

## The Shrine of the Rock-cut Chapel of Djefaihapi I at Asyut\*

Mahmoud El-Khadragy

### Introduction

The rock-cut tomb of Djefaihapi I at Asyut<sup>1</sup> was reported by European travelers as early as the first half of the Eighteenth Century,<sup>2</sup> and was first scientifically explored by the savants of the French Expedition to Egypt in 1799.<sup>3</sup> Inscribed with interesting inscriptions, the tomb was visited, during the Nineteenth Century, by numerous scholars who produced copies or even extracts of these inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> Amending the previous copies, Francis Llewellyn Griffith,<sup>5</sup> published, in 1889, a rather complete hand copy of the tomb inscriptions, providing it with sketchy drawings of some figures. The latest major documentation effort done on the tomb was conducted by Pierre Montet,<sup>6</sup> who worked at Asyut in the years 1911 and 1914. He refined Griffith's publication, providing his own with some schematic drawings of the tomb scenes, facsimiles of some scene details, and photographs of parts of its inscriptions. Having a fully decorated inner passage which has never been documented before and a decorated northern wall of the great transverse hall, only a small part of which was published,<sup>7</sup> the chapel decoration still needs an adequate documentation. The tomb's architectural features, on the other hand, deserve more investigation regarding the details of its innermost and outermost parts. Beginning with its shrine, the whole tomb will be published in a series of articles, while the final publication is planned as a book.<sup>8</sup>

\* The documentation of Djefaihapi I's rock-cut tomb at Asyut is a part of an Egyptian-German co-project of Sohag University (Egypt), Mainz University (Germany) and Münster University (Germany), it aims at the documentation and publication of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom tombs at Asyut. This article is one of a series of articles and volumes intended to be published by Professor Dr. Ursula Verhoeven, Professor Dr. Jochem Kahl and the author. The work on this tomb was conducted in the 2005 season, which was financed by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. This financial support is acknowledged with gratitude. The expedition received full cooperation and support from the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities and the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Asyut. In this respect, we would like to express our sincere thanks to Professor Dr. Zahi Hawass, Chairman of the SCA; Mr. Sabry Abdel-Aziz, Head of the Archaeology Sector, Mr. Samir Anis, Director General of Antiquities for Middle Egypt; Mr. Hani Sadek, the former Director General of Asyut; Mr. Magdy El-Ghandour, Head of the Foreign and Egyptian Missions Affairs and Permanent Committee and to our accompanying Inspector, Mr. Magdy Shaker. The isometric reconstruction of the shrine was produced by Dr. Ulrike Fauerbach, while the ground plan was drawn by Dr. Eva-Maria Engel. The scenes and inscriptions were drawn and inked by Dr. Sameh Shafik, except for those of the northern wall, which were produced by Mr. Yasser Mahmoud.

<sup>1</sup> B. Porter/ R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings IV* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 261-62 (hereinafter: *PM*).

<sup>2</sup> For the reports of the Eighteenth Century travelers Paul Lucas, Charles Perry and Frederik Norden, see: D. Magee, *Asyut to the End of the Middle Kingdom: A Historical and Cultural Study I*, [microfilmed Ph. D. Thesis] (Oxford, 1988), pp. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Commission des monuments d'Égypte, Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française IV, Antiquités: Plats* (Paris, 1817), pls. 44-45, 47 [11], 49 [10-12]; *Antiquités: Descriptions*, (Paris, 1818), pp. 133-42.

<sup>4</sup> For those scholars, see: *PM* 4, pp. 261-62.

<sup>5</sup> F. L. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rifeh* (London, 1889), pp. 9-10, pls. 1-10 [right], 20 [bottom middle].

<sup>6</sup> P. Montet, "Les Tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh", in: *Kémi* 1 (1928), pp. 54-68, pls. 3-6; idem, "Les Tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh", in: *Kémi* 3 (1930), pp. 45-86, pls. 2-10.

<sup>7</sup> W. S. Smith, "A Painting in the Assiut Tomb of Hepzefa", in: *MDAIK* 15 (1957), pp. 221-24, fig. 1.

<sup>8</sup> The outer passage and the transverse great hall, excluding its northern wall, will be published by Jochem Kahl, while the rest will be published by the author.

### Architectural Features (Figs. 1, 2)

Cut in the second terrace of the eastern face of the cliffs overlooking the western side of the town of Asyut, the tomb of Djefaihapi I is situated about one-third of the way up the mountain.<sup>9</sup> Locally known as *Stabl* <sup>c</sup>*Antar*,<sup>10</sup> and given Griffith's number (I),<sup>11</sup> the tomb bears now our number (P10.1), which was assigned to it according to the new numbering system adopted for mapping Asyut necropolis.<sup>12</sup> Consulting some of the Eighteenth Century travelers' reports, reinterpreting the tombs inscriptions, and investigating the extant archaeological evidence, E.-M. Engel and J. Kahl have recently proposed a further extension of the tomb eastwards.<sup>13</sup> This extension includes a gateway or a statue chapel on the level of the plain approached through a garden, a causeway 3.00m. wide and a transverse pillared hall 16.26m. long and 12.81m. wide.<sup>14</sup> With its central axis perpendicular to the lost entrance wall, the length of the remaining part of the chapel is more than fifty meters, and the maximum height of its ceiling is more than eleven meters.<sup>15</sup> Proceeding from east to west, the remaining part of the chapel has a longitudinal passage with a vaulted roof (13.59m. E-W x 8.15m. N-S) connected with a great transverse hall (23.00m. N-S x 10.53m. E-W) through a doorway. The west wall of this transverse hall has two equally proportioned subsidiary chambers (5.50m. E-W x 3.20m. N-S) connected with it through two doorways to the north and south of the main axis of the chapel. The transverse hall gives access through a doorway to a second longitudinal passage with a vaulted roof (10.60m. E-W x 5.30m. N-S). This passage is directly connected with another transverse hall (14.86m. N-S x 3.91m. E-W), the terminals of which turn westwards in right angles (10.20m. E-W x 3.31m. N-S), thus constituting a u-shaped hall enclosing the axial, squarish shrine (5.20m. long x 4.27m. high). The second transverse hall was connected with the shrine through a short passage and a flight of steps. The entrance leading to the complicated system of passages conducting to the burial chamber was cut in the southern wall of the southern terminal of the second transverse hall.

Despite the collapse of the entrance passage, the doorway and most of the shrine's east wall,<sup>16</sup> the two upper sockets of the doorway pivots are still visible, suggesting a double-leaf door for the shrine. Fully decorated in colourless sunk relief and incised inscription, the shrine's west wall has a small defaced false-door cut above a platform into the lower part of its southern side. Loosing much of its upper part, the false door measurements are 1.50m. high x 0.81m. wide. Its remaining part shows a torus moulding and a jamb on each side of the door's central niche. At the base of the false door is the remaining part of the offering

<sup>9</sup> Geological study of the mountain encompassing Asyut cemetery showed that it consists of eleven layers of limestone, and that rock tombs were cut into each one of them (J. Kahl/ M. El-Khadragy/ U. Verhoeven, "The Asyut Project: Third season of fieldwork", in: *S4K* 34 (2006), p. 242, fig. 1).

<sup>10</sup> F. L. Griffith, "The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh", in: *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* 3 (1889), p. 167; *PM* IV, p. 261. Cf., Paul Lucas, *Troisième Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas fait en M. DCCIV, &c. par ordre de Louis XIV dans la Turquie, l'Asie, la Sourie, la Palestine, la Haute et la Basse Egypte, &c.* II (Rouen, 1719), pp. 339-40, who referred to the tomb as "*Grotte de l'Estalle*". However, the term *Stabl* is still locally used in reference to the tomb of Djefaihapi I.

<sup>11</sup> Griffith, *Siût* I.

<sup>12</sup> Kahl/ El-Khadragy/ Verhoeven, in: *S4K* 34 (2006), pp. 241-242, 245, fig. 1.

<sup>13</sup> E.-M. Engel/ J. Kahl, "Die Grabanlage Djefaihapis I. in Assiut: ein Rekonstruktionsveruch", in: *J. Papielska-Grzybowska: Proceedings of the Third Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists* (Warsaw, in print).

<sup>14</sup> Compare: H. Steckeweh, *Die Fürstengräber von Qâw*, Sieglin, Exp. 6 (Leipzig, 1936), pl. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Challenged by the modern concrete ground covering the original one, the joint Egyptian-German mission still unable to determine the actual height of the chapel's ceiling, except that of the inner shrine, where traces the original floor could be detected.

<sup>16</sup> It was still *in situ* by the time of the French expedition to Egypt in 1799, whose savants recorded its decorati (*Description de l'Égypte* IV, *Antiquités*, pl. 45).

platform, measuring 41m. high. A careful examination of the shrine's interior walls showed that the smoothed and decorated surfaces of the shrine terminate at a level identical with the base of the offering platform, and that the lowermost parts have clear chisel marks of both the "fishbone" and the "long" types identical with the chisel marks recognizable in the quarries of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Ramesside era/ Late Period, respectively.<sup>17</sup> This suggests that the original floor had already been completely cut before the Ptolemaic era, and that it was originally reaching to the level of the base of offering platform. The non-axial situation of the false door confirms Griffith statement concerning a defaced lower part of a statue, which was centrally positioned in front of the shrine's western wall.<sup>18</sup> Remains of the cavetto cornice decorating the outer walls of the shrine can be detected all over the outer sides, while remnants of a torus moulding are visible below the cornice surmounting both the northern and southern sides.<sup>19</sup> This outer decoration might suggest a single shrine design for the innermost part of the chapel, rather than a three offering rooms design.<sup>20</sup> This is further confirmed by the absence of any partition walls between the second transverse hall and the two proposed offering rooms flanking the axial shrine. Most probably they are wings extending from the transverse hall in order to furnish a subsidiary emplacement for the entrance leading to the complicated system of passages conducting to the burial chamber. Choosing the southern wing for that entrance, the other one is adopted for symmetrical considerations. Having no precedence in Asyut cemetery, or in any of the neighboring provinces, the adopted design for the shrine might have been originated from the similarly designed shrines of the princesses of Nebhepetre: Mentuhotep II at Deir El-Bahari.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> R. Klemm/ D. Klemm, *Die Steine der Pharaonen* (München, 1981), pp. 37-38. In this regard, I would like to express my gratitude to Rosemarie and Dietrich Klemm for examining the chisel marks and natural faults in the tomb of Djefaihapi I during their five day visit to the site in September 2005.

<sup>18</sup> Griffith, *Sit.*, p. 9. Cf. L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, AHAW 6 (Heidelberg, 1935), p. 6. Of this statue, nothing remains now.

<sup>19</sup> Cavetto cornice and torus moulding were favorite decorative elements for the fronts of the Twelfth Dynasty statue niches in Qubbet el-Hawa and Meir (e.g., H. W. Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine*, ÄF 9 (Glückstadt, 1940), figs. 34, 39, pl. 31 [a]; A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir I*, ASE 22 (London, 1914), pls. 15 [1], 22 [1]; II, ASE 23 (London, 1915), pls. 9, 33 [1]).

