

c. The Expansion of the Presentation Scene in the Early Rock-cut Chapels

The great wall areas of the early rock-cut tombs permitted an expansion which included not only a considerable lengthening of the registers, but also the inclusion of elements not represented in the L-shaped chapel. The three forms that these new elements introduced are (1) the boating scene, (2) swamp scenes, and (3) agricultural scenes. In some of these new scenes, in particular the swamp scene, a new type of representation is introduced, in which the owner is represented by a figure of unusually large size actively employed in the midst of the scene. This type of representation is foreshadowed in certain scenes in the tomb of Neferma'at of Medum, but becomes a recognized part of chapel decoration only after the decoration of the early rock-cut chapels. In contrast to these scenes with the large figure of the owner active in the midst of the scene there are other representations in which the owner appears on river-boats, and in carrying-chairs properly proportioned to the rest of the scene.

(1) *The Boating Scene: River-boats being Sailed, Rowed, or Paddled*

The use of the great river by means of large boats for the transport of agricultural produce and manufactures played a great part in the development of Egypt. Such river-boats were used also for the transport of administrative officials, armed forces, and for the collection of taxes. They were no doubt used also for the purpose of pleasure excursions on the river. When the Nile was high and communication by water open to the swamps, boats could also be used for local purposes, the tending of the herds pastured in the swamps, hunting, fishing, and the gathering of papyrus and other swamp plants and flowers. In the swamps, however, the papyrus raft was more frequently used and appears in many swamp scenes of all types. For a description of the various river-boats and papyrus rafts, see Reisner, *Catalogue Générale, Models of Ships and Boats*.

The scene showing large or small boats being sailed, rowed, or paddled occurs in the rock-cut tombs as a register in other scenes, as follows:

- (1) G 7530: Queen Meresankh III: room (a), east wall, two registers over a large scene of craftsmen at work; four boats proceeding to left; reg. 1, ordinary wooden boat with Meresankh sitting in her carrying-chair, and papyrus boat with Meresankh on throne¹ and two female attendants (sunshade and fly-whisk); reg. 2, two flat boats with long covered and sheeted cabins with animal head on prow.
- (2) LG 89: Prince Sekhemkara: room (a), west wall; the chief figures are Queen Hez-hekenuw seated facing to left with her son as a boy standing before her, facing also to left; in front is the beginning of a vertical line, 'viewing the rowing of boats and the work of . . .'; of the scene in front, to the left, only parts of two registers are preserved; reg. 1, boat rowed by nine men, also pilot and another man; the prince standing, two steersmen, &c., boat with canopy; reg. 2, boat of same type being paddled (?) (*ir hr imy-wrt*); there were no doubt one or two more boats in each register; it is possible that the obliterated registers contained craftsmen at work; but any other type of scene is equally possible.
- (3) LG 86: Prince Nebemakhet: outer room (a), south wall; badly weathered and nearly illegible; on the left facing to right, Nebemakhet and Shepeset-kauw; in front of them a vertical line, 'viewing . . .'; traces of five registers; reg. 1, scribes and bird-netting scenes; reg. 2, agricultural scene; reg. 3, bird-netting; reg. 4, two boats being rowed, long cabin, flat-boat type; reg. 5, presentation of cattle (?).

The above boating scenes were subsidiary to other scenes, including the presentation scene. The

¹ A similar figure in a boat appears earlier on one of the fragments from the exterior chapel of Meresankh II (G 7410+7420).

scene of river-boats appears frequently in the L-shaped chapels of type (4) from the latter part of Dyn. IV and early in Dyn. V (see boating scene in preceding section). In these tombs the scene, always differing in details, was usually placed on the east wall of the offering-room over the entrance doorway. Most of the chapels of types (3) and (4) are so destroyed that the east wall over the doorway is gone when the rest of that wall is fairly well preserved. A large boat is represented in the top register of the north wall of Prince Ka-m-sekhem, which may be dated to the end of the reign of Chephren, but the destruction of the upper part of the walls makes it impossible to determine whether a boating scene was commonly used in the early L-shaped chapels. A boat being paddled also appears in the fragments of relief from the chapel of the queen's pyramid G I-b. We can only note the fact that in the chapels of type (4), contemporaneous with the early rock-cut chapels and following them in time, the boating scene appears regularly on the east wall over the doorway.

The boating scene as a register in the presentation scene, similar to the rock-cut scenes, is represented in the later rock-cut tomb of Khafra-ankh, LG 75 = G 7984, on the east wall where the top register contains five boats. The register of boats also occurs in the late chapel types (see Nofer, G 486r, east wall), where the register of boats sailed or rowed is in a mixed presentation and agricultural scene.

(2) *The Swamp Scenes*

The activities carried out in the swamps, particularly those of the Delta, are fully depicted in the large chapels of Dyns. V and VI.¹ The swamps were used in the following ways:

- (a) for the pasturing of cattle, which are frequently shown being herded across the open water, having pastured on the swamp grasses growing on the areas of dry land and in the shallow waters;
- (b) for the pulling of the whole supply of papyrus stalks used in the manufacture of sheets and rolls of papyrus for writing all sorts of documents, accounts, and letters; papyrus was also used for making rafts, mats, huts, roofing, and as roof supports (packed with mud);
- (c) for obtaining wild plants and particularly the blue lotus flowers so agreeable to the Egyptians of all periods;
- (d) for hunting birds and wild animals;
- (e) for the catching of fish by all the means employed by the Ancient Egyptians.

It seems clear that the swamps were to a certain extent held under private ownership, and these private swamp estates were frequently included in the funerary endowment (as is shown by the estate names).

The scenes in which the swamps and the swamp activities are represented present two forms: (a) the great swamp scenes in which the owner is represented engaged in hunting, fishing, or pulling flowers, and (b) minor scenes of swamp life (the herding of cattle, the transport of swamp products, the trapping of birds, the seining of fish, &c.).

