing all beautiful annual nDt-Hr-offerings brought of[SIC] Lower and Upper Egypt" (mAA nDt-Hr rnpt nb(t) nfrt jnnt nt mHw Smaw). The southern wall does not posses a title of scene, which role is taken over by the description of Rg. 4.S.3, being "bringing every good thing during all festivals" (sxpt xt nb(t) nfrt m Hbw nb).

All the texts have very same grammatical structure: narrative infinitive (*mAA*) followed by an adjunct subject (includingthe *nDt-Hr*-phrase) and the subject-agent, i.e. the Tomb Owner's name and titles. These texts are mostly vertically oriented, sometimes a combination of a vertical column and a horizontal line is used.

4.2.1.2 Descriptions of Individual Registers

The descriptions of individual registers represent a transitional group between the titles of scenes of individual walls and captions inscribed next to the individual registers. They primarily describe an action going on in the register they are inscribed to, but sometimes refer either to the whole decoration of a particular wall (e.g. Tx. 29) or to a particular component of the register (e.g. Txs. 6 and 30). The texts have serial grammatical structure: narrative infinitive (mostly `sxpt`) + object; while object may be omitted in several cases. Such descriptions are rather frequent in the butchery cycle scenes aiming at specifying the activity undertaken by the butchers. A special text belonging to this group is Tx. 33 (`djt sS r mAA`).[130]

4.2.1.3 Captions Inscribed Next to Individual Components

This group of texts identifies individual components depicted inside of registers. In contrary to previous two categories, captions never describe an action, but (a) persons, (b) animals or (C) commodities (i.e. offerings). Texts are rather short and are written either in a single line or a single column. Grammatically, the category is characterized by the absence of verbal forms (except personal names that represent a verbal form on their own).

Ad. (a): Names of person appear alone or together with titles or titles as well as epithets. Epithets are reserved exclusively for the tomb owner. Personal names are written either in a horizontal line or a vertical column. Names of other persons than the Tomb Owner are found only in the texts of *Room I*, i.e. the entrance vestibule, which was the most frequented place of the Tomb.

Ad. (b): Captions denoting animals always point to their positive quality (Tx. 28: `Hrj Dba`; Txs: 30 and 31: `rn jwA`) stressing the contrast to other offerings being brought or names of animals mentioned in superior texts (e.g. `rn`). Texts are exclusively written in horizontal lines.

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[130] Cf. Der Manuealian 1996.

Ad. (c): Commodities are mentioned either separately or are supplemented by a numeral denoting their quantity (in principle "1000" or in offering lists one to four).

4.2.1.4   Direct speech

Direct speech or conversional texts appear occasionally in the decoration of large multi-roomed mastabas. They form an ante pole of the rather rigid rest of the textual program. These texts as a group are generally much richer in verbal forms. Imperatives and different `sDm=f` and `sDm.n=f` forms are quite often engaged in the dialogues of butchers as well as elsewhere. The direct speech texts often consist of one line of text, usually aligned with the depiction of the speaking person. Only occasionally two lines of texts are used.

4.2.1.5   Offering lists

Offering lists represent an cluster of commodity captions organized into a rectangular table. The offering lists from the tomb of Unisankh belong to Barta's *type A* (*Listentyp A*).[131] They comprise 90 items arranged into six rows and fifteen columns. The list on the south section of the west wall is much better preserved compared to its north counterpart. The offering lists represent the great nourishing ritual (*großes Speisungsritual*) that had been thereby canonized at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. Barta divides the whole ritual into three main parts: initial rites (*Eingangsriten*, itmes 1–17 of the southern offering list), the actual nourishing (*eigentliche Speisung*, items 18–86) and final rites (*Schlussriten*, items 87–90). The northern offering list may be only partly reconstructed based on the comparison with the southern one.

4.2.1.6   False Door

Specific types of text are found inscribed on the false door where the general repertoire (in terms of both grammar and content) is enriched by offering

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[131] Barta 1963.

formulae. Texts are inscribed both in lines (architrave, panel and lintel) and columns (jambs).

The texts from the architrave (Tx. 68) and those of outer jambs (Txs. 75 and 76) likely form an ideal unit, supporting the validity of the concept of *the King – Anubis – Osiris* sequence identified in the strings of epithets:[132]

> *An offering which the <u>King</u> gives,*
>> *so that <u>Anubis</u> may give an offering of his burial in the West*
>>> *so that <u>Osiris</u> gives an invocation offering for him (of bread, cake and beer) during every feast, everyday, forever*

Another – secondary – offering formula is inscribed on both middle jambs (Txs. 74–75). The inclusion of "the King" supports the superior position the King played in the reverence of a non-royal individual:

> *An offering which the <u>King</u> gives, so that he may travel on the beautiful ways of the West as revered before the Great God*

Other texts inscribed on the false door limit themselves to giving the titles and name of the Tomb Owner.

4.2.1.7 Logic in the textual program

(a)   The decorative program, as well as the decorative program in general, is focused on the bringing of cattle, whose quality is intensified with the proximity to the false door. In *Room II*, the beasts being brought are simply labelled as „cattle" (*jwA*) by both titles of scenes and descriptions of registers. On the south wall of *Room IV*, the animals are described as „young cattle" (*rn jwA*). On the both runs of the chapel's false door (*Room V*) the lower registers show „bringing the choicest meat" (*sxpt stpwt*), while ox forelegs dominate the meat brought by the offering bearers shown in these registers.

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[132] Cf. *Chapter Four.*

(b)   Titles of scenes show more consistency inwards the Tomb. While great variety is postulated for *Room I, Room II* shows an attempt to accord its two relevant texts, while Txs. 32 and 35 of *Room IV* are identical and Tx. 34 represents a shorten version of the same.

(c)   The mutual position of titles and epithets has already been discussed in *Chapter IV* and has been verified by the data provided by the false door texts (cf. above). The reverance of the deceased presumably played the more important role, the closer to the false door he was depicted.

(d)   Names of the Tomb Owner's attendants appear exclusively in the enrance vestibule (i.e. *Room V*).[133] This might possibly reflect the fact that it was the most frequented room of the whole tomb or may indicate inaccessibility of certain rooms of the Tomb at a time, on an occasion or to certain groups of persons.

The above given evidence suggests that the textual program displays a culmination tendencies following the processional bent axis of the Tomb leading from its entrance to the false door. Intensification of positive qualities, superposition of characteristics, acctuation of consistency and restriction of employment rank among the most evident demonstrations of the logic behind the textual program.

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[133] Gr. 4 is due to its character irrelevant for the present discussion.

4.3   Pictorial Program

The walls of *Rooms I, II* and *IV* show scenes of presenting the `nDt-Hr`-offerings, which represent one of the most popular subjects of the Old Kingdom tomb decoration. Altenmüller[134] differentiates three main types of such scenes. Whereas those of Unisankh belong to his *type 3*, that consists in various processions of offering bearers who bring different kinds of food to the tomb. Neither personified domains (*type 2*) nor the delivery of desert animals, cattle and fowl in the specified order are found, however, besides cattle, both desert animals and fowl are brought separately on distinct walls.

4.3.1   Bringing of cattle and meat product

The cattle are depicted in all decorated rooms. They dominate the decorative program of the north and south walls of *Room II*. One register devoted to the topic is also found on the south wall of *Room IV* (Rg. 4.S.3). The "story" of cattle continues all the way into the chapel (*Room V*), where the oxen are being slaughtered by butchers in two registers (Rgs. 5.E.1 and 5.N.1). Choicest meat, mostly oxen legs (together with fowl) are brought to the Tomb Owner sitting at the offering table (Rgs. 5.S.1, 5.Wa.1 and 5.Wb.1) on both runs of the chapel's west wall.

4.3.2   Bringing wild animals

Only little portion of the decoration is dedicated to bringing wild animals. Two kinds of such animals are brought, namely the *oryx* antelopes (1.W.3.1, 4.S.1.1, 4.N.2.1, 4.E.5.1, 4.E.5.6) and gazelles (1.W.1.3, 4.S.2.1). Their depictions appear in all decorated rooms except for *Room II*, i.e. in all rooms a person had to pass when going to the chapel. Only the decoration of *Room IV* has special registers devoted to this topic (Rgs. 4.S.1 and 4.N.1).

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[134]   Altenmüller 2006.

4.3.3 Bringing fowl

Registers showing bringing of fowl represent a crucial part of scenes on the west and east walls of *Room IV* (Rgs. 4.W.2, 4.W.4, 4.E.2 and 4.E.4). The fowl are contextualized in their habitat – the river. The fowl are brought by boatmen sailing towards the Tomb Owner. On many occasions throughout all decorated rooms except for *Room II*, i.e. in all rooms a person had to pass when going to the chapel, fowl are represented being brought by offering bearers.

Fowl are differently held in hands or in arms of the bearers and boatmen or kept in cages. No separate depiction of a bird is found in the tomb. Only the secondary graffito (Gr. 3) found on the eastern wall of the doorway joining *Rooms IV* and *V*, may possibly seen as such, however, with no relevant implication for the original decorative program.

4.3.4 Seven sacred oils and other luxuries

A relatively large portion of the decoration is reserved for the depiction of the seven sacred oils and other related luxuries, namely the west and east walls of *Room II* (Sc. 2.W and 2.E) and both walls of the false door recess of *Room V* (Sc. 5.Ra and 5.Rb).

4.3.5 Processional Axis of the Tomb

A processional axis of the Tomb suggests itself from the very ground plan of the Tomb. Its existence is clearly proved by both the textual and pictorial programs. Within the scope of the latter, the processional axis is marked by the depictions of seated figures of the Tomb Owner (Scs. 1.W.1, 2.N.1, 4.N.1 {5.Wa.1 and 5.Wb.1}). The false door niche is surrounded from both sides with depictions of the Tomb Owner sitting in front of the offering. The last seated figure may be found on the panel of the false door.

4.3.6 Pattern Walls and Axial Symmetry

From the evidence provided by the pictorial program (including rendering of hieroglyphic signs), it is clearly evident that some of the walls were designed first,

then used as patterns and copied on other walls of the rooms. This is clearly visible in *Rooms II* and *IV* and partly in the case of the two runs of the west wall in *Room V*. Due to the poor state of preservation it is impossible to give any comment on *Room I*. These pattern walls are logically those not disrupted by any architectural feature (especially doors) that would affect the relief decoration.

The situation is most lucid in *Room IV*, where the role of the pattern wall is taken up by the west wall. The scene of the west wall was copied almost identically to the east wall, although some parts had to be shifted away due to the door set into its southern part. The *renep*-sign (M 7 of Gardiner's list) on the east wall as wall as the three sign representing the verbal form anx in the Tomb Owner's name is shown mirrored from the west wall and not aligned in accordance with the rest of the text it is a part of (Tx. 34). A reduced version of the west wall's scene was also depicted on the north wall of the room which is much narrower and is affected by a door. Based on the reversed depiction of the *shema*-sign (M23 of Gardiner's list) it seems probable that the north wall was copied from the eastern one.

Two pattern walls – south and west – may be identified in *Room II*, as two different topics may are seen in the room's decoration. Their opposite counterparts are both interfered by inserted doors and the north wall received the depiction of the seated Tomb Owner marking the processional axis. The copying of the scenes was not that precise in comparison with the situation in *Room IV*.

Due to the axial architectural concept of the chapel's decoration, the pattern wall concept is likely to be sought on the runs of the west wall, the recess and the false door only. Similar layout and axial symmetry may be traced there. The general concept and placements of individual components of the scenes on both runs correspond to each other however many inconsistencies may be identified:

- The positions of the Tomb Owner's hands do not correspond to each other. However, this is in the full correspondence with the pairs of depictions from other tombs.

- The offering table on the southern run is loaded with papyrus reeds, representing the new (Osiris focused) tendency in the offering table scenes, while the offering table on the northern run is loaded with slices of bread in accordance with the old tradition. This duality of offering table scenes is quite exceptional. The similar design is found in the tomb of Ihy.[135]

- There are detail differences in all pairs of texts written on the runs, not only in the form in which they are written, but in their content as well. The cartouche on the south run is executed finely, while its northern counterpart simply. The first line of Tx. 36 reads `jmAxw xr ntr aA nb jmAx(w x)r nswt`, while that of Tx. 54 reads `jmAxw xr nTr aA jmAxw xr nswt`.

- The sequence of items written in the southern offering list is more consistent, while the northern one omits several important offerings that were meant to be brought to the Tomb Owner.