<sup>20</sup> According to E. Fiore-Marochetti, the tomb of Djefaihapi I was the forerunner of major Twelfth Dynasty cult changes for adopting a three offering rooms design for the chapel, and for having the earliest non-royal version of CT 788 symbolizing the notion of the *k'i* ascent to the sky ("On the Design, Symbolism, and Dating of Some XIIth Dynasty Tombs Superstructures", in: *GM* 144 (1995), pp. 43-52). However, such major changes in burial customs through the Twelfth Dynasty and the early part of the Thirteenth Dynasty are generally undeniable, and much of their different aspects are well attested (cf., J. Bourriau, "Patterns of change in burial customs during the Middle Kingdom", in: *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), pp. 3-20).

<sup>21</sup> Each of these shrines consists of a single room housing a statue and was closed with a single-leaf door. Each has its front and side walls ornamented with a cavetto cornice and torus moulding (E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari II*, EEF 30 (London, 1910), pls. 11-20). For the ground plans of the First Intermediate Period tombs at Asyut, see: M. El-Khadragy/ J. Kahl, "The First Intermediate Period Tombs at Asyut Revisited", in: *SAK* 32 (2004), p. 238, fig 2 (Tomb III); *Description de l'Égypte IV, Antiquités*, pl. 46 [1] (Tomb IV); pl. 47 [8] (Tomb V); M. El-Khadragy, "The Northern Soldiers-Tomb at Asyut", in: *SAK* 35 (2007), fig. 2, forthcoming (Tomb M 11.1). For the ground plan of the Early Twelfth Dynasty tomb of Djefaihapi II, the probable father of Djefaihapi I, see: *Description de l'Égypte IV, Antiquités*, pl. 47 [2]. For the possible parental relationship of both, see: Magee, *Asyût I*, pp. 139ff.

### Representation and Texts (Figs. 3-7) [=Griffith, *Situt* I: 1-136]

All inscriptions in this shrine are incised, while the scenes are executed in sunk relief with no trace of colour preserved. An incised *hkr*-frieze decorates the topmost parts of the remaining walls. Both the hieroglyphic signs and the figures show a minimum of the interior details.<sup>22</sup>

#### *The Ceiling (Fig. 6b)* [Not recorded by Griffith, *Situt* I]

The only decoration of the ceiling is a band of hieroglyphic inscription enumerating the tomb owner's titles.<sup>23</sup> It runs along the central axis of the chapel, reading: *jrj p<sup>t</sup> h<sup>3</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup> hmtj-bjtj smr w<sup>t</sup>j zš<sup>24</sup> mdšt-ntr hrj-hbt hrj-tp sbš(w) Hr hntj pt hm-ntr Wšdtj w<sup>c</sup> hntj st m (pr nswt)<sup>25</sup> ... - „the hereditary prince, the count, the sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole companion, the scribe of the god's book, the chief lector priest, the pupil of Horus who presides over heaven, the priest of the two Serpent-goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, the one who is foremost of position in the house of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ...“.*

#### *The Northern Wall (Fig. 3)* [= Griffith, *Situt* I: 80-136]

This wall is decorated with an offering scene. To the left is a figure of the tomb owner seated on a chair with a low, cushioned back and four lion legs resting on truncated cone supports. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a broad collar and a short tight kilt, and holds a folded cloth in his left hand, while extending the right towards an offering table laden with eighteen stylized half-loaves. More offerings are depicted above the table and to the right. These offerings include cuts of meat, poultry, vegetables, flowers, different types of bread and cakes and variously shaped jars of drinks placed on trays or stands. Beneath the table on one side is a spouted ewer on a stand, beside which is inscribed *dbht htp* - „requirements of *htp*-offerings“, and on the other side of the table are three *hz*-vases in a stand.

The inscriptions above the seated tomb owner read: (1) *jrj p<sup>t</sup> h<sup>3</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup> hmtj-bjtj smr w<sup>t</sup>j jmj-r* (2) *hm(w)-ntr n Wp-wšwt nb Zšwt* (3) *sbš(w) Hr hntj pt hm-ntr Hr Jnpw* (4) *hrp nstj m prwj jmj-r wp(w)t htp(w)t-ntr* (5) *smr w<sup>t</sup>j n(j) mrwt jmšhj<sup>26</sup> [hšjt-<sup>c</sup>]<sup>27</sup>* (6) *Dβ=j-<sup>c</sup>ps m n<sup>28</sup> Jdj-št*

<sup>22</sup> The remarkable coloured details attest to the scenes in both the great transverse hall and the second vaulted passage suggest that the decoration of the shrine is unfinished, and probably the interior details of the scenes and inscriptions were intended to be executed in paint.

<sup>23</sup> For the titles, the following references are generally consulted, unless otherwise stated: W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects* (Beirut, 1986); H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom: A supplement to Wm. Ward's Index*, MMA (New York, 1985). For the unlisted titles in both references, the following index is consulted: D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2000).

<sup>24</sup> The one tie book roll determining *zš* here is first attested early in the reign of Amenemhat I (W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Neue Serie, 13 (Bonn, 1962), §2; D. Spanel, "Palaeographic and Epigraphic Distinctions between Texts of the So-called First Intermediate Period and the Early Twelfth Dynasty", in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson II*, MFA (Boston, 1996), pp.766-67; idem, "The Herakleopolitan Tombs of Kheti I, *Jt(j)jb(j)*, and Kheti II at Asyut", in *Orientalia* 58 (1989), p. 309).

<sup>25</sup> For this reconstructed title, see: D. M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 116, 173.

<sup>26</sup> An initial  $\bar{\bar{h}}$  is missing before  $\bar{\bar{h}}\bar{\bar{t}}\bar{\bar{j}}$  in Griffith, *Situt* I [84].

<sup>27</sup> The now lost *hšjt-<sup>c</sup>* is reconstructed after the copies of Griffith and Montet (*Situt* I [84]; *Kēmi* 1 (1928), p. 59 [84], respectively).


<sup>28</sup> Expressing filiation by using *ms n* is first attested in the reign Antef I or II (C. Obsomer, "di<sup>f</sup> pr-*hrw* et la filiation *ms(t).n/ir(t).n* comme critères de datation dans les textes du Moyen Empire", in: *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'égypte pharaonique et copte: Mélanges égyptologiques au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès* (Brussels, 1993), p. 178, list 5).

*nb(t) jm<sup>h</sup>h<sup>29</sup>* - „(1) the hereditary prince, the count, the sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole companion, the overseer (2) of priests of Wepwawet, lord of Asyut, (3) the pupil of Horus who presides over heaven, the priest of Horus and Anubis, (4) the director of the two thrones in the double house, the overseer of the apportionment(s) of divine offerings,(5) the sole companion, the possessor of love, the honoured one, the count, (6) Djefaihapi, born of Idi-<sup>c</sup>Aat, possessor of reverence“.


To the right, above the table with the piled food items and the associated offering ceremony is an offering list arranged in seventy-eight compartment, divided into two registers of thirty-nine compartment. Each entry is written in three parts; the name of the item, either a small kneeling figure carrying the item or a determinative representing it, and finally the number required. The list is very similar to the usual type (A) common in the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>30</sup>


Register I [=Griffith, *Sit* I: 86-124, upper register]:


[1] *zjt mw* - „libation of water“ (one); [2] *sdt sntr* - „lighted incense“ (two); [3] *qbhw tšwj* - „libation water and two balls of natron“ (two); [4] *wn hn šlp mrht* - „open the box and bring oil“ (one); [5] *stj-ḥb ḥknw<sup>31</sup>* - „*stj-ḥb*-oil and *ḥknw*-oil“ (two); [6] *sft nḥnm* - „*sft*-oil and *nḥnm*-oil“ (two); [7] *twšwt* - „*twšwt*-oil“ (one); [8] *ḥštt* <sup>cš</sup> - „best cedar oil“ (one); [9] *ḥštt ṯnww* - „best Libyan oil“ (one); [10] *wšdw msdmt<sup>32</sup>* - „green paint and black paint“ (two); [11] *wnh(wj)* - „pair of cloth strips“ (two); [12] *sdt sntr* - „lighted incense“ (two); [13] *qbhw tšwj* - „libation water and two balls of natron“ (two); [14] *ḥšwt<sup>33</sup> dj prt-ḥrw* - „offering table and put funerary offerings“ (two); [15] *j mj hr* - „O come with“ (two); [16] *ḥtp nswt* - „royal offerings“ (two); [17] *ḥtp wšht* - „offerings of the (*wšht*-hall)“ (two); [18] *ḥms jgr prt-ḥrw* - „sit down and be silent at the funerary offerings“ (two); [19] <sup>c</sup>*b-r<sup>34</sup> šns ḏwjw t-wt* - „repast of *šns*-bread, of a jug of drink and of *wt*-bread“ (two); [20] *t-rth (nmst) ḏsrt* - „*rth*-bread and a (jug of) *ḏsrt*-beverage“ (two); [21] *ḥnms* - „*ḥnms*-beer“ (one); [22] (<sup>c</sup> *n*) *šjtt (nmst) ḥnqt<sup>35</sup>* - „serving (bowl) and (jug) of beer“ (two); [23] *swt* - „piece of meat“ (one);<sup>36</sup> [24] *mw (ʿwj)* - „(two bowls of) water“ (two); [25] *bd (ʿwj)*- „(two bowls of) natron“ (two); [26] <sup>c</sup>*b-r šns ḏwjw t-wt* - „breakfast of *šns*-bread, of a jug of drink and of *wt*-bread“ (two); [27] *t-rth ḥš* - „*rth*-bread and *ḥš* -bread“ (two); [28] *nḥrw* - „*nḥrw*-bread“ (two); [29] *dpt(j)* - „*dptj*-bread“


<sup>29</sup> A vertical stroke is missing after  in the copies of Griffith and Montet (*Sit* I, [85]; *Kēmi* 1 (1928), p. 59 [85], respectively).






<sup>30</sup> W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, ÄF 24 (Glückstadt, 1968), pp. 100-101.

<sup>31</sup> The  handle of *ḥknw* is invisible now (cf., Griffith, *Sit* I, [90]; Montet, in: *Kēmi* 1, (1928), p. 59 [90]).

<sup>32</sup> A superfluous <sup>c</sup> is wrongly added after  in Griffith copy (*Sit* I, [95]).

<sup>33</sup> The questionable sign of Griffith is the ideogram  (*Sit* I, [99]).

<sup>34</sup> For the reading, see: H. de Meulenaere, “Le signe hiéroglyphique ”, in: *BIFAO* 81 (1981, Supplement), pp. 87-89.

<sup>35</sup> Montet’s copy shows the club  as a determinative for *ḥnqt*, which seems highly improbable (*Kēmi* 1 (1928), p. 60 [107]), while Griffith suggests the milk-jug determinative  (*Sit* I, [107]). The usual Middle Kingdom determinative for *ḥnqt* is the beer-jug  (e.g., N. de Davies/ A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, TTS 2 (London, 1920), pl. 32; P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, ASE 1 (London, 1893), pls. 17-18, 20; II, ASE 2 (London, 1893), pl. 15; Blackman, *Meir* III, ASE 24 (London, 1915), pl. 21). Admitting that the determinative of item [22] here is unidentifiable, the comparison with the similar items [57] and [58] on the opposite western wall might suggest a determinative composed of the usual beer-jug  provided with some stopper and placed on a stand .