(a) *The swamp scene with the owner represented acting in the midst of the scene.*

The large swamp scene with the owner on a papyrus raft acting in the midst of the scene gives a splendid conventionalized picture of the Egyptian swamps. The raft floats on open water containing fish, crocodiles, and hippopotami. Rising from the water as a background is a conventionalized picture of the swamp vegetation showing papyrus plants in bud and full flower, over the stalks of which creep small rodents and insects. Bird-nests are seen also resting on the stalks. Above and among the stalks a great medley of birds is shown flying, alighting, and sitting on nests, and among them butterflies,

¹ They have appeared already in the Medum chapels and can be inferred from fragments from the exterior chapels of Ka-wab (G 7120) and Meresankh II (G 7410+7420) as well as the L-shaped chapel of Merytyetes (G 7650) and possibly that of G 7560.

dragonflies, and locusts. Subsidiary to this main scene, on the sides, are shown minor scenes, men in small boats fishing, spearing hippopotami, pulling papyrus, &c. These large swamp scenes play a great part in the decoration of the great mastaba chapels of Dyns. V and VI. The scenes in the great chapels present several distinct forms:

- (1) The scene in which the owner is hunting birds with a throw-stick: MM D 85 (Duwa-hap); MM E 7 (Akhet-hetep), Ka-m-nofret (Boston), Ptah-sekhem-ankh (Boston); LG 15 (Ra-shepses); Senezem-ib-Yenti (G 2370); Senezem-ib-Mehi (G 2387); Qar (G 7101); Sneferuw-yen-shat-f (Dahshur).
- (2) The scene in which the owner is hunting birds with a split spear: Nebemakhet (LG 86); Yasen (G 2196); Ka-m-ankh (burial-chamber) (G 4561); Werekhuw (LG 95).
- (3) Swamp scene with the owner spearing fish; Akhet-mery-nesuwt (G 2184); Weserkaf (temple); Sahura (temple); Duwahap (MM D 85); Hetep-her-akhet (MM D 60); Senezem-ib-Yenti (G 2370); Senezem-ib-Mehi (G 2387); Akhet-mehuw (G 2375); Nekhebuw (G 2381); Ka-m-ankh (chapel) (G 4561); Sneferuw-yen-shat-f (Dahshur); Yeduwt (Saqqarah); Mereruwka (Saqqarah).
- (4) Swamp scene with owner on raft leaning on staff and watching men harpoon hippopotami: Thiy (MM D 22); Senezem-ib-Yenti (G 2370).
- (5) Owner pulling papyrus flowers in swamp: Meresankh III (G 7530); Seneb (Junker's dwarf).

Elements of these scenes have been identified in the exterior stone chapels of twin-mastabas at Giza. In the rock-cut tombs the following examples can be identified:

- (1) LG 90: Debehen: room (b), east wall; this wall was cased with fine white limestone now almost completely destroyed; on one stone the lower part of a scene showing fish-seining with hippopotamus in the water; no doubt a fish-spearing scene.
- (2) G 7530: Queen Meresankh III: room (a), east wall north of entrance; in a scene with registers of estates, bird-trapping, sowing and ploughing, birds and animals, and a scene of boatmen fighting, a large space is taken by a scene showing Hetep-heres II and Meresankh III standing on a papyrus raft pulling papyrus flowers.
- (3) LG 86: Prince Nebemakhet: outer room (a), west wall south of doorway; Nebemakhet on a papyrus raft facing to right, holding aloft a split spear; in background, typical conventionalized representation of swamp with birds, animals, &c.; on the right of this, five registers; reg. 1, men carrying and cleaning fish (at least seven men); reg. 2, desert scene, carrying live birds, crates of small animals (hedgehog and rabbit), gazelle suckling young, men carrying crates of young gazelles; reg. 3, on right, overseer and three men building a papyrus raft with other men bringing from the swamp bundles of papyrus stalks; reg. 4, cattle going to right, apparently wading in water; man on a raft and another wading in water; reg. 5, procession of estates facing to left, alternately male and female, Chephren names.

There may have been one or two other examples on obliterated walls, but the evidence is sufficient to prove the use of the great swamp scene in several variations in the early rock-tombs of Giza. In the decorated Pyramid Temple of Weserkaf at Saqqarah (excavated by C. M. Firth) the great swamp scene is shown by the fragments in an unusually large composition executed in magnificent reliefs. The fragments show two scenes, one with bird-hunting and the other with fish-spearing. In the Pyramid Temple of Sahura (see Borchartd, *Sa-hu-ré*, II, Pls. 15, 16) again two scenes, bird-hunting and fish-spearing, can be seen on the fragments. In the temple of Newserra (see Borchartd, *Ne-user-ré*, Pl. 38), the fragments

show the conventional representation of a swamp which must belong to one or the other of the types of scene under discussion. It seems clear, by reason of the time, that Weserkaf, or the craftsmen who composed the decoration of his temple, drew on the great scene used in the early rock-cut chapels at Giza. It may even have been that he used, for the drawing of the designs and the carving of the reliefs, craftsmen trained at Giza under Mycerinus and Shepseskaf. It may be taken as certain that the use of the great swamp scene was firmly established as part of the chapel decoration by the beautiful examples made for the Weserkaf temple. Thereafter it was used by Sahura, Neweserra, and probably most of the kings. With these royal examples the frequent occurrence in the large chapels of Dyns. V and VI is seen to be a natural development.

For examples at Giza in Dyn. V see the list of the five forms of the great swamp scene given above.

(b) *Minor swamp scenes.*

The minor or small swamp scenes occur attached to the great swamp as mentioned above, but for the present purpose consideration is directed to those smaller scenes which occur as parts of other types of scenes. The chief forms of the small swamp scenes are (i) bird-trapping, (ii) seining fish, (iii) pulling papyrus, (iv) papyrus rafts coming out of the swamp. It is to be noted that these scenes occur as registers in the presentation and offering scenes of the early rock-cut chapels and the fish-seining scene appears on the east wall of one Dyn. IV L-shaped chapel (G 7650). The same scenes appear in the chapels of Dyns. V–VI in the same way as elements in the presentation scene, the offering scene, or attached to agricultural scenes.

i. *The bird-netting scene.* The chief element in the bird-netting scene is the springing of the hexagonal netted trap. The trap is spread on the ground or over water in the swamp. Three or four men retire to the length of a long rope attached to the trap. Closer to the scene, usually screened by papyrus or other plants, a man watches the birds alighting on the net and at the chosen moment signals to the others to spring the trap. Subsidiary to this chief element occur pictures of men taking birds from a sprung trap, placing them in crates or carrying them away, or carrying crates of birds singly or in pairs on a shoulder yoke, and other similar scenes. As usual, no two scenes are exactly alike, but all are included here under the term 'bird-netting scene'. The scene is found in the cruciform chapels of Medum (Neferma'at, Atet, Rahotep). In the rock-cut tombs the following examples occur:

- (1) LG 89: Prince Sekhemkara: room (a), east wall, presentation scene; reg. 2, five men bringing live birds and a small animal, two men taking birds out of a box, man carrying a box of birds, man carrying papyrus, a man pulling papyrus, men springing bird-trap, rest obliterated.
- (2) LG 90: Debehen: room (b), south wall (screen wall); the bird-netting is not actually shown, but in reg. 3 a man carries two boxes of birds on a shoulder yoke, another a box of birds on head and swamp flowers on shoulder.
- (3) G 7530: Queen Meresankh III: room (a), east wall, north of doorway; men springing a bird-trap with two sub-registers on right; (a) bringing papyrus stalks and weaving mats, (b) men putting birds in crate and men plucking birds.
- (4) LG 86: Prince Nebemakhet: room (a), south wall, in a large scene of N. viewing mixed registers (cf. Meresankh III) of agricultural and swamp scenes; regs. 1 and 3 show the bird-netting scene in detail; reg. 1, after three scribes, men putting birds in two boxes; sprung trap with men taking out birds; reg. 3, man carrying birds, four men pulling rope of trap, man signalling with cloth, trap with birds, man presents bird to overseer.