- The description of the lower register on the north run is not separated from the rest of the register by means of a dividing line as it is the case on the southern run.

- Symmetrical texts (Txs. 72–77) on the jambs of the false door differ in several details.

These discrepancies between the two runs of the chapel's west wall as well as the very workmanship of both parts suggest that two groups of workmen might have been responsible for individual walls of the Tomb.

4.3.7   Female elements of the decoration

The only female elements of the entire decoration of the Tomb are two depictions (or more precisely hieroglyphic signs – determinatives) of the goddess Maat in the title „priest of Maat" contained in the text inscribed on both inner jambs of the false.

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[135] Cf. Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: Pls. 67, 70.

4.3.8   Unis Cemetery North West Tombs' Pictorial Programs

The decorative program of the Tomb, when compared with those of other tombs in the Unis Cemetery North-West is less rich in topics. All the tombs except for that of Ihy have higher numbers of rooms which provide much more space for the relief decoration, however, even the tomb of Iynefert with four decorated rooms display a broader variety of topics.[136]

Unisankh's decoration is too focused on the depiction of the cattle that it basically neglects other topics present in tombs in the cemetery (e.g. offering ritual, bringing fish, fowl, fishing, fowling, marshes scenes, etc.).

4.3.9   Cherpion's Dating Criteria

The following paragraphs will comment on the dating criteria Harpur set for the Giza non-royal tombs:[137]

- critère 6   *Le dosier est visible sous le coussin*

    Rgs. 1.W.1, 2.N.1, 4.N.1, 5.Wa.1, 5.Wb.1

    Dating: Djedkare – Unis

- critère 11   *Sièges à quatre pattes de lion*

    Rgs. 1.W.1, 2.N.1, 4.N.1, 5.Wa.1, 5.Wb.1

    Dating: Nyuserre–Teti

- critère 20   *Table garnie de roseaux*

    Rg. 5.Wa.1

    Dating: earliest Nyuserre to Djedkare, frequent Unis

- critère 40   *Bâton mdw dans la main du défunt – pammeau en haut*

    Rgs. 1.S.1, 1.W.1, 1.N.1, 2.S.1, 2.N.1, 4.W.1, 4.N.1, 4.E.1

    Dating: not a real dating criterion

- critère 41   *Forme du scepter sXm – sans ombelle de papyrus*

    Rgs. 2.S.1, 4.W.1, 4.E.1, FD

    Dating: after Nyuserre

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[136] Cf. Munro 1993, Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003.
[137] Harpun 1987.

- critère 56   *Cartouches tressés*

        Rg. 5.Wa.1

        Dating: not a real dating criterion

4.4   Interpretation of the Decorative Program

The decorative program of the Tomb is centered on the bent processional axis intersecting all the roofed rooms of the Tomb. It was evidently designed based on the sophisticated plan marking the processional axis and the main communication line as well. This communication line (*Room I – wesekhet – Room IV – Room V*) is marked by presence of certain decorative features (fowl). Only little space is left for registers showing bringing of wild animals – they are almost left untouched by the textual program.

Other tombs of the Unis Cemenetery North-West are richer in the topics scenes of their walls depict.

Cattle represent the crucial feature of both parts of the decorative program. It shows greatest variety in both the textual and pictorial program. Individual decorated rooms of the Tomb are interconnected by means of repeating topics in related positions.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE TOMB OWNER AND HIS DEPENDENTS

5.1   NAME OF THE TOMB OWNER[138]

Wnjs-anx(.w)

"*Unisankh*"

The basileophoric male proper name *Wnjs-anx(.w)* or *anx-Wnjs* had been in use from the reign of Unis ownwards (the royal name serves as a *terminus post quem*) until the end of the Old Kingdom, possibly even during the First Intermediate Period. Attestations of the name come from the residential cemeteries (particularly from central Saqqara, where the funerary monument of Unis is situated), the provinces (Thebes) and even from outside of the Nile valley (Wadi Hammamat and a land called *Umut*).

The Tomb Owner was most likely the oldest bearer of the name, although it was not his original one. He probably changed it from another on the occasion of, or shortly after, the accession of Unis on the throne.

The name is attested for a number of male individuals of different social status (from funerary priest to the highest administrative officials of their time). All attestations of the name the present writer is acquainted with follow in chronological order and with regard to the topographical distribution:

1. *Wnjs-anx(.w)*[139]

    Tomb Owner: *sA nswt, (j)m(y)-rA Smaw, tpy Xrt nswt* etc.
    Fifth Dynasty, Unis
    Central Saqqara, Unis Cemetery North-West, *Line A*

2. *Wnjs-anx(.w)*[140]

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[138] Ranke 1935: 63.8 (listed as *anx-Wnjs*).
[139] PM III²: 616.

Offering bearer: `sA=f smsw mry=f sAb sHD sSw`

Fifth to Sixth Dynasty, Unis to Teti

Central Saqqara, Unis Cemetery North-West, the tomb of queen Nebet, room E, north wall

3. `Mr=f-nb=f / Wnjs-anx(.w) / Ffj`[141]

Tomb owner: `tAyty sAb TAty` etc.[142]

Sixth Dynasty, reign of Pepi I

Central Saqqara, west channel of the Dry Moat

4. `Wnjs-anx(.w)`[143]

Offering bearer: *no titles*

Sixth Dynasty

Central Saqqara, tomb of Nyankhnesut (`Ny-anx-nswt`)

5. `Wnjs-anx(.w)`[144]

Offering bearer: `Hm-kA, sS`

Sixth Dynasty, reign of Merenre to Pepi II

Central Saqqara, tomb of the vizier Neferseshemseshat/Khenu (`Nfr-sSm-¤SAt /¢nw`)

6. `Wnjs-anx(.w)`[145]

Tomb owner: `tpy Xrt nswt, jmy-rA Smaw, jmy-rA Snwty`

Late Sixth Dynasty[146]

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[140] Munro 1993: 50, Pl. 31; PM III²: 624–625; Munro (in: Bieger – Munro – Brinks 1974: 50) suggests that the owner of the chapel incorporated into the tomb of queen Nebet (the so-called "*anonymous father*") was either father of the queen or more likely her brother. Then the individual in question would be either brother or son-in-law of queen Nebet. It is very unlikely that the Tomb Owner and this individual were identical considering the titles.
[141] Myśliwiec *et al.* 2004.
[142] For more titles cf. Myśliwiec *et al.* 2004: 48–50.
[143] PM III²: 695; Berman – Bohač 2002: 139, [78].
[144] Mariette 1889: 406, E 11, south wall, no. 8.
[145] Saleh 1977: 12–17; Vlčková 2007: 40–41, etc.

Western Thebes, Asasif, TT 413

7. *Wnjs-anx(.w)* [147]

    name in graffiti: *xrp aprw nfrw wjA, jmy-rA 10 (sHD wjA ?)*
    Sixth Dynasty, Pepi I, year of counting 18 (the *sed* festival expedition of Pepi I)
    Wadi Hammamat

8. *JAtrs/ Wnjs-anx* [148]

   *HqA   xAswt   JAtrs   Wnjs-anx   jdw   Wmwt,* name   from
    Namenfigürchen
    late Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period
    Giza

5.2 TITLES OF THE TOMB OWNER

The textual evidence from the Tomb provides us with nine titles the Tomb Owner
was credited with during his lifetime. Due to the fact that the upper courses of
masonry in *Room I* are not preserved, the total number of attestations of some of
the titles does not fully correspond to the original state. However, only the core
titles (cf. below) may be expected to have been included in the inscriptions on the
walls of *Room I*.

5.2.1 List of titles

(1)
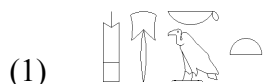
jwn knmwt [149]

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[146] Cf. Saleh 1977: 17; Baer 1960: 67, [112A].
[147] Three attestations of the name come from Wadi Hammamat. All of them are attributed to
a single person (cf. Gundlach 1959: 20–21):
1. Eichler 1993: 55, [79] = Goyon 1957: 53, Pl. X, [18]: *Wnjs-anx(.w)*;
2. Eichler 1993: 58, [85] = Goyon 1957: 59, Pl. V, [24]: *shD wjA Wnjs-anx(.w)*;
3. Eichler 1993: 76, [138] = Couyat – Montet 1912: 96, Pl. XXXIII, [157] = Weigall 1909, Pl. X,
[4], PM VII: 330: *xrp aprw nfrw wjA (j)m(y)-rA 10.*
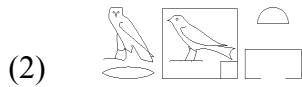[148] Abu Bakr – Osing 1973: 112.
[149] Jones 2000: [22].

"support of the *kenemut* people"

3 attestations

Room IV – Tx. 32, 34, 35

(2)

jmy-rA Hwt wrt[150]

"overseer of a (law) court"
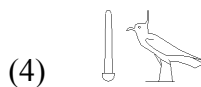
3 attestations

Room IV – Tx. 32, 34, 35

(3)

jmy-rA Smaw[151]

"overseer of Upper Egypt"

11 preserved attestations

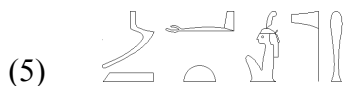Room II, IV, V, False Door – Tx. 9, 19, 32, 34, 35, 36, 54, 69, 70, 71, 72

(4)

mdw rxyt[152]

"Staff of the rxyt people"

3 attestations

Room IV – Tx. 32, 34, 35

(5)

Hm-nTr MAat[153]

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[150] Jones 2000: [628].
[151] Jones 2000: [896].
[152] Jones 2000: [1698].
[153] Jones 2000: [1930].

"priest of Maat"

2 attestations

False Door – Tx. 71, 72

(6)

Hry-sStA[154]

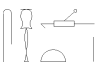"privy to the secrets"

3 attestations

Rooms IV – Tx. 32, 34, 35

(7)

sA nswt[155]

"King's son"

10 preserved attestations

Rooms II, IV, V, False Door – Tx. 9, 19, 32, 34, 35, 36, 54, 70, 71, 72

(8)

smr waty[156]

"sole companion"

2 attestations

False Door – Tx. 71, 72

(9)

tpy Xrt nswt[157]

"Property administrator of the King."

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[154] Jones 2000: [2233].
[155] Jones 2000: [2911].
[156] Jones 2000: [3268].
[157] Jones 2000: [2874], listed as Xry-tp nswt.

10 preserved attestations

Rooms II, IV, V, False Door – Tx. 19, 32, 34, 35, 36, 54, 69, 70, 71, 72

5.2.2 Comments to the titles

(1) *jwn knmwt*

"Support of the *knmwt* people"

The title ranks among the oldest titles and represents the most consistent indication of a legal official.[158] The meaning of the title remains obscure, however, it was evidently connected with legal matters relating to a people designated as *kenemut* (Helck translates *kenemut* as "the panther people"). The title is generally associated with other titles held by the Tomb Owner, such as "overseer of a (law) court", "staff of the *rekhyt* people" and "priest of Maat".[159]

(2) *jmy-rA Hwt wrt*

"*Overseer of a (law) court*"

Although the term *Hwt wrt* is interpreted differently, all translations point to the legal character of the institution. The title was introduced relatively late. Its earliest known holder is Kai dating to the reign of Nyuserre.[160] Junker made an observation that holders of this title, as a rule, were also "property administrators of the King".[161] In this respect, the Tomb Owner does not represent an exception. By contrast, only few non-vizierial holders of the title "overseer of a (law) court" reached the rank of a "sole companion" or even "King's son".

(3) *jmy-rA Smaw*

"*overseer of Upper Egypt*"

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[158] Strudwick 1985: 180.
[159] Helck 1954: 72–74.
[160] Strudwick 1985: 142–144, [137].
[161] Junker 1944: 200–201.

The title was analyzed by Kees[162], Goedicke[163] and Martin-Pardey[164]. It was introduced relatively late and its first known holder is again Kai who performed this office during the reign of Nyuserre. Meyer proposed that the office was introduced as a reaction of the central administration to the increasing power of provincial officials in the course of the Fifth Dynasty, being an important component of the progressing governmental reforms.[165] Helck suggested that the office represented a step preceding the promotion to the office of the vizier.[166] Strudwick verified this hypothesis when proving that most holders of the title became viziers later in their careers.[167] According to Baer, the title was usually functional.[168] During the period in question, probably only one official held the office at a time[169] judging from the fact that only a limited number of officials with the title are attested before the end of the Fifth Dynasty (Nyuserre to Unis) and at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty. The official was doubtless attached to the court as documented by the presence of their tombs in the residential cemeteries and residential titles they held.