<sup>36</sup> The required number is one not two as copied by both Griffith and Montet (*Sit* I, [108]; *Kēmi* 1 (1928), p. 60 [108], respectively).

(four); [30] *pzn* - „*pzn*-bread“ (four); [31] *šns* - „*šns*-bread“ (four); [32] *t-jmj-t*<sup>37</sup> - „*jmj-t*-bread“ (four); [33] *hnfw* (C) - „(bowl of) *hnfw*-bread“ (four); [34] *hbnnwt* (C) - „(bowl of) *hbnnwt*-bread“ (four); [35] *qmhw* - „*qmhw*-bread“ (four); [36] *jdšt* - „*jdšt*-bread“ (four); [37] *pšt* - „*pšt*-bread“ (four); [38] (*t*)-*šš(r)t* - „*ššrt*-bread“ (four); [39] *hdw* (C) - „(bowl of) onions“ (four).

Register II [= Griffith, *Sit* I: 86-124, lower register]:

[40] *hps* - „foreleg“ (one); [41] *j(w)*<sup>c</sup> - „thigh“ (one); [42] *zhn* - „kidney“ (one); [43] *swt* - „piece of meat“ (one); [44] *spr* - „rib-cut“ (one); [45] *ššrt* - „roasted piece of meat“ (one); [46] *m(j)zt n(n)šm* - „liver and spleen“ (one); [47] *h<sup>c</sup> jwf (n) hšt*<sup>38</sup> - „piece of meat and brisket“ (one); [48] *r trp* - „*r*-goose and *trp*-goose“ (one); [49] *zt sr* - „*z*-goose and *sr*-goose“ (one); [50] *mnwt* - „pigeon“ (one); [51] (*t*)-*zjf* - „*zjf*-bread“ (one); [52] *š<sup>c</sup>t* - „*š<sup>c</sup>t*-bread“ (two); [53] *npšt* - „*npšt*-bread“ (two); [54] *mzt* - „*mzt*-bread“ (two); [55] *dsrt jšt* - „milky<sup>39</sup> beverage“ (two); [56] *hnms hnqt* - „*hnms*-beer“ (two); [57] *šhpt phš*<sup>40</sup> - „*šhpt*-beverage and *phš*-beverage“ (two); [58] *hnqt ššr* - „beer and *ššr*-beverage“ (two); [59] *dšb* - „figs“ (two); [60] *jrp mhwj* - „Lower Egyptian wine“ (two); [61] (*jrp*) *čbš* - „*čbš*-wine“ (two); [62] (*jrp*) *jmjt* - „*jmjt*-wine“ (two); [63] (*jrp*) *hšmw* - „*hšmw*-wine“ (two); [64] (*jrp*) *snw* - „*snw*-wine“ (two); [65] *hbnnwt* - „*hbnnwt*-bread“ (two); [66] *hnfw* - „*hnfw*-bread“ (two); [67] *jšd* - „Balaites aegyptiaca“<sup>41</sup> (two); [68] *šht hdt* - „white *šht*-fruit“ (two); [69] *šht wšdt* - „green *šht*-fruit“ (two); [70] *čt zwt* - „special preparation of wheat“ (two); [71] *čt jt mhwj* - „special preparation of wide barley“<sup>42</sup> (two); [72] *bšbšt* - „*bšbšt*-fruit“ (two); [73] *nbs* - „Christ's-thorn“<sup>43</sup> (two); [74] *t-nbs* - „*nbs*-bread“ (two); [75] *wčh* - „carob beans“ (two); [76] *hš nb bnr jšt nb(t) bnrt* - „every sweet fruit and every sweet thing“ (two); [77] *rnpt nbt* - „all the year-offerings“ (two); [78] *hnk(t) nbt* - „all the *hnkt*-offerings“ (one?).

The wall in front of and beneath the seated tomb owner and the offering table with the piled food is devoted to the representation of men performing the offering ceremony and offering bearers in three registers. Of the upper register, eight men are now visible of the previously documented nine priests.<sup>44</sup> Facing left, the first man, who has close-cropped hair and wears a short kilt, is represented kneeling in front of an offering stone, upon which he lays his hands, palms downwards. Behind him and facing the same direction with similar dress and hair style is a standing man pouring water from a *hz*-jar over the hands of his kneeling companion. The ceremony is labelled: *zšt mw jn wt* - „pouring water by the embalmer“. The third man, facing left, stands with his right arm extended in front, in gesture of address, and his left hand holds a papyrus roll. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard and a projecting knee-length kilt, and is described *hrj-hbt* - „lector priest“. Next are two of the originally three kneeling men, who face

<sup>37</sup> This item is wrongly arranged after entry [28] in the copy of Griffith (*Sit* I, [114]), while the correct arrangement corresponds to our number [32].

<sup>38</sup> For translating *jwf n hšt* as “fillet”, see: P. Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* (Strasbourg, 1925), pp. 170ff. N. Kanawati/ M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara V: The Tomb of Hesi*, ACA: Reports 13 (Warminster, 1999), p. 48, n. 184.

<sup>39</sup> For this translation, see: W. V. Davies/ A. El-Khouli/ A. Lloyd/ A. Spencer, *Saqqara Tombs I: The Mastabas of Mereri and Wernu*, ASE 36 (London, 1984), p. 18 [66].

<sup>40</sup> A superfluous  $\nabla$  determinative is wrongly added after  $\text{hš} \text{pt}$  in: Griffith, *Sit* I [103].

<sup>41</sup> For the translation, see: R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz, 1985), pp. 98-99.

<sup>42</sup> For the translation, see: R. Müller-Wollermann, “Die sogenannte ober- und unterägyptische Gerste”, in: *Varia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1987), pp. 39-41.

<sup>43</sup> For the translation, see: Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten*, pp. 114-15.

<sup>44</sup> Griffith, *Sit* I, [128]; Montet, in: *Kèmi* 1 (1928), p. 61 [128].

left too. These remaining two figures have close-cropped hair and wear short kilts. Each has the right hand on his chest, and the left fist raised behind. Above them is the label identifying their action, and reads: *šdt sšhw jn [hrj(w)-hbt ʿš3]*<sup>45</sup> - „reciting glorifications by numerous lector priests“. The following man, who looks backward, is described: *hrj-hbt* - „lector priest“. Loosing the lower part, he is dressed in a shoulder-length wig and a sash. He drags a broom along the ground behind him with his right hand, and holding a papyrus roll in his left. The ritual performed is described: *[jnt rd]* - „bringing the broom“. <sup>46</sup> A *sm*-priest, facing left, stands next with his right arm extended in front, in a gesture of invocation, and his left hand holding the tail of his leopard-skin vestment. He has close-cropped hair and wears a sash across his chest, while nothing of his kilt can be recognized. His action is identified: *wdn htp dj nswt* - „gesturing of the offerings which the king gives“.<sup>47</sup> Facing left, the remaining part of the last figure in this row shows him standing with his right arm extended in front, in a gesture of invocation too. Of his attire, only a part of his shoulder-length wig and of the sash across his chest is visible. He is labelled *hrj-hbt* - „lector priest“, and his action is described: *wdn htp dj nswt* - „gesturing of the offerings which the king gives“.

The badly damaged second register shows offering bearers advancing towards the sitting tomb owner. The first man, who is wringing the neck of a goose, wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard and a short, projecting kilt. He is labelled: *hrj-hbt zš jz pn rdj m pr nswt Htjj zš Pth-m-zš=f*, the lector priest, the scribe/ painter<sup>48</sup> of this tomb, who gives from the king's house, Ptahemsaef, son of Khety.<sup>49</sup> The next man, who has close-cropped hair and wears a short kilt, holds a live goose in his right hand and a bunch of flowers in the other. The figure of the following bearer is lost, while the remaining part in front of him shows that he is supporting a cage enclosing live birds on his right shoulder, and leading a small animal. Before him is inscribed *shpt rn n mš-ḥd* - „bringing young Scimitar-horned Oryx“.<sup>50</sup> After a damaged area there are remnants of some standing figure with his left arm extended in front. A part of his close-cropped hair is still visible. Behind him are some remains of a flower and some unidentifiable offerings carried by some lost offering bearer, behind whom the rest of the wall surface is damaged.

The lower register has more offering bearers, the first two of whom wear short wigs, broad collars and short, projecting kilts, while the remaining five men have close-cropped hair and wear short kilts. Each of the first two men carries a foreleg of an animal, and while the space

<sup>45</sup> The now missing part of the label is reconstructed after Griffith and Montet (*Siut I*, [128]; *Kêmi I* (1928), p. 61 [128], respectively). In similar Twelfth Dynasty examples, the adjective ʿš3 usually describes *sšhw* not *hrj(w)-hbt* as attested here (e.g., Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 17; P. Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, ASE 3 (London, 1895), pl. 34; Davies/ Gardiner, *Antefoker*, pl. 32; Blackman, *Meir II*, pl. 10. However, a parallel of our label is known from the Twelfth Dynasty tomb of Wekh-hetep at Meir (Blackman, *Meir III*, pl. 23).

<sup>46</sup> For this reconstruction, see: Griffith, *Siut I*, [129]; Montet, *Kêmi I*, 1928, 61 [129]. For the translation and the ritual involved, see: H. Altenmüller, „Eine neue Deutung der Zeremonie des *init rd*“, in: *JEA* 57 (1971), 146-153.

<sup>47</sup> For the translation, see: A. Lloyd/ A. Spencer/ A. El-Khouli, *Saqqâra Tombs II: The Mastabas of Meru, Semdenti, Khui and Others*, ASE 40 (London, 1990), p. 38, n.3; N. Kanawati, *Tombs at Giza I: Kaiemankh (G4561) and Seshemnefer I (G4940)*, ACE: Reports 16 (Warminster, 2001), p. 37, n.139. For another possible translation of *wdn* as „dedicating“, see: W. K. Simpson, *Giza Mastabas II: The Mastaba of Qar and Idu*, MFA (Boston, 1976), p. 5.

<sup>48</sup> For translating *zš* as painter, see: R. Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Ägypten*, Ä A 31 (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp. 69-71.

<sup>49</sup> For a similar Twelfth Dynasty statement, see: K. Sethe, *Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches*, Leipzig, 1935, pp. 2: 9ff.; D. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*. SAGA 9, (Heidelberg, 1994), pp. 20-22.

<sup>50</sup> For identifying the animal, see: P. Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs* (Cairo, 1996), pp. 45-48.

in front of the former is damaged, the second one has the label identifying him still visible, reading:  $z\bar{j}=f\bar{j}$   $n$   $ht=f$   $D\bar{j}\bar{f}=j$ - $h^c$   $ptj$  - „his son of his body, Djefaihapi“. The following man holds a live goose in his right hand, and supports a tray of food on his left shoulder. Next is a man with a basket full of food items on his right shoulder, and is accompanied by a small Scimitar-horned Oryx on leash. Behind him is another man supporting a tray of food on his right shoulder, while a lotus bouquet hangs over the crook of his right arm. After him is a third man holding up a jar on his open right hand, and supporting on his left shoulder a bowl with lotus growing or placed in it. A tray of food supported on the right shoulder of some lost figure is all that remains of the next offering bearer, after whom the easternmost area of the wall surface is damaged.