The bird-netting scene occurred in the temples of Sahura and Neweserra. It is found in the majority of mastaba chapels of Dyns. V–VI. The fact is to be noted, however, that after the rock-cut tombs it occurs often in the composite or mixed scenes which contain agricultural and other scenes.

ii. *Scene of men seining fish.* The swamps provided one of the chief sources of the supply of fish. One of the most productive means of obtaining fish in the swamp was the use of the great seine. In the great swamp scenes showing the owner spearing fish and hunting birds, very often the seining of fish is shown at one end of the scene. In the cruciform chapels the separate small scene of men seining occurs frequently (Neferma'at, Rahotep). In these chapels it is often, as later, associated with the bird-netting scene. In the tomb of Merytyetes (G 7650), on the east wall in front of a family group, in the lower part of the wall is a fish-seining picture, probably under a bird-netting scene. A register below the fish-seining shows eight men facing to left, the first three nearly obliterated, a man with two birds in right hand and one in left, running man partly obliterated, man running with two fish in left hand, man carrying large fish on back, and a man holding something against his breast (scribe?) and turning head back to right. The small seining scene is found in the early rock-cut tombs in the registers of presentation and in other scenes often associated with the bird-netting scene:

- (1) LG 89: Prince Sekhemkara: room (a), east wall, presentation scene; reg. 3, traces of men seining fish; in the register above is a bird-netting scene.

In the later rock-cut tombs, Ankh-ma-ra (G 7837) and Khafra-ankh (LG 75 = G 7948), the scene is found again in the presentation scene associated with the bird-netting scene. In the late L-shaped chapel of Per-sen (LG 20) the seining scene again occurs in a presentation scene, in association with a boating scene. In the later mastaba chapels the seining scene is a common feature of the agricultural scenes and is again usually associated with the bird-netting scene.

iii. *Scenes showing the pulling and carrying of papyrus.* The boats coming in or out of the swamps, herding cattle, bringing fish and birds and the plant products of the swamp, are depicted from the earliest chapels to the latest, usually secondary to other scenes. But in the tomb of Meresankh III appears a special small scene of boatmen fighting in boats coming forth from the swamps. This small special scene, whether it was first designed for the tomb of Meresankh III or not, was a favourite element in the later mastaba chapels.

- (1) G 7530: Queen Meresankh III: room (a), east wall, north of doorway; in reg. 5 of the great mixed swamp and agricultural scene; on the left end, four papyrus rafts being paddled to left; above is the label *pṛt m šꜣ ḥnꜣ nḥbwt in mḥtyw*, &c.; the first raft bears a heap of bird-crates and other objects and a crew of four including an overseer; the third man is poling the craft, and the fourth man appears to threaten the first man of the second raft with a bundle of papyrus; the second raft appears to be empty and bears a crew of two or three figures; first man is paddling; the last man on the stern is punting; the third raft shows no cargo, but bears a crew of three men; the fourth boat has a crew of four; the crews of the third and fourth boat are engaged in a struggle for precedence; the second man of the fourth boat grasps the stern of the third boat while the first man is engaged in a struggle with the whole crew of the third boat; the last man of the third boat grasps the ankle of the first man of the fourth boat, who is being attacked by the first and second men of the third boat with their paddles; the third man of the fourth boat squats holding his own paddle and that of the second man; the fourth man in the fourth boat is poling that boat forwards.

The scene of the boats coming forth from the swamp with crews struggling to pass each other was elaborated in Dyn. V and became one of the favourite elements of the large composite scenes of the mastabas of Dyns. V–VI. See at Giza the chapels of Iy-mery (G 6020), Sekhemka (G 1029), and Senezem-ib-Yenti. At Saqqarah see Thiy, Ptah-hotep and Akhet-hetep, Hetep-her-akhet (Leyden),

Ka-m-nofret (Boston), Per-sen (MM D 45), Yeduwt. In most of these the boatmen are fighting with punting-poles.

(3) *The Agricultural Scenes*

The scenes drawn from the cultivation of the soil, ploughing, sowing and planting, harvesting, and so forth are always in small registers. They occur in the early cruciform chapels. In the rock-cut tombs at Giza the use of these agricultural pictures becomes frequent in the presentation scene and in the large composite scenes.

- (1) G 7530: Queen Meresankh III: room (a), east wall north of doorway: a great composite scene with estates, bird-netting; to the left of these two registers is the large scene of the two queens pulling papyrus; under these, men bringing large birds and cattle; in reg. 4, on the right, the four boats coming forth from the swamp, then a *hk* *niwt* standing facing to right leaning on staff, men with whips driving a herd of rams trampling in grain, man strewing seed, man carrying sack of seed ('tilling with sheep; sowing the seed'); room (b), east wall north of entrance: unfinished scene; three registers; reg. 1, two pairs of men each carrying sack of grain on pole; reg. 2, stack of grain; three figures winnowing (?); reg. 3, stack of grain and man filling a container with grain; two other obscure figures; all figures face to left.
- (2) LG 89: Prince Sekhemkara: room (a), south wall, west of doorway; a nearly completely obliterated scene; reg. 1, boat-building; reg. 2, flax (?) harvest; reg. 3, threshing scenes; rest obliterated; apparently the scene continued east of doorway.
- (3) LG 86: Prince Nebemakhet: room (a), south wall; Nebemakhet and Shepset-kauw standing facing to right; in front, five registers; reg. 1, scribes and bird-netting scene; reg. 2, partially obliterated agricultural scenes, rams trampling in seed, winnowing (?), two pairs of oxen ploughing; reg. 3, bird-netting; reg. 4, boating scene; reg. 5, obliterated, apparently men bringing in animals.