(4)   *mdw rxyt*

"*staff of the* rxyt *people*"

Similarly to the title "support of the *kenemut* people", the title belongs to the oldest titles and denotes a legal official.[170] It was evidently connected with legal matters relating to people designated as *rekhyt*.

(5)   *Hm-nTr MAat*

"priest of Maat"

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[162] Kees 1932: 85–115.
[163] Goedicke 1956: 1–10.
[164] Martin-Pardey 1976: 152–170.
[165] Meyer 1921.
[166] Helck 1954: 109.
[167] Strudwick 1985: 308–309.
[168] Baer 1960: 274.
[169] Cf. Bárta 2000: 57.
[170] Strudwick 1985: 180.

The title is attested from the reign of Neferirkare ownwards, the first holder being Washptah (*WAS-PtH*).[171] Though its name seemingly indicates a priestly function, the character of duties and privileges were more of secular and administrative nature.[172] Its holders were legal officials at all levels of administration.[173] The title is usually associated with other titles held by the Tomb Owner.

(6)   *Hry sStA*

"privy to the secrets"

The title has been recently analyzed by Rydström. It is first documented from the Early Dynastic Period. Until the end of the Third Dynasty, its holders were mainly involved in funerary and temple cults, but during the Fourth Dynasty, the use of the title expanded into all spheres of the Egyptian society. Administrative officers holding the title were employed either in scribal sphere (*a nswt*) or, as in the case of the Tomb Owner, in legal administration (*Hwt wrt*). In connection with legal administration, the title relates to the character of duties rather than to a function.[174]

(7)   *sA nswt*

"King's son"

The title was studied by Wiedemann[175], Gauthier[176], Junker and Federn[177], Römer[178], Schmitz[179] and most recently by Baud[180]. It is first documented from the Second Dynasty and was widely used in the subsequent periods. In the course of the Old Kingdom, the title evidently lost its purest meaning and

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[171] Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981: 96.
[172] Cf. Bárta 1999 for a similar title „priest of Heket" (*Hm-nTr Hqt*).
[173] Rydström 1994: 69.
[174] Rydström 1994.
[175] Wiedemann 1885: 79–80.
[176] Gauthier 1923: 190.
[177] Junker 1934: 31–41.
[178] Römer 1971.
[179] Schmitz 1976.
[180] Baud 1999.

expanded from the constituency of the nuclear royal family onto a group of high officials the nature of which is not easy to tell from available sources. For the period in question, i.e. the end of the Fifth Dynasty, one distinguishes between two groups of royal sons – *real* and *fictive*. In the case of the Tomb Owner, the title is most probably of fictive (or titular) nature.[181] Another division of King's sons dating from the reign of Djedkare to that of Unis reflects their active or passive involvement in the state administration. Schmitz showed that officials with, as well as without, administrative function held the title.[182] The Tomb Owner would then belong to the group of the title's bearers actively involved in the state administration.

(8)   `smr waty`

       "Unique friend"

       The title is first attested from the Third Dynasty but did not become common until the Fourth Dynasty. In the late Old Kingdom, it is a rank title,[183] and hence describes the very special status its bearer enjoyed towards the king.[184] This title is the second most important ranking title of the Tomb Owner after the title *"King's son"*.[185]

(9)   `tpy Xrt nswt`

       "Property administrator of the king"

       The title has been recently analyzed by Goedicke[186] who suggested that it was designed for officials executing temporarily limited administration of the property of the king in his earthly authority.[187] In the case of the Tomb Owner it represents legal and administrative aspects connected with his office of *"overseer of Upper Egypt"*.

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[181] Schmitz 1976: 31, 89ff.
[182] Schmitz 1976, cf. Baud 1999: 166.
[183] Bárta 2001: 12.
[184] Baer 1960: 9–41.
[185] Cf. Baer 1960: 233.
[186] Goedicke, 1994: 227–234.
[187] Bárta 2001: 183.

5.2.3 Order and distribution of titles

It is clearly visible from the number of attestations that the core titles of the Tomb Owner's titulary are those of "*King's son*", "*overseer of Upper Egypt*" and "*property administrator of the King*". These titles appear (or are likely to have appeared) in all the decorated rooms. The sequence of the three titles is strictly given ("*King's son – overseer of Upper Egypt – property administrator of the King*") and forms the core string of the Tomb Owners titulary.

Only on the false door's panel (Tx. 69) and the south wall of *Room II* (Tx. 9), the core string is limited to the number of two titles, while the titles "King's son" and "property administrator of the King" are omitted respectively.

Two extended title strings appear in the text in the inner part of the Tomb. One appears on the inner jambs of the false door (Tx. 71, 72), the other on the west, north and east walls of *Room IV* (Tx. 32, 34, 35).

The sequence from the false door begins with the title "*King's son*", followed by "*sole companion*", "*overseer of Upper Egypt*", "*property administrator of the King*" and is concluded with the title "*priest of Maat*". Both titles, "*sole companion*" and "*priest of Maat*", appear exclusively on the false door.

The string of *Room IV* is more extensive. It incorporates altogether seven titles. The sequence begins with the three core titles followed by the group of four juridical titles "*staff of the rekhyt people*", "*support of the kenemut people*", "*overseer of a (law) court*", and "*privy to the secrets*".

The overall sequence of the titles may be set as follows (the insertion of the title "*priest of Maat*" is done in agreement with Baer's conclusions[188]):

- "*King's son*"
- "*sole companion*"
- "*overseer of Upper Egypt*"
- "*property administrator of the King*"
- "*staff of the rekhyt people*"

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[188] Baer 1960: 232.

- *"support of the kenemut people"*
- *"overseer of a law court"*
- *"priest of Maat"*
- *"privy to the secrets"*

The sequence begins with rank titles (*King's son*, *sole companion*), followed by the most important office title (*overseer of Upper Egypt*) accompanied by a signal title (*property administrator of the King*) and functional titles (*staff of the* `rxyt` *people, support of the* `knmwt` *people, overseer of a law court, priest of Maat* and *privy to the secrets*).[189]

The sequence of the Tomb Owner's titles fits into the sequencing of Baer's period *VC* (i.e. Djedkare to Unis, or more procisely late Djedkare to early Unis) and thereby represents an important dating criterion.[190]

5.3   EPITHETS

There are two basic forms of epithets of a deceased included in the texts from the Tomb: "*revered before* (`jmAxw xr ...)` [a deity]" and "*possessor of reverence before* (`nb jmAxw xr ...`) [a deity]".[191] The alteration of the two versions seems to be accidental and likely does not indicate a semantic difference. In the case of Anubis, the name of the deity is accompanied by relevant sacerdotal titles:

5.3.1   List of epithets

(1)

`jmAxw`[192]

"Revered"

3 attestations

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[189] Cf. Franke 1984.
[190] Baer 1960: 232.
[191] For the term `jmAxw` see Strudwick 2005: 30; Jones 1999: [42]; Bárta 2001: 39, 53, etc.
[192] Jones 2000: [42].

Room IV – Tx. 32, 34, 35

(2)

jmAxw xr Jnpw tpy Dw=f, jmy-wt, nb tA Dsr[193]

"Revered before Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land"

2 attestations

Room V – TX. 36, 54

(3)
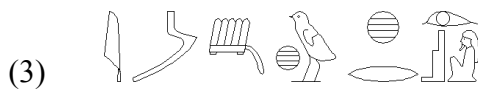
jmAxw xr Wsjr[194]

"Revered before Osiris"

3 attestations

Room IV – Tx. 32, 35

(4)

jmAxw xr nswt[195]

"Revered before the King"

1 attestation (paired with *nb jmAxw xr nswt* of Tx. 36)

místnost V – Tx. 54

(5)

jmAxw xr nTr aA[196]

"Revered before the Great god"

2 attestations

---

[193] Jones 2000: [73].
[194] Jones 2000: [89].
[195] Jones 2000: [135].
[196] Jones 2000: [142].

Room IV, False Door – Tx. 36, 54, 73, 74

(6)

jmAxw xr smjt jmntt[197]

"Revered before the Western desert"

2 attestations

False Door – Tx. 75, 76

(7)

nb jmAxw xr Jnpw tpy Dw=f[198]

"Possessor of reverence before Anubis, who is upon his mountain"

3 attestations

Room IV – Tx. 32, 34, 35

(8)

nb jmAxw xr nswt

"Possessor of reverence before the Great god"

1 attestation (paired with *jmAxw xr nswt* of Tx. 54)

Room V – Tx. 36

(9)

nb jmAxw xr nTr aA[199]

"Possessor of reverence before the Great god"

3 attestations

Room IV – Tx. 32, 34, 35

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[197] Jones 2000: [180].
[198] Jones 2000 does not list this title.
[199] Jones 2000: [1789].

5.3.2   Distribution of epithets

Epithets of the deceased appear only in *Room IV* and *Room V*, i.e. in the *inner part* of the Tomb in altogether nine texts (*Room IV*: Tx. 32, 34, 35; *Room V*: Tx. 36; False Door: Tx. 54, 73, 74, 75, 76).

In *Room IV* epithets follow titles (sequence: *titles – epithets – name*), but the situation is reversed in *Room V* where epithets precede titles (sequence: *epithets – titles – name*). The position of the epithets in those texts is unlikely accidental and may reflect the proximity to the cultic focal point of the tomb, i.e. the false door. The closer to the false door, the more important the role reverence would play. Unfortunately, no supporting evidence is known from other tombs. Ihy's tomb could have had potential of providing verification, but in the course of the tomb's usurpation for the King's daughter, Seshseshet Idut, the passages of texts were overwritten.[200]

Both *Room IV* and *V* have their own strings of epithets, while on the false door the epithets appear isolated. In *Room IV* we encounter a string made up of five epithets that relate successively to "the Great God", "the King", "Anubis, who is upon his mountain", and "Osiris". Directly before the name of the Tomb Owner the basic form of the epithet – "possessor of reverence" – is given.

In the case of the north wall (Tx. 34), the epithet mentioning Osiris is, due to a lack of space, omitted. Osiris was omitted as Anubis played a much more important role in the funeral context than Osiris, as he generally appears more frequently in offering formulae.[201] In *Room V* the string of epithets is limited to a number of three recalling sequentially "the Great God", "the King" and "Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the embalming place, lord of the sacred land". The sequence of epithets used in *Room V* is quite frequent in late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties.[202] On the false door the epithets recalling "the Western Desert" and "the Great God" appear on the outer and middle jambs, respectively.

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[200] Macramallah 1935, Kanwati – Abder-Raziq 2003.
[201] DuQuense 2005: 145.
[202] DuQuense 2005.

5.3.3   Order of epithets

Franke defines an epithet as „graphisch kurzgefasste und schematisierte 'ideal-bibliographische' Aussage, die wie ein Titel behandelt werden kann".[203] This would suggest that epithets, analogously to titles, might be organized into sequences compiled in accordance with a logical key. The sequence in which the epithets are given could possibly either set the hierarchy of gods whose names they include or would portray a "reverence biography" of the deceased. Both interpretations may be suggested for the sequence from the tomb of Unisankh.

"The Great God" shall in this context be understood as a rather general term and may not refer to a single deity. Following *Wörterbuch*, the term was used "vielfach ohne deutliche Beziehung auf einen bestimmten Gott (besonders von Re und Osiris)" and during the Old Kingdom especially as "Titel des lebenden und toten Königs".[204]

As the afterlife of a non-royal person fully depended on "the King", it is he who follows. "Anubis" precedes "Osiris" being the predominant divinity of the afterlife, involved in the transition from here to hereafter. For the period in question, Anubis also appears more frequently in the offering formulae than Osiris.

"The Western Desert" represents the topographical destination of the revered in the West (*Jmntt*), the revered person wishes to reach.

The sequence may, at the same time, be describing the transition ritual through which the deceased passes from here to hereafter in terms of his reverence. However, sequences of epithets in the contemporary tombs are too rare and our knowledge of the *Götterwelt* too imperfect to aver this hypothesis. The term "the Great God" would be then a general reference to a divine (including royal) authority and together with "the King" would refer to the earthly reverence of the deceased. "Anubis" would represent the transitional phase between life and

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[203] Franke 1984: 124.
[204] *Wb*. II: 361.

afterlife, while the order of the sacerdotal titles of Anubis would possibly itemizes the transition.