**The Western Wall (Fig. 4)** [=Griffith, *Situt* I: 1-15]

Having an offering formula at the top, and a small false door at the lower left part of the wall, the remaining wall surface is decorated with a large standing figure of the tomb owner receiving female members of his family. The offering formula is written in four horizontal lines of hieroglyphs, reading right to left:

(1)  $htp$   $dj$   $nswt$   $Gb$   $hntj$   $ht$   $psdt$   $dj$ .<sup>51</sup>  $htpt$   $d\bar{j}\bar{w}$   $rnp(w)t$   $nbt$   $hnkt$   $tw$   $hmw-k\bar{z}=k$   $jm$   $m$   $\bar{z}bd$   $m$ <sup>52</sup>  $smdt$ <sup>53</sup>  $m$   $W\bar{z}g$   $m$   $D\bar{h}wtj$  (2)  $htp$   $dj$   $nswt$   $W\bar{s}jr$   $nb$   $D\bar{d}w$   $ntr$   $^c\bar{z}$   $nb$   $\bar{z}bdw$   $prt$ - $hrw$ <sup>54</sup>  $m$   $qbhw$   $m$   $sntr$   $m$   $mrht$ <sup>55</sup>  $m$   $jht$   $nbt$   $nfrt$   $w^c$   $bt$   $^c$   $nht$   $ntr$   $j[m]$  ... ( $jm\bar{h}jj$ )  $hr$   $Wp$ - $w\bar{z}wt$   $nb$   $Z\bar{w}t$  (3)  $htp$   $dj$   $nswt$   $Jnpw$   $tpj$   $dw=f$   $jmj$   $wt$   $nb$   $t\bar{z}$   $dsr$   $qrst$   $nfrt$   $m$   $zmjt$ <sup>56</sup>  $jmntt$   $m$   $jz=f$   $pn$   $nfr$   $n$   $hrt$ - $ntr$   $h\bar{z}j$ . $f$   $jr=f$   $m$  [ $htp$ ] ( $dj$ )<sup>57</sup>  $nswt$  ... ( $jm\bar{h}jj$ )  $hr$   $W\bar{s}jr$   $hr$   $Jnpw$   $nb$   $r$ - $qrrt$  (4)  $jrj$   $pt$   $h\bar{z}ty$ - $^c$   $htmtj$ - $btj$   $smr$   $w^c$   $tj$   $rh$   $nswt$   $m\bar{z}$ <sup>58</sup>  $nfrw$   $Wp$ - $w\bar{z}wt$   $jm\bar{h}jj$ ] [ $m\bar{z}$ ]<sup>59</sup>  $h\bar{z}ty$ .<sup>60</sup>  $D\bar{j}\bar{f}=j$ - $h^c$   $ptj$   $ms$   $n$   $Jdj$ - $^c$   $z$

„(1) An offering which the king gives (to) Geb, foremost of the corporation of the Ennead, that he may give offerings, provisions and all the year-offerings, with which your ka-servants will present you in the beginning of the month feast, in the middle of the month feast, at the Wag-feast, and at the Thot feast. (2) An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of

<sup>51</sup> The interpolation of the prospective  $dj=f$  in the offering formulae is first attested early in the reign of Amenemhat I (Spanel, in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* II, pp. 767-68).

<sup>52</sup> The preposition  $m$  is missing in Montet's copy (*Kêmi* 1 (1928), p. 55 [1]).

<sup>53</sup> For the reading, see: A. Spalinger, *The Private Feast Lists of Ancient Egypt*, ÄA 57 (Wiesbaden, 1996), p. 42 [3].

<sup>54</sup> For reading this group of signs  $\overline{\text{𓄀}}\overline{\text{𓄁}}\overline{\text{𓄂}}\overline{\text{𓄃}}\overline{\text{𓄄}}\overline{\text{𓄅}}\overline{\text{𓄆}}\overline{\text{𓄇}}\overline{\text{𓄈}}\overline{\text{𓄉}}\overline{\text{𓄊}}$   $prt$ - $hrw$ , see: Spanel, in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* II, pp. 767-68. For the tendency towards the refinement of  $\overline{\text{𓄀}}$  by adding more commodities before the Twelfth Dynasty, see: H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (New York, 1968), p. 83, n.359. In Montet's copy, the last mentioned group of signs is missing (*Kêmi* 1 (1928), p. 55 [2]).

<sup>55</sup> Showing no ties, the unguent jar has here the older form  $\overline{\text{𓄀}}$ , instead of the standard Twelfth Dynasty form  $\overline{\text{𓄁}}$ . The later form came into use before the Twelfth Dynasty (Spanel, in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* II, p. 770, n.18).

<sup>56</sup> The misarranged  $\overline{\text{𓄀}}$  of Montet's copy should be corrected to  $\overline{\text{𓄁}}$  (*Kêmi* 1 (1928), p. 55 [3]).

<sup>57</sup>  $\overline{\text{𓄀}}$  is reconstructed after both Griffith and Montet (*Situt* I, [3]; *Kêmi* 1 (1928), p. 55 [3], respectively). For the suggested  $\overline{\text{𓄁}}$  here, cf., N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrāwi* II, ASE 15 (London, 1902), pl. 13 [21].

<sup>58</sup> For the other possible reading  $jrj$   $ht$   $nzw$   $m\bar{z}$  "the true custodian of the king's property", see: Jones, *Index of Titles* I, 330 [1214].

<sup>59</sup> The now lost  $\overline{\text{𓄀}}$  sign is reconstructed after Griffith and Montet (*Situt* I, [4]; *Kêmi* 1 (1928), p. 55 [4]), respectively).

<sup>60</sup>  $\overline{\text{𓄀}}$  is missing in Griffith's copy (*Situt* I, [4]).



Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos. May an invocation offering come forth, namely libation, incense, *mrht*-oil and every good and pure thing upon which a god lives ... the honoured one before Wewawet, lord of Asyut. (3) An offering which the king gives (to) Anubis, who is on his hill, who is in the embalming place, lord of the sacred land, (namely) a good burial in the western desert, in this his beautiful tomb of the necropolis, and that he may descend into it as an offering which the king gives ... the honoured one before Osiris and before Anubis, the lord of Ra-qereret.<sup>61</sup> (4) The hereditary prince, the count, the sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole companion, the real royal acquaintance, beloved of him, the one who is privy to the sacred writings, the chief lector priest, the director of the two thrones in the double house, the overseer of the apportionment(s) of divine offerings, the one who sees the perfection of Wewawet, the truly honoured one, the count, Djefaihapi, born of Idi-<sup>c</sup>Aat“.

Below the offering formula is a large standing figure of Djefaihapi, facing right. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a beard, a broad collar and a short, projecting kilt, and holds a long staff in his left hand and a *hrp*-sceptre in his right. Facing him are four standing female relatives. They all wear long wigs, long tight fitting garments with shoulder straps and broad collars. The first woman holds a lotus blossom up to her nose, while her left arm hangs by her side. She is labelled: *mwt=f mrt=f nt st-jb=f nbt pr Jdji-<sup>c</sup>jt* - „his beloved mother, his favourite, the mistress of the house, Idi-<sup>c</sup>Aat“. The second woman has her right fist on her breast holding a fly-whisk composed of three foxtails, and her right arm is hanging with her hand open. She is identified: *zjt=f nt ht=f mrt=f nbt pr*<sup>62</sup> *Jdji m<sup>c</sup>t-hrw* - „his beloved daughter of his body, the mistress of the house, Idi, true of voice“. Next are two wives of Djefaihapi, each of them has the right hand on her breast, while the left arm hangs by her side. The first wife is labelled: *hmt=f mrt=f nt st-jb=f nbt pr Snw nbt jm<sup>h</sup>* - „his beloved wife, his favourite, the mistress of the house, Senw, possessor of reverence“. The second wife is identified: *hmt=f mrt=f nt st-jb=f nbt pr Wp<sup>i</sup> [m<sup>c</sup>t-hrw]*<sup>63</sup> - „his beloved wife, his favourite, the mistress of the house, Wepa, true of voice“.<sup>64</sup>

Of the false door decoration, few traces can be distinguished of its inscriptions on both jambs, and at the left terminal of the torus moulding. On the right jamb ... *nb pt h<sup>h</sup>tj-<sup>c</sup> jmj-r hm(w)-ntr D<sup>h</sup>β=j-h<sup>c</sup>pj nb jm<sup>h</sup>* - „... lord of heaven, the count, the overseer of priests, Djefaihapi, possessor of reverence“. On the left jamb: ... *h<sup>h</sup>tj-<sup>c</sup> jmj-r hm(w)-ntr D<sup>h</sup>β=j-h<sup>c</sup>pj nb jm<sup>h</sup>* - „... the count, the overseer of priests, Djefaihapi, possessor of reverence“. On the left terminal of the torus moulding: ... *[D<sup>h</sup>β=j-[h<sup>c</sup>pj] nb jm<sup>h</sup>* - „... Djefaihapi, possessor of reverence“.

<sup>61</sup> For Ra-qereret as a name of Asyut necropolis, see: F. Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches I: Oberägypten und das Fayyum*, TAVO Beiheft B/ 66 [1] (Wiesbaden, 1986), pp. 270-72; Magee, *Asyut I*, 176-79.

<sup>62</sup> According to Fischer, this title was used by married women only (H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I: Varia*, MFA (New York, 1976), p. 76, n.42.

<sup>63</sup> The now lost  $\overline{\text{D}}$  is reconstructed after the copies of Griffith and Montet (*Situt I*, [12]; *Kèmi* 1 (1928), p. 55 [12]), respectively).

<sup>64</sup> Discussing this scene, W. K. Simpson suggests that the artist distinguished the first wife designated *nbt jm<sup>h</sup>* as the owner's present wife and the second wife designated *m<sup>c</sup>t-hrw* as his deceased wife, i.e., the representation of two wives in this scene should not be explained as an evidence of polygamy ('Polygamy in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom?', in: *JE* 60 (1974), p. 102 [4]).

**The Southern Wall (Fig. 5)** [=Griffith, *Sit* I: 20-76]

This wall depicts an offering scene much similar to that decorating the opposite northern wall. It has the text identifying the tomb owner and an offering list occupying its upper section, a table scene associated with two registers of offering ceremonies and offering bearers decorating its middle section, and an additional long row of offering bearers depicted on its lower section. Except for a slight modification of the offerings piled over and beside the offering table, the sitting tomb owner, the offering table with its stylized half-loaves, the spouted ewer, the three *hz*-vases and the associated short inscription produce a replica of the scene decorating the opposite wall.