These scenes are badly mutilated except in Meresankh III, and there the harvest scene is unfinished. The evidence is, however, sufficient to prove the use of agricultural scenes in the rock-cut tombs. In the mastaba chapels of Dyns. V–VI the agricultural scenes were developed so true to life that they give some of the most engaging scenes of country life in Ancient Egypt.

d. The Expansion of the Offering Scene in the Early Rock-cut Chapels: the Funeral Scene

As has been shown above in the description of the offering scenes in the early rock-cut chapels the expansion consisted not only in a considerable enlargement of the picture list of offerings, either in a pavilion or not as part of a pavilion scene, but also of small scenes from life included in the registers of the picture list or attached to the scene outside the picture list. These additions generally consist of (a) small cooking scenes, (b) the handling of jars of wine or beer (including wine-press scene, &c.), (c) funerary priests performing ceremonies and bringing the funerary meal, (d) musicians and dancers. These small scenes are so varied and become so frequent in use in the large chapels of Dyns. V–VI that I reserve the detailed discussion of them for another volume. There is, however, one remarkable scene in the tomb of Debehen included in a great offering scene which has great importance for certain scenes found in the later chapels because it represents the ceremonies carried out at the burial. In the rock-cut tomb of Debehen made in the reign of Mycerinus, on the southern wall of room (b), covering both the masonry screen wall and the rock surface west of it is a great scene which begins on the right with a picture of the tomb itself. The rock-scarp is shown with a doorway or *ka*-door in its face and an inclined ramp ascending from the left from the ground-level of the doorway to the top of the cliff. This

ramp I would identify with the ceremonial ramp found attached to several mastabas for the ascent of the burial procession to the top of the mastaba, although in the case of Debehen the burial-shaft was in the floor of the rock-cut chapel. On the cliff above, facing the ramp, is a statue in a kiosk contained in another kiosk and standing on a large wooden sledge. The figure faces to the left towards the inclined plane ascending the cliff. On the platform in front of the figure is a small table of offerings, which is approached by a procession of seven men, two on the platform above, four walking up the ramp, and one on the ground at the lower end of the ramp: (a) hands outstretched (broken away), (b) holds live goose with both hands, (c) goose in each hand, (d) haunch of beef and a jar (?), (e) haunch of beef and live goose, (f) cake in each hand, (g) ewer and basin (?). On the ground along the ramp and the face of the cliff is a long row of offerings (picture list), bread and cakes, bread in basins, basin on tall stand, and on the right of the *ka*-door ointment-jars, milk-pots, and wine-jars. Above the men on the ramp on the left, the wall shows two registers. The upper register pictures a rectangular table bearing ewer and basin and small circular table with cakes, and a row of five priests, (a) kneeling with both hands outstretched palms down, (b) kneeling with beer-jar in each hand, (c) with cake in left and *nw* pot in right, (d) kneeling with cup in the left hand and right hand open palm down, (e) standing figure in the *hry wdb* attitude, holding a *kbh* jar in right hand. Over the fourth priest and in front of fifth is written *wdn iht: snmt sh in wt*. Under these priests is a short register showing a pair of bulls and a third bull behind them. Above the chief scene are two registers not given by Lepsius. These show statues being dragged to the tomb and will be published soon by Professor Selim Bey Hassan.

Under this chief scene is a register showing from right to left: (a) two men facing left, each with staff in right hand and left hand on right shoulder, (b) three women clapping hands, 'singing by the harem (?)', (c) rectangular table bearing cakes with other cakes below, and ewer and basin above, (d) four women facing right and dancing (illegible inscription). On the screen wall is a great compartment list of late form, to the left of which are two priests one above the other, (a) a *hry wdb* making offerings (*wdn iht*), (b) a kneeling figure with *nw* pot in each hand, 'glorification by the *wt*'. Under this are two registers, the lower of which crosses the whole wall, passing under the dancing scene mentioned above. The upper part of the two registers shows, from right to left, (a) a standing man facing right, *wt*, with staff in left hand and right hand on left shoulder, (b) a picture list of offerings in five lines, (c) scaffolding of poles hung with pieces of meat and fowl, with cakes on table below, (d) two slaughter scenes labelled *rhs iwsw n krs c: wrt m di nswt htp* ('slaughter cattle for the burial very great, with *di nswt htp* recitations'). The lowest register, which crosses the whole wall, presents from right to left, (a) bouquet (?), three jars with cone sealings (?) on ring stands, three sheaves of papyrus on three sledges, growing papyrus with flower and bud alternating, (b) man carrying two boxes of birds on pole, man carrying box of birds and sheaf of papyrus, and man carrying live goose, (c) five men bringing in four animals, long-horned cow, ibex, oryx, and hyena in arms of last man (over the bull *itt iw*).

It is clear that this whole wall presents one scene, as is shown by the inscription over the slaughter scene, 'slaughter of cattle for the burial', and the prominence given to the *wt* and the *hry wdb* on the screen wall, as well as in the chief scene. The *hm-k* priests are not specifically labelled, but it may be inferred that the men ascending the ramp are of that order. The ceremonies represented are the bringing of the funerary meal, the dancing and the singing around the table of offerings, the reading of the compartment list by the *hry wdb*, the performance of the glorification and the *snmt sh* by the *wt*, the slaughter scenes, the presentation by the *wt* of the picture list of offerings, and the bringing of flowers, birds, and animals.

This funeral scene in the tomb of Debehen with its funerary priests of various kinds and its mention of several different funerary ceremonies combines for the first time classes of priests and forms of ceremonies

well known from groups of priests and offering formulas in the L-shaped chapels. The discussion of these classes and the ceremonies performed by them will be taken up in another place, where the development of the representation of these classes and ceremonies will be traced from the cruciform chapels to the end of Dyn. VI. In this development the most notable change was in the tombs of Dyn. VI, in which the chief functionary is the *hry-hb* priest, who is not found in the scenes in the L-shaped chapels or in Debehen.

The funeral scene in Debehen is the only one of its exact form known to me. Later, however, in late Dyn. V and Dyn. VI occur a number of examples of a very different funeral scene which may, however, have some relation to the Debehen scene. At any rate, it is based on the use of a similar idea in the decoration of the chapel. The examples at Saqqarah are in the chapels Hetep-her-akhet, Lepsius S 31, Yeduwt, Mereruwka, Ankh-ma-hor; at Dahshur in the chapel of Sneferuw-yen-shat-f; and at Giza in the tombs of Qar and Yeduw. These late scenes usually make a feature of the transport of the coffin and other equipment on boats, and the chief funerary priest is the *hry-hb*. The detailed description of these will be taken up in a later chapter.

4. THE DECORATION OF THE ENLARGED CHAPELS OF DYN. V-VI

The decoration of the early L-shaped chapels at Giza took a definite form in which the offering-room was decorated with scenes concerned with the provision of food, drink, clothing, and funeral equipment. The most complete of these early chapels is that of Prince Khufuw-khaf (G 7140), in which apart from the decoration of the niche in conformity with the niches of the cruciform chapels, the west wall bears a presentation scene (estates, scribes, men bringing furniture, the funerary meal, and live birds and animals), on the east wall another presentation scene showing the owner viewing the sealed equipment, on the south wall a table scene with *wt* and other priests performing the initial rites, and on the north wall a simple family group. The door-jambs and the façade panels are also decorated similarly to the decoration of the same parts in cruciform and L-shaped chapels. Remembering that the decoration of each tomb was designed separately, the arrangement of the Khufuw-khaf chapel corresponds with that of other early L-shaped chapels. The succeeding chapels of type (3) in the nummulitic chapels of the Eastern Field follow approximately the layout of the Khufuw-khaf chapel, but six of the chapels are so similar that they may be assumed to have been made by the same groups of craftsmen. In one of the early chapels, Merytyetes (G 7650), reign of Chephren, an offering scene with a picture list is seen on the south wall associated with an extended family group.