DuQuense, in his study on jackal divinities, similarly suggest that the sacerdotal titles "were grouped in a way which indicates their relative importance or particular (e.g. local or individual) associations", analogously to Baer's sequencing of titles.[205] The sacerdotal title "who is upon his mountain"[206] is the most widespread title of Anubis and which would indicated that this was his most common form in which he was venerated by the livings.[207] The Pyramid Texts do not provide sufficient evidence concerning the context of the use of sacerdotal titles of Anubis. Only in the Coffin Texts is their use much more evident. There, Anubis is connected either with embalmment or rebirth of the deceased. His sacerdotal titles relate usually to a place and an activity connected to his main functions.[208] The title "who is in the embalming place" points to the mummification process, the very transition and a prerequisite for the passing into the afterlife. The divine epithet "lord of the sacred land" refers already to a virtual place of hereafter.

Eventually, the deceased approaches "Osiris".[209] "The Western Desert" appears only in the pair of epithets inscribed on the outer jambs of the false door and represents an inferior *topos* of the west, where the deceased wishes to dwell.

The above given theory is well supported by the offering formulae inscribed on the false door's architrave and outer jambs. Despite being inscribed on different elements of the false door, the text likely form a single unit and may be read as follows: "An offering which the King gives, so that Anubis may give an offering: his burial in the West (and) so that Osiris may give an offering: an invocation offering for him (of bread, cake and beer) during every feast, every day." The three gods are given the very same sequence as the one in the epithets

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[205] DuQuense 2005: 152, §§ 152.
[206] Cf. DuQuense 2005:
[207] Cf. Altenmüller 1975: 21, footnote 8.
[208] Cf. Altenmüller 1975: 20–21.
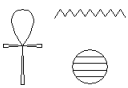[209] Cf. Begelsbacher-Fischer 1975: 121–125.

strings. The offering formula set an order and gradual dependence of "the King", "Anubis" and "Osiris".

5.4   FAMILY OF THE TOMB OWNER

No family members are mentioned in the Tomb. Based on the Tomb Owner's name, his title "King's son" and the location of the Tomb is Unisankh generally (but wrongly; cf. Chapter Six) considered to have been son of Unis and (his wife Nebet).[210] To suggest kinship ties between Unisankh and Ptahshepses Junior II's family based on similarities between their tombs[211] would be too hypothetical.

5.5   DEPENDENTS OF THE TOMB OWNER

Five different names of the Tomb Owner's dependents are attested in the Tomb. One of the names, `#ntj-sSm-nfr`, appears twice. All the names represent later additions to the original relief decoration and appear exclusively in *Room I* and in the open courtyard. More names of attendants might have been inscribed to the figures of offering bearers in the unpreserved upper registers of the room.

(1)

N: `anx`[212]

T: none

Tx. 3

A similar name of `anxj`[213] is attested from the tomb of Ihy (reused by Idut).[214]

(2)

N: `Wr-wpt`[215]

T: `... pr Sna`

[210] Cf. Saad 1940.
[211] Cf. *Chapter Three*.
[212] Ranke 1935: 62.19.
[213] Ranke 1935: 68.3.
[214] Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: 35, no. 3.
[215] Ranke 1935 does not list the name.

```
              Xrj wDA ...
              jmy jz
              jrw qd
              pr-aA
```

Gr. 4

(3)
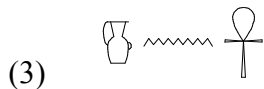
N: Ny-anx-Xnmw[216]

T: xnty-S

Gr. 1

The reading of the badly preserved graffito inscribed to Tx. 3 is very doubtful. The suggested name is a rather common one in the late Old Kingdom.

(4)

N: *Mrrj*[217]

T: *Hm-kA*

Tx. 7

The name is also attested in the tomb of Ihy (reused by Idut) accompanied by titles *Hm-kA jmy-rA sH jmy-rA sSr*.[218] It is possible that the two inscriptions refer to the same person.

(4)

N: *#nt-sSm-nfr*

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[216] Ranke 1935: 171.21.
[217] Ranke 1935: 162.22
[218] Kanawati – Abder-Raziq 2003: 35, # 6.

T: none

Tx. 2, Tx. 6

The unusual name of *#nt-sSm-nfr* is not listed by Ranke.[219] It might be seen as an augmented version of a quite common name *¤Sm-nfr*,[220] a name widely used during the latter part of the Old Kingdom.

[219] Ranke 1935.
[220] Ranke 1935: 320.17.

CHAPTER SIX: INTERPRETATION

6.1   Dating of the Tomb and the Tomb Owner

In the course of the works carried out by the joint expedition of the Australian Centre for Egyptology of the Macquire University and the University of the Suez Canal in *Line A* of the Unis Cemetery North-West, the substructure of the tomb was cleared. The burial chamber revealed skeletal remains believed to have belonged to Unisankh. These remains were later examined by Prof. Eugen Strouhal of the First Medical Faculty of the Charles University, Prague, who established Unisankh's age at death being 30-35 years,[221] a time span approximately equal to the conventional length of the reigns of both kings under whose rule Unisankh likely lived and whom he served.[222]

Besides these skeletal remains, it is the Tomb that provides most evidence including crucial criteria for dating both the Tomb and the Tomb Owner. Most of the criteria are confined to relative chronology alone, only few determine absolute dating. Most of these have already been discussed in detail in the previous four chapters (*Chapters II–V*). The following paragraphs aim at revising those most important and to establish the dating for both the Tomb and its Owner. The commented criteria follow the order of the list Harpur established in her extensive study on the decoration of Old Kingdom tombs and are numbered accordingly.[223]

1. Location

(indicated dating: Unis to early Teti)

The Tomb is located within the so-called Unis Cemetery North-West, a cemetery founded by King Unis in connection with the construction of his funerary complex, between his and Netjerykhet's funerary complexes. The original cemetery was mainly in use during the reign of Unis and possibly at the beginning of the reign of his successor Teti. It is likely that the cemetery was established already during the early reign of Unis, i.e. the first decade, simultaneously with the construction of the king's funerary complex.

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[221] Personal communication with Eugen Strouhal, May 2007.
[222] For the chronology of the Fifth Dynasty cf. von Beckerath, 1997: 153–155; Verner, 2001.
[223] Harpur 1987: 35–36.

2. Position

(indicated dating: early Unis)

The Tomb formed a part of an assumed *King's family cemetery*, originally a rectangular lot above the filled channel of the Dry Moat assigned for tombs of the King's wives and King's (real and fictive) children. The *King's family cemetery* was planned to consist of two lines of tombs: *Line B* (closer to the funerary complex of Unis) was assigned to Unis' wives and *Line A* (closer to the funerary complex of Netjerykhet) was planned for royal children. The King's wives Khenut and Nebet and the King's son Unisankh were the first ones for whose tombs parcels (within the *King's family cemetery* lot) were allocated. However, the first tomb upon which construction was begun belonged to vizier Ihy. Ihy's tomb was to adjoin *Line A* from the east. The tombs of Ihy and Unisankh were likely finished simultaneously as a joint project (a quasi double mastaba), analogously to, and concurrently with, the double-mastaba of Queens Khenut and Nebet. The tomb of Iynefert was built against the western sloping wall of the tomb of Unisankh.

3. *Tomb Architecture*

(indicated dating: early to middle Unis)

The mastaba represents an example of the third subtype (or "generation") of the large multi-roomed mastabas and belongs to my *subtype I-C*, i.e. the Tomb has semi-bypassed linear structure of inner rooms within the mastaba. Only two examples are known so far – the tomb of Unisankh and the tomb of the vizier Nyankhba, both located at the Unis Cemeteries and congruently generally dated to the reign of Unis. This sub-type of inner structure, represents the last developmental stage of linear system and its distention coincides with the early examples of bifurcated system (*type II*) that spread from Giza to Saqqara only at the beginning of the reign of Unis (e.g. the tombs of Queens Khenut and Nebet and the vizier Iynefert).

The Tomb's superstructure (including the red painted false door stela) was built of the "Tura limestone" likely originating in the quarries of Maasara (located in the neighborhood of the modern cement factory close to Helwan) on the opposite bank of the Nile. The same material has been used for construction of other monuments within the Unis Cemetery North-West[224], as well as Unis' funerary complex itself.

4. Tomb Size
(indicated dating: early Unis)

The built area of the Tomb is cca 333 sqm and is essentially no smaller than areas of tombs of other high officials (viziers and overseers of Upper Egypt) of the late Fifth Dynasty. The Tomb is slighly larger than that of Ihy which is 310 sqm. The adjoining tomb of Iynefert is much smaller at only 240 sqm, making the Tomb of Unisankh the largest one among the original tombs of *Line A*.

7. False door type
(indicated dating: early Unis)

The false door of Unisankh belongs to the earlier of two types of false door within the Unis Cemetery North West. The basic distinction between the early and the late types is the number of line inscribed on the false door's architrave and presence or absence of a text on the false door drum. The earlier specimens (Queens, Ihy and Unisankh) have only one line of text inscribed on the false door's architrave and no text on the drum, while the later examples (Iynefert, Idut as well as Mehu) have two lines of text and an inscribed drum. The early false doors are also characterized by simpler design of the false door's panel and omit the low table with ewer and basin.[225]

8-9. *Entrance and chapel* decoration

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[224] Kanawati – Abder Raziq 2003.
[225] Cf. Browarski 2005: 77.

The early tombs of the cemetery (Queens, Ihy and Unisankh) did not have their entrances decorated. The entrance of Iynefert's tombs seems to be the first one that was decorated. The entrance to Ihy's tomb was decorated only on the occasion of its usurping for the King's daughter Seshseshet Idut.

10. Decorated burial chamber

(indicated dating: Unis)

The burial chamber of the tomb of Unisankh has never been published; however, it is highly probable that it resembled that of Ihy, as the shaft leading to the burial chamber has very similar dimensions to Ihy's.

13. Title sequence

(indicated dating: late Djedkare to early Unis)

Baer's exquisite study on the rank and title is most relevant to the dating the Tomb Owner who held nine titles altogether: the King's son (*sA nswt*), sole companion (*smr waty*), overseer of Upper Egypt (*jmy rA Smaw*), property administrator of the King (*tpy Xrt nswt*), staff of the *rekhyt* people (*mdw rxyt*), support of the *kenemut* people (*jwn knmwt*), priest of Maat (*Hm nTr MAat*), overseer of a (law) court (*jmy-rA Hwt wrt*) and privy to the secrets (*Hry sStA*). The arrangement of Unisankh's titles perfectly fits into to Baer's period V-C, i.e. the late reign of Djedkare to the early reign of Unis. In connection with the Tomb Owner's basilophoric name, Unisankh (*Wnjs-anx.w*), that serves as a *terminus post quem*, the titles and names of the Tomb Owner date his carrier and tomb construction to the early reign of Unis. This dating is in full correspondence with all above surveyed dating criteria.

14. Development of specific titles   (Unis)

The only title relevant for the dating of the Tomb Owner is that of "overseer of Upper Egypt" (*jmy-rA Smaw*). The earliest holder of the title was Kai,

followed by Rashepses and Ptahshepses Junior II. According to Bárta, Ptahshepses was succeeded by Akhethetep, who held the office during the reign of Unis. [226] As the carrier of the Tomb Owner is dated to the early years of Unis, the present writer postpones Akhethotep's tenure in the office of "the overseer of Upper Egypt" after that of Unisankh. This assumption may be supported by the direct connection between Ptahshepses Junior II and Unisankh in terms of their tombs' architecture.

X. Cherpion's criteria

(indicated dating: Unis)

All criteria established by Cherpion correspond with the dating to the reign of Unis. The decorative program displays clear similarities with the programs of the double-mastaba of Queens Khenut and Nebet and the tomb of Ihy.

Unisankh's tenure in the office of the "overseer of Upper Egypt" and the construction of his tomb very likely falls into the early reign of Unis. If we accept the conventional length of Unis' reign of 30 years, this would correspond to the first decade. Unisankh certainly died in the first half of Unis' reign.

6.2 Life of the Tomb Owner

The Tomb Owner's life is unevenly split between the reigns of Djedkare and Unis. He spent his childhood, youth and early adulthood under the reign of Djedkare (*infans*, *juvenilis*, early *adultus*). He was an adult (*adultus*) when serving Unis, and died before reaching maturity (*matures*).[227] Taking into account the estimated age at death and the fact that roughly 10 years fall into the reign of Unis, the Tomb Owner must have been around 20–25 when the new king ascended the throne. On this occasion or shortly thereafter, he changed his name

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[226] Bárta 2000.
[227] Cf. Strouhal – Vyhnánek 1979: 20.

from on original one of which we are absolutely ignorant[228] The Tomb Owner was hence born in the first half of Djedkare's reign into the extended royal family (cf. below) and likely belonged to the same age set as his future master, King Unis. He probably gained his first experience in the country's administration in the last years of Djedkare's reign.