The inscriptions above the seated tomb owner read: (1) *jrj p<sup>c</sup>t h<sup>3</sup>ty-<sup>c</sup> htmtj-bjtj smr w<sup>c</sup>tj rh nswt m<sup>3</sup>c* (2) *mrjj=fwr m jst=f<sup>c</sup>j m* (3) *s<sup>c</sup>h=f hrj sst<sup>3</sup> n mdw-ntr* (4) *smr w<sup>c</sup>tj hrj-tp Nhb wt Jnpw <sup>c</sup>d-mr Dp* (5) *hrp rhw nswt hrp hwwt Hdt Nt jmj-r <sup>c</sup>h-ntr Šm<sup>c</sup>w h<sup>3</sup>tj-<sup>c</sup>* (6) *h<sup>3</sup>tj-<sup>c</sup> Dfj=j-k<sup>c</sup>pj ms n Jdj-<sup>c</sup>st* „(1) the hereditary prince, the count, the sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole companion, the real royal acquaintance, (2) his beloved one, the great one in his office, the great one in (3) his rank, the one who is privy to the sacred writings, (4) the sole companion, the overlord of Nekheh, the embalmer of Anubis, the administrator of Dep, (5) the director of the king's acquaintances, the director of the estates of the White and Red Crowns, the overseer of the god's palace of Upper Egypt, the count, (6) the count, Djefaihapi, born of Idi-<sup>c</sup>Aat“.

The wall surface to the left of the text identifying the tomb owner is devoted to an offering list. As on the opposite wall, the list contains seventy eight entries, arranged in two registers of thirty-nine compartments. Each compartment contains the name of the item, either a small kneeling figure carrying the item or a determinative indicating it, and finally the number required. Reediting the offering list of the northern wall, most of the similarly arranged items show some epigraphic variations, the rest were either rearranged or totally replaced by some other items. Following the same numbering system of the northern wall offering list, the non-identical items are the following:

Register I [=Griffith, *Sit* I: 40, 47, 51-58, 61-64, upper register]:

[15] *mj hr htpwj nswt* - „come with royal offerings“ (one); [22] *c n fj<sup>3</sup>t* - „a bowl for serving“ (two); [26] *šns dwjw n <sup>c</sup>b-r<sup>65</sup>* - „šns-bread and a jug of drink for repast“ (two); [27] *t-wt t-rh<sup>3</sup> - wt-bread and rth<sup>3</sup>-bread“* (two); [28] *ht<sup>3</sup> - ht<sup>3</sup>-bread“* (two); [29] *nhrjj - nhrjj-bread“* (two); [30] *dpt(j) - dptj-bread“* (four); [31] *pznw - pznw-bread“* (four); [32] *šnsw - šnsw-bread“* (four); [33] *t-jmj-t<sup>3</sup> hnfw (<sup>c</sup>) - jmj-t<sup>3</sup>-bread and (bowl of) hnfw-bread“* (four); [36] *jd<sup>3</sup>t dj h<sup>3</sup>k - jd<sup>3</sup>t-bread, put it behind you“* (four).<sup>66</sup>

Register II [=Griffith, *Sit* I: 42-64, lower register]:

[56] *dsrt jstt* - „milky beverage“ (two); [57] *nmst nt hnqt hnms* - „a jug of hnms-beer“ (two); [58] *hnqt* - „beer“ (two); [59] *shpt* - „shpt-beverage“ (two); [60] *ph<sup>3</sup>* - „ph<sup>3</sup>-beverage“ (two); [61] *dwjw sšr* - „jug of sšr-beverage“ (two); [62] *dib* - „figs“ (two); [63] *nmst nt jrp mhwj* - „a jug of Lower Egyptian wine“ (two); [64] *<sup>c</sup>bš nmst n jrp* „a jug of <sup>c</sup>bš-wine“ (two); [65] *jrp jmtj* - „jmtj-wine“ (two); [66] *jrp h<sup>3</sup>mw* - „h<sup>3</sup>mw-wine“ (two); [67] *jrp snw* - „snw-wine“ (two); [68] *hbnnwt* - „hbnnwt-bread“ (two); [69] *hnfw* - „hnfw-bread“ (two); [70] *jšd* -

<sup>65</sup> For the reading, see n. 34 above.

<sup>66</sup> The now missing required numbers of entries 36, 61, 70-75 are reconstructed after Griffith, *Sit* I, [61, 56-61].

„Balanites aegyptiaca“<sup>67</sup> (two); [71] *šht hqt* - „white *šht*-fruit“ (two); [72] *šht wjdt* - „green *šht*-fruit“ (two); [73] *zwt ʿgt* - „special preparation of wheat“ (two); [74] *jt ʿgt* - „special preparation of barley“ (two); [75] *bibiwt* - „*bibiwt*-fruit“ (two); [76] *nbs t- nbs* - „Christ’s-thorn<sup>68</sup> and *nbs*-bread“ (two); [77] *wʿh ht nb bnr-* „carob beans and every sweet fruit“ (two); [78] *rnpt nb(t) hnk(t) nbt*<sup>69</sup> - „all the year-offerings and all the *hnkt*-offerings“ (two).

The remaining wall surface to the left of the table scene and beneath it is reserved for men performing the offering ceremony, and offering bearers in three registers. The uppermost register shows remains of seven men out of the formerly documented nine priests.<sup>70</sup> As far as the evidence shows, the offering ceremony of the southern wall is almost identical to that depicted on the northern wall. The variations are limited to the inscriptions above the first and the last two priests. Herein, the action of the first man, who kneels before the offering stone is labelled: *zšt mw* - „pouring water“, while he is described: *wt-* „embalmer“. Of the inscriptions describing the invocation gesture of the last two men, the first label reads: *[sm jr htp dj nswt]*<sup>71</sup> - „the *sm*-priest who does (the gesture of) the offerings which the king gives“, while the second label reads: *[hrj-hbt jr htp dj nswt]*<sup>72</sup> - „the lector priest who does (the gesture of) the offerings which the king gives“.

The second register shows remains of offering bearers, facing right. The first man, who is labelled *hrj-hbt* - „lector priest“, wears a shoulder-length wig and a short, projecting kilt, and wrings the neck of a goose. All the well preserved figures next to him show men with close-cropped hair and short kilts. Of them, the first holds a live goose in his right hand and supports a tray of food on his left shoulder, while the partially preserved second man supports a tray of food on his left shoulder, and leads a small animal. The label before him reads: *šhpt [rn n]ʿghs* - „bringing young Dorcas Gazelle“.<sup>74</sup> The remaining outlines of the next man shows him with a bunch of flowers in his right hand. Behind him are remains of two more men, the action of whom can not be determined.

The lowermost register has a long row of offering bearers proceeding towards the sitting tomb owner. The first two men wear short wigs, broad collars and short, projecting kilts. The following men have close-cropped hair, and wear short kilts. Each of the first two men carries a foreleg of an animal. While the probable label identifying the first one is lost, the second man is labelled: *zš=f n ht=f Dšf=j-hʿpj* - „his son of his body, Djefaihapi“. The following men bring different kinds of offerings, including food, drink, flowers, live birds and small animals. Of those men, the first seven offering bearers have no associated labels, the eighth man has in front of him the label: *šhpt rn n njšw* - „bringing young Nubian ibex“.<sup>75</sup> The action of the now lost ninth offering bearer, who leads a small animal with a collar round its neck, is described: *šhpt rn n [nw]dw*<sup>76</sup> *n kš=f* - „bringing young addax for his ka“.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>67</sup> For the translation, see n. 41 above.

<sup>68</sup> For the translation, see n. 43 above.

<sup>69</sup> The feminine end <sup>o</sup> of *nbt* is missing in Griffith’s copy (*Siut* I, [64]).

<sup>70</sup> Griffith, *Siut* I, [66-71]; Montet, in: *Kèmi* 1 (1928), p. 63 [66-71].

<sup>71</sup> Reconstructed after both Griffith and Montet (*Siut* I, [70]; *Kèmi* 1 (1928), p. 63 [70], respectively).

<sup>72</sup> The now lost label is reconstructed after Griffith and Montet (*Siut* I, [71]; *Kèmi* 1 (1928), p. 63 [71], respectively).

<sup>73</sup> Reconstructed after both Griffith and Montet (*Siut* I, [73]; *Kèmi* 1 (1928), p. 58 [73], respectively).

<sup>74</sup> Houlihan, *Animal World*, pp. 61-67.

<sup>75</sup> Houlihan, *Animal World*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>76</sup> Reconstructed after Montet (*Kèmi* 1 (1928), p. 59 [76]).

<sup>77</sup> Houlihan, *Animal World*, pp. 57-58.

**The Eastern Wall (Figs. 6a, 7)** [=Description de l'Égypte IV, Antiquités, pl. 45]

The partially preserved upper part of the eastern wall shows parts of the incised *hkr*-frieze decoration and a fragmentary scene, in which the upper part of a man is recognizable. Facing left, he has close-cropped hair, and holds a foreleg over his right shoulder. Above him is inscribed: *shpt stpt* - „bringing the choice things“. Behind him is written: *jrj=(j) ddt=k<sup>78</sup> hzj* - „I will do what you have said favourably“. Then follows the upper parts of the two hieroglyphic signs  $\text{𓆎}$ . This fragmentary scene accords well with the fourth of the eight scenes of butchery cycles recorded by the savants of the French Expedition to Egypt in 1799,<sup>79</sup> and suggests that the scenes were misarranged in their published plate. Keeping in mind that hieroglyphic writing was still ambiguous in their time, their published scenes need some emendation concerning their original arrangement and the associated inscriptions. Comparing the measurements of the preserved fragmentary scene with the available wall surface to the left of the shrine's central doorway, these eight published scenes must have been flanking both sides of the entrance. Having four scenes with animal heads oriented towards the left and the associated offering bearers advancing towards the sitting tomb owner on the adjacent wall, while the other four scenes following the same principal of orientation towards the tomb owner on the southern wall, the uppermost four figures of *Description de l'Égypte IV, Antiquités*, pl. 45, might have been decorating the left side of the entrance, and the other four scenes decorating the right side. Recognizing the uppermost scene of the left side, and proposing a downward arrangement for the other three, it is suggested that the next scene might have been that showing the binding and slaughtering processes of the animal, followed by that concerned with the cutting of the animal's foreleg, and finally the scene dealing with the skinning process.<sup>80</sup> Rearranging the scenes assigned to the right side of the wall in a similar way, and adopting much of both Griffith and Montet suggested emendations of the associated inscriptions,<sup>81</sup> it is suggested that the eastern wall decoration be reconstructed as shown below.<sup>82</sup>

Two groups of four superimposed registers flank the entrance doorway, one group on either side. Each register has a group of three or four men engaged in different activities concerned with slaughtering a tied-up animal, which is described once as *rn n jwj* - „young ox“. All men have close-cropped hair, and wear different kinds of kilts; some wear plain short kilts, others wear wrap-around kilts which allow them much more freedom of movement, a third group wear loincloths, while the rest seem to be naked. The labels describing the action of some figures and the dialogues of some others are inscribed above their heads.

In the left side group of scenes from left to right, the topmost register shows four men, the first of whom holds a foreleg over his right shoulder proceeding towards the sitting tomb owner on the adjacent wall, while the label describing his action reads: *shpt stpt* - „bringing the choice pieces“. The second man who is ready to apply his knife to the bound ox, responds

<sup>78</sup> Recorded by Montet (*Kêmi* 1 (1928), p. 63 [4]).

<sup>79</sup> *Description de l'Égypte IV, Antiquités*, pl. 45.