In the L-shaped chapels of type (4) dated to Mycerinus or later the same character of the decoration is preserved and the scenes consist of table scenes, presentation scenes, and family group with the frequent inclusion of an offering scene with a picture list of offerings. The period of these chapels of type (4) extends to the end of the reign of Neferirkara.

It was the rock-cut chapels which laid the basis not only for the radical alteration of the decoration of the chapel, but also for the enlargement of the mastaba chapel. The rock-cut chapel was introduced at Giza in the reign of Mycerinus, as is shown by the inscriptions in the tomb of Debehen. The first three decorated rock-cut chapels (Debehen, Nekawra, and Sekhemkara) appear to have been made in the reign of Mycerinus and the last three (Meresankh III, Nebemakhet, and Khuwnera) in the reign of Shepseskaf. It is therefore certain that the mastaba chapels of type (4) continued to carry on the traditions of the earlier L-shaped chapels unaffected by the development of the decoration of the rock-cut chapels. A few innovations may be ascribed to the influence of the rock-cut tombs, such as the use of the boating scene, and in particular a few examples of dancers and musicians. It is also to be noted that while the earlier L-shaped chapels of type (3), whether of white or nummulitic limestone, were

decorated with well-carved reliefs, the later chapels of type (4) show the introduction of heavily sized reliefs in which the relief was partly cut in the rock and partly in the plaster. This sized technique was clearly seen in certain walls in the chapel of Meresankh III, in particular on the unfinished east wall of room (b). It seems probable that the heavily sized technique was actually invented for the rock-cut tombs to cheapen the cost of the decoration. The L-shaped chapels, the chapels of white limestone, and those of nummulitic limestone only lightly sized, are generally earlier in date than those with reliefs made with heavily sized technique. The two techniques continue to appear in the later chapels, the well-carved simple technique in chapels lined with white limestone, and the heavily sized technique in the nummulitic chapels. It is in fact the cheapness of the heavily sized technique which made practicable the decoration of the enlarged chapels used in comparatively small mastabas at Giza in Dyns. V and VI.

a. The Enlargement of the Wall Areas of Chapels

The enlargement of the wall areas of mastaba chapels was obtained by the introduction of the corridor chapels of type (5), the multiple-roomed chapel of type (7), and the still later chapels of types (10-12). These enlarged chapels came into use at Giza soon after the end of the reign of Neferirkara. The mastaba, G 4631, with chapel of type (5 a) contains shaft B in which a sealing of Weserkaf was found, but the chapel is a reconstruction of later date. In another small mastaba, G 4633, with a chapel of type (5 ax), a secondary shaft contained a sealing of Neferirkara. In a third small mastaba, G 4721, with a chapel of type (7 b), a shaft contained a sealing of Neferirkara (?). None of these three chapels was decorated, but they show clearly the enlargement of the wall areas in a time immediately after the reign of Neferirkara, and before the reign of Neweserra. In the reign of Neweserra the enlarged chapel is found fully developed, and decorated examples occur assignable to that reign and to the last half of Dyn. V.

The development of the chapel at Giza and Saqqarah does not present the same chronological series, although the series touch at several points. At Giza, the basis for the chronology of the enlargement of the chapel and its decoration is provided by the two great family complexes of Shepseskaf-ankh and Senezem-ib. In the Shepseskaf-ankh complex, the two large decorated chapels are those of Iy-mery (G 6020), dated to the reign of Neweserra, and the large chapel of his son, Ptah-nefer-bauw (G 6010), decorated about twenty years after the reign of Neweserra. The series is continued by the chapel of Senezem-ib-Yenti decorated at the end of the reign of Isesy, the chapel of his son, Senezem-ib-Mehi, decorated in the reign of Unis, the chapel of a younger son, Khnumenti, decorated in the reign of Teti, and the chapel of the grandson of Yenti, Nekhebuw, decorated near the end of the reign of Pepy I. Another large chapel, G 2385, assigned to Nekhebuw's elder brother, presents a very extensive chapel, but was found destroyed to its foundations. The other late chapels at Giza which can be dated to Dyn. V are not so extensive in wall areas as the large chapels in these two complexes, but they still present wall spaces considerably larger than those of the interior L-shaped chapels. Their decorations can be correlated with the decorations of the large chapels, not with those of the L-shaped chapels. The smallest of chapels decorated after the manner of the enlarged chapels are those of types (10) and (11). At the same time, the later decorated rock-chapels also show considerably larger wall areas than the L-shaped chapels.

b. The Decoration of the Enlarged Mastaba Chapels

Just as the enlargement of the mastaba chapels of Dyn. V may be ascribed to the influence of the rock-cut chapels, so the layout of the decoration and the expansion of the types of scenes follow clearly the example set by those same chapels. It is needless to add that the decoration of the later rock-cut chapels may be correlated to that of the rock-cut chapels and the later enlarged mastaba chapels.

The layout of the decoration of the L-shaped chapels presented certain common features in a large number of chapels, but was never identical even in two of the most closely related chapels. In the early rock-cut chapels, except for the west wall the layout varies so considerably from chapel to chapel that it is impossible to frame any approximation to a common layout. This individuality of layout was continued in the enlarged mastaba chapels and the later rock-cut chapels. Except for the niches in the west wall, every tomb has its own arrangement of scenes.

The enlarged chapels of Dyn. V also copied the peculiar composite scenes resulting from the expansion of the older presentation and offering scenes. The presentation scene is expanded to show not merely the bringing of the products of the estates of the funerary endowment, but also scenes showing the activities carried out on the estates, both the valley and the swamp estates, the agricultural scenes, and the swamp scenes. The offering scene, in particular the large pavilion scene, was expanded to include all sorts of small scenes concerned with the preparation of food and the serving of the food to the accompaniment of dancing and music. Some of the special large scenes designed for the rock-cut chapels also appear in the large mastaba chapels, such as the scenes of craftsmen at work producing the funerary equipment, the special pictures of that equipment, and the great swamp scenes with the owner of large size hunting, fishing, or pulling papyrus flowers in the swamp. A scene which perhaps occurred but was not found preserved in the early rock-cut chapels, the carrying-chair scene, is found repeatedly in the later mastaba chapels. It is to be remembered that the peculiar scenes developed in the early rock-cut chapels did not lead to the immediate introduction of such scenes in mastaba chapels. It was certainly not before the reign of Neweserra that the radical change was effected in the mastaba chapels. After the decoration of the early rock-cut chapels of Giza the next step in the development was the appearance of the characteristic scenes of those chapels in the pyramid temples of Weserkaf, Sahura, and presumably Neferirkara. The very beautiful decorations developed in these royal temples were followed by Neweserra in his temple. And it was clearly the influence of the decoration of the pyramid temples which brought the full introduction of this type of decoration for the enlarged chapels of Dyns. V and VI.