Likely at the beginning of the reign of Unis, Unisankh was promoted into one of the highest office of the state administration. It is probable that Unisankh (as well the vizier Ihy) ranked among Unis' closest friends from the constituency of the extended royal family (the King's son") and both were to be installed to their office as the king's men.

Unisankh was a high ranking ("the King's son" and "the sole companion") legal official ("support of the *kenemut* people", "overseer of a (law) court", "staff of the *rekhyt* people" and "priest of Maat") administrating Upper Egypt ("overseer of Upper Egypt, property administration of the King). He died before reaching the potential climax of his career, i.e. becoming the vizier.

An expected death in pre-*maturus* age is supported by the low quality with which the relief decoration was finished. Only parts of the decoration (mainly in *Room IV*) are executed in high relief, the majority being in low relief. However, the Tomb must have been in a relatively high degree of completion.

6.3   Royal Parentage

Neither family members are mentioned in the Tombs, nor is an individual named Unisankh and bearing corresponding titles attested to in monuments of other individuals. Unisankh's parentage represents the biggest controversy relating to the Tomb Owner. No real discussion on the topic has been carried out so far.

Real royal parentage of Unisankh was assumed shortly after the Tomb was re-discovered by Zaki Yussef Saad, as the Chicago part of the Tomb remained inaccessible to the public until 1981 and the false door was displayed only between 1909 and 1928. Saad and Schweitzer assigned Unisankh's parentage to

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[228] A basilophoric name venerating Unis is exceptional for the period of the early reign of Unis. All basilophoric names of high officials depicted on the walls of Unis' cause include the name of Djedkare Isesi and not that of Unis.

King Unis and Queen Nebet.[229] Their assumption was based on the Tomb Owner's (a) baselophoric name, (b) his title "the King's son" and (c) the location of the Tomb in the vicinity of Unis' pyramid; and likely on a misinterpreted inscription from the tomb of Queen Nebet.

Ad. (a): In his study on the Old Kingdom royal family, Baud lists – among others – all holders of the title "the King's sons (with or without extensions)", out of whom only a small number had basilophoric names. Moreover, none of these rather rare exceptions is believed to be a crown prince. This indicates that basilophoric names were unpopular among the royal family. Their use would be rather unpractical, at least as far as crown princes were concerned. Moreover, Unisankh must have been born prior to Unis' ascent on the throne, so his original name would rather venerate his potential grand-father King Djedkare (Isesi) than his father's. Composite names venerated either gods or the divine King. In addition, only the Tomb Owner, out of eight known bearers of the name "Unisankh", has any royal connotations.

Ad. (b): In the late Fifth dynasty the title generally translated as "the King's son" designated several groups of individuals. The conventional reading of the title is highly misleading, not only with relation to a limited kinship terminology of ancient Egyptian and resulting different family relations concepts, but also with respect to the very special milieu of Old Kingdom elites. The present writer prefers to translate the title as "royal junior" and sees it as a ranking title used for male members of the extended royal family promoted to the rank by the King himself.

Key to the determination of the character of Unisankh's royal parentage is the inscription on the false door's panel (Tx. 69), where only two out of his three core titles are written. The title "the King's son" is omitted there. A parallel of the King's son Isesiankh (mastaba D 8), whose tomb is located near the north-west corner of Netjerykhet's temenos wall and who lived at the end of the Fifth Dynasty (reigns of Djedkare and Unis),[230] suggests itself: Baud,[231] citing

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[229] Saad 1940, Schweitzer 1947.
[230] Cf. Strudwick 1985: 71–72.

Schmitz,[232]comments on the character of Isesiankh's parentage: "Schmitz classe le personage dans la catégorie des fils fictifs du roi qui doivent `sA nswt` à leurs fonctions d'État. Cette idée, qu'il ne faut pas généraliser, se trouve ici confirmée par les graffiti des blocs de construction de la tombe (non mentionnés par Mariette, ils sont accessibles depuis le récent dégagement d'El-Fikey), qui signalent l'identité du destinataire-propriétaire : le `xtmw nTr anx-Jssj`. Eût-il été véritable fils royal, il aurait sans doute été identifié comme `sA nswt`, conformément à l'usage." Moreover, the King's son Isesiankh is often discussed in the same context as the King's son Kaemtjenenet (mastaba D 7)[233] who is – based on mutual similarities between their titles and superstructure layouts – considered to have been Isesiankh's – non-royal – father. The absence of the title "the King's son" in the sequence on the panel of the false door analogously points out to the fictiveness of the Tomb Owner's royal parentage. In addition, no prince held the title of the King's son.

Ad. (c): Despite the fact that the Unis Cemetery North-West displays a high degree of social stratification, it is more likely the status than any family ties what decides the organization of this particular cemetery. The location of burials of princes in all periods of dynastic Egypt is far from clear and still represents a subject of a scholarly debate.

Initially no explanation was given when suggesting Nebet as Unisankh's mother. The choice of Nebet from two wives of Unis was likely determined by misinterpretation of the inscription from *Room E* of her tomb describing an offering bearer standing at the head of a procession as `sA=f smsw mry=f sAb sHD sSw Wnjs-anx(.w)`, but this individual was either brother or son-in-law of the queen.

Herein, it must be admitted that we are absolutely ignorant of Unis' male offspring. Both King's son whom Munro sees to have been sons of Unis, i.e. the

[231] Baud 1999: 421–422.
[232] Schmitz 1976: 88–90.
[233] Strudwick 1985: [146].

King's son Unisankh and the King's son of his body Nebkauhor,[234] in all probability were not sons of Unis. The throne passed on Teti, probably a member of the extended royal family, who was married to Iput I, a queen with an unique combination of titles "the King's daughter", "the King's wife" and "the King's mother", representing the link between the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasty.[235]

[234] Munro 1993: 20–33.
[235] Baud 1999: 410.

APPENDIX: INNER STRUCTURE OF LARGE MASTABAS FROM THE LATE OLD KINGDOM

The unusual arrangement of inner rooms within the superstructure of the tomb of Unisankh brought the present writer to a more detailed survey of the arrangement of inner rooms within the mass of large, multi-roomed, non-royal mastabas (*Mehrraum-Mastabas*) of the latter part of the Old Kingdom.[236] The key studies on the topic are those presented by Altenmüller and Moussa,[237] Jánosi[238] and Bárta.[239] Altenmüller and Moussa in their publication of the tomb of Nyankhkhnum and Khnumhotep surveyed the inner structure of the tomb and compared it with contemporary tombs from Giza and Saqqara. Jánosi in his analysis of the so-called Abusir tombs discussed the role the courtyards (*Höfe*), that are fundamental to the inner structure's analyzes as will be demonstrated below, played in the structure of the rooms within early large, multi-roomed mastabas and outline their general development.[240] In a later study of his Jánosi sums up, our up-to-date knowledge concerning the courtyards.[241] Bárta focused on the cultic role, the *wesekhet* (identified with courtyards) played in the funerary rituals performed for the benefit of the tomb owner.

A. 1   Introduction

In the course of the Fifth Dynasty two new types of tombs developed, namely large, multi-roomed mastabas constructed for individual of the highest rank of the late Old Kingdom in the vicinity of royal pyramid complexes, and family tombs.[242]

The former class, the analysis of which is the subject of this study, comprises some two dozens known examples distributed over the residential

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[236] German terminology will be refered to as the main studies on this topic are published in this language.
[237] Moussa – Altenmüller 1977
[238] Jánosi 2000.
[239] Bárta 2005.
[240] Jánosi 2000: 465.
[241] Jánosi 2006: 105–106.
[242] Cf. Bárta 2005.

cemeteries of Memphis. Most of them are located at Central Saqqara, but examples, usually with specific features, can be found at North Abusir and Giza as well. It is noteworthy that the two lastly mentioned sites played an important role in defining the class itself, its types and sub-types.

Jánosi suggested that the tomb of Ty at Central Saqqara represents a transitional specimen linking the previous tradition with the new class of the tombs.[243] The tomb that already represents the birth of the class in question was the mastaba of Ty's contemporary, the vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir, which was finished during the reign of Nyuserre. Before reaching its final appearance the mastaba of Ptahshepses underwent a number of enlargements and alterations and eventually (with its 2 352 sqm became) the larges known non-royal tomb built during the Old Kingdom.[244] The tomb was constructed in at least three phases.[245] The gradual enlargement of the mastaba was characterized by inclusions of several elements of royal architecture into non-royal context. For the purpose of this study, the inclusion of a room called *wesekhet* (`wsxt`) is of main importance.

A.2   *Wesekhets*

The term `wsxt` is being translated differently. According to *Wörterbuch*, it is either "Hof" or "Halle",[246] which clearly points to the fact that the room might have been taking different forms. In non-royal context and in the period in question, i.e. the late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties, three basic forms of *weskhets* are attested, namely pillared courtyard (*Pfeilerhof*), open courtyard (*Lichthof*) and (*Pfeilerhalle*), listed respectively to their chronological order.

This earliest form of the pillared courtyard is encountered in the transitional tomb of Ty, and multi-roomed mastabas of the viziers Ptahshepses and the vizier Ptahhotep I of the Ptahhetep-Akhtihetep complex.

Later on, *wesekhets* in the form of an open courtyard (*Lichthof*) prevail, with examples being the tombs of Ptahshepes Junior II at Abusir and a number of tombs in the vicinity of the pyramid complex of Unis.

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[243] Jánosi 2006: 99–101.
[244] Verner 1986, Verner, 1992, Verner 1994, etc.
[245] E.g. Verner 1994: 175.
[246] *Wb I: 366.*

Towards the end of the reign of Unis, *wesekhet* took up a new form of a pillared hall (*Pfeilerhalle*) which is best documented by examples from the cemeteries around the pyramid of Teti.[247] However, they origin goes back to the reigns of Teti's predecessors.

There seems to be an almost rigid gradual development of *weskhet's* forms, with posible transitional periods of two types used at a time. A later occurrence of an abandoned form may reflect tradition of a particular cemetery,[248] spatial limitation in the case of an expanding tomb[249] or even may imply another dating of the tomb as generally accepted.

The *wesekhet,* was the place where important ceremonies in favor of the tomb owner used to take place. The *wesekhet* was for certain an indicator of social status of the tomb owner and represents an attribute of a large mastaba *par excellence*, or more precisely represents a criterion for a tomb to be classified into the group of tombs in question. Besides the chapel it was the most important cultic place in the tomb.

While chapels of the multi-roomed mastabas retained a constant form (*imprimis* the west-east alignment), with only a few exceptions existing (e.g. the tomb of the Unisankh, the vizier Ihy and the King's daughter Watetkhethor), the *wesekhets* were undergoing a tremendous development that without doubt reflected changing role they were to play in funerary practice. Reasons and stimuli behind the alterations of the forms may be well understood and explained through setting their development into the context of general development of inner structure of the multi-roomed mastabas.

A.3   Position of the *wesekhet* within the inner structure

Early large multi-roomed mastabas are characterized by a linear arrangement of inner rooms with only one main communication line within it, leading from the entrance to the chapel. The flow-line branched into side rooms or their complexes (*Nebenräume*). When considering the inner structure, only the rooms serving as

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[247] Cf. *Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports*.
[248] E.g. the tomb of Mehu in the Unis Cemetery North-West.
[249] E.g. the tomb of Seshemnefer and Tjeti at Giza (cf. Jánosi 2006: 108).

communications are of any relevance, as the side rooms were primarily used for storing things and provided, much like corridors, space for relief decoration. The number of rooms, i.e. the length of the system of communication corridors as well as the number of storerooms, are significant as indicators of social status of the tomb owner and of general and local funerary practises and patterns of funerary architecture.

In the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses, the *wesekhet* (*Room 13–14*) adjoins directly to the *Initial Mastaba* (*Rooms 21–31*; an advanced form of the so-called Abusir mastabas) and connects it with the rest of the tomb. If we leave the southern annexes (*Rooms 15–20, 32–40)* unparalleled in the majority of other large mastabas, of consideration the rooms of the mastaba of Ptahshepses are by means of the *wesekhet* divided into two sections. The inner section corresponds to the *Initial Mastaba*, and the outer section comprises the northeast sector of the tomb adjoining the main entrance (*Rooms 1–12*).[250] This triple division gives a basic scheme of inner structure applicable to all the tombs belonging to the class of multi-roomed mastabas. It is only their mutual position that changes in time, not incoherently with the forms of *wesekhets*.