<sup>80</sup> Assigning the upper four scenes of *Description de l'Égypte IV, Antiquités*, pl. 45, to the left side of the entrance, and assigning the other four scenes to the entrance's right side. Montet suggests a reversed arrangement of both groups of scenes by the authors of *Description de l'Égypte*, and that the correct reading of each group is from left to right upwards (*Kêmi* 1 (1928), pp. 62-64).

<sup>81</sup> Griffith, *Siat* 1, [1-8]; Montet, in: *Kêmi* 1 (1928), pp. 62-64.

<sup>82</sup> For the slaughter scenes, see: J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* V (Paris, 1969), pp. 234ff.; P. D. Manuehan, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty*, (New York, 1994), pp. 33-51.

to his next fellow's request of helping him, saying: *jrj(=j) ddt=k hzj* - „I will do what you have said favourably“. The request of the butcher's fellow, who holds a large bowl in both hands, reads: *w3h=k nfr hrw* - „may you put (it) down, happy is the day“. The fourth man, who ties the animal's legs with a rope, says to the first man: *jmj m3c stpt* - „let the choice pieces be presented“. In the second register, the first man is shown slitting the animal's throat, while saying: *m3c n k3 n h3tj-c jmj-r hm(w)-ntr Df3=j-h'pj* - „offer to the ka of the count, the overseer of priests, Djefaihapi“. The second man, who holds a knife in his left hand ready to assist the butcher, calls out to his next fellow: *q3s rn n jw3 n k3=f* - „tie the young ox for his ka“. The third man is shown binding the animal's legs, while the fourth man is holding a large bowl in both hands. In the third register, the first man who cuts the animal's foreleg is assisted by the third man who holds the leg upwards. The inscription above the first man reads: *ḏ tw hzjj* - „cut favourably/ please“, while that above the assistant reads: *jr jqr nfr m hrw* - „do skillfully and well in (this) day“. Amidst them is a butcher with a knife in his left hand, either continuing the slitting process of the animal's throat, or has just finished with it.<sup>83</sup> In response to the requests of his fellows, he addresses each one of them, saying: *jrj(=j) hzt=k* - „I will do your wish“. The fourth man is tightening the rope binding the animal's legs, and says to one of his fellows: *m3c n k3=f* - „offer to his ka“. The lowermost register depicts the first man advancing towards the sitting tomb owner on the northern wall, joining thus the long row of offering bearers on the lower register of that wall. He holds a foreleg over his right shoulder and a cut of meat in his right hand. Above him is written: *djt m3c stpt n k3=f* - „offering the choice pieces to his ka“. Standing back to back, the next two men are engaged in skinning the animal. Addressing their assistant who helps them by holding the raised hind leg of the animal with both hands, they say: *tw3 n-iqr nfr hrw* „hold (it) up by virtue of the day being happy“, to which the assistant replies: *jrj(=j) hzt=k* - „I will do your wish“.

The right side group of slaughter scenes, described from right to left, has its uppermost register showing a man with a foreleg held in both hands. He advances towards the sitting tomb owner on the adjacent southern wall. The label above his head reads: *mz stpt n k3=f jm m...* - „presenting the choice pieces to his ka by ...“. Next is a butcher standing beside the bound animal with a knife in his right hand. Facing him is a third man who holds a large bowl in both hands. The second register shows a man proceeding towards the bound animal with a large bowl held in both hands. He is probably asking the help of his next butcher, saying: *w3h=k hzjj* - „may you set (it) down favourably/ please“. The second man who is shown slitting the animal's throat, replies to his assistant: *m3c n nb jz pn hitj-c Df3=j-h'pj* - „offer to the owner of this tomb, the count, Djefaihapi“. A third butcher stands with his knife in his right hand ready to assist his fellow, to whom he says: *jr jqr* - „do well“. Of the three persons represented in the third register, the first one holds a foreleg over his right shoulder and a large bowl on his open right hand. He addresses the butcher before him: *jmj pr<sup>84</sup> st jqr nfr hrw*

<sup>83</sup> In the previous scene the animal's four legs are shown tied-up, while the action of the butcher who is holding the knife horizontally in his right hand on the animal's throat is clearly that of one who has just started the slaughtering process. In this scene, three of the four legs of the animal are shown tied-up, while the butcher's assistants are engaged in cutting the animal's foreleg. The butcher is shown here holding the knife diagonally in his left hand beside the animal's throat, which denotes that he is now in a later stage of the slaughtering process, and that the previous scene should be arranged first before this scene. This argues against Montet's suggested arrangement of this group of scenes, according to which this scene comes before the previous one (cf., Montet, in: *Kémi I* (1928), p. 62). However, according to our suggested arrangement of scenes, the severing process of the animal's foreleg comes in a slightly later stage of the slaughter process, in which the animal is still alive (cf., H. Junker, *Giza III: Die Mastabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Vienna, 1938), pp. 229-31; Vandier, *Manuel V*, pp. 136-38)

<sup>84</sup> For a close parallel, see: Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 35.

- „cut it away skillfully, happy is the day“. The latter responds: *jrj(=j) hz(t)=k nbt* - „I will do all your wish“. He has his right arm around the slaughtered animal's neck, and holds a knife in his left hand. The third man, who is passing the whetstone over his knife, addresses the first man: *m3c n k3 n nb jz pn h3tj-c Df3=j-h'pj* - „offer to the ka of the owner of this tomb, the count, Djefaihapi“. Responding to these instructions, the first man of the fourth register is shown holding a foreleg in both hands, and advancing towards the sitting tomb owner on the adjacent southern wall. The label describing his action reads: *shp(t) stpt n k3 nb n jz pn* - „bringing the choice pieces for the ka of the owner of this tomb“. Next are two butchers engaged in skinning the slaughtered animal, above the second one is written: ... *hzjj* - „... favourably“. The fourth man holds up a large bowl on his open right hand, he says: *w3h=k nfr hrw* - „may you put (it) down, happy is the day“.

### General Commentary

Adopting the main architectural features of a standardized Old Kingdom royal funerary complex, Djefaihapi I had his tomb designed in an east-west orientation with a gateway or a statue chapel on the level of the plain approached through a garden,<sup>85</sup> a causeway and a higher leveled rock-cut chapel with the statue shrine on its east-west main axis. Confirming this tendency towards having an Old Kingdom royal-like burial, is the fact that he altered the original decoration of the chapel's outer vaulted passage to be inscribed with funerary spells of the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts type.<sup>86</sup> Although he was neither the only Middle Kingdom noble adopting such an Old Kingdom royal-like burial,<sup>87</sup> nor was he unique in having Pyramid Texts inscribed in his tomb,<sup>88</sup> he is the only one among his peers to combine both, and to have a rock-cut chapel on such a large scale.

The major changes in the Twelfth Dynasty funerary architecture and practices, beginning no later than the reign of Senusret I,<sup>89</sup> are explained as a reflection of a private person's desire to be identified with Osiris after death, rather than an attempt to appropriate royal prerogatives.<sup>90</sup> This explanation finds support in the case of Djefaihapi I, who had funerary equipment presented by Senusret I, as stated by the tomb's scribe/ artist on the shrine's north wall. Furthermore, Djefaihapi I expressed his loyalty to the king clearly on the shrine's western wall, whereon he inscribed his funerary wishes, including descending into his beautiful tomb as an offering which the king gives. Stating it pictorially, he decorated the eastern wall of the chapel's great transverse hall with a scene showing him standing in an attitude of respect in front of the cartouches of King Senusret I.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Agricultural installations formed part of the royal domain attached to a standard royal Old Kingdom funerary complex (R. Stadelmann, „La ville de pyramide à l'Ancien Empire, *RdE* 33 (1981), pp. 67-77.

<sup>86</sup> Griffith, *Siut* I. p. 10, pls. 9-10 [380-417]; cf., J. Kahl, *Siut – Theben: Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten*, PdÄ 13 (Leiden, 1999), passim.

<sup>87</sup> See for example: Steckeweh, *Die Fürstengräber von Qāw*, pls. 2, 4.

<sup>88</sup> Inconsistent with Djefaihapi I scheme of decoration assigning the Pyramid Text spells to the outer passage of the chapel are the two Twelfth Dynasty tombs of *Znwsrt-nh* of Lisht and *Zj-ist* of Dahshur, who had such spells in their burial chambers (W. C. Hays, „The texts in the burial chamber of Sen-Wosret-‘ankh“, in: *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts* 2 (November 1933), pp. 33, 35-7, figs. 40-45; J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour II* (Vienna, 1903), pp. 78-85, respectively). The Twelfth Dynasty magnate, *Wh-htp* of Meir, inscribed the ceiling of his chapel with a spell identifying that ceiling with goddess Nut (Blackman, *Meir* VI, ASE 29 (London, 1953), p. 15).

<sup>89</sup> Fiore-Marochetti, in: *GM* 144 (1995), p. 45.

<sup>90</sup> Bourriau, in: *Middle Kingdom Studies*, pp. 3-20.

<sup>91</sup> Griffith, *Siut* I, pl. 4.

Such royal favours attested for Djefaihapi I and his contemporaneous peer Sarenput I of Elephantine, who states that his tomb was built by royal workmen and provided with royal equipment,<sup>92</sup> could be assigned to the policy adopted by both Amenemhat I and Sensusret I, according to which the individual town became the focus of administration, and the nomarchs controlling them enjoyed royal favours, and in return they had to protect the country borders, and to lead expeditions for the king.<sup>93</sup>

Equipping the tomb by the king does not necessarily mean that it was completely prepared by royal craftsmen. The attested Palaeographic irregularities in the shrine's inscriptions are in favour of local tradition.<sup>94</sup> Among these irregularities, detected in the two offering lists of the shrine, are the beer-jug determining *hnqt* (cf., entry [22] of the northern wall, and entries [57], [58] of the southern wall), and the unidentifiable determinative of *hdw* (cf., entry [39] of the northern wall). The usage of the older form of the unguent jar  $\overline{\text{I}}$  with no ties on the shrine's western wall confirms such localized epigraphic tendency. This localism is further attested by Djefaihapi's coffin, which exhibits the latest known example of the so-called Asyut type.<sup>95</sup>

The scribe/ painter's statement, in which he refers to himself as the one who gives from the king's house finds support by the royal fashioned granite statue of Djefaihapi's wife, Senwi, which is suggested to be a product of the royal workshop.<sup>96</sup> This statue and the other two granite statues of Djefaihapi must have been a part of the funerary equipment presented by king Sensusret I.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>92</sup> See n. 49 above.

<sup>93</sup> G. Callender, "The Middle Kingdom Renaissance", in: *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Ian Shaw (Oxford, 2000), pp. 174-75.

<sup>94</sup> For the epigraphic and Palaeographic irregularities attested to Asyut inscriptions during the First Intermediate Period, see: Spanel, in: *Orientalia* 58 (1989), pp. 301-314.

<sup>95</sup> Magee, *Asyût* I, p. 64.

<sup>96</sup> Magee, *Asyût* I, p. 90.

<sup>97</sup> For the three granite statues of Djefaihapi I and his wife Senwi found in Kerma and in the great temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal, see: Magee, *Asyût* II, pp. 186-189 [S56, S57], pp. 194-95 [S71]. According to T. Kendall, both Kerma statues were acquired by the local Nubian owner of tomb KIII as luxury items two centuries after the death of Djefaihapi I (*Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush 2500-1500 BC. The Archaeological Discovery of an Ancient Nubian Empire* (Washington DC, 1997), pp. 24-27).