The decoration of the mastaba chapels of Dyns. V and VI will be discussed at length by Mr. W. S. Smith in another volume. Here in order to permit the realization of the intimate connexion between the decoration of the rock-cut chapels of Dyn. IV and the later chapels I content myself with giving a description of two scenes:

- (1) G 7948: Khafra-ankh: east wall; on the left, a group of chief figures, Khafra-ankh standing leaning on a staff, with his dog in front of him, and a man shading him with a rectangular sunshade on a pole; behind Khafra-ankh stands his brother; in front of chief scene, six registers; reg. 1, scribes, and five boats in boating scene; reg. 2, scribes, men feeding animals, threshing, winnowing, piles of grain; reg. 3, on the left, scribe, then chief herdsmen, five men facing to left; an overseer facing right viewing men handling boxes; then comes a small figure of Khafra-ankh with dog and sunshade looking at men reaping grain with a sickle; reg. 4, judgement scene, bird-netting; reg. 5, herd of cattle with numbers; then a fish-seining scene which extends down into reg. 6; reg. 6, herds of asses and goats.

The composite scene appears even in the corridor chapels of comparatively small mastabas of Dyn. V. I select as a typical example a scene from a small mastaba at Giza:

- (2) G 1029: Sekhemka: chapel of type (5 a), east wall; at south end of wall, owner stands with staff and wand facing out to left; son between staff and man; labelled *mꜣꜣ skꜣ ꜣꜣ bdt in iswt-f nt*

nīwt-f nt pr-f dt, 'viewing the harvesting of grain by his gangs of the estates of his funerary endowment'; to the left are five registers; reg. 1, on right, three scribes facing right; seven men pulling up swamp plants; papyrus raft loaded with swamp products; then a bird-netting scene which is unfinished towards the north; reg. 2, two papyrus rafts loaded with swamp products, crews fighting with punting-poles; two men ploughing; man strewing grain seed and herd of rams trampling in the seed, driven by men with whips; reg. 3, overseer, four men pulling flax, two men binding flax in bundles; five men cutting barley with sickles, pile of sheaves, three men driving donkeys to the pile of sheaves (for loading), and finally a man piling sheaves (register unfinished); reg. 4, men bringing in animals (wild animals), oryx, ibex, gazelle; then a man carrying a fish coming from the fish-seining scene which takes the ends of regs. 4 and 5; reg. 5, man leading in a bull followed by two men with a second animal; man carrying bundle of papyrus on his back; the lower part of the fish-seining scene.

As an example both of the composite scenes and the layout of a large chapel I give here a description of the chapel of Iy-mery, G 6020, dated to the reign of Newserra:

- (3) G 6020: Iy-mery: exterior stone chapel added to a two-niched mastaba and consisting of three rooms; an offering-room (a) built around the southern niche, a long E-W corridor (b), and an anteroom (c), all fully decorated.

Decoration of offering-room (a): on the west wall south of niche, a table scene; on the west wall north of niche and continued on the adjacent north wall, a great procession of men bringing the offerings of the funerary meal; on the south wall is an offering scene, a *sh* scene in which the father Shepseskaf-ankh is seen seated in a kiosk facing to right with six registers in front of him, three with a picture list and three with sons and funerary priests presenting the utensils of the funerary meal (includes Iy-mery holding out a lotus to his father); and sub-register containing musicians and dancers.

East wall: on the left, a family group standing facing right showing Iy-mery, his wife and children (continued on the space above the doorway), 'viewing the writing of the *ndt hr* brought as a *prt hrw* from the estates of the funerary endowment'; in front are four registers: (1) eight scribes writing, (2) tethered oryx and men bringing oryx and ibex, (3) men bringing oxen, and (4) men bringing live birds.

Decoration of room corridor (b): south wall on the right shows a great pavilion with Iy-mery on the right side in the pavilion seated in an arm-chair facing to left; dog under chair; within the pavilion, picture list as in rock-cut tombs, including meat hanging from roof; at the end of fourth register of the picture list are three small figures facing to right, man holding up clasped hands (*shd hm-k3, hrp sh*); the second and third carry table of food (second man, *shd hm k3*); to the left of the picture list are four registers, (1) two slaughter scenes, (2) two slaughter scenes, (3) cooking scenes, (4) figure dancers; a register running under the whole scene contains mainly dancers and musicians. The east half of the wall contains five registers; reg. 1, minor activities of life on the estates, cooking, mat-making, rope-making, ending with a cow lying down; reg. 2, men bring four bulls with elaborate collars (or yokes) to right; reg. 3, cows facing left being milked or suckling calves (dairy scene); reg. 5, calving scene; on the east of regs. 4 and 5, remains of a boating scene.

Room (b), north wall; again divided into two scenes; on left, Iy-mery seated facing right with staff; four registers of agricultural scenes; reg. 1, men reaping grain and making

sheaves, also scribe; reg. 2, donkeys driven up to pile of grain to be loaded, also scribe; reg. 3, loaded donkeys approaching a pile of sheaves and man throwing sheaves on the pile, also a scribe; reg. 4, two ploughing scenes; reg. 5, under whole scene, rams trampling in seed grain and men hoeing.

Behind the figure of Iy-mery over the doorway two registers of office scenes (judgement scene, scribes recording quantities of grain, &c.).

The eastern half of the same wall on the left, Iy-mery standing leaning on his staff facing to right; in front of chief figure, four registers; reg. 1, bird-netting scene; reg. 2, scribe and a fish-seining scene; reg. 3, on left, continuation of fishing scene, and on right, men building two papyrus rafts; reg. 4, four papyrus rafts coming forth from the swamp with boatmen fighting. This wall scene was continued by a small scene on the east wall over the doorway; two registers: (1) man pulling papyrus, (2) Iy-mery standing on a papyrus raft with wife and child and attendants (?); in the midst of men pulling and carrying swamp plants.

Room B, west wall: snaring birds, orchard and vintage scenes; reg. 1, two men with slings (?) and a large number of fluttering birds (scene partly obliterated); reg. 2, men picking grapes and fruit in orchard; reg. 3, men trampling grapes in vat; reg. 4, wine-press scene; reg. 5, filling and sealing jars.