Taking into considerations the total set of the tombs belonging to the class in question, any tomb is entered through the outer section, consisting of corridors (and side rooms). The *wesekhet* is always entered from the outer section and may be continuous or not. In the case the *wesekhet* has the form of a pillared courtyard, communications lines in it are defined by the colonnades on its sides. The inner section may be either entered from the *wesekhet*, as it is the case of the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses, from the outer section or from both.

A.4   Typology of multi-roomed mastabas

Based on the afore-defined division of the inner structure into three parts – inner section, *wesekhet* and outer section – or more precisely their mutual positioning – the class in question may be divided into two basic types – early or linear (*Type I*) and late or bifurcated (*Type II*). The two types are primarily distinguished by the

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[250] Verner 1977: 7.

position of the *wesekhet* within their structures. In the tombs belonging to the early type, *wesekhets* must or may be passed through when approaching the chapel. In the tombs belonging to the later type, *wesekhets* are no more through rooms, or the inner structure is accessible no more from the *wesekhet*, but directly from the outer section.

A.4.1 *Type I*

The early or linear type is characterized by linear inner structure, i.e. the individual sections are arranged serially, while the *wesekhet* may be bypassed by means of a system of corridors, as it is the case of later examples/subtypes. One either must or may pass the *wesekhet* when approaching to the chapel. This type was in use from the reign of Nyuserre till that of Unis, and is further categorized into three subtypes that successively developed: simple (*Type I-A*), bypassed (*Type I-B*) and semi-bypassed (*Type I-C*).

A.4.1.1 *Subtype I-A*

Type I-A (simple linear) represents the oldest subtype. The earliest example is logically the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses finished during the reign of Nyuserre. The subtype prevailed until the reign of Djedkare. It was defined at North Abusir, but soon it was begun to be used in the nearby Central Saqqara as well (e.g. the Ptahhetep–Akhtihetep complex).

Many of the tombs of this type were an outcome of a gradual expansion, as it was the case of the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses, another example being the tomb of the King's son Isesiankh located west to the pyramid complex of Netjerykhet at Central Saqqara. Nevertheless, an equal number of tombs were projected as having this structure from the very beginning (e.g. the tomb of the viziers Ptahhetep I and his son the vizier Akhethetep).

A.4.1.2 *Subtype I-B*

As soon as one or two generations later, the system of rooms of *Type I-A* was found malfunctioning and a new arrangement of inner rooms, *Type I-B*, was

designed. The best and probably the oldest known example is the tomb of Ptahshepses Junior II, son of the vizier Ptahshepses, at Abusir. The main communication line still led from the outer to the inner section via the *wesekhet*, which was but bypassed by means of a system of corridors, so that it was possible to reach the chapel without passing through it. The tomb of Ptahshepses Junior II, dated to the late reign of Nyuserre till that of Menkauhor, is the only known example of *Type I-C* that was planned from the very beginning as such.

However, the creation of a new type resulted in adaptation of inner structure of the tombs of the viziers Ptahhotep I, and his son the vizier Akhethetep. Secondary bypasses were created in both tombs. In the tomb of Ptahhetep Senior, the southern *serdab* was turned into a corridor connecting outer and inner sections. The tomb of Akhethetep was adapted alike. A secondary corridor was cut to join the inner and outer sections, as well as the *weskhet*.[251] The two tombs originally belonging to *Type I-A* were turned into *Type I-B*. The sub-type was again defined at North Abusir and was soon implemented on tombs at Central Saqqara.

It was now that the new form of *wesekhet* – the open courtyard (*Lichthof*) – first appeared. The pillared courtyard form was abandoned, as the function of the collonades was transferred on the corridor bypasses serving the same purpose.

A.4.1.3   *Subtype I-C*

The semi-bypassed *Type I-C* is the last developmental stage of the linear system (*Type I*) and is directly derived from *Type I-B*. It is clear that the tomb of Ptahshepses Junior II at Abusir belonging to *Type I-B* inspired architects of the tomb of Unisankh of *Type I-C*, the earlier example of the subtype.[252] Beside the tomb of Unisankh, only one other specimen, namely the tomb of the vizier Nyankhba located at the Unis Cemetery North-East, is known. As both tombs date

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[251] Personal examination of the tombs.
[252] Cf. *Chapter Three*.

to the reign of Unis and are found in the vicinity of his pyramid complex, the subtype is strictly defined both in time and space.[253]

A special feature of the tombs belonging to this subtype is an opening connecting respective rooms of inner and outer sections of the tomb, creating a semi-bypass that enabled passing through things but not persons. People had to pass the *wesekhet* when going from the outer to the inner section. The bypassing corridor of *Type I-B* was in this way supplemented by a semi-bypass in the form of an opening equipped with a door, as a regular doorway. It did not serve people to pass through, but to move things like offerings and cultic inventory from the storeroom of the outer section into the inner structure.

The scarcity of specimens is likely caused by the fact, that such an arrangement needed a sophisticated architectural layout that posed claims even on the conception of decorative program. The creation of the semi-bypass required the direct adjacency of the inner and outer structures, or more precisely of suitable room of the sections. From its very functional essence, the semi-bypass may not have been a corridor. The respective rooms of the inner and outer sections might have been divided only by means of a shared wall.

It is probable that *Type I-C* was the last attempt of Unis' architect to adapt the linear inner structure for the sake of contemporaneous funerary practices in the time when a new type stemming from the Giza architectural tradition had begun to dominate at Saqqara.

Despite sharing a similar inner structure, the two representatives of *Type II* do not share the form of the *wesekhet*. In the case of Unisankh, the *wesekhet* has the form of an open courtyard, but in the case of Nyankhba of a pillared hall. The transition between the two forms of *wesekhet* evidently coincides with the lifetime of *Type II*. The introduction of the new subtype of the *wesekhet* might have been an expression of the socio-economic processes in royal context demonstrated by the abandonment of construction of the sun temples under Djedkare.

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[253] It has been suggested that a similar opening was included in the architectural plan of the pyramid of the so-called Djedkare's consort; cf . Verner 2002: 331.

A.4.2   Type II

The late type is characterized by bifurcated inner structure. The communication lines aim at two destinations – the chapel and the *wesekhet*. The earliest tomb of this type is that of Senedjemib Inti at Giza.[254] The type became dominant during the reign of Unis, and was the prevailing type within the Unis Cemeteries North-West and Nort-East. This type continued to be used in the early Sixth Dynasty as well. Almost all tombs belonging to the Teti Cemetery are of this type.[255]

Mehu buried within the Unis Cemetery North-West chose the open court for his tomb,[256] although contemporary tombs located on the Teti Cemetery were equipped with pillared halls. This anachronism may be explained in terms of local tradition of the Unis Cemetery North-West, as the open courtyards were a customary form of the *wesekhets* in the Unis Cemeteries. However, it is noteworthy to mention, that it is the Unis Cemetery North-East where the first example of a pillared hall is attested (the tomb of Nyankhba).

A.4.3   Secondary *Type I*

In the time when *Type II* fully dominated, secondary version of *Types I-A* and *I-B* appeared. Several distinguished sons used tombs of their fathers for their own burials. They annexed their multi-roomed chapel (inner sections) to the *wesekhets* of their fathers.[257] The two tomb owners, a father and a son, thus shared *wesekhet* and outer sections. Meryteti, son of the vizier Mereruka, and Ptahhetep I, son of the vizier Akhethetep may serve as illustrious examples. As these annexes are always connected to the *wesekhet*, the structure of a son's system is logically linear.

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[254] The *wesekhet* in the tomb of Akhethetep has the wesekhet in the form of an open courtyard, however, it is not clear if it was its original form or if Akhtihetep's son Ptahhetep II turned the original pillared or open courtyard in accordance with contemporary fashion into a pillar hall upon annexing his chapel to the of his father.
[255] Cf. *ACER*.
[256] Altenmüller 1998.
[257] Another cathegory consists of those who rebuilt existing rooms of their predecessor's or patron's tombs into chapels without carrying out any remarkable construction. Nevertheless, the rooms to be turned into chapels were chosen very carefully. They either formed a part of inner sections (e.g. Merireankh in the tomb of the vizier Mehu) or originally represented annexes to *wesekhets* (e.g. an offspring/dependent of the vizier Nyankhba).

The *super-tomb* of Mereruka and his family is the most interesting multi-roomed mastaba ever constructed. The tomb gained its final appearance in three phases. In the end, it served Mereruka (*Section A*), his wife Watetkhethor (*Section B*) and their son Meryteti (*Section C*).[258]

The first construction phase corresponded to the original tomb intended only for Mereruka. The initial mastaba was an example of *Type II* and included a small *wesekhet* and the chapel with Mereruka's first false door. During the second phase the mastaba was largely expanded. The initial mastaba was turned into an outer section; a new, larger *wesekhet* and a new inner section with a chapel with Mereruka's second false door were built. Still within the second phase, a complex of rooms for Mereruka's wife the King's daughter Watetkhethor, consisting her own *wesekhet* and inner structure, was appended to it. Mereruka and his wife Watetkhethor shared the common outer section, however, cultic places – the *wesekhet* and the chapel – were separate.

The secondarily established system of rooms belonging to Mereruka's complex corresponded to bypassed linear *Type I-B* – the chapel may be approached via the *wesekhet* or through a bypassing corridor, as it had been the case of the vizier Ptahhetep I and his son Akhtihetep. Watetkhethor's system is single linear (*Type I-A*) as were the systems of sons, but with the difference that it did not confine on constructing the chapel, but included a *wesekhet* as well. In the third phase, Meryteti, son of Mereruka and Watetkhethor, annexed his inner section to his father's second *wesekhet*.

In connection with the *secondary Type I*, the tomb of the vizier Ankhmahor of the Teti Cemetery is to be mentioned. The tomb, against all expectations, has the simple linear structure (*Type I-A*). Hypothetically, the inner structure might have been taken over from either older tombs or contemporary sons' annexes.

A.5   Functions of sections

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[258] Cf. Kanawati 1996.

The division of the inner structure of large, multi-roomed mastabas into section has most likely its justification in their specific functions. Crucial to their understanding are the tomb of the King's son Isesiankh, the interpretation of the transition between pillared and open courts and the two tombs of *Type I-C*.

The mastaba of Isesiankh was constructed in three phases. Firstly, the initial mastaba was built; secondly the initial mastaba was degraded into a sort of an inner section, as a *wesekhet* (probably in the form of a pillared hall or court) was annexed to it; and finally a part of the *wesekhet* adjoining the entrance to the tomb was abstracted from the *wesekhet* by means of a dividing wall creating a minimal form of the outer section.[259] Undoubtedly the initial mastaba was planned to be a fully functioning unit equipped with all necessary rooms. What was later to become the inner section was therefore a self-sufficient unit, consisting of a chapel, a system of two decorated corridors and one side room (storeroom). After the *wesekhet* was finished, the tomb gained the inner structure similar to that of the transitional tomb of Ty (consisting of an inner section and a *wesekhet*). The tomb must have functioned for a period of time as such, but at a certain point the funerary personnel found it necessary to provide the *wesekhet* with its own background, the inner section could not provide, and abstracted a part of the *wesekhet*, as it was a place that had been gaining on importance ever since it was introduced into the non-royal context as demonstrated by its changing forms.

The fact that colonnades of the pillared courtyards were replaced by the bypassing corridors of *Type I-B* shows one important thing: The colonnades similarly to the by-passes were regarded as communications; and thus *wesekhets* were not places where things were meant to be stored. The height of the openings point to the fact that only goods were needed to be passed through the bypass of *Type I-C* (as well as *Type I-B*).

To provide the background for the *wesekhet* was potentially the main stimulation for the creation of outer section. Later on, an idea that both cultic places in the tomb – the chapel and the *wesekhet* – would share the basic background was developed.

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[259] Mariette 1889: 189–191.

In the tomb of the vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir the concept of the outer section does not seems to be fully developed. However the orderly inclusion of side rooms in later tombs clearly proves this. Ptahshepses' outer section contains niches for states, that are in the case of the double-mastaba of the Queens Khenut and Nebet transferred into the inner section.