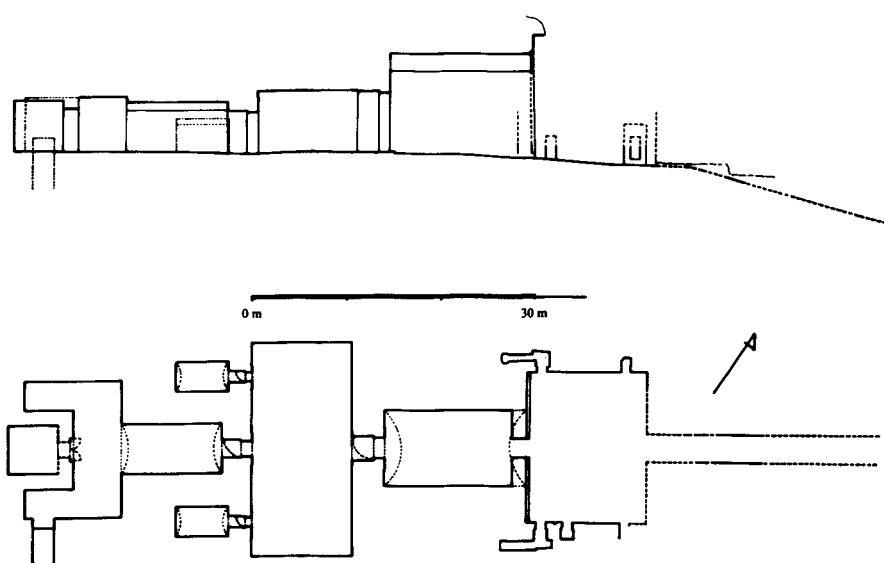


Fig. 1: Djefaihapi I, plan and section



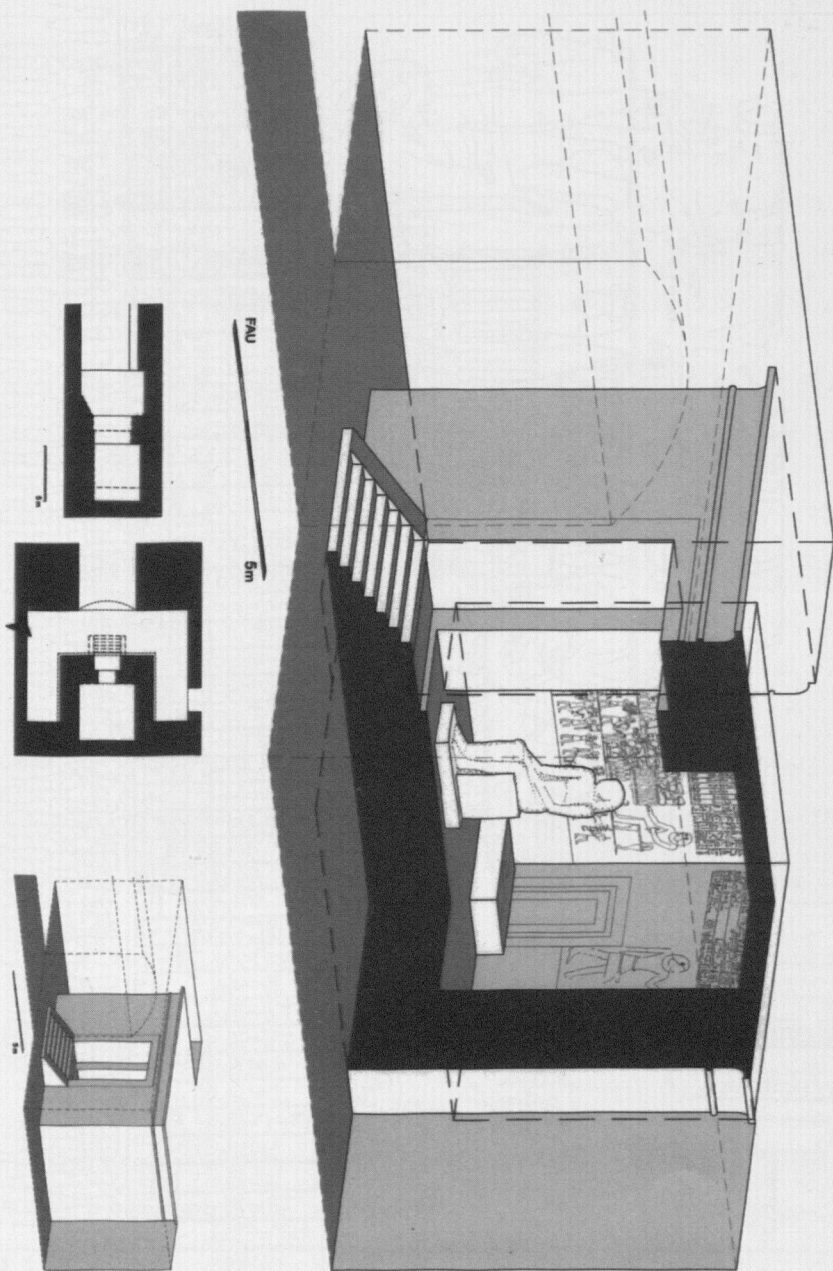


Fig. 2: Djefaihapi I, shrine, isometric reconstruction

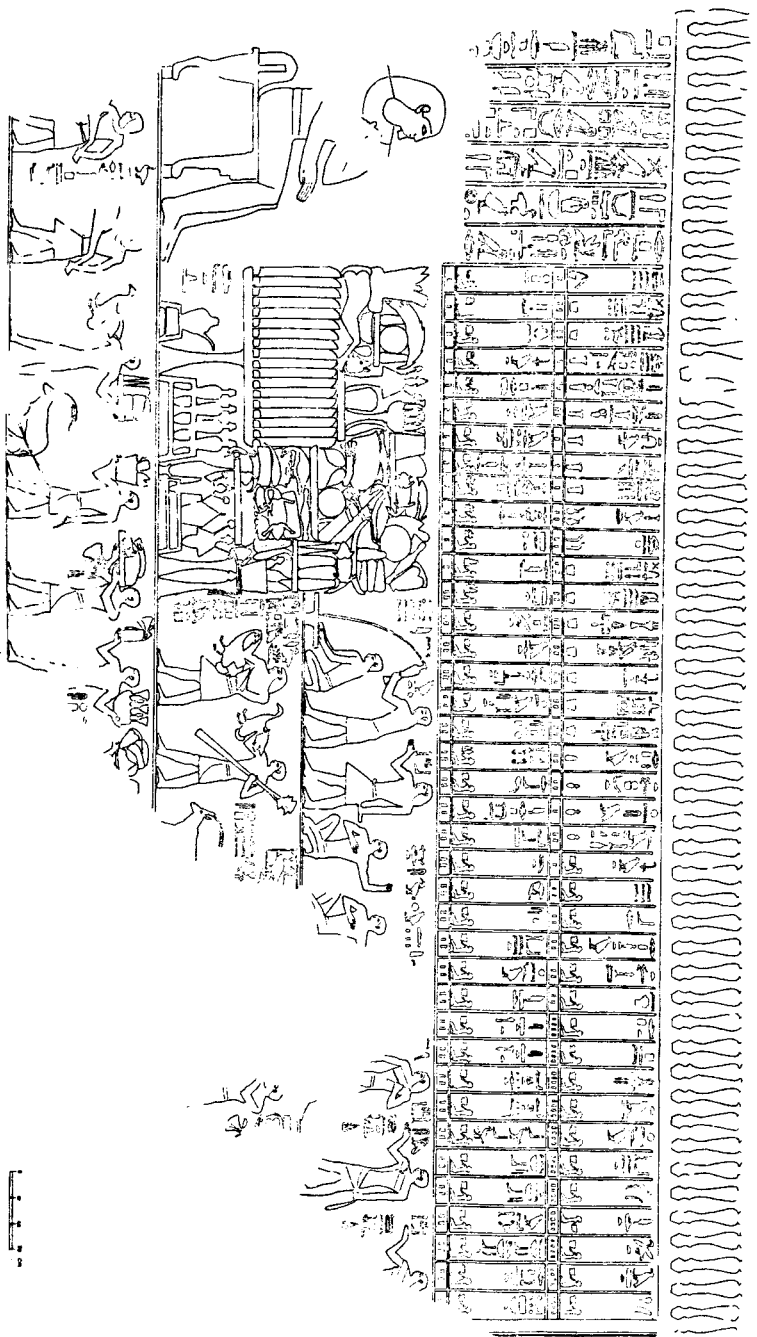


Fig. 3: Djefaihapi I, shrine, northern wall

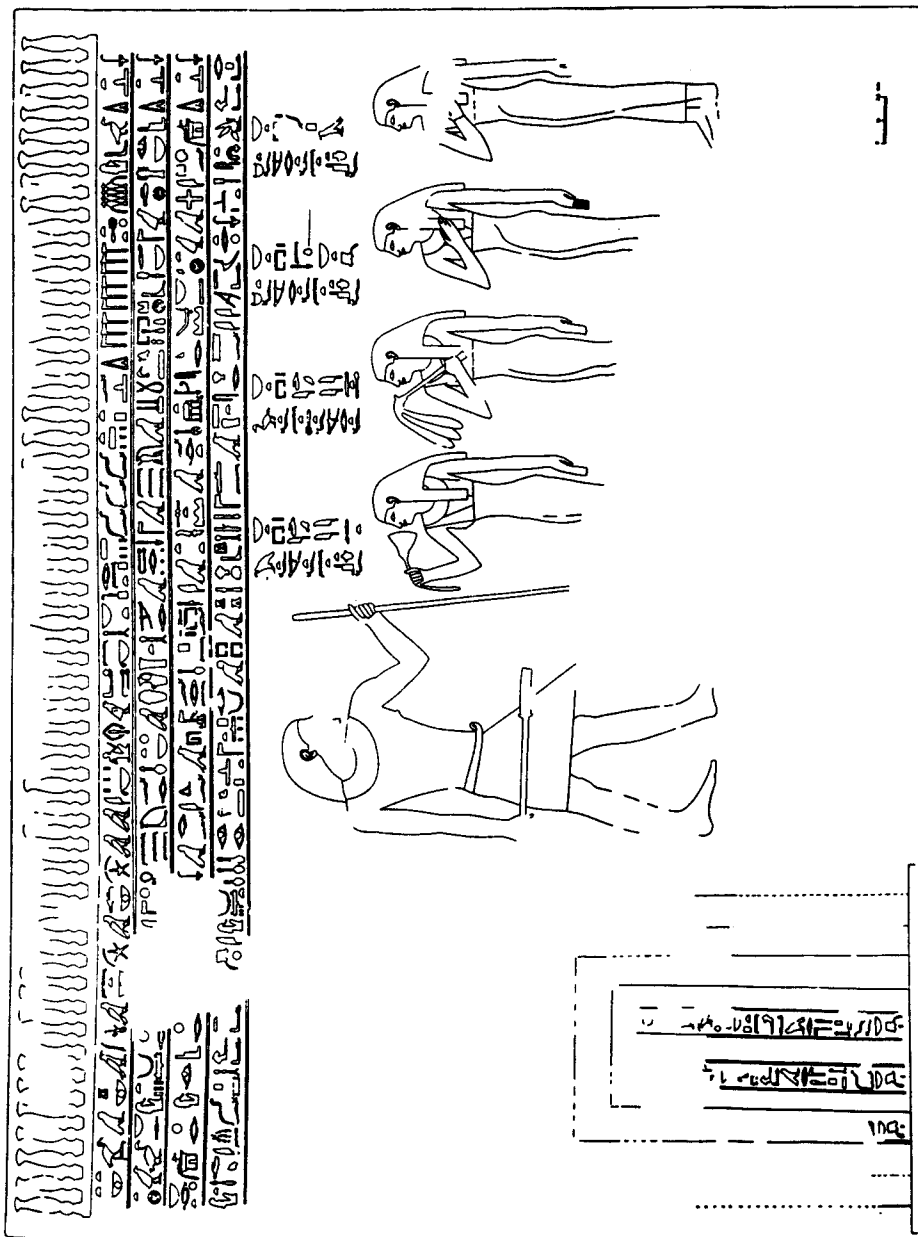


Fig. 4: Djefaihapi I, shrine, western wall

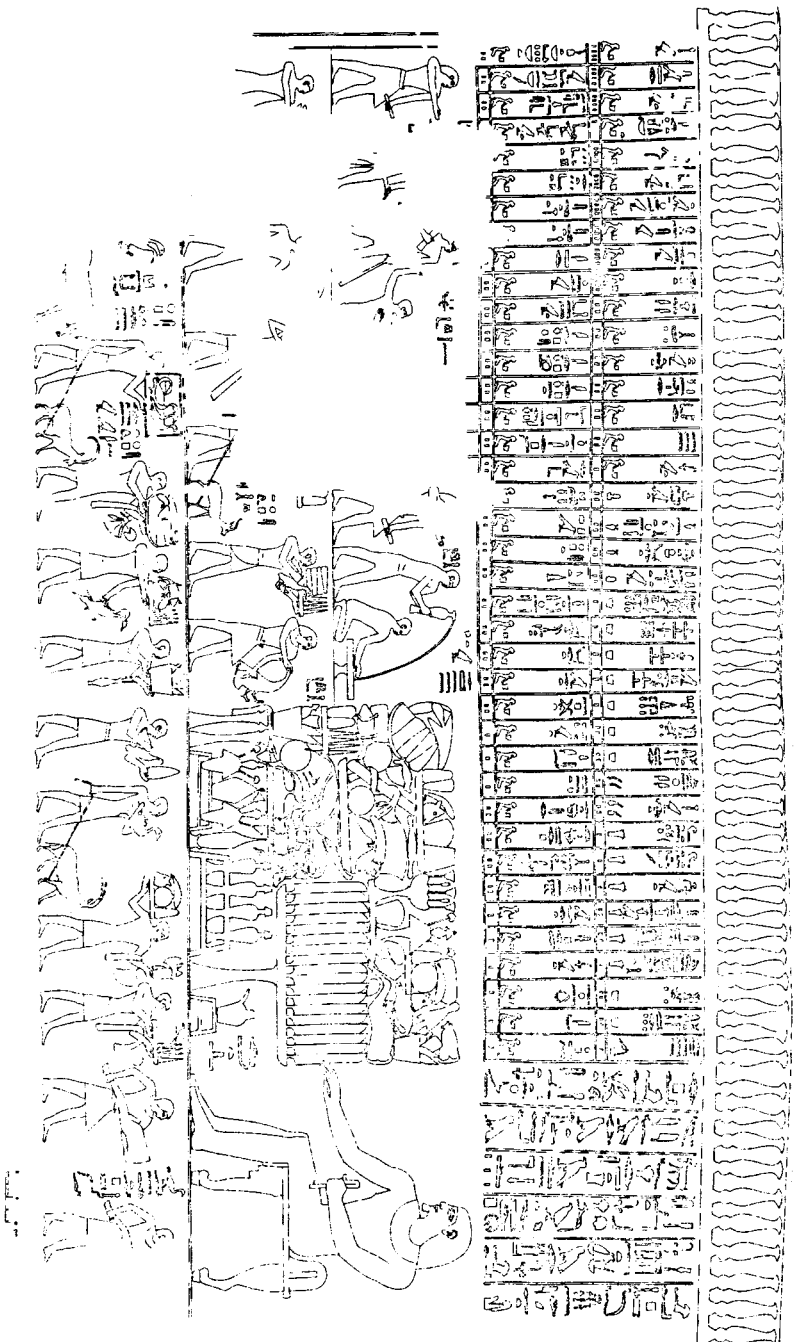