Decoration of the anteroom (c): west wall, presentation scene: on left side, Shepseskaf-ankh leaning on staff facing to right; with Iy-mery, behind him, hands hanging and papyrus roll under arm; in front, four registers; reg. 1, scribe *shd hm k* with censer, scribe, men carrying herbage, three oxen and herdsman; reg. 2, tethered ox, man leading ox; reg. 3, herdsman, tethered oryx, man leading oryx; reg. 4, herdsman, three cranes; continued by two registers over doorway to (b): (1) three tethered wild animals, hyena, young gazelle (?), gazelle; (2) man squatting by ox lying down and man squatting pulling haltered ox to knees. On narrow space north of door, *int prt hrw m nizwt nt pr dt m hb nb r nb dt*.

North wall: Shepseskaf-ankh in a carrying-chair, facing to left; reg. 2, four scribes with writing material and one writing, probably the list of furniture following in two sub-registers to the right; funerary equipment including bed; reg. 3, ten estates bearing offerings to right; estate names compounded with name of Cheops (two estates), one with the name of Sahura, one with the name of Neferirkara, one with the name of Shepseskaf-ankh, and three with Iy-mery.

East wall: on the left, Iy-mery standing with staff and handkerchief, son between him and staff; *m33 ndt hr innt r prt hrw m . . .*; to the right are four registers: reg. 1, extending over entrance doorway, five standing and four squatting scribes; reg. 2, two men with live birds and one leading ox; reg. 3, man leading two oxen by halters and a third tethered ox; reg. 4, man bringing oryx and ibex.

Decoration of south wall: no large figure, but five registers of craftsmen; reg. 1, from right to left, two *krst*-coffins one above the other, overseer, man polishing bed, assisted by another man, two men working with tools on second bed, man with board (?); reg. 2, shrine on sledge, man sawing long board, man working on box, man working on large door-bolt, destroyed space, and two men working with tools on some object, man kneeling planing board with adze; several obscure objects; reg. 3, man using large scales assisted by

standing figure, then badly preserved group of metal-workers using blow-pipes, man pouring metal, man beating metal on block, group of four men facing each other beating metal; scene of copper-working; reg. 4, nearly destroyed, man painting seated statue; broken space, man probably making stone vessels, three leather-workers; reg. 5, seven vessels containing oils and ointments; man pouring oil, scribe writing, five men pressing oil; two men handling ointment-jars.

Doorway, north jamb: badly weathered; large ship under sail proceeding to left; chief figure standing, Shepseskaf-ankh; four figures, probably paddlers, facing left with paddles; two other figures, one of which is coiling a rope; a pilot on the prow; inscribed, *mr Imnt wrt ir hr (?) imy wrt wrt nfrt*; above, man on bank carrying an oar, second obliterated man followed by a calf.

Doorway: south jamb: similar to north jamb; sailing-ship proceeding to right (in); crew as on north; *rs tw r hr* (cable) *mr imnt mi nw . . . tp nfr pw ššš n nfr*.

Architrave, drum and façade not decorated.

To further elucidate the layout and character of the scenes in the chapels of Dyn. V, I give a short description of the rock-cut tomb of Yasen:

(4) G 2196: *rh nšwt* Yasen: rock-cut tomb:

Decoration of west wall: niche near middle of wall containing statue of Yasen, with left foot slightly advanced and hands hanging closed; architrave uninscribed; no tablet or drum; vertical inscription with *pwt hrw* and list of festivals.

South of niche, table scene with Yasen in traditional attitude facing to right; under table on left ideographic list; above picture list are two registers; on right, three registers, (1) man censuring, (2) holding ewer and basin, (3) partly under table, two men kneeling with *nw* pot in each hand.

North of niche: table scene, with Yasen seated with both hands extended, facing to right; under table, ideographic list; above table and to right, late compartment list.

South wall: offering scene with Yasen seated facing left in small kiosk; receiving lotus flower; dog under arm-chair; behind, three registers of two men each, personal attendants carrying personal equipment.

In front of chief figure, five registers: regs. 1-3 and right half of 4, elaborate picture list of food-offerings; reg. 4, second half, eight figures preparing food (dressing and cooking birds and joints of meat and making cakes); reg. 5, man holding up lotus, two men, priests, standing with uplifted hands, six men bringing table and food-offering, four carrying haunches of beef; two slaughter scenes (each of three men cutting up a bull); reg. 6, under whole scene, unfinished at both ends, dancers and musicians, men filling wine-jars.

North wall: farming and swamp scene: on left Yasen standing leaning on staff, '*mš škš rh nšwt* Yasen'; in front of Yasen three registers; reg. 1, men cutting grain and stacking sheaves, followed by two sub-registers, (a) men winnowing, three calves, (b) herdsman drinking, two men making bread (?), man watering cow, and to the right, ox lying down facing left; reg. 2, two scenes of man and boy driving loaded donkey, then bull, cow, bull, man bearing calf; reg. 3, rams treading in grain, calving scene, cow suckling calf, and cow being milked.

To the right of the farming scene, a swamp scene taking whole height of wall: Yasen

on papyrus raft hunting birds with split spear, facing to right; picture of conventional papyrus swamp as background; on right, man on bank holding out live birds; vertical inscription on right, *sš w3(d) n Ht-hr ph in hnty š T3sn*.

East wall: presentation scene: on right, Yasen stands with staff and handkerchief, facing out to left; wife behind him; son between man and staff; vertical line, *m33 sš ndt hr inmt r prt hrw rc nb*; in front on left, three registers of men bringing wild animals and cattle; reg. 1, two standing scribes, and two men in respectful attitudes, then four men leading in wild animals (oryx, ibex, gazelle, hyena); reg. 2, five men leading in cattle; reg. 3, six men bringing in four horned bulls.

Entrance door-jambs, east and west: man standing facing out, leaning on staff on east, but on west obscure attitude.

Architrave: man and woman seated on one chair, facing right; offering formula (*dī nswt htp*, &c.) in two horizontal lines.

c. The Types of Scenes in the Chapels of Dyns. V–VI

The separate scenes used in decorating the enlarged late chapels of Dyns. V and VI are large and diversified, but it is nevertheless possible to make a classification which will include the greater part of the scenes.

- (1) Table scene, usually some degeneration of the old table scene:
 - (a) the late compartment list, which is very common.
 - (b) men bringing the funerary meal.
 - (c) funerary priests performing the initial rites (*šmnt šh*, &c.).
 - (d) slaughter scene.
- (2) The offering scene with the great pavilion with a great picture list of offerings or with a large pavilion containing such a list:
 - (a) the picture list of offerings.
 - (b) small cooking scenes.
 - (c) the scenes of musicians and dancers.
 - (d) men bringing in the funerary meal, including usually a man offering a lotus.
 - (e) personal attendants and often pet animals.
- (3) The small offering scene with owner seated in arm-chair in *sh* kiosk:
 - (a) small picture list.
 - (b) men presenting or bringing the utensils and materials of the funerary meal, including a man offering a lotus; often includes the sons of the owner.
 - (c) dancing and music.
 - (d) slaughter scene.
 - (e) sometimes includes a feasting scene or men playing board games.
- (4) The scene of life on the estates, which includes the following scenes:
 - (a) ploughing, sowing, reaping, and various operations of the harvesting, including storing the grain.
 - (b) scenes from the swamp estates, bird-netting, seining fish, herding the cattle, and dairy scenes.
 - (c) the bringing of wild animals and birds and domestic cattle.