A.6　　　　　Interpretation

The class of multi-roomed mastabas came into existence during the reign of Nyuserre and developed throughout the late Fifth and the early Sixth Dynasties. The system of rooms within their superstructure splits into three parts, namely the outer section, the so-called *wesekhet* and the inner section (*Kappelenraum*). The *wesekhet* is an architectural feature most crucial to the analyses of the inner structure. It was a place where important ceremonies in favor of the tomb owner took place. While the function of the chapel within the funerary cult had been defined centuries before, the function of the *wesekhet* was only being formulated and its importance was ever growing since its introduction into non-royal context. Both cultic places, the chapel and the *wesekhet*, required a certain background where offerings and cultic inventory would be stored. The architects who designed tombs of *Type I-A* solved the problem by means of creating (semi-)self-sufficient inner sections as the background for the *wesekhet* as well as the whole tomb.

The Old Kingdom private architecture may be characterized by a high degree of rationality, since one would hardly found an abundant architectural feature. This may be exemplified by the fact that axial symmetry of two elements fulfilling the same function known from the pyramid complexes is absent in non-royal context.

As a result of this tendency *Type I-A* was abandoned (in primary projects) and *Types I-B* and *I-C* were developed subsequently. A common background (i.e. the outer section) was later shared both by the chapel in the inner section and the *wesekhet*.

A direct access to both the inner section and the *wesekhet* likely played a role when designing the ground plan as well. One may guess that at certain occasions it was not required to pass the *wesekhet* when heading for the chapel, or some of the equipment was destined only for the chapel use. Supportive evidence can be traced from the offering lists[260] where "royal offerings" (`Htp nswt`) and "royal offerings from/in the wesekhet" (`Htp nswt m wsxt`) are distinquished.

It seems like if a path leading from the entrance of the tomb to the chapel was preferably roofed in order prevent a person or stuff he carried from being exposed to the sun when in the tomb. While the tombs belonging to *Type I-A* were facing the problem by means of a colonnade around the *wesekhet*, *Types I-B* and *I-C* used corridor bypasses in its stead.

The transition between *Type I-A* and *I-B* happened simultaneously with the transition from the pillared to open courts. The introduction of corridor bypasses resulted in the abandonment of pillared courtyards as the form of the *wesekhet* and simple open courtyards were begun to be used. As *Type I.C* was a merely alteration of *Type I-B*, the transition had no direct effect on the appearance of the *wesekhet*.

The fast succession of subtypes of *Type I* and secondary adaptations of inner structure of already finished tombs clearly imply that the architects active under Nyuserre, Menkauhor and Djedkare were in quest for an optimal form. The solution was not found and architects active under Unis adopted *Type II* developed from the local architectural tradition at Giza.

The explanation of architectural alterations in inner structure must have corresponded with the development of ritual practices. The *wesekhets* equipped with large `Htp`-altars were gaining on ritual importance, what may be supported by parallels know from the royal context (e.g. the pyramid complex of Teti).[261]

Type II brought along a new form of the *wesekhet* – the pillared hall, known especially from the Teti Cemetery.
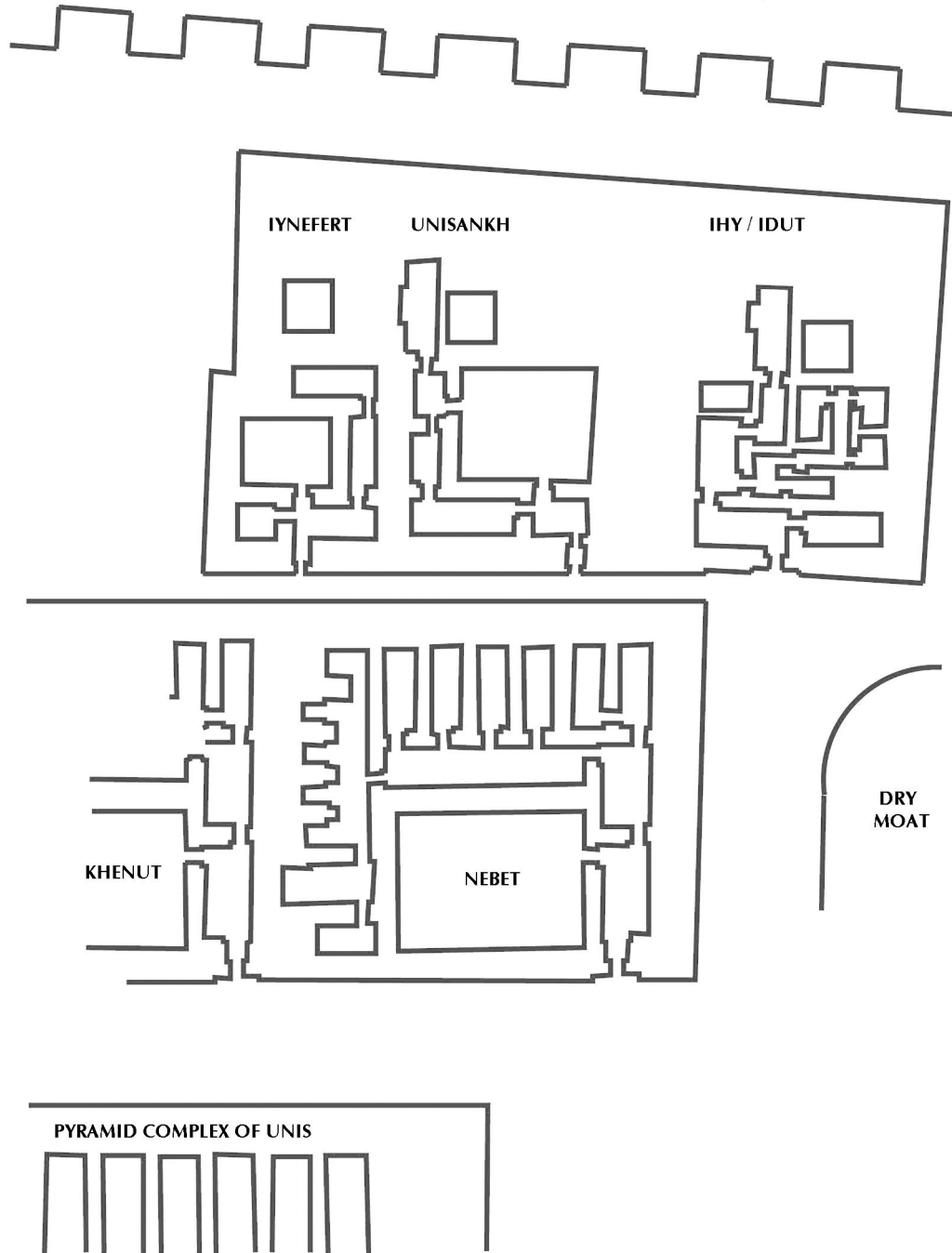
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[260] Cf. *Chapter Four*.
[261] Cf. Málek 1988.

Expanded tombs always, and even in the times when *Type II* dominates, possess a linear inner arrangement (either *Type I-A* or less frequent *Type I-B*). This is understandable from the nature of the expansions (gradual development or chapel's annexation).
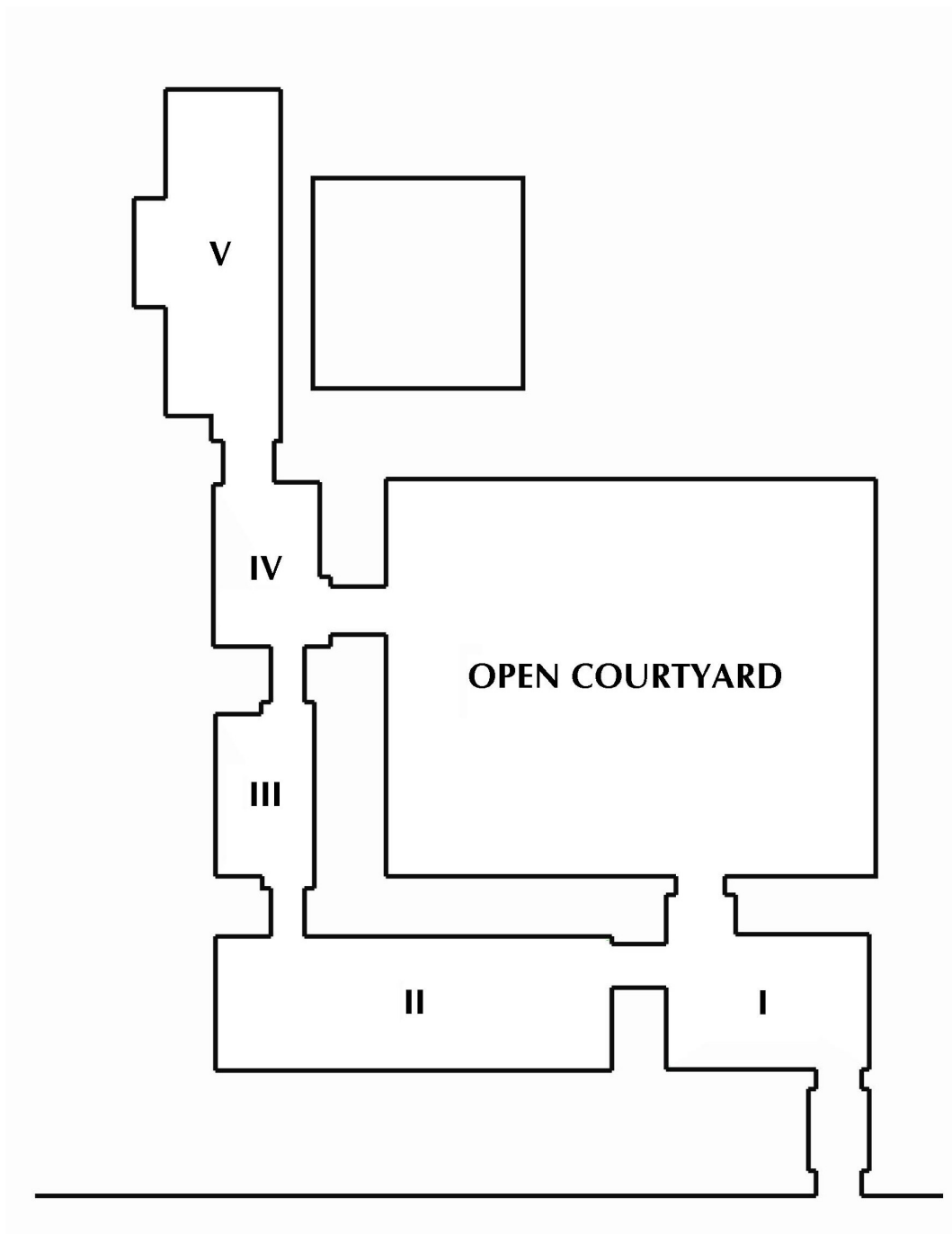
PLATES

1.   Unis Cemetery North-West (after Munro 1993).

2. Inner Rooms of the Tomb of Unisankh.

3.   Unis Cemetery North-West (from east)

4.   Unis-Cemetery North-West (view from the top of Unis' pyramid.

5.   Remnants of inner part of the Tomb of Unisankh

6.   Street dividing *Lines A* and *B*.

7.   Low opening between *Rooms III & IV*.

8.   *Room III* with the low opening in its north wall.

9. Sc. 4.S (© The Field Museum)

10.   4.W (southern part) (© The Field Museum).

11.   Sc. 4.W (northern part) (© The Field Museum).

12.   Sc. 4.N (© The Field Museum).

13.   Sc. 4.E (© The Field Museum).

14.   Sc. 4.E (© The Field Museum)

15.   Sc. 5.S (© The Field Museum).

16.   5.Wa (© The Field Museum).