Fig. 5: Djefaihapi I, shrine, southern wall

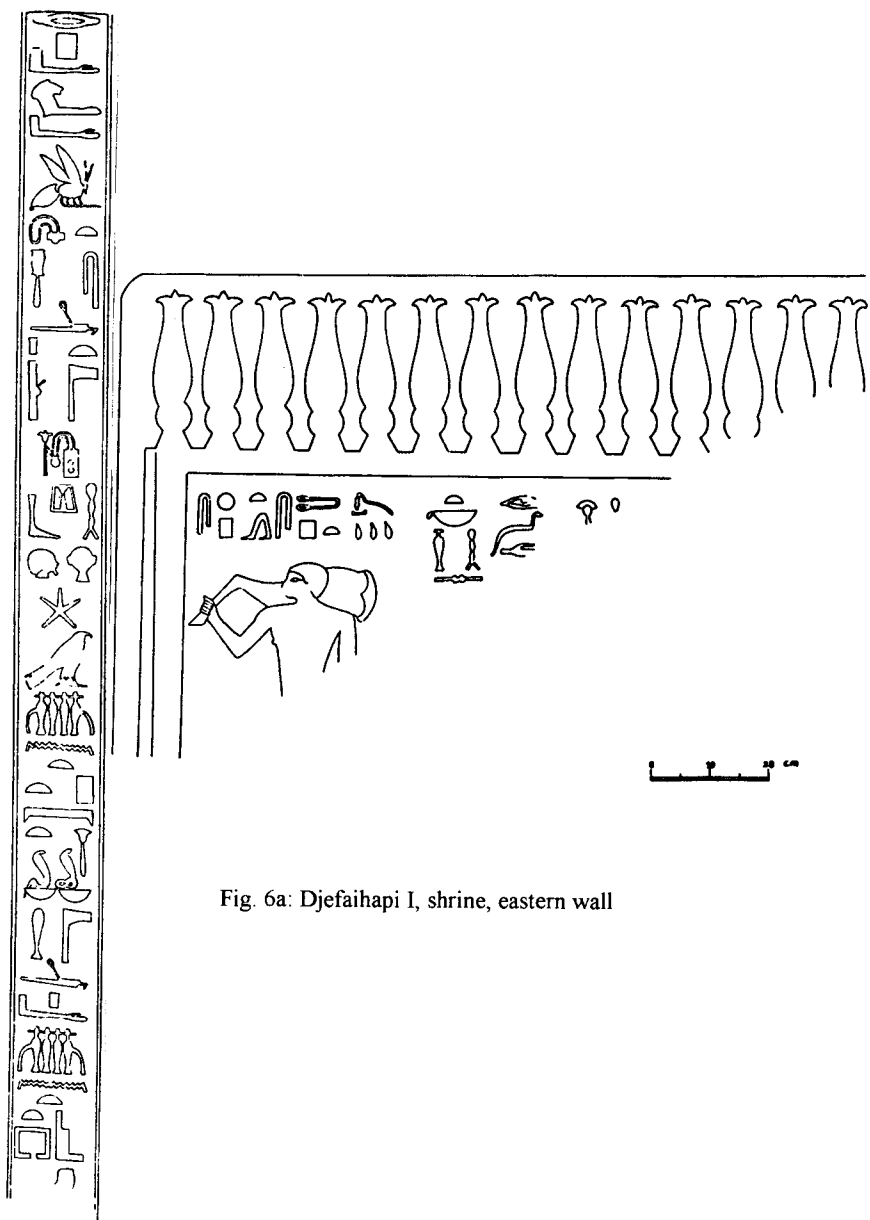


Fig. 6a: Djefaihapi I, shrine, eastern wall




Fig. 6b: Djefaihapi I, shrine, ceiling

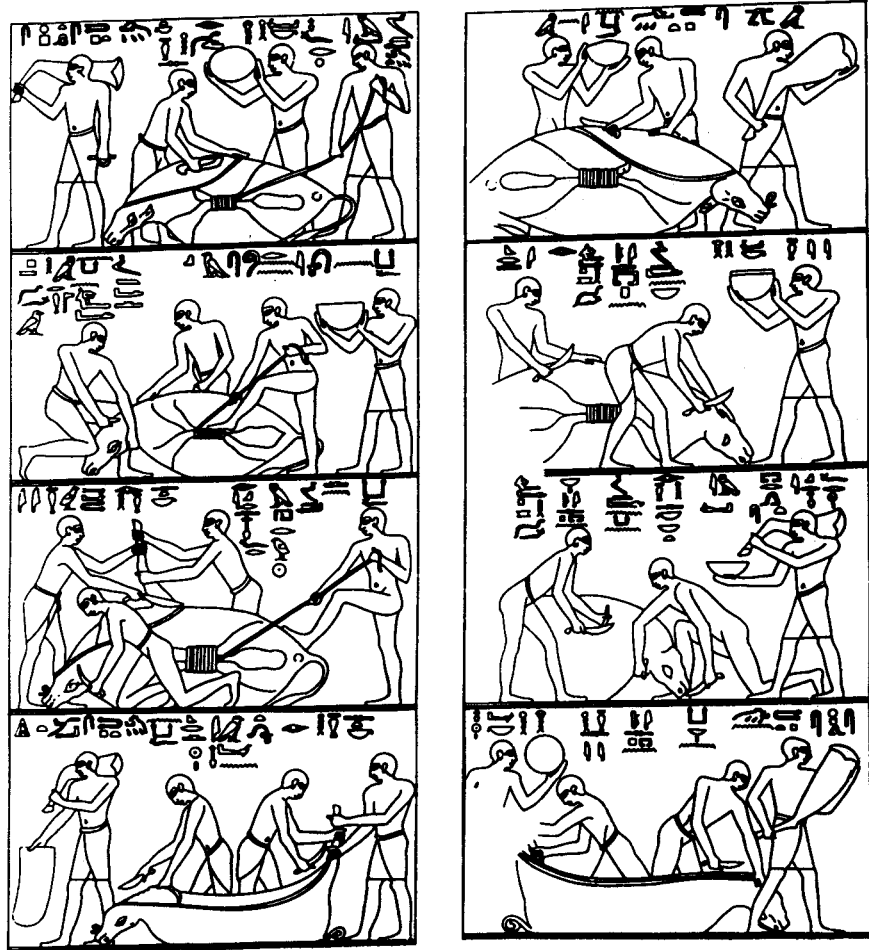


Fig. 7: Djefaihapi I, shrine, reconstruction of the eastern wall, reproduced with emendation after *Description de l'Égypte* IV, *Antiquités*, pl. 45