- (d) including more rarely a procession of estates bearing offerings.
- (e) orchard scene: sometimes connected with gardening or vintage; often includes snaring song-birds.
- (5) The great swamp scene with the owner hunting birds, spearing fish, pulling papyrus, and similar operations.
 - (a) hunting birds with a throw-stick.
 - (b) hunting birds with a split spear.
 - (c) spearing fish.
 - (d) watching his men spearing hippopotami.
 - (e) pulling papyrus flowers (usually by women).
- (6) The scene of hunting wild animals in the desert.¹
- (7) Scenes of craftsmen at work making the funerary equipment, and pictures of the equipment.
- (8) The carrying-chair scene:
 - (a) with personal attendants carrying personal equipment.
 - (b) various pet animals, dog, monkey, baboon.
- (9) The large funeral scene:
 - (a) transport of coffin by water or land.
 - (b) a construction called *ibw*.
 - (c) a construction called *w^cbt*.
 - (d) a picture of the tomb.
 - (e) men and women mourning.
 - (f) priests performing the initial ceremonies.

There are a number of very mixed scenes which include elements of the scenes specified above, and a great number of unusual small groups taken from life which are too numerous to be named here. There are a few scenes and certain elements of the scenes listed above which need more explicit description.

(1) *The Carrying-chair Scene*

The carrying-chair scene first appears in the chapel of Neferma'at of Medum:

- (1) Medum 16: Prince Neferma'at: on the north side of the outer recess of the offering-niche; Neferma'at seated on the arms of a carrying-chair on a platform; carried out to right waist-high by six (?) men; under the scene, two registers of estates bearing offerings in to left.

The earliest example of a carrying-chair is that found among the funerary furniture of Queen Hetepheres I, which was made for her by her son Cheops. No evidence of the representation of the carrying-chair is found until we reach the early rock-cut tombs, where it is pictured among the funerary equipment. In the tomb of Meresankh III, where the carrying-chair is pictured among the furniture, it also occurs incidentally in a boating scene:

- (2) G 7530: Queen Meresankh III: east wall south of doorway, top register with a boating scene; on the first boat, a papyrus raft, the queen is shown as chief figure seated in a carrying-chair resting on the raft.

The carrying-chair scene of Dyn. V is differentiated from the scene in Neferma'at by the fact that the chair is carried shoulder-high and the owner is properly represented sitting in the chair between the arms. The time at which this later carrying-chair scene was introduced in chapel decoration appears to

¹ The hunting scene is rarely preserved at Giza. It is suggested in Dyn. IV by a fragment from the outer chapel of Prince Min-khaf (G 7430+7440) showing a kneeling man holding the leash of a hunting dog (?). Later it appears in the chapel of Seshem-nofer (LG 53) and that of G 2097.

have been in early Dyn. V and, I surmise, in the pyramid temples of the kings of that period. The scene appears fully developed in private chapels of the reign of Neweserra and occurs with a certain frequency in the large chapels at Giza in the last half of Dyn. V and in Dyn. VI:

- (3) G 6020: Iy-mery: room (c), north wall; Shepseskaf-ankh carried in arm-chair with baldachin, borne shoulder-high by six men; dog walking underneath the chair; behind the chair an attendant bearing a staff and a bag; in front, facing Shepseskaf-ankh, stands Iy-mery, with hanging hands, followed by his four sons in respectful attitudes; under these is a row of three men facing to left, bearing (a) sandals and case, (b) fly-whisk, basin with ladle, (c) loop of cord; with man's head turned back while he steadies the carrying-chair with one hand; under the whole scene a register of scribes facing to left and below this a register of estates also facing left.
- (4) G 7837: Ankh-ma-ra: rock-cut tomb, room (a), east wall; owner seated in carrying-chair with baldachin, carried shoulder-high to right by fourteen men (seven at front and seven at back); under chair, dwarf leading a dog; in front above, in two registers, four men attendants bearing personal equipment, including a monkey; behind, above again, in two registers, four personal attendants, including a son; a sub-register shows ten men walking to right, four scribes, and six men in respectful attitudes; probably office staff and friends.
- (5) G 2370: Senezem-ib-Yenti: room (c), south wall; lower part of a carrying-chair scene with two dogs under the chair; scene incomplete; perhaps another carrying-chair scene on east wall of room (b).
- (6) G 2374: Khnumenti: reign of Tety: room (c), east wall; upper part destroyed.
- (7) G I S No. 12: Seshem-nofer (Junker): similar to Ankh-ma-ra.
- (8) G 2381: Nekhebuw: reign of Pepy I: fragment with carrying-chair.
- (9) A rock-cut tomb excavated by Selim Bey Hassan in the Great Quarry, near Queen Buwnefer: east door-jamb; owner seated in carrying-chair resting on ground facing out to left; woman seated in front of feet; personal attendants behind.
- (10) Junker's tomb of the dwarf Seneb: on the stela; small picture of owner in carrying-chair without baldachin, carried shoulder-high by two men; third man holds sunshade over owner, and fourth is a personal attendant.
- (11) G 7102: Yeduw: room (a), south wall; owner seated in carrying-chair resting on ground, facing to left; on left, reg. 1, sons engaged in wrestling and stick game; reg. 2, daughters dancing; reg. 3, three pairs of men playing two different board games; reg. 4, musicians; regs. 5-6, preparation of food and drinks; reg. 7, female estate bearing offerings to right.
- (12) G 7101: Qar: rock-cut; room (b), pillared portico; east wall; owner seated in carrying-chair, with baldachin, facing out to left, carried shoulder-high by four pairs of men in front and six pairs at back; two attendants in front facing and two behind holding hands; sub-register of men bearing personal equipment.

These examples from Giza emphasize the frequent use of the carrying-chair scene during Dyns. V and VI in the chapels of high officials and great landowners. It was used for visits of inspection of all sorts and was particularly fitted for the inspection of landed estates.

(2) *The Late Compartment List of Offerings*

The list of offerings set in compartments formed by horizontal and vertical lines begins with the 'cupboard list' in the east wall of the chapel of Hesi-ra, where the 'sealed equipment' of jars and vessels of oil and ointment is shown in rows of small cupboards each with its door open. The next form is the