17. Sc. 5.Wb (© The Field Museum).

18.   Sc. 5.N (© The Field Museum).

19.   Rgs. 5.E.1, 5.E.2 (northern part) (© The Field Museum).

20.   Rgs. 5.E.1, 5.E.2 (northern part) (© The Field Museum).

21. Rgs. 5.E.1, 5.E.2 (southern part) (© The Field Museum).

22.   Rgs. 5.E.3–6 (northern part) (© The Field Museum).

23.   Rgs. 5.E.3–6 (central part) (© The Field Museum).

24.   Rg. 5.E.3 (northern part) (© The Field Museum).

25.   False Door (© The Field Museum).

26.   Sc. 1.S (© Petr Munro).

27.   Sc. 1.W (© Petr Munro).

28.   Sc. 1.N (western part) (© Petr Munro).

29.   Sc. 1.N (eastern part) (© Petr Munro).

30.   Sc. 2.S (© Peter Munro).

31.   Sc. 2.S (© Peter Munro).

32.   Sc. 2.S (© Peter Munro).

33.   Sc. 2.S (© Peter Munro).

34.   Sc. 2.S (© Peter Munro).

35.   Sc. 2.S (© Peter Munro).
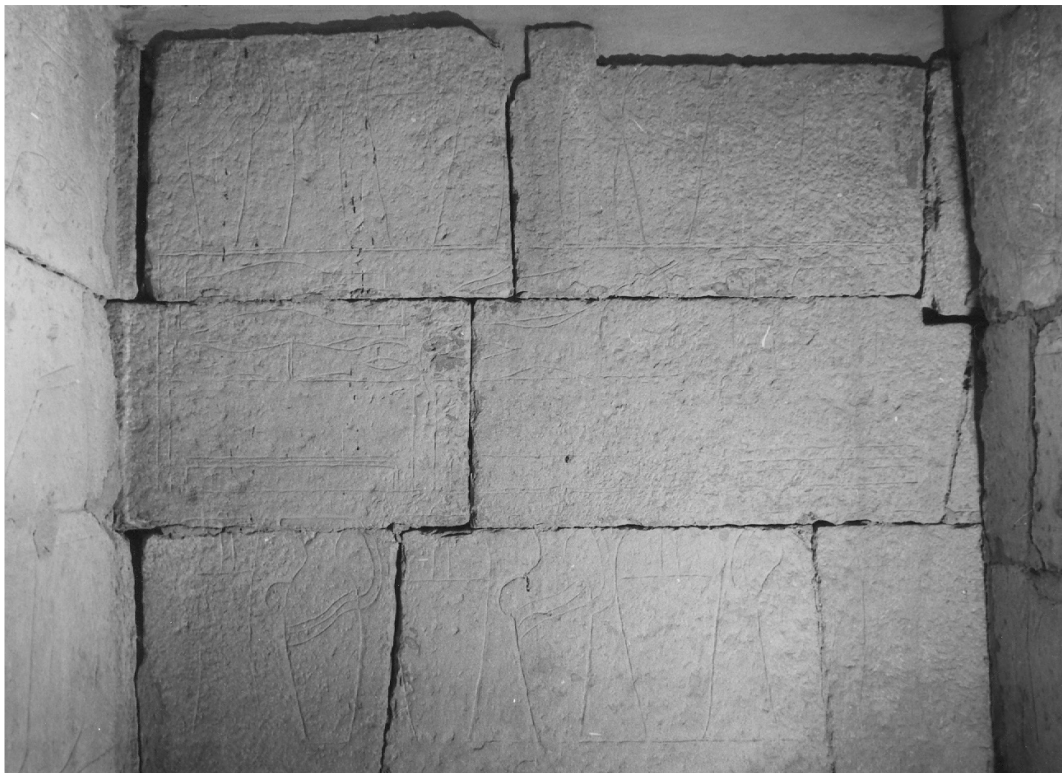
36.   Sc. 2.S (© Peter Munro).

37.   Sc. 2.S

38.   Sc. 2.E (© Peter Munro).

39.   Sc. 2.W (© Peter Munro).

40.   Sc. 2.N (© Peter Munro).

41.   Sc. 2.N (© Peter Munro).

42.   Sc. 2.N (© Peter Munro).

43.   Sc. 2.N (© Peter Munro).

44.   Sc. 2.N (© Peter Munro).

45.   Sc. 2.N (© Peter Munro).

46. Sc. 2.N (© Peter Munro).

47. Sc. 2.N (© Peter Munro).

48.   Rg 4.W.1

49.   Rg. 4.W.2 (© Jen-Yu Wang)

50.   4.W.4.6

51.   Rg. 4.W.4

52.   Rg. 4.N.1

43.   Rg. 4.E.1

54.   Rg. 5.E.5 (northern part) (© Nicole Ihnatiuk).

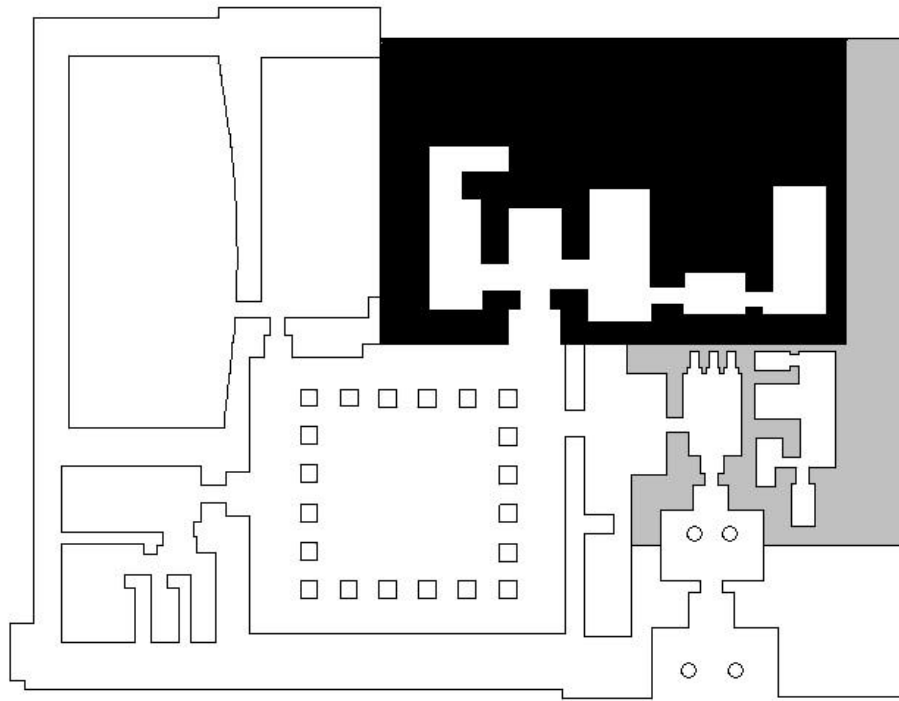55.   Rg. 5.E.5 (southern part) (© Nicole Ihnatiuk).
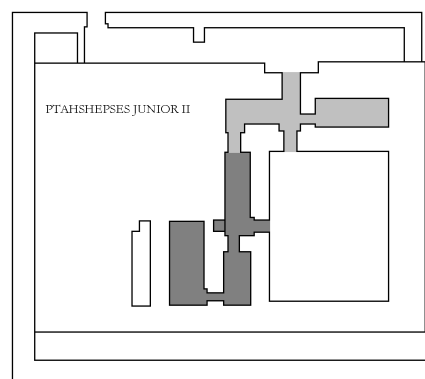
56.   Rg. 5.Wa (© Jen-Yu Wang).

57.   5.Wb.1 (© Jen-Yu Wang).

58. False door (© The Field Museum, # CSA30195).

59.   Tomb of Ptahshepses (after Jánosi 2006).

PTAHSHEPSES
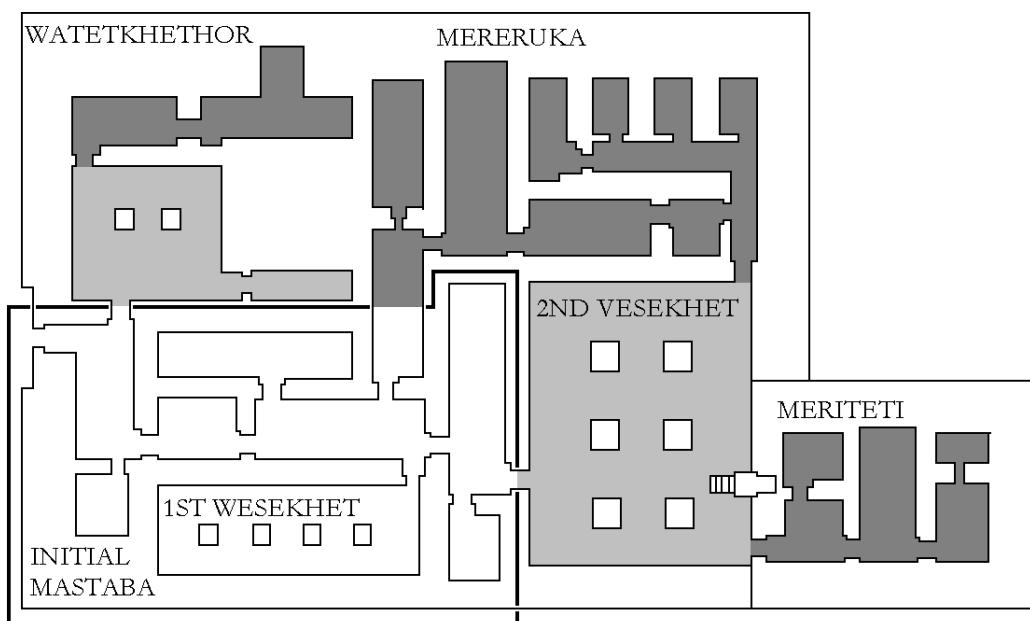
PTAHSHEPSES JUNIOR II

59.   Tomb of Ptahshepses Junior II(after Jánosi 2006).
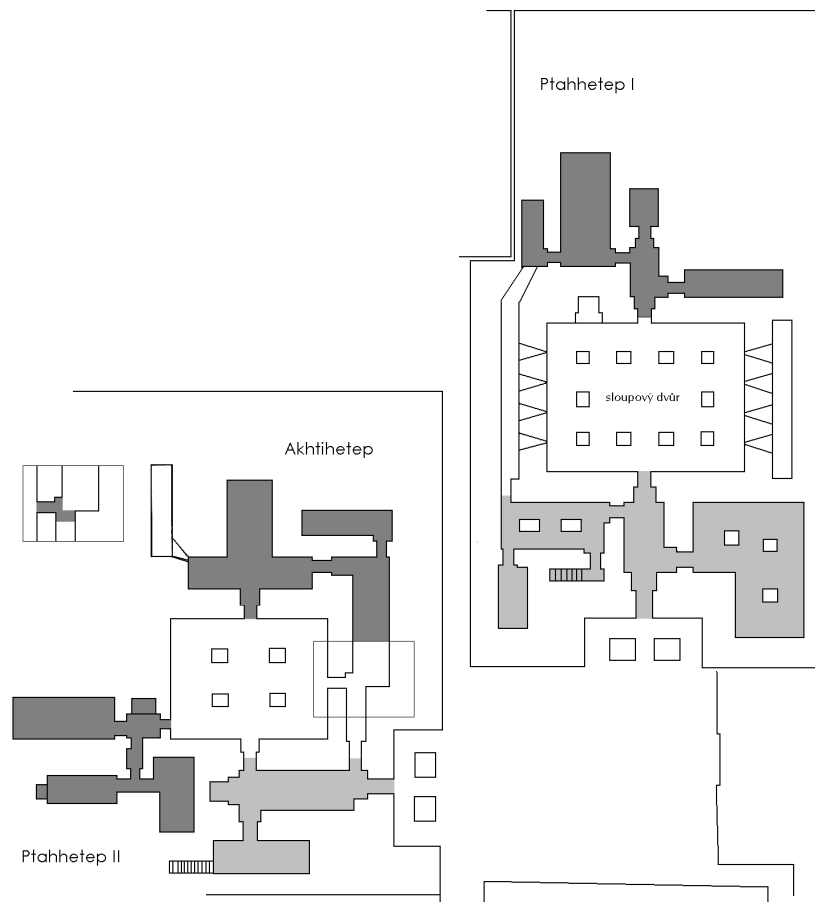
61.   Ptahhetep-Akhtihotep Komplex (after Jánosi 2006).

62.   Tomb of Mereruka (after Jánosi 2006).

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ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA   Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden
Ä&L   Ägypten und Levante, Vienna
ACER   Australian Center for Egyptology Reports, Sydney
ArOr   Archív Orientální, Prague
ASAE   Annales du Service des Antiquitées Égyptiennes, Cairo
AV   Archäologische Ver
DE   Discussions in Egyptology, London
GOF   Göttinger Orientforschungen, Göttingen
HÄS   Hamburger Ägyptologische Studien, Hamburg
MÄS   Münchener Ägyptologische Studien, München
MDAIK   Mitteilungen des Deutschen Ärcheologischen Instituts in Kairo, Cairo
MIO   Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Berlin
PM   Porter, Bertha – R. L. B. Moss: Topographical bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyhic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, 8 Volumes, Oxford 1927–1952; since 1960 revised and augmented by J. Málek;
ZÄS   Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Berlin, Leipzig